CHAPTER-I
VER STRUCTURE
AND
TYPES OF VERBS
1.0  **Introduction**

This chapter mainly studies the structure of verb stems and different types of verbs. The first section 1.1 presents the conceptual definition of the verb. It briefly attempts to define the verb from its formal perspectives. The second section 1.2 presents a brief account of the verbal system in Hawa Nokte. The third section 1.3 discusses the structure or composition of verb stems. It investigates how verb stems are formed and structured. The section 1.4 and its following sub-sections study the different types of verbs. This section classifies the verbs based on their morphosyntactic and morphosemantic properties.

1.1  **Defining Verb**

Traditionally, verb refers to denote actions, processes or states of the nouns. In other words, verb describes about the activities of the nouns. Jespersen (1924) in his *The Philosophy of Grammar* referred to verbal as the ‘life giving element’ of the language. Jespersen (1924) further satetd that verb is “…particularly valuable in building up sentences; a sentence nearly always contains a verb, and only exceptionally do we find combinations without a verb which might be called complete sentences” (p. 86). Verb is essential part of the sentence. It plays a pivotal role in building up of a clause or sentence in a language. In a sentence, verb contains most of the information, and sometimes it alone can give the meaning of the whole sentence. Thus, a sentence without a verb is incomplete. In fact, the shortest sentence contains a verb; for example, a single verb can make a sentence as shown in (1a), but with any other type of word, where verb is absent, a sentence may be incomplete as shown in (1b). Verb is, therefore, obligatory in a sentence.

(1)  a. *Stop!*

    b. *you slowly*

In its more formal definition, Crystal (2008) defined verb as “…an element which can display morphological contrasts of tense, aspect, voice, mood, person and
number” (p. 510). Take for instance, in English, verb ‘kick’ is morphologically marked by past tense marker /ed/ as shown in (2a), whereas in Hindi, in addition to person-number, the category of gender is also marked as part of the verb phrase as shown in (2b).

(2) a. **He kicked the ball.**

   b. *sita gana ga-ti he*

   sita song sing-FEM.SG AUX

   ‘Sita sings’

1.2 **Overview of Verbal System in Hawa Nokte**

The verbal system in Hawa Nokte may be broadly analyzed into two parts such as; (i) a set of verb stems, and (ii) a set of verbal affixes or verbal grammatical categories. Verb stems are those verb forms which may have either a root or a combination of more than one root. They are the lexical verb forms to which inflectional affixes may be added to get additional information. The verbal affixes are morphemes which cannot occur in isolation or on their own capacity. Basically, they are bound morphemes. They include elements such as tense, aspect, mood (TAM), person-number (PNAgr), directional marker (DIR), causative, reciprocal, negation (NEG), and interrogative particles. These inflectional affixes usually occur either as prefixes or suffixes. The order of occurrence of the morphological elements in the verb or verb phrase is such as;

\[(\text{Aspt})(\text{Neg})(\text{mod})(\text{Tense})–\text{ROOT}–(\text{PNAgr})(\text{Recp})(\text{Neg})(\text{TAM})(\text{dir})(\text{PNAgr})(\text{QP})\]

Verb root or stem is always at the centre. In left side of the verb root or stem, either TAM or NEG can occur, whereas in the right side of it, PNAgr or TAM or RECP or DIR or QP can occur. Verb root is immediately followed by PNAgr (in case tense/aspect is marked at the left side of the verb root) otherwise, tense/aspect precedes PNAgr in the right side of the verb root. Question particle or marker
generally occurs when all other affixes are attached at the last (more discussion is in the chapter-4 under interrogatives section). Reciprocal marker immediately suffixed the verb root followed by other suffixes. Mood markers can occur either before or after PNAGR. Generally, verbs in Hawa Nokte are such that they take verbal inflectional categories (detailed discussion of the different verbal categories such as TAM, NEG, PNAGR, etc. is carried out in the following separate chapters) at sentence final position. In short, verbs should minimally inflect for PNAGR or tense/aspect.

It is also observed that some of the verbal inflectional affixes have multifunctional properties. For instance, a same morpheme /a/ can function as 3rd PNAGR marker as well as question particle or marker as shown in (3a). They occur side by side. In another example in (3b), a morpheme /ʈ/ denotes both continuity of the event or action as well as direction of the motion simultaneously in a sentence. Such morpheme has the semantic properties of giving different meanings simultaneously.

(3)  a. ǝte tfɔm tfʰaʔ-kt-kt-kt

he food eat-PRES-3SG-QP

‘Is he is eating food?’

b. ǝte hum-nag vɔŋ-ɾ-a

he house-LOC come[UP]-PRES.DIR[towards the Sp]-3SG

‘He is coming to home’

Another striking feature in Hawa Nokte is that the adjective also behave like verb when used in the predicative position. Like verb, adjectives are also capable of carrying verbal inflectional categories such as TAM, PNAGR, negation etc. as shown in (4). However, in general, adjectives differ from verbs in that adjectives can take degree marker as shown in (4d), whereas the verbs do not.
(4) a. ɓəŋ-heʔ la-ɗog-t-aʔ
    tree-PLM PERF-big-PST-3SG
    ‘Trees have become big’

b. ǝɾe hum-pa ɗen-maʔ?
    this house-DEF good-NEG
    ‘This house is not good’

c. ǝɾe tʃʰamɬʰon-pa rîn-maʔ?
    this shirt-DEF small-NEG
    ‘This shirt is not small’

d. ǝɾe hum-pa tʃʰiʔ-moan
    this house-DEF bad-DEG
    ‘This house is very bad’

1.3 Verb Stems

Based on the structural composition, verbs may be sub-divided into two types such as (i) simple verb stems and (ii) complex verb stems.

1.3.1 Simple verb stems

Simple verb stems are those which have simple verb roots (i.e. having single verb root) which cannot be further analyzed into smaller or independent units. Primarily, simple verb stems are monosyllabic and monomorphemic. Based on their syllabic structure, simple verb stems may be further analyzed into two types such as; (i) open syllabic verb roots, and (ii) close syllabic verb roots.

1.3.1.1 Open syllabic verb roots

In open syllabic type, a verb root ends in vowel. It consists of onset and nucleus. The onset is occupied by consonant such as /p/, /pʰ/, /b/, /t/, /tʰ/, /d/, /k/ and
/kʰ/ (plosives or stops), /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ and /ŋ/ (nasals), /ɾ/ and /l/ (fricatives), /ɾ/ and /l/ (laterals), and /tʃ/, /tʃʰ/ and /dʒ/ (affricates), and nucleus slot is filled by vowels such as /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/. Verb roots such as /bi/ ‘to earn’, /pe/ ‘to carry’, /pʰe/ ‘to throw’, /bi/ ‘to earn’, /ti/ ‘to shiver’, /tʰo/ ‘to say’, /du/ ‘to bake’, /ka/ ‘to open mouth’, /kʰe/ ‘to see’, /mo/ ‘to word’, /na/ ‘to lean’, /ŋo/ ‘to fry’, /ŋo/ ‘to collect/gather’, /va/ ‘to make basket’, /su/ ‘to look’, /ro/ ‘to call out’, /lo/ ‘to catch’, /tʃu/ ‘to seek’, /tʃʰo/ ‘to push’, and /dʒa/ ‘to fall’ belong to open syllabic types. It has CV (consonant-vowel) structure as shown in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: The hierarchical model of open syllabic structure of simple verb root

![Hierarchical model of open syllabic structure of simple verb root](image)

1.3.1.2 Close syllable verb roots

In close syllabic type, a verb root ends in consonant. It has onset and coda occupied by consonant and the nucleus by vowel. Similarly, like open syllabic types, the onset is occupied by the same phonemes mentioned above but the normal pattern of occurrence of the coda margin of the verb stems ending in a consonant is either /t/, /k/, /p/ (stops) or /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ (nasals) or /ʔ/ (glottal). The nucleus can also have vowel sequence i.e., consisting of two vowels forming a sequence. Verb roots such as /vat/ ‘to beat’, /nɔk/ ‘to kick’, /səp/ ‘to cry’, /lɔm/ ‘to search’, /dʒɔn/ ‘to chase’, /kun/ ‘to feed’, /tʃʰaʔ/ ‘to eat’, /kien/ ‘to pour’, /soen/ ‘to wash’, etc., belong to close syllabic types. The verb roots have either CVC or CVVC structure as shown in Figure 1.2.
1.3.2 Complex verb stems

Complex verb stems are formed either through compounding or reduplication of the verb stems. The complex verb stems generally have either disyllabic or polysyllabic verb roots.

1.3.2.1 Compound verb stems

Compound verb stems are achieved combination of at least two potentially free forms, most frequently members of open lexical classes such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The following compound verb stems may be discussed under:

(i) Verb + Verb combination

In this type of verb compounding, compound verbs originate from two erstwhile independent verb roots that have come to be treated syntactically as a single unit. The compound verbs generally consist of two members of the same lexical class. They are described as “coordinative” compounds (Bisetto and Scalise, 2005) since none of them can be treated or identified exclusively as the centre or head. But two of them have equal weight and simultaneously they convey the meaning as shown in (5).

\[(5)\]  
\[\text{a. he} + \text{to} > /\text{het}^\text{b}\text{o}/ \quad \text{‘to teach’}\]

learn tell
b. lit + pʰon > /litpʰon/ ‘to turn around’
   change move

c. diap + tʃʰaʔ > /diaptʃʰaʔ/ ‘to cheat/bluff’
   lure eat

d. boen + toŋ > /boentoŋ/ ‘to rest’
   tire sit

(ii) **Noun + Adjective combination**

In this case, compound verbs are formed with combination of noun and adjective. They are usually stative verbs. They are also not productive as compare to the other types of verb compounding. In order of occurrence, the noun precedes the adjective as shown in (6). In this compouding, the latter qualifies the former.

(6)  
   a. rin + kʰaʔ > /rinkʰaʔ/ ‘be angry’
      heart bitter
   b. huŋ + tʃʰiʔ > /huŋtʃʰiʔ/ ‘be sad or unhappy’
      heart bad

(iii) **Adjective + Verb combination**

In this case, adjective and verb combined to form verb compounds. In linear order, the adjective precedes the verb as shown in (7). The latter qualifies the former.

(7)  
   a. sen + tʃoʔ > /sentʃoʔ/ ‘to like’
      good find
   b. tʃʰiʔ + tʰo > /tʃʰitʰo/ ‘to defame’
      bad tell
c. sen + su > /sensu/ ‘to cure’

good see

(iv) **Verb + pʰe combination**

The verb /pʰe/ in Hawa Nokte functions as full verb when can occur independently. It means ‘to throw’. It can combine with other verb roots to form different verb compounds. In such verb compounds, verb form /pʰe/ usually strengthened the meaning of the first or main verb as shown in (8).

(8) a. dʒa + pʰe > /dʒapʰe/ ‘to drop’

fall throw

b. siap + pʰe > /siappʰe/ ‘to avoid’

avoid throw

c. tʰin + pʰe > /tʰinpʰe/ ‘to release’

push throw

(v) **rit + Verb combination**

In this verb compounding, the form /rit/ ‘death’ combines with another independent verb root. In such constructions, the latter qualifies the first one. Examples are shown in (9);

(9) a. rit + pʰe > /ritpʰe/ ‘to kill’ (general term)

die throw

b. rit + hap > /rithap/ ‘to kill by shooting’

die shoot

c. rit + vat > /ritvat/ ‘to kill by beating or hitting’

die beat
d. \(\text{rit} + \text{nǝk}\) > /\text{ritnǝk}/  ‘to kill by kicking’
die kick

e. \(\text{rit} + \text{suʔ}\) > /\text{ritsuʔ}/  ‘to kill by piercing’
die pierce

f. \(\text{rit} + \text{doak}\) > /\text{ritdoak}/  ‘to kill by cutting’
die cut

g. \(\text{rit} + \text{ʤa}\) > /\text{ritʤa}/  ‘to die by falling’
die fall

1.3.2.2 Reduplicated verb stems

The reduplicated verb stems in Hawa Nokte may be achieved by complete or partial reduplication of the verb stems.

(i) Partial reduplication

In partial reduplication, only one part of the compound verb stems is repeated and not the whole verb stems. It is possible only in case of compound or polysyllabic verb stems. For instance, verbs such as /\text{het}^\text{h}ο/ ‘to teach’, /\text{p}^\text{h}siet/ ‘to move’, /\text{rin}^\text{k}aʔ/ ‘be angry’, /\text{ʤ}ap^\text{h}e/ ‘to drop’, etc. may be partially repeated as shown in (10).

In case of verb-verb and adjective-verb compounds, either of the roots may be repeated as shown in (10a & b), but in case of noun-verb compound, only the verb root is reduplicated as shown in (10b).

(10) a. əte-ma ram-nǝŋ \text{hefo-fo-t-a}?  Or əte-ma ram-nǝŋ he-hefo-t-a?
he-ERG ram-OBJ teach-PST-3SG
‘He taught Ram (again)’
b. *titap-pa ʧap'e-ʧe-t-a?* Or *titap-pa ʧa-ʧap'e-t-a?*

   book-DEF drop-PST-3SG
   ‘(he) dropped the book (again)’

c. *əte-ma ŋa min ʧiʔo-ʧo-t-h-əŋ* Or *əte-ma ŋa min ʧiʔ-ʧiʔo-t-h-əŋ*

   he-ERG I name defame-PST-INVS-1SG
   ‘He defamed my name (again)’

d. *əte rinkʰaʔ-kʰaʔ-t-aʔ-o*

   he angry-PST-3SG-SFP
   ‘He is angry (again)’

(ii) Complete reduplication

The complete reduplication is possible in case of simple or monosyllabic verb stems. Disyllabic or polysyllabic verbs cannot undergo complete reduplication. In complete reduplication, the whole part of the verb root is repeated or reduplicated as shown in (11).

(11) a. *meri boap-boanj-t-aʔ-o*

   mary dance-dance-PST-3SG-SFP
   ‘Mary danced (again)’

b. *najʰa-pa səp-səp-t-aʔ-ne*

   baby-DEF cry-cry-PST-3SG-QP
   ‘Is baby cried (again)?’

In Hawa Nokte, the similar identical form of verb and noun may occur side by side or one after another in a sentence, however, such structural similarity of forms shouldn’t be mistaken as case of reduplication. Though, they share similar structural properties, functionally they are different. In such constructions, the first form is generally the noun (the subject or object) and the second one is the verb (the
having inflectional affixes attached to it as shown in (12a) and (12b). In case of reduplication, only the verb forms get repeated. Also, nouns may be separated from verbs by adding inflectional affixes such as imminence or iterative marker to the verb roots as shown in (12c).

(12) a. *poŋ poŋ*-k-a

wind blow-PRES-3SG

‘The wind is blowing’

b. *ŋa tʃʰok tʃʰok*-k-əŋ

I cough cough-PRES-1SG

‘I am coughing’ (Literally: I am cough coughing)

c. *poŋ la-poŋ-poŋ*-k-a

wind PERF-blow-blow-PRES-3SG

‘The wind is about to blow (again)’

Regarding the semantic function of reduplication, Abbi (2001) noted that the many languages employ the reduplication to “…emphasise the content (the central value) of the word in question” (p. 166). In Hawa Nokte, the reduplication has two important functions. For instance, in all the above examples (10), (11), and (12), it gives the meaning of the recurrence of the action, that is to say that repeatedly something is happening again and again. Mostly, such repetition of verb denotes negative meaning of the action on the part of the speaker. In (13), it indicates the duration or the extent of the event or action. That is, it denotes the prolong consumption of the betel-nut which caused the teeth to become red or decay.

(13) *kʰave-sali pʰak-pʰak*-ma *ŋa pa-he? *tʰuen-tʃok-t-a?

betel-nut eat-eat-INST I tooth-PLM finish-red-PST-3SG

‘Because of eating betel nut, (all) my teeth has become red’
1.4 Types of Verbs

1.4.1 Finite verb forms

In Hawa Nokte, the finite verbs generally show inflectional categories attached to them. Finite verbs are capable of taking inflectional categories such as TAM, PN Agr, NEG, causative, directional marker, reciprocal, question marker, etc., as part of the verb phrase. In simple clause, a finite verb always occurs at the sentence final position with inflectional affixes attached to it. Take for instance, in (14a), the verb form /ʧʰaʔ/ ‘to eat’ inflects for tense and PN Agr, and similarly in (14b), the verb /raŋ/ ‘to write’ carries NEG, tense marker and PN Agr.

(14) a. ŋa ʧʰəm la-ʧʰaʔ-t-ək
   I food PERF-eat-PST-1SG
   ‘I had eaten food’

b. əte-ma meri-ŋəŋ siti raŋ-maʔ-t-aʔ
   he-ERG mary-DAT letter write-NEG-PST-3SG
   ‘He didn’t write a letter to Mary’

The finite verbs may be further sub-categorized into intransitive and transitive verbs depending on to which transitivity types of clause they occur in. The transitivity clause has a predicate and a number of core arguments, which must be stated from the context of discourse (Dixon, 2010). Accordingly, the verb that takes one argument is said to be intransitive (or univalent verbs), those that take two or more that two arguments are called transitive or ditransitive. Table 1.1 shows the types of transitivity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitivity</th>
<th>Valency</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>1 argument (S)</td>
<td>laugh, dance,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>2 arguments (S and O)</td>
<td>kick, love,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditransitive</td>
<td>3 arguments (S, DO and IO)</td>
<td>give, send,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1: Types of transitivity
1.4.1.1 Intransitive verbs

The intransitive verbs are those that describe property, state, or situation involving only one participant. In intransitive, the action denoted by verb doesn’t pass on to the object. Such verbs only have single argument i.e., the subject and no other argument is required, which is why, it is also called univalent verbs. For instance, verbs such as ‘to dance’, ‘to cry’, ‘to sleep’, ‘to walk’, ‘to sit’, ‘to reach/arrive’, ‘to stand’, ‘to fly’, ‘to flow’, ‘to go/come’, etc., belong to univalent verbs. They are capable of occurring only in intransitive clauses. In intransitive clauses, the verb agrees with subject in person and number which is marked morphologically on the verb as shown in (15).

(15) a. `ŋa ʧup-t-ək
   I sleep-PST-1SG
   ‘I slept’

b. ɲəŋ toŋ-o
   you sit-2SG
   ‘You sit’.

c. ɲəŋ o-ɲəŋ ka-r-o
   you PROX-LOC come[down]-PRES.DIR[towards the Sp]-2SG
   ‘you come here’

1.4.1.2 Transitive verbs

By transitive, it means that an action denoted by verb passes over from the doer or actor to an object. Transitive verb generally has an object as its core argument. Depending upon the number of participants they take, transitive verb may be further sub-categorized into two types such as monotransitive (divalent) verb and ditransitive (trivalent) verb. Monotransitive verb takes one internal argument (the object) in addition to the external argument (the subject). Thus, technically speaking,
monotransitive verb has two arguments. For instance, verbs such as ‘to kick’, ‘to love’, ‘to beat’, ‘to bite’, etc., require an obligatory object. The subject is always an animate but object may be either animate or inanimate as shown in (16). In (16a), Ram is the agent who initiates the action and the patient (the dog) affected by Ram’s action. The agent received ergative case /ma/ whereas the object (the dog) received objective case /ko/. The case is overtly marked in both the NPs. Verb shows PNAgr with the subject.

(16) a. ram-ma hu-ko nãk-t-aʔ
   ram-ERG dog-OBJ kick-PST-3SG
   ‘Ram kicked the dog’

b. ram-ma meri-nəŋ hun-k-a
   ram-ERG mary-OBJ love-PRES-3SG
   ‘Ram loves mary’

c. ëte-ma ña-nəŋ vat-h-əŋ
   he-ERG I-OBJ beat-INVS-1SG
   ‘He beats me’

Ditransitive verb takes two internal arguments in addition to the external argument, the subject. In other words, it has more than one object as its internal argument. In total, it has three participants; therefore, it is also called trivalent verbs. Trivalent verb has multiple semantic roles. In Hawa Nokte, verbs such as ‘to give’, ‘to keep’, ‘to teach’, etc., are the verbs capable of taking multiple arguments as shown in (17). In (17a), Mary, the subject or agent is marked by ergative case /ma/, the indirect object (IO) ‘I’ is marked by dative case /nəŋ/ whereas the direct object ‘book’ is unmarked. The direct object may be either animate or inanimate object but the subject and indirect object (IO) have to be animate object. The position of both direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO) may also be interchanged.
(17) a. *meri-ma na-naŋ titap koʔ-t-h-əŋ*

mary-ERG I-DAT book give-PST-INVS-1SG

‘Mary gave me a book’

b. *əre titap-pa kʰoŋ-ko tʃen-naŋ-ə*

this book-DEF table-LOC keep-REQUS-2SG

‘(you) please keep this book on the table’

1.4.2 Non-finite verb forms

Non-finite verbs do not show or inflect for any of the verbal inflectional category. They do not change according to the subject, as finite verbs do. Also, non-finite verbs are not affected by tense changes.

1.4.2.1 Infinitive

Infinite verbs show no morphological changes in its form. Infinite verb forms have *zero* morphological marking. For instance, in (18a), the verb root /pʰək/ ‘to eat’ do not inflect for any verbal category, whereas the second verb root /hun/ ‘to want’ shows inflectional affixes such as NEG and PNAgr marking. Similarly, in (18b) the verb root /ʤap/ ‘to talk’ doesn’t get inflected, but the verb root /tat/ ‘to hear’ gets inflected for tense, PNAgr and question marker.

(18) a. *ŋa sirup ʤok hun-m-ək*

I cigarette smoke want-NEG-1SG

‘I don’t want to smoke cigarette’

b. *naŋ-ma ŋa ʤap tat-h-əŋ*

you-ERG I talk hear-INVS-1SG

‘You listen to my talk’
1.4.2.2 Gerund

Gerund usually functions as noun. In case of gerund, the verb form is usually followed by nominal markers such as definite marker and postposition marker such as in (19a & b), where the verb form /ʤok/ ‘to drink’ is immediately followed by nominal markers.

(19) a. \(k^b\text{əm} \text{ʤa}t\text{ʤok} -\text{pa} s\text{ək}\ \text{rn} s\text{en-ma}\)?

wine more drink -DEF body for good-NEG

‘Drinking wine is not good for body/health’

b. \(k^b\text{əm} \text{ʤa}t\text{ʤok} -\text{ko} k^b\ \text{rn-mok-a}\)

wine more drink -at head HAB-dizzy-AFP

‘Drinking too much of wine makes head dizzy’

1.4.3 Causative verbs

Causative verbs in Hau Nokte are formed by morphological causative markers. Comrie (1985) defined a morphological causative as “…means that the predicate of subject undergoes some derivational process in order to express causativity” (p. 331). The two morphemes such as /thuk/ and /siet are used to derive causative verbs. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can be made causative by suffixing the causative marker /thuk/, whereas the other causative marker can only occur with intransitive verbs. They are immediately suffixed to the verb root. In between the verb stems and causative form, nothing can be interposed. The verbal categories such as TAM, PNAgr, NEG, DIR, question particles, etc. follow the causative marker. Thus, the canonical order of occurrence is: V + CAUSATIVE MARKER + VERBAL CATEGORIES. Some causative verbal forms are given below in (20);

(20) a. \(t^h\text{ʔa} + t^h\text{uk}\ > /t^h\text{ʔa}t^h\text{uk/ ‘cause to eat’}

eat cause
b. su + t'uk > /sutʰuk/ ‘cause to look’
    look cause

c. nak + t'uk > /nakʰuk/ ‘cause to kick’
    kick cause

d. pe + t'uk > /petʰuk/ ‘cause to carry’
    carry cause

e. ḏap + t'uk > /ḏapʰuk/ ‘cause to speak’
    talk cause

In Haw Nokte, a morpheme /siet/ generally means ‘to pull or drag’ when it is used in isolation, but when it combines with the other verb stems and adjectives, it gives causative meaning as shown in (21). It functions as intransitive causativizer (detailed discussion is given in chapter 5 under causativization). Compare to the other causative form, this causative form is not productive.

(21) a. ḏa + siet > /ḏasiet/ ‘cause to fall’
    fall cause

b. sen + siet > /sensiet/ ‘to make it good’
    good cause

c. doŋ + siet > /doŋsiet/ ‘to make it bigger’
    big cause

d. ḏaʔ + siet > /ḏaʔsiet/ ‘cause to increase’
    more cause
In addition to morphological causative, there are some independent lexical items which covertly or inherently carry the causative meaning. In other words, the meaning of causative can be achieved without a causative marker attached to the verb stems. For instance, in (22a), no causative marker is employed to achieve the causative effect. The verb met ‘to blow’ has inherent causative meaning. In this case, the wind caused the flower to fall from the tree, which is natural process and doesn’t involve volitionality. The causative form is not obligatorily required to achieve the causative effect. The verb /kun/ ‘to feed’ is one such example of lexical causative as shown in (22b).

(22) a.  póŋ-ma tsòŋpo ña met-k-a  
  wind-ERG flower fall blow-PRES-3SG  
  ‘The wind is making the flower to fall’

b.  ə-póŋ-ma tʃʰa-nɔŋ tfʰam kun-k-a  
  his-mother-ERG child-OBJ food feed-PRES-3SG  
  ‘The mother is feeding the baby with food’

1.4.4 Copula or verb ‘to be’

Following Crystal (1980) copular\(^6\) may be defined as “a term used in grammatical description to refer to a linking verb…whose main function is to relate other elements of clause structure, especially subject and complement” (p. 93). Thus, according to linking hypothesis, copular verb functions as linker between subject and predicate. Regina (2003) pointed out that “…copula does not add any semantic content to the predicate phrase it is contained in” (p. 5). Semantically, thus, copular is

\(^6\) the three most widely acknowledged syntactic functions which have been ascribed to copulas include: (i) functions as linker between subject and predicate; (ii) the function of a syntactic ‘hitching post’ to which verbal inflectional categories can be attached; (iii) the function of a predicator which is added to lexemes that do not form on their own (Regina, 2003;2).
an empty category. For Dixon (2010), a copula verb as predicate, has relational function rather than referential and he further states that the copula construction should have two arguments; copula subject (CS) and copula complement (CC) covering at least identity relation or attribution relation. Givon (1984) too noted that in a copular construction, the subject is a ‘patient-of-state’ and the predicate may be either noun or adjective. However, it is also possible to find another alternative copula construction with a single argument the copula subject (CS) only and no copula complement as cited from Latin in (23).

(23) Deus est
    God COP
    ‘There is a god (lit: God is)’   (Dixon 2010:160)

Regina (2003) observed that in many worlds’ languages, a copular may be dropped in specific grammatical environments. For instance, in Russian, the copular ‘byl’ is obligatory in case of past tense as shown in (24a) whereas in present tense it is obligatorily deleted as shown in (24b) and (24c).

(24) a. dom by-l bol’sój
    house COP-3SG.MSC.PST big
    ‘The house was big’

b. éto dom
    this house
    ‘This is a house’

c. dom bol’sój
    house big
    ‘The house is big’   (Regina, 2003:35)

In Hawa Nokte, the role of copula or verb ‘to be’ is played by verb root /dəŋ/ which denotes the state of being something or becoming something. Like other full
verbs, the verb /dəŋ/ also carries verbal inflectional categories such as tense, PNAgr, NEG, etc. as shown in (25).

(25) a. *ŋa dəŋ-əŋ*

I be-1SG

‘It is me’ or ‘I am the one’

d. *ŋa dəŋ-m-ək*

I be-NEG-1SG

‘It is not me’ or ‘I am not the one’

In verbal predicate, the verb /dəŋ/ occur as subordinate or helping verb to the main verb at sentence final position with inflectional affixes as shown in (26).

(26) a. *meri se se dəŋ-a*

mary song sing be-3SG

‘Mary must be singing song’

b. *meri hum-nəŋ ka-maʔ-r-a dəŋ-a*

mary house-LOC come[down]-NEG-DIR[towards the Sp]-3SG be-3SG

‘Mary may not be coming to home’

In nominal and adjectival predicates, verb /dəŋ/ is directly used to relate identity or attribution relation as shown in (27) and (28). Like any other full verb, it also exhibits the morphosyntactic properties of TAM, PNAgr, NEG, etc. and occurs in clause-final position. Temporal and locative existential is also denoted by verb /dəŋ/ as shown in (29) and (30). In past and future tense, the PNAgr marker gets knock out by tense marker.
Nominal equational:

(27) a. *ram sipahi dəŋ-a*
    ram police be-3SG
    ‘Ram is a police’

b. *ram sipahi dəŋ-va?*
    ram police be-PST
    ‘Ram was a police’

c. *ram sipahi dəŋ-min*
    ram police be-FUT
    ‘Ram will be a police’

Adjective equation:

(28) a. *ram halo dəŋ-a*
    ram tall be-3SG
    ‘Ram is tall’

b. *ram halo dəŋ-va?*
    ram tall be-PST
    ‘Ram was tall’

c. *ram halo dəŋ-min*
    ram tall be-FUT
    ‘Ram will be tall’

Temporal existential:

(29) a. *mədʒa dobat dəŋ-va?*
    yesterday Sunday be-PST
    ‘Yesterday was Sunday’
b. *pati-pa dok-ko dǝŋ-min*

   party-DEF after-at be-FUT

   ‘The party will be after sometime’

Locative existential:

(30) a. *ेte iko dǝŋ-va?*

   he there be-PST

   ‘He was there’

b. *tit-ko ʤo mɛntfɔŋfɔŋ dǝŋ-t-a?*

   bucket-LOC water full be-PST-3SG

   ‘There was full of water in the bucket’

1.4.5 Verb ‘do’

The function of verb ‘do’ in Hawa Nokte is played by morpheme /ɾe/. It can occur with both intransitive and transitive verbs such as *sleep, dance, kick, beat, give, cry, walk, jump, sit, stand, kneel, fall, fly, flow, die, wait, come, go*, etc., as shown in (31).

(31) a. *meri boag re-k-a*

   mary dance do-PRES-1SG

   ‘Mary is dancing’

b. *ram-ma hu-ko vat re-k-a*

   ram-ERG dog-OBJ beat do-PRES-3SG

   ‘Ram is beating the dog’

The verb ‘do’ is also used as ‘default’ verb, in a sense that it can refer to any kind of action or activity. For instance, in (32a & b), the verb ‘do’ refers to any kind of
action or activity in question. Like other full verbs, it also inflects for TAM, PNAgr, NEG, CAUS, interrogative, etc. as shown in (32).

(32) a.  *meri tfen re-k-a-a*
    mary QF do-PRES-3SG-QP
    ‘What is Mary doing?’

b. *nøŋ-ma øte-øŋ re-瘁k-o*
    you-ERG he-DAT do-CAUS-2SG
    ‘You make him do’

However, in reply to the question in (32a), the use of verb ‘do’ depends on whether actor or activity is on focused. For instance, the affirmative reply to question in (32a) would be such as in (33a) since the focus is on the *act of dancing* and not on the *dancer*. In both the sentences shown in (33a & b), the focus is on activity of dancing. The affirmative reply in (33b) is possible only when ‘who’ or ‘actor’ is in question such as ‘who is doing what?’ Thus, the absent of verb /re/ suggests that the focus is on the *actor* and not on the *action or activity*.

(33) a.  *meri boøŋ re-k-a*
    mary dance do-PRES-3SG
    ‘Mary is dancing’

b. *øte-øŋ boøŋ-瘁k re-k-øŋ*
    he-DAT dance-CAUS do-PRES-1SG
    ‘I making him dance’

c. *ŋa boøŋ-k-øŋ*
    I dance-PRES-1SG
    ‘I am dancing’
1.4.6 Existential and possession verbs

The verbs such as /toŋ/ and /vin/ are used to denote the existence of an entity as shown in (34a). In negative construction such as in (34b), the negative marker /ho/ immediately follows the noun indicating the non-existence of an entity. In such negative construction, existential or possession verb is dropped or deleted. In other words, verb of existence cannot be negated, otherwise it would yield ungrammatical sentence as shown in (34c).

(34) a. ḍɔban toŋ-a or ḍɔban vin
    god exist-AFP
    ‘God is there’ or ‘There is God’

b. ḍɔban -ho
    god -NEG
    ‘There is no God’

c. *ḍɔban vin-ho or *ḍɔban toŋ-ho

The same verb forms may also be used alternatively to denote the availability or possession of commodity or entity as shown in (35a & d). Both sentences convey the same meaning. But in case of verb /toŋ/, an additional affirmative marker /a/ is attached to the verb root; otherwise, a sentence such as in (35c) is incomplete. Also when a numeral is introduced in NP (noun phrase), the plural marker /-heʔ/ is dropped whereas in English it is obligatory.

(35) a. ḋa hum pʰɔŋ-ŋi toŋ-a
    I house CLF-two have-AFV
    ‘I have two houses’
b. *ɡa hum pʰəŋ-ni vig
   I house CLF-two have
   ‘I have two houses’

c. *ɡa hum pʰəŋ-ni tog

d. *ɡa hum -heʔ pʰəŋ-ni toŋ-a

1.4.7 Semantic based verbs

Verbs in Hawa Nokte may be further sub-categorized into different types based on the semantic features. The purpose of this classification is to identify the meaning components of forming the semantics verbs and the specification of more subtle meaning elements that differentiate closely related verbs. This classification of verbs incorporates the semantic properties suggested by scholars such as Cook (1970-78), Givón (1984), Payne (1997), and et al.

1.4.7.1 State verbs

Cook (1970-78) stated that a state verb “…specifies that an object is in a certain state or condition” (p. 63). In other words, state verb basically denotes the condition or state of the subject or patient. It denotes a state of affair, which holds two referents by virtue of its intrinsic nature. It is accompanied by an Object noun which specifies what it is that is in that state. Here, the subject may be the “patient-of-state” (Givon 1984:93). Examples are given below in (36):

(36) a. sisa-pa kʰa-t-aʔ
   glass-DEF break-PST-3SG
   ‘The glass is broken’

b. saʔ dura-pa ri-t-aʔ
   tiger big-DEF die-PST-3SG
   ‘The big Tiger is dead’
1.4.7.2 Action verbs

The action verbs involve the physical activities executed by the agent. They attribute an action to the subject or the agent. Actions describe something that verb argument does or performs; hence Agent noun is associated which specifies the instigator of the action. In (37a) and (37b), Mary and Ram are the Actors of the action verbs such as /boŋ/ ‘to dance’ and /vat/ ‘to beat’ respectively.

(37) a.  *meri boŋ-k-a*
    
    mary dance-PRES-3SG
    ‘Mary is dancing’

b.  *ram-ma ŋa-nəŋ vat-h-ọŋ*
    
    ram-ERG I-DAT beat-PRES.INVS-1SG
    ‘Ram is beating me’ [literally: Ram is beating to me]

c.  *ram-ma bol-ko nak-k-a*
    
    ram-ERG I-OBJ kick-PRES-3SG
    ‘Ram is kicking the ball’

1.4.7.3 Process verbs

Following Cook’s (1970-78) definition a process verb “…specifies that an object undergoes a change of state or condition” (p. 63). Generally, a process is a change of state under going over a span of time. In other words, it indicates a change of state from one situation to another of the noun (subject), and this change itself has some duration. It is accompanied by an object which specifies what it is that changes its state or condition. In this case, the subject of the verbs is undergoer or experiencer of the event Verbs such as /men/ ‘to fill’, /vut/ ‘to swing’, /tʰiɛt/ ‘to tie’, etc. are few examples of process verbs as shown in (38).
(38) a. ḏo men-t-a?
   water fill-PST-3SG
   ‘Water is filled’

b. ŋa tʃoলe vut-k-əŋ
   I swing swing-PRES-1SG
   ‘I am swinging’

c. ŋa tʃoলe tʃie-k-əŋ
   I swing tie-PRES-1SG
   ‘I am tieing swing’

1.4.7.4 Action-process verbs

Action-processes verb simultaneously expresses an action and a process. In short, it accounts for both action and process. The action-process verb has two arguments, the performer of the action, Agent, and the thing undergoing the process, Patient. In this case, the subject is the agent who initiates the action and the object is the patient who is affected due to the action of the agent. For example, in (39a), Ram is the Agent of the verb ‘to kill’ and dog is the affected object which is unmarked for case. In (39b), Ram is still the Agent of the verb ‘to shoot’ and the Patient (buffalo) is marked for objective case. To mention a few, the action-process verbs include /ɾitʃe/ ‘to kill’, /suʔ/ ‘to stab/pears’, /hap/ ‘to shoot’, /pʰiɛn/ ‘to spear’, etc., as given in (39).

(39) a. ram-ma hu rıtʃe-k-a
   ram-ERG dog kill-PRES-3SG
   ‘Ram is killing the dog’

b. ram-ma le-nəŋ hap-k-a
   ram-ERG buffalo-OBJ shoot-PRES-3SG
   ‘Ram is shooting the bufalo’
1.4.7.5 Weather verbs

Givón (1984) pointed out that verbs in this class “...denote natural or atmospheric phenomena, conditions of the world or the weather, whereby the event or state cannot be separated from an argument (‘subject’), about which the event/state is predicated” (p. 39). In Hawa Nokte, a word such as /ɾəŋ/ ‘sky’ is usually associated with the weather verbs as the subject of the predicate. Weather verbs such as ‘to rain’, ‘(be) cold’, ‘(be) dark’, ‘(be) hot’, ‘(be) light’, ‘to dawn’, ‘to thunder’, ‘to flash (as lightning)’, etc., generally require the noun /ɾəŋ/ ‘sky’ as their subject to give the complete meaning of the sentence as shown in (40).

(40) a. \(ɾəŋ \text{pat-}t-a\)

sky rain-PST-3SG

‘It rained’

b. \(ɾəŋ \text{pak-}t-a\)

sky dark-PST-3SG

‘It became dark’ [literally: sky has become dark]

c. \(ɾəŋ \text{mok-}k-a\)

sky thunder-PRES-3SG

‘It is thundering’

1.4.7.6 Verbs of involuntary processes

These are the verbs which do not generally involved volitional on the part of the agent. It happens naturally. The verbs include such as /doŋ/ ‘to grow’, /ri/ ‘to die’, /ʧoak/ ‘to dry up’, /poak/ ‘to explode’, /san/ ‘to rot’, etc., as shown in (41).

(41) a. \(ʧoŋpo-po \text{ la-}ʧoak-t-a\)

flower-DEF PERF-dry-PST-3SG

‘The flower has dried’
1.4.7.7 Verbs of bodily functions

These verbs are generally associated with the human body function. They are involuntary processes and they do not involve a change of state. Verbs of this type are usually preceded by the noun to specify the meaning of a word. In (42a) and (42b), the verbs such as /hoŋ/ ‘to appear’, and /pʰe/ ‘to throw’ are preceded by the nouns /he/ ‘blood’ and /pʰat/ ‘vomit’ to give specification of the meaning of the verb. Verb may be either prefixed or suffixed by an inflectional category such as TAM, NEG, etc., as shown in (42b).

(42) a. ŋa kʰo-vaʔ he bọŋ-k-a

I nose-ABL blood appear-PRES-SFP
‘From my nose the blood is coming’

b. ŋa pʰat la-pʰe-t-aʔ

I vomit PERF-throw-PST-1SG
‘I have vomited’

1.4.7.8 Position (Posture) or location verbs

These verbs relate to the static position of an object. In other words, they locate the position or location of the subject. The subject of the verbs may be either animate or inanimate object as shown in (43).
(43) a. ŋa ᱡkun ke-ko ꍟp-t’u
   I school near-LOC stand-DUR
   ‘I am still standing near the school’

b. əte sikit kʰoʔ-ko ʧəŋ-k-a
   I chair above-LOC sit-PRES-1SG
   ‘He is sitting on the chair’

1.4.7.9 Factive verbs

Factive verbs are those verbs that describe the coming into existence of some entity (Payne, 1997). In this case, the subject of the verb is the Agent who initiates the activity which receives ergative case marking as shown in (44) and the object is unmarked.

(44) a. ram-ma hum hoen-k-a
   ram-ERG house make-PRES-3SG
   ‘Ram is building/making the house’

b. əte-ma miŋan-he? ʤaʔ-moaŋ la-kʰoensiet-t-ɑ?
   he-ERG human-PLM more-DEG PERF-gather-PST-3SG
   ‘He has gathered lot of people’

1.4.7.10 Cognition verbs

The cognitive verbs include such as /ʤət/ ‘to know’, /tʰonhun/ ‘to think’, /ʧəmhum/ ‘to remember’, /ləkʰe/ ‘to forget’, /he/ ‘to learn’, etc. The subject is always marked by ergative case marker /-ma/ as shown in (45).

(45) a. ɲa-ma əte-ŋəŋ ʤət-əŋ
   I-ERG he-OBJ know-1SG
   ‘I know him’
b. ŋa-ma ŋin van'te ʔoqbuŋ-vaʔ
   I-ERG thing one think-PST
   ‘I was thinking one thing’

1.4.7.11 Sensational verbs

The sensational verbs are usually associated with the five senses of human sensory. Verbs such as /kʰe/ ‘to see’, /tat/ ‘to hear’, /tum/ ‘to smell’, etc., belong to this type. The subject of the verbs is the experiencer and is marked by ergative case.

(46) a. ŋa-ma meri boŋ kʰ-e-t-ək
    I-ERG mary dance see-PST-1SG
    ‘I saw Mary dancing’ (or I saw Mary’s dance)

b. əte-ma saʔ səp tat-t-aʔ
    he-ERG tiger cry hear-PST-3SG
    ‘He heard Tiger roaring’

1.4.7.12 Emotion verbs

These verbs express the emotion or feelings. Verbs such as /ʧe/ ‘be afraid’, /hun/ ‘to like/want/love’, /rinkʰaʔi/ ‘be angry’, /hunʧʰiʔ/ ‘be sad’, /kʰuhaʔi/ ‘be happy/joyful/ please’, etc., are used to express the inner thoughts or emotions as shown in (47).

(47) a. ɴəŋ sipahi ran nək-ʧe-o
    you army enemy NEG-fear-3SG
    ‘You don’t be afraid of army’

b. ram rinkʰaʔ-k-a
    ram angry-PRES-3SG
    ‘Ram is angry’
1.4.7.13 Utterance verbs

Utterance verbs include such as /dʒap/ ‘to speak/talk’, /tʰo/ ‘to say/tell’, /ʃu/ ‘to ask’, /dan/ ‘to answer’, /rək/ ‘to shout/yell’, /ɾo/ ‘to call’, etc. as given in (48).

(48) a. ŋa ɟap-k-əŋ
   I speak-PRES-1SG
   ‘I am speaking’

b. ŋa-ma ʃe-nəŋ ɡa-t-ək
   I-ERG he-OBJ tell-PST-1SG
   ‘I told him’

1.4.7.14 Benefactive verbs

The subject of the verbs is most commonly an agent and the object is usually the benefactor or receiver. The subject is marked by ergative case and the indirect object receives dative case marking and the direct object is left unmarked as shown in (49). Verbs such as /koʔ/ ‘to give’, /ɾi/ ‘to buy’, /ʃəʔ/ ‘to get’, /səŋ/ ‘to sell’, etc., belong to benefactive verbs.

(49) a. ŋa-ma nən-nəŋ捆 koʔ-t-ɪ
   I-ERG you-DAT money give-PST-1SG
   ‘I gave you the money’

b. ŋa-ma nəŋ-rəŋ tiəp ɾi-t-ək
   I-ERG you-for book buy-PST-1SG
   ‘I bought book for you’
1.4.7.15 Reciprocal/associative verbs

Verbs such as /ʧoʔmin/ ‘to meet’, /ʤapmin/ ‘to speak/talk’, etc., inherently carry reciprocative meaning. In (50), both subject and object is equally the agent, the subject is usually unmarked for case whereas the object is marked for associative case. In case of verb ‘to meet’, the associative case marker /dǝmnǝŋ/ may be or may not be dropped as shown in (50a). However, in case of verb ‘to talk’, it is obligatory; otherwise the dropping of it would yield ungrammatical sentence as shown in (50c).

(50) a. ŋa ram ʧoʔmin-t-ǝk or ŋa ram-dǝmnǝŋ ʧoʔmin-t-ǝk
   I ram meet-PST-1SG I ram-ASSOC meet-PST-1SG
   ‘I met Ram’ ‘I met with Ram’

b. ŋa ram-dǝmnǝŋ tʃen-tʰu ʤapmin-min-a
   I ram-ASSOC QF-time talk-FUT-QP
   ‘When will I talk with Ram?’

c. *ŋa ram tʃen-tʰu ʤapmin-min-a

1.4.7.16 Directional motion verbs

Motion verbs such as /kɑ/ and /vɛn/ inherently encode height-based orientation in relation to the deictic centre. The former carries ‘downward’ and the latter carries ‘upward’ direction of motion. They are usually accompanied by deictic markers such as /t/ and /h/ to specify whether an entity is moving ‘towards the speaker or addressee’ or ‘in direction other than towards the speaker or addressee’ (Talmy, 1985). Motion verbs, thus, can either function as ‘come’ or ‘go’ depending on the deictic marker attached to them.
(i) Towards the addressee or speaker

In present:

(51) a. ŋa ka/vəŋ-r-əŋ
I come[down/up]-PRES.DIR[towards the Adr]-1SG
‘I come down/up’

b. nəŋ ka/vəŋ-r-o
you come[down/up]-PRES.DIR[towards the Sp]-2SG
‘You come down/up’

c. əte ka/vəŋ-r-a
he come[down/up]-PRES.DIR[towards the Sp/Adr]-3SG
‘He comes down/up’

In past:

(52) a. ŋa ka/vəŋ-t-h-əŋ
I house-LOC come[down/up]-PST.DIR[towards the Adr]-1SG
‘I came down/up’

b. nəŋ ka/vəŋ-t-h-o
you come[down/up]-PST.DIR[towards the Sp]-2SG
‘You came down/up’

c. əte ka/vəŋ-t-h-a
he go[down/up]-PST.DIR[towards the Sp/Adr]-3SG
‘He came down/up’
(ii) Away from the addressee or speaker

In present:

(53) a. \( \eta kα\,vωŋ\,k-\,\eta \)

I go[down/up]-PRES.DIR[away from the \( Adr \)]-1SG

‘I go down/up’

b. \( nοη\,kα\,vωŋ\,k-\,ο \)

you go[down/up]-PRES.DIR[away from the \( Sp \)]-2SG

‘You go down/up’

c. \( ətε\,kα\,vωŋ\,k-\,a \)

he go[down/up]-PRES.DIR[away from the \( Sp/Adr \)]-3SG

‘He goes down/up’

In past:

(54) a. \( \eta kα\,vωŋ\,t-\,οk \)

I go[down/up]-PST.DIR[away from the \( Adr \)]-1SG

‘I went down/up’

b. \( nοη\,kα\,vωŋ\,t-\,οp? \)

you go[down/up]-PST.DIR[away from the \( Sp \)]-2SG

‘You went down/up’

c. \( ətε\,kα\,vωŋ\,t-\,a? \)

he go[down/up]-PST.DIR[away from the \( Sp/Adr \)]-3SG

‘He went down/up’

The semantic component of pure motion verbs such as /\( kα/\) and /\( vωŋ/\) can be extended to those events (processes) that basically do not involved actual motion (or say that involved zero physical movement). In such a case, the deictic motion verbs
express or convey the meaning of successive or gradual happening of an event. For instance, in example (55a), the deictic motion verb /ka/ denotes the direction in which the rising of the sun is taking place. The event (rising of the sun) is perceived or understood as something coming or appearing towards the speaker. In other words, in this language, the event of *rising of the sun* cannot be perceived as occurring away from the speaker and thus example (55b) is not acceptable or possible. In (55a), the actual rising of the sun has already occurred prior to the time of speech, thus, the event is marked by past tense marker /t/, and the deictic particle /h/ marks the direction of path i.e., ‘towards the speaker’.

(55) a. *san hoŋ ka-t-h-a*

sun rise come[down]-PST-DIR[towards the Sp]-3SG
‘Sun has risen’

b. *san hoŋ ka-t-a?*

Contrast to the above event, in (56a), *the setting of the sun* is perceived as occurring ‘away’ from the speaker. The event is also perceived as moving in the downward direction in relation to the deictic centre. It can’t be taken as moving towards the speaker as shown in (56b).

(56) a. *san ɲup ka-t-a?*

sun set go[down]-PST.DIR[away from the Sp]-3SG
‘Sun has set’

b. *san ɲup ka-t-h-a*

In (57a), pure motion verb /vəŋ/ indicates the orientated motion in which the flower is sprouting out of the bud. It denotes the ‘upward’ direction of motion. Such event is also perceived as ‘coming’ towards the speaker and not ‘going’ away from
the speaker. Otherwise, the sentence such as in (57b) is awkward to say in Hawa Nokte.

(57) a. ʧoŋpo la-po ʋəŋ-t-h-a

flower PERF-bloom come[up]-PST-DIR[towards the Sp]-3SG

‘The flower has come up’

b. *ʧoŋpo la-po ʋəŋ-t-a?

In (58a), the direction in which the water is flowing up is indicated by the pure motion verb /ʋəŋ/ along with the deictic particle. In this case, the water is flowing from downward to upward direction or from bottom to top. The deictic motion verb is also accompanied by deictic particle /h/ indicating ‘towards’ the speaker. In (58b), the water is flowing in downward direction from its normal position or from the source. The direction of the motion is covertly marked.

(58) a. ḍo la-դեդ en ʋəŋ-t-h-a

water PERF-flow come[up]-PST-DIR[towards the Sp]-3SG

‘Water has flown/came up’

b. ḍo la-դեդ ka-t-a?

water PERF-flow go[down]-PST.DIR[away from the Sp]-3SG

‘Water has flown/went down’

1.4.7.17 Verb ‘bring’ and ‘take’

The morphemes such as /kat/ and /ven/ can function either as ‘bring’ or ‘take’ depending on the deictic particles attached to them. Like the pure motion verbs, they also encode height-based orientation such as upward and downward in relation to the speaker or addressee, and carry the deictic particles to indicate whether an entity is moving ‘towards the speaker’ or ‘other than towards the speaker’.
(i) **In direction towards the speaker**

(59) a. ʤo-pa pe **kat/ven-r-o**

water-DEF carry bring[down/up]-PRES.DIR[towards the *Sp*]-2SG

‘(You) carry and bring the water down/up’

b. ʤo-pa pe **kat/ven-t-h-o**

water-DEF carry bring[down/up]-PST-DIR[towards the *Sp*]-2SG

‘(You) carried and brought the water down/up’

(ii) **In direction towards the addressee**

(60) a. ʤo-pa pe **kat/ven-r-ọ**

water-DEF carry bring[down/up]-PRES.DIR[towards the *Adr*]-1SG

‘(I am) carrying and bringing the water down/up’

b. ʤo-pa pe **kat/ven-t-h-ọ**

water-DEF carry bring[down/up]-PST-DIR[towards the *Adr*]-1SG

‘(I am) carried and brought the water down/up’

(iii) **In direction other than towards the speaker or addressee**

(61) a. ʤo-pa pe **kat/ven-k-ọ**

water-DEF carry take[down/up]-PRES.DIR[away from the *Sp/Adr*]-1SG

‘(I am) carrying and taking the water down/up’

b. ʤo-pa i-ọọ pe **kat/ven-t-ọk**

water-DEF carry take[down/up]-PST.DIR[away from *Sp/Adr*]-1SG

‘(I am) carried and took the water down/up’

**1.4.8 Verbs with specific meaning and function**

In Hawa Nokte, there are specific set of verbs whose meaning and function depend upon the semantic properties of the nouns with which they are used. For
instance, unlike English where verb such as ‘to eat’ means ‘eating anything’ (generic meaning), in Hawa Nokte, such equivalent verb has different forms depending on the nature of thing that one is eating. For instance, a verb ‘to eat food’ would be different from ‘to eat meat or vegetables’ and so on. They are discussed below:

1.4.8.1 Verb ‘to eat’

(i) Verb /ʧʰaʔ/

This verb is used to eat things such as rice, fish, fruits (that are juicy or ripe ones), and other substances that are soft or have some sort of liquid in them as shown in (62).

(62) a. ŋa tfəmʧʰaʔ-t-ək
   I food eat-PST-2SG
   ‘I ate food’

b. mutulariʧʰaʔ-t-iʔ
   orange eat-PST-1PL
   ‘(we) ate orange’

(ii) Verb /pʰək/

This verb is used to eat things which have the properties of hardness and less liquid. Things include such as meat, biscuits, sweets, fruits (that are hard), curry (solid), etc., as shown in (63).

(63) a. əte sinikenpʰək-a
   he sweet eat-3SG
   ‘He eats sweets’

b. ŋa le-ŋəm pʰək-əŋ
   I buffalo-meat eat-1SG
   ‘I eat buffalo meat’
c. *pendonri* $p^{h}o^{k}-o-a$

    jackfruit eat-2SG-QP
    ‘Would you eat Jackfruit?’

d. *$p^{h}\text{aru}$* $p^{h}o^{k}-o-le$

    vegetable eat-2SG-QP
    ‘Will you eat vegetable?’

### 1.4.8.2 Verb ‘to prepare’

(i) **Verb /poen/**

This verb is used to cook rice. It can only be used for the preparation of food or rice as shown in (64a), and not with any other kind of activity.

(64) *noŋ-ma tfəm la-\textit{poen}-t-a?*

    mother-ERG rice PERF-cook-PST-3SG
    ‘Mother has cooked rice’

(ii) **Verb /beʔ/**

For preparing items such as vegetables, meat, fishes, etc., (or other than rice), this verb is used as shown in (65).

(65) a. *ŋa ŋa? beʔ-k-əŋ*

    I fish prepare-PRES-1SG
    ‘I am preparing fish’

b. *əte-ma $p^{h}\text{aru}$ beʔ-t-a?*

    she-ERG vegetable prepare-PST-3SG
    ‘She prepared the vegetables’
c. ŋa-ma ri-t-ək ŋaʔ-he beʔ-t-oʔ-le

I-ERG buy-PST-1SG fish-PLM prepare-PST-2SG-QP

‘Did you prepare the fish that I bought?’

(iii) Verb /lum/

This verb is used to prepare items such as yam, arum, tapioca, meat, etc., by boiling them into the water. However, the same verb can’t be used for boiling the water as shown in (66d), because water is used (as medium) to boil the things; thus, in Hawa Nokte, water can only be made ‘hot’ (and cannot be boiled) as shown in (66c).

(66) a. bəŋhaʔk’oen lum-t-oʔ-le

topoica boil-PST-2SG-QP

‘Did you boil topoica?’

b. ŋa to lum-min

I arum boil-FUT

‘I will boil yum’

c. ŋa dʒo k’am-k-əŋ

I water hot-PRES-1SG

‘I am boiling water’ [literally: ‘I am making water hot’]

d. *ŋa dʒo lum-k-əŋ

1.4.8.3 Verb ‘to cut’

(i) Verb /doak/

This verb is used to cut things such as bamboo, tree, animal, human, reptiles, etc., with the help of dao (a kind of implement having sharp edge on single side used by men for cutting trees, bamboos, etc.,) as shown in (67).
a. *pu-ko doak-o*
   snake-OBJ cut-2SG
   ‘Cut the snake’

b. *nəŋ dok doak-ri-t-oʔ-ne*
   you hand cut-self-PST-2SG-QP
   ‘Did you cut your hand?’

(ii) **Verb /tʰaʔ/**

   This verb is used to cut some part or portion of the things such as head or leg of the animals, bamboo, tokku-patta (betel leaf), etc., as given in (68).

   (68) a. *le kʰo-pa tʰaʔ-k-o*
       buffalo head-DEF cut-PRES-2SG
       ‘(you) cut the buffalo’s head’

   b. *bəŋpantʰoŋ-va? bəŋ la-ʔe-to tʰaʔ ka-məŋ-o*
       plantation-ABL tree CLF-one-QUANT cut go[down]-REQU-2SG
       ‘From the plantation you cut one tree and bring it here’

(iii) **Verb /dʒoit/**

   This verb is used to cut down trees and also to cut animals (big in shape and size) such as buffalo, cow, etc., with an intention to kill them as shown in (69).

   (69) a. *ni lokuʔ-ko le rəŋ-ŋoît-e*
       we festival-on buffalo HAB-cut-1PL
       ‘We kill/cut buffalo on festival’

   b. *ne-ma bəŋ-va? la-ʔe-to dʒoit ka-məŋ-en*
       you-ERG tree-ABL CLF-one-QUANT cut go[down]-REQU-2PL
       ‘You (pl) go and cut one tree’
(iv) **Verb /pan/**

This verb is used to cut meat or things to make into pieces with the help of *dao* as shown in (70).

(70) a. ŋa ŋəm la-ta-kʰiʔ pan-t-ək

I meat PERF-can-piece cut-PST-1SG

‘I have cut the meat into pieces’

b. ŋaŋ yaʔ ta-pan-o-le

you fish can-cut-2SG-QP

‘Do you know to cut fish?’

(v) **Verb /kʰen/**

This verb is used to cut things especially with the help of knife, blade, and *dao* without using much effort or energy as shown in (71).

(71) a. ŋəm-vaʔ ʧʰup-rʰe-to kʰen-məŋtan

meat-ABL piece-one-QUANT cut-REQU

(i) ‘Please cut a piece of meat’

(ii) ‘Please cut a piece from the meat’

b. ŋa dək kʰen-ri-k-əŋ

I hand cut-self-PRES-1SG

‘I cut my hand’

(vi) **Verb /miap/**

This verb can be used to cut or slice the fruits or vegetables into small pieces with the help of knife or *dao*. It also means to remove the skin or outer part of the vegetables and fruits as shown in (72).
(72) a. əte-ma pʰəru miap-k-a
    he-ERG vegetable cut-PRES-3SG
    ‘He is cutting vegetable’

    b. penri-heʔ-vaʔ miap-məŋ-o
    fruit-PLM-ABL cut-REQU-2SG
    ‘(please) cut from the fruits’

(vii) Verb /bo/

    This verb is used to cut firewood into small pieces with the help of axe as shown in (73).

(73) ʧan-heʔ kʰa bo-məŋ-o
    firewood-PLM piece cut-REQU-2SG
    ‘Cut the firewood into pieces’

(viii) Verb /ʧit/

    This verb is used to cut firewood with the help of axe but not with dao to split into regular pieces as shown in (74).

(74) ʧan-heʔ kʰaʧit-məŋ-o
    firewood-PLM piece cut-REQU-2SG
    ‘Cut the firewood into pieces’

(ix) Verb /ʧiəp/ and /ʧun/

    The verb /ʧiəp/ is used to cut hair, beard, moustache, paper, clothes, etc., with the help of scissor or blade as shown in (75). However, the verb /ʧun/ can only be used to cut hair, beard and moustache, and it cannot be used for cutting paper, clothe, etc.
(75) a. \( \eta a \ k^\circ o \ t\text{iap}^\circ t\text{u} \)
   I head cut-DUR
   ‘I am cutting hair’

b. \( n\text{o}n \ k\text{a?n}\text{e}\ t\text{f}^\circ \text{un-t-o?-le} \)
   you beard cut-PST-2SG-QP
   ‘Did you cut your beard?’

(x) **Verb /p^b\text{an}/**

This verb is used to cut the bunch of bamboos or branches instantly without bothering anything. In other words, it means to cut down something in a haphazard manner as shown in (76).

(76) \( n\text{i va?-he? t\text{f}^\circ \text{en-ra}\text{g} \ p^b\text{an-t-et-a} \)
we bamboo-PLM QF-for cut-PST-2PL-QP
   ‘Why you cut our bamboos?’

(xi) **Verb /s\text{am}/**

This verb is used to cut the bushes or jungle properly with care and attention as shown in (77).

(77) a. \( i\text{re vun-he? d\text{zut s}\text{am-m\text{o}n-en} \)
that jungle-PLM level cut-REQU-2PL
   ‘Please cut those grasses/jungles’

b. \( \eta a \ vunt^\circ t\text{h-o}\text{n-he? s}\text{am-\text{o}n} \)
I bush-PLM cut-1SG
   ‘Let me cut the bushes’
1.4.8.4 Verb ‘to wash’

(i) **Verb /soen/**

This verb is used for bathing (of whole body), and washing or cleaning of vegetables, meat, fishes, and vehicles as shown in (78).

(78) a. ʤo soen-t-oʔ-le
    water bath-PST-2SG-QP
    ‘Did you take bath?’

b. ŋam-heʔ sa soen-k-en
    meat-PLM clean wash-PRES-2PL
    ‘You wash the meat(s)’

(ii) **Verb /mutpʰe/**

This verb is particularly used to wash face as shown in (79a). It cannot be used with other nouns as it may yield semantically unacceptable sentence as shown in (79b).

(79) a. nəŋ th en mutpʰe-t-oʔ-le
    you face wash-PST-2SG-QP
    ‘Did you wash your face?’

b. *nəŋ da mutpʰe-t-oʔ-le
    you leg wash-PST-2SG-QP
    ‘Did you wash your leg?’

(iii) **Verb /mepʰe/**

This verb is used to clean or wash the feet or legs with water as shown in (80).
(80)  *nəŋ da mepe-t-o?-le*

you leg wash-PST-2SG-QP
‘Did you wash your leg?’

(iv) **Verb /**set/ **/**

This verb is used to wash the head (and not whole body) or clothes with water as shown in (81).

(81) a. *me kʰo set-t-o?-le*

your head wash-PST-2SG-QP
‘Did you wash your head?’

b. *ŋa-ma nəŋ kʰət-heʔ sa set-t-ək*

I-ERG you cloth-PLM clean wash-PST-1SG
‘I washed your clothes clean’

(v) **Verb /**papʰe-/ **/**

This verb is used to clean or wash the mouth and dishes (utensils) with water as shown in (82).

(82) a. *van-heʔ papʰe-t-o?-le*

plate-PLM wash-PST-2SG-QP
‘Did you wash the plates?’

b. *nəŋ tʰun-pa papʰe-o*

you mouth-DEF wash-2SG
‘You wash your mouth’

c. *tit-heʔ papʰe-o*

utensil-PLM wash-2SG
‘You wash the utensils’
1.4.8.5 Verb ‘to carry’

(i) Verb /səm/

This verb is used to carry objects which are relatively lighter in weight. The objects or things should be such that one should be able to carry them in hand as shown in (83).

(83) a. ɗen səm-t-oʔ-le

dao carry-PST-2SG-QP
‘Did you carry the dao?’

b. ɗiŋəpəsəm-k-ʔəŋ

book carry-PRES-1SG
‘(I am) carrying book’

(ii) Verb /pe/

This verb is used to carry relatively heavier objects either by hand or on the shoulder as shown in (84a). It is also used to hold the baby as shown in (84b). The use of this verb to carry the needle, however, is awkward and not appropriate in Hawa Nokte as shown in (84c).

(84) a. ne-ma ʔoŋ-pa ta-pe-en-le

you-ERG pillar-DEF can-carry-2PL-QP
‘Can you (all) carry the pillar?’

b. naŋk-a-pa pe-məŋ-o

baby-DEF carry-REQU-2SG
‘Please hold the baby’

c. metku pe kat-ʔ-o [awkward]

needle carry-bring[down]-PRES.DIR[towards the Sp]-2SG
‘(You) bring the needle’
(iii) Verb /hen/

This verb is used to carry objects on the head or by vehicle as shown in (85). It is associated with the use of traditional basket by womenfolk to carry the things. Men usually carry the things on their shoulders.

(85) a. von hen vəŋ-t-et-le

   rice carry go[up]-PST-2PL-QP
   ‘Did you (pl) go to carry the rice?’

b. tʃan-heʔ la-hen ven-t-h-əŋ

   firewood-PLM PERF-carry bring[up]-PST-DIR[towards the Adr]-1SG
   ‘(I) carried and brought the firewood’

c. pit-ŋəŋ to he ka-k-əŋ

   field-LOC yum carry go[down]-PRES.DIR[away form the Sp/Adr]-1SG
   ‘I am going to the paddy field to carry yum’

(iv) Verb /baʔ/  

This verb is particularly used to carry baby on the back with the help of some support. Also, it can be used to carry any person or thing on the back with or without any support. Examples are given in (86).

(86) a. nauʔ-a-pa tom-ko baʔ-ŋəŋ-o

   baby-DEF back-LOC carry-REQU-2SG
   ‘(Please) carry the baby on your back’

b. ŋəŋ-ma ŋa-ŋəŋ ta-baʔ-h-əŋ-le

   you-ERG I-OBJ can-carry-INVS-1SG-QP
   ‘Will you be able to carry me on your back?’
1.5 Summary

Verbal system in Hawa Nokte consists of verb stems and verbal inflectional afixes. Verb stems may be either simple or complex verb stems based on the structural composition. Finite verbs usually inflect for TAM, PNAgr, NEG, etc., whereas non-finite verbs do not inflect. Finite verbs may be categorized into intransitive and transitive verbs. Causative verb is formed morphologically. Semantically, verbs may have various types such as action, state, process, weather verbs, motion verbs, emotion verbs, posture verbs, etc. Hawa Nokte also has special set of verbs which have specific meaning and function depending on the nouns with which they are used.