

# **A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF SÜMI-NAGA**

**A thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad for the degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**in**

**APPLIED LINGUISTICS**

**H. SALOME KINNY**



**CENTRE FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS AND TRANSLATION  
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**SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES**

**UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD**

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**Centre of Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies**

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**June 1014**



## **DECLARATION**

I **H. Salome Kinny**, hereby declare that this thesis entitled “**A Descriptive Grammar of Sümi-Naga**” submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of **Prof. Uma Maheshwar Rao** is a bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this University or any other University or Institutions for the award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/INFLIBNET.

Hyderabad  
30<sup>th</sup> June 2014

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## **CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**A Descriptive Grammar of Sümi-Naga**” submitted by **H. Salome Kinny** bearing Regd. No. **08HAPH05** is a bonafide work carried by her under my supervision and guidance which is a plagiarism free thesis.

The thesis has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abl.	Ablative case
Acc.	Accusative case
Adj.	Adjective
Art.	Article
Ben.	Benefactive
C	Consonant
Comp.	Complementizer
Complt.	Completion
Cond.	Conditionals
Dat.	Dative case
Dem.	Demonstrative
Dl.	Dual
Dub.	Dubitative
Erg.	Ergative
Fem.	Feminine
Foc.	Focus marker
Fut.	Future
Fut.part.	Future participle
Gen.	Genitive case
Hab.	Habitual aspect
Imp.	Imperative
Inf.	Infinitive
Intr.	Intransitive
Inst.	Instrumental
Loc.	Locative case
Neg.	Negation
Nom.	Nominative case
Obg.	Obligatory mood
Part.	Participle

Ppl.	Perfect participle
p	Person
Pl.	Plural
Pos.	Possessive
Pre.	Present
Pre.perf.	Present perfect
Pr.prog.	Present progressive
Prog.	Progressive
Pst.	Past
Rec.	Reciprocal
Tr.	Transitive
V	Vowel
Q.T	Question tag

## Acknowledgements

For I know the plans I have for you, declares the Lord, plans to prosper you and not to harm you, plans to give you hope and a future.

*Jeremiah 29:11*

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*May the good Lord, giver of all that is good and worthy bless each one of you!*

*-Salo Kinny*



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## **Chapter- 1**

### **1.1. Introduction**

This thesis is an effort in the compilation of the descriptive grammar of Sümi-Naga, a speech of Sümi or Sema community in Nagaland. In linguistics, grammar can be defined as the total sum of the structural rules governing the different aspects such as syntax, morphology, phonology as well as semantics of a language. There are two major varieties of grammar of language, for instance; Prescriptive grammar and Descriptive grammar, each of which again can be approached from different models, viz., Structural, Generative, Functional etc. in their own alternate way of analyzing grammar.

In this thesis, we shall attempt to compile the Descriptive grammar of Sümi-Naga. Descriptive grammar in its simplest definition can be defined as the study which revolves around the description of the structure of the language as used by the speakers for their communication through speaking, writing and reading purpose. Descriptive grammar unlike Prescriptive grammar does not go about setting rules for the society which usage shall be followed, it instead studies the rules that govern the usages of the language in its varied functions such as phrases, clauses etc.

### **1.2. Location**

Nagaland, the 16<sup>th</sup> State of the Indian Union came to be established on 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 1963, with an area of 16, 579 Km. It is located in the North-Eastern part of India surrounded by Assam in the North and West, Burma (Myanmar) and Arunachal Pradesh in the East and Manipur in the South<sup>1</sup>. According to 2011 Census of India, the population of Nagaland stands 1, 980, 602. The state comprises of seventeen officially recognized communities, viz., Angami, Ao, Chakesang, Chang, Khiamniungan, Konyak, Kuki, Lotha, Mao, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Rongmei, Sangtam, Sümi, Yimchunger and Zeliang.

Sümi-Naga constitutes one of the major Naga communities. According to the Census of India 2011, the population of the community stands 242,000. Sümi-Naga inhabits the region of Zunheboto district. They reside in other parts of the State as well. Sümi-Nagas

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<sup>1</sup> Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 2008.

have a clan system. The chief source of livelihood used to be agriculture but with recent times, there has been gradual shift towards setting up own business to holding jobs in both private and public sector. Today, Christianity is the religion of the community, though in the past, they used to follow their own traditional religion based on nature and local beliefs.

Sümi-Naga holds a rich cultural practices and attires. With the advent of Christianity, most of the traditional cultural practices were done away with. The two major festivals of the community are *Tuluni* celebrated in the month of July and *Ahuna* in the month of November. Both the festivals are related to agriculture signifying bountifulness and thanksgiving the homecoming of the harvest. In the present contexts, these festivals are used as a means to showcase the community's cultural and traditional practices with the aim of preserving as well as educating the younger generations about the past. Cultural dances, songs, display of attires accompanied by the huge banquets. The staple food of the community is rice, along with the meat items pork, beef, chicken etc. plus a variety of leafy vegetables.

#### **1.4. Language**

Sümi-Naga is the language of the community. Sümi-Naga belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family and has the word order of SVO. With the advent of Christianity which brought along the Roman orthography as the script adopted for the speech of the community. Unlike the other Naga communities such as Ao-Naga which has three distinct main dialects: *Chungli*, *Mongsen* and *Changki*<sup>2</sup>, Sümi-Naga does not have recognizably different dialects. Instead the language slightly differs in usage and vocabulary according to the area.

##### **1.4.1. Usage of the language**

Sümi-Naga is spoken by the community in formal as well as informal settings. In the recent times, many initiatives have been taken up by the Sümi Literature Board (SLB) to introduce Sümi-Naga as a part of the academic subject. As of now the language is

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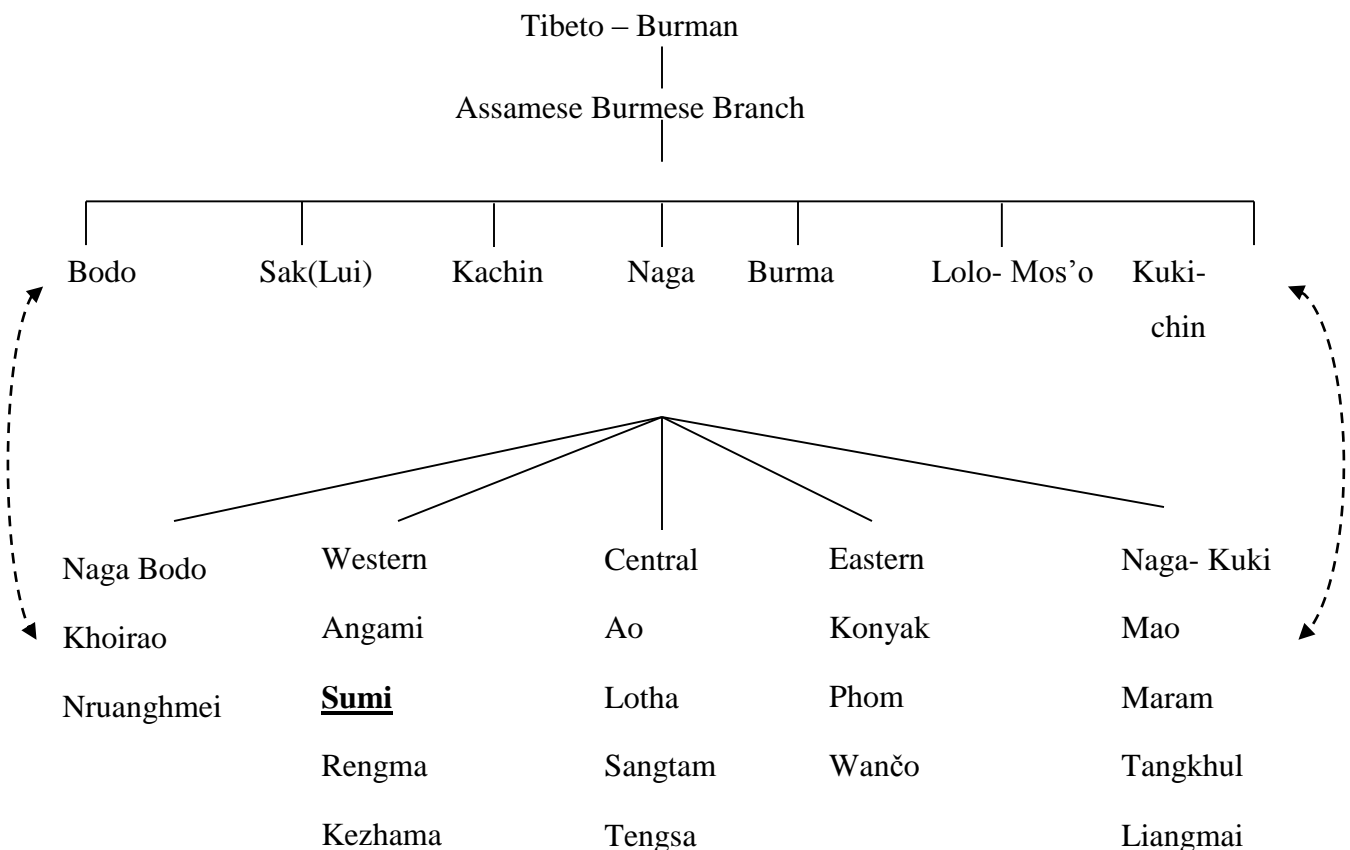
<sup>2</sup> Tamsunungsang, T. 2003. The Structure of Mongsen: Phonology and Morphology. M.Phil dissertation. University of Hyderabad, A.P.

primarily taught mostly in the Government Schools which offers it as an optional subject. Sümi-Naga also constitutes as the medium of instruction in the Government schools in most of the community's villages. Sümi Literature Board has now come up with textbooks which can be integrated as study material in academic and educational set-up up to secondary level.

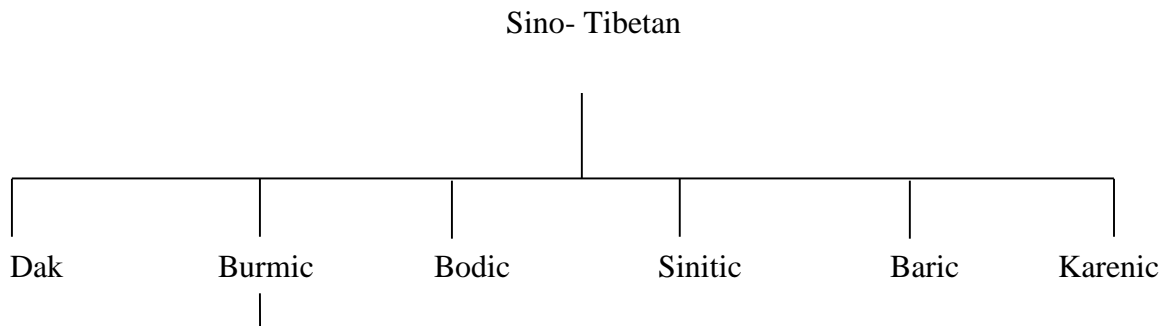
### **1.5. Classification**

Under the classification of language, we shall discuss the three main classifications of the Naga languages in general and point out where Sümi-Naga has been marked in the chart. We shall discuss the language classification:

The first classification here is by George A. Grierson (1987). Taking upon the geographical location, he has placed the Naga languages under the Assamese Burmese branch which comes under the umbrella of Tibeto-Burman. He has further classified the Assamese Burmese branch into seven sub-groups. The Naga sub-group is further divided into Naga-Bodo sub-group, Western sub-group, Central sub-group, Eastern sub-group and Naga-Kuki Sub group. Sümi-Naga has been placed under Western sub-group. Most of the names of the languages displayed in the chart have been replaced by their current names.



The second classification that we have here is by Robert Shafer (1955). In his classification, Shaffer has put Sümi-Naga (which is shown in the chart as Simi) under the eastern branch unlike the previous classification by Grierson. Here we have only shown the section related to the Naga languages. The languages in the groups remain more or less the same.



#### Kukish Section



#### Western Branch

- Zeme
- Nruanghmei
- Liangmai etc

#### Northern Naga –Branch

- Lotha
- Ao
- Sangtam
- Yimchungru

#### Eastern Branch

- Rengma
- **Simi**
- Angami etc

The third classification is from Robbins Burling<sup>3</sup> who places Sümi-Naga under the Kuki-Chin Naga branch. Under this branch Sümi-Naga comes in the Angami-Pochuri sub-grouping along with Angami, Chokri, Kheza, Mao [Southern Sangtam, Eastern Rengma], Ntenyi, Meluri [Anyo], Pochuri, Rengma proper.

### **1.6. Previous works**

The earliest work on Sümi-Naga can be traced back to George A. Grierson, “Languages of North-Eastern India” Volume 2. (Reprinted 1987), a small account of the community has been given in his book which is a representation of the account of Mr. Davis in his Census report of Assam 1891. He gives a sketch of Sümi-Naga grammar based on the forms found in the listing of words and information supplied by Mr. A. W. Davis. Grierson has mentioned in his sketch, prefixes and suffixes, the article, gender, number, case, adjectives, nouns, pronouns, verbs followed by free translation of some Sümi-Naga tales.

The next work can be traced to Hutton, in his book, “The Sema Nagas” (1968/1921). Towards the end of his book, he has included a brief sketch of Sümi-Naga grammar with basic vocabulary. This work is comparatively extensive with reference to the previous works. Besides them, the description of Sümi-Naga as a community or as a language has been found under varied classifications of the language family.

The most extensive work on the community’s language is done by M.V. Sreedhar. He has presented his work in “Sema Phonetic Reader” (1976) and “A Sema Grammar” (1980). His second book on Sümi-Naga first deals with the phonology followed by grammar. This work is highly appreciated because of the great deal of work he has done to come up with comparatively a detail grammar of the community.

Closer home, Sümi Literature Board (SLB) which forms the apex body of the community, which works for the documentation of the language, has produced bi-lingual dictionaries. Other than that, most works are related to religion, festivals of the community etc. There are others who have produced dictionaries outside the banner of

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<sup>3</sup> Graham Thurgood and Randy j. LaPolla (eds). 2003. The Sino-Tibetan Languages. Routledge, London and New York.

SLB which can be more resourceful than the one produced by SLB. For instance, K. Nishena Nekha has produced two self-taught vocabulary listings of Sümi-Naga which also work as dictionary. The latest addition to the Sümi-Naga dictionaries is by I. Lozhevi Sema, “Sümi Tsashe Anglo Sümi Dictionary” (2012) which is actually the second edition of his previous work.

Dr. Hesheto Y. Chishi in his book, “Introduction to Sütsah (Sümi Language)” (2009) has attempted to compile his book on the language of the community but a good portion of the book ends up under the folk-lore’s and folk-tales, festivals, traditional attire, rituals, cotton spinning etc.

### **1.7. Methodology**

The entire thesis has been compiled using Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire series framework. This framework has been used to come up with the ground work for writing the descriptive grammar of Sümi-Naga. Using the questionnaire, data has been collected and analyzed and discussed for all the chapters. One very important factor to be considered here is that, this research work being the first of its kind, it has not been easy to come up with all the descriptions that the questionnaire demanded. This thesis is not free from flaws and stands for corrections and revisions as well as subtractions. As stated, this thesis can be used as the ground work for further research in this subject matter.

Being a native speaker of the language and the topic being descriptive, no extensive field work was carried out. The data were collected based on the author’s native speech and then cross-checked for its liability with the peer group sharing the same language. For the transcription, in the entire thesis, the vowels and consonants have been transcribed as per the International Phonetic Alphabets (IPA).

#### **1.7.1. The Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire**

Bernard Comrie and Norval Smith from Department of Linguistics, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Germany, developed this Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire in the year 1977. The aim of this questionnaire is to serve as a tool for writing grammars. The entire format of the questionnaire has been done in such a way



that almost every possible structure available in any language has been covered. The questionnaire has been divided into five major sections; 1. Syntax, 2. Morphology, 3. Phonology, 4. Ideophones and interjections and 5. Lexicon. Each section has their own set of questions covering all the assigned areas. With this questionnaire the researcher can ask basic questions in compiling the descriptive grammar. For the descriptive grammar on Sümi-Naga, the fourth section dealing with ideophones and interjections has been omitted for the time being because it is not easy to obtain the data in this regard.

### **1.7.2. Works compiled by the questionnaire**

A series of grammars have been compiled with the aid of this questionnaire. Descriptive grammar series using this questionnaire have been compiled and published on different languages like Kannada, Babungo, Nkore-Kiga in series by Croom Helm, North Holland and Routledge.

For the current work, the following four descriptive grammars developed following the Lingua descriptive Study have been consulted;

1. Donohue, Mark. 1999. *Warembori Grammar Sketch*. Sentani: University of Sydney.
2. Schaub, Willi. 1985. *Croom Helm Descriptive Grammars: Babungo*. Sydney: Croom Helm.
3. Sridhar, S.N. 2007. *Modern Kannada Grammar*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors.
4. Taylor, Charles. 1985. *Croom Helm Descriptive Grammars: Nkore-Kiga*. Sydney: Croom Helm.

### **1.7.3. Advantages and disadvantages of using the questionnaire**

The advantage of using this questionnaire based study is that it gives the researcher to have a clear cut idea about what is required to compile a descriptive grammar with all the basic questions the questionnaires has for every sections. It enables the researcher to compile a comprehensive descriptive grammar. For a language which has no script of its own and the source of the community's literature being oral and which has been only

partly documented in Roman orthography, compiling an impressive descriptive grammar is not an easy task. But this questionnaire enables the researcher to ask all the basic structural questions about one's own language and explore all the possibilities and features that the language might have or have not.

The disadvantage of this questionnaire is that it makes the research very extensive but in a limited perspective and time consuming. If a detailed precise research work has to be done, one section at a time will be ideal. So as mentioned in the beginning of methodology, this research work on the descriptive grammar is more of a ground work covering four areas of Sümi-Naga language.

#### **1.7.4. Roman orthography**

As mentioned before, Sümi-Naga uses Roman orthography for its transcription. In practice spelling that is used in the compilation of dictionaries on Sümi-Naga is followed. However, in the entire thesis, phonemic descriptions have been used. The following are the list of some of the orthographic symbols used in colloquial written texts adopted for the current work;

ü	ĩ
aa	ā
uu	ī
ch	č
chh	čh
gh	ʏ
j	ʒ
ng	ŋ
x	x
sh	š

## **1.8. Chapters**

The thesis consists of five chapters in total. We shall discuss the content of the chapters in the following sections;

### **Chapter-1**

The first chapter serves as an introduction to the thesis and the research work that has been carried out. The thesis deals with the descriptive grammar of Sümi-Naga so the chapter begins with a brief introduction to the nature of descriptive grammar. This chapter includes a description about the location of Sümi-Naga. The language of the community as well as the usage of the language is discussed. This is followed by the classification of the language. Under this section, the family tree of the language is illustrated. The previous works carried out on the language of the community also find a mention in this chapter. The methodology that has been followed for carrying out the research work is discussed. This chapter gives an introduction of all the chapters that constitute the thesis.

### **Chapter-2**

This chapter is based on Syntax but unlike other chapters, not a detailed work has been done under this module. Only certain features of Syntax have been worked upon. Sentence structure of the language is mostly worked out in this chapter besides other structural questions. Only select structures are discussed in this chapter.

### **Chapter-3**

Morphology is the third chapter in this thesis. It forms the core of the research work done. This chapter is sub-divided into various sections under various headings. The chapter begins with the analysis of Inflection. Under inflection, we have noun-inflection where data has been analyzed to the syntactic and semantic functions of nouns.

After noun inflection, detailed work on pronouns is discussed with suitable examples. Verb morphology forms the third topic of this chapter. Here, we have analyzed data for voice, tense, aspect, mood and the finite and non-finite forms etc. The next section deals with adjectives. Sümi-Naga is a postpositional language and so this forms another sub-

heading in this chapter. A detailed description of the numerals/quantifiers is discussed in this chapter as well. For adverbs, we have analyzed data to show how the various kinds of comparisons and degrees of quality are expressed. Derivational morphology forms the last section of this chapter on morphology.

#### **Chapter-4**

The fourth chapter is on phonology. The chapter begins with introduction to the distinctive segments of Sümi-Naga followed by a table illustrating the place and manner of articulation of the distinctive segments. Every non-syllabic has been described in detail with a list of examples to show the position in which they occur in a word. Minimal pairs have been listed as well. After the non-syllabics, syllabics have been described with examples. Under phonotactics, the distribution of non-syllabic and vowel clusters is analyzed. Suprasegmentals under which tones that are functional in Sümi-Naga are described.

#### **Chapter-5**

Lexicon constitutes the last chapter of the thesis. A detailed description of the kinship terminology is given. Under the kinship terminology, the Generic Possessive Marker (GPM) which is very vital in Sümi-Naga is discussed. Along with that various terminologies dealing with color, body-parts, cooking, food items, household items, weekdays, months, animals, birds and greetings are listed. Basic vocabulary of the language is listed at the end of the chapter.

#### **Text**

Four commonly found and popular Sümi-Naga folktales have been glossed in the text section. The glossing that is followed here is word to word alignment. The text in phonemic transcription with glossing and translation in English for accompanying the analytical chapters is the most important chapter adding authenticity to the language.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **SYNTAX**

Syntax is the description of meaningful structures formed of words and various relations that came into existence due to these structures. In this chapter, we shall briefly discuss the syntax of Sümi-Naga. Not all the syntactic features have been analyzed, only select structures will be analyzed.

#### **2.1 General questions**

##### **2.1.1 Sentence-types**

###### **2.1.1.1 Direct and Indirect Speech**

In Sümi-Naga, indirect speech is more frequent than direct speech in discourse. The same can be seen in most of the written text of the language except in the text that is translated. For the expression of indirect object, /kepi/ the complementizer is used. /ani/ and /čeni/ that occur at the end of most sentences in Sümi-Naga, have different functions as ‘have’, present perfect, progressive, present progressive and verb be. /čeni/ can mean; progressive and past habitual. The marker /-va/ can be either the completion marker, present perfect or past tense marker.

#### **Direct speech:**

1. inaka -no **pi**, “ikivi -ye apu’ kivi”

Inaka Erg. said Ikivi Erg. boy good

‘Inaka said, Ikivi is a good boy’

#### **Indirect speech:**

2. ikivi -ye apu’ kivi **kepi** inaka -no **pi**  
Ikivi nom. boy good Comp. Inaka Erg. said  
‘Inaka said that Ikivi is a good boy’

**Direct speech:**

3. inaka -no **pi**, “ni -ye apu’ kivi”  
Inaka Erg. said, I Nom. boy good”  
‘Inaka said, I am a good boy’

**Indirect speech:**

4. pa -ye apu’ kivi **kepi** inaka -no **pi**  
he Nom. boy good Comp. Inaka Erg. said  
‘Inaka said that he is a good boy’

**Direct speech:**

5. inaka -no **pi**, ‘no -ye apu’ kivi’  
Inaka Erg. said, ‘you Nom. boy good’  
‘Inaka said, you are good boy’

**Indirect speech:**

6. no -ye apu’ kivi **kepi** inaka -no **pi**  
you Nom. boy good Comp. Inaka Erg. said  
‘Inaka said that you are a good boy’

**Direct speech:**

7. aste -no **pi** alo -ye muzuthi ani  
Aste Erg. said alo Nom. hungry be  
‘Aste said, Alo is hungry’

**Indirect speech:**

8. alo -ye muzuthi ani **kepi** aste -no **pi**  
Alo Nom. hungry be Comp. Aste Erg. said

‘Aste said that Alo is hungry’

### **2.1.1.2 Interrogative sentences**

In Sümi-Naga, interrogatives are realized by appending /kya/ at the end of a sentence. Sometimes /ye/ is also for interrogative.

#### **2.1.1.2.1 Yes-no questions**

The yes-no question markers /kya/ and /ye/ always occur at the end of the sentence.

9. no -ye ana ču -va **kya?**  
you Nom. food eat Pst. Q.T  
‘Have you eaten food?’

10. ikivi -ye kaku phi ani **kya?**  
Ikivi Nom. kaku read Prog. Q.T  
‘Is Ikivi reading a book?’

#### **2.1.1.2.1.1 Neutral yes-no questions**

The positive yes and no questions are neutral with no predisposition of expecting either an affirmative or negative answer.

#### **2.1.1.2.1.2 Leading questions**

For leading questions expecting the answer yes, the question particle /kya/ still comes at the end like the yes-no questions.

11. inaka -ye aki -lo iyi -va **kya?**  
Inaka Nom. home Loc. come Complt. Q.T  
‘Has Inaka come home?’

12. panoŋu -ye iyi -nani **kya?**

they    Nom.   come   Prog.   Q.T  
'Are they coming?'

For leading questions expecting the answer no, the negation /mo/ along with /kya/ are added at the end. Affirmative answers can be given inspite of the addition of negation.

13. kakheli   -ye   iyi   -mo   -va   **kya?**  
Kakheli   Nom.   come   Neg.   Pre.perf.   Q.T  
'Has Kakheli not come?'

14. panoṇu   -ye   iyi   -mo   -nani   **kya?**  
they    Nom.   come   Neg.   Prog.   Q.T  
'Are they not coming?'

#### **2.1.1.2.1.3 Alternative**

Alternative questions can be constructed with /keo/ that comes in between the two options in the given question with /kya/ in the ending.

15. no   -ye   ayezü   kiči -Ø   **keo**   kusa -Ø   **kya?**  
you   Nom.   vegetable   boil\_Pst.   or   fry\_Pst.   Q.T  
'Did you boiled the vegetable or fried it?'

16. no   -ye   zü   **ani**   **keo**   ithu   ani   **kya?**  
you   Nom.   sleep   Prog.   or   awake   be   Q.T  
'Are you sleeping or awake?'

#### **2.1.1.2.2 Question-word questions**

In English the question-word questions are referred to as 'WH' words because they have the letters 'WH' in the beginning of the words. Similarly in Sümi-Naga, question words are formed to the syllable /kV/ or /khV/. Question-word-question is used to ask certain type of questions pertaining to specific functions.



The following are the list of question-word questions:

/kiu/ /ku/	‘what’
/kiši/	‘how’
/kušiye/	‘why’
/kuyou/	‘when’
/khu/	‘who’
/khila/	‘where’
/khipau/	‘which one’
/khiuno/	‘by whom’
/khiulo/ /khiuvilo/	‘to whom’
/khuwu/	‘whose’
/khikhiu/	‘which’
/khikhiumu/	‘whichever’
/khijehi/	‘how many’ ‘how much’

#### **2.1.1.2.2.1 Elements of sentence that can be questioned**

##### **2.1.1.2.2.1.1 Elements of the main clause that can be questioned**

In Sümi-Naga, any element of the main clause can be questioned except for the verb, replacing it by the question-word question. The question tag /kya/ always comes at the end of the question. We shall see the illustrations of the varied elements of a main clause sentence that can be questioned;

#### **Direct object questioned**

17. ikivi -no inoto -lo amyā tsü-Ø

Ikivi Erg. Inoto to toy give\_Pst

‘Ikivi gave a toy to Inoto’

18. ikivi -no inoto -lo **kiu** tsü-Ø kya?  
 Ikivi Erg. Inoto to what give\_Pst. Q.T  
 ‘What did Ikivi give to Inoto?’

### **Subject of the sentence questioned**

19. **khu** -no inoto -lo amya tsü-Ø kya?  
 who Erg. Inoto to toy give\_Pst. Q.T  
 ‘Who gave toy to inoto?’

### **Indirect object questioned**

20. ikivi -no **khu** lo amya tsü-Ø kya?  
 Ikivi Erg. who to toy give\_Pst. Q.T  
 ‘Who did Ikivi give a toy?’

### **Subject, direct and indirect object questioned**

21. **khu** -no **khiuvi** -lo **ku** tsü-Ø kya?  
 who Erg. to whom to what give\_Pst. Q.T  
 ‘Who did give what whom?’

### **2.1.1.2.2.1.2 Elements of subordinate clauses that can be questioned**

The elements of the subordinate clause cannot be questioned separately like the way we saw in the main clause case. The whole elements of the subordinate clause has to be repeated along with the question word and question tag to be questioned.

22. ni -ye alomsü -nani  
 I Nom. worry shall  
 ‘I shall worry’

23. kušiye no -ye alomsü -nani kya?

why you Nom. worry shall Q.T

‘Why shall you worry?’

#### **2.1.1.2.2.1.3 Elements of noun phrases that can be questioned**

All elements of the noun phrase except for the verb can be questioned. The question tag /kya/ comes at the end of the question. The question word can either occur in the beginning or before the verb in the question.

24. i-za` -no i-pu -lo Kučou-yesì hipau tsi-Ø  
GPM-mother Erg. GPM-father to bible this give\_Pst

‘My mother gave this bible to my father’

25. i-za` -no i-pu -lo **kiu** tsi-Ø kya?  
GPM-mother Erg. GPM-father to what give\_Pst Q.T

‘What did my mother give to my father’

#### **2.1.1.2.2.1.4 Elements of postpositional phrase that can be questioned**

The entire element of the postpositional phrase has to be repeated along with question word and question tag.

26. pa -no kaku **alipa** -lo xi -ve  
he Erg. book bed Loc. keep Pst.  
‘He kept the book on the bed’

27. pa -ye kaku **khila** xi -ve kya?  
he Nom. book where keep Pst. Q.T  
‘Where did he keep the book?’

#### **2.1.1.2.2.1.5 Elements of coordinate clause that can be questioned**

The elements of the coordinate clause can be questioned with question word and question tag.

28. ikivi ŋo inoto kuma **dimapur -lo** ilo  
 Ikivi and Inoto Dl. Dimapur Loc. went  
 ‘Ikivi and Inoto went to Dimapur’

29. ikivi ŋo inoto kuma **khila** ilo kya?  
 Ikivi and Inoto Dl. where Q.T  
 ‘Where did Ikivi and Inoto went?’

30. inaka bonoli eno inoto **dimapur lo** ilo kya?  
 Inaka Bonoli and Inoto Dimapur Loc. Q.T  
 ‘Did Inaka, Bonoli, Ikivi and Inoto go to Dimapur?’

#### **2.1.1.2.2.1.6 Number of elements that can be questioned in a sentence**

There is no limit on the number of elements that can be questioned at one go in a sentence.

#### **2.1.1.12.2 Position of the questioned element**

There is no change or shift in the position of the questioned element in a sentence. The intonation remains the same as well. Question word may occur either in the beginning or before the verb in a question.

#### **2.1.1.2.3 Echo questions**

##### **2.1.1.2.3.1 Yes-no echo questions**

For the echo questions, the entire parts of the sentence have to be repeated and end up with the question particle /kya/. However, there is also change in the pronoun used. The first person pronoun is changed to second person pronoun.

31. ni -ye iši akuho lo wu -čeni  
 I Nom. today church Loc. go -ing

‘I am going to church today’

32. **no** -ye iši akuho lo wu čeni **kya?**

you Nom. today church Loc. go -ing Q.T

‘Are you going to church today?’

#### **2.1.1.2.3.2 Question-word echo-questions**

There are three ways of dealing with question-word echo-questions. The first will be simply asking the question-word and the second is adding verb to the question verb and the third way is adding /ye/ and /pa/ after the question-word which is followed by the verb.

33. ni -ye akuho -lo wu čeni

i Nom. church Loc. go -ing

‘I am going to church’

34. khila?

Where?

‘Where?’

35. **no** -ye khila wu -čeni **kya?**

you Nom. where go -ing Q.T

‘Where are you going?’

36. akuho lo

church Loc.

‘To church’

In the second way, one need not specify the pronoun but at the same time it can also be specified. It is more of optional.

37. no -ye khila wu -čeni kya?

you Nom. where go -ing Q.T

‘Where are you going?’

38. kušiye inaka -ye asübo miče ani kya?

why Inaka Nom. tree cut prog Q.T

‘Why is Inaka cutting the tree?’

39. kušiye khu -no ku miče ani kya?

why who Nom. what cut prog Q.T

‘Who is cutting what and why?’

#### **2.1.1.2.3.3-4 Question echo-questions**

Yes-no questions, echo-questions and question-word questions and echo-question can be constructed but the usage is very minimal in Sümi-Naga.

#### **2.1.1.2.3.5 number of elements that can be questioned in echo-questions**

All elements of echo-questions can be constructed and there is no restriction on the number of elements that can be questioned at a time.

#### **2.1.1.2.4 Answers**

##### **2.1.1.2.4.1 Answers as distinct speech acts**

Answers acts as distinct speech acts through the response particles like /iye/ ‘yes’ /mo/ ‘no’ /mutha/ ‘don’t know’ along with the addition of /-va/ ‘yes’ and /-mphi/ ‘not’/ ‘no’ to the verb. This would involve change of pronoun.

40. **no** -ye ana ču -va **kya?**

you Nom. food eat Pst. Q.T

‘Have you eaten food?’

41. **iye ni** -ye ana ču -va

yes I Nom. food eat Pst.

‘Yes, I have eaten food’

42. **mo, ni** -ye ana ču-Ø -mphi

No, I Nom. food eat\_Pst Neg.

‘No, I have not eaten food’

The response can be one word only forming incomplete sentence. One can respond by adding just /-va/ ‘yes’ and /-mphi/ ‘not’ to the verb or just /iye/ ‘yes’ or /mo/ ‘no’ in yes-no questions. For question word questions the answer is usually given in complete sentence.

### **2.1.1.3 Imperative sentence**

The construction of imperative sentences is very simple. The imperative sentences contain subject and verb only in most cases. The intonation on the verb rises with the meaning it implies. For example if the verb in the imperative sentence indicates command, the intonation raises.

43. hila iyi -lo

Here come Imp.

44. noŋu -qo hila iyi -lo

you Pl here come Imp.

‘You all come here!’

‘Come here!’

The number-person combinations are possible in imperative sentence construction viz. involving second person and sometimes third person. The negation in imperative sentence is expressed through /ke/ ‘no’ / ‘not’ which comes after the verb.

43.

45. atsa pi -ke, kaku phi - Ø

word talk not book read\_Pst

‘Do not talk, read book!’

46. pa -no niŋu vilo itho ke lo pi - Ø

he Erg. us play Neg. to tell\_Pst.

‘He told us not to play’

/vilo/ + /pi/ together indicate ‘said to’. They can be written either together /vilopi/ or occur in different position separately like in the above example.

## **2.2 Structural questions**

### **2.2.1 Internal structure of a sentence**

#### **2.2.1.1 Copular sentence**

/ye/ can be termed as the copula connecting the subject to the predicate in Sümi-Naga.



### **2.2.1.2 Verbal sentences**

It is observed that there are no verbs without subjects, or with dummy subjects, optionally or obligatory in Sümi-Naga. Sümi-Naga is not a Pro-drop language.

### **2.3 Coordination**

Coordination can be defined as conjunctions which join two phrases or clauses in a sentence.

#### **2.3.1. List of coordinating means**

/and/	‘eno’
/but/	‘ikemu’
/for/	‘yeɲuno’
/not/	‘kumo’
/or/	‘momu/o’
/so/	‘yeɲuno/tiyeɲuno’
/yet/	‘aphi’

47. inaka -no ale phe eno ikivi -no kučou yesu phi-Ø  
Inaka-Nom song sing\_Pst and Ikivi Erg. Bible read\_Pst  
‘Inaka sang a song and Ikivi read Bible’

48. huto -ye ayili lo alo ikemu akiphi lo alo  
Huto Erg. sports in good but studies in good  
mo  
Neg.  
‘Huto is good in sports but not good in studies’

49. i-za` -no i yeɲuno kaku xu -tsü

GPM-mother Erg. I for book buy Pst.  
 ‘My mother bought for me a book.’

The coordinating /kumo/ ‘not’ functions more as a negation than a means of coordinating sentences.

50. pa -ye alo -kemi kumo

he Nom. good man Neg.

He is not a good man.

51. no -ye aki -lo ŋo nani keo momu/o

you nom. home at stay will or either

khalau wuni kya?

outside go Q.T

‘You will stay at home or go outside?’

52. aloli iyine ši -ani tiyeŋuno aste -ye

Aloli come do Prog. therefore Aste Erg.

alikhuli -šiani

cooking Prog.

‘Aloli is coming so Aste is cooking’

53. ikivi -ye ahu xe ne aphi

ikivi Nom. teeth brush Comp. yet

‘Ikivi is yet to brush teeth’

## 2.4 Negation

Negative particles come after the main verb in a sentence. /mo/ /mla/ and /-phi/ are the indicators of negation. While [mo] can either occur independently or has to be added to verb like the other negative [-mphi] to express negation. The negation occurs at the end of the sentence.

54. ni -ye iši akuho lo wu -Ø -**mo**  
i Nom. today church to go\_Pst Neg.  
'I did not go to church today'

55. aste -ye ana ču-Ø -**mphi**  
Aste Nom. food eat\_Pst. not  
Aste has not eaten food

The constituent negation is expressed by [mu] and [mla] which follows the verb.

56. bokto -ye amuya lakhi mu ithu -**mla**  
Bokto Nom. toy one even get Neg.  
'Bokto did not get even one toy'

57. hezheto -ye iyi mu -la -va  
Hezheto Nom. come not Pst.  
'Hezheto could not come'

Two negations in a sentence can produce a positive sentence;

58. khu -**mu** ku -**mo**  
who not what no  
'It's okay/ it's nothing'

In the above sentence it is difficult to give the glossing except for the two negative as given above. The other two words when glossed give /khu/ ‘who’ /ku/ ‘what’ but when spoken as a string of words with the negatives in Sümi-Naga, it means ‘it’s okay’.

## 2.5 Reciprocal

Reciprocal is expressed by /lakhi no lakhi/ ‘each other’ when two groups are involved and if it has to do with first person then, the pronoun is repeated along with /likhi/ occurring in between. In the first case /kile/ comes in the end of the sentence which sums up to the indication of ‘each other’.

59. ikivi ŋo inoto kuma **lakhi-no lakhi** kuphu **kile**  
Ikivi and Inoto Dl. each other help Rec.  
'Ikivi and Inoto helped each other'
60. hezheto ŋo toše kuma **lakhi-no-** ana kho- Ø **kile**  
**lakhi**  
Hezheto and Toše Dl. each food feed\_pst. Rec.  
other  
'Hezheto and Toše fed each other'
61. niŋu **lakhi-no-lakhi** sasü kuptsa **kile**  
we each other with talk Rec.  
We talked with each other.
62. panoŋu lakhi-no- sasü kičixi kile  
lakhi  
they each other with fight\_Pst Rec.

They fought with each other.

## **2.6 Reflexives**

For the expression of reflexives, pronouns are added to reciprocal /lakhi no lakhi/ ‘each other’.

63. pa -no pa -likhi -pa xu - Ø

64. panoṇu -no panoṇu -likhi - panoṇu sala akumla-Ø ši  
they Erg. themselves for work\_Pst. do

They worked for themselves.

63. he Erg. himself wash\_Pst

He washed himself.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **MORPHOLOGY**

Etymologically Morphology constitutes from Greek *morphē* - ‘shape, form’, and *logy*- ‘study or science’ which means the study or science of form or shape. In linguistics, Morphology in its simplest definition is the study of the structure and formation of words in a language. In this chapter we shall discuss the morphology of Sümi-Naga.

#### **3.1 Inflection**

By inflection we mean, the addition of affixes to the stem or base to form a word of different syntactic function without changing semantic or lexical category.

##### **3.1.1 Noun-inflection**

The morpho-syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases are represented by affixes and postpositions. Case suffixes and postpositions are frequently used to express a number of morpho-syntactic and semantic functions.

##### **3.1.1.1 Expression of syntactic and semantic functions**

###### **3.1.1.1.1 Bound affixes**

Bound affixes here, are regarded as case suffixes along with the augment or oblique stem formative /a-/ in most cases which may also stand for Generic Possessive Marker (GPM). The following are the case suffixes found in Sümi-Naga along with examples;

###### **Nominative case**

Nominative case can be defined as the case which marks the noun or pronoun occurring as subject of intransitive verb. The nominative case marker is /ye/. Besides being the nominative case marker, /ye/ also occurs with the subjects in passives. Whenever we move something in a sentence to focus, /ye/ is used as focus marker. The nominative marker /ye/ and ergative marker /no/ can replace each other in transitive sentences. /no/ is used to emphasize deliberate or intentional action when it replaces /ye/.

65. inaka -ye timi alo  
Inaka Nom. man good  
'Inaka is a good man'

66. ikivi -ye zizi po čeni  
Ikivi Nom. fast run Hab.  
'Ikivi runs fast'

67. awu -ye bokto -no heqhi -va  
hen Nom. Bokto Erg. kill Pst.  
'The hen was killed by Bokto'

### **Ergative case**

Ergative case can be defined as the case which marks the noun or pronoun occurring as subject of a transitive verb in a sentence. The Ergative marker in Sümi-Naga is /no/.

68. i -no ale lakhi phe-Ø  
I Erg. song one sing\_Pst  
'I sang a song'

69. inaka -no kaku lakhi phi-Ø  
Inaka Erg. book a read\_Pst  
Inaka read a book.

### **Dative case**

Dative case is defined as the case which marks noun or pronoun occurring as indirect objects in a sentence. The dative case marker is /lo/ which is also formally identical to the

case marker for locative case. Dative case marker is used to indicate the receipt of the action/direct action in a sentence.

70. i -no pa **lo** ana tsi

I Erg. he Dat. food give\_Pst.

‘I gave him food’

71. inaka -no kivimi **lo** xiylili pi

Inaka Erg. Kivimi Dat. story tell\_Pst.

‘Inaka told Kivimi a story’

72. hezheto -no atsi **lo** ana tsi-Ø

Hezheto Erg. dog to food give\_Pst.

‘Hezheto gave food to dog’

### **Genitive case**

Genitive case is defined as the case which indicates the possessive of noun or pronoun in a sentence. The genitive case marker in Sümi-Naga is /i/. The genitive case marker indicates the object that the noun or pronoun that possesses in a sentence. Other genitive markers are /no/ and /na/. /no/ is used with masculine and /ne/ for feminine. But these markers are not as frequent as /i/.

73. aki hipau -ye inoto **-i**

house this Nom. Inoto Gen.

‘This is Innoto’s house’



74. hipau -ye inoto **-i** aki  
 this Nom. Inoto Gen. house  
 ‘This is Inoto’s house’

75. hi -ye inoto **-no** ki  
 this Nom. Inoto Gen. house  
 ‘this is Inoto’s house’

76. hi -ye inoto **-na** ki  
 this Nom. Inoto Gen. house  
 ‘This is Inoto’s house’

### **Ablative case**

Ablative case can be defined as the case which marks the movement away from something in a sentence. The ablative case marker is /lono/ meaning ‘from’ in Sümi-Naga. It is used to indicate the source of the movement in a sentence.

77. alo -ye aki **lono** iyi-Ø  
 Alo Nom. home Abl. come\_Pst.  
 ‘Alo came from home’

### **Locative case**

Locative case is defined as the case that indicates location in a sentence. The locative case marker is /lo/ which identical to the dative case marker. It is a case of case syncretion between the dative and locative case.

78. evivito -ye aki **lo** ani

Evivito Nom. house Loc. be

‘Evivito is in the house’

79. ni -ye aphu **lo** wi

I Nom. village Loc. go\_Pst

‘I went to village’

### **Instrumental case**

Instrumental case can be defined as the case in which the noun or pronoun is instrumental in completing the action. Instrumental case can also be agentive. The instrumental case marker is /pesi/

80. obe -no amuyu **pesi** asi xitha-Ø

Obe Erg. axe Inst. wood chop\_Pst

‘Obe chopped wood with axe’

### **3.1.1.1.2 Pre/postpositions**

Sümi-Naga uses postposition and this section is discussed in 3.1.5

### **3.1.1.1.3 Word order**

Sümi-Naga word order exhibits SOV pattern. The subject occurs in the initial position in a sentence and it is followed either by nominative or ergative case marker. Subject is followed by indirect object and then the direct object if there is one. A noun is followed by a case marker and or a post-position. The verb occurs in the final position in a sentence.

### **3.1.1.2 Expression of syntactic functions**

By expression of syntactic functions we mean how the various constituents in a sentence are connected grammatically.

### **3.1.1.2.1 Subject of intransitive verb**

Intransitive verb is defined as the verb that does not need an object or complement to complete its meaning.

#### **3.1.1.2.1.1 Subject is agent**

By agent here, we mean the person or a thing that enacts the action in a sentence.

81. inaka -no atsa -pi-Ø

Inaka Erg. word speak\_Pst

‘Inaka spoke’

82. ni -ye akutsi si ani

i Nom. head (feel pain/ill) have

‘I have headache’

83. inaka -ye apu kini ani

Inaka Nom. son two has

‘Inaka has two sons’

#### **3.1.1.2.1.2 Subject is not agent**

84. inaka -ye ilu qi -ve

Inaka Nom. fell down Complt\_pst.

‘Inaka fell down’

### **3.1.1.2.2 Subject of transitive verb**

Transitive verb is defined as a verb that needs objects or complements to complete its meaning.

#### **3.1.1.2.2.1 Subject is agent**

85. ikivi -ye ana ču -va

Ikivi Nom. food eat Complt\_pst.

‘Ikivi ate food’

#### **3.1.1.2.2.2 Subject is not agent**

86. awo -ye inaka -no hexi -va

pig Nom. Inaka Erg. kill Complt\_pst.

‘Pig was killed by Inaka’

### **3.1.1.2.3 Subject of copular construction**

The subjects of copular constructions are marked with nominative marker /ye/.

87. inoto -ye kaku phi ani

Inoto Nom. book read Prog.

‘Inoto is reading a book’

#### **3.1.1.2.4 Direct object**

For direct object, the word order remains the same. Subject is followed by the direct object which is unmarked. The verb is in the final position. The subject is marked for ergative case.

88. inoto -no ana ču ani

Inoto Erg. food eat Prog.

‘Inoto is eating food’

#### **3.1.1.2.5 Indirect object**

The indirect object can occur either after subject or before a direct object.

89. i -no ikivi lo kaku tsi

I Erg. Ikivi to book give\_Pst.

‘I gave a book to Ikivi’

90. i -no kaku ikivi lo tsi

I Erg. book Ikivi to give\_Pst

‘I gave Ikivi (the) book’

91. ikivi lo i -no kaku tsi

Ikivi to I Erg. book give\_Pst

‘I gave book to Ikivi’

#### **3.1.1.2.6 Object of comparison**

Any linguistic element as object of comparison can be realized by the marker /ɲuno/ ‘than’.

92. pa -ye i -ɲuno kije

He Nom. I than bigger

He is bigger than me.

#### **3.1.1.2.7 Object of equation**

The object of equation is marked by /toi/ ‘as’. /toi/ can also mean ‘like’. For object of equation, Sümi-Naga uses more of ‘like’ than ‘as\_\_as’.

93. pa -ye i -toi kije

He Nom. I like big

He is big like me.

### **3.1.1.2.8 Other objects governed by verbs**

In other cases like dative, instrumental, locative, genitive etc., objects governed by verbs are mostly followed by postpositions. The word order remains the same. We can make this observation is illustrated by the examples in the following sections.

### **3.1.1.2.9 Complement of copular construction**

#### **3.1.1.2.10 Subject and object complement**

/ye/ is used as a marker for defining, identifying the subject when there is no copula but the predicate is a nominal complement of the subject.

94. pa -ye timi

he Nom. man

‘He is a man’

95. timi hipau -ye hezheto

man this Foc. Hezheto

96. pa -ye atsa -pi -mi

he Nom. word say -man

‘He is the speaker’

‘This man is Hezheto’

### **3.1.1.2.12 Objects governed by adjectives**

<sup>95</sup>  
The objects are not governed by adjectives in Sümi-Naga.

97. pa -ye pa -pu **toi**

He Nom. his father like

‘He is like his father’

98. pa -ye pa -mu lono **kiyeqi**

he Nom. his brother from different

‘He is different from his brother’

### **3.1.1.3 Syntactic functions in non-finite or nominalized constructions**

The syntactic functions in non-finite or nominalized constructions remain the same as the situation with finite verbs.

### **3.1.1.4 Nonlocal semantic functions**

#### **3.1.1.4.1 Benefactive**

Benefactive is expressed in three ways in Simi-Naga by the use of the postpositions, viz. /sala/ ‘for’, /lo/ ‘to’ and /yejuno/ ‘sake’, ‘because’.

99. inoto -no puloto **lo** kaku tsi - Ø

Inoto Erg. Puloto to book give\_Pst

‘Inoto gave a book to Puloto’

100. hito -ye pulo **yejuno** ime -ve

Hito Nom. pulo for the sake of suffer Pst.

‘Hito suffered for the sake of Pulo’

#### **3.1.1.4.2 Source**

Source is expressed as /launo/ ‘from’ in Sümi-Naga.

101. ni -ye asutsa alo **launo** čilu\_Ø

I Nom. news Alo from hear\_Pst.

‘I heard the news from Alo’

102. awu **launo** awukhu-Ø ithulu čeni  
hen from egg\_Pl get Hab.  
‘From hen we get eggs’

#### **3.1.1.4.3 Instrumental**

The instrumental case is expressed by /pesi/ ‘with’.

103. aza -no asi **pesi** heka he  
mother Erg. stick with Heka beat\_Pst  
‘Mother beat Heka with a stick’

104. i -no amuqi **pesi** asibo xutha- Ø  
I Nom. axe with tree chop\_Pst.  
‘I chopped the tree with axe’

#### **3.1.1.4.3a Negative instrumental**

/simono/ ‘without’ is used to express negative instrumental in Sümi-Naga.

105. i -no asi **simono** pa he  
I Erg. stick without him beat  
I beat him without a stick.

#### **3.1.1.4.4 Comitative**

/yolo/ is used for the expression of comitative. Sümi-Naga distinguishes markers of instruments from the comitative

106. aloli -ye anali **yolo** akuho lo wu\_Pst  
Aloli Nom. anali along with church to went



‘Aloli went to church along with Anali’

#### **3.1.1.4.4a Negative comitative**

For negative comitative /simono/ ‘without’ is used.

107. ni -ye hito **simono** ana ču -ve

I Nom. Hito without food ate Pst.

‘I ate food without Hito’

#### **3.1.1.4.5 Circumstance**

For the expression of circumstance, locative /lo/ is used.

108. timi hučui kupuzu **lo** akiu  
man red clothes in agent\*

‘The man in red clothes’

\* Here, by agent we mean the person or the subject who is the possessor of the object.

#### **3.1.1.4.5a Negative circumstance**

For the expression of negative circumstance, along with the locative marker /lo/ negative form /amokiu/ ‘without’ is used.

109. timi hučui kupuzu lo **amokiu**  
man red clothes in without

‘The man without red clothes’

#### **3.1.1.4.6-3.1.1.4.7 Possessive**

/wi/ is used for the expression of possessive in Sümi-Naga. There seems to be no difference between the alienable and inalienable possessed-ness.

110. kaku hipau -ye inoto wi  
 book this Foc. Inoto Pos.  
 ‘This is Inoto’s book’

111. aki hipau -ye inaka wi  
 house this Foc. Inaka Pos.  
 ‘This is Inaka’s house’

112. ika wi asa -ye tsibui  
 Ika Pos. hair Foc. black  
 ‘Ika’s hair is black’

113. inaka wi kaku -ye phi -va  
 Inaka Pos. book Foc. read Compl.  
 ‘Inaka’s book is read’

#### **3.1.1.4.8 Quality**

/-mi/ is used to express quality.

114. ikivi -ye amulo-kumto timi  
 Ikivi Nom. (heart-strong) brave man  
 ‘Ikivi is a brave man’

115. kito -ye timi kivi  
 Kito Nom. man good  
 ‘Kito is a good man’

\*/timi/ refers to ‘man’ and [-mi] can be used as suffix to indicate the meaning ‘man’.

#### **3.1.1.4.8a Negative quality**

/kumo/ is used to express the negative quality.

116. kito -ye timi kivi **kumo**  
 Kito Nom. man good not  
 ‘Kito is not a good man’

#### **3.1.1.4.8b Reference quality**

/i/ is used to express the reference quality.

117. timi i akuka  
 man Gen. strength  
 ‘A man’s strength’

#### **3.1.1.4.9 Quantity and reference quantity**

For quantity and reference quantity, there seems to be no specific marker.

118. ašoyi hipau -ye kg kini  
 basket this Foc. kg two  
 ‘This basket is of two kg’

119. ašoyi -ye iyono miši ani

basket Nom. very heavy be

‘Basket is very heavy’

#### **3.1.1.4.10 Material**

The expression of material source is brought out by the use of /no/.

120. aki hipau -ye atuqu no mula -pani

house this Foc. stone of build Ppl.

‘This house is built of stone’

#### **3.1.1.4.10a Negative material**

The use of /simono/ negates the material source.

121. aki hipau -ye atuqu **simono** mula -pani

house this Foc. stone without build Ppl.

This house is built without stone.

#### **3.1.1.4.11 Manner and negative manner**

There is no specific expression for manner. For negative manner, the negative marker /-mo/ is added.

122. kito -ye ašeši atsapi čeni

Kito Nom. slowly speak Prog.

‘Kito speaks slowly’

123. kito -ye ašeši atapi će **-mo**  
 Kito Nom. slowly speak Hab. Neg.  
 ‘Kito does not speak slowly’

#### **3.1.1.4.12 Cause**

/yeḡuno/ is used for the expression of cause.

124. nito -ye pa zaku **yeḡuno** akhulo ši -ve  
 Nito Nom. his wound because get tired do Pst.  
 ‘Nito got tired because of his wounds’

#### **3.1.1.4.13 Purpose**

/yeḡuno/ is used to express purpose.

125. i -no i kumla yeḡuno peitha\_Ø  
 I Nom. my work for use\_Pst.  
 ‘I used it for my work’

#### **3.1.1.4.14. Function**

/pesi/ is used to express ‘function’. /pesi/ is also instrumental marker.

126. i -no asi pesi i -kusa ši  
 I Erg. stick used GPM walking stick as  
 ‘I used the stick as my walking stick’

#### **3.1.1.4.15 Reference**

/yili/ is used to express reference.

127. kito -no pa -likhi -pa yili pi  
 Kito Erg. himself about said  
 ‘Kito said about himself’

#### **3.1.1.4.16 Essive**

/šia/ ‘as a’ is used for the expression of essive in Sümi-Naga.

128. ni -ye čekiye lo šikukami šia  
 I Nom. Chekiye in teacher as a  
 ‘I was in Chekiye as a teacher’

#### **3.1.1.4.17 Translative**

Translative is expressed in the following manner;

129. ŋiŋu -no pa pesu šakiphemi ši kiše  
 We Erg. him with leader as elected  
 ‘We elected him as a leader’

#### **3.1.1.4.18 Part-whole**

The part-whole is expressed without any external marking but occur in the order of whole-part.

130. atsi i kutsi  
 Dog Gen. head  
 ‘Dog’s head’

131. aki i kutsiqo

house Gen. top

‘Top of a house’

### **3.1.1.4.19 Partitive**

#### **3.1.1.4.19.1 Partitive numeral**

Focus particle is used on the numerals indicating partitive sense which is distinct from non-partitive quantifier modifying the number.

132.        apu        kini        -ye        i        -no        ithulu  
             boy        two        Foc.        i        Erg.        saw

‘I saw two of the boys’

#### **3.1.1.4.19.2 Nonpartitive numeral**

Nonpartitive quantifiers as indefinite post-nominal modifier.

133.        i        -no        apu        kini        ithulu  
             I        Erg.        boy        two        saw

‘I saw two boys’

### **3.1.1.4.20 Price**

/yuka/ is the currency unit used to express price.

134.        i        -no        ayezu        **yuka**        muku        -no        qu - Ø  
             I        Erg.        vegetables        (money)        twenty        for        buy\_Pst

‘I bought vegetables for twenty rupees’

### **3.1.1.4.21 Value**

/ame/ /-me/ ‘worth’ is added to the price to express the value.

135.     alíkha     hipau     -ye     yuka     axe     me  
           seat       this       Foc.     (money)     hundred     worth  
           ‘This seat is worth hundred’

#### **3.1.1.4.22 Distance**

The ablative marker /lono/ is used for the expression of distance.

136. i     -ki     -ye     akuho     **lono**     mail     kini     lo     ani  
           my   house   Foc   church   Abl.   mile   two   Loc   be  
           ‘my house is two miles from the church’

#### **3.1.1.4.23 Extent**

Extent is unmarked. By extend we mean the area that is covered by something or the extent to which something is done or believed.

137.       i     -no             asübo       ft     kini       tha       -qi  
               I     ERG.       tree           ft     two       chop       down  
               I chopped down two ft tree

#### **3.1.1.4.24 Concessive**

/pulaʔi/ ‘despite’ is used to express concessive.

138. ikivi   -ye     g<sup>h</sup>u-a   pulaʔi   iyi- Ø  
           Ikivi   Nom.   rain     depite   come\_Pst.  
           ‘Ikivi came despite the rain’



139. ni -ye akutsi -si pulayi iyi- Ø

I Nom. head pain despite come\_Pst.

‘I came despite the headache’

#### **3.1.1.4.25 Inclusion**

Inclusion is expressed by /si/ ‘along’ with the marker /-no/ is added to the sequence of sentence.

140. inaka si -no kumtsu aki -lo iyi- Ø

Inaka along everyone home Loc. come\_Pst.

‘Everyone along with Inaka came home’

#### **3.1.1.4.26 Exclusion**

/si/ with negative marker /-mo/ is added to express the exclusion.

141. hoki simo -no kumtsu

Hoki except everyone

‘Everyone except Hoki’

#### **3.1.1.4.27 Addition**

/sikupha/ ‘addition’ is added to express addition.

142. kito yo lo timi kini sikupha

Kito two to men two addition

‘Two men in addition to Kito’

#### **3.1.1.4.28 Vocative**

For the expression of vocative, Simi-Naga employs /oie/ or /o/

143. o hila iyi lo  
 o here come Loc.  
 ‘O come here’

144. oie no -ye kuiši ani kya  
 oie you Nom. doing Prog. Q.T  
 ‘Oie what are you doing’

#### **3.1.1.4.29 Citation and label form**

Citation and label form are expressed using /pi/ and /kiu/. /pi/ is ‘say’ and /kiu/ is future participle marker.

145. kani pi kiu timi -ye hula ani  
 Kani said Fut.part. man Nom there Verb be  
 ‘Kani said that there is a man’

#### **3.1.1.5 Local semantic functions**

Local semantic functions are expressed using the available post-positions. We shall discuss various type of location in the following sections;

##### **3.1.1.5.1 General location**

For general location, /lo/ is used for ‘at rest’ and /lo/, /lau/ which are all different forms of ‘to’ are used for ‘motion to’. For ‘motion from’, /launo/ and ‘kudaino’ is used and for ‘motion past’, /heče/. The following are sentences to illustrate the general location;

##### **i. At rest- /lo/**

146. pa -ye aki lo ani

he Nom. home at be

‘He is at home’

**ii. Motion to- /lo/ /lau/**

147. alo -ye akuho lo iyi-Ø

Alo Nom church to come\_Pst.

‘Alo came to church’

148. inaka -no bonoli lau yesu he -Ø

Inaka Erg. Bonoli to letter write\_Pst.

‘Inaka wrote letter to Bonoli’

**iii. Motion from- /launo/, /kudaino/**

149. hupe -ye aphu launo iyi- Ø

Hupe Nom. village from come\_Pst.

‘Hupe came from village’

150. kukami -qo kipela kudaino iyi - Ø

kings Pl. east from come\_PST

‘Kings came from east’

**iv. Pass- /heče/**

Motion during the activity is expressed by /lo/ ‘in’.

151. kivi -no akupo lo kani heče -ve

Kivi      Erg.      race                      in      Kani                      pass                      Pst.

‘Kivi passed Kani in race’

### **3.1.1.5.2 Proximate location**

For proximate location, /avilo/ and /phivilo/ are used for expressing ‘at rest’, ‘motion to’, ‘motion from’ and ‘motion past’.

152.      pa      ki                      -ye      akuho                      phivilo                      ani  
                 his      house                      Foc.      church                      nearby                      be.pre

‘His house is near by the church’

153.      akiphiki      -ye      avilo      ani  
                 school      Nom.      near      be

‘School is near’

### **3.1.1.5.3. Interior location**

The following are sentences illustration the interior location;

#### **i. At rest- in(side) /lo/, /alou/**

154.      aki      alou      zumo      ani  
                 house      inside      dark      be.pre

‘The house is dark inside’

#### **ii. Motion in(to)- /ilo/**

155.      azabo                      lo      **ilo**                      no                      kaku                      phi                      -lo

bedroom          lo          into          and          book          study          Loc.

‘Go into the bedroom and study’

### **iii. Motion from- out of /ipeve/**

156. pa    -ye          amuqo    lono    ipe    -ve

pa    Nom.    group    from    out    Pst.

‘He went out of group’

### **iv. Motion past- through /večeo/**

157.          inaka          -ye          kakhe          večeo          obed          ithi

Inaka          Nom.          Kakhe          through          Obed          know

‘Inaka knows Obed through Kakhe’

### **3.1.1.5.4 Exterior location**

#### **i. At rest-outside /khalačeu/**

158.          kiphimi          -qo          khalačeu          kumqo          ani

student          Pl          outside          gather          have

‘Students have gathered outside’

#### **ii. Motion to-up to /kuto/**

159.          inaka          -no          aki          kuto          bonoli          lo          phe

Inaka          Erg.          house          up to          Bonoli          Loc.          drop

‘Inaka dropped Bonoli up to the house’

### **iii. Motion past-past /večesi/**

160.	pa	-ye	inaka	večesi	po	-ve
	he	Nom.	Inaka	pass	run	Pst.
‘He ran passed Inaka’						

### **3.1.1.5.5 Anterior**

#### **i. At rest- in front of /azuwi/**

Anterior location of an entity with reference to another at rest is indicated by /zuwi/ in the sense of ‘in front of’.

161.	aki	zuwi	asubo	ani
	house	in front of	tree	<u>be.pre</u>
‘There is a tree in front of a house’				

#### **ii. Motion to-in front of**

Anterior location from an entity with reference to another motion is expressed by /zuwi/ in the sense of ‘in front of’.

162.	alikha	ami	zuwi	qhi	lo
	seat	fire	in front of	keep	Imp.
‘Keep seat in front of fire’					

### **3.1.1.5.6 Posterior**

/thikhau/ meaning ‘behind’ is used for posterior at rest, motion to, motion from and motion past types of location.

163.	ikivi	-ye	inoto	thikhau	iqa	ani
	Ikivi	Nom.	Inoto	behind	sit	Prog.

‘Ikivi is sitting behind Inoto’

164.    bonoli        thikhau        uthu        lo  
         Bonoli        behind        stand        Imp.

‘Stand behind Bonoli’

165.    kakhe        -no        athikhau        lono        khočile-Ø  
         Kakhe        Erg.        behind        from        answer\_Pst.

‘Kakhe answered from behind’

166.    aki        thikhau        lono        wuve        lo  
         house        behind        from        go away        Loc.

‘Go away from behind the house’

### **3.1.1.5.7 Superior**

Sümi-Naga seems to distinguish the use of adverbial noun or nouns of space and time from these being used as postpositions. For example:

1. /thikau/- /ɣolo/, /šou/, /lo/, and /zuwi/ etc. These forms are used as postposition.
2. /athikau/- /ašou/, /alou/, /zuwi / etc. These forms are used as the adversive nouns.

/šou/ meaning ‘above’ and ‘over’ are used for superior at rest, motion to, motion from and motion past types of location.

167.    pa    ki        -ye    i-    ki        šou        ani

his house Foc. my above be  
house

‘His house is above my house’

168. axamulu kibepu šou be -lo  
flower table over keep Loc.

‘Keep the flower over the table’

### **3.1.1.5.8 Superior-contact**

For superior-contact, /šou/ and /lo/ are used for expressing at rest, motion to, motion from and motion past. The /lo/ as locative markers occurs with the verb of orientation or configurational verbs as /iqa/ ‘sit’, /be/ ‘keep’, /qi/ ‘put’ and with movement verbs to indicate a position/locative towards the motion.

169. alikha lo iqa lo  
seat on sit Loc.

‘Sit on the seat’

170. kaku šou kiyepu xi lo  
book over pen keep Loc.

Keep the pen over the book

### **3.1.1.5.8a Surface**

For the surface type of location /lo/ ‘on’ is used.



171. inaka -no alikha lo iqa -ve  
 Inaka Erg. seat Loc. sit Pst.  
 ‘Inaka sat on a sit’

### **3.1.1.5.9 Inferior and Inferior-contact**

For inferior type of location, /xolo which means ‘under’ and ‘below’ is used for at rest, motion to, motion from and motion past.

172. axemuḡa -ye alipa **qholo** ani  
 things Nom. bed under be  
 ‘The things are under the bed’

173. asubo xolo alikha **qi** lo  
 tree under seat keep Loc.  
 ‘Keep the seat under the tree’

### **3.1.1.5.10 Lateral**

For the expressing lateral orientation, Sümi-Naga uses /phivilo/ ‘nearby’ or ‘beside’ etc.

174. i **phivilo** iqa lo  
 me besides sit Imp.  
 ‘Sit beside me’

175. aza **phivilo** azu qhi lo  
 bed besides water keep Imp.  
 ‘Keep water besides the bed’

### **3.1.1.5.11 Citerior**

For citerior type of location, /hi kudau/ which means ‘this side’ is used to indicate at rest, motion to, motion from and motion past.

176.      inaka        -ye        hi        kudau        iqa        ani  
             Inaka        -Nom        this        side        sitting        Prog.  
             ‘Inaka is sitting this side’

177. i   -no        kaku   hi        kudau        -no        tsi        puni  
      I   Nom.   book   this        side        from        send        will  
             ‘I will send the book from this side’

\* /launo/ expresses ‘from’. /-no/ here can also be used to express ‘from’.

### **3.1.1.5.12 Ulterior**

For ulterior type of location, /hukukī/ which means ‘beyond’ is used for indication at rest, motion to, motion from and motion past.

178.    azukikhi    **hukukī**    aki        lakhi    ani  
             river        beyond    house    a        be  
             ‘Beyond the river there is a house’

179.    ni   -ye        **hukuku**    wu    mla  
             i    Nom.   beyond    go    Neg.  
             ‘I cannot go beyond’

### **3.1.1.5.13 Medial (2)**

For medial (2) type of location, /dolo/ which means ‘between’ is used to indicate at rest, motion to, motion from and motion past.

180. ikivi -ye apu aza kuma dolo iqa ani

Ikivi Nom. father mother dl. between sit Prog.

‘Ikivi is sitting between father and mother’

181. pulovi -ye ikivi ŋo innto kuma dolo -no pove

Pulovi Nom. Ikivi and Inoto Dl between from ran off

Pulovi ran off from between Ikivi and Inoto

### **3.1.1.5.14 Medial (3+)**

For medial (3+) type of location, /dolo/, /yolo/ which means ‘among’ is used.

182. niŋu yolo/dolo timi kivimi ani

us among man good be

‘There is a good man among us’

183. noŋu yolo/dolo timi lakhi hila iyi lo

you among person one here come Imp.

‘From among you one person come here’

### **3.1.1.5.15 Citerior-anterior**

For citerior-anterior, /kiyiŋi/ which means ‘opposite’ is used to indicate at rest, motion to, motion from and motion past.

184. pa -ye i kiŋi iqa- Ø

he Nom. I opposite sit\_Pst.

He sat opposite of me

185. ikivi -ye kiŋi kudau no alačesi iyi- Ø

Ikivi Nom. opposite direction from walking come\_Pst.

‘Ikivi came walking from the opposite direction’

### **3.1.1.6 Location in time**

#### **3.1.1.6.1 General**

##### **3.1.1.6.1.2 Time of the day**

In general the current time is expressed in this order;

186. ayi bidi tuxa

time four half

‘Half past four’

Another way of expressing the exact time is;

187. ayi bidi heo thupiše kuthu ši ani

time four (struck) minute three its Pre.

‘Four struck/past three minute’

/tuxa/ is used to express the half past and for the rest it is used as given in the numerals.

/šičedo/ is used to refer to hour as well as duration of the time.

188. pa -no sičedo kini atsapi-Ø  
 he Erg. hours two speak\_Pst.  
 ‘He spoke (for) two hours’

### **3.1.1.6.1.3 Period of day**

The duration of the day is added in the following manner.

189. inaqhe ayi toku lo iyi lo  
 morning time nine at come Imp.  
 ‘Come at nine in the morning’

The duration of the day Sümi-Naga are expressed in the following way;

/inaqhe/ ‘morning’

/tsikutho/ ‘dawn’ ‘early morning’

/pičo/ ‘afternoon’

/avela/ ‘evening’

/putho/ ‘night’

/zibumita/ ‘midnight’

The above are used in the expression of time sequence given above to indicate the period of the day.

### **3.1.1.6.1.4 Day of the week**

The following is the sequence of the expression of time with regard to the day of the week;

190.      niŋu      kumtsu      tuyakhani      lono      šo      luni  
              we      all      sunday      on      meet      shall  
              ‘We shall all meet on Sunday’

The other days of the week is given in the Lexicon chapter.

#### **3.1.1.6.1.5 Month of the year**

191.      christmas      -ye      lipiqi      lono      ikhilu      čeni  
              Christmas      Nom.      december      in      celebrated      Hab.  
              ‘Christmas is celebrated in December’

The above is the manner in which the month of the year is expressed with regard to location of time. The names of the month in Sümi-Naga are given in Lexicon chapter.

#### **3.1.1.6.1.6 Year**

The year is expressed using post-position /lo/.

192.      čiyi-toku      lhotoku-kini      mpe      lo  
              ten-nine      ninety-two      year      in  
              ‘In the year nineteen hundred and ninety two’

/mpe/ is optional. One can either say ‘in the year 1992’ or ‘in 1992’

#### **3.1.1.6.1.7 Festivals**

There is no specific sequence to refer to festivals.

193.      ni      -ye      tuluni      lo      aki      lo      wu      ni  
              i      Nom.      Tuluni      on      home      Loc.      go      will  
              ‘I will go home on Tuluni’

### 3.1.1.6.1.8 Seasons

For reference to seasons like for the festivals, there is no specific sequence. In both the cases, location/locative /lo/ is used. It can be also referred to without the location.

194.        sisi                -ye                iyo                no                muko

Winter                Nom.                very                in                cold

‘In winter (it) is very cold’

195.        mitsi                lo                yu                čeni

Summer                in                rain                Hab.

‘In rains it summer’

### 3.1.1.6.2 Frequentative

/atsitsi/ is used to indicate frequentative.

196.        hezheto                -ye                inaqhe                atsitsi                alače                čeni

Hezheto                Nom.                morning                all the time/every                walk-goes                Hab.

‘Hezheto goes for walk every morning’

### 3.1.1.6.3 Punctual-future

The postposition /thikauno/ ‘after’ is added to the head of the NP sequence to indicate punctual-future to all time expressions.

197.        akupuyu                -ye                sičedo                bidi                thikauno                huthu                nani

program                Nom.                hour                four                after                start                will

‘Program will start after four hours’

#### **3.1.1.6.4 Punctual-past**

For the punctual-past, the postposition /thikauno/ is used at the head NP expressing time. The sequence of expression remains the same as in punctual-future.

198.      inaka        -ye        sičedo      kini      thikauno      iyi-Ø  
         Inaka        Nom.      Hours      two      after           come\_Pst.  
         ‘Inaka came after two hours’

#### **3.1.1.6.5 Duration**

For duration which is in complete state, /šiva/ is added to the sequence time phrase expressing the duration which indicates future time; alternatively, /yeṇuno/ ‘for’ is added.

199.      hinoka        -ye        axi        lakhi      yeṇuno      iyi-Ø  
         Hinoka        Nom.      month      one      for           come\_Pst.  
         ‘Hinoka has come for one month’

#### **3.1.1.6.6 Anterior-duration-past**

For anterior-duration-past, /kutolo/ ‘until’ is used.

200.      tupulani      kutolo      khumu      akumla      ši      -mo  
         sunday      until      no-one      worked      do      Neg.  
         ‘No one worked until Sunday’

#### **3.1.1.6.7 Anterior-duration-future**

Sümi-Naga uses /kutolo/ to indicate anterior-duration-future.



201.	assizani	Kutolo	khumu	iyi	mo	nani
	monday	Until	no one	come	not	will

‘Until Monday no one will come’

#### **3.1.1.6.8 Posterior-duration-past**

/ithehi kutolo/ ‘until now’ which also means ‘since’ in Sümi-Naga is used to indicate posterior-duration-past.

202.	aniyini	lono	ithehi kutolo	khumu	ši	mphi
	thursday	from	since	nothing	do	Neg.

‘Since Thursday nothing is done’

#### **3.1.1.6.9 Posterior-duration-future**

/thikau/ ‘after’ is used to indicate posterior-duration-future.

203.	ni	-ye	tupulani	thikau	-no	iyi	ni
------	----	-----	----------	--------	-----	-----	----

I Nom. saturday after come will

‘I will come after Saturday’

#### **3.1.1.6.10 Anterior-general**

/aziu/ ‘previous’ is used to indicate anterior-general.

204.	inaka	-ye	tupulani	ziu	-no	ŋo	aya
	Inaka	Erg.	saturday	previous		staying	Comp.

‘Inaka has been staying since Saturday’

#### **3.1.1.7 Double case marking**

There is no double case marking in Sümi-Naga.

### **3.1.1.8 Number marking system in nouns**

The number marking system in nouns is simple in Sümi-Naga. For singular-plural and other numbers such as dual, trial and so on, the specific number distinction is added.

205. pano kuthu -no ale -phe-Ø  
they three Nom. song sing\_Pst  
'Three of them sang a song'

But for the cases of singular-dual-paucal-plural, /-qo/ the plural marker is added.

206. panonju -qo -no ale -phe - Ø  
they Pl. nom song sing\_Pst.  
'They sang a song'

There seems to be no distinction for the number marking for both animate and inanimate. The number marking is obligatory. Despite having the number-marking in nouns, some of the other means of indicating quantity are as follows;

- |          |          |
|----------|----------|
| /hami/   | 'some'   |
| /kutomo/ | 'plenty' |
| /kitila/ | 'little' |

### **3.1.1.12 Distinction of referential and nonreferential indefiniteness**

There is a distinction between referential and nonreferential indefiniteness by the use of /hami/ 'some' for the nonreferential indefiniteness.

207. inaka -no kaku qu - Ø  
Inaka Erg. book buy\_Pst.  
'Inaka bought a book'

208. inaka -no kaku lakhi qu-Ø

Inaka Erg. book one buy\_Pst.

‘Inaka bought one book’

209. inaka -no kaku hami qu-Ø

Inaka Erg. book some buy\_Pst.

‘Inaka bought some books’

### **3.1.1.13 Generic marker**

There is generic marker of noun phrases which are obligatory. The generic marker is further discussed under section 3.1.2. Pronouns, in details.

### **3.1.1.14 Degree of importance of actors**

In formal contexts, certain honorific references are added to distinguish the important noun actor from the less important one.

210. niŋu wi gihutou akijeu inaka

our Pos. honorable (Sir, Officer) Inaka

‘Our honorable Sir Inaka’

## **3.1.2 Pronouns**

### **3.1.2.1 Personal pronouns**

The following is the list of personal pronouns in Sümi-Naga. The distinction of gender can be found only in the third person pronoun but for most of the time in the general usage no distinction is made at the conversation level. The third person gender is addressed to the female on formal grounds.

Person	Singular		Dual		Plural	
First person	(n)i	I	(n)iku3o	I, You	niŋu	We
Second person	no	You	oku3o noku3o	You	noŋu	You Pl.
Third person						
Mas.	pa	He	pama/kuma	They	panoŋu	They mas.
Fem.	li	She	likuma	(dual)	linoŋu	They fem.
Neu.	hi/ti	It	hipau/tipau		hipa3o/tipa3o	They neu.

In third person neuter there is a distinction between the distant and proximal categories. Third person masculine with second person plural gives third person masculine plural. Third person feminine plus plural suffix with second person plural gives third person feminine plural. Neuter third person with third person masculine gives the plural neuter third person.

### **3.1.2.1.1 Free pronouns**

Free pronouns occur in Sümi-Naga with respect to subject, direct object, indirect object and other positions as well.

### **3.1.2.1.1.1-3.1.2.1.1.2.3 Obligation and optionality of free pronouns**

Free pronouns are obligatory and not optional in Sümi-Naga. As stated earlier, no distinction of gender is made at discourse level except on formal grounds.

### **3.1.2.1.1.3 Free pronouns and contrastive and emphatic contexts**

Free pronouns occur both in non-contrastive and non-emphatic contexts as well as emphatic contexts in general. They are used in reference of the pronoun that is being emphasized. The Sümi-Naga pronoun for emphatic is /kutošino/ and this remains the same for first, second and third person pronoun.

211. pa kutošino azu kušu -ve

he himself water bath Pst.

‘He took bath by himself’

In imperative sentences, the second person pronouns are not included and thus the reference of the pronoun is not emphasized.

Example;

212. khu ye?

who -nom

‘Who is that?’

#### **3.1.2.1.1.4 Reduced pronouns**

An example of reduced pronoun

213. ni -ye li -zu iyono alo čeni

I Nom. her look very like Hab.

‘I like her very much’

#### **3.1.2.1.2 Person distinctions in free pronouns**

Distinction is made between first, second and third person in free pronouns. The non-person pronoun is made in third person /ti/.

#### **3.1.2.1.3 Distinction between inclusion and exclusion**

There is no distinction between inclusion and exclusion in free pronouns.

#### **3.1.2.1.4 Number marking in pronouns**

Free pronouns are number marked to show singular, dual and plural for the first and second and the third person pronoun. The suffix /-zo/ , second person /kuma/ and for the

third person /-ma/ to indicate duality. For the plural indication, /-ŋu/ is added to first, second and may be to pronominal third person. In the case of third person alternatively neuter, /-u/ is added to show duality and /-qo/ is added to indicate plurality.

Free pronouns can be associated with numerals in noun phrases. There is no limit on the association of numerals with free pronouns. There is no distinction between the collective and distributive plurals, duals etc.

#### **3.1.2.1.5 Obviation in free pronouns**

The language marks different status of the third person actors as referred to by pronouns as more important versus less important in formal addressal. But this is not compulsory. This practice of addressal is done depending upon the context and occasion.

#### **3.1.2.1.6 Proximity in pronouns**

Proximity is indicated in the dual marking of first, second and third person: /pama/ /kuma/, /likuma/ /lipama/, /hipau/ /tipau/ etc.

#### **3.1.2.1.7. Anaphoric pronouns**

/pa/ and /li/ are the anaphoric pronouns for 'he' and 'she' respectively.

#### **3.1.2.1.8 Gender/class distinction in pronouns**

There is a gender distinction in second and third person. As mentioned over again, these distinctions are not widely used at discourse level. For most of the time the pronoun used for the reference to man is used for woman as well. For non-human there seems to be void of gender distinction in pronoun.

#### **3.1.2.1.9 Indication of tribal, sectional or family relationships**

There is no pronoun for the indication of tribal, sectional or family relationships of the speaker or the hearer to the referents.

#### **3.1.2.1.10 Other relationships**

All the available pronouns and their relationships in Sümi-Naga have already being listed and discussed above.

#### **2.1.2.1.11 Tense marking**

Pronouns do not agree with verb in tense. There is no tense marking in the pronouns.

#### **2.1.1.1.12 Marking of status**

The status is not marked in pronouns but under formal context, the third person pronoun is used for addressing. This distinction is not for class or status elevation.

#### **2.1.1.1.13 Indefinite pronouns**

##### **2.1.1.1.13.1 Special nonspecific indefinite pronouns**

There are no special nonspecific indefinite pronouns like English generic use ‘one’. There are also no forms of personal system used also as a nonspecific indefinite pronoun like the English ‘you’.

##### **2.1.1.1.14 Specific indefinite pronouns**

Sümi-Naga is void of specific indefinite pronouns like English ‘Someone’. It does have indefinite pronouns like ‘somebody’, ‘nobody’ and so on but not ‘someone’ or ‘no one’.

##### **2.1.1.1.15 Special emphatic pronouns**

There are no special emphatic pronouns. For emphatic pronouns, /kutoši/ is mostly used. It generally means ‘by self’. This is will further discussed under emphatic pronouns.

##### **2.1.1.1.16 Complex pronouns**

There are no complex pronouns as well in Sümi-Naga.

##### **2.1.1.1.17 Pronoun-noun construction**

These are obtained by suffixation of negative markers or interrogatives.

214.	ninju	lhothem	-qo	akumla	ši	-ni
	we	youth	Pl.	work	do	will
‘We, the youth will work’						

#### **2.1.1.1.18 Pairs of pronouns**

Pairs of pronouns are also not prevalent in Sümi-Naga.

#### **2.1.1.1.19 Secondary pronoun system**

There is no secondary pronoun system in Sümi-Naga.

#### **2.1.1.1.20. Case system in pronoun**

#### **2.1.2.2. Reflexive pronouns**

There are reflexive forms of pronouns in Sümi-Naga for the first, second and third person pronoun. /kutoši/ and /palikhi pa/ ‘one self’, out of these two, the first is generally used. For the inanimate third person, there seems to be no reflexive pronoun. The first, second and third person are added as either prefix or as suffix to these two reflexive pronouns.

215.	pa	-ye	pa-likhi- pa	yuza
	he	Nom.	himself	hurt
‘He hurt himself’				

216.	panoŋu	kutoši	ana	ču - Ø
	they	themselves	food	eat_Pst.
‘They ate by themselves’				



### **3.1.2.3 Reciprocal pronouns**

Sümi-Naga uses /lakhi no lakhi/ to express reciprocity for the first, second and third person pronoun.

217. panaju -ye lakhi-no-lakhi sasu kuptsa- Ø

they Nom. each other to/with talk\_Pst.

‘They talked to each other’

218. ina eno ilito lakhi –no- lakhi ŋuku- Ø

Ina and Ilito one another blame\_Pst.

‘Ina and Ilito blamed one another’

### **3.1.2.4. Possessive pronouns**

Possessive pronouns are marked with /i/. /i/ is added to first, second and third person to show belonging.

219. kaku hipau -ye i -i

book this Foc. mine Poss.

‘This book is mine’

220. amuya tipau -ye li i

toy that Foc. she Poss.

‘That toy is hers’

### **3.1.2.5 Demonstrative pronouns**

The following is the list of demonstrative pronouns classified on the basis of near in distance or time proximity in distal or time.

	near	far
singular	hi	hipau/tipau
dual	iku3o	noku3o
Plural	hipaqo	hupaqo

The following are some illustrations of demonstrative pronouns;

221.     hi        -ye        akosa  
          this     Foc.     cat  
          ‘This is a cat’

222.     aki        tipau                    -ye        mutotoi        ani  
          house     that (dem.adj)        Foc.     strong        be  
          ‘That house is strong’

223.     axamulu     hipaqo                    -ye        juvi            ani  
          flowers     these (dem.adj)        Foc.     beautiful        be  
          ‘These flowers are beautiful’

224.	timi	hupaqo	-ye	alo
	men	those (dem.adj)	Foc.	good
Those man are good				

### **3.1.2.6. Interrogative pronouns**

The following table shows the interrogative pronouns in Sümi-Naga;

Function	Subject	Gloss
person	khu	who/whom
thing	kiu	what
person/thing	khiukhiu	which
person	khi	whose (possessive)

### **3.1.3 Verb morphology**

#### **3.1.3.1 Voice**

##### **3.1.3.1.1 Passive**

Passive sentences can be constructed using the nominative marker /ye/. But besides that only the subject and object gets changed in their position and the tense of the sentence remains the same. So we can fairly make the assumption that passive sentence in its literal sense is not present in Simi-Naga. Below are few instances wherein passive sentences have been constructed using /ye/;

225.	i	-no	kaku	lakhi	phi - Ø
	I	Erg.	book	a/one	read_Pst.
‘I read a book’					

226. kaku lakhi -ye i-no phi  
 book a Foc. me read  
 \*a book read by me

It makes perfect sense when the above sentence in passive form used in Sümi-Naga but when it is translated in English; it is a grammatically wrong constructed sentence.

### **3.1.3.2 Tense**

There is a separate set of markers to differentiate tense, mood and aspect. These markers however can be used in place of one another in some cases. The following tenses are distinguished formally: past, present and future. While the present tense is unmarked, or alternatively marked, the other two tenses are always marked. There is no specific past sub-division to denote degree of remoteness probably variable marking of post is an indication of the degree of remoteness. The duration of the time that has passed by is specified to imply the remoteness.

The tense system in Sümi-Naga is not complex. It follows a simple marking system.

past	Ø -va, -ve, če
present (continuous)	ani
future	ni/ani/nani

227. aloli -no akumla ši- Ø  
 Aloli Erg. work do  
 ‘Aloli worked’

‘do’ functions as auxiliary with certain nominal.

/ši/ here should not be mistaken for past tense marker. The meaning of /ši/ can change depending on the suffix added to it besides indicating ‘-ed’. It also occurs alone. For example; ‘ši-lo’ ‘do it’ (Imp.)

228. inaka -ye iyi -va

Inaka Nom. arrive Pst.

‘Inaka arrived’

229. no -no ana ču -va

you Erg. food eat Pst.

‘You ate food’

230. i -no azu ye -ve

I Erg. water drink Pst.

‘I drank water’

Like mentioned earlier, past tense can be unmarked and also the addition of the past tense marker /-va/ and /-ve/, the action becomes complete (actions performed in the remote past) indicating that it has been done in the past. Past tense can be also constructed mentioning the specific time the action occurred.

231. inaka -ye iyina lono iyi -va

Inaka Nom. yesterday Abl. arrive Pst.

‘Inaka arrived yesterday’

232. i -no ku

I Erg. call

‘I call’

The present tense sentence here like previously mentioned is unmarked.

233. i -no ku ani

I Erg. call Prog.

‘I am calling’

234. pa ye ana ču ani

he is food eat Prog.

‘He is eating food’

The /ani/ not only acts as the present continuous marker translates into English with additional ‘-ing’ to the verb to denote the continuous action.

235. i -no no ku nani

I Erg. you call will

‘I will call you’

236. i -no no ku ni

I Erg. you call will

‘I will call you’

In the above two examples for future tense, the English translation gives out the same meaning but not so in Sümi-Naga. The usage of the future tense marker /nani/ conveys more of a definite affirmation than the marker /ni/.

### **3.1.3.3 Aspect**

For aspect, it overlaps the tense marker. The two aspects that can be frequently detected in Sümi-Naga are progressive and habitual aspects. Though other category of aspects can be observed yet, they are not much in use as the two mentioned aspects. Aspects in Sümi-Naga are marked by auxiliaries and tense marker.

### **3.1.3.3.1. Perfect aspect**

There is no distinct form for indicating a past situation, event, process, state, act that has presence relevance.

#### **3.1.3.3.1.1. Future perfect aspect**

237. i -no ithulu -ve ayi nani

I Erg. see Pst. have shall

‘I shall have seen’

In the above example, auxiliary /ayi/ and the past tense marker /-ve/ are used in the formation of the verb phrase in the sentence structure to construct future perfect aspect.

### **3.1.3.3.2 Aspects as different ways of viewing the duration of a situation**

#### **3.1.3.3.2.1 Habitual aspect**

/čeni/ and /če/ are the two markers used to realize the habitual aspect.

238. ni -ye kaku phiā -čeni

I Nom. book read Hab.

‘I read book’

/čeni/ refers to the habit which is still continuing. Along with the habitual aspect marker a suffix /-a/ is added to the verb to show the continuity of the habit.

239. ni -ye kaku phi -če

i Nom. book read Pst.

I read the book

The past habitual marker /če/ indicates the habit that used to be in the past but no longer continued.

### **3.1.3.3.2.1.2 Progressive aspect**

For progressive aspect, the sentence construction usually ends with /ani/ or /nani/ to indicate the progressive form of the action or state indicated.

240. inaka -ye kaku phi -ani

Inaka Nom. book read Prog.

‘Inaka is reading a book’

241. inaka -ye ale phea -nani

Inaka Nom. song singing will

‘Inaka will be singing’

/čeni/ and /če/ are also used to show progressive aspect.

242. ni -ye ala če čeni

i am Nom. road walk Prog.

‘I am walking on the road’

243. inaka -ye wu -če

Inaka Nom. go Pst.

‘Inaka was going’

### **3.1.3.3.2.3 Terminative aspect**

There is no separate marker for terminative aspect. The auxiliary verb /tava which mean ‘finish’ is used to show the end of a situation.

244. ikivi -ye ana ču -ta-va

Ikivi Nom. food eat finish \_Pst.

‘Ikivi has finish eating food’



### **3.1.3.4 Mood**

#### **3.1.3.4.1 Indicative mood**

Indicative mood is unmarked in Sümi-Naga.

245. inoto -ye ale phe ani

Inoto Nom. song sing Prog.

Inoto is singing

/Phe/ here means ‘sing’ but /ale/ ‘song’ has to be added to convey the complete action of singing. From the above example, we can deduce that there is no indicative marker.

#### **3.1.3.4.2. Conditional mood**

Conditional mood is expressed using /tsala/ ‘if’ and /aye/, this could mean ‘if’ ‘suppose’ ‘only’. In the sentence structure, in most cases ‘tsala’ occurs in the beginning of the sentence and ‘aye’ occurs at the end of the subordinate clause. There is morphological marking of the conditionals with the verbs. However, they are syntactically marked.

246. tsala i-no kohima lo ipe aye i-no no ku -nani

if I-Erg. Kohima to go Comp. i-Erg. you call will

‘If I go to kohima I will call you’

247. tsala ikivi -no iyi aye inoto -ye wu

nani

if Ikivi Erg. come Comp. Inoto Erg. go

will

‘If Ikivi comes then Inoto will go’

### **3.1.3.4.3 Imperative**

There are two imperative markers: /lo/ which is identical to locative marker. This marker conveys more of a command. The other marker is /le/, this marker suggests request. Imperative markers occur in second person.

248. akuho -ki lo wu lo  
church house Loc. go Imp.  
'Go to church'

249. akuho -ki lo wu le  
church house to go Imp.  
'Go to church'

In the first example, the imperative marker /lo/ suggests a command but in the second sentence, when it is replaced by another marker /-le/, the tone of the sentences changes to request. A native speaker can easily make out the difference.

### **3.1.3.4.4. Optative, intentional and debitive**

There are no special makers for expressing optative, intentional and debitive. A verb such as /niši/ 'wish' is used to express optative as well as intentional. For debitive, to express obligation, /masa/ 'must' is used.

250. pa -ye aki lo wu niši ani  
he Nom. home to go want Pre.  
'He wants to go home'

251.	ni	-ye	aki	lo	wu	niši	ani
	I	Nom.	home	to	go	wish	Pre.
‘I wish to go home’							

252.	ni	-ye	akilo	wu	masa
	I	Nom.	home	go	must
‘I must go home’					

No distinction is made between moral and physical obligation.

#### **3.1.3.4.5. Potential**

For the expression of potential, auxiliary markers /-lu/ and /nani/ are used in the combination

253.	inaka	-ye	ana	ču	-lu	-nani
	Inaka	Nom.	food	eat	can	
‘Inaka can eat food’						

254.	inaka	-ye	ana	ču	-lu
	Inaka	Nom.	food	eat	could
‘Inaka could eat food’					

The difference between physical ability and permission is brought about by the addition of /nani/.

### **3.1.3.5 Finite and nonfinite forms**

Sümi-Naga does not make a distinction between finite and non-finite verbal forms. The markers attached to the verbs indicate the tense, aspect and mood.

### **3.1.3.6. Person/number marking**

Person/number markings on verbs are not found in Sümi-Naga to indicate subject, direct object, indirect object or benefactive.

### **3.1.4 Adjectives**

#### **3.1.4.1. Predicative and attributive adjectives**

There is no morphological distinction between predicative and attributive adjectives.

255.	i	-no	aki	<b>zukivi</b>	ithulu - Ø
	I	Erg..	house	beautiful	see_Pst.
	‘I saw a beautiful house’				

256.	ni	ki	-ye	<b>zukivi</b>
	my	house	Foc.	beautiful
	‘My house is beautiful’			

#### **3.1.4.2. Agreement of adjectives with nouns**

Both attributive and predicative adjectives agree with nouns. In a sentence structure, the adjectives always come after the noun and before the verb. This sequence is always maintained. In cases where there are two nouns having the same quality, the adjective assigned to them is shared.



/lo/ 'in'

**Postpositions indicating movement:**

/veče/ 'across'

/axou/ 'down'

/launo/ 'from'

/ilo/ 'into'

/ye/, /no/ 'of'

/kidau/ 'towards'

**3.1.6 Numerals/quantifiers**

**3.1.6.1 The following are the list of the forms of numerals used in counting.**

/lakhi/ 'one'

/kini/ 'two'

/kuthu/ 'three'

/bidi/ 'four'

/puŋu/ 'five'

/tsuɣo/ 'six'

/tsuni/ 'seven'

/tače/ 'eight'

/toku/ 'nine'

/čiɣi/ 'ten'

/čiɣi-lakhi/ /čiɣi-xaqi/ 'eleven'

/čiɣi-kini/ 'twelve'

/muku/ 'twenty'

/šiɣi/ 'thirty'

/lhobidi/ 'fourty'

/lhopuŋu/ 'fifty'

/lhotsuɣo/ 'sixty'

/lhotsuni/	‘seventy’
/lhotace/	‘eighty’
/lhotoku/	‘ninety’
/aqhe/	‘hundred’
/xethone/	‘thousand’

The other new numeral series are formed from the above. As can be observed, the numeral eleven has two expressions and is used as per the preference of the speaker. The numerals 10, 20 and 30 have distinct representations while the remaining is formed by adding [lho-] ‘ten’ to form the compound. The word [hekusa] is used to refer to counting.

#### **3.1.6.2. Cardinal numbers does not have attributes in Sumi-Naga.**

#### **3.1.6.3. No distinct numerals are used for counting different kinds of objects.**

#### **3.1.6.4. Ordinal Numerals**

Ordinal numerals are formed by adding prefix [a-] to the root followed by the suffix [-i]. The suffix [-i] implies the possession. Except for the ordinal numeral [atuyi] ‘first’, the other ordinal numerals are formed using the said prefix and suffix. From sixth to ninth, ordinal numerals are formed by adding prefix [aku-] to the root followed by the suffix [-i].

/atuyi/	‘first’
/akinii/	‘second’
/akuthui/	‘third’
/abidii/	‘fourth’
/apuñui/	‘fifth’
/akutsuyi/	‘sixth’
/akutsunii/	‘seventh’
/akutačei/	‘eighth’
/akutokui/	‘ninth’
/ačiyii/	‘tenth’

### **3.1.6.5. Other derivatives of numerals**

The word /saʒe/ ‘percentage’ is used to form fraction.

For example;

258. saʒe        bidi lo kini

percentage Four of two

‘2/4’

The same form of numeral representation is retained to form other quantities by adding the word /saʒe/.

### **3.1.6.6 Quantifiers**

The following are the list of quantifiers;

/hami/	‘some’ (indefinite quantifier)
/lakhik <sup>ki</sup> /	‘each’ (reciprocal)
/kumtsu/	‘all/everyone’ (universal quantifier)
/khiukhiumu/	‘either/anyone’ (universal)
/khiumukumo/	‘neither’ (negative disjunctive)
/kiniko/	‘both’ (definite)
/kitai/	‘other’ (indefinite)
/inapiya/	‘any/anything’ (universal)
/kutomo/	‘many/much/lot/plenty’ (universal)
/ayulo/	‘few/little’ (indefinite)
/ayulo kitila/	‘a few’ (indefinite)
/kinikuthi/	‘more than three/several’ (indefinite)
/kumzapi/	‘numerous’ (indefinite)
/kitila/	‘little’ (indefinite)
/kutomo kumo/	‘not much’ (indefinite)



/ta čulo/ 'too much' (indefinite)

Negative quantifiers are formed by adding the negation /kumo/ and the word /kitila/ 'little' is added to show the lesser amount.

#### **3.1.6.6.1 Quantifiers derived from compounding**

The following are some of the compounds quantifiers;

/timi hami//khami/	someone/ somebody
/atsala hami/	'someday'
/ado hami/	'sometime'
/ketoi/	'somewhat'
/kišilašino/	'somehow'
/kimtsi/	'everybody'
/khilemu kiha/	'nowhere'
/kukumi/	'anything'
/khilakhilamu/	'anywhere'
/tišimu/	'anyway'

#### **3.1.7 Adverbs**

##### **3.1.7.1 Adverbs of comparison**

###### **3.1.7.1.1 Equality**

Sümi-Naga uses /toi/ 'like' to show equality.

259.	obed	-ye	yi	inaka	toi	kušo
	Obed	Nom.	also	Inaka	like	tall
	'Obed is also tall like Inaka'					

260.	inoto	ye	ikivi	toi	jiji	po	čeni
	Inoto	Nom.	Ikivi	like	fast	run	Hab.
‘Inoto runs fast like Ikivi’							

261.	aloli	-ye	yi	toshe	toi	ajukivi
	Aloli	Nom.	also	toshe	like	beautiful
‘Aloli is also beautiful like Toshe’						

### **3.1.7.1.2 Comparative**

Sümi- Naga uses /ɲuno/ to express degree of comparison. The adverb of comparative is represented in the following examples;

262.	obed	-ye	hupeka	ɲuno	akiviu	ši	alephe	čeni
	Obed	Nom.	Hupeka	more	better	(do)	sing	Prog.
				than				
	‘Obed sings better than Hupeka ‘							

263.	pito	-ye	hinoka	ɲuno	papaši	philu	čeni
	Pito	Nom.	Hinoka	more than	faster	read	Hab.
‘Pito reads faster than Hinoka’							

264.	inaka	-ye	pulto	ɲuno	azikini
	Inaka	Nom.	Pulto	more than	diligent

‘Inaka is more diligent than Pulto’

### **3.1.7.1.3 Superlative**

Superlatives in Sümi-Naga are formed by adding /kumtsu/ before the comparative /ɲuno/ followed by /alau/. /kumtsu/ means ‘of all/everyone’ and /alau/ means ‘more and more’.

The following are some examples to show superlative;

265. obed -ye kumstu ɲuno alau jiji po čeni

Obed Nom. more than everyone faster run Hab.

‘Obed runs faster than everyone’

266. inaka -ye kumtsu ɲuno alau amikučoi

Inaka Nom. more than everyone honest

‘Inaka is more honest than everyone’

267. ikivi -ye kumtsu ɲuno alau alokutsi

Ikivi Nom. more than everyone intelligent

‘Ikivi is more intelligent than everyone’

### **3.1.7.2 Degrees of quality**

#### **3.1.7.2.1 Large measures**

Sümi-Naga utilizes the word /kutmo/ which means ‘many/plenty’ to express large measures.

268. tilehi athikiši kutomo ani

there rice plenty Pre.

‘there is plenty of rice’

269. inaka -ye hekimiye kutomo ani

Inaka Nom. money plenty have

‘Inaka has lot of money’

270. kakheli -ye kaku -qo kutomo ani

Kakheli Nom. book PL many Pre.

‘Kakheli has many books’

#### **3.1.7.2.2 Superabundance**

/kumzapu/ is used to express superabundance in Sümi-Naga.

#### **3.1.7.2.3 Small measures**

/kitila/ is used to express small measures in Sümi-Naga.

### **3.3 Derivational morphology**

#### **3.3.1.1 Derivations of nouns**

One way through which nouns are derived is the addition of Generic Possessive Marker (GPM). GPM is discussed under the Lexicon chapter.

271. a- ki

GPM house

house

The noun /aki/ is made up of two morphemes, /a-/ a prefix and /ki/ ‘house’. /ki/ alone does not occur on its own ‘house’ it requires GPM.

### **3.3.1.2 Derivations of verbs**

In Sümi-Naga, new verbs in the language can be derived in the use of N+ auxiliaries as in ‘work do’- ‘to work’

### **3.3.1.3 Derivations of adverbs**

In Sümi-Naga, same set of adjectives are used for comparisons of quality etc. for adverbs too.

### **3.3.1.4 Compound morphology**

Compound morphology of Sümi-Naga is very interesting to observe. The language which has cases wherein a word can mean a lot of different things depending upon the context it is used and also if the tone is added to the same word, it brings out different word meaning. Compound morphology is one way of deriving vocabulary. Some of the compound words are the literal translation of words that are not available in Sümi-Naga.

273. akiphiki

a            -kiphi   -ki

GPM    read    house

school

274. nizayeyi

ni                -za            -yeyi

my                mother    land

motherland

275. axikivi

axi            -kivi

moon         light

moonlight

276. amulokumto

amulo            -akumto

heart            strength

brave/courage

Here, in /amulokumto/, /a-/ is dropped from /akumto/ to get the compound word.

277. atsakiqi

atsa            -kiqi

words           meaning

terminology

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **PHONOLOGY**

In this chapter we shall discuss the phonology of Sümi-Naga. Sümi-Naga has a sizable set of segmental phonemes. It is rich in consonants and fricatives. It exhibits six point articulations: labial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar and uvular. Aspirates are unique to this language and it is inherited from Tibeto-Burman language family. The aspirates are /k<sup>h</sup>/ /č<sup>h</sup>/ /t<sup>h</sup>/ /p<sup>h</sup>/ /q<sup>h</sup>/ /n<sup>h</sup>/ /m<sup>h</sup>/ and /l<sup>h</sup>/. Strictly speaking, consonant clusters are rarely found only with nasals. All syllables often exhibit universal unmarked syllable (c) v. Characteristics set of minimal tone are often found.

#### **4.1 Phonological Units (segmental)**

Sümi-Naga resorts to pulmonic airstream mechanism for the production of its speech sounds. Phonological units of segmental category and on syllabic nature will be discussed here.

##### **4.1.1 Distinctive segments of Sümi-Naga**

The following are the list of Sümi-Naga distinctive segments. The distinctive segments, consonants are known as *yesathi* in Sümi-Naga. The following are a list of words to illustrate the distinctive segments of Sümi-Naga. The third column in the table represents the way it is represented in the Roman orthography.

<b>Segment</b>	<b>Stet</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
p	<b>pi</b>	say
ph	<b>phi</b>	read
b	<b>bu</b>	touch
t	<b>atu</b>	rock/stone
th	<b>atha</b>	fat
d	<b>da</b>	paste
k	<b>kili</b>	change

kh	<b>khay</b> i	long time ago
g	<b>gi</b> hu	respect/honor
q	<b>qa</b>	cry
qh	<b>qhu</b>	wash
č	<b>čeni</b>	coming
čh	<b>čhe</b> zu	observe
f	<b>fu</b>	blow
v	<b>ve</b> ho	encircle
š	<b>ku</b> šo	long
ʒ	<b>a</b> ʒi	blood
s	<b>salu</b>	receive (e.g. as guest)
x	<b>xaku</b> lu	savior/salvation
ʎ	<b>ye</b> ŋuno	‘therefore/because’
h	<b>hila</b>	here
m	<b>mutoto</b> i	sturdy
mh	<b>mhe</b> šo <sup>xey</sup> i	culture
n	<b>ne</b> da	stamp (v)
nh	<b>axethi</b>	eyes
j	<b>a</b> ju	looks
ŋ	<b>a</b> ŋu	uncle
l	<b>la</b> da	bind
lh	<b>lhaphe</b>	open
r	<b>riyam</b>	court
w	<b>wu</b>	go
y	<b>yebide</b>	reflect

The table below shows the distinctive segments found in Sümi-Naga.



Serial no.	Labial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
1. Plosive Voiceless: Aspirated Unaspirated Voiced	p ph b		t th d			k kh g	q qh	
2. Affricate Voiceless: Aspirated Unaspirated				č čh				
3. Fricative Voiceless Voiced		f v	s z	š ž		x ɣ		h
4. Nasal Voiceless: Aspirated Unaspirated Voiced	m mh		n nh			ŋ		
5. Trill			r					
6. Lateral Voiceless: Aspirated Unaspirated			l lh					
7. Approximant					j			
8. Semi-Vowels	w				y			

For articulations which are not provided in the IPA chart standard typographic symbol is used. In the case of aspirated sounds, we will be retaining the actual representation in Sümi-Naga.

#### **4.1.2 Description of the distinctive segments**

##### **4.1.2.1 Non syllabics**

#### **4.1.2.1.1 Plosives and Affricates**

i. /p/ is a voiceless unaspirated labial plosive. It occurs in the initial and medial positions but never in the final position of a word.

/pai/	‘fast’
/petha/	‘greetings’
/ampe/	‘year’
/apeu/	‘down-side’
/api/	‘debt’

ii. /ph/ is a voiceless aspirated labial plosive and like /p/ it does not occur in the final position of a word.

/phe/	‘sing’
/phephei/	‘slippery’
/aphe/	‘lungs’
/aphi/	‘cloth’
/hophe/	‘dig-out’

iii. /b/ is a voiced labial plosive. It occurs mostly in initial and medial position but never in the final position of a word.

/bu/	‘touch’
/beyina/	‘tomato’
/bokitha/	‘enclosure’
/aba/	‘excreta’
/aboyi/	‘skull’

iv. /t/ is a voiceless alveolar plosive. It does not occur in the final position of a word.

/tava/	‘over/done’
/tamphi/	‘not over’
/atu/	‘rock/stone’

/amti/	‘salt’
/kutou/	‘afterwards’

v. /th/ is a voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive. /th/ also does not occur in the final position of a word.

/thime/	‘thing’
/ithi/	‘know’
/thi/	‘die’
/thibui/	‘darkish’
/thoyu/	‘tomorrow’

vi. /d/ is a voiced alveolar plosive. It does not occur in the final position of a word.

/da/	‘paste’
/idewo/	‘return’
/dokiče/	‘watch’
/ide/	‘turn’
/hebide/	‘disobey’

vii. /k/ is a voiceless velar plosive. It occurs in the initial and medial positions of a word.

/kulakupu/	‘marriage’
/iku/	‘ascend’ ‘move up’
/kuyo/	‘when’
/iko/	‘crack’
/akala/	‘ladder’

viii. /kh/ is a voiceless aspirated velar plosive. It occurs mostly in the initial and rarely in the middle and never in the position of a word.

/khaqi/	‘open’
/khilehi/	‘where’
/khanilo/	‘sometimes’

/khaumi/ 'mosquito'

/akha/ 'fish'

ix. /g/ is a voiced velar stop. Its occurrence is very minimal.

/agi/ 'face'

/gadaha/ 'donkey'

/gihu/ 'respect'

x. /q/ is a voiceless uvular plosive and occurs mostly in the initial position of a word. It also occurs in medial position but not in great frequency. It does not occur in the final position of a word.

/qa/ 'cry'

/aqa/ 'old'

/aqi/ 'bone-marrow'

/qe/ 'earn/serve'

/qei/ 'weak'

xi. /qh/ is a voiceless aspirated uvular plosive and occurs in the initial and medial position of a word. It does not occur in the final position.

/qheza/ 'proud'

/qhu/ 'wash'

/qhazi/ 'sleep on'

/aqhe/ 'hundred'

/aqhi/ 'month' / 'moon'

xii. /č/ is a voiceless alveopalatal affricate. It occurs mostly in the initial and medial position of a word.

/čilu/ 'hear'

/čiyi/ 'ten'

/kučo/ 'true'

/kučuɣu/ 'conspire'

/ačeku/ 'corner'

xiii. /čh/ is a voiceless aspirated alveopalatal affricate. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

/kučhu/ 'bath'

/čhu/ 'di'

/kučhoma/ 'arrogant'/'haughty'

/akičhi/ 'breast'

/akičhe/ 'waist'

#### **4.1.2.1.2 Fricatives**

Sümi-Naga has nine fricatives in total.

i. /f/ is a voiceless labiodental fricative. Its usage is limited. It occurs mostly in the initial position of a word. It rarely occurs in medial position too.

/fu/ 'blow'

/afo/ 'elder-sister'

/afuko/ 'trumpet'

/fule/ 'blow off'

/fulili/ 'flute'

ii. /v/ is a voiced labio-dental fricative. It occurs in the initial and medial position but does not occur in the final position of a word.

/viqai/ 'bright'

/vezoi/ 'straight away'

/veče/ 'cross'

/peve/ 'throw away'

/avela/ 'evening'

iii. /s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative. It occurs in the initial and medial position but does not occur in final position of a word.

/asa/	‘hair’
/salu/	‘receive’
/sisi/	‘winter’
/saphe/	‘lead’
/asibo/	‘tree’

iv. /z/ is a voiced alveolar fricative. It occurs both in the initial and medial positions of a word but not in the final position.

/azu/	‘water’
/aza/	‘mother’
/zi/	‘sleep’
/ziya/	‘joke’
/ayezi/	‘vegetables’

v. /š/ is a voiceless palate-alveolar fricative. It occurs in initial and medial position but not in the final position of a word.

/ašo/	‘bread’ ‘biscuits’
/aši/	‘meat’
/šolu/	‘meet’
/šika/	‘teach’
/ašekha/	‘end’ ‘last’

vi. /ʒ/ is a voiced palato-alveolar fricative. Like most of the fricatives it cannot occur in the final position of a word.

/ʒu/	‘look’
/aʒe/	‘name’
/aʒukhu/	‘cup’
/aʒeli/	‘variety’ ‘kind’ ‘type’

vii. /x/ is a voiceless velar fricative. It occurs mostly in the initial position and sometimes in the medial position of the word and never in the final position.

/axone/	‘fermented soyabean’
/akuxu/	‘raw’
/xapu/	‘carry’
/xalu/	‘save’ ‘rescue’
/axamunu/	‘flower’

viii. /ɣ/ is a voiced velar fricative. It occurs more frequently in the initial position than the medial position of a word.

/ɣušo/	‘curse’
/ɣime/	‘punish’ ‘torture’
/aɣo/	‘prize’ ‘present’
/kuɣu/	‘plan’
/muɣu/	‘vomit’

xi. /h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative. It can occur in all the positions including the final position in words.

/hexi/	‘beat’
/hami/	‘some’
/hešo/	‘bruise’
/ha/	‘chase’
/inahu/	‘early days’
/aqoh/	‘pit’
/ayeh/	‘name of the clan’
/azah/	‘order’ ‘decree’

#### **4.1.2.1.3 Nasals**

i. /m/ is a voiced labial nasal stop. It occurs in all positions of a word.

/msa/	‘fear’
/mice/	‘taste’

/miki/	‘lie’
/ami/	‘fire’
/ampe/	‘year’
/amta/	‘middle’

ii. /mh/ is aspirated labial nasal which occurs in the initial position of a word. It occurs only in few words.

/mhešoxeyi/	‘culture’
/amhi/	‘facial hair’
/akimhi/	‘mist’
/mhokiqli/	‘nagging’
/mha/	‘burn jungle’

iii. /n/ is alveolar nasal stop. It occurs both in the initial and medial position of a word.

/nayuto/	‘mountain’
/na/	‘borrow’
/neda/	‘press/stamp’
/anazu/	‘rice-water’
/ane/	‘goat’

iv. /nh/ is an aspirated alveolar nasal. It does not occur in the final position of a word.

/nha/	‘cover’
/aphinhe/	‘rag’
/anhekhi/	‘cliff’
/anhe/	‘knot’
/anhekušu/	‘jealous’

v. /ŋ/ is a voiced velar nasal and occurs in both initial and medial positions of a word.

/ŋo/	‘sweet’
/ŋosali/	‘sugar’



/iŋu/	‘swell’
/aheŋu/	‘pumpkin’
/aŋu/	‘spear’

#### **4.1.2.1.4 Laterals**

i. /l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral. It occurs in the initial and final position of a word.

/leqhi/	‘pour down’
/leʒole/	‘folksongs’
/akumla/	‘work’
/ala/	‘road’
/ilhe/	‘jump’

ii. /lh/ is an aspirated voiceless alveolar lateral. It occurs in the initial position and sometimes in few cases in medial position of a word.

/lha/	‘open’
/lhe/	‘rummage’
/alhaçe/	‘ant’
/alhou/	‘god’
/kitsala/	‘argue/quarrel’

#### **4.1.2.1.6 Approximant**

/j/ is the only voiceless palatal approximant in Sümi-Naga. It can be used in place of the semi-vowel /y/. It occurs in the word initial and medial position but not in the final position.

/ayeyi/	‘earth’
/juvi/	‘beautiful’

#### **4.1.2.1.7 Trill**

Sümi-Naga has only one trill which is relatively a new addition. It occurs in the words which are recent in the Sümi-Naga lexicon.

i. /r/ is a voiced alveolar trill.

/mĩrĩsi/	‘hailstone’
/kĩrĩši/	‘horse’
/rotoka/	‘Rotoka is the name of a Sümi-Naga village’
/riyam/	‘court’

#### **4.1.2.1.8 Semi-vowels**

i. /w/ is labial and is also used a variant of /v/. It can occur in the initial and medial position for never in the final position in a word.

/wu/	‘go’
/awu/	‘hand’
/awo/	‘pig’

ii. /y/ is palatal. It does not occur in the final position in a word.

/yesu/	‘letter’
/ayeyi/	‘earth/land’
/piye/	‘show’

#### **4.1.2.1.9 Minimal Pairs**

The following are the list of the minimal pairs found in Sümi-Naga.

1. /p/ and /ph/ and /b/

/api/	‘debt’
/aphi/	‘shawl/cloth’
/abi/	‘barn/shoulder’
/apo/	‘belly’
/apho/	‘cluster’
/abo/	‘box’
/apu/	‘father’

/aphu/ 'village'

2. /t/ and /th/ and /d/

/ato/ 'hill'

/atho/ 'same'

/ado/ 'time'

/iti/ 'crawl'

/ithi/ 'know'

/ita/ 'break'

/itha/ 'move'

3. /k/, /kh/, /g/ and /γ/

/aki/ 'house'

/akhi/ 'bee'

/agi/ 'face'

/ayi/ 'bone'

4. /q/ and /x/

/aqo/ 'pit'

/axo/ 'brain'

5. /č/ and /čh/

/či/ 'to cultivate'

/čhi/ 'full'

/amici/ 'sign'

/amičhi/ 'smoke'

6. /š/ and /z/

/aši/ 'meat'

/aʒi/ 'blood'

/aʃe/ 'deer'

/aʒe/ 'name'

7. /m/ and /mh/

/ami/ 'fire'

/amhi/ 'short facial hair'

8. /n/ and /nh/

/ana/ 'food'

/anha/ 'snot'

9. /l/ and /lh/

/ala/ 'path'

/alha/ 'layer'

10. /g/ and /y/

/agi/ 'face'

/ayi/ 'bone'

/ayo/ 'prize'

#### **4.1.2.2 Syllabics**

Vowels in Sümi-Naga are known as *tsalho*. The following is the table of Sümi-Naga vowels.

#### **4.1.2.2.1 Vowels**

The following is the vowel table of Sümi-Naga;

Serial no.	Front	Central	Low
1. High	i	ɨ	u
2. Low	e	a	o

There are six vowels in Sümi-Naga. It is divided into front, central and back. Two vowels exhibit length or contrast as in /a/ via /ā/ and /i/ via /ī/.

1. /i/ is a high front unrounded vowel. It can occur in initial, medial and final positions of a word.

/iče/	‘break’
/iŋu/	‘doze’
/hakil <sup>h</sup> e/	‘prompt/provoke’
/ayiko/	‘skin/hide’
/čuvi/	‘tasty’
/kili/	‘change’

2. /i/ is a high central unrounded vowel. It does not occur in the initial position but occurs in the medial as well as final positions of a word.

/msi/	‘lure’
/atozi/	‘wall made out of bamboo’
/bekitha/	‘fixation’
/asitsa/	‘voice’
/šokikha/	‘blockage/obstruction’
/vesilho/	‘souvenir’

3. /u/ is a high back rounded vowel. It does not occur in the initial position of a word.

/axamunu/	‘flower’
/apu/	‘father’
/apukhu/	‘leg’
/kučo/	‘true’
/iu/	‘mine’
/šulo/	‘too long’

4. /e/ is a mid-front unrounded vowel. It occurs in the initial position in a word.

/eno/	‘and’
/ešehe/	‘an expression of sadness’
/ewu ewu/	‘sound of a bird’
/axemi/	‘equal’
/hakilhe/	‘prompts/ provoke’
/hebide/	‘disobey/revolt’

5. /a/ is a low central unrounded vowel. It can occur in all initial, medial and final positions in a word.

/aloka/	‘branch’
/alias/	‘serving spoons’
/ašepe/	‘witness/certificate’
/khalau/	‘outside’
/khami/	‘some’
/xapu/	‘carry’

6. /o/ is a mid-back rounded vowel. It occurs in all the positions of a word.

/oho/	‘expression of shock/sadness’
/naɣuto/	‘mountain’
/ŋo/	‘stay’
/ŋosali/	‘sugar’
/ɣozi/	‘cajole/coax’
/veho/	‘encircle’

## **4.2 Phonotactics**

### **a. Segmental distribution: consonants**

	p	ph	b	t	th	d	k	kh	g	q	qh	č	čh	f	v	s	z	š	ʒ	x	ɣ	h	m	mh	n	nh	ŋ	r	l	lh	j	w	y
p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ph	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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qh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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m	√	-	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	√	-	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-
mh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
nh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ŋ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
l	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
lh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
j	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
w	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

**b. Segmental distribution: consonants and vowels**

	i	ĩ	u	e	a	o
p	√	√	√	√	√	√
ph	√	-	√	√	√	√
b	√	-	√	√	√	√
t	√		√	√	√	√
th	√	√	√	√	√	√
d	√	√	√	-	√	√
k	√	√	√	√	√	√
kh	√	√	√	√	√	√
g	√	-	-	-	-	-
q	√	√	-	√	√	√
qh	√	√	√	√	√	√
č	√	-	√	√	√	√
čh	√	-	√	√	-	√
f	-	-	√	-	-	-
v	√	√	-	√	√	-
s	-	√	-	-	√	-
š	√	-	√	√	-	√
ʒ	√	-	√	-	-	√
x	√	√	√	√	√	√
ʎ	√	√	√	√	√	√
h	√	-	√	√	√	√
m	√	√	√	√	√	√
mh	√	-	-	√	√	-
n	√	-	√	√	√	√
nh	√	-	-	√	√	-
ŋ	-	-	√	-	-	√
r	√	-	-	-	-	-
l	√	√	√	√	√	√



lh	√	√	√	√	√	√
j	-	-	√	√	-	√
w	-	-	√	-	-	√
y	√	-	-	√	√	-

### **c. Segmental distribution: Vowels and consonants**

	p	ph	b	t	th	d	k	kh	g	q	qh	č	čh	f	v	s	z	š	ʒ	x	ɣ	h	m	mh	n	nh	ɲ	r	l	lh	j	w	y
i	√	-	-	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	-	√	√	-	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	√	√	√	√
ĩ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
u	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√
e	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-
a	√	-	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	√	√
o	√	-	-	-	-	√	√	-	√	-	-	-	-	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-

### **4.2.1 Distribution of the Non Syllabics**

#### **4.2.1.1 Consonants in the word final**

Consonants or *yesathi* of Sümi-Naga with the exception of /h/ do not occur in the word final position. The occurrence of the consonant /h/ is also limited.

#### **4.2.1.2 Consonants in the word initial**

All consonants can occur in the word initial position. Occurrence of consonants in the initial position in a word is common. A majority of them can also occur in the word medial position except as said in 4.2.1.1. No consonant other than /h/ occurs in the final position.

#### **4.2.2.1 Distribution of consonant clusters**

##### **4.2.2.1.1 Word initial consonants clusters**

Occurrence of consonants clusters in the word initial is limited. Consonants clusters that occur in the word initial position are:

mb my ml mph ms mx ts

The following are some of the examples of consonant clusters occurring in the word initial position:

/mbomuzü/	‘foolish/stupid’
/myi/	‘narrow’
/mla/	‘work/do’
/mla/	‘worship’
/mphi/	‘not yet’
/msa/	‘afraid, fear’
/msi/	‘lure, tame’
/tsa/	‘chew/cut’
/tsübui/	‘black’
/tsiyi/	‘rain’
/tsikhine/	‘sun’

In case of the consonants clusters in the initial position beginning with the consonant /m/, optionally /u/ is inserted after /m/

#### **4.2.2.1.2 Word final consonant clusters**

There are no word final consonant clusters in Sümi-Naga.

#### **4.2.2.1.3 Word medial consonant clusters**

Most of the medial consonant clusters that occur in Sümi-Naga have a nasal as the first member followed by any consonant. The following are the list of medial consonant clusters;

mč mčh my mk mp mš mts mth mz ɲš ɲq ɲts

The following are the examples of word medial consonant clusters;

/akimči/	‘specific, particular’
/akimčhi/	‘miserly’
/akimyi/	‘hurry’
/akimki/	‘lie’
/akimpeu/	‘landlord’
/ampe/	‘year’
/akimši/	‘heavy’
/akimsti/	‘tip’
/akimthi/	‘light- in terms of load’
/šomzi/	‘drunkard’
/tsuŋqii/	‘sweet smell, aromatic’
/tsiŋtsii/	‘dark, gloomy, black’
/aboŋšu/	‘lion’

The word medial consonant clusters do not differ much from the word final and initial consonant clusters.

### **4.2.3 Distribution of vowel clusters**

Vowel sequences do occur in all the three positions.

#### **4.2.3.1 Word final vowel clusters**

All possible combination of vowel occurs for the word final noun clusters. The following are the list of word final noun clusters;

ai au ei eu iu oi oe ou ui

The following table illustrates the word final vowel clusters;

/pai/	‘fast’
/xai/	‘dry’

/aɣau/	‘bird’
/jophei/	‘arrange or keep in proper line’
/akičiu/	‘elder’
/aɣiu/	‘main’
/kutokuyoi/	‘prepared, arranged’
/moi/	‘no’
/akumou/	‘outrageous’
/kutokupui/	‘careful, watchful’

#### **4.2.3.2 Word initial vowel clusters**

The following are the word initial vowel clusters found in Sümi-Naga;

au ei

The most frequent word initial vowel cluster is /au/. The sequence /ei/ is found to occur only in one word so far.

/aukukhu/	‘clap’
/au/	‘hand’
/aumlo/	‘arm’
/aumtsi/	‘finger nail’
/ei/	‘yes’

#### **4.2.3.3 Word medial vowel clusters**

The following are the list of word medial vowel clusters;

au oa ou iu

/alauxe/	‘ankle’
/khaumi/	‘mosquito’
/alhoaye/	‘traits by nature’
/ašoumi/	‘outsider’

/kisiuno/

‘secretly, hidingly’

#### **4.2.4 Lexical morphology structure**

The lexical morphology structure does not differ from the possibilities of word structure.

#### **4.2.5 Syllables**

The structure of lexical morphology corresponds with the possibilities of word structure.

##### **4.2.5.1 Assignments of medial units or clusters**

Most of the medial units or clusters that occur in Sümi-Naga are vowel clusters. So the usual structure that is found in the assignment of medial units or clusters is consonant unit followed by one or more vowels. Since the consonant clusters do not occur in the word final position, the medial units or clusters are followed by vowel cluster.

##### **4.2.5.2 Canonical syllable**

The basic canonical syllable structure type consists mainly of consonant cluster followed by vowel cluster in the medial and final position in a word, or a consonant cluster followed by a vowel cluster in the final position, or vowel cluster followed by consonant and a vowel cluster in the final position in the word, or the entire syllable is made up of vowel clusters.

(C<sub>1</sub>) (C<sub>2</sub>) V(V) C<sub>3</sub>(C<sub>4</sub>) V(V)(h); (C<sub>1</sub>)(C<sub>2</sub>) V(V) h

#### **4.2.6 Restrictions between consonants and vowels**

##### **4.2.6.1 Restrictions between word/syllable final units or clusters and initial vowels/syllabic units**

Since consonants do not occur in the word/syllable margins, there seems to be absence of restrictions between word/syllable final units or clusters and the preceding vowels/syllabic units.

#### **4.2.6.2 Restrictions between syllable initial units or clusters and syllable final units or clusters**

There are certain restrictions between the syllable initial units or clusters and syllable final units or clusters. Usually word margin segments and syllable margin segments are un-identical. Since word final consonants are prohibited, the language may be analyzed to have heavy onset supported by certain type of word initial consonant cluster /mC/.

(C<sub>1</sub>) (C<sub>2</sub>) V(V) h

#### **4.2.6.3 Vowel harmony**

There does not seem to be any vowel harmony at the morphophonemic level but seems to be some weak evidence for the existence of lexical vowel harmony in the language. For example:

##### 1. Front vowel harmony

/m̥irisi/ ‘hailstone’

/k̥iriši/ ‘horse’

/akimki/ ‘liar’

/akimyi/ ‘hurry’ ‘hasten’ etc.

##### 2. Back vowel harmony

/rotoka/ ‘name of a village’

/naɣuto/ ‘mountain’

/axamunu/ ‘flower’

#### **4.2.6.4 Consonant harmony**

There does not seem to be consonant harmony in Sümi-Naga.

### **4.3 Suprasegmentals**

#### **4.3.1 Distinctive degree of length**

Vowel length is contrastive but found only with a couple of vowels.

#### **4.3.1.1 Vowels**

The following is the illustrative of the distinctive degree of length in vowels:

##### **a. Short vowels**

i	ika	‘jump’
e	eno	‘and’
ɪ	kimvi	‘fast’
u	ahu	‘teeth’
a	a	‘yes’
o	akho	‘load’

##### **b. Long vowels**

ī	ahī	‘north/upside’
	atī	‘a male wild boar’
a	ā	‘place’

#### **4.3.1.2 Other syllabics**

There seems to be absence of distinctive degrees of length in nasals, fricatives or stops in Sümi-Naga. In other words geminates of consonants do not occur in the language.

#### **4.3.2 Tone**

Sümi-Naga is a tonal language. Sümi-Naga has three tones; low, mid and high. The mid tone is not marked. The following are some examples illustrating tones;

/ači`/	falling	‘solid’
/ači/	level	‘necklace’
/ači’/	raising	‘bro-in-law’
/‘aʒi`/	falling	‘blood’
/aʒi/	level	‘rat/rodent’
/aʒi’/	raising	‘wine/alcohol’
/fu’/	falling	‘blow’

/fu/	level	‘hook’
/fu’/	raising	‘hang’
/sa’/	falling	‘fry’
/sa/	level	‘drive’
/sa’/	raising	‘bargain’



## **CHAPTER 5**

### **LEXICON**

In this chapter we shall discuss the lexicon of Sümi-Naga.

#### **5.1 Structured semantic fields**

The terms used in referring various relations by social order, description of colors, body parts, cuisine, food, flora and fauna, measuring, time etc. Words of various domains and clusters of words sharing certain properties will be illustrated here.

##### **5.1.1 Kinship terminology**

###### **5.1.1.1 By blood**

Though Sümi-Naga has limited kinship terminology yet, it is extensively used in referring to the paternal and maternal sides of the family by inter-changing most of the available terminology. There is a set of words /asi/ ‘grand-father’ and /apiza/ ‘grand-mother’ for both sides of grand-parents. There is no gender distinction in referring to nephews, nieces and grand-children. They are referred to as /atilimi/.

Generic Possessive Marker (GPM) plays an important role in determining the proximity of the relationship between the referrer and referent. For instance with the prefix /a-/ the term would refer to everyone in general e.g., /apu/ ‘father’, with the prefix /i-/ the term becomes specific and personal e.g., /ipu/ ‘my father’ with the prefix /o-/ the term will refer to ‘your’ e.g., /opu/ ‘your father’ and with the prefix /p-/ the term refers to ‘his/her’ e.g., /papu ‘his/her father’. /aŋa/ refers to child, daughter. The girls refer to their brothers as /apelimi/ and the boys refer to their sisters as /ačelimi/.

The following are the kinship terms in Sümi-Naga (these terms are used for reference and not in address). The list has been divided into columns to show the proximity of a person.

reference term	common/general	specific (my)	your	his/her
father	apu	ipu	opu	papu
mother	aza`	iza`	oza`	paza`

elder brother	amu`	imu`	omu`	pamu`
younger brother	apeu athazu	ipeu ithazu	opeu	papeu
elder sister	afo	ifo	ofu	pafo
younger sister	atsinipu	itsinipu	otsinipu	patsinipu
son	apu´	ipu´	opu´	papu´
daughter	aŋa	iŋa	oŋa	paŋa
grand-father	asi´	isi´	osi´	pasi´
grand-mother	apiza`	ipiza`	opiza`	papiza`
grand-children	atilimi	itilimi	otilimi	patilimi
nephew/niece	atikišu	itikišu	otikišu	patikišu
father's brother	apu	ipu	opu	papu
father's sister	ani	ini	oni	pani
mother's brother	aŋu	iŋu	oŋu	paŋu
mother's sister	aza`	iza`	oza`	paza`

The reference /athazu/ is used to refer to brothers and /ithazu/ is used by the male members to refer to close friends. The same goes for sister's reference as well. The /aŋu and /ani/ are the general terms used for reference to 'uncle' and 'aunty'. First cousins from paternal sides are referred to as /amu/ 'brother' and /afo/ 'sister' and the first cousins from maternal sides as /aŋu/ 'uncle' and /aza/ 'mother'. There is a rigid system when it comes to reference in terms of age and the relationship shared. One usually refers to another by name alone only when both are of same age or else the above terms of reference are used.

For the reference of father's brother and sister and also the reference for mother's brother and sister, along with the above given terms, /akičiu/ 'elder', /aitiu/ 'youngest' etc. are

added to be specific about whom they are referring if both the father and mother has more than two siblings.

#### **5.1.1.2 By partial blood**

Though Sümi-Naga has kinship terms to refer to the relationship by partial blood yet, these terms are rarely used. Most of the time it is used by others to address the step-relationship of another. Partial blood kinship terms is formed by adding /-kiše/ which means either ‘step’ here in this context. The following are the partial blood kinship terms in Sümi-Naga.

reference term	common/general	specific (my)	your	his/her
step-father	apu- kiše	ipu-kiše	opu-kiše	papu-kiše
step-mother	aza` - kiše	iza`-kiše	oza`-kiše	paza`-kiše
step-son	apu´ - kiše	ipu´-kiše	opu´-kiše	papu´-kiše
step-daughter	aṇa- kiše	inga-kiše	onga-kiše	panga-kiše
step-brother	amu` - kiše	imu`-kiše	omu`-kiše	pamu`-kiše
step-sister	afo- kiše	ifo-kiše	ofo-kishe	pafo-kiše

#### **5.1.1.3 By marriage**

The terms that are used to refer to the relationships that are incurred by marriage is given in the table below;

reference term	common/general	specific(my)	your	his/her
Husband	akimi	ikimi	okimi	pakimi

Wife	anipu	inipu	onipu	panipu
father-in-law	aŋu	iŋu	oŋu	paŋu
mother-in-law	ani	ini	oni	pani
sister-in-law (referred by husband's sister)	ani	ini	oni	pani
(referred by husband's brother)	ači	iči	oči	pači
brother-in-law	ači	iči	oči	pači
son-in-law	amakišiu	imakišiu	omakišiu	pamakišiu
sons-in-law	amalimi	imalimi	omalimi	pamalimi
daughter-in-law	amukišiu	imukišiu	omukišiu	pamukišiu
daughters-in-law	amulimi	imulimi	omulimi	pamulimi

Brother's wife is referred to by the ego's sisters as /ini/ while the ego's brothers refer to her as /iči/. Here in this context both /ini/ and /iči/ refers to 'sister-in-law' whereas on the other hand, sister's husband is referred to as /iči/ both by ego's sisters and brothers and here /iči/ is roughly translated as brother-in-law. The reference term for father-in-law and mother-in-law is same as the reference term for uncle and aunt respectively.

### **5.1.2 Color terminology**

In Sümi-Naga, the color terms comes after the object it is referring to in the sequence of a sentence. Examples are given for those colors which have more than one reference term. The following is a list of color terminology used in Sümi-Naga;

colors	basic terms	reference term
black	tsibi akitsi	there seems to be the distinction of /tsibi/ and /akitsi/ based on their reference to animate and inanimate things/objects or products of them. The usage may also depend upon the intensity of blackness. a. amiši    tsibi cow    black

		<p>‘Black cow’</p> <p>b. ap<sup>hi</sup> tsibi cloth black ‘black cloth’</p> <p>c. ayeho akitsi wool black ‘Black wool’</p> <p>d. atuqu tsibi stone black ‘Black stone’</p> <p>e. timi tsibi man black ‘Black man’</p>
white	akimiye	<p>/akimiye/ is used when things referred to is being talked about. /a-/ can be dropped to get /kimiye/ which also refer to the color white. For e.g.,</p> <p>a. ap<sup>hi</sup> akimiye tipau hila suyi lo cloth white that here bring Imp. ‘Bring that white cloth here’</p> <p>b. i -no amši akimiye qhu - Ø I Erg. cow white buy_Pst. ‘I bought a white cow’</p> <p>d. atuqu kimiye stone white ‘White stone’</p>
	miyeh	<p>c. aphi miyeh</p>

	metsiyoi	<p>cloth white</p> <p>‘white cloth’</p> <p>/metsiyoi/ is another term to indicate the color white.</p> <p>d. obe ü ahu metsiyoi ani</p> <p>Obe Gen. teeth white <u>be</u></p> <p>‘Obe’s teeth is white’</p>
red	hučui huyui akuhu	<p>The term for the color red is listed according to the intensity of the redness they project. Out of all three listed here, /akuhu/ conveys the deepest shade of red.</p> <p>a. hučui kiu axamulu</p> <p>red Part. flower</p> <p>‘Red flower’</p> <p>b. axathi huyui ni ani</p> <p>fruit red ripe <u>be</u></p> <p>‘The fruit is red ripe’</p> <p>c. i -no ayeho akuhu pesü aphi yo - Ø</p> <p>I Erg. wool red Inst. cloth weave_Pst.</p> <p>‘I weaved cloth with red wool’</p>
yellow	aune	
blue	atsüla	
green	atsinižu	<p>/atsinižu/ is a compound word wherein, /atsini/ here means ‘grass’ and /-žu/ could mean ‘look’ or ‘the image’ etc. So /atsinižu/ means ‘looks like grass’ indicating the color green of the grass.</p>
brown	ayeyižu	<p>/ayeyi/ here means ‘earth’ and /žu/ means ‘looks’. So /ayeyižu/ means ‘looks like earth’ indicating the color brown of the earth.</p>
purple	phuyai	
maroon	huyai	

pale	tsiniyei	
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### **5.1.3 Body parts**

The following is a list of body parts terms in Sümi-Naga;

arm	aumlo
arm-pit	akičqo
body	aphimphi
breast	akičhi
buttock	ašibo
calf	apite
chest	amla
cheek	agimuču
chin	amkhu
collar-bone	atsükeyi
ear	akini
elbow	aunhe
eyelash	anhethi-mihi
eyelid	anhethi-iko
eye	anhethi
face	agi
finger	auloti
forehead	akiše
groin	amiqhi
hair	asa
hand	au
head	akitsi
heel	apitsi
hip	aiku
knee	akhonhe

lip	amĩtsi
loin	aʒibo
mouth	akiči
nail	amĩtsi/aimtsi
nape	akuoyi
navel	apola
neck	akuo
nipple	akičiku
palm	aumiza
penis	ačo
pupil	aŋalo-nhethi
shin	aŋanheyu
shoulder	abiyi
spinal cord	aŋĩtsi
skin	aiko
stomach	apo
teeth	ahu
thigh	aluko
throat	akuqhoki
tongue	amli
vagina	apuqho
waist	ačita
wrist	awu

#### **5.1.4 Cooking terminology**

The cooking terms of Sümi-Naga is very simple. The following are the cooking terms;

boil (to boil vegetables etc.)	kiči
boil (to boil water etc.)	kumxo
cook	be`



fry	kusa
roast	yu

By roasting, it implies the act of wrapping up the food items either in banana leaves etc. and heaping warm ashes and coals over it. If one is cooking rice, then the term that will be used here is /be`/ and if one is cooking the curry, then the term will be /lho/.

### **5.1.5 Food items terminologies**

The following is the list of food items terms in Sümi-Naga. /aši/ means ‘meat’. Hence, for all the non-veg food items /-ši/ is added to imply ‘meat’.

bamboo-shoots	akuthu
banana	awučo
beans	axa/khetsithi
beef	amišiši
bitter-gourd	akiši
bread/ biscuits	ašo
brinjal/ egg-plant	khoiyi
chicken	awuši
chilly	yimsi
corn	kholakithi
cooked rice	ana
cucumber	akuka
dried bamboo-shoots	athoki
dried yam stems	yaʒiku
egg	awukhu
fermented soya-beans	axone
fig	mubuthi
ginger	akui
gooseberry	kholethi

grape-juice	atsayizi
leafy vegetables	ayetsüni
mango	mu3thi
milk	akičizi
millet	asi
mutton	aneši
naga-pepper (small size)	aŋothi
naga-pepper (big size)	aŋoši
orange	mušithi
paddy	athi
peach	yekthi
pork	awoši
rice	atikiši
salt	amti
spring-onion	atsina
tapioca	asičuču
wild apple	phukhothi
yam	aiyi

#### **5.1.6 Household items terminologies**

abeyi	basket used in granary to carry out grains for drying in the sun.
abošu	wooden pounding structure with five to six holes.
ahapu	small mate used for drying small measures of grains.
a3khu	Cup
akho	basket which is triangular

	(upside down) and has long pointed end and can be straddled to carry things.
akhu	Plate
akhumu	wooden pestle used for pounding rice to remove husk
alakhī	Seat
alikhā-ā	Shelves
alisa	spoons used for serving rice
amuto	basket with hollow bottom which is straddled to carry things.
anakhuloli	Utensils
anoli	medium sized basket used mainly to keep vegetables etc.
apuṇo	wooden pounding structure with one hole.
aqupu	basket used for storing meat, dry chilies etc. with a lid.
ašišo	wooden stump or block of wood used for chopping meat etc.
ašoyi	small basket
asikhu	traditional plate curved out of wood with a stand.
atsakhosa	curry spoon
ayephu	large mate used for drying

	large quantities of grains.
azihi	hollowed bamboos used for carrying and storing water.
šetulu	wooden pestle used in kitchen for making paste.

### **5.1.7 Week day's-/apinedo/**

Though there seems to be repetition of /-ani/ in all the week day's terms, it does not imply 'day'.

Monday	asizani
Tuesday	ayizani
Wednesday	ašiyeni
Thursday	aniyini
Friday	mučolani
Saturday	tupulani
Sunday	tuyakhani

### **5.1.8 Months in Sümi-Naga**

/aqhi/ means 'months' and so a suffix /-qhi/ is added to all the names of the months in Sümi-Naga.

January	luuqhi
February	siphuqhi
March	lusaqhi
April	yixuqhi
May	mozaqhi
June	amuhaqhi
July	anirqhi

August	sayiqhi
September	amithaqhi
October	yileqhi
November	ahunaqhi
December	liphiqhi

### **5.1.9 Animals- /tuyaši/**

tiger	aŋšī
lion	aboŋšī
bear	ava
boar	amini
deer	aše
cow	amiši
pig	awo
goat	ane
dog	atsü
monkey	ašuki
cat	akhosa
rat/mouse	aži
mithun	avi
elephant	akaha
porcupine	ačqu

### **5.1.10 Birds- /ayau/**

bulbul	amidu
crow	aya
eagle	aluqu
owl	aqhoqho

peacock	auye
dove	mixedu/amixi
hornbill	ayačo

/awu/ refers to poultry in general. /awudu/ refers to ‘cock’, /awuqu/ refers to ‘hen/fowl’ and /awuti/ refers to ‘chicks’.

#### **5.1.10 Greetings/wishes**

The suffix /-vi/ means ‘good’, hence it is added to the duration of the day to convey the greeting.

good morning	inavi
good afternoon	pučovi
good evening	velavi
goodnight	puthovi
sweet dreams	samopivi
thanks	šikimthi
thank you	ošikimthi
safe return	viwolo
goodbye- This is mostly used at funerals.	Ilenowolo

#### **5.2 Basic vocabulary**

all	Kumtsu
and	Eno
animal	lhoxi
ashes	Ayevu
at	Lo
back	Athikau

bad	alomo/alokisa
because	kuyeŋu
belly	Apo
big	kize
bird	ayau
bite	miki miki´
black	tsibii
blood	aʒi
bone	ayi
breast	Akiči
breathe	Athuthukiše
burn	Piti
child	aŋa
claw	aši-ayau pukhimtsi
cloud	kiŋkusi
cold	mukomyai/tsiziphoi
come	iʔi
count	hesa
cut	yatha
day	atsala
die	thi
dig	čuh
dirty	mithemo
dog	atsi
dry	qhai
dust	amuxu
ear	akini
egg	awukhu
eye	axethi

fall	iluqi
far	putou
fat/grease	atha
father	apu
fear	musa
feather	ayaumhi
few	ayulo
fire	ami
fish	akha
five	puŋu
float	ihhi
flower	axamulu
fly	yewu
fog	akixi
foot	apukhu
four	bidi
full	čitoi
give	tsi
good	alo
grass	atsini
green	atsinizu
guts	piti
hair	asa
hand	awu
he	pa
head	akutsi
hear	ini
heart	amulo
heavy	mišiši
here	hile



hit	čiši/kuo
hold/take	kuyamte/luve
horn	akibo
how	kišipu
hunt	ha
husband	akimi
i	ni
ice/frost	avi
if	tsala
in	lo/alou
kill	hexipithi
knee	akhonhe
know	ithi
lake	ayizikučo
laugh	nu
leaf	anika
left-side	piye-kudau
leg	apukhu
lie (lying down position)	ihozi
lie	miki
live	xi
long	kušo
louse	axi
man/male	kipitimi
many	kutomo
meat/flesh	aši
moon	aqhi
mother	aza
mountain	nayuto
mouth	akiči

name	aʒe
narrow	myɪyɪyɪ
near	avilo
neck	akuo
new	akithe
night	putho
nose	aŋibe
not	kumo
old	kitemi aqa
one	lakhi
other	kutau/kutami
person	timi
play	ili
pull	sünhe
rain	tuha
red	tsiyɪ
right/correct	hučui
right-side	aʒeu-kudau
river	aziɪyɪ
road	alayi
root	akuhu
rope	akiyɪ
rotten	tsive/mave
round	čopumuloi
rub	nuxa
salt	amti
sand	asaye
say	pi
scratch	čixa

sea	zikile
see	zu
seed	athi
sew	tsiyu
sharp	tsiyamixe
short	ikhonei
sing	alephe
sit	iqa
skin	ayiko
sky	atsitsi
sleep	zi
small	kuloti
smell	mula
smoke	amikhi/amiči
snake	aphiyi
snow	murasi
some	khami
spit	miši
split	šokho/yipho
squeeze	tsixile
stab/pierce	xu/zi
stand	puthuyo
star	ayepu
stick	akisi
stone	atuqu
straight	muzičoi
suck	mutsi/msi
sun	tsikinhe/khetsinhe
swell	iṇu
swim	azimihi

tail	ašomi
that	tipau
there	tilehi
they	panoŋu
thick	šišoi
thin	iphimei
think	kimsi
this	hipau
thou	no
three	kuthu
throw	peve/kihive
tie	tsiya
tongue	amili
tooth	ahu
tree	asibo
turn	xatsiyi
two	kini
vomit	muɣi
walk	alače
warm	luvi
wash	iši/qhu
water	azü
we	niŋu
wet	čečei
what	ku
when	kuyo
where	khilehi
white	miyei/metsiyoi
who	khu
wide	ilai

with	pesi/ yolo sasi
wife	anipu
wind	axuli
wing	akičibo
wipe	isi
woman	totimi
woods	asi
worm	alapu
ye	no/noŋu
year	ampe
yellow	aune

## **TEXT**

In this section, four popular folktales of Sümi-Naga dealing with human relationship as well as with supernatural depiction are translated with glossing. The readable English translated text is given at the end of every translated glossing section. Since the narrative style of Sümi-Naga is different from the English, the translated text is modified to make it readable. For glossing, attempt has been made for word to word alignment. Wherever and whenever equivalent English glossing is not available for Sümi-Naga, words, phrases and compounds formed of are given. Generic Possessive Marker (GPM) plays a vital role so while it is specified in some, most of the times it's just marked as GPM.

### **Anishe xamunu**

#### **Anishe flower**

khayi yulo -kilo Silimi<sup>4</sup> lakhi ače. li ze -ye nišeli.

long time ago Silimi one lived. her name Nom. Nisheli.

nišeli -ye iyono kinimi kibo lono punu eno sa -puthu

Nisheli Nom. very wealthy family from born and brought up

kemi<sup>5</sup>. aphu tipau -lo, lothe -mi lakhi ače. pa ze  
village that in young man one lived. his name

-ye pheo. pa -ye iyono khumulomi kibo -lono punu eno

Nom. Pheo. he Nom. very poor family from born and

sa -puthu kemi. iti yulo kilo -lono, pheo ŋo nišeli

brought -up child time ago from Pheo and Nisheli

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<sup>4</sup> Silimi refers to Sümi-Naga girls.

<sup>5</sup> Kemi refers as someone in this context.

kuma -ye akisami eno kičimi -šive kethiu kukusu kile<sup>6</sup> -ve.  
DL Nom. friends and grown -up after relationship Rec. Pst.

ikemu pheo -ye iši kumsu če, i -no nišeli sasu  
but Pheo Nom. this way thought Hab. I Erg. Nišeli with

kukusu anamu eno ikužo -no kimiye kile anamu i -no khumulomi  
relationship even if and we Erg. love Rec. even if I Erg. poor

kiu papu -aza -ye khilemu ikužo pelo akibo ši -pe-mo  
Comp. parents Nom. never us let marry do let\_Neg.

nani. pa -ye akukumsu hipau -qo khu vilo mu  
will he Nom. thoughts these Pl. no one

pi -mo -no pa mulo -lo qhi -no xuače. pheo  
said not and he heart in kept and lived . Pheo

-ye nišeli pu -aza musa -če kuyengu pa -ye pa  
Nom. nisheli parents feared Hab. because he Nom. his

kukumusu kučou šive nani kepi alomsi -če. avelau lakhi -lo  
thoughts true happen will worried Hab. evening one Loc.

pheo ŋo nišeli kuma zumo kiu -lono kuputsa -ā.  
Pheo and Nisheli both dark Comp. in the were talking

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<sup>6</sup> Kile is used to express reciprocal.

amučo lakhi -no pakuma tsa inizu -ā. pakuma -ye ti  
 old man one Erg. their talk listening they Nom. that

mu -tha. amučo tipau ze -ye kutupa.  
 no-know old man that name Foc. Kutupa.

pheo -no pi, “aniše<sup>7</sup>, kuyou itizi i-no o-ki lo iyi -no  
 Pheo Erg. said “Anisheo when tonight I-Erg. GPM-house Loc. come and

athopi -lo kukhu kelo, no -ye oxemuḃa kumtsu pesu i  
 wall at knock Comp. you Nom. GPM+belongings all with I

-no khila-khila mu wu -kelo I -pape nima?” nišeli -no  
 Erg. wherever any go Comp. me -follow will?” Nisheli Erg.

ale ipi. “tišiayina -pi-aye, itizi zu -mphizulo o-kukumsu -lo oxemuḃa  
 yes said.if that is so tonight sleep not before GPM-think ing in GPM-things  
 khiukhiu akhoto keno ḃo -pe xivelo. zukumta -lo i -no  
 whatever important Dub. pack Comp. keep midnight at I Erg.

kuyou iyino kukhu ni keno, no -ye mutazu o-xemuḃa no  
 when come knock Dub. you Nom. immediately GPM-things you

-no kutope akiu pesu ipape masa. hipau piveno, pa -ye  
 Erg. ready kept with follow me must. this saying he Erg.

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<sup>7</sup> A name for Nisheli by Pheo.



wu-ve. amučo kutupa -no pakuma-no kuptsa kiu kumtsu čilu-ve.  
 left\_Pst. old man Kutupa Erg. they Erg. spoke Comp. everything hear\_Pst.

amučo -no pheo -i phinemuya xapusi papaši pheo -no iyi  
 old man Erg. Pheo Pos. clothes wore hurriedly Pheo Erg. come

-mphi ziuno wuno atotiu athopi -lo kukhu. li -ye  
 not before went girl wall at knock. she Nom.

kučouno pheo kuyaši alokiviši axemuya pesu ahukha khayi -no ipeyi  
 truly Pheo assuming happily things with door open the came out

eno ziu wu-ve. kutupa -no atsa lakhi mu pimo-no amči  
 and ahead went\_Pst. Kutupa Erg. word one even said\_Neg. signs

večewo li vilo mutazi pa pape lo pi. nišeli -ye  
 through her hurry him follow to said. Nisheli Nom.

pheo kuyaši pa pape. ado kušo izi -ve kethiu, nišeli  
 Pheo assuming he followed. time long travell Pst after Nisheli

-ye lho-ve. pheo kepi kumsu pu nišeli -no pa vilo  
 Nom. tired\_Pst. Pheo Comp. thinking Comp. Nisheli Erg. him

-pi, “ikužo ami kitila ši-no luvii luve -pu tithiu no  
 said “us fire small do-and warm ourself up after that  
 wu kiu ši-ni”. ikemu amučo -no aphu khalau veče

proceed Comp. do but old man Erg. village outskirts cross\_Pst

mo ke kutolo akhuloxi mo kepi. pheo i asutsa toi  
Neg. Comp untill rest Neg Comp. Pheo Pos. voice like

čilu mo kiu nišeli -ye ti thi u alomsi -ve. panouŋu  
heard Neg. Comp. Nisheli Nom. that after worry Pst. they

-no pana phu veče -ve kethiu, ayasi -lo ilo ke  
Erg. their village cross Pst after forest Loc. entered Comp.

yulokilo ye tsikixe vuqai ipeyi -ve. kutupa -no li i  
time Foc. sun brightly rise Pst. Kutupa Erg. her Pos.

awu kuyamte eno pakuma khilakhila -mu wu weni kepi putsaxi  
hand hold and they anywhere go will Comp. persuade

thu-ve. ikemu nišeli -ye yhono akičixi-ve eno qa thu-ve. kutupa  
start\_Pst. but Nisheli Nom. very surprise\_Pst. and cry start\_Pst. Kutupa

-no nišeli putsaxi -ne othu kutomo pukaputsa ikemu šimla-ve. tiyeŋuno,  
Erg. Nisheli persuade Comp. many times tried but fail\_Pst. therefore,

pa-no nišeli asibo -lo pheda eno hexi -ve. kethiu  
he Erg. Nisheli tree to tied and kill Pst. after

aphu lo idewove. nišeli zi -no qo-su asibo tipau siholu-ve.

village to return\_Pst. Nisheli blood Erg. flow tree that surround\_Pst.

azi tipau no axamulu ilhove.  
blood that and flower became.

yulo lakhi, pheo -no ayami sasi ašiha -wu. aši hasi  
day one Pheo Erg. villagers with hunting went. hunting while

panoŋu -ye nišeli hexipithi kiu ayasu lo iloyi. panoŋu -no  
they Nom. Nisheli killed where forest to entered. they Erg.

ayasu tipau -lo akelono iyono yu thu-ve. pheo -no nišeli  
forest that in while vigorously raining start\_Pst. Pheo Erg. Nisheli

heqhipithi kiu subo qo ize. pa -no asibo phivi -lo ŋo.  
killed where tree under shelter. he Erg. tree close to stay.

axamuluqo khiu nišeli zi -lono lhophe keno tipau -qo -no  
flowers which Nisheli blood from formed Dub. that Pl. Erg.

kuŋu -no pheo kuzu -lu-ve. kutami -ye tsitsiyu -lo kite-ve  
above from Pheo cover\_Pst. others Foc. rain in wet\_Pst.

ikemu pheo -ye axamunuqo -no kuŋu no kuzu-lu-ve kiu kite mo.  
but Pheo Nom. flowers Erg. above from cover\_Pst. Comp. wet Neg.

ayami kutomo no pheo haphe -no pa -no khile iqa akiu

villagers many of Pheo chased and he Erg. where sat (host<sup>8</sup>)

ā lo ŋo. ikemu axamuluqo -no pheo -no khilau wu  
place Loc. stay. but flowers the Pheo Erg. where went

keno tilau wu -no pa lo tsitsiyu lono ize tsi.  
Dub. there went and him to rain from shelter give\_Pst.

pheo -ye axamuluqo -no tsitsiyu lono pa ize tsi kiu  
Pheo Nom. flowers Nom. rain from him shelter gave Comp.

ithulu -pe akimzave. kuyou pa -no wuve nike -lo pau  
see Comp. amazed. when he Erg. went about to his

aŋu pesu azamulu do kitila heče pe pa kini -lo  
spear with flowers portion little cut Comp. his ear Loc

xove no wuve. tipa zi pheo -no zu wu kelo  
adorn and went. that night Pheo Erg. sleep go to

asamou pa-no kimiye če kiu nišeli kumo. nišeli -no  
dream he Erg. love Hab. Comp. Nisheli dreamt. Nisheli Erg.

pa vilopi, “Kutupa yeŋuno ikuzo -ye kumtsa xu mulavai. i  
him said to “Kutupa because both us Nom. together live cannot. I  
-no timi kutami dolo opelo tsitsiyu kite pe mo nike

<sup>8</sup> The place where he was sitting.

Erg. people others among you rain wet Comp. Neg. Comp.

no sušo tsi. Kušiyē no -ye o-ŋu pesu i-yuza  
 uou protect give\_Pst why you Nom. GPM-spear with GPM-hurt

kya? no -yi o-kini eno o-ŋu zu -lo.  
 Q.T you even GPM-ear and GPM-sear see at.

thanau ithuve -ke thiū kuyou pheo -no pa kini eno  
 next morning waking up Comp. after when Pheo Erg.. his ear and

pa ŋu zu keno pa -ye iyono amulo hephove azi  
 his spear saw Dub. he Nom.. very heart break\_Pst. blood

kutomono kuzu payi kiu ithulu pesu. pa-no muloqa hitoi  
 much covering Comp. seeing. Inst. he-Erg. lamented this way

piyi, “oh i -no kimiye čekiu nišeli no -ye kithi  
 saying, “oh I Erg. beloved Nisheli you Nom. death

lau yi ikumsu -če phi. ado kušo kumo pa-ye  
 from even remembers Hab. still. time long before he Nom.

amulo -kusi lono thi-ve.  
 heart -ache from die\_Pst.

axamunu kiu nišeli zi lono lhophe keno tipau pesu aniše

flower which Nisheli blood from formed Dub. that Inst. anishe

xamunu ipi -čeni.

flower call Hab.

### **Anishe flower**

Long time ago there lived a Silumi. Her name was Nisheli. Nisheli was born and brought up in a very wealthy family. In that village lived a young man. His name was Pheo. He was born and brought up in a very poor family. From childhood on, Pheo and Nisheli were friends. When they grew up they had relationship. But Pheo thought this way, “Even if I have relationship with Nisheli and even if we love each other, her parents will never let us marry because I am poor”. He kept these thoughts in his heart and never told anyone about it. Pheo feared Nisheli’s parents because he was worried that his thoughts will come true. One evening, when Pheo and Nisheli were talking to each other in the dark, an old man was listening to their talk. The old man’s name was Kutupa.

Pheo said, “Tonight, when I come to your house and knock at the wall, will you pack all your belongings and follow me wherever I go?” Nisheli said yes. He said, “If that is so, tonight before sleeping, pack your belongings whatever you think is important. At midnight when I come and knock, you must immediately follow me taking your packed things” saying this, he left.

Old man Kutupa heard everything they had spoken to each other. He put on Pheo’s clothes and hurried before Pheo came and knocked at the girl’s wall. Assuming that it was truly Pheo, she happily opened the door and came out with her belongings and went ahead. Kutupa did not say a word but signalled her to hurry up and follow him. Nisheli followed him assuming that it was Pheo. After they had travelled for a long time, Nisheli was tired. Nisheli told him, “Let us make small fire and warm ourselves up and after that we will proceed”. But the old man said that until they cross the village outskirts, they will not rest. Nisheli was worried after that when she heard the voice because it was not like Pheo’s voice. After they had crossed the village outskirts, they entered a forest. By then,

the sun had brightly risen. Kutupa got hold of her hand and started persuading her that they will go together anywhere. But Nisheli was surprised and started crying. Kutupa tried persuading Nisheli many times but failed. Therefore, he tied Nisheli to a tree and killed her. After that he returned to the village. Nisheli's blood flowed and surrounded that tree. The blood turned into flowers.

One day, Pheo went hunting with the villagers. While hunting they entered the forest where Nisheli was killed. It started raining vigorously when they were in that forest. Pheo took shelter under the tree where Nisheli was killed. He stayed close to the tree. The flowers which were formed out of Nisheli's blood covered Pheo from above. Everyone got drenched in the rain except Pheo. The flowers covered him from above and protected him from the rain. Many of the villagers chased him and sat where he stayed but the flowers followed him wherever he went and gave him shelter. Pheo was amazed to see the flowers giving him shelter from the rain. When he was about to go back to the village, he cut a little portion of the flowers with his spear and adorn his ears with it. That night when Pheo went to sleep, he dreamt of his beloved, Nisheli. Nisheli told him, "Because of Kutupa, we cannot live together. Even among other people, I protected you from getting wet in the rain. Why did you hurt me? Look at your ear and spear".

Next morning when Pheo woke up he looked at his ear and spear and he was very heart-broken to see blood all over it. He lamented saying, "Oh Nisheli, My beloved, you remembered me even after death". With the memories of his lost love Pheo died of heartache before long.

The flower which formed out of Nisheli's blood is known as Anishe xamunu.

**Thočipa -no Thočiu ilhove kiu ghili**

**Thočipa- Erg. Thočiu became Comp. story**

khayi	yulo	-kilo	čišilimi	phu	lo	miyimi	lakhi	ače.	pa
long	time	ago	Chishilimi	village	in	orphan	one	lived.	he

-ye	ašikuhami	kize.	pa	ze	-ye	thočipa.	pa	-ye	thili
Nom.	hunter	great.	his	name	Nom.	Thochipa.	he	Nom.	solitary

kuxu	xučē.	aphu	tipau	lo	khunomu	pa	pe	-lo	alozi <sup>9</sup>
life	lived.	village	that	in	nobody	him	Comp.	to	aloji

lakhi	-lo	mu	kutubo	peni	ke	pulotsi	moi	eno	pa
one	to	any	join	Comp.		allow	not	and	him

yolo	akumla	ši-ni	kiu	yi	mili.	alozi	mpeu	-no	-mo
with	work	do	Comp.	even	refuse.	aloji	leader	Erg.	Neg.

pianamu		pa	-no	aŋuka	lono	alozi	tipau	-lo	kutubo.
said though		he	Erg.	force	with	aloji	that	in	join_Pst.

yulo	lakhi	panoŋu	-no	alozi	-mi	lakhi	lu	-lo	mula-
day	one	they	Erg.	aloji	member	one	field	in	working

akelo,	alozi	xau	ye	iyi	eno	alozi	-mi	-qo	šou
	aloji	bird	fly	came	and	aloji	member	Pl.	above

veho.	kumtsu	-no	pututa	phi	kilha,	alozi	xau	pelo	pa
circuled	everyone	Nom.	their	shawl	spread,	aloji	bird	let	its
			own						

mihi	vesi	tsi	penike.	thočipa	-ye	pa	phi	kilha	nike
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<sup>9</sup> Working peer group.



feather throw give Comp. Thochipa Nom. his shawl spread Comp.

kuzo kuyeŋu pa phi -ye hexila -pini kiu. tiyeŋuno alozi  
shy because his shawl Nom. tattered Comp. therefore, aloji

-mi yolo ŋo mopu pa -ye aluza apheu kudau ŋono  
members with stay not he Nom. field side towards stayed

tilauno aphi kilha no aqau khe. alozi qau -no pa  
there shawl spread and bird waited. aloji bird Erg. its

mihi pa phivilo peqhitsu.  
feather him near drop\_Pst.

tipau yulo -kilo čišilimi phu lo kinimi lakhi qu -ače.  
time during that Chishilimi village in rich- one lived  
man

pa -ye aŋa ače. aphu tipau lo totimi dolo li  
he Nom. daughter village that in women among she

-no kumtsu ŋuno azukiviu eno thai. thočipa -ye li kimiye  
Erg. everyone more beautiful and smart. Thochipa Nom.. her loved

če. ikemu pa -ye khilemu piphe mo kuyeŋu pa -ye miyimi  
Hab. but he Nom. never spoke Neg. because he Nom. orphan

kiu	kulakupu	-ye	khilemu	šimula	kepi.	li	mizu	nike	yeṇuno
so	marriage	Foc.	never	possible	Comp.	she	lure	to	inorder

pa	-no	alozī	qau	mihi	tušoli	tsi-ve.	tipau	thiu	pa
he	Erg.	aloji	bird	feather	Tusholi	give_Pst.	that	after	he

-ye	miyimi	ši	ayinamu	tušoli	-ye	pa	kimiye	thut-ve.	tsala
Nom.	orphan	do	though	Tusholi	Nom.	him	love	start_Pst	day

lakhi	thočipa	-no	li	sasi	ačuwo	qu	wu.	thočipa	-no
one	Thochipa	Erg.	her	took	crab	catch	went.	Thochipa	Erg.
				along					

othu	khizehi	ačuwo	ki	-lo	awu	čosu	keno	ti-zehi	ayipe
many times		crab	hole	Loc	hand	put	Dub.	that-times	paddy strip

awu	-lo	suxephe	-lu	kiu	tušoli	-no	ithulu.	li	-ye
hand	on	pulled out		Comp.	Tusholi	Erg.	saw.	she	Nom.

ti	ithulupe	akičiqi	-ve.	totimi	alokutsi	-mi	kiu	li	-no
that	saw	amaze	Pst.	woman	wise	men	Comp.	she	Erg.

akiqi	ani	kena	pi	vethalu	-ve.	eno	alau	pa	kimiye
meaning	here is	Comp.		understood	Pst.	and	more	him	love

kiu	yili	pi	-thu-ve	eno	alau	pa	kimiye	thu-ve.	pakuma	-no
Comp.	about	saying	start_Pst	and	more	he	loving	start_Pst.	they	Erg.

ačuwo kutomo kuyalu. kuyalu kiu kumtsu li puaza -lo tsipu  
 crab many caught. caught Comp. all her parents to sent

khave. kizjiliu tušoli -no alikhuli šiakelo, ačuwo pesu akhulho -li  
 all evening Tusholi Erg. cooking while crab with curry pot

-lo suyi iši pi, “o i-za, thočipa -no hee<sup>10</sup>. li  
 in putting like said “o GPM- Thochipa Erg. hee. her  
 mother

puaza -no li -no ši akiu ithulu no tušoli -ye  
 parents Erg. she Erg. doing (host) saw and Tusholi Nom.

thočipa kimiye ani kepi vethalu -ve.

Thočipa loving Prog. Comp. understood Pst.

kizili lakhi alibe kivi kuto -ve pu, tušoli puaza -no  
 evening one meal good prepare Pst. Comp. Tusholi parents Erg.

li vilopi, ni -phu lo apumi lothemi dolo no -no  
 her told our village in young men among you Erg.

khiu kutomo kimiye -čeni keno ni -ki -lo sasi iyi  
 whom most love Hab. Dub. our house to bring come

---

<sup>10</sup> Expression of deep emotion.

lo.	li	-no	ašou	ložimi <sup>11</sup>	-ki	lo	wu	eno	thočipa
Loc.	she	Erg.	outside	lojimi	house	to	went	and	Thochipa

pa	phi	kuxita	wusi	ačiku	-lo	ŋo	ayi	kiu	ithulu.
his	shawl	tattered	draped	corner	in	stay	-ing	Comp.	saw.

li	-no	pa	ku	no	li	puaza	ki	-lo	sasi
she	Erg.	him	called	and	her	parents	home	to	brought

iyi.	li	puaza	-no	pa	lo	aši	ana	kutomo	pesi
came.	her	parents	Erg.	him	to	meat	rice	plenty	with

pa	yulu.	thočipa	-ye	kušiye	-no	pa	lozi	ani	keno
him	feed.	Thočipa	Nom.	why		he	feeding	Prog.	Comp.

vetha-	pa	-no	yhina	liče	pesi	tsi	pu	kiu	yeŋuno
mula.									
understood	he	Erg.	yesterday	catch	Inst.	sent		so	because
_Neg									

kena	ipi	kumsulu	-ve	eno	čuve	kethiu	wu-ve.	li	puaza
Comp.		thought	Pst.	and	eat_Pst.	after	leave_Pst.	her	parents

zukusi-uno		thočipa	ŋo	tušoli	kuma	ado	kušo	kukusi	-če.
without knowledge		Thochipa	and	Tusholi	they	time	long	relationship	Hab.

---

<sup>11</sup> Dormitory of peer group.

tsala lakhi tušoli -no thočipa vilopi, “ikužo -no kimiye kile  
 day one Tusholi Erg. Thočipa told “we Erg. love Rec.

anamu ipu -iza kuma -no pulo-kuya tsi -mo aye,  
 even father mother Dl. Erg. consent give not Comp.

ikužo -ye akibo šimla. tiyeņuno no -ye ipu -iza sasi  
 we Nom. marry not. therefore you Nom. my parents with

kuputsa nike sičile momu musa kelo eno ikužo atsaita nike  
 talk Comp. hesitate or(not) fear Comp. and our engagement Comp.

kutolo. hukutulo pa -ye sičile akemu amulo muto no li  
 prepare. initially he Nom. hesitant but (gathered)courage and her

puaza lo li ini<sup>12</sup>. ikemu thočipa -ye miyimi kiu li  
 parents to her marriage. but Thočipa Nom. orphan so her

puaza -ye ado kušo pulotsi -mo. panoņu -no othu kutomo  
 parents Nom. time long consent Neg. they Erg. times many

mo pi anamu pa -no othu kutomo xunju. “kiši pu  
 no said-though he Erg. times many request\_Pst. “how can

---

<sup>12</sup> Ini is the term used for referring to the act of asking for the marriage.

no thočipa -no kinimi ŋa sasi kula luni kya? ipi  
 you Thochipa Erg. rich daughter with marry take Q.T said  
 man

ayami -qo -no thočipa tha -če. yulo lakhi thočipa -no  
 villagers Pl. Erg. Thočipa insult Hab. day one Thočipa Erg.

li puaza vilopi, “okužo šikimthi i -no alu eno atsawo kuha  
 her parents said “both please I Erg. fields and animals not  
 to have

kemi kiu izunatha kelo noŋu -no ku khuni keno  
 someone Comp. despise not you Erg. what ask Dub.

i -no tsi nani ke”. li puaza -no pa pulu  
 I Erg. give will Comp. her parents Erg. him believe\_Pst.

eno akibo šipeni ke pulo tsi eno akibo kiši tsala  
 and marriage allow Comp. consent gave and marriage day

ikhipetsi.

fixed.

ame kuya nike tsala -lo ayami kumtsu iyi thočipa amiyiu  
 bride price fix Comp. day on villagers all came Thočipa orphan

-no kuto kiu tsawo hasi pa ŋu-ani tsini kela.  
 Erg. what kind animals čase his in-laws give Comp.

thočipa	-ye	kuduu		tiyeŋuno	pulikibe	ši	yi	pa	ŋu
Thočipa	Nom.	magic	knew	therefore	confidently	do	Comp.	his	in-laws

-ani	vilo	inizu,	“avi	khiže	-hi	ame	lo	inizu	niši
		asked,	“mithuns	how many		bride-price	in	ask	want

ani	kya?	aŋu	-no	sičile	yi	khočile,	“avi	toku	suyilo”
Pre.	Q.T	father-in-law	Erg.	hesitantly		answered	“mithun	nine	bring”
				Comp.					

tiyeŋuno	thočipa	-no	pa	ŋu	ani	ŋo	pana	kisuyi	ki
therefore	Thochipa	Erg.	his	in-laws		and	their	neighbor	house

dolo	lapa	lo	ilo	no	tiqheli	kiyi	pesu	avi	toku
between	lane	in	went	and	generation	rope	with	mithun	nine

hasi	ipe	aŋu	ani	ki	khalau	tsiya	pe	qhivetsi.	ayami
chased	out	in-laws		house	outside	tied	Comp.	kept.	villagers

kumtsu	akičiqi	-ve.	thočipa	eno	pa	nipu	kuma	akuxu	kivi
all	amazed	Pst.	Thočipa	and	his	wife	both	life	good

xu	ače.	thočipa	-ye	ašikuhami	kiu	pa	i	šihatsi	sasi
lived		Thočipa	Nom.	hunter	so	his	Pos.	hunting	with
								dog	

ašihau	ke	pači	če.	yulo	lakhi	pa	tsi	-no	aši
hunt	Comp.	often	Hab.	day	one	his	dog	Erg.	prey

hače	yi	čišilimi	yasu	večesi	khukiye- Lakhai	yasu	lo	ilo-ve.	kuyou
chase	while	Chishilimi	forest	crossed	Khukiye- Lakhai	forest	the	enter_Pst.	when

thočipa	-no	atsi	pape	iyi	kelo	atsi	-ye	akiyipe	lo
Thochipa	Erg.	dog	following	came	Comp.	dog	Nom.	hole	in

ilove	ayi.	kuyou	thočipa	-no	atsi	ikhipe	nike	akiyipe	lo	ilo
enter	Comp.	when	Thochipa	Erg.	dog	out	Comp.	hole	Loc.	enter

keno	atu	kize	no	alapa	xa	-luve.	pa	kičiqipu	ši-yi
Dub.	stone	big	the	way	covered		his	surprise	do

atsi	kuma	ipeyini	ši	apa	ipeyi	mula	ikemu	atsi	likhi
dog	Dl.	come out together			come	could not	but	dog	alone

-ye	atupa	-no	alatsi	ipe	luve.	iši	awu	-ve.	pa	-ye	ipeyi	mula
Nom.	stone	Erg.	made	come	out.	this	went	he	Nom.	come	out	not
			way			on_Pst.						

kena	ipi	vethaluve.	tiyeṇuno	pa	-no	pa	či	ikhipheve	no
Comp.		realized	therefore	he	Erg.	his	necklace	undid	and



pa	-i	aleyuthibo	lo	suve	no	atsi	kuo	lo	tsiyave.
his	Pos.	quiver	in	put	and	dog	neck	to	tied

pa	-no	atsi	vilopi,	“O	i-tsi	aza	yolo	vezo	wulo
he	Erg.	dog	said	“O	GPM-dog	mother	to(with)	straight	go

alayi	lo	time	šolu	napi	aye	ala	-phe	lo	ilove
road	on	men	meet	Comp.		road	side	on	go

lo	ikemu	kh umu	ithu	mula	napi	aye	mutazi	akilo	aza
Loc.	but	no one	see	not	Comp.		hurry	home	mother

yolo	wulo”	kučouno	atsi	-no	apu	-no	pike	toi	aza
to	go	truely	dog	Erg.	father	Erg.	said	like	mother

yolo	vezo	wu.	kuyou	aza	-no	atsi	kuo	lo	aleyuthibo
to	straight	went.	when	mother	Erg.	dog	neck	at	quiver

tsida	pa kiu		ithulu	keno	pa	kimi	-ye	tiyaši	-no
tied	Comp.		saw	Dub.	her	husband	Nom.	wild animal	Erg.

hexiva	kuyaši	qa	thu-ve.	tišimu	pai	khavi	pa	-likhi	-pa
killed	thinking	cry	start_Pst..	however	immediately	she		herself	

mulo	šikumto	luve	pu	pa	-ye	athuthu	likhi	še	ayi
heart	strengthen		Comp.	he	Nom.	breathing	atleast	breathe	will

muta	ipi	kumsu	luve	pu	li	-no	alibe	kivi	šipusi
might	Comp.	thought		Comp.	she	Erg.	meal	fine	prepared

ayasa	lo	iyi.	atsi	-no	apu	akiyipe	lo	akiu	ā
forest	to	came.	dog	Erg.	father	hole	the	(host)	place

lo	aza	saiyi.		apukhumza	pesu	apu	-no	akiu	akiyipe
to	mother	lead		his paws	with	father	Erg.	(host)	hole

phivilo	ayeyi	ču	apu	ani	kepi	piye	ne.	kuyou	aza
near	earth	dig	father	to show	father was there	Comp.	when	mother	

-no	akiyipe	šulokiu	lo	zusu	keno	atupa	kize	no	akimi	layi
Erg.	hole	inside	Loc.	looked	Dub.	stone	big	and	husband	way

vekha	akiu	ithulu.	atupa	tuha	-lu	-ne	-kuyāši	li	-no
block	(host)	saw.	stone	push possible				she	Erg.

tuha	zu.	tuha	mula	kena	ipi	vethaluve	pu	li	-no
push	tried.	push	cannot	Comp.		realized	Comp.	she	Erg.

akimi	lo	ačeku	lono	yulu	-ve	eno	pa	vilopi,	“thoyu
husband	to	hole	from	feed	Pst.	and	him	said	“tomorrow
								to	

i	-no	ayami	vilo	pino	panoŋu	sasi	iyini	ke	musa
I	Erg.	villagers	inform	Comp.	them	bring	come	so	scare

kevalo".	thanau	li	-no	ayami	vilo	pino	panoŋu	ye	kutopusi
not"	next	she	Erg.	villagers	inform		they	COMP	prepared
	day								

iyi.	ayami	-qo	-no	atupa	khi	no	thočipa	vekha	ani
came.	villagers	Pl.	Erg.	stone	which		Thochipa	block	Pre.

keno	ču	peve	ne	šiju	phave	no	panoŋu	-ye	owe.
Dub.	dig	out	Comp.	tried	in vain	and	they	Nom.	left

tsala	toku	yeŋuno	tsala-	kepetsu	thočipa	nipu	-no	alebe	šipesi
day	nine	for	daily		Thočipa	wife	Erg.	meal	cooked

akimi	loji.	tsala	kutomo	owe	ke	thiu	thočipa	-no	pa
husband	feed.	day	many	passed	Comp.	after	Thočipa	Erg.	his

-nipu	vilopi,	"hila	aniba	ngo	kutau	mithemo	kiu	xemuŋa	ipeyi
wife	said	"here	mud	and	other	dirty	Comp.	things	emerged

-va	ike	hiŋu	no	alau	ye	hila	iyi	kevalo.	i
Pst.	so	now	on	from	Foc.	here	come	not.	i

-no	tsala	aa	hipau	lono	pozolu	napi	aye	i	-no
Erg.	if	place	this	from	escape	than		i	Erg.

akilo	iyini.	i	-no	aki	tsiqo	lo	iku	no	“i- thočipa
home	come.	i	Erg.	house	top	on	go	and	“i- thochiu
i- thočipa	i- thočipa	i- thočipa	heyi	heyi	heyi	pini”	hipau	pive	kethiu
i- thočiu	i- thočiu	i- thočiu	heyi	heyi	heyi	will say”	this	said	after
anipu	pelo	wuve	pe.	thočiu	xau	-ye	thočiu	-no	pa
wife	let	go		Thočiu	bird	Nom.	Thočiu	Erg.	his
-nipu	vilopi	keto	iya	čeni	pi.	thočipa	-no	thočiu	xau
wife	said to	like	chirps	Hab.	said.	Thočipa	Erg.	Thochiu	bird
ilhove	kethiu	tušoli	-ye	čimemi	ši	xučē.	li	-no	akhabo
became	after	Tusholi	Nom.	widow	as	lived.	she	Erg.	bamboo
lono	aheo <sup>13</sup>	mulaphe	eno	akimi	kišele	le	phe	-če.	
from	aheo	made	and	husband	praises	song	sing_Pst.	Hab.	

### **The story about how Thochipa became Thochiu**

Long time ago in chishilimi village, there lived an orphan. His name was Thochipa. He lived a solitary life. In that village nobody allowed him to join any *aloji* and even refused to work along with him. Though the *aloji* leader refused, he managed to join one *aloji*. One day when all the *aloji* members were working in the field of one of its member, *aloji*

<sup>13</sup> Musical instrument. she invented it.

bird flew over and circled above the members of *aloji*. Everyone spread out their shawls to let the *aloji* bird drop its feather. Thochipa was embarrassed to spread his shawl because it was all tattered. Therefore, he went to the side of the field and sat there with his shawl spread. The *aloji* bird dropped its feather near him.

During that time in Chishilimi village, there lived a rich man who had a daughter. Her name was Tusholi. Among all women in the village, she was the most beautiful and smart. Thochipa loved her but he never spoke out because he knew that being an orphan it was not possible to marry her. In order to lure her, he gave her the *aloji* feather. After that Tusholi started loving him though he was an orphan. One day, Thochipa took Tusholi to catch crab. Tusholi was amazed to see that no matter how many times Thochipa entered his hand in the crab hole, every time he pulled out paddy strips in his hand. Being a wise woman she understood that there was a reason behind it. She started professing her love for him and started loving him more. They caught many crabs. They sent their entire catch to her parents. In the evening while cooking, she put the crabs in the curry pot saying, “O iza, Thočipa no hee”. Her parents understood that she loved Thochipa when they saw her doing that.

One evening after preparing a fine meal, Tusholi’s parents told her, “Go and bring to our house the one you love the most among the young men in our village”. Tusholi went out to *lojimi* house and found Thochipa draped in his tattered shawl staying in a corner. She called him and brought him to her parent’s house. Her parents feed him well with plenty of rice and meet. Thochipa could not understand why they were feeding him. He reasoned that maybe it was because he had sent his catch yesterday. After eating he left.

Without her parent’s knowledge, Thochipa and Tusholi were in a relationship for a long time. One day Tusholi said to Thochipa, “even if we love each other, we cannot marry without the consent of my parents. So do not hesitate or fear to talk to them and prepare for our engagement”. Though initially he was hesitant but he gathered his courage and asked them for her hand in marriage. But because he was an orphan they did not give their consent for a long time though he requested many times. All the villagers insulted Thochipa saying, “How can Thochipa marry the daughter of a rich man”. Thochipa said to her parent’s, “Both of you please do not despise me because I do not possess field or

animals. I will give you whatever you ask for”. They believed him and gave their consent and fixed the date for the marriage.

When the day came to settle the bride price, all the villagers came to see what kind of animals Thochipa will chase out to give to his in-laws. Thochipa knew magic; he therefore, confidently asked his in-laws, “How many mithuns do you want to ask as bride price?” They answered, “Bring nine mithuns”. Thochipa therefore, went to the lane between his in-laws and their neighbor’s house and with generation rope chased out nine mithuns and tied them outside his in-laws place. Thochipa and his wife had a good life.

Since Thochipa was a hunter he often went for hunting with his hunting dog. One day, his dog while chasing a prey crossed the Chishilimi forest and entered Khukiye-Lukhai forest. When Thochipa came following his dog, he found that he dog had entered a hole. When he entered to bring out his dog, a big stone covered the way out. To his surprise, they could not come out together but if the dog was sent out alone, the stone paved the way. He realized that he could not come out. So he took off his necklace and after putting it inside his quiver and tied it to his dog’s neck. He said to the dog, “O my dog! Go straight to mother. If you meet people on the way, go the side of the road and hide but if you don’t meet anyone, hurry to mother and give her this necklace”. The dog truly did as father had told it to. When the mother saw the quiver tied to the dog’s neck, she started crying that her husband was killed by wild animal. However, she immediately strengthens her heart thinking that at least he must be breathing. She prepared a fine meal and came to the forest following the dog. The dog led the mother straight to the hole where father was. The dog dug the earth with his paws to indicate that father was inside the hole. When the mother looked inside the hole, she saw that a big stone was blocking the way of her husband. She tried to push the stone away thinking that it was possible. Realizing that it was not possible, she feed her husband through the opening. She told him, “Tomorrow I will inform the villagers and bring them, so do not be afraid”.

The next day, she informed the villagers and they came prepared. They tried to dig away the stone covering the way but could not. So they left. For nine days, Thochipa’s wife brought food and feed him through the opening. After several days had passed, Thochipa said to his wife, “Here, mud and other dirty things have emerged. From now on never

come here again. If I escape I will come home. I will go to the top of the house and say i-thochiu i-thochiu i-thochiu heyi, heyi, heyi, and then know that it is your husband”. Saying this he let his wife leave. It is said that Thochiu bird chirps like Thochipa had told his wife.

After Thochipa became a bird, Tusholi lived as a widow. She made musical instrument *ahéo* from the bamboo and sang praises of her husband.

### **Khakhu eno Sheyili**

#### **Khakhu and sheyili**

khakhu	-ye	henthena	kinimi	limtšami	xami	no	pu.	pa	-ye
Khakhu	nom	Hethena	Kinimi	Limtshami	village	Gen.	son.	he	Nom.

tsiniše	tsiqimi	emlomi	xami	ŋa	šeyili	sasi	kulakupu	ši.	pakuma
Tsünishe	Tsüqimi	Emlomi	village	daughter	Sheyili	with	married	do	they

-ye	alokiviši	kulkupu	kuxu	xu	ače	ikemu	athiu	-ye	khakhu
Nom.	happy	married	life	lived		but	later	Nom.	Khakhu

pa	-za	-kiše	yeŋuno	ixa	-ve.
----	-----	-------	--------	-----	------

his	mother	step	because	seperated	Pst.
-----	--------	------	---------	-----------	------

pakuma	-ye	hipau	yola	lono	kututa	ši-ve.	kuyo-kuyo	ayami	-no
they	nom	this	manner	from	seperated	do_Pst.	whenever	villagers	Erg.

ašihau	kiu	lo	ku	kuyalu	kelo	apu	hethena	tsi	napi
--------	-----	----	----	--------	------	-----	---------	-----	------

aye	panoŋu	lo	khumu	tsičile	mo.	ikemu	kuyo-	panoŋu	ašihalu
							kuyo		

Comp. they to nothing return Neg. but whenever they hunt

kiu lo saze ikhi pe khakhu tsi napi aye, pa-

Comp. in portion take Comp. Khakhu give Comp. his

nipu šeyili -no panoŋu lo athikiši momu amti tsičile -če.

wife Sheyili Erg. they to rice or salt return Hab.

tiyeŋuno ayami -no apu lo likhi ašihalu kiu tsi thu-ve.

therefore villagers Erg. son to only hunt Comp. give start\_Pst.

hipau yeŋuno khakhu pa -za -kiše -ye pa mukišii šou

this because Khakhu his mother step Nom. her daughter-in-law towards

iyono aneši thuve eno pakuma kututa ši-ve tsi ne kisiqe

very jealous started and them separated do\_Pst Comp. plotting

ši thuve. kuyou- khakhu ŋo šeyili -no aki khaveno alu  
kuyou

do start\_Pst. whenever Khakhu and Sheyili Erg. house latch field

lo wuveni keno, khakhu pa -za -kiši -no aki kaqhi

to went Dub. Khakhu his mother step Erg. house open

ilo no atikiši asikhu eno axa kutsi pua kiu kuzalevetsi

entered and rice wooden and crops stored kept Comp. spillover  
plate



eno	kuzale	pua	keqo	šou	azi	lesu	no	qole	pe
and	spilled	comp.	those	over	water	pour	and	thrashed	Comp.

qhi	-vetsi	kethiu	pa	-ye	wu-ve	-če.	šeyili	-ye	pani
left		after	she	Nom.	leave_Pst	Hab.	Sheyili	Nom.	her mother- in-law

-no	akumla	lhokusa	šiće	kiu	ithia	ikemu	pa	-kimi	vilo
Erg.	work	bad	doing	Comp.	knew	but	her	husband	said to

khilemu	khumu	pi- mo.	khakhu	-ye	khumu	mutha	no	pa	-nipu
never	anything	said- neg	Khakhu	Nom.	anything	not know	and	his	wife

-no	ačuqu	eno	axa	piti	aloši	kutsi	mutha	no	awo
Erg.	food items	and	crops	seeds	well	store	not know	and	pig

pelo	qole	čečeni	kepi	pulusa	-če.
let	thrash	allowing	Comp.	misunderstand	Hab.

tiyeṇuno	yulo	lakhi	khakhu	pelo	ku	no	kučou	keno	pakutoši
so	day	one	Khakhu	let	what	the	true	Dub.	himself

ithive	peni	-ye	šeyili	-no	akupuyu	mula.	šeyili	-no	khakhu
know		Nom.	Sheyili	Erg.	plan	made.	Sheyili	Erg.	Khakhu

vilo	amuqa	lo	isi	no	zulo	pi	inizu.	tišive	kethiu
told	ceiling	on	hide	and	watč	said	asked.	done	after
li	-no	aki	khave	no	alu	lo	wuve.	aza	-kiši
she	Erg.	house	close	and	field	to	went.	mother	step
-no	atsala	kutau	lo	toi	aki	šulo	kiu	ilo	no
Erg.	days	other	Loc.	like	house	inside	Comp.	entered	and
thosula	ši	če	ke	toi	mulaqi	no	wuve.	kiziliu	alu
like	other times	hab.	Comp.	like	completed	and	left.	evening	field
lono	ide	iyi	kethiu	šeyili	-no	pa	-kimi	vilo	inizu,
from	return	come	after	Sheyili	Erg.	her	husband	to	asked
“no	-ye	akipimiu,	awo	khuno	-qo	-no	ikužo	-i	akia
“you	Comp.	culprit	pig	which	Pl.	Erg.	our	Pos.	possession
šipusa	akiu	kuyalu	kema?	khakhu	-no	khočile,	“awo	-qo	-no
destroy	(host)	caught	did?	Khakhu	Erg.	replied	“pigs	Pl.	Erg.
kumo	i	-za	-kiši	-no	hi	kumtsu	thikau	ani”.	li
not	my	mother	step	Erg.	this	all	after	Pre.	she
-no	pa	vilo	tileno	inizu,	“no	-ye	pa	hipaço	šikeu
Erg.	him	to	there	asked	“you	Nom.	her	these	doing

yeṅuno	pa	lomi	pi	momu	sakihi	kemo	kya?	ikemu	khakhu
because	her	scold	said	or	mis-treat	did	Q.T	but	Khakhu

-no	pa	-ye	khumu	šimo	kepi.	tileno	šeyili	-no	vethalu
Erg.	he	Nom.	nothing	did	Comp.	from that	Sheyili	Erg.	realize

-ve,	“ni	-ye	aphu	kutau	lo	i-likhi	i-wu	timi	lono
Pst	“I am	Nom.	village	other	in	me-only	my	people	from

putou	ṅo	ani	eno	hilehi		i	-phu	lono	timi
far	stay	Prog.	and	here		my	village	from	people

lakhi	mu	kuha.	ni	-ye	thilimi	ši	hile	xu	ani.
one	not	not here	I am	Erg.	loner	do	here	live	Pre.Perf.

khuala	no	itha	momu	išou	akumla	lhokusa	ši	namu	khakhu
anyone	if	insult	or	over me	work	bad	do	even	Khakhu

-ye	isišo	mo	nani”.	pa	-no	vethalu	-ve	kethiu	akiyi
Nom.	me-protect	not		she	Erg.	realized	Pst.	after	rope

othu	toku	kumukho	pu	pa	pelimi	tsipu.	akumkho	toku	kiqi
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times nine knot Comp. her brothers sent. knots nine meaning

ye atsala toku thiū iyi no pa iyino salusi wuve nikiu.  
 Nom. days nine after come and her come take away Comp.

atsala toku ašekha ši-ve keth  
 iu pakuma akinempu alu lo wu

days nine complete do\_Pst. after they husband- field to go  
 wife

mo no akilo ŋoa. šeyili -no pa -kimi vilo inižu,  
 not and home stayed. Sheyili Erg. her husband to ask

“ikužo awudu akičiu hexi čuni keša? tile akimi -no khočile,  
 our cock oldest slaughter eat shall? there husband Erg. replied

“aze no ikužo -i pi ani thono no -no piyi  
 namesake only ours Pos. said Pre.Pref. you Erg. rearing

čeni ke no -no ku šiniši ani keno šilo”. tiyeḡuno  
 Hab. Comp. you Erg. what want Prog. Dub. do therefore

šeyili -no awudu hexi no aši kuta ši akha khulo  
 Sheyili Erg. cock slaughter and meat separate do fish curry

kuta ši lho. alibe kivi kuto -ve ke thiū pakuma  
 separate (do) cook. meal good prepared Pst. Comp. after they

akinempu	kumtsa	asi	-khu	lakhi	lono	ču.	šeyili	-no	pa
husband- wife	together	wooden	plate	one	from	eat.	Sheyili	Erg.	her

wu	-no	ana	eno	aši	čene	no	pa	kimi	kho.
hand	Nom.	rice	and	meat	mix	and	her	husband	feed

pa	-no	tiši	ake	lo	axezu	pa	xethi	lono	qoiqi.
she	Erg.	doing	that	Loc.	tears	her	eyes	from	rolled

kuyo	khakhu	-no	pa	vilo	“kušiye	no	qa	ani	kya?
when	Khakhu	Erg.	her	ask	why	you	cry	Prog.	Q.T

pi	inzu	kelo.	šeyili	-no	khočile,	“i	-no	amuqa	lo
say	asked	Comp.	Sheyili	Erg.	answered	i	Erg.	ceiling	to

zupukhu	ke	lono	amuqu	i-xeti	lo	ilo-ve	tiyeṇuno	axezu	ipeyi
looked up	Comp.	from	dust	my- eyes	in	enter_Pst.	because	tears	come

ani”.	li	-no	anaži	pulu	no	aži	yolo	mixi	šope
Prog.	she	Erg.	rice- beer	heat	and	beer	with	taken	along

niye	akimi	tsi.	khakhu	-no	inižu,	“O	šeyili	iši	o-yilisuxe
Comp.	husband	give	Khakhu	Erg.	asked	O	Sheyili	today	behaviour

kutaši	ani.	kuši	šiva	kya?	li	-no	khočile,	“ikuzo	-ye
different	Pre.Perf.	what	happened	Q.T	she	Erg.	replied	we	Nom.

iši	xī	nike	yeḡuno	akinempu	ši	ani.	khakhu	-ye	alebi
like	live	Comp.	for	husband-	do	Pre.	Khakhu	Nom.	meal
				wife					

kivi	eno	anaḡi	čuve	kethiu	thone	zi	wuve.
good	and	rice-	ate	after	deep	slept	go_Pst.
		beer					

tipau	ḡi	šeyili	peu	-qo	panoḡu	ayu	nanu	kupuzu	pu
that	evening	Sheyili	brothers	Pl.	their	warrior	attire	full	wearing

no	pa	salu	ne	aki	homuxa	-ve.	pa	-kimi	ithune
and	her	take	Comp.	house	surround	Pst.	her	husband	wake
									up

ithumo	kelo	oth <sup>h</sup> u	kutomo	akimi	itha	ikemu	pa	kuda	mula
or not	Comp.	times	many	husband	pinč	but	he	wake	not

-ve.	pa	peu	-qo	-ye	pa	khe	mula	-ve	no
Pst.	her	brothers	Pl	Nom.	her	wait	not	Pst.	and

pa	vilo	mutazi	lo	pi.	tipau	sučedo	lo	pa	-no
her	told	hurry	to	said	that	moment	in	she	Erg.

panoḡu	vilopi	“i	-peu	-qo	i	-no	ixemuya	luni	ke
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khakhu	-ye	ida	ithuyi	no	pa	-nipu	ze	kuzu	puhave.
Khakhu	Nom.	woke	up	and	his	wife	name	called	invain

pa	-no	pa	-nipu	ze	kua	kelo	pa	-za	-kiši
he	Erg.	his	wife	name	call	Comp.	his	mother	-step

-no	iši	pi,	“o	-nipu	aqau	šeyili,	aše	šeyili	hu,
Erg.	said	like this	your	wife	old	Sheyili	deer	Sheyili	the

aki	atsi-tsi	ayi	-ve	kiu	šeyili	itiziyi	khuna	kilo	wuva
home	every		Pst.		Sheyili	even	whose	house	gone
						tonight			

kela?”	axethi	kiyi	čei	atopu	pana	kisuyu	ṇuno	alau	-ye	khu
	blind			old	their	neighbour	only	others	Nom.	no
				woman						

-nomu	mutha	šeyili	-ye	pa	-peu	-qo	yolo	wuve	kiu.
one	knew	sheyili	Nom.	her	brothers	Pl.	with	left	Comp.

kuyou	Khakhu	-no	šeyili	ku	akeno	pa	-no	pi,	“aphu
when	Khakhu	Erg.	Sheyili	calling	was	she	Erg.	said	village

bokutha	kudau	zulo”	kučouno	khakhu	-no	aphu	bokutha	kudau	iyi
boundary	towards	search	truly	Khakhu	Erg.	village	boundary	towards	came



kelo	šeyili	eno	pa	-peu	-qo	-ye	akulu	vuqai	kuqu
Comp.	Sheyili	and	her	brothers	Pl.	Nom.	lamps	bright	light

pesu	wu	če	kiu	pišipuo	ithulu.	pa	-no	šeyili	ku
with	going		Comp.		saw	he	Erg.	Sheyili	call

phe.	šeyili	-no	pa	peu	-qo	vilo	inizu	“i	-peu
out	sheyili	Erg.	her	brothers	Pl.		asked	my	brothers

-qo	ni	-ye	idewo	pa	ɣolo	kuyuna	mula	ikemu
Pl.	i	Nom.	return	him	with	live together	not	but

khokičile	likhimu	khočile	lupe	nima?	pa	peu	-qo	-no	pa
reply	only	respond			her	brothers	Pl.	Erg.	her

-no	xunju	kiu	mili	-ve	tsi	eno	pa	sasi	wuve.
Erg.	request		refused	Pst.		and	her	took	away

khakhu	-ye	šeyili	kimiye	kiu	ɣeɣuno	pa	puaza	-no	akibo
Khakhu	Nom.	Sheyili	loved	so	because	he	parents	Erg.	marriage

šilo	pimu	šimo.	pa	-ye	anipu	kutami	lu	moi.	kuyou
do	said	did not	he	Nom.	wife	other	take	not	when

šeyili	-ye	apuaza	kilo	ide	iɣi	kelo	mišipu	-ve.	husikha
Sheyili	Nom.	parents	home	returned		Comp.	pregnant	Pst.	Husikha

khujumi, zakha no pu emlomi nayami, ayutomi kumtomi -no šeyili  
 Khujumi, Jakha Gen. son Emlomi naghami, warrior brave Erg. Sheyili

ini. ikemu šeyili -no pulo mo. tipau yulo kilo šeyili  
 marriage but Sheyili Erg. agree Neg. that time Comp. Sheyili

-ye axeti kusi sive. tsala lakhi husikha -no li -no  
 Nom. eyes conjevities sick day one Husikha Erg. her Erg.

ki -i athophi lo muu ake lono šeyili pa -za  
 house Pos. wall at lean while Abl. Sheyili her mother

-no pi ayi kiu čilu “khuala -no zučukili<sup>14</sup> ču pesi  
 Erg. saying Comp. heard anyone Erg. jučukili dig Inst.

iyino i -ŋa xethi šipivi tsi apa i -no pa  
 come my daughter eyes heal I Erg. his

kilo ove peni kela. šeyili pa -za tsa čilu khave  
 house go Comp. Sheyili her mother word hear as  
 (marriage) soon

husikha -no zučukili phu wu eno siwo aučobo xamunu yolo  
 Husikha Erg. jučukili search went and brought bamboo flower with

<sup>14</sup> Believed to heal eyes when applied.

šeyili pa -za tsi. kučou no zučukili no šeyili xethi  
 Sheyili her mother give truly and jučukili the Sheyili eyes

pivi vetsi. tiyeṇuno šeyili pa -za -no pa vilopi “no  
 healed therefore Sheyili her mother Erg. her said you

-ye husikha sasi akibo šimasa kuyeṇu pa -no o- xethi  
 Nom. Husikha with marriage must because he Erg. your eyes

šipivi tsi ke. tipau kiqi lono husikha yolo akibo šini  
 healed Comp. that according Husikha with marriage will

kiu ši -ve  
 Comp. decide Pst.

kuyou khakhu -no šeyili -ye husikha kilo one ši ani  
 when Khakhu Erg. Sheyili Nom. Husikha going to marry do Pre.

kepi čilu keno pa -ye husikha heqhi nike puyu thu-ve.  
 Comp. head Dub. he Nom. Husikha kille Comp. plan start\_Pst.

yulo lakhi husikha -no pa yutomi nanu pusu lotisami phu  
 day one Husikha Erg. his warrior attire wore Lotisami villlage

lo asi ye wu. timi lakhi -no khakhu lo po  
 to wood cut went one man Erg. Khakhu to ran

iyi eno pa vilopi “no -no husikha heqhi ne pi  
 came and him said to you Erg. Husikha kill Comp. saying

-aye pa -ye lotisa lo asi yene wuva ke ala  
 he Nom. Lotisa in wood cut gone Comp. way

lono pa khe no heqhi velo.” timi tipau -no ta husikha lo  
 from him wait and kill man that Erg. again Husikha to

wu no pi “khakhu -ye hula no heqhi ne khe  
 went and said Khakhu Nom. there you kill Comp. wait

anipu no -ye hila ixo -iqi ani keša? husikha -no  
 you Erg. here going up and down Husikha Erg.

pi “O athazu! lotisami pu ni -ye o -vilo aphixemuya  
 said O brother Lotisami son i Nom. you to clothes

kivi khu moi momu au kivi momu azita khu moi  
 good ask not or spear good or dao<sup>15</sup> ask not

ikemu ni -ye ayephu<sup>16</sup> avehepu ši ani ke ošikimthi i-tsi  
 but I Nom. mat need do Pre. Comp. please GPM-  
 give

<sup>15</sup> Traditional knife.

<sup>16</sup> Mat used for drying grain etc.

nima? ayephu luvē kethiu pa -no aphu khalau pesu ipe.  
 mat take after he Erg. village outside take out

pa -no pa -yu -nanu xaqive no ayephu lo kuzuve.  
 he Erg. his warrior attire took and mat in covered  
 off

tiši -ve kethiu ayevu pesu pa gi kumtsu nuda -ve  
 after Past after ash taking his face all smeared Pst.

no idewo -ve. kuḡyou khakhu -no husikha šolu keno pa  
 and returned Pst. when Khakhu Erg. Husikha meet Dub. he

-ye pa miči move eno kutami kuḡaši kumsu -ve eno  
 Nom. him recognized not and other thought Pst. and

pa -no husikha vilo inizu “O apu o -pu husikha  
 he Erg. Husikha asked O son your father Husikha

-ye hila iḡi ani ke no -ye pa idewo če  
 Nom. here come Pre. Comp. you Nom. him going Hab.  
 back

Kiu ithulu kemo kya? husikha -no khočile “husikha lotisamitsakuzau  
 Comp. saw Neg. Q.T Husikha Erg. replied Husikha Lotisami chatterbox

timi khiu atsa pia nikiu kimiye -če - khu atsaza ḡi

kiu,  
 man who words talks Comp. loves Hab. who chattering Comp.  
 Comp.

iqi ani keo iqi ani kela mutha kemi tiyeṇuno ni  
 going Prog. or going Prog. Comp. do someone therefore I  
 up down not now

pa yile muthai” hipau pive no khakhu večesi wu- khakhu  
 ve.  
 his whereabouts do not this saying and Khakhu passed went Khakhu  
 know

-no wuve nikiu khea ano ayephu lono pa yunanu ikhiph<sup>e</sup>  
 Erg. left waited after and mat from his warrior took  
 attire out

no pulu -ve kethiu pa -no pi “ni husikha zakha  
 and wore Pst. after he Erg. said I Husikha Jakha

no pu hile iyi ani. no -no tilau khu khe  
 Gen. son here come Pre. you Erg. there who wait

ani keno khe alo!” tiyeṇuno khakhu -ye husikha heqhi mulave.  
 Prog. Dub. wait continue therefore Khakhu Nom. Husikha kill could  
 not

akumya kumo ši athiu khakhu -ye apuyu sive eno

unfortunately	do	later	Khakhu	Nom.	leprosy	contacted	and		
tuumi	suyi	no	činečini	šiju	amu	vi	mula	-ve.	atsala
sorcerer	bring	and	rites	perform	despite	recover	not	Pst.	day
lakhi	lo	šeyili	-no	inami	lakhi	izu	-če	-yi	kiu
one	Loc.	Sheyili	Erg.	stranger	one	travelling	Hab.		Comp.
sasu	šolu	eno	kuyou	pa	-no	phuju	kelo	inami	tipau
with	meet	and	when	she	Erg.	inquire	Comp.	stranger	that
-ye	khakhu	kusau	ši	ayi	eno	khakhu	ā	lo	wu
Nom.	khakhu	friend	do	Comp.	and	Khakhu	place	to	going
če	yi.	pa	-no	pa	kusu	no	ana	eno	anaži
Hab.	Comp.	she	Erg.	him	invited	and	food	and	rice beer
pa	yulu.	pa	-no	čixičile	khakhu	yili	inizu	-ve	kethiu
him	feed	she	Erg.	detail	Khakhu	about	asked	Pst.	after
pa	-no	tiri <sup>17</sup>	eno	apa <sup>18</sup>	miti	kini	ši	hepho.	pa
she	Erg.	туру	and	apa	salt	two	do	break	she
-no	lakhi	pe	inami	tsi	eno	pa	vilo	lakhi	pesu
Erg.	one	Comp.	stranger	gave	and	him	told	one	Inst.

<sup>17</sup> Variety of salt.

<sup>18</sup> Variety of salt.

khakhu tsitsi lo pi. pa -no pa vilo khakhu lo  
 Khakhu give to said she Erg. him said Khakhu to

hi pilopi “ado hami dolo ikuzo kumtsa ače kelo ikuzo  
 this say to time sometime we together used Comp. we

-no čixičile aṇu -ani sala ši. ačuqu eno anazi  
 Erg. rites in-laws for do. food and rice  
 beer

pesu čixičile ši ikuzo -no. kuyou anika pesu ayeyi lo kilha no  
 Inst. rites do we Erg. when leaves Inst. ground on spread and

zi kelo no -ye čixičile zi lo i-yolo zi -mo kepu  
 sleep you Nom. rites night on GPM- sleep Neg. Comp.  
 with

-kela zi ayi. no -no akipini eno axine ši-ve  
 should sleeping Comp. you Erg. mistake and sin commit\_Pst.

ke yeṇuno o -phi kumtsu apuyu ipeyi ani. no -ye  
 Comp. Therefore your body all leprosy come Prog. you Nom.

okini pesu tuumi lau vepha kevalo kuyēṇu no -ye tipau  
 GPM+wealth Inst. sorcerer to waste not because you Nom. that



večewo khilemu alo mo nani. tipau ziqho i -no tsipu  
 through never healed Neg. will that instead I Erg. sent

akiu tiri miti mile alo”. kučouno khakhu -ye apuyu lono  
 (host) tiri salt lick continue truly Khakhu Nom. leprosy from

khilemu vi mula -ve. eno kiγuzumi ši-ve. pa -ye tiri  
 never heal not Pst. and mad man become\_Pst he Nom. tiri

miti pa -nipu -no tsipu kiu pesu khape yi mile  
 salt his wife Erg. sent Comp. with carried licking

yi pa yuzi lo aphu kumtsi lo “hi -ye šeyili”  
 Comp. his madness in village everywhere loc this Nom. sheyili

kepi itsi čeuve eno ašekha lo thi-ve.  
 Comp. roam and end in die\_Pst.

### **Khakhu and Sheyili**

Khakhu was the son of Hethena Kinimi of Limtshami village. He was married to Sheyili, daughter of Tshinishe of Tsiqimi of Emlomi village. They were living a happy married life but later got separated because of Khakhu’s step-mother.

They got separated in this manner. Whenever the villagers gave father Henthen a their catch from hunt, they were not given anything in return but whenever they gave a portion of their hunt to Khakhu, his wife would give them rice or salt in return. Therefore, the villagers started giving their hunt only to the son. This made Khakhu’s step-mother very jealous of her daughter-in-law. She started plotting to separate them. Whenever Khakhu

and Sheyili went to the fields latching their door, Khakhu's step-mother would enter the house and spill over rice, wooden plate and stored crops. She would spill water over the spill things and after thrashing it she would leave. Sheyili knew the bad things done by her mother-in-law but never said anything to her husband. Khakhu not knowing anything used to misunderstand that his wife did not store food items properly and allows the pigs to thrash it.

Therefore, one day in order to let Khakhu know the truth by himself she made a plan. She asked him to hide in the ceiling and watch. After doing so, she latched the door and left. Like other days the step-mother entered the house and after doing the usual routine, she left. In the evening after returning from the field, Sheyili asked her husband, "Did you catch the culprit, the pig who was destroying our possession?" Khakhu replied, "It was not the pigs but my step-mother". She asked him, "Did you scold or mistreat her for doing all these things?" but Khakhu replied that he did nothing. Sheyili realized that, "I am living in another village far away from my own people and there is no one here from my own village. I am living as a loner here. Even if anyone insults or do bad things to me, Khakhu will not protect me." After this realization she made nine knots on a rope and sent it to her brothers. Those nine knots stood for nine days after which her brothers would come and take her away.

After the completion of nine days, the husband and wife did not go to field but stayed at home. Sheyili asked her husband, "Shall we slaughter our oldest cock?" to which he replies, "It's only for namesake that it is ours, you are the one who rears it so do as you wish". So she slaughtered the cock and cooked the meat separately. She cooked the fish separately. After cooking a fine meal, both husband and wife ate together from the same plate. Sheyili mixed rice and meat and fed her husband from her own hand. While doing so tears rolled down from her eyes. When her husband asked, "Why are you crying?" she replied, "When I was looking at the ceiling, dust fell into my eyes and that is why tears are rolling". After that she heated rice beer and gave it to her husband along with meat to be taken with the rice beer. Khakhu asked her, "O Sheyili, today your behavior is different. What happen?" she replied, "We became husband and wife to live like this". After having fine meal and the rice beer, Khakhu went into deep sleep.

That night, Sheyili's brothers came to take her in their full warrior attire and surrounded the house. To see whether her husband will wake up or not she pinched him many times but he did not wake up. Her brothers could not wait for her any longer and asked her to hurry up. She told them, "My brothers, wait for me a while so that I can take my belongings". Then she took two cotton balls and after placing it over hot ash, placed it under Khakhu's mouth but he did not wake up. Then her brothers told her, "It looks like you are planning to get us killed. So we will kill you instead if you delay". Therefore, she left her husband and left with her brothers. Before long, Khakhu woke up and called out for his wife many times. While he was calling for his wife, his step-mother said, "Your old wife Sheyili, the deer Sheyili, present in every household, even tonight whose house has she gone to". Except for the old blind woman who was their neighbor, no one in the village knew that Sheyili had left with her brothers. When Khakhu was calling out for Sheyili, she said, "Why don't you go towards the boundary of the village?" truly, Khakhu went towards the boundary of the village and saw Sheyili and her brothers walking away with brightly lit lamps. He called out to Sheyili. Sheyili asked her brothers, "It is not possible for me to go back and live with him. So let me at least respond to his call" but her brothers rejected her request and took her away.

Because Khakhu loves Sheyili, he did not marry though his parents asked him to. He did not take another wife. When Sheyili returned to her parent's house she became pregnant. Husikha Khujumi, Jakha's son from Emlomi village, a brave warrior asked Sheyili for marriage but she refused. During that time, Sheyili got conjunctivitis. One day, when Husikha was leaning by the wall of her house, he overheard Sheyili's mother saying, "If anyone would dig *jučukilli* and bring it and heal my daughter's eyes, I will let her marry that person". As soon as he heard Sheyili's mother, he went and brought *jučikili* and gave it along with banana flower. Truly, the *jučukili* healed her eyes. So her mother told her, "You must marry Husikha because he healed your eyes". Therefore it was decided that Sheyili would marry Husikha.

When Khakhu heard that Husikha was going to marry Sheyili, he started planning to kill him. One day, Husikha went to Lotisami village in his warrior attire to collect firewood. One man ran to Khakhu and told him, "If you say that you are going to kill Husikha, he

has gone to Lotisa to gather firewood so wait for him and kill him on the way”. That same man went to Husikha and said, “Here you are going up and down while Khakhu is waiting there to kill you”. Husikha said, “O brother! Son of Lotisami, I won’t ask you to give me good clothes or good spear or *dao* but I am in need of *ayephu*. So please give it to me”. After taking the *ayephu*, he took off his warrior attire and wrapped it in *ayephu*. He took ash and smeared it all over his face and headed back. When Khakhu met Husikha, he could not recognize him and asked him, “Boy have you seen your father Husikha?” he replied, “Husikha is Lotisami’s chatterbox, someone who loves to talk and one who does not know where he is going up or down chattering. So I do not know his whereabouts”. Saying this he passed Khakhu and went away. He waited for Khakhu to go and then brought out his warrior attire from *ayephu* and after wearing it said, “I Husikha, Jakha’s son have come here. Continue to wait for the one one you were waiting for there”. Therefore Khakhu could not kill Husikha.

Later on unfortunately, Khakhu contacted leprosy and despite sorcerer performing rites he did not recover. One day Sheyili met a stranger who was travelling. When she inquired the stranger was Khakhu’s friend who was going to his place. She invited him and feed rice and rice beer. She inquired in detail about Khakhu. She broke *tiri* and *apa* salt into two and gave one piece to the stranger and asked him to give the other to Khakhu. She asked him to tell Khakhu, “Sometime ago when we were together, we performed rites for our in-laws with food and drink. When we had spread leaves on the floor and were sleeping, you were found sleeping besides me. You should not have on the ritual night. Because you made a mistake and committed sin, you have leprosy all over your body. Do not waste your wealth over the sorcerer because you will never heal through that. Instead lick the *tiri* salt that I am sending you”.

Truly, Khakhu did not heal from leprosy and became mad. He went around the village in his madness carrying and licking the *tiri* salt his wife had sent him saying, “This is Sheyili” and he died in the end.

**Angshu heqhi kiu ghili**

**Tiger kill Comp. story**

khayi	yulo	kilo	timi	lakhi	-ye	apu	kini	ače	ikemu
long	time	ago	man	one	Nom.	son	two	had	but
apu	kuma	-no	itimi	ši	ače phi		lono	apu	-ye
sons	Dl	Erg.	small	still	were		while	father	Nom.
aṇṣu	-no	tsive.	apu	kuma	-no	aza	vilo	inzu	če
tiger	Erg.	killed	son	Dl.	Erg.	mother	to	ask	Hab.
“niṇu	papu	-ye	khila	-va	kya?	aza	-no	okuṣo	papu
our	father	Nom.	where	Pst.	Q.T	mother	Erg.	your	father
-ye	alu	lo	wuva	ke	ipi	če.	tayi	panoṇu	-no
Nom.	field	to	went	used to say		Hab.	again	they	Erg.
“niṇu	papu	-ye	khila	-va	kya?	pi	inzu	apa	aza
our	father	Nom.	where	Pst.	Q.T	say	ask	Comp.	mother
-no	apu	-ye	izeu	-va	ke	ipi	če.	apu	kuma
Erg.	father	Nom.	travel	Pst.	Comp.		Hab.	son	Dl.
-no	kičimi	šive	kethiu	likhi	no	aza	-no	pakuma	vilo
Erg.	grew up		after	only	and	mother	Erg.	both	told

apu	-ye	aŋšu	-no	tsive	kepi.	pa	-no	pakuma	vilopi
father	Nom.	tiger	Erg.	killed	Comp.	she	Erg.	both	told

“okužo azuta ngo aŋu čiyi no nilu lo wuno lhoxi nepa-qo apaše  
 Dl. dao and spear sharpen and our field to go animal tracks Pl. trace

no	ithulu	kiu	pesu	ide	iyi	lo.
and	see	Comp.	bring back	come		Imp.

pakuma	-no	kučouno	azuta	ngo	aŋu	čiyi	no	akisau	alu
they	Erg.	truely	dao	and	spear	sharpen	and	backyard	field

lo	wuno	lhoxi	nepa	kiče	suwo	aza	tsi.	atuŋuši	pakuma
to	went	animal	tracks	picked	brought	mother	gave	firstly	they

-no	ačuyi	nepa	suŋi.	ikemu	aza	-no	hino	apu	tsimo
Erg.	antelope	track	brought	but	mother	Erg.	this	father	not kill

kepi.	tipau	šelo	pakuma	-no	aše	nepa	suŋi	ikemu	aza
Comp.	after that		they	Erg.	deer	tracks	brought	but	mother

-no	hipauno	yi	apu	tsimo	kepi.	tayi	apu	kuma	-no
Erg.	this	even	father	killed not	Comp.	again	son	Dl.	Erg.

alu	lo	wuno	aŋhšu	nepa	suŋi	no	aza	tsive.	aza
field	to	went	tiger	track	brought	and	mother	gave	mother

-no	tileno	pakuma	vilo	pi	“hipau	-no	oku3o	papu	tsi-ve”
Erg..	then	both	told		this	Erg.	your	father	kill_Pst.

apu	aitiu	-no	aza	vilo	ku	šimasa	kelo	aza	vilo
son	younger	Erg.	mother		what	done	comp.	mother	

inizu.	apu	aitiu	-no	amu	sasi	ayasa	lo	wu.	atsala
asked	son	younger	Erg.	elder brother	took	forest	to	go	day

athuyu	lo	pakuma	-no	asubo	lo	akhače	mula	eno	atsala
first	on	they	Erg.	tree	on	platform	made	and	day

akiniu	lo	aqoh	thonhei	ču.	pakuma	-no	aqhe	pesu	aqoh	aliče	mula
second	on	pit	deep	dug	they	Erg.	cane	Inst.	pit	trap	made

eno	akhače	šou	tsi	-ve	hipau	šive	kehu	itiu	-no	akhače
and	platform	over	tied	Pst.	this	done	after	younger one	Erg.	platform

šou	iku	no	iya	“noŋu	khu	-no	qono	ipu	ši
over	went up	and	shouted	you	who	Erg.	all	my father	flesh

ču	keno	hile	ipeyi	lo”	aŋšu	kutomo	-no	aqhe	večeó
ate	Dub.	here	come out	Imp.	tiger	many	Erg.	cane	through

muyo	si	akhače	lo	ikuyi	ne	ši.	ikemu	itiu	-no
climb		platform	on	came up	Comp.		but	younger brother	Erg.

aqhe	kumkho	pa	kiu	yi	thavetsi	eno	aṇšu	kumtsu	aqoh
cane	knot		Comp.	cut off		and	tiger	all	pit

lo	ilu	ilove.	aṇšu	-qo	-no	aqoh	lono	ithu	yine	ipeyi
in	fall	into	tiger	Pl.	Erg.	pit	from	get up		come out

ni	pukaputsa	ake	mutsa	athaza	kuma	-no	apiṇi	pesu	panoṇu
Comp.	struggle			brother	both	Erg.	arrow	with	their
		about							

mulo	lo	mizi	no	hexi	khavē.	ašekha	lo	aṇšu	kize
heart	at	aim	and	killed them		end	at	tiger	big

kini	likhi	-ve.
two	remained	Pst.

aitiu	-no	amu	vilopi	“i-mu	i	-no	akizeu	hexi	nike
younger	Erg.	elder brother	said to	GPM-brother	i	ERG.	big	kill	Comp.

no	-no	ayulo	hexi	lo”	ikemu	akičiu	-ye	musa
you	Erg.	small	kill		but	elder	Erg.	afraid



-ve	no	aŋšu	hexi	move.	aitiu	-no	aŋšu	akizeu	hexi
PL	and	tiger	killed	not	younger	Erg.	tiger	big	killed

veno	tayi	akičiu	-i	aŋu	lu	no	aŋšu	aɣulo	ɣi
	and	elder	Pos.	spear	took	and	tiger	small	also

heqhi -ve.

kill Pst.

tithiu	pakuma	-no	aɣu	lo	tokiu	le	phe	ɣi	akilo	idewo.
after	they	Erg.	war	in	victory	song	sang		home	returning
that										

kuyou	akhila	lo	ilo	no	piaye	amu	ɣi	aitiu	yolo
when	valley	into				elder	even	younger	with
						brother			

ɣiɣi	no	aɣu	lo	toku	le	phe	si	ikemu	aqala
loudly	the	war	in	victory	song	sang	join	but	plains

ipeyi	napi	aye	amu	-ye	kuzo	ke	launo	aitiu	yolo
came	Comp.		elder	Erg.	shame	Comp.	from	younger	with
			brother						

ale	phe	simo.	timi	-no	pakuma	vilo	inizu	“akuɣo	dolo
song	sang	join+not	people	Erg.	both of		asked	both	between
					them			of you	

khuno	aŋšu	-qo	heqhi	kya?	aitu	-no	amu	musa	kiu	
who	tigers	Pl.	killed		younger	Erg.	elder brother	afraid		
“imu	iku3o	-no	heqhi”	kepi	khočile.	pakuma	-no	šolu	kemi	
my brother	both of us	Erg.	killed	Comp.	replied	they	ERG.	meet		
kumtsu	vilo	ti	piyi	aza	šolu.	aza	-no	pi	“kuyeŋu	
all		saying that		mother	meet	mother	Erg.	said	since	
aku3o	dolo	khuno	aŋšu	heqhi	kela	mutha	kiu	i	-no	ayačo
both of you	among	who	tiger	killed	Comp.	do not know		i	Erg.	hornbill
šomi	pesu	aki	tsuyo	lo	xini	ke	oku3o	ya		apizi
feather	Inst.	house	top	on	keep	Comp.	both of you			arrow
pesu	tipau	veni	ke	pukaputsalo”	akičiu	- i	apizi	no		ayačo
with	that	kit	Comp.	try	elder	Pos.	arrow	the		hornbill
šomi	kitila	bu	no	ve	mula	-ve.	kuyou	aitiu	-no	
feather	liitle	touch	and	hit	not	Pst.	when	younger	Erg.	
ve	keno	amuta	lono	ayačo	šomi	vethave.	tileno	aza	-no	
hit	Dub.	middle	from	horbill	feather	split	from this	mother	Erg.	

vethaluve    apu    aitiu    -no    apu    mukhu    luva    keno    pi    ithive  
understood   son   younger   Erg.   father   revenge   taken   said   understood

no        pa        še.  
and        he        praised

### **The killing of the tiger**

Long time ago there was a man who had two sons but when the sons were still young, the father was killed by a tiger. The sons used to ask their mother, “Where has our father gone?” and mother used to reply, “Your father has gone to field”. Again when they asked her, “Where has our father gone?” the mother used to say that, “Your father has gone for trip”. Only when they grew up she told them, “Your father was killed by a tiger”. She told them, “Sharpen your *dao* and spear and go to our field and trace animal tracks and bring back what you see”.

Truly, they sharpened their *dao* and spear and went to the field’s backyard and came back with the tracks of animals. Firstly, they brought Antelope’s tracks but their mother told them that this did not kill their father. After that they brought the tracks of deer but mother said that even that did not kill their father. Again they went to the field and brought back tiger’s tracks and gave it to mother. Then mother told them, “This killed your father”.

The younger son asked mother what was to be done. The younger son took his elder brother to the forest. On the first day they built platform on a tree. On the second day, they dug deep pit and with canes made a trap over the pit and tied it to the platform. After doing this the younger brother went up to the platform and shouted, “You all who ate my father’s flesh come out”. Many tigers came and tried to come up through the canes but the younger brother cut off the knot and all the tigers fell into the pit. They struggled to come out of the pit but they aimed at their hearts and killed them with their arrows. At the end only two big tigers remained.

The younger brother said to the elder, “Elder brother, I will kill the big one so you kill the small one”. But the elder brother got afraid and did not kill the tiger. The younger brother killed the big tiger and taking his elder brother’s spear killed the small tiger too.

After that singing war victory song on their way they returned. When they went down the valley, the elder brother would join the singing loudly but whenever they were on plains, the elder brother was ashamed and did not join in singing the war victory song. When people asked them, “Between both of you, who killed the tiger?” the younger brother was afraid of the elder so he replied, “Both of us killed the tigers”. Saying that to everyone they meet, they met their mother. The mother said, “Since it is not known among both of you who killed the tiger, I will place Hornbill’s feather on the top of the house. Try to hit it”. The elder brother’s arrow touched the Hornbill feather’s little but did not hit it. When the younger brother tried, the Hornbill feather split into two. The mother realized that the younger son had taken the father’s revenge and praised him

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