STANDARDIZED GRAMMAR
OF
NAGA PIDGIN

M. V. Sreedhar

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CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES

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FOREWORD

The Central Institute of Indian Languages is entrusted with the responsibility of developing Indian languages by assisting their use in education, administration and mass communication. This task is more challenging for the tribal and other minor languages because of socio-political as well as linguistic reasons. Linguistically, in many cases the work will have to start with the codification of the languages at the lowest level like development of a writing system, selection of a standard variety for it etc. This is to be followed up by preparation of grammars, dictionaries and instructional materials. The Institute has done this kind of work in the past decade and a half for about 50 tribal and minor languages.

The population of the speakers of tribal and other minor languages being small, the tyranny of number often goes against their development. When an area is heterogeneous with many minor languages, more problems are added for their use in education. In such heterogeneous linguistic situations, normally a *lingua franca* may exist for inter group communication and it may be a pidgin, a nativised version of the dominant Regional Language or some other exceptional language like these. These languages generally have a low social status, but have high educational potential.

Codification of such languages is the first step towards increasing their acceptability and their use in formal domains. The socio-linguistic work of the Institute on such languages has also this applicational objective in view. The grammar of Naga Pidgin is one effort in this direction, which follows an earlier sociolinguistic study of variation in Naga Pidgin.

The linguistic variation, which is a normal characteristic of Pidgins, adds additional problems for their codification in that the standardisation has to be done by the linguists in the absence of any naturally evolved variety by the community. This grammar of

(v)

Naga Pidgin attempts at standardization, which is based on cer-
tain linguistic principles. We hope that this is acceptable to the
speakers of Naga Pidgin.

The Institute has planned to bring out some primers in Naga
Pidgin based on the standardised grammar. It is hoped that these
efforts will provide a solution to the problems of planning language
use in Nagaland.

E. ANNAMALAI

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPENDIX

1. INTRODUCTION

On December 1, 1963 Nagaland became the sixteenth fulfledged State in India. Nagaland has, in the east a long international border with Burma. It borders on the Manipur State in the South, Assam in the West and North-West and Arunachal Pradesh in the North-East. It has an area of 63,666 square miles, with a total population of 773,281 (1981 census). In addition to the recent migrant groups from the other parts of India, the State has 20 indigenous ethnic groups speaking 23 languages of which 21 belong to the Naga group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family. These ethnic/linguistic groups are: Angami (33766/43569)[1], Sema (47439/65227), Ao (55904/65275), Lotha (26565/36949), Rengma (5786/8578), Chakhesang, Sangtam (15508/19998), Konyak (46653/72338), Chang (11329/15816), Phom (13385/18017), Yimchunger (10187/13564), Khiamngan (12434/14414), Zeliang, Kuki-chin (1175), Rongmei, Kachari, Makware (769), Tirkhir (2486), Chin and Mao. Of these, barring Chakhesang, Zeliang and Kachari, each community has a language identical with its name. Chakhesang consists of three linguistic groups, *viz.*, Chokri (8339), Kheza (7295) and Sangtam-Pochuri (2938). The Zeliang community consists of speakers of Zemi (6472) and Liangmei (2988). The Kacharis in Nagaland originally spoke Bodo-Kachari of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family and after conversion to Vaishnavism, a Hindu sect, 100 per cent shift took place from their ancestral language to Assamese, an Indo-Aryan language. They continue to be Vaishna-vites but had lost the original Assamese language and have creolized the Naga Pidgin, the only community in Nagaland to creolize it at societal level. The State Government has recognized as Scheduled Tribes of Nagaland the first fourteen communities in the same order as given above. Makware and Tirkhir are considered as sub-groups of Yimchunger. Rongmei and Mao are recognized as Scheduled Tribes in the neighbouring Manipur State.

In addition to the languages mentioned above, Nagaland has another important language named Nagamese, redesignated as Naga Pidgin by this writer. The importance of Naga Pidgin arises owing to the fact that it is the only language which has currency across the entire State. Though English is the sole official language of the State, not even five per cent of the population has any fluency in English for using it as a vehicle of day to day communication. In the early days

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[1]The figures in the bracket show the census figures for 1961/1971. In some instances only 1961 census figures are given as 1971 figures are not available. The census figures for the Kachari, Rongmei, Chin and Mao communities in Nagaland are not available.

only those who went to the foothills at different points in Assam knew this language. Though the origin of Naga Pidgin is totally unknown it is evident from the accounts of Lt. Bigges (Tour diary 1841) that this Pidgin was in vogue before the British soldiers set their feet in the Naga Hills.

Dimapur is the only town in Nagaland that has a rail and road link with the rest of India. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Vol. XII.346) 'Dimapur is the site of an early capital of the Kachari Kings which was sacked by the Ahoms in 1536 A.D.' This implies that the Nagas in the Southwest had contact with the Kacharis (a Bodo-Naga group) as well as with the Ahoms, from the early 16th century, as Dimapur is in the Southwestern part of Nagaland, bordering on Assam. As early as Ahom days in the 13th century the Nagas from the North and Northeast visited Sibsagar, an important commercial town in Assam.

The recorded history of the area shows that the Ahoms, a Tai[1] group, speaking a language of the Siamese-Chinese subfamily of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages captured a major portion of the Brahmaputra valley, (presently Assam) and established a Kingdom in 1228 A.D. They wrote prose chronicles in their language but the Ahoms were gradually absorbed into the conquered community resulting in the loss of their language and religion. The name Assam is derived from Ahom (cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* vol. 9:361). The Ahom chronicles clearly mention about their contact with the Nagas, but the Ahoms did not rule over the Nagas.

While referring to the Naga-Ahom relations, Elwin (1961 : 18) states that 'the history of Naga relations with Ahoms is a blend of hostility and friendliness'. Gait (1933 : 366) claims that 'Nagas had never been subjugated by the Ahoms and it was not part of British policy to absorb it'.

Though the post-Ahom history of Assam is not very clear, what is clearly known is that the Assam rulers never subjugated the entire group of Nagas. There were reports of occasional warfare between the Assam rulers and the Nagas, but they were never regular open ones but ambushes in the nights by the Nagas and retaliatory expeditions by the Assamese. It was the then British Government that brought the Naga Hills under the Administrative control of Assam (cf. Alemchiba 1970). This gave an opportunity to some of the elite amongst the Nagas to have formal education in Assam including the learning of Assamese language. This formal education in Assamese, however, did not have any impact on the structure of Naga Pidgin.

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[1]*Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. 9:360) mentions Ahoms as Burmese, but the Burmese is a Tibeto-Burman language.

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 talk 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. A similar situation is found in the case of Sadari creole speakers who had formal education in Hindi (cf. Sreedhar, 1982.c).

As far as the Nagas were concerned, they were head-hunters to a man, and the last case was reported from the Tuensang district in 1958. Since the inter-village feuds and the resultant head-hunting expeditions continued for centuries, there was very little scope for inter-lingual contact or societal bilingualism amongst the Nagas. The inter-village feuds and wars which formed part of the Naga life are now a part of their history. With the establishment of stable administration for the entire Nagaland, the insecurity that lurked in the minds of every Naga started disappearing, resulting in the gradual transforma-tion of their social and political life. A number of Nagas started crossing the limits of their villages for education and employment. As far as the societal bilingualism amongst the Nagas is concerned, these may be taken as the turning point. Earlier there was some limited one-way bilingualism amongst the Sema and Chang converts to Chris-tianity who learnt the Ao language which was the first Naga language to have the Bible translated. Beyond the fact that Rev. Godhula, an Assamese pastor working with the American missionary Dr. E. W. Clarks at Sibsagar[1], got introduced to some Ao Nagas from Mulung-kimong village and later Rev. Godhula learnt the Ao language in his Sibsagar camp from one Ao named Supongmeven, nothing is known about the language used in their early contacts. The first nine Ao Nagas of the Mulungkimong village converted to Christianity by Rev. Godhula, were baptized by Dr. Clark at Sibsagar on Nov. 11, 1872. The same year he set up a Baptist Mission, the first to be set up in the Naga Hills (Kijung 1961). The Hindu missionaries and the mis-sionaries of the other Christian denominations did not venture into the Naga Hills. Later Dr. Clark and Mrs. Clark learnt the Ao language and wrote a grammar of that language (Clark 1893). The Ao language thus became a language of prestige and superior culture for the other Nagas. With this brief account of the languages spoken in Nagaland and the different ethnic groups, and their early contacts with outsiders it is proposed to discuss the terms used in the title of this monograph.

In linguistics or for that matter in any science, a term has rele-vance only in its opposition to the other terms on the one hand and

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[1]Sibsagar is a barter trade center in Assam. It is situated in the North-eastern part of Naga Hills.

the syntagmatic relations of the terms to one another on the other. Further there is the need to view this indigenous pidgin in relation to the pidgins based on European languages elsewhere. Similarly, there is a need not only to justify the attempt on planned standardization but also the steps adopted in standardizing this language. Beginning with the term pidgin, the following sections would discuss these issues.

The languages called pidgins and creoles have drawn the attention of scholars for more than a century. But these languages, when compared to the genetically related languages usally termed as 'natural language', got a step-motherly treatment until recently. Pioneers in the study of pidgins and creoles were : H. Schuchardt, Herikevit, John E. Reinecke, William Greenfield, Robert Hall Jr. etc.

The pidgins and creoles as types of languages were effectively distinguished only just about 50 years ago [Bloomfield (1933), Reinecke (1938/64) etc.] Reinecke, while recognising them as distinct language types, kept both pidgins and creoles together under the rubric of marginal languages. Despite the interest of the scholars in these types of languages for almost a century, the studies in these languages remained a marginal concern to the linguists. It was only after the Mona conference in April 1968 that these languages started receiving serious attention of scholars and also a respectable position within linguistic studies. While referring to the importance of pidgins and creoles, Hymes claims that (Hymes, 1971 : 5) 'certainly pidgins and creoles challenge our ability to deal with linguistic diversity, to discover its systematic basis from the stand point of social life. I would predict that the future of sociolinguistics lies in a still more widely defined concern, namely explanation of the origin, maintenance, change and loss of specific means of speech. The concern would be with the structure of variation, not for its own sake but as part of human adaptation. It would be part of the general problem of social science, the maintenance and transformation of symbolic order'. Despite the need to give such an important place to the study of pidgins and creoles, there is hardly any generally accepted definition of a pidgin. Most scholars define a pidgin by referring to its characteristic features which are not uniform. For instance, Hymes (1971 : 84) offers the definition of some terms connected with the pidgins, but a pidgin is defined in terms of the process of pidginization, *i.e.* after the term 'pidginization' was defined, he defines a pidgin as 'a result of such a process (pidginization) that has achieved a norm'. Earlier in the preface to the same book, Hymes mentions about certain characteristic features of pidgins, *i.e.*, pidgins arise as make shift adaptation, reduced in structure and use and no ones language'. To Todd (1974 : 1) 'a pidgin is a marginal language which aims to fulfil certain restricted communication needs among people who have no common language. . .

the vocabulary is drawn almost exclusively from the language. The syntactic structures of the pidgin is less complex and less flexible than the structure of the languages which were in contact. Though many pidgin features clearly reflect usages in contact languages, others are specific to a pidgin'. To Muhlhasler (1979) pidgins are typically characterized by increased grammaticalization and lexication' *i.e.*, they use the lexical bases in more than one grammatical surface function through a set of rules which permits of the optimal use of the limited lexicon. He further states that 'pidgins are not merely simplified but also heavily restructured version of the language from which they are derived. Hall (1966 Xii) claims that 'for a language to be a true pidgin two conditions must be met....its grammatical structures and its vocabulary must be sharply reduced....and also the resultant language must be native to none of those who use it'. Valdman (1978) claims that 'pidginization involves among other things (i) reduction in morpho-phonemic alternation—a single, usually the fullest, form is selected, (ii) replacement of inflection by the use of function words, (iii) invariant word order and reduction of transformation that promote syntactic elements and (iv) elimination of obligatorily marked plural. The effect of these features on pidginization is to facilitate decoding encoding operation'. Samarin (1971 : 126) defines a pidgin as 'a language that shows a consistent reduction of the functioning of the language both in its grammar and in its use. Hymes (1971 : 20) claims that 'the use of word order rather than inflection and the use of syntax rather than morphology is a kind of simplification in the outer form, a feature common to all pidgins.

Many scholars also attribute the existence of the pidgins and creoles to colonial expansion, for instance, Hymes (1971:5) states that 'the very existence of pidgins and creoles is largely due to the process of discovery, exploration, trade, conquest, slavery, migration, the colonialism that have brought the people of Europe and the people of the world share a common destiny'. Reinecke (1938) also claims that 'pidgins and creoles are products of specific historical circumstances involving colonial expansion and the nature of these circumstances had much to do with the nature of linguistic outcomes'. Sankoff (1979) concurs with the views of Reinecke. Whinnom (1971) takes this 'colonial expansion' view a step further and claims that pidgins and creoles all over the world are the result of Portuguese conquest and are based on Portuguese language. The differences found presently in different pidgins and creoles are attributed to the displacement of the Portuguese vocabulary by the vocabulary of the languages of subsequent colonial rulers when the Portuguese were displaced by the other Western colonialists. He describes this process as 'relexification' and therefore he posits a monogenetic theory for the pidgins and

creoles found all over the world though most of the creolists including Hall, the doyen amongst them, believe in 'polygenetic' theory. Le Page (1977) scoffs at the 'relexification' assumption/concept.

Despite much theoretical disagreements with regard to the true nature of pidginization, one finds a general agreement on a few points. These include : (i) a pidgin does not arise in a contact situation between just two languages. A one to many and not just one to one ratio is essential, *i.e.*, a multilingual situation is a must for the birth of a pidgin. Further, the common people who are to be the speakers of a pidgin must come from two or more different mutually unintelligible language backgrounds, with no common language amongst them and the presence of a dominant external language, (ii) at least at the beginning, the vocabulary is almost all from a single source, *viz.*, the external language and (iii) it should be a second language to everyone of its users. The 'colonial expansion' concept is also by and large accepted by the western scholars. It would, thus, be more easy to offer a consensus functional definition of a pidgin, *viz.*, pidgins are essentially utilitarian trade languages which come into being from the process of reciprocal imitation or rudimentary language learning in multilingual contact situations amongst speakers of mutually unintelligible languages with no common language amongst them to serve the communicative needs of buying and selling, loading and unloading etc.

Pidginization has three main phases. In the first phase one finds a casual and unsustained contact between a dominant minority language and the local languages. In this phase, communication is limited to such transactions where a detailed exchange of ideas is not required and wherein a small vocabulary drawn from the source language coupled with gestures would be sufficient to fulfil trading arrangements. Hall (1966) claims that a pidgin is likely to arise 'whenever a tourist meets a cabman or a petty shopkeeper', a view not shared by others. The second phase begins as soon as the pidgin is used by and between the local people for interlingual communication amongst the local people. At this stage, according to western scholars, the dominant language should be withdrawn as a model, if the pidgin is to stabilize at a point quite distinct from the source language, which is not true in the Indian context (Sreedhar 1982a). A pidgin could be expanded in phase second only in one way, *viz.*, from the mother tongue of the local people using the pidgin for interlingual communication. Even this is only partly true in Indian situation (cf. Sreedhar 1983b). This phase helps to account for the indigenous grammatical patterns and numerous direct translations found in most of the pidgins and

creoles. The third phase begins when the interlingual contact increases. At this stage, the vocabulary is extended by borrowing lexical items from the dominant source language, but the contact with the source language might either be withdrawn or there may not be any effective contact. If effective contact persists, the pidgin becomes more and more influenced by the standard language in phonology, lexicon and syntax until one finds a considerable influence of the dominant source language. This stage is designated as depidginization, leading to the death of a pidgin. A pidgin could also die out, when the need for which it arose ceases.

In the course of time, owing to the extensive use of a pidgin in different domains, the pidgin may displace the ancestral language of the pidgin speaking community, when it becomes an inadequate and unfeasible means of communication for the children. Thus the communicational needs of the children is said to cause a change in the role of a pidgin from a second language to that of the first language. The process involved is known as creolization leading to a creole. The starting point of creolization need not be a pidgin but may be a pre-pidgin continuum. Once formed, a creole acquires all the characteristic features of a natural language, *viz.* expanded vocabulary, wider range of syntactic possibilities, an increased syntactic repertoire and usage in a full range of social situations. Some of the well known creoles based on English are : Jamaican creole in West Indies, Guyanese creole, Sranam in the coastal areas of Surinam (Dutch Guiana), Neo-Melanesian in New Guinea, Hawaiian creole English in Hawaii, etc. The Haitian creole in Haiti is the most important French-based creole. Some of the other French-based creoles are spoken in the Indian Ocean islands of Mauritius and Seychelles and in Trinidad and Grenada in Caribbean. Sadari along with its dialects like : Lariya, Panch pargania, Nagpuria and Halbi are the two major Hindi based pidgins, both spoken in the heartland of the Hindi belt. The Hindi based pidgins spoken outside the Hindi belt in the country are known by the common nomenclature *Bazaari Hindi.* Outside the country, the Hindi based pidgins are spoken in Mauritius, Trinidad and Fiji islands. Desi, based on Oriya, spoken in the Koraput district of Orissa and Telangi[1] based on Telugu on Andhra-Orissa border are the two other pidgins based on Indian languages. A variety of Naga Pidgin is spoken in the two districts of Arunachal Pradesh adjoining Nagaland. This variety is occasionally called *Nefamese, i.e.,* the language of NEFA—North East Frontier Agency. An important feature for the maintenance and stabilization of a creole is the extent of the contact, communication and solidarity among the speakers of the creole speaking communities which earlier consisted of speakers of different mutually unintelligible languages.

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[1]Personal communication by Prof. Peri Bhaskar Rao, Deccan College, Poona.

In the course of the history of creole speaking communities, if the dominant external source language is reintroduced as an official language or as the language of education, as in the case of Jamaica or Hawaii, the sharp distinction between the creole and the standard form of the source language gets blurred, with the creole gradually merging with the standard variety of the source language over a period of time, by acquiring many features of the standard variety. This process is known as decreolization.

Decreolization leads to post-creole continua a term defined by De Camp (1971). Two typical examples are : Jamaican and Guyanese creoles. The post-creole continua as elaborated by Bickerton (1973 and 1975) are regarded as dynamic models incorporating both the polar ends of the continuum, i.e., Basilect and Acrolect and all the intermediate varieties, viz., lower mesolect, mid-mesolect and upper mesolect. These terms of Bickerton divides Guyanese creole continua into three phases which are indicative of the diachronic stages of Guyanese creole. Basilect is the variety of English which shows variation from village to village and is furthest from standard English and conversely the Acrolect is closest to the English of the educated ones with the different types of mesolects making up all the intermediate varieties.

Just as an act of speech which is a continuum is segmented and designated as consisting of different phonemes, this three-way segmentation of the postcreole continua is mainly reference point. In reality the different points of the continua blend into one another, with no clear-cut division. Bickerton assigns certain features to Basilects and certain other features to Acrolects. He then assigns to the two polar ends the speakers who use either of these features with high frequency.

With regard to the process of decreolization, Bailey (1973) claims that it consists of recreolizing the basilect implying that fully creolized end of the continuum, is being lost, as simultaneously the mesolectal or the intermediate varieties are expanding in the direction of the standard variety. Bailey views the process of creolization as actually one of new creoles being constantly formed from the old creole. The result of this continual recreolization is a post-creole continuum though he designates this process as 'decreolizing gradation'. Day (1974) prefers to call this process as 'a series of co-existent overlapping systems which exhibit constrained mixing'.

The features of a pidgin including the views of the western scholars on pidgins and creoles discussed so far can be categorised into three sub-classes, viz., (i) socio-political background, (ii) structural features and (iii) life cycles. Each of these sub-classes is discussed below followed by the comparable Indian situation which in many cases defies the western hypotheses and the norms of a true pidgin.

(1) Socio-political background :

The classical pidgin situation involves the contact of two socially and ethnically segregated communities arising out of either slave trade or conquest of new lands. Of the two, one claiming to be the super-stratum speaking a single language is socio-economically superior and/ or alien whereas the others claiming to be the substratum speaking a number of mutually unintelligible languages belong to a low socio-economic status group and/or conquered people including slaves.

At least at the initial stage of the contact, the members of the so-called sub-strata communities would be mostly illiterates or semi-literates in their respective mother tongues. The contact between the super and sub-strata communities results in a new social order which in its turn creates the need for a common language resulting in the birth of a pidgin.

As the contact situation of the super and sub-strata is marginal, it prevents/denies an opportunity to acquire the superstratum language with any degree of accuracy or proficiency by the sub-strata. Thus the pidgins were claimed to be the products of colonial expansion and slave trade (cf. Reinecke 1938/64, Sankoff 1979 etc.). Different theories on the origin of pidgins like the baby talk hypothesis, mono-genetic theory, etc. are not discussed here. For a detailed discussion of these please see Todd (1974 : 28-49).

(2) Structural features :

The most predominant opinion amongst the western scholars in respect of pidgins is that a pidgin is an instance of simplification or reduction of the language of the superstratum. There seems to be a near unanimity amongst the western scholars on this point than on any other point. . The instances of simplification cited are : discarding by the pidgin of the redundant features like concord in number-gender of the noun functioning as the subject with the verb in the sentence, not making morphologically the opposition in number-gender, deletion of copula, etc. found to exist in the dominant source language.

The simplification theory actually goes back to the 'baby talk' hypothesis set up for the origin of the pidgins by Charles Layland (1876) and Bloomfield (1933). Bloomfield (1933:472-3) claimed that 'speakers of a lower language may make so little progress in learning the dominant speech that the masters in communicating with them resort to 'baby talk'. This baby talk is the master's imitation of the subjects' incorrect speech and the subjects, in turn, deprived of the correct model, can do no better than to acquire the simplified baby talk version of the upper language'. The very idea of the acqui-sition of languages through analogizing is incompatible with the find-ings of a number of researches on language acquisition by children,

as it was found that children fail to mimic the adult sentences even when they are provided with the correct model. It is also found that certain maturational process is required before the young children acquire the adult model correctly. Though the baby talk origin of the pidgins has been disowned by most of the creolists, almost everyone accepts the simplification feature of the pidgins, a by-product of the baby talk hypothesis. Some scholars like Hull, Macdon etc. question this feature in respect of even the European based pidgins.

The origin of Juba Arabic, a pidgin based on Arabic and spoken in Southern Sudan defies both the socio-political background assumption and the baby talk hypothesis set up for pidgins. For instance, Nhial (1975) states that 'many Southerners expressed their disapproval of the political, economical and social injustice which they thought the northern Sudanese were practising against them by refusing to learn or speak Arabic'. Since the Southerners could not do without Arabic, they were compelled to learn some Arabic adequate enough to make understand the northern administrators and merchants who controlled the economy. And the result is the Juba Arabic. Nhial further states that 'the emotions were so high against the Arabs, *i.e.,* the northern Sudanese, that a southern Sudanese who spoke Arabic fluently was considered to be someone who had made a sellout or a stooge'.

As opposed to the feature of simplification in structure claimed for a pidgin, a transition from a pidgin to a creole is said to involve structural changes in three areas, *viz.,* (a) a change in scale leading to an expansion and complication of the linguistic make up, (b) a change in scope leading to expansion in use in different domains, and (iii) a change in status as a norm (cf. Fleishman 1978, Hymes 1971, etc.).

(3) Life cycles :

Most creolists, particularly Robert Hall Jr., the doyen amongst them, distinguish pidgin languages from the 'natural languages' on the basis of plus-minus feature of life cycle, thus attributing a biological feature to the pidgin languages (Hall, 1962 and 1966 : 126). That is, just as an adult insect passes through different life cycles like : adult to egg to larva to pupa and back to adult to continue another chain of life cycle. The pidgin languages are also assigned certain life cycles like : contact amongst 'natural languages' leading to pidginization to pre-pidgin continuum to crystallized pidgin to creolization to creole to decreolization to post-creole continua, finally merging into the 'natural language' concerned. As opposed to this cycle of pidgin languages, the natural languages might become extinct when the last speaker dies, as in the case of Armenian and/or when a 100 per cent

shift in the ancestral language in favour of another language takes place by the entire speech community. And in such rare instances, one could talk in terms of 'language death'. What has been realized or recognized, of late, by the western scholars is the possibility of the co-existence of two or more stages of its development. For instance, Neo-Melanesian while remaining a pidgin for a section of its speakers is undergoing creolization for another section. Such situations led to the creation of a new term 'Pidgin-creole'. In the case of Naga Pidgin, it is a pidgin for most of the Nagas and to the Non-Nagas working in Nagaland, a creole for the Kacharis and a few off-springs of mixed marriages. It is also undergoing creolization with some minority groups, though at a snail's pace. Similarly Sadari and Halbi are also 'Pidgin-creoles'. It is also recognized that a pidgin could be creolized at any stage of its development, for instance, Hawaiian pidgin-creole (Bickerton & Odal 1977) which was creolized at the pre-pidgin continuum, resulted in a wide range of variation across the syntactic structure, whereas in the case of *Tok Pisin* (Muhalhasler 1979), a stable pidgin was creolized resulting in a high degree of inter-speaker uniformity in speech. Does that indicate, to use once again a biological term, a 'premature birth of a creole' whenever creolization takes place at a pre-pidgin-continuum stage ?

What is important to note from the life cycle angle is that the case study of Belize creole shows that decreolization is not necessarily accompanied by the death of a creole rather individuals acquiring more complex repertorie, *i.e.*, the individuals acquire a wide range of intermediate varieties including the ability to switch over between codes and varieties when appropriate, without abandoning their respective native creoles. Thus, rather than the merger of a creole with its standard counterpart, we might have varieties of creole ranging from 'the language of the flower girl to that of Dutchess' (Shaw 1945). This is amply established from the analysis of Gullah data (Hopkins 1979) where he found that at least half of the Gullah speakers could not be classified as operating either at the acrolectal or at the basilectal end of the continuum, rather this half tend not to be classified at all because they operate with almost equal frequency at both the ends of the continua. These imply that Bickerton's dynamics (Bickerton 1975) is specific to the Guyanese situation and is not a universal feature that can be attributed to all creole groups where the source language is reintroduced as an official language or the language of education. Another question that could be posed at this stage is whether or not a shift in language use in respect of a pidgin as a second language to the first language could be treated as a part of life cycle. What was lost in the process is the ancestral language of the speaker and not the pidgin. Loss of ancestral languages has taken place all over the world in the case of linguistic minorities, the principal cause for

such a loss/shift being instrumental purpose (cf. Sreedhar, 1983a). How does then a shift in the use of pidgin as a second language to the first language differ from that of a total shift to the dominant language by different linguistic minorities? If the process involved in both situations are the same why are they designated differently? We will revert to this issue later while discussing the corresponding situations found in India. In the meantime, let us examine the three characteristic features attributed to the pidgins from the Indian angle. In this we begin with the socio-political background of the Naga Pidgin.

(i) Socio-Political situation :

If we look at the Naga Pidgin in the light of the western views mentioned above, even though absolutely no evidence is available about its origin, it is very clear that neither colonial expansion nor slave trade has anything to do with its origin. For instance, the very fact that as late as 1872, Dr. Clark, who was camping in Sibsagar, a town in the northeastern part of Assam bordering on the Ao area of Naga Hills, learnt the Ao language for undertaking the missionary activities in the adjoining Ao village clearly indicates that Naga Pidgin was not in vogue in those days in the Ao area as a whole, as otherwise, he would have learnt Naga Pidgin rather than the Ao language as the former would have given him a wider audience. Badgly's (1873) report indicates that even Assamese was unknown in most places he visited, particularly, Thatchumi, a Sema village, located in the central part of Naga Hills, where he found himself unintelligible and resorted to signs as the only means of communication. These clearly indicate that, even though the exact period of the origin of Naga Pidgin is unknown, its spread to all over Nagaland is of a recent phenomenon. The earliest reference to the Naga Pidgin is that of Lt. Bigges (Tour diary 1841) wherein he mentions that 'on arrival at the Lotha Naga Hills, about 70 Nagas come down, many of them knowing Assamese'. The earliest recorded evidence of this pidgin is found in Hutton (1921) with a few lexical items and phrases in the pidgin. According to him 'the Assamese as spoken in the Naga Hills, (i.e. Naga Pidgin)[1] is peculiarly well adapted for the reproduction of Naga idioms, as a vehicle of interpretation. It makes a far better *lingua franca* for the Hills than Hindustani or English would, the substitution of which for Assamese (*Naga Pidgin*) has been occasionally suggested'. Haimendorf (1936) states that 'fortunately many people including children spoke fluently Nagamese, (*Naga Pidgin*) the *lingua franca* of the entire Naga Hills'.

The two main sources for the spread of Naga Pidgin in the entire nook and corner of Nagaland are : (1) General Road Engineering

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[1] The word Naga Pidgin in italics provided by this writer.

Force (GREF), a para military organization under the Government of India, who construct and maintain roads all over Nagaland and (ii) the Marwaris, a traditional business community from Rajasthan, who speak an Indo-Aryan language. The employees of the GREF come from different parts of India. They, particularly the uneducated and the semi-literate amongst them, on arrival in Nagaland, are obliged to learn Naga Pidgin for interlingual communication with their colleagues from different parts of the country and also with the local Nagas. The Marwaris with their merchandise have penetrated even to the remote interior parts of Nagaland. They found the Naga Pidgin a convenient tool for their trade with the Nagas as well as with the non-Nagas in Nagaland. The other governmental agencies that helped in the spread of Naga Pidgin are : Assam Rifles, State and Central Government Officers at all levels and the schools (for details see Sreedhar 1974.a 35-44). From all these it is absolutely clear that neither colonialism nor master-slave relation has anything to do with the origin and spread of the Naga Pidgin. Outside India also, certain well known pidgins have developed out of indigenous sources, without any contact with any of the European languages. These include Swahili, now a creole to many speakers in different African states (cf. Poleme 1963), Bahasa Indonesia (cf. Alisjahabana 1976:32) and the various indigenous pidgins of North America like : the Eskimo trade Jargon of Herschal island (Stefanson 1909), the Delawara Jargon (Prince 1912), the Mobilion trade language (Crawford 1978) and the Chinook Jargon (Ronav 1945).

Drechsel (1981 : 94) claims that the indigenous pidgins of the North America are instances of tertiary hybridization (Whinnom 1971) of primary native American languages. They were linguistic compromises that grew out of multilingual situations and resulted in reduced speech forms based predominantly on indigenous languages of North America. He (1981 : 105) further states that 'the dominant linguistic influence of the indigenous languages as well as their early and extensive use by Europeans and other recent immigrants suggest the hypothesis that these pidgins were of pre-historic origin....and the pre-historic existence of any indigenous pidgins would challenge (consequently ethnocentric) notion that pidginization of languages was limited to and characteristic of western colonialism and perhaps pidginization and the other process of linguistic convergence would also accord greater theoretical significance in historical linguistics.... This pidginization (in North America), however, led to creolization only in exceptional circumstances'. Just as these pidgins in North America defy the monogenetic theory of the origin of pidgins, Naga Pidgin, Halbi, Sadari, Desi etc. spoken in India, Juba-Arabic of southern Sudan, Ki-Nubi of Uganda, Swahili, etc., also defy the monogenetic theory of the origin of pidgins.

Despite some close parallels between the Naga Pidgin and the indigenous pidgins of North America, they differ sharply in the most crucial area, *viz.,* the status and standards of the communities and languages concerned in the two contact situations. In terms of the language development and socio-economic status of the North American contact situation, all the languages and communities concerned have a near identical development and status, whereas in Nagaland, the Assamese language and community could be designated as the super-stratum group when compared to the diverse languages of the Nagas. Secondly all the languages involved in the North American situation belong to a single family, whereas in Nagaland, the Assamese is an Indo-Aryan language while the different Naga languages form a sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family. The most significant feature common to both is the absence of any colonial expansion and the resultant slave trade. We may now have a look at the notion of simplification hypothesis.

(ii) Simplification :

It was seen earlier that the discarding of the redundant features like : concord in number-gender between the subject of a sentence and the verb, absence of overt markers for showing opposition in number-gender, etc. found in most of the pidgins based on European languages were cited as instance of simplification. If we accept these instances as examples of simplification, we would get into difficulties in defining languages, for instance, Chinese according to the above mentioned criteria would be a highly simplified language as it does not have any inflections. In India, a highly developed and literary language like Malayalam does not show any concord in number-gender (Sreedhar 1964), e.g.,

awan warum	'he will come'
awal warum	'she will come'
awar warum	'they will come
awan warunnu	'he is coming/comes'
awal warunnu	'she is coming/comes'
awar warunnu	'they are coming/come'
awan wannu	'he came'
awal wannu	'she came'
awar wannu	'they came' etc.

Optional deletion of the number marked when the context indicates the plurality is a regular feature with Gujarati, another highly developed and literary language of the Indo-Aryan family. For instance,

chokri 'girl' chokrio 'girls'

but, be chokri 'two girls'

Similar features of the absence of concord, optional deletion of number markers, absence of copula, etc., are found in Naga languages. For instance, in Sema Naga (Sreedhar : 1982a : 99), concord in number-gender is absent.

niye uwa[1]	'I went'
nikuzoye uwa	'we (dual) went'
apu lakhino kipikamihu kigae	'a boy caught the robber'
apuqo kipikamihu kigae	'the boys caught the robber'
apuqo kipikamiqohu kigae	'the boys caught the robbers'
li akilo wu	'she went inside the house'
pa akilo wu	'he went inside the house'
panonu akilo wu	'they went inside the house', etc.

ilimi tipaqoye akipici	'those girls are lazy'
1 2 3 4 5	

(lit. girl   that   plural   focus
        1   2   3   4
marker lazy)
     5

ilimoqo	'girls'
ilimikutamo	'many girls'
1 2	2 1
ilimi kini	'two girls' etc.

NP NP type of sentence :

hiye aci lakhi	'this is a dog'
1 2 3	1 3 2

The NP NP type of sentence without a coupula is a regular feature with the Dravidian languages except Malayalam; Assamese also has copulaless sentences. With this background information regarding the simplified feature found in different Indian languages, we could look at the features in Assamese (Source language) along with the features of the Naga languages on the one hand, and the Naga Pidgin, on the other. Examples are given only for the grammatical features occurring in the nouns.

Number :

Assamese shows a three-way opposition in number, *viz.*, singular, dual and plural. Some of the Naga languages also show this three-way opposition in number (earlier cited example from Sema), whereas

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[1]For ease of printing, tones are not marked. Sema has three way opposition in tones. Some phonemes like close unrounded central vowel and voiced velar fricative etc. are replaced by the nearest symbol available on typewriters.

the Naga Pidgin shows only a two-way opposition, *viz.*, singular and plural. In Assamese there are six markers to indicate plurality. These are : *bor, bilak, hot, lak, mokha* and *kokhol*. These markers are conditioned both phonologically and morphologically. Naga Pidgin has two markers, *viz., bilak* and *khan,* the former occurring with the nouns and the latter with the pronouns. The plural marker *khan* occurring with the pronouns does not occur in Assamese. What is common in both is that the plural marker is deleted when the context indicates the plurality e.g.,

Assamese

> manuh[1]   'man'   : manubor   'men'
> but bəhut manuh 'many men' : duta manuḫa 'two men' etc.

Naga Pidgin

> manu 'man'   : manubilak 'men'
> behut manu 'many men': 'duy manu 'two men' etc.

Case :

Assamese does not have a grammatical gender[1]. The gender of an object is indicated in three different ways, *viz.*, (i) by a qualifying term, for instance *maiki* 'female' or *mota* 'male' is preposed to a noun, (ii) by using different lexical items and (iii) by suffixing a few feminine gender marker to the male form of the noun. The Naga Pidgin uses only the first two devices, for instance :

Assamese	*Naga Pidgin*	
ezoni maiki manuh	mayki ekta	'one woman'
(lit. one female man)	(female one)	
ezoni manuh	manu ekta	'one man'
mota kukura	kukura/murga	'cock'
(lit. male fowl)		
maiki kukura	mayki kukura/murgi	'hen'
deuta/pitadeu	bap	'father'
bou/ma	ay	'mother' etc.

Case :

The Assamese shows seven way opposition in case relationship. These are : nominative *zero/e,* accusative *zero/k,* dative *loi/k,* genitive-*r,* locative-*t,* ablative *pora,* and instrumental-*re,* e.g.

nom. ram khai 'Ram eats'   (the nominative is marked only when the verb is in the transitive construction).

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[1]For ease of typing and printing certain vowels occurring in Assamese are symbolized here by the nearest one available on typewriters. The Assamese examples are cited from : 'The Grammatical Sketches of Indian Languages' compiler R. C. Nigam, *Language monograph series* (1961), Census of India 1971.

Acc. moy tomok dekhilo 'I saw you' (lit. I you (acc.) see Past)
   1   2   3   4 '5   1 2   3   4   5

dat. xou gosbor tumi moloi pothaisi lane ?
   1   2   3   4   5 6 7 8 9

    (lit. those tree pl you I dative had sent did)
        1   2 3 4 5 6   7 8 9
    When did you send me those trees?

dat. tumar kutharkhan mok ketia diba?
   1   2   3   4 5 6   7 8

    (lit. you gen axe I dative when give will)
        1   2 3 4 5   6   7 8
    When will you give the axe to me?

gen. taik mor hoga posak zor dia
   1 2 3 4 5   6 7 8

    (lit. she dat I gen. white dress the[1] give)
       1 2 3 4   '5   6   7   8
    'give her my white dress'

loc. Xi ghorot asil
   1 2 3 4 5

    'he was in the house'

    (lit. he house in is past)
       1   2 3 4 5

abl. gospar pora phəlto xori poril

   1   2   3   4 5 6   7

    'the fruits fall down from the tree (lit. tree the from fruit
                    1   2   3   4
    the fall down.
    5 6   7

Insr. moy lorartok edal lathire marile
   1   2   3 4 5 6 7   8

    'I hit the boy with a stick'

    (lit. I boy the acc one stick with hit)
       1 2 3 4   5   6   7   8

    When this feature is compared with the ones available with Sema, a Naga language, one finds that the accusative, dative and genitive case relations are unmarked overtly. These are indicated by certain fixed word order, as in :

acc. ino   li   ithulu
   1   2   3

    'I saw her'
    1 3 2

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[1]This and many other words whose meanings are given as 'the' are in fact nominal classifiers—a feature of the Austric languages adopted by the Eastern Indo-Aryan languages and also by the Tibeto-Burman language except the Naga Group.

dat. ino ana lakhi li ciwa   'I gave her a child'
    1 2   3   4 5   1   5 4 3 2

gen. liki   'her house'
    1 2   1   2

The nominative, sociative, instrumental, ablative, allative and locative case relations are overtly marked in Sema Naga. This situation may now be compared with the ones found in the Angami variety of the Naga Pidgin which amongst all the varieties of the Naga Pidgin shows the maximum number of opposition in case relations.

nom. suali girise   'the girl fell'
     1   2   1 2

acc. k suali mok dikhise   'the girl saw me' (lit. girl I acc see
     1 2 3 4   1 2 3 4
                               past)
                               5

dat. k moy tak ekta lorak dise 'I gave her a boy'
     1 2   3   4   5 6 7   (lit. I she dat. one boy acc gave)
                               1 2 3   4 5   6   7

ke. moy taykhanke ekta lora dise 'I gave them a boy'

sociative suali moy ləgot jayse 'the girl went with me'
          1   2   3   4   1   4   3 2

gen. r sualir hath   'girl's hand'

instr. di tak mekeladi bandise 'she was tied with a dhoti'
       1 2 3   4   5   (lit. she acc dhoti with tied)
                             1 2   3   4 5

loc. te mekelate rong nəy (there is) 'no colour in the dhoti'

abl. tay gor pora ahise   'she came from the house'
     1 2   3   4   1   4   3   2

allative. tay gorot jayse   'she went (to) home'
     1 2 3   4   1   4 3   2

Even in the Angami variety, the dative and accusative case markers get mixed up. This is true of Assamese also (cf. Goswami 1966:6). Most of the other varieties of the Naga Pidgin do not mark overtly the accusative, dative and genitive case relations, rather fixed word order signals these case relations. This pattern seems to be a reflection of the patterns in the Naga languages.

, In passing, we might also have a look at the phonological systems of the Assamese and Naga languages on the one hand, and the Naga Pidgin, on the other. Assamese has eight oral vowels which include four back and four front, each having its nasalized counterpart. Most of the Naga languages, on the other hand have two vowels each in the front, back and the central region with 2-3 tones occurring with each vowel. Except for the occurrence of the tones, the vowel system in the Naga pidgin is similar to that of the Naga languages. With regard to the consonants within the stop series, Assamese shows in the manner of articulation a two-way oppostion in voice and a two-way opposition in aspiration. In the place of articulation, a four-way opposition is found giving rise to a total of 16 stops even though the Naga languages show a four-way opposition in the place of articulation, only the unaspirated stops show opposition in voice. The unvoiced stops show an additional opposition in aspiration. The Ao and some other Naga languages do not show opposition in voice even with the unaspirated stops, *i.e.,* at the phonemic level, the voiced stops are not found in Ao and Sema and the other Naga languages. These features of the Naga languages are reflected in the different varieties of Naga Pidgin.

Only a few languages in the southern Naga Pidgin[1] show a four-way opposition in the manner of articulation with the stops. Most of the varieties show the absence of the voiced aspirated stops. The central group does not have even the voiced unaspirated series except *b*. The nasals show a three-way opposition in both the languages in contact, *viz.,* Naga languages and Assamese and also with the Naga Pidgin. But only the Naga languages have the aspirated nasals. The fricatives in Assamese show a three-way opposition in the place of articulation, *viz.,* dental, velar and glottal, of which the dental has a voiced counterpart, *i.e., s, z, x* and *h*. Most of the Naga languages show a three-way opposition with regard to the fricatives. Some in addition have voiced dental and velar fricatives. Though both the languages in contact have voiced fricatives, the Naga Pidgin does not have any voiced fricatives. In addition, it also differs in respect of the place of articulation of the fricatives from both the languages in contact, *i.e.,* while it has dental, palatal and glottal fricatives, it does not have a velar fricative.

If we compare the features of the Naga Pidgin with the Assamese, the upper language in this case, one could certainly see in Naga Pidgin simpler forms in certain categories. While referring to the

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[1]The southern group consists of the speakers of Angami, Kachari (creole speakers), zemi, liagmei, Rongmei, Sema, Kheza, Chokri & Mao, all located in the Kohima district. This area was under the control of British officers since 1878. Capt : Jenkins Pemberton's 1832 visit to Angami area was the first visit of any European to Angami area. The central group consists of the speakers of Ao, Lotha and Yimchunger.

Nigerian Pidgin, Lee and Cooke (1975) state that 'the total inventory complexity is not simpler but the syllabic structure of the Pidgin showed more natural, less marked preferred syllabic structure'. Thus the simplification theory can hold its ground, only if we compare the system of the Assamese and Naga Pidgin in isolation ignoring the native languages of the Nagas. If we look at the so-called simplification theory from the point of view of the Naga languages, one could easily find that the so-called simplified version of the master's talk in fact is the interpretation of the so-called upper language by the Nagas through the medium of their own language. This is much more evident in the area of phonology than anywhere else. In fact, the Naga Pidgin not only does not show all the features of the Naga languages but also shows features that are not found in either of the contact languages. Thus we find that the grammar of the Naga Pidgin born out of the fusion of Assamese and Naga languages is not just a simplified grammar of either Assamese, the upper language or the common denominator of the languages in contact, rather a restructuring of the grammar of the languages in contact resulting in a new system related to the contact languages but possessing its own unique features.

(iii) Life cycles :

While discussing the situation found with the Pidgins and creoles based on European languages, it was seen that :

(i) the communicational needs of the children of the Pidgin speaking community results in a change in the role of a Pidgin from a second language to the first language,

(ii) a pidgin can be creolized at any stage of its development including a pre-pidgin continuum,

(iii) a change in the role of a pidgin from that of a second language to the first language leads to a change in structure, *i.e.,* an expansion in structure and also a shift from one life cycle to another, and

(iv) the structure of the creole gradually merges with the external source language, if the latter is re-introduced in the creole speaking community as an official language including as a language of education. Though complete data on all these points are not available, these may be examined from the Indian context.

In the case of pidgins based on European languages, it was found that the children of the pidgin speaking communities on finding their ancestral languages inadequate for meeting their communicational needs creolized the pidgins. In other words, the communicational needs

of the children of the pidgin speaking communities result in a change in role of a pidgin from a second language to the first language. At least in two of the known instances in India, this assumption is invalid. For instance, the Kacharis in Nagaland, a Hindu sect belonging to the Bodo-Naga group who spoke Assamese, the source language of the Naga pidgin, gave up Assamese, their first language, in favour of the Naga Pidgin and creolized it. The exact period when this shift took place and the processes involved in it are not known. It cannot however be stated that the Kacharis in Nagaland gave up Assamese in favour of a Naga Pidgin for the communicational needs of their children. When the Naga Hills were separated from Assam, the Kacharis in Naga Hills and Tuensang area, probably felt it expedient to have a new identity which they could have obtained only by disowning Assamese and in the process creolized the pidgin. A similar situation is found in the heartland of Hindi where, in search of a new tribal identity a number of tribal groups have collectively shifted their linguistic identity from their ancestral language by creolizing Sadari. Sadari has since become an identity token for a number of heterogenous ethnic groups speaking languages of three families *viz.*, Austric (Munda), Dravidian and Indo-Aryan (cf Sreedhar 1983a). This is quite evident from the census figures, *i.e.*, Sadari had 17 speakers in 1911, 56 in 1951 and 3,65,772 in 1961. Nothing short of a mass movement would have resulted in this type of shift in linguistic identity from the ancestral languages to a creole.

In the course of the last two to three decades, the functional load of Naga Pidgin has increased to such a high level that it became an extended pidgin (Sreedhar 1979), yet it has been creolized only by a small non-Naga ethnic minority, *viz.*, Kacharis. The Southern variety of Naga Pidgin and the creole of the Kacharis who reside within the geographical area of the Southern variety show hardly any difference at structural level (Detailed data on Kachari creole grammar is yet to be collected). The absence of any major difference in the structure of a pidgin used as a second language and as the first language (*i.e.*, the corresponding creole) is more evident in the case of Sadari and Halbi, the two pidgin-creoles spoken in the heartland of Hindi belt. Studies in Sadari and Halbi[1], clearly indicate that, as far as the structure of these pidgin-creoles is concerned, neither education nor their role as the first or as a second language has any relevance. The structural difference found in Sadari is based on areal difference which was categorized as belonging to core *vs* peripheral areas.

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[1]Report of the pilot survey of parts of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal on Sadari by Miss. Rekha Sharma and Dr. Sam Mohanlal; on Sadari of Orissa by Dr. (Mrs.) Rajyashree Subbayya and on Halbi by Dr. K. P. Acharya in *Languages of Wider Communication : studies in pidgins and creoles* (ed.) M. V. Sreedhar (forthcoming).

From time immemorial a number of linguistic minorities have given up their ancestral language in favour of the dominant regional languages, for instance, the Norwegian immigrants in U.S.A. (Haugen 1966). The recorded evidence in India (Dalton 1868 : 124-278) shows that a number of tribal languages like Korawa, Kisan, Bhuihar, Boyer, Bhuya, Bihor, etc., gave up their ancestral languages in favour of different varieties of Hindi as early as the 18th century. In some instances, conversion to Hinduism and in some instances adopting permanent rice cultivation were cited by Dalton as the cause of this shift in language. The Plains Kacharis in Assam gave up their ancestral language in favour of Assamese, after conversion to Vaisnavism—a Hindu sect in the mid 18th century. In a similar conversion, 'the Meithis (Manipuris) only changed their script by adopting Bengali-Assamese script but retained their language. Presently there is a move by the Meithis for the revival of their earlier script. In different parts of India, elites are giving up their ancestral language in favour of the dominant official language of the region, for instrumental purpose, for instance, the Iyengar Tamil Brahmins in Bangalore[1], Karnataka and the Hindu Panjabis in Delhi[2] etc. A change in the role of a Pidgin from a second language to the first language (creole) basically involves the ancestral language in that it is the latter that is lost partially or completely with or without any change in the structure of the pidgin concerned. For instance, in the case of Naga Pidgin and Sadari, a change in the role has not affected the structure of the pidgin-creole. If the shifts in favour of the dominant languages by the speakers of 'natural languages' are not treated as part of the life cycle of the language concerned the reason for treating the loss of the ancestral language of the pidgin speaking communities as part of the life cycle can only be attributed to the fact that we know the history of the pidgins/ creoles of recent origin but not of some natural languages belonging to the Romance family or Marathi (Southworth 1971 : 255-274). Let us now have a look at another aspect of this life cycle, *viz.*, the gradual merger of a creole with the external source language. Though a number of Nagas had been to the capital city of Assam and to the other towns in Assam for higher education and had formal education in Assamese language, Assamese was never an official language of education in Nagaland. Hence the condition for classical decreolization process did not exist in Nagaland. But such a condition did and does exist in the case of Sadari and Halbi. Both these pidgin-creoles are spoken in the heartland of the Hindi belt where Hindi is both the official language and the language of education.

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[1] Language maintenance : a case study of Tamils in Bangalore (in progress).

[2] A bilingual grammer of Punjabi-Hindi spoken in Delhi by Dr. Rajesh Sachdeva (Forthcoming) ed. M. V. Sreedhar.

Despite the fact that a number of tribal children speaking **Sadari** either as the first or a second language had formal education through Hindi, structurally Sadari has maintained a distinct identity. Therefore there could not be any chance for Sadari being merged with the external source language, though hereafter Sadari, Halbi, etc., may not find a place in the Indian census, owing to a policy decision to include Sadari, Halbi and scores of other languages spoken in the Hindi belts as dialects of Hindi. It is clearly evident from the discussion that preceded that the concept of 'life cycle' is totally inapplicable in the case of pidgin-creoles found in India. With this background of pidgin-creoles let us move over to the language policy in education and its implementation in Nagaland.

Language policy in education and its implementation

When Nagaland became the sixteenth fulfledged State in India in 1963, there was not a single Naga language that could take over the functions of the official language of the State. Therefore English was made the sole official language at all levels through an Act in December 1964.

As far as the language use in education is concerned, Nagaland differs from the rest of the country in respect of both the policy and its implementation. As a matter of policy, the medium of instruction at the primary level, *i.e.*, from Class I to IV is to be in the mother tongue and thereafter English is the sole medium of instruction. English as a compulsory language is introduced from Class I and Hindi as a non-examination subject from Class V onwards.

This policy, however, is implemented in a manner extremely detrimental to the interests of the young pupils. For instance, of the 23 indigenous Naga languages spoken in Nagaland, only 13 are recognized for being taught as mother tongue and as the medium of instruction. These languages are : Angami, Sema, Ao, Lotha, Rengma, Chokri, Kheza, Sangtam, Konyak, Chang, Phom, Yimchunger and Kuki. This decision deprives the remaining ten linguistic groups an opportunity not only to learn through their mother tongue, but also an opportunity to learn their respective mother tongues as a subject. These linguistic groups are : Khiamngan, Zemi, Liangmei, Rongmei, Pochuri, Makware, Tirkhire, Chin, Mao, and the creole of the Kacharis. All these linguistic groups are obliged to learn through the medium of the language of the neighbouring group provided the language and different subject textbooks are available in the language of the neighbouring linguistic group; otherwise, the children are obliged to learn through the medium of English from Class I onwards, even before their respective mother tongues are learnt as a subject. Owing to the non-availability of the language

and subject textbooks in some of the recognized languages, the situation is not quite rosy for the children belonging to all the languages recognized by the Education Directorate for being taught as a subject and medium of instruction at the primary level. The production of textbooks in Nagaland is the monopoly of the Directorate of Education. Hardly any original writing goes in the production of these textbooks. Both the language and the subject textbooks are translations from the books in English used elsewhere. This puts the Naga children to a severe handicap, as the contents in both the language and the subject matter of the textbooks have hardly any relevance to their culture or experience. Further textbooks are available only in some of the recognized languages, for instance, language textbooks are available upto Class X only in Ao and Angami and upto Class VII in six languages, viz., Ao, Angami, Sema, Lotha, Konyak and Chokri and only upto Class II in the remaining recognized languages. Arithmetic and Science textbooks are available only in six of the 13 recognized languages. These languages are : Ao, Angami, Sema, Konyak, Lotha and Chokri. Whenever the language and the subject textbooks are not available in any language, the Naga children of that particular linguistic group are obliged to learn through a second language which at times may be of a neighbouring one and most often English. The Naga children who are obliged to learn through English from class I onwards are handicapped very severely, in that they have not only to learn the items that have no relevance to their culture and experience but also a completely new linguistic structure, for instance : at the sentence level, English has SVO pattern as opposed to the Naga languages having SOV pattern and at the phrase level, the Naga languages have the Noun phrase ———→ Noun $\pm$ adjective $\pm$ number and the Verb phrase ———→ adverb + verb, whereas in English the adjective is preposed to the Noun and the adverb is postposed to the verb. Thus the handicaps of the Naga children aged five to six years extend from confronting new cultural input and new experience in learning new linguistic structures and all these new items have to be learnt before the children are equipped to handle their mother tongue satisfactorily (cf. Sreedhar 1983c).

To cap all these hardships arising out of learning through a Second Naga language or English, the Naga children from the minor linguistic groups have the misfortune of learning from untrained teachers, many of whom, themselves had not studied upto class V. The recruitment of the untrained, unqualified teachers also arises out of a policy decision, i.e., only a Naga belonging to the local ethnic/linguistic group can be recruited as a teacher at the primary level. Therefore, in backward areas like Tuensang District, one

could find the teachers who had studied upto II or III standard teaching at the primary level. Earlier almost all the teachers in this district were Ao speakers and a few from outside the State. This new recruitment policy also has its impact on the education of the school children. Now the recruitment of teachers from outside the State has been totally discontinued. Presently 95 per cent of the teachers at the primary level, 80 per cent at the middle school level and 60 per cent of the teachers at the high school level are Nagas. The fluency in English of the teachers at all levels is also quite low. This short-coming is handled partly by resorting in the classroom to Naga Pidgin for explaining concepts and themes.

The cumulative effect of all these on Naga children is that they fail to have even an elementary comprehension of English when they reach Class IV, wherefrom English is the sole medium of instruction. Owing to their failure to grasp elementary concepts in different subjects, year after year, Naga children fail at the X (matriculation) public examination in subjects like science, mathematics, etc. And the failure of the Naga children in examination is attributed to their lacking in intelligence, whereas the real cause of the failure of the Naga children in science and mathematics is the total lack of meaningful communication between the teachers and the taught owing to the use of a completely alien language. Neither the teachers nor the students have any fluency in English to use it as a medium of instruction. It would be just another myth to imagine that some day a qualitative improvement in the teacher training techniques and in the teaching of English at the primary level could be effected to a degree that would enable the Naga children to change over to the English medium at Class V smoothly. (cf. Sreedhar 1978/83). Further it is claimed by educational psychologists that the mastery of the mother tongue is a pre-condition to the learning of any second language particularly a foreign language like English. Therefore, it is not desirable to force a child to learn English or, for that matter, any second language before it has acquired the necessary degree of proficiency in its own mother tongue. While adversely commenting on the use of English as the medium of instruction in Nagaland, Haimendorf (1976 : 249) states that 'the pupils' level of comprehension of English was low and this accounted for their relative poor performance. For several years, none of the pupils had passed in the matriculation and I wondered whether there were in Nagaland sufficient outlets for young people with the type of education which gave them ambition beyond those of ordinary cultivators without equipping them for harsh competition in the outside world'.

Despite the academic compulsion and necessity of teaching through the mother tongue at least at the primary level, it is an El Dorado for a small hill State like Nagaland with hardly any internal resources to impart education through 13-14 languages. On the other hand, without compromising the academic necessity of teaching through the mother tongue at the primary level, it would be possible to impart effective and efficient instruction through a contact language, *i.e.,* when a child from its early childhood has access and ability to use two different languages, both the languages may be treated as the mother tongue of the child concerned. Since every child, particularly from minor linguistic groups in Nagaland, is exposed to the Naga Pidgin from the early childhood, academically Naga Pidgin can be treated as the alternate mother tongue and instruction through the Naga Pidgin could be made as effective and efficient as through the ancestral language of the child. Once this academic position is conceded, the children belonging to the minor tribal communities having a population of less than 30,000 speakers could be taught through the medium of the Naga Pidgin at the primary level. This realistic approach has three major advantages. These are : (i) both academically and economically it would be feasible to produce good quality language and subject textbooks in a limited number of languages, as only five linguistic groups in Nagaland have more than 30,000 speakers. These groups are—Ao, Angami, Sema, Lotha, and Konyak. (ii) Since language and subject textbooks in a single language can be used by the children of a large number of minor linguistic groups, human resource-wise, it would be much easier to have original writings without resorting to translation from English, a practice prevalent at present, owing to the lack of subject specialists in most of the minor linguistic groups. (iii) The third and the most important advantage is that the children of those minor tribal groups who are denied the opportunity to learn through their respective mother tongues either because their languages are not recognized for the purpose of education or owing to the absence of texbooks in all the recognized languages, would get an opportunity to learn through an alternative mother tongue, rather than through a foreign language.

The discussion in the preceding paragraphs gives us a graphic picture of the multilingual characteristic feature of Nagaland having just over half a million people speaking as many as 30 distinct languages. It also showed the stresses and strains on the State Government in its effort to impart primary education through the medium of 13 recognized languages. Despite its best efforts, the State is not in a position to offer primary education through the mother tongue medium even to the children of all the recognized linguistic groups. An earlier study (Sreedhar, 1979) has shown

that Naga Pidgin is used informally even in high schools to explain various concepts in science. The study also showed that the Naga Pidgin has a high functional load inasmuch as it is used across the entire length and breadth of Nagaland for inter-lingual communication in various settings like marketing, office, hospital, State Legislative Assembly and even in churches i.e., different Naga languages are used for intra-linguistic group oral communications within their respective geographical regions[1] and also in intimate circles outside their respective geographical areas, provided members of the other linguistic groups are not present. If others are present, even in the domain of home, Naga Pidgin is used. The variable of intra and inter-linguistic groups is validated in respect of the choice between the local Naga language and Naga Pidgin, in the schools and in the offices at the district and taluk levels. In most part of Nagaland, the church congregation consists usually of monolingual groups in which case, the respective local Naga language is used in the sermons. The Naga Pidgin, however, is used when the congregation consists of two or more linguistic groups. In the State Legislative Assembly, while most of the discussions take place in Naga Pidgin, the Stenographers have to translate and take down the discussions in English as English is the only language in which records are maintained.

Thus, the role Naga Pidgin could play in the education at the Primary Level of the children of the minor Naga tribes was examined in these two contexts, viz., the impracticability of imparting primary education through the medium of the mother tongue of all the linguistic groups in Nagaland on the one hand and the high functional load, the Naga Pidgin is carrying informally in every walk of life of the Nagas on the other. And the preceding discussions quite evidently showed that Naga Pidgin has a major role to play in the primary education. It also showed that for effective learning leading to better performance of the Naga pupils in the examination and also for reducing the phenomena of stagnation and wastage found amongst the Naga pupils from minor linguistic groups, no language in Nagaland is better suited than the Naga Pidgin.

Yet the unwarranted ambivalent attitude of the educated Nagas towards the Naga Pidgin deprives the children of the minority ethnic groups of the benefits of formal education, thereby casting aside a great academic advantage. May be the educated Nagas could take a leaf from the experiences of the pidgin/creole speakers in other countries. In Haiti, the French based creole is used in education at different levels. In Papua New Guinea, the Neo

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[1]Excepting Kukis and Rongmeis, each Naga linguistic group has a geographical area where they are the predominant linguistic group. But monolingual population is not found even in remote villages.

melanesian, a pidgin-creole is used in education. A new experiment
is made in using Papiamentu, the creole spoken in the Dutch
Netherlands Antillies. While referring to the language use in educa-
tion in these islands, Richards (1979) states that despite more than
300 years of bond with Holland, the Dutch language never became
part of the culture of people in The Netherlands Antillies. Earlier
De Paul (1965) correlated the poor performance of the children
in the Netherlands Antillies to the educational system, more specifi-
cally to the use of Dutch in schools. And he suggested Papiamentu,
the creole of the area, to be used as the medium of instruction. An
experiment in that direction is being done. In South Sudan, the
regional Ministry of Education has expressed its intention to develop
Pidgin Arabic to use it as a medium of instruction in elementary
schools (cf. Nhial 1975). As opposed to these, like the educated
Nagas, we find the Nigerian educational system also exhibiting wrong
notions about the ability of the students in primary schools to learn
through standard English. The official educational policy in Nigeria
having three hundred competing languages is to teach a single
language in the first four years of the primary education in all the
states having a dominant language. Such a language would also
be the medium of instruction in those states. For instance, Hausa
in Kaduna Kwara and in few other states, Yoruba in four of the
19 States, etc. This tallies with the Pan-Indian policy in language
education in India. But in Bandel having 21 languages and in the
other states like Bandel, English is used officially as the medium of
instruction, on the wrong assumption that the students are proficient
enough to receive instruction through English, whereas in practice
only pidgin English is used in the schools. Bandel State incidently
has the largest number of pidgin English speakers, where pidgin
English is the only language used in advertisements directed to the
country at large. It is also used in new domains like literature,
drama, politics, etc. With the growing realization of the realities,
a reapprisal in the language policy of using English has been
suggested (cf. Obil ade : 1979).

Pidgins and creoles have respectable place in other walks of
life also. for instance, owing to the high functional efficiency of the
pidgin Arabic, according to Bell (1976) 'Every Sunday Rev.
Ephraim preaches in pidgin Arabic to a congregation numbering
about 1000 persons'. About 1870, in Surinam, the Moravian
missionaries started to use Srana creole in church. They translated
the Bible, compiled Hymn books, etc., in creole (cf. Jan Voorhoeve
1971 : 309). In Juba, the principal city in Southern Sudan,
politicians who use Juba-Arabic, a pidgin, in public address
and in political rallies win more applause and stand better chance
of putting their message across than those who use English (cf.

Nhial : 1975). This attitude arises partly out of the importance given to this pidgin by the Azam Liberation Front, for instance, the most important aim of the Front was 'the creation of a common nationality and a common language for the tribes of Southern Sudan. And in this, consideration should be given to the Pidgin Arabic' (cf. Bashir[1]). In Uganda, the former President Idi Amin, always preferred to speak in Kinubi, a creole. The former pidgins and creoles like Swahili, Bazaar Malay, etc., have already been developed to function as State languages and are also used in education mass media, etc. In view of these nothing but wrong notions and inertia of the educated Nagas prevent the Naga Pidgin from playing the major role in the primary education of the children of the minority ethnic groups. And in the process it is the Naga children that suffer and lose and not the Pidgin.

There is, however, some minor technical difficulty in using the Naga Pidgin in the present state of affairs in education owing to the widespread variations found across ethnic/linguistic boundaries as well as in the speech of the same individual. These are, however, not insurmountable ones inasmuch as every language used in education shows variation of different range. Since variation is found in almost all languages used in education, it might be fruitful to have a look at the nature of variation found in pidgin and the other languages used in education. Such an exercise would also help us in understanding the means and methods adopted to handle the problem of variations found in the other languages used in education.

Variation

Variation of diverse kinds is a feature found with every language spoken by a sizable population over a large territory, irrespective of the fact whether a language is a Pidgin/creole or a natural language, *i.e.,* a language genetically related to the other languages of the family. Though both these two types of languages show variation, there is a qualitative difference in the nature of variation found between the two. The most important one relates to the role/function of the variation. While referring to the functional value of the variation found in language, Neustupny (1974:44) states that the variations are said to be functional if the variable feature is determined by some social functions. In other words, when speech differences are correlated with the speaker's status and the setting, the variations are sociolinguistic (cf. Bright and Ramanujan 1972:160). If the variation is looked at from this angle, only the variation found in the natural languages could be claimed to be

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[1]quoted in Bell 1975.

functional and as such sociolinguistic, in that the variation in the natural languages are used to express a whole gamut of emotions, overtones and attitudes. As opposed to this, the variation found in pidgin/creoles are dysfunctional in that the same speaker on different occasions might use two or more forms without any social relevance, *i.e.*, for dealing with different contexts or social situations, the pidgin/creole speakers have no choice of code or variety of language or style. In comparing the code choices available in the genetically related languages and pidgins, Hymes (1967:9) claims that a pidgin is not a normal language as a speaker is limited to the use of a code with but one style or register whereas no normal community is limited in response to a single variety of code to such an unchanging monotony which would preclude the possibility of indicating respect, indolence, humour, role distance etc. by switching over from one code variety to another. While commenting on the statement of Hymes on the abnormality of pidgins as languages, Samarin (1971:122) states that 'what is needed to produce a "code variety" is unclear'. He further states that 'politeness is an attitude, not necessarily a part of the semantic structure of language'. He, however, agrees with Hymes and other scholars, that from a Sociolinguistic point of view, a pidgin is not a normal language, rather it is a language but a different kind of language.

The variation can also be looked upon from the point of view of the availability of a norm accepted by the entire speech community. The evolution of a variety as a norm is primarily a socio-historical factor, with the linguistic structure playing no role in it. But once a variety attains the status of a norm, it also attains a prestige with the concomitant value judgements like right/wrong, appropriate/inappropriate, etc., in respect of the other varieties.

It is commonly accepted that the pidgins have no norms nor prestige attached to any variety. Winford (1975) claims that stylistic variation and the conditioning of the linguistic variables even in the peer group session correlating with the socio-economic status is found also in the creoles, for instance, Trinidad's English creole. As opposed to the absence of a norm found in a pidgin, the speaker of the natural languages is keenly aware of the value and prestige attached to a certain variety and constantly endeavours to adjust his/her speech to the prestige form. In fact the possession of a single superposed variety acceptable to the speakers of all the varieties concerned was considered the most important criterion for determining whether or not mutually intelligible varieties belong to a single language (cf. Ferguson and Gumperz (1960:5). Such a criterion might be valid for literary societies which reserve a single variety for literary purposes, while the other varieties are used by different segments of the society concerned or in different domains/role

relations, etc. But the criterion of Ferguson and Gumperz fails in the case of pre-literate societies like the one found in Nagaland or in the case of languages like the Naga Pidgin and the various other Naga languages that are not put to writing. For instance, despite the absence of a single superposed variety for the Naga Pidgin and despite the ambivalent attitude of the Nagas towards the Naga Pidgin, all the Nagas and the non-Nagas who use the Naga Pidgin do consider that the different varieties of the Naga Pidgin associated with different ethnic/linguistic group as constituting a single language/system. Such a criterion fails even in the case of highly developed literary languages used as languages of wider communication across different continents. Take for instance, the case of English. Despite the absence of a single superposed variety for its users in different continents, most of its users do consider the different varieties of English spoken in different continents as constituting a single language. In a situation of this nature, this criterion could only be accommodated by treating the different varieties of English spoken in different countries as distinct languages like the British English, the Scottish English, the American English, the Australian English, the Indian English, etc. Even the notion of mutual intelligibility has long cased to be the criterion for grouping different varieties/codes into a single language, rather a language is more a token of social identity than concrete linguistic codes. It is only such social identification that enables mutually unintelligible codes like : Mithili, Magahi, Marwari, Bangru, etc., to be clubbed together as dialects of Hindi. Conversely near identical linguistic codes like Hindi/Urdu and Hindi/Punjabi are treated as distinct languages because of the speakers' desire to be identified distinctly. Such identifications take place even in pre-literate communities. For instance, Kheza and Chokri were till recently considered linguistically as the eastern dialects of Angami but now politically treated as distinct languages for instrumental purpose. Despite these apparent contradictions, a vague feeling of a norm associated with value judgements do exist in the minds of the user of a language. And in the development of the natural languages, the evolution of the norm, *viz.,* the standard form having a prestige is a historical process, which takes place without any conscious effort or a decision by a few speakers even though the basis of the standard form is usually the speech of the educated middle class. Though the criterion for the choice of one variety over the other as the norm is non-linguistic, the language standardization is a process of one variety of a language being widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supra-dialectal norm. The concept of standardization includes the notion of increasing uniformity of norm itself and the explicit codification of the norm. In the case of the genetically related developed languages particularly of the

West, the formation of the standard form having prestige took four to five centuries whereas there is little time left for the natural processes to work out the evolution of a standard form for the pidgins and creoles, if they are to be visualized for use in education of the tribal population. Further the ambivalent attitude of the speakers of a pidgin towards it itself would hinder the natural processes of the development of a norm. When such social situations including the ambivalent attitude of the speakers preclude the operation of the natural processes the language planner is obliged to intervene for improving the pidgin as an instrument of communication by making it more economical and regular through planned standardization. The extent to which these exercises have to be gone through would depend primarily on the social and educational need of the pidgin speaking community concerned. And in this, we have already seen that Naga Pidgin has a vital role to play in the education of the children of the minor linguistic/ethnic groups, which it is not in a position to discharge owing to the widespread variations found in the Naga Pidgin with none of the varieties in a commanding position to be considered as a norm. Since in the case of pidgins, there is very little scope for the norm to be achieved through the natural processes, we are obliged to adopt the techniques available to the language planner in determining the norm for this pidgin. We might therefore have a brief overview of the options available to the language planner.

Standardization and Language Planning

Whenever a language is selected for some function above and beyond those which it has been hitherto associated, elaboration, codification etc. become very essential. Naga Pidgin has so far been used extensively for oral communication but now there is an urgent need to use it in writing. It was also seen earlier that Naga Pidgin shows a wide range of variation with none of the varieties having prestige. It also lacks a norm. Hence the main issue is how to arrive at a norm within the shortest possible time through codification or through other means. An important feature of language planning is identification of the problem and as far as the Naga Pidgin is concerned, we have already identified the problem. With regard to the selection of the norm, Hall (1972 : 145) states that one could choose the variety used by the largest number of the people or the one used in the administrative headquarters, but once the choice is made for the norm, it should be acceptable to all sections of the community concerned. In terms of the numerical strength, the northern variety consisting of the speakers of Konyak, Sangtam, Phom, Chang and Khiamngan has the largest number of speakers. Therefore, on the basis of the numerical strength alone, one could select the northern variety as the norm. Since the capital of

Nagaland is situated in the Angami belt, one could also consider that variety as a claimant for the norm. Even though head hunting and inter-village feuds amongst the Nagas now form part of their history, mutual suspicion across different ethnic/linguistic boundaries still exist. Hence no Naga would accept as the norm of the Naga Pidgin a variety that is likely to be associated with any single ethnic or linguistic group. We cannot therefore accept either the size or the administrative headquarters as a criterion for the selection of the norm. In view of these, *viz.*, non-acceptance as the norm, a variety that is likely to be associated with any group by the other Nagas and the simultaneous need to aim at the instrumental and social goals, we are obliged to adopt certain criteria in developing a norm. The criteria adopted here in this grammar were enunciated in Sreedhar (1976 : 376/1977 : 166)[1] which set up the hypothesis that if pidgins are the result of inter-lingual fusion, the standardized pidgin could be the result of intralingual fusion. Such an expediency was adopted primarily because one of the important principles of language planning is that if it is to have any success, it must consider certain psychological, social and cultural pre-requisites; language planning must therefore simultaneously aim at instrumental and sentimental social goals. The sentimental goal must, in turn, be given importance when selecting a particular variety as the norm. This also implies that the different groups within the society varying in their linguistic repertoire have equal access to the code so selected.

This grammar of the standardized Naga Pidgin is the result of fusion of various features found in different varieties of the Naga Pidgin. No Naga uses all the features found in this grammar. To that extent, this grammar is a neutral one. Such an attempt is tenable within the strict norms of language planning. For instance, Tauli (1968:27) defines language planning as 'The methodological activity of regulating, improving existing language or creating new common national, regional language'. Tauli (1968:9) further claims that 'since language is an instrument, it follows that language can be evaluated .... and a new language be created at will'. This writer had, however, no access to Tauli (1968) when the above mentioned paper was written in 1974. Subsequent to the setting up of the hypothesis, it was found that similar attempts were made in the past in other countries. Of these, the two well-known instances of creating a standard form out of the dialects/languages are : Norwegian and Albanian. Of the two, the former is the earlier attempt, but attempted at an individual's level at the early stage

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[1] The paper was earlier presented at the II International Conference on 'Pidgins & Creoles', Hawaii, January, 1975 and subsequently published. A copy of this paper appears in appendix 1 of this monograph.

whereas the latter was a planned purposeful effort by the intellectuals and others at the societal level. It is proposed to offer a brief account of both these instances beginning with that of Albanian.

Albanian[1] has two major dialects, *viz.,* Geg (spoken in northern Albania) and Tosk (spoken in southern Albania). In addition, Albanian has a central dialect known as Elbasan, with mixed cultural and linguistic influence from both the major dialects. The earlier printed literature in both Tosk and Geg were only of religious nature, with the Tosk literature going back to 18th century A.D. and the Geg literature to the 16th century A.D. Despite a long history of separate literary development, the speakers of Tosk and Geg did not make any claim for either a separate nationhood or a separate linguistic State. The intellectuals in both the groups rather made concerted attempts to reach a literary reproachment through cross cultural borrowing with a view to creating a single national language. One of the attempts to create national unity through language amongst the bidialectal population was the writing of the Bible translations in Geg by using the Roman alphabet and in Tosk in Greek alphabet, but this did not have much effect on the traditional literary style.

There were three different schools amongst the intellectual who took up the case of a single national language. These were : (i) Those who demanded the national status for Tosk, the southern variety, (ii) Those who demanded the national status to Elbasan, the central variety and (iii) Those who demanded the creation of a neutral variety by hybridization of the good features of both the major dialects.

Aleksander Xhuvani, the proponent of the first school contended that all literary languages had their origin in a single dialect. Since all major literature pertaining to the freedom movement are in Tosk, it alone can claim the status of the National standard. The choice of Elbasan was demanded on the assumption that it being a neutral variety would help uniting both the south and the north. In fact the congress of the Albanian education held in September 1909 did make a specific proposal to that effect and beginning from 1923 to 1940 Elbasan got official status and was used in schools. But a negative attitude towards Elbasan was developed during the national liberation movement in early 1940s and all discussions thereafter took place in Tosk and Geg only. The protogonists of the third school were active as early as 1881, for instance, S. Frashevi hoped that the dialects would disappear by amalgamating into the literary standard the words and phrases found in all the dialects.

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[1]Excerpts from Janet L. Byron (1976).

Similar views were repeated in 1898 by Faik Konica who suggested the preparation of a unified grammar by combining on rational and scientific basis features found in both the major dialects. Similar views prevailed all through, though Tosk had the key to the press and publication including all the literature of the revival in as much as the entire liberation movement literature including newspapers were written in Tosk. In fact the national liberation movement gave the greatest impetus to Tosk as the war literature was mostly published in Tosk. Yet Tosk was not made unilaterally the national literary standard; by 1944, the Albanian bidialectal literary tradition was supplanted by a single superposed variety whose base cannot be identified with either of the major dialects owing to its mixed quality. Though the writers from the 16th century onwards were in the habit of mixing in their writings, words and phrases from the dialects, the present effort is different from the earlier ones both qualitatively and quantitatively in that this was a deliberate attempt in creating a National standard.

Since the new socialist Government wanted to achieve the national unity through a single language, they made concerted efforts through different regulations in promoting a single national standard. For instance, the standardization of the Albanian phonology was tied to the regulation of orthography which showed a one to one correspondence between the grapheme and the phoneme. And the editors and proof readers were instructed to substitute the standard orthographic types for the dialectal spellings used by different writers. The written standard form in its turn led to a change in the speech. Thus conscious planned efforts to eliminate the dialectal features were made rather than leaving the evolution of the standard to chance or historical vagaries. And because of its mixed quality the present standard Albanian cannot be identified with either of its major dialects. Another example of planned language standardization is that of Norway[1]. It has two official standards, viz., Nynorsk 'New Norwegian' and Bokmal 'book language'. The two situations go back to two different socio-political situations, which may be traced in brief. Until 1814 Norway was under Danish rule and the only official language was Danish. When Norway became a free country in 1814, there was no Norwegian standard language. The informal speech of the upper class speakers was a kind of Danish influenced Norwegian. An attempt was made to revive Danish gradually in the direction of the language of the Danish influenced Norwegian spoken by the elite which came to be known as Riksmal 'state language'. Riksmal was a forerunner to Bokmal.

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[1]Particulars of Norwegian situation are mostly from Einar Haugen 1966.

The peasants and farmers spoke rural Norwegian dialects. Ivar Assen, a school teacher who had undertaken extensive study of Norwegian dialects advocated a revolutionary approach and devised a language of his own by amalgamating the features of different rural dialects that were least contaminated by Danish. It was designated as *Landsmal* 'language of the country', which later became *Nynorsk*. In 1885, under the pressure of national sentiments, Landsmal was made an official language on par with Riksmal. Thus Norway with a small population got two official languages which became very expensive in that, the official documents and books had to be printed in both the languages. And the children had to learn to read and write in both. In each area the local councils, however, decide which variety is to be used in public notices. The recognition of Landsmal as an additional official language was very beneficial to the children from lower classes and also from the rural areas, as they could learn through a recognized standard language which is very close to the language of their homes. Linguistically, the spoken forms of the two standards are mutually comprehensible. The dichotomy applies to the written standard forms.

In view of the huge expenses involved in maintaining two official languages, successive Governments tried to reform the two languages gradually towards each other so as to produce a single national language for the country, for instance, the Norwegian dialects have three grammatical genders, while Riksmal, like Danish, has only two genders. In 1917, an order of the Government not only brought uniformity in the two-gender system but also determined the use of gender markers common to both. The same order also brought uniformity in the selection and use of the other grammatical classes/categories. The next major governmental step was in 1938, when on the recommendation of a reform committee, the two standard languages were brought together with respect to spelling, word forms and inflections on the basis of the Norwegian folk language. The order also specified not to model the standard language on the speech of the educated upper classes, which are very important steps in the history of language standardization. Here is an instance where through determined process of planning at the Governmental level, two different official standards were gradually amalgamated into one. In the selection of different features, a definite tilt was made in favour of folk literature and rural population rather than upholding the elite form. Much more important than this attempt at the Governmental level is the role of a private individual in creating a new language from out of the features of a number of dialects spoken by the common man. And it goes to the credit of Ivar Aasen, a school teacher, that his attempt not only succeeded but also enabled the children from the lower rung of the social hierarchy

to get meaningful education in the schools, as the language created by him is very close to the variety spoken in the homes of the underdogs. Influenced by the successful experiments of Norway and in fusing different dialectal features for creating a new National Standard Language, this writer has made an experiment in standardizing Naga pidgin which is not only in the right direction, but also given the proper support would also hope to succeed.

Methodology

By now the need for a standardized Naga pidgin has already been established. Since it is not possible to wait till the Naga pidgin gets a standard form through the historical processes, the language planner has to intervene. The option ordinarily available to a language planner in such a situation is to select as the norm the variety spoken (a) by the largest number of people or (b) in the administrative headquarters. It was also found that either of these choices could not be availed of in the case of Naga Pidgin without violating the sentimental and instrumental goals. It was therefore found essential to create a neutral variety on the hypothesis that if a Pidgin is the result of inter-lingual fusion, the standardized pidgin could be the result of intra-lingual fusion i.e., pidgins arise in multilingual contact situation where the different linguistic groups involved have no common language for inter-lingual communication. A pidgin so developed is not a common denominator of the languages in contact but a restructuring of the grammar of the contact languages. On the same lines, but by a conscious effort, one could create a new neutral variety by selecting, on certain principles, features from the different varieties which then function as the superposed standard variety. In this grammar such an attempt is made at the level of phonology and grammatical categories, the two areas where the maximum variation is found. All the varieties show the same set of grammatical classes. A full justification for choosing one form rather than the other is given in the Appendix 2 along with each item involved in the standardization. The paper which set up this hypothesis appears in appendix 1.

Conclusion

Nagaland has a population of 773.281 (1981 census) with 23 indigenous languages and about ten recent immigrant linguistic groups. The State Government has recognized 13 languages for being used as media of instruction at the primary level. Not all the recognized linguistic groups, however, get the benefit of this policy decision owing to the non-availability of textbooks in many of the recognized languages. The children of such recognized linguistic groups, as well as the children of the minority linguistic groups are therefore

forced to learn through the medium of the neighbouring language, if textbooks are available in that language, otherwise through the medium of English, a foreign language, right from class 1 onwards. In other words, a child is forced to learn through the medium of a foreign language even before it learns to read and write its own mother tongue. Still worse is that this foreign language is used as the medium of instruction at the age of 5+ even before the children have full control of the spoken form of their respective mother tongues. Such a wrong language education policy is causing incalculable damage to the cognitive abilities of the Naga children, leading to a high rate of failure at the public examination in subjects like Mathematics, Science, etc. And the Naga children are condemned as unintelligent ones for learning subjects like mathematics, science, etc. whereas the real culprit is the total lack of meaningful communication between the teacher and the taught owing to the use of an alien language as the medium of instruction in which neither the students nor the teachers have any fluency.

It was in this context that the role of Naga pidgin, an alternate mother tongue for most of the Naga children, in education is considered. It was stated that, in addition to getting the benefit of learning through the mother tongue, the use of Naga pidgin would also enable the preparation of high quality textbooks and also a drastic reduction in the input of both finance and human resources but at the same time having a more effective and efficient system of education than the present one. Since Naga Pidgin, like Swahili, is a neutral medium of communication, its use would not be advantageous or disadvantageous to any ethnic/linguistic group, rather its use would ward off inter-ethnic linguistic rivalries. The Education Commission (1966) and the various other committees that went into the question of teaching English as a second language at the schools had specially recommended that English should not be taught in the schools earlier than class V. The assumption behind such a recommendation is that the learning of English as a second language or for that matter any other language would achieve its objective only if the child has perfect mastery over its first language and is able to express freely its limited experiences in its mother tongue. Despite such a scientifically and academically sound recommendation made for the whole of India, in Nagaland English as a second language is introduced at class I itself at the age of 5+ and in many instances, English is used as the medium of instruction from class I onwards. Therefore, it is in the interest of Naga children and the vital interest of the Nagas as a whole that a reapprisal of the role of English in education in Nagaland is made.

Despite the major role that the Naga pidgin could play in the education of the minority linguistic groups, it was seen that in the present state of its development, it cannot be used in education owing to the absence of a norm acceptable to all the groups, as well as owing to the existence of a number of variant forms both at the individual level and at the linguistic/ethnic level. In the ordinary course, the evolution of a norm for any natural language takes five to six centuries whereas there is little time left for the natural processes to work out the evolution of a norm for the pidgins and creoles if they are to be visualized for immediate use in education for tribal population. A planned standardization of Naga pidgin is therefore an urgent necessity. Since standardization facilitates communication, make the establishment of an agreed orthography possible and provides a uniform pattern for school books, this grammar is an attempt in that direction. The framework for this grammar was enunciated in this writer's paper 'Standardization of Naga Pidgin', the main hypothesis being that if pidgins can be the result of inter-lingual fusion, the standardized pidgin could be the result of intra-lingual fusion'. Subsequently it was found that the attempts in creating standard languages through fusion of dialects were made successfully in the case of Norwegian, Albanian etc. Hence this attempt is in the right direction. Before closing, we might also re-affirm the status of pidgins based on Indian languages for that nomenclature, and also the prime role they can play in education.

It was seen earlier that despite theoretical disagreements on various aspects of pidgins and creoles, there is a general agreement on three areas, viz., (i) pidgins arise only in a multilingual set up; (ii) the presence of a dominant external language, from which most of the vocabulary, at least in the early stages is derived and (iii) not being the first language of any of its users. Though, these were postulated for the pidgins based on European languages, most of these are valid for pidgins based on Indian languages, though Bazaari Hindi seems to be a doubtful case. The Bazaari Hindi could also be clubbed with the other Indian pidgins, if it is considered an offspring of or as an extension of 'Urdu' (literally 'camp language') spread by the early Muslim rulers of Delhi whose soldiers spread the *camp language* to different parts of India. And in the British Indian Army, it was known as 'Roman Urdu' as it was written in Roman script.

The three characteristic features set up for the pidgins and creoles based on European languages, viz., socio-political background of the pidgins, structural features particularly the ones pertaining to the reduction and simplification at the pidgin stage and expansion and complication at the creole stage and thirdly of the life cycle, however, show only a partial applicability in the case of pidgins

and creoles based on Indian languages. It was also seen earlier that indigenous pidgins spoken in North America, Swahili, Bazaari Malay, etc., all cited earlier, also defy the western hypotheses. And the instance of Juba Arabic spoken in South Sudan differs from all others, in that it arose out of contempt for the Arab speaking northern Sudanese, albeit for meeting the communicational needs. In view of the peculiar features found in the Indian pidgins and creoles, Sreedhar 1983 concluded his article posing the question : 'If they (Pidgins based on Indian languages) are not the products of Koine formation, if they are not genetically related languages and if they do not conform to the norms laid down for pidgins/creoles, what are they ?'

Different western creolists reacted to the question in different manners, but I refer to two of them who held extreme views, for instance, Samarin wrote to me stating that for long he had been feeling that the western scholars' view of pidgin and creole were too narrow and he would fully agree with the views expressed in my paper and in contrast Prof. Bickerton in his letter dated March 1, 1983 *inter alia* states that : '.... in fact I would answer the question you pose at the end of your paper by saying that whatever such languages are, they are not the same as the language formed in colonial dependency situation, particularly those which involved slavery and trans-oceanic 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 on their own right and are not easily dealt 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 down graded if they are lumped together with the phenomena of other types'. Bickerton is right in stating that the two situations belong to two different phenomena yet they are not two distinct phenomena. There are common features in certain aspects of language contact and also in the resultant linguistic structures. And what is much more important is that the resultant linguistic structures found in the Indian situations are not the results of Koine formation nor are they instances of simple language mixture. These are neither 'natural languages' in the sense of genetically related ones. Further these are not isolated features found in Nagaland, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa in India but found to exist in different continents and hence no more

a unique feature. Ferguson[1] (forthcoming) attempted to classify Naga Pidgin as a creoloid on the basis of the definition of Todd (1975) by comparing the description of Naga Pidgin with the Singapore English of Platt (1975a, 1975b and 1980), but gave up stating that 'for the more specific question, "Is Nagamese a creoloid ?", we must also acknowledge the difficulty of a definite answer. We need a clearer definition of the type "creoloid" and more information on the structure and use of Nagamese'. In the last page of the same article, he further states that 'It is still the author's conviction that generalizations about pidginization and creolization are premature and likely to be wrong until a more conclusive taxonomy is available (Ferguson & DeBose 1977). Important and challenging theoretical forays starting from idealized "natural" creolization from European based Pidgins (Bickerton 1981) or from the analysis of adult second language acquisition (Schumann 1978) have their place in creole studies but at least as valuable are detailed, insightful investigations of non-European based, not quite, classic marginal varieties. Fortunately Sreedhar and Platt are continuing to investigate Nagamese and Singapore colloquial English, as they and their colleagues are concerned with theoretical issues of definition and taxonomy (cf. Sreedhar 1982, Platt & Weber 1980)'. Since the present western hypotheses regarding the Pidgins and creoles were found to be inapplicable even in the case of some of the pidgins and creoles based on European languages, a way out seems to be to modify partially the western hypotheses so as to keep these two different but not distinct phenomena together in the same manner, Reinecke while recognizing pidgins and creoles as distinct language types kept them under the rubric of marginal languages. Fortunately many western creolists like Ferguson, Samarin, Hull, Mecedo, Dreschal, etc., all cited earlier, also feel the need for a rethinking with regard to the definition and characteristic features of pidgins and creoles.

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2. PHONOLOGY

The chapter on phonology has three major sections, *viz.,* Phonemes, Phonotactics and syllabic pattern. While the section on phonemes discusses the setting up of the phonemes, their sub-classification, distribution etc., the section on phonotactics and syllabic patterns discusses respectively the sequence of phonemes and the types of syllables that occur in this language. Beginning with the section on phonemes, a detailed discussion of each of these sections follows.

(a) Phonemes

A total of 28 phonemes including 6 vowels and 22 consonants. are set up in this language. These are listed below.

Vowels			*Consonants*			
i		u	p	t	c	k
e	ə	o	b	d	j	g
	a		pʰ	tʰ	cʰ	kᵘ
			m	n		ṅ
			s	š	h	
			f̩			
			w		y	

The vowels and the consonants listed above were set up on the basis of the availability of minimal pairs (and in a few instances sub-minimal pairs) and are classified on the basis of the manner and the place of articulation. Beginning with the vowels, a brief discussion of these follows.

Vowels :

General statement—As mentioned above, there are six vowels in this language. All the six vowels are oral ones, *i.e.,* in the production of these vowels no part of the outgoing airstream is released through the nasal cavity[1] rather the entire airstream passes through the mouth. . All the vowels are voiced and the tone is not a phonemic feature[2].

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[1]The SL has at the phonemic level a nassalized vowel, *viz.,* ā in opposition to a, an oral vowel.

[2]All the Naga languages have 3 to 5 tonnes at the phonemic level. Therefore the reflexes of MT habits can be heard in the Naga Pidgin of the different groups of Nagas, but not discussed here as these reflexes are non-significant.

The vowels in this language can be classified on two axes, *viz.*, on the vertical and horizontal axes. On the vertical axis, the tongue could be raised from the floor to the roof of the mouth, and on the horizontal axis any part of the tongue from the front to the back could be raised for producing a vowel. And as far as the vowels in this language are concerned three positions can be set up in each of these axes, *i.e.*, on the vertical axis : open *a.*, half-close *e, o* and close *i, u* and on the horizontal axis : front *e, i*, centre *a, ə* and back *o, u.* The vowels that are produced with the tongue raised to the open, half-close and close positions are known respectively as open, half-close and close vowels and when the front, central and back part of the tongue is raised in producing a vowel, the vowel is known respectively as front, central and back vowel. In addition to these two axes, the vowels could also be classified on the basis of the position of the lips at the time of the escape of the airstream, *i.e.*, the lips could either be in the neutral or protruded position. And the vowels produced with the lips in these position are known respectively as unrounded or rounded vowels. As far as this language is concerned, the position of the lips at the time of the release is correlated with the part of the tongue that is raised, *i.e.*, lips are protruded when the back part of the tongue is raised and the lips are spread when the centre and the front part of the tongue are raised. Thus, the lip rounding/unrounding is a redundant feature with the vowels in this language. At the phonetic level, there are a few diphthongs (complex nuclei). In the production of these complex nuclei, the quality of the vowel is never retained, rather their onset and off-set points are at perceptibly different points, in that it is characterized by the onset from one vowel position and a glide to another position or *vice-versa.* In this language all the diphthongs are of falling types, in that the onset point is invariably a vowel position. These diphthongs, however, like a simple vowel occur in a single chest pulse but their glide element checks the accompanying vowel in a consonantal manner. Therefore, at the phonemic level, the diphthongs (complex nuclei) in this language are treated as a sequence of a vowel plus an approximant. None of the vowels has any special limitations in its distribution.

In the absence of minimal pairs for all the vowels, the opposition amongst the six vowels listed above are illustrated with two sets of sub-minimal pairs, showing their occurrence at the word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions.

Opposition in the word-initial position :/i,e, ə, a, u, o/.

(a) iman	ene	əniba	anand	unotinoha	onchal
'so much'	'for nothing'	'to bring'	'happiness'	'despair'	'area'
	(with a verb in the positive)				
(b) ikilokye	eku	əka	akas	ukha	okhuni
'together'	'for nothing' (with a verb in the negative	'again'	'sky'	'breadth'	'louse'

Opposition in the word-medial position :

(a) kirokəm	kele	kəli	kala	kukaboral	kol
'how much'	'why'	'yesterday'	'black'	'blackbee''	'banana'
(b) mikuri	mekele	məcər	maki	mukosta	mokura
'cat'	'girl's dhoti'	'mosquito'	'fly'	'poetry'	'spider'

Opposition in the word-final position : /i, e, ə, a, u, o/.

(a) kəli	kele	əbə	kela	belu	niseto (aha)
'yesterday'	'why'	'grand mother'	'penis'	'sand'	'(come) down'
(b) gari	yate	ərə	bera	əru	baro
'cart'	'here'	'and'	'fence'	'again'	'twelve'

A description of the individual vowels follows.

/i/, the front half-close unrounded vowel, has a positional variant [Iᵛ] occurring in closed syllables. [Iᵛ] is identical with [i], except for the height to which the tongue is raised, *i.e.*, in the production of the vowel [Iᵛ] the tongue is raised to a slightly lower height than the one required for [i]. A few illustrative examples of these two vowels are given below.

[Iᵛ]	[tIᵛtye pare]	/titye pare/	'that for'
	[kuri mIsᵛtri]	/kuri mistri/	'carpenter'
[i]	[ikiloᵛkye]	/ikilokye/	'together'
	[əniba]	/əniba/	'to bring'
	[mikuri]	/mikuri/	'cat'

/e/, the front half-close unrounded short vowel, has e̬ as positional variant occurring in closed syllables and after aspirated stops and [e] occurring elsewhere. This vowel has no special limitations in its occurrence.

[e̬]	[le̬nta]	/leṅta/	'naked'
	[tʰe̬ṅ]	/tʰeṅ/	'foot'
	[kʰe̬pe̬r]	/kʰepeṅ/	'trunk of a tree'
[e]	[ejen]	/ejen/	'single'
	[kesu]	/kesu/	'earthworm'
	[yate]	/yate/	'here'
	[la.he]	/lahe/	'slow'

/ə/, the central half-close unrounded short vowel, has three positional variants. These are : ɯ a back close unrounded short from occurring in the word-final position; [ə̌] a short from of [ə] occurring in the closed syllables except the ones closed by the two approximants and [ə] occurring elsewhere. This vowel has no special limitations in its occurrence. Given below are a few illustrative examples of this vowel.

[ə]	[əbɯ]	/əbə/	'grand mother'
	[ərɯ]	/ərə/	'and'
[ə̌]	[ənrəs]	/ənrəs/	'pineapple'
	[etə̌m]	/etəm/	'very'
[ə]	[əma]	/əma/	'mother'
	[kəli]	/kəli/	'yesterday'
	[purəna]	/purəna/	'old'
	[əkəu]	/əkəw/	'again'

/a/, the central open short vowel, has [a.]' a half-long form, as positional variant. While [a] occurs in the word-final position, [a.] occurs elsewhere. This vowel has no special limitation in its distribution, e.g.,

[a]	[uca]	/uca/	'height'
	[ita]	/ita/	'brick'
[a.]	[a.j]	/aj/	'today'
	[ta.y]	/tay/	'he/she'
	[da.t]	/dat/	'tooth'

/u/, the back close unrounded vowel, has three positional variants. These are : [u.], a half-long form of [u] occurring in the mono-syllabic words, [U], a short form of [u] produced at a slightly lower tongue height than the one required for [u], occurring before aspirated stops and in closed syllables except in the word-initial position of the mono-syllabic word and [u] occurring elsewhere. Given below are a few words illustrating the occurrences of these three positional variants.

[u.]	[u.t]	/ut/	'camel'
[U]	[Ukʰa]	/ukʰa/	'breadth'
	[kUtʰa.li]	/kutʰali/	'room'
	[pUk]	/puk/	'insect
[u]	[uca]	/uca/	'height
	[usor]	/usor/	'year'
	[cutur]	/cutur/	'hip'
	[culi]	/culi/	'feather'
	[puhu]	/puhu/	'deer'

/o/, the back half-closed rounded short vowel, has three positional variants. These are : [o] occurring before aspirated stops, [ɔ], a half-open rounded frɔm occurring before approximants and [ǒ] a back rounded short form produced midy-way between half-open and half-close positions occurring elsewhere, e.g.,

[o]	[okʰuni]	/okʰuni/	'louse'
[ɔ̌]	[ɔ̌ityǒsa]	/oytyosa/	'funny
	[mɔ̌ila]	/moyla/	'dust'
	[mɔ̌i]	/moy/	'I'
[ǒ]	[ǒlǒp]	/olop/	'little'
	[sǒb]	/sob/	'all'
	[ka.sǒ]	/kaso/	'tortoise'
	[bǒ]	/bo/	'brother's wife'

Consonants

A consonant is designated as that speech sound in whose pro-
duction a closure or narrowing of the air passage in the vocal tract
is present. The difference in the closure of the air passage (*i.e.,*
the different types of modifications the airstream undergoes) in the
vocal tract is known as manner of articulation. The manner of arti-
culations take place at certain points/places in the vocal tract and
the places/points where the articulation takes place are known as
points/places of articulation. The manner and the place of articula-
tion form the two important variables in describing a consonant. A
complete description of a consonant, however, needs the information
of at least two other variables, *viz.,* the position of the vocal cords,
and the position of the velum. To this one may add, the degree of
the pressure on muscles (Lenis/fortis articulation). Thus, a com-
plete description of a consonant must need at least four variables *viz.,*
the position of the vocal cords, the position of the velum, the place
of articulation and the manner of articulation.

General Statement.—As far as the consonants in this language
are concerned, the four major types of manner of articulation are :
complete closure (stops including nasals and affricates); partial
closure (laterals); intermittent closure (flaps and trills) and narrow-
ing of the air passage (fricatives and approximants). These four
major types could be further sub-divided, for instance : depending
upon the presence or absence of the closure in the nasal passage, the
stops show a two-way opposition, *i.e.,* the stop in whose production
the closure of the nasal passage is absent may be designated as nasal
stops and the stops, in whose production the closure of the nasal
passage (lowering the velum) is present may be designated as oral
stops, though ordinarily they are known respectively as nasals and
stops. Hereafter, these consonants would be referred to as such.
Though theoretically all the consonants (excepting the glottal stop)
can be further sub-divided on the basis of the presence or absence
of the vibration of the vocal cords, in this language this opposition
is available only with the unaspirated stops. The stops in whose
production, the vibration of the vocal cords is present are known as
voiced stops and the stops in whose production the vibration is
absent are known as unvoiced stops. In this language, voicing is
present also in the case of the vowels, the nasals, the flap, the lateral
and the approximants whereas, the voicing is absent in the case of
fricatives. Voicing/unvoicing however is a redundant feature with
these consonants and the vowels. Some of the consonants could
be further differentiated on the basis of the presence or absence of
extra puff of air at the time of the release of the consonants. Thus,
the consonants in whose release extra puff of air is present are known
as aspirated consonants and the consonants in whose release extra

puff of air is absent are known as unaspirated consonants. And as far as this language is concerned, only the unvoiced stops show a two way opposition in aspiration, *i.e.*, the unvoiced stops have a set of aspirated and another set of unaspirated series. Thus as far as the stops in this language are concerned, they show a total of three sub-types, *viz.*, (i) unvoiced unaspirated stops, (ii) voiced unaspirated stops and unvoiced aspirated stops.

Another set of consonants, *viz.*, the consonants in whose production the closure in the oral cavity is absent may be further sub-divided into two, *viz.*, the consonants in whose production the closure in the oral cavity is absent but shows the presence of an audible friction and the consonants in whose production both the closure and the audible friction are absent. While the former set of consonants are designated as fricatives the latter set of consonants are designated as approximants. The total opposition in the manner of articulation available with the consonants in this language is represented schematically as under :

```
                          — nasal stops   .   .   . nasals
                         |
                         |                              ┌─ unvoiced
          Complete closure                 ┌─unaspirated│   stops
                         |                 |            └─ voiced
                         |                 |               stops
                         └─ oral stops ────┤
                                           |
Consonants                                 └─ aspirated   ┌ unvoiced
          short/intermittent closure  .  .  .  .  flap    { stops
          partial closure   .   .   .   .   .   . lateral
          no closure   .   .   .   .   .   .   . { fricatives
                                                  { approximants
```
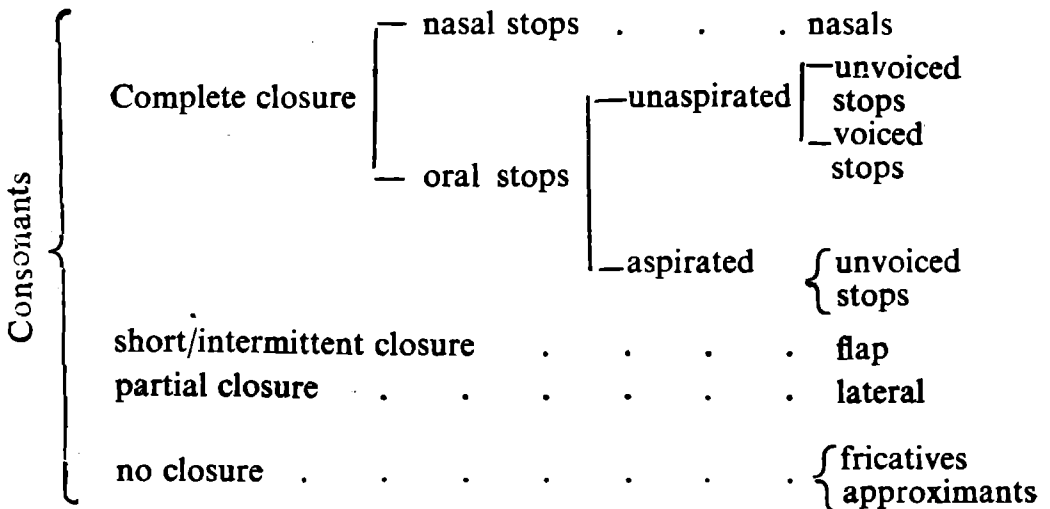
The manner of articulation intersects with the points of articulation in that most of the consonants that are sub-grouped under different manners of articulation can be further differentiated on the basis of the points/places of articulation. As far as this language is concerned, four points of articulation are set up.[1]

These are : bilabial, dental, palatal and velar. Only the stops, however, occur in all the four positions. The nasals show only a three-way opposition, *viz.*, bilabial, dental and velar positions. The fricatives also show a three-way opposition in the place of articulation, but at the dental, palatal and velar positions. The approximants show only a two-way opposition, *viz.*, bilabial and palatal and finally the flap and the lateral have only one member each, occurring at the

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[1]Please see item 2 in Appendix 2 for the justification for the setting up of different consonantal phonemes.

dental position. Thus on the basis of the interaction of the manner and place of articulation a total of 22 consonantal phonemes can be set up in this language. These consonants are set up on the basis of the opposition available in both the word-initial and word-medial positions. In the absence of minimal, pairs, sub-minimal pairs are given for both these positions.

Opposition in the word initial position :

pora	tora	cor	korone
'from'	'star'	'thief'	'for'
borol	dorja	jorawa	gor
'wasp'	'door'	'joint'	'rhinoceros'
pʰor	tʰapor	cʰarijaba	kʰor
'grass hopper'	'slap'	'to leave'	'ring worm'
mora	norəm		
'dead'	'soft'		
	lori daughter'		
	roti 'bread'		
	soray 'bird'	šorəm 'shame'	horu 'little'
wul 'wool'		yud 'war'	

Opposition in the word initial position :

əpuni 'you'	ata 'wheat	əcar 'pickle'	əko 'again'
əbə 'grand mother'	adua 'ginger'	əji 'today'	əgote 'in front of'
lipʰapha 'envelope'	atʰa 'gum'	oncʰal 'area'	kʰapatʰawa 'send'
əma 'mother'	əniba 'to bring		əṅur 'grape'
	ərə 'and'		
	ələk 'separate'		
	bisa 'cater-pillar	bišas 'faith'	jəhas 'ship
	bikʰawa 'pain'	beya 'bad'	

For ease of description, it is proposed to take up the discussion of each of the phoneme classes available in this language one by one. In this we begin with the stops.

Stops including the affricates :

Phonetically, the affricates are produced differently from that of the stops. In the production of the stops, the complete closure is released suddenly with a plosion, whereas in the production of the affricates, the closure is released gradually immediately after the part of the tongue makes contact with one of the places of articulation.

Since the affricates and the stops occur in mutually exclusive environments and share the same distributional characteristics, a feature found both in the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian family of languages, phonemically the affricates are treated as stops. The stops in this language were sub-grouped into three, *viz.,* unvoiced unaspirated stops, voiced unaspirated stops and unvoiced aspirated stops. Beginning with the unvoiced unaspirated stops, a description of the individual consonants follows.

Unvoiced unaspirated stops :

p, t, c, k are the four unvoiced unaspirated stops occurring in this language. In terms of the place of articulation, these stops are produced respectively at the bilabial, dental, palatal and velar positions. None of these stops have any perceptible positional variants. They also do not have any special limitations in their distribution. Given below are a few examples of each of these stops.

/p/ :	[p]	[pa.la]	/pala/	'seer'
		[pIᵛk]	/pik/	'puss'
		[plet]	/plet/	'saucer'
		[pa.pəd]	/papəd/	'papad'
		[kop]	/kop/	'cup' etc.
/t/ :	[t]	[ta.ti]	/tati/	'there'
		[tita]	/tita/	'bitter'
		[trIᵛs]	/tris/	'thirty'
		[ra.sta]	/rasta/	'street'
		[da.t]	/dat/	'tooth' etc.
/cⁱ :	[c]	[ca]	/ca/	'tea'
		[cIᵛmta]	/cimta/	'tongs'
		[uca]	/uca/	'height'
		[poncas]	/poncas/	'fifty'
		[ka.c]	/kac/	'glass'
/k/ :	[k]	[kele]	/kele/	'why'
		[kripIᵛn]	/kripin/	'crooked'
		[sa.ki]	/saki/	'lamp'
		[jUlki]	/julki/	'paper'
		[da.k]	/dak/	'chicken pox'

Voiced unaspirated stops :

There are four voiced unaspirated stops in this language. These are *b*, *d*, *j* and *g*, which are the voiced counterparts of *p*, *t*, *c* and *k*, described above. These stops do not have any positional variants, nor do they have any special limitations in their occurrances. Given below are a few examples of each of these stops :

/b/ :	[b]	[ba.duli]	/baduli/	'bat (bird)'
		[bili]	/bili/	'sun'
		[brəndikot]	/brəndikot/	'gown'
		[hUsbisa.r]	/husbisar/	'adultery'
		[dUbla]	/dubla/	'lean'
		[kita.b]	/kitab/	'book'
/d/ :	[d]	[da.m]	/dam/	'price'
		[drama]	/drama/	'drama'
		[mədu]	/mədu/	'rice beer'
		[dUd]	/dud/	'breast of girls'
/j/ :	[j]	[ja.ba]	/jaba/	'to go'
		[biji]	/biji/	'needle'
/g/ :	[g]	[gan]	/gan/	'hymn'
		[ga.s]	/ga.s/	'tree'
		[gla.s]	/glas/	'tumbler'
		{niguni]	/niguni/	'rat'
		[jUg]	/jug/	'before'

Unvoiced aspirated stops :

There are four unvoiced aspirated stops in this language; *viz.*, pʰ, tʰ, cʰ, kʰ. These are the aspirated counterparts respectively of *p*, *t*, *c*, *k* described earlier. While the dental and velar unvoiced aspirated stops do not have any special limitations in their distribution, the bilabial and the palatal unvoiced aspirated stops do not occur in the word-final position, e.g.,

/pʰ/ :	[pʰ]	[pʰikiri]	/pʰikiri/	'sugar candv'
		[pʰela]	/pʰela/	'throw away'
		[pʰIᵛspʰa.le]	/pʰispʰale/	'behind'
		[lipʰa.pʰa]	/lipʰapʰa/	'envelop'
/tʰ/ :	[tʰ]	[tʰIᵛk]	/tʰik/	'exactly'
		[tʰika]	/tʰika/	'contact'
		[tUtʰUr]	/tutʰur/	'lip'
		[petʰ]	/petʰ/	'hollow'

/cʰ/ : [cʰ]	[cʰenda]	/cʰenda/	'hollow'
	[cʰa.ra.cʰari]	/cʰaracʰari/	'divorce'
/kʰ/ : [kʰ]	[kʰira]	/kʰira/	'cucumber'
	[kʰukʰa]	/kʰukʰa/	'cough'
	[rəkʰi]	/rəkʰi/	'concubine'
	[ta.rikʰ]	/tarikʰ/	'date'

Nasals :

There are three nasals in this language, *viz.*, m, n,   All the nasals are voiced, but voicing is not a relevant feature with the nasals. Aspiration is not available with the nasals even at the phonetic level. The three nasals do not have any special limitations in their distribution except that the velar nasal does not occur in word-initial position. The nasals do not have any perceptible positional variants, *e.g.*,

/m/ : [m]	[ma.jed]	/majed/	'across'
	[mikuri]	/mikuri/	'cat'
	[dəmki]	/dəmki/	'jerk'
	[lUm]	/lum/	'fur'
	[sIˇm]	/sim/	'beans'
/n/ : [n]	[na.bi]	/nabi/	'navel'
	[nyUl]	/nyul/	'mongoose'
	[suna]	/suna/	'ear ring'
	[ta.n]	/tan/	'hard'
/ṅ/ : [ṅ]	[beṅa]	/beṅa/	'deaf'
	[sIˇṅ/	/siṅ/	'horn'
	[əṅUr]	/əṅur/	'grape' etc.

Fricatives :

There are three fricatives in this language, *viz.*, s, š *and h.* In terms of the place of articulation, these are respectively : dental, palatal and glottal. For the sake of pattern congruity, the glottal fricative is treated at the phonemic level as the velar fricative. All the three fricatives in this language are unvoiced, but unvoicing is not a pertinent feature with the fricatives in this language. While the dental fricative *s* does not have any special limitations in its distribution, the other two fricatives, *viz.*, š and *h* do not occur in the word-final position. The three fricatives do not have any perceptible positional variants, *e.g.*,

/s/ : [s]	[somoy]	/somoy/	'time'
	[bisa]	/bisa/	'caterpillar'
	[ga.s]	/gas/	'tree'

/š/ : [š]	[ša.di]	/šadi/	'marriage'
	[šes]	/šes/	'over'
	[biša.s]	/bišas/	'faith'
	[əlši]	/əlši/	'lazy'
/h/ : [h]	[ha.ra]	/hara/	'bone'
	[heg]	/heg/	'last'
	[puhu]	/puhu/	'deer'
	[jəha.s]	/jəhas/	'ship' etc.

Flap :

The only flap available in this language is a voiced alveolar one, *viz., r.* This, however, has been placed in the dental slot for the sake of pattern congruity. It has a trilled form [r] as a positional variant when it occurs in intervocal position when both the preceding and succeeding vowels are of the same height. This consonant does not have any special limitations in its occurrence, *e.g.,*

/r/ : [r]	[ərə]	/ərə/	'again'
	[borop]	/borop/	'ice'
[r]	[ra.ni]	/rani/	'queen'
	[bera]	/bera/	'fence'
	[kUkUr]	/kukur/	'dog' etc.

Lateral :

The only lateral available in this language is a voiced alveolar lateral, which, for the sake of pattern congruity, is placed in the dental slot. It has neither any special limitations in its distribution, nor any perceptible positional variants, *e.g.,*

/l/ : [l]	[la.ge]	/lage/	'want'
	[culi]	/culi/	'bald'
	[guli]	/guli/	'bullet'
	[dUl]	/dul/	'drum' etc.

Approximants :

There are two approximants in this language, *viz., w, y.* These two approximants do not have any special limitations in their distribution. Each of them has a corresponding non-syllabic vowel as the positional variant, for instance, [u], a non-syllabic back close vowel occurs as a positional variant of / w / and [i] a non-syllabic front close vowel occurs as the positional variant of /y/ before a consonant.

Incidentally, both these non-syllabic vowels are the second elements of the complex nuclei (diphthongs) *e.g.,*

/w/ : [u̯]	[bɔusi]	/bowsi/	'buffalo'
	[gɘuri]	[gɘwri][1]	'pig'[1]
[w]	[wUl]	/wul/	'wool'
	[ra.tipuwa]	/ratipurwa/	'dawn'
/y/ : [i]	[mɔila]	[moyla/	'dust'
	[mɔi]	/moy/	'I'
	[tai]	/tay/	'she/he'
[y]	[ya.te]	/ya.te/	'here'
	[beya]	/beya/	'bad' etc.

An attempt was made in this chapter to describe the phonemes of this language. A statement regarding the sequences of consonants occurring in this language are given in the next section.

(b) Syllabic Pattern

The sudden brief contraction of the respiratory muscles expels a small amount of air from the lungs. The air escapes in a relatively free and unrestricted passage and it is in the movement of the least restriction in the sequence of movements that makes up the syllable. Thus a syllable is essentially a movement of the speech organs and not a characteristic feature of speech sound. A vowel is the nucleus of the syllable while a consonant is a marginal part associated with the beginning and the end of the air engendered by the chest pulse. While the nucleus is equated with the peak, the marginal part (consonant) may be either pre-nuclear in which case it is the onset or post-nuclear in which case, it is the coda. While the vowels usually occupy the nucleus or peak, the consonants occupy the margin (both onset and coda).

A syllable being the smallest unit of recurrent phonemic sequence, may be considered a phonological unit which in turn enters into still larger stretches of speech reaching upto a complete utterance. A syllable includes not only the sequential phonemes but also prosodic features like stress, tone etc. Any or all of these occur in a sequence with each other and a syllable is that stretch of phoneme which makes it possible to state their relative distribution most economically.

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[1]Gɘwri is also pronounced as gahuri by many people.

As far as this language is concerned, a syllable may consist of just a nucleus or the nucleus may be preceded and or followed by one or more consonants. The members of the syllables in a mono-syllabic word is clear and unambiguous. In the case of words having two or more syllables, the syllabic division is based on the principle that :

(a) as few new positions or members shall be admitted as possible and

(b) the same number of positions shall regularly be divided in the same way.

In this, the membership of monosyllabic words would form the criterion for syllabic division. It may, however, be stated 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. Here also, the mono-syllabic words give a clue, in that the vast majority of the mono-syllabic words have the CV pattern as in : *ki* 'what?'. The mono-syllabic words having VC ₍as in : ₐj[1] 'today' are of extremely low frequency.

A word in this language may consist of one or more syllables ranging upto a maximum of four syllables. Disyllabic and trisyllabic words combined together, however, form the bulk of the entire vocabulary in this language. The words having four or five syllables are almost exclusively compound words. It would be possible to make a schematic diagram of different types of permutations and computations of syllables that could occur within a word in this language. These are stated below, beginning with monosyllabic words.

The entire monosyllabic words in this language could be sub-grouped into six classes which when put in a schematic formula would be :

(c) (c) V (c) (c)[2]

The only limitation in the operation of the above formula is that V cannot occur alone. The illustrative examples of these types are given below :

VC	aj	'today'
CV	bo	'wife of a brother'
CVC	tan	'hard'
CCVC	tris	'thirty'
CCVCC	klark	'clerk'
CVCC	benj	'bench'

---

[1] əj is in alternation with əji, though the former has H.F.

[2] In the formulaic statement : C=any consonant and V=any vowel.

Disyllabic words :

A disyllabic word in this language cannot consist of just two vowels alone. The structure of the disyllabic words in this language can be broadly sub-grouped into two which when put in a schematic diagram would be :

(i) V (C)   (C) (C) V (C)

(ii) (C) CV (C)   (C) $\begin{cases} CV & (C) \\ V & (C) \end{cases}$ (C)

The limitations in the operation of the scheme given above are :

(i) If the first syllable has VC the second syllable would have only CV/(C) VC,

(ii) If the first syllable has CCV (C) the second would consist of only CVC, and

(iii) CCV can occur only in the onset or in the coda and not in both.

The illustrative examples of these types are given below :

V+	CV	ita	'brick'
	CCV	itya	'now'
	CVC	olop	'few'
	CCVC	iswər	'God'
VC+	CV	inje	'self'
	CVC	ujjəl	'bright'
	VC	əṅur	'grapes'
CV+	V	hua	'happened'
	VC	pias	'thirsty'
	CV	kela	'penis'
	CVC	pasod	'after'
	CCV	tukri	'basket'
	CCVC	dityor	'second'
	CVCC	unnoys	'nineteen'
CVC+	CV	tokta	'plank'
	CCV	honkʰya	'number'
	CCVC	səystʰor	'health'
		kəmbol	'rug'
CCV+	CVC	kripin	'crooked'
CCVC+		trəybəl	'tribal'

The trisyllabic words in this language could also be broadly sub-grouped into two sub-types. These are :

(i) V (C)   (C) CV (C)   (C) CV (C)

(ii) (C) CV (C)   (C) V (C)   (C) (C) V (C)

There are some limitations in the use of the scheme in that : (i) no occurrence of CCVC in any syllable, (ii) if the first syllable is of V, the second one will have only CV (C), (iii) if the first sylla- ble is of CV, the second one would not have CCV, and (iv) if the second syllable is of V, only a CV would occur in the third syllable.

The illustrative examples of these sub-types are given below :

V	CV	CV	əpuni	'you'
			əjogor	'python'
	CVC	CVC	asirwad	'blessing'
		CCV	asəmbli	'assembly'
VC	CV	CV	insena	'similar'
	CVC	CVC	ekserses	'exercise'
	CCV	CV	oytyosa	'funny'
CV	V	CV	suali	'girl'
			kukura	'cock'
		CVC	porajoy	'defeat'
		CCV	səmudra	'sea'
CVC	CV	CV	pəndoro	'fifteen'
CCV		CVC	kriminal	'criminal'
CV	CVC	VC	somoyte	'during'

There are very few words in this language having tetra syllables. Almost all of them are compound ones and these also have mainly a simple structure of VC, CV pattern : The syllabic structure of the tetrasyllabic words in this language could be schematically presented as :

(C)V(C)   CV   CV   (C)CV(C)

Illustrative examples are given below :

CVC	CV	CV	CV	diksinəri	'dictionary'
CV				milamili	'mixuture'
			CVC		
			CCV	mudiriyəm	'guava'
V				ikilokye	'together'

There are no pentasyllabic words in this language unless one takes clear compound words like :

əṅuli	'finger'
jora	'joint'
əṅulijora	'finger joint'

The syllabic pattern of the words in this language was discussed in the preceding paragraphs. A general statement that could be made about it is that almost the entire words in this language belong to the disyllabic and tri-syllabic words and that the CV/CVC pattern of syllables are the most frequently occurring ones.

(C) Phonotactics

Hill defines phonotactics as 'the area of phonemics which covers the structural characteristics of sequences' (Hill : 1958:68). To him phonotactics is essentially a description of the distribution of the phonemes after their identification. The sequences of phonemes can be described in terms of their clustering habits. A cluster is a sequence of two or more phonemes of the same class. In this language sequences of both consonants and vowels do occur, but sequences of vowels are extremely limited in number. The largest number of consonants that occur in a sequence is three, that too only in the inter-vocal position and only two vowels can occur in a sequence. Only one sequence of vowel occurs in word-final position.

A description of the phonotactics of this language may commence with the clustering habits of the consonants in the word-initial position. In this, the largest number that could occur in a sequence is only two. One of the features to be noted is that barring a single instance of an unvoiced dental stop, all the consonants that occur in C_2 position of C_1C_2 cluster is either a liquid r, l or an approximant y, w and conversely, all excepting the occurrence of a single fricative, viz., s. all consonants that occur in C_1 position of C_1C_2 word initial cluster are stops. Next comes the approximant y, which occurs with five consonants in the C_1 position. A major restriction in the occurrence of consonant clusters at the word-initial position is that the laterals in the C_2 position cannot occur after dentals. Given below are a few words illustrating the occurrences of C_1C_2 clusters at the word-initial position.

1. Clusters having r as the second element, e.g.,

(p, t, k, b, d, g) + r.

prosar	'clergy man'	brəndikot	'gown'
tris	'thirty'	drama	'drama'
kŗipin	'crooked'	gramər	'grammar'

2. Clusters having *l* as the second element, e.g.,

(p, k, b, g) + 1

plet	'saucer'	blotiṅpepər	'blotting paper'
klark	'clerk'	glas	'tumbler'

3. Clusters having *y* as the second element, e.g.,

(p, g, j, n) + y

pyas	'thirst'	jyuy	'fire'
gyani	'wise'	nyul	'mongoose'

4. Clusters having *s* as the first element, e.g.,

s +(t, w, k)

stej	'stage'	swadin 'freedom'	skul 'school'

Intervocalic consonant clusters :

The sequence of consonants occurring in the word-medial position may be defined as intervocalic clusters, *i.e.,* sequences of consonants occurring between two vowels. It might, however, be stated that inter-vocalic clusters are usually split up between the two adjacent syllables, for instance,

$$yst^h \qquad səy—st^hcr \qquad səyst^hor \qquad 'health'$$

Since syllable division is not a phoneme, a sequence of inter-vocalic consonant cluster continues to be a cluster, even though the consonants of which it is composed of belong to different syllables.

The maximum number of consonants that occur in the word-medial position is three. The data on hand has only seven such clusters. Of these, four have homorganic consonants in $C_1 C_2$ position, and in all the four instances, C_1 is a nasal. The consonants occuring in $C_2 C_3$ position of a $C_1 C_2 C_3$ clusters also occur as $C_1 C_2$ clusters in word-initial position. The following are the examples of $C_1 C_2 C_3$ clusters occurring in inter-vocal position.

ṅgl	juṅgli	'yoke'
ṅk^{h}y	hoṅk^{h}ya	'number'
mbl	əsəmbli	'assembly'
nsp	inspetər	'inspector'
yty	oytyosa	'funny'
yst^h	səyst^{h}or	'health'
ktr	ektres	'actress'

A number of consonant clusters of $C_1 C_2$ occur in inter-vocal position. These may be stated either with reference to the previlege of occurrence of the C_1 with different C_2 or of C_2 with different C_1. If the former is taken into account, there are as many as 16 sets while the latter has 21 sets. In addition, four consonants occur in $C_1 C_1$ sequences. These sets are given below.

A. *Sets showing the occurrence of C_1 with different C_2.*

(i) m+(t, c, k, b, n, r, l) e.g.,

mt	kəmti	'less'
mc	gəmca	'handkerchief'
mk	dəmki	'jerk'
mb	kəmbol	'rug'
mn	simna	'boundary'
mr	kumra	'pumpkin'
ml	komla	'orange'

(ii) n+ (p, t, d, c, j, c^h, r, s)

np	danpora	'difficult'
nt	kintu	'but'
nd	anənd	'happiness'
nc	poncas	'fifty'
nj	kənjus	'miser'
nc^h	onc^hol	'area'
nr	ənrəs	'pineapple'
ns	kensi	'scissors'

(iii) ṅ+ (p, t, k, g, k^h, r, l, s, h) e.g.,

ṅp	loṅpent	'trousers'
ṅt	leṅta	'naked'
ṅk	ahəṅkar	'pride'
ṅg	duṅgawa	'flattery'
$ṅk^h$	$paṅk^ha$	'fan'
ṅr	leṅra	'lame'
ṅl	jəṅli gəhuri	'boar'
ṅs	moṅso	'meat'
ṅh	hiṅho	'lion'

(iv) y+(t, k, b, j, p^h, t^h, k^h, m, n, ṅ, r, l, s) e.g.,

yt	boytura	'mushroom'
yk	mayki	'wife'
yb	trəybəl	'tribal'
yj	pəyjama	'pajama'
yp^h	$stəyp^hənd$	'scholarship'
yt^h	$kəyt^haka$	'bribery'
yk^h	$tayk^han$	'they' (human)
ym	dəyamənd	'diamond'
yn	dəyna	'right'
yṅ	beyṅay diya	'appeal'
yr	dəyriya	'diarrhoea'
yl	koyla	'charcoal'
ys	hoyse	'enough'

(v) r+(t, c, k, b, d, j, g, tʰ, m, w)

rt	martul	'hammar'
rc	korca	'expensive'
rk	dorkas	'petition'
rb	sirbol	'alluminium'
rd	pərda	'curtain'
rj	dorja	'dor'
rg	murgi	'hen'
rtʰ	prartʰana	'prayer' •
rm	dərmo	'religion'
rw	asirwad	'blessing'

(vi) 1 + (p, t, k, d, m, w, š) e.g.,

lp	jolpan	'snacks'
lt	dolta	'floor'
lk	julki	'pepper'
ld	joldi	'soon'
lm	almari	'cupboard'
lw	talwar	'sword'
lš	alšiya	'lazyman'

(vii) w+ (k, d, n, r) e.g.,

wk	nəwkər	'servant'
wd	cəwdo	'fourteen'
wn	rewnd	'round'
wr	pəwra	'spade'

(viii) s+(p, t, k, pʰ, tʰ, b, m, r, l, w) e.g.,

sp	tespin	'chamelon'
st	bosta	'gunny bag'
sk	biskot	'biscuit'
spʰ	pisphale	'behind'
stʰ	bistʰoka jəndu	'beast'
sb	husbisar	'adultery'
sm	dusməni	'enemy'
sr	həsra diwi	'pay daily wages'
sl	disla	'matches'
sw	keswa lora	'boy'

(ix) p+(t, m, r) e.g.,

pt	cəpta	'fatten'
pm	topma	'medal'
pr	phaprɛ	'rust'

(x) t+(m, r, l, y) e.g.,

tm	atma	'soul'
tr	dutri	'chin'
tl	patla	'lean'
ty	dutyor	'second'

(xi) k+(t, n, r, l, s, y) e.g.,

kt	ektər	'actor'
kn	dakna	'lid'
kr	chokra	'boy'
kl	ekla	'alone'
ks	noksan	'destroy'
ky	ikilokye	'together'

(xii) b+(d, r, l, s) e.g.,

bd	səbdo	'sound'
br	lebra	'left' (side)
bl	dubla	'lean'
bs	sabsiron	'neatness'

(xiii) d+(m, n, r, k) e.g.,

dm	bədmas	'naughty'
dn	bədnam	'bad name'
dr	səmudra	'sea'
dk	kʰidki	'window'

(xiv) g+(d, n, y) e.g.,

gd	pəgdi	'turban'
gn	signal	'sign'
gy	agyejawe	'overtake'

(xv) j+(r, l, y)

jr	həjra pawi	'receive payment'
jl	kʰujli	'itching'
jy	mojya	'floor'

(xvi) ph+(r, l)

| phr | ripʰri | 'whistle' |
| phl | məpʰlər | 'muffler' |

A sequence of $C_1 C_1$ does not occur at the word-initial or at the word-final position. But a few words having the sequence of $C_1 C_1$ can, however, occur in inter-vocal position. A morph boundary or bound morphemes may intervene the $C_1 C_1$ sequence at this position. The consonants involved are : t, j, d, l, n. The examples of $C_1 C_1$ sequences are :

tt	gutti	'nut'
jj	ujjəl	'bright'
ll	khulla	'open'
nn	unnoys	'nineteen' etc.

The sequences of C_1 C_2 occurring in inter-vocal position can also be stated in terms of the privilege of occurrence of C_2 with different C_1—These are stated below.

(a) *Liquids in C_2 position :*

(i)   (p, t, k, b, d, j, pʰ, m, n, ṅ, s, w, y)+r, e.g.,

pr	pʰapre	'rust'
tr	dutri	'chin'
kr	chokra	'boy'
br	lebra	'left' (side)
dr	səmudra	'sea'
jr	həjra pawi	'receive payment'
pʰr	ripʰri	'whistle'
mr	kumra	'pumpkin'
nr	ənrəs	'pineapple'
ṅr	leṅra	'lame'
sr	həsra diwi	'pay daily wages'
wr	pʰəwra	'spade'
yr	dəyriya	'diarrhoea'

(ii)   (t, k, b, j, pʰ, m, ṅ, s, y)+l

tl	patla	'lean'
kl	ekla	'alone'
bl	dubla	'lean'
jl	kʰujli	'itching'
pʰl	məpʰlər	'muffler'
ml	komla	'orange'
ṅl	jəṅli	'of wild'
sl	disla	'matches'
yl	koyla	'charcoal'

(b) *Stops in C_2 position :*

(i)   (n, ṅ, s, l)+p

np	danpora	'difficult'
ṅp	loṅpent	'trousers'
sp	tespin	'chameleon'
lp	jolpan	'snacks'

(ii)   (p, t, k, m, n, s, r, l, y)+t

pt	capta	'fatten'
tt	gutti	'nut'
kt	kakti pʰorən	'locust'
mt	kəmti	'less'
nt	kintu	'but'
st	bosta	'gunny bag'
rt	martul	'hammar'
lt	dolta	'floor'
yt	boytura	'mushroom'

(iii) (d, m, ṅ,s,r,l,w,y) +k

dk	kidki	'window'
mk	dəmki	'jerk'
ṅk	ahəṅkar	'pride'
sk	biskoṭ	'biscuit'
rk	dorkas	'petition'
lk	julki	'pepper'
wk	nəwkər	'servant'
yk	mayki	'wife'

(iv) (m, r, y)+b

mb	kəmbol	'rug'
rb	sirbol	'aluminium'
yb	trəybəl	'tribal'

(v) (b, d, g, n, r, l, w)+b

bd	səbdo	'sound'
dd	uddesyo	'aim'
gd	pəgdi	'turban'
nd	anənd	'happiness'
rd	pərda	'curtain'
ld	joldi	'soon'
wd	cəwdo	'fourteen'

(vi) (ṅ, r,)+g

ṅg	duṅguwa	'flattery'
rg	murgi	'hen'

(vii) (j, n, r, y)+j

jj,	ujjəl	'bright'
nj	kənjus	'miser'
rj	dorja	'door'
yj	pəyjama	'pajama'

(viii) (m, n, r)+c

mc	gəmca	'kerchief'
nc	poncas	'fifty'
rc	korca	'expensive'

(c) *Nasals in C_2 position* :

(i) (p, t, d, s, r, l, y)+m

pm	topma	'medal'
tm	atma	'soul'
dm	bədmas	'naughty'
sm	dusman	'enemy'
rm	dermo	'religion'
lm	almari	'cupboard'
ym	dəymənd	'diamond'

(ii)   (k, d, g, m, w, y)+n

kn	dakna	'lid'
dn	bədnam	'bad name'
gn	signal	'sign'
mn	simna	'boundary'
ẇn	rəwnd	'circle'
yn	dəyna	'right'

(iii)   y + ṅ e.g.,

baynay diya		'appeal'

(d) *Fricatives in C_2 position :*

(k, b, n, ṅ, l, y)+s

ks	noksan	'destroy'
bs	subsiron	'neatness'
ns	kensi	'scissors'
ṅs	maṅso	'meat'
lš	alsiya	'lazyman'
ys	hoyse	'enough'

(e) *Approximants in C_2 position :*

(i)   (s, r, l)+w

sw	keswa lora	'boy'
rw	asirwad	'blessing'
lw	təlwar	'sword'

(ii)   (t, k, g, j)+y

ty	duytyor	'second'
ky	ikilokye	'together'
gy	agyejawe	'overtake'
jy	mojya	'floor'

Some interesting features can be found if the C_1 C_2 clusters occurring in the intervocal positions are compared with reference to the different classes of consonants that form clusters in either of these positions. The most revealing feature of such a comparison is that the liquids (*i.e.*, *r, l*), bilabial and dental nasals whether they occur in C_1 or C_2 position have the maximum privilege of occurrence. And the class of consonants with which they occur are also nearly the same in both the positions. Conversely *y* in C_1 position occurs with 14 other consonants but in C_2 position it occurs only with 4 stops. In other words, *y* does not follow nasals, liquids and fricatives, the classes of consonants which it could precede. Similarly, the velar nasals that could precede nine consonants including different stops, liquids and the dental fricative can follow only *y*. When compared with their occurrence in C_2 position, the stops in C_1 position occur

with less number of consonants. Of these, the voiced velar stop in both C_1 and C_2 position occurs with the least number of consonants. The bilabials including the bilabial approximant also occur with very few consonants. While in C_1 position the unvoiced affricate does not occur in C_2 position, it occurs after nasals and flap. The voiced affricate occurs both in C_1 and C_2 positions with the liquids and the palatal approximant.

The C_1 C_2 clusters occurring in the intervocal position can also be compared with that of their counterparts in the word-initial position. When such a comparison is made, it can be seen that even though the consonant sequences occurring in the intervocal position are more than double that of the ones occurring in the word-initial position, a few clusters occurring in the word-initial position do not occur in the inter-vocal position. These clusters are : gr, (p, g) + 1, (p, n) + y. Again of the 5 consonants that occur in C_1 position with y in C_2 position at the word-initial position, only two occur in the inter-vocal position, though a total of 4 consonants precede y in the inter-vocal position.

The clusters in the word-final position

The C_1 C_2 clusters occurring at the word-final position are comparatively very few. Incidentally none of the C_1 C_2 clusters occurring at the word-initial position are found to occur in the word-final position.

The total number of C_1 C_2 clusters occurring in the word-final position are mostly loan words from English which are given below.

(i) n +(d, j, s)   (ii) y +(j, s)   (iii) w +(r, n)   (iv) st   (v) mb,

The following are the examples of these clusters

(i)   n +(d, j, s)

nd rəwnd   'round'   ns   səyens   'science'
nj benj   'bench'

(ii)   y +(j, s)

yj peyj   'page'   ys   eksorsəys   'exercise'

(iii)   w (r, n)

wr gawr til 'mor'   wn   tawn   'town'

(iv)   st

st bondobost   'agreement'

(v)   mb   bomb   'bomb'

Sequences of vowels

An extremely limited number of vowels occur in sequences of $V_1 V_2$, the largest of such a sequence being two vowels. Of these a in V_2 position occurs with three other vowels, i in v_1 position occurs with two other vowels. These are presented below in a schematic manner.

v_1 v_2	v_1 v_2	v_1 v_2		v_1 v_2
$i\begin{cases} ə \\ a \end{cases}$	$o\begin{cases} i \\ a \end{cases}$	$\begin{rcases} i \\ o \\ u \end{rcases}$	a	$\begin{rcases} o \\ e \end{rcases}$ i

From the above chart, it can be seen that i and a have the maximum privilege of occurrence with the other vowels. It could also be seen that the central vowels do not occur in v_1 position and the back and the half close front vowels do not occur in v_2 position. The illustrative examples of the occurrences of the sequences of vowels are stated below.

(a)   i +(ə, a)

   iə   bohiəse   'is sitting'   ia   sial   'jackal'

(b)   o+(i, a)

   oi   hutois   'twenty-seven'

   oa   noare   'cannot'

(c)   (e, o)+i

   ei   teis   'twenty-three'

   oi   hutois   'twenty-seven'

(d)   (i, o, u)+a

   ia   sial   'jackal'   oa noare   'cannot'

   ua   suali   'girl'   adua   'ginger'[1]

A description of the sequences of consonants and vowels occurring in the Naga Pidgin was stated in this chapter.

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[1]The other sequences do not occur in the word-final position.

3. GRAMMAR

This chapter on grammar includes every thing above the level of phonology but excludes discussion of the transformation of one type of sentence into another like negation, passivisation, etc. In other words, no separate section is assigned for discussing morphological constructions as distinct from the syntactical constructions; rather at a number of places, the discussion overlaps. Therefore, immediately after the grammatical classes are set up, each of the grammatical classes along with its grammatical categories (wherever available) that occur with the major classes like the nouns, verbs, etc. are discussed. This is followed by a brief discussion of the invariable grammatical classes followed by the different types of phrases, clauses and sentences.

3.1 Grammatical classes :

A grammatical class may be defined as a class of words/stems sharing a pattern of behaviour in inflection or in syntax or both. Thus stems/words which follow a particular pattern of usage but do not follow any other pattern may be described as belonging to a grammatical class. In this language, the primary division of the grammatical classes would be based on the variability of the stems/words. Thus depending upon whether or not a word/stem is capable of taking a suffix, the words/stems in this language can be primarily divided into two, *viz.,* variables and invariables. The variables form a class of words which are capable of taking suffixes and the invariables form another class of words which are incapable of taking suffixes. Each of these sub-classes can be further sub-divided into a few sub-classes as in:

A. Variables:
  1. nominals
    (a) nouns
    (b) pronouns
    (c) numerals
  2. verbs

B. Invariables:
  3. adjectives
  4. demonstratives
  5. adverbs
  6. intensifiers
  7. post-positions.
  8. particles

A brief discussion of these various grammatical classes along with the basis for the setting up of these classes follows.

A. VARIABLES :

On the basis of certain shared features, *i.e.*, the ability of taking certain types of suffixes as opposed to others, the sub-class of variables can be broadly sub-divided into two *viz.*, the nominals and the verbs. Whereas the verbs are inflected for tense, mood, aspect etc., a feature not found with any other grammatical class, the nouns, the pronouns, the demonstrative and the numerals form a class of nominals sharing the privilege of taking case suffixes and/or preceding the post positions which the verbs are incable of.

Nominals

On the paradigmatic axis, the nouns, pronouns and the numerals constituting the nominals share the feature of showing case relations. Whereas the plural marker cannot co-occur with the numerals, the nouns and the pronouns share the feature of showing opposition in number. Thus the first sub-division of the nominals is that of the numerals on the one hand and pronouns and nouns on the other. Since the pronouns show the same inflectional characteristics with the nouns but have the anaphoric function of substituting a noun/noun phrase, a noun can be distinguished from a pronoun only on the syntagmatic axis. The definitions of these members follow.

(a) Nouns :

The nouns on the paradigmatic axis are capable of showing case relations and opposition in number and on the syntagmatic axis, a noun is the nucleus of a NP, as in:

suali	'girl'
sualik	'the girl (acc)'
sualipora	'from the girl'
sualikʰan	'girls'
gaste	'in the plant'
gas lɔgot	'with a plant', etc.

Noun phrase : otu beya suali 'that bad girl'

An extremely limited number of nouns also show opposition in gender, for instance:

mama	'uncle'	mami	'aunt'
murga	'cock'	murgi	'hen'
cʰokra	'boy'	cʰokri	'girl', etc.

Incidentally, these sets of words are recent borrowings from Hindi which has a grammatical gender. In addition, some of these also have alternative forms without any overt gender marker which are of high frequency, for instance, *suali* 'girl' *lora* 'boy' *kukura* 'cock' etc. And in the absence of any concord in the gender of the noun with any other grammatical class including the verb in a sentence, the speakers of this language perceive these few pairs of nouns not as part of a grammatical system of gender, rather as separate lexical items. A vast majority of the nouns including the kinship terms in this language do not take any gender marker, for e.g.,

puali	'daughter'
suali	'girl'
kokay	'elder brother'
didi	'elder sister'
bo	'elder brother's wife'
makela	'girl's dothi' etc.

It was mentioned earlier that a noun can be differentiated from the pronouns only on the syntagmatic axis. On this axis, while any noun can be expanded to form a noun phrase, a pronoun cannot.

A noun in this language can be formally defined as belonging to that grammatical class which on the paradigmatic axis is capable of showing opposition in case and number but not in person or tense and on the syntagmatic axis functions as the nucleus of a noun phrase.

(b) Pronouns :

A pronoun in this language is capable of showing opposition in person (though not by inflection), number and case, as in:

moy 'I'	muke 'to me'	moyk^han 'we'	moyk^hanke 'to us'

moy 'I'   muke 'to me' moykʰan 'we' moykʰanke 'to us'
əpuni 'you'   əpunikʰan 'you (pl)'
tay 'he/she'   taykʰan 'they (human)'
itu/heytu 'it' etc.

Unlike the nouns, the pronouns cannot be expanded to form a pronominal phrase except a co-ordinate one, but the pronouns have an anaphoric function, in that they substitute for a noun including a noun phrase, as in :

otu doni suali jayse; tay nəhibo

'that beautiful girl went, she will not come'

A pronoun can now be defined formally as belonging to that class which is capable of showing opposition in person, number and case and is capable of replacing a noun including a noun phrase having an anaphoric reference.

(c) Numerals :

A numeral in this language is capable of taking the ordinal suffix and post positions showing case relationships and also definite articles, as in:

ek	'one'	poyla	'first'
duy	'two'	duytor	'second'
tini	'three'	trityor	'third'
duy pora	'from two'	tintu	'the three' etc.

On the syntagmatic axis, a numeral fills in the slot of a noun as well as an adjective, as in:

tukri	pora	tini	am	muk	dibi	'give	me	three	mangoes
1	2	3	4	5	6	6	5	3	4

from the basket'
2   1

tini	suali/suali tini		'three	girls'
1	2		1	2

tini	doni	suali	'three	beautiful	girls' etc.
1	2	3	1	2	3

A numeral in this language can now be formally defined as belonging to that grammatical class which on the paradigmatic axis is capable of taking ordinal suffixes but incapable of taking number or tense markers and on the syntagmatic axis is capable of forming constructions with post positions and either fills in the slots of a noun or functions as a satellite (*i.e.*, a modifier) of a noun phrase.

Verbs :

On the paradigmatic axis, a verb in this language is inflected for tense and modals, a feature not available with any other grammatical category in this language, as in:

moy	jayse	'I went'	tay	jayse	'he/she went'
moy	jabo	'I will go'	əpuni jabo		'you will go'
jabole		'to go'	jabi		'go (imp)'
jayle		'if..goes' etc.			

On the syntagmatic axis, a verb functions as the nucleus of a verb phrase, as in:

joldi jayse	'went quickly'
etom joldi jayse	'went very quickly' etc.

A verb in this language can now be formally defined as that grammatical class which on the paradigmatic axis is capable of showing opposition in tense and modals but not in case, number or person and on the syntagmatic axis functions as the nucleus of a verb phrase.

B. INVARIABLES :

It was mentioned earlier that in this language the adjectives, demonstratives, adverbs, intensifiers, post-positions and particles form a class of words incapable of taking suffixes. Since all of them are invariables, only on the syntagmatic axis these grammatical classes could be distinguished from one another. The criteria for setting up of these grammatical classes are given below.

Adjectives :

On the syntagmatic axis, the adjectives can be the nucleus of an adjective phrase having an intensifier as its satellite but incapable of forming construction with a post position and/or be a satellite in a noun phrase, as in:

etom patla	'very lean'
patla manu	'lean man'
etom patla manu	'very lean man' etc.

The adjectives in this language can now be formally defined as belonging to that grammatical class which on the syntagmatic axis functions as the nucleus of an adjective phrase consisting of an adjective and an intensifier and/or functions as the satellite only in a noun phrase.

Demonstratives :

The demonstratives in this language are invariables and a closed set of grammatical class which on the syntagmatic axis functions as the satellite in a noun phrase. Since an adjective also functions as a satellite of a NP, the two can only be distinguished on the basis of their relative place in the NP, for instance:

otu manu	'that man'
uk^{h}o manu	'tall man'
etom uk^{h}o manu	'very tall man'
otu etom uk^{h}o manu	'that very tall man' etc.

The illustrative examples given above reveal that whereas an adjective can be expanded so as to function as the nucleus of an adjective phrase, a demonstrative cannot. Secondly when both an adjective and a demonstrative co-occur in a noun phrase the demonstrative is preposed to the adjective including the adjective phrase and that the demonstrative is functionally an adjective.

A demonstrative can now be formally defined as that sub-class of adjective which on the syntagmatic axis can function as the satellite in a noun phrase but if a NP has both an adjective including an adjective phrase and a demonstrative, the demonstrative would invariably be preposed to the adjective/adjective phrase.

Intensifiers :

Like the demonstratives, the intensifiers in this language are also invariables forming a closed set of grammatical class. They differ from the other invariables in that they can be a satellite in both adjective and adverb phrases, as in:

etom ukʰa	'very tall'
etom joldi	'very quickly'[1]

The intensifiers in this language can now be formally defined as a closed set of invariables which on the syntagmatic axis can function as a satellite both of the adjective and adverb phrases.

Adverbs :

An adverb in this language is an invariable which on the syntagmatic axis functions as the nucleus of an adverb phrase and/or be a modifier of a verb including the participial form of a verb;[2] as in:

etom joldi	'very quickly'
joldi dowrise	'ran quickly'
etom joldi dowrise	'ran very quickly' etc.

An adverb in this language can be formally defined as that invariable which on the syntagmatic axis can function as the nucleus of an adverb phrase and/or as the modifier of a verb including the participial form of a verb, but not of any other grammatical class.

Post positions :

The post positions in this language are function words showing the case relationship and hence postposed to the nominals *viz.*, nouns, pronouns, and numerals, as in:

dukan pora	'from the shop'
kukurləgot	'with the dog'
sari pora	'from four' etc.

When a noun/pronoun/numeral is in construction with a post position, the combined form ceases to belong to the noun/pronoun/numeral grammatical classes, rather functionally they would be an adverb[3], for instance, in the sentence :

tay dukan pora jayse 'he/she went from the shop'

---

[1]Though *etom joldi* can also be translated to mean 'very fast', *joldi* in this language does not have the same semantic range as that of *fast* in English and as such *joldi* cannot be used as an adjective in a construction like *joldi kukur *fast dog. In a NP, *joldi* could occur as an attribute only of a participial form of a verb functioning as an adjective, as in:

Joldi dowra kukur 'a quickly running dog' etc.

[2]In the latter role, an adverb could modify an adjective as functionally, the participial forms of verbs are adjectives.

[3]Functionally Noun + genitive case is an adjective. But in this language, the genitive case relation is not indicated by any suffix, rather by the word order.

A simple adverb like *tat* 'there' can substitute the phrase *dukan pora* 'from the shop' as in :

tay tat jayse	'he/she went there'

Whereas when a noun is modified by a particle or adjective, its grammatical class is not affected, as in:

moybi jayse	'I also went'
1 2 3	1 2 3
kitabtu poribo	'read (the specific) book' etc.
1 2 3	3 2 1

A post position can be formally defined as that sub-class of indeclinables which follow a noun/pronoun/numeral, but the combined form, *viz.*, the noun/pronoun/numeral + the post position would not occur in their respective slots, rather in the slots for modifiers like adverb and adjectives.

Particles :

There are a few particles in this language. All of them are invariables. They occur after the nouns, pronouns and the numerals. Functionally, the particles are determiners, as in:

moybi jayse	'I also went'
kitabbi dibi	'give the book also'
trityorbi dibi	'give the third also'
tayhi kʰuri katise	'he (and not anyone else)'
	who cut the tree or 'he himself
	1 2
	cut the tree'
	4 3
kitabtu poribi	'read (the specific) book' etc.
1 2 3	3 2 1

The particles can occur in both subjective and predicative constructions, as in:

tay kʰuritu katise	'he cut (the particular) tree'
tay kʰuri katise	'he cut a tree'
loratu kʰuritu katise	'the boy (specific) cut (the particular;) tree' etc.

What is important to note is that when a particular particle co-occurs with another grammatical class, the combined form would retain the original grammatical class of the class with which the particle occurs whereas when a post position co-occurs with another grammatical class as mentioned earlier, the combined form would belong to a third grammatical class. A detailed description of the different grammatical classes follows.

3.2 Description of Nominals :

The nouns, pronouns and numerals were the sub-group of variables that were included under the nominals. Each of them has a separate morphological construction. A detailed description of the morphological construction, sub-classification, etc. of these grammatical classes follow.

3.2.1 Nouns :

A noun in this language was defined as that grammatical class which on the paradigmatic axis is capable of showing contrast in case and number but not in person or tense and on the syntagmatic axis functions as the nucleus of a noun phrase. A few examples illustrating the contrast in number and case are given below.

c^{h}okra	'boy'	c^{h}okrak^{h}an	'boys'
suali	'girl'	sualik^{h}an	'girls'
c^{h}okrake	'to the boy'	c^{h}okrak^{h}anke	'to the boys'
sualike	'to the girl'	sualik^{h}anke	'to the girls'

Morphological construction :

A few examples illustrating the opposition in number and case available with the nouns in this language were given above. From the illustrative examples given above, the morphological construction of a noun can be stated as:

$$N \longrightarrow Root \pm plural \pm case$$

There is no special limitations in the use of these two grammatical categories with a noun except that when both the number and case markers occur with a noun root, the number marker precedes the case marker. The morphological construction of a noun in this language has a total of four types, *viz.,*

Root alone	suali	'girl'
Root+case	sualike	'to the girl'
Root+number	sualik^{h}an	'girls'
Root+number +case	Sualik^{h}anke	'to the girls' etc.

It might, however, be noted that certain sub-groups of nouns do not show any overt number markers, but would take case markers, as in:

lat^{h}i	'stick/s'
lat^{h}ite	'in the stick/s'
nodi	'river/rivers'
nodite	'in the river/s' etc.

Incidentally, the nouns listed above refer to inanimate objects. An extremely limited number of nouns also show opposition in gender, as in:

cʰokra	'boy'	cʰokri	'girl'
mama	'uncle'	mami	'aunt'
murga	'cock'	murgi	'hen' etc.

Incidentally the nouns that show the gender marker are of recent borrowings from Hindi. Further, Nagas who use these words in this language do not seem to be aware of the gender system in these pairs and use them as single indivisible words partly because such pairs are few in number and they behave like any other noun, the vast majority of which do not have any gender markers, as in:

puali	'daughter'	guru	'cow'
suali	'girl'	kitab	'book'
didi	'elder sister'	'makela	'girls dothi'
kokai	'elder brother'	etc.	

Sub-grouping :

In the preceding discussion, it was seen that all the nouns do not take the number markers. Further even when all the nouns show contrast in case, not all of them show the same number of contrast. These overt differences permit the sub-grouping of the nouns in this language into a few sub-groups. The first major sub-grouping would be between nouns referring to living beings and non-living beings (for the purpose of this sub-grouping, tree and plants would belong to non-living beings). For instance, a group of nouns are capable of showing the presence of number marker whereas some others are not. Similarly the nouns that overtly mark the number also mark overtly the accusative case whereas the nouns that do not mark the number also fail to mark the accusative case relation. The nouns that mark overtly the number and the accusative case relation incidentally refer to the animate beings and the nouns that are incapable of overtly marking the number and accusative case relation refer to inanimate beings, for instance:

(a)
suali	'girl'	: sualikʰan	'girls'	sualik 'girl'(acc)
mayki	'woman'	: maykikʰan	'women'	maykik 'woman (acc)
manu	'man'	: manukʰan	'men'	manuk 'man' (acc)
guru	'cow'	: gurukʰan	'cows'	guruk 'cow' (acc)
suray	'bird'	: suraykʰan	'birds' etc.	

(b)
pata		'leaf/leaves'
gas		'plant/plants'
gaste		'in the plant/plants'

moy	gas	ekta	katise	'I cut a tree' etc.
1	2	3	4	1 4 3 2

These sub-group of nouns are designated respectively as : nouns animate being class (abbreviated Nani class) and nouns inanimate being class (abbreviated Nina class). While no further sub-division is possible with the Nina class of nouns, Nani class of nouns can be further sub-divded on the basis of some shared features. For instance certain group of nouns show the absence of the locative case marker while certain other group of nouns show the absence of the dative case marker. Further the group of nouns that show the absence of the dative case marker select the third person pronoun *itu* 'it' or *heytu* 'it' for substituting a noun/noun phrase in the previous clause/sentence, as in:

NanH class of nouns= + locative case, — dative case

kukur	'dog'	kukurte	'in the dog'
guru	'cow'	gurute	'in the cow'
puhu	'deer'	puhute	'in the deer
moy guru gas dise		'I gave grass to the cow' etc.	

NH class of nouns= +dative case, —locative case

moy sualike bacak dise	'I give the girl a child'
moy maykike mos dise	'I gave the woman fish' etc.

(tay)

suali jayse	'the girl went'	tay jayse	'she went'
mayki jayse	'the woman went'	tay jasye	'she went'
manu jayse	'the man went'	tay jayse	'he went'
kaka jayse	'the uncle went'	tay jayse	'he went' etc.

(itu[1])

mos girise	'the meat fell'	itu girise	'it fell'
gas girise	'the plant fell'	itu girise	'it fell'

(heytu)

gor girise	'the house fell'	heytu girise	'it fell'
guru girise	'the cow fell'	heytu girise	'it fell'

The group of nouns that shows the absence of locative marker and selects *tay* 'he/she' refers to human beings and the group of nouns that shows the absence of dative case marker but shows the presence of the locative case marker and also the number marker and selects itu/heytu for substituting these nouns refer to animals and birds. These two sub-groups of nouns can be formally designated respectively as

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[1]The difference between the words *itu* and *heytu* is in the size of the object that is substituted—Therefore, *itu* and *heytu* could be translated as 'the small thing' and the big thing, rather than it. The Nina class of nouns cannot be sub-grouped on the basis of this difference, as small and big are subjective terms and not absolute ones.

Nouns Human being class (abbreviated NH class of nouns) and Nouns animate non-human being class (abbreviated NanH being class). Given below is a chart showing the sub-grouping of the nouns in this language.
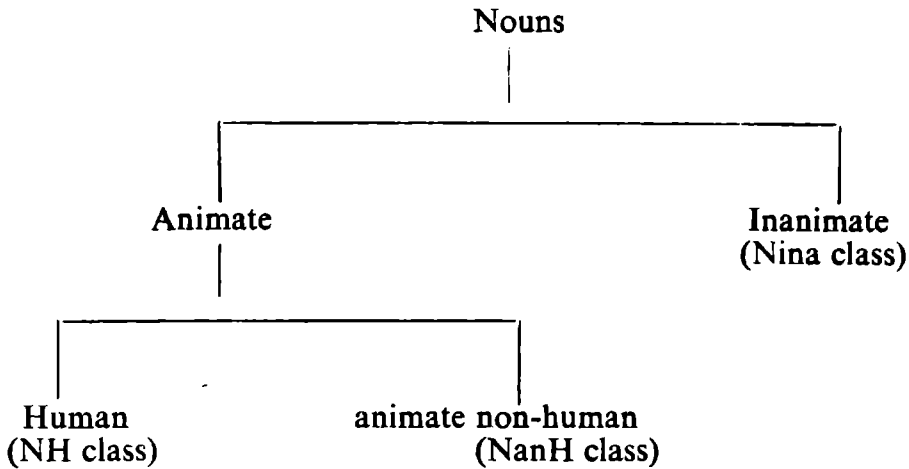
A formal definition of each of the sub-groups of nouns follows:

Noun human being class: The nouns that are capable of showing the presence of plural and the dative case markers and the absence of the locative case marker and selects the third person pronoun *tay* 'he/she' for substituting a noun/noun phrase form a sub-group of nouns designated as nouns human being class (abbreviated NH class).

Nouns animate non-human being class: The nouns that are capable of showing the presence of plural and the locative case markers and the absence of the dative case marker and selects the third person pronouns *itu/heytu* 'it' for substituting a noun/noun phrase form a sub-group of nouns designated as nouns animate non-human being class abbreviated NanH class.

Nouns inanimate being class: The nouns that are capable of showing the locative case marker but are incapable of taking the number and the dative case markers and substitute the third person pronoun *itu/heytu* 'it' for a noun/noun phrase form a sub-group of noun designated as nouns inanimate being class (abbreviated Nina class).

In all the sub-groups while the nominative and the genitive case relations are left unmarked, the instrumental case relation is marked by a post position. The distinctive features found with each of the sub-groups along with illustrative examples are given below in a tabular form.

	Human being (NH class)	Animate non-human being (NanH class)	Inanimate being (Nina class)
Number marker	+	+	—
Accusative case	+	+	—
Dative case	+	—	—
Locative case	—	+	+
Instrumental (post position)	—	+	+
III person pronoun— tay	+	—	—
heytu/itu	—	+	+

NH class : suali	'girl'	+ number	: sualik^{h}an
		+ accusative	: sualik
		+ dative	: sualike
		— locative	:
		— instrumental	:
		+ tay	
		— heytu/itu	
NanH class : puhu	'deer'	+ number	: puhuk^{h}an
		+ accusative	: puhuk
		— dative	:
		+ locative	: puhute
		+ instrumental	: puhu ləgot
		— tay	
		+ heytu/itu	
Nina class : nodi	'river'	— number	:
		— accusative	:
		— dative	:
		+ locative	: nodite
		+ instrumental	: nodi ləgot
		— tay	
		+ heytu/itu	

It was mentioned earlier that a few nouns within the NH and NanH being class show overt gender markers. Even then, gender as a grammatical category is ignored in this work partly because of its functional yield of opposition being extremely low and partly because, most of the speakers consider these nouns as single entities rather than paired nouns. Barring these few paired nouns, the nouns in this language do not show any sub-morphemic features, *i.e.,* they have the same shape before all the suffixes and post positions.

3.2.2 Pronouns

The pronouns in this language form a sub-class of nominals. A pronoun was earlier defined as belonging to that class which is capable of showing contrast in person, number and case and is capable of substituting a noun including a noun phrase having an anaphoric reference. A pronoun also does not admit of determiners. The contrast in person, however, is not marked overtly through person markers, rather different lexical items are used to mark this opposition, for instance :

moy	'I'	moyk^{h}an	'we'
əpuni	'you (sg)'	əpunik^{h}an	'you (pl)'
tay	'he/she'	tayk^{h}an	'they'

Morphological construction :

moy	'I'	moyk^{h}an	'we'
əpuni	'you (sg)'	əpunik^{h}an	'you (pl)'
tay	'he/she'	tayk^{h}an	'they'

Morphological construction :

On the paradigmatic axis, the pronouns are capable of taking only the number and case markers, as in :

| moy | 'I' | moyk^{h}an | 'we' |
| muke | 'to me' | moyk^{h}anke | 'to us' etc. |

This feature is found with all the three personal pronouns. Therefore, from the illustrative examples given above, the morphological construction of a pronoun can be stated as :

pronoun→Root ± number ± case

There is no special limitations in the occurrence of these markers except that they occur only in the order mentioned above. The morphological construction of a pronoun in this language has a total of four types, *viz.*,

Root alone	moy	'I'
Root + number	moyk^{h}an	'we'
Root + case	muke	'to me'
Root + no + case	moyk^{h}anke	'to us' etc.

Sub-classification of the pronouns :

It was mentioned earlier that the pronouns in this language show opposition in number and case. Some pronouns also show different forms for indicating different persons. Not all pronouns, however, show these oppositions. The presence or absence of certain categories could, therefore, be the criterion for sub-classifying the pronouns in this language, though not all pronouns are classified on this criterion.

Personal pronouns :

The first sub-classification would be based on the criterion of having different forms for different persons. Thus the pronouns that show different forms to indicate the person, form a sub-group called personal pronouns and the rest form the non-personal pronouns. The personal pronouns show an additional feature in that they show opposition in number whereas the non-personal pronouns do not show opposition in number, as in :

moy	'I'	moykʰan	'we'
əpuni	'you' (sg)	əpunikʰan	'you (pl)'
tay	'he/she'	taykʰan	'they (human)'

hatoli kowise tay monso kʰabo   'Hatoli said that she would eat meat'
   1   2 3   4   5   6 7

                                  (lit Hatoli say past she meat eat
                                          1   2   3   4   5   6
                                  future)
                                    7

gonmey gor ekta əse, tay gor durəse   'gonmei has a house, his
   1   2   3   4   5   6   7 8   1   4   3   5

                                          house is far away, etc.
                                            6   8   7

Reflexive pronouns :

'Reflexive pronouns replace co-referential noun phrase, normally within the same finite verb phrase' (quirk & Greenbaum 1975 : 103). Unlike in English and many Indian languages the reflexive pronouns in this language do not occur as separate entities, nor are repeated, rather the emphatic particle *hi* is suffixed to the noun/pronoun, concerned as in :

moyhi jayse   'I myself went'

taykʰanhi kamtu koribolage 'they must do the work themselves'
   1   2 3 4 5 6   7   (lit. they emp. part work specific do
                                     1   2   3   4   5
                            will must)
                             6   7

əpunihi sɔb kam koriśe lage   'You should have done the entire work
                                 yourself'

                                (lit. you emp. all work do past must)
                                       1   2   3   4   5 6   7

Relative pronouns :

The relative pronouns connect two related clauses. This aspect would be discussed in detail in the section on clauses. *jo* is the relative pronoun in this language. It is invariable. For the nominal relative clauses there is a personal form *viz., jiman* 'whoever'. The use of the relative pronoun, however, is of low frequency. The most common pattern is to suffix the relative particle to the verb concerned as in :

jo lorakʰan kitab harise taykʰan klaste bohibo diyanəy
1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11

'the boys who lost the book were not allowed to sit in the class'

(lit. who boys book lost they class in sit will giving not)
  1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11

OR

kitab hara lorakʰan klaste bohibo diya nəy (H. F.)
  1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

(lit. book the losing boys class in sit will giving not)
  1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

jo lorakʰan səystʰor bal əse kʰelibo pare

'the boys whose health are good will be allowed to play'

jiman əhise partite əhibopare
  1   2   3   4   5   6

'who-ever comes can join the party'

(lit. who-ever came party in come can)
  1   2   3   4   5   6

Interrogative pronouns :

There are a few interrogative pronouns in this language. Some of them can take post positions, but not the number markers, as in :

tay kod jayse   'where did she go ? '
kʰeli kod pora hoyse 'where was the play ?'

(lit. play where from happen past)
  1   2   3   4   5

The interrogative pronouns have the functions of both the interrogative determiners and interrogative pronouns; for instance :

Interrogative determiners :

kontu jaga   'which place?' (lit. who specific place)
1   2   3   1   2   3

kintu suali   'which girl?'
kon suali   'whose girl?'
itu kon kitab   'whose book is this?' e c

Interrogative pronouns :

kon aji jayse	'who went today?'
tay ki korise	'what did she do?'
tay nam ki əse	'what is her name?'
moy kod jabo pare	'where can I go?'
tay ki korone jayse	'why did she go?'
1 2 3 4 5	(lit. she what reason go past) etc.
	1 2 3 4 5

The interrogative pronouns available in this language are listed below :

kon	'who?'; 'whose?'; 'whom'?
ki	'what?'
kod	'where?'
ketiya	'when?'
ki korone	'why?' (lit. what reason)
ki rokom	'how?'
kontu	'which [1] (lit. who specific?)

Demonstrative pronouns :

The demonstratives in this language can function both as determiners and pronouns. It might be pertinent to note here that though both the nouns human being class and the personal pronouns show opposition in number, the demonstrative pronouns are indifferent to the grammatical category of number. The following two demonstrative pronouns, available in this language, have proximate and obviate references.[2]

Proximate	itu	'this'	(lit. this specific)
Obviate	otu	'that'	(lit. that specific)

In this respect this pair matches the adverbal pair of place, *viz.,* yate 'here' and tat 'there' as the demonstrative pronouns *itu/otu* can refer only to nouns non-human class and not to nouns human being class. The illustrative examples of this pair both as a determiner and as a pronoun are given below:

itu suali doni	'this girl is beautiful'
1 2 3 4	(lit. this specific girl beautiful)
	1 2 3 4
otu gor horu	'that house is small'

---

[1]Whereas the nouns do make a distinction between nouns human being class and nouns non-human being class and the third person personal pronoun is co-referrent only for nouns human being class, the interrogative pronoun *kontu* 'which' refers to both nouns human being and nouns non-human being classes.

[2]In the strict sense of the term, it would be more appropriate to call these demonstratives as deminstrative adjecives rather than pronouns.

compare :

i muk dibi	'give me this'
o muk dibi	'give me that'
tat jabi	'go there'
itu doni	'it (is) beautiful'
tay doni	'he/she (is) beautiful'

The proximate demonstrative pronoun *itu* 'this specific' has another form *heytu*. The selection of either of these forms is dependent on the size of the object which is being referred to, for e.g.

/itu/	mos girise	'the fish fell'
	itu girise	'it fell'
	gas katise	'the grass was cut'
	itu katise	'it was cut'
/heytu/	gor girise	'the house fell'
	heytu girise	'it fell'
	guru girise	'the cow fell'
	heytu girise	'it fell'

Since the terms like big/small etc. are relative ones without having any clear line of demarcation, the selection of one form or the other would be mainly subjective. This division into small/big is not available with the obviate demonstrative pronoun.

Definite and indefinite pronouns:

There are no clear distinction between definite and indefinite pronouns. The same form, *viz., sob* could be used for both 'all' and 'everything', as in :

moykʰan sob jayse	'all of us went'
sobkʰan tat jayse	'every one went there'
sob horayse	'everything is lost'
sobkʰanbi	'all of them also'

may be, the second and the third sentence could be translated respectively as : 'all went there' and 'lost all things'. Another example of the use of the indefinite pronoun is :

kʰali konuba jayse   'hardly any one went'

Partitive pronouns :

Partitive pronouns are not regularly used. Even when used, the phrases like 'neither....nor' 'either....or' found in English have no parallel in this language. The selection of a particular form and the place of the negative determines whether the sentence as a whole has a negative or affirmative sentence, as an :

tay nəhole tay bohini jabo	'he or his sister will go'
tay əru tay bohini nəjabo	'neither he nor his sister will go'

<div align="center">

(lit. he and his sister not go will)
1   2   3   4   5   6   7

</div>

Instead of *əru*, some also use *nəhole*, as in

tay nəhole tar bohini nəjəbo   'neither he nor his sister will go'
1   2   3   4   5   6

<div align="center">

(lit. he or his sister not go will)
1   2   3   4   5   6   7

</div>

The latter expression, however, is not accepted for this grammar.

The different forms of the personal pronouns are given in a tabular form.

		Personal pronouns	Reflexive pronouns
1st person	sg.	moy	moyhi
	pl.	moykʰan	moykʰanhi
2nd person	sg.	əpuni	əpunihi
	pl.	əpunikʰan	əpunikʰanhi
3rd person (only human being class)	sg.	tay[2]	tayhi
	pl.	taykʰan	taykʰanhi

The definition, the morphological construction, sub-classification, etc. of the pronouns were discussed in this section. The next section discusses the system of numeral available in this language.

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[1]The possessive pronouns (genitive case) in this languages are not inflected to indicate the case relation. Therefore their phonemic shape is identical with that of the pronouns in the nominative case.

[2]tay 'he/she' and taykʰan 'they (Human beings)'. The demonstrative pronouns substitute the III person non-human being class of nouns.

3.2.3 Numerals

The numerals in this language were defined as belonging to that grammatical class which on the paradigmatic axis is capable of taking ordinal suffixes but incapable of taking number or tense marker and on the syntagmatic axis, is capable of forming construction with post positions and/or fill in the slots of a noun or function as a satellite in a NP. A few examples would illustrate this.

duytor	'second'
duybi	'two also'
sari pora duy dibi	'please give two out of four'
duy lora jayse	'two boys went' etc.

Sub-classification :

The numerals in this language can in the first instance be sub-grouped into two, *viz.*, simple number words and compound number words. The simple number words are those that are monomorphemic, *i.e.*, not further analysable into component parts and the compound number words are those that are constructed from two or more simple number words. The simple number words are designated as primary numerals and the compound number words are designated secondary numerals.

Whereas the primary numerals are a closed set of limited numbers, the compound number words are infinite. There are only 12 primary numerals in this language which may be collectively referred to as the terminal vocabulary of the Naga Pidgin number system. These are listed below.

ek	'one'	sat	'seven'
duy	'two'	at	'eight'
tini	'three'	nəw	'nine'
sari	'four'	dos	'ten'
was	'five'	noboy	'ninety'
cʰoy	'six'	so	'hundred'

Since the numbers from one to ten are listed, grouped into ten, and then moves over to listing and grouping for another ten and so on, it can be stated that the number system in this language is on the base ten.[1] Excepting for the numerals for ninety and hundred, all the numerals above the ten are secondary ones. The structure of the secondary numerals can be stated in terms of the relationship of the constituents amongst themselves. These are discussed below.

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[1]It has also an alternate form having a base twenty. (Please see the next page).

The structure of the secondary numerals :

A secondary numeral in this language can have a maximum of three constituents. The structure (relationship of the constituents) of the secondary numerals show different types of permutations and commutations of simple arithmatics *viz.*, summation, subtraction and multiplication. Only the numerals having three constituents make use of two or more of these devices. The numerals having only two constituents have either summation or multiplication but not both. Depending upon the structural device employed, the secondary numerals in this language can be primarily sub-grouped into three. These sub-groupings along with the illustrative examples are given below.

1. Structure showing the summation of the two constituents :—

ba+ro	'two + ten'	=	baro	'twelve'
te+ro	'three+ten'	=	tero	'thirteen' etc.

The numerals[1] 11 to 18 have the same structure.

2. The structure showing the multiplication of the two constituents :—

bi ×— s	'two × ten'	= bis	'twenty'
tri ×— s	'three × ten'	= tris	'thirty'
hotu-×— r	'seven × ten'	= hotur	'seventy' etc.

The multiples of 10 from 20 to 80 show this type of structure.

3. The structure showing the combinations of summation or subtraction and multiplication :—

As mentioned earlier, this type of structure involves only the secondary numerals having at least three constituents. In other words, when a numeral has three constituents, the last two constituents are multiplied in the first instance and then the value of the first constituent is either subtracted or summed up as the case may be, with the number arrived at out of the multiplication. This can be put in a formulaic statement :

$$\left| \begin{array}{c} -A \\ +A \end{array} \right| \; + \; \left| \; A \times B \; \right|$$

(a) subtraction and multiplication :

ontis	'twenty nine'	=—on	+(ti × s) =—1+(3×10)=29
onnoys	'nineteen'	=—onn	+ (oy—×—s) =—1+
			(2 × 10) =—1+20=19 etc·

(b) summation and multiplication :

ekoys 'twenty one' $= ek + (oy \times s) = 1 + (2 \times 10) =$
$$1 + 20 = 21$$

boys 'twenty two' $= b + (oy \times s) = 2 + (2 \times 10 = 2 + 20 = 22$ etc.

The secondary numerals showing the structure cited above have also an alternative pattern,[1] *viz.*, the full form of the respective terminal vocabulary is post-posed to the secondary numeral in the multiple of ten with or without the intervening postposition *upǝr* 'upon/on' to the secondary numeral in the multiples of ten, as in :

bis ek ∿ bis upǝr ek   'twenty one'
tis duy ∿ tis upǝr duy   'thirty two' etc.

In the same manner, the multiples of twenty from forty to eighty have a form which alternates with the regular forms, as in :

colis ↪ do bis   'forty'
hatʰi ↪ tini bis   'sixty'
ǝsi ↪ sari bs   'eighty' etc.

These alternative forms have twenty as the base form and the respective number with which the base form is to be multiplied is pre-posed to the base form.

The structural relationship of the various constituents that form a numeral in this language is formailzed as under :

1. A[2] alone	eg : ek, duy, dos, etc.	
2. A + B	eg : baro	'twelve'
3. A × B	eg : bis	'twenty'
4. —A + (A × B)	eg : onnoys	'nineteen'
5. A + (A × B)	eg : ekoys	'twenty one'
6. (A × B) + A	eg : bisek	'twenty one'
7. (A × B) + PP + A	eg : bis upǝr ek	'twenty one'
8. A × A × B	eg : do bis	'forty'

[1]This seems to be a pan-Indian feature of pidginization of the numerals in that all over India, where the Hindi numerals are used outside the main Hindi belt, the business community including the small and big shopkeepers are found to use the structure A × B   up·ǝr ÷ A   In Nagaland also this type of structure might have been introduced by the Marwaris, a business community from Rajasthan. They speak a variety of Hindi.

[2]The value of A is 1 to 9 100 and also 10 in isolation. The value of B is 10 when B occurs with A. The numerals beyond 100 can be built up in this manner but not listed here. The numeral hundred and one could either be *eksoek* or *ekso upǝr ek* and 112 would be *ekso upǝr baro* etc.

As mentioned earlier, the structure 5, 6, and 7 illustrated above alternate amongst themselves. The structure 6, *viz.* (A × B) + A and the structure 7, *viz.*, (A × B) + PP + A are of high frequency usage in fish and vegetable markets, while the structure 5, *viz.*, A + (A × B) is used in formal situation. In the same way, in the use of the multiples of twenty also, the structure No. 8 is of very high frequency and is the preferred one in all the informal situations.

The numerals from 11 to 20 and the multiples of ten upto 90 are listed below:

egaro	'eleven'	bis	'twenty'
baro	'twelve'	tris	'thirty'
tero	'thirteen'	colis	'forty'
cɔwdo	'fourteen'	poncas	'fifty'
hullo	'sixteen'	hati	'sixty'
hutro	'seventeen'	hotur	'seventy'
ataro	'eighteen'	ɔsi	'eighty'
onnoys	'nineteen'	noboy	'ninety'

The numerals from twenty one to thirty are listed below[1].

ekoys	'twenty one'	cʰoyis	'twenty six'
boys	'twenty two'	hutoys	'twenty seven'
teis	'twenty three'	atoys	'twenty eight'
cɔwis	'twenty four'	ontris	'twenty nine'
poncis	'twenty five'	tris	'thirty'.

Ordinals :

Every numeral in this language, whether it be a primary or secondary one can in its turn be converted into an ordinal numeral by suffixing the ordinal marker *la/tyor* to the numeral concerned, as in :

poy + la	poyla	'first'
di + tyor	dityor	'second'
tri + tyor	trityor	'third'
hullo + tyor	hullotyor	'sixteenth' etc.

Fractions :

This language also makes use of fractions. The fractions available are :

ada laga ada[2] *or* pua	'$\frac{1}{4}$'
ada	'$\frac{1}{2}$'
tini pua	'$\frac{3}{4}$'

---

[1] The numerals beyond thirtyone are formed in this manner.
[2] Both form are available. The latter form is used in formal occasions.

These fractions could be used along with full numbers to form compound fractions, as in :

tini ǝru pua	'three and a quarter'
ek ǝru pua	'one and a quarter'
do ada/do ǝru ada	'two and a half'
tini ada/tini ǝru ada	'three and a half'
tini ǝru tin pua[1]	'three and three quarters' etc.

Times :

The particle *bar* follows the numeral concerned to indicate the number of times an act is performed, as in :

ek bar	'once'	tini bar	'thrice'
duy bar	'twice'	tis bar	'thirty times'

Positional variants of the numerals.

1. The numeral *ek* 'one' has five positional variants, *viz.*, ek, onn-, on- ega- and poy-.   The distribution of these are stated below :

(i) ek, a free form, occurs alone and also before —*oy*— 'two; when the numeral has the morphological construction of $A + (A \times B)$, eg.

ek suali	'one girl'
ekoys	'twenty one'

(ii) *ega*—, a bound form, occurs before *ro* 'ten' when the numeral has the morphological construction of $A + B$, eg.

egaro	'eleven'

(iii) *onn*—and on-, two bound forms occur as the first element respectively before —*oy*— 'two' and elsewhere when the numeral has the construction of —$A + (A \times B)$, as in :

onnoys	'nineteen'
ontis	'twentynine'
oncalis	'thirtynine' etc.

(iv) *poy*--, a unique bound[2] form which occurs before the ordinal marker *la*, another uniqɪe bound form, as in :

poyla	'first'

2. The numeral two has seven positional variants, *viz.*, duy, ba-, b-, -oy-, di-, cǝw-, -i-.   The distribution of these forms are as under :

(i) duy is a free form and occurs both in the nominal and the determiner slots, as in :

duy pora	'from two'
duy suali	'two girls'

---

[1]When the fraction 3/4 forms part of a compound fraction, the particle 'and' is obligatory.

[2]In as much as these two forms occurs only in this compound and nowhere else, these two forms are treated as unique bound forms.

(ii) ba— a, unique bound form occurs as the first element before —*ro* 'ten' when the structure of the numeral has the relationship of A+B, as in :

ba + ro   'baro'   'twelve'

(iii) *bi*--, a unique bound form occurs as the first element before -*s* 'ten', when the structure of the numeral has the relationship of A×B, as in :

bis   'twenty'

(iv) *b*—, a unique bound form, occurs as the first element after the numeral oy- 'two' when the structure of the numeral has the relationship of $A + (A \times B)$, as in :

boys   'twenty two'

(v) -i-, a bound form occurs, as the second element after the numerals te- 'three', cəw 'four', ponc- 'five', cʰoy- 'six', when the structure of the numeral shows the relationship of $A + (A \times B)$, as in :

teis   'twenty three'
cəwis   'twenty four'
poncis   'twenty five'
cʰoyis   'twenty six'

(vi) -*oy*-, yet another bound form occurs, elsewhere as the second element, *viz.,* after ek - 'one', b- 'two', hut- 'seven' at- 'eight' when the structure of the numerals has the relationship of $A + (A \times B)$, as in :

ekoys   'twenty one'
boys   'twenty two'
hutyos   'twenty seven'
atoys   'twenty eight'

(vii) di- , a unique bound form, occurs before the ordinal marker -*tyor,* as in :

dityor   'second'

3. The numeral *tini* 'three' has three positional variants *viz.* tini, te- and tri-. The distribution of these positional variants are as under :

(i) *tini* is a free form capable of occurring in the slots of both a noun and an adjective, as in :

tini pora   'from three'
tini suali   'three girls'

(ii) *te*- is a bound form occurring before ro- 'ten' and before -*i*- 'two' with the nominals having the structure respectively of $A + B$ and $A + (A \times B)$, as in :

tero   'thirteen'
teis   'twenty three'

(iii) *tri-* is another bound form occurring before the ordinal marker *-tyor* and also before /-s/'ten' when the numeral has the structure of A × B , as in :

trityor   'third'

tris   'thirty'

4. The numeral *sari* 'four' has three positional variants. These are : sari, cəw-. and coli-. The distribution of these positional variants are as under :

(i) sari pora   'from four'

sari suali   'four girls'

(ii) *cəw-*, a bound form occurring, before : (i) the ordinal marker *-tyor* and also before *-do* 'ten' and (ii) *-i-* 'two' when the numerals have the structure respectively of A + B and A + (A×B), as in :

cəwtyor   'fourth'

cəwdɔ   'fourteen'

cəwis   'twenty four'

(iii) *coli-*, a unique bound form occurs, before *-s* 'ten' when the numeral has the structure of A × B, as in :

colis   'forty'

5. The numeral *was* 'five' has four positional variants. These are : was, pənd-, ponca- and ponc-. All the three bound forms are unique bound forms. The distribution of these are as under :

(i) *was* is a free form occurring in the slots of both the nouns and the adjectives, as in :

was pora   'from five'

was suali   'five girls'

(ii) *pənd-*, occurs before *-ro* 'ten' when the numeral has the structure of A + B, as in :

pəndro   'fifteen'

(iii) *ponca-* occurs before *-s* 'ten' when the numeral has the structure of A × B, as in :

poncas   'fifty'

(iv) *ponc-* occurs as the first element before *-i-* 'two', when the numeral has the structure of A + (A × B), as in:

poncis   'twenty five'

6. The numeral $c^h oy$ 'six' has three positional variants. These are : $c^h oy$, hul [1] and hat-. The distribution of these are as under :

(i) $c^h oy$ is a free form occurring in the slots of both nouns and adjectives, as in :

$c^h oy$ pora   'from six'

$c^h oy$ suali   'six girls' etc.

$c^h oy$ also occurs before the bound form -i- 'two' when the numeral has the structure of A + (A × B), as in :

$c^h oyis$ 'twenty six'

(ii) *hul*-a bound form occurring before -lo[2] when the numeral has the structure of A + B, as in :

hullo   'sixteen'

(iii) hat[h]-another bound form occurring before -i 'ten' when the numeral has the structure of A × B, as in :

hat[h]i   'sixty'

7. The numeral *sat* 'seven' has three positional variants, viz., sat, hut.- and hotu-. The distribution of these are stated below :

(i) *sat* is a free form occurring in the slots of both a noun and an adjective, as in :

sat pora   'from seven'

sat suali   'seven girls' etc.

(ii) *hotu*-, a bound form[3] occurring before -r 'ten' when the numeral has the structure of A × B, as in :

hotur   'seventy'

(iii) *huto*-, another bound form, occurring before -ro 'ten' and -i- 'two' when the numerals have the structure respectively of A + B and A + (A × B), as in :

hutoro   'seventeen'

hutois   'twenty seven'

---

[1]hullo 'sixteen' is not considered a monomorphemic word, as it would then be the only numeral within the teens having a monomorphemic word. Since this numeral doesn't have any partial phonemic—semantic similarity with any other numeral, its segmentation into two numerals must necessarily have to be arbitrary. *hati* 'sixty' is segmented as hat-i so that while hat- 'six' becomes a unique morpheme, -i 'ten' would also occur with s- 'eight' in the numeral ə si 'eighty'.

[2]The segmentation of *hullo* 'sixteen' into *hul*- and -*lo* is arbitrary. It was, however, segmented out of consideration for pattern congruity.

[3]The segmentation of *hotur* 'seventy' is also arbitrary.

8. The numeral *at* 'eight' has three positional variants, *viz.*, at, ata- and s-. The distribution of these are stated below.

(i) *at* is a free form occurring in the slots of both a noun and an adjective. It also occurs before -*oy* 'two' when the numeral has the structure of A + (A × B), as in :

at pora	'from eight'
at suali	'eight girls'
atoys	'twenty eight'

(ii) *ata*-is a bound form occurring before -*ro* 'ten' when the numeral has the structure of A + B[1], as in :

| ataro | 'eighteen' |

(iii) *s*= is another bound form which occurs before= i 'ten' when the numeral has the structure of A × B , as in :

| əsi | 'eighty' |

9. The numeral nəw 'nine' is a free form and does not have any positional variants, e.g.,

| nəw | suali | 'nine girls' |

10. The numeral *dos* 'ten' has seven positional variants; *viz.*, dos, -do, -lo, -ro, -i, -r, and -s

(i) dos is a free form, as in :

| dos | suali | 'ten girls' |

(ii) -do, -l() and-ro are bound forms occurring respectively after cəw 'four', *hut*- 'six' and the numerals for 1 to 3 viz., ega- 'one', ba- 'two', te 'three' when the numerals have the structure of A+B, as in :

cəwdo	'fourteen'
hullo	'sixteen'
egaro	'eleven'
baro	'twelve'
tero	'thirteen'

---

[1]The numeral ataro 'eighteen' could have been segmented as *at*- 'eight' and *aro*- 'ten', thereby reducing a positional variant of *at*-. This however, has not been done, as that would, in addition to leading to an increase in the positional variant of *dos* 'ten', have disturbed the distributional pattern of -*ro*, a positional variant of *dos* 'ten'.

(iii) -*i* and -*r* are two other bound forms. -*i* occurs after the numerals for 'six' and 'eight' *viz.*, hat^h— and s- and -*r* occurs after the numeral for 'seven', *viz.*, hotu-, when the numerals concerned have the structure of A x B, as in :

hat^hi 'sixty'

əsi 'eighty'

hotur 'seventy'

(iv) -s, yet another bound form occurs, after the numeral for 'three' and 'five' *viz.*, tri- ponc-, when the structure of the numeral is A x B, -s also occurs as the third constituent after numerals for two *viz.*, *i, or* when the numerals have the structure of either : -A+(AxB) or A+(AxB), as in :

$=A + (A \times B)$ onnoys 'nineteen'

$A + (A \times B)$ teis 'twenty three'

The structure of the grammatical classes falling within the nominals were discussed. A discussion of the grammatical categories occurring with each of these classes follows.

3.2.4. The grammatical categories of the nominals :

Number, gender and case are the three grammatical categories that occur with the nominals in this language. Of these, the category of gender occur only with a very few nouns, therefore, its functional yield of opposition is negligible. The category of number occurs with different sub-classes of nouns excepting noun inanimate being class and with the pronouns. The category of case occurs with the nouns and pronouns and to a limited degree with the numerals. A brief discussion of each of these grammatical categories follows :

Number :

The number in this language shows a two-way opposition *viz.*, singular and plural. While the singular is unmarked, the plural is marked by the morphome k^han. The nouns were earlier (3.2.1) sub-divided into three main sub-classes, *viz.*, nouns human benig class (NH), nouns animate non-human being class (Nanh) and nouns inanimate being class (Nina). Of these only the former two overtly mark the plurality[1] as in :

suali	'girl'	sualik^han	'girls'
kukur	'dog'	kukurk^han	'dogs'
gas	'tree/trees' etc.		

---

[1]Please see Appendix 2, item 2.1.1. for justification.

All the three personal pronouns mark the number overtly. The third person pronouns *heytu/itu* that substitute NanH class of nouns, however, do not take number marker, as in :

moy	'I'	moykʰan	'we'
əpuni	'you (singular)'	əpunikʰan	'you (plural)'
tay	'he/she'	taykᵏan	'they (human)'
itu/heytu	'It/they(non-human)'		

Even those nouns that otherwise indicate plurality do not take the plural marker when the context indicates the plurality, as in :

suali	duy	'two girls'	(lit. girl two)
1	2		1 2

The plural marker kʰaɲ does not have any positional variants.

3.2.4.2 Gender :

An extremely limited number of paired nouns in this language show a two-way opposition in gender, *viz.*, masculine and feminine, as in :

cʰokra	'boy'	cʰokri	'girl'
lədka	'boy'	lədki	'girl'
murga	'cock'	murgi	'hen' etc.

Incidentally all these paired nouns are the results of the process of relexification taking place in Naga Pidgin. The source language of these paired nouns is Hindi, which has a grammatical gender showing a two-way opposition between masculine and feminine genders. Since gender is a compulsory grammatical system in Hindi, the verb and the variable adjectives in a sentence in Hindi show concord in gender with the gender of the noun concerned. And in Hindi, even the nouns referring to inanimate beings are assigned to either of the two genders, as in :

Hindi :	pagli ləḍki jati hE	'the mad girl is going'
	pagla ləḍka jata hE	'the mad boy is going'
	purani kursi tuṭi	'the old chair broke' etc.

Whereas in this language there is no gender concord at all, as in :

	bura manu jayse	'the old man went'
	bura mayki jayse	'the old women went'
	bura manu jayəse	'the old man is going
	bura mayki jayəse	'the old women is going' etc.

A few educated elite, however, use expressions like :

	bura manu jayse	'the old man went'
	buri mayki jayse	'the old women went'

The expressions of this nature, apart from being of extremely low frequency is also limited in its usage as the number of paired adjectives borrowed from Hindi are restricted to just three or four pairs only. When the need for indicating the gender of a noun arises, the normal pattern is to place the words *mota* 'male' and *mayki* 'female' before the noun concerned, as in :

guru	'cow'
mota guru	'ox'
boysi	'buffalo'
mota boysi	'he buffalo'
mayki boysi	'she buffalow' etc.

The pronouns in this language are devoid of the grammatical category of gender, *i.e.*, the same pronoun substitutes nouns referring to both male and female persons, as in :

tay jayse	'he/she went'
didi jayse	'elder sister went'
tay jayse	'she went' etc.

The first and second person pronouns, *viz.*, moy 'I' and əpuni 'you (sg)', are also indifferent to the category of gender. Therefore gender as a grammaticl category is not up.[1]

3.2.4.3 Case relations :

The grammatical category of case is the most important inflectional category of the noun and the pronoun, as tense is the most important inflectional category of the verb. Although each of the cases of the noun is given a lable suggestive of atleast one of the principal semantic functions, (for instance, the dative case is associated with the notion of giving), it is impossible to give a satisfactory general definition of the category of case itself on the basis of the surface structure. Only seven case 'relations are set up[2] *viz.,* nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, locative, instrumental and sociative. Of these, while the nominative is unmarked, a post position marks the sociative and instrumental case relations. The genitive is marked syntactically by word order. The other three cases are marked morphologically. A set of senteces showing the case relationships are given below.

Nom.	suali girise	'the girl fell'
Acc.	moy sualik dek^hise	'I saw the girl'
Dat.	moy sualike ekta lorak dise	'I gave a boy to the girl'
Gen.	itu suali gor	'this is the girl's house'
Loc.	nodite pani	'river water'
		(lit. water in the river)
		3 2 1
Instrumental	sualik mekea ləgot bandise	'the girl is tied with a dothi'

Sociative moy suali ləgot jayse   'I went with the girl'

---

[1]Please also see Appendix 2, item 2.1.2.
[2]For justification, please see Appendix 2, item 2.1.3.

The same forms are found to occur with the pronouns also, as in :

Nom.	tay girise	'he/she fell'
Acc.	moy tak dikʰise	'I saw him/her'
Dat.	moy tay ke ekto lorak dise	'I gave him/her a boy'
Gen.	itu moy suali	'this is my girl'
Sociative	moy tay ləgot jayse	'I went with him/her'

It may, however, be noticed that instrumental and locative cases do not occur with nouns human being class.

From the examples given above, it is possible to subtract the case markers of the case relations marked overtly. These are :

Accusative	k
Dative	ke
Sociative	ləgot (post position)
Instrumental	ləgot (post position)
Locative	te

A brief discussion of the individual cases follows :

Nominative : The nominative case usually indicates the subject of the sentence. The nominative case is unmarked, as in :

| suali girise | 'the girl fell' |
| moy suali ləgot jayse | 'I went with the girl' etc. |

Accusative case : A noun/pronoun in the accusative case is said to be affected by the action or state identified by the verb. Functionally the accusative marks the object. If the verb is a diatransitive one, the accusative marks the direct object. When the predicate has a diatransitive verb, the accusative is postposed to the noun in the dative case relation. Both the nouns and the pronouns show the accusative relationships but the Nina class of nouns do not mark it overtly. The accusative case relation is not available when the predicate is a locative verb or a verb in intransitive construction, as in :

moy sualik ekta dikʰise	'I saw a girl'
moy tak dikʰise	'I saw him/her'
moy guruk ekta dikʰise	'I saw a cow'
moy tat nodi dikʰise	'I saw that river'
moy lorake ekta sualik dise	'I gave a boy to the girl' etc.

Dative case : The dative case relation is associated with the act of giving. The most typical function of the dative case is that of the receipient, *i.e.,* an animate being passively implicated by the happening or of state. Functionally, it marks the indirect object. In this language the dative is marked by the case suffix *ke.* Only the nouns animate being show these relationship in these languages, as in :

moy lorake ekta sualik dise	'I gave a boy to the girl'
moy guruke pani dise	'I gave water to the cow' etc.

Genitive case : The genitive case is the case of possession, for instance in the phrase :

suali	gor	'house of the girl'
1	2	2 1

suali shows an adnominal possessive relationship with respect to the house, *i.e., suali* 'girl' is the possessor and *gor* 'house' is the possessed item. Thus the most typical function of a genitive is to modify a noun/pronoun in an endocentric construction which is also the most typical function of an adjective. Therefore a noun/pronoun in its genitive is functionally an adjective. In this language genitive is marked syntactically through word order in that in a determiner—determined construction, the determiner is preposed to the determined noun, as in :

suali kitab	'the girl's book'
1 2	1 2
moy kitab	'my book'
gas pata	'leaves of the tree etc.
1 2	2 1

Sociative case : The sociative case refers to a special association or relationship of a noun/pronoun in the VP with the noun/pronoun functioning as the subject, i.e., it has a commitative function (in company with). Semantically the sociative and instrumental case relations are the same except that the sociative occurs with the Nouns animate being class and the instrumental case with the Nouns inanimate being class. That could be a reason why the same post position marks both the case relations in this language. A VP with a verb in either transitive or intransitive construction could have a noun/pronoun in the sociative relation. The post position *ləgot* marks this relationship, as in :

tay moy ləgot jayse	'he/she went with me'
moy suali ləgot jayse	'I went with the girl' etc.

Instrumental : The instrumental case relation expresses the material cause of an event, *i.e.,* an animate object used for doing a particular work. In other words, the instrumental case occurs with the nouns inanimate being class and in this language, it is also expressed by the post position *lɔgot,* as in :

sualik latʰi   lɔgot marise 'the girl was beaten by a stick'
tak makela   lɔgɔt bandise 'he/she was tied with a dothi' etc.

Locative case : Local function : We may now consider the so-called local function of the case system as applicable to this language. The term local would include both temporal and spatial distinctions. In the system of local, a three-way oppositional feature is found, *viz.,* to a person/place, from a person/place and to/into an inanimate object including a place. The last one, usually designated as locative, occurs only with nouns inanimate being class. The first is usually known as allative and the second as ablative case relations A brief discussion of each follows :

Allative : The allative case relationship refers to the destination/ direction to which the verb and the subject in the sentence moves. It is marked in this language by the marker *ot,* as in :

moy tat gorot jayse   'I went to/upto that house'
moy tayot jayse   'I went to her/him' etc.

Ablative : The ablative case is associated with removal (Lyons 1974 : 289). In this language it has a limited function of indicating the place/location from which a person/object is removed. It is marked by the post position *pora,* as in :

moy tay pora əhise   'I came from him/her'

moy tay gor pora əhise   'I came from his/her house'

moy tat skul pora əhise   'I came from that school'

Locative : The locative case relation indicates the location of an item/person. The locative case marker is *te* and occurs only with the Nanh and Nina class of nouns, as in :

nodite   'in the river'

akaste   'in the sky'

moste   'in the fish'

puhute   'in the cow' etc.

Post positions

A few post positions occur in this language. All of them occur after a noun/pronoun. Some of them were cited along with the discussion of different case relations. The remaining post positions have the local function of the case, but the noun/pronoun plus the post position would be functionally adverbs, as in :

tay moy *agote* bohise   'he/she sat in front of me'

The post positions like :   *nice* 'below', *bitor* 'inside', *daynate* 'left side', *picote* 'behind' come under this sub-class.

3.3 Verb

A verb in this language was defined as belonging to that grammatical class which on the paradigmatic axis is capable of showing opposition in tense and modal and on the syntagmatic axis functions as the nucleus of a verb phrase, for instance.

jabo	'will go'
jayse	'went'
jabi	'go (imp)'
jabole	'to go'
tat gorot jabi	'go to that house' etc.

3.3.1 Morphological construction :

From the illustrative examples   given above, the morphological constructions of a simple verb can be presented schematically as :

$$\text{Root} \quad \pm \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Tense} \\ \text{modal} \\ +\text{future}+\text{modal} \end{array} \right\}$$

There are certain limitations in the use of this scheme. These are : (1) Only the imperative and conditional modals can follow the verb root and (ii) Only the permissive and infinitive modals follow V_f. All other modals and aspects are formed by compound construction consisting of a principle verb and an auxiliary verb. The above scheme allows a total of four types of constructions which are stated below :

Root/stem alone	jay	'go'
Root/stem+tense	jayse	'went'
Root/stem+modal	jayle	'if....goes'
Root+future+modal	jabole	'to go' etc.

3.3.2 Sub-classification of the verbs :

The verbs in this language can be sub-classified primarily into two, *viz.*, locative and non-locative verbs, as in :

3.3.2.1 Locative verb (LV) :

moy kukur ekta əse	'I have a dog'
tay yate əse	'he/she is there'

Non-locative verb :

tay jayse	'he/she went'
tay tat gorot jabole lage	'he/she is to go to that house' etc.

The LV in this language has three different functions. These are :

(i) identification of an item/object functioning as the subject (NP$_1$) with another, *viz.* NP$_2$. The NP$_2$ would then be a predicator which could be either a nominal or adjectival predicator as in :

tay kʰetimanu ekta əsile[1]	'he was a farmer'
itu danor əsile	'it was big'

(ii) Locative function, *i.e.*, indicating the place where the NP (usually forming the subject) is located. The point/place of location would be an adverb of direction/place including a functional adverb, as in :

moy yate əse	'I am here'
moy rita gorte əsile	'I was in Rita's house', etc.

(iii) The identification of the item/items possessed by a noun/ pronoun functioning as the subject. In other words, the subject refers to a person/thing, etc. indirectly involved in the existential proposition, where the role of the subject is that of a 'receipient' as in :

moy duy puali əse	'I have two daughters'
mes sari tʰen əse	'The table has four legs', etc.

The main difference between the predicative and possessive types is that in the former NP$_1$ and NP$_2$ refer to the same item/person while in the latter, the NP$_1$ and NP$_2$ refer to two different items/persons.

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[1] In this language, the equative sentences take a locative verb only in the past & future tenses and in the present negative sentences. The present positive sentence has NP$_1$ NP$_2$ type of construction, as in : —

tay kʰetimanu nəse	'He is not a farmer'
itu danor nəse	'It is not big'
tay kʰetimanu	'He (is) a farmer'
itu danor	'it (is) big, etc.

The sub-division between the LV and the non-locative verbs is based on the following criteria :

(a) Whereas a non-LV is capable of showing modal differences, the LV is incapable of showing the modal differences, as in :

Non-L.V.

jabi	'go (imp)'
jayle	'if... goes'

(b) Whereas a non-LV can occur alone as the predicate of a sentence, a LV must necessarily be preceded by a NP/adv, as in :

tay jayse	'she went'
tay yate əse	'she is here'
tay kukur əse	'she has a dog', etc.

It may be mentioned here that the relationship of a NP occurring with a LV is different from that of a NP complement occurring with a verb, as in :

moy tay ləgot jabo	'I will go with her/him'
moy tay ləgot moñso khayse	'I ate meat with her'
moy tat jabo	'I will go there', etc.

Thus when a NP occurs as a constituent of a LV, the relationship between a noun functioning as the subject (NP_1) and that of NP_2 is that of a possessor or the location of the item/person referred to in the subject whereas with a non-LV, the NP_2 would be a verb complement having the function of an adverb, as in :

moy tay ləgot jabo	'I will go with her/him'
moy tat jabo	'I will go there'

(c) When both the LV and non-LV occur in a VP, they have the functions respectively of the auxiliary and the principal verb. The auxiliary is always postposed to the principal verb, as in :

moy moñso khay əse	'I am eating meat'

(d) On the paradigmatic axis, the root/stem forms of the non-locative verbs have nearly the same shape before different tense/modal markers, while the LV has the suppletive base forms before tense markers, as in :

Non-locative :

kini	'buy'
kinise	'bought'
kinibo	'will buy'
kinibi	'buy (imp)', etc.

Locative :

Itu dañor	'it (is) big'
itu dañor hobo	'it will be big'
itu dañor əsile	'it was big'
moy kukur ekta əse	'I have a dog'
moy kukur ekta hobo	'I will have a dog'
moy kukur ekta əsile	'I had a dog', etc.

Thus a LV can be distinguished both on Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axis. The LV can be defined as that verb which on paradigmatic axis shows a suppletive base before tense markers and also fails to show opposition in modality and on the syntagmatic axis can not occur alone as a predicate but may occur either with a NP/Adv. or as an auxiliary verb in a VP.

While there is a single locative verb *viz.*, əse 'is', the rest of the verbs are non-locatives. The non-LVs in their turn can be further sub-divided into auxiliary and principal verbs.

Only on the syntagmatic axis a clear demarcation between an auxiliary and principal verb is possible. In a VP consisting of two non-LVs, the auxiliary verb would be postposed to the principal verb. Some of the auxiliary verbs may be preposed to another auxiliary verb, but a principal verb would never be postposed to an auxiliary verb, as in :

jabo lage	'must go'
jabo pare	'can go'
bohibo lage	'must sit'
dibo pare	'can give'
dibo lage	'must give', etc.

In the illustrative examples given above, while *jabo* and *bohibo* are principal verbs, *dibo* is not as it can occur in V_2 slot as an auxiliary with different principal verbs. While the auxiliaries available in this language are a closed set, the principal verbs form an open set. The LV can also function as an auxiliary verb, as in :

bohi əse	'is sitting'

A principal verb in this language can now be defined as that non-locative verb which never occur in the V_2 position of a $V_1 V_2$ verb phrase. And conversely, an auxiliary verb is defined as that verb which usually occurs in the V_2 position of a VP consisting of $V_1 V_2$. It may also occur in V_1 position but can never be preposed to a principal verb.

Auxiliary verbs :

Some of the auxiliary verbs available in this language are listed below :

lage	'need/want'
pare	'possible/able'
tʰəki	'remain'
di	'give'

The auxiliary verbs *lage, pare di* marks the modality of the principal verb. The auxiliary verbs are capable of showing opposition in tense, and some also of modality of a limited nature, as in :

pare	'can'
parise	'could'
tʰəki	'remain'
tʰəkise	'remained'
tʰəkibo	'will remain'
tʰəkibi	'remain (imp)'
dibi	'give (imp)'

While *tʰəki* 'remain', *di* 'give', etc. can take imperative modal suffix, the other auxiliary verbs are incapable of taking any modal markers. Even these two cases also only the imperative modal and no other modal marker is taken.

3.3.2.2 Principal verbs :

The principal verbs in their turn can be further sub-divided into two. The criterion for such a sub-division would be the ability or inability of a verb to occur without a direct object, *i.e.,* those verbs that are traditionally known as transitive verbs, cannot occur as the sole realization of a VP as in :

moy moṅso kʰayse	'I ate meat'
moy tak dikʰise	'I saw him/her'

As opposed to these, some verbs traditionally known as intransitive verbs can be the sole realization of a VP, as in :

moy jabo	'I will go'
tay kʰelise	'he played'
gas girise	'the tree fell', etc.

A few transitive verbs like : di 'give', rəkʰi 'keep' etc. are capable of taking two objects. Therefore depending upon whether a transitive verb takes one object or two, the transitive verbs in their turn can be further sub-divided into two, *viz.,* mono-transitive and diatransitive verb, as in :

moy tak dikise	'I saw her/him'
moy tayke ek lorak dise	'I gave her a boy'

A mono-transitive verb, however is usually referred to as just transitive verb.

The transitive and intransitive verbs in this language can now be defined[1] formally. The transitive verbs are those verbs which on the syntagmatic axis must necessarily have atleast a noun/pronoun as its direct object and conversely the intransitive verbs are those verbs which on the syntagmatic axis can occur as the sole realization of a VP.

Stem Alternants

The verb stems undergo certain changes before different suffixes. Though these changes are phonologically conditioned, they are not universal in that these changes occur only with the verb stems and not with the other grammatical classes. The paradigms of a few verbs are stated in the next page.

The paradigms of the verbs given in the next page show certain morpho-phonemic alternations which are stated below :

1. The verb stems ending in the palatal approximant /y/, has an alternant form without the final -y before suffixes beginning with the voiced bilabial stop.

2. Before suffixes, /i/ substitutes the final vowels of verb stems ending in /a,e/.

3. The verb stem roots ending in /-i/ show no change.

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[1]This sub-classification is to be taken as a broad one. Some transitive verb occasionally occur without an object as in :

tay bal kʰayse	'he/she ate well'
tay kʰaʾo	'he/she will eat'

In view of such situations, it would be more appropriate to say that a verb is in transitive/intransitive construction.

Chart showing the verbal Paradigm

		V. root	Imp.	Future	Past	Pr. cont.	Conditional
(i)	—y/ɸ						
	'sleep'	huy	hubi	hubo	huyse	huy əse	huyle
	'go'	jay	jabi	jabo	jayse	jay əse	jayle
	'burn'	jolay	jolabi	jolabo	jolayse	jolay əse	jolayle
	'move'	hilay	hilabi	hilabo	hilayse	hilay əse	hilayle
(ii)	—a,—e/—i						
	'read'	pora	poribi	poribo	porise	pori əse	porile
	'fly'	ura	uribi	uribo	urise	uri əse	urile
	'can'	pare	—	paribo	parise	—	—
	'need'	lage	—	lagibo	lagise	—	—
(iii)	no change						
	'buy'	kini	kinibi	kinibo	kinise	kini əse	kinile
	'sit'	bohi	bohibi	bohibo	bohise	bohi əse	bohile
	'call'	mati	matibi	matibo	matise	mati əse	matile

The LV əse 'is' has a total of four positional variants, *viz.*, əse, əs-, hc-and-se. The following is the distribution of these positional variants.

əse is a free form

əs— occurs before the past tense marker, —ile

ho— occurs before future tense marker

—se occurs before negative markers, as in :

moy puali duyta əse	'I have two daughters'
otu kukur əsile	'It was a dog'
otu kukur hobo	'that would be a dog'
moy lora ekta nəse	'I do not have a boy', etc.

3.3.3 Causatives :

The causative constructions are not ordinarily used in this language. If it is found absolutely essential to express causation, the different forms of the word for 'give' is postposed to the future form of the verb concerned and the noun/pronoun, that is the patient of causation shows the dative case marker, as in :

poribi   'read (imp)'

poribo dibi   'cause to read'
 1   2   3   4   (lit. read future give imp)
                          1   2   3   4

tay kam korise   'he /she did the work'

tak kam koribo dise   'caused him/her to do the w ork
1 2   3   4   5   6 7

                       (lit. he/she accusative work do
                             1   2   3   4

                       future give past)
                       5   6   7

tay moṅso khayse	'he/she ate the meat'
tak moṅso khabo dise	"caused her to eat meat'
tay məyl ek jabo	'he/she will walk a mile'
moy tak məyl ek jabo dibo	'I will cause him/her to walk a mile', etc.

Double causatives :

Though it is possible to construct a sentence with a double causative, it is never expressed in actual contact situations. Hence no examples are cited.

3.3.4 Grammatical categories of the verb

The term grammatical category was defined earlier (3.2.4). Three grammatical categories occur with the verbs in the Naga Pidgin. These are : tense, aspect and mood[1]. The time is a universal non-linguistic concept with three divisions, *viz.*, past, present and future. The correspondence between the form of the verb and the universal concept of time is known as tense and the manner in which the verbal action is experienced or regarded as 'completed' or 'in progress' is known as aspect. Though the actual segmentation of the same experience of time and duration of an action differ from language to language, all languages make use of the grammatical category of tense and aspect to signal the time and duration of an action. These are usually signalled either through certain inflectional devices or through analytical devices. This language also has certain devices to signal the time and duration of an action. Beginning with the tense, a brief discussion of the grammatical categories in this language follows :

3.3.4.1. Tense

The tense may be defined as that grammatical category which locates the time of action in relation to the time of utterence and is expressed through systematic grammatical oppositions. The traditional grammarians recognise three such oppositions, *viz.*, past, present and future. These oppositions may be set up on the basis of the opposition on the paradigmatic axis and/or on the syntagmatic axis. On the paradigmatic axis, the verbs in this language show a two-way opposition in tense, *viz.*, simple past and simple non-past, as in :

    moy jayse   'I went'

    moy jabo   'I will go'

The non-past form usually indicates the future tense, but it is also used to indicate the present tense, for instance, in the following question and its answer, the tense marker indicates a present situation/occasion :

    kod jabo   'where are you going?'

                              (lit. where go will)

                                1   2   3

    tay gorot jabo   'I am going to his/her house'

                              (lit. he/she house to go will)

                                1   2   3   4   5

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[1]Please see Appendix 2, item No. 2.2 for justification for the setting up of these grammatical categories.

A three-way opposition in tense is available when the auxiliary verb ɔse known as copula is used in equational[1] and existential type of sentences, as in :

itu daṅor ɔsile	'it was big'
itu daṅor	'it (is) big'
itu daṅor hobo	'it will be big.
itu daṅor nɔsile	'it was not big'
itu daṅor nɔse	'it is not big'
itu daṅor nɔhobo	'it will not be big'
itu daṅor nɔki	'is it big?'
itu daṅor nɔse ki	'Is it‿not big?
tay horu suali ekta ɔsile	'She was a small girl'
tay horu suali	'She is a small girl'
tay horu suali hobo	'She will be a small girl'
tay puali ekta tʰɔkisile	'She had a child'

(lit.   he/she   child   one   remain
       1   2   3   4

past)
 5

tay puali ekta ɔse	'She has a child
tay puali ekta pabo	'She will have a child'
1 2 3 4 5	(lit. he/she child one get will)

                               1   2   3 4 5

tay puali ekta tʰɔ kinɔsile	'She did not have a child'
tay puali ekta tʰɔ kinɔse	'She does not have a childɔ"
tay puali ekta nɔpabo	'She will not have a childɔ'
1 2 3 4 5 6	(lit. he/she child one no get

                               1   2   3 4 5

will)

moti yate ɔsile	'Moti was here'
moti yate ɔse	'Moti is here'
moti yate hobo	'Moti will be here', etc.

The tenses of a verb in this language do not show any agreement/concord in number/person with the number/person of the noun/pronoun functioning as the subject. The following examples would illustrate this point.

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[1]In equation type of sentences, the simple present is indicated only in negative sentences, as in itu danor nase 'it is not big'.

Number :

moy jayse	'I went'
moykʰan jayse	'we went'
tay huru suali əsile	'she was a small girl'
taykʰan huru suali əsile	'They were small girls'
tay jabo	'She/he will go'
taykʰan jabo	'they will go'

Person :

moy jayse	'I went'
əpuni jayse	'you(sg) went'
tay jayse	'she/he went'
itu jayse	'it went'
moy tak dikise	'I saw her/him'
əpuni tak dikise	'you saw her/him'
tay muk dikise	'he/she saw me', etc.

Tense morphemes :

The undermentioned tense morphs can be deduced from the illustrative examples given in this section.

Simple past :	se/sile
Simple future :	bo
Simple present :	əse[1]

Alternants of the tense morphemes :

-ile is an alternant form of the simple past morpheme *-se. -ile* occurs with the LV əse and *-se* occurs elsewhere. The simple future tense morpheme *bo* has no alternant form.

3.3.4.2 Aspect :

Both the tense and aspect are concerned with the time element, but with one difference, *viz.,* whereas the tense is concerned with the location of the time of an action in relation to the time of utterence, the aspect is concerned with the temporal distribution of an action, event or state of affairs. In other words, the aspect concerns the manner in which the action specified by the verb in a sentence is experienced or regarded, for instance, the different aspects indicate whether or not the action has been completed in (space) progress, etc. What is pertinent to note here is that no clear cut demarcation of the area of tense and aspect is possible, rather to a great extent they

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[1] əse is the locative verb which also functions as the auxiliary verb. The base form itself indicates the present tenses. The other verbs do not show a simple present form.

impinge on each other. The expression of the time—present and past in particular, cannot be considered separately from aspect. As far as this language is concerned, there are two aspects[1], of which the progressive combine freely with the tenses. The aspects available in this language are : progressive, and habitual. Beginning with the progressive a brief discussion of these aspects follows.

The progressive aspect:

The progressive aspect on the one hand indicates the imcompleteness of the action and on the other the continuity or progression of the action referred to. It can freely mix with different tenses. It is usually set up in opposition to the simple tenses *viz.,* past, present and future. Since the simple present tense in this language is available only with the locative verb which cannot be expressed/stated in terms of a progressive action, the opposition between the simple tense and the progressive aspect is restricted in this language to only two tenses *viz.,* past and future tenses. The progressive aspect in this language, however, shows a three-way opposition in tense. These oppositions are expressed by postposing the corresponding tense forms of the LV to the un-inflected form of the verb, as in :

Past progressive :

moy moṅso kʰay əsile	'I was eating meat'
moy huy əsile	'I was sleeping'

Present progressive :

moy moṅso kʰay əse	'I am eating meat'
moy huy əse	'I am sleeping'

Future progressive :

moy moṅso kʰayhobo	'I will be eating meat'
moy huy hobo	'I will be sleeping'

The sets of sentences given above are in opposition to the simple, past and future tense. This can be illustrated with the following examples.

moy moṅso kʰayse	'I ate meat'
moy huyse	'I slept'
moy moṅso kʰabo	'I will eat meat'
moy hubo	'I will sleep'

Sometimes the simple future could also express the progressive, as in :

kod jabo	'Where are you going?'
moy dukanot jabo	'I am going to the shop'

---

[1]Perfective aspect is not set up, please see Appendix 2, item No. 2.2 for a discussion on this issue.

Such questions and answers, could alternately be interpreted as :

'Where will you go ?'   'I will go to shop'

The indication of the future progressive with the simple, future form, however, is not possible with all the verbs and in all situations, for instance, an utterence like :

moy moṅso kʰabo

Would only be an answer to the question :

əpuni moṅso kʰabo nəki   'will you eat meat?'

or

(əpuni) ki kʰabo   'what will you eat?'

The answer to the above questions would not imply that 'I am eating meat'

Habitual :

Just as the time and duration of an action in relation to the time of uttering a sentence is indicated respectively by tense and progressive aspect, the recurring nature of an action can be indicated by the habitual aspect. As far as this language is concerned, this aspect is not indicated by any inflection of the verb, rather the adverb *hoday* 'always' is preposed to the object (NP$_2$) or to the verb respectively of transitive and intrasitive constructions, with the verb taking appropriate tense, markers, as in :

moy hoday moṅso kʰayse	'I used to eat meat'
moy hoday moṅso kʰay	'I eat meat (Habitually)'
moy hoday moṅso kʰabo	'I will eat meat (Habitually)'
moy otu gorot hoday jayse	'I used go to that house'
moy otu gorot hoday jay	'I go to that house (Habitually)'
moy otu gorot hoday jabo	'I will go to that house (Habitually)'

In view of what has been stated above with illustrative examples, the habitual aspect is not a compulsory grammatical category.

3.3.4.3 Modals

"Moods, like tense, is frequently realised by inflecting the verb or by modifying it by means of auxiliaries. It is best defined in relation to an 'unmarked' class of sentences which expresses simple statements of facts, unqualified with respect to the attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying, non-modal (unmarked for mood). If, however, a particular language has a set of one or more grammatical devices for 'marking' sentences according to the speakers commitments with respect to the factual status of what he is saying (his emphatic certainty, his uncertainty or doubt, etc.). It is customary to refer to the

unmarked sentence also (by courtesy as it were) on being in a certain mood and the traditional term for this 'unmarked' mood is "indicative or declarative"[1]. In short, the modals relate the verbal action to such conditions as : certainty, obligation, necessity, possibility etc. The modals like the aspect, also impinge on the tenses. Like most of the other known languages, this language also has a few modals. A brief discussion of the modals available in this language follows.

The modals in this language show a seven-way opposition. These are : imperative, obligatory, indicative, potential, permissive, conditional and infinitive. Of these, the injunctive and potential modals are formed by postposing the auxiliaries to the verb concerned and the rest are formed on paradigmatic axis. The conditional and the infinitive modals, however, occur in subordinate clauses. A paradigm of the verb *bohi* 'sit' is given below for illustrating the opposition within the modals in this language.

moy bohise	'I sat' (indicative past)
moy bohibo	'I will sit' (indicative future)
bohibi	'sit' (imp)
bohibo lage	'has to sit' (obligatory : present)
bohibo lagise	'had to sit' (obligatory : past)
bohibo lagibo	'will have to sit' („ : future)
bohibo pare	'can/may sit' (potential non-past)
bohibo parise	'could sit' („ past)
bohibode	'please allow....to sit' (permissive)

tay jayle moy tay ləgot jabo   'if he/she goes, I will go
1 2 3 4   5   6   7 8   3 1   2   4 8 7

with him/her' (conditional)
6   5

moy otu gorot jabole əse   'I am to go to that house' (inf.)
1 2   3 4   5 6 7   (lit. I that house at go to is)
1   2   3   4 5 6 7

From the illustrative examples given above, the undermentioned modal markers can be abstracted.

indicative	(unmarked)
imperative	bi
obligatory	v_f lage $\pm$(past)[2]
	$\pm$(future)
potential	v_f pare $\pm$past
permissive	$v_f$de
conditional	le
infinitive	$v_f$le

---

[1] John Lyons : Introduction to theoritical Linguistics, 307 : 1974.
[2] vf future tense form of the verb.

The modal markers listed above show that whereas the imperative, and conditional modal markers are suffixed directly to the verb stem, in the case of the four other modals, viz., obligatory, potential, permissive and infinitive the modal markers are postposed to the future tense form of the verb. Of these three, the auxiliary verbs *lage* and *pare* function respectively as the modal markers for obligatory and potential. The indicative mood is unmarked. Only the obligatory and potential modals show opposition in tense. The postposing of the modal markers to the future tense form of the verb gives clue to the theoretical assumption that modals are basically part of the future tense system. Even the modal markers for the imperative, and conditional that are suffixed directly to the verb root, also refer at the semantic level to non-past verbal action. A description of the individual modal follows.

Indicatives :

It expresses simple verbal action without conveying about the attitude of the speaker towards the verbal action involved. This modal is unmarked and is available with different tenses and aspects, as in :

moy moṅso kʰabo	'I will eat meat'
moy moṅso kʰayse	'I ate meat'
moy moṅso khay əse	'I am eating meat' etc.

Imperative :

It expresses a command or instruction to the addressee but with politeness. It is formed with the imperative marker *-bi* suffixed directly to the verbal root, as in :

jabi	'please go (imp)'
bohibi	'please sit (imp)'
moṅso kʰabi	'please eat meat (imp)'

Obligatory :

It expresses a clear determination on the part of the speaker for the performance of the action specified by the verb. It closely resembles the imperative, in its command or instruction to the addressee. The obligatory modal, however, differs from the imperative on three major counts. These are : (i) the imperative is applicable only to the II person, whereas the obligatory is applicable to all the three persons including the speaker himself. (ii) a verb in the imperative can stand alone as a subjectless sentence whereas a verb in the obligatory mood must necessarily have a subject and (iii) the addressee (including the I person) to whom the verb in the obligatory refers to/addressed has/ had no choice in the performance of the action denoted by the verb in the obligatory whereas a verb in the imperative is just a command

which may or may not be carried out. The obligatory modal is formed by the auxiliary verb *lage* 'need' following the principal verb in its future tense, as in :

moy jabo lage	'I have to go'
əpuni jabo lage	'you have to go'
tay jabo lage	'he/she has to go'
tay jabo lagise	'he/she had to go'
tay kʰayle, tay poysa dibolage	'if he eats, he has to pay the money'

These forms are in opposition to :

| jabi | 'please go (imp)' |
| dibi | 'please give (imp)' etc. |

which occur in subjectless sentences but directed only to the II persons. The illustrative examples given above also show that the obligatory modal shows opposition in tense by suffixing the past tense marker -*se* to the auxiliary verb (modal marker).

Potential :

It expresses the ability of the person concerned to perform the verbal action specified. In this language, this modal impinges on the tense by showing a two-way opposition in tense, *viz.,* past and non-past potential modals. The potential modal is formed by the auxiliary verb *pare* 'can' postposed to the verb in the future tense form, as in :

| tay jabo pare | 'he can go' |
| moy gas katibo pare | 'I can cut tree' |

The corresponding past tense form of the potential modal is obtained by suffixing the simple past tense marker *se* to the modal auxiliary.

| tay jabo parise | 'he could' |
| moy gas katibo parise | 'I could cut tree' |

The past potential form indicates the ability, the person concerned had to perform the verbal action specified.

Permissive :

It conveys the permission granted to another person to perform the verbal action specified. It is formed by the modal marker *de* suffixing to the future tense form of the verb, as in :

| tak jabode | 'let him go' |

Conditional :

It expresses a condition for performing the verbal action specified. In other words, the probability of the occurrence of the verbal action specified would depend upon the performance or the taking place of another action or event. It is formed by suffixing the conditional marker *le* directly to the verb root, as in :

moy jayle taybi jabo pare   'if I go he/she can also go'

tay huyle moy kam koribo pare 'I can do the work   if he/s l e
sleeps etc.

Infinitive :

The infinitive modal merely expresses a simple statement about a verbal action that is going to take place. It is formed by suffixing the infinitive marker *le* to the future tense form of the verb concerned, as in :

moy tay Iəgot jɐbɩ le mon əʒe 'I went to go with him/her !

moy otu gorot jabole əʒe   'I am to gʋ to that house' etc.

The inter-section of the tenses, aspects and modals :

It was seen earlier that the grammatical categories of tense, aspects and modals impinge on each other, in particular the expression of time—past & present—cannot be considered separately from aspect and the expression of future is closely bound up with the modals.

As far as the aspects are concerned, only the progressive aspect in this language is involved with the time element and it shows a three-way opposition in tense by postposing the different tense forms of the verb 'to be' to the root of the principal verb.

With regard to the modals, the close link between the future tense and modals at the structural level is evident from the fact that three of out of the six modals that show overt markers are formed by postposing the respective modal markers/auxiliaries to the future tense form of the verb. The conditional and imperative marker also refer to the verbal action in the future. Only the potential and obligatory modals show a two-way opposition between the past and non-past. Thus the modals in this language are structurally and/or semantically linked closely to the future tense and as such could be treated as part of the future tense.

3.4. Invariables

The occurrences of the variable grammatical classes like the nouns, pronouns, numerals and verbs along with their grammatical categories were discussed in the preceding sections. It was also stated then that a clear distinction between morphological vs. syntactical construction was not always possible. And therefore this analysis has more of a functional basis. In view of it, in addition to the invariables proper like : adjectives including demonstrative adjectives, adverb, intensifiers, particles and postpositions that occur in this language, a noun/pronoun having case relationship, whether expressed through case suffixes or post positions[1] that occur in the slots of the adjective/ or adverb are also treated functionally as adjective or adverb. There-fore the adjectives/adverbs in this language are sub-divided primarily into two, viz., (i) adjectives/adverbs proper and (ii) functional ad-jectives/adverbs. Beginning with the adjectives, a description of the different invariables along with their form classes follows.

3.4.1 Adjectives :

An adjective was defined (vide 3.1) as belonging to that gram-matical class which on the syntagmatic axis can function as the nucleus of an adjective phrase and/or functions as a satellite only in a noun phrase. The first part of this definition, *viz.,* the ability to function as the nucleus of an adjective phrase applies only to adjectives proper and not to the functional adjectives derived from a noun/pronoun/ numeral. A functional adjective derived from a verb, *i.e.,* a participial form of a verb, would however, take the attributes that a verb of that class takes, as in :

dowra lora	'the boy who runs'
joldi[2] dowra lora	'the boy who is running quickly

(i) Adjectives proper :

The adjectives proper in this language can be sub-grouped pri-marily into two, *viz.,* quantifiers and qualifiers. The criterion for this sub-grouping is based on the ability or inability of an adjective oc-curring with a numeral in a noun phrase, *i.e.,* whereas a numeral can occur with a qualitative adjective, it cannot occur with a quantifier, as in :

Qualifiers :

danor	'big'
duy danor gor	'two big houses'
bal	'good'
tini bal suali	'three good girls', etc.

---

[1]The occurrences of the postpositions with the nouns/pronouns were discussed in the section on case relationship and as such would not be repeated here.

[2]Joldi lora is not permissible for *a fast/quick boy.*

Quantifiers :

bəhut	'many'
bəhut suali jabo	'many good girls will go'
olop suali jabo	'few girls will go'
*duy olop suali jabo	'two few girls will go', etc.

(ii) Functional adjectives :

As mentioned earlier, in addition to the adjectives proper, members of a few other grammatical classes also occur in the slots of the adjectives, thus becoming functional adjectives. The functional adjectives in this language belong basically to three different grammatical classes, *viz.,* (i) a noun/pronoun having genitive relationship, (ii) a numeral and (iii) the participial form of a verb. A brief discussion of each of these follows :

(a) *A noun/pronoun having the genitive relationship :*

A noun/pronoun having the genitive relationship with another noun can form an endocentric construction with the nucleus noun to form a noun phrase. Since there is no separate genitive marker in this language, the uninflected form of a noun/pronoun is preposed to the nucleus, as in :

tay gor	'his/her house'
suali gor	'the girl's house'
suali baba	'the girl's father'
heytu suali baba	'that girl's father', etc.

(b) *Numeral :*

Both ordinal and the uninflected form of the cardinal numerals can form endocentric constructions with a noun to form a NP. In this respect, the numeral is indistinguishable from the adjectives proper. However, when an adjective proper and a numeral occur in a NP, the numeral is usually preposed to the adjective proper, but when a NP consists only of a numeral and a noun, the numeral may be pre or postposed to the noun head, as in :

duy suali	'two girls'
duytor suali	'the second girl'
duyta bal suali	'two good girls'
suali duyta[1]	'two girls'

---

[1]Assamese, the source language, does not permit a construction of this nature. This seems to a partial influence of the Naga languages, where NP→N + adj + numeral, for instance from Sema : (Sreedhar 1980 : 144).

kaku kiwi	'good book'
ilimi kiwi	'good girl'
kəku kiwi kini	'two good books'

In view of this, in Naga 'languages, the plural marker forms part of the NP, the last modifier taking the plural marker, if necessary.

(iii) A participial form of the verb :

There is no separate marker for the participial form of the verb in this language, rather the uninflected form of a verb when preposed to a noun has the participial function and hence verbs having such a function is designated as participial verb. The participial verb can either be pre or postposed[1] to the noun functioning as the nucleus of the NP, as in :

lora kʰela/kʰela lora	'playing child' (The child who plays)
lora dawra/dawra lora	'the running child', etc.

When the participial verb is postposed to a noun, the possibility of it being misunderstood for a complete sentence consisting of a noun and a verb exists, as in :

lora kʰela   'the boy played'

is an independent simple sentence. And the above utterance, if used as a sentence can be expanded with appropriate modifiers, as in :

bal lora joldi khela   'the good boy played quickly'

In isolation, it would not be possible to distinguish a participial form of the verb from the predicate of a simple sentence, but the context would indicate in which function it is used. Further, a participial verb postposed to a noun head in a NP would need another verb to form a simple sentence, as in :

lora kʰela jayse   'the playing child went'

Having discussed the adjectives and their sub-grouping in this language, a brief discussion of the degrees of comparison follows :

The degrees of comparison :

The three degrees of comparison found to occur with most of the known languages is also found to occur in this language. These are—Positive, Comparative, and Superlative degrees. The comparative is used for a comparison between two persons/items or two sets of persons/items while the superlative degree is used when one person/ item is compared with the rest. The adjective concerned, however, is not inflected to express different degrees, rather certain particles are

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[1]This again is Naga influence (of Sreedhar, 1980. 145) Sema Naga: ilimi nuyakew 'smiling dame' (lit, dame smiling).

either pre or postposed to the adjective concerned. The system of comparison available in this language is discussed below :

(i) *Positive degree:*

Any sentence with a simple, qualitative adjective, *i.e.,* without pre or postposing to the adjective, is in the positive degree, and forms the basis of comparison, for instance :

chitra doniya suali	'Chitra is a beautiful girl'
heytu gor dañor	'that house is big'
moy citrak bal lage	'I like Chitra', etc.

(ii) *Comparative degree :*

The comparative degree is formed out of a sentence in the positive degree. The mechanism involved is to postpose the comparative particle *kori* to the noun to which something else is compared. Usually quality of only one noun is compared, with the same quality of another noun/pronoun. It is, however, possible to compare the qualities of two or more noun/pronouns with that of two or more nouns/pronouns, eg.—

    (a) Citra uša kori doniya suali
        'Chitra is more beautiful that Usha'

    (b) heytu gor itu gor kori dañor
        'that house is bigger than this house'

    (c) moy citrak uša kori bal lage
        'I like Chitra more than Usha'

    (d) moy citrak uša əru šaku kori bal lage
        'I like Chitra more than Usha and Shaku'

In the illustrative examples of (a & b) given above, the noun compared is part of the predicate and the noun to which it is compared is the subject, whereas in (c & d) both of them form part of the predicate. When both the nouns involved in the comparison form part of the predicate, the noun/nouns to which something else is compared will have the accusative case marker and would be the NP_2 and the noun/pronoun compared would be without any case marker and would be the NP_3. The particle of comparison would be postposed to the NP_3, but preposed to the qualitative adjective and the NP_2 is invariably preposed to NP_3.

(iii) *Superlative degree :*

Whereas the comparative degree is used to compare the qualities of two nouns/pronouns or two sets of nouns/pronouns, the superlative degree is used to compare one noun/pronoun with the rest.

The mechanism involved in getting the superlative degree is to prepose the indefinite pronoun *sob* 'all' to the comparative particle and the two together in their turn are preposed to the quality compared. When the noun/pronoun which is compared to some other noun/pronoun, forms part of the predicate, it is in the accusative, as in :

citra klaste sob kori donia suali

'Chitra is the most beautiful girl in the class'

heytu gor sob kori daṅor

'that is the biggest house of all the houses'

moy citrak sob kori bal lage

'I like Chitra more than any one else'

Demonstratives :

A demonstrative was defined (vide 3.1) as that sub-class of adjectives which on the syntagmatic axis, can function as a satellite in a NP but if a NP has both an adjective including an adjective phrase and a demonstrative, the demonstrative would be preposed to the adjective/adjective phrase, as in :

otu suali	'that girl'
otu doni suali	'that beautiful girl', etc.

The demonstratives in this language are of two types, *viz.*, proximate and obviate. While the proximate demonstrative is used to refer to some person/object that is near to the speaker, the obviate demonstrative is used to refer to some person/object that is away from the speakers, as in :

otu suali	'that girl'
itu suali	'this girl'

In this, the distribution of *itu/otu* parallels that of *'this/that'* in English.

These two demonstratives can be segmented as :

i+tu and o+tu

Wherein i- and o- can be identified as the particles respectively of nearness and distance. *-tu* being the definite particle. *itu/otu* would literally mean 'that/this particular'. Both these forms do not show any opposition in number, *i.e.*, the same form occurs with the nouns in the singular and in the plural, as in :

itu suali	'this girl'
itu sualikʰan	'these girls'
otu suali	'that girl'
otu sualikʰan	'those girls', etc.

Incidentally, the proximate demonstrative *itu* 'this' is identical in shape with the third person non-human pronoun. The two forms, however, belong to two different grammatical classes, because of their structural differences. These are stated below :

(i) Depending upon the size of the object to which a pronoun refers to, the non-human third person pronoun has two forms, whereas the demonstrative has a single form for modifying all the objects, as in :

(a) guru ekta jayse	'a cow went'
heytu jayse	'it went'
bili ekta jayse	'a cat went'
itu jayse	'it went', etc.
(b) otu/itu guru jayse	'that /this cow went'
otu/itu bili jayse	'that /this cat went', etc.

(ii) Whereas the pronouns are noun substitutes and occur in noun slots, the demonstratives are satellites of noun heads in a NP and occur in the slots of an adjective. These two forms, therefore, has to be treated as homophonous forms.

Adverbs :

An adverb in this language was formally defined (vide 3.1) as an invariable belonging to that grammatical class which on the syntagmatic axis can function as a member of an adverb phrase and/or be a satellite of a verb phrase but not of any other phrase, as in :

lahe jayse	'went slowly'
etom lahe jayse	'went very slowly'

In addition to the invariable adjectives, nouns/pronouns followed by case suffixes/postpositions could also occur in the slots of the adverbs. Therefore such adverbs are designated as functional adverbs.

Sub-grouping :

The first sub-grouping of the adverbs would be that of adverbs proper and functional adverbs. While the adverbs proper are invariables, the postpositional phrases consisting of a noun + a postposition or a case suffix[1] that occur in the adverbial slot are functional adverbs, as in :

lahe jayse	'went slowly' (adv. proper)
gor pora jayse	'went from the house' (functional adv.)
gorot jayse	'went to the house', (,, ,,) etc.

---

[1]In this language, this is applicable only to nouns/pronouns showing the case relations of location *viz.,* locative, allative and ablative cases.

While no further sub-grouping of the functional adverbs are possible, the adverbs proper can be sub-grouped, but based on semantic domain only. The adverbs proper could be sub-divided into adverbs of : manner, location and time. It may be pertinent to note here that the functional adverbs fall into the sub-group of adverbs of location and direction, as they are substitutable by a single adverb of location and direction. Therefore no distinction is made hereafter, between an adverb proper and a functional adverb. A few illustrative examples of the three sub-groups are listed below :

(i) *Adverbs of manner :*

lahe	'slowly'
joldi	'quickly', etc.

(ii) *Adverbs of time :*

hoday	'daily/always'
itya	'now', etc.

(iii) *Adverbs of location and direction :*

osor	'near'
dur	'far'
tate	'there'
bitor	'inside'
gor pora	'from the house'
gas nice	'below the tree'
gorot	'to the house', etc.

The sub-grouping of the adverbs had to be made on a semantic basis, as no formal criterion either on the paradigmatic axis or on the syntagmatic axis is possible for the sub-grouping, primarily because all the adverbs are invariables and also because of the absence of any fixed word order amongst the three sub-groups of adverbs, when all three of them occur in a VP, for instance :

tay hoday skulot lahe ⎱
tay lahe skulot hoday ⎰ jayse 'he always goes to school
tay skulot hoday lahe ⎰   slowly'

The adverb of time could, however, be distinguished from the other two sub-groups in that an adverb of time cannot form an endocentric construction with the intensifier *etom* 'very'. Whereas the other two groups can as in :

etom dur	'very far'
etom lahe	'very slow'

Here, a further sub-grouping could be made between the adverbs of location and direction, in that only the adverbs of direction could form endocentric construction with an intensifier. This however, is not done, as no additional advantage is obtained.

Intensifiers

The intensifiers in this language was defined (vide 3.1) as a closed set of invariables which on the syntagmatic axis can function as a satellite in both adjectival and adverbial phrases, as in :

etom joldi	'very quickly'
etom bal	'very good', etc.

Particles

The particles form another small group of invariables. On the basis of the syntactic construction in which they occur, the particles in this language may be broadly sub-grouped into two, *viz.*, conjunctives and miscellaneous ones. A brief discussion of these follows :

1. Conjunctives :

The conjunctive particles connect words, phrases, clauses and sentences for showing different types of relationships between two parts of a sentence or between two sentences. The conjunctives occurring in this language can, therefore, be further sub-divided into six sub-classes. A brief discussion of these follows :

(*i*) *Alternative :*

nəhole 'or' (lit. no if *i.e.*, if not)
tay nəhole tay bohini jabo 'he or his sister will go'
tay poysa dibolage nəhole tak kitab nədibi
'he must pay the money, otherwise do not give him the book'

(*ii*) *Contrastive :*

kintu 'but'
moy tak poyse dise kintu muk kitab diyanəy
'I gave him the money but he did not give me the book'
moy kheti nəkori kintu moy opʰisər əse
'I am not a peasant but an officer'

(*iii*) *Correlative :* jiman....himan 'as much as'
tak jiman lage himan lobodi   'allow him to take as much as he needs'

əru......nə' neither'...nor' (lit. and....no)
tay əru tay bohini nəjabo   'neither he nor his sister will go'

(*iv*) *Additive :* əru 'and'

sonia əru šyama jayse	'Sonia and Shyama went'
sonia əhise əru šyama jayse	'Sonia came and Shyama went'

(*v*) *Conditional :* jodi 'if'

jodi šila jabo moybi jabo   'If Sheela goes I also will go'

> Instead of using *jodi,* the particle for condition, one could also express the same idea by using the conditional modal suffix with the verb, as in :

šila jayee moybi jabo   'If Sheela goes I also will go'

(*vi*) *Causal :* Korone 'because'

jɔkra kɔrone lorakʰan dan tini bag koribcle mɔnjur kcrise 'because of the quarrel, the boys decided to divide the grains into three parts'

2. Miscellaneous :

The particles clubbed under the miscellaneous groups occur after the noun/pronouns. One of them also occur after the adverbs. These can be broadly sub-divided into emphatic, definite and inclusive particles. Illustrative examples are given below :

(*i*) *The emphatic particle :* hi

tay hi khuri katise   'he (and not anyone else who) cut the tree'

uša hi dɔwrise   'Usha (and not any one else who) ran away'

tay aj hi jayse   'he will go today itself'

These sentences are in opposition to the following sentences :

tay aj jayse   'he will go today'
uša dɔwrise   'Usha ran' etc.

which merely make a statement on certain incidents without giving any emphasis.

(*ii*) *The definite particle-tu* occurs after a noun. The use of this particle specifies the object concerned, as in :

gastu katise   'that particular tree was cut'
sualikʰantu jayse   'those specific girls went'

These forms are in opposition to the following sentences which are just general statements.

gas katise   'tree was cut'
sualikʰan jayse   'girls went', etc.

(*iii*) *The inclusive particle bi* 'also'

The inclusive particle *bi* 'also' occurs with nouns/pronouns as in :

moybi jabo   'I also will go'
sualikʰan bi jabo   'the girls also will go'
gasbi katise   'the tree was also cut', etc.

The inclusive particle can co-occur with the definite particle but not with the emphatic. The emphatic particle and the definite particle cannot co-occur. When both the inclusive and definite particles occur with a noun, the inclusive particle is postposed to the definite particle as in :

gastubi katise	'that particular tree was also cut'
sualikʰantubi jayse	'those particular girls would also go'

The various types of invariables occurring in this language were discussed in this section. In the following section the phrase structure occurring in this language would be discussed.

3.5 Phrases

A description of various individual grammatical classes along with the grammatical categories that go with each of them were discussed in the previous chapters. Some of these grammatical classes can form constructions with either their own classes or with other classes. Such constructions are known as phrases. For the purpose of this grammer, a phrase is defined as a sequence of words belonging either to just one grammatical class or to two or more grammatical classes having the relationship of satellites and the nucleus. A phrase may also be realised by the nucleus alone without any satellite. Four types of phrases are set up for this language. These are : adjective, noun, adverb and verb phrases. Beginning with an adjective phrase, a description of these phrases follows.

3.5.1. Adjective phrase

An adjective phrase is one that has an adjective as its nucleus. While discussing the adjectives (vide 3.4.1), it was mentioned that of the three sub-types of adjectives, only a qualitative adjective and an adjective of direction can form endocentric construction by taking the intensifier *etom* 'very' as its nucleus, as in :

etom bal	'very good'
etom donia	'very rich/beautiful'
etom dur	'very far'
etom tej	'very quickly', etc.

A noun phrase in this language may have two or more adjectives belonging to different sub-types. In such an event, each of the adjectives including the demonstrative adjective would function directly as the satellites of the nucleus noun, for instance in a NP like :

otu etom bal duy lora   'those two very good boys'

etom 'very' is the satellite of the adjective *bal* 'good' and the two together is the satellite of nucleus *lora* 'boy' and not of the numeral

duy 'two'. This can be established by employing the simple deletion principles, *i.e.* in any endocentric construction, the construction would not be effected, if any or all the satellites are deleted. If this is applied to the NP given earlier, the following phrases can be had :

otu lora	'that boy'
duy lora	'two boys'
bal lora	'good boy'
etom bal lora	'very good boy'
otu duy lora	'those two boys'
otu bal lora	'that good boy'
duy bal lora	'two good boys'
*etom lora	
*otu etom dyu lora	

The NPs listed above clearly indicate that *etom* is not a satellite of the nucleus *lora* 'boy' but only of the adjective *bal* 'good', whereas the other adjectives are not the satellites of the adjective *bal*, rather they are directly linked with the noun *lora* 'boy'.

An adjective phrase may now be defined as that phrase which consists of atleast one adjective with or without an intensifier functioning as the satellite of the nucleus of an adjective phrase.

3.5.2. Noun Phrase

A noun phrase is that element in a sentence which typically functions as the subject, object and complement in postpositional phrases[1], as in :

soniya jayse	'Sonia went'
šama soniyak dikhise	'Shyama saw Sonia'
šama Soniyaləgot jayse	'Shyama went with Sonia'
šama tat gorot jayse	'Shyama went to that house', etc.

A noun phrase may have a single noun as its sole realization, as in :

| Kukur dəwra | 'the dog ran' |

In addition to the noun, a noun phrase may have one or more adjectives including functional adjectives and in such instances, the noun concerned would be the nucleus and the adjectives including the functional adjectives would be the satellites of the noun nucleus, as in :

bisi bal suali	'many good girls'
moy puali	'my daughter'
moy dəwra puali	'my running daughter'
	(my daughter who is running)
moy duy dəwra puali	'two daughters of mine who are running
otu bisi bal suali	'those many good girls', etc.

---

[1]When NPs occur in postpositional phrase, such NPs would functionally be adverbs and would hereafter be treated accordingly.

Usually, the adjective is preposed to the noun nucleus. If, however, a noun phrase has a numeral or a quantitative adjective as a satellite it can be postposed to the noun nucleus. If the noun phrase has also a qualitative adjective, the same would continue to be preposed to the noun nucleus, as in :

suali bisi	'my girls'
suali duy	'two girls'
bal suali bisi *or*	'many good girls', etc.
bisi bal sauli	

(ii) In addition, a noun derived from a verb could also be postposed to the noun nucleus subject to the condition that the noun concerned is (a) a member of the noun non-human being class or (b) refers to small children. In all other instances, adjectives derived from the verbs would be preposed to the noun nucleus as in :

lora khela/khela lora	'the playing child'
giriaha am/am giri aha	'the falling mango' (lit mango fall come)
khela suali	'the playing girl', etc.

(ii) A noun/pronoun having the genitive case relation with another noun would invariably be preposed to the nucleus, as in :

tay matha	'her head'
šama kitab	'Shyama's book'
šama baba	'Shyama's father', etc.

A particle could also form a constituent of a noun phrase, but they are invariably postposed to the noun nucleus, as in :

sualibi	'the girl also'
sualitu	'the particular girl', etc.

When a noun phrase has both the conjunctive and the definite particle, the definite particle is preposed to the conjunctive, as in :

sualitubi	'the girl also'

It was mentioned earlier that an adjective/numeral may be postposed to the noun nucleus, but this is not permissible, if a particle forms part of a noun phrase, as in :

bisi sualibi	'the many good girls also'

The illustrative examples of the NPs given above had a noun nucleus with one or more satellites. One could also have NPs with two or more nouns as its constituents but none of which being the nucleus to the other nouns, rather all the nouns would jointly form the nucleus. Such constructions could be sub-grouped primarily into three, *viz.*, (a) appositive (b) coordinate and (c) alternative constructions. These three types of constructions are discussed below with illustrative examples.

(a) appositive construction

In appositive construction, another noun/pronoun or NP is used to identity the nucleus. Basically, the appositives are repeaters and in this language, the appositive is placed without any connectives immediately after the noun/pronoun with which it is in apposition. By this means, the nucleus is further identified, as in :

| tay khetimanu jayse | 'he, the peasant, went' |
| šila ticər jayse | 'Sheela, the tacher, went., etc. |

(b) Co-ordinate construction :

The co-ordinate NPs show that the constituents are of equal rank. When two or more items are coordinated, they are put together with or without a connective, as in :

sonia əru šama nəhibo	'Sonia and Shyma will not go'
sonia əru šama jayse	'Soniya and Shyama went'
sonia əru šama jabo	'Sonia and Shyama will go'
sonia, šama əru vijaya jabo	'Sonia, Shyama and Vijaya will go', etc.

(c) Alternative construction :

A noun phrase having two or more nouns/pronouns, may be connected by an alternative negative particle for forming an alternative construction. In such an alternative noun phrase construction also, each of the constituents of the composite noun phrase would be, of equal status, as in :

sonia nəhole šyama jabo	'neither Sonia nor Shyama will go'
1 2 3 4 5 6	(lit. Sonia no even Shyama go will)
	1 2 3 4 5 6

The various constituents that can form part of a noun phrase were discussed earlier. These may be summarized in terms of the structure of a noun phrase :

(a) *appositive* : N+N → taykhan kehtimanu 'he, the peasent'

(b) *coordinative* : N±conj+N → sonia əru šama ⎰'Sonia and
 or sonia, šama ⎱ Shyama

(c) *alternative* : N+Neg+P+N → Sonia nəhole ⎰'neither Sonia nor
 šama ⎱ Shyama'

(d) *endocentric* :

(i) N as the sole realization→suali 'girl'

(ii) adj[1]+N → bisi suali 'many girls'

→ etom bisi etom ⎱ very many
 donia suali ⎰ very rich girls

---

[1]The adj. would include a single adjective (two or more adjectives including a functional adjective or a numeral), an adjective phrase consisting of an intensifier and an adjective in endocentric construction, etc. Hereafter all such occurrences would be treated as identical to a single adjective for the purpose of discussing noun phrases, clauses, etc.

(iii)	Dem+N	→	otu suali	'that girl'
(iv)	Dem+Adj+N	→	otu donia suali	'that rich girl'
(v)	Adj+N +adj	→	donia suali bisi	'many rich girls'
(vi)	N+P+P	→	sualitubi	'the girl also'
	adj+N+P+P	→	donia sualitubi	'the rich girl also', etc.

Since any noun/pronoun can form appositive/coordinate/alternative type of constructions, hereafter while referring to a noun phrase, these three types of constructions would be considered as on par with a single noun. The structure of a noun phrase consisting of an endocentric construction is stated below :

$$\text{NP} \longrightarrow (i) \pm \text{Dem} \pm \dots \text{adj} + \text{N} \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{adj} \\ (\text{P}+\text{P}) \end{array} \right\}$$

$$(ii) \pm \text{adj} + \text{Pronoun} \pm \text{P}.$$

This would give a total of 12 possibilities.

N alone	suali	'girl'
N+P	sualitu	'the girl'
N+P+P	sualitubi	'the girl also'
N+adj	suali bisi	'many girls'
Dem+N+adj	otu suali donia	'that beautiful girl'
Dem+N	otu suali	'that girl'
Dem+adj+N	otu suali donia	'that beautiful girl'
Dem+Adj+N+P	otu donia sualibi	'that beautiful girl also'
Pronoun alone	moy	'I'
pro+P	moybi	'I also'
pro..+Pro.	sob moykhan	'all of us'
pro+pro+P	sob moykhanbi	'all of us also'

All the possibilities listed above can occur with any noun/pronoun. Since this is a general possibility, hereafter, all references to a noun phrase would be treated as :

$$\text{NP} \rightarrow \text{N},$$

i.e., a noun being the sole realisation of a NP, whenever, NP is referred to in relation to a clause, sentence, etc.

3.5.3 Adverb Phrase

On the basis of their semantic domain, the adverbs in this language were sub-grouped into three, viz., adverbs of manner adv_m., adverbs of time adv_t and adverbs of direction and location adv_d. Each of them in turn modifies a verb, as in :

joldi jayse	'went soon'
aj jayse	'went today'
tat jayse	'went there', etc.

It was mentioned earlier (3.4.2) that amongst the three different sub-types of adverbs, there is no fixed word-order for their occurrences, when all of them occur as constituents of a single VP. Hence, amongst themselves, these three sub-types do not form an adverb phrase, rather if all of them occur as satellites in a verb phrase, each one directly modifies the verb, *i.e.*, each would be a direct referent to the nucleus verb and hence would not form part of an adverb phrase. Each sub-type of the adverbs, in its turn, could form adverb phrases, for instance, the adverb of time in its turn has two sub-divisions, *viz.*, whole unit of time and part of the unit of time, as in :

moy tini bəje jayse	'I went at 3 'o' clock'
moy ajijayse	'I went today'

If both of them occur in a VP, the one which is part of the unit of time is postposed to the whole unit, as in :

moy ajtini bəje jayse	'I went at 3 'o' clock today'

An adverb of manner can form an adverb phrase with an intensifier functioning as a satellite,[1] and the word order is fixed, as in :

etom joldi	'very quickly'

It was also mentioned earlier that both the adverbs of time and adverb of location and direction can form the nucleus of adverb phrases with particles *hi* (reflexive) and *bi* 'also' functioning as satellite. The main restriction in the occurrence of the particle is that only one of them occur in any adverb phrase. Thus an adverb phrase in this language would have the following structure.

Adv. P $\rightarrow$ $\pm$ intensifier + adverb $\pm$ P.

There are some restrictions in the use of this formula. These are : The intensifier occurs only with the adv_m. While the particle (P) occurs with adv_t and adv_d it does not occur with adv_m. In other words, both the intensifier and the particle cannot form constituents of a single adverb phrase. Only one of them occurs in any adverb phrase. An adverb phrase in this language can have a total of three possibilities, which are stated below :

adverb alone	$\rightarrow$	Joldi	'quickly'
Intensifier+Adv_m	$\rightarrow$	etom joldi	'very quickly'
$Adv_{t/d}$ + Particle	$\rightarrow$	ajbi	'today also', etc.

Having discussed the adverb phrase, we might move over to the discussion of the post positional phrases.

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[1]An intensifier cannot occur with an advt. or advd. Since an intensifier can modify any advm. hereafter no reference would be made to the intensifier while discussing adverb phrase, VP, etc.

Postpositional Phrases

In the course of the discussion on the section on adverbs (3.4.2 & 3.5.2) it was stated that the combined form of a noun/pronoun + certain postpositions/case markers occur in adverbial slot and hence such constructions were designated as functional adverbs. Phrases arising out of such constructions would therefore ordinarily fall under the category of adverb phrases, thereby eliminating the need for a separate section on postpositional phrase. Despite that a separate section is included here primarily because not all postpositional phrases come under the category of functional adverbs/adverbial phrases.

A post positional phrase may be defined as that one which may consist of a NP followed by a case marker/post position. Within a VP, the post positional phrase would be preposed to the nucleus verb.

The postpositional phrases in this language could broadly be sub-divided into three, *viz.,* postpositional phrase of : (i) position/direction, (ii) cause or purpose, and (iii) temporal. Illustrative examples for each of these sub-groups are given below.

(i) postpositional phrase of position/direction

sualitu gor bitorte əse
1 2 3   4 5 6

'the girl is inside the house'
(lit. girl specific house inside in is)
     1   2   3   4 .5 6

pator panite əse
1   2 3   4

'stone is in the water'
 1 4 3   2

tay pora uthayse
1 2   3

'took it from him/her'
 3   2   1

dukan pora dud pay
1   2   3   4

'got the milk from the shop'
 4   3   2   1

pator upərte kharise
1   2 3   4

'stood on the stone'

(lit. stone above on/in stood)
      1   2   3   4

tay usorte bohise
1 2   3   4

'sat near her/him' etc.
 4 2/3   1

(ii) postpositional phrase of cause or purpose

cori kora nimiti jeyl khayse
1   2   3   4   5

'made prisoner for robbery'
(lit. steal do for jail ate)
      1   2 3   4   5

khelibo nimiti tay ləgot hoday jayse
1 2   3   .4   5   6   7 8

'go with her daily for playing'

   (lit. play will for he/she with always go past)
       1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

tay hozur nəloy nimiti tay kam harise
1   2   3 4   5 6   7   8

'he lost his job because of his carelessness'

   (lit. he care not take for he work lost)
       1   2   3   4   5 6 7   8

moy nimiti kam korise   'worked for me'

(*iii*) *temporal postpositional phrase*

moy dos bəje pora yeti rukhi   'I am waiting here from 10° clock
əse   (lit. I ten time from here wait is)
                               1 2 3 4   5   6 7

moy phujər pora sam tək yeti rukhise

   'I waited here from morning till evening', etc.

Whereas the temporal and positional/directional postpositional phrases can be treated functionally as adverbial phrases, postpositional phrase of cause or purpose cannot be considered as adverbial phrase. Hence the need to set up a separate category. We might now discuss the verb phrases in this language, which subsumes most of the other phrases.

3.5.4 Verb Phrase

The discussion of the verb phrase in this section is restricted to the occurrence of the nucleus verb with its satellites like : Noun/ pronominal phrase, adverb phrase, etc., as the various forms of a verb including the tense, model and aspects, etc. were discussed earlier (3.3.1 and 3.3.5). As such, the inflected forms of a verb and the compound verbs, for the purpose of describing a verb phrase would be treated as on par with the uninflected form of a verb. A verb phrase (VP) in this language will have atleast a verb, *i.e.*, a VP may be realized by a single verb as in :

       may jayse   . 'I went'

In addition, a VP may have one or more adverb phrases including a Postpositional phrase as its constituents, as in :

moy tat jayse   'I went there'
moy tat aj jayse   'I went there today'
moy heytu gorot jayse   'I went to that house', etc.

In addition to the adverb phrases, a VP may have as its constituent, noun phrases, showing certain types of case relations. For instance, whereas, a NP with the sociative case relations[1] can occur with a verb in both transitive and intransitive construction, NPs showing accusative and instrumental case relations can occur only with a verb in its transitive construction and the NP with the dative case relations occur only with the diatransitive verb, as in :

moy tayləgot jayse	'I went with him/her'
moy ekili ləgot jayse	'I went with Ekili'
moy ekili ləgot moṅso kʰayse	'I ate meat with Ekili'
moy moṅso knayse	'I ate meat'
moy tak lathi ləgot marise	'I beat him with a stick'
moy tak ek lora dise	'I gave him/her a boy'

When a VP has two NPs, *viz.*, nouns indicating accusative and dative case relations, occurring with a diatransitive verb, (the last item in the illustrative examples cited above), there is no fixed word order between the two NPs, though both must be preposed to the nucleus verb, however when both adverb phrases and noun phrases occur as constituents of a VP, the adverb phrases are preposed to the NP, as in :

syama joldi kitab porise	'Shyama read the book quickly'
syama aj $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kitab sonake} \\ \text{sonake kitab} \end{array} \right\}$ dise	'Shyama gave Sona the book today', etc.

The structure of VP can now be stated schematically

$$VP \rightarrow \pm adv. \; p^2 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pm NP_1 \pm NP_2 \\ \pm NP_2 \pm NP_1 \end{array} \right\} \; + V$$

A major restriction in the operation of the above scheme is that NP_2 would occur only with diatransitive verbs and NP_1 must necessarily occur with NP_2. In other words NP_2 can only co-occur with NP_1, whereas NP_1 can occur without NP_2 in transitive constructions. A VP in this language will, thus, have a total of six types of construction, *viz.*,

(i) V alone jayse 'went'

(ii) adv + V aj jayse 'went today'

(iii) $NP_1 + V$ moṅso khayse 'ate meat'

(iv) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP_1 + NP_2 \\ NP_2 + NP_1 \end{array} \right\} + V \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ritak lorake} \\ \text{lorake ritak} \end{array} \right\} + dise$ 'gave a child to Rita'

(v) $Adv + NP_1 + V$ aj ritak lorake dise 'gave a child today to Rita'

[1] A noun showing local functions are treated as functional adverb.

[2] The adverb phrase includes postpositional phrases and two or more adverb phrases.

(vi) PP. $P \pm NP + V$ moy pap nimiti beya payse

    1　　2　　　3　　4　　5 6

'I feel sorry for my sin'

(lit. I sin for bad receive past)
1　2　3　　4　　5　　　6

pp.p+v　moy nimiti kam korise 'worked for me'

    1　　2　　3　　4　　(lit. I for work do past)

    1　2　　3　4　　5

Functionally, the NPs occurring in a VP are the objects of the verb. Every verb in transitive construction will have a NP as its object and every diatransitive verb will have a direct object (NP_1) and an indirect object (NP_2). These NPs would show the case relations respectively of accusative and dative. As mentioned earlier, NP_1 and NP_2 can interchange their places but the NPs must necessarily be preposed to the nucleus verb and postposed to the adv. phrase, if any.

Locative verb as nucleus of a VP

The discussion of a VP that had preceded so far had a principal verb as its nucleus. In lieu of a principal verb, a VP could also have a locative verb as its nucleus. A few illustrative examples are given :

(a) itu kukur əsile　　'it was a dog'
(b) itu kukur nəse[1]　'it is not a dog'
(c) tay yate əse　　　'she/he is here'
(d) moy duy puali əse　'I have two daughters', etc.

The illustrative examples given above show that in set : (a) NP_1 is identified by or equated with NP_2 (b) NP_1 is located in the adverb phrase and (c) NP_1 is identified as the owner/possessor of the item referred to by NP_2. The locative verb as the nucleus of the VP will have the following structure.

$$VP \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP \\ adv \end{array} \right\} + LV$$

The structure of the VPs having a LV or a principal verb can now be put in a single frame, as in :

$$VP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (i) \pm adv.\ P \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pm NP_1 \pm NP_2 \\ \pm NP_2 \pm NP_1 \end{array} \right\} + V \\ (ii) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ Adv.\ P \end{array} \right\} \qquad\qquad\qquad + LV \end{array} \right\}$$

[1]In the non-negative present tense, NP_1, NP_2 construction occurs, as in : itu kukur 'it (is) a dog'.

The VP in a sentence in this language is identical with the predicate of the sentence in which it occurs. If the VP has a NP_1 as its constituent[1] the NP concerned is the grammatical object of the sentence.

The different types of phrases available in this language were discussed in this chapter. Unless otherwise specifically required, all the examples of a VP, hereafter, would be realised by a single verb. The different types of clauses available in this language are discussed in the next chapter.

3.6 Clauses

A clause may be defined as a group of words with its own subject and predicate provided the same is included in a longer utterance, as in :

jodi tay hubo moy jabo   'If she sleeps I will go'

The illustrative examples given above has two clauses, *viz., jodi tay hubo* 'If she sleeps' and *moy jabo* 'I will go'. Each of the clauses has its own subject and predicate, for instance, *tay* and *moy* are the subjects respectively of the first and second clause and *hubo* 'will sleep' and *jabo* 'will go' are the predicates respectively of the two clauses.

3.6.1 Types of Clauses

A clause was defined earlier as a group of words with its own subject and predicate included in a larger utterance. Despite a definition of this nature, it would not be appropriate to claim that such larger utterances are the combinations of two or more simple sentences. Take for instance, the two clauses that formed the larger utterance illustrated earlier wherein it could be seen that the second clause, *viz., moy jabo* 'I will go' is dependent upon the completion of the action referred to in clause one, that is, *moy jabo* 'I will go' provided *jodi tay hubo* 'if she sleeps'. This condition is marked by the conditional marker *jodi* 'if'. Even though the completion of the action referred to in the second clause is dependent upon the happening of the action referred to in clause one, the latter clause can by itself occur as an independent sentence, whereas the first clause, *jodi tay hubo* 'If she sleeps' cannot occur as a simple sentence, rather it must necessarily occur as a part of a larger sentence.[2]

---

[1]This excludes NPs that are functionally adverbs, adjectives and also predicate complements.

[2]There is an apparrent exception to such statements when the subordinate marker is not overtly marked for instance, in the utterance :

    sualitu kowise tay moṅso khayse
    'The girl said that she ate meat'

tay moṅso khayse 'she ate meat' can occur elsewhere as an independent sentence, while here it is a subordinate clause—a noun clause—having the function of an object. The entire clause can be substituted by a word for 'every thing' *sob*, as in :

    sualitu sob kowise 'the girl said everything' But the word order changes, as in a simple sentence (principle clause) nothing is postponed to a verb.

moy jabo 'I will go' occurring in the larger utterance : *jodi tay hubo, moy jabo* 'If she sleeps, I will go' is therefore considered as the principal/main clause and *jodi tay hubo* 'If she sleeps' is considered as subordinate clause. In view of these, it may be stated that a subordinate clause is the one which is subordinate to another clause in a larger utterance, whereas a principal/main clause is not subordinate to any other clause in a larger utterance and further a principal clause is identical with a simple sentence.

A principal clause is defined as that clause or the constituent of a larger utterance which is not subordinated to any other clause and which can occur independently as a simple sentence and conversely, a subordinate clause is defined as that clause or constituent of a larger utterance which cannot occur independently as a simple sentence.

3.6.2. Functions of Clauses

A major function of the clauses is to link together two or more simple sentences within a larger sentence. This is achieved by two divices, *viz.*, coordination and subordination. The coordination is the linking together of two or more clauses of equivalent status and function, as in :

šyama khelise	'Shyama played'
sonia huyse	'Sonia slept'

A coordinating particle *əru* 'and' can combine these two simple sentences to form a compound sentence, as in :

šyama khelise əru sonia huyse
'Shyama played and Sonia slept'

The illustrative example given above has two sentences, which were converted into clauses (both independent clauses) by connecting them with the coordinating particle *əru* there by the two simple sentences form part of a larger utterance. This can be represented as :

$$(a) \quad \boxed{A} \quad \overset{\text{əru}}{\mp} \quad \boxed{B}$$
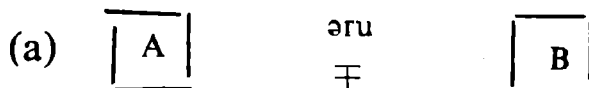
As opposed to this, a subordinate clause is a non-symmetrical relation holding between two clauses *i.e.* *A* and *B* are held in such a way that *A* is the constituent or part of *B*. In other words, *A* (the subordinate clause) has no status or privilege of occurrence independent of *B*. This relation can be represented as :

$$(a) \quad \boxed{A} \longleftarrow \boxed{B}$$
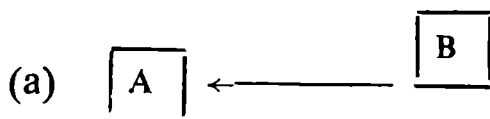
The illustrative examples of these two types are given below :

(a) hoday ek məyil jabi əru doktor chodbi
    1   2   3   4 5 6 7   8 9

'walk a mile daily and keep the doctor away'

[(lit. always one mile go (imp) and doctor leave (imp)]
     1   2   3 4   5   6   7   8   9

konuba mas cota kunuba dañor
  1   2   3   4   5

'Some fish are small, some are big'

(lit. some fish small some big')
    1   2   3   4   5

(b) moy nə jayle tay nəhibo
   1   2   3 4   5   6 7 8

'If I do not go, she/he would not come'

(lit. I no go if he/she no come will)
    1 2 3 4   5   6   7 8

The same can also be expressed by using conditional particle *jodi* 'if', as in :

jodi moy nəjabo, tay nəhibo
 1   2   3 4 5   6 7 8 9

(lit. If I no go will he/she no come will)
    1 2 3 4 5   6   7   8   9

moy tak poise dise kintu muk kitab nəy diya

'I gave him money, but he did not give me the book', etc.

The subordination of one clause to another in a sentence is usual-ly indicated by one or the other particles/markers, though it is not essential to have an overt marker. Though the subordinators forming the core of the class consist of single words like : *jodi/le* 'if', *nimitu* 'so' because, *kintu* 'but', etc., there is also a small class of correlative subordinators, *i.e.* combinations of two markers, one a conjunction occurring in the subordinate clause and the other occurring in the principal clause. The subordinate clause of condition can be expressed either by suffixing the conditional modal marker to the principal verb or by placing the conditional marker at the beginning of the clause. A few illustrative examples are cited below :

      jodi tay jabo moy kam koribo
             or
      tay jabole moy kam koribo
      'If he/she goes I will work'

moy jabo lagise itu nimite jayse

'I had to go so I went'

moy jabo lagise kintu jay nəy

'I was to go but did not go'

əpuni kiman lobole mon əse himan lobo pare

'You may take as much as you like'

moy nəaha homati nə jabi
  1 2   3 ·4   5 6 7

'Until I come do not go'

(lit. I no come till no go imp)
   1 2 3   4 5 6   7

sualitu kowise tay moṅso khayse
  1 2   3   4   5   6

'The girl said that she ate meat'
  2   1   3   4 6 5

The absence of markers can occur with sentences having two principal clauses, as in :

Konuba daṅor konuba chota

'Some are big some are small'
 1   2   3   4

əpuni jabi moy yate rukibo
  1 2 3 4   5 6 7

'You please go I will remain here'
 1   3   2   4 7 6   5

The next section discusses the sentence pattern.

3.7 Sentences

3.7.1 Types of Sentences :

The sentences occurring in this language may in the first·instance be sub-divided into two types, *viz.,* minor and major types of sentences.

3.7.1.1. Minor Types of Sentences :

The minor types of sentences in this language consist of one word utterances expressing surprise fear, etc., which are traditionally considered as interjections. In addition one or two word positive

or negative answers to questions also form the minor type of sentences in this language. Minor types of sentences in this language are extremely limited. Some of them are listed below :

oh	'oh'	hoy	'yes'
aba	(expression of surprise)	nəhoy	'no'
chih	(expression of disgust)	oh nəhoy	'oh no', etc.

3.7.1.2. Major types of Sentences :

The major types of sentences in this language can be classified according to their structural complexity as simple or complex. Complex sentences are made up of a number of sentences, which when incorporated as constituents of larger sentences are called clauses. Thus :

> moy nəjayle tay nəhibo   'If I do not go he/she will not come

is an example of a complex sentence.

Depending upon whether the constituents of the complex sentence shows a coordinate relationship or one constituent being superordinate and others showing a subordinate relation, the complex sentences can be further sub-divided into two, *viz.* complex and compound sentences. A description of each of these follows :

3.7.1.2.1. Simple Sentences :

Any sentence having a principal clause alone is a simple sentence in this language. Functionally, a simple sentence is made up of two parts, *viz.*, a subject and a predicate. The subject is necessarily a noun or a pronoun standing for a noun and the predicate falls into one of the three types *viz.*, (i) intransitive verb, (ii) transitive verb with its object and (iii) a copula with its complement. The object like the subject must necessarily be a noun/pronoun. The complement must be either a noun or an adjective. The illustrative examples of each of these are given below :

	Subject	*Predicate*	
(i)	suali	jayse	'the girl went'
	tay	jayse	'he/she went'
(ii)	moy	sualik dikʰise	'I saw the girl'
(iii)	tay gor	dañor hobo	'his/her house will be big'
	tay	kʰetimanu hobo	'he will be a peasant'
	moy	duy suali əse	'I have two daughters', etc.

Word-order :

In terms of the word-order, a simple sentence in this language would have the word-order of : subject, object, verb (sov) or subject, complement copula (scc).

It was mentioned earlier that the principal function of the copulative verb *əse* 'is' to serve as the locus in the surface structure for marking tense where there is no other verbal element to carry the tense marker. For indicating the present time, the tense is not always marked, with the result the need for the copulative verb is not found in such situation. This happens in all equative type of sentences. Therefore the equative sentences in the present tense in this language permits of simple sentences having just a subject and a complement. In other words, a simple sentence in this language would have the following occurrences.

	S[1]	O	V		
(i)	N		V_{int}	'moy jabo	'I will go'
(ii)	N	N	V_{tr}	'moy sualik dikʰise	'I saw the girl'
(iii)	N	$N_1 N_2$	$V_{d \cdot tr}$	moy sualik kitab ekta dise	'I gave the girl a book'
(iv)	N	N/ad_v	C	moy gor əse	'I have a house'
				moy gor tat əse	'My house is there'
(v)	N	N/adj		suali bal	'The girl is good'
				gor diṅor	'the house is big'

The NN type of sentences are not available either in Assamese, the principal source of this language or in Indo-Aryan languages. NN types of sentences are available in Naga languages. A few examples from Sema (Sreedhar : 1980:175) are cited for illustrating this point.

pa ipu	'He is my father'
1 2 3	1 2 3

ikíye kize	'my house big'
1 2 3 4	lit. 'I house f ocus marker) big'
	1 2 3 4

hiye acqo	'These are dogs'
1 2 3 4	(lit. 'This (focus marker) dog plural')
	1 2 3 4

Thus the NN type of sentence found in this language is a direct influence of the Naga languages. The NN type of sentences are also found in most of the Dravidian languages. A few illustrative examples from Kannada are cited.

adu pustaka	'That is a book'
1 2 3	(lit. that thing book)
	1 2 3

---

ivanu nanna maga 'He is my son'
 1   2   3   1   2   3

nanna mane doḍḍadu   'my house is big'
 1   2   3 4   (lit. my house big thing)
                           1   2   3   4

nanage ibbaru gaṇḍu   'I have two sons'
 1   2   3 4

    makkalu iddaare
      5   6   7

(lit. I to two male children exist plural), etc
 1 2 3 4   5   6   7

On the basis of the aforesaid surface structure, the simple sentences in this language may be further sub-classified into a few types. For instance, the subject of the simple sentences having the structure of S (O) V would be performing the action indicated by the V. The action may be voluntary or involuntary. Hence these types of sentences are designated as actor-action type of sentences. Depending upon whether the complement of the *subj. complement copula* type of sentences is a *Noun* or an *adverb,* such sentences in their turn can be further sub-divided into two. The sentences having a *N* as the complement show a possessive relation between the *N* functioning as the subject and the *N* functioning as the complement. This type of sentences signal that the N functioning as the subject possesses the item occurring in the complement slot, whereas the sentences having an adverb as the complement, signals the location of the Noun/Pronoun functioning as the subject. Therefore these two types of sentences are designated respectively as possessive and locative sentences. Lastly in the N N/adj (C) type of sentences, the N functioning as the subject of the sentence is identified by the N/adj occurring in the complement slot. The copula is taken only if the sentence refers to a non-present situation. Since the function of the complement in this type of sentences is to identify the subject, such sentences are designated as equative sentences. We have thus four types of simple sentences. A few illustrative examples of these few types of simple sentences are listed below :

Actor-action :

sualitu girise	'the girl fell'
gortu girise	'the house fell', etc.

Possessive type :

moy gor ekta əse	'I have a house'
moy lora ekta əse	'I have a child'

Locative type :

| moy gor tat ɔse | 'my house is there' |
| sualitu gorte ɔse | 'the girl is in the house' |

Equative type :

kitabtu bal	'the book (is) good'
tay kʰetimanu	'he (is) a peasant'
itu mor gor	'it (is) my house'
kitabtu bal hobo	'the book will be good', etc.

Complex Sentences :

A complex sentence is one in which one of the clauses, *viz.*, the principal clause is modified by one or more subordinate clauses, which are grammatically dependent upon the principal clause. The clauses are combined by conjunctions like : *jodi/le* 'if', *homati* 'until', *nimite* 'so/because', etc. A complex sentence by definition must have one principal clause and at least one subordinate clause. The subordinate clauses[1] in this language can either be preposed or postposed to the principal clause, as in :

jodi tay jabo moy kam koribo   'If he goes I will work'

moy jabo lagise *itu nimitu jayse*   'I had to go, so I went', etc.

Compound sentences :

The compound sentences are those in which the constituent clauses are grammatically coordinate with none being dependent on the other, but all the constituents being added together in a sequence with or without the coordinating conjuctions like : *ɔru* 'and', *kintu* 'but', etc. The conjoined structures preserve their sentential status within the larger sentence and do not subordinate one sentence as a constituent to the other or some part of the other. Thus a compound, sentence by definition must have at least two principal clauses, as in :

moy tak poysa dise kintu muk kitab diya nɔy
1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

'I gave him money but he did not give me the book'
1   4   2   3   5   9   8   6   7

sualitu poysa dibo lage nɔhole tak kitab nɔ dibi
1 2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 10

'The girl must give money otherwise do not give her the book'
2   1   5   4   3   6   9   10 7   8

---

[1]The subordinate clauses are put in italics.

In this section, the types of sentences occurring in this language were discussed. The discussion that preceded so far consisted of only the affirmative sentences. It is possible to transform any affirmative sentence into an interrogative or negative sentence. The next section discusses the rules of transformation of an affirmative sentence into an interrogative or negative sentence.

3.8. Transformation :

On the basis of the function, the traditional grammarians have classified the sentences into different types, *viz.*, statements, questions, exclamations and commands. Of these, the exclamatory sentences were discussed in this grammar as minor type of sentences, and commands as sentences having the verb in the imperative form. The statements could be both in the affirmative and in the negative. So far only the statements in the affirmative were discussed. A statement may be transformed into an interrogative or negative sentence through certain processes or operations. A command in the affirmative could also be transformed into a negative command.

The term transformation is used here in a general sense rather than in the particular sense in which it is defined in any one theory that deeper connections between sentences which cut across the surface grammar are transformational relationships.

Some of these relations were/are well recognized and handled satisfactorily in many of the traditional as well as the phrase structure grammars including this one. Beginning with negation, it is proposed to discuss in this section the system of transforming any affirmative sentence into either a negative or interrogative sentence.

3.8.1 Negation

Any affirmative sentence including the one with a verb in the imperative and any interrogative sentence could be transformed into a simple negative, imperative negative or an interrogative negative sentence by selecting the appropriate negative particle and by the appropriate placement of the same in the word-order of the affirmative sentence concerned. There are three negative particles in this language. These are : *nǝy no* and *na* Basically the transformation of an affirmative sentence into a negative one involves the VP, particularly the verb including the tense and the modal markers, the verb carries and also some types of sentences. It is therefore proposed to discuss the occurrences of the negative particles with the verbs in different tenses and moods and also with the sentences.

In the previous section, the simple sentences were classified into four types. Of these only one had the principal verb as the constituent of the predicate, whereas the others had copula as the predicate. This includes N N (C) type of sentences. It would be seen presently that all the sentences having the copula as the predicate takes a particular negative particle, viz., *nə*. It would also be seen that a principal verb in its simple past takes a particular negative particle, viz., *nəy* whereas a principal verb in other tense take *nə*. A verb in different aspects and moods other than the non-past potential mood also takes *nə* as the negative particle. A verb in past potential mood takes *no* as the negative particle. Thus, of the three negative particles, *nə* has the maximal distribution. We may now state the distribution of the different negative particles, along with illustrative examples.

1. *nəy*. It occurs only with a verb in its simple past tense, as in:

    neg+moy moṅso kʰayse——→ moy moṅso kʰaynəy 'I did not eat
    meat'

    neg+moy jayse——→moy jay nəy   'I did not go'

2. *no*. It occurs with a verb in the non-past potential mood, as in :

    neg+sualitu jabo pare   ————→ sualitu jabo noare
    'the girl cannot go'

3. *ne*. It occurs in all evnironments except the ones mentioned above, some of the occurrences are listed below :

(i)   locative sentence :

    neg+moy gor tat əse——→ moy gor tat nəse
    'my house is not there'

    neg+sualitu gorte əse——→ sualitu gorte nəse
    'the girl is not at home'

(ii) possessive sentence :

    neg+moy gor ekta əse——→ moy gor ekta nəse
    'I do not have a house'

    neg+moy gor ekta əsile——→ moy gor ekta nəsile
    'I did not have a house'

    neg+moy gor ekta hobo→ moy gor ekta nəhobo
    'I will not have a house'

(iii) equative sentence :

    neg+kitabtu bal   ——→ kitabtu bal nəse
    'the book is not good'

neg+tay kʰetimanu   ⟶ tay kʰetimanu nəse
'he/she is not a peasant'

neg+tay kʰetimanu hobo⟶ tay kʰetimanu nəhobo
'he will not be a peasant'

neg+itu mor gor   ⟶ itu mor gor nəse
'this is not my house', etc.

A verb in different moods excepting the potential mood :

(a) neg+moṅso kʰabi   ⟶ moṅso nəkʰabi 'do not eat meat'
    neg+jabi   ⟶ nəjabi 'do not go'

(b) neg+moṅso kʰabolage⟶ moṅso kʰabo nə lage
'must not eat meat'

neg+tay jayle   ⟶ tay nəjayle
'If he/she doesn't go'

A verb in different aspects :

neg+moṅso kʰay tʰəkibo →moṅso kʰay nə tʰə kibo
'will not be eating meat'

neg+hoday moṅso khabo →hoday moṅso nəkʰay
'does not eat meat regularly'

neg+moṅso khabo   →moṅso nəkʰabo
'will not be eating meat'.

In addition to a verb in a VP, the negative marker *nə* could also negate lexical items (individual words), as in :

neg+jorawa   ⟶ nəjorawa 'unconnect'

neg+iman tʰoka   ⟶ iman nətʰoka 'unlimited', etc.
   1 2 3

(lit. this much have)
   1   2   3

neg+hoy   ⟶ nəhoy[1] 'no'

The position of the negative particle in the VP :

1. The negative particle *nəy* which occurs only with the simple past tense, occurs after the verb by substituting the tense marker.

2. The negative particle *nə* which occurs only with a verb in potential mood, occurs before the verbal marker.

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[1]This could also be considered a simple sentence of minor type.

3. The negative particle *nə* which occurs with a verb in the non-past, different aspects and different moods excepting the non-past potential, is preposed to the verb including the copula, provided the verb is a simple one and if the verb is a compound one, it occurs between the root and the modal/aspectual marker.

4. When the negative particle *nə* occurs with individual words, it occurs before the word if the word is simple and before the last compound, if the word is a compound one.

Since all the three negative particles have mutually exclusive environments, it is possible to set up the negative particle *nə* as the negative morpheme and consider the other two as the positional variants of *nə*.

3.8.2 Interrogation

The interrogative sentences stand in contrast to declarative sentences by virtue of their ability to express/indicate the expectation of a speaker in the same way a verb in the imperative or potential mood expresses the attitude or the expectation of the speaker. The interrogatives, however, are not traditionally considered as modal, because in most of the languages, the opposition in modal is expressed by certain modal markers suffixed to the verb and/or by the selection of one auxiliary or the other, whereas the interrogative sentences are formed by employing one of the interrogative pronouns/particles with or without an inversion of the word-order on/of a sentence in the indicative mood.

Though one does not speak of an interrogative modal, the interrogative sentences could be clearly modal and may be characterized by additional modalities which indicate the expectations of the speaker, for instance, depending upon the expectation of the one who puts the question, there could be three types of *yes/no* question, *viz.*,

(i) an open or neutral type of question where the person who puts the question is totally ignorant of the truth of the information he is seeking and as such the answer could be either an yes or no;

(ii) a question anticipating an affirmative response, as the person who puts the question already assumes/suspects that something has taken place and merely wants a positive confirmation of the same; and

(iii) a question anticipating a negative confirmation which is similar to the one above. The two types of questions would, however, be worded differently.

Such types of questions indicating the expectations or otherwise of the one who puts questions are found in Naga languages. This could be illustrated with a few examples from Sema Naga (Sreedhar, 1980:178-9).

1. Open or neutral type of questions like—

noye pa ithi ani kesya?　　'do you know him? '
1　2　3　4　　5

(lit. you he know is what)
1　2　3　　4 5

noye li kimiye ceni kesya?　'do you love her?'

Could usually bring forth either of the answers :

ye, kimiye, ceni　　'yes, I love her'
1　　2　3　4　　(lit. yes love habitually will)
1　2　　3　4

or

moy tisi cemo　　'no, I do not love her'
1　2 3 4 5　　(lit. no. that do habitually not
1　2　3　4　5

2. Question anticipating an affirmative answer—

noye kuchonoli ceni kesya?　'do you love her?'

And the response would usually be :

ye, tise ceni　　'yes, I do love her'
1 2 3 4　5　　(lit. yes, that do habitually will)
1　2　3　4　5

But if the person putting the question was misinformed, the response would be :

moy tisi cemo　　'no, I do not love her'

If a negative confirmation is anticipated, the question would be :

noye li kimiye cemo kesya? 'don't you love her? '

If the person who puts the question is less sure of his information, the question would be :

noye li kimiye cenikyo mo kesya ?
1 2　3　4 5 6 7　　8

(lit. you she love habitual will what no what)
1　2　3　4　　5　6　7 8

These two questions would usually elicit either of the answers given below :

    moy   'no'

       or

    pəmla 'cant say'   (lit speak potential negative)

    1 2   1   2

                                   (i.e. the person concerned in fact loves her secretly but does not want to commit it).

The illustrative examples given above, clearly indicate that the interrogatives have the features of modality.

Even though any declarative sentence except the imperative in this language can be transformed into an interrogative sentence, the modalities expressing the expectations or otherwise of the person who puts the question are not made use of in this language. Two devices are made use of in this language for transforming a declarative sentence into an interrogative one. These are : (i) using an appropriate interrogative pronoun and (ii) the negative marker followed by a particular interrogative pronoun, viz., nə + ki (lit. no what) as in :

(i) kon jayse   'who want'

    ketya jabo   'when will (you) go ?'

(ii) int+tay moṅso kʰayse   →tay moṅso kʰayse nəki ?

                                 'he ate meat, didn't he ? '

The differences in the use of two devices lies in that whereas the latter type for all intents and purposes is one that elicits only yes/no response and is usually known as tagged question, the interrogative pronoun elicits information on any specific item and occurs in the slot of the NP about which the question is asked.

For instance :

(a) sonia ketya jayse ?   'When did Sonia go ?'

    sonia juakəli jayse   'Sonia went yesterday'

(b) sonia juakəli kod jayse? 'Where did Sonia go yesterday?'

    sonia juakəli tay gawot   'Sonia went to her village yester-

       jayse   day'

(c) sonia kon ləgot juakəli   'With whom did Sonia go yesterday?'

      jayse ?

    sonia syama ləgot juakəli 'Sonia went with Shyama yesterday'

      jayse

(d) kon jayse ?   'Who went'?

    syama jayse   'Shyama went'

In the four questions listed above, the information is sought on : (a) time/day of departure (b) destination (c) the person accompanying the actor and (d) the actor. And therefore the responses occurred in the slots in which the interrogative pronouns occurred. A few more examples illustrating this type of interrogation are given below.

kon jabo ?	'who will go ?'
sualitu jabo	'the girl will go'
kon moṅso kʰayse ?	'who ate the meat ?'
sonia moṅso kʰayse	'Sonia ate the meat'
itu kon kitab ?	'whose book is this ?'
itu ekili kitab	'it is Ekili's book'
itu kon gor ?	'whose house is this ?.'
itu moy gor	'it is my house'
əpuni kontu kitab lobo	'which book will you take ?'
moy itu duy kitab lobo	'I will take these two books'
aji kon jayse ?	'who went today'?
sualitu aji jayse	'the girl went today'
suali ləgot kon jayse ?	'who went with the girl ?'
suali ləgot syama jayse	'Shyama went with the girl'
kon ləgot sualitu jayse	'with whom did the girl go?'
sualitu ekili ləgot jayse	'the girl went with Ekili'
sualitu konke dikʰise ?	'whom did the girl see' ?
sualitu soniak dikʰise	'the girl saw Sonia'
əpuni kon nimiti rukʰibo ?	'who are you waiting for ?'
moy tay nimiti rukʰise	'I am waiting for him/her'
kontu jaga osorte əse ?	'which place is near ?
dimapur osorte əse	'Dimapur is near'
sonia ketya jabo ?	'when will Sonia go ?'
sonia aji jabo	'Sonia will go today'
tay nam ki ?	'what is his/her name ?'
tay nam hatoli ?	'her name is Hatoli'
əpuni ki korise ?	'what did you do ?'
moy kitab pɔrise	'I read (the) book'
tay ki kowise ?	'what did she/he say ?'
tay eku nə kowise	'he/she said nothing'
tay kod jayse	'where did he/she go ?
tay dukanot jayse	'he went to the shop'
hotəli kod əse	'where is the hotel ?'
hotəli tat əse	'hotel is there'
kʰel kod pora hobo	'where will the play be ?'
kʰel maidante hobo	'the play will be in the maidan'

As opposed to this type of informative response, the other type elicits only a yes/no response, though one may while responding repeat the entire question minus the interrogative particle immediately after the yes/no response, as in :

syama moṅso kʰabo nəki?   'Will Shyama eat meat ?'
  1   2 3 4 5 6 (lit. Shyama meat eat will no what)
                                      1   2   3   4 5 6

Usually the response to such a question would be :

hoy/nə   'yes/no'

But if one so wishes, one could also respond as :

hoy, syama moṅso kʰabo   'yes, Shyama will eat meat'

or

nəy, syama moṅso nəkʰabo 'no, Shyama will not eat meat'

These types of questions are known as tagged questions. It might also be noted that as far as this language is concerned, there is very little difference between the two types of questions, as a tagged question could be used for the other one also, for instance :

tay moṅso kʰayse nəki ?
could mean both ;
he ate meat, did'nt he ? and
did he eat meat ?

Unlike the pattern of negation, the same pattern is followed for interrogating verbs in different tenses, aspects and moods. A few examples would illustrate this statement.

(a) kod   jabo   'where will you be going'
     1   2 3   (lit. where go will)
                                  1   2 3

kod   jayəse   'where are you going?'
kod   jayse   'where did (you) go ?'
kod jabole   'where is to go?'

(b) tay jaynəki   'will he go?'
tay jayse nəki   'did he go ?'
tay jayəse nəki   'is he going?'
tay jaysile nəki   'was he going ?'
tay jaytʰəkibo nəki   'will he be going' etc.

In closing, it may be stated that there are two means of transforming a statement into an interrogative in this language. These are : (i) by postposing to the statement concerned, the particles nə+ki stanʲing respectively for negative and interrogative particles for tagged type of questions anticipating a yes/no answer and (ii) by placing the interrogative pronoun in the appropriate slot of the statement concerned for obtaining information on any specific issue/point. In either case, the pattern of interrogation is indifferent to the tense, aspect and the modality of the verb concerned.

STANDARDIZATION OF NAGA PIDGIN*
M. V. Sreedhar

The contact between the Nagas[1] (speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages) and Assamese (speakers and Indo-Aryan language) at the barter trade centres in the plains of Assam may have resulted in the birth of the pidgin formerly known as Naga-Assamese and now popularly known as Nagamese, but designated here as Naga Pidgin. Though the earliest recorded reference to this Pidgin is in Hutton (1921), the Nagas have been in contact with non-Nagas for well over a century[2]. Whatever may have been the circumstances of the origin of this pidgin, it is the only language that is current in the entire breadth and length of Nagaland, India. It is also spoken across the State boundary in Arunachal Pradesh, formerly known as North East Frontier Agency. Within the state of Nagaland, the Naga Pidgin is used in all interlingual contact situations amongst the Nagas and also between the Nagas and non-Nagas, though the educated elite use English on formal occasions. It is also used by uneducated non-Nagas during interlingual contact situations amongst the non-Nagas. In a number of instances, the Naga Pidgin carries a higher functional load than the mother tongue of its users (Sreedhar 1973).

The Naga communities that live within the state are : Konyak (72,338)[3], Ao (65,275), Sema (65,227), Angami (43,569), Lotha (36,949), Sangtam (19,998), Phom (18,017), Chang (15,816), Khiamngan (14,414), Yimchunger (13,564), Rengma (8,578), Chokri (8,339)[4], Khezha (7,295)[4], Zemi (6,473)[4], Liangmei (2,988)[4], Pochuri (2,938), Tirkhir (2,486), Kuki-chiru (1,175), Makware (769), Kachari[5], Rongmei, Chin and Mao. In addition, there are at least six other immigrant groups in this state. These are : Garo, Mikir, Nepali, Bihari, Malayali and Assamese. In other words, a small hill state having a total area of 4,366 square miles with a population of 516,449[6] has 29 linguistic groups including the six immigrant groups.

The Naga Pidgin spoken in different parts of Nagaland is not identical. The differences are found both at the phonological and grammatical level. A study conducted in this area (Sreedhar 1974) shows that though each Naga community has a variety specific to

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itself, on the basis of the shared features these varieties at the phonological level can be sub-grouped into three :

(a) a southern regional variety (SP), consisting of the speakers of Angami, Kachari, Zemi, Liangmei, Rongmei, Rengma, Sema, Khezha, Chokri and Mao.

(b) a northern regional variety (NP) consisting of the speakers of Konyak, Sangtam, Phom, Chang and Khiamngan; and

(c) a central regional variety (CP) consisting of the speakers of Ao, Lotha and Yimchunger.

Of the three regional varieties, the SP shows the maximal opposition in the consonants[7] in that only this variety shows opposition between voiced and unvoiced stops. The NP has the least oppositional features in that in addition to the neutralization of the voiced/ unvoiced opposition with the stops, it shows alternation between the flap and the lateral on the one hand and amongst the fricatives on the other hand. The central variety has an intermediary position in that it retains the flap, the lateral and the three fricatives as distinct units but the voiced/unvoiced opposition is neutralized. The phonemic inventory of the SP is given below :

Vowels			Consonants			
i	ə	u	P	t	c	k
e	a	i	b	d	j	g
			Pʰ	tʰ	cʰ	kʰ
			bʰ	dʰ	jʰ	gʰ
			m	n		ṅ
			rˡ			
			š	š	h	
		w		y		

The vowels have no special limitations in their distribution, but very few consonants occur in the word-final position. jʰ occurs in a very few words and the words having jʰ can also be pronounced with its unaspirated counterpart, but the words having/j/ cannot be propounced with jʰ. Given below are two sets of words to illustrate the opposition amongst the vowels and consonants. The Naga Pidgin words given below are in phonemic script.

(a) Vowels

mikuri 'cat', mekele 'girl's dothi', macor 'mosquito', maki 'fly' mokura 'spider', mukosta 'poetry'.

(b) Consonants

puk 'insect', tukri 'basket', culi 'feather', kukur 'dog' bura 'old age'‹ dud 'breast of a girl', jug 'jeech', guli 'bullet', phuli 'swelling', tʰuka', 'spit', cʰuy sawa 'touch', kʰukʰa 'cough', bʰura 'fine (adj)', dʰul 'drum'‛ jʰuja' 'wrestling', gʰura 'around', mukʰ 'face', nuare 'literate', beña 'deaf', ruk 'disease', lum 'fur', suta 'thread', suta 'interest (loan)', huy 'sleep', wul 'wool', yudi koridi 'defeat (imp)'.

Grammar :

The pidgin under consideration has a few grammatical classes which can be basically sub-grouped into two, declinables and indeclinables. The noun, the pronoun, the numeral and the verb in this pidgin are declinables while the adjective, the demonstrative, the adverb, the intensifier and the particles are indeclinables. The noun and the pronoun show opposition in case. The numerals take some case suffixes. The verb shows opposition in tense, aspect and modals. Though all the varieties of the Naga Pidgin have the same number of grammatical classes, the grammatical categories occurring with each class do not show any uniformity with different varieties of the pidgin. A brief discussion of these follows.

Number :

In the Angami variety,[8] the grammatical category of number is available only with the nouns and the personal pronouns. The nouns take /bilak/ and the pronouns take /khan/ as the markers of plurality. However, the nouns referring to non-human class (Nnh class) optionally delete the plural marker when the context gives the clue, whereas the nouns referring to the human beings (NH class) delete the plural maker only when it is in construction with a quantifier or a numeral.

This is a characteristic feature of most of the Naga languages.[6]

The Zemi, the Rongmei, the Rengma the Khezha, the Mao and the Chokri varieties belonging to the Southern pidgin (SP) show absence of plurality with the nouns referring to the inanimate being (Nina class) but show its presence with NH class and the nouns referring to animate non-human beings (Nanh class), e.g.,

suali	'girl'	sualikʰan	'girls'
kukur	'dog'	kukurkʰan	'dogs'
pata	'leaf'	pata	'leaves'

The Sema variety of the pidgin shows the absence of plurality with the Nina class of nouns and rarely found with the Nanh class of nouns. The NH class of nouns indicate plurality by the word /log/'people' following the nouns concerned. Only the pronouns take the plural marker regularly, e.g.,

suali log	'girls'	pata	'leaf/leaves'
kukur	'dog/dogs'		
tay	'he'	tayk^han	'they'

The use of the plural marker with the Kachari and the Liangmei varieties (SP) and the Sangtam (NP) variety are similar to that of the Angami variety except that the Liangmei variety uniformly takes /khan/ as the plural marker.

Case :

The cases and the case markers available are : the nominative (unmarked), the accusative /k/, the dative /ke/, the instrumental /di/, the locative /te/, and the genitive /r/. Of these only the locative and the dative cases are available in all the varieties, e.g.,

| tay dukante əse | 'he is in the shop' |
| moy tayke ekta kitab dise | 'I give him a book' |

The accusative is absent in the Kachari, the Rongmei and the Sema (SP) the Sangtam, the Phom and the Konyak (NP) and the Yimchunger (CP) varieties. The Zemi, the Liangmei and the Mao varieties (SP) show the absence of the accusative marker with the nouns but show its presence with the pronouns by taking /ke/ as the accusative case marker, e.g.

moy suali ekta dik^hise	'I saw a girl'
moy take dik^hise	'I saw him'
moy tayk^hanke dikhise	'I saw them', etc.

The Chokri, the Khezha, the Rengma (SP), the Chang (NP), and the Lotha and the Ao (CP) varieties show the presence of the accusative case only with the NH class of nouns and the personal pronouns in the singular. It is absent in the other varieties, but in the case of the Ao variety, zero alternates with /ke/

moy	suali ekta dik^hise	'I saw a girl'
moy	take dik^hise	'I saw him'
moy	guru ekta dik^hise	'I saw a cow'
moy	tayk^haŋke dik^hise	'I saw them'

But in the Ao variety (CP)

| moy | sualike/suali dik^hise | 'I saw a girl' |

The instrumental case is present only with the Angami, the Kachari (SP) and the Lotha (CP) varieties. In all other varieties the post position/pora/'from' or /1 əgɔt 'with' is used, e.g.,

> Rita was beaten with a stick'
> rita lathidi marise
> rita lathi pora/ləgot marise

The genitive case is absent with all the varieties except the Angami, the Khezha, the Chokri, the Sema (SP), the Lotha (CP) and the Konyak (NP). In these varieties it is available only with the noun/pronoun in the singular. The usual practice is for the modified noun to follow immediately the noun/pronoun functioning as the modifier, eg :

sualir kitab	'the girl's book'
tar kitab	'this book'
sualikhan kitab	'the girl's book'

Gender :

Gender is not a compulsory gammatical category in the Naga pidgin.

Tenses :

At the morphological level, all the varieties of the Naga Pidgin show only a two-way opposition in these. These are : a simple past and a non-past, e.g. :

moy jayse	'I went'
moy jabo	'I go/I will go'

The Naga Pidgin shows a three-way opposition in aspect, namely, progressive, perfective and habitual aspect. These aspects combine with the tenses.

The progressive aspect is expressed through a syntactic construction of a verb base and an auxiliary. While all the varieties take the same auxiliary for the present and the future progressive, different auxiliaries are used for the past progressive, e.g. :

moy huy əse	'I am sleeping'
moy huy tʰəkibo	'I will sleeping'
moy huy əsilu	'I was sleeping'
moy huy tʰəkiase	,,
moy huy tʰɔki əsilu	,,
moy huy tʰəkise	,,

The perfective aspect shows a two-way opposition in present perfective aspects. The perfective aspect in the Angami variety is expressed by the Simple past tense form. This feature is shared by the Chokri, the Kheza, the Zemi, the Liangmei (SP), the Konyak (NP) and the Ao (CP) varieties, e.g. :

| moy huyse | 'I slept/I have slept' |

The Rengma (Sp), the Phom and the Chang (NP) varieties express this aspect differently :

| moy huy dise | 'I have slept' |

The form available in the Angami variety for the past perfective is :

| moy huys əle | 'had slept' |

However, the simple past tense form, namely huyse, can also be used for the past perfective. All other varieties show only a simple past tense form for the past perfective also. Thus in all varieties the simple past tense form can be used for the simple past, present perfective and past perfective as in :

| moy huyse | 'I slept/I had slept/I have slept'. |

The habitual aspect is marked morphologically only in the sema, the Khezha, the Zemi, the Rongmei, (SP), the Lotha, the Ao and the Yimchunger (CP) varieties, e.g. :

| moy huye | 'I always sleep' |

In the other varieties, the verb root itself indicates the habitual aspect as in :

| moy hoday huy | 'I always sleep' |

The modals :

The Agami variety shows a total of ten-way opposition in modals. These are : indicative (unmarked), simple imperative, polite imperative, permissive, probability,[1] probability[2], potential, injunctive, conditional and the infinitive. Of these the injunctive, the potential and the probability modals have both the past and the non-past forms, whereas others have only non-past forms. The simple imperative is available in all the varieties. The modals available in all the varieties are indicative, polite imperative, permissive, conditional, infinitive, injunctive non-past and probability, eg.,

moy jayse	'I went' (indicative)
jabi	'please go' (imperative)
jabude	'Please allow to go' (permissive)

moy jayle tay bi jabo pare	'If I go, he may also go' (conditional)
moy otu gorote jabole əse	'I am to go to that house' (infinitive)
tay tat jabo lage	'He must go there' (injunctive nonpast)
moy jabo pare	'I may go' (probability)

The occurrences of the other modals are limited to a few varieties.

A brief statement of their occurrences follows :

1. The simple imperative jaba 'go (imp)' is available only in the Angami variety.

2. The non-past probability is available only in the Angami, the Chokri, the Mao, the Sema (SP) and the Konyak (NP) varieties, e.g. :

   moy jabo pare   'I may go'

3. The non-past probability is available only in the Angami, the Rengma, the Sema, the Mao, the Khezha, the Chokri (SP) and the Konyak (NP) varieties, e.g. :
   moy   jayse pare   'I might go'

4. The past probability modal is available only in the Angami, the Zemi, the Liangmei, the Sema, the Mao (SP), and the Konyak (NP) varieties, e.g. :
   moy jabo parisəle   'I might have gone'

5. The non-past potential is available only in the Angami, the Sema (SP), the Konyak (NP), and the Lotha (CP) varieties, e.g. :
   moy jabo paribo   'I can go'

6. The past potential is available in the Angami, the Rengma, the Mao, the Khezha, the Chokri, the Zemi, the Rongmei (SP), the Phom, the Konyak (NP), the Ao, the Lotha and the Yimchunger (SP) varieties, e.g. :
   moy jabo parise   'I could go'

The variations at the phonological and the grammatical levels found with the different varieties of the Naga Pidgin were stated above. Variations of different degrees are found in all natural languages, but through an historical process one of the variant forms is accepted as the standard form which then fulfills three functions, viz., the unifying, the prestige and the frame of reference. The various aspects of standardization are discussed in the following paragraphs.

A characteristic feature of any language spoken by a sizable population over a large territory is the variations of diverse kinds. Language, in addition to its being a means to some practical ends, *viz.*, communication of ideas and information, is a vehicle to express a whole gamut of emotions and overtones attitudes which cannot be done without a fair amount of suppleness and variation. However, the layman is also keenly conscious of the value and prestige which attaches to the linguistic expressions in life and constantly endeavours to adjust his own speech to the accepted norm, either from one dialect to another or from one style to another and so on. The evolution of the norm, *viz.*, the standard form, is a historical process in the development of a language, which takes place without the conscious effort or a decision by a few speakers. And the criterion for the choice of one form out of many is non-linguistic. But once a variety attains the status of standard, it is associated with the forms like 'correct/good' language and the non-standard ones, 'incorrect/bad' etc. Referring to the 'good/bad' language Bloomfield (in Hymes 1967 : 396) claims that "the nearest approach to an explanation of 'good/bad' language seems to be that by a culmination of obvious superiorities both of character and standing, as well as of language, some persons are felt to be better modals of contact of speech than others". In other words, the term standard form connotes a sociological value of appropriateness on to the linguistic choice and usage and implies the existence of non-standard forms.

The relation betwen the standard and the nonstandard (subregional dialects) may be likened to that between the great and little culture of Redfield (1956:71). The former serves both as a model for prestige imitation and as a channel of communication through which the concepts are formulated into the other levels. The standard acts as unifying force linguistically as well as culturally, a common mould which counteracts diversity at the local level and separates the regional variety from the neighbouring dialects.

While the standardization of a natural language is usually a historical process, in the case of the pidgins a conscious effort has to be made because the attitude to pidgin is one of toleration and little attention is paid to the linguistic markers of social appropriateness, rather the function of such a language is to facilitate contact by cohesiveness. Hall (1970:145) claims that the problems connected with the establishment of a standard form are of three kinds. These are :

(1) the choice of a variety to be preferred above others,

(2) the areas of human activity in which it is to be used, and

(3) the achievement of recognition for a new standard.

Of the three problems mentioned above, in the case of pidgins, the second one is the easiest to be decided and the first could ordinarily be settled down by choosing the variety used by the largest number of people or the one used in the administrative headquarters, though in the case of Naga Pidgin an entirely different strategy will have to be worked out. The main problem in the standardization of a pidgin is the ability to put into operation the means of making the choice acceptable to all concerned and helping it spread at the cost of other varieties.

As there is nothing inherent in the features themselves which can help us to choose one at the cost of the others, the problem is insoluble at the theoretical level. Hence come in considerations such as expediency.

One of the objectives of standardizing the Naga Pidgin is to exploit it for obtaining the optimal benefit of the language to the Nagas, particularly in the area of education. Officially, primary education in Nagaland is to be imparted through the medium of the respective mother tongues, and English as a language is taught from class I onwards. But owning to the multitude of languages spoken in the State, the Government is unable to provide textbooks in all the languages and the children are obliged to learn through the medium of a neighbouring language in which textbooks are available, or sometimes through the medium of English, right from Class I onwards, even though the teachers themselves do not have any proficiency in English, and quite often unofficially they teach through the medium of Naga Pidgin. Since every child in Nagaland knows Naga Pidgin long before he comes to the school at the age of 6 or over, this knowledge of the Pidgin could be exploited for obtaining initial literacy. Since at some time or other, every Naga child has to learn both English and Hindi, the standardized Naga Pidgin must share at least the phonological features of English and Hindi. Voicing the stops is a pertinent feature of both English and Hindi and it was seen earlier that only the Southern variety has this feature. Hence the phonology of the Southern variety may be adopted for the Standardized Pidgin. This variety has an added advantage, in that it is the one spoken in and around the State capital.

The grammar of the Naga Pidgin shows a different picture. Though the Angami variety shows the maximal differences in the use of the grammatical categories, very few varieties share these features with the Angami variety. A significant factor is that the Angami variety, which is capable of showing opposition in different

grammatical categories, quite often neutralizes these oppositions by using a single form to convey two or more meanings, e.g. :

/moy huyse/may mean   'I slept/I had slept/I have slept'. Under the circumstances, no need is felt, at least for the present, to maintain these differences. The same procedure can be adopted in all other instances and the standardized form, for the present, need have only the features shared by most of the varieties. The shared features that may form part of the standardized Naga Pidgin are summarized below.

1. Opposition between the singular and plural, with the optional deletion of the plural marker when plurality is indicated elsewhere, e.g. :

     suali 'girl'   sualikʰan 'girls'
     duy suali   'two girls'

     This feature of the optional deletion of the plural marker is found in the Naga languages and also in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages[9].

2. The nominative case is unmarked in all the varieties. Only the dative and the locative cases show separate case suffixes in all the varieties. The functions of the other cases are taken care of either by taking the appropriate postpositions or by word order.

3. At the morphological level, all the varieties show a two-way opposition in tense, viz., simple past vs non past.

4. A three-way opposition in the progressive aspect is found in all the varieties, but they show a difference in the form of the past progressive. The form huy tʰək se 'was sleeping' seems to be more appropriate, because of the suffixing of the past tense marker to the auxiliary. An additional consideration for choosing this form is that all the varieties suffix the future tense marker to the same auxiliary to obtain the future progressive aspect.

5. In some varieties, the perfective aspect shows a two-way opposition in tense, viz., the present perfective and the past perfective. However, in all the varieties, the simple past tense form is also used to express the present and past perfective aspects. Hence the need for this aspect may not be felt for the present.

6. Even in the varieties where the habitual aspect is marked morphologically, an adverb is also used, which in itself can indicate the aspect. Hence the habitual marker becomes a redundant feature and therefore need not be retained.

7. Of the ten modals available in some varieties, only seven, *viz.*, indicative, polite imperative, permissive, injunctive, probability[1], conditional, and infinitive are available in all the varieties. The probability and the potential modals get merged in most of the varieties. The difference between the expression, *'may go/can go'* on the one hand and *'may go/might go'* on the other hand are being lost even in English. Hence this Pidgin in the initial stage of its standardization need not retain these features and may have only a seven-way opposition in modals.

8. As far as the vocabulary is concerned not much variation is found.

In the preceding paragraphs, an attempt to standardize the Naga Pidgin was made. It might, however, be noted that no standard language has absolute uniformity and every standard language has a series of standards at different levels like the local standard, the provincial standard, the national standard, etc. The Naga Pidgin is unlikely to be an exception to this rule. In this attempt, due care has also been taken to retain the properties of a standard language, which according to Paul Garvin (1964:521) are flexible stability and intellectualization.

A major objective of this exercise is to see how best the Naga Pidgin could be exploited for improving the educational standards in Nagaland. It is commonly accepted that the instruction through the medium of mother tongue is the most efficient and effective means of education. But in the case of Nagaland, it was found (Sreedhar 1973) that despite its best effort to function bilingually at the state level, the State failed to cater to the needs of even the recognized linguistic groups. It is in fact an *Eldorado* for a small hill state like Nagaland with hardly any internal resources to function in a large number of languages. Even though every village in Nagaland has a L. P. School, year after year Naga boys and girls fail in mathematics and science subjects at the H.S.L.C. Examination, even in the lower classes. This failure is attributed to the lack of intelligence amongst them, whereas in reality the root cause of their failure at the examinations is the lack of meaningful communication between the teachers and the students owing to the use of a totally alien language, English, as the sole medium of instruction. Thus the use of English as the medium of instruction has done and is doing incalculable damage to the interests of the Naga children. A situation similar to that of Nagaland exists in New Guinea where a large number of languages are spoken, many of them by small communities of a few hundred speakers. Robert Hall (1970: 144-53) claims that "in New Guinea a large population

know and use as a lingua franca and find it considerably easier to learn the Pidgin than a full sized foreign language". He continues that "under the circumstances, it is clearly advisable to make use of the pupils already-existing knowledge of the Pidgin as a foundation on which to attain the initial literacy".

Hall's statement with reference to the situation in New Guinea would apply with equal validity to Nagaland and it is hoped that there will be a reappraisal of the language situation with specific reference to the function of English in the State. If Bahasa Indonesia, a Pidgin language, can function effectively as a medium of instruction at all levels and as the language of the courts in Indonesia, nothing but prejudices and inertia prevents the assigning of such a function to Naga Pidgin in Nagaland.

Notes :

The writer is thankful to Dr. D. P. Pattanayak, Director, CIIL, Mysore for the benefit of consultations and for useful suggestions.

1. The term Naga has been used to refer to the people living in the hill regions of Indo-Burman border between the valleys of Brahmaputra and Chindwin. Besides Nagaland, the Nagas are found in Arunachal Pradesh parts of Assam and Manipur, and across the international border in Burma. Despite the very wide use of the term Naga from time immemorial, the Nagas themselves do not know how the term Naga came to be applied to them. They never had any generic term for the entire people. Rather a Naga was known as belonging to such and such village.

   Nagaland was ushered into full-fledged statehood on December, 1, 1963. It has in the east, a long international border with Burma, it borders Assam in the west and northwest, Arunachal Pradesh in the northeast and Manipur in the south. The State has an area of 6,366 square miles. Kohima, situated at the height of 4,800 feet, is its capital.

2. Lt. Brigges in his tour diary (1841) mentions that on arrival at the Lotha Hills, 70 Nagas came down, many of them knowing Assamese. Similar statements are available in the reports of John Butler (1855), Badgly (1875) etc. (reproduced in Alemchiba 1970). Referring to the Pidgin Naga, Hutton (1921) states that "the Assamese language as used in the Naga hills, (*i.e. Pidgin Naga*), is peculiarly well adapted for the reproduction of Naga idioms, as a vehicle of interpretation. It makes a far better lingua franca for the hills than Hindustani or English would, the

substitution of which for Asamese (*Pidgin Naga*) has been occasionally suggested" (italics supplied by this writer). Haimendorf (1936) states that "fortunately many people including children spoke fluently Nagamese, the lingua franca of the entire Naga hills".

3. The figures given in the brackets are the numerical strength of the community concerned for the census year 1971, as given in the census centenary Monograph No. 10 (1973).

4. The Census returns of 1971 are not available for Chokri, Khezha, Zemi and Liangmei. The figures given in brackets are from the 1961 Census returns.

5. The census figures for the Kachari, Rongmei, Chin and Mao in Nagaland are not available. These communities living in Nagaland seem to have been wrongly listed under some other linguistic groups.

6. Census of India 1971 : 1. India Population 1972 (A. Chandra Sekhar).

7. The Southern variety shows opposition between an unvoiced unaspirated stop and a voiced unaspirated stop series, each in its turn showing aspirated counterparts. In addition, it distinguishes between /r/ and /1/ on the one hand and between /s, š, h/ on the other hand. The variation of the vowels has not been studied.

8. Even when two or more varieties share a set of grammatical categories, they may differ in the choice of the markers. For the present the differences in the markers are ignored.

9. Optional deletion of the plural marker is a very common feature with most of the Indian languages, for instance :

Sema (Tibeto-Burman)

/afo/ 'elder sister' / afoqo/ 'elder sisters' but / afo kini/ 'two elder sisters' / afo kutomo/'many elder sisters'

Gujarati (Indo-Aryan)

/chokri/ 'girl'/, chokrio / 'girls' but/be chokri/ 'two girls'

Tamil (Dravidian)

/kolantai/ 'child' / kolantaikal/ 'children'

but / nalu kolantai/ 'four children'

/rombo kolantai/ 'many children'

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1. PHONOLOGY :

1.1. Vowels

Six vowels are set up in this language. All the varieties studied also show a six-way opposition with the vowels. The main issue in the case of vowels is not the availability of six vowels with all the varieties, rather the instability of the vowels, *i.e.,* while uttering the same word, a person may alternatively use two different vowels, which are otherwise phonemic, for instance, the word for 'bed bug' may be pronounced either as *orus* or *urus,* eventhough *o/u* show opposition in many other words and hence distinct phonemes. There is nothing unusual in the alternation of a phoneme in a word with another phoneme in the speech of the same person. For instance, in English, the undermentioned words are pronounced using either of the phonemes and both are acceptable.

i/e	ekonomik/ikonomik	'economic'
i/ei	direkt/deirekt	'direct'
d/dz	edukat/edzukat	'educate'
ft/f	often/ofen	'often' etc.

The major difference between a language like English and the Naga Pidgin or for that matter any Pidgin/Creole situation, is in degree, in that when compared to the developed languages, the variation may be found in a far greater extent in Pidgins/Creoles and may even cover a major portion of the lexical items. The variation found with the vowels in this language has to be controlled at the lexical level by standardizing the spelling pattern through a dictionary. In view of these, the six vowels found in all the varieties are set up for this standardized one also.

1.2. Consonants :

It was already mentioned in the introductory chapter that one of the objectives in undertaking this exercise is to take advantage of the wide spread use of the Naga Pidgin in all informal situation across the entire length and breadth of Nagaland, for initial literacy, followed by a smooth change over to the state and national languages. Every school going child has to learn English and Hindi at some stage or the other. It would therefore be advantageous to the Naga children to have atleast the ability to pronounce the important significant sounds of English and Hindi. And this advantage could be achieved by incorporating in the standardized Naga Pidgin, such significant sounds that are considered important from the point of

view of the functional yield of opposition and also found in some of the varieties of the Naga Pidgin.

The southern variety has most of the significant sounds found in English and Hindi, though voiced aspirated stops are unstable even with the speakers of this variety. The voiced aspirated series are not available in English but are found in Hindi. The entire voiced series is either absent or unstable with the central and northern varieties. And between the voiced unaspirated series and voiced aspirated series, the former is considered important from the point of the functional yield of opposition, and is essential to set it up in the standardized Naga Pidgin in order to avoid an unusually large number of homonyms within the Naga Pidgin itself. Hence only the voiced unaspirated series are set up. This would, however, require the children of the northern and central group to learn these oppositional sets of phonemes as a new item. It is also considered essential to retain the opposition between r and l, though in the case of northern variety, l shows a one way alternation with r. The children of the northern variety, would therefore have to learn to eliminate the alternation of l with r. Similarly some of the members of the northern and central groups show random alternation of s with š and h and also alternation between s and š. It is considered essential to retain the opposition amongst the three unvoiced fricatives, lest the communication fails particularly in formal situations where gestures may not be available to signal the actual message the speaker intents to convey.

The propriety of introducing these new oppositional features at this stage itself may be questioned. The answer to such a question is that they are required to be introduced on two counts viz., (i) these features are found in the southern group which accounts for about 50% of the speakers and further without these features the communication in Naga Pidgin itself, particularly in formal situations including in classrooms, may be severely hampered, and (ii) the findings of researches have convincingly established that it is easier to learn new sounds at the early age than at a later age. Taking all these into account the unvoiced unaspirated and aspirated stops, the voiced unaspirated stops, the lateral, the flap, the three nasals, the three unvoiced fricatives and the two frictionless continuants have been set up for the standardized Naga Pidgin. Of these, unvoiced unaspirated and aspirated stops, three nasals and the two frictionless continuants are found with most of the varieties. The voiced aspirated stops can be learnt as a new oppositional feature when Hindi is introduced in the class room as a II language. By then the voiced unaspirated stops in the Naga Pidgin would have been fully established with all the groups. The remaining consonants set up in this language are common with all the groups.

2. GRAMMAR :

2.1. Grammatical categories : Nominals

2.1.1. Number :

A feature that is common with the Naga languages and also with the different varieties of this language is the optional deletion of the plural marker whenever the context indicates plurality. In the previous study, only the yimchunger variety marked plurality uniformly, while the other varieties deleted the plural marker whenever the context indicated plurality. This feature of deleting the plural marker when context indicates plurality is therefore accepted for the standardized grammar.

It may, however, be noted that different varieties do not show any uniformity in respect of the use of plural marker with different sub-groups of nouns, for instance, whereas some varieties mark the plurality with all sub-class of nouns, some others mark only with NH being class and yet some others with Nani Class of nouns. Another variant feature is that some varieties mark the plurality with *itu*, the III person non-human pronoun, when it substitutes a NanH class of nouns but not when it substitutes a Nina class of nouns. Such a usage leads to confusion and ambiguities as *itu* substitutes nouns of both Nina and NanH being groups. Taking all factors into account, the plural marker is set up only for Nani being class of nouns with Nina class of nouns not marked for plurality. Secondly *itu* does not take plural marker irrespective of the fact *itu* substitutes a noun of Nina or Nanh being class.

Another variant feature is in respect of the selection of the plural marker. There are two markers for expressing plurality : These are : *bilək* and *kʰan*. Some varieties mark plurality of the nouns with *biəlk* and of the pronous with *kʰan*, while some others use *kʰan* for both. A frequency count of the occurrence of *biəlk* and *kʰan* shows that *kʰan* occures in more varieties than *bilək* and hence *kʰan* ie set up as the sole plural marker for both the nouns and pronouns.

2.1.2. Gender :

Theoretically, the opposition found in, a pair of words like :

cʰokra	'boy'
cʰokri	'girl'

could be considered as opposition in gender and -a/-i marked respectively as masculine and feminine markers. This, however, is not done mainly because in the entire vocabulary of this language, the occurrences of such pairs are limited in number. And that too,

such pairs are recent borrowings from Hindi which has a grammatical gender and further such paired words co-occur with the original words like : lora 'boy' suali 'girl' etc. Secondly there is no concord in gender between the gender of a noun and the other grammatical classes in a sentence. Lastly the speakers themselves treat these words on par with semantically paired words like : ama 'mother' and apa 'father' which already exist in this language. The pairs of words like : cʰokia : cʰokri 'boy : girl' etc. are therefore, considered monomorphemic words and the gender is not set up even as an optional grammatical category.

2.1.3. Case relations :

Nine case relations are set up in this language. These are : nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, sociative, instrumental, locative, allative and ablative. The justification for setting up of each of these case relations and the markers selected follows :

1. Nominative case : It is not marked overtly in any variety, though every variety has the nominative case relation. It is unmarked in this one also.

2. Accusative case: The accusative and dative case markers got mixed up with pronouns in most of the varieties. And only 7 out of the 17 varieties have an overt accusative case marker. In the informal discourse situation, the absence of an overt accusative case marker would not be felt much as the context would indicate the case relationship. But when the language is to be put on a wider usage including for writing, it is required to be set up for identifying the direct object particularly in the passive constructions. This can be illustrated with a few examples from English which does not have overt marker for the accusative use.

   Shyama saw Sonia

   I ate meat

   Sonia was seen by Shyama

   Meat was eaten (by me)

Though passive constructions are a regular feature in English and many other languages, it is not so in Naga languages. Even when a sentence in active construction is passivized, only a change in the word order and the taking of the focus marker by the logical object are the operations involved. This can be illustrated with an example from Sema.

ino	axamnu	xowe	'I plucked flower'
1 2	3	4 5	(I nom. suff. flower pluck past)
			1 2 3 4 5
axamnuye ino xowe			'the flower was plucked by me'

The logical subject of the sentence in passive retains the nominative case suffix while the logical object functioning as the grammatical subject takes the focus marker *ye*. This is a much simpler system when compared to the examples from English cited earlier. In English, basically it is the change in the shape of the verb that signals the passivization hence when the logical subject is deleted from a sentence in the passive, the grammatical subject could still be recognized as the logical object. Similarly in Sema and the other Naga languages the presence or absence of the nominative suffix and the focus marker would signal whether or not a sentence is in the active or passive construction. Neither of these devices are available for Naga Pidgin, rather the only device available for it is a change in the word order, as in :

sonia syamak dik^hise	'Sonia saw Shyama'
syamak (sonia) dik^hise	'Shyama was seen (by sonia)'
kukur bilik katise	'the dog bit the cat'
bilik kukur katise	'the cat was bitten by the dog'
moy monso k^hayse	'I ate meat'
monso (moy) k^hayse	'the meat was eaten (by me)'

From the illustrative examples cited above, it could be seen that if the accusative is unmarked, it would not be possible to distinguish a sentence in the passive from the active. Let us see whether any other means that are available with the other languages could be made use of in this case.

Some of the means available are:

(i) nominative case marker

(ii) accusative case marker

(iii) passive marker with the logical object

(iv) passive marker with the verb and

(v) change in the word order

Items (iii) and (iv) are not available with any of the varieties of this language nor with the Naga languages. Item (v) is available and is made use of. It was already seen that by using only that device, it would not be possible to distinguish the two types of constructions. Since the nominative is unmarked in all the varieties studied, the only option available to us is the setting up of the accusative case marker. Since only nouns that have agentive functions would involve in the passivization, and since Nanh being class has the agentive function the accusative case need to be marked only for this sub-group and the pronouns that substitute the NH class of nouns. The Nina class of nouns and the other pronoun can be left unmarked for the accusative.

Since the different varieties that mark the accusative case overtly has *k* as the case marker, the same marker is set up for the standardized grammar.

At the sub-morphemic level, a zero allomorph has to be set up for the nouns ending in a consonant for avoiding at the word-final position the occurrence of the sequences of consonants which are otherwise inadmissible in this language. This would lead to the difficulty of identifying an active agent from a passive one if both the nouns concerned end in a consonant. Such a difficulty is inevitable in view of the constraints elsewhere. In such situation, which would be rare, one has to determine the active agent exclusively on context.

Dative case :

When the accusative is marked overtly, it is not essential at all to mark the dative also overtly. Even then the dative is marked with the NH class of nouns, primarily because 14 of the 17 varieties studied mark the dative case overtly with the NH class of nouns. A few mark this relation also with the other groups of nouns, but this has not been taken into account for this grammar, and the dative case is set up only with NH being class of nouns. And since *ke* marks the dative case for 13 out of the 14 varieties, the same marker is set up for this grammar also.

Instrumental case :

Since all the 17 varieties studied mark the instrumental case relation overtly, the instrumental case is set up for this grammar also. Of the 17 varieties studied 11 mark the instrumental case relation with the post position *logət* 'with', three marking with other post positions and the remaining three with case suffixes. Since more than half the varieties mark this case relation with the post position *logot* 'with', the same marker is set up for this grammar also.

Sociative case :

The sociative case relation is marked by all the varieties and hence set up for this grammar also. Probably because they have similar function, the marker used is the same as the one used for marking the instrumental case. Whereas the instrumental case relation is available only with Nina class of nouns, the sociative is available only with Nani class of nouns. The use of the same case marker for marking two different case relations would, therefore, not lead to any confusion.

Genitive case :

This case relation is marked very inconsistently by different varieties. For instance, some mark the nouns in the singular with *r* and others with the post position *laga* 'of'. And in the plural *laga* alternates with zero. The inconsistency of using this case relation is still greater with the pronouns in that the same variety may mark in three different ways, viz., *r, laga* and *zero* by random alternations amongst the three forms. And in the plural *laga* alternates with *zero*, though the latter has an higher frequency of occurrence. When the zero marks this case relation, the noun/pronoun is put in a juxtaposition having the determiner-determined construction where the noun/pronoun in the genitive case relation would be the determiner (possessed item).

It is a common feature with the Naga languages not to mark the genitive case relation overtly, for instance in Sema:

hətolipu	'Hatoli's father'
hətoliki	'Hatoli's house' etc,

Whereas Assamese mark this relation with the case suffix *r*. The Naga pattern of not marking the genitive case relation overtly is adopted for this grammar, in view of the inconsistencies found with the different varieties.

Locative case :

This case relation has been further sub-divided into three, *viz.*, locative proper, allative and ablative. All the three sub-groups of case relations are marked by the different varieties studied. The respective markers used by all the varieties are also the same. These three sub-groups of case relations along with the respective case markers are, therefore, set up for this grammar also.

2.2 Grammatical categories of the verb :

Tense :

As far as the non-locative verbs are concerned, all the varieties studied showed a two-way opposition in simple tense, *viz.*, past and non-past. The respective tense markers are: *-se* and *-bo*. The same have been set up for this grammar also. A simple present tense is not set up as neither the Naga languages nor the Assamese has a simple present tense occurring with the non-locative verbs.

The LV in all the varieties shows a three-way opposition, *viz.*, past, present and future. In all the varieties the base form of the LV itself indicates the present tense. The future tense marker *bo* occurring with the non-locative verb also marks the future tense of the LV in

all the varieties. Difference however is found in the occurrence of the past tense marker in that three different markers are found to occur with different varieties. These are: *ile, ele* and *tʰəkise.* **Of** these, *ile,* has the high frequency of occurrences and hence it is set up as the past marker for the locative verbs.

Aspects :

Some varieties show a three-way opposition in aspect *viz.*, progressive, perfective and habitual. Of these only the. progressive has been set up for this grammar. A brief statement of the three including the reason for not setting up the other two are given below.

Progressive aspect :

There is an intersection of tense with this aspect in that it shows a three-way opposition in all the varieties studied.

These oppositions are : Past progressive, present progressive and future progressive. And the present and future progressives are marked in, the same manner in all the varieties *i.e.*, postposing the base form of the non-locative verb to the root of the principal verb for the present progressive and postposting the future form of the auxiliary verb *tʰəki* 'remain' to the root of the principal verb for the future progressive as in:

kʰayəse	'is eating' and
kʰay tʰəkibo	'will be eating'.

These two markers are therefore set up respectively for present and future progressive aspects. The past progressive however, shows some variations *i.e.*, a majority of the varieties have the past form of the non-locative verb postposed to the verb root, while a few have the past form of the auxiliary postposed to the verb root. The former is, therefore, set up for this grammer, as in.

kʰay əsile	'was eating'

Perfective aspect :

Only the Angami, Rengma and Chang varieties have the occurrence of this aspect. Even in their case, the simple past form is/can be used for indicating the present and past perfect forms also, for instance,

moy moñso kʰayse	'I have/had eaten/ate meat'

Future perfective is not found to occur with any variety. In view of this, the perfective aspect is not set up for this grammar.

Habitual aspect :

As far as the habitual aspect is concerned the one feature that is common is the use of the adverb *hoday* 'always' for expressing the recurring nature of an action. Some of the varieties that mark this aspect mark it using different auxiliary verbs. Since the adverb *hoday* signals the recurring nature of the action specified, this aspect is not set up for this grammar.

Modals :

All the varieties studied show a minimum of seven-way opposition in modality. These are: indicative (unmarked), imperative, obligatory, potential, permissive, conditional and infinitive. A few varieties show as many as ten-way opposition. The three additional modals found in some varieties are: polite imperative, probability$_1$ and probability$_2$. Since a polite imperative as opposed to a simple imperative is found only with the Angami variety it is not set up for this grammar and the simple imperative is redesignated as imperative. The probability modal$_1$ and the probability modal$_2$ express respectively the prediction and the weakened prediction of the speaker about the occurrence of an action or event in the future. In most of the varieties, these two modals got mixed up with the potential modal. In five varieties, *viz.,* Ao, Chang, Sangtam, Zemi and the Liangmei, a single from, *viz.,* V$_f$ *pare* stands for all the three modals : and in some varieties, one of the two probability modals with or without opposition in tense are available. Only in five varieties, *viz.,* Angami, Sema, Chokri, Kanyak and Mao, this three way opposition is maintained. Even for these varieties, depending upon the context, a single form *viz.,* V$_f$ *para* could represent all the three modals. Therefore the need to set up the probability$_1$ and probability$_2$ modals is not felt. And as such only the potential modal is set up. The potential modal in all the varieties show a two-way opposition in tense *viz.,* past and non-past. In the non-past, four of the varieties show the future marker with both the principal and auxiliary verbs, as in:

jabo paribo 'can go'

whereas the rest of the varieties show the future tense only with the principal verb, as in:

jabo pare 'can go'

In view of this, the latter form is accepted for this grammar. Two of the varieties mark the past tense with the principal verb, as in:

jayse pare 'could go'

whereas all the other varieties have the past marker with the auxiliary verb which signals modality as in :

jabo parise 'could go'

The latter form is set up for this grammar. An additional advantage in setting up the past tense marker with the modal auxiliary is that it fits in with the theoretical assumption stated in the body of the grammar that the moods are part of the future tense system and in this language they are actually built up on the future tense form of the principal verb.

Obligatory mood :

All the varieties excepting the five varieties, *viz.*, Khezha, Chang, Zemi, Rongmei and Liagmei, show the opposition between past and non-past in this mood. The opposition in tense is, therefore, set up for this grammar. Just as the potential modal showed this opposition by suffixing the simple past tense marker to the modal auxiliary, in this instance also the past tense marker is suffixed to the modal auxiliary, as in:

jabo lage	'must go' (non-past)
jabo lagise	'had to go' (past)

Uniformity is found in the use of the remaining modals. Hence those modals are set up for this grammar, as they are.

Sentences :

Copular sentences :

Most of the varieties optionally delete the copula of the simple sentences having the sentence structure of NNC. The deletion of the copula, however, is permitted in this grammar only for the equative sentences like:

itu moy gor	'it is my house'
moy khetimanu	'I am a peasant'

The deletion of the copula with the possessive type of sentence is not permitted as the deletion is likely to lead to misunderstanding and confusion, for instance: *moy kukur* could be interpreted as 'I am a dog' rather than 'I have a dog'. For avoiding such situations, the copula is retained obligatorily in the case of possessive sentences, while it is deleted obligatorily with the equative sentences in the present. In the non-present tenses, the equative and the possessive types of sentences would show the copula, but there could be very little chance of misunderstanding as the context would clearly indicate whether the sentence is of the equative or possessive type. This could be illustrated with a few examples.

1-a	moy kʰetimanu ekta	'I am a peasant'
b	moy kʰetimau ekta əsile	'I was a peasant'
2-a	moy suali ekta	'I am a girl'

b	moy suali ekta əsile	'I had a girl'
c	moy suali ekta əse	'I have a girl'
3-a	tay moy manu	'he is my husband'
b	tay moy manu əsile	'he was my husband'

1-b Could be structurally considered as the past tense form of *moy kʰetimanu ekta* əse 'I have a peasant'. Such an expression is used only when one is talking of 'helping hands' in cultivation and not when one talks of different professions, like teacher, peasant, officer, etc. Hence the context would indicate the intended meaning. Similarly, 2-b Could be interpreted as 'I was a girl' only when an elderly woman talks of her past life as a young girl, or when a sex change had taken place after a surgical operation. The context would clearly indicate if such an utterence is really meant, otherwise 2-b would only be interpreted as 'I had a girl', but now she left me or died etc. On the same lines 3-b. Would be interpreted as 'he had my husband' only in the context of captivating people or in an expanding situation like: he has my husband under his thumb etc. In either case, the context would clearly indicate the intended meaning without leading to any confusion. The copula is retained in the locative type of sentences in all varieties. It is retained in this grammar also with the locative sentences.

TEXTS

Till very recently, a major concern of the Nagas was the struggle for existence. This arose primarily out of the inter-tribal and at times even inter-clan feuds. Therefore, a large number of folk songs and folk tales of the Nagas pertain to the warfare, heroic deeds of their warriors etc. Apart from this, every Naga is concerned with two other issues in his life. One concerns his love affair, particularly of the pre-marital relationships and the other hardship and sufferings of children living with a step-mother or a step-father, including the orphans living with the fostered parents. In every Naga tribe one could find a number of folksongs and folktales on these two themes. These two themes are also reflected in the folktales included in this section as texts.

These folktales were collected from different Naga communities. The folktales in each Naga language were translated into Naga Pidgin by the informat concerned. Later all the stories were re-written by this writer to fit in with the system of the standardised grammar of Naga Pidgin presented in the body of this book. The Assamese version (equivalent) of the first test on 'Immortal Love' is also given in this. The Assamese version was provided by Dr. Datta Baruah, of the CIIL.

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TEXT 1

Sirkolay tʰəka bal

Permanent remain love

Immortal love

ek bar	suali	ekta əru	lora	ekta ikilokye
one time	girl	one and	boy	one together

Once a girl and a boy loved each other,

bal	˙pay-kine	sadi	kori-bole	mon tʰəke
love	get having	marriage	do (infinitive)	mind remain

and decided to marry,

Kintu	Lora	ay-baba	mənjur	kora	nəy.
but	boy	mother father	permission	do	no.

but the boy's parents did not agree.

itu	nimiti ta-k	dusra	suali-ləgot
this	because he(acc)	another	girl with

Because of this, his marriage with another girl was

sadi	kori	di-se.	kintu	lora-tu	sadi
marriage	do	give past.	but	boy specific	marriage
arranged.			But even after his		

hua pisot	itu	suali	nimiti	hi	bisi	duk^h
happen after	this	girl	because	itself	very	sorrow

marriage, he felt sorry for this girl.

kori di-se.
do give past.

pisot	itu	suali-bi	dusra	lora-ləgot	sadi
afterwards	this	girl also	another	boy with	marriage

Later this girl also got married to another boy.

huy.	ek-bar	nikrone[1]	puja	homoy-te
happen.	one time	nikrone	festival	time in

During the Nikrone festival, once

itu	suali	tay	manu	bəca	loy-kine	tay
this	girl	she	man	child	take having	she

taking the child she begot from her husband this girl went

ay-baba	gor-te	əhi-se .	itu	homoy-te
mother father	house in	come past .	this	time in
to her parent's house.			At the same time,	

itu	lora	bi	yete	əhi-kine	ta-k	pay-se.
this	boy	also	there	come having	she(acc)	get past.

this boy also came there and met the girl.

əru	lora-tu	suali	bəca	loy-kine
And	boy specific	girl	child	take having

And taking the child, the boy asked

tay	nam	hud:-se.	suali-tu	kowi-se
she	name	ask past.	girl/specific	say past

its name   The girl

moy	duk^h	nimiti	tay	nam
I	sorrow	bacause	she	name

replied that out of sorrow, she named the

ᶻerokrino²	di-se.	itu	homoy-te	lora-tu
Zerokrino	give past.	this	time in	boy specific

child as Zerokrino.   At that time the boy took

tay	bal	muni	ekta uloy-kine	bɔca-tu
he	good	necklace	one take having	child specific

out a good necklace and giving it

di	kowi-se,	ɔpuni	manu	itu	muni
give	say past,	you	man	this	necklace

to the child said,   if your husband asks

kod	pora	pay-se	hudi-le	moy	itu
where	from	get past	ask if	I	this

from where she got the necklace,   don't say that

di-se	nɔ	kowi.	ɔpuni	kini-se
give past	no	say	you	buy past

I gave it to you.   Please say that you

kowi-bi.	itu	lukay	kori-le	moy
say (imp).	this	hide	do if	I

bought it.   I would be very happy, if

bisi	bal	pa-bo'
very	good	get will.

You could hide it'

---

1. This is an Angami folk tale, translated into this Pidgin by Shri Atha of Kohima. Nikrone is an Angami festival.

2. Zerokhrino is a proper name. Its literary meaning in Angami is 'don't feel of departing from you'. In this context, it indicates the deep love of the girl for her previous lover, despite begetting a child from her husband.

[SirɔkalɔlΩi thɔka bhalpoa

Ekbar Ezɔni[1] Soali aru Eta lΩrai itoe[2] xitok bhal pai bia kɔra bɔla mon Kɔre. Kintu lΩ rar ai bopaye mɔnjur kɔra naiei nimitee tar bElEg[3] Soalir lɔgɔt bia pati dise.[4] Kintu bia hoar pisɔto lΩratoe izɔni soalir nimittehe besi dukh kΩri ase. pisɔt izɔni soaliro bElEg lΩrar lɔgɔt bia hɔy. Ekbar nikrone puzar xɔmɔyɔt ito soalie kesua[5] lΩi aibopair ghɔrɔt ahise. ei xɔmɔyɔto ito lΩraio iyalΩi ahi taik paise. aru lΩratoe kesuato lΩi tair ɳam xudhise. Soalizɔnie kΩise 'mor dukhɔr nimitte tair ɳam zerokrino diso: ci xɔmɔyɔte lΩratoe Eta bhal mɔni uliai kesuatok di kΩise, 'tor manuhtoe ito mɔni kΩr pɔra paise buli[6] xudhile ito mɔni mɔi diso nɔkΩnize kiniso buli kɔbi. ito lukai rakhile mɔi besi bhal pam.

1· Ezɔni/Eta stand respectively for 'one female/male'. but in Kamrup district, which is near the Southern part of Nagaland, this distinction is not maintained and Eta is used for both 'male/female'.

2. itoe 'mutual' whereas Ekelɔge 'together', in Assamese.

3. bElEg 'another' but in Kamrup district 'dosra'.

4. when the marriage is arranged by oneself and not by the parents, the usage is : soalik   bia   kɔrise' (lit. girl   acc   marriage   do   past)
    1   2   3   4 5   1   2   3   4   5

5. bɔsa 'child', (Hindi bɔcha) is not used in Assamese to refer to the child of human beings.

6. buli, a conjunctive used between two verbs in Assamese.

TEXT 2

Mejik pɔtʰor

Majic stone

utʰoni	ekta	bosti-te	manu	ekta	mejik
once upon a time	one	village-in	man	one	magic

Once upon a time, a man in a village had a magic stone.

pɔtʰor	ɔsile.	hoday	phojur-te	tay	ekta	tukri
stone	is(past).	always	morning in	he	one	basket

Every day in the morning he used to put one basket

dan	otu	pɔtʰor	upɔr-suke	kori-bole	rɔkʰi-se
grain	that	stone	on dry	do to	keep (past)

of grain on that stone

əru	gudoli	tay	joma	kora	səmoy-te
and	evening	he	collect	do	time in

and in the evenings when he collects the grain, he used to get

duy	tukri	hoday	pay-se.	itu	nimite
two	basket	always	get (past).	this	because

two baskets of grain.   Because of it

tay	hoday	kʰusi	tʰəki-se.	otu	manu
he	always	happiness	remain (past).	that	man

he always lived a happy life.

tini	lora	ə-sile.	tay	lora-kʰan	daṅor
three	son	is (past).	he	son (pl)	big

That man had three sons.   After his sons were

hoy	pisot	ələk	ələk	bosti-te	sadi	kori di-se.
happen	after	different	different	village in	marriage	do give (past).

grown up, they were married in different villages.

ek	din	ketya	otu	manu	jani-se	ta-k
one	day	when	that	man	know	he (acc)

One day when he came to know that he was   (past)

mori-bole	din	osor	əhi-se,	tay	tini	lora-k
die	to	day	near	come (was)	he	three	son (acc)

about to die, after calling his three sons, he said : my sons,

mati	kowi-se :	"moy	lora-kʰan,	moy	mori	pisot
call	say (past)	my	son(pl)	my	die	after

after my death, you must dry the grain turn by turn

tumi-kʰan	ələk	ələk	din	dan	suka	kori-bole	lage
you(pl)	different	different	day	grain	dry	do to	must

On different days.

əru	jəkra	nəkori-bo.	tay	mori	pisot	olop
and	quarrel	no do(future).	he	die	after	few

And do not quarrel".   For a few days after

din	tay	kotʰa	honmani-se.	kintu	olop	din
day	he	word	obey (past).	but	few	day

his death, they obeyed his words. But after some

pisot	lora-kʰan	majed	jəkra	suru	hoy-se
after	boy(pl)	between	quarrel	begin	happen(past)

days, the boys began to quarrel amongst themselves.

itu	jəkra	hoday	tʰəki-se.	itu	karone	lora-kʰan
that	quarrel	always	remain(past).	this	because	boy (pl)

That quarrel continued every day.   Because of this

majed	otu	mejik	pətʰor	tini	bag	bani-bole
between	that	majic	stone	three	share	break to

they decided amongst themselves to divide the stone into

mənjur	kori-se.	tay-kʰan	tel	gas	jama
agree	do(past).	he(pl)	oil	grass	collect

three parts.   After gathering oily grass

kora	əru	mejik	pətʰor	upər	rókʰi	otu
do	and	majic	stone	on	keep	that

and keeping it on the stone, set fire to that

gastu	jyuy	jolay-se.	otu	pətʰor	tini	tukra	bani
grass (specific) grass.	fire	burn (past)	that	stone	three	piece	break

That stone had broken into three pieces.

hoy-se.	ketya	otu	məjik	pətʰor	tukra
happen (past.)	when	this	magic	stone	piece

When the majic stone broke into pieces, the magic of that stone

hoy-se	otu	pətʰor	mejik	hari-se.	otu
happen (past)	that	stone	magic	lose (past).	that

was lost.

pisot	tay-kʰan	tay-kʰan	baba	kotʰa	nə
after	he (pl)	he (pl)	father	word	no
honmani-bole	dukh	pay.			
obey	to	sorry	get.		

After that, they felt sorry for not obeying their father's words.

TEXT 3

Jena   əru   eteben: hosa   bal   kotʰa
(Jena   and   Eteben: true   love   talk)
(Jane   and   Eteben: a true   love   story)

ek-bar	ekta	bosti-te	ekta	etom	donia suali
one time	one	village in	one	very	beautiful girl

once there was a very beautiful girl in a village.

tʰəki-se.	tay	nam	eteben	əsile.	bisi	lora
remain (past).	she	name	Eteben	is (past).	many	boy

Her name was Eteben.   Many   boys

itu	suali-ləgot	sadi	kori-bole	hudi-se.	Kintu
this	girl	with	marriage	do to	ask(past).	but

wanted to marry this girl.   But

suali-tu	koni	lora-ləgot-bi	sadi	kori-bole
girl (specific)	none	boy with also	marriage	do to

the girl did not agree to marry

mənjur	kora	nəy.	otu	suali	gor-te
agree	do	no.	that	girl	house in

any of the boys.   A maid servant

ekta	səkor	nəwkər	bi	tʰəki-se.	tay
one	maid	servant	also	remain (past).	she

also lived in that girl's house. She

ekta	gorib	gor-te	lora-k	bal	kori-se.
one	poor	house in	boy (acc)	love	do (past).

had loved poor boy.

tay	nam	jena	ə-sile.	ek	din
he	name	jena	is(past).	one	day

His name was Jena.   One day

Jena	otu	donia	suali-ke	bal	dəwai
jena	that	beautiful	girl (dat.)	love	medicine

Jena gave that beautiful girl a love medicine.

di-se.	dəwai	kʰay	pisot	suali-tu	otu	lora
give(pst.)	medicine	eat	after	girl (specific)that		boy

After eating the love medicine the girl fell

ləgot   bal   hoy   pay-se.   əru   duy   ɟon   etom
with   love   happen   get(past).   and   two   person   very
in love with the poor boy.   And both of them

bal   hoy-tʰəki-se.   kintu   suali   ay   baba   otu
love   happen remain (past).   but   girl   mother father   that
remained in deep love.   But the girls parents did not

gorib   lora-ləgot   suli-k   sadi   kori-bole   mənɟur
poor   boy wih   girl(acc)   marriage   do to   permission
permit her marriage with that poor boy.

di   nəy.   itu nimiti tak   dusra   lora   ləgot   sadi
give   no.   this because she (acc) another boy   with   marriage
Because of this he was given in marriage with

kori   di-se.   kintu   tay   sadi   hoy   pisot   bi
do   give(past).   but   she   marriage happen   after   also
another boy.   But even after her marriage

tay   manu-ləgot   kʰusi   pay   nəy.   otu   həmoy-te
she   man with   happiness   get   no.   that   time in
she could not get happiness from her husband.   During that time,

otu   gorib   lora   dusra   koni-ləgot   bi   sadi
that   poor   boy   another   none   with   also   marriage
the poor boy did not marry

kora   nəy.   sadi   hoy   oloy   din pisot
do   no.   marriage   happen   few   day after
anyone.   Shortly after
suali-tu   bimar   hoy-se.   tay   səystʰor
girl (specific)   sick   happen(past).   she   health
                    her marriage she fell ill.

bal   hoy-bole   tay   manu   gor-te   sob ɟon,   etom
good   happen to   she   man   house in   all people   very
Everyone in her husband's house tried to improve her health.

   səsta   kori-se. kintu suali-tu   səystʰor bal hoy nəy
   try   do (past). but girl(specific)   health good happen no.
But the girls health did not improve.

   itu kotʰa huni suali   poyla bal kora manu bi
   this talk hear girl   first love do man also
On hearing this news, her first lover also

ta-k   sawi-bole   tat
she (acc) see   to   there

went to see her.

jay-se.   ketya   suali-tu   tay   poyla   bal
go (past).   when   girl(specific) she   first   love

When the girl saw her first lover,

kora   manu   dik^hi-se   tay   Səyst^hor   etom   bal
do   man   see (past)   she   health   very   good

she fully recovered from her sickness.

hoy-se.   kintu   otu   lora   babi-se
happen (past). But   that   boy   think (past).

But the boy thought that she was then

suali-tu   itya   dusra   manu   mayki   əse.
girl (specific) now   another   man   women   is.

the wife of another man.

itu   nimiti   otu   gorib   lora   suali   manu   gor
this   because   that   poor   boy   girl   man   house

Because of that, the poor boy left her husband's house.

pora   jay-se.   itu   pisot   suali-tu
from   .   go (past).   this   after   girl(specific)

After that, the girl

kanti   kanti   bisi   bimar   t^həki-se.   ketya   tay
cry   cry   much   sickness   remain (ast).   when   she

cried so much that she fell ill.

jani-se   tay   mori-bole   din   osor   əhi-se   ek din
know (past) she   die to   day   near   come (past) one day

When she realized that she was to die shortly, she said

tay   kowi-se   "itu duniya-te   moy   bal   kora   manu
she   say (past)   this world in   I   love   do   man

one day, "in this world I cannot marry the man

ləgot   sadi   kori-bole   ho-bo   noare   kintu   moy
with   marriage do to   happen will no can   but   I

I love, but in the other world I will always remain

ta-k   ləgot   dusra   duniya-te hoday   t^həki-se
he (acc)   with   another   world in   always   remain (past).

with him.

itu   kowi   tay   mori-se.   itu   kot^ha   huni   otu
this   say   she   die (past).   this   talk   hear   that

saving this, she died.   on hearing this news,

lora   bi   mori-se.
boy   also   die (past).

the boy also died.

itu	biswas	kori	tʰəki-se,	otu	suali	əru	otu
this	belief	do	remain is	that	girl	and	that

it is believed that the boy and the girl are

lora	dusra	duniya-te	ikilokye	tʰəki əse.
boy	another	world in	together	remain is.

living together in the other world.

TEXT 4

Kukur əru gəhuri

utʰoni ekta bostite manu tay kʰetite kam koribole ekta gəhuri əru ekta kukur rəkʰise. ek din otu manu gəhuri əru kukur korone bat bonayse əru tay duy jəndutu kʰetite kam koribole patʰise gəhuritu din bor kam kori kori tʰəkise əru kukurtu kʰeti gərte humi. tʰəkise. ketya gudulite gərai jawa həmoyte kukurtu kʰetite jay iphali uphali dəwri itu tʰeṅ nisan matite dikʰi payse əru gor jayse.

kukurtu kʰetipora itu hikok gər əhi tak kowise "baba, gəhuritu eku kam kora nəy əru dinbor kʰetigorte humi tʰ əkise, kintu gəray jawa homoyte gəhuritu iphali uphali dəwri itu tʰeṅ nisan matite bonise. əru məy (kukur) eklahi sob kam korise". kintu manutu itu kotʰa biswas kora nəy.

otu manu kukur kotʰa biswas nəkora nimite dusra din bi duy jəndu korone bat korise əru kʰetite kam koribole tak patʰise kintu otu manubi kon kon ki ki kam kora sawibole luki kori jay kʰetite osor jəṅlte rukʰitʰəkise əru kukurtu kʰetite gorte humise kintu ketya gudolite gəray jawa homoyte kukurtu kʰetite jay iphali uphali dəwri itu tʰeṅ nisan matite dikʰipayse əru gor jayse. otu manu itu sob sawise.

otu manu duy jəntutu ki ki kam kori sawi pisot gor əhise. gor aha pisot pura bat gəhurik dise əru kʰali hara kukurtu pʰelise. kukurtu šorəm lagi hara lobi duy tukuri majed kʰaybole bohise. itu mimiti ajbi lok gəhurik bat əru kukur hara dise.

A Dog and a Pig

Once upon a time a man had kept a dog and a pig for working in the field. One day that man prepared food for the dog and the pig and sent both the animals to the field for working. The pig worked for the whole day (lit. work do remained) and the dog remained sleeping in the field house. In the evening, at the time of returning home, the dog ran hither and thither and made marks of its food (lit. mark see got) and went home.

The dog on reaching the home of its master told him 'father, the pig did not do any work and it slept the whole day in the field house; but at the time of returning home, the pig ran hither and thither and made mark of its feet on the ground. And it (the dog) alone did the whole work'. But that man did not believe these words.

Since that man did not believe the story of the dog, the next day also he prepared food for the two animals and sent them to the field. But to find out who is doing what work, he also went quietly and remained in the forest near the field. That day also, the pig worked the whole day and the dog slept, in the field house. But at the time of returning home, the dog running hither and thither made its foot mark on the ground. That-man saw all these.

That man returned home after seeing the work the two animals had done. After coming home he gave the entire food to the pig and threw the bones to the dog. Out of shame, the dog taking the bones sat in between' two baskets to eat. Because of this, even today people give food to pig and bones to dog.

TEXT 5

nijor nə hua ay

(Lit. real not happen mother

(Step Mother)

ketya kʰatau was boyo əsile tay ay marise. əru iman din nətʰəki otu lori baba dusri sadi korise. kʰatau nijor nəhua aytu kʰatau ləgot olop bi morəm sawi nəy. kʰatau nutən ay kʰatauke din bor konu kam kori bole dise əru tay hoday bagor tʰəkise. otu mayki kʰatau hinsa kora tay babak hodav kowise. əru kʰatau baba mon bisa korise. itu nimiti dusra koni lori iman kopəl nəse timan kʰatau əsile. kʰatau ekta beya lori əse itu tay manuk biswas kori dise, əru otu mayki kʰatauk patʰabole hoday jor korise. itu nimiti ek din kʰatau baba kʰatauk patʰabole mənjur korise.

əru dusra din kʰatau baba kʰatauk jəñolot loy jayse. duy jon bəhut dur jay pisot dobol jəngol majed ekta ukʰo gas upər duy jon utʰaise. olop səmoy pisot kʰatau baba kowi, tay bat ənibole pəhorise. otu nimiti tay etom joldi gor jay bat loy hibo. itu misa kowi kʰataubaba gor jayse. əru gərai jaynəse. kʰatau ekla namibo noarise itu nimiti tay gas upərhi bohise. heytu rokom duy din jayse. buk nimiti tay pura jur harise.

trityor diwəs bak ekta əhi gas upər utʰaise əru kʰatauk mari kʰabole sur korise, olop pisot kʰatauk sawibole tay bəndu ekta əhise, bak kʰatauk mari kʰayəse sawi lorake dukʰ pay. bak ləgot judo kori bak marise. ꞌ itu pisot loratu bak matʰa əru kʰatau matʰa katise əru duy matʰa loi bostite gəray jayse.

dusra din ratipua həmoyte kʰatau baba gor jayse əru dorja dyna bak matʰa əru bayna kʰatau matʰa rosi ꞌləgot bandise. olop pisot otu mayki mati duy mata dikʰise. otu mayki duy matʰa sawi tʰəki hsəmoyte otu lora mayki gor jolayse. maykitu əru tay manutu mor jayse.

(Step Mother)

When Khatau was five years old, her mother died. And shortly afterwards, her father married again. Khatau's step mother did not show any sympathy to her. Without any rest, the whole day Khatau's step mother gave her some work or the other. She always used to say against Khatau to her father. And Khatau's father's mind was poisoned against her. Because of these, there wasn't any girl who was as unlucky as Khatau. Her father was made to believe that she was a bad girl. And that woman went on pressurising her husband to send away Khatau. Because of these, one day he agreed to send her away.

The next day Khatau's father took her to a forest. After going far, they climbed a tall tree in the midst of the thick forest. After sometime, her father said that he had forgotten to bring food. He would go home and return soon with food. Telling this lie, her father went home and did not return. Khatau could not climb down the tree alone. So she sat on the top of the tree itself. In this manner two days passed. Out of hunger, she lost all her strength.

On the third day one tiger came and after jumping (climbing) on to the tree, killed her and started eating her. After a while a friend of hers who was searching for her came there. Seeing that Khatau was being eaten, the boy felt sorry. He fought with the tiger and killed it. Afterwards he cut the head of the tiger and of Khatau and taking them returned to the village.

Next day at dawn he went to Khatau's father's house and tied with a rope the head of the tiger on the right side of the door and the head of Khatau on the left side. Then he called the woman (Khatau's step mother) and showed the two heads. When the woman was seeing the two heads, he set fire to the house. Both the woman and her husband died.