

A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE HAJONG LANGUAGE

**A Thesis Submitted to the University of Hyderabad in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics**

by

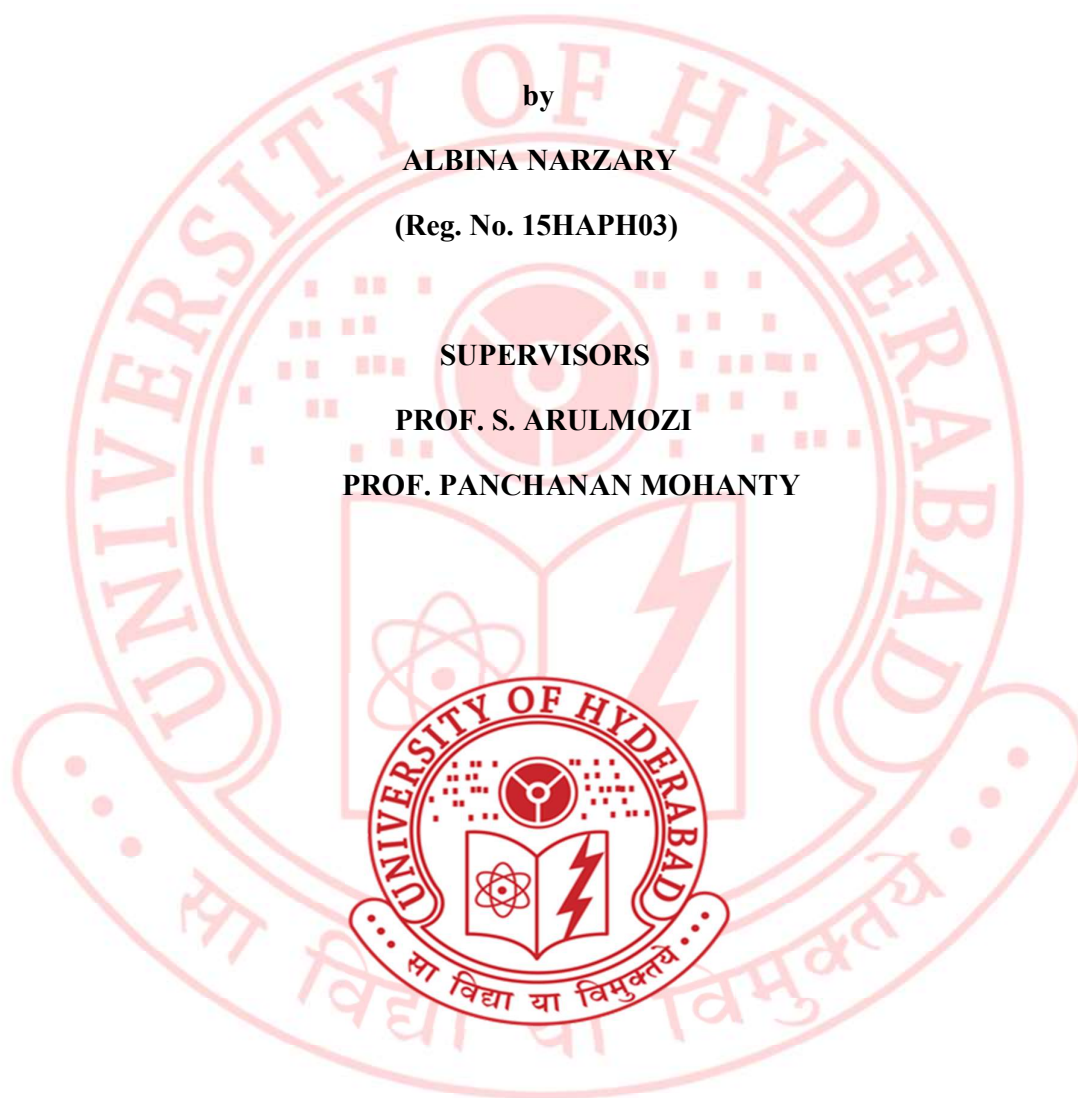
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DECLARATION

I, **Albina Narzary**, hereby declare that this dissertation entitled “**A Descriptive Analysis of the Hajong Language**” submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of Prof. S. Arulmozi and Prof. Panchanan Mohanty is a bonafide research work. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this University or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

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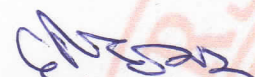
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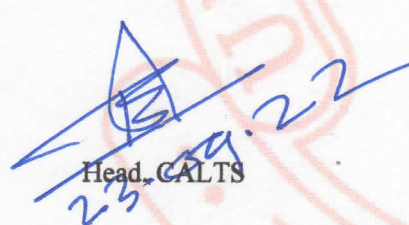
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ABSTRACT

The Hajong language is described linguistically in this work. This is a field-based linguistic study of the Hajong language's grammatical properties on the three main core components (i.e., phonology, morphology and syntax). Data for this study was gathered from Hajong people that speak, largely in Assam's Goalpara area, using questionnaires, interviews, and observation approaches. The primary purpose of this research is to examine the forms and functions of Hajong grammatical categories. This study contains a precise description and analysis of the ethnolinguistic studies, sociolinguistic situation, sound system, nominal morphology, noun modifiers, word classes and processes; phrases, clauses, and sentences (syntax) of the Hajong language.

This research work is divided into four main parts. The first section is divided into three main chapters. Chapter 1 describes the sociolinguistic situation and ethnolinguistic studies on the language and its speakers. Chapter 2 covers the review of the literature. Chapter 3 discusses the statement of the issue, the purpose of the study, the significance of the study, the research methodology, and the scope or limitations of the study.

The second section contains chapter 4, with sound patterns for the Hajong language. There are eight vowels in Hajong, that do not contrast in length. All the eight vowels (except the vowel /ɛ/) occur in word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions. 26 consonant phonemes show four-way contrast in the place of articulation, manner of articulation, aspiration, and voicing. Hajong has an initial consonant cluster (mostly borrowed) and medial two-consonant clusters (no final consonant cluster) and (C) (C) V(V) (C) (C) is the syllable structure in Hajong.

The third section includes chapter 5 which consists of four major areas in morphology. Hajong has two number systems: singular and plural. Hajong possesses the natural gender system. Hajong has a nominative-accusative alignment case system. Hajong classifiers are bound morpheme, suffixes to noun stem before the case markers, numerals, deictics, and quantifiers. Simple verbs, conjunct verbs, and compound verbs are the three main types of verbs in Hajong. The tense system in Hajong can be categorized into three-way distinctions of tenses: present, past and future tense. The fourth section includes chapter 6 which focuses on Phrases, Clauses, and sentence structures. Hajong is an SOV language. The basic canonical word order in Hajong's declarative sentence is subject, indirect object, direct object, and verb, where auxiliary and modal verbs come after the main verb. Chapter 7 consists of the overall findings and a summary of the whole chapter.

To

The Hajong Community

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

[] non-overt element (in a translation and morpheme gloss)

// phonemic transcription

[] phonetic transcription

< > a grapheme

I	first person
IPL	first person plural
2	second person
2PL	second person plural
3	third person
3PL	third person plural
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADJZ	adjectivizer
AG	agent
ADV	adverb(ial)
ALL	allative
AUX	auxiliary
C	consonant
CL	classifier
CMPL	complementizer
COM	comitative
COND	conditional

CONJ	conjunction
COP	copula
CP	conjunctive participle
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIST	distal
EMPH	emphatic
EPV	epenthetic vowel
EXCL	exclusive
FIN	finite
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
HORT	hortative
HUM	human
IMP	imperative
IMPFV	imperfective past
INCL	inclusive
INDF	Indefinite marker
INF	infinitive
INT	intensifier
INST	instrumental
INTR	intransitive
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet

IPFV	imperfective
LIT	literally usage or form
LOC	locative
LVC	light verb construction
LWC	Language of Wider Communication
M	male
NEG	negative
NCL	numeral classifier
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
O	transitive object
OBJ	objective case
OPT	optative
PN	person, number
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PP	postposition
PROB	prohibitive
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal/proximate
PRS	present
PRF	perfect

PRT.RED	partial reduplication
PST	past
PST.HAB	past habitual
Q	question particle
QUOT	quotative
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
S	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SEQ	sequential
SFX	suffix
SG	singular
SUBM	subordinate marker
TEMP	temporal
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
V	verb
VI	verb intransitive
VT	verb transitive
VN	verbal noun

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: India Map with Highlighted Assam State



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0. Introduction

A language is a valuable tool for safeguarding our cultural values, knowledge, ethnic identities and ecological diversity. The alarming condition of language extinction and endangerment was brought to light following the seminal article “The world’s languages in crisis” (1992) by Krauss at the 1991 Conference of the American Linguistic Association. Krauss (1992:6-7) defines endangered languages as “those languages which, though now still being learned by children, will - if the present condition continues - cease to be learned by children during the coming century”. Romaine (2007:127) claims that “Language can only exist where there is a community to speak and transmit them. A community of people can exist only where there is a viable environment for them to live in and a means of making a living. Where communities cannot thrive, their languages are in danger. When languages lose their speakers, they die”. The awareness of the threat of language endangerment and the urgency of language documentation is also found in the scholarly works of Robins & Uhlenbeck 1991; Brenzinger 1992, 1998; Grenoble & Whaley 1998, 2006; Crystal 2000; Nettle & Romaine 2000; and others. Language endangerment and language death are widespread today. Ethnologue (24th edition) estimated that there are 7,139 living languages out of which, 1,514 living languages with less than 1,000 first-language speakers; 467 with less than 100 speakers, and 151 with less than 10 speakers. UNESCO Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger (Moseley 2010) estimates that approximately 2,500 languages (among which 230 languages have been extinct since 1950) are endangered. UNESCO¹ estimates that there are 197 endangered languages in India. It is time to rethink the importance of language endangerment and take the initiative to preserve these endangered languages before they become extinct. "Language documentation" or "Documentary linguistics" (Himmelman 1998, 2002, 2006; Lehmann 2001; Austin 2010; Grenoble 2010; Woodbury 2003, 2011) is a new subdomain of linguistics whose primary goal is to preserve the

¹ <http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/index.php?hl=en&page=atlasmap>

language, as naturally used in their respective linguistic communities, for linguistic and cultural values (Unseth 2012:10).

Himmelman (2006) defined language documentation as the subfield of linguistics that is concerned with methods, tools, and theoretical foundations for compiling a representative and lasting multipurpose record of a natural language. The main aim of language documentation according to Himmelman (1998:166) is “to provide a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community” but language description aims to “record a language as a system of abstract elements, constructions, and rules.” Austin (2010: 13) further stated that the purpose of the documentation is to document a language for linguistic purposes, meet the needs of speakers of that language, and support their desire to maintain it. Considering the importance of language documentation, the present work is an effort to undertake a descriptive analysis of Hajong, an undocumented endangered language of Assam.

1.1. The Hajong Language

had̥ɔŋ is a name used both for language and community. *haijɔŋ* is the alternate name mentioned by Grierson (1903-28). Hajong is called *had̥ɔŋ* by native speakers. According to Dalton (1872) and Allen (1905), Hajong is one of the offshoots of the Kachari tribe. From the point of view of Dalton (1872:87), “the Rabha and Hajongs of Gawalparah district are branches of the Kachari race and connected with the Garos”.

According to Grierson (1903-28:214), Haijong was a Tibeto-Burman, nevertheless with time has abandoned its original form of speech more akin to a dialect of eastern Bengali (Mymensingh district). He stated the Haijong sub-dialect is a corrupt form of Eastern Bengali spoken by members of the Haijong tribe.

Phillips (2011:1) states that “the Hajong people are ethnically and culturally closer to the surrounding Tibeto-Burman people groups such as Garo and Koch than to Bengali population and the cultural and linguistic similarities could be due to either to a common origin or to a mutual influence between the groups who have been living in proximity for generations”. The cultural similarities of Hajong with other tribal groups are still prevailing, even though; linguistically it is assimilated to their Bengali and Assamese neighbours. The reason for the

close cultural affinity with other tribal groups is yet to be discovered. Ethnologue² has categorised Hajong as Indo-Aryan, Eastern zone, Bengali-Assamese.

Hajong was recognized as one of the Scheduled Tribes (Hills) of Garo Hills Autonomous District in Assam in 1950. Later they were recognized as Scheduled Tribe (Hills) in Meghalaya, Autonomous districts of Assam (viz. Karbi Anglong and North Cachar Hills), and other Hills states of the North-Eastern region of India (Chakraborty 2003).

Hajong is one of the small minority groups living in Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, West Bengal, and Bangladesh. The major portion of the Hajong population is found in Meghalaya of Garo Hills, which holds the fourth position, in total population next to Khasi, Jhantia, and Garos. In Assam, they are scattered in the districts of Goalpara, Nagaon, Dhemaji, Sivasagar, Tinsukia, Baksa, Udalguri, Dhubri, Dhemaji, Chirang, North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong. Hajongs are located mostly in the Goalpara district of Assam. It is in this district that the present research work is mostly undertaken.

1.2. Variations in the Hajong Language

Grierson (1903-28:214) mentioned Haijong as the sub-dialect of Eastern Bengali which includes Dalus, Banai, and Hadis as the dialects of Hajong. Ethnologue affiliates Banai and Dalu with the Hajong group. It is further noted in Ethnologue that lexical similarity between Banai dialect of Koch and mainstream Hajong varieties is between 82% - 91%, between Dalu dialect and mainstream Hajong varieties, is 74% - 77%, between Banai dialect and Dalu, is 79%, with Assamese it is 54% - 64%, with Bengali it is 63% - 67%.

According to Mazumder (1984:148), the Banai language is quite similar to Hajong; however, they associate themselves with the Koch as Banai Koch. In the fieldwork, the researcher hasn't looked into the lexical similarities between Banai, Dalu, and Hajong. The informants stated that they are of different language communities. The Hajong people differentiate among themselves based on regional variations such as Dorskahania, Koraibari, Susungia, Barohajari, and Mechpara. No variety is considered to be a standard one. The research is based on the Dorskahania variety spoken in the Goalpara district of Assam.

² <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/haj>

1.3. Script

Hajong speakers living in Assam are familiar with the Bengali-Assamese script. Hajong speakers in Meghalaya are familiar with the Roman script. In Assam, the Hajong speakers follow the Bengali-Assamese script because Hajong does not have its script. They study Assamese as a medium of instruction in school and communicate using the Bengali-Assamese script.

Some Hajong speakers don't know how to write. During the field visit, we observed 25 informants among the 100 individuals who had never attended school and were largely older generations, as well as 75 informants among the 100 individuals who had attended Assamese medium school and a few who had attended English medium school in the villages of Goalpara district of Assam.

1.4. Linguistic Situation

Assam is a multilingual state with three official languages: Assamese, Bengali³, and Bodo⁴. Assam is a land of aboriginal tribes and languages. Anthropologist Dalton (1872) studied various races and tribes of undivided Assam. He has examined the hill tribes, the Assam valley, the northern borders, Tipperah and Chittagong Tribes, Hinduised aborigines, Bhuiya, Kolarians, the Dravidians, and the Aryans. In the post- Independence scenario, Assam has all four language families. Assam comprises 33 districts including both hills and plain areas. Besides the majority speakers of Assamese and Bengali lower Assam includes the speakers of Boro, Santhali, Rabha, Rajbongshi, Koch, Garo, Hajong, Oraon, Nepali, and others. Middle Assam includes Karbi, Tiwa, Khasi, and others. Upper Assam includes Mishing, Deori, Tai Khamti-Phake, Baganiya, and others. Hill Districts include Dimas, Karbi, Kuki, Hmar, and others. Barak Valley includes Bengali (Sylheti), Kokborok, Mizo, Dimas, Manipuri, Kuki, etc. For all of the tribes, Assamese and Bengali are the languages of wider communication. The setting of Hajong villages in lower Assam is not confined to a distinct geographical location. They scattered in almost different locations and intermixed with other tribal communities. The Hajong speakers are bilingual in Assamese and Hajong. Depending upon the locality they are multilingual in Assamese, Bengali, and other tribal languages. For

³ Bengali is the additional official language in Barak Valley

⁴ Boro has the status of official language in Bodoland Territorial Region

some respondents, Hajong is the first language and Assamese is the second language. The details of the sociolinguistic situation of the Hajong speakers are discussed in section 1.4.1.

1.4.1. Language Maintenance and Shift

Fasold (1984:213) claims that language maintenance and language shift are the “long-term, collective results of language choice.” Language maintenance or language shift is common in contact language situations where the dominant and minority languages are confined to a common linguistic domain. When different languages are in contact for a long period, minority communities tend to shift their language in favour of the majority group due to different reasons or opportunities. It is common for most minority languages which are at a higher risk of losing their language than the majority one. Language should be nurtured by its users with many efforts otherwise it will lead to endangerment and endangerment lead to language loss. When members of a speech community try to keep their language in competition with other dominant languages, this is called language maintenance. Crystal (1992:220) argues that language shift is a gradual or abrupt change in the use of one language by an individual or group of people in another. This is especially true for second-and third-generation immigrants who often lose affection for their ancestral language when faced with the need to communicate in the language of their host country. This analysis is part of an earlier version, Narzary, A (2017), with 50 informants from the villages of Dhaigaon, Tilapara, and Khardang in the Goalpara district. The present data is collected from the 100 participants from the Hajong villages of Mathia, Thilapara, Khardang, Dhudhnoi Damra, East Patpara, Sesapani, West Kadamtola, Dhaigaon, Solmari, and in the town areas of Goalpara and Dudhnoi. In the 2011 census report, the total population of Hajong language as a mother tongue was 27,521 whereas Goalpara district has the highest number of populations around 7,661. Results and discussion of the present study are given below in sections 1.4.2, 1.4.3, and 1.4.4

1.4.2. Language Proficiency

According to Hulstijn (2011:242), “Language proficiency (LP) is the extent to which an individual possesses the linguistic cognition necessary to function in a given communicative situation, in a given modality (listening, speaking, reading, or writing)”. The results of the 'Can' question, which dealt with the respondents' proficiency in Assamese and Hajong, were

reported in the analysis. The present analysis is based on the data collected from 100 respondents all Hajong individuals living in the villages of Goalpara district.

Table 1.1: Distribution of the Sample by Age

Age	No. of respondents
18-29	25
30- 45	38
46- 59	21
60-	16
Total number of respondents	100

Table 1.2: Distribution of the Sample by Gender

Gender	No. of respondents
Male	41
Female	59
Total number of respondents	100

Table 1.3: Distribution of the Sample by Occupation

Occupation	No. of respondents
Farmer	20
Housewife	30
Businessman	7
Govt service	5
Labour	15
Driver	1
Nurse	1
Student	13
Teacher	1
Retired	2
Shop assistant	5
Total no. of respondents	100

Table 1.4: Distribution of the Sample by Educational Background.

No Schooling	25
High School	40
Higher Secondary	31
Graduate	4
Total number of respondents	100

Table 1.5: The Study of Language Proficiency in Assamese and the Hajong.

Numbers	Language Skills	Yes %	No %	A little %	Total %
1	Can you understand a conversation in Hajong?	39	11	50	100 %
2	Can you engage in a conversation in Hajong?	39	11	50	100 %
3	Can you read in Hajong?	30	31	39	100 %
4	Can you write in Hajong?	30	31	39	100 %
5	Can you understand Assamese?	100	-	-	100 %
6	Can you read in Assamese?	63	37	-	100 %
7	Can you write in Assamese?	63	37	-	100 %

Table 1.5 presented the results of the ‘Can’ question dealt with the respondents’ proficiency in Assamese and Hajong. The findings of table 1.5 show that language proficiency in Assamese is higher than their Hajong language proficiency. It is noted that 100 % of the respondents have an excellent ability to understand Assamese and 0 % of them indicated a little ability to understand Assamese but out of them, no respondents have zero ability to understand Assamese, whereas only 39% of them indicated an excellent ability in understanding a conversation in Hajong and 50% indicated a little ability to understand a conversation in Hajong. More surprisingly, 11% of Hajong respondents indicated that they have zero ability to understand the Hajong language whereas in the case of Assamese it is to be noted that no respondents have zero ability to understand Assamese.

Table 1.5 also explains respondents’ ability to engage in a conversation in Hajong and Assamese. 100 % of respondents could engage in a conversation in Assamese and 0 % of respondents have little ability to engage in a conversation in Assamese; overall, all the respondents can engage in a conversation in Assamese, whereas only 39 % of respondents could engage in a conversation in Hajong and 50 % has a little ability to speak in Hajong and 11% of the respondents could not speak in Hajong.

1.4.3. Domains of Language Use

The result of response percentage on the language used most frequently can be studied in table 1.6. In table 1.6 respondents have been asked varied questions to examine the language they used most frequently while counting, singing, joking, bargaining, storytelling, discussing, praying, talking to household helpers, and abusing. Language usage ratings were made on five scales. From table 1.6 one can observe that 100% of respondents use only

Assamese while counting, bargaining/ shopping/ marketing, and 90% of respondents use both Assamese and Hajong while singing, joking, storytelling, discussing/debating, talking to household helpers, and abusing, whereas only 10% of respondents use only Hajong most frequently while praying, abusing, and joking.

Table1.6: Response Percentage: Language Used Most Frequently (in %)

Questions	Only Assamese	Mostly Assamese	Assamese & Hajong	Mostly Hajong	Only Hajong	Total %
What is your most frequently used language in	-	-	-	-	-	
Counting	100%	-	-	-	-	100%
Singing	30 %	25%	40%	5%		100%
Joking	10%		90%			100%
Bargaining/shopping/ marketing	100%		-	-	-	100%
Story telling	10%		90%			100%
Discussion/debate	10%		90%			100%
Praying	10%		90%			100%
Talking to household helpers	10%		90%			100%
Abusing	10%		90%			100%

Table: 1.7 dealt with 10 questions to establish a domain for use in both languages, i.e., to investigate in Assamese and Hajong. These ten questions include several domains of language use i.e., home, school, neighbourhood, etc. Inner speech like dreaming is also estimated. Language use was rated on a five-point scale from Assamese only, Mainly Assamese, Assamese and Hajong, Mainly Hajong and Hajong only.

Table 1.7: Using languages in different domains

Question	Only Assamese	Mostly Assamese	Assamese& Hajong	Mostly Hajong	Only Hajong	Total
Q. When and what language does use?						
1.Telling stories to children	20%	-	30%	-	50 %	100%
2.Singing at home	35%	-	60%	-	5%	100%
3. Learning/teaching nursery rhymes	100%	-	-	-	-	100%
4. Talking to playmates	20%	80%	-	-	-	100%
5. In marriage invitations	95%	-	-	-	5%	100%
6. Writing minutes in community meetings	90%	-	10%	-	-	100%
7. In dreaming	10%	-	10%	-	80%	100%
8. In a family gathering	10%	-	-	-	90%	100%
9. In a public meeting	60%	-	-	-	40%	100%

From Table 1.7 one can observe that 50% of the respondents show that they use only Hajong while telling stories to their children and 30% of respondents show that they use both Assamese and Hajong while telling stories to their children at home. Also, 60% of the respondents use both Assamese and Hajong while singing at home and only 5% of the respondents use only Hajong while 35% of them use only Assamese while singing at home. From the above analysis, one can get the idea that the dominant language has penetrated even the home domain.

100% of the respondents show that they use only Assamese while teaching nursery rhymes as the Hajong language has not been introduced in the school curriculum. 80% of the respondents use mostly Assamese while talking to playmates and the remaining 20% of respondents use only Assamese if they play with other communities.

While inviting for marriage 95% of the respondents indicated that they only use Assamese and 0% of the respondents use both Assamese and Hajong and 5% use only Hajong while writing marriage invitations. While writing minutes in community meetings 90% of the respondents use only Assamese and only 10% of the respondents use both Assamese and Hajong. 80% of the respondents dream only in Hajong while 10 % of the respondents dream both in Assamese and Hajong, whereas only 10% of the respondents dream only in Assamese. In family gatherings, 90% of the respondents use only Hajong, while 10% of the respondents use only Assamese. In public meetings with the same community, 80% of respondents use mostly Hajong and 20% in Assamese. But if the public meetings are held outside the community members 60% of only Assamese is used.

1.4.4. Language Attitude

A positive attitude is a key factor for language maintenance. According to Holmes (1992: 68), positive attitudes can promote the use of ethnic languages in a variety of fields and can also help people resist pressure to switch to a majority language. The questions below were related to respondents' attitudes towards the two languages, Assamese and Hajong, in terms of beauty, usefulness, preference for communicating with others, and better expression. This question also examines respondents' views on the choice of importance to speak in Hajong or Assamese.

Table:1.8 Response Percentages: Attitudes Closer to the Hajong and the Assamese

Questions	Assame se %	Hajong %	Both	No respon se %	Yes %	No %	Total %
1. Which language is more beautiful to you?	12	85	3	-	-	-	100
2. Which language is more useful to you?	85	5	10	-	-	-	100
3. What language do you most want to use to communicate with others?	85	6	9	-	-	-	100
4. In which language can you better express yourself?	21	60	19	-	-	-	100
5. Is it important to speak Hajong?	-	-	-	-	65	35	100
6. Is it important for you to speak Assamese?	-	-	-	-	100	-	100
7. Is Hajong dying in your home?	-	-		19	25	56	100

8. Is Hajong dying in your community?	-	-	-	19	19	62	100
9. When do you speak Hajong in the presence of mainstream Assamese, are you embarrassed?	-	-	-	-	100	-	100
10. When the children in your village grow up and have children, do you think they will be able to speak your language?	-	-	-	15	60	25	100
11. Would you like your son and daughter to marry someone who does not know your language?	-	-	-	9	32	59	100

i. Results reported in Table 1.8 question no.1 show that 85% of respondents have a positive attitude toward Hajong. The reason is that most think their language is beautiful, 12% disagree, and 3% think both languages are beautiful.

ii. 60% of the respondents reported that they can express themselves better in Hajong, whereas 21% of the respondents reported that they can express themselves better in Assamese.

iii. 65% of the respondent show that they feel important to speak in Hajong while 35% of the respondents reported that they feel important to speak in Assamese

iv. 60% of the Hajong individuals firmly believed that their grandchildren will speak their language.

v. 59% of the respondents are in strong denial to allow their children to marry outside of the community members.

On the other hand, one of the causes of language shift is a negative attitude. According to Holmes (1992:60) “young people are the fastest to shift languages”. The same is the case with most of the younger generation of Hajong speakers both male and female, ranging from the age of 14 to 25 show no interest in the maintenance of language. The following result shows the negative attitudes of the Hajong individuals:

i. Most Hajong speakers do not find Hajong more useful than Assamese. 85% of respondents considered Assamese as more useful than Hajong while 10% considered both useful whereas 5% disagreed with the idea that their language Hajong is less useful than Assamese.

ii. 85% of respondents reported that they would prefer to use Assamese for communication with others rather than Hajong while only 6% of respondents prefer to use Hajong with others.

iii. Only 25% of Hajong's inhabitants know that their language is endangered at home and in society.

iv. 100% of respondents agreed that speaking Hajong in front of the dominant Assamese language is embarrassing.

v. 59% of respondents are in strong denial to allow their children to marry outside of the community members.

From the above results, we can conclude that Hajong people have both positive and negative attitudes toward their language.

After examining the notion of language maintenance and shift amongst the Hajongs of Goalpara district of Assam, interestingly, this research has revealed that Hajong speakers of Goalpara district are gradually shifting to the majority community of Assamese. Firstly, results related to language proficiency pointed out that most Hajongs of Goalpara possessed a functioning knowledge of Assamese and Hajong including understanding, speaking, writing, and reading. Most of them were found proficient in both languages, thus can be considered coordinate bilinguals and can agree with Spolsky's (1998) comments on bilinguals with some functional ability in a second language. Downes (1998:27) stated that "In some contact situations, languages can die. In situations of unstable bilingualism when certain social conditions are obtained, languages can become the mother tongues of shrinking speech communities."

However, the overall findings of Table 1.5 show that language proficiency in Assamese is higher than Hajong language proficiency. It is noted that 100% of the respondents have an excellent ability to understand Assamese and 0% of them indicated a little ability to understand Assamese but out of them, no respondents have zero ability to understand Assamese, whereas only 39% of them indicated an excellent ability in understanding a conversation in Hajong and 50% indicated a little ability to understand a conversation in Hajong. More surprisingly 11% of Hajong respondents indicated that they have zero ability

to understand the Hajong language whereas in the case of Assamese no respondents have zero ability to understand Assamese.

Secondly, results related to language use indicated that the Hajongs of Goalpara use both languages in different domains and under different circumstances. The current effects are consistent with the decision given by Fishman (1989), wherein the indigenous language (that is, Assamese) is used along with the intrusive language (that is, Hajong). Each language is utilized in different conditions for exclusive circumstances.

The result of response percentage on the language used most frequently can be studied from Table 1.6 where one can observe that 100% of respondents use only Assamese while counting, bargaining/ shopping/ marketing, and 90% of respondents use both Assamese and Hajong while singing, joking, storytelling, discussion/debate, talking to household helpers and abusing, whereas only 10% of respondents use only Hajong most frequently while praying, abusing, joking. However, the reduced use of Hajong at home and in the community is a sign of danger to maintaining this oral tradition for a long.

Thirdly, results related to language attitudes indicate that Hajong speakers of Goalpara have both positive and negative attitudes toward their language. Most of the Hajong speakers don't consider Hajong as more useful than Assamese. 85% of respondents considered Assamese as more useful than Hajong while 10% considered both useful whereas 5 % disagreed with the idea that their language Hajong is less useful than Assamese. 85% of respondents reported that they would prefer to use Assamese for communication with others rather than Hajong while only 6% of respondents prefer to use Hajong with others. Only 25% of Hajong's inhabitants know that their language is endangered at home and in society. 100% of respondents agreed that speaking in front of the dominant Assamese language was embarrassing.

1.5. Kinship Terminology

Kinship structure refers to how social relationships are organized and normatively regulated between those who are related by kinship, affinity, or socially defined connections. The Hajong community is a patrilineal society. However, according to Hajong (2002:18), there was a matrilineal clan system in Hajong that no longer existed, as he stated "an individual's kin group or clan membership is traced through men. This system of patrilineal relationship lines is called 'daidibhagi', in Hajong. The system of 'gotra', (paternal relation) is followed

in the Hajong social life and the use of ‘gotra,’ is mostly sought for, during the time of marriage, because marriage in the same ‘gotra,’ is prohibited. This gotra system seems to have been introduced into society during the process of Hinduism. Before the tracing of gotras, there was the existence of a matrilineal clan system among the Hajongs. These clans were known as ‘*niknis* or *nikanis* and these *niknis* were enquired only during the time of marriage because marriage was prohibited between the same *niknis*. There were several *nikni* groups of people such as Kendegaon, Kachhegaon, Toklegaon, Ghasegaon, Balihata, Kornojhora, Baksegaon, Purakhasia, Purahati, Purachunga, Kamakhyagaon, Bogrihati, Churabudi, Chandi, Porakhati, Dingjor, Akshigaon, Bagigaon, Katagaon, Simulgaon, and Bhoragaon. This system is no longer followed”.

The Kinship term in Hajong is formed based on two types of relationships which are through birth and marriage. A kinship in this case is consanguinity or affinity. Consanguinity is a blood-related relationship or a connection between people of the same tribe or common ancestor. In addition, blood-related relationships consist of two types of relationships, core and peripheral. The affinal relation, on the other hand, is relationship established by marriage, not blood. There are also two types of affinal relationships, core and peripheral. The Hajong language distinguishes relationships by generation, age, gender, siblings and descendants within a particular generation.

Consanguine Kinship Terms

Blood-related kinship terms appear below the core and peripheral kinship terms. The core blood-related relationships consist of the ego's parents, siblings, and descendants. Table 1.9 below shows that Hajong distinguishes relatives by generation, age, gender, siblings and descendants within a particular generation. In addition to generations, age-based distinctions were found in ego siblings. There is no clear kinship name for the youngest siblings. That is, /*nunu*/ is used for both younger brothers and younger sisters who have no gender differences. The same can be seen in the gender distinction between male and female twins, and the similar compound word / *dʒango tʃ^hawa* / is often used.

Table 1.9: The Core Consanguine Kinship Terms

Relation	Address Terms
Father	baba
Mother	muiwu
Son	pola
Daughter	dʒ ^h eu

Elder brother	dada
Middle brother	madʒuŋa dada
Younger brother	nunu
Youngest brother	nunu
Elder sister	buini
Middle sister	madʒuŋa buini
Younger sister	nunu
Youngest sister	nunu
Twins male	dʒango tʃ ^h awa
Twins female	dʒango tʃ ^h awa

Peripheral Consanguine Relations

Peripheral kinship is considered by parents of the same generation as the ascending parent generation. They are not the core relationships related to blood, as they are not the main relationships. For example, the father, mother, father's son, and sister-brothers are the main relatives, but the father's brothers, father's sisters, grandfathers, grandmothers, etc. are related through the main relatives, not the main relatives. Table 1.10 shows Hajong's peripheral blood relatives.

Table 1.10: From Parent's up Generation Kinship Terms

Kinship relation	Kinship terms
Great grandfather (father's side)	adʒo
Great grandmother (father's side)	abu
Great grandfather (mother's side)	adʒo
Great grandmother (mother's side)	abu
Grandfather (father's side)	adʒo
Grandmother (father's side)	abu
Grandfather (mother's side)	adʒo
Grandmother (mother side)	abu

Table 1.11: The Parent's Same Generation Kinship Terms

Kinship relation	Kinship terms
Father's elder brother	det ^h ɔ
Father's younger brother	kaka
Father's elder sister	p ^h up ^h u
Father's younger sister	p ^h up ^h u
Mother's elder brother	mama
Mother's younger brother	mama
Mother's elder sister	dit ^h ui
Mother younger sister	mahi

Relatives of parents of the same generation distinguishing relatives by age of father elder brother are called /deth^hɔ/, younger is called /kaka /, but father's sister (older, younger) is called /kaka/ is used. For the mother's siblings (older, younger), the maternal term is used differently as /mama /, and the maternal sisters (older, younger) are /dit^hui/ and /mahi /. In the peripheral blood-related terms of older parents, /adʒo/ is used for grandfather, /abu/ is used for grandmother, and there is no separate term on the side of father and mother.

Affinal Relations

The relations through marriage that are not related by blood are called affinal kinship. Like blood kinship, there are two different types of kinship: primary and peripheral affinal kinship. Primary affinal kinship is established by fathers, mothers, siblings, and descendants of the ego. This attitude distinguishes relatives by age and gender. They are treated gradually in the following ways:

Table 1.12: Primary Affinal Relation Through Father

Kinship Relation	Kinship Terms
Father's elder brother's wife (elder)	dit ^h ui
Father's elder brother's wife (younger)	kaki
Father's sister's husband (elder)	mama
Father's sister's husband (younger)	mama

Table 1.13: Primary Affinal Relation Through Mother

Kinship Relation	Kinship Terms
Mother's elder brother's wife (elder)	mami
Mother's elder brother's wife (younger)	mami
Mother's sister's husband (elder)	moha
Mother's sister's husband (younger)	moha

Table 1.14: Primary Affinal Relation Through Ego's Siblings

Kinship Relation	Kinship Terms
Sister's husband (elder)	biŋsi
Sister's husband (younger)	b ^h uini dʒaŋoi
Brother's wife (elder)	b ^h udʒi
Brother's wife (younger)	b ^h urbao

Table 1.15: Primary Affinal Relation Through Ego's Child

Kinship Relation	Kinship Terms
Son's wife	buo
Daughter's husband	dʒaŋoi

Relationships through peripheral kinship are distinguished according to age and gender. This connection is established through various relationships discussed below.

Table 1.16: Peripheral Affinal Kinship Terms Through Ego's Wife

Kinship Relation	Kinship Terms
Wife	magu
Wife's elder brother	borgiri
Wife's younger brother	hala
Wife's elder sister	dʒilani
Wife's younger sister	hali

Table 1.17: Peripheral Affinal Kinship Terms Through Ego's Husband

Kinship Relation	Kinship Terms
Husband	b ^h atar
Husband's elder brother	bahur
Husband's younger brother	hala
Husband's elder sister	dʒilani
Husband's younger sister	hali

1.5.1. Kin Terms of Address and Reference

As social animals, humans need some form of undisturbed communication with others to maintain peaceful relationships with others in society. Social interaction includes positive interaction, which is polite behaviour, and negative interaction, which is rude behaviour, depending on the situation and situation of an individual or group. There are some general rules for referring to a person, taking into account several social factors, such as age, gender, occupation, high social status, etc. that depend on the individual's choices.

Braun (1988) discussed that address terms are words or phrases that are used as addressed to a person. Since they are related to the interlocutor, they contain a strong element of deixis. Abbi (2011:230) states that the focus of "terms of the referent" is the situation where S and R, and the need for co-speakers, who may or may not be in the place of conversation. In the absence of a presenter, we can call him or her in the name of the presenter, depending on

social variables, or in various combinations with third-person pronouns. These direct forms of addresses can be divided into three types (Abbi 2001:228). They are

A. Names and their various combinations.

B. Relatives Address Form

C. Second-Person Pronouns

There are several elements in English, such as Mr., Sir, usually followed by a first name (fn) or surname (sn), or after some word related to a particular profession. These elements are called address words. Address words can also be used separately. That is, it can be used as Sir or Madam (Das 1968: 21).

In Hajong, the most common forms of salute are generally added to first name (fn), middle name (sn), and expert name, depending on form, intimacy, and location. First names, middle names, and even expert names are carefully addressed with addresses such as babu, meaning a person who belongs to a higher society. For example, Tridid Babu, Hajong Babu, Master Babu` Teacher Babu`, Daktar babu` Doctor Babu`, not the low-ranking Lebar Babu `Labor Babu`. Most often, the word "sir" is used in academic institutions, but among government officials in Hajong village, "sir" is used to refer to upper-class people. Instead of naming the address "babu", we can also call it by the name of a specialist such as "teacher", "nurse", "doctor".

Abbi (2001: 229) states that Kin's address forms can be divided into two categories: Same address form and reference form; that is those belonging to non-affinal relationships, and different addresses and reference forms; that is those belonging to affinal relations.

(a) Similar Terms of address and reference

abu 'father's mother'

adʒo 'father's father'

(b) Different address forms and reference forms

Terms of reference

Forms of address

uhur 'father-in-law'

baba 'father'

uhri 'mother-in-law'

muuiu 'mother'

dʒilani 'wife's elder sister'

buini 'elder sister'

Second Person Pronouns

The address form is usually used in the second personal pronoun. Abbi (2001: 229) states that most Indian languages are distinguished in three-way by the second person pronoun. Hajong does not have a three-way second personal pronoun. In general, the use of the title and personal pronoun 'toi' as a name/address term and the use of the occupation name with 'toi' 'you' usually indicate an honourable status. However, due to mainstream cultural influences, the word /apni/ "you" is now used to denote honorary status.

Honorific

Ordinary

Intimate

apne / toi

toi

toi

Politeness Strategies

The choice of address terminology indicates how one imagines the relationship between language and society, and the relationship with recipients within this society. Therefore, address terms provide sociolinguistic information about interlocutors and a pragmatic aspect of the situation (Özcan 2016). The Hajong community, which is part of a society with multilingual community, also uses politeness strategies to maintain peaceful relationships within the community.

Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) Theory of Politeness is, first and foremost, a pioneering study. However, the research does not delve into these theories here. The various politeness of the Hajong people was performed at various vocabulary levels, including greetings, badges of honour, personal pronouns, selection of specific vocabulary elements, relatives, and titles.

1.6. Naming, Origin, and Migration of the Hajong Tribe

There are different opinions about the origin of the name Hajong. Dalton (1872) and Allen (1905) believed that the name *hadʒoŋ* is the mongoloid origin from the Bodo-Garo group. It is a word that has cognates in Boro *hazu* 'hill', Rabha *hachu* 'high hill' with the suffix *-oŋ*

meaning inhabitant of a plateau. It is also believed that the name *had̥ɔŋ* has a cognate in Garo haa or *a`a`* 'land or soil, and *zoŋ* means 'insects'.

In the oral history, they believed that the word *had̥ɔŋ* is derived from the word *hazar* or *hazari* 'used for counting the soldiers'. Hajong is thought to have lived in the Hajo area of the Kamrup district before moving on in quest of new territory. Since Hajongs are descended from Hajo (present-day Kamrup district) and migrated from the Hajo therefore they are known as Hajongs.

Hajong (2002:2) states that Hajongs are Kshatriyas, according to Hajong tradition, and are descendants of Surya (the sun). Prince Padanku is thought to have ruled Assam's Kamrup district and the Hajo region, which included a Madlab temple. The Kingdom of Hajo disintegrated under the reign of Bhaskar Barman, the dynasty's last monarch, and roughly 12,000 people migrated from Hajo to Borohazari on what is now West Garo Hill. This area is still known as Barohazari, and it contains the villages of Balachanda, Ketkibari, Nayapara, Dalguri, Sapalguri, and Bandabhok in the West Garo Hills district, as well as the areas of Namajoar and Arjunguri. Before the formation of East Bengal, the Hajong were located in the north by Swarkona in Goalpara; in the southeast by Jamkona and Jongkona in Sylhet district of Bangladesh; to the west in Markona village near Mankachar of Assam (Hajong 2002:7).

During the Pre-Independence and formation of East Bengal, the majority of Hajongs were living in Bangladesh which comprised different Hajong *Pargonas* but after the partition of East Pakistan, the majority of Hajongs immigrated to India between 1950 and 1964 and took refuge in Assam, Meghalaya, and Arunachal Pradesh. However, according to Hajong (2002:9), one cannot mistake the native Hajongs living in the southern part of Dhubri district and some parts of Goalpara district are all immigrants from East Pakistan.

1.7. Demographic Profile

The following is the census report mentioned by Allen (1902:130) on the population of Hajong in Assam, starting from 1891, and 1901 before the partition of East Bengal where the Sylhet area of East Bengal was still under the Indian state of Assam.

green vegetables like *salgum* ‘turnip’, *porol* ‘cucumber’, *muris* ‘chili’, *mulu* ‘radish’, *mak^hui* ‘corn’, *kumruu* ‘gourd’, *alu* ‘potato’, etc.,

The two activities associated with Hajong cultivation include

- a. *roa laga* dance is the dance of paddy seedling plantation
- b. *bid^han tula* is the uprooting of paddy seedlings by womenfolk

The women are mainly engaged in farming. They domesticated animals and birds like cows, buffaloes, hens, cats, dogs, ducks, etc. During their leisure time they do fishing using different fishing tools like *d̥aka* ‘bamboo fishing trap’ *burun* ‘bamboo fish trap’, etc. They make house supplies like jute mats, bamboo crafts, and weaving.



Fig.1.1: Hay bales



Fig.1.2: ruwa lagawa ‘Paddy seedling plantation’



Fig.1.3: Paddy cultivation



Fig.1.4: ṭh̃ang^hor ‘granary’

1.10. Arts, Crafts, and Weaving

Two paintings are done on a specific occasion. One is during the wedding and another is on *maroi puja* 'Worship of Padma deity or the serpent goddess'. The *airos* 'five or seven selected women who render help to the priest or Adhikari in performing the marriage' usually made a beautiful art of painting on the walls during the wedding ceremony inside *airoghor* 'special room of *airos*' which is made of "*berapathchita*". This painting is shown in figure 1.6 below. According to Hajong (2002), birds, sun, moon, stars, ships, etc. are painted with rice flour mixed with black paint in specific wall space. Other painting operations are performed while preparing the merr for the morai puja. Merr depicts various gods and goddesses and other traditional objects for the worship of the goddess Padma.



Fig.1.5: The seven aios.



Fig.1.6: The seven *airos* made a beautiful art of painting on the walls during the wedding ceremony inside airoghor ‘airo house’ which is made of berapathchita.

Picture of Different Tools used for Agriculture



Fig.1.7: *ḡʼanli/ḡʼangra* ‘bamboo sieve’



Fig.1.8: *khasa* ‘bamboo basket’



Fig.1.9: kodal 'spade' kuruul 'axe'

Hajong's occupation depends on cultivation; therefore, various tools are made by Hajongs for cultivating crops as given in (a-b). The various tools are given below:

- a. Those tools include ploughs, yokes, ladders, hoes, winnowing fans, sieves, etc.
- b. The various bamboo baskets include *doli* 'bamboo basket', *pailla* 'a kind of bamboo basket'.
- c. The fishing tools include *d̐akha* 'bamboo fish trap', *pollok* 'fish trap', *lip^{hu}* 'fish trap', *d̐al* 'net', *d̐alpi* 'fish trap', *k^{hu}wai* 'stick trap'
- d. The hunting tools include *lat^{hi}* 'stick', *d^{hu}unuk* 'bow', *huitur* 'tool', *d̐on̐d̐at^{hi}* 'spear', *toral* 'sword', *batul* 'sling', *f̐ewar* 'spear', *phan* 'trap',
- e. They made idols of gods and goddesses for worship.

Hajong people have a traditional dress which is weaved by Hajongs women at home with an instrument which is called *bana/ saldana /tatyana* 'handloom', *makhu* 'shuttle', *narot* 'loom roller', *lutui* 'spool for winding thread', *d̐athor* 'spinning wheel', *f̐orkha* 'spinning wheel', *bowa* 'weaving net', Hajongs women weave *pathin* 'traditional dress for Hajong women' *phula argon* 'traditional women's scarf' and *bhija gamocha* 'dress for men'.

1.11. Settlement and Housing System

According to Hajong (2002:11), “In the past, the Hajongs lived in a congested manner in the villages. In their habitational areas, the land was available in abundance to make separate compounds. But instead, they would cluster and huddle up in a narrow patch of land to make houses to live in. This practice may be an indication of the primitive fear psychosis of the tribe about enemies and wild animals. The houses they constructed were also low in height and if there was a *verandah* in a structure, one had to enter the house by bowing down one's head”. The materials used for building the hut are wood, bamboo, tin roof, or thatch.



Fig.1.10: Kutcha house with veranda

During January and February villagers as a group used to collect firewood. They would have a common well where without any restriction whole community members use the water for drinking, washing utensils, etc. The most common available shelter is the kutcha house with an earthen floor made up of bamboo, thatch, and mud. The shape of the house is a small room with a roof divided by two sides. Hajongs houses have the following separate structures: *ak^hli g^hor* ‘kitchen’, *kasari g^hor* ‘guest house’, *āgura g^hor* ‘married couple house’, *ghang^hor* ‘granary’, *k^hola gh^han* ‘open granary house to preserve paddy and harvested crops during the rainy season’, *d^hiki g^hor* ‘husking house’, *guli g^hor* ‘cattle shed’, *diyao g^hor* ‘room for daily prayer and worship’, *t^hakur g^hor* ‘house to perform daily prayer or worship’.



Fig.1.11: *guligʰɔr* ‘cowshed’



Fig.1.12: *kʰolpa* ‘bamboo frame making’



Fig.1.13: *dhiki gʰɔr* ‘husking/pounding house’



Fig.1.14: *akʰligʰɔr* ‘kitchen house’

Kitchen is called *akli gʰɔr* in Hajong. Inside the kitchen they cook food in firewood, they have a variety of ethnic-specific methods for storing the food items in the kitchen like drying fish, meat, vegetables, seeds, and dry chillies.

1.12. Food, Costumes, and Ornaments

- **Food**

The common food of the Hajong community is rice along with meat, pulses, and vegetables. Rice is cooked every day for lunch and dinner as a regular staple. Hajong people are mostly non-vegetarian. They consumed fish, meat, and vegetables in their meals. Meat such as tortoise, pigeon, and goat, are related to their religion and culture. The consumption of wine is not prohibited in their culture. However, the making of local wine and drinking is a part of their culture. They preserve fish while drying it, which is called *nakam*.

Rice is a staple in Hajong cuisine. With rice, they make different other edible items like *ṭʰṭṛu* ‘flat rice’, *muri* ‘crispy rice’, and *khoi* ‘puffed rice’ are prepared from cooked rice and *leba hak* ‘rice powder curry’ and *ṭʰomsa-leba* ‘powder rice curry’ are prepared from rice powder.

Apart from that, they have several other dishes made with rice which are given below:

dingpura - cooked rice, made from sticky rice. *dingpura* is made by cooking the sticky rice inside bamboo in a hot coal or wood fire.

bukni bhat - cooked rice with special sticky rice and fermented for 2-3 days.

bishi bhat- steamed rice, made from special sticky rice.

bhattoka- a curry, cooked with rice flour and dry fish.

batul pitʰu ‘steamed fritter coated with powdered rice’

dob bʰadʒa ‘fried uncooked rice grain, a kind of puffed rice making in the sand’

kʰisru bʰat ‘rice cooked with meat’

lebahak- a curry, cooked with rice flour, homemade soda, and fish.

Besides the rice dishes, there are other unique cuisines of Hajong which are the following:

ṭʰaṇsahak – a curry cooked with banana stems.

mastapa – fish boiled

masputu - steamed fish, wrapped in a banana leaf and steam in a lump of coal,

kusuputu- tadun steamed yam leaf in a lump of coal.

gajahat - bamboo shoot

hidul 'dry fish with yam leaf'

gurumas 'powdered mixture of fish'

k^har (indigenous soda) is an alkaline extract from the ashes of burnt dried trunk or roots of chopped *atheya* (a variety of bananas). *k^har* is an ingredient that can be prepared with vegetables, pulses, meat or fish.

k^har hak 'vegetable curry prepared with *k^har*.

tapa 'fish boiled prepared with *k^har*.

leba hak 'curry, prepared with rice powder and *k^har*.

- **Costumes**

In tribal society, costumes represent the unique identity of a particular tribal culture. The Hajong community has a beautiful traditional dress for both males and females. Hajongs women dressed in handmade traditional attire which beautifully represents the uniqueness and true tribal culture of Hajong.

Hajong women weave their traditional attire with an instrument called *bana*. The garment worn by women is called a *puthin*, which is a wrap-around skirt that covers the upper and lower body from chest to calf, while a *parsa*, or *argon* "scarf", is worn in another garment, covers the upper body. Women used *argon* to carry their children on their backs. Male Hajongs wear *ningti*, a loincloth, *gamsa* and *kompes* 'scarf'. It is known that earlier Hajongs men wore short *gamocha* over the shoulder. But now came the dhoti and shirt. However, they still wear *gamsa* at home.

In festivals, marriage ceremonies, and other occasions Hajong women wear their traditional dress and men wear pants and shirts. Apart from their traditional dress most of the Hajongs male members wear a western dress of full pants and shirt and women wear saree and blouse. During the marriage ceremonies the bride dresses *pathin* or sari, blouse, and the groom dresses in *dhoti*, shirts, and chadar.



Fig.1.15: *pathin, phula argon* ‘traditional dress of Hajong women’

- **Ornaments**

Tribal jewellery is very unique and something exotic in nature. Hajong seemed to have a plethora of jewellery of different designs for specific parts of the body. However, in my fieldwork older generations could give the names of the ornaments and their usage but younger generations were unable to answer most of the names of this jewellery. Researchers Phillips (2008), and Hajong (2012) have listed the names of these *hakamala* ‘jewellery’. The beautiful ornaments include such as:

notok ‘nose ring in silver’

koromphul ‘earrings in silver’

buila ‘a pair of silver bracelets /bangles’

not ‘golden nose ring worn only at weddings’

kankurya ‘earrings in gold’

bag gand̥ʒri ‘anklet’

bag kharu ‘anklet’

ʃʰondrohar ‘silver necklace ‘worn by women only wedding’

harsurah ‘necklace; worn by the bride with five strings’

katabaju ‘armband; traditional upper arm band worn by bride’

galahifʰa ‘silver necklace’

buila ‘silver bangles’

songko saka ‘bangles’

Besides the above ornaments, the following ornaments are used by Hajong bride is *katabad̥ʒu* ‘armband’ *bag*, *bonko*, and *bag gunjuri* in both the feet's anklets, *kharu* ‘bangles’ and *haka* ‘conch shell, *sona* ‘ear rings’, *nolot* ‘nose ring’. On the neck, some *sikichhara*, *pital tabich* ‘charm bracelet’ *chandrahar* ‘silver necklace’ *galahecha* ‘silver necklace’ and chain are used.

In the past, tattoos were prevalent in the Hajong community. The significance of tattoos in Hajong women was to protect themselves from the malevolent gazes of many kings. Tattoos were used to hide the beauty of women from the enemy. It is mostly decorated from the forehead up to the cheeks and hands of women. The men also had tattoos which are called ‘*pota*’. The different kinds of *pota* which are common among them are *chunputa* ‘which is decorated like moon ark’, *maoputa*, and *siluputa* ‘which is decorated in chin’.

1.13. Marriage

The marriage system of Hajong is endogamous. Inter-caste marriage and inter-religion marriage are strictly prohibited in the community. Such activity will outcast them from the community. Hajong community marriage consists of the main ceremony which is held at dawn ‘*bhor bia*’ and the second part is performed in the morning which is called the ‘*basi or bahi bia*’. Figures (1.16 – 1.19) describes the *bhor bia* ‘dawn marriage’ in Hajong.

Hajong (2002:31) gave five essentials of Hajong marriage:

- i. 5 to 7 members of airos, selected from the married women. These airos render all help to the priest or Adhikari in performing the marriage and make “uludhwani” (auspicious sound by females in Hindu religious rites).
- ii. Dharmobap and Dharmomao ceremonially perform the marriage and act as a guardian during the ceremony.
- iii. Selection of the “mita” who is a formal witness of the ceremony and who becomes the lifelong friend of the married couple, but mita is not compulsory in some areas.
- iv. Formal marriage rites are performed by a Brahmin priest or by an Adhikari.
- v. Gitalu and Kirtan parties: At the time of performing the marriage ceremony the Gitalu and Kirtan parties sing their respective parts of songs that depict the marriage of Shiva Parvati and the story of Lakhindar and Behula.

Love marriage is called *di-porah* marriage. Hajong (2002: 29-30) argues that even if intimacy between a boy and a girl develops without the parents knowing and culminates in a marriage relationship, such union is permissible if the society and the couple enter into a marriage relationship in this way, the cost of the feast of the ransom must be paid. This type of union is known as *diapora* and the feast is called *jatiutha Khawa*.

hang'a or *sang'a* is called widow re-marriage in Hajong. The Hajong community does not have a dowry system, but they give a ransom called a *pun* for the bride and groom. They have the tradition of purchasing a bride by giving paddy, tamulpan, money, sangkha, sindur, and clothes. It was seen that in the olden days they have the tradition of matriarchal society but now completely shifted to patriarchal society. In the olden days, there was a tradition that the bridegroom had to stay in the bride's house before marriage at least for one day.

The divorce system is present in the community. The process of divorce is called *pan phat sin'a* ‘tearing of betel leaf’ where husband and wife have to tear the betel nut leaf in front of the community member during the meeting and the whole property of the wife can be taken back during that time.



Fig.1.16: *Gitalu* and *Kirtan* parties Fig.1.17: *airos* waiting for the bride to welcome home.



Fig.1.18: Bride and bridegroom paying homage to the gods and family ancestors.



Fig.1.19: *airos* performing marriage rituals to the bridegroom

1.14. Worship and Rituals

The Hajongs believe in the Hindu religion and worship many Hindu gods and goddesses. Besides Hindu gods and goddesses they also worship traditional deities. Hajong people are *saktas* and *vaishnavas*. The *saktas* religious rituals and practices are performed by a *nongthang* or *deosi*. Nongthang or deoshi are the selected traditional priests from the village. *deosi* is selected by the villagers through a specific system which is called *hill jaga* or *barun jaga*. However, in Vaishnavites the religious duties are carried out by the priest from the vaishnavite community which is called Adhikari. The vaihnavites prohibit the practice of the rituals of animal burnt offerings, rice beer to gods.

Hajong traditional deities are called the *bastu* group of deities, which include *bastu*, *lakshmi thakur*, and *baradeo* deities. *Lakshmi Thakur* is the deity of wealth and resources. *Baradeo* is a group of twelve unknown deities. *Bastu* deity ‘the mother’ is considered the head of the group of deities.

The place of worship or altar is called *bastu thaan* located in a secret place made of small miniature huts outside the house. A small clay of *horse* and *elephant* is used for the worship of *bastu*. The symbolic meaning associated with *horse* and *elephant* resembles the Hayagreeva temple. The orally believed myth of Hajongs behind this symbol is that they are descended from the Hajo kingdom located in the present-day Kamrup district of Assam. They sacrifice tortoises and ducks to their *bastu* god; tortoises to the Lakshmi Thakur deity. They observed this during the month of Magha (January - February) in northern Mymensingh and during the month of bohag (April- May) in other regions. All the sacrificial duties and reciting mantras are done by a *deosi* 'priest'. The priest will observe one day fast and clean the altar before and after the function of ritual duties. The *deosi* sacrifice the animals and birds with the special tool called *korgo*. The head of the sacrificed birds is given to *deosi* and the remaining portion is cooked and distributed to all the villagers. Besides sacrificing animals, they also prepare rice beer, rice and offer it to the deities. They give this offering for the well-being of the Hajong community.

Hajongs also believed in the existence of some evil spirits or demigods. It is believed that these spirits are the sole observer of sins committed by members of the community and cause harm to the sinners. They worship these spirits anytime if necessary to appease their wrath from them. They appeased the angry gods with burnt offerings. The demigods include:

i. The list of spirits harmful for babies and children

moila deo: This spirit is the spirit of physical or mental weakness to the children. It is worshipped outside the village under the moina tree and sacrifices one she-goat.

hoila deo: This spirit causes excessive crying and harm to the child therefore it is worshipped under a sheora tree in the jungle with a bowl of fried sticky rice and banana to cure the ailing child.

phul deo: This spirit causes vomiting in the babies; a garland of flowers is immersed in a stream to appease this deity.

gongso deo: This spirit also causes harm to the child with continuous cries; therefore, a cock and a hen are sacrificed to this deity.

chokdhapa deo: This spirit causes fever in infant babies, therefore to cure illness a cock and a hen are sacrificed to this deity.

pretni: This spirit also causes harm to the babies with itching sensation and crying; for this deity, a live fowl in a cage has to be given.

ii. List of generally harmful Spirits

daini: This spirit is the spirit of physical and mental weakness to all; a tortoise, fish and puffed rice are sacrificed to this deity.

kalpisach: This spirit causes sudden illness; a he-goat and a bird are sacrificed to this deity.

bondeo: This spirit causes stomach trouble; a he-goat is sacrificed to this deity.

hudum and haka: This spirit causes general physical pain and weaknesses to the body; tortoise and he-goat are sacrificed to these deities.

deshphura: This spirit causes fever and vomiting to the people.

nikni deo: This deity is worship for the wellbeing of clan relatives with a burnt offering of tortoise.

Besides the above deities, they also worship Padma, Kanideo, and others. Padma or Manasa is the goddess of snakes or reptiles and is worshipped before the marriage ceremony by the head of the family to seek blessings and protection of the married couple from the snake bite. During Kanideo puja only women can perform the pujas for conceiving the child for a couple of the houses. On this occasion, they sing a song called *gitula gaham* which is an invocation of gods to grant the child to the barren women.

They also regard tulsi as auspicious and offer prayer to it. They even used it for many medicinal purposes. Besides tulsi leaves, they also consider leaves of mango, neem, wood apple, etc as auspicious as well as medicinal leaves.



Fig.1.20: Lokhi puja



Fig.1.21: Kamakhya puja



Fig.1.22: Kanideo puja house



Fig.1.23: hori ghor 'hori house'



Fig.1.24: Kanideo deity

1.15. Birth Rituals

In every Hajong household, the arrival of a newborn baby is a period of immense joy and celebration. The customs of celebrations and rituals start right after the baby is born and continue till the child reaches seven years of age. There is a defilement period and purification rituals after the child's birth. A special temporary room or hut called *ḡatak g^hor* is prepared for delivery. A *dhai* 'midwife' is called for help during the time of delivery.

Confinement period: After safe delivery, a defilement period of five days for a female child and seven to nine days for a male child is observed. Hajong women will observe the confinement period for thirty days. During this defilement period, the mother of the baby has to follow some restrictions. The woman is prohibited from entering the kitchen, cowshed, granary, and worship place which are considered holy. The family members also abstain from performing and attending festivals, and religious gatherings.

Purification rituals: After this defilement period a purification ritual is conducted. These purification rituals follow certain activities such as: cleaning the houses, courtyard, and surrounding with cow dung mixed with mud to purify; washing clothes; shaving hair which is called *kamini*; sprinkling holy water in every house and compound.

After the purification period, the family members are free from restriction except for the mother of the baby who has to be observed for thirty days.

Naming Ceremony: The naming ceremony is conducted after the completion of the defilement period. On this occasion, the priest will be invited to officially assign a name and perform the naming ceremony. A feast is arranged during this occasion depending upon the economic condition of the family. All the villagers and relatives are invited to celebrate the ceremony of birth and the naming of the child.

***bhat f̣ua* Ceremony:** *bhat f̣ua* is a ceremony where the baby first taste solid food i.e., rice which usually takes place around six months after the birth. This ceremony is organised at home along with the neighbours and seeks blessings from the home deities.

Self-purification ritual: At the age of six years a kan mantra is initiated by Adhikari to the child for self-purification. It is a very significant event in the life of the Hajong child. This initiation is necessary to become a member of the community.

1.16. Death Ceremony

According to Bordoloi (1991:30-31), “The Hajongs profess Hinduism and as such, all the rituals connected with the death of a person are performed in the Hindu way with some variations, since Hindu believe in the immortality of the souls, life hereafter, rebirth, heaven, and hell, their performance of rituals is dependent on these beliefs”.

The funeral rites in Hajong include the following processes. Whenever a person dies, they lay the dead body on the ground outside the house on an apparent trunk of banana and place the deceased’s body near a Tulsi plant. They bathed the dead body with a turmeric mixed paste; dressed the deceased’s body in new clothes or wrapped it with a white sheet and tied the toes together. Then the body is laid on a bier and carried by sons and relatives on a cremation ground and at last, the body is burnt on a pyre to ashes. The land for cremation must be symbolically purchased from god. Food items and a few coins are offered for the deceased soul on the cremation ground. However, few burnt bones are collected and buried on the ground or brought home to bury near the Tulsi plant to pay homage; the lighting of earthen lamps and burning incense every evening in the name of the departed soul is carried out by the family members.

There is a defilement period for the deceased family of thirteen days for Kshatriyas and ten days for the non-Kshatriyas. The deceased family and kinsmen have to undergo certain restrictions during or after the defilement period.

- It is advised only to have vegetarian meals during the defilement period.
- Members of the family are not allowed to put on oil, cut hair or use soap during this defilement period.
- Doing agricultural activities is not allowed till the *shradh* ceremony.
- There are certain restrictions a son has to follow beyond the defilement period. When his father dies, he is not allowed to eat bananas, use an umbrella or have food outside the house for one year. In case of their mother's death, he is not allowed to drink milk for almost a year.
- The widow has to wear a white dress throughout her life.

g^hat kamini Ceremony: *g^hat kamini* ceremony is a hair shaving ceremony for sons of the family performed at the bank of the river after the 10th to 12th days. It is a kind of purification ritual that sons have to perform. After shaving their hair, they have to purify themselves by dipping in the river. On this occasion, the villagers cook special food in the name of the deceased in an earthen pot.

Shradh Ceremony: *Shradh* ceremony is the death ceremony that is observed after the 10th day or 13th day of the defilement period. In this ceremony, a feast is held and all relatives and villagers are invited. All the *shradh* ceremonial activities are performed by Adhikari or by Brahmin priests.

1.17. Festivals

Hajong observed both Hindu festivals and traditional festivals. This can be divided into seasonal festivals, calendric festivals, and other festivals related to agricultural activities, etc.,

The seasonal festivals include:

Saita Sangrani: This festival is observed in the month of April (i.e., last day of the month of the Bengali year) in Assamese it is called *Rongali* or *Bohag Bihu*. This festival celebrates the onset of New Year and the season of sowing.

In this festival, two events are followed consecutively for two days. On the first day, all the houses and courtyards are purified and cleaned by plastering with cow dung mixed with mud. Utensils and furniture of the room are washed and cleaned. On this specific day, they bathe the cows and worship them. On the next day, neem plants and orchid plants are collected and tied on the roof of the house with the belief that neem leaves will protect them from diseases for the entire year and the orchid plant will keep away snakes from the house. During this festival, they eat homemade rice cuisine like *pit^ha* and curd with the villagers. They also celebrate with a feast, cultural activities, music, and dancing in this festival.

katigasha: The Assamese *kati bihu* is called *katigasha* in Hajong which is observed in October. Katigasha is associated with crop protection and worship of crops and plants. During this festival, an earthen lamp is lighted in the paddy field, at home near the tulsi plant, or tie the lamb at the bamboo top at home as a sign of reverence and protection of crops to the goddess Lakshmi.

pushnuu kaowa (i.e *bhogali bihu* or *magh bihu* in Assamese) is a harvesting festival celebrated in January. There is a lot of feasting and community eating during this festival. They enjoy eating things like *laru*, *pitha*, *bukuni randw*, *bora bhad* all made of rice and fish, rice bear, etc during this season. There is a song for this which was sung by a 90-year-old informant during the field visit. This song reveals food items they enjoy during this season.

mod bukuni lewabhat ⁵

bana hidul tapa,⁶

karpani, d̐aoga hidul,⁷

gad̐a himuk leba,⁸

kaoswdurui, bisibhad,⁹

kakrapura, sengmar.

naya khawa or chinik kara: Hajongs also celebrate the *naya khawa* or *chinik kara* which is called *nabanna* in Bengali which is celebrated every year in the month of June. It is a festival of harvest celebration.

⁵It is mentioned that they drink rice beer, eat fermented sticky cooked rice;

⁶ cooked dry fish with yam leaf and fish curry with soda;

⁷ homemade soda water with dry fish.

⁸ bamboo shoot, curry cooked with rice flour, soda and fish;

⁹ steam sticky rice

amati (ambubachi): This is celebrated yearly in June. It is a celebration of the yearly menstruation course of goddess Kamakhya. During this time, they stopped tilling of land for four days to avoid hurting the mother earth during this menstruation period. After the completion of ambubachi, grand feasts are organised with *bukni bhat*, and rice beer is served to people.

katka puja: katka puja is celebrated by the women of the house along with other members of the neighbours. It is mainly celebrated on the last day of the Kartika¹⁰ month. In this puja, they sing katka songs.

bash puja: The bash puja is a kind of bamboo worshipping ceremony performed by the Hajongs folks which lasts for three days. During this ceremony, they cut two long bamboos from the grove and decorate it with red clothes, which symbolically represent the *hara-parvati* or *modan -gopal*. On this occasion, boys dance and sing various hymns along with *geetals*¹¹

The calendric Festivals of Hajongs include the Hindu festivals such as Durga puja, Kali puja, Dol jatra, Kanedeo puja, Maro puja, etc.,

Kanideo puja: *kanideo* puja is held in the fourth month of the Bengali calendar. Manasa Devi is known as *kanedeo* in Hajong and it is worshipped with much reverence in the Hajongs household.

Maro puja: *maro* puja is worship to Kanideo god to get blessings of a child for the couple. It is also an invocation to God for healing from various diseases. They sing a particular song for this puja which is called *gitulu gahan*. It is individual worship in the family whenever they require blessing without any fixed timetable.

Other festivals in Hajong include **chormaga:** chormaga is also called *chorkhela* amongst the Hajongs living in Garo Hills Meghalaya. This festival is a kind of dance or music festival which is associated with praying for a contribution to the upcoming festival of the community. This chormaga dance is performed only by the male folks during April- May. The male folks formed two parties of chormaga groups.

¹⁰ The month of kartika from Hindu calendar typically overlaps between October and November. Hajongs follow the seven month Bengali calendar.

¹¹ Professional singers

The groups visited every house in the village and performed dances associated with their cultural songs. The group which returns home on the same day is called *dhawa maga* and the other group goes further areas and visits other villages day and night for up to 4 to 8 days and sings songs, performs dances and collects rice or money from the onlookers. At last, they organised Satya Narayan Puja from the fund.

thuba maga: *thuba maga* is called *shibo-shibo* geet amongst the Hajongs living in Garo Hills Meghalaya. This ceremony is a kind of fund collection ahead of the chokella festival. During this time the youths of the village collect rice and money from the villagers; going house to house; performing and uttering lyrical verses. This collection later is used for purchasing dresses to wear at the chorkela festival. This ceremony is performed fifteen days ahead of *mag^h bihu*¹².

paila roa Ceremony: *paila roa* is a ceremony based on agricultural activity i.e., the ceremony on the occasion of the first day of paddy seedlings transplantation time. This is celebrated on the paddy field itself while working. The owner of the land will arrange a feast with meat, fish, and rice beer that is served to the field workers. All the workers will participate in singing and dancing with mud on this occasion.

ag ana Ceremony: *ag ana* ceremony is the ceremony of welcoming the goddess of wealth in the house which is observed during harvesting time or before bringing harvesting grain to the house. It is a prayer that is offered to the goddess Lakshmi inside the granary house. The women first purify the granary house with cow dung-mix mud and offer areca nut and betel leaves with incense and resin to the Goddess of wealth. The next day she collects a small bundle of rice from the field and keeps it inside the granary house. This is a sign of welcoming the goddess of wealth into the house. They sing and pray at this ceremony.

dhan duka or kachidowa: This ceremony is associated with the last harvesting and ceremony of washing sickles. It is believed that sickles that are used during harvesting should be washed and preserved with care and respect. So, on this day they washed the sickles ceremonially and preserved them for future use.

¹² Harvesting festival celebrated during the month of January.

1.18. Folk Dance

The popular folk dance of Hajong culture includes the following:

lewatana dance: lewatana dance is performed during the festival of *saita sangrani* and also by chormaga dancers. *lewa* means ‘creeper’ and *tana* means ‘pulling’ which generally means pulling off the creepers. *saita sangrani* is a new year celebration observed in April. During this festival, both boys and girls participate in the dance and singing with their colourful traditional dresses, and ornaments. With their dance and songs, both boys and girls express their love for each other and eventually end up in marriage after the festivals.

d̐akhamara dance: d̐akhamara is a dance of fishing associated with fishing implements which are called d̐akha. This d̐akha is made of bamboo. The myth associated with this song is related to the cultural activities of Hajongs women. One of the Hajongs people's favourite pastimes is fishing. Hajongs women in the olden days used to go together fishing in groups dancing, teasing, and singing songs with d̐akhas. This dance is now called d̐akhamara dance and it is performed during the festival ceremonies of Hajongs culture.

gopini dance: gopini dance is performed by a group of women during praying for fertility, wealth, and happiness in the family. The songs sung during this worship are called *guponi gahen*. It is a devotional song performed during religious festivals.

gitlu dance: gituli dance is performed by a group of Hajong folks. This group performed their dance and sang songs during the *maroi puja*, and marriage ceremony. The song is called *gitalu gahen*. This group plays an important part in the Hajong cultural activities.

1.19. Musical Instruments

The various musical instruments the Hajong community used during the performance of folk songs, *chormaga*, *gitalu gahen*, and *guponi gahen*, etc., include the following:

d^huluk ‘a broad drum made of a piece of hollowed wood with hides on both sides.’

khul ‘a kind of drum which has a small mouth in the front and big at the end.’

rasamandali ‘made of gourd crust having one string’

dotara ‘it’s a kind of guitar but the strings are made of thread.

gongona ‘made of bamboo which is blown through the mouth’

k^hunjuni ‘a small leather drum’

nagra ‘announcement drum’

nidung ‘drum’

haki ‘small drum’

pepa ‘horn; flute’

songko ‘conch’

soraj ‘bowed multi-stringed instrument’

ghanta ‘bell’

huiswl ‘whistle; horn’

jhuri ‘cymbals’

kotal ‘cymbals’

khirung ‘drum centre’

1.20. Summary

In this chapter, we focussed on the sociolinguistic situation and ethnographic study of the Hajong. The racial affinity of Hajong is connected to the great Bodo group but linguistically, Hajong comes under the Indo-Aryan language family of the Bengali-Assamese group. The Hajong people are mostly found in the Northeast Indian states of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Assam, and also in Bangladesh. Hajong is the most undocumented and endangered language. Intergenerational language transmission is still maintained. Language proficiency amongst the younger speakers is higher in Assamese than in Hajong. Assamese is not only a language of education and professional life but also a language of wider communication. Hajong has been confined only in-home domain. They have mixed feelings about the attitude of the language. However, a negative attitude in the younger generation is common. The process of language preservation and standardisation is not yet done. Hajong

culture is mostly connected to the Bodo-Kachari group of tribes. The matrilineal clan in Hajong are called *nikni*. There are 21 matrilineal clans in Hajong. The patrilineal clan is called *daidibhagi*. The main occupation of the Hajong people is farming and animal husbandry. Hajongs's traditional dress *raja pathin* is weaved by Hajongs women at home with an instrument *bana/saldana/tatyana* 'handloom'. The marriage system of Hajong is endogamous. The marriage consists of the main ceremony which is held at night is called *bhor bia* and the second part that is performed in the morning is called *basi* or *bahi bia*. Hajongs worship Hindu gods and goddesses and also traditional deities are called the *bastu* group of deities, which include, *bastu*, *lakshmi thakur*, and *baradeo*. Hajong observed both Hindu festivals and traditional festivals. The popular folk dance of Hajong culture includes *lewatana* dance, *ᱪᱟᱨᱢᱟᱝ* dance, *gopini* dance, and *gitlu* dance.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

Hajong is the least studied spoken language; therefore, the availability of written works dealing with the Hajong people; culture, and language are very few. The available ethnographic works and linguistic studies related to the Hajong tribe, culture, and language are presented in chronological order. This chapter is organised under the following headings. Section 2.1 is the study of ethnographic research works on Hajong. Section 2.2 presents the linguistic research works on Hajong. Section 2.3 is about the literature review related to language documentation, and section 2.4 discusses the literature review related to language endangerment.

2.1. Ethnographic Research on Hajong

There are some monographs written by British administrators: Sir Wilson Hunter (1879) produced a volume on Assam, B.C. Allen (1905) published a district Gazetteers on Assam, Sir Edward Gait (1933) published a book on Assam history during British rule, about the local society, tribes, and history of undivided Bengal now Assam which provides some key information about Hajong people. In this context the work given below is noteworthy:

Dalton (1872) is a detailed ethnographic research on the aborigines of various tribes and races of undivided Bengal. He has divided the tribes and races into eight groups. The first group is from the hill tribes on the North-Eastern border which include the Khamtis, the Sangphos, Mishmis, the Nagas group, the Abor group, the Mikirs, the Jyantias, the Kasias and the Garos. The second group included the population of the Assam valley who are the Kachari or Bodo, Mech, Dhimal and Koch. Dalton has connected Hajong with the Kachari and Garo groups. He (1872:87) states that the Rabha and Hajongs of Gawalparah area are Kachari race branches that are related to the Garos.

The other groups include the northern borders, the Chittagong and Tipperah Tribes, Hindu aboriginal and broken tribes, the Niya or Bhuiya, the Kolarians, the Aryans and the Dravidians. His study focused on the early settlement, their appearances, tradition, religion, dress, marriages, festivals, and economy.

Allen (1905-1928) is a detailed account of the districts of Assam province before the partition of Eastern Bengal and Assam. This work contained ten volumes describing the districts of Cachar, Sylhet, Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Naga Hills, and Manipur, The Khasi and the Jhantia Hills, the Garo Hills, and the Lushai Hills. In the book, he gives a detailed description of the geographical location, the physical aspects of the district, and the history of the district. He also gives accounts of the different ethnic communities, cultures, religion, agriculture and forest, industries, condition of the people, communication, trade, and general administration.

Allen in his Volume. 2 district *Sylhet* contains a brief account of the Hajong people. Allen (ibid) states that:

“The Haijongs, who are found in the Sunamganj subdivision, seem to have originally come from the Garo Hills. They speak a peculiar dialect of their own, and are, apparently, the result of a union between Garos and low caste people of the plains”.
(Allen 1905, Vol-2, p-77)

Allen further mentioned Hajong in his Volume. 10 districts *The Garo Hills and Lushai Hills*:

“Hajong language is akin to Bengali, but the tribe, according to their own legends, originally came from the Himalaya. The Haijongs call themselves Hindus and their houses and style of dress resemble those of the ordinary plainer but they still eat pig, though they draw the line at fowls, beef, and snakes. They are divided into several endogamous groups, such as the Harong pariya, Bhoijni pariya, Manik Kuriya, Tepar pariya, Sutadal and Mauji pariya, and at their marriage ceremonies, a priest attends and kindles the sacred fire of Mango wood. They worship Durga and Kali and perform the Shradh ceremony”.

(Allen 1906, Vol-10, p-29)

Waddell (1975) was first published in 1901 and reprinted in 1975 and 2000. This work is a descriptive note on the several tribes of Brahmaputra valley and their classification. He has examined the Tibeto-Burman language group which includes the Abor, Angami, Ao, Kachari, etc. the Indo-Aryan language like Assamese, and the Astro-Asiatic group like Khasia. Hajong as a distinct tribal group is not included in this work. However, he included Hajong under the Kachari groups.

Bordoloi (1991) is a detailed ethnographic study on the five Scheduled Tribes of Assam covering plains and hills on Hajong, Garo, Khasi, Jaintia, and Mech. This is the first extensive work carried out on Hajong life and culture. The work contained detailed ethnographic research on the Hajong racial affinity, clans, demographic characteristics, family structure, marriage, birth, death, religion and religious beliefs, economic life, and cultural life.

Chandra (2000) is research carried out on the socio-cultural aspects of the Hajong living in Assam. This is an unpublished PhD thesis work that was mostly inspired by Bordoloi's (1991) ethnographic work on the Tribes of Assam. In his work, he elaborately carried out ethnographic accounts of the social life, customs, and cultural traditions of the Hajong people of Assam. The work also focused on the social transformation due to migration and assimilation with the mainstream neighbouring culture.

Hajong (2002) is an ethnographic work with a detailed description of the contemporary socio-political context. This is the first ethnographic work carried out by the native speakers of Hajong written in the English language. It aims to gain an emic perspective that provides a deeper insight into the political, social and cultural life of the Hajong community. The work comprises an overview of the tribe, their history, migration, habitation, house, occupation, handicrafts, food habits, language, social life, dress, music, dance, etc. Furthermore, he described religion, rituals, marriage, festivals, and ceremonies. He also gives the native overview of the struggle faced by the Hajong people against elephant capturing, the free beggar system, and the Tonko system.

Chakraborty (2003) discusses broadly the socio-political aspect of Hajong and Rabhas since 1950. This work is an unpublished Ph.D. work carried out on the plain's tribes of Hajong and Rabha. The work discusses the historical background of Hajong, socio-economic and political life, and social changes amongst the Hajongs and Rabhas. The work also highlights the socio-political and social problems of the Hajong community notably, lack of awareness about the need and significance of education, non-availability of educational institutions, lack of transport and communication facilities, and traditional methods of cultivation, illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, and superstition.

2.2 . Linguistic research on Hajong

There are few linguistic research works on Hajong which include Grierson (1903-28), Kim et. al. (2005), Phillips (2011), and others which are presented in the chronological order below:

Grierson (1903-28) is the first study on the Hajong as the dialect of eastern Bengali published by the Linguistic Survey of India. The study placed 'Haijong' as the eastern Bengali dialect of Mymensingh. The study states that the Haijong sub-dialect is a corrupt form of Eastern Bengali spoken by members of the Haijong tribe. Hajong long ago abandoned its original spoken form as Tibeto-Burman language. He mentioned Dalus, Banais, and Hadis as the dialect of Hajong but while doing fieldwork the researcher encountered that Dalus, Banais, and Hadis consider themselves the distinct language not dialects of Hajong. This study provides a brief outline of the grammatical features of Hajong nouns and verbs.

Kim et. al. (2005) is a survey report on the sociolinguistic study of the Hajong community living in Bangladesh. The study carried out a sociolinguistic survey of the Hajong of Bangladesh in an attempt to investigate the linguistic differences between the Hajong people living in India and Bangladesh. They used different methods namely: lexical similarity comparison, intelligibility study, sociolinguistic questionnaire, and informal interviews. The sociolinguistic survey was carried out in three interrelated parts namely: dialects, language attitude and vitality, bilingualism and language use. The study stated that Hajong is the spoken language most influenced by Bangla. When they go to school, the market, or talk to neighbours or employers, they are surrounded by Bangla except for Hajong. Today, Hajong in Bangladesh recognizes that the "pure" form of Hajong is gone, and only an older generation is used in some areas. In the younger generation, the pure form is replaced by a mix of Hajong and the colloquial Bangla. The findings show that Indian and Bangladeshi Hajong have mutual intelligibility. Some forms of Hajong are important as children are said to be learning it as the first language but Bangla seems to be the dominant language of choice among the Hajong in Bangladesh.

Phillips et. al. (2008) is a documentary work on the Hajong vocabulary published by SIL International. This is a korebari dialect collected data from the villages of West Garo Hills of Meghalaya, Dhemaji district of Assam, and in Bangladesh. The work comprises a wordlist of around four thousand words and a few sentences which include: counting, weaving,

weather, instruments, diseases, fractions, dishes, travel, position, rice, shapes, religion, festivals, personality, plants, body, house, house, jewellery, vegetables, tools, relatives, life stages, animals, birds, insects, fruits, colours, tastes, agriculture visiting, prepared dishes, etc.

Phillips (2011) is an authentic investigation of case marking in Hajong. According to him, Hajong case markers are not similar to the Indo-Aryan languages like Bangla and Assamese, although Hajong is classified in the Indo-Aryan language group. They are culturally and ethnically more similar to the Tibeto-Burman groups than to the Indo-Aryan groups.

Table 2.1: Philips (2011) Case Markers in Hajong along with IA and TB languages

	Hajong	Assamese	Bangla	koch	Garó
Nominative	ꯀ	ꯀ, -e	ꯀ, -ra	-	ꯀ, -a
Accusative	-ge, gon	-[p] animate	-ke, -[e]re -go -re	-	-ko
Dative	-ge, gon	-[p]k animate	-ke, -[e]re	-na	-na
Genitive	-la	-[p]r	-[e]r, -go	-ni	-ni
Locative 1	-[p]t	-[p]t	-e, -te inanimate	-	-o
Locative2	-ni				
Allative	b ^h aj	[p]bi		-waj	-ona -chi
Ablative	t ^h iki t ^h okon t ^h aki	-GEN para	-t ^h eke	-	-oni
Instrumental	diu, de	-ere, -re	-dia	-	-chi

[Source (Philips 2011:227)]

Guts (2013) is a seminal paper on the “Phonological Description of the Hajong Language” is the first comprehensive study on Hajong phonology. This work provides a descriptive analysis of the sound patterns of the Hajong language. The data is mostly collected from the Hajong community living in the Meghalaya and Garó Hills. As per her analysis, the Hajong sound system has thirty-one phonemes; six vowels and twenty-five consonants.

Phillips (2018) is a documentary article on the Hajong verb morphology published by SIL International. The work provides basic information on the finite and non-finite morphology of Hajong including the composite verbs, compound verbs, and modal verbs. Analysing the verb pattern of Hajong, he stated the Hajong verb is unmarked for the person (except for imperatives), number or honorifics. He mentioned Hajong has three tenses: past [-le, -ile], present [-i, -e] and future [-bo, -ibo] and two aspects: past imperfective [-bun, -ibun] and perfective [-se, -ise].

2.3. Literature Review Related to Language Documentation

Language documentation is an emerging branch of linguistics that deals with methods, tools, and theoretical underpinnings for compiling representative, long-lasting and versatile records of natural language or one of its variants (Himmelman 2006). Language documentation focuses on the primary data collection, audio and video recordings of linguistic data, field notes and written documents of a speech community, ethnolinguistic knowledge of the community, systematic recording, transcription, translation, and analysis (CIIL 2006:3).

Himmelman (2006:1) argues that “language documentation is a field of linguistic inquiry and practice in its own right which is primarily concerned with the compilation and preservation of linguistic primary data and interfaces between primary data and various types of analysis based on these data”.

Himmelman (1998) in his seminal paper “Documentary and descriptive linguistics”, discusses two separate types of linguistic study and practice. Raw data collection and low-level (i.e., descriptive) analysis of that data for little-known or undocumented languages. He calls his first activity (collection, transcription, translation of primary data) “documentary activity”, the product is called “language documentation”, and the related field is “documentary linguistics”. But, his second activity called “descriptive activity” or linguistic description (grammar, dictionary, and text) falls within the scope of “descriptive linguistics”. He stated three contrast pairs of the concept of *descriptive*: the concept of ‘descriptive’, in 19th-century linguistics, was used to distinguish ‘historical’, or ‘comparative’, linguistics. During the formative period, the term *descriptive* is used to oppose the tradition of *prescriptive* grammar and dictionaries. The third contrast pair is *generative*, *explanatory*, or *formal*. Himmelman (2002:5) states that “the descriptive approach is no way restricted to little-known languages nor are such languages its central concern. Its central concern is the

synchronic, non-prescriptive statement of the system of a given language”. The main reason for separating the two activities is the different methods used in each activity and the immediate consequences of them. Himmelmann separates theoretical and practical attention as needed, as disclosure of primary data or research activities is largely ignored when considering the two activities (collection and analysis) as part of an integrated project.

Table 2.2: Himmelmann on differences between collection and analysis of primary linguistic data

	Collection (Documentation)	Analysis (Description)
Result	Corpus of utterances; notes on observations and comments by speaker and compiler on a particular form or construction	Descriptive statements, illustrated by one or two examples
Procedures	Participant observation, elicitation, recording; transcription, and translation of primary data	Phonetic; phonological, morpho syntactic, and semantic analysis (spectrogram, distributional test, etc.)
Methodological Issues	Sampling, reliability, naturalness	Definition of terms and levels, justification (adequacy) of analysis

[Source: Himmelmann 1998:162]

Although linguistic documentation is considered a "central project" rather than an adjunct to other analytical research frameworks, "various analytical frameworks help ensure the quality and usefulness of the documentation " (Himmelmann 2002:10).

Himmelmann's (2006:15) “Language documentation: what is it and what is it good for?” provides the five important features of documentary linguistics.

- The main purpose of linguistic documentation is to make primary data available to a wide range of users.
- Language documentation focused on explicit concern for accountability
- Language documentation handles the long-term storage and retention of primary data.

- Language documentation requires expertise in a variety of disciplines, including other sub-disciplinary disciplines of linguistics, such as anthropology, folk musicology, oral history, and literature.
- Language documentation requires direct involvement and close cooperation with the language community.

Himmelmann (2006: 7-14), also discussed the methodology of linguistic documentation. The primary data contains metalinguistic knowledge and observable linguistic behaviour. The way people in a particular language community communicate with each other, including everyday languages (i.e., formal or informal) for example mother talking to a baby, and political disputes between village elders is the observable linguistic behaviour. The tacit knowledge that a speaker has about his or her language refers to metalinguistic knowledge. For example, the taboo words, and taxonomies, such as kinship systems, morphological paradigms, etc. Annotations require transcription and translation, including additional linguistic and ethnographic gloss and comments. Metadata is needed for each individual recorded communication event. It consists of records of time, place, participants, etc. Access materials that Himmelmann includes are project-wide metadata and shared resources. Documentation typically has metadata about communities, teams, and contributors. Shared resources consist of an introduction, orthography and glossing, ethnographic sketch, grammar sketches, and more.

Himmelmann (2012) in his seminal paper “Linguistic data types and the interface between language documentation and description” discusses and clarifies some of the misconceptions of documentary linguistics regarding its role in linguistics.

Himmelmann (2012:187-200) stated the misconception of documentary linguistics as

- Its technology and (digital) archiving,
- Only concerned with collecting large amounts of data, regardless of analysis and structure.
- It goes against the analysis.

He suggests the difference between three basic data processing levels: raw data, primary data, and structure. He argues that documentary linguistics deals with raw and underlying data and their relationships, whereas descriptive linguistics deals with the relationship between structural and primary data. That is, first the question of how we can trust descriptive generalisations on the primary data set. Raw or primary data plays a dual role, acting as a

kind of link between raw and structured data. It is the result of preparing raw data for further analysis (documentation) and serves as input for the generalisation (explanation) of the analysis. Descriptive generalisations that can be tested and reproduced are only possible if the raw data on which they are based are available. From this perspective, documentation is key to making explanations explainable and reproducible, and thus fundamental to what makes linguistics an empirical science.

Woodbury's articles include (2003) "Defining documentary linguistics" and (2011) "language documentation". Woodbury (2003:35) is about documentary linguistics and how it has been emerging and where it has been heading. Although his article does not address the methodology directly, his concerns can be seen in his description of the corpus. He provides many parameters that help form a very good corpus. Woodbury (2003:47) states that a good corpus should be diverse, large and ethical; production should be continuous, decentralised and flexible, and materials should be transparent, conserved, ethical and portable.

Woodbury, A. C (2011:59) broadly defines linguistic documentation as "the creation, preservation, and dissemination of transparent records in language." Although this definition includes poetry, vocabulary, grammar, storytelling, video, etc., this work focuses on the best ways to do the documentation for an endangered language. From a methodology point of view, he says, there are three areas of language that document developers can choose to document. First, ancestral code documentation; ancestral communication practices: secondly, to document modern communicative ecology, and thirdly, to document emergent codes that are lexico-grammatical systems with a contemporary version of the language of convergence, borrowing and wider communication of contacts (2011:177-79). As far as annotations are concerned, he has not added any new annotations but agrees with Himmelmann's annotations including transcription and translation. The author believes that descriptions and documents should be part of the same process.

The contribution of Austin (2006, 2007, 2010) cannot be ignored when studying documentary linguistics. Austin (2010:19) shares the five main components of language documentation: recording, transmission, adding value, archiving, and mobilisation.

- Recording – collecting the media (audio, video, image) and the metadata
- Transfer – data is transferred to the "data management environment" or "digital

domain".

- Adding value – consists of transcription, annotation, and metadata generation
- Archiving – deals with creating “archival objects” and accessibility and “usage rights”.
- Mobilisation – publication and distribution of the outcomes of the work for different users and uses.

Austin agrees with Himmelmann (1998) on the theoretical distinction between language documentation and descriptions. He stated that language documentation and description differ in terms of areas of interest, goals, work processes, research methods, and results. Language descriptions are typically intended to create grammar, dictionaries, and text collections for linguists, and the materials created may be written in frames accessible only to trained linguists. In contrast, documentation is discourse-centric. Its main goal is to directly represent the most diverse types of discourse (Austin 2008; Woodbury 2003, 2010; Himmelmann 1998 as quoted in Austin 2010:20). He also discussed some theoretical and practical challenges in documentary linguistics that consists of documentary records, interdisciplinary cooperation; meta-documentation; sustainability, recruitment, and training.

Lupke’s (2009) article “Data collection methods for field-based language documentation” highlights some methods of data collection in field-based documentation work. According to Lupke, language documentation is “understood as the creation of a corpora of annotated and translated speech data in audio and video format” (2009:53). The dual purpose of Lupke's (2009:55) documentary corpus is to serve the specific goals of a specific project by providing a database for specific linguistic/ethnographic/historical analysis, and the second purpose is to cover as completely as possible the language spoken by the community.

Lupke (2010:64-63) suggests some types of communicative events which are the outcomes of different methods of data collection:

- Observed communicative events (OCEs) which include conversation, narratives, etc. where the researcher's work is only present ideally in the field.
- Elicitations (Es) are closely finished linguistically and are commonly created for researchers.
- A staged communicative event (SCEs) runs between (OCEs) and (Es). It is prompted

or 'prepared' for linguistic purposes, but often uses non-linguistic cues, such as photos, video clips or games where the consultant is asked to classify or explain.

Dokumentation bedrohter Sprachen or 'Documentation of Endangered Languages'(DOBES) started in 2000 intending to document a language that could potentially disappear within a few years (DOBES Archive 2006). DOBES is an organisational and international language documentation and archiving project with the following missions:

- Maintenance and revitalization
- Preservation of information on linguistic diversity and human cultural heritage for future generations of speakers and researchers
- Introduction to responsibilities for linguistic research (DOBES Archive 2006).

DOBES methodology was mainly developed for an archival perspective. Wittenburg et al. (2002:36) "Method of Language Documentation in DOBES project" recommended the language documentation as follows:

- Based on the multimedia recording.
- Theory neutral.
- Useful for many disciplines, interested civilians and linguistic communities.
- It is presented so that researchers in other fields can understand it without prior knowledge of each language.

Wittenburg et. al. (2002) highlighted some of the DOBES archives' linguistic issues of typological differences, data types, recording, annotations and lexica; Archiving issues such as tasks of an archive, long-term storage and standards, ways of access materials, workflow, and management, tools for data creation and conversion and field situation.

BOLD stands for Basic Oral Language Documentation and was developed by the SIL team to more quickly document endangered languages before they disappear. Since preserving endangered language in traditional documentation and descriptive approach is a time-consuming and risky method to stop the impending threat of language loss, BOLD came up with a new approach and a methodology to speed up the process of language documentation as stated by Simon (2008:23) "in place of the traditionally spoken corpus: compile, transcribe, markup/annotate, archive; BOLD build an oral documentation corpus: compile, comment orally and archive". Boerger (2011: 210) rightly said without the identification and use of these quick strategies and methodologies, we will not achieve our goals, and many

other languages will die without documentation. Reiman (2010:254) proposed on BOLD “methodology for documenting languages that minimise the use of high-cost means of recording comments on recorded language data (written annotation), focusing instead on making low-cost means (oral annotation) more effective”.

BOLD approach and methodology are explained by Simons (2008) Reiman (2010) and Boerger (2011). They highlighted three distinctive characteristics of BOLD:

- Basic - BOLD can generate a fundamental corpus (BOLD corpora) that could serve as a foundation for descriptive research, which includes dictionaries and grammar.
- Oral-There are three types of annotations related to BOLD. Oral transcription (recording of a phrase and carefully repeating it in the mother tongue), oral translation (interpreting a recorded phrase-phrase of a careful speech into the LWC, and oral discussion (including the vernacular or LWC).
- Breadth-first - BOLD is a breadth-first strategy, as opposed to the familiar depth-first approach. A BOLD corpus can be documented in less than two months, which is a fraction of the time it takes for a depth-first approach (Boerger 2011:211). BOLD generally gives importance to the oral recording first without written transcription and analysis.

2.4.Language Endangerment

UNESCO (2003:2) defined language as endangered “when it is on a path toward extinction,” and “when its speakers cease to use it, use it in an increasingly reduced number of communicative domains, and cease to pass it on from one generation to the next. That is, there are no new speakers, adults or children”. The study of language endangerment in the area of the linguistic subfield is relatively new. Special attention was paid to the extinction of languages after Krauss (1992) published a landmark article entitled "World Languages in Crisis" at the 1991 meeting of the American Linguistic Society. He appealed to linguists about the imminent threat of language endangerment and urged linguists to seriously reconsider linguistics from becoming history. He said we must seriously reconsider our priorities so that linguistics does not remain the only science in history.

He divides the world's languages into three categories: safe languages, endangered languages, and moribund (1992: 6). A moribund language is a language that children no

longer speak. He defines an endangered language as a language that children are still learning now, but will no longer be learned by children in the next century if the status quo continues (1992: 67). Krauss (1992:8) called for the urgency of language documentation before it goes extinct. He stated that “Obviously, for scientific purposes, it is most urgent to document languages before they disappear. The urgency increases with the proximity to extinction. And, within that framework, the more isolated a given language is genetically or typologically, the more urgent is the need for its documentation. By documentation, I mean grammar, lexicon, and corpus of texts”.

Hale (1992:35-36) states that “linguistic diversity is important to human intellectual life—not only in the context of scientific linguistic inquiry but also in relation to the class of human activities belonging to the realms of culture and art.” He further states that language embodies the intellectual wealth of those who use it in a general and multifaceted sense. Hale (1992:1) defined language loss as a “much larger process of loss of cultural and intellectual diversity in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and cultures, placing them in a condition which can only be described as embattled”.

Crystal (2000:36-54) paid special attention to the crisis of linguistic diversity in his monograph "Language Death". The cause of the death of a language is when no one speaks anymore. He notes the importance of linguistic diversity. He gave many reasons for the importance of language preservation. Language expresses an identity, which is an identity that equals recognizable members of the community. They are historical repositories. They are added to the sum of human knowledge. Language is interesting in itself (that is, attractive, useful, or essential). Therefore, his focus is on the importance of linguistic documentation and field research before it's too late.

The study of the subject of language endangerment and death is found in **Nettle and Romaine's (2000)** “Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages”. Nettle and Romaine (2000:5) state that "some linguists predict that if nothing is done, almost all [Australian] Aboriginal languages will be dead by the time this book is published". This work is a request to reflect on the plight of language risk and its implications for ignoring linguistic diversity. They are analogous to the protection and preservation of the environment and biodiversity, as well as the preservation of languages. Public interest in endangered species

(such as pandas and white rhinos) is well known. But the plight of the voices disappearing from all over the world was not heard.

Linguistic diversity offers us a unique perspective because it opens up many creative ways for people to organise and categorise their experiences (Nettle and Romaine 2000:11). Language is considered a repository of people's cultural knowledge, but a loss of language is a loss of valuable cultural knowledge. Language and identity are inextricably linked. Because loss of a language means loss of identity.

One of the reasons to save an endangered language is its ecology because linguistic diversity and biological diversity are closely interrelated, therefore maintaining cultural identity and its heritage is of utmost importance. As stated by **Skutnabb-Kangas (2003:10)** “In the language of ecology, the strongest ecosystems are those that are the most diverse. That is, diversity is directly related to stability; variety is important for long-term survival. Our success on this planet has been due to an ability to adapt to different kinds of environments over thousands of years (atmospheric as well as cultural). Such ability is born out of diversity. Thus, language and cultural diversity maximise chances of human success and adaptability.”

Maffi (2005:599) also stated that biocultural diversity is a close relationship between cultural, biological, and linguistic diversity. The loss of cultural practices, language, and indigenous ecological knowledge is said to reflect the breakdown of relationships between people and their environment. Therefore, for a sustainable link between human society and the environment, we must recognize the link between cultural diversity and biodiversity. UNESCO also stated that “The extinction of each language results in the irrecoverable loss of unique cultural, historical, and ecological knowledge” (UNESCO 2003:2).

Over the 40 years or so, Fishman mainly concentrated on the areas of sociology of language, language maintenance, and shift and ethnolinguistics. However, his focus shifted to threatening language in the 1990s and the early 2000s. According to Fishman (1966:424) “language maintenance and shift are concerned with the relationship between change and stability in habitual language use, on one hand, and ongoing psychological, social, or cultural processes on the other, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other”. He divided his research on language maintenance and language shifts into three main areas i.e., psychological, social, and cultural processes and their relationship to stability or

change in the general use of language; language-related behaviour in the contact environment.

Fishman (1989) discusses three resolutions as a result of language contact, where an immigrant language comes into contact with a host language. Language contact can offer three possibilities. In the first case, the compulsive immigrant language is lost in contact with the mother tongue. In the second resolution, indigenous languages lose contact with immigrants' obsessive language. The third resolution preserves both the compulsive language of immigrants and the language of indigenous peoples. Fishman (1991:55-56) believes that the two causes of language shifts are the physical and demographic dislocation of language groups and social dislocation.

Weinreich (1974) defined the change of language as the transition from the usual usage of one language to another. Language loyalty according to Weinreich (1974: 68-100) is a principle that on behalf of people will rally themselves and their speakers against changes in their linguistic function (due to changes in their linguistic function) or structure or vocabulary (as a result of interference). He added that the root of linguistic fidelity is the inevitable emotional connection with one's mother tongue.

Fasold (1984:213) claims that language maintenance and language shift are the “long-term, collective results of language choice”. He defined language shift as a result of a community that abandoned one language altogether and endorsed another. On the other hand, in the maintenance of language, he found that the community collectively decided to continue to use the language it traditionally used.

Downes (1998) discussed several factors that enhance language maintenance and language shift or language death. On the language domain factor, Downes (1998:62-64) stated that “A wide range of domains means that a wide variety of areas of life can be led in that language”. He further stated on ethnocultural factors where “maintenance is favoured if the ethnocultural group values its language as the vehicle of a highly prized culture or way of life.”

He further discussed the structural consequences of contact situations that lead to language death. He (1998:27) stated that “In some contact situations, languages can die. In situations of unstable bilingualism when certain social conditions are obtained, languages can become the mother tongues of shrinking speech communities” and if they become no one mother tongue then, it is a dead language. He pointed out that the various cases of language loss and

language death are due to genocide and “gradual language loss; in which population shifts language over generations”.

2.5. Hajong as an Endangered Language

This chapter discusses ethnographic and linguistic studies conducted in Hajong. We also studied the theoretical framework on language documentation and language endangerment. UNESCO (2011) identified six main factors for assessing the vitality of a language and these factors help to clarify the nature and extent of language endangerment.

2.5.1. Intergenerational Language Transmission

The most common factor in assessing language risk is whether it is passed on from one generation to the next (Fishman 1991). UNESCO has set six endangerment levels. i.e., safe, unsafe, definitely endangered, severely endangered, critically endangered and extinct. Based on UNESCO (2003), the degree of language endangerment, the risk to Hajong can be categorised as the second level i.e., unsafe, although most children speak the language, they are confined to a limited area (i.e., home domain).

2.5.2. Absolute Number of Speakers

UNESCO defines a small language community as always at risk and it is very easy to merge with the dominant community and leave that language and culture. According to the 2011 Census of India population list, Hajong's total number of speakers is 27,521.

2.5.3. Shifts in Domains of Language Use

Children communicate Assamese with neighbours and at schools and Hajong at home. Hajong often uses singing, bargaining, speaking to family helpers and counting in Assamese but story-telling, praying, and abusing in Hajong. Therefore, language reveals its utilisation in dwindling domain names, i.e. The language is an in-home domain; however, the dominant language starts to penetrate even the domestic domain.

2.5.4. Response to New Domains and Media

Access to new domains and media is required to expand the scope and power of the language. The Hajong language is not used in new domains or media. This is limited to private and

social conversations with the same community member. Taking this factor into account, Hajong's risk level can be classified as inactive.

2.5.5. Materials for Language Education and Literacy

Language education is essential to the vitality of language, and literacy and is directly linked to economic and social development. Essential books and materials for all audiences of different ages and language skills UNESCO (2003). Hajong is still colloquial and lacks text material and orthography. This language is not used as an educational tool or as part of the school curriculum and at school, children learn Assamese or English.

2.6.6. Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies

Hajong's level of support is inadequate when it comes to the linguistic attitudes and policies of governments and institutions. A process of passive assimilation is underway in Hajong, where there is no clear policy for minority languages and where dominant languages prevail in the public domain.

2.5.7. Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Language.

Attitudes of community members toward their language are classified under grade: 1 where only a few members support language maintenance and others may be indifferent or support the loss of speech. A small number of Hajong speakers (mainly older generations) have a positive attitude and consider it rich and powerful compared to other languages interested in preserving a language.

Some Hajong informants were hesitant to speak of Hajong in all areas. Since Hajong is not a language of education, government, commerce, etc., avoidance of Assamese is inevitable. Community members have been observed to have mixed feelings about their language.

2.5.8. Type and Quality of Documentation

Hajong has no written literature, grammar, dictionaries, or texts, except for a few papers. However, they have a wealth of oral literature in the form of folk tales, folk dances, folk songs, and handicrafts and it is passed down from generation to generation. This is not a good sign that it will continue for several decades longer. Unfortunately, no scholar or linguist has properly documented this language. Therefore, Hajong should take serious care in maintaining and activating the language with proper documentation before exacerbating the level of critical exposure.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

The main aim of the present research is to document and describe the basic linguistic categories of the Hajong language looking into three main core components (i.e., phonology; morphology and syntax). The methodology used for writing the thesis includes the following: The data was mainly collected from primary and secondary resources. Since the secondary resources are limited in nature the main focus was given to the primary method of data collection. The primary methods of data collection are site selection, informant selection, interview and questionnaire methods, and participant observation.

3.1. Statement of the Problem

Himmelmann (2006:5) identified three reasons for language documentation. These include language threats, accountability, and the economy of research resources. There is an impending threat of language loss all over the world therefore to challenge this increased level of endangerment linguists are “creating lasting, multipurpose documentation” and that archived materials are easily accessible to the public to carry on further research. Unseth (2012:14) stated the three reasons for linguistic documentation include:

a. Linguistic benefit

One of the reasons for language documentation being a linguistic benefit is because it provides a linguistic record of a speech community and data accountability for future research.

b. Linguistic diversity

A second reason for language documentation is usually long-term records, which inform future generations about the diversity of languages (DOBES Archive 2006).

c. Preservation of endangered language

Preserving an endangered language is the third reason for language documentation. Language documentation is believed to have been created in response to language threats. The urgent attention to language endangerment came after Krauss’s (1992) seminal paper

“The world's languages in crisis”. Hale (1992:35-36) says that “linguistic diversity is important to human intellectual life—not only in the context of scientific linguistic inquiry but also concerning the class of human activities belonging to the realms of culture and art.” Crystal (2000:36-54) highly focused on the importance of linguistic diversity and emphasis on the importance of language documentation and fieldwork study before it is too late.

The other important reason to save an endangered language is its ecology because linguistic diversity and biological diversity are closely interrelated Skutnabb-Kangas (2003), Maffi (2005).

The UNESCO Framework for Language Vitality and Endangerment (2003: 78) contains six main assessments of language vitality, which help determine the nature and extent of language risk. According to Fishman (1991), the most common factor in assessing language risk is the study of intergenerational transmission. To determine the degree of risk, UNESCO establishes six risk levels, i.e., safe, unsafe, definitely endangered, severely endangered, critically endangered and extinct as shown in the table below.

UNESCO (2003:7-8) Framework for Language Vitality and Endangerment

- Safe (5): The language is spoken by all generations. There are no verbal signs of threats from other languages and spread between generations, language seems to go on and on.
- Stable but threatened (5-): This language is spoken by all in most situations. Continuously passed from generation to generation, but multilingual in a mother tongue and one or more dominant languages have usurped a particular language's essential communication situations. Multilingual use alone is not necessarily a threat to the language.
- Unsafe (4): Most, if not all, children or families in a particular community speak their first language, but may be limited to certain social domains (e.g., the households where children communicate with their parents, and grandparents).
- Definitely endangered (3): language is no longer learned as the mother tongue by the children of the family. So, the youngest speakers are the parent generation. At this stage, parents can still speak their language with their children, however, their children usually do not respond with language.

- Severely endangered (2): This language is spoken by grandparents' old generation; the Parents' generation can still understand the language, but they don't usually speak it to their children.
- Critically endangered (1): The youngest speaker is the great-grandparental generation, and the language is not used for everyday communication. These old people often remember only part of a language but do not use it as much as possible, because there may be no one to talk to.
- Extinct (0): No one can speak or remember the language.

According to the UNESCO (2003:7) framework, Hajong risk can be assigned to the second level as "unsafe (4): Most but not all children or families of a particular community speak their language as their first language, but it may be restricted to specific social domains (such as at home where children interact with their parents and grandparents)". Hajong is strictly limited to the areas of the home where children interact with their parents and grandparents. Although some children speak Hajong, the pure form of Hajong is gradually losing ground. Being multilingual and speaking orally, it is impossible to maintain a pure language for long.

Five-grade scale as described by the late Stephen Wurm as quoted by Moseley (2007: xi) classified endangered languages into the following 5-grade scale:

“(1) potentially endangered, which usually implies lack of prestige in the home country, economic deprivation, pressure from larger languages in the public sphere and social fragmentation in the private, to the extent that the language is not being systematically passed on in the education system; (2) endangered, where the youngest fluent speakers tend to be young adults, and there is a disjunction in passing on the language to children, especially in the school but even in the home environment; (3) seriously/severely endangered, with the youngest fluent speakers being among the older generation aged fifty and over, implying a loss of prestige and social value over a generation ago; (4) moribund, with only a tiny proportion of the ethnic group speaking the language, mostly the very aged; (5) extinct, where no speakers remain. This last category, in terms of this encyclopaedia, means that a language whose existence is remembered by living people in the community merits inclusion, because there is at least the faint or theoretical possibility of revival” quoted from Moseley (2007: xi)

The level of endangerment given by Mosely (2007) in Hajong comes under the classification of (1) *potentially endangered* – because the Hajong language

- Lacks prestige,
- There is economic deprivation,
- Greater language pressure in the public sphere, and
- Language is not part of the educational system.

In this proposed study an attempt is to do a basic description of the Hajong language. The study will be oriented to the following problems:

- i. What are the sociolinguistic situations of language?
- ii. What is the structure of a sound system (Phonology)?
- iii. What are the morphological features of the language?
- iv. What is the structure of the Phrases, Clauses, and sentence structures (Grammar)?

3.2. Objectives of the Study

The purpose of the proposed study is to produce "a descriptive analysis of the Hajong language" spoken in the Goalpara district of Assam. The scope of this descriptive study mainly covers the following core major areas of linguistic analysis namely phonology, morphology, and syntax. The specific purpose of the study is as follows:

- i. To present the ethnolinguistic sketch of Hajong on physical structure, demographic profile, social customs and material culture, and socio-linguistic profile.
- ii. To find out the phonological system of Hajong
- iii. To analyse the morphological system of Hajong
- iv. To identify syntactic constructions of phrases, clauses, and sentences in Hajong.

3.3. Significance of the Study

Although there are few works done by scholars, there is no attempt to systematically describe the language. The present study is intended to fulfil the need for such a descriptive study. It would contain a precise description of the sociolinguistic situation, sound system, morphology, and syntax of the Hajong language. Thus, it can become a reference work that can be used as a guide by a language teacher with some linguistic training to teach Hajong

language. This study would also help in developing scientific teaching materials. The description would be more practical than theoretical. Each grammatical rule would be illustrated by examples. The significance of the study is given below in the following points:

- i. This study contains a precise description and analysis of the ethnolinguistic studies, sociolinguistic situation, sound system, nominal morphology, noun modifiers, word classes and processes, phrases, clauses, and sentences (syntax) of Hajong language. This study also helps in developing scientific teaching materials in the school curriculum
- ii. This study will provide general awareness to the Hajong community about the threat of language endangerment and the importance of language maintenance.
- iii. This study will bring a positive attitude towards the younger generation about their mother tongue and will encourage them to use their language in all domains.
- iv. This study will provide awareness to the communities, government, and policymakers regarding the importance of revitalising endangered languages and lesser-known languages.
- v. This study will help the researchers for further investigation in different areas of linguistic research.

3.4. Research Methodology

The research methodology consists of the following 8 sections: 3.4.1 Selection of the field site, 3.4.2 Selection of the informants, 3.4.3 Method of data collection, 3.4.4 Questionnaire and Interview method, 3.4.5 Participant – Observation Method, 3.4.6 Presentation and Analysis, and 3.4.7 Limitations of the study.

3.4.1. Selection of the Field Site

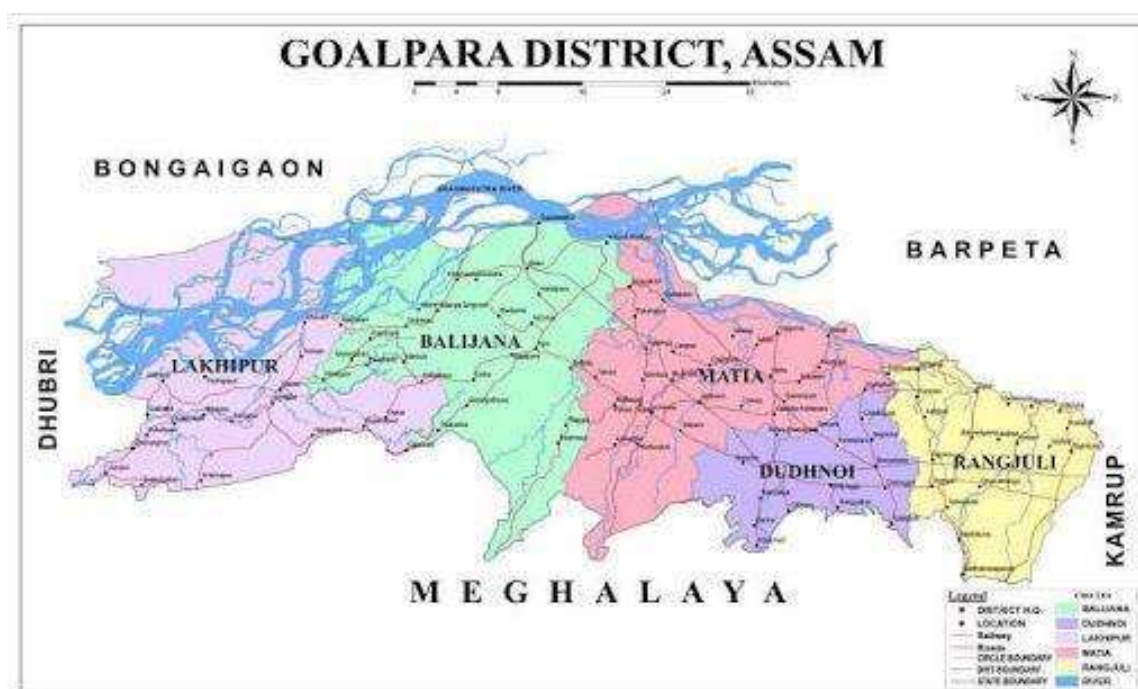
Data for this study were collected from the villages of Assam's Goalpara region, of Sesapani, West Kadamtala, Dhaigaon Solmari, Matiya, Tilapara, Khardang, Dhudnoi Damra, East Patpara and the urban areas of Goalpara and Dudhnoi. In addition to the Goalpara area, the researcher also visited Hajong Village in the Chirang district. Although the Hajongs are found in various parts of Assam, the majority of the Hajong communities have been found to reside in the Goalpara region of Assam.

Fieldwork was carried out in three phases:

- i. January – April 2017
- ii. April - September 2018
- iii. January – April 2019.

The details of the pilot survey include collecting data on the sociolinguistic profile of Hajong, ethnography of the Hajong language, wordlist elicitation, sentence collection, and with stories recording.

Map 3.1: Study area ‘Goalpara district’



Source: <http://goalpara.gov.in/images/indexslider/main/Goalpara.jpg>

3.4.2. Selection of Informants

The present data is collected from 12 informants, all from the villages of the Goalpara district. There are more than 100 informants while collecting the data on the sociolinguistic situation, and ethnographic information besides the above 12 informants. The location of the study also extended from Goalpara district to Chirang, and Bongaigaon districts.

The major types of speakers, according to Grinevald and Bert (1993: 49) are the fluent speaker, semi-speaker, and terminal speaker and the researcher comes across all these three speakers during the field visits. However, data was collected from old fluent speakers (aged 35 years and above), and semi-speakers (aged 24 years and above) to compare and contrast for final elicitation. The informants are selected by an extensive screening procedure such as:

1. The participants should be born and brought up in the targeted area.
2. The participants should be living for the last 15 years in that particular area.
3. The informants do not have any hearing, speaking, or psychological disorders.

Besides the above criteria, the research also followed the **Scheme for the Protection and preservation of Endangered Languages (SPPEL)** (2016) guidelines for selecting ideal informants.

- i. The informants should be around 50 years of age. The advantage of selecting older informants is that they retain the indigenous grammatical structures and lexicon, purity in language, folklore, etc.,
- ii. The informants should be native speakers born and brought up in the native area, and fluent in the language.
- iii. The informants should know the history and migration of the community.
- iv. Active participants in social, religious, and cultural practices.
- v. Knowing folklore, rites, and rituals.
- vi. Bilingual informant.

Concerning criteria (i) the researcher has included the younger generation age ranging from 24 to 49 in the targeted community. 6 informants were of 50 years or above.

The reports the informant's socio-biographical characteristics, i.e., name, age, occupation, gender, and educational background from the Goalpara region, of Sesapani, West Kadamtala, Dhaigaon Solmari, Matiya, Tilapara, Khardang, Dhudnoi Damra, East Patpara and the urban areas of Goalpara and Dudhnoi are given below.

Table 3.1 Reports the informant's socio-biographical characteristics, i.e., name, age, occupation, gender, and educational background.

Sl	Name	Age	Gender	Occupation	Education
1	Moromi Hajong	23	Female	Housewife	Higher Secondary Passed
2	Dipon Hajong	24	Male	Soldier	Higher Secondary passed
3	Bijoy Hajong	41	Male	President of All Assam Hajong Student Union (AAHSU) Assam	Higher Secondary Passed
4	Tridip Hajong	43	Male	President of All Assam Hajong Student Union (Goalpara District)	Higher Secondary Passed
5	Pinky Hajong	26	Female	Housewife	9 th Grade
6	Lakhi Hajong	31	Female	Housewife	10 th Grade
7	Sachindra Hajong	49	Male	Teacher	HSLC Passed
8	Ranjita Hajong	48	Female	Aganwadi worker	HSLC Passed
9	Binodini Hajong	70	Female	Housewife	No Schooling
10	GargaMohan Hajong	85	Male	Farmer	2nd Grade
11	Susila Hajong	72	Female	Housewife	No Schooling
12	Bhabendra Hajong	82	Male	Retired Teacher	HSLC Passed

Fig. 3.1: Photo of the Group of Informants



Fig.3.1: Informants Bhabendra Hajong (Left), Jinendra Hajong, (Right), Susila Hajong, Binodini Hajong (Middle), Goyasuri Hajong (Left).

Fig.3.2 Photo of the Group of Informants



Fig. 3.2: Informants from left Bijoy Hajong, Garga Mahon Hajong (Middle) and Sachindra Hajong (Right).

Fig.3.3 Photo of the Group of Informants



Fig. 3.3: The family of Bhabendra Hajong. Binodini Hajong (Right), Drubo Hajong (Middle), Bhabendra Hajong (Left) Tridip Hajong (Left), Lakhi Hajong, Moromi Hajong (Middle), Pinky Hajong, Dhiman Hajong (Right).

3.4.3. Method of Data Collection

Data collection methods include both primary and secondary sources of data collection. Secondary sources of data collection were books, magazines, articles, and web sources. Primary data are collected using interviews, questionnaires, and participant observation methods. Since the target language lacks secondary resources, the focus is mainly on the primary data collection.

Tools for Data Collection

The data is recorded by using the Sony tape recorder, Audacity, and Praat software in digital format. Sometimes spontaneous texts in the form of storytelling, and songs produced by native speakers were recorded; random conversations of females while gossiping in a house were also recorded. All the texts are recorded and transcribed for detailed analysis. For the analysis of the sound segment, Praat software was used.

3.4.4. Questionnaire and Interview Method

In the early stages of the fieldwork, researchers contacted Hajong residents with the help of community representatives. As Assamese is the contact language in the region the researcher personally had a direct informal conversation with the people. After taking the necessary permission and help from the AHSU (All Hajong Student Union) the researcher collected data in different villages in the Goalpara district. They had been welcoming and cooperative maximum of the time; consequently, the researcher didn't enjoy any outsider's emotions from the aspect of the interviewees. The researcher started interviewing and questioning the entire 7 members, an age group ranging from 24 to 60 above. Besides those 7 informants, there are 5 other informants from different villages. These 12 informants have been selected out of 100 informants the researcher came across during the field visits. All 100 informants contributed in different areas of the study, especially in the Yes/No questionnaire for studying sociolinguistic situations and language endangerment. However out of 100 informants 12 of them contributed to writing the entire work with their time and knowledge of their language.

The researcher used questionnaires and other means to interview informants on ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic contexts, such as linguistic contexts, people's attitudes to languages, areas of language use, and language abilities. Here, some objective-type questions such as Yes/ No answers are included along with the interview method. While interviewing the linguistic data elicitation the questionnaire method was mostly followed. Besides questionnaires, pictorial representation such as showing off a picture and asking the names of the picture was also carried out.

The two types of questionnaires were used to extract sociolinguistic and linguistic data. For the sociolinguistic questionnaire, the Linguistic Survey of Nepal was used. This whole questionnaire helped to research the information on language endangerment, language preservation and shift, language proficiency, language attitude, and language use.

For the ethnolinguistic questionnaire and linguistic questionnaire, the researcher utilised the SPPEL (2016) handbook in the initial phase of data elicitation. SPEEL project was started in 2013 and instituted by the MHRD (Government of India) to document and describe around 520 endangered and lesser-known languages of India. The major goal of this project is to produce a trilingual dictionary, basic grammar and an ethnolinguistic profile of the community.

This handbook consists of a 1000 wordlist, sentences, and ethnolinguistic areas covering kinship, colour terms, settlement and housing system, attire and adornment, food culture, traditional occupation, worship and rituals, measurement, and festivals. In Hajong a total of the 1,205-word list was collected. Some of the wordlists mentioned below:

Kinship terms, address, and reference terms: 84 words

Time, season and weather: 45 words

Directions: 32 words

Colour terms: 19 words

Housing and related: 46

Food and related: 54 words

Number, Gender, and Classifier: 89 words

Celestial's bodies and related: 11 words

Cardinal numbers: 34 words

Ordinal numbers: 18 words

Human Body parts: 83 words

Birds and related: 45 words

Files and insects: 28 words

Domestic animals and related: 20 words

Wild animals and related: 16 words

Reptiles and related: 22 words

The second questionnaire was from Sivashanmugam and Thayalan (2012) "A Comprehensive Questionnaire for Tribal Studies". This questionnaire includes an ethnolinguistic profile, sociolinguistic aspects, tribal folklore, wordlist, and sentence list. From this questionnaire, the sentence list was used for eliciting the morphological and grammatical aspects. The questionnaire consists of 878 sentences that include existential construction, attributive construction, predicative construction, tense, aspect, demonstratives, obligatory mood, possibility mood, hortative mood, permissive mood, interrogative mood, active and passive voice, positive degree, comparative degree, superlative degree, indefinite, interjection, causative and non-causative, transitive and intransitive, case makers, direction, adverbial construction, relative participial construction, coordinate constructions, subordinate construction, postpositions, universal affirmative and negative, conditional construction, and verbal participial constructions.

The researcher has also used the basic sentences from Abbi's (2001) questionnaire which consists of simple sentences, negatives, imperatives, conditional and coordination, inclusive/exclusive, interrogatives, relativization, participial, causatives, passive, cases, comparative, echo-formation, classifiers, reduplication, compound verbs, conjunct verbs, infinitives, complements, word order, interrogation, explicator compound verbs, and dative subjects.

3.4.5. Participant–Observation Method

During the field visit besides the interview and questionnaire method, the participant-observation method was also followed to capture the day-to-day activities which include the lifestyle of the community, marriage ceremonies, and social activities of the community which in turn help in gaining insight about the social life of the community. People's attitudes toward language, language use domain, language ability, religious practices, marriage ceremonies, community meetings, various dishes, daily activities of women at home, agricultural activities like paddy seedling and plantation, animal rearing, etc. were also noted during this method.

3.3.7. Presentation and Analysis

The Hajong data in the thesis is presented in the following ways:

(i) **The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)** symbols are used for phonetic and phonemic transcription.

(ii) The Leipzig Glossing Rules were used for glossing and abbreviation. The glossing of words, clauses, and sentences is in the following manner: step one is the morpheme breakdown or morpheme separation, the second step is followed by interlinear morpheme translation, and the third step is followed by free translation given in English. An illustration is provided below for ready reference:

moi	o-ge	b ^h ala lag-e	Line 1: Morpheme breakdown
I	he/she-OBJ	like get PN	Line 2: Morpheme – by –morpheme gloss
'I like him/her'			Line 3: Free translation

3.4.8. Limitations of the Study

- i. Geographically, this study is limited to the Hajong language spoken in Assam, especially referring to Hajong speakers in the Goalpara, Bongaigaon and Chirang districts. Besides Assam, Hajong speakers living in Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, West Bengal, and Bangladesh are not included in this study.
- ii. This study is limited to a descriptive framework.
- iii. This study focused only on the Hajong language without studying the dialectical variation of the language. The present study looks at Hajong as a language, not the dialect or mixed language of Bengali and Assamese. The purpose of the study was to document the spoken form as it is without limiting it to the notion of language and dialect.
- iv. The study presents a contemporary analysis of the Hajong language without a historical approach.

3.6. Organisation of the Study

This research work is divided into four main parts. The first section is divided into three main chapters. Chapter 1 describes the sociolinguistic situation and ethnolinguistic studies on the language and its speakers. Chapter 2 covers the review of the literature. Chapter 3 discusses the statement of the issue, the purpose of the study, the significance of the study, the research methodology, and the scope or limitations of the study.

The second section contains chapter 4, with sound patterns for the Hajong language.

The third section includes chapter 5 which consists of four major areas dealing with the analysis of Nominal Morphology, Verb Morphology, Nominal Modifiers (i.e., Adjectives, Determiners, Quantifiers, and Classifier) and other Word classes and processes (i.e., Adverb, Question word, Post-position, Conjunction, and Particles).

The fourth section includes chapter 6 which focuses on Phrases, Clauses, and sentence structure. Chapter 7 consists of the overall findings and a summary of the whole chapter.

CHAPTER 4: PHONOLOGY

4.0. Introduction

This chapter describes the sound system of the Hajong language. There are 6 sections. Section 4.1 includes the inventory of vowel phonemes. Section 4.2 deals with the diphthongs. Section 4.3 deals with the consonant phonemes and their description, distribution, consonant cluster, and consonant sequence. Section 4.4 is about the study of syllable structure. Section 4.5 is about morphophonology. Section 4.6 deals with the suprasegmental features such as length, stress, and intonation.

4.1. Vowel Phonemes

Hajong has the following segmental and supra-segmental phonemes. The phonological system of Hajong speech contains two major segmental phonemes i.e., vowels and consonants. According to Guts. L (2013: 216), Hajong phoneme consists of 25 consonants and 6 vowels. However, in the present study Hajong phoneme consists of 26 consonants and 8 vowels. The eight vowels (i.e., /i, e, ε, α, ɔ, o, u, ʊ/) include the three front, one central, and four back vowels with contrastive height. Hajong vowels are not contrastive based on length. The inventory of vowels in Hajong is illustrated below.

Table 4.1: Inventory of Vowel Phonemes in Hajong

Position	Front	Central	Back	
	Unrounded		unrounded	rounded
High	i		ʊ	u
Mid	e			o
Low-mid	ε			ɔ
Low		α		

Table 4.1 shows that in Hajong there are eight phonemic vowels in terms of height and front-back position of the tongue.

(1) /i/ High, front, unrounded vowel

/e/ Mid, front, unrounded vowel

/u/ High, back, unrounded vowel

is	‘middle part of plough’
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Word medial position

d ^h iki	‘traditional rice mill’
bisi	‘seed’
hidul	‘dry fish and yam leaf’
din	‘day’
bison	‘fan’

Word final position

tari	‘hill’
mati	‘soil’
hali	‘religious place’
ki	‘what’

/e/ occurs in the following environments

Word initial position

ela	‘now’
-----	-------

Word medial position

b ^h edor	‘mud’
leba	‘rice powder curry’
ber	‘temporary storage’
nengra	‘lame’

Word final position

hakle	‘quickly’
hidʒabare	‘rabbit’

/ɛ/ occurs in the following environments

Word initial position

εk	‘one’
-----------------	-------

Word medial position

beka	‘curve’
------	---------

bɛla	‘sun’
------	-------

pet ‘belly’

/ɑ/ occurs in the following environments

Word initial position

akas ‘sky’

ap^h ‘cloud’

alga ‘separate’

ag 'front

Word medial position

hak ‘leafy vegetable’

masan ‘meat’

b^haj 'to'

Word final position

bowa ‘weaving net’

$\text{ad}^h \mathfrak{a}$	‘half’
----------------------------	--------

leba	‘powered rice curry’
------	----------------------

na	‘question marker’
----	-------------------

/ɔ/ occurs in the following environments

Word initial position

ɔkt^hai ‘to spite/ vomit’

Word medial position

morɔt ‘man’

rɔkto ‘blood’

kɔt ‘where’

Word final position

daŋɔ ‘big’

t^hɔ ‘put’

/o/ occurs in the following environments

Word initial position

ot ‘lip’

orɔs ‘bed bug’

ola ‘his/her’

oposa ‘little amount’

Word medial position

holɔk ‘piercing light from the hole’

pore ‘next’, falling’

t^hokɔn ‘from’

Word final position

b^hao ‘blowing off chaff’

det^ho ‘father’s elder brother’

mao ‘mother; to another’s mother’

/u/ occurs in the following environments

Word initial position

ut	‘camel’
usp ^h us	‘uneasy feeling’
ulungpalaŋ	‘distressed’
uri	‘to fly’

Word medial position

ḍḡuntu	‘animal’
buk	‘chest’
urun	‘mortar’
uk ^h un	‘lice’

Word final position

at ^h u	‘knee’
abu	‘grandmother’
haru	‘bird’

/u/ occurs in the following environments

Word initial position

u ^h lsu	‘lazy’
--------------------	--------

Word medial position

du ^h l	‘dal’
uku ^h s	‘breath’
budḡ	‘music’

Word final position

udu	‘that’
ikru	‘root’

girdʒu

‘church’

kirsu

‘folktale’

The eight vowels (i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u, ʊ) occurrence chart is given below

Table 4.3: Positional Distribution of Vowels

Vowels	Initial #-	Intervocalic c-c	Final -#
/i/	+	+	+
/e/	+	+	+
/ε/	+	+	-
/a/	+	+	+
/ɔ/	+	+	+
/o/	+	+	+
/u/	+	+	+
/ʊ/	+	+	+

From table 4.3: the following distributions of Hajong vowels are as follows:

- i. All the vowels occur in word-initial position
- ii. All the vowels occur in the word-final position except the vowel /ε/ which is mostly replaced by the mid, front, and unrounded vowel /e/.
- iii. All the vowels occur in the intervocalic position

4.1.2. Vowel Contrasts

The vowels of Hajong present phonological oppositions in terms of three places of articulation: front, central, and back.

Table 4.4: Minimal Set for Monophthong Vowels

Vowels	Minimal set	Gloss
i	bil	‘small lake’
e	bel	‘bell’
ε	bel bela	‘wood apple’ ‘sun’
a	balti	‘bucket’

ɔ	tɔl	‘down’
o	bol	‘strength’
u	bul	‘children word’
uu	buuluu	‘sand’

i. Front Vowel and Front Vowel

/i/ ~ /e/

basi ‘alive’

base ‘to clean’

bari ‘house’

bare ‘to serve’

/e/ ~ /ɛ/

bel ‘bell’

bɛl ‘wood apple’

eg-ra ‘one-DEF’

ɛk ‘one’

ii. Central Vowel and Back Vowel

/ɑ/ ~ /u/

ʃɛlla ‘centipede’

ʃilluu ‘eagle’

kamla ‘labourer’

kumluu ‘immature’

dala ‘branch’

duuluu ‘pulses’

/ɑ/ ~ /o/

dan ‘offering’

don ‘basket made of bamboo’

raŋa ‘red’

roŋ ‘colour’

/ɑ/ ~ /u/

k^hal ‘deep hole’

k^hul ‘a small leather drum’

dat ‘tooth’

dut ‘breast’

iii. Back vowel and Back Vowel

/ɔ/ ~ /o/

kɔt ‘where’

k^ho ‘to speak’

d ^h okon ‘likewise’	don ‘bamboo basket’
g ^h or ‘house’	gor ‘stem’
/u/ ~ /o/	
bul ‘children word’	bol ‘strength’
turturu ‘chill’	tortora ‘hard’, straight’
/u/ ~ /u/	
duli ‘big bamboo basket’	duulu ‘pulses’
bul ‘children word’	buulu ‘sand’
/u/ ~ /o/	
duru ‘tortoise’	doro ‘deterioration/ dying phase’
b ^h ur ‘heavy’	b ^h ora ‘full’

iv. Front Vowel and Back Vowel

/i/ ~ /u/	
idur ‘this’	udur ‘that’
iglu ‘these’	uglu ‘those’
/a/ ~ /i/	
kamla ‘servant man’	kamli ‘servant woman’
takla ‘bald man’	takli ‘bald woman’
ʃ ^h adra ‘fatman’	ʃ ^h adri ‘fat woman’
/u/ ~ /i/	
gungu ‘tall man’	gangi ‘tall girl’
ʃ ^h uklu ‘cripple man’	ʃ ^h ukli ‘cripple woman’
k ^h utu ‘post’	k ^h uri ‘firewood’
b ^h ugni ‘niece’	b ^h ugnu ‘nephew’

4.2. Diphthongs

There are 11 diphthongs in Hajong and the most frequently used diphthongs are /ei/, /ai/, /ui/, /oi/, /ɔi/, /ui/, /ao/, /eo/, /ou/, /ɔu/, /eu/. Diphthongs /ei/, /ai/, /ui/, /oi/, /ɔi/, and /ui/, glide towards high, front vowel /i/. Diphthongs /ao/, /eo/ glide towards the back, rounded, mid vowel /o/. Diphthongs /ou/, /ɔu/, and /eu/ glide towards low-mid, rounded, back vowel /u/.

Table 4.5: Diphthongs in Hajong

	ui/ ui
ei /eu/ eo	oi/ou ɔi/ɔu
ai /ao	

4.2.1. Distribution of Diphthongs

The following are examples of vowel glides towards /i/

Diphthongs	Initial	Medial	Final
/ei/	ei ‘he/she’ proximal	-	dei ‘to give’ nei ‘to take’
/ai/	aiu ‘mother’ ai ‘come’	kaiu ‘someone’ saina ‘shadow’	mitai ‘jaggery’ muslai ‘spice’
/ui/	-	puikur ‘dealer’	dit ^h ui ‘mother’s elder sister’ nui ‘negative marker’ bilui ‘cat’
/oi/	oi ‘he/she’ distal	koitərək ‘bulbul’ moiladeo ‘unclean spirit’	hoi ‘be’ boi ‘book’
/ɔi/	-	-	dɔi ‘curd’
/ui/	ui ‘that’	dʒuip ^h ul ‘jasmine’ kuilutit ^h ui ‘bitter gourd’	dui ‘two’ dʒui ‘fire’

The examples of vowel glide towards /o/

Diphthongs	Initial	Medial	Final
/ao/	-	kaosu 'tortoise' maorath ⁱ 'midnight'	rao 'word' gao 'body'
/eo/	-	deowa 'to give' deosi 'priest'	bondeo 'harmful spirit'

The examples of vowel glide towards /u/

Diphthongs	Initial	Medial	Final
/ou/	-	kouti 'crore'	g ^h umou 'to sleep'
/ɔu/	-	dɔuru 'to run'	-
/eu/	-	-	dʒ ^h eu 'daughter'

The diphthongs occurrence chart is given below in table 4.6 given below:

Table 4.6 Diphthongs Occurrence Chart

Vowels	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
/ei/	+	-	+
/ai/	+	+	+
/ui/	-	+	+
/oi/	+	+	+
/ɔi/	-	-	+
/ui/	+	+	+
/ao/	-	+	+
/eo/	-	+	+
/ou/	-	+	+
/ɔu/	-	+	-
/eu/	-	-	+

From table 4.6; the following distribution of Hajong diphthongs is as follows:

- i. /ei/, /ai/, /oi/, and /ui/ diphthongs occur in word-initial position
- ii. All the diphthongs occur in the intervocalic position except /ei/, /ɔi/, /eu/.
- iii. All the diphthongs occur in the word-final position except /ɔu/.

Vowel Sequence

Some diphthongs look like vowel sequences in the language.

The examples of vowel glide towards /a/and /u/.

Diphthongs	Initial	Medial	Final
/ua/	-	gual ‘milkman’	-
/ia/	-	hial ‘fox’	-
/iu/	-	-	biu ‘marriage’
/uu/	-	huur ‘pig’ duut ‘inkpot’	-

4.3. Consonant Phonemes

In this section, the presentation is on the consonant inventory, phonological oppositions, distribution and consonant clusters, consonant sequence, and distinctive features. Guts (2013) in a seminal paper ‘Phonological Description of the Hajong Language’ provides a descriptive analysis of the sound pattern of Hajong language spoken mostly in Meghalaya. According to Guts, the Hajong sound system has twenty-five consonants. However, in our present study, we found twenty-six consonants.

The following 26 pulmonic consonant phonemes are found in Hajong /p, p^h, b, b^h, t, t^h, d, d^h, k, k^h, g, g^h, m, n, ŋ, r, s, ʃ, h, l, ʎ, ʎ^h, dʒ, dʒ^h, w, j/. Hajong consonants represent four-way contrasts in the manner of articulation, place of articulation, aspiration, and voicing.

The manner of articulation includes the following seven types of Hajong consonants such as stops, nasals, affricates, trill, fricatives, lateral, and glides.

The place of articulation includes the six points of articulation in Hajong such as bilabial, alveolar, alveo-palatal, palatal, velar, and glottal.

The consonant chart is given below in Table 4.7

Table 4.7: Consonant Phonemes

Place of articulation		Bilabial		Alveolar		Alveo-palatal		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
Manner of articulation		vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl
Stop	Unaspirated	p	b	t	d					k	g	
	Aspirated	p ^h	b ^h	t ^h	d ^h					k ^h	g ^h	
Nasal			m		n						ŋ	
Trill					r							
Fricative				s				ʃ				h
Lateral					l							
Affricate	Unaspirated					tʃ	dʒ					
	Aspirated					tʃ ^h	dʒ ^h					
Glide			w				j					

4.3.1. Allophonic Variation and Distribution of Consonants

Bilabial stops: The description of bilabial stops in Hajong.

/p/	stop	bilabial	voiceless	unaspirated
/p ^h /	stop	bilabial	voiceless	aspirated
/b/	stop	bilabial	voiced	unaspirated
/b ^h /	stop	bilabial	voiced	aspirated

Distribution of the bilabial stops

/p/ occurs in the following environments.

- initially before vowels
pahar ‘mountain’
pit^hu ‘fried sweet’
- medially between vowels
gɔpɔk ‘immediately’
pepa ‘horn’
- finally before vowels
sep ‘spittle’

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| dərop | ‘rob’ |
| koitərop | ‘bulbul’ |
| • medially in the clusters | |
| tupluu | ‘buttock’ |
| pipruu | ‘ant’ |
| • medially in a sequence | |
| təlpət | ‘abdomen’ |

/p^h/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels

p ^h əl	‘fruit’
p ^h uluu	‘swelling’
- medially between vowels and in a sequence

mud ^h up ^h əl	‘papaya’
p ^h orp ^h ora	‘clean white’
tusp ^h əl	‘mulberry’
dap ^h na	‘shoulder’
- finally before vowels

ap ^h	‘cloud’
-----------------	---------

/b/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels

bəla	‘sun’
buuluu	‘sand’
bastu	‘head of the group of deities’
- medially between vowels

leba	‘powdered rice curry’
------	-----------------------
- finally before vowels

ŋ ^h ob	‘wooden stool’
k ^h ob	‘staircase’
- medially in the clusters

habre	‘fallen paddy’
-------	----------------
- medially in a sequence

bonbari	‘forest’
---------	----------

/b^h/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels

b ^h ala	‘good’
b ^h itur	‘inside’
b ^h edor	‘mud’

- medially between vowels
gaub^hari 'pregnant'
ob^hɔra 'too much'
- finally before vowels
gab^h 'animal pregnant'
d^huɓ^h 'sound of falling'
- medially in a sequence
b^hokb^hoka 'ripen white colour fruit'

Alveolar stops: The descriptions of four alveolar stops in Hajong.

/t/	stop	alveolar	voiceless	unaspirated
/t ^h /	stop	alveolar	voiceless	aspirated
/d/	stop	alveolar	voiced	unaspirated
/d ^h /	stop	alveolar	voiced	aspirated

Distribution of alveolar stops

/t/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels
tepa 'little'
tat 'handloom'
tɛlka 'cold'
- medially between vowels
tɔta 'hot'
- finally before vowels
kat 'chop'
bat 'allergy'
hat 'market'
- medially in a clusters
t^hɔtla 'stutterter'
- medially in a sequence
kustɔ 'leprosy'

/t^h/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels
t^hɔ 'to keep'
- medially between vowels
mit^hu 'sweet'
net^ha 'ugly'

- finally before vowels
dot^h 'bottle lamp'
- medially in the clusters
pit^hli 'riceflour'
- medially in a sequence
tʃolt^ha 'tread'

/d/ occurs in the following environments

- initial position before vowels
din 'sky'
don 'a measuring basket'
dombol 'tumour'
- medial position between vowels
hidul 'dry fish cooked with yam leaf'
- medially in the clusters
badri 'bat'
tʃadra 'fat man'
- medially in a sequence
dulduli 'soft soil'
andar 'dark'
- finally before vowels
dud 'milk'

/d^h/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels
d^hara 'waterfall'
d^hol 'flood'
d^hupwul 'windstorm'
- medially between vowels and in a cluster
ad^ha 'half'
bid^hun 'seedling'
ad^hra 'leftover'
- medially in a sequence
d^hɔkd^hɔka 'clean'

Velar stops: The descriptions of velar stops in Hajong.

/k/	stop	velar	voiceless	unaspirated
/k ^h /	stop	velar	voiceless	aspirated
/g/	stop	velar	voiced	unaspirated

/g ^h /	stop	velar	voiced	aspirated
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Distribution of velar stops

/k/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels

kas	‘cough’
ki	‘what’
- medially between vowels

ekəŋ	‘one’
d ^h aki	‘a small drum’
- finally before vowels

lik-ik	‘write 2.IMP’
hik-ik	‘learn 2.IMP’
- medially in the clusters

dindokre	‘thunder’
----------	-----------
- medially in a sequence

moska	‘displace bones’
kəŋka	‘how’
- in a gemination

kunni	‘at where’
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/k^h/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels

k ^h al	‘deep’
k ^h oŋ	‘hole’
k ^h oraŋ	‘dry season’
k ^h opra	‘room’
k ^h ul	‘a small leather drum’
- medially between vowels

pak ^h adena	‘wing’
lak ^h or	‘shepherd’
- finally before vowels

duk ^h	‘sorrow’
------------------	----------

/g/ occurs in the following environments

- initial position before vowels

gul	‘to scold’
ga ^h i	‘joint’
gabla	‘mixing bowl’

- medial position between vowels
agaguri 'everywhere'
bagani 'gardener'
- medially in the clusters
hugram 'guava'
- medially in a sequence
alga 'different'
dalgota 'nose ring'
b^hagnu 'nephew'
- finally before vowels
ag 'front'

/g^h/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels
g^hor 'house'
g^han̥ta 'bell'
g^hɔpa 'ravine'
- medially between vowels and in a sequence
g^hirg^hiruu 'thick'
gulig^hor 'cowshed'
- finally before vowels
bag^h 'tiger'

Nasals: The descriptions of nasals in Hajong.

Hajong has three nasal sounds /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/.

/m/	nasal	bilabial	voiced
/n/	nasal	alveolar	voiced
/ŋ/	nasal	velar	voiced

Distribution of nasal sounds in Hajong

/m/ occurs in the following environments

- initial position before vowels
mek 'rain'
mati 'soil'
- medial position between vowels
amarɔsa 'sad'
hamuk 'snail'
damuk 'claw'
bamonani 'priestess'

- finally before vowels
d^hum 'addiction'
gom 'wheat'

/n/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels
nir 'dew'
niduŋ 'a drum'
nasti 'navel'
nak 'nose'
nidum 'a drum'
- medially between vowels and in a sequence
bona 'wild beast'
dʒuntu 'animal'
- finally before vowels
bagan 'garden'
moron 'death'
bokon 'female calf'

/ŋ/ occurs in the following environments

- medially between vowels
raŋa 'red'
baŋi 'masmelon'
- finally before vowels
masaŋ 'meat'
roŋ 'colour'
- medially in a sequence
niŋkur 'tail'
daŋgra 'big'
daŋgosa 'bigger'

Trill: The description of trill /r/ in Hajong.

/r/ trill alveolar voiced

Distribution of trill /r/ in Hajong.

/r/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels
roŋ 'colour'
raŋa 'red'
raŋt^ha 'reddish'
rot 'sunshine'

- | | |
|------|----------|
| rupu | ‘silver’ |
|------|----------|
- medially between vowels

urun	‘mortar’
daru	‘poultice’
- finally before vowels

kər	‘to do’
bak ^h adur	‘remote’
- medially in the clusters

dakra	‘messenger’
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Lateral: The description of lateral /l/ in Hajong.

/l/ lateral alveolar voiced

Distribution of lateral /l/

/l/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels

lip ^h ui	‘fish trap’
liŋti	‘loincloth’
lebra	‘mixed veg curry’
- medially between vowels

b ^h ala	‘good’
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- finally before vowels

hidul	‘dry fish’
hal	‘plough’
təl	‘down’
kol	‘lap’
ḍʒoŋal	‘yoke’
- medially in the clusters

diɣlu	‘tall’
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- medially in a sequence

ḍʒaŋla	‘climbers support’
bəlsa	‘shovel’

Fricatives: The descriptions of fricatives sounds /s/, /ʃ/ and /h/ in Hajong.

/s/ fricative alveolar voiceless

/ʃ/ fricative alveo-palatal voiceless

/h/ fricative glottal voiceless

Distribution of fricatives in Hajong.

/s/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels
saina ‘shadow’
sona ‘gold’
- medially between vowels
b^huisul ‘earthquake’
bisi ‘seed’
bausitruu ‘slanted rain’
- finally before vowels
des ‘country’
gas ‘tree’
- medially in a sequence
bastu ‘a group of deities’
bursuu ‘rainy season’

/h/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels
hak ‘a vegetable leaf’
hun ‘to hear’
hɔlək ‘hole light’
hat ‘hand’
- medially between vowels
ruhun ‘garlic’
pahar ‘mountain’
- finally before vowels
mohmoh ‘good scent’

/ʃ/ occur in the following environments

- initially before vowels
ʃrɔk ‘road’ (in a loan word)
- medially between vowels
kaʃu ‘turtle’
- finally before vowels
kagoʃ ‘paper’
baluʃ ‘pillow’
bataʃ ‘wind’

Affricate: The descriptions of affricates sounds /tʃ/, /tʃʰ/, /dʒ/ and /dʒʰ/ in Hajong.

/tʃ/	affricate	alveo- palatal	voiceless	unaspirated
/tʃʰ/	affricate	alveo- palatal	voiceless	aspirated
/dʒ/	affricate	alveo- palatal	voiced	unaspirated
/dʒʰ/	affricate	alveo – palatal	voiced	aspirated

Distribution of affricates in Hajong

/tʃ/ occur in the following environments

- initially before vowels

tʃiruu	‘flat rice’
tʃeuar	‘spear’
tʃan	‘moon’
tʃorpereka	‘a bitter fruit’
- medially in a sequence

amtʃikluk	‘yellow medium-sized bird’
tʃulʃora	‘sparrow’
pʰultʃora	‘a small bird with a long beak’

/tʃʰ/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels

tʃʰop	‘mat’
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- medially between sequence and vowels

tʃatʃʰal	‘courtyard’
amtʃʰa	‘dysentery’
koʃʰa	‘constipation’

/dʒ/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels

dʒar	‘cold’
dʒan	‘stream’
dʒora	‘pair’
dʒalai	‘sprout’
dʒinuu	‘alive’
- medially between vowels

madʒot	‘brain’
godʒa	‘seed’

- finally before vowels
bʊdʒ̣ ‘music’
- medially in the clusters
- guɖʒ̣rɪgas ‘tree’
- medially in a sequence
dʒ̣ɪndʒ̣ɪni ‘a medicinal plant’

/dʒ̣^h/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels
dʒ̣^har ‘jungle’

dʒ̣^hora ‘stream’

dʒ̣^hap ‘bush’
- medially in a sequence
dʒ̣^hɔɖdʒ̣^hɔla ‘watery’

Glides: The descriptions of glides consonants /w/ and /j/ are as follows.

/w/	glides	bilabial	voiced
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/j/	glides	alveo- palatal	voiced
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Distribution of glides consonants

/w/ occurs in the following environments

- initially before vowels
wap ‘wild cat’
war ‘cover of blanket’
- medially between vowels
duɾwu ‘a small fruit’
dɔwat ‘lamp’
- finally before vowels
buw ‘daughter-in-law’
tew ‘peak; top of the roof’
- medially in a sequence
mawri ‘orphan’
hawli ‘compound’

/j/ occurs in the following environments.

- medially between vowels
baija ‘sterile’
- finally before vowels
dit^huj ‘aunt’

The positional distribution of consonants is given below in table 4.8 below

Table 4.8 Positional Distribution of Consonants

	Consonants	Initial # -	Intervocalic v-v	Final -#
1	p	+	+	+
2	p ^h	+	+	+
3	b	+	+	+
4	b ^h	+	+	+
5	t	+	+	+
6	t ^h	+	+	+
7	d	+	+	+
8	d ^h	+	+	-
9	k	+	+	+
10	k ^h	+	+	+
11	g	+	+	+
12	g ^h	+	+	+
13	m	+	+	+
14	n	+	+	+
15	ŋ	-	+	+
16	r	+	+	+
17	l	+	+	+
18	s	+	+	+
19	ʃ	+	+	+
20	h	+	+	+
21	tʃ	+	+	-
22	tʃ ^h	+	+	-
23	dʒ	+	+	+
24	dʒ ^h	+	+	-
25	w	+	+	+
26	j	-	+	+

From table 4.8, the following distributions of Hajong consonants are as follows:

- All the consonants occur in all positions: word-initial, inter-vocalic and word-final except /d^h/, /tʃ/, /tʃ^h/, /dʒ^h/, /ŋ/ and /j/
- All the consonants occur in word-initial position except /ŋ/, and /j/
- All the consonants occur only in the word-final position except /d^h/, /tʃ/, /tʃ^h/ and /dʒ^h/
- All the consonants occur in the intervocalic position.

4.3.2 Consonant Contrasts

Consonants

1. /p/	vs	/p ^h /
pan ‘leaf’		p ^h an ‘trap’
pal ‘group’		p ^h al ‘to jump’, ‘plough blade’
2. /b/	vs	/b ^h /
bat ‘allergy’		b ^h at ‘food’
3. /p ^h /	vs	/b ^h /
p ^h ol-la ‘fruit-DEF’		b ^h ola ‘to forget’, ‘particular time’
4. /p/	vs	/b/
puni ‘utensil; rice cooker’		buini ‘sister’
pare ‘to pluck’		bare ‘to serve’
pan ‘pan leaf’		ban ‘possession of body and mind’
5. /t/	vs	/t ^h /
tula ‘to lift’		t ^h ela ‘to push’
tokra ‘gourd container’		t ^h okrai ‘to bite’
tota ‘hot’		t ^h ot ‘bill,’ ‘beak’, ‘lower lip’
mastor ‘teacher’		met ^h or ‘sweeper’
6. /d/	vs	/d ^h /
darai ‘to fear’		d ^h or ‘to catch’
dan ‘giving’		d ^h an ‘paddy rice’
7. /t/	vs	/d/
tuli ‘to lift’		duli ‘bamboo basket’
tat ‘handloom’		dat ‘tooth’
tari ‘hill’		dari ‘whisters’

8. /t ^h /	vs	/d ^h /
t ^h or ‘banana flower’		d ^h or ‘to catch’
9. /k/	vs	/k ^h /
korkora ‘hard’		k ^h ora ‘bowl’
kopal ‘forehead’		k ^h opa ‘hair bun’
kat ^h a ‘paddy container’		k ^h ata ‘short’
10. /g/	vs	/g ^h /
gas ‘tree’		g ^h as ‘grass’
gamsa ‘traditional dress’		g ^h am ‘sweating’
11. /g ^h /	vs	/k ^h /
g ^h ora ‘horse’		k ^h ora ‘bowl’
g ^h ura ‘to circle’		k ^h uri ‘firewood’
12. /k/	vs	/g/
kalapoka ‘cockroach’		gala ‘neck’
kat ^h a ‘paddy container’		gat ^h a ‘hole’
13. /t͡ʃ/	vs	/t͡ʃ ^h /
t͡ʃor ‘thief’		t͡ʃ ^h op ‘mat’
14. /t͡ʃ/	vs	/d͡ʒ/
t͡ʃan ‘moon’		d͡ʒan ‘stream’
t͡ʃai ‘seeing’		d͡ʒai ‘to go’
15. /d͡ʒ/	vs	/d͡ʒ ^h /
d͡ʒala ‘disturbance’		d͡ʒ ^h ala ‘spicy’
d͡ʒaka ‘fish net’		d͡ʒ ^h aka ‘fish container’
d͡ʒor ‘fiver’		d͡ʒ ^h ora ‘stream’
16. /t͡ʃ/	vs	/d͡ʒ ^h /
t͡ʃora ‘shore’		d͡ʒ ^h ora ‘stream’

17. /tʰ/	vs	/dʒʰ/
tʰapa ‘cheek’		dʒʰapa ‘to close’
tʰaŋ ‘granary’		dʒʰaŋla ‘climbers supporter’
18. /m/	vs	/n/
mati ‘land’		nati ‘descendant’
mola ‘mine’		nola ‘drainage’
19. /n/	vs	/ŋ/
bandra ‘naughty’		daŋgra ‘big’
20. /l/	vs	/r/
lor ‘run’		ro ‘to wait’
latʰi ‘stick’		ratʰi ‘night’
21. /w/	vs	/j/
djwa ‘giving’		dja ‘to give’

4.3.3 Consonant Clusters

Most of the contiguous initial consonant clusters are loan words but have been adopted in the language for daily conversation. The initial contiguous consonant cluster that is available in the language is between the clusters of obstruent and sonorant under stop + liquid (i.e., br – /bristibar/ ‘thursday’ pr- / probʰu/ ‘master’, Lord’) and fricative + liquid (i.e., /sruti/ ‘prayer’) however without the violation of sonority sequencing principle is as follows

Table 4.9: CC initial clusters of Obstruent + Sonorant

First Member	Second Member	Word	Meaning
/g/	/r/	/grohon/	‘eclipse’
/b/	/r/	/bristibar/	‘thursday’

/p/	/r/	/ prob ^h u	‘master’
/s/	/r/	/sradd ^h ɔ/	‘funerary rite’

1. Stop + Liquid

gr –	grohon	‘eclipse’
br –	bristibar	‘thursday’
pr-	prob ^h u	‘master’, Lord’

2. Fricative + Liquid

sr -	sradd ^h ɔ	‘funerary rite’
	sruti	‘prayer’

Medial Consonant Cluster

Unlike initial consonant clusters, there are a plethora of medial two-consonant clusters in Hajong. It is observed that there are no final consonant clusters (few present only in loan words) and three-consonants clusters in the language. The first members of the clusters are obstruents which are stops, fricatives, and affricates and the second cluster includes sonorants like trill, lateral, liquids, and glides. All the contiguous medial consonant clusters are comprising the clusters of voiceless stop + sonorant (i.e., liquids and glides, pl - /garitupla/ ‘buttock’), the voice stops + sonorants, fricatives + sonorants and affricates + sonorants which validate the sonority sequencing principles except one example of final two-consonant clusters that have encountered in the loan word of English i.e., in *glide* + *fricative*: js - bujs ‘vice’

Table 4.10: CC medial clusters of Obstruent + Sonorant

First Member	Second Member	Word	Meaning
/p/	/j/	/tʃopja/	‘misshapen’
/p/	/l/	/garitupla/	‘buttock’
/p/	/r/	/d ^h opra/	‘stage of ripening’

		/pipru/	‘small ant’
/t/	/r/	/ketra/	‘eye mucus’
/t/	/l/	/g ^h otlai/	‘to stir/ shake’
/t ^h /	/l/	/pit ^h li/	‘rice flour’
/k/	/l/	/hakle/ /d͡ʒakla/	‘early’ ‘bamboo ladder’
/k/	/r/	/dindokre/	‘thunder’
/k ^h /	/r/	ŋiŋk ^h ru	‘to pinch’
/k/	/j/	/tikju/	‘lasting’
/b/	/r/	/habre/	‘fallen paddy stem’
/b/	/l/	/gablə/	‘mixing bowl’
/d/	/r/	/badri/	‘bat’
/d/	/l/	/b ^h idli/	‘bad-smelling’
/g/	/r/	/hugram/	‘guava’
/g/	/l/	/g ^h oglabɛj/	‘toad’
/s/	/r/	/asrai/	‘to beat’
/s/	/l/	/pislɔ/	‘slippery’
/s/	/j/	/umubusju/	‘dark night’
/d͡ʒ/	/l/	/ked͡ʒla/	‘jolly person’

Voiceless Stop + Sonorant

pj -	ʃ ^h apje	‘hidden’, hide’
pl -	garitwpla	‘buttock’
	kupleguj	‘milky way’
pr -	pipruu	‘small ant’
tr –	dotra	‘four stringed’
	ketra	‘eye mucus’
	setra	‘plenty’
	b ^h otra	‘dull; blunt not sharp’
tl -	t ^h otla	‘stutterer’
	putluu	‘carved idol,’ doll’
	kitli	‘kettle’
	g ^h otlai	‘to stir/shake’
t ^h l -	pit ^h li	‘rice flour’
t ^h r -	nat ^h ri	‘tick; sucks a dog’s blood’
kl -	ʃ ^h akla	‘part; division’
	bukli	‘nanny’
	hakle	‘early’
	doŋklapani	‘slough’
	bakla	‘bark of tree’
kr –	dokron	‘scream’
	p ^h okra	‘hooligan; deciever’
	ikruu	‘root’
	tikruu	‘tailbone’
	makra	‘spider’
k ^h r -	ʃ ^h in ^h ruu	‘to pinch’

kj -	dakjuu	‘drum beater man’
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Voiced Stop + Sororant

• Voiced Stop + Trill

br -	habre	‘fallen paddy’
dr -	k ^h udri	‘apportioned; small portion’
	bandra	‘naughty’
	ʃ̥adra	‘fat man’
gr-	ʃ̥eŋgra	‘youth; adolescent’
	bugri	‘berry’
	hugram	‘guava’

• Voiced Stop + Lateral

bl –	gabla	‘mixing bowl’
	toblui	‘small container’
dl -	b ^h idli	‘bad smelling’
gl -	g ^h oglaben	‘toad; edible delicacy’

Fricative + Sonorant

sr -	asrai	‘to beat’
	p ^h esra	‘chicken pox’
sl -	b ^h usluk	‘at a glance’
	pislui	‘slippery’
	mosla	‘spice’
sj -	umubusjuu	‘dark night’

Affricate + Lateral

ɖʒl - kedʒla 'jolly person'

Glides + Fricative

js - bujs 'vice'

4.3.3.1 Description of Consonant Cluster

The description of the initial and medial consonant clusters is as follows.

4.3.3.1.1 Word Initial Consonant Cluster

The phonotactic constraints of consonant cluster word-initial position are

- i. If the first consonant is a stop (voice/voiceless) then the second consonant is a trill.

C1 Stop (b/g/p) → C2 Trill (r)

- ii. If the first consonant is a fricative, then the second consonant is a trill.

C1 fricative (s) → C2 Trill (r)

4.3.3.1.2 Word Medial Consonant Cluster

The phonotactic constraints in word medial consonant clusters are

- i. If the first consonant is a stop (p/b/t/t^h/d/k/k^h/g) then the second consonant is a trill, liquid, and glide

C1	C2
Stop (p/b/t/t ^h /d/k/k ^h /g) →	Trill (r)
	Lateral (l)
	Glide (j)

- ii. If the first consonant is a fricative, then the second consonant is a trill, liquid, and glide

C1	C2
fricative (s) →	Trill (r)
	Lateral (l)
	Glide (j)

- iii. If the first consonant is affricate /dʒ/ then the second consonant is a trill, and lateral

C1	C2
affricate (dʒ) →	Trill (r)
	Lateral (l)

4.3.4 Consonant Sequences

The consonant sequence is studied here as a combination of two or more consonants occurring across the syllable boundary while a consonant cluster is a combination of two or more consonants occurring within a syllable. A consonant sequence of Hajong generally has a medial position without occurring in the initial and final positions. All the medial two-consonant sequences can be grouped into four classes:

1. Obstruent + Obstruent
2. Obstruent + Sonorant
3. Sonorant + Obstruent
4. Sonorant + Sonorant

4.3.4.1. Obstruent + Obstruent

The obstruent + obstruent consonant sequence in Hajong is the combination of stops + stops, stops + affricates, stops + fricatives and fricatives + stops. The example of obstruent + obstruent consonant sequence combinations is given below.

I. Stops + Stops

-pt -	ŋap-ta	‘flat’
-pk-	hutuup-ke	‘cover’
-pg ^h -	g ^h up-g ^h upuu	‘deep darkness’
-tp-	hat-pet	‘forearm’
-tp ^h -	p ^h ot-p ^h ota	‘bright, clear’
	pet-p ^h uluu	‘flatulence’
-tb-	bat-bis	‘arthritis’
-tb ^h -	dut-b ^h ota	‘nipple’
-tk-	put-kuu	‘blister’
	dat-koha	‘tooth break’
	kit-kit ^h ui	‘itching’
-tk ^h -	hat-k ^h ola	‘market place’
-tg-	hat-git ^h u	‘wrist’
	hat-g ^h iluu	‘hands’
-tg ^h -	g ^h umut-g ^h amat	‘now and then’
-dd ^h -	srad-d ^h o	‘funerary rite’
	srad-d ^h a	‘honouring’
-dg-	b ^h ud-guruu	‘cream of rice’
-kp-	hak-pat	‘vegetable’
	bebak-pale	‘everywhere’
-kt-	huk-tuu	‘dry taste’
-kt ^h -	ŋik-t ^h uu	‘uncooked food’

-kg ^h -	pak-g ^h uri	‘to go around in circle’
-kd-	ak-dat	‘front teeth’
	tʃ ^h uk-danɡra	‘big eyes’
	nak-danɡra	‘big nose’
-gd-	bog-da	‘not sharp’

ii Stops + Affricates

-ktʃ-	doltʃek-tʃeka	‘aquatic insect’
	tʃilik-tʃalak	‘lightening’
-tʃ-	put-tʃim	‘west’
-tʃ ^h	hat-tʃ ^h awa	‘palmists’

iii. Stops + Fricative

-ks-	sək-səka	‘pale’
	uk-si	‘overflow’

iv. Fricative + Stops

-ʃp-	bataʃ-pani	‘windstorm’
-sp ^h -	tus-p ^h əl	‘mulberry’
	us-p ^h us	‘uneasy feelings’
-sb-	gas-beŋ	‘tree frog’
-st-	kas-ta	‘betel taste’
-sk-	us-kuu	‘today’
	p ^h es-kuluu	‘lark’
-sg-	tus-guruu	‘chaff’

4.3.4.2. Obstruent + Sonorant

The obstruent + sonorant consonant sequence of Hajong includes the combination of the following: stops + glides; stops + nasals; stops + trill; stops + lateral; fricative + lateral and fricative + nasals. This combination has been described with examples given below:

i. Stops + Glides

-pj-	p ^h op-ja	‘anger’
-tw-	b ^h at-wuu	‘right’
	sat-wuu	‘religious words’
-tj-	muut-juu	‘light brown’
	bat-juu	‘grinding’
-kw-	benj ^h uk-wuu	‘tadpole’

ii. Stops + Nasals

-p ^h n-	dap ^h -na	‘shoulder’
-tn-	hut-ni	‘second wife’
	pit-ni	‘ghost’
-tm-	hat-mak ^h a	‘fist’
	pet-mandla	‘big belly’
-km-	ŋ ^h uk-mala	‘eye rim’
-kn-	sek-na	‘wet cloth’
	kek-na	‘ant’
	d ^h ak-na	‘lid’
	buk-nib ^h at	‘juicy rice’
-k ^h n-	bak ^h -nai	‘to praise’
	bak ^h -nawa	‘admired; praised’
-gn-	bug-nuu	‘cooking pot’
	b ^h ag-na	‘river fish’
	b ^h uug-nuu	‘nephew’

iii. Stops + Trill

-tr-	b ^h at-ran	‘to serve rice’
	b ^h at-randoni	‘chef’

iv. Stops + Lateral

-tl-	hat-lora	‘stealing character’
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v. Fricative + Lateral

-sl-	lus-lustu	‘spongy’
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vi. Fricative + Nasals

-sm-	mos-mosa	‘brittle’
	mus-musi	‘medicinal plant’
-sn-	bas-nai	‘to wait’
	mus-ni	‘duster’

4.3.4.3. Sonorant + Obstruent

i. Trill + Stop

-rp-	her-pai	‘to peel’
-rp ^h -	p ^h or-p ^h ora	‘clean white’
	dor-p ^h orai	‘to convulse’
-rb-	ʃ̌or-badʒar	‘black market’
	por-bo	‘festival’
-rb ^h -	b ^h ur-b ^h uru	‘coarse’
-rt-	ʃ̌or-ta	‘wise’
-rd-	dor-dam	‘bargain’
	hur-duu	‘rebel’
-rk-	nar-kul	‘ripe coconut’
	per-kək	‘brown bird’
-rk ^h -	k ^h or-k ^h orai	‘to fry’
	ʃ̌or-k ^h ela	‘festival dance during the month of kartika’
	ʃ̌or-k ^h a	‘spinning wheel’

-rg-	bor-giri	‘brother-in-law
	ar-gon	‘women’s scarf’
	hur-gun	‘vulture’
-rg ^h -	g ^h ir-g ^h iruu	‘thick’
-rt-	hor-taki	‘wild bird’
	b ^h uur-ti	‘round bamboo’

ii. Trill + Affricate

-rdʒ-	dur-dʒi	‘tailor’
	gir-dʒuu	‘church’

iii. Trill + Fricative

-rs-	bur-si	‘fish hook’
	bur-sikuruu	‘a bamboo fishing food’

iv. Lateral + Stops

-lp-	d ^h ol-pohor	‘dawn’
	dʒul-pi	‘fish trap’
	k ^h ol-pa	‘bamboo frame’
	tol-pet	‘abdomen’
-lp ^h -	ʃul-p ^h it ^h uu	‘ribbon’
-lb-	okol-bokol	‘nausea’
-lt-	ʃul-tuu	‘citrus fruit’
	ul-ti	‘to overturn’
	ul-tuu	‘opposite’
-lt ^h -	ʃol-t ^h a	‘long tread, ‘skin of a tree’
-ld-	hil-duu	‘yellow’

	kal-dat	‘canine’
-lk-	ahakuul-kui	‘tomorrow’
	b ^h ul-kui	‘to mislead’
	ʃul-kumru	‘white gourd’
	kɛl-kusi	‘armpit’
-lk ^h -	k ^h ul-k ^h ulipoka	‘fruit fry’
	k ^h ol-k ^h olai	‘to gurgle’
-lg-	sal-gum	‘turnip’
	dal-gota	‘nose ring’

v. Lateral + Affricates

-lʃ-	p ^h ul-ʃora	‘small bright bird’
	ʃul-ʃora	‘sparrow’
	dol-ʃɛkʃɛka	‘aquatic insect’
	dal-ʃini	‘cinnamon’
-ldʒ-	kul-dʒu	‘heart organ’
-ldʒ ^h -	dʒ ^h ol-dʒ ^h ola	‘watery; curry’

vi. Lateral + Fricative

-ls-	k ^h ul-si	‘pot’
	bɛl-sa	‘shovel; straight at bottom’

vii. Nasals + Stops

-mp-	kom-pes	‘muffler’
-mb-	dum-bur	‘fig’
	dom-bol	‘gland tumor’
-mb ^h -	aram-b ^h ɔ	‘beginning’
-md-	godom-doma	‘angry’

	dam-dumuu	‘swollen’
-mt-	hem-ta	‘dampness’
-nb-	kan-badi	‘earlobe’
-np-	hikin-peta	‘mucus’
-np ^h -	p ^h on-p ^h ona	‘smooth road or earth’
-nt-	g ^h on-ta	‘hour’
	k ^h un-ti	‘spatula’
	ʃin-tuu	‘thought’
-nd-	bin-duu	‘wooden rake for gathering straw’
	don-de	‘soon’
	kan-de	‘to cry’
-nd ^h -	gon-d ^h ar	‘rhino’
	ason-d ^h ore	‘to sit with legs crossed’
-nt-	poɖʒon-to	‘until to that point’
	man-tro	‘spell’
-nt ^h -	nun-t ^h uu	‘salty; used for biscuits’
-nk-	pen-kata	‘safety pin’
-ŋp-	diŋ-pora	‘rice cooked in bamboo’
-ŋt-	taŋ-taŋa	‘sunny’
-ŋt-	aŋ-t ^h i	‘ring’
	t ^h eŋ-tala	‘foot’
-ŋt ^h -	baŋ-t ^h i	‘bracelet’
-ŋk-	gaŋ-kola	‘riverbank’
	niŋ-kur	‘animal tail’
	doŋ-klapani	‘slough’
	gaŋ-kola	‘riverbank’

	daŋ-kli	‘wooden tool’
-ŋk ^h -	ʃoŋ-k ^h ai	‘to be stunned’
-ŋg-	aŋ-gra	‘charcoal’
	g ^h aŋ-go	‘insect’
	t ^h eŋ-gurdu	‘heel’
	dʒaŋ-go	‘twins’

viii. Nasals + Affricates

-mʃ̃-	am-ʃ̃ikluk	‘yellow bird’
-nʃ̃-	puŋ-ʃ̃u	‘watery taste’
	ʃ̃uŋ-ʃ̃unititu	‘bitter fruit’
	k ^h uŋ-ʃ̃u	‘little’
	b ^h iŋ-ʃ̃i	‘brother-in-law’
	ʃ̃uŋ-ʃ̃uni	‘bitter flower’
-ndʒ̃-	dʒ̃uŋ-dʒ̃uni	‘firefly’
	dʒ̃iŋ-dʒ̃ini	‘medicinal plant’
	kun-dʒ̃ini	‘a small leather drum’
-ŋʃ̃-	beŋ-ʃ̃uukwu	‘tadpole’
-ŋdʒ̃-	dʒ̃oŋ-dʒ̃at ^h i	‘spear’
-ŋdʒ̃ ^h -	dʒ̃ ^h eŋ-dʒ̃ ^h eŋa	‘transparent’

ix. Nasals + Fricative

-ms-	hum-su	‘mildew smell’
	gam-sa	‘lungi type dress’
-ns-	p ^h en-sap	‘cobra’
	kan-si	‘backside of the house’
-ŋʃ-	boŋ-ʃo	‘ancestor’

-ŋs-	tepeŋ-sa	‘little; esp. liquid’
	teŋ-sa	‘short tempered man’
	teŋ-si	‘short tempered woman’

x. Glides + Stops

-wb ^h -	gaw-b ^h ari	‘pregnant’
-wk-	baw-kunti	‘whirlwind’
	gaw-kansi	‘backside of the village’
	baw-sitra	‘slanted rain’
-jb-	duuruŋ-bari	‘thresher; used to separate straw from paddy’
-jd-	buj-duur	‘medicine seller’
-jt-	huŋ-tuur	‘equipment tool used to kill pig’
	ʃoŋton	‘ponytail’
-jk ^h -	tuŋ-k ^h orok	‘demanding’
-jg-	baj-gurmas	‘river fish’
	ʃukuwbaj-gon	‘eggplant’
	kodʒaj-g ^h ar	‘booth; temporary shelter of leaves and branches’

xi. Glides + Affricates

-wʃ̣-	taw-ʃ̣a	‘metallic taste’
-jdʒ̣-	baj-dʒ̣a	‘eunuch’, sterile’
	baj-dʒ̣i	‘barren woman’

4.3.4.4. Sonorant + Sonorant

i. Lateral + Nasals

-lm-	mil-miluu	‘smooth’
	gul-muris	‘black pepper’
-ln-	bəl-na	‘rolling board’
	dʒal-na	‘window’

ii. Lateral + Glides

-lw-	hul-wuu	‘farmer’
-lj-	dʰal-juu	‘pour’

iii. Nasal + Trill

-mr-	dʒʰuum-ri	‘big citrus fruit’
	ʃim-riʃam-ra	‘wrinkled’
	kum-ruu	‘gourd’
-nr-	baigon-roŋ	‘purple colour’

iv. Nasal + Lateral

-ml-	kom-laroŋ	‘orange’
	kom-la	‘orange’
	lim-limuu	‘smooth’
-ŋl-	aŋ-la	‘gooseberry; sour fruit’
	dʒaŋ-la	‘bamboo support for climbers’
	naŋ-likara	‘ploughing tool’
	ʃaŋ-li	‘shifting basket’
	siŋ-ho	‘lion’

v. Nasal + Nasal

-mn-	dum-ni	‘cluster fig’
-mm-	d ^h em-ma	‘boil or rash’
-ŋm-	menen- _ŋ menen- _ŋ	‘small’

vi. Trill + Nasal

-rm-	kir-mi	‘worm’
	ʃ̣or-magu	‘festival begging’
	dar-ma	‘rash’
-rn-	b ^h itur-ni	‘inside’

vii. Trill + Lateral

-rl-	har-le	‘defeated’
	g ^h or-laimun	‘family’

viii. Glides + Trill

-wr-	tew-ratew-ri	‘crooked’
	naw-ra	‘long wide flat fruit’
-jr-	bu _j -ru _i	‘animal whose has been cutoff’
	k ^h oj-ropi	‘yellow flower; poisonous fruit’

ix. Glides + Lateral

-wl-	naw-la	‘big earthen pot used for storing rice’
	haw-li	‘compound’

x. Glides + Nasal

-jn-	gaj-na	‘pestle’
	daj-ni	‘witch’

4.3.4.5 Description of Word Medial Consonant Sequences

All the medial two-consonant sequences are grouped into four classes: obstruent + obstruent, sonorant + sonorant, obstruent + sonorant, sonorant + sonorant. The phonotactic constraint in consonant sequences word-medial positions are as follow:

1. If the first consonant is a stop (p/b/t/t^h/d/k/k^h/g) then the second consonant is a stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals, trill, liquid, and glide

C1	C2
i. Voiceless stop (/p/) →	Stops (/t /k /g ^h /)
	Fricative (/s/)
	Glide (/j/)

ii. C1 voiceless stop aspirated /p^h/ → C2 Nasal /n/

iii. C1 voiced stop unaspirated /b/ → C2 trill/r/

C1	C2
iv. Voiceless stop (/t/) →	Stops (/p/p ^h /b/b ^h /d/k/k ^h /g/g ^h /)
	Affricates (/tʃ/)
	Nasals (/n/m/)
	Trill (/r/)
	Lateral (/l/)
	Glides (/j/w/)

C1	C2
v. Voiced stop (/d/) →	Stops (/d ^h /g/)
	Trill (/r/)
	Nasal (/n/)

vii. C1 voiced stop (/d^h/) → C2 nasal (/n/)

C1	C2
viii. Voiceless stop (/k/) →	Stops (/p/t/tʰ/d/gʰ/)
	Affricate (/tʃ/)
	Fricative (/s/)
	Lateral (/l/)
	Nasals (/m/n/)
	Glide (/w/)

2. If the first consonant is a fricative, then the second consonant is a stop, nasal and lateral

C1	C2
Fricative (/s/ʃ) →	Stops (/p/pʰ/b/t/k/g/gʰ/)
	Nasals (/m/n/)
	Lateral (/l/)

3. If the first consonant is nasals, then the second consonant is a stops, affricates, trill, nasal and lateral

C1	C2
Nasal (/m/) →	Stops (/p/b/bʰ/t/d/)
	Affricate (/tʃ/)
	Fricative (s)
	Trill (r)
	Lateral (l)
	Nasal (/n/)

C1	C2
Nasal (/n/) →	Stops (/p/p ^h /b/b ^h /t/t ^h /d/d ^h /k/k ^h /g/g ^h /)
	Affricates (/tʃ/dʒ/)
	Fricatives (s)
Nasal (/ŋ/) →	Stops (/p/t/t ^h /k/k ^h /g/)
	Affricates (/dʒ/dʒ ^h /tʃ/)
	Fricatives (/s/ʃ/h/)
	Lateral (l)
	Nasal (/m/)

4. If the first consonant is a trill, then the second consonant is a stops, affricates, fricatives, nasal, and lateral

C1	C2
Trill /r/ →	Stops (/p/p ^h /b/b ^h /t/d/k/k ^h /g/g ^h /)
	Affricates (/dʒ/)
	Fricatives (/s/)
	Nasals (/m/n/)
	Lateral (l)

5. If the first consonant is a lateral then the second consonant is a stops, affricates, fricatives, nasal, and glides

C1	C2
Lateral /l/ →	Stops (/p/p ^h /b/b ^h /d/k/k ^h /)
	Affricates (/tʃ/dʒ/dʒ ^h /)
	Fricatives (/s/)
	Nasals (/n/m/)
	Glides (/w/j/)

6. If the first consonant is a glide, then the second consonant is a stops, nasal, affricates, trill, and lateral

C1	C2
Glide /w/ →	Stops (/b ^h /k/)
	Affricates (/tʃ/)
	Nasal (/n/)
	Trill (/r/)
	Lateral (/l/)

C1	C2
Glide /j/ →	Stops(/p/p ^h /b/b ^h /t/t ^h /d/d ^h /k/k ^h /g/g ^h /)
	Affricates (/dʒ/)
	Nasal(/n/)
	Trill (/r/)
	Lateral (/l/)

4.4. Syllable Structure

Hajong syllable consists of a nucleus with or without an onset and with or without a coda. In the case of the nucleus position, all six vowels can form the nucleus of the syllable. Nasals, trills, and fricatives followed by the nucleus are available in the coda position.

The different types of a syllable that is common in the language are given below with example:

Hajong roots which are monosyllabic are described below with the following types:

1. Monosyllabic Forms

V	/i/	‘he/she/it; especially while indicating the third person singular number’
VV	/ai/	‘come’
	/ei/	‘this one’
VC	/ap ^h /	‘cloud’
	/is/	‘middle part of plough’

	/ut ^h /	‘standup’
CV	/dʒa/	‘to go’
	/de/	‘to give’
CVC	/kol/	‘lap; holding in the arms’
	/ʃal/	‘roof’
	/pɛt/	‘belly’
	/tat/	‘handloom’
CVV	/k ^h oi/	‘puffed rice’
	/hoi/	‘be’
	/ʃai/	‘to look at’
	/k ^h ai/	‘to eat’
CVCC	/buɟs/	‘vice’
	/kuɳd/	‘cry’
CCV	/sri/	‘beautiful; it is used before name usually borrowed word from Sanskrit’
CCVVC	/blaus/	‘blouse’

The structure of monosyllabic words is (C) CV(V) C(C).

2. Disyllabic Words

Second syllable is open

VCV	/abu/	‘grandfather’
	/ela/	‘now’
	/opa/	‘tiny’
	/ali/	‘boundary marker in paddy field’
	/at ^h u/	‘knee’
VCCV	/ak ^h la/	‘to hug’
	/etto/	‘so much’

	/ikru/	‘root’
VCCVV	/aklai/	‘to wash’
VCVV	/elao	‘until now’
CVCV	/dadu/	‘ringworm’
	/b ^h ugi/	‘sufferer’
	d ^h ola	‘white’
	/godʒa/	‘seed’
CVCCV	/tʃuk ^h lu/	‘paralysed’
	/b ^h idli/	‘bad smelling creeper’
	/besra/	‘poor’
CVCVV	/barai/	‘to offer’
	/basai/	‘to save’
	/p ^h asai/	‘to trap’
	/t ^h akai/	‘to aim’
CVCCVV	/t ^h əkrai/	‘to peck’
	/k ^h əkrai/	‘to poke’
	/pislai/	‘to send’
VCCV	/uwsu/	‘a kind of paddy’
	/alga/	‘separate’
	/asku/	‘today’
VCCVV	/oktai/	‘to spite’
	/ekseo/	‘little away’
CVCCV	/girdʒu/	‘church’
	/dajni/	‘witch’
	/kirsu/	‘folktale’
	/tokta	‘lumber’

	/renda	‘making wood plane’
	/d ^h onda/	‘hole in a wall’
CVCV	/doŋa/	‘bow made of banana bark’
CVCCVV	/basnai/	‘to wait’
	/b ^h oskai/	‘to prick/pierce with a needle’
	/bak ^h nai/	‘to praise’
CVCCCV	/dangra/	‘big /strong’
	/doŋkle/	‘plant’
	/mantro/	‘spell’
CVCCCVV	/tʃiŋk ^h rai/	‘to pinch’
CVVCV	/b ^h aori/	‘small brown bird’
	/naora/	‘flat rake to gather paddy’
CVVCVV	/huuhuu/	‘loud crying or talking’
CCVCV	/gjuuni/	‘wise’
	/prob ^h u/	‘master’
CCVCCV	/sradd ^h ɔ/	‘funerary rites’
Second syllable is closed		
VCVC	/akal/	‘scarcity’
	/akas/	‘sky’
	/ukuus/	‘breath’
	/atak/	‘tight’
	/agɔr/	‘hand drill’
CVCVC	/tʃorək/	‘thunder’
	/marəŋ/	‘poultice’
	/lawaj/	‘talkative’
CCVC	/pjuus/	‘onion’
CVCCVC	/tʃittur/	‘to face up’

	/tɔblɛŋ/	‘like bulbul bird’
	/hugram/	‘guava’
	/dɔkron/	‘scream’
	/dɔkram/	‘forcefully making cry’
CVCVC	/heŋol/	‘moss; fern’
CVCCVC	/dombol/	‘gland/tumour’
	/happen/	‘shorts’
	/tʃɔjton/	‘ponytail’
CVCCVC	/kojtrop/	‘bulbul’
VCVC	/aŋul/	‘finger’
VCCVC	/andar/	‘dark’
	/akdat/	‘incisor’
CVVCVC	/hweisul/	‘whistle’
CCVCVC	/grohon/	‘eclipse’
3. Trisyllabic Words		
Third syllable is open		
VCVCV	/amosa/	‘dysentery’
	/unnuɔɟi/	‘eye disease’
VCVCCV	/ekɔnda/	‘each every’
	/arambo/	‘beginning’
CVCVCV	/god ^h eja/	‘dull, slow’
	/k ^h oreŋa/	‘impatient’
	/bemari/	‘sick person’
CVCVCCV	/dohandi/	‘relationship of husband’s elder brother to wife’s elder brother’
	/girusti/	‘family’

	/b ^h iturni/	‘inside’
CVCVCCVV	/hapermui/	‘salamander’
CVCCVCV	/duldu /	‘shifting ground’
	/ramd ^h unu/	‘rainbow’
	/pakg ^h uri/	‘to go around’
	/b ^h urb ^h uru/	‘coarse’
	/mormora/	‘brittle’
	/limlimu/	‘smooth’
	/majrat ^h i/	‘midnight’
CVCCVCCV	/bawsitru/	‘slanted, rain’
CVCCVCCV	/bawkunt ^h i/	‘whirlwind’
	/ʈ ^h alkumru/	‘whitegourd’
CVCCVCVV	/d ^h or ^h orai/	‘to convulse’
CCVCVCV	/prit ^h ib ^h i/	‘world’
Third syllable is closed		
VCVCVC	/alik ^h əŋ/	‘a kind of bird’
	/opoman/	‘blasphemy’
	/ub ^h isap/	‘curse’
	/adidar/	‘landowner’
VCVCCVC	/asirbad/	‘blessing’
CVCVCCVC	/balukdʒ ^h or/	‘malaria’
	/kodʒa ^h jg ^h or/	‘temporary shelter for a stealing night feast’
CVCVCVC	/k ^h olaʈ ^h əŋ/	‘store room’
	/bisib ^h at/	‘steamed rice’
	/kuhijuur/	‘sugarcane’
CVCCVCVC	/g ^h əglaben/	‘toad, edible delicacy’

	/duɖruβeŋ/	‘toad’
CVCCVCVC	/mekbataʃ/	‘storm’
CVCCVCCVC	/kortalmaʃ/	‘pangolin’
	/bajgurmaʃ/	‘river fish’
CVVCVCCVC	/baigonron/	‘purple; colour of ego plants’
4. Tetrasyllabic Words		
Fourth syllable is open		
VCVCVCV	/atakati/	‘tightness’
	/agaguri/	‘beginning to end’
VCVCVCCV	/ogɔdepta/	‘devil’
VCVCCVCV	asond ^h ore/	‘to sit with legs crossed’
CVCVCVCV	/kotebari/	‘squirrel’
	/katahedʒa/	‘porcupine’
	/lewatana/	‘creeper-pull ‘song about pulling creepers’
	/bamonani/	‘priestess; priest’s wife’
	/hidʒabare/	‘rabbit’
	/sarasari/	‘divorced’
	/tʃ ^h awasota/	children; to address someone’s else children’
	/dʒ ^h atabari/	‘broom’
CVCVCCVCV	/durujbari/	‘thresher’
	/godomdoma/	‘angry, facial expression’
	/petelkana/	‘half boiled; used for rice only’
	/bataʃpani/	‘windstorm’
CVCCVCVCV	/kusrikala/	‘violet; dark colour, purple’

CVCVVCVCV	/koreakala/	‘dark black’
CVCVVCVCV	/masereŋa/	‘kingfisher’
	/kamereŋa/	‘star fruit’
	/batiliŋu/	‘mouse’
CVCVVCVCV	/panikauri/	‘bird’
CVCCVCVCCV	/kusrikasra/	‘wrinkle’
	/kokrabekra/	‘twisted’
	/biklibakla/	‘foul smelling nausea due to bad smelling’
CVCVCCVCV	/kedʒeŋdʒeŋa/	‘half cooked/boiled’
	/kʰodʒoŋdʒoŋa/	‘vertically straight’
CVCVVCVCCV	/raŋapipru/	‘fire ant’
CVCCVCCVCV	/dolʃeŋkʃeŋka/	‘aquatic’
CVCCVCVCV	/naŋlikara/	‘ploughing tool’
	/bursikuru/	‘a bamboo fishing rod’
	/gendeleka/	‘infant; newborn baby’
	/nawrapata/	‘nawra leaf; medicinal plant’
	/ʃiŋgamara/	‘deep; used for basket’
CVCCVCVCCV	/ʃimriʃamra/	‘wrinkled’
	/tiŋlitaŋla/	‘bumpy like a bad road’
	/ʃaptalapta/	‘flat thin things’
CVVCVCVCV	/baidʒipoka/	‘wasp; blue and black’
CVCVVCVCCV	/garitapla/	‘buttock’
CVCCVCVCCV	/tewratewri/	‘crooked; uneven; not parallel used for teeth’
VCCVCVCCV	/uktʰupaktʰa/	‘opposite; wrong side’

CVCVCVCCV	/b ^h umikompo/	‘earthquake’
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Fourth syllable is closed

VCCVCCVCCVC	/apruknapruk/	‘little’
VCVCCVCVC	/odɔlbodɔl/	‘exchange’
	/okɔlbokɔl/	‘nausea; feel like vomiting’
CVCVCCVCVC	/g ^h umutg ^h amat/	‘now and then’
	/g ^h urumg ^h urum/	‘boom; sound of thunder’
	/t͡ʃalak͡ʃalak/	‘lightening’
CVCCVCVCVC	/hotketetew/	‘a kind of bird’
CVCVCVCCVC	/t͡ʃukuɔbajgon/	‘tomato’

5. Pentasyllabic Words

Fifth syllable is open

CVCVCVCCVCV	/datikorkora/	‘strong; big muscled; for objects or people, not animals’
CVCCVCVCVCV	/g ^h ɔrrak ^h apoka/	‘moth , like butterfly’
	/k ^h ulk ^h ulipoka/	‘fruit fry’
CVCVCVCVCV	/bikilit ^h itui/	‘bitter fruit’

Fifth syllable is closed

CVCVCVCVCVC	/mameroterɛj/	‘medium sized yellow bird’
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6. Hexasyllabic Words

Sixth syllable is open

CVCVCVCVCVCV	/domonadopasa/	‘confused’
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4.5. Morphophonology

The detailed study of morphophonology in Hajong is still unexplored. However, the following analysis represents some of the morphophonological processes of the Hajong. The types of segmental morphophonological processes in Hajong are the following.

4.5.1. Assimilation

The root final voiceless unaspirated velar stop /k/ is replaced by unaspirated velar stop /g/ when it is followed by trill alveolar /r/ and aspirated velar stop /g^h/.

/k/ → /g/ / _____ /r/

a. ɛk > eg-ra ‘one-DEF’

/k/ → /g/ / _____ /g^h/

b. dak > dag-g^hor ‘post office’

The root final voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop /t/ is replaced by voiced unaspirated alveolar stop /d/ when followed by voiced alveolar stop /d/

/t/ → /d/ / _____ /d/

hat → had-da ‘hand-DEF’

timut → timud-du ‘girl-DEF’

pæt → pəd-da ‘belly-DEF’

b^hat → b^had-da ‘rice-DEF’

dut → dud-du ‘milk-DEF’

4.5.1.1. Anticipatory assimilation

Raises of mid vowels /e, ɛ, ɔ, o, ɑ/ to /i, e, u, u/ are noticeable in Hajong however it is not obligatory in the language because it changes when it requires.

e → i

t^hakiu → t^hikiu ‘from’

neki → niki ‘negative question marker’

ɛ → e

mɛk → mek ‘rain’

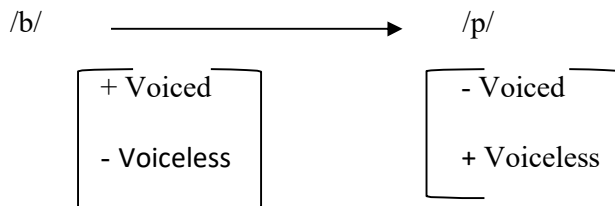
ek	→	eg-ra ‘one -CL’
o	→	u
ho	→	hu-buun ‘COP-PST’
kor	→	kur-ibuu ‘do -INF’
mor	→	mur-uk ‘die -IMP-3’
a	→	u
alsu	→	ulsu ‘lazy’
bala	→	bulu ‘sand’
dia	→	diu ‘through’
dourabu	→	dourubu ‘to run’
ʃakli ‘lame woman’	→	ʃuklu ‘lame man’
dʒapri ‘long hair covering woman’	→	dʒupru ‘long hair covering man’

4.5.2. Devoicing

Devoicing stops at the word-final position

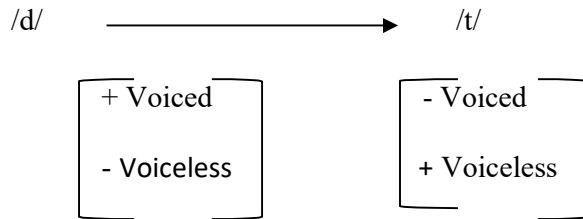
/ b, d, g / → / p, t, k /

The bilabial voiced stop consonant /b/ changes into the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ in the word-final position.



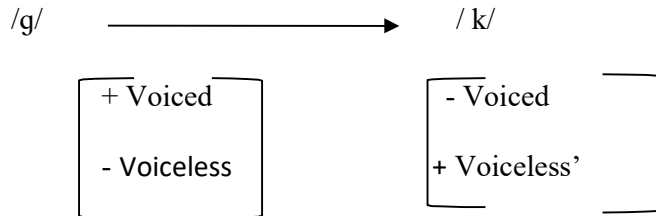
- a. gurubgurub → gurupgurup ‘sound of heavy rain’
- b. ʃob → ʃop ‘wooden stool’
- c. gab → gap ‘colour’

The alveolar voiced stop consonant /d/ changes into the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ in the word-final position.



- d. timud-duu ‘female-DEF’ → timut ‘female’
e. morod -da ‘male-DEF’ → morot ‘male’
f. alad → alat ‘to love’

The velar voiced stop consonant /g/ changes into the voiceless velar stop /k/ in the word-final position.

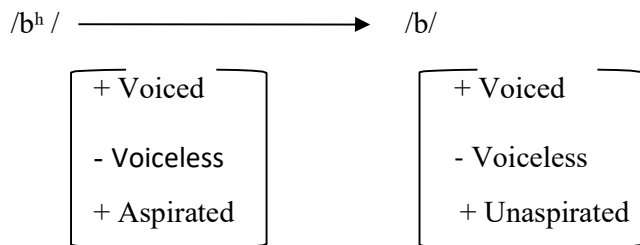


- g. bug → buk ‘chest’
h. nog → nok ‘nail’

4.5.3. Deaspiration

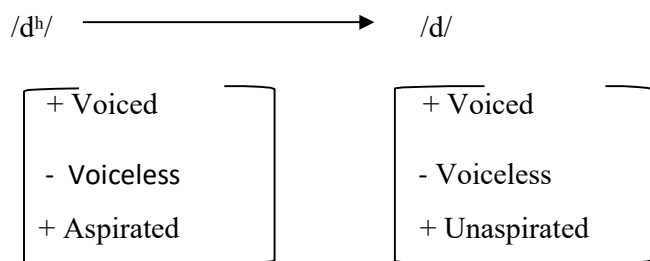
The aspirated voiced stops can change into de-aspirated voiced stops at the word-final position.

The bilabial aspirated voiced stop consonant /b^h/ can become unaspirated in the word-final position.



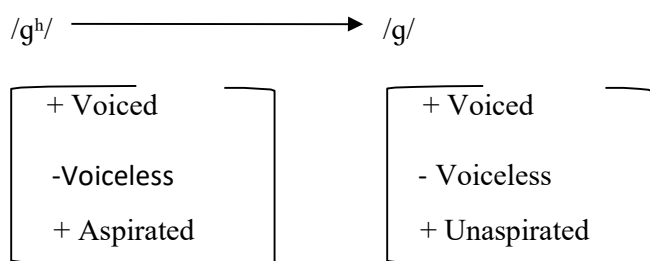
- a. gab^h → gab ‘animal pregnant’

The alveolar aspirated voiced stop consonant /d^h/ becomes unaspirated in the word final position.



b. pod^h → pod ‘road’

The velar aspirated voiced stop consonant /g^h/ becomes unaspirated in the word-final position



a. ʃ̌orog^h → ʃ̌orog ‘thunder’

b. holog^h → holog ‘shadow’

4.5.4. Deletion

Sound loss in the languages can be of the following kinds such as aphaeresis, apocope, syncope, cluster reduction, and haplology (Crowley 1992:42). The kind of sound loss processes available in Hajong are procope, apocope, syncope, and cluster reduction which are illustrated below:

4.5.4.1. Procope

Procope is the deletion of the word-initial sound. In the following example of Hajong the initial consonant sounds /h/ /m/ and /r/ are deleted.

ho-duu → u-duu ‘third person non-human pronoun -DEF’

radʒa → aɖʒa ‘king’

muuiu → aiu ‘mother; to address own mother’

4.5.4.2. Apocope:

Apocope is the loss of word-final vowels

na → n ‘negative marker’

4.5.4.3. Syncope:

Syncope is the loss of sound from the middle of a word

komola > komla ‘orange’

narikol > nurkuul ‘coconut’

4.5.4.4. Cluster reduction:

Consonant clusters are reduced by deleting one or more consonants which are most common in English borrowed words in Hajong.

tæŋk > teŋ ‘tank’

səmənt > simen ‘cement’

4.5.5. Insertion

4.5.5.1. Epenthesis

The epenthetic vowel [i] is inserted in the middle of a word to break up two consonants in a cluster.

Epenthetic [i]

The epenthetic vowel [i] is inserted after the verb stem in the example given below:

hun-i-le ‘hear-PST’

kor-i-bo ‘do -FUT’

hun-i-se ‘hear - PFV’

4.5.5.2. Prothesis

Prothesis is the addition of sound at the beginning of a word. In the borrowed words of English, the prothesis [i] is added before the consonant cluster.

istori ‘story’

iskul ‘school’

4.5.5.3. Glide insertion

guirru > guijru ‘bus’

huur > huwur ‘pig’

4.5.5.4. Gemination

unnis ‘nineteen’

kunni ‘in, at, where’

etto ‘so much’

ŋittur ‘to face up’

kaŋkalleuju ‘chameleon’

happen ‘shorts’

iŋŋu ‘feeling; wish’

t^hatta ‘joke’

ŋella ‘centipede’

ŋillu ‘eagle’

mella ‘plenty’

4.6. Suprasegmental Features

The supra-segmental features such as stress and intonation are discussed. In Hajong nasalization, vowel length is not distinctive, so it has no phonemic status.

4.6.1. Stress

The monosyllabic lexical words are stressed

/d̪ga/ ‘go’

/de/ ‘give’

/tʰat/ ‘handloom’

The medial consonant cluster of the word also get stressed

/gʰoʰtʰlai/ ‘to stir/shake’

/piʰtʰli/ ‘rice flour’

/naʰtʰri/ ‘tick; sucks a dog’s blood’

/tʰaʰkla/ ‘part; division’

/buʰkli/ ‘nanny’

/aʰklai/ ‘to hug’

/haʰkle/ ‘early’

The di- syllabic words usually get stressed

/tʰoʰrok/ ‘thunder’

/maʰraŋ/ ‘poultice’

/laʰwaj/ ‘talkative’

The tri-syllabic words stress on the second to last syllable

/liʰmiʰmu/ ‘smooth’

/maʰjraʰtʰi/ ‘midnight’

/aʰliʰkʰoŋ/ ‘a kind of bird’

/aʰdiʰdar/ ‘landowner’

/baʰluʰkʰdʒoʰr/ ‘malaria’

/bʰiʰtuʰrʰni/ ‘inside’

/koʰdʒaʰjʰgʰoʰr/ ‘temporary shelter for a stealing night feast’

/kʰoʰlaʰtʰfaŋ/ ‘store room’

/biʰsiʰbʰat/ ‘steamed rice’

4.6.2. Intonation

There are two types of intonation: rising and falling.

The intonation peak is usually on the negative particle or the second-to-last word of a sentence.

a. moi kuulkuu nui k^ha-i

I yesterday NEG eat-PN

‘I did not eat yesterday.’

b. ora umluu kamra f^hes nui kor -e

They their work finish NEG do-PN

‘They have not finished their job.’

c. ora iduu -ni nui

They here LOC NEG

‘They are not here.’

A high-rise intonation is found in Yes–No questions and tag questions. The question word /na/ or /naki/ occurs in the clause-final position in Hajong.

a. toi kuulkuu rati iduu-ni ah -ibo ↑

you yesterday night here-LOC come-FUT Q-word

‘Will you be here tomorrow?’

b. toi kuulkuu -rati iduu -ni ah-ibo na/ naki↑

you yesterday night here-LOC come Q-word

‘Will you be here tomorrow?’

c. oi na- dakali, hoina↑

He/she NEG- call Q

‘He/She won’t call, would he?’

4.7. Summary

There are eight vowels in Hajong that do not contrast in length. All the eight vowels except /ɛ/ occur in word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions. Six diphthongs are gliding towards high, front vowel /i/, two diphthongs are gliding towards mid, back rounded vowel

/o/, and three diphthongs gliding towards high, back rounded vowel /u/. 26 consonant phonemes show four-way contrast on the place of articulation, manner of articulation, aspiration, and voicing. All the consonants occur in the word-initial position except nasal, velar, voiced consonant /ŋ/ and glides, alveo-palatal, voiced consonant /j/. All the consonants occur in the word-final position except aspirated, alveolar, voiced stop /d^h/; unaspirated, alveo-palatal, voiceless affricates /tʃ/; aspirated, alveo-palatal, voiceless affricates /tʃ^h/ and aspirated, alveo-palatal, voiced affricates consonant /dʒ^h/; All the consonants occur in the intervocalic position. Hajong has an initial consonant cluster (mostly borrowed) and medial two-consonant clusters (no final consonant cluster). (C) (C) V (V)(C) (C) is the syllable structure in Hajong. Stress is not a distinctive feature but intonation is distinctive with rising and falling tones. The morphological processes in Hajong are devoicing and deaspiration of stops at the word-final word, assimilation, deletion, addition and gemination.

CHAPTER 5: MORPHOLOGY

5.0. Introduction

This chapter describes the morphological structures of various word classes and explains their inflectional and derivational forms. Both the major word classes (verb, noun, adjective, and adverb) and the minor word classes (pronoun, determiners, postposition, and conjunction) are studied. Nominal morphology is organised into the following sections. Section 5.1 describes the morphological properties of nouns such as gender, number, case, and classifiers. Section 5.2 is about the noun stem, derivation, compound, and reduplication. Section 5.3 deals with the morphological properties of pronouns and pro-forms. Section 5.4 deals with the noun modifiers: adjectives, determiners, quantifiers, and classifiers. Verb morphology in Hajong comprises the following nine sections. Section 5.5.1 is a brief discussion on the verb stem and inflection. Section 5.5.2 is on the verb derivation. Section 5.5.3 is on the copula verbs. Section 5.5.4 is about the finite verbs - tense, aspect, and mood. Section 5.7 presents the modal verbs. Section 5.8. is on non-finite verb forms of Hajong. Section below deals with the other word classes and morphological processes. This area consists of five sections. In section 5.9 the discussion is on adverbs, their formation, and types. Section 5.10 is on postpositions. Section 5.11 presents the interrogative words. Section 5.12 deals with the description of conjunction and its types: co-coordinating conjunction, subordinating conjunction, and correlative conjunction. Section 5.13 deals with the particles in Hajong.

5.1. Noun Morphology

Morphologically, nouns are marked by the following categories of number, gender, and case. The kinds of suffixes which occur with the stems represent the class of stems. The suffixes that occur in Hajong nouns are described in the next subsections.

5.1.1. Gender

Hajong does not have grammatical gender. The distinction of sex is morphologically described in pairs of generic nouns. Gender distinction is primarily expressed by the use of separate noun bases for males and females. By using different modifiers for the common human class and the common non-human class, and adding a suffix to the feminine form.

1. Noun bases for males and females used separately

(1)	Masculine	Feminine
	morɔd 'man'	timuud 'woman'
	b ^h atar 'husband'	magu 'wife'
	pola 'son'	dʒ ^h eu 'daughter'
	b ^h ui 'brother'	buni 'sister'
	adʒo 'grandfather'	abu 'grandmother'
	kaka 'uncle'	kaki 'aunt'

2. Qualifying words are used separately

Common gender human class: The distinction of sex in common gender human class is expressed by using separate qualifying words such as /-muun/ 'person', /hapal/ 'child' etc.,

(2)	Masculine	Feminine
	morɔd muun 'male person'	timuud muun 'female person'
	morɔd hapal 'male child'	timuud hapal 'female child'
	morɔd rastrapati 'male president'	timuud rastrapati 'female president'

Common gender non-human class:

Domestic animals: The distinction of sex in domestic animals is expressed by using separate qualifying words such as /para-, pat^ha-, makt^ha-/ for male counterpart and /pari-, pat^hi-, makt^hi-/ with vowel alternation from /a/ to /i/ for the female counterpart which is illustrated below.

(3)	para b ^h uɟ 'he buffalo'	pari b ^h uɟ 'she buffalo'
	pat ^h a ʃ ^h agol 'he goat'	pat ^h i ʃ ^h agol 'she goat'
	dambra basur 'he- calf'	bokɔn basur 'she-calf'
	makt ^h a kukul 'he dog'	makt ^h i kukul 'she dog'

makt^ha bilui ‘he cat’

makt^hi bilui ‘she cat’

makt^ha gad^ha ‘he donkey’

makt^hi gad^ha ‘she donkey’

Wild animals: makt^ha

makt^hi

(4) makt^ha huur ‘he pig’

makt^hi huur ‘she pig’

makt^ha b^haluk ‘he bear’

makt^hi b^haluk ‘she bear’

makt^ha b^hag ‘he tiger’

makt^hi b^hag ‘she tiger’

makt^ha hap ‘he snake’

makt^hi hap ‘she snake’

Insects

(5) makt^ha moŋapoka ‘he mosquito’

makt^hi moŋapoka ‘she mosquito’

Birds

(6) makt^ha ŋ^hore ‘cock’

makt^hi ŋ^hore ‘hen’

makt^ha muuiyur ‘peacock’

makt^hi muuiyur ‘she peacock’

Exception: muuiyur ‘peacock’

muuiyuri ‘she peacock’

3. Addition of Suffixes:

The feminine forms of nouns and adjectives are derived from their masculine forms by the addition of the three inflectional feminine suffixes /-i, -ani, -ni/.

a. /- i/

kinship forms

(7) Masculine

Feminine

moha ‘mother’s sister’s husband younger’

mohi ‘mother younger sister’

hara ‘widower’

nari ‘widow’

hala ‘wife’s younger brother’

hali ‘husband’s younger sister’

b^huustuu ‘brother’s son’

b^huusti ‘brother’s daughter’s

ii. Some other human nouns

(8) Masculine	Feminine
b ^h ebra 'foolish man'	b ^h ebri 'foolish woman'
kandruu 'crying boy'	kandri 'crying girl'
baija 'sterile man'	baiji 'sterile woman'
kamla 'male servant'	kamli 'female servant'
kaoruu 'foodie male'	kaori 'foodie female'
guwai 'milkman'	guwali 'milk woman'
guṅguu 'tall man'	guṅgi 'tall woman'
bura 'old man'	buri 'old woman'
ḡ ^h adra 'fat man'	ḡ ^h adri 'fat woman'
neṅgra 'lame man'	neṅgri 'lame woman'
kana 'blind man'	kani 'blind woman'
boba 'stutterer man'	bobi 'stutterer woman'
beṅa 'deaf man'	beṅi 'deaf woman'
ḡ ^h ukluu 'like a lame man'	ḡ ^h ukli 'like a lame woman'
ḡ ^h at ^h aṅ 'over smart man'	ḡ ^h at ^h aṅi 'oversmart woman'
takla 'bald man'	tatkli 'bald woman'
adḡla 'male simpleton'	adḡuli 'female simpleton'

Feminine forms in some adjectives using /-i/ suffix are:

(9) ḡ ^h undur ḡ ^h eṅgra 'young man'	ḡ ^h unduri gab ^h ur 'young woman'
ḡ ^h adra morōd 'fat man'	ḡ ^h adri timuud 'fat woman'

kala morəd ʃ^hawa ‘black man’

kali timuud ʃ^hawa ‘black woman’

b. /-ani/

The example of the inflectional feminine suffix /-ani/ is illustrated in the example given below.

(10) naou ‘male barber’

naou-ani ‘female barber’

hadʒon ‘male hajong’

hadʒon-ani ‘female hajong’

deosi ‘priest’

deosi –ani ‘priest female’

c. /-ni/

The inflectional feminine suffix /-ni/ is illustrated in the example given below.

(11) nati ‘grandson’

nati-ni ‘granddaughter’

bag^hnu ‘nephew’

bag^h-ini ‘niece’

mita ‘friend bearing same name’

miti-ni ‘friend’s wife bearing same name’

ʃ^hor ‘male thief’

ʃ^hur- ni ‘female thief’

d^hoba ‘washerman’

d^hub-u-ni ‘washerwoman’

Inherent Masculine and Feminine

There are some noun bases which are inherent which are given in an example given below. The inherent masculine noun base / nont^haŋ / ‘priest’, /halo/ ‘plough man’ /halua/ ‘farmer’ does not have a female counterpart, the same is the case with the inherent feminine noun base which is illustrated below.

(12) airok ‘selected woman helper to the priest during wedding preparation’

dawani ‘a reaper woman’

danhara ‘baren woman’

laot^hi ‘talkative’

5.1.2. Number

The Hajong grammatical system has two numbers: singular and plural. The plural is expressed by suffix /-g^hiluu/ to both human and non-human nouns.

Table 5.1: Number marking system inflected to nouns

(13)	Plural words	Plural morphemes	Gloss
	mun-g ^h iluu	man- PL	the men
	ʃ ^h aua-g ^h iluu	boy -PL	the boys
	hapal-g ^h iluu	child-PL	children
	guru-g ^h iluu	cow -PL	cows
	tebul-g ^h iluu	table -PL	tables

5.1.2.1. The Uses of /-g^hiluu/

Plural marker /-g^hiluu/ is used for both human and non-human nouns.

- (14) i. umluu g^hər –ni bakar hapal -g^hiluu ah -ise
 their house –LOC many child –PL come-PFV
 ‘Many children came in their house.’
- ii. ei guru -g^hiluu am-la
 this cattle –PL we -GEN
 ‘These cattle are ours.’
- iii. p^hale p^hale guru -g^hiluu g^has k^ha-iuu ase
 group RED cow – PL grass eat –PROG be
 ‘Groups of cattle are grazing.’
- iv. ei pensil -g^hiluu niluu
 this pencil –PL blue
 ‘These pencils are blue.’

5.1.2.2. The uses of /- dapra/, /-bebak/, /-got^hai/

The use of plural marker –dapra is also prevalent, however, dosgunia Hajong rarely uses it. Functionally, this plural marker is used for a limited purpose is to indicate family relations but it is optional with the regular plural marker *-g^hiluu*

(15) Example:

-g^hiluu

a. b^huj -g^hiluu ahe
sister –PL come
‘Sisters are coming’

b. mama -g^hiluu ahe
maternal –PL come
‘Maternal uncles are coming’

c. pencil -g^hiluu an
pencil –PL bring
‘Bring these pencils’

d. guru -g^hiluu ah -ise
cow –PL come PFV
‘The cattle came’

-dapra

a. b^huj -dapra ahe
sister –PL come
‘Sisters (family) is coming’

b. mama –dapra ahe
maternal –PL come
‘Maternal uncles (family) are coming’

c. *pencil –dapra an
pencil –PL bring
‘Bring these pencils’

* guru- dapra ah -ise
cow –PL come PFV
‘The cattle came’

The quantifiers –bebak and -got^hai is used to indicate wholeness.

(16) a. guru- g^hiluu bebak/ got^hai mo-ge di
cow PL many/all I -OBJ give
‘Give me whole cattle.’

b. hak -ra mo-ge bebak/ got^hai di
curry -DEF I -OBJ many/all give
‘Give me the whole curry.’

5.1.2.3. Optional use of -g^hiluu

The plural marker is redundant and ungrammatical because the personal pronoun indicates the referent is plural as in (17 a, b, c, d, e, f, g) below:

- (17) a. amla hadʒoŋ /*- g^hiluu
we Hajong PL
'We are Hajong.'
- b. ora morəd /*- g^hiluu no-hoi
They man PL NEG be
'They are not men.'
- c. amruu hadʒoŋ muun /*- g^hiluu
we Hajong man PL
'We are Hajong people.'
- d. amruu besto muundu/*- g^hiluu
We busy people PL
'We are busy people.'
- e. tora besto muundu/*- g^hiluu
You busy people PL
'You are busy people.'
- f. ora besto muundu/ *- g^hiluu
they busy people
'They are busy people.'
- g. * ora hajoŋ muun- g^hiluu
They Hajong people -PL
'They are Hajong people.'

The use of quantifier –**bakar** indicates that there is more than one entity, so, the presence of -g^hiluu is redundant however it doesn't make the sentence ungrammatical as in the (18 a, b)

(18) a. uskuu bakar mun ah-ise

today many people come -PFV

‘Many people came today.’

a. uskuu bakar mun-g^hilu ah-ise

today many people –PLcome-PFV

‘Many people came today.’

b. ei g^hor -ni bakar mun as-e

this house –LOC many people be-PN

‘There are many people inside this house.’

b. ei g^hor-ni bakar mun -g^hilu as-e

this house –LOC many people -PL be-PN

‘There are many people inside the house.’

5.1.2.4. Numeral Modifier and a Plural Marker

When there is a numeral modifier, a plural marker is not necessary as in the example (19 a, b, c, d, e, f).

(19) a. eg- ra mun as-e

NUM –CL person be-PN

‘There is one person.’

b. dui-du mun as -e

NUM -CL person be-PN

‘There are two people.’

c. ŋui -ru mun as-e

NUM –CL person be-PN

‘There are four people.’

d. pa -dʒa mun as-e

NUM –CL person be-PN

‘There are five people.’

e. soi -ra mun as-e

NUM –CL person be-PN

‘There are six people.’

f. sat -dʒon mun as-e
 NUM –CL person be-PN
 ‘There are seven people.’

To express singularity suffixes like -ruu, -ra, -duu, -la, -dʒa are used.

(20) mun-duu	man-DEF	‘the man
ʃ ^h auua-ra	boy-DEF	‘the boy’
hapal-la	child-DEF	‘the child’
guru-ruu	cow -DEF	the cow
boi-ra	book -DEF	the book

5.1.3. Case

Case assignment helps us to know *who* did what to whom, i.e., it shows the basic arguments of a verb, as well as *when*, *where* and *how* the verbal adjuncts show which NP is the subject of the verb, the direct or indirect object of the verb, the location of the NP or event, etc (David 2015: 68).

According to Grierson (1903), Hajong has seven case: nominative case /-ra/ or /-a/, accusative case /-ra, -ke/ or /-ge/, dative case /-ge/, genitive case /-lak/or /-la/, ablative case /t^hakka/ or /tan/, locative case /-mi/ or /-mini/ and /-mini/ with the usual plural suffix /gila/, and instrumental case /di, dia/.

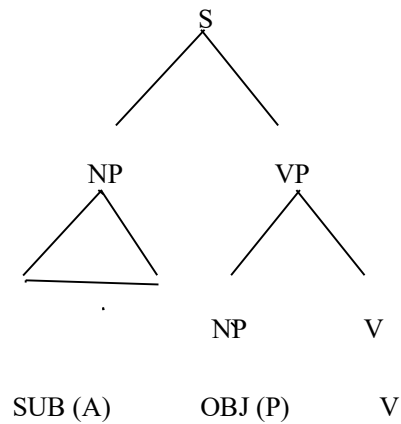
Phillips (2011) states eight case in Hajong. The nominative case (unmarked), accusative and a dative case /-ge, -gon/, the genitive case /-la/, the locative case [ɖ]t or /-ni/, the allative case /b^haj/, the ablative case /t^hiki, t^hokon, t^haki/ and the instrumental case /diu, de/.

Table 5.1: Seven Case Markers in Hajong

Case	Hajong
Nominative	- $\emptyset$
Objective	- <i>ge</i>
Genitive	- <i>la</i>
Locative	- <i>ni</i>
Allative	- <i>b^haj</i>
Ablative	- <i>t^hiki, t^haki</i>
Instrumental	- <i>diu</i>

Hajong has a nominative-accusative case system. That is, the subject of an intransitive verb is identified in the same way as the subject of a transitive verb (A and S), and the transitive object is marked by another (O). Comrie (1972,1978a) defined the termed S, A, and P as the three basic semantic-syntactic roles.

Figure 5.1: Case marking system of Hajong



Let us consider the following examples

- (21) a. drubo dʒa-le [Single argument]

Drubo go-PST

S V

‘Drubo left.’

b. drubo o-ge mon k^ha-bun [Multi-argument]

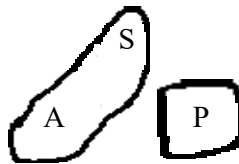
Drubo she –OBJ heart get IMPFV

A P V

‘Drubo loved her.’

In a single-argument clause (Intransitive clause) S is defined as the only nominal argument. A is the agent-like argument of the multi-argument clause (the transitive clause) and P is the most patient-like argument of the multi-argument clause (the transitive clause) (Payne, 1997:133). The grammatical relation of the subject can be defined as S with A the same, while direct object, or simply “object”, as P alone (Payne 1997:134).

Figure 5.2: The grammatical relation of the subject



From the above example, Hajong identify S and A in the same way, and P differs in that, S and A both have a null marking on the full-NP subject, but the full-NP object is marked.

5.1.3.1. Nominative Case

The nominative case marked the subject of the sentence in the language. In Hajong, the nominative case is unmarked.

(22) Intransitive clause

a. moi g^humwu-i

I - Ø sleep-PN

‘I sleep’.

b. ʃ^hawa - ra b^hog lag -ise

Child DEF hungry get PFV

‘The baby is hungry.’

(23) Transitive clause

a. hadʒon bʰat kʰa -i

Hajong rice eat-PN

‘Hajong eat rice.’

b. moi hak -gʰilu bʰala pʰa-i

I leafy vegetable like get-PN

‘I like leafy vegetables.’

c. oi ek -dʒon mastor hu -bun

he/she one –CLF teacher be- PST IMFV

‘He/She was a teacher.’

5.1.3.2. Objective Case

The objective case suffix /-ge/ marks the object of the verbs, both direct and indirect in Hajong. It is a common feature of NIA languages like Assamese and Bengali, where non-human nouns are generally unmarked for objective cases. In Hajong, the dative and accusative are marked for human or animate only (Phillip 2011).

(24) **Direct objects**

a. oi bʰat Ø bana-i

he/she rice OBJ cook-PN

‘He/She cooks food.’

b. oi huur -gʰilu Ø kʰa-wa-i

he/she pig –PL OBJ eat-CAU -PN

‘He/She feeds the pigs.’

c. oi ʃaikel Ø ʃala-i

he/she bicycle OBJ ride-PN

‘He/she rides bicycle.’

d. oi mo-ge maya kor-e
 he/she me- OBJ love do-PN
 ‘He/She loves me.’

e. moi dʒui -ruu Ø mar -ise
 I fire DEF OBJ kill PFV
 ‘I put off the fire’

From the above example (24 a - e) except (d) the accusative case is unmarked for non-human nouns. The pattern of *-ge* following the definite - *ruu* or plural marker *-gʰilu* is acceptable.

(25) **Indirect objects**

a. toi ama-ge kirsu kʰo
 you me –OBJ story say
 ‘You tell me a story.’

b. o -ge kirsu kʰo
 her –OBJ story say
 ‘(You) tell her a story.’

c. umu -ge kirsu kʰo
 them –OBJ story say
 ‘(You) tell them a story.’

d. oi mo -ge paʃ - tɛka di-se
 he/she me -OBJ five rupee give-PFV
 ‘He/She gives me five rupees.’

e. oi nidʒu -luu bui -ruu -ge putul -luu di-se
 he/she own -DEF brother DEF OBJ puppet -DEF give-PFV
 ‘He/She gives a puppet to his brother.’

f. moi o -ge basket beŋfa-se
 I him -OBJ basket sell PFV
 ‘I sold the basket to him’

g. moi o - ge biskit di-le
 I him - OBJ biscuit give-PST
 ‘I gave him a biscuit.’

h. bab -ra ʃhawa- ra -ge putuu-luu niuu ah -ise
 Father DEF child -DEF -OBJ toy -DEF take came PFV
 ‘Father brought a toy for his son.’

From the above example (25 a to h) the objective case is unmarked for non-human nouns. The pattern of /-ge/ following the definite - ruu or plural marker /-gʰiluu/ is acceptable.

5.1.3.3. Locative Case

The case inflection *-ni* is used to mark the location, destination, or motion of a thing or a person in Hajong as in the example (26 a, b, c, d, e, f) below.

(26) a. huur -ruu koar -ni as-e
 pig -DEF cage LOC be-PN
 ‘The pig is in the cage.’

b. moi nidʒe -la gʰor -ni tʰak- ibuun
 I own GEN house - LOC stay -PST IMPFV
 ‘I was in my house.’

c. mo-la ʃhawa -ra gʰor -ni gʰum -i as-e
 my-GEN son -DEF house -LOC sleep PROG be-PN
 ‘My son is sleeping in the house.’

d. tara-gʰiluu akas -ni as-e
 star -PL sky LOC be-PN
 ‘Stars are in the sky.’

e. balti -ni pani d^hali de
 bucket LOC water pour give
 ‘Pour water in the bucket.’

f. oi t^hio - ni kora hui
 He/She roof - LOC stand be
 ‘He/She stands on the roof.’

The case inflection –ni is also used to mark metaphorically for location in time as in (27 a).

(27) a. uskuu b^hen -ni b^hat k^ha-wa hu -se
 today morning LOC rice eat-VN become- PFV
 ‘Today early morning (we) had rice.’

5.1.3.4. Instrument Case

The case inflection -*diu* is used to mark the instrumental case as illustrated in (28 a, b, c, d) below.

(28) a. mo-la kolom - diu lik-ik
 My –GEN pen INST write 2. IMP
 ‘Write with my pen.’

b. oi kurui - diu kori ʃ^hir -i as-e
 he/she axe INST tree cut PROG be-PN
 ‘He/She is cutting the tree with an axe.’

c. oi hak - g^hilui katari –diu kat-i - as-e
 he/she vegetables pl knife INST cut PROG be-PN
 ‘He/She is cutting vegetables with a knife.’

d. moi dɔɔg -la muidu diu dʒa -bo
 I bridge GEN through INST go - FUT
 ‘I’m going through the bridge.’

5.1.3.5. Genitive Case

The genitive term is used “in language description for ways of NP-marking whose primary function is to indicate possession” (David 2015:72). In Hajong the genitive case indicates possession and function as the modifier of NP

The case inflection *-la* mark the genitive case as illustrated below:

- a. A genitive noun assigns an attribute to the noun as its possessor in (29 a); its subject (29 b); its material as in (29 c).

(29) a. awaŋ -la rumuul
Awang - GEN handkerchief
‘Awang’s handkerchief.’

b. maya -la golpo
love GEN story
‘a love story.’

c. mati-la g^hor
mud GEN house
‘kutchu house.’

ii. The dative subject constructions or experience subject constructions are also used in the genitive case as in the example given below from (29 d – f) represents the role of the subjects as the experiencer of an emotion, a sensation, or pain.

d. mo-la las lag-e
I - GEN shy get -PN
‘I am feeling shy.’

e. mo-la f^hurdi/t^handa/dʒor/bis lag-se
I GEN cough/ cold/fever/pain get PFV
‘I have cough/cold/fever/pain.’

- f. mola hurun lag-se
 I GEN tire get PFV
 ‘I am feeling tired.’

5.1.3.6. Allative case

Allative case represents the movement towards the referent of the noun it marks. The case inflection - *b^haj* mark the allative case as illustrated in (30 a, b) below.

- (30) a. moi g^hor -b^haj ah -ise
 I house ALL come PFV
 ‘I came towards house.’

- b. moi bad^har - b^haj d^ha -le
 I market -ALL go -PST
 ‘I came to market.’

5.1.3.7. Ablative Case

The ablative case indicates the place where the action begins; the source or origin, and the point of departure. The case inflection - *t^hikiu/t^hakiu* marks the ablative case as illustrated in (31 a, b, c, d, e, f) below.

- (31) a. pata - g^hilu gas -t^hikiu por-e
 leaf -PL tree - ABL fall-PN
 ‘The leaves fall from the tree.’
- b. moi dudnoi t^hikiu ah-e
 I Dudhnoi from come-PN
 ‘I come from Dudhnoi.’
- c. oi g^hor up^hur-b^haj t^hikiu pal par -ise
 he/she house top - ALL ABL jump get PFV
 ‘He/She jumped from the top of the house.’

d. oi guru gari t^hikiu por-ise
 he/she bullock cart from fall PFV
 ‘He/She fell from the cart.’

e. bus gari -ruu dudnoi t^hikiu dʒa-bo
 bus vehicle-DEF Dudhnoi ABL go -FUT
 ‘Bus will start from Dudhnoi.’

f. oi itanagar t^hakiu kuulku ah -ibu
 he/she Itanagar stay tomorrow come FUT
 ‘He/She will come from Itanagar.’

5.1.4. Classifiers

Allan (1977: 285) defined classifiers based on two criteria. (a) Classifiers arise as morphemes of surface structures under certain conditions. (b) A classifier is meaningful in the sense that the classifier specifies an inherently recognized or imputed characteristic of the entity to which the related noun refers.

Hajong classifiers are bound morphemes, suffixes to noun stem, numerals, deictic, and quantifiers. They define countability, definiteness, and semantic identification of shape, amount, and humanness.

5.1.4.1. Inventory of classifiers

The classifier *-ra*.

It occurs with nouns (human/non-human, and count nouns). *-ra* signifies definiteness, a singular number, and countability when suffixed to a noun (human or non-human).

Its position relative to NPs correlates with (in)definiteness. The noun is definite only when the classifier follows it or NP-fronting as in (32 a, b, d) while the pre- nominal occurrence of *-ra* yields an indefinite NP as in (32 c)

(32) a. t^hawa-ra iskol- b^haj dʒa-le
 child CL school ALL go- PST
 ‘The child went to the school.’

b. boi -ra tebul-ni ase
 book-CL table-LOC be
 ‘The book is on the table’

c. ʃoi-ra boi
 six CL book
 ‘six books’

d. boi ʃoi-ra
 book six-CL
 ‘The six books’

In *deictic + noun construction* /-ra/ is attached to noun.

a. ei/ui gʰɔr -ra
 This/that house –DEF
 ‘This/that house’

The deictic cliticized by -du can only form a pronoun, as in

/idu/ ‘it/this thing’

/- ra / when cliticized only forms a pronoun as in the 2nd person plural to-ra ‘you’ and in the 3rd person pronoun plural o-ra ‘they’.

When used as a *deictic + noun construction*, the head noun takes a classifier not a demonstrative. For example, /ei dud-du-ge an / ‘Bring this milk’.

-ra can combine only with /ɛk/ and /ʃoi/ while attaching with numerals; defining (in)definiteness.

- (33) a. ɛk-ra boi
 one CL book
 ‘a book’
 b. ʃoi-ra boi
 six CL book
 ‘six books’

-ra appears with quantifiers of countability, including interrogatives.

- (34) a. udu -ni koi-ra boi ase
 there -LOC how-CL book be
 ‘How many houses are there?’

The classifier -ruu

-ruu is the variant of /-ra/. It occurs mostly in syllable-ending consonants and vowel-ending /i/. /-ra/ and /-ruu/ alternation would be the example of the progressive assimilatory vowel rising.

/-ruu/ suffix to a noun (non-human) and signifies definiteness, singular number, and countability.

- (35) a. muk-ruu ‘the mouth’
 b. ʃuk-ruu ‘the eye’
 c. mati-ruu ‘the soil’
 d. pani-ruu ‘the water’
 e. ʃul-ruu ‘the rice’
 f. biltui-ruu ‘the cat’
 g. pul-ruu ‘the flower’
 h. kapur-ruu ‘the clothe’

The classifier **-ruu** can combine only with ʃui ‘four’ while attaching with numerals.

- i. oi ʃui-ruu bʰaʃ an -ise
 he/she four CL bamboo bring PFV
 ‘He/She brought four bamboos’

The classifier -duu

The classifier **-duu** occurs to nouns (animate and inanimate), numerals and signifies a singular number, definiteness and countability. Its position relative to NPs correlates with (in)definiteness.

- (36) a. dud-duu
 milk- CL
 ‘the milk’

b. mun-duu

man-CL

‘the man’

It can occur only with dui ‘two’ and ‘four’ while attaching with numerals as in (36 c, d)

c. dui-duu am

two CL mango

‘two mangoes’

d. tin-duu guru

three CL cow

‘three cows’

The classifier *-da*

-da is the variant of the classifier *-duu* and it occurs with nouns (inanimate) and signifies a singular number and definiteness.

(37) a. kan-da ‘the ear’

b. pət-da ‘the stomach’

c. had-da ‘the hand’

d. b^hat-da ‘the rice’

The classifiers *-la* and *-luu*

Both the classifiers *-la* and *-luu* suffix to a non-human nouns and signify a singular number, definiteness. Both *-la* and *-luu* classifiers occur after the close syllable consonant ending lateral /l/.

(38) p^həl-la ‘fruit-CL’

- */-luu/*

(39) a. ʃul-luu ‘hair -CL’

b. narikul-luu ‘coconut-CL’

c. mobul-luu ‘mobile-CL’

d. butul-luu ‘bottle-CL’

The classifier - *dʒa*

The classifier - *dʒa* occurs with – nouns (non-human), and numerals. -*dʒa* signifies a singular number, definiteness and countability as seen in the example (40 a, b, c).

- (40) a. akas –*dʒa* nilu
sky DEF blue
‘The sky is blue’
- b. oi gas-*dʒa* ei gaon-ni sobʃʃuiyu katak
he tree DEF this village-LOC all than short
‘That is the shortest tree in this village.’
- c. pa-*dʒa* aɲul
five CL fingers
‘five fingers’

5.1.4.2. Numeral Classifiers

Allan (1977:286) states that “Numeral classifier languages are paradigm type; they are so-called because a classifier is obligatory in many expressions of quantity”.

According to Aikhenvald (2000), numeral classifiers are probably the second most popular type of classifier system after noun classes and genders. It must not appear in any component other than a numeric NP.

Aikhenvald (2000: 98) further said “numeral classifiers have other contingent properties such as (i) The choice of a numeral is predominantly semantic. (ii) Numeral classifier systems differ in the extent to which they are grammaticalized. That is, they can be an open lexical class. (iii) In some numeral classifier languages, not every noun can be associated with a numeral classifier. The choice of classifiers in these languages depends on which property of the noun is in focus”.

Aikhenvald (2000:101) states that “Morphologically, numeral classifiers are realised in one of three forms:

- i. as independent lexemes (especially when isolating languages)

ii. affixes or clitics attached to or fused with numerals.

iii. attached to or fused into the head noun, which is a very rare situation”.

Hajong numeral classifiers have both independent lexemes such as classifier /dʒon/, *ɛk dʒon* *mun* ‘one person’, and affixes attached to the numerals. Classifiers -ra, -du, -la etc. are suffixed to the numerals. Classifiers in Hajong obligatorily precede numerals while counting. Hajong classifiers always come in a unit of numeral & suffixes as common nouns do not directly combine with numerals and form the syntactic constituent order [N+ NUM + CL] reversed can be seen as numeral classifiers usually precede or follows the head noun.

5.1.4.2.1. Sortal Classifiers

Lyons (1977:463) sortal classifiers are “the one which individuates whatever it refers to in terms of the kind of entity that it is”.

“A sortal classifier categorises nouns in terms of their inherent properties such as animacy, shape, consistency” Aikhenvald (2000:115).

- Human

-dʒon

The classifier - dʒon is used in Hajong to indicate human beings especially when the people are being enumerated or counted.

(41) a. *moi pot -ni ah-ibuu dui-dʒon timud hapal dik-ise*

I road LOC come-INF NUM-CL girl child see-PFV

‘I saw two girls coming on the way.’

However, for non-human nouns, it is indicated with /-ra/ when the counting is one and six but for counting of two to seven, it has different classifiers attached to it.

(42) a. *ɛg-ra boi*

one CL book

‘a book’

- b. dui-dui boi
two CL book
'two books'
- c. tin -dui boi
three CL book
'three books'
- d. f̃ui -ru boi
four CL book
'four books'
- e. pa -d̃a boi
five CL book
'five books'
- f. f̃oi-ra boi
six CL book
'six books'
- g. sat -ta boi
seven CL book
'seven books'
- h. tibil-lu upur - ni dui -dui boi ase
table CL above-LOC Num CL book be
'There are two books on the table'.

From the example (42 a-g) in non-human nouns, it is indicated with /-ra/ in (42 a and f) while the counting is one and six but for counting of two to seven, it has classifiers *-dui*, *-ru*, *-d̃a*, *-ta* attached to it.

Shape Classifiers

Allen (1977) states that in the semantics of sortal classifiers, a shape is perceived by three salient features of various dimensions such as length, roundness, flatness, etc. It categorises head nouns in terms of their dimensionality and form. The classification based on the physical properties of shape in Hajong is as follows:

- i. **Length, flat, roundness:** Entity having the property of both length and thinness in shape is classified by the classifiers given below:

-dʒʰapra

(43) ɛk dʒʰapra tʃul

NUM CL hair

‘a strand of hair’

-guŋi

(44) ɛk guŋi rua lagawa

NUM CL paddy seedling put

‘Put one bunch of paddy seedling’

The suffixes **-ra**, **-du**, **-ru**, **-dʒa**, **-ta** is also added to the numeral that conveys dimensionality (e.g., long, flat, thin, etc.) like bamboo, stick, horn, flute, road, a song, a poem, a story’ (flat; leaves of the tree, book, money, paper, clothe, etc.) When these classifiers are suffixes to numerals or quantifiers before a noun, the noun is indefinite. It can be singular or plural.

(45) a. ɛg-ra baŋof/teŋa/hiŋ/pot/gahen/ kirsu/boi

one CL bamboo/stick/horn/road/song/story/book

‘a bamboo/stick/ horn/road/song/story/book’

- b. dui-duu baŋoʃ/teŋa/hiŋ/pot/gaheŋ/ kirsuu/boi
two CL bamboo /stick/ horn/road/song/story/book
‘two bamboos/ sticks/ horns/roads/songs/stories/books’
- c. tin-duu baŋoʃ/teŋa/hiŋ/pot/gaheŋ/ kirsuu/boi
three CL bamboo/stick/ horn/road/song/story/book
‘three bamboos/ sticks/ horns/roads/songs/stories/books’
- d. ʃui-ruu baŋoʃ/teŋa/hiŋ/pot/gaheŋ/ kirsuu/boi
four CL bamboo/ stick/ horn/road/song/story/book
‘four bamboos/ sticks/ horns/roads/songs/stories/books’
- e. pa-dʒa baŋoʃ/teŋa/hiŋ/pot/gaheŋ/ kirsuu/boi
five CL bamboo stick/ horn/road/song/story/book
‘five bamboos/ sticks/ horns/roads/songs/stories/books’
- f. ʃoi-ra baŋoʃ/teŋa/hiŋ/pot/gaheŋ/ kirsuu/boi
six CL bamboo/stick/ horn/road/song/story/book
‘six bamboos /sticks/ horns/roads/songs/stories/books’
- g. sat-ta baŋoʃ/ teŋa/hiŋ/pot/gaheŋ/ kirsuu/boi
seven CL bamboo/stick/ horn/road/song/story/book
‘seven bamboos/ sticks/ horns/roads/songs/stories/books’

- **Size Classifiers**

The entity having the property of size is classified by the classifiers given below

- **/-kaɖʒaŋ/**

The meaning of this classifier is *a piece*; it usually occurs with objects like meat, fish, etc,

- (46) a. i -duu ɛk kaɖʒaŋ masaŋ ase
here- CL NUM -CL meat be
‘Here is a piece of meat.’

b. u-duu ek tukruu masan̩ ase
 there Cl NUM –CL meat be
 ‘There is a piece of meat.’

c. ek kadʒan̩ mas
 NUM CL fish
 ‘a piece of fish’

/-ʃikuu/

This classifier means *a slice*. It frequently occurs with food nouns. For example, slices of vegetables and fruits.

(47) ek ʃikuu am / gobi
 NUM CL mango/ cabbage
 ‘a slice of mango/cabbage’

/-daka/

(48) ek daka doi
 NUM CL curd
 ‘a slice of curd’

/-saka/

(49) ek saka ɡ^hee
 NUM CL butter
 ‘a slice of butter’

/toŋla/

The meaning of this classifier is *a piece of an object which is round in shape*; it usually occurs with nouns for food. Such as a piece of soil, rice especially *bora b^hat* ‘sticky rice’, which can be rounded easily on hand.

(50) ʈ^hawa-ra ɛk toŋla mati/ bora b^hat k^ha-se

child CL NUM CL soil / sticky-rice eat PFV

‘The child had eaten a piece of soil/ rice.’

5.1.4.2.2. Mensural Classifiers

According to Lyons (1977: 463) mensural classifier on the other hand refers to “the one which individuates in terms of quantity”. It categorises nouns in terms of arrangement and measuring units. Mensural classifiers in Hajong are discussed below:

Arrangement Classifiers

Aikhenvald (2000:274) states that “arrangement refers to the configuration of objects, e.g coils of rope, or objects strung together”.

Collective:

(51) a. ɛk ati d^han ‘one hay bundle’

b. ɛk suri kola/narkol/tamul ‘one whole bundle of banana/coconut/betel nuts etc’

c. ɛk kanda kola ‘a bunch of bananas’

d. ɛk pal guru ‘a herd of cow’

e. ɛk suba/ tubra baŋoʃ ‘a cluster of bamboos’

f. ɛk huulsu mala/mas, ‘one arranges in a sequence of garlands, fishes.’

5.1.4.2.3. Measuring Unit

Mensural classifiers can be either conventional or Adhoc (Carpenter 1986) depending upon the system of measurement used in native speakers' society. There are two types of conventional measure classifiers: borrowed and local.

In Hajong mass, liquid and area are borrowed terms of the metric system like kilo, litre, and meter such as seer, tola, maund, mil, bigha anna, adžar, mon, etc. All these measuring terms function as classifiers.

The local measuring units are adopted by native speakers. Some examples are given below:

- **/-džora/**

(52) ek džora puk^{hi}

NUM CL bird

‘a pair of birds’

- **/-hali /**

(53) ek hali guru

NUM CL cow

‘a pair of cows’

/-gonda/: Meaning counting of four (as a whole)

(54) a. ek gonda dimu

NUM CL eggs

‘four eggs’

b. dui gonda dimu

NUM CL eggs

‘eight eggs’

/-khuri/: Meaning counting of twenty (as a whole).

(55) a. ek k^huri ‘twenty’

b. dui k^huri ‘forty’

c. tin k^huri ‘sixty’

d. ɸ^har k^huri ‘eighty’

e. paɸ k^huri ‘one hundred’

5.1.4.2.4. Quanta Classifiers

According to Aikhenvald (2000:274) “quanta is similar to the arrangement and refers to the number, or quantity of objects, e.g., cluster, set, flock, bunch”. In Hajong the Quanta classifier is primarily derived from the container designation such as measurement realised through containers, not the term that encodes length or weight. Here are some examples of quanta classifiers in (56 a, b, c, d, e) given below.

(56) a. εk kam^{fa} d^han

NUM CL rice

‘a cupful of rice’

b. εk kora hak

NUM CL green vegetable

‘a bowl full of green vegetables’

c. εk ku^lui mas

NUM CL fish

‘a fish container full of fish’

d. εk d^zaka mas

NUM CL fish

‘a fish net full of fish’

e. εk muk daru

NUM CL medicine

‘a lid full of medicine’

5.2. Noun Stem

5.2.1. Non-Derived Nouns

The non-derived nouns are noun roots and have independent meanings. Structurally non-derived nouns can be monosyllabic and multisyllabic nouns. Noun stems have been divided into two groups i.e., consonant endings and vowel ending noun stems.

Figure 5.3: Consonant ending noun stems

koitorop ‘bulbul’	ḍḡoṅal ‘yoke’
ap ^h ‘cloud’	hal ‘a plough’
gab ^h ‘animal pregnant’	hidul ‘dry fish’
hat ‘market’	d ^h um ‘addiction’
pot ‘road’	ruhun ‘garlic’
doth ‘bottle lamp’	bagan ‘garden’
bag ^h ‘tiger’	don ‘measuring basket’
magof ‘brain’	bokon ‘female calf’
des ‘country’	moron ‘death’
luw ‘gourd’	masaṅ ‘meat’
sipuj ‘soldier’	buw ‘daughter-in-law’
guj ‘monitor lizard’	buṅ ‘older sister’

Figure 5.4: Vowel ending noun stems

mati ‘soil’	at ^h u ‘knee’
tari ‘mountain’	abu ‘grandmother’
bari ‘farm’	haru ‘bird’
hali ‘religious place’	bastu ‘god’
bowa ‘weaving net’	ḍḡuntu ‘animal’
leba ‘powered rice curry’	kirsu ‘folktale’
ikru ‘root’	girdḡu ‘church’

5.2.2. Complex Noun

Complex nouns in Hajong are formed by compounding, derivation, and reduplication.

5.2.2.1. Compound Nouns

Koul (2008:73) states that “Noun–Noun compounds can be divided into several subgroups based on semantic criteria: copulative compounds, partially duplicated compounds, superordinate compounds, complex compounds, hybrid compounds, genitive-noun compounds, and participial compounds”. In Hajong the compound nouns are formed by the following combination of a. noun and noun, b. adjective and noun etc. as in the example given below:

a. Noun + Noun = Noun

- (57) ap ‘cloud’ bataf ‘wind’ apbataf ‘weather’
 bataf ‘wind’ pani ‘water’ bataspani ‘windstorm’
 mek ‘rain’ bataf ‘wind’ mekbataf ‘storm’
 pathor ‘stone’ mat^{hi} ‘soil’ pathormati ‘sandstone’
 bon ‘wood’ bari ‘place’ bonbari ‘forest’
 bulu ‘sand’ pat^{har} ‘place’ bulupathar ‘desert’
 b^haluk ‘bear’ d³or ‘fever’ b^halukd³or ‘malaria’
 ʃuk ‘eye’ ketra ‘dirt’ ʃukketra ‘sleepdirt’
 bab ‘father’ ‘mao ‘mother’ babmao ‘father and mother’
 t^hali ‘plate’ gilus ‘glass’ t^haligilus ‘kitchen utensils’

 k^har ‘spice’ hak ‘leafy vegetable’ k^harhak ‘a vegetable leaf curry cooked with k^har’
 mal ‘things’ gari ‘vehicle’ malgari ‘goods trains’

From the above examples there are copulative compounds like *bab-mao* ‘father and mother’, ‘*dini-rati*’ ‘day and night’ superordinate compound like *apbataf* ‘weather’, a hybrid compound like *malgari* ‘goods trains’

b. Adjective + Noun = Noun

- (58) letra ‘dirty’ b^hat ‘rice’ letrab^hat ‘sticky rice’
raṇa ‘red’ mati ‘soil’ raṇamati ‘red soil’
raṇa ‘red’ pat^hin ‘attire’ raṇapat^hin ‘red traditional women attire’

5.2.2.2. Noun Derivation

There are several suffixes in Hajong which derive nouns from other classes of words, and it is termed as a general nominalizing suffix. The noun can be derived from nouns, adjectives, and verbs as listed below.

Derivational suffixes to form nouns (from nouns) in Hajong are listed below:

/-i/

- (59) bagan ‘garden’ bagan-i ‘gardener’
sakor ‘servant’ sakor-i ‘service’
dōkan ‘shop’ dōkan-i ‘shopkeeper’
gahen ‘song’ gahen-i ‘singer’
daktor ‘doctor’ daktor-i ‘medicine (study)’
sikuur ‘hunt’ sikuur-i ‘hunter’

/-ia/

- (60) sōhor ‘town’ sōhor-ia ‘townsman’
bagan ‘garden’ bagan-ia ‘gardenman’
gao ‘village’ gao-lia ‘villager’

/-dar/

- (61) dʒūmi ‘land’ dʒūmi-dar ‘landowner’
t^hika ‘contract’ t^hika-dar ‘contractor’

/-ru /-aru/

- (62) sona ‘gold’ sonaru ‘goldsmith’
mod ‘wine’ modaru ‘drunkard’

/-to/

- (63) dʒudo ‘war’ dʒudos-to ‘warrior’
diak ‘responsible’ diak-to ‘responsibility’
bundu ‘friend’ bundu-to ‘friendship’

/-sa/

- (64) bakar ‘plenty’ bakar- sa ‘abundance’
opo ‘little’ opo-sa ‘insignificant’

/-ik/

- (65) d^hat ‘strong’ d^hat-ik ‘strength’
gir ‘head of family’ gir-ik ‘owner’

/-ok/

- (66) keti ‘crop’ keti-ok ‘cultivator’

Derivational suffixes to form nouns (from an adjective) in Hajong are listed below.

It is are formed by adding classifier –ra/ -ruu

- (67) a. b^hala-ra

good – CLF

‘the good one’ (from best to excellence)

- b. digluu-ruu

tall –CLF

‘the tall one’

Derivational suffixes to form nouns from verbs in Hajong are listed below.

The suffix /-ok/

- (68) lik^h ‘write’ lek^h-ok ‘writer’
 hik^h ‘learn’ hik^h-ok ‘teacher’

The suffix /-ba/

- (69) k^ha ‘eat’ k^ha-ba ‘eating’
 ne ‘take’ ni-ba ‘taking’

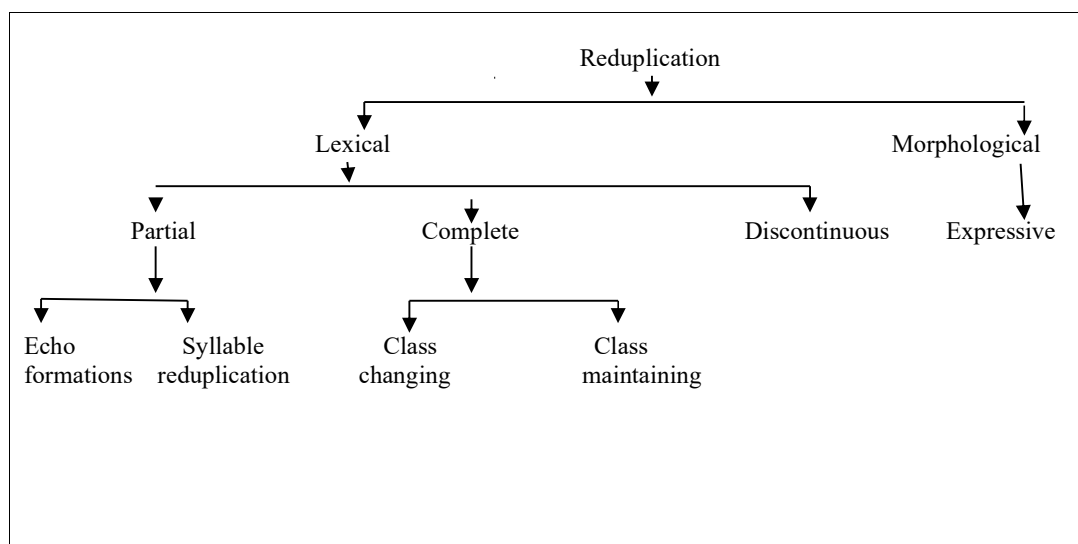
The suffix /-ka/

- (70) por ‘read’ pori-ka ‘temptation/ examination’

5.2.2.3. Reduplication

Reduplication is a widespread phenomenon that is common in the languages of Southeast Asia. Reduplication is formed either by repetition of syllables or repetition of a whole word partially or completely. The types of reduplicated structures in Hajong are the following: Morphological reduplication and Lexical reduplication.

Figure: 5.5: Types of Reduplicated Structures



Source: (Abbi 2001: 162)

5.2.2.3.1. Morphological Reduplication

Morphological reduplication is “minimally meaningful and segmentally indivisible morphemes that are made up of repeating syllables and both the stem and the repeated part together form a single morpheme which is also a lexeme”Abbi (1992:12).

(71) a. ʃʌlak-ʃʌlak ‘lightening’

b. sɛk-sɛka ‘pale’

5.2.2.3.1.1. Expressives

According to Abbi (2001: 163) “Expressive derives the status of a word/lexeme only after it has been duplicated”. In Hajong, expressive morphology expresses the five senses of perception: hearing, taste, touch, sight, and smell.

5.2.2.3.1.1.1. Acoustic Noises

Acoustic noises, gestures, emotions, and other things are also described as expressive. Animal cries, natural phenomenon noises, human noises, and noises created by various inanimate things are among the most common acoustic noises heard in Hajong.

5.2.2.3.1.1.1.1 . Noises of animals’ cry

The various acoustic noises are expressed by reduplicating the animal cry's as in the examples (a-b) hou-hou ‘cry of a dog’ ʃʌr ʃʌr ʃʌr ʃʌr ‘cry of a Myna’

(72) a. kukul-lu dokri-bu lag-se hou hou/ k^hou k^hou

Dog DEF cry INF get–PFV RED RED

‘hou- hou the dog is about to cry.’

b. ʃʌlʃʌr-ra dokri-bu lag-se ʃʌr ʃʌr ʃʌr ʃʌr –ke

Myna DEF cry INF get–PFV RED RED RED RED ADV

‘ʃʌr ʃʌr ʃʌr ʃʌr Myna is crying.’

5.2.2.3.1.1.1.2. Noises of Natural Phenomena

The expressive acoustic noises of natural phenomena are expressed in the following complete word reduplication.

- (73) /grabgrab/ ‘sound of heavy raining’
- (74) /dʒ^hirdʒ^hir/ ‘sound of drizzling’
- (75) /gurrubgurrub/ ‘sound of thundering’
- (76) /kolkol/ ‘sound of streamflow’
- (77) /howhow/ ‘sound of strong wind’
- (78) /hirhir/ ‘sound of slow wind’

5.2.2.3.1.1.1.3. Sound made by human

The expressive acoustic noises made by a human are expressed in the following way.

- (79) a. /hihi haha/ ‘laughing sound’
- b. /k^hawak^hawa/ ‘crying sound of a baby’

5.2.2.3.1.1.1.4. Noises made by miscellaneous inanimate objects

The following example from (a-b) are expressive noises made by miscellaneous objects.

- (80) a. /dramdram/ ‘sound of a drum’
- b. /kereŋ kereŋ/ ‘sound of bangles’

5.2.2.3.1.1.2. Sense of Sight

In Hajong, this expression is employed to communicate a sense of sight, such as the sparkling or glittering appearance of the objects.

- (81) a. /tʃoltʃola/ ‘shining of a white roof’
- b. /tipiktapak/ ‘shining of a bulb’

5.2.2.3.1.1.3. Sense of Touch

The sense of touch expressiveness is used in Hajong to communicate a sense of touch while expressing a sense of feeling. As seen in the instances (82 a-b) below, this is expressed in a completely reduplicated form.

- (82) a. bisi b^hat-da netra netra - ke bhala hu-se
 sticky rice DEF sticky RED ADV good be PFV

‘Rice is cooked very well sticky sticky.’

- b. ʃ^hul -luu kenka ata ata hu-se
 hair DEF how sticky sticky be PFV

‘(My) hair somehow became sticky.’

5.2.2.3.1.1.1.4. Sense of Taste

In Hajong, this expression is employed to communicate the sense and degree of taste in a fully reduplicated form, for instance: /kraokrao/ ‘over crunchy’, /kumuukumu/ ‘lukewarm’

- (83) a. roti-ra bisi b^hadʒa hu-se krao krao k^ho-i
 rice DEF over fry get PFV sound RED say-PN

‘The chappati is over fried.’

5.2.2.3.1.1.1.5. Sense of Smell

In Hajong, the full reduplication of expressive is employed to describe whether something smells nice or awful, for instance: /moho-moho/ ‘tasty smell’, /mohe-mohe/ ‘good smell’, /neta-neta/ ‘bad smell’.

- (84) kibuu neta neta gonda-i
 something bad RED smell-PN

‘Smelling something very bad.’

5.2.2.3.2. Lexical Reduplication

According to Abbi (2001:165) “Lexical reduplication refers to a complete or partial repetition of a word”.

5.2.2.3.2.1. Complete Word Reduplication

Abbi (1992:25) states that complete word reduplication “refers to paired construction when a single word/stem/root or a clause is repeated once in the same sentence without any morphological variation”. Complete word reduplication can be further divided into Class maintaining and Class changing from the functional point of view.

5.2.2.3.2.1.1. Class Maintaining Complete Word Reduplication

According to Abbi (1992:26) class maintaining CWR are words that, even after reduplicated, remain in the same grammatical class as in the adjective /huru/ ‘small’, doesn’t change the grammatical class in a sentence as in (85 a) where the semantic meaning emphasises ‘small’ to ‘very small’ though both share the same grammatical class.

- (85) a. moi huru huru ʃ^hawa-ra-ge b^hala lag-e.
I small RED child DEF OBJ like get PN
‘I like small children.’
- b. timud-de timud-de mela ʃ^habo dʒa-se
woman DEF woman DEF fair see go PFV
‘ladies (ladies) went to see the fair (i.e., only ladies).’
- c. ʃ^hengrai ʃ^hengrai putbol kel -e ase
boy boy football play PROG be
‘boys (boys) are playing football (i.e., only boys).’
- d. ora nidʒu^hla nidʒu^hla g^hao - b^haj dʒa -se
they respective RED village ALL go PFV
‘They went to their respective villages.’
- e. oi g^hor g^hor - ni dʒu^h -iu mag-ibun
he/she house house LOC go -CP beg -IMPFV
‘He/She used to go door to door and beg.’

In the above examples from (85 b-d) inflections transmit a grammatical function such as plurality, the semantic function of exclusiveness, but don't modify the grammatical class in a sentence as in (85b-c) and the semantic function of distribution as in (85 e).

5.2.2.3.2.1.2. Class Changing Complete Word Reduplication

Class changing CWR is a grammatical construction in which a reduplicated structure enters a different grammatical class than its non-reduplicated base as in (86 a) adjective changes to an adverb, (86 b) verb changes to a reduplicated verbal adverb.

- (86) a. mola t̪ʰawa -ra aste aste -ke bʰat kʰa-i
 My mother DEF slowly RED ADV rice eat-PN
 'My child eats her food slowly (slowly).'

- b. idur-ni bohite- bohite hurun hu-se
 here -LOC sit RED-impf tire get PFV
 'I got tired of sitting for a long time.'

5.2.2.3.2.2. Partial Reduplication

David (2015:178) states that "partial reduplication, also known as echoic reduplication, a word is reduplicated with initial sound altered".

5.2.2.3.2.2.1. Echo Formations

Abbi (1992:20) defined an echo word as a "partially repeated form of the base word. EF has no individual appearance in the language or its meaning but only gets the status of meaningful elements when added to a word."

Echo formation with initial consonant insertion

In the partial reduplication of echo words, the first consonant is replaced if it begins with a consonant.

- (87) **Noun echo words**
 a. dʰar tʰar
 loan PRT.RED
 'laon and such'

b. kukul -tʃukul
dog PRT.RED
‘dog and such’

Adjective echo words

(88) a. tʃʰadra -madra
fat PRT.RED
‘fat and such’
b. mitʰu titʰu
sweet PRT.RED
‘sweet and such’

Echo formations with a final vowel change

(89) a. huru -huru
small PRT.RED
‘small and such’
b. dʰilu -dʰili
slow PRT.RED
‘slow and such’

When the word begins with a vowel, a consonant is inserted as given below

c. atʰio -tatʰio
relative PRT.RED
‘relatives and such’

5.3. Morphological Properties of Pronouns

This section discusses the pronoun and its properties and distribution into personal pronouns and Pro-forms. “Pronouns are a closed class of deictics, also called *indexicals* or *shifters*, whose reference shifts as the participants, location, or time of the speech event change” (David 2015:81). Grierson (1903) states Hajong has personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogative pronouns, and relative pronouns.

5.3.1. Personal Pronouns

Table 5.2 is a Personal Pronouns mentioned by Grierson (1903)

Table 5.2: Grierson (1903-28:214) Personal Pronouns in Hajong.

	First person	Second person	Third person
Sing.Nom	mai ‘I’	tai ‘you’	ai ‘he/she’
Oblique	ma	ta	a
Plur. Nom	amra/amla ‘we’	tumra/tumla ‘you’	amra/amla ‘they’
Oblique	am,ama	tum,tuma	am, um,ama,uma

Hajong distinguishes three persons, two numbers, and the personal pronouns are inflected for case roles. The first person, second person and the third person lack any formality distinction (honorific and non-honorific). There is no gender distinction in personal pronouns. However, in the third person pronouns, there is a categorical distinction between human/non- human in the plural form.

Table 5.3: Personal Pronouns

Person	Singular		Plural	
	Base form	Oblique form	Base form	Oblique
1st	moi ‘I’	mo -	amruu ‘we’	ama-
2nd	toi ‘you’	to-	tora ‘you’	tumuu-
3rd	oi ‘s/he/it’ ei ‘s/he,it’ iduu ‘it’	o- i-	ora ‘they’ i-gluu ‘they’	umuu-

Table 5.4: Pronominal Paradigm

First-person pronouns			Second-person pronouns		Third-person pronouns			
Case	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular		Plural	
					Proximate	Distal	Proximate	Distal
Nominative	moi	am-ruu	toi	to-ra	e-i	o-i	e-ra	o-ra
Objective	mo-ge	am-la	to -ge	tumu-ge	e-ge	o -ge	im -lu-ge	um -lu-ge
Genitive	mo-la	am-la	to -la	tum -lu	e-la	o-la	im -lu	um -lu

Table 5.5: Non-Human Third -Personal Pronouns, with Classifiers; stem = i-, u-, du

Singular				Plural		
Case	Proximal	Distal	Unmarked	Proximal	Distal	Unmarked
Nominative	i-duu	u-duu	ho- duu	i-gluu	u-gluu	
Objective	i-duu-ge	u-duu-ge	ho- duu-ge	i-gluu/ i-g ^h ilu-ke	u-gluu/ u-g ^h ilu-la	
Genitive	i- duu	u- duu		i-gluu	u-gluu	

Nominative

Singular

- (90) moi/toi/ oi iskul - ni dʒa-i
 I /you/he/she school -LOC go-PN
 ‘I/you/ he/she go/goes to school’

Plural

- (91) umruu / tora/ ora iskul -ni dʒa-i
 we/ you/ they school LOC go-PN
 ‘We/ you/ they go to school.’

Objective

(92) a. mo -ge di

I -OBJ give

‘(you) give me’

b. oi ama-ge mitai Ø an-ise

he/she us OBJ sweets OBJ bring PFV

‘He/She bought us sweets.’

c. moi to -ge / tumu -ge b^hala -na pa-i

i you OBJ / you (PL) OBJ like NEG get-PN

‘I don’t like you/ you (plural).’

d. moi o-ge /umu-ge b^hala na pa-i

i s/he / them OBJ like NEG -get PN

‘I don’t like him/her/them.’

Genitive

Singular

(93) am-la/ to-la/ o-la g^hor

my GEN/ your-GEN/ his/her -GEN house

‘My/ your/ his/her house’

Plural

(94) am-la/ tum-lu / um-lu g^hor

‘our -GEN/ your (PL)/ their house

‘our/ yours/ their house’

5.3.2. Pro-Forms

5.3.2.1. Demonstrative Pronouns

Diessel (1999:2) stated that demonstratives are “used to focus the hearer’s attention on objects or locations in speech situation”. The demonstrative pronouns in Hajong are identical

to third-person personal pronouns. There is no separate form to denote demonstrative pronouns and third-personal pronouns.

Table 5.6: Demonstrative Pronouns

Proximity	Singular	Plural
Proximal	ei 'this' idu 'this/ here'	eig ^h ilu 'these'
Distal	ui 'that' udu 'that/there'	oi-g ^h ilu 'those'

David (2015:99) states that “a demonstrative in Bangla has two distinct grammatical roles. When it functions as a nominal, they refer to it as a demonstrative pronoun and when it functions as a modifier, they refer to it as a demonstrative adjective”. Hajong also borrowed the same usage of Bengali two distinct grammatical roles of demonstrative pronouns. In the example below, we observe that the definitive classifier /du/ is not used as a modifier but added only in the pronoun paradigm. Third-person non-human personal pronouns / i- / ‘it’ (here / this) can use the classifier / du /. For example, as in /idu/ ‘this’. When used as an adjective, the head noun takes a classifier, not a demonstrative. For example, /ei dud-du-ge an / ‘Bring this milk’.

The demonstrative ei/ui ‘this/that’ modifies and precedes the head noun.

(95) a. ei/ui g^hor -ra um-lu

this house –DEF theirs

‘This/that house is theirs.’

b. idu ki tum-lu g^hor

this what your GEN house

‘This is your house.’

c. *udu ki tola g^hər*
 that what your house
 ‘That house is yours.’

5.3.2.2. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns in Hajong are /*kui*/ ‘who’ (referring to a human) and /*ki*/ ‘what’ (referring to a non-human).

Animate (human) singular

(96) a. *idu -ni kui as-e*
 here –LOC who be-PN
 ‘Who is here?’

Animate (human) plural

(97) a. *tum -lu g^hər-ni kui kui ah-ise*
 your -GEN house- who who come-PFV
 ‘Who (all) have come to your place last night?’

The animate (human) plural interrogative pronouns are used by complete reduplication of word /*kui**kui*/ ‘who’ as in the above example (97).

The inanimate interrogative pronoun is /*ki*/ ‘what’ as in the example (98 a) and (98 b) below.

Inanimate (non- human)

(98) a. *idu -ni ki as-e*
 here- LOC what be-PN
 ‘What is here?’

b. *idu ki*
 this what
 ‘What is this?’

5.3.2.3. Reflexive Pronouns

In Hajong the reflexive pronoun is /nidʒu/, whose forms are given below.

Case	Singular	Plural
Nominative	nidʒu	nidʒu -g ^h ilu
Objective	nidʒu -lu	nidʒu - g ^h ilu -ge
Genitive	nidʒu -lu	nidʒu- g ^h ilu -lu

- (99) a. oi nidʒu nidʒu – ge b^hala p^ha-i
 he/she himself/herself RED OBJ like get-PN
 ‘He/She likes himself/herself.’
- b. oi nidʒu-la karone ʃint^ha kor - ise
 he/she himself/ herself about worried do PFV
 ‘He/She is worried about herself.’
- c. kaiyui nidʒu-lu gun na gao-i
 Nobody himself praise NEG sing-PN
 ‘Nobody praised himself’

5.3.2.4. Relative Pronouns

/dʒui/ ‘who’ is the relative pronoun in Hajong.

Case	Relative (sg)	Correlative (sg)	Relative (pl)	Correlative (pl)
Nominative	dʒui	oi	dʒui dʒui	o-ra
Objective	dʒa-ge	o-ge	dʒa-la-ge	o-la-ge
Genitive	dʒa-la	o-la	dʒa-la	o-la

(100) a. [dʒuɪ ʃ^hawa-ra ama logon t^hake] oi mo-la pola nuɪ-ho-i
 rel boy - DEF us COM stay 3SG my-GEN son NEG-be-PN
 ‘The boy who lives with us is not my son’.

b. [aha sobt^ha dʒuɪ mundu ah-ibo] oi mola bundu
 coming week rel person-DEF come-FUT 3SG my -GEN friend
 ‘The person who will come next week is my friend.’

5.3.2.5. Indefinite Pronouns

In the indefinite pronouns, the morpheme /-ba/ is added to the interrogative pronoun in affirmative human and non-human indefinite pronouns and the particle /-u/ to the interrogative pronouns in negative indefinite pronoun.

Table 5.7: Indefinite Pronouns

Affirmative		Negative	
human	non-human	human	non-human
kai –ba ‘someone’	ki-ba ‘something’	kai-u ‘no one’	kiʃu ‘nothing’

(101) a. ei dʒaga-ni kuibu mo-ge ku-se
 this place- LOC someone me -OBJ say PFV
 ‘Someone told me about this place.’

b. abu kiba an-ise
 grandfather something bring-PFV
 ‘Grandfather bought something.’

c. kaiu ei kam -ra kur-ibu na -pa -bo
 nobody this work DEF do -INF NEG- can-FUT
 ‘Nobody could do this work.’

- d. idu-ni kaiu na-i
 here-LOC nobody NEG-PN
 ‘There is nobody here.’
- e. ei g^hor –ni kisui na-i
 this house-LOC nothing NEG-PN
 ‘There’s nothing in this house.’

5.4 . Noun Modifiers

This section deals with the noun modifiers: adjectives, determiners, and quantifiers. 5.4.1. discusses the morphological properties of adjectives: types of adjectives; derived adjectives; comparison of adjectives. Section 5.4.2. discusses the determiners. Section 5.4.3. presents the numerals and quantifiers in Hajong.

5.4.1. Adjectives

Payne (1997:63) states that “an adjective is a word that can be used in a noun phrase to specify some property of the head noun of the phrase”. A language having a morpho syntactically distinct class of adjectives expresses at least the following properties of age, dimension, value, colour, physical characteristics, shape, human propensity, and speed. The main types of adjectives in Hajong are the following:

5.4.1.1. Qualifying (Descriptive) Adjectives

The qualifying adjectives express physical attributes and non-physical characteristics.

5.4.1.1.1. Physical Attributes

“Physical attributes include such as size, shape, age, material, colour” (Thompson 2010:174), and Semantic prototypes of adjectives (Dixon, 1991)

- (102) a. Dimension: daŋor ‘big’ huru ‘short’ huknu ‘thin’
 b. Physical property: f^hokta ‘hard’ bol ‘strong’ bimar ‘sick’
 c. Age: noia ‘new’ f^hengra ‘young’ buru ‘old’
 d. Colour: d^hola ‘white’ kala ‘black’ raŋa ‘red’

5.4.1.1.2. Non-Physical Characteristics

- (103) a. Non-physical characteristics include *ludʒuulu* ‘shy’, *sohoʃ* ‘simple’, *sadaron* ‘ordinary’, *baki* ‘remaining’.
- b. The opinion comments such as *sundor* ‘beautiful’, *kutin* ‘difficult’, *badʒe* ‘worthless’, *namkora* ‘famous’, *miʃʰui* ‘futile’, *kub bʰala* ‘excellent’, *bʰala* ‘good’, *neʰa* ‘bad’.
- c. Human property: *rag* ‘anger’ *sukʰi* ‘happier’ *ʃʰalak* ‘clever’.
- d. Taste: *mitʰu* ‘sweet’ *teʃa* ‘sour’ *titʰu* ‘bitter’ *dʒʰala* ‘hot’.
- e. Similarity: *iŋkui* ‘like’, *iŋkuinoi* ‘unlike’, *ekedokon* ‘similar’.
- f. Speed: *taratari* ‘quick’, *dʰilu* ‘slow’

5.4.1.2. Quantifying, Numeral, Ordinal

Quantifying, numeral and ordinal include *sob* ‘all’, *bakar* ‘much’, *opeʃa* ‘some’, *egra* ‘one’, *duidu* ‘two’, *tindu* ‘three’, *proʰom* ‘first’, *dithio* ‘second’.

5.4.1.3. Possessive Adjectives

Possessive adjectives include *mola* ‘my’, *tola* ‘your’, *umlui* ‘their’, *niʒuula* ‘one’s own’.

5.4.1.4. Distributive Adjectives

The distributive adjective include *alda* ‘other’, *hobak* ‘each’.

5.4.1.5. Interrogative Adjectives

The interrogative adjectives include *ki* ‘what’, *kun* ‘which’, *keŋka* ‘how’, *koto* ‘how much’ etc.

5.4.1.6. Deictic (Demonstrative) Adjectives

The deictic forms function as adjectives with all nouns *ei* ‘this’, *oi* ‘that’, *idu* ‘this/here’, *udu* ‘that/there’. When an adjective occurs before the noun it is used attributively and when it occurs as a complement it is used predicatively.

5.4.2.2. Attributive Position

The adjective precedes the noun they modify as in the qualifying descriptive adjectives (104 a-b), deictic adjectives (104 c-g) possessives adjectives (104 h - l), quantifiers, and numbers adjectives (104 m – r), distributive, interrogative adjectives (104 s - v).

(104) a. oi b^hala ŋ^hawa
he good boy
'He is a good boy.'

b. o -ra b^hala g^habur
they DEF good girls
'They are good girls.'

Deictic

c. ei gao -ra kub ŋ^hundor
this village -DEF INT beautiful
'This is a beautiful village.'

d. ei g^hor -ra kub huru
this house DEF very small
'This is a small house.'

e. oi g^hor -ra huru
that house DEF small
'That is a small house.'

f. iglu g^hor -g^hilw puruun
They house PL old
'They are old houses.'

g. ei g^hor -ra mo -la
this house DEF my GEN
'This is my house.'

Possessives

h. oi mo -la b^huni
she my GEN sister
'She is my sister.'

i. oi o -la b^huni
she his GEN sister
'She is his sister.'

j. oi drobo-la b^hab
he Drobo-GEN father
'He is durbo's father.'

k. oi o -la mao
she her -GEN mother
'She is her mother.'

l. ora o -la tin -duu dʒ^heu
they his -GEN NUM -CL daughters
'They are his three daughters.'

Quantifiers and numbers

m. oi mo-la protom tʃ^hawa
he my-GEN first son
'He is my first son.'

n. mo -la koi -ra tir d^hunuk as-e
my-POSS few DEF arrow-bow be-PN
'I have few arrows.'

o. mola dui nombor tʃ^hawa-ra buh-i as-e
my-POSS NUM- CL child DEF sit-PROG be-PN
'My second son is sitting here.'

p. o -la dui -du noia ʃaikel as -e
 he/she POSS NUM-CL new bicycle be-PN
 ‘She/He has two new bicycles.’

q. o -la bakar daɲor pasi as-e
 he/she-POSS many big basket be-PN
 ‘He/She has many big baskets.’

r. bonbari -ni mella pʰɔl as-e
 forest -LOC plenty fruit be-PN
 ‘There are plenty of fruits in the forest.’

Interrogative and distributive

s. kun somai kaou dokre
 when time crow crow
 ‘When does the cock crow?’

t. kala gʰɔr idu
 whose house that
 ‘Whose house is that?’

u. alga mun
 other people
 ‘other people’

v. hubui timud-gʰilu
 all girl PL
 ‘all girls’

5.4.2.3. Predicative Position

Adjectives can also function predicatively as in the example given below:

(105) a. mo -la g^hor -ra huru
 my -POSS house DEF small
 ‘My house is small.’

b. o -la g^hor -ra daŋor
 his-la house-DEF big
 ‘His house is big.’

c. ei pasi -ruu daŋor
 this basket-DEF big
 ‘This basket is big.’

d. moi buruu
 iam old
 ‘Iam old’

e. oi f̃eŋgra
 he young
 ‘He is young’

f. oi gad̥ʒa uksu
 That tree tall
 ‘That tree is tall’

g. akas -d̥ʒa nilu
 sky DEF blue
 ‘The sky is blue’

h. oi gabur-ru huknu
 that girl-DEF lean
 ‘That girl is lean’

- i. idu dithio
this second
'this is a second'
- j. g^hor -ra tola
house DEF your
'The house is yours'

5.4.3. Derived Adjectives

The adjectives are derived from nouns and verbs using different suffixes such as -ni, -ik, -i, -ito which are discussed below.

a. Adjectives derived from nouns

-ni

(106) din 'day' din-ni 'daily'

-ik

(107) it^hihas 'history' it^hihas-ik 'historian'

an^hŋuul 'area' an^hŋuul-ik 'regional'

kalpona 'imagination' kalpon-ik 'imaginary'

-i

(108) op^orad 'offence' op^orad^hi 'guilty'

suk^h 'comfort' suk^hi 'happy'

man 'honour' mani 'respected'

b. Adjectives derived from verbs

-ito

(109) niom 'rule' niom-ito 'regular'

bisak 'poison' bisak-to 'poisonous'

-it

(110) anando ‘joy’ anand-it ‘delighted’

5.4.4. Comparison of Adjectives

There are three varieties of adjectival degrees: positive, comparative and superlative.

5.4.4.1. Positives

Positive degree construction contains a postposition of comparison *neke-nui* ‘like as’. When two things are equal *neke-nui* ‘like as’ is used as in the example given below:

- (111) a. todi alga mot neke-nui b^hala
toddy other wine like as good
‘Toddy is as good as any other liquor’
- b. huur masan alga masan neke-nui b^hala
pork meat other meat like as good
‘Pork is as good as any other meat’
- c. amruu um -luu neke-nui gorib
we them –DEF like as poor
‘We are as poor as them’
- d. ei p^hul -luu alga p^hul -luugon neke-nui b^hala
this flower DEF other flower COM like as good
‘This flower is of as much fragrance as any other flower’
- e. moi dʒiŋkui kai uŋkui neke-nui k^ha-bo
i ADV eat ADV like as eat-FUT
‘I shall eat as much as I normally eat’

5.4.4.2. Comparative

Comparative construction consists of noun with or without genitive *-luu* + postposition *fuiiyuu* / *fuiite* ‘than’ followed by an adjective as in the examples (112 a – e)

- (112) a. mani tani ʃʃuiyɯ diglu
 Mani Tani than tall
 ‘Mani is taller than Tani.’
- b. mani tani ʃʃuiyɯ ʃʃʰadra
 Mani Tani than fat
 ‘Mani is fatter than Tani.’
- c. ei gʰɔr -ra oi gʰɔr ʃʃuiyɯ huru
 this house DEF that house than small
 ‘This house is smaller than that house.’
- d. ei narkul -lu aro bək narkul ʃʃuiyɯ daŋɔr
 this coconut DEF other many coconut than big
 ‘This coconut is bigger than all other coconuts.’
- e. ei sore -ra oi sore ʃʃuite bakar dimu de
 this hen DEF that hen than more egg give
 ‘This hen lays more eggs than that hen.’

In the absence of standard comparison like Bangla, “an adverb meaning /besi/ ‘more’ = ‘more than x’ can express the comparative when a comparison is not being made to anything explicit” (David 2015:112-113). In Hajong, the noun/ quantifier added by genitive *-lu*, preceded by *bisi* ‘more’ for example (112 f – g)

- f. tin -du dui -lu bisi
 three-DEF two-GEN more
 ‘three is more than two’
- g. oi idu-ni dui mas-lu bisi tʰak-ibun
 he/she here-LOC two month –GEN more stay -IMFV
 ‘He/She was here for more than two months.’

5.4.4.3. Superlatives

Superlative degree construction contains the pronoun *hobala* ‘everything /everyone’ and the postposition of comparison *hobala f̃uiyu /sob f̃uiyu* ‘than/of all’ as in the examples given below:

- (113) a. oi mo-la hobala-f̃uiyu daŋor f̃h̃awa
he my- GEN of all big child
‘He is my eldest son’
- b. oi mo -la hobala f̃uiyu huru f̃h̃awa
he/she my-POSS of all young son
‘He/She is my youngest son.’
- c. ei gaon -ni ei p^hul -lu hobala f̃uiyu sundur
this village-GEN this flower DEF of all beautiful
‘This flower is the most beautiful flower in this village.’
- d. ei gaon -ni ei gadʒa-ra sobsuiyu uksu
this village -LOC this tree- DEF all than tall
‘This is the tallest tree in this village.’
- e. oi gas-dʒa ei gaon-ni sobsuiyu katak
that tree DEF this village-LOC all than short
‘That is the shortest tree in this village.’

5.4.5. Determiners

Determiners (such as demonstrative, possessive, classifier, and quantifier) precede a noun to provide information on quantity, specificity, and ownership. Determiners such as demonstratives and quantifiers in Hajong are discussed in this section. However, classifiers have already been covered in the previous section.

5.4.5.1. Demonstratives

Demonstrative determiners (known as demonstrative adjectives) or the deictic are *ei* 'this', *ui* 'that,' *idui* 'this/here', *udui* 'that/there' and *hodui* 'that (not visible)'. When a demonstrative adjective occurs before a noun it is used attributively

- (114)
- a. *moi ei golpo-ra b^hala pa-i*
i this story-DEF like get-PN
'I like this story.'
 - b. *ui golpo-ra b^hala*
that story DEF good
'That story is good.'
 - c. *ei mun-dui b^hala*
this man DEF good
'This man is good.'
 - d. *ui mun-dui b^hala*
that man DEF good
'That man is good.'
 - e. *idui ki tola boi*
This Q your book
'Is this your book?'
 - f. *udui ki tola boi*
That Q his book
'Is that your book?'
 - g. *moi ei pul-g^hiltu-ge b^hala pa-i*
i this flower PL-OBJ like get-PN
'I like these flowers.'

5.4.5.2. Quantifiers

A quantifier denotes an amount or a quantity. David (2015: 123) stated that “Quantifiers are words which characterise the amount of something, and include number names and other words that denote quantity in a less precise way: all, some, few, many, and so on”. He further stated that “the difference between quantifiers and other noun modifiers is ‘that a quantifier may occur with a classifier, yet remain a modifier rather than becoming a derived noun’”.

5.4.5.2.1. Numerals

Numerals are the noun modifiers that indicate the notion of number. Numerals can be divided into cardinals, ordinals, or multiplicative. Hajong follows the Bengali-Assamese numeral system for everyday use. However, Ali (2012) claimed that the Hajong numeral system did exist in the past and was prevalent among speakers. He has mentioned the numerals of Hajong in his book. We tried to authenticate the particular numerals with the informants but unfortunately, they hardly can tell such numerals except for 89 years old informant.

Hajong numerals take different classifiers when modifying a noun, for non-human nouns, it is indicated with /-ra/ when the counting is one but for counting of two to seven, it has different classifiers attached to it.

- (115) a. ek-ra boi
 one CL book
 ‘a book’
- b. dui-dui boi
 two CL book
 ‘two books’
- c. tin -dʒon mun
 three CL man
 ‘three men’
- d. ŋui -ru boi
 four CL book
 ‘four books’

Cardinal Numerals

The study of the cardinal numerals is based on Ali (2012) numeral system. Cardinal numerals in Hajong are a set of numerals used in attributive quantification of nouns as in *eg-ra puki*, ‘one bird’ *dui-du puki* ‘two birds’, etc. Cardinal numerals can be morphologically divided into basic and compound numerals.

Basic numerals

Basic numerals have an independent form and are non-derived ones. Other numerals are derived from these basic numerals and zero has no independent identity of its own. The following are the basic numerals found in Hajong.

Table 5.8: Basic Numerals in Hajong.

Value	Gloss	Boro Numeral
0	Zero	-
1	One	ekon
2	Two	bekon
3	Three	tusin
4	Four	ʃabon
5	Five	lain
6	Six	lotan
7	Seven	kobran
8	Eight	gotan
9	Nine	nan
10	Ten	dason

Compound Numerals

Compound numerals in Hajong are formed by the juxtaposition of two independent morphemes. Compound numerals 11-19 are derived from the base of a two-digit independent numeral system as stated below:

- (116) ek-ekon ‘eleven’
 ek-bekon ‘twelve’
 ek- tusin ‘thirteen’

ek- ṭṭāboṇ ‘fourteen’
 ek- laiṇ ‘fifteen’
 ek- lotaṇ ‘sixteen’
 ek- kobraṇ ‘seventeen’
 ek- gotaṇ ‘eighteen’
 ek- nan ‘nineteen’

Ordinals

The ordinals are borrowed from Assamese and they use the Assamese forms up to third and rest up to seventh they add the classifier.

(117) protom ‘first’

dith^hio ‘second’

trit^hio ‘third’

ṭṭui-ru ‘fourth’

pa-dʒa ‘fifth’

ṭṭoi-ra ‘sixth’

Multiplicatives

Multiplicative numerals are formed by prefixing the morpheme *gun* ‘repeat’ to the corresponding cardinal numerals borrowed from Bengali. It is generally used when a question arises “how many times or how many folds”.

(118) ek-gun ‘once’

dui -gun ‘twice, double’

tin- gun ‘thrice, threefold’

ṭṭur- gun ‘four times, fourfold’

pas- gun ‘five times, fivefold’

5.4.5.2.2. Quantifiers

David (2015:133) states that “quantifiers occur before nouns with a function to indicate the number, mass, scope, telicity, exhaustiveness, of the object modified”.

- (119) a. bebak (non-human) ‘whole, all’ and hobala (human) ‘whole’
b. bek (for non-human) ‘all, everything’ and hubui (for human) ‘all, everything, everyone’
c. bakar ‘much, many, a lot, bakar can be added with plural suffix -g^hilui
d. The interrogative quantifier koto ‘how many’

Indefinite quantifiers include:

- e. koi, koi-ra ‘a few’
f. kunsui ‘some, somewhat’
g. koto^hilui ‘several, many’

5.5. Verb Stems and Inflections

The verb stems can be classified into two types: vowel stems and consonant stems. The root in the simple verb stem is commonly monosyllabic and some of the verb stems are listed below.

Vowel final stems (i.e., open stem) monosyllabic

- (120) CV ending in -e, -a, -i, o, and o are the following:

ne ‘take’	d ^h o ‘wash’	pa ‘get’
k ^h a ‘eat’	dʒa ‘go’	t ^h o ‘put’
k ^h o ‘say’	de ‘give’	ro ‘stop’
ho ‘be’	ur ‘fly’	ga ‘sing’

Consonant final stems (i.e., closed stem) monosyllabic

- (121) VC ending in -n, -r, -t^h, and -s are the following

an ‘bring’ ur ‘fly’ ut^h ‘rise’ as ‘be’

(122) CVC ending in consonant -r, -l, -k, -m, -n, -ŋ, -p, and -s are the following

por ‘read’ mor ‘die’ b^hor ‘fill’ sor ‘move’ pur ‘burn’
d^hor ‘hold’ kor ‘do’ pəl ‘throw’ map ‘measure’ t^ham ‘stop’
p^hal ‘jump’ man ‘respect’ bar ‘grow’ t^hak ‘stay’ nam ‘descend’
b^haŋ ‘break’ kap ‘shiver’ hun ‘hear’ bas ‘clean’

(123) CVCC ending in -nd as in ku^hnd ‘cry’

In Hajong the basic form of a verb stem k^ha ‘eat’, hun ‘hear’, hik ‘learn’, kor ‘do’ and t^hak ‘stay’ is inflected for person/number, tense, aspect, mood, and converb are discussed in table 5.9: below:

Table 5.9: The stems with inflected TAM

Stem	k ^h a ‘eat’	hun ‘hear’	hik ‘learn’	kor ‘do’	t ^h ak ‘stay’
PN	k ^h a-i	hun-i	hiku-i	kor-e	t ^h ak-e
PST	k ^h a-le	hun-le	hiku-le	kor-ile	t ^h ak-ile
FUT	k ^h a-bo	hun-bo	hiku-bo	kor-ibo	t ^h ak-ibo
PFV	k ^h a-se	hun-se	hiku-se	kor-ise	t ^h ak-ise
DUR	k ^h a-i-ase	hun-i-ase	hiku- ʁ -ase	kor-i ase	t ^h ak-i ase
SEQ	k ^h a-iuu	hun-iuu	hik-iuu	kor-iuu	t ^h ak-iuu
IMP	k ^h a-k	hun-ik	hik-ik	kor-ik	t ^h ak-ik
HOR	k ^h a-ŋ	hun- ʁ	hik -ʁ	kor-uŋ	t ^h ak-ʁ
PROB	k ^h a-buu par	hun-ibuu par	hiki-buu par	kor -ibuu par	t ^h ak- ibuu par
OBLI	k ^h a-buu lag-ibo	hun-buu lag-ibo	hiki-buu lag-ibo	kor -ibuu lag-ibo	t ^h ak- ibuu lag-ibo

A brief overview of morpheme order occurring in Hajong verbs is presented below in Table 5.10.

Table 5.10: Verb Morphology schema

PREFIXES		SUFFIXES			
NEGATIVE PROHIBITIVE	STEM	ASPECT INFINITIVE FUTURE NOMINALIZER IMPERATIVE CONDITIONAL CONVERB	TENSE NEGATIVE	MODAL	TAM

5.5.2. Main Verbs

The main verbs are of three types simple, compound, and conjunct. Lexical verbs can be classified according to the number of arguments they carry.

5.5.2.1. Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs have a single argument that acts as a grammatical subject. An intransitive verb is the absence of any transitivity for a predicate. Intransitive verbs in Hajong are like *dʒirui* ‘sit’, *dourui* ‘run’, *dʒa* ‘go’, *ai* ‘come’ which generally do not carry a direct object.

(124) a. *mola buini-ruu dʒur-ke kuund-e*

my sister DEF loud ADV cry-PN

‘My sister cries loudly.’

b. *oi iskol -ni dʒa-i*

he school LOC go-PN

‘He goes to school.’

c. *moi gaodo-i*

I bath-PN

‘I take bath.’

d. *mek ah-ile*

rain come PST

‘It rained.’

e. *kukul-lui buku-i*

dog DEF bark-PN

‘The dog barks.’

f. nurkuul - g^hiluu gas -ni eɬeŋ eɬeŋ -ke ase
 Coconuts PL tree LOC hang RED ADV be
 ‘Coconuts are hanging in the tree.’

g. pata -ra hukui aro tol b^haj por-e
 leaf -DEF dry and below ALL fall-PN
 ‘The leaf dries and falls down’

h. oi ar egla gaon b^haj dʒa-le
 he next one village ALL go PST
 ‘He went to the next village.’

i. toi tara tari - ke hik -ibo
 you quick RED ADV learn FUT
 ‘You will learn quickly.’

5.5.2.2. Transitive Verbs

The general definition of transitivity is those transitive clauses that take an object (direct/indirect). And the activity/ action is transferred from one argument to another (second argument). In other words, verbs with more than one argument are classified as transitive as in example (125 a-c) which has two arguments. Transitive verbs like *por* ‘read’, *de* ‘give’, *kor* ‘do’, *ne* ‘take’, *an* ‘bring’, etc take direct objects.

(125) a. drubo boi pore
 drubo book read
 ‘Drubo read a book.’

b. ʃ^hawa-ra maʃk^ha-i
 child DEF fish eat-PN
 ‘The child eats fish.’

- c. timuud ʃ^hawa –ra kahol k^ha-i
 girl child DEF jackfruit eat -PN
 ‘The girl eats jackfruits.’

The subject of the intransitive verb is the object of the transitive verb as in example (126a) subject of the intransitive verb becomes the object of the transitive verb in (126 b) given below:

- (126) a. mas -dʒa rod –ni hukui-i
 fish DEF sun LOC dry-PN
 ‘The fish dries in the sun’

- b. oi mas -dʒa rod –ni hukui-i
 he fish DEF sun LOC dry-PN
 ‘She dries fish in the sun.’

- c. timuud -duu o –la ʃ^hawa –ra -ge gad^ho - wa-i
 child DEF his –GEN child DEF ACC bath CAU-PN
 ‘She bathes her child.’

- d. oi nurkuul g^hilui rod –ni hukui-i
 He coconut PL sun LOC dry -PN
 ‘He dries coconuts in the sun.’

- e. oi o – la kapur - gilui dara - ni hukui - di rak–ise
 he his –GEN clothes –PL hanger –Loc dry give keep-PFV
 ‘He is hanging his clothes in the hangers.’

5.5.2.3. Ditransitive Verbs

The ditransitive verbs take three arguments: a subject, an object, and an indirect object as in the example (127 a-b) given below. The indirect objects precede the direct objects and are marked with the dative case.

(127) a. drubo mo- ge eg-ra boi di-se

Drubo I –OBJ one book give PFV

‘Drobo gave a pen to Drubi.’

b. drubo guru-ruu-ge ahar ka-ba di-se

Drubo cow-DEF-OBJ food eat-INF give-PFV

‘Drubo gave food to the cow.’

5.5.2.4. Causative Verbs

Morphological causatives are expressed using productive suffixes to the verb stem.

i. In Hajong the causative form is made by adding /-α/ to the primary stem, forming a causative stem of shape (C) V C α- and it has allomorph /u/

(128) Simple stem	Causal suffix	Causal stem
por ^h ‘study’	/- α /	por ^h -α ‘to teach x’
kor ‘do’	/- α/	kor- α ‘to make x do’
an ‘bring’	/- α/	an- α ‘to make x bring’
kom ‘decrease’	/- α/	kom- α ‘to make x decrease’
ur ‘fly’	/- α/	ur-α ‘to make to fly’
dek ‘see’	/- α/	dek-α ‘to make x be seen’
dʒom ‘collect’	/- α/	dʒom-α ‘to make x to collect’
kat ‘cut’	/- α/	kat-α ‘to make x to cut’
gol ‘mix’	/- α/	gol-α ‘to make x to mix’
bar ‘serve’	/- α/	bar-α ‘to make x to serve’
ur ‘fly’	/- α/	ur-u ‘to make x to fly’
nam ‘get down’	/- α/	nam-α ‘to make x drop off’
g ^h um ‘sleep’	/- u/	g ^h um-u ‘to make x to sleep’

(129) a. moi singri -la diu gʰər kopra -ra ʃhapa kor -a -le
 I girl GEN with house room DEF clean made -CAU -PST
 ‘I made the girl clean the room.’

b. moi timuud -duu -ge kamla diu gʰər kopra -ra ʃhapa kor -a -ba ku-se
 I girl - DEF -OBJ servant with house room -DEF clean made CAU-VN say-PFV
 ‘I made the girl ask the maid to clean the room’

c. moi o-ge gilui -dʒu baŋ -a -ba di- se
 I he -OBJ glass -DEF break -CAU -VN give PFV
 ‘I make him break the glass’

d. drubo -la ghonok- ge gʰum-uu -buu di -se
 Drubo-GEN Ghonok-OBJ sleep -CAU -VN give -PFV
 ‘Drubo made Ghonok sleep’

e. drubo o-ge mur- ibuu di-se
 Drubo he-OBJ die VN give PFV
 ‘Drubo made him die’

ii. Causatives form is made by adding /-(o)wa- / to the primary stem, forming a causative stem of shape (C)V (o)wa-

(130) kʰa ‘eat’	kʰa-owa ‘to feed’
ur ‘fly’	ur-owa ‘to cause to fly’
pa ‘get’	pa-wa ‘to cause to get’
ga ‘sing’	ga-wa ‘to cause to sing’
lo ‘take’	lo-wa ‘to cause to take’
kʰo ‘say’	kʰo-wa ‘to cause to say’
de ‘give’	de -wa ‘to cause to give’

(131) a. mao -ra ʃhawa -ra -ge mas kʰa -owai
 mother -DEF child DEF OBJ fish eat -CAU
 ‘The mother feeds the boy with fish.’

b. mao -ra timud ʃ^hawa -ra -ge kola k^ha - owai

mother -DEF girl child -DEF -OBJ banana eat CAU

‘The mother feeds the girl with banana.’

c. nars -dʒa ʃ^hawa-ra-ge k^ha -owa -le

nurse DEF child – DEF-OBJ eat - CAU -PST

‘The nurse fed the baby.’

d. mao -ra nars – la diu ʃ^hawa -ra -ge k^ha - owa - le

Mother NOM nurse GEN with child -DEF - OBJ eat - CAU -PST

‘Mother made the nurse feed the baby.’

5.5.2.5. Conjunct Verbs

David (2015: 275) states that “Some predicative constructions are formed by combining a verb with either an adjective or a noun in constructions often referred to as conjunct verbs”. The most used verbs in Hajong conjunct verbal constructions are /howa/ ‘to become’, /kora/ ‘do’, and others are given below with an examples.

(132) a. howa ‘to become’ aramb^ho howa ‘to begin’[intr]

par howa ‘to overcome’

duki howa ‘to be sad’

radʒi howa ‘to agree’

b. kora ‘to make, do’ akromon kora ‘to attack’

hisab kora ‘to calculate’

ʃ^hes kora ‘to complete’

rag kora ‘to get angry’

- b. dewa ‘to give’ gali dewa ‘to scold’
 pudḡa dewa ‘to worship’
- c. tula ‘take’/raise’
 poto tula ‘to take picture’
- d. raka ‘keep’
 nodḡor raka ‘to be watchful’
 hisab raka ‘to keep account’
- e. k^haowa ‘to eat’
 gali k^haowa ‘to get scolded’
 b^hoi k^haowa ‘to fear’
- f. paowa ‘to get’
 kosto paowa ‘to get trouble’
 b^hal paowa ‘to love’
- g. laga ‘to get’
 las laga ‘to feel shy’
 hurun laga ‘to get tired’

Examples of transitive and intransitive Noun/Adjective + Verb conjunct verbs from (133 a-i) are given below:

- (133) a. oi o -ge dḡa -ba mana kor-ise
 she he-OBJ go- INF forbid do-PFV
 ‘She forbade him to go.’
- b. pastor -ra girdḡu aramb^honi kor-ise
 pastor-DEF church begin do-PFV
 ‘The pastor began the service.’

- c. mola mai mo-ge map-di-se
 my mother me-OBJ forgive give-PFV
 ‘My mom forgave me.’
- d. oi mundu kam -ra f̃es kor-ibu
 this man-DEF work finish do-FUT
 ‘This man will finish the work.’
- e. oi mola gʰor kopra-ra f̃apa kor-ise
 he/she my house room –DEF clean do-PFV
 ‘He/She cleaned my room.’
- f. mola gʰor kopra-ra f̃apa hu-se
 my house room DEF clean be-PFV
 ‘My room got cleaned.’
- g. mola gʰor kopra-ra netʰa hu-se
 my house room DEF dirty be-PFV
 ‘My house became dirty.’
- h. mola gʰor-ra tik hu-se
 my house DEF fix be-PFV
 ‘My house was fixed’/ ‘My fixing of house happened (literally).’
- i. oi udu-ni kara hu-se
 he/she here- LOC stand be-PFV
 ‘He/She stood there.’

There is the class of psychological predicates of conjunct verbs which are formed by the combination of a noun and an intransitive verb and the subject is marked by oblique case as in the examples (134 a-d) *ḡurdi lagna* ‘to have fever’, *las lagna* ‘to be shy’, *rag ana* ‘to be angry’, *huruun lagna* ‘to be tired’.

- (134) a. *mo-la ḡurdi lag-se*
 my –DAT fever get-PFV
 ‘I have fever.’
- b. *mo-la las lage*
 I DAT shy get PFV
 ‘I feel shy.’
- c. *o -la rag ah-e*
 he/she- DAT angry come -PN
 ‘He/She got angry.’
- d. *mo-la huruun lag-se*
 I DAT tire get-PFV
 ‘I am (feeling) tired.’

5.5.2.6. Compound Verbs

Masica (1991:326) states that “compound verbs consist of a semantically main verb followed by a vector verb, also sometimes called a specifier, explicator, or intensifier”. According to David (2015:270) “verbs that occur after the perfect participle of another verb are called light verbs. These vector verbs lose their original meaning when used as light verbs after the perfective conjunctive participle to add some extra parameter of meaning to the verb to express the desired sense”. In Hajong compound verbs is a combination of the semantically main verb in the form of perfective conjunctive participle and the vector verb followed by inflections. The vector verbs that are most frequently used are *ḡa* ‘go’, *ah* ‘come’, *ut^h* ‘rise’, *por* ‘fall’, *bo^h* ‘sit’, *de* ‘give’, *ne* ‘take’, *pel* ‘throw’, *tul* ‘raise’, *rak* ‘keep’.

- (135) a. giluu-dʒuu baŋ-iuu dʒa-le
 glass DEF break-PCP go -PST
 ‘The glass broke.’
- b. oi pator- ra bʰaŋ -iuu pela-le
 he/she stone DEF break PCP throw PST
 ‘He/She broke the stone.’
- c. oi por -iuu dʒa-le
 he/she fall PCP go-PST
 ‘He/She fell down.’
- d. bek mitʰuii-gʰiluu oi kʰa-iuu pela-se
 Many sweets PL he/she eat- PCP throw PFV
 ‘He/She ate up all the sweets’
- e. bek mitʰuii-gʰiluu oi kʰa-iuu nuui pelai
 Many sweets PL he eat- PCP NEG throw
 ‘He/She didn’t eat all the sweets.’
- f. moi dud-duu bek kʰa -iuu pela-bo
 I milk DEF all drink PCP throw- FUT
 ‘I will drink up all the milk.’
- g. dʒa-wa some dor-ruu koh -e pelao
 go-VN time door DEF open PCP throw
 ‘Close the door on your way out.’
- h. ram oi rabon -ge mar i -pela-se
 Ram NOM Ravanna OBJ kill PCP throw-PFV
 ‘Ram killed Ravanna.’

Table 5.11: Compound Verbs

Vector verb	Meaning
dʒa ‘go’ a. with the verbs of motion b. with verbs expressing a change of state c. with transitive verbs	g^huri dʒawa ‘move around’ b^hahiɯ dʒawa ‘float away’ piri dʒawa ‘go back’ ahi dʒawa ‘arrive’ uriɯ dʒawa ‘fly away’ huiɯ dʒawa ‘be finished , become’ b^haŋɯ dʒawa ‘get broken’ t^haki dʒawa ‘stay , remain’ kumi dʒawa ‘decrease’ bari dʒawa ‘increase’ niɯ dʒawa ‘take’ b^huli dʒawa ‘forget’
α ^h ‘come’	huiɯ α^hα ‘become’ g^huri aha, ‘ turn around, come back’
ut ^h u ‘rise,	hahi ut^hu ‘burst out laughing’ kandi ut^hu ‘burst into tears’
kara ‘to stand’	ut ^h i kara ‘stand up’
de ‘give’	koriɯ dewa ‘do (for someone)’
ne ‘take’	diki newa ‘look at’
pɛla ‘throw’	kuiɯ pɛla ‘eat up’
rak ‘keep’	kuriɯ raka ‘have done beforehand’

5.5.3. The Copula Verb

According to Crystal (1980:116), a copula is “a term used in the grammatical description to refer to a linking verb, i.e., a verb which has little independent meaning, and whose main function is to relate other elements of clause structure, especially subject and complement”. The function of the copula constructions is to express notions like equation, attribution, location, existence, and possession (Dryer 1985). The verb *as* ‘have/exist’, *t^hak* ‘have/stay’, *ho* ‘became’ functions as equational, existential, possessive, and location copula in Hajong.

5.5.3.1. Equative Construction

Null copula marking is noticed in the affirmative present tense in Hajong. Zero copula is a permanent property of the subject that selects the generic reading of the bare nominal. However, copula *ho* in the past tense, future tense, and negative construction is overtly marked.

- (136) a. oi mo-la dʒ^heu ø
 she my-GEN daughter COP
 ‘She is my daughter.’
- b. oi mo -la dʒ^heu nuui hoi
 she my –GEN daughter NEG COP
 ‘She is not my daughter’
- c. oi mo -la dʒ^heu hu-bun
 she my -GEN daughter COP-PST
 ‘She was my daughter’
- d. oi mo -la dʒ^heu hu-bo
 she my-GEN daughter COP-FU
 ‘She will be my daughter’

The generic attributive construction as in (e)

- e. akas-dʒa nilu
 sky DEF blue
 ‘The sky is blue’

5.5.3.2. Locative Function

Verb *as* is used to indicate the spatial location of the subject NP as in (137 a) *as* is linking temporal locative time element and a subject NP as in (137 b)

- (137) a. mun-dui g^hor -ni as -e
 man DEF house –LOC COP.PN
 ‘The man is in the house’
- b. rel gari-ruu tin ta bodʒe as -e
 train DEF 3 CL time COP.PN
 ‘The train is at 3 o'clock’

5.5.3.3. Existential Function

Two verbs, *as* and *t^hak* perform an existential function as in

- (138) a. guru -ruu udui -ni as-e
 cow DEF there –LOC be PN
 ‘Cow is there.’
- b. amla gaon-ni daktor kana as-e
 our village –LOC doctor place be-PN
 ‘There is a medical centre in our village.’
- c. bon bari-ni b^hag g^hilui t^hak-e
 wood place LOC PL COP -PN
 ‘There are tigers in the forest.’

5.5.3.4. Possessive Function

The verb *as* and *t^hak* perform the possessive function as a linker between possessed noun and possessor noun as in the example from (139) in the sentence of kinship possession (139 a); in the sentence of the inalienable possession (139 b); in the sentence of the alienable possession (139 c); in the sentence of the physical state (139 d); and the sentence of the mental temperament (139 e).

- (139) a. mola dui-dui dʒ^heu as-e
 my two –CL daughter COP.PN
 ‘I have two daughters.’

- b. guru-la ʃui-ruu teŋ ase/ tʰake
 cow POSS four-CL leg COP.PN
 ‘Cow has four legs.’
- c. o -la dui -duu noia ʃikel as- e
 he/she POSS NUM-CL new bicycle COP-PN
 ‘He/She has two new bicycles.’
- d. o-la duk as -e
 he/she-DAT pain COP.PN
 ‘He/She has pain’
- e. a^hmed -la dʒur as -e
 Ahmed DAT courage COP.PN
 ‘Ahmed has courage.’

5.5.4. Finite Verbs

According to Payne (1997: 233) “Tense, aspect, and mode are operations that anchor or ground the information expressed in a clause according to its sequential, temporal, or epistemological orientation. Tense is associated with the sequence of events in real-time, the aspect with the temporal structure of a situation, while mode relates the speaker’s attitude toward the situation or speaker’s commitment to the probability that the situation is true”.

Hockett (1958: 237) defined tense as “a grammatical category showing different locations of an event in time”. Consequently, Lyons (1968: 305) affirms that “tense relates the time of action, event, or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance”.

5.5.4.1. Tense

The tense system in Hajong can be categorised into three-way distinctions of tenses: present, past, and future. There are no variants in terms of person, gender, and number in terms of all three persons.

5.5.4.1.1. The Present Tense

The present tense indicates that an event (state) occurring at the time of the utterance is being pronounced. The tense marker “occurring in the verbal forms of these sentences has the function of indicating the temporal location of the event of doing” as illustrated from (140 a-h). In the example (a-h), “this event is simultaneous with the time at which that sentence was uttered” (Bhat 1999:16). Phillips (2018:2) states that /-e/, and /-i/, are the present tense marker in Hajong. However, the present study does not consider it as a present tense marker but as a person-number marker as illustrated from (140 a – j) below. The marker /-e/ occurs after the consonant and the marker /-i/ occur after the vowel.

Singular

Plural

(140) a. moi kor -e
I do PN
'I do'

a. amruu kor - e
we do PN
'We do'

b. toi kor – e
you do PN
'You do'

b. tumluu kor - e
you do PN
'You do'

c. ap^hne kor – e
you do PN
'You (Hon) do'

c. ap^hne g^hiluu kor - e
you PL do PN
'You (Hon) do'

d. oi kor – e
s/he do PN
'He/She do'

d. ora kor - e
They do PN
'They do'

e. ora iŋlis rao k^ho -i
They English word speak PN
'They speak English.'

f. ora ad͡ʒikuu mot nuui k^ha -i

They today wine NEG eat PN

‘They do not drink today.’

5.5.4.1.2. The Past Tense

Past tense indicates that an event (state) occurred before the moment of speech (ie, before the reference time). The past tense marker in Hajong is *-le*. It is also realised as *-ile*, when it is included with an epenthetic */-i/*. The past tense marker *-le* becomes *-ile* when followed by a consonant as in the example given below.

/le/ —————> [-ile] / C-

(141) a. oi nid͡ʒui pani an -ile

He/She himself/herself water bring PST

‘He/She collected water herself.’

b. oi bakod͡ʒa kuha -le

He/She box CL open PST

‘He/She opened the box.’

c. toi eg-ra bilui an-ile

you NUM-CL cat bring PST

‘You brought a cat.’

d. oi ar eg-ra gaon b^haj d͡ʒa-le

He/She next NUM-CL village ALL go -PST

‘He/She went to the next village.’

e. mək ah-ile

Rain come PST

‘It rained.’

- f. moi kamra kor-ile
 I work do PST
 ‘I did the work’

5.5.4.1.3. The Future Tense

Future tense indicates that the event (state) occurred after the moment of speech (i.e, after the reference time). The future tense marker in Hajong is *-bo*. It is also realised as *-ibo*, when it is included with an epenthetic */-i/*. The future tense marker *-bo* becomes *-ibo* when followed by a consonant as in the example given below.

/bo/ → [-ibo] / C -

- (142) a. moi manali kuulkuu dʒa -bo
 I Manali tomorrow go FUT
 ‘I will go to Manali tomorrow.’
- b. oi rati - ni bʰat kʰa -bo
 He/She night - GEN rice eat FUT
 ‘He/She will eat rice in the night.’
- c. moi tola logon ah -ibo
 I you with come FUT
 ‘I will come with you.’
- d. umruu to-ge sohai kor -ibo
 we you -OBJ help do FUT
 ‘We will help you.’

5.5.4.2. Aspect

Aspects describe the “internal temporal shape of events or states” (Payne 1997:238). According to Bhat (1999:43) “Tense indicates the *temporal location* of an event by relating it either with the event of uttering the sentence that denotes the event (called deictic tense); however, aspect indicates the *temporal structure* of an event, i.e. how the event occurs in time which is ongoing or completed, beginning, continuing or ending, iterative or semelfactive, etc”.

5.5.4.2.1. Imperfective Aspect:

Payne (1997: 239) states that “in the imperfective aspect, the situation is viewed from the *inside* as an ongoing process”. According to Comrie (1978:25) “Habitual” and “progressive aspects” are the subtypes of imperfective aspects

5.5.4.2.1.1. Habitual Aspect:

In the habitual aspect, the event or action takes place regularly in a repetitive manner at present or in the past as illustrated from (143 a-g). The habitual aspect in Hajong is unmarked as in the example from (143 a-c).

- (143) a. oi radio-la batori hun-e
He/She radio-GEN news listen-PN
‘He/She listens to the news on the radio.’

- b. ora din -ni gan goa-i
They day -GEN song sing PN
‘They sing songs everyday.’

- c. hari hokol some opis - b^haj ah-e
Hari all time office ALL come PN
‘Hari comes to the office every day.’

The imperfective past tense habitual marker is /-buun/ with the insertion of an epenthetic marker in the intervocalic position between the final consonant of the root verb and the beginning of the consonant of past habitual marker /-ibuun/ which is observed from (143 d-g)

d. umruu b^hen – ni huur sikar kor – ibu d͡ʒa -buun

We morning pig hunting do -INF go -IMPFV

‘We used to go for pig hunting in the morning.’

e. umruu belapati huur sikar kor – iuu guri ah – ibuun

We evening pig hunting do CP turn come IMPFV

‘We used to return after pig hunting in the evening.’

f. hagol g^hilui bakra – ni g^has ka - buun

Goat PL pasture LOC grass eat IMPFV

‘The goats used to graze in the pasture.’

g. noia muun ah- ile amla kukul - luu buk –ibuun

new person come PST our dog DEF bark IMPFV

‘The dogs used to bark at new person.’

5.5.4.2.1.2. Progressive Aspect

The progressive aspect implies an “ongoing, dynamic process” Payne (1997:240). The progressive aspect in Hajong is past progressive, present progressive, and future progressive. The progressive aspect of the verbs in Hajong is constructed periphrastically like in Assamese. The progressive is the combination of the durative markers /-i/ and /-e/ with the auxiliary *-as* along with the person-number marker. The form of the verb in the present progressive aspect is schematized as below:

Main verb + -i /-e + as +e

The present progressive implies an ongoing action that is not terminated before the temporal reference time as illustrated from (144 a-g) in the negative present progressive aspect the combination of auxiliary /-as/ is not necessary. The negative marker /-nui/ follow the verb as illustrated in (144 i and j), however, the negative marker /-na/ precede the verb as in (144 h).

- (144) a. moi por -e as -e
 I read PROG be PN
 ‘I am reading.’

- b. moi kel -e as -e
 I play PROG be PN
 ‘I am playing.’

- c. oi b^hat ka -i -as -e
 he/she rice eat PROG be PN
 ‘He/She is eating food.’

- d. kukul -luu buk -i as -e
 dog DEF bark PROG be -PN
 ‘The dog is barking.’

- e. huur - g^hiluu daor -i as -e
 Pig PL run PROG be PN
 ‘The pigs are running.’

- f. moi ah -i -as -e
 I come PROG be -PN
 ‘I am coming.’

g. oi dʒalla ban -e as -e

he/she net repair PROG be PN

‘He/She is repairing the net.’

h. moi pahar b^haj na dʒa -i

I forest ALL NEG go PN

‘I am not going to the forest.’

i. oi b^hat nar -i nui -kuu

he/she rice cook PROG NEG EMP

‘He/She is not cooking.’

j. kukul -luu dokr-i nui -kuu

dog DEF bark -PROG NEG EMP

‘The dog is not barking.’

The past progressive is the combination of the progressive markers /-i/ and /-e/ with the auxiliary *-t^hak* along with the imperfective past tense marker as in (145 a- e). The verb form in the past progressive aspect is schematized as below:

Main verb + -i /-e + (t^hak) + - (i)bun

(145) a. ram b^hat nar- i t^hak -ibun

Ram rice cook PROG be PST

‘Ram was cooking food.’

b. oi kapur doy -e t^hak -ibun

He/She cloth wash PROG be PST

‘He/She was washing clothes.’

c. moi g^hum-i t^hak -ibuun

I sleep PROG be PST

‘I was sleeping.’

d. toi tir d^hunuk mar-i t^hakibuun

You arrow bow make PROG be PST

‘You were making arrow.’

e. oi b^hat nara kuri kat -i t^hak -ibuun

He/She rice cook firewood cut PROG be PST

‘He/She was cutting a tree for firewood.’

The future progressive is the combination of the durative markers /-i/ and / -e/ with the auxiliary -*t^hak* along with the marker of future tense. The verb form in the future progressive aspect is schematized as below:

Main verb + -i / -e + t^hak + / - (i) bo

The negative marker /-na/ follow the verb as illustrated in (146 b),

(146) a. oi to-ge sohai kor- i t^hak - ibo

he/she you-OBJ help do PROG AUX FUT

‘He/She will be helping you.’

b. oi to-ge dikdari kor -i na t^hak -ibo

he/she you-OBJ disturb do PROG NEG AUX FUT

‘He/She will not be disturbing you.’

c. bataf ah -i t^hak- ibo

wind come PROG AUX FUT

‘Wind will be blowing.’

5.5.4.2.2. Perfective Aspect

Perfectivity, according to Comrie (1976:16), “indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation”. While describing the verb morphology Phillips (2018:2) states that perfective morpheme /-se, -ise/ views the event described as a completed whole. When this morpheme is used the past / present reference is supplied by context. However, in the present analysis of the past, the perfect aspect is -s- followed by the past tense marker -bun.

- (147) a. ora badʒar –bhaj dʒa -se
 they market ALL go PFV
 ‘They have gone to the market (still in the market).’

- b. moi to -ge teka di -se
 I you – OBJ money give PFV
 ‘I have given you money.’

- c. mo-la ʃʰawa-ra ah -ise
 my -GEN son -DEF come PFV
 ‘My son has come.’

- d. umru bʰat kʰa -se
 we food eat PFV
 ‘We have eaten food.’

- e. amla ʃʰawa-gʰilu dudʰnoi dʒa-se
 our boy –PL Dudhnoi go PFV
 ‘Our boys have gone to Dudhnoi.’

- f. tola ʃʰawa-ra ah-ise
 your son DEF come -PFV
 ‘Your son has come.’

- g. oi eg-ra siti lik -ise
 he/she one-CL letter write PFV
 ‘He/She has written a letter.’
- h. oi ola bundu g^hor -b^haj dʒa-se
 he/she his friend house –ALL go -PFV
 ‘He/She has gone to her friend.’
- i. ora mas mar-ibuu dʒa-se
 they fish kill -INF go -PFV
 ‘They have gone for fishing.’
- j. moi tumlu kota-ra idu-ni lik-ibuu ah -ise
 I your language-DEF here-LOC write –INF come -PFV
 ‘I have come here to study your language’

In the negative structure of the present perfect tense, there is no tense difference in negative sentences. This is because the present perfect tense is negated in the corresponding form of the simple present tense with negation *-nui*.

- k. moi kam –ra nui kor-e
 I work –DEF NEG do-PN
 ‘I have not done the work.’

Past perfect aspect expresses an action that has been done long ago in the past.

- (148) a. moi d^haigaon b^haj dʒa- ɔ -bun
 I Dhaigaon ALL go-PFV-PST
 ‘I had gone to Dhaigaon.’
- b. moi d^haigaon b^haj na dʒa- ɔ -bun
 I Dhaigaon ALL NEG go -PFV-PST
 ‘I had not gone to Dhaigaon.’

- c. umruu ei g^hor-ra bana- ʔ- buun
 We this house-DEF build –PFV- PST
 ‘We had constructed this house.’
- d. umruu ei g^hor-ra na bana- ʔ-buun
 We this house -DEF NEG build –PFV-PST
 ‘We had not constructed this house.’
- e. toi bakar dinni na - t^hak- ʔ -ibuun
 You many day NEG stay PFV-PST
 ‘You had not stayed long.’
- f. oi ola hak b^hat nara kamra f̣eːs kor-ʔ -ibuun
 She her curry rice cook work complete do PFV- PST
 ‘She had completed her kitchen work.’
- g. huur -ruu bek narkuul -luu ku- ʔ- buun
 Pig DEF many coconut -DEF eat PFV PST
 ‘The pig had eaten all the coconut.’
- h. pani - ruu moi bek nui kai / kabuun
 Water DEF I lot NEG eat
 ‘It had not drunk all the water.’

5.6. Mood

Bybee (1985:22) states that “the mood is an indication of what the speaker wants to do with the proposition in a particular discourse context”. Mood describes the speaker’s attitude toward a situation which is often marked morphologically. In Hajong, morphologically, there are four types of moods: indicative, imperative, prohibitive, and contrafactive, which are discussed as follows.

5.6.1. Indicative Mood

Indicative is “a term used in the grammatical classification of sentence types and is usually seen in contrast to imperative, subjunctive, etc moods. It refers to verbs forms or sentence/ clause types used in the expression of statements and questions” (Crystal 2008:242).

Singular	Plural
(149) a. moi kamra kor ile I work do - PST ‘I did the work.’	a. amruu kamra kor - ile We work do-PST ‘We did the work.’
b. toi kamra kor - ile you work do -PST ‘You did the work.’	b. tumluu kor - ile you work do -PST ‘You did the work.’
c. oi kor - ile he/she work do PST ‘He/She did the work.’	c. ora kor –ile they work do PST ‘They did the work.’
d. moi kam kor -e I work do -PN ‘I work.’	d. amruu kam kor - e we work do -PN ‘We work.’

From these examples, it is clear that Hajong does not have any indicative marker. However, a verb inflected for tense-aspect may indicate the truth value of the proposition. The

illustrations (149 a, b, c) show the past tense marker /-ile/ suggest the truth value of the proposition in the past. And the illustration (149 d) suggests the truth value of the proposition in the present.

5.6.2. Imperative Mood

The imperative mood is the form of the verb in issuing direct commands or orders (Baybee 1985:171). The imperative mood is thus a term that asks the hearer to perform the action. As the imperative sentences express direct commands, instructions, or requests, they are all solely restricted to the second and third person. The imperative mood is marked morphologically by the suffix *-ik*, *-uk*, *-ek*, as the singular and plural markers which are illustrated in an example below.

(150) a. $\widehat{f\ddot{r}i}$ ti -ruu por - ik
 Letter -DEF read -2 SG/PL IMP
 ‘Read the letter.’

b. iduu d^hor-ek
 It hold 2SG/PL .IMP
 ‘Hold it.’

c. iduu tul -ik
 It lift -2SG/PL.IMP
 ‘Lift it up.’

d. mur -uk
 die 3SG/PL .IMP
 ‘(she/he/they) die.’

5.6.3. Prohibitive Mood

The prohibitive mood is formed by adding negative markers /na-/ and /no-/ to the imperative roots.

- (151) a. bahar b^haj na dʒa
out ALL NEG go
'Do not go out.'

- b. misu kota no k^ho
lies word NEG say
'Do not tell lies.'

5.6.4. Contrafactive Mood

Hajong obtains a contrafactive mood. The root of the verb is inflected for tense-aspect along with contrafactive mood /hoi/.

- (152) a. moi kor-ile hoi
I do -PST CM
'I would have done.'
- b. toi g^huma-le hoi
You sleep-PST CM
'You would have slept.'
- c. toi ni -le hoi
you take -PST CM
'You would have taken.'

5.7. Modality

Modality is partially concerned with epistemic categories of realis/irrealis, necessity, possibility, obligation, permission, certainty, etc., and it also includes the kinds of notions translated by words like ‘can’, ‘must’, (or should) etc. as quoted in (Rai 2016:276).

The modal verbs in Hajong are schematized as below:

Verb-INF + verb-TAM

- par ‘may’
- pa ‘be able’
- di ‘give’
- lag ‘need’

The modal *par* ‘may’ indicates the possibility and capability

- (153) a. moi abar idu-ni ah -ibo pare tumlu b^haŋf̃ara b^hala hik-ibuu par-e
I again here-LOC come-INF can you language good learn -INF can-PN
‘I may come here again to refresh my knowledge of your language.’

- b. oi idu-ni ah-ibuu par-e
he/she here-LOC come INF may-PN
‘He/She may come here.’

The modal *di* ‘give’ indicates a sense of permission.

- (154) a. oge gan go -wa -ba di
him/her song sing CAU-INF give
‘Let him/her sing a song.’

- b. umuge bakar maf dur -iuu guri ah -ibuu di
them many fish catch PCP return come INF give
‘Let them return from fishing with enough catch.’

- c. mas mar -a no -ha t^hokon bataf -dʒa -ge ah -ibuu na di -k
 fish catch-VN NEG become till wind -DEF -OBJ come INF NEG give- 2p
 ‘Let there be no wind till they return from fishing.’
- d. dʒ^hoto-g^hiluu pani lage umuu -ge ei bosor di
 enough -PL water need they -OBJ this year give
 ‘Let there be enough water for them this year.’

The modal *lag* indicates a sense of internal compulsion (obligation). It gives a sense of need to, must, should, want as in the example given below (155 a-f). The modal *lag-* is preceded by an infinitive and verbal noun.

- (155) a. moi tumluu kota -ra hik -ibuu lag -ibo
 I your language -DEF learn -INF should -FUT
 ‘I should come here to learn your language.’
- b. moi tumluu kota -ra buli dʒa-wa na -lag -e
 I your language -DEF forgot go-VN NEG should-PN
 ‘I shouldn’t forget your language.’
- c. toi dʒiduu koi moi ni -ba lag -ibo
 you what say I take -INF should-FUT
 ‘I should pick up what you say.’
- d. moi tola t^hikiuu bakar bustu hik -ibo lag-e
 I you from many things learn-INF need-PN
 ‘I have to learn many things from you.’
- e. kao-wa-ra mola somaiŋa ho -ba na -lag-e
 eat -VN-DEF my problem become- INF NEG- must-PN
 ‘Food must not be a problem for me.’

- f. moi idu hakle-ke ah -ibu lagi-bun
 I here early ADV come –INF should PST
 ‘I should have come here earlier.’

The modal *pa* indicates ‘should have’ or ‘be able’

- (156) a. moi tumlu kota -ra ko -ba pa-i
 I your language-DEF say –INF can-PN
 ‘I can speak your language.’
- b. moi tumlu kota -ra ko -ba na- pa-i
 I your language-DEF say –INF NEG-can-PN
 ‘I cannot speak your language.’
- c. mola biŋʰus ase dʒe tumlu bʰaŋʰa -la moi gramar lik -ibu pa-bo
 I confident be that your language-GEN I grammar write INF can-FUT
 ‘I am confident that I can write the grammar of your language.’
- d. moi ki idu -ni tʰak-ibu pa –bo
 I what here-LOC stay-INF can-FUT
 ‘May I stay with you here?’
- e. moi ki idu -ni boh -ibu pa –bo
 I what here-LOC sit -INF can-FUT
 ‘May I sit here?’

5.8. Non-Finite Verb Forms

Quirk (1972:724) defines “non-finite clauses as means of ‘syntactic expression’ in which the verb, as ‘-ing’ or ‘to infinitive’ functions as a predicate and the subject is omitted”. The non-finite forms of verbs do not take any tense, aspect, or mood. The non-finite forms of verbs in Hajong are given below.

5.8.1. Infinitives

The suffix *-ba* and *-buu* with an epenthetic */-i-/* is added to the verb stem in Hajong infinitive construction: *hun-ibuu* ‘to hear’, *tʰak-ibuu* ‘to stay’, *hik-ibuu* ‘to teach’, *ho-ba* ‘to become’, *kʰa-ba* ‘to eat’, *kamra-ba* ‘to bite’.

- (157) ola o-ge heŋa kur -ibuu ah -ise
they he-OBJ worship do -INF come -PFV
‘They came to worship him.’

Infinitives are used as complements of verbs of feeling, attitude, intent, etc. In verbs of thought and feeling infinitive *-ba* and *-buu* suffix to the main verb stems followed by the modal verb as in (158).

- (158) a. moi dʒa-ba ʃa -i
I go -INF want -PN
‘I want to go.’
- b. toi qʰər-bʰaj dʒa-ba ʃa i hoi na nohoi
you house-ALL go-INF want-PN yes or no
‘You want to go home, isn’t it?’
- c. muun-qʰilui kʰa-ba bʰala pa-i
people PL eat -INF like get-PN
‘Men love to eat.’
- d. oi putbol kela-ba bʰala pa-i
he football play -INF like get-PN
‘He likes to play football.’

The infinitive in construction with modal *-di* ‘give’ denoting hortative as in (158 e-g); *-pa* ‘may’, can express permission as in (158 h); *-par* ‘be able’, can express possibility; *-lag* ‘should’, expresses an obligation as in (158 j-k)

e. o-ge gahen gowa-ba di
 he-ACC song sing –INF give
 ‘Let him sing a song.’

f. umuu-ge kousui mari-buu -ge dʒa-ba di
 them OBJ turtle kill –INF ACC go INF give
 ‘Let them to go for turtle hunting.’

g. sore-ra-ge ɡʰɔr-ni tʰak-ibuu dʒaga di
 hen DEF OBJ house LOC stay-INF place give
 ‘Let the hen to take shelter in your house.’

Permission

h. moi ki iduu -ni tʰak-ibuu pa-bo
 I what here –LOC stay –INF may-FUT
 ‘May I stay with you here?’

Possibility

i. moi keli-buu par-e
 I play –INF can-PN
 ‘I might play’

Obligation

j. moi tumlu kota-ra hik-ibuu lag -ibo
 I your language-DEF learn-INF should-FUT
 ‘I should come here to learn your language.’

- k. *toi dʒidui koi moi ni -ba lag -ibo*
 you what say I take –INF should–FUT
 ‘I should pick up what you say.’

The infinitive *-wa* also functions as a nominal formative as in (158 l).

- l. *k^ha-wa ʃome mo-ge dakao*
 eat-INF time I -OBJ call
 ‘Call me when you are about to eat.’

5.8.2. Perfective Participles

There are two types of participles in Hajong: Imperfective and Perfective participles.

According to Phillips (2018:9) “the perfective conjunctive participle (PCP), also called a past participle, is formed by adding */-ia/* or */-iuu/* to the verb stem”. Conjunctive participles are used before the vectors in the compound verb, before some modal verbs, and on subordinate verbs indicating a series of events in a sentence.

Perfective conjunctive participles are used before the vectors in compound verbs as in (159 a)

- (159) a. *bək mit^hui-g^hilui oi k^ha -iuu pəla -se*
 Many sweets PL he/she eat- PCP throw PFV
 ‘He/She ate up all the sweets.’

Perfective Conjunctive participles clauses are also used in the adverbial sense as in (159 b – c)

- b. *drubo dɔur -iuu ah -ise*
 Drubo run PCP come-PFV
 ‘Drubo came running.’
- c. *drubo hahibur -iuu dʒa-se*
 Drubo laugh –PCP go PFV
 ‘Drubo went smilingly.’

Perfective conjunctive participles on subordinate verbs indicate a series of events in a sentence

- (160) a. mobil kul- iuu gahen hun -iuu badʒar -bʰaj dʒa -se
mobile open PCP song hear PCP market-ALL go-PFV
'Opening the mobile, hearing the song (i) went to market.'
- b. moi hotel - ni dal -bʰat kʰa -iuu poisuu di -uu auto ni -uu gʰər bʰaj
I hotel- LOC dal -rice eat-PCP money give-PCP Auto take-PCP house ALL
ah -ise.
come-PFV
'Having eaten dal rice from the hotel, giving the money, taking the auto I came to the house.'

It is also "used to express an action or process that co-occurs with the main verb" (David 2015:227).

- (161) a. kand-iuu hapal-la iskul bʰaj dʒa -se
cry- PCP child DEF school ALL go -PFV
'Crying, the child went to school.'
- b. ʃobdo hun-iuu ʃʰawa -ra uth -ise
noise hear-PCP boy DEF wake-PFV
'Hearing the noise, the boy woke up.'
- c. bhat kʰuu -iuu oi gʰuma -buu dʒa -le
rice eat PCP he sleep -INF go pst
'Having eaten his food, he went to sleep.'

The perfective participle also frequently reduplicated as in (162)

- (162) moi gʰur-iuu gʰur-iuu oi gʰər-ra dek-ise
I walk around RED that house DEF see-PFV
'I walked around and saw the house.'

5.8.3. Imperfective Participles

Phillips (2018-9) stated that the imperfective conjunctive participle in Hajong is *-te* which is used when the action indicated by the participle is happening at the same time as the action indicated by the main verb of the sentence.

Adverbial imperfective conjunctive participle */-te/* is mostly reduplicated as in (163 a- e)

- (163) a. hapal-la dʒa-ite dʒa-ite hurun hu-se
child –DEF walk –ICP RED tired get-PFV
‘The child got tired of walking.’

- b. kota ko-ite ko-ite ola ʃʰuk diu pani buuru-se
word say ICP RED her eye from water come-PFV
‘While she was talking tears came from her eyes.’

- c. rati dos badʒa-ite badʒa-ite dudʰnoi-ni tren ah-ise
night NUM time ICP RED Dudhnoi –LOC train come-PFV
‘The train reached Dudhnoi by the time it was 10 ‘0’clock at night.’

- d. oi pan besa-ite besa-ite buru hu-se
he beetle sell ICP RED old become-PFV
‘He became old selling beetles.’

- e. oi pan besa-ite besa-ite kota ku-se
he beetle sell ICP RED word speak-PFV
‘He spoke while selling beetles.’

Imperfect participles */-wate/* is used adverbially and added to a verb stem as in the example (163 f- g)

- f. iskul bʰaj dʒa-wate ʃʰawa-gʰilu kandi tʰak-ibun
school ALL go-contin child-PL cry be IMPFV
‘The children were crying while going to school.’

- g. oi sitar badʒa-wate oge bondo kor -a -le
 she sitar play -contin him stop do -CAU -PST ‘
 She stopped him while playing sitar.’

5.8.4. Conditional Participles

The markers of conditional participle is *-le* in Hajong. The conditional participle is used to “form conditional and temporal clauses which would be rendered in English as clauses with *if* or *when*” (David 2015:234).

- (164) a. amage log lag -iba tʃa -le (toi) bʰen -ni ah -ibuu lage
 us meet be-INF want COND you early morning-LOC come INF need
 ‘If you want to meet us, then you have to come early morning.’
- b. toi iduu -ni tʰak-ibuu pa -le amage bʰala lag-ibo
 you here-LOC stay INF can- COND we good get -FUT
 ‘If you could stay here, we will be happy.’
- c. mək ahe -le mwiur poki-ruu nas -ibo
 rain come-COND peacock bird -DEF dance FUT
 ‘When it rains, the peacock will dance.’

5.8.4. Verbal Noun

Verbal nouns are formed in Hajong by adding the suffixes *-a*, *-wa* and *-buu*. The verbal nouns can take classifiers and case endings. It can function as the subject of the sentences as in (165)

- (165) a. sikuur kor -a -ra ola prio ʃomoi kata
 hunt do-VN-DEF his favourite time past
 ‘Hunting is his favourite pastime.’
- b. bʰat ban -a age hak ʃobji kati ni-buu bʰala
 rice cook-VN before vegetables cut take-VN good
 ‘It’s good to cut vegetables before cooking rice.’

- c. hatri -buu -ruu ṽastor kane b^hala
 swim –VN –DEF health for good
 ‘Swimming is good for health.’
- d. mot k^ho -wa-ra idu-ni dʒurimana hoi
 wine drink –VN-DEF here-LOC offence be
 ‘Drinking alcohol here is an offence.’
- e. beam kor -a -ra ṽastor poke b^hala
 exercise do-VN-DEF health for good
 ‘Jogging is good for health.’
- f. b^hat bana -ba -ra mao -la kam
 rice cook –VN –DEF mother GEN work
 ‘Cooking is my mother’s profession’
- g. maṽ d^hor-a-ra mola kam
 fish catch –VN-DEF my- GEN work
 ‘Fishing is my profession’
- h. d^humpan kor -a -ra ṽastor poke opokari
 smoke do-VN-DEF health for injurious
 ‘Smoking is injurious to health’

“A verbal noun in the genitive is used to modify another noun” (David 2015:237).

- (166) a. k^ha-wa-la g^hor
 eat-VN-GEN
 ‘Dining room’
- b. d^han t^ho -wa -la g^hor
 rice keep –VN –GEN house
 ‘Granary house’

- c. k^ha -wa pani
eat -VN water
'Drinking water'

A verbal noun in "the nominative can be used as a passive participle to modify a noun"
(David 2015:237).

- (167) oi b^haj -a g^hor
that break-VN house
'that broken house'

The verbal noun in the passive construction is also formed by *-a* in the intransitive verb. This impersonal passive construction is followed by *be*, *become* or *go*.

- (168) ʃiti -ru di-a hu-se
letter DEF give-VN be-PFV
'The letter has been delivered.'

The genitive verbal noun can be followed by a postposition.

- (169) a. iskol - b^haj dʒa-wa-la age
School -ALL go-VN-GEN before
'before you go to school'
- b. dʒ^hogra lag -a -la pore sutruta bare
quarrel get -VN-GEN after enemy increase
'Enmity increases after quarrel.'

5.9. Adverbs

Adverbs are “those words that function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns” (Schachter 1985: 20). According to Koul (2008:129) “An adverb may precede an adjective, a verb, and sometimes another adverb as a qualifier or modifier”. In Hajong adverbs modify adjectives, verbs, and other adverbs. Morphologically, adverbs can be divided into three classes, viz., simple, complex, and compound.

5.9.1. Formal Adverbs

By form, adverbs can be classified into basic or derived adverbs.

5.9.1.1. Simple Adverbs

The basic adverbs are non-derived adverbs like age ‘ago’, uskuu ‘today’, kuulkuu ‘yesterday’, ela ‘now’, etc.

5.9.1.2. Derived Adverbs

Derived adverbs are formed by adding derivative suffixes *-ke*, *-e*, *-te*, *-ni* to the base form of an adjective and verb.

By adding locative ending */-ni/* to some adjectives and adverbs are formed as in the example below:

- | | | |
|----------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (170) a. | iduu ‘this/here (proximate)’ | iduu-ni ‘here (proximate)’ |
| b. | uduu ‘that/ there (distal)’ | uduu-ni ‘there (distal)’ |
| c. | hoduu ‘there (unseen)’ | hoduu-ni ‘there (unseen)’ |
| d. | iduu ‘this’ | iduu-ni ‘this way’ (direction) |
| e. | uduu ‘that’ | uduu-ni ‘that way’ (direction) |

The following manners of adverbs are derived from the demonstratives */i-/* and */u-/* representing the deictic near - far distinction.

- | | | |
|----------|-----------|----------------------------|
| (171) a. | i ‘this’ | ‘i-ŋkwui’ ‘in this manner’ |
| b. | u- ‘that’ | ‘u-ŋkwui’ ‘in that manner’ |

Some adverbs may also derive from an adjective and adverb by suffixing */-ke/* and */-te/*

- | | | |
|----------|---------------|--------------------|
| (172) a. | hakle ‘quick’ | hakle-ke ‘quickly’ |
|----------|---------------|--------------------|

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| b. nisu ‘silent’ | nisu-ke ‘silently’ |
| c. diri ‘late’ | dire-ke ‘lately’ |
| e. dʒur ‘fast’ | dʒur-ke ‘speedily’ |
| f. b ^h ala ‘good’ | b ^h ala-ke ‘well’ |
| g. husui ‘certain’ | husui-ke ‘certainly’ |
| h. potpota ‘bright’ | potpota-ke ‘brightly’ |
| i. hotad ‘sudden’ | hotad –te ‘suddenly/immediately’ |
| j. age ‘early’ | age-te ‘earlier’ |

The adverbial suffix /-e/ added to the adjective and reduplicated form functions as an adverb.

- (173) a. dʒur ‘loud’ dʒur-e ‘loudly’
 b. ʃ^hohos ‘easy’ ʃ^hohos-e ‘easily’
 c. protom ‘first’ protom-e ‘firstly’

The reduplicated verbal adverb is formed by adding the adverbial suffixes /-ke/, /-i/ and /-e/ as in the example below:

- (174) a. oi mit^hu mit^hu -ke gan goai
 She sweet RED ADV song sing
 ‘She sings melodiously.’

- b. oi aste aste bera
 He slow slow walk
 ‘He walks slowly.’

A set of Hajong adverbs is also derived from verbs using /-i/, /-iu/, /-ia/ and /-te/ to the root verb in the sequential and simultaneous converbal constructions in the syntactic construction functioning as manner adverbs.

- (175) a. oi kahi kahi mor-ile
 He cough PCP RED die-PST
 ‘He coughed and coughed and died.’

b. k^ha-iu
eat –PCP
‘Having eaten’

c. k^ha-ite
eat ICP
‘while eating’

5.9.2. Functional Adverbs

Adverbs can be classified according to various functions. Semantically, adverbs can be divided into the following subclasses according to their frequency, time, way, place, and degree.

5.9.2.1. Adverbs of Manner

Givon (2001:88) states that “manner adverbs typically modify or add to the meaning of the verb”. The adverbs of manner answer the question *how*? Thompson (2010:218). In Hajong, the adverbs of manner answer the question of *keŋka* ‘how’ in a non-specific manner of *iŋkui* ‘in this manner/in such a way’; *uŋkui* ‘in that manner/ in such a way/reason’. Such adverbs are derived from demonstrative pronouns /-i/ ‘this’ and /-u/ ‘that’. The following manners of adverbs are derived from the demonstratives representing the deictic near-far distinction.

- (176) a. iŋkui ‘in this manner’
b. uŋkui ‘in that manner’
c. keŋka ‘in what manner’
d. d͡ʒiŋkui ‘in which manner’

Some of the specific adverbs of manner include the following:

- (177) a. hakle-ke ‘quickly’
b. aste aste ‘gradually’/slowly’
c. d͡ʒure ‘fast, loud’
d. d͡ʒur-ke ‘by force’
e. huusui-ke ‘perforce, of course’

f. ʃʰoho-se ‘easily’

g. hotad –te ‘suddenly/immediately’

Manner adverbs may also derive from an adjective by suffixing /-ke/

(178) dʒur ‘fast’ dʒur-ke ‘speedily’

Manner adverbs derived from a verb by adding the sequential suffix *-ia*, *-iuu* in a perfective participle and *-te* to the imperfective participles

(179) a. oi dourai-te dourai-te hurun hu-se
 he/she run ICP RED tire get -PFV
 ‘He got tired of running.’

b. dek-iuu oi gʰər bʰitur-ni dʒa-se
 see-PCP he house inside go PFV
 ‘Having seen he went inside the house.’

5.9.2.2. Adverbs of Degree/Intensity

Adverbs enhance and modify adjectives, verbs, and other adverbs as tʰamto/kub ‘very, too,’ in Hajong.

tʰamto/kub ‘very, too’.

- (180) a. tʰamto daŋor ‘extremely big’
 b. tʰamto gorom ‘extremely hot/ overheated’
 c. tʰamto huru ‘extremely small’
 d. tʰamto ʃʰalak ‘overly clever’
 e. kub sundor ‘very beautiful’
 f. kub taratari ‘very fast’
 g. kub kai ‘(He/She) eats a lot’

bakar ‘many, too much’

- (181) a. bakar salak ‘too clever’
 b. bakar kutin ‘extremely difficult’

(182) bebak ‘entirely / totally’

(183) matro ‘only’

5.9.2.3. Adverbs of Place

Place adverbs indicating either location or direction are derived from demonstrative pronouns *iduu* ‘this’, *uduu* ‘that’, *hoduu* ‘that (unseen)’ with the locative case suffix *-ni* as illustrated below.

- (184) a. *iduu-ni* ‘here (proximate)’
b. *uduu-ni* ‘there (distal)’
c. *hoduu-ni* ‘there (unseen)’

The adjectives of direction are used as adverbial with the locative ending

- (185) a. *b^hato* ‘right’
b. *debra* ‘left’
c. *iduu-ni* ‘this way’
d. *uduu-ni* ‘that way’
e. *ei pale* ‘on this side’
f. *oi pale* ‘on that side’

The adjective *ʃ^hodʒa* ‘straight, honest, simple’ is used for directions as a place of adverb

- (186) *ʃ^hodʒa dʒa*
straight go
‘go straight’

The word *dur* ‘distance’ has the following adverbial uses

- (187) a. *eto dur* ‘so far’
b. *olpo dur* ‘close by’
c. *baka dur* ‘any distance’
d. *bek dʒaga* ‘everywhere’

5.9.2.4. Adverbs of Time

The adverbs which indicate the time of action, event and state of the verb are the adverbs of time. The independent (non-derived) time adverbials denoting a point in time are listed below:

Days and parts of the days

- (188) a. dʒawa kuulkuu ‘yesterday’
b. aha kuulkuu ‘tomorrow’
c. kuulkuu ‘yesterday/ tomorrow’
d. puhudinuu ‘day after tomorrow’
e. dinuu ‘day’
f. maorati ‘midnight’
g. rati puwai ‘to dawn’
h. dholpohor ‘dawn’
i. nail bhiyun ‘early morning’
j. bhiyun ‘very early morning’
k. din diphur ‘noon’
l. bela pathi ‘evening’
m. rati ‘night’
n. dinni ‘everyday’
o. dinni rati ‘day and night’

Years

- (189) a. bosor ‘year’
b. aha bosor ‘this year’
c. dʒawa bosor ‘next year’

Other time adverbials

- (190) a. hakle ‘early’
b. b^hola ‘particular time’
c. age ‘before’
d. ela ‘now’
e. ela pore ‘next time’
f. pore ‘later on (short period of time)’
g. bakar daban ‘later on (long period of time)’
h. abar ‘again’
i. kunufome ‘sometimes’
j. hokolfome ‘forever’

Time

- (191)
- a. sowa ‘quarter after; for telling time’
 - b. pone ‘quarter to; for telling time’
 - c. g^honta ‘hour’
 - d. badʒe ‘o'clock’
 - e. f̣eṣome ‘last time’
 - f. daman ‘a while; short time’
 - g. d^homok ‘moment; a whole hour’
 - h. tapon ‘a while; for the time being’
 - i. bhubisot ‘future’
 - j. f̣omai ‘time’
 - k. son ‘year’

5.9.2.5. Adverbs of frequency:

The adverbs of frequency are the following:

hokol somoi ‘always’:

- (192)
- a. it is time adverbials when they combined with stative verbs
 - oi hokol f̣ome rag hoi
she every time angry be
‘She is always angry.’
 - b. it is adverbs of frequency with active verbs
 - oi hokol f̣ome mo-ge kamrai
she every time I-OBJ bit
‘She is always biting me.’

The other adverbs of frequency are the following:

- (193)
- a. komkome ‘rarely’
 - b. dinni ‘everyday’, ‘daily’,
 - c. prai ‘often’
 - d. bar ‘time’
 - e. bakar bar ‘many times’

- f. ek bar ‘once’
- g. bare bare ‘repeatedly’
- h. hokolsome ‘regularly’
- i. fomoi fomoi ‘occasionally’
- j. sadiron-te ‘usually’

5.10. Postpositions

According to David (2015:157) “collectively known as *adpositions*, postpositions and prepositions are words that occur in construction with the noun phrases to mark their grammatical function or relationship to other words within their NP or clause”. The postposition in Hajong is given below.

5.10.1. Postpositions including case markers

upurni ‘above’

- (194) a. tebul upur-ni kara ho
 teble above-LOC stand be
 ‘Stand on the table.’
- b. boi -ruu tebul upur -ni t^hak -e
 book-DEF table above LOC stay-PN
 ‘The book is on the table.’

tol b^haj ‘below, beneath’

- (195) a. pritibi-ruu tol b^haj
 earth DEF beneath ALL
 ‘The earth is below.’
- b. oi gas tol-ni g^humui
 he tree under-LOC sleep
 ‘He sleeps under the tree.’

kola b^haj ‘nearby’

- (196) gaŋ kola b^haj ai
river near ALL come
‘Come from near the river.’

upur diu ‘over’

- (197) a. ora bera upur diu pal par-e
they fence above over jump can-PN
‘They jump over the fence.’

b. ora bera upur diu pal par-e
they fence above over jump can-PN
‘Jump over the fence.’

upur b^haj ‘up’

- (198) akas upur b^haj
sky up ALL
‘The sky is above.’

kolate ‘near’

- (199) a. moi gas kolate as-e
I tree near be-PN
‘I am near the tree.’

b. mola kolate dʒaga rak^h-ik
my near seat take-2P. IMP
‘Take a seat by my side.’

pakb^haj ‘away from’

- (200) oi gas-la pak bhaj as-e
he tree DEF away ALL be-PN
‘He is away from the trees.’

bakadur ‘far away’

- (201) moi gas-la bakadur as-e
I tree DEF far away be-PN
‘I’m far away from the tree.’

pore ‘after’

- (202) oi ek sopta pore ah -ibo
he NUM week after come –FUT
‘He will come after a week.’

biturte ‘within’

- (203) ek g^honta biturte ai
one hour within come
‘Come within an hour.’

ag ‘before’

- (204) oi tola ag hari -ni as -e
he you before line-LOC be-PN
‘He is before you in the line.’

agote ‘before’

- (205) toi kam-ra kur -ibuu -luu ag -ote ora kur-ise
you work DEF do-INF –GEN before ADV they do-PFV
‘He did the work before you did.’

ag b^haj ‘in front’

- (206) mola g^hor-ra diglɯ gas ag b^haj
my house-DEF tall tree in front
‘My house is in front of the tall tree.’

pasb^haj ‘behind’

- (207) a. kukul-lɯ mola pas-b^haj ah-ise
dog DEF my behind come-PFV
‘The dog came behind me.’
- b. mola g^hor-ra diglɯ gas pas b^haj
my house-DEF tall tree in behind
‘My house is behind a tall tree.’

t^hakan ‘until’

- (208) moi idu-ni tak-ibo toi nah-ibɯ t^hakan
I here –LOC stay-FUT NEG-INF still
‘I will stay here until you come.’

logon ‘along’

- (209) oi mola logon ah-ise
he me with come-PFV
‘He came along with me.’

elao ‘till’

- (210) a. kam-ra elao kora nui hoi
work DEF till do NEG be
‘The work was not done till now.’

b. oge elao sengra nehen deke
 he still young like look
 ‘He seems still young.’

thikiu ‘from, of’

(211) oi g^hər bitur thikiu ah-ile
 he house inside from come-PST
 ‘He came out of the house.’

b^haj ‘through/to’

(212) oi ʃodʒa pahar b^haj dʒa-se
 he straight forest ALL go-PFV
 ‘He went through the forest.’

b^hiturni ‘inside’

-ni ‘in/at’

(213) a. oi gas tol-la saina-ni dʒirui
 he tree tall shadow LOC rest
 ‘He takes rest under the shadow of the tree.’

b. moi sulmari-ni take
 I Sulmari-LOC stay
 ‘I stay at Sulmari.’

5.10.2. Postpositions including instrumental case

diu ‘by, through’

(214) a. tir dunuk diu mo -ge akromon kor -ise
 arrow INST me OBJ attack do- PFV
 ‘I was attacked by an arrow’.

- b. $\widehat{f}$ or -la darai g^hor- ke pora di -le
 dacoits- GEN by house- OBJ burn give PST
 ‘The house was burnt by the dacoits.’

niuu ‘with, concerning’

bisoiye ‘about, concerning, in relation to’

- (215) ei bisoi-ye
 this concern
 ‘Concerning this’

5.10.3. Postpositions including no particular case

dokon/ nehen ‘similar’

- (216) bina rina dokon
 Bina Rina like
 ‘Rina is like Bina.’

karone ‘for, on account of, due to’

- (217) mola karone d $\widehat{z}$ ogra -ra hu-buun
 my account quarrel –DEF get PST
 ‘On account of me there was a quarrel.’

pord $\widehat{z}$ onto ‘till, until, upto’

- (218) tumluu b^ha^fa -ra na -hiki -ke pord $\widehat{z}$ onto moi na-d $\widehat{z}$ a-bo
 your language –DEF NEG-learn ADV until I NEG –go-FUT
 ‘Until I learn your language I will not go.’

totapi ‘still’

- (219) oi totapi ah-ibuu pare
 he still come-INF can
 ‘He may still come.’

5.11. Interrogative Words

The interrogatives signal “that utterance is a question” (David 2015: 150). The interrogative words can be pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs. In Hajong, *kui* ‘who’, *ki* ‘what’ function as a pronoun, *kene* ‘why’, *keŋka* ‘how’, *kumai* ‘where’, *kunsome* ‘when’, *kundinur* ‘when, on what day’ function as adverb, *koto* ‘how much’, *kotog^hilu* ‘how many’, *kun* ‘which’ function as adjectives and *ki* ‘interrogative particle’. All these interrogative words are discussed as given below.

- ***ki* ‘interrogative particle’**

The interrogative particle *ki* can include negative particle *–na* to show the meaning ‘whether or not’ as in the example (220 a, b and c)

(220) a. *toi ki ah-ibo*

you Q come-FUT

‘Will you come?’

b. *toi ku^lku^l idu^l -ni ah -ibo naki*

you yesterday here-LOC come FUT NEG .Q

‘Will you be here tomorrow?’

c. *moi toge ku^lku^l dakabo naki*

I you tomorrow call NEG.Q

‘Shall I call you tomorrow?’

- ***kui* ‘who’**

The interrogative pronoun *kui* ‘who’ is used for humans and *ki* ‘what’ for non-human.

(221) a. *oi kui*

he who

‘Who is he?’

b. tola logon kwi ah-ibo
 you COM who come-FUT
 ‘Who will come with you?’

c. kwi dʒane
 who know
 ‘Who knows?’

The plural is marked by reduplication

d. idu-ni kwi kwi ase
 here –LOC who who be
 ‘How many are here?’

e. tum -lu gʰɔr-ni kwi kwi ah-ise
 your -GEN house- who who come-PFV
 ‘Who (all) have come to your place last night?’

- **ki ‘what’** is for non-human nouns

(222) a. idu ki
 this what
 ‘What is this?’

b. tola ki nam
 your what name
 ‘What is your name?’

c. idu ki kʰa-ba bʰala
 this Q eat-INF good
 ‘Is it good to eat?’

d. toi ki kore
 you Q do
 ‘what do you do?’

e. toi ki k^hai
you Q eat
‘what you eat?’

f. ora ki maʃ dor -ibo dʒa-bo
they Q fish catch INF go FUT
‘Are they going fishing?’

• **kala ‘whose’**

(223) a. kala g^hor idu
whose house that
‘Whose house is that?’

b. drubo ka-logon t^hake
drubo whom with stay
‘With whom is Drubo staying?’

c. kala idu ʃaikel
whose this cycle
‘Whose cycle is this?’

• **koto ‘how much’**

The variant form of *koto* is *koi* with a shortened form *ko*. It can take classifiers and plural marker *koto-g^hilui* ‘how many’, *koi-dʒon* ‘how many’ for counting people.

(224) toi koto g^hilui pa-se
you how much get-PFV
‘How much did you get?’

koi is also used in the compounds

koi bar ‘how many times?’

koi dinnu ‘how many days?’

koi bosor ‘how many years?’

- **kunsome ‘when’**

(225) a. kun ʃomai kaou dokre

when time crow crow

‘When does the cock crow?’

b. toi kun ʃome dʒa-bo

you when time go-FUT

‘When will you go?’

c. toi pahar tʰikiu kun ʃomai ah-ise

you forest from when time come-PFV

‘When did you return from the forest?’

d. toi bʰenni kota ʃomoi utʰ-ibo

you morning when time get FUT

‘When will you get up in the morning?’

e. toi kun somoi maʃ dʰur-ibo dʒa-bo

you when time fish catch INF go-FUT

‘When will you go for fishing?’

- **kundinu ‘when, on what day’**

(226) toi kundinu ah-ibo

you when come-FUT

‘When are you coming?’

- **kun ‘which’**

(227) a. kun gʰor -ra noia-ke bana-wa

which house –DEF new-ADV build-CAU

‘Which of the houses is the newly built one?’

b. kunduu ola g^hor
 which DEF his house
 ‘Which is his house?’

c. kun kukul-g^hiluu-luu dokre
 which dog-PL-DEF howling
 ‘Which one of the dogs is howling?’

• **kɛŋka ‘how’**

(228) a. tola baba kɛŋka
 your father how
 ‘How is your father?’

b. toi kɛŋka as-e
 you how be-PN
 ‘How are you?’

c. tola ʔ^hawa sota kɛŋka as-e
 your child how be-PN
 ‘How are your children?’

• **kumai ‘where’**

(229) tola g^hor kumai
 your house where
 ‘Where is your house?’

• **kene ‘why’**

(230) a. kukul-g^hiluu-luu kene dokre
 dog-PL-DEF why howl
 ‘Why do the dogs howl?’

- b. toi kene pahar b^haj dʒa-i
 you why forest ALL go- PN
 ‘Why do you go to the forest?’

5.12. Conjunctions

According to David (2015: 164) “conjunctions connect two or more words or larger constituents –noun phrases, verb phrases, clause and express a syntactic and semantic relationship between them”. Based on their function, conjunctions in Hajong can be divided into coordinating, subordinating, and correlative conjunctions.

5.12.1. Coordinating Conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions join equal grammatical structures to one another. Most of the coordinating conjunctions in Hajong are similar to Bangla with some vowel changes or adding of a vowel. The coordinating conjunctions in Hajong is the following.

aro ‘and’

- (231) a. t̪^hawa-g^hiluu b^hat aro tanda pani k^ha-le
 child –PL rice and cold water eat -PST
 ‘Children ate and drank cold water.’
- b. mola dada aro buiruu bajar dʒa -se
 my brother and sister market go -PFV
 ‘My brother and sister have gone to the market.’
- c. toi aro moi
 you and me
 ‘You and me’

ba ‘or’

- (232) tora dui ba tin -dʒon akeloge ah -ibuu pa -bo
 You two and three -CL together come –INF can -FUT
 ‘You two or three together can come.’

na ‘or’

In interrogative sentences the negative marker /-na/ can be used as a conjunctive meaning ‘or’

(233) idu na udu

this or that

‘Is this one or that one?’

ki ‘or’

It expresses doubt and uncertainty as in the example (234).

(234) oi b^hat k^ha -bo ki na

he rice eat- FUT or not

‘He will eat or not?’

kina ‘whether or not’

(235) toi dʒa-bo kina na dʒa -bo

you go-FUT whether NEG go-FUT

‘Will you go or not?’

kintu ‘but’

(236) a. moi age k^hu - buun kintu ela na -k^ha -i

I before drink -PST but now NEG- eat-PN

‘I used to drink, but now I stopped.’

b. oi mola b^hat -ra ka-ba pai kintu mola busuli-ruu no-hoi

he my rice DEF eat can but mine clothe DEF NEG-be

‘He may take my food but he will never take my clothes.’

c. puisu dorkar kintu udu bakt^hi na -lag-e

money necessary but it everything NEG need-PN

‘Money is necessary, but it is not everything.’

karone ‘therefore; so’

- (237) a. rabi -luu b^hog lag -bun karone bek b^hada b^hat k^ha -ise
rabi NOM rice hungry PST so stomach full rice eat -PFV
‘Ravi was hungry so he ate all the rice.’
- b. ḡ^hawa -ra b^hog lag -ise karone kand-i ase
child NOM hungry get PFV so cry PROF be
‘The baby is hungry so she is crying.’
- c. ḡor -ra aste -aste daoruu -se karone dora por-ise
thief NOM slowly -RED run PST so caught get- PFV
‘The thief was caught because he ran slowly.’

5.12.2. Subordinating Conjunctions

The subordinating conjunction joins a clause to another of unequal rank. The subordinating conjunctions of Hajong are the following:

ḡen ‘so that’

- (238) toi b^hala -ke tak ḡen dikdari no-hoi
you good ADV stay so that trouble NEG- be
‘You stay safe so that you won’t be in trouble.’

ḡe ‘that; so that’

- (239) mola buni-ruu kule ḡe ḡ^hawa rati-ni ḡ^horma mək por-ise
my sister-DEF said that last night-LOC heavy rainfall -PFV
‘My sister told me that it rained heavily last night.’

ḡiduu ‘where’

- (240) ḡ^hiduu-te na-ḡ^hai amruu ei ḡ^haga -la niomluu man-ibo
whenever NEG-go we this place-DEF rule-GEN follow -FUT
‘Wherever we go we will follow the customs of the area.’

dʒui ‘when’

- (241) dʒui fɔmai iskul luu suti - huse peon -du dʒa- se -guu
when time school GEN over can peon NOM go-PFV-EMP
‘The peon left when the school was over.’

dʒudi ‘if’

- (242) a. oi dʒa -bo dʒudi toi koi
he go Fut if you say
‘He will go if you ask him to go.’
- b. dʒudi belab^hati mek na -he amruu badʒar b^haj dʒa-bo
if evening rain NEG come we market ALL go -FUT
‘If it does not rain in the evening, we shall go to the market.’

karone ‘because’

- (243) a. oi guri ah -ibo karone ola mao -ra basi t^hak-ibo pa-se
he back come -INF because his mother DEF survive stay-INF can-PFV
‘Because of his coming back his mother could survive.’
- b. mek ahi taka karone amruu ei dʒaga -ra gur-ibu na-pa-bo
rain come because we this place -DEF roam-INF NEG can -FUT
‘Because it is raining we cannot roam out of this place.’

tothapi ‘yet’

- (244) tora idu-ni t^hak-ibuun tothapi toi nisu-ke t^hak-ise
you here-LOC stay- PST yet you quiet ADV stay -PFV
‘You (pl) were there, yet you kept quiet.’

nohole ‘otherwise’

- (245) alda -dʒon -ge sohaikor nohole ora toke sohai na-kor-iba
other CLA -OBJ help otherwise they you help NEG- FUT
‘Help others, otherwise they won’t help you.’

5.12.3. Correlative Conjunctions

The correlative conjunction is few as in the given below.

nohole ‘either-or’

- (246) a. oi nohole moi nidʒui abar idu-ni ah-ibo
he either I myself again here-LOC come-FUT
‘Either he or myself will come here again.’
- b. oi nohole moi oi dʒaga tʰikiu na-dʒa-bo
he neither I this place from NEG go-FUT
‘Neither he nor I will leave this place.’

dʒoto-kon toto-kon ‘as long as’

- (247) tʰawa -ra dʒoto-kon kʰawai toto-kon na -kande
child DEF as long as feed as long as NEG -cry
‘The baby will not cry as long as you feed her.’

5.13. Particles

In Hajong there are different kinds of particles; which include the question particle, emphatic particle, inclusive and exclusive particles.

5.13.1. Question Particles

Question particles include the negative particle /na/ and the particle /ki/ which mostly indicates yes or no question. The negative particles /na/ and /ki/ are interchangeable. The negative particle /na/ occurs only in the final position of the sentence but the particle /ki/ can occur in the middle and final position of the sentence.

- (248) a. toi hadʒon na
you Hajong Q
‘Are you Hajong?’

- b. oi ki ola dʒ^heu
 she Q your daughter
 ‘Is she your daughter?’
- c. oi ola dʒ^heu na
 she your daughter Q
 ‘Is she your daughter?’
- d. idu ki tola g^hor
 this Q your house
 ‘Is this your house?’
- e. idu tola g^hor na
 this your house Q
 ‘Is this your house?’
- f. toi ki u-b^haj dʒa -bo
 you Q there ALL go-FUT
 ‘Will you go there?’
- g. toi dudhnoi dʒa-bo na
 you Dudhnoi go -FUT Q
 ‘Are you coming to Dudhnoi?’
- h. oi tola mut^hwi na
 he your headman Q
 ‘Is he your headman?’
- i. toi idu mo -ge kini dibo pa -bo na
 you it me-OBJ purchase give-FUT Q
 ‘Can you purchase it for me?’

j. ami dʒaŋ na
 we go Q
 ‘Shall we move?’

k. moi bi^hur b^haj ahi -buu pa-bo -na
 I inside ALL come -INF can-FUT Q
 ‘May I come in?’

5.12.2. Emphatic particles

The emphatic particle in Hajong is /-i/, /-o/

- The emphatic particle /-i/

(249) a. ela-i k^ho
 now EMPH say
 ‘say just now’

b. ola kotara kunudu-i mani no -noi
 his word never EMPH agree NEG-take
 ‘Never agree with his words.’

c. idu -i ase
 here EMPH be
 ‘Here it is.’

d. udu-i gari
 that EMPH car
 ‘That car’

- The particle /-o/

The particle /-o/ conveys the emphatic meaning in the conjunction as in the following way

dʒodi ‘if’	dʒodi-o ‘even if, although’
nohole ‘then’	nohole-o ‘nevertheless’
ela ‘now’	ela-o ‘still’

- (250) a. $\widehat{d\zeta}udi$ -o toi na -he moi $\widehat{d\zeta}a$ -bo
 even if –EMPH you NEG come I go -FUT
 ‘Even if you doesn’t come i will go’
- b. drubo ela -o nuui ah-e
 Drubo still EMPH NEG come-PN
 ‘Still, Drubo is not coming.’

5.12.3. Inclusive particles

The particle /-o /

- (251) a. moi - o udu-ni $\widehat{d\zeta}a$ -i
 I INCL there-LOC go-PN
 ‘I too go there.’
- b. ram-o $\widehat{d\zeta}a$ -i
 Ram –INCL go-PN
 ‘Rama also came.’
- c. moi o-gin -o daka-se
 I he-OBJ INCL call PFV
 ‘I called him also’

5.13.4. Exclusive particles

- The exclusive particle /- $\widehat{t}^ha$ /

- (252) moi to -ge - $\widehat{t}^ha$ daka-se o-ge no-ho-i
 I you ACC EXCL call –PFV he-OBJ NEG-be-PN
 ‘I called only you not him.’

The particle /-ba/

Besides the above particles, there are the particles like -ba and - $\widehat{d\zeta}a$.

The particle –ba

The particle -ba comes before the interrogatives as in (253)

- (253) biyu ho -le timud-du -ba ki ho -bo
 marriage be-COND girl DEF PART what be-FUT
 ‘What would happen to the girl after marriage?’

The particle /dʒa/

It is used in exclamation as in (254)

- (254) kahol -la dʒa- mituna
 jackfruit DEF so sweet
 ‘The jackfruit is so sweet!’

5.13. Summary

We have discussed the major word classes such as Noun, Adjective, Verb, Adverb, and the inflection, derivational morphological processes of word-formation in this chapter. Hajong has two numbers system: singular and plural. Hajong possesses the natural gender system and the inanimate noun generally do not show gender distinction. Hajong has a nominative-accusative alignment case system. We found eight case markers in Hajong: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, locative, allative, ablative, and instrument. Hajong classifiers are bound morpheme, suffixes to noun stem before the case markers, to deictics, to quantifiers. They define countability, definiteness, semantic identification about shape, amount, and humanness. The classifier - dʒon is used in Hajong to indicate human beings especially when the people are being enumerated or counted. Non-human nouns it is indicated with /-ra/ when the counting is one and six, but for counting of two to seven, it has different classifiers attached to it. The complex noun is derivation, compounding and reduplication. The compound nouns are formed with the combination of nouns and nouns; an adjective and noun. The noun can be derived from adjectives, nouns and verbs. The types of reduplicated structures in Hajong comprises morphological reduplication and lexical reduplication. Hajong distinguishes three persons, two numbers, and the personal pronouns are inflected

for case roles. The Pro-forms in Hajong demonstrative pronouns has proximate: / i-duu, ei/ 'this', u-gluu 'those' and distal: /u-duu,ui/ 'that', i-gluu 'these'. The relative pronouns in Hajong are dʒui 'who' (human) and dʒi 'what' (non-human). The interrogative pronouns for humans are /kui/ 'who' and for non-human is /ki/ 'what'. Indefinite pronouns are formed by adding the morpheme /-ba/ and particle /-u/ to the interrogative pronoun: /kai -ba/ 'someone' and ki-ba 'something'; /kai-u/ 'no one' and /kiʃu/ 'nothing'.

The main types of adjectives are physical attributes, quantifying, numeral, ordinal; possessive adjectives; distributive adjectives; interrogative adjectives; deictic (demonstrative) adjectives. Positive degree construction contains postposition of comparison *neke-nui* 'like as'. Comparative construction consists of noun with or without genitive *-luu* + postposition *ʃuiyu* / *ʃuite* 'than' as a standard of comparison, followed by an adjective. Superlative degree construction contains the pronoun *hobala* 'everything /everyone and the postposition of comparison *hobala ʃuiyu* /*sob ʃuiyu* 'than/of all'. Determiners (such as demonstrative, possessive, classifier and quantifier) precede a noun to provide information of quantity, specificity and ownership.

Simple verbs, conjunct verbs, and compound verbs are the three main types of verbs in Hajong. The most used verbs in conjunct constructions are /howa/ 'become', /kora/ 'do'. Hajong compound verbs are a combination of the semantically main verb in the form of perfective conjunctive participle and the vector verb. The verb *as* 'have/exist', *tʰak* 'have/stay', *ho* 'became' functions as equational, existential, possessive, and location copula in Hajong. Tense system in Hajong can be categorized into three-way distinction of tenses: present, past and future: past tense: /-le/ /-ile/; present tense: /-e/; future tense: /-bo/, imperfective aspect /-bun/ and perfective aspect /-se/. In Hajong, morphologically, there are four types of moods: indicative, imperative, prohibitive and contrafactive. Modality is

partially concerned with epistemic categories of realis/irrealis, necessity, possibility, obligation, permission, certainty, etc. The modal verbs in Hajong are schematized as below: Verb-INF + verb-TAM. The modals in Hajong are par ‘may’; pa ‘be able’; di ‘give’; and lag ‘need’. Infinitives are marked by /-ba/ and /-buu/. verbal nouns: /-a/, /-wa/ can take case endings, classifiers and in the genitive used to modify another noun.

Adverbs modify verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs. Derived adverbs are formed by adding derivative suffixes *-ke*, *-e*, *-te*, *-ni* to the base form of an adjective, and verb. Semantically, adverbs have the following subclasses: time, frequency, manner, place, and degree. The interrogative words can be pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. In Hajong, *kui* ‘who’, *ki* ‘what’ function as a pronoun, *kene* ‘why’, *kenka* ‘how’, *kumai* ‘where’, *kunsome* ‘when’, *kundinu* ‘when, on what day’ function as an adverb, *koto* ‘how much’, *kotog^hilu* ‘how many’, *kun* ‘which’ function as adjectives and *ki* ‘interrogative particle’. Based on their function conjunction in Hajong can be divided into coordinating, subordinating and correlative conjunctions. In Hajong there are different kinds of particles; which include the question particle, emphatic particle, inclusive and exclusive particles.

CHAPTER 6: SYNTAX

6.0. Introduction

This chapter examines salient aspects of Hajong syntax, its constituent order, phrases, clauses, and sentences. Section 6.2 studies the structure of phrases: the noun phrase, the adjective phrase, the prepositional phrase, the adverb phrase, and the verb phrase. Section 6.3 discusses subordinate clauses: the noun clause, the relative clause, the adverbial clause and the coordination. Section 6.4 deals with the negation. Section 6.5 and 6.6 consists of interrogative and imperative sentences of Hajong.

6.1. Constituent Order

Hajong is an SOV language. The basic canonical word order in Hajong's declarative sentence is subject, indirect object, direct object, and verb, where auxiliary and modal verbs come after the main verb.

Constituent order in Hajong

a. Intransitive (subject-verb)

The auxiliary verb follows the main verb.

- (1) oi k^ha-i as-e
he/she eat-PROG be -PN
'He/She is eating.'

b. Monotransitive (subject-object-verb)

- (2) moi b^hat k^ha-i
I rice eat -PN
'I eat rice.'

c. Ditransitive (subject-indirect object- direct object –verb)

The indirect object precedes the direct object.

- (3) drubo o-ge eg -ra ʃiti di -se
Drubo he OBJ NUM CL letter give PFV
'Drubo gave a letter to him.'

d. Complex transitive (subject-object – object complement – verb)

- (4) drubo timud-duu-ge t^hamto sunduri lag-ise
Drubo girl –DEF-OBJ very beautiful get-PFV
‘Drubo found the girl very beautiful.’

e. Adjuncts occur between subject and verb

- (5) moi drubo-ge kulkui dek-ise
I Drubo-OBJ yesterday see-PFV
‘I saw Drubo yesterday.’

The time adverbials precede place adverbials

- (6) a. moi to -la logon belapathⁱ pa-dʒa fomoⁱ dud^hnoi –ni deka kor-ibo
I you -GEN with evening 5-CL time Dudhnoi-LOC meet do -FUT
‘I will meet you at 5 o’clock in the evening at Dudhnoi.’

Some other syntactic features of Hajong as an SOV language are:

Like other SOV languages, Hajong has postpositions

- (7) mo-la iskul-lui diglui gas ag b^haj
I –GEN school-DEF tall tree front ALL
‘My school is in front of the tall tree.’

The genitive precedes the governing noun

- (8) drubo-la boi
Drubo-GEN book
‘Drubo’s book’.

The word order of Hajong is not rigid but a flexible constituent word order which is discussed in the sentence level given below.

SOV → SVO/ OVS/VSO/VOS

- (9) a. moi d^haru k^hai [SOV]
I wine drink
‘I drink wine.’

b. moi k^hai d^haru [SVO]

I drink wine

‘I drink wine.’

c. d^haru k^hai moi [OVS]

wine drink i

‘I drink wine.’

d. k^hai moi d^haru [VSO]

drink I wine

‘I drink wine.’

e. k^hai d^haru moi [VOS]

drink wine i

‘I drink wine’.

S IO DO V —————> S DO IO V/ IO DO SV/ DO S IO V/ IO S DO V

S IO DO V [Indirect object precedes the direct object]

(10) a. oi mo-ge puisuu di-se

he/she i-OBJ money give-PFV

‘He/She gave me money.’

S DO IO V [direct object precedes the indirect object]

(11) a. oi puisuu mo-ge di-se

he/she money I -OBJ give-PFV

‘He/She gave me money.’

IO DO SV

- (12) a. mo-ge puisu oi di-se
i-OBJ money he/she give-PFV
'To me, he/she gave money.'

DO S IO V

- (13) a. puisu-ru oi mo-ge di-se
money -DEF he/she i-OBJ give-PFV
'The money, he/she gave me.'

IO S DO V

- (14) a. mo-ge oi puisu di -se
i-OBJ he/she money give-PFV
'To me he/she gave money.'

6.1. Structure of Phrases

The structure of phrases included noun phrase, adjective phrase, prepositional phrase, adverb phrase, and verb phrase in Hajong.

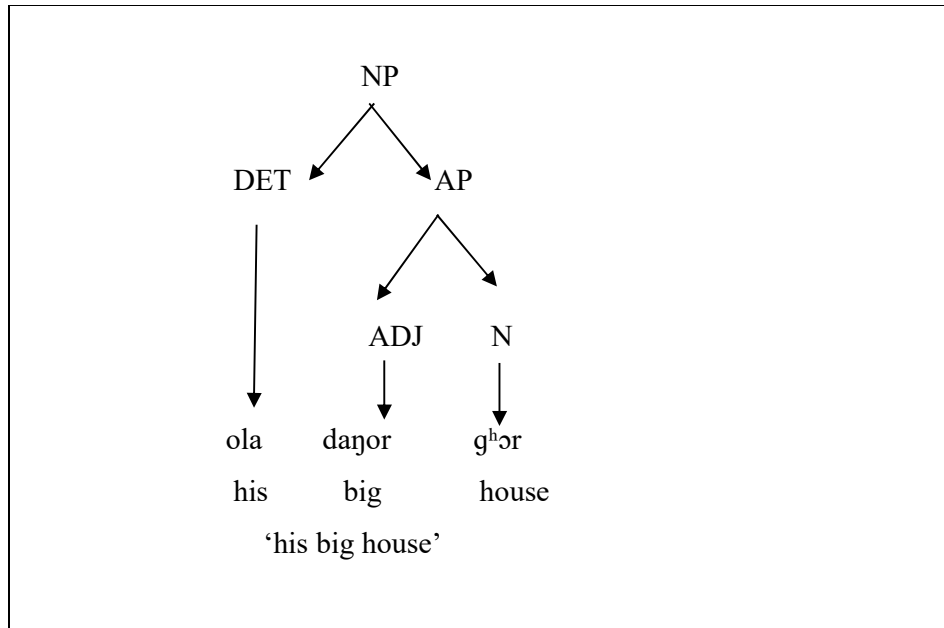
6.1.1. Noun phrases

NP consists of a Noun which is the head and specifiers optionally followed or precede the head noun. A noun phrase in Hajong consists of three different elements – (A) the head, (B) the determiner (s), and (C) the modifier (s) as illustrated in (15)

- (15) a. ola daɲor ɣʰər
his big house
'his big house'

Here, the head ɣʰər 'house' has been modified by two attributes ola 'his' (the determiner) and daɲor 'big' (the modifier).

Figure 6.1: The syntactic structure of a noun phrase



The ordering of specifiers in the Hajong Noun phrase is:

(16) Possessor - demonstrative - quantifier + classifier - adjectives - head noun.

a. drubo -la oi dui-duɪ sundor daɲor gʰər

Drubo-GEN that NUM-CL beautiful big house

‘those two beautiful big houses of Drubo’

A noun phrase can be modified by the modifiers. The pre-nominal modifiers include determiners, adjectives, and adjective phrases. Determiners and modifiers precede the head as in (17 a-m)

(17) a. N [guru] ‘cow’

b. ADJP N [kala guru] ‘black cow’

c. NUM N [egra guru] ‘a cow’

d. DEM N [idu guru] ‘this cow’

e. DEM N PL [idu guru -gʰilu] ‘this cows’

f. POSS N [mola guru] ‘my cow’

g. DEM NUM N [idu dui-duɪ guru] ‘this two cows’

h. DEM ADJP N [idu kala guru] ‘this black cow’

i. QUNT ADJP N [bakar kala guru] ‘many black cows’

- j. POSS ADJP N [ola kala guru] ‘his black cow’
- k. POSS QUANT N [ola bakar guru] ‘his many cows’
- l. POSS QUANT ADJP N [drubo-la bakar kala guru] ‘many black cows of drubo’
- m. POSS DEM NUM N [drubo-la oi egra kala guru] ‘this three black cows of drubo’

6.1.1.1 Adjective Placement

The order of adjectives concerning other constituents of NP phrase is as follows:

Determiner- Quantifier+Classifier- Adjective- Noun

- (18) ei tin -du lomba baŋoʃ
 this three CL long bamboo
 ‘these three long bamboos’

- (19) Adjectives precede the NP
 - a. lomba ʃuli-lu bʰala no-hoi
 long hair –DEF good NEG be
 ‘long hair is not good’

- (20) Adjectives follow the NP
 - a. ʃuli lomba
 hair long
 ‘long hair’

- (21) Adjectives follow the quantifier + classifier
 - a. tin -du daŋor gʰɔr
 three DEF big house
 ‘three big houses’

- (22) Adjectives of size precede the adjective of colour
 - a. huru kala guru
 small black cow
 ‘small black cow’

(23) Adjectives precede the quantifier-classifier if it describes the quantity and modifies the quantifier and noun in NP.

- a. mola age-ni dui -duu g^hor
 I –GEN last LOC NUM-CL house
 ‘in my last two houses’

(24) Adjectives precede the quantifier-classifier if it has emphatic meaning

- a. drubo-la t^hamto b^hala dui-duu kolom
 Drubo GEN very good NUM-CL pen
 ‘very good two pen of Drubo’

6.1.1.2. Demonstrative Adjective

Demonstrative determiners (known as demonstrative adjectives) or the deictic are *ei* ‘this’, *ui* ‘that,’ *iduu* ‘this/here’, *uduu* ‘that/there’ and *hoduu* ‘that (not visible)’. When a demonstrative adjective occurs before a noun it is used attributively.

- (25) a. ei muun-duu b^hala
 this man DEF good
 ‘This man is good’
 b. ui muun-duu b^hala
 that man DEF good
 ‘That man is good’

6.1.1.3. Possessives Adjectives

Possessive adjectives precede the head noun as modifiers in a noun phrase

- (26) a. drubo -la dui-dʒon buini
 drubo GEN NUM-CL sister
 ‘Drubo’s two sisters’
 b. oi mo -la buini
 she my GEN sister
 ‘She is my sister’

6.1.1.4. Classifier

Noun + Classifier (definiteness marking)

The definiteness concept is expressed by classifiers - ruu, -ra, -da, - la, -dʒa, is a suffix to a noun (both human/non-human) and signifies a singular number, definiteness, and countability. The noun is definite only when the classifiers follows it. The position of the classifiers in NP construction is that while placing the classifier before the noun yields an indefinite NP, whereas placing the classifier after the noun yields definite NPs

- (27) a. g^hɔr-ra
house CL
'The house'

- b. teŋ-ra
leg CL
'the leg'

The classifiers come alongside the numeral or other quantifiers and occur before and after the noun

- (28) tin-dʒoŋ sunduri gabur
three-CL beautiful girl
'three beautiful girls'

Numeral (Quantifier) + Classifier + Adjective + Noun

- (29) drubo-la ʃoi -ra raŋa boi
Drubo -GEN NUM CL red book
'six red books of Drubo'

Adjective + Noun + Numeral (Quantifier) + Classifier

- (30) a. drubo -la raŋa boi ʃoi -ra
Drubo -GEN red book NUM CL
'six red books of Drubo'

- b. ek-ra boi
 one CL book
 ‘a book’

/-ra/ can combine only with /ek/ and /tʰoi/ while attaching with numerals.

- (31) pa-dʒa aŋul
 five CL fingers
 ‘five fingers’

6.1.1.5. Quantifier

Quantifiers can occur as modifiers of NP

- (32) a. drubo-la hubuu boi
 Drubo GEN all book
 ‘all the books of Drubo’

 b. drubo-la koi-ra kam
 Drubo GEN some-CL work
 ‘some work of Drubo’

6.1.1.6. A Dependent Clause (Relative Clause)

The non-finite relative clause modifies the NP.

- (33) a. iskol b^haj ah -a tʰawa-ra
 school ALL come-NMZ boy –DEF
 ‘the boy who came from school’

 b. kuulku ah -a mun-duu
 yesterday come -NMZ man-DEF
 ‘the man who came yesterday’

6.1.2. Adjective Phrases

Hajong adjective phrase consists of a pure adjective (simple or derived adjectives e.g., b^hala ‘good’, bisak-to ‘poisonous’) and the complex adjectives (relative clauses and participle used as an adjective)

AP —→ (QUAN) (ADN) (ADV) (COM) ADJ

Adverbial modification of adjectives:

Intensifiers can modify adjectives and precede the adjectives.

- (34) a. t^hamto daŋor
 extremely big
 ‘extremely big’
- b. kub sundor
 very beautiful
 ‘very beautiful’
- c. bakar kutin
 extremely difficult
 ‘extremely difficult’

Quantifier precede the adjective

Quantifier + Adjective

- (35) kunsu b^hala
 some good
 ‘some good’

Adnominal precede and modify the adjective

Adnominal + Adjective

- (36) a. timud t^hawa nehen sunduri
 girl child like beautiful
 ‘like beautiful girl’

- b. b^hab-ra nehen lomba
 father-DEF like tall
 ‘like tall father’

An adverb modifies the adjective

Adverb + Adjective

- (37) a. b^halake banawa ‘well cooked’
 b. net^hake mara ‘badly beaten’
 c. b^halake banawa ranapat^hin ‘beautifully made ranapat^hin’

Comparative phrases can modify adjectives

Comparative + Adjective

- (38) a. to-la ʃ^huiuu bisi
 you-GEN than more
 ‘more than you’
 b. mo-la ʃ^huiuu digluu
 i-GEN than tall
 ‘taller than me’
 c. hobala ʃ^huiuu b^hala
 all than better
 ‘better than all’

6.1.3. Postpositional Phrase

Postpositional phrases in Hajong consist of a postposition preceded by NP. Postpositions follow the complement noun phrase. In the example (39 a - b) postpositions include the locative case /-ni/

- (39) a. tiuu-ruu **gas upur -ni** ase
 parrot –DEF tree above –LOC be
 ‘The parrot is on the tree’

- b. oi **gas tol-ni** g^humui
 he tree top-LOC sleep
 ‘He sleeps under the tree’.

The complement NP is marked with a genitive case.

- (40) a. oi **g^hor-la** **pak b^haj** ase
 he house-GEN away from be
 ‘He is away from the house’

6.1.4. Adverbial Phrases

The adverbials may be a pure adverb (simple or derived, e.g., usku ‘today’, hakle-ke ‘quickly’) or a verbal participle (e.g., ka-iu ‘having eaten’).

Adverbial modifiers of adverbials

Intensifier precedes the adverbials they modify
 Quantifier + Adverb

- (41) a. kub diri-ke dʒa
 very slow ADV go
 ‘go very slowly’

Reduplication + Adverb phrase

- (42) a. aste aste ‘slowly’
 b. kai-te kai-te ‘eating eating’
 c. dʒai-te dʒai-te ‘walking walking’

6.1.5. Verb Phrases

Verb phrases can be divided into three categories, simple, conjunct, and compound, based on the verb classification. In Hajong, the main verb occurs in the final position followed by the categories of TAM.

i. Verb Stem + TA

The first category includes the simple stem followed by tense and aspect in a permissible combination.

- (43) a. moi k^ha-i
I eat-PRE
'I eat'

ii. Conjunct verbs

• **Noun/adjective + verb**

- (44) a. mola g^hor kopra-ra f̂apa hu -se
my house room DEF clean become-PFV
'My room got cleaned.'

- b. mola buini-ruu mo-ge map di -se
my sister-DEF me-OBJ forgive give-PFV
'My sister forgave me.'

- c. mola g^hor kopra-ra net^ha hu -se
my house room DEF dirty become-PFV
'My house became dirty.'

- d. mola g^hor -ra tik hu -se
my house DEF fix become-PFV
'My house was fixed' / 'My fixing of the house happened (literally)'

- e. oi udu-ni kara hu-se
she here- LOC stand be-PFV
'She stood there.'

iii. Light Verb Constructions

According to David (2015: 270), “verbs that occur after the perfect participle of another verb are called light verbs. These verbs are also referred to in the literature as compound verbs ...light verb, lose their normal lexical meaning in favour of adding an extra parameter of meaning to the verb in the perfect participle form”.

Verb + Conjunctive Participle + Vector –TAM

- (45) a. oi tʃa kʰa-wa kap-ruu bʰaŋ - iuu pɛla -le
He/She tea drink-VN cup - DEF break PCP throw PST
‘He/She broke the tea cup.’

- b. moi bʰat-duu bɛk kʰa-iiu pɛla-bo
I rice- DEF all eat- PCP throw- FUT
‘I will eat up all the rice.’

iv. Verb + Modal Verb

Verb + INF +M + TA

- (46) a. kʰɔ -ba lag-ibo
say- INF MOD-FUT
‘must speak’

- b. dʒa-ba lag-ibo
go-INF MOD-FUT
‘must go’

v. Simultaneous + Verb

- (47) a. kand-iiu dʒa-se
cry- CP go-PFV
‘went by crying’

b. k^ha-iuu dʒa-se
 eat-CP go-PFV
 'went eating'

vi. Purposive + Verb

(48) a. kin-ibuu dʒa-se
 buy INF go-PFV
 'went to buy'

b. k^ha-ba ah-ise
 eat INF come-PFV
 'came to eat'

vii. Situational + Verb

(49) a. k^ha-wate mor-ile
 eat- CP die-PST
 'died while eating'

b. dʒa-wate kand-ile
 go- CP cry -PST
 'cried while going'

viii. Verb + Reduplication

(50) a. k^ha-ite k^ha-ite hurun hu -se
 eat- ICP eat-ICP tire become-PFV
 'tired of eating'

b. k^ho-ite k^ho-ite hurun hu-se
 talk-CP talk -CP tire become-PFV
 'tired of talking'

ix. Adverb + Verb

- (51) a. uduu-ni dʒa 'go there'
b. taratari dʒa 'go fast'

X. Passives

Passivization is one of the valence decreasing devices. Hajong does not have a morphological passive, but by constructing a periphrastic passive with the verbal noun form of the main verb and the finite form of passive auxiliary /ho/ 'to become'. The verb in (52 a) has no stated agent, with one argument /kopra/ 'room', which is the patient of the action.

- (52) a. oi gʰər kopra -ra ʃʰapa kor -a ho-bo
 that house room -DEF clean made VN become -FUT
 'That room will be cleaned.'

In the passivization of transitive and ditransitive sentences, the subject nominal is in the genitival form and active sentence in the nominative case (unmarked) as in the example from (53-56).

- (53) drubo o-ge mar-ise (Active)
 Drubo she-OBJ hit-PFV
 'Drubo hit her.'
- (54) drubo - la drubi-ge mar-a hu-se (Passive)
 Drubo- GEN Drubi-OBJ hit -VN become-PFV
 'Drubo has been hit by Drubi.'
- (55) drubi drubo-ge ʃʰul di-se (Active)
 Drubi Drubo-OBJ rice give-PFV
 'Drubi has given Drubo some rice.'

- (56) drubi -la drubo-ge ʃiul di-a hu-se (Passive)
 Drubo-GEN Drubo-OBJ rice give-VN become-PFV
 ‘Drubo has been given rice by Drubi’.

In some cases, the postposition /darai/ ‘by’ is used to introduce an agent.

- (57) ram -la darai rabon -ge mar-a hu -se
 Ram GEN by Rabon OBJ kill-VN become PST
 ‘Ravana was killed by Ram’.

- (58) ʃiar -ra sengra -g^hilw darai baŋ-ile
 Chair NOM children-PL with break-PST
 ‘The chair was broken by the children’.

6.2. Subordination

This section consists of the major discussion of subordinate clauses. The subordinate clauses include relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and complement clauses. There are two types of subordinate clauses: finite and non-finite clauses. In the finite clauses, the complementizer *dʒe* is placed at the beginning of a subordinate clause as in the example given below.

Subordinate Clause

- (59) oi ku -le [dʒe oi mo-ge b^hala pa-i]
 she say-PST CMPL she me-OBJ like get-PN
 ‘She said that she likes me.’

The finite clause precedes the matrix clause and the complementizer *dʒe* is dropped and the quotative complementizer *bile* is added

- (60) [oi mo-ge b^hala pa -i bile] oi ku-le
 she me-OBJ like get-PRE CMPL she say-PST
 ‘She said that she likes me.’

6.2.1. Noun Clauses

The finite noun clauses in Hajong are marked by the complementizer $\widehat{d\bar{z}e}$ and quotative complementizer *bile* while non-finite noun clauses are marked by gerund and infinitive. The noun clauses can function as subject, direct object and complement of the main predicate.

a. Noun Clause as Subjects

$\widehat{d\bar{z}e}$ clause: Finite subject clauses as subjects of adjectival predicates

- (61) idu huusui [$\widehat{d\bar{z}e}$ drubo-la bimar-ra b^hala n^hui hoi]
it true that drubo-GEN disease good NEG be
'that Drubo is not well is true.'

bile clause

- (62) [mao-ra kuulku ah-ibo bile]moi kamona kore
Mother -DEF tomorrow come-FUT that I hope do
'It is my hope that mother will come tomorrow.'

Non Finite participle clause

- (63) a. [mao idu -ni ah -a -ra] moi b^hala na-pai
mother here-LOC come NMLZ-DEF like NEG-get
'I don't like mother coming here.'

b. The $\widehat{d\bar{z}e}$ and *bile* Complement Clause

The most common form of syntactic strategy for synthesising complement clauses is to use the complementizer clause / $\widehat{d\bar{z}e}$ /, which introduces a complement clause after the verb in the main clause.

Direct object $\widehat{d\bar{z}e}$ clause

- (64) drubo kule [$\widehat{d\bar{z}e}$ oi iskul bhaj nuui $\widehat{d\bar{z}a}$ -i]
Drubo say-PST CMPL he school ALL NEG go-PN
'Drubo said **that he will not go to school.**'

Indirect object *dʒe* clause

- (65) a. oi mo -ge ku -se [*dʒe* sohor tʰikiu tara tari *dʒabuun*]
 he me-OBJ say-PST that town from quickly go- PFV
 ‘He told me that he was leaving the town soon.’
- b. mola buini-ruu ku -le *dʒe* *dʒawa* rati-ni gʰorma mek porise
 I ACC sister-DEF say-PST that last night -LOC heavily rain fall PFV
 ‘My sister told me that it rained heavily last night.’

The complementizer *dʒe* can also follow an adjective

- (66) osombob *dʒe* mola ʃʰawa-ra porika-ni pɛl huse
 impossible COMPL my son -DEF exam-LOC fail be-PFV
 ‘It’s impossible that my son failed in the examination.’

The complementizer *dʒe* occurs in the clause's initial position of the complement clause and *bile* clause finally in the complement clause.

Direct object *bile* clause

- (67) a. moi bʰat kʰa-se bile drubo bʰabi-le
 I food eat-PFV that Drubo think-PST
 ‘Drubo thought that I have had the food.’
- b. drubo [drubi-ge iskol bʰaj nuui *dʒa*-bo bile] hun-ise
 Drubo Drubi OBJ school ALL NEG go-INF that hear-PFV
 ‘Drubo has heard that Drubi will not go to school.’

Indirect object *bile* clause

- (68) sohor tikiu tara tari *dʒa*-bo bile oi mo -ge ku -se
 town from quickly go- FUT that he me-OBJ say-PST
 ‘He told me that he will leave the town soon.’

Subject complement *bile* clause

- (69) karon hu-se oi porikani age kunudinuu boi nui pore bile
problem be-PFV he exam before never book NEG read that
'The problem is that he never studies before the examination.'

Adjective complement *bile* clause

- (70) toi taratari mitij t^hikiu dʒa-le bile moi kub dukito
you quickly meeting from go-PST that I very disappoint
'It is very disappointing that you left the meeting early.'

Noun Finite Noun Clauses

A non-finite dependent clause is marked with the following properties:

a. word order:

Subordinate clauses usually precede the main clause

b. Verb modification:

Subordinate verbs undergo a process of verbal participation and gerundivization.

c. Lack of agreement and tense

Subject complement

- (71) a. sobi ak -a kam-ra sohof
pictures draw -NMLZ work DEF easy
'It is so easy to do drawing.'
- b. idu mo-la q^hor bana-wa
this my -GEN house made-NMLZ
'This indeed is my building.'
- c. mola i^hu ek-dʒon b^hala mun ho-ba
my wish NUM-CL good person become
'My desire is to become a good person.'

Object complement

- (72) a. moi mola ʃuli -ruu dhu-buu b^hala lag-e
I my-GEN hair -DEF wash -NMLZ like get-PN
'I enjoy washing my hair.'
- b. oi sobi ak-a -ba b^hala lag-e
He picture draw NMLZ-INF like get-PN
'He likes to do drawing.'

6.3.3. Relative Clause

A relative clause functions as a nominal modifier (Keenan 1985). In terms of syntactic structure, "a relative clause is a clause that is embedded within a noun phrase" (Payne 2006:302). Subbarao (2012:263) stated that "a relative clause is a subordinate clause in which the embedded predicate may be [+finite] or [-finite] and all of the South Asian languages have three types of relative clauses: (i) Externally headed relative clause, (ii) Relative-Correlative clauses and (iii) internally headed relative clauses". There are two types of relative clause construction in Hajong: a. externally headed relative clauses and b. relative-correlative clauses.

Externally Headed Relative Clauses

Externally headed relative clauses consist of a post-nominal relative clause or non-finite relative clause. Subbarao (2012:265) states that "based on the position of occurrence of the head in a relative clause in EHRC's the head is overtly present in the matrix clause". EHRC consists of a finite or nonfinite relative clause

The embedded post-nominal relative clause occurs to the right of the VP of the matrix clause as in the example given below

- (73) a. drubo mo-la baba, dʒui to-ge sohai kor-ibun
 Drubo my-GEN father who you-OBJ help do -PFV
 ‘Drubo, who helped you, is my father.’
- b. drubi sengra-ra-ge g^hin kore dʒui mona-ge b^hala pa-i
 Drubi boy-DEF-OBJ hate do who Mona-OBJ like get-PN
 ‘Drubi hated the boy who loved Mona’.

In the non-finite (participial/infinitival) Externally Headed Relative Clause the null (covert) operator is in the embedded clause. The relative clause is formed by gapping- the relativized head noun is not overtly marked but occurs in the matrix clause. The participial relative clause is formed by deleting the relativized NP and changing the verb into a participial form by adding the suffixes *-a*, *-ibuu*. The null (covert) head NP can be in a subject position and direct object position.

- (74) a. [ʔ_i kirki baŋ-a] hapal-la_i idu-ni ase
 Window break-NMLZ boy DEF here-LOC be
 ‘The boy who broke the glass is here.’
- b. [ʔ_i dʒor ah -ibuu] f^hawa-ra_i kuulku mor-ise
 Fever come -NMLZ child-DEF yesterday die-PFV
 ‘The boy who had fever died yesterday.’
- c. [mo-la ʔ_i an -a] bhuksuli-ruⁱ_i bhakar dam
 I -GEN bring -NMLZ shirt -DEF very costly
 ‘The shirt that I bought is costly.’

Relative – Correlative Clauses

Relative- correlative clauses are prenominal i.e. the clause occurs before the head noun. In the formation of finite relative clauses the relative marker /dʒui/ ‘who’ is added in front of the relativised element, and the correlative marker /oi/ ‘that’ is placed at the beginning of the head noun, with deletion of the second identical or co-referential NP.

Main clause:

- (75) ʃʰawa-ra mola pola nui hoi
Boy DEF my son NEG-be
‘The boy is not my son.’

Relative clause:

- (76) ʃʰawa-ra ama logon tʰake
boy -DEF we COM stay
‘The boy lives with us.’

When the relative clause precedes the main clause it results in the following sentence:

Pre – Nominal Relative-Correlative Clause

- (77) a. [dʒui ʃʰawa-ra ama logon tʰake] oi mo-la pola nui-hoi
rel boy DEF us COM stay 3SG my-GEN son NEG-be
‘The boy who lives with us is not my son’.
- b. [dʒui-dʒon ama logon tʰake] [oi] ʃʰawa-ra mola pola nui-hoi
rel -CL us COM stay 3SG- boy DEF my son NEG-be
‘The boy who lives with us is not my son’.
- c. [dʒui-dʒon ama logon tʰake] oi mola pola nui-hoi
rel -CL us COM stay 3SG- my son NEG-be
‘Who lives with us is not my son’.

In the above example (77 a) the head NP occurs in the embedded clause, in example (77 b) the head occurs in the matrix clause, and the example (77 c) has no head noun which themselves refers to the noun that they modify.

6.3.1.1. Adverbial Clauses

According to Payne (1997:317) “the adverbial clauses serve an adverbial function and modify a verb or a whole clause however they are not compliments because they do not constitute logical arguments of the main verb; rather they simply add ‘adverbial’ information, namely purpose, reason, and sequence respectively”. The finite forms of the verb and the non-finite forms of the verb distinguish adverbial clauses. Time, location, method, purpose, reason, and conditional are the functional categories for adverbial clauses.

6.3.1.1.1. Time Adverbial Clauses

The finite form of the verb and the non-finite form of the verb marked the time adverbial clauses.

(A) Finite clauses with relative clause time markers

The time marker /dʒe/ provides information on the temporal ordering of two events or actions.

- (78) a. dʒe ʃomoi moi dʒai oi ʃomoi oi-o dʒai
 When time I go that time she-INC go
 ‘When I go, (then) she goes too.’
- b. dʒe ʃomoi katol pake oi ʃomoi amru idu k^{hai}
 When time Jackfruit ripe that time we it eat
 ‘When the jackfruit was ripe, we ate it.’

(B) Non-finite construction

- (79) a. oi ah -iu ola puisu -ru to-ge di-bo
 She come- SEQ her money -DEF you-OBJ give FUT
 ‘As soon as she comes, she will give you the money.’

- b. ʃʰawa-ra mati-ni boh-iu bhat kʰa-le
 Child DEF ground LOC sit- SEQ rice eat
 ‘The child ate food sitting on the floor.’

It is possible to reduplicate the participle forms, as in

- c. ʃʰawa-ra mati-ni boh-i boh-i bhat kʰa-le
 Child DEF ground LOC sit-ADV SEQ RED rice eat-PST
 ‘The child ate food sitting on the floor.’

(C) Infinitival construction

A time adverbial is formed when a verbal noun is followed by the words "after," "before," and so on.

- (80) a. o-ge ah -a -ra pore kousui mar-ibui -ge dʒa-bo
 he GEN come -VN -DEF after turtle hunt INF OBJ go FUT
 ‘I’ll go for turtle hunting after his arrival.’
- b. o-la gʰər -ni dʒa -wa -ra age moi kapur-gʰilu bodla-se
 she-GEN house -LOC go-VN -DEF before I clothe-PL change -PFV
 ‘Before I went to her house I changed my clothes.’
- c. moi o-ge ʃʰa-ba dʒa-ba ʃome oi mati-ni pʰuri tʰak-ibuun
 I he -OBJ see-INF go-VN time he ground -LOC lie stay-IMPV
 ‘He was lying on the ground when I saw him

6.3.1.1.2. Location Adverbial Clauses

The relative subordinator *dʒidu* 'where' mark the locative adverbial clauses, which are finite subordinate clauses.

- (81) a. dʒidu-ni toi dʒa-bo moi-o dʒa-bo
 where-LOC you go-FUT I -INC go -FUT
 ‘I will follow wherever you go.’

- b. dʒiduu-ni naɖʒai amruu ei dʒaga-ni niom-la man-ibo
 Wherever-LOC NEG-go we that place -LOC customs -GEN obey-FUT
 ‘Wherever we go we will follow the rules of that area.’

6.3.1.1.3. Manner Adverbial Clauses

The manner adverbial clauses are marked by relative-clause-like manner markers iŋkui- uŋkui ‘in such a way/ reason’ and dʒiŋkui ‘as/ in which manner’ and the participle marker -iuu.

- (82) a. moi dʒiŋkui koi oi uŋkui kor-ibo
 I as-rel say he way -cor do -FUT
 ‘He will act as I advised him.’

- b. hapal-la aram -ke mati-ni boh-iuu ghuma -se
 Child -DEF peaceful ADV floor -LOC sit- CP sleep -PRF
 ‘The baby slept peacefully sitting on the floor.’

6.3.1.1.4. Purpose Adverbial Clauses

Adverb Clause of the Purpose (i.e., the dependent one) explains the purpose given in the main clause. The purpose clause is formed by infinitival form followed by /-ge/ or the postposition /karon/ ‘for’.

- (83) a. oi bia k^ha -ba -ge dʒa-se
 He wedding eat -INF -DAT go -PFV
 ‘He went to attend the party.’
- b. oi pani an-ibuu karone nodi b^haj dʒa-le
 He water bring- INF for river ALL go PST
 ‘He went to the river in order to bring water.’

c. moi daru-ruu bemaṛ bhala ho -ba karone k^hai
 I medicine-DEF disease good become -INF for eat
 ‘I take medicine in order to get well.’

d. mək ah-ibuu t^haka karone amruu ei dʒaga-ra gur-ibuu na-pa-bo
 rain come-INF stay therefore we this place-DEF move INF NEG- MOD-FUT
 ‘Because it is raining, we cannot move out of this place.’

6.3.1.1.5. Reason Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses of reason are used to mean some cause.

A. Finite clauses marked with karone 'because' are used to express cause clauses.

(84) a. bəɔɾ karab karone amruu gaŋ -b^haj dʒa-ba na pa-le
 weather bad because we village - ALL go INF NEG can-PST
 ‘Because of bad weather, we could not go to the village’.

b. ʃɔɾ -ra aste -aste daoruu -se karone d^hora pɔɾ-ise
 thief DEF slowly -RED run -PFV so caught get- PFV
 ‘The thief was caught because he ran slowly.’

c. rabi -luu b^hog lagse karone bek b^hada k^ha- se
 Ravi GEN hungry get so stomach full eat -PFV
 ‘Ravi was hungry so he ate all the rice.’

B. Participles

(85) oi boh-i boh-i huruun hu-se
 he sit PART sit-PTCP tire get-PFV
 ‘He got tired of sitting’

6.3.1.1.6. Conditional Adverbial Clauses

Adverb clause of condition indicates in what state or circumstance the action mentioned in the main clause will happen. Conditional clauses are identified by the conditional marker /-le/ and the conjunction /dʒudi/ 'if' in the first clause, followed by /thale/'then' (i.e., optional) in the second clause.

- (86) a. *toi kʰo -le oi dʒa-bo*
 He say -COND he go-FUT
 'He will go if you ask him to go.'
- b. *moi dʒudi haidrabad dʒa -bo thale tʃʰaminar tʃʰa-bo*
 I if Hyderabad go FUT then charminar see FUT
 'If I will go to Hyderabad, I will visit Charminar.'
- c. *dʒudi oi bhala -ke pore thaho -le porika -ni pas kor-ibo*
 if she well-ADV read then -COND examination LOC pass do-FUT
 'If she studies well she will pass in the examination.'
- d. *dʒudi oi kosto-ke kam kore dʒibone oi unnuti kor -ibo*
 if he hard -ADV work do life he success do -FUT
 'If he works hard he will succeed in his life.'
- e. *dʒudi moi bhala thake moi kuulku ah-ibo*
 If I good stay I yesterday come-FUT
 'If i am well I will come tomorrow.'

6.3.1.1.8. Concessive Adverbial Clauses

The concessive adverbial clause refers to a contrast between two things or ideas. Subordinate conjunction markers like as /dʒudio/ 'although' indicate a concessive clause in Hajong.

- (87) a. *moi dʒudi -o delli na-dʒai moi oi dʒaga-ra tibi dek-ibo*
 I if-INCL delhi NEG -go I this place -DEF TV see-FUT
 'Although I don't go to Delhi I will see it on TV.'

b. dʒudi -o oi gorib oi suki tʰak-ibun
 although –INCL he poor he happy stay -PST
 ‘Though he was poor, he was happy.’

c. dʒudi-o oi dʰoni oi misolia
 Though –INCL he rich he dishonest
 ‘Though he is rich, he is dishonest.’

6.3.4. The Coordination

Coordination refers to the employment of morphosyntactic techniques to link two phrases of equal grammatical status in a language (Payne 1999:336). Haspelmath (2006:1) stated that “the term coordination refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements. The units in the coordination may be words (e.g., nouns), phrases (noun phrases/ verb phrases), subordinate clauses, or full sentences”. The coordination in Hajong is discussed below:

6.3.4.1. Conjunction Coordination

The semantic function of coordination is the conjunction of syntactically and semantically identical parts. In Hajong the conjunction, /aro/ means ‘**and, and also**’. The coordinating conjunction marker /aro/ can be used to coordinate nouns (subjects, direct and indirect objects), verbs, adjectives, adverbs, phrases (noun phrases/ verb phrases), clauses, or sentences.

(88) a. dudʰnoi aro goalpara
 Dudhnoi and Goalpara
 ‘Dudhnoi and Goalpara.’

b. toi oi aro moi
 you she and i
 ‘You, she, and I.’

- c. mola dada aro bui -ruu badʒar dʒa se
 my brother and sister-DEF market go -PFV
 ‘My brother and sister have gone to the market.’
- d. kuunsu noia aro kuunsu purun
 some new and some old
 ‘Some are new some are old.’
- e. kuunsu maʃ-gʰilu daŋor aro kuunsu huru
 some fish –PL big and some small
 ‘Some fishes are big and some are small.’
- f. oi pʰɔl- gʰilu kat-ise aro kʰa-se
 he/she fruit-PL cut-PFV and eat-PFV
 ‘He/She cut the fruits and ate it.’
- g. dʒa aro guri ai
 go and back come
 ‘Go and come back’.
- h. oi kuulku ah-ibuun aro adʒi dʒa-le
 he/she yesterday come-PST and today go-PST
 ‘He/She came yesterday and went away today.’
- i. drubo iskul bʰaj dʒa-bo aro moi bazar bʰaj dʒa-bo
 drubo school ALL go-FUT and I market ALL go-FUT
 ‘Drubo will go to school and I will go to market’.

6.3.4.1.2. Disjunctive Coordination

Disjunction “is exclusive, expressing the idea that only one of the possibilities can be realised” as mentioned by Quirk and Greenbaum(1988:258). Disjunctive coordination is also called alternative coordination or coordination. According to Haspelmath (2001:25), there is standard disjunction and interrogative disjunction. Hajong has a disjunctive marker /ba/ ‘or’.

ba ‘or’

- (89) tora dui ba tin -dʒon ekeloge ah -ibui pa -bo
You two and three -CL together come -INF can -FUT
‘You two or three together can come.’

na ‘or’

In interrogative sentences, the negative marker /-na/ can be used as a conjunctive meaning ‘or’

- (90) idui na udui
this or that
‘Is this one or that one?’

ki ‘or’

It expresses the doubt and uncertainty

- (91) oi b^hat k^ha -bo ki na
he rice eat- FUT or not
‘He will eat or not?’

kina ‘whether or not

- (92) a. toi dʒa-bo kina na dʒa -bo
you go-FUT whether NEG-go-FUT
‘Will you go or not?’

- b. oi nohole moi ni dʒui abar idu -ni ah-ibo
 he/she either I myself again here-LOC come-FUT
 ‘Either he/she or myself will come here again.’
- c. oi nohole moi oi dʒaga-ra bʰaŋa -ra hiki na-dʒaika na-dʒa-bo
 he/she either I this place –DEF language –DEF learn NEG-go NEG –go-FUT
 ‘Neither he/she nor I will leave this place without studying the language.’

6.3.4.1.3. Adversative Coordination

According to Haspelmath (2006:2) “Adversative coordination is always binary, i.e., it must consist of two coordinands. Ternary or other multiple coordinations are impossible here”. The adversative coordination marker in Hajong is /kintu/ ‘but’.

kintu ‘but’

- (93) a. moi age kʰu - bun kintu ela na-kʰa-i
 I before drink PST but now NEG- eat-PN
 ‘I used to drink, but now I stopped.’
- b. puisu dorkar kintu udu baktʰi na –lag-e
 money necessary but it everything NEG- need-PN
 ‘Money is necessary, but it is not everything.’
- c. mo-ge dʒa -ba laga kintu nui dʒa-i
 I OBJ go –INF MOD but NEG go-PN
 ‘I had to go but I didn’t go’
- d. to -ge dʒa -ba laga kintu kene toi nui dʒa-i
 you OBJ go –INF MOD but why you NEG go-PN
 ‘You had to go but why did you not go?’

e. oi timuud-g^hilui dʒa -ba laga kintu ora nui dʒa-i
 those ladies-PL go -INF MOD but they NEG go-PN
 ‘Those ladies had to go but they did not go.’

f. kuulkuu oi idu - ni tʰak -ibu pa-le hu-i
 yesterday he/she here-LOC stay -INF get-COND be-PN

kintu o -la gao-ra neta lag-ise

but he/she-DAT health-DEF bad get-PFV

‘He/She would have been there yesterday but he/she feels sick’.

g. pata g^hilui pata roŋ kintu ʃokʃoka no-hoi
 leaf -PL leaf colour but bright NEG-be
 ‘The leaves are green but not bright.’

Negative coordination

(94) oi na por -e na kela kel-e
 he/she neither study -PN nor game play-PN
 ‘He/She neither studies nor plays games.’

6.3.4.1.4. Causal Coordination

- (95) a. drubo -luu b^hog lag-se karone bek b^hada k^ha -ise
 Drubo DEF hungry be-PFV so full stomach eat -PFV
 ‘Drubo was hungry so he ate all the rice.’
 b. ʃ^hawa -ra aste aste daoru -se karone diri hu-se
 boy DEF slowly -RED run -PFV so late be-PFV
 ‘The boy was late because he walks slowly.’

6.3.4.2. Coordinands

Conjunction, disjunctions, and clausal coordinators may link two or more coordinates but adversative coordinates are always binary and thus cannot link more than two coordinates.

Positional occurrence:

- **AB (without any overt coordinator)**

‘and’

- (96) magu b^hatre oi q^hor -ni t^hak-e
wife husband that house-LOC stay-PN
‘A husband and a wife were living in that house.’

- **A co B**

- (97) idu-ni eg-ra kukul aro eg-ra bilui as-e
here-LOC NUM-CL dog and NUM-CL cat be-PN
‘Here is a cat and a dog.’

- (98) oi mira aro dʒon -du-ge idu di-se
he/she Mira and John DEF -DAT it give-PFV
‘He/She gave it to Mira and John.’

- **co A co B**

- (99) dʒudi-o oi ahe ba n-ah-e
Whether-INCL he comes or NEG-come-PN
‘Whether he comes or not’

- **co AB**

- (100) f^hawa-ra b^hog lag-ise karone oi kand-i as-e (Causal Coordination)
child -DEF hungry get-PFV so she cry PROG be-PN
‘The baby is hungry so she is crying.’

Gapping/Ellipsis

Phrasal coordination necessarily involves the ellipsis of identical repeated elements.

-ellipsis of the identical verb

- (101) a. ʃ^hawa-g^hiluu -ruu sohor-ni t^hake aro mao-bap gao -ni ☞
child-PL -DEF town-LOC stay and parents village-LOC ☞
‘The children live in the town and the parents in the village.’
(Ellipsis of the identical verb *t^hake* ‘stay’)

- b. oi mola b^hat -da k^ha-ba pai kintu mola raŋa-pat^hin ge no-ho-i
he/ she my rice -DEF eat-INF can but mine women dress NEG-be-PN
‘He/She may take my food but she will never take my raŋa-pat^hin.’
(Ellipsis of the identical subject oi ‘he/she’)

6.5. Negation

Negation implies opposing the sense of affirmation. Sentential negation in Hajong negates the given affirmative sentence and it is expressed by the negative markers /**na**/, /**nui**/, and /**no**/. The negation of a declarative sentence depends on its verb.

A simple negative is expressed by inserting negative marker /**nui**/, /**no**/, /**nai**/ in the affirmative sentence and it occurs in preverbal position.

- (102) a. moi kuulkuu k^ha-le (Past Tense Affirmative)

I yesterday eat- PST

‘I ate yesterday.’

- b. moi kuulkuu nui – k^ha-i (Past Tense Negative)

I yesterday NEG eat PN

‘I did not eat yesterday.’

c. moi b^hat k^hα -i (Present Tense Affirmative)

I rice eat -PN

‘I eat rice.’

d. moi b^hat na – k^hα -i (Present Tense Negative)

I rice NEG eat PN

‘I do not eat rice.’

e. moi b^hat k^hα -bo (Future Tense Affirmative)

I rice eat FUT

‘I will eat rice.’

f. moi b^hat na -k^hα -bo (Future Tense Negative)

I rice NEG eat FUT

‘I will not eat rice.’

In the present perfective aspect, the negation is expressed using a present tense form of the verb and affixing negative marker /nuui/ ‘didn’t / haven’t’

Present perfective

- (103) a. oi kam-ra kor –ise
she work-DEF do PPFV
‘She has done the work.’

- b. oi ei kam -ra nuui kor -e
she this work DEF NEG do PN
‘She has not done the work.’

In the Past perfective aspect, the negation is expressed using the past tense form of the verb and affixing negative marker /no/ ‘didn’t / haven’t’

Past perfective aspect:

- (104) a. oi ei kam-ra kur-ibun
She this work-DEF do PFV PST
‘She had done the work.’

- b. oi ei kam -ra no kur-ibun
 she this work –DEF NEG do PFV PST
 ‘She had not done the work.’

In non-finite sentences, the /na/ is used after the verb or before the modal verbs.

- (105) a. oi iskol-b^haj dʒa-ba bhala na-pai
 he school-ALL go-INF like NEG-be
 ‘He doesn’t like to go to school.’

- b. oi na-k^ha-le moi k^ha-bo
 he/she eat-COND i eat-FUT
 ‘If he/she does not eat, I will eat.’

Negation in Modals

It is marked by /-na/ which has allomorph /n-/ and /no/. It is used either before the verb or before the modal verbs.

- (106) a. dʒa-ba lag-e (Affirmative)
 go-INF MOD PN
 ‘needs to go/might to go.’
- b. dʒa-ba na-lag-e (Negative) [Imperative sentence]
 go-INF NEG-MOD-PN
 ‘doesn’t needs to go.’
- c. na - dʒa-ba lag-e (Negative) [Modal sentence]
 NEG-go INF MOD-PN
 ‘might not go.’

d. ah -ibuu pa -i [Affirmative]
 come-INF may -PN
 ‘Would have come.’

e. n -ah -ibuu pa -i [Negative]
 NEG-come-INF may -PN
 ‘Wouldn’t have come.’

Copula Negation

nui is used before the equative copula /ho/

(107) oi mola mao nui ho-i
 she my -GEN sister NEG COP -PN
 ‘She is not my mother.’

nui is the negative counterpart of copula /as/ locative copula as in the example (a) existential copula as in the example (b) and possessive copula as in example (c).

(108) a. ora idu -ni nui
 They here LOC NEG
 ‘They are not here.’

b. bon bari -ni bandor g^hiluu as-e /nui
 wood place LOC monkey PL COP-PN /NEG
 ‘There are Monkeys in the forest.’

c. mo-la dʒui-ruu dʒ^heu as-e/nui
 I GEN two -CL daughter COP.PN/NEG
 ‘I have four daughters.’

Imperative sentence

The negative marker /-na/ is used to express negative imperative or prohibitive and occupies a pre-verbal position.

(109) a. adʒi badʒar- b^haj na - dʒa

Today shop ALL NEG go

‘Don’t go to shop today.’

b. bitur -b^haj na - hamao

Inside ALL NEG enter

‘Do not enter.’

c. na -k^ha

NEG eat

‘Do not eat.’

d. adʒi pu tai- b^haj na dʒa

Today field ALL NEG go

‘Do not go to field today.’

e. na - k^ha

NEG drink

‘Don’t drink.’

f. na d^hor-ik

NEG hold 2.IMP

‘Don’t hold.’

Interrogative negative sentence

In Hajong the negative interrogatives are marked by /na/ which has the allomorphs /n-/ and /no-/

(110) a. toi n- ah -e na

you NEG come PN NEG -Q

‘Won’t you come?’

b. to-la dikdari no -hobo na
 you-GEN problem NEG become NEG -Q
 ‘Is it okay for you?’

c. toi mo-ge sini na-pa-i
 you I –OBJ know NEG-Q -be-PN
 ‘Do you not know me?’

d. pul-luu sundor hoi –na
 flower –DEF beautiful be NEG-Q
 ‘The flower is beautiful. Isn’t it?’

6.6. Interrogative

Payne (1997:295) stated that “languages always have some grammaticalized means of specifying that a particular utterance is to be understood as a request for information rather than an assertion. Such grammatical structures are called interrogative clauses”.

6.6.1. Yes – No Questions

According to Payne (1997:295) “the term yes-no questions are used to refer to interrogative clauses for which the expected answer is either *yes* or *no*”. Yes-no questions can be separated into two types based on the desired response: neutral yes-no questions and leading yes-no question.

6.6.1.1. Neutral Yes-No Questions

Yes- No questions are formed with the interrogative clitic /ki/ which can include negative particle /na/ to show the meaning ‘whether or not’. The inclusion of interrogative clitic /ki/ with negative interrogative /na/ is optional. Negative interrogative /na/ can be used with or without adding /ki/ without affecting the core meaning.

Negative interrogatives

Affirmative interrogative	Negative interrogative	Marked negative interrogative
toi ah-ibo na/naki	toi n- ah -e na/naki	toi n -ah -ibo na/naki
you come-FUT Q	you NEG come PN Q	you NEG come FUT Q
‘Will you come?’	‘Won’t you come?’	‘Won’t you come?’

The question marker /ki/ occurs after the first word or the first phrase but not in the initial position of the sentence and /naki/ occurs in the clause-final position, not in the initial position.

(111) a. toi ki kuulkuu rati iduni ah-ibo

you Q yesterday night here come -FUT

‘Will you be here tomorrow?’

b. toi kuulkuu -rati iduni ah -ibo na/ naki

you yesterday night here come-FUT Q-word

‘Will you be here tomorrow?’

By rising intonation at the end of a declarative statement without adding a question marker, a declarative sentence can be changed to a neutral yes-no question.

(112) a. toi kuulkuu -rati iduni ahibo

you yesterday night here come

‘Will you be here tomorrow?’

b. toi ela ah-ibo pa-bo

you now come-INF MOD-FUT

‘Can you come now?’

The interrogative marker /ki/ does not co-occur with interrogative words.

(113) tola q^hor kumai

your house where

‘Where is your house?’

6.6.1.2 Leading Questions

An affirmative proposition precedes the verb + /na/ as a tag question to emphasise the anticipation of a positive response.

(114) a. toi q^har b^haj dʒa -ba ʃai hoi na

you house go -INF want, be NEG-Q

‘You want to go home, isn’t it?’

- b. oi b^hala kota no -koi hoi na
 he/she good word NEG-say be NEG-Q
 ‘He/she doesn’t speak a good word. Is he/she?’

A negative proposition preceded by the verb + /na/ as a tag question expresses the anticipation of a negative response.

- (115) a. oi na- dakai hoi na
 he NEG- call be NEG-Q
 ‘He won’t call, would he?’

6.6.1.3 Question- Word Questions

The ‘WH-question’ words in Hajong

kui ‘who [human]’	ki ‘what [non-human]’
kene ‘why’	
kɛŋka ‘how’	
kumai ‘where’	
kunsome ‘when’	
kundinu ‘when, on what day’	
koto ‘how much’	
kotog ^h ilu ‘how many’	
kun ‘which’	

kala is used as the oblique form, e.g., kala-ge ‘for whom’.

In a simple clause, question words in Hajong occur *in situ*, that is, in the same position as the constituent that is being questioned; as in sentences (116 a) and (116 b).

- (116) a. toi **kumai** t^hak-ibo
 You where stay-FUT
 ‘**Where** will you stay?’

b. toi **dud^hnoi-ni** t^hak-ibo

You Dudhnoi-LOC stay-FUT

‘You will stay **in Dudhnoi.**’

Besides this canonical position, the question words are subject to scrambling position as in the example (116 c) and (116 d)

c. toi t^hak-ibo **kumai / kot**

You stay-FUT where

‘**Where it is** that you will stay?’

d. **kumai / kot** toi t^hak-ibo

where you stay-FUT

‘**Where it is** that you will stay?’

The question words are reduplicated to express a plurality of thing, person, event, etc.

(117) a. tum -luu ghər-ni kwi kwi ah -ise

your -GEN house- who who come PFV

‘Who (all) have come to your place last night?’

b. toi ki b^habe kwi kwi boi-ruu por-ibo

You what think who who book DEF read-FUT

‘Who do you think will read the book?’

c. ram ki ki k^ha-se

Ram what what eat-PFV

‘Ram ate what?’

d. kwi kwi ki ki k^ha-se

who who what what eat- PFV

‘Who ate what?’

6.7. Imperatives

Payne (1997:303) states that “imperatives are verb forms or construction types that are used to directly command the addressee to perform some action”. Imperative constructions are divided into following categories: Unmarked or True imperatives; Prohibitive Imperatives; Optative Imperatives; Hortative Imperatives and Obligative imperatives.

6.7.1. Unmarked or True Imperatives

According to Payne (1997: 303) “the imperative is understood to refer to the second person subjects because it is common and expected for the intended subject of an imperative clause to be addressee, reference to the subject is not necessary and so the subject is often omitted”. The imperative in Hajong takes in second person subjects and permits deletion of subjects. The verb form in singular and plural is covert and overt with / -ik/, /-ek/ in CVC format.

(118) Singular	Plural
toi ‘you’	tora ‘you’
por-ik ‘read-2.IMP’	por-ik ‘read-2.IMP’
tul-ik ‘lift-2.IMP’	tul-ik ‘lift-2. IMP’
lik-ik ‘write-2. IMP’	lik-ik ‘write- 2.IMP’
hik-ik ‘learn-2. IMP’	hik-ik ‘learn- 2. IMP’
kor-ek ‘do- 2. IMP’	kor-ek ‘do-2. IMP’

In direct commands and requests, the suffix /-ik/ and /-ek/ is overtly marked and it is also optional.

- (119) a. boi – ruu por
Letter DEF read
‘Read the book.’

b. boi -ruu por-ik

Letter DEF read 2. IMP

‘Read the book. (Order)’

c. boi -ruu por-ik na

Letter DEF read 2. IMP.Q

‘Read the letter. (Request)’

d. iduu d^hor-ik

it hold 2.IMP

‘Hold it.’

e. iduu tul-ik

it lift 2.IMP

‘Lift it up.’

f. u-b^haj dʒa

There -ALL go

‘Go there’ (Order)

g. kara ho

stand be

‘Stand up’

6.7.2. Optative Imperatives

In indirect command, the imperative suffix /-k/ and /-uk/ is overtly marked and it is the third person subjects as in the example given below:

(120) a. k^huu-k

eat 3.IMP

‘Let him/them eat’

- b. mur-uk
die 3.IMP
'Let he/they die'

6.7.4. Hortative Imperatives

The verb's hortative is indicated by the suffix /-ŋ/, /-uŋ/. The hortative is the first person imperative asking for joint action on the part of the speaker and the addressee. The subject is the first person singular/plural and freely deleted.

- (121) a. ʃo gumu-bu dʒa-ŋ
let sleep-INF go-1.IMP
'Let me/us go to sleep.'

- b. ʃo gumu-ŋ -gu
let sleep-1.IMP
'Let me/us sleep.'

- c. ʃo ko-uŋ -gu
let do-1.IMP
'Let me/us do.'

6.7.5. Obligative Imperatives

The modal *lag* indicates a sense of internal compulsion (obligation). It gives a sense of obligation and proceeds by the infinitive and the verbal noun. The subject can be first, second, and third person.

- (122) a. moi tumlu gao-ni ah -ibu lag -ibo
I your village-LOC come -INF should -FUT
'I should come to your village.'
- b. moi to-ge buli dʒa-wa na -lage
I you-OBJ forgot go-VN NEG should
'I shouldn't forget you.'

- c. mot kao-wa-ra mola somaitʃa ho -ba na -lage
 wine drink –VN-DEF my problem become- INF NEG- must
 ‘Drinking must not be a problem for me.’

6.7.6. Prohibitive Imperatives

Negative markers /na-/ and /no-/ are added to the pre-verbal position to construct prohibitive imperatives.

- (123) a. bitur -b^haj na hamao
 inside ALL NEG enter
 ‘Do not enter.’

- b. na -k^ha
 NEG eat
 ‘Do not eat.’

- c. am –la ela na dʒirui
 us GEN now NEG rest
 ‘Let us not rest now.’

- d. adʒi putai- b^haj na -dʒa
 today field ALL NEG go
 ‘Do not go to field today.’

- e. misu kota no- k^ho
 lie word NEG say
 ‘Do not tell lies.’

- f. ʃomui-lu bahar b^haj na -dʒa
 time GEN outside ALL NEG- go
 ‘Do not go beyond time’

6.8. Summary

In this chapter, we studied the phrases, clauses, and sentence levels of the Hajong. The basic constituent order in Hajong is SOV which can be used freely. The word order of Hajong is not rigid but the flexible constituent word order is possible. A noun phrase consists of a head noun and optional specifiers that follow or precede the head noun. In Hajong, a noun phrase is divided into three components: (A) the head, (B) the determiner (s), and (C) the modifier (s). The adjective phrase consists of a head, an adverb and adjectives. A postposition preceded by NP creates a postpositional phrase. A head verb and its modifiers make it into a verb phrase. A head adverb is followed by intensifiers in an adverb phrase.

Complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and relative clauses are variants of subordinate clauses. Non-finite noun clauses are marked by nominalizer /-a, -wa, -buw/, while finite noun clauses are marked by the complementizer *dʒe* and quotative complementizer *bile*. Externally headed relative clauses and relative-correlative clauses are the two types of relative clauses in Hajong. The finite forms of the verb and the non-finite forms of the verb distinguish adverbial clauses. Time, location, manner, purpose, reason, and conditional are the functional categories for adverbial clauses. Coordination in Hajong consists of five semantic functions: conjunction coordination, disjunctive coordination, adversative coordination, negative coordination, and causal coordination. The processes of negative formation from an affirmative sentence in Hajong are expressed through simple negation, imperative negation and interrogative negation. Interrogatives in Hajong are yes-no questions and WH-question. Yes-no questions can be separated into two types based on the desired response: neutral yes-no questions and leading yes-no questions. In a simple clause, question words in Hajong occur *in situ*, that is, in the same position as the constituent that is being questioned. Unmarked or true imperatives, prohibitive imperatives, optative imperatives, hortative imperatives, and obligative imperatives are the five categories of imperative formulations.

CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.0. Introduction

This chapter consists of the major finding of the phonological, morphological and syntactic features of the Hajong language. Section 7.1.1 consists of the findings of the domain of sociolinguistics, and ethnographic features of the Hajong. Section 7.1.2 consists of the findings of the phonological features of the Hajong. Section 7.1.3 deals with the findings of the morphological features of the Hajong. Section 7.1.4 deals with the findings of Phrases, Clauses, and sentences of the Hajong language and section 7.2 is the concluding remarks.

7.1. Major Findings

7.1.1. Sociolinguistic and Ethnographic Features

The 2011 census of India report shows the total population of Hajong language as mother tongue speakers in Assam is 27,521. Ethnologue mentioned that the total population of Hajong in India is 71,800. According to Hajang of Bangladesh,¹³ the total population of Hajong in Bangladesh is 18000. The racial affinity of Hajong is connected to the great Bodo group. However, linguistically it is associated as a member of the eastern-zone, Bengali-Assamese Indo-Aryan language family. Hajong is the least documented and endangered language. The majority of Hajong speakers in the region are multilingual, speaking both Assamese and Hajong. Language proficiency amongst the younger speakers is higher in Assamese than in Hajong. Since Assamese is the language of wider communication in education and professional life Hajong has been confined only to the in-home domain. The community members of Hajong have mixed feelings about their language. However negative attitudes in the younger generation are common and dominant.

7.1.2. Phonological Features

There are 26 consonant phonemes. A Hajong consonant shows four-way contrasts on the place of articulation, manner of articulation, aspiration, and voicing. The place of articulation includes bilabial including both aspirated and unaspirated stops, nasal, glide and voicing /p, p^h, b, b^h, m, w/; alveolar including aspirated and unaspirated stops, nasal, trill, fricative,

¹³ <<http://www.joshuaproject.net>>

lateral and voicing /t, t^h, d, d^h, n, r, s, l/; alveo-palatal including aspirated and unaspirated affricates, glide and voicing /tʃ, tʃ^h, dʒ, dʒ^h, j/; palatal voiceless fricative /ɸ/; velar including stops aspirated and unaspirated, and voiced nasal /k, k^h, g, g^h, ŋ/; glottal fricative /h/. The distribution of 26 consonant phonemes is that all the consonants occur in the word-initial position except nasal, velar, voiced consonant /ŋ/ and glides, alveo-palatal, voiced consonant /j/. All the consonants occur in the word-final position except aspirated, alveolar, voiced stop /d^h/; unaspirated, alveo-palatal, voiceless affricates /tʃ/; aspirated, alveo-palatal, voiceless affricates /tʃ^h/; and aspirated, alveo-palatal, voiced affricates consonant /dʒ/; All the consonants occur in the intervocalic position.

Hajong has an initial consonant cluster (mostly borrowed) and medial two-consonant clusters (no final consonant cluster). If the first consonant is a stop, then the second consonant is a trill, liquid, and glide;

The phonotactic constraints in word-initial consonant clusters are:

- a. If the first consonant is a stop, then the second consonant is a trill.
- b. If the first consonant is a fricative, then the second consonant is a trill.

The phonotactic constraints in word medial consonant clusters are:

- c. If the first consonant is a stop, then the second consonant is a trill, liquid, and glide.
- d. If the first consonant is a fricative, then the second consonant is a trill, liquid and glide;
- e. If the first consonant is an affricate, then the second is trill and literal.

There are 8 vowel phonemes. They are: /i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u, ʊ/. They all occur in word-initial, medial, and final positions. All the vowels are not distinctive based on length. There are eleven diphthongs in Hajong. They are: /ei, ai, ui, oi, ɔi / is gliding towards high, front vowel /i/; /ao, eo/ is gliding towards mid, back, rounded vowel /o/; /ou, eu, ɔu/ is gliding towards high, back, rounded vowel /u/. In Hajong, the syllable structure is (C) (C) V (V) (C) (C).

Stress is not a distinctive feature but intonation is distinctive with rising and falling tones. The morphological processes in Hajong are devoicing and deaspiration of stops at the word-final word, assimilation, deletion, addition, and gemination.

7.1.3. Morphological Features

There are two number systems in Hajong: singular and plural. Singular numbers are suffix definitives, while the suffix *-g^hilui* is used to signify Plural. *-g^hilui* is used for both human and non-human nouns. Hajong possesses the natural gender system and the inanimate nouns generally do not show gender distinction. Gender nouns are morphologically differentiated in a variety of ways, including utilising separate noun bases for male and female, using gender-denoting attributive modifiers, and adding suffixes.

Hajong has a **nominative-accusative alignment case system**. S and A are treated the same by Hajong, but P is treated differently. Both S and A have a null marking on the full-NP subject, but marking on the full-NP object. The nominative, objective, genitive, locative, allative, ablative, and instrument case markers were discovered in Hajong. The nominative case in Hajong is unmarked. The object of a transitive sentence and the recipient or target of a di-transitive verb are both marked by the objective case. Like other IA languages, Hajong uses the same marker for accusative and dative cases. */-ge/* is mostly followed by definitive */-ruu/* or plural */-g^hilui /*. Non-human nouns generally don't carry an accusative case marker. The genitive marker is */-la/* whose primary function is to indicate possession. */b^haj/* is the allative case marker, while */t^hiki/* is the ablative case marker. The locative case is */-ni /*. The instrumental in Hajong is marked by */-diui /*.

Hajong classifiers are bound morphemes, suffixes to noun stem before the case markers, to deictic, and to quantifiers. They define countability, definiteness, semantic identification about shape, amount, and humanness. The classifier *-dʒon* is used in Hajong to indicate human beings especially when the people are being enumerated or counted. Non-human nouns are indicated with */-ra/* when the counting is one and six, but for counting from two to seven, it has different classifiers attached to it.

The complex noun is a derivation, compounding, and reduplication. In Hajong, compound nouns are composed of a noun and a noun, as well as an adjective and a noun. A noun can be derived from adjectives and verbs. The types of reduplicated structures in Hajong comprise morphological reduplication and lexical reduplication.

In Hajong, pronouns are differentiated by three persons and two numbers. These pronouns have been inflected for the case. The pro-forms in Hajong are demonstrative pronouns which has proximate: */i-dui, ei/* 'this', *u-gluu* 'those' and distal: */u-dui, ui/* 'that', *i-gluu* 'these'. The

relative pronouns in Hajong are *dʒui* ‘who’ (human) and *dʒi* ‘what’ (non-human). The interrogative pronouns for humans are /*kui*/ ‘who’ and for non-human is /*ki*/ ‘what’. Indefinite pronouns are created by adding the morpheme /-ba/ and the particle /-u/ to the interrogative pronoun /*kai* -ba/ ‘someone’ and *ki*-ba ‘something’; /*kai*-u/ ‘no one’ and /*kiʃu*/ ‘nothing’.

Physical qualities such as size, shape, age, material, colour, quantitative, number, ordinal; possessive adjectives; distributive adjectives; interrogative adjectives; deictic (demonstrative) adjectives are the most common sorts of adjectives. In Hajong, adjectives are formed from nouns and verbs. Positive, comparative, and superlative adjectival degrees are the three types of adjectival degrees. Positive degree construction contains postposition of comparison *neke-nui* ‘like as’. Comparative construction consists of noun with or without genitive *-lu* + postposition *ʃuiyu* / *ʃuite* ‘than’ as a standard of comparison, followed by an adjective. Superlative degree construction contains the pronoun *hobala* ‘everything’/‘everyone’ and the postposition of comparison *hobala ʃuiyu /sob ʃuiyu* ‘than/of all’. Determiners (such as demonstrative, possessive, classifier, and quantifier) precede a noun to provide information of quantity, specificity, and ownership.

The verb stems are the basic form of a verb, which can be inflected for tense, aspect, mood, and converb. Simple verbs, conjunct verbs, and compound verbs are the three types of main verbs. The most common verbs used in conjunct verbal constructions are /*howa*/ ‘to become’, /*kora*/ ‘to do’. In Hajong compound verbs is a combination of the semantically main verb in the form of perfective conjunctive participle and the vector verb followed by inflections. The verb *as* ‘have/exist’, *tʰak* ‘have/stay’, *ho* ‘became’ functions as equational, existential, possessive, and location copula in Hajong. Tense system in Hajong can be categorised into three-way distinction of tenses: present, past and future: past tense: /-le/ /-ile/; present tense: /-e/; future tense: /-bo/. The imperfective aspect marker is /-bun/ and the perfective aspect is /-se/.

In Hajong, morphologically, there are four types of moods: indicative, imperative, prohibitive, and contrafactive. Modality is partially concerned with epistemic categories of realis/irrealis, necessity, possibility, obligation, permission, certainty, etc. The modal verbs in Hajong are schematized as below: Verb-INF + verb-TAM. The modals in Hajong are *par* ‘may’; *pa* ‘be able’; *di* ‘give’; and *lag* ‘need’.

Infinitives, participles, conditional adverbials, and verbal nouns are all non-finite forms of verbs in Hajong. Infinitives are marked by /-ba/ and /-buu/. verbal nouns: /-a/, /-wa/ can take case endings, classifiers and in the genitive used to modify another noun

Hajong adverbs modify adjectives, verbs, and other adverbs. Derived adverbs are formed by adding derivative suffixes *-ke*, *-e*, *-te*, *-ni* to the base form of an adjective, and verb. Adverbs can be classified into the following subclasses based on their semantics: time, frequency, manner, place, and degree.

The interrogative words can be pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs. In Hajong, *kui* ‘who’, *ki* ‘what’ function as a pronoun, *kene* ‘why’, *keŋka* ‘how’, *kumai* ‘where’, *kunsome* ‘when’, *kundinu* ‘when, on what day’ function as an adverb, *koto* ‘how much’, *kotog^hilu* ‘how many’, *kun* ‘which’ function as adjectives and *ki* ‘interrogative particle’. Based on their function conjunction in Hajong can be divided into coordinating, subordinating, and correlative conjunctions. In Hajong there are different kinds of particles; which include the question particle, emphatic particle, inclusive and exclusive particles.

7.1.4. Syntactic Features

The basic constituent order in Hajong is SOV which can be used freely. The word order of Hajong is not rigid but the flexible constituent word order is possible. Subject, indirect object, direct object, the verb is the fundamental canonical word order for a declarative sentence in Hajong, with auxiliaries and modals following the main verb. A noun phrase consists of a noun which is the head and specifiers optionally followed or precede the head noun. In Hajong, a noun phrase is composed of three parts: (A) the head, (B) the determiner (s), and (C) the modifier (s).

The pre-nominal modifiers include determiners, adjectives, and adjective phrases. Determiners and modifiers precede the head. The following is the sequence of adjectives for the other constituents of the NP phrase: determiner - quantifier + classifier - adjective - noun. A head, an adverb, and adjectives make up the adjective phrase. A postposition preceded by NP makes up a postpositional phrase. A head and its modifiers make it into a verb phrase. A head adverb is followed by intensifiers in an adverb phrase.

The subordinate clause consists of adverbial clauses, complement clauses, and relative clauses. The finite noun clauses are marked by the complementizer *dʒe* and quotative complementizer *bile* while nominalizer markers /-a, -wa, -buu/ distinguish non-finite noun clauses. Externally headed relative clauses and relative-correlative clauses are the two types of relative clauses in Hajong. The finite forms of the verb and the non-finite forms of the verb distinguish adverbial clauses. Functionally adverbial clauses can be categorised as: time, location, manner, purpose, reason, and conditional. Coordination in Hajong consists of five semantic functions: conjunction coordination, disjunctive coordination, adversative coordination, negative coordination, causal coordination

The processes of negative formation from an affirmative sentence in Hajong are expressed through simple negative, imperative negation, and interrogative negation. The simple negative is expressed by inserting negative marker /nui/, /no/, /nai/ in the affirmative sentence and it occurs in pre-verbal position. There is also negative copula

Interrogatives in Hajong are yes-no questions and WH-question. The expected answer, yes-no questions can be divided into two categories: neutral yes-no questions and leading yes-no questions. In a simple clause, question words in Hajong occur *in situ*, that is, in the same position as the constituent that is being questioned. Unmarked or true imperatives, prohibitive imperatives, optative imperatives, hortative imperatives, and obligative imperatives are the five categories of imperative formulations.

7.2. Conclusion

This thesis was designed to accomplish the goal of writing a descriptive study of the Hajong language. This work will provide the linguistic record of the Hajong community and data accountability for future research. This study will also bring awareness to the Hajong community about the impending threat of language endangerment and the importance of language maintenance. Skutnabb-Kangas (2003), and Maffi (2005) stated that the preservation of endangered languages is important because of their ecology as linguistic diversity and biological diversity are closely interrelated. Hajong is an undocumented endangered language. The level of endangerment in Hajong comes under Mosely's (2007) classification of endangerment: as (1) *potentially endangered*. Based on the study of UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment framework (2003), Hajong falls under the class of "unsafe language" where most children speak the language; but it may be restricted

to the home domain. As a result, the Hajong language isn't always secure from the chance of disappearance within the future. If low language transmissions occur, it's going to result in a total language shift toward the dominant language. The other reasons for language endangerment in Hajong are: the negative mindset toward their language; dwindling domains; lack of governmental support; loss of materials for language training and literacy; lack of prestige in their home nation; economic hardship; public pressure from larger languages; the language is not being taught in schools. The majority of lexical words related to the indigenous concept of colour, flora, wildlife, games, number, cultural artefacts, and so on are unfamiliar to the younger generation due to long-term contact with the mainstream language Assamese. Language should be cultivated by its users with great effort; otherwise, it will become endangered, and endangered languages will become extinct, resulting in the loss of social, historical, ethnic, and ecological identity. As a result, there is a demand for full-size research within the Hajong language's documentation repository.

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THE NATURE OF LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT: A CASE STUDY OF HAJONG

ALBINA NARZARY

The results of the study show that Hajong language is unsafe, yet to be codified and lack written materials from the linguistic aspect. The other reasons behind the degree of language endangerment are the negative attitude of the people towards their language, dwindling domains, less population, lack of governmental support, lack of materials for language education and literacy etc.

Keywords: Language Documentation, Language Endangerment, Language Vitality, Language Attitude, Hajong

1. INTRODUCTION

Language is an important tool to safeguard our cultural values and identity; therefore, before it gets extinct language should be documented as early as possible. A language is endangered when its speakers cease to use it, use it in fewer domains, and use fewer of its registers and speaking styles, and or stop passing it on to next generation (UNESCO). Language can only exist when there is community to speak and transmit them. A community of people can exist only where there is a reliable environment for them to live in and a means of making a living. Where communities cannot thrive, their languages are in danger. When language loses their speakers, they die (Romaine 2007:127) Language death or loss of the world's languages is very common today especially among the indigenous people in the world. UNESCO Atlas of the *World's Languages in Danger* (2003) says that out of 6,000 existing languages in the world approximately 2,500 are endangered languages in five levels of endangerment: unsafe, definitely endangered, severely endangered, critically endangered and extinct. UNESCO estimates that 190 Indian languages are in danger and out of it 86 languages are from Northeastern India.

The crisis of endangerment was first brought into light by Krauss (1992). He divides the world languages into three categories: moribund, endangered and safe (1992:6). Moribund languages are those which are no longer spoken

by the children. He defines endangered as "those languages which, though now still being learned by children, will- if the present condition continue- cease to be learned by children during the coming century" (1992:6-7). And languages which have the official support of the state and have larger numbers of speakers are in the category of safer languages. In this situation, Hajong falls in the category of endangered language which has less population and lacks official support to save their language. Besides if the present condition continues it might stop passing it to the next generation.

It has been noted that there are 86 endangered languages from Northeastern State of India which is yet to be explored and documented. Most of these languages are in a stage of extinction in near future. Unfortunately, languages like Ahom, Moran, Sonowal are already extinct. Therefore an initiative should be done to preserve these endangered languages before it gets extinct. Language documentation is not new in the history even though, it has been come into noticed in the field of linguistics recently. 'Language documentation' or 'Documentary linguistics' (Himmelman 1998; 2002; 2006; Lehmann 2001; Austin 2010a; Grenoble 2010; Woodbury 2003; 2011) is new subfield of linguistics whose purpose is to preserve language, as it is naturally used in speech community, for both linguistic and cultural value (Unseth 2012:10). Language documentation (also known by the term 'documentary linguistics') is defined by Nikolaus Himmelmann as the subfield of linguistics that is 'concerned with the methods, tools, and theoretical underpinnings for compiling a representative and lasting multipurpose record of a natural language or one of its varieties' (Himmelman 2006). "The aim of language documentation is to provide a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community. This differs fundamentally from language description [which] aims at the record of a language as a system of abstract elements, constructions, and rules"

5. Sociolinguistic profile of the Hajong language

Albina Narzary : PhD, University of Hyderabad

Abstract

This paper is an attempt to study the Sociolinguistic Profile of the Hajong language, one of the endangered languages of Assam. This profile is about the sketch of language name, genetic affiliation, population, resources, multilingualism, language use, endangerment, code mixing, attitude and appreciates inquiry. The main aim is to study the present sociolinguistic profile of Hajong language and to investigate linguistic background, language proficiency of the users, sociolinguistic situation and language endangerment. The data were collected from a field visit to Goalpara district of Assam by means of questionnaire, interviews and personal observations. The participant sample includes 50 Hajong individuals living in the villages of Goalpara. The results of the study have shown that Hajong language is highly endangered with various internal and external forces.

1. Background

According to Grierson (1903) Hajong is a Tibeto-Burman clan settled in the districts of Mymensing and Sylhet, principally in the country at the foot of the Garo Hills....but the tribe has long abandoned its original form of speech. At present Hajong is classified in the Ethnologue as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Eastern zone, Bengali-Assamese (Gordon 2005). Hajong is an undocumented language which is mainly spoken in the Mymensingh district of Bangladesh and in Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, and Meghalaya in India. In Assam, Hajong is spoken in the Karbi Anglong, and North Cachar Hills. And in the plain districts of Assam, Hajong is scattered in Lakhimpur, Udalguri, Dhubri, Bongaigaon, Chirang and Goalpara. The total number of Hajong speakers according to chronological population list of Tribes in Assam as per as 2011 census is 34,253 in plains and in hills 436.

The present paper is about the sociolinguistic profile of Hajong mainly spoken from Dhaigaon Solmari, Tilapara, Khardang, West Matia and West Kadamtala villages of Goalpara district of Assam. This profile is a short sketch of Language name, genetic affiliation, population, resources, multilingualism, language use, endangerment, code mixing, and attitude and appreciates inquiry.

2. Methodology

2.1 Survey location

Data have been mainly collected from Dhaigaon Solmari, Tilapara, Khardang, West Matia, West Kadamtala villages of Goalpara.

2.2 Selection of the respondents

Total	50	
Sex	M	22
	F	28
Ranges of Age	16-80	
Education	Preliterate	24
	Literate	18
	Educated	8

2.3 Methods of gathering information

KINSHIP TERMS WITH REFERENCE TO HAJONG LANGUAGE OF ASSAM

Albina Narzary, Research Scholar, University of Hyderabad

Abstract

This paper is an attempt to study the kinship terms in Hajong, one of the endangered languages of Assam. The main goal of this paper is to study the detailed description and analysis of the Kinship terms and its forms of Address and Terms of Reference in Hajong. Hajong is an undocumented language which is mainly spoken in the Mymensingh district of Bangladesh and in Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and Meghalaya in India. The present data were collected by means of questionnaire, interviews and observations from native speakers of Hajong living in Goalpara, Chirang, Bongaigaon districts of Assam. The results indicate that Hajong follows the patrilineal system of kinship. Long before converting to Hinduism there was existence of matrilineal clan system and this clan were known as 'nikanis', (Hajong, 2002) but this system no longer exist to the present generation. It is seen that in Hajong kinship terms Hajong language differentiates kin on the basis of generation, age within a specific generation, gender, through siblings and offspring's. The forms of Address and Terms of Reference is confined to the cultural pattern of their community. The study investigated address terms in both direct forms of introduction and indirect address forms, which further analyzed politeness strategies taking the consideration upon the age, gender and power issues.

Keywords: Kinship Terms, Forms of Address, Terms of Reference

Introduction

A kinship term is employed to designate a category of kinsmen; a kinsman an individual to whom one (ego) is related by genealogical connection, and genealogical connection are those culturally posited relations among individuals which are presumed to be established by processes of conception and birth and which are held to be inalienable and congenital (Sheffler, 1972). Anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan who first performed survey of the kinship terminologist used around the world discusses different sets of kinship terminologies viz., kin terminologies distinguish between sexes (i.e., the difference between a brother and a sister) and between generations (i.e., the difference between a child and a parent). Moreover, he argued, kin terminologies distinguish between relatives by blood and marriage. He also gives the distinction between descriptive and classificatory kin terms. He defines descriptive terms as referring to only one type of relationship, while classifications ones as referring to many types of relationships. According to Stone (1997: 5), kin is the recognition of a relationship between persons based on descent or marriage. If the relationship between one person and another is considered by them to involve descent, the two are "consanguine" (blood) relatives. If the relationship has been established through marriage, it is affinal.



Reduplication, Expressives, and Echo-Formation in Hajong

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Abstract: This paper is an attempt to document and investigate the reduplication in Hajong. Hajong is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Bangladesh and Indian northeastern states of Assam, Meghalaya, and Arunachal Pradesh. The present study is based on the data collected from 12 Hajong speakers of the Goalpara district of Assam. Reduplication is a widespread phenomenon that is common in the languages of Southeast Asia. However, grammarians have ignored this phenomenon primarily because they follow the Western grammar description model, where reduplicated structures do not exist or are rare (Abbi, 1992). The aim is to study the reduplicated structures, expressive and echo-formation and its semantic aspects in Hajong. There are mainly two types of reduplicated structures in Hajong: Morphological reduplication and Lexical reduplication. The morphological reduplication is expressed through expressive. "Expressive behave and function like regular words and thus form a part of the lexicons of Indian languages" (Abbi, 2018). The semantics of expressive morphology in Hajong represent five senses of perception, states of mind and manner of an action, and kinship terminology. However, lexical reduplication is constructed through the process of echo-formation (partial reduplication), compound, and complete word reduplication. Echo-word Formation acquires the status of a meaningful element only after it is attached to a word (Abbi, 1992). Echo formation is formed by replacing the initial consonant sound in the reduplicant. The common replacer sounds in Hajong are /tʃ/, /t/, /tʰ/ /m/, and /s/. The semantics of Hajong's echo formation represent generality, plurality, intensity, and sets or types.

Keywords: Reduplication, Hajong, Morphological reduplication, Lexical reduplication, Expressive, Echo-formation.

About the Author



Ms. Albina Narzary is a Ph.D. scholar at the University of Hyderabad's Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies. Her research interests includes Language documentation, language endangerment, and Applied Linguistics. Her current research focused on language documentation and composing a descriptive analysis of the Hajong language, which is one of Assam's endangered languages.

Introduction

Hajong is the least documented endangered language that is spoken by the small minority group living in Bangladesh and India. In India, Hajong people are mostly living in Meghalaya, Assam, and Arunachal Pradesh (Moseley, 2010). From the analysis under the UNESCO's classification of an endangered language, Hajong can be put under the level of unsafe language – where most children speak the language; but it may be restricted to the home domain. According to the 2011 Indian Census Report, Hajong mother-tongue speakers in Assam has a population of 27,521.



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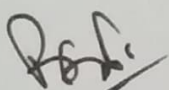
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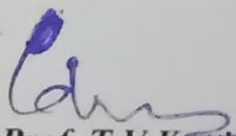
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Reduplication, Expressive, and Echo-Word Formation in Hajong

(Sujoy Sarkar)

Coordinator, ICOLSI-43

(G. Umamaheshwara Rao)

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A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE HAJONG LANGUAGE

by Albina Narzary

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