CHAPTER 4

VERBAL SYSTEM
4.0. Introduction

In traditional grammar, the verb is sometimes defined notionally as a 'doing' word. Such a notional definition has generally been considered inadequate for a number of reasons. Modern grammars prefer a more syntactical definition.

A more exhaustive definition is that verbs constitute a major word class that is normally essential to clause structure and which inflects and can show contrast of tense-aspect-modality, number, person, and voice. Verbs tend to code less time-stable experiences, primarily transitory states, events or actions. Verbs may code either extremely rapid changes, or processes that may have a certain duration, or even relatively more stable states. In other words, they cover a certain range from one extreme end of the time-stability scale.

Verbs are also most obviously distinguished by the fact that each verb typically requires the presence in its sentence of a specified set of NP arguments, each of which may be required to appear in some particular grammatical form (particular case marking, particular pre/post-position, etc.).
4.0.1. Adjectives as constituting a sub-class of verb

In Tangkhul-Naga, structurally, there is no distinction between adjectives (modifiers) and verbs (predicators). All (verbal) root can function, with appropriate affixation, as noun modifiers or predicators. All (verbal) roots can have all the grammatical inflections, and can well denote states, events or actions. In other words, a word which is an adjective in some other languages is a verb (or a sub-class of verb) in Tangkhul-Naga. Thus, for example, the following stems, which are not very different semantically from one another, basically function as verbals.

\begin{align*}
\text{yui-}\dot{s}i & \quad \text{'(to) envy/be jealous' (<stare-sulk)} \\
\text{y\ddot{o}-}\dot{s}i & \quad \text{'(to) be hostile' (<look-bad)} \\
\text{ri\ddot{i}-}\dot{s}i & \quad \text{'(to) be poor' (<live-bad)}
\end{align*}

The phenomena in Tangkhul-Naga (and many other languages) support the opinion of some linguists that verbs and adjectives can be grouped together into a class of 'function' words or 'predicates' and can be differentiated rather sharply from nouns. Furthermore, the fact that 'adjectives' are inherently relational in nature and are therefore able to function as predicates more readily than nouns, and that they are similar to verbs in denoting the characteristics of objects',\textsuperscript{12} are seen as supporting the claim.

\textsuperscript{12} D.N.S. Bhat, op cit p. 43.
The characteristics that are to be used in support of the claim that verbs and adjectives form a single category in Tangkhul-Naga include:

(1) the occurrence of the same type of inflectional affixes in the predicative use; and

(2) the occurrence of the same type of nominalizing, adjectivalizing and adverbializing processes for referential and modifying uses.

Thus, in spite of having some minor structural differences, such as, some types of roots (but not verbal roots) occurring with certain types of partially reduplicated intensifiers/modifiers, adjectives will summarily be considered as constituting a sub-type of verb in this discussion.

4.0.2. Verbs in Tangkhul-Naga

The major class of words designated as verbs on the basis of their morpho-syntactic characteristics is very rich in Tangkhul-Naga, particularly, from the point of 'compounding', 'serial constructions' and inflectional systems, involving distinction of tense-aspect-modality. No gender and number distinctions are made. The language favor active construction and does not make much differences between passive and active constructions as there is no
passive 'verbal morphology', that is, the passive is not marked in the morphology of the verb.

The criteria for designating the class of words as verbs in Tangkhul-Naga are:

(1) syntactically occurring as head of a predicate;

(2) accepting tense-aspect-modality markers;

(3) accepting non-finite marker/nominalizer /kə/ ~ /kʰə/.

4.1. Types of verbal roots/stems

There are three types of verbal roots/stems in the language—simple, complex (or derived) and compound. We will discuss them in turn in the following.

4.1.1. Simple verbal roots

A simple root is a monomorphemic irreducible 'core element/semanteme' obtained by dropping all the affixes. A root may be monosyllabic or bisyllabic. Examples:

\[ \begin{align*}
ni & \quad \text{'be'} \\
le & \quad \text{'exist/have'} \\
um & \quad \text{'come back'} \\
r & \quad \text{'come'} \\
f & \quad \text{'change'} \\
va & \quad \text{'go'} \\
co & \quad \text{'walk'} \\
m & \quad \text{'forget'} \\
\end{align*} \]

4.1.2. Complex/derived verbal stems

Many Tangkhul-Naga verbal stems, which are bound forms, are derived from roots or expressives. Derivation is a
productive process in the language. Often verbs are derived from ‘nominal’ roots, other ‘verbal’ roots or expressives. There are three main derivative prefixes -- /ηδ-/ , /pδ-/ and /-kδ-/. For example consider the following verbal stems derived from (1) roots and (2) expressives.

(1) Derivation from roots

A number of complex verbal stems are derived from roots. The derived form is a bound form and cannot occur in isolation. The following are some examples of contrasting derivation of nouns and verbs from roots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derived verb stem</th>
<th>Derived noun stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rü</td>
<td>pʰδ-rü ‘to lay egg’</td>
<td>a-rü ‘egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>ηδ-na ‘to listen’</td>
<td>kʰδ-na ‘ear’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Derivation from expressives

A number of complex verbal stems (which are bound forms) are derived from expressives by prefixing /kδ/. Thus, consider the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expressive</th>
<th>Derived verb root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuη tuη ‘thumping sound’</td>
<td>kδ-tuη ‘(to) produce thumping sound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tap tap ‘splashing sound’</td>
<td>kδ-tap ‘(to) splash’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.3. Compounding of roots

There are two main types of compound verb roots in the language -- (1) compounding of noun root and verb root (N+V) and (2) compounding of two verb roots (V+V).

4.1.3.1. N + V Compound root

In this type of compounds two roots (one noun and the other verbal) are combined to form a single verbal root expressing a 'single' verbal idea. Some of the compounds thus formed are historically complex that the meaning of a root of the compound is lost to the present-day speakers of the language. The unidentifiable item (marked with '?') is always a root by the fact that the compound root allows infixation in derivation and inflection, which is a typical characteristic of all verbal compounds in the language. Again, the first root/constituent is a noun by virtue of its inability to take verbal inflection in isolation. There are a fairly large number of N + V compounds in the language. The following examples shows how a noun root can be combined with a number of verbal roots to form compound verb roots.

\[ ni\eta-\tilde{s}i \quad \text{'(to) thank' (}<\text{mind-be pensive}) \]
\[ ni\eta-ca\eta \quad \text{'(to) desire' (}<\text{mind-tire}) \]
\[ ni\eta-s\tilde{c}\eta \quad \text{'(to) concentrate/ be attentive' (}<\text{mind-put}) \]
\[ r\tilde{u}-c\tilde{c}\eta \quad \text{'(to) be thirsty' (}<\text{liquid-THIRST}) \]
rũ-hik  ' (to) baptize' (< liquid-submerge and emerge)

rũ-yak  ' (to) swim' (< liquid-climb, descend or cross with hands clinging on to something for main support (as in climbing wall))

rũ-vai  ' (to) take bath' (< liquid-wear)

kʰon-ši  ' (to) curse' (< sound-bad)

lei-ši  ' (to) love' (<? - mind/sulk)

lanθ-so  ' (to) be proud' (<? - praise)

4.1.3.2. Idiomatic VV compounds

Tangkhul-Naga has a rich number of verbs formed by compounding (or conjoining) two verbs to express a single verbal idea. In most cases such compounds are ‘idiomatic’ in the sense that the meanings of the two verbs in isolation are not directly relatable to their ‘combined’ gloss. The following are some example of idiomatic VV compounds:

pʰdniθ-unθ think-come ‘remember’

šit-sθ count-put ‘trust/believe’

riθ-pʰa live-good ‘be happy’

riθ-ši live-bad ‘be poor’

yθiθ- ši look-bad ‘be hostile’

yui-ši stare-bad ‘envy’

rũ-yθiθ pass through-look ‘peep’

pʰdniθ-va think-go ‘imagine’
4.1.4. Collocationally restricted verbs

There are a fairly large number of verbs having collocational restrictions with nouns. They can be subgrouped into two types -- (1) fixed collocation and (2) free collocation.

4.1.4.1. Fixed collocation

A verb having collocational restriction is fixed in the sense that the particular verb can co-occur with only one particular nominal. Thus, the verb roots/stems are meaningless in isolation, that is, if not introduced by the nominal stems they collocate with. The following are some of the verbs of this type:

- \( k\ddot{a}-zi\eta \) ro ' (to) rain' (\(<\text{sky-RAIN}\))
- \( k\ddot{a}-zi\eta \) ham ' (to) sunshine' (\(<\text{sky-SUNSHINE}\))
- \( ni\eta \) m\ddot{a}on ' (to) doubt' (\(<\text{mind-DOUBT}\))
- \( k^{b}\ddot{a}-na \) \( \eta \dddot{k}\ddot{ok} \) ' (to) be deaf' (\(<\text{ear-DEAF}\))
- \( mik \) \( \eta \ddot{o}peo \) ' (to) be blind' (\(<\text{eye-BLIND}\))
- \( k^{b}\ddot{a}k \) \( \eta \ddot{o}s\ddot{u} \) ' (to) be dumb' (\(<\text{voice-DUMB}\))
- \( mai \) \( \eta \ddot{t}tap \) ' (to) wash face' (\(<\text{face-WASH}\))
- \( kui \) \( k^{b}\ddot{a}yao \) ' (to) wash head' (\(<\text{head-WASH}\))
- \( pa\eta \) m\ddot{a}cik ' (to) wash hand' (\(<\text{hand-WASH}\))
4.1.4.2. Free collocation

Verbs having free collocation are those which can co-occur with more than one noun. Verbs of this type express specialized or metaphorical meanings. Thus, often their meanings in isolation are not directly relatable to those in collocated structures. The following are some of the most commonly used such verbs:

- *məlun vat*  'to be angry'  (<heart-burst)
- *məlun nim*  'to be sober'  (<heart-cool)
- *kədyə ši*  'to respect'  (<prestige-mind)
- *uk kənoη*  'to be sad'  (<soul chamber-tire)
- *mənla tuk*  'to have nightmare'  (<soul-arrest)
- *kəziη rai*  'to stop raining'  (<sky-recover(as from sickness))
- *kəziη ši*  'to be cloudy'  (<sky-sulk)
- *rikən nəše*  'to strike lightning'  (<lightning-shake)
- *kəziηə šum*  'to thunder'  (<sky-regret and wail)
- *lanpar tak*  'to strike thunder-bolt'  (<thunderbolt-hit)
- *nəcan cot*  'to be lazy'  (<stimulus-break)
ηδçan ka '(to) be industrious' (<stimulus-attach)

nịn teo '(to) be narrow-minded' (<mind-small)

Some verbal stems occur only in the negative forms such as:

a-pb ar mδ-zən
FX-lung NEG-contain
'(to) be cowardly' (<lung not containing)

nịn mδ-pei
mind NEG-full '(to) be mentally abnormal' (<mind not full)

4.2. Transitivity

The most common derivational morphemes for verbs in the language are those affecting transitivization/causativization. Basically, Tangkhul-Naga has no productive inbuild system of deriving transitive or intransitive stems from each other, except causativization (see discussion below). Quite often, a transitive syntactic structure is assigned to semantically intransitive verbs by way of metaphorical extension of either the prototype 'agent' or the prototype 'patient'. This tendency in the language is very striking, and is either an indication, a cause or result of a conspicuous feature of the language. The notion 'transitive' is much more syntactic, much less semantic.
Thus, for example, consider the following syntactically-transitive verbs:

(1) \( i (-n\ddot{a}) \ n\ddot{a}-li \ t^{h}e\ddot{i}-\gamma \ddot{a} \)

I (-NOM) you-DAT know-NFUT

'I know you' (Lit: (By) me to you know)

(2) \( i (-n\ddot{a}) \ n\ddot{a}-li \ m\ddot{o}\iota\nu\eta \ vat-\delta \)

I (-NOM) you-DAT heart burst-NFUT

'I am angry with you'

(Lit: (By) me to you heart burst)

(3) \( i (-n\ddot{a}) \ n\ddot{a}-li \ p^{h}\ddot{o}\iota\iota\iota\iota\iota-\delta \)

I (-NOM) you-DAT think-NFUT

'I think of you' (Lit: (By) me to you thought)

Thus, when a less prototypical transitive verb is coded syntactically as a member of the class of the transitive prototype, in some sense the user of the language construes its properties as being similar, analogical, reminiscent of the prototype. In other words, we have here the most common linguistic phenomenon of metaphoric extension.

4.2.1. Transitivization

In very few cases there are separate roots for parallel sets of transitive and intransitive verbs. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cui 'to burn'</td>
<td>sū 'to burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hor 'to shine'</td>
<td>šar 'to light'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, such sets are very rare, and there are a number of verbs transitivized through internal changes in the roots or by prefixation. (Instances of such verbs are, again, very limited, and thus, no derivational rule can be predicted). Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitives</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$m\dot{\text{e}}t^b\text{uk}$ 'be awake'</td>
<td>$m\dot{\text{e}}t^b\text{ot}$ 'wake (somebody up)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\eta\text{c}i$ 'be afraid'</td>
<td>$m\dot{\text{e}}c\text{it}$ 'threaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$z\eta\text{n}$ 'contain'</td>
<td>$\tilde{s}\eta\text{n}$ 'put (in)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$p\text{a}k$ 'be wide'</td>
<td>$p^b\text{a}k$ 'widen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\eta\dot{\text{e}}\text{n}\text{uk}$ 'shake'</td>
<td>$k^b\dot{\text{e}}\text{n}\text{uk}$ 'shake'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.2. Morpho-lexical causativization

All causative operators in Tangkhul-Naga are morphological, that is, all manipulative verbs are co-lexicalized with their complements. The verb-affix status of the causative morphemes is nothing but the diachronic consequence of co-lexicalization of its precursor -- a manipulative causative main verb -- with its complement verb-stem. Over time, such a process usually gravitates towards a lexical 'derivational' process, whereby the erstwhile verb ('make', 'cause' loses its independent lexical status, undergoes morpho-phonological reduction ('bleaching'), and becomes a causative affix on the verb. At that stage, one may still consider it an inflectional morpheme marking the syntactic process of transitivization. But the potential for
considering it derivational is just as strong. Indeed, over time the process become less regular and more lexically-governed.

There are three causative morphemes in Tangkhul-Naga -- /ci/-/ši/, (2) /sa/ and (3) /ŋōsōk/. They are discussed below in turn.

4.2.2.1. Causative /ci/-/ši/

/ci/ and /ši/ are allomorphs of the causative morpheme which is prefixed to a number of transitive and intransitive verbal roots to derive transitive verbs. This morpheme codes causation with an agentive/non-agentive human manipulee. In the process of causativization, the verbal roots may be diverged phonologically. /ci/ occurs before obstruents and /ši/ occurs before sonorants. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Causativized stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰei</td>
<td>ci-tʰei `show'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ša</td>
<td>ci-šat `announce'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šuk</td>
<td>ci-šuk `lend' (especially money)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ci-kat `send up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šok</td>
<td>ci-šot `send out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zōŋ</td>
<td>ci-zōŋ `send in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>ši-rat `send towards'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va</td>
<td>ši-vat `send away'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some verbs are derived with /śi/ from expressives and nouns. Thus, consider the following example:

- śi-met 'press with fingers' (muscles, fruits, etc.)

from:

  met met 'feeling of pressing some soft solid objects (such as muscles, etc.)'

### 4.2.2.2 Causativizer/transitivizer /sa/

The verb sa 'do', 'make' is prefixed to a few number of intransitive roots to derive transitive verbal stems. This morpheme codes causation with an animate-agentive manipulee. In the process of causativization, the root may be diverged phonologically. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive root</th>
<th>Transitive stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰi 'die'</td>
<td>sa-tʰd̪t 'kill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai 'break (solid object)'</td>
<td>sa-kʰai 'break'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kak 'break (sheet etc.)'</td>
<td>sa-kʰak 'tear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cʰt 'break (threat, etc.)'</td>
<td>sa-šd̪t 'break/cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ut 'get holed'</td>
<td>sa-pʰut 'make hole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zū 'be touched'</td>
<td>sa-zū 'touch'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.2.3. Causative /ŋəsək/

The most productive morphological device of causativization in the language is effected by suffixation of the causative /ŋəsək/ 'to cause', 'to allow', 'to permit', 'to let'. It can be added to any verbal root/stem (intransitive, transitive or causativized). This causative morpheme codes causation with both animate and inanimate manipulee.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Causative stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭēp</td>
<td>ṭēp-ŋəsək 'cause to cry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td>mi-ŋəsək 'cause to give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zik</td>
<td>zik-ŋəsək 'blacken', cause to become black'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.2.4. Compounding of causative morphemes

A complex situation is formed when the causative morphemes are combined to code causation. Thus, consider the following sentences:

(1) Aton ṭēp- الخارجي

A. cry-NFUT 'Aton cried' (intransitive)

(2) Aton-li ṭēp- الخارجي

A/ -DAT CAUS-cry-NFUT (Non-AGT manipulee)

'(Somebody) made Aton cry (by not attending her)'

(3) Aton-li ṭēp-ŋəsək- الخارجي

A./-DAT cry-CAUS-NFUT

'(Somebody) made Aton cry' (AGT/Non-AGT manipulee)
(4)  Aton-li sa-ci-cat-∅
   A.-DAT do-CAUS-cry-NFUT  (AGT manipulee)
   ' (Somebody) made Aton cry'  (by pinching her)

(5)  Aton-li sa-ci-cat-ŋ∅s∅∅k-∅
   A.-DAT do-CAUS-cry-CAUS-NFUT
   ' (Somebody) made someone makes Aton cry /
   (Somebody) made Aton makes someone cry ' 

Sentence (5) above is ambiguous because of non-indication of 
the direct and indirect manipulee (in order). Thus, compare 
(6) below :

(6)  (a) John-n∅ Peter-li Aton-li sa-ci-cat-ŋ∅s∅∅k-∅
      'John had Peter makes Aton cry' 

(b) John-n∅ Aton-li Peter-li sa-ci-cat-ŋ∅s∅∅k-∅
      'John had Aton makes Peter cry' 

4.2.3. Reciprocal /ŋ∅s∅∅k/ √
The most general syntactic definition of reciprocals is that 
two like events are at issue, with subject of the first 
being the object of the second, and vice versa. The two 
participants thus act upon each other (reciprocally). Such a 
definition needs to be expanded because in Tangkhul-Naga (as 
may be in many other languages, too), reciprocal 
constructions may also express states, actions or 
arrangements involving two or more people of groups of 
people sharing the same feeling as someone else or behaving
in the same way agreeing to help ‘each other’/‘one another’, and so on. This is illustrated in the following examples. The root ɳɵrok, ‘to go and meet someone coming from the apposite direction’, is suffixed to another root for constructing varied types of reciprocals in the language.

(1)  i-ni  $ao$-ɳɵrok-$\partial$
1-DU beat-RECI-NFUT
‘We (two) beat each other’

(2)  a-ni  $si$-ɳɵrok-$\partial$
3-DU sulk-RECI-NFUT
‘They(both) sulked’ (Feeling bad about each other)

(3)  i-ni  ɳɵhom-ɳɵrok-$\partial$
1-DU chase-RECI-NFUT
‘One of us chase the other’
(Lit: We (two) chased each other)

(4)  i-ni  yon-ɳɵrok-$\partial$
1-DU run-RECI-NFUT
‘We (two) ran (to see who is faster)’

(5)  t$^{b}$ui-k$^{b}$re-pa-$\partial$    m$^{b}$t$^{b}$ot-ɳɵrok-r$\partial$
get up-first-SPEC-NOM    wake-RECI-FUT
‘The one who gets up earlier will wake up the other’

(6)  k$^{c}$ci-ca-wui  ot  sa-ɳɵrok-$\partial$
each-REDU-GEN    work do-RECI-HOR
‘Let each of us do one’s own work’ (No interference in others’ business) (Lit.:? Let’s do work of each each.)
Apart from the above discussed type of reciprocals, there is a distinct group of transitive verbs that are inherently reciprocal. Such verbs may be expressed with 'conjoined subjects' and carry a reciprocal meaning without any reciprocal marking on the verb. Verbs of this type in the language are illustrated below:

(1) (a) a-ni ɗɑmʊ-ɗ
3-DU fight-NFUT 'They (two) fought'
(b) a-ni ɗɑmʊ-ɗɑrʊk-ɗ
3-DU fight-RECI-NFUT 'They (two) fought each other'

(2) (a) a-ni ɗɑpɓɑt-ɗ
3-DU argue-NFUT 'They (two) argued'
(b) a-ni ɗɑpɓɑt-ɗɑrʊk-ɗ
3-DU argue-RECI-NFUT 'They (two) argued each other'

The semantic difference between the two patterns may be that the reciprocals with no distinct morphology are more likely to be interpreted as a fully integrated 'single event', while the ones with reciprocal marker may be interpreted, at least in some contexts, as a succession of separate events. However, at least for some verbs, the distinction may not be clear.
4.3. Tense-aspect-modality

In this section we will consider the morpho-semantic and 'discourse-pragmatic' features clustering the various categories comprising the complex system of tense-aspect-modality. As morphological features, they tend to cluster around the verb. As semantic features, they are intimately involved in the meaning-structure of verbs ('predicates'). They code various facets of the state, event or action. And as discourse-pragmatic features, they play a crucial role in the sequencing of propositions in discourse, in 'foregrounding' or 'backgrounding' them, and in indicating their time truth/certainty/probability modalities vis-à-vis the speaker-hearer contact.

4.3.1. Tense

One may distinguish two tenses in Tangkhul-Naga --(1) Non-future and (2) Future. The relation between the two may be represented diagrammatically as follows:

Tense and time:

```
| Non-future | Future |
```

\[ \uparrow \]

speech time
4.3.1.1. Non-Future

Non-future tense is marked by the suffix /o/. It has three phonologically conditioned allomorphs -- /y/, /i/, /w/. Non-future tense codes an event or state whose event-time or occurrence-time preceded, or is right at, the time of speech. Thus, the suffix /o/ indicates either the past or the present tense. With stative verbs, it may also signal habitual aspect. Thus, consider the following:

(1) nɔ thei-ɔ
   you know-NFUT 'You know/knew'

(2) nɔ kao-wɔ
   you thin-NFUT/HAB 'You are thin'

4.3.1.2. Future

The future tense in the language is marked by the suffix /r/. Example:

i va-rɔ
I go-FUT 'I'll go'

4.3.2. Aspect

Aspect in Tangkhul-Naga, as elsewhere, encompasses a group of heterogeneous semantic and pragmatic categories. Some involve temporal properties such as progressive, inceptive or perfective. Others involve purely pragmatic notions such as relevance or immediacy.
In this study the aspectual system of the language is broadly divided into three categories (1) progressive/durative, (2) punctual and (3) perfect.

4.3.2.1. Progressive/durative

The progressive aspect construes an event as having no initial or terminal boundaries. Its use implies that, from the perspective of the speaker, an event or a state is described in the middle of happening or existence, with its boundaries disregarded and its temporal span accentuated. The progressive aspectuals are divided into the following sub-categories.

4.3.2.1.1. Present progressive/durative \(/li/, /-t\partial lei-y\partial/\)

There are two present progressive markers in the language—(1) \(/li/\) and (2) a compound \(/-t\partial lei-y\partial/\) (where \(/t\partial/\) = the adverbializer/conjunctive particle, \(lei\) = `be', `exist', `have', and \(/y\partial/\) = Non-Future). \(li\) is preferably used only in non-declarative sentences. The following are some examples of present progressive:

(1) (a) \(n\partial k^i sa-li\)  
    you what do-PPROG 'What are you doing'

(b) \(i p^h\partial \partialza-t\partial lei-y\partial\)  
    I eat-ADV be-NFUT
    'I'm eating' (Lit: I exist eating)
(2) (oh?) no-və pi-lui-li
(Oh!) you-TOP sleep-AGAIN-P prog
'(Oh!) You’re sleeping again'

(3) i pi-li
I sleep-P prog 'I’m sleeping'

4.3.2.1.2. Past/future progressive /sa/

Past and future progressive aspects are marked by suffixing
the delexicalized/grammaticalized verb /sa/ 'hear', followed
by non-future and future tense markers respectively.
(Henceforth, sa = 'hear' or PROG(ressive) aspect marker).

(1) (a) Past progressive:
    i pi-sa-i
    I sleep-PROG-NFUT 'I was sleeping'

    (b) Future progressive:
        i pi-sa-rə
        I sleep-PROG-FUT 'I will be sleeping'

(2) (a) Past progressive:
    i pi-tə lei-sa-i
    I sleep-ADV be-PROG-NFUT 'I was sleeping'

    (b) Future progressive:
        i pi-tə lei-sa-rə
        I sleep-ADV be-PROG-FUT 'I will be sleeping'
4.3.2.1.3. Simultaneous progressive /məhuŋ/  

The progressive perspective of an event is often established through bringing the observer on to the scene in the middle of the event where it is already going on. Examples are:

(a) Simultaneous present:
   ɨ pi-məhuŋ-tə lei-yə
   I sleep-SIMUL-ADV be-NFUT
   'I’m in the middle of (my) sleep'

(b) Simultaneous past:
   ɨ pi-məhuŋ-sə-i
   I sleep-SIMUL-PROG-NFUT
   'I was in the middle of (my) sleep'

(c) Simultaneous future:
   ɨ pi-məhuŋ-sə-ro
   I sleep-SIMUL-PROG-FUT
   'I will be in the middle of (my) sleep (when you come)'

4.3.2.1.4. Habitual aspectual /ciŋ/

/ciŋ/ expresses a regular or consistent performance or occurrence of an action or a state. Examples:

(1) Non-future habitual:
   ɨ pi-ciŋ-ə
   I sleep-HAB-NFUT 'I always sleep'
(2) Future habitual:
   \[ i \ pi\-ci\-n\-r\partial \]
   I sleep-HAB-FUT ‘I will always sleep’

(3) Continuous:
   (a) Past: \[ i \ pi\-ci\-n\-sa\-i \]
       I sleep-HAB-PROG-NFUT
       ‘I was still/always sleeping’
   (b) Present: \[ i \ pi\-ci\-n\-t\partial \ lei\-y\partial \]
       I sleep-HAB-ADV be-NFUT
       ‘I am still sleeping’
   (c) Future: \[ i \ pi\-ci\-n\-sa\-r\partial \]
       I sleep-HAB-PROG-FUT
       ‘I will be still sleeping/
        I will be sleeping till then’

4.3.2.1.5. Reduplication as habitual/iterative action

A verb root is reduplicated to signal the habitual/iterative aspect, as in:

(1) Past: \[ i \ va\-va \ ci\-y\partial \]
   I go-go COMP-NFUT
   ‘I used to go’ (Lit: It is that I go go)

(2) Future:
   \[ i \ va\-va \ ci\-r\partial \]
   I go-go COMP-FUT
   ‘I will keep going’ (Lit: Will be that I go go)
4.3.2.1.6. **Inceptive/progressive aspectuals**

The modality verb /p^nok/ 'create' patterns as an inceptive aspectuals marker. (Henceforth p^nok = INCEP(tive) aspectuals marker).

\[ ak^n b m\delta \quad sa-p^n b o k-r\delta \]

tomorrow do-INCEP-FUT 'I will start doing tomorrow'

4.3.2.2. **Immediate aspect /u/**

An exhaustively used discourse particle /u/ is used to render an event or a state more urgent, vivid or immediate. This also involves a manipulation of the pragmatic perspective of the discourse, as if the speaker invites the hearer to be present just before the occurrence of an event, and be more emotionally involved. The immediate aspect contrast with the simple past or future, which code a more 'remote' perspective on the event. The usage of the immediate aspect marker is illustrated below with 'rough' translations:

(1) \[ a-rui \; va-u-r\delta \]
    FX-now go-IMM-FUT
    'I will go now (without any delay)'

(2) \[ va-u-lu \]
    go-IMM-IMP '(You) go (don't delay further)''
4.3.2.3. Punctual aspectual /hao/

/hao/ is a complex punctual/compact/bounded aspect marker. It construes an event or a state as having vivid initial and less-explicit terminal temporal boundaries. Like the immediate aspect marker /u/, the usage of /hao/ also renders the events or states more immediate. It involves a manipulation of the pragmatic perspective of the discourse, as if the narrator invites the hearer to observe a scene from close proximity, taking up the entire event 'frame', so that it is viewed as a protracted object with boundaries on both sides. The punctual perspective may be diagrammatically represented as:

Punctual perspective /hao/ :

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{time flow} & \quad \Downarrow \quad \text{event} \\
& \quad \Downarrow \quad \text{referent time}
\end{align*}
\]

For interpretation of the above diagram, we may consider the following:

(1) ...hi haŋ-ləkə a tʰi-hao-wə
...this say-CP 3SG die-PUNC-NFUT
'...saying this, he/she died'
4.3.2.4. Perfect aspect /ro/

The perfect is functionally the most complex aspect in Tangkhul-Naga. It involves a cluster of features, some more semantic, others more pragmatic. The perfect aspect marker /ro/ is used in combination with other aspect markers in any tense. The perfect is sub-divided into the following groups.

4.3.2.4.1. Immediate present perfect /u-ro/

The immediate present perfect is marked by combining the immediate aspect marker /u/ and the perfect aspect marker /ro/. This is probably used much more frequently in oral narrative, often indicating the tense, truth, certainty, or probability vis-a-vis the speaker-hearer contact. Thus, consider the following:

(1) a-tum ra-u-ro
    3-PL come-IMM-PERF
    'They have come' (standing at the door or only few yards away)
(2) $t^{h}a^{k}-lu$ $Aton$ $t^{h}i-u-r\partial$
quick-IMP A. die-IMM-PERF
'Quick! Aton has died' (Or, is she? Might be she has just fainted or......)

4.3.2.4.2. Present perfect /hai-r\partial/

Present Perfect is marked by combining the grammaticalized verb /hai/ meaning 'leave/keep' with the perfect marker /r\partial/. (Henceforth, hai = 'leave' or PP (past/passive participle)). Some examples of present perfect are:

(1) Aton va-hai-r\partial
A. go-PP-PERF 'Aton has gone'

(2) Aton kao-hai-r\partial
A. thin-PP-PERF 'Aton has become thin'

4.3.2.4.3. Past perfect /hai-r\partial-sa-i/

The past perfect is marked by the combination of the present perfect marker /hai-r\partial/ and progressive /sa/ and non-future /i/. Examples:

(1) Aton va-hai-r\partial-sa-i
A. go-PP-PERF-PROG-NFUT
'Aton had gone' (Lit: Heard Aton has gone)

(2) Aton kao-hai-r\partial-sa-i
A. thin-PP-PERF-PROG-NFUT
'Aton had become thin' (Lit: Heard Aton has become thin)
4.3.2.4.4. Future perfect /hai-rød-sa-rø(-li)/

The Future perfect is marked with or without the present progressive /li/ which expresses preconditioning. Examples:

(1)  i va-hai-rød-sa-rø
    I go-PP-PERF-PROG-FUT 'I will have gone'

(2)  tⁿₐ-oₜⁿₐ a va-hai-rød-sa-rø-li
    so-COND 3SG go-PP-PERF-PROG-FUT-PROG
    'If so/in that case, he/she will have gone'
    (preconditioning/logical conclusion)

4.3.2.5. Other aspectuals

There are several other aspectual markers in the language involving the perfect and the progressive depicting events as ongoing or terminated. One of such aspectual is the use of the grammaticalized verb /ra/ 'come' as a progressive/continuative aspect marker, as in:

(a) Present perfect progressive:
    Aton (kδ-sañₜⁿₐ-kⁿₐ)  cød-ra-hai-rød
    A. (for a long time) cry-come-PP-PERF
    'Aton has been crying (for a long time)'

(b) Past perfect progressive:
    Aton cød-ra-hai-rød-sa-i
    A. cry-come-PP-PERF-PROG-NFUT
    'Aton had been crying'

c) Future perfect progressive:
    Aton cød-ra-hai-rød-sa-rø
    A. 'cry-come-PP-PERF-PROG-FUT
    'Aton will have been crying'
4.3.3. Modality

Of all the widely attested grammatical categories, modality is perhaps the most elusive. Mood distinctions in Tangkhul-Naga often tend to shade off almost imperceptibly into expression of the speaker's attitude and into clearly pragmatic factors, such as the speaker's perceived relationship to other people.

Mood in the language is expressed variously with 'modal auxiliaries' appended to various finite and non-finite verbal forms, with or without the expression of tense and/or aspect. A detailed study of modality is beyond the scope of this work, and we will consider only those which are morphologically distinguishable, such as, imperative, interrogative, hortative, optative, subjunctive, dubitative, permission, obligatory, etc. The various forms and functions of these may be presented as under.

4.3.3.1. Indicative /mə/

Indicative or declarative /mə/ is marked only in negative constructions such as negative declarative or negative yes/no-question. Examples:

1. mə-va-mə-rə
   NEG-GO-IND-FUT '(I) will not go'

2. mə-va-mə-la
   NEG-GO-IND-Q(YN) 'Didn't (you) go?'

3. mə-niŋ-mə-nə
   NEG-be-IND-COP '(It) is not'
4.3.3.2. **Imperative /lu/**

The imperative is marked by the suffix /lu/, as in:

(1) va-lu  
    go-imp (You) go!

(2) tʰak-lu  
    quick-IMP 'Be quick!'

4.3.3.3. **WH-question /kʰələ/**

Interrogative /kʰələ/ is used with 'wh-words' (pronominals and adverbials) and 'non-wh-words' (verbs). With verbs it occurs in negative constructions. Examples:

(1) nə kʰipa-kʰələ  
    you who-Q(WH) 'Who are you?'

(2) nə va-kə mə-va-kʰələ  
    you go-OR NEG-go-Q(WH)  
    'Did you go or not?' (Lit: You went or went not?)

(3) a Aton mə-niŋ-kʰələ  
    3SG A. NEG-be- Q(WH) 'Is she Aton or not?'

4.3.3.4. **Yes/no-question /la/**

In a 'yes/no'-question, /la/ is suffixed to the verb or nominal, as in:

(1) a Aton-la  
    3SG A.-Q(YN) 'Is she Aton?'
(2) a Aton mₙ⁻niₙ⁻mₙ⁻la
   3SG A. NEG-be-IND-Q(YN) 'Is she not Aton?'

(3) a Aton-nₙ mo⁻niₙ⁻mₙ⁻la
   3SG A.-COP NEG-be-IND-Q(YN)
   'She is Aton, isn’t it?'

4.3.3.5. Hortative /sₙ}$/sₙ}$/ is suffixed to express an exhortation, as in:

   (1) i⁻tₙₕum va⁻sₙ
       1-PL go-HOR 'Let's go'

   (2) tₙₕak⁻sₙ
       quick-HOR 'Let's be quick'

4.3.3.6. Entative /kₙ}$/kₙ}$/ is suffixed to verbs to express request or offering, etc., as in:

   (1) i va⁻kₙ
       I go-ENTR 'Let me go' (request/offer)

   (2) i⁻nₙ sa⁻mi⁻kₙ
       I-NOM do-give-ENTR 'Let me do (it) (for you)'

4.3.3.7. Optative /rₙυ₀}$/rₙυ₀}$/ The optative suffix /rₙυ₀}$/ expresses realizable wishes or hopes, as in:

   (1) vôre⁻nₙ so⁻mi⁻rₙυ₀
       God-NOM bless-give-OPT 'May God bless you'
(2) ci tʰa-rūno
    that so-OPT 'So be it' (Lit: Let that be so)

4.3.3.8. Dubitative /mɔrao/

The Dubitative suffix /mɔrao/ expresses the meaning 'perhaps it is so', 'it is likely to... etc. Thus, consider the following examples:

(1) Aton ra-mɔrao-wo
    A. come-DUBI-NFUT
    'Aton is likely to come/Aton might come'

(2) ci tʰa-mɔrao-la?
    that so-DUBI-Q 'Can that be so?'

4.3.3.9. Potential/capability /rɔr/, /sɔp/, /tʰuk/

The verbs /rɔr/ 'can', 'be able', /sɔp/ 'can', 'be fit', 'be enough', and /tʰuk/ 'be able' are sometimes used interchangeably to express potentiality or capability. However, /rɔr/ is preferably used to express ability; /sɔp/ is often ambiguous as it may express ability of a doer in respect of an action, or the quantity/quality of the object. Thus, consider the following:

(1) i hi za-sɔp-ɔ
    I this eat-POT-NFUT
    'I can eat this' (because: (1) I have physical strength or (2) the rice is not too much)
(2) i hi za-rər-ə
I this eat-POT-NFUT
'I can eat this' (because: (1) I have the
courage or (2) I have physical strength).

(3) i hi kən-tnək-ə
I this lift-POT-NFUT
'I can lift this' (because I am strong)

4.3.3.10. Permission/possibility /pai/

The verb /pai/ 'be easy' is used to express either
permission or possibility or both. Examples are:

(1) nə va-pai-yə
you go-POSB/PERM-NFUT
'You can / may go' (permission/possibility)

(2) nə i-li sao-pai-rə
you I-DAT beat-PERM-FUT
'You can beat me' (permission)

4.3.3.11. Probability /lə-pai/

Probability may be expressed by infixing the adverbial
particle /lə/ 'also' between the modal verb /pai/ 'be easy'
and the main verb or nominal stem, as in:

(1) a Aton-lə-pai-yə
3SG A.-ALSO-PROB-NFUT
'She might be Aton' (Lit: Being Aton is also easy)

(2) nə yon-lə-pai-yə
you wrong-ALSO-PROB-NFUT 'May be you are wrong'

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$l^\partial$-pai-suffixed forms does not allow further suffixation of future tense even if an action is to take place in the future. Thus, consider:

(3) Aton ra-$l^\partial$-pai-$y^\partial$
   A. come-ALSO-PROB-NFUT
   'May be Aton will come/Aton may come'

*(4) Aton ra-$l^\partial$-pai-$r^\partial$
   A. come-ALSO-PROB-FUT 'Aton will/may come'

4.3.3.12. Desiderative /$\eta$ai/

The auxiliary verb /$\eta$ai/ 'want' is suffixed to verbal stems to express the sense of 'wanting' or 'desire'. Examples:

(1) i va-$\eta$ai-$y^\partial$
   I go-DES-NFUT 'I want to go'

(2) i-li cop-$\eta$ai-$y^\partial$
   I-DAT cry-DES-NFUT
   'I feel like crying/I want to cry'

4.3.3.13. Obligatory/necessitative /$p^h\partiallu^\eta$/, /$\eta$ôyi/

/$p^h\partiallu^\eta$/ 'must' expresses obligation or compulsion; /$\eta$ôyi/ 'ought to' expresses obligation, or necessity. Thus, consider the following examples:

(1) i va-$p^h\partiallu^\eta$-$r^\partial$
   I go-OBLG-FUT
   'I must go' (compulsive/obligatory)
(2)  nə  va-ŋdyi-yə
you go-OBLG-NFUT
'You ought/need to go' (necessary, reasonable, advisable)

4.3.3.14. Impudence /reŋ/ 'dare'

This modal suffix expresses meanings such as 'to be brave enough to do something difficult or dangerous', or 'to be rude or foolish enough to do something that one has no right to do'. Thus, consider the following:

(1)  i-man  pi-reŋ-ə
I-ONLY sleep-DARE-NFUT
'I dare (to) sleep alone' (I'm not afraid)

(2)  i  mə-haŋ-reŋ-mə-nə
I NEG-say-DARE-IND-COP
'I dare not speak' (I'm afraid/ I feel shy)

4.3.3.15. Advisability /suggestive /tʰu/

This suffix expresses advice or suggestion indicating the sense of 'do this thing instead of wasting time in other things'. Examples:

(1)  lairik-pa  pa-tʰu-lu
book-SPEC read-SUG-IMP
'Study! (instead of wasting time watching TV, etc.)'

(2)  a-rui  va-tʰu-rə
now  go-SUG-FUT
'(I) will go now(instead of unnecessarily delaying)'

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Seek(ye) (the) kingdom of God (instead of indulging in worldly pleasures)'

4.3.3.16. Prohibitive /šar/

This suffix expresses the meaning 'God/heaven forbids...', as in:

(1) mi sa-tšat-šar-ð
man do-kill-FORBID-NFUT
'(Thou) shalt not kill' (Bible, Exodus 20:13)

(2) a-vū a-va-li ŋomū-šar-ð
FX-mother FX-father-DAT fight-FORBID-NFUT
'One should not fight with (his/her) parents'

4.3.3.17. Presumptive /mð/  

The presumptive marker /mð/ expresses believing something to be true because it is very likely, as in:

(1) Aton ra-mð-rð-i
A. come-PRESUM-FUT-SPE
'Aton will come (as expected/usual/believed)'
(though it is late now, etc.)

(2) i va-mð-rð
I go-PRESUM-FUT
'I will go (as expected/usual/believed)'
(though I don't want to go, etc.)
4.3.3.18. Subjunctive /ni/, /si/, /ki/, /lù/

These are various subjunctive forms used in subordinate clauses or independent clauses to express hypothesis or non-factuality. /ni/, /si/, /ki/, /lù/ are some of the most commonly used contracted form of combining the subjunctive marker /i/ with modal auxiliaries.

(1) /ni/.

This is a contracted form of combining the copula /nö/ and subjunctive /i/. /ni/ is suffixed to nominals to express condition or concession. Thus, compare (1) with (2) and (3):

(1) hi sina-nö
    this gold-COP 'This is gold'

(2) hi sina-ni kö-ci-yö pha-rö
    this gold-COP+SBJNC NOMZ-that-TOP good-FUT
    'If this were gold (it) will be good'

(3) i nö-ni kö-ci-yö.....
    I you-COP+SBJNC NOMZ-that-TOP
    'If I were you.....'

(ii) /si/ is a contracted form of combining the hortative /sö/ and subjunctive /i/. It is used in clauses of hypothetical condition and is suffixable to any verbal stem/root, and the reference is to non-future or future time. Thus, examine the following:
(1) \textit{i-t\textsuperscript{b}um va-s\textcircled{\texttheta}}
\begin{align*}
\text{IP-PL} & \text{ go-HOR} \quad \text{‘Let’s go’ (hortative/suggestive)}
\end{align*}

(2) \textit{i-t\textsuperscript{b}um va-si-la}
\begin{align*}
\text{IP-PL} & \quad \text{go-HOR+SBJNC-Q(YN)}
\end{align*}
\text{‘Should/shall we go?’ (If you are willing?)}

(3) \textit{va-si k\textcircled{\textdelta}-ci-y\textcircled{\textdelta} p\textsuperscript{b}a-r\textcircled{\textdelta}}
\begin{align*}
\text{go-HOR+SBJNC NOMZ-that-TOP good-FUT}
\end{align*}
\text{‘If (we) were/are to go, it will be good’}

(iii) /ki/ is formed by combining entreative /k\textcircled{\textdelta}/ and subjunctive /i/. It is suffixed to verbal stems/roots to express command, suggestion, or possibility. Thus, compare (1) with (2) and (3) below:

(1) \textit{i va-k\textcircled{\textdelta}}
\begin{align*}
\text{I go-ENTR} & \quad \text{‘Let me go’}
\end{align*}

(2) \textit{n\textcircled{\textdelta} va-ki-la}
\begin{align*}
\text{you go-ENTR+SBJNC-Q(YN)} & \quad \text{‘Would you go?’}
\end{align*}

(3) \textit{n\textcircled{\textdelta} va-ki k\textcircled{\textdelta}-ci-n\textcircled{\textdelta}}
\begin{align*}
\text{you go-ENTR+SBJNC NOMZ-that-COP}
\end{align*}
\text{‘You are to go’}

(iv) /lu/ is a contracted form of combining imperative /lu/ and subjunctive /i/. It occurs in reported/quotative speech. Thus, compare (1) with (2) below:

(1) \textit{n\textcircled{\textdelta} ra-lu}
\begin{align*}
\text{you come-IMP} & \quad \text{‘You come!’}
\end{align*}
4.4 Negation

Tangkhul-Naga has only one negative affix /mə/ which is used for both morphological and syntactic negation. There are no other negators or negative auxiliaries except nasal ə or ɒ 'no' and ɳkəi 'I won't'. The negative morpheme /mə/ may be prefixed to inflected or derived verbal stems, verbal nouns, adjectivals and adverbials.

There is also a negative indicative marker /mə/ which is suffixed to inflected verbal, adjectival and adverbial bases. The level-toned indicative /mə/ has been often misinterpreted by many scholars as synonymous with the high-toned negative /mə/. The indicative /mə/ occurs only in negative declaratives and negative yes-no questions. We can now examine some of the morpho-syntax of negation.

4.4.1. Negative /m/ or /ə/ and /ɳkəi/

The nasal ə or /ə/ 'no' and ɳkəi 'no', 'I won't', 'Let me not' are used in negative answers or responses. ɳkəi seems to be a contracted form of combining ə 'no' and entative /kə/ 'let me...'. The occurrence of these negative words is illustrated in the following:

(2) nə-li ra-lū ci-yə
you-DAT come-IMP+SBJNC COMP-NFUT
'You are 'told' to come'

\[ mə + \text{inflected or derived verbal stem} \]

\[ mə + \text{inflected verbal, adjectival and adverbial bases} \]
(1) (a) Yes-no question:

\[ n\theta \ ³\text{-}li \ ³\text{bei-la} \]

you 3SG-DAT know-Q(YN) 'Do you know him/her?'

(b) Negative Response:

\[ \tilde{\theta}, \ (m\theta-³\text{bei-m\theta-n\theta}) \]

no, (NEG-know-IND-COP)

'No! ((I) don’t know (him/her))'

(2) (a) Wh-question:

\[ n\theta \ \text{Aton-li} \ m\theta-³\text{bei-³\text{k} \text{lo}} \]

you A.-DAT NEG-know-Q(WH)

'Do you know Aton or not?'

(b) Negative response:

\[ \tilde{\theta}, \ m\theta-³\text{bei-m\theta-n\theta} \]

no, NEG-know-IND-COP 'No! ((I) don’t know (her))'

(3) (a) Imperative:

\[ i-li \ m\theta-lu \]

I-DAT give-IMP 'Give me'

(b) Negative response:

\[ \eta\kappa\deltai \ (, m\theta-m\theta-r\delta) \]

no (NEG-give-IND-FUT) 'No! ((I) won’t give)'

4.4.2. Negation of NP, VP, ADJP and ADVP

As mentioned above, negative the morpheme /m\theta/ is prefixed to inflected verbal, adjectival, adverbial and verbal noun bases to negate them. In case of noun phrases, the verb /ni\eta/ 'to be' is negated. Negation of the various phrases is illustrated below:
(1) (a) a Aton-nd
3SG A.-COP 'She is Aton'

(b) a Aton mo-nd
3SG A. NEG-be-IND-COP 'She is not Aton'

(2) (a) Aton ko-pba mi-nd
A. NOMZ-good person-COP

'Aton is a good person'

(b) Aton mo-ko-pba NEG-NOMZ-good person-COP

'Aton is a bad person'

(Lit: Aton is a person not being good)

(3) (a) Aton kə-pb mi mo-nd
A. NOMZ-good person NEG-be-IND-COP

'Aton is not a good person'

(b) Aton mo-ko-pba NEG-NOMZ-good person NEG-be-IND-COP

'Aton is not a bad person'

(Lit: Aton is not a not-good person)

(4) (a) Aton-wui kə-pb təi-yə
A.-GEN NOMZ-good know-NFUT

'(I) know Aton's goodness'

(b) Aton-wui mo-kə-pb təi-yə
A.-GEN NEG-NOMZ-good know-NFUT

'(I) know Aton’s badness'

(Lit: Knew Aton’s not being good)
(5) (a) Aton \( ri\eta-p^b a-t\partial \) \( ri\eta-\partial \)  
A. live-good-ADV live-NFUT  
'Aton lives happily'

(b) Aton \( m\partial-ri\eta-p^b a-l\partial \) \( ri\eta-\partial \)  
A. NEG-live-good-CP live-NFUT  
'Aton lives unhappily'

(c) Aton \( ri\eta-p^b a-t\partial \) \( m\partial-ri\eta-m\partial-n\partial \)  
A. live-good-ADV NEG-live-IND-COP  
'Aton does not live happily'

Note that in negating adverbials the adverbializer /\( t\partial /\) is replaced by the particle /\( l\partial /\) 'also', 'even', as in (5)(b) above. This is discussed in more detail in the following.

4.4.3. Constituent negation and emphatic denial

Tangkhul-Naga has also a complex type of negation, whereby the negative marker attaches itself semantically to one of the non-verbal constituents of the clause, such as the subject, direct/indirect object, nominal/pronominal predicate or adverb. In constituent negation not only does the event not occur with the listed participants, but one of the participants is not even involved. As a speech-act, emphatic denial of this type is even more contrary than the normal VP negation. And the semantic effect of such negation on the noun phrase in question is to render it non-referring.

In negation of this type, /\( a-k^b \partial-1\partial /\) 'one also', 'even one' occurs with nouns and /\( k^b \partial-1\partial /\) 'one also', 'even one' is
suffixed to pronominals and adverbs. Thus, consider the following sentences:

1) (a) mi a-kʰ dol ra-i
   person FX-one come-NFUT 'One person came'

(b) mi a-kʰa-lə mə-ra-mə-nə
   person FX-one-ALSO NEG-come-IND-COP
   'No one came' (Lit: One person also did not come)

2) (a) kʰi-pa ra-kʰ dolə
   what-SPEC come-Q(WH)
   who 'Who came?'

(b) kʰi-pa-kʰ dolə mə-ra-mə-nə
   who-ONE-ALSO NEG-come-IND-COP
   'Nobody/no one came'
   (Lit: Who-one-also did not come)

3) (a) kʰi-pa-li mi-rú-kʰ dolə
   who-DAT give-FUT+SBJNC-Q(WH)
   'Whom would (you) give?'

(b) kʰi-pa-li-kʰdə-lə mə-mi-lu
   who-DAT-ONE-ALSO NEG-give-IMP
   'Don't give to anybody'
   (Lit: Don't give to who-one-also)

4) (a) kə-ci-li va-rə-kʰ dolə
   WH-that-LOC go-FUT-Q(WH) 'Where will (you) go ?'
4.4.4. Double negation

Double negation occurs quite legitimately in two-clause or single-clause sentences, where, in a sense, the two negatives do indeed cancel each other out. Often, double-negative constructions form 'litotes' -- the figure of speech in which, for the sake of effect, affirmation is expressed as negative of its contrary. The occurrence of double negative in the language is illustrated below:

(1)  
no \( m\vartheta-k^b\vartheta-va \) \( m\vartheta-sa-pai-m\vartheta-r\vartheta \)
you NEG-NOMZ-go NEG-do-POSB-IND-FUT
'You may not do not going' (You must go)

(2) (a) Aton \( m\vartheta-k\vartheta-zik \) \( m\vartheta-ni\eta-m\vartheta-n\vartheta \)
A. NEG-NOMZ-black NEG-be-IND-COP
'Aton is not unblack' (= very/rather black)

Compare (b) below:

(b)(i) Aton \( m\vartheta-zik-m\vartheta-n\vartheta \)
A. NEG-black-IND-COP 'Aton is not black'

(ii) Aton \( k\vartheta-zik \) \( m\vartheta-ni\eta-m\vartheta-n\vartheta \)
A. NOMZ-black NEG-be-IND-COP
'It is not that Aton is black'
4.4.5. Negative intensifiers

There are two intensifiers /phut/ 'at all' and /lak/ 'very much', 'definitely'. /phut/ occurs only in negative constructions, and /lak/ occurs both in negative and non-negative constructions. In negative sentences /lak/ expresses the meaning 'at all' or 'ever'. Examples:

(1) (a) i va-lak-rə
I go-INTSF-FUT 'I will definitely go'

(b) i mə-va-lak-mə-rə
I NEG-go-INTSF-IND-FUT 'I will never go'

(c) i mə-va-phut-mə-rə
I NEG-go-INTSF-IND-FUT 'I won't go at all'

(2) (a) i va-lui-rə
I go-AGAIN-FUT 'I'll go again'

(b) i mə-va-lui-mə-rə
I NEG-go-AGAIN-IND-FUT 'I'll not go again'

(c) i mə-va-lui-phut-mə-rə
I NEG-go-AGAIN-INTSF-IND-FUT
'I'll not go again at all'

(d) i mə-va-lui-lak-mə-rə
I NEG-go-AGAIN-INTSF-IND-FUT
'I'll never go again'/'I'll definitely not go again'

4.4.6. Negative raising

Negation of a subordinate clause may optionally be expressed by negating the verb of the higher clause, that is, the verb
belonging to the meaning category of subjective opinion, such as /tʰa/ 'seem', 'appear', 'be so'. Examples:

(1) a kə-kəza mə-tʰa-mə-nə
3SG NOMZ-sick NEG-seem-IND-COP
'He/she doesn't seem to be sick'

compare (2) below:

(2) a mə-kə-kəza tʰa-i
3SG NEG-NOMZ-sick seem-NFUT
'He/she seems to be not being sick'

4.5. Complementizers and subordinating conjunctions

In many languages of the world (including many of the Tibeto-Burman languages), a that complementizer is marked by the verb 'say'. The Tangkhul-Naga situation is very complex as both the verb ci 'be that' and the conjunctive particle /tə/ can function as complementizers and quotatives. Structurally, the verb ci behaves like any other verb and occurs with all the inflectional morphemes, including the conjunctive particle /tə/. The morpheme /tə/ is also rather remarkable. It occurs with a wide range of functions, including a that-complementizer; and adverbial subordinator introducing clauses of purpose, result, reason; and a component of miscellaneous adverbials. Detailed discussion of the complementizers is beyond the scope of this paper,
and we will examine only some basic morpho-syntactic characteristics of them.

4.5.1. Noun versus predicate complementation

The most challenging semantic and syntactic problems presented by the phenomena of Tangkhul-Naga sentential complementation are found within the different types of complementation. Of particular difficulty is the question of accounting for the distribution of the particle /tə/ and the verb ci 'be that'. One major difference between them is that /tə/ is realized as the predicate 'complementizer' while ci is realized as the 'Noun complementizer'. To illustrate this syntactic test, we can observe the effects of applying the role of cleft formation to sentences with tə COMP and ci COMP.

(1) Noun complementation:
(a) Aton tʰi-hai-rə kə-ci pao ci sa-i
   A. die-PP-PERF NOMZ-that news that hear-NFUT
   '(I) heard the news that Aton has died'
(b) i-nə kə-sa-ə Aton tʰi-hai-rə kə-ci pao ci-nə
   I-NOM NOMZ-hear-TOP A. die-PP-PERF COMP news that-COP
   'What I heard was the news that Aton has died'

(2) Predicate complementation:
(a) i-nə Aton tʰi-hai-rə tə sa-i
    I-NOM A. die-PP-PERF CP hear-NFUT
    'I heard (that) Aton has died'
In the above examples, the cleft sentence of (1)(a) is grammatical while that of (2)(b) is not. This is because the underlined sequence of (1)(a) is an NP because it can be 'isolated' by the cleft construction of (1)(b), while the underlined sequence of (2)(a) is not an NP because its occurrence in the pre-copular (NP) position of (2)(b) is precluded. Similar conclusions can be reached by observing the effects of applying such transformations as the topicalization.

4.5.2. ci and to as quotatives

Both the verb ci and the adverbial particle to can introduce direct speech where the exact words of the speaker are quoted. Examples:

(1)(a) a-li fu ci-lu
3SG-DAT dog that-IMP 'Call him/her 'Dog"
(b) a-li fu to ho-lu
3SG-DAT dog QT call-IMP 'Call him/her 'Dog"

(2)(a) i va-ro ci-yo
I go-FUT that-NFUT '(Somebody) said: 'I'll go"
(b) i va-ro to ha1-o
I go-FUT QT say-NFUT '(Somebody)said: 'I'll go"
4.5.3 ci as a full verb

ci behaves as a 'full' verb by taking all the inflectional affixes. In actual usage ci can be synonymous with a number of verbs such as 'say', 'think', 'act', etc., that is, ci can be represented by a number of verbs. ｔ does occur as a complementizer, quotative particle or subordinator occurring with ci or verbs synonymous with ci. Thus, consider the following examples:

1. \( \text{nao ci cōp-rō ci-tō sa-i} \)
   baby DET cry-FUT that-CP do-NFUT

   'The baby looked/acted/behaved to start crying'

2. (a) \( \text{nao ci mō-za-mō-rō ci-hao-wō} \)
   baby DET NEG-eat-IND-FUT that-PUNC-NFUT

   'The acted baby that he/she won't eat'

   (b) \( \text{nao ci mō-za-mō-rō-tō cōp-hao-wō} \)
   baby DET NEG-eat-IND-FUT-CP cry-PUNC-NFUT

   'The baby cried (meaning) that he/she won't eat'

3. (a) \( \text{nao ci cōp-ki ci-hai-rō} \)
   baby DET cry-SBJNC that-PP-PERF

   'The baby is about to cry'

   (Lit: It has been that the baby is to cry)

   (b) \( \text{nao ci cōp-ki-tō mai mer-pōk-hai-rō} \)
   baby DET cry-SBJNC-CP face mellow-start-PP-PERF

   'The baby has started 'mellowing' his/her face in order to cry'
(4) (a) \( n\dot{a} \ p^h a-i \ m\dot{a}-ci-lu \)
you good-NFUT NEG-that-IMP

'Don’t ‘think’ that you are good'

(b) \( n\dot{a} \ p^h a-i-t\dot{a} \ m\dot{a}-p^h \dot{a}ni\eta-lu \)
you good-NFUT-CP NEG-think-IMP

'Don’t think that you are good'

4.5.4 ci and t\(\ddot{a}\) in frozen combinations

ci and t\(\ddot{a}\) occur in a number of more-or-less frozen combinations in which their earlier complementizer identity may or may not be seen. They are combined with other morphemes to form idiomatic expressions and subordinating conjunctions. (For the latter, see discussion on ‘Adverbials’ in chapter 3). Some of the resulting combinations are exemplified below:

(1) \( ci-lak-\ddot{a} \)
that-INTSF-NFUT ‘That’s it!’

(2) \( ci \ t^h a-r\ddot{u}no \)
that like-OPT
‘So be it’ (Lit : Let (it) be like that )

(3) \( ci \ t^h a-t\ddot{a} \ sa-t\ddot{a} \)
that like-ADV do-ADV
‘Thus’(Lit: Doing like that)

(4) \( k\ddot{a}-t^h a-t\ddot{a} \)
WH-like-ADV ‘How?’
Thus, we have seen that ci and to have a complex morpho-syntactic and semantic relations. People tend to say or act what they think, and to believe what they say or perform; the pragmatic distance is small between saying/acting and thinking, feeling, believing, and knowing. The verb ci corresponds to what is 'thought', 'said', 'performed' or 'believed'. For instance, when the thought is not actually uttered, the verb ci introduces the clause which expresses the thought. When there is no actual speaking, the sense of the verb ci is metaphorical rather than literal; the thought or idea is left unsaid. In other words, ci 'be that' is what is 'say' complementizer is many other languages, and that it has a syntactically conditioned counterpart, the adverbializer or conjunctive particle to, which occurs with verbs 'substituting' ci.

4.6. Non-Finite Verb Forms

Non-finite verbs in Tangkhul-Naga are formed by affixing the nominalizer or non-finite marker /kō/ ~ /kʰə/ and a number of adverbial particles. (See also the discussion on adverbial particles in chapter 3). Non-finite verbs have both positive and negative forms. Furthermore, they can be
inflected for aspect, mood and modal auxiliaries, except tense.

The following are some examples of infinitivalized, participialized or nominalized verbal forms in the language. In this section /kɔ/ ~ /kʰɔ/ will be interpreted variably as either nominalizer (NOMZ) or non-finite marker (NF). Affixation of /kɔ/ ~ /kʰɔ/ is of two types -- (1) prefixation and (2) infixation; it is prefixed to single-root verbs and infixed by 'prefixing' to the final root in compound and agglutinated verbs.

4.6.1 Non-finite non-future

Non-future infinitives, present participles or verbal nouns are formed by affixing /kɔ/ ~ /kʰɔ/ to the verb roots. Examples:

Finite: (1) i pi-yɔ

I sleep-NFUT 'I sleep/slept'

(2) i nɔ-li yɔnɔ-ʃi-yɔ

I you-DAT look-bad-NFUT be hostile

'I’m hostile to you'

Non-finite:

(1) tʰak-tɔ kɔ-pi tɔm-lu

quick-ADV NF-sleep learn-IMP

'Learn sleeping/to sleep early'
(2) yōŋ-kə-ši  mə-pʰa-mə-nə
look-NF-bad NEG-good-IND-COP

'Hostility/to be hostile is not good'

4.6.2. Non-finite past participle

Non-finite past participle is formed by infixing/kə/~/kʰə/ before the past participle marker hai. (hai is a grammaticalized verb meaning 'to keep/leave'). Examples:

Finite:  həm ci kai-hai-rə
pot that break-PP-PERF 'The pot has broken'

Non-finite:

(1) kai-kə-hai  həm ci kʰui-ra-lu
break-NF-PP pot that take-come-IMP

'Bring the broken pot'

(2) həm ci kai-kə-hai tʰa-i
pot that break-NF-PP seem-NFUT

'The pot seems to have been broken'

4.6.3. Non-finite progressive participle

The progressive participle consists of the non-finite marker followed by the delexicalized verb sa 'to hear'. Thus, in the following example sa behaves as a progressive (PROG) marker:

Finite:

i zət-sa-i
I go-hear-NFUT

'I was going' (Lit:??(Somebody) heard that I go)
Non-finite:
I zøt-kø-sa tʰei-ɣɑ
I go-NF-PROG see-NFUT ‘(Somebody) saw me going’

4.6.4. Non-finite perfect/past continuous participle

Perfect or past continuous participle is formed by combining past participle hai ‘leave’ and progressive ša ‘hear’ and infixing the non-finite marker. (Possible translations are marked with '?'). Examples:

Finite:  nɑ zøt-hai-rø-sa-i
you go-PP-PERF-PROG-NFUT
‘?You had gone/You had been going’

Non-finite:  nɑ zøt-hai-rø-kø-sa tʰei-ɣɑ
you go-PP-PERF-NF-PROG know-NFUT
‘(I)knew you having gone/having been going’

4.6.5. Nominalized verb and verb agreement

Non-finite or nominalized forms of Tangkhul-Naga verbs come in a variety of ‘semi-finite’ forms, that is, forms that retain some aspect marking. However, there is no agreement in tense. Thus, a distinction is made between finite verb predicates and non-finite/nominalized verb predicates. Nominalized forms can take only the nominal or negated verbal predicative copula /nɑ/ which finite verb forms do not take. This is exemplified below:
1. Verbal predicate:

\(i\ cao\ re\eta-\partial\)
I deer hunt-NFUT 'I hunt deer'

2. Nominal predicate:

(1) \(hi\ cao-n\partial/^\partial\)
this deer-COP/*NFUT 'This is (a) deer'

(2) \(i\ cao\ k^h\partial-re\eta-n\partial/^\partial\)
I deer NOMZ-hunt-COP/*NFUT
'I'm deer-hunting/I hunt deer'

(3) \(i\ cao\ k^h\partial-re\eta-\partial-n\partial\)
I deer NOMZ-hunt-AGT-COP 'I'm (a) deer-hunter'

3. Negated verbal predicate:

(1) \(hi\ cao\ m\partial-ni\eta-m\partial-n\partial\)
this deer NEG-be-IND-COP 'This is not (a) deer'

(2) \(i\ cao\ m\partial-re\eta-m\partial-n\partial\)
I deer NEG-hunt-IND-COP 'I do not hunt deer'

(3) \(i\ cao\ m\partial-k^h\partial-re\eta-n\partial\)
I deer NEG-NOMZ-hunt-COP
'I'm not deer-hunting' (I do something else)

(4) \(i\ cao\ k^h\partial-re\eta\ m\partial-ni\eta-m\partial-n\partial\)
I deer NOMZ-hunt NEG-be-IND-COP
'It's not deer-hunting (that) I do'

4.7. Serial verbs

The term 'serial verb' is generally used to refer to a surface string of verbs or verb-like items which occur within what appears to be a single clause. In such
constructions there is typically a semantic relationship of some sort between the two verbs (hereafter referred to as V₁ and V₂). Thus, consider the following examples:

(1)  
i-no  kʰui-ra-rə  
I-NOM take-come-FUT  'I will bring'

(2)  
i-no  šao-mi-rə  
I-NOM beat-give-FUT  
'I will beat (someone for somebody)'

(3)  
pʰḥonə-un-rə  
think-come-FUT  '(I) will remember'

In (1) above ra 'come' function as a directional complement to kʰui 'take' providing the gloss 'bring'. In (2) above mi 'give' is lexically empty and ambiguous in meaning between 'dative' and 'benefactive'; thus the sentence may mean either 'to beat (to teach a lesson); 'to beat (for someone’s benefaction) or 'to beat' (on behalf of someone). mi 'give' in such constructions, thus, occurs as an 'explicator'. (Explicator compound verb are discussed separately in the next section). In (3) above, the verbs seem to work as a compound or an idiom, since the meanings in isolation (pʰḥonə 'think' and un 'come' or 'return to earlier place') are not directly relatable to their gloss 'remember' in the serial sentence.

Few linguist have attempted to define 'serial verbs' with any degree of rigor, and not only has the notion of 'serial verbs' sometimes been vague, but a satisfactory definition
of the category 'verb' has not been always available. Thus, in case of Tangkhul-Naga, in particular, 'verb' has been the subject of considerable confusion.

To make any progress at all in the present study, the indecision or debate as to whether the phenomena in question are correctly to be analyzed as phrase structure (syntactic) or lexical phenomena, or by means of transformations, is not explored.

4.7.1 Identifying characteristics

The principal criteria which a 'serial verb', having the sequence of the form \( V_1 V_2 \), must meet for inclusion in this section are:

(i) Both \( V_1 \) and \( V_2 \) have only one overtly expressed (syntactic) subject;

(ii) No conjunctive particle or tense-aspect marker should separate (by infixation) the verb in sequence;

(iii) Both \( V_1 \) and \( V_2 \) should be interpreted as having the same tense;

(iv) Negation (marked by prefixation to \( V_1 \)) and tense-aspect-modality (marked by suffixation to \( V_2 \)) apply to the whole string;

(v) Both \( V_1 \) and \( V_2 \) must be lexical verbs, and must be capable of appearing as the only verb in a simple
sentence, excepting the delexicalized verbs like šuŋ 'reach' and transitivized/causativized verbs such as tʰʰt 'kill', or kʰai 'break', which occurs only in V₂ position.

We have spoken of 'serial' sequences as if they consisted of two verbs exactly, but in fact this is often not the case. Up to seven verbs (including modal auxiliaries) may occur in a sequence (probably more in theory), as in:

\[ m\theta-va-ŋ\theta pʰt-kʰai-kʰui-ŋŋ-mi-ŋŋai-m\theta-n\theta \]

NEG-go-hit-break-take-come-give-want-IND-COP

'(I)don't want to go, hit, break and bring(for someone)' (Lit: Don't want to go-hit-break-take-come-give)

Such constructions, as in the above sentence, would require more strenuous lexical, semantic and syntactic analysis, and in the present study it will considerably simplify our exposition if we stick with the fiction that just two verbs are involved.

4.7.2. Serialization as coordination and subordination

Serial verbs may be coordinating or subordinating. In coordinate structure two or more verbs expressing different successive actions or states simultaneous with another state or action (but having the same subject) are merely joined together without separating the sequence by any grammatical morpheme. In this case two or more sentences are thrown or
contracted into one, and the verbs are coordinate in meaning. Thus, consider the following:

(1) Aton-nə ra-kʰui-rə
     A.-NOM  come-take-FUT
     'Aton will come and take'
     (< Aton will come. Aton will take).

In subordinate sense, V₁ is the principal or adverbial and V₂ is either the principal or an auxiliary verb, supplying, as it were, directionality, forming or introducing a complement or adjunct; or supplemental, forming part of the verb phrase. The actions expressed by both V₁ and V₂ are simultaneous and in an 'internal' or inseparable relation or connection. In this case, the supplemental verb V₂ is coordinate only in form but subordinate in sense. Thus, consider (2) below:

(2) Aton-nə kʰui-ra-rə
     A-NOM   take-come-FUT 'Aton will bring'

(1) and (2) above both consist of the verbs kʰui 'take' and ra 'come' but mere ordering of the verbs results coordinating and subordinating structures. This shows that there is a strict ordering relationship between the verbs, and changes in the ordering results in quite different meanings or actions.
In the following discussion, subordinating and coordinating structures will be demonstrated by changing the ordering relationship as far as practicable.

4.7.2.1. Verbs occurring as V₁ or V₂

We can now examine some of the verbs which can occur as V₂ in coordinating and subordinating constructions. Often, the supplemental V₂ expresses various meanings. Verbs can be classified into different groups according to their semantic and syntactic relationships.

1. Directional and motion verb ra 'come' may express varied but related meanings in V₁ and V₂ positions. Examples:

   (a) Aton-no ra-ho-i
       A.-NOM come-call-NFUT  'Aton came and call'

   (b) Aton-no ho-ra-i
       A.-NOM call-come-NFUT
       'Aton came calling (one person after another)/
       Aton call towards (somebody)/Aton call (somebody) and bring (him/her)/
       Aton came calling/has been calling (somebody some name)'

2. The verb yƏn 'look' expresses either 'to look', 'to see' or 'to try', 'to see what (it is) like', as in:

   (a) cycle ci i-nə ton-yən-ko
       cycle that I-NOM ride-see-ENT
       'Let me ride the cycle and see (whether I can
ride or whether is comfortable or not, etc.)'

b) \( i \ \eta\eta \text{-va-}r\alpha \)
I look-go-FUT
'I will look away/over (that side)/I will go looking (all the way)'

3. Directional verbs occur both as \( V_1 \) and \( V_2 \) as in :

(a) \( i-n\theta \ \eta\eta \text{-}n\text{m-}r\alpha/\text{va/sok/}z\eta/\text{ka/}t\text{a-}r\alpha \)
I-NOM push-come/go/out/in/up/down-FUT
'I will push towards/away/out/in/up/down'

(b) \( i-n\theta \ \eta\eta \text{-}r\alpha/\text{va/sok/}z\eta/\text{ka/}t\alpha-n\text{m-}r\alpha \)
I-NOM come/go/out/in/up/down-push-FUT
'I will come/go/go out/go in/go up/go down and push'

4. Verb of motion or change of position/state \( t^h\text{ui} \) 'be up/away' occurs as \( V_1 \) or \( V_2 \), and expresses the meaning 'rise', 'rise up', 'be away', etc. Thus compare (1) with (2), (3), (4) and (5) below:

(1) \( t^h\text{ui-u-}s\alpha \)
arise/away-IMM-ENTR 'Let's get up/go away'

(2) \( i \ t^h\text{ui-m}^\text{t}^h\text{uk-}r\alpha \)
I awake-revive-NFUT 'I woke up (form sleep)'

(3) \( i \ \eta\text{k}^\text{tr}-t^h\text{ui-y}r\alpha \)
I spring up-rise up-NFUT
'I curled up/get up (from lying position)'
5. The verb ror 'fall (on the surface)', as V<sub>1</sub>, occurs with only one verb ta 'be down', and as V<sub>2</sub>, occurs with many verbs. Thus, consider the following examples:

5. The verb ror 'fall (on the surface)', as V<sub>1</sub>, occurs with only one verb ta 'be down', and as V<sub>2</sub>, occurs with many verbs. Thus, consider the following examples:

(1)  
\[ \text{pəŋ məcık-rə, tərū ror-ta-lu} \]
hand wash-FUT water let fall-down-IMP

'(You) pour down water, I'll wash (my) hand'

(2)  
\[ \text{pəŋ-li tərū hei-ror-lu} \]
hand-LOC water pour-let fall-IMP

'Pour water on the hand'

(3)  
\[ \text{pʰəhon-li a-ɕi cək-ror-ə} \]
shirt-LOC blood jerk-let fall-NFUT

'Blood jerked and fell on the shirt'

6. Perception verb tʰei 'know', 'see' occurs as V<sub>1</sub> with directional verb, and as V<sub>2</sub> it occurs with many verbs. In V<sub>2</sub> position it means either 'see' or 'know how to'. Examples:

6. Perception verb tʰei 'know', 'see' occurs as V<sub>1</sub> with directional verb, and as V<sub>2</sub> it occurs with many verbs. In V<sub>2</sub> position it means either 'see' or 'know how to'. Examples:

(1)  
\[ \text{no ayar-li kə-pəm tʰei-ʃok-ə} \]
you outside-LOC NOMZ-sit see out-NFUT

'(I) saw you sitting outside'

(Lit: Saw out you sitting outside)
4.7.2.2. Fixed V₂ verbs

There are a number of verbs which cannot occur in isolation or V₁ position. They are either auxiliaries, delexicalized or causativized verbs. We will call them 'fixed V₂'. The following are some of them.

1. Causativized verbs like tʰət 'kill', kʰai 'break' cannot occur either in V₁ position or in isolation. To convey single verbal idea, these verbs always take the 'support' or 'dummy' verb sa 'do'. Examples:

(1) i-li sa-tʰət-lu
    I-DAT do-die+CAU-IMP '(You) kill me'

(2) i-no sa-kʰai-ɾə
    I-NOM do-break+CAUS-FUT 'I will break'

(3) Aton-li kap-tʰət-ɾə
    A.-DAT shoot-kill+CAUS-FUT
    '(I) will shoot dead Aton' (Lit: Will shoot kill Aton)

(4) həm ci ɣəp-kʰai-ɾə
    pot that hit-break+CAUS-NFUT
    '(Somebody) hit-broke the pot'
2. 'Arrival' verb šun 'reach' occurs with a number of motion and perception verbs. Examples:

   (1) a-t⁶um Delhi a-k⁶mọ ra-šun-rọ
     3-PL D. FX-tomorrow come-reach-FUT
     'They will arrive Delhi tomorrow'
     (Lit: They will come-reach Delhi tomorrow)

   (2) kọ-lọ mat-t⁶ọ va-šun-tọ pọm-rọ
     and Sunday go-reach-ADV stay-FUT
     'And (they) will stay (in Delhi) till Sunday'
     (Lit: They will go on staying and reach Sunday)

3. The verb vai 'to wear', 'to utilize' occurs in a number of 'for-to' constructions. Examples:

   (1) nọ con-ši ci kʰi sa-vai-rọ-kʰọ
     you cloth-rag that what do-USE-FUT-Q
     'What will you do with the rag?'
     (Lit: What will you do to utilize the rag?/ What will you use the rag for?)

   (b) pʰei mit-vai-rọ
     leg wipe-USE-FUT
     'I will use (it) for wiping feet'

   (c) tʰao-vai-rū-no, tara-kʰọ šai-.lu
     fat-FOR-OPT many eat-IMP
     'In order to be/become fat, eat a lot'

   (d) tʰao-kʰọ-vai tara-kʰọ šai-.lu
     fat-NF-FOR many eat-IMP
     'Eat a lot (so as) to become fat'
4. The verb ᶦ营业执 occurs only in V₂ position, and carries the meaning 'play', 'do for fun', 'do jokingly/without seriousness'. Examples:

(a) \[\text{zōt-.splitext--Token} \]
walk-PLAY-ENTR 'Let's walk just to while away'

(b) \[\text{mā-sti-lu, tʰa-tō ḫan-.splitext-ko-ci-nō} \]
NEG-mind-IMP like-ADV say-PLAY NOMZ-that-COP
'(You)don't mind, it is that (I am) just saying jokingly' (without any seriousness or intention to hurt you)

(c) \[\text{i-ni ᶦ公积-.splitext-wo} \]
1-DU fight-PLAY-NFUT
'We two fought just for fun'

In conclusion, many interesting problems remain in connection with serial verbs. Several important questions remain to be answered. For example, how does serialization relate to coordination and subordination? Again, what is the relationship between productive syntactic serial constructions and 'fully lexicalized' ones? To answer these and other problems, we will have to look deeper into a mixture of syntactic, semantic and lexical facts.

4.8. Explicator compound verbs

Like 'idiomatic' compound verbs and serial verbs, explicator compound verbs (henceforth ECV) are formed by combining two (or more) verbs -- \( V₁ + V₂(V₃, \ldots) \). However,
unlike in the former structures, $V_2$ in ECV is only an explicating or modifying element of $V_1$. To quote Abbi: "The main meaning of the verb is contained in $V_1$ while $V_2$ is lexically emptied, i.e. grammaticalized. $V_2$ in most cases functions as a modifying or explicating element of $V_1$". That is, $V_2$s lose their verbal semantic content and have acquired grammatical function. ECVs are thus the result of grammaticalization of verbs. Lexical verbs typically name events, actions, processes, or states. But, over times, certain verbs have undergone historical reanalysis as pre/post-positions, complementizers, adverbials, auxiliaries, and tense-aspect markers.

According to Abbi (1994) explicators in South Asian languages indicate three types of meanings -- 'aspectual', 'adverbial' and 'attitudinal'--each of which can further be divided into several subtypes. In Tangkhul-Naga there are about ten verbs which may function as explicators in a number of constructions. They may indicate aspectual, adverbial or attitudinal meanings, such as perfective, progressive, continuative, dative, benefactive, additional, intensity, request, humility, and so on.

In the following discussion I have not attempted to distinguish the various 'minute' meanings, as which one should apply is not always apparent from translations in the source language. In some cases, we face difficulty in

identifying the meaning, or assigning the status, of explicators in structures containing two or more delexicalized verbs, that is $V_2$, $V_3$ ... Sometimes it is not clear (or debatable) as to whether $V_1$ can also function as an explicator. This will be tested. The verbs that can occur as explicators are discussed in order.

4.8.1. $k^hui$ 'take' constructions

The verb $k^hui$ 'take' may occur as $V_2$ denoting self-benefaction, direction, etc. Examples:

1. $f^u\ ci-li\ ho-k^hui-\text{lu}$
dog that-DAT call-take-IMP

   'Call the dog (to your side/direction)/
   'Call the dog (and not let it go (away))' (Control)

2. $mi-p^\eta\ n^\eta-li\ f^u\ ho-k^hui-\text{r}^\eta$
man-PL-NOM you-DAT dog call-take-FUT

   'People will call you 'Dog' (if they repeatedly keep on calling you 'dog')' (Habit)

3. $k^h^ai\text{-}e\text{n}^\eta\ k^\eta\text{dt}\text{-}k^hui\text{-}\text{lu}$
knife-INSTR cut-take-IMP

   'Cut (it) with (the) knife' (Instrumental)

4. $m^\eta\text{l}^\eta\text{nu}^\eta\ k^\eta\text{c}\text{-}vat-wui-v^\eta\ i-n^\eta\ k^\eta\text{d}^\eta\text{p}^\eta\text{e}\text{-}k^hui-\text{y}^\eta$
heart NOMZ-burst-GEN-BEN I-NOM slap-take-NFUT

   'As I was angry, I slapped(somebody)' (for my satisfaction)

5. $r^\eta\text{-}p^\eta\text{a}\text{-}k^hui\text{-}\text{lu}$
live-good-take-IMP

   happy 'Enjoy (yourself)'

$k^hui$ 'take', as $V_1$, also seems to function as an explicator in certain constructions, such as:
(6) nə kʰələt-tə-wui tui kʰui-šai-lu
you reverse-ADV-GEN word take-eat-IMP

'Eat your own word (you deserve what you get)'

(Scolding)

Compare:

(7) šai-kʰui-lu
eat-take-IMP 'Eat (for you own benefit)'

(Self-benefaction)

4.8.2. mi 'give' constructions

Give constructions are also widespread in the language. There is a tendency for mi 'give', as an explicator, indicating either 'dative' or 'benefactive'. Thus, consider:

(1) i-nə Aton-li šao-mi-yə
I-NOM A.-DAT beat-give-NFUT

'I beat Aton' (to teach her a lesson)

(Other-benefaction)

(2) i-nə Aton-wui-vən ŝao-mi-yə
I-NOM A.-GEN-BEN beat-give-NFUT

'I beat (somebody) for/on behalf of Aton'

(Other-benefaction)

(3) yarui-nə ciŋ-ri-einə pəm-mi-lu
public-NOM peace-MODF-ASS sit-give-IMP

'All (of you) sit quietly!' (Request)
4.8.3. va 'go' constructions

The verb va 'go', as an explicator, denotes such meanings as progressive/inceptive-progressive or 'direction away'. Unlike in many other languages, va is not a completive or perfective aspect marker in the language. It cannot occur in constructions in which the action, process or state is instaneous. Thus, (1) below is not acceptable whereas the rest are well-formed:

* (1) a-kəhun kətət-əkə ələnən-tə tʰi-va-hao-rə
FX-neck cut-COND instant-ADV die-go-PUNC-FUT

'If (one's) neck is cut (he/she) will die instantly'

(2) mɪ-tʰit-rɪ ələkə tʰi-va-nai-yə
man-die-medicine eat-CP die-go-want-NFUT

'(I) want to consume poison and die gradually/slowly' (Progressive)

(3) Aton tʰəo-va-hai-rə
A. fat-go-pp-PERF

'Aton has become fat/fatter and fatter'

(She was not fat) (Inceptive-progressive)

(4) ci-vak ɣən-va-lu
that-DIR look-go-IMP 'Look that side'

(Direction away)

4.8.4. ra 'come' constructions

The verb ra 'come', as an explicator, denotes continuative or immediacy and 'direction towards', as in:
(1) *nɔo ci kɔ-son-kʰɔ*  cɔp-ra-hai-rɔ  
child that NOMZ-long-UNIT cry-come-PP-PERF  
'The child has been crying for a long time'  
(Continuative)  

(2) *Aton i-wui ɔ̃m-li ra-ra-li*  
A. I-GEN house-LOC come-come-PPROG  
'Aton is coming to/towards my house'  
(Approaching/Immediacy+Direction)  

(3) *i-li yɔŋ-ra-lu*  
A.DAT look-come-IMP  
'Look at/towards me' (Direction towards)  

(4) *Aton tʰi-ra-li*  
A. die-come-PPROG  
'Aton is about to die' (Immediacy)  

4.8.5. *tʰui* 'be away' constructions  
The verb *tʰui* 'be away' expresses meanings such as 'to be away', 'to change action, process or state' and 'attitude'. Thus, compare *tʰui* as *V₁* in (1) and as *V₂* in the rest:  

(1) *Aton tʰui-hai-rə*  
A. away-leave-PERF 'Aton has left/gone away'  

(2) *Aton zət-tʰui-hai-rə*  
A. go-away-PP-PERF 'Aton has gone away'  

(3) *Aton tʰao-tʰui-hai-rə*  
A. fat-away-PP-PERF (Change of state)  
'Aton has become fat' (She was not fat earlier)
4.8.6. **uη 'return' constructions**

The verb **uη** 'to return to earlier place or state', as **V₂**, expresses the meanings 'again', 'direction towards', etc. Thus, compare (1) (in which **uη** occurs as **V₁**) and the rest below:

(1)  *i a-rui uη-rod*
    I FX-now return-FUT
    'I will go back now' (to the place/home/camp or any place from where I had come)

(2)  *Aton tʰao-uη-hai-rod*  
    A. fat-return-PP-PERF (Recurrence)  
    'Aton has become fat' (She used to be fat and she had become thin once)

(3)  *yət-uη-lu* 
    look-return-IMP (Direction backwards)  
    'Look back/towards from where you had come'

Compare (4) below in which **va** 'go' denotes 'direction forward/away':

(4)  *yət-va-lu* 
    look-go-IMP  
    'Look forward/Look towards where you are going'

4.8.7. **səη 'put' constructions**

**səη** 'put', as **V₂**, indicates the meanings 'addition', 'inclusion' or 'involvement'. Examples:
(1) Ašaŋ Aton-li ti-søŋ-ő
A. A.-DAT die-put-NFUT (Intensive)

'Ašaŋ 'loves' Aton very much'
(Lit: Ašaŋ 'dies' on Aton)

(2) Ašaŋ rai-li ti-søŋ-ő
A. war-LOC die-put-NFUT (Involvement)

'Ašaŋ died in (the) war' (He was involved in the war)

(3) zat k'ui-søŋ-lu
rice take-put-IMP 'Take more rice' (Extra)

(4) Ašaŋ-li-lō i-si lōŋ-li ho-søŋ-ro
A-DAT-ALSO I-CL group-LOC call-put-FUT (Inclusion)

'(We) will call in Ašaŋ also in our group/gang'

4.8.8. šok 'be out' constructions

šok 'to go out', 'to move out', as an explicator, denotes
directional, adverbal and attitudinal meanings such as 'do
and get over with', 'suddenness', etc. Examples:

(1) ot ci kup-šok-hai-rô
work that finish-out-PP-PERF

'(I) have finished the work' (and now the work
doesn't bother me anymore)

(2) nao ci avū-li t'ei-ô côp-šok-hao-wô
child that mother-DAT see-CP cry-out-PUNC-NFUT

'On seeing his/her mother the child cried'

(Sudden/Abrupt)

(3) Aton-li vao-šok-lu
A.-DAT shout-out-IMP (Direction)

'Shout for Aton' (who is sitting outside)
4.8.9. šan 'count/enumerate' constructions

The verb šan 'to count', 'to enumerate', as V₂, denotes meanings such as 'prolongation', 'fixedness', 'intensity' or 'addition'. Thus, consider the following constructions:

1. Aton-wui paŋ siŋ-šan-ə
   A.-GEN hand hold-count-NFUT (Prolongation)
   '(Somebody) held Aton’s hand unreleasingly' (thus not letting her go)

2. Aton-li yoŋ-šan-ə
   A.-DAT look-count-NFUT (Fixedness)
   '(Somebody) looked at Aton fixedly'

3. i-no-lo Aton-li šao-šan-rə
   I-NOM-ALSO A.-DAT beat-count-FUT (Additional)
   'I also will beat Aton' (on top of being beaten by others)

4. i-li Aton-nə kət bət-šan-ə
   I-DAT A.-NOM kick-count-NFUT (Intensity/Iterative)
   'Aton kicked me forcefully/repeatedly'

4.8.10. ta 'fall/be down' constructions

The verb ta 'to fall', 'be down', as an explicator, expresses meanings such as 'carelessness', 'without hesitation/interruption', etc., as in:

1. i-nə Aton-li kət bət-ta-i
   I-NOM A.-DAT scold-fall-NFUT
   'I scolded Aton' (without hesitation or without care for her reaction)
(2) Aton-li yōp-ta-rə
A-DAT hit-down-FUT
'(I) will hit Aton' (mercilessly)

(3) Aton-nə pʰeisə kə-tonə ōə šicin-ta-hai-rə
A-NOM money NOMZ-full-ATTRI spend-down-PP-PERF
'Aton has spend all the money' (carelessly in a spendrift way)

(4) nə-wui kə-pʰəniŋ-niŋ haŋ-ta-lu
you-GEN NOMZ-think-REDU say-down-IMP
'Say whatever is in your mind' (without hesitation or pause

(Lit: Tell down your thinking thinking)

4.8.11. pəm 'sit' constructions

The verb pəm 'sit', as an explicator, indicate continuation of an action. Examples:

(1) ci-li mə-ŋəniŋ-pəm-lu
that-LOC NEG-stand-sit-IMP
'Don't keep on standing there'

(2) Aton cəp-pəm-hao-ῳ
A. cry-sit-PUNC-NFUT
'Aton went/kept on crying'

To sum up, we have seen that there are a handful of verbs which may lose, in V₂ position, their verb status and become 'modifying' or 'explicating' elements. Many questions remain to be answered. For instance, what verbs (or what types of verbs) can participate in explicator compound
verbs, and what determines the order of verbs in 'explicator compound verbs' constructions? On a broader front, we still do not know why explicator compound verbs occur in some languages but not in others. To answer these questions, we need to take into pragmatic, typological and areal/cross-linguistic studies.