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**THE GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF NAGAMESE:
ITS SOCIAL HISTORY AND LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE**

by

Dwijen Bhattacharjya

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

2001

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Abstract

THE GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF NAGAMESE:
ITS SOCIAL HISTORY AND LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE

by

Dwijen Bhattacharjya

Adviser: Professor Edward H. Bendix

This dissertation provides a grammar of Nagamese and attempts to resolve the controversy over its status.

Centuries ago Nagamese originated in the barter-trade centers of the plains of Assam, in northeastern India, where twenty-one Naga ethno-linguistic groups speaking mutually unintelligible Tibeto-Burman languages had to communicate with the Assamese traders and revenue collectors as well as among themselves. The resulting restructured variety of Assamese gradually spread all over the neighboring state of Nagaland. After a long existence as an *incipient pidgin*, Nagamese probably began to expand sometime after 1881 (Reid 1983 [1942]), when the British Government assumed control of the Naga territory and deployed Assamese policemen and civilian officials in the region, which led to an increase in Naga-Assamese interaction. The process of expansion accelerated in the 1950's when Nagamese

was widely used among guerillas fighting for the independence of Nagaland, and the language became instrumental in unifying the linguistically and culturally disparate Naga groups into one political unit with the same aspirations. Nagamese began to expand even more rapidly after Nagaland was granted statehood in 1963. Now free to leave their traditional well-fortified villages without fear, Nagas of all ethnic groups joined the huge multi-ethnic work force that participated in the massive development works that ensued. This unprecedented mobility of the Nagas across the state increased the use of Nagamese as a lingua franca, which in turn forced Nagamese to expand.

It is argued that a *creole* is a 'prior pidgin' that has become lexically richer and morpho-syntactically complex under mounting pressures to be expressive, that occurs when it becomes the primary or native language of a homogeneous speech community.

Based on reformulated definitions of *pidgins* and *creoles* that exclude Bickerton's socio-historical criteria and morpho-syntactic diagnostic features, it is claimed that while the Nagamese spoken by the vast majority of people all over the state is an *extended pidgin*, the variety spoken by the Bodo-Kacharis of Dimapur, as their primary language, is a *creole*.

The claims made in this work are supported by historical evidence, and data since the early 1900's.

Dedication

If I were to dedicate this work to only one person, I would have to choose Professor John Holm, because he is the one who not only introduced me to Nagamese, and suggested that I undertake this project, but also guided me through each step in the research and writing of this dissertation. However, I feel enormously indebted and grateful to a few others without whose generous help and support this work would not have been possible. I firmly believe that most of the credit for this work goes to them, and therefore dedicate this dissertation to my teachers/mentors: professors Edward Bendix, S. N. Goswami, John Holm, M. V. Sreedhar, and William Stewart; and to my friends/colleagues: Sujit Chakraborty, Ranadhir Chakraborty, Monirul Islam, Rachel McDermott, Bikash Purkayastha, Judith Tucker, and Sharon Meltzer.

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List of Abbreviations

AS	Assamese	MOD	Modal
BG	Bengali	NG	Nagamese
C	Consonant	NGD	Nagaland
COMP	Complementizer	NOM	Nominative
CONJ	PCL Conjunctive Particle	NP	Noun Phrase
COND	Conditional Marker	NEG	Negator
COP	Copula	PCL	Particle
CH	Continuity Hypothesis	PPL	Participle
DEF	Definite Article	PRO	Pronoun
DEM	Demonstrative	p.c.	Personal Communication
FEM	Feminine Gender	PERF	Perfective
FAM	Familiar	QW	Question Word
GEN	Genitive	TMA	Tense Mode Aspect
HAB	Habitual	UG	Universal Grammar
HON	Honorific	V	Vowel
IND	Indefinite Article	VP	Verb Phrase
INF	Infinitive Marker	1SG	First Person Singular Pronominal
IRR	Irrealis	1PL	First Person Plural Number
LOC	Locative Case	2SG	Second Person Singular Number
MASC	Masculine Gender	2PL	Second Person Plural Number
MH	Maturation Hypothesis	3SG	Third Person Singular Number
		3PL	Third Person Plural Number

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The objectives of this study

The primary goal of this dissertation is to resolve the controversy that exists over the linguistic status of Nagamese¹ (henceforth NG), a contact-induced language that serves as a lingua franca in the northeastern Indian state of Nagaland (henceforth NGD) among the indigenous Indo-Mongoloid ethnolinguistic groups, collectively known as the Nagas (who speak twenty-three mutually unintelligible Tibeto-Burman languages) and speakers of over half a dozen immigrant languages. In order to determine what kind of contact-induced language NG is, this dissertation provides a grammar of the language and traces its social history. A secondary, but important objective of this work, is to reformulate the defining criteria of contact -induced varieties.

Since NG, like all other known Indian pidgins and creoles, originated under socio-political conditions atypical of pidginization and creolization in the Atlantic and Pacific areas, involving no plantations, no conquests or colonization, no major population displacement, and

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The term *Nagamese* which was created by conflating the word *Naga* and *mese*, the last syllable of *Assamese*, the name of the superstrate, was jointly coined by Lt. Akum Imlong, ex-Minister for Information, Publicity & Tuensang Affairs, M.G. Baidya, the first Station Director of All India Radio, Kohima Station, and Mr. Asim Roy, a Producer of the Farm Home Program at All India Radio, Kohima (Boruah 1993: 16). The Nagas dislike the word *Nagamese*, as they also do *Naga-Assamese*, because of its association with the speakers of Assamese, whom they view as their exploiters. And since the terms have derogatory connotations to the Nagas, Sreedhar (1974, 1985) usually prefers to call the language Naga Pidgin. However, the present writer has always avoided the term *Naga Pidgin*, which would pre-judge the issue of the language's identity.

no clear-cut unequal power relationships (factors that characterize the genesis and development of the best known and most extensively studied European-based pidgins and creoles), and, since it does not share the tense-aspectual system of the so called “classic “ creoles (Haitian, Hawaiian, Guyanese, and Sranan), Bickerton (cited in Sreedhar 1985) denied it the status of a pidgin/creole. And, since its inflectional morphology is more complex than that of the European-based pidgins and creoles, and, furthermore, because the language have not converged on its lexical donor language, AS, some Western creolists, notably Ferguson (1983) , have expressed doubts about the status of NG as a pidgin/creole.

At least three views exist regarding the status of NG. Sreedhar (1974, 1985), Baruah (1969), Boruah (1993), and Goswami (in Boruah *ibid*) claim that NG is a *pidgin* throughout NGD and a *creole* for the Bodo-Kachari community of the city of Dimapur and vicinity, as well as the children of mixed marriages in most parts of NGD. Ferguson (1983), whose comment is limited to the creole variety of NG spoken by the Bodo Kachari community of Dimapur city, has suggested that it is a “creoloid”, i. e. it resembles a post-creole in a number of respects but has not gone through the classic cycle of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization. Presenting data from Indian pidgins and creoles including NG, when Sreedhar (1983) posed the question of what the Indian pidgins and creoles, which do not conform to the norms laid down for pidgins and creoles, should be called, Bickerton (cited in Sreedhar 1985: 40), rather than responding to his question directly denied NG the status of a pidgin/creole on socio-historical grounds.

This dissertation first traces the social history of NG and then provides a description of its lexical semantics, phonology, and morpho-syntax. On the bases of these findings, as

well as historical records about NG, it is concluded that while NG is an *expanded pidgin* throughout NGD, it is a *creole* for the Bodo-Kachari community of Dimapur city and vicinity as well as for the children of mixed marriages, all over NGD.

Attributing the existing controversy over the status of NG partly to the limitations of the defining criteria of contact-induced languages and partly to the misinterpretation of how sociohistorical factors shape the outcome of language contact, which has happened due to the tremendous influence of Bickerton's idiosyncratic interpretation of the nature of UG¹ and the role played by specific sociohistorical events in creolization, this dissertation makes suggestions toward reformulating the defining criteria for various kinds of contact-induced varieties. By arguing that although Thomason & Kaufman's (1991[1988]) precise distinction between "normal transmission" and "broken transmission" has provided a new framework for studying contact-induced language restructuring, further distinctions must be made in order to be able to appreciate the processes involved in the emergence of various products. To this end, this work suggests that while pidginization, creolization, and "radical language mixing" or "language intertwining" are processes of creative construction, semi-creolization, creoloid

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Noam Chomsky (see 1981, 1986, 1988) has attempted to solve the 'logical problem of language acquisition', i.e., the question of how children acquire language out of "degenerate" input so rapidly and effortlessly without 'negative evidence', i.e. parental correction.) by postulating a Universal Grammar or UG, "may be regarded as a characterization of the genetically determined language faculty...an innate component of the human mind that yields a particular language through interaction with presented experience [primary linguistic data]" (Chomsky 1986:3). UG is believed to be made up of the principles and parameters of all possible human languages. While there is no consensus yet as to the precise nature of the "initial state" of the language faculty; it is generally believed that the principles contained in the UG interact with experience [input] to yield language (Chomsky 1986:ibid). Simple trigger(s) available in the primary linguistic input guide the child in deciding as to what type (SOV, SVO, Pro-drop, etc.) of language s/he ought to set the parameters for.

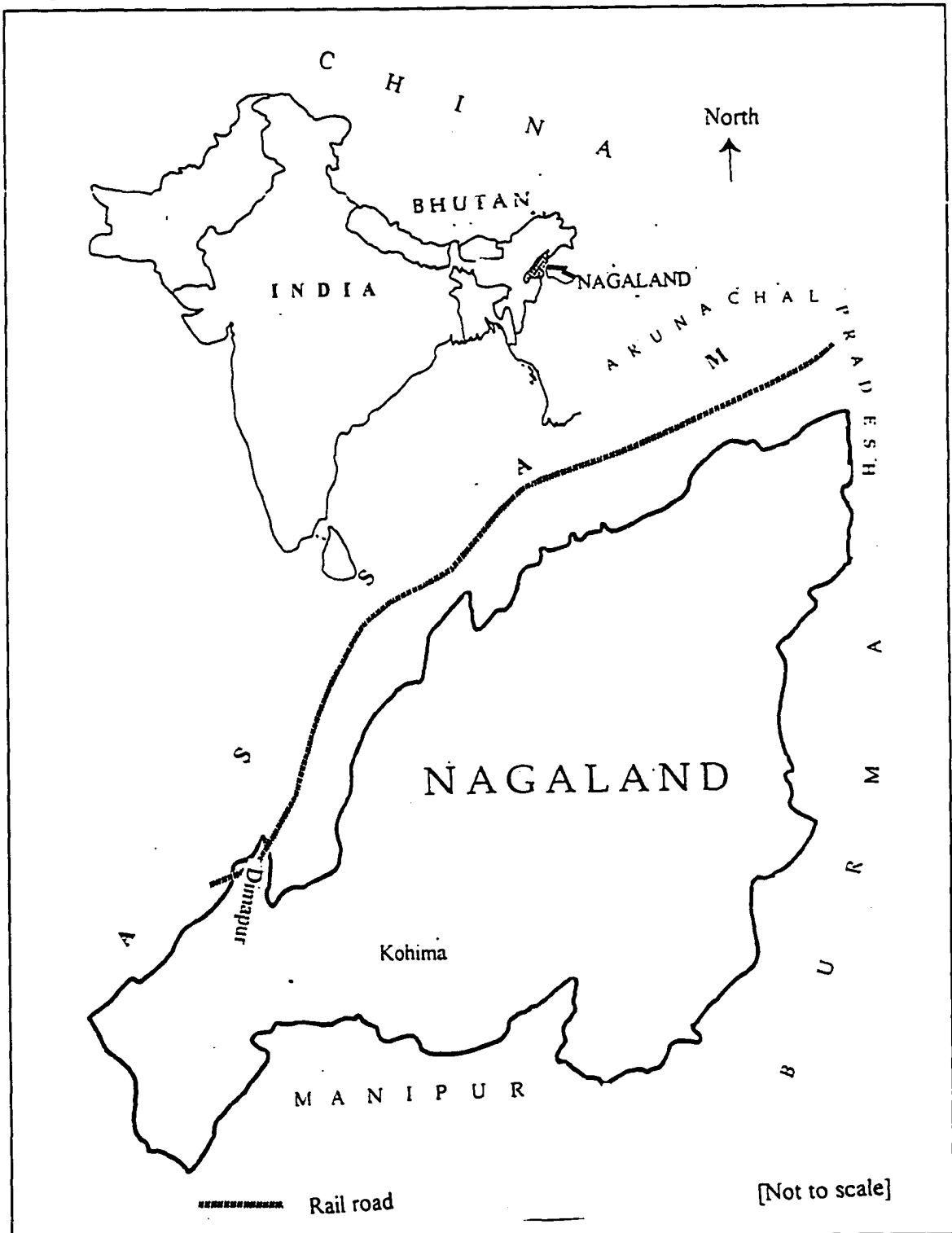
formation, convergence, koineization, and intensive borrowing, etc. are best regarded as representing a process of contact-induced language change through transfer of features.

Thus, the foci of this dissertation are twofold: first, to determine the precise nature of NG as a contact-induced language by tracing its social history and examining its linguistic structures; and second, to make suggestions toward reformulating the existing defining criteria of such languages in light of the facts revealed by both the data from more recently discovered non-Western-based pidgins and creoles and current research findings.

1.2 Locus of the object of study

Located in extreme northeastern India, the state of NGD is bounded on the west and northwest by the Indian state of Assam, on the east by Myanmar (formerly known as Burma), on the northeast by the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh, and on the south by the Indian state of Manipur. Except for its southwestern plains, the state is made up of mountain ranges covered with dense forests, with streams flowing into the plains of Assam and then into the Brahmaputra River (Singh 1971:496). The capital of NGD is Kohima, situated at an altitude of 4,800 feet. However, the most important trade center and the only town in the state that is connected with the rest of India by air and railroad is Dimapur, situated on the plains, close to Assam.

Map 1. Nagaland.



Based on relevant maps by Government of India publications; TT Maps & Publications, Ltd. Madras; Cambridge Book House, Calcutta; Sreedhar 1974; and Jacobs 1990.

Formerly known as the Naga Hill District, the state was part of the province of Bengal until 1874, and then a district of the province of Assam until 1957, when it was joined with Tuensang Frontier Division to form a new administrative unit called the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (NHTA) under the direct control of the central government of India. It was granted full-fledged statehood on December 1, 1963, by the government of India as a political compromise in the face of a violent guerilla war for independence.

The state has an area of 16,579 sq. km., and consists of seven districts¹: Kohima, Tuensang, Mokokchung, Mon, Phek, and Zunheboto. In 1991, its population was 1,215,573 (643,273 males, 572,300 females), representing an unprecedented 56.86% increase over the 1981 census (Census of India, 1991:27). In Table 1. the distribution of population by district is shown:

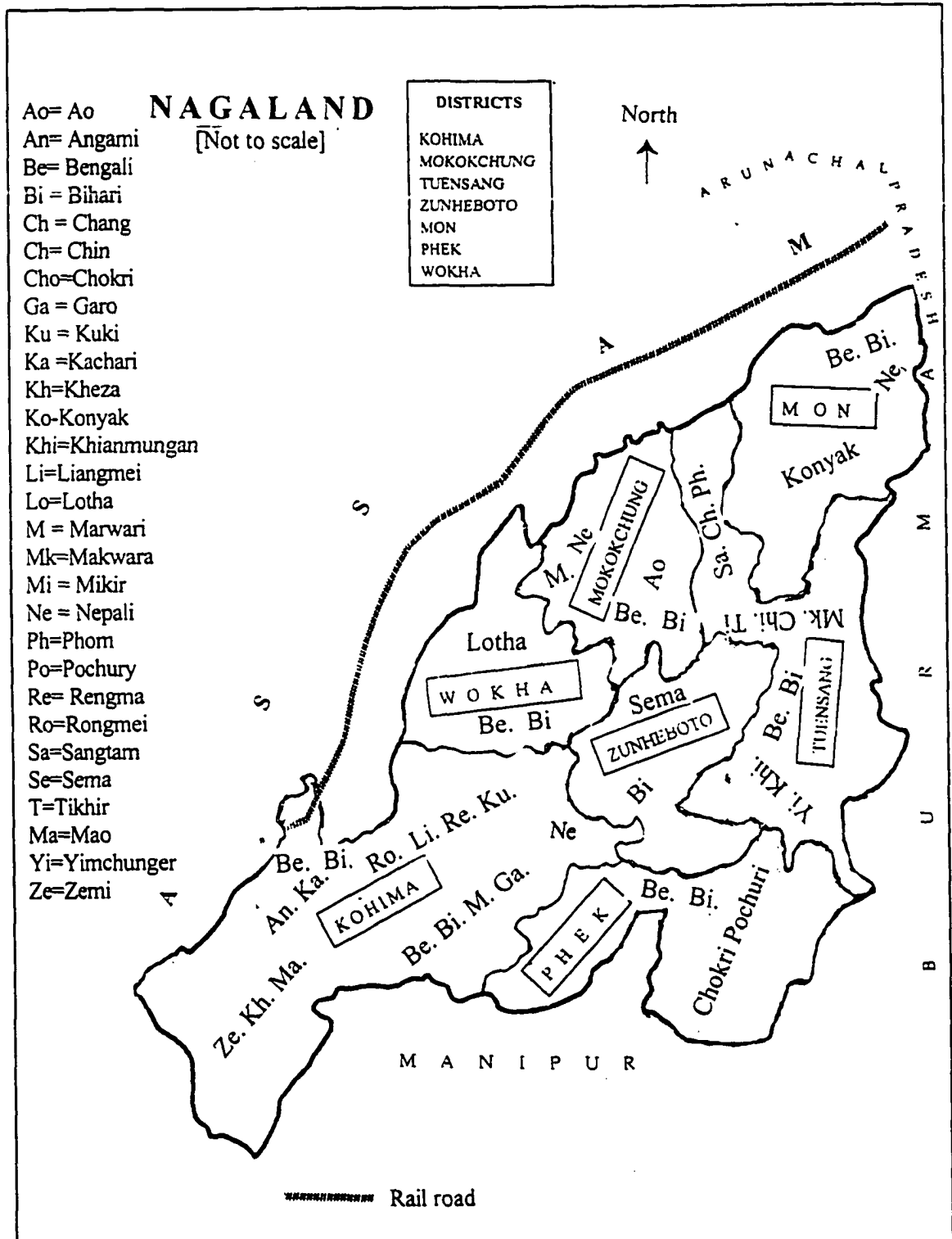
Table 1. Distribution of Naga population and languages, by district.

Nagaland	1,215,573	Languages
Kohima	394,179	Angami, Kachari, Zemi, Kheza, Mao, Rongmei, Liangmei, Rengma, Kheza , Kuki
Tuensang	232,972	Sangtam, Chang, Phom, Yimchunger, Khianmungan, Makwara, Chin, Tikhir
Mokokchung	156,207	Ao
Mon	150,065	Konyak
Phek	101,823	Chokri, Pochuri
Zunheboto	97,933	Sema
Wokha	82,394	Lotha

(Census of India, 1991:27)

¹.See map 2. on page 7.

Map 2. Distribution of various linguistic groups.



Based on relevant maps by Government of India publications; TT Maps & Publications, Ltd. Madras; Cambridge Book House, Calcutta; Sreedhar 1974; and Jacobs 1990.

Although the locus of this study - - and the source of its data - - is the entire state of NGD, it should be pointed out that much of the data was obtained from Nagas of various ethnic groups living in the cities of Kohima, Dimapur, and Mokokchung, where the language is most intensively used, as well as from Nagas living outside of NGD -- in Durgapur and Calcutta, and New York City. Conducting field work in the remotest parts of NGD had to be avoided because of a death threat issued directly to the present writer (with a copy to the Government of India) by a group which opposes the promotion of or any research on NG; and also because it would be dangerous to go to those places due to political unrest and violence caused by the underground rebels still demanding independence for NGD.

1.3 The Structure of this dissertation

The dissertation is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 1 states the objectives of the work, describes the data used for the study, and discusses the methodology of data collection. Chapter 2 reviews previously published books and papers on NG as well as references made to it in the tour diaries and gazettes of British-India.

The fact that NG does not fit neatly into the existing definitions of pidgin and creole languages has led to a controversy over its status. Classification of NG as a contact-induced language being an important goal of this exercise, Chapter 3 examines in some detail the sociohistorical milieu of its genesis and development. Although the controversy over the identity of the language is presented in detail in Chapter 3, the question is left open until the concluding chapter. Chapter 4 is devoted to the description of the lexical semantics of NG, and Chapter 5 describes the phonetic and phonological structures of NG. Chapter 6 describes

its morpho-syntactic structures. In chapter 7, the existing defining criteria of various products of contact is critically discussed and suggestions toward reformulating those defining criteria are made. Finally, in chapter 8, the controversy over the status of NG is resolved.

In the concluding two chapters, the conventional defining criteria of various contact-induced varieties have been rejected on the ground that they can not even account for the facts of the handful of pidgins/creoles on the basis of which they were formulated, let alone reflect the reality presented by non-European-based pidgins and creoles. Arguing that since many of the so-called “creole features” appear to have come from the substrate languages and since they are found even to cluster in normally transmitted languages, a creole cannot be defined structurally; a more semantically and sociolinguistically based definition has been suggested. And, applying the semantic and sociolinguistic criteria, rather than the conventional syntactic ones, particularly the ones that Bickerton imposed, it has been shown that NG is a pidgin/creole.

It is argued that although the genesis and development of NG may not have occurred under the sociohistorical conditions such as colonization, slavery, major population displacements, unequal power relationships between the superstrate and the substrate speakers, etc., that characterize the European-based pidgins and creoles, NG did originate under the condition of extremely limited input in a multilingual setting sans bilingualism, where the need for a new language was identical to the ones that existed in the settings of the European-based pidgins and creoles. It has also been pointed out that NG, which is morphologically more complex than most creoles today, is nevertheless a considerably reduced, restructured variety of its superstrate language, AS, and that three quarters of a

century ago, when the language was first encountered by the British administrators and European anthropologists, it was both a lexically and morpho-syntactically impoverished code of communication.

In describing the linguistic structures of the language, the topics listed on the *Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire* which first appeared in *Lingua* volume 42, no. 1 (1977) are covered, although not necessarily in the order they are presented there. With the growing interest in language universals, the *Lingua Questionnaire* was designed by Bernard Comrie and Norval Smith to provide a comprehensive but flexible framework for description of individual languages as well as a reference which would make information on those languages 'readily accessible to linguists working on language universals and typology, or on comparative syntax, morphology, or phonology'. As was intended by the authors of this questionnaire, I have used it as a guide to my description of NG; items have been omitted in the case of non-existence of a category, presented under a different title when a particular category is expressed by circumlocution, and also added when necessary. For describing the syntax, the format developed by Holm for Holm & Patrick (eds.) (in press) for a comparative description of creole syntax has also been closely followed so that one can easily compare NG syntax with those of other expanded pidgins/creoles.

1.4 The data

The data used for this study includes the following:

- (i) over 5 hours of news broadcasts from All India Radio(AIR), Kohima station (Appendix A);

- (ii) over 2 hours of AIR Kohima program for the farmers of NGD (Appendix B)
- (iii) transcription of a 2-hours long movie (Appendix C)
- (iv) responses elicited from 42 adult speakers of both sexes spanning three generations, belonging to 12 ethnolinguistic groups, by using a questionnaire (Appendix D)
- (v) more than 10 hours of free conversation between classmates in a dorm (Appendix E)
- (vi) conversation with adult Kacharis who speak NG natively (Appendix F)
- (vii) conversation with 12 non-Naga speakers of NG (Appendix G)
- (viii) conversation with 13 Bodo-Kachari children (native speakers of NG) who use it as their primary language (Appendix H)
- (ix) personal experience (memorable stories) related by the subjects (Appendix I)
- (x) four audio cassettes of NG songs (Appendix J)
- (xi) thirteen folk tales told by older Nagas (Appendix K)
- (xii) a folk tale told by two different speakers (Appendix L)

A substantial amount of data was obtained from Professor Sreedhar, who had collected them in the early 1970s, but never used them. A sample of NG speech from the early 1920s was found in a tour diary of J. H. Hutton's (1990:2 [1924]), a British anthropologist who was then serving as an officer in NGD.

In addition, a folktale written in an artificially created version of NG stripped of its inflectional morphology was read out to the informants, who were asked if they knew anyone who spoke that kind of NG. The thrust of this particular exercise was to check whether NG evolved gradually into its present state from a syntactically simpler form.

Moreover, judgment tests were used to confirm the existence or non-existence of certain structures (e.g. passives, relative clauses, case markers).

1.5 Methodology and coding system

Although only free conversation could have been used for this work, a questionnaire was also used because of its usefulness in verifying the history of the language, much of which has been based on speculation. Since carrying a tape recorder could have endangered the researcher's life, most of the responses had to be written down while a few were tape-recorded and then transcribed, using regular Roman script. Transcripts of radio programs could not be obtained, hence they were recorded during transmission and then transcribed. Similarly, the transcript of the movie obtained was not available, so it was transcribed using a VCR. Lyrics were transcribed by using a cassette recorder.

To facilitate spontaneous speech, while adult informants were asked questions such as how and when they met their spouses, what their children do, whether or not they liked their current jobs, etc.; younger informants were asked about their career goals, hobbies, favorite food, film stars, movies and music; and children were asked such questions as to what they would do if they won the lottery, and or what their favorite game, color, food, etc. were. Subjects were also asked to tell a story that their grandmother had told them. When informants hesitated, they were told the beginning of a popular folk tale, which often prompted them to finish the tale.

The speech of 11 Bodo-Kachari children, who speak NG natively and use it as their primary language, were obtained so that could be compared with that of the adults who speak NG as a second language to check if they differ in any significant way.

The age, sex, and group affiliation are indicated on the response sheet.

Mostly conventional terms have been used throughout the dissertation.

1.5.1 *The Orthography*

The first sample of a written representation of NG was in the Roman script (Hutton 1990 [1924]: 2). The NG program notes and scripts of All India Radio, Kohima, starting in the 1960s are also in the Roman script. In the first published book²-length work on NG, Dharani Baruah (1969) also used the Roman script in his *Nagamese into Anglo-Hindi-Ao*. Similarly, Sreedhar (1974, 1985) and more recently B. K. Boruah (1993) also used the Roman script. D. Baruah's use of the Roman script was not a conscious attempt at 'graphization' of NG; but his choice must have been motivated by its easy readability by the non-Naga Indians employed in the state of NGD by the central Government of India in New Delhi as well as the Naga groups, several of whose native languages had already been reduced to writing using the Roman script. The research on NG that was conducted by Sreedhar in the early 1970s was ultimately aimed at producing NG textbooks. So, by necessity, he had to consult relevant authorities regarding what script to adopt for the language. In the course of his field work over an extended period of time he both discussed with the Naga leaders and took an opinion poll as to which of the three scripts, the AS-BG script, the Devanagari or the Roman script, ought to be adopted for writing NG. Predominantly Christian, the Nagas, who were familiar with the Roman script from the Bible and textbooks written in their native languages by missionaries, rejected both AS/BG and Devanagari but unanimously accepted the Roman script. They saw the Roman script as a neutral one, a script without any sentimental or political connotation, in using which they could avoid any association with the

² This 136-page-long book is a trilingual dictionary as well as a textbook containing twelve lessons intended to be used for teaching NG to "officers and educational instructors of the army personnel of 192 Infantry Brigade in 1958 - '59 posted at Mokokchung."

Assamese people and the threat of Indianization¹ (Bhattacharjya & Sreedhar 1994).

Sreedhar (1974, 1985) used the Roman script in citing NG data, but he was neither able to develop any textbooks for teaching Naga children through the medium of NG nor to undertake the Bible translation project in NG for which the Baptist Mission of Bangalore had commissioned him.

Upon being commissioned by Assam Sahitya Sabha² (Assamese Literary Academy) in 1985, Bhimkanta Boruah, produced the first prescriptive grammar of NG written in NG. It is written in Roman script and entitled *Nagamiz Kothalaga Niyom: A Primary Grammar on Nagamese*. Shortly thereafter, the NGD Government commissioned the Assam Sahitya Sabha to produce a NG primer. The Assam Sahitya Sabha in turn commissioned Bhim Kanta Boruah in 1988 to produce the first primer of *Nagamese Batsa Path (Poila Bhag): A Primer on Nagamese*, which was also written in the Roman script. Thus the Roman script has become established as the universally accepted script for NG.

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The fact that NG is now borrowing intensively from Hindi, often replacing existing words of AS origin, may seem to run counter to their anti-Indianization stance of the 1950s and '60s, but that seems to be slowly disappearing with respect to acceptance of the Hindi language which they receive primarily through TV and movies.

2

In a seminar on NG organized by Assam Sahitya Sabha in collaboration with Kohima Sahitya Sabha, held on October 13, 1984, a consensus was reached that there was a need to establish "a common speech for the Naga people". In order to achieve this goal, a decision was made to produce a pedagogical grammar of NG. The Chief Minister of NGD, Shri S. C. Zamir, who inaugurated the seminar, donated 10,000 rupees to help produce the grammar. After the seminar, the Chief Minister was joined by Finance Minister T. A. Nguli, the Education Minister K.L. Sisi, and several other members of the NGD Government, who all asked Assam Sahitya Sabha to initiate a project to develop NG. Funded by the NGD Government, Assam Sahitya Sabha commissioned Bhim Kanto Boruah then to write a grammar, which he did within a year.

The following table showing equivalencies between the orthographical and phonological symbols will serve as a guide to reading NG texts as well as the data, for which narrow phonetic equivalents are provided in the appendix. The conventions of the phonological transcription used here for the data derive from an adaptation of the International Phonetic Alphabet.

1.5.1.1 *The Vowel Graphemes*

Table 2. The Vowel Graphemes and their phonetic values

Graphemes, their phonetic values	Phonological description
<i> /i/ ita [itɔ] ‘brick’	close unrounded higher high simple front vowel
<e> /e/ ekta [ektɔ] ‘one’	half-close unrounded higher mid-front vowel
<a> /ɑ/ azi [ɑzi] ‘today’	open central lower low vowel
<o> /o/ kobo ‘will say/tell’	higher-mid half-close short back vowel
<o> /ɔ/ ortho ‘meaning’	lower-mid back rounded vowel
<u> /u/ ucha [utʃɔ] ‘high’	higher high back close rounded simple vowel

Unlike Boruah’s (1993) Sreedhar’s (1974, 1985) inventory of NG vowels include /ə/ as a separate vowel. However, the schwa does not seem to be a separate phoneme of the language; it appears only in the unstressed syllables, and thus appears to be an allophone of /o/. Since some of the substrate languages (e.g. Angami) have schwa in their phonemic inventories, it is expected that they would tend to produce the /o/ as a schwa whenever it occurs in an unstressed syllable.

We have listed three distinct vowels in the back series: /u, o, and ɔ/. Sreedhar (1974) lists /ɔ/ as an allophone of /o/, but Boruah (1993) lists them as separate phonemes.

1.5.1.2 *The Consonants*

Table 3. The Consonantal Graphemes of NG and their phonetic values

<p> /p/ piaz [pjɑz] 'onion'	voiceless, unaspirated bilabial stop
 /b/ bak [bɑk] 'tiger'	voiced unaspirated bilabial stop
<ph> [p ^h] phaki [p ^h aki] 'betray'	voiceless aspirated bilabial stop
<bh> [b ^h] bhat [b ^h ɑt] 'boiled rice'	voiced aspirated bilabial stop
<t> /t/ tita [titɑ] 'bitter'	voiceless unaspirated coronal stop
tupi [tupi] 'hat'	" " "
<d> /d/ dat [dɑt] 'tooth'	voiced unaspirated coronal stop
daku [daku] 'bandit'	" " "
<th> [t ^h] thali [t ^h ɑli] 'dish'	voiceless aspirated coronal stop
thik [t ^h ik] 'accurate'	" " "
<dh> [d ^h] dhari [d ^h ari] 'mat'	voiced aspirated coronal stop
dhila [d ^h ila] 'loose'	" " "
<k> /k/ kele [kele] 'why'	voiceless unaspirated velar stop
<kh> [k ^h] khana [k ^h ana] 'food'	voiceless aspirated velar stop
<g> /g/ gal [gɑl] 'cheek'	voiced unaspirated velar stop
<gh> [g ^h] ghau [g ^h au] 'wound'	voiced aspirated velar stop
<c> /tʃ/ ca [tʃɑ] 'tea'	voiceless unaspirated palato-alveolar affricate
<ch> [tʃ ^h] chenda [tʃ ^h enda] 'hole'	voiceless aspirated palato-alveolar affricate
<j> /dʒ/ jathi [dʒɑt ^h i] 'spear'	voiced unaspirated palato-alveolar affricate
<jh> [dʒ ^h] jhuja [dʒ ^h huja] 'to fight'	voiced aspirated palato-alveolar affricate

Table 4. The Consonantal Graphemes and their phonetic values (contd.)

<s>	/s/	sal	[sɔl]	'skin'	voiceless dental fricative
<z>	/z/	zuk	[zuk]	'measurement'	voiced alveolar fricative
<h>	/h/	hardi	[hɑrdi]	'bone'	voiced glottal fricative
<m>	/m/	mati	[mati]	'soil'	bilabial nasal
<n>	/n/	nak	[nɔk]	'nose'	alveolar nasal
<ng>	/ŋ/	rong	[roŋ]	'color'	velar nasal
<l>	/l/	lathi	[lat ^h i]	'stick'	voiced alveolar lateral
<r>	/r/	rati	[rati]	'night'	voiced alveolar flap or trill
<y>	/j/	niyom	[njom]	'custom'	voiced palatal glide
<w>	/w/	hawa	[hɔwa]	'air'	voiced bilabial glide

It is interesting to note that while Sreedhar (1974) lists only a dental stop series, (and no alveolar stops) in his phonemic inventory of consonants, Boruah (1993) lists only alveolars. It may be pointed out that although the superstrate has graphemes for both the dental and the alveolar series, they are all produced as post-alveolars, in other words the dental stop series does not exist at the phonemic level. Since the Nagas received AS input only in the spoken form as they created NG, it would be natural to expect that they would have the Alveolar series rather than the dental series. But that is not the case; they sound more dental than alveolar. It should be pointed out that while some of the substrate languages (e.g., Angami, Sema) have only dental stops and no alveolar stops, others (e.g. Ao) have only alveolar stops. As is well known, an L₂ learners always try to approximate the target language phonemes by reference to the closest ones that they have in their native language inventory. Thus native speakers of Arabic learning English produce /p/ as /b/ although they believe that they are indeed producing /b/s. In fact the phoneme Arab learners of English produce may sometimes sound like a /p/ but most often it is a voiced sound. In order to avoid the dental/alveolar confusion, we call them coronal stops.

Chapter 2

Previous Studies of NG

2.1 General Remarks

Although the first known reference to NG as a lingua franca is found in Hutton (1921), nothing of substance was written about it until 1969, when Dharani Baruah compiled the first dictionary of the language. His work, and thus NG too, remained unknown even to the Indian linguists because Baruah, a school teacher with no training in linguistics, did not write about the language in any professional. The following year, in 1970, Sreedhar, a linguist, who was then working for the Central Institute of Indian Languages, discovered this language by sheer chance. He immediately embarked upon a research project on the language and introduced this contact-induced variety to Western creolists in the early 1970s. Ever since its introduction to western linguists, there has been a controversy over its identity, which has remained unresolved up to the present.

Incidental references to NG found in the tour diaries of the British officers and in the works of the European anthropologists are not studies of the language in the true sense of the term, but they are extremely important documents for resolving the controversy over the identity of the language. Some of those references are discussed below.

2.2. References to NG During the Colonial Era

The earliest known discussion of NG during the colonial era is perhaps found in Hutton (1921:327). In concluding the section on Angami Language in his book, *The Angami Nagas*, he wrote the following about NG:

The subject of language would hardly be complete without a few remarks on the “pigeon” Assamese, which forms the lingua franca of the Naga Hills, and through the medium of which most of the information necessary for this monograph has been collected.

The Assamese spoken in the Naga Hills is a bastard tongue which varies a good deal. “S” and “Ch” are given the English quality as a rule, instead of being pronounced “h” and “s” respectively as in the Assam valley, and a large number of Bengali, Hindustani, English, and even Naga words are in common use. The first and second personal inflexions of the verbs are generally disregarded in favour of the third person, and Naga idioms and Naga constructions are commonly put literally into Assamese. A good instance of this is in the Sema trick of saying in Assamese “I spoke in his direction” (*তাহাৰ ফালে*) [“*tahar phale*” written in Assamese script] to translate the Sema idiom “*pa vile pi*”= “I spoke to him,” but such “dog Assamese” is in equally common use among the Angamis and other tribes of the district. Such alterations also as that of *okra* (=crazy) into *wokra* are very common, and the plural number is largely ignored.

Naga Assamese, though a somewhat clumsy vehicle of conversation, is very easy to pick up and with a little application can be spoken perfectly -- provided the learner has no previous knowledge of real Assamese. It is, moreover, an excellent vehicle for the expression of Naga turns of speech and thought, and therefore infinitely better as a medium for conversing with the Nagas than Hindustani, or even English, would be, being capable, as it is, of representing almost the precise shade of meaning required.

Besides revealing the fact that NG was a well developed lingua franca in NG by that time, the above observation reflects the typical attitude of the day toward pidgin and creole languages-- ‘bastardized’ version of the superstrate language. In addition, we get the information that in the early 1920s NG had a simpler inflectional system; the morphological inventory that the language has today must be a recent development. His observation also reveals that as a linguistic system NG was distinct from AS; people could not understand NG just because they knew AS. Moreover, by clearly confirming a jargon/pidgin origin of NG, the descriptions presented above suggest that the variety of NG that is spoken natively by a section of one substrate group (the Kacharis) is a real *creole*.

Anthropologist Haimendorf (1968:4), who conducted his study of the Konyak Nagas in 1936-37, wrote:

“Communication presented a considerable problem. The Konyak dialect is a Tibeto-Burman tonal language of which not even a simple word list was known. Though I managed to compile a vocabulary, a skeleton grammar, and a large number of texts, my knowledge of the language was much too limited for serious conversation. Fortunately, many people, including even some children spoke fluent Naga-Assamese, the *lingua franca* of the entire Naga Hills region. Having arrived with a slight knowledge of Assamese, I soon learned to speak and understand this language, and while at first I used an English-speaking Naga youth from another tribe as interpreter, I finally worked entirely through the medium of Naga-Assamese. Fluency in this language enabled me to converse at ease with most men of Wakching, but in other villages, where less Assamese was spoken, I often had to employ interpreters capable of translating from the local dialects into Naga-Assamese.”

It is interesting to note that, not only the adults were “fluent” speakers of NG, but “some children spoke fluent Naga-Assamese” too. Obviously NG was no longer a language of barter trade centers but a language of intergroup communication. If those children were from mixed marriages, NG may have already been a first language, i.e. a creole.

Prior to going to the Angami area in NG in 1936, Furer-Haimendorf had ‘learned good enough Assamese in London for basic communication’. However, he says, after returning to Kohima after a fortnight’s tour in the Angami country:

“..I was still hopelessly dependent on Mills for translating the ‘peculiar Assamese which is used as a lingua franca of the Naga Hills. As I found it difficult to understand a single word I felt rather dejected at the prospect of being left to myself in a Naga village” (1976:20).

So he hired someone to teach him that ‘peculiar Assamese’. This statement suggests that a knowledge of AS did not help one understand the NG system, in other words that by then NG became an independent linguistic system, distinct from AS.

His major work was on the Konyak Nagas of the village Wakching. Regarding the language he used for conducting research he says:

...Though I recorded the outline of a grammar and a vocabulary of the dialect spoken in Wakching as well as a great number of texts, my knowledge of the language remained very superficial and throughout my work I conversed in Naga-Assamese, the lingua franca of the Naga Hills. It was also in this language that the texts of songs were translated to me, and I have little doubt that the translations are no more satisfactory than would be, say a translation of Li-ta-po's poems through the medium of pidgin English (1976:188).

The above observation about the inadequacy of NG to express the many nuances of meanings conveyed through poetic language indicates that NG was then, at least for the adults, a rudimentary pidgin, which unlike an expanded pidgin or a creole was not capable of expressing the whole gamut of human feelings yet.

The following provides crucial data for tracing the history of NG in that it contains what is a sample of how NG was spoken early in the century. The Konyak Naga whom Hutton encountered on April 3, 1923, claimed what he had said was "correct Assamese":

“April 4th. ____ Up to Tamlu, where I met Mills. On the way I was entirely defeated by a Tamlu Naga, who hailed me in Assamese with “Where did your eyes die-die”?¹. The Sema interpreter, however, Kohoto, who was carrying my gun grasped the meaning at once, though he said he had never heard the expression before and replied, tittering, in the man’s own idiom “Our eyes died died (or “we eye died”) at Luchaipani..” Then I realised that he had only been asking where we had slept. The Tamlu people insisted that it was correct Assamese.” *‘kon phale chunka marichhe mariche?’*”² (Hutton, 1990:2.[1924] as “Diaries of two Tours in the Unadministered Area East of the Naga Hills”).

What becomes clear from the above piece of data is that in the early 20th century, NG spoken by adults had a very limited vocabulary and perhaps no inflectional morphology. The fact that the speaker believed what they were speaking was “correct Assamese” indicates that they believed what they were speaking was AS (although it was not so at all) reflects a typical belief of pidgin speakers.

2.3 Recent Works on NG

Marrison’s (1967) dissertation on Naga languages entitled *The Classification of the Naga Languages of North-east India* may not be a work on NG but the observation in his

¹ (This footnote was provided by Hutton.)

.(xiii) “**Kon phale chunka marichhe marichhe ?**

What direction eye died died

“Where did you eye-die die ?” (Hutton 1990[1924]) ‘Where did you sleep?’

²

Hutton interpreted *-che* (mari-*chhe* ‘died’) as the past marker. But, note that, superstrate morphemes often do not serve their original functions in the pidgin/creole. For example, even in the 1970’s, many Nagas would say **Mur gor** (1SG (GEN ?) house) as an alternative to **Moy gor** (1SG house) and today’s **Moy laga gor** (1SG GEN house). The morpheme **-r** in **Mur** is the genitive marker in AS, but, clearly, it is not functioning as a genitive here; **mur** has just been lexicalized as 1SG.

dissertation that he made about NG is important because it is the first known comment on the status of NG by a formally trained linguist:

The so-called 'Naga-Assamese' language is used as a lingua franca, not only when the tribesmen come to the plains, but also amongst the different tribes themselves. The fact that this language runs current has had some influence on the Naga languages, and this may possibly increase. (Marrison 1967:270)

Baruah's (1969) multilingual dictionary of *Nagamese into Anglo-Hindi-Ao* represents the first work on NG. This work is much more than a simple dictionary in that it contains twelve lessons in NG which the writer had developed in 1958 - 1959, when teaching the language to the Indian army officers and instructors posted in Mokokchung district of NGD. Thus, although published in 1969, this work provides a substantial amount of data on the syntactic structures of NG as it was spoken in the 1950s.

Baruah traces the origin of NG "to the reign of the Ahom Kings in Assam" when mainly the Ao, Konyak, and Lotha Nagas had frequent contact with the Assamese people for their marketing³ and other purposes [sic]. He goes on to state that "The use of Nagamese among the Nagas mainly started with the advent of the British Rule in NG." Given what we know from Furer-Haimendorf (1968:4) cited above, many Nagas, certainly many children, were "fluent" in NG when the British arrived. So, what Baruah perhaps means is that when the British assumed control of NGD the use of NG increased significantly.

The writer identified three varieties of NG "(a) NG with more AS words, (b) NG with more Hindi or mixed words, and (3) NG with more English words, mostly used by the educated class." This tendency towards a bi-centric standardization of NG is a fact even

³ In Indian English 'marketing' means 'shopping' or 'trading'.

today. That the language was widely used as a lingua franca is clear in his following statement: “The fact that Naga-Assamese is the medium through which the Nagas of different tribes express their thoughts cannot be denied and the importance of learning it cannot be overemphasized.....1969: i)”

Sreedhar’s (1971) *A Phonetic Reader of Pidgin Naga* is an important document in that it was the first work on the language by a linguist. In his later works (1974, 1985), however, he elaborates on the facts presented in that mimeographed work.

Sreedhar’s (1974) *Naga Pidgin: A Sociolinguistic Study of Inter-lingual Communication Pattern in NG* which, from its title, may appear to be focused on the functional role of NG only, is actually the first attempt at a description of the linguistic structures of NG. Since a descriptive account of NG per se would not be welcomed by the Naga politicians who were opposed to promoting the language because of its apparent connection with AS (the language of their exploiters) and because they also firmly believe that the promotion of NG would retard the development of indigenous Naga languages, he decided to name the work the way he did (Sreedhar, p.c.). The book contains valuable data for a diachronic study in the variation found in the fast evolving morpho-syntactic and phonological structures of this language. In addition, it is from this book we learn that although all Naga knew NG, they denied that they spoke it because it had a connection with the language of their exploiters - AS.

In his 1977 article “Standardization of Naga Pidgin”, Sreedhar argues that although ideally the language of children’s early education ought to be in their mother tongue, but given the fact that Naga children speak numerous unwritten mutually unintelligible languages

in many of which textbooks were not available, it would be wise to exploit NG, a language that every Naga child knows, as a medium of teaching literacy. Having argued this, the author explains the need for standardizing the language in order for it to be used for the purpose of literacy education. Then he argues that since the child would have to learn both Hindi and English for higher education, standardized NG must retain all the phonological features that Hindi and or English has, e.g. the voiced/unvoiced contrast, to facilitate their acquisition of those languages. Thus, this article lays out the principles that he intended to follow in standardizing NG, which he did in 1985. In enunciating his principles for standardizing NG, he states that he would standardize NG by “intra-lingual fusion”, i.e. by adopting common features from all the varieties as was done in the cases of Norwegian and Albanian.

Sreedhar's (1978) article “Language Planning in Multilingual NG” argues that since textbooks for literacy education were not available in all the twenty-three mutually unintelligible Naga languages, NG, which every child learns by school age and which is an “alternate mother tongue for most Nagas”, ought to be used for education at the lower levels. Considering the then-current practice of educating the Naga children through the medium of a foreign language from early childhood as the cause of their high rate of academic failure, the author argues that by using NG as the medium of instructions at lower levels, literacy among the Naga children could be dramatically improved; and eventually they could be delivered from the label assigned to them as “genetically inferior” people.

In his article entitled “Functions of Bilingualism in NG”, Sreedhar (1979) basically shows that NG carries a much higher functional load than do any of the indigenous languages

or the official language of the state, English. This underscores the need for promoting NG both for the purpose of inter-group communication and education in Nagaland.

Sreedhar's (1983b.) article "Coining of Words in Pidgins/Creoles : A Case Study of Naga Pidgin." examines the lexicon of NG and shows the sources of borrowings in the past, as well as the current tendencies of word formation and borrowing. He shows that while the 'minimal essential vocabulary' of the earlier stages came from AS, the superstrate language, NG subsequently created new complex words by juxtaposing existing pidgin words with new words, according to its "native tendencies", by reduplication, and by borrowing from other languages in contact. The author shows that lexical "cultural borrowings" occur mostly from Hindi and to a lesser extent from English. This article is an important document not only from a language reform point of view, but also because it underscores the fact that NG is not converging on its lexical base language.

Sreedhar (1985) -- *Standardized Grammar of Naga Pidgin*-- is a prescriptive grammar of NG. Since the most linguistically complex variety, the Southern variety, would not be acceptable to all Nagas as the standard because of their history of hostility and present rivalry, in this work, Sreedhar created a variety of NG by fusing common features from all the varieties and proposed a "neutral" grammar of NG. This is an interesting work from a language planning point of view. If NG were used for early education, which is what the author proposed and hoped would happen, this work would have been very useful. This work is important also because in it Sreedhar quotes Bickerton's (p.c. with Sreedhar) statement denying NG the status of a pidgin/creole based only on historical criterion.

B. K. Boruah's (1985) *Nagamiz Kothalaga Niyom: A Primary Grammar of*

Nagamese, which is the first and only pedagogical grammar of NG written in the NG language, was commissioned by the Assam Sahitya Sabha [The Literary Society of Assam] and funded by the State Government of NG. In the history of NG language reform, this 47-page-long booklet is extremely important in that by funding the writing of this book the State Government of NGD gave its official endorsement to the fact that NG is indeed an important language for the Nagas.

B.K. Boruah's (1986) *Batsa Path* is the first and only primer of NG written in NG. Beautifully illustrated, this primer is an introductory book for children. Like Boruah (1985), this is also an extremely important work in the history of NG language reform.

B.K. Boruah's (1993) book *Nagamese: The Language of Nagaland* is a brief descriptive account of the phonological and morpho-syntactic structures of NG. The book includes a 35-page-long list of NG vocabulary with equivalents in English and AS, which is a useful addition to D. Baruah's (1969) first but slim dictionary of NG. The author has also included "specimens of Nagamese language" in the form of folk tales in the book which makes it another valuable source of linguistic data for studying NG.

Bhattacharjya's (1992a/1994) article entitled "*Nagamese: Pidgin, Creole or Creoloid?*" is a long article focused on the controversy over the status of NG. By analyzing the linguistic structures of the language and examining the social history of its speakers, the author argues that claims such as that NG is an imperfectly learned AS/BG or a 'creoloid' were not based on facts. He demonstrates that NG is an *extended pidgin* in most parts of NG, and is already a *creole* for the Bodo-Kachari community of Dimapur, and that it has started to creolize elsewhere in NGD, too.

In his article entitled “On Promoting Nagamese as a Regional Language,” Bhattacharjya (1992b/1993) argues that the adoption of English as the official language of the state, where very few people know any English at all, may have prevented inter-tribal conflict over the issue of an official language for the time being, but that this policy has been detrimental to the educational progress of the Naga children, leading to a communication gap between the people and the government. He further argues that since NG carries a much higher functional load than any other Naga language or English, the official language of the state of NGD, and since virtually every Naga child learns NG by an early age, three of the major problems that the state is faced with can be easily solved by using NG instead of English. They are: the problem of illiteracy, communication between the people and the state government, and the problem of unifying the disparate Naga ethnolinguistic groups into a cohesive political unit. This article highlights the fact that promoting NG is not only important for the education of the Naga children but also from a socio-political point of view.

Bhattacharjya & Sreedhar’s (1994) article “Two Decades of Nagamese Language Reform” provides a history of what had been done up until then toward the development of NG as a medium of instruction and as a potential official language of the state. The article provides an account of how the writing system was selected, who did and who funded the writing of the first textbook and grammar of NG in NG, the process of lexical growth, etc. This is an important document for anyone who is interested in the history of the development of NG to its present stage.

In the papers entitled “Relative Clause in Atlantic and Non-Atlantic Creoles” (1994), “Copula Patterns in Atlantic and Non-Atlantic Creoles” (1995), and “The Creole Verb: A

Comparative Study of Stativity and Tense Reference” (1996) all by John Holm et. al., NG data is compared to data from other creoles with respect to various theoretical issues evident from the titles of the papers. These provide a source for a substantial amount of data on the morpho-syntactic structures of NG.

To conclude our review of literature on NG, it would perhaps be useful to examine what the Anthropological Survey of India (Singh 1994) has to say about the status of NG in NGD:

Before the advent of the British, the Nagas, belonging to different communities, had talked to one another in Nagamese (broken Assamese). Nagamese has been useful to the Nagas for the purpose of trade and to promote unity among the different Naga tribes [sic].

Such observations, though they are not works on NG per se, are yet extremely important because the identity of the language is still in question.

Chapter 3

Sociohistorical factors that induced NG

3.1. Relevance of Sociohistorical Factors

3.1.1 General Remarks

There has been a long history of controversy over the defining criteria of pidgins and creoles (Winford 1997:1). As we know, from its beginning the field of creole studies has lacked consensus on definitions and on the question of the origins of creole languages; in fact, “Beyond these bare essentials, little about the origin and development of pidgins and creoles is agreed upon”(Maher, 1985: 14). This is due to the lack of understanding about the precise nature of the role that sociohistorical factors play in determining the outcome of language contact.

Although Schuchardt’s work on *lingua francas*, which constituted counter evidence to Max Muller’s claim that mixed languages do not exist, effectively challenged the existing views about language contact and its outcome (see Thomason and Kaufman 1991:1-3, for more), he never clearly articulated it. So, the nineteenth-century historical linguists’ rigid view that one language cannot influence another to the point of defying genetic classification, remained so powerful that one could hardly think of the possibility that languages in contact could induce a “mixed” system.

Bloomfield, (1984 [1933]) acknowledged the phenomenon of language mixing as a reality but referred to such cases as “aberrant borrowing”. Thus, the possibility of a language of polygenetic origins was emphatically denied. The neogrammarian view of language change

as held by Meillet (cited in Thomason & Kaufman 1991), for example, was totally shaken as data from languages such as Tok Pisin, Ma'a, Michif, Angloromani etc. clearly indicated that they did not result via 'intra-systemic' language change. The discovery of these languages clearly demonstrated the fact that sociohistorical factors can always influence the outcome of language contact in a non-trivial way, even producing mixed languages.

One would expect that after the discovery of these mixed languages the defining criteria of contact languages would be reformulated reflecting the new reality. But by then Bickerton's idiosyncratic interpretation of the role of sociohistorical factors in the genesis and development of pidgin and creole languages and his 'language bioprogram' theory completely blurred the vision of many creolists.

3.2. Bickerton's sociohistorical criteria

The most well-studied pidgins and creoles originated in settings where African slaves of diverse linguistic backgrounds were forced to work closely with one another on the plantations of tropical coasts and islands under the supervision of their European colonizers. In those rigidly stratified plantation societies where the ratio of slave to master was about thirty to one (this view has been challenged, though), the slaves attempted to learn the masters' language under the condition of extremely limited input, thus producing pidgins (Bickerton, 1990b:119). Based on his experience with those handful of European-based pidgins/creoles, Bickerton (1974, 1977, 1981 etc.) claimed that pidgins/creoles were products of colonial expansion— that they could arise only in plantation settings where slaves uprooted from their homogeneous speech communities were forced to work together under

the supervision of a handful of European overseers. In addition, arguing that the tense-aspectual system shared by Haitian, Hawaiian, Sranan, and Guyanese creoles, which he calls the “classic” creoles were due to UG, which emerged because the children of pidgin speakers had to engaged in the task of language acquisition without involving primary linguistic input, which they avoided because data was chaotic (e.g., existence of various word orders in Hawaiian Pidgin)

To establish his defining criteria (or maybe he really believed it), Bickerton even refused to consider the possibility that contact-induced varieties that originated in other kinds of physical settings but under similar conditions with respect to need, motivation, availability of input etc. could qualify as pidgins/creoles. He summarily dismissed any contact-induced language if it did not involve colonization, major population displacement, master-slave relationship between the substrate and superstrate groups, etc. Thus for example, when Muysken (1981) presented data from six languages as evidence for his assertion of the inadequacy of Bickerton’s (1974) account, Bickerton (1981) dismisses evidence from three of the languages out of hand because of their social history (Singler 1990: ix).

When Sreedhar posed the following question regarding the status of NG:

.The one million dollar question is : if they are neither the products of koine formation, if they are not genetically related languages, and if they do not conform to the norms laid down for pidgin/creole, what are they ? Alternately would the western creolists modify their norms to accommodate the Indian phenomena [sic] (1982:13),

Bickerton responded with the following:

...whatever such language are, they are not the same as the language formed

in a colonial dependency situation, particularly those which involved slavery¹ and transoceanic population movement. What one chooses to call them is quite immaterial so long as the historical differences which have profound consequences in terms of linguistic structure are preserved. But these differences would be simply obscured if Western creolists were to modify their norms to accommodate the Indian phenomena. I would agree that the phenomena you have uncovered are interesting, deserve study in their own right and are not easily dealt with within the framework of the existing theory. It should be generally recognized that you are dealing with unique phenomena which can only be obscured and downgraded if they are lumped together with the phenomena of other types (p.c. with Sreedhar cited in 1985:40).

Clearly, to Bickerton, the historical events per se rather than the nature of the need and motivation for creating a new language that such circumstances create, are more important in classifying a contact-induced variety as a pidgin/creole, as nativization of a pidgin is more important than adopting it as the primary language.

Research into the question of the precise nature of how sociohistorical factors influence the outcome of language contact did not begin until Thomason & Kaufman (1991: 35) clearly stated that :

...it is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact. Purely linguistic considerations are relevant but strictly secondary overall.

Indeed, the most reliable criterion for determining the status of a contact-induced variety is its social history because structural features such as the Tense-Mood-Aspect-Verb order of pre-verbal markers, shared by Bickerton's classic" creoles, or the SVO word order,

¹

More recently, Bickerton (1990b:120) said, "it should not be assumed that pidgin languages are limited to colonial situation" and also that "Pidgins may arise wherever speakers of unrelated and mutually incomprehensible languages are brought into contact."

verb serialization, a lack of inflectional morphology, and analytic strategies (as opposed to synthetic strategies) that have come to be considered diagnostic features of a *creole* are actually typological features, which are also found even to cluster in normally transmitted languages. One of the so-called “creole feature” referring to past time by stating it at the beginning of the discourse is a device employed in many languages, e.g. Chinese. Many of the so-called “creole features” are found in the substrate languages (see for example, Siegel 2000) that were involved in the formation of the European-based creoles, on which the existing defining criteria are based. Thus, defining a pidgin or creole, or distinguishing an *extended pidgin* from a *creole* on a structural basis, is invalid. DeCamp (1971a:25) therefore noted three decades ago --and it remains valid today--: “At present, however, there is no certain way of identifying as a creole a language whose history is unknown.”

A jargon or rudimentary pidgin incipient pidgin may perhaps be classified as such on the bases of its functional load, the degree of complexity of its morpho-syntax relative to other normally transmitted languages, and the size of its lexicon, but it is totally impossible to distinguish an *extended pidgin* or *creole* from other languages because “creole language are not in the slightest qualitatively distinguishable from other spoken languages” (Arends et. al. 1995). It is therefore Arends et. al. (1995:7) say exactly what DeCamp (1971a.) had said much earlier: “a knowledge of the history of a language is often essential for determining creole or pidgin status, or the lack of this.” The necessity of carefully tracing the sociohistorical conditions that prevailed in the setting of pidginization is particularly important today because emerging data from more recently discovered pidgins and creole (e.g. Tok Pisin) do not fit the definitions that have been constructed on the basis of data from a handful

of European-based pidgins and creoles. We will return to this issue.

A rigid adherence to the criterion of historical conditions that was set on the basis of our limited experience with the better-known European-based pidgins and creoles is problematical; what ought to be done for the sake of both descriptive adequacy and a more accurate predictability is to chart the whole configuration showing all the factors that are necessary for pidgin and creole genesis, describing exactly how each factor influences the outcome. To accomplish this long overdue task, we must answer the question: What is more important of the two: specific historical events per se, or the communicative need that certain kinds of sociohistorical events create? We need to ask: What other circumstances may create the need for creating a new code of communication ?

We believe the set of criteria that Bickerton claimed to be diagnostic features of a pidgin/creole are not important; we argue that no specific events per se spark the genesis of pidgin/creole but rather the dire need for creating a new code of verbal communication that arises under a condition of great psycho-social distance between the substrate and superstrate groups, as well as the and lack of adequate access to input are responsible for pidgin/creole genesis.

NG neither shares the tense-aspectual system of Bickerton's "classic" creoles nor did its genesis and development involve colonial expansion, slave-master relationship between the substrate and superstrate groups, and hence the controversy over its status as a contact-induced language. Therefore, it is hoped that our examination of the social history of NG will indeed deepen our understanding of what kinds of sociohistorical circumstances other than the attested ones can produce pidgins and creoles.

The European-based pidgins/creoles typically originated and developed on plantations, where African slaves, speaking numerous mutually unintelligible languages, were forced to work together under the supervision of a few European overseers. In those contact situations, under the pressing need for a means of communication, both with the Europeans and each other, the slaves created pidgin languages using the extremely limited input that they received from the Europeans. *Rudimentary pidgins / jargons/incipient pidgin* also developed among trading partners, e.g. Russenorsk, Eskimo Pidgin, or Chinese Pidgin English, where the power relations between the linguistic groups involved in their creation were not necessarily unequal. Depending on the sociohistorical conditions, those rudimentary pidgins either evolved into stabilized pidgins, extended pidgins and/or creoles, or disappeared altogether. The three possible routes through which a jargon may evolve, as proposed by Mühlhäusler (1986) is a useful guide to understanding how a rudimentary pidgin or jargon may attain various levels of complexity:

Table 5 Possible routes through which a jargon may evolve (Mühlhäusler (1986))

Type I	Type II	Type III
jargon	jargon	jargon
	stabilized pidgin	stabilized pidgin
		expanded pidgin
creole	creole	
		creole
Hawaiian Creole English	Torres Straits Creole English	New Guinea Tok Pisin

What route of development a jargon will follow depends on the sociohistorical factors prevailing in the environment.

3.3 The ethnolinguistic composition of NGD

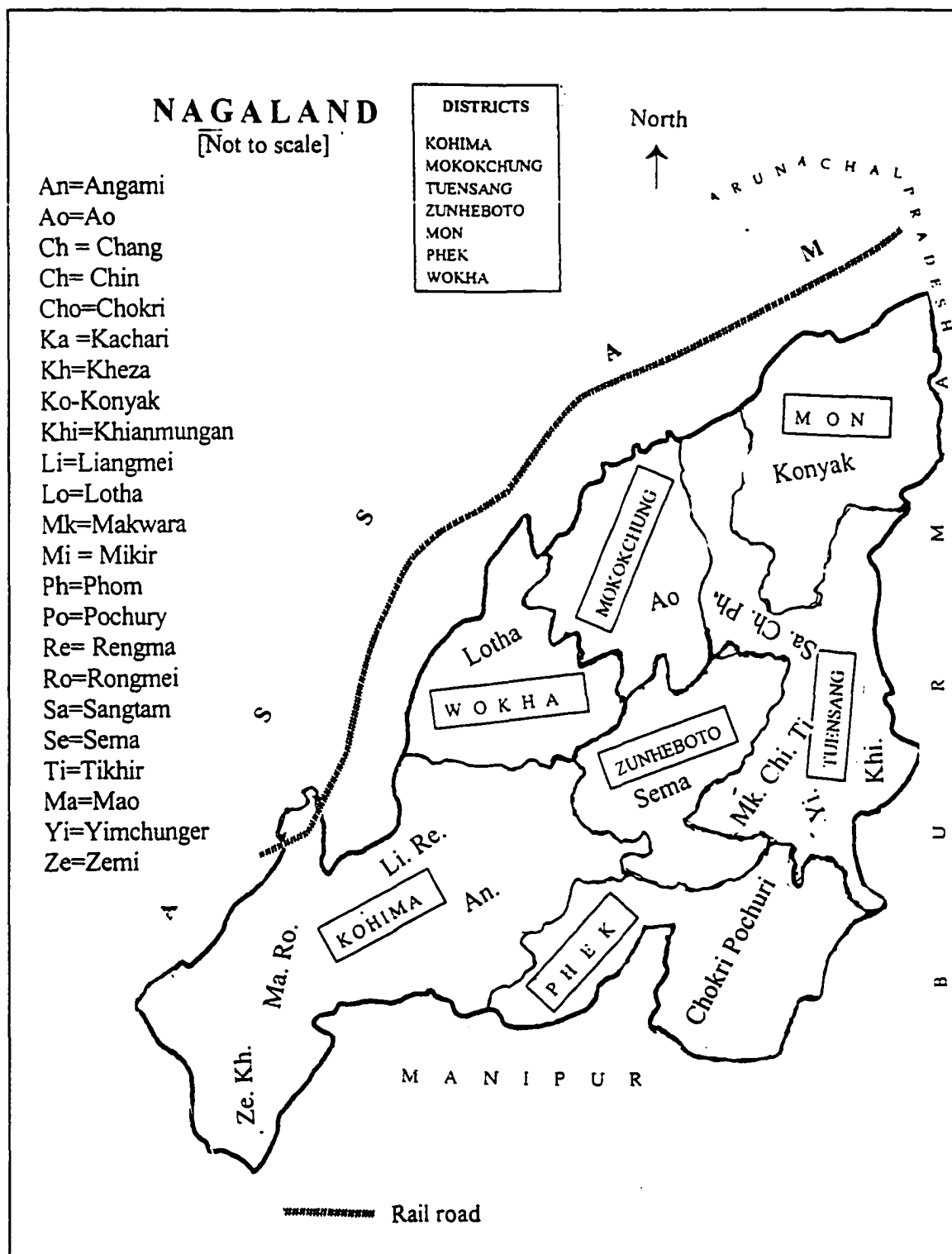
The ethnolinguistic groups found in NGD may be sub-grouped into the following categories: the Nagas, the non-Naga indigenous groups, and the immigrant linguistic groups. While the Nagas of all tribes are found in Kohima and Dimapur towns, each group is concentrated in specific areas, e.g. the Aos in Mokukchung, Semas in Zunheboto, Lothas in Wokha, Konyaks in Mon, Angamis in Kohima etc.

3.3.1. Major Naga Ethnolinguistic Groups

The Nagas live not only in NGD but also throughout the Indian states of Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, and parts of Burma; the majority of them, however, live in NGD, and it is with their language that this dissertation is concerned.

Since the regions in which each group is concentrated have been indicated on the map, a detailed description of where they live in relation to other groups is unnecessary. From an anthropological point of view, each group varies from the next with respect to dress and other factors; but since such features are not of much relevance to the genesis and development of NG, they have been ignored. A list of the Naga tribes inhabiting NGD, who not only speak mutually unintelligible languages and dialects but also differ from each other in terms of dress and various other features, are provided below.

Map 3. Distribution of major Naga ethnic groups.



Based on relevant maps by Government of India publications; TT Maps & Publications, Ltd. Madras; Cambridge Book House, Calcutta; Sreedhar 1974; and Jacobs 1990.

Table 6. Sizes of various ethnic Naga groups.

Name of Group	Population
1. Angami	78,342
2. Ao	104,118
3. Sema	93,817
4. Konyak	83,261
5. Lotha	57,842
6. Sangtam	28,781
7. Yimchungru	27,360
8. Phom	24,265
9. Chang	23,080
10. Khienmungen/ Kalyokengnyu	16,944
11. Chokri/Chakru	(Not available)
12. Khezama	15,895
13. Pochury	8,118 (Das, N.K. 1994)
14. Rengma	15,031
15. Zemi	4,453
16. Mao/Memos	3,952
17. Liangmei/Kachcha	2,901
18. Rongmei/Nruanghmei/ Kabui	2,867
19. Tangkhul	878
20. Meluri (Eastern Rengma)	1,560
21. Makware	612
22. Ntenye (Spoken by some northern Rengma villagers)	Not available
23. Wancho	Not available

Anthropological Survey of India (1994), and Census of India 1981 & 1991

Below, the major Naga groups will be described in some detail.

3.3.1.1 *Angami*

The Angami Nagas (78,342. Census of India 1981) are a numerically dominant tribe, who live in the district of Kohima, located in the southern part of NGD. They speak a Tibeto-Burman tone language¹ called *Angami* which has two major mutually unintelligible dialects: the Khonoma and Kohima dialects. A writing system for Angami was worked out by the missionaries using the Roman script. Like all other Naga groups, the Angamis also use NG for inter-group communication (Anthropological Survey of India, 1994).

During World War II, the Japanese occupied the area. The refused to cooperate with the occupation army, and consequently suffered in the hands of the Japanese army. Yet, they actively helped the British army. This exposure increased mobility of the Angami Nagas. Historically this group functioned as a bridge connecting other Naga tribes living in the remote hills and the more advanced communities of the plains such as the Kachari, Ahom, and Manipuris. The Angamis have always frequented the markets in the plains of Assam (Anthropological Survey of India 1994).

3.3.1.2 *Ao*

The Ao Nagas (104,118 Census of India 1981) who live in the central western part of NGD, i.e., in the Mokokchung district, are divided into three major mutually unintelligible dialect groups: the Chungli, Mongsen, and the Changki. The Aos have had friendly relations with the Ahoms. So many of them were granted lands in the plain as grant upon signing

¹ See for the classification of Naga languages by Grierson (1903) and Marrison (1967).

treaties promising to refrain from raiding the plains of Assam, and to pay a tribute (Mills 1926:11). Their products were highly prized by the kings and chieftains of Assam, and because of their proximity to Assam, they have had barter-traded with the AS people. They traded their produce, e.g. cotton, chilli, ginger, gourd, mats, and betel leaf for things that were not available in the hills for commodities that were not available in the Naga Hills. The Aos would then share those items with the Chang, Sangtam, and Phom Nagas. The Sangtam and Lotha Nagas worked as laborers for the betel leaf growing Aos, who paid them in betel leaves, which they would take to the plains of Assam and Kohima bazaar to obtain other necessities. The Aos used to trade in three major trading centers of the plains of Assam: Hathigurya, Tokthoriya, and Eserenia.

In 1872 Rev. E. W. Clarke began his missionary work in the Ao territory, gradually influencing the Aos to adopt Christianity. Compared to the Angamis, the Aos readily took on a Christian identity and led all other groups in converting to Christianity (Eaton, 1997). In 1889, the Ao territory was brought under the British administration. A school was established in an Ao village near Mokokchung in 1896. There is a civilian hospital and a military hospital in Mokokchung. However, the Changki Aos make use of the Mariani hospital in Assam, too.

Ao is a Tibeto-Burman tone language, which has a written form using the Roman script. Since Ao has several mutually unintelligible dialects, “intergroup communications is conducted through NG, which is the lingua franca of the area” (Anthropological Survey of India, 1994:76).

3.3.1.3 *Konyak*

The Konyak Nagas live mostly in the Mon district of NGD. They are divided into two major groups, but speak several mutually unintelligible dialects. Konyak belongs to the Kuki group of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages. Like other groups, the Konyaks also use NG for inter-group communication and for communication with the non-Konyaks (Das & Imechen, 1994). The Konyaks employ immigrant BG Muslims, Biharis, and Nepali workers on their farms.

The Konyaks used to frequent the neighboring Assam plains for barter trading. Traditionally, the inhabitants of the plains of Assam had avoided entering Naga Hills. The Konyaks villages such as Wakching utilized their easy access to the markets in the plains to develop trade with some of the villages in the interior, whose inhabitants were yet unaccustomed to venturing down to the plains and mingling in the markets with tea-plantation laborers and Assamese peasants. Such contact increased after the British established security of travel in the region.

3.3.1.4 *Lotha*

The Lotha Nagas live mainly in the mountainous terrains of the Wokah district. After the advent of Christianity which was followed by a spread of education, inter-group communication increased, and that was followed by a higher volume of trade with other Nagas as well as the plainsmen of Assam. They traded at the AS towns of Merapani, Jorhat, Furkatin, and Golaghat. Several Lotha groups living in the villages located in the foothills were granted lands known as *nagakhet* by the Ahom kings upon signing treaty not to raid the

plains. There have been some Ahom-Lotha marriages too.

3.3.1.5 *Sema*

The main body of the Sema Nagas are spread throughout the Zunheboto district, which is located in the central part of NGD. They also live in Dimapur, Mokokchung and Tuensang districts. The Semas did not have friendly relations with the neighboring communities. However, they would have peace-making feasts with the Chakhesang, Yimchunger, Angami, Rengama, Lotha and Ao following their annexation of enemy land and establishment of Sema villages, which they often did. Their trade with the neighboring communities was very limited; however, they did have trading relations with the plains of Assam. After independence, the Bihari, Marwari, Punjabi, Nepalese, AS, and BG entered Sema territory as businessmen. The Sema language has four major dialects.

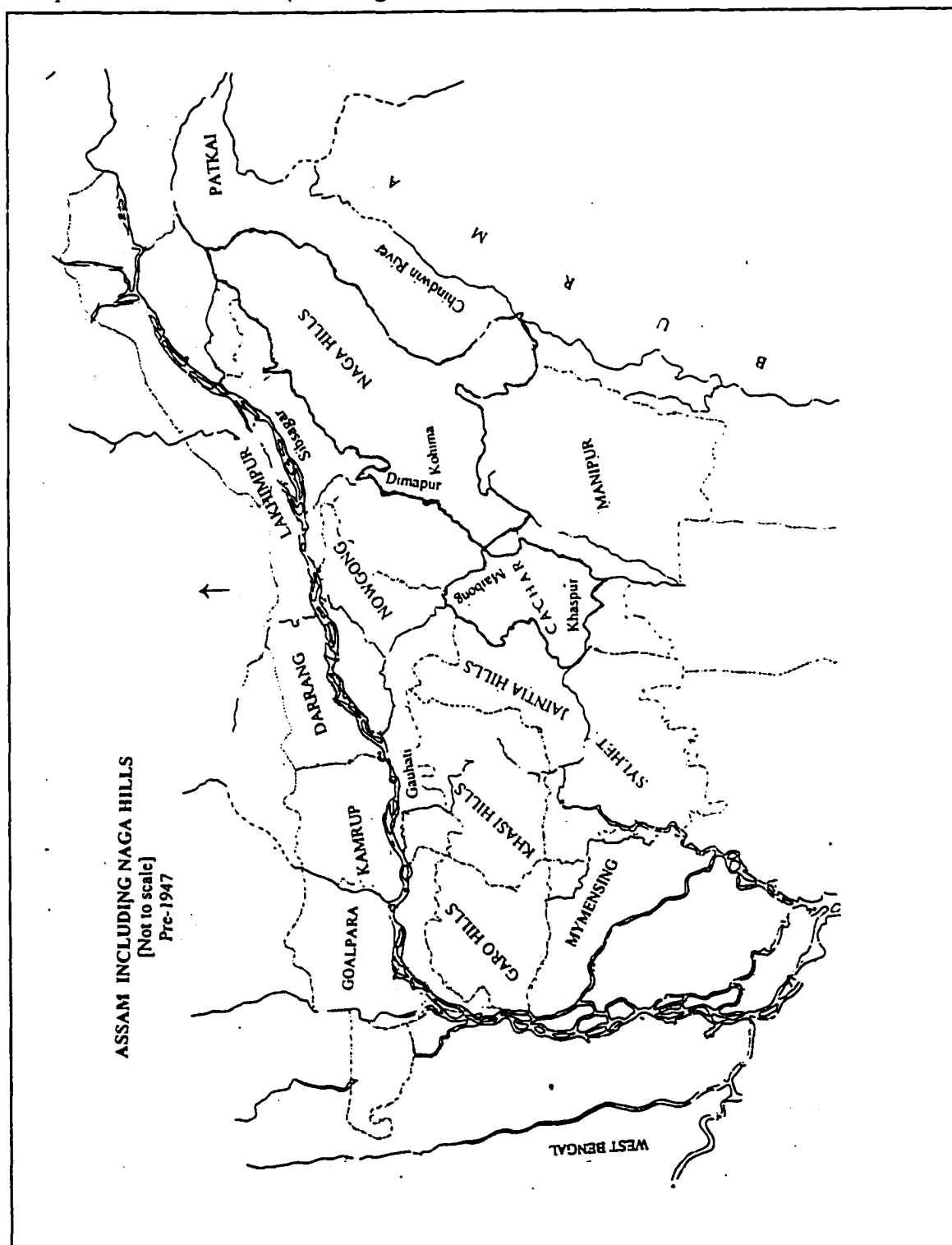
3.4 *Indigenous Non-Naga Ethnolinguistic Groups*

Several non-Naga indigenous groups live in NGD. The major groups are: Kachari (Bodo and Dimasa), Meithi, Kuki, Lushai, Mikir, and Thado. Below, the history of the Kacharis will be given in some detail because one section of this community –the Bodo-Kacharis–speaks NG as their primary language.

3.4.1 *Kachari*

The Kacharis live in sixteen villages spread over the two administrative units of Dimapur and Dhansiri. Their territory borders with the Karbi-Anglong district of Assam.

Map 4. Pre-1947 Assam (including Kachar and Nagaland).



Based on relevant maps by Government of India publications; TT Maps & Publications, Ltd. Madras; Cambridge Book House, Calcutta; Sreedhar 1974; and Jacobs 1990.

In 1982 a state-wide *Kachari Students Association* was formed with the objective of maintaining (i) the unity and integrity of all Kacharis living in and outside of NGD; (ii) preserving traditional culture; (iii) developing their own area within NGD and (iv) restricting the consumption of rice beer and other alcoholic beverages. A welfare organization called the *Kachari Welfare Association* was founded in 1957 with the objective of the general social welfare of the Kacharis, (Das & Imichen, 1994: 197).

In the absence of a recorded history, information about the origin of the Kacharis, a Mongoloid race who are the earliest known inhabitants of the Brahmaputra valley of greater Assam, is largely based on inference. In the Brahmaputra valley, they call themselves *Bodo/Bodo fisa* 'sons of the Bodo'; and in North Kachar, they call themselves *Dimasa* 'sons of the great river'. They are also known as *the Kirat* people after the names of their supreme gods *Kirat* and *Kirati*. Tradition has it that the Kacharis migrated from southern China and Tibet, and entered the Brahmaputra valley via two routes: one across the northeast frontier called Kachari Duar, and the other over the Nepal-Bhutan border called the Bhutan Duar. They are believed to be closely related to the Koch, Chutiya and Lalung, and Morans tribes of the Brahmaputra valley, and the Garo tribe of the state of Tripura. Thus, they are found well outside the limits of Assam and NGD. Considering the fact that the Kacharis are still found over such a vast tract of land and the currency of Bodo language over this area, one is led to think that at one time the major part of Assam and northeast Bengal formed a great Kachair kingdom. As a matter of fact, the Kacharis of North Kachar believe that they once ruled all of Assam (that included part of Bengal).

The Kacharis of the hills and those of the plains use distinct ethnic names (Bodo and

Dimasa), and can only partially understand each other's speech, but they are considered essentially one and the same people. However, the Dimasa and the Bodo Kacharis are culturally distinct from each other, speaking different dialects (Danda, 1978:6). As mythical stories have it, Dimapur, the medieval capital of the Kachari kingdom, is derived from the name of Hidimba, a character in the famous India epic, the *Mahabharata*. A more reliable account with respect to the name Dimapur is said to be the Kachari word *dimasa*, a river that flows through it.

According to the information available in the *Buranjis*², which is probably the only trustworthy information regarding their past history, in the 13th century the Kachari kingdom was extended along the south bank of the Brahmaputra, from the Dikhu River to the Kallang River, or beyond, and also included the valley of the Dhansiri River and North Cachar. The Kacharis are believed to have had a kingdom in the Assam valley for about 600 years, prior to the advent of the Ahoms in 1228.

Immediately after arriving in Assam in 1228 A.D., Prince Sukapha, who belonged to an offshoot of the Tai or Shan race and who is the founder of the Ahom Kingdom in Assam, at once subdued the Morans, Borahis, and other Bodo tribes. The 'Kacharis abandoned to the Ahoms the country east of the Dikhu River' (Gait, 1963[1926]:80). For a century the Dikhu river formed the boundary between the Ahoms and the Kacharis and no hostilities are

2

The chronicles of the Assam court which contain a careful, reliable and continuous narrative of the Ahom rule are called *Buranjis*. These documents were periodic reports transmitted to the court by military commanders and frontier governors, diplomatic epistles sent and received from foreign rulers and allies, judicial and revenue papers submitted to the kings and ministers for their final orders and the day-to-day annals of the court which incorporated all the transactions done, important utterances made, and significant occurrences reported by eyewitness" (Gait 1963:283).

record between the two until 1490 (ibid: 301). Ahoms were engaged in fighting with the Nagas, Tipams, and Chutiyas, when they had no warfare with the Kacharis. In 1490 a war broke out between the Ahoms and the Kacharis in which the Ahoms were defeated. The Kacharis built their capital city in Dimapur, the ruins of which bear testimony to the fact that the Kacharis then were a highly civilised people. Gait (ibid.:301) provides¹ a picture of the ruins of Dimapur city:

The ruins of Dimapur, which are still in existence, show that, at that period, the Kacharis had attained a state of civilization considerably in advance to that of the Ahoms. The use of brick for building purposes was then practically unknown to the Ahoms, and all their buildings were of timber or bamboo, with mud-plastered walls. Dimapur, on the other hand, was surrounded on three sides by a brick wall of the aggregate length of nearly two miles, while the fourth or southern side was bounded by the Dhansiri River. On the eastern side was a fine solid brick gateway, with a pointed arch and stone pierced to receive the hinges of double heavy doors. It was flanked by octagonal turrets of solid brick, and the intervening distance to the central archway was relieved by false windows of ornamental moulded brick-work... The excellence of the mortar is shown by the fact that, although the building has evidently been shaken on various occasions by earthquakes, it is still in a good state of preservation. Inside the enclosure (which has not yet been fully explored) are some ruins of a temple, or perhaps a market place, the most notable feature of which is a double row of carved pillars of sandstone averaging about 12 feet in height and 5 feet in circumference... No two are precisely alike in the ornamentation, but all are of one general form, having large semi-circular tops with concentric foliated carving below on the shaft. There are representations of the elephant, deer, dog, duck, and peacock, but nowhere there a human form or head.

In 1526 war broke out again between the Ahoms and the Kacharis; although in the first battle the Ahoms were defeated, in the second they defeated the Kacharis. In 1531 war

1. Gait reports that he took this description of the ruins of Dimapur mainly from that given by Major Godwin-Austin in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1874, page 1, and Dr. T. Bloch's archaeological report of 1902-03.

broke out again in which the Kachari king's brother was slain. The Ahoms chased the Kachari army as far as their capital, Dimapur, and since the king had fled, they installed a relative of the king called Detsung as the new king. In 1536, when the Kachari Raja showed hostility towards the Ahom King, the Ahoms pressed forward to Dimapur again, ransacked it and then completely destroyed it. Detsung fled, but was captured and killed. The Kacharis "deserted Dimapur and the valley of the Dhansiri. Retreating further south, now they established a new capital at Maibong" (ibid :301). The Kachari kingdom was then gradually extended beyond the North Cachar Hills into the plains of Cachar.

In the 17th century the Kacharis had warfare with the king of Jaintia as well as with the Ahoms, again. By 1637, the valley of Dhansiri was completely deserted by the Kacharis. In the last forty years of the seventeenth century, when the Ahoms were fully engaged in dealing with the Muslim invaders, they did not interfere with the Kacharis. However, when the Kachari king proclaimed independence in 1706, the Ahoms invaded the Kachari kingdom with an army of 70,000 soldiers and occupied Maibong, which they demolished. The Kachari King fled to Khaspur in the plains, and after demolishing the Kachari capital in Khaspur, the Ahoms returned to their own capital. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Kacharis, the Jaintia King attempted to annex the Kachari kingdom. In retaliation, the Kachari Raja, Tamaradhvaj, occupied Jaintia in 1708. The Ahom records contain no reference to the Kacharis for the next 60 years. In 1790 at Khaspur, the Kachari king Raja Krishna Chandra formally converted to Hinduism (Gait 1963 [1926]:309) and was called "Lord of Hidimba" or "Hirimba". As Gait (ibid) reports, 'they were proclaimed to be Hindus of the Kshatriya caste, and a genealogy of one hundred generations, reaching to Bhima, the hero of the epic

Mahabharata was composed for them by the Brahmins. To this day the Darrang Kacharis sometimes speak of themselves as Bhim-ni-fisa , i.e. “Children of Bhim”.

Again, there was a war between the Ahoms and the Kacharis which lasted from 1803 to 1805 in which the Kacharis were decisively defeated. In 1813 the king Krishna Chandra was succeeded by his brother, Gobinda Chandra. In 1818, the Kacharis were invaded by the Manipuri king, Marjit Singh. The Kachari king Gobinda Chandra sought help from an exiled brother of the Mianipuri king who helped him repel the invasion, but having done that he took over control of Cachar himself. Marjit Singh again invaded Cachar along with a brother of his and now the three brothers divided Cachar among themselves. The Kachari king now fled to the Jaintia Hills of Sylhet. After unsuccessfully trying to get the British government to help him regain control of Cachar, the exiled Kachari king turned to the Burmese for help. The Burmese invaded the Cachari kingdom and defeated the Manipuri king. In 1826 the troops of the East India Company drove the Burmese out and reinstated Gobinda Chandra as the Cachari king. When he was murdered four years later, much of his kingdom was annexed to the British dominion. His commander-in-chief Tularam was allowed to remain in possession of a portion of the subdivision of north Cachar, but on his death in 1854, the remaining part of the Cachari Raj was annexed to Assam. This marked the end of the Cachari Kingdom (Danda, 1978:7-8).

Although the Kacharis were attacked again and again by invaders, the great majority of them remained in the hills. A large number of Chutiya Kacharis, who remained in the rich valley of Assam are believed to have come to terms with their conquerors, the Ahoms, and gradually integrated with them by adopting AS language. However, while many of them

submitted to the Ahoms, a large number of them, perhaps the more patriotic ones, withdrew to less accessible parts of the province, where they still retain their original language, religion, and customs to a great extent intact. The Dimasa Kacharis, who had fled from Dimapur to Maibong, and then to Khaspur but who later returned to Dimapur, speak their original language, too. They speak NG as a pidgin as does everybody else in Dimapur city. However, while the Bodo Kacharis of Goalpara in Assam, for example, and elsewhere have retained their original language, their brethren, the Bodo Kacharis living in Dimapur and vicinity have lost it, and now speak NG as their primary/first language. Endle (1975:5) speculates that like the Chutiyas, who lost their mother tongue after being converted to Hinduism, the other Kacharis also gradually lost use of their mother tongue, Bodo. It is probably on the basis of this that Sreedhar (p.c.) believes that the Bodo Kacharis of Dimapur who now speak NG as their primary language had in the past shifted to AS and then again shifted to NG after 1963, when AS lost its status as the prestige language and/or the language of social mobility, following the granting of statehood to NGD. Danda (1978:7) mentions that “a large portion of the Kachari population continued to live in the hill areas of the North Kachar.” As we have seen, the Kachar monarchs shifted their capital first to Maibong from Dimapur, and then to Khaspur. Referring to this population shift, Endle (1957:7) also noted that “it would seem that the movement was only a very limited and restricted one, confined indeed very largely to the Rajah and the members of his court. The great majority of his people remained in the hill country, where to this day they retain their language, religion, customs, to a great extent intact. It is not improbable that his statement may hold good of the earlier migration also.” Thus, it is not unlikely that the present-day Bodo Kachari population of Dimapur and vicinity

are descendants of those who stayed on or around after the destruction of the capital area and desertion by the kings and nobles. One could argue, like the Ahoms, who abandoned their original language in favor of AS in Assam the Kacharis of Dimapur also abandoned theirs and shifted to AS under the pressure of integrating with the ruling class. It seems highly unlikely because in Assam, the Ahoms shifted to Similarly, it can be assumed, a portion of the Kachari population probably stayed on in Dimapur accepting Ahom supremacy after their capital in Dimapur was occupied and devastated. It is possible that the Kacharis who stayed on in Dimapur learned AS in order to show that they were willing to integrate with the AS, thus becoming multilingual in Bodo, AS, and NG, rather than shifting to AS. This seems more plausible a scenario than the other because in Dimapur they were neither being converted by the AS speaking Hindu priests nor were they living in the midst of an Assamese speaking community as a vanquished community.

The Bodo Kacharis of Dimapur consist mostly of retired army personnel and their families, who had worked for the Assam Rifles, where they learned both AS and Hindi. Most probably, because they did not have a large homogeneous community, were unable to maintain their language. It seems that out of necessity they had to mingle with various language groups on a daily basis, they were forced to use NG much more intensively than any other group, thus becoming more fluent in it, compared to others. Up until the 1961 census, this group was considered a sub-tribe of the Kachari group but since then they have been treated as a separate group (Duarah 1996).

Table 7. The Kachari population: their size and distribution in NGD

District	Dimasa- speaking Kachari Population	Bodo-speaking Kachari Population	Mech Kacharis + whose native language is unidentified
State : 4, 329		1, 359	
Kohima: Total	1, 457	1, 338	1, 496
Dimapur Circle	1, 455	1, 297	
Pherima Circle	Not available	11	
Kohima Town	2	18	
Dimapur Town	Not available	12	
Mokokchung	Not available	14	3
Tuensang	NA	7	35

(Census of India 1971 NGD Series 15 Part II-C (ii))

The city of Dimapur is located in the northwest corner of Kohima district, in the extreme southwestern part of the state. It is bordered by the state of Assam on all sides except to the southeast. The Indo-Burma highway passed through Dimapur in 1870 and a railroad connected Dimapur with Assam and the rest of India in 1890 (Biswas, 1988). Dimapur is the only city in NGD that has a airport. The total population of the city, according to the 1981 census, was 32, 878, of which 5.6 %(1,840) were AS, 33.51 % (11,017) Bengalis 26.87% Hindi speakers, and 3.68 % Nepalis/Gurkha (Census of India 1981).

3.4.2 *Kuki*

In NGD, the Kukis (known as *Chin* in Burma) primarily live in the Ghaspani and Dimapur regions. During the British period the Lushai, Mizo, and Lakhar groups also

identified themselves as Kuki, under the broad category of Kuki -Chin. After India became independent in 1947, these groups consolidated under the name of Mizo for political advantage. In NGD, however, they are recognized by the state government as *Kuki*.

They migrated from the region between Nam-kin and Hkamti in Burma into the Indian states of Arunachal, Assam, and NGD along the Pataki range during the later part of the eighteenth century (Das & Imechen 1994). The Kukis, who are famous for their weaving, woodwork, and basketry, have always had barter-trade relations with the neighboring Naga groups, particularly with the Angami, Rengma and Zeliang Nagas. They use NG, Hindi and English to communicate with other groups. Kuki has a written form using the Roman script.

3.5 Major immigrant Linguistic Groups

Several immigrant ethno-linguistic groups have settled in NGD. While the AS, Bengalis and Marwari have been there for a long time, the other groups are more recent immigrants. In the table below, a list of the major immigrant language groups is provided:

Table 8. Size of the major immigrant groups living in NGD

Major Immigrant Linguistic Groups	
Bengali	26,770
Nepali	24,918
Hindi (Mostly Bihari & Marwari)	24,242
Assamese	12,583
Malayalese	2,414
Oriya	1,454
Punjabi	1,130
Telugu	373
Urdu	349
Tamil	258

(Census of India , 1981)

As can be seen in table 9. below, according to 1981 census, out of the 74, 7071 people surveyed for their language use in the households 1.68 % were AS speakers; 3.58 % were BG speakers; and 3.25% were Hindi speakers (ibid: 81-82).

Table 9. Sizes of the various immigrant language users

Language	Number of speakers (1971)	Number of speakers (1981)	% (1981)
Assamese	6,563	12,583	1.68
Bengali	8,582	26,770	3.58
Hindi	14,449	24,242	3.25
Malayalam	2,336	2,441	0.32
Nepali	17,536	24,918	
Punjabi	1,164	1,130	0.15

As can be seen from the above table, the AS, BG, and Hindi speakers live primarily in the district of Kohima, where NG is found in its most complex form.

In table 10, below, the distribution of the immigrant linguistic groups has been shown:

Table 10. Sizes of major immigrant groups by district

Name of District	Number of AS Speakers in 1971	Number of AS Speakers in 1981	Number of BG Speakers in 1971	Number of BG Speakers in 1981
Kohima	4,293	8,704	6,593	22,492
Mokokchung	1,113	1,199	913	1,176
Mon	NA	1,132		1,052
Tuensang	1,157	1,019	1,076	962
Zunheboto	NA	189	NA	383
Wokha	NA	178	NA	343
Phek	NA	162	NA	362
Total	NA	12,583	NA	26,770

NA= Not Available. (Census of India 1971; Census of India 1981)

Below, the major immigrant linguistic groups are described in some detail:

3.5.1. *Assamese*

While *Assam* is the English name for / OxOm /, Assamese (people/language) is the English name for / OxOmija / (Kakati 1962:1[1941]). *Ahom*, which refers to the Tai or the Shan¹ invaders who established their rule in the Brahmaputra valley in 1228 A.D. But they are not the original inhabitants of Assam. The Shan invaders abandoned their ancestral language in favor of AS, the language of the Hindu priests who influenced their culture. The Chutiya, Moran, and Borhai were incorporated into the Ahom social system and through

¹ “ They are the outcome of an intermingling of Mons, Negritos, and Chinese.”
(Gait 1963:2)

intermarriage later came to be known as Ahoms. Gait (1963) speculates that the Ahoms accepted AS because it was the language of the Hindu priests, and thus a language of higher prestige. The Assamese people are the outcome of a fusion between the Dravidian, Aryan and Mongoloid races including the Ahoms. The AS, who have had a relationship varying from hostility to friendliness with the Nagas for centuries, have lived in NGD in various capacities since the arrival of the British in the region. During the British period, they worked as policemen, soldiers, physicians and educators; and since the independence of India they have lived there mainly as Central or State government employees. Many of them also work as school teachers, college professors, clerks, and bankers. They do not own land; they live either in government housings or rented apartments. The AS do business with permits for a specified time and settle there for that period of time only. On social occasions like births, weddings, funerals or religious or cultural festivals the AS invite the Nagas along with the BG, Bihari and other communities. They freely mingle with the Nagas during the famous festivals such as Bihu, Christmas, Dul-Purnima, etc. AS, from which NG derived much of its lexicon and morphology, is closely related to BG. As can be understood from the following comment of Brown's (1837), the two languages have so much in common that one can indeed confuse them as two dialects of one language:

The AS is often regarded as merely a corrupt form of the Bengali, by persons who become acquainted with that language previous to their arrival in Assam. Finding so large a proportion of words common to BG and AS, and not considering that this similarity necessarily results from the derivation of these languages from Sanskrit, the common parent of both, it has been hastily concluded that AS is but an uncouth jargon, formed by the incorporation of BG with the various dialects of the country. The opinion that the present language of BG is the parent of AS is irreconcilable with facts (ix -x).

AS does indeed have striking similarities to BG. "Even now the spoken language

AS does indeed have striking similarities to BG. “Even now the spoken language of North Bengal and Western Assam (districts of Kamrup and Goalpara) is substantially the same and seems to form one dialect group” (Kakati, 1962:6).

3.5.1.2 *The Bengalis*

As can be inferred from the following quote and other incidental references in the government gazettes, the earliest Bengalis to go to NGD were probably the elephant merchants and slave traders from the district of Sylhet:

...an extensive and infamous trade is carried on in slaves, who are stolen indiscriminately by all in that quarter, and sold to the Bengali merchants who go up for cotton. .Grange. (1969: 204).

It should be pointed out, that the district of Sylhet, which is now a part of East Bengal (present Bangladesh) was once a part of Assam or the ancient Kamrupa for centuries (Neog 1964:72). The first Bengalis who migrated to NGD were from Cachar, Goalpara, and Nowgaon districts of Assam (Anthropological Survey of India, 1994:221). Many Hindus from present-day Bangladesh (former East Pakistan) migrated to NGD after it became a part of the Islamic republic of Pakistan in 1947. They first settled in Dimapur, and then spread to other parts of the state.

While most of the Hindu Bengalis are employed by the state or the central government, some of them also work for private enterprises and semi-government organizations. Like the Assamese, they are also a landless community. They maintain a warm relationships with the Nagas, Kacharis, Marwari, Biharis, and Assamese.

The Muslim Bengalis, known as the *Mias*, who speak the Sylheti dialect of BG,

migrated to Nagaland in the 1930s and settled in Kohima, Mokokchung, and Dimapur. Again after 1950 many Bengali Muslims entered NGD from Assam. Most Bengalis speak BG, NG, Hindi and English. Often uneducated, Muslim Bengalis of NGD do agricultural work for the Nagas on a share-holding basis. The Nagas hire them particularly for wet-paddy cultivation; the Bengalis plough the land, plant, and harvest for them. Many of them sell vegetables, fish, chicken and eggs.

Along with AS and Oriya, BG belongs to the eastern group of the Maghdan subfamily of Indo-Aryan languages. BG and AS share not only the same writing system (with slight differences in certain letters) but also structures and vocabulary, and each claim the same literary work-Charyapada—to be its earliest work of literature.

3.5.1.3 *Bihari*

The Biharis living in NGD, who speak the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi, have primarily come from the state of Bihar and the eastern part of the state of Uttar Pradesh. The first Biharis migrated to Kohima in 1880s and settled in the town of Dimapur (Anthropological Survey of India 1994:226). Today, they live in Kohima, Tuensang, Mon, and Mokokchung. Most of them work as laborers; some also work in the defense, para-military, and police departments, as well. A few of them own businesses, but they do on temporary permit, like all non-Naga groups. They own hotels, grocery stores, vegetable stores etc. Many of them sell fish, fruit, milk and some work as porters, too.

3.5.1.4 *The Marwari:*

The Marwari migrated to NGD from Rajasthan. The first group came in 1886, and settled in the town of Dimapur, from where they gradually spread to Kohima and Mokokchung (Anthropological Survey of India, 1994). As everywhere else in India, in NGD also, most of them are businessmen/vendors. In recent decades, they have expanded their businesses throughout the state as road connections, distribution, and the banking system. Marwaris are thought to be responsible for the spread of NG to every nook and cranny of NGD.

3.5.1.5 *The Nepalis*

The term *Nepali* refers to the inhabitants of the kingdom of Nepal rather than to a distinct ethnic group. They arrived in NGD prior to the arrival of the British there, and some of them integrated with the Nagas. In NGD, they are known both as *Nepalis* and *Gurkhas*. The Nepali soldiers who were hired in the Assam Rifles settled down in NGD after their retirement (Anthropological Survey of India, 1994). In fact, most of the Nepalis found in NGD today are descendants of the soldiers who were brought to NGD and Manipur by the British administration. As a reward for their loyal service to the British government, the British administration helped the Nepalis settle in NGD by establishing a Nepali ex-servicemen's colony in the Chandmari area of Kohima city. Many Nepali families migrated to NGD, and then gradually spread out to other parts of the state, where they worked as small-businessmen, wood-cutters, and laborers. Today, the majority of them are engaged in public service as doctors, engineers, college professors, teachers, soldiers, policemen, and

functionaries. Some of them, however, own land in the foothills of Dimapur, whose main occupation is farming and cow-herding. The Nepalis live mainly in Kohima and Dimapur cities, however some live in other districts as well. In the city of Kohima, the Nepali community has their own Panchayat (local administrator). After their settlement in NGD they incorporated into their culture the use of a dao (an iron implement like a machete), garments, and food items used by the Nagas. Apart from marital, religious, and economic relations with the Nagas, the Nepalis now a days take part in politics at all levels, thus coming into contact with various groups of people from all walks of life. They speak Nepali, NG and Hindi.

3.5.2. *Minor Immigrant Linguistic Groups*

In addition to these major linguistic groups, there are speakers of numerous other languages. As listed in the Census of 1981, the other relatively small linguistic groups that live in NGD are Gujrati, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Tamil, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Konkani, Sindhi, Tibetan, Urdu, Santali, Tripuri, Manipuri/Meithi, Lushai/Mizo, Halam, Hmar, Khasi, Kharia, Koya, Kurukh/Oraon, Lakhar, Lepcha, Limbu, Mikir, Munda, Mundari, Rabha, Adi, Anal, Bhotia, Bhumij, Dogri, Garo, Gondi, Nissi/Dafla, Paite, and Thado.

A list of the major non-Naga tribes is given in the following table:

Table 11. Sizes of major non-Naga tribes living in NGD

Ethnic Group	Population
Kuki	7,789
Meithi	4,293
Thado	1,470
Bodo/Mech Kachari	2,046
Dimasa Kachari of Kohima (including Dimapur)	1,455 (1971 census)
Garo	901
Mikir	445
Halam	417
Lushai/Mizo	492
Munda	154
Rabha	137

Census of India 1981.

3.6 The Nomenclature *Naga*

There have been changes of usage as to which groups might be denominated “Naga”, as there have been varying opinions as to what languages are Naga language. In its widest scope, the term has been used to refer to all the groups that live in the contiguous belt of hilly land between the valleys of the Brahmaputra river in Assam and the Chindwin River in Burma. These peoples are not homogeneous either in race, culture, or language, and they did not call themselves ‘Naga’ until recent times (Marrison, 1967:13). The consolidation of the Nagas into a political community and the formation of a composite Naga ethnicity began

when the Naga Club¹ was formed in 1918. The process was then accelerated by the Naga nationalist movement for independence that started in the late 1930s, which culminated in insurgency in the 1950s. Grierson (1903) includes the Mikirs with Nagas, but others do not. Shafer (1953) considers Lepcha a Naga language, grouping it with Ao. Roy (1960) associates the Adi ('abor') of the north of the Assam valley with the Nagas. In 1963 the Anals, usually considered a Kuki-Chin tribe, declared themselves Nagas. However, Marrison's (1967) is the most detailed work on them.

As Woodthorpe (1881:47) notes, "Not one of these derivations is satisfactory, nor does it concern us much to know more about it, seeing that the name is quite foreign to and unrecognized by the *Nagas* themselves." According to him "When the Assam Rajahs held sway over these hills they exacted tribute from the Nagas, and for convenience in collecting this, the villages were divided into districts, or in the vernacular 'Duars' and names were arbitrarily given to these districts by the Rajahs; AS names were also given to each village. The men who go down into the plains and come much into contact with the AS are aware of these names, and answer to them and even describe themselves by these AS names to foreigners visiting them, but that is only because they think he will thereby understand better all about them."

Such assignment of names to the Naga villages without accurate knowledge about them was done for the sheer purpose of identifying one group from the other who spoke

¹. The Nagas who went to France during World War I to serve in the Labor Corps returned home with a sense of belonging together. Upon returning home, they got organized and formed the Naga Club.

mutually unintelligible varieties of speech. Thus names such as “Namsangia Nagas” or “Borduria Nagas” were given to the Nocte of Namsang. While the former was the name of their village, the latter was the valley by which they used to come down to the plains for barter trade.

Various theories have been put forward as to the origin of the term *Naga*. During World War II, one day the Japanese soldiers knocked on their door calling out “naka”. “naka”, reports Shimray (1985:39), who was then a little boy and did not know what that was supposed to mean. “What’s that NAKA, NAKA ?”, he asked himself. His father was not familiar with the term “Naga”, either. One of the interpreters later told them that “we are known as Nagas.” Thus, it can be inferred that the term *Naga* is not of Naga origin. As Alemchiba (1970:24) writes:

The name, however, was not in general use among the Nagas until recently. Even as late as 1954, I found the people of Tuensang rarely speaking of themselves as Nagas but as Konyaks, Changs, Phoms and so on. Gradually, however, as the Nagas became more united, they began to use the name for themselves.

However, although the Nagas may not have become familiar with the term “Naga” as a group-identity marker for them until World War II, and although they did not begin to use it to identify themselves as Nagas until even more recently, the first reference to them as “Nagas” is found in Ptolemy (150 B.C.) and then in the seventeenth-century historian, Mir Hussaini (cited in Hutton 1969).

The word has been given all sorts of derivations. Robinson (1969:26-28) writes:

“the origin of the word ‘Naga’ is unknown; but it has been supposed by some to have been derived from the Sanskrit word *Nagna* ‘naked’ and applied in derision to the people, for the paucity of their clothing; but there seems little foundation for this etymological derivation, as the term has never

foundation for this etymological derivation, as the term has never been known to be applied by the BGs to either the Khasis or Garos, with whom they were far better acquainted than with the Nagas and besides, the Garos especially are habitually accustomed to a greater degree of nudity than any of the Naga tribes with whom we are acquainted”.

Hutton (1969:5) speculates that the most probable explanation of the word is ‘merely a European lengthening of the AS *Naga*, pronounced [noga] ‘naked’<= Sanskrit nagna ‘naked’. The recorded reference to these people by Ptolemy (150 B.C.) is *nagnalog* which means the ‘realm of the naked’. In the Tibetan writer Taranatha’s *History of Buddhism in India* (cited in Marrison 1967:14), the following occurs:

The north-eastern lands of Tripura, Kamarupa, and Assam are called Girivarta, that is ‘surrounded by hills’. From there, going towards the east and flanking the Northern Mountains (that is, the Himalayas), are the *Nangtaland*s, the Land of Pukhan (Pagan), Baalgu, and others towards the ocean, including Arakan, Hamsavati (Pegu), and other parts of the Munjang empire.

According to the noted Indian linguist Chatterji (1950:47) “The name Naga, given to them by their Aryan-speaking neighbours, the Assamese, means ‘naked’ (*Nagā*), and they were dreaded and as being addicted to head-hunting.” As is clear, referring to those tribes as ‘naked people’ has been a common practice. Waddle (cited in Hutton, 1969) explains the word “Naga” as meaning “hillman,” deriving it from the Hindustani *nag* ‘a mountain’. Peel (1894) derives it from *nok* a word used by some eastern Naga tribes for “people”. The word *nok*, according to Hutton (1969), may be derived from the Hindustani word *log* = ‘people’. Alemchiba (1970:23) citing Owen (1844) notes that the word *Naga*, which literally means “snake” in Sanskrit, may have been applied to the Nagas by the plainsmen to refer to them as swiftly moving objects, a derogatory term. Elwin Verrier (1969:4) writes, “The most likely

derivation --to my mind is that which traces 'Naga' from the word *nok* or 'people'-- is derived from the Sanskrit word *nag* meaning 'snake', but they do not seem to have been snake worshipers. Butler (1870) wrote: "It has been generally believed that the term *Naga* is derived from the BG word *nangta*." The Bengalis with whom the Nagas had contact were speakers of the Sylheti dialect of BG in which 'naked' is *lengta* ;*nangta* is Calcutta usage. Thus, Butler's derivation seems to be implausible. The AS phrase 'Naga Manuh' also means 'naked men'. Peal derives *Naga* > *Noga* > *nok noka* 'folks' (in Banfara Naga language). They are referred to as *Noga* in the and the AS still call them *Noga*, not *Naga*. Shimray (1985) thinks the most probable theory as to the origin of the word is that it is of Burmese origin. The Naga men and women have the tradition of piercing their ears to wear ornaments. The Burmese call these people *naka* ('na='ear' ka= 'hole') meaning people with pierced ears. Shimray speculates that the British, who came in contact with the Burmese (in 1795) before they came in contact with the Nagas (1832), must have heard the Burmese to refer to them as the *nakas*. In support of his theory, he cites the fact that in the remote past a group known to the Thais as the *nakaris* 'people with pierced ears' had left the Chiang Mai area in Thailand for Burma.

Many believe that the word is derived from AS *noga* 'naked', which is ultimately derived from Sanskrit *nagna* 'naked'. Hutton (1965) prefers this interpretation, and this is consistent with the earliest reference to the Nagas, which was made by Ptolemy (150 A.D., cited in Hutton 1973:X) in the 2nd century, who described the land of the Nagas as "nangalok" "the Realm of the Naked". Taranath (1608) writes; "The northeastern lands of Tripura, Kamarupa and Assam are called Girivarta, that is 'Surrounded by hills'. From there,

going towards the east and flanking the Northern Mountains (the Himalayas) are the Nangata lands, the land of Pukhan (Pagan), Balgu, and others towards the ocean including Arakan, Hamsavati (Pegu), and other parts of the Munjang Empire.” In this description *Nangta lands*, which means ‘land of the naked people’ refers to present-day NGD. Mir Hussain’s reference to the Nangas in his account of Mir Jumla’s expedition to Assam (cited in Pavie 1845:105) also supports the view that Naga means ‘naked’. Rowney (cited in Elwin Verrier, 1969:98) speculates that although *naga* means ‘serpent’, nagas are not considered to be of serpent or Scythic descent but that the name was more probably given to them originally as being best expressive of their character—“of all wild tribes they are held to be the most subtle and treacherous.” In Sanskrit *nago* means ‘snake’ and *nogo* means ‘hill’. Thus ‘*Nago lok*’ would mean ‘the abode of the snakes’, and ‘*nogo lok*’ [written *naga* without the diacritic indicating long] ‘hilly region’. The AS call them *noga* which is probably derived from the Sanskrit word *nogo* [written *naga* without the diacritic indicating long]. Thus depending on the etymology of the word, *naga* would either mean ‘hill’ or ‘naked’.

The umbrella term ‘Naga’ is given to the groups who are not migratory, whose villages are stationary, built upon hill tops. These people also share features with respect to their housing, life styles, social organization and governance.

3.7 Early history of the Nagas.

Physically of a predominantly Mongoloid appearance, the Nagas have lived in NGD and its vicinity for centuries, but it is difficult to say when exactly these tribes settled there. Since the Nagas have no recorded history of their own, information about their origins and

early history are very sketchy and are based on incidental references to them found in travelers' accounts, religious books and literary works. In the body of ancient Hindu literature mention is made about the presence of an Indo-Mongoloid people, the Kiratas, in eastern India as early as 1000 B.C. They are found in the Vedas, which are believed to have been compiled in the 10th century B.C.. The other reference to the Nagas is found in Ptolemy's *Geographia* (150 A.D., cited in Hutton 1973:X).

In the region inhabited by the Nagas, cultural traces of non-Tibeto-Burman people have been found. Since certain non-Mongoloid physical characteristics are found in the Naga population-- e.g. small stature and tightly curled hair--and since Naga legends of their origins refer to their encounter with people with such physical characteristics, Jacobs et. al.(1990:10) speculates that the arrival of the Nagas may have been a part of the general expansion of the Mongoloid peoples throughout Southeast Asia, including Northeast India, that began 10,000 to 12,000 years ago, possibly from a region of North China, a movement that continued into recent historic times, and which they may have supplanted earlier aboriginal populations, generally characterized as the Australoid or Negroid. Tools used by both the Austro-asiatic-speaking and Austronesian-speaking people have been found in the Naga Hills. Megalithic cultural traits, such as the erection of large stone monuments and forked wooden posts found throughout the 'Indonesian Culture Area', i. e., in the Philippines, Melanesia, and Burma have also been discovered in NGD, particularly among the Zeliangrong (formerly Kachcha Naga), which argue for the theory of Austroasiatic and/or Austronesian groups having lived in NGD prior to the arrival of the Nagas in the region (*ibid*:12). They are believed to have come to NGD by canoes from Southeast Asian islands or overland from southern China.

However, the Nagas speak neither Austronesian nor Austro-asiatic languages; they speak over 23 mutually unintelligible languages that belong to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family within the Sino-Tibetan group of languages. This fact points towards their origin in the north-- somewhere between the Huang-Ho and Yang-tse Kiang rivers, the cradle of proto Sino-Tibetan speech (Alemchiba, 1970:2). Tibeto-Burman speakers are believed to have been concentrated in ancient times somewhere in the present province of Sikiang in China, from where they began to spread east and south. From there, while some of the Tibeto-Burman tribes trekked along the Brahmaputra westward and found homes in the mountainous tracts to the east of Bhutan, others including the Nagas and the Bodos crossed Burma and entered Assam and the Brahmaputra valley. However, this does not rule out their having undergone Southeast Asian cultural influence. The tribes now known as the Nagas may have moved into NGD after them. Migration into NGD seems to have been a continual process. In the more recent past, a group known as the Ahoms of Burma entered Assam via NGD in the early 13th century. However, Smith (1925:153-160), after studying the cultural traits and physical characters of the Naga, concluded that they have come from present-day Indonesia. He pointed out that they share similarities with the Dyaks and Kyans of Borneo, the Battak of Sumatra, certain groups of Formosa, and the Igorot, Ifugao and several other tribes in the Philippines. Because the Nagas share many characteristics with the people of Malaysia and Indonesia such as (i) headhunting, (ii) common sleeping houses for unmarried men), (iii) building dwelling houses on posts and piles, (iv) disposal of the dead on a raised platform, (v) a sort of trial marriage, or great freedom of pre-marital sex, (vi) betel-chewing, (vii) aversion to milk, (viii) tattooing by pricking, (ix) absence of a powerful political organization, (x) use

of the double-cylinder vertical forge, (xi) loom for weaving cloth, (xii) a large quadrangular or hexagonal shield, and (xiii) building residences in the hilly region, they are thought to have lived by the sea at some point in time. Chatterji (1950) agrees that although all of these traits are not present today among all the Indo-Mongoloid people of Bengal, Assam, and Nepal, there is evidence to show that these characteristics were once current among most of the tribes of northeast India.

Citing the many close parallels that the Naga have with the Formosa hillmen, Hutton (1990) also concluded that the present sociological makeup of the Naga is “mixed”.

According to a Burma Census Report (1911:252) “successive incursions of the so-called Tibet-Burman peoples came from a region in Western China, between the sources of the Yang-tse-Kiang and Huang-ho or Yellow River. Marshall (Burma Census Report 1911: 6.) writes that “the early home of the peoples of Eastern Asia was in the upper reaches of the Huang-ho or Yellow river of China, and that from this center the Tibetans moved westward; the early tribes of Indo-China, southward, and the Chinese, south-eastward.” In the Burma Census Report, (1911:255) it is also stated that the Shans of Burma were gradually expelled from China, culminating with the conquest of Talifu by Kublai Khan, in A.D. 1257. Grierson (in Burma Census, 1911:252) asserts that the Shans are the latest Indo-Chinese immigrants into India, which would place the movement from which the Nagas came at least prior to A.D. 1257. The above facts strongly suggest that the Naga lived in the Irrawadi and Chindwin valleys in the Paleolithic or Neolithic age and gradually moved up, finally settling down in Burma, from where they moved into NGD in various waves of immigration. Regarding the origins of the Naga tribes, the noted Indian linguist Chatterji speculates that they are

culminating with the conquest of Talifu by Kublai Khan, in A.D. 1257. Grierson (in Burma Census, 1911:252) asserts that the Shans are the latest Indo-Chinese immigrants into India, which would place the movement from which the Nagas came at least prior to A.D. 1257. The above facts strongly suggest that the Naga lived in the Irrawadi and Chindwin valleys in the Paleolithic or Neolithic age and gradually moved up, finally settling down in Burma, from where they moved into NGD in various waves of immigration. Regarding the origins of the Naga tribes, the noted Indian linguist Chatterji speculates that they are

possibly very early offshoots of the Proto-Sino-Tibetan-speaking Mongoloids, who, before the language was fully characterized, came down to South China and Burma, and from them were descended the Man and Miaotsze peoples of South China and the Karens of Burma--tribes or peoples which are Mongoloid in race but whose speech now appears to be rather distinct from other members of the Sino-Tibetan family (1950).

Although the earliest direct reference to the Naga tribes is found in Ptolemy's *Geographia* in 150 A.D., the first systematic reference to the Nagas is found in the Ahom Buranjis¹, where they are referred to by the name of the area or route through which each group would descend to the markets of the plains for the purpose of barter-trade. The early Europeans provided such superficial descriptions of the Naga as the following: "They are the wildest and most barbarous of hill tribes, and looked upon with dread and horror by the neighbors of the plains who consider them as ruthless robbers and murderers." (McCosh, cited in Haimendorf, 1968:3). The first ethnographically significant description of the Nagas

¹

The word is derived from an Ahom word the detailed meaning of which is "a store that teaches the ignorant". The chronicles were kept not only by the government but also by the Ahom priests and the leading families. While the early Buranjis are written in the Ahom language, the ones written later were in AS. The Buranjis are written in AS which were adopted by the Ahoms after their conversion to Hinduism, but the earlier ones were written in a tribal language similar to those of other Shans.

were attempted by British anthropologists, who classified them into distinct tribes by their distinguishing cultural as well as linguistic behavior.

3.8 The Substrate /Naga Languages:

Anthropologists, linguists, and census officers have offered various estimates as to how many Naga tribes exist and how many of them live in NGD. Similarly, various estimates have been given about the number of distinct mutually unintelligible languages and dialects they speak, which have varied from author to author. It took the British administrators and European ethnographers quite some time before “they could make sense of the ethnographic chaos in NGD, where diverse Naga tribes living in hundreds of villages seemed to be somewhat similar to each other yet very different, not sharing the same customs, political system, art or language”. Over a period of time, the British administrators ‘created’ the Naga tribes as relatively fixed groups each with a distinctive kind of social organization and language. Hutton (1921) listed 14 groups; in 1961, Elwin also listed 14, although his groups are slightly different.

A Baptist missionary called Nathan Brown (1851) is the first known author to attempt a classification of Naga languages; he classified them into three groups: Ao, Konyak, and Nocte. Grierson (1903) the Naga languages that he studied into the following five groups:

- (1) ***Eastern Group***: Angwanku or Tableng (Konyak), Chingmegnu or Tamalu (Phoms), Chang or Manjung, and a few other languages spoken outside of NGD such as Assiringia, Banpara (Wanchoo), Mohangia, Mutonia (Wanchoo), Moshang (Tangsas), and Shange (Tangsas);

- (2) *Western Group*: Angami, Khezama, Rengma, and Sema; and some other minor dialects.
- (3) *Central Group* : Ao, Lotha, Thukumi (Sangtam), Yachumi (Yimchungru) and some others.
- (4) *Naga -Bodo Group*: Mikir (Marrison, 1967 does not treat Mikir as a Naga language, though.), Zemi (Kachcha/Empeo), Nruanghmei (Kabui), and Khoirao.
- (5) *Naga-Kuki Group*: Tangkhul, Maring, Maram, Mao, Liangmei (Kwoireng).

Grierson, however, expressed his doubts about the validity of the data on which his classification was based. Shafer (1953) placed Chang, Konyak, Phom, Wancho, Nocte, Tangsa, and several other minor northern dialects in one group with the Bodo and Kachin languages, and all the other languages, from A southwards in another group as a special branch of the Kuki language.

The most recent and comprehensive work on the classification of the Naga languages is Marrison (1967: 262-265), who upon identifying what languages should be properly called “Naga” languages compared data from those languages on the levels of phonology, morphology, vocabulary, and syntax, thus classifying them into three groups: Group-A or the Konyak Group (this group of languages reportedly has special relationships with the languages of the Kachin and Bodo groups, and in certain features closer to Tibetan than Burmese); Group-B or the Tangkhul Group (reportedly these languages are considerably mixed and are unlike Konyak or Angami-Zemi groups), and Group-C or the Angami-Zeme Group (these languages reportedly have a special relationship with Manipuri, the Kuki languages, and to a lesser extent, with Burmese):

- Type A-1:* Tangsa (Yogli), Tangsa (Moshang), Nocte, Wancho;
- Type A-2:* Konyak, Phom, Chang;
- Type B-1:* Yacham-Tengsa, Ao (Chungli), Ao (Mongsen), Sangtam;
- Type-B 2:* Lotha, Yimchungru, Ntenyi, Meluri;
- Type B-3:* Tangkhul, Maring;
- Type-C-1:* Sema, Angami (Kohima), Angami (Khonoma), Chokri, Khezama
Mao;
- Type C-2:* Rengma, Maram, Khoirao, Mzieme, Zeme, Liangmei, Purion
Nruanghmei

3.9 Inter-group relationship

The Nagas have for centuries lived in mutual hostility, distrust, and fear, isolated from each other, often engaging in inter-communal feuds. Each village was like a sovereign state with its own government and leader called the Gaon Bura (Bose 1989). The Naga groups lived in a state of mutual hostility and isolation from each other until the British government assumed control of the region primarily because of the existence of widespread practices of slave-taking by means of kidnaping from enemy villages, and head-hunting. As Peal (1894) reports about the practice of head-hunting:

A very common and conspicuous feature of the Nagas, Garrows, Kukis, Lushais, and other hill races of this part of S.E. Bengal, is their custom of taking human heads, either by regular warfare, raids, or casual surprise attacks. Not only does the custom seem to have been almost universal among them, it has obviously existed for some ages in its present form.

He also reports that most of the Nagas had to present their Rajah with a human head from an unrelated tribe to obtain the 'certificate of manhood'. It did not matter how he got it, 'by direct warfare or lurking near the spring in the territory till some unfortunate woman or child came within his reach'. That killing people indiscriminately from other villages was common is corroborated by the following report of Hutton's (1969). "They went and lay in wait by the cultivation path of a neighboring village, and killed a woman, a small boy, and the baby he was carrying as they were returning alone from their fields."

As the British administrators and European anthropologists report, the Nagas who preserve heads on shelves as trophies, practiced headhunting not only because the highest head-taker was entitled to wear a certain dress symbolic of higher social status which in turn, for a young Naga, had a direct correlation with his popularity among potential brides, but also because there was a very strong feeling among them that by taking heads or sacrificing humans they would be able to avert disaster, and ensure good crops, health and the prosperity of a village (Hutton, 1969; Davis, 1891). Head-hunting which was in practice as late as 1956, was viewed both as a requirement to acquire property for the village and an act of valor; it was directly correlated with social status and respect from women. "It is agreed by all Angamis, as well as by other Nagas, that head-taking was essential to marriage in so far that a buck who had taken no head, and could not wear the warrior's dress at festivals, not only found it exceedingly difficult to get any girl..., but was held up to ridicule." (Hutton, 1969:165). Like the Lothas, among whom there was a 'parallel between head-hunting and fishing', the Angamis too had a custom of "cutting off the heads, hands, and feet of anyone

they can meet with, without provocation or pre-existing enmity, merely to stick them up in their fields and to ensure a good crop of grain” (Major Butler 1855). When the village jhums¹ were ready for firing, the Aos, for example, would tie up a slave in the middle of the sticks and then light them up burning the slave to death thus ensuring a good crop (Hutton, 1969: 162)

That head-taking was even viewed as a sport by many Nagas, which certainly encouraged wanton killing, is obvious from the following report by Carnegie, then a political officer in Naga Hills of an incident that occurred in 1876:

In the middle of July a party of forty men of Mozema went over to Kohima and were admitted by one of the khels (clans) friendly to them, living next to the Puchatsuma quarter, into which they passed and killed all they could find, viz. one man, five women, and twenty young children. The people of the other clans made no effort to interfere, but stood looking on.....one of the lookers-on told me that he never saw such a fine sport, [i.e., the killing of the children], for it was just like killing fowls!”

If a villager was suffering from an illness, the other villagers could easily become suspicious of a hostile village, believing it to have exercised a magic spell to make the person permanently ill, which would lead to a head-taking raid on that village.

Slave-taking raids were not uncommon among the Nagas. Slaves were not only taken to use as servants but also for sacrifice, which was considered necessary to ensure good crops. Often, they were sacrificed if an enemy head was not immediately available to appease evil spirits responsible for diseases or disaster.

As is clear from the above, incentives for head-hunting were great that it would be

¹Slash and burn cultivation.

quite natural for the practice to be a common affair. The British were particularly interested in ending the practice of head-hunting and the slave trade. To that end, they sent punitive expeditions punishing the perpetrators and destroying their villages whenever they engaged in head-taking or slave-raids. But when they did not, the Nagas interpreted this as British approval of head-hunting, and the practice resumed. Thus the practice of head-hunting continued until the mid-1950s, still serving as the main cause of their isolation.

Economic factors also contributed to the mutual hostility among the Naga groups. Jacobs, et. al. (1990) reports that the Semas sought land by killing off a lot of the enemy population, so their sons could colonize, thus the reason for feuds was economic, too. The immense benefit of barter-trade with the plainsmen of the Assam valley was enjoyed primarily by the Nagas living in the border region, they denied the Nagas of the interior regions the opportunity of engaging in business with the AS. The Nagas nearest the plains (the 'bori') acted as a buffer between the Nagas of the interior ('abori') and the valley population " (Jacobs :21). As Robinson (1969:86) reports:

The Nagas on the lower ranges are exceedingly jealous of the profits arising from their connexion with the province [Assam], and there is nothing which they more strenuously oppose, than the communication of the interior Nagas with the markets frequented by them; and the wish to prevent any interchange of a direct barter by the Abors with the inhabitants of Assam, has been the cause of constant wars between them. The spirit of jealousy prevails throughout all these hills, and while the Abors are debarred from access to the markets of Assam, the Nagas of the northern hills are prevented from trading with Ava or Manipur.

The fact that each Naga ethno-linguistic group spoke a distinct language or a dialect incomprehensible to the others contributed to the isolation of one group from another.

It has been shown that the now mutually unintelligible Naga languages are closely

related languages; McCabe (1887) called them “the dialects of the Naga tribes,” suggesting that these languages are descended from one proto language. It is likely that they may have had a common origin but social and geographical isolation seems to have led to such a degree of divergence that they became mutually unintelligible a long time ago. As is well known, languages and dialects may diverge over time, and given a considerable time lapse, even genetically-related languages may become mutually unintelligible.

Lack of a common language contributed to the isolationist living style of the Nagas. The following account of Badgley’s (cited in McCabe 1887) which describes his experience of a communicative problem he had encountered in the Naga village called Primi, indicates how difficult inter-group communication in NGD was:

Here we found ourselves beyond interpretation. At the last village we had managed in a way by translation from Primi to Melomi, to Angami, to AS, to English, and vice versa, to understand and express a little, but here signs were our only means; fortunately we did not want much, and such signs as pointing to one’s mouth and stomach are not easily misunderstood. (1969:364)

Robinson (1841:86) reports that “two adjoining tribes cannot converse together except through the medium of a third dialect common to both..”

The inaccessible settlement pattern of the Nagas further contributed to their isolationist life style. Naga villages are built on the most inaccessible peaks and crests of the mountainous belt they inhabit, from where they ‘can see and guard against approaching danger long before it is sufficiently near to be felt’. In Woodthorpe’s (1881) words: “the villages are built on commanding positions , and owing to the almost constant state of war, most of them are very strongly fortified .” In Captain Butler’s words, a typical Naga village is as follows:

Stiff stockades, deep ditches bristling with panjies, and massive stone walls, often loop-holes for musketry, are their usual defenses. In war-time, the hillsides and approaches are encamped and thickly studded over with panjies. The panjies, I may here explain, are sharp-pointed bamboo skewers, or stakes, varying from six inches to three or four feet in length: some of them as thin as a pencil, others as thick round as a good-sized cane, and although very insignificant things to look at, they give a nasty and painful wound, often causing complete lameness in a few hours. Deep pitfalls and small holes covered over with a light layer of earth and leaves, concealing the panjies within, are also skillfully placed along the paths by which an enemy is expected to approach, and a tumble into one of the former is not a thing to be despised, as I have had good reason to know. The approaches of the villages are often up through tortuous, narrow covered ways, or lanes with high banks on either side, lined with an overhanging tangled mass of prickly creepers and brushwood, sometimes through a steep ravine and along the bed of an old torrent, in either case admitting of the passage of only one man at a time. These paths lead up to gates or rather doorways, closed by the strong thick and heavy wooden doors, hewn out of one piece of solid wood. The doors are fastened from the inside and admit of being easily barricaded, and thus rendered impregnable against all attack. These doors again are often overlooked and protected by raised look-outs, on which, whenever the clan is in feud, a careful watch is kept night and day; not infrequently the only approach to one of these outer gates is up a notched pole from fifteen to twenty feet high. The several clans, of which there are from two to eight in every village, are frequently divided off by deep lanes and stone walls, and whenever an attack is imminent the several roads leading up to the village are studded over with stout pegs, driven deep into the ground, which very effectively prevents anything like a rush. On the higher ranges, the roads connecting the several villages, as well as the paths leading down to their cultivation, are built with considerable skill, the precipitous hills being turned with easy gradients, instead of the road being taken up one side of the hill and down the other as is usually the case among the hill men.

(Cited in Hutton 1969:44).

Despite the high degree of isolation in which the Naga groups lived from one another they still had to maintain some degree of communication. Robinson accurately summarizes this aspect of inter-group relationship among the Nagas:

Though constantly at war amongst themselves, and using dialects so different that two adjoining tribes cannot converse together except through the medium of a third dialect common to both, yet they are said to inter-marry and form connexion and alliances with each other ... (1841:86).

3.9.1 Naga-Assamese relationship

Nothing definite is known about the history of the Naga-AS relationship until 1228, when the Ahom rule began in Assam. The knowledge of the history of a Naga-AS relationship prior to the arrival of the Ahoms is limited to what can be pieced together from old inscriptions, the accounts of such foreign travelers as Hiuen Tsiang, who toured India in the first half of the seventh century, and incidental references in religious writings, or literary work, such as the epic Mahabharata, which are by no means history in its true sense.

The Ahom conquerors, however, maintained rather detailed accounts of their rule in the Buranjis or the chronicles of the Ahom kings; which remain the primary source of their relationship with the Nagas as well as other tribes of Assam during their rule in Assam, which lasted from 1228 to 1819. According to Gait (1963[1926]), who made extensive use of the Buranjis for writing his famous book on the history of Assam, the accounts of the Ahom rule beginning in 1228 A.D. as found in the Buranjis may be treated as accurate history.

3.9.1.1 Naga-Assamese relationships during Ahom and Burmese Rule in Assam (1228 - 1825)

The first Naga-Ahom contact occurred between the years 1215 and 1228, when the Ahom prince Sukapha continually raided the Naga villages trying to subjugate them. According to Boruah (1993:4) it took the Ahom invaders 13 years to subjugate the Nagas, the living in the Patkoi range that divides India from Burma. The Nagas put up fierce resistance, and Sukapha's army responded with extreme brutality. This is evident from the following observation made by Gait: "He [Sukapha] caused many of them to be killed and

roasted, and compelled their relatives to eat their flesh. This ghastly barbarity created such widespread terror that the other Nagas of the neighborhood all hastened to submit. Leaving one of his nobles to rule the conquered country, Sukapha proceeded. The Ahoms soon adopted a policy of conciliation encouraging inter-marriage with the Nagas, but the brutal treatment that they had received, the history of which is still remembered had defined the future Ahom-Naga relationship. The sad memory of this brutal treatment of the Nagas is still retained in various local names and traditions (Devi, 1968: 32). According to the Buranjis, (cited in Gait, 1963[1926]; Alemchiba, 1970; Devi, 1968) the Nagas subjugated by the Ahoms on their way to the Assam valley between 1215 and 1228 were regarded by the Ahoms as their subjects and were required to pay an annual tribute. But the Nagas refused to accept this status, by repeatedly rebelling against the Ahoms. They continually raided Assam, and the Ahoms retaliated by sending punitive expeditions which would usually end with the rebellious Nagas submitting, and offering cattle, women, slaves and the signing of agreements to pay annual tributes. "Indeed clashes between the Ahom rulers and the Naga tribes of this area were matters of common occurrence throughout the entire period of the Ahom rule in Assam" (Devi, 1968:25). Sometimes the Nagas also inflicted a crushing defeat on the Ahom army. Thus, both the Naga raids and punitive expeditions sent by the Ahoms resulted in great loss of lives on both sides.

The Ahom attacks on the Nagas were not always punitive expeditions in response to Naga raids though; they were also motivated by economic interests (Alemchiba, 1970:37). In 1458 , for example, the Ahom army occupied a salt well in Mohong by defeating the Nocte Nagas, and in the course of time the Ahoms occupied several salt wells , to retain control of which they had to fight the Nagas (Assam Buranji, cited in Devi, 1968: 31).

which they had to fight the Nagas (Assam Buranji, cited in Devi, 1968: 31).

The Ahom-Naga relationship was one of both hostility and friendliness, while the hostility was due to the fact that the Nagas had been treated brutally by the Ahom invaders as they advanced toward Assam, wandering for thirteen years through the Patkoi range, friendliness was due to commercial inter-dependence. The Eastern Nagas who were in possession of the brine springs sold their salt to the AS and depended on the Assam market for grain and various other articles. As Jacobs (1990:21) points out,

“some of the Nagas had political and commercial relations with the Ahom kings for a long time. The Nagas were granted lands in the valleys, fought in the Ahom armies and sheltered Ahom princes fleeing from court conflicts. The Nagas nearest to the plains (the ‘Bori’) acted as a buffer between the Nagas of the interior (‘Abori) and the valley population.”

Many British military officers and European anthropologists have reported of the existence of regular trade between the Nagas and the AS. Robinson (1969:599), for example, reports that :

The Nagas occasionally frequent the markets at Naguara and Kacharihath, and other spots along the borders, where they barter their cotton and ginger for a few minor articles. They also manufacture and sell a little salt, the produce of the brine springs in the vicinity of their hills. This seems to be the only intercourse held with them by the inhabitants of the low lands, who rarely ever venture to visit their haunts on the hills.

Mills, A. J (1969:600) reports, similarly:

Boree Nagas resort annually in the cold season to the plains to trade, salt and cotton being the chief articles. The Abor Nagas inhabiting the back range do not generally visit the plains themselves, excepting in small parties in company with the Boree Nagas. The Nagas are very keen barterers, but at the same time just and open in their dealings” Verrier, 1969:600).

Jenkins (cited in Moffat , 1969: 600) referring to the same period, also reports:

...With our people on the plains, they are almost invariably on good and friendly terms, carrying on a large barter of hill products which is to them indispensable... The Western Nagas bring down large quantities of cotton and chillies, ginger and yams, the Eastern Nagas salt &c., to be bartered against rice, ducks, and salt in the first instance, and for rice, &c., to be bartered against rice, ducks, and salt in the first instance, and for rice, &c., in the second (Verrier, 1969:600).

Similarly, in 1878, Damant (1969:602) reports:

...A good deal of cotton is exported by the Mikirs, Cacharies, and Lhota Nagas, but of this trade I have not been able to obtain statistics.

Among the Angamis 1995 persons took passes to trade in the plains, of whom 1706 took down Rupees 7943 to buy salt, 207 took Manipuri and Naga cloths, and the remainder took 45 ponies. They went to Dimapur, Golaghat, Dibrugarh, Sibsagar, Jorhat, Gauhati and Cachar.

The traders at Samaguting and Kohima imported goods to the value of Rupees 63,467 in salt, rice and cloth being the principal items, and they bought from the Nagas ivory, wax, and cloth to the value of about Rupees 3000.

As Robinson (1841) points out, 'the circumstances of the Assam government having always raised a revenue from the imported salt of the hills, and the dependence of the Nagas on the Assam market for exchange of salt for grain and other articles' in other words the mutual need for trading, resulted in a regular contact between the two peoples, dispelling repulsion for each other and contributing to 'a mutual good understanding between the two people'. "The Naga hills have in consequence been always accessible to the people of the plains; whilst the Nagas have on their part, been always permitted access to the markets on the frontier." Robinson (*ibid*) also points out that in order to raise the taxes levied on the Naga salt the individuals appointed to the collection of the taxes were in attendance at the springs on the hills, as well as the markets below. They imposed tolls both on the salt and on

the articles the Nagas obtained in barter for the salt.

According to Robinson's (ibid) report, while the salt wells for the most part were the sole property of the Nagas, in some of the wells the former Assam government obtained a joint property, with the Nagas having a right to draw the brine for a certain number of hours, and the government for an equal period.

As indicated, the Ahom-Naga relationship for seven hundred years was, however, not only of mutual hostilities but also of periodical peace and friendship. As part of their comprehensive policy toward the Nagas, the Ahoms sought a peaceful relationship with them both in order to minimize the burden of protecting their citizens living in the valley close to the Naga hills from the continual raids and to ensure a steady supply of salt from the Naga brine wells. Salt was a rarity, and the Ahom kings therefore had to maintain good relations with the Eastern Nagas so that sufficient quantities of salt could be drawn from the brine wells in that region. The Nagas who had maximum communication with the AS governments were the Namsangias, the Borduriyas, and the Paniduwarias, who were in possession of brine springs of considerable value and further were always supposed to pay allegiance to the rajahs of Assam (Robinson, ibid: 86).

The Naga chiefs sought friendly relations with the Ahoms so as to be able to conduct trade with them. By the middle of the 16th century the relationship between the Banfera Nagas and the Ahoms became so friendly that when they were attacked by the Banchang Nagas in 1548, they sought help from the Ahom king against the Banchang Nagas, which was provided.. The Tai or Shan invaders who were later called the Ahoms established their kingdom in Eastern Assam with Sibsagar as their capital. The Naga tribes they had to deal

with for a long time were the Wanchoos, Nocte, and Konyaks. Beginning in 1490, when the Ahoms began to expand their kingdom westward along the south bank of Brahmaputra by conquering the Kacharis, a process that continued to the end of 17th century, the Ahoms encountered resistance from the Ao, Lotha and other south-western Nagas.

The Ahoms never tried to subjugate the Nagas or occupy their land; however, they had to closely watch this strategically important region because it was through this route that they had to keep contact with their relatives in Burma, the Nagas of the Mogaung kingdom. Also, it was the route through which foreign invasions could take place. As a matter of fact, the Burmese invaders came to the Ahom kingdom in the early 19th century through this route. So the Ahoms had to keep the Naga tribes living in the vicinity of this geopolitically strategic route under some kind of control, which they did by pursuing a mixed policy of curbing the rebellious Nagas by force and offering trading facilities and granting farmlands and fisheries to those who were willing to accept their overlordship.

The friendly Nagas were granted lands, known as *Nagakhats* 'Naga farms' and fisheries in the valley. Those farms and fisheries were managed by AS agents called the *Naga katakis*, and food stuffs grown on those farms were supplied exclusively for the Nagas.

Lt. H. Bigge (1841) reports:

I remained 3 or 4 days at Golaghaut, superintending my arrangements, and was present at a sort of fair, held there, on the arrival of a fleet of boats, laden with cotton from the Lotha Nagah Hills on the Dogong river, which falls into the Dhunsiri a short way above; about 70 of the Nagas came down, with two of their sykeahs, many of them understanding the AS language, and were engaged the whole day in bartering their cotton, for salt, dried fish, dogs, fowls, and ducks, with a few brass rings, of which they seem very fond, suspending them one below the other from holes bored in the ear.

In 1841 Lieutenant Biggs reported that the Rengma Nagas who remained in their old

In 1841 Lieutenant Biggs reported that the Rengma Nagas who remained in their old hill after the Burmese invasion “trade with the AS at Golaghat Cacharees.” John Butler (1969:250) reports:

The next morning as we were leaving our camp on the river, a large party of Nagas, male and female, appeared suddenly round the bend of the stream above us, they seemed rather startled at first, but were speedily reassured and gave us accounts of their proceedings; they had been on trading excursion to Jorhat [in Assam] and were on their way back to their village Nunkum.

The Naga-AS business relations was a regular affair. Virtually every European anthropologist or administrative officer noted the trading relations between the Nagas and the Ahoms and wrote at length about it. The Nagas living in villages bordering the plains of Assam were in constant contact with the AS of the plains with whom they conducted trade in their products like cotton, ginger, betel leaves, handloom products and salt in exchange for commodities they needed from the markets of Assam. As Rowney (1882) reports,

“Fighting and hunting, however, are not their sole occupations at the present day. They understand the advantages of trading, and frequently come down to the markets of Assam and Cachar heavily laden with ivory, wax, and clothes manufactured from the nettle fibre, in exchange for which they receive salt, brass-ware, and shells, and by preference, matchlocks and gun powder if they can get them.

The relation, however, was at times so friendly that the Nagas even sheltered Ahom princes fleeing from court conflicts. The British hired Nagas in the military police force as revealed by the following report of Mackenzie, (in Verrier, 1969: 165, “They suggested [The Court of directors of the British Government] also the enlistment of Angamis in the military police. This last idea had also been tried without much success. The hill men could not be induced to remain long under discipline; of 37 Angami recruits the average service proved to

be only eight months.” Alemchiba (1970:38) notes that by 1660 soldiers for the AS army were largely recruited from the Nagas and Miris ‘in recognition of their muscular strength and capacity for endurance.

As we have seen above, the Naga-AS relationship was a blend of hostility and friendliness. From the days of first contact between the Ahoms and Naga till the last days of Ahom rule, friendliness and hostility in the Ahom-Naga relationship alternated. The Nagas always had trading relations with the people of the plains of Assam, and a period of hostilities was followed by a peaceful relationship. Thus, at the barter-trade centers, while drawing up treaties at the Ahom court, or paying annual tributes to the Ahom Kings, they had to communicate with each other, and such contacts were quite regular. It is also clear that although the Naga groups living in the border areas accepted Ahom supremacy by signing treaties to pay annual tribute, such arrangements were temporary; neither the Ahoms considered the Nagas to be their real subjects nor did the latter regard the Ahoms as their ruler.

As mentioned, the people of the plains of Assam and the Naga tribes share little in terms of religion or culture. The Nagas frequently raided the nearby plains of Assam . So the governments of Assam (and later the British) treated them brutally (e.g, burned down their villages in retaliation).

3.9.1.3 Naga-Assamese relations during the Colonial Era (1825 -1947)

The following observation by Gait summarizes Naga-British relations: “The hilly tract inhabited by the various tribes known to us collectively as Nagas had never been subjugated

by the Ahoms, and it was no part of the British policy to absorb it.” (1906:310). Initially, after taking over Assam, despite strong recommendations from the local officer to bring the Naga Hills under the British- administered area, the British authorities showed no interest in annexing what they viewed as the “barren lands of Naga Hills” and its “savage tribes”, presumably because they neither had the manpower needed to administer that mountainous tract nor did they find it profitable. Gradually, however, “the boundary of the ‘administered area’ was pushed further and further back into the Hills, though “British policy oscillated between favouring annexation on the one hand and complete non-intervention on the other” (Jacobs 1990:21).

Having completed the expulsion of the Burmese invaders, who, after consolidating their rule in Assam in 1821, had started encroaching upon British territory (i.e., Bengal), the British assumed control of the entire Assam in June of 1825. After taking over Assam, the British government “conceived that the duty of controlling the hostile Nagas devolved jointly upon Tularam [the ruler of Cachar] and Manipur state, as the two powers holding jurisdiction over at least some portions of Naga Hills” (Mackenzie, 1884:149).

The British government was basically interested in enforcing peace and securing their economic interests in the tea-estates of the Assam valley. So, they adopted a dual policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Nagas on the one hand; and on the other, allowing them to trade with the AS in the markets of the plains when they behaved well, but denying them the privilege when they engaged in raids on the AS villages or on one another.

Conflict between the Nagas and the British authorities began when Captain Jenkins and Pemberton conducted their ‘exploratory march’ with 700 Manipuri soldiers and 800

porters, to open up a direct road between Manipur and Assam through the Angami territory, in January, 1832. They had to fight their way through the Angami territory.

In August 1832, when the heirless Rajah of North Cachar Hills died, that too was annexed to the British territory. During their visit to North Cachar Hills in 1835, the British officers found out that the defenseless villages there, as in the plains of Assam, were continually raided by the Nagas. However, "The Government was not itself prepared to take over the Naga country, and still inclined to regard the Manipuris as the de facto masters of the Hills" (Mackenzie 1979: 103).

But this policy failed because the Nagas frequently raided the British protected territory of North Cachar, and those raids were so brutal that the total population of the whole region was threatened with total depopulation. So, ten punitive military expeditions were sent into the Naga Hills between 1835 and 1851 to punish the aggressive Nagas. Once in January 1839, and again in 1840 Mr. Grange conducted expeditions. Faced with a fierce resistance, he burned down five villages and captured eleven Nagas. The Nagas of Samoogoodting then signed a peace treaty with him expressing a wish to settle on the plains. In 1841, Lt. Biggie signed similar friendly agreements with many Naga chiefs. The Naga chiefs promised to abstain from the slave trade, internecine feuds and raiding villages in the plains. But soon, they resumed violent raids in the plains of Cachar and Manipur. In 1844, the Nagas refused to pay the annual tribute, and then conducted a series of raids on the plains. In November 1845, Captain Butler succeeded in getting Naga Chiefs to meet with him and pay tribute. Following the punitive expeditions, which ended in the destruction of Naga villages, the Nagas entered into an agreement to pay a nominal tribute and refrain from

waging attack on the plains but such promises were broken as soon as the British army withdrew. In other words, peace treaties did not produce any tangible results; rather, burning of many villages, destruction of grains, loss of many lives during each of those retaliatory expeditions aroused hostility of the whole tribe. Reportedly what appeared to be the so-called 'friendly' villages actually sought British protection only to have the British 'exterminate their neighbours'. So, in 1846, a strong permanent police post was set up in Samoogoodting with authority over the entire Angami territory was placed. As a result of this, the frequency of raids declined and the volume of Naga-AS trade increased. Over a thousand Nagas went to Nowgaon in order to trade in 1848. But in May, 1849, the officer in charge, Mr. Bhogchand was killed by the Nagas after he arrested some Nagas engaged in a feud. The retaliatory expedition sent in November of the same year had to make a hurried retreat after facing fierce attack. The Nagas celebrated the occasion by conducting raids all across the border. Another expedition was conducted by Lt. Vincent in March, 1850, again the burning of villages and punishing unfriendly Nagas. He had to be rescued by the sending in of reinforcements. Most local officers felt that the best way to contain the Nagas was to establish a permanent police outpost in the Hills and a chain of posts across the country. The supreme authority of the British government still wanted to pursue a policy of non-interference, so the army was withdrawn in March, 1851. To celebrate the withdrawal of the British army, the Nagas conducted twenty-two raids, in which 55 people were killed, 10 wounded, and 113 taken captive. These were totally ignored by the British government; and for fifteen years thereafter they were left alone. Consequently, Naga raids on the plains of Assam continued. Within a year of the British withdrawal in 1851, 178 AS were killed, wounded, or carried off by the

Nagas. Between 1854 and 1865 there were 19 raids in which 232 British subjects were either killed, wounded, or carried off.

When Manipur invaded the Angami Hills in 1854, twenty-two village chiefs begged the British government for help, but the British government refused to interfere because it was still the policy of the British government to look upon the Nagas “as people living beyond the jurisdiction of the British Government.”

However, finally, upon realizing that the non-interference policy which left the British subjects defenseless against the recurring atrocities inflicted upon them by the Nagas, undercut its credibility, in 1866 the British government established a strong police station in the Naga Hills but still instructed its administrative officers to “endeavour to maintain conciliatory intercourse with the Nagas.”(Mackenzie, 1979:120).

In 1866, the Naga Hill District was formed with its permanent headquarters in Samoogoodting, and Lt. Gregory was permanently posted there with a force of 150 well-armed policemen. This headquarters was connected to Dimapur by road. A general amnesty for old offenses was declared and who were told that no interference would be exercised, and only those who chose to submit to the British authorities and pay a tribute would become entitled to protection. But all were invited to engage in trade and permitted to frequent the markets established in the foothills on receiving a pass. The Nagas, who wanted to go to the plains, were now issued passes and required to leave their spears at the post. The establishment of this post was followed by the opening of a school and dispensary. Trade with the plains was expanded. NGD was surveyed. The British protectorate was extended to friendly Nagas threatened the hostile villages. Internecine feuds, however, continued, as

did raids on the plains of Assam, although at a lower frequency. So far the policy was only to insure peace in the border; no attempt was made to 'civilize' the Nagas or being arbiters in inter-tribal feuds.

By then the steady expansion of tea plantations began in Assam. This created new complications in the Naga-AS relationship because the planters began to encroach upon the Hills. The Nagas also began slaughtering the intruders whenever they got an opportunity. In 1873, the British introduced the Inner Line Regulation. This regulation laid down rules regarding trade and possession of land beyond the line. The Inner-Line Pass was introduced to protect both the plainsmen from the Nagas and the Nagas from the plainsmen. It is interesting to note that the British always kept Naga Hills separate from the state of Assam for the purposes of administration. Although resented by the plainsmen, the introduction of the Inner Line Pass reduced friction between the Nagas and the plainsmen. It also prohibited planters from acquiring land from the tribal people. The regulation made it very difficult for the money-lenders, traders, and conniving lawyers to exploit the ignorant Nagas.

In 1877 the British officers were granted the authority to be arbiters in the inter-tribal feuds of the Nagas. Kohima was established as the main administrative center, and a sub-center was established in Wokah. This marked the beginning of an effective British administration in the Naga Hills. Now villages were annexed to the British protectorate, one after another. Kohima was occupied in November, 1878, and the administrative center of the district was shifted there. At the same time they also moved to Wokha so as to be able to administer to the Lothas. After the occupation of Kohima and Wokah in 1878 the British policy was to consolidate their rule around those two centers. The survey continued despite

Naga resistance and the murder of three British officers by 1879. Yonuo (1974:99) calls the year 1879-80, the war of Naga independence. In that year the Nagas, particularly the Angamis, valiantly fought against the British encroachment on their 'free country'. In 1879, a British officer, Mr. Damant, was killed when he arrived at the gate of Konemah on an expedition. On the 16th of October, 1879, an uprising of 600 Angami Nagas seized Kohima military base, which was saved due to the timely arrival of reinforcements which included 2000 men from the Maharaja of Manipur. In reprisal, thirteen villages were destroyed before Konemah was attacked and destroyed in November.

Although the British reports describe this serious challenge to the British authorities as just incidents of 'disturbances', the "brave Nagas who chose death rather than national dishonour went down as legendary heroes in Naga history" (Yonuo, 1984: 106). After ruthlessly suppressing these nationalist uprisings, in 1881, the British government finally decided to make NGD a British district by forming the Naga Hill District.

The history of the Naga Hills from 1882 to 1890 was 'the same in kind as that of the years preceding' i. e. of gradual penetration into the Hills dictated mainly by the necessity of protecting their settled districts, Nowgong and Sibsagar, from raiding Nagas (Reid, 1983: 99). In 1883, McCabe, for instance, established a post in the Sema village of Lazami, and then sent another expedition because they failed to pay revenue for two years. In June, 1883, he sent another expedition to the Sema village of Ratamai in reprisal for its raid on Lotha village. They made "military promenades" punishing offending villagers who either raided other villages and/or failed to pay revenue, thus extending British political control over increasingly more Naga groups. In the year 1897 the village of Yachumi, across the Dikhu

was burned. Following this disaster, strict order was imposed on the British officers to refrain from conducting trans-frontier promenades. As a result 'barbarous outrages' occurred right beyond the border.

As the raiding Nagas were still killing an average of 94 persons a year, a proposal was made to the supreme British government by the government of East Bengal & Assam suggesting that for the prevention of Naga villages raiding each other, control be extended beyond the eastern frontier of the Naga Hill District rather than continue pursuing the policy of 'casual promenade' and isolated intervention. In response, the supreme British government reiterated its previous policy that "they had no desire to hasten the day when the outlying tribes would fall under their administration." (Reid, 1983: 133). Reports show that 250 persons were butchered by the 'trans-frontier' Nagas in January, 1906. The then Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, Mr. A. W. Davis concluded that "We shall have no real peace until we have absorbed the whole Hill area between this and the Chindwin." Proposals were submitted one after another to extend control over the coal-bearing tracts beyond the river Dikhu and some Konyak villages, but the central government did not change its policy.

In 1909 permission was given to send an expedition. In 1911 an expedition was sent in collaboration with Burma to Makware village situated on the range dividing Assam and Burma, killing five Nagas and burning the village. Expeditions were still being sent and villages destroyed to punish head-hunting acts in 1913. It was still not the intention of the British government to rule Naga Hills; they simply wanted to protect the plains people under their control. "Even today, the elder people of the Nagas are in the habit of making comparisons between the British administration of the pre-independent period and the

administration of post-independence. The conclusion is always in favor of the former.” (Alemchiba 1970:133). In 1913, with the help of a Dacca Military Police Battalion another punitive expedition was sent to the Konyak village of Chinglong to retaliate for its raid on a Naga village under British protection. The village was burned, but since they counter-attacked their baggage-train killing four sepoy and nine coolies a retaliatory attack was waged and six villages were completely destroyed and 120 Nagas killed. A proposal was again submitted to the supreme government to allow the inclusion of further area under British administration, which was in fact a step toward taking over the entire area between Assam and Burma. Because of World War I, for seven years there was no response to this proposal. In 1921, the central government approved the annexation of the villages of Melomi and Primia with the area surrounding them.

Internecine feuds and head-taking raids continued as usual outside of the administered area. Even in 1925 the central government instructed the local administration not to interfere in the feuds of the Nagas living outside of the administered area, although they often resulted in murders.

In the Constitution Act of 1935, however, NGD was kept out of the purview of the new constitution. Naga Hills was declared an ‘excluded area’ under the Government of India in order to protect it from the plainsmen. The government suggested that the Angamis be enlisted in the military police, which, however, did not prove to be a successful strategy; as a rule they did not survive beyond eight months. In 1936 an expedition was sent to burn the village the village of Pangsha which had taken captive slaves, 53 heads, and was responsible for 200 deaths during a six-month period. In 1938 several villages, including Pangsha,

Sanglao, Nokluk and certain other Kalo-Kengyu villages, were included in the administered area.

In the late 19th century, education was introduced in NGD by the Christian missionaries. The British political conquest of the Naga Hills was significantly aided by the religio-cultural conquest of the Nagas via Christian missionary activities. The American, Norwegian, Spanish, Welsh and Italian Christian missionaries entered the inaccessible Hills and preached Christianity. Converted Christian Nagas abandoned their practices of head-hunting, raiding villages in the plains, internecine feuds, and trading in slaves. With the advent of Christianity and modern education the original way of life of the Nagas began to break down; they gradually emerged from centuries of isolation.

With the support of the British administrators in Assam, mission centers were opened. In 1903 alone, twenty-two elementary schools, one secondary school and two special schools were established in the Naga Hills. As education began to spread and the Nagas started converting to Christianity, administering Naga Hills became slightly easier because the educated Nagas now served as the liaison between the government and the common masses.

Unlike the Ahoms, the British officers lived with the Nagas, tried to understand their culture and consistently refused to interfere with their internal affairs except in the cases of owning slaves, head-hunting and raiding the villages in the British protectorate. The administrative system was better now, because that was consistent with the existing system. In each villages they appointed a *Gaonbura* for every fifty households, who was exempted from the house tax. In addition they appointed *Dobhashis* (interpreters) from the Nagas who were very useful for communicating with the government.

At the beginning of World War, a volunteer Labor Corps made up of 2,000 Nagas went to France. Far from home, where Nagas from various groups saw how the western 'civilized' nations fought one another for their interests but condemned the Nagas as 'barbarous', savage head-hunters, the Nagas developed a mutual love and bonding and a sense of unity. They came back with a sense of belonging together. Upon returning to NGD in 1919, they organized by forming a club called the Naga Club. Their chief concern was the future of NGD if and when the British left. The members were Christian-educated government officials and a number of headmen from around Kohima and Mokokchung. The club was informally supported by the British. They ran a cooperative store and held discussions. Other Naga councils were subsequently formed, e.g., the Lotha Council in 1923, the Ao Council in 1928, which were also nurtured by the British. Other tribal Councils were also formed in the mid 1940s.

In the face of the Muslim demand for a separate Muslim homeland contrary to Gandhi's appeal to keep secular India undivided, when the Simon Commission, consisting of six English members of parliament, came to Kohima on January 10, 1929, to seek opinions on the future of India, the Naga Club submitted a memorandum signed by 200 Nagas of various tribes in which they urged the British government:

We, the undersigned Nagas of the Naga Club at Kohima, who are the only persons at present to have a voice for our own people, have heard with great regret that our Naga Hills were included within the Reformed Scheme of India without our knowledge...Before the British Government conquered our country in 1879-1880, we were living in a state of intermittent warfare with the Assamese of the Assam valley to the northwest and the Manipuris to the south of our country. They never conquered us, nor were we subjected to their rule. On the other hand, we were always a terror to these plains people...Though our land at present is within the British territory, the British Government has always recognised our private rights in it, but if we are

forced to enter the council all these rights may be extinguished by the unsympathetic council... We also much fear the introduction of foreign laws and customs to supersede our own customary laws which we now enjoy... For the above reasons, we pray that the British Government will continue to safeguard our rights against all encroachments from other people who are now more advanced than we, by withdrawing our country from the Reformed Scheme and placing it directly under its [of the British government] own protection. If the British Government, however, wants to throw us away, we pray that we should not be thrust to the mercy of the people who could never have conquered us themselves, and to whom we have never been subjected; but to leave us alone to determine for ourselves as in ancient times (Cited in Yonuo, 1974:131-133).

It may be noted that although the Nagas refused to join the Indian union when it would become independent, their contact with the AS increased. By the 1930s the Nagas started participating in a trade and labor market that was totally different from the traditional barter-trade system. Naga men worked on the railroad, as load-carriers, in the coal mines and as seasonal tea laborers in the tea plantations in the plains. Even women traveled all the way to Assam to trade salt for mats and chilli peppers (Haimendorf 1968).

In 1944, when the Japanese invaded India, NGD suddenly became a battlefield, and for four months it was virtually under Japanese occupation. Despite the Japanese promise of granting NGD independence after the war was over, the Nagas remained completely loyal to the British government by actively fighting for the British army in various capacities. A large number of Nagas were recruited as regular British soldiers, thousands of them acted as faithful spies. Many of them worked in the supply corps who guided the British army to ambush the Japanese, and above all, refused to supply food to the Japanese. In Field Marshall Slim's words:

Despite flogging-torture, executions and the burning of their villages, they refused to aid the Japanese in any way or betray our troops... Their active help

to us was beyond value to praise...they guided our columns, collected information, ambushed enemy patrols, carried our supplies, brought in our wounded under the heaviest fire—and then being the gentlemen they were, often refused all payments (cited in Horam 1988: 57-58).

In recognition of their loyalty and service during the war, a detachment of the Nagas was brought to Delhi to participate in the victory celebration in March, 1946.

The social and political life of the Nagas underwent a rapid process of transformation during World War II; various ethno-linguistic groups who had for centuries lived in isolation, only occasionally coming into contact with some Europeans, now began to communicate with each other and with the rest of India and Burma, which was made possible by improved road connections. Most importantly, inter-tribal communication increased and gradually incidents of internecine feuds began to decline. The experience of the Nagas during World War II constituted a quantum leap into modern times. They were now ready for modernization. In order to unite the Nagas the then Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, Mr. Pawsey, established an institution called the Naga Hills District Tribal Council' in April, 1945, which was renamed the 'Naga National Council'(NNC) in 1946. The original objective of the NNC was to unify the Nagas and insure their welfare. The NNC worked toward developing solidarity among diverse Naga ethnolinguistic groups, however, it gradually became a political organization.

While the Naga Club had clearly stated to the Simon Commission in 1929 that Nagas would under no circumstances become a part of the Indian Union, now part of the NNC wanted immediate independence while others wanted to be a part of India, at least for a certain period of time. Yet another group wanted to remain as a British mandatarly. The trust

territory was envisaged as a federation of Naga-inhabited areas , i.e., of the state of Arunachal and the tribes of upper Burma. The NNC refused even to consider this because that would mean putting off the issue of independence to a later date; the NNC declared that the British must quit Naga Hills when they quit India.

The British Government wanted to form a Crown Colony or Trust Territory by forming a confederation of the Naga Hills and some other tribal areas. This was liked by neither the Indian politicians nor the Nagas. The Nagas opposed it because they did not want British imperialism to continue. However, Naga separatism continued to grow. The British government did not respond to the memorandum given to the Simon Commission. The Governor of Assam, Sir Andrew Clow, indirectly responded to it when he said that the Nagas had neither the population nor the resources that a modern state would need to sustain its sovereignty. In 1946, the soon-to-be Prime Minister of a newly independent India, Nehru, then the president of the Indian National Congress, said that NGD was much too small a territory to stand by itself politically or economically, and therefore should become a part of the province of Assam with their representatives in the Assam Provincial Assembly, but still have enough autonomy so as to be able to conduct their lives the way they have for centuries.

In June 1947, two months prior to India's independence, the NNC issued an ultimatum that NGD must not be a part of an independent India. Two schools of thought existed as to the future of the Naga Hills; one school favored immediate independence, but the other favored continuing some kind of relationship with India until they were ready to run a modern state. One group wanted Naga Hills to remain as a state under the British for a certain period of time. Finally a memorandum was sent to the last Viceroy of India that the

central government of India act as the guardian power over Naga Hills for ten years, when the Nagas would decide about their future. The then Governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hyderi and the NNC came up with a nine-point proposal which reflected a “prospect of independence” in that it contained such conditions as land previously transferred to Nowgong and Sibsagar districts of Assam must be restored to NGD, and the NNC would virtually govern Naga Hills and that after ten years the Nagas would determine their future. Many opposed this by arguing that the clause asserting the right of the Nagas to self determination after being with India for ten years was not worded properly, but to most of the NNC members this seemed reasonable. So, this proposal was approved. A minority group of the NNC, however, went to Delhi in July, 1947, one month prior to independence, and proposed that Naga Hills be left outside of the Indian Union. The governor of Assam had threatened that if the Nagas declared independence, military force would be used against them. Yet, on August 14, 1947, the day before India was to become independent, the NNC, unofficially led by Phizo, declared NGD a sovereign independent state. The NNC now became divided on the issue of independence; the group that demanded immediate independence grew stronger. Gandhi said the Nagas indeed had the right not to join the Indian Union. Nehru, however, remained unchanged in his position. Finally, the British quit India granting unconditional independence to Pakistan, Burma, and India. Thus, NGD became a part of the Indian Union.

In 1949, when Phizo was elected president of the NNC, the movement for an independent NGD gained momentum. He was able to kindle the fire of nationalism among the disparate Naga ethnic groups and succeeded in welding them into one nation. He became a champion of the decolonization of Naga territory, and shaped the Naga peoples’ desire for

independence. As Horam (1988) points out, “the Nagas are conscious as well as proud of their individual tribal identities.” Yet when Phizo gave the call for Naga independence he tapped something really deep. For the Nagas, instead of being distracted by dissimilarities and differences, at once, without any prompting, responded as one people held by a common bond. Their later actions have amply proved them to be one people both in spirit and action. This feeling of oneness among the Nagas, referred to as “Naga-ness,” is the result of the Naga people’s answer to the larger Indian “arrogance”. Whatever may be the reason for this feeling of oneness or whatever may have helped to forge this bond of unity, the basic common “something”, despite the diversities among the Nagas need hardly be stressed”(Horam *ibid*: 14).

The then governor of Assam, Mr. Gopinath Bordoloi dealt with the Nagas very carefully. After his death in 1950, the Chief Minister of Assam, of which NGD was a district now, visibly annoyed by the Naga student agitation in demand for independence during his visit to the Naga Hills, dismissed their demand. He argued that only a handful of Christian Nagas who were under the influence of the missionaries and the British rulers were demanding independence. He also suggested that NGD in its own interest remain with Assam, and not pursue the sentimental issue of Naga independence. Goodwill missions were sent to NGD to improve understanding between the AS and the Nagas, but the NNC remained firm in its position: “Nagas are not Indians and do not want to become Indians. We were never conquered by India. The British conquered part of NGD and once the British left India that part should revert to its original status.” India, on the other hand, was only ready to allow the Nagas autonomy within the Indian Union. This standoff ultimately led to an open

conflict. In 1952 the situation began to deteriorate fast. The NNC boycotted the first general election of 1952 as a demonstration of their non-acceptance of the constitution. In 1953, the then Prime Minister of India, Nehru, visited Kohima. The Nagas wanted to apprise him of their desires and aspirations, but were not allowed by the Assam provincial government to communicate with him, not even to give a memorandum. Since Nehru was not willing to listen to what they had to say, the Naga leaders refused to attend the address. The police raided the home of T. Sakharie, the first General Secretary of the NNC, and immediately all the NNC leaders went underground. The government forces then began to search villages for arms, and arrests were made; the police force was increased. The weeklies *Naga Nation* and the *Naga Herald* were banned. The underground movement spread like wildfire. Killings, kidnappings, obstruction of roads, seizing guns from the police began, and schools were closed. In 1953, Naga national high schools were established in Kohima and Mokokchung side by side with the government schools. The underground leaders advised the village chiefs not to collect revenue, and the government accused the latter of being agents of the underground movement for independence. The armed conflict began in 1955, and in 1956 an underground Naga Federal Government was formed, which hoisted a flag and promulgated a constitution. In this insurgency, Nagas living outside of the territorial boundary of NGD also contributed manpower and money for the cause of Naga independence because the underground Naga rebels envisaged a homeland for all Nagas by merging contiguous Naga-inhabited areas (Horam 1988: 10). The entire Naga Hill district was now under the grip of terror and anxiety. The underground rebels took to violence; arson, looting, intimidation, and murdering of civil servants spread throughout the Naga Hills and Tuensang area. The Assam

police and Rifles could not handle the situation with their limited resources. So, in 1956, NGD was declared a “disturbed area”; a state of emergency was declared; the Special Powers Act was enforced, and the Indian national military was sent to deal with the situation. The rebels responded to this by ambushing convoys and patrol parties. When the government soldiers burned Naga villages and their granaries, the Nagas waged retaliatory attacks on the military outposts. Anybody who opposed the independence movement was murdered by the rebels. In 1956 Prime Minister Nehru met with a Naga delegation in Delhi but he only promised them maximum autonomy. The churches condemned the violence and appealed to the Nagas to follow the path of peace. In 1957 an All Tribes Naga Peoples’ Convention (NPC) was held in Kohima which was attended by 1760 delegates and 2,000 visitors from all the Naga groups. However, the rebels did not participate in the deliberations of that convention. Resolutions were passed in the convention opposing violence and proposing that the problem must be settled through negotiation with the government of India. It was also proposed that the Naga Hill District of Assam and Tuensang Division of NEFA be merged into a single administrative unit. A nine-member delegation of the NPC met with the governor of Assam and the Prime Minister, and as a result a new administrative unit called Naga Hills-Tuensang Area was formed under the Ministry of External Affairs, which was to be administered by the Governor of Assam under the President of India. In 1960 the NPC met with the Prime Minister and presented a proposal of statehood for NGD, which the government of India accepted in principle. Three quarters of the population was now supporting the policy of the NPC

The President of the NNC, Mr. Phizo, who was in London from 1957 declared that

he did not accept the New Delhi pact for a political settlement in NGD. Similarly the underground rebels also refused to accept it; they kept recruiting guerillas and obtained arms and training from neighboring East Pakistan and China.

As a result of an agreement between the government and the Naga leaders, in 1961, an interim executive council for NGD was created which consisted of 45 elected members and a Governor for NGD. In 1962, the 13th Amendment to the constitution provided for the formation of a state called NGD within the Union of India. In December, 1963, NGD was granted the status of a full- fledged state. The underground representatives of the Federal Government, i.e., the rebels, however, did not accept this solution. So their war of liberation continued.

The churches of NGD took a joint initiative to stop the war and bring peace. In 1964, at their urging, six members of the underground Federal Government of NGD and three members of the Peace Mission met with the government of India. The Federal Government of NGD still argued that NGD was never a part of India and that they had the right to independence. A series of talks about a possible cease-fire or end to the hostilities between the underground rebels and the government of India were held through 1967 but ended in a deadlock.

As a result of serious internal conflict, soon a splinter group of the Federal Government of NGD called the Revolutionary Government of NGD was formed. In 1972, the government of India banned the Naga National Council, the Federal Government, the Federal Army, and the Underground Supreme Court. This was followed by the surrender of the Revolutionary Government of NGD led by Scato Sema in August, 1973. In 1975

Presidential rule was declared in NGD dissolving the state assembly. In November 1976, the NPC again arranged for the representatives of the underground Federal Government of Nagaland to meet with the Government of India in Shillong which ended in the signing of an accord. The underground rebels accepted the Indian constitution. And the Naga guerillas were released from jail. This treaty may be said to mark the end of the armed conflict between the Nagas and the Government of India.

Phizo still did not approve of this accord. After his meeting with the Prime Minister of India in London in 1977, he appealed to the sixteen tribes of NGD to boycott the 1977 election. The election was not boycotted, and the insurgency subsided. Phizo, at this time who lives in London, still periodically reaffirms his original position that Nagas are not Indians and that NGD is not part of India. He maintains that the British never conquered NGD, and hence with their departure from India, NGD automatically reverted to its original status as an independent country.

3.9 The relationship of Nagas with the Government of India (since 1963)

After December 1, 1963, when NGD was granted statehood by the Government of India as a political compromise in the face of a violent guerilla war for independence, NGD saw a tremendous surge in modernization. Hundreds of new roads were paved; schools, hospitals, administrative offices, medical dispensaries, power stations, and other such public facilities were built all over the state, leading to increased mobility and communication among the various Naga tribes as well as between the Nagas and speakers of other languages, particularly of AS. This happened basically for two reasons: first, increased employment

opportunities throughout the state of NGD encouraged the Nagas to leave their isolated villages; second, with the state having assumed responsibility for their security, the earlier sense of mutual suspicion and fear began to diminish. The surge in public development works that occurred immediately after NGD was granted statehood may have since declined but the increase in communication among the various Naga tribes has not; a gradual increase in trade and commerce as well as political activities have significantly increased in recent years.

But, as far as their relationship with the Government of India is concerned, while it may be said that the military phase of the Naga nationalist movement has ended, the movement itself has not. As a matter of fact, what Captain Hutton wrote half a century ago about the Naga attitude towards the AS is still valid:

For one thing, the hill tribes have a very vivid fear of exploitation by the people of the plains, nor is that fear entirely without reason it has been a common experience of hillmen in the past to be cheated in some way or other by shop-keepers and contractors in the plains of Assam. (1946 cited in Alemchiba 1970 :141).

As Reid (1983) points out, the Khataki (or the AS agents), who looked after the revenue-free lands and fishing waters that the AS government granted the friendly Nagas cheated them. The contractors of the tea planters who used to hire groups of Naga laborers for clearing brush, often did not pay them. These unpleasant memories, still well alive in the collective psyche of the Nagas, have stood in the way of friendly relations between the Nagas and the Assamese.

Chapter 4

Lexico-semantic Features of NG

4.1 General remarks

A close examination of the lexical semantics of a contact-induced variety is very important because semantic transparency is considered to be a characteristic feature of pidgin/creole languages.

Generally speaking, a substantial semantic loss occurs as learners acquire the lexicon of a second language, and that happens in both formal and informal input-rich learning situations; learners tend to believe that they have acquired the whole range of the meanings that a particular lexical item has only after acquiring perhaps just one context-specific meaning that the word conveys. Pidginization being second-language acquisition under the condition of severely limited input, the semantic loss that occurs in the process of lexical acquisition must be greater. The process of acquiring a lexical item involves encoding a huge amount of information about the item, which includes not only a range of possible context-specific meanings but also information regarding its selectional properties, properties of categorial selection and semantic selection. In other words, when language learners acquire lexical item they acquire far more than a set of meanings; they also acquire the structural information connected with each word. This involves, for example, learning which words are open-class or content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives) and which are closed-class or function words (e.g. prepositions, determiners, conjunctions), which play syntactic roles. A second language learner acquires all this information as does the child in the absence of sufficient explicit

teaching probably from repeated exposure to steadily flowing input. In pidginization, speakers have very limited access to input, and hence it is often the speakers' perception of what the superstrate speaker says, rather than what he really says, that becomes stabilized. Consequently, in this process, word classes are confused, sometimes the form is acquired with a distorted function, or the meaning is acquired correctly but the form is distorted, and so on. Although in second language acquisition semantic loss occurs perhaps only with respect to the range of meanings a lexical item can convey, loss or distortion of selectional properties is not so great. But, in pidginization, and hence in creolization too, while the phonetic shape of the word's source language may be retained its selectional properties may include features from the learner's native language and/or adstrate language(s).

In a pidgin, many of the superstrate words retain their original meanings, e.g. [bébi] 'baby', [tókí] 'talk' in Chinese Pidgin English, [din] 'religion' in Nubi Arabic, /tebol/ 'table' in Neo-Melanesian, or [prɔmɛs] 'promise' in Liberian English; however, many show extensions of meaning which may seem odd at first glance, but closer inspection reveals that they are semantically transparent and logical. For example, the English word 'screw' which became /skru/ in Neo-Melanesian refers to anything that acts as a joint; and thus 'elbow' is /skru bilɔŋ arm/, 'knee' is /skru bilɔŋ leg/. Similarly, English 'grass' remains /gras/ but refers not only to grass but to anything that grows outward, e.g. 'hair' is /gras bilɔŋ hɛd/, 'beard' is /gras bilɔŋ fɛs/.

Since the creators of pidgins received their input mostly from semi-literate uneducated superstrate-speaking sailors, traders, fishermen, peasants or rude labor contractors who used

slang and swear words as they spoke to the creators of pidgins, pidgin/creole lexicon contain regional words, slang, vulgar usages and taboo words as regular lexical items. Holm (1988:78) notes that existence of nautical elements in the lexicon of western creoles is “not surprising considering the important role that European seafarers played in the founding and maintenance of the colonies where the creoles developed.” Regarding the sources of vulgar usages and slang in pidgin and creole lexica, Holm (ibid) notes, “Europeans brought the dialects of their social class as well as of their region to the colonies. For the urban poor, soldiers, and many others who made up the early settlers, slang was an important part of daily speech. Such words often became a part of the creole and frequently lost their European connotations in the process: if a creole’s only word for ‘urine’ was piss, this word became as appropriate as urine in any domain, shedding the vulgarity of its etymon, e.g., Krio CE switpis ‘diabetes,’ pisbag ‘bladdar,’ pisol ‘urethra’ ”. Because of the above characteristics of pidgin/creole lexica , particularly since semantic transparency is widely considered as a diagnostic feature of pidgin and creole languages, in this chapter, in addition to presenting the basic vocabulary, kinship terms, and color term, the lexical semantic structure of NG will be examined in some detail.

4.2 Basic Vocabulary of NG

In this section the basic vocabulary of NG will be listed side by side with that of the superstrate. “The basic vocabulary of a language is the sector of its lexicon which deals with those elements of universal human experience which exist irrespective of the speakers’ culture and comprises such fundamental biological activities as eating, sleeping, giving birth, dying

, such major divisions of the body as the eye, the mouth , the head, natural physical phenomena like fire, water, the sun, the moon, such general relational concepts as are represented by the personal pronouns , the demonstratives, negation, size, etc.’(Bynon 1977:267). Based on this principle, Swadesh first developed a list of two hundred lexical items but later reduced it to 100 (Swadesh 1971:283). The list provided below was made by combining Swadesh’s list and that of Comrie and Smith (Comrie & Smith 1977).

Whether or not a superstrate lexical item is standard, colloquial, archaic, regional, or slang will be indicated against each item. Where two or more items are provided, the first one is the standard colloquial usage, and the rest are regional usage and rare usage found among Kamrupi peasants or tea plantation laborers.

4.2.1 General Vocabulary

Possible sources of the vocabulary listed below have been indicated. However, it may be noted that Hindi includes Hindi, Urdu, and Hindustani words. Similarly Assamese includes all its dialects. Creation constitutes words/phrases through devices internal to NG, a calque, on colloquial constructions such as found in other South Asian languages , e.g. ‘because’ **kile koyle** (compare Nepali equivalent *kinə bhəne*), or extension of meaning, e.g NG **borton** ‘cooking pot’ $\Leftarrow$ Hindi/BG borton ‘dish’.

Table 12. Basic vocabulary of NG and its possible sources

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
age	umor	boyoh	Hindi ¹
agree	manjur	raji howa	Hindi
all	sop	hokolu, sob	AS
alone	ekela	okoloi	Hindi
and	aru	aru	AS
angry	khong kora	ag kora/khong kora	AS
animal	jontu	jontu	AS
at	te	-at/ot	AS
back	piche	pich phale	AS
bad	biya	beya	AS
bag	jhula	mona, jolunga, thoila, jula	AS
bark	holla 'to make a noise'	bhuka	Creation
basket	tukuri	tukuri	AS
bathe	gusul	ga-dhua	Hindi
beautiful	sondur	dhunia	BG
because	kile koile 'to tell why'	karon	Creation
bed	bisna	bisana	AS
below	niche	tolot	BG
big	dangor	dangor	AS
bind	bandhia 'having tied up'	bandha	AS
bird	chiriya	sorai, pokhi	Hindi
birth	jonom	jonmo	AS
bite	kamure	kamora	AS
bitter	tita	tita	AS
boy	chukra/lora	lora	Hindi/AS

Assamese=AS; the Kamrupi dialect of AS = Kam.; Bengali-BG; the Sylheti dialect of BG which shares numerous features with AS= SYL; and, Hindi, Urdu, Nepali, Bhojpuri, and Hindustani= Hindi.

¹ Since it is often difficult or impossible to determine what exactly was the source of certain lexical items. Hindi should be regarded as a cover term for Hindi, Urdu, Hindustani, Bhojpuri or Nepali.

Table 13. Basic vocabulary of Nagamese and its possible sources (Cont.)

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
brave	mon dangor 'mind big'	hahohi	Creation
bread	ruti	ruti	Hindi/AS
break	bhangia 'having broken'	bhaṇa	AS
breathe	sas lua 'to take breath'	uhha, sas	AS
bring	ania 'having brought'	an-a	AS
bucket	baltin	balti	Ao
burn	julia	jola	AS
buy	kinia	kin-a	AS
call	matia	moat	AS
child	bachcha	kesua	Hindi/BG
chilli	mercha	jolokia	Hindi
clean	sapa	safa kora, poriskar	AS
climate	hawa-pani 'air water'	jolbayu	Creation
cloth	kapur	kapur	AS
cloud	meg	megh, dawor	AS
cold	thanda	thanda, sesa	AS
cook	paka	rondha	Hindi
cooking pot	borton	deksi, karahi	Hindi/SYL
count	ghunti	gona, gonti-kora	AS
cry	kandia	kanda	AS
cut	kati	kata	AS
danger	bipod	bipod	AS
day	din	din	AS
devil	saitan	saitan	AS
die	muria	dhukal, mora	AS
dirty	moila	letera, moila	AS
dog	kuta	kukur	Hindi
door	dorja	dorja, dwar	AS
drink	kha	kha, pi-khua	AS
dry	sukha	hukan	AS

Table 14. Basic vocabulary of NG and its possible sources (Cont.)

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
dust	dhuli	dhuli	AS
doctor	doktor	daktor	AS
devil	shoitan	saitan	AS
danger	hipod	bipod	AS
earth	mati 'soil'	prithibi	BG
eat	kha	kha	AS
egg	anda	koni	Hindi
earn	poisa bona 'money make'	uparjon	Creation
earth	mati 'soil'	prithibi	BG
eat	kha	kha	AS
empty	khali	hunno, khali	AS
energy	tagot/jur	hokti	Hindi
excrement	paikhana	paikhana	AS
false	misa 'lie'	nokol, nokli	AS
fall	giri	pora	Hindi
far	dur	dur	AS
father	baba	dewata/baba/abba/pita	AS
fence	bera	ber-de	BG
fear	bhoy	bhoy	AS
feather	pakhi	pakhi, palok	AS (Ext.)
feel	jana 'know'	onubhab kora	BG (Ext.)
fever	bukhar	bukhar	Hindi
few	olop	olpo, okoman	AS
fight	lorai	dond- kora, kajia kora	Hindi
fire	jui	jui	AS
fish	mas	mas	AS
flesh	mangso	magho	BG
flower	pul	phul	AS
fly	uri	ur-a	AS
foot	theng 'animal/insect's leg'	bhori-pota	Creation
freeze	thanda	goot-mara	BG (Ext.)
fruit	guti 'round thing'	phol	BG (Ext.)
fry	bhaji kuria	bhaji	Hindi
frying pan	karai	Korahi	AS
full	pura	bhorti, bhori, pura	BG
give	dia	diya	AS
good	bhal	bhal	AS

Ext. = Extension of meaning .

Table 15. Basic vocabulary of NG and its possible sources (Cont.)

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
grass	ghas	ghah	BG/AS
grind	mihin kora	gura-kora	Hindi
grow	dangor hua 'big to be'	bar-hua, daNr-hua	AS
gain	lap-pa 'profit get'	labh-kora	AS
ginger	adua	ada	AS
happy	khusi	hukhi	Hindi/BG
hear	hunia	huna	AS
heavy	bhari	godhur, bhari	AS
hill	pahar	pahar	AS
hit	maria	mara	BG
heat	gorom	gorom	AS
heart	mon 'mind'	hriday, mon	AS
here	yate	yat/ya/yate	AS
help	modot	shahajjo	Hindi
hold	dhure	dhora	AS
holiday	genna	parbonor din	Creation
hope	asha	asha	AS
hot	gorom	gorom	AS
house	gor	ghor	AS
how	kinika	kenekoi, keneka	AS
hungry	bhuk	bhok-laga	AS
husband	mota	giriye/mota 'male'	AS
hurt	aghat '	dukh-pua, dukh-dia	AS
I	moy	moi	AS
if	inika hole 'like this if'	jodi	Creation

Table 16. Basic vocabulary of NG and its possible sources (Cont.)

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
illness	bimar	rog, bemar	AS/Hindi
in	te	ot, ote (e = Emph)	BG
invite	mata	nimontron	BG (Ext.)
kill	moria-dia	mara	AS
knife	chaku	kotari, suri	Hindi
know	jane	jana	AS
lake	dangor pukuri	hrod, bil	Creation
	(Lit.) large pond		
laugh	hashia	haña	SYL
leaf	pata	pat	BG
left	bao phale/baya	bao phal	AS
long	lomba	dighal, lomba	AS
louse	ukuni	okoni	AS
man	manu	manuh	AS
many	bishi 'much'	bohu, besi	AS
meat	mangso	mangho, mongoh	AS
medicine	dowai	dorob, ouhadh	Hindi
moon	jun	jon	AS
morning	phozir	pratokal	Hindi
mother	ama	ma, mai, amma	AS/Hindi
mountain	pahar	porbot	Hindi
mouth	mukh	mukh	AS
name	nam	nam	AS
near	usor-te	kaxot, usorot	AS
new	nutun	notun	AS
night	rati	rati	AS

Table 17. Basic vocabulary of NG and its possible sources (Cont.)

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
not	no hoy	no hoy	AS
old	purana /bura	purona (Inanimate), bura	AS
on	uporte	oporot	AS
one	ek	ek	AS
only	khali	ekmatro/kebol	BG
other	dusra	oinno	Hindi
outside	bahar	bahir phale	Hindi
past	agor	agote, agor din-ot	Creation
path	rasta	rasta	AS
person	manuh 'human'	jon	Creation
play	khile	khela	AS
plough	hal mara	hal bua	Creation
pull	tane	tana	AS
push	dhakai dia	thel	BG
quarrel	zagra/zakra	kaziya	BG
quick	begai/joldi	hun-kale, begeta	AS
rain	pani 'water'	borohun	Creation
rat	endur	endur	AS
red	lal	ronga roṅ	Hindi/BG
ready	thik thak	haju, thik-thak	AS
rest	aram	aram kora	AS
revenge	bodli biya kora	protihod lua	Creation
	(Lit) exchange bad do-INF		
rice	bhat	bhat	AS
rich	dhoni	dhoni	AS

Table 18. Basic vocabulary of NG and its possible sources (Cont.)

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
right	tik	thik	AS
road	rasta	rasta	AS
rope	rushi	rosi	AS
rotten	biya	pochiara	AS 'bad'/'upset'/'sick'
round	gol	ghuronia, gol	AS
sad	bejar/mon dukh bejar, mon mora		AS
salt	nimok	nimok	AS
say	kua	kowa	AS
sand	balu	bali	AS
scarcity	kom hua/napawa	obhab, akal	Creation
sea	dangor pani	hagor	Creation
seed	guti	guti	AS
semen	bizon pani 'seed water'	birzya	Creation
sew	silā	silua	AS
seed	guti	guti	AS
smoke	dhunga	dhun̄a	AS
snake	sap	hap	AS
some	olop	okoman, olop	AS
sour	tenga	ten̄a	AS
spear	zathi	zathi	AS
spice	mosla	mosla	AS
spit	thup	thui	AS
split	bhange	bhañi, belek-kora	AS

Table 19. Basic vocabulary of NG and its sources (Cont.)

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
stand	uthia	thio-hua, utha	AS
star	tora	tora	AS
stone	pathor	heel, guti, pathor	AS
straight	sida	sidha	AS
strong	jor-thaka	boloshali/bolistho	Creation
sun	dhup	beli hujjo, suruuj	Hindi
sharp	dhar	soka	BG
she	tai	tēo/ tai ('she' subordinate)	AS
short	khata	sapor	BG
sing	gan-kura	gan-gua	Creation/BG
sit	bohe	boha	AS
sky	akas	akah	AS
sleep	ghuma	hua	BG
small	choto	horu	Hindi
smell	gon	gundh/huṇa	AS
smile	hanse	hāha	AS
strong	jor-thaka	boloshali/bolistho	Creation
sweet	mitha	mitha	AS
sweat	pusina	gham	Hindi
tasty	mitha 'sweet'	huad	AS
they	taikhan (male & female)	hihot, teo lok	Creation
today	aji	aji	AS
tomorrow	kali	kailoi/ohakali	AS
toy	khel bostu	putola	AS
under	nise	tolot	BG

Table 20. Basic vocabulary of NG and its possible sources (Cont.)

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
we	ami-khan	amikhan	AS
what	ki	ki	AS
wheel	gari theng 'car leg'	soka	AS
when	ketiya	ketia	AS
white	buga	boga	AS
who	kun	kon	AS
wide	dangor	bohol	Creation
wife	maiki	ghoiniyek, poribar, maiki	AS
wind	hawa	botah	Hindi
window	khirki	khiriki	AS
wine	modu	mod	Creation
witch	jaduwalla maiki	daini	Creation
woods	jongol	habi, jongol	AS
worm	puka	poka	AS
wound	ghao	gha	AS
year	sal	bosor	Hindi
yes	hoy	hoy	AS
yesterday	jua kali	kali	Creation
you	apuni ¹	apuni (Hon.)	AS
you (pl.)	apuni-khan	toy, tumi, apuni	AS

1

As employs three second person pronouns: *apuni*, *tumi*, and *toy*. *Apuni*, the honorific form, is used to address older people, people who hold higher positions, and unknown people who look educated but may not necessarily be younger in age. Some use it as a distancing mechanism as well. *Tumi* is used to address familiar people of the same age if the relationship is fairly intimate, younger relatives, younger subordinates, and servants who are of the speakers' same age or older; and *Toy* is used to address children, servants, and intimate friends. In NG, however, only *apuni*, the honorific form of the superstrate is used to address everybody.

Table 21. Basic vocabulary of NG: body parts and fluids

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
body	gao	ga	AS
head	matha	mur	BG
forehead	kopal	kopal	AS
face	muk	mukh	AS
cheek	gal	gal	AS
nose	nak	nak	AS
mouth	mukh	mukh	AS
lip	unth	unth	AS
tooth	dat	dat	AS
tongue	jiba	jibha	AS
neck	gola	dinggi	BG
shoulder	kandho	kandh	AS
chest	chat, buku	buku	Hindi/BG
breast	dud	ston, dudu	AS/BG
back	pithi	pithi	AS
rib	kamihar	kamihar	AS
hand	hat	hat	AS
arm	upor-hat	hat	Creation
elbow	hat-guti 'hand ball'	kila guti	Creation
wrist	hatjoin	hator huru gathi	Creation
palm	septa hat	hat tolua	Creation
finger	anguli	anguli	AS
nail	nokhuni	nokh	BG
forehead	kopal	kopal	AS
mouth	mukh	mukh	AS
tooth	dat	dat	AS
AS/BG			

Table 22. Basic vocabulary of NG: body parts and fluids. (Cont.)

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
back	pithi	pithi	AS
naval	nabhi	nabhi, nai	AS
waist	komor	kōkal	Creation
buttocks	pokor	tika (AS 'anus')	AS/Ext.
leg	theng	bhori	AS 'animal's leg' (Ext.)
thigh	philla	uru	Hindi
knee	theng-zoin (Lit. leg joint)	athu	Creation
calf	theng-magso (Lit. leg-flesh)	kolaphul	Creation
ankle	theng-zoin 'leg joint'	gathi/horu gathi	AS
foot	theng-niche 'Lit. leg under'	bhori pata	Creation
belly	pet	pet	AS
anus	haga rasta (Lit.) excreta route	pokor	Creation
penis	kol 'banana'	lingo	Creation
vagina	muji	joni	Creation
stomach	pet	pet	AS
intestine	nari	nari	AS
vein	khun rasta 'Lit. blood way'	nari	Creation
blood	khun	tej	Hindi
sweat	pusina	gham	Hindi
tear	soku pani 'eye water'	osru	Creation
saliva/spit	thup	thui	AS
semen	bijor pani	birjo	Creation
urine	pisab	pesab	AS
excreta	paikhana	bistha, gu	AS 'toilet' (Ext.)

Table 23. Basic Vocabulary: kinship terms.

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
husband	mota	giriye	AS 'male'(Ext.)
wife	maiki	ghoiniyek	AS 'female'(Ext.)
son	chokra, lora	putek, lora	Hindi/AS
daughter	chokri/suali	jiyek/suali	Hindi/AS
parents	ma aru baba	ma deuta, mak-bapek	BG
mother	ama, mai	ma, amma, mai	AS
step mother	choto mai	mahimak	Creation
father	baba	bapek, pita	BG
sister	bohini	bohini, bhonti	AS
elder sister	didi	bai deu, baita, baiti	BG
younger sister	bohini	bohini, bhonti	AS
brother	bhai	bhai	AS
elder brother	dada	kokai, kokai deu	BG
younger brother	bhai	bhai	AS
grandmother	buri mai	aita, nani	Creation
grandfather	bura baba old father	koka, kokai, deuta	Creation
father's younger brother	choto baba little father	khora	Creation
the wife of father's younger brother	choto mai little mother	khuri	Creation
father's elder brother	dangor baba big father	bor baba	Creation
father's elder sister	dangor mai	jethi	Creation
the husband of father's elder sister	dangor baba jethu		Creation

Table 24. Basic Vocabulary: kinship terms (Cont.)

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
father's younger sister	phuphu ¹	pihi	Hindi
the husband of father's younger sister	choto baba little father	peha	Creation
mother's brother	mama	mama	AS
mother's brother's wife	mami	mami	AS
mother's younger sister	choto mai little mother	mahi	Creation
the husband of mother's younger sister	choto baba	moha	Creation
father-in-law	sosur	shoshur	AS
mother-in-law	sasu	shashu	AS
wife's younger brother	sala	khulkhalee	Hindi/BG
wife's younger sister	sali	khulkhalee	Hindi/BG
elder brother's wife	bou	bou, no-bow	AS
elder sister's husband	bheni	bhini, bhinti, bhin-deu	AS
younger sister's husband	juai	bhoni jōwai	AS
son-in-law	juai	jōwai	AS
younger brother's wife	buwari	bhai-buwari	Unknown
daughter-in-law	buwari	bowari	Unknown
friend	sathi	bondhu	Hindi

4.2.2 Color terms

Five general color terms are commonly used in the basilectal and mesolectal varieties: white, black, blue, red and yellow. In the acrolectal variety and in the mass media, more

¹ Many speakers, particularly of the basilectal variety, indicate relationships by using the possessive marker *laga*, as in aunt (father's sister) baba laga bohini 'lit. sister of father'

specific color terms are frequently created or borrowed from the superstrate, e.g., ‘green’ **pata laga rong** (lit.) ‘color of leaves’.

Table 25. Basic vocabulary (color terms)

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Possible Source
white	buga	boga	AS
black	kala	kola	AS/BG
blue	nila/akas	nila	AS
red	lal	ronga	BG/Hindi
yellow	holdi rong’ turmeric color’	holodia	Creation
green	pata laga rong leaf GEN color	heujuia	Creation
orange	dhup nishina lal sun similar red	komola	Creation
reddish	lal nishina	roktim	Creation
brown	khuri laga roṅ	matia	Creation

4.3 Major types of vocabulary

What is clear from the above list of basic vocabulary, color and kinship terms is that during the early stages of its formation, NG drew its core vocabulary from AS, with some degree of modification, but as the language developed further, it borrowed from adstrate languages. A diachronic analysis of its lexicon reveals that in more recent times, many of the earlier borrowings from AS were replaced by Hindi words. Replacement of existing vocabulary by Hindi lexical items (as well as particles) occurred at a higher rate after NGD was recognized as a full-fledged state. It ought to be pointed out that the tendency to replace

words of AS origin by Hindi words and phrases is so widespread a phenomenon that one might get the impression that NG is undergoing relexification (Sreedhar 1985). It is interesting to note that while the common masses are rapidly replacing words of As origin by Hindi and English words, the mass media, particularly the NG newscasters of All India Radio station at Kohima, the capital of NGD, is increasingly using more AS words and phrases, which might give an outsider the false impression that NG is undergoing decreolization. What is actually happening is that NG is undergoing bicentric standardization. To meet new communicative needs, the mass media is borrowing words and phrases from the superstrate, while the average speakers, who hate the AS for having economically exploited them in the past, either borrowing from Hindi and English or taking recourse to word creation, by following well-established internal rules for coining words and phrases. As a result of this process, of course, NG is becoming structurally more and more sophisticated, and this process is best called depidginization.

Sreedhar (1983) divided NG vocabulary into the following five categories:

- (i) minimal essential vocabulary that came from the superstrate, during the early stages of its formation;
- (ii) vocabulary acquired subsequently from AS;
- (iii) coinage of new complex lexical items by juxtaposing existing lexical items;
- (iv) reduplication;
- (i) borrowing from other languages in contact with the already existing language.

However, he did not distinguish between the first two types. To make a reliable distinction between the early acquisitions and subsequent acquisitions would be revealing but

is extremely difficult in the absence of speech samples from the earliest stages of the variety. The following classification of the NG lexicon would perhaps still be more useful for the purpose of analysis: (i) words and phrases of AS origin;

(ii) words and phrases acquired from adstrate languages;

(iii) recent borrowings.

4.3.1 Words and phrase of AS origin

Under this category belong words and phrases of AS origin which were acquired either without phonological modification or with some degree of it, but not beyond recognition. In this category two subtypes of lexical items are available; the first (1a.) includes unmodified AS words, i.e. words that were acquired with their original meanings intact; and the second type (1b.) includes lexical items whose word shapes were retained but the meanings and all the lexical properties were not.

4.3.1.1 Unmodified AS words

As Appel & Muysken (1987:253) point out, “borrowing a word does not imply necessarily that the sounds of which the word are composed are borrowed in the same way. Of course words are phonologically adapted in the process of borrowing. What this means is that words are borrowed in a fairly abstract shape, which is then mapped on to the sound patterns of the language.” The same applies to lexical acquisition in a contact variety as well. Thus ‘undistorted’ would mean only semantically undistorted.

Table 25. Unmodified Assamese words

English	Nagamese	Assamese
and	aru	aru
fire	zui	jui
hot	gorom	gorom
house	gor	g ^h or
night	rati	rati
oil	tel	tel
potato	alu	alu

4.3.1.2 Words and phrases acquired from adstrate languages

Table 26. Items borrowed from adstrate languages

English	Nagamese	Source
bathe	gusul	Hindi
bird	chiriya	Hindi
blood	khun	Hindi
bone	hardi	Hindi
dirty	moila	Bengali
dog	kuta	Bengali
egg	anda	Hindi
fall	giri	Hindi
morning	phuzur	Hindi
red	lal	Bengali/Hindi

4.3.1.3 Creation

Every language has to constantly coin new words and phrases in order to meet new communicative needs, which it does either through borrowing or by creating them according

to the devices within the system. When a trade jargon stabilizes, with none of the languages in contact as the target language, free variation found in both the syntactic and lexical structures gradually disappears.

Two major creative devices of word formation are found in NG: analogical creation based on models available in the superstrate or NG, and logical formation by conflating words/particles that exist in the language and words from the superstrate, adstrate, or the high-prestige language: Hindi and English.

4.2.1.3.1 *Analogical Creation*

Table 27a. Created vocabulary (analogical)

English	Nagamese	Assamese	AS/BG Model
assistant	modot-wala help person	hohokari	jharu-wala broom-person 'sweeper'
balcony	upor boha zaga up sitting place	okha boha thai high sitting place	okha boha thai 'high sitting place'
barometer	hawa zukha kol air to measure machine	bayu man zontro air level instrument'	bayu man zontro air level instrument'
carpenter	khori-mistri fire-wood-mechanic	kath-mistri wood-mechanic	kath mistri 'wood mechanic'
parents	baba mai father mother	pita mata father mother	pita mata 'father mother'
rebel	hukum-na-man-a-manu order-NEG.-comply-PERF-man	bidrohi	bisas-na- thak-a-manu trust-Neg-exist-PERF-man 'dishonest'
relative	usor manu near man	kutum	apon jon 'own person'
superstition	misa-bisas- kor-a false faith do-INF	ondho-biswas blind-faith	thik kora 'to fix'
toy	khel-bostu play-thing	putula	pita mata father mother 'parents'
unmarried	sadi-nu-hu-a-maiki marriage-NEG-be-PERF-woman	kumari	kopal-na-thak-a luck-NEG-exist-PERF
wheel of a car	gari theng car leg	gari chaka car wheel	gari chaka 'car wheel' 'wheel of a car'
widow	mota- no-thok-a- male- Neg-exist-PERF	maiki female	kopal-na-thak-a 'unfortunate' forehead-Neg-exist-PERF

4.2.1.3.2 *Logically based formation without a model*

As words of Sanskrit origin, known as ‘tatsama words’ are replaced by natively formed items by the word formation component that the language has developed. As can be seen, they are semantically transparent/regular. The following examples illustrate the native devices that have developed in the language for lexical growth. Marchand (cited in Sreedhar 1983: 304) call them the ‘native basis of coining’.

Table 27b Natively created vocabulary (without a model)

English	Nagamese	Assamese/Bengali model
argue	kotha-zuz-ia speech-fight-PPL	jukti-torko kor-a reason-argue do-INF
armament	juddha-kor-a-bostu fight-do-INF-thing	ostro-hostro
average	sob mila-i-ek all mix-PERF- one	gor
bearer	lo-i zu-a manuh take-PERF go-PPL man	bahok
bride	nuton biya maiki new marriage woman	koinna
budget	bosor hisab year calculation	bajet
court	mukordoma low-a zaga case take-PPL place	adalot
customer	kina manu buying man	grahok
dam	pani bond ko-a bera water stop do-PERF fence	bond ^h

Table 28. Natively created vocabulary without a model (Cont.)

English	Nagamese	Assamese
desert	balu-desh sand-country	morub ^h umi
echo	awaz gur-a ah-a sound return-PERF come-INF	protidd ^h oni
economics	poisa-r giyan money-GEN knowledge	orthobidda
famine	kha-bo no-thak-a eat-IRR NEG-exist-PERFt	durb ^h ikk ^h o
farmer	kheti-manu farm-man	khetiyok/krihok
gender	mota maiki buzu-a male female indicate-PPL	lingo
giant	bisi dangor ga aru hokti thak-a manu much big body and strength exist-PERF man	daitya
hail	pani-pathor water stone	hil/hila
honey	mou ros bee juice	mod ^h u
insect	pakhi poka feather worm	potongo/caga
judge	bisar kor-a manu trial-do-PPL-man	bisarok
knee	theng-zoin leg-joint	at ^h u
lucky	kopal dangor forehead big	b ^h aggoban

Table 29. Natively created vocabulary without a model (Cont.)

English	Nagamese	Assamese
mineral	mati khand-i ulaw-a earth dig-PERF open-PERF	k ^h onij
moment	olop homoy short time	muhurto
recreation	mon khusi kor-a homoy mind happy mak-PERF time	jirani
widow	mota no-thok-a maiki male NEG-remain-PERF woman	bid ^h oba

It may be noted that of all the native devices of word/phrase formation that have evolved, the following two types -- juxtaposition of an adjective and a noun; and two nouns-- are the most productive of all: (i) Adjective + Noun, e.g., dangor pani (lit. big water) 'sea', dighol dao (lit. long machete) 'sword', or septa hat (lit. flat hand) 'palm'; (ii) Noun + Noun, e.g., bemar puka (lit. disease worm) 'germ', kitab gor (lit. book house) 'library', haga rasta (lit. excrement way) 'anus'.

4.3.2 Recent borrowings

Sreedhar (1983) in his classification of NG vocabulary makes a distinction between 'minimal essential vocabulary of the earlier stage from the AS' and 'the vocabulary acquired subsequently from AS'. As he himself admits, with the present knowledge of the field, it would not be possible to distinguish these two types. Separating earlier borrowings from later borrowings is extremely difficult, if not impossible, in the absence of NG speech sample prior to 1969, and the publication of D. Baruah's Nagamese into Anglo-Hindi-Ao, the first work

on NG. (It contained twelve lessons on NG plus a dictionary, and was intended to be used by the officers and instructors of army personnel based in Mokokchung.) Although making a distinction between core and non-core vocabulary is possible, such a distinction would not be revealing in any way. What would perhaps be useful is to examine the pattern of borrowing in recent times for which we have adequate data. All languages, whether spoken by technologically advanced or preliterate speech communities, have to continuously coin new lexical items in order to meet new communicative needs. When a speech community is exposed to new lexical items due to technological inventions or the importation of foreign goods or concepts, or when it is exposed to novel experiences, objects or practices, it either creates or borrows new words, phrases and idioms.

According to Haugen (1950, 1959) there are two main types of borrowing. His Type-I includes pure loanwords and loanblends. While the former refers to borrowed lexical items that are imported in part or whole along with its semantic content intact which are then gradually integrated into the recipient system through morpho-phonetic adaptations, e. g. BG 'tebil', the latter means borrowing only a part of a word and then blending it with a morpheme of the recipient system without changing the original meaning, e.g. BG parliament bhavan 'parliament house'. Type-II or loanshift, consists in making a semantic extension of a word of the recipient language, thus having it refer to something else in another language. Such borrowing may be motivated by similarity of word shape as is exemplified by the case of Portuguese/English bilinguals of New York having extended the meaning of Portuguese word grosseria 'rude remark' to refer to a 'grocery store' instead of borrowing the English term (see Romaine 1989:55). Another example of morphemic similarity or similarity of phonetic

shape motivating loanshift is provided by Clyne (1967) in which the German/English bilinguals of Australia have extended the meaning of the German word *magasin* 'storeroom' to refer to English magazine. However, for loanshift to occur, resemblance of word shape is not a necessary condition. Loanshift might involve rearranging words in the recipient language along a pattern in another language, which has also been called loan translation or calque, e.g., French *gratte-ciel* (lit. scrape sky) from English 'skyscraper'.

As Hocket (1958) pointed out, motivation for borrowing can be either "need filling" or "prestige related." Referring to Weinrich (1953) and Taber (1979), Appel & Muysken (1987: 165) refer to the following seven ways how words are borrowed:

- (1) Through cultural influence;
- (2) Rare native words are lost and replaced by foreign words;
- (3) Two native words sound so much alike that replacing one by a foreign word resolves potential ambiguities;
- (4) There is a constant need for synonyms of affective words that have lost their expressive force;
- (5) Through borrowing, new semantic distinctions may become possible
- (6) A word may be taken from a low-status language and used pejoratively;
- (7) A word may be introduced almost unconsciously, through intensive bilingualism.

Having listed the above reasons for borrowing, the authors say, "We leave it to the reader to think of yet other reasons for borrowing." The recent tendency of large-scale borrowing from Hindi in NG certainly has been influenced by "intensive bilingualism" and

cultural influence, but what has prompted such borrowing most is the Nagas' conscious decision to distance themselves as much as possible from the AS language and its speakers, and hence not only do they avoid borrowing new words from AS but they are also replacing old AS borrowings with Hindi words.

Coupled with the central government of India's various incentives for the promotion of Hindi and the tremendous impact of Hindi movies on the Nagas, such have resulted in a large-scale borrowing from Hindi. In addition, the ever-expanding trading network of the Marwaris into every nook and cranny of the state of NGD has also facilitated the process. In recent times, borrowing from Hindi has increased to such an extent that one might get the impression that NG is undergoing relexification (Sreedhar 1985).

However, since only words of As origin are being replaced, this phenomenon may perhaps be regarded as an example of what Fodor (19 :548) calls "deliberate selection of foreignisms" rather than relexification (Bhattacharjya & Sreedhar 1994: 116).

4.3.2.1 **Loanwords**

Once NG became an independent system with its core vocabulary acquired from As, the language, like any other language, had to start borrowing, as its functional load increased. In the early stages of its development, it had to turn to As and the Sylheti dialect of BG for borrowing because those were the only varieties the Nagas had access to.

Recently borrowed loanwords have come primarily from Hindi and English. It should be noted that while the mass media tend to borrow from As and English, most NG speakers consciously avoid borrowing from As; they turn to Hindi and English instead. Since Hindi

words are borrowed from Marwaris, Nepali and Hindustani-speaking soldiers and from the movies, it is impossible to know their exact sources. While a small percentage of those borrowings are unadapted loanwords, most of them are phonologically adapted. Here is a small list of Hindi loanwords borrowed in recent years.

Table 30. Hindi loan words (a partial list)

English	Nagamese	Assamese	Hindi
air	hawa	botah	hawa
allowance	elauens	britti	allowance
ambassador	embesedar	rajdut	embesedar
assembly	esembli	hobha	assembly
bird	chiriya	sorai	chiriya
blood	khun	tej	khun
book	kitab	puthi	kitab
boy	chokra	lora	lerka/chokra
cook	pakawa	randha	pakawa
dog	kuta ¹	kukur	kutta
earlier	poilate	agote	pehela
earn	kamawa	uparzon	kamana
enemy	dusmon	shotru	dushmon
fast	joldi	druto	joldi
fight	jhagra/lorai	juddha/kajiya	jhagra/lorai
girl	chukri	suali	lerki/chokri
guess	andaz	anuman	andaz
marry	sadi	biya	sadi
member	membar	hobhyo	membar
pillar	khamba	stombho	khamba
prostitute	rendi	beishsha/gonika	rendi
reach	punsa	powahi	poho)sa
servant	nokor	sakor	nokor
sound	awaz	sabda	awaz
sweat	posina	gham	posina

1

Up until the early 1970s (see Baruah 1969:59,10 and Sreedhar 1974:) word such as ‘dog’ and ‘boy’ were referred to by the superstrate words *kukur* and *lora* respectively, but today ‘dog’ is referred to by the word *kuta* (<=[kut5t5a]) and ‘boy’ by the word *ch^hukra*, (<=[chHokra]) both of which are adapted Hindi loan words.

4.3.4.2 *Loan-blends or hybrid words*

Table 31. A list of loan-blends/hybrid words

English	Nagamese	Source
agency	agentor kam	English
agreement	manjur kagoj	AS
bright	jilki thaka	BG
ballot paper	vut diya kagoj	English
guilty	kosorwala	Hindi
infantry	theng-sipai	Hindi
inn	musafir khana	Hindi
pledge	kosom khawa	Hindi
remove	hotai-diya	Hindi
reserve	risarvashon kora	English
skin disease	khijuli bemar	Hindi
shake	hilai-diya	Hindi
sword	dighol-dao	Naga
virgin	sadi nuhua	Hindi

4.3.2.3 *Loan-shift/loan-translation or calque*

Table 32. A list of loan-shift in NG

Nagamese	Meaning	Model
juddha kor-a bostu war-to-INF-thing	armament	yuddh ki chijen (Hindi) war for stuff
modot wala help person	assistant	badam-wala (AS) peanut vendor
kopal thak-a-manu luck-have-PERF-man	fortunate	b ^h aggo-shali luck exist man

4.3.2.3 Substitution

Substitution may refer to what Albo calls “morphemic importation with semantic substitution” i.e. only the idea is imported and then put in a native morpheme(s). In the following cases, a word shape is borrowed which is then assigned a new meaning which is far removed from its original meaning but is not totally unrelated. Note that in AS last example, *mokora* means ‘spider’ but in NG it was borrowed, it refers to ‘mosquito net’, some of which look like a cobweb.

Table 33. A list of substitutions in NG

English	Nagamese	Original Meaning in Assamese
army	sipai	chipahi ‘constable/policeman’
breast	dut	dudh ‘milk’
excrement	paikhana	paikhana ‘latrine’
husband	mota	mota ‘male’
penis	kela	kol ‘banana’ photograph
noksa	noksha	‘diagram’
poetry	mukosto	mukhosto kora ‘to memorize’
rain	pani	pani ‘water’
liquor	modu	modhu ‘honey’
mosquito net	mokor	mokora ‘sp

4.4 Multifunctionality

Table 34. A list of words that have multiple meanings

Nagamese Words	Meanings Conveyed
noksa	map, photo
pani	water, rain
dangor pani	sea, ocean
gan	song, hymn, poem
gari	wagon, car
gulmal	noise, revolution
sipahi	army, police
tan	hard, rough
paikhana	excreta, latrine
dobol kora	to make things thick, condense
pakhi	feather, wing
pakawa	boil, cook

Table 35. A list of words that have multiple meanings (Cont.)

Nagamese Words	Meanings Conveyed
bisas na-thak-a faith-NEG-exist-PERF	dishonest, uncertain
bhanga	to break, to crack
maiki	wife, girlfriend, female
chokra	son, boy
chukri	daughter, girl
hatai dia	remove, postpone
hosa	true, real, right
homaz	society, institution
kopai	forehead, luck, fate
pet	stomach, belly
sil	kite, hawk
modu	beer, wine
khata	short, low
pasote	behind, later

4.5. Reduplication

Table 36. A list of words created via reduplication

Nagamese	English
etiya etiya	right now
zoldi zoldi	immediately
poila poila	at the beginning
paka paka	the ripe ones
ka ka	the sound of a crow
ser ser	the sound of rain
bhou bhou	barking
ting tong	the ringing of a bell
krumremrem krumremrem	the sound of thunder
charachari	divorce
soman soman	parallel

4.6 The Numerals

4.6.1 The Cardinal Numbers

Table 37. Nagamese cardinal numbers

Number	Nagamese	Assamese	Source
1	ek	ek	AS
2	dui	dui	AS
3	tin	tini	Kam./BG. 'tin'
4	saar	chari	Hindi
5	paas	pās	Kam./Syl. 'pa:s'
6	soy	ch ^h oy	AS
7	sat	hat	Hindi
8	at	at ^h	AS
9	nəw	no	Kam. 'nau'
10	dos	doh	Kam. 'dos'
11	egaro	eg ^h aro	AS
12	baro	baro	AS
13	tero	tero	AS

Table 38. Nagamese cardinal numbers (Cont.)

Number	Nagamese	Assamese	Source
14	soudo	soudha/choidd ^h o	AS
15	pondro	pond ^h aro	Kam 'pondhro'
16	sulo	xollo	AS
17	sutoro	xotoro	AS
18	at ^h aro	othara	Hindi
19	onais	unoish	AS
20	bis	kuri, bish	Kam 'bis'
21	ekois	ekoish	Kam. 'ekois'
22	bais	baish	Kam. 'bais'
23	teis	teish	Kam. 'teis'
24	soubis	choubish	AS
25	posis	posish	Kam.
26	sabis	ch ^h abbish	AS
27	satais	sataish	Bhoj.
28	atais	at ^h aish	AS
29	untris ¹	unotrish	Kam.
30	tris	trish	Kam
31	ektris	ekotrish	Kam
32	botris	botrish	AS
33	tetis	tetrish	Kam
34	sotris	choutrish	Kam
35	poitris	pōytrish	AS
36	soitris	ch ^h oyotrish	AS
37	satotris	xatotrish	AS
38	atotris	atotrish	AS
39	unsalis	unsollish	Kam

¹ There are varieties of NG in which 29 is pronounced *as untis*, 30 as *tis* rather than *untris* and *tris* respectively.

Table 39. Nagamese Cardinal numbers (Cont.)

Number	Nagamese	Superstrate	Source
40	salis ²	coholis	Kam.
45	poisallis	ponchollish	AS
46	soisallis	ch ^h oysallish	AS
47	satsalis	xatchollish	AS
48	atsalis	atsallish	AS
49	unposas	unponchas	AS
50	ponsas	ponchash	Kam.
51	ekaon	ekawon	AS
52	baon	bawon	AS
53	teon	tewan	AS
54	suon	chouwan	AS
55	paspn	pāchpon	AS
56	sapon	ch ^h appon	AS
57	satawon	xatawon	AS
58	atawon	athawan	AS
59	unsati	unuxathi	AS
60	sati	xathi	AS
61	eksati	exosthi	Kam. 'eksotti'
62	barsati	baxosthi	Kam. 'basotti'
63	tersati	texosthi	Kam. 'teisotti'/'tirsath'
64	sousati	souxosthi	Kam. 'sososthi'
65	poisati	pōyoxosthi	Kam. 'poisothi'
66	soisathi	soyoxosthi	Kam 'soisotti'
67	satsati	hatxosthi	Kam. 'hatsotti'
68	atsati	atxosthi	Kam. 'atsotti'
69	unsottor	unuxottor	Kam. 'unhottor'
70	sottor	hottor	Kam. 'sottor'

² In some varieties of NG *forty* is *dobis* (lit. two-twenty).

Table 40. Nagamese Cardinal numbers (Cont..)

Number	Nagamese	Superstrate	Source
71	eksottor	ehottor	AS
72	basottor	bahottor	AS
73	tesottor	tehottor	AS
74	sousottor	souhottor	AS
75	poisottor	pōyoxottor	Kam. 'posattor'
76	soisottor	soyoxottor	Kam. 'sosottor'
77	satsottor	xatxottor	AS
78	atsottor	athottor	AS
79	unasi	unaxi	Kam. 'unasi'
80	asi	axi	BG
81	ekasi	ekaxi	Kam. 'ekasi'
82	birasi	biraxi	Kam. 'birasi'
83	tirasi	tiraxi	Kam. 'tirasi'
84	sorasi	chourasis	Kam. 'sorasi'
85	posasi	pōchaxi	Kam. 'posasi'
86	soiasi	siyaxi	Kam. 'siyasi'
87	satasi	hataxi	AS
88	athasi	ostaxi	Unknown
89	unonobboi	unonobboi	Kam. 'unonobboi'
90	nobui	nobboi	AS
91	ekanobbui	ekannobboi	AS
92	biranobboi	birannobboi	AS
93	tiranobbui	tirannobboi	AS
94	suranobbui	choura	AS
95	posanobboi	pōchannobboi	Kam. 'posannobboi'
96	soianobbui	ch ^h iyannobboi	Kam. 'posannobboi'
97	satanobbui	atannobboi	AS
98	satannobboi	atannobboi	Kam
99	niranobboui	nirannobboi	Kam
100	ekso	exo	AS

4.6.2 Ordinal Numbers

Table 41. A list of NG ordinal numbers

Nagamese		Assamese	Possible Source
1 st	poila	prothom	Bhojpuri. 'pohila'
2 nd	dusara ¹	ditiyo	BG 'dusra'
3 rd	tirsa	tritiyo	BG. 'tesra'
4 th	sar nombor ²	choturtho	Creation
5 th	pas nombor	ponchom	Creation
6 th	ch ^h oy.. " " .. etc.		

4.7 Morpheme boundary shift

There are numerous instances of morpheme boundary shift found in NG. Take for instance, the word **sasthor** [səsthyor] 'health', which was probably acquired from the AS phrase *swasthyor nimitte bhal*, (Lit. health for good) 'good for health', actually contains two morphemes: **swasthyo** + **r** (Lit. health + for). In NG, it has been stabilized as a single morpheme --**sasthor**-- pushing the morpheme boundary beyond -r, but meaning only health instead of for health. Similarly, The word **tair** in **tair nam** is made up of two morphemes, **tai** and **-r** (Lit. she of) meaning 'her' thus meaning 'Her name'. In NG, 'her name' is **tair laga nam** (Lit. she of name), thus, **tair** is treated as a single morpheme which pushes the morpheme boundary beyond -r. To take yet another example: in the sentence **Moy apuni logot jable mon ase**, 'I'd like to go with you.', the word **ja-bole** 'to go' is derived from

¹. In the past, the ordinals 2nd and 3rd were *ditiyor* and *tritiyor*, respectively (See Sreedhar 1974: 112); they have been replaced in recent years by BG words.

². Ordinals above 3rd are indicated by adding the word *number* to cardinal number, thus *fourth* being expressed as *sar nombor* (lit. four number).

the AS phrase **jabo bole** (lit. shall go to that effect) by advancing the morpheme boundary to **ja**.

4.8 Gender/Devices to express sex

Gender is not a grammatical category in NG, nor is it in the superstrate, AS, either. In NG, the sex of an animate object noun is indicated by preposing the word **mota** 'male' or **maiki** 'female' to the noun, as in Table 42, below:

Table 42. Masculine/Feminine

Masculine	Feminine
mota goru 'ox' or 'bull'	maiki goru 'cow'
mota kukura 'cock'	maiki kukura 'hen'
mota gahuri 'boar'	maiki gahuri 'sow'

In an extremely limited number of words, femininity is indicated by adding the suffixes **-i**, **-ni** or **-oni** as are exemplified by the following:

Table 43. Masculine/Feminine

Masculine	Feminine
sakor 'servant'	sakorni 'maid'
mastor 'male teacher'	mastorni 'female teacher'
bura 'old man'	buri 'old woman'
chokra 'boy'	chukri 'girl'
murga 'hen'	murgi 'hen'

Note that the words **murga** and **murgi**, which have been introduced relatively recently in the language and which in the most widely used variety of NG has replaced **mota kukura** 'cock', and **maiki kukura** 'hen', were borrowed from Hindi, a language in which gender is a grammatical category. According to Sreedhar (1985) "all these paired nouns are the result of the process of relexification [by Hindi words] taking place in NG."

The striking discovery in our examination of the lexical semantics of NG is perhaps that what happened here is not second language learning but a complete restructuring of AS. A large number of lexical items do not mean what they mean in the superstrate; what has been lexicalized is the learners' perception of what the speakers meant. As was indicated, semantic loss occurs even in formal second language acquisition and therefore, it would be expected in pidginization/creolization; however, what doesn't happen in second language acquisition is development of a semantically regular derivational morphology. NG is semantically transparent and has a semantically regular derivational morphology. It is that language internal mechanism which is responsible for all the 'creations' that have been discussed.

Chapter 5

Phonetic and phonological features of NG

5.0 General Remarks

The phonetic and phonological structures of the language are markedly different from both the superstrate, AS, and substrate languages. Phonemic charts of the superstrate and the major substrate languages will be provided for ready reference.

As the usual outcome of language contact, transfer of L_1 features, internal innovations, and change via universal phonological processes, were all involved in the formation of the phonological structures of NG. The resulting system that has evolved appears to be based primarily on the input received from the Western dialect of Assamese, i.e. the variety spoken in the Kamrup¹ and Barpeta regions, particularly by the peasantry, rather than standard AS.

5.1 Phonological Units (Segmental)

NG has 32 phonemes, of which 6 are simple vowels and 26 consonants.

5.1.1. *The Simple Vowels*

The six vowels with their places and manner of articulation are given below.

¹ As Baruah (1993) also points out, both lexically and phonologically NG is much closer to the Kamrupi dialect of AS than to the standard AS.

Table 44. A chart of NG simple vowel phonemes

Front		Central		Back	
	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
Unrounded				d	
Higher-high	i				u
Lower-high					
Higher-mid	e				o
Lower-mid					ɔ
Low					
Lower-low			a		

All the six vowels are oral, which can be somewhat nasalized before nasal consonants, the higher vowels more strongly so than the lower ones; but there exists no oral-nasal contrast. The supra-segmental phonetic system of NG is markedly different from that of the superstrate, AS. This is due to the fact that all the Naga substrate languages are tone¹ languages; tone, however, is not a distinctive feature in NG.

The phonetic values of the NG vowel phonemes are described below.

5.1.1.1. *Distinctive Segments and their allophones*

As can be seen from Table 28 above, the front series includes two vowels: /i/ and /e/; in the central region there is one: /a/, a lower low vowel; and, in the back series there are three: /u/, and /o/ and /ɔ/. The high vowels are considerably lower than the highest possible,

¹ All the Naga languages are tone languages, which have 3 to 5 tones at the phonemic levels.

and the back rounded vowels are not strongly rounded. All vowels are considerably longer when they constitute the only vowel of a syllable.

5.1.1.2 *The Front Vowels*

- /i/ as in /itu/ **itu** ‘this’. It is an almost close, unrounded, pure, high front vowel, which is never realized as [ij]. This is slightly higher than half way between Cardinal vowels # 1 [i] and # 2 [e] and slightly more retracted than Cardinal vowel # 2, thus being almost like RP /i/ as in mill, nil etc. or the final vowel of GA city [siDi] or lady [leiDi]. But the quality of a centralized [i] is absent. In articulating it, the lips are loosely spread and the tongue is rather lax. In closed syllables, it is realized as /i4/, in the production of which the tongue position is slightly lower than in /i/, as in /ituk^han/ itukhan ‘these’. At its shortest, it is a semi-half-close front-centralized simple vowel.
- /e/ as in /ekta/ **ekta** ‘one’. This is a higher-mid, front half-close, unrounded rather short pure vowel. It is slightly lower and slightly more retracted than Cardinal vowel # 2- [e]. Many speakers realize it as [ɛ], i.e., as a mid-front vowel in closed syllables and after aspirated stops, [t^hɛŋ] theng ‘leg’.

5.1.1.3 *The Central Vowel*

- /a/ as in [azi] **azi** ‘today’. It is an open centralized short and low, simple vowel. Its position is about halfway between cardinal vowels # 4 and # 5. The vowel has a longer duration when it occurs word finally as in [at^ha] **atha** ‘glue’.

5.1.1.4 *The Back Vowels*

- /u/ as in [utʃa] **ucha** ‘high’. This is a high back close rounded simple vowel. The vowel is slightly lower and slightly more advanced (fronted) than Cardinal vowel # 8. Initially in a monosyllabic word the vowel is longer in duration, e.g., in [uˈt] **ut** ‘camel’; and, before aspirated stops and in closed syllables it is drawn down to the position of cardinal vowel # 7, with the tongue drawn towards the back and raised just above the half-close position, as in [zʊk] **zukh** ‘measurement’ ‘weight’, or [pʊk] **puk** ‘insect’.
- /o/ as in **kobo** ‘will say’. It is a half-close higher-mid back rounded vowel, which has a position slightly below Cardinal vowel # 7. In unstressed syllables it is realized as a mid-central vowel as in [pəɾɑ] ‘from’ /’by’.
- /ɔ/ as in [moilə] **moila** ‘dirty’. It is a lower-mid medium-rounded back vowel.

5.1.2 *The Diphthongs*

There are 15 diphthongs in NG.

Table 45. A list of NG diphthongs

/ju/ as in	[g ^h ju] ghiu ‘clarified butter’
/ja/ as in	[pijala] piala ‘saucer’
/jɔ/ as in	[nijɔm] niom ‘rule’
/eu/ as in	[leu] leu ‘moss’
/ei/ as in	[heitu] heitu ‘that’
/eə/ as in	[beə] beya ‘bad’
/ai/ as in	[hotai] hotai ‘always’
/æ/ as in	[ɕʒæ] jay ‘goes’
/au/ as in	[lau] lau ‘gourd’
/ao/ as in	[gao] gao ‘body’
/ui/ as in	[jui] jui ‘fire’
/wə/ as in	[wəla] badam-wala ‘peanut vendor’
/oi/ as in	[pɔisa] poisa ‘money’
/ou/ as in	[bou] bou ‘elder brother’s wife’
/oɛ/ as in	[hoɛ] hoy ‘yes’

It may be noted that while the superstrate, AS, has a system of eight simple vowels, NG has six. The NG system doesn’t have the lower-mid vowel /ɛ/ in the front series and the low vowels /ɒ/ in the back series. Among the six major substrate languages that have been thoroughly studied, Ao has a six-vowel system: two in the front unrounded series—a lower-high /i/, and a higher-mid /e/ with a higher mid central retroflexed allophone and a high back unrounded allophone /u/, a low back unrounded vowel /a/, and two in the back rounded series: /u/, /o/ (Gowda 1975). Kachari has a seven vowel system: i:, ɪ, e, a, o, u, u: (Endle,

1884); Sema has six: i, a, o, u, and a close central unrounded vowel- /ɨ/- (Sreedhar 1977).

The vowel/a/ has two variants: /ə/ and /ʌ/. Angami, another major substrate language, has a six vowel system including an /ə/: /i, e, ə, a, o and u/ (Giridhar 1951); and Lotha also has a six -vowel system: /i, e, ə, a, o and u/ (Acharya, 1975,1983).

5. 2 The Consonantal system of NG

NG has 26 essential consonantal phonemes.

Table 46. NG Consonantal phonemes

	Bilabial		Coronal		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
Unaspirated. STOP Aspirated.	p p ^h	b b ^h	t t ^h	d d ^h			k k ^h	g g ^h		
FRICATIVE			s	z						h
Unaspirated AFFRICATE Aspirated.					tʃ tʃ ^h	ɟʒ ɟʒ ^h				
NASALS		m		n				ŋ		
LATERALS				l						
TRILL				r						
GLIDE		w				j				

Voiced aspirated stops are unstable or absent among speakers of central and northern varieties of NG (Sreedhar, 1974:173).

5.2.1 *Description of Consonantal Phonemes*

- /p/ as in **poila** [pɔilə] ‘once upon a time’ is a voiceless, unaspirated bilabial stop. Articulation is like that of English /p/, but without the aspiration that accompanies it when it occurs at the beginning of a stressed syllable.
- /p^h/ as in **phita** [phita] ‘ribbon’ is a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop. However, it is often realized as a fricative /ɸ/.
- /b/ as in **bosti** [bɔsti] ‘village’ is a voiced unaspirated bilabial stop. Articulation is like that of /b/ in the English word ‘rubber’.
- /b^h/ as in **bhal** [b^hal] ‘good’ is a voiced aspirated bilabial stop, but it is often produced as a bilabial voiced fricative /β/.
- /t/ as in **tel** [tel] or [tɛl] ‘oil’ or **tukuri** [tukuri] ‘basket’, is a voiceless unaspirated coronal stop. Depending on the native language background of the speaker the articulation may be more dentalized or alveolarized. The superstrate phoneme /t/ is an alveolar phoneme.
- /t^h/ as in **thapor** [t^hapor] ‘punch/slap’ is a voiceless aspirated dental stop.
- /d/ as in **dat** [dat] ‘tooth’ or **dangor** [dangor] ‘big’, is a voiced unaspirated coronal stop.
- /d^h/ as in **dhuli** [d^huli] ‘sun’ is a voiced aspirated dental stop.
- /s/ as in **sal** [sal] ‘skin’ is a voiceless fricative.
- /z/ as in **piaz** [pjaz] ‘onion’ is an alveolar voiced fricative.
- /tʃ/ as in **chamra** [tʃamrə] ‘skin’ is a voiceless unaspirated palato-alveolar affricate.
- /tʃ^h/ as in **chenda** [tʃ^hendə] ‘hollow’ is a voiceless aspirated palato-alveolar affricate.

/ɖʒ/ as in **jat** [ɖʒat] ‘ethnic group/tribe’ is a voiced unaspirated palato-alveolar affricate.

/ɖʒʰ/ as in **jhapi** [ɖʒʰapi] ‘rain hat’ is a voiced aspirated palato-alveolar affricate.

/k/ as in **kapur** [kapur] ‘cloth’ is a velar voiceless unaspirated stop.

/kʰ/ as in **khetimanu** [kʰetimanu] ‘farmer’ is a voiceless aspirated velar stop.

/g/ as in **gari** [gari] ‘car’ is a voiced velar unaspirated stop.

/gʰ/ as in **ghao** [gʰao] ‘wound’ is a velar voiced aspirated stop.

/m/ as in **mati** [mati] ‘soil’ is a voiced bilabial nasal.

/n/ as in **nam** [nam] ‘name’ is a voiced alveolar nasal.

/ɳ/ as in **rɔŋ** [rɔŋ] ‘color’ is a voiced velar nasal.

/ɦ/ as in **hat** [ɦat] ‘hand’ is a voiced glottal fricative.

/w/ as in **hawa** [ɦawə] is a voiced bilabial glide.

/j/ as in **yate** [jate] ‘here’ is a voiced palatal glide.

/r/ as in **gor** [gor] ‘house’ is a voiced alveolar flap or trill. Medially and finally it is flapped; the final flap is extremely short.

/l/ as in **laga** [laga] ‘of’ is a voiced alveolar lateral.

Although the substrate languages are all tone languages, tone is absent in NG. Not all of the above contrasts exist in all the varieties of NG; particularly the voiced/unvoiced and aspirated/unaspirated contrasts are in a state of flux. The following table shows some of the variations in the realizations of certain phonemes:

Table 47. Variation in the production of the consonantal phonemes

1	2	3
	Standard	variant
ginger	[adua]	[atua]
book	[kitab]	[kitap]
profit	[lab ^h]	[lab], [lap]
tree	[gas]	[kas]
rice	[b ^h at]	[bat]
half	[ad ^h a]	[ada]
tiger	[bag ^h]	[bak]
chicken	[murgi]	[murki]
house	[g ^h or]/	[gor] or [k ^h or]
today	[aɖɜl]	[azi] or [aʒi]
go	[ɖʒabi]	[zabi]
broom	[j ^h aru]	[jaru] or [c ^h aru]
shame	[sorom]	[šorom]
faith	[bisas]	[bišas]
rice	[b ^h at]	[bat]
tree	[gas]	[kas]

The alveolar flap /r/ is pronounced /l/ by some speakers; thus, the word for 'rope' can be pronounced either *rosi* /rosi/ or *losi* /losi/. However, the contrast is strictly maintained in the mass media. Sreedhar (1974) treated these differences as regional varietal features, but that does not seem to be true any more. Varietal differences that existed twenty years ago seems to have disappeared to a great degree.

For a better understanding of how the consonantal system of NG evolved, an examination of the consonantal systems of both the superstrate and the major substrate languages are provided below.

5.3 Superstrate & Substrate Consonantal systems

5.3.1 *The consonantal phonemes of Assamese*

While NG has 27 essential consonants, AS has only 24.

Table 48. A chart of the Assamese consonantal phonemes

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
Unaspirated STOP Aspirated	p p ^h	b b ^h			t t ^h	d d ^h			k k ^h	g g ^h		
FRICATIVE					s	z			x			ɦ
NASAL		m				n				ŋ		
LATERAL						l						
Unaspirated ROLLED Aspirated						r r ^h						
GLIDE		w						j				

(Kakati 1962[1941]:55)

5.3.2 Consonantal systems of substrate languages

5.3.2.1 Ao

Ao has 14 consonants.

Table 49. A chart of the Consonantal Phonemes of Ao

	Bilabial		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
Unaspirated STOPS Aspirated	p ¹		t						k		ʔ	
FRICATIVES			s	z								
Unaspirated AFFRICATE Aspirated							tʃ					
NASAL		m		n						ŋ		
LATERAL				l		l ^h						
TRILLS												
GLIDES		w						j				

(Gowda 1975)

The stops are aspirated when they occur syllable-initially, but are otherwise in free variation with their unaspirated counterparts. They are voiced intervocalically or when preceded by voiced consonants. /s/ is realized as /ʃ/ when followed by /i/.

¹ /p, t, k/ which are in free variation with [p^h, t^h, k^h] are realized as /b, d, g/ respectively intervocalically and when preceded by a voiced consonant. Similarly, /tʃ/ => /dʒ/ intervocalically and when preceded by a voiced consonant. /s/ => /ʃ/ when followed by /i/ (Gowda 1975:10).

5.3.2.2 *The consonantal phonemes of Angami*

As shown in the table below, Angami has 40 consonants. (Giridhar 1951:4).

Table 50. A chart of the consonantal phonemes of Angami

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental		Alveo-lar		Post-alveo-lar		Palatal		Velar		Glo-ttal
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl
Unas. STOP Asp.	p p ^h	b			t t ^h	d							k k ^h	g	
FRICA-TIVE		w ^h	f	v			s	z			ʃ y ^h	ʒ			h
Unasp. AFFRI-CATE Asp			pf pf ^h	bv			ts ts ^h	dz			tʃ tʃ ^h	dʒ			
Unasp. NASAL Asp.		m m ^h				n		n n ^h				ɲ ɲ ^h		ŋ	
LATE-RAL							l l ^h								
TRILL									r r ^h						
GLIDE		w										j			

5.3.2.3 The Consonantal Phonemes of Konyak

The Konyak consonantal inventory has 16 essential phonemes (Nagaraja 1994:xvi).

Table 51. A chart of the Konyak consonantal phonemes

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental		Alveolar		Post-alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glo-ttal
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl
Unasp. STOP Asp.	p p ^h				t								k k ^h		
FRICA-TIVE				v							ʃ				h
Unasp. AFFRI-CATE Asp											tʃ				
Unasp. NASAL Asp.		m						n				ɲ		ŋ	
LATERAL								l							
TRILL															
GLIDE		w										j			

5.3.2.4 The Consonantal Phonemes of Bodo-Kachari

Kachari has 24 consonants, as shown below:

Table 52. A chart of the Kachari consonantal phonemes

	Bilabial		Labio dental		Dental		Alveolar		Retro-flex		Palatal		Velar		Glo-ttal
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl
Unasp. STOP Asp.	p p ^h				t t ^h	d d ^h			ʈ ʈ ^h	ɖ ɖ ^h			k		
FRICA-TIVE			f	v			s	z z ^h							h
Unasp. AFFRI-CATE Asp															
Unasp. NASAL Asp.		m										ɲ		ŋ	
LATERAL								l							
ROLL								r	ɽ						
GLIDE		w										j			

This chart is based on Endle (1884)

The dentals are used only in words borrowed from Sanskrit. They often aspirate initial stop consonants, e.g. **kal** 'time' => k^hal; **kintu** 'but'=> k^hintu etc. (Endle 1884:3-5)

5.3.2.5 The consonantal phonemes of Lotha

Lotha has 33 consonantal phonemes (Acharya 1975, 1983).

Table 53. The consonantal phonemes of Lotha

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glotta l	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
Unasp. STOP Asp.	p p ^h				t t ^h						k k ^h			
FRICATIVE			f	v			s	z	ʃ	ʒ			h	
Unasp. AFFRICATE Asp.			pf	pv			ts ts ^h		tʃ tʃ ^h					
NASAL		m m ^h			n n ^h					ɲ ɲ ^h		ŋ ŋ ^h		
LATERAL								l l ^h						
TRILLS								r r ^h						
GLIDES		w								j				

(Acharya 1983)

5.3.2.6 *The consonantal phonemes of Sema*

Sema has twenty consonantal phonemes, as shown below (Sreedhar 1977:26).

54. A chart of the consonantal Phonemes of Sema

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental		Palatal		Velar		Post-velar		Glottal	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
Unasp. STOP Asp.	p	b			t	d			k	g	q			
FRICATIVE			f		s	z				ɣ	x		h	
Unasp. AFFRICATE Asp.					c									
NASALS		m				n				ŋ				
LATERALS						l								
TRILS														
GLIDES		w						j						

As can be seen from a comparison of the phonemic inventories of the superstrate and five major substrate languages, it becomes clear that the substrate systems contributed to its formation. The dentalized realization of the superstrate alveolar stops is one example of such contribution. The NG system excludes the voiceless velar fricative /x/, of the superstrate, but includes a voiceless palatal fricative /f/, available in the substrate and adstrate languages. The alveolar series available in the superstrate, which is used by the NGD mass media, is often realized as dentals by common speakers.

5.4 Inter varietal Variation in the use of phonemes

On the basis of the relative richness of the inventory of consonantal phonemes, Sreedhar (1974:71) subgrouped NG into three regional varieties: the Southern, Central, and Northern varieties. An examination of the case markers used by various ethnic groups also reveals that this division is valid in terms of richness of morphology, as well. It is interesting to note that this geographical grouping coincides with a pidgin-to-creole-extended pidgin continuum. The fact that the highest level of linguistic complexity found in the southern region is explained by the fact that both the capital city, Kohima, and the most important trading center of the state and the city that was connected to Assam as well as the rest of India by a railroad, Dimapur, lie in the south. Among the northern Nagas, - i.e., the Konyaks, who live in geographical proximity to the superstrate and had barter trade with the AS (see Mackenzie 1884) much earlier than the southerners did - - ; NG is much less complex than the central or southern varieties. This happened because both Kohima and Dimapur lie in the south, where the Nagas not lived near the superstrate speakers but also had more intense contact with them.

In this work, therefore, Sreedhar's southern variety is called the acrolectal variety; the central variety is called the mesolectal variety; and the northern variety is called the basilectal variety. The speakers of the acrolectal variety include the Angami, Sema, Zemi, Liangmei, Rongmei, Rengma, Khezama, Chokri, Mao Nagas, and the Kacharis (the Dimasa group of Kacharis speak NG as a creole); the speakers of the mesolectal variety include the speakers of both the Mongsen and Chungli dialects of Ao, Lotha, Yimchunger, and Meluri Nagas; and, the speakers of the basilectal variety includes the Konyak, Phom, Sangtam, Chang, and Khamnagan Nagas.

In the acrolectal variety, the stops have a four-way opposition with respect to manner of articulation: they have their voiced counterparts, and both the unvoiced and voiced stops have aspirated counterparts. In the Mesolectal variety, as can be seen below, only /p/ has a voiced counterpart; /t, tʃ, k/ do not. The Lotha and the Ao speakers of NG have the following phonemic inventory:

5.4.1 *The Consonantal phonemes of the Mesolectal Variety of NG*

Table 55. The Consonantal phonemes of the Mesolectal Variety of NG

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vl	vd.	vl	vd.	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
Unaspirated STOP Aspirated	p p ^h	b	t t ^h						k k ^h			
FRICATIVES					s		ʃ				h	
Unaspirated AFFRICATE Aspirated							tʃ tʃ ^h					
NASAL		m		n						ŋ		
LATERAL						l						
TRILL						r						
GLIDE		w						j				

5.4.2 The Consonantal phonemes of the Basilectal variety of NG

Table 56. The Consonantal phonemes of the Basilectal variety of NG

	Bilabial		Coronal		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
Unasp. STOP Asp.	p p ^h		t ^h						k k ^h			
FRICATIVE					s		ʃ				h	
Unasp. AFFRICATE Asp.							tʃ tʃ ^h					
NASAL		m		n						ŋ		
LATERAL						l						
TRILL						r						
GLIDE		w						j				

Like the mesolectal variety, the basilectal variety also does not have the voiced stops, except that Phom Nagas voice /t, k/, intervocally.

The voiced series being absent in the basilectal variety, speakers optionally aspirate the phoneme in the word initial position. The voiced coronal stop is replaced by the voiceless unaspirated stop (optionally aspirated) except after a nasal where they sometimes employ a voiced stop. Thus the acrolectal **adua** 'ginger' is pronounced either [atua] or [at^hua]; and **thanda** [t^handa] 'cold' as either [t^hanta] or [t^handa]. In some cases, the voiceless stop is optionally aspirated, thus producing acrolectal **bagh** [bag^h/bak] 'tiger' as [pak] or [p^hak]; **jharu** [ɟ^haru] as [tʃaru] or [tʃ^haru]. In this variety, word-initial /s/ alternates with /h/ and /ʃ/

or [sɔmɔi] randomly, and, thus the acrolectal *somoy* [sɔmɔi] ‘time’ is produced in the basilectal variety as **homoy** [hɔmɔi], [ʃɔmɔi] or [sɔmɔi]. Word-initial /tʃ/ on the other hand, is optionally substituted by /s/, and, thus acrolectal **chuli** is produced either as [tʃuli] or [suli]. Word-initial /r/ of the basilectal variety is produced either as /r/ or /l/, and, thus **rosun** [rosun] ‘garlic’ is produced either as [rosun] or [losun]. Below, the intervaretal variations with respect to the usage of both vowels and consonants are summarized:

5.5 Inter-varietal variation in the use of particular phonemes

A considerable degree of variation is found in the production of various phonemes. In Table 56 below inter-varietal variations in the articulation of the vowel phonemes are shown;

5.5.1.1 *The Vowels*

Table 57. Inter-varietal variation in the articulation of certain vowel phonemes

Acrolectal	Mesolectal	Basilect
[besi] ‘much’/ ‘many’	[bisi]	[pisi]
[kəʃa] ‘unripe’	[kəʃa]	[kasa]
[mos] ‘fish’	[mas]	[mas]
[ut ^h a] ‘to wake up’	[ot ^h a]	[ot ^h a]

5.5.1.2 *The Consonants*

Table 58. Inter-varietal variation in the articulation of certain consonantal phonemes

Acrolectal	Mesolectal	Basilectal
[b ^h at/ 'boiled rice'	[bat]	[p ^h at]
[bisas] 'trust'/'faith'	[bisas]	[biʃas]
[daŋor] 'big'	[taŋgor]	[taŋgor]
[gas] 'tree'	[kas]	[k ^h as]
[g ^h or] 'house'	[k ^h or]	[k ^h or]
[ɖʒaba] 'go'	[tʃapa]	[tʃapa]
[ɖʒ ^h aru] 'broom'	[tʃ ^h aru]	[tʃ ^h aru]
[kitab/ 'book'	[kitap]	[kitap]
[nasa] 'dance'	[natʃa]	[natʃa]
[rosi] 'rope'	[rosi]	[losi]
[sorom] 'shame'	[sorom]	[ʃorom]
[səməy] 'time'	[səməy]	[homoy]

Intra-varietal variations, of course, exist in the use of phonemes. For example within the acrolectal variety, while the Angami Nagas and the Kacharis use /ʒ/ [aʒi] in the word **aji** 'today' the Sema Nagas use /z/ [azi]. While all use /ʃ/ in the word **sorom** [ʃorom] 'shame' the Khezama and Chokri Nagas employ /s/ instead, producing the word as [sɔrɔm]. Within the basilectal variety, while the Chang Nagas use /r/ in the word **pahar** [pahar], 'hill' the Khiamngan Nagas employ /l/ producing the word as [pahal]. And, within the mesolectal variety, while the word **pichot/pichote** 'behind' is pronounced [piʃot(e)] by the Lotha and Ao Nagas, the Yimchunger Nagas pronounce it as [biʃot(e)].

5.6 Phonological reduction and adjustments

5.6.1 *General Remarks*

Much of NG phonology was derived from AS; however, the system went through a considerable degree of adjustment. The following sections describe both the principal phonetic characteristics and the phonological processes which were involved in NG as an independent system, a system which is markedly different from AS and stabilized over a long period of time will be described. The data make clear that language contact in the present case, as in any other such cases, resulted in transfer of L₁ features into the new system under formation and triggered universal simplificatory processes.

5.6.1.1 *Open-Syllable Drift*

NG shows a strong tendency toward open-syllable drift, i.e., a tendency to achieve the CV-CV-CV pattern by changing the CVC to CV, a process found in some Atlantic creoles, West African languages, and some varieties of Spanish. Sreedhar (1985:60) notes that, “as a rule of thumb, a disyllabic word in this language having VCV would invariably be split up as V and CV, and not VC and V.” He (ibid) also notes that “the vast majority of the monosyllabic words have the CV pattern as in ki ‘what?’. The mono-syllabic words having VC as in /ek/ ‘one’ are of extremely low frequency.” The word *dal* ‘lentils’ derived from AS/Bengali *dal* or *dail* => **dali** in NG to achieve the preferred CV pattern. The CV structure is accomplished by both omission and insertion of phonemes.

5.6.1.2 *Epenthesis*

Epenthesis, the insertion of a vowel medially in a word is used to achieve CV-CV syllable structure, is common in NG. For example, the word **pakala** ‘crazy’ which derives from the Assames word **pagla** ‘crazy’, or the AS *d^hormo* ‘religion’ => [d^hɔrɔm] in NG.

5.6.1.3 *Prothesis*

Prothesis, the phenomenon of prefixing a vowel phoneme to a word for ease of pronunciation, is quite common in NG, e.g., **skul** ‘school’ => **iskul** [iskul], or *speshal* => **ispecial** [ispecial]. Insertion of prothetic vowel is probably motivated by ease of pronunciation.

5.6.1.4 *Paragoge*

Paragoge, the addition of a sound, usually a vowel, to the end of a word is quite common in NG, eg., AS *akasmāt* ‘suddenly’ => **okosmate** [ɔkoʃmate] ‘suddenly’ *amalokok* ‘to us’ => **amalokoke** [amalokke] ‘to us’, *patl* ‘light’ => **patli** [patli] ‘lean’, or *gha* ‘wound’ => **ghao** [g^hao], in NG.

5.6.1.5 *Anaptyxis*

Anaptyxis, the phenomenon by which a vowel is inserted to break conjuncts for ease of pronunciation, is very common in NG, e.g. *bakso* => **bakos**, *swapna* => **sopon**.

5.6.1.6 *Vowel raising*

Raising of /e/ to /i/ and /ɔ/ and /o/ to /u/ is the rule in NG, e.g.,

pok [pok] 'insect' => **puk**

dosra [dosra] 'another' => **dusra** 'second/other'

horu [hɔru] => **huru** [huru]

besi 'more' => **bisi** 'a lot'

It may be noted that in Western AS, as opposed to Eastern or standard AS, there is a tendency to use high vowels in places where in the standard AS a lower vowel would be used, e.g.: Standard *kapor* [kapor] 'cloth' and *nemu* [nimu] 'lemon' are [kapur] and [nimu] respectively.

5.6.1.7 *Vowel Harmony*

Through regressive assimilation of vowel height *mekur* [mekur] => **mikuri** [mikuri] 'cat'. This is a widespread phenomenon in NG.

5.6.1.8 *Denasalization*

AS words with nasals were denasalized when the nasal is followed by stops or sibilant, e.g. *da)ɪ* 'tooth' => **dat** or *panch* [pa)ɲ] 'five' => **pas** [pas] with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

5.6.1.9 *Aphesis*

Aphesis, the process of omitting one or more sounds initially in a word., is common

in NG, which is also used to achieve the CV pattern. This eases the burden of pronouncing unfamiliar consonant clusters (as in the AS borrowed word *steshon* => **teshon** [teʃɔn] or **isteshon** [isteʃɔn] as well as lead to the CV syllable. Dropping of a whole CV - 'mo'- syllable from the AS *monoromkoi* 'softly' thus producing [noromkoi] also occurred as NG stabilized.

5.6.1.10 *Syncope*

Syncope, the process of shortening a word via dropping of one or more sounds from the middle of the word, is quite common in NG, e.g., **tukuri** 'basket' => **tukri**, *nuwara* [nuwara] 'failure' => **nuara** [nuara], *pohila* 'first' => **poila**.

5.6.1.11 *Apocope*

Apocope, the process of omission of one or more sounds from the end of a word, is very common in NG. The device is particularly employed in borrowing foreign lexical items, e.g., *stamp* => **istam** [istam] . In this example both apheresis and apocope occurred simultaneously.

5.6.1.12 *Metathesis*

Metathesis, the process of reordering the sounds within a word for the ease of production, is quite common in NG, e.g., *teksi* => **teski** [teski] 'cab', *riksha* 'tricycle' => **rishka** [riʃkə], *borno* [bornɔ] 'complexion' => **boron** [boron] *dhormo* => **dhorom**.

5.6.1.13 *Devoicing*

As AS lexical items were acquired by NG, word-final voiced consonants were consistently devoiced, a process which is sporadically found in AS. Here are some examples of this widespread phenomenon: **rog** [rog] ‘disease’ => **ruk** [ruk] ‘disease’; **kitab** [kitab] => **kitap** [kitap] ‘book’.

5.6.1.14 *Elision of syllable*

Elision of the entire syllable at a word boundary is common in NG, e.g., AS **jora lagwa** ‘connect’ => **zurawa** [zurawa], **palon-kora** [palon kora] ‘nourish’ => **pala** [pala]..

5.6.1.15 *Degemination*

Gemminate consonants are consistently degemminized in intervocalically in NG, e.g., **sabbis** [sabbis] ‘26’ => **sabis** [sabis], **apotti** [apɔtti] ‘objection’ => **aputi** [aputi] ‘to file a case/objection, and [batʃʃa] => **bosa**. ‘child’

5.6.1.16 *Deaspiration*

Medially and finally in the word, aspirated stops are consistently deaspirated; the process also occurs word-initially, e.g.,

mukhosta muk^hɔsto] ‘memorized’ => mukosto ‘poem’

dudh [dud^h] ‘milk’/ ‘dairy’ => **dud** [dud]

ghor [g^hɔr] ‘house’ => **gor** [gɔr].

5.6.1.17 *Initial Aspiration*

There are numerous cases of aspiration shift whereby word-final aspiration in the AS words have been advanced in NG, e.g. [d͡ʒud͡ʒʰa] => [d͡ʒ ʰud͡ʒa].

5.6.1.18 *Consonant Fronting*

Africate => alveolar fricative, e.g. it͡ʃʰa => issa., [bat͡ʃʰa] => **bosa** 'child'. There are numerous cases of alveolar => dental, and velar=> dental fronting .

5.6.1.19 *Depalatalization*

There are numerous cases of *sh*=>*s* , e.g. sasur 'father-in-law'

7 **Syllable Structure**

As mentioned earlier, NG has a strong tendency towards open-syllable drift, i.e. to change the CVC cluster to a CV CV pattern, which is accomplished via various devices, e.g. epenthesis.

5.7.1 *Distribution of Vowels*

1) *V (Vowel)*

No vowel in NG makes up a monosyllabic word. All seven simple vowels can occur initially, medially and finally:

Table 59 Distribution of vowels

Phoneme	Initial	Medial	Final
/i/	[itu] 'this'	[kisu] 'some'	[apuni] 'you'
/e/	[ekela] 'alone'	[leŋta] 'nude'	[ikiloke] 'together'
/ə/	[əma] 'mother'	[pəre] 'with'/'by'	[əre] 'and'
/a/	[ad ^h a] 'half'	[manu] 'man'	[tʃamra] 'skin'
/u/	[utʃa] 'tall'	[kapur] 'cloth'	[manu] 'man'
/o/	[oros] 'bedbug'	[boga] 'language'	[gao] 'body'
/ɔ/	[ɔləp] 'little'	[bɔreɔp] 'ice'	[ɔŋkɔ] 'math'

5.7.1.2. *VV sequence*

The following VV sequences are allowed in NG:

Table 60. Two-vowel sequence

i + a	as in iad rakha	'remember'
i + u	as in ghiu	'clarified butter'
i + ɔ	as in niɔm	
e + i	as in eitu	'this'
e + u	as in leu	'moss'
e + ə	as in beya	'bad'
a + i	as in aina	'mirror'
a + o	as in dao	'a heavy knife, like a machete carried by the Nagas'
a + u	as in nau	'boat'
a + y	as in jay	'goes'
ɔ + i	as in moi	'ladder'
o + i	as in poila	'first'
o + y	as in hoy	'yes'
o + a	as in noare	'can't do'
o + u	as in bou	'elder brother's wife'
u + a	as in juakali	'yesterday'
u + i	as in jui	'fire'

Seventeen two-vowel sequences are available in NG whereas in the superstrate there are 41, of which five are geminate (Goswami, 1966:97): /ii, ee, aa, oo, uu/. While the largest sequence of vowels found in NG is only an extremely limited number of three-vowel clusters, e.g., **jayase** 'going', there are as many as twenty-two three-vowel clusters, fourteen four-vowel clusters, and two five-vowel clusters are available in the superstrate (ibid. 98)

5.7.1.3 *VVV- three-vowel sequence.*

Only the following three-vowel sequences are allowed in NG:

/a/ a+i+ə, e.g. **jaiase** 'is going'

 a+w+a, e.g. **hawapani** 'climate'

In the superstrate, there are 41 VV sequence including five geminates, twenty-two VVV sequence, and 14 VVVV sequence, and two five-vowel VVVVV sequence are allowed (Goswami 1966:97-98).

5.7.2 **The internal structure of syllable**

Since a single vowel or diphthong does not make up a monosyllabic word in NG, the minimal structure for a monosyllable is either VC or CV. The only monosyllabic word found in the language with a VV structure is **Ao** which is the name of one of the major Naga groups living in NGD. The NG syllable appears to be organized into (maximally) a sequence of CCVVCC. In other words, if the syllable is organized hierarchically into Onset + Nucleus + Coda, the nucleus may contain a maximum of two vowel segments and the onset and coda may contain a maximum of two consonants each. Any longer sequences in superstratal etyma are broken down by inserting an epenthetical vowel.

5.7.2.1 *Structures of monosyllabic words*

Both the onset and the coda of a monosyllabic word may contain a maximum of two consonants.

Table 61. Structure of monosyllabic words - CC

(i)	VV	Ao 'name of a major Naga group'
(ii)	VC	am 'mango'
(iii)	VVC	ain 'law'
(iv)	CV	ki 'what'
(v)	CVV	dao 'long knife'
(vi)	CVC	dur 'far'
(vii)	CVCC	bens 'bench'
(viii)	CCVC	tris 'thirty'
(ix)	CCVCC	klark 'clerk'

5.7.2.2 *Disyllabic words show the following structures*

Table 62. Structure of disyllabic words - three phonemes

(i)	VCV	ucha 'high'
(ii)	VCCV	ulta 'reverse'
(iii)	VCVC	olop 'some'
(iv)	VCCVC	endur 'rat'
(v)	CVV	bou 'elder brother's wife'
(vi)	CVVC	d ^h uwa 'to wash'
(vii)	CVCV	modu 'rice liquor'/wine
(viii)	CVCVC	tarik 'date'
(ix)	CVCCV	c ^h ukra 'boy'
(x)	CVCCVV	nobbui 'ninety'
(xi)	CVCCVC	lukfan 'loss'
(xii)	CCVCVC	prothom 'first'

As seen above, a CC cluster can occur either in the onset or in the coda, but not in both, in the same word.

5.7.2.3 Trisyllabic words show the following structures

Table 63. Structure of trisyllabic words

(i)	VCVCV	apuni	‘you’
(ii)	VCVCVC	anaros	‘pineapple’
iii)	VCVCCV	aromb^ho	‘beginning’
iv)	VCVCCVC	asirbad	‘blessings’
(iv)	VCVCCV	esembli	‘assembly’
(v)	VCCVCVC	akromon	‘raid’
(vi)	VCCVCCVC	ekersais	‘exercise’
(vii)	CVCVCV	tamaja	‘fun’
(viii)	CVCVCVC	koputor	‘pigeon’
(ix)	CVCVCCV	mukhosto	‘poem’
(x)	CVCVCCVC	nimontron	‘invitation’
(xi)	CVCCVCV	bengena	‘eggplant’
(xiii)	CVCCVCVC	bondobos	‘arrangement’
(xiv)	CCVCVCCV	protigga	‘promise’
(xv)	CCVCCVCV	prart^hona	‘prayer’
(xvi)	CCVCCVCVC	prokriti	‘image’

Words consisting of more than three syllables are few in number; they are structurally simple, e.g. (i) **sakorani** (CVCVCVCV) ‘maid servant’, (ii) **mukordoma** (CVCVCCVCV) ‘case/lawsuit’, (iii) **ikiloke** (VCVCVCV) ‘together’, **angulijora** (VCCVCVCVCV) ‘fingerjoint’, **chiriyakhana** (CVCVVCVCV) ‘zoo’ etc.

5.7.4 Intonation: Stress Pattern

Phonologically NG is much closer to the Kamrupi dialect of AS than to the standard variety of AS. AS has two major dialects: the Eastern AS, and the Western AS, i.e., the variety spoken in the Kamrup and Barpeta region., NG phonology derives from the Western

dialect. While in the past the Western dialect had been the high prestige dialect which was used in literature and chronicles, the Eastern dialect, more precisely, the variety spoken in and around Sibsagar, became the standard when the American Baptist missionaries established their head quarters in Sibsagar and established the first AS printing press, in 1836.

Goswami (1966:4) notes that, while the two dialects of AS, the Eastern and the Western, differ from each other significantly at the levels of phonology, morphology, and lexicon, the difference is the sharpest in the area of phonology, particularly in the intonation pattern. Unlike the standard colloquial or the Eastern dialect of AS, in which the stress is medial, in the western or Kamrupi dialect of the language, the stress is very strong and falls on the initial syllable (Kakati, 1962). Like the Kamrupi dialect of AS, NG has a strong initial stress and a fast and forceful tempo¹ of speech. Bengali, one of the adstrate languages that may have played a significant role in the shaping of the NG phonological system, has an initial stress as well, although word-stress in Bengali is remarkably faint (Anderson, 1913 cited in Kakati, 1962: 86). The initial stress system of NG, however, may also have come from the Tibeto-Burman substrate languages that the Nagas speak natively, which has been thought to be responsible for the initial stress in Bengali, too (see Anderson 1913).

¹. Although the variety of NG spoken by the Kacharis of Dimapur, who speak it as their primary language (or the NG spoken by the children elsewhere in NG), is structurally indistinguishable from the NG spoken by the rest of the population, the former has a much more forceful and faster tempo than the latter.

Chapter 6

Morphosyntactic features of NG

6.0 General Remarks

Creoles are said to form a separate language typology on the basis of shared structural features. A set of structural features known as the “creole features”, particularly Bickerton’s Language Bioprogram (or innate) tense-mode-aspectual system (see Bickerton 1974, 1977), lack of inflectional affixes, presence of serial verb construction, SVO word order, negative concord, bimorphemic question words, etc. have become diagnostic features of *creole*.

However, since structural traits such as minimal or non-use of inflectional affixes, presence of serial verbs etc. which have been considered as diagnostic of creole languages, are found, even to cluster, in normally transmitted languages, e.g. Chinese Mufuwene (1986), Mufuwene (1996), among others, has argued that “Creoles do not form a valid structural language type” (1994:71) and hence “The current inadequate usage of the terms ‘pidgin’ and ‘creole’ as *type* names should apparently be discontinued.” (1997:57, both cited in McWhorter 1998: 789). Moreover, many of the said structural features have also been found in the substrate languages of the “classic” creole (see, e.g. Koopman 1995 or Siegal 2000). Therefore the label “creole feature” should perhaps be reserved for features that are unique to creoles.

Although we will argue that a contact-induced variety cannot be classified as a pidgin/creole solely on a structural basis, it is nonetheless important to examine the morphosyntactic structures of NG in order both to be able to compare NG with its superstrate to see the degree of restructuring the base language has undergone, as well as to compare it

to other pidgin/creole languages, because this is, after all, directly relevant to the on-going debate on the question of whether or not creoles can be structurally defined (for details, see McWhorter 1998) who claims that creoles can indeed be identified solely on a structural basis.

6.1. Word Order

In recent years, word order, or more accurately constituent order, has been considered an important basis for typologizing languages. It has been pointed out (see, e.g. Muysken 1990) that the large majority of creoles have strictly SVO word order.

Word order plays a crucial role in case assignment. All morphologically realized NPs or arguments must receive case, which they can do either by being overtly morphologically marked or by occurring in a certain structural configuration. In languages that are morphologically not-so-rich, e.g. English, Thai, Vietnamese, and Indonesian, (all of which have the SVO word order as their unmarked option), word order is an alternative to case marking in distinguishing subject from object (Blake, 1994:15). Pidgins and creoles generally do not have a well developed system of inflectional morphology; it would therefore be expected that they would have rigid word order compared to their base languages. Thus it would be useful to examine the degree of flexibility in word order NG allows compared to AS.

6.1.1. *The Basic Word Order of NG*

NG, like both its superstrate and its substrate languages, is a Subject-Object-Verb

(SOV) language as in (2) below, and it shares the typical typological characteristics of SOV languages: postpositions, a case system and left branching structure.

- (2) Moy (Subject) bak laga cham ra ekta (Object) kin-i¹-se (Verb)
 1SG tiger GEN skin One buy-PAST
 ‘I’ve bought a tiger skin’

Compare this with the AS expression of the same semantic content in

- (3) *Moy ekhon bagho-r sal kini-sū* (AS) I’ve bought a tiger skin’
 1SG one tiger-GEN skin buy-PAST

As can be seen, the basic word order of NG is the same as that of AS – SOV. In (2) the determiner **ekta** follows the noun, but this is for the purpose of foregrounding; usually this the determiner precedes the noun, as in AS. The position of the verb is relatively more fixed than that of other constituents. The nominal constituents can be moved around for the purpose of focus. In general, compared to AS, however, NG allows much less freedom in word order.

6.1.1.1 *Word Order of the VP*

As can be seen in (2) above, the head of the VP **bak laga chamra ekta kin-i²-se** occurs finally. The superstrate language has the same order, as can be seen from (3) above.

¹ In NG, the particle -“i” serves multiple functions: in a non-finite clause or verb compound, e.g. **kor-i-bole bhab-iase** [do-LINK-COMP consider -PRES PROG], -“i” functions as a linker; in phrases such as **ah-i-kena** [come-PERF-CONJ PCL] ‘upon arriving’ or **jana-i-di-se** [inform-PERF- give-PAST] ‘has told’ (**jan** ‘know’/‘inform’), it functions as a perfective marker, i.e., as indicative of the fact that the action is completed; and, it (*i* <= *hi*) is also homophonous with the emphatic marker, “hi”

² The linking “i” will not be glossed; it will be cliticized to the verb root.

6.1.1.2 *Word order of the NP*

- (4) **Ektom sundor ekta chukri**
 very beautiful one girl 'a very beautiful girl.'

As can be seen from (4) the head of the NP, like that of the VP, also occurs finally but the order of other constituents is different. Whereas in the superstratean adjective occurs immediately preceding the head (5), in NG it occurs together with the intensifier; and the indefinite determiner immediately precedes the head. The determiner or numeral qualifying it, however, may follow the head of NP for the purpose of foregrounding, as in (2).

- (5) *ejon bor dunia suali* (AS)
 One extremely beautiful girl 'an extremely beautiful girl'

6.1.1.2.1 *Determiner Phrase*

6.1.1.2.1.1 *The Indefinite article*

The indefinite article-- **ekta**¹-- precedes the head:

- (6) **Uthoni ekta bosti-te ekta manu tai kheti-te kam**
 Once one village-LOC one man 3SG farm-LOC work
kori-bole² **ekta gahuri aru ekta kukur rakhi-se**
 do-COMP one pig and one dog keep-PAST
 'Once upon a time in a village, a farmer had a pig and a dog to work on his farm.'

The indefinite article is postposed when the noun is foregrounded (§Ss,36,4o).

¹ While in the superstrate there are several indefinite articles (eta, ejon, edal, ekhon etc) with their masculine /feminine, animate / inanimate distinctions; and diminutive forms, which function like numeral classifiers, are absent in Nagamese. NG uses only one- **ekta** for everything.

² **kor-i-bole** = **kori-bole** <== **kor-i+bo -bole** (do-LINK+ IRR+INF) 'to do'.

6.1.1.2.2 *The Definite Article*

The definite article—**tu--**, however, follows the head:

- (7) **Kukur-tu** kheti-gor-te huma-i- thaki-se aru
 dog-DEF farm-house- LOC sleep-PERF remain-PAST and

gahuri-tu din por kam kor-i kor-i thaki-se
 pig -DEF day throughout work do-PERF do-PERF remain-PAST
 'The dog slept in the farmhouse all day while the pig worked.'

6.1.1.3 *The Adjectival Phrase*

- (8) **Tai to¹ ektom bal chukri ekta ase**
 3SG FOC very good girl one be
 'She is a very good girl.'

As can be seen, the head of the AP occurs initially, i.e. precedes the NP.

In the superstrate while intensifier and the adjective occur in the same order the demonstrative is postposed:

- (9) *Tai ejoni bor bhal suali* (AS) 'She is a very good girl.'
 3SG FEM one very good girl

The adjective, however is post posed if it is specified. Compare (10) and (11):

- (10) **Moy ekta ektom mosto gahuri ase**
 1SG one very fat pig exist
 'I have an extremely fat pig.'
- (11) **Gahuri mosto-tu kot ase ?** 'Where is the fat pig ?'
 Pig fat- DEF where exist

¹ to is focusing discourse marker.

6.1.1.4 *Adverbial Function*

The superstrate adverbs *lahe lahe* ‘slowly’ and *lahekoi* ‘gently or ‘slowly’ have been retained in NG, and such analogical creation as **noromkoi** ‘softly’ is found in NG. However, the adverbial function is usually performed by a postpositional phrase, e.g. **morom pora** ‘kindly’ **joldi pora** ‘quickly’, whereas in the superstrate an adverb appears in that position. Compare (12) and (13):

- (12) **Sur-tu** **ektom** **joldi pora** **pola-i** **jay-se** ‘The thief ran away very fast’
 Thief-DEF very quick SRCE run -PERF go-PAST

As can be seen, the adverb or the head of the phrase occurs initially, that is precedes the verb, as in the superstrate (13):

- (13) *Chur-tu bor begai polai gol* (AS) ‘The thief ran away quickly.’
 Thief-DEF very fast run away go-PAST

6.1.1.5 *The Postpositional Phrase*

As would be expected in an SOV language, the head of the PP occurs finally, as in the superstrate:

- (14) **Mota-tu** **kohima pora**¹ **ahi-se** ‘The man has come (came) from Kohima’
 Man-DEF Kohima SRCE come-PAST
- (15) *Manu-jon Kohim pora ah-ile* (AS) ‘
 Man- DEF Kohima SRCE PRES-PERF
 ‘The man has come from Kohima.’

6.1.1.6 *The Declarative Sentence*

In single object sentences the word order is the usual SOV as in (16); in double

¹. **pora** can also function as agentive, instrumental, or ablative case markers.

object constructions, the patient or direct object always follows the beneficiary object or indirect object, as in (18):

- (16) Moy hotai ruti aru mangso kha-y 'I always eat bread and meat.'
1SG (S) always bread and meat (O) eat-PRES(V)
- (17) *Moy prayei ruti aru mangxo kha-ū* (AS) 'I always eat bread and meat'
1SG often bread and meat eat-PRES
- (18) **Eve-ne¹** **Adom-ke (IO)** apel-tu (DO) **di-se.** 'Eve gave the apple to Adam.'
Eve-NOM Adam-OBJ apple-DEF give-PAST
- (19) *Eve-e Adomo-k apel-tu d-isil* (AS)
Eve-NOM Adam-OBJ apple-DEF give-PAST
'Eve gave the apple to Adam.'

6.1.1.7 Word Order in Negative Sentence

The NG negative particles is **no**² and the other is **nai**. While **no** occurs with all non-past verb forms (20), **-nai** can occur by itself in existential sentences (21), or in the past verb form. Note that Negative particle precedes the verb in non-past sentences, but follows in past sentences (22) .

- (20) **Naga manu to dud nə-kha-y.** 'Nagas don't drink milk.'
Naga people FOC milk NEG-eat-PRES.
- (21) **Tai to gor-te na-i.** 'S/he is not home.'
3SG FOC house-LOC NEG-exist-PRES

¹ The nominative case marker is **-he/-e**; however, under the heavy influence of Hindi many speakers, today, use **-ne** as well.

². also produced as **nə**.

(22) **Moy to parti-te modu kha-a¹- na-i** 'I didn't drink at the party.'

(23) *Moy parti-t mod no khai-silu (AS)* 'I didn't drink at the party.'
 1SG. party-LOC wine NEG eat-PAST

While *-a* in phrases such as *khel-i-a taim-te* [play-LINK- PPL-time-LOC] 'while playing' or (a) below, is an adjectival participle, *-a* is a perfective marker in (b)/(c):

(a) **Moy gan hun-i-a taim-te amma ne redio to**
 1-SG song listen-LINK-PPL time-LOC mother NOM radio FOC

bon kor-i-- di-she.
 stop do-PERF give-PAST.

'When I was listening to music my mother turned off the radio.'

(b) **Olop din agote lu-a bhul ulta disishon...**
 'Some day before take-PERF wrong opposite decision.'
 However, *-ia* is also used as a perfective marker as in (d)

(c) **Apuni hun-a to hosa no- ho-y**
 2SG hear-PERF FOC correct NEG be-PRES
 'What you heard/have heard is not true.'

It may be noted that *-a* could also function as both a participial marker, as in (d) and an infinitive marker as in (e):

(3) **Bombai-te khobor manu logote kotha ko-a taim-te,**
 Bombay-LOC news man with talk say-PPL time-LOC
 'While talking to the reporters in Bombay, ...'

(4) **itu laga asol bichar-bilak hoy-se: desh laga sikiurity,**
 for this FOR main concernpl be-PAST country GEN security

hadaron manu-khan jibon-te integriti-ke an-i di-a
 common people-PL life-LOC integrity-OBJ bring-PERF- give-INF

aru sob dike unoti kor-i- lu-a.
 and all direction progress do -PERF take-INF

'Its main concerns remain the security of the country and to bring about integrity in people's lives and progress in all spheres of life.'

6.1.1.8 Word Order of the Interrogative Sentence

As can be seen from (24) and (25), the word order doesn't change in interrogative sentences, in other words no WH fronting or raising is involved; the question-word remains in situ.

- (24) **Tai chuti time-te kam kor-i - thak-e ?**
 3SG holiday time- LOC work do-PPL-remain-PRES
 'She usually works during the holidays'
- (25) **Tai chuti time - te ki kor-i thak-e ?**
 3SG holiday time - LOC what do- PPL remain-PRES ?
 'What does s/he usually do during the holidays ?'
- (26) **Tai chuti time-te kam kor-e niki?**
 3SG holiday time- LOC work do-PRES QW
 'Does s/he work during the holidays ?'

The superstrate has two question -markers: *-ne* and *-niki*, the former being used for closed questions and latter for choice; but NG uses only one.

- (27) *Teō mangxo randhi-bo pare-ne?* (AS)
 3SG.HON meat cook-IRR can-Q-M
 'Does she know how to cook meat?'
- (28.) *Teō Londono-loi go-isil niki ?* (AS)
 3SG HON London-LOC go -PAST Q-M
 'Did he go to London?'

6.1.1.9 Word Order in Passive Sentences

Passive constructions are generally formed by using *pōra* 'by' after the agent, but without fronting the object. Compare sentences 31 and 32:

- (29) **Bak-tu- ke to bonduk pora¹ mor-ai- di-se**
 Tiger DEF-OBJ FOC gun SRCE die-CAUS give-PAST
 'The tiger was killed with a gun'
- (30) *Bagh-tu-k eta bonduk ere mor-a ho-l* (AS)
 Tiger-DEF-OBJ one gun SRCE kill-PERF PART do-PAST
 'The tiger was killed with a gun'
- (31) **Forest ofisar-ne pakala hati-ke mor-ai- di-se** (Active)
 Forest officer-NOM mad elephant-OBJ kill-CAUS give-PAST
 'The forest officer has killed the mad elephant.'
- (32) **Forest ofisar pora pakala hati-ke mora-i- di-se**
 Forest officer SRCE mad elephant-OBJ kill-CAUS give-PAST
 'The mad elephant has been killed by the forest officer.'

However, instances of passivization similar to moving the object NP to the subject position, are available: in (33) the Object NP *pakala hati* 'mad elephant' has been fronted via the operation known as foregrounding.

- (33) **Pakala hati to forest ofisar-ne mora-i di-se**
 Mad elephant FOC forest officer-NOM kill-CAUS give-PAST
 'The mad elephant has been killed by the forest officer.'

In the superstrate:

- (34) *Pogola hati-tu-k forest ofisar jon dara*
 Mad elephant-DEF-OBJ forest officer person SRCE

mor-a ho-l (AS)
 kill-PERF PART happen-PAST
 'The mad elephant was killed by the forest officer.'

Increased use of the Accusative marker *-ke* allows passivization via word order change, too, as in (33):

¹ See footnote to sentence (14).

- (35) **Iala Imli-ke skul-te dikhi-se** $\Rightarrow$
 Iala Imli-OBJ school-LOC see-PAST
 'Iala saw Imli at school.'
- (36) **Imli-ke Iala iskul-te dikhi-se** 'Imli was seen by Iala.'
 Imli-OBJ Iala school-LOC see-PAST

All these devices are available in the superstrate:

- (37) *Iala-y Imli-k skul-ot dekhi-sil* (AS) 'Iala saw Imli at school'
 Iala-NOM Imli-OBJ school-LOC see-PAST
- (38) *Imli-k Iala-y skul-ot dekhi-sil* (AS) 'Imli was seen by Iala.'
 Imli-OBJ Iala-NOM school-LOC see-PAST

Passive equivalent constructions are available in NG:

- (39) **Gos ekta kati-se** 'A tree was/has been cut'
 Tree one cut-PAST

Animate objects of this construction keep the Accusative ending from their original role as object:

- (40) **Tai-ke kapur ekta pora band-i- kena thaki-se**
 3SG-OBJ cloth one SRCE tie-PERF CONJ remain-PAST
 'She was tied up with a cloth.'

6.1.1.10 Word Order and Definite article (Specifying function)

-tu is the specifier in NG, as in (41). Note that in AS there are seven singular (*jon, goraki, tu, khon, jupa, dal, khini*) and four plural specifier (*bilak, bur, hokol, gon, khan*); NG uses only one of them **-tu**, which in AS is used with non-honorable persons.

- (41) **Kukur-tu kot ase** 'Where is the dog?'
 Dog-DEF where be

The function of specifying is also served by changing the position of the numeral.

Compare the position of **duit-ta** ‘two’ in relation to the NP, **jontu** ‘animal, that they qualify,’ in (42) and (43):

- (42) **Ek-bar ekta khetimanu tai laga kheti-te kam**
 Once one farmer 3SG GEN farm-LOC work

kuri-bole duita jontu kini-se.
 do-COMP two animal buy-PAST
 ‘Once a farmer bought two animals to work on his farm.’

- (43) **Kintu ek din jontu duita luka-i kena**
 but one day animal two hide-PERF CONJ PCL

pola-i jay-se. ‘But one day the two animals ran away.’
 flee-PPL go-PAST.

It may be noted that while in (42) *duit*a is functioning as a numeral classifier, in (43) it is functioning as a specifier.

6.2 The Verb Phrase (Tense-Aspect-Modality in Creole Languages)

The verb phrase has been of central importance in pidgin and creole studies for a long time. The study of the tense-aspect system has occupied an important position in creole studies since it was claimed by Bickerton (see, e.g 1977, 1980 ..) that creole languages across the world, particularly his four “true creoles”, namely Guyanese, Sranan, Haitian, and Hawaiian, share a large number of syntactic/semantic properties, specifically the tense-aspectual system (see, Mahmud 1978 for a list of those features), despite their geographical separation and considerable range of substrate and superstrate languages, because they are provided directly by UG. As was indicated, many of those features have been traced to the substrate languages (see for example Spears 1990, who shows that Haitian Creole departs

from the prototype in significant ways.). However, since the genesis and development of NG involved neither the substrate nor the superstrate languages that were involved in the geneses and development of the European-based pidgins and creoles which provided the basis for formulating the existing defining criteria of various products of contact, pidgin, creole, it would indeed be interesting to see if it shares those features.

6.2.1 **Tense in NG**

NG has three absolute tenses, past, present and future, all of which are marked morphologically, as in its superstrate and substrate languages. NG uses the same markers for the relative tense unless it is a story-telling situation. In a story-telling situation the present-perfect marker is used, which uses the same morpheme as the past marker.

6.2.1.1 *Past Tense*

While in Indo-European languages a verb in its simple past form refers to a past time relative to the time of utterance, and past perfect marked verb generally refers to a past time relative to a less remote past time or remote past time relative to the time of utterance, the Anterior is relative to the time in focus in the discourse rather than to the time of utterance, which parallels the use of anterior marker in a number of Niger Congo languages, such as Yoruba.

6.2.1.1.1 *Verb + (i')se/(y)+ se*

The past tense is formed by adding either - (i)se or (y)se (y= off-glide) and -(i)le . The same marker is used to refer to both absolute tense and relative tense. A verb marked (i)se/(y)se refers to an action that took place in the past relative to the time of utterance, or the time in focus (in story telling situation). The same morpheme refers to an action that has just been completed; the time of completion can be relative to the time of utterance or the time in focus (In story telling, that conveys a meaning similar to that of “One day, he arrives there with his soldiers.” [‘arrives’ meaning ‘arrived’]). -(i)le is used only with the copula *as-* ‘to be’/‘to stay’ and *thak* ‘remain’, the latter occurring only with locative verbs.

It may be noted that AS has five past-tense morphemes : (i)silo, (i)sil, (i)sila, (i)sili, and -(a) // (o) / (i) / etc. As can be seen, the past marker used in NG was not borrowed from the superstrate, nor can it be traced to any of the past markers of the substrate languages. (i)se/(y)se seems to have been derived from the adstrate language Bangla (Bengali) present-perfect marker.

- (44) *Moy to iskul por-a pachote kolej-te por-se*
 1SG FOC school study-PERF after college-LOC study-PAST
 ‘After graduating from high school I went to college.’

In AS:

- (45) *Moy skul pas kora-r pasot kolej-loi goi-sil*
 1SG school pass do-GEN after college-LOC go-PAST
 ‘After graduating from school I went to college.’

¹ i/y links the verb with the past marker.

6.2.1.1.2 *Relative Past tense*

While in the three absolute tenses the time reference is relative to the time of utterance or present moment, in the case of relative tense the time reference is related to the time of another event which may be in the present, future or past time. In narrative past, for example, when presenting the background action in progress, usually a construction such as **khelia taim-te** (Lit. playing- time-at) and the simple past/present perfect marker is used with the main verb as can be seen if (46) and (47) are compared:

- (46) **Juakali moy khel-i thak-a homoy-te tay ek bar ahi-se.**
 Yesterday 1SG. play-PPL remain-PERF time-LOC 3SG one time come -PAST.
 'Yesterday, when I was playing she came once.'

- (47) **ek bar Nikrone puja homoy-te itu suali tay manu**
 One time Nikrone festival time-LOC this girl 3SG husband

bosa lo-i- kena tay ay-baba gor-te ahi-se.
 child taki-PERF CONJ PCL she mother-father home-LOC come-PAST.

Itu homoy-te itu lora-bi tate ah-i- kena
 This time-LOC this boy-also there come-PERF CONJ PCL

ta-k pay-se.
 3SG-OBJ meet-PAST. (Sreedhar 1974)

'Once, during the Nikrone festival, that girl was visiting her parents with the her child that she had begotten by her husband. At the same time that boy also happened to arrive there and ran into her.'

6.2.1.1.3 *Statives with past reference*

- (48) **Simon Raju-e¹ ki kowi-se itu sob biswas kori-se.**
 Simon Raju-NOM what say-PAST this all trust do-PAST
 'Simon believed whatever Raju had to say'

¹ The nominative case marker is **-he**, some speakers use **-e**. Nagas who are fluent in Hindi tend to use **-ne**, the ergative marker in Hindi, too.

- (49) **Moy to juakali phujur-te girja-te asi-le.**
 1SG FOC yesterday morning-LOC church-LOC be-PAST
 'Yesterday in the morning, I was at the church.'

6.2.1.1.4 *as + (i) le*

The past form of the copula *as* 'to be' is always *-ile* :

- (50) **Mas-tu to ektom dangor asi-le.** 'The fish was very big, indeed.'
 fish-DEF FOC very big be-PAST
- (51) *Mas-tu bor dangor as-il* (AS) 'It was a very big fish.'
 Fish-DEF very big PAST

6.2.1.1.4 *Past-before -past*

The general tendency in the language is to break up a sequence of past events into small sentences, using the simple past tense. Often two past events/actions contained in one sentence are expressed indicating their sequence by a time adverbial *agote* 'before' *pasote* 'after'. The All India Radio Kohima station regularly uses *-(i)sile* to mark past-before past. Thus, while in the headline news (52, 53) the *-ise/yse* has been employed using them as present perfect marker, as is the norm in the language, in (54) which actually has two separate sentence in it, *-(i)sile'* has been used for the remote past event but *-(i)se* for the proximate past event.

- (52) **Aji phujur-te kisuman chini-bo- na- par-a**
 Today morning-LOC some know-IRR NEG-can-PERF
- bonduk-dhar-manu-he petrol pamp usor-te NGD pulis**
 gun-holding-man- NOM gas station near-LOC NGD police

¹ This is not done in AS. It is probably an instance of English influence.

laga direktar genarael, Sri Chaman laga konvoy-te
 GEN director general, Mr. Chaman GEN convoy-LOC

embush kor-i- thaki-se.
 ambush do-PERF remain-PAST.

- (53) **Ekta khobor mote ghotona-ta¹ phujur-te 9:30-te**
 One report according to incident-DEF morning-LOC 9:30-LOC

hoy-se; hoylebi eku kezualti thak-a- na-i, aru
 happen-PAST; however, no causalty exist-PERF -NEG-PRES, and

Sri Chaman Lal-bi eku jokhom na-pa- i- kena
 Mr Chaman Lal-either any injury NEG-receive-PERF CONJ PCL

pola-bo pari-se.
 escape-IRR can-PAST.

‘This morning, some unidentified gunmen ambushed the convoy of the director general of NGD police, Mr. Chaman Lal, near a gas station. However, there were no casualties, and Mr. Chaman Lal was able to escape unhurt.’

- (54) **Juakali Aijol-te ekta imargensi seshon thaki-sile**
 Yesterday Aijol-LOC one emergency session exist- PLU

NGD esembli pora.
 NGD Assembly SRCE

‘An emergency session of the a parliamentary assembly was held yesterday.

- (55) **Itu seshon-te inar lain rizolushon-tu aru**
 This session-LOC inner line resolution-DEF more

chol-i- thaki-bole ekta rizolushon loy-se.
 continue-PERF remain-COMP one resolution take-PAST.

‘In that session, a resolution was adopted to extend the Inner Line Permit law.

It may be noted that, as in AS, the superstrate, or Haitian Creole (compare 56 and 58)

the tendency in NG is to use **agote** ‘prior to’/ **pasote** ‘after’ to indicate past-before-past:

- (56) **Moy-khan istishon-te no-ponchi-a agote tren-tu**
 1PL station-LOC NEG-reach-PER before train-DEF

¹ The definite article is **-tu**; only mass media sometimes employs **-ta**.

ja-i - jay-se
 go-PERF go-PAST.'
 'The train had left before we arrived at the station.'

- (57) *Bouki te knon repons lan* (Haitian)
 Bouki ANT know answer DEF-sg.
 'Bouki knew the answer.'
- (58) *Bouki te ale anyan Boukine t vini* (Haitian)
 Bouki ANT go before Boukinet come
 'Bouki had left before Boukinet came.' (DeGraff, in press)
- (59) *Shankar aha-r agote Raju g-ol - (goi)* (AS)
 Shankar come-GEN before Bouki go-PAST- (away)
 'Raju left before Bouki arrived.'

Functionally speaking, a past perfect (past-before past) marker **-(i)sile** is used when, in a sentence containing two past events, the statement made in the remote past event is opposed or vice versa (59), or in the consequence clause of a cause-effect sentences (61,62).

- (60) **Moy khai-sile, hoylebi pet bor-a to hu-a na-i**
 1SG eat-PLU; however, stomach full-PERF FOC be-PERF NEG-PRES.
 (Lit.) I had eaten but my stomach did not get filled.'
 'I had eaten, but I did not eat enough.'

- (61) *Moy kha-lu kintu pet no- bhor-i-l* (AS) 'I ate but not fully.'
 1SG eat-PAST but stomach NEG -fill-PAST

- (62) **Shikari-ne bak-ke bonduk pora mar-i-sile**
 hunter NOM tiger-OBJ gun SRCE kill-PERF-PLU

kintu lagi-a na-i
 but hit-PERF NEG-PRES
 'The hunter shot at the tiger but it was not hit.'

- (63) **Parti-te tai bisi modu khai-sile itu karone tai laga gao**
 Party-LOC 3SG much wine drink-PLU this due to 3SG GEN body

beya hoy-se 'S/he has fallen sick because s/he had drunk too much at the party.'
 bad be-PAST

According to Boruah (1993:80) while (i)se/(y)se are used with the 1st and 2nd person honorific subject NP, (i)sile is used with 2nd person non-honorific and 3rd person subject NPs. However, the specimen of NG speech provided in the appendix (ibid:133) does not bear out his observation, as can be seen from (63), (64) and (65):

- (64) **Karon ama-r¹ lora ekbar mori-se, etia basi-se,**
Because 1SG-GEN son (who) once die-PAST, now become-alive-PAST,

----- **ekbar hari-se etia pai-se**
(who) once lose-PAST now regain-PAST.
'Because. my son who once died has now come back to life, who was once lost but whom I have now found.' (Boruah 1993: 132)

- (65) **Kintu tuma-r itu bhai mori-sile etia basi-se,**
But 2SG this brother die-PLU now live-PAST

hari-sile etia pai-se
lose-PLU now get -PAST . (Boruah 1993: 133) '...But this brother of yours who died has regained his life, who was once lost has been found.'

- (66) **Tetia tar dangor lora-tu kheti-te asi-le. Gor usor pu-a**
Then 3SG older son-DEF field-LOC be-PLU. Home near get-

pasote gan aru bazna huni-se. Tetia ekta nokor
after song and music hear-PAST. Then one servant

mat-i- kena hudi-se eitu ki ho-iase?
call-PERF CONJ PCL ask-PAST this what happen- PRES PROG

'At that time his elder son was in the field. Upon coming close to home he heard

¹ The genitive case marker -r which was sporadically used in the past besides the more typical paratactic construction, has been replaced by an independent morpheme *laga*, e.g., *Moy laga baba* . (lit. 1SG. GEN father). The Assamese genitive marking morpheme -r was also lexicalized as a part of the lexical item, thus **ama-r** simply meaning "I" rather than SG+GEN. Also note that *ami*, the Assamese 2nd person plural subject pronoun, but Bengali 1st person subject pronoun, is used by very few speakers; the NG 1st person subject pronoun is *Moy*.

songs and music. He then called a servant and asked him, “What’s going on?”

In the first written work on NG, Baruah (1969:30-31) has **-(i)sile** as the past marker and **-(i)se** for all three persons,

- (67) **Ami¹ jai-sile**
ISG go-PAST. ‘I went.’
- (68) *Moy goi-silu* ‘I went’ (AS)
1SG go-Past
- (69) **Tumi² khai-sile**
you eat-PAST. ‘You ate.’
- (70) *Tumi khai-sil* ‘You ate’ (AS)
2SG.FAM eat-PAST ‘
- (71) **Tarkhan³ ahi-sile** ‘They came.’
3-PL come-PAST.
- (72) *Teō-lok ahi-sil* ‘They came’ (AS)
3-PL come-PAST

-(i)sile as a past marker is still sporadically found in modern colloquial NG speech.

This seems to be derived from the superstrate verbal inflection of the result clause of the past conditional sentence.

¹ *Ami*, which is the 1st person plural subject pronoun in the superstrate but 1st person singular subject pronoun in the adstrate language, Bengali is not used as the 1st person singular subject pronoun in NG today; the superstrate 1st person singular subject pronoun *Moy +khan* (a plural marker)=*moykhan* has replaced it.

² The 2SG. in NG today is *Apuni*, which is the honorific form in the superstrate. In NG *apuni* is used for all its three 2nd person subject pronouns: -HON., FAM. and SUBORDINATE or INTIMATE

³ The AS/BG *tar* [*tar* <= *tai* (3SG.)-r (GEN) ‘his’ (a possessive adj.)] has been lexicalized as 3SG in NG. The same is true about *ami+r=amar* (1SG), which has been borrowed from the adstrate language BG.

6.2.1.1.5 *Past Counterfactual*

A counterfactual meaning is indicated by starting a protasis clause with the conditional marker- **judi/juti** and then suffixing the other conditional **-ile** to the main verb:

- (73) **Juti moy laga maiki aputi no- thaki-le**
If 1SG GEN wife objection NEG-have-COND

moy otu maiki-ke sadi kor-ibo pari-sile
1SG that woman-OBJ marriage do-IRR can-PLU
'If my wife had no objection, I could have married that woman

- (74) *Mu-r poribaro-r kumu apotti na-thaka-hole moy*
1SG-GEN wife-of any objection NEG -have -COND 1SG

hei mohila-k bia kor-ibo pariluheten
that woman-OBJ marriage do-IRR can-PAST
'If my wife had no objection, I could have married that woman.' (AS)

A counterfactual meaning can also be conveyed by using **kowile** after the past form of the main verb, as in (74):

- (75) **Moy desh laga president hoi-se kowi-le to**
1SG country GEN president be-PAST say-COND FOC

edukeshon sistem to bishi bhal kor-i- di-bo asi-le
education system FOC much good do-PERF give-IRR be-PAST
'If I were the president of the country I would substantially improve the education system'

- (76) *Moy jodi desho-r rastropoti ho-lu-heten moy desho-r*
1SG. COND country-GEN president be-PAST MOD 1SG country -GEN

hikkha bebostha-r amul poriborton ani-lu-heten
education system-GEN substantial change bring-PAST-MOD (AS)

'If I were the president of the country I would substantially improve the education system'

6.2.1.1.6 *Negative Verb with past reference*

A verb like *kha* ‘eat’ ==> *kha-na-i*. ‘didn’t eat’. It appears as if the stem *kha* ‘eat’ has remained uninflected. Actually it is inflected; *kha-a-na-i*. Thus *-a* marks the past tense in the negative past form. If we take the verb *di* ‘give’ it will become clearer. *di-a-nai* ‘didn’t give’.

6.2.1.1.7 *Anterior with locative*

As mentioned, *-(i)se/(y)se* can be used in all environments.

- (77) *Moy to juakali din por gor-te-hi thaki-se*
 1SG FOC yesterday day throughout home-LOC-EMP remain-PAST
 ‘I was at home all day yesterday.’

6.2.1.1.1.8 *Unmarked verbs with past reference*

In creole languages, as in many African languages, e.g., Yoruba (see Rowlands 1969:18), verbs without any preverbal markers can refer to whatever time is in focus, which is either clear from the context or specified at the beginning of the discourse. Thus an unmarked verb can refer to past tense, too. In discussing creole tense stative/non-stative distinction has been given importance since Bickerton (1975) claimed that the unmarked creole verb “signifies past with non-statives and non-past with statives.”

6.2.1.1.1.8.1 *Unmarked statives with past reference*

Verbs are always inflected to indicate tense, mode and aspect in NG.

6.2.1.1.1.8.2 *Unmarked non-statives with past reference*

No instances of this is attested in the data.

6.2.1.2 *Non-Past (Simple Present)*

To refer to habitual action, universal truth, or permanent state of things, either **-y** , as in (32) or **-e**, as in (33) is added to the base form of the verb (both state and action verbs) depending on their ending (verbs ending in a vowel takes **-y** and verbs ending in a consonant takes **-e** .)

It may be noted that while in the superstrate five different particles, /u/, /e/, /y/, /o/ and /a/, are cliticized to the base form of the verb to indicate non-past (simple present tense), and have to agree with the Subject NP in terms of social status and Person, NG employs only one- the 2nd Person Honorific inflections **-e** (after verbs ending in a consonant) or **-y** (after verbs ending in vowel) for all the Subject NPs -- 1st Person, 2nd Person Honorific, Familiar and Subordinate, and 3rd Person Honorific and Subordinate subject NPs.

6.2.1.2.1 *Statives with non-past*

- (78) **Nagaland pora bisi jon-he etiya Iswar -te**
 Nagaland SRCE many person-NOM now a days God-LOC
bisas-kor-i- thak-e.
 trust-do-PERF -remain-PRES.
 ‘Now a days most people of Nagaland believe in God.’

6.2.1.2.2 *Non-stative with non-past*

- (80) **Moy to phujur-te sat baj-e iskul-te ja-y**
 1SG FOC morning-LOC seven strike-PRES school-LOC go-PRES
 ‘I go to school at seven in the morning.’

6.2.1.3 Aspects

6.2.1.3.1 *Habitual or Iterative Aspect*

6.2.1.3.1.1 *Marker for habitual only*

To indicate that an action occurs or recurs over an extended period of time, the adverb **hotai / hodai** is used:

- (80) **Moy hotai phujur-te anaros laga ros kha-y**
 1SG always morning-LOC pineapple GEN juice eat-PRES
 'I always drink pineapple juice in the morning'
 Sometimes habituality is expressed just by adding the durative **thak** 'remain' to the

main verb (some speakers use both **hotai** 'always' and **thak** 'remain' in the same sentence):

- (80) **Kam no- kori-a time-te Imli khel-i- thak-e**
 Work NEG- do-ADJ PCL time-LOC Imli play-PERF remain
 'Imli does sports in his free time.'

Habituality can also be expressed by the irrealis marker **-bo**:

- (82) **Kam no-kori-a homoy-te to sathi-khan logote**
 Work NEG-do-ADJ PCL time-LOC FOC friend-PL with
misamisi kotha pati-bo
 casual conversation strike-IRR '
 'In my free time (when I'm not working), I chat with my friends.'

6.2.1.3.1.2 *Zero Marker for habitual*

Bare stem of the verb does not mean anything in NG.

Sreedhar (1985) notes that in the Sema, Kheja, Zemi, Rongmei, Lotha, and Ao varieties, the habitual aspect is also marked by the verbal suffix **-e**. This is actually one of the two simple present tense markers.

- (83) **Moy hu-e** 'I always sleep.' (Sreedhar 1985:118)
 1SG sleep-PRES

- (84) **Moy din-te bhat kha-i- kena ghuma-y**
 1SG day-LOC rice eat-PERF CONJ PCL sleep-PRES
 ‘I take a nap after lunch.’

6.2.1.3.1.3 *Anterior Plus Habitual*

Habituality in the past is usually marked by using the adverb marker **hotai** ‘always’ before the verb inflected for past as in (82) or by inserting the other habitual marker **thak** ‘remain’ between the verb stem and the past marker, as in (83) and (84).

- (85) **Kolkata thaki-a time-te moy Bikash laga gor-te**
 Bombay live-ADJ PCL time-LOC 1SG Bikash GEN home-LOC
hotai jay-se
 HAB go - PAST
 ‘When I was in Bombay, I used to go to Senti’s home regularly.’

6.2.1.4.2 *Progressive Aspect*

6.2.1.4.2.1 *Indicating present progressive (Verb + IASE/YASE)*

The verbal suffix **-iase/-yase** indicates that an action is in progress:

- (86) **Moy cha kha-iase** ‘Moa is having tea.’
 1SG tea eat -PRES-PROG
- (87) **Moy cha kha-yasū** (AS) ‘I’m drinking tea.’
 1SG tea eat-PRES PROG

Note that Present Progressive marker **iase/yase** is not the one that is used with the 1st Persons in the superstrate, which has four different morphemes, (*iasu, iase, iasa, iaso*) which have to agree with Person and their status. NG uses the morpheme that is used for the 2nd / 3rd Person HON. subject.

6.2.1.4.3 *Reduplication – (i)ase/(y) ase*

To express an action in progress for a longer duration the durative word ‘bor’ ‘full’ is used but the inflection remains the same -- (iase) / (y)ase:

- (88) **Gahuri-tu din-por kam kur-i kur-i thaki-ase...**
 Pig-DEF day-throughout work do-PERF do-PERF remain-PRES PROG
 (Lit. The pig has been working all day.) ‘The pig worked all day.’

6.2.1.4.4 *Anterior + progressive*

Past progressive is indicated by adding **-iasiale** to the verb, as in (85).

- (89) **Moy to hu-iasile**
 1PL FOC sleep-PAST PROG ‘I was sleeping.’

6.2.1.5 *Completive*

Completive constructions are not attested in the data.

6.3 *Mode*

6.3.1 *Irrealis Mode* (Future)

The future tense is marked by the morpheme **bo/(i)bo**. The marker for imperative sentences is **-bi/(i)bi**.

- (90) **Moy etiya hu-bo, de** ‘I will go to bed now, you know.’
 1SG now sleep-IRR, PCL

- (91) **Bat bisi no- kha-bi, nohoyle apuni bisi mosto ho-bo**
 Rice much NEG-eat- IMP otherwise 2SG much fat be-IRR
 ‘Don’t eat too much (rice), or you will become too fat.’

It may be noted that in the superstrate, **bo** is used with 2nd and 3rd Persons, both HON and non-HON, and **-bi** is used with 2nd Person Subordinate. The use of **-ibi** in Assamese, when talking to a respectable person, would signal an impending physical assault.

6.3.1.1 *Irrealis marker -bo as a modal*

The irrealis marker -bo serves as probability modal, as in (88)

- (92) **Tai pakala ho-bo.**
 3SG crazy be- must 'S/he must be crazy.'

6.3.1.2 *-bo indicating present progressive*

Depending on where the speech act is taking place, the irrealis marker -BO can indicate progressive too:

- (93) **Moy to etiya iskul-te ja-bo, sam-te ahi-bi !**
 1SG FOC now school-LOC go- IRR evening-LOC com-IMP !
 'I'm going to school right now, come in the evening.'

6.3.1.3. **thak 'remain' +(i) bo =Future Progressive**

An action that will be in progress at a future time is indicated by adding the auxiliary verb **thak** 'remain' in its future form to the main verb, i.e., **ga-i+thaki-bo** 'will be singing':

- (94) **Radio-te kow-a hisab pora ahi-bo pas din t o**
 Radio-at say- PERF according SRCE come-IRR five day FOC
pani gir-i- thaki-bo
 rain fall-ERF remain-IRR
 'According to weather forecast, it ill be raining for the next five days.'

- (95) **Moy to sam tok yate-hi kam kur-i- thak-ibo**
 1SG FOC evening until here-EMP work do-PERF -remain-IRR
 'I will be working here till dark.'

- (96) **Moy yat hondhiya loike kam kor-i thak-im (AS)**
 1SG /here evening till work do-PERF PART remain -IRR
 'I'll be working here till evening.'

6.3.1.4 *Anterior + Irrealis = Contrary to Reality*

- (97) **Moy bimar hoy-se kowi-le to ama-ke poila mati-bo**
 1SG sick bePAST say-COND FOC mother-OBJ first call -IRR
 'If I felt sick now, I would call my mother first.'

6.3.1.5 *Anterior + Irrealis = Future in the Past*

- (98) **Lila-ne moy-ke tai sinema sa-bole ja-bo inika koi-se**
 Lila NOM 1SG-OBJ 3SG cinema see-COMP go-IRR thus say-PAST
 'Lila told me that she would go to the movies.'

6.3.1.6 *Anterior + Irrealis = conditional*

NG employs two devices to form past conditional sentences: (i) in the protasis ('if' clause) **-(i)le** is added to the base form of the verb, e.g. **ahi-le** 'come' + COND, and in the apodosis (consequence clause) **bole** + **asile** 'would have' is added ; and (ii) while **hole** 'if happens' is added to the infinitival form of the verb in the protasis, e.g. **mat-a** +hole 'invite + PERF + COND' and **-'bo asile** 'would'

- (99) **Juti Moy laga mayki ekta no-thaki-le**
 COND 1SG GEN wife IND NEG-remain-COND

ami otu chukri-ke sadi kor-ibo par-ise
 1SG. that girl-OBJ marriage do-IRR can-PAST
 'If I did not have a wife, I could marry that girl.'

- (100) **Apuni moy-ke teligram ekta patha-i- kena thaki-le to**
 2SG 1SG-OBJ telegram one PERF CONJ PCL remain-COND FOC

moy nijor airport-te gari lu-i- kena ja-bole¹ si-le
 1SG self airport-LOC car take-CONJ PART go-COMP be-PAST
 'If you had sent me a telegram, I would have personally gone to the airport with a car.'

- (101) **Tai-ke hudh-a ho-le² tar³ ja-bo asi-le**
 3SG ask-PERF happen-COND he go-IRR be-PAST
 'If he had been asked he would have gone.' (Boruah 1993:81)

6.3.2 *Anterior + irrealis = future in the past*

When an indirect quotation follows a main verb in the past or past PERF ect, attaching the irrealis marker to a verb in the quotation gives the meaning of 'future in the past' (expressed by 'would' in English).

- (102) **Daktor-ne Moy-ke kowi-se cha-te adua dhal-i- kena**
 Docotor-NOM 1SG-OBJ say-PAST tea-LOC ginger mix-PERF CONJ PCL

¹

bole/buli can mean 'to that effect' or 'to'. Many speakers combine *ja-bo* 'go-IRR' and *bole* 'to that effect' to produce *jabole* instead of *jabo bole* by eliding 'bo' as in the following sentence:

Apuni etiya yate thaki-se koi-le to apuna-ke krismas laga
 2SG now here remain-PAST say-COND FOC 2SG-OBJ Christmas GEN

dekorashion sa-bole lu-i ja-bole asi-le.
 decoration see-COMP take-PERF go-COMP be-PAST.

'If you were here now, I would have taken you out to see Christmas decoration.'

² *hole* is the contracted form of *hoile* 'happen + COND'

³ *tar* is a variation of *tay* 's/he'. In the superstrate, AS, *tar* means 'his'

khai-le sordi bhal ho- i- ja-bo
 eat-COND cold good become -PERF go-IRR
 ‘The doctor told me that if I had ginger tea, my cold would go away.’

Compare (102) with (103) with respect to the sequence of event time, reference time, and utterance time.

- (103) **Daktor-ne moy-ke kow-ise cha-te adua dhal-i-**
 Doctor-NOM 1SG-OBJ say-PAST tea-LOC ginger mix- PERF

kena kha-i- thak-ise kow-ile sordi to
 CONJ PCL eat-PPL- remain-PAST say-COND cold FOC

bhal ho-i kena thaki-bole as-ile
 good be- PERF CONJ be-COMP be-PAST.

‘The doctor told me that if I had had ginger tea, my cold would have gone away.’

6.3.3 *Past Potential*

The potential modal is **pare** ‘can’. Past potential is formed by suffixing the past marker **-(i) se** to the modal, which follows the verb. The verb is inflected for future tense.

- (104) **Tai ahi-bo pari-se; hoilebi ah-a na-i**
 3SG come-IRR can-PAST; but come-PERF NEG-PRES
 ‘She could come , but she didn’t.’

6.3.4 *Past Obligatory*

The obligatory modal is **lage**. To indicate obligatory act performed in the the past, the past marker **-ise** is suffixed to **lage** which follows the verb. The verb, of course, is inflected for past tense:

- (105) **Moy laga sathini bimar hoy-sile itu karone moy**
 1SG GEN girlfriend sick be-PLU that due to 1SG

gor-te ja-bo lagi-se
 home-LOC go-IRR need-PAST.
 'I had to go home because my girlfriend was sick.'

6.4. Non-Past Modals

6.4.1 *Conditional*

- (106) **Juti pani giri-le moy aji rati bahar-te no- ja-bo**
 COND water fall-COND 1SG today night outside-LOC NEG-go-IRR
 'If it rains, I won't go out tonight.'

Note that NG uses both conditionals while in the superstrate they are mutually exclusive.

6.4.2 *Obligation/ Necessity*

The modal used to indicate both obligation and necessity is **lage**, as in

- (107) **Moy to etiya ja-bo lage** 'I have to leave now.'
 1SG FOC now go-IRR need

6.4.3 *Logical Possibility*

To indicate logical possibility, the future marker-BO is used as in (106).

- (108) **Moa iskul-te ho-bo** 'Moa must be at school.'
 Moa school-LOC be-IRR

6.4.4 *Probability*

The modal used to indicate probability (may/might) is expressed by irrealis + **hobola** as in (109).

- (109) **Pani giri-bo hobola** 'It might rain.'
 Rain fall-IRR seems

6.4.5 *Volition (intention)*

- (110) **Moy to Dilli-te ja-bole (mon) ase**
 1SG FOC Delhi-LOC go-COMP (mind exist)
 'I am considering going to Delhi.'

6.4.6 *Future obligation/necessity*

To indicate future obligation/necessity both the verb and the obligatory modal *lage* are inflected for future as in (106):

- (111) **Moy dokan-te ja-bo lagi-bo** 'I have to go to the shop.'
 I shop-to go-IRR need-IRR.

6.5 The Copula

The morpheme serving as the copula in NG is **ase**, which also means 'have/has' or 'exist'. What positional variant (as-, -se, -s,) would be used where is determined by the occurrence of various affixes marking tense and negation.

6.5.1 *Equative Copula (with NP)*

In the 1970s the equative copula without affixes could be optionally deleted (see Sreedhar 1974:191) but today use of copula is obligatory.

- (112) **Moy kheti kam kori-a manu ase**
 1SG. farm work do-ADJ PCL man be(COP) 'I'm a farmer.'

6.5.1.1 *Identifying Copula*

- (113) **Tai moy laga baba ase** 'He is my father.'
 3SG 1SG GEN father be

6.5.1.2 *Attributive Copula*

- (114) **Zulu laga baba to khetimanu ase.** 'Zulu's father is a farmer.'
 Zulu GEN father FOC farmer be

6.5.1.3 *Locative Copula* (with expression of place)

The use of copula with expression of place is obligatory:

- (115) **Iala Kohima-te ase.** 'Iala is in Kohima.'
Iala Kohima-LOC exist.

6.5.2 *Existential copula* ('have' = 'there is')

- (116) **Dimapur-te to moy laga gor ekta ase**
Dimapur-at FOC 1SG GEN house one exist
'I have a house in Dimapur.'

6.6.2.1 *hoy* 'yes'/'no-hoy'

In a sentence like **No hoy** 'No, it is not', **hoy** serves functions like a copula. In the superstrate, **hoy** is used as a copula in information questions regarding one's relationship with another person.

6.6 Serial Verbs

Certain kinds of serial verb constructions are found in NG.

6.6.1 *Serial* 'give' meaning 'to, for'

- (117) **Moy tai-ke ekta kitab kin-i- kena- di-se**
1SG 3SG-OBJ one book buy-PERF CONJ PCL give-PAST.
'I bought her a book.'

6.6.2 *Serial* 'give' as intensifier

- (118) **Forest ofisar-ne pakala hati-to bonduk pora mor-ai- di-se**
Forest officer-NOM mad elephant gun SRCE die-CAUS give- PAST
'The forest officer has killed the mad elephant with a gun.'

6.6.3 Serial 'say' meaning 'suppose'

- (119) **Apuni etiya yate thaki-se kowi-le to apuni-ke**
 2SG now here remain-PAST say-COND FOC you-OBJ

bira- bole bahar-te lu-i- ja-bo(le) asi-le.
 sight-see-INF outside-at take-PERF PART -go IRR- be-PAST.

[Lit. let's **say** you existed here now. I would take you out sight-seeing.]
 'If you were here (now), I would take you out sight-seeing.'

6.6.4 Three or four-Serial-Verb constructions

While two-verb constructions are very common in NG, three or four-verb constructions are much less frequent:

- (120) **Tai to tai laga maiki dusra manu logote sadi**
 3SG FOC she GEN girl another man with marriage

hui jai-se dekh-i- kena mori-ja-bole sesta-kori-se
 be go-PAST see-PERF CONJ PCL die- go-COMP try- do-PAST.

'Having discovered that his girlfriend had been married off to another man, he tried to commit suicide.'

6.7 Negation

The negative marker is **no**, but depending on the first vowel of the verb to which it is prefixed, its shape may change through regressive assimilation, e.g., **na**, in **nathaka** (no + thaka). The Neg particle is preposed to the verb (121). For past tense the marker is **nai**, which is postposed to the verb (122). The negative interrogative marker **niki** (some varieties use **naki** and others **nəki**) is produced by prefixing **no** to the question word **ki** (no+ki= **niki**) as in (123).

6.7.1 *no/na + Verb* (for Non-past)

- (121) **Pani pathor dhal-i kena cha no-kha-bi**
 Water stone mix-PERF CONJ PCL tea NEG-eat-IMP
 'Don't drink iced tea.'

6.7.2 *Verb + nai* (for Past Tense)

- (122) **Jitu-khan deri ah-ise tai-khan-ke bhit-or-te**
 Who-PL late come-PAST 3PL- OBJ inside-LOC

ja-bole di-a na-i
 go-INF allow-PERF NEG-PRES
 'Those who came late were not allowed to enter.'

6.7.3 *Verb + niki / naki / naki*

Negative interrogative questions are formed by postposing **niki** to the verb.

- (123) **Apuni tai logote ja-bo pari-ibo niki ?** 'Can you go with her ?'
 2SG 3SG with go-IRR can-IRR NEG-Q ?

6.8 Complementizer

To mark embedded sentence of a complement type, NG employs (complementizer) **bole/buli** or **je** 'that' as in (118). However, it is not employed universally. Often the use of a complementizer is avoided by using two other devices :one to use **inika** 'like that' / 'to that effect', as in (119, 120), and the other is by breaking up the sentence by using a pause , ie., zero complementizer (121) , where one would be used in the superstrate, AS, or the adstrate, Bengali, from which the complementizer **-je** has been acquired:

6.8.1 *je as a complementizer*

- (124) **Priministar Norsima Rao-he tai laga parti manu-khan-ke**
 Prime Minister Norsima Rao-NOM 3SG-GEN party man-PL- OBJ

kowi-di-se je iekonomik libaralization laga ji sob
say-give-PAST COMP economic liberalization GEN those all

bhabna-khan golti ase itu-khan char-i- di-bo lage.
ideas-PL faulty be this-PL quit-PERF -give-IRR necessary.
'Prime Minister Norsima Rao has told the members of his party that the ideas of
economic liberalization which have proved to be faulty must be abandoned.' (AIR
Kohima news).

6.8.2 *inika* 'like that' as complementizer

- (125) Tai to eku jokhom no ho-i- kena pola-bo
3SG FOC any injury NEG happen-PERF CONJ PCL escape-IRR

par-ise inika radio pora jan-a-i- di-se
can-PAST like that radio SRCE inform-CAUS-PERF give-PAST
'According to the radio news he was able to escape without injury.'

or

- (126) Lila-ne Moy-ke tai sinema sa-bole ja-bo
Lila-NOM 1SG-OBJ 3SG movie watch-COMP go-IRR

inika kow-ise. 'Lila had told me that she would go to the movies.'
like that say-PAST.

6.8.3 *bole/buli*¹ as complementizer

- (127) Senti-ne moy-ge-ke sinema sa-bole no-ja-bo
Lila-NOM 1SG-OBJ movie watch-COMP go-IRR

buli kow-isile. 'Lila had told me that she would go to the movies.'
COMP say-PLU.

6.8.4 *Zero* complementizer

The same semantic content as in (118) is expressed by linguistically sophisticated
common Nagas using a zero complementizer:

¹ *bole* also serves as the infinitive marker as in (131).

- (128) Rao-he tai laga parti-manu-ke kow-i- di-se Ø
 Rao-NOM 3SG GEN party men-OBJ say-PERF give-PAST ----

ikonomik liberalization laga kuntu bhabna-khan golti ase
 economic liberalization GEN which idea-PL faulty be

itu-khan char-i- di-bo lage.

this-PL abandon-PERF give-IRR necessary.

‘Rao has told his party members that the ideas about economic liberalization that are faulty ought to be rejected,’

6.9 Subordination

6.9.1 Zero subordinator

As noted above, NG often uses a pause where the subordinator corresponding to ‘that’ would occur in its superstrate, AS:

- (129) Motia kowi-se _Ø_ tai-ke mati-se kowi-le to
 Motia say-PAST _Ø_ 3SG-OBJ invite-PAST say-COND FOC
 tai parti-te ja-bole asi-le.
 3SG party-to go-COMP be-COND.
 ‘She said that if she had been invited, she would have gone to the party.’

6.9.2 Non-embedded subordinate clause with “juti/jodi/zodi” ‘if’

In the dependent clause, subordinating conjunctions such as *juti/jodi* ‘if’ and *kaija* ‘when’ are used to introduce non-embedded subordinate clauses:

- (130) Nagland-te zodi¹ komon lengueiz-tu thaki-le
 NGD-LOC COND common language-DEF exist-COND

zati-bulak² mil-i koi thaki-bo pare
 ethnic group-PL unite-PERF ADV live-IRR can.

‘If there were a common language in NGD, the Naga ethnic groups could live in harmony.’

¹ The standard pronunciation, however, is [judi] ‘if’.

² The standard pronunciation is [jati bilak]

6.9.3 Subordinating Conjunction *buli* 'to that effect'

- (131) **Ami aru apunar lora buli ko-bole laik no-hoy**
 1SG anyl onger 2SG son to that effect say-COMP fit NEG-be.
 'I am no longer fit to identify myself as your son.'

6.9.4 Relative Clause (relative pronoun = subject)

Relative clauses are generally avoided by repeating the NP that the pronoun stands for. However, the construction is sporadically available.

The relative pronoun *jo/ji* is used to introduce relative clauses. It precedes the noun to which it refers.

- (132) **Jo lora-khan saysthor bal ase Ø khel-ibo pare.**
 Who boy-PL health well be Ø play-IRR can.
 'The boys who are in good health can participate in the game. (Sreedhar 1985:87)

6.9.5 Correlative Construction (*jitu* -*itu* etc.)

6.9.5.1 *Jitu* 'who' -- *tai* 'he'/itu...

- (133) **Moy ji-tu manu logote ah-ise itu manu to aru**
 1SG who-DEF man with come-PAST this man FOC no longer
Bombai-te kam no- kor-e.
 Bombay-LOC work NEG-do-PRES
 'The person with whom I came no longer works in Bombay.'

6.9.5.2. *Kun kun* 'those who' – *taikhan* 'they'

- (134) **Kun-khan manu age pora loun karone dorkhast**
 Wh-PL man before SRCE loan for application
kor-a na-i tai-khan-ke to loun na-di-bo.
 do-PAST NEG-PRES 3-PL OBJ FOC loan NEG-give-IRR.
 'Those who did not apply before will not be given a loan.'

- (135) **Apuni poisa jiman lage himan lo-bi**
 1SG. money as much as need that much take-IMP.
 'Take as much money as you need.'

6.10 The Noun Phrase

6.10.1 *Subject NP structure*

6.10.2 *Bare nouns*

The NP in (78) has the simplest structure consisting of the head only:

- (136) **Manu hotai jinda na-thak-e** 'Man is mortal.'
 Man HAB alive NEG-remain-PRES.
 (Lit. Man doesnot stay alive forever.)

6.10.3 *Noun + Indefinite Article*

- (137) **Ek bar ekta bosti-te ekta sundor chukri asi-le**
 Once one village-LOC one beautiful girl exist-PAST
 'Once there lived a beautiful girl in a village.'

6.10.4 *Noun + Definite Article*

- (138) **Otu manu-tu moy laga dost ase.** 'That man is my friend.'
 That man-DEF 1SG GEN friend be. '

6.10.5 *Demonstrative + Prenominal Adjective*

- (139) **Otu lamba jowan manu-tu moy laga dost ase**
 That tall young man-DEF 1SG GEN friend be
 'That young man is my friend.'

6.10.6 *Postnominal adjective*

Although a qualitative adjective (e.g., **bal** 'good') is always preposed, when an NP has a numeral or quantitative adjective in the complex, it is postposed:

- (140) **Otu tim-te to bal khel-ia- manu bisi no- ase**
 That team-LOC FOC good play-ADJ PCL -man many NEG exist
 'There are not many good players on that team.'

6.10.7 *Premodifying Relative Clause*

- (141) **Sa-bole bhal lamba jowan manu-tu moy laga dost ase**
 see-COMP good tall young man-DEF 1SG GEN friend be
 'The tall young man who is handsome is my friend.'

6.10.8 *Non-finite clause + head*

- (142) **Boga kapur lagaina chukri-tu moy laga maiki ase**
 white clothing wearing girl- DEF sg GEN wife be
 'The girl dressed in white is my wife.'

6.10.9 *Premodifiers +head + post modifier*

- (143) **Sa-bole bhal lamba jowan chukri boga kapur lagaina-tu**
 Look-COMP good tall young girl white clothes wearing-DEF

to tai laga maiki ase.
 FOC 3SG. GEN wife Be.
 'The tall good-looking young woman wearing white clothing is his wife.'

6.10.10 *Nominalized NP*

NG uses both morphological and syntactic nominalization.

6.10.10.1 *Morphological nominalization*

The verb *kotha-man* 'obey' => *kotha man-ia* 'obedient' as in (138):

- (144) **Kuta to kotha-man-ia jontu ekta ase.**
 Dog FOC order -obey-ADJ PCL animal one be
 'The dog is an obedient animal'

6.10.10.2 Sentential nominalization with itu ‘this’/ inika ‘thus’

- (145) **Tai gor-te dushmon mari-bole bonduk rak-ise**
 3SG house-LOC enemy kill-COMP gun keep-PAST

inika moy no- bhabi-se.

thus 1SG. NEG-think-PAST.

‘I did not know that he had a gun to protect himself against the enemy.’

6.11 The Pronominal System

6.11.1 Personal Pronouns

As can be seen, NG has a small pronominal system which has been created by retaining morphemes from the superstrate pronominal system and through innovation.

Table 64. NG Subject Pronouns

	Singular Number	Plural Number
<i>1st Person</i>	moy ‘I’	moykhan ‘we’
<i>2nd Person</i>	apuni ‘you’	apunikhan ‘you’
<i>3rd Person</i>	tai ‘s/he’	taikhan ‘they’
<i>3rd Person</i>	itu ‘it’	itukhan ‘those’

The NG 1st person singular subject pronoun is **moy** as in the superstrate, AS; but, while in AS the 2nd person plural is *Ami* it is **Moykhan** in NG, which has been created by adding the plural marker **khan** to the 1st person singular pronoun **moy**. While AS has three 2nd person pronouns: **apuni** (Honorific), **tumi** (Familiar), and **toy** (Subordinate/Intimate), each having its plural counterpart, NG has only one: **apuni**, the superstrate honorific form. In AS there are three 3rd person pronouns: **tai** (Female, non-honorific), **hi** (male non-honorific) and

- (150) **Tai-ke kun mati-se ?** 'Who called him ?'
3SG-OBJ who call-PAST.
- (151) **Apuni kun-ke kam di-se ?** 'Whom did you hire ?'
2SG whom-OBJ work give-PAST?
- (152) **Tai ketiya ahi-bo ?** 'When is he going to come?'
3SG when come-IRR ?
- (153) **Tai etiya-tak kile ah-a-na-i ?** 'Whom did you hire ?'
3SG now-until why come-PERF NEG-PRES?
- (154) **Apuni keneka ja-bole ase ?** 'How are you going to go ?'
2SG how go-COMP be ?
- (155) **Itu laga dam kiman ase ?** 'How much is it ?'
This GEN price how much be

To ask questions such as 'For whom ?', 'For what ?', 'In what direction?', compound question words are formed by combining relevant words with these words, for example, **kuntu** 'which' is a combination of **kun** 'who/what' + the definite article **tu**, or **kun nimiti** ('Lit. 'who for') = 'For whom ?' etc.

- (156) **Kuntu kitap kini-se ?** 'Which book did you buy ?'
which book buy-PAST ?

The compound question word **kun-wala** also means 'which' as in (151)

- (157) **Kunwala kolom lage , lalwala na nilwala ?**
Which pen need, red DEF NEG blue DEF ?
'Which pen do you want, the red one or the blue one?'

Many speakers use the bi-morphemic question word **ki karone** (Lit. what reason due to ?) instead of **kile**, and **ki rokome** (Lit. what manner in ?) instead of **keneka**, as in (151):

- (158) **Tai ki karone ja-i jayse ?** 'Why did she leave?'
3SG what reason-due to go-PERF go-PAST .

- (159) **Bahar-te hoyle to pani bisi gir-iase, apuni**
 Outside-LOC PCL FOC rain much fall-PAST, 2SG.

ki rokom ja-bo? 'It's raining hard outside, how are you going to go ?
 what means go-IRR ?.

The question word **ki** 'what' combines with the NEG particle **no** to form **niki** via

regressive vowel assimilation; it is then postposed to the verb to ask a yes/no question:

- (160) **Apuni puja-te ja-bo niki ?** 'Would you go to the festival ?'
 You festival-to go-IRR QW

Negative interrogative sentences are formed by cliticizing the NEG particle on the verb which is repeated as in (161):

- (161) **Tai-ke log pai-se na p-a- na-i?**
 3SG-OBJ contact get-PAST NEG get-PERF NEG-PRES
 'Did you meet her there or not ?'

6.11.3 *Reflexive Pronoun*

nijor *nijor* is the reflexive marker in NG

- (162) **Manu-tu nijor mori-ja-yse.**
 Man-DEF self kill-go-PAST
 'The man has killed/killed himself.'

6.12 *Demonstrative*

NG deictic system has a simple two-way contrast between the notions 'close to the speaker' (this, here) and 'away from the speaker' (that, there). The proximate demonstrative pronoun in NG is **itu** 'this' and the obviate demonstrative pronoun is **otu** 'that'. **Itu** alone cannot refer to humans; it must be followed by the noun it refers to:

- (163) **Poila-te ekta bosti-te ekta sundor chukri asile.**
 Once -LOC one village-LOC one beautiful girl exist-PAST.
 'Once there was a beautiful girl in a village.'

Ekdin itu chukri tai laga sathi-ke.
 one day DEM (this) girl 3SG GEN boyfriend-OBJ

mat-i- kena kowi-se, ... 'One day she called her boyfriend and said, ...'
 call- PERF CONJ PCL say-PAST.

In the above sentences **itu** **chukri** 'this girl' can be replaced by **tai** 'she' but not by **itu** alone. However, **itu** can substitute for animate non-human nouns:

- (163) **mos-tu hoyle to mosto ase; itu kiman dam hobolah**
 fish-DEF PCL FOC huge be; this how much price be-IRR-seems ?
 'The fish is big. How much do you think it would cost ?'

Note that, **itu** can substitute for only objects that are of relatively small in size; to refer to large 3rd person non-human nouns, **heytu** is used:

- (164) **Apuni laga gor to ektom sundor ase,**
 2SG GEN house FOC extremely beautiful be

heytu laga dam kiman hoy-se ?
 DEM GEN price how much be-PAST ?
 'Your home is very beautiful ! How much did it cost you ?'

6.13 Comparison

Adjectives are not inflected to express the three degrees of comparison that are available in NG. Several words are employed to express comparison. The equative marker is **nisina** 'like':

- (165) **Tai to Moa nisina mosto ase, de .** 'He is as stout as Moa.'
 He FOC Moa like stout be., PCL

The comparative degree is expressed by using the word **kori/koi** :

- (166) **Numingla Senti koi lomba ase.**
 Numingla Senti than tall be. 'Numingla is taller than Senti..'

To express superlative degree the word **sob** 'all' is combined with **koi** or **se** 'than' thus producing **sobkoi/sobkori** 'the best':

- (167) **Krishna klas-te sob koi lamba chukri ase**
 Krishna class-LOC all than tall girl be.
 'Krishna is the tallest girl of the class.'
- (168) **Modu to dunia-te sobse mitha bostu ase.**
 Wine FOC world-LOC all than tasty thing be.
 'Wine is the best thing in the world.'

Besides these words such as **ektom** 'extremely' **khub** 'very' **bisi** 'a lot' **kom** 'less' and **bohut** 'a lot' are preposed to the adjectives used to express relative degrees happiness, sadness, tallness etc.

6.14 Numbers

Although its superstrate ,AS, and some of its substrate languages (e.g., Sema) have a three-way contrast in number, NG has a simple two-way contrast between singular and plural which apply only to nouns and personal pronouns. While AS has six morphemes to indicate plurality, NG has only two: **khan** and **bilak**. Generally speaking, **khan** is suffixed to pronouns and **bilak** with nouns.

- (169) **Bosa-bilak ketia ahi-se ?** 'When did the children arrive?'
 Child-PL when come-PAST ?
- (170) **Moy-khan to dud no- kha-y.** 'We don't drink milk.'
 1PL FOC milk NEG-drink-PRES
- (171) **Moy to modu bal- pa-y.** 'I like wine.'
 1SG FOC wine like- get-PRES

It may be noted that plural markers may be optionally deleted for the nouns, particularly non-human and inanimate nouns, if the notion of plurality is indicated by a quantifier (compare 166 and 167) :

- (172) **Kohima-te Dilli pora sipai-bilak kisuman ahise**
 Kohima-LOC Delhi SRCE soldiers-pl some arrive-PAST
 'Some soldiers have arrived in Kohima from Delhi.'

or

- (173) **Kohima-te Dilli pora sipai kisuman ahise**
 Kohima-LOC Delhi SRCE soldiers some come-PAST
 'A number of soldiers have arrived in Kohima from Delhi.'

In an expression like "Moy gor bonabole ita kinise." 'I have bought bricks to build a house.', the word *ita* 'brick' is left unmarked for plurality since it is obvious that the speaker has purchased more than one brick to build his house.

Note, however, that the plural marker **khan**, which also functions as a definitive marker is being increasingly used with both pronouns and nouns:

- (174) **Sob umor laga manukhan nijor jati laga**
 All age GEN man-PL own ethnic group GEN

kaprabilak laga-i kena gana kor-e aru .
 dress-PL wear-PERF CONJ PCL song do PRES and

dans-bilak kor-ise
 dance-PL do-PAST.

'People of all ages wearing their ethnic dress sang and danced.'

(All India Radio Kohima news, 1995)

6.15 Determiners

The kind of reference (definite, indefinite, partitive, universal etc.) an NP has depends on the determiner that is accompanying it, which, in NG, occurs after the noun acting as the

head of the NP or after its post modifier, if it has one. Semantically all noun phrases are either definite or indefinite in meaning. Some nouns (heads) by their very nature are self-determined, proper nouns and personal pronouns, for example, are inherently definite (Quirk 1985:64). Occurring before or after the NPs, depending on the headedness of the language, they act as the head of the NP.

6.15.1 *Noun + Indefinite Article*

The indefinite article in NG is *ekta*, which is derived from the numeral **-ek-** 'one' + **-ta** 'piece'. It is preposed to singular count nouns to indicate indefinite reference. The indefinite article is typically used when the referent has not been mentioned before. Occurring before the noun phrase or its premodifiers, they act as head of the NP:

- (175) **Ek-bar ekta bosti-te ekta sundor mayki thaki-se**
 Once one village-LOC one pretty girl remain-PAST
 'Once in a village there lived a very beautiful girl.'

6.15.1.1 *Ek jun* 'one person'

There is some confusion about the usage of **ek jun**, which is derived from the numeral **-ek-** 'one' + **-jun-** 'person'. As can be seen below, *ek jun* is a quantifier rather than an indefinite article. In response to the question in (170) one would respond with (171)

- (176) **Kiman mayki thaki-se meeeting-te ?**
 How many women remain-PAST meeting -LOC
 'How many women were there in the meeting ?'

- (177) **Ek jun - hi thaki-se.** 'There was only one person in the meeting.'
 One person-EMP remain-PAST

6.15.1.2 *Non-referring function of indefinite article*

The **nonreferring** use of the indefinite article, i.e., a descriptive use of **ekta** is not attested in NG. Thus (178) is unacceptable..

- (178)* **Gandhi ekta dangor lidar as-ile.** 'Gandhi was a great leader.'
 Gandhi IND great leader be-PAST

What the Nagas say is :

- (179) **Gandhi - to ektom dangor lidar asile.** 'Gandhi was a great leader.'
 Gandhi FOC very great leader be-PAST.
 or

- (180) **Kuta to ektom kotha-man-ia jontu ase, de**
 dog FOC very word-obey-ADJ PCL animal be, PCL
 'The dog is indeed an obedient animal.'

6.15.1.3 *Indefinite article conveying Generic meaning:*

The use of indefinite article **ekta** in a generic sense is not found in NG:

- (181) **Bak to jongol-te thake.** 'The tiger lives in the forest.'
 Tiger- FOC forest-LOC live

6.15.1.4 *Numerical or quantifying function*

The numeral for 'one' is **ek** , and for expressions such as 'a dozen', 'a pair', 'a thousand' etc. 'ek' is used; however, 'ekta' is used to mean the numeral 'one', as in (177.) below, where it is serving a numerical function.

- (182) ***Moy gor-te ek-hi room ase.** 'There is only one room in my house.'
 1SG house-LOC one-EMP room exist
- (183) **Moy gor-te ekta-hi room ase.** 'There is only one room in my house.'
 1SG house-LOC one-EMP room exist

6.15.2 *Noun +Definite article*

Besides contributing definite status, the definite article **-tu** is used to mark the phrase it introduces as referring to something which can be identified uniquely in the contextual or general knowledge shared by speaker and hearer to the noun it determines. The definite article may indicate that the referent is present in the discourse. Unlike the indefinite article, which is preposed and which occurs as an independent morpheme, the definite article *tu* is postposed and cliticized:

- (184) **Apuni Moy-ke kitab di-a- tu bishi modop hoi-se**
 2SG 1SG-OBJ book give-PERF -DEF great help be-PAST
 'The book you gave me was extremely helpful.'
 or

- (185) **Kintu kuta-tu to din bor kheti gor-te huma-i thaki-se**
 But dog -DEF FOC day full farm-house-LOC sleep-PERF remain-PAST
 'But the dog slept in the farmhouse all day long.'

6.15.2.1 *Assertive Determiner olop 'some' + noun*

- (186) **Apuni morom pora moy nimite bazar pora mircha**
 2SG heart SRCE 1SG for market SRCE chilly

olop an-i- di-bole pari-bo, na¹ ?
 some bring-PERF -give-COMP can-IRR. NEG?
 'Could you please bring me some chilly from the market?'

6.15.2.2 *sop 'all' adha 'half' + noun*

- (187) **Kitap-khan to sop to apuni lo-bi** 'Take all the books.'
 Book-PL FOC all FOC 2SG take-IMP

¹ When the NEG particle *na* is placed after the verb, sentence-finally, it indicates very polite request.

- (188) **Keik adha lo-bi.** 'Take half of the cake.'
 Cake half take-IMP
- (189) **Morom pora dui-ta to bi lo-bi.** 'Please take both..'
 heart SRCE two-DEF FOC EMP take-IMP

6.16 Gender Agreement

Strictly speaking, grammatical classification of nouns, pronouns, determiners, and adjectives OBJording to a distinction related to the sex of the referent, known as gender, is not maintained in NG. Natural gender, i.e. sex, is indicated by prefixing the word **mota** for male and **maiki** for female to the word in question. Thus we have:

- (190) **mota guru** 'bull'
 male cow
- (191) **maiki guru** 'cow'
 female cow

However, while gender as a grammatical category is fast disappearing from its superstrate AS and adstrate Bangla, in NG, under the influence of Hindi, which has grammatical gender, at least the educated speakers maintain gender agreement between nouns that have natural distinction and some adjectives, particularly in those that are borrowings from Hindi, in their speech. A handful of adjectives, most of them recent borrowings from Hindi, show inflectionally marked gender distinction between masculine and feminine in the adjective. There is also a morphological device used to mark male/female distinctions: the words denoting male end in the vowel -a and the words denoting female end in the vowel -i:

- (192) **burā manu-tu bal hoi-jay-se.** 'The old man has recovered.'
 old man-DEF good be-go-PAST

- (193) **bur-i mayki-tu bal hoi-jay-se.** 'The old woman has recovered.'
 old-FEM woman-DEF well be-go-PAST

Similarly we have:

(194)	Masculine	Feminine
	chukra 'boy'	chukri 'girl'
	lora 'boy'	lori 'girl'
	murga 'cock'	murgi 'hen'
	pakala 'crazy man'	pakli 'crazy woman'

The other morphological device that is used to mark gender distinction is to use zero marker for the male noun and suffix **-ni/oni** for the female noun:

(195)	Male	Female
	mastar 'male teacher'	mastar-ni 'female teacher'
	sakor 'servant'	sakor-ni 'maid servant'
	daktor 'male doctor'	daktor-ni 'female doctor'

Gender does not apply to pronouns; and thus **tay** means both 'he'/'she'.

6.17 Coordination

While in the superstrate and adstrate languages both asyndetic (unlinked) and syndetic (linked) coordination are found, NG has only syndetic coordination. Linking of structural units is overtly marked by the coordinating conjunctions **aru**, **nahole** 'or' **hoyle-bi/kintu** 'but'.

6.17.1 *aru* 'and'

- (201) **Itu nimite tai laga sathi-ni dui jon tai laga bhat**
 This reason she GEN friend-FEM two person she GEN rice
- phela-i- di-se aru tai jon laga bhat pura ta-te**
 throw-PERF give -PAST and she person GEN rice all there-LOC

rakh-i- di-se

keep-PERF give-PAST

‘Because of this, her two female friends completely replaced her food with theirs.’

6.17.2 *kintu* ‘but’

- (202) Tay-khan deri ho-yse itu nimate juldi nam-i-
3PL late be-PAST this reason fast climb-PERF IMP

bi inike kow-ise kintu tai to tai laga sathini
also thus say PAST but she FOC she GEN friend-FEM

logote ghor-te gurai no-ja-bo kow-i- kena
with home-LOC return NEG-go-IRR say-PERF CONJ PCL

itu gan kor-i- di-se: “Hiang hiang...”
this song do-PERF PART give-PAST: hiang..hiang..

‘Because it was already late, they asked her to climb down fast; but having said that she would not return home, she began to sing : hiang..hiang..’

(*Hornbil Nisina*. Folk tale

6.17.3 *nahole* ‘or/otherwise’

- (203) Tai ghor- te-hi hobo, nahole to dukan-te-hi jay-se
3SG home-LOC-EMP will be otherwise FOC shop-LOC-EMP go-PAST
‘She will be at home, or she has gone to the store.’

Multiple coordination, that is connecting more than two clauses, is rare in NG.

6.18 Case marking, possession, post-positions

Every lexical NP needs a case. In some languages case assignment is morphological (e.g., Sanskrit and Latin) while in others it is usually structural (e.g., English). In languages that are morphologically not so rich, case assignment requires rigid word order, not just government, but adjacency as well (Lasnik & Uriagereka 1988:11). NG today has a mixed case assignment system- case is assigned both structurally and morphologically. The

particles and lexical items that are available in NG for case marking are functionally identical to the prepositions found in SVO languages.

6.18.1 *he/e, ne as Nominative Case*

Sreedhar (1974, 1985) found no nominative case marker in the data that he had collected in the early 1970s for his works. Boruah (1993:55) lists both *-e* and *-he* as nominative case markers. Today the 3rd person sub NP of transitive verbs are regularly marked for nominative case using *-he/e* or *-ne*, as in (204,205). Many speakers, however, still leave them zero marked, as in (206).

- (204) **Karnatak laga state ministar Sri Pilot-he New Delhi-te**
Karnatak GEN state minsiter Mr. Pilot-NOM New Delhi-LOC

kowi-se itu region-te joldi joldi ikonomic unnoti
say-PAST this region-LOC fast fast economic development

korabo nimite sorkar laga bhabna thaki-ase.
do-cause for government GEN plan remain-PRES PROG.
'The state minister of Karnataka said in New Delhi that the government is considering plans for accelerated economic development in this region.' (AIR Kohima news, 1995)

- (205) **Imli-e kow-ise tai kolej khotom hu-a pasote**
Imli-NOM say-PAST 3SG college finish be-PERF after

sadi kuri-bole mon ase..
marriage do-COMP mind exist
'Imli said that he is thinking of getting married after finishing college.'

Some speakers leave the subject NP unmarked, too:

- (206) **Imli Ø kow-ise tai kolej khotom hu-a kena**
Imli -- say-PAST 3SG college finish do-PERF CONJ PCL

sadi- kurii- bole mon ase.
marriage do- COMP mind exist.
'Imli said that he is thinking of getting married after finishing college.'

or

Nagas who are fluent in Hindi tend to use *-ne* instead of *he/e*. *-ne* is a recent borrowing from Hindi, in which all agentive subjects are *ne*-marked. (Kachru 1990). NG has borrowed both its form and function intact; while in (207) *pulis* ‘police’ is NOM case-marked, in (208), where it is an experiencer subject, it is zero marked:

- (207) **Aj rati pua pulish-ne chur-tu-ke dori-se.**
 Today night dawn police-NOM thief-DEF-OBJ arrest-PAST
 ‘Today, early in the morning, the police arrested the thief.’
- (208) **Pulis Ø to etia tak thak-a jaga-te- hi ase.**
 The police FOC now until exist-ADJ PPL place-LOC EMP be
 ‘The police are still in the barracks.’

6.18.2 *Objective (Accusative/Dative) case marker -ke*

The object (the object that can become the subject when passivized) of *s* marked by *-/ke* as in (209). .

- (209) **Baba-tu bura ho-i jay-se aru ek din tai laga**
 father-DEF old become-PERF go-PAST and one day 3SG GEN
chukra-khan-ke mat-i kena kow-ise: .“Chukra-bilak.....”
 son- PL- OBJ call-PERF CONJ PCL say-PAST: “boy- PL..... ..”
 ‘One day, when the father became old, he called his sons and said, “My boys...”’

AS can be seen from (210) and (211), Sreedhar found *-k* to be the accusative marker and *-ke* dative case marker:

- (210) **Moy ta-k dikhi-se** ‘I saw him/her’
 1SG 3SG-ACC see-PAST (Sreedhar 1974:103)
- (211) **Moy tay-ke ekta lora-k di-se** ‘I gave him/her a boy.’
 1SG 3SG-DAT one boy give-PAST

But in the data collected by the present researcher no instances of a morphologically marked accusative case was found. The following is a typical example of how double object sentences are expressed today:

- (212) **ama-e/ne** **Yala-ke** **ektom bal** **kancha Ø** **bal** **ekta**
 Mother-NOM Iala-IND OBJ very good servant (D O) good one
pa-i **di-se.** ‘Mother has found Yala a very good servant’
 find-PERF give-PAST.

As can be seen from (212), in such constructions, only the indirect object (the recipient) is case-marked (dative) and the direct object is left unmarked. Therefore, throughout this work the term *objective* rather than dative/accusative, has been used.

As in the more recent past, so also today some speakers, however, do use **-k** to mark object, as in (213):

- (213) **Ekdin** **tay tini** **lora-k** **mat-i** **kowi-se,**
 One day 3SG three son-OBJ call- PERF say-PAST,
 “**Moy lora-khan**” ‘ One day, he called his three sons and said, My sons...’
 “My son-Pl.....”

6.18.2 *Genitive/Possessive case: laga and parataxis* [possessor + possessed]

Sreedhar (1974) lists the morpheme **/-r/** as the genitive marker, which he claims occurred only with singular personal pronouns and nouns ending in a vowel (214, 215). With the plural pronouns, either the device of parataxis or the morpheme **laga** was used, optionally (216):

- (214) **əpuna-r** **baba** ‘Your father’ (1974:124)
 [2SG father]
 (215) **ta-r** **suali-r** **mukh** ‘His/her girl’s face.’ (1974:128)
 3SG-GEN daughter-GEN face

- (216) **əpuni-khan** (laga) **baba** ‘Your father.’
 [2-PL (GEN) father]

The AS/BG genitive marker /-r/ seem to have been used by many speakers but it was certainly not stable, or why would Sreedhar not list genitive case as a category in his list of case markers in his later work, where he says: “In this language genitive is marked syntactically through word order...” (1985:104) and provides the following example:

- (217) **suali gor** ‘House of the girl..’ Sreedhar (1985:104)
 girl house

Today, while the vast majority of the Nagas use the morpheme **laga** as the genitive marker, other speakers employ both **laga** and the device of parataxis, (the juxtaposition of two nouns in the order of possessor + possessed) to indicate possession, even in the same sentence. In data obtained from the speakers of varieties where the superstrate *Mur* (Moy + r) ‘my’ *Tar* (Tay + r) ‘his’, etc. [Recall that Sreedhar (1974) claimed /-r/ was used as the genitive case marker.]) have been lexicalized as the bare 1st person singular and 3rd person singular pronouns respectively [i.e. they use **Mur** instead of **Moy** and **Tar** instead of **Tay/Tai**], the following kind of expressions are found:

- (218) **Mu-r** **laga** **bosa**, tui ki **nimite iman** **kandi-ase** ? ...
 1sg-GEN GEN child, you what for like this cry-PRES PROG ?
 ‘My child, why are you crying so much ?’
- (219) **Ta-r** **laga** **maiki to** **belak** **jat** **pora ase**
 1SG-GEN GEN wife FOC different ethnic group SRCE be.
 ‘My wife is from a different ethnic group.’

Note that **Mu-r** (Moy + r) ‘my’ in (218) is in free variation with **moy** ‘I’, and similarly, **Tar**, which looks like **Tay+r** (3SG + GEN), which is indeed the case in the superstrate, AS, is actually a variation of **Tay** (3SG).

Take for example the following sentence:

- (220) **Ses-te tar buzi-se aru koi-se** “:....” Boruah (1993:85):
At last, 3SG realize-PAST and say-PAST:

In the above sentence *ta-r* is not an experiencer subject, yet Boruah translates *tar* as ‘he’. But we know, and throughout his work, Boruah consistently lists *tay* as the 3rd person singular pronoun- ‘s/he’, not *tar*, which implies that, only occasionally. Similar examples of *tar* being used interchangeably with *tay* are found in Sreedhar’s (1974, 1985) works, too.

Obviously, then in some varieties the superstrate *tar* was conceived as meaning ‘s/he’, rather than *his/her*.

So, it can be concluded that Indicating possession by using *laga*, as in (219), has, in fact, gained universal currency:

- (221) **Moy laga sorai to ur-i jay-se.** ‘My bird has flown away.’
1SG GEN bird FOC fly -PERF go-PAST.

6.18.4 *te*-as *locative* and *allative* case markers.

To indicate the place at in or on which something exists, NG employs the morpheme *-te* which is suffixed to the relevant word:

- (222) **Itu jongol-te bak no-ase.** ‘There are no tigers in this forest.’
this forest- LOC tiger NEG-exist

-te is also used as the allative marker. Some speakers use *-ot* is used to express ‘to’:

- (223) **Moy dokan-ot ja-iase.** ‘I am going to the store.’
1SG store- ABL go-PRES PROG

6.18.5 *Ablative*

NG employs *pōra* [pəra] as the ablative case marker:

- (223) **Otu manu to Kohima pora ahi-se. .**
 That man -DEF FOC Kohima SRCE come -PAST
 'That man has come from Kohima'

6.18.6 *Instrumental*

To indicate the means by which an activity is carried out, NG employs two morphemes: **pora** and **logote**¹.

- (224) **Tai laga dushmon to tai-ke rosi logote band-i- kena**
 3SG GEN enemy FOC 3SG-OBJ rope with tie - PERF CONJ PCL
ekta bosti-te lo-i -ja-yse.
 one village-LOC take -PERF go-PAST
 'Having tied him up with a rope, his enemy took him to a village.'
- (225) **...Jua kali ekta jati laga sat-jon manu-bilak-ke**
 ...Yesterday one ethnic group GEN seven-person man-PL-OBJ
guli pora mar-i kena mora-i- di-se.
 bullet SRCE kill-PERF CONJ kill- CAUS- give-past.
 (Lit. Yesterday, seven members of a group were killed by gun shots."
 'Yesterday seven members of a group (underground) were killed by gunshot.'

6.18.7 *Sociative*

NG has a case marker to express Accompaniment. It behaves exactly like the comitative case found in Basque and Finnish or Tamil, Telugu, and a majority of the Dravidian languages, where it is known as sociative (Blake 1994 : 156):

- (226) **Tay moy logot ja-yse**
 3SGe 1SG SOC go-PAST 'S/he went with me.' (Sreedhar 1985: 104)

¹ Often **logot** is confused with **logote**, using both to mean the same thing: either a sociative case marker or the instrumental case marker. In fact, while **logote** is the instrumental case marker, **logot** is sociative.

6.19 Postpositions

Most of the particles that serve as case markers are actually postpositions. The most frequently used postpositions in NG are: **te** ‘in’ / ‘to’ / ‘at’, **pora** ‘from’ / ‘by’ / ‘with’, **logote** ‘with’, **niche** ‘under’, **bhitor-te** ‘inside’, **majo-te** ‘between’ / ‘in the middle’, **upor-te** ‘on’, **agote** ‘before’ **pasote** ‘behind’, **nimite** ‘for’, **usor-te** ‘near’ etc.:

6.19.1 *te* ‘in’ / ‘to’

Throughout this work *-te* has been glossed as LOC, but in many places the particle clearly serves as a postpositions, e.g.:

- (227) **Moy dukan-te ja-bole ase.** ‘I have to go to the store.’
 1SG store-POST go-COMP be

6.19.1.1 *-loi* ‘to’

Some speakers use *-loi* for ‘to’ as in (228)

- (228) **Moy Kohima-loi ja-bole ase.** ‘I have to go to Kohima’
 1SG Kohima- POST go-COMP be

6.19.1.2 *nimite* ‘for’

- (229) **Itu kopal no thak-a chukri nimite apuni pora**
 This luck NEG remain-PERF girl for 2SG SRCE
modot mangi-ase. ‘I am seeking your help for this unfortunate girl.’
 help seek -PRES PROG.

As can be seen below(230), *karone* also means ‘for’:

- (230) **Kun-khan age pora loun karone dorkhast**
 Who-PL before SRCE loan for application

kor-a na-i tai-khan-ke loun na-di-bo
do -PERF NEG-PRES 3PL - OBJ loan NEG-give-IRR.
Those who did not apply for a loan before, will not be given a loan.'

As we have seen above, NG does not share what Bickerton calls the Language Bioprogram or innate tense-aspect system, abstracted from his four "true" creoles: Sranan, Guyanese, Haitian, and Hawaiian, which he has used as evidence for his Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH). Those well known features which include zero form of the verb marking 'simple past' for action verbs and 'nonpast' for state verbs; existence of three preverbal markers, occurring in the order of tense mood and aspect, and a marker of "anterior" aspect indicating past-before-past for action verbs and simple past for state verbs, etc. are not shared by NG.

However, whether or not the presence/absence of such features, many of which are also available in West African languages (Welmers and Welmers 1968, Welmers 1973 cited in Singler 1990; and most recently, Siegel 2000), i.e. the substrate languages of those so called 'true" creoles, are relevant in classifying pidgin/creole languages will be discussed later.

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Chapter 7

Defining criteria of contact-induced varieties

7.0 General Remarks

As would be expected, the definitions of the terms *pidgin*, *creole*, etc. have been directly influenced by the dominant theories of language acquisition and language change that were espoused by those who formulated the defining criteria. The earliest available definitions of pidgin and creole are racist, obviously folk-linguistic by nature. The following observations about creole languages made by Bertrand-Bocandé' (1849:73) and Pierre Larousse (1869), (both cited in Muysken 1977:22) are typical of the nineteenth century views on creole languages:

It is clear that people used to expressing themselves with a rather simple language cannot easily elevate their intelligence to the genius of a European language. When they were in contact with the Portuguese and forced to communicate with them, speaking the same language, it was necessary that the varied expressions acquired during so many centuries of civilization dropped their perfection, to adapt to ideas being born and to barbarous forms of language of half-savage people (Bertrand-Bocandé 1849:73);

The creole language in our colonies, in Louisiana and Haiti, is a corrupted French.....(Larousse 1869).

While Lucien Adam (1882 cited in Muysken 1977:25) suggested that creole languages are non-European languages with European lexicon, Coelho (1880:193-95, cited in Muysken 1977:25), who initiated a systematic investigation of creole languages, argued that creoles represented the first stage in the acquisition of a foreign language by speakers of another or other languages via a process based on universal psychological laws, with substratum

languages having no influence at all. Schuchardt (see Gilbert 1980; Thomason & Kaufman 1988) enthusiastically studied creoles primarily because their mixed grammar provided counter evidence to the neogrammarian view of language change. But he never clearly articulated his views in a principled way.

Meillet (1921, cited in Thomason & Kaufman 1991), for example, saw creoles as genetically related descendants of their lexical source languages. Even in more recent times, many linguists (e.g., Hall 1958; Weinrich 1958, Taylor 1959, Thompson 1961; Goodman 1964; Whinnom 1965) have shared this view. Refusing to consider the possibility of the fact that pidgins and creoles can be polygenetic languages, Bynon, for example, holds:

In spite of its foreign grammatical substratum and in spite of the absence of mutual intelligibility with the target language, we would be inclined to the opinion that an English-based creole should be classed as a variety of English, a French-based creole as a variety of French, etc., and this even when all the grammatical structure is alien to the target language (1979:259).

Note that this view of creole languages is based on the view of lexically-based genetic grouping and the assumption that “virtually all language change arises through intra-systemic causes.”

For a long time, several scholars have suggested that the existing definitions be reassessed. Mufwene (1997), for example, wrote: “It has become more and more compelling to re-examine the meanings of these basic working concepts.” Holm (1988:II:xviii) noted that, every time a new pidgin or creole is discovered we need to reassess our definitions of terms. Ferguson (1983) ended his article *Is Nagamese a creoloid ?* reiterating his ‘conviction’ that “generalizations about pidginization and creolization are premature and likely to be wrong until a more conclusive taxonomy is available” (Ferguson & DeBose

1977), and emphasized the need for (i) a “precise agreement on what constitutes a pidgin and pidgin origin..”, and (ii) the value of a “..detailed, insightful investigations of non-European-based , not-quite-classical marginal varieties.” This is exactly what we will try to do in this chapter: make an effort to streamline the existing defining criteria thus answering the question: What “constitutes a pidgin and pidgin origin”?

Many of the features of the conventional definitions of *pidgin* and *creole* has little or no current relevance, now that several studies (e.g. Siegal 2000; Spears, 1990; Cardan & Stewart 1988; Koopman 1986; Welmers 1973; Welmers & Welmers 1968) have challenged Bickerton’s claim of instantaneous creolization from a pre-pidgin state without involving primary linguistic data. With evidence mounting in favor of the gradualist model creolization, we share the following view of Khamis & Owens’ (2001) regarding the definition of pidgin/creole:

... bioprogrammatic approaches find little support in the structures of Nubi. It is in any case clear to us that for theories about creole languages to have any claim to general validity, they must take into account the known facts about Nubi and the other creoles based on non-European languages.
(*in press*)

It was only recently Thomason & Kaufman (1991) argued that Meillet, Weinreich, Hall and others were misled by a crucial feature of history that most of these [creole] languages subsequent to their period of origination were spoken in a social context in which their various vocabulary-base languages had official national-language status, as a result of which they have been converging on them for two hundred years or more, due to which “they probably share more grammatical structures with their vocabulary-base languages now, when linguists are studying them, than they originally shared, at a period from which there are few

or no attestations”(1991:8). The question that has been raised about the status of NG is at least partially due to the same mistake (see Ferguson 1983, for example).

Arguing that both the “direction of interference and the extent of interference are socially determined...,” Thomason & Kaufman (1991) has proposed a more reliable method for the genetic classification of languages. We completely agree with their view. Since the conventional definitions of pidgins, creoles, and the traditional characterization of the processes of pidginization and creolization do not reflect neatly the realities of non-European based pidgins/creoles (e.g., Juba-Arabic), we suggest that the definitions be reformulated thus creating a multi-dimensional (sociohistorical, morphosyntactic, phonological, and semantic) taxonomy of features.

It should be clearly pointed out, however, that our interpretation of how social forces determine “the direction and the extent of interference” is , completely different from that of Bickerton, who says (particularly see the highlighted section):

The only languages without a European superstrate which might qualify under the conditions specified in Chapter 1, above, are Ki-Nubi and Juba-Arabic. Although the data that have emerged on those languages so far are scanty and unclear (and for this reason I have refrained from citing them in the present volume), most of what is available suggests that they follow the creole pattern described here. But even these languages do not have a third condition which may be necessary to qualify for true creolehood: **their populations were not, in general, displaced from their native homelands.** It is a historical fact that it was only Europeans who uprooted people from their cultures and carried them across thousands of miles of ocean in order to exploit them; therefore, it is only in European colonies that one would expect to find the massive disruption of normal language continuity which would permit the emergence of innate faculties (1981:308).

We totally disagree with Bickerton’s view that a specific socio-historical events and conditions such as slavery, major population displacements, conquest, colonization, or the like

themselves are necessary conditions for pidgin/creole genesis. It is not those specific sociohistorical events that triggered the process of pidginization, but rather the need and motivation for creating a new language that existed in the plantation or fort settings, are indispensable for pidgin genesis. Existence of an “unequal power relationship” between the substrate groups and the superstrate speakers is not essential for pidginization, either; what is necessary is the existence of a great psycho-social distance between the target language speakers and the substrate speakers, and a relationship of dependency (which may be mutual, too) between the two, which may occur in a non-colonial situation, too. The defining criteria that Bickerton imposed were driven by his interest in establishing his LBH. As noted, he either dismissed or ignored data if they posed a threat to his hypothesis. Many linguists came to believe in his hypothesis, and that inhibited research and progress in creole studies. We therefore urge that no one approach the serious task of definition building, driven by hypotheses based on limited knowledge and speculation because such an act may hold the field of creole studies hostage for another two decades or more.

7.1 Existing definitions, and suggested changes

7.1.1 *Jargon/pre-pidgin*

Mühlhäusler (1986:8) has characterized *jargons* as ‘pidgins that are very rudimentary and unstable’, a definition Mufwene (1997) considers to be the ‘most explicit technical explanation for the term’. The standard assumption is that a *jargon* develops when at least two groups of people speaking mutually unintelligible languages meet irregularly for some purpose, e.g. barter-trade. It is a code without structural norm, often used for exchanging

information in limited contextual domains. A *jargon* evolves into a *pidgin* if the contact becomes regular and intense, but disappears if and when the need for its existence disappears. Since the term ‘jargon’ is widely used as a technical term for vocabulary peculiar to a particular trade, profession, or group, e.g. “medical jargon”, following Mufwene (1997), we suggest that in order to avoid confusion with both *pidgin* and *registers* or vocabulary used in particular professions, the term *jargon* be abandoned in favor of *incipient pidgin*, and be restricted to refer to a variety which is used only during sporadic non-intimate interactions, and which has not developed a structural norm yet.

7.1.2 *Pidgin*

Originally viewed as being a “debased” form of whatever European language constituted the primary source of their lexica, pidgins have been characterized by various scholars (see, e.g. Bloomfield 1884[1933]; Hall 1966 DeCamp 1971; Hymes 1971 etc.) over the years as follows:

- (i) A pidgin is a “makeshift” (Reinecke 1937), rudimentary code which is used only in certain limited communicative contexts, e.g. trade, which has only the bare essentials necessary for limited referential function of language rather than expressive ones.
- (ii) Anderson (1983) defines a pidgin as a “rudimentary, limited contact language, always a second (often a third or fourth, etc.) language of its users,” which is often a “radically reduced” version of the original target language. A number of linguists including Bickerton (1981) assume that “pidgins begin with nouns, verbs, and very little else;” and that they are characterized by a limited

vocabulary of 500 -1500 words (Hall 1953; Samarin 1971); elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender, and a drastic reduction of redundant features (DeCamp 1971).

- (iii) The process of pidginization has been characterized as one of simplifying a target language by stripping it down to the bare bones of universal grammar, by eliminating many grammatical devices such as number, gender and other redundant features. This universalist hypothesis of pidginization is often invoked to account for the structural similarities found among geographically separated pidgins and the typical absence¹ in them of a large number of universally marked features. Since these “simple” language lack morphosyntactic devices to mark tense, mood, aspect, number, definiteness, complementation and subordination, etc., they rely rather heavily on circumlocution, multi functionality, context, intonation, extra-linguistic features, and shared knowledge, resulting in a ‘pragmatic mode’ (Givon 1979) of communication, as opposed to a more ‘syntactic mode’, which characterizes a *creole* or an *extended pidgin*. According to Reinecke (cited in Hymes 1971:500) a pidgin may be of two kinds: those that undergo extreme ‘simplification’, e.g. Cantonese Pidgin English, Neo-Melanesian, Chinook Jargon; and those that undergo *semi-pidginization*, i.e. only slight simplification, e.g. Town Bembe, Kingwana Swahili, Bazaar Hindustani, Low Malay.

1

Thomason & Kaufman (1988:181), however, disagree: “There are certainly marked morpho-syntactic features in a number of pidgin languages.”

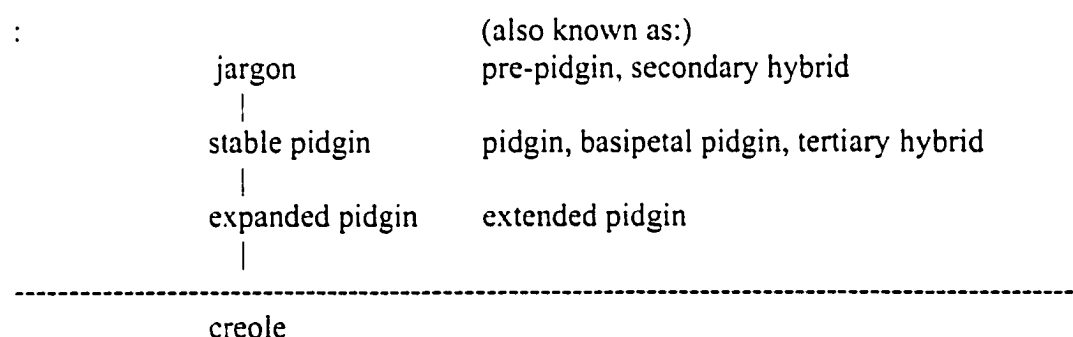
- (iv) Pidgins tend to have an analytic construction (e.g., “House bilong John” instead of “John’s house ” in Tok Pisin (Romaine 1988:29).
- (v) Pidgins usually display a fixed and invariable word order, because they eliminate allomorphy, which do case assignment. In Haiman’s word (1985:162, cited in Romaine 1988:29), they [pidgins] avoid “allotaxy”, i.e. the use of different word orders for the expression of the same grammatical relationship (as in German). The preferred word order in pidgins is SVO, which according to Givon (1979 cited in Romaine 1988) is most common in pidgins because it is the easiest to process.
- (vi) A pidgin is native to no one (Bloomfield 1933:474), and, since pidgins are nobody’s (no community’s) native language, they are usually short-lived; if the interlingual contact ends they disappear, because no group has any sentimental attachment or nationalistic motivation to preserve them (DeCamp 1971b).
- (vii) Pidgins are varieties with the vocabulary of one language and a compromise grammar taking features from the grammars of the various substrate languages involved in the process, which is reached via linguistic negotiations along the lines of universal structural tendencies.
- (viii) Pidgins are believed to develop in multilingual settings (Whinnom 1971), especially under conditions of major population displacement (Bickerton 1977; Sankoff 1980, cited in Andersen 1983). Whinnom (1971) stresses that more than two languages in contact are required for the birth of a true pidgin. The creators/speakers of pidgin must come from two or more mutually unintelligible language backgrounds, and there must also be a dominant language in contact to supply the vocabulary. According

to DeCamp (1971b) any two languages in contact can result in an interlingual 'improvisation' but more than two languages in contact are required for the development of a true pidgin.

- (ix) It is generally believed that there must be an unequal power relationship between the substrate language groups and the superstrate speakers.
- (x) While some linguists regard pidgins as "macaronic blends", others believe they have "some degree of conventionalization" or "crystallization", i.e., a "norm". Holm (1988) notes that while a *jargon* has no fixed norms, a *pidgin* does.
- (xi) A pidgin is a 'compromise grammar with a single agreed-upon lexicon.' This view is reflected in Hymes (1971 :81) who characterizes pidginization as a process of language 'learning' via adaptation by adults (as opposed to 'acquisition' by children) through "a *selective* acceptance of lexicon and grammar, so far as any one source is concerned, in a context of limited opportunity, limited need, and, as adults, of more limited ability" a process which "From the standpoint of the community or group " is a visible one of sharing in the *ad hoc* adaptation and creation of a novel means of speech."
- (xii) Bickerton and Givon (1976:12) argued with reference to Hawaiian Pidgin English that "in the classic contact situation, the average speaker begins by relexifying his original grammar."
- (xiii) When a pidgin results from contact among more than two linguistic groups, its lexicon will be derived almost exclusively from the socially dominant group, but when a pidgin results from contact between two linguistic groups its lexicon will be derived from both languages in roughly equal proportion (Backer 1995: 29).
- (xiv) Almost all linguists view pidginization as a target oriented learning process, the target

being the socially dominant language. For example, in Bickerton's words, "pidginization is second language learning with restricted input." But Thomason and Kaufman (1991: 173) disagree: "We agree that the goal of speakers who are creating a pidgin is language learning, but not that their goal is necessarily the learning of a particular language (namely, the one that may provide up to 90 percent of the pidgin's vocabulary.)" Mühlhäusler (1986:5) considers pidgins as being "examples of partially targeted or non-targeted second language learning, developing from simpler to more complex systems as communicative requirements become more demanding.

(xv) According to Mühlhäusler (1986:5) the qualitatively different stages of a pidgin are:



In addition, Bickerton (1974, 1981) added that a pidgin is a product of colonial situation and that pidgin genesis must involve:

(xvi) colonization, slavery, major population displacement, people being cut off from their homogeneous speech community, existence of an unequal power relationship between the substrate groups and superstrate speakers , factors that were involved in the genesis and development of the well-known, European-based pidgins and creoles.

Several of the above-listed defining criteria of pidgins, however, are problematic. The existence of Eskimo pidgins, for example, renders irrelevant Bickerton's set of sociohistorical defining criteria. What is relevant in the case of Eskimo pidgins was not an unequal power relationship between the two, but rather a relationship of dependency. The multiethnic whaling crew consisting of Americans, Cape Verdians, English, or Germans, Hawaiians, Portuguese, Scandinavians, and Spanish. The crew members of earlier whaling ships to the eastern Arctic who were often homogeneously Basque, Danish, Dutch, English or German all landed in the same places and met the Inuits who were the only invariant factor. They could be called dominant only in the sense that the whalers could never have survived without the help of the Inuits. The Inuits were relatively independent while the whalers were dependent on them. Thus the key point here is dependency, not dominance.

The fact that two groups did produce pidgins (e.g., Micmacs and the Basques, the Yimas and the Arafundi; the Vietnamese and the French; and the Russians and the Norwegians) invalidates the notion that at least three languages must be in contact for pidgin genesis, a process known as "tertiary hybridization".

The view that pidginization is not a specific target oriented learning process is also problematic. We believe that Andersen's characterization (1983: 8) of pidginization as "language acquisition under conditions of restricted input, or where input is inadequate..." best describes the phenomenon. As far as the pidgin creators are concerned, it is L_2 learning; they not only believe what they are speaking is the lexifier language, but also that they are speaking it "correctly".

The view that a "pidgin is nobody's native language" is technically wrong because there are pidgins that have been nativized by some of their speakers. Note that according to

Thomason & Kaufman (1991: 170), if a few isolated children acquire a pidgin as their native language, it still remains a *pidgin*. Thus, according to the conventional definition, languages like Tok Pisin or Nigerian Pidgin English whose adult varieties are structurally and functionally indistinguishable from their nativized varieties, have to be called *pidgins* until they are ‘nativized’ by the “entire speech community”.

But, the term “entire speech community” is a vague one; a pidgin community may be composed of several sizable ethno-linguistic groups, and often they may be culturally distinct with very different history. According to the existing criteria, even if a whole ethno-linguistic group (not all the ethno-linguistic groups in the region where the pidgin is spoken) nativized it, it would still not be called a creole. This leads us to the question of what distinguishes a creole from a pidgin? A related question about the defining criteria is whether or not a pidgin should be described as both a functionally and structurally “restricted,” lexically “limited,” “auxiliary”/ “make-shift” contact vernacular. Obviously the aforementioned labels may apply to an *incipient pidgin*, but certainly not to such pidgins as Nigerian Pidgin English, Cameroon Pidgin English, or Tok Pisin.

Thomason & Kaufman’s (1991:173) view that the goal of the pidgin creators is “language learning but not that their shared goal is necessarily the learning of a particular language (namely, the one that may provide up to 90 percent of the pidgin’s vocabulary)”, is problematic. If they believe pidginization involves language creation rather than learning a TL, then Thomson & Kaufman should perhaps use the phrase ‘language creation’ rather than ‘learning’.

We disagree with the view that pidginization is a non-target oriented learning process. “Learning” by definition requires an object to learn, “creation” does not. Let’s take the

plantation setting. There, various linguistic groups needed a common language to communicate with their masters on the one hand and with their fellow workers on the other. Predictably, they opted for the most practical solution: learning the master's language, which would serve both purposes. The choice of the master's/colonizer's language was not motivated by master/slave relationship or an unequal power relationship but by its usefulness.

It is true that a pidgin grammar is a "compromise grammar", but this excludes the *lexicon* from the picture; it should also be clearly indicated that the phonology and lexicon of a pidgin also represents a compromise of features. The phonological system that the pidgin speakers arrive at is often markedly different from that of the superstrate language, and it is particularly true about supra-segmental phonology. Words get 'reinvoiced', each time two interlocutors use them. The meaning a word assumes during a conversational exchange is different from its meaning listed in the dictionary; it is something between the user's intended meaning and the listener's perception of what the speaker says. Pidgin/creole vocabulary provides the best example of such compromise. In the process of acquiring a word the pidgin creators often leave out its selectional properties, too. As Koopman (1985) has shown with Haitian, in pidgins/creoles and also in an informal L₂ acquisition situation, words may retain their superstrate phonetic shape but undergo semantic loss, shift, and partial-to-complete change in their selectional features.

Bickerton & Givon's (1976:12) claim that pidgin creators begin by relexifying their original grammars is an oversimplification of a complex process; L₂ research shows that in the early stages of L₂ acquisition, learners rely rather heavily on their native language structures of syntax and phonology, which diminishes gradually as they advance along the interlanguage

continuum towards the target-language norm. Our experience with adult learners of English/Bengali as a second language does not support the relexification view; adults learning a language informally may make mistakes with phrase order, but not with word order. A high degree of reliance on one's native language structure is one thing and "relexification" of native language structure is another; the latter involves creating language which has the lexicon of the target language but the word order of one of the native languages agreed upon by the substrate groups.

The view of a pidgin as a "TL stripped down to the bare bones of universal grammar" is flawed because only those who know the language well can adjust it to be understood by a new second-language learner of the language. Only a mother or care-giver can provide motherese; she, who, knows the language is capable of reducing it so that the child can handle it, but not the other way round.

The claim that pidgins lack morphosyntactic devices to mark tense mood, aspect, number, definiteness, complementation and subordination, etc. characterize a certain stage in a dynamic process. Pidgins such as Eskimo pidgin, or Chinook Jargon which have very limited vocabulary and serve a very limited number of communicative functions, but the term *pidgin* is also used to refer to Yimas Pidgin, which has a well developed TMA system (Foley 1988, cited in Spears & Winford (1997:4), Nigerian Pidgin English, Cameroon Pidgin English, and Tok Pisin. These varieties are structurally as complex as creoles, and are used in all the domains of use in a speech community. Therefore, in redefining the term *pidgin*, one must clearly spell out what stage of *pidgin* one is trying to characterize by a particular diagnostic feature.

We urge that the criteria originally developed on the basis of our knowledge of only European-based pidgins and creoles be reconsidered in light of new research findings and data from more recently discovered, particularly non-European-based varieties. Clearly, Bickerton trying to account for the shared features of creoles across the world concluded that they were due to UG, which, according to him, becomes optimally operative when a pre-pidgin is creolizes. His rationale for this belief is that, in such a situation the primary linguistic data, available to the children of pidgin speaking parents, being chaotic the child would have to settle for the default settings of the parameters, and thus the innate tense-aspectual system would unfold. Bickerton believed creolization in his four “true creole” situations occurred from a *pre-pidgin* stage and therefore concluded that a true creole may emerge only in colonial situations, i.e., in a setting that involved “major population displacement”, “slavery”, and people “cut off from their homogeneous speech community” are forced to live and work together under the supervision of European masters who may not constitute roughly 30% of the total population of the community. But, now that Bickerton’s so called innate tense-aspectual system have been traced to the substrate languages and it has also been shown that a stable pidgin rather than a pre-pidgin creolized in Hawaii, and moreover, that grammaticalization in his classic creoles occurred gradually, rather than instantaneously, the set of sociohistorical criteria for defining pidgin/creole that he imposed ought to be rejected.

The use of the term *pidgin* should perhaps be restricted to varieties which have crystallized but which have very few or no morphosyntactic devices to mark tense, mood, aspect, number, definiteness, complementation and subordination, etc. and which have not yet acquired any native speakers.

Also, rather than characterizing pidginization as a process of “simplification”, it ought to be viewed as a process of creative construction under the condition of severely limited input. The view that an “unequal power relationship” between the substrate groups and the superstrate speakers (or the two groups involved in the process), as a necessary condition, be abandoned in favor of the phrase *dependency relationship*. Such overgeneralized claims as ‘pidgins have the lexicon of one language and the grammar of another’ should be abandoned because that is a characterization of radically mixed languages, e.g., Angloromani.

Definitions of the various idealized stage in the dynamic process of contact-induced language development must include a taxonomy of features explicitly characterizing the following: the social history of its speakers, ethno-linguistic composition of the setting, inter-groups(s) relationship, nature of input (both its quality and quantity), acquisition process, linguistic structures of all the subsystems of the variety, and functional domains it serves.

7.1.2.1 *Suggested defining criteria of pidgin*

To distinguish it from an *incipient pidgin/jargon* a *pidginoid*, or a *creole*, a variety may be called a *pidgin* if it:

- (i) it developed in a setting without bilingualism, where two or more groups of adults, typically traders, speaking mutually unintelligible languages in a dependency situation, needed a code for limited verbal communication on a regular basis, yet no group was willing to learn the other group’s language.
- (ii) it is an autonomous system, which is why it is mutually unintelligible with its lexical-base language.

- (iii) it represents a pragmatic mode of communication, i.e. a language that has just a few hundred lexical items comprised mainly of nouns, verbs and adjectives, which have little or no inflectional morphology, and hence analytic.
- (iv) all its subsystems have substantially more mixed features than its lexical base language.
- (v) it is typically used for business transactions or making deals, and thus functionally limited to non-intimate domains of use.
- (vi) it is nobody's primary language.

7.1.3 *Extended Pidgin*

If the contact among the groups that create the pidgin remains sporadic, as in the case of Russenorsk, it may remain an *incipient pidgin*, throughout its lifetime; but, if a pidgin is used as a second language for several generations, as was the case with Tok Pisin in New Guinea, for example, it will gradually acquire more and more domains of use, and under the pressures of increased communicative needs, expand lexically and complexify structurally, thus developing into a sophisticated code with adequate lexical and structural resources to meet all the communicative and expressive needs of a speech community.

In Muhlhäusler's (1986:5) words "if superstrate speakers become the least important part of a pidgin and close contact is established and maintained between groups of substrate speakers over an extended period of time, an *extended pidgin* results: the simpler structure of the earlier pidgin is elaborated to meet more demanding communicative needs". The term *expanded pidgin* has been used to refer to varieties like Tok Pisin and Nigerian Pidgin English, which are morpho-syntactically far more sophisticated and lexically richer than a

pidgin (actually they are structurally as sophisticated as a creole) and also natively spoken by a section of the community. *Extended pidgin* (*expanded pidgin*), a notion originally introduced by Todd (1974), has been characterized by Romaine (1988) as follows:

A contact-induced variety is an *extended pidgin* if :

- (i) it has 'complex' grammar
- (ii) and a developing word-formation component.
- (iii) it has a higher speech tempo
- (iv) it is used in almost all domains of everyday life.
- (v) it is used for self expression, word play and literature
- (vi) it has been instrumental in providing cohesion in heterogeneous groups

And we added a seventh feature, which is :

- (vii) it is morpho-syntactically indistinguishable from its natively spoken counterpart (we added this criterion)

If a *pidgin* happens to be the only common language of a community, it will be acquired by the children born into that community, who use it as their primary language; and such nativized pidgins are called *creoles*. We suggest that, for the sake of precision, the term *extended pidgin* be restricted to varieties which are linguistically as sophisticated and resourceful as a creole serving in every domain of use but which are still spoken as a second language. If only children of mixed marriages speak it as their primary language it may be called a *creolizing pidgin*, but when the variety becomes the primary language of an entire homogeneous speech community--which may be limited to one ethno-linguistic group in a multi-ethnic pidgin speaking community -- , it should be called a *creole* (for that community).

Thus in a region where the variety in question was once an *incipient pidgin* and subsequently a *pidgin*, may at a later time exist as an *extended pidgin*, *creolizing pidgin/extended pidgin*, and a *creole* simultaneously.

We believe that Romaine's above characterization of a *extended pidgin* is an excellent one. We would like to add one more feature, which is:

- (vii) it is morpho-syntactically indistinguishable from its natively spoken counterpart

7.1.4 *Creole*

Whereas a *pidgin*, which is nobody's primary language, is typically a 'pragmatic mode of communication, with a lexicon limited to only a few hundred words, and functionally limited to brief exchanges in non-intimate domains, a *creole*, which is a primary language of a speech community, has a large lexicon, complex morpho-syntactic structures, and a greater tempo. As the primary languages of a speech community a *creole* by necessity develops adequate lexical and structural resources required for serving the whole range of its expressive needs. In this respect a *creole* is comparable to any "normally transmitted" language. Traditionally, the term *creole* has been used to refer to a contact variety that

... has a jargon or pidgin in its ancestry; it is spoken natively by an entire speech community, often one whose ancestors were displaced geographically so that their ties with their original language and sociocultural identity were partly broken. (Holm 1988:6).

Contrasting creolization with pidginization, Hymes (1971:84) defines creolization as "that complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising expansion in inner form, with

convergence, in the context of extension of use,” and a creole as “the result of such a process that has achieved autonomy as a norm.” A *creole* emerges via ‘abrupt’ nativization of an incipient pidgin (as has been claimed by Bickerton to have been the case with plantation creoles, e.g., Hawaiian Creole English or Haitian Creole French. There are, however, creoles that have come about via gradual nativization, e.g., Tok Pisin, Nigerian Pidgin English. Mühlhäusler (1986:8) summarized the following three main sociolinguistic types of creoles that can be distinguished according to their developmental history:

Table 65. Three main types of creoles (Mühlhäusler (1986:8))

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
jargon (pre-pidgin)	jargon	jargon
	stabilized pidgin	stabilized pidgin
		expanded pidgin
creole	creole	creole
<i>Hawaiian Creole English</i>	<i>Torres Straits Creole English</i>	<i>New Guinea New Guinea</i>

Bickerton, however, denies types 2 and 3 creolehood. We will soon return to it.

7.1.4.1 *Defining features of a creole*

A long list of features known as ‘characteristic creole features’ are available in the literature, which include features considered to be universal creole features by Coelho and Schuchardt to Bickerton cited in Muysken (1977; 1990[1988];1995; Holm 1988; DeCamp 1971; 1977; Hymes 1971). Obviously, they include universals of second language

acquisition, Greenbergian universals as well as Bickertonian universals. (but not those suggested by Chomsky, e.g. 1981). For convenience of discussion, some of them are listed below:

- (i) A creole is a pidgin that has acquired native speakers and which serves as the first language of an “entire speech community.”
- (ii) A creole is a “simple” language, which lacks inflectional morphology. It is a “minimal communication system, in which only the basic semantic relations could be expressed (Bertrand-Bocande, cited in Muysken 1977:41)
- (iii) Creoles have mixed grammars.
- (iv) Creoles are semantically transparent languages (Seuren & Wekker 1986).
- (v) Creoles have strict SVO word order, which, according to Bickerton, is the unmarked setting for the word order parameter.
- (vi) Creoles use serial verb construction.
- (vii) Creoles use transparent (bimorphemic) question words, the first being derived from the superstrate question word. Such question-particles, where they occur, are sentence final and optional.
- (viii) Creoles have morphologically complex reflexives.
- (ix) Creoles have plural markers involving the third-person plural pronoun.
- (x) Creoles have a generalized locative preposition, often “na”.
- (xi) Creoles have fronting rules: focused constituents and predicate cleft.
- (xii) Creoles have double object construction (Arends et. al. 1995: 124).
- (xiii) Creoles use multiple negation and preposed negation marking.

- (xiv) Creoles have CV CV structure.
- (xv) Creoles don't use tone to encode syntactic contrast (McWhorter 1998).
- (xvi) Creoles use a locative 'be'.
- (xvii) Creoles mark possession by juxtaposition of two NPs in the order : possessor + possessed.
- (xviii) Creoles have a definite article for pre-supposed-specific NP, an indefinite article for asserted -specific NP, and zero for non-specific NP.
- (xxii) Creoles have relativization and subject -copying.
- (xxiii) Creoles use the same lexical item to express existentials ("there is") and possessive ("have").
- (xxiv) Creoles show similarity in the use of the copula.
- (xxv) Creoles use adjectives as verbs.
- (xxvi) Passive constructions are rare in creoles; and when present, they are either marginal to the language or relatively recent superstrate borrowings.

Bickerton, who found the above-listed defining criteria of creoles to be "too wide", narrowed it by suggesting that a contact -induced variety be called a creole only if it shares the set of syntactic features that his four "true creoles"-- Sranan, Guyanese, Haitian and Hawaiian- shared, and also if they arose and developed under sociohistorical circumstances that gave rise to four creoles, e.g. colonial expansion, slavery, major population displacement etc.

7.1.4.1.1 *Bickerton's definition of creole*

7.1.4.1.1.1 *Bickerton's innate tense-aspectual system*

Bickerton (e.g., 1981) denied creolehood to varieties like Juba Arabci, Ki-Nubi, and NG because they do not meet the defining criteria he imposed. Abstracting a tense-aspectual system from four creoles – Sranan, Guyanese, Haitian Creole and Hawaiian -- which share those features, Bickerton (1974) suggested that only those contact-induced that share these 'innate tense-aspectual system' may be considered creole. Those features are as follows:

- (a) the zero form of the verb marks simple past for action verbs and nonpast for state verbs.
- (b) a marker of anterior aspect indicates past-before-past for action verbs and simple past for state verbs.
- (c) a marker of irrealis aspect indicates 'unreal time' (= futures, conditionals, subjunctives, etc.) for all verbs.
- (d) a marker of non-punctual aspect indicates durative or iterative aspect for action verbs, and is indifferent to the nonpast/past distinction; this marker cannot normally co-occur with state verbs.
- (e) all markers are in preverbal position.
- (f) all markers can combine, but in an invariant ordering, which is : 1. anterior. 2. irrealis. 3. nonpunctual.
- (g) The meaning of anterior + irrealis is an 'unrealised condition in the past'.
- (h) the meaning of anterior + irrealis + non-punctual is 'an unrealised condition in the

past, of a non-punctual nature', something like *if only x would have gone on doing y...*

- (i) the meaning of anterior + non-punctual is 'a durative action or series of non-durative actions taking place either before some other event under discussion, or during a period of time regarded as definitively closed.'
- (j) the meaning of + irrealis + nonpunctual is 'a non-punctual action occurring in unreal time , e.g., a future progressive Bickerton (1975 [1974]:5-6; also see. 1977 for additional information).

7.1.4.1.1.2 Bickerton's socio-historical criteria

Even if a variety had all the above features, up until 1990 Bickerton would still not allow it to be called a creole unless it met his set of socio-historical criteria, which are listed below. Bickerton wrote, "I shall use the word creole to refer to languages which :

- (i) Arose out of a prior pidgin which had not existed for more than a generation.
- (ii) Arose in a population where not more than 20 per cent were native speakers of the dominant language and where the remaining 80 per cent was composed of diverse language groups." (1981:4)

As a result, even Re'union Creole does not qualify as a creole (Bickerton 1981), because in that case children had a target to arrive at and a large number of superstrate speakers lived in the community for a long period of time as a result of which properties of the target language might have "become incorporated into the resultant new language" making it "difficult to know whether one is dealing with a "a true creole" or "a dialect of the superstrate." The rigidity of his sociohistorical requirement can be best understood from his

following observation about Ki-Nubi:

“The only languages without a European superstrate which might qualify under the conditions specified in Chapter 1, above, are Ki-Nubi and Juba-Arabic. Although the data that have emerged on those languages so far are scanty and unclear (and for this reason I have refrained from citing them in the present volume), most of what is available suggest that they follow the creole pattern described here. But even these languages do not have a third condition which may be necessary to qualify for true creolehood: their populations were not, in general, displaced from their native homelands. It is a historical fact that it was only Europeans who uprooted people from their cultures and carried them across thousands of miles of ocean in order to exploit them; therefore, it is only in European colonies that one would expect to find the massive disruption of normal language continuity which would permit the emergence of innate faculties (Bickerton 1981:308).

All these requirements that he added was motivated by a specific purpose, which was to account for the “shared features” of creole languages across the world by adopting Chomsky’s universalist approach or the innatist position:

How can a child produce a rule for which he has no evidence ? No one has answered this question; most people haven’t even asked it ; and yet, until it is answered, we cannot really claim to know anything about how language in general is acquired (Bickerton 1981:6).

As is well known, creole languages across the world share a large number of syntactic and semantic properties (known as “creole features”), despite their geographical separation and development involving a considerable range of substrate and superstrate languages. For a long time, one of the central issues in creole studies has been to account for these similarities. The search for a explanation of these commonalities, has yielded a number of a hypotheses: monogenesis and relexification, substrate/superstrate origin, universalist etc. Bickerton (1974, 1981) also sought to resolve the central puzzle of creole studies in his own way.

7.1.4.1.1.3 Bickerton's formulation of UG: its contribution to creole studies

Bickerton dismissed suggestions (e.g., Koefoed 1975; Robson 1975, cited in Bickerton 1977) that “before a pidgin can become the first language of a new generation, a considerable extension in use, and thus expansion in inner form and complication in outer form, must have taken place as “strange” suggestion. In order to make his bioprogram hypothesis work, he claimed that since pre-pidgin data were chaotic, often contradictory-- e.g., SOV, SVO, OSV word orders --, and lacked properties crucial to parameter setting, children involved in creolization would ignore that data and the bioprogram syntactic structures would unfold. That would mean parameter setting without triggers available in primary linguistic data. Up until the early 1990's, whatever he said or did in creole studies may be said to have been for one purpose, which is to prove his hypothesis about the origins of “creole features”.

Although Hall (1966:109), -- by no means a substratophile,-- declared that “...the entire inflectional system of the Haitian Creole verb with its loss of tense and person-and - number endings and its use of aspectual prefixes, is straight African.”, and similarly, Bentolia (1971, cited in Valdman 1977:180) showed remarkable similarities between Haitian and Fon tense-aspectual systems (for details see Valdman (1977:180), Bickerton (1974; 1981) ignored them and declared that:

- (i) “true” creoles sprang from pre-pidgins (and not pidgins) in a single generation;
- (ii) substrate languages played no role at all in the formation of creole grammars;
- (iii) and that primary linguistic data plays no role in language acquisition. (1981).

Bickerton's definition of *a creole*, as expounded in (1981, 1984), may have received very little attention from the L₁ researchers, but it has profoundly influenced the field of pidgin and creole studies. Therefore, his Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH) (1984) as a model of L₁ acquisition should perhaps be evaluated. It should, however, be pointed out that in his more recent works Bickerton has moved away from his original formulation of UG, but since his earlier formulation exerted so much influence on the field we will limit our discussion to that only. In his formulation of UG, Bickerton made two huge claims:

- (i) the process of parameter setting in creolization is different from that in normally transmitted L₁ acquisition; he views the latter as a gradual, inductive process via interaction with primary linguistic data; but the former as an instantaneous, automatic process, in which primary linguistic data play no role.
- (ii) That there is a possible language in which all the parameters are set for their unmarked values, which he calls the "bioprogram" language, and which is represented by his "true" creole.

Note that Bickerton views acquisition of a normally transmitted language and creolization as two distinct process. As to how normally transmitted L₁ acquisition occurs, he claims:

...from the earliest stages, the evolving bioprogram will interact with the target language. Sometimes features in the bioprogram will be very similar to features in the target language, in which case we will find extremely rapid, early and apparently effortless learning.

As can be seen, Bickerton views normally transmitted L₁ acquisition as a contrastive analytic process in which the primary linguistic data is evaluated before each parameter is set,

but in the acquisition of a pidgin as L_1 , the data is totally ignored:

...the bioprogram language would unfold, just as physical bioprogram unfolds; the language would grow just as the body grows, presenting the appropriate structures at the appropriate times and in the appropriate, pre-programmed sequences (1981:350).

As to why primary linguistic data play no role in creolization, Bickerton has the following to say:

In the conventional wisdom, children are supposed to derive rules by processing input (with or without the help of some specific language-learning device); in this way, they arrive at a rule system similar to, if not identical with, that of their elders. If this were all children could do, then they would simply learn the pidgin, and there would be no significant gap between the generations. In Hawaii, at least, we have empirical proof that this did not happen—that the first creole generation produced rules for which there was no evidence in the previous generation's speech. (1981)

Arguing that in Hawaii a *pre-pidgin* (and not a *pidgin*), which consisted of highly variable or “chaotic” structures, (e.g. various word orders) creolized, Bickerton claims that “...a child in Hawaii who sought to learn basic word order by the inductive process alone would have ended up in a state of total bewilderment” (1981:12) and hence forced to assume the “unmarked settings” for “most of them [parameters]”.

Bickerton's assumption that parameters are programmed to ignore primary linguistic data if they include variable structures, e.g. SVO, SOV, word orders, and begin to function instantaneously in their unmarked (preset) values, is a seriously flawed argument. Children growing up learning two languages simultaneously have always been able to keep the word order separate. As Felix (1992) points out, language acquisition is essentially a deductive process in which the child analyzes input data on the basis of a biologically determined set of principles—technically known as Universal Grammar—that narrowly constrains the kinds of

hypothesis to be considered vis-a-vis a given set of data (Chomsky 1981, 1986; Hornstein & Lightfoot, 1981; Felix, 1987).

Within the conceptual framework of Chomsky's Government and Binding Theory, the crucial observation is that the adult grammar of a language that a child attains in the course of L_1 acquisition is 'heavily underdetermined by the evidence available to the child'. Moreover, the child does not have the benefit of "negative evidence". Since it would be impossible for the child to derive the rule system of the adult norm from linguistic experience alone through inductive generalization, Chomsky assumes that the child brings to the task of language acquisition an innately specified system of abstract knowledge, known as Universal Grammar (UG), which defines the class of possible human languages and constrains the kind of hypotheses the child can entertain about the data at hand, thus making language acquisition possible.

The standard assumption among L_1 researchers is that parameter setting occurs through triggers available in the primary linguistic data, and language acquisition occurs via hypotheses testing and restructuring as dictated by their reanalysis of data. But Bickerton (1981) claims that the bioprogram language "unrolls" exactly like the genetic program that determines the child's "increase in size, muscular control, etc." His conception of creolization as L_1 acquisition closely parallels the view of the Maturation Hypothesis (MH).

Two major theories have been proposed to account for the "developmental problem of language acquisition": the MH, and the Continuity Hypothesis (CH), which together with the Lexical Learning Hypothesis constitute a theory. According to the CH (Pinker 1984), all the principles of UG are present at all stages of language development right from the very

beginning. In this view, the “stage-transition problem”, i.e. the developmental delay noticed in language acquisition, is solved by invoking the Lexical Learning Hypothesis which attributes the restructuring characteristic of child language development to the child’s size of lexicon, memory size, and processing capacity. According to the Lexical Learning Hypothesis, although the UG principles are present right from the beginning, certain principles must await the acquisition of lexical triggers before they can become operative (Clahsen 1992:55).

According to the MH, language acquisition is a completely biologically determined mechanism, and not input driven; UG principles are ordered in terms of an innately specified maturational schedule, i.e., ‘the principles of UG emerge successively and become operative in specific temporal order’. According to this model, the child’s language development is not dependent on evidence or primary linguistic input; various structures simply “unroll”, to use Bickerton’s term, according to a genetically programmed schedule. This model has two versions: the weak and the strong. Unlike the strong version developed by Felix (1984, 1987), according to which child grammars license structures that violate principles of UG and thus do not qualify as *possible grammars*, the weak version of MH, (developed by Borer & Wexler 1987, 1988), assumes that there are UG external learning constraints that restrict the availability of UG principles to the child up to a certain stage; however, it holds that the child’s intermediate grammars are consistent with UG principles (Weissenborn et al., 1992:55).

Since Bickerton espouses the MH, it would be helpful to check how the MH is regarded by the L₁ researchers. In Felix’s own words,

In recent years it has become increasingly clear that language acquisition must be an essentially deductive process in which the child analyzes input data on the basis of a biologically determined set of principles—technically known as Universal Grammar—that narrowly constrains the kinds of hypotheses to be considered vis-a`-vis a given set of data (cf. Chomsky 1980, 1981, 1986; Hornstein & Lightfoot, 1981; White 1982; Felix 1987).
(1992:25)

It has been shown that the “wild” grammar that the proponents of MH cite do not actually constitute violation of UG principle, on close scrutiny. So, Stevenson (1992:90) concludes: “overall, then, the evidence seems to support the continuity view.” Clahsen (1992) rejects the MH by arguing that:

The evidence in favor of the MH has been shown to be fairly weak, and, in some cases, alternative analysis of the developmental data have been sketched out which did not require any maturation of UG principles. This suggests that the proposed maturational schedules have to be rejected and that the CH can be maintained as a part of the theory of learnability.

Bickerton’s argument that in creolization children ignore primary linguistic data because they are “highly variable” is a poor one. Note that the entire “logical problem” of language acquisition revolves around the very fact that the grammatical knowledge that a child attains is “heavily underdetermined by the evidence available to the child.” The fact that children somehow arrive at the correct grammar of their native language despite the poverty of stimulus, clearly suggests that they are equipped with a powerful device which is capable of selecting the grammar that best suits the data.

Since “the triggering experience of the original creole speakers of any creole is covered by layers of historical mist, and written records of early stages of creole languages are meager ” (Lightfoot 1992), one can claim whatever one likes to, but the standard assumption is that on plantations, fairly well structured *pidgins* creolized-- not *pre-*

pidgins, as Bickerton would have us believe. Contrary to the standard assumption that stable pidgins were creolized in the plantation settings, Bickerton claimed that in those settings creolization occurred from the *pre-pidgin* stage. Furthermore, Bickerton fails to take into account the fact that the data of the first cohort of three/four-year-old creole speakers provided data to the next cohort of three-year-olds, or the data provided by the older sibling to the younger ones were not as degenerate as he would have us believe. We believe that he avoided these facts because they would shake the very foundation of his LBH: chaotic primary linguistic data cannot be utilized for language acquisition.

Here is what a well-known scholar has to say regarding this claim of Bickerton's:

In the usual case, the *relevant* input for the child, i.e. the trigger experience, is a subset of the total experience, perhaps consisting only of simple main clause (Lightfoot 1985), and the total experience includes much redundant information. Under that perspective, the restrictedness of the input to creole-speaking children does not look as dramatic as when one is concerned with the total experience that children have. The question now arises: to what extent does the creole child lack relevant input for fixing the parameters provided by UG? If the lack is not extensive, this would explain how children with apparently impoverished input nonetheless attain a mature capacity more or less as rich structurally as that of children with a more extensive and more uniform input; it would simply mean that they have less redundant information. Answering this question will require fairly detailed knowledge of the input to the first creole speakers,...”(Lightfoot 1990).

On the bases of the fact that English children have no difficulty figuring out the fact that their language is not a null-subject language despite the fact that the data they receive include numerous instances of subject-less sentences every day, and that children growing up learning two languages simultaneously can keep their grammar separate, we argue that in Bickerton's "classic" creole situations, too, the pidgin input contained enough triggers for

them to know what type of language (head-initial/head-final, null-subject, etc) they were dealing with.

If indeed the human child is genetically wired for language acquisition, in other words if UG really aids first language acquisition, then the mechanism is certainly smart enough determine from degenerate evidence what class of grammar would best suit the input that the child is faced with in any given setting.

Given the facts that (i) the entire input is not “intake” (due to such factors as memory size, processing capacity or maturation, the child cannot correctly analyze every thing they hear) and (ii) the grammatical knowledge that children attain in L_1 acquisition is “heavily underdetermined by the evidence available to the child”, all that Bickerton could logically claim is that since the pidgin data were relatively more “degenerate”, and the “model” (target language) was progressively “diluted”, the creole child might have to restructure his hypotheses more frequently than his counterpart engaged in acquiring a normally transmitted language. By claiming that the child ignores the data if there is variability in it, he is in effect saying that there are two distinct kinds of L_1 acquisition, which is a strange claim. Why should they be different, when both of them are cases of non-formal acquisition with the age variable remaining the same !

Bickerton’s other major claim that a “true” creole represents bioprogram language in which the parameters are set for unmarked values, is equally problematic. He uses the similarity in the tense-aspectual systems among his four “classic” creoles –Guyanese, Sranana, Haitian and Hawaiian– as evidence for his LBH.. However those features appear to be due to substrate influence (see, e.g., Singler 1990); Welmers and Welmers 1968, Welmers 1973; Spears 1990; Siegel 2000).

As for the SVO word order, one should not jump to the conclusion that SVO is the default word order of UG. Lightfoot (1992) citing Kouwenberg (1989) reminds us that like Dutch, which has object-verb order at D-structure, but often has verb-object order in a matrix clause because of a verb-movement operation that moves the verb to INFL and then to initial position, Ijo also often shows subject-verb-object order in a matrix clause despite having object-verb order at D-Structure. Lightfoot argues:

In each language children set the verb-order parameter on the basis of indirect evidence in unembedded domains. If that indirect evidence is obscured in some way, as it was toward the end of the Old English period, children may not be able to attain the old parameter setting and may set the verb-order parameter differently (1992: 179).

Also, Indo-Portuguese and Sri-Lankan Portuguese Creole have SOV word order. Moreover, the predominance of the SVO order in creoles may well be due to the same preference for SVO word order that pidgins have. According to Givon (1979, cited in Romaine 1988) SVO order is the easiest to process. It is quite logical that opting for the structure that is easier to process would be a universal feature of language acquisition. DeGraff (1992, cited in Arends 1995: 133) citing assumptions from L₁ acquisition research that pro-drop is the unmarked option, argues that Haitian would then be a pro-drop language, which it is not. One could ask: If creoles really had all unmarked settings, then why are not all creoles pro-drop languages ? The fact remains that “certainly marked features of European language grammars can be found in many creoles, such as Haitian,” as Thomason & Kaufman (1988:152) assert.

We argue that while parameters may have their unmarked values, it makes little sense to claim structures found in “true” creoles represent unmarked values of the parameters. This is too strong a claim. We subscribe to Lightfoot’s (1988:319) following view:

However one sometimes finds claims [no doubt Bickerton’s claim] that one cannot expect to understand the nature of linguistic change without studying creolization process, and claims that creoles uniquely manifest properties of UG. These claims seem very premature, unlikely to be true, and certainly not justified by current published work (Koopman 1985).”

What is perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the LBH is that in order to make it invulnerable, Bickerton gradually turned it into an unfalsifiable hypothesis. He first said that the “true” creole syntax constituted the bioprogram language, i.e., in those creoles all the parameters were set for their unmarked values. But upon realizing that creoles do have marked features (as do pidgins) he attributed any marked features to superstrate influence so that one could not disprove his theory. He (1984c) claimed that creole languages basically reflect unmarked parameter settings, with all marked features resulting from the influence of the superstrate language. Thus, having immunized his theory against data-based attacks, he thought his theory was now a leak-proof one, but by denying any role of the substrate languages in creolization he left it vulnerable.

As Muysken (1988:299) points out, the phenomenon of the main verb appearing twice in predicate clefting in most Caribbean and West African creoles as well as in an important subset of the African language which is not available in the Indian Ocean or Pacific creoles, ought to be of substratum origin. Koopman’s (1986) findings also argue against the notion that creoles are not influenced by the structural properties of substrate languages. Her study

reveals that many Haitian verbs have retained their original French phonetic shapes but many of their selectional properties differ from those of French, but are strikingly similar to those observed in West African languages. Also, the double object constructions found in Haitian and West African languages are not found in French. This evidence argues against Bickerton's view that creole grammars were not influenced by substrate languages. Siegel (2000) has demonstrated that "some theoretically important features of HCE have close parallels with corresponding features of the substrate languages that were dominant at the time when a stable and expanded HCE was emerging: Cantonese and Portuguese." (2000:229-30). Holm et. al. (2000) examining data from sixteen varieties conclude that Bickerton's claim about the relationship between stativity and tense reference has "no predictive value in any of the Atlantic or non-Atlantic creoles" they surveyed (2000:159).

Recall that according to Bickerton, Ki-Nubi [and Juba-Arabic, to] is "The only languages without a European superstrate which might qualify under the conditions specified in Chapter 1" (Bickerton 1981), but Owens (1990) points out that it, 'shows no more than a chance resemblances to Bickerton's universal creole features.'

It appears that Bickerton was overly confident that the study of plantation creoles would yield "special evidence" about the default values of various parameters, and thus his LBH (1984) would not only resolve central puzzle of creole studies, namely the origins of "shared features" but also answer an extremely important research questions in first language acquisition studies.

While it is desirable that a serious linguist would be concerned with the "logical problem", and "stage transition" problems of language acquisition, and try to find out what

the default settings of the parameters are, it is not expected of a linguist to mislead research by advancing unfalsifiable theories.

Arguing that Bickerton's prototypical creole TMA system is based solely on creoles whose superstrate languages are Indo-European, Singler (1990) suggests that a broader spectrum of creoles is needed in order to see if the shared properties are to be found when superstrate languages are non-Indo-European. As Spears (1997) shows, even one of the four original "true creoles", Haitian Creole departs from the prototype in significant ways.

In the face of mounting evidence against the MH on which his whole LBH is premised, even Bickerton himself has backed away from his original position; in a rarely cited article (Bickerton 1984a, cited in Lightfoot 1992) he completely abandoned his original position in favor of a more tenable position: "every parameter has an unmarked setting, and the unmarked setting is adopted unless experience instructs the child differently; a creole emerges as children select the unmarked setting for every parameter, or sometimes the setting of the superstrate language (Bickerton 1984a, cited in Lightfoot 1992: 175). Bickerton's own abandonment of his original theory of creolization as a process of instantaneous language acquisition without interacting with primary linguistic input then automatically invalidates his original claim that the so-called innate tense-aspectual system shared by his four "classic" creoles are due to UG.

From our critical discussion of Bickerton's theory of creolization, it will have become amply clear that the defining criteria of contact-induced varieties should not include the set of socio-historical and morpho-syntactic diagnostic features that Bickerton imposed in order to establish his LBH.

7.5 *A Gradualist Model of Creolization*

As Arends & Bruyn (1995:111) point out, 'creolization=nativization' was tacitly adopted by a majority of creolists. Indeed, under the influence of Bickerton's LBH, many creolists had come to believe that in the plantation settings creolization, i.e., nativization of pidgins, occurred from the *pre-pidgin* stage, and which happened within the time span of a single generation, i.e., "abruptly". However, there are creolists who do not subscribe to the idea of abrupt creolization and the equation that "creolization = nativization'. Among them are Alleyne (1971), Hancock (1980), Chaudenson (19), Singler (1986), Arends 1993, McWhorter (1992, and of course, Stewart and Carden (1988).

An alternative view of creolization known as the "Gradualist Model" has been developed. This model basically claims that "creolization, at least in a number of cases, such as Sranan, Haitian, and Jamaican, is not an instantaneous, but rather a gradual process, extending over a number of generations of speakers." Based on the meticulous studies of historical documents and the demographic development of slave societies it has been clearly shown that nativization of languages such as Sranan and Jamaican can only have been a slow process:

The rate of nativization of these societies, i.e. the rate at which the proportion of locally born blacks to African-born blacks changed in favor of the former, was so slow that it seems highly unlikely that creolization could have taken place instantaneously. (1995:112).

Unlike the bioprogram providing linguistic structures, Carden & Stewart (1988) with evidence from Haitian argued for gradual grammaticalization. Arends (1989 and 1995) shows that in Sranan the diachronic change in its syntax has been a gradual formative process.

The most scientific way of looking at creolization is perhaps transition from a basically “pragmatic mode” of communication to a more “syntactic mode” as Givon (1979) calls it. This process of transition involves a gradual expansion of lexicon and the development of syntactic devices which include the emergence of TMA, number markers, copula, articles, complementizers, an elaborate pronominal system, subordinating conjunctions, etc. When communicative pressures increase, the emergence of such grammatical categories become indispensable, and then various particles and or lexical items become grammaticalized. . What particles and lexical items become grammaticalized is another topic and will not be dealt with here. Bickerton seem to have failed to realize that ‘gradual’ means two different things to two groups of people: the adults, and the children. For children grammaticalization will occur extremely fast because they use the language more intensively, and since they do not know another language they use it in all the domains of use.

7.2.1A Structurally-based definition of creole

As has been often noted (e.g. Mufwene 1986a.), the so called “creole structures” can be found in ‘regular’ languages, often even clustering in them, such as in Chinese languages, just as they do in creole (McWhorter 1998:792).” A normally transmitted language ,e.g. Chinese may resemble many creole languages in its grammar, having preverbal marking or absence of inflectional affixation (McWhorter 1998:793). The creole preverbal markers also bear a fundamental and systematic relationship to the preverbal markers in many substrate languages (Holm, 1988: 144-45). Bickerton, (1976) noted a similarity between Atlantic creoles and Juba Arabic with respect to the way the preverbal markers combined. But,

Thomason and Elgibali (1986:428) noted that “preverbal particles in the modern [Arabic - based] pidgins and Ki-Nubi cannot be used as evidence for a claim about universals of pidginization, because all forms of Arabic - Cl[assical] A[rabic] as well as Coll[oquial] A[rabic] - have functionally and positionally similar tense/aspect markers in their verbal systems.” Yoruba is typical of many West African languages that do not contain any built-in distinction between past and present (Rowlands 1969:18). Serial verb construction is found in the Kwa languages as well as Bengali or AS. However, Philippine Creole Spanish, Hawaiian Creole English, Senegal Creole Portuguese, Mauritian Creole, Seychellois, and Réunion Creole have no serial verb constructions (Muysken 1988:293). Take the feature of SVO parameter. While there is a preponderance of SVO order in creole languages; it is common in pidgins, too.. Moreover at least Sri-Lankan Portuguese Creole has SOV word order. Therefore it cannot be claimed that SVO is the default value of the word order parameter.

Take the feature ‘lack of inflectional morphology’. While the claim that pidgins/creoles are languages without any inflectional morphology may be true about basipetal Atlantic varieties, the Portuguese-based creoles of West Africa and Sri Lanka and the basipetal Atlantic creole, Berbice Dutch Creole, have affixes that could be interpreted as inflections (see Holm 1988:96). Features like preposed negative marking by using the universal NEG particle *no*, bimorphemic question word, parataxis and various analytical rather than synthetic strategies, etc. are available in other normally transmitted languages and hence cannot be called peculiar to creole languages. Thus, “Features which are supposed to be diagnostic of pidgin/creole status such as lack of inflectional morphology, parataxis,

serialization, and various analytic rather than synthetic strategies are to be found in languages other than presumed pidgins and creoles and do not set the latter apart as a special class nor indeed as a unified class.”(Winford 1997:2). Even the claim that creoles are “simple”, a concept that is directly related to markedness theory, is also untenable. Muysken has the following to say about creoles being “simple and having all unmarked features:

I should be honest and say right out from the start that my own perception of the evidence from contemporary creole grammatical systems is that creoles may well share a number of typological properties, but that they are neither particularly simple nor unmarked.(1988).

Muysken (*ibid*) concludes his article by stating the following:

...The very notion of a ‘creole’ language from the linguistic point of view tends to disappear if one looks closely; what we have is just a language.

With regard to describing a creole on a structural basis here is what Holm (1988:148) asserts: “...no particular set of syntactic features will identify a language as a creole without reference to its sociolinguistic history.” Mufwene asserts that nothing distinguishes creoles from other languages such as Romanian, Yiddish or Farsi. For almost three decades now, Mufwene has argued that “Creoles do not form a valid structural language type” (1994:71). He (1997:57) even suggested that “The current inadequate usage of the terms ‘pidgin’ and ‘creole’ as type names should apparently be discontinued. Linguists who subscribe to the view that *creole* is not a valid synchronic term but rather a sociohistorical one include, among others, Kihm (1980:212; Chaudenson 1992:135; Jennings 1995:63; Huber 1995:219;) and Corne 1995:121, all cited in Mcwhorter 1998).

Corne (cited in McWhorter 1998:790) said:

The term is fundamentally a useless one, although it is so firmly anchored in the usage (and, no doubt, the careers) of 'creolists' that it will probably bedevil the study of the languages so designated for many years to come. There are no 'Creole languages' in a linguistic and typological sense (cf. Romance languages, Austronesian languages, etc.). The term refers to a subset of those languages, all with a relatively short history, which have emerged from various situations of language contact (usually, more than two languages), and which are native languages of a given community. (1995:121).

Even if we accept the common features of European-based creoles as "creole features", since not all creoles share all of them, if one is keen on talking about a creole in terms of its structural features alone, one can at best say that a group of creoles belonging to a certain region developed out of a certain group of lexifier languages and/or substrate languages which share a set of properties, like Muysken (1990: 293 [1988]) lists Saramaccan, Sranan, Haitian, Krio, Gullah, Jamaican and Guyanais as serializing creoles with "take"; Sa)o Tome, Tok Pisin, Principe, and Negerhollands, as serializing creoles without "take"; and Philippine Creole Spanish, Hawaiian Creole English, Senegal Creole Portuguese, Mauritian Creole, Seychellois and Reunionnais as non-serializing creoles. He has also grouped Jamaican and Krio as creoles that allow preposition-stranding; Saramaccan, Sranan and Haitian as creoles that do not allow preposition-stranding; and Papiamentu as a creole that allows preposition stranding with trace spelled out. One cannot, however, claim that preposition stranding or verb serialization are exclusively "creole features" because these structures are found in normally transmitted languages. Such groupings of creoles in terms of shared features may be an interesting exercise in itself but can not be used as a criterion for distinguishing pidgins and creoles from other normally transmitted languages and from each other.

The need for including the sociohistorical criterion in pidgin /creole studies has been suggested by several linguists for a long time. Hymes, for example, argued:

The study of pidgin and creole languages especially needs the development of a new, sociolinguistic form of taxonomy, in which origin or provenance of linguistic means is but one dimension among others (1971: 83).

Muysken & Smith aver:

What is clear is that creole languages are not in the slightest qualitatively distinguishable from other languages... This means that before we can claim a language to be a creole, we need to know something about its history, either linguistic or social, and preferably both (1995).

Clearly, we should not be misled into attempting to define creole languages on the basis of particular constructions, such as SVO word order, serial verbs, preverbal markers of tense, mood and aspect, multiple negation, etc.

Despite such strong appeal (based on both hard evidence and logical argumentation) to abandon the traditional structural definition, McWhorter (1998) has still proposed a structural definition.

7.2.1 *McWhorter's Cluster Theory*

McWhorter (1998:791) argues that the languages traditionally identified as creoles are indeed synchronically definable as a typological class on the basis of three structural features. Analyzing data from a set of eight languages¹ with what he calls 'creole

¹

Ndjuka English Creole, Tok Pisin English Creole, Saramaccan English Creole, Haitian French Creole, St. Lucian French Creole, Mauritian French Creole, Fa D'Ambu Portuguese Creole, and the recently extinct Negerhollands Dutch Creole.

sociohistorical profile', he lists three common structural traits which, he claims, 'when they cluster, distinguish creole languages.' He claims that 'creoles are the only natively spoken languages in the world that combine all three of the traits he lists. The three structural traits, which McWhorter claims to be the legacy of former pidginization, and which he claims to be defining characteristics of a proto- creole language on purely synchronic terms are:

- (i) a creole has little or no inflectional affixation.
- (ii) a creole has little or no use of tone to lexically contrast monosyllables or encode syntax.
- (iii) a creole has a semantically regular derivational morphology.

Taken individually and literally none of these criteria or features alone can serve as a diagnostic of a creole language since all these features are found in both creoles and languages without interruption in normal transmission. The main strength of McWhorter's theory therefore lies in the idea of 'cluster'; since these three features (or two in many creoles) are found to cluster only in known creole languages, it is an attractive theory. However, there are several problems in using his theory in defining *creole* for the following reasons.

McWhorter's first feature, (absence of inflectional morphology) has been considered a diagnostic creole features for a long time, but data argue against it. His second criterion (that creole languages use tone neither "to lexically contrast phonetically identical monosyllables" nor for marking syntactic distinction) is also problematical. It fails as a diagnostic feature because it has been reported that the Creole Portuguese of Guinea-Bissau, Saramaccan, Ndjuka, Guyanese Creole English, Krio, Papiamentu

use tones for marking lexical distinction and /or grammatical distinction; and, more over, this criterion applies vacuously to creoles whose genesis did not involve tone languages. The other criterion (semantic transparency), like the first one, has also long been considered to be a characteristic feature of creole languages.

McWhorter claims that creoles have ‘little or no inflectional morphology’, but there is, at least, some inflectional morphology in the Portuguese-based creoles of West Africa, e.g., Principe, Sri-Lankan Portuguese, Guinean Creole Portuguese, and Berbice Dutch. Moreover, as McWhorter (1998: 793) himself points out, “absence of inflectional affixation is also found in regular languages, the Chinese languages being among myriad examples.” However if we take these two features less strictly and combine them with the feature of ‘presence of semantically regular derivational affix’ we can probably identify a contact variety as a creole at the present time but not in the future because (to state the reason in McWhorter’s own words):

... these traits will certainly gradually disappear, rendering these languages indistinguishable from others synchronically, their socio-histories only perceivable from sociohistorical documentation— inflections and/or tones will develop via a well-documented process of language change, while after derivational mechanisms develop via similar processes, semantic drift will gradually obscure the original semantics of their markers (1998).

Thus, the very idea of defining creole languages solely on a structural basis, disregarding social history, would be the first step in the right direction of redefining various contact products. In reformulating the definition of creole, the very idea of so-called “creole features” should be rejected first because the features that have come to be known as “creole features” are neither found in all creoles nor are they unique to creole languages. Since Bickerton’s tense-aspectual system, which he claimed to be due to UG, but which appear to

be due to substrate influence, must be excluded. In addition, the practice of equating creolization as nativization must be abandoned, because nativization is just one of the factors that lead to creolization, in the sense of a *pidgin* becoming the primary language of a community or one of the ethno-linguistic groups of the broader pidgin community. Therefore creolization ought to be viewed as a process via which a pidgin becomes a functionally and structurally unrestricted language. We suggest that a variety be called a creole if :

- (i) it evolved into the primary language of a speech community (maybe for just one ethnic group in a multi-ethnic community or the entire community) from a *pidgin* (incipient or stabilized) whether gradually, or abruptly.
- (ii) it is functionally unrestricted.
- (ii) it has more mixed features in all its subsystems than does its lexical-base language
- (iv) it has a much less rich inventory of inflectional affixes than its lexical base language.
- (v) it is semantically more transparent than its lexical base language.
- (vi) it has a semantically regular derivational morphology.

It should be pointed out that according our reformulated defining criteria, a *creole* can be distinguished from an *extended pidgin* only by one feature; while an *extended pidgin* is still a second (also secondary) language for many of its speakers, a creole is the *primary language* of a homogeneous speech community.

7.3 *Decreolization/Post-creole*

A *creole* may either decreolize, i.e., converge on its lexifier language by gradually dropping its non-superstrate elements, going through a *post-creole* continuum like Jamaican

Creole English, African-American Vernacular English , Brazilian Portuguese; or, it may evolve like any other normally transmitted language independently, without converging on its lexical-base language. Decreolization occurs when the superstrate continues to be an important language for the creole community by being, for example, its official language or if the creole speakers live in close proximity with it for an extended period of time, provided the creole group has a positive attitude towards the superstrate speakers and it is still the dominant language of the region, has high prestige and serves as the key to social mobility for the creole community. But when the above conditions do not exist, or if the creole community desires to assert a separate identity from the superstrate speakers by exploiting the symbolic function a language is capable of serving, the creole in question will expand independently, but not decreolize. It is often difficult to distinguish between a decreolizing creole or post-creole from other contact varieties which resemble post creoles in many respects but which have not come about via the expansion of a pidgin; and in such cases the surest guide to a reliable classification is, of course , the social history of the language.

7.4 *Semi-Creole*

A *semi-creole* has been defined as a variety resulting from contact-induced language change, where one of the contact languages is a pidgin or creole that has had significant restructuring effect on the original target language (DeKleine 1997:290). Holm (1988:9) applies the term to varieties that have both creole and non-creole features but it does not necessarily imply that they were ever basipetal creoles. He suggests that there are two processes leading to the formation of a semi-creole:

(1) **partial restructuring**, producing varieties which were never fully pidginized and which preserve a substantial part of their superstrate structure (e.g. some inflections) while also showing a noticeable degree of restructuring.

(2) **creole influence**, seen in varieties which were originally non-creoles but which through contact with creoles have taken on significant number of creole lexical items and structural features (Horn 1992, cited in Green 1997:238).

Green (1997:14) defines *semi-creole* as a language that developed under the approximate sociohistorical conditions that led to full-fledged creole but which were never fully restructured. She used the term *partially restructured variety* instead of *semi-creole*, probably because the term “restructured language” is often used as a cover term for pidgins and creoles in a broad sense, but this clearly implies that the variety in question started out as a pidgin and even began to creolize but that the process did not come to completion.

Indeed, since creoles cannot be structurally defined, whether a contact-based variety has more, or fewer, of the so-called “creole features” cannot be an operational criterion for determining its degree of creoleness. Thus, the term *semi-creole* has to be applied to a variety more on the basis of the social history of the contact that yielded it.

7.5 *Creoloid*

The term *creoloid* has been used to refer to varieties that share structural features with post-creoles based on the same language, but which, on closer examination appear never to have undergone the classic cycle of pidginization- creolization and decreolization. Platt (1975:7), who defined *creoloid*, uses the basipetal Singapore colloquial English (aka Singlish) as his definitional example. Singlish had its origin in the elementary and secondary classrooms

and was subsequently heavily influenced, first, by the ethnic languages of its speakers and then by a pidginized variety of the base language. Thus, *creoloid*, in Platt's (1975) sense of the term, is a variety that resembles a post-creole in a number of respects but which has not gone through the classic cycle of pidginization, nativization, and decreolization (Ferguson 1983). As Mühlhäusler (1986:10) points out, the need for the concept of *creoloid* arose out of a number of observations including the following:

- (i) Whereas true creoles develop where there is a radical break in language transmission, many languages appear to have developed with only a partial break.
- (ii). A number of languages with no known pidgin ancestor nevertheless exhibit many of the alleged typological properties of creole languages.
- (iii) Next to mixing between fully developed linguistic systems there are also cases of mixing between full systems and developing systems, such as pidgins. The results of this second type of mixture tends to be structurally similar to established creoles.

The term *creoloid* has not only been applied to Singlish, Afrikaans (Markey 1982), Pitcairnese, and Marathi, which is said to exhibit signs of intensive contact between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages (Southworth 1971).

An attempt at distinguishing between a semi-creole and a creoloid on a structural basis is bound to yield no result because the end results of both would probably be very similar. The only reliable way of distinguishing between the two is to trace their social histories; and the variety that does not have a pidgin origin but which through contact with a creole has

acquired creole features (What constitutes ‘creole feature’ is , of course, a vexing question.) would be called a *semi-creole*; and the one that does not have a pidgin origin and never came into contact with a creole yet shows post-creole features will be called a *creoloid*.

7.6 Intertwined Language

The term *mixed language* has been used to refer to varieties that have the morpho-syntax of one language and the vocabulary of another. Among the most well-known examples is Angloromani, whose phonology, morphology and syntax are English but the lexicon overwhelmingly of Indic origin (Romani). Another mixed language, Media Lengua of Ecuador, has a virtually all Spanish lexicon but a Quechua grammar. Mitchif combines Cree grammar with a French lexicon. Most of the lexicon of Ma’a is Cushitic but the noun class, verbal inflection system and the word order are Bantu. Backer & Muysken describe the process as language ‘intertwining’ because (i) they involve mixing two systems , i.e., lexicon and grammar, and (ii) the term neither suggests directionality in the process nor lays more importance to one or the other; and, moreover, it is also “ambiguous as to the psycholinguistic process and the historical and sociolinguistic events” (Backer & Muysken 1995:49). Such radically mixed languages emerge due to strong psychological reasons such as to create a secret language for in-group use, or for asserting self- identity and the like. Backer and Musyken (*ibid*) claim that the way languages intertwine is highly uniform; i.e. it is predictable on the basis of social background which language will supply lexicon and which one grammar. For radical language mixing to occur, the creators must be bilingual in both languages involved in the process.

We find the term *mixed language* inappropriate for referring to languages like Angloromani, Ma'a, etc. because any language that has undergone contact-induced language restructuring or contact-induced language formation and development, is a *mixed language*. Therefore, we suggest that languages usually referred to as *mixed languages* be called either *radically mixed languages* or *intertwined languages* (see Bakker & Muysken 1995).

Now that the inadequacies of the existing definitions of contact products have been pointed out, and suggestions for reformulating them have been made, we can deal with the issue of classifying NG.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

8 0 General remarks

As mentioned, NG has been variously labeled as “dog Assamese”, “pigeon Assamese”, (Hutton 1969[1921]), imperfectly learned BG (Mohan - Holm, p.c.), a *pidgin* (Baruah 1969, Boruah 1993, Goswami 1993), an *extended pidgin-creole* (Sreedhar 1974, 1985, Bhattacharjya 1994, 1995) and a non-pidgin/creole (Bickerton cited in Sreedhar 1985). Ferguson (1983:3) admitted that “In many ways Nagamese is a typical pidgin...,” but he also added that “On the other hand, Nagamese shows some characteristics not at all typical of classic pidgins: it is not radically simplified from the base language, retaining a substantial amount of inflectional morphology, including affixes marking categories of case and tense/aspect.” Although he concluded his article without classifying NG as anything at all, by comparing it with Singlish, a *creoloid* (Platt 1975), Ferguson, in effect, suggested that NG, like Singlish, has not gone through the “classic cycle of pidginization, nativization, and decreolization”, and thus could be a *creoloid*, too.

In the said article, Ferguson, however, restated that “generalizations about pidginization and creolization are premature and likely to be wrong until a more conclusive taxonomy is available” (Ferguson & DeBose 1977), and emphasized the need for (i) a “precise agreement on what constitutes a pidgin and pidgin origin..”, as well as (ii) the value of “..detailed, insightful investigations of non-European-based , not-quite-classical marginal varieties.” This is exactly what we have done in the previous chapter in the previous chapter;

varieties.” This is exactly what we have done in the previous chapter in the previous chapter; in Chapter 7, we clearly articulated what “constitutes a pidgin and pidgin origin”.

Recall that Bickerton denied NG pidgin/creolehood purely on socio-historical linguistic grounds. When Sreedhar suggested that the existent defining criteria be adjusted to accommodate the “Indian phenomena”, Bickerton responded with the following:

...whatever such languages are, they are not the same as the language formed in a colonial dependency situation, particularly those which involved slavery and transoceanic population movement. What one chooses to call them is quite immaterial so long as the historical differences which have profound consequences in terms of linguistic structure are preserved. But these differences would be simply obscured if Western creolists were to modify their norms to accommodate the Indian phenomena. I would agree that the phenomena you have uncovered are interesting, deserve study in their own right and are not easily dealt with within the framework of the existing theory. It should be generally recognized that you are dealing with unique phenomena which can only be obscured and downgraded if they are lumped together with the phenomena of other types (p.c. with Sreedhar, see 1985:40).

It may be recalled that Bickerton dismissed Ki-Nubi and Juba -Arabic as creoles (see 7.1.4.1.1.2), too. - just because their sociohistorical backgrounds did not parallel those of his classic creoles.

We have argued that specific sociohistorical events such as colonial expansion, major population displacement, existence of an unequal power relationship between the substrate groups and the superstrate group, etc. are not necessary conditions for pidgin/creole genesis. Even Bickerton (1990) himself backed away from his original position, upon realizing that his original view on the role of socio-historical factors in pidginization/creolization was flawed:

Two points should be emphasized here. First there is no direct relationship between the events themselves and the linguistic processes involved; the former merely set the stage for the latter, which then proceed to evolve under their own laws. Second, by the same token, the two types [fort creoles and plantation creoles] described do not necessarily exhaust the sets of possible circumstances which may have in the past, or may in the future, set in motion the language-forming process. All that is really required is that a multilingual group should need a common language but that access to an appropriate pre-existing language should be sharply restricted (Bickerton 1990a:269).

or

However, it should not be assumed that pidgin languages are limited to colonial situations. Pidgins may arise wherever speakers of unrelated and mutually incomprehensible languages are brought into contact. (Bickerton 1990b: 120)

Finally, now, Bickerton said, what other linguists have said all along:

“All that is really required” for pidginization/creolization “is that a multilingual group should need a common language but that access to an appropriate pre-existing language should be sharply restricted”(1990a:269).

As seen NG indeed originated and developed under these conditions.

8.1 Does NG have a *pidgin* in its ancestry ?

According to historical records, twenty-one Naga groups speaking twenty-three distinct languages and just as many mutually unintelligible dialects, needed a common language for limited but regular communication with the Ahom/Assamese traders, revenue collectors, and court officials, on the one hand, and among themselves, on the other. Thus NG originated in a multilingual setting that lacked bilingualism, where people had no common language - a setting conducive to pidgin genesis (see, e.g., Whinnom 1971:104).

Under these circumstances, where learning of AS would be the most practical choice for the Naga groups, because only that would serve their dual communicative needs, the Nagas ended up creating NG, rather than learning AS a second language, which was impossible due both to the facts that there existed a great psycho-social distance between the Nagas and the Assamese, and access to AS input was extremely limited.

Both the description and speech sample of NG from the early 1900's provided by anthropologist Hutton (1969[1921:32]) (see Ch.2), it is clear that NG was a 'pragmatic mode of communication' in the early 1900's.

8.1.1 *Sociohistorical evidence for a pidgin origin*

Because the Naga groups remained isolated from each other due to mutual suspicion, fear and hostility due to their traditional, ritualistic practice of head-hunting expeditions, development of societal bilingualism in NGD was impossible. As reported by British administrators and European anthropologists, there existed a category of employees called *dubashi* 'two-language speaker', who functioned as intermediaries between the government and the people as well as for inter-group communication. That bilingualism was rare or non-existent in NGD becomes clear from the following report:

...indeed I have rarely met a non-Konyak Naga who could converse in Konyak, and after a year's stay in a Konyak village my Lotha servants had picked up hardly a dozen Konyak phrases...and throughout my work I conversed in Naga-Assamese, the lingua franca of the Naga Hills. It was in this language that the texts of songs were translated to me...

(Haimendorf 1976[1939]:187).

The following account of Badgley's (cited in McCabe 1887) which describes his

experience of communication problem that he had encountered in a Naga village, called Primi, also suggests that bilingualism was virtually non-existent in NGD:

Here we found ourselves beyond interpretation. At the last village we had managed in a way by translation from Primi to Melomi, to Angami, to Assamese, to English, and vice versa, to understand and express a little, but here signs were our only means, fortunately we did not want much, and such signs as pointing to one's mouth and stomach are not easily misunderstood.
(1969:364)

However, although the various Naga groups lived in mutual hostility which led to their isolationist settlement pattern, they nevertheless inter-married and had to negotiate settlements following head-hunting and/or slave-taking expeditions into their neighboring villages. Also, Nagas living in the remote areas had to rely on the Nagas living in the Assam-NGD border region for conducting barter-trade¹ with the AS.

The Naga-Assamese contact was quite regular, and that was true even during the periods of hostility. Thus, as Elwin puts it, "the history of Nagas' relations with the Ahoms is a blend of hostility and friendship" (1961:18). The Ahom revenue collectors exacted revenue from the Nagas, on the salt and other products that they sold in the trade centers of Assam, located at the foothills of NGD as well as on the site of their brine wells inside NGD, which were co-owned.

Nagas continually raided the plains of Assam, and the Assamese government sent punitive expeditions forcing the Nagas to sign treaties promising to stop raiding Assamese villages and pay tributes. To be able to execute those treaties and to pay homage to the Ahoms the Nagas had to communicate with the Assamese court officials. Moreover, from

¹ Virtually every British administrator reported the existence of regular barter-trade between the Nagas and the AS in the markets of the plains of Assam.

time to time, the Nagas had to visit Assam not only to pay homage to the kings but also to seek military assistance to fight other hostile NG groups. Furthermore, friendly Nagas were often granted farmland, known as *Naga Khat* 'Naga farmland' and fishing waters, which were managed by Assamese agents called Naga Katakis (Jacob 1990), with whom the Nagas had to communicate on a regular basis.

Sometimes, there had been contact of more very intimate nature, as well. It is reported that two sons of the Ahom King Gadadhar lived in NGD to escape possible assassination. Naga children were adopted by the Ahom nobles and even placed in high-ranking positions. There are many instances of Ahom-Naga marriages, too. Shankaradeva (1499-1569) who made a significant contribution to improve relations between the hills and the plains had many NG disciples. There still exist some NG villages in Sibsagar and Tirap which embraced Hinduism (Boruah 1993). As can be understood, fairly elaborate negotiations preceded such events, and that resulted in increased Naga-Assamese contact.

The Ahoms depended on the Nagas for their salt as did the Nagas on them for their various daily necessities, and as a result there have always been regular, though brief, contact between them.

Those contacts were generally limited to non-intimate domains, and that was not only because of the nature of the settings of the contacts but also because there has always existed a great psycho-social distance between them. The brutal treatment that the Nagas had received at the hands of the Ahom King's army (which included such incidents as forcing a younger brother to roast the elder brother's flesh and eat it, which was used as a scare tactic to force the Nagas into submission) and the fact that the Assamese agents of the British tea

planters always underpaid them, are reportedly still very much alive in the collective Naga memory. As is clear from the following observation of Sreedhar's, the elite Nagas, who were sent to Assam for education after the British government extended its rule over NGD, did not use it when they returned home:

This formal education in Assamese, however, did not have any impact on the structure of Naga Pidgin. The Assamese-educated Nagas were able to keep the two systems quite distinct. For instance, during this writer's fieldwork, a number of such Nagas told this writer that when they talked to an Assamese, they would not use the forms given to this writer earlier; rather they would use pure Assamese. At the same time when they talked to the other Naga groups, they would use the pidgin forms given to this writer (Sreedhar 1985:3).

Their hatred for the Assamese, and therefore dislike for the Assamese language, runs so deep that Nagas who have had their education in Assam and thus became fluent in AS usually refuse to speak it publicly, even today. Clearly, therefore, NG is may be called AS learned as a second language only in the sense that "Pidginization is acquisition of second language under conditions of severely restricted input in a multilingual setting" Anderson (1973:17). Since pidginization and second language acquisition are both motivated by the same need and guided by similar cognitive strategies, they will naturally share many features. But pidginization in the sense of creating a code of simple communication by taking the lexicon of the most useful language around and grammatical structures from substrate, adstrate, and superstrate languages (and adding universal features of language acquisition) is a characteristic of second language acquisition only in its initial stage. Under the condition of severely restricted access to the target language input and presence of psycho-social

distance between the substrate groups and target language speakers, the process of pidginization persists; but, with social and psychological proximity and easy access to the target language, initial pidginization gradually disappears as the features of the target language are acquired in an attempt to conform to the target language norms (see Anderson 1983). That the process of pidginization persisted in NGD is clear from its mixed grammar (morpho-syntax, lexical semantics, and phonetics and phonology).

8.1.2 *Linguistic evidence for a pidgin origin*

8.1.2.1 *Mixed grammar*

As in any pidgin/creole grammar, the mixing of elements and innovations are evident in all the sub-systems of NG. Take, for example, its case-marking system. AS has a genitive case marker *-r*, but NG does not; it indicates possession either by parataxis or by using *laga* 'for' (*Moa laga kitap* 'Moa's book'). NG has nominative case marking, but instead of using AS *-e*, NG uses *-he* and *-ne* (from Hindi). The AS locative case marker is *-ot* as in *Jebin etiya skul-ot ase* 'Jebin is at school at this moment' NG uses *-te* (it is one of the Bengali locative case markers). The AS instrumental case marker is *-re* as in *Moy kolome-re likhi-iasu* (Lit. 'I am writing with a pen' , but NG uses *pora* (an innovation).

In the lexicon, we have numerous instances of creation, e.g., AS *broph* 'ice' is *pani pathor* (lit. water stone), a highly semantically transparent natively created phrase; or extension of meaning, e.g. AS *lengta* 'naked' is 'man's strip of cloth , tied round the waist, ending in a square flap', or AS *mukhosto* 'memorized' means 'poetry' in NG. Such mixing is widespread in every subsystem of the language. As to its phonology, although the

indigenous Naga languages have largely shaped its phonological system, it differs in some ways from either the NG languages or AS. The NG stop series which we call coronal are more dental in quality than alveolar whereas in the superstrate they are post alveolar sounds. The vowel /ə/ is often heard in the unstressed syllables of NG. Both dental stops and schwa are available in the substrate languages. NG has a tendency for word-final devoicing, and its syllable structure is primarily CVCV, both of which are believed to be universal features.

Unlike AS learned as a second language, NG is made up of AS features, substratal features, adstratal features, and innovations, and other universal features of language acquisition.

8.1.2.2 *Morpho-syntactic structure of NG in its earlier stages*

From the diary entries and speech sample provided by noted anthropologist Hutton (1921:327, Ch2), it is clear that in the early 1900's NG, then referred to as “pigeon Assamese” and “dog Assamese”, was a “drastically reduced” communicative system. As he reports, “The first and second personal inflexions of the verbs are generally disregarded in favour of the third person” (see Ch 2. for more). That was about a century ago; but as can be seen from its agreement and pronominal systems below, even today, after undergoing tremendous structural expansion, NG still remains a “drastically reduced” language, compared to its superstrate (see Table 65, below):

Table 66. The pronominal systems and verb conjugation in present simple in AS and NG.

Assamese			Nagamese		
<i>The Simple Present Tense</i>			<i>The Simple Present Tense</i>		
1SG	Moy khaū	'I sleep'	1SG	Moy khay	'I eat'
1PL	Ami korū	'We do'	1PL	Moykhan pore	'We read'
2SG HON:	Apuni khay	'You eat'	2SG	Apuni ² khay	'You eat'
2PL HON:	Apunalo ke khay	'You eat'		Apuni pore	'You do.'
2SG FAM:	Tumi porha	'You study'	2PL	Apunikhan khay	'You eat.'
2PL FAM:	Tumalo ke porha	'You study'		Apunikhan pore	'You study.'
2SG INT/SUB:	Toy khao	'You eat'			
2PL INT/SUB:	Tohote khao	'You eat'			
3SG HON, MASC:	Tēo khay*	'He eats'	3SG	Tai khay	'S/he eats.'
3PL HON, MASC:	Tēoloke kore	'They do'		Tai pore	'S/he studies.'
3SG FAM, MASC:	Hi khay	'She eats'	3PL	Taikhan khay	'They eat.'
3PL FAM, MASC:	Hihote hue	'They eat'			
3SG FAM, FEM:	Tai hue	'He sleeps'			
3PL FAM FEM:	Hihote hue	'She sleeps'			
* Tēo porhe					

As can be seen, what they did was reduce the elaborate superstrate pronominal system to the bare minimum of one for each Person. In the 3rd Person, by eliminating the

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Although in the superstrate it is a 2nd Person honorific pronoun, in NG this is the only 2nd person pronoun used; in other words the three-way distinction along the line of respect/solidarity has been reduced to one.

distinction, the feminine the gender distinction, the feminine pronoun *tai* is used for both masculine and feminine. As far as the verbal inflections are concerned, instead of the three different inflectional suffixes - - *u*, *y/e*, *o* - - in the superstrate, NG uses only *one—y/e* for all three persons. In the present progressive whereas AS has three *—iasu*, *iase*, and *iaso—* NG has one *—iase*; AS has four present-perfect aspect markers, NG has only one *—ise/yse—* which is also the simple past marker; whereas AS has four past-tense markers NG has one *ise/yse*. One of them, *-sil*, however, is used as the past-tense suffix for the verb *-as* ‘to be’ only. For past-progressive AS has four suffixes - - *iasilu*, *iasil*, *iasila*, *iasili* - - NG has only one, *-iasile*; for future, while AS has five future markers, NG has one - *bo·ibo*.

To take the number system, for example, AS has four— *-bilak*, *-bur*, *-hokol*, *-gon*, but NG has only one, *-khan*, which was originally used as a plural marker with broad or flat objects, or as a demonstrative before the word ‘daughter’; in Eastern AS, it is used after names of human beings and animals, in an abusive sense (Kakati 1963:279 [1941]).

8.1.3 *Was NG an autonomous system in its early stages?*

The litmus test for a *pidgin* is perhaps whether or not the variety was an autonomous linguistic system in its early stages (at its post *incipient pidgin* stage). Haimendorf (1968 [1939]) reports that prior to arriving in NGD in 1936, he had “learned good enough Assamese in London for basic communication,” but that upon arriving there, he had to hire someone to teach him that “peculiar Assamese” [i.e., NG]. His formal knowledge of AS did not enable him to understand even a word of NG automatically. Even after two weeks of

exposure to the language he was not able to understand it by using any conversion formula:

...I was still hopelessly dependent on Mills for translating the peculiar Assamese which is used as a lingua franca of the NG Hills. As I found it difficult to understand a single word I felt rather dejected at the prospect of being left to myself in a NG village (1976:20).

The fact that his knowledge of AS did not enable him to understand NG automatically, clearly indicates that in the early 1900's NG was already an autonomous system, distinct from its lexical base language, AS. We have claimed that “autonomy” is the key feature in distinguishing a pidgin from a *pidginoid*; and, clearly, NG was an autonomous system in the 1930's. Thus, NG meets both the socio-historical and the linguistic criteria of a *pidgin*.

8.3 Is NG an *extended pidgin*, a *creole*, or a *creoloid*, today ?

NG is lexically as rich and morpho-syntactically as complex as any creole, and it is natively spoken by the Bodo-Kachari community of Dimapur and vicinity, as well as children of mixed marriages all over NGD, who use it in all domains of use. Yet, since it is still spoken as a second language by the vast majority of Nagas, we are inclined to classify it as an *extended pidgin*, provided it meets its defining criteria. In the previous chapter, we added one criterion to the list of Romaine's diagnostic features.

8.3.1 NG as an *extended pidgin*

According to Romaine (1988) a contact-induced variety is an *extended pidgin* if :

- (i) it has ‘complex’ grammar. [compared to its *pidgin* form.]
- (ii) it has a developing word-formation component.

- (iii) it has a higher speech tempo. [than a *pidgin*.]
- (iv) it is used in almost all domains of everyday life.
- (v) it is used for self expression, word play and literature.
- (vi) it has been instrumental in providing cohesion in heterogeneous groups.

The criterion that we added is:

- (vii) it is morpho-syntactically indistinguishable from a creole based on its lexical base language .

One of the arguments for denying NG the status of a *creole* is that it is morpho-syntactically more complex than most creoles (see Ferguson 1983). Obviously, therefore, whether or not its grammar is complex enough to qualify as an *extended pidgin* need not even be an issue. Although NG is still a reduced language compared to its lexical base language it is structurally complex enough to serve as the primary language of one ethno-linguistic group and the children and young adults of the state of NGD, which is what it is doing today.

One of the features that distinguishes an *extended pidgin* from a pidgin, as suggested by Romaine (1988), is that it has a developing word formation component. NG indeed has developed its own word formation component; of the five types of lexical items into which Bhattacharjya & Sreedhar (1994:117) divided the NG lexicon, one (their no.3) is made up of words formed via a mechanism not found in the main lexical base language; those devices are native to NG. As seen in Chapter 4, numerous of new words and phrases have been created by the word-formation mechanism, e.g *mutun biya maiki* (Lit. new marriage woman) 'bride', *gabin thaka maiki* (lit. foetus remain woman) 'pregnant', etc.

While the NG spoken by the elderly people may not have a high tempo, the NG

spoken by the vast majority of its speakers has a high tempo. We have observed educated young adults, who are native speakers of the two mutually unintelligible dialects of the same language -Ao -, communicate with each other in NG. They speak it with a high tempo comparable to that of the native speakers of any naturally transmitted language.

Unlike the speakers of a restricted pidgin, the speakers of NG, much like the speakers of any natural language, can converse on any topic they wish to. While the older generations may still use it only for intergroup communication, trading, and greeting purposes, the younger generations use it in almost all domains of daily life from exchanging greetings to expressions of intense emotion. Thus, although it may not yet be used in 'all domains of everyday life by all its speakers', it is the dominant language for most Nagas, and it certainly functions in "almost all domains of everyday life" (see Appendix E). English is the official language of the state, but less than five percent of the population speak it (Sreedhar 1985); it is NG that is the language of wider communication. That is, of course, not limited to basic communicative exchanges only; All India Radio Kohima broadcasts news and runs a program for the farmers in NG. NG is used in the church delivering masses; at the hospital for nurse/doctor-patient communication; for conducting the proceedings in parliament, and for student-teacher interaction and often, explaining the lesson in multi-ethnic classrooms.

As can be understood, NG no longer serves only the referential functions of language, which is a characteristic feature of a *pidgin*, it has become a language of self expression. As a matter of fact, several movies (see Appendix C) have been made, numerous audio cassettes of songs recorded (see Appendix: J), and folk tales published in NG. NG, today, carries a greater functional load than any of the twenty-three indigenous Naga languages or the official

state language, English.

NG has served a distinctive, supra-ethnic, unifying role; it has been instrumental in providing a sense of unity among the twenty or so culturally and linguistically diverse groups during the years of the Naga independence movement, which forced the government of India to recognize NGD as an autonomous state (Bhattacharjya 1994:45). As Boruah (1993) points out, "The Government of Nagaland considers Nagamese as an important language for publicity purposes...Moreover Nagamese has got its importance for national integration." To give credibility to their nationalism, nations often want to claim to have a language of their own.. Naturally, once the Naga nationalism began to develop, the Naga leaders found NG, the lingua franca, to be the national solidarity language—the only unifying element that could hold together the twenty plus culturally and linguistically disparate groups of people. It is indeed widely believed that NG has been instrumental in bringing about a sense of "Naganness" among the Nagas thus providing a sense of unity among them.

Finally, like Juba Arabic, there are no structural or functional differences between the *pidgin* variety of NG and its natively spoken variety. While the older generations may still use it only for intergroup communication, trading, and greeting purposes, young adults use it in all domains of daily life, from exchanging greetings to expressions of intense emotions.

8.3.1.1 *Factors that contributed to the evolution of NG into an extended pidgin*

It was demonstrated that NG originated as a *pidgin* and was in that state even in the early 1900's. Various socio-historical factors forced NG to evolve into an *extended pidgin* from its incipient pidgin state, in which it was found by the British administrators in the early

1900's. NG-AS contact increased after the British formed the Naga Hill Districts in 1866 and permanently posted Assamese policemen. Naga-Assamese contact significantly increased sometime after 1881 (Reid 1983[1942], when the British Government finally decided to make NGD a British district and deployed more Assamese soldiers (Assam Rifle), policemen as well as civilian staff¹ to maintenance of law and order. As mentioned, the guerilla war for Naga independence in the 1950's required a highly increased inter-group communication, and that was done through NG. As a matter of fact, NG now became an identity marker for the Nagas, and became instrumental in bringing about some kind of unity among those disparate Naga ethnolinguistic groups.

Since December 1, 1963, when NGD was granted statehood by the government of India in an attempt to quell the on-going violent guerilla war for Naga independence, NG has undergone an unprecedented phase of expansion in its functions and structures. A tremendous surge in modernization followed the granting of statehood to NGD; new schools, hospitals, and roads were built, which caused a significant increase in employment opportunities. With the government having assumed responsibility for their security, the Nagas now left their isolated village homes to reap the benefit of this development work, which in turn increased mobility across the state and consequently inter-ethnic communication throughout the state of NGD. As a result, NG, like Juba Arabic and Tok Pisin, underwent considerable expansion of its communicative functions and structure. Typically, *extended*

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Boruah (1993:7) reports that most of those soldiers, policemen, and the civil staff who accompanied them were from the rural areas of Kamrup and the Goalpara districts of Assam.

pidgins accompany increased geographic mobility and intergroup contact (Mühlhäusler 1986). In the Sudan, for example, as the civil war forced many speakers of southern Nilotic languages to move into the greater Juba area for security reasons, a great number of adults and older children learned Juba Arabic as a pidgin while the infants started acquiring it as their first language. The new immigrants needed to acquire it, for Juba Arabic is not only the means of interlingual communication in the area but is also used in the courts (for details, see Kaye 1990). The case of NG constitutes a parallel to that of Juba Arabic.

As the speakers of NG now entered into increasingly complex communicative situations, NG also adapted fast to accommodate the increased communicative needs of its speakers, and various syntactic devices emerged enabling the language to cope with increased expressive needs.

The other factor that significantly contributed to the expansion of NG is its being spoken by children. Children do not necessarily pick up the variety of their parents; it is the variety of their peers or immediately older children that primarily shape children's speech behavior. In NGD, when children of one linguistic background meet their counterparts from another linguistic background, they communicate in NG. At a later age, when they go to school, where children from more than one ethno-linguistic group attend classes together, NG becomes their primary language of communication, not only among peers but also with their teachers. Thus, for the younger generations all over NGD, NG is the defacto primary language, which is structurally as complex as its variety spoken natively. This variety influences the parents' variety, too. As in the case of Juba Arabic, so also in NG the process of expansion has been relatively rapid because parents who know the language as a pidgin

have to interact with their children for whom it may be their primary language..

The regional variation found with respect to the resourcefulness of its lexicon and morpho-syntactic complexity is due to historical differences in the intensity of contact; however, this difference is leveling off now that the language is taking over more functional domains and spreading into previously impenetrable parts of the state.

Another factor that made a significant contribution to the expansion of NG include the patronage it received from the NGD government. The importance of NG increased when, in 1958, the government of India hired D. Baruah to formally teach NG to the army personnel stationed in Mokokchung. In addition many civil officers requested him to teach NG, which yielded the first NG/English/Hindi dictionary. Thus, NG received a script and became a written language without anybody having to make a conscious effort to reform the language. All India Radio, Kohima used the same script- the Roman alphabet- to write the scripts for announcements, news and other programs they aired. Consequently, Naga children heard NG spoken all around them: at the market place, at the hospitals, and at multi-ethnic schools, where the teachers use it not only for interaction but also for explaining the subject matter, and in the radio. In the National Assembly, although the resolutions are written in English, the proceedings are conducted in NG; the government regularly uses it for publicity purposes. Thus, in Baruah's (1993:4) words, "Although the Nagaland Government has adopted English as the official state language, Nagamese has occupied the same status in government administration, unofficially". NG was further promoted when at a seminar organized by Assam Sahitya Sabha [Assamese Literary Academy] in collaboration with Kohima Sahitya Sabha, on October 13, 1984, a consensus was reached that there was a need to establish "a

common speech for the Naga people". A decision was also made to produce a pedagogical grammar of NG, as the first step towards achieving that goal. The Chief Minister of NGD then as today, Mr. S.C. Zamir, who inaugurated that seminar, donated 10,000 rupees to help produce the grammar. The Finance and Education ministers as well as some other high ranking members of the NGD Government asked the Assam Sahitya Sabha to initiate a project to develop NG. Now funded by the NGD government, Assam Sahitya Sabha commissioned Bhim Kanto Boruah to write a grammar of NG. Thus a grammar of the language usable for literacy education, entitled *Nagamiz Kothalaga Niyom: A Primary Grammar on Nagamiz*, was published by Assam Sahitya Sabha in 1985. Shortly thereafter the NGD government requested the Assam Sahitya Sabha to produce a primer on NG. At the invitation of the academy Bhim Kanto Boruah then produced the first textbook for literacy education, *Batsa Path (poila bhag): A Primer on Nagamese* (1988), (Bhattacharjya & Sreedhar 1995).

Despite resistance from certain indigenous Naga language groups¹ who believe that promotion of NG would deter the development of indigenous languages, NG has continued to expand in its lexicon, acquire new domains, and spread to every nook and cranny of NGD. The spread of NG has been enhanced by the Marwari businessmen traveling for business purposes across linguistic boundaries and into remote geographic regions.

As seen, according to Roamine's (1988) defining criteria, NG is indeed an *extended*

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The same group that wrote a threatening letter to the present writer also wrote to the government of India asking that research on NG be stopped or else the Nagas would not forgive us.

pidgin. The language also fulfills our criterion that an *extended pidgin* is morpho-syntactically indistinguishable from its natively spoken counterpart.

Having determined that the NG spoken throughout the state of NGD, particularly by the young adults, is an *extended pidgin*, we will not turn to the question of what kind of contact-induced language the Bodo-Kachari variety of Dimapur is.

8.4 The natively spoken variety of Dimapur: *a creole , a creoloid or a semi-creole ?*

Since we have been able to demonstrate that NG originated as a *pidgin* and then gradually evolved into its current state of structural sophistication, the variety of NG spoken natively by the Bodo-Kacharis of Dimapur and vicinity, who have lost their ancestral language Bodo, may be classified as a *creole* for the following reasons:

- (i) Bickerton has backed away from his original position on the socio-historical criteria that he had made a part of the defining criteria of a *creole*;
- (ii) it meets all the socio-historical criteria suggested by other linguists, even by Bickerton in recent years;
- (iii) the structural criteria, particularly the so called ‘innate tense-aspectual system of Bickerton’s four “classic” creoles appear to be due not to UG, what Bickerton had claimed, but to the substrate languages that were involved in their formation ;
- (iv) two of the three features of McWhorter’s cluster theory of defining a *creole* on a structural basis has been shown to either problematical or apply vacuously to many contact-induced varieties;

- (v) NG fulfils McWhorter' semantic requirement;
- (vi) research (see, e.g. Cardan & Stewart) clearly indicate that grammaticalization creoles have occurred gradually, thus disproving Bickerton's theory of instant creolization without involving primary linguistic data(in those cases pidgin data).

However, its status as a *creole* has been questioned by Ferguson (1983), who suggested that it could be a *creoloid*. Bickerton also refused to consider NG as a pidgin/creole because it did not meet his historical criteria ; however, his objection is irrelevant now that he has changed his position, which is consistent with the standard view in the field, and which NG meets completely.

8.4.1. *The Bodo-Kachari variety of Dimapur as a semi-creole*

The Bod-Kachari variety of NG never acquired creole features or creole lexical items through contact with a creole (in other words heavy borrowing), which is one way how a semi-creole can emerge (see Ch 7. Holm 1992; Green 1997:238). The other process via which a *semi-creole* may develop is through language shift. When a group tries to shift to a language but does not have total access to the target language, imperfect group learning results. The features (usually phonological and syntactic) present in their interlanguage can reflect both transfer from their native language as well features due to universal second language acquisition strategies such as simplification or over-generalization (Green 1997:239)

Although Sreedhar (1974, 1985) had claimed that NG to be a *creole* he told the writer (in 1992) that it is not impossible that the Bodo-Kacharis had shifted to AS when the British government introduced education through the medium of AS in NGD (that lasted only a brief period of time), and again shifted to NG after 1963, when NGD was granted autonomy, following which AS ceased to be a useful language or language of social mobility.

Since we could not find a reliable history of either how the community of the Bodo-Kacharis of Dimapur formed and their linguistic history, their variety of NG could certainly be claimed to be an outcome of unsuccessful language shift, but that would not be helpful .

Unless one can trace their sociolinguistic history, it would be a futile exercise to classify NG as a *semi-creole*, a concept which was popularized by John Holm, who is still refining it.

Given their classic history of resistance to giving up their language elsewhere, we find it highly unlikely that the Bodo-Kacharis gave up their ancestral language and shifted to AS in Dimapur, which had been their cultural center for centuries, and where they were not surrounded by AS speaking people, in other words under no real pressure to pressure to shift. During their exodus from Guwahati, Assam, isolated or small groups of Bodo Kacharis stranded among the Assamese could have, under tremendous socio-economic pressure have shifted to AS; but they have tenaciously maintained their ancestral language everywhere else. When the Kacharis were defeated and driven out of Guwahati, many of them, during the exodus, were absorbed into the then ruling race of central Assam, but they did not give up their language: most of them still speak the language known as Kachari. Many of the Kacharis who tendered their submission to the Koch during their sway in Western Assam and subsequently to the Ahoms, have also retained their language to a great extent in its original form, Bodo,

as well (Acharyya 1966).

What also does not stand to logic is why after centuries of contact with the AS, the Kacharis, through second -language learning, were only partially successful in their attempt at shifting to AS, thus creating a *semi-creole*.

8.4.2 Nagamese as a *creoloid*

The Bodo-Kachari community of Dimapur and vicinity apparently developed gradually as the retired Bod-Kachari army personnel settled there, after serving all over India. The ancestral language of those Kacharis attrited drastically in the course of their service in the army in other parts of India, when they had to speak either Hindi, English, Assamese etc or a combination of them, depending on where they lived; and the children, of course, lost it altogether. Consequently, when they arrived in Dimapur to live their retired lives, they found themselves in a situation where the language of wider communication was NG and the language of school English. It is true, at school, students read textbooks written in English and the exams had to be written in English, but the language of teacher-student interaction or the playground was not English; it was also NG. Thus, NG is bound to have become the primary language of the children and young adults in no time. AS discussed earlier how an adult's language can complexify when forced to communicate with their children who speak more complex variety than they do, NG certainly the primary language of the entire family in a very short period of time, too.

A *creoloid*, in Platt's (1975) sense of the term is a contact-induced variety that 'resembles a post-creole in a number of respects but has not gone through the classic cycle

of pidginization, nativization, and decreolization'. Singlish, which Platt uses as his definitional example, does not have a *pidgin* origin; it originated in the English medium schools of Singapore and developed into its current form by acquiring features from the local ethnic languages. But that clearly has not been the case of Dimapur.

As Endle (1975:7) notes, the population shift from Dimapur after the Kachari king was defeated by the Ahoms, was limited to the "Rajah and members of his court". If we assume that a large portion of the population also left the city along with their Rajah, it would not be unreasonable to think that a small section of the Bodo-Kachari continued to live in Dimapur, which is why retired Bodo-Kachari army personnel opted to retire there. That small Bodo-Kachari community may or may not have shifted to AS under duress. If it turns out to be the case that they had indeed group-leaned AS imperfectly in an attempt to shift to it, then the variety they speak today may be called a *creoloid*. But if the Bodo-Kacharis had shifted to AS in the past and then again shifted to NG after 1963, when AS cease to be an important language in NGD, as Sreedhar (p.c.) speculates to have the case, then it would be a *creole*. Or, would it not be so? . It should be, even by the conventional criterion that a *creole* is a "nativized pidgin". However, there is no way to know what this group actually did.

8.4.3. *The Bodo-Kachari variety of NG as a creole*

We claim that the variety of NG spoken natively and as their primary language by the Bodo-Kachari community of Dimapur and vicinity, is a creole. This claim, however, is based on our assumption that a small group of Bodo-Kacharis, who never left Dimapur, never gave

up their ancestral language, an emblem of their group identity, in the very capital city of their lost empire, were involved in the creation of NG as a *pidgin*, along with the Nagas and Dimasa Kacharis. Therefore, it would therefore perhaps be relevant to recapitulate the history of the Bodo-Kacharis, particularly that of their linguistic behavior.

As noted (in Chapter 3), originally from somewhere between the upper waters of the Yang-tse-Kiang and Hoang-Ho rivers in China (Allen 1902 , cited in Sreedhar 1974) the Kacharis entered Assam via Burma around 2000 B.C. and established a kingdom over the valley of the Brahmaputra, later spreading into northeast Bengal, east Bengal, and north of Bihar (Chatterji 1970).

Historians agree that prior to the Shan (also called the Ahoms) invasion in Assam between 1215 and 1228 , all of Assam was populated by the Bodos, one group of whom, the Kacharis, were the rulers. According to Acharyya (1966:112), the Bodo tribes occupying the vast plains of Assam gradually created a distinct culture of their own, and the Kacharis were far more advanced in civilization than the Ahoms. Upon arriving in Assam the Ahoms fought the Bodos to establish their kingdom. The Bodos resisted vigorously for 450 years . In 1531, the Ahoms invaded Dimapur, forcing the Kachari king to flee. In 1536, when the Ahoms invaded Dimapur again, the Kachari Rajah and the members of his court along with deserted the town, retreating south to Maibong to establish their new capital. From then on, the Kachari king had to pay an annual tribute to the Ahom King. However, in 1601 the Kachari king defeated the Ahom King by retaking Dimapur.

The Kachari capital of Dimapur, which was known as Hidimbapur even as late as 1835, derives its name from the name of Princess Hidimba, a character in the great Indian epic

Mahabharata. Princess Hidimba is claimed by the Kacharis to belong to their race. Thus the Kacharis living in and around Dimapur today are a group of people with a rich cultural heritage. The linguistic history of Assam shows that although the language that the Ahom kings brought with them had a writing system (quite a sizable amount of writing is available in that language, known as Buranjis), the language did not survive beyond the seventeenth century: the Ahoms gave up their language and religion for those of the Aryans. In contrast, the Bodo languages, which had no written form, have fared differently (Kakati 1941:46-47); the one million or so Bodos found in widely scattered groups in Assam, NGD, North Bengal, East Bengal (presently Bangladesh) and the Indian state of Tripura have maintained their language, and the survival of Bodo has been instrumental in generating powerful Bodo nationalism in Assam in recent years.

During their exodus from Guwahati, in Assam, isolated or small groups of Bodo Kacharis stranded among the AS might have shifted to AS, under tremendous socio-economic pressure; but they have maintained their ancestral language everywhere else. When the Kacharis were defeated and driven out of Guwahati, many of them, during the exodus, were absorbed into the then ruling race of central Assam, but they did not give up their language: most of them still speak the language known as Kachari. Similarly, many of the Kacharis who tendered their submission to the Koch during their sway in Western Assam and subsequently to the Ahoms, retained their language to a great extent in its original form, Bodo, as well (Acharyya 1966). As can be seen, our assumption that the Bod-Kacharis of Dimapur never shifted to AS is solidly based on the history of their general linguistic behavior.

The NG spoken by the Bodo-Kacharis of Dimapur is a *creole* because it fulfills the following criteria we consider characteristic features of a *creole*:

- (i) it has a pidgin in its ancestry.
- (ii) it is the primary language (happens to be first language, too) of a homogeneous section of a multi-ethnic *pidgin/extended pidgin/ creolizing pidgin* that uses the language.
- (iii) compared to its superstrate, NG is still a “drastically reduced” language; particularly, it has much less inflectional morphology than its superstrate.
- (iv) a grammar of mixed origin, and a lexicon that contains numerous non-superstrate items and features.
- (v) it is semantically transparent, and its derivational morphology is semantically regular.

Our claim that NG has had a pidgin origin is based on linguistic evidence and standard interpretation (As opposed to Bickerton’s pre-1990 interpretation, which constituted a disservice to the field of creole studies.) of how socio-historical factors trigger the processes of pidginization/creolization.

In this dissertation, it has been demonstrated that NG originated as an *incipient pidgin* and then gradually evolved into an *extended pidgin* under mounting communicative pressure; today it is spoken as an *extended pidgin* by the large majority of its speakers all over NGD, and as a *creole* by the Bodo-Kachari community living in Dimapur and vicinity, as well as by the children of mixed marriages throughout NGD.

It should be pointed out that while the mass media have consistently turned to AS as their primary source for both lexical and structural borrowings, the average speakers (who regard the AS speakers as their enemies who exploited them for centuries and therefore dislike the fact that AIR Kohima borrows heavily from AS), have turned to Hindi, Bengali and/English. Thus, NG has been undergoing a bicentric standardization.

In referring to the process of the mass media variety converging on the superstrate / colloquial variety complexifying, we want to avoid the term *decreolization* in favor of *depidginization* because the former assumes that NG is a *creole* throughout the state, which it is not.

We hope that this detailed account of the social history of NG and a diachronic account of its morpho-syntactic structures will deepen our understanding of contact-induced language restructuring and change. That the emergence/development of inflectional categories in NG was a gradual process strengthens the gradualist model of creolization, which in turn disproves the view that the so-called “creole features” are due to UG. Furthermore, by providing data from the 1920s through the 1990s, this dissertation offers a basis for others to pursue further studies in this contact-induced variety. We also hope that this work has made a contribution to the on-going effort to come up with a principled way of classifying contact-induced varieties, particularly of *pidgins* and *creoles*.

Appendix

A note !

In NG, the particle *-i* serves multiple functions; in a non-finite clause or verb compound, e.g. **kor-i-bole bhab-iase** [do-LINK-COMP consider -PRES PROG], it functions as a linker; in phrases such as **ah-i-kena** [come-PERF- CONJ PCL] ‘upon arriving’ or **jana-i-di-se** [inform-PERF- give-PAST] ‘has told’ (**jan** ‘know’/‘in form’), it functions as a perfective marker, i.e. indicate that the action is completed; and it (*i* <= *hi*) is also homophonous with the emphatic marker, **hi**.

While *-a* in phrases such as **kheli-a taim-te** [play-ADJ PPL-time-LOC] ‘while playing’ or (a) below, is an adjectival participle, *-a* is a perfective marker in (b) or (c):

- (a) **Moy gan hun-i-a taim-te amma ne redio to**
 1-SG song listen-LINK-PPL time-LOC mother NOM radio FOC

bon kor-i-- di-she.

stop do--PERF give-PAST.

‘When I was listening to music my mother turned off the radio.’

- (b) **Olop din agote lu-a bhul ulta disishon...**
 ‘Some day before take-PERF wrong opposite decision.’
 However, *-ia* is also used as a perfective marker as in (d)

- (c) **Apuni hun-a to hosa no- hoy**
 2SG hear-PERF FOC correct NEG be
 ‘What you heard/have heard is not true.’

It may be noted that *-a* could also function as both a participial marker, as in (d) and an infinitive marker as in (e):

- (d) **Bombai-te khobor manu logote kotha ko-a taim-te,**
 Bombay-LOC news man with talk say-PPL time-LOC
 ‘While talking to the reporters in Bombay, ...’

- (e) **itu laga asol bichar-bilak hoyse: desh laga sikiurity,**
 this GEN main concern-PL be(PCL) country GEN security,

hadaron manu-khan jibon-te integriti-ke an-i- di-a aru
 common people-PL life-LOC integrity-OBJ bring-PERF- give-INF and

sob dik-e¹ unoti kor-i- lu-a.
 all direction-LOC progress do -PERF take-INF

‘Its main concerns remain the security of the country and to bring about integrity in people’s lives and progress in all spheres of life.’

To avoid confusion, in glossing the text below, the linking function of *-i*, as in **kor- i** **-bole** ‘to do’ will not be indicated. Similarly, *-a* will be glossed as perfective everywhere (even where it functions as an adjectival participial).

¹. In adstrate BG, *dik* = ‘direction’, *dik + e* (direction + LOC) ‘in direction’. Thus, *sob dik-e* = (Lit.) ‘in all directions’.

Appendix-A

(All India Radio Kohima News)

6 December, 1994

The News

Itu akash bani¹ Kohima pora apuni loge Nagamiz-te
This sky message Kohima SRCE 2SG to Nagamese-LOC

khobor di-a, huni-bo. Khobor di-se(newscasters name)...
news give-PERF, hear-IRR. News give -PAST
'You will hear news in Nagamese given by All India Radio Kohima. News is read by
..(newscaster's name.)

Poila-te asol asol khobor: 'The headlines first.'
First-LOC main main news

Nagaland laga governor Sri O. N. Srivastav-he manu-khan laga
Nagaland GEN governor Mr. O. N. Srivastav-NOM man-PL GEN

kalcharel tradishon-ke bacha-i rakhi-bole aru unnoti kori-bole armi-khan
cultural tradition -OBJ save-PPL keep-COMP and progress do--COMP army-PL

laga role upor-te khushi pora jana-yse.
GEN role on-LOC pleased SRCE inform-PAST.
'The governor of Nagaland, Mr. O.N. Srivastav, has praised the army for its role in the
maintenance and promotion of folk cultural tradition.'

Kongres (I) laga president Sri Norsima Rao-he parti lidar
Congress-(Indira) GEN president Mr. Norsima Rao-NOM party leader

kun -khan-he ofis pora subidha lo-bole bisar-i- thak-e
who-PLI-NOM office SRCE advantage take-COMP seek-PERF- remain-PRES

tai-khan-ke parti char-i-- di-bole hudi-di-se
3-PL OBJ party leave-PERF - give-COMP ask-- give-PAST.
'The Congress (I) president, Mr. Norsima Rao, has told those party members who seek to
take advantage of their office, to quit the party.'

¹. **Akash bani** 'sky message' refers to the All India Radio Station broadcast.

President Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma -he human resource
 President Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma-NOM human resource

devolapment nimite dangor hisab investment kori-bole dorkar
 development for large scale investment do-COMP necessity

thak-ia upor-te jor di-se. Aru union
 remain-PERF on-LOC emphasis give-PAST. And union

komunikation minister Sri Sukhram-e janai-se 1997 sal tok
 communication minister Mr. Sukhram-NOM inform-PAST 1997 year until

telephone on dimand bitor- te d-i- di-bo pari-bo.
 telephone on demand interior-LOC give-PERF give-IRR can-IRR.

'President Shankar Dayal Sharma has emphasized the need for a huge investment for the development of human resources. Moreover, the union minister for communications, Mr. Sukhram, has informed the public that by 1997 the government will be able to provide a telephone connection as soon as one asks for one.'

Etiya pura khobor 'Now the complete news.'
 Now complete news

Nagland laga governor Sri O.N. Shrivastav-he manu-khan
 Nagaland GEN governor Mr. O. N. Shrivastav-NOM man-PL

laga kalcharel tradishon-ke bacha-i rakhi-a aru unnoti
 GEN cultural tradition-OBJ save-PERF keep-PERF and develop

kori-a- te armi laga kornel-ke khushi pora jana-i-se.
 do-PERF-LOC army GEN colonel-OBJ happiness SRCE inform-PAST

'The governor of Nagaland, MR. O.N. Shrivastav, has told the army colonel that he was pleased with them because for their contribution in the maintenance and development of the folk cultural tradition.'

Aji Jakhama-te Nagaland kalcharel festivel 1994 laga
 Today Jakhama-LOC Nagaland cultural festival 1994 GEN

khotom hu-a fungshon-te chif gest hisabe kotha kowi-di-a te
 end be-PERF function-LOC chief guest as talk say - give-PERF LOC

governor-he jana-ise itu nisina festivel-he belak belak dhormo
 governor-NOM express-PAST this such festival-NOM different different religion

bhasa aru jati-te manu-te ekota an-i lo-bole aru
 language and ethnic group-LOC man-LOC unity bring-PERF -bring-COMP and

shanti-ke bacha-i rakhi-bo kam kori-bole par-ia uport-e jan-i
 peace-OBJ save-PERF keep-IRR work do -COMP can-PPL on-LOC learn-PERFF

lo-bole sivilian manu-khan logo-te subidha-ke an-i de-y.
 take-COMP civilian man-PL to-LOC advantage-OBJ bring - PERF give-PRES.
 'Speaking as the chief guest at the meeting that marked the conclusion of Nagaland Cultural Festival 1994 at Jakhama today, the governor emphasized on people's being aware of the fact that festivals such as this can bring unity among people belonging to different religions, language groups, and ethnicities, thus maintaining peace and bringing prosperity to the civilians.'

Tar¹-he kow-ise enika festival dui-ta bhag majote bishi
 He-NOM say-PAST such festival two-DEF division between much

hisabe bujabuji-ke an-i di-bole aru soman soman
 rate-LOC understanding-OBJ bring-PERF --give-COMP and equal equal

loge bonai-bo-bole modot de-y.
 with make--IRR- COMP help give-PRES.

Srivastav-he jana-ise armi-khan bhitor-te dekha-i di-a
 Srivastav-NOM expressed army-PL inside-LOC show-PERF- give-PERF

disiplane-he ekta egzampul hoy. Kunu-tu-ke, prottek
 discipline-NOM one example be. Any -DEF-OBJ every

jon aru sob bilak manu-ke lo-i lo- bo lage.
 person and all PL man-OBJ take-PERF-take -IRR OBL(necessary)
 'He said such festivals help bring about understanding and equality between groups.'

Teo¹-he kow-ise inika disiplane pora ama-khan-he
 3SG-NOM say-PAST like this discipline SRCE 1- PL- NOM

¹ In the adstrate, Bengali, *tar* means 'his'. This possessive adjective was lexicalized as the 3rd Person subject pronoun.

¹ Teo (nasalised) is the 3rd person Honorific personal pronoun in the superstrate. Common speakers use *Tai*.

sob-bilak bhabna-ke hota-i- lo-bole par-ibo aru homoy
all-PL thought-OBJ remove-PERF- take-COMP can-IRR and time

laga bhal obosta aru unnoti nimite mil-i- kena
GEN good state and development for unite-PERF - CONJ PCL

kam ses kori-bole pari-bo.

work end do--COMP can-IRR

'He said that by exercising similar discipline, we will be able to get rid of all our problems, improve our situation, and finish our work together.'

Governor-he festival-te bhag lu-a belak belak
Governor -NOM festival-LOC share take-PERF different different

troop aru artist-khan logote praiz bi di-di-se

troop and performer-PL to with also give-give-PAST

'The governor also distributed prizes to the various performing groups and artists.'

Itu festival-ke armi hedquartar Zakhama-te jogar kori-sile

This festival OBJ army head quarter Zakhama-LOC arrange do--PLU

'This festival was held in the Zakhama military headquarters.'

Kongress (I) president Sri P.V. Norsima Rao-he teo laga

Congress (Indira) president Mr. P.V. Norsima Rao-NOM he GEN

parti manu-khan-ke jana-yse je¹ iekonomik libarelizashon laga

party man-PL- OBJ inform-PAST that economic liberalization GEN

golti bhabna-bilak-ke hota-i- di-bole hun-a manu-khan logote

fault idea- PL- OBJ remove-PERF give-COMP hear-PERF man-PL with

ji sob bhabna-ke lo-i- lo-bole niche obosta-te thak-ia

who all idea-OBJ take-PERF-take-COMP low state-LOC remain-PERF

manu-khan pora soman bhabe suru kori-bole lage.

man-PL SRCE equal ADV start do-COMP need

'The Congress (I) president, Mr. P.V. Norsima Rao, has told his party members that in order to dispel the misleading ideas about economic liberalization, programs have to be adopted equally for the 'have nots'.

¹ This construction is not found in the speech of common speakers.

Rao-he aji poona-te parti manu-khan logote kotha ko-iasile.
 Rao-NOM today Poona-LOC party man-PL with talk say-PAST PROG.
 'Rao was talking to his party members in Poona today.'

Teo-he janai-se party lidar kun-khan ofis pora nijor laga
 e-NOM inform-PAST party leader who-PL office SRCE self GEN goal

laga motlob-ke pai- lo-bole bhabna kor-e tai-khan -he
 GEN goal-OBJ get take-COMP thought do-PRES 3- PL- NOM

parti char-i- di-bole lage.
 party leave-PERF -give-COMP need.

'He said that party leaders, who plan to achieve their personal goals by using their office, must leave the party.'

Teo-he jana-ise parti logote onnay kori-a-ke
 He-NOM inform-PAST party with injustice do-PERF-OBJ

ketiabi man-i no lo-bo. Olop din agote lu-a
 ever tolerate-PERF NEG take-IRR. Some day before take-PERF

bhul laga ulta disishon logote janai-di-se karone
 wrong GEN opposite decision about inform-give-PAST due to

ko-yse itu-khan to huru huru ghotona hoy.
 say-PAST this-PL FOC small small incident be.

'He said that the party will never tolerate those who have worked against the interest of the party. Regarding the recently made wrong decisions, he said that they are insignificant matters.'

Assam prodesh komiti aji praim ministar
 Assam state committee today prime minister

Sri P.V. Norsima Rao laga lidarship upor-te purapuri bisas
 Mr. P.V. Norsima Rao GEN leadership on-LOC complete faith

thak-ia aru teo logote pura puri saport thak-ia
 remain-PERF and he with complete support remain-PERF

kotha to jana-i- di-se.
 talk(fact/that) FOC inform-PERF-give-PAST

'Today, the Assam-State-Committee of the Congress Party has expressed its full confidence in his [Rao's] leadership and its support for him.'

Guwahati-te boh-ia ABCCI aru ACNT laga joyent
Guwahati-LOC sit-PERF ABCCI and ACNT GEN joint

miting-te loi-lu-a ekta resolishon -te Karnataka aru
meeting-LOC take-take-PERF one resolution-LOC Karnataka and

Andhra prodesh laga esembli elekshon -te Kongres(I) -he
Andhra state GEN assembly election-LOC Congress(I)-NOM

har-i- jaw-a nimite belak belak bichar thak-ia
lose-PERF -go-PERF for different different assessment remain-PERF

aru parti birodhi-khan logote galti di-se. Miting-te Chif
and party meeting-LOC with fault-give-PAST. Meeting-LOC Chief

ministar Sri Hiteshwar Saikia laga lidarship upor-te bisas
Minister Mr. Hiteshwar Saikia GEN leadership on-LOC faith

thak-ia kotha-ke janai-di-se
remain-PERF talk(fact)-OBJ inform-give-PAST.

'In a resolution adopted in the joint meeting of the ABCCI and ACNT different analyses of the failure of the Congress-(I) party were advanced and the opponents of the party were faulted for it.'

BJP-he jana-yse ah-ia esembly elekshon-bilak²
BJP-NOM inform-PAST come-PPL assembly election-PL

nimite itu laga asol bichar-bilak ho-yse: desh laga
for this FOR main concern-PL be-PAST country GEN

sikiurity, hadaron manu-khan jibon-te integriti-ke an-i-
security common people-PL life-LOC integrity-OBJ bring-PERF

di-a aru sob-dike unoti kor-i- lu-a . Bomby-te
give-COMP and all-sides progress do-PERF take-COMP. Bombay-LOC

khobor manu logote kotha ko-a taim-te parti laga chif
news man to talk say-ADJ PCL time-LOC party GEN chief

² . Common speakers use *-khan* as the only plural marker, but in the mass media while *-khan* is used for animate objects, *-bilak* is used for inanimate objects. However, this practice is not consistent.

Sri L.K. Advani he jana-yse, iekonomik polisi khetro-te
 Mr. L.K. Advani NOM inform-PAST, economic policy ground-LOC

BJP-he diregulason aru dilaisensing -ke mani-thak-e;
 BJP-NOM deregulation and delicensing-OBJ obey-remain-PRES;

hoylebi globlaization-ke itu-he kara pora birodh kor-e
 however, globalization-OBJ this-NOM straight SRCE oppose do-PRES.
 'The BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) has declared that their main issues in the upcoming elections will be the security of the country, integration, and development in all aspects of people's lives. While talking to the reporters in Bombay, the party chief, Mr. L.K. Advani, said that as far as the economic policy is concerned, while BJP accepts deregulation and delicensing, it is strongly opposed to globalization.

Mizoram laga Aizol distrikt-te revised elektoral rule
 Mizoram GEN Aizol district-LOC revised electoral rule

bona-i - lu-a kam to ah-ia maina-te suru.
 make-PERF- take-PPL work FOC come-PPL month-LOC start

kor-ibo. Aizol-te ula-i- di-a ekta journal hisab-te
 do-IRR. Aizol-LOC release - PERF give-PERF one journal opinion-LOC

ghor ghor-te ja-i hisab kor-ia kam to January
 house house-LOC go-PERF count do-PPL work FOC January

sekend wik-te suru kor-i- lo-bo. Draft elektoral rule-ke
 second week-LOC start do-PERF- take-IRR. Draft electoral rule-OBJ

march maina laga shataish tarik-te aru final rule-ke
 March month GEN twenty-seven date-LOC and final rule-OBJ

June maina laga ataish tarik-te ula-i- di-bo.
 June month GEN twenty-eight date -LOC open-PERF --give-IRR

Arunachal prodesh-te Pabanjoari distrikt-te photo
 Arunachal province-LOC Pabanjoari district-LOC photo

aidintity-khan-ke d-i- di-a kam to lo-ise
 identity-PL- OBJ give-PERF give-PPL work FOC take-PAST.

Steit-te thak-ia votar-khan 60% laga photograph to etiya
 State-LOC live-PPL voter-PL 60% GEN photograph FOC now

tok . lu-i- ja-yse.
 until take-PERF -go-PAST.

‘The task of writing new electoral rules will begin in the district of Aizol in Mizoram next month. According to a journal published from Aizol, counting people (the census) by going from door to door will begin in the second week of January. Preliminary electoral rules will be published on the 27th of March and the final rules on the 28th of June. In the Pabanjoari district of the province of Arunachal, the task of giving photo identities has begun. Up until now, pictures of 60% of the voters of the state have already been taken.’

Tripura laga Deputi Chif Ministar Sri Boidanath
 Tripura GEN Deputy Chief Minister Mr. Baddyanath

Majumdar-he jana-yse votar-khan logote photo identity Majumder-NOM
 inform-PAST voter-PL to photo identity

kard d-i- di-a kam to tin char maina homoy
 card give-PERF -give-PPL work FOC three four month time

bitor-te suru kor-i- lo-bo. Agartala-te khobor manu
 within-LOC begin do-PERF-take-IRR. Agartala-LOC news man

logote kotha ko-a-te teo-he janay-se elekshon
 with talk do-PPL-LOC 3SG-NOM inform-PAST election

komishon he thik-kor-i- di-a homoy bhitor-te itu
 commission-NOM fix- do-PERF-give-PERF time within-LOC this

itu skeem-ke loi-lo-bole sombhob no-ho-bo.
 this scheme-OBJ take-take-COMP possible NEG-be-IRR

‘The Deputy Chief Minister of the state of Tripura has said that the task of giving identity cards to the voters will begin within three to four months. While talking to the reporters in Agartala, he said that it will not be possible to execute this scheme within the time fixed by the election commission.’

(Excerpt)

Appendix-B

(Bosti manu laga program)
 Village man GEN program
 'Program for the rural people'
 All India Radio , Kohima (AIR Kohima)

.....

Poila mati-te ki rokom mol-ke joton-kor-i-
 First soil-LOC what means manure-OBJ care- do- PERF

rakhi-bo itu upor-te kotha kor-a ho-bo.
 keep-IRR this on-LOC talk do-PERF PART be-IRR.
 'First we 'll talk about how manure can be carefully retained in the soil.'

Ta-r pisote jongol-ke kinika basa-i kena
 That-GEN after forest-OBJ how save-PERF CONJ PCL

rakhi-bo itu upor-te bi kotha kor-a ho-bo.
 keep-IRR this on- LOC also talk do-PPL be-IRR.
 'After that we'll discuss how we can save the forest.'

Host: **Accha, bhai na, aji tahole ami-khan itu farmar ..um...**
 Well, brother PCL today so 1-PL this farmer PCL..

bosti-manu-khan laga program-te na ektom dangor village-man-PL
 GEN program-LOC PCL very important

kotha ekta ko-bole ase, ho !
 talk one say-COMP be PCL
 'Well, my brother, in this farmers' program today, we are going to talk about a very important issue.'

Guest: **Accha, accha !** 'I see, I see.'

Host: **To, apuni bi to dhan to kati-a hoi-ja-yse**
 FOC, 2SG also FOC rice FOC cut-PERF be-PAST

hobola etiya to. 'So I believe you are done with rice harvesting by now.'
 seems now FOC.

Guest: **Hoy, hoy.** 'Yes, yes.' Yes, yes.

Host: **Itu sal apuna-r kheti to kinika hoy-sile ?**
 This year 2SG GEN farm FOC how be-PLU
 'How was the crop this year ?'

Guest: **Itu sal to ami-khan kheti iman to bhal hoy-nai.**
 This year FOC 1-PL crop this much FOC good be-NEG-PRES
 'This year our crop wasn't that good.'

Host: **Hoy na-i ki ?**
 Be NEG-PRES QW 'Wasn't it ?'

Kheti to hodai kur-i-thak-e bosti manu-khan,
 Cultivation FOC always do-remain-PRES village man-PL,

kintu kunuba kunuba sal to bishi bhal hoy aru
 but any any year FOC much good be and

kunuba to bhal no hoy de. Bishi manu
 some FOC good NEG be PCL. Most man

ko-i- thak-e itu sal to bhal hoy nai, na¹ !
 say-PERF remain-PRES this year FOC good be NEG-PRES, PCL ?
 'Villagers always do cultivation, but some times the crop is good but in others it is bad. Most people say that the crop hasn't been good this year. Right ?'

Guest: **Hoy, bhal no hoy.**
 Yes, good NEG be 'Right, it is not good.'

Host: **Khali apuni-hi no hoy ki na bisi manu inika ase, de**
 only 2SG-EMP not beal CONJ PCL many man thus be, PCL
 'It's not only you; that's the case with many people.'

To kotha ho-yse, asol to hoy-le, ami-khan to
 FOC talk be-PAST real FOC be-COND, 1-PL FOC

kheti kori-le bi nohoyle to tenga phol
 cultivation do-COND also otherwise FOC sour fruit

kheti kori-le bi sak sobji laga kheti
 cultivation do-COND also vegetables GEN cultivation

¹ na is the negative marker in NG, but it also functions as the interrogative particle.

kori-le bi dhan laga kheti bi asol to itu
do-COND also rice GEN cultivation also real FOC this

ami-khan itu mati to ki-rokom rakhi-bo, na ?
1-PL this soil FOC what means keep-IRR, PCL ?

‘So, whatever we cultivate - sour fruit, vegetables, rice - the important thing is how we maintain the soil, isn’t it ?’

Guest: **Hū** ‘Yes.’

Host: **Mati-te to kunuba jaga-te bisi mol thak-e**
Soil-LOC FOC some place-LOC much manure remain-PRES

kunuba-te komti thak-e, na ?. Kintu ami-khan
some-LOC less remain-PRES, PCL ? But 1-PL

mol thak-a jaga-te ketiya kheti kori-bo
manure remain-PERF place-LOC when cultivation do-IRR

itu dhan-bi bisi bisi dhor-e, na hawa pani thik
this rice-also much much grow-PRES, PCL climate water right

thaki-se bole¹ Kintu kun jaga-te mol thik
remain-PAST COMP. But what place-LOC manure right

na- hoy-le to ami-khan bishi na-pa-y, na ?
NEG-be-COND FOC 1-PL much NEG-get-PRES, PCL.

Kintu sob jaga-te mol to bhal-hi ho-bo enika
But all Place-LOC manure FOC good-EMP be-IRR thus

no ho-bo na, bhai.
NEG be-IRR PCL, brother.

‘In some areas the soil is very fertile but in others it is less so.
When we cultivate in an area where the soil is fertile, rice also grows in abundance;
but if the soil does not contain the right amount of manure, we don’t get a good crop.
Right ? But it is not possible that the soil will be fertile everywhere. Right, brother?’

Guest: **Hoy, hoy.** ‘Yes, yes.’
yes yes

¹ Here *bole* means ‘because’, and is not an infinitival.

Host: **To, inika no- hoy jaga-te hoy-le ami-khan mati**
 FOC, thus NEG be place-LOC be-COND 1-PL soil

to mol ekdom na thaki-le bi, tate pora bi
 FOC manure at all NEG exist-COND also, there SRCE also

ami-khan ji hoyle-bi ama-r kun jaga-te
 1-PL whatever it may take 1-SG-GEN which place -LOC

thak-e aru kheti kote thak-e tate pora to
 stay-PRES and cultivation where stay-PRES there SRCE FOC

dhan hoylebi tenga phol hoylebi sak-sobji hoylebi
 rice maybe sour fruit maybe vegetable maybe

ula-i kena khay-le-hi ami-khan to
 grow-PERF CONJ PCL eat-COND-EMP 1-PL FOC

bosti manu-khan laga jibon-te thaki-bo to.
 village man- PL GEN life-LOC remain-IRR FOC.

‘So if we live in such a place where the soil contains no manure at all, even here – the place where we are– we rural people have to grow sour fruit, vegetables, or something to eat so as to stay alive.’

Guest: **Hoy, hoy, hoy to** ‘Yes, that’s right.’
 Yes, yes, yes, FOC

Host: **To itu karone aji ami-khan-ke to mati-te to**
 FOC this reason today 1-PL- OBJ FOC soil-LOC FOC

kinia kor-i- kena mol to thik homan kor-i-
 how do-PERF CONJ PCL manure FOC right equal do-PERF

rakhi-bo, na itu kotha-khan ami-khan aj hiki-bole sesta
 keep-IRR PCL this talk-PL 1-PL today learn-COMP try

kori-bo de .
 do-IRR PCL.

‘Well, therefore, today we will try to learn about how we can maintain an equal level of fertility in the land.’

Guest: **Hū, acha, acha .** ‘Yes, that’s right, that’s right.’

Host: A.... itu ko-iase itu mati-te ami-khan khali itu
PCL this say-PRES PROG this soil-LOC 1-PL only this

sal dhan ula- bo nohoylebi itu sal kha-i-
year rice grow-IRR otherwise this year eat-PERF

kena to dusra sal karone aha sal karone to
CONJ PCL FOC another year for next year for FOC

ami-khan, na bhab-i kena hi thaki-le,
1-PL PC think-PERF CONJ PCL EMP remain-COND,

mane, itu to hoyle bishi loss ase ko-yse.

that is, this FOC PCL much loss be say-PAST.

'It is said that it would be a great loss if we grew only rice on our land and ate what we have grown this year and not think about next year.'

Guest: Accha. 'I see.'

Host: Kotha kotha, apuni tenga phol laga kheti nohoyle
Suppose 2SG sour fruit GEN cultivation otherwise
pani kheti kor-iase, na.
monsoon crop do-PRES PROG, PCL.
'Let's suppose, you're growing sour fruit or monsoon crops.'

Guest: Hū 'Yes.'

Host: To itu pani kheti to itu sal kor-i kena
FOC this monsoon crop FOC this year do-PERF CONJ PCL

aha sal-e no-kori-bole no hoy, to. Na
next year-LOC NEG-do-COMP NEG-be, FOC, PCL.

'So, having cultivated monsoon crops this year, you should not do that next year, O.K.?

Guest: Hū, hū. 'Yes, yes.'

Host: Ami-khan laga baba ama- khan rakh-i- di-a
1-PL GEN father mother-PL keep-PERF give-PERF

kheti to ami-khan aji kor-iase aro aha kali to
land FOC 1-PL today do-PRES PROG and tomorrow FOC

ama-r nijo-r lora suali kori-bo, na ?
 1-SG-GEN self-GEN son daughter do-IRR, PCL
 'Today, we are cultivating the land that our forefathers left;
 and tomorrow, our children will cultivate it, right ?'

Guest: **Hoy to** 'Yes, that's right.'
 Yes, FOC

Host: **Ketiya lora suali to bura ho-ja-y nohoyle**
 When boy girl FOC old be-go-PRES otherwise

mur-i- ja-y pise-te aru tai-khan laga nijo-r
 die-PERF go-PRES after-LOC and 3-PL GEN self-GEN

lora suali-khan itu kheti to kori-bo, na?
 son daughter-PL this land FOC do-IRR, PCL.
 'When the children become old, their children will cultivate this land, won't they ?'

Guest: **Hoy, hū.** 'That's right. Yes.'

Host: **To inika gura taim-te ami-khan hotai aji laga bi**
 FOC thus cyclic time-LOC 1-PL always today GEN also

bhabi-bo aha din laga-bi bhabi-bo. Aro juwa din
 think-IRR future GEN-also think-IRR And gone day

laga bi bhab-i kena ama-r kheti laga mati
 GEN also think-PERF CONJ PCL 1-SG-GEN land GEN soil

to thik mote rakhi-bo karone kheti-te kun jaga-te
 FOC right way keep-IRR due to land-LOC which place-LOC.

kheti kori-bo itu laga mati ami-khan bhal kor-i
 cultivation do-IRR this GEN soil 1-PL well do-PERF

joton kor-i kena tai laga mati-te thak-a
 care do-PERF CONJ PCL it GEN soil-LOC remain-PERF

judi mol to judi khotom hu-i- ja-y
 COND manure FOC COND end be-PERF go-PRES

itu sal na, tetiya hoyle ki hali-le, mane
 this year PCL then PCL what put-COND, that is

itu mati-te mol to thaki-bo itu
this soil-LOC manure FOC remain-IRR this

jan-i- kena ami-khan aru thik homoy-te aru
know-PERF CONJ PCL 1-PL and right time -LOC and

ki homoy-te mati to bhal kor-i bona-bo aru
what time-LOC soil FOC well do-PERF prepare-IRR and

mol to hal-i- di-bo lage na ko-iase to.
manure FOC put-PERF give-IRR need, PCL say-PRES PROG FOC
'So, as time revolves, we should always be mindful of the present, future as well as the past; and, considering that, we have to think about where we should cultivate, when and how to take care of the soil in order to maintain our soil properly. If the manure contained in the soil gets exhausted this year, then we have to learn what to put in the soil, when to prepare the soil, and when we must put manure in the soil.'

Guest: Accha, accha, mane, ek-ta niyom ase to kheti
'O.K., O.K. that is, one-DEF system exist FOC cultivation

bhal pora kori-bole.
well SRCE do-COMP.
'Ok, o k.. that is, there is a system to follow in order for doing cultivation well.'

Host: Hoy, mane kheti to mati to thik pora rakhi-bole
Yes, that is cultivation FOC soil FOC right SRCE keep-COMP

itu karone itu niyom to jan-i- kena ami-khan
this reason this system to know-PERF CONJ PCL 1-PL

to mati to joton kori-bo lage, ko-iase.
FOC soil FOC care do-IRR need say-PRES PROG.
'That's correct. They say that in order to be able to maintain the land or the soil properly, we must learn the way (how) to care for the soil.'

Aru itu mati to kunuba ekdom pahar jaga
Also this soil FOC some completely hill place

ho-bo pare, na, kunuba homan jaga ho-bo pare.
be-IRR may, PCL, some plain place be-IRR can.

Hoy no no-hoy ?

Yes NEG NEG yes

‘Also, the soil can be on a very hilly area or on a plain ground. Is it right or wrong ?

Guest: **Hoy, hoy.** ‘Yes, yes.’

Host: **Ami-khan to Nagaland-e¹ pahar jaga bi ase, homan**
 i-PL FOC Nagaland-LOC hill place also exist, plain

jaga-bi ase to, na ?

place-also exist FOC, PCL.

‘In Nagaland, we have hilly areas as well as plains.

Guest: **Hoy, hoy.** ‘Yes, yes.’

Host: **Nagaland hoyle pahar jaga-hi bisi ashe, na ?**

Nagaland PCL hill place-EMP much exist.

‘Nagaland is mostly hilly, right ?’

Guest: **Hoy, hoy.** ‘Yes, yes.’

Host: **To inika pahar jaga hoyle ki hisab-te mati-ke**
 FOC thus hill place PCL what account-LOC soil-OBJ

dhori-i- rakhi-bo, na, mane, mol hali-le- bi
 hold-PERF-keep-IRR, PCL, that is, manure put-COND also

ami-khan mati-ke thik pora itu mol to pahar pora
 i-PL soil-OBJ right SRCE this manure FOC hill SRCE

ektom niche-te ja-bo-no-di-bo karone ek-ta
 very under-LOC go-IRR-NEG-allow-IRR for one-DEF

niyom pora ami-khan mati to dhori-bo.

system SRCE i-PL soil FOC hold-IRR.

‘So if the place is hilly, how shall we hold the soil ? That is, if we put manure in the soil, we have to maintain the soil properly and not let the manure go down the hill.’

Guest: **Hūm.** ‘Yes.’

¹ The locative case marker is *-te*; however, occasionally *-e* is employed, too.

Host: Aru mati dhur-i lain lain bona-i to na
Also soil hold-PERF row row make-PERF FOC PCL

ami-khan na pahar-te to itu lain bona-i kena
1-PL , PCL hill-LOC FOC this row make-PERF CONJ PCL

otu upor-te ami-khan hali-le mane, sak sobji bhal
that on-LOC 1-PL put-COND, that is, vegetables good

pora ulabo aru mati-ke bhi dhur-i-rakhi-bo aru
SRCE grow-IRR and soil-OBJ also hold-PERF-keep-IRR and

mol-bi hali-di-bo, na itu hisabte. Mol
manure-also put-give-IRR, PCL this according-LOC. Manure

to, mane, itu ki mol hali-bo lage
FOC, that is, this what manure put-IRR need.

'And having held the soil on the hill we will plant vegetables in rows. If we plant vegetables in rows and put manure in the soil, vegetables will grow well and help hold the soil. But what kind of manure should we use?'

Guest: Accha, accha 'I see, I see.'

Host: Ami-khan judi mol hali-bo ko-yle, mane,
1-PL COND excreta put-IRR say-COND, that is

ami-khan bosti bhitor sob se bishi bhal to hoyle
1-PL village in all than more good FOC PCL

ami-khan karone juntu-khan laga mane, guru laga
1-PL for animal-PL GEN that is, cow GEN

paikhana bi bishi bhal ase. Aru dusra dusra juntu-khan
excreta also much good be And other other animal-PL

laga-bhi bhal ase. Nohoyle itu pata pusi-a-khan na
GEN-also good be. Otherwise this leaf rot-PERF-PL PCL

itu-khan bi bishi bhal ase ko-yshe. Aru ajikali
this-PL also much good be say-PAST. And now-a-days

kisim kisim manure itu kheti laga demand pora
kind kind manure this cultivation GEN necessity SRCE

pai-thake to, na. Hun-i-thak-e hobola.
 get-remain-PRES, FOC PCL. Hear-PERF remain-PRES probably.

‘If we want to put manure in the soil, the best we have in the village is animal’s; I mean cow dung. The excreta of other animals is also good. Or, rotten leaves are also said to be good manure. Also, nowadays, various kinds of manure are available according to the need of the land, isn’t that right ? Perhaps, you’ve heard that.’

Guest: **Hoy, hoy huni-thake.** ‘Yes, yes I heard.’
 Yes yes hear-remain-PRES

Host: **Itu-khan-bi ami-khan hali-bo pare, kintu itu-khan**
 This-PL-also 1-PL put-IRR may, but this-PL

hal-ia-te ami-khan ek-ta niyom jani-bo lage.
 put-PPL-LOC 1-PL one-DEF system know-IRR need

‘We can use those too, but one needs to know the rule of putting on those manures.’

Guest: **Hū, Hū.** ‘I see, I see.’

Host: **Itu ho-yse mane itu sal hal-ise dos sal karone**
 This be-PAST, that is this year put-PAST ten year for

to, itu pora-hi ho-i- ja-bo inika to no-hoy, na.
 FOC, this SRCE-EMP be-PERF-go-IRR thus FOC NEG be PCL.

‘So the manure you put on the land this year will be good for the next ten years; it doesn’t work like that , O. K.’

Guest: **Hū,** ‘I see.’

Host: **Itu karone sal sal-te ami-khan mati pora mol**
 This due to year year-LOC 1-PL soil SRCE manure

to hodai ami-khan hali-di-bo lage, na.
 FOC always 1-PL put-give-IRR need, O.K.?
 ‘Therefore, we have to put manure every year, O.K.’

Guest: **Hū, hoy hoyto** ‘I see, yes, that’s right .’

Host: **Itu sal dhan kat-ise bole tai itu sal ki mol**
 This year rice cut-PAST COMP it this year what manure

itu kheti-te thak-ise tai to itu mol to
 this land-LOC exist-PAST it FOC this manure FOC

lo-i- lo-ise.

take-PERF take-PAST.

‘Because you have cultivated rice in your land, whatever manure was there in the soil, rice has used it up.’

Guest: **Hoy, mane dhan ba lo-i- lo-yse.**

Yes that is, rice PCL take -PERF take-PAST.

‘Yes, that is rice has used up.’

Host: **Hoy, khai-lo-yse, mane na. Kotha holo ami-khan**

Yes, eat-take-PAST that is.. PCL Talk be 1-PL

buji -bo karone moina kor-iase. To aha sal

Understand-IRR for that is do-PRES PROG. So, next year

karone to mati bhi mol-bhi komti hoi-ja-yse

for FOC soil also manure-also less be-go-PAST

je na. To itu komti hu-a to thik mote mati

COMP PCL. FOC this lack be-PERF FOC right way soil

to ho-i- ja-bo karone ami-khan mol to

FOC be-PERF go-IRR for 1-PL manure FOC

hali- di-bi ko-iase.

put-PERF give-IMP say-PRES PROG.

‘Yes, eaten up. The fact is.., I’m interpreting what they say so that we can understand it. So.., the level of manure will be low next year. They say, to prepare the soil for the next year we have to add manure.’

Guest: **Accha, accha.** ‘I see, I see.’

Host: **Dusra to hoyse ami-khan ketiyai to mati to**

Another FOC is often-EMP often FOC soil FOC

gir-i ja-y na ? Pahar jaga-te ami-khan bishi

erode-PERF go-PRES, right? Hill place-LOC 1-PL much

borihon ah-a din-e mati bi gir-i ja-y

rain come-PERF day-LOC soil also erode-PERF go-PRES

to, na? To ketiya inika mati gir-i ja-y itu

FOC PCL ? FOC when thus soil erode-PERF go-PRES this

taim-te mati gir-a logote itu logote mol to
time-LOC soil erode-PPL with this with manure FOC

lo-i- ja-i- ja-y, na ? Mol ba borihun bisi
take-PERF go-PERF go-PRES; PCL. Manure PCL rain much

giri-le bi ar¹ boruhon pani pora bi mol to
fall-COND also and rain water SRCE also manure FOC

dhula-i- lu-i-ja-y, na ?
wash-PERF take-PERF-go-PRES, PCL

'Another thing is that often our soil erodes, right ?. When it rains too much in the hilly areas, the soil also erodes, right? The eroding soil carries the manure with it, too, right ? When it rains hard, the rain water washes away the manure, right ?'

Guest: **Ha, ha** 'Yes, yes.'

Host: **To enika-te-hi ami-khan jan-i-kena itu**
FOC, thus-EMP 1-PL know-PERF-CONJ PCL this

bosti manu bishi bhag jani-bo kintu aro bishi bhag to
village man much part know-IRR but and much part FOC

no jan-i-bi thak-e. ji karone to, moy
NEG know-PERF-also remain-PRES, which due to FOC 1-SG

bhab-iase apuni khusi pa-ise buli ami to
think-PRES PROG 2SG happy get-PAST COMP 1-SG FOC

hika-i-di-a to .
teach-PERF-give-PERF FOC.

'Most villagers do not know this, which is why I believe you will be happy that I'm giving this lesson.'

Guest: **Oh, eksom khusi pa-yse. Ami to bhal bhabe**
Oh, very happy get-PAST. 1-SG FOC well means

na- jani- a- thak-isile, to.
NEG-know-PERF-remain-PLU, FOC.
'Certainly, I'm very happy. I didn't know really well.'

¹. **ar** is a variation of **aru** 'and'.

Host: To, itu-khan to jani-bo lage de.
 FOC, this-PL FOC know-IRR need PCL
 'Well, one needs to know these things.'

Guest: Accha. 'I see.'

Host: To mol halu-a pisote ami-khan. .aru ekta kotha
 FOC manure put-PERF after i-PL... also one talk

ho-yse ketiya ami-khan itu gas to kat-i kena
 be-PAST when 1-PL this tree PCL cut-PERF CONJ PCL

lo-i lo-y na itu sal mane kotha kotha
 take-PERF take-PRES, PCL this year, that is, suppose,

apuni sak- sobji lai² kheti korise. To itu
 2SG vegetables greens cultivation do-PAST. So, this

sak-subji laipata laga nohoyle bins laga na itu khan
 vegetables greens GEN otherwise beans GEN, PCL, this-PL

kheti to kur-i- kena kha-i lo-ise, na.
 cultivation FOC do-PERF-CONJ PCL eat-PERF-take PAST, PCL.

khawa lowa pisote mati to khali ho-bo to, na?
 eating after soil FOC empty be-IRR FOC, PCL ?

'Another point is that after harvesting ...Let's say this year you cultivated vegetables or greens. So, having grown vegetable, you have eaten them, O.K.? When you have eaten them the land becomes empty, right ?'

Guest: Um 'I see.'

Host: Itu taim-te mati to mol to khotom hu-i- ja-y
 This time-LOC soil FOC manure FOC end be-PERF-go-PRES

mati to ektom tan thaki-ja-y, na? To inika tan
 soil FOC very hard remain-go -PRES, right ? So, thus hard

thak-a mati to ami-khan bhal kur-i- khund-i
 remain-PERF soil FOC 1-PL well do-PERF dig -PERF

². One kind of greens; it smells much like mustard leaves.

di-bo lage, na ?

Give-IRR need, PCL.

‘At that time the manure gets exhausted and the soil becomes very hard. So, we must plough that hard land, O.K.’

Guest: Hũ. ‘I see.’

Host: **Mane, aha bar dusra bar laga kheti kori-bo**

That is, next time another year GEN cultivation do- IRR

karone mati to ami-khan etiya pora joton kor-i na

for soil FOC 1-PL now SRCE care do-PERF, PCL

rakh-i lage to, na ? To inika joton kor-a- te

keep-PERF need FOC, PCL So, thus care do-PERF - LOC

mati to ami-khan tan thak-a to bhal kuri

soil FOC 1-PL hard remain-PERF FOC well

mihin kor-i na ami-khan khundi-bo lage aru inika

fine do-PERF PCL 1-PL plough-IRR need and thus

khund-i kena thik mote ami-khan mol

dig-PERF CONJ PCL right way-LOC 1-PL manure

d-i- di-bo lage.

give-PERF -give-IRR need

‘That is for cultivating next year, I mean another time, we have to take care of the land from now, O.K. ? To care for the land we have to cultivate the land very well and manure it properly.’

Guest: Hũ. ‘I see.’

Host: **Mol di-se ko-i na khali kom di-di-a bi**

Manure give-PAST say-PERF PCL only less give-PERF also

itu pora bi no ho-bo, ko-iase.

this SRCE also NEG be-IRR, saying.

‘They say you can’t just put some manure on and say “I have done it”.

Guest: **Ekta hisab thaki-bo lage.**

One calculation remain-IRR need.

‘There must be a calculation.’

Host: Ekta hisba-te di-bo lage, aru itu hisab to
One calculation-LOC give-IRR-need, and this calculation, FOC

mane hoyse ek hektor nisina mane juti apuni
menaing is one hectare like that is COND 2SG

gubor nohoyleba khuri-khan gas-khan pusia chola-bo
cow dung otherwise twigs-PL tree-PL rot-PERF use-IRR

koy-le four to five ton nishina mol to dorkar
say-COND four to five ton like manure FOC necessary

ho-bo ko-ise
be-IRR say-PAST.

‘Yes, one must follow a ratio, and that ratio is.... Let’s say you want to use cow dung or rotten twigs and plants, you will have to put about four to five tons of manure per hectare of land.’

Guest: Accha, accha. ‘I see, I see.’

Host: To ek ek sal-te hotai apuni inika mol to
FOC one one year-LOC always 2SG thus manure FOC

hal-i- di-le mane mati to hodai karone bhal put-PERF-give-
COND, that is soil FOC always for well

thaki-bo.
remain-IRR.

‘So if you put manure like this every year on the soil, it will remain good forever.’

Guest: Accha, Accha. ‘I see, I see.’

Host: Itu sal yate kheti kori-bo a ru dusra sal dusra
This year here cultivation do-IRR and another year another

jongol kati-bo inika ami-khan laga bishi jongol-khan nosto
forest cut-IRR thus 1-PL GEN much forest-PL destroy

kor- iase na ? Aru ami-khan karone bhi khub
do-PRES PROG, PCL? And 1-PL for also very

dukha-pa-y, na ? Kilemane yate pora ekta-te itu sal
pain-get-PRES, PCL Because here SRCE one-LOC this year

kheti kori-se, na, to itu sal, poila sal-te mol
cultivation do-PAST, PCL so this year first year-LOC manure

to thik pa-yse. mati-te kintu dusra sal-te to.
FOC right get-PAST soil -LOC, but another year-LOC FOC,
'We cultivate here this year, and next year cut another forest. We are destroying a lot of our forests, aren't we? This hurts us too because, let's say we cultivate in a place one year; for the first year there will be enough manure in the soil, but...

Guest: **Hoy, hoy** 'Yes, yes.'

Host: **Kintu ami-khan bosti-manu-khan itu-bi**
But 1-PL village-man-PL this-also

buj- i- kena inika no- kor-i kena
realize-PERF-CONJ PCL thus NEG-do-PERF CONJ PCL

ami-khan ekta jaga-te-hi hodai karone ekta bagan
1-PL one place-LOC-EMP always for one garden

hoylebi farm hoylebi nohoylebi kheti ekta
but farm but otherwise farm one

khul-i- rakh-i- kena thik mote mati to
start-PERF-keep-PERF CONJ PCL properly soil FOC

thik pora khundi-bo aru sal-te sal-te mol
right SRCE dig-IRR and year-LOC year-LOC manure

hal-i- dia- hi ama-khan karone lab
put-PERF-give-PERF EMP 1-PL for benefit

ase to je, na ?
be FOC, COMP PCL

'So we rural people have to realize that; and rather than doing this, we have to set up a garden or farm or plot for cultivation and cultivate and manure the land properly every year. This will be beneficial for us, you know.'

Guest: **Hoy to, hoy to.** 'Yes, that's right, that's right.'
Yes, FOC, yes, FOC.

Host: **Aru kiman ami-khan joton kor-e itu nishina**
And how much 1-PL care do-PRES this like

mati-bi norom ho-y to . Hoy-na- no- hoy ?
 soil - also soft become-PRES, FOC Yes-NEG- NEG yes
 'As much care as we take the softer the soil becomes. Right or wrong?

Guest: **Hoy, hoy.** "Yes, yes."

Host: **Bagan to ami-khan ini rakh-i- di-le,..... ek-bar**
 Garden FOC 1-PL fallow keep-PERF- give-COND,...one-time

lai pata laga-bo ar eni alchi pora rakh-i- di-she
 greens plant-IRR and fallow idle SRCE leave-PERF-give-PAST

bole bagan to sa-bole- bi safa no-hoy aru
 since garden FOC look-COMP also clean NEG-be and

mati bi bishi tan ho-i- ja-y to, na ?
 soil also much hard be-PERF-go-PRES, FOC, right ?
 'If we leave the garden fallow....if we plant greens once and then leave them uncultivated, it doesn't look clean and the soil also becomes very hard, right?.'

Guest: **Hoy, hoy.** "Yes, yes."

Host: **Kintu sal sal-te ami-khan mati-bi khund-i- di-bo**
 But year year-LOC 1-PL soil-also cultivate -PERF-give-IRR

aru tai mati hisab-te ami-khan mol hal-i-di-bo,
 and it soil according-LOC 1-PL manure put-PERF-give-IRR

kilemane hodai sal-te itu sak sobji to bishi
 because always year-LOC this greens FOC much

bhalbhabe ula-i to na.
 well Gorw-PRES FOC, PCL ?
 'But we will cultivate and manure the land every year according to the size of the land, and then greens will grow very well, right ?

Guest: **Accha, accha.** "Yes, yes."

Host: **To itu karone ami-khan ki mati-te tate to**
 FOC this for 1-PL what soil-LOC there FOC

ingrazi kotha-te hoyle niutrients bole ko-y na...
 English talk-LOC , PCL, nutrients COMP say-PRES, PCL ,

mati dorgar kisim kisim thak-a to mati to pani
 soil need kind kind remain-PERF FOC: soil FOC water

minarels laga dorgar thak-e, na. Ami-khan jibon
 minerals GEN need remain-PRES, right. 1-PL life

thaki-bo karone ami-khan pani bhi kha-y, bhat-bhi
 remain-IRR for 1-PL water also eat-PRES, rice also

kha-y tenga phol bhi khay aru mangso bhi kha-y,
 eat-PRES sour fruit also eat-PRES and meat also eat-PRES

na ? Itu-he ami-khan gao to hokot thak-e
 PCL? This-NOM 1-PL body FOC strength remain-PRES

aro bemar na-thak- i- kena gao to healthy
 and illness NEG-remain-PERF-CONJ PCL body FOC healthy

thak-e, na ?
 remain-PRES, PCL.

'So, because of this we have to... , what do you call "nutrients" in English.. Soil has various needs--...a need for water, right ? To remain alive, we drink water; we eat rice; we also eat sour fruit; and we eat meat ,too. These maintain energy in our body, and because of them our body remains healthy rather than become sick, right ?

Guest: **Accha, accha. Mane itu sak sobji to dhan bhi to**
 O.K. O.K. That is, this vegetable FOC rice also FOC

ami-khan nishina khana pina lage
 1-PL like food ECHO need.
 'I see, I see. That is vegetables and rice also need food like us.'

Host: **Hoy, khana pina lage to niutrients to lage, na.**
 Yes, food ECHO need FOC nutrients FOC need, PCL

Itu karone bhi ami-khan kheti pora mane mati to
 This for also 1-PL land SRCE that is soil FOC

thik pora hi joton kor-i kena itu mane
 right SRCE EMPH care do-PERF-CONJ PCL this, that is

hali-bo lage, ko-iase.
 put-IRR need say-PRES PROG

‘Yes, they need food...they need nutrients, don’t they? They say precisely because of this we have to take proper care of the land and add manure to it.’

Guest: **Accha, accha.** ‘Yes, yes.’

Host: **Aro ami-khan ekta kheti-te sak sobji budlabudli**
And 1-PL one land-LOC vegetables change

kor-i kena lagai-le mane na itu pora
do-PERF CONJ PCL plant-COND, that is PCL this SRCE

bhi mati to bishi bhal ho-y ko-y de.
also soil FOC much good be-PRES say-PRES PCL.

Kotha kotha apuni itu bar sorso laga-ise, na,
Suppose, 2SG this year mustard grow-PAST, PCL,

hoylebi dusra seeson -te apuni judi tate ekta sak sobji
but another season-LOC 2SG COND there one vegetable

laga-i- di- se na inika budla budli kor-i- kena
plant-PERF-give-PAST PCL, thus alternatie do-PERF-CONJ PCL
kheti kor-a to bhal ase, ko-ise mati karone, na.
cultivation do-COMP PCL good be, say-PAST soil for, PCL
‘Also, alternating crops is said to be very beneficial for the land. Let’s say you have grown mustard seed this year, but next season you grow a vegetables. They say it is good for the soil if you alternate crops like this.’

Guest: **Accha, accha.** ‘I see, I see.’

Host: **Kilemane, kunuba to mol bishi kha-y kunuba to**
Because some FOC manure much eat-PRES some FOC

komti kha-y.
less eat-PRES.
‘Because certain trees consume more manure and others less.’

Guest: **Ho, hoy.** ‘Yes, yes.’

Host: **Apuni to ek-bar ko-yle buj- i- ja-y, ho.**
2SG FOC one-time tell-COND understand-PERF go-PRES, PCL

kunuba gas to bishi mol kha-y kunuba to
 certain plant FOC much manure eat-PRES certain FOC

komti to thak-e to, na. Kunuba karone to eki
 less FOC remain-PRES FOC, PCL. Certain for FOC same

sal-te dui bar mol hali-bo lage. Inika hoy-le
 year-LOC two time manure add-IRR need. Thus be-COND

mati to bhari ho-i- ja-y, na.
 soil FOC heavy become-PERF go-PRES, PCL.
 'You understand if I tell you just once ! Certain trees consume a lot of manure but others tend to consume little. Some need manure twice during the season. When this happens, the soil becomes very heavy, right ?'

Guest: **Hũ** 'I see.'

Host: **To itu karone halka kor-i kena jati-khan**
 FOC this for light do-PERF CONJ PCL kind-PL

budlabudli kur-i na ... itu-ke "krop rotashon" bole
 alternate do-PERF PCL this-OBJ "crop rotation" COMP

ko-y, na.
 call-PRES, PCL
 'So, because of this, if the heavy type of crop should be alternated with the light type...this is called "crop rotation".'

Guest: **Accha, accha.** 'I see, I see.'

Host: **Itu nishina bi ami-khan laga-ile mati karone khub**
 This like also 1-PL grow-COND soil for very

lab ase., ko-iase, de. Aru kunuba gas-khan ase
 benefit be, say-PRES PROG, PCL. And certain plant-PL be

itu laga jori to mati bhitor-te bishi niche-te
 this GEN root FOC soil inside-LOC much under-LOC

na-ja-y to; tai to mati upor-te thak-e.
 NEG-go-PRES PCL it FOC soil above-LOC remain-PRES

jinika alu laga juri, tai to mati upor nishina-te
 as potato GEN root, it FOC soil above like-LOC

thak-e na? Kintu kunuba gas ase itu-khan laga
 remain-PRES PCL? But certain plant exist this-PL GEN

juri to bishi mati bhitor-te hama-i thak-e, na.
 root FOC much earth inside-LOC enter-PERF remain-PRES, PCL.

‘Planting this way is beneficial for the soil, they say. And there are certain plants whose roots do not go too deep in the earth —they kind of stay above the soil, right? But the root of certain plants go deep into the soil, right?’

Guest: **Hoy, hoy, hoy.** ‘Yes, yes, yes.’

Host: **To inika alak alak jori mati niche ar upo-te**
 Foc thus different different root plant under and above-LOC

ja alak alak kor-i kena budlabudli kor-i
 go different different do-PERF CONJ PCL alternate do-PERF

kena lagai-le mati bhitor ar upor to norom
 CONJ PCL plant-COND soil inside and above FOC soft

thak-i- ja-y, ko-iase, je.
 remain-PERF-go-PRES say-PRES PROG, PCL.

‘They say that if these two kinds of crops – the ones whose roots go deep into the soil and the ones whose roots stay above – are alternated, both the top soil and that underneath remains soft, you know.’

Guest: **Hũ.** ‘I see.’

Host: **Inika norom thak-a hisb-te tai-khan**
 Thus soft remain-PERF calculation-LOC it-PL

ji hoylebi gas-khan to juri pora bi pani to
 somehow or other plant-PL FOC root SRCE also water FOC

kha-y to, na. Hoy na no hoy?
 eat-PRES FOC, PCL. Yes NEG NEG yes

‘In that soft soil, the plants obtain water by the root. Do they, or do they not?’

Guest: **Hoy, hoy.** ‘Yes, yes.’

Host: **Aru ami-khan hun-i- thak-e ama-r Nagaland-te**
 Also 1-PL hear-PERF remain-PRES 1-GEN Nagaland-LOC

to hoyle mati-te bishi esid thak-e, na. To, inika
 FOC PCL soil -LOC much acid exist-PRES, PCL FOC thus

bishi esid thaki-le to itu esid-ke koma-bo karone
 much acid exist-COND FOC this acid-OBJ reduce-IRR for

ami-khan chun-jola to bi ektom dorgar, ko-ise.
 1-PL lime-water FOC also very necessary, say-PAST

Asid thaki-a mati-te to mol hal-i- di-le
 Acid remain-PERF soil-LOC FOC manure put-PERF-give-COND

mane esid hi to mol kat-i- di- bo, na.
 that is, acid EMP FOC manure cut-PERF give-IRR, PCL

'And we also hear that there is too much acid in the soil of Nagaland . So, in order to reduce the level of acid, we have to put lime water into the soil. If we put manure on the soil containing acid, the manure will be canceled out by the acid.'

Guest: **Mane chuna to kheti-te phela-bo.**
 That is, lime FOC land-LOC add-IRR
 'That is we have to put lime into the soil.'

Host: **Hoy, mati-te mila-i -di-bo lage.**
 Yes, soil-LOC mix-PERF-give-IRR necessary
 'You need to mix it with the soil.'

Aru inika mati-te mil-a pora ki hoy koyle
 And thus soil-LOC mix-PERF SRCE what happen PCL

tate easid thak-a to komti ho-i- ja-y, na ?
 there acid remain-PERF FOC less be-PERF-go-PRES, PCL

Aru inika ho-i- kena ketiya asid to
 And thus become-PERF CONJ PCL when acid FOC

komti ho- i- ja-y tetiya ami- khan mol
 lack become-PERF-go-PRES then 1-PL

hal-i- di-a to mati karone lab ase.
 put-PERF-give-PERF FOC soil for beneficial be
 'And what happens when you mix it with the soil is that the level of lime in the soil decreases. And it is beneficial for the soil if we add manure to the soil when the lime in the soil thus decreases, O.K. ?'

Guest: Oh..oh 'I see, I see.'

Host: Aru mati to bhari ase na pathor bishi ase na
 Also soil FOC heavy be PCL stone much exist PCL

nohoyle mati to tan na norom na itu to sob
 otherwise soil FOC hard PCL soft PCL this FOC all

mol hal-a agote nohoyle kheti kor-a agote
 manure put-PERF before otherwise cultivation do-PERF before

jani-bo lage kilemane ketiyaba to ami-khan to dangor
 know-IRR need because sometimes FOC 1-PL FOC big

kheti to kor-i kena sak sobji laga nohoyle
 cultivation FOC do-PERF-CONJ PCL vegetables GEN otherwise

ami-khan kori-bo ama-r lora sulai nohoyle nati-khan
 1-PL do-IRR 1-GEN son daughter otherwise grandson-PL

karone to rakh-i- de-y. To tai-khan bi itu
 for FOC keep-PERF-give-PRES. FOC 3-PL also this

thik mote taikhan itu chola-bo karone ek so sal
 proper ADV 3-PL this use-IRR for one hundred year

nohoyle bishi sal inika ami-khan chola-bo pare bhobisote
 or many year thus 1-PL use-IRR can future-LOC

kheti kor-a agete mati to ami-khan porikha kori-bo cultivation
 do-PERF before soil FOC 1-PL test do-IRR

lage de. Aru ami-khan kheti-kor-ia taim-te lain lain
 need PCL. And 1-PL cultivation-do-PPL time-LOC row row

bona-i- thak-e to na. To inika lain bona-i
 make-PERF remain-PRES FOC, PCL? FOC thus row make-PERF

to ami-khan bhalkore to kheti lagai-le tar
FOC 1-PL well FOC land plant-COND that-GEN

mane dhan gas-khan laga-i- di- le, mane
that is rice plant-PL saw-PERF-give-COND, that is

itu-hi ama-khan karone hubida ase je, na ? Inika
this -EMP 1-PL for advantage be PCL, PCL? Thus

ketiya lain to thik pora bona-i- de-y tetiya
when row FOC proper SRCE Make-PERF-give-PRES then

mati bi ni-giri-bo, ko-yase
soil also NEG-erode-IRR, say-PRES PROG.

'Also, one needs to know if the soil is heavy, whether or not there are stones in the soil, if it is hard or soft before cultivating the land; because sometimes having cultivated vegetables on a big farm, we leave it for our children or grandchildren so that they also can use it properly for a hundred or more years. In the future, we should test the soil before cultivating it. Also, don't we plant things in rows ? If we plant things in rows, that is if we plating rice in rows, it is beneficial for us, isn't it? They say that when we form rows the soil doesn't erode either.'

Guest: Hū 'I see.'

Host: Mati gir-a taim-te to hawa pora nohoyle
Soil erode-PPL time-LOC FOC wind SRCE otherwise or

pani pora ama-khan laga mol sob to lu-i- ja-y
water SRCE 1-PL GEN manure all FOC take-PERF go-PRES,

to na ? To itu karone kheti kor-a
FOC PCL FOC this cultivation cultivation do-PPL

taim-te lain-te thik pora hali-di-bo lage.
time-LOC row-LOC right SRCE put-PERF-give-IRR need.

'When soil erodes our manure is also carried away either by the wind or the water . Therefore , the manure should be put on the rows properly.'

Aru, itu karone ama-khan lain bona-i taim-te
And this due to 1-PL row make-PPL time-LOC

lain to teramera bona-bo lage de lain to
 row FOC. curved make-IRR need PCL row FOC.
 'Therefore while making rows we have to make them curved.'

Guest: Hū 'I see.'

Host: To ami to aji to itu hi ko-bo, mane kheti
 FOC 1-SG FOC today FOC this EMP say-IRR. that is farm

mati kinika joton kori-bo. Itu laga kotha to iman
 soil how care do-IRR. This GEN talk FOC this much

to ko-bo. Dusra kotha bi ase. Hoylabi itu no-
 FOC say-IRR. Another talk also exist. However, this NEG -

kow-a taim-te apuni-ke ekta moy gan
 say-PPL time-LOC 2SG-OBJ one 1-SG song

huna-i di-bo.
 hear-PERF give-IRR PCL.

'So today this is what I have to say. There are other things as well. However, when you are not doing that, let me play you a song.'

Host: Itu gana to kinika lagi-se ?
 This song FOC how feel-PAST 'How did you like this song ?'

Guest: Gana to ektom bhal ase de. 'The song is very good.'
 Song FOC very good be PCL

Host: Accha, accha. To aru ekta dusra kotha bi ko-bo de.
 O.K. o.k. FOC more one another talk also say-IRR PCL
 "O.K., o.k. Well, I have another thing to talk about.'

Guest. Accha. 'O.K.'

Host: Itu hoyse ama-r desh-te..... "desh" koyle to
 This is 1-SG-GEN country-LOC... country to say FOC

pura India ase je, khali ama-r Nagaland hi
 whole India be PCL, only 1-SG-GEN Nagaland EMP

no hoy na.

NEG be PCL ?

'That is in my country....."country" means the entire of India- and not just our Nagaland, right ?'

Guest: Hoy 'Yes.'

Host: Pura India-te bishi jaga, mane eku gas bi
Whole India-LOC much place, that is any tree also

ula-bo no pare thak-ia jaga bi ase, jeneka
grow-IRR NEG can remain-PPL place also exist, as

dezart bole koy. Tate to khali balu hi
desert COMP say-PRES. There FOC only sand EMP

thak-e, de.
remain-PRES, PCL.

'All over India, there are a lot of places where no trees grow, which is called the "desert". In those places it is all sand.'

Guest: Accha , accha, tate gas ektom no ula-y ?
O.K. O.K there tree very NEG grow ?
'So, trees do not grow there at all ?'.

Host: Bosti manu-khan laga program to imante ses.....
Village man-PL GEN program FOC this much-LOC end.....
'The rural people's program ends here...'

Appendix-C

Title of the movie: **ISWAR LOGOTE AHI-BI** ‘Come unto God
God with come-IMP

This is a two-and-a-half hour long movie set in Nagaland. A Naga youth who gets involved with a group that abuses alcohol and engages in burglary and robbery to support their habit, refuses to go to church despite his mother’s repeated requests. When he challenges one of his group members, who tried to rape his girlfriend, he was beaten up severely by that man and left in chains, unconscious with a broken leg. He is miraculously discovered and rescued by his little sister. During the healing period he goes through a process of metamorphosis. He renounces his past way of life and embraces God.

Major characters:

Khamrang (an alcoholic Naga youth)

Kamrang’s mother

Kamrang’s younger sister (a teenager)

A ferocious male member of Khamrang’s group

A female member of Khamrang’s group, whom he loves

A minister

A nun

The opening scene:

A female soloist is singing a devotional song—the theme song of the movie—to guitar music inside the church where a service is about to be given. Outside, a Naga youth is sitting on the steps with his head down. His mother emerges from the church and urges him to go inside the church:

Mother: Tumi sars-te no-ja-bo kowi-le kile ah-ise,
 2SG church-LOC not-go-IRR say-COND why come-PAST

gor-te hi thak-ile bhal ase.
 home-LOC EMP remain-COND good- be
 'If you don't want to go to church, why have you come? You should have stayed home.'

Khamrang(son) :

Moi tumi dui-jon- ke puncha pole³ ah-ise to
 1-SG 2SG two-person-OBJ reach COMP come-PAST FOC

moi to. Ami to sars-te ja-bole mon nai,
 1-SG FOC. 1-SG FOC church-LOC go-COMP mind NEG-PRES

aru leksar bi huni-bole mon nai
 CONJ sermon also listen-COMP mind NEG-PRES.
 'I have come to accompany you here; I don't feel like going to the church, neither do I feel like listening to the sermon.'

Isor bi tai laga rasta alak ase moi bi nijor
 God also 3SG GEN way separate be 1-SG also self

laga bizness alak ase
 GEN business separate be.
 'Hey, God has his own separate way, and I have mine.'

Mother: Hei, Iswar-ke inika kotha no- ko-bi, pab lak¹i-bo
 Hey, God-OBJ such words NEG-say-IMP sin get-IRR
 'Hey, don't talk about God like this; it would be a sin.'

Khamrang: Ama ki kotha ko-y ho. Hoday sars-te ah-i
 Mother what talk say-PRES PCL. Always church-LOC come-PERF

kena parthona kor-i- thak-e. Sars pora
 CONJ PCL prayer do- PCL-remain-PRES. Church SRCE

³ In the standard the word is pronounced as *bole*

¹ In the standard the pronunciation of the word is /lagibo/.

ki pa-yse ? Ami-khan duk gunti hu-i
 what get-PAST? 1-PL suffering count appen-PERF

thak-e, ami to no-ja-bo
 remain-PRES; 1-SG FOC NEG-go-IRR
 'What does mother say ? 'She always goes to church to pray. What has she got from the church ? Our sufferings continues to rise.
 I'm not going to go.'

Mother: **Apuni laga mon-te to saitan ghosh-i ja-yse**
 2SG GEN mind-LOC FOC devil brush-PERF go-PAST

na-ki ho ?
 NEG-Q PCL ?
 'Has the devil got hold of your mind ?'

Isor kun ase apuni no- jan-e
 God who is 2SG NEG- know-PRES.
 'You don't realize who God is.'

Isor-ke apuni bisas na-i kowi-le- bi Isor to
 God-OBJ 2SG believe NEG-PRES say -COND- also God FOC

phet kor-i- kena no- thaki- bo.
 angry do-PERF CONJ PCL NEG-remain-IRR.
 'Although you don't believe in God, He will not hold it against you.'

Dunia-te Iswar he sob pora tangor¹ ase.
 World-LOC God NOM all SRCE big is
 'In the world, God is the greatest of all.'

Nijor ki kor-iase, nijor nijor pab pa-bole ase.
 Self what do-PROG self self sin get-COMP be.
 'Everybody is responsible for his/her sin.'

Itu Iswar pora hi di-bo. 'This will be given by God himself.'
 This God SRCE EMP give-IRR.

Ahi-bi bitor-te ja-bo, ahi-bi, ahi-bi na ?
 Come-IMP inside-LOC go- IRR come-IMP, come-IMP PCL ?
 'Let's go in. Come ! Won't you come with us?'

¹ The standard pronunciation is /daŋgor/.

Sister: **Dada ahi-bi, eki-logo-te ja-bo.** 'Brother, let's go in together.'
 Elder brother come-IMP together-LOC go-IRR.

Son (her brother):

Apuni-khan ja-bi, ami yate rukh-i- thaki-bo
 2-PL go-IMP 1-SG here wait-PERF- remain-IRR.
 'You go in; I would rather wait here.'

A fellow church-goer:

Ki nimite jakara kor-iase ho ? Itu jakara
 What for quarrel do-PRES-PROG, PCL ? This quarrel

kori-bole jaka¹ no hoy; Isor laga ghor bhahar ase
 do-COMP place NEG-be; God of house step be

Judi tai ja-bole mon nai kow-ile
 COND 3SG go-COMP mind NEG-PRES say-COND

char-i- di-bi, ami-khan to ja-i- kena
 leave-PRF give-IMP, 1-PL FOC go-PERF CONJ PCL

sarvis kor-i- lo-bo, Tai-bi ek din nohoyle ek din
 service do-PERF- take-IRR. 3SG-also some day or other

isor logote ahi-bo, ji hoylebi ahi-bo, ahi-bo.
 God unto come-IRR somehow or other come-IRR come-IRR.

'Why are you quarreling here ? This is not a place to quarrel. This is the outside of God's house..If he doesn't feel like going there, leave him alone. Let us go and attend the service; some day he will also come unto God; somehow he will...he will.'

Mother: **Ahi- bi - na bitor-te, baibel-te ki- kow-iase**
 Come -IMP PCL inside-LOC Bible-LOC what say-PRES-PROG

ah-i- kena huni-bi, itu pichete apuni
 come-PERF CONJ PCL listen-IMP this after-LOC 2SG

laga mon aram ho-i ja-bo.
 GEN mind peace be-PERF go-IRR

'Won't you come inside, and listen to what the Bible says ? Come inside and listen to it. After you've listened to it, your mind will be peaceful.'

¹The standard pronunciation is /jaga/.

Son (very angrily) :

Ama bishi kotha no- ko-bi. Huni-bole mon nai.
Mother, much talk NEG-say-IMP. Listen-COMP mind NEG exist

Apuni-khan ja-i- kena ahi-bi.
'You-PL go-PERF CONJ PCL come -IMP.
'Mother, don't talk too much. I' don't want to listen to you. You two go in, attend it and come back.'

Mother : **Hobo eku no-hoy, ja-bo kowi-le- bi, pohi¹-bo**
Be-IRR any NEG-be, go-IRR say--COND also sit-IRR

ko-ile-bi, apuni khushi ase. Kintu apuni
say-COND-also 2SG happy be. However, 2SG

ek din no hoile ek din apuni itu jaka² aru ahi-bo.
some day or other 2SG this place and come -IRR.

Itu din-te apuni suku pora pani ³kiri-bo.
This day-LOC 2SG eye SRCE water fall -IRR.

'Well, we'll do some thing or other. If we go inside and stay there, you will be happy. However, some day or other you will come to this place. On that day you will cry.'

(The young man leaves the church steps. While he is sleeping in the shade of a tree by the side of the street, his mother comes out of the church and walks to him and says:)

Mother:

Chokra kile inika rasta-te huma-i thaki-bo !
Boy why like this street-LOC sleep- PERF remain -IRR !
'Why should a boy be sleeping in the street like this !'

Pakala nisina rasta-te inika huma-i
Crazy similar street-LOC thus sleep -PERF

no-thaki- bi na; ketiyaba to ghor-te
NEG-remain- -IMP NEG, sometimes FOC home-LOC

ahi-bi; kam bi bishi ase, buini dui-jon-ke bi
come -IMP; work also a lot be sister two-person- OBJ also

¹ The standard pronunciation is /bohobo/.

² The standard pronunciation is /jaga/.

³The standard pronunciation is [giri-bo].

ahi-bi; kam bi bishi ase, buini dui-jon-ke bi
 come -IMP; work also a lot be sister two-person- OBJ also

modop kori-bi na. Ahi-bi.!

help do -IMP NEG Come -IMP.!

'Don't sleep in the street like crazy people; come home at times. There's a lot of work at home. Won't you help your two sisters ?.'

Khamrang: **Ama ki kotha ko-y, ho, ghor-te ja-i**
 Mother, what talk say-PRES, PCL home-LOC go-PERF

kena ki kori-bo. Yate thnata ase, yate ghumaiase,
 CONJ PCL what do--IRR Here cold exist, here sleep-PRES-PROG

olop aram kor-iase, ghor-te ja-i kena
 a little relax do-PRES-PROG home-LOC go-PERF CONJ PCL

eku kam nai

any work exist-NEG.

'Mother, what are you talking about ? What's the point of going home? It's cool out here, and I'm sleeping here comfortably. There's nothing to do at home.'

Mother: **Chokra, apuni to ki bachcha ase, ho?**
 Boy, 2SG FOC Q-W baby COP, PCL

Ghor-te ahi-bi, na Choto pora tangor
 Home-LOC come - IMP PCL. small from big

kor-i- d-ise, itu time-te ek din-bi ama-ke
 do-PERF-give-PAST, this time-LOC one day-also mother-OBJ

khusi kor-i- dise na-ki ? Ah-i-bi gor-te,
 happy do-PERF-give-PAST, Q-W ? Come-LNK-IMP home-LOC,

hu-i ah-i-bi, ahi-bi gor-te.
 sleep-PERF come-LNK-IMP, come -IMP home-LOC.

Ami ja-iase to, ahi-bi ghor-te.
 1-SG go-PRES-PROG FOC, come -IMP home-LOC.

'My son, are you a baby ? 'Won't you come home ? I've raised you from your childhood. During this period you haven't made your mother happy even for a day. Come home and get some sleep. Come home. I'm going. Come home.'

Nun: Are ! dui-jon ki kor-iase ?
 What's that ! two-person what do-PRES-PROG ?
 'What's that ! What are those two doing ?'

Mother: Khamrang, ek bar ahi-bi, na ?
 Khamrang, one time come -IMP, PCL
 'Khamrang, won't you come once?'

Son (Khamrang):
 Ki hoi-se ?
 What be -PAST 'What happened ?'

Mother: Ahi-bi na, sars-te ja-bo.
 Come -IMP PCL, church-LOC go-IRR.
 'Won't you come ? Let's go to church.'

Khamrang:
 Kam nai, ketiya-bi no- ja-bo, Ami tate charch-te
 Work exist-NEG, never-also NEG-go-IRR. 1-SG there church-LOC

ki kori-bole ja-bo, ho ? Tate ki kori-bo, tate ?
 what do--COMP go-IRR, PCL ? There what do -IRR there?

Ki pa-bo tate ja-i- kena ? Tate ki kori-bo,
 what get-IRR there go-PERF CONJ PCL? There what do -IRR

ki-ba pa-bo tate ?
 What-thing get-IRR there ?

'There's no point going there. I 'll never go there. Tell me why I should go to church- to do what ? What shall I get by going there ? What shall I do there? What shall I get there ?'

(Climbing down from a tree, a young woman and a young man belonging to his group say:)

Kili deri ho-yse, ami-khan poila pora rukh-iase.
 Why delay be-PAST 1-PL past from stop-PRES-PROG
 'Why are you being so late ? It has been a while that we have been waiting for you.'

Group member: Yate ki ho-yse ?
 Here what happen-PAST ? 'What happened?'

Sister: To ahi-bi- na ja-bo.
 FOC come -IMP- PCL, go-IRR 'Won't you come, please. Let's go.'

Khamrang: **Kili iman deri ah-ise ?**
 Why like this late come-PAST ?
 'Why have you come so late ?'

Sister: **Ahi - bi na kile inika program pun-e, ho,**
 Come-IRR, PCL why thus program ...hear -PRES, PCL,

azi to Sunday ase to.
 today FOC Sunday be FOC.
 'Won't you come. Why are you.....like this ? Today is Sunday, you know.'

Group member: **Khamrang, itu kon ase, itu maiki apuni jina-y ?**
 Khamrang, this who be, this woman 2SG ask questions-PRES ?
 'Khamrang, who is this woman ..that she ?'

(Khamrang slaps his sister on the face as he says the following. She falls down on the ground while Khamrang walks away with his girlfriend and a male friend, holding each other's arms.)

Ami apuni-ke poila pora shikha-na-i,
 1-SG 2SG-OBJ beginning from tech -NEG-PRES

Kili manu osor-te sorom khila-yse, ha ha ?
 Why man near-LOC shame feed-PAST Why, Why ?
 'Didn't I teach you from the beginning ? Why do you insult me in front of others ?'

Sister: **Hey, misha misha manu ase ho, eni rasta-te**
 Hey, false false man be PCL for no reason street-LOC

diktar de-y, ektom hoday diktar de-y.
 bother give-PRES very always troubles give-PRES.

Ahi -bi pakala manu ase.
 Come-IMP crazy man be.
 'He is not a good man; he always bothers me on the street...always bothers me.
 Please come away. He is a crazy man...he always bothers me.'

A man: **Ngao laga ma, oh !**
 Naga of mother VOC.....
 'Hello, Nagao's mother !'

His wife: **Oh, ki ho-yse ho ?**
 INTJ, what be-PAST, PCL
 'Hi there ! What happened ?'

Husband: **Bhat ho-ise na hu-a nai**
 Rice be-PAST NEG be-PERF NEG-PAST
 'Is the food ready or not ?

Wife: **Rice to bona nai, thaki-bi boha-iase.**
 Rice FOC make NEG-PRES,...remain-IMP set-PRES-PROG,

olop rukhi-bi- na ?
 a little wait -IMP- PCL?

'I haven't cooked the rice yet. Wait, I'm putting the pan on. Please wait a little bit.'

Husband:

Tumi hoday deri hu-i thak-e, ami-khan laga duk
 2SG always late be-PERF remain-PRES 1-PL GEN pains

no-jan-e; ami buk laga-i- kena ahi-se,
 NEG-know-PRES; 1-SG hunger get- PERF CONJ PCL come -PAST.
mota-ke olop-bi respect kori- bole no-jan-e.
 husband-OBJ a little-also respect do- COMP NEG-know-PRES

Tumi moy laga maiki, moi laga duk no-jan-e
 2SG 1-SG of wife , 1-SG of sorrow NEG-know-PRES
 'You are always late in cooking. I never let you know of our discontent. I have come home because I'm hungry. You don't know how to respect your husband at all. You're my wife, yet you don't understand my sorrows.'

Wife: **Hey, ki ho-yse ho, sars-te boh-i- kena**
 Hey, what happen-PAST PCL, church-LOC sit-PERF- CONJ PCL

ah-i- kena hoday moi-ke
 come-PERF- CONJ PCL always 1-SG-PERF

kali- d-i- thaki-bo sorom nai. Tumi hoday
 scold-give-PERF remain-IRR, shame NEG-PRES. 2SG always

moi-ke kali¹-d-i- thaki-bo, sars pora ah-i-
 1-SG-OBJ scold-give-PERF remain-IRR church SRCE come-PERF

kena kali d-i- thaki- bo. Poisa
 CONJ PCL scold give-PERF remain -IRR. Money

¹The standard pronunciation is [gali]'scold'

pukh¹-i- bole ah-e- naki, sala.
 carry-PERF CONJ PCL come- PRES Q-W, EXPL

'Hey, what's the matter ? Every time you come back from the church you swear at me. Do you squander money when you go out, you rascal ?'

Husband: **Lage ! , Aji tumi-ke nu- jujhi- bo ami.**
 Want it ! Today 2SG.-OBJ NEG-fight IRR 1-SG.

Aji tumi-ke khotom kor-i- di-bo ami
 Today 2SG-OBJ kill do-PERF-give-IRR 1-SG.

'Do you want it ? Today, I'm not going to spare you; I'm going to kill you today.'

.....

Khamrang: **Buini, pani olop an-i-di-bi.**
 Sister, water a little bring-PERF-give-IMP
 'Sister, please bring some water.'

Sister: **Lo, pani.**
 Take water 'Here's your water.'

Kokai, kot ja-i- kena iman deri
 Elder brother, where go-PERF- CONJ PCL this much late

pora ah-ise ?
 SRCE come-PAST
 'Where have you been for so long?'

Khamrang: **Chup, chup, bohi -bi**
 hush hush sit -IMP. 'Shut up ! Sit down.'

Ama, moi-ke poisa olop di-bi to, char so
 Mother 1-SG-OBJ money some give-IMP FOC four hundred

pas so nishina kali moi laga sathi laga parti ase
 five hundred like tomorrow 1-SG GEN friend GEN party be.
 'Mother, give me some money. Give me about four or five hundred. My friend has a party tomorrow.'

Mother: **Chokra apuni to pakala ho-yse naki ? Ami-khan iman**
 Boy 2SG FOC crazy be-PAST Q-W 1s-PL like this

¹ The standard pronunciation is [bukhi] 'carry'.

duk pora bukh-iase -- phojur khay sam
sorrow SRCE suffer-PRES-PROG morning eat evening

nu-kha-y iman dukh pora bukh-ia time-te apuni NEG-eat-
PRES such sorrow SRCE suffer-PERF time-LOC 2SG

to hoday bodmas kor-i- kena no- bira-bi- na,
FOC always rogue do-PERF- CONJ PCL NEG-loiter-IMP NEG,

modu kha-i- kena no- bira-bi.
liquor eat-PERF CONJ PCL NEG stroll -IMP

'My boy, have you gone mad ! When we are undergoing such suffering; when we have food to eat in the morning, we don't for the evening; don't go around being a rogue; don't go drinking, don't drink all the time like this.'

Khamrang: Ama ki kotha koy, ho ! Sathi-khan osor to sorom
Mother what talk say PCL. Friend-PL near FOC shame

no-khila-bi-na inika. Ami je hoylebi ja-bo
NEG-feed-IMP-REQ like this. 1-SG some how or other go-IRR.

'Mother, what are you talking about !' Don't insult me like this in front of my friends; I'll definitely go to the party somehow or other.'

Mother: Duniya khotom ho-bole ase, apuni to khali bodmas world
end be -COMP be, 2SG FOC only rogue

kor-i- kena khali pakala ho-i-kena
do-PERF CONJ-PCL only crazy be-PERF-CONJ. PCL

stroll- i- no-thak-ibi.
loiter-PERF -NEG-remain-IMP.

'The world is about to fall apart, but you're being a rogue. Don't loiter about like a crazy person.'

Khamrang: ki kotha koy ho ama mui-ke dibi-na.....
What talk say INTJ mother.....1-SG-OBJ give-REQ.

etiya lage etiya di-bi.
now need now give-IMP

'What are you talking about, mother ? Are you going to give me money. I need it now; please give it to me now.'

Mother: **Etiya kot ja-iase ?**
 Now where go-PRES-PROG
 'Where are you going now ? '

Khamrang: **Mui sathi-khan logote lok pa-bo ja-yase,**
 1-SG friend-PL with reach get-IRR go-PRES-PROG

mui aji ghor-te n- ahi-bo.
 1-SG today house-LOC NEG- come-IRR.
 'I'm going to meet with my friends. I'm not going to go home.'

(Khamrang's sister talks to his girlfriend in an effort to separate her brother from her so that he will quit drinking and change his way of life.)

Sister: **Didi², apuni kile mui laga dada-ke**
 Older sister, 2SG. why 1-SG GEN elder brother-OBJ

hoday hudhi-thak-e ho ?
 always look for -remain-PRES INTJ
 'Why are you always after him?'

Girlfriend: **No-hoy, eni.**
 NEG-be, for no reason. ' Just for the heck of it.'

Sister: **Ami laga dada to ma ami dui jon-ke**
 1-SG. GEN elder brother FOC mother 1-SG two person-OBJ

to biliv na-i.
 FOC trust NEG-PRES.
 'My elder brother believes neither my mother nor me. '

Girlfriend: **Ki hoyse ho ?** 'What's the matter now?'
 What be-PAST INTJ

Sister: **Didi, ami laga dada to modu kha-i**
 Older sister, 1-SG GEN elder brother FOC liquor eat-PERF

thak-e bodmas kor-i thak-e.... ghor-te bi
 remain-PRES rogue do-PERF remain-PRES , home-LOC also

² **Didi** is used to address the elder sister; the word is also used to address any familiar older person.

diktar eman di-thake apuni ami dada¹-ke
bother so much give-remain 2SG 1-SG. elder brother-OBJ

mil-i- thak-ile to apuni laga life to
together-PERF-remain-COND FOC 2SG. GEN life FOC

bi piya² ho-i- ja-bo de!
also bad be-PERF go-IRR PCL
'Look, my elder brother drinks and leads a rogue's life, at home he bothers us too much. If you live with him your life will also become miserable.'

Girlfriend: **Hey, ami jan-e apuni kokai bi chur ase**
Hey, 1-SG know-PRES, 2SG elder brother also thief be

bodmas ase modu rum kha-y sob manu kow-i- thak-e;
rogue be liquor rum eat-PRES all people say-PERF -remain-PRES;

hoylebi mon to bisi bhal ase itu pora keneka
however, mind FOC much good be this SRCE how

phal³ rasta-te ani-bo itu hujis kor-iase.
good way -LOC bring -IRR this effort do-PRES-PROG.
'Hey, I know your brother is a thief, that he is a rogue, and that he drinks rum. Everybody says that; however, he has a great heart.. So I'm trying to bring him back to the right path.'

Mother: **Ami duniya-te thaki-bole life nai,**
1-SG world-LOC remain--COMP life NEG-PRES

ami ektom santi na-i, dukan paki⁴, land tax
1-SG at all peace NEG-PRES grocery store owe property tax

¹ Although *laga* is used to indicate possession today, many speakers still indicate possession by parataxis, even the same speaker often use both.

² The standard pronunciation of the word is /bɛə/ 'bad'.

³ The standard pronunciation of this word is [b^hal].

⁴ The standard pronunciation of this word is [baki].

paki, ami jinta thaki-a to ektom motlop na-i,
owe....1-SG. alive remain-COMP FOC at all desire NEG-PRES

ami nijor suisaid kor-i- kena mor-i- ja-yile
1-SG. self suicide do-PERF -CONJ PCL die-PERF go-COND

phal ase. Aji ami mur-i- ja-bo
good be. Today 1-SG. die - PERF go-IRR.

'I have no life; I owe the grocer, I owe property tax, I have no desire to live any more. I'll commit suicide tonight.'

Khamrang: **Bhuini, ah-ibi to** 'Sister, come here !'
Sister, come-IMP.

Sister: **Ki ho-yse, dada** 'What's the matter, elder brother ?'
What happen-PAST, elder brother ?

Khamrang: **Ah-bi kow-ise, na ?**
Come-IMP say-PAST, PCL
'Didn't I ask you to come over here?'

Sister: **Ama bisi serias ase to**
Mother much serious be FOC
'Mother's seriously ill.'

Khamrang: **Ah-ibi kow-ise to. Poisa ase na nai**
Come-IMP say-PAST FOC. Money exist NEG NEG-PRES
'I said: Come here !' Is there any money or not?

Sister: **Poisa na-i dada, poisa na-i.**
Money NEG-PRES, elder brother, money NEG-PRES
'There is no more money;, brother, there's no money..'

Khamrang: **Misha¹ no-ko-bi to.** 'Don't lie !'
Faslsehood NEG-say-IMP FOC

Sister: **Poisa na-i dada, poisa na-i.**
Money NEG-PRES, elder brother, money NEG-PRES
'There is no more money; brother, there's no money.'

¹ In standard NG the word is pronounced /misa/.

Khamrang: ja-i- kena sa-bi to, ja-i- kena sa-bi
go-PERF -CONJ PCL see-IMP FOC; go-PERF CONJ PCL see-IMP.
'Go and check. Would you ? Go and check.'

(She doesn't move.)

Khamrang: Hey, ki kor-iase yate ? Ami kow-a- tu kile
Hey, what do-PRES PROG here ? I-SG. say-PERF-DEF why

hun-ia na-i ? Kile no-man-e ?
listen-PERF NEG-PRES? Why NEG obey-PRES

Poisa ulabi to, ami poisa ulabi kow-ise to na?
Money open FOC, I-SG money open say-PAST FOC PCL
'Hey, what are you doing here ? Why don't you listen to me?
Give me money. I asked you to give me money, didn't I?'

Sister: Kokai, poisa na-i. 'Brother, there's no more money.'
Elder brother, money NEG-PRES

Khamrang: Hey, ami etiya pisar-i- kena
Hey, I-SG now search-PERF CONJ PCL

pa-yse kow-ile na, tumi-ke hosa mar-i- di-bo de
say-PAST say-COND PCL 2SG-OBJ really kill-PERF -give PCL

mui, hun-se na ?
I-SG hear-PAST PCL ?

'Hey, I'm going to search for money. If I find some, I'll kill you; did you hear me ?'

Sister: Nai kokai, poisa na-i, kokai, poisa nai
NEG-exist elder brother, money NEG-PRES, brother, money NEG-PRES
'Brother, there's no money. Brother, there's no money.'

Mother: Khamrang, kile inika kor-iase ?
Khamrang, why like this do-PRES PROG ?
'Khamrang, why are you behaving like this ?'

Khamrang: Ama, bhuini logote. Ama, apuni chup-kor-i- kena
Mother, sister with . Mother 2SG silent-do-PERF - CONJ PCL

buh-ibi na, apuni to bimar ase.

sit-IMP PCL, 2SG FOC sick be-PRES.

‘Mother, whatever I’m doing, I’m doing it with my sister. You are sick; you keep quiet.’

.....

Mother: Hoday apuni kha-i- kena inika no- kori-bi,

Always 2SG eat-PERF- CONJ PCL like this NEG do- IMP

bhuini-ke inika diktar no-kor-ibi. Ami mor-ile

sister-OBJ like this bother NEG-do-IMP. 1-SG die-COND

apuni bhuini-ke sa-bole no-par-ibo.

2SG sister-OBJ see-COMP NEG-par-IRR.

‘Don’t drink and behave like this all the time. When I’m dead you won’t look after your sister.’

Khamrang: Apuni aram pora ghuma-bi, ama aram pora ghumabi

2SG comfort SRCE sleep-IMP, mother comfort SRCE sleep-IMP

‘Mother, you go to bed and sleep comfortably; you sleep comfortably.’

(Turning to his sister)

Bhuini, itu lo-bo to..... Tumi mar-kha-bo, tumi ja-bo na no-ja-bo ?

Sister, this bring FOC. 2SG beat-eat-IRR, 2SG go-IRR NEG NEG-go-IRR ?

‘Sister, go get it ! Are you going or not ?’

.....

Mother: Hey saitan, apuni to ki manu ase ho ? Kuta,

Hey, devil 2SG FOC Q-W human be INTJ? Dog

gahuri bi manu laga kotha hun-e to. Apuni to kotha

pig also human GEN talk hear-PRES. 2SG FOC talk

no-hun-e to. Pathor nisina ase ho.

NEG-hear-PRES FOC. Stone like be INTJ !

Manu loha-bi gorom kor-i- kena saman sob

Human iron-also hot do-PERF- CONJ PCL things all

kori-bole par-e; apuni to loha pora bi

do - COMP can-PRES 2SG FOC iron SRCE also

piya ho-ise. kotha man-ibi- na.
 bad be-PAST. Talk obey-IMP- PARCLE

‘You devil, are you a human being? Even dogs and pigs listen to humans, but you don’t. You’re like a stone. Humans can make all kinds of things when they heat it; you have become worse than iron. Please obey me.’

Khamrang: **Ama, apuni chup chup buh-ibi, chup chup ghuma-bi**
 mother, 2SG silent silent sit-IMP silent silent sleep-IMP
 ‘Mother, you keep quiet, sleep quietly.’

Uncle: **Kot ja-yse buini**
 Where go-PAST sister ? ‘Where is your younger sister ?’

Khamrang's elder sister:

Kokai laga modhu lo-bole ja-yse
 Brother GEN liquor take-COMP go-PAST
 ‘She has gone out to buy liquor for my brother.’

Uncle: **Modhu laga jaga to phal na-i itu nimate**
 Liquor GEN place FOC good NEG-PRES it for

Kokai-ke itu poisa d-ibi aru aji pora
 Brother-OBJ this money give-IMP and today SRCE

modhu no-kha-bi ankul pora kow-iase
 liquor NEG eat-IMP uncle SRCE say-PAST

inika kow-i- di-bi to.’
 like this say-PERF -give-IMP FOC
 ‘The liquor store area is not a good place for her to go. Give your brother this money , and tell him that I told him to quit drinking as of today.’

Sister: **Kokai, kokai, ankel pora tumi aji pora**
 Elder brother, elder brother uncle SRCE 2SG toda SRCE

modhu no-kha-bi kow-ise, aru itu poisa di-se.
 liquor NEG-eat-IMP say-PAST, and itu poisa d-ise.
 ‘Brother, uncle asked me to tell you to stop drinking as of today, and he has given you this money.’

Khamrang: **Hey, ami tumi-ke bhig mang-ibi inika kow-ise**
 Hey, 1-SG 2SG-OBJ alms beg-IMP like this say/tell-PAST

tumi thapor kha-bole ase ?
 2SG slap eat-COMP be
 'Hey I told you to beg for money.....do you want to be *slapped* ?

Nun: Hey, ki kowiase ? Itu bhuini-ke kile inika
 Hey, what say-PAST ? This sister-OBJ why like this

mar-i- de-y ho ?
 hit-PERF-give-PRES PCL ?
 'Hey, what are you saying ? Why do you beat your sister like this ?'

Khamrang: Tumi moi-ke shikha-bole ah-ise ? Tumi
 2SG 1-SG-OBJ teach-COMP come-PAST ? 2SG

moi laga bhuini na didi ase
 1-SG GEN younger sister NEG elder sister be ?

Kile inika kor-e ho !; bhuini-ke morom no-kor-e ?
 Why like this do-PRES INTJ; sister-OBJ love NEG-do-PRES
 'Why do you do this? Why don't you love your sister ?'

Khamrang: Hey, tumi yate moi-ke shika-bole ki kam ase ?
 Hey 2SG here 1-SG-OBJ teach- COMP what work exist?

Ja-bi, sala !
 go-IMP EXPL.
 'Hey, you don't need to teach me here. Get out of here, you bastard !'
 (A robbery scene)

Khamrang's friend:

Hey, tumi laga hat-te kiman poisa ase ?
 Hei, 2SG GEN hand-LOC how much money exist?

Sob ula-i- di-bi aru aram pora ja-i- ja-bi;
 All open-ERF give-IMP and comfort SRCE go-ERF go-IMP.

no-hoy-le kat-i- di-bo.
 NEG-be-COND cut-PERF give-IRR.
 'Hey, how much do you have on you ? Give me all of it and leave peacefully, or else I'll kill you !'

Minister: Hey, itu Iswar laga ase, itu sars karone ase.
 Hey this God GEN be, this church for be.
 'Hey, this money is for God, this is for the church.'

Khamrang's colleague:

Sars laga poisa na, tumi-khan sars nam-te
 Church GEN money NEG, 2pl church name-LOC

ki ki kow-i- kena kontrakt lo-yse.....
 What what say-PERF -CONJ PCL contract take-PAST

tumi-khan sob mil-i- kena poisa kha-yse.
 2PL all unite-PERF - CONJ PCL money eat-PAST

Chur laga poisa chur-hi kha-y. Itu pora poisa
 Thief GEN money thief-EMP eat. This SRCE money

ami-ke di-di-bi. No-ho-yle apuni-ke
 1-SG-OBJ give-give-IMP. Otherwise 2SG-OBJ

mora-i di-bo
 dead-PERF (make dead) give-IRR.

'This money is not for the church; you guys obtain business contracts using the name of the church and you are taking this money for yourselves. Therefore, give it to me. Or else you will be killed.'

Minister: Apunar¹ inika no-koh-ibi, ami-khan to
 2SG like this NEG-say-IMP, 1 -pl FOC

inika manu no-hoy.
 like this man NEG-be.
 'Don't talk like this; we aren't that kind of people.'

.....

(Khamrang suddenly discovers that one of his colleagues is about to rape his girlfriend and tries to intervene.)

1

- ar /- or is the genitive case marker in the superstrate. In several varieties of Nagamese the genitive-marked subject pronouns got lexicalized as the bare subject pronouns. Possession was then marked by parataxis. As was mentioned, more recently the morpheme *laga* assumed the function of genitive-case marking. Thus in certain varieties one can find double genitive marking.

Khamrang: 'Hey tumi kotha ko-bole eku kam nai
 Hey 2SG talk say-COMP any work NEG-PRES.
 'Hey, don't talk at all!'

Khamrang's colleague:

Hey, sala-ke dhur-ibi, no-char-ibi; theng
 Hey, bastard-OBJ catch-IMP, NEG-release-IMP; leg

bhang-i- di-bi;... ..itu kotha ki band-i -kena
 break-PERF give-IRR this talk what tie-PERF - CONJ PCL

yate rakh-i- di-bi.

here keep-PERF - give-IMP.

'Hey, get the bastard; don't let him run off. Break his legs, tie him up and dump him right here.'

(The colleague takes a rickshaw home. The rickshaw puller demands his fare and that man responds with:)

Colleague: Rikshawala-ke poisa di-bole no lake.
 Rickshaw-puller-OBJ money give-COMP NEG-need;

Etiya-hi moi laga Khamrang-ke ami
 now-EMPH 1-SG GEN Khamrang- OBJ 1-SG

khotom kor-i kena ah-ise. Kun-ba ase
 murder do-PERF CONJ PCL come-PAST. Who-else exist

aru cheleinge kori-bole moi logote! Sala kun-bi
 and challenge do-COMP 1-SG with ! EXPL nobody

na-i cheleinge kori-bole.
 NEG-PRES challenge do -COMP.

'One doesn't have to pay the rickshaw puller. I just killed my friend Khamrang. Who else is there to challenge me? There's no (expletive infix) one to challenge me!'

(After being luckily discovered and rescued by his sister from his colleague's backyard, where he was writhing in pain.).

Sister: Kokai itu ki ho-yse, keneka inika ho-yse?
 Elder brother, what happen-PAST, how like this be-PAST
 'Elder brother, what happened? How did it happen?'

Khamrang: **Bhuini kiman galti huy- ja-yse. Ami map**
Sister, how much fault be - go -PAST. 1-SG. forgiveness

mang-i- lo- bo, bhuiny, ami-ke map-kor-i- di-bi.
beg-PERF take-IRR, sister 1-SG. OBJ forgive-PERF give --IMP.

Itu sob moi laga galti ase.

This all 1-SG GEN fault be.

‘Sister, I have made a big mistake. I seek forgiveness; sister, please forgive me; it’s all my fault, my sister.’

Sister: **Kokai, kokai ami dui-jon laga ama-ke**
Elder brother, elder brother, 1-SG two-person GEN mother-OBJ

ketiyabi no-deki-bo. Ama mor-ia din pora
never NEG-see--IRR. Mother die- PERF day SRCE.....

moi ekla iman duk pora thak-iase,.....
1-SG. alone like this sorrow SRCE remain-PRES-PROG

kokai moi-jon bi ama-ke no- deki-bo
brother 1-SG -person also mother-OBJ NEG look after --IRR .

‘Brother, we are never going to see our parents ever again.. Since the day of our mother’s death I have live in great sorrow..... Brother, we will never see our mother again.’

Khamrang:

Ama, bhuini dui-jon-ke char-i kena apuni
Mother, sister two-person-OBJ leave-PERF CONJ PCL 2SG

kot ja-yse, ama ? Ama, aji moi tumi-ke
where go-PAST, mother? Mother today 1-SG 2SG-OBJ

map mangi-bole ah-ise, moi-ke morom kor-i di-bi,
forgiveness seek -COMP, come-PAST 1-SG-OBJ do-PERF give-IMP, mother.

‘Mother, where have you gone leaving behind these two sisters ?’ Mother, today I have come to seek forgiveness. Please give me your love.’

(Khamrang finally goes to the church holding his sister’s hand. Kneeling down, he says:)

Khamrang: Phrobu Isor moi-ke map kor-i- di-bi
 Lord God 1-SG-OBJ forgive do-PERF-give-IMP.

Pabi manu ase. Apunar laga usor-te
 Sinner person be. 2SG GEN near-LOC

map mangi-bole ah-ise. Probhu ami-ke map kor-i- di- bi,
 mercy beg -COMP come. Lord 1-SG-OBJ Forgive do-PERF-give-IMP

map kor-i- di-bi ami-ke probhu Isoar .
 forgive do-PERF- give-IMP 1-SG- OBJ Lord God.

‘Oh God, please forgive me. I have come to you to seek forgiveness. Oh Lord,
 forgive me; forgive me , Oh Lord !’

Appendix-D (Questionnaire)

This questionnaire was not followed rigidly; it only served as a guide. Depending on who was being interviewed— a non-literate farmer, a highly-educated person, a housewife, a young man/woman or a child -- questions were added or omitted to make the interview interesting to the informants.

Moi-khan to iniversity laga chatro ase , aru moy-khan
1-PL FOC university GEN student be, and 1-PL

Nagamiz kotha laga niyom-khan likhi-bo karone ahi-se.
Nagamese talk GEN rule-PL write-IRR reason come-PAST.

Itu kotha Nagaland-te bishi jon hi ko-y;
This talk Nagland-LOC many person EMP speak-PRES;

hoylebi itu kotha upor-te kitab-khan bi iman likh-a
however, this talk on-LOC book-PL also that write-PERF

na-i. Itu karone moy-khan apuni modop lage
NEG -PRES. This due to 1-PL 2SG help need
'We have come from a university. We have come to write the grammar of Nagamese. In Nagaland, most people speak Nagamese, but very few books have been written describing it. To do this , we need your assistance.'

Moy-khan Nagamiz kotha uporte apuni logote olop
1-PL Nagamese language on 2SG with some

kotha-kor-i- bole mon ase, kilekowile apuni-khan kinika
talk-do-PERF -COMP mind exist, to say why 2-PL how

kotha to ko-y itu hun-i kena itu kotha
talk FOC say-PRES this hear-PERF CONJ PCL this language

laga niyom-khan to ula-bole mon jay.
GEN rule-PL FOC figure out-COMP mind go-PRES
'We would like to have a conversation with you, because upon hearing (learning) how Nagamese is spoken, we would like to discover the rules of Nagamese.'

Etiya moy-khan apuni-ke nagamiz kotha upor-te olop
 Now 1-PL 2SG-OBJ Nagamese talk on-LOC some

hudi-bo; apuni morom pora Nagamiz-te jowab di-bi. ask-IRR; 2SG
 heart SRCE Nagamese-LOC answer give-IMP.

Aru jowab-tu bal pora purapuri di-le bisi
 And answer-DEF good-SRCE complete give-COND much

khushi ho-bo. Kilekowile, kiman bishi apuni pora
 happy be-IRR. To say why, how much manya 2SG SRCE

hun-ibo ami-khan karone to iman bhal ase.
 hear-IRR 1-PL for FOC that much well be
 'Now we are going to ask you a few questions about Nagamese. Please answer them in Nagamese. We will be extremely happy if you would kindly make your responses as detailed as possible, because the more we can hear you speak the better for our purpose.

Moy-khan swal-khan hud-ia khotom hu-a pasote
 1-PL question-PL ask-PERF end be-PERF behind

apuni laga jibon-te ekta duita dangor ghotona hu-a
 2SG GEN life-LOC one two big incident be-PERF

aru poila laga kisa apuni apuni laga baba ama pora
 and past GEN story 2SG 2SG GEN father mother SRCE

hun-a-khan bi moy-khan huni-bole mon ja-y.
 hear-PERF-PL also 1-SG-PL-OBJ hear-COMP mind go-PRES.

Apuni 'achcha' kow-ile moy-khan itu kotha kow-a-khan
 2SG 'yes' say-COND 1-PL this talk say-PERF-PL

to rekord kori-bole mon ja-y. Kilekowile, itu
 FOC record do -COMP mind go-PRES. To say why this

kotha-khan to gor-te lu-i ja-i kena
 kotha-PL FOC home-LOC take-PERF go-PERF CONJ PCL

bishi bar hun-i kena kotha laga niyom to ula-bo.
 many time hear-PERF CONJ PCL language GEN rule FOC discover- IRR.
 'Once we have finished our questions, we would like to hear from you about one or two important incidents of your life, or a story that you heard from your parents. If

you give us permission, we would like to record our conversation with you. Because by listening to this conversation over and over again at home, we shall discover the grammar of Nagamese.'

Itu to khali poralikha kori-bole hi chola-bo;
This FOC only study do-COMP EMP use-IRR

aru apuni laga nam kottebi no- chola-bo.'
and 2SG GEN name anywhere NEG-use -IRR.

Aru apuni sob swal-khan laga jowab di-bo no lage;
And 2SG all question-PL GEN answer give-IRR NEG need;

kunuba swal bal no-pai-le to jowab no- di-bi.
some question well NEG-get-COND FOC answer NEG-give-IMP
'These will be used only for academic purposes, and we will not publish your name anywhere if you don't permit us to do so. You don't have to answer all of our questions; if you don't like a question don't respond.'

Apuni moi-khan-ke modot kor-ia karone moi-khan
2SG 1-PL -OBJ help do-PERF reason 1-PL

to bishi khusi pa-yse.
FOC much happy get-PAST.
'We are extremely happy that you helped us.'

1. **Apuni laga nam ki ase ?** 'What's your name?'
2SG GEN name what be
2. **Apuni laga nam motlop to ki ase ?**
2SG GEN name meaning FOC what be 'What's the meaning of your name ?'
3. **Apuni ketiya aru kot-te jonom ho-yse ?**
2SG when and where-LOC birth be-PAST
'When and where were you born ?'
4. **Achcha, apuni kun-tu Naga jati laga ase ?**
Well 2SG which -DEF Naga tribe GEN be
'Well, what Naga tribe do you belong to ?'

14. **Skul-te alak alak jati pora bachcha-khan**
 School-LOC different different tribe SRCE child-PL

joma ho-yse kow-ile tai-khan ki kotha pora
 gather be-PAST say-COND 3-PL what talk SRCE

kotha kow-i- thak-e ?
 talk say-PERF-remain-PRES

‘In a school where students come from various tribes, what language is used for communication ?’

15. **Apuni skul-te ja-a time-te Nagamese kow-ise**
 2SG school-LOC go-PERF time-LOC Nagamese say-PAST

na kow-a nai ?
 NEG say-PERF NEG-PAST

‘When you went to school, did you speak Nagamese or not?’

16. **Apuni kiman sal thak-ia taim-te Nagmiz**
 2SG how many year remain-PERF time-LOC Nagamese

ko-bole hiki-se ?
 say-COMP learn-PAST? ‘At what age did you learn to speak Nagamese?’

17. **Apuni to Nagamiz kinika aru kot-te hik-ise ?**
 2SG FOC Nagamese how and where learn-PAST
 ‘When and where did you learn Nagamese ?’

18. **Apuni laga baba laga baba-khan Nagamiz kow-ise**
 2SG GEN father GEN father-PL Nagamese say-PAST

na kow-a nai ?
 NEG say-PERF NEG-PAST
 ‘Did your grandparents speak Nagamese or not ?’

19. **Apuni etiya moy-khan logote kow-a kotha to ki**
 2SG now 1-PL with say-PERF talk FOC what

kotha ase ?
 talk be ?
 ‘What language are you speaking with me now ?’

20. **Apuni laga sathi-khan sob Nagamiz ko-bole pare**
 2SG GEN friend-PL all Nagamese say-COMP can
no no-are?
 NEG NEG-can
 'Can all your friends speak Nagamese or not?'
21. **Apuni laga ama baba-khan kow-a nagamiz aru**
 2SG GEN mother father-PL speak-PERF Nagamese and
apuni aru apuni laga sathi-khan laga Nagamiz to
 2SG GEN 2SG GEN friend-PL GEN Nagamese FOC
eki ase na alak alak ase ?
 same be NEG different different be
 'Is the Nagamese that your parents speak the same as the Nagamese that you and your friends speak, or is it different ?'
22. **Apuni ki kam kor-iase** 'What do you do ?'
 2SG what work do-PRES PROG
23. **Apuni phujur-te kiman baje-te kam-te ja-y**
 2SG morning-LOC how much ring-LOC work-LOC go PRES
 'What time in the morning do you go to work ?'
24. **Apuni kam-te kinika ja-y ?** 'How do you go to work ?'
 2SG work-LOC how go-PRES
25. **Apuni etiya kor-i-thak-a kam-tu bal pa-y na**
 2SG now do-PERF-remain-PPL work DEF good get NEG
dusra kam kori-bole mon ja-y?
 another work do-COMP mind go-PRES
 'Do you like the job you are currently doing or are you considering changing it ?'
26. **Apuni laga baccha-khan sob nagamiz ko-y**
 2SG GEN child-PL all Nagamese say-PRES
na no- ko-y ?
 NEG NEG say-PRES
 'Do all your children speak Nagamese or do they not?'

27. **Apuni kow-a Nagamiz aru dur phale, mane Mon**
 2SG say-PERF Nagamese and far direction, that is Mon
distrikt nisina dur jaga laga manu-khan kow-a- tu
 district like far place GEN man-PL say-PERF-DEF
ki alak ase, na eki ase ?
 Q-W different bc, NEG same be
 'Is there a difference between the Nagamese that you speak and the variety that people of remote places such as Mon speak ?'
28. **Apuni laga baccha-khan dusra Naga jati laga**
 2SG GEN child-PL other Naga tribe GEN
baccha-khan-ke lok pa-yse kow-ile tai-khan ki
 child-PL- OBJ meet-get-PAST say-COND 3-PL what
kotha pora tai-khan bitor-te kotha pat-e ?
 talk SRCE 3-PL in-LOC conversation strike-PRES?
 'When your children meet with children from other tribes, what language do they use to communicate among themselves?'
29. **Ama baba na dusra dusra jati aru dusra**
 Mother father PCL different different tribe and different
dusra jaga laga ho-yle to tai-khan laga
 different place GEN be-COND FOC 3-PL GEN
baccha-khan to ki kotha pora kotha ko-y ?
 child-PL FOC what talk SRCE conversation talk-PRES
 'What language do the children of mixed marriages speak?'
30. **Apuni-khan Marwari bepari-khan logote kotha kow-a**
 2-PL Marwari businessman-PL with talk say-PERF
taim-te ki kotha pora ko-y ?
 time-LOC what talk SRCE say-PRES '
 'What language do you use to talk to the Marwari businessmen ?'
31. **Hospital-te doktor nars logote ki kotha pora**
 Hospital-LOC doctor nurse with what talk SRCE

kotha ko-y ?

talk say-PRES

'At the hospital, what language do you use to talk to the doctors and nurses ?'

32. **Apuni radio-te Nagamiz program-khan hun-e**

2SG radio-LOC Nagamese program-PL hear-PRE

na no-hun-e ?

NEG NEG-hear-PRES

'Do you listen to the Nagamese programs on the radio or not?'

33. **Redio laga Nagamiz kotha aru apuni-khan hodai**

Radio GEN Nagamese talk and 2-PL always

kow-a- tu eki ase na alak alak ase

say-PERF DEF same be NEG different different be ?

'Is the Nagamese spoken on the radio and the way you speak it the same or different ?'

34. **Etiya apuni morom pora apuni laga jibon-te hu-a**

Now 2SG kindness SRCE 2SG GEN life-LOC happen-PERF

nohoye kisa ekta apuni bal lagia-tu ko-i-di-bi.

otherwise story one 2SG like get-PERF-DEF say-PERF-give-IMP

'Now, please tell us about an important incident in your life or a story that you like.'

35. **Accha, etiya- to mui kisa ekta por- i- di-bo;**

O. K. now FOC 1-SG story one read-PERF -give-IRR

morom pora itu kisa hun-i kena moy-ke

heart SRCE it story hear-PERF CONJ PCL 1-SG-OBJ

kun-tu manu-khan inika kotha ko-y

which-DEF manu-PL like this talk say-PRES

kow-i- di-bi na ?

say -PERF-give-IRR, PCL

'Now I'm going to read aloud a story to you. Would you please listen to the story carefully and then tell me who speaks Nagamese like this ?'

Appendix-E

Imli and Moa are native speakers of Ao, who have a near native command of English.

At the time of recording this interview, they were college sophomores.

As can be seen, we often deviated from the questionnaire. We did so because by leading our conversation along the line of the subjects' interest, we were able to elicit more natural speech.

Imli: **Apuni laga nam ki ase ?**
2SG GEN name what be 'What's your name?'

Moa: **Moi laga nam to Moa ase ,**
1-SG GEN name FOC Moa be 'My name is Moa.'

Imli: **Apuni laga nam motlop to ki ase ?**
2SG GEN name meaning FOC what be
'What's the meaning of your name ?'

Moa: **Itu laga motlop to "blessings" ase.**
This GEN meaning FOC blessing be.
'It's meaning is 'blessing.'

Imli: **Apuni ketia aru kote jonom ho-yse**
2SG when and where birth be-PAST
'When and where were you born?'

Moa: **Moi Mukokchung-te 1973 30 epril-te ho-yse**
1-SG Mukokchung- LOC 1973 30 April-LOC be-PAST
'I was born in Mokukchung, on the 30th of April, 1973.'

Imli: **Apuni kun-tu Naga laga tribe-te ase ?**
2SG which -DEF Naga GEN tribe-LOC be
'What Naga tribe do you belong to ?'

Moa: **Moi to Ao traib pora ase.**
1-SG FOC Ao tribe SRCE be 'I belong to the Ao tribe.'

Imli: **Apuni sadi hui-se na hu-a na-i ?**
 2SG marriage be-PAST NEG be-PERF NEG-PRES
 'Are you married, or not?'

Moa: (...laughs)

Imli: **Hu-ise na hu-a nai ?**
 Be-PAST NEG be-PERF NEG-PRES
 'Have you or have you not ?'

Moa: **Aru hu-a na-i seid to**
 And be-PERF NEG-PRES said FOC 'I said, "no" '

Imli: **Apuni sadi ho-bole etiya bab-iase na**
 2SG marriage be-COMP now think-PRES PROG NEG
bab-ia na-i ?
 think-PPL NEG-PRES
 'Are you considering getting married or not ?'

Moa: **Etiya to eku bhab-ia- na-i**
 Now FOC at all think-PROG NEG-PRES
 'Not at all.'

Imli: **To hoyle to etiya apuni laga maiki ase na nai**
 FOC PCL FOC now 2SG GEN woman exist NEG NEG-PRES
 'Well then, do you have a girlfriend or not ?'

Moa: **Aru rakh-ia nai.**
 And keep-PERF NEG-PRES 'I still don't have one.'

Imli: **To itu bi rakhi-bole bhab-iase na**
 FOC this also keep-COMP think-PRES PROG NEG
bhab-ia nai ?
 think-PERF NEG PRES
 'So, are you considering having one ?'

Moa: **Olop piche-te rakh-ibo hobola.**
 A little later-LOC keep-IRR might
 'I might have one in a while.'

- Imli:* **Apuni etiya ki kor-iase ?**
 2SG now what do-PRES PROG
 'What are you doing now?'
- Moa:* **Etiya to sivil ineengineering por-iase**
 Now FOC civil engineering study-PRES PROG
 'I'm currently studying civil engineering.'
- Imli:* **Apuni itu kur-ia kena kiman sal ho-yse ?**
 2SG this do-PPL CONJ PCL how many year be-PAST
 'How long have you been studying civil engineering ?'
- Moa:* **Moi second year-te ase .**
 1-SG second year-LOC be. 'I'm in the second year.'
- Imli:* **Aru kiman sal baki ase ?**
 More how many year remaining be
 'How many more years do you need to finish ?'
- Moa:* **Aru dui sal ase.**
 More two year be 'Two more years left.'
- Imli:* **Dui sal-te khotom kuri-bole pari-bo na ?**
 Two year-LOC finish do -COMP can-IRR PCL ?
 'Do you think you will be able to finish in two years ?'
- Moa:* **Pari-bo hobola .**
 Can-IRR seems 'It seems like I'll be able.'
- Imli:* **"Pari-bo hobola" no kow-i kena**
 Can-IRR seems NEG say-PERF CONJ PCL

ini "par-i- ja-bo" ko-bi.
 simply can-PERF - go-IRR say-IMP.
 'Rather than saying "I might be able to", say "will be able to."'
- Moa:* **Par-i- ja-bo, par-i- jabo.**
 Can-PERF-go-IRR, can-PERF -go-IRR
 'I'll be able to finish, I'll be.able.'
- Imli:* **Apuni etia sivil ineengineering khotom ho-i kena**
 2SG now civil engineering finish be-PERF CONJ PCL

kote kam kuri-bole mon ja-y ?
 where work do-COMP mind go-PRES
 'Where would you like to work upon completing your civil engineering degree ?'

Moa: **Khotom ho-le Nagaland ja-bo pare, Nagaland-te**
 Complete be-COND Nagaland go-IRR can Nagaland-LOC

kam kori-bo pare-e. 'Upon completion, I might work in Nagaland '
 work do--IRR may.

Imli: **Apuni to Nagamiz ko-bole kiman sal-te**
 2SG FOC Nagamese say-COMP how much age-LOC

thak-ia taim-te hiki-se
 remain-PPL time-LOC learn-PAST
 'At what age did you learn to speak Nagamese.'

Moa: **Bachcha taim pora to Nagaland-te thak-iase,**
 child time SRCE SRCE Nagaland- LOC live- PAST

tate pora-he pick up kor-ise .
 there SRCE-EEMP pick up do-PAST
 'I have lived in Nagaland since childhood; I picked it up there.'

Imli: **Apuni laga sathi-khan-bi Nagamiz ko-y**
 2SG GEN friend-PL-also Nagamese speak-PRES

na no-ko-y ?
 NEG NEG-speak-PRES

Moa: **Sob-he koy sathi-khan.**
 All-EMP say friend-PL 'All my friends speak it.'

Imli: **Apuni laga baba laga baba-khan-bi Nagamiz**
 2SG GEN father GEN father-PL-also Nagamese

ko-ise na ko-y-nai ?
 say-PAST NEG say-PRES - NEG-PRES
 'Did your grandparents also speak Nagamese, or did they not?'

Moa: **Tay-khan-bi kow-ise. Moi-khan etiya kow-a laga type**
 3PL -also say-PAST 1PL now say-PERF GEN type

to aru tai-khan kow-a type to alak ase.

FOC and 3PL say-PERF type FOC separate be

'They also spoke it. The Nagamese that we speak today is different from the type of Nagamese that they spoke.'

Imli: Apuni ko-pole pari-bo kiman alak ase ?

You say-COMP can-IRR how much different be

'Would you be able to tell me how much different it is ?'

Moa: Tai-khan laga to olop Asamiz jat ase

3-PL GEN FOC a little Assamese kind be.

'Theirs was slightly closer to Assamese.'

Imli: Nagaland-te thak-ia apuni laga sathi-khan to

Nagaland-LOC live-PERF 2SG GEN friends-PL FOC

sob Nagamiz jan-e ?

all Nagamese know-PRES

'Do all of your friends who live in Nagaland know Nagamese?'

Moa: Tay-khan sob jan-e to.

3PL all go-PRES FOC

'They all know it.'

Imli: Apuni-khan to Marwari business kor-ia- khan logote

2 - PL FOC Marwari business do-PPL-PL with

ki kotha pora koy ?

what talk SRCE say

'What language do you use to talk to the Marwari businessmen.'

Moa: Nagamiz aru broken Hindi ko-i- thak-e

Nagamese and broken Hindi say-PERF-remain-PRES

'We speak Nagamese and broken Hindi.'

Imli: Aru apuni-khan hospital-te bi doktor aru nars-khan

And 2PL hospital-LOC also doctor and nurse-PL

logote ki kotha pora ko-y.

with what talk SRCE say-PRES

'And what language do you use to talk to the doctors and nurses at the hospital ?'

Moa: **Tate doktor aru nars-khan to usually English pora**
There doctor and nurse-PL FOC usually English SRCE

ko-i- thaak-e; hoylebi kunuba to
say-PERF remain-PRES; however some FOC

no-buj-ia kaorin-e nagamiz pora
NEG-understand-PERF due to Nagamese SRCE

ko-i- thak-e
say-PERF-remain-PRES.

‘There, one usually uses English to speak to the doctors and nurses; however, those who don’t know English use Nagamese.’

Imli: **Apuni Nagamiz radio program-khan hun-e**
2SG Nagamese radio program-PL hear-PRES

na no-hun-e ?
NEG NEG-hear-PRES ?

‘Do you listen to the radio programs in Nagamese or do you not?’

Moa: **Bisi bar to no- hun-e.**
Many time FOC NEG hear-PRES
‘Not too much.’

Imli: **Apuni kow-a Nagamiz to aru radio-te kow-a**
2SG say-PERF Naga FOC aru radio-te say-PERF

to eki ase na alak ase ?
FOC same be NEG different be

‘Is your Nagamese the same as that of the radio, or is it different ?’

Moa: **Radio-te kow-a Nagamiz to pure koy;**
Radio-LOC say-PERF Nagamese FOC pure say-PRES

hoylebi ami-khan kow-a tu to olop thik nai
however, 1PL say-PERF DEF FOC slight correct NEG-PRES

‘The Nagamese spoken on the radio is considered to be “correct”; what we speak is slightly defective.’

Imli: **Apuni dusra jaga visit kor-ia taim-te manu-khan logote**
2SG other place visit do-PER time -LOC people-PL with

ki kotha pora ko-i thak-e ?
 what talk SRCE say-PERF-remain-PRES
 ‘When you travel to other areas, what language do you speak?’

Moa: **Nagamiz pora hi kow-i thak-e.**
 Nagamese SRCE EMPH say-PERF-remain-PRES
 ‘We use Nagamese.’

Imli: **Apuni yate [in Calcutta] por-ia to hostel-te**
 2SG here study-PPL FOC dormitory-LOC

buh-iase na rented gor-te buhi- ase ?
 sit-PRES PROF NEG rented house-LOC sit-PRES PROG

Moa: **First year pora bi hostel-te- hi buh-iase**
 First year SRCE also hostel-LOC EMPH sit-PRES PROG
 ‘I’ve lived in the hostel since my first year [in engineering].’

Imli: **Apuni ah-a time-te hostel pa-bole to**
 2SG come-PERF time-at hostel get-COMP FOC

tan ho-yse na sosta pora hi pa-yse?
 hard be-PAST NEG easy SRCE EMP get-PAST
 ‘When you came here, was it hard to get a dorm or was one easily available ?’

Moa: **Moi ah-ia taim-te kunuba manu-ke moi**
 1-SG come-PERF time-LOC some man-OBJ 1-SG

jan-i- thak-ise aru modot kor-ise
 know-PERF remain-PAST and help do-PAST
 ‘When I came here, I knew someone and s/he helped me.’

Imli: **Etiya hostel seat pa-bole to tan ase na**
 Now dormitory seat get-COMP FOC difficult be NEG

ini poila nisina hi sosta ase ?
 just before like EMP easy be
 ‘Is getting a dorm room just as easy as it was in the past or is it more difficult today ?’

Moa: **Itu sal pora to hostel seat pa-bole to**
 This year SRCE FOC dorm seat get-COMP FOC

olop tan ho-i- jay-se.
 slight difficult be-PERF go-PAST
 'As of this year finding a bed/room in the dorm has become harder.'

Imli: Apuni laga room-te apuni ekla ase na
 2SG GEN room-LOC 2SG alone be NEG

aru dusra manu ase?
 more other people exist
 'Do you live alone in your room or share it ?

Moa: Moi-khan sar jon ase etiya.
 1-PL four persons be now.
 'There we are four of us now.'

Imli: Itu sar jon-te-bi Nakamis kow-a manu
 This four person -LOC-also Nagamese speak-PERF people
 ase na nai ?
 be NEG NEG-PRES
 'Are all these four speakers of Nagamese?'

Moa: Ek jon to Naka manu ase, hoylebi manipur-te
 One person FOC Naga person be, however, Manipur-LOC

thak-iase itu karone Nakamis no-jan-e
 live-PRES PROG this due to Nagamese NEG-know-PRES

Aru dusra-khan to Naka manu no hoy. Ami ekla ase
 And other-PL FOC Naga people NEG be 1-SG alone be
 'One of them is Naga; however, he lives in Manipur and hence doesn't know
 Nagamese. The others are not Naga. I'm the only Naga in the room.'

Imli: To tai-khan logote apuni ki pora communicate kor-e ?
 Well, 3-PL with 2SG what SRCE communicate do- PRES
 'Well, what language do you use to communicate with them?'

Moa: Tai-khan logote English pora-hi kow-i- thak-e
 3-PL with English SRCE -EMPH say-PERF remain-PRES
 'I speak with them in English.'

Imli: Yate aru apuni laga sathi-khan Nagamiz kow-a manu
 Here and 2SG GEN friend-PL Nagamese know-PPL man

ase na nai ?
 be NEG NEG-PRES
 'Are your friends Nagamese speaking ?'

Moa: **Dui jon ase; ekta to first year-te ase**
 2 person be; one FOC first year -LOC be

aru ekta ase moi laga sathi ase Kohima pora
 and one be 1-SG GEN friend be Kohima SRCE
 'I have two friends; one is a freshman, and the other is a friend of mine from Kohima.'

Imli: **Etiya-te aru Naga mnau kalkata-te**
 Now-LOC more Naga man Calcutta-LOC

kam-kor-ia manu ase na nai ?
 work-do-PPL man exist NEG NEG-PRES
 'Now are there working, class Nagas in Calcutta ?'

Moa: **Ekta duita thaki-bo kam-kor-ia-wala to.**
 One two remain-IRR work-doing-monger FOC
 'There must be one or two working-class people.'

Imli: **Tai-khan ekla boh-e na family logote boh-e**
 3-PL alone sit-PRES NEG family with sit-PRES
 'Do they live by themselves or with their families.?'

Moa: **Family boh-e. Kunuba to ekla bi ase.**
 Family sit-PRES Some FOC alone
 'They live with their families; some, however, live alone.'

Imli: **Ta ho-le Naga manu kalkata-te bisi ase na ?**
 That be-COND(So) Naga people Calcutta-LOC many be PCL
 'Then there are many Nagas in Calcutta, right ?'

Moa: **Hoy, bisi.** 'Yes, many.'
 Yes, many.

Imli: **Apuni-khan lok-pa-y na no- pa-y**
 2-PL meet-get-PRES NEG NEG get-PRES
 'Do you meet with them or not ?'

Moa: **Ketiyaba to pa-y; moi-khan sunda-khan-te**
 Sometimes FOC get-PRES 1-PL Sunday-PL-LOC

Naga Christian service thak-e. Tate ja-i-thak-e.
 Naga Christian service remain-PRES. There go-remain-PRES
 'Sometimes we get together. On Sundays there is a service for the Naga Christians.
 We usually meet there.'

Imli: **Apuni-khan inika lok-pa time-te kinika lage.**
 2-PL like this meet-PERF time-LOC how feel
 'How do you feel when you meet like this?'

Moa: **Tate bishi bhal lage. Moja lage, bishi hollagula kori-bo.**
 There much good feel Happy feel much noise do -IRR
 'It feels wonderful, feels great; we have a lot of fun.'

Imli: **Sunday service itu char-i- kena apuni-khan**
 Sunday service this leave-PERF- CONJ PCL 2-PL

dusra program-khan bi thak-e na no-thak-e
 other program- PL also remain-PRES NEG NEG-remain-PRES

Naga manu-khan ?

Naga people-PL

'Besides the Sunday service, do you have any other programs for the Nagas?'

Moa: **Sunday seminar-khan bishi thak-e. Aru this year-bi**
 Sunday seminar-PL many remain-PRES. And this year-also

aru olop din ago-te kiba ekta ho-bole ase hobola and a little
 day before-LOC something one be-IRR be seem

Itu HIV aru AIDS laga program ekta ase.

This HIV and AIDS GEN program one be

'Mostly we have Sunday seminars. In addition, this year, soon, it seems like
 something else is going to happen. A program on HIV and AIDS.'

Imli: **Itu HIV AIDS kow-a to aji-kali iman important**
 This HIV AIDS say-PER FOC today-tomorrow such important

program ho-i- ja-yse. Itu ketiya ase.?

Program be-PERF-go-PAST. This when be

'The HIV-AIDS program that you mentioned has become so important nowadays.
 When is it going to take place?'

Moa: **Itu thrid December-te ho-bole ase ?**
 This third December-LOC be-COMP be
 'This is going to happen on the third of December.'

Imli: **Tate sob manu-ke invite kori-bole ase na**
 There all people-OBJ invite do-COMP be PCL

khali kunuba members ekla invite kor-i-bo?
 only some members alone invite do-IRR
 'In that seminar, would everybody be welcome or will only some selected members be invited ?

Moa: **Ini sob-ke invite kor-i kena ase.**
 Generally all-OBJ invite do-PERF CONJ PCL be.
 'Everybody has been invited.'

Imli: **To apuni-khan-bi ja-bole bhab-iase**
 FOC 2-PL -also go-COMP think-PRES PROG

na bhab-ia nai ?
 NEG think-PRES-PRG NEG-PRES
 'So, are you guys also considering going or not?'

Moa: **Ke jan-e ho ja-bo pari-bo na no- pari-bo....**
 Who know-PRES PCL go-IRR can-IRR NEG NEG-can-IRR

inivarsiti-te test bishi ase. No-jan-e ja-bo- pari-bo
 university-LOC test many be. Not-know-PRES go-IRR can-IRR

na no- pari-bo.
 NEG NEG-can-IRR
 'Who knows whether or not I'll be able to go. We have to take too many tests at our university. I don't know if I will be able to go.'

Imli: **Apuni yate sivil engineering karone ah-ise;**
 2SG here civil engineering for come-PAST

hoylebi, study ekla to kori-i- thak-e- bole
 however, study only FOC do-PERF-remain-PRES COMP

no- pari-bo all night all day. Itu karone apuni
 NEG-can-IRR all night all day. This reason 2SG

itu study no -kor-ia taim-te ki kor-i- thak-e?

This study NEG-do-PPL time-LOC what do-PERF-remain-PRES

'You have come here to study civil engineering. However, you do not study all the time. What do you do in your free time.'

Moa: Study no- kor-ia taim-te to sathi-khan logote
Study NEG-do-PROG time-LOC FOC friend-PL with

kotha kow-i- thaki-bo, nohoyle next room-te
talk say-PPL remain-IRR otherwise next room-LOC

ekta gitar ase itu baja-i- thak-e aru ki ki
IND guitar exist this play-PERF-remain-PRES and what what

khel-i- thak-e misa-misi.
play-PERF-remain-PRES false ECHO

'When I don't study, I chat with my friends or play the guitar that is available in my next-door neighbor's room. Besides that, I also play various games for fun.'

Imli: To apuni gitar-khan bi baja-i- thak-e.
FOC 2SG guitar-PL also play-PERF-remain-PRES
'So you play the guitar?'

Moa: Hoy, baja-i- thak-e 'Yes, I play the guitar.'
Yes, play-PERF remain-PRES

Imli: Apuni miuzik kow-a to ektom bal lage naki?
2SG music say-PERF FOC very good feel Q-W
'Do you like music a lot?'

Moa: Miuzik to moy laga life ho-yse to
Music FOC 1-SG GEN life be-PAST FOC
'Music is my life.'

Imli: Apuni kinika miuzik bhal lage to?
2SG how music good feel FOC
'What kind of music do you like?'

Moa: Poila-te to ektom... ki ko-bo rock music
Past-LOC FOC very... what say-IRR rock music

hun-i- thak-ise, hoylebi aji kali to olop
hear-PERF-remain- PAST, however now-a-days FOC some

jat alak bishi huni-thak-e to.
kind different much hear-remain-PRES FOC

Ini ko-bo no-are²; hoylebi sob bal ase,
Simply say-IRR NEG -can; however, all good be,

sob bal lage.

all good feel

‘First..I mean, in the past I used to listen to rock music; however, nowadays I listen to different kinds of music more. I can tell you about it in one word: everything is good..I like all kinds of music.’

Imli: **Apuni rock miuzik bal lag-ia taim-te apuni bi**
2SG rock music good feel-PPL time-LOC 2SG also

kunuba band-te baj-i- thak-ise
any band-LOC play-PERF-remain-PAST

na baja-i nai.
NEG play-PERF NEG-PRES

‘When you were interested in rock music, did you use to play in a band?’

Moa: **Poila-te bachch time-te ekta duita band thak-ise,**
Past-LOC, child time-LOC one two band exist-PAST

itu taim-te to misa misi olop baja-ise aru piche-te
this time-LOC FOC casually some play-PAST and after-LOC

baja-y- nai band-te to, hoyle.
play-PERF-NEG -PAST band-LOC, FOC though.

‘In the past, in my childhood, there were one or two bands. I played a little bit at that time, but later I did not.’

Imli: **Aru itu miuzik char-i- kena apuni ki ki**
And this music leave-PERF - CONJ PCL 2SG what what

khel-i- thak-ise kow-ise, to apuni
play-PERF-remain-PAST say-PAST FOC 2SG

². No par-e ‘NEG can-PRES => noare ‘can;t’

kinika geims -khan khel-i- thak-e
 how games-PL play-PERF-remain-PRES
 'Let's leave the topic of music. What sports did you say you do?'

Moa: **Usually futbol aru kirket-khan khel-i-thak-e.**
 Usually, soccer and cricket-PL play-PERF-remain-PRES

To kriket to he ko-bo kow-ile ami karone
 FOC cricket FOC EMPH say-IRR say-COND 1-SG for

thik nisina ase kheli-bole to.
 right similar be play--COMP FOC
 'I usually play soccer and cricket. For me though, cricket is the right sport.'

Imli: **Etia apuni laga life char-i kena apuni laga**
 Now 2SG GEN life leave-PERF CONJ PCL 2SG GEN

famili-khan laga hudi-bo. Apuni laga famili-te
 family-PL GEN ask-IRR. 2SG GEN family-LOC

apuni laga baba ama aru didi bhoini-khan
 2SG GEN father mother and elder sister younger sister-PL

nohoyle bi bhai kokai-khan milai kena
 otherwise also brother elder brother-PL together CONJ PCL

apuni-khan kiman jon ase?
 2SG-PL how many person be
 'Now I'm going to stop asking you questions about yourself and ask about your family. Including your parents, and your elder and younger brothers and sisters how many are you all together?'

Moa: **Moi-khan sat jon ase. Didi tinta ase aru**
 1-SG-PL seven person be. Elder sister three exist and

bhuini ekta ase, aru baba amma ase.
 younger sister one exist, and father mother exist.
 'There are seven of us: three elder sisters, one younger sister and my parents.'

Imli: **Apuni laga didi-khan to sob kam kori-ase**
 2SG GEN elder sister -PL FOC all work do-PRES PROG

na tai-khan-bi etiya por-iase ?
 NEG 3- PL- also now study-PRES PROG
 'Do all your elder sisters work or still go to school?'

Moa: **Ek jon to etia ofis-te kam kor-iase, aru**
 One person FOC now office-LOC work do-PRES PROG moreover,

dusra to moi-khan char jon to etiya-bi study-kor-iase.
 other FOC 1-SG four person FOC now-also study -do-PRES -PROG
 'One of them now works at an office; the others , the rest of us are still studying.'

Imli: **Aru apuni laga baba aru amma-bi kam kor-iase**
 And 2SG GEN father and mother-also work do-PRES PROG

na tai-khan ini boh-iase ?.
 NEG 3-PL simply boh-PRES PROG
 'And are your parents working or have they retired?'

Moa: **Baba to etiya ritaiar ho-yse; hoylebi amma to**
 Father FOC now retired be-PAST, however mother FOC

iskul tisar kor-iase.
 school teacher do-PRES PROG
 'My father has retired; but my mother is still working as a teacher.'

Imli: **To hoyle to etiya amma pora-hi saport kor-iase**
 FOC if so FOC now mother SRCE-EMP support do-PRES PROG

na didi pora bi etiya to saport kor-ia
 NEG elder sister SRCE also now FOC support do-PRES PROG

start ho-yse.
 start be-PAST.
 'Well then, your mother alone is supporting you or has your sister started contributing ?'

Moa: **Didi pora-bi kor-e, amma pora-bi kor-e.**
 Elder sister SRCE-also do-PRES mother SRCE-also do-PRES

Hoylebi aru moi-khan gor-te itu murgi laga dukan
 However, and 1-PL home-LOC this chicken GEN shop

ekta khul-i kena ase. To tate pora hi.
 one open-PERF CONJ PCL be FOC there SRCE EMPH

saport to ase
 support FOC exist.

'Both my elder sister and my mother support us. However, , our family has started a poultry farm; support comes from that as well.

Appendix-F

(Additional questions for the Kacharis of Dimapur, who speaks Nagamese as their primary language)

Name of Subject: Mr. Anup Mech, a Bodo Kachari of Dimapur
Interviewer: Rashomoy Mazumder (R.M.)

RM: **Etiya moy to apuni-ke kiba hudi-bo de. olop.**
 Now 1-SG FOC 2SG-OBJ some ask-IRR PCL, a bit

Morom pora jowab di-dibi na?
 heart SRCE answer give-give-IRR PCL

Anup: Sure.

RM: **Accha apuni laga nam ki ase?** ‘What’s your name?’
 Well, 2SG GEN name what be?

Anup: **Mui laga nam to Anup Mech ase.**
 1-SG GEN name FOC Anup Mech be
 ‘My name is Anup Mech.’

RM: **Apuni to kiman sal ase?** ‘How old are you?’
 2SG FOC how much year be

Anup: Approximately thirty-five.

RM: **Apuni to kun jat laga ase, Bodo ase na Dimasa ase?**
 2SG FOC which tribe GEN be, Bodo be NEG Dimasa be
 ‘What ethnic group do you belong to?’

Anup: I’m from the Bodo group.

RM: **Apuni-khan gor-te na femili laga member-khan**
 2-PL gome-LOC PCL family GEN member-PL

logote to ki kotha chola-i- thak-e?
 with FOC what language use -PERF-remain-PRES
 ‘What language do you use to communicate among family members?’

Anup: **Ami-khan to inika ase na ; mane, we're yate**
 1-PL FOC like this be PCL that is, we're here

boh-a manu-khan to jiman ase maximum
 settle-PERF people-PL FOC as be maximum

ritired armi parsonel

retired army personnel.

'We are, you know, we are like this, that is those of us who have settled here are mostly retired army personnel'

RM: **Hū** 'I see.'

Anup: So, You can say that a coarse form of Assamese-- it is known as Nagamese. You see, our situation is as follows: Most of us Kachairs who have settled here [Dimapur] happen to be retired army personnel. We don't use our own dialect; we use Assamese, you can say a kind of coarse Assamese; it is known as Nagamese.'

RM: You mean, you speak only Nagamese, right ?
 Aru (and) , when you go out of Nagaland and mingle with other Kacharis, what language do you use to communicate with them?

Anup: We use Assamese, or , again, its crude form--Nagamese. They [Bodo Kacharis living outside of Nagaland] also understand it.

RM: It seems that you have totally forgotten your original language, or what you perhaps prefer to call your 'dialect'.

Anup: Not exactly, some still use it at home and outside ,too.

RM: They do, I see. What about yourself ? Do you still speak your original ancestral language ?

Anup: As I've already told you, I have a military background. My father, my grandfather, my great-grandfathers were all in the army. So we didn't use Kachari for a long, long time. So, naturally, we've forgotten it. Still some words... we still know, but we don't use them,...we never use it [sic]. We only know the words.

RM: Accha (O.K), this is true about all the Bodos living in Dimapur City, right ?

Anup: Yeah, most of them use Nagamese....

RM: O.K. Would you please tell me what language you use to talk to your friends.

Amup: Same. Nagmiz- hi ko-y.
 ‘Same. Nagamese-EMP speak-PRES’
 ‘The same. We speak in Nagamese.’

RM: What about the Dimasa Kacharis of Dimapur ?

Amup: The Dimasas use their dialect. I don’t have much knowledge about them. It would be better if you could contact them.

RM: I suppose you are married.

Amup: Yeah.

RM: Are you married to someone from your own community ?

Amup: She is from Dimapur.

RM: Please don’t mind. When you have intimate conversations with your wife, what language do you use.?

Amup: As I’ve already told you, we hardly ever use our own dialect. We’ve forgotten our ancestors’ dialect. So, even for intimate conversations we have to use Nagamese.

RM: I thank you for kindly giving me some very important information. Thank you.

Amup: Not at all.

Appendix -G
(A non-Naga speaker of Nagamese)

Interviewer: Imli

Subject: John D'Suza (a Goanese whose wife is an Ao Naga)

Imli: **Accha apuni morom pora apuni laga life laga**
Well, 2SG heart SRCE 2SG GEN life GEN

ekta dangor ghotona to ko-bi.
one big incident FOC say-IRR.
'Would you please tell us about a major incident that occurred in your life?'

John: **Ami jetiya 1989-te yate skul-te join kor-ia**
1-SG when 1989-LOC here school-LOC join do-PROG

taim-te, am-ar³ to ah-a tin mahina
time-LOC 1-SG-GEN FOC come-PERF three month

nishina ho-ysile aru ami to quarter pa-ise
approximately be-PLU and 1-SG FOC house get-PAST

Chumukdima -te .
Chumukdima-LOC.

'When I first came here to join the school. It was about three months after I had arrived here. I got a residential quarter in Chumukdima.'

To summer laga taim thak-ise itu taim.
FOC summer GEN time remain-PAST this time.
'So, it was summer time.'

To one night-te ki ho-yse, ekta
FOC one night -LOC what happen-PAST, one

mishap pora ami laga ghor to jol-i ja-yshe
accident SRCE 1-SG GEN house FOC burn-PERF go-PAST

beya pora.'
bad SRCE.
'So, what happened one night was that my house was badly burnt by accident.'

³ The genitive case marker Nagamese is **laga**. **laga** seems to have been grammaticalized

To ami next day morning-te bishi
FOC 1-SG following day morning-LOC much

thak-ise ghor to jol-i- ja-yse karone.
remain-PAST house FOC burn-PERF-go-PAST due to.

‘So the following morning, I was home most of the time because of this.’
Etiya notun notun Nagaland-te ah-ise, manu-khan-ke
Now new new Nagaland-LOC come-PAST; man-PL-OBJ

bhi bhal pora na chin-e.
also good SRCE NEG know-PRES.
‘I was then new in Nagaland, so I did not know the people too well.’

Itu taim-te next din to ami-khan laga
This time-LOC following day FOC 1-SG-PL GEN

gaon-bura tate ami-ke lok-kori-bole ah-ise.
village-old man there 1-SG-OBJ meet-do-COMP come-PAST.
‘At that time, the village chief came to meet with me.’

Aru tai to tai laga manu bishi lo-i- kena
And 3SG FOC 3SG GEN man many bring-PERF CONJ PCL

ah-ise aru tai pora poisa di-a to
come-PAST and 3SG SRCE money give-PERF FOC

manu-khan sob mil-i- kena moy laga ghor to
man-PL all unite-PERF CONJ PCL 1-SG GEN house FOC

bal pora bona-i- di-se.
good SRCE make-PERF - give-PAST.
‘He brought a lot of people with him, and he had my house built really well with his own money.’

Itu to moy bishi bhal lag-ishe de
This FOC 1-SG much good feel-PAST PCL.
‘I liked this very much.’

Itu Naga manu-khan to iman bhal moi to polila to
This Naga man-PL FOC such good 1-SG FOC early FOC

bhabi-a nai. Yate ah-i- kena hi
 think-PERF NEG-PRES. Here come-PERF CONJ PCL EMP

inika sa-bole par-e.
 like this see-COMP can-PRES.

‘I never thought that the Nagas were such a good people. One could come here to verify it. ‘

Appendix-H

Questionnaire (for children who speak Nagamese as a creole)
(Child of parents from two tribes)

Interviewer: **Apuni laga nam ki ase ?** 'What's your name?'
2SG GEN name what be

Subject: **Mui laga nam Kesen -i ase** 'My name is Kesan.'
1-SG GEN name Kesan-EMP be

Interviewer: **Apuni kiman sal ho-yse ?** 'How old are you?'
2SG how many year be-PAST

Subject: **Mui sat sal ase.** 'I'm seven years old.'
1-SG seven year be

Interviewer: **Apuni skul-te ja-y na no- ja-y ?**
2SG school-LOC go-PRES NEG NEG go-PRES
'Do you go to school or not?'

Subject: **Ja-y** 'I go.'
go-PRES

Interviewer: **Apuni kiman klas-te por-iase ?**
2SG what class-LOC read- PRES PROG
'What grade are you in ?'

Subject: **Mui klas three-te por-iase** 'I'm in third grade.'
1-SG grade three-LOC study-PRES PROG

Interviewer: **Apuni skul-te ja-bole bal lage na no-lage ?**
2SG school-LOC go-COMP well feel NEG NEG
'Do you like to go to school or not ?'

Subject: **Lage.** 'It does.'
Feel-PRES

Interviewer: **Kile** 'Why ?'

Subject: **Sathi-khan-ke lok pa-y** 'I can meet with my friends.'
Friend-PL-OBJ meet get-PRES

Interviewer: **Apuni skul-te kinika ja-y** 'How do you go to school ?'
2SG school-LOC how go-PRES

Subject: **Bas pora no-hoy-le theng pora ja-y**
Bus SRCE NEG be-COND leg SRCE go-PRES
'By bus, or on foot.'

Interviewer: **Apuni ki ho-bole mon ja-y ?**
2SG what be-COMP mind go-PRES
'What are you planning to be ?'

Subject: **inginiar** 'An engineer.'

Interviewer: **Apuni kun-tu tichar-ke bishi bhal lage ?**
2SG which-DEF teacher-OBJ much well feels
'Who is your favorite teacher ?'

Subject: **Sir Kevi.** 'My teacher, Kevi.'
Teacher Kevi

Interviewer: **Apuni tai-ke keli iman phal lage ?**
2SG 3SG-OBJ why so much good feel et
'Why do you like him/her so much ?'

Subject: **Tai manu phal ase, kali no-de-y.**
3SG person good be scold NEG-give-PRES.

Tai pora to mui-ke mithai-bi de-y
3-SG SRCE FOC 1-SG-OBJ sweets-also give-PRES
'S/he is a good person; s/he doesn't scold me. He gives me sweets, too'

Interviewer: **Apuni pani por-ia taim-te skul-te jay**
2SG water fall-PPL time-LOC school-LOC go-PRES

na no-jay ?
NEG NEG-go-PRES
'Do you go to school on rainy days ?'

Subject: **Mui laga ankul-khan pora poncha-i de-y.**
1-SG GEN uncle-PL SRCE reach -PERF-give-PRES
'My uncle takes me to school.'

Chata lu- i- kena ja-y. 'I go with an umbrella.'
Umbrella take-PERF-CONJ PCL go-PRES

Interviewer: **Apuni phujur-te kiman bachi-te uth-e ?**
 2SG morning how much ring-LOC wake up-PRES
 'What time do you get up in the morning ?'

Subject: **Char no-ho-yle pans pachi inika -te**
 Four NEG-be-CON five strikes like that-LOC

uth-i-thak-e,..... ektom phujur-te uth-e
 wake-PERF-remain-PRES, very early-LOC wake up-PRES
 'I wake up around 4 or 5 A.M...very early in the morning.'

Interviewer: **Apuni samar no-ho-yle wintar chuti taim-te**
 2SG summer NEG-be-COND winter vacation time-LOC

ki kor-e thak-e ?
 what do-PRES remain -PRES
 'What do you do during the summer or winter vacations ?'

Subject: **Sathi-khan logote he kheli-bo no-ho-yle pira-bo**
 Friend-PL with EMP play-IRR NEG-be-COND travel-IRR

'Ketiaba ghor kam kor-i thak-e
 Sometimes house house do-PERF remain-PRES

nohoyle bosti-te ja-y'
 otherwise village-LOC go-PRES.
 'I play with my friends or travel. At times I do chores, or go to the countryside.'

Interviewer: **Apuni rong kun-tu sob se phal lage ?**
 2SG color which-DEF all than good feel
 'What color do you like best ?'

Subject: **boga 'White.'**
 White'

Interviewer: **Apuni ki ki khela-khan khel-e ?**
 2SG what what sport play-PRES
 'What sports do you play ?'

Subject: **Futbol aru lukaluki. 'Soccer and hide-and-seek.'**
 'Soccer and hide-and-seek.'

Interviewer: **Apuni gana hun-e na no-hun-e ?**
 2SG song hear-PRES NEG NEG-hear-PRES
 'Do you listen to music or not ?'

Subject: **Ketiyaba** 'Sometimes.'
 Sometimes.

Interviewer: **Kun-tu laga gana hun-e**
 Which-DEF GEN song hear-PRES
 'What kind of songs do you listen to?'

Subject: **Hindi film laga kana** 'Hindi film songs.'
 Hindi film GEN song.

Interviewer: **Apuni film sa-y na no sa-y ?**
 2SG movie see-PRES NEG NEG see-PRES
 'Do you watch movies or not ?'

Subject: **Sa-y** 'I watch'
 Watch-PRES

Interviewer: **Kinika film bhal lage ?** 'What kind of film do you like ?
 How movie good feel

Subject: **Faiting bishi thak-ia-khan to bishi bhal lage to**
 Fighting much remain-PROG-PL FOC much good feel
 'The ones that have a lot of fighting.'

Interviewer: **Apuni ki kotha pora kotha koy apuni laga**
 2SG what talk SRCE talk say-PRES 2SG GEN
sathi-khan logote ?
 friend-PL with 'What language do you use to talk to your friends ?

Subject: **Nagamiz** 'Nagamese.'

Interviewer: **Apuni ki kotha pora kotha ko-y apuni laga**
 2SG what talk SRCE talk say-PRES 2SG GEN
dada, didi, bhuini, baba aru
 elder brother elder sister younger sister father and

ama -khan logote?

mother-PL with

‘What language do you use to talk to your siblings, parents and grand parents?’

Subject: **Nagamiz-hi ko-y** ‘I use Nagamese, too.’
Nagamese-EMP say-PRES

Interviewer: **Apuni Nagamiz ko-bole kinika hik-ise ?**
2SG Nagamese say-COMP how learn-PAST
‘How did you learn to speak Nagamese ?’

Subject: **Ini chutu taim pora ko-iase aru**
Simply child time SRCE say-PRES-PROG and

no- jan-i- kena he hik-i- ja-yse
NEG-know-PERF- CONJ PCL EMP learn-PERF-go-PAST
‘Just speaking it since my childhood. I don’t know how I learned it.’

Interviewer: **Apuni laga baba apuni-ke poisa bishi dis-e**
2SG GEN father 2SG-OBJ money much give-PAST

ko-yle apuni itu poisa pora ki kori-bo ?
say-COND 2SG this money SRCE what do-IRR
‘If your father gave you a lot of money, what would you do with it ?’

Subject: **mithai kin-i- kha-bo aru biskut-khan bishi.**
sweets buy-PERF-eat-IRR and biscuit-PL much

kin-i- kena kha-bo, aru mangso kini-bo
buy-PERF CONJ PCL eat-IRR and meat buy-IRR

kapur-khan kini-bo, saikel kini-bo aru sathi-khan
cloth-PL buy-IRR, bicycle buy-IRR, and friend-PL

logote moja kor-i- kena pira-bo
with fun do-PERF CONJ PCL travel-IRR..
‘I’d buy a lot of sweets and cookies and eat them. I’d also buy meat, clothes, bicycle, and travel around with my friends.’

Appendix -I

(Personal experience described by various informants)

Subject: Toshi (Ao)

Age: Approximately 70.

Interviewer: **Accha. apuni jibon laga kunuba dangor ghotona**
Well, 2SG life GEN some big incident

nohoyle kisa ekta ko-i- di-bi na ?
otherwise kisa one say-PERF give-IRR PCL

Toshi: **Ase, . sob manu laga life-te to inika ek din thak-e,**
exist all person GEN life-LOC FOC such one day exist-PRES

ami laga bi ase. Ek bar to ek din bishi daru
1-SG GEN also exist. One time FOC one day much rice beer

kha-i- lo-yse. Ami jowan time-te ekta jongol-te
eat-PERF take -PAST 1-SG young time-LOC one forest-LOC

ja-ysile. Tate ja-i- kena olop solop poisa to
go-PLU. There go-PERF CONJ PCL some ECHO money FOC

lagi-bo itu karone ami ja-ysile kam-kori-bole.
need this reason 1-SG go-PLU work-do -COMP

Ami sath-te ekta bura bi thak-ise aru
1-SG with-LOC one old man also remain-PAST and friend

sathi-bi thak-ise.
friend-also remain-PAST

‘Yes, there is. There is such a day in everybody’s life; I’ve one too. One day I drank too much rice beer. When I was young, once I had gone to a forest. I needed money, so I went there in order to find work. There was an old man and a friend with me ,too.’

Tin jon mil-i- kena ja-ise aru
Three person join-PERF CONJ PCL go-PAST and

ja-i- kena kam kor-i- thak-ise, boh-i
go-PERF CONJ PCL work do-PERF-remain-PAST sit-PERF

thak-ise. Hoylebi jongol-te iman bishi khatra
 remain-PAST. However, forest-LOC like this much dangerous

jaga ase bishi bhiton-te ase. Itu to Mon distrikt-te
 place be much inside-LOC exist This FOC Mon district-LOC

ase. Itu manu to sob ektom khatra ase de
 exist. This person FOC all very ferocious be PCL.
 'Three of us went there together, and having arrived there we kept working. We
 were settled. However, in deep forests there are very dangerous spots. You know,
 this place is located in the Mon district. There everyone is ferocious.'

Accha, ami-khan juw-a boh-i kena kam
 O.K., 1-PL go-PERF settle-PERF CONJ PCL work

kor-i kor-i kena ek hapta nishina ho-yse.
 do-PPL do-PPL CONJ PCL one week similar be-PAST

Kam kor-a taim-te ami sathi laga hat to beya pora
 Work do-PPL time-LOC 1-SG friend GEN hand FOC bad SRCE

kat-i ja-yse. Ami to eku idea nai ki kori-o.
 cut-PERF go-PAST. 1-SG FOC any idea NEG-PRES what do-IRR

jongol-te ase. Kunuba inika idea di-a nai
 Forest-LOC be Some like this idea give-PERF NEG-PRES

inika hoyle to khun stop ho-i- ja-y
 like this PCL FOC blood stop be-PERF go-PRES
 'Well, having arrived and settled there we kept working. A week passed like this.
 While working one day, my friend's hand was cut badly. I had no idea what to do.
 We were in a jungle. Nobody ever told me how blood could be stopped.'

Itu taim bishi khatra ho-i- ja-yse. Last-te
 This time much dangerous be-PERF go-PAST. End-LOC

ami-khan kow-ise "itu taun-te ja-bi". To taun to
 1-PL say-PAST this townLOC go-IRR. Well town FOC

jongol pora ek din lage. To tai-ke patha-i di-se.
 forest SRCE one day takes. FOC 3SG-OBJ send-PERF give-PAST

Tai patha-i- kena ami-khan dui jon to
 3SG send -PERF CONJ PCL 1-PL two person FOC

jongol-te boh-i ja-yse. Hoylebi dui jon bi iman
 forest-LOC sit -PERF go-PAST However, two person also such

khatra jaga-te kam kor-a bi life risky ase.
 dangerous place- LOC work do-PPL also life risky be.

Itu karone dui jon bhi ja-bo fasla kori-se
 This due to two person also go-IRR decide do-PAST
 'Having sent him on, two of us stayed in the forest. However, working in such a dangerous place was risky for our lives. So we decided to leave, too.'

Dui jon bhi ah-ise, ah-i- kena bosti
 Two person also com-PAST, come-PERF CONJ PCL village

poncha-ise. Hoylebi, jongol-te mochchar kat-i kat-i
 reach-PAST. However, forest-LOC mosquito cut-PERF cut-PERF

kat-i- kena malaria dor-i- lo-yse
 kat-PERF CONJ PCL malaria catch-PERF take-PAST.
 'We two also reached a village, but having been bitten continuously by mosquitoes, we caught malaria.'

Tate ami laga baba bi thak-a nai ma
 There 1-SG GEN father also emain-PERF NEG-PRES, mother

thak-a nai. Khali ami laga kokai
 NEG-PERF NEG PRES Only 1-SG GEN elder brother

thaki-se. To am-ar dawai kor-i- bole kunbi
 remain-PAST. FOC 1-SG-GEN medicine do-PERF COMP no one

thak-a nai Bosti manu olop solop
 remain-PERF NEG -PRES. village person some ECHO

ah-i- kena modot kor-i kor-i- kena
 come-PERF CONJ PCL help do-PERF do-PERF CONJ PCL

ek dui hapta ho-i kena, ekdom bishi dangor
 one two week be-PERF CONJ PCL very much big

.

kotha ho-yse - ekdom khaw-a na par-a nai
 talk be-PAST – very eat-PERF NEG can -PERF NEG-PRES
 ‘I had neither my father nor my mother there to take me to the doctor. Only my elder brother was there. A few villagers came to help me out. Thus one or two weeks passed. The biggest problem was I could not eat at all.’

Last-te ami laga dada to tai bhi iman
 End-LOC 1-SG GEN elder brother FOC 3SG also such

dimak to thak-a nai, jowan taim-te.
 intelligence FOC remain-PERF NEG-PRES, young time-LOC

To ami-ke lo-i ja-yse. Dispansari ja-i
 FOC, 1-SG-OBJ take-PERF go-PAST. Dispensary go-PERF

kena doktor lok pa-yse. Doktor to
 RF CONJ PCL doctor meet get-PAST. Doctor FOC

kokai-ke bishi gali di-se kile poila pora
 elder brother-OBJ much scold give-PAST why early SRCE

an-a na-i. kile etiya ah-ise. Ektom
 bring-PERF NEG PRES why now come-PAST. Very

kiba kiba dawai mila-i- kena ekdom
 something something medicine mix-PERF CONJ PCL very

charta pasta khila-i- di-se. “Khila-i kena lo-i
 four five feed -PERF give-PAST. Eat-PERF CONJ PCL take-PERF

ja-bi”, kow-ise. Olop olop dawai bhi di-se.
 go-IMP, say-PAST Some ECHO medicine also give -PAST.

Hoylebi khali itu dawai pora ami-ke jan bacha-i
 However, only this medicine SRCE 1-SG-OBJ life save-PERF

di-a na-i; Iswar pora ami-ke jan bacha-i
 give-PERF NEG-PRES; God SRCE 1-SG-OBJ life save-PERF

di-se. Ami Iswar logote ja-i kena ah-ise.
 give-PAST. 1-SG God with go-PERF CONJ PCL come-PAST
 ‘Finally my brother....at that young age my brother wasn’t very intelligent either. Anyway, he took me to the clinic and I saw a doctor. The doctor scolded him, “Why have you brought him to me now? Why didn’t you bring him over before ?” He

mixed four or five medicines and gave me that . Having given me the medicine, he said to my elder brother, “After he has eaten take him home.” He also gave me some medicine. However, medicine alone did not save me. God saved my life. I went to God and came back .’

Appendix-J

Songs

Song#1: Nagaland City Kuri-bole

Nagaland City Do-COMP 'In order to urbanize Nagaland City.'

Voice: Methaneilie Jütakhrie

Chorus: [Kohima-te thak-ia-khan nisa lag-e phutani
Kohima-LOC live-PERF-PL drunk get-PRES conceited

Wokha pora ah-ia-khan chalak chalak ah-ise
Wokha SRCE come-PERF-PL cunning cunning come-PAST

Mokokchung thak-ia-khan stail kor-i ah-ise
Mokokchung live-PERF-PL fashion do-PPL come-PAST

Zunheboto pora ah-ia-khan jagara]
Zunheboto SRCE come-PERF-PL quarrelsome
'Those who are from Kohima are drunkards and conceited;
those that come from Wokha are cunning; those who come from Mokokchung show
off too much; and those who come are from Zunheboto are quarrelsome.'

#1 Sop jat bi Kohima-te jama kuri-she,
All ethnicity also Kohima-LOC gather do-PAST

Kohima kepitel, pakka rasta, dhunga kha-y,
Kohima capital, paved roads smoke eat-PRES

pakka krischian, pakka chor,
good Christian notorious thief

pakka rendy renda bi sop ashe
professional whore gigolo also sop exist

[Chorus: Nagaland siti kori-bole. Kohima-te thak-ia-khan
Nagaland city do - COMP. Kohima-LOC live-PERF-PL

'All kinds of people have gathered in Kohima, the capital city.
Here, the streets are paved and people smoke. There are perfect Christians, notorious
thieves, professional whores and gigolos in Kohima. [Chorus: In order to urbanize
Nagaland. Those who are from Kohima.....]

#ii Nagaland minister bishi n-ahi-le bi
Nagaland minister much NEG-come-COND also

Lollypop, bubble-gum, nipple kin-i-di-bo
Candy gum nipple buy-PERF-give-IRR

**Nagaland poisa bishi ,
Nagaland money much,**

Office-te na-ja-yle bi tolop pa-y
Office-LOC NEG-go-COND also wages get-PRES

[Chorus: Nagaland city kuri-bole.. Kohima-te thak-ia-khan
Nagaland city do-COMP Kohima-LOC live-PERF-PL

‘Although the ministers don’t come to Nagaland that often, they will buy you lollipops, bubble-gum and pacifiers. There’s a lot of money in Nagaland. Even though you don’t go to wor, you get paid.’

[In order to urbanize Nagaland. Those who live in Kohima..]

#iii. **Pani, elektrik bi aji pa-y kali ja-y**
 Water, electricity also today get-PRES tomorrow go-PRES

Politiks chu-i di-le transfer khujili-bo.
Politics touch-PERF give-COND transfer seek-IRR

Thikadar, inginear, kam na-kur-i kena
Contractor, Engineer work NEG do-PERF CONJ PCL

Bill bat kuri-bi
bill rice do-IMP

[Chorus: Nagaland city kuri-bole. Kohima-te thak-ia-khan]
Nagaland city do-COMP Kohima-LOC live-PPL-PL

‘Although you may have water and electricity today, you may not have them tomorrow. If you get involved in politics, you will be transferred. Contractors and engineers, submit your bills without having done the job, and cash your check’. [Chorus: In order to urbanize Nagaland. Those who are from Kohima.....]

Doktor nars, manu muri-a piche-te ahi-bi !
Doctor nurse people die-PERF behind-LOC come-IRR

Police-khan salam daku-ke di-bo lage.
Police-PL salute robber-OBJ give-need

Bepari-khan megik jan-e, sopji ekta pora duita bona-y
 Shopkeeper-PL magic know-PRES, greens one SRCE two make-PRES

[Chorus: **Nagaland city kuri-bole. Kohima-te thak-ia-khan**
 Nagaland city do-COMP.....

‘Doctors and nurses, you may arrive after the patient has died.
 Policemen, you must salute the robbers. The businessmen know magic; they can
 make two bunches of greens out of one [In order to urbanize Nagaland. Those who
 are from Kohima...]

Assam-te gahuri guru-khan ahi-bi
 Assam-LOC pig cow-PL come-IMP come-IMP

Naga laga muk-te miting kuri-bole.
 Naga GEN mouth-LOC meeting do-COMP

Mui-khan nijo-r bitor-te maf olop bi no-di-bi,
 I-PL self-GEN inside-LOC forgive a little even NEG-give-IMP

Belak manu osor-te hiro name pa-bole
 Different people near-LOC hero name get-COMP

Enika bal thak-ile olop din ho-yle
 Like this good remain-COND a few day be-COND

Piche-te Nagland ulta – DNLAGANA ho-bo
 Later-LOC Nagaland opposite– DNLAGANA – be-IRR

[Chorus: **Nagaland city kuri-bole. Kohima-te thak-ia-khan....**
 Nagaland city do-COMP. Kohima-LOC live-PPL-PL

‘Pigs and cows, you come to Assam and hold meetings in the mouths of the Nagas.
 Do not forgive your own people so that you can earn the praise of other peoples. If
 it continues like this for a while, Nagaland will become the opposite of what it is
 today: DNLAGANA.’ [Chorus: In order to urbanize Nagaland. Those who live in
 Kohima..]

Song# 2: Drug Addict

Voice: Kepfhü Rünyü

Chorus: [Ama-r sundor gao bi drugs kha-i-kena
 1-SG-GEN handsome body also drugs eat-PERF CONJ PCL

khotom hoi-ja-yse
 destroy be-go-PAST

Ama-r pora-likha mogoj bi sop murai-dishe
 1-SG-GEN read-write brain also all kill-give-PAST

Ama-r taka-poisa-khan bi drug pora jolai-di-she.]
 1-SG-GEN money-ECHO-PL also drug SRCE burn-give-PAST
 'Even my handsome body has been destroyed because of doing drugs; my educated
 brain, my money and wealth have all been burned by drugs.'

#1 Hey ! Ami ekta drug galli-te berai ja-ysile
 Hey ! 1-SG one drug alley-LOC travel go-PLUP

Mon dukh loi-ah-ise.
 mind regret take--come-PAST

Moromo-r baba ma ama-r chinta pora
 Love-GEN father mother 1-SG-GEN worry SRCE

hoonka-le dui-jon
 dry -PAST two-person

Prithibi ari-dise ari-di-se. [Chorus:]
 world leave-give-PAST leave-give-PAST
 'Hey ! I walked into a drug alley. I have come out of it with pains. My dear parents
 have become thin worrying about me. The world has forsaken me .. I have been
 abandoned.'

#2 Drugs karone ami paap kur-ise
 Drugs for 1-SG sin do-PAST

Churi bhi kur-ise misa bhi ko-yse
 Steal also do-PAST lie also say-PAST

Sathi khandan-ke bhi beya pa-bole di-se
 Friend excellent-OBJ also bad get-COMP give-PAST

maf kuri-di-bi, ami bhal ho-bole suru kur-ise.

forgive do-give-IMP 1-SG good be-COMP start do-PAS

'I have sinned for drugs, I have committed burglary, I have lied, and I have estranged my excellent friends. Forgive me; I have started to become good again.'

Malik-ke ta-r kutta-bi jan-e

Master-OBJ 3SG-GEN dog

Morom kur-ia-khan-ke bi ami na-chin-e. Dada

Love do-PPL-PL-OBJ also 1-SG NEG-know-PRES. Elder brother

bhai pora bi drugs-ke bhal pa-yse.

younger brother SRCE also drugs-OBJ good get-PAST

Maiki baccha pora drugs-he moi karone dangor ho-yse

Wife child SRCE drugs-NOM 1-SG reason big be-PAST

'Even the dog recognizes its master, but I don't care for those who love me. My brothers have got addicted to drugs. Even my children and wife have grown up on drugs under my influence.'

Song #3: **Dimapur**
Voice: Kepfhü Rü nyü

Dimapur thak-a kiman bhal lage
Dimapur remain-COMP how good feel

Sop jati-khan bhi ama-r bondhu
All ethnicity-PL also I-SG-GEN friend

Ghor bilding bhi sundor bishi ase
Home building also beautiful much be

Dukan-te saman khusi laga pa-y.
Shop-LOC commodities happy GEN get-PRES
'It is so wonderful to live in Dimapur ! All the ethnicities are my friends. There are a lot of beautiful houses and buildings in Dimapur, and you can get anything you want in the stores.'

Chorus: **Hey ! Dimapur moja lagi-le-bi**
Hey ! Dimapur fun feel-COND-also

Ho-yle-bi mon pura no-ho-y
be-COND -also mind full NEG-be-PRES

Kilemane, Hey! Ekta chukri-bi ami-ke
Because , Hey ! One girl also I-SG-OBJ

khushi na-pa-y ho !
happy NEG-get-PRES PCL
'Although it is fun to live in Dimapur, hey, I'm not completely happy, though, because I haven't found even one girl here who makes me happy.'

#2 **Bhook lagi-le char phale hotel pa-y**
Hunger feel-COND four directions hotel/restaurant get-PRES

Gorom bari-le ais-krim pa-bo,
Hot increase-COND ice-cream get-IRR,

Paidal alchi lagi-le ricksahw pa-y
Walk lazy feel-COND rickshaw get-PRES

Sob sahab ami-ke mati-le-bi

All gentleman 1-SG-OBJ call-COND-also.

‘If I’m hungry there are restaurants all around; if it gets too hot I can have ice-cream; and if I feel tired of walking, I can take a rickshaw although people may make fun of me by calling me a ‘sahib’.’

Din-te gari milll awaz bhal lage

Day-LOC car factory sound good feel

Rati-te mocchar gan moja pa-y

Night-LOC mosquito song fun get-PRES

Kapur-bi khawa luwa bi sob ashe

Clothes-also food ECHO also all exist

Taka poisa pura thak-ile-bi

Money complete remain-COND also

‘I like the sound of cars and factories during the day; at night I like the songs of the mosquitoes. Although I have everything: clothes, food, money — everything.....’

Dhon manu gaddi-te aram kor-e

Wealth man car-LOC comfort do-PRES

Bhipari-khan station sundor kor-e

Business-PL station beautiful do-PRES

Skirt, sari, tait-fiting, jeans, long pant

Skirt saree tight fitting dress jeans, trousers

Rasta bhorta birai thak-ile-bi

Street full walk-remain-COND-also

Ami Dimapur-te puncture ho-yse

1-SG Dimpaur-LOC puncture be-PAST

Ami Assam-te ja-iase. Bye bye .

1-SG Assam-LOC go-PAST. Bye bye !

‘The rich relax in the comfort of cars. Businessmen decorate the station road with skirts, saris, tight fitting dresses-- jeans and trousers. Although I walk around in those streets I have been hurt in Dimapur. I’m leaving for Assam. Bye-bye!’

Appendix-K (A folk tale)

LOVE

Ek bar Poilwa bosti-te Nkiemswang kow-i- kena
One time Poilwa village-LOC Nkiemswang say-PERF- CONJ PCL

bishi sundor chukra ekta thaki-se. Tai laga gor-manu to
much handsome boy one remain-PAST. 3SG GEN family FOC

ektom bishi dhuni ase. Aru tai laga gor manu ketiya kam-te
very much rich be. And 3SG GEN relatives when work-LOC

ula-y itu homoy-te tai-khan logote ja-bo kow-i kena
go-PRES this time-LOC 3SG-PL with go-IRR say-PRF CONJ PCL

kant-i- thak-e. Itu karone tai laga ma tai-ke ekta
cry-PERF remain-PRES. This due to 3SG GEN mother 3SG-OBJ one

anta hodai di-thaki-se. Ek din tai laga gor manu
egg always give-remain-PAST. One day 3SG GEN home man

kheti ju-a homoy-te tai bi ja-bo kow-i kanti-ase.
farm go-PPL time-LOC 3SG also go-IRR say-PRF cry-PRES PROG.

Tai laga ma to khong uth-i- kena chukra-ke eku
3SG GEN mother FOC anger rise-PERF CONJ PCL boy-OB anything

no- di- i- kena kheti-te jai-jai-se. Tai-khan ju-a
NEG-give-PERF- CONJ PCL farm-LOC go- go-PAST. 3-PL go-PERF

pisote tai bi kant-i- kena tai-khan pisote pisote ahi-se.
after 3SG also cry-PPL CONJ PCL 3-PL behind behind come-PAST

Itu homoy-te hawa aru pani dangor pori-se aru chota nodi to
This time-LOC wind and rain big fell-PAST and small river FOC

pani ho-i- kena par kori-bo na-par-a hoy-se.
water be-PERF CONJ PCL cross do-IRR NEG-can-COMP be -PAST.

Itu homoy-te Herielwema kow-i-kena ekta manu
 This time-LOC Herielwema say-PERF-CONJ PCL] one person

kheti-te ju-a homoy-te chukra-tu-ke dekh-i- kena
 farm-LOC go-PPL time-LOC boy-DEF-OBJ see- PERF CONJ PCL

gor-e luka-i- lu-i- ja-yse.
 home-LOC hide-PPL take-PERF go-PAST.

'Once in a village called Poilwa, there was a handsome boy named Nkiemswang. His parents were very rich. When his parents got ready to go to work, he would cry to go with them. So his mother used to give him an egg every day. One day, the boy started crying when his parents were going to work. This made his mother angry, so they left for their farm without giving him anything. After they had left, the boy followed them. At that time a heavy storm broke out and the small river became so full of water that it became impossible to cross it. At that time someone called Herielwema, who was going to his farm, found the boy and kidnapped him.'

Ma-baba gor-te ah-i kena tai-ke
 Mother-father home-LOC come-PERF CONJ PCL 3SG-OBJ

dekhi-bo na-par-a hoy-se. Itu rati por tai laga
 find-IRR NEG-can-COMP be-PAST. This night throughout 3SG GEN

ma-baba to tai-ke mat-i mat-i bisar-i
 father-mother FOC 3SG-OBJ call-PERF call-PERF look for-PERF

thak-iase. Aru tai-ke mat-i kotha to Nkiemswang
 remain-PRES PROG. And 3SG-OBJ call-PERF talk FOC Nkiemswang

bi hun-ise. Hoylebi, Herielwema-he tai-ke judi halla
 also hear-PAST. However, Herielwema-NOM 3SG-OBJ COND noise

kori-le jathi pora mora-i- di-bo kow-a karone bhoy
 do-COND spear SRCE kill-PERF-give-IRR say-PERF due to fear

pora jowab di-a- na-i -- chup chap thak-ise
 SRCE response give-PERF NEG-PAST - - quiet ECHO remain-PAST

'Upon returning home, his parents did not see him. They looked for him and called out to him throughout the night. Nkiemswang also heard them call him; however, since Herielwema had told him that if he made a sound he would be killed by a spear, he did not respond.'

Dusra din-te, manu-tu-e tai-ke lu- i- kena
 Next day-LOC, man-DEF-NOM 3SG-OBJ take-PERF- CONJ PCL

Benreu bosti-te Dirangswale kow-i-kena ekta chukri
 Benreu village-LOC Dirangswale say-PERF-CONJ PCL one girl

laga gor manu logote bikri kor-i- di-se. Itu gor manu to
 one relatives to sell do-PERF give-PAST. This relative - FOC

chukra nai Itu karone tai-ke bishi morom kori-se..
 boy NEG-PRES. This due to 3SG-OBJ much love do-PAST
 'The following day he took him to the village of Benreu and sold him to the parents of a girl
 named Dirangswale. That man had no son, so he loved Nkiemswang a lot.'

Otu manu-tu-e kheti-te juw-a homoy-te tai-ke kheti
 That man-DEF-NOM farm-LOC go-PPL time-LOC 3SG-OBJ farm

rasta kinar-te rukh logote band-i kena boh-i- di-thak-e.
 path side-LOC log with tie-PERF CONJ PCL sit-PERF-give-remain-

To manu-khan kheti-ite juw-a homoy-te itu chukra-tu-ke
 FOC man-PL farm-LOC go-PPL time-LOC this boy-DEF-OBJ

dekh-i- kena "Dirangswale laga haba chukra ekta kini-se" see-PERF-
 CONJ PCL. Dirangswale GEN father boy one buy-PAST

hoylebi kiman bi morom no- thak- i- kena inika
 however how much also love NEG remain-PERF CONJ PCL thus

rakh-iase " inika kow-i-kina kunuba manu-he to
 keep-PRES PROG thus say-PERF-CONJ PCL some man-NOM FOC

tai-khan nijor laga khana pora mangso ekta lu- i- kena
 3-PL self GEN food SRCE meat one take-PERF-CONJ PCL

tai-ke di-bo, aru kunuba to lathi pora mar-i- kena ja-bo.
 3-sg-OBJ give-IRR and some FOC stick SRCE hit-PERF CONJ PCL go-IRR..
 'Before going to work, the man would tie the boy up to a log and leave him sitting on the
 street by the side of the farm. Upon seeing him, people would say: "Dirangswale's father has
 bought a boy but how cruel he is treating him." And while some would give him a piece of
 meat from his own lunch, others beat him with sticks.'

Sob manu kheti-te jaw-a pisote chukra laga gor manu
 All man farm-LOC go-PERF after boy GEN master

to tai-ke gor-te lu-i- ah- i- kena gusul
 FOC 3SG-OBJ home-LOC take-PERF-come -PERF CONJ PCL bath

kur-i-di-thak-e **aru itu pasote khawa bal**
do-PERF-give-remain-PRES and this after food well

bona- i- kena tai-ke khila-i thak-e aru
prepare-PERF-CONJ PCL. 3SG-OBJ feed-PERF remain-PRES and

kheti pora guri ah-a homoy-te dhan chamra akuman
farm SRCE return-PERF come-PPL time-LOC dhan husk a little

dhan kunt-ia jaga-te di- i- kena-thake. Aru itu
rice unhusk-PPL place -LOC give-PERF-CONJ-remain. And this

dhan kunt-ia awaz to hun-i-kena
unhusked rice unhusk-PPL sound FOC hear-PERF-CONJ PCL

manu-khan tai karone kiman bi morom nai hoy
man-PL 3SG for how much also love NEG-PRES thus

inika bhabhi thak-e to
thus think-remain FOC.

‘After everybody is gone to work, he takes the boy back home, gives him a bath, prepares good food and gives that to the boy. And when it is time for people to go back home from work, he leaves the boy by the pestle. Hearing the “kū kū ” sound produced by the pestle, people think the man is very cruel to the boy.’

Dangor hu-a pasot it chukra to sundor, mon
Big be-PERF after this boy FOC handsome, mind big

dangor khela manu ekta ho-yse. Benreu bosti laga
big sport man one become-PAST. Benreu village GEN

manu-khan to ek din Poilwa bosti-te kheli-bole
man-PL FOC one day Poilwa village-LOC play-COMP

ja-bole ase. Hoylebi tai laga gor manu tai-ke to
go-IRR be. But 3SG GEN master 3SG-OBJ FOC

ja-bo-di-bole mon nai, kilemane tai jonom
go-IRR-give-COMP mind NEG-PRES because 3SG birth

hu-a bosti-te thak-ia homo-te tai laga
happen-PERF village-LOC remain-PPL time-LOC 3SG GEN

ama baba-khan-ke jan-i-kena aru gur-i
 mother father-PL-OBJ know-PERF-CONJ PCL more return-PERF

na-ahi-bo buli to bhoy lag-e. Kintu tai laga khela to
 NEG-come-IRR COMP FOC fear get-PRES. But 3SG GEN play FOC

bishi bhal hu-a karone tai laga bosti manu-khan tai-ke
 very good be-PERF due to 3SG GEN village man-PL 3SG-OBJ

jihoylabi ahi-bole mati-se Aru tai laga pura
 by any means come-COMP call-PAST. And 3SG GEN whole

bosti manu-khan tai laga gor manu-ke bi tai-ke
 village man-PL 3SG GEN master-OBJ also 3SG-OBJ

ja-bo di-bole bi mangi-a karone tai-ke ja-bole di-se.
 go-IRR allow-COMP also request-PERF due to 3SG-OBJ go-COMP allow-PAST.
 'The boy grew up to become a handsome man and a great sportsman. Once the village of Benreu is about to go to play a game of soccer in the village of Poilwa. But Nkiemswang's master doesn't want to let him go to play in that village because he fears that while in his native village he might find out about his parents and not return. But since Nkiemswang was a very good player, the villagers asked his master to let him join them by any means. Since the entire village requested him to allow him to go, Nkiemswang's master allowed him to go with the team.'

Nkiemswang to tai laga bosti manu-khan logote
 Nkiemswang FOC 3SG GEN village man-PL with

kheli-bole ja-yse aru tay-khan kisim kisim khela to
 play-COMP go-PAST and 3-PL kind ECHO game FOC

kheli-se. Hoylebi khela-te kunuba bi to tai-ke
 game-PAST But game-LOC anyone FOC also FO 3SG-OBJ

par-a- nai - - sob-hi tai logote hari-se
 can-PERF NEG PAST - - all -EMP 3SG with lose-PAST.

'Nkiemswang went along with his villagers to play, and they played various sports. Nobody was able to defeat him—everyone lost to him.'

Itu karone bosti manu-khan to tai upor-te suku bisi
 This due to village man-PL FOC 3SG on-LOC eye much

jol-ise. Khela khotom hu-a pasote bosti manu-khan-he
 burn-PAST. Sport over be-PERF after village man-PL -NOM

gor-te thaki-bole ek jon ek jon-ke mati-se aru
 house-LOC stay-COMP one person one person-OBJ invite-PAST and

dusra manu-khan sob-ke hi lu-i-ja-yse. hoylebi
 other man-PL all-OBJ EMP take-PERF-go-PAST; however

bosti manu-khan to suku bishi jol-ia pora kunnebi tai-ke
 village man-PL FOC 3-SG with very jealous not one 3-SG-OBJ

gort-e mati-a nai; aru tai to etiya shild-khan
 house-LOC call-PERF NEG-PRES; and 3-SG FOC now shield-PL

lu-i- kena ekela bahar-te khara hui-thaki-se itu take-PERF-
 CONJ PCL alone outside-LOC stand be-remain-PAST that

homoy-te tai laga baba laga buini tai-ke
 time-LOC 3SG GEN father GEN younger sister 3SG-OBJ

dekhi-kena "Kun laga chukra-ke kunuba na-mati-kena yate
 see-PERF "who GEN boy-OBJ no one NEG-call-PERF here

khara kori-se ho !. Gor bitor-te ahi-bi" inika
 stand do-PAST, PCL! House inside-LOC come-IMP" thus

mat-i- kena tai to chukra-tu-ke gor bitor-te
 call-PERF-CONJ PCL 3SG FOC boy-DEF-OBJ house inside-LOC

lu- i- ah- i- ja-yse Aru bhal pora khana pina
 take-PERF-come-PERF-go-PAST. And well SRCE food ECHO

paka-i-kena bat, murigi mangso aru modu di-se.
 cook-PERF-CONJ PCL rice, chicken meat and wine give-PAST.

'Because of this, the villagers grew jealous of him. When the games were over, each of the villagers invited one of the players and another person escorted him to the house he was invited to, but nobody invited him. So he stood outside by himself with his shields. At that moment his aunt spotted him. Having said, "Hey, whose son have you not invited and left standing here !" she took him to her house. She cooked good food and served him rice, chicken, and wine.'

Chukra-tu to bhuk lagi-se aru itu karone joldi
 Boy-DEF FOC hunger get-PAST and this due to fast

pora kha-i-thak-iase. Okosmat upor phale suku
 SRCE eat-PERF-remain-PRES PROG. Suddenly above direction eyes

to utha-i-kena olop upor-te rakh-i-thak-a
 FOC raise-PERF-CONJ PCL slight above-LOC keep-PERF-remain-PERF

ekta thali aru piala-khan phale sa-i-thak-ise.
 one dish and bowl-PL direction look-PERF-remain-PAST.

Buri maiki to “Apuni inika ki dek-iase, ho ?”
 Old woman FOC “2SG thus what watch-PRES PROG, PCL

inika hudi-se hoylebi tai kunuba jowab to poila-te
 thus ask-PAST but 3SG any response FOC first-LOC

di-a-nai; bal pora sa-i-thaki-se.
 give-PERF-NEG PRES well SRCE saw-PERF-remain-PAST.

Olop pasote “Itu thali aru piala to ektom moy poila-te
 A little later “This dish and bowl FOC very 1-SG early-LOC

mane boccha thak-ia homoy-te chola-i-thak-a
 meaning, child remain-PPL time-LOC use-PPL-remain-PERF

thali aru piala nisina ase” inika kow-i-di-se. Itu kotha
 dish and bowl similar be.” thus say-PERF-give-PAST. This talk

hun-i-kena tay laga baba laga buini to tai laga
 hear-PERF-CONJ PCL 3SG GEN father GEN sister FOC 3SG GEN

nam aru tai laga baba laga nam to ki ase hudi-se.
 name and 3SG GEN father GEN name FOC what be ask-PAST.
 ‘The boy was hungry, so he was eating fast. Suddenly he raised his eyes and kept looking at a dish and a bowl that were put up there. The old lady asked him: “What are you looking at up there ?” At first, he did not respond; he kept watching them. A little later, he said the following: “This dish and bowl look exactly like the ones that I used as a child.” Having heard that, his aunt asked Nkiemswang what his and his father’s names were.’

Tai poila to hoyle tai laga nam kow-i- di-bole
 3SG at first FOC PCL 3SG GEN name say-PERF- give COMP

mon nai, hoylebi tai-ke bishi hudi-a nimite
 mind NEG-PRES, however, 3SG-OBJ much ask-PPL due to

“Moi laga nam to Nkiemswang ase” inika kowi-di-se.
 1-SG GEN name FOC Nkiemswang be” thus say-give-PAST.

Itu jani-bo par-a logo logote tai laga baba laga
 This know-IRR can-COMP immediately 3SG GEN father GEN

buini to otu thali aru piala-khan utha-i- kena bat
 sister FOC that dish and bowl-PL remove-PERF-CONJ PCL food

to phela-i- di-se. aru tai laga gor manu-ke
 FOC throw-PERF-give-PAST. and 3SG-GEN relative-OBJ

“Kuta sob se dangorwala-tu-ke joldi pora kat- i- lo-bi“
 “Dog all than big-DEF-OBJ quick SRCE slaughter-PERF-take-IMP

inika kow-i-di-se. Kintu gor manu to kuta to
 thus say-PERF-give-PAST. But relatives FOC dog FOC

morai di-bo na-par-a hu-i-se. Nkiemswang to
 kill give-IRR-NEG-can-PERF-NEG-be-PERF-PAST. Nkiemswang FOC

itu dekh-ise aru uth-i-kena ek bar pora hat guti
 this see-PAST and rise-PERF-CONJ PCL one time SRCE elbow

pora mar-i-kena kuta-ke mora-i-di-se.
 SRCE hit-PERF-CONJ PCL dog-OBJ kill-PERF-give-PAST
 ‘At first he didn’t want to answer her questions, but since she insisted he told her that his name was Nkiemswang. Upon hearing his name she grabbed his dish and threw the food away, and told her relatives to slaughter the biggest dog immediately. But, they were not able to kill the dog. He saw this and killed the dog by a single strike of his elbow.’

Joldi pora itu paka-i-kena aru modu sob se
 Quick SRCE this cook-PERF CONJ PCL and wine all than

bal-tu an-i- kena tai-ke kha-bole di-kena
 good-DEF bring-PERF CONJ PCL 3SG-OBJ eat-COMP give-CONJ PCL

khila-ise. Aru bishi khusi pora sob bi to rati por
 feed-PAST. And much joy SRCE all also FOC night whole

kotha pat-ise aru moja kuri-se. Dusra din-te
 conversation strike-PAST and fun do-PAST. Next day-LOC

tai laga sathi-khan to gur-i- ja-bole redi hu-ise
 3-SG GEN friend-PL FOC return-PERF go-COMP ready be -PAST

kintu tai laga baba ama aru gor manu tai-ke ja-bole
 but 3SG GEN father mother and relatives 3SG-OBJ go-COMP

no-di-bo kow-i-kena ektom rukhi-se.
 NEG-allow-IRR say-PERF-CONJ PCL very block-PAST.

Hoylebi Dirangswale laga gor manu tai-ke bishi morom
 But Dirangswale GEN relatives 3SG-OBJ much love

di-a-tu mon-te ahi-se.
 give-PERF-DEF mind-LOC come-PAST.

'After cooking it fast she served him the best of wines that she had. Out of great joy, they talked throughout the night and enjoyed themselves. The following day, all his friends were ready to return to their village. But his father said that they would not let him return, and they blocked his way. However, he recalled how Dirangswale's family loved him.

Bosti manu-khan sob juw-a pasote olop deri
 Village man-PL all go-PERF after slight late

ho-i-kena tai bi bosti-te gura-i ahi-se, aru
 be-PERF-CONJ PCL 3SG also village-LOC return-PERF come-PAST and.

Dirangswale bi murgi mangso aru bal modu lu-i-kena
 Dirangswale also chicken meat and good wine take-PERF-CONJ

tai-ke rasta-te log-pa-i-kena dui jon ekiloke
 3SG-OBJ street-LOC meet_get-PERF-CONJ two person together

kha-i- kena gor-te gur-i- ahi-se.
 eat-PERF-CONJ PCL house-LOC return-PERF come-PAST.

'So, a little after all the villagers had returned, he also returned to the village. Dirangswale also went with chicken and wine and met him in the way. The two of them ate together and returned home.'

Tate ah-ia pasote hoyle to tai to baba ama
 There come-PERF after PCL FOC 3SG FOC father mother

gor-te gura-i- ja-bole bhab-i- thaki-se.
 home-LOC return-PERF- go-COMP consider-PERF remain-PAST

Etiya to tai baba ama-khan-ke bi mon thak-e aru
 Now FOC 3SG father mother -PL-OBJ also mind remain-PRES and

Dirangswale-ke bi mon thak-e- karone bishi dukh pa-y.

Dirangswale-OBJ also mind remain-PRES due to much pain get-PRES.

‘After arriving there though, he started considering going back to his parents. Now because he missed both Dirangswale and his master, he was very upset.’

Ek rati tai to ja-i-ja-bole bhab-i-kena

One night 3SG FOC go-PERF-go-COMP think-PERF-CONJ PCL

humai-se. Phojur ah-a homoy-te tai laga necklace aru

sleep-PAST. Morning come-PERF time-LOC 3SG GEN necklace and

armlet ula-i-kena dhan kunt-ia khuri laga chenda -te

armlet open-PERF rice unhusk-PPL log GEN hole-LOC

rakh-i-kena jai-ja-yse. Itu homoy-te Dirangswale

keep-PERF-CONJ PCL go -go-PAST. This time-LOC Dirangswale

tai-ke bisar-i-kena chukra -khan laga morong-te

3SG-OBJ search-PPL-CONJ PCL boy-PL GEN youth hostel-LOC

ahi-se. Itu homoy-te kunuba manu tai-ke ektom

come-PAST. This time-LOC some man 3SG-OBJ very

phujur-te tai-laga necklace aru armlet ula-i- rakh-a

morning-LOC 3SG-GEN necklace and armlet open-PERF-keep-PERF

dekhi-se inika kow-i-di-se. Itu jan-i-kena tai

see-PAST thus say-PERF-give-PAST. This know-PERF-CONJ PCL 3SG

laga sathini phoka bhitor pora tai ula-i-rakh-ia necklace

GEN girlfriend hole inside SRCE 3SG open-keep-PERF necklace

aru armlet ula-i lu-i- kena tai piche picha

and armlet retrieve-PERF take-PERF-CONJ PCL 3SG behind behind

polai-jai-se.

run-go-PAST.

‘One night he went to bed, having decided to leave. When leaving in the morning, he took off his necklace and armlet and put them inside the hole of the pestle. At that time Dirangswale arrived at the youth hostel for the boys looking for him. Someone told her that he had seen him very early in the morning taking off his necklace and armlet and putting them away. Having learned this, she picked up the necklace and the armlet from the hole, and she followed him in great haste.’

Nkiemswang nodi to thik par-kor-ia pasote nodi-te
Nkiemswang river FOC just cross-do-PERF after river-LOC

hoyle ektom dangor pani ah-i- ja-ise. Itu karone
PCL very big water come-PERF-go-PAST. This due to

tai laga sathini to nodi par kori-bo na-par-a ho-yse.
3SG GEN girlfriend FOC river cross do-IRR NEG-can-PERF be-PAST.

Itu karone tai-ke mati-kena dukh pora
This due to 3SG-OBJ call-PERF-CONJ PCL sorrow SRCE

kow-i- di-se: "Apuni laga necklace aru armlet-ke
say-PERF-give-PAST: 2SG GEN necklace and armlet -OBJ

lo-bole mon nai niki?" Hoylebi tai-ke
take-COMP mind NEG PRES Q-PCL? However, 3SG-OBJ

na-dekh-i -kena tai dhor-i- thak- a- tu
NEG-see -PERF CONJ PCL 3SG..hold-PERF-remain-PERF-DEF

phela-i- di-kena kant-i kant-i- kena gor-te
throw-PERF give-CONJ PCL cry-PPL cry-PPL- CONJ PCL home-LOC

gura-i ja-i- ja-yse.
return go-PERF- go-PAST.

'Right after Nkiemswang had crossed the river, it flooded. Because of this she wasn't able to cross the river. So, with a heavy heart she said, "Didn't you want to take your armlet and necklace "However, when she did not see him, she threw them away and went home crying.'

Etiya to chukra-tu to tai laga nijor laga baba ama
Now FOC boy-DEF FOC 3SG GEN self-GEN father mother

gor-te ahi-se. Itu karone tai laga gor manu sob bishi
house-LOC come-PAST. This due to 3SG GEN relatives all much

khusi pa-yse. Hoylebi tai to tai laga sathini nimite
happy get-PAST. However, 3SG FOC 3SG GEN girlfriend for

mon to bishi dukh pa-i-kena tai laga gor usor-te
mind FOC much pain get-PERF-CONJ PCL 3SG GEN house near-LOC

thak-a ekta uncha gas thaki-se. Tai itu gas upor-te
remain-PERF one high tree remain-PAST. 3SG this tree on-LOC

uth-i- kena tai laga sathini laga bosti phale
climb-PERF CONJ PCL 3SG GEN girlfriend GEN village direction

sa-i- kena tai laga sathini-ke murgi nisina chota
look -PERF-CONJ PCL 3SG GEN girlfriend-OBJ chicken similar small

dekh-ise aru tai kapur bona-i- thak-a dekh-i-thak-e.
see-PAST and 3SG cloth make-PPL-remain-PERF see-PAST.

Kha-luwa homoy to hui-ise hoylebi tai to gas upor pora
eat-ECHO time FOC be-PAST but 3SG FOC tree on SRCE

tai laga sathini-ke sa-i-thak-ise.
3SG GEN girlfriend-OBJ look-PERF_PRES PROG.

'Now she has returned to his own parents' home. Because of this his relatives were very happy. However, having felt very sad for his girlfriend, he climbed up a very tall tree that was near his house. After climbing up (on) the tree, he looked in the direction of her village and saw her weaving cloth. He kept watching her, who looked as small as a chicken. It was time for dinner, yet he kept watching his girlfriend from the top of the tree.'

Ek din tai jongol juw-a pisote tai laga baba-he
One day 3SG forest-te go-PERF after 3SG GEN father-NOM

gas-tu kat-i-kena dheki bona-i- di-se kilemane
tree-DEF cut-PERF-CONJ PCL dheki make-PERF-give-PAST because

tai laga chukra itu gas upor-te uth-i-kena
3SG GEN boy this tree on-LOC climb-PERF-CONJ PCL

nami- a homoy-te gir-i-kena mor-i- ja-bo
get-down-PPL time-LOC fall-PERF-CONJ PCL die-PERF go-IRR

par-e-bole kat-i-di-se. Gor-te
can-PRES-COMP cut-PERF give-PAST. House-LOC

gur- i- ah-i- kena gas-tu pora dheki
return-PERF-come-PERF CONJ PCL tree-DEF SRCE pestle

bona-i-di-a dekh-i-kena mon dukh ho-i-kina
make-PERF see-PERF-CONJ PCL mind sorrow be-PERF CONJ PCL

dheki upor-te hat laga-i-kena, "Ami itu gas pora
pestle on-LOC hand touch-PERF-CONJ PCL, "1-SG this tree SRCE

moi laga sathini-ke sa- i- thaki-sile" kow-i-kena
 1-SG GEN girlfriend-OBJ watch-PERF-remain-PLU" say-PERF CONJ PCL

bishi kant-iase. Tai iman dukh ho-yse jihoylebi
 much cry-PRES PROG. 3SG so much sorrow be-PAST by any means

sadi kori-bo buli kow-i-di-se aru tai bi ahi-bo
 marriage do-IRR COMP say-PERF-give-PAST and 3SG also com-IRR

inika bi to kow-i- di-se.
 thus also FOC say-PERF-give-PAST.

'One day, after he was gone to the forest, his father cut the tree down and made a pestle out of it, because he thought that he would die while climbing down the tree. Upon returning home, he saw that a pestle was made out of the tree, from which he used to watch his girlfriend; Nkiemswang was upset. Putting his hand on the pestle he said," I used to watch my girlfriend from this tree" and cried. He was very upset and said that he was definitely going to marry her and also said that she would come there.'

Sadi kor-ia din to tai laga bosti manu-khan
 Marriage do-PPL day FOC 3SG GEN village man-PL

tai-ke sadi kur-ia jaga-te lu-i- ja-yse, aru tai
 3SG-OBJ marriage do-PPL place -LOC take-PERF go-PAST, and 3SG

laga sathini-ke bi tai laga bosti manu-khan bi tai-ke
 GEN girlfriend-OBJ also 3SG GEN village man-PL also 3SG-OBJ

bera-i lu-i- ja-i -kena sadi kor-ia
 walk-PERF take-PERF go-PERF CONJ PCL marriage do-PPL

dui jon-ke poila ikila log kori-bole kow-i- kena sob se
 two person-OBJ first alone meet do-COMP tell-PERF CONJ all than

agote ula-bo di-se.
 before advance-IRR - give-PAST.

'On the wedding day, the villagers brought him toward the wedding place and his girlfriend's villagers also took her there. They told them to get out and meet first by themselves, and having said that let them proceed.'

Hoylebi tai dui jon log kor-ia agote hi
 However, 3SG two person meet do-PERF before EMP

Tamvialwame-khan to okosmate Dirangswale-ke mora-i-di-se
 Tamvialwame-PL FOC suddenly Dirangswale-OBJ kill-give-PAST,

aru tai laga matha to lu-i kena pola-i- ja-yse.
and 3SG GEN head FOC take-PERF CONJ PCL run -PERF go-PAST

Nkiemswang to akubi kori-bo na par-a
Nkiemswang FOC anything do-IRR NEG-can-PERF

hu-i- kena itu rati ah-i-kena tai laga chuli
be-PERF-CONJ PCL this night come-PERF-CONJ PCL 3SG GEN hair

kat- i-- di-se
shave-PERF give-PAST.

'But before they could meet, Tamvialwame and his group killed her and ran away with her head. Nkiemswang wasn't able to do anything. Because of this, he shaved his hair off.'

Rati huw-a pasote tai to tai laga kuta to lo-bole
Night be-PERF after 3SG FOC 3SG GEN dog FOC take-COMP

luka-i kur-i tai Dirangswale laga bosti-te ja-ise.
secret-PERF do-PPL 3SG Dirangswale GEN village-LOC go-PAST.

Bosti-te ponch-ai- kena poila gort-e to
Village reach -PERF CONJ PCL first house-LOC FOC

chukri-khan laga morong malik maiki logote log pa-yse aru
girl-PL GEN hostel owner woman with meet get-PAST and

"Moy karone khana to morom pora bona-i- di- thaki-bi,
1-SG for food FOC kindness SRCE make-PERF-give-remain-IMP,

na, moy bosti bitor-te ja-i- kena gura-i
PCL, 1-SG village inside-LOC go-PERF- CONJ PCL return-PERF

ah-a homoy-te lo-i-kena ja-bole" inika
come-PERF time -LOC take-PERF-CONJ PCL go-COMP." thus

kow-ise. Tai to chuli kat-i-di-a karone kunuba
say-PAST 3SG FOC hair cut-PERF -give-PERF due to any

manu bi tai-ke chini-bo na-par-a ho-yse.
man also 3SG-OBJ recognize-IRR NEG-can-COMP be-PAST

'At night he secretly went to Dirangswale's village; he met with the keeper of the first youth hostel for girls and said to her, "Would you please cook some food for me so I can have it when I come back from the village. Since his head was shaved nobody was able to recognize him.'

Itu bosti-te chukra laga morong tin gor ase.
 This village-LOC boy GEN youth hostel three house exist.

Tai sob se poila morong-te ja-i-kena
 3SG all than first youth hostel-LOC go-PERF-CONJ PCL,

“Genna na-i ?” inika hudi-se.
 Holiday NEG-PRES ?” thus ask-PAST

“Etiya to na-i hoylebi bosti manu-khan he matha
 Now FOC NEG PRES; however, village man- PL NOM head

kat-i- kena an- i- rakhi-se, itu karone genna
 cut-PERF-CONJ PCL bring-PERF keep-PAST this due to celebration

kori-bole ase” inika jowab to di-se. Itu jowab
 do-COMP be thus answer FOC give-PAST. This answer

hun-i- kena tai itu morong-te thak-ia-khan-e
 hear-PERF-CONJ PCL 3SG this hostel-LOC live-PPL-PL-NOM

tai laga maiki-ke kati-a no hu-a itu buz-i-
 3SG GEN woman-OBJ cut-PERF NEG be-PERF this understand-PERF

lo-yse.
 take-PAST.

‘In that village there were three youth hostels for boys. Arriving at the first one, he asked the hostel dwellers the following: “Aren’t you having a feast here?” They replied: “No there isn’t one going on now; however, the villagers have brought a head and are getting ready to celebrate.” Upon hearing this response he realized that these hostel dwellers had not kill his beloved.’

Aru dusra morong-te bi ja-i- kena poila
 And another youth hostel-LOC also go-PERF CONJ PCL first

hud-ia nisina hudi-se. Ta-te bi poila morong nisina kotha
 ask-PAST similar ask-PAST There also first hostel similar talk

jowab di-she. Itu pora tai buzi-se dusra
 answer give-PAST. This SRCE 3SG understand-PAST other

morong-te thak-ia-khan bi no hoy.
 hostel-LOC live-PPL-PL also NEG-be-PRES.

'Upon going to the second youth hostel, he asked the same question. They also gave the same answer as the the dwellers at the first hostel. Thus he understood that they were not responsible for his beloved's death either.'

Itu pora tai sob se upor-te thak-a morong-te
 This SRCE 3SG all than above-LOC remain-PERF hostel-LOC

ja-i- kena poila nisian hudi-se. Itu homo-te
 go-PERF-CONJ PCL first similar ask-PAST. This time-LOC

manu-khan "Etiya to genna nai, hoylebi moy-khan
 man-PL "Now FOC celebration NEG-PRES, but 1-PL

to manu kat-i-kena genna kuri-bole ho-iase FOC human
 cut-PERF-CONJ PCL celebration do-COMP be-PRES

inika kow-i- di-se. Itu kotha pora to tai otu morong
 thus say-PERF-give-PAST. This talk SRCE FOC 3SG this hostel-

laga manu-khan hi tai laga maiki-ke morai di-se
 GEN man-PL EMP 3SG GEN woman-OBJ kill- give-PAST

buli jan-i-lo-yse.
 COMP learn-PERF-take-PAST

'From there he went to the third hostel, located on the top most hill, and asked them the same he had asked at the first one. This time the hostel dwellers said, " There is no celebration going on at this time; however, we cut off head and are preparing for a celebration. From what they said he learned that the dwellers of that hostel had killed his girlfriend.'

Nkiemswang itu bosti-te thak-ia homoy-te kha nimate
 Nkiemswang this village-LOC remain-PPL time-LOC eat for

murgi kat-i- kena khana to bohi-sile. Hoylebi
 chicken cut-PERF CONJ PCL food FOC carry-PLU. However,

Morong-te thak-ia-khan tai karone gahuri kat-i-kena
 hostel-LOC live-PPL-PL 3SG for pig cut-PERF-CONJ PCL

bhat ula-i- di-kena tai-ke kha-bole di-se aru
 rice serve-PERF-give-CONJ PCL 3SG-OBJ eat-COMP give-PAST and

tai kha-y na no-kha-y jani-bo karone
 3SG eat-PRES NEG NEG eat-PRES know-IRR due to

dekh-i sa- i- thak-iasile, kilemane genna
 look-PERF-watch-PERF- remain-PAST PROG because celebration

laga karone pakaw-a mangso to bodli beya kori-bole
 GEN for cook-PERF meat FOC exchange bad do-PPL

manu-khan to no-k ha-y.
 man-PL FOC NEG eat-PRES.

'Nkiemswang carried chicken and rice with him to eat while in that village. However, the hostel dwellers gave him pork and rice to eat and kept watching to see if he ate it; for someone intent upon taking revenge does not eat the meat cooked on the occasion of 'genna' (feast celebrating a head-taking event).'

Itu karone tai gahuri mangso khaw-a nisina ektom
 This due 3SG pig meat meat eat-PPL similar very

chalak kor-i-kena tai nijor bukh-i an-a
 clever do-PPL-CONJ PCL carry-PERF self carry-PERF bring-PERF

mangso to kaha-i- lu- ise aru gahuri magso-khan to sob
 meat FOC eat-PERF-take-PAST and pig meat-PL FOC all

tai laga kuta-ke to di-di-se. Manu-khan to hoyle
 3SG GEN dog-OBJ FOC give-give-PAST. Man-PL FOC after all

tai gahuri laga mangso kha-i-di-se buli dekhi-se aru itu
 3SG pig GEN meat eat-PERF-give COMP see-PAST and this

karone tai-ke kunu manu bi otu chukra Nkiemswang ase
 due to 3SG-OBJ any man also that boy Nkiemswang be

buli bhab-ia- nai. Tai manu-khan logote, "Apuni-khan
 COMP think-PAST-NEG-PRES. 3SG man-PL to "2-PL

to lorai-te juw-a karone bishi dukh pa-yse hobola,
 FOC fight-LOC go-PAST due to much pain get-PAST seems,

moy dheki usor-te huma-i- ja-bo." kow-i- kena
 1-SG say-PERF near-LOC sleep-PERF-go-IRR say-PERF CONJ PCL

aste aste tate ja-i- ja-yse
slow slow there go-PERF-go-PAST.

‘So he ate the chicken in a way as if he were eating pork, and cleverly slipped the pork to his dog. People thought that he had eaten the pork, and therefore nobody suspected him to be Nkiemswang. He said to them, “You must be tired from the expedition. I’m going to sleep by the pestle.” Having said that, he slowly moved toward that place.’

Rati to deri hu-i-ja-yse aru akas bi to badol
Night FOC late be-PERF-go-PAST and sky also FOC cloud

ektom bhorta hu-ise, aru areu ser ser ser pani
very full be-PAST, and and (sound of rain) water(rain)

gir-i-thakiase. Itu karone olop homoy bito-te
fall-PERF-remain-PRES PROG. This due to little time inside-LOC

hi sob-khan to huma-i-ja-ise. Itu time-te tai to
EMP all-PL FOC FOC sleep -PERF-go-PAST. This time-LOC 3-SG FOC

uth-i- kena ektom mikuri nisina chup chap kur-i
rise-PERF CONJ PCL very cat similar quiet ECHO do-PERF

ja-i- kena dhan chamra jama kur-i-kena joi jola-i
go-PERF CONJ PCL rice skin gather do-PERF fire burn-PERF

rakhi-se aru tai-khan laga chuli to ek jon-tu
keep-PAST and 3-PL GEN hair FOC one person-DEF

logote dusra jon-tu-khan mila-i kena
with another person-DEF-PL put together-PERF CONJ PCL

band-i-di-se aru dorwaza usor-te laga-i-di-se.
tie up-PERF-PAST and door near-LOC put-PERF-give-PAST.

Itu paso-te bahar pora ektom khatra kata
This after-LOC outside SRCE very dangerous thorn

an-i- kena sob phale laga-i- kena bhorta kur-ise.
bring-PERF-CONJ all direction set-PERF- CONJ PCL full do-PAST

Itu kur-i- kena tai to tai laga sathini laga matha
This do-PERF CONJ PCL 3SG FOC 3SG GEN girlfriend GEN head

to bisr-iase hoylebi matha to pu-a nai
FOC look for-PRES PROG, but head FOC get-PAST NEG PRES

itu karone tai to bishi khong uth-ise. Aru itu karone
this due to 3SG FOC much anger rise-PAST. And this due to

“Ami to Nkiemswang ase, tan manu-khan, moy laga sathini
“1-SG to Nkiemswang be. rough man-PL. 1-SG GEN girlfriend

laga matha to kote rakh-ise etiya etiya kow-i- di-bi,
GEN head FOC where keep-PAST now now say-PERF-give -IMP

aru judi hokot thaki-le moi logote lorai kori-bi!
and COND strength remain-COND 1-SG with fight do-IMP

Apuni-khan to manu to no hoy -- juntu nisiana ase to.
2-PL FOC human FOC NEG be animal similar be FOC.

Moy laga sathini to bishi bhal gau aru dangor mon
1-SG GEN girlfriend FOC much good body and big mind

thak-a maiki ekta asile to itu karone tai-ke
remain-PERF woman one be-PAST FOC this due to 3SG-OBJ

dekha-i-di-bo lage moy tai-ke kiman morm kori-se”
show-PERF-give-IRR need 1-SG 3SG-OBJ how much love do-PAST

inika kow-i- di-se. thik itu homoy-te okosmate akas pora
thus say-PERF-give-PAST right this time-LOC suddenly sky SRCE

krumremrem krumremrem kur-i-kena sob phale
(sound of thunder) do-PERF-CONJ PCL all directions FOC

ektom puhur hu-i-ja-ise. Aru tai to tai laga sathini
very clear be-PERF-go-PAST. And 3SG FOC 3SG GEN girlfriend

laga matha to jathi rakh-a jaga-te thak-a
GEN head FOC spear keep-PERF place-LOC put-PERF

dekh-i lo-yse. Itu bukh-i kena bahar-te
see-PERF take-PST This carry-PPL- CONJ PCL outside-LOC

ula-u-kena ah-iase
exit-PERF CONJ PCL come-PAST.

'It was late at night and the sky was covered in clouds and it was raining . Because of this everybody fell asleep in no time. Then he got up, and by moving as quietly as a cat, gathered rice husks and started a fire. He also tied their hair together. He also set dangerous thorns everywhere. Having done that, he started looking for his beloved's head, but did not find it. So, he became very angry, and said, "I am Nkiemswang. Tell me right now where you have put my beloved's head, and if you have the strength, fight me! You are not humans; you are animals. My beloved was beautiful and she was a generous person. So, I must prove to her how much I love her " Right at that moment, all of a sudden, there was thunder and everything became bright and he saw his beloved's head in the room where spears are kept. He carried it out."

Manu-khan uthi-sile. Morong to ektom andhar
 Man - PL wake-PLU . Hostel FOC very dark

thak-isile aru tai-khan laga chuli bandh-i-di-a karone
 remain-PLU and 3SG -PL GEN hari tie up-PERF-give-PERF due to

bishi-khan to hoyle nijor jakara hu-i- kena
 many-PL FOC PCL self quarrel be-PERF CONJ PCL

morai-di-se, aru kunuba to joi jol-a jaga-te
 kill- give-PAST, and some FOC fire fire-PERF place-LOC

gir-i kena jola-i kena mur-i- ja-ise.
 fall-PERF CONJ PCL burn CONJ PCL die-PERF- go PAST.

'People woke up. But the night was dark, and their hair was tied together. So many of them died fighting each other, and many others died by being burnt by the fire.'

Nkiemswang morong pora ula-i- kena tai laga
 Nkiemswang youth hostel SRCE exit-PERF CONJ PCL 3SG GEN

maiki laga matha bukh-i-kena poila morong-te
 woman GEN head carry-PERF first youth hostel -LOC

ah-i-kena bat to poila-te kow-i thak-a maiki
 come-PERF CONJ PCL rice FOC first-LOC tell-PERF ask-PERF woman

logote mang-ise . Maiki to bat lu-i-kena ah-ise
 to seek-PAST. Woman FOC rice take-PERF come-PAST

itu homoy-te tai-ke dhur-i kena tai laga matha to
 this time -LOC 3SG-OBJ catch-PERF CONJ PCL 3SG GEN head FOC

kat-i lu-se. Matha dui-ta buh-i ju-wa homoy-te
cut-PERF take- PAST. Head two-DEF carry-PERF go-PPL time-LOC

bisi dukh hu-a karone buri maiki laga matha-tu rasta
much pain be-PAST due to old woman GEN head-DEF road

kinar-te phel-i gira-i- di kena bosti-te ah-i- ja-yse.
side-LOC throw-PERF fall-PERF give CONJ PCL village-LOC come-PERF go-PAST

'Having emerged from the youth hostel with his beloved's head, Nkiemswang went to the first hostel and asked its keeper for food. When the woman came out with the food, he cut her head off and left with two heads. But since carrying two heads was burdening him, he threw away the woman's head and returned to his village only with his beloved's head.'

Itu din rati pua pasote Benreu bosti laga manu-khan
This day night dawn after Benreu village GEN village man-PL

bi budli beya kori-bole ula-i kena khun dagi
also exchange harm do-COMP exit-PERF CONJ PCL blood

sa-i sa-i kena ja-iase itu homoy-te ek jon watch-PERF
watch-PERF CONJ PCL go-PAST this time-LOC one person

laga matha to rasta kinar nala-te gir-i thak-a
GEN head-DEF path side canal-LOC lie-PERF remain-PERF

dekh-i kena utha-i buh-i kena holla
see-PERF CONJ PCL lift-PERF carry-PERF CONJ PCL holler

kur-i kur-i bostite gurai ah-ise. It holla
do-PPL do-PPL village -LOC return come-PAST. This hollering

to hun-i kena bosti laga manu-khan bi phuka pora
FOC hear-PERF CONJ PCL village GEN man-PL also hole SRCE

phela-i -thak-a matha to dekh-i lu-ise.
throw-PERF remain-PERF head FOC see-PERF take-PAST.

'At dawn the Benreu villagers also set out to take revenge. They proceeded by following the blood stain. At that time they found the head of the woman lying in a canal by the side of the path. They returned to the village carrying the head and hollering. Upon hearing the hollering, the villagers looked through the chinks in their walls and saw the head.'

Nkiemswang tai laga maiki-ke bhab-ikena
 Nkiemswang 3SG GEN woman-OBJ think-PERF CONJ PCL

hodai to mon dukh thak-ise. Tai to sadi bi.
 always FOC mind pain remain-PAST. 3SG FOC marriage also

kor-a nai. Tai laga umor 80 sal hu-a pasote tai,
 do-PAST NEG-PRES. 3-SG GEN age 80 year be-PERF after 3-SG,

ektom bura hu-i kena mur-i ja-yse.
 very old become-PERF CONJ PCL die-PERF go-PAST.

‘Thinking over his beloved, Nkiemswang was always sad. He never married. After reaching eighty years old, he died.’

Appendix-L

(First Part told by Informant A)

Etom poila Sangtam bosti-te eta shikar manu asi-le.
 Very early Sangtam village-LOC one hunting man exist-PAST.

Tai maiki ek lori pa-i kena mor-ise. Itu nimate tai
 3SG wife one girl get-PERF CONJ PCL die--PAST. This because 3SG

dusra maiki logot sadi kor-ise. Tai shikar manu hu-a
 another woman with marry do-PAST. 3SG hunting man be-PERF

imate hodai jongol aru kheti ja-i thaki-se. Tai nutun
 due to always forest and farm go-PERF remain-PAST. 3SG new

maiki hodai phujur-te tai mota karone bat kor-i -
 wife always morning-LOC 3SG husband for rice do-PERF

kena maiki hi lo-i kena mota-ke
 CONJ PCL woman EMP take-PERF CONJ PCL husband-OBJ

khila-i thakise.
 feed-PERF remain- PAST.

'Long ago, there lived a hunter in a Sangtam¹ village. His wife passed died after giving birth to one girl. So, he married another woman. Since he was a hunter he used to stay in the forest and farm. Every morning, she would cook food for her husband, bring it to her husband and feed him.'

Shikar manu-tu hodai sorai bisi bisi dor-a pa-yse.
 hunting man-DEF always bird many many catch-PERF get-PAST.

Tai nutun maiki gurai jaw-a homoy-te maiki logot
 3SG new woman return-PERF go-PPL time-LOC woman with

dor-a pa-i sorai sob gor pathai-se aru ko-yse, "bal
 catch-PERF get-PRES bird all home send-PAST and say-PAST, "well

paka-i kena lori-ke khila-bi." Kintu itu sorai mangso cook-PERF
 CONJ PCL girl-OBJ feed-IMP." But this bird meat

¹ Sangtam is one of the Naga groups.

tai lori-ke na-khila-i kena nutun maiki hi
 3SG girl NEG-feed-PERF CONJ PCL new woman EMP

khay-se aru lori-ke sorai mangso bodli hodai tenga kumra
 eat-PAST and girl-OBJ bird meat instead always bitter apple

hi khila-i thaki-se.
 EMP feed -PERF remain-PAST.

'The hunter caught a lot of birds every day, and at the time of his wife's returning home he would send all the birds with her and told her to cook them well and feed the girl. But instead of feeding the girl, she ate them herself and fed the girl wild apples.'

Ek din otu maiki bokar ho-yse itu karone maiki
 One day that woman-DEF fever be-PAST this due to wife

bodole otu lori logot tai mota-ke bat pathai-se. Lori-tu
 instead that girl with 3SG husband-OBJ food send-PAST. Girl-DEF

tai baba-ke jongol-te lok pa-y aru tai baba hi sorai
 3SG father-OBJ forest-LOC meet get-PRES and 3SG father EMP bird

sorai mongso paka-i- kena tai-ke khila-yse.
 bird meat-PAST cook-PERF CONJ PCL 3SG-OBJ feed-PAST.

Sorai mangso kha-i kena lori hudi-se,
 Bird meat eat-PERF CONJ PCL girl ask-PAST

"Baba, itu ki ase? Bisi mitha ase.." Tai baba asorit
 "Father, this what be? Much delicious be." 3SG father surprise

kena kowi-se "Apuni itu hud-a kotha ki karone
 CONJ PCL say-PAST " 2SG this ask-PAST talk what due to

hudi-se? Moy apuni dui jon karone maiki logot sorai
 ask-PAST? 1-SG 2SG two person for wife with bird

mangso hodai patha-yse. Itu hun-i- kena lori
 meat always send-PAST. This hear-PERF CONJ PCL daughter -

kowi-se, "Ay moy-ke khila mongso itu na-hoi kina
 say-PAST, Mother 1-SG-OBJ feed meat this NEG-be CONJ

moy-ke hodai etom tenga mongso hi khila-yse."
 1-SG-OBJ always very bitter meat EMP feed-PAST.

Itu homoy-te baba tai mon-te kowi-se, "Moy hodai itu
This time-LOC father 3SG mind-LOC say-PAST,. "3SG always this

mangso pathai-se. Moy maiki ki karone moy lori-ke
meat send-PAST. 1-SG wife what due to 1-SG girl-OBJ

khila-i na-i !" aru itu nimate tai-ke mon beya
feed-PERF NEG-PAST !" and this due to 3SG-OBJ mind sad

pay-se, aru kowi-se "aha kali bishi bal kapur laga-i-
get-PAST and say-PAST "tomorrow much good clothings wear-PERF

kena ahi-bole apuni mai-ke" kowi-se:
CONJ PCL come-COMP 2SG wife-OB"J say- PAST:

.....

(This unfinished story was told by another person (Informant-B) at a later time, which is given below.)

Aru dusra din to tai maiki he bal kapur laga-i
And next day FOC 3SG wife NOM good clothes wear-PERF

kena kheti gor pochai-se Itu kheti gor-te tai maiki CONJ PCL
farm house reach-PERF. This farm house-LOC 3SG wife

tu jai kena tai mota-ke mati-se. Piche pora
DEF go-PERF CONJ PCL 3SG husband-OBJ call-PAST. Back SRCE

chuka phale kowi-se, aru tai to kheti gor piche
kitchen direction say-PAST and 3SG FOC farm house behind

phale to ja-i kena mati-se aru bi kheti gor
direction FOC ga-PERF CONJ PCL call-PAST and also farm house

age phale pora mati-se aru mota to chuka phale
front direction SRCE call-PAST and husband FOC kitchen direction

kow-ise aru inika kor-i thak-i kena piche-te
say-PAST and husband do-PERF remain-PERF CONJ PCL back-LOC

it man to sap ho-i- kena itu maiki-ke kha-i di-se.
this man FOC snake be-PERF CONJ PCL this woman eat-PERF give-PAST..

'The following day his wife arrived at the farm house wearing a good dress and called him. He said that he was in the back, by the kitchen. She went to the back of the house and called him, and then she called him from the front of the house. Having done this for a while he transformed himself into a snake at the back of the house and ate that woman.'

Itu pora bosti manu ja-i kena tai dui
This SRCE village man go-PERF CONJ PCL 3SG two

jon-ke bisari-se kintu sap tai pet-te maiki
person-OBJ search -PAST but snake 3SG belly-IOC woman

khai-di-a ekta dangor gas-te uthi-kena huma-i
eat- give-PERF one big tree -LOC climb CONJ PCL sleep-PERF

thak-ise. Bosti manu sob tir lu-i- kena aru
remain-PAST. Village man all arrow take-PERF CONJ PCL and

khalwa bhal bhal lu-i kena itu sap-ke mari-bole
food stuff good good take-PERF CONJ PCL this sap-OBJ kill-COMP

ja-yse. Tate baba ama na-thak-a chukra ekta
come-PAST. There father mother NEG-remain-PERF boy one

thaki-se. Tai to hoyle bat aru mangso na- thak-a
remain -PAST. 3SG FOC PCL rice and meat NEG remain-PERF

ekta tenga lo-i kena ekta tir lo-i- kena jay-se.
one fruit take-PERF CONJ PCL and arrow take-PERF CONJ PCL go-PAST.

'Starting from there the villagers searched for the two of them. Having eaten the woman the snake climbed up on a tall tree and was sleeping there. All the villagers went with good food and arrows to kill that snake. There was an orphan boy among them. He, however, had no rice or meat. He went there carrying a fruit and an arrow.'

Sob manu itu sap-ke mari - bole sesta kori - se kintu
All man this snake-OBJ kill-PERF try do-PAST but

par-a na-i. Ektom ses-te itu chukra hi itu
can-PERF NEG-PAST. Very end-LOC this boy EMP this

sap-ke mora-i di-se.
snake-OBJ kill-PERF give-PAST.

'Everyone tried to kill the snake but failed. Finally, that boy killed that snake.'

Appendix-M

(A story told in Nagamese stripped of most of its morphology.

The morphological markers stripped were all of the nominative case markers, most of the objective and locative case markers, indicators of possession, most of the past-tense markers, participial markers, conjunctive particles, plural markers, etc.)

Etom poila Sangtam bosti eta shikar manu thak-iase.
 Very early Sangtam village one hunting man live-PRES

Tai maiki ek suali jonom hoy pasote-hi muri ja-y. Aru
 3SG wife one girl birth get after EMP die go-PRES. And

Itu karone otu manu to dusra maiki sadi kor-e.
 This reason that man FOC another woman marry do-PRES.

To shikar manu hoyle to bishi din jongol aru kheti hi
 FOC hunting man PCL FOC due to din forest and farm EMP

thak-e. Aru maiki beli ula-y homoy tai mota
 stay-PRES. And woman sun rise-PRES time 3SG husband

karone bat lo-i ja-y
 for rice take-PERF go-PRES.

'Long ago, there lives a hunter in a Sangtam village. His wife dies right after one girl is born. So, he marries another woman. This hunter, you know, always stays in the forest and farm. When the sun rises she brings food to her husband.'

Shikar manu to sorai bisi bisi dor-i pa-y
 hunting man FOC bird many many catch-PERF get-PRES.

aru tai maiki gurai jay homoy maiki logot sorai sob
 and 3SG new return go-PRES return woman with bird all

gor-te patha-y aru ko-y "bal paka-bi aru suali to
 home-LOC send-PRES and say-PRES "well cook-IMP and girl FOC

khila-bi." Kintu itu sorai mangso tai suali to no khila-y
 feed-IMP." But this bird meat 3SG girl J FOC NEG feed-PRES

aru tai nije hi kha-y aru suali-ke sorai mangso bodoli
and 3SG self EMP eat-PRES and girl-Obj bird meat instead

tenga kumra hi hotai khila-iase.

sour apple EMP always feed-PRES PROG

'The hunter catches lot of birds every day, and sends them home with his wife. He tells her to cook the meat well and feed his girl. But she does not give the bird meat to the girl; she feeds him wild apple, instead.'

Ek din otu maiki bokar hoy. karone otu
One day that woman-DEF fever be-PRES. due to that

suali logot bat patha-y. Suali-tu tai baba-ke jongol bitor
girl with rice send-PRES. Girl-DEF 3SG father-Obj forest in

lok pa-y. Aru tai baba to sorai mangso paka-y aru
meet get-PRES. And 3SG father FOC bird meat cook-PERF and

tai khila-y. Sorai mangso kha-i to suali hud-e
3-SG feed-PRES. Bird meat eat-PERF FOC girl ask-PRES

"Baba, itu ki ase? Bisi mitha ase.." Tai baba asorit
"Father, this what be? Much delicious be." 3SG father surprise

ho-y aru ko-y: "Apuni itu kotha ki karone hud-e?
be-PRES and say-PRES: "2SG this talk what due to ask-PRES?

Moy to hoyle apuni dui jon karone maiki logot sorai
1-SG FOC, PCL, 2SG PCL two person for woman with bird

mangso hodai patha-y Itu pasote suali ko-y:
meat always send-PRES. This after girl say-PRES:

"Ay moy khil-a mongso to itu na-hoy; etom tenga
"Mother 1-SG feed-PERF meat FOC this NEG-be; very sour

mongso khila-y" Itu homoy manu-tu tai mon-te ko-y:
meat feed-PRES. This time man-DEF 3SG mind-LOC say-PRES:

"Moy hodai itu mangso patha-y kintu moy maiki-tu
"1-SG always this meat send-PRES but 1-SG wife-DEF

kile amar suali-ke no khila-y!" Itu bab-i tai nije
why 1-SG girl-Obj NEG feed-PRES!" This think-PERF 3-SG self

mon to ektom beya pa-y aru suali ko-y:
 mind FOC very bad get-PRES and girl say-PRES:

“Kali apuni mai ‘bal kapur laga-i ahi-bi’ ko-bi

Tomorrow 2SG mother well clothing wear-PERF come-IMP tell-IMP

‘One day that woman had a fever, so she sent him food with the girl. The girl meets her father in the forest, and he cooked bird meat and fed her. After eating the bird meat, the girl asked her father, “What is this? It is delicious.” Being surprised, her father says to her, “Why are you asking me this question? I always send bird meat with your mother for both of you. Upon hearing this she said, “The meat that mother feeds me is not this; she feeds me very sour meat.” The man felt sad wondering: “I’m always sending meat but why my wife did not bird meat !”, and said to his daughter: “Tell your mother to come well dressed tomorrow.”

Aru dusra din to tai maiki bal kapur laga-i
 And next day FOC 3SG wife good clothes wear-PERF

kheti gor pocha-y Aru kheti gor bitor ja-y aru
 farm house reach-PRES. And farm house inside go-PRES 3-SG

tai mota mat-e. Mota to piche pora “chuka phale”
 3-SG husband call-PRES. Man FOC back SRCE kitchen direction

ko-y, aru tai to kheti gor piche phale ja-y
 say-PRES and 3-SG FOC farm house behind direction go-PRES

aru mat-e, aru etiya mota to “age phale” ko-y,
 and call-PAST; and now man FOC front direction say-PRES

aru inika kor-e kor-e seste bosti gor piche otu mota
 and thus do-PRES do-PRES lastly farm house back that man

okosmate sap hoi-ja-y aru maiki to khai de-y.
 suddenly snake be-go-PRES also woman FOC eat give-PRES.

‘The following day his wife arrives at the farm house wearing a good dress, and calls him. Entering the farmhouse, his wife calls him. From the back of the house, the husband said: “By the kitchen”. And she went to the back of the house and called him. Now, the husband said, “In the front.” and he kept doing so. At last, suddenly, he transforms into a snake at the back of the house and ate that woman.’

Itu pora bosti manu tai dui jon bisariase
 This SRCE village man 3-SG two person search -PRES PROG

kintu sap to maiki tai pet lui ekta dangor gas
 but snake FOC woman 3-SG stomach take a big tree

upor huma-iase

on sleep-PRES PROG

'Starting from there the villagers searched for two of them. Having eaten the woman the snake climbed up on a tall tree and was sleeping there.

Bosti manu sob tir lu-i aru khalwa bhal bhal lui

Village man all arrow take-PERF and food stuff good good take

lu-i itu sap mari-bo nimiti joma kor-e. Tate

take-PERF this sap kill-FUT reason gather do-PRES. There

baba ma no thaka lora ekta ase. Tai to hoyle

father mother NEG exist boy one exist. 3-SG FOC PCL

bat aru mangso no ase ; tai ekta tenga lui aru

rice and meat NEG has; 3-SG one wild apple take-PERF and

tir-dhonu lu-i ja-y.

arrow-bow take-PERF go-PRES

All the villagers gather with good food and arrows to kill that snake. An orphan boy is among them. He, however, has no rice or meat. He arrives with a wild apple and arrow and bow.'

Sob manu itu sap mari-bo karone bishi homoy sesta

All man this snake kill-PERF reason much time try

kur-iase; hoylebi no-ar-e Ektom ses homoy

do-PRES PROG; however, NEG can-PRES. Very last time

okosmate otu lora-hi otu sap morai de-y.

suddenly that boy-EMP that snake kill give-PRES.

'Everyone tries for a long time to kill the snake but fail. Finally, all on a sudden, that boy kills that snake.'

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