

A MORPHOLOGY OF SÜMI

*(A Dissertation Submitted to Nagaland University in
partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of
degree of M.Phil. in Linguistics)*

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DECLARATION

I, Mughalivi, hereby declare that the subject matter of my thesis entitled A MORPHOLOGY OF SÜMI is the bonafide record of work done by me under the supervision of Dr. Laishram Bijenkumar Singh and that the content of the dissertation did not form the basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the dissertation or any part of it, has not been submitted by me for any other research degree, fellowship, associateship, etc. in any other university or institute. This is being submitted to the Nagaland University for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Linguistics.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Ms. Mughalivi, Roll No. M.Phil./02/2019, bearing registration number 83/2019, M.Phil. Scholar of Centre for Naga tribal Language Studies, Nagaland University, Kohima Campus, Meriema has completed her dissertation entitled, A MORPHOLOGY OF SÜMI under my Guidance and supervision.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the facts reported and incorporated in this respect have been collected first hand by the scholar, and that other sources wherever elaborated and recorded have been acknowledged. This is again certified that the research has been undertaken as per UGC Regulations May 2016 (amended) and the scholar has fulfilled the criteria mentioned in the University Ordinances for submission of the thesis. A plagiarism test of the thesis has been conducted and 1% of similarity has been detected (ID D111959151) which is permissible under the UGC regulations 2018.

This dissertation is ready and fit for submission.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am delighted to submit this dissertation for my M.Phil. degree in Linguistics under the topic “A Morphology of Sümi”.

The compilation and fulfillment of this study would not have been possible if not for the people who have continuously assisted me since the start. Their genuineness and interest towards the topic and the language did motivate me and pushed me further in many aspects, during this fixed time frame.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my Supervisor, Dr. L. Bijenkumar Singh, for not only giving me his valuable time but for always guiding me and encouraging me with his explicit suggestions throughout the phase of my dissertation. His concerns and dedication towards building a stable research environment even during this uncertain pandemic are applaudable. Without his supervision and help, this dissertation would not have been completed on time.

Special gratitude goes to my four consultants: S. Yehovi Sümi, Inaho Swu, Vekuto Muru, and Shiyeli Sümi, for always availing their time and imparting their knowledge without any reservation, during the data collection. Their patience and tolerance even during the long hours of discussion are appreciated, and for which I, now remain indebted.

Also, I am thankful to the faculty members of the Centre for Naga Tribal Language Studies, Dr. Imlienla Imchen, and Miss Yanbeni Yanthan, for their continuous concern and encouragement, who were at all times ready for any kind of assistance and advice. And also I would like to thank my CNTLS colleagues who have been with me in this journey who kept me calm and supported which helped me to be on track with my work without losing my interest.

It will be incomplete without mentioning Prof. Nigamanada Das, and Dr. Mimi Kevichusa who with their careful suggestions and compliments during the pre-submission introduced this work into a more, refine and reliable one for which I am very thankful.

All through this research, I remain indebted to my family for their continuous care and support without which I would not be what I am today.

And most of all I thank the Almighty God for his blessings and faithfulness.

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CONTENTS

DECLARATION_____	i
CERTIFICATE_____	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT_____	iii
CONTENTS_____	v
TABLES_____	xiii
MAPS & FIGURES_____	xiv
GLOSSING ABBRIVIATIONS_____	xv

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Sümi_____	1
1.1 Location_____	2
1.2 Geography_____	3
1.3 Origin and Migration_____	4
1.4 People and Character_____	6
1.5 Village Institution_____	8
1.6 Culture and Tradition_____	9
1.6.1 Festival_____	10
1.6.1.1 Tuluni_____	10
1.6.1.2 Ahuna_____	10
1.6.2 Traditional attire_____	11
1.6.2.1 Women Mekhala_____	11
1.6.2.2 Men Shawls_____	12
1.6.3 Economy_____	13
1.6.4 Indigenous Game_____	14
1.6.5 Indigenous Cuisine_____	15
1.6.6 Marriage_____	15
1.6.7 Education_____	18
1.6.8 Kinship and Inheritance_____	18
1.6.9 Birth and Death_____	21

1.6.9.1 Birth	21
1.6.9.2 Death	21
1.6.10 Religion	23
1.7 Sümi Language	26
1.8 Status of the Language	27
1.9 The Language Classification	28
1.10 Review of Literature	33
1.10.1 Morphology as a Linguistics Branch	33
1.10.2 Understanding Word	34
1.10.3 Morphology a Word Formation	35
1.10.4 Previous Work Observation	36
1.10.4.1 Phonology	37
1.10.4.2 Morphology	38
1.10.4.3 Case	42
1.11 Rational for taking up the Research Topic	44
1.12 Methodology and Structure of the Book	44
 CHAPTER 2: NOUN MORPHOLOGY	
2.0 Noun	46
2.1 Simple Noun	46
2.1.1 Mass nouns	48
2.1.2 Count nouns	48
2.2 Derived Noun	49
2.2.1 The /a-/ prefix	50
2.2.2 The /kv-/ prefixes	50
2.3 Compound Noun	54
2.3.1 Noun + Noun = Noun	54
2.3.2 Verb + Verb = Noun	55
2.3.3 Noun + Verb = Noun	56
2.4 Number	56
2.4.1 The Plural /qo/	57

2.4.2	Dual	58
2.4.3	Modifier + /qo/	60
2.4.4	Determiner + /qo/	61
2.4.5	Numerals	61
2.5	Quantifier	61
2.6	Gender	62
2.6.1	Animate human	62
2.6.2	Animate non-human	64
2.6.2.1	The feminine marker /alí/	65
2.6.2.2	The feminine marker /ani/	65
2.6.2.3	The feminine marker /aqu/	66
2.6.2.4	The masculine marker /atsi/	66
2.6.2.5	The masculine marker /alī/	67
2.6.2.6	The masculine marker /adu/	67
2.7	Case	68
2.7.1	The case marker /no/	69
2.7.1.1	Agentive	69
2.7.1.2	Focus	70
2.7.2	The case marker /je/	70
2.7.2.1	Topic	70
2.7.2.2	Experiencer	71
2.7.3	Possessive	71
2.7.4	Locative	72
2.7.4.1	Place location	72
2.7.4.2	Person location	73
2.7.4.3	Time and event	73
2.7.5	Instrumental	74
2.7.6	Ablative	76
2.7.6.1	/lono/	76
2.7.6.2	/launo/	76
2.7.7	Comitative	77

2.7.8	About	77
2.7.9	Additive	78
2.7.10	Benefactive	78
2.7.11	Vocative	79

CHAPTER 3: PRONOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.0	Pronoun	80
3.1	Personal Pronoun	80
3.1.1	Singular	81
3.1.1.1	The 1 st person singular	82
3.1.1.2	The 2 nd person singular	83
3.1.1.3	The 3 rd person singular	84
3.1.2	Dual	85
3.1.2.1	1 st person dual	86
3.1.2.2	2 nd person dual	86
3.1.2.3	3 rd person dual	86
3.1.2.3.1	/pama/	87
3.1.2.3.2	/hipama/	87
3.1.2.3.2	/li pama/ or /lima/	88
3.1.3	Plural	88
3.2	Possessive Pronoun	90
3.3	Reflexive Pronoun	92
3.4	Interrogative Pronoun	93
3.5	Demonstrative Pronoun	97
3.6	Indefinite Pronoun	99
3.6.1	Indefinite person pronoun	100
3.6.2	Indefinite place pronoun	101
3.6.3	Indefinite state pronoun	101
3.6.4	Indefinite time pronoun	102

CHAPTER 4: VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.0	Verb	103
4.1	Transitive Verb	103
4.2	Intransitive Verb	104
4.3	Negation	105
4.3.1	Clausal Negation	105
4.3.1.1	Declarative Clause	105
4.3.1.2	Interrogative Clause	107
4.3.1.2.1	WH- Questions	107
4.3.1.2.1	Yes/No Questions	108
4.3.1.3	Hortative	108
4.3.1.4	Imperatives	109
4.3.1.5	Prohibitive	110
4.3.1.6	Double Negation	111
4.4	Causative	111
4.5	Purposive	112
4.6	Reciprocal	112
4.7	Tense, Aspect and Mood	113
4.7.1	Tense	113
4.7.1.1	Present tense	114
4.7.1.2	Past tense	114
4.7.1.3	Future tense	115
4.7.2	Aspect	116
4.7.2.1	Imperfective aspect	116
4.7.2.1.1	Habitual aspect	116
4.7.2.1.1.1	The habitual aspect /tʃe/	116
4.7.2.1.1.2	The habitual aspect /tʃeni/	117
4.7.2.1.2	Progressive aspect	117
4.7.2.1.2.1	Present progressive	117
4.7.2.1.2.2	Past progressive	118
4.7.2.2	Perfective aspect	118

4.7.3	Mood	119
4.7.3.1	Imperative	119
4.7.3.2	Requestive	120
4.7.3.3	Permissive	120
4.7.3.4	Obligatory	121
4.7.3.5	Necessity	121
4.7.3.6	Possibility	122
4.7.3.7	Suggestive	122
4.7.3.8	Ability	123

CHAPTER 5: ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

5.0	Adjective	124
5.1	Adjective of Quality	124
5.1.1	Positive	124
5.1.2	Negative	125
5.1.3	Appearance	126
5.1.4	Size	127
5.2	Adjective of Quantity	128
5.3	Adjective of Colour	128
5.4	Adjective of Taste	130
5.5	Adjective of Dimension	131
5.6	Adjective of Comparison	132
5.6.1	Positive	132
5.6.2	Comparison	133
5.6.3	Superlative	134
5.7	Numerals	135
5.7.1	Cardinal	135
5.7.2	Ordinal	138
5.7.3	Multiplicative	139
5.7.4	Aggregative numerals	139
5.7.5	Approximate numerals	139

5.7.6	Distributional numerals_____	140
5.7.7	Fractional numerals_____	140
5.7.8	Measurement system_____	141
5.9.8.1	Grain_____	141
5.9.8.2	Length_____	141

CHAPTER 6: WORD FORMATION

6.0	Word Formation_____	143
6.1	Derivation_____	143
6.2	Compound_____	145
6.2.1	Endocentric compound_____	148
6.2.1.1	The right headed compound_____	149
6.2.1.2	The left headed compound_____	149
6.2.2	Exocentric compound_____	150
6.2.3	Coordinate compound_____	151
6.3	Reduplication_____	152
6.3.1	Morphological Reduplication_____	152
6.3.1.1	Sense of Sight_____	153
6.3.1.2	Sense of touch_____	154
6.3.1.3	Sense of feeling_____	156
6.3.1.4	Sounds from the natural phenomina_____	157
6.3.1.5	Sounds from human_____	158
6.3.1.6	Sounds from animal_____	159
6.3.1.7	Sounds from inanimate objects_____	159
6.3.1.8	Action oriented expressives_____	159
6.3.2	Lexical Reduplication_____	159
6.3.2.1	Echo Formation_____	159
6.3.2.2	Word Reduplication_____	160
6.3.2.2.1	Complete Word Reduplication_____	160
6.3.2.2.1.1	Noun reduplication_____	161
6.3.2.2.1.2	Verb reduplication_____	161

6.3.2.2.2	Partial Word Reduplication	162
6.3.2.2.2.1	Adjective	162
6.3.2.2.2.2	Verb	163
6.3.2.2.2.3	Cardinal reduplication	163
6.3.2.3	Compound Formation	164
6.4	Borrowing	164

CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.0	Overview	166
7.1	Brief review on each chapter	166
7.2	Concluding Note	170

Bibliography	171-177
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TABLES

Table 1.1:	Gender markers of Hutton (1921) and Sreedhar (1980)
Table 1.2:	Gender marker (2021)
Table 2.1:	Noun + Verb = Noun
Table 2.2:	Cardinal Number for Plural
Table 2.3:	Animate non-human gender marker in Sümi
Table 2.4:	The marker /alı/
Table 2.5:	The marker /anı/
Table 2.6:	The marker /aqu/
Table 2.7:	The marker /atsi/
Table 2.8:	The marker /alı/
Table 2.9:	The marker /adu/
Table 2.10:	Case markers in Sümi
Table 3.1:	Personal pronouns in Sümi
Table 3.2:	Plural pronouns with /ŋu/
Table 3.3:	Plural pronouns with /ŋu/ and /qo/
Table 3.4:	Possessive pronouns in Sümi
Table 3.5:	Reflexive pronouns in Sümi
Table 3.6:	Interrogative pronouns in Sümi
Table 3.7:	Demonstrative pronouns in Sümi
Table 3.8:	Indefinite person pronoun
Table 3.9:	Indefinite place pronoun
Table 3.10:	Indefinite state pronoun
Table 3.11:	Indefinite time pronoun
Table 5.1:	Positive quality in Sümi
Table 5.2:	Negative quality in Sümi
Table 5.3:	Colours terms in Sümi
Table 5.4:	Cardinals in Sümi
Table 5.5:	Ordinals in Sümi
Table 6.1:	Borrowed words in Sümi

MAPS

- Map. No 1.1: Map of Zunheboto
Map. No 1.2: Map of Nagaland
Map. No 1.3: Tibeto-Burman Linguistics Area

FIGURES

- Figure 1.1: Benedict's classification of Sino-Tibetan (1942)
Figure 1.2: Grierson's classification of Tibeto-Burman languages
Figure 1.3: Genetic classification of Burling in (2003: 184)
Figure 2.1: Number distribution in Sümi
Figure 3.1: First-person singular pronoun of Sümi
Figure 3.2: Second person singular pronoun in Sümi
Figure 3.3: Third person singular pronoun in Sümi
Figure 3.4: The third person pronoun dual markers in Sümi
Figure 4.1: Negation in Sümi
Figure 4.2: Tenses in Sümi
Figure 6.1: Types of Reduplicated Structure by Abbi (1992:14)

ABBREVIATION

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ADJ	adjective
AGT	agent
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
COMPL	completive
CONN	connective
CONT	continuative
DEF	definite
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic
EXP	experiencer
F	female
FOC	focus
FUT	future
HAB	habitual
HON	honorific
IMP	imperative
INCEP	inceptive
IND	indicative
INST	instrumental
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
M	masculine

MED	medial
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalization
NRL	non-relational
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect
PRES	present
PRX	prefix
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximate
PST	past
PURP	purposive
Q	question
QUAN	quantifier
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
SBJV	subjunctive
SUPR	superlative
TOP	topic
VOC	vocative

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Sümi

Sümi is one of the eight tribal units of Nagaland and its people are also referred by the same; also known as 'Sema'. A trade that is common to all the Naga tribes the Sümis likewise is an ethnic group of people having its own, unique language, culture, and tradition. Along with the Sümi tribe, Nagaland is co-inhabited with major tribes like; Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Chang, Kachari, Khamniungan, Konyak, Kuki, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Yimchunger, and Zeme-Liangmai (Zeliang).

The writing tradition was not practiced during the forefathers' time for which the history of the tribe remains with no definite record of the past. The only existing form of history was passed down in the form of an oral tradition with which in the present time the writers and the researchers' tries to transmit the oral into writings. One of the common narratives about the derivation of the term Sümi/Sema can be traced back to a man name Lozu who was said to be the youngest and the third son of Tseo. Being the third the eastern Angami (Tsongu) called him 'Sü' and the western Angami (Tsongu) called him 'Se', both 'Sü' and 'Se' means 'three' and so it is believed that from this the term Sümi/Sema came to be known. As for the second morpheme or syllable 'mi/ma' it means 'person/people', hence; Sü/Se people. It is said that the generation of Lozu came to be known as Sümi/Sema, Ghulakha (2009/2011: 26). On 30th September 1995, the Governor of Nagaland announced the replacement of 'Sema' with 'Sümi', for all official and non-official correspondences.

The language spoken by this tribe is known as 'Sütsa' which is a combination of two morphemes 'Sü' and 'atsah' where generally the former is referred to its people and the latter 'atsa' means 'word' indicating 'language' as in; Sü language spoken by the Sü people.

1.1 Location

The Sümi at large occupies the district of Zunheboto which is a quite mountainous region with nearly 200 villages. The district is also known by the title ‘The Land of Warriors’. Before the term Zunheboto was coined it was just simply referred to as ‘Sümi country’ or ‘Sümi land’. ‘It is interesting to note that Zunheboto district was never known by a single nomenclature before’, (*Census of India 2011, Nagaland. Series-14, Part XII-B; Pg-9*).

The term ‘Zunheboto’ is derived from the three sets of words ‘zunhe’, ‘abo’, and ‘ato’ where ‘zunhe’ is the name of a flowering shrub with white leaves bearing spongelike ears containing sweet juice, ‘abo’ means ‘tree’ and ‘ato’ means ‘hill top’. Thus, the name Zunheboto originated after the flower found on the top of the hill. The term for which was coined in a need to address the name of the school and its location during the initial stage of the academic introduction. To avoid any misunderstanding or show indication of favoritism to a particular village or person/clan, the term ‘Zunheboto’ was coined. On 19th December 1973, the Zunheboto District was made official. In terms of area, the district occupies eighth place among the eleven districts of the state. In terms of population as per the 2011 census record, there are 140,757 people, 71,217 male, and 69,540 female. Just in recent times, Zunheboto is recognized as the place where Asia’s largest church stands i.e. ‘Sümi Baptist Church Zunheboto’.

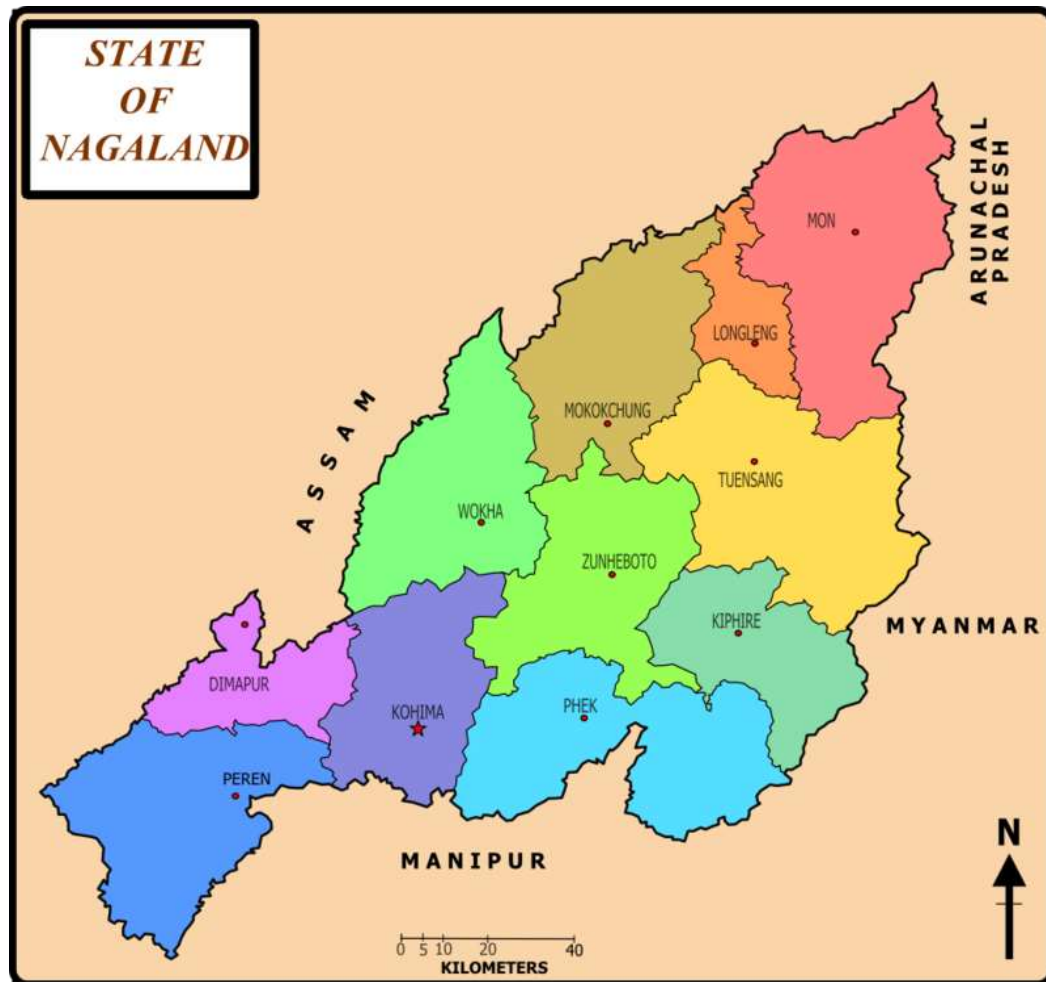
The Sümi people are not only attested to one district alone but are also found in some other Districts of Nagaland like Dimapur, Kohima, Mokokchung, Tuensang, Kiphire also occupies the seven villages in Tinsukia Districts of the state of Assam, so inclusive of all this places the general population of Sümi is estimated to be around 300,000.



Map No 1.1: Map of Zunheboto

1.2 Geography

Zunheboto is located in the middle of the Nagaland State (India), bounded by Mokokchung and part of Tuensang in the North, Phek in the South, Kiphire and part of Tuensang in the East, and Wokha and Kohima in the West. It has an area of about 1255 sq.km with an altitude of 1313.69m above sea level, representing 7.57 % of the total area of the State Nagaland.



Map. No 1.2: Map of Nagaland

1.3 Origin and Migration

The exact record of where the Sümi or rather the Naga as a whole originated remains unclear as a result of the time passage without the prevalence of a written history until the British intervention in 1832. But there is a great legend behind the origin of the tribe which stresses the location of the Khezakenoma along with some other Naga tribes like Angami, Chakhesang, Lotha, and Rengma which were passed down orally. It is regarded as a home to many Naga tribes i.e. before the migration. Khezakenoma is to the South of the present Sümi habitat but ‘They do not, however, trace their origin south of Mao, but

point to Tukahu (Japvo) as the place from which they sprang' *Hutton* (19212: 5). Another claim points to Swema, located near Kezabama, a place that is still occupied by the Sümi with partial Angami traditional influence but retaining its language. Also one of the many theories traces out that Sümi as wonderers spread out towards north from Hebolimi, Chishilimi, Mishilimi, and Awohumi, which are all Sümi villages situated towards the south-west of the Zunheboto district.

Yet again there is also a great story about the battle of Lazami (a group of Sümi people) against the Angami near Swema. In that battle as an outcome of defeat, they withdrew towards the west and approached the Zubza River, later on taking the route towards the north until their proper settlement at the present villages of Lazami, Mishilimi, and Natsümi. The villages that are mentioned here 'Hebolimi, Chishilimi, Mishilimi, Awohumi, Lazami and Natsümi' are all located towards the Dayang valley. At present time these villages along with some 20 new villages and small towns are grouped and are known by the name 'Aphuye', where 'aphu' means 'village', 'ye' here means 'foundation/establish' indicating this was the place where the foundation was laid and its people are referred by the name 'Aphuyemi' /ap^hujemi/.

The migration route of Sümi can be seen in connection with some tribes of Naga. The Rengmas and the Lothas from the west who were at the same time trying to spread east, it was possible for Sümi to set up their own place in the west bank of the river when faced with the less warlike Rengmas which at that time stretches towards the east of Tizu. Sümis are considered the cause for the separation of the 'Naked Rengmas' from others and who also expelled Sangtams to the east by spreading northeast. (Then the Aos which spread as far as south of Kileki stream, was also covered by the Sümi and owing to the drive the Aos packed as refugees to Longsa away to the north from the south because of the intolerable raid made by Seromi (Sümi). After invading the north-west it turned northeast pushing further the Sangtam east and south. The linguistic fact on this

account can be seen in Marrison (1967: 289) where the names of the rivers in Zunheboto end with the /-ki/ word which means ‘water’ in Sangtam, for instance, kiliki, Orki, Langki. ‘...the word itself for ‘river’ in Sumi *àghòkì* /ayoki/ also contains -ki, which is not found in other Angami-Pochuri language’ Teo (2014: 6). The Angami-Pochury here refers to the language classification made by Burling (2003).

In the words of Hutton (1921-2007: 6) ‘Whatever the origin of the Semas was, it is quite clear that the Dayang Valley was the route by which they first entered the present Sema country’. Here the Dayang valley will be Southwest of the Zunheboto district.

1.4 People and character

The Sümi people were known to be brave warriors who practiced headhunting before the coming of Christianity. (They were called the most primitive taking into account the neighboring tribes). They were proud, courageous, and strong taking pride in the number of heads they took which in turn earned them stature, respect, and was given the status of a hero. Having the Mongoloid feature the Sümis were well-built and healthy though not intimidating like the Angamis in height.

At one time they are considered colonizers, their tradition such that their man especially the bloodline of the chief moves out from the father’s home to set up his own colony and practice his own authority. At other times ‘he is to some extent the Irishman of the Naga tribes’ for his generosity, hospitability, and frequent improvident nature, Hutton (1921/2007: 26).

Sümis were also regarded as short-tempered and egoistic who could not tolerate any kind of insult. What pleases them were showers of praise, they love to be praised. Though aggressive they were at the same time cheerful and easily light-hearted when faced with an unpleasant situation. Their decision makings were

smart and to the point as they were not at all laidback. They were fearless at wars and their fearlessness can also be asserted from the way they went on invading their neighboring lands. Celebration and feast were frequent for every victory, every head and season.

Women were forbidden to touch the spear, machete (dao), or any kind of weapon belonging to a man that was used for hunting and wars because they believed it weakens the aura of a man and makes him powerless in front of his prey or foe to the extent of not being able to kill or find any prey. Women were considered timid and weak, a characteristic that cannot be entertained by a hunter or a warrior. Also, they were not allowed to sit at the place their husband sat. The women were supposed to stay clean, pure, and untainted.

One interesting character of a Sümi man is how he gives importance to the title and relation of ‘ashou’ /afou/ which is practiced to this day with utter respect to the person addressed. This term is not used on families or normal friends but referred to someone of a different place, village, even tribe, or the least not belonging to the same clan. This is someone who surpasses the status of a family or a friend where there is mutual respect, understanding, love and care, a willingness to sacrifice from both ends and when not in touch are still thought about constantly especially about their wellbeing.

Hutton (1921: 4) mentioned that the Sümis were the most primitive of all the tribes. For them, the practice of weaving, making tools, and weapons were started late comparing to the Angamis who were excellent in cloth making along with utensils and weapons. But the Sümis after adapting the skills was considered the most skilled craftsman especially in the making of the quality spears and machetes (daos). While men were busy hunters and artisans of tools, baskets, and pottery makings the women were wise and good-natured who were devoted wives and obedient daughters to their spouse and father. They were the peacemaker within the family and relatives who also engaged themselves in

weaving beautiful mekhalas and shawls for both men and women with intriguing designs and colors made simply out of their loin looms. Though polygamy exists and the overall in-charge of the household was given to the first wife with special privilege that passed on to her children, there were no arguments or hatred and the relationship of the wives were peaceful and loving, each performing their duty by maintaining harmony.

At present, the Sümis are known for their welcoming nature and hospitality, friendliness, and exhibiting straightforward behavior, who are honest and reliable, a patriot to its motherland. The practice of headhunting and polygamy were dropped with the coming of Christianity which was introduced during the British colonial rule and the coming of the American Baptist missionaries and also can be attributed to modernization and globalization. Change and adaptation are continuous and the transition for which may be slow or quick with the infusion of what was, what is and what might without the exact transparency of the end or beginning of something or the continuation of the past practice within the adapted settings.

1.5 Village Institution

The administrative system of the Sümi was such that it had a village chief which was hereditary with no politics involved. Generally, the title of the chief is given to the pioneer, the founder of the village, and according to the bloodline the eldest son of the Chief was always in line to be the next chief. In the case where his heir was underage, the role was given to the chief's brother and in this way, the lineage continued. There is no difference in calling the chief a king considering the wealth he possessed and the authority to which he exercises to the fullest. It was also common for the chief's son to move out and establish another village to practice his authority.

The chief is called *Akükau* meaning 'power', refers to someone who has the power and strength, someone who is well aware of all the village boundaries and

territories and looks into the welfare of his people. The word laid down by the chief was considered a law and whose decision was well respected and accepted by the members of his village. His house was the court and he was the judge. The chief with the help of his councilors guards over his people against the trespassers and the enemies and tries to maintain peace and unity both within and outside the village. Incidences like stealing, murder, rape, divorce, misunderstandings, fights, disputes relating to properties, and land ownership were reported to the chief.

Until the intervention of the Britishers, the chieftainship continued. Later on, the chief was given the new title called the '*goonbura*' meaning 'the village elder' but he no longer exercises his full authority and power over the village as he did in the past. This was the time when the village council was introduced under the 'Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act, 1978 (Act. No. 1 - 1979)', the members for which was inclusive of all the clans. This was based on the public opinion and nomination, mostly the ones who were active, hardworking, and sincere, and could carry out the work of maintaining peace and order within their village. The village council sets the rules and regulations of the village and runs according to the customary law. The difference here is the shift in the roles i.e. from the chief to the village council.

1.6 Culture and Tradition

The reason for each Naga tribe having its own unique culture and tradition might be justified by how they stayed geographically secluded from the other tribe for a very long period. Each confined to their land and people. The Sümis are no less in terms of how unique their culture, language, and traditions are which can be discussed in the likes of festivals, traditional attire, economy, inheritance, indigenous games and food, marriage, education, kinship, religion, birth, and, death, etc.

1.6.1 Festival

The Sümi celebrates two main festivals every year called *Tuluni* and *Ahuna* which are celebrated with much joy and gaiety both having their unique significance in association with the agricultural season. These festivals are celebrated with great feasts and performances like; folk dance, folksongs, and games for the grand celebration.

1.6.1.1 Tuluni

The 8 July is set as the official date for tuluni festival but the celebration can go on for weeks and it is to be noted here that even the weeks may differ according to villages depending on whether the first clearance of the field after the sowing of the seed (grain) is done. It is the time when the crops are bountiful. This festival is celebrated to invoke god's blessing for a good harvest. The name 'tuluni' is derived from the local rice beer which is served from the goblet made of bamboo or leaf of plantain. Tuluni is also called '*anni*' meaning the season of good crops.

During this time the betrothed and in-laws are invited home for a great feast and animals like pigs, cows, and mithuns are slaughtered. The Sümi people take this opportunity to spread communal harmony, friendship, love, and unions by exchange gifts, and sharing packed food and meat with their friends and neighbors. In the case of any enmity through this day they are forgiven.

1.6.1.2 Ahuna

Ahuna is celebrated on 14 November after all the varieties of crops are harvest and stored away in the granary called *Alehbo* (usually a place where the grains are stored). Ahuna is celebrated for two main reasons first, as a thanksgiving for the plentiful harvest second, to invoke good fortune for the coming year. The main ritual of this festival is the cooking of the freshly harvested rice which is served by wrapping the cooked food with *Tsüzüküghü* (*Phrynium Marantaceae*

leave) or *Saphaye* (*Aspidistra elatior* leave), after which it is placed inside the freshly cut bamboo stem. This symbolizes the success of crop cultivation.

1.6.2 Traditional Attire

The traditional attire is an important indigenous identity, each coded with separate meaning according to the designs and the patterns with no repetition. In the past, the kind of attire a person wore could tell a lot about the person's status. It can be that of a warrior, a rich man, a common man, an elderly man, a married-unmarried woman, etc. *Achumi* (2011: 5) 'The society was organized according to their understanding, so was the origin of the clothes they wore, which now forms an important part of our culture today.'

The textiles were handwoven by the women on their traditional loin looms something that is been practiced till today. The attires can be found in the form of a shawl for both man and woman and mekhala (waist wrap-around) for a woman. Among many, some of the most significant ones are mentioned here.

1.6.2.1 Women Mekhala (waist wrap-around)

- i. Amini Kimji Mini: This wrap-around is considered as the most expensive and the finest indicating high status and royalty given to a bride only if the groom is of the same status, someone who has fulfilled the demands of the bride's family by giving Mithun as a bride price. If the groom is poor then the bride is not qualified to receive this wrap-around
- ii. Tsüghu Mini: This wrap-around is given to a girl only when she is fully grown-up or either engaged or married. The term '*tsüghu*' means '*stitch*' metaphorically indicating how two families are brought together in union through marriage.

iii. Abo Mini: This is a wrap-around worn only by the wife of a rich man who can organize ‘Aphisa’, the act of feeding the dance warriors by killing mithun, feasting the entire village with meat and drinks.

iv. Pulosü Mini: This wrap-around is given by the groom to the bride as a sign of acceptance.

As for the women's shawl, the first-ever shawl was called ‘*cheküthaqhum*’. This is the commonly treasured -shawl worn by the Sümi women till today. The design of this shawl is in the horizontal form woven together in multiple colors of red, green, yellow, orange, and black.

1.6.2.2 Men Shawls

The traditional attire for men was in the form of shawls some of which are mentioned below along with their significance.

i. Aqhumphi: This is the only shawl that is believed to be owned by every man of the Sümi tribe both young and old. This shawl can be worn during any occasion regardless of the season. Woven in two colors of red and black.

ii. Lüsüphi: This shawl was woven purely from cotton harvested from their fields without any addition of color worn by the elderly people and is one of the oldest shawls. Many young people today are less aware of this shawl.

iii. Asüküdaphi: The design of this shawl is woven with tiny shells as a resemblance to the heavenly body and this is the most treasured shawl of men indicating luxury and prosperity.

iv. Avikiyphi: This is a shawl usually worn by grown-ups and educated men. After the arrival of Christianity, men who have taken the privilege to organize and provide a Christmas feast were entitled to wear this shawl.

In the past, the married and the unmarried man had different styles of wearing the shawl. For the former the shawl was supposed to cover one's shoulder as well as it should touch their feet as for the latter it was smartly worn only to the knee-length.

A traditional item at present time is regarded as a treasure because of its deep-rooted identity associated with its owner and the tribe. It is used with great care and consciousness and kept in a very safe and clean place when not in use. Even the market value for a traditional item is increasing year by year and owing an item has become such a luxury. With modernization even its people are heavily influenced by the western way of dressing, so the use of the traditional attire is numbered with fewer days in comparison to the western attire. But westernization alone cannot be blamed for the fewer days because the item itself is too precious to be used on an everyday basis. Generally, in today's generation, traditional attire is used mainly during festivals, cultural events, and church services. This aspect of tradition is a pride to any Naga tribe and can be often used as a gift to their guest or foreigners in the form of a token souvenir.

The few types of attire mentioned above are not even close to half of what exists, including the traditional ornaments which also have deep significance and meaning but are not possible to be covered here.

1.6.3 Economy

Sümi was no different from the other Naga tribes and practiced agriculture as their main occupation. Jhum cultivation was practiced at large and only the people who had lands near the river had the opportunity to practice terrace farming. Some of the major crops that they cultivated were rice, millet, maize, pulses, beans, mastered leaf, yam, spring onion, tomato, and sugarcane.

Aside from agriculture they were skillful artisans and were exceptional at ironworks and made different types of baskets and other bamboo products,

domestic tools, and weapons like knives, machetes, and spears. They were also interested and made pottery articles even without the potter's wheel. The practice of hunting continued and this talent not only fed and satisfied their diet but was also a thing of pride and honor. This is evident from the tusk, horns, and skulls that were hung outside their morungs (hut), the more the greater respect they got from the community. The only way to survive was hard work and skills to which they were purely dependent.

After the barter system was introduced the Sümis exchanged domestic tools like daos (machete), knives, and spears for salt and other commodities.

At present time along with the past practice, the life of its people has been more upgraded owing to globalization which has lead to the creation of jobs both from private and government sectors. Also thanks to the invention of technology which has become a prime platform for people to learn and improve their skills and work which is less time-consuming and efficient.

1.6.4 Indigenous Game

There were several games but among them, the most well-known was called *Aki-kiti*. A fighting game with three rounds with only the use legs and the feet was used for both defense and attack. No hands were allowed during the game. *Aki-kiti* was not only based on speed and strength but also on how clever and aggressive the players are to have enough confidence to taunt and intimate their opponent. The fiercer and challenging the game become, the more cheers they receive from the crowd. This game was played only by men and the winner was decided once the opponent fell on his back to the ground or if the opponent surrenders. *Aki-kiti* was not only a game but was also a way for solving a dispute between two individuals by fighting off each other with the permission of the village chief.

At present this game is played during festivals to preserve the tradition.

1.6.5 Indigenous Cuisine

The most popular delicacy of Sümi is ‘Axone’ which is a fermented soya bean. It is derived from the word ‘axo’ meaning ‘smell’ in Sümi. This derivation blends so well with how strong its aroma is, the smell of which while cooking can spread to the neighboring homes or even far. It tastes the best when cooked with smoked pork. The expertise level of making or cooking axone by the Sümi is commendable and often praised by the other tribes because no matter how they try, the smell and the taste never amounts to that of a Sümi. Axone with smoked pork is always served as a special dish when invited to a Sümi homes or weddings.

According to the folktale, axone was discovered by one girl name ‘Kujunakali’ a girl who lost her parents at an early age and was mistreated by her uncle’s wife.

1.6.6 Marriage

The polygamy system of marriage was practiced before the introduction of Christianity. But the marriage was an expensive affair that only the rich people and the village chiefs could afford. The main reason for having more than one wife can be attributed to, the barrenness of the first wife or their inability to give birth to the male heir to carry on the family’s name, and inherit the properties. The marriageable age for girls was 18 and 20 for the boys and it was either love or an arranged marriage set by the parents. The sororate, exogamy, and endogamy were all prevalent. A man could marry his wife’s sister or his brother’s wife and also a son could marry his stepmother, all of which was possible after the passing of the wife or father. This was done so for inheritance or welfare purposes. For some clan marriage within themselves was considered taboo unless there was 7 generation gap between the interested partners.

The Sümi people had a tradition of placing the bride’s price, the price for which was depended upon how rich the bride’s family was or how hardworking, sincere, behaved and, likable she was. According to the quality of the bride, the

price was demanded and this was referred to as 'ame' in Sümi, meaning 'price'. Looks were hardly considered important by the people. Avi (Mithun) was considered the most important bride price. The number of Mithun speaks a lot in terms of wealth, quality, and pride from both the parties which could amount to as many as 16 Mithun. The selection of Mithun was done carefully as in, they were not supposed to have legs with different colors (one black, one white), their horns should be of the same size without any scars and their neck like the legs should not have mixed color the failing of which could cause objection from the bride's family. The second important price was called 'mtsü kini-küthü woli', in translation it means 'full two-three bore' referring to the bores that were already of two-three years. This was another formality for a union. The bores were killed and distributed to the mother's family and relatives as a sign of appreciation, peace, and harmony but it was mainly to show a sign of respect to the bride's mother for conceiving the bride for nine months, and this was called 'aza-anu jula' (mother-daughter debt). The mother's family and relatives likewise send the bride away to her husband's home with their respective gifts as a sign of love. The bride's family also at the same time prepares all the traditional attires, domestic tools, and utensils in pairs as a gift because it was considered a bad omen for anything to be given away without pairs.

Apart from Mithun and bores, the demands for cash and cattle depended on the respective bride's family. As for the poor families, the demands are less depending on the mutual understanding from both the bride's and the groom's family where the price can be reduced to fewer clothes, ornaments, and few cattle, and a small plot of land. However, the aza-anu jula was compulsory though reduced to few bores.

The cheapest marriage was that of the second marriage i.e. widow/widower, marrying a pregnant woman or another woman having a child, an old age marriage, etc. This kind of marriage was not expensive without any Aza-anu jula except that a cow or pig was paid to the bride's family for the sake of ame.

The marriage system of the Sümi tribe is the most well-known and talked about event amongst the Naga tribe to this day because of how expensive the marriage can be, and still is. There were no marriage ceremonies in the past other than the procession of the display. The bride price is totally not eradicated and still goes hand, and with their faith through the advent of Christianity has long stopped the practice of polygamy with the preaching of monogamy as per the Christian rule. Now marriages are conducted in the church or the bride's home with several ceremonies like solemnization, prayers, scripture reading, and exchange of rings, cake cutting, a special song, and hymnal. The hand of the bride is given away by the bride's father or father's brother (in the case of a deceased father) to the groom after the bridal march. The ceremonies are conducted in front of a huge crowd and the number of crowds and gifts received at the reception determines the success of the wedding which is followed by a hearty feast.

Nowadays there is a little change in the trend of the marriage location which often seems to be taking place at exotic places other than the church and the bride's home, with extravagant decor. The marriages are becoming expensive and competitive, more like showing off wealth by the respective families (especially the rich). This seems to be a prevailing problem causing discouragement for the poor not only in the Sümi community but the other communities as well. Just recently an introduction of a new trend is adapted due to the COVID-19 pandemic as a precaution i.e. the allowance of fewer than a hundred guests, with only the close relatives, given the fact that proper social distancing is maintained. This new system has also lead to the question 'Why can't marriages be like this with only important and close-knitted people leading to less and affordable expenditure?' But the reality is quite farfetched because of how marriages have become businesslike of giving and take. How the other party is supposed to give a little more of what they got. The standard has been raised too high that it is considered an embarrassment not to do so and is a matter of one's pride and ego.

1.6.7 Education

For learning purposes, there were two dormitories in every Sümi village called ‘apuki’ for unmarried boys and ‘iliki’ for unmarried girls. The two dormitories were constructed in the middle of the village with free and sufficient space surrounded by huge impressive gates. It was a must for every male member of the village to be present at the construction site whereas the girls were not allowed to touch any construction materials or even come near the site. The completion of the dormitory was celebrated with a big feast by killing a pig and even here the women were not allowed to taste the meat. In *apuki* and *iliki* there was no differentiation between the rich and the poor, everybody was treated equally and the teachers were the elders but learning from their peers was also a common thing. The nights were filled with the sounds of folksongs, folk dance, folklore, and the narration about the history. In the boy’s dormitory, they would usually set the plan for the next day’s work as a routine to discuss war tactics, share different experiences and learn handicrafts. The girls were taught how to weave and knit. The dormitories were the education center to mold the youths for adulthood and parenthood and also to make them inculcate the values and morals like respect, responsibility, and a sense of protection towards their village and community on both the parts of the gender until the attainment of marriageable age.

But slowly with the coming of Christians Missionaries, the dormitories were changed into schools that introduces the western way of learning and do not impart traditional arts to the students and probably this is where the influence of westernization began.

1.6.8 Kinship and Inheritance

Sümi is a patriarchal, patrilineal society dominated by men where the father is the head of the family and his decisions are considered important and final. The chronological lineage is traced down from that of a man and the title of a woman is that of her father or her husband. The ancestral lands are distributed to the

male members and the family property is passed down to the youngest son. The patriarchal society might have been prevalent because of how in the past men as warriors were the ones who defended their land by going to wars instead of women, how they protected their women and children from the foes, and how any kind of disputes was settled by them and now somehow this responsibilities and obligations got carried on till today.

But there is also another side of a practical fact which cannot be ignored given that the women were not completely excluded from succession and inheritance, for instance, moveable properties like ornaments and traditional attires were passed down from a mother to her daughter when she marries, also a portion of an ancestral land could be given to a girl for cultivation. In the case where there is no male heir, the father with the consent of his brothers could give his share of land to her daughter though here it is to be noted that this decision cannot be made by the father himself. A woman becomes a part of her husband's family but it depended on her whether to stay or go back to her parent's home after the passing of her husband. If she stays then she becomes the supervisor more or less the owner of all her husband's property until the day her male child was capable to inherit them. On the other hand, if she decides to leave on mutual agreement from both affinal and consanguineous kin then she is made to depart with a gift in terms of cash or kind depending on the wealth of her affinal side. Sümi women are considered more dominant and free in comparison to the other Naga tribes.

Hutton (2007: 131) suggested the prevalence of a matrilineal society giving the elaboration with the syllable 'li' derived from 'alimi' (or ilimi?) meaning a 'girl or woman' (there might be a little misunderstanding of the usage of a correct meaning here because 'alimi' actually means 'relative' and the correct term for a girl or an unmarried woman is 'ilimi' but needless to say both carries the syllable 'li' so his hypothesis still stands). He pointed out how the usage of 'li' which is a feminine indicator and used as a third-person pronoun singular female

was found in the names of the clan and the sept like – Chishilimi, Cheshalimi (Chisholimi)... and communities like – Mishilimi, Mukalimi, Sisilimi (Shesülimi), etc all of which are considered the first of the Sümi villages. ‘li’ is also found in kinship terms like – apelimi ‘brethren’, angulimi ‘relations-in-laws’ and more. Sümis also place much importance on the Avunculate relationship i.e. between the maternal uncle and his niece-nephew. He is very well respected by his niece-nephew and nothing is said and done to offend him which could invite curse upon themselves. The blessing and satisfaction of an uncle they believe lead to a long and healthy life. Also, his decision and suggestion are not to be disrespected or ignored. Exchange of gift during the wedding where the uncle is paid some money by the niece likewise the uncle has to give something to her this as an obligation. He is at all times vigilant over the wellbeing and happiness of his niece-nephew and takes responsibility in both good and bad times.

Sreedhar (1980: 10-11) suggested the similarity as well as the contrast of Sümi with some other matriarchal society, like both the Hindus and Muslims in Kerala, where the women though a matriarchal society are incapable of owning any immovable property and instead all inheritance are managed by the eldest son of the family which is in contrast to the matriarchal system of Khasis and Jaintia, where the women take control over everything. He further pointed out the one thing which weakens the hypothesis of Hutton i.e. the practice of the bride’s price ‘Ame’ which in a way portrays a woman as a moveable asset or a property. But also in support of the same, he mentions how a woman enjoys a high status in her husband’s home by taking charge of the whole household, and how it’s her choice to return to her parent's home after the death of his husband. This shows how the Sümi women, maybe not wholly but are nearly on par with the other matriarchal society. This may also be attributed to how the Sümis maintains a good and strong relationship with both affinal and consanguineous kin.

Sümi follows the classificatory system for the Kinship terminology where the same term can be used to refer to different people irrespective of lineal, collateral, and affinal. For instance, the word '*amu*' is referred to an elder brother, father's brother/sister's son, mother's brother/sister son to the extent of any older male member if not referred by *apu* (father), *angu* (uncle), *achi* (in-law), or *asü* (grandfather). Also, the term for '*achi*' can be referred to both the male and female in-law; the brother calls his elder brother's wife '*achi*' likewise the younger sister calls his elder sister's husband '*achi*'. And there are many more terms as such like- *apu* (father), *aza* (mother), *afo* (sister), *apüza* (grandmother), etc.

1.6.9 Birth and death

1.6.9.1 Birth

The birth of a child is followed by ten days *genna* observed by the parents and according to the tradition as soon as the first cry of the baby is heard a chicken is killed same as the gender of the baby and nobody is supposed to eat this chicken meat, and this in Sümi is referred to as '*akipixi*'. It was believed that failing to do so gives birth to hatred between the person who ate the meat and the baby when s/he is grown up. The remains of the baby's birth are buried properly at the back of the house to keep them away from the domestic animals. The child's mother is taken great care of by feeding her only chicken soup and meat for four to five days to make her regain her strength. Other types of meat are not entertained during the initial days to avoid diarrhea that may weaken the mother's health.

1.6.9.2 Death

The death of a family member is mourned for three days without doing any work. It is a belief that during the daytime on the third day the spirit in the form of a bird comes hovering over the house and at night his/her spirit comes back home hungry and makes noises around the house and whose presence is felt by the family members. The third day is also considered the spirit's last day of feast

and with that belief, the family members prepare one last dinner by killing a chicken which is served with rice and some other few items, kept in the kitchen.

During the burial ceremony, the dead body is covered with a traditional shawl along with some of his/her personal belongings. When a man dies a spear and machete (dao) are placed alongside him whereas a sharpened bamboo is placed for a young boy. On the other hand when a woman dies the iron-shod stick (walking stick) and some of her ornaments are placed beside her. The dead bodies were buried deep just in front of the house. During the olden days before the introduction of the box coffin, a bamboo mat was used, first to cover the ground of the burial second, to cover the body after they were laid down. The burial is supposed to be done before the sunsets when it is not dark for the soul of the spirit to be guided without losing its way.

The manner of death also determines the place of burial.

If the baby is unluckily born dead or passes away after few days then they are buried somewhere inside the house. The death of a mother during birth is called '*nhapithi*' and her body is taken out not from the front door but the back door and is buried in the backyard. Also, not anybody can touch or come near the dead body except the family members, especially the girls because it was considered unlucky and contagious and were made to bid adieu only from a far and if the baby dies too then it is buried next to her mother's grave.

People who died for reasons like war, drowning, suicide, falling from the tree or with their weapons, etc from any unnatural death were not allowed to be buried at home or at the common cemetery or at the roadside but somewhere at the side of the village in a secluded area. It is a belief that the souls of these spirits become evil because of their unnatural death who without peace comes back to disturb the living and those unlucky people with small faith when faced with such evil spirit may even lead to death. The stories of this kind of spirit chasing people, throwing stones and sticks were common during the past days.

Today following the faith of Christian the death ceremony is conducted by the pastor of the deceased church which is preceded by hymnals, scripture reading, and condolence messages from church, friends, and family each having at least one or two representatives. The ceremony is ended with a mass prayer followed by the laying of the coffin which is generally buried under six feet of the earth's surface. Until the ceremony begins the dead body is accompanied by hymnals from the church and village members irrespective of denomination. After the burial, a feast is made ready by the deceased family as a sign of the last feast in the name of the deceased.

1.6.10 Religion

The Sümis at earlier times practiced animism by nature. They also had the drinking tradition and were known as *'jishomi'* meaning 'drinkers/people who drink' (rice beer). They believe in both seen and unseen spirits and souls by acknowledging them with obedience, sacrifice, and worship for a pledge of prosperity and happiness, and in this way maintained peace between them and the spirits failing of which they believed brought a bad omen. The three categories of spirits also mentioned by Hutton (2007: 191-199) were; a) Alhou 'God' or Timilhou meaning 'peoples God' b) Kungumi - spirit of the sky and c) Tüghami – spirit of the earth.

Alhou or Timilhou was regarded as the creator of humans who knew everything. He, an unattainable almighty being, in him had the supreme power to initiate both good and evil or make a person rich or poor, someone who held the faith of a man. On the other side, the Kungumi was considered outwardly perfect when visible. Hutton mentions one activity of Kungumi in the form of a *milisü* 'rainbow' where *milisü* was regarded as the *apukhu* 'leg' of Kungumi as in *kungumi-pukhu* (kungumi's leg) whose appearance and activity might cause harm to men on occasion or indicate signs of something that is to happen; for instance, if the rainbow falls into the village inhabitation it was considered a

definite sign for one of its member's death in a war whereas, the spirit of the earth '*Tüghami*' has different forms. Few mentioned below:

Timi-ghau (people spirit); it is a personal spirit of a person who is not at any time to be left behind. Losing of the spirit causes the person to be weak and sick or worst even die. To avoid such consequences, bits of food were dropped behind or they call out their names so that the spirit could follow behind without losing their way.

Aki-ghau (house spirit); every house was said to have a spirit as a guard who keeps an account of every activity of the house including the guests as such there were no or fewer offenses. Sometimes people leaning on the wall could easily anger the house spirit who in turn pushes that person out of nowhere. Every time the house owner cooks or kills an animal a portion is left for the house spirit in order not to anger him.

Müzamüza (Echo): It is regarded as the spirit of the wood who leads the people astray from their path or makes them disappear. This spirit draws people more towards the hilly-sloppy area and trees making them look like a plan area so that it could lead the people to their fall. A person once touched by Müzamüza never got their normal sense back completely.

Among many other spirits and beliefs, lycanthropy was also common among the Sümi taking the form of a tiger, a snake, or an eagle, living a dual life which was not about physical transformation but the sharing of a soul. The person whose souls were intertwined with an animal was always on guard for their life because their life span also depended on how long their animal spirit managed to survive. But the transition of all these believes from animism to Christianity has brought about a great change towards the outlook of life in every aspect. The teaching of this faith has taught the people that every bad spirit and practice can be overcome through prayer and fasting.

Christianity today in the Sümi community has surpassed a century since 2004. The first converts Ghopuna and Ghusuna are from Ighanumi village, who with the encouragement of Sieliezhu (first ordained Evangelist; Angami) and Kruniezhu decided to become a 'Jehovah people' and got baptized by Rev. S.W.Rivenburg in 1904 from Kohima. Another among the first converts was Ivulho of Ghokimi village who in 1906 got baptized by Rev. H.B.Dickson and in 1908 was sent to Ighanumi village to be the pastor because there was no one to lead the newly converted members at that time. Ivulho became the adopted son of Ghopuna and together they started the missionary work where the former was the pastor and the latter was both the deacon and the finance holder. The people still being drinkers would hold their cup and continue their drink during the services but there was no strict law as such to make them stop and this is how amicably the mission began. But during the service with the newly converted members, the pastor starts by saying 'as we are about to begin let us all keep our cups down and start our fellowship'. Religion was never forced but was a choice. In 1912 the second Kohima Field Baptist Association hoho was held at Ighanumi village with 120 members, which was hosted by Ghopuna alone. Around that time there was a new convert named Yemhi of Lazami village who in 1908 decided to become a Christian after hearing a sermon from Rev. H.B.Dickson at Kohima. He got baptized only in the year 1920 but even before that he continued to do the mission work of translating the message of the missionaries and on the year 1926 was ordained the first Sümi Reverent by Rev.J.E.Tanquist.

Zhimo (2011: 41) mentions that the first newly converts at villages were said to be the poor people whose inability to give ritual sacrifices to the spirits lived in fear of evil, and so this new faith was like an answer for them to be redeemed, the faith which preached about freedom from evil, forgiveness and an affirmation of the afterlife where there is no hunger, thirst and old age but only peace and happiness.

Today majority if not all of its people are Christians and every village and towns have a church where the mass gathers and continues to worship God. At present, there are different Christian denominations within the Sümis like; Baptist, Revival, Catholic, and Assembly of God.

1.7 Sümi Language

Sümi language also known as Sütsa is one of the major Naga languages with an estimated 256,000 – 300,000 speakers globally. It is spoken by the Sümi people in their homes, churches, social gatherings, and for teaching purposes like MIL in High schools and Higher Secondary levels. This language is not uncommon to slight dialectal variety which can be differentiated from village to village noticeably in their discourse particles and tone. However, for any occasion that involves general gatherings, the variety used is that of the common Sümi understood and accepted by all the members of the Sümi. Here are some varieties of Sümi dialect as mentioned by previous writers and researchers;

- Grierson (1903/1928/1967; Vol. 3, Part 2) mentioned two types of Sümi dialects known as *Simi* and *Zhimomi*.
- Hutton (1921/1968) gave two main varieties: *Zümomi* (Zhimomi) and the *Lazemi* (Lazami).
- Sreedhar (1976) mentioned four dialects of Sümi: *Western Sema*; spoken around *Lezemi* (Lazami) village; *Eastern Sema*; spoken in the village of chizemi in the Khezha area; the *Chizolimi* dialect, spoken around Chizolimi village; the *Central* dialect.
- Teo (2014) mentioned that the dialect of Zunheboto town and Satakha area would correspond to Sreedhar's '*Central*' dialect which is used as a standard one. He also mentions that there are only minor differences between Zunheboto to that of Kohima and Dimapur. The only difficulty was to understand the dialect spoken at Pughoboto area (where Lazami dialect is located) by the rest of the Sümi speakers while the speakers of this area on the other hand had no problem understanding the rest of the dialect.

When it comes to the dialectal variety of the Sümi the most complicated ones will be found at Aphuye i.e. Pughoboto-Ghathashi area consisting of 24 villages each showing variation but the most noticeable ones that stand out are the Lazami and the Ighanumi dialects which even the other villages of Aphuyemi finds it difficult to understand, especially the younger generation. These two dialects on a whole new level could be taken up for research purposes like unlocking a new language. The dialects under this area, not just Lazami and Ighanumi but inclusive of all, when are gathered for social combine events are careful not to speak their variety other than the common (standard) because any slip of such error could turn into a comedy with laughter from the crowds, every member understanding how that should not have been said. And also the speakers from this area are easily noticed by the other Sümi speakers as belonging to Aphuyemi area when spoken at places other than their own. But amidst these differences what remains is the richness of one's diverse culture and identity, an inheritance associated with their ancestors that's been passed down from generation to generation which should to the very end be preserved.

Looking into the present context it can be said that Sümis are bilingual where the medium of communication aside from their language is English and Nagamese the lingua franca of Nagaland. Hindi is also fairly understood and spoken by many of its speakers.

1.8 Status of the Language

The first literary works on the language were written and published in the form of translated bible and hymnal, and this is credited to the Christian literature for playing an eminent role. Currently, in the publishing front, there is a weekly journal called 'Sümi zümülhü' (Sümi news) and a monthly bulletin called 'Iza Tsa' (mother tongue/ language).

In the academic field, the Sümi language MIL is been implemented up to the Higher secondary level but one deficiency about this introduction is that the

subject is not taught in private schools but only in governmental schools. When it comes to the effort to preserve, protect and promote the language, the Sümi Literature Board which was formed in 1947 is working hard to introduce Sümi language course till the Bachelor of Arts degree under Nagaland University. On 27th Feb, 2015 an individual name Dr. Kiyekhu Asümi, Rtd.Addl.Dir. H&FW introduced and founded the ‘Sütsah Academy’ with an aim to allow its people to learn how to read and write their mother tongue and know the value of their language. It is a private academy but the selection of teachers, syllabus, question and answer papers are all chosen and prescribed by the Sümi Literature Board.

So far five dictionaries have been published;

- Sümi Tsashe Anglo (Anglo-Sümi Dictionary) by I. Lozhevi Sema. First edition 1992, second edition 2012.
- Anglo Sümi Tsashe (Anglo-Sümi Dictionary) by Scato Swu & Hokishe Yepthomi with 11876 words and 250 newly coined words; 2000 copies. First edition 1999, second edition 2004, third edition 2016.
- Sümi Baibel Tsashe (Sümi Bible Dictionary) by Tavishe Achumi & Khezheto Achumi with 2122 words on 2013.
- Ayezah Tsashe (Sümi Legal Dictionary) translated from Legal Dictionary into Sütsah by K. Ghulakha P. Swu, 2020.
- Sütsa Kimihi Kütüta Tsashe (Dictionary of Homonym & Heteronym in Sütsa), published by the Sümi Literature Board, 2021.

1.9 The Language Classification

The Sümi belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family which comes under the Sino-Tibetan. The map is given below highlights the area of the Tibeto-Burman language speakers.



Map. No 1.3: Tibeto-Burman Linguistics Area

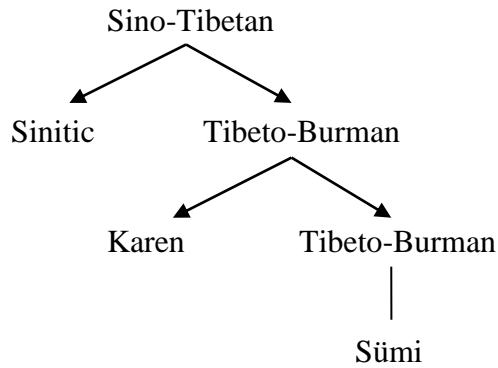


Figure 1.1: Benedict's classification of Sino-Tibetan (1942)

Some eminent scholars have given the classification of the Sümi under different names: Grierson in his 'Linguistic Survey of India' (1903-1928/1967) classified the Naga languages into three groups namely: Western, Central, and Eastern group basing mainly on geographical location along with some shared vocabulary and syntactic features, in which he placed Sümi in the western subgroup along with some other Naga tribes like; Angami, Rengma, and Kezhama (Kheza). Grierson further stated that 'Naga group of languages comprises a long series of dialects which naturally differ from each other. They are on the whole more closely elate to the Burmese'.

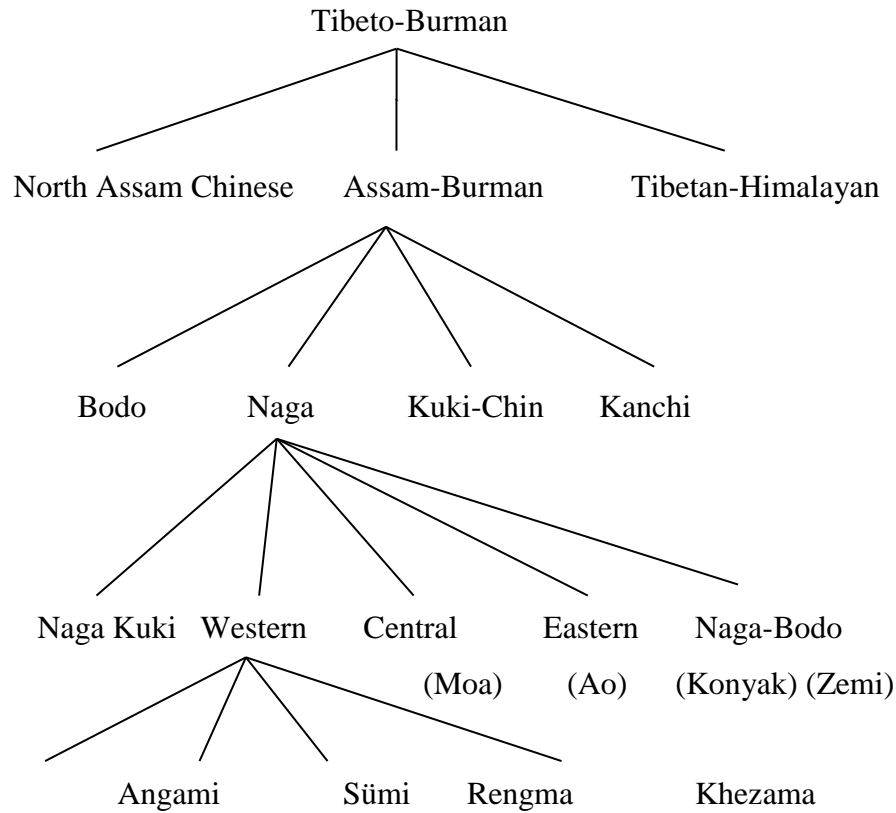


Figure 1.2: Grierson's classification of Tibeto-Burman Languages

Burling (2003) classified Simi (Sümi) under the Angami-Pochuri group as two clear nuclei along with the Rengma N (called Ntenyi in Marrison 1967), Rengma, Chokri, Khezha, and Mao.

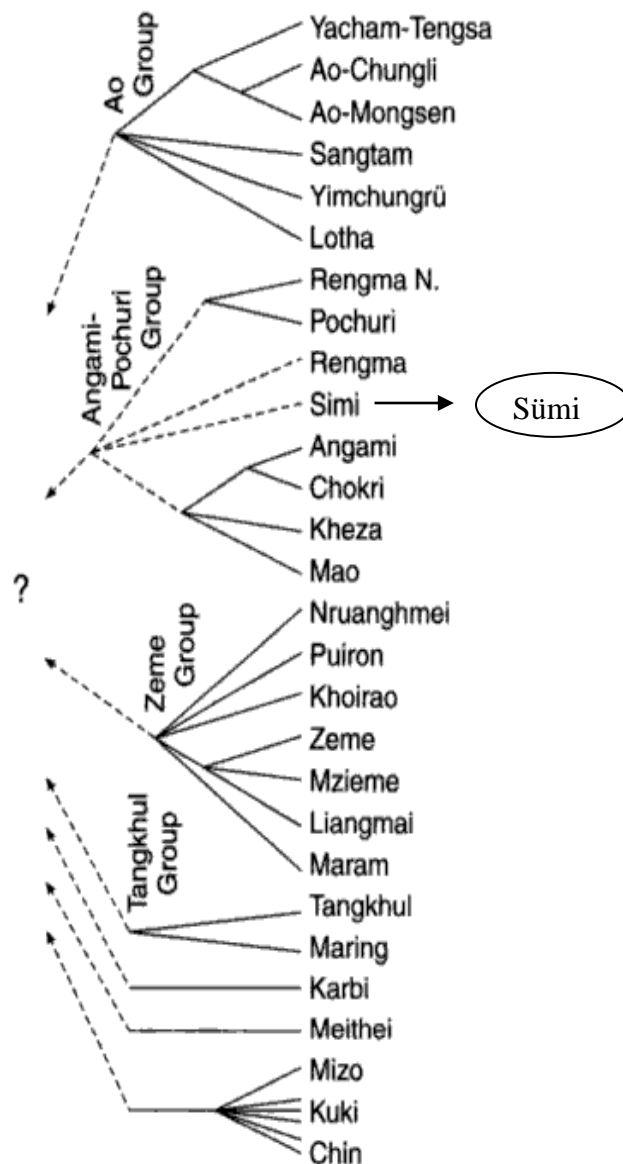


Figure 1.3: Genetic Classification of Burling in (2003: 184)

Also, Marrison (1967) grouped sümi in his ‘Type C-1’ alongside Angami, Chokri, Khezama (Khezha), and Mao citing that in terms of phonology, vocabulary, and syntax Sümi has a close association with Angami and in the case of Morphology it is closer to Mao. One more classification made by Bradley (1967) placed Sümi in the ‘Southern Naga’ which was based on a larger grouping of the Kuki-Chin-Naga including Angami, Chakhesang, and Mao. This

grouping was made taking into account the initial and final consonants, noun prefixes, agentive noun suffix, classificatory verbal prefixes, and lexical items, and position of the negative and interrogative particles. Hutton (1921/1968/2007: 4) stated that ‘Sema language is closely related to that of the Kezami Angami, there is a close superficial relationship between the Semas and Chekhrama Angamis’.

1.10 Review of Literature

1.10.1 Morphology as a Linguistics branch

Morphology as a separate branch of linguistics was not recognized until the nineteenth century. It was in 1816 Franz Bopp made a comparison of grammatical word endings on languages such as; Sanskrit, Latin, Persian, and German as evidence in support of Sir William Jones (1786) claim that these languages descended from a common ancestor. Later on, Jacob Grim (1819-1837) made a thorough comparative analysis on the sound system and word-formation, demonstrating the grammar development of Germanic languages and their relationship to other Indo-European languages. The reconstruction of Indo-European is one example where morphology played an important role in the early 19th century. The 19th century also saw Darwin’s evolutionary theory ‘On the Origin of Species, 1859’ influence on the matter of the science of language. Max Müller, a philologist and an orientalist in 1889 Oxford lecture contended ‘that the study of the evolution of words would illuminate the evolution of language just as in biology, morphology, the study of the forms of organism, had thrown light on the evolution of species’ (cited-Francis Katamba & John Stonham 1993/2006). But no longer are languages thought of as an organism with birth, growth, and competition. The compatibility between linguistics and biology is now visualized as inauthentic. Katamba & Stonham (1993/2006: 1) ‘Morphology has been regarded as an essential synchronic discipline, that is to say, a discipline focusing on the study of word-structure at one stage in the life of a language rather than on the evolution of words.’

It was August Schleicher in 1859 who coined the linguistic term ‘Morphology’. Matthews (1974/1991: 2-3) mentions that ‘The term itself is a Greek-based parallel to the German *Formenlehre* (the ‘study of forms’), and like many linguistic terms is nineteenth-century in origin, the first references for this sense in the OED being from the 1860s (s.vv. ‘morphology’, ‘morphological’, ‘morphologically’)’. But morphology as a sub-branch of linguistics was submerged until the mid 20th century under the likes of scholars Robins (1959) and Matthews (1974) with their pivotal contribution. This late emersion can be attributed to the influence of generative grammar owing to their belief that the word-formation can be dealt with under the categories of phonological component and the syntactic component.

1.10.2 Understanding Word

In an instance to think about what a word is, is rather complicated with several unclear perceptions of whether words are, what is been included in the dictionary? Or that it is only through the process of compilation of words that makes up a language? Or that word is a piece of language. These are all the general assumptions of what a word is but linguistically when we look into a word the specialized concept of this can be termed as a morpheme. So a morpheme is regarded as the smallest unit of a language that has its meaning. For example, ‘play’, ‘kind’, ‘love’ are all made of a single independent morpheme but so are the bound elements like ‘-er, un-, -ly’, even after their attachment like ‘player’, ‘unkind’, and ‘lovely’ they are still a morpheme which is said to be made up of two morphemes, all of the examples that are shown here carries meaning as well as have their own functions. So we now may say that a word is made of one or more morphemes that can stand alone in a language. Words that have only one morpheme are referred to as simple words whereas words that are made up of more than one morpheme are termed complex words.

Though the question about whether of all it can be regarded as a word is perplexing for instance ‘walk’ is a word but so is ‘walked’ but when we look up

in dictionary we search for ‘walk’ and not ‘walked’ because we have a grasp that it is representing the same word in another form, or say the example used by Lieber (2010/2016: 5) i.e. ‘aalii’ and ‘bouncebackability’ where the former is listed in the Official Scrabble Player’s Dictionary but not ‘bouncebackability’, likewise the latter is listed in the Oxford English Dictionary but not ‘aalii’, so now do we say that both the terms are null? Word in itself is such a huge phenomenon to be explored and explained in concrete the result of which can be addressed towards the mental lexicon for complimentary. It is considered as an internalized dictionary containing an extraordinary number of words that can be used to produce or at least comprehended when heard. But also languages do have a set of rules for the word-formation process, permitting the creation of a new word that is intelligible when encountered.

According to Katamba & Stonham (1993/2006: 24) ‘The morpheme is the smallest difference in the shape of a word that correlates with the smallest difference in word or sentence meaning or in grammatical structure’. In the same, they mentioned word as a central dimension of language whose unique property cannot be shared with the other principles of linguistic structure like the speech sounds and sentences, for which a proper model for word-formation must be developed to allow linguists to describe the word on their own terms so that the interaction of how the rules of word-formation interact with the other linguistic models are not overlooked.

1.10.3 Morphology a Word-Formation

Lieber (2010/2016/18: 2) defines Morphology as ‘the study of word formation, including the ways new words are coined in the languages of the world, and the way forms of words are varied depending on how they’re used in sentences.’

Bloomfield (1933: 207), ‘By the morphology of a language we mean the constructions in which bound forms appear among the constituents. By definition, the resultant forms are either bound forms or words but never phrases. Accordingly, we may say that morphology includes the constructions of

words and parts of words.’ Morphology is the scientific study of a word and its internal structure that is generally composed of a single morpheme or more, and each of the morphemes can be categorized under the grammatical class or belong to the type of inflectional or derivational affixes.

Word-formation can broadly be classified into the category of inflectional and derivational morphemes. Greenberg’s Universal 29 (1963: 93) states that ‘If a language has inflection, it always has derivation’. But language can have different ways in which new words can be formed even without the process of affixation as well, like that of compounding, reduplication, etc.

1.10.4 Previous Work Observation

On the linguistics front, Hutton (1921), Sreedhar (1980), and Teo (2012-2019) have played a crucial role in introducing the Sümi language in terms of linguistics analysis. Though there were some eminent scholars like Grierson, Marrison, and Matisoff, their works on Sümi language were not exhaustive. Grierson (1903-1928/1967) mentioned the Sümi language and provided its language classification, Marrison (1967) provided the phoneme inventory of Sümi along with most of the other Naga languages, and Matisoff (1996) who as well mentioned the phoneme inventory of the Sümi, but his work was referred mainly from the works of Marrison and Sreedhar. Teo (2014: 7), states that Marrison’s data is most likely not firsthand material which included Hutton’s data.

Hutton (1921) was the first to publish a grammatical framework for the Sümi in his book ‘The Sema Nagas’. Though he did not go in-depth in terms of linguistics, he did lay the grassroots foundation linguistically, for its speakers or anyone interested in the language. After Hutton, it was Sreedhar (1980) who published his book titled ‘*Sema Grammar*’ and discussed the various aspects of Sümi grammar including phonology. Later on Teo since 2012-2019 has actively

published five papers and two theses on the Sümi language with his main focus based on; phonology and phonetic description, and on the case system.

Teo (2014) did an exhaustive work which can be seen in his thesis ‘A phonological and phonetic description of Sumi, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nagaland (2014)’, where he provided the comprehensive description of the Sümi lexical tonal phonology. He also goes into the nature of the tone-bearing unit, the assignment of tones to phonologically toneless morphemes, and morphologically conditioned tone variation. Again in 2019, Teo published his doctoral thesis titled ‘Investigating Different Case Marking In Sumi, A Language Of Nagaland, Using Language Documentation And Experimental’ where he has mentioned the nine case markers of Sümi.

1.10.4.1 Phonology

The phonological description of Hutton, Sreedhar, and Teo are mentioned in brief here. Hutton (1921) started by providing the consonants of the Sümi according to the Roman letters corresponding to the sounds of English in which he presented eighteen consonants (269-270); ‘B, D, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, V, W, Y, Z’, seven aspirated sounds ‘Ch, Gh, Kh, Ph, Sh, Th, Zh,’ five vowels; ‘A, E, I, O, U’ and three diphthongs; ‘Ai, Au, Oi’. He did not mention the tone but he did mark few minimal sets in the appendix with three tones i.e. high, mid, and low. Sreedhar (1980: 19) provided twenty-nine phonemes, including twenty consonantal sounds; ‘p, t, k, q, b, d, g, c, m, n, ñ, f, s, x, h, z, ɣ, l, w, y’, six vowels; ‘i, i, u, e, o, a’, and three contrastive level tones; *low*, *mid* and *high*.

Amos Teo (2014: 20) provided forty-three phonemes which included thirty-four consonantal sounds; ‘p, p^h, b, t, t^h, d, k, k^h, g, q, q^h, ts, ts^h, f, v, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, x, ɣ, h, m^h, m, n^h, n, ŋ, l^h, l, w, ɾ, j’, six vowels ‘i, i, u, e, a, o’, and three suprasegmental level tones: *low*, *high* and *mid*. Teo corresponded to Hutton and Sreedhar with regard to tone, and on the vowel, it corresponds to Sreedhar.

Sreedhar did not include the aspirated and some other consonantal sounds like; v , \int , $ʒ$, η , and ι which were later provided and expanded by Teo. Some analysis of Teo on Sreedhar was; the use of the grapheme ‘s’ to represent $[\int]$ and $[s]$ which are allophones of the same phoneme, and the unaspirated and aspirated post-alveolar affricates were used as ‘c’ and ‘ch’ instead of ‘ch’ and ‘chh’ as in; $[\tʃ]$ and $[\tʃ^h]$ which were used by the others.

1.10.4.2 Morphology

Hutton (1921) briefly discussed various grammatical classes. He presented nouns with two representational forms i.e. a complete and an enclitic form. The complete form is normally preceded by the entonic ‘a’, thus, when this entonic ‘a’ is dropped it becomes enclitic, which then becomes dependent on its preceding governing element. A noun word when used alone or occurs at the beginning of the sentence appears in its complete form with the entonic ‘a’. For instance, Hutton’s example (274) presents the lexeme ‘word’ in which the complete form he referred to would be “atsa” and the enclitic form would be “tsa”.

Teo mentioned that $[a-]$ is a non-relational prefix and states that this prefix acts as a necessary element to bear the tone of the deleted vowel in the ‘kv-’ prefixation in normal speech patterns; eg, in $/a-mili/$ (NRL-lips) the vowel $[i]$ gets deleted as in $/am-li/$, where $[a-]$ here is acting as a tone complement for the missing $[i]$. The non-relational prefix $[a-]$ in Sümi shows four functions i.e. morphologically, semantically, syntactically, and phonetically.

Morphologically the prefixation of $[a-]$, allows the noun root which is a bound morpheme to stand as a free morpheme eg, $/-puk^h u/$ ‘leg’ (bound) to $/apuk^h u/$ ‘leg’ (free). Semantically the $[a-]$ prefix introduces a complete and clear meaning to the root of the noun morpheme. Without the $[a-]$ prefixation the root itself could exhibit ambiguous meaning, unless there is another dependable preceding morpheme aside from $[a-]$ prefix to denote clarity.

Syntactically [-a], qualifies the root morpheme to occur initially in the subject position, for instance; [a-gi mit^he a-mo] (NRL-face clean PROG-NEG) meaning ‘the face is not clean’, it will be incorrect and ungrammatical to use the root morpheme /-gi/ (*face*) in the initial subject position i.e. [gi mit^he a-mo].

Phonetically like mentioned earlier with reference to Teo; a tone-bearing unit.

Regarding the gender Hutton made the distinction in the category of the animals and birds in terms of male, and female (before and after the birth) with a further distinction between the a) domestic animals, b) wild animals (few domestic animals), and c) birds and altogether provided six markers for gender (1921: 275). Now looking at Sreedhar’s (1980: 72), he gave a three-way gender distinction i.e. common, masculine and feminine gender with five gender markers, two for human and three for birds and animals. But Sreedhar unlike Hutton did not make a distinction between the female animal and birds with and without an offspring, and in general, he used the marker /du/ for the female animate non-human.

The similarity that was found in this study was the gender marker /aqu/ used for marking the female (only with offspring) which Hutton orthographically represented as ‘akhu’ (aqu) and Sreedhar as ‘qu’. Hutton used the marker /akhukho/ to address the female animals and birds without an offspring, but this marker was not found in the data, and in contrast, the marker /ali/ and /ani/ were found to be in use according to the different categories (§ chapter 2).

The Sümi presents such a rich differentiation for gender that distinguishes the categories of animals with and without horns for males as well as a separate representation for male bird category from that of the animals. Likewise, the female birds and animals are distinguished as, with or without an offspring, and also the differentiation is made between the female animals whose counterparts have horns to those who do not. However, all these aspects of animals with horns and without horns and the distinction of which extends to the female

counterparts likewise were not differentiated by both Hutton and Sreedhar. Though Hutton used the marker /atsi/ ‘atsü’ for wild animals (one-two domestic) he did not mention the category of horns which are also referred by the same, given the situation, not all wild animals have a horn; and as such this study tries to discuss the gender with much more clarity. Table 1.1 shows the non-human gender markers provided by Hutton and Sreedhar and the table 1.2 shows the data that was found during this study.

Hutton (1921)	Gender		Domestic	Wild animals	Birds
	Male		ali	atsü	adu
	Female	offspring (-)	ani	akhukhoh	akhukhoh
		offspring(+)	akhu	akhu	akhu
Sreedhar (1980)	Gender		Domestic	Birds	Human
	Male		amsi - ci <i>‘buffalo’</i>	awuyi – du <i>‘peacock’</i>	aqe – pú ‘male servant’
	Female		asmsi- qu <i>‘buffalo’</i>	awuyi – qu <i>‘peahen’</i>	aqe - lyú ‘maid servant’
	Common		amsi <i>‘buffalo’</i>	awuyi <i>‘pea fowl’</i>	Aque <i>‘servant’</i>

Table 1.1: Gender markers of Hutton (1921) & Sreedhar (1980)

Gender	Category			Marker
Male	Animal	horn (-)		/ali/
		horn (+)		/atsi/
	birds			/adu/
Female	Animal	offspring -	horn ‘counter part’ (-)	/ani/
			horn ‘counter part’ (+)	/ali’/
	birds	offspring +		/aqu/
		offspring -		/ali’/
		offspring +		/aqu/

Table 1.2: Gender marker (2021)

Hutton identified that the comparative degree is represented by the suffix *-ye*, while the suffix *-o* to be the superlative marker, the former is expressed by following the noun ‘with which the subject referred to is compared’ and for the latter, it is attached to the simple adjective (276).

Comparative;

otsüye itsü pa zhe = My dog is bigger than your dog

Timi hupauye hipau pa vi = This man is better than that

Superlative;

Akizhe = big > akizheo = biggest (Hutton 1921)

In contrast to Hutton’s, the comparative and the superlative degree is marked by /u/ where the /u/ is not marked to the simple adjective when in comparison but occurs with the item in comparison (or with the item compared to), on the other hand, the /u/ is marked to the simple adjective when expressing a superlative degree. The superlative degree can further be supplemented with the use of the determiner /kimtsi/ ‘all’ followed by postpositions like /ɲuno/ ‘than’, /dolo/ ‘between’, etc (§chapter 5).

There is no distinct or clear indication of time (tense) in Sümi where the only exception is the future tense which is marked by /nani/, the future tense here

corresponds to Sreedhar's /nani/. However Sreedhar provided the past tense as /we/ (see Shreedhar 1980: 67), but the assumption is that if we relate it to the present data, the right representation of /-we/ could be either /-ve/ or /-va/. Nevertheless, both do not represent the past tense nor does the Sümi language seem to have the past tense marker and the representation of which could be attributed to the category of aspect. The result of the data shows no /-we/, as such because /-ve/ is a verb marker (imperative, indicative) and this corresponds to Hutton's /-ve/ (1921: 282) and /-va/ is a perfective marker.

1.10.4.3 Case

The first mention of the case was made by Grierson (1903-1928/1967) where Sümi was represented as a 'Simi dialect', in which he mentioned that "[t]he nominative may optionally take the suffix *-nā* before a transitive verb", but this was said so without any examples provided, Teo (2019: 21).

Hutton (1921/1968/2007: 274) presented the post-position *-no* or *-ye* (sometimes) as the nominative markers, represented as an agent nominative of the verb through suffixation. Sreedhar (1980: 72) indicated /-no/ as an agentive marker and /-lo/ as a locative marker. Altogether he presented seven case markers (106-115) some of which are marked and some unmarked. In nominative he mentions two markers i.e. /no/ and /ye/ where /ye/ appears to be the focus marker. The accusative, dative, genitive were given as unmarked whereas the instrumental case was marked with /pe/, the sociative with /sasi/ and the locative with /lo/.

The most recent and exhaustive work on the case is done by Teo (2019) where he introduced the case of Sümi as exhibiting the 'Differential Case Marking (DCM)' system. He analyzed /no/ as an agent or a focus marker and /ye/ as a topic or an experiencer. His argument on Sümi having a 'DCM' and not 'nominative' though /no/ and /ye/ occurs in both transitive and intransitive subjects, is because of the semantic factors as such with attribution to; volition

that plays an important role in the transitive clause, and the discourse setting in terms of topicality and contrastiveness, for determining the ‘intransitive and equative clauses’. He mentions that Sümi exhibits both the optional and the alternating system of case marking. The example provided by Teo showing the differential case marking system where the speaker can without affecting the grammatical relation (NP & predicate) choose case from more than one (or flag the NPs).

Transitive:

- (1.1) *[a- tsü=no]* *a-wu* *ha* *che-ni*
 [NRL.PRX-dog=no] NRL.PRX-chicken chase HAB-PRES
 ‘A dog is chasing a chicken.’ (ABT3-TA3_transitivity01-A, 7)

- (1.2) *[a-tsü=ye]* *a-wu* *ha* *che-ni*
 [NRL.PRX-dog=ye] NRL.PRX-chicken chase HAB-PRES
 ‘A dog is chasing a chicken.’ (elicited, unrecorded) (Teo 2019:1)

Intransitive:

- (1.3) *[timi=no]* *zü* *a-n*
 [person=no] sleep PROG-PRES
 ‘A person is sleeping.’ (ABT3-TA1_transitivity01-A, 29)

- (1.4) *[timi hipa-u=ye]* *zü* *a-ni*
 [person NRL.PRX-DEF=ye] sleep PROG-PRES
 ‘This person is sleeping.’ (ABT3-TA2_transitivity01-A, 44)

- (1.5) *[timi]* *zü* *a-ni*
 [person] ssleep PROG-PRES
 ‘A person is sleeping.’ (ABT3-KA1_transitivity01-A, 33) (Teo 2019: 2)

Teo in his work brought to light ten case markers: agentive/focus, experiencer/topic, possessive, locative, ablative, instrumental, comitative,

additive, reason/purpose, and about (see Teo 2019: 64). Likewise the data on the case for this present study corresponded to Teo's case finding which was seen to be authentic in its data and analysis, but in addition to Teo's, Sümi also have a 'benefactive' case which is represented by /sala/ and a 'vocative' case i.e. /o/ and /oi/.

1.11 Rational for taking up the research topic

The research aimed to determine the word structure of the Sümi language and how their words concerning its different grammatical features. This study was also taken up to sensitize the Sümi speakers of their language morphological structure in established scientific form so that this may provide an understanding of how language operates under the said topic morphology. It is to be noted that this dissertation did not touch on all the aspects of Morphology which would rather be far exhausting than this. Keeping in mind the timeframe set for this dissertation the topic was delimited only to some area of Morphology but since this study is first of its kind in terms of topic it can be used as a reference for future study and help in providing useful preliminary information on the Morphological structure of the Sümi language through the linguistic description.

1.12 Methodology and Structure of the Book

The proposed study was employed on qualitative research method to obtain its objectives. This was done by preparing words in English according to different grammatical classes along with sentences which were later on made to translate by the consultants. The environment for the data collection was done in the form of a small setting with just one consultant at a time on various occasions which involved active participation from the researcher and the consultant for describing and interpreting the data. The data collection and analysis were done with the help of both primary and secondary methods. As for the primary method, four consultants were consulted for the data collections who were all of the different ages ranging from 22-75, and what corresponded was the stability in each of their responses.

This dissertation consists of seven chapters:

- Chapter 1: Introduction
- Chapter 2: Noun Morphology
- Chapter 3: Pronoun Morphology
- Chapter 4: Verb Morphology
- Chapter 5: Adjective Morphology
- Chapter 6: Word Formation
- Chapter 7: Findings and Conclusions

CHAPTER-2

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

2.0 Noun

Henry Sweet (1900: 48), attributes nouns as substance-words that ‘would often be used as subjects and come first in the sentence, and would naturally be modified by words expressing distinctions of number and place, which by degrees might develop into inflections of number and place’.

Leonard Bloomfield (1935: 267) describes noun as “that which can be the performer of an action, the undergoer of an action, the center from which a relation holds good, the possessor of objects,” and so on’. This definition here can be attributed to the case study of a language.

The noun is the grammatical class of a word whose syntactic function is that of the subject and the object. In morphology, words are studied about their behavior more than its semantic terms, and their position is rather distributional in occurrence which may either precede or follow depending on the typology of the language.

The nouns in Sümi can be classified under the Simple and derived nouns.

2.1 Simple Noun

The simple noun includes the term for animate and inanimate entities. The root of the noun morpheme exhibits both monosyllabic and disyllabic forms but they show cliticness that depends on the non-relational prefix /a-/ to be recognized as a complete and an independent free-standing noun morpheme. So it can be regarded here that, there is no monosyllabic noun in Sümi because the root of the noun morpheme profusely occurs with the non-relational prefix /a-, where /a-/ alone constitutes an independent syllable. For example /a-gi/ (NRL.PRX-face), /a-/ and /-gi/ are pronounced separately in the form of two syllables.

The examples given below are some of the common nouns of Sümi.

Kinship:

- | | | | |
|-------|----|-------|----------------|
| (2.1) | a) | /asi/ | ‘grandfather’ |
| | b) | /apu/ | ‘father’ |
| | c) | /aza/ | ‘mother’ |
| | d) | /afo/ | ‘older sister’ |
| | e) | /aŋu/ | ‘uncle’ |

Body parts:

- | | | | |
|-------|----|-----------------------|-----------|
| (2.2) | a) | /akitsi/ | ‘head’ |
| | b) | /akuŋo/ | ‘neck’ |
| | c) | /asa/ | ‘hair’ |
| | d) | /apo/ | ‘stomach’ |
| | e) | /apuk ^{hu} / | ‘leg’ |

Animate non-human:

- | | | | |
|-------|----|-----------------------|------------|
| (2.3) | a) | /atsi/ | ‘dog’ |
| | b) | /ak ^h osa/ | ‘cat’ |
| | c) | /ayau/ | ‘bird’ |
| | d) | /akili/ | ‘squirrel’ |
| | e) | /ak ^h a/ | ‘fish’ |

Inanimate noun objects:

- | | | | |
|-------|----|-----------------------|----------|
| (2.4) | a) | /atu/ | ‘stone’ |
| | b) | /afoyi/ | ‘basket’ |
| | c) | /alak ^{hi} / | ‘chair’ |
| | d) | /ap ^{hi} / | ‘cloth’ |
| | e) | /aki/ | ‘house’ |

Simple nouns in Sümi can be discussed under two heads.

1. Mass nouns and
2. Count nouns

2.1.1 Mass nouns

Nouns that cannot be counted or expressed through the plural marking or numerals are mass nouns.

- | | | | |
|-------|----|----------------------|--------|
| (2.5) | a) | /ami/ | ‘fire’ |
| | b) | /atsitsi/ | ‘sky’ |
| | c) | /ami ^{hi} / | ‘wind’ |
| | d) | /ajevu/ | ‘ash’ |
| | e) | /asa/ | ‘hair’ |

But there are some mass nouns like salt, water, rice, etc, though they cannot be marked with the plural marker /qo/, their property can be expressed in quantity by using a noun complement and a numeral.

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|------------|-------------|
| (2.6) | <i>amti</i> | <i>abo</i> | <i>puŋu</i> |
| | salt | packet | five |
| | ‘Five packets of salt’ | | |

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| (2.7) | <i>azi</i> | <i>kaɬtun</i> | <i>kit^{hi}</i> |
| | water | carton | three |
| | ‘Three cartons of water’ | | |

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| (2.8) | <i>at^{hi}kifi</i> | <i>kedzi</i> | <i>ŋiɣi</i> |
| | rice | kg | ten |
| | ‘Ten kilos of rice’ | | |

2.1.2 Count nouns

Count nouns are nouns that can be marked with the plural marker, and numerals.

Nouns with the plural marker /-qo/:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|----|-----------|----------|--------------|-----------|
| (2.9) | a) | /awo/ | ‘pig’ | /awo-qo/ | ‘pigs’ |
| | b) | /aki/ | ‘house’ | /aki-qo/ | ‘houses’ |
| | c) | /akisami/ | ‘friend’ | /akisami-qo/ | ‘friends’ |
| | d) | /abolomi/ | ‘cousin’ | /abolomi-qo/ | ‘cousins’ |
| | e) | /ampi/ | ‘body’ | /ampi-qo/ | ‘bodies’ |

Noun with numerals:

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|--|--------------|-----------------|
| (2.10) | a) | /ak ^h osa kit ^h i/ | ‘cat three’ | = three cats |
| | b) | /anu puŋu/ | ‘child five’ | = five children |
| | c) | /atu lak ^h i/ | ‘stone one’ | = one stone |
| | d) | /alisa tsiyo/ | ‘spoon six’ | = six spoons |
| | e) | /auloti kini/ | ‘finger two’ | = two fingers |

It is to be noted that not all noun words in Sümi occurs with the non relational prefix /a-/, though majority does, but neither are they monosyllabic in nature, and are less in number. Some examples are given below:

- | | | | |
|--------|----|--------------------------------------|------------|
| (2.11) | a) | /kipitimi/ | ‘boy’ |
| | b) | /totimi/ | ‘girl’ |
| | c) | /l ^h ot ^h emi/ | ‘youth’ |
| | d) | /t ^h alaxi/ | ‘spider’ |
| | e) | /muɽasi/ | ‘snow’ |
| | f) | /dʒolabo/ | ‘bag’ |
| | g) | /ʃuɽu/ | ‘rain’ |
| | h) | /naɽuto/ | ‘mountain’ |

2.2 Derived Noun

Derivation is a process of word-formation through affixation. In Sümi new words can be formed through prefixation and suffixation.

2.2.1 The /a-/ prefix

A noun can be derived by prefixing /a-/, to the root of a verb and adjective, but it does not occur productively in deriving new words. The examples given below show /a-/ prefixed to the root of the verb and an adjective to derive a noun.

		Verb		Noun	
(2.12)	a)	/dʒu/	‘look’	=/a- dʒu/	‘appearance’
	b)	/mil ^{hi} /	‘blow’	=/a- mil ^{hi} /	‘wind’
	c)	/ʃu/	‘eat’	=/a- ʃu/	‘food’(exclusive for animals)
	d)	/ba/	‘defecate’	= /a- ba/	‘excrement’
	e)	/mu/	‘lean’	=/a- mu/	‘brother’
	f)	/pu/	‘carry’	=/a- pu/	‘father’
	g)	/miya/	‘play’	= /a-miya/	‘toy’

		Adjective		Noun
(2.13)	a)	/mɪzi/	‘hungry’	=/a- mɪzi/ ‘hunger’
	b)	/tɪyi/	‘thirsty’	= /a- tɪyi/ ‘thirst’
	c)	/kuml ^{ho} /	‘poor’	= /a- kuml ^{ho} / ‘poorness’

2.2.2 The /kv-/ prefixes

The /kv/ prefixation (/v/ here indicates the vowel that follows the phoneme [k]) /ki-/ , /ki-/ and /ku-/are prefixes that functions as a nominalizer to the verb and the adjective to derive a noun.

The nominalized verb is also known as deverbalization, and, adjectives can occur with the non-relational prefix /a-/ (not all) when prefixed with /kv/. The /a-/ here is not only acting as a tone bearing unit (in case of any root vowel deletion during the natural speech pattern) but is also acting as a qualifier for the nominalized verb or adjective to take the initial position in a sentence and the functioning of which is equivalent to that of the noun root that is dependent on the non-relational prefix /a-/ (or preceding element) to occur in the subject position.

Nominalized Verb (monosyllabic):

(2.14)	a)	/zi/	‘sleep’	=/a-ki-zi/	‘sleeping’
	b)	/je/	‘write’	=/a-ki-je/	‘letter / writing’
	c)	/t ^{hi} /	‘die’	=/a-ki-t ^{hi} /	‘death’
	d)	/xi/	‘live’	=/a-ki-xi/	‘life’
	e)	/p ^{hi} /	‘read’	=/a-ki-p ^{hi} /	‘reading/studying’

Nominalized Verb (disyllabic):

(2.15)	a)	/pili/	‘believe’	= /a-ki-pili/	‘belief/believing’
	b)	/pika/	‘steal’	= /a-ki-pika/	‘stealing’
	c)	/kit ^{hi} /	‘arrange’	=/a-ki-kit ^{hi} /	‘arrangement/in order’
	d)	/miki/	‘lie’	=/a-ki-miki/	‘lying’
	e)	/kili/	‘change’	=/a-ki-kili/	‘changing’

Nominalized Adjectives (monosyllabic):

(2.16)	a)	/si/	‘sick’	=/a-ki-si/	‘sickness’
	b)	/fo/	‘tough’	=/a-ku-fo/	‘toughness’
	c)	/ŋo/	‘sweet’	=/a-ku-ŋo/	‘sweetness’
	d)	/fu/	‘spicy’	=/a-ku-fu/	‘being spicy/spiciness’
	e)	/hu/	‘red’	=/a-ku-hu/	‘being red’

Nominalized Adjective (disyllabic):

(2.17)	a)	/miʃi/	‘heavy’	=/a-ki-miʃi/	‘heaviness’
	b)	/mit ^{hi} /	‘hate’	= /a-ki-mit ^{hi} /	‘hatred’
	c)	/mit ^{he} /	‘clean’	=/a-ki-mit ^{he} /	‘cleanliness’
	d)	/muko/	‘cold’	=/a-ku-muko/	‘coldness’
	e)	/kudʒo/	‘shy’	=/a-ku-kudʒo/	‘shame/shyness’

When the /kv-/ occurs with the disyllabic verbs or adjectives that are formed through the process of compounding as in, having two roots, then the /kv-/ is prefixed to the second root instead of the first root and in this kind of category the

/a-/ prefix is not added, except for those verb morphemes that takes the noun complement as the first root when compounded, normally retains their usual /a-/ prefix instead of the additional /a-/ eg; from /ale-p^{he}/ (song-sing) and that which after the nominalization becomes, /ale-ki-p^{he}/, Teo (2013: 189).

At the first instance when we look into words such as /xa-ki-t^{ha}/ the /ki/ looks like an infix so the question could arise as to, why is it not considered an infix? Or why can't it be realized as a suffix instead of a prefix? Now, when we think about the nature of an infix it usually occurs somewhere within the root itself, but taking the example /kila/ 'marry' and affixing the /ki/ as in /a- ki- kila/ the /ki/ appears before the root and not within the root of /kila/ clearly showing to be a prefixed, and this kind of formation is not ambiguous in comparison to the affixation that seems to occur in the middle of the compounded word like /xa-ki-t^{ha}/, though /xa/ and /t^{ha}/ are compounded to form one word as in /xat^{ha}/ 'decide', it still has the element of two independent roots, so to attest the /ki/ as an infix seem inappropriate. And yes, /ki/ is not a suffix in this kind of formation because for instance, if we only look at the part where /ki/ could be a suffix as in, /xa -ki/ the form is rather meaningless and invalid, on the other hand, if we simply look at /ki-t^{ha}/ though the meaning gets diverted to some other word like /a-ki-t^{ha}/ or /ki- t^{ha}/ 'the style of cutting', the /ki- t^{ha}/ does not indicate an invalid meaning unlike /xa -ki/.

- (2.18)
- a) /xa/ 'disassemble', /t^{ha}/ 'cut'
 - b) /xa-t^{ha}/ 'decide'
 - c) /xa-ki-t^{ha}/ 'decision'
 - d) /xa -ki/ (invalid meaning as suffix)
 - e) /ki- t^{ha}/ 'referring to the style of cutting' (valid)

Nominalized verb:

- (2.19)
- a) /xa-t^{ha}/ 'decide' = /xa-ki-t^{ha}/ 'decision'
 - b) /hu-t^{hu}/ 'begin' = /hu-ku-t^{hu}/ 'beginning'
 - c) /ala-t^{fe}/ 'walk' = /ala-ki-t^{fe}/ 'walking'

- d) /ale-p^he/ 'sing' = /ale-ki-p^he/ 'singing'
- e) /ana-tʃu/ 'to eat food' = /ana-ku-tʃu/ 'eating of food'

Nominalized Adjective:

- (2.20)
- | | | | |
|----|---|---|----------------------|
| a) | /dʒuvi/ ‘beautiful’ | =/dʒu-ki-vi/ | ‘being beautiful’ |
| b) | /an ^h ɛfu/ ‘jealous’ | =/an ^h ɛ-ku-fu/ | ‘jealousy’ |
| c) | /k ^h aq ^h i/ ‘open’ | =/k ^h a-ki-q ^h i/ | ‘opening/inaugurate’ |
| d) | /k ^h at ^h a/ ‘impression’ | =/k ^h a-ki-t ^h a/ | ‘imprisonment’ |
| e) | /alotsi/ ‘wise’ | =/alo-ki-tsi/ | ‘wisdom’ |

The nominalization of the verb and adjective is an important step in the morphology of Sümi because it is only after the nominalization that the majority of the vocational terms and the terms for the characteristic quality of a person is derived by suffixing /-mi/ ‘person’ or /-u/ i.e. a definite marker, to their base.

Nominalized verbs suffixed with /mi/ and /u/:

- [illegible]

Nominalized adjective suffixed with /mi/ and /u/:

- (2.22)
- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| a) | /a- ki- si/ | ‘sickness’ | =/a- ki- si -mi/ | ‘patient’ |
| | | | /a- ki- si -u/ | ‘the patient’ |
| b) | /dʒu- ki- vi/ | ‘beautiful’ | =/dʒu-ki-vi-mi/ | ‘beautiful people’ |
| | | | /dʒu- ki- vi -u/ | ‘the beautiful person’ |
| d) | /a- lo-ki- tsi/ | ‘wisdom’ | =/a- lo-ki- tsi -mi/ | ‘wise people’ |
| | | | /a- lo-ki- tsi -u/ | ‘the wise person’ |

2.3 Compound Noun

A new noun can also be formed through the compounding process and this is a very common way of forming a new word, which is composed of two (or more) stems or at any rate a root morpheme. Unlike derivation that concerns with the affixation to form new words, here the compound concerns with the compounding of the same or different lexical classes in order to form another same or different lexical class. In Sümi the new lexeme for the noun can be composed by compounding a noun with another noun (N+N), two verbs (V+V) or noun and verb (N+V) and noun.

2.3.1 Noun + Noun = Noun

New nouns can be formed by compounding two nouns.

- (2.23) a) /apu/ ‘father’ + /aza/ ‘mother’ = /apu-aza/ ‘parents’
b) /asi/ ‘grandfather’ + /apiza/ ‘grandmother’ = /asi-apiza/ ‘grandparents’
c) /apu/ ‘father’ + /asi/ ‘grandfather’ = /apu-asi/ ‘forefathers’
d) /afɿ/ ‘meat’ + /ak^ha/ ‘fish’ = /afɿ-ak^ha/ ‘meat’
e) /atsi/ ‘dog’ + /awo/ ‘pig’ = /atsi-awo/ ‘domestic animals’

/afɿ-ak^ha/ (2.23. d) here, can be implied to a collective term for different kinds of meat like; pork, beef, mutton, chicken, fish, etc, while for the second example, in Sümi there is a particular word for domestic animals called /piʃepiyi/ but the use of compounded /atsi-awo/ can also be implied for the same, though it can also simply be used to refer to dogs and pigs.

In Sümi, it is already mentioned that the nouns are morphologically prefixed with /a-/ but in some compounded nouns it is observed that the attachment of /a-/ to the second root of the compounded elements does not show consistency while in some cases been retained. To understand why, the noun lexemes can be categorized into animate (human referential terms, animals) and inanimate entities, and here the inanimate entities ‘man-made and non-man-made (natural existence)’ and regard them as a different noun category. It is observed that when

the compounded noun element of the second root does not belong to the same category as the first element then the prefix /a-/ of the second morpheme is dropped, contrasting the examples shown above where both /apu/ and /aza/ are also animate and likewise the /a-/ is retained. The examples provided below show the drop of /a-/ in the second compounded element.

- (2.24) a) /ak^{hi}/ ‘bee’ + /zi/ ‘water’ = /ak^{hi}-zi/
animate inanimate ‘honey’
- b) /ana/ ‘food’ + /ali/ ‘pot’ = /ana-li/
inanimate inanimate ‘cooking pot (rice)’
- c) /azi/ ‘water’ + /abo/ ‘container’ = /azi-bo/
inanimate (natural) inanimate (man-made) ‘waterbottle’
- d) /asi/ ‘wood’ + /ak^{hu}/ ‘plate’ = /asi-k^{hu}/
inanimate (natural) inanimate (man-made) ‘wooden plate’
- e) /be.i/ ‘sheep’ + /ak^{heu}/ ‘guard’ = /be.i-k^{heu}/
animate (animal) animate (human) ‘shepherd’

It is not so productive but is also possible that the prefix /a-/ of the compounded noun can be dropped from both the elements of the compounded noun roots belonging to different noun categories (or more than two noun compounds) and they appear to be obligatory.

- (2.25) a) /aɖʒu/ ‘appearance’ + /amiɟi/ ‘mark’ = /ɖʒu-miɟi/ ‘identity’
b) /aɖʒe/ ‘name’ + /amiɟi/ ‘mark’ = /ɖʒe-miɟi/ ‘signature’
c) /aɟi/ ‘flesh’ + /aje/ ‘title’ + /atsa/ ‘word’ = /ɟijetsa/ ‘tribal language’

2.3.2 Verb + Verb = Noun

Noun word formed through the compounding of two verb morphemes but not very productive.

- (2.26) a) /je/ ‘write’ + /kil^ha/ ‘spread’ = /je-kil^ha/ ‘invitation card’
 b) /l^ho/ ‘create’ + /xi/ ‘live’ = /l^ho-xi/ ‘animal’

2.3.3 Noun + Verb = Noun

Several nouns can be formed by compounding the noun and the verb class in Sümi.

Noun	+	Verb	=Noun
/atsa/ ‘word’		/pi/ ‘speak’	/atsapi/ ‘speech’
/ap ^h i/ ‘body’		/kizi/ ‘cover’	/ap ^h ikizi/ ‘shirt’
/azi/ ‘water’		/kufu/ ‘bath’	/azikufu/ ‘bath’
/azi/ ‘water’		/mil ^h i/ ‘blow’	/azimil ^h i/ ‘weather’
/kila/ ‘marry’		/kupu/ ‘complete’	/kilakupu/ ‘marriage’
/apuk ^h u/ ‘leg’		/q ^h o/ ‘bury’	/apuk ^h uq ^h o/ ‘shoe’
/akiŋe/ ‘waist’		/k ^h a/ ‘bind’	/akiŋek ^h a/ ‘belt’
/akitsi/ ‘head’		/xe/ ‘to comb’	/akitsixe/ ‘comb’
/at ^h i/ ‘grain’		/kijĩ/ ‘grind’	/at ^h ikijĩ/ ‘rice’

Table 2.1: Noun + Verb = Noun

2.4 Number

Numbers in Sümi can show contrast in three distinct ways i.e. singular, plural, and dual. The singular is unmarked indicative of something at an individual level as opposed to the dual marker or the plural marker that concerns exclusively about two things or more than that. Both the plural and the dual markers do not have separate markers to differentiate the animate and the inanimate category.

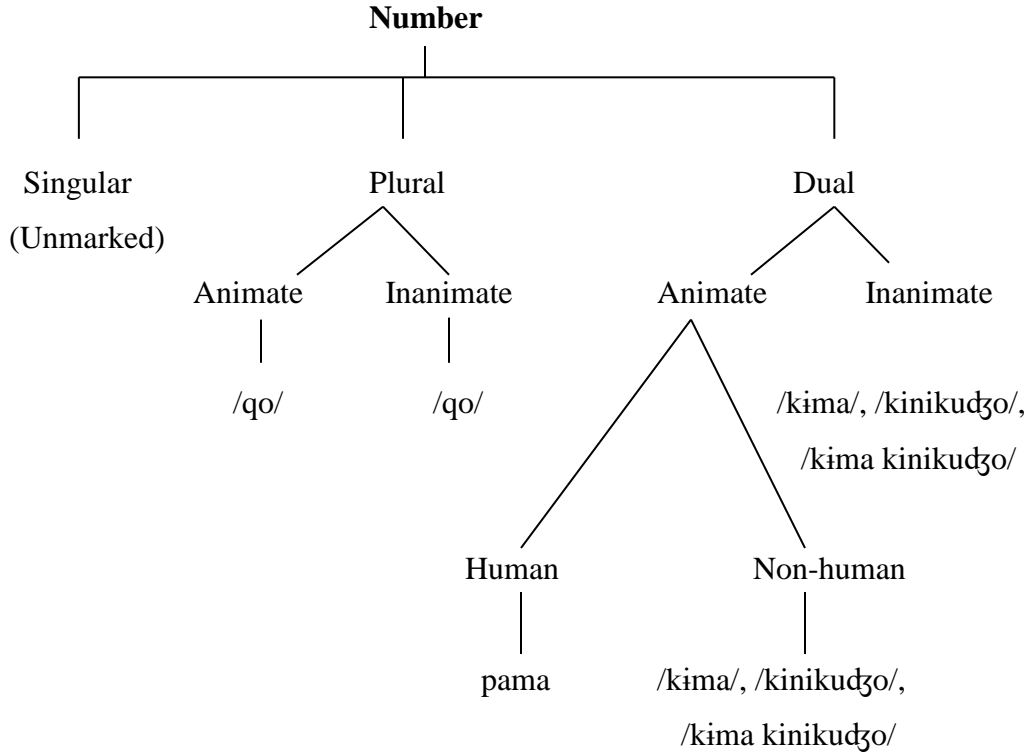


Figure 2.1: Number distribution in Sümi

2.4.1 The Plural /qo/

The plural marker is /qo/ which follows the noun without any distinction made between the animate and the inanimate entities.

Animate human:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
(2.27) a)	/totimi/ 'girl'	/totimiqo/ 'girls'
b)	/kipitimi/ 'boy/man'	/kipitimiqo/ 'boys/men'
c)	/muʃfomi/ 'married man'	/muʃfomiqo/ 'married men'
d)	/ʃikikami/ 'teacher'	/ʃikikamiqo/ 'teachers'
e)	/aqemi/ 'servant'	/aqemiqo/ 'servants'

Animate non-human:

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
(2.28) a)	/atsi/	‘dog’	/atsi-qo/	‘dogs’
b)	/amifĩ/	‘cow’	/amifĩ-qo/	‘cows’
c)	/apiyi/	‘snake’	/apiyi-qo/	‘snakes’
d)	/al ^h atfe/	‘ant’	/al ^h atfe-qo/	‘ants’
e)	/akiha/	‘elephant’	/akiha-qo/	‘elephants’

Inanimate objects:

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
(2.29) a)	/atu/	‘stone’	/atu-qo/	‘stones’
b)	/asibo/	‘tree’	/asibo-qo/	‘trees’
c)	/axamunu/	‘flower’	/axamunu-qo/	‘flowers’
d)	/kaku/	‘book’	/kaku-qo/	‘books’
e)	/alisa/	‘spoon’	/alisa-qo/	‘spoons’

2.4.2 Dual

The marker /pama/ follows the noun to indicate dual for the animate human that follows and in the case where the reference is made between the two different genders then the dual marker occurs after the second noun. Here /pama/ is the 3rd person dual marker of Sümi.

Animate human:

- (2.30) *a- pu* *pama*
 NRL.PRX- boy DU
 ‘Both the boys’

- (2.31) *a- pu* *ŋo* *a- ŋa* *pama*
 NRL.PRX- boy and NRL.PRX- girl DU
 ‘Both the boy and the girl’

- (2.32) *tom ŋo dgeri pama*
 tom and jerry DU
 ‘Both Tom and Jerry’

The animate non-human and the inanimate dual can be represented in various forms; /kima/, /kinikudzo/ or /kima kinikudzo/.

According to the data analysis, of course, the marker /kima/ represents dual and can occur alone but /kima/ was also quite often observed to be supplemented either by the preceding determiner (2.34, 2.37) or the following [kinikudzo]. Here /kini/ stands for the cardinal ‘two’ while /kudzo/ is a dual marker for the 1st and the 2nd person personal pronoun category. And also [kinikudzo] alone can mark for the dual interchangeably with /kima/ as can be seen in the example below (2.33, 2.34, 2.35).

Animate non-human:

- (2.33) *a- tsi kima*
 NRL.PRX- dog DU
 ‘Both the dogs’

- (2.34) *a- tsi hi kima*
 NRL.PRX-dog this.PROX DU
 ‘Both the dogs’

- (2.35) *a- tsi kini-kudzo*
 NRL.PRX- dog two-DU
 ‘Both the dogs’

- (2.36) *a- tsi kima kini-kudzo*
 NRL.PRX- dog DU two-DU
 ‘Both the dogs’

Inanimate:

- (2.37) *a- sibo* *kima* *t^ha-ve*
NRL.PRX- tree DU cut-IMP
‘Cut both the trees’
- (2.38) *a- sibo* *hi* *kima* *t^ha-ve*
NRL.PRX- tree this.PROX DU cut -IMP
‘Cut both these trees’
- (2.39) *a- sibo* *kini-kudžo* *t^ha-ve*
NRL.PRX- tree two-DU cut-IMP
‘Cut both the trees’
- (2.40) *a- sibo* *kima* *kini-kudžo* *t^ha -ve*
NRL.PRX- tree DU two-DU cut -IMP
‘Cut both the trees’

In Sümi the plurality of the noun can also be expressed in three other ways without the marker /qo/ following right after the noun

2.4.3 Modifier + /qo/

In Sümi the plural marker /-qo/ can be suffixed to the post modifier instead of the noun entity to qualify the preceding noun for plural when they occur together in NP which is obligatory (2.41), but in the case when there is no modifier then the plural marker naturally occurs with the noun (2.42).

- (2.41) *totimi* *džu-ki-vi- qo* *kimtsi* *hila* *ku* *sa-iyi*
girl look-NMLZ-good-PL all here call lead-come
‘Call all the beautiful girls here.’

- (2.42) *totimi -qo kimsi hila ku sa-iyi*
 girl -PL all here call lead-come
 ‘Call all the girls here’

2.4.4 Determiner + /qo/

When the determiner follows the noun morpheme it can qualify the plural for the noun which is also obligatory. It is not applicable for the noun morpheme to carry the plural marker /qo/ when it occurs with the determiner.

- (2.43) *a- xamunu hupa -qo je kiyit^he t^hi -ve-nani*
 NRL.PRX- flower that -PL TOP early die -IMP-FUT
 ‘Those flowers will die early’

2.4.5 Numerals

As discussed earlier the cardinal number can also be used to express the plural, which in Sümi follows.

Singular	Noun+Numeral=Plural
alisa ‘spoon’	alisa bidi ‘spoon+four’ = four spoons
ak ^h osa ‘cat’	ak ^h osa tatse ‘cat+eight’ = eight cats
asibo ‘tree’	asibo toku ‘tree+nine’ = nine trees

Table 2.2: Cardinal Number for Plural

2.5 Quantifier

A quantifier expresses a set amount of an existing thing without being definite and the degree for which may be big or small. The quantifier in Sümi is /lodʒi/, generally used for both animate human and non-human which clubs an item together in a group. The quantifying morpheme follows in Sümi.

The quantifier /lodʒi/

- (2.44) a) /apumi lodʒi/
 ‘group of unmarried men’
- b) /topumi lodʒi/
 ‘group of married women’
- c) /kitʃimi lodʒi/
 ‘group of elderly people’
- d) /aɣau lodʒi/
 ‘group of birds’
- e) /amini lodʒi/
 ‘group of wild boar’

2.6 Gender

Gender talks about the different categories where the noun entities can be grouped into; masculine, feminine, and neuter.

2.6.1 Animate human

The Sümi has a natural gender for humans but there are few instances where the marker /liu/ occurs as a feminine marker and /pu/ occurs as a masculine marker but this is not consistent or productive, and here the marker /liu/ seem to be used more than /pu/, for instance, a female singer may be addressed as /alekip^{he}-liu/ but this is not possible for its counterpart, as in, a male singer cannot be addressed as /alekip^{he} -pu/ instead the general neuter term like /alekip^{he}-mi/ or /alekip^{he} -u/ is used (2.45: c,d,e). The more consistent use of the feminine marker /liu/ can be attributed to the fact that Sümi distinguishes the 3rd person feminine, which is /li/, while for the 3rd person masculine there is no distinction made and are just

addressed by the use of the 3rd person neuter marker /pa/ which is used to indicate both ‘s/he’.

	Natural	Masculine	Feminine
(2.45)	a) /aqeu/ ‘servant’	/aqe -pu/ ‘male servant’	/aqe -liu/ ‘female servant’
	b) /kila/ ‘marry’	/kila -pu/ ‘groom’	/kila -liu/ ‘bride’
	c) /sakup ^{he} -u/ ‘leader’	/sakup ^{he} -u/ ‘leader’	/sakup ^{he} -liu/ ‘female leader’
	d) /alekip ^{he} -u/ ‘the singer’	/alekip ^{he} -u/ ‘the singer’	/alekip ^{he} -liu/ ‘the female singer’
	e) /akije -u/ ‘the secretary’	/akije -u/ ‘the secretary’	/akije -liu/ ‘the female secretary’

The examples provided below show the biological differences without any gender marker.

	Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
(2.46)	a) apu/	‘father’	/aza/	‘mother’
	b) /asi/	‘grandfather’	/apiza/	‘grandmother’
	c) /amu/	‘brother’	/afo/	‘sister’
	d) /aŋu/	‘uncle’	/ani/	‘aunt’
	e) /kipitimi/	‘boy’	/totimi/	‘girl’

2.6.2 Animate Non-Human

The gender markers for animate non-human are very productive and clear where the distinction is made not only as male and female but, between the male animals with horns-without horns, likewise the markers for their female counterpart differs, the females can further be distinguished with and without offsprings, and the distinction between birds and animals are also made. Altogether there are six types of gender markers; three markers for males and three for females.

But it is also to be noted that the gender markers are not regularly used with the neuter terms if not for the reason of specificity according to the discourse discussion of the speakers when the differentiation is required.

The gender markers here also occur with the non-relational prefix /a-/ which can be dropped when it is in compounded form with the neuter terms. Table 2.3 presents the gender markers used for the animate non-human.

Gender Marker	Category
/ani/	female
/ali/	female
/aqu/	female
/alī/	Male
/atsi/	male
/adu/	male

Table 2.3: Animate non-human gender marker in Sümi

From the table above we can see that the form /ali/ is present in both the feminine and the masculine category as such, the distinction is made through the ending tone, where in the case of the female the [i] phoneme vowel ends with the high tone /ali/ and for the male it ends in the mid-tone /alī/.

2.6.2.1 The feminine marker /ali/

There are two categories of non-human animate who can take the feminine marker /ali/ i.e. the female birds and those females whose male counterpart has horns. And also /ali/ here is referred to only those female who has not given birth to any offspring yet. Table 2.4, presents the feminine gender marker /ali/-with the name of some birds and animals under this category.

Neutral	Marker	Neutral + Marker
/awu/ ‘chicken’	/li/, /ali/	awuli/ ali ‘female chicken’
/ayau/ ‘bird’	/ali/	ayau ali ‘female bird’
/awuye/ ‘peacock’	/ali/	awuye ali ‘female peacock’
/ayi/ ‘rooster’	/ali/	ayi ali ‘female rooster’
/amijfi/ ‘cow’	/li/, /ali/	amijfili / ali ‘female cow’
/avi/ ‘mithun’	/ali/	avi ali ‘female mithun’
/afe/ ‘deer’	/ali/	afe ali ‘female deer’
/aito/ ‘rhino’	/ali/	aito ali ‘female rhino’

Table 2.4: The marker /ali/

2.6.2.2 The feminine marker /ani/

The female animals without offspring who do not fall under the category of /ali/ are marked by /ani/. It is to be noted that /ali/ and /ani/ are not referred to any female animals and birds with offspring. Table 2.5, shows the examples of the female animals that can take the marker /ani/.

Neutral	Marker	Neutral + Marker
/ak ^h osa/ ‘cat’	/ani/	ak ^h osa ani ‘female cat’
/awo/ ‘pig’	/ni/, /ani/	awoni / ani ‘female pig’
/atsi/ ‘dog’	/ani/	atsi ani ‘female dog’
/akili/ ‘squirrel’	/ani/	akili ani ‘female squirrel’
/aɲufu/ ‘tiger’	/ani/	aɲufu ani ‘female tiger’

/aboŋuʃu/ ‘lion’	/ani/	aboŋuʃu ani	‘female lion’
/amini/ ‘bear’	/ani/	amini ani	‘female bear’
/aʃuki/ ‘monkey’	/ani/	aʃuki ani	‘female monkey’

Table 2.5: The marker /ani/

The female gender markers /ali/ and /ani/ are not interchangeable, because their occurrence to a particular category of animal is purely fixed.

2.6.2.3 The feminine marker /aqu/

The feminine marker /aqu/ is referred to all the categories of female animals and birds that have already given birth to offspring. Some examples are shown in Table 2.6.

Neutral	Marker	Neutral + Marker
/awu/ ‘hen’	/qu/, /aqu/	awu qu or awu aqu ‘hen’
/ayau/ ‘bird’	/qu/, /aqu/	ayau qu / aqu ‘mother bird’
/amiʃi/ ‘cow’	/qu/, /aqu/	amiʃi qu / aqu ‘mother cow’
/avi/ ‘mother’	/qu/, /aqu/	avi qu / aqu ‘mother mithun’
/aŋie/ ‘goat’	/qu/, /aqu/	aŋie qu / aqu ‘mother goat’
/awo/ ‘pig’	/qu/, /aqu/	awo qu / aqu ‘mother pig’
/atsi/ ‘dog’	/qu/, /aqu/	atsi qu / aqu ‘mother dog’
/ak ^h osa/ ‘cat’	/qu/, /aqu/	ak ^h osa qu / aqu ‘mother cat’

Table 2.6: The marker /aqu/

2.6.2.4 The masculine marker /atsi/

The masculine marker for male animals with horns and without horns differs. The male animals with the horns are given the masculine marker /atsi/ or /tsi/. Table 2.7, presents some animals with horns that are given the marker /atsi/ or /tsi/ to indicate their gender.

Neutral	Marker	Neutral + Marker
/amifi/ ‘cow’	/atsi/	amifi atsi ‘male cow’
/avi/ ‘mithun’	/tsi/, /atsi/	avitsi / atsi ‘male mithun’
/aɲie/ ‘goat’	/atsi/	aɲie atsi ‘male goat’
/aito/ ‘rhino’	/atsi/	aito atsi ‘male rhino’
/aʃe/ ‘deer’	/tsi/ /atsi/	aʃetsi / atsi ‘male deer’

Table 2.7: The marker /atsi/

2.6.2.5 The masculine marker /ali/

The masculine gender marker /ali/ is used for those animals that do not have horns or do not belong to the category of birds. Note that here the masculine marker /ali/ ends with the mid-tone, unlike the feminine marker that ends with the high-tone. Table 2.8, presents some of the male animals with the marker /ali/ or /li/.

Neutral	Marker	Neutral + Marker
/atsi/ ‘dog’	/ali/	atsili ‘male dog’
/awo/ ‘pig’	/li/, /ali/	awoli / ali ‘male pig’
/ak ^h osa/ ‘cat’	/ali/	ak ^h osa ali ‘male cat’
/akili/ ‘squirrel’	/ali/	akili ali ‘male squirrel’
/aboɲufu/ ‘lion’	/ali/	aboɲufu ali ‘male lion’
/aɲufu/ ‘tiger’	/ali/	aɲufu ali ‘male tiger’
/aʃuki/ ‘monkey’	/ali/	aʃuki ali ‘male monkey’

Table 2.8: The marker /ali/

2.6.2.6 The masculine marker /adu/

The marker /adu/ is used only for the category of male birds. Few examples are given in Table 2.9.

Neutral	Marker	Neutral + Marker
/awu/ ‘chicken’	/du/, /ado/	awu du / adu ‘male chicken’
/ayau/ ‘bird’	/adu/	ayau adu ‘male bird’
/awuye/ ‘peacock’	/adu/	awuye adu ‘male peacock’

Table 2.9: The marker /adu/

2.7 Case

Case is grammatical and can be analyzed according to the syntactic correlation of noun or the noun phrase in relation to other word-class. It is an important inflectional category of a noun that appears in a certain larger syntactic configuration. But the occurrence of the case marker may differ according to an individual language; Teo (2019: 6) mentions that ‘Case marking can take the form of suffixes and enclitics, but also adpositions and what are sometimes called “particles” in particular grammatical traditions.’

The case of the Sümi shows the differential case marking system where the subject of the intransitive (S) and the transitive verb (A) are overtly marked either with /no/ or /je/ both having different functions. The cases in Sümi are expressed through enclitic and postpositions.

Including the case markers /no/ and /je/ the following are the case markers available in Sümi Table 2.10, which represents the 11 types of case markers found in Sümi.

Case	Marker
Agentive, focus	/no/
Topic, experiencer	/je/
Possessive	/-u/
Locative	/lo/, /lau/, /kɪdaʊ/
Instrumental	/pe/~pesi/~ik ^h e/, /peiwo/, /saiwo/
Ablative	/lono/, /launo/
Comitative	/sasi/, /yolo/
About	/yili/
Additive	/yi/
Vocative	/o/, /oi/
Benefactive	/sala/

Table 2.10: Case markers in Sümi

2.7.1 The case marker /no/

2.7.1.1 Agentive

The agent initiates the action indicated by the verb.

- (2.47) *pa no p^he*
 3SG AGT sing
 ‘He sang (song).’

- (2.48) *i- za no alik^huli fi a- ni*
 1SG.POSS- mother AGT cook do PROG- PRES
 ‘My mother is cooking.’

- (2.49) *i- no a- ki k^hu-va*
 1SG- AGT NRL.PRX- house sweep-PRF
 ‘I have swept the house.’

2.7.1.2 Focus

Focus marker is ‘the semantic component by which the assertion and presupposition differ corresponds to a single constituent in a sentence or proposition’, *Teo (2021: 12) cited from Lambrecht, (1994: 213).*

- (2.50) *i no ni- kibo dolo akifiu*
 1SG FOC 1PL-family between eldest
 ‘I am the eldest in my family.’

- (2.51) *i no mt^ha ke no no fi-ve*
 1SG FOC NEG CONN 2SG AGT do-VM
 ‘I don’t know so you do it.’

- (2.52) *a- wo-fi je a- vu-fi -u no alo*
 NRL.PRX- pig-meat TOP NRL.PRX-chicken-meat-DEF FOC good
 ‘Chicken is better than pork.’

2.7.2 The case marker /je/

2.7.2.1 Topic

The topic case marker is used to mark the topic the sentence talks about.

- (2.53) *pa je amikufo timi lak^hi*
 3SG TOP honest person one
 ‘He is an honest person.’

- (2.54) *i- peu je itimi ap^hi*
 1SG.POSS- younger.brother TOP young still
 ‘My brother is still young.’

- (2.55) *o- za je iyono o tufu fe-ni*
 2SG- mother TOP very 2SG care HAB.CONT-PRES
 ‘Your mother cares for you a lot.’

2.7.2.2 Experiencer

Damodar (1998) mentioned that an experiencer is the subject of either a copular verb or a transitive verb of perception, cognition, or emotion.

- (2.56) *ni je iyono a- mlo-ide a- ni*
1SG EXP very NRL.PRX- heart-turn PROG- PRES
'I am very angry.'

- (2.57) *ni je a- piyi it^hu-lu -ke misa -ve*
1SG EXP NRL.PRX- snake see-COMPL -NMLZ afraid -IND
'I saw the snake and got scared.'

- (2.58) *pa je o kimije ffe-ni*
3SG EXP 2SG love CONT-PRES
'He loves you.'

2.7.3 Possessive

The possessive marker in Sümi is 'wu' phonetically transcribed as /-u/ which indicates possessiveness or ownership over the object that the subject is referring to. The possessive marker can also be represented with /vu/. It is seen that /-u/ 'wu' is mostly used in the written form as a correct form, whereas /vu/ 'vu' is used in the casual discourse and this may be attributed to the dialectal variation.

- (2.59) *ti je i- fo -u a- tsi*
that TOP 1SG- sister -POSS NRL.PRX- dog
'That is my sister's dog.'

- (2.60) *i- u kaku je mifi a-ni*
1SG- POSS book TOP heavy PROG-PRES
'My book is heavy.'

- (2.61) *ni je o -u a- ki-kĩmsi it^{hi} nĩĩ a-ni*
 1SG TOP 2SG-POSS NRL.PRX- NMLZ-think know want PROG-PRES
 ‘I want to know (about) your thought.’

2.7.4 Locative

The locative marker identifies with the location of an object, event, or time. The two locative markers in Sümi are represented as; /lo/ and /lau/.

2.7.4.1 Place location

When the location is directed towards a particular place or thing, the locative marker /lo/ is used as an expression for the static location of the subject.

- (2.62) *i- pu je a-ki lo wo-ve*
 1SG- father FOC NRL.PRX-house LOC go.back-IND
 ‘My father went home.’

- (2.63) *ni je kohima lo kaku p^{hi} a-ni*
 1SG TOP kohima LOC book study PROG-PRES
 ‘I am studying at Kohima.’

- (2.64) *itimi -qo a- yili-qa lo ŋo a-ni*
 kid -PL NRL.PRX- game-plain LOC stay PROG-PRES
 ‘The kids are (staying) in the playground.’

- (2.65) *i- n^het^{hi}-q^{ho} ga.ɪ lo q^{hi} -va*
 1SG -eyes-bury car LOC keep -PRF
 ‘I have kept my spectacles in the car.’

2.7.4.2 Person location

When the location is directed towards a person then the locative marker /lau/ or /kidau/ is used instead of /lo/ which is attributed more towards a place and time location. These markers usually indicate the direction of the verb in motion.

- (2.66) *kivi je i- za lau u ffe-ni*
kivi TOP 1SG.POSS -mother LOC go CONT-PRES
'Kivi is going to my mother.'

- (2.67) *i- pu no i lau ip^{hi} ffe-ni*
1SG.POSS- father AGT 1SG LOC move.towards CONT-PRES
'My father is coming towards me.'

- (2.68) *i- za kidau ip^{hi}*
1SG.POSS -mother LOC move
'Move (go) towards my mother side.'

2.7.4.3 Time and event

The locative marker /lo/ can indicate the location of time and event that expresses the state or condition.

- (2.69) *put^{ho} lo je zimoi ke a- ki- mla fi-mla*
night LOC TOP dark CONN NRL.PRX- NMLZ- work do-NEG
'At night it is dark so work cannot be done.'

- (2.70) *i no inaq^{he} no a-ki lo iyi*
1SG AGT morning FOC NRL.PRX- house LOC come
'I came home in the morning.'

- (2.71) *k^hayi lo je a- layi kiha -pu iyono avesa ffe*
old.days LOC EXP NRL.PRX- road NEG -CONN very difficult CONT
'The olden days were faced with difficulty since there was no connectivity.'

- (2.72) *afek^{ha} lo je pa je ime -ve*
 last LOC TOP 3SG EXP tire -IND
 ‘At last he was tired.’

The locative marker /lau/ can also occur to indicate the direction of time and event but the difference here between /lo/ and /lau/ is that /lo/ indicates a more definite state than /lau/ which indicates more like ‘towards’ than ‘at’ or ‘in’.

- (2.73) *i no put^{ho} lau no a-ki lo iyi*
 1SG AGT night LOC FOC NRL.PRX- house LOC come
 ‘I came home towards the (evening) night.’

2.7.5 Instrumental

The function of the instrumental case is to indicate the instrument the agent made use of while initiating the action stated by the verb. The instrumental case can be represented in three forms /pe/ (§ 2.76) or /pesi/ (§ 2.77), /ik^{he}/ (§ 2.80), and /saiwo/ (§ 2.78) or /peiwo/ (§ 2.79).

The instrumental markers /pesi/, /saiwo/ and /peiwo/ are formed through compounded verb. Following are the meanings of these words;

- a) /pesi/ is composed of two verb morphemes /pe/ ‘take’ and /si/ ‘put’. /pe/ alone can also occur as an instrumental marker. They can be interchangeably used.
- b) /peiwo/ and /saiwo/ are also composed of two verb morphemes each. Here the first root morpheme of the verb can be suffixed with the emphatic marker /-i/ as in; [pe + i] and [sa + i] where /pe/ means ‘take’ and /sa/ means ‘lead’ and both co-occurs with /wo/ meaning ‘go back’. /peiwo/ and /saiwo/ can be used interchangeably.

c) The instrumental marker /ik^he/ is literally derived from the word /ik^hi/ also meaning ‘take’. The difference between /pe/ and /ik^hi/ is that the former is about ‘holding and taking’ or ‘taking by holding’ while the latter is ‘taking by picking’. In the sentence, the usage of /ik^hi/ does not serve as an instrumental marker but an action verb, but again this role can be changed with the replacement of the final word vowel /-i/ with /-e/, for instance in the first example given below it is /pe/ that is acting as an instrumental case not /ik^hi/ (2.74) , whereas in the second example (2.75) it can be seen that /ik^he/ is playing the role of an instrument.

(2.74) *i no a- tu ik^hi pe pa ve*
 1SG AGT NRL.PRX-stone take.pick INST 3SG hit
 ‘I hit him with a stone.’

(2.75) *i no a- tu ik^he pa ve*
 1SG AGT NRL.PRX-stone INST 3SG hit
 ‘I hit him with the stone.’

The sentential examples for the instrumental case like /pe/, /pesi/, /saiwo/ and /ik^he/ are given below. Most of the time it is observed that /pe/ or /pesi/ is commonly used as an instrumental marker, but the other instrumental can also be used interchangeably and seen to be person-oriented.

(2.76) *i no a- ẓịta pe a- pịyi heq^hi -va*
 1SG AGT NRL.PRX- machete INST NRL.PRX- snake kill -PRF
 ‘I have killed the snake with the machete.’

(2.77) *i no a- myu pesi a- si fek^ho*
 1SG AGT NRL.PRX- axe INST NRL.PRX- wood chop
 ‘Chop the firewood with an axe.’

(2.78) *i no a- xat^hi ẓi k^hi saiwo a- pịza ṭsi*
 1SG AGT NRL.PRX-fruit water buy INST NRL.PRX- grandmother give
 ‘I bought the juice and gave grandmother.’

- (2.79) *i no a-kitsi-xe peiwo pa kitsi xe*
 1SG AGT NRL.PRX-head-comb INST 3SG head comb.brush
 ‘I combed/brushed his hair with the comb.’

- (2.80) *i no a-p^{hi} ik^{he} pa tsɪ*
 1SG AGT NRL.PRX-cloth INST 3SG give
 ‘I gave a cloth to him.’

2.7.6 Ablative

The ablative case indicates separation and the movement from the source. There are two ablative case markers: /lono/ and /launo/ which occurs right after the object source. /launo/ is an ablative case for person category and /lono/ occurs as an ablative case for the non-human object source.

2.7.6.1 /lono/

The ablative case marker lono occurs in the case of the non-animate.

- (2.81) *pa je a-p^{hu} lono iyi*
 3SG TOP NRL.PRX- village ABL come
 ‘He came from the village.’
- (2.82) *a-xat^{hi} je a-sibo lono ilu ikiyi*
 NRL.PRX- fruit TOP NRL.PRX- tree ABL fell fell.down
 ‘The fruit fell down from the tree.’

2.7.6.2 /launo/

The ablative case marker launo occurs when the source is from the animate object.

- (2.83) *i no i-pu launo a-sitsa fi-lu*
 1SG FOC 1SG.POSS- father ABL NRL.PRX- news hear -COMPL
 ‘I heard the news from my father.’

- (2.84) *pa je pa- mu launo a- jeyi k^{hi} -lu*
 3SG TOP 3SG.POSS- brother ABL NRL.PRX- land buy -COMPL
 ‘He bought the land from his brother.’

2.7.7 Comitative

The comitative case refers to the marker that indicates the action carried out in association with someone and not individually. /sasi/ and /yolo/ are the two comitative markers in Sümi following right after the object.

- (2.85) *kupu no kivi sasi ili -a*
 kupu AGT küvü COM play -IMPRF
 ‘Kupu was playing with küvü.’

- (2.86) *kupu no pa- za yolo ŋo a-ni*
 kupu AGT 3SG.POSS-mother COM stay PROG-PRES
 ‘Kupu went home with his mother.’

- (2.87) *a- pu je a- pu sasi jeyikulu k^{hu} a-ni*
 NRL.PRX-boy TOP NRL.PRX- father COM vehicle wash PROG-PRES
 ‘The boy is washing the car with the father.’

2.7.8 About

Teo (2019: 71) gave the postposition /yili/ ‘ghili’ meaning ‘about’ as the topic of discussion (2.88, 2.89) and also something of a similar function (2.90).

- (2.88) *pa yili je pi-k^{ha} mla*
 3SG about TOP say-finish NEG
 ‘To talk about him is endless.’

- (2.89) *i no o vilo k^{hayi} lo yili pi -ni*
 1SG AGT 2SG to olden.days LOC about say –FUT
 ‘I will tell (to) you about the olden days.’

- (2.90) *pa je i yili fi a-ni*
 3SG TOP 1SG about do PROG-PRES
 ‘He is acting like me.’

2.7.9 Additive

The additive case is marked by /yi/ ‘ghi’ meaning ‘also/even’ occurring ‘in the same syntactic slot on core arguments as =no and =ye’ and like the two markers /yi/ can also be attached to the locative marker /lo/ and ablative marker /lono/, Teo (2019: 70).

- (2.91) *i-fo yi i- mu ke- toi pifî a-ni*
 1SG.POSS-sister even 1SG.POSS- brother NMLZ- like lazy PROG-PRES
 ‘Even my sister is lazy like my brother’.

- (2.92) *a- p^{hu} lo yi timi si a-ni*
 NRL.PRX-village LOC even people pain PROG-PRES
 ‘People are sick even in the village.’

- (2.93) *filukisa lono yi a- ki- xi kili -lu fê-ni*
 difficulty ABL even NRL.PRX-NMLZ-live change -COMPL CONT-PRES
 ‘Even from difficulties life can be changed.’

2.7.10 Benefactive

The benefactive case indicates towards the intended recipient that benefits from the action performed by the verb. /sala/ marks the benefactive case that follows the object recipient in Sümi.

- (2.94) *pa- pu no pa- ŋa sala a- k^hosa k^{hi} sa-iyi*
 3SG.POSS- father AGT 3SG- daughter BEN NRL.PRX- cat buy lead-come
 ‘His father bought a cat for her daughter.’

- (2.95) *i no pa sala sinizɪ ʃi a-ni*
 1SG AGT 3SG BEN tea do PROG-PRES
 ‘I am making tea for him.’

- (2.96) *a-ʃi ti je o-fo sala*
 NRL.PRX- meat that TOP 2SG.POSS- sister BEN
 ‘That meat is for your sister’

2.7.11 Vocative

The vocative case is directed towards the person who is being called which in Sümi can be represented as /o/ and /oi/. The vocative /o/ precedes the person and the vocative /oi/ follows.

- (2.97) *o i- pu*
 VOC 1SG.POSS- father
 ‘O my father’

- (2.98) *a- pu oi*
 NRL.PRX- boy VOC
 ‘Boy oi’ (literally calling ‘hey boy’)

CHAPTER-3

PRONOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.0 Pronoun

According to RL Trask (1997), a pronoun is ‘a word class or a word belonging to this class, whose member typically, form noun phrase, all by themselves, such as you, she, something or this’.

Pronouns are words ‘...typically referring to people or things already known’, George Yule (1985: 82)

Leonard Bloomfield (1935: 269) states that ‘among the substantives are some pronoun-forms which, by overt-differentiation, do not serve as actors: *me, us, him, her, whom.*’

Pronoun is a word class, a closed set of lexical items that can carry on the function of the noun by substituting the noun word or the noun phrase according to the person category i.e. the 1st, the 2nd, and the 3rd. The pronouns in Sümi can be discussed under different types like; personal, possessive, reflexive, interrogative, demonstrative, and indefinite pronouns.

3.1 Personal Pronoun

Personal pronouns can be referred to the three types of speech participants, the person who speaks ‘the speaker’, the person to whom the speaker is speaking to ‘the listener’, and the person spoken about, and they are accordingly called the first person, the second person, and the third person. Sümi distinguishes all three persons like any other language and also it exhibits three numbers, i.e., singular, dual, and plural.

Singular	Dual	Plural
/i/, /nì/ ‘I’	/i-kudʒo/, /ni-kudʒo/ ‘both of us’	/nī/ ‘we, us’
/o/, /nò/ ‘you’	/o-kudʒo/, /nò-kudʒo/ ‘both of you’	/nō/ ‘you’
/pa/ ‘he/she’	/pa-ma/ / /hi-pa-ma/ ‘both of them’	/panó/ ‘they, them’
/li/ ‘she’	/li-ma / li-pa-ma/ ‘both of them’	

Table 3.1: Personal pronouns in Sümi

There is no gender distinction in the first and the second person except for the third person that can exhibit the feminine gender separately from that of the neuter marker /pa/ which is used for both the gender. Unlike the feminine, the masculine gender does not have its separate marker.

The 1st person singular /i/ and the 2nd person /o/ can be prefixed to the noun lexeme to show possession or ownership, also they can be prefixed with the possessive marker /-u/ to form possessive pronoun which in the case of the 1st person singular form /nì/ and the 2nd person /nò/ is not possible.

Here the 1st person singular /nì/ and the 2nd person singular /nò/ are differentiated from the 1st person plural /nī/ and the 2nd person plural /nō/ through their end tone. The singular ends in the low tone while the plural ends in the mid-tone.

3.1.1 Singular

The singular pronoun is unmarked in Sümi and it will be discussed under different heads: a) the 1st person singular, b) the 2nd person singular, c) the 3rd person singular.

3.1.1.1 The 1st person singular

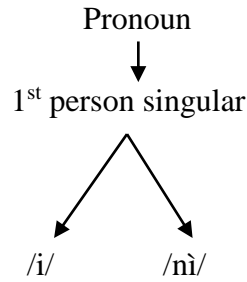


Figure 3.1: First-person singular pronoun of Sümi

As shown in Table 3.1, and Figure 3.1, there are two different forms in the 1st person singular; /i/ and /ni/, both of which function with different obligations. /i/ can occur both as the subject and an object i.e. ‘I’ and ‘me’ but /ni/ can only occur as the subject ‘I’ but not the object ‘me’.

Also from the example below, it can be shown that /i/ and /ni/ cannot be marked with the same case markers. The distribution of the case marker here is that /i/ cannot occur with the case marker /je/ ‘topic/experiencer’ nor can /ni/ occur with the case marker /no/ ‘agent/focus’.

/i/ and /ni/ occurring as subject:

(3.1) *i* *no* *hu*
 1SG AGT go
 ‘I went’

(3.2) *nì* *je* *hu -ní*
 1SG TOP go-FUT
 ‘I will go.’

(3.3) *i* *no* *a-na* *ʃu* *a-nĩ*
 1SG AGT NRL.PRX-food eat PROG-PRES
 ‘I am eating food.’

- (3.4) *nì* *je* *o* *kimije* *ʃe-nĩ*
 1SG EXP 2SG love CONT-PRES
 ‘I love you.’

/i/ occurring as an object:

- (3.5) *no* *no* *i-ku -a*
 2SG AGT 1SG-call-IPFV
 ‘You were calling me.’

- (3.6) *pa* *je* *i* *yolo* *ŋo* *a-mo*
 3SG TOP 1SG COM stay PROG-NEG
 ‘He is not staying with me.’

3.1.1.2 The 2nd Person Singular

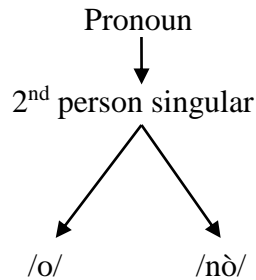


Figure 3.2: Second person singular pronoun in Sümi

The 2nd person pronoun like the 1st person is represented by two forms /o/ and /no/. Here the 2nd person /o/ does not occur in the subject position likewise /no/ does not occurs in an object position but the subject.

/o/ takes the object position and does not take the case markers /no/ or /je/, but it takes the possessive marker /-u/, on the other hand, the 2nd person /no/ can take both the case markers /no/ and /je/ but not the possessive marker /-u/.

Examples for the second person singular /o/ and /no/ are illustrated below.

/no/occurring as subject

- (3.7) *no* *no* *ale-p^{he} -ve*
 2SG FOC song-sing-IMP
 ‘You sing.’

- (3.8) *no* *no* *a- kiyi* *mutu*
 2SG FOC NRL.PRX- rope hold
 ‘You hold the rope.’

/o/ occurring as an object

- (3.9) *o* *fikimit^{hi}*
 2SG thank
 ‘Thank you.’

- (3.10) *i- mu* *no* *o* *dzu* *a-ni*
 1SG.POSS- brother FOC 2SG look PRES-PROG
 ‘My brother is watching/looking at you.’

3.1.1.3 The 3rd Person Singular

In the third person category, though the pronoun /pa/ is neutral and used for both the masculine and the feminine gender, there is a separate morpheme that is present and used only on females known as /li/. /li/ can be said to be derived from the kinship term /ilimi/ which is referred to the unmarried females, but no such derivation seems to be the case for the male category. The 3rd person /li/ unlike /pa/ is not used commonly or both in regular or informal context but rather used to address a female as ‘she’ informal settings at most. Apart from that, /li/ as ‘she’ is more regular in written forms. And in the case of /li/ it shows only two numbers i.e., singular and dual. Both /li/ and /pa/ can take the subject case markers /no/ and /je/.

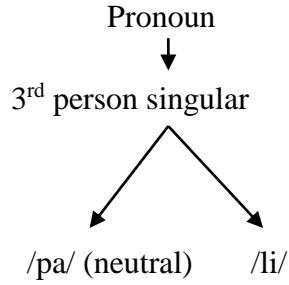


Figure 3.3: Third person singular pronoun in Sümi

- (3.11) *pa je timi ki-vi*
 3SG TOP person NMLZ-good
 ‘S/he is a good person.’

- (3.12) *i pelo pa p^hivi lo ŋo*
 1SG let 3SG near LOC stay
 ‘Let me sit next to her.’

- (3.13) *li je amikuŋfo timi*
 3SG.F TOP honest person
 ‘She is an honest person.’

- (3.14) *no no li ku sa-iyi*
 2SG FOC 3SG.F call lead-come
 ‘You call and bring her.’

3.1.2 Dual

The examples for the personal pronoun showing their dual expressions have been illustrated below accordingly to the person order. Generally /qo/ is the plural marker in Sümi but it can occur as a dual marker exceptionally when it occurs with the 1st and the 2nd person category which can be used interchangeably with /kudʒo/, and the marker here is rather person-oriented.

3.1.2.1 1st person dual

- (3.15) *i kudzo je a- na ffu -va*
1SG DU TOP NRL.PRX- food eat -PRF
'We have (already) eaten food.'

- (3.16) *nì kudzo je apafepu*
2SG DU TOP siblings
'We are siblings.'

More recently the usage of /-kima/ instead of /-qo/ and /-kudzo/ as a dual marker occurring with the 1st and the 2nd person pronoun seems to be prevalent within a group of Sümi speakers but that is dimed inappropriate.

3.1.2.2 2nd person dual

- (3.17) *o kudzo hila iyi*
2SG DU here come
'Both of you come here.'

- (3.18) *no kudzo kaku-p^{hi}*
2SG DU book-read
'Both of you study.'

3.1.2.3 3rd person dual

The third person dual can be represented in three ways /pama/, /hipama/, and /lipama/ or /lima/. Here /-ma/ is a dual distinguisher, and each of these three duals is discussed below.

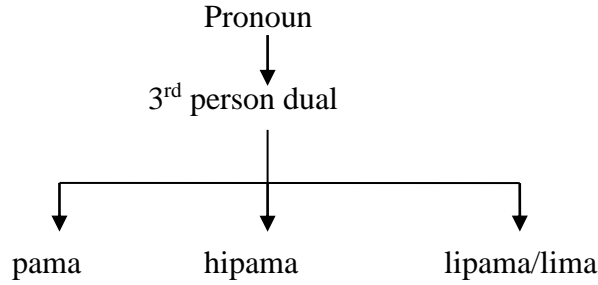


Figure 3.4: The third person pronoun dual markers in Sümi

3.1.2.3.1 /pama/

In /pama/, /pa-/ is the 3rd person singular pronoun which is suffixed with /-ma/ as in; /pama/ to indicate dual. /pama/ is generally used for both feminine and masculine. It can be referred to two boys, or one girl and one boy, or two girls. And though the 3rd person feminine dual has its distinct representation i.e. /lipama/ or /lima/, in casual discourse it is seen that /pama/ is also used to address two girls which in formal discourse does not happen.

- (3.19) *pa -ma kʰilau u kja ?*
 3SG -DU where go Q
 ‘Where did they (both of them) go?’

- (3.20) *pa -ma ku*
 3SG -DU call
 ‘Call them (both of them).’

3.1.2.3.2 /hipama/

/hipama/ is composed of three morphemes; /hi-/ ‘this’, /-pa-/ ‘s/he’ and /-ma/ ‘dual’. /hipama/ functions the same way as /pama/ but /hipama/ is used more to refer to two boys though it can be referred to a boy and a girl as well.

- (3.21) *hi-pa-ma je kʰilau u tʃe-ni kja?*
 this-3SG-DU TOP where go CONT-PRES Q
 ‘Where are these two going?’

- (3.22) *hi-pa-ma je k^hile-mu ayolu ʃe-mo*
 this-3SG-DU TOP never-CONN obey CONT-NEG
 ‘These two never obeys.’

3.1.2.3.3 /li pama/ or /lima/

The 3rd person feminine dual is represented as /li pama/or /lima/, where /li/ is a 3rd person feminine pronoun that can be suffixed with the dual /-ma/, or it can occur along with the neutral /pama/ together. Here /lipama/ or /lima/is used to indicate two unmarried women. As for the married women, it is addressed as /inolipama/ where /inoli/ means ‘Mrs’.

- (3.23) *li -ma je kimtsa a- ki- mla ʃi a-ni*
 3SG.FM -DU TOP together NRL.PRX-NMLZ-work do PROG-PRES
 ‘Both the girls are working together.’

- (3.24) *li pa-ma je a- na ʃu a-ni*
 3SG.F 3SG-DU TOP NRL.PRX-food eat PROG-PRES
 ‘The two of them are eating food.’

3.1.3 Plural

The plural form of the pronoun is observed to be having the same form of the singular pronoun in the case of 1st and the 2nd person, as such the distinction is made through the difference in tone. The 1st person singular /nì/ ends in a low tone, and the plural ends in the mid-tone /nī/, likewise the 2nd person singular /nò/ ends in the low tone in contrast to the 2nd person plural which ends in a mid-tone /nō/.

1st person plural

- (3.25) *nī je a- piyi-ʃi ʃu ʃe-mo*
 1PL TOP NRL.PRX- snake-meat eat CONT-NEG
 ‘We don’t eat snake meat’

- (3.26) *pa je nĩ- za*
 3SG TOP 1PL-mother
 ‘She is our mother.’

2nd person plural

- (3.27) *nō no a- kĩ- piyi mila -ve*
 2PL FOC NRL.PRX- NMLZ-plan make -IMP
 ‘You make the program.’

- (3.28) *nō je miya*
 2PL TOP lucky
 ‘You are lucky.’

3rd person plural:

- (3.29) *panó alo-si a-ni*
 3PL good-pain PROG-PRES
 ‘They are feeling bad.’

- (3.30) *panó pelo aki lo iyi*
 3PL let house LOC come
 ‘Let them come home.’

The plural forms of the pronoun category can still be suffixed with the quantifying form /ŋu/. After the suffixation of which, the general plural marker/-qo/ occur with the plural form of pronouns, as in /ni/ ‘1st’; /niŋu/ ‘us, we’, /niŋuqo/ ‘us, we’, and the occurrence of which can be attributed to the sentential construction for more inclusiveness in relation to its semantics. Table 3.2 shows the occurrence of /ŋu/ with the plural personal pronoun.

Plural	Quantifier
/nī/ ‘we, us’	/nī-ηu/ ‘we, us’
/nō/ ‘you’	/nō-ηu/ ‘you’
/panó/ ‘they’	/panó-ηu/ ‘they’

Table 3.2 : Plural pronouns with /ηu/

- (3.31) *nī -ηu* *a- paʃepu*
1PL-QUAN NRL.PRX- siblings
‘We siblings.’
- (3.32) *nō -ηu* *ki-bo*
2PL-QUAN house-circle
‘Your family.’ (to different families)
- (3.33) *panó -ηu* *ki- mla*
3PL -QUAN NMLZ- work
‘Their work.’

The following table (3.3) shows the plural marker /qo/ occurring with the personal pronouns after the suffixation of /ηu/.

Person	Plural	quantifier /ηu/+ plural /qo/
1st	/nī/ ‘we, us’	/niηuqo/ ‘we, us’
2nd	/nō/ ‘you’	/noηuqo/ ‘you’
3rd	/panó/ ‘they them’	/panóηuqo/ ‘they, them’

Table 3.3: Plural pronoun with /ηu/ and /qo/

3.2 Possessive Pronoun

Possessive pronoun discusses two things; the possessor and the possessed, that which shows ownership. The possessive pronoun is formed by suffixing the possessive marker /-u/ to all the person and number categories of the personal pronoun.

Singular	Dual	Plural
/i-u/ ‘mine’	/i-kudʒo-u/ ‘ours’	/nī-u/ ‘ours’
/o-u/ ‘yours’	/okudʒo-u/ ‘yours’	/nō-u/ ‘yours’
/pa-u/ ‘his/hers’ ,/li -u/ ‘hers’	/pama-u/ ‘theirs’ ,/li pama -u/ or /lima -u/ ‘theirs’	/panó-u/ ‘theirs’

Table 3.4: Possessive pronouns in Sümi

Using the same sentence and only changing the person and number, the examples for the possessive pronouns are given below.

- 1st Person

- (3.34) *kaku tipa je i -u*
 book that TOP 1SG -POSS
 ‘That book is mine.’

- (3.35) *kaku tipa je i- kudʒo -u*
 book that TOP 1SG- DU -POSS
 ‘That book is ours.’

- (3.36) *kaku tipa je nī -u*
 book that TOP 1PL-POSS
 ‘That book is ours.’

- 2nd Person:

- (3.37) *kaku tipa je o -u*
 book that TOP 2SG -POSS
 ‘That book is yours.’

- (3.38) *kaku tipa je o- kudʒo -u*
 book that TOP 2SG- DU -POSS
 ‘That book is yours.’

- (3.39) *kaku tipa je nō -u*
 book that TOP 2PL -POSS
 ‘That book is yours.’

- 3rd Person:

- (3.40) *kaku tipa je pa -u* or *[li -u]*(in case of feminine)
 book that TOP 3SG -POSS
 ‘That book is his/hers.’

- (3.41) *kaku tipa je pa -ma -u* or *[li pama -u]*
 book that TOP 3SG- DU -POSS
 ‘That book is theirs.’

- (3.42) *kaku tipa je panó -u*
 book that TOP 3PL -POSS
 ‘That book is theirs.’

3.3 Reflexive Pronoun

Reflexive pronoun is when both the recipient and the actor are the same person, sharing the one action. The reflexive pronoun ends with self and in Sümi /alik^{hi}/ means ‘self’ which also means ‘alone’. The first vowel phoneme /a-/ from /alik^{hi}/ is a non-relational prefix that is dropped and is both preceded and followed by the same personal pronoun.

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	i lik ^{hi} i ‘myself’	nī lik ^{hi} nī ‘ourself/ourselves’
2 nd	o lik ^{hi} o ‘yourself’	nō lik ^{hi} nō ‘yourself/yourselves’
3 rd	pa lik ^{hi} pa ‘him/herself’	panó lik ^{hi} panó ‘themself/themselves’

Table 3.5: Reflexive pronouns in Sümi

The sentential examples for the reflexive pronoun are given below;

- 1st person:

- (3.43) *i lik^{hi} i fîpîsa-va*
 1SG self 1SG spoil-PRF
 ‘I have spoiled myself.’

- (3.44) *nî lik^{hi} nî it^{hi}*
 1PL self 1PL know
 ‘Know ourselves.’

- 2nd person:

- (3.45) *o lik^{hi} o yîza-va*
 2SG self 2SG hurt-PRF
 ‘You have hurt yourself’.

- (3.46) *nô lik^{hi} nô kimije*
 2PL self 2PL love
 ‘Love yourselves.’

- 3rd person:

- (3.47) *pa lik^{hi} pa ik^{hi} -lu*
 3SG self 3SG take -COMPL
 ‘S/he welcomed himself/herself.’

- (3.48) *panó lik^{hi} panó yasi -lu -va*
 3PL self 3PL control -COMPL-PRF
 ‘They have controlled themselves.’

3.4 Interrogative Pronoun

The function of an interrogative pronoun is to introduce or form questions and seek related information which in a general sense is a normal way to start any

It is also to be noted that Sümi does not use /kiu/ ‘what’ to ask for the names of people but instead uses /k^hu/ ‘who’.

- (3.52) *o- pu dʒe je k^hu kja ?*
 2SG.POSS- father name TOP who Q
 ‘What is your father’s name?’

- (3.53) *o- dʒe je k^hu kja ?*
 2SG.POSS-name TOP who Q
 ‘What is your name?’

Now looking at the examples given right below it shows that this case is not the same when inquiring about the names of animals or the names of location. Here /kiu/ ‘what’ is used instead of /k^hu/ ‘who’.

- (3.54) *nō -p^hu dʒe je kiu kja ?*
 2PL.POSS-village name TOP what Q
 ‘What is the name of your native village?’

- (3.55) *o- tʂi dʒe je kiu kja ?*
 2SG.POSS-dog name TOP what Q
 ‘What is the name of your dog?’

/k^hu/ is also used to refer to ‘whom’ and there is no separate morpheme to distinguish between ‘who’ and ‘whom’.

- (3.56) *no je k^hu sasi a- le -p^he kja ?*
 2SG TOP whom COM NRL.PRX-song-sing Q
 ‘With whom did you go?’

/k^hiu/: /k^hiu/ ‘which’ is used to ask for information with having limited references or restricted scopes from which the listener can answer.

(3.57) *a-le k^{hiu} pavi a-ni kja ?*
 NRL.PRX-song which better EXIST-PRES Q
 ‘Which song is better?’

(3.58) *a-layi k^{hiu} no a-ʔipi kja ?*
 NRL.PRX-road which FOC NRL.PRX- right Q
 ‘Which is the right road (way)?’

/k^{hiu}/ ‘which’ can also be represented in the reduplicated form as [k^{hi}ik^{hiu}] where only the final syllable and the vowel phoneme /u/ is not repeated.

(3.59) *k^{hi}i~k^{hiu} no o- mu kja ?*
 which TOP 2SG.POSS- brother Q
 ‘Which one is your brother?’

/kiu/: /kiu/ ‘what’ is an interrogative pronoun that asks questions from a general perspective and the answer to which could range from different possible responses.

(3.60) *no je kiu ʃi a-ni kja ?*
 2SG TOP what do PROG-PRES Q
 ‘What are you doing?’

(3.61) *no je ifi inaq^{he} kiu ʔu kja ?*
 2SG TOP today morning what eat Q
 ‘What did you eat this morning?’

/k^{hu}-u/: /k^{hu}-u/ ‘whose’ is used only for referring a person.

(3.62) *a- p^{hi} hipa je k^{hu}: kja ?*
 NRL.PRX-shirt this TOP whose Q
 ‘Whose shirt is this?’

(3.63) *no je k^hu:-no ŋa kja?*
 2SG TOP whose-CONN child Q
 ‘Whose daughter are you?’

(3.64) *no je k^hu: no ki lo u kja ?*
 2SG TOP whose FOC house LOC go Q
 ‘Whose house did you go?’

3.5 Demonstrative Pronoun

Demonstrative pronoun is a pointer made towards an object or a thing in particular or more i.e. singular or plural, where the distance of the demonstrated thing could be near or far. It can be split into three categories according to the distance of the referent pointed and they are distinguished as; proximate, medial, and remote demonstrative pronouns. The description of the space cannot be definite.

- The proximate demonstrative pronoun is for the object with a near distance that can be seen by the speaker and the hearer.
- The medial demonstrative pronouns are referred to objects that are neither near like proximate nor far like remote but are closer to the speaker or hearer, and the referent of which could be visible or out of sight at the time of utterance.
- The remote demonstrative pronoun is for the far distant object where the referent may be visible and if not the referent is already known or understood through the earlier context by both the speaker and the listener.

The plural form of the demonstrative pronoun is formed by adding the plural marker /qo/ to the singular demonstrative pronoun.

The singular form of the demonstrative pronoun can also be represented with the short form where the second syllable /pa/ is deleted for instance /hipa/ = /hi/ and use /hi/ ‘this’, /ti/ ‘that’ and /hu/ ‘that’ to occur alone.

There is also another possibility to indicate the singular demonstrative pronoun by replacing the second syllable with /hi/ as in; /hipa/ = /hihi/ ‘this’, /tipa/ = /tihi/ ‘that’ medial, /hupa/ = /huhi/ ‘that’ remote. Both the forms can be used alternatively and is also applicable for both the forms to be used together in one sentence, as in:

- (3.71) *hipa* *a-p^{hi}* *hihi* *pi* *a-ni*
 This NRL.PRX- shirt this say PROG-PRES
 OR
 a-p^{hi} *hihi* *hipa*
 NRL.PRX- shirt this this
 ‘This, (I am) talking about this shirt’
 Or
 ‘(I am) talking about this shirt, this.’

The double usage of the demonstrative pronoun in Sümi occurs in a situation when the speaker is irritated by the lack of the listener’s understanding or more appropriate here is the listener’s focus on the thing referred to by the speaker, hence the repetition or supplement the definiteness of the item referred to. In the meantime, the repetition could involve more body movement between the referred object and the speaker.

3.6 Indefinite Pronoun

The references made by the indefinite pronoun do not point out a definite person, object, or thing. It can be categorized into four types: a) person, b) place, c) state, and d) time.

The indefinite person occurs with /k^{hiu}/ ‘which’.

The indefinite place occurs with /k^{hila}/ ‘where’.

The indefinite object occurs with /kiu/ ‘what’.

The indefinite time does not have a common marking instead each having its own representational form.

The indefinite pronoun nobody, nowhere, nothing and never always occurs in a sentence with the negative marker /mo/ and the indefinite pronoun anyone, anywhere, anything and anytime is formed by reduplication, likewise, the common indication for someone, somewhere, something and some time is marked by /kela/.

3.6.1 Indefinite person pronoun

Indefinite person pronoun	Gloss
k ^h iukela	someone/somebody
k ^h iu~k ^h iu-mu	‘anybody’
k ^h iu-mu kumo(direct response) k ^h iu-mu (sentence)	‘nobody’

Table 3.8: Indefinite person pronoun

- (3.72) *k^hiukela no qa a-ni*
 Someone AGT cry PROG-PRES
 ‘Someone is crying’

- (3.73) *k^hiu~k^hiu-mu iyi-lu nani*
 which~which-CONN come -COMPL can
 ‘Anybody can come’

- (3.74) *k^hiu -mu ayolu a-mo*
 which -CONN obey PROG-NEG
 ‘Nobody is obeying’

3.6.2 Indefinite place pronoun

Indefinite place pronoun	Gloss
k ^h ila keno/kela	‘somewhere’
k ^h ila~k ^h ila-mu	‘anywhere’
k ^h ilau-mu kumo(direct answer) k ^h ilau-mu (sentence)	‘nowhere’

Table 3.9: Indefinite place pronoun

- (3.75) *k^hilakeno muto a-ni*
 where.somewhere quarrel PROG-PRES
 ‘There is quarrel going on somewhere.’

- (3.76) *k^hila~k^hila-mu u*
 where -CONN go
 ‘Go anywhere.’

- (3.77) *k^hila -mu u -mo*
 where -CONN go -NEG
 ‘Do not go anywhere.’

3.6.3 Indefinite state pronoun

Indefinite object pronoun	Gloss
Kiukela	‘something’
Kiu~kiu-mu	‘anything’
kiu-mu kumo(direct answer) kiu-mu (sentence)	‘nothing’

Table 3.10: Indefinite state pronoun

- (3.78) *kiukela o- gi lo a-ni*
 what.something 2SG.POSS- face LOC PROG-PRES
 ‘Something is on your face’

(3.79) *kiu~kiu -mu l^ho -ve*
 what -CONN cook.curry-SUBJ
 ‘Cook anything’

(3.80) *ni je kiu-mu fi -mo*
 1SG TOP what-CONN do -NEG
 ‘I did nothing.’

3.6.4 Indefinite time pronoun

Indefinite time pronoun	Gloss
<i>hatalo/k^hanilo</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>kiu~kiudolo-mu</i>	‘anytime’
<i>k^hile-mu kumo</i> (direct response) <i>k^hile-mu</i> (sentence)	‘never’

Table 3.11: Indefinite time pronoun

(3.81) *k^hanilo je po mojesa*
 Sometimes TOP run have
 ‘Sometimes (we) have to run’

(3.82) *kiu~kiu dolo -mu iyi*
 what~what between -CONN come
 ‘Come anytime’

(3.83) *ni je k^hile-mu miki -mo*
 1SG TOP never-CONN lie -NEG
 ‘I never lied’

CHAPTER-4

VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.0 Verb

Henry Sweet (1900: 49), ‘Phenomenon-words would be first used mainly as predicates, and would gravitate towards the end of a sentence, and would be naturally accompanied by words denoting distinctions of time, activity and passivity and other conditions of phenomena, which might gradually develop into tenses, moods, voices, etc.’

Sreedhar (1980: 67), defined a verb as ‘that grammatical class which on the paradigmatic axis is capable of showing opposition in tense, mood and aspect and on the syntagmatic axis is the nucleus of a verb phrase.’

‘Throughout the TB area, the invariable syntactical rule is that the verb must be placed at the end of the sentence followed only by suffixed elements or sentence-final particles’, Benedict (1972).

4.1 Transitive verb

In transitive verb, the action stated by the verb can be passed on to an object and a complement.

- (4.1) *i no a- ki k^{hu}*
 1SG AGT NRL.PRX- house sweep
 ‘I swept the house.’

- (4.2) *i no a- p^{hi} i/ɪ a-ni*
 1SG AGT NRL.PRX- cloth wash PROG-PRES
 ‘I am washing the cloth.’

- (4.3) *ni je itimi fika ffe-ni*
 1SG TOP kid teach HAB-PRES
 ‘I teach the kids.’

Transitive verb can have more than two arguments i.e. the subject, the direct object, and the indirect object and this is called the di-transitive verb.

- (4.4) *i no a- xat^{hi} o tsɪ pú:*
 1SG AGT NRL.PRX-flower 2SG give send
 ‘I send the flower to you.’

- (4.5) *i no a- tsɪ lak^{hi} pesɪ pa tsɪ*
 1SG AGT NRL.PRX- dog one INST 3SG give
 ‘I gave a dog to him.’

- (4.6) *i- za no i- pu sala sinizɪ mla a-ni*
 1SG.POSS- mother AGT 1SG- father BEN tea make PROG-PRES
 ‘My mother is making tea for my father.’

4.2 Intransitive verb

The intransitive verb unlike the transitive does not need a direct or an indirect object to complete the sentence and, it can carry only one argument and i.e. the subject.

- (4.7) *i no qa*
 1SG AGT cried
 ‘I cried’

- (4.8) *i- sa k^{hu}-va*
 1SG.POSS-hair wash-PRF
 ‘My hair is washed’

(4.9) *i- pu je zi a-ni*
 1SG.POSS-father TOP sleep PROG-PRES
 ‘My father is sleeping’

(4.10) *no je k^himpoi mina a-ni*
 2SG TOP sour smell EXIST-PRES
 ‘You smell sour’

4.3 Negation

Negation relates to something that is not positive and always has a negative element to show the contradiction. Negation in Sümi comprises of four negative markers, and they are; /-mo/, /-ke/ or /-kevi/, /mla/ and /kiha/ which can be discussed under the different clausal types.

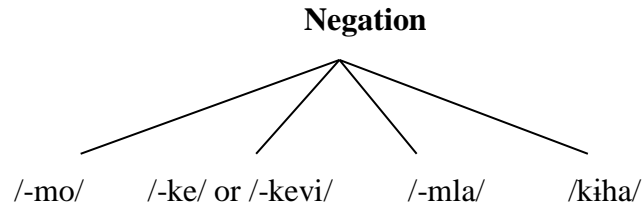


Figure 4.1: Negation in Sümi

4.3.1 Clausal Negation

The negative markers can occur in different types of clauses.

4.3.1.1 Declarative Clause

The negation for the declarative clause is marked with the negative marker /-mo/ and /kiha/. The negation /-mo/ here expresses ‘not’, indicating the unperformed action stated by the verb, while the negation /kiha/ means ‘not have/having’ indicating the non-existence of an item. The sentential examples are given below.

- (4.11) *ni je a- yutu lo u*
 1SG TOP NRL.PRX- garden LOC go
 ‘I went to the garden.’
- (4.12) *ni je a- yutu lo u -mo*
 1SG TOP NRL.PRX- garden LOC go -NEG
 ‘I did not go to the garden.’
- (4.13) *ni je a- xat^{hi}-zɪ q^{hi}*
 1SG TOP NRL.PRX- fruit-water buy
 ‘I bought the juice.’
- (4.14) *ni je a- xat^{hi}-zɪ q^{hi} -mo*
 1SG TOP NRL.PRX- fruit-water buy -NEG
 ‘I did not buy the juice.’
- (4.15) *ni je u -ni*
 1SG TOP go -FUT
 ‘I will go.’
- (4.16) *ni je u -ni ʔe-mo*
 1SG TOP go -FUT CONT-NEG
 ‘I will not go.’
- (4.17) *ni-ki lo a- zɪ a-ni*
 1SG.POSS -house LOC NRL.PRX- water EXIST-PRES
 ‘There is water in our house.’

(4.18) *ni- ki lo a- zɪ kiha*
 1SG.POSS -house LOC NRL.PRX- water NEG
 ‘There is no water in our house.’

(4.19) *ni je a- ŋa a-ni*
 1SG TOP NRL.PRX- child EXIST-PRES
 ‘I have a child.’

(4.20) *ni je a- ŋa kiha*
 1SG TOP NRL.PRX- child NEG
 ‘I do not have a child.’

4.3.1.2 Interrogative Clause

The interrogative clause can be ‘Wh-’ questions or ‘Yes/no’ questions, both the interrogative question types are marked with the same negative marker /-mo/ to form a negative interrogative clause.

4.3.1.2.1 WH- Questions

The examples showing negation of the wh- questions are shown below.

(4.21) *no je k^hu misa a-mo kja?*
 2SG TOP whom afraid EXIST-NEG Q
 ‘Whom are you not afraid of ?’

(4.22) *k^hu no a- na ʃfu -ni ʃfe-mo kja?*
 who FOC NRL.PRX- food eat-FUT CONT-NEG Q
 ‘Who will not eat food?’

(4.23) *kiu no pa je iyi-mo kja?*
 why FOC 3SG TOP come-NEG Q
 ‘Why didn’t she come?’

- (4.24) *k^hú: a- kimla no alo-mo kja?*
 whose NRL- work FOC good-NEG Q
 ‘whose work is not good?’

4.3.1.2.2 Yes/No questions

The yes/no questions also are marked with the negation /-mo/ and the examples of which are elaborated below:

- (4.25) *no je pa kimije ffe-mo kja?*
 2SG TOP 3SG love CONT-NEG Q
 ‘Don’t you love him?’

- (4.26) *no je hilau ŋo ffe-mo kja?*
 2SG TOP here stay CONT-NEG Q
 ‘You don’t stay here?’

- (4.27) *pa je mizit^{hi} a-mo kja?*
 3SG TOP hungry PROG-NEG Q
 ‘Is he not hungry?’

- (4.28) *no je a- le-ki- p^he-mi ku -mo kja?*
 2SG TOP NRL.PRX-song-NMLZ-sing-person right -NEG Q
 ‘Are you not a singer?’

4.3.1.3 Hortative

The hortative in Sümi can also be marked for negation with /-mo/.

- (4.29) *ni-ŋu a- ki- p^hi-ki lo u - ve-ni*
 1PL-QUAN NRL.PRX- NMLZ- house LOC go -SBIV-FUT
 ‘Lets go to school.’

(4.30) *ni -ŋu* *a- ki- p^{hi}-ki* *lo* *u -mo -ve-ni*
 1PL-QUAN NRL.PRX-NMLZ- house LOC go -NEG -SBJV-FUT
 ‘Lets not go to school’.

(4.31) *ni -ŋu* *je -ve-ni*
 1SG –QUAN drink -SBJV-FUT
 ‘Lets drink.’

(4.32) *ni -ŋu* *je-mo-ve-ni*
 1SG-QUAN drink -NEG-SBJV-FUT
 ‘Lets not drink.’

(4.33) *ni -ŋu* *ifi* *zi - ni*
 1SG -QUAN today sleep -FUT
 ‘Lets sleep today.’

(4.34) *ni-ŋu* *ifi* *zi -mo -ve-ni*
 1SG-QUAN today sleep-NEG-SBJV-FUT
 ‘Lets not sleep today.’

4.3.1.4 Imperatives

Negation in imperative is marked with /-ke/ or /-kevi/ (interchangeable) instead of /-mo/.

(4.35) *tilau* *u*
 there go
 ‘Go there’

(4.36) *tilau* *u-kevi*
 there go-NEG
 ‘Don’t go there.’

(4.37) *a-na* *ʃu*
 NRL.PRX -food eat
 ‘Eat food.’

(4.38) *a-na* *ʃu -ke*
 NRL.PRX-food eat-NEG
 ‘Don’t eat food.’

(4.39) *ʃikimitʰi* *windo* *kʰaqʰi* *tsi*
 please window open give
 ‘Please open the window.’

(4.40) *ʃikimitʰi* *windo* *kʰaqʰi* *tsi -kevi*
 please window open give-NEG
 ‘Please do not open the window.’

4.3.1.5 Prohibitive

Prohibition in Sümi is marked with /kevi/, and /mla/, which expresses restriction or a prohibition against the action stated by the verb.

(4.41) *putʰo* *lo* *midʒi* *kevi*
 night LOC whistle NEG
 ‘Do not whistle at night.’

(4.42) *pa* *tsa* *ini* *kevi*
 3SG word listen NEG
 ‘Do not listen to him.’

(4.43) *no* *je* *hile* *kiye* *mla*
 2SG TOP here quarrel NEG
 ‘You cannot quarrel here.’

4.3.1.6 Double Negation

The construction of double negation which can give a positive statement is shown below.

- (4.44) *i no je ʃʷ-mo-ke-u ku-mo*
1SG FOC drink CONT-NEG-CONN-DEF NMLZ -NEG
'It is not that I don't drink.'

- (4.45) *i no ili ʃʷ-mo-ke-u ku-mo*
1SG FOC play CONT-NEG-CONN-DEF NMLZ -NEG
'It is not that I don't play.'

4.4 Causative

The verb is said to be causative when the action performed by someone is done so because of (somebody) the subject. The causative marker in Sümi is /-pe/ that is suffixed to the root of the verb or follows the verb along with some sentential particles.

- (4.46) *pa je i pelo pa kimla ʃi-pe ʃe-ni*
3SG TOP 1SG let 3SG work do-CAUS HAB-PRES
'He makes me do his work.'

- (4.47) *i no pa pelo gari kʰu-ve-pe eno...*
1SG AGT 3SG let car wash-IMP-CAUS and...
'I made him wash the car and...'

- (4.48) *ni je pa pelo i-ki mla ʃi-ve-pe-ni*
1SG TOP 3SG let 1SG-NMLZ-work do-IMP-CAUS-FUT
'I will let him do my work.'

4.5 Purposive

The purposive marker in Sümi is represented by /-pi/ which follows the stem of the verb to indicate the purpose of which the action or the motion verb is carried out by the noun in the transitive sentence.

- (4.49) *i no a-zi je -ni-pi a-zi-bo ik^hi-p^he*
1SG AGT NRL.PRX- water drink-AUX-PURP NRL.PRX-water-container take-release
‘I took out the water bottle to drink the water.’

- (4.50) *pa je zi -ni -pi a-ki lo wo -ve*
3SG TOP sleep -AUX-PURP NRL.PRX- house LOC go.back -IND
‘He went home to sleep.’

- (4.51) *i no a-na f^hu-ni-pi o ku*
1SG AGT NRL.PRX-food eat -AUX -PURP 2SG call
‘I called you to have food.’

4.6 Reciprocal

The reciprocal form of the verb in Sümi is represented as /kile/ which follows the verb and does not occur as a suffix.

- (4.52) *no -ŋu he kile -ke*
2PL-QUAN hit RECP -NEG
‘Do not hit each other’

- (4.53) *no -ŋu je kimije kile mojesa*
2PL-QUAN TOP love RECP must
‘You have to love each other’

- (4.54) *a-ki- kimsi ts^hi kile*
NRL.PRX-NMLZ-think give RECP
‘... to give suggestions to each other...’

4.7 Tense, Aspect and Mood

It is observed that while looking into the grammatical class of a ‘verb’ the major discussion falls under the two topics viz; a) the number of arguments a verb can carry i.e., the transitivity and the intransitivity, b) the association of the verb to time, completeness, or the state in which it is been described or expressed, taking into account its ending particles, all of these attributed to the (verb) category of the tense, aspect and mood.

4.7.1 Tense

Tense is a part of a verb that identifies the moment when an action occurs or when a particular condition exists. Tense can be discussed according to the three conditioned times i.e., the present tense, the past tense, and the future tense.

The clear morphological indication of time (location of the event) in Sümi is present in the future tense. As for the non-future tense i.e., the present and the past tense, there is no definite marker for the distinction and as such are left unmarked and if not are dependent on the aspectual representation for indication.

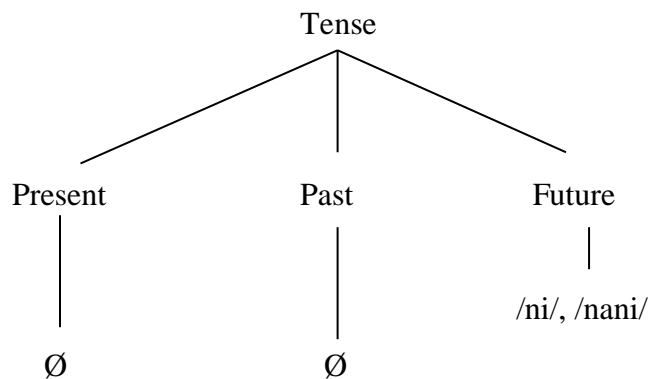


Figure 4.2: Tenses in Sümi

4.7.1.1 Present tense

The present tense denotes that the stated action is occurring at present at the time the utterance is made or states the general existence of something.

- (4.55) *pa je a- le-ki-p^he-mi*
 3SG TOP NRL.PRX- song-NMLZ- sing-person
 ‘S/He is a singer’

- (4.56) *pa je a- pu kivi*
 3SG TOP NRL.PRX- boy good
 ‘He is a good boy.’

- (4.57) *pa je pa- pu toi*
 3SG TOP 3SG.POSS- father be.like
 ‘He resembles his father.’

4.7.1.2 Past Tense

The Past tense expresses the action that is already been performed in the past. There is no morphological representation of the simple past tense in Sümi and so is left unmarked.

- (4.58) *i no ffu*
 1SG AGT eat
 ‘I ate’

- (4.59) *pa no a- xamunu i t*ʃ*i*
 3SG AGT NRL.PRX- flower 1SG give
 ‘He gave me the flower.’

- (4.60) *pa no a- z*ɬ*i je*
 3SG AGT NRL.PRX- water drink
 ‘He drank the water.’

- (4.61) *i no inaq^{he} a-je l^{ho}*
 1SG AGT morning NRL.PRX- curry cook
 ‘I cooked curry in the morning.’

- (4.62) *iyina fuyu*
 yesterday rain
 ‘It rained yesterday.’

4.7.1.3 Future tense

The future tense indicates an action that is to be performed or is likely to happen in the coming time i.e. the future. In Sümi the future tense is marked by /-nani/ and /-ni/.

- (4.63) *pa je a- p^{hu} lo ŋo -nani*
 3SG TOP NRL.PRX- village LOC stay -FUT
 ‘He will stay in the village.’
- (4.64) *ni je a- ki- p^{hi}-ki lo u -nani*
 1SG TOP NRL.PRX- NMLZ- study-house LOC go-FUT
 ‘I will go to school.’
- (4.65) *itimi -qo avelau ide iyi-ve-nani*
 kid-PL evening turn come-IND -FUT
 ‘The children will come back in the evening.’
- (4.66) *ni je ifi zi -ni ffe-mo*
 1SG TOP today sleep-FUT CONT-NEG
 ‘I will not sleep today.’
- (4.67) *ni je thonou no i- pu -ki lo u-ni*
 1SG TOP tomorrow CONN 1SG.POSS- father -house LOC go-FUT
 ‘I will go to my father’s house tomorrow.’

4.7.2 Aspect

Aspect marker does not denote the location of an event but it is rather concerned with a consistent particular situation or a temporal action that could be in the state of completion or is already completed. The aspects in Sümi can be discussed as; 1) imperfective aspect, and 2) perfective aspect.

4.7.2.1 Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective aspect expresses an action, state or event, in progressive or repeated form, which can be classified into; a) habitual aspect and d) progressive aspect.

4.7.2.1.1 Habitual aspect

The habitual aspect can represent two situations; the first is the habitual action that used to happen in the past, which is represented by /tʃe/ and the second is the habitual action that is continuing in present which is represented by /tʃeni/.

4.7.2.1.1.1 The habitual aspect /tʃe/

The habitual action that used to happen in the past is expressed through the marker /tʃe/.

- (4.68) *pa* *je* *a- le* *p^he* *tʃe*
 3SG TOP NRL.PRX-song sing HAB.PST
 ‘He used to sing.’

- (4.69) *ni* *je* *fika* *tʃe*
 1SG TOP teach HAB.PST
 ‘I used to teach.’

- (4.70) *no* *je* *inaq^he* *a- kiyini* *fi* *tʃe*
 2SG TOP morning NRL.PRX-pray do HAB.PST
 ‘You used to pray in the morning.’

4.7.2.1.1.2 The habitual aspect /tʃeni/

The habitual action that is continuing in the present is represented through the marker /tʃeni/

- (4.71) *pa je iyi tʃe-ni*
 3SG TOP come HAB.CONT-PRES
 ‘He use to come’

- (4.72) *i-za je a- kiyini fɪ tʃe-ni*
 1SG.POSS -mother TOP NRL.PRX- pray do HAB.CONT-PRES
 ‘My mother use to pray.’

- (4.73) *ni je a- le-p^he tʃe-ni*
 1SG TOP NRL.PRX-song-sing HAB.CONT-PRES
 ‘I use to sing.’

4.7.2.1.2 Progressive Aspect

The progressive aspect indicates the action, that is ongoing, that happened sometime in the past, that is set to happen later, all these at the time of utterance.

4.7.2.1.2.1 Present progressive

The present progressive is marked with /ani/.

- (4.74) *i no fɪu a-ni*
 1SG AGT eat PROG-PRES
 ‘I am eating ‘

- (4.75) *ni -ɲuje o foup ik^hi a-ni*
 1PL -QUAN TOP 2SG upon depend PROG-PRES
 ‘We are depending on you’

- (4.76) *pa je a- kifiki mt^he a-ni*
 3SG TOP NRL.PRX- house clean PROG-PRES
 ‘He is cleaning the house’

4.7.2.1.2.2 Past progressive

The past progressive indicates the action that continues until the time reference is made. In Sümi the past continuous tense is represented with /-a/.

- (4.77) *i no a- p^hi ifi -a*
 1SG AGT NRL.PRX- cloth wash-IPFV.PST.PROG
 ‘I was washing the clothes.’

- (4.78) *pa je zi-a*
 3SG TOP sleep -IPFV.PST.PROG
 ‘He was sleeping’

- (4.79) *pa je kaku p^hi -a*
 3SG TOP book read -IPFV.PST.PROG
 ‘He was studying’

4.7.2.2 Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect describes the action or an event as a whole. The perfective aspect in Sümi is marked by /-va/ which is suffixed after the root of the verb.

- (4.80) *i no tsɪ -va*
 1SG AGT give -PRF
 ‘I have given.’

- (4.81) *ni je a- na fɥu -va*
 1SG TOP NRL.PRX-food eat -PRF
 ‘I have eaten.’

- (4.82) *ni je i -u a- ki- p^{hi}i p^{hi}i-k^ha -va*
 1SG TOP 1SG- POSS NRL.PRX-NMLZ-study read-finish -PRF
 ‘I have finished my studies.’

- (4.83) *i no kaku pesi pa tsɪ -va*
 1SG AGT book INST 3SG give -PRF
 ‘I have given the book to her.’

4.7.3 Mood

Mood expresses how the speaker marks the verb to relay a statement or helps in establishing conditions.

4.7.3.1 Imperative

The imperative mood expresses order which in Sümi is represented by /-ve/ suffixed to the verb.

- (4.84) *po -ve*
 run -IMP
 ‘Go away’

- (4.85) *ilo a- ki dʒo -ve*
 go.inside NRL.PRX- house sweep -IMP
 ‘Go inside the sweep the house(floor).’

- (4.86) *ki- yit^he no zɪ -u -ve*
 NMLZ- early FOC sleep-INCEP -IMP
 ‘Sleep early.’

4.7.3.2 Requestive

The expression of request is identified by /tsilo/ or [tsinima]. Here /tsilo/ can be indicative of saying please in the form of a statement, whereas [tsinima] is used when requesting a favor from someone in the form of a question.

- (4.87) *i kup^{hu} tsi -lo*
 1SG help give-HON
 ‘Help me’

- (4.88) *k^{ha} lau ipeyi tsi -lo*
 outside LOC come.out give-HON
 ‘(please) come outside.’

- (4.89) *i kup^{hu} tsi ni-ma ?*
 1SG help give PRES -Q
 ‘Can you (please) help me?’
 ‘or’
 fikimt^{hi} i kup^{hu} tsi ni-ma?
 please 1SG help give PRES -Q
 ‘Can you please help me?’

4.7.3.3 Permissive

The permissive marker of Sümi is identified by /pelo/ and /-vi/ where the former is used when asking for permission and the latter is used in the expression where the permission is granted. It is to be noted that, in a permissive sentence for asking permission, the occurrence of /pelo/ ‘let’ will always be present.

- (4.90) *i pelo iloyi-lu pe -lo*
 1SG let come.in -COMP request-HON
 ‘Allow me to come in.’

(4.91) *i pelo kitila zi -lu pe-lo*
 1SG let little sleep -COMP request-HON
 ‘Allow me to sleep a little’

(4.92) *iloyi -lu-vi*
 inside.come -COMPL-positive
 ‘Can come in’

(4.93) *a- na fu it^hu-ve -lu-vi*
 NRL.PRX- food eat start -IMP -COMPL-positive
 ‘... Can start having food’

4.7.3.4 Obligatory

The obligatory mood concerns with the expression of obligation, and this in Sümi is expressed by using the obligatory marker /mojesa/ ‘should’.

(4.94) *no je o- ki- mla payi fi-ve mojesa*
 2SG TOP 1SG- NMLZ-work first do -IMP should
 ‘You should do your work first’

(4.95) *no je ai bidi avela a- ki to-ve mojesa*
 2SG TOP time four evening NRL.PRX- house reach -IMP should
 ‘You should reach home by four in the evening’

(4.96) *pano -nu je it^he it^hu-ve mojesa*
 3PL -QUAN TOP early wake -IMP should
 ‘They should wake up early.’

4.7.3.5 Necessity

The necessity mood expresses something that is urgently needed. In Sümi this is represented by /pitsa/.

(4.97) *no je toku kaku p^{hi}-q^{hi}-ve mojesa pɪtsa*
 2SG TOP next.year book read-keep-IMP should must
 ‘By next year you must finish your studies.’

(4.98) *ni je a- si-q^{ho} k^{hi} -ve mojesa pɪtsa*
 1SG TOP NRL.PRX- stick-burry buy-IMP should must
 ‘I must buy an umbrella’

4.7.3.6 Possibility

The possibility mood indicates the possibility of an event that may or may not occur. In Sümi the possibility mood is marked by /mt^{ha}/ ‘might’.

(4.99) *pa je iyi mt^{ha}*
 3SG TOP come might
 ‘He might come’

(4.100) *ni je u mt^{ha}*
 1SG TOP go might
 ‘I might go’

(4.101) *pa je t^honou hila ŋo-ve mt^{ha}*
 3SG TOP tomorrow here stay-SBJB might
 ‘He might stay here tomorrow.’

4.7.3.7 Suggestive

The suggestive or the instructive mood indicates suggestion or instruction. There is no separate representation to differentiate between them, and uses of the same marker which is only differentiated depending on the context set in the discourse. In Sümi this is represented through the word /dʒu/ ‘look’ which can be interpreted as ‘try’ in this kind of suggestive sentence.

- (4.102) *a- ki- si-ki lo u dzu*
 NRL.PRX- NMLZ- pain-house LOC go look
 ‘Go to the hospital’ / ‘Try going to the hospital’
- (4.103) *no je fikikami vilo inidzu dzu*
 2SG TOP teacher to ask look
 ‘You try to ask your teacher’
- (4.104) *no je a-p^{hi} tipau u dzu*
 2SG TOP NRL.PRX- shirt that wear look
 ‘You try wearing that shirt’

4.7.3.8 Ability

The ability mood in Sümi is marked with /nani/ which represents the word ‘can’ or ‘able’, expressing the ability to perform the action stated by the verb.

- (4.105) *ni je il^{he} -lu nani*
 1SG TOP jump -COMPL can
 ‘I can jump’
- (4.106) *ni je qa -lu nani*
 1SG TOP cry -COMPL can
 ‘I can cry’
- (4.107) *ni je kaku p^{hi} -lu nani*
 1SG TOP book read -COMPL can
 ‘I can study’

CHAPTER-5

ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

5.0 Adjectives

Henry Sweet (1900: 48) mentions that the permanent attributes that is the adjective, ‘naturally immediately follow or precede the substance-word they qualify’.

Words that describe, modifies or qualifies a noun or a pronoun is grouped into the adjective class. In Sümi adjective follows the word it qualifies. Adjective words are used for purposes like, to express different specificities like value or morals, human emotion and perception, age, limits, dimensions, colors, and numerals.

5.1 Adjective of Quality

The examples for the adjective of quality can be distributed into; positive quality, negative quality, appearance, and size.

5.1.1 Positive

- (5.1) /akivi/ ‘good’
 pa je ki- p^{hi}-mi a- ki- vi
 3SG TOP book-NMLZ-study NRL.PRX-NMLZ-good
 ‘He is a good student.’

- (5.2) /kiyit^{hi}imi/ ‘gentleman’
 pa je kiyit^{hi}imi
 3SG TOP gentleman
 ‘He is a gentleman.’

- (5.3) /amikuʃo/ ‘honest’
no je amikuʃo timi lak^{hi}
 2SG TOP honest person one
 ‘You are one honest person.’

- (5.4) /xat^hai/ ‘smart’
pa je a- pu xat^hai
 3SG TOP NRL.PRX- boy smart
 ‘He is a smart boy.’

Few more examples of positive qualities are given in Table 5.1.

Positive quality	Gloss
/kufou/	‘genuine’
/amlo-kumto/	‘brave’
/xixii/	‘lively’
/ayokulu/	‘obedient’
/mtsimjei/	‘concrete’
/akiyitfe/	‘magnificent’
/muto/	‘strong’

Table 5.1: Positive quality in Sümi

5.1.2 Negative

- (5.5) /l^hokisa/ ‘bad’
pa je ki- p^{hi} -mi l^hokisa
 3SG TOP book-NMLZ- read –person bad
 ‘He is a bad student.’

- (5.6) /pitfi/ ‘lazy’
li je a- ki- pitfi timi
 3SG.F TOP NRL.PRX- NMLZ- lazy person
 ‘She is a lazy person.’

- (5.7) /kujokighi / ‘timid’
pa je kudžokiyi timi
 3SG TOP timid person
 ‘He is a timid person.’

Few more examples of the negative qualities are given in Table 5.2.

Negative quality	Gloss
/anik ^h aniya/	‘foolish’
/kisasiya/	‘wicket/sinister’
/in ^h ilai/	‘clumsy’
/abakimsa/	‘timid’
/aq ^h ekiza/	‘haughty’
/niq ^h inilai/	‘filthy’

Table 5.2: Negative quality in Sümi

5.1.3 Appearance

- (5.8) /mit^he/ ‘clean’
a- ki hi je mit^he a-ni
 NRL.PRX-house this TOP clean PROG-PRES
 ‘This is a clean house/this house is clean.’

- (5.9) /džuvi/ ‘beautiful’
a- puhu pa je džu-vi
 NRL.PRX-boy that TOP look-good
 ‘That boy is beautiful.’

- (5.10) /ʃik^hoi/ ‘chubby’ or ‘healthy’
ni-je ʃik^hoi niʃi a-mo
 1SG-TOP chubby want PROG-NEG
 ‘I don’t want to be chubby.’

- (5.11) /boɣɛfo/ ‘bald’
i-pu kɪtsɪ je boɣɛfo
 1SG.POSS-father head TOP bald
 ‘My father’s head is bald.’

- (5.12) /ɖʒusa/ ‘ugly’
i- gi je ɖʒu-sa-va
 1SG.POSS-face TOP appearance-NEG-PRF
 ‘My face have become ugly.’

5.1.4 Size

- (5.13) /akuloyi/ ‘huge’
a- tu akuloyi ilu ikiyi
 NRL.PRX- stone huge fall came.down
 ‘A huge rock rolled down.’

- (5.14) /aqukidʒe/ ‘fat’
pa je aqukidʒe
 3SG TOP fat
 ‘He is fat’

- (5.15) /ik^hon^hei/ ‘short’
i- sa ik^hon^hei tsə -ve
 1SG.POSS- hair short cut -IMP
 ‘Cut my hair short’

- (5.16) /kufo/ ‘tall’
a- sibo kufo ke-qo kimtsɪ t^ha -ve
 NRL.PRX-tree tall NMLZ-PL all cut -IMP
 ‘Cut all the tall tree.’

- (5.17) /ayulo/ ‘tiny/small’
pa -u a- mpi je ayulo
 3SG –POSS NRL.PRX- body TOP small.tiny
 ‘His body is tiny.’

5.2 Adjective of Quantity

Adjective of quantity does not express the quantity of the noun with the exact number.

- (5.18) *axamunu kutomo ‘many flowers’*
 flower many
- (5.19) *azi kitila ‘little water’*
 water little
- (5.20) *timi lukim^ha ‘enough people’*
 human enough
- (5.21) *ap^hi k^hami ‘some shirts’*
 shirt some

5.3 Adjective of colour

- (5.22) /huʃuʃi/ ‘red’
a- p^hi huʃuʃi
 NRL.PRX- cloth red
 ‘red shirt’
- (5.23) /tsibui/ ‘black’
a-k^hosa tsibui
 NRL.PRX-cat black
 ‘black cat’

(5.24) /mijei/ ‘white’

o- hu je iyono mijei

2SG.POSS- teeth TOP very white

‘Your teeth is very white.’

(5.25) /aŋa-ba/ ‘yellow’

iŋi jekul^{ho} je a- ŋa-ba kalaɿ toi

today curry TOP NRL.PRX- baby-feces color like

‘Today’s curry looks like the colour of baby feces (yellow).’

(5.26) /huyai/ ‘purple’

i- p^{hi} je huyai

1SG.POSS- cloth TOP purple

‘My shirt is purple in colour.’

Few more colour terms are given in Table 5.3.

Colour	Gloss
/tsinije/	‘green’
/xixii/	‘light green’
/tsilabei/	‘blue’
/hup ^h alai/	‘pink’
/huyui/	‘crimson’
/huyiji/	‘maroon’
/aune/	‘yellow’

Table 5.3: Colour terms in Sümi

5.4 Adjective of taste

The adjective of taste indicates the sense of taste.

- (5.27) /ŋo/ ‘sweet’
 sinizɪ ŋo -a
 tea sweet -IPFV
 ‘The tea was sweet.’
- (5.28) /kʰi/ ‘salty’
 a- jekulʰo a- mti kʰi -ke
 NRL.PRX-curry NRL.PRX- salt salty -NEG
 ‘Don’t make the curry salty.’
- (5.29) /fu/ ‘spicy’
 a- jekulʰo fu -mo
 NRL.PRX- curry spicy -NEG
 ‘The curry was not spicy.’
- (5.30) /kʰimtsai/ ‘bitter’
 a- xatʰi kʰimtsai a-ni
 NRL.PRX- fruit bitter PROG-PRES
 ‘The fruit taste bitter.’
- (5.31) /kʰimpoi/ ‘sour’
 miʃitʰi je kʰimpoi
 lemon TOP sour
 ‘The lemon is sour.’

The adjective for taste can also be used to express smell;

- (5.32) *o mpi kʰimpoi mna a-ni*
 2SG.POSS body sour smell PROG-PRES
 ‘Your body is stinking / smelling sour.’

- (5.33) *a-fo ŋoni mna ipeyi a-ni*
 NRL.PRX-bread sweet smell come.out PROG-PRES
 ‘The sweet smell of the cake is coming out.’

- (5.34) *a-jekul^{ho} fukut^{hui} mna a-ni*
 NRL.PRX- curry spicy smell PROG-PRES
 ‘The curry smells spicy.’

5.5 Adjective of dimension

The adjective of dimension describes the level.

- (5.35) */t^hon^hei/ ‘deep’*
a- zɪ t^hon^hei a-ni
 NRL.PRX- water deep PROG-PRES
 ‘The water is deep.’

- (5.36) */kidʒe/ ‘big’*
a- lu kidʒe kumo
 NRL.PRX- field big NEG
 ‘The field is not big.’

- (5.37) */ʃukumyai/ ‘high’*
a- ki iyono ʃukumyai a-ni
 NRL.PRX-house very high PROG-PRES
 ‘The house is very high.’

- (5.38) */ililai/ ‘wide’*
a- layi ililai a-ni
 NRL.PRX-road wide PROG-PRES
 ‘The road is wide’ (the term for broad and wide are used as the same)

(5.39) /miɣiɣii/ ‘narrow’
 a-a *miɣiɣii*
 NRL.PRX- place narrow
 ‘Narrow place’

(5.40) /kufo/ ‘long’
 a- layi *kufo*
 NRL.PRX- road long
 ‘A long road/way’

(5.41) /ik^hon^hei/ ‘short’
 a- layi *ik^hon^hei*
 NRL.PRX-road short
 ‘A short road/way.’

5.6 Adjective of Comparison

The adjective of comparison shall be discussed under the three categories of degree viz; positive, comparative, and superlative. The comparative and superlative degrees are marked with /-u/, which occurs as a suffix. The difference between the use of the marker /-u/ is that, when /-u/ is used for comparison, it is suffixed to the item in comparison, but for the superlative indication, the marker /-u/ is suffixed to the positive adjective.

5.6.1 Positive

The positive comparison does not have an overt marking as is shown in the examples below.

(5.42) *pa* *je* *kidʒe*
 3SG TOP big.huge
 ‘He is big/huge.’

- (5.43) *no je dzuvi*
 2SG TOP beautiful
 ‘You are beautiful’

5.6.2 Comparative

The comparative degree can be expressed through the following ways;
 By self-nomination which is suffixed with the comparative marker /-u/.

- (5.44) *ni-u no kiɖe*
 1SG-COMP FOC big
 ‘I am bigger’

- (5.45) *pa -u no xat^hai*
 3SG -COMP FOC smart
 ‘He is smarter’

It is also possible for the item that is being compared, to be marked with the comparative marker /-u/, when both the items under comparison are mentioned, as shown in (5.52, 5.53). It is to be noted that, the positive adjective is not marked here, when in comparison.

- (5.46) *nije pa -u no kufo*
 1SGTOP 3SG-COMP FOC tall
 ‘He is taller than me.’

- (5.47) *a- fo je a- mu -u no mto*
 NRL.PRX- sister TOP NRL.PRX- brother-COMP FOC strong
 ‘Brother is stronger than sister.’

When in comparison, the postposition /*ɲuno*/ ‘than’ alone also can occur as a comparative indicator.

- (5.48) *ni je pa ɲuno kiɖʒe*
 1SG TOP 3SG than big
 ‘I am bigger than him.’

- (5.49) *meɪi je doli ɲuno xatʰai*
 3SG TOP dolly than smart
 ‘Marry is smarter than Dolly.’

5.6.3 Superlative

The superlative degree is also expressed through the suffix /-u/, but here it occurs with the neutral/positive adjectives.

- (5.50) *i no akufo -u*
 1SG FOC tall -SUPR
 ‘I am the tallest.’

- (5.51) *no no a-ki-vi-u*
 2SG FOC NRL.PRX-NMLZ-good-SUPR
 ‘You are the best.’

- (5.52) *a-kʰoɪ hi no a-ku-fo -u*
 NRL.PRX-writing this FOC NRL- NMLZ- hard -SUPR
 ‘This handwriting is the hardest’

Looking into the wider perspective, though the superlative marker /-u/ can indicate a superlative degree, it alone does not seem to strongly indicate superiority. It is observed that in most sentential form the superlative marker /u/ is seen to be supplemented by the preceding determiner /*kimtsi*/ ‘all’ followed by anyone of the postposition; /*ɲuno*/ ‘than’, /*dolo*/ ‘between’ or /*yolo*/ ‘among’, collectively this appears to be more in use and which also have stronger

indication of the superlative degree of an object or an item. The use of either one form from /ɲuno/, /dolo/ or /yolo/ seems to be person-oriented.

- (5.53) *pa je kimtsi ɲuno akidze -u*
 3SG TOP all than big -SUPR
 ‘He is the biggest’

- (5.54) *a- layi hipa no kimtsi yolo aka -u*
 NRL.PRX-road this FOC that among old -SUPR
 ‘This road is the oldest.’

- (5.55) *no -no kimtsi dolo a-yulo-u*
 2SG -FOC all between NRL- small -SUPR
 ‘You are the smallest’

5.7 Numerals

The numerals in Sümi can be represented in three different forms, one without an affix and the other with an affix and also compounding. Apart from the cardinal number one to ten, and the numerals twenty, thirty, and hundred, the rest of the numbering system goes through prefixation and the compounding of the number from one to nine.

5.7.1 Cardinal

The cardinal number from one to ten, twenty, thirty, hundred, thousand, and lakh occurs without affixes.

Cardinal	Gloss
/lak ^{hi} /	‘one’
/kini/	‘two’
/kit ^{hi} /	‘three’
/bidi/	‘four’
/puŋu/	‘five’

/tsiyo/	‘six’
/tsini/	‘seven’
/tatfe/	‘eight’
/toku/	‘nine’
/tʃiʔi/	‘ten’
/muku/	‘twenty’
/ʃiʔi/	‘thirty’
/aq ^h e/	‘hundred’
/k ^h et ^h on ^h e/	‘thousand’
/lak/	‘lakh’

Table 5.4: Cardinals in Sümi

The cardinal number from ‘eleven’ goes through the compounding process and the format of which is ‘ten+one’, ‘ten+two’ and so on. Likewise, ‘twenty+one, twenty+two’.

- (5.56) a) **/tʃiʔi/** **‘ten’**
 tʃiʔi-lak^hi ‘eleven’
 b) *tʃiʔi-kini* ‘twelve’
- (5.57) a) **/muku/** **‘twenty’**
 muku-lak^hi ‘twenty-one’
 muku-kini ‘twenty-two’
- (5.58) a) **/ʃiʔi/** **‘thirty’**
 ʃiʔi-lak^hi ‘thirty-one’
 b) *ʃiʔi-kini* ‘thirty-two’

The numerals from four to nine are prefixed with /l^ho/ to form; forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty and ninety. After which the number from one to nine can be compounded as a follow like shown below;

- | | | | |
|--------|----|---|------------------|
| | | l^ho-bidi | ‘forty’ |
| (5.59) | a) | <i>l^hobibi-lak^{hi}</i> | ‘forty-one’ |
| | b) | <i>l^hobidi-kini</i> | ‘forty-two’ |
| | | | |
| | | l^ho-puŋu | ‘fifty’ |
| (5.60) | a) | <i>l^hopuŋu-lak^{hi}</i> | ‘fifty-one’ |
| | b) | <i>l^hopuŋu-kini</i> | ‘fifty-two’ |
| | | | |
| | | l^ho-tsiyo | ‘sixty’ |
| (5.61) | a) | <i>l^hotsiyo-lak^{hi}</i> | ‘sixty-one’ |
| | b) | <i>l^hotsiyo-kini</i> | ‘sixty-two’ |
| | | | |
| | | l^hotsini | ‘seventy’ |
| (5.62) | a) | <i>l^hotsini-lak^{hi}</i> | ‘seventy-one’ |
| | b) | <i>l^hotsini-kini</i> | ‘seventy-two’ |
| | | | |
| | | l^hotaŋe | ‘eighty’ |
| (5.63) | a) | <i>l^hotaŋe-lak^{hi}</i> | ‘eighty-one’ |
| | b) | <i>l^hotaŋe-kini</i> | ‘eighty-two’ |
| | | | |
| | | l^hotoku | ‘ninety’ |
| (5.64) | a) | <i>l^hotoku-lak^{hi}</i> | ‘ninety-one’ |
| | b) | <i>l^hotoku-kini</i> | ‘ninety-two’ |

The cardinal number in hundred is counted by adding the number from 1-9 to hundred till nine-hundred:

- | | | | |
|--------|----|---|-----------------|
| (5.65) | a) | <i>aq^he-lak^{hi}</i> | ‘one hundred’ |
| | b) | <i>aq^he-kini</i> | ‘two-hundred’ |
| | c) | <i>aq^he-kithi</i> | ‘three-hundred’ |

The number starting from 101 are counted by adding the marker /-no/ after hundred followed by the numerals from one [aq^he no lak^hi] ‘hundred CONN one = 101’.

- (5.66)
- | | | /aq ^h e/ | | ‘hundred’ | |
|----|--|---------------------|----|--|--------------------------|
| a) | | aq ^h e | no | lak ^h i | ‘one hundred one’ |
| | | | | hundred CONN one | |
| b) | | aq ^h e | no | kini | ‘one hundred two’ |
| c) | | aq ^h e | no | ʃʃiyi-k ^h aq ^h i | ‘one hundred eleven’ |
| d) | | aq ^h e | no | ʃʃiyi-kini | ‘one hundred twelve’ |
| e) | | aq ^h e | no | muku | ‘one hundred twenty’ |
| f) | | aq ^h e | no | muku-lak ^h i | ‘one hundred twenty one’ |
| g) | | aq ^h e | no | muku-kini | ‘one hundred twenty two’ |

5.7.2 Ordinal

The ordinal number in Sümi is prefixed with /a-/ and suffixed with the definite marker /-u/ to the cardinal numbers.

Ordinal	Gloss
/a-tiʃi-u/	‘first’
/a-kini-u/	‘second’
/a-kit ^h i-u/	‘third’
/a-bidi-u/	‘forth’
/a-puŋu-u/	‘fifth’
/a-toku-u/	‘ninth’
/a-ʃʃiʃi-u/	‘tenth’

Table 5.5: Ordinals in Sümi

And as for the ordinal number; sixth, seventh, and eighth there is an addition of /ki-/ nominalizer, prefixed to the cardinal number 6, 7, 8, and 9 along with the prefix /a-/ prefix and the definite /-u/ suffix.

- (5.67)
- | | | |
|----|--------------|-----------|
| a) | a-ki-tsiyo-u | ‘sixth’ |
| b) | a-ki-tsini-u | ‘seventh’ |

- c) a-ki-tatʃe-u 'eight'

It is to be noted that in casual communication the /-i/ in /ki-/ prefix is dropped by most speakers; as in, instead of /a-ki-tsiyo-u/ they say /ak-tsiyo-u/.

5.7.3 Multiplicative

In Sümi the multiplicative number is formed by initially adding /yut^hu-/ to the cardinal numbers.

- (5.68)
- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| a) | yut ^h ulak ^h i | 'once' |
| b) | yut ^h ukini | 'twice' |
| c) | yut ^h ukit ^h i | 'thrice' |
| d) | yut ^h ubidi | 'four times' |
| e) | yut ^h upuŋu | 'five times' |

5.7.4 Aggregative numerals

The aggregative numeral in Sümi is formed by adding /kik^ha/ 'plus' after the cardinal number.

- (5.69)
- | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| <i>kit^hi</i> | <i>kini</i> | <i>kik^ha</i> | <i>tsiyo</i> |
| three | two | plus | puŋu |
- 'Three plus three', '3 + 2 = 5'

- (5.70)
- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| <i>bidi</i> | <i>puŋu</i> | <i>kik^ha</i> | <i>toku</i> |
| four | five | plus | nine |
- 'Four + five = toku', '4 + 5 = 9'

5.7.5 Approximate numerals

The approximate numeral in Sümi is by the following morpheme /k^hala-/ after the cardinal number.

(5.71) *bidi-puŋu kʰala*
 four-five about
 ‘about four to five’

(5.72) *tsiyo-tʰini kʰala*
 six-seven about
 ‘about six to seven’

5.7.6. Distributive numerals

The distributive numeral in Sümi is formed by reduplicating the last syllable of the cardinal number.

- (5.73) a) /lak^{hi}~k^{hi}/ ‘one by one’ or ‘one-one each’
 b) /kini~ni/ ‘two by two’ or ‘two-two each’
 c) /puŋu~ŋu/ ‘five by five’ or ‘five-five each’

5.7.7 Fractional numerals

The Fractional numeral in Sümi is expressed in half, full or whole (5.74). It can also be presented mathematically i.e., dividing two dissimilar numbers (5.75). In Sümi the occurrence of the larger item number comes first then comes the lesser number.

- (5.74) a) /tixa/ ‘half’
 b) /mtsi/, /kuŋɔpu/ ‘full’
 c) /kimtsi/ ‘whole’

- (5.75) a) *sadʒe kitʰi lo kini*
 share three POST two
 ‘two-third’
 b) *sadʒe bidi lo puŋu*
 share four POST five
 ‘four-fifth’

5.7.8 Measurement system

The measurement system in Sümi can be categorized into two groups; grain measurement and length measurement.

5.7.8.1 Grain

During the olden days the measurement of the grain was done with the count of a full basket (head carrying basket) for example; one basket, two baskets of grain. But this practice is no longer in use or if not in just a few villages at present, the reason owing to the fact that the size of the baskets was in different sizes leading to the unequal count or measurement of the grain.

At present, the grain measurement is done by using an empty used oil container made from tin, the measurement of which amounts to 12kgs of grain per single tin.

(5.76) *a- t^{hi}* *tin l^hotsiyo*
NRL.PRX-grain tin sixty
‘60 tin of grains’

(5.77) *a- t^{hi}* *tin l^hotsini*
NRL.PRX-grain tin seventy
‘70 tin of grains’

5.7.8.2 Length

There are four types of length measurement;

Auloqu *küghiina* (thumb impress): here the thumb is used for measuring land which is counted as an inch (1 inch).

(5.78) *a- u-loqu* *kiyina*
NRL.PRX-hand-thumb impress
‘Thumb impress’

Au küghüina (hand impress): here the hand impress implies the distance of the thumb and the middle finger which is stretched and the measurement of which is taken as 6 inch.

(5.79) *a- u* *küyina*
NRL.PRX- hand impress
‘Hand impress’

Aunheheküsa (elbow measurement): here the distance from the elbow till the tip of the middle finger is taken as the measurement for a meter.

(5.80) *a- u-n^he* *hekisa*
NRL.PRX- hand-elbow count
‘Elbow measurement’

Apukhunepaheküsa (foot measurement): here the foot measurement means the distance from the heels to the longest toe. The foot is literally placed one after another while the counting of the step is done and taken in for measurement.

(5.81) *a- puk^hu-nepa* *heküsa*
NRL.PRX-leg-step count
‘Foot print measurement’

CHAPTER-6

WORD-FORMATION

6.0 Word Formation

Word formation deals with how new words are formed, which can be analyzed through the multiple processes of formation. When new words are created it is done so to achieve a meaning or sense of some particular expression and it is easy to overlook the details of how every single word is formed, as such the importance of the study of word-formation.

A word can be consisting of a single morpheme or more than that, and a morpheme could be a word belonging to any one of the lexical classes or could be an affix having grammatical functions. Those affixes that lead to the different manifestation of the same lexeme without changing the lexical class of the word they are affixed to are termed '*inflectional*', while affixes that change the lexical class of words is affixed to, is termed '*derivational*'. But new words can also be formed through the process of compounding, reduplication, borrowing, etc, which shall be discussed under this chapter.

The newly coined word can be placed under a specific category of the word-formation process, according to the nature of the word formed. It is only done so by first looking into their complex aspect, i.e. by analyzing the new word according to its component, see their manner of occurrence, and how each component gives meaningful contribution towards the formation of a word.

6.1 Derivation

The formation of a new word or meaning through the process of affixation comes under derivation. In Sümi derivation can occur through prefixation and suffixation.

The prefix /a-/:

The prefix /a/ generally occurs with the noun but is not productive to derive a new word, the occurrence of which is very limited.

The /kv/ prefixation:

The /kv/ prefixation commonly occurs with the verb and the adjective class to derive the noun lexemes.

Since both the prefixes /a-/ and /kv/ have already been discussed under ‘Chapter-2’, it will not repeat here.

The suffix /-vi/ and /-sa/:

The suffix /-vi/ is a positive marker that indicates something of good quality, whereas the suffix /-sa/ is a negative marker that indicates something of bad quality. Both the suffixes /-vi/ and /-sa/ can occur regularly with the root of the verb but they do not change their lexical class and rather occurs as a compliment for good and bad. The /-vi/ and /-sa/ are not quite productive in forming new words.

		Verb		Adjective	
(6.1)	a)	/ʃu/	‘eat’ =	/ʃuvi/	‘tasty’
	b)	/dʒu/	‘look’ =	/dʒuvi/	‘beautiful’
	c)	/ʃu/	‘eat’ =	/ʃusa/	‘tasteless/ not tasty’
	d)	/dʒu/	‘look’ =	/dʒusa/	‘ugly’

The Suffix /ji/:

An adverb can be derived by suffixing /ji/ to an adjective word. The form /ji/ is homophonous to the action verb ‘do’ but functions differently.

(6.2)	a)	/alokivi/	‘happy’ =	/alokiviʃi/	‘happily’
	b)	/amloyime/	‘sad’=	/amloyimeʃi/	‘sadly’

- c) /ɖʒukivi/ ‘beautiful’ = /ɖʒukivi^{fi}/ ‘beautifully’
 d) /aɣime/ ‘tired’ = /aɣime^{fi}/ ‘tiredly’

6.2 Compounding

Compounding is a very common process of forming a new word, composed of two (or more) stems or at any rate a root morpheme. This is done by compounding the same or different lexical classes to form another same or different lexical class. Each stem and root morpheme has its separate meaning and has an independent function even before the compounding process. It is a form of word addition to the existing stock of words in a language.

Bloomfield (1933: 227) mentions that ‘The forms which we class as compound word exhibits some feature which, in their language, characterize single words in contradiction to the phrases’.

Henry Sweet (1900: 41) states that ‘In a compound, the simple words of which it is made up are brought into such close connection that they are “isolated” from the other words of the sentence in which they occur.

The compounding in Sümi can occur between the following lexical classes;

- Noun and noun forming new noun
- Noun and verb forming new noun
- Verb and verb forming new verb
- Noun and verb forming new adjective (rare)
- Noun and adjective forming new noun (rare)

Two compounded nouns forming a noun

	Noun		Noun		Noun
(6.3) a)	/ak ^{hi} /	+	/zi/	=	/ak ^{hi} zi/
	bee		water		honey

b)	/azi/ water	+	/bo/ container	=	/azibo/ water-bottle
c)	/axa/ plant	+	/t ^{hi} / seed	=	/axat ^{hi} / fruit
d)	/apu/ father	+	/aza/ mother	=	/apuaza/ parents
e)	/akitsi/ head	+	/sa/ hair	=	/akitsisa/ hair

A noun and a verb forming a new noun.

	Noun		Verb		Noun
(6.4) a)	/azi/ water	+	/ya/ swim	=	/aziya/ swim
b)	/ale/ song	+	/p ^{he} / sing	=	/alep ^{he} / sing
c)	/kila/ marry	+	/kupu/ complete	=	/kilakupu/ marriage
d)	/akitsi/ hair	+	/xe/ to comb	=	/akitsixe/ comb
e)	/jeyi/ earth	+	/kulu/ tumble	=	/jeyikulu/ vehicle

Verb and verb forming a verb lexeme

	Verb		Verb		Verb
(6.5) a)	/pi/ say	+	/p ^h e/ cut	=	/pip ^h e/ reveal
b)	/le/ pour	+	/q ^h i/ keep	=	/leq ^h i/ pour
c)	/ɖʒo/ sweep	+	/n ^h a/ cover	=	/ɖʒon ^h a/ cover
d)	/ɖʒu/ look	+	/nu/ laugh	=	/ɖʒunu/ mock
e)	/kidʒe/ distribute	+	/t ^h a/ cut	=	/kdʒet ^h a/ separate

A noun and a verb forming an adjective.

	Noun		Verb		Adjective
(6.6) a)	/amlo/ heart	+	/ime/ tired	=	/amloime/ sad
b)	/amlo/ heart	+	/ide/ turn	=	/amloide/ angry

A noun and an adjective forming a new noun lexeme.

	Noun		Adjective		Noun
(6.7) a)	/put ^h o/ night	+	/mta/ middle	=	/put ^h omta/ midnight

b)	/puʃo/ day	+	/mta/ middle	=	/puʃomta/ midday
c)	/aq ^{hi} / moon	+	/kit ^{he} / new	=	/aq ^{he} kit ^{he} / new moon
d)	/mpe/ year	+	/aqa/ old	=	/mpeaqa/ old year
e)	/tsala/ day	+	/kit ^{he} / new	=	/tsalakit ^{he} / new day

Compound can be categorized according to its headedness. Rochelle Lieber (2010: 54) defines that between the compounded roots if there is a main head then it implies that ‘the head of the compound is the element that serves to determine both the part of speech and the semantic kind denoted by the compound as a whole.’ And this head can be further classified into the endocentric and exocentric compounds. Hockett (1958), states that all language consists of both endocentric and exocentric compounds. The compounded words in Sümi can be distributed under three categories; a) endocentric compound b) exocentric compound and c) co-ordinate compound.

6.2.1 Endocentric Compound

‘In endocentric compounds, the referent of the compound is always the same as the referent of its head’, Rochelle Lieber (2010: 55). It is a compounding where one of the compounded words functions as the head and the other functions as an attribute to the head. The grammatical class of the head determines the class of the attribute, in the case where the compounded elements originally belong to a different grammatical class.

The endocentric compound can further be distributed according to the location of the head; the right-headed compound and the left-headed compound. The right-headed compound is very productive but the left-headed compound is rare and not productive.

6.2.1.1 The right headed compound

Most of the endocentric compound in Sümi is right headed.

(6.8)	a)	/azi/	+	/kufu/	=	/azikufu/
		water		bath		bath
	b)	/au/	+	/loqu/	=	/auloqu/
		hand		thumb		finger thumb
	c)	/ala/	+	/tfe/	=	/alatfe/
		way		walk		walk
	d)	/asi/	+	/k ^{hu} /	=	/asik ^{hu} /
		wood		plate		wooden plate
	e)	/be/	+	/mak ^{ho} /	=	/bemak ^{ho} /
		to place		responsibility		responsible

6.2.1.2 The left headed compound

The left headed compound is not very productive in Sümi.

(6.9)	a)	/pik ^{hi} /	+	/be/	=	/pik ^h i be/
		depend		to place		depend
	b)	/put ^{ho} /	+	/mta/	=	/put ^h o mta/
		night		middle		midnight

c)	/kila/ marry	+	/kupu/ complete	=	/kilakupu/ marriage
d)	/akini/ milk	+	/zi/ water	=	/akinizi/ milk
e)	/pili/ entrust	+	/be/ to place	=	/pilibe/ entrust

6.2.2 Exocentric Compound

‘Compounds may be termed exocentric when the denotation of the compound as a whole is not the denotation of the head.’ Rochelle Lieber (2010: 55).

Unlike endocentric, the exocentric compound does not show any headedness but literally carries an external meaning of the compound.

(6.10) a)	/adʒu/ appearance	+	/adʒe/ name	=	/adʒu-adʒe/ fame
b)	/afi/ flesh	+	/aje/ title	=	/afi-aje/ tribe
c)	/la/ way	+	/dʒu/ look	=	/la-dʒu/ expect
d)	/kidʒe/ distribute	+	/tʰa/ cut	=	/kidʒe-tʰa/ separate
e)	/apu/ father	+	/asi/ grandfather	=	/apu-asi/ ancestor

6.2.8 Coordinate compound

Coordinate compound is the collocation of two independent lexemes occurring together without headedness or having any external meaning but together carries their own semantic referent.

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|----|-------------------------|---|-----------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| (6.11) | a) | /apuk ^h u/ | + | /au/ | = | /apuk ^h u-au/ |
| | | ‘leg’ | | ‘hand’ | | ‘leg, hand’ |
| | b) | /aʃi/ | + | /ak ^h a/ | = | /aʃi-ak ^h a/ |
| | | ‘meat’ | | ‘fish’ | | ‘meat, fish’ |
| | c) | /akipka/ | + | /asal ^h a/ | = | /akipka-asal ^h a/ |
| | | ‘stealing’ | | ‘prostitution’ | | ‘stealing, prostitution’ |
| | d) | /kuml ^h omi/ | + | /miyimi/ | = | /kuml ^h omi-miyimi/ |
| | | ‘poor man’ | | ‘poor man’ | | ‘poor man, poor man’ |
| | e) | /ʃimemi/ | + | /samemi/ | = | /ʃimemi-samemi/ |
| | | ‘widow’ | | ‘widower’ | | ‘widow, widower’ |

Sentential examples:

- (6.12) *a- ki- pka-a- sal^ha-mi* *je* *miya -ni* *fɛ-mo*
 NRL- NMLZ- steal-NRL- prostitute -person TOP bless -FUT CONT-NEG
 ‘People who do (stealing-prostitution) will not be blessed’
- (6.13) *ni-ŋu* *je* *fɛmimi-samemi-qo* *ik^{hi} -lu-t^{hi}* *mojesa*
 1PL -QUAN TOP widow-widower-PL take -COMPL-know must
 ‘We have to know how to regard/welcome (widow-widowers)’

6.3 Reduplication

Reduplication is a word-formation process in which an entire or partial part of a word is repeated. Sapir (1921: 76) observed that nothing is more natural than the repetition of all or part of the radical element of a word applied with the self-evident symbolism to convey concepts such as ‘distribution, plurality, repetition, customary activity, increase in size, added intensity, continuance’.

In Sümi words can be repeated both totally and partially. The word-formation process of reduplication shall be discussed under different categories as proposed by Anvita Abbi (1992) i.e. morphological reduplication and lexical reduplication.

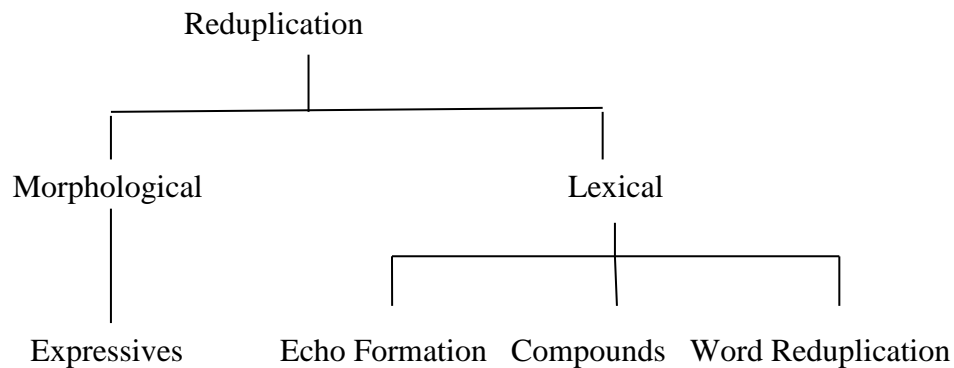


Figure 6.1: Types of Reduplicated Structure by Abbi (1992: 14)

6.3.1 Morphological Reduplication

In Morphological reduplication, the base and the reduplicated part together constitute a lexeme. Abbi grouped all these types of iterated syllables under the ‘Expressives’.

Morphological reduplication is an expressive representation that includes onomatopoeic words, imitative, sound symbolism, etc, which can be discussed under the different senses of perceptions. But expressive is not only limited to perceptions as they also ‘lay bare a large number of feelings, situations, attributes, manner, and state of action.’ Anvita Abbi (1992: 18).

The expressive in Sümi can be discussed on; the sense of sight, sense of touch, sense of feelings, action-oriented expressive and different categories of sounds phenomena. The expressive in Sümi are capable of achieving the status of a lexicon while some are derived through the expressive form. The expressive can be suffixed with emphatic marker /-i/.

In the case of smell and taste, there is no morphological form of reduplication instead the final syllable of the base morpheme representing these two senses is stressed to express the intensity or level of taste and smell.

The semantic meaning of some expressive can also be syntactically determined.

6.3.1.1 Sense of sight

The expressive of sight is used to indicate sparkling, twinkling, and blinking objects. It can also include the sight of smoke.

- (6.14) *p^ha~p^ha* = ‘twinkling’, ‘blinking’
lait no a- n^het^hi kitsi p^ha~p^ha -i a-ni
light FOC NRL.PRX- eyes blink blinking -EMPH PROG-PRES
‘The light (bulb) is blinking’

- (6.15) *p^hu~p^hu* = ‘shimmer’, ‘glittering’
o kinikiyi no putou -mu p^hu~p^hu -i
2SG.POSS earring FOC far -CONN expressive.glittering -EMPH

it^hu -lu a-ni
see -COMPL PROG-PRES
‘Can see your earring glittering even from far.’

- (6.16) *a-mik^hi p^ho~p^ho -i it^hu -lu a-ni*
NRL.PRX-smoke expressive-EMPH see-COMPL PROG-PRES
‘Can see the (heavy) smoke (coming out).’

The expressive for the burning fire or flame can be represented in three ways: the degree of *heavy* and *light*.

When the fire is burning in a heavy manner /bo~bo/

- (6.17) *a-mi* *iqi* *bo~bo -i* *a-ni*
 NRL.PRX-fire burn heavy-EMPH PROG-PRES
 ‘The fire is burning heavily.’

When the fire is burning in a meager manner /m^{he}~m^{he}/

- (6.18) *a-mi* *iqi* *m^{he}~m^{he} -i* *a-ni*
 NRL.PRX- fire burn meager -EMPH PROG-PRES
 ‘The fire is burning meagerly.’

When the fire gives a kind of spark in the midst of burning.

- (6.19) *a-mi* *iqi* *p^{ha}a~p^{ha}a-i* *a-ni*
 NRL.PRX-fire burn spark-EMPH PROG-PRES
 ‘The fire is burning sparkling.’

It is to be noted that when the expressive /p^{ha}a~p^{ha}a/ is attributed to the stars and the lights/bulb, it associates itself with the word ‘blink’ but when this expressive is attributed to fire then it occurs with the word ‘burn’ as can be seen from the sentential examples given above. And this is how the expressive for the star, the light, and the fire are differentiated.

6.3.1.2 Sense of touch

The sense of touch indicates the condition of the object that the subject is in contact with. The expressive as mentioned below; slippery, sticky, and muddy are differentiated with respect to that, the expressive for ‘slippery’ and ‘muddy’ can be used interchangeably with their general lexical word without change in the level of semantics, but in the case of the adjective ‘sticky’, it cannot be used

interchangeably because the natural representation of the word sticky is derived from the expressive reduplicated form i.e. /da~da/ ‘sticky’.

The possibility of the alternate expressive usage of /p^he~p^he/ with /nemzi/ and /xe~xe/ with /aniba/.

/p^he~p^he/ = ‘slippery’

- (6.20) *a- layi* *nemzi* *p^he~p^he -i* *a-ni*
 NRL.PRX- road slippery slippery-EMPH EXIST-PRES
 ‘The road is slippery.’

- (6.21) *a- layi* *p^he~p^he -i* *a-ni*
 NRL.PRX-road slippery-EMPH EXIST-PRES
 ‘The road is slippery.’

- (6.22) *a-layi* *nemzi* *a-ni*
 NRL.PRX-road slippery EXIST-PRES
 ‘The road is slippery.’

/xe~xe/ = ‘muddy’

- (6.23) *a- layi* *aniba* *xe~xe -i* *a-ni*
 NRL.PRX- road mud muddy -EMPH EXIST-PRES
 ‘This road is muddy.’

- (6.24) *a- layi* *xe~xe -i* *a-ni*
 NRL.PRX- road muddy-EMPH PROG-PRES
 ‘This road is muddy.’

- (6.25) *a- layi* *aniba* *fi* *a-ni*
 NRL.PRX- road muddy be PROG-PRES
 ‘This road is muddy.’

The adjective for ‘sticky’ is derived from expressive morphological reduplication.

/da~da/ = ‘sticky’

- (6.26) *i* *miti* *da~da -i* *a-ni*
 1SG.POSS saliva sticky-EMPH PROG-PRES
 ‘My saliva is sticky.’

The sense of touches like roughness and hardness can also be expressed.

- (6.27) *i-gi* *ya~ya-i-va*
 1SG.POSS-face rough-EMPH-PRF
 ‘My face have become rough.’

- (6.28) *a-na* *ka~ka-i* *a-ni*
 NRL.PRX-food hard-EMPH EXIST-PRES
 ‘The food (rice) is hard/not soft.’

6.3.1.3 Sense of feeling

The sense of feeling indicates something that has undergone or is undergoing change, resulting in the consciousness or change in the mood and the situation of the undergoer.

The lexicon for the verb ‘shiver’ is most probably derived from the expressive /t^{hi}~t^{hi}/ which is used to indicate the action for shivering or shaking and also this same expressive can be used to indicate cold weather without using the usual lexicon for ‘cold’ i.e. /mko/.

- (6.29) *a-tsala* *no* *t^{hi}~t^{hi}-i* *a-ni*
 NRL.PRX-day FOC cold-EMPH EXIST-PRES
 ‘The weather is cold.’

- (6.30) *a-tsala ku- mko no i-mpi t^{hi}i~t^{hi}i -i a-ni*
 NRL.PRX-day NMLZ-cold CONN 1SG.POSS -body shiver-EMPH ROG-PRES
 ‘The cold day is making my body shiver.’

The expressive /k^{ho}~k^{ho}/ is used to indicate the situation of ‘fear’ or ‘trembling’.

- (6.31) *pa je misa k^{ho}o~k^{ho} -i a-ni*
 3SG EXP scared fear-EMPH EXIST-PRES
 ‘He is scared.’

The expressive /tʃe~tʃe/ is used to indicate the adjective ‘wet’. Like ‘shiver’ and ‘sticky’ the adjective for ‘wet’ is seems to be derived from the expressive reduplicated form of wet, i.e. /tʃe~tʃe/.

- (6.32) *i sa tʃe~tʃe -i a-ni*
 1SG.POSS hair wet-EMPH EXIST-PRES
 ‘My hair is wet.’

/tʃe~tʃe/ is also used to express sweatiness but this expression is differentiated from ‘wet’ through the tone. The expressive for wet is ‘high-high’ while for sweat is ‘mid-mid’.

- (6.33) *i gi tsin^{hi} tʃe~tʃe -i a-ni*
 1SG.POSS face sweat wet-EMPH EXIST-PRES
 ‘My face is all sweaty.’

6.3.1.4 Sounds from natural phenomena

The sounds of natural phenomena like the wind and the rain are represented here. It may not be the exact imitation of the natural sound but an expressive representation is used in order to indicate these two natural phenomena.

(6.34) *ifi* *a- tsala* *hu~hu -i* *a-ni*
 today NRL.PRX-day windy-EMPH EXIST-PRES
 ‘It is windy today.’

(6.35) *tsiyu* *tsa~tsa-i* *ikiyi* *a-ni*
 rain drizzle-EMPH come.down PROG-PRES
 ‘It is drizzling.’

In Sümi the expressive sound /bo~bo/ is used to represent not only the sound of nature but also indicates the meaning of ‘heavy’. Though the general lexicon for ‘heavy’ is /mifɿ/ it is not used for modifying natural phenomena like ‘raining heavily’ or ‘blowing heavily’, instead it is /bo~bo/ that is used to indicate the expression of ‘heavy’ in the case of nature, as shown in the example below.

(6.36) *tsiyu* *bo~bo -i* *a-ni*
 rain heavy -EMPH PROG-PRES
 ‘It is raining heavily.’

(6.37) *ifi* *milʰi* *bo~bo -i* *a-ni*
 today blow heavy -EMPH PROG-PRES
 ‘The wind is blowing heavily today.’

6.3.1.5 Sounds from human

The expressive sounds here are sounds that are made by humans when performing a certain action.

- (6.38) a) /he~he/ ‘act of laughing’
 b) /ɣim~ɣim/ ‘crunchy or munching sound’
 c) /doŋ~doŋ/ ‘the banging of the door’
 d) /baŋ~baŋ/ ‘of quarrelling’
 e) /je~je/ ‘noisy from talking’
 f) /boŋ~boŋ/ ‘stomping’

6.3.1.6 Sounds from animal

The sounds used here are the imitation of the sounds made by the animal.

- (6.39)
- | | | |
|----|-------------|-----------|
| a) | /miao~miao/ | ‘of cat’ |
| b) | /mba~mba/ | ‘of cow’ |
| c) | /mehe~mehe/ | ‘of goat’ |

6.3.1.7 Sounds from inanimate objects

- (6.40)
- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------|
| a) | /k ^h roŋ~k ^h roŋ/ | ‘of falling utensils’ |
| b) | /ton~ton/ | ‘of reigning bell’ |
| c) | /pip~pip/ | ‘of honking car’ |
| d) | /doŋ~doŋ/ | ‘of drumming’ |

6.3.1.8 Action oriented expressives

Here the expressive indicates how the action was performed or depicts the state of a situation.

- (6.41)
- | | | |
|----|-----------|---------------------|
| a) | /tsi~tsi/ | ‘of hurry’ |
| b) | /tʃi~tʃi/ | ‘of congested time’ |

6.3.2 Lexical Reduplication

Lexical reduplication is the repetition of words or lexemes that already belongs to a part of speech. The repetition can occur completely or partially and in this process, the lexeme in repetition may retain or change its lexical class, i.e. the part of speech. In Sümi the reduplication can occur both partially and completely and it is a class maintaining type.

6.3.2.1 Echo Formation

An echo formation is the partial repetition of the base with slight alternation, i.e. by either changing in the initial phoneme (consonant or vowel), or the initial syllable of the echoing repetition of the base morpheme. Abbi (1992: 20).

The Sümi exhibits two processes of echo formation in which the base is composed of two syllables that can be repeated partially.

partial repetition of the base with change in the medial consonant

- (6.42)
- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|--|
| a) | tuk ^h o~tuy ^o | ‘hidden secrets and the like’
(against moral values and principles) |
| b) | tat ^f u~tay ^u | ‘trivial things’ |
| c) | mbu~my ^y | ‘quarreling and the like’ |
| d) | mki~mya | ‘tricks and the likes of lie’ |

partial repetition of the base with change in the second syllable

- (6.43)
- | | | |
|----|--|-----------|
| a) | ʃik ^h o~ʃilei | ‘healthy’ |
| b) | kimyo~kilei | ‘skinny’ |
| c) | vika~vilei | ‘bright’ |
| d) | zimo~zilei | ‘dark’ |
| e) | q ^h e ^h ele~q ^h e ^h ilei | ‘plenty’ |
| f) | mike~milei | ‘weak’ |

6.3.2.2 Word reduplication

Word reduplication is the repetition of a class lexeme either partially or completely. The partial word repetition may occur in the initial, medial, or final syllable.

In Sümi the two lexical classes can go through reduplication viz, noun, verb, adjective, and adverb.

6.3.2.2.1 Complete Word Repetition

The complete repetition of the word in Sümi occurs in noun, verb, and adverb class and does not show a change in their grammatical class. The reduplication of the base adds intensity to irritation, urgency, and continuance to the meaning expressed.

6.3.2.2.1.1 Noun reduplication

Nouns in Sümi can be fully reduplicated.

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|----|--------|----------|---|-------------|-----------------|
| (6.44) | a) | /aki/ | ‘house’ | = | /aki~aki/ | ‘house-house’ |
| | b) | /alu/ | ‘field’ | = | /alu~alu/ | ‘field-field’ |
| | c) | /apu/ | ‘father’ | = | /apu~apu/ | ‘father-father’ |
| | d) | /aza/ | ‘mother’ | = | /aza~aza/ | ‘mother-mother’ |
| | e) | /atsi/ | ‘dog’ | = | /atsi~atsi/ | ‘dog-dog’ |

Sentential example:

- (6.45) *aki~aki* *lo* *u*
 house-house LOC go
 ‘go house to house.’

- (6.46) *ayili* *je* *apu~apu* *aza~aza* *dolo-no* *ili-ni*
 game TOP father-father mother-mother between-CONN play-FUT
 ‘The games will be played between the father and father, mother and mother.’

6.3.2.2.1.2 Verb reduplication

Verbs in Sümi can be completely reduplicated.

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|----|--------------------|---------|---|-------------------------------------|---------------|
| (6.47) | a) | /ʃu/ | ‘eat’ | = | /ʃu~ʃu/ | ‘eat-eat’ |
| | b) | /zi/ | ‘sleep’ | = | /zi~zi/ | ‘sleep-sleep’ |
| | c) | /dʒu/ | ‘look’ | = | /dʒu~dʒu/ | ‘look-look’ |
| | d) | /pi/ | ‘say’ | = | /pi~pi/ | ‘say-say’ |
| | e) | /p ^{hi} / | ‘read’ | = | /p ^{hi} ~p ^{hi} / | ‘read-read’ |

Sentential example:

- (6.48) *i -fo* *je* *zi~zi -a*
 1SG -sister.elder TOP sleep-sleep -IPFV
 ‘My stomach became full from eating food.’

- (6.49) *pi~pi inayai*
 say-say fed up
 ‘Fed up of saying.’

6.3.2.2.2 Partial word reduplication

Partial reduplication unlike the echo formation does not have an additional element to the partially repeated base. The partial repetition of a word in Sümi can occur in the verb, adjective, and adverb, and cardinal numbers. The reduplication can occur in the medial and the final syllable of the base.

6.3.2.2.2.1 Adjective

Adjectives in Sümi can be partially reduplicated.

- (6.50) a) /kufo~fo/ ‘tall’ (final syllable)
 b) /dʒusa~sa/ ‘ugly’
 c) /kufo~fo/ ‘true’
 d) /kiti~ti~la/ ‘tiny’ (medial syllable)
 e) /kuto~to~mo/ ‘many’
 f) /avi~vi~lo/ nearby

Sentential example:

- (6.51) *hi je kutfo~fo k^hisa*
 this TOP true story
 ‘This is a true story.’

- (6.52) *timi kuto-to-mo ku sa-iyi*
 people many call lead-bring
 ‘Call many people.’

6.3.2.2.2 Verb

Verbs can also be partially repeated.

- (6.53)
- | | | |
|----|----------------------|---------|
| a) | /pije~ je / | ‘show’ |
| b) | /ayaide~ de / | ‘angry’ |
| c) | /miki~ ki / | ‘lie’ |
| d) | /pika~ ka / | ‘steal’ |
| e) | /ayolu~ lu / | ‘obey’ |

Sentential example:

- (6.54)
- | | | |
|----------------|-----------|--------------------|
| <i>ni</i> | <i>je</i> | <i>ayaide~de-a</i> |
| 1SG | TOP | angry -IPFV |
| ‘I was angry.’ | | |

- (6.55)
- | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>al^hokut^hu</i> | <i>miki~ki</i> | <i>-ke</i> | <i>ti</i> | <i>je</i> | <i>alo-mo</i> |
| always | lie | -PROH | that | TOP | good-NEG |
| ‘Don’t always lie, that is bad.’ | | | | | |

6.3.2.2.3 Cardinal reduplication

Cardinals are reduplicated for distributional purposes.

- (6.56)A
- | | | |
|----|--|----------------------------|
| a) | /lak ^h i~ k^hi / | ‘one by one / or one each’ |
| b) | /kini~ ni / | ‘two each’ |
| c) | /kit ^h i~ t^hi / | ‘three each’ |
| d) | /bidi~ di / | ‘four each’ |
| e) | /puŋu~ ŋu / | ‘five each’ |

- (6.57)
- | | | | |
|--|-----------|------------------|--------------|
| <i>lak^hi~k^hi</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>foloku -u</i> | <i>iloyi</i> |
| one-one | CONN | inside-DEF | go in |
| ‘One by one come inside’ | | | |

- (6.58) *mit^hai* *kini~ni* *itimi -qo* *kidʒe-ve*
 sweet two-two kid -PL distribute-IMP
 ‘Distribute two sweets each to the children.’

6.3.2.3 Compound formation

‘The compounds refer to the paired construction in which the second word is not an exact repetition of the first but has some similarity or relationship to the first word either on the semantic or on the phonetic level’ which even after the compound formation retains its original meaning to some extent, Abbi (1992: 24).

The examples showing compound formation in Sümi are shown below:

- (6.59) a) *pi-t^hi* + *ʃi-t^hi* = [*pit^hi-ʃit^hi*]
 say-know do-know
 ‘Someone who knows how to speak as well as work well’
- b) *heq^hi* + *buq^hi* = [*heq^hi-buq^hi*]
 kill touch
 ‘Indicating violence’
- c) *hula* + *hila* = [*hula-hila*]
 there here
 ‘Neither here nor there’
- d) *ipedʒu* + *ilodʒu* = [*ipedʒu-ilodʒu*]
 to go out to go in
 ‘Indicates restlessness, not staying in one place’

6.4 Borrowing

As the name implies, borrowing is to receive what does not originally belong to us. Linguistically, it is the adaptation of words from another language. When the

native language lacks a certain words for certain terms the convenient way for the speaker is to turn to the nearest language for expression.

Borrowing also known as a ‘loan word’, well seems to influence native speakers especially when the society is in frequent contact with other languages. It is almost impossible that a language does not have a borrowed word infused into its vocabulary. George Yule (2014: 52) commented on the vast number of words adapted to English by saying, “*Technically, it’s more than borrowing, because English doesn’t give them back.*”

The borrowed words in Sümi can be detected from two languages; English and Hindi, mostly for techno words and essential goods. So far the data for the borrowed words shows only one class i.e. noun and somehow the borrowed words get nativized in terms of its sound and structure though this aspect is not covered here in this dissertation.

Sümi	Borrowed	Source	Gloss
/tsabi/	chaabhee	Hindi	key
/ʈʃepili/	chappal	Hindi	slipper
/sabuni/	saabun	Hindi	soap
/pisa/, /poisa/	paise	Hindi	money
/teli/, /tili/	tel	Hindi	oil
/tivi/	tv	English	television
/betiri/	battery	English	battery
/ʃamp ^{ho} /	shampoo	English	shampoo
/ʃoks/	socks	English	socks
/kompotor/	computer	English	computer

Table 6.1: Borrowed words in Sümi

CHAPTER-7

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.0 Overview

The study of ‘Morphology’ as the main topic for the research work on Sümi language is the first of its kind, though certain aspects of it are already brought up by some researchers in the past, they were only from the brief point of view. Overall the scientific analysis of Sümi language though not covered extensively through various points of linguistics is not left untouched, gradually gaining recognition for further research purposes. In this dissertation, I have touched on various aspects of Morphology under the lexical classes of noun, pronoun, adjective, and verb, along with the different processes of the word-formation.

7.1 Brief review of each chapter

The design of this dissertation was arranged into seven chapters and all of which will be discussed in brief here.

Chapter 1

The first chapter gives the ‘introductory’ of the language under research i.e. the Sümi. This chapter can be viewed under three categories; firstly, the background introduction of its people and origin, along with some of their cultural and traditional practices, second is the introduction of its language, their status, and classification, including the review of literature, the last concept of this chapter deals with the methodology and the rationale for taking up the study.

The Sümi is estimated to have around 300,000 speakers and they belong to the Tibeto-Burman language family. The three scholars eminent to this tribe are J. H. Hutton, M. V. Sreedhar, and Amos B. Teo. Currently, the tribe has five dictionaries; two Anglo Sümi dictionaries, one legal dictionary, one biblical dictionary, and most recently a dictionary published on Homonym & Heteronym.

Chapter 2

This chapter deals with the lexical class of ‘Noun’ in Sümi. The nouns in Sümi are morphologically marked with the non-relational prefix /a-/ and can be classified under the simple and derived nouns. One of the most prominent derivational patterns found in the language is, the /kv-/ prefixation on the root of the verbs and adjectives to derive nouns, after the process of which the majority of the vocational terms are seen to be derived. Numbers in Sümi shows three distinct contrast; singular, plural and dual, and also it distinguishes gender heavily on animate non-human category. The quantifier /lodʒi/ is used for expressing both the human and the animate non-humans in terms of the group. Case in Sümi, exhibits the ‘Differential Case Marking (DCM)’ system with /no/ as an agent/focus marker and /je/ as the topic/experiencer marker, which can occur in both the transitive and the intransitive clauses. Along with /no/ and /je/, nine more case markers are discussed here, namely; possessive, locative, ablative, instrumental, comitative, additive, about, benefactive, and vocative.

Chapter 3

This chapter discusses the lexical class of ‘Pronoun’. Pronouns are discussed under the different types of personal, possessive, reflexive, interrogative, demonstrative, and indefinite. Sümi distinguishes three persons i.e. the speaker, the hearer, and the one who is spoken about, and distinguishes three numbers; singular, plural, and dual. There is no distinction of gender except for the third person pronoun which has a separate marker for feminine i.e. /li/, but no such marker is present for the masculine. The possessive pronoun is marked by /-u/ suffixed to the personal pronouns and the reflexive pronoun is expressed by /lik^{hi}/ ‘self/alone’. The demonstrative pronoun can be distinguished in three forms such as; proximate, medial and remote, and also the indefinite pronoun can be distinguished and grouped into four types i.e. person, place, state, and time.

Chapter 4

The fourth chapter deals with the lexical class of ‘Verb’ and this chapter starts by discussing the transitivity and the intransitivity of the verbs i.e. the number of arguments a verb can take. The main verb classes discussed are; negation, causative, purposive, tense, mood, and aspect. It is found that there are four negations in Sümi; /mo/ ‘not’, /ke/ ‘don’t’, /mla/ ‘can’t’, and /kiha/ ‘no (not having)’. The causative marker is marked by /pe/, the purposive by /pi/, whereas the reciprocal marker is marked by /kile/ that follows right after the verb. Tense is unmarked in the past and present, but the future tense is marked with /nani/ or /-ni/. The aspect in Sümi can be classified into imperfective and perfective aspects. Seven types of moods are distinguished in Sümi; the imperative /-ve/, requestive /tsilo/ or /tsi nima/, permissive /pelo/ and /vi/, obligatory /mojesa/, necessity /pitsa/, possibility /mt^ha/, and suggestive mood /dzu/.

Chapter 5

The fifth chapter deals with the lexical class of ‘Adjective’ under which the different types of adjectives like quality, quantity, colors (terms) are discussed. The adjective in Sümi can inflict for negation by suffixing the negative markers /mo/ and /sa/ to the neutral adjectives, but the negation /sa/ is not productive. Comparison in Sümi is expressed by suffixing the comparative marker /u/ to the item in comparison, or the item compared to, on the other hand, the superlative marker is also marked with /u/ but in contrast to comparative, it is suffixed to the positive/neutral adjective. Both the comparative and superlative can be further supplemented with the postposition /ɲuno/ ‘than’, especially in expressing the superlative degree which is preceded not only by /ɲuno/ but also by the determiner /kimtsi/ ‘all’. The numerals can be represented in different forms; a) without any affixes i.e. from one-eleven, b) compounding, c) with affixation of /l^ho/ from forty-ninety, and with the occurrence of the connective marker /no/ after the count of one hundred ten [aq^he no ʃiɣik^haq^hi] (hundred CONN eleven) ‘one hundred eleven’. The multiplicative is expressed by /yuthu/ and /kiɣisi/, and the approximate numeral is expressed by /k^hala/ ‘about’. The distributive

numeral is expressed by reduplicating the last syllable of the cardinal number for instance /lak^{hi}~k^{hi}/.

Chapter 6

In chapter six, an analysis of different types of ‘Word Formation’ is studied. This chapter is mainly divided into three groups i.e. derivation, compounding, and reduplication. The affixes that can lead to the formation of a new word are the prefixes /a-/ and /kv-/ and the suffixes /-vi/, /-sa/, and /fi/. Compounding of lexical classes are common in the case of [N + N = N], [N + V = N], [V + V = V] but not very productive on compounds such as [N + ADJ = N], [N + V = ADJ]. The Sümi exhibits both the endocentric-exocentric compound and the coordinate compound. The endocentric can further be differentiated according to the right-left headedness. Reduplication which is a common process of forming new words is discussed according to Anvita Abbi’s ‘Reduplication’ (1992), in terms of ‘Morphological reduplication’ and ‘Lexical reduplication’. The type of morphological reduplication is expressive formed through different senses like; sight, touch, feeling, and sounds made by; natural phenomena, humans, animals, and inanimate entities. It is observed that the lexical classes of nouns (completely), verbs (partially and completely), and adjectives (partially) in Sümi can be reduplicated. It also exhibits two processes of echo formation; a) partial repetition of the base with change in the medial consonant, b) partial repetition of the base with change in the second syllable. The compound formation is also present in Sümi where the words are analyzed according to the semantically identical pair occurring together and not due to the repetition of a word. Also like any other language, the Sümi also have borrowed words infused into their vocabulary and the borrowed words are mainly from two languages; English and Hindi.

Chapter 7

The last chapter which is chapter 7 gives a brief account of all the findings from chapters one to seven. Here only a few points are highlighted without going into any further details, along with a concluding note.

7.2 Concluding note

Set on a timeframe, the findings, and analysis that is discussed here does not cover a wide range of Morphology, however, I hope this dissertation will be of help in providing first-hand information for further exploration and research work, considering the fact that many aspects on Morphology are yet to be analyzed in depth.

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