DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF POULA

THESIS SUBMITTED TO NAGALAND UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILMEMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT

FOR THE AWARD OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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2024

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I, **Ms. Vibeituonuo Mere**, hereby declare that the subject matter of my thesis entitled "Descriptive Grammar of Poula" is the bonafide record of work done by me under the supervision of Dr. Imlienla Imchen, Centre for Naga Tribal Language Studies, Nagaland University. That the contents of this thesis did not form the basis of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anyone else, and that this thesis 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 thesis is being submitted to Nagaland University for the fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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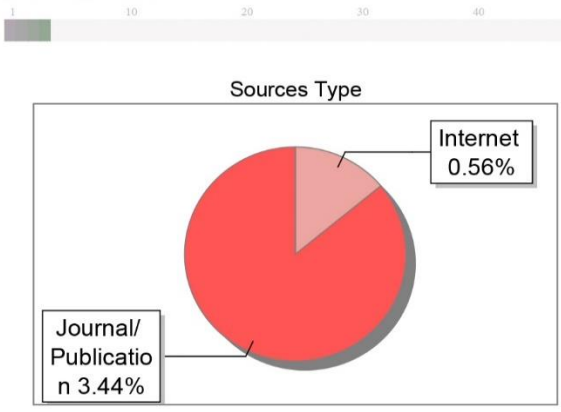

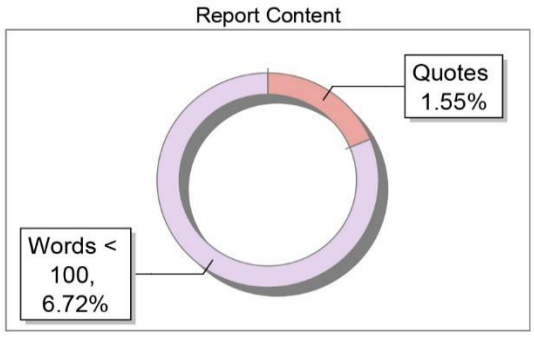

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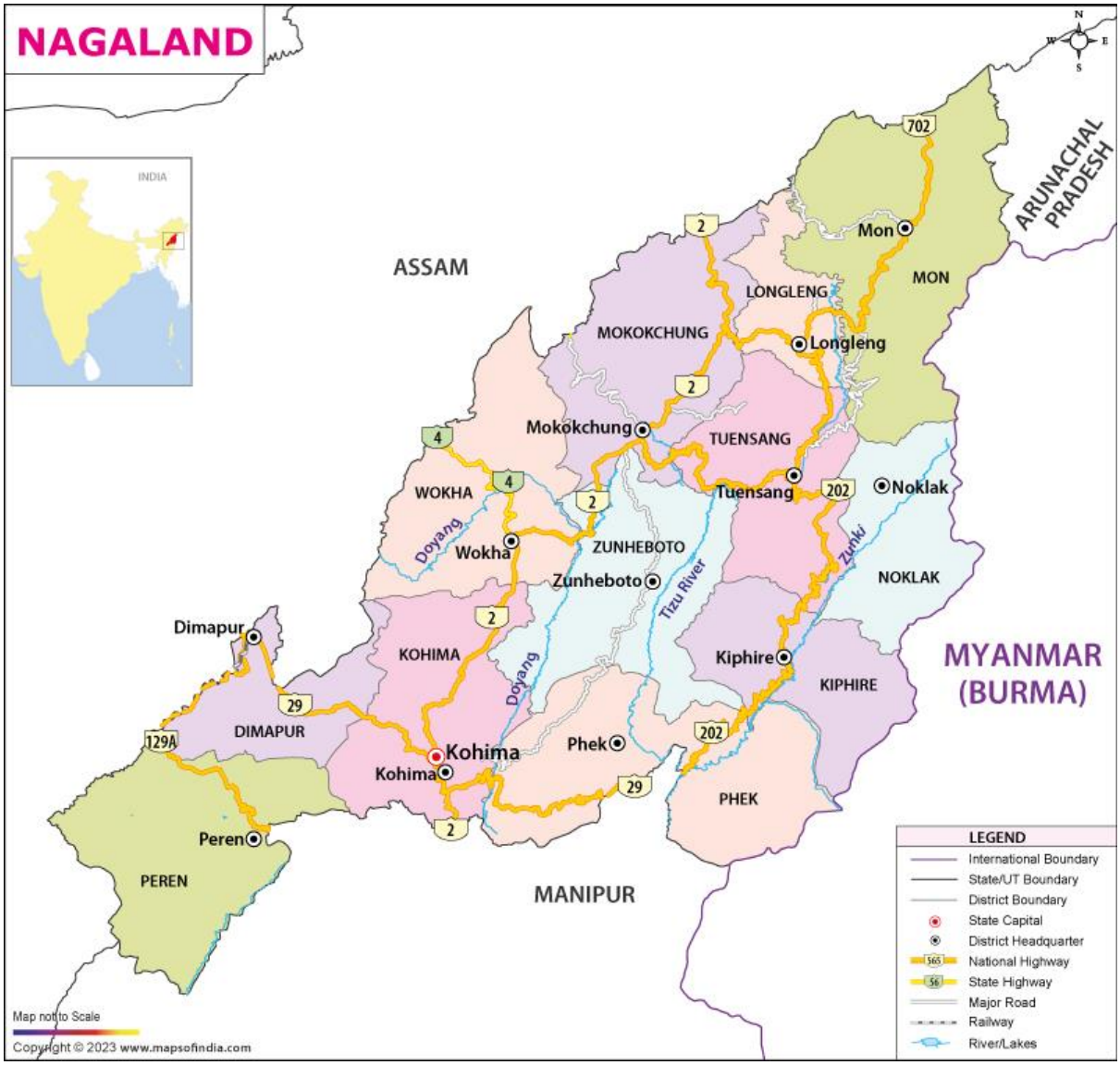
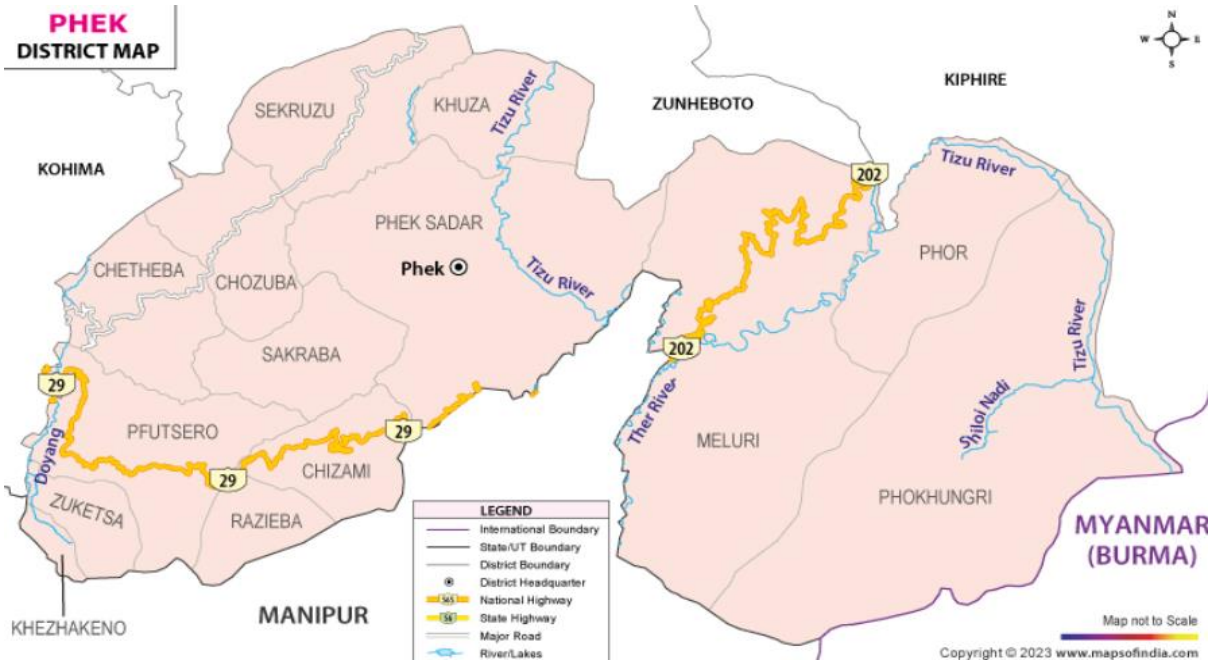
MAP OF NAGALAND



MAP OF PHEK DISTRICT



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
ADDI	Additive
ADJ	Adjective
AUG	Augmentative
BEN	Benefactive
CAPMOD	Capabilitive Model
CAUS	Causative
CLF	Classifier
COM	Comitative
COMPL	Completive
CONN	Connective
COMP	Complementizer
COND	Condition
CONJ	Conjunctive Participle
CUST	Customary
DAT	Dative
DEF	Definite
DET	Determiner
DEM	Demonstrative
DSD	Desiderative
DUB	Dubitative

EVID	Evidential
EXST	Existential
F	Female
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
HAB	Habitual
HM	Human Marker
IMP	Imperative
INCHO	Inchoactive
INCOMPL	Incompletive
INDF	Indefinite
INST	Instrumental
INT	Intentive
LOC	Locative
M	Male
N	Noun
NAR	Narrative
NEG	Negative
NMLZ	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
OB	Other Benefactive
OBLI	Obligatory
OPT	Optative
PASS	Passivizer
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
PN	Personal Pronoun

POSS	Possessive
PP	Postposition
PRES	Present
PRF	Perfective
PROB	Probability
PROG	Progressive
PROX	Proximate
PST	Past
PURP	Purposive
PTCL	Particle
QST	Question
RECP	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive
REM	Remote
REQ	Request
SG	Singular

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The People and the Language

Poula is spoken in the states of Manipur and Nagaland. The language is particularly spoken by the Poumai in the Senapati district of Manipur and the Chakhesang in Phek district of Nagaland. This research study is based on the variety of Poula spoken in Phek district of Nagaland. The Poula speakers in Nagaland are the inhabitants of three villages namely- Zhavame (Zhamei), Zelome, Tsüpfüme (Chobama), and the town of Razeba. Poula language spoken in Nagaland is not used in any educational institutions. The people or the language that the native speakers call is 'poula' /pula/ which other neighbouring communities especially Chokri and Khezha called it 'sapou' /sapu/. Though Poula is a sub-ethnic group of the Chakhesangs, its language does not have mutual intelligibility with the neighbouring languages within the same community. It was only in 1963 after Nagaland got its Statehood that these three villages of the Poumais were brought under the Nagaland geographical boundary under Phek district and the language recognized as a variety of Chakhesang. There are approximately 6000-10,000 Poula speakers in Nagaland[1] (no official census report).

1.1.1 Name of the Community

Chakhesang is a unique group among the Nagas. The name Chakhesang is of three acronyms; *'Cha'* stands for Chokri, *'Khe'* for Khezha and *'Sang'* for Sangtam (Pochury) respectively, but the recognition of Sangtam as a separate tribe did not disturb the original word *'Chakhesang'* till today. However, the Pochury group identified their ethnicity and received recognition from the Government of Nagaland rather than the erstwhile name *Sangtam*. On the other hand, the Razeba range, which consists of three villages and a town and ethnically of Poumai community, a sub-group of Tenyimi community, speaks a language variety called Poula variety. It is neither of Khezha nor Chokri variety in terms of language use. In the like manner, the people understand and identified themselves to be from the Poumai community.

[1] https://en.m.wikipedia.org>wiki

1.1.2 Origin and History of Poumai

The term *'pou'* refers to the name of great-great-grandfather from whom all Poumais were believed to have descended, and the term *'mai'* means person. The main language spoken in Razeba range is Poula.

The Poumai oral tradition's narrative on their migration holds the view that the roots of the tribe originated when one of their forefathers thrust his walking stick on the ground at the meeting place. In due course of time, it is believed that this stick took root and sprouted into large tree (wild pear) and was called "Khyataobi". The people of Khyako, called "Tenyimia" by the people of Nagaland, hold this tree in reverence till today and in the event of any branches breaking, they observe *genna* with all solemnity.

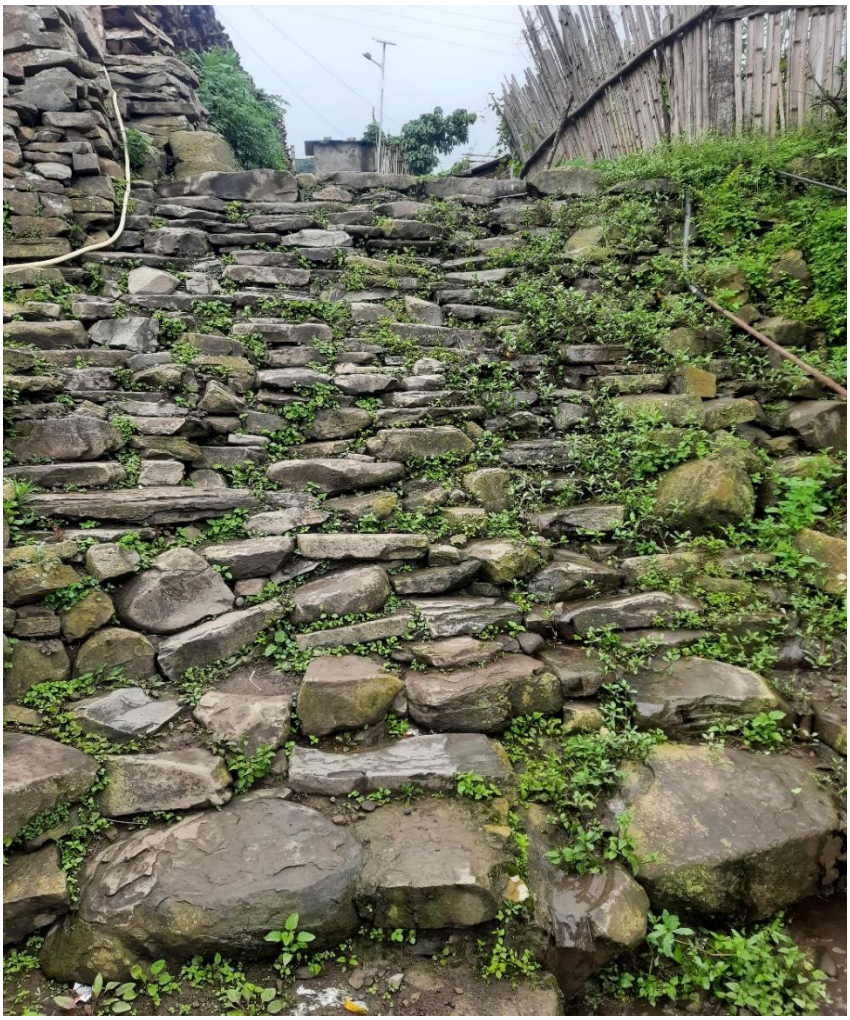


Figure 1.1 An image of the traditional style of footsteps

In the wake of this migration, the Makhel[2] community today is scattered over different geographical areas. Some have settled in different parts of Manipur while others have settled in Nagaland and elsewhere.

1.1.3 Migration History[3]

Tsüpfüme Village: Tsüpfüme which was also known as Chobama is situated in the southeastern part of Phek district. The name of the village is derived from the forefather's name Atsü. 'Tsü' denotes the forefather's name, 'pfü' means land or plot, and 'me' means people. According to oral tradition, the Lea lineages who are the progenitors of Atsü established the village. The migration started from Maikhel (Müchafü). It was told that the ancestors stayed at *Leshemi* for a brief period, and then moved northeast and settled in the present village site. After settling at Tsüpfüme, the forefathers however tried to settle at the other three sites but could not succeed due to various adverse reasons. Post their attempt to settle at *Paopaopfü, Nakhaokhaopfü* and *Pfürimütao*, they returned to the first site where the present village is located.

Figure 1.2 A Traditional Kitchen set up at Zhavame Village

[2] Believed to be the birth place of the Tenyimia

[3] The migration history was primarily passed down through oral narration by village elders, some details were also extracted from written sources.

Zelome Village: Zelome village is situated at the foothills of mt. Kapamodzu, under Phek district. The name of the village is derived from three words, '*ze'* which means Lake, '*lo'* meaning 'by the Side', and '*me'* means people. Thus, the literal meaning of Zelome means

Figure 1.3 Man Weaving a Granary Basket

People who settled by the side of the lake. According to oral traditions, the native people migrated from Maikhel (Müchafü). During the process of migration, the people reached a place called *Muzepfü* which means a *Place of salt water spring or enchanted lake*. Today the lake is known as *Soumuze*, different animals and birds visit the lake to quench their thirst. As Nagas

were fast engaged in war, they found Müzepfü to be a natural defense and a safe harbor to life as it is shaped in a bowled mountainside valley which makes the enemies difficult to attack the village. However, with the growing of population, the area became inadequate for settlement because of insufficient space for cultivation, therefore, the villagers abandoned the place and shifted to the present location.

Zhavame Village: Zhavame is situated at the foothills of Mt. Kapamodzü range located in the southern part of Nagaland bordering Manipur state. The village was called as 'Raziemia' by the Angamis, and 'Zhawami' in Khezha and 'Rüzami' in Chokri. Officially it is recognized as Zhavame (Zhamai). Zhavame means 'people of the enchanted lake'. It is known through oral tradition that the Zhavame ancestors also migrated from Maikhel (Müchafü). Zhavame was the largest village in the Chakhesang area in terms of population as per the 1951 census. However, during the Naga freedom struggle a lot of lives were lost to an epidemic in 1956-57[4]. In the present day, it still remains a major village in Phek district.)

Razeba: The name Razeba is derived from the names of the three villages, 'Ra' from Raziemia (Zhavame), 'Ze' from Zelome and 'Ba' from Chobama (Tsüpfüme). Razeba is also known as Dupazu, 'Dupa' meaning Rhododendron and 'zu' means view, literally it means the Land of Rhododendron. Razeba is a small administrative outpost under an Extra Assistant Commissioner which is inhabited by a mixture of people from the three villages (Zelome, Tsüpfüme and Zhavame). Gradually the population increased as people from the villages began to settle at Razeba town for better communication with the neighboring villages and mainly for education purpose.

1.1.4 Social and Cultural Setup

Although there were no written records of the administration system, the formed of administration the villagers' practice since the ancient time was very systematic in nature. *'Muovu'* is the head of the village which gives final authority for decision-making regarding cultivation, making war and peace with other people, observing taboos, and festivals and performed rituals for the village. Regarding the legal system, *'Zaochime'* who were considered as 'Elites' of the village will always deal with legal issues. They enact laws and put them into

[4] 'During the Naga Political issue, Indian army burnt down the whole village, the villagers lived in the forest for two years. There was an epidemic outbreak in the year 1956 and 1957. The epidemic came as a very strong wave which took many lives. A maximum of 14 people died per day which amount to a total of around 719 deaths in two years.' (Source: Narrated by Shri P. Paul Dukru, 19th Aug, 2022 at Zhavame Village).

action and they were highly respected by the society. The title of *'Zaochime'* was given prior to those persons who offered [5] *'Trazho'*. With the coming of Christianity and modern education system the living standards of the people gradually started to transformed. Though still there are some animist believers, there is no more *Muvu* as such. Instead, village administrations are under the control of the village council body today.

Mozhobu- *moʒobu* is a watch tower built to create an elevated observation point. It differs from a regular watch tower in that its primary use is for the military. The watch towers were used to watch enemy movements and transmit signals. When the sentinel on the tower saw the enemy approach, he sent signals to the villagers.

Figure 1.4 Watch tower *Mozhobu* at Zhavame Village (Photo Courtesy: Bunyi Krocha)

Its main purpose is to provide a high, safe place from which a sentinel or guard may observe the surrounding area. The role of the sentinel is to stand on the tower until it is dark. During those days women and outsiders were forbidden to even step on the tower. However, with time, it is now used as a gathering place where the elders gather there and practice their culture of storytelling.

Poro- In the olden days when war was prominent, every village intended to suppress or eradicate its neighboring village for prestige. To go to war, *poɹo* who is regarded as sacred performs some kind of ritual where he calls two young men to stand in opposite directions. He placed the bamboo in horizontal position on either sides and chant some words. The bamboos

[5] Merit Feast

represent the two villages that will meet in the war. It was believed that if the left side of the bamboo bends towards the right side, then Poro will predict that the war will be won by the village which is represented by the left bamboo and vice versa. Besides military prediction, Poro also makes predictions for hunting as well. If the villagers want to go wild animal hunting, they will come to Poro to ask whether they will be able to hunt any wild animals.

Mouvu- *muvu* is a stone which is considered as sacred by the villagers, this stone is carefully fenced by wooden blocks. The chieftain of the village stands on the stone to make necessary announcements for the village. Except for the chieftain, no other person is allowed to stand on it or enter the fence. If any commoner unintentionally stands on it then the whole village observed gena as a sign of purifying the sacred stone.

Figure 1.5 The sacred stone *Mouvu*

1.1.5 Population

The population of Razeba range based on 2011 General census report.

Table 1.1 Population of Razeba (2011 GCR)

Description	Zhavame	Zelome	Tsüpfüme	Razeba
Household	**637**	**236**	**260**	**172**
Population	**3208**	**1076**	**1070**	**780**
Male:	**1642**	**552**	**570**	**407**
Female:	**1566**	**524**	**500**	**373**
Children (0-6):	**746**		**201**	
Sex Ratio	**954**	**949**	**877**	
Children (0-6)	**870**	**1061**	**634**	
Literacy rate (%)	**72.75%**	**64.65%**	**75.37%**	**75.45%**
Male:	**83.43%**	**71.59%**	**81.21%**	**86.78%**
Female:	**61.85%**	**57.14%**	**69.19%**	**63.13%**

1.1.6 Geographical Location

Phek is one of the major districts in Nagaland with a total population of 163,294 (2011 census). It was established in 1973, and is located in the southern part of Nagaland, bounded by Myanmar in the east, Zunheboto and Tuensang district in the north, Manipur state in the south and Kohima district in the west. The name Phek comes from the word *Phekrekedze*, meaning watch tower. Phek district is a mountainous region with Zanibu as its highest mountain peak (2,400 m). The district headquarters lies at the lowest altitude 1,524 m above sea level with the town of Pfutsero at the highest point 2,136 m above. The largest river of the district are the Tizu, Lanyi, Arachu, and the three most important lakes are the Shilloi, Chida and Dzudu. The summers are moderately warm with the average temperature being 27˚C- 32˚C. Monsoon starts towards the end of May, and is over by the end of September. Winters are extensively cold and the temperature dropped down to 0˚C. Agriculture is the main occupation with Terrace cultivation as the most predominant. Jhum cultivation is also a common practice. The festivals of Shükhrünyie, Yemshe, Tsükhrünyie, and Nazhü are celebrated in Phek District. The

education sector comprises of 116 Primary schools, 46 Middle schools, 18 High schools, one Higher secondary school and three colleges. The languages spoken in this district are; Chokri, Khezha, Pochuri and Poula.

Razeba[6] range is under Phek district, which falls under the Secheku area of Chakhesang tribe. It is located in the South Eastern part of Nagaland with an altitude of 156 meters above sea level and a humidity of 91%. It is located 75km away from the State capital Kohima[7].

1.1.7 Economy

The main economy of the villagers is agriculture and traditional terrace cultivation. Villagers were considered wealthy according to their paddy fields or rice they have stored. The Scientific and systematic architecture of paddy rice fields with brilliant water management which had been passed on from generations is the oldest and most traditional method of agriculture and is still the favorite for the farmers of the people. Cultivation of millets, maize, pumpkin, sweet potato, etc are one of the main economies in early days. The main Economy of the people is from the cultivation of Agriculture.

1.1.8 Festivals

Thüni Festival: For the Poumai Chakhesang from Razeba range, 'Thüni' *tʰəni* festival is the most prominent festival observed during the early part of January from 5th –10th every year. Literally, *Thü* means new and *Ni* means Festival, hence, it is a celebration of new things whether it comes in the form of fruits, vegetables, paddy, etc. It also signifies the heralding of New Year. During these six days of festival, the 'Feast of Merit' is performed by those who have announced it prior to the observance of the festival. One of the rituals performed during the occasion also include distribution of *Zaochisü/i* (pork fat) to those who have already performed the Feast of Merit. Meanwhile, *Thükhra sü* is further given to those who help them either materially or financially, and specifically paddy as gifts to the host. The finest local wine is also brewed during this time by the female members in honor of their brothers and male members of the family. The festival also involves pulling and laying of monoliths – *Thühü sü* to signify that they have performed the feast of merit. Anybody who has performed the feast is entitled to wear the prestigious shawls, *Hapidasa* and *Saparadu* and also entitled to use *Kike*

[6] an acronym of the word 'Ra' from 'Raziemia' (Zhavame), 'Ze' from 'Zelome' and 'Ba' from 'Chobama' (now Tsüpfüme')
[7] https://phek.nic.in/how-to-reach/

and *Hapiteh* to adorn their traditional homes. *Thüni* festival is celebrated with great solemnity, on this day every young and old are dressed up in beautiful traditional attires. In Olden days, it involves a series of rituals and ceremonies which are reduced to a great extend now owing to the advent of Christianity.

Naoni/Laoni Festival: In this festival, the villagers will celebrate the completion of paddy saplings transplantation. This festival lasted for five days indicating different traditional rituals.

1.1.9 Marriage Rituals

As far as marriage is concerned, the tribe practice exogamy where people of the same clan do not marry each other[8]. Before the coming of Christianity, marriage ceremonies were quite unembellished. There are two types of marriage: arrange marriage and elope. Arrange marriage was carried out by firstly approaching the parents and relatives and if they agree to the proposal, they approach the woman. They follow dowry system where the bride's family pay the groom or his family in terms of land, field or domestic animal at the time of marriage. It is enthralling to know that each year all the marriages were fixed in the month of *domi* (November) on a particular date, and despite the number of marriages, all were arranged on the same day. It is mandatory for a woman to weave a shawl for her husband. On the wedding day, the brothers and aunts of the bride escorted her to the groom's house. On reaching the house, an elder shout saying *'place an axe in front of the door'* then someone from inside bring an axe and place it in front of the door. While entering, the woman step on the axe with her right foot and say *humonyie*[9] which means to live a peaceful life. Every village entrust a bridesmaid to accompany the bride for five days and to show the village around. During these five days, no one not even the groom is allowed to touch the bride. The first day is known as *sabu* which refers to the groom bringing a new bride. The second day is called *muthaodao* which refers to the assignment of spot to make hearth in the kitchen. The third day is known as *muthaosho* which implies to the three stones erected for hearth. The fourth day is known as *pfüpukino*, on this day the married couples go to the field of the bride's parents and work as a part of the five-day ritual. The last day of the ritual is known as *kihükhao*, on this day, the bride throws a feast to her in-laws. After the completion of the five-day rituals the couples were officially announced as husband and wife. During this ritual, there are certain obligations which the couple must adhere to. They must always keep the flame in the hearth burning and if it dies off, then they

[8] It is believed to face misfortune and considered as taboo to marry the same clan.
[9] 'ŋ̊ʰu' meaning *iron* and 'monyie' meaning *soft.*

are required to get divorce. There are also certain compulsion factors which leads to divorce during this ritual. If any part of the woman's garment or shawl gets burnt or if any of the three stones erected in the hearth breaks then they are liable for divorce (as it is believed that certain things bring misfortune). During those days only married women can grow their hair, therefore some women in order to grow their hair, they intentionally make those mistakes and then divorce. Unlike the present day, women preferred widow over married life.[10]

Elope: Like any other times, elope was considered as a part of marriage. Their believe in eloping was that when two people elope, they become poor and barren. After eloping, they come back home and a separate ritual is arranged for them where they fast for a day (they can drink only rice beer), and after the ritual is over, they live together as husband and wife. Marriage between two people was settled only by the two families. This was how marriage rituals were done.

1.1.10 Death Rituals

Ranalume is the term used to refer to the ancestor's religion. *Kharhaume* is responsible for all the death ceremonies. When a person dies, he searches for a spot to bury the death body. However, the spot is not selected randomly, he uses a type leaf called *alü* and tear it into half and place it on his palm with one piece facing the palm and the other piece facing the sky to check whether the spot has ever been used to bury a body. If the leaves remain the same then it means the spot is unused and it can be used to bury the dead body. If the leaves moves then it means a dead body has already been buried in that spot so he will search for another spot. On that day, the bereaved family kill buffalo(s), cook the meat and distribute to the people, this practice is known as *prafou.* It is taboo for the family to eat leftover meat and thus they throw it away on the next day, this is known as *khamonyie.* After burying the death body, *khaorhaeme* erect a stick on the grave and he kill a chick and place it on top of the stick. The death ritual is observed for a period of nine months and during this period, the bereaved family members will eat only domestic animals. Wild meat or flesh is totally prohibited. After nine months, *khaorhaeme* comes back and perform the last ritual for the deceased. On this day, the deceased family throw a feast to their relatives and *khaorhaeme* declares the end of the ritual. Fasting during the death ritual is based on which family member has dies. If any of the parents die, the family members fast for five days and if any of the children die, the remaining family members

[10] Source: Shri P.Paul Dukru (Zhavame Village).

fast for three days. These fasting days are observed sacredly and no one from the family is allowed to go to field during the entire process of ritual.

1.2 Status of the Language and Literature

Poula does not have any written text or literature but with the initiative of Chakhesang Public Organization (CPO), the research committee have printed out a small booklet in 2018, called *'Path Finder of Chakhesang Languages'* or *'A simple and Comparative Study of Chakhesang Languages'*. This book comprises of some few information on Poula. Except for Catholic churches, the other denominations use Tenyidie Bible and Hymnal in churches. Pertaining to the difficulties in communicating with the congregations during worship services, the Catholic churches formed a committee to bring out a medium for better understanding in worship which was a long-felt need. Having felt the need to use the mother tongue in worship services, since long time back, they have been using printed leaflets and booklets in prayers and a few hymns in Poula. In the year 2019, a board of nine members came together and translated a Hymnal book in Poula called '*Müpao Sholü'*. The most recent work on the language was a *'Primer in Chakhesang Poula'* which was published by Razeba Public Organization (RPO) in 2021.

Though Poula is a recognized language by the government there is still no written literature as the language still remains unexplored. It is not been taught in educational institutions since there is no written text from the language that can be taught.

1.2.1 Oral Literature

The only form of education was through oral tradition that was passed down from generation to generation traditionally from the Morung called [11]*Khrukizü* and *Loükizü*. In this traditional education, all the unmarried youths in the village groups come together and learn from the guidance of the elders of the village. The three most valued commandments for those days were *Anoü* 'taboo', *Khaopri* 'fear' and *Arhäo* 'shame' which was strictly maintained by villagers. These three words of oral tradition are still valued even in this modern world. These Morung were the foundation of traditional education, this was the only source of education in the village till the early part of the 19th century when it was gradually introduced to formal education.

[11] It was the only form of education where folktales, folksongs, craft and skills, traditional values, customary laws were taught orally.

1.2.2 Genetic Classification

Genetic classification is a type of classification which groups languages into families according to their degree of diachronic relatedness. The North-eastern group includes Shafer's Baric group, also known as Benedicts's Bodo-Garo-Konyak group, now usually known as the Sal group from a name suggested by Burling (1983b); plus the Jinghpaw (Kachin) and Sak or Luish group; it has some lexical peculiarities not shared with other TB languages. The south-eastern group includes Shafer's Kukish/Benedict's Kuki-Chin (Southern) Naga; the Burmese-Lolo subgroup; and the Karen subgroup.

Poula is classified as a member of the Angami-Pochuri group, which is considered to be a sub-branch of Kuki-Chin (Lewis et al. 2013). However, Poula has not been mentioned in the classification of language by Benedict: 1972, Matisoff: 1978, Bradley: 2002, George van Driem: 2011, however, we can somehow group Poula within the Chakhesang group.

Given below *(Fig. 1.6, Fig. 1.7)* are the genetic classification of Kuki-Chin Naga given by Bradley (1997). Bradley (1997) grouped Ao, Sangtam, Lotha, Yimchungur, Ntenyi/Meluri, Tangkhul, Maring, Sema, Angami (Tenyidie), Chakhesang -Chokri, Khezha, Mao, Rengma, Maram, Zeliangrong, Mzieme, Zeme, Liangmai, Puirooh and Nruanghmei within the 'Southern Naga' group, sub group of a larger Kuki-Chin Naga grouping. Later he made a modification in the classification where he placed Poula (Poumai) within the Chakhesang group where Chokri and Khezha were placed *(Fig. 3)* under the Southern Naga.

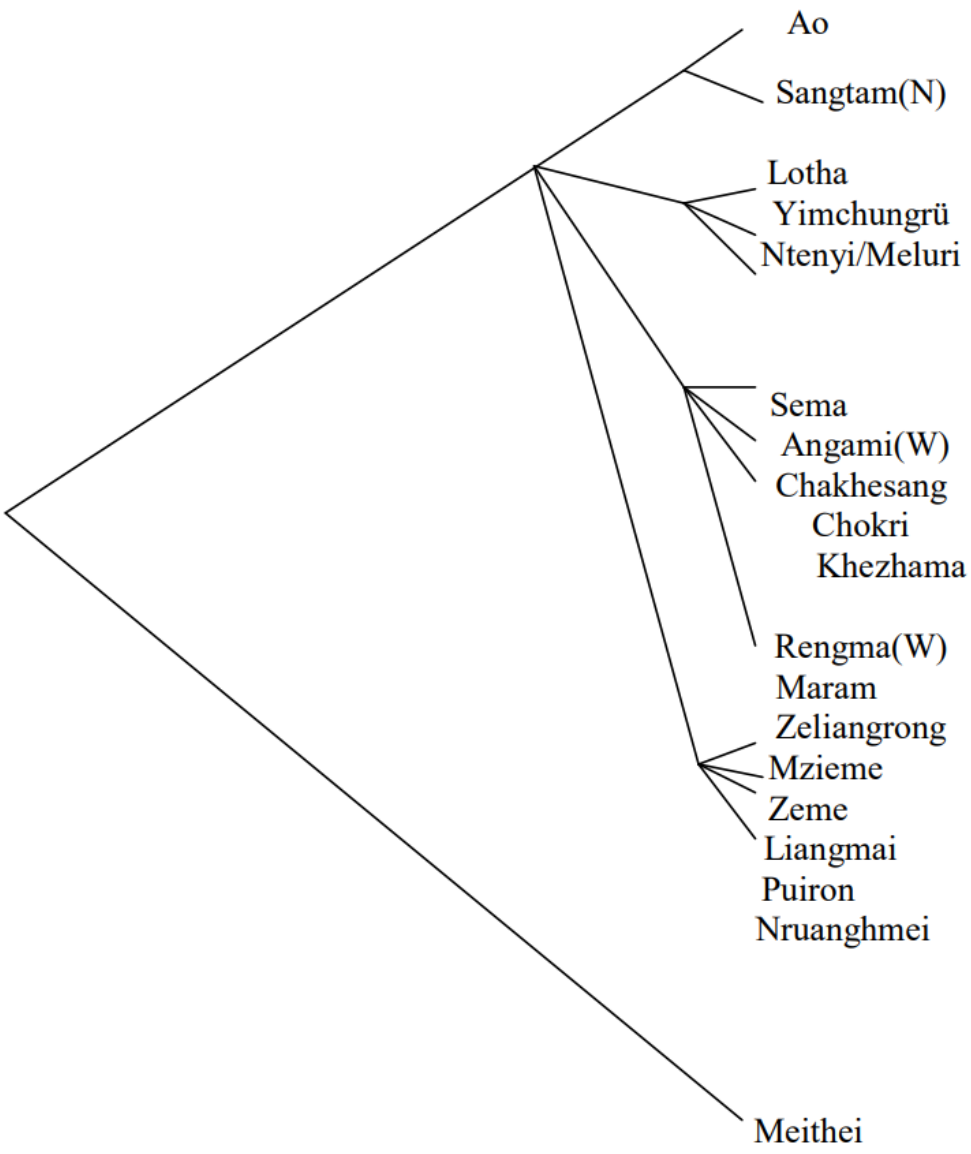


Figure 1.6 Genetic classification of Naga Kuki-Chin (Southern group) languages according to Bradley (1997:28)

In the figure given below, Bradley's modified version of the classification (1997) he placed Ao, Sangtam (N), Lotha, Yimchungrü, Ntenyi/Meluri, Tangkhul, Maring, Sema, Angami (W), Chakhesang-Chokri, Kezhama (Khezha), **Poula/Poumai** and Mao within the Southern Naga group.

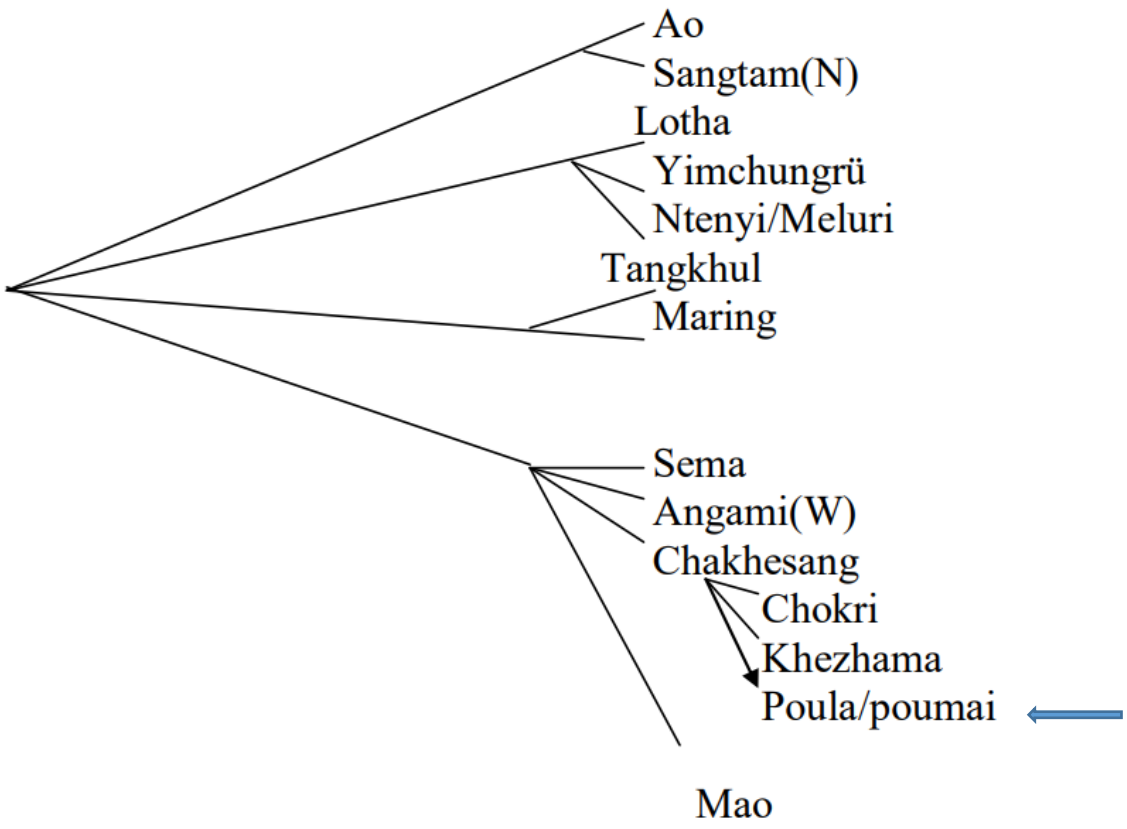


Fig. 1.7 Genetic classification Kuki-Chin Naga (modified) Bradly 1997

1.2.3 Statement of the Problem

As elucidated above, this variety of Poula is spoken in only three villages and one town under Phek district. Given this precarious situation, it has become the need of the hour to document the prevailing linguistic condition of Poula as manifest in Nagaland. Given the few numbers of villages where it is spoken, and with literally no work done in this language, the language runs the risk of becoming extremely marginalized and if nothing is done, it will gradually lead to language endangerment. Though the variety is orally active in its usage, there were no written text to referred to as a secondary source and the limited amount of information was a major problem. Additionally, this study will immensely benefit the language community as well as carve trends in studying other aspects of Poula language and culture.

1.2.4 Objectives

The objective of undertaking this research is to comprehensively document and analyze the linguistic structure of Poula. By providing a detailed account of Poula's phonology,

morphology and syntax. While this study aims to comprehensively document and analyze the linguistic structure of the Poula language, it covers only a small aspect of the broader field of linguistics and therefore, further research is required. Through this work, it is hoped that Poula speakers, linguists, and researchers will gain a deeper understanding of the language, ultimately aiding in its revitalization and continued use in both spoken and written contexts.

1.2.5 Significance of the Study

This study entitled *"Descriptive Grammar of Poula"* will provide a detailed description of the structure of Poula dialect spoken by the Chakhesang tribe in the Phek district. Chakhesang is one of the recognized tribes of Nagaland, and has three language varieties namely- Chokri, Khezha and Poula. Up to date, there are many literary works done on Chokri and Khezha, but Poula remains an unexplored and undocumented dialect. The distribution of Poula dialect under the Phek district is limited to only three villages, which shows a scanty number of speakers. This dialect of Chakhesang is relatively unknown to even the other Naga language communities.

This study therefore aims to document this very lesser-known dialect of the Chakhesang tribe as manifest in Nagaland. It will encapsulate a wholistic paradigm which will include the study of the sound system, word structure and sentence formation subsisting in the Poula dialect.

Because of the limited number of speakers and with almost no literary work undertaken in the language in the context of Nagaland, this study becomes imperative in developing the dialect and bringing it at par with Khezha and Chokri.

1.2.6 Field Work and Methodology

This study was based on qualitative research method which includes both primary and secondary sources for data collection and analysis. Primary data were collected from native speakers of the community varying in gender, age and occupation by applying methods such as observation method, structured and unstructured interviews, and collection of community and personal narratives. Besides this, around 2319 word lists and 866 sentence lists were used to extract data in a structured environment. All the data incorporated in the thesis are first-hand information collected by the researcher. Secondary sources in the form of books, journals, articles, internet sources, official documents and related literature written on the tribe provide a frame of reference for obtaining information on the language and the people. The Zoom H4n Pro digital recorder was utilized to capture audio recordings. The recorded audio samples were

then analyzed using Praat software, to meticulously examine the acoustic properties of the sounds.

1.2.7 Delimitation

Poula dialect is spoken in two states of northeast India (Manipur and Nagaland). The majority of speakers inhabit the Senapati district in Manipur, while the speakers of Nagaland inhabit only four villages in the Phek district. This study has delimited its area into the variety spoken in these four villages in Nagaland.

1.2.8 Previous Work Done on Poula and Related Languages

The linguistic documentation of Poumai Naga languages is relatively scarce, with only a few notable exceptions done on the Manipur variety. Among these exceptions are the works of Veikho (2014), Veikho & Khyriem (2015), and Veikho & Sarmah (2018), which provide a foundational phonological description of Poula, including its consonants, vowels, and tones. Veikho (2021) builds upon previous works by expanding the findings through the recording of additional data and broadening the analysis.

The existing body of Chakhesang Poula literature remains unexplored, necessitating further research and analysis to comprehensively document and describe the linguistic features of the language.

1.2.9 Organization of the Study

The thesis is divided into 5 chapters, covering the aspects of Phonology, Morphology and Syntax. The first chapter gives general information about the language, the people, its population, culture, religion, economy and geographical location. The second chapter describes the Phonology of Poula which is further divided into two parts viz, Segmental Phonology and Suprasegmental Phonology. Segmental Phonology includes Consonants and Vowels. Suprasegmental Phonology deals with tone as well as the nature and structure of the syllable and the different types of syllables. Chapter three focuses on the Morphology of the language such as noun morphology, verb morphology, adjective morphology, adverb morphology. The study also looked into the word formation processes of the language. The fourth chapter discusses the syntax of the language. It deals with the different types of clauses, phrases and the types of sentences.

1.2.10 Overview of Literature

The review of literature for this study will consist of two modes: conceptual literature which will throw light on the available works done on descriptive grammar and literature on the tribe.

Descriptive grammar outlines the rules of a language based on actual usage, without making judgments about correctness. According to Kirk Hazen (2014), "Descriptive grammar does not give advice: it details the ways in which native speakers use their language. A descriptive grammar is a survey of a language. For any living language, a descriptive grammar from one century will differ from that of the next because the language will have changed"

Descriptive grammar lay out the grammatical elements and rules of a language as it is actually used. It refers to an objective, non judgemental description of grammatical constructions in speech. It looks at the way a language is actually used by its speakers and then attempts to analyse it and formulate rules about the structure (Eastern Michigan, 2019). It contains three main branches: Phonetics and Phonology, Morphology and Syntax.

"*The Handbook of Descriptive Linguistics Fieldwork*" (Chelliah & DeReuse, 2011) serves as a comprehensive guide for linguists conducting field research on languages that are not their native tongue. The handbook addresses common challenges faced by fieldworkers, particularly during the preparation phase of interviews with native speakers. It highlights the importance of considering socio-psychological factors—such as age, place of birth, and education—that influence linguistic behavior.

Phonetics is the study of human sounds, and *Phonology* is the classification of the sounds within the system of a particualr language or languages. The term 'Phonology' refers to the phonological system of a given language. Nikolai Trubetzkoy (1939) defines Phonology as "the study of sound pertaining to the system of language". This is one of the fundamental systems which a language is considered to comprise, like its syntax, its morphology and its vocabulary. Phonology analyzes the sound patterns of a particular language by determining which phonetic sounds are significant, and

explaining how these sounds are interpreted by the native speaker. It is a branch of Linguistics concerned with the systematic organization of sounds in spoken languages and signs in sign languages. Sign languages have a phonological system equivalent to the system of sounds in spoken languages. (Colin J. Ewen 1984)

Robert Jokobson, Morris Halle, Bloomfield, Pike and Hockett are some of the promiment theorists who applied the concept of Structuralism to phonology. The Sound Pattern of English (SPE) published by Noam Chomsky and his student Moris Halle is the theoretical framework underlying the generative phonology which is considered as the basis for analysing generative phonology.

"*The Syllable in Optimality Theory"*, edited by Caroline Fery and Ruben van de Vijver, offers an in-depth examination of the syllable's role within Optimality Theory (OT) and explores how OT can address issues related to syllable structure. The book highlights the growing importance of the syllable in phonological theory due to the recent advancements in OT. It emphasizes three main aspects: the enduring interest in the syllable, the capability of OT to address both longstanding and new issues in syllable analysis, and the way the syllable helps uncover and solve problems within OT. Through this focus, the book provides valuable insights into how OT can illuminate various aspects of syllable structure and phonological theory.

In "*Tone*", Moira Yip provides a comprehensive examination of tonal languages, where changes in pitch can alter word meanings. The initial chapters cover the basics of tone languages, including their production and grammatical structure, focusing on phonetics and phonology. Later chapters explore the prevalence of tonal languages globally, estimating that 60-70% of the world's languages may be tonal. Yip also discusses contrastive tone, tonal features, the autosegmental nature of tone, and its analysis through Optimality Theory. Additionally, she addresses the role of tone in morphology, syntax, stress, accent, and intonation.

In "*A Phonological Reconstruction of Proto-Central Naga*" (Brunh, 2014), the author provides a comprehensive study of the Central Naga group, which includes Ao, Lotha, Sangtam, and Yimchunger. The book reconstructs the phonology and lexicon of Proto-

Central Naga (PCN), a subset of Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nagaland, Northeast India. Brunh offers background information on the Central Naga languages and their history, detailing the linguistic sources used in the study. The initial chapters focus on the phonology and lexicon of Proto-Ao, including standard Chungli Ao, Mangmetong Mongsen Ao, and Proto-Ao. The reconstruction of Proto-Ao onsets and rimes is based on 386 cognate sets, and the book also explores the reconstructibility of the Proto-Ao tone system. Additionally, Brunh discusses sound changes from Proto-Tibeto-Burman to Proto-Ao and from Proto-Ao to the modern Ao languages.

In the later chapters, Brunh examines and reconstructs the phonology and lexicon of Proto-Central Naga (PCN). The study includes a detailed analysis of the phonological systems of Lotha, Sangtam, Yimchungrü, and Proto-Central Naga. It presents reconstructions of PCN rimes and onsets based on 268 cognate sets and discusses the prefixes used in these languages. Brunh provides an in-depth exploration of the sound changes from Proto-Tibeto-Burman to Proto-Central Naga and from Proto-Central Naga to Central Naga languages. The work concludes with an examination of the Central Naga group's position within the Tibeto-Burman family, focusing on shared phonological innovations to determine their historical and linguistic relationships.

Morphology is the study of the internal structure of words. August Schleicher (1859) named morphology as a sub-discipline of linguistics. Hockett, Nida, P.H. Matthews, Andrew Spencer are some of the eminent morphologists. David Crystal (2003) "Morphology means devising ways of describing the properties of such disparate items as a, horse, took, indescribable, washing machine, an antidisestablishmentarianism. A widely recognised approach divides the field into two domains: lexical or derivational morphology studies the way in which new items of vocabulary can be built up out of combinations of elements; inflectional morphologyy studies the ways words vary in their form in order to express a grammatical contrast (as in the case of horses, where the ending marks plurality)."

"What is Morphology?" by Mark Aronoff and Kristen Fudeman provides a comprehensive introduction to morphology, the branch of linguistics that studies the internal structure of words and their formation. Morphology investigates how words are

built from morphemes, the smallest units with grammatical function. The book explains that while morphemes are typically defined as the smallest linguistic units with a grammatical role, this definition may not encompass all morphemes.

The term “morph” refers to the phonological realization of a morpheme, such as the English past tense morpheme “-ed”, which can be pronounced as [t], [d], or [ɘd] depending on the preceding consonant. These variations are known as allomorphs or morphs, and their occurrence is influenced by factors like voicing and the place of articulation of the verb stem's final consonant.

The book also discusses the structure of words, including stems and affixes. Stems are the base morphemes to which affixes are attached, and affixes can be prefixes (e.g., re-), suffixes (e.g., -ation), infixes, or circumfixes. Infixes attach within a word rather than at its beginning or end, presenting challenges to traditional morpheme concepts.

Aronoff and Fudeman outline two main approaches to morphology: analysis and synthesis. The analytic approach, associated with early American structuralist linguistics, focuses on breaking words down into their components. The synthetic approach, often linked to theoretical frameworks, deals with how these components are combined and interpreted.

“Syntactic Structures” (1957) is a seminal work in linguistics by American linguist Noam Chomsky, introducing the concept of transformational generative grammar. This approach employs formal phrase structure rules to break down sentences into smaller components. These components are then combined with “transformations”, a new type of rule that generates various sentence structures. Chomsky's goal was to demonstrate that a finite set of rules can “generate” all and only the grammatical sentences of a language, despite their potentially infinite number. Additionally, Greenberg’s Universals will be used as a model where applicable.

In “Typology of Ergativity”, William B. McGregor explores the concept of ergativity, a linguistic pattern where the subject of a transitive clause is treated differently from the subject of an intransitive clause, which resembles the object of a transitive clause. The article examines how ergativity can be expressed through various aspects of language,

including morphology, lexicon, syntax, and discourse organization. McGregor provides a comprehensive overview of ergativity as it appears across different languages, with a particular focus on morphological ergativity, specifically in case-marking. The article sheds light on the diverse ways ergativity manifests and contributes to our understanding of its typological variations.

In "*Structural Description of Tenyidie: A Tibeto-Burman Language of Nagaland*", D. Kuolie provides a detailed analysis of Tenyidie grammar. The study identifies seven vowel systems (i, e, u, o, ə, ü, a), with contrasts based on tongue position, height, and lip rounding. Tenyidie features forty consonantal sounds, including aspirated counterparts, and five tonal contrasts: high, high-low, mid, low-high, and low. Frequency ranges in these tonal levels vary irregularly, with regular ascending pitch between low and low-high, and between low-high and mid. However, the frequency range between mid and high-low is notably low, while the range between high-low and high is high. Kuolie also extensively explores Tenyidie's morphology and syntax, covering topics such as noun morphology, case, tense, mood, aspect, phrase structure, clause structure, and sentence types.

In "*A Phonological and Phonetic Description of Sumi, A Tibeto-Burman Language of Nagaland*" (2014), Amos B. Teo provides a detailed analysis of both segmental and suprasegmental phonology in the Sumi language.

Teo's study begins with a phonemic inventory of Sumi, classifying consonant phonemes by their manner and place of articulation. Notably, Sumi features a voiced uvular stop, which is rare among Naga languages. The vowel system includes six contrasting vowels, similar to other languages in the Angami-Pochuri group, but does not include diphthongs. The study highlights phenomena such as vowel apocope and vowel syncope. Vowel apocope occurs exclusively after sonorants, where the tone of the final vowel is realized on the preceding sonorant. Vowel syncope happens when the initial syllable ends in a stop consonant or bilabial nasal, and also involves frequent word-medial vowel syncope and resyllabification in three-syllable words (C)VCVCV. However, vowel syncope does not occur if the second syllable's vowel is non-high.

Teo also details the distribution and levels of tone in Sumi, identifying three contrastive tones (L, H, M) that are freely distributed across vowel segments and after consonants. The study includes an analysis of pitch, the primary acoustic correlate of lexical tone in Sumi. Additionally, Teo examines morphotonemic tone variation in processes such as nominal compounding, verb nominalization, and agent noun formation.

In the later chapters, the book compares Sumi's phonology with other Tibeto-Burman languages of Nagaland, such as Khezha, Tenyidie, and Mao. It also provides a cross-linguistic comparison with languages from the Angami-Pochuri and Ao groups, discussing how Sumi's phonological features align with or differ from those of other Tibeto-Burman languages.

In the article "*Poula Phonetics and Phonology: An Initial Overview*" (2016), the authors focus on the Poula variety spoken in the Senapati district of Manipur. The study identifies 25 consonant phonemes in Poula, with most consonants being common to Tibeto-Burman languages, except for alveolar-palatal sibilants, which are unique to Poula in the region. Poula also features an aspirated voiceless velar nasal, a phoneme not found in other Tibeto-Burman languages of the area. To ensure accuracy in consonantal sounds, the study used spectrograms and acoustic waveforms, recording words in isolation to analyze voice onset time (VOT). The syllable structure in Poula was described with three types: V1, CV1, and CV1V2. The language does not have codas and imposes restrictions on consonant clusters in the onset position. Poula has four contrastive tones, although tone analysis was limited to monosyllabic words.

"Grammar of Poumai Naga" Sahiinii L.Veikho (2021), gave a detailed analysis of the grammar of Poula, where he records twenty two consonants and six monophthongs and five diphthongs. The absence of the back vowel [u] marks an intruiging gap in its phonology. He recorded five tones in the language, where the fifth tone ie,. the breathy tone is attested to only six syllables. The author grouped the grammatical categories based on their functions in discourse to represent meaning. Nouns and verbs are the two content word classes. There are neither 'adjective' nor 'adverb' word classes, however nominalised verbs may modify nouns and non-finite converbial verbs may modify verbs. Expressives are a part of the grammar and lexicon of Poula. As parts of speech,

expressives are verb modifiers which occur post-verbally. Unlike verbs and nominals, an expressive word in Poula cannot head a predicate or a noun phrase. In the later chapter, the process of nominalisation and the construction of relative clauses is addressed. The process of nominalisation is divided into two types; derivational nominalisation and clausal nominalisation. The author noted that the causative morpheme *pai* and verb modifiers are the only componants that occur before the head predicate. Additinally, it was mentioned that the categorizing verbs based on transitivity or valency is challenging due to the frequent use of zero anaphora in Poula. In the followig chapters, various types of clauses were discussed, the nonfinite dependent clauses primarily occuring to the left of the matrix clause. The morpheme *-ni* 'cvb' is the converbal marker, which is one of the markers for dependent clauses.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY OF POULA

2.1 Introduction

Hayes (2009) states that, Phonology is also, sometimes, an experimental science, though it also involves a fair degree of formal analysis and abstract theorizing. The primary data on which phonological theory rests are phonetic data, that is, observations of the phonetic form of utterances. The goal of phonology is to understand the tacit system of rules that the speaker uses in apprehending and manipulating the sounds of his/her language.

This chapter will provide the necessary background of the phonology of Poula in two major sections viz., Segmental Phonology and Suprasegmental Phonology. In the first section, segmental features like phonemes and allophones will be discussed. The second section will further look into the syllable structure and tones of Poula.

2.2 Segmental Phonology

This section presents an overview of the phonetic and phonemic inventories in Poula. §2.1.1 describes the consonants and the consonantal feature while §2.1.2 discusses the vowel phonemes and diphthongs in Poula. Further, §2.1.3 describes the phonotactics which includes syllable structure, consonant clusters, consonant sequences and vowel sequences.

2.2.1 Consonants

Ladefoged (2005), consonants are nearly always movements at the beginning or end of a vowel. Balasubramanian (2000), all sounds during the production of which we hear friction are consonants, but not all consonants are produced with friction. Consonants are classified along three dimensions: voicing, place of articulation and manner of articulation. In the production of consonant sounds, the air from the lungs escapes through the oral passage with friction and the nasal passage is completely blocked.

This study presents 30 consonant phonemes in Poula. The distinctions are made according to the place and manner of articulation. Place of articulation such as; bilabial, labio-dental, alveolar, post-alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. Manner of articulation such as; plosives, fricatives, affricates, nasals, lateral and approximant. Poula has eight plosives having three-

way contrast; bilabial, dental-alveolar and velar, /p, b/ /t, d/ /k/ /pʰ, tʰ, kʰ/. The voiced velar plosive[12] /g/ is absent in Poula thus, there is no corresponding voiced sound to /k/.

There are five nasals in Poula, and the sounds are distinguished based on the following places of articulation; bilabial nasal /m/, alveolar nasal /n/, palatal nasal /ɲ/, velar nasal /ŋ/ and aspirated voiceless velar nasal /ŋ̊ʰ/.

Fricatives are also distinguished based on the four places of articulation; labio-dental /f, v/; alveolar /s, z/; post-alveolar /ʃ, ʒ/; glottal /h/ and the voiceless retroflex fricative /ʂ/.

Affricates in Poula are alveolar affricates /ʦ, ʣ/, post-alveolar affricates /ʧ, ʤ/ and the voiceless aspirated counterpart /ʦʰ/ and /ʧʰ/.

Approximants in Poula are of different types; voiced alveolar approximant /ɹ/. Voiced alveolar lateral approximant /l/ and voiced bilabial approximant /w/.

Table 2.1 Poula Consonant Inventory

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiced (+) Unvoiced (-)	-v +v	-v +v	-v +v	-v +v		-v +v	-v +v	-v +v
Plosive	p b		t d				k	
Aspirated plosive	pʰ		tʰ				kʰ	
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ			h
Affricate Aspirated affricate			ʦ ʣ ʦʰ	ʧ ʤ ʧʰ				
Nasal	m		n			ɲ	ŋ̊ʰ ŋ	
Lateral Approximant			l					
Approximant	w		ɹ					

[12] The voiced velar plosive occurs only in borrowed words, eg: /gari/ 'vehicle' (source- Hindi)

2.2.1.1 Stops/Plosives

Many consonants are just ways of beginning or ending vowels. This is particularly true of consonants such as b, d, g, each of which has a rapid movement of the lips or tongue before or after another sound such as a vowel. They are called stop consonants because the air in the vocal tract is completely stopped at some point (Ladefoged & Disner, 2012, p.48).

Poula has eight phonemic stops /p/, /pʰ/, /b/, /t/, /tʰ/, /d/, /k/ and /kʰ/. Phoneme aspirations normally occur with voiceless stops in labial, alveolar and velar places of articulation. The voiceless aspirated stops /pʰ/, /tʰ/ and /kʰ/ occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions. Voiced stops do not have its aspirated counter parts and it also occurs word initially and word medially.

/p/: [p] is a voiceless bilabial plosive which is realized as [p], it occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/paomodu/ 'fault'	/asadʑəpa/ 'happiness'
/paomusi/ 'criticism'	/mepu/ 'groom'
/pekʰo/ 'sound'	/səpapitsume/ 'publisher'

/pʰ/: [pʰ] is a voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive, it is realized as [pʰ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/pʰutsu/ 'pride	/apʰu/ 'spade'
/pʰusi/ 'apple'	/ɹipʰautau/ 'camel'
/pʰimoja/ 'sock'	/kʰɹopʰao/ 'graveyard'

/b/: [b] is a voiced bilabial plosive, it is realized as [b]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/balə/ 'stay'	/risutsubu/ 'field'
/bamotsu/ 'fold (arm)'	/tʰubuvə/ 'grain sack'
/bako/ 'hour'	/trinaba/ 'butterfly'

/t/: [t] is a voiceless alveolar plosive, it is realized as [t]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/titʰɪə/ 'air'	/natə/ 'little'
/tihə/ 'cloud'	/ŋatitu/ 'mole'
/tizə/ 'dark'	/kʰatu/ 'bread'

/tʰ/: [tʰ] is a voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive, it is realized as [tʰ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/tʰaotə/ 'younger sister'	/mətitʰu/ 'heart'
/tʰubu/ 'rice'	/tatʰu/ 'pickle'
/tʰetsə/ 'pursue'	/datʰa/ 'butcher'

/d/: [d] is a voiced alveolar plosive, it is realized as [d]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/daoruki/ 'hospital'	/bedu/ 'cheek'
/duraʃi/ 'grape'	/mode/ 'greens'
/daotsu/ 'cutting'	/ɲiedu/ 'orange'

/k/: [k] is a voiceless velar plosive, it is realized as [k]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/ki/ 'house'	/zaoki/ 'aeroplane'
/kihupʰetsume/ 'sweeper'	/ʤəpikinitsume/ 'sailor'
/ko/ 'reason'	/ʤəpiki/ 'boat'

2.2.1.2 Fricatives

There are several consonants that are produced without vibrations of the vocal folds. In these consonants the noise is made by air being forced through a narrow gap (Ladefoged & Disner, 2012, p.55). Fricative sounds in Poula are relatively rich. There are eight fricative phonemes, out of which five are voiceless fricatives /f/, /s/, /ʃ/, /h/ and /ʂ/; three voiced fricatives /v/, /z/

and /ʒ/. All these fricatives occur word initially and word medially. Contrast of fricative sounds in Poula are given below:

/f/: [f] is a voiceless labiodental fricative, it is realized as [f]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/fomoʃi/ 'essence'	/səfəro/ 'body'
/fokutsu/ 'to hide'	/səfətsu/ 'breath'
/fəpə/ 'parents'	/batʰɹuafə/ 'bat'

/v/: [v] is a voiceless labiodental fricative, it is realized as [v]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/vi/ 'bull'	/levə/ 'comb'
/ve/ 'breakfast'	/ʤovə/ 'arm-pit'
/vitsu/ 'spine'	/kʰavu/ 'curry'

/s/: [s] is a voiceless alveolar sibilant fricative, it is realized as [s]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/sali/ 'frying pan'	/rasəʤə/ 'fruit juice'
/su/ 'pain'	/pisu/ 'headache'
/saləɹe/ 'adoption'	/asame/ 'friend'

/z/: [z] is a voiced alveolar sibilant fricative, it is realized as [z]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/zəpi/ 'to wrap'	/zezi/ 'surname'
/zi/ 'name'	/mozao/ 'swallow'
/zevi/ 'charming'	/ʂəze/ 'culture'

/ʃ/: [ʃ] is a voiceless postalveolar sibilant fricative, it is realized as [ʃ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ʃi/ ‘bad’	/muʃa/ ‘greed’
/ʃo/ ‘to produce sweat’	/ɪaʃɪ/ ‘ghost’
/ʃa/ ‘pest found in rice’	/səumoʃi/ ‘spoil’

/ʒ/: [ʒ] is a voiced postalveolar sibilant fricative, it is realized as [ʒ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ʒi/ ‘to sleep’	/baʒo/ ‘palm’
/ʒoʧo/ ‘similar’	/ʧaʒa/ ‘salary’
/ʒomu/ ‘flock’	/t^{h}eʒoɲo/ ‘deadly’

/**ʂ**/: [ʂ] is a voiceless retroflex fricative, it is realized a [ʂ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ʂu/ ‘perspiration’	/nameʂə/ ‘pregnant’
/ʂə/ ‘plan’	/meʂə/ ‘population’
/ʂəme/ ‘customer’	/taʂu/ ‘exhort’

/h/: [h] is a voiceless glottal fricative, it is realized as [h]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/hutsu/ ‘to blow’	/monaha/ ‘birthday’
/huk^{h}aki/ ‘jail’	/ɪuha/ ‘reputation’
/hat^{h}ə/ ‘to fast’	/ʒoha/ ‘busy’

2.2.1.3 Voiceless Retroflex Fricatives

The presence of the voiceless retroflex fricative [ʂ] in Poula, marks an interesting phonetic difference. This sound, which is not found in any of the Angami-Pochuri languages, adds to the unique phonetic inventory of Poula. The voiceless retroflex fricative sound is produced by constricting the airflow with the tongue tip curled back and raised toward the hard palate, creating a turbulent noise.

An acoustic waveform has been presented in **Figure (2.1)** and **Figure (2.2)** to contrast the voiceless retroflex fricative with the post-alveolar fricative. This comparison serves to highlight the distinctive acoustic properties of these two sounds, emphasizing their phonetic differentiation in Poula.

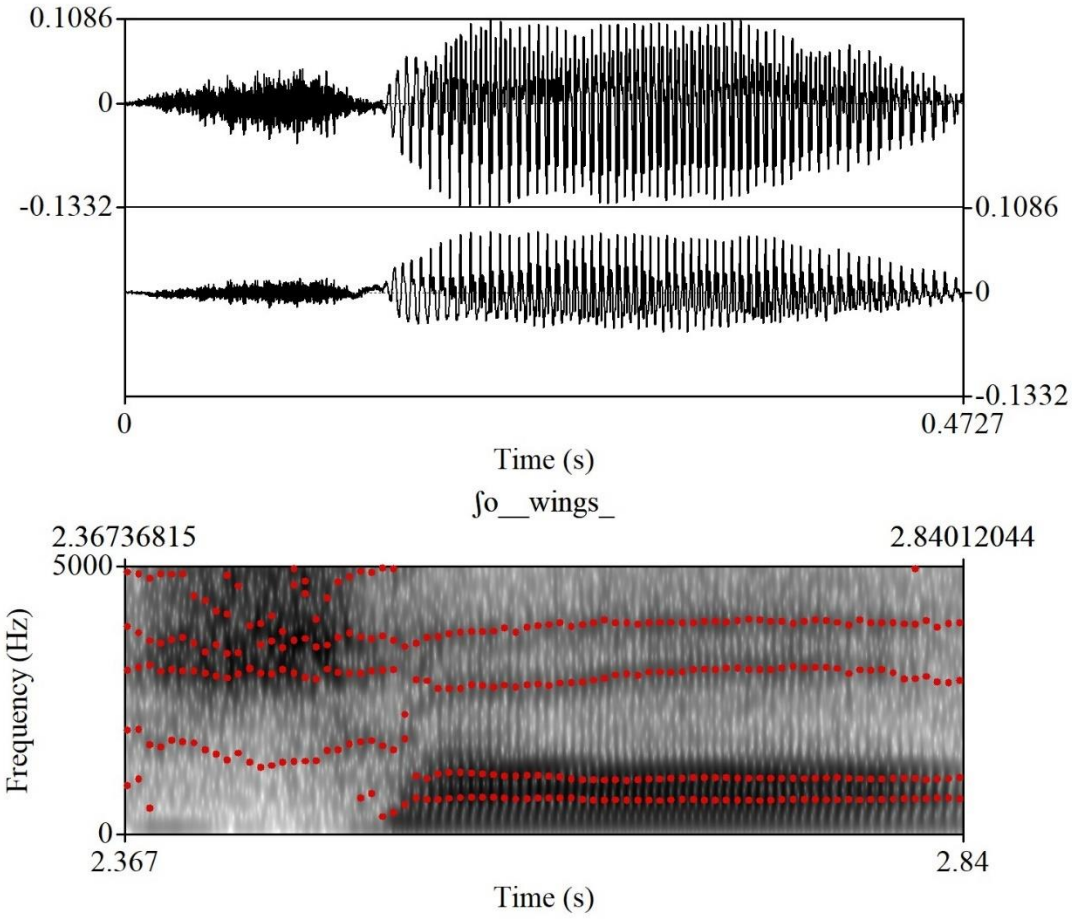


Figure 2.1 Spectrogram and acoustic waveform of Post Alveolar Fricative [ʃ]

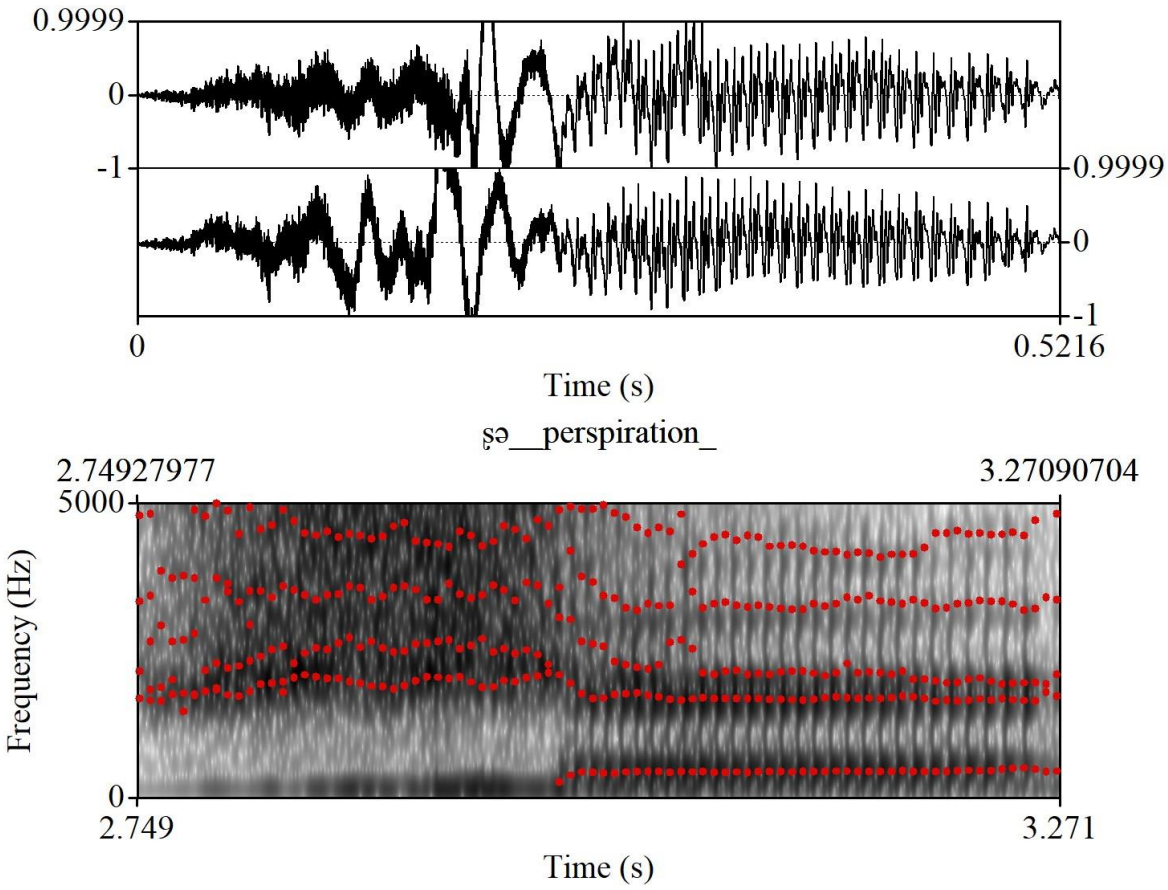


Figure 2.2 Spectrogram and acoustic waveform of Retroflex Fricative [ʂ]

The waveform of the voiceless retroflex fricative exhibit characteristics such as a relatively low frequency and a longer duration compared to the post-alveolar fricative. These differences in acoustic features contribute to the perceptual contrast between the two sounds in Poula, illustrating how subtle variations in sound production can result in distinct phonetic distinctions within a language.

2.2.1.4 Affricates

An affricate is a stop followed by a fricative, made at the same location in the mouth in rapid succession so that the result has the typical duration of a single speech sound. (Hayes, 2009, p.52). There are six affricate sounds in Poula. /ʦ/ is a voiceless alveolar affricate; /ʦʰ/ is an aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate; /ʣ/ is a voiced alveolar affricate; /ʧ/ is a post-alveolar

affricate; /ʧʰ/ is a voiceless aspirated post-alveolar fricative and /ʤ/ is a voiced post-alveolar affricate. All the affricate sounds occur in word-initial and word-medial positions.

/ʦ/: [ʦ] is a voiceless alveolar affricate, it is realized as [ʦ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/ʦa/ 'to tease'	/vuʦu/ 'to bury'
/ʦisa/ 'to obey'	/paʦu/ 'to bloom'
/ʦamuʦi/ 'to harvest'	/ziʦu/ 'to divide'

/ʦʰ/: [ʦʰ] is an aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate, it is realized as [ʦʰ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions. As illustrated in the examples below, the occurrence of this sound is limited exclusively to the numeral 'three'.

Initial	**Medial**
/ʦʰə/ 'three'	/aʦʰəna/ 'third'
	/kiaʦʰə / thirteen'
	/vuʦʰə/ 'thrice'

/ʤ/: [ʤ] is a voiced alveolar affricate, it is realized as [ʤ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/ʤəpʰi/ 'sorrow'	/muʤə/ 'urinate'
/ʤədəu/ 'stable'	/hiʤə/ 'tear'
/ʤəapʰɹa/ 'sprinkle'	/ʃuʤə/ 'abroad'

/ʧ/: [ʧ] is a voiceless post-alveolar affricate, it is realized as [ʧ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/ʧaʧəu/ 'swear'	/zeʧi/ 'strict'
/ʧifə/ 'rumor'	/tuʧome/ 'runner'
/ʧa/ 'rock'	/haʧo/ 'schedule'

/ʧʰ/: [ʧʰ] is an aspirated voiceless post-alveolar affricate, it is realized as [ʧʰ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ʧʰi/ ‘shiver’	/səumәʧʰi/ ‘revival’
/ʧʰamәɹe/ ‘garlic’	/mənaʧʰi/ ‘reincarnate’
/ʧʰi/ ‘new’	/mәʧʰa/ ‘funnel’

/ʤ/: [ʤ] is a voiced post-alveolar affricate, it is realized as [ʤ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions**.**

Initial	Medial
/ʤoli/ ‘to tickle’	/kʰuʤo/ ‘kingfisher’
/ʤosu/ ‘sake	/ʃiʤo/ ‘tomorrow’
/ʤudame/ ‘Juda’	/luʤə/ ‘ball’

2.2.1.5 Nasals

The nasals are made by blocking the sound from coming out of the mouth while allowing it to come out through the nose, and this affects the relative amplitude (the loudness) of the formants (Ladefoged & Disner, 2012, p.54). Poula has four nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /ɲ/. /m/ which is realized as [m] is a voiced bilabial nasal which occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions. /n/ which is realized as [n] is a voiced alveolar nasal which occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions. /ŋ/ which is realized as [ŋ] is a voiced velar nasal which occur in word-initial and word-medial positions. /ɲ/ which is realized as [ɲ] is a voiced palatal nasal which occur in word-medial and word-final positions.

/m/: [m] is a voiced bilabial nasal, it is realized as [m]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/mote/ ‘salt’	/kʰamotsu/ ‘spoon’
/modzə/ ‘urine’	/same/ ‘blanket’
/moha/ ‘yawn’	/sabamuni/ ‘cloth’

/n/: [n] is a voiced alveolar nasal, it is realized as [n]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ni/ ‘press’	/ʦini/ ‘sugar’
/niʦu/ ‘laughter’	/belani/ ‘tomato’
/nituɹə/ ‘smile’	/musuna / ‘public

/ŋ/: [ŋ] is a voiced velar nasal, it is realized as [ŋ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ŋu/ ‘village’	/paomuŋao/ ‘recommendation’
/ŋumetʰɹo/ ‘villagers’	/remuŋu/ ‘fifty’
/ŋaobame/ ‘enemy’	/kemeŋu/ ‘fifteen’

/ɲ/: [ɲ] is a voiced palatal nasal, it is realized as [ɲ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ɲali/ ‘earthen-pot’	/haɲi/ ‘rich’
/ɲa/ ‘soil’	/limәɲe/ ‘lementation’

2.2.1.6 Voiceless Nasals

Unlike other Angami-Pochuri languages, Poula has an aspirated voiceless velar nasal [ŋ̊ʰ], but no voiceless nasal at any other place of articulation Veikho (2021). Dantsuji (1986); Bhaskararo & Ladefoged (1991) stated that many languages in South East Asia have voiceless nasal consonants that contrast with their voiced counterparts.

/ŋ̊ʰ/: /ŋ̊ʰ/ is an aspirated voiceless velar nasal, it is realized as /ŋ̊ʰ/. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ŋ̊ʰəuha/ ‘phlegm’	/ɹaŋ̊ʰau/ ‘pigeon’
/ŋ̊ʰu/ ‘iron’	/laməŋ̊ʰəu/ ‘nasal’
/ŋ̊ʰəu/ ‘serpent’	/laɹəsaŋ̊ʰia/ ‘napkin’

In Angami, three voiceless nasals (bilabial, alveolar, and palatal) have been identified in Khonoma Angami (Bhaskararao & Ladefoged, 1991). However, there are no reported

occurrences of a voiceless velar nasal in any Angami-Pochuri languages. Therefore, the presence of the voiceless velar nasal in Poula, is an intriguing linguistic feature that distinguishes Poula from its Angami-Pochuri counterparts.

To support this claim, the study provides acoustic waveforms and spectrograms illustrating both voiced and aspirated voiceless velar nasals. **Figure (2.3**) demonstrates a typical waveform and spectrogram pattern of a voiced velar nasal, characterized by a regular, periodic waveform and a distinct spectral pattern. In contrast, **figure (2.4)** showcases the acoustic characteristics of a voiceless aspirated velar nasal [ŋ̊ʰ]. In this figure, the waveform lacks the regular periodicity associated with voiced sounds, indicating the absence of voicing, while the spectrogram displays a burst of noise followed by a period of aspiration, typical of an aspirated sound.

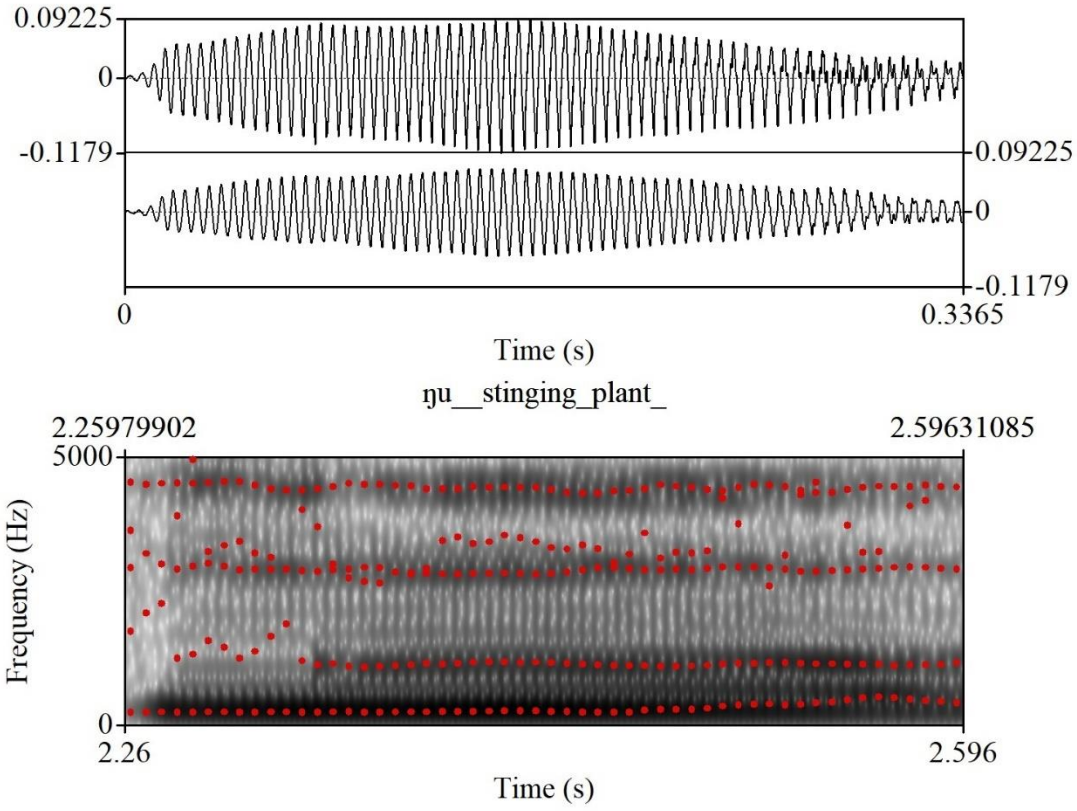


Figure 2.3 Spectrogram and acoustic waveform of /ŋu/ 'stinging plant' illustrating a fully voiced [ŋ]

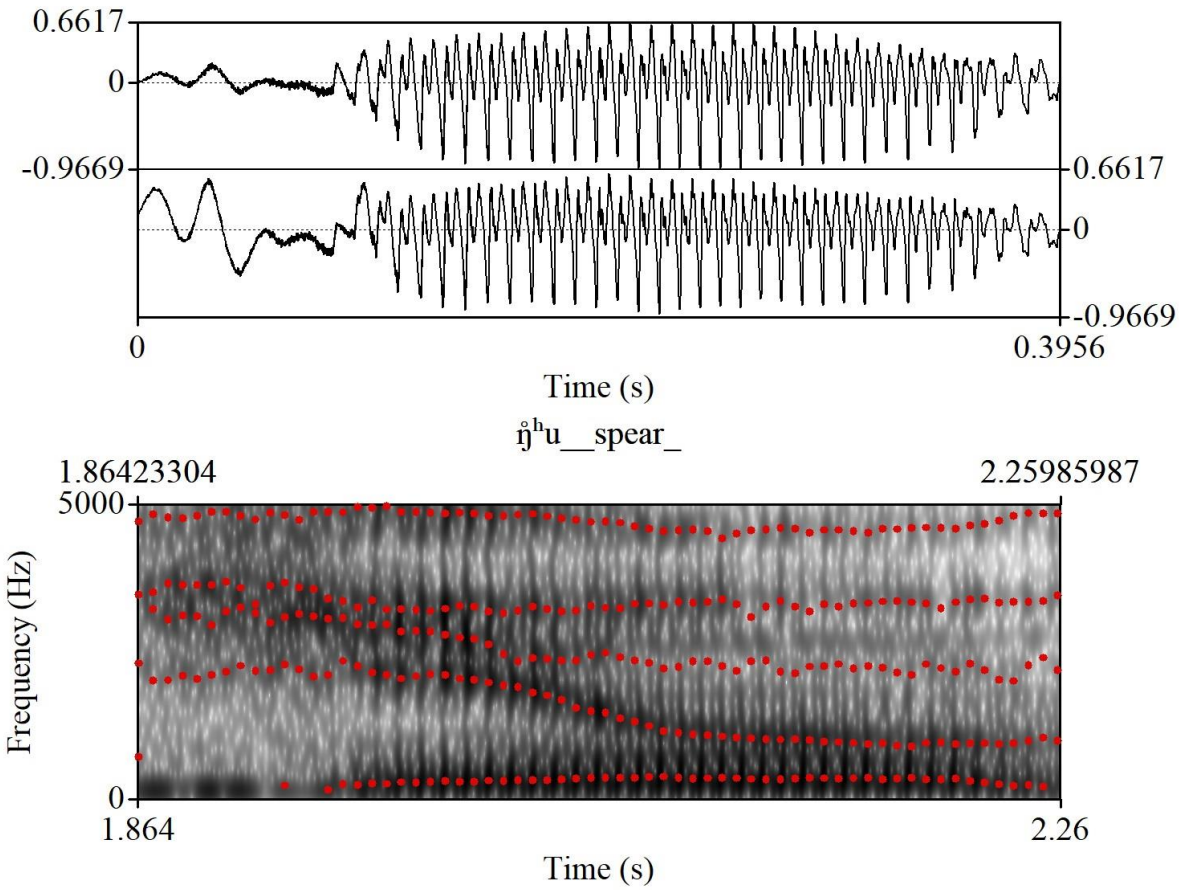


Figure 2.4 Spectrogram and acoustic waveform of /ŋ̊ʰu/ 'spear' illustrating devoiced aspirated [ŋ̊ʰ]

2.2.1.7 Approximants

Approximants are the opposite of stop consonants in that they do not involve any kind of closure of the vocal tract. Instead there is simply a narrowing at some point (Ladefoged & Disner, 2012, p.53). Poula has three approximants, /w/, and /ɹ/ are the central approximants and /l/ is the liquid approximant. The occurrence of the bilabial approximant /w/ is very limited and it is found in word initial only. The only word with this sound is the male response word *we*. /l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant and /ɹ/ is a voiced alveolar approximant both occurring in word-initial and word-medial positions. According to the study, it was found that /ɹ/ is the only sound in the language that occurs in the word-final position

/ɹ/: [ɹ] is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant, it is realized as [ɹ]. It occurs in word-initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	**Medial**	**Final**
/ɹə/ 'stitch'	/ɹaɹa/ 'rash'	/kʰəɹ/ 'sepulcher'
/ɹi/ 'horse'	/bekʰaɹao/ 'jaw'	/məɹ/ 'mouth'
/ɹabaʃasə/ 'natural gas'	/taɹe/ 'nation'	/ɹəməɹ/ 'gate'

/l/: [l] is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant, it is realized as [l]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions.

Initial	**Medial**
/laɹəvə/ 'book'	/hilatə/ 'eyeball'
/lao/ 'diarrhea'	/məlithoə/ 'heart'
/ləba/ 'freckles'	/belə/ 'flying squirrel'

2.2.1.8 Phonemic Distribution of Consonants

Table 2.2 illustrates the distribution of the consonant phonemes in the word-initial, medial and final positions.

Table 2.2 Distribution of Consonant Phonemes at the Syllable Level

Consonant	**Initial**	**Medial**	**Final**
/p/	+	+	-
/pʰ/	+	+	-
/b/	+	+	-
/t/	+	+	-
/tʰ/	+	+	-
/d/	+	+	-
/k	+	+	-
/kʰ/	+	+	-

/f/	+	+	-
/v/	+	+	-
/s/	+	+	-
/z/	+	+	-
/ʃ/	+	+	-
/ʒ/	+	+	-
/ʂ/	+	+	-
/h/	+	+	-
/ʦ/	+	+	-
/ʦʰ/	+	+	-
/ʣ/	+	+	-
/ʧ/	+	+	-
/ʧʰ/	+	+	-
/ʤ/	+	+	-
/m/	+	+	-
/n/	+	+	-
/ŋ/	+	+	-
/ŋ̊ʰ/	+	+	-
/ɲ/	+	+	-
/l/	+	+	-
/w/	+	-	-
/ɹ/	+	+	+

2.2.1.9 Phonemic Contrast of Consonants

A contrastive pair is a pair of word that differ only in one phoneme. Such phonemes are environmentally contrastive as their difference lies within the specific environment. By substituting one sound with another sound in the same environment, the semantic meaning of the word completely changes. Given below are some examples of consonant contrastive/ minimal pairs in Poula.

2.2.1.9.1 Contrast of Stops/Plosives

a. Bilabial plosives /p, pʰ, b/

/pe/ ‘grandmother’ /pʰe/ ‘to wash (hair)’ /be/ ‘to leave (the work)’

/pu/ ‘forehead’ /pʰu/ ‘to bind’ /bu/ ‘gun’

b. Alveolar plosives /t, tʰ, d/

/ta/ ‘go’ /tʰa/ ‘fast’ /da/ ‘to beat an object with a stick’

/tu/ ‘reach’ /tʰû/ ‘thousand /du/ ‘big’

c. Velar plosives /k, kʰ/

/ka/ ‘broad’ /kʰa/ ‘a type of leaf’

/ki/ ‘house’ /kʰi/ ‘not straight/ curve’

2.2.1.9.2 Contrast of Fricatives

a. Labiodental fricatives /f, v/

/fo/ ‘to pick’ /vo/ ‘to trap or surround’

/fo/ ‘wrestling’ /vo/ ‘pig’

b. Alveolar fricative /s, z/

/su/ ‘deer’ /zu/ ‘to look’

/si/ ‘dog’ /zi/ ‘to sleep’

c. Postalveolar affricates /ʃ, ʒ/

/ʃa/ ‘ladder’ /ʒa/ ‘wages’

/ʃa/ ‘to announce’ /ʒa/ ‘one’s share’

d. Glottal fricative /h/ and retroflex fricative /ʂ/

/ha/ ‘fresh’ /ʂa/ ‘to slice (meat)’

/ha/ ‘veins’ /ʂa/ ‘to bless’

/ha/ ‘buffllo’ /ʂa/ ‘blessing’

2.2.1.9.3 Contrast of Affricates

a. Alveolar Affricate /ʦ, ʣ/

/ʦə/ ‘thought’ /ʣə/ ‘to cook’

/ʦə/ ‘a type of traditional instrument used by female’ /ʣə/ ‘to cut a bamboo’

/ʦə/ ‘support’ /ʣə/ ‘water’

2.2.1.9.4 Contrast of Nasals

Near-minimal segmental pairs for Poula nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /ɲ/ are given below:

a. Bilabial nasal /m/ and alveolar nasal /n/

/ma/ ‘swell’ /na/ ‘low’

/ma/ ‘fault’ /na/ ‘child’

/ma/ ‘pumpkin’ /na/ ‘sacrifice (to ghost)’

b. Velar Nasal /ŋ/ vs Palatal Nasal /ɲ/

/ŋa/ ‘mole’ /ɲa/ ‘to apply (powder)’

/ŋe/ ‘thatch’ /ɲa/ ‘to dirty oneself in mud’

/ŋe/ ‘wither (flower)’ /ɲa/ ‘soil’

2.2.1.9.5 Contrast of Approximants

The minimal pairs for voiced alveolar lateral approximant /l/ and the voiced alveolar approximant /ɹ/ are illustrated below:

a. /l/ vs /ɹ/

/la/ ‘language’ /ɹa/ ‘a traditional basket placed above the hearth’

/la/ ‘to stand’ /ɹa/ ‘stripes/design’

/la/ ‘to pass’ /ɹa/ ‘dog’s bark’

2.2.1.10 Consonant Clusters

By consonant clusters we mean a sequence of two or more consonants at the beginning or end of a syllable. In other words, a sequence of two consonants will have to form part of the same syllable if it has to be considered a consonant cluster (Balasubramanian, 2000). The consonant clusters in Poula are onset cluster and it exclusively occur with stops and fricatives with approximants. Given below are the formation of onset clusters between stops and the alveolar approximant [ɹ].

2.2.1.10.1 Voiceless Bilabial Plosive [p] + Alveolar Approximant [ɹ]

The voiceless bilabial plosive form clusters with the voiced alveolar approximant as shown below:

Initial	**Medial**
/prole/ ‘too much’	/kipri/ ‘garden’
/pri/ ‘needle’	/kipɹao/ ‘tent’
/pɹe/ ‘cup’	/kʰaopɹitao/ ‘terror’

2.2.1.10.2 Voiceless Bilabial aspirated plosive [pʰ] + Alveolar Approximant [ɹ]

The voiceless bilabial aspirated plosive form clusters with the voiced alveolar approximant as shown below:

Initial	**Medial**
/pʰɹa/ ‘talk’	/mepʰɹime/ ‘spectator’
/pʰɹa/ ‘generous’	/laɹəpʰɹəme/ ‘student’

2.2.1.10.3 Voiceless Alveolar Plosive [t] + Alveolar Approximant [ɹ]

The voiceless alveolar plosive form clusters with the voiced alveolar approximant as shown below:

Initial	Medial
/troto/ ‘maize’	/mutɹu/ ‘worship’
/trusi/ ‘peach’	/petɹo/ ‘talkative’
/tro/ ‘game’	/pʰutɹəu/ ‘tight’

2.2.1.10.4 Voiceless Alveolar Aspirated Plosive [tʰ] + Alveolar Approximant [ɹ]

The voiceless alveolar aspirated plosive form clusters with the voiced alveolar approximant as shown below:

Initial	Medial
/tʰɹe/ ‘sour’	/itʰɹume/ ‘we’
/tʰɹolu/ ‘victory’	/litʰɹi/ ‘only’
/tʰɹu/ ‘shed’	/atʰɹau/ ‘strength’

Consonant clusters in Poula also occurs in onomatopoeic words. Given below are some examples of sounds produced by animals and inanimate objects.

bɹe~bɹe ‘of cows’

fɹi~fɹi ‘of whistling’

In Poula, consonant clusters are permitted, but with certain restrictions. The language allows initial and medial consonant clusters, with a minimum requirement of two consonants. Vowel-initial clusters, where the clusters are preceded by a vowel, are also observed. However, the number of consonants in a cluster does not exceed two, and the syllable structure is analyzed as CCV, CCVV, CVCCV, VCCV, or VCCVCV.

Table 2.3 Occurrence of Consonant Clusters

Plosive/Fricative		Approximant
/p/	+	/ɹ/
/pʰ/	+	/ɹ/
/t/	+	/ɹ/
/tʰ/	+	/ɹ/

/b/	+	/ɹ/
/f/	+	/ɹ/

While clusters involving plosives with the alveolar approximant are common in Poula, clusters with fricatives and approximants, are limited and primarily found in onomatopoeic word constructions. Additionally, Tibeto-Burman consonant clusters are only found in root-initial position (Benedict, 1972).

Table 2.4 Consonant Clusters in Monosyllabic words

Onset Cluster	**Gloss**
pɹe (CCV)	'cup'
pʰɹa (CCV)	'talk'
tɹo (CCV)	'game'
tʰɹu (CCV)	'shed'

2.2.1.11

Consonant Sequence

The occurrence of consonant sequences is very rare in Poula and is limited to a small number of words. Consonants which occur in sequence across the syllable boundaries and have no intervening vowel are termed as consonant sequence. The following data shows consonant sequence between an alveolar approximant followed by a consonant cluster; an aspirated alveolar plosive and an alveolar approximant (a) and, an alveolar approximant and an alveolar fricative (b).

a. Approximant + Aspirated stop

/kaɹ.tʰɹi/ 'how'

b. Approximant + Fricative

/məɹ.su.ʃi/ 'chilly'

Table 2.5 Phonotactics Constraint

	p	pʰ	b	t	tʰ	d	k	kʰ	f	v	s	z	ʃ	ʒ	ʂ	h	ʦ	ʣ	ʧ	ʤ	ʦʰ	ʧʰ	m	n	ɲ	ŋ̊ʲʰ	ŋ	l	w	ɹ
i	*	*	*	*		*	*	*		*		*	*	*	*	*			*			*		*	*			*		*
e	*				*	*	*	*				*			*	*							*	*	*			*	*	*
a	*	*	*	*		*	*	*		*	*		*	*	*	*			*			*		*	*		*	*		*
ə				*		*	*		*	*	*	*			*		*	*		*	*		*	*				*		*
u	*		*	*		*	*	*		*			*		*		*		*			*	*			*		*		*
o	*		*	*		*	*	*	*		*			*	*	*			*	*			*				*	*		*
əu	*		*	*	*	*	*			*	*			*		*			*				*	*		*	*	*		*
ao				*	*	*	*	*		*														*			*			*
ia			*				*			*														*				*		
au	*	*		*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*			*	*								*			*	*		*
oi																							*							
ua																							*							
iu													*						*											
io																										*				

2.2.2 Vowels

Vowels are sounds that may be pronounced alone; in many languages' vowels can form a word by themselves (Ladefoged and Maddieson, 2008). Chomsky and Halle (1968), 'a vowel is a segment with the feature [+ syllabic – consonantal], with [- consonantal] sounds being defined as those that do not have a central obstruction of the oral tract.' Vowel is a speech sound which is produced by comparatively open configuration of the vocal tract, with vibration of the vocal cords but without audible friction, and which is a unit of the sound system of a language that forms the nucleus of a syllable. Poula has six monophthongs (clear vowels) and eleven diphthongs (gliding vowels). The phonemic contrast of Poula vowels is given which are based

on the articulatory parameters such as height of the tongue, position of the tongue and lip rounding.

2.2.2.1 Monophthongs

Monophthongs also known as pure vowel, are those vowels whose articulation at the beginning and end is relatively fixed, and which does not glide up or down towards a new position of articulation. The monophthongs can be contrasted with diphthongs, where the vowel quality changes within the same syllable, and hiatus, where two vowels are next to each other in different syllables. A vowel sound whose quality does not change over the duration of the vowel is called a pure vowel.

Poula has a simple vowel inventory and this study presents six monophthongs as shown in **Table 2.6**. The vowels occur in front, central and back position of the mouth at different tongue height. Three front vowels /i/, /e/ and /a/, two back vowel /u/ and /o/, and one central vowel /ə/. Both rounded and unrounded vowels are present and all the vowels in Poula are voiced.

Table 2.6 Vowel Chart

	Front	**Central**	**Back**
Close	i		u
Close-mid	e		o
Mid		ə	
Open	a		

The articulatory description of monophthongs in Poula are given below:

/i/ high, front, unrounded vowel

/e/ mid, front, unrounded vowel

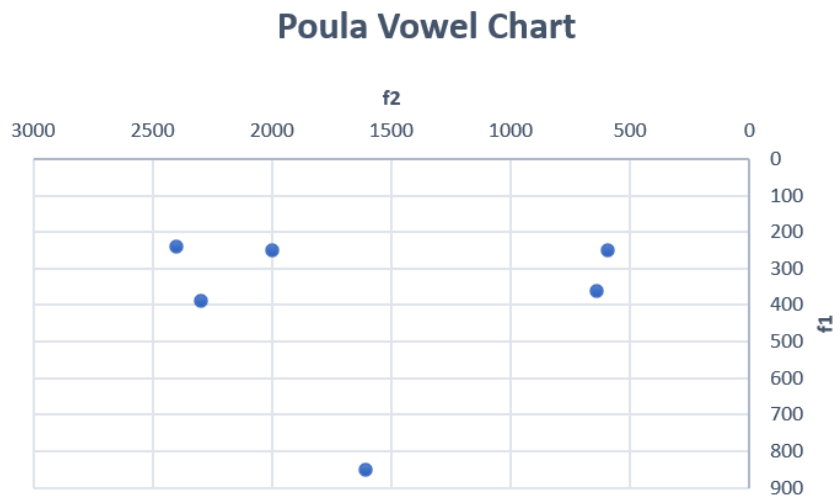
/ə/ mid, central, unrounded vowel

/a/ mid, low, central unrounded vowel

/u/ high, back, rounded vowel

/o/ mid, back, rounded vowel.

Table 2.7 Poula Vowel Plotting



2.2.2.1.1 Description and distribution of Monophthongs

/i/: [i] is a front, closed, unrounded vowel. It occurs in word-initial, medial and final positions. Examples:

Initial	**Medial**	**Final**
/i/ 'me'	/pikʰa/ 'hair pin'	/mi/ 'tail'
/itʰɹume/ 'we'	/mitʰə/ 'coal'	/pi/ 'head'
/ivitʰɹo/ 'our'	/pivə/ 'cap'	/liʃi/ 'like'

/e/: [e] is a half open, front, unrounded vowel. It occurs in initial, medial and final position. The occurrence of this vowel sound in initial position is limited to only the response word /e/. Examples:

Initial	**Medial**	**Final**
/e/ 'okay'	/ketə/ 'knife'	/tɹome/ 'player'
	/mepəu/ 'groom'	/mize/ 'hell'
	/devə/ 'disturb'	/məɹe/ 'previous'

/a/: [a] is an open unrounded central vowel. It occurs in word initial, medial and final. Examples:

Initial	**Medial**	**Final**
/atʰe/ 'envy'	/nanə/ 'religion'	/ʧa/ 'eight'

/avəu/ ‘bamboo’ /avame/ ‘robber’ /zipa/ ‘fame’

/aɹe/ ‘jealousy’ /ʃaməɹa/ ‘handicraft’ /ba/ ‘hand’

/u/: [u] is a closed unrounded back vowel. It occurs in medial and final position. Examples:

Initial	**Medial**	**Final**
/uʃi/ ‘dog’	/k^{h}uʤo/ ‘kingfisher’	/pu/ ‘her’
/usa/ ‘cat’	/tɹuʃo/ ‘monolith’	/du/ ‘big’
	/ʒuməvia/ ‘mercy’	/naku/ ‘lap’

/o/: [o] is half closed back rounded vowel. It occurs in medial and final positions. Examples:

Medial	**Final**
/bo.k^{h}a/ ‘fence’	/mofo/ ‘year’
/ʤovə/ ‘package’	/ʧo/ ‘morning’
/ʧomudu/ ‘ox’	/ʂo/ ‘far’

/ə/: [ə] is a central half-closed vowel. Its occurrence is found in medial and final position. Examples:

Medial	**Final**
/tsəvi/ ‘wise’	/kiɹə/ ‘skinny’
/vəɹau/ ‘glacier’	/levə/ ‘bee hive’
/liməvia/ ‘sorrow’	/k^{h}ə/ ‘to hit’

Table 2.8 illustrates the distribution of monophthongs in Poula.

Table 2.8 Distribution of Monophthongs

Vowels	**Initial**	**Medial**	**Final**
i	+	+	+
e	+	+	+
a	+	+	+
ə	-	+	+

o	-	+	+
u	+	+	+

2.2.2.1.2 Minimal pairs of Monophthongs

A minimal pair is a pair of word that differ only in one single unit of sound in the same environment. They are environmentally contrastive because their difference lies within the specific environment.

2.2.2.1.3 Contrast based on the Position of the tongue

a. High Front vowel vs mid back vowel

/i/ vs /o/

/mi/ ‘fire’ /mo/ ‘brother-in-law’

/ri/ ‘horse’ /ro/ ‘a type of bamboo basket caried on the back’

/bi/ ‘yam’ /bo/ ‘stem’

b. High front vowel vs high back vowel

/i/ vs /u/

/pi/ ‘head’ /pu/ ‘forehead’

/ti/ ‘sky’ /tu/ ‘run

/hi/ ‘rake /hu/ ‘ribs’

c. Mid front vowel vs high back vowel

/e/ & /u/

/me/ ‘feather’ /mu/ ‘cost’

/be/ ‘to leave /bu/ ‘to trap or surround’

d. Mid front vowel vs mid back vowel

/e/ vs /o/

/ke/ ‘horn’ /ko/ ‘between’

/pe/ ‘grandmother’ /po/ ‘a type of measuring basket’

/ke/ ‘sickle’ /ko/ ‘hatching of eggs’

e. High front vowel vs mid central vowel

/i/ vs /ə/

/ki/ ‘house’ /kə/ ‘corner’

/mi/ ‘fire’ /mə/ ‘sweet’

/li/ ‘warm’ /lə/ ‘hymn’

f. Mid front vowel vs mid-low central vowel

/e/ vs /a/

/be/ ‘blanch’ /ba/ ‘hand’

/se/ ‘to shave’ /sa/ ‘coth’

/pe/ ‘grand-mother’ /pa/ ‘grand-father’

g. Mid front vs mid central vowel

/e/ vs /ə/

/ne/ ‘you’ /nə/ ‘ear’

/ke/ ‘edge’ /kə/ ‘to come’

/te/ ‘there’ /tə/ ‘to consume’

h. High front vowel vs mid-low central vowel

/i/ vs /a/

/bi/ ‘yam’ /ba/ ‘hand’

/li/ ‘to press’ /la/ ‘but’

/vi/ ‘fart’ /va/ ‘to stir’

i. High back vowel vs mid central vowel

/u/ vs /ə/

/hu/ ‘teeth’ /hə/ ‘to go to field’

/lu/ ‘thread’ /lə/ ‘to peel’

2.2.2.1.4 Contrast based on the height of the tongue

a. Closed vs closed-mid:

/i/ vs /e/

/mi/ ‘tail /me/ ‘feather’

/mi/ ‘ripe’ /me/ ‘gradual’

/u/ & /a/

/pu/ ‘to speak’ /pa/ ‘to go out’

/vu/ ‘vegetables’ /va/ ‘crab’

/e/ vs /a/

/le/ ‘to enter’ /la/ ‘to throw away’

/ə/ vs /a/

/tə/ ‘yolk’ /ta/ ‘to go’

/ɹə/ ‘to stitch’ /ɹa/ ‘a bamboo basket’[13]

/u/ vs /o/

/mu/ ‘glued together’ /mo/ ‘no’

2.2.2.1.5 Contrast based on lip rounding

Considering the lip position of Poula vowels, it has two rounded vowels and four unrounded vowels.

a. Rounded vowels [u, o]

[u]- /mu/ ‘group’

[o]- /vo/ ‘pig’

[13] A type of traditional bamboo basket with lid which is placed above the kitchen hearth; fermented soya beans, dried meat and traditional spices are stored.

b. Unrounded vowels [i, e, a, ə]

[i]- /i/ 'I'

[e]- /e/ 'yes'

[a]- /avəu/ 'bamboo'

[ə]- /nə/ 'ear'

2.2.2.2 Vowel Sequence

Vowel sequences in Poula are rare and typically consist of two vowels next to each other in a word, each belonging to separate syllables and making its own sound. Such occurrences are noteworthy as they deviate from the typical syllable structure of the language. Examples of vowel sequences in Poula are provided below:

/a.pə.a.fə/ 'parents' /ʤə.a.pʰɪa/ 'sprinkle'

/mə.do.a.pi/ 'teacher' /sə.a.va/ 'saw'

The central half-closed vowel /ə/ and the open unrounded central vowel /a/ occur as vowel sequence in the word /a.pə.a.fə/ which make two separate sounds and belong to different syllable. Similarly, the half-closed back rounded vowel /o/ and the open unrounded central vowel /a/ in the word /mə.do.a.pi/ also occur in different syllables as two separate sounds. The syllable structure of the two words is VCVVCV and CVCVVCV respectively.

2.2.2.3 Diphthongs

A diphthong, also known as a gliding vowel, is a combination of two adjacent vowel sounds within the same syllable. Technically, a diphthong is a vowel with two different targets: that is, the tongue moves during the pronunciation of the vowel before the articulation is complete. Diphthongs has two vowels however it is considered as a single unit. One of the two vowels sounds more prominent than the other, and the element which is louder is termed as decrescendo or falling and the element which is louder or more prominent is termed as crescendo or rising. The glide, it should be remembered, should take place within one syllable. The starting point is usually referred to as the first element of the diphthong and the point in the direction of which the glide is made is often called its second element. (Balasubramanian, 2000).

2.2.2.3.1 Distribution of Diphthongs

In Poula, there are six diphthongs that can occur both word-medially and finally. These diphthongs are [əu], [ao], [ia], [au], [oi] and [io]. The occurrence of [oi] and [io] is limited to very few words.

[əu]

Medial	**Final**
/atɪəuna/ ‘truth	/aɪəu/ ‘sixteen’
/mosəumu/ ‘organization’	/vakəu/ ‘out’
/ləumena/ ‘girl’	/dəu/ ‘paddy’

[ao]

Medial	**Final**
/ditaopik^{h}a/ ‘peak’	/k^{h}ao/ ‘tiger’
/daop^{h}ɪa/ ‘tear’	/piɪao/ ‘skull
/anaopi/ ‘teat’	/at^{h}ao/ ‘persuade’

[ia]

Medial	**Final**
/kiats^{h}ə/ ‘thirteen’	/limuvia/ ‘sorrow’
/kiahena/ ‘twelfth’	/moŋia/ ‘tender’
/viaʃi/ ‘quality’	/mibia/ ‘tongs’

[au]

Medial	**Final**
/hauɪihoʂo/ ‘python’	/ɸasau/ ‘tattoo’

/hauɹə/ ‘round’ /hau/ ‘rotate’

/dauʂa/ ‘rip’ /pɹau/ ‘elephant’

[oi] **[io]**

/moi/ ‘no’ /ŋ̊ʰio/ ‘spear’

Figure 2.5 Diphthongs

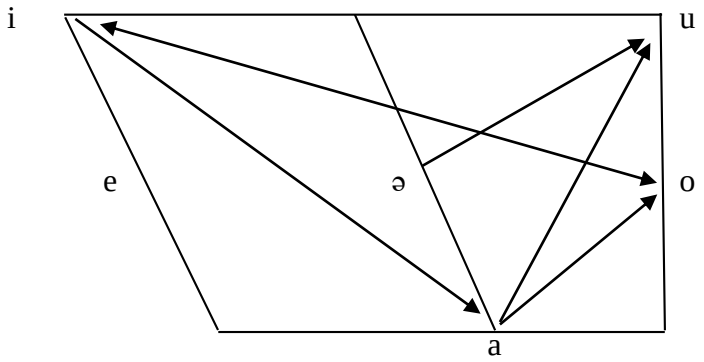


Table 2.9 Distribution of Diphthongs

	Initial	**Medial**	**Final**
[əu]	-	+	+
[ao]	-	+	+
[ia]	-	+	+
[au]	-	+	+
[oi]	-	-	+
[io]	-	-	+

2.3 Suprasegmental Phonology

Lagefoged and Johnson (2011), consider suprasegmental features as “those aspects of speech that involve more than single consonants or vowels”. Haider and Sharma (2021), states that “…there are some other features which, though not responsible for forming the chain, play a very significant role in the communication of meaning. Incorrect use of these features often

leads to faulty communication and loss of meaning. These features are known as supra-segmental features".

2.3.1 Syllable and Syllable Structure

According to Peter Roach (2009), a syllable can be defined both phonetically and phonologically, that is, the way it is pronounced and the way it functions in a language. For David Abercrombie (1965) "a syllable is a movement, mostly an audible movement". A syllable is a unit of organization for a sequence of speech sounds typically made up of a syllable nucleus (most often a vowel) with optional initial and final margins (typically, consonants). Syllables can be Monosyllabic, Disyllabic, Trisyllabic and Polysyllabic. Those syllables whose rhyme is made up of a nucleus followed by a consonant and which ends in consonants are called closed syllables and those syllables whose rhyme is made up of a nucleus and which ends in vowels are called open syllables.

The syllable structure of Poula is moderately complex. It is basically monosyllabic with V, CV, CCV structures. Polysyllabic words are mostly compound words. The structure of a syllable represents sonority peaks and optional edges, and is made up of three elements: the onset, the nucleus, and the coda. All languages require syllable nuclei and, in most languages, onsets are preferred yet optional. As in the case of Poula, it permits both opened syllable and closed syllable, however, closed syllables are not very productive.

According to Yule (2006), a syllable must contain a vowel or vowel-like sound, including diphthongs. Vowels are almost always the nucleus of a syllable (Denham et. al 2019). The basic elements of the syllable are the onset (one or more consonant) followed by the rhyme. The rhyme consists of a vowel, which is treated as the nucleus, plus any following consonant(s), described as the coda. Given below are the possible monosyllables in Poula:

σ	**Word**	**Gloss**
V	*e*	'yes'
CV	*tə*	'necklace'
CCV	*pʌi*	'needle'

In Poula, the syllable structure does not follow the pattern proposed by Clements and Keyser (1983). While they suggest that the basic syllable types in all languages include CV, V, CVC, and VC, Poula deviates from this framework. Poula lacks the VC syllable type but does possess CV and CVC syllable types.

This deviation is significant because according to Clements and Keyser, any language that has the VC syllable type must also have CV and CVC syllable types. However, this is not the case for Poula, as it lacks the VC structure. This highlights the unique nature of Poula's syllable structure compared to the generalizations proposed by Clements and Keyser. Given below are the different types of syllable structure in Poula.

2.3.1.1 CV Syllable Structure

Poula exhibits a significant occurrence of the CV (consonant-vowel) structure compared to other syllable structures within the language.

Eg: /ʤə/ 'water'

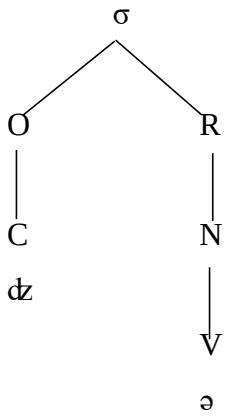


Figure 2.6 CV Syllable Structure

2.3.1.2 V Syllable Structure

In Poula, the V (vowel) syllable structure is notably present in personal pronouns and responsive words.

Eg: /i/ 'I'

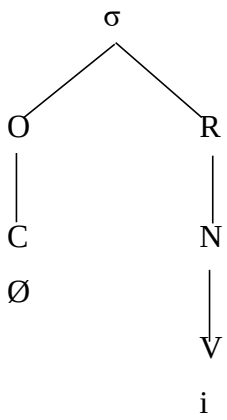


Figure 2.7 V Syllable Structure

2.3.1.3 CVC Syllable Structure

The CVC (consonant-vowel-consonant) pattern in Poula is identified as relatively non-productive. This study has observed that closed syllabic structures, represented by a consonant-vowel-consonant sequence, occur primarily with the voiced alveolar approximant.

Eg: /məɹ/ ‘mouth’

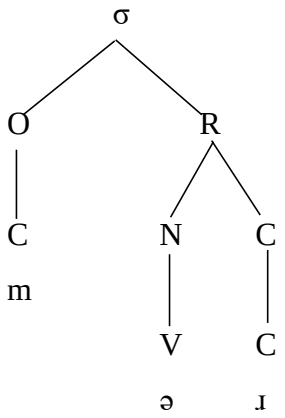


Figure 2.8 CVC Syllable Structure

2.3.1.4 CCV Syllable Structure

The CCV syllable structure refers to a syllable that contains two consonants followed by a vowel. This structure is common in Poula, particularly with stops and the alveolar approximant.

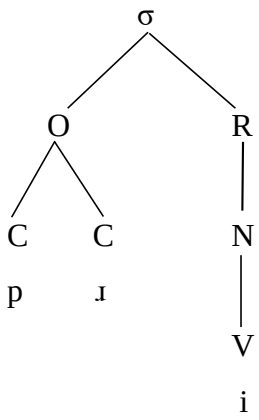


Figure 2.9 CCV Syllable Structure

In Poula, syllables exhibit a range from minimal to maximal complexity. Minimally, syllables can consist of only a vowel, as seen in the V structure of the word /i/ meaning 'I'. At the other end of the spectrum, syllables can reach maximal complexity, consisting of a complex onset of two consonants and a vowel nucleus, as exemplified by the CCV structure found in /pɹe/ meaning 'cup'. Diphthong nuclei in Poula occur in open syllable types of monosyllabic words when preceded by one or more consonants, as in the CVV structure of /kʰao/ meaning 'tiger'.

The syllable structure of Poula can also be represented by the hierarchical structure given in **Figure 2.10.**

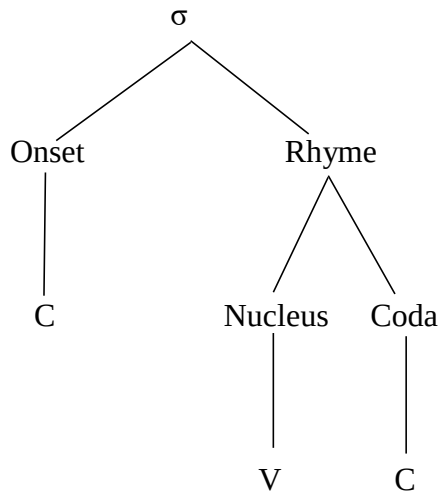


Figure. 2.10 Canonical Syllable Structure

The diagram above illustrates the syllable structure in Poula, ranging from minimal to maximal complexity. A Poula syllable can minimally consist of a monophthong vowel nucleus and can maximally consist of a pair of consonantal onsets (C) & (C) and a diphthong nucleus (V1, V2). A disyllabic word in Poula having CVCV would invariably be split up as CV~CV for eg., /du.si/ 'fig' and not CVC~V */dus.i/ or C~VCV */d.usi/. Similarly, a trisyllabic word /mə.hə.hə/ will have a syllable structure CV.CV.CV and not CVC.VCV or CV.CVC.V.

The possible syllable structures in Poula such as monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and polysyllabic are illustrated in **Table 2.10**.

Table 2.10 Permissible Syllable Structure

Syllable Type	**Syllable Pattern**	**Poula**	**Gloss**
Monosyllable	CV V	vo i	'pig' 'I'
Disyllable	CVV.CCV CV.CVC	kie.tɹə pi.kʰəɹ	'parrot' 'pillow'
Trisyllable	CV.CV.CV V.CCV.CV	ŋa.la.və a.tɹo.me	'plantain' 'player'
Polysyllable	CV.CV.CV.CV V.CV.CV.CV	da.ɹu.so.ha a.du.me.na	'doctor' 'prince'

2.3.2 Types of Syllables

Thurgood and La Polla (2007), mentions that the Proto-Tibeto-Burman languages was monosyllabic in nature. Likewise, syllable structure in Poula is mostly monosyllabic and disyllabic which is considered as a generic feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Poula permits both open and closed syllable, though the production of closed syllable is limited to certain words and its occurrence is rare. The canonical syllable structure in Poula consists of four types viz., monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and polysyllabic words.

2.3.2.1 Monosyllabic

Poula, like many Tibeto-Burman languages, is primarily monosyllabic in nature. This means that words are typically composed of a single syllable. In this context, an open and closed

syllable structure is observed, where a syllable consists of a vowel or a vowel with one or more consonants before or after it. Open monosyllabic words in Poula can function as the peak of a syllable. **Table 2.11** illustrates some examples of monosyllabic words Poula.

Table 2.11 Monosyllables

Monosyllable	**Gloss**	**CV Pattern**
i	'I/me'	V
pe	'grandmother'	CV
sa	'shawl'	CV
məɹ	'mouth'	CVC
tɹa	'to cry'	CCV

2.3.2.2 Disyllabic

Disyllabic words in Poula, characterized by having two syllables, play a fundamental role in the language's lexicon. **Table 2.12**, provides a compilation of disyllabic words in Poula.

Table 2.12 Disyllables

Disyllable	**Gloss**	**CV Pattern**
u.ʤo	'yesterday'	V.CV
li.kʰo	'kitchen'	CV.CV
mə.təu	'necklace'	CV.CVV
ɹə.məɹ	'gate'	CV.CVC
va.kʰəɹ	'scratch'	CV.CVC

2.3.2.3 Trisyllabic

Trisyllabic words in Poula are highly productive and the segment typically consist of either one consonant and one vowel, two consonants and one vowel, or one consonant and two vowels, as shown in **Table 2.13**.

Table 2.13 Trisyllables

Trisyllabic	**Gloss**	**CV Pattern**
i.tʰɹu.me	'we'	V.CCV.CV
məɹ.su.ʃi	'chilly'	CVC.CV.CV
kʰao.pɹi.tao	**'**terror'	CVV.CCV.CVV
ba.mo.tu	'finger'	CV.CV.CV
li.mu.via	'sorrow'	CV.CV.CVV

2.3.2.4 Polysyllabic

Polysyllabic words in Poula, consisting of three or more syllables, are typically categorized into root words and derived words. Open polysyllabic words are prevalent in the language. **Table 2.14** illustrates some examples of polysyllabic words in Poula.

Table 2.14 Polysyllables

Polysyllabic	**Gloss**	**CV Pattern**
bu.kru.pa.a.fə	'owl'	CV.CCV.CV.V.CV
mə.ɹə.sə.kʰao	'scorpion'	CV.CV.CV.CVV
a.lə.sa.ʂə	**'**piles'	V.CV.CV.CV
la.ɹə.pʰɹə.me	'student'	CV.CV.CCV.CV
ki.pɹi.sə.tsu.me	'gardener'	CV.CCV.CV.CCV.CV

As indicated in the data above, the syllable structure in Poula exhibits distinct characteristics depending on its position within a word. At the word-initial position, the syllable structure tends to be more closed, meaning that it often begins with a consonant or consonant cluster before the vowel nucleus. In contrast, at the word-final position, the syllable structure is more open.

Table 2.15 provides examples of open-classed syllable structures in Poula, highlighting the prevalence of open syllables in the language.

Table 2.15 Opened Classed Syllables

Open Classed Syllables	**Gloss**	**Syllable Pattern**
a.tʰɪau	'strength'	V.CCVV
a.ʧə.na	'third'	V.CV.CV
a.tɪəu.na	'thruth'	V.CVV.CV
a.ɹəu	'sixteen'	V.CVV
a.du.me.na.nao.təu	'princess'	V.CV.CV.CV.CVV.CVV

In Poula, closed-classed syllable structures are characterized by the presence of one or more consonants following the vowel nucleus. This pattern contrasts with open-classed syllables, where the syllable ends with a vowel nucleus without any following consonant. Examples of closed-classed syllable structures in Poula are provided in **Table 2.16**.

Table 2.16 Closed Classed Syllables

Closed Classed Syllable	**Gloss**	**Syllable Pattern**
kʰəɪ	'starve'	CVC
məɪ	'mouth'	CVC
va.kʰəɪ	'scratch'	CV.CVC
ɹə.məɪ	'gate'	CV.CVC

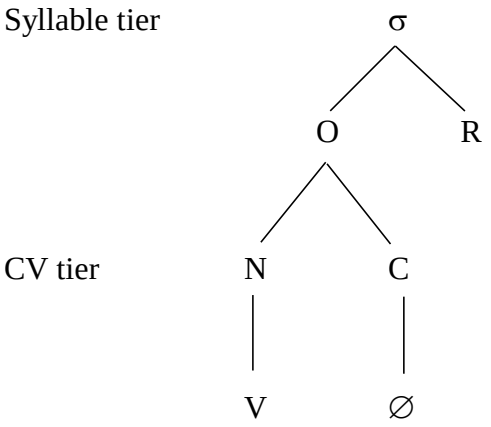
2.3.3 Syllable Weight

According to Katamba, F. (1989), the consensus today is that more important than the traditional classification of phonological systems in terms of open and closed syllable is their classification in terms of Syllable Weight. In many languages, a factor that determines the applicability of certain phonological rules is the weight of the rhyme. Syllable weight comprises of two kinds: light or weak syllable and heavy or strong syllable. Poula exhibits both light and heavy syllable. The illustration of light and heavy syllables in Poula is based on Katamba, F. (1989) which is explained below with examples:

2.3.3.1 Light Syllable

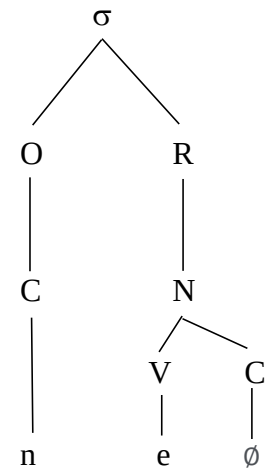
Katamba, F. (1998), defines that, a syllable is light is it contains a non-branching rhyme in which the rhyme contains a short vowel. In other words, a Light syllable is one whose rhyme is made up of nucleus consisting of a vowel or a vowel followed or preceded by a maximum of one consonant. Examples are given below:

i) A Light Syllable with a single vowel nucleus



/i/ 'I'

ii) A Light Syllable with an onset and a nucleus.



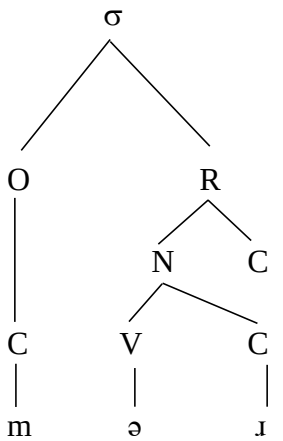
/ne/ ‘you’

Figure 2.11 Light Syllable

2.3.3.2 Heavy Syllable

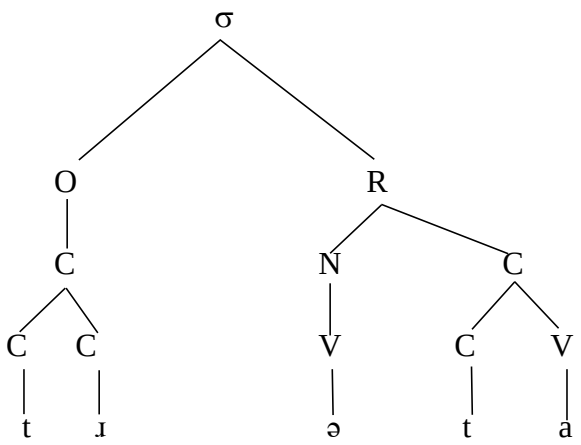
According to Katamba, F. (1998), a syllable is heavy if it contains a branching rhyme in which the rhyme contains either: i) a long vowel or a diphthong optionally followed by one or more consonant(s), or ii) a short vowel followed by at least one consonant. Thus, a heavy syllable is a syllable whose weight is more than a mora. In a heavy syllable, the rhyme consists of more than one segment of a nucleus. Consider the following examples:

i)



/məɹ/ ‘mouth’

ii)



/tɹə.ta/ ‘leader'

Figure 2.12 Heavy Syllable Structures

In Poula, the syllable structure is primarily monosyllabic, with words typically consisting of a single syllable. Syllables can be open, ending in a vowel, or closed, with consonants following the vowel nucleus. Disyllabic words, which have two syllables, are mostly root forms of words, similar to monosyllables. Polysyllabic words consist of root words and derived words, and closed polysyllabic words are not found in Poula.

2.3.4 Tone

Yip (2002), states that ‘A language is a ‘tone language’ if the pitch of the word can change the meaning of the word. Not just its nuances, but its core meaning’. According to Reetz and Jongman (2009), “Tones can be defined as pitch variations that change either the lexical or grammatical meaning of a word. A language in which the meaning of a word depends on its tone is known as a tone language”. Linguistic tone is the use of pitch to create lexical contrast (Pike, 1948); that is, changing the pitch changes the meaning of the word. Zsiga (2020) explains that “Languages differ in the complexity of their systems of tonal contrast. The simplest tone languages have just a two-way contrast: every syllable is either high or non-high”. As reported by both Yip (2007) and Gussenhoven (2004), a three-level contrast is common. There are numbers of overviews of the phonology of tone, with many varied examples which includes Fromkin (1978), Yip (2002, 2007), Reetz and Jongman (2009) and Gussenhoven (2004). Denham (2019) defined tone as “… the pitch at which syllables are pronounced”.

Reetz and Jongman (2009) stated that “Tone languages can have either register tones or contour tones. In a register tone language, the relative height of each syllable’s pitch within the

speaker's pitch range (or register) provides a cue to word meaning; in a contour tone language, pitch movement, instead of pitch level, serves to distinguish word meaning. Each tone is associated with a particular shape and direction of the pitch trajectory". According to Ashby and Maidment (2005), a language that uses level tones only is known as a register tone language; meanwhile contour tone is the difference in the pattern of pitch movement- falling, rising, falling-rising and so on- that distinguishes one word from another.

The tone system in Poula is relatively complex. It consists of mid (M), low (L), extra low (EL), mid-rising falling and high-rising falling.

Table 2.17 Tone Table

Word	Tone	Gloss
ɹe	M	'similar'
ɹe	L	'front'
ɹe	EL	'look-alike'
ɹe	Mid-rising falling	'rope'
ɹe	High-rising falling	'small intestine'

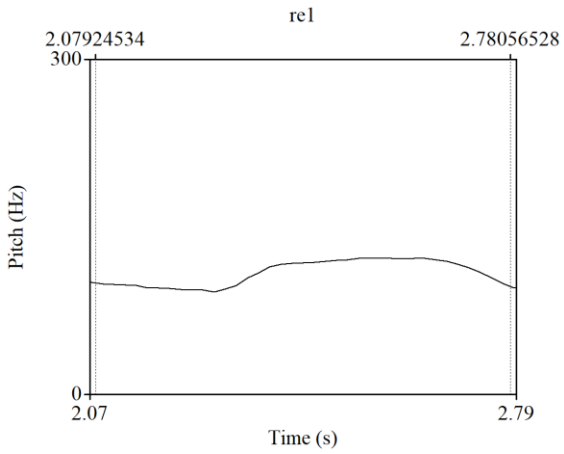


Figure 2.13 High Tone

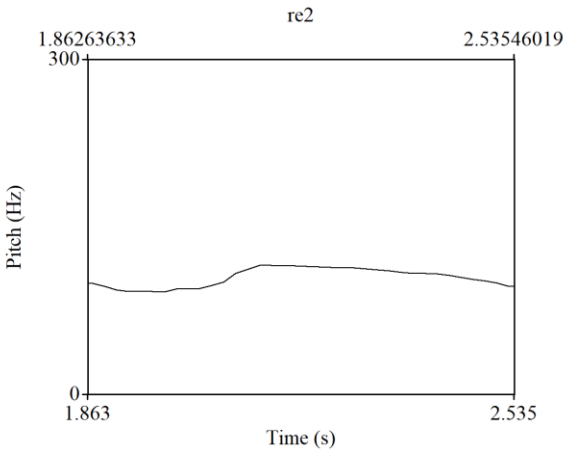


Figure 2.14 Low Tone

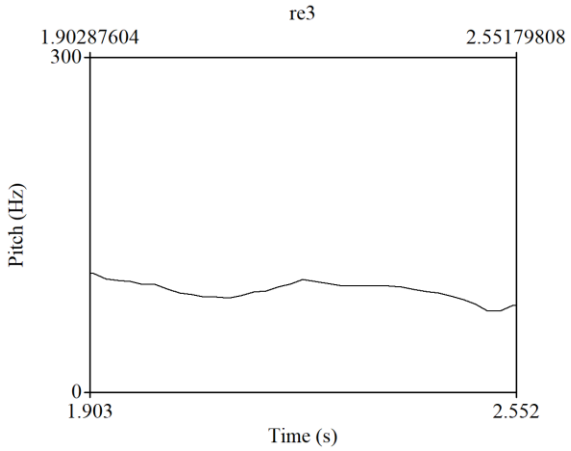


Figure 2.15 Extra Low

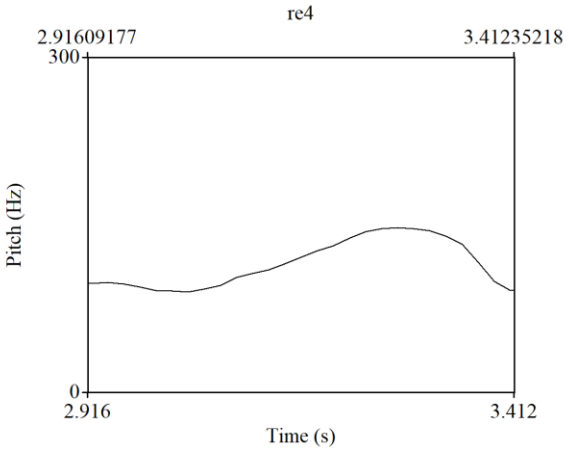


Figure 2.16 Mid-rising Falling

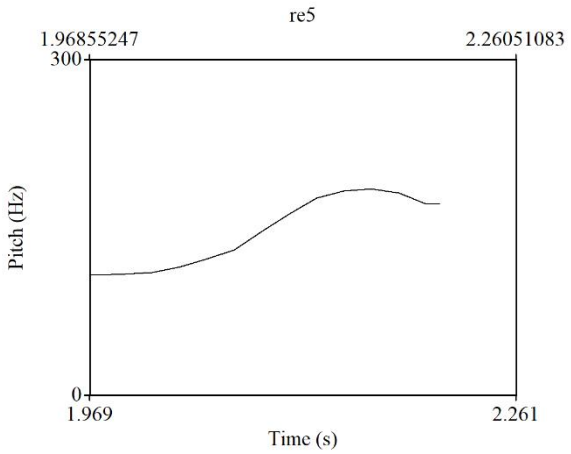


Figure 2.17 High-Rising Falling

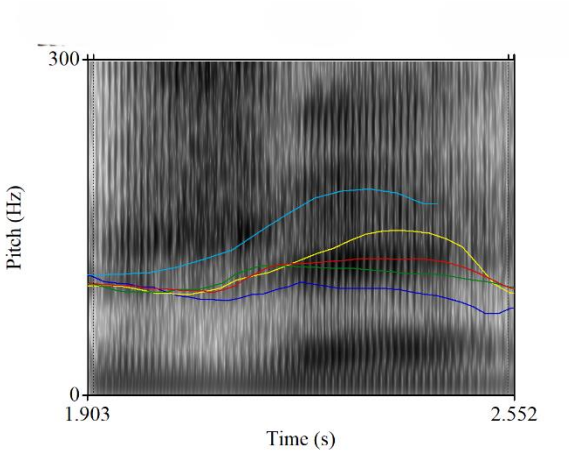


Figure 2.18 Visual Representation of the Five Tones

Figure (2.13) illustrates the low tone, distinguished by its pitch lower than that of the extra low tone shown in **Figure (2.14)**. The extra low tone, depicted in **Figure (2.14)** is characterized by an even lower pitch compared to the low tone. **Figure (2.15)** shows the mid rising and falling tone, which begins at a mid-level pitch, rises to a higher pitch, and then falls back to the mid-level. **Figure (2.16)** represents the high falling tone, starting at a high pitch and sharply falling to a mid-level pitch. Lastly, **Figure (2.17)** gave a visual representation of all the four tonal contrasts. As demonstrated, all the tones starts at a common point and starts to rise after reaching about 50% of the duration then rise to the attempted peak and falls back to a common point.

CHAPTER 3

MORPHOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

According to (Aazfa, 2021), morphology is the identification, analysis, and description of the structure of a given language's morphemes and other linguistic units, such as root words, affixes, parts of speech, intonations and stresses, or implied context. Lieber (2016), stated that morphology is the study of word formation, including the ways new words are coined in the language of the world, and the way forms of words are varied depending on how they're used in sentences. According to Aronoff & Fudeman (2005), the term morphology is generally attributed to the German poet, novelist, playwright, and philosopher Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), who coined it early in the nineteenth century in a biological context. Its etymology is Greek: morph- means 'shape, form', and morphology is the study of form or forms. In other words, Morphology is the study of the structure of words.

A major way in which morphologists investigate words, their internal structure, and how they are formed is through the identification and study of morphemes, often defined as the smallest linguistic pieces with a grammatical function. This definition is not meant to include all morphemes, but it is the usual one and a good starting point' (ibid). Bloomfield also defined morpheme as 'a linguistic form which bears partial phonetic-semantic resemblance to any other form.

In Poula, the basic forms of words are categorized into word classes, including nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, particles, and interjections. Among these, nouns and verbs are considered the major word classes due to their widespread presence in the language's morphological and syntactic structure. Every language has at least two major grammatical categories- noun and verb (Payne, 1997, p.32). These two classes exhibit greater complexity in their morphological structure compared to other word classes. Pronouns, attributes, and numerals constitute subclasses of nouns, as they allow for the attachment of case marker suffixes, similar to substantives.

3.2 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Most nouns in Poula can be inflected for numbers, case, and gender. Bloomfield (1935) describes a noun as "that which can be the performer of an action, the undergoer of an action,

the centre from which a relation holds good, [or] the possessor of an object". Nouns are considered one of the major word classes because they are an open class of words, continually expanding with new inventions. They exhibit a wide distribution in both morphological and syntactic structures. The class of **nouns** in any language includes words that express the most time-stable concepts, e.g., "rock", "tree", "mountain", "house", etc (Givón, 1984).

Syntactically, nouns function in subject and object positions within sentences. In Poula, nouns can be classified into two categories: simple nouns and derived nouns.

3.2.1 Simple Nouns

Simple nouns in Poula consist of monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, and polysyllabic words, encompassing both animate and inanimate entities. Monosyllabic words are characterized by a single consonant and a single vowel, occupying the onset and nucleus positions, with an empty coda (Ø). The syllable structure of monosyllabic words is consistently CV or sometimes CVC. Disyllabic words exhibit syllable structures such as VCV, CVCV, and CVCCV. Trisyllabic words feature a CVCVCV syllable structure. Polysyllabic words follow a syllable structure similar to CVCVCVCV.

Notably, most words in Poula end with an open syllable, as indicated by their syllable structures.

Table 3.1 Simple Nouns

Monosyllabic	**Disyllabic**	**Trisyllabic**	**Polysyllabic**
ti 'sky'	ti.tʰɹe 'air'	mə.kʰə.me 'beard'	bu.kru.pa.a.fə 'owl'
vu 'deer'	i.me 'people'	ba.mo.tu 'finger'	mo.ɹo.me.na 'orphan'
sə 'wood'	o.ha 'buffalo'	ʧa.me.ɹe 'garlic'	mə.ɹə.sə.kʰao 'scorpion'
tsʰo 'cow'	ɹa.hu 'bird'	la.ɹə.ki 'school'	a.lə.sa.ʂə 'piles'
na 'child'	hə.ʤə 'egg'	mu.li.tʰə 'heart'	ki.pɹi.sə.tsu.me 'gardener'

In Poula, simple nouns can be classified into two categories: mass nouns and count nouns.

3.2.1.1 Mass Noun

"Mass nouns do not pluralize (unless used in a special, count, sense). Furthermore, mass and count nouns take distinct, but partially overlapping, classes of articles and quantifiers" (Payne, 1997, p.41). A mass noun, or non-count noun, refers to something that cannot be counted easily, such as a substance or quality. These nouns typically lack a plural marker and are treated as singular in grammatical terms.

(3.1) a) hasə 'intelligence'

b) mi 'fire'

c) tiɹə 'rain'

d) ti 'sky'

e) və 'snow'

Mass nouns are generally considered uncountable, representing substances or concepts that are not easily quantified as discrete units. However, there are instances where certain nouns, typically considered mass nouns, can take on a countable form when accompanied by a numeral and a quantifier. In these cases, the noun is marked with an empty morpheme (Ø), indicating its countable nature, while the numeral and quantifier specify the quantity or amount of the noun being referred to. This phenomenon allows for a nuanced treatment of nouns that can exhibit both countable and uncountable characteristics depending on the context of their usage.

(3.2)

a) pe-nə buŋi hi ʧĩŋi ʧĩta tsə ʧonadzə ʤo **he** foa-kə

grandmother-NOM N to sugar some and milk packet two bring-come

diapai nusa pu-nə mote ʤo **məde** fə-kə-pi

tell but 2SG-NOM salt packet four bring-come-OB

'Grandmother told Bunyi to bring some sugar and two packets of milk from the kitchen but he brought four packets of salt instead.'

In the above example, the quantifier *ʧita* and the numerals *he* and *məde* quantify the nouns *sugar*, *milk* and *salt*.

3.2.1.2 Count Nouns

'Language often makes a grammatical distinction between nouns that refer to things that can be counted" (Payne, 1997, p.41). A count noun is a noun that denotes an object or idea capable of forming a plural or appearing in a noun phrase with a numeral. The plural marker in Poula is -tʰɹo, which serves as a suffix for nouns or adjectives. Given below are some examples:

(3.3) a) ʧo -tʰɹo = ʧotʰɹo 'cows'

Cow PL

b) səbu -tʰɹo = səbutʰɹo 'trees'

Tree PL

c) bu -tʰɹo = butʰɹo 'seats'

Seat PL

d) oʃì -tʰɹo = oʃitʰɹo 'dogs'

Dog PL

e) ki -tʰɹo = kitʰɹo 'houses'

House PL

In these examples, the plural marker -tʰɹo is added to the nouns to indicate plurality. This demonstrates the countable nature of these nouns in Poula.

The following words exemplify count nouns when used with numerals in Poula.

(3.4) a) pətə he 'two men'

Men two

b) ki ali 'one house'

house one

c) pɹe məŋə ‘five cups’

cup five

d) vo tsʰə ‘three pigs’

pig three

e) sipame ki ‘ten soldiers’

soldier ten

3.2.2 Derived Noun

Derivation involves forming new words by adding affixes to existing words, thereby altering their grammatical category or meaning. In Poula, the process of deriving nouns involves the addition of the nominalizer suffix -me to the verbal root to form a noun. Notably, this suffix serves a dual function, also acting as the human marker within the language's morphological system. This affixation process is a fundamental aspect of Poula's word formation, enabling the transformation of verbs and other word classes into nouns.

3.2.2.1

a) Nominalized Noun (Verb + -me = Noun):

(3.5)	a.	tʰe ‘die’	+	-me	=	tʰeme	‘dead person’
	b.	ɹə ‘write’	+	-me	=	ɹəme	‘writer’
	c.	laɹəpʰɹə	+	-me	=	laɹəapʰɹəme	‘student’
	d.	avau ‘steal’	+	-me	=	avaume	‘thief’

b) Nominalized Noun (Adj + -me = Noun):

(3.6)	a.	ʒuvi ‘beautiful’	+	-me	=	ʒuvime	‘beautiful people’
	b.	ʒusi ‘ugly’	+	-me	=	ʒusime	‘ugly people’

3.2.3 Compound Noun

A compound noun in Poula is a lexical unit that functions as a noun and is created through the combination of two or more parts of speech. These parts can include combinations such as noun + noun or noun + verb, ultimately forming a new noun. Importantly, all constituent

elements within a compound noun are free morphemes, meaning they can exist independently as separate words. This is in contrast to derivation, a distinct word formation process, where affixes are added to a root word, potentially altering its word class. The process of compounding to form a noun lexeme is a fundamental mechanism in Poula's morphology, facilitating the creation of new lexical units with specific meanings derived from the combination of existing linguistic elements.

3.2.3.1 Noun + Noun = Noun

Noun + Noun compounding is a word formation process in which two nouns are combined to create a new noun. This type of compounding is a common phenomenon in many languages, including Poula, and it allows speakers to create new lexical units to express specific concepts or entities.

		Noun	**+**	**Noun**	**= Noun**	
(3.7)	a)	laɪə 'book'	+	məduʧume/ 'reader'	= laɪəməduʧme	'student'
	b)	apə 'father'	+	afə 'mother'	= apəafə	'parents'
	c)	le 'bee'	+	dzə 'water'	= ledzə	'honey'
	d)	sə 'wood'	+	k^{h}ao 'plate'	= sək^{h}ao	'wooden plate'
	e)	mi 'fire'	+	dzə 'water'	= midzə	'kerosene'
	f)	ti 'sky'	+	ʒadi 'land'	= tiʒadi	'universe'

3.2.3.2 Adjective + Adjective = Noun

In Poula, compounding involves the combination of two independent adjectives to form a noun. However, examples of this type of compounding are limited in Poula compared to other types of compounding.

		Adjective	**+**	**Adjective**	**= Noun**	
(3.8)	a)	t^{h}ao 'young'	+	dzəɪe 'elder'	= t^{h}aodzəɪe	'siblings'
	b)	li 'hot'	+	k^{h}a 'bitter'	= lik^{h}a	'angry'

3.2.3.3 Noun + Verb = Noun

When a noun is compounded with a verb, it results in a new compound noun. This means that two separate words, one functioning as a noun and the other as a verb, are combined to form a single noun. Despite being combined, each component word retains its independent status, contributing to the overall meaning of the new noun.

		Noun	**+**	**Verb**	**= Noun**	
(3.9)	a)	dzə ‘water’	+	bo ‘path/way’	= dzəbo	‘water channel’
	c)	dzə ‘water’	+	t^hɹə ‘wash’	= dzət^hɹə	‘bath’
	d)	ʧa ‘waist’	+	/k^ho ‘tie’	= ʧak^ho	‘belt
	e)	phi ‘leg’	+	k^ha ‘to cover’	= phik^ha	‘shoe’
	f)	zatə ‘sheep’	+	k^home ‘guard’	= zatək^home	‘shepherded’

3.2.4 Number

The grammatical number is a morphological category characterized by the expression of quantity through inflections. Like nouns, pronouns and anaphoric clitics can vary for number. The most common number distinctions are singular vs. plural; less common are singular, dual, and plural (Payne, 1997, p.45). Numbers in Poula can be classified into singular and plural. The singular is unmarked which implies a single entity and no affixes are attached to it. The plural marker is marked with the suffix *-t^hɹo* and the marker is the same for both animate and inanimate nouns.

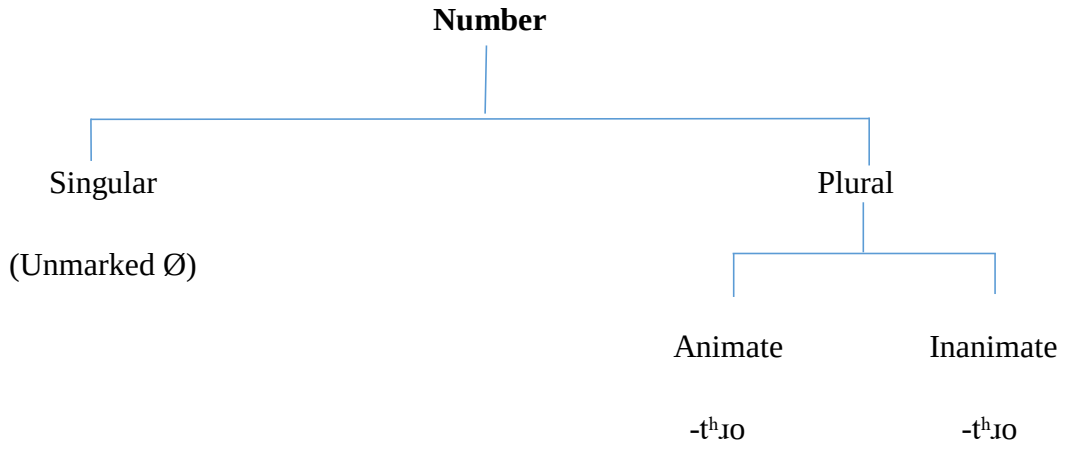


Figure 3.1 Number distribution in Poula

3.2.4.1 Plural marker -tʰɹo

In Poula, the plural marker *-tʰɹo* is a morpheme that is added to nouns to indicate plurality. This marker is considered a bound morpheme because it cannot stand alone and must be attached to a noun. Interestingly, in Poula, there is no distinction between animate and inanimate nouns when forming the plural form—all nouns, regardless of their category, use the same plural marker. This uniformity simplifies the pluralization process in Poula compared to languages that have different plural markers for animate and inanimate nouns.

Animate (Human):

		Singular	**Plural**
(3.10)	a)	natə ‘child’	natəmetʰɹo ‘children’
	b)	natəme ‘girl’	natəmetʰɹo ‘girls’
	c)	pətəme ‘boy’	putumetʰɹo ‘boys’

Animate (non-human):

		Singular	**Plural**
(3.11)	a)	uʃi ‘dog	uʃitʰɹo ‘dogs’
	b)	usa ‘cat’	usatʰɹo ‘cats’
	c)	ʧo ‘cow’	ʧotʰɹo ‘cows

Inanimate:

		Singular	**Plural**
(3.12)	a)	ki ‘house’	kitʰɹo ‘houses’
	b)	laɹəvə ‘book’	laɹəvətʰɹo ‘books’
	c)	ɹo ‘basket’	ɹotʰɹo ‘baskets’

3.2.4.2 Adjectives + -tʰɹo

The plural marker *-tʰɹo* can be attached to the noun modifier in an adjective phrase (ADJP) to indicate the plurality of the noun. For example, ‘big houses’ would be expressed as *ki kadupa-tʰɹo,* where the plural marker is attached to the adjective *kadupa* meaning ‘big’. However, in a noun phrase (NP) where the modifier (adjective) is dropped, the plural marker is naturally

affixed to the noun. For instance, 'houses' would be *ki-tʰɹo*, where the plural marker is directly attached to the noun *ki* as shown in examples (3.20).

(3.13) 1. dzəpa + -tʰɹo

a. laɹəvə ne dzəpatʰɹo fo-ləu
book 2SG like-PL take-IMP
'Pick the books you like'

b. laɹəvə-tʰɹo fo-ləu
book-PL take-IMP
'Take the books'

3.2.4.3 Pair

In Poula, there are three different terms used to refer to pairs, each with its own unique characteristics. *-bitu* is a bound morpheme and is used to refer to pairs, particularly in the context of animate (human) pairs. For example, *nabitu* is used to refer to twin babies, where *na-* means 'child' and *-bitu* is suffixed to indicate a pair. *-pa* is another bound morpheme and is suffixed to the preceding noun to indicate a pair. It is used exclusively with inanimate pairs (see example 3.14 (b)).

Unlike the other terms, *mobo* is an independent morpheme, used to refer to two objects that grow naturally attached or glued to each other. It is specifically used for inanimate pairs (see example 3.14 (c)).

(3.14) a. pu na -bitu məna -pie
3SG child Pair birth give
'She gave birth to twins'

b. muʒa -pa
N Pair
'Pair of socks'

c. ŋalavesi hehe moboi
N DET Pair
'These bananas are in pairs'

3.2.4.4 Quantifiers

In Poula, quantifiers play a crucial role in indicating the quantity or amount of something without explicitly stating the numerical value and it typically occur after the noun they quantify. This emphasizes the quantity in relation to the noun, providing additional information about the degree of the noun.

(3.15) a) pu i ɹaʃi tauli pi-ɹe

2SG 1SG fruit some give-PRF

'She gave me some fruits'

c) tə muʧi-lo

eat less-IMP

'Eat less'

e) ɹahu mu

bird group

'Flock of birds'

f) natume mu

woman group

'Group of women'

3.2.5 Gender

"Gender marking is a way of explicitly signalling that a linguistic expression refers to a male or female being (person or animal)" Müller et. al. (2015). Corbett (1991) cited Hockett's (1958:231) definition of gender which states that "Genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behaviour of associated words". "Among gender languages, two gender systems distinguishing masculine, feminine and neuter, are the most common, although developments in these classificatory systems vary widely from language to language" Singh (1985). Gender can be categorised into 'grammatical gender' and 'natural gender'. Grammatical gender is based on the type of noun, such as masculine or feminine or neuter, and is not tied to sex. Natural gender

is based on sex as a biological distinction between male, female or neither male nor female. Like most Tibeto-Burman languages, Poula does not manifest grammatical gender. The gender for human in Poula is of natural type.

3.2.5.1 Morphological Gender Marking in Animate [+Human]

Gender markers are used for both masculine and feminine gender in human nouns. But there are also Ø gender markers where the distinction between male and female are differentiated biologically. Poula utilizes gender markers to distinguish between male and female genders. The male gender is denoted by the marker *-na*, while the female gender is indicated by *-fə*. Interestingly, the marker *-na* is not exclusively reserved for males; it can also represent the female counterpart, although the reverse is not possible. Moreover, this marker is also employed for inanimate entities, one such example is: *tsu* 'stone' and *tsu-na* 'the stone'. When referring to animate humans, the masculine marker is *-pu*, as in *akimepu* 'husband', while the feminine marker is *-fə*, as in *akimefə* 'wife'. It is worth noting that the use of the feminine marker *-fə* is more limited, with the neuter marker *-na* often being used as the masculine marker in many instances.

3.2.5.1.1 Agentive Noun

In Poula, the agentive noun exhibits morphological marking through two distinct morphemes, each exclusive to either male or female. The agentive noun undergoes nominalization through the use of the human marker *-me*, functioning as a nominalizer within the language. However, in the context of gender marking, a morpho-phonological phenomenon occurs where the nominalizer *-me* in its generic form is elided upon suffixation by the gender marker, as illustrated in the table below. The morpheme *-na*, employed in the masculine gender, encompasses entities that are inanimate and non-human, extending its applicability beyond animate humans. To specify gender as either male or female, markers such as *-na*, *-pu*, *-fə*, or *-pe* are suffixed to the generic form, thereby indicating gender distinction.

Table 3.1 Gender marking in Agentive noun

Natural	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
tɪətaome 'leader'	tɪətana or tɪətanapu 'male leader'	tɪətafə or tɪətafəpe 'female leader'
ɸĩpaome 'speaker'	ɸĩpana or ɸĩpanapu 'male speaker'	ɸĩpanafə or ɸĩpanafəpe 'female speaker'
mədoapime 'teacher'	mədoapina or mədoapinapu 'male teacher'	mədoapifə or mədoapifəpe 'female teacher'
ləusəume 'singer'	ləusəuna or ləusunapu 'male singer'	ləusəunafə or ləusəunafəpe 'female singer'
darubabume 'doctor'	darubabuna or darubabupu 'male doctor'	darubabufə or arubabufəpe 'female doctor'
mutrufome 'chairman'	mutrufona or mutrufonapu 'male chairman'	mutrufonafə or mutrufonafəpe 'female chairman'

Sentential examples:

(3.16) a) ɸĩpa-napu pu pəu

speaker-M 2SG father

'The male speaker is her father'

b) ʧìpana-fəpe pu fə

speaker-F 2SG mother

'The female speaker is her mother'

(3.17) a) ləusu-napu a-vi mədoapime

singer-M 1SG-POSS teacher

'The male singer is my teacher'

b) ləusu-fəpe a-vi mədoapime

singer-F 1SG-POSS teacher

'The female singer is my teacher'

3.2.5.1.2 Proper Noun

Similar to its neighbouring languages such as Tenyidie or Chokri, Poula features morphological marking on personal nouns. In Poula, female names are consistently denoted by the marker *-ne* and male names by *-ni*, as exemplified in **Table 2**. The morpheme *-ne*, is specifically reserved for female names. Interestingly, male names in Poula lack a fixed marker for gender. Instead, the markers found in male names are flexible and can be used interchangeably for female names. These gender-specific markers are invariably affixed to the noun. Moreover, gender can be discerned in names that lack these markers. Notably, certain common nouns demonstrate gender marking, such as *adu* 'king' and *adufəpe* 'queen'. While the masculine term stands as a lexical word in its own, the feminine term is suffixed by the female gender marker *-fəpe*.

Table 3.2 Gender marking in Personal noun

Masculine	**Feminine**
dani	dane
ɹevini	ɹevine
salәni	salәne
Pani	pane

3.2.5.1.3 Lexical Gender

Kinship terms in Poula inherently convey gender specificity, signifying male and female relatives respectively. While some elements, such as proper nouns and a few kinship terms, may take gender markers, the majority of kinship terms in Poula are lexical, meaning the term itself indicates the gender of the relative.

Table 3.3 Gender marking in Lexical terms

Masculine	**Feminine**
pәu ‘father-in-law’	ne ‘mother-in-law’
pau ‘grandfather’	pe ‘grandmother’

pɹəu ‘brother’[14]	tupe ‘sister’[15]
pəutəumiame ‘widower’	natəumiame ‘widow’
pa ‘uncle’	ne ‘aunty’

3.2.5.2 Morphological Gender Marking in Animate [-Human]

The gender markers for animate non-human entities distinguish between male and female animals, and further distinctions are made between females with offspring and those without. Several markers (as depicted in Figure 1) are used to express gender in animate non-human beings, which are suffixed to the generic form. It is noteworthy that the female gender is indicated by different markers depending on the presence or absence of offspring. The suffix /*-tɹə*/ is added to the generic form to indicate a female animal with offspring, whereas /*-vau*/, /*-mələu*/, and /*-ɲi*/ are used to denote female animals without offspring.

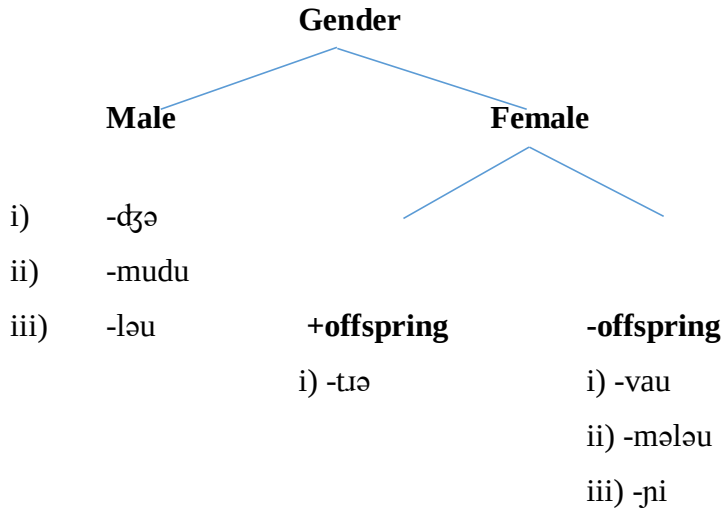


Figure. 3.2 Distribution of animate [-human] markers

[14] Address term used by female to address their brother
[15] Address term used by male to address their sister

A notable aspect of animate non-human is the specific usage of markers to denote gender and reproductive status. In this context, the marker *-ʤə* is exclusively applied to male animals with feathers, while *-vau* is reserved for female animals in this category who do not have offspring, as delineated in **Table 4**. Similarly, markers such as *-mudu* and *-ləu* are employed for male animals, whereas *-tɹə* and *-ɲi* are used for female animals with and without offspring, respectively.

Table 3.4 Animate non-human gender markers

Neuter	**Masculine**	**Feminine (+offspring)**	**Feminine (-offspring)**
həu ‘chicken’	həuʤə	həutɹə	həuvau
ɹahu ‘bird’	ɹahuɹiʤə	ɹahuɹitrə	---
ɹo ‘peacock’	ɹoɹiʤə	ɹoɹitrə	---
kʰau ‘tiger’	kʰaumudu	kʰautɹə	kʰauɲi
vo ‘pig’	voləu	votrə	voɲi
muɲi ‘wild pig’	muɲikʰauləu	muɲitrə	muɲikʰauɲi
usa ‘cat’	saləu	satɹə	saɲi
lilikʰu ‘squirrel’	lilikʰukʰauləu	lilikutɹə	lilikʰkʰauɲi
kʰautsutsuli ‘lion’	kʰatsutsulikʰauləu	kʰatsutsutɹə	kʰatsutsutɹəkʰauɲi
uva ‘monkey’	uvakʰauləu	uvatrə	uva kʰauɲi

ʃi ‘dog’	ʃiləu	ʃitɪə	ʃiɲi

An additional intriguing aspect of animate non-human entities is the distinctive marker associated with animals possessing horns (or the potential for horns). As illustrated in **Table 5**, the marker *-mudu* is exclusively employed for male animals exhibiting horns. The females in this category which lacks offspring are suffixed with *-məlәu* to their generic form.

Table 3.5 Animate non-human (+horns)

Neutral	**Masculine**	**Feminine (+offspring)**	**Feminine (-offspring)**
ʧo ‘cow’	ʧomudu	ʧotrə	ʧomələu
vi ‘mithun’	vimudu	vitɪə	vimələu
ʃu ‘deer’	ʃumudu	sutɪə	ʃumələu
hu ‘rhino’	humudu	hutɪə	humələu
tʰɪo ‘steak’	tʰɪomudu	tʰɪotrə	tʰɪomələu
pɪau ‘elephant’	pɪaumudu	pɪautɪə	pɪaumuləu

Gender marking in Poula exhibits allomorphic conditions, meaning that the markers or affixes used to indicate gender distinctions can vary based on certain conditions. The following markers or affixes serve to differentiate between male and female entities in the language.

Male markers:

-na -occurs with + human + male
-pu - occurs with + human + male
-pəu - occurs with human + male + adult + father + father-in-law
-mo - occurs with human + male + adult + brother-in-law
-ʧi - occurs with human + male + adult + brother-in-law
pəu- - occurs with human + male + adult + widower
-ʤə - occurs with biped + male hornless + feather + fowl
-mudu - occurs with animal + male + hornless + wild
-ləu - occurs with animal + male + hornless + domestic + wild

Female markers:

-pe - occurs with + human + female
-fə -occurs with + human + female + adult + mother
-ne - occurs with human + female + adult + mother-in-law
na- - occurs with human + female + adult + widow
-tɪə - occurs with animal + biped + female + offspring + domestic + wild
-vau - occurs with animal + biped + female + domestic
-mələu - occurs with animal + female + horn + wild
-ŋi - occurs with animal + female + domestic + wild

3.2.6 Case

A case represents a grammatical category determined by the syntactic or semantic function of a noun or pronoun within a sentence. It serves to indicate the role played by the noun or pronoun in relation to other elements in the sentence, such as the subject, object, or possessor. Case refers to inflected forms for nouns that enable their participation in essential constructions related to verbs (Hockett, 1985). It is a grammatical category utilized in the analysis of word classes to delineate the syntactic relationships between words in sentences, often contrasted as ergative, accusative, and other forms (Crystal, 1985). Cases can reflect various relationships, such as the nominative case for subjects, the accusative case for direct objects, the genitive case for possession, and so forth. These distinctions help clarify the meaning and structure of sentences in a language. "Whether a noun phrase occurs in the dative or accusative case in some languages is determined by the grammatical requirements of the verb with which that

noun phrase is in some grammatical relationship. Whether a noun phrase occurs with a locative or benefactive adposition, however, probably depends purely on the communicative intent of the speaker – it is not imposed by some other grammatical element in the configuration". (Payne, 1997: 100, 101).

3.2.6.1 Case Markers

Given below is a table illustrating the various case markers in Poula:

Table 3.6 Case Markers in Poula

Case	**Case Markers**
Nominative	-nə
Accusative	unmarked
Genitive	-vi
Instrumental	fa
Locative	hi
Associative	sa
Benefactive	ʤɔsu
Additive	a
Ablative	hisəu

3.2.6.1.1 Nominative

Unlike in some languages where the nominative case marker is obligatory, in Poula, its use is not strictly required. When the marker is attached to the subject, it indicates that the speaker is deliberately providing information about the subject's action to the listener. This choice of whether or not to use the nominative case marker allows the speakers to adjust their level of emphasis on the subject depending on the context. So, the pragmatic force at play here allows speakers to manage the flow of information and highlight specific elements within a conversation. For instance, in situations where the subject's actions need to be foregrounded

for clarity or emphasis, the nominative marker is employed. Conversely, omitting the marker can imply that the subject's identity is either obvious from context.

For instance, in example (3.18 (a)) *buɲi-nə ɹene ʤəpai-e* 'Bunyi likes Rene' the use of the nominative case marker draws attention to Bunyi as the subject who is performing the action of liking. Below are some examples illustrating the use of the nominative case marker in Poula:

(3.18) a) buɲi-nə ɹene ʤəpai-e
Bunyi-NOM Rene like-EVID
'Bunyi likes Rene'
b) pu-nə laɹəvə ɹə-e
3SG-NOM book write-EVID
'He wrote a book'
c) i-nə ŋalaʃi-na tələ-ɹe
1SG-NOM banana-DEF eat-CAPMOD-PRF
'I ate banana'

In Poula, the nominative case marker is the same for both transitive and intransitive constructions, and it can be dropped in either case without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence. The addition of the nominative marker is often associated with a question or a focus on the agent of a transitive verb or the subject of an intransitive verb, indicating a situation where the speaker is providing information to the listener.

Transitive verb examples with and without the nominative marker:

(3.19) a) pu-nə amʃi ʤəpai-e
3SG-NOM mango like-EVID
'She likes mango'
b) pu amʃi ʤəpai-e
3SG mango like-EVID
'She likes mango'
(3.20) a) daɹʰə-nə ludʒə pʰe-e
darhü-NOM ball kick-EVID
'Darhü kick the ball'
b) daɹʰə ludʒə pʰe-e
darhü ball kick-EVID

‘Darhü kick the ball’

Intransitive verb examples with and without the nominative marker:

(3.21) a) pu-nə ta-e
3SG-NOM go-EVID
‘She left’

b) pu ta-e
3SG-NOM go-EVID
‘She left’

(3.22) a) i-nə tu-e
1SG-NOM run-EVID
‘I run’

b) i tu-e
1SG run-EVID
‘I run’

In these examples, the sentences convey similar meanings with or without the nominative marker, but the presence of the marker may add emphasis or clarify the focus of the sentence.

3.2.6.1.2 Accusative

In Poula, the accusative case is unmarked, meaning that there is no specific marker or suffix added to nouns or pronouns to indicate this case. For instance, in transitive constructions, where there is a direct object receiving the action of the verb, the noun or pronoun representing the direct object does not undergo any morphological change to indicate the accusative case. Instead, its role as the direct object is understood based on its position in the sentence and the meaning of the verb. For example:

(3.23) a) i-nə neØ kəu
1SG-NOM 2SG call
‘I called you’

b) ne-nə pɹopaØ i pi-e
2SG-NOM flower 1SG give-EVID
‘You gave me flowers’

In the above sentences, *i* 'I' and *ne* 'you' is the subject which is taking the nominative case and *ne* 'you' and *pɹopa* 'flower' is the direct object, but neither noun is marked with a specific accusative case marker.

3.2.6.1.3 Genitive

In Poula, the genitive case is marked by the bound morpheme *-vi*. This morpheme is attached to the noun that shows possession, indicating the relationship between the possessor and the possessed. Given below are some examples:

(3.24) a) kipɹi hi a-vi

cup this 1SG-POSS

'This cup is mine'

b) hi buŋi-vi gaɹi

this bunyi-POSS car

'This is Bunyi's car'

c) kipɹi hi ne-vi

cup this 2SG-POSS

'This cup is yours'

In these examples, the genitive marker *-vi* is attached to the possessor noun to indicate possession, showing the relationship between the possessor and the possessed.

3.2.6.1.4 Instrumental

In Poula, the instrumental case marker *fa* is added to nouns to indicate the instrument or means by which an action is performed. Examples:

(3.25) a) səʂə-nə ke fa ɹaʃi-na lia-e

Sürhü-NOM knife INST fruit-DEF cut-EVID

'Sürhü cut the fruit with a knife'

b) pu-nə bu fa kʰao tʰɹa-e

3SG-NOM gun INST tiger kill-EVID

'He shot the tiger with a gun

c) daɲi-nə ɹəsə fa ɹə-e

Danyi-NOM pen INST write-EVID

'Danyi writes with a pen

Consider the sentence *səɹʰə-nə ke fa ɹaʃi-na lia-e* 'Sürhü cut the fruit with a knife'. Here *səɹʰə* 'Sürhü' is the subject marked with the nominative case, and *fa* is followed by the direct object *ɹaʃi* 'fruit' and *lia* 'cut' to indicate that the action of cutting is performed with the instrument 'knife'.

Similarly, in examples (3.25 (b) & (c)), the instrumental case is marked with *fa* to show that the action is done using a 'gun' and a 'pen'.

3.2.6.1.5 Locative

In Poula, the locative case marker is marked by the free morpheme *hi*. This marker is used to indicate location, both for places and for people. However, there is a specific case where the locative case marker is optional, particularly when the subject is involved with a house. For example:

Person location:

(3.26) a) i-nə ne hi vu-le

1SG-NOM 2SG LOC come-FUT

'I will come to you'

b) natə ne hi ta kə-tə-e

child 2SG LOC walk come-PROG-EVID

'The child is coming towards you'

Place location:

(3.27) a) i dil^{h}i hi ʂə-e

1SG-NOM delhi LOC live-EVID

'I live in Delhi'

In the above examples, *hi* is used to indicate location for both places and people. However, when the subject is associated with a house, the insertion of the locative case marker *hi* is optional. This means that it can be included or omitted without affecting the grammaticality or the meaning of the sentence. For example:

b) daɲi ɹat^{h}oki hi bu-e

Danyi church LOC have-EVID

'Danyi is in the Church'

c) daɲi ɹat^{h}oki bu-e

Danyi church have-EVID

'Danyi is in the Church'

Both of these sentences are grammatically correct and convey the same meaning, but the inclusion of *hi* adds emphasis or specificity to the location.

In Poula, specific morphemes are employed to indicate the years and days when an event occurs. These are commonly referred to as temporal expressions.

The morpheme *kəu* signifies an event that occurred in a specific year as shown in examples (3.28 (a) & (b)), and the morpheme 'ne' indicates an action happening on a particular day of the week, see example (3.29 (a) & (b)).

(3.28) a) mofo 1889 kəu ɹata li və-e

year 1889 in epidemic one come-EVID

'There was an epidemic in the year 1889'

b) i mofo 2000 kəu nufə vu-e

1SG year 2000 in village come-EVID

'I came to the village in the year 2000'

(3.29) a) fəkʰa ne ti ɹə-e

Tuesday on sky rain-EVID

'It rained on Tuesday

b) pu məthaoʃo ne vu-e

3SG wednesday on come-EVID

'She came on Wednesday'

3.2.6.1.6 Associative

In Poula, the associative case marker is denoted by the free morpheme *sa*. This linguistic feature serves to indicate that the subject of an action is associated with the object. Here are illustrative examples:

(3.30) a) pu-nə i-sa hatə-e

3SG-NOM 1SG-ASSO eat-EVID

'He ate with me'

b) kʰo-nə pu-sa vu-e

kho-NOM 3SG-ASSO come-EVID

'Kho came with her'

Through the use of the associative case marker *sa*, Poula effectively conveys the idea of association between the subject and the object in various linguistic contexts.

3.2.6.1.7 Benefactive

In Poula, the benefactive case marker *ʤosu* is used to indicate that the action of the verb is done for the benefit of someone or something. It is added to the noun or pronoun that represents the beneficiary of the action. For example:

(3.31) a) i ne ʤosu kʰo-pi-le

1SG 2SG BEN cook-OB-FUT

'I will cook for you'

In this sentence, *i* 'I' is the subject, *kʰo* 'cook' is the verb, and ne 'you' is the direct object. The benefactive case marker *ʤosu* is added to *kho* to indicate that the food was cooked for the benefit of someone.

Similarly, in example (3.31 (b)), the benefactive marker *ʤosu* implies that the book is for the sister of the hearer, indicating that the action of giving the book was done for the benefit of the hearer's sister.

b) laɹəvə he hepu ʤosu

book this sister BEN

'This book is for your sister'

The benefactive case marker *ʤosu* elucidates the connection between the verb's action and the beneficiary, indicating that the action was performed for their benefit.

3.2.6.1.8 Additive

In Poula, the additive case is employed to indicate an action involving the speaker, the hearer, and sometimes a third person. This case is used when the speaker informs the hearer about something or that the third person will also participate in the event or action. Here are some examples:

(3.32) a) pane a vu-le

Pane ADDI come-FUT

'Even Pane will come'

b) i ne nufə hi a vu-le

1SG 2SG village LOC ADDI go-FUT

'I will even come to your village'

The above constructions indicate that the speaker, along with the hearer (and sometimes a third person), will be involved in the action that is about to be performed or has been performed.

3.2.6.1.9 Ablative

The ablative case is a case which is used to express motion of a thing or a person. This case in Poula is indicated by the morpheme *hisəu*.

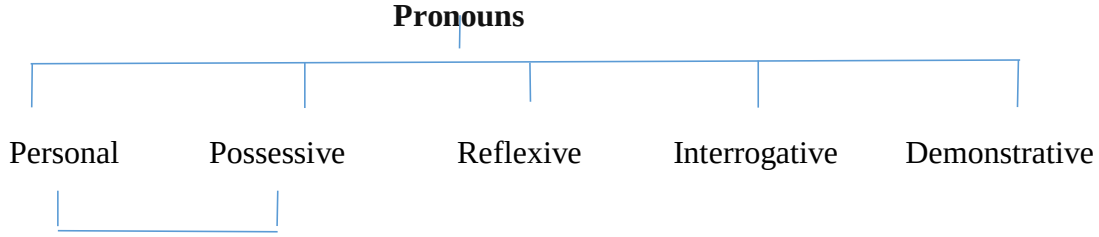
(3.33) a. pu ʒavame hisəu vu-e
3SG Zhavame ABL come-EVID
'She came from Zhavame'

b. i atupe hisəu laɪəvə li pə-e
1SG sister ABL book one borrow-EVID
'I borrowed a book from my sister'

c. laɪəva-na kʰatɪabu hisəu dutɪu-e
book-DEF shelf ABL fall-EVID
'The book fell down from the shelf

3.3 PRONOUN MORPHOLOGY

This section presents an overview of the different types of pronouns in Poula. Pronouns are free forms (as opposed to affixes) that function alone to fill the position of a noun phrase in a clause. They normally have all the distributional properties of noun phrases (Payne, 1997, p.43). In Poula, the absence of a distinct dual marker is compensated by expressing duality through the combination with the cardinal number *ahe* 'two'. The different types of pronouns found in the language are listed below:



i) Singular
ii) Plural

3.3.1 Personal Pronoun

A personal pronoun is associated with a particular person. It can be classified into first person, second person and third person. Poula exhibits all three person and number category. The personal pronouns in Poula have singular and plural forms respectively. Morphologically, there is no separate form to distinguish between inclusive and exclusive category. It is distinguished in the conversation between the speaker and the hearer whether the hearer is excluded or included. Given below is an illustration of Poula personal pronouns basing on person and number category.

Table 3.7 Personal Pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	ī 'I' a 'me'	í or itʰɹume 'we/us'
2nd	ne 'you'	neme 'you'
3rd	pu 'He/She'	pume 'they, them'

As shown in **Table 3.7**, the personal pronouns in Poula are not marked for gender, i.e., there is no separate forms or markers to indicate masculinity or femininity. The first person singular and the first-person plural is a case of isomorphism where the same base form is used for both singular and plural and is distinguished by tone. *ī* which is the first-person singular takes the mid tone and the first-person plural takes the high tone *í* as illustrated. Second person singular form is *ne*. The second person plural is formed by suffixing the human marker *-me* to the second person singular form.

Third person singular *pu* is a free morpheme and the third person plural is formed by suffixing the human marker to the third person singular form. It is observed that there is no gender distinction in any of the person marking category.

3.3.1.1 Singular

The singular pronoun in Poula is unmarked and it is divided into first person, second person and third person.

3.3.1.1.1 First person singular

The first-person singular pronoun has two forms: *i* and *a*. *i* exclusively occurs in the subject position and *a* exclusively occurs in the object position as illustrated in example (3.34 a & b)

(3.34) a. i ʃîʤo kobi ʒa-le

1SG tomorrow cabbage harvest-FUT

'I will harvest the cabbage tomorrow'

b. ne a-hi pəu-pi

2SG 1SG-to tell-OB

'You told me'

3.3.1.1.2 Second person singular

The second person singular *ne* has only one form which takes the position of both subject and object as illustrated below:

***ne* occurring in subject position**

(3.34) a. ne i bu tɹu-le

2SG 1SG Kohima go-FUT

'You and I will go to Kohima'

b. ne sa soi

2SG tall very

'You are tall' (You're very tall)

***ne* occurring in object position**

(3.35) a. pume ne hi vu-le

They 2SG to come-FUT

'They will come to you'

b. pu ne pʰəo bu-e

3SG 2SG look PROG-EVID

'He/she is looking for you'

3.3.1.1.3 Third person singular

The third person singular in Poula is represented by *pu* and it can take both subject and object position. Given below are some examples:

(3.36) a. pu-nəu likʰopi-le

3SG-NOM cook-FUT

'(S)he will cook'

b. pu ʂupafu vu nəu pu ʃavə folu mo məɲe hale ʂələ mo kʰe vu-ɪe

3SG market go but 3SG purse take NEG remember nothing buy NEG and come-PST

'She went to the market and (unknowingly) left her purse at home so she had to return empty handed'

c. ne pu kəu pio

2SG 3SG call IMP

'You call him/her'

3.3.1.2 Plural

Plurality expresses more than one person or one object. The pronoun plurals in Poula are *itʰɹume* 'we', *neme* 'you' and *pume* 'they/them'. The pronoun plurals are suffixed by the human marker *-me*, the human marker obligatorily occurs after the pronoun which personifies the pronoun and makes it human.

3.3.1.2.1 First person plural

(3.37) a. itʰɹume ba ɹu ki ʧa so-le

1PL time six at tea drink-FUT

'We will drink tea at 6'

b. itʰɹume vu-dia koi

3PL come-EXIST call

'They called us to come'

3.3.1.2.2 Second person plural

(3.38) a. neme atɹuku-me muʧu pio

2PL others-HM inform IMP

'You inform the others'

b. i neme ʂe səu hasə ni

1SG 1PL hard do work want

'I want you all to work hard'

3.3.1.2.3 Third person plural

(3.39) a. pume ʦəfə-me me

3SG tsüpfüme-HM people

'They are from Tsüpfüme'

b. i pume dəu hotəu ŋo

1SG them field go see

'I saw them going to the field'

c. pume dapaɹu bu-e

they razeba be.LOC-EVID

'They are in Razeba'

3.3.1.3 The dative in Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns in Poula can be marked with the dative suffix *hi* as illustrated in the given examples. The dative marking in nouns in these examples are used for the semantic roles as recipient and beneficiary.

(3.40) a. danyi a-hi larə li fopi

danyi 1SG-DAT book one give

'Danyi gave a book to me'

b. danyi pume-hi ɹaʃi fopi

danyi 3PL-DAT fruit give

'Danyi brought fruits for them'

3.3.1.4 Personal Pronouns and Degree of Comparison

The personal pronouns in Poula are also marked for the degree of comparison. The comparative marker *ʤə* occur independently after the pronouns. Given below are some examples:

(3.41) a. pu a dzə ʂo hi

3SG 1SG than long more

'She is taller than me'

b. danyi ne dzə tʰɹu hi

Danyi 2SG than strong more

'Danyi is stronger than you'

c. pu a dzə vi hi

3SG 1SG than good mo

'He is better than me'

3.3.2 Possessive Pronouns

A possessive pronoun is a word that takes the place of a noun to show possessiveness or ownership. The possessive case marker in Poula is *vi* and it occurs as an independent morpheme.

Table 3.8 Possessive Pronouns

Person	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	a vi 'mine'	itʰɹume vi 'ours'
2nd	ne vi 'yours'	neme vi 'yours'
3rd	pu vi 'his/hers'	pume vi 'theirs'

The first-person singular possessive pronoun is formed by adding the possessive form *vi* to the first-person singular form *a* which is an allomorph of the morpheme *ī*. Similarly, second person singular possessive pronoun is formed by adding the possessive form *vi* to the second person singular form *ne*. Second person plural is suffixed by a human marker and the possessive marker occur as a free morpheme to form second person possessive pronoun. The third person possessive pronouns are formed by adding the possessive marker *vi* to the pronouns, and the third person plural is formed by suffixing the human marker to the third person pronoun respectively.

3.3.2.1 First person possessive

(3.42) a. ki he a vi

house this 1SG POSS

'This house is mine'

b. ki he itʰɹume vi

house this 1PL POSS

'This house is ours'

3.3.2.2 Second person possessive

(3.43) a. ki huna ne vi

house that 2SG POSS

'That house is yours'

b. ki huna neme vi

house that 2PL POSS

'That house is yours

3.3.2.3 Third person possessive

(3.44) a. ki huna pu vi

house that 3SG POSS

'That house is his/hers'

b. ki huna pume vi

house that 3PL POSS

'That house is theirs'

3.3.3 Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronoun in Poula is morphologically marked by a bound form *-lia* 'self'. The marker is uniform and it can occur with any pronoun.

Table 3.9 Reflexive Pronouns

Person	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	ilia 'myself'	itʰɹumelia 'ourselves'
2nd	nelia 'yourself'	nehelia 'yourselves'
3rd	pulia 'him/herself'	pumelia 'themselves'

As shown in the above **Table 3.9**, the reflexive marker in Poula is suffixed to the pronouns to form a reflexive pronoun. It can occur in the first person (3.45 a & b), second person (3.46 a & b) and third person (3.47 a & b) category respectively.

(3.45) a. i-lia i dəulu-ɹe

1SG-REFL 1SG fool-PST

'I fooled myself'

b. i ɹut^{h}ɹa bu mo vasəu i-lia kikha haməti səu modashi-e

1SG helper have NEG that's why 1SG-REFL home everything do should-HB

'No one is there to help me at home, so I do the work all by myself'

(3.46) a. ne-lia ne muli-ləu

2SG-REFL 2SG trust-IMP

'Trust yourself'

b. ne-lia bu mosəu si

2SG-REFL do harm bad

'Don't harm yourself'

(3.47) a. pu-lia pu mədo-ləu

3PL-REFL 3SG teach-IMP

'(S)he taught herself'

b. pu-lia hao-na sə-e

3PL-REFL work-DEF do

'(S)he did the work himself'

3.3.4 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns act as question word in a sentence. Three types of interrogative pronouns are observed in Poula which are used in human class forms.

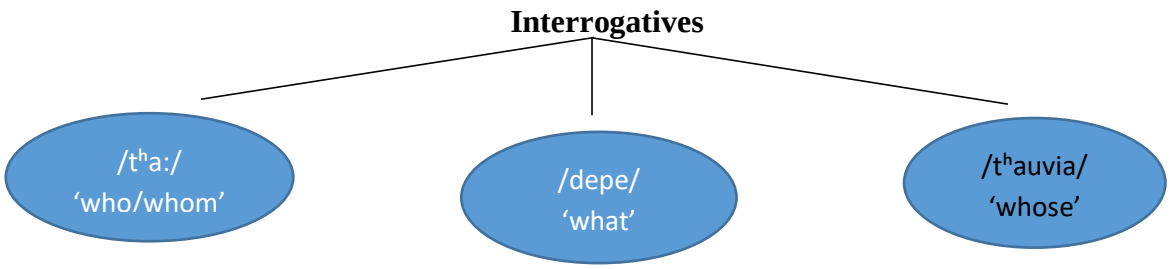


Figure 3.3 Interrogative Pronouns

The human interrogative pronouns can be marked for number and gender. For human interrogative pronouns, Poula uses specific distinctions with regard to gender, i.e., masculine, feminine and diminutive interrogatives. The forms are given below:

Table 3.10 Interrogative Pronouns (+Human)

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	tʰau 'who/whom'	tʰaume
Feminine	tʰaufəpe ~	tʰaumefə
Diminutive	tʰaunai ~	tʰaumenai

The respective interrogative forms are exclusively used for human. It is used when the person is known to the speaker as human (male/female). There is no marker to indicate masculine gender as such. The singular interrogatives can be used for both male and neuter beings where the gender of the person is unknown. In all the aspects, *tʰau* is the common base where different forms are suffixed to it to form the different interrogatives. Example (3.48 a & b) are illustrations of interrogative pronouns (human).

(3.48) a. pu tʰau

3SG who

'Who is he?'

b. pu tʰaufəpe

3SG who

'Who is she'

The other interrogative pronouns which can be used for both human and non-human consist of a number of free morphemes. *kena* 'which', is the only form which have dual, plural and diminutive forms. *deʒo* or *kiʒo* 'what (cost)' is the only interrogative pronoun which is exclusively applicable only in non-human interrogative pronouns. The other forms are spontaneously applicable in both human and non-human interrogatives.

Table 3.11 Interrogative Pronouns (-Human)

Singular	**Plural**
kana 'which'	kenatʰɪo
depe 'what'	~
deki/dekihi 'where'	~
desənu 'why'	~
kaɪtʰɪia 'how'	~
deʒo 'what cost'	~
desuki 'when (of time)'	~

Given below are some sentential examples of interrogative pronouns:

(3.49) a. kana ne si-a

which 2SG dog-Q

'Which one is your dog?'

b. i ʒavame vu-le ʤo ludu kalo vu-la

1SG zhavame go-FUT so road which go-Q

'Which road should I take to reach Zhavame?'

In Poula, the interrogative pronoun 'which' has two forms: *kana* and *kalo*. *kana* is used when the object being referred to is visible to the speaker (3.49 a) and *kalo* is used when the object being referred to is not visible to the speaker (3.49 b).

(3.50) a. ne pe deki bu-e

2SG grandmother where have-EVID

'Where is your grandmother?'

b. pu desənu tɪa-e

2SG why cry-EVID

'Why is she crying?'

c. ne kaɪtʰɪia bau da-a?

2SG how granary basket weave-Q

'How do you weave a granary basket?'

d. mutɪubi mu kiʒo

potato price what(cost)

'What is the price of potatoes? (per Kg)'

e. desəki naoni muni-la

when naoni celebrate-Q

'When do you celebrate Naoni festival?'

3.3.5 Demonstrative Pronouns

A demonstrative pronoun is used to point out or represent the nouns that act as the subject or object in a sentence. The demonstrative pronouns in Poula have different forms to indicate proximity, visible or not visible to the eye and remoteness basing on the distance in time.

Table 3.12 Demonstrative Pronouns

Distance	**Singular**	**Plural**
Proximate	hena 'this'	$het^{h}ɪo$ 'these'
Medial	həuna 'that' təna 'that'	$həut^{h}ɪo$ 'those' $tət^{h}ɪo$ 'these'
Remote	səna 'that'	$sət^{h}ɪo$ 'those'

The demonstrative pronouns (proximate) *hena* and *$het^{h}ɪo$* are used to refer to a particular person, place, animal or thing that is closer in time and distance. The other forms (medial)- *həuna* and *$həut^{h}ɪo$* which indicates medial are used to refer to a particular person, place, animal or thing that is away from both the speaker and the hearer in time and distance yet visible to the eye. The other forms of medial demonstrative pronouns are *təna* and *$tət^{h}ɪo$* which is used to indicate an object which is far away from the speaker but near the hearer. The demonstrative pronouns (remote) such as- *səna* and *$sət^{h}ɪo$* are used in order to indicate remoteness of an object or to refer to a particular person, place, animal or thing that is not visible in the eye. Some sentential examples are illustrated below:

Proximate:

(3.51) a. i ʒadi he ʂə ni bu-e

1SG land DET buy want PROG-EVID

'I want to buy this plot'

b. he-he a-ʤəɪe

DET-two my-brother

'These are my brothers'

c. pu pɹopa he-tʰɹo dzəpai

3SG flower DET-PL like

'She likes these flowers'

Medial:

(3.52) a. tɹalo həu-na fopi

please DET-DEF give

'Please pass me that cup'

b. laɹəvə həu-he a-vi

book DET-two 1SG-POSS

'Those books are mine'

c. me həu-tʰɹo hi ʂe-je mo-ɹe

people DET-PL in live-HB NEG-PRF

'People don't live in those places anymore (Pointing at a deserted place in the east')

Remote:

(3.53) a. i bu sə-na ʧo-e

1SG place DET-DEF know-EVID

'… I know that place (Oh, yes! I know that place)'

b. me sə-he nufə depe sə-a?

men DET-two village what do-Q

'So, what were those men doing in the village?'

c. ʧi sə-tʰɹo pʰəu ʂə-ləu

story DET-PL find collect-IMP

'Collect those stories'

3.4 VERB MORPHOLOGY

The class of verbs in any language is the grammatical category that includes lexemes which express the least time-stable concepts, e.g., events such as die, run, break, etc. (Givón 1984, p.51, 55). Verbs can serve as heads of verb phrases, predicates of clauses, and they code events in a text (Payne, 1997, p.47). Verb is one of the major word classes in Poula. A verb form can be said to be simple as well as complex. Verb is the only kind of word that changes to show tense, mood and aspect. Morphologically, a verb is highly inflectional and complex as it can take a number of affixes for tense, aspects and mood. The verbal bases in Poula are generally monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic. Examples:

Table 3.13 Simple word structure of Poula

Monosyllabic	**Disyllabic**	**Trisyllabic**	**Polysyllabic**
ta 'walk'	ʃa.ja 'punish'	sə.mə.ʃi 'cleaning'	mə.ʤə.sə.t^{h}əu 'chestnut'
tɪo 'play'	me.lə 'slow'	mə.li.mo 'distrust'	mə.səu.mə.nə 'abuse'
ɪə 'write'	ni.va 'smile'	a.t^{h}e.təe 'admire'	ha.tɪu.va.səu.ma 'because'
tʃo 'jump'	mə.hau 'yawn'	k^{h}a.na.pu 'earthworm'	mə.na.a.k^{h}o 'benediction'
fə 'carry'	mə.ŋə 'chase'	ɪe.tɪo.ʃi 'grape'	mə.ki.t^{h}əu.ʃi 'cashew'

3.4.1 Simple Verb Structure

In Poula, the base form of a verb is often simple, consisting of either monosyllabic or disyllabic. This simple structure reflects the basic form of the verb before it undergoes any changes or additions. When a verb undergoes inflection, it becomes more complex. Inflection refers to the changes that verbs undergo to indicate tense, aspect, mood, person, number, and other grammatical categories. These inflections can modify the verb's form, adding prefixes, suffixes, or altering the verb stem itself. A distinction between the different types of verbs is given below:

3.4.1.1 Intransitive Verb

An intransitive verb is a verb that does not require a direct object to complete its meaning. In other words, it expresses an action or state that does not transfer to an object. These verbs stand alone in a sentence and do not have an object receiving the action. For example, in Poula, the verb *tra* (cry) is intransitive because it does not require a direct object. One can say *natəu tɹa-e* (The baby cried) without mentioning what or whom the baby cried.

(3.54) a. tinihi par-ɹe

sun rise-PRF

'The sun rose'

b. pu ɲi muvita-ɹe

3SG laugh beautiful-PRF

'She laughed beautifully'

c. pɹau-na tʰe-ɹe

elephant-DEF die-PRF

'The elephant died'

3.4.1.2 Transitive Verb

A transitive verb in Poula is a verb that can take a direct object. This means that the action of the verb is directed towards a specific object. Without an object, a transitive verb's meaning may appear incomplete or unclear. For example, *sani avuba məta ʤəpa-e* (Sani likes bamboo shoot), the verb *ʤəpa* (likes) is transitive because it requires an object *avuba* (rice) to complete the meaning of the sentence. Some more examples of transitive verbs are given below:

(3.55) a. muvi-nə ludʒə-na məsə-e

Muvi-NOM ball-DEF kick-EVID

'Muvi kicked the ball'

b. asə-nə tɹoto-na tə-ləu-ɹe

Asü-NOM corn-DEF eat.CAPMOD.PRF

'Asü ate the corn'

c. kʰo-nə mutɹubi fovu-pi-ɹe

Kho-NOM potato bring-OB-PRF

'Kho brought potatoes'

3.4.1.3 Ditransitive Verb

Ditransitive can be defined in terms of semantic roles, namely as verbs that have an Agent, Theme, and Goal (or Recipient). The grammatical functions of these arguments are subject, and direct and indirect object (Gelderen 2013: 94). This means that the verb transfers the action to both the direct object, which is the recipient of the action, and the indirect object, which is the beneficiary or recipient of the direct object.

For example, *i-nə tʰɹo li foa saŋi pi-e* (I gave Sanyi a machete), the verb *foa* (give) is ditransitive because it has both direct object *tʰɹo* (machete) and an indirect object *sanyi*. The verb *foa* transfers the action of giving from the subject to both the direct and indirect objects, indicating that the 'machete' is being given to someone.

(3.56) a. səʂə ʤabi-tʰɹo tebəl hi kʰe-pi-ɹe

Sürhü key-PL table LOC keep-OB-PRF

'Sürhü kept the keys on the table'

b. apəu-nə pu kʰabəu hisəu baibəl foa-pʰa-ləu-e

father-NOM 3SG bag from bible take-out-IMP-EVID

'My father took out the bible from his bag'

c. ʤosef-nə zelome kisəu ground apple mofə-pi-e

Joseph-NOM Zelome from ground apple send-OB-EVID

'Joseph sent ground apples from Zelome'

3.4.1.4 Collocational Verb Form

The collocational verb forms refer to a natural combination of words that are closely affiliated with each other. It is the co-occurrence of verbal forms and their associative nouns. Collocational verbs maybe either transitive or intransitive verbs and these types of verbs are semantically distinctive depending on the kind of process involved. Examples:

(3.57)	a)	ti	‘washing of hands’
		ti	‘washing of face’
		asau	‘washing of clothes’
		sə	‘washing of water bottle’
		nau	‘washing of mouth/cup’
		t^hre	‘washing of leg/head’
	b)	/ba/	‘wearing of shawl’
		/nau/	‘wearing of mekhela’
		/k^he/	‘wearing of hat’
		/mətəu/	‘wearing of necklace’
		/k^hi/ or /fə/	‘wearing of ear-ring’

There are other types of verbs that can be distinguished on the basis of the type of action involved. It can be verbs of cooking, verbs of cutting etc.

3.4.2 Compound Verb Structure

In Poula, verb compounding follows an external compound structure. This means that two verb elements, which can belong to the same or different word classes, are compounded together to form a compound verb. This compounding can involve combinations such as verb + verb, noun + verb, adjective + adjective, and so on. This structure allows for the creation of new verb forms that convey specific meanings or actions by combining existing verbs or other word classes.

3.4.2.1 Verb + Verb = Verb

A verb + verb compounding allows for the formation of a new verb by combining two verbs. This compounding process results in a single verb that conveys a more specific or nuanced meaning than either of the individual verbs alone. Examples:

		Verb		**+**	**Verb**	**=**	**Verb**
(3.58)	a)	fo	'take'	+ vu	'come'	= fovu	'bring'
	b)	da	'beat'	+ va	'compete'	= dava	'fighting'

3.4.2.2 Noun + Verb = Verb

Verbs can also be formed by combining a noun and a verb. This compounding process results in a new verb that incorporates both the meaning of the noun and the action of the verb.

		Noun		**+**	**Verb**	**=**	**Verb**	
(3.59)	a)	li	'pot'	+ k^ho	'cook'	= lik^{h}o		'cooking'
	b)	luda	'road'	+ ta	'walk'	= ludata		'walking'
	c)	ha	'thing'	+ sə	'does'	= hasə		'working'

3.4.3 Negation

Negation is an intrinsic notion in the world and in language (Dixon, 2012). As described by Payne (1997), 'A negative clause is one that asserts that some event, situation, or state of affairs does not hold. Negative clauses usually occur in the context of some presupposition, functioning to negate or counter-assert that presupposition'. Negation in Poula is handled by negative particles, which most often occur as sentence final particle after the verb. This section discusses the different types of negative particles in different types of construction, viz. declarative, imperative, interrogative and hortative constructions.

3.4.3.1 The Negation *moi*

The negative particle *moi* obligatorily occurs after the verb. It functions as the default sentential negation in the language as illustrated in example (1) and (2).

(3.60) a. pu-nə ne kə bu-e

3SG-NOM 1SG call PROG-EVID

‘(S)He is calling you’

b. pu-nə ne kə bu moi

3SG-NOM 1SG call PROG NEG

‘(S)He is not calling you’

(3.61) a. i vu-le

1SG come-FUT

‘I will come’

b. i vu -le moi

1SG come FUT NEG

‘I will not come’

This study has found that the default negative particle *moi* is used to negate different sentence constructions like declarative, interrogative and hortative constructions.

3.4.3.1.1 Declarative Constructions

According to Miestamo (2005), “Standard negation (SN) refers to the (basic) ways a language has for negating declarative verbal main clauses.” The negation for declarative clause in Poula is marked with the negative particle *moi*. This marker negates the sentence and expresses an action which is not performed.

(3.62) ti-ɹə-bu moi

sky-rain-PROG NEG

‘It is not raining’

(3.63) i ʃì bu moi

1SG dog have NEG

‘I do not have a dog’

3.4.3.1.2 Nominalised Clauses

The negation *mo* is the only permissible negative particle which can occur within a nominalised clause. Nominalisation in Poula is marked with the human marker and hence there is no separate morpheme to mark nominalisation.

(3.64) a. ɹə-pʰɹə-ləu sə mo me

write-read-CAPMOD know NEG man

'Illiterate' (One who does not know how to read and write)

b. məli mo me

believe NEG man

'Non-believer' (One who has no religious faith)

c. səu təu mo me

meat eat NEG man

'Vegetarian' (One who does not eat meat)

d. hi mo-me

Marriage NEG-man

'Spinster' (An unmarried women)

In this language, the default negative marker *mo* changes its position according to the certainty and the discourse of an action. The negative particle occurs at the end of the sentence when there is sureness of an action which is NOT taking place as shown in examples (3.65 a, b, c). Morphologically, Poula is closely associated with Tenyidie. Kuolie (2006) stated that Tenyidie negative markers can intervene between a verb base and future tense suffix, however, this is not the case Poula, as the negative particle occurs after the verb and tense suffix as illustrated below:

(3.65) a. pu le ta-le mo

3SG surely go FUT NEG

'(S)he will certainly not go'

b. le ti-ɹə-le mo

Surely sky-rain-FUT NEG

'It will surely not rain'

c. pu le tʰe-le mo

3SG surely die-FUT NEG

'(S)he will surely not die'

On the other hand, in sentences where there is uncertainty of an action, the negative particle occurs post verbally with other elements following the negative particle as illustrated below:

(3.66) a. pu ta mo-ləu vi

3SG go NEG-CAPMOD may

'(S)he might not go'

b. pu tə mo-ləu vi

3SG eat NEG-CAPMOD may

'(S)he might not eat'

c. tiɹə mo-ləu vi

rain NEG-CAPMOD may

'It might not rain'

3.4.3.1.3 Interrogative Constructions

In a negative interrogative construction, both Wh-questions (example 3.67) and yes/no (example 3.68) questions are negated by the negative particle *mo*. The negative particle *moi* is realised as *mo* when the negative particle *moi* is followed by any other elements. The negative particles always occur in post-verbal position and the question particle is also preceded by the negative morpheme.

(3.67) a. ne desənə vu mo a

1SG why come NEG Q

'Why didn't you come?'

b. tʰa:nəu ʧĩtru pa mo a

Who truth tell NEG Q

'Who did not tell the truth?'

c. ne tʰa: hi ʤəpa mo a

1SG whom PP like NEG Q

'Whom are you not happy with?'

(3.68) a. ne zi-ɲi mo hiu

2SG sleep-want NEG Q

'Are you not sleepy?'

b. ne ʧĩu ha-tə-le mo hiu

2SG now thing-eat-FUT NEG Q

'You won't eat now?'

3.4.3.1.4 Hortative construction

Hortative are verbal expressions used by the speaker to encourage or discourage an action. The hortative in Poula can be marked for negation with the marker *mo* which is the reduced form of *moi*.

(3.69) a. itʰɹume tu-le mo kʰe

1PL run-EXST NEG IMP

'Let's not run'

b. itʰɹume təu-le mo kʰe

1PL eat-EXST NEG IMP

'Let's not eat'

c. itʰɹume ali-li ʧasəmutʰe-le mo kʰe

1PL one-one discourage-EXST NEG IMP

'Let's not discourage each other'

3.4.3.2 The Negation *hai*

The negation *hai* occurs as an independent morpheme. Interestingly, this negative particle is used in declarative sentences which indicates the emptiness of something (person or thing) in a particular place. Given below are some examples:

(3.70) a. apəu ki hi hai

father house LOC NEG

'My father is not at home'

b. i səkiɹaka hai

1SG money NEG

'I don't have money'

The occurrence of negative indefinites along with the negative particle *hai* also results in a double negative construction as illustrated in the given example.

(3.71) a. ki hi mele hai

house LOC nobody NEG

'Nobody is at home'

b. i hakile vu-le hai

1SG nowhere go-EXST NEG

'I have nowhere to go'

3.4.3.3 The Inability marker *hoi*

The morpheme *hoi* basically can be construed as the inability marker, and it illustrates the inability of an action. The morpheme *hoi* occurs after the capabilitive modal as shown in examples (3.72 and 3.73 a) and cannot occur after the aspect marker *-ɹe*, as shown in example (3.73 b*).

(3.72) hatɹuvasəumoa səkiɹaka akʰə ʤosəu pu-nape laɹəki hi məfə

because money lack so 3SG-daughter school LOC send

-ləu hoi-ɹe

-CAPMOD NEG-PRF

'Because of the lack of money, she could no longer send her child to school'

(3.73)

a. səʤosə nufəme-tʰɹo nufə hi bu-ləu hoi-ɹe

so villagers-PL village LOC stay-CAPMOD NEG-PRF

'….so, the villagers could no longer stay in the village' [elicited]

b. *səʤosə nufəme-tʰɹo nufə hi bu-ləu-ɹe ho

so villagers-PL village LOC stay-CAPMOD-PRF NEG

'….so, the villagers could no longer stay in the village' [elicited]

3.4.3.4 The Prohibitive marker *səu*

Prohibitive clauses prohibit, preclude or disallow an action to occur. The negative imperative or prohibitive in Poula is indicated by the morpheme *səu* which occurs post verbal. Its occurrence is contrastive to other negation markers in the language as it cannot occur with any tense or aspect markers. The prohibitive marker is used in an imperative manner in sentences.

(3.74) a. pu məʧi səu

3SG talk NEG

'Do not talk to him'

b. zəumovia ta səu

please go NEG

'Please don't go'

c. ta vi səu

walk fast NEG

'Do not walk fast'

The above examples (3.74 a, b & c) have shown the negative imperative construction where the prohibitive marker *səu* occupies the same position as the default negation in Poula.

The negative particle *səu* is used to negate imperative sentences in Poula. As shown in (example 3.75 (b), 3.76 (b) & 3.77 (b)), there is no separate marker to indicate imperative, be it- command, polite request or hortative sentences.

(3.75) a. səu-kʰe b. səu səu

do-IMP do NEG

'Do it' 'Don't do it'

(3.76) a. ta-kʰe b. ta səu

go-IMP go NEG

'Go' 'Don't go'

(3.77) a. ʂə-kʰe b. ʂə səu

buy-IMP buy NEG

'buy' 'Don't steal'

In addition to the above negative particles, there are two lexical word that express negativity. The word *si* and *məsa* literally means 'bad' and 'empty' is also used to express negativity when used in sentences.

(3.78) a. ne səʤosəu nufə hi lələ si

2SG since village LOC enter bad (cannot)

'Since you cannot enter (the village)….' [elicited]

b. ki hana məsa-tə bu-e

house DET empty-total have-EVID

'This house is empty' (There is no one in the house) [elicited]

3.4.3.5 Negative Indefinites

In Poula, the negative indefinites are differentiated with separate morphemes *zikili* and *hakilia.* However, to form a negative indefinite, the plain negative marker *moi* occurs post verbally.

(3.79) a. i zikili vu-e b. pu hakilia vu moi

1SG somewhere go-EVID 3SG nowhere go NEG

'I went somewhere' 'She didn't go anywhere'

(3.80) a. i hakilia vu moi b. *i hakilia vu-e

1SG nowhere go NEG 1SG nowhere go-EVID

'I went nowhere' 'I went nowhere'

In Poula, the negative indefinites which occurs alone in a negative sentence without the negation marker is ungrammatical (3.80 b) as the indefinite along does not qualify to negate the sentence. Therefore, the negative indefinites are always accompanied by the negative marker *moi*.

3.4.3.6 Double Negation

Double negation is a result of negating the negation of a proposition by adding a second negation to produce a non-negative statement. The negative particle in double negation is *moi/mo.* As discussed above, when *moi* occurs in the middle of the sentence, it is reduced to *mo* as shown in examples (3.81 a, b, c, d & e). In this kind of construction, the two negatives cancel each other to make a positive sentence.

(3.81) a. i tə mo ʧəu moi

1SG eat NEG CONN NEG

'It's not that I don't eat'

b. i le ni mo ʧəu moi

1SG watch want NEG CONN NEG

'It's not that I don't want to watch'

c. ane-nə vu-le moi ʧəu pau moi

PN-NOM go-FUT NEG CONN tell NEG

'Ane didn't say that she'll not go'

d. pastə-nə ak^{h}o səu-ni mo ʤosəu səu moi

pastor-NOM pray do-want NEG because do NEG

'The pastor didn't pray because he did not want to pray'

e. i vu-le mo ʧəu moi

1SG go-FUT NEG CONN NEG

'It's not that I will not come'

3.4.3.6.1 Double negation of *ho* and *moi*

The double negative construction can also be counter negated by *ho* and *moi* where the second negation negates the first negative clause which results to an affirmative sentence (example (3.82 a & b). This kind of statement is used when the speaker attempts to convey to the listener/hearer by firmly confirming the action which was supposed to be a negative construction into an affirmative sentence.

(3.82) a. i vu-ləu ho ʧəu moi

1SG go-CAPMOD NEG CONN NEG

'It's not that I cannot go'

b. i tu-ləu ho ʧəu moi

1SG run-CAPMOD NEG CONN NEG

'It's not that I cannot run'

3.4.3.6.2 Double Negation: Negative Coordinator

In coordinated double negation, the default negative particle is used in both the clauses to imply a negative construction. This kind of constructions is used when neither the speaker nor the hearer is involved in performing the action. Unlike example (3.82 a & b) the occurrence of two negatives does not change the negative sentence into affirmative but, the negative construction retains.

(3.83) a. avi a mo ane a mo

N also NEG N also NEG

'Neither Avi nor Ane'

b. i a mo pu a mo

1SG also NEG 2SG also NEG

'Neither me nor her'

3.4.3.7 Negative emphasis/strengthening

The simple declarative constructions as stated in (**3.3.3.1.1**) are negated by the negative particle *moi.* In order to strengthen the negative particle or for the sake of emphasis, a pre-verbal element *le* 'never' occurs as a free morpheme before the main verb as illustrated.

(3.84) a. i kapamodʒə ŋao-le moi

1SG kapamodzü climb-FUT NEG

'I will not climb Kapamodzü'

b. i kapamodʒə le ŋao-le moi

1SG kapamodzü never climb-FUT NEG

'I will never climb Kapamodzü'

3.4.3.8 Conditional negative particle

In Poula, the conditional statements are negated by the negative particle *moʧukə* which is a combination of the default negative particle *mo* and the conjunctive particle *-ʧukə*. The presence of the conditional negative particle negates the supposition of an action and it implies the consequences of a situation if an action is not executed or performed.

(3.85) a. ne tʰa mo-ʧəkəu kaɪə nu-ləu ho

2SG hurry NEG-COND bus stop-CAPMOD NEG

'If you don't hurry, you'll miss the bus'

b. ne səumədə mo-ʧəkəu ne vi ʧəu-ləu ho

2SG try NEG-COND 2SG good know-CAPMOD NEG

'If you don't try, you'll never know your talent'

3.4.4 Causative Verbs

Causative verbs are used to indicate that one person causes another person to do something. These verbs are formed from intransitive verbs by prefixing a causative marker, which is *mu-*. This prefix changes the meaning of the verb to indicate that the action is caused or influenced by someone or something else**.**

	Intransitive verb form		**Causative verb form**	
(3.86)	ʂi	'live'	mu-ʂi	'cause to live'
	tʰe	'die'	mu-tʰe	'cause to die'
	zi	'sleep'	mu-zi	'cause to sleep'
	tɪa	'cry'	mu-tɪa	'cause to cry'
	si	'shiver'	mu-si	'cause to shiver'

Sentential example:

(3.87) a) i pu sə mu-zi-ɪe

1SG 3SG let CAUS-sleep-PRF

'I make him sleep'

b) i pu sə mu-tɪa-ɪe

1SG 3SG let CAUS-cry-PRF

'I make her cry'

3.4.5 Purposive Form of Verb

Purposive verbs are verbs that indicate an action done with a specific purpose or intention. The purposive verb form is marked by the suffix *-dia*, which is added to the verb. This suffix indicates that the action is performed with a particular goal or objective in mind.

(3.88) a. i hatə-le-dia lik^{h}o-ki hi lə-ɪe

1SG eat-CAPMOD-PURP kitchen-house LOC go-PRF

'I went to the kitchen to have food'

b. i ʤə-t^{h}ɪə-le-dia aɪi hi vu-ɪe

1SG water-bath-CAPMOD-PURP river LOC go-PRF

'I went to the river to take bath'

c. I səu lu-le-dia ʃafo ta-ɪe

1SG meat buy-CAPMOD-PURP money take-PRF

'I took the money to buy meat'

3.4.6 Reciprocal form of Verb

In Poula, reciprocal verbs are represented by the marker *alili*, which is placed before the verb. This marker indicates that the action of the verb is reciprocal, meaning that it is done mutually or reciprocally between two or more entities.

(3.89) a. ehe alili da-ɪe

1PL RECP meet-PRF

'We met each other'

b. oʃì-tʰɹo alili fo bu-ɹe

Dog-PL RECP fight PROG-PRF

'The dogs are fighting each other'

3.3.7 Associative form of Verb

Associative verbs indicate that the action is to be done together or in association with another person or thing.

(3.90) a. í akoa ha-tə bu-e

1PL together thing-eat PROG-EVID

'We are eating together'

b. daɲi e ʧaɲə akoa lə su-pi-ɹe

Danyi CONJ Chanyü together song sing-OB-PRF

'Danyi and Chanyü sang together'

c. pume akoa so-bu-ɹe

3PL together drink-PROG-PRF

'They drink together''

3.4.8 Tense

Lyons (1986) defines tense as ''a deictic category'. The essential characteristics of this category, is that it relates the time of action, events or state of affairs referred to the sentence to the time of utterance.' Tense indicates whether a sentence is an action in the past, the present or the future. Furthermore, Montague (1974), also consider tenses as sentential operators. Such operators apply to the basic or untensed form of a sentence to yield another sentence. Their effect is to shift the evaluation time of a sentence to yield another sentence. However, Alessandra and Fabio, (1997), stated that the tense operator approach has been criticised both from an empirical and a theoretical point of view. Tense, rather obviously, is concerned with the time of the event (Comrie 1979: 3). Veikho (2021), cited van Driem (2007), 'that the operation of tense, aspect, and modality of language X is never equal with that of language Y.

This is because “each language is a conceptual universe unto itself and should be described in its own terms”. Tense is associated with the sequence of events in real time (Payne 1997: 234).

The tense markers in Poula are relatively simple, the future tense is indicated by a bound morpheme *-le* which is suffixed to the verbal stem, and the present tense and past tense are unmarked. Poula demonstrates no clear tense structure but exhibits something more like an aspectual system (Veikho, 2021).

A tense expressing an action or a state that is currently going on or is habitually performed and is true at the time of speaking is known as present tense. The verbal base form or the lexeme of a verb normally has two functions, i.e., simple present and simple past. Examples:

(3.91) a. i ləu sə-e

1SG song sing-EVID

‘I sing/sang a song’

b. apɹəu kobi li hi bu-e

brother cabbage field in have-EVID

‘My brother is in the cabbage field’

c. natə tɪa-e

child cry-EVID

‘The child cries’

Future tense (FUT) is a tense that is used to express an action that has not yet happened or a state that does not yet exist. The morpheme that marks future tense in Poula is *-le*, usually suffixed to the verbal root. In a word construction, the future marker always occurs as the final morpheme. The future tense morpheme is also preceded by the negative marker.

(3.92) a. uʧu mo tɪəkəu nu vu-le

now NEG evening Pp go-FUT

‘….not now, I will come in the evening’

b. itʰɹume ɹazeba pa-le

1PL razeba go-FUT

‘We will go to Razeba’

c. kʰe ehe pao moliba ki ŋ̊i tɹəu-le

IMP we.two uncle Moliba house LOC go-FUT

‘Come, we will go to uncle Moliba’s place’

3.4.8.1 Negation and Tense

Negation in Poula is handled by negative particles, which most often occur as the sentence's final particle after the verb. In order to negate a sentence, the tense markers and all other elements need to be dropped, the negative particle is then added to the verbal root.

(3.93) a. daɲi-nə kʰao-na səutʰa-le

Danyi-NOM tiger-DEF kill-FUT

‘Danyi will kill the tiger’

b. *daɲi-nə kʰao-na səutʰa-le-moi

Danyi-NOM tiger-DEF kill-FUT-NEG

‘Danyi will not kill the tiger’

(3.94) a. natəu zi-le

child sleep-FUT

‘The child will sleep’

b. *natəu zi-le-moi

child sleep-FUT-NEG

‘The child will not sleep’

3.4.9 Aspects

Aspects are the internal temporal "structure" of a situation (Payne 1997: 234). In linguistics, aspect is a grammatical category that expresses how an action, event, or state, denoted by a verb, extends over time. It shows the relationship between the action and the passage of time from the speaker's point of view. 'Aspect is concerned with the nature of the event, particularly in terms of its 'internal temporal constituency' Comrie (1976). There are four aspect markers in Poula, namely, *-ɹe, bu, ki,* and *-be*. Aspect in Poula can be divided into perfective aspect and imperfective aspect.

3.4.9.1 Perfective

Perfective aspect describes and action as a completed whole, rather than from within the event as it unfolds. Perfective aspect is used in referring to an event conceived as bounded and unitary, without reference to any flow of time. The perfective in Poula is marked by the bound morpheme *-ɹe,* it occurs in simple constructions. This element is used to indicate an event which is either carried out in the recent past or the immediate past. The following examples are illustrative:

(3.95) a. i tə ləu-ɹe

1SG eat CAPMOD-PRF

'I have eaten'

b. i laɹəvə-na pu pi-ɹe

1SG book-DEF 3SG give-PRF

'I have given the book to him'

c. pu ki ʃə məsi-ɹe

3SG house do clean-PRF

'He had cleaned the house'

3.4.9.2 Imperfective

The imperfective aspect is further divided into progressive and habitual aspect.

3.4.9.2.1 Progressive Aspect

Progressive aspect is the aspect of a verb that expresses an ongoing action. The progressive markers *bu* and *ki* both occur as free morpheme and occur in simple sentence constructions. The present progressive aspect is marked by *bu* which is added to most of the verbs. This verbal element always occurs in the final position and it closes the verbal construction. *bu* is used to indicate an action that is at present and ongoing (example (13) & (14)).

(3.96) a. pu akʰo sə bu-e

3SG pray do PROG-EVID

'She is praying'

b. pume laɹə ɹə bu-e

3PL book write PROG-EVID

'They are writing a book'

The past progressive aspect is marked by the morpheme *ki*, which is added to the verbal base. It is used to report an ongoing action that has happened in the past.

(3.97) a. oʒo i dəu hi ho ki

this morning 1SG field LOC go PROG

'This morning as I was going to filed' (elicited)

b. i dupaɹu hi patəu ki

1SG razeba LOC go PROG

'While I was going to Razeba' (elicited)

3.4.9.2.2 Habitual Aspect

Habituative aspect is marked by the habitual marker (HB) *-be* which is suffixed to the verbal root. The habitual aspect is a form of expressing the fact that the action is carried out as a matter of habit. It always occurs in the final position and closes the verbal construction.

(3.98) a. i tit^{h}utsə p^{h}ita laɹəki vu-be

1SG everyday walk school go-HB

'I walk to school every day'

b. pu təut^{h}ɹəkə ʧa tɹə-be

3SG afternoon tea drink-HB

'She drinks tea in the afternoon'

c. i mofotsə kobi li-be

1PL every year cabbage cultivate-HB

'We cultivate cabbage every year'

3.4.9.3 Other Aspects

Additionally, there are other aspect markers in Poula which are different from the ones discussed above. The occurrence of these aspects indicates different verbal state. These aspect markers can also occur in the same manner as the other aspects discussed above.

3.4.9.3.1 Incompletive

Incompletive aspect refers to an aspectual form that expresses an action that is been carried out and yet to complete the action. In Poula, the morpheme that conveys or indicate incompleteness of an action is *-hi*.

(3.99) a i ʧo-a kobi ʧita dəu hi bu-hi

1SG still cabbage some field LOC have-INCOMPL

'I still have some cabbage in the field'

b. pume haʂo səu tɪu-ləu mo-hi

3PL work do finish-CAPMOD NEG-INCOMPL

'They are yet to finish the work'

c. pu ʧo-a te la-hi

3SG still there stand-INCOMPL

'She is still standing there'

3.4.9.3.2 Customary

Customary aspect in Poula is indicated by the combination of two morphemes *tau* and *-be.* It may be noted that these elements occur independently to imply customary actions. The sentences below illustrate the occurrence of the customary aspect marker to indicate customary aspects.

(3.100) a. i lapʰɪə tau-be

1SG study CUST-HB

'I study regularly'

b. pume he vu tau-be

3PL here come CUST-HB

'They used to come here regularly'

3.4.9.3.3 Augmentative

The augmentative expression is marked by the presence of a morpheme *lele.* The marker is always preceded by an adjective as shown in the given examples:

(3.101) a. ne ʂo lele ʧaɪe

2SG tall AUG INCHO

'You are growing taller and taller'

b. pu ʦəvi lele ʧaɹe

3SG wise AUG INCHO

'She is becoming wiser and wiser'

3.4.10 Mood

Alessandra and Fabio (1997), considered mood to be a manifestation of modality. They further stated that 'mood choice is determined by the condition which rules the interpretation of the subordinate clause itself'. Modality differ from tense and aspect in that it does not refer directly to any characteristic of the event, but simply to the status of the proposition. It is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event (Palmer, 2001: 1). Mood relates the speaker's attitude towards the situation or the speaker's commitment to the probability that the situation is true (Payne 1997:234).

Minthun (1999:173), the distinction is that 'The realis portrays situations as actualized, as having occurred or actually occurring, knowable through direct perception. The irrealis portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination.'

3.4.10.1 Imperative

Two morphemes are noted to express imperative mood. The morpheme *-ləu* is used when the speaker gives command to the listener to carry out an action without the involvement of the speaker (102 a & b). On the other hand, the morpheme *pi* is used when the speaker is involved as the recipient of the action (102 b & c).

(3.102) a. ne bau kʰa-ləu

2SG hand raise-IMP

'Raise your hand'

b. ne va sə-ləu

2SG work do-IMP

'Do your work'

c. i kʰu pi

1SG hit IMP

'Hit me'

d. laɪəvə-na i pi

Book-DEF 1SG IMP

'Give me the book'

3.4.10.2 Ability

The ability mood expresses the quality or state of being able to do an action. Examples below shows ability mood in Poula. This mood is often marked by the presence of the morpheme *sə*.

(3.103) a. i ʤə da-ləu sə

1SG water swim-CAPMOD can

'I can swim'

b. pu ləu sə-ləu sə

3SG song sing-CAPMOD can

'She can sing'

3.4.10.3 Conditional

The conditional mood expresses a situation where the validity of an action or state is dependent on a condition, which may be hypothetical or counterfactual. This mood is marked by the occurrence of the morpheme *muʧa* 'should'. It indicates that something would or should happen under certain conditions.

(3.104) a. i te vu ʧə muʧa

1SG there come do COND

'I should be there'

b. ne laɪəpʰɪə muʧa

2SG book COND

'You should study'

3.4.10.4 Necessity

The necessity mood indicates necessity on the part of the actor. This mood is marked by the presence of the morpheme *mudaʃi*. It is used to express that something must or has to be done by the actor.

(3.105) a. i ki səu mudaʃi

1SG house build must

'I must build a house'

b. ne kilo tʰau vu mudaʃi

2SG wedding PP come must

'You must come to the wedding'

3.5.10.5 Possibility

Possibility mood in Poula is indicated by *vi*. This mood is used to express that there is a possibility of an action or state occurring, but it is not certain. It signifies that something may or may not happen.

(3.106) a. pume vu-ləu vi

3PL come-CAPMOD POSS

'They might come'

b. pu sidako hi-ləu vi

3SG next year marry-CAPMOD POSS

'She might get married next year'

c. mudoapi-na vu mo-ləu vi

Teacher-DET come NEG-CAPMOD POSS

'The teacher might not come'

3.4.10.6 Obligatory

The obligatory mood is marked by the presence of the marker *nu.* This mood is used to indicate that an action is necessary or required. It is often used in commands, instructions, or statements of obligation Examples:

(3.107) a. muɹomena muhimula nu

orphan belittle OBLI

'It is taboo to belittle orphans'

b. ifəpu hi məda nu

parents to lie OBLI

'It is taboo to lie to our parents'

3.4.10.7 Dubitative

The dubitative expression is marked by the presence of *səe*. This marker occurs at the final position in a syntactic structure and takes on the role of interrogative particles. It indicates doubt or uncertainty regarding the action described by the verb. Examples:

(3.108) a. ne ʧina ʧo səe

2SG story know DUB

'I guess you know the story'

b. pu nehi vu səe

2SG where come DUB

'Perhaps, he came to you'

c. hena odʒo vu səe

DET yesterday go DUB

‘Didn’t this man come yesterday?’

3.4.10.8 Optative

An Optative expression is marked by the presence of a morpheme *məzəle*. This morpheme is used to indicate a wish, desire, or hope regarding a future event. Examples:

(3.109) a. pu vu məzəle

3SG come OPT

‘(S)he may come’

b. ne tʰɹolu məzəle

2SG win OPT

‘May you win’

3.4.10.9 Intentive

An intentive expression is marked by the presence of a morpheme *ɲi*. This indicates the speaker's intention or desire to perform an action. Examples:

(3.110) a. i səu təu ɲi

1SG meet eat INT

‘I want to eat meat’

b. i laɹəki vu ɲi

1SG school go INT

‘I want to go to school’

3.4.10.10 Desiderative

A Desiderative expression is marked by the presence of a morpheme *dini*. This indicates a wish or desire for something to happen. Examples:

(3.111) a. i mu kəu dini

1SG dream PP DSD

'I wish it was a dream!'

b. pu pia ʂəha aʂo-na səu-ləu dini

2SG PASS live long-DEF do-CAPMOD DSD

'May he/she live long'

c. ne pia tʰɹəulu dini

2SG PASS win DSD

'May he/she win'

3.4.10.11 Narrative

In Poula, a narrative expression is denoted by the presence of the morpheme *se*, which can appear directly after verb bases or inflected verbs. This morpheme is used to mark the continuation of a narrative or story.

(3.112) a. pu dilʰi vu se

2SG delhi go NAR

'It is said that he/she went to Delhi'

b. pume bu vu tu-de se

3PL place go reach-PST NAR

'It is said that they have reached the place'

3.5 ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

Adjectives are a word class that describes or modifies nouns or pronouns. In Poula, adjectives are categorized into different types, each serving a specific descriptive function. 'An adjective is a word that modifies or describes a noun or pronoun**.** Adjectives can be used

to describe the qualities of someone or something independently or in comparison to something else'[16].

3.5.1 Adjective of Quality

An adjective of quality, also known is a grammatical element used within a sentence to convey attributes related to the size, shape, colour, and overall appearance of a person, animal, or object.

Table 3.14 Adjectives of Quality

tʰuvi	'brave'
ʒuvi	'beautiful'
tʰɹəu or tsi	'strong'
so	'tall'
ʧiʧumeʧu	'honest'
ʧisa	'obedient'
tʰuɹʰi	'smart'
muhi	'lazy'
səusisasi or sasisəusi	'naughty'
avo	'mad'

Sentential examples:

(3.113) a. daŋi tʰuvi

Danyi brave

'Danyi is brave'

[16] https://www.scribbr.com/parts-of-speech/adjectives

b. ne ʧìtʃumeʧi-me li

2SG honest-HM one

‘You are an honest man’

3.5.2 Adjective of Quantity

Adjectives of quantity are linguistic devices that convey the amount or degree of a noun, offering a general or approximate description without specifying an exact numerical value.

(3.114) a. me məla[17]

people many

‘Many people’

b. tʰəbu ʧìta

rice little

‘Little rice’

c. ɹasi tauli

fruit some

‘Some fruits’

d. me ʧì

People less

‘Less people’

3.5.3 Adjective of Colours

Adjectives function as linguistic elements that provide information about the colour attributes of nouns, specifying the hues of objects. In Poula, the colour spectrum encompasses primary colours, which include red, blue, and yellow, as well as secondary colours.

[17]‘Many people’ can also be referred to as *me ʧaʧa* or *me pɹəle*

(3.115) a. kaɪə aʂə-na

car red-DEF

‘The red car’

b. si ati-na

dog black-DEF

‘The black dog’

c. sa atɪa-na

shawl white-DEF

‘The white shawl’

3.5.3.1 Colour terms in Poula

Colour terms represent a linguistic category that consists of words or phrases used to identify and describe specific colours. These terms are grounded in human perception and are influenced by cultural, biological, and linguistic factors. The naming of colours varies across languages and cultures, reflecting the diverse ways in which people categorize and perceive colours. Despite this variability, colour terms generally serve as a means of communication, allowing individuals to convey information about the visual characteristics of objects, surfaces, or phenomena.

Table 3.15 Colour terms in Poula

Colour	**Gloss**
aʂə	‘red’
ati	‘black’
atra	‘white’
vaza	‘yellow’
muzə	‘blue’

məde	‘green’
məŋaŋa	‘purple’
trovopa	‘pink’
məhəhə	‘brown’
hapa	‘grey’

3.5.4 Adjective of Taste

The adjective of taste in language is closely linked with culinary experiences, particularly in relation to food and edible substances. It serves the purpose of conveying the flavour characteristics of items, indicating whether they are sour, sweet, spicy, salty, or possess other taste profiles. This category of adjectives functions to modify nouns by providing descriptive details regarding the taste attributes of the edible item in question.

(3.116) a. dusi-na mu

fig-DEF sweet

‘The fig is sweet’

b. tatu-na sə-le

Pickle-DEF spicy-very

‘The pickle is spicy’

c. ɲiedu-na tʰɹe

orange-DEF sour

‘The orange is sour’

d. kʰauvu məte tʰɹə-le

curry salt salty-very

‘The curry is too salty’

e. muduɹam he kʰa

Guava this bitter

'This guava is bitter'

3.5.5 Adjective of Dimension

Dimensional adjectives in Poula serve to describe the size, extent, or proportions of entities. They are employed to provide a qualitative assessment of the dimensional attributes of objects or concepts. Below are examples of such adjectives in Poula along with their corresponding terms.

Table 3.16 Adjective of Dimension

Dimension	**Gloss**
mətʰu	'deep'
məla	'shallow'
du	'big'
te	'small'
tɹu	'high'
na	'low'
ka	'wide'
vi or nu	'narrow'
so	'long'
ʤɔə	'short'

These adjectives enable speakers of Poula to convey nuanced information regarding the dimensions of various entities, contributing to the precision and richness of their language.

Sentential examples:

(3.117) a. ki hana du

House this big

'This house is big'

b. ludu hana nu

Road this narrow

'This road is narrow'

c. ne pi-ʃu so le

Your head-hair long very

'Your hair is long'

3.5.6 Adjective of Comparison

Adjectives have three degrees of comparison- Positive degree of adjective, Comparative degree of adjective and Superlative degree of adjective. In Poula, adjectives can be inflected to comparative and superlative forms by taking the suffix *-ʃo* and *-k^ha* respectively. To form the comparative degree, the suffix *-ʃo* is added to the adjective. For example, the adjective 'big' in Poula is *du* in the positive degree, but becomes *du-ʃo* in the comparative degree, meaning 'bigger'. Similarly, to form the superlative degree, the suffix *-k^ha* is added to the adjective. Using the same example, 'big' in the superlative degree would be *du-k^ha*, meaning 'biggest'. These inflections allow speakers of Poula to express varying degrees of comparison in their language.

Table 3.17 Adjective Degree of Comparison in Poula

Positive degree	**Comparative degree**	**Superlative degree**
du 'big'	duʃo 'bigger'	duk^{h}a 'biggest'
te 'small'	teʃo 'smaller'	tek^{h}a 'smallest'
so 'tall'	soʂo 'taller'	sok^{h}a 'tallest'

ʤə ‘short’	ʤəʃo ‘shorter’	ʤəkʰa ‘shortest’
ʧi or tʰɹə ‘hard’	ʧiʃo or tʰɹəʃo ‘harder’	ʧikʰa or tʰɹəkʰa ‘hardest’
məɲo ‘soft’	məɲoʃo ‘softer’	məɲokʰa ‘softest’
vi ‘good’	vipʰəu ‘better’	vikʰa ‘best’
si ‘bad’	siʃo/ ‘worse’	sikʰa ‘worst’
ʒuvi ‘beautiful’	ʒuvitau ‘more beautiful’	ʒuvikʰa ‘most beautiful’
məthəu ‘deep’	mətʰəuʃo ‘deeper’	mətʰəukʰa ‘deepest’
tsə ‘old’	tsəʃo ‘oldest’	tsəkʰa ‘oldest’
ʃɹo ‘far’	ʃɹoʃo ‘farther’	ʃɹokʰo ‘farthest’
/tsi/ ‘little’	tsiʃo ‘less’	tsikʰa ‘least’
/pɹəu/ ‘many’	pɹəuʃo ‘more’	pɹəukʰa ‘most’

(3.118) a. daɲi sa so

Danyi height long

‘Danyi is tall’ (Positive degree)

b. zə-na məɲo

bed-DEF soft

‘The bed is soft’

c. reɲi-e ʂopʰə

Renyi taller

‘Renyi is taller’ (Comparative degree)

d. pɹe hana teʂo

Cup this smaller

‘This cup is smaller’

e. ʧasə so-k^{h}a

Chasü tallest

‘Chasü is the tallest’ (Superlative degree)

f. ne-a vi-k^{h}a

2SG good-best

‘You are the best’

3.5.7 Directional Adjectives

Directional adjectives in Poula indicate the direction of an action or the location of an entity. These adjectives often describe the movement of something from one place to another or the position of something in relation to a specific direction.

Table 3.18 Directional Adjectives in Poula

Direction	**Gloss**
inihipalo	‘east’
tinihiləlo	‘west’
ɹikə	‘north’
t^{h}ɹukə	‘south’
mədʒə	‘vertical’
məp^{h}i	‘horizontal’
Nalo	‘left’
ʒolo	‘right’

3.5.8 Numerals

“In many parts of the world, different vocabulary is used to express numerical concepts depending on the context. Some languages are reported to have number systems consisting of

a few as four terms. Other languages have native terms for the first few numbers but then resort to terms borrowed from a trade language for the higher numbers" (Payne 1997, p.66). Numerals are written symbol used to represent numbers. In linguistics, a numeral is a word or phrase that describes a numerical quantity. Some theories of grammar use the word 'numeral' to refer to Cardinal numbers that act as a determiner to specify the quantity of a noun, for example, 'one' in 'one apple'. Numerals can express relationships like quantity as Cardinal numbers and sequence as Ordinal numbers.

The numeral system of Poula is basically decimal however, vigesimal system that is 'twenty-based system' is found from 20-29. Numerals can express relationships like quantity as Cardinal numbers and sequence as Ordinal numbers. Poula numerals can be classified under the following heads:

1. Cardinal numerals
2. Ordinal numerals
3. Distributive numerals
4. Multiplicative numerals
5. Approximate numerals
6. Fractional numerals
7. Aggregative numerals

3.5.8.1 Cardinal Numerals

Cardinal is a traditional term retained in some grammatical model of description referring to the class of numerals, one, two, and three….ten etc. (Crystal, 1985). The cardinal numbers of Poula exhibit the pattern 10 + 1. Beyond ten, the numbers are formed by compounding in which the first number would be the numeral ten, twenty, thirty, forty and so on, while the second number would be any of the cardinal number from 1-9. The cardinal numbers in the numerical system of Poula which occurs without compounding are one to ten, twenty, thirty, hundred, thousand, lakh and crore. Cardinals can be divided into two types viz. i) Basic Cardinal numerals and ii) Compound cardinal numerals.

3.5.8.1.1 Basic Cardinal Numerals

The basic cardinal numerals in Poula are listed below:

Table 3.19 Cardinal Numerals in Poula

Poula	**English**
ali	one
ahe	two
atsʰə	three
məde	four
məŋə	five
aɪə	six
ane	seven
atʃa	eight
akoɪ	nine
ki	ten
məke	twenty
ʃi	thirty
tɪe	hundred
ni	thousand
ta:	lakh
ɲa	crore

The cardinal numerals follow the nouns as independent adjectives. Examples:

(3.118) osa ahe osa məŋə osa ki
cat two cat five cat ten
'two cats' 'five cats' 'ten cats'

Non-round cardinals above eleven are formed by the process of compounding which follow 10+1 pattern. The same pattern is followed throughout. Examples:

(3.119) ki-ali məke-ahe ʃi-atsʰə
ten-one twenty-two thirty-three
'Eleven' 'twenty-two' 'thirty-three'

In Poula, the prefix *a-* does not occur in *məde* ‘four’, *məŋə* ‘five’, *ki* ‘ten’, *məke* ‘twenty’, *ʃi* ‘thirty’, *ɹemədе* ‘forty’, *ɹeməŋə* ‘fifty’, *ɹeɹo* ‘sixty’, *ɹene* ‘seventy’, *ɹetʃa* ‘eighty’ and *ɹekəɹ* ‘ninety’. To form the numerals forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty and ninety, a morpheme *ɹe-* is prefixed to the existing numeral which is also followed by any of the basic numerals from one to nine to form the following numbers occurring therein. No affixes are attached to the preceding numerals like *tɹe* ‘hundred’, *ni* ‘thousand’, *ta:* ‘lakh’ and *ɲa* ‘crore’.

3.5.8.1.2 Compound Cardinal Numerals

Compound cardinals are formed by compounding the basic cardinal numerals. It is divided into two types viz.

a. Additive Compound
b. Multiplicative Compound

3.5.8.1.2.1 Additive Compound Numeral

The numerals from 11-19, 21-29, 31-39, 41-49, 51-59, 61-69, 71-79, 81-89, 91-99, 101-109, 201-209, 301-309 and so on are additive numerals. The numerals from 11-19 are formed by compounding the numeral *ki* ‘ten’ with any of the basic numerals from 1-9. The numerals 21-29 are formed by compounding the numeral *məke* ‘twenty’ with any of the basic numerals. Numerals from 31-39 are formed by compounding the numeral *ʃi* ‘thirty’, 41-49 are formed by compounding the numeral *ɹemədе* ‘forty’ to any of the basic numerals from 1-9 respectively. This process of compounding is followed throughout.

(3.120)	ki-ali	‘eleven’	10+1
	ki-ahe	‘twelve’	10+2
	məke-məde	‘twenty-four’	20+4
	məke-atʃa	‘twenty-eight’	20+8
	ʃi-məŋə	‘thirty-five’	30+5
	ɹemədе-məŋə	‘forty-five’	40+5
	ɹeməŋə-məŋə	‘fifty-five’	50+5
	ɹeɹo-məŋə	‘sixty-five’	60+5
	ɹene-məŋə	‘seventy-five’	70+5
	ɹetʃa-məŋə	‘eighty-five’	80+5
	ɹekəɹ-məŋə	‘ninety-five’	90+5

3.5.8.1.2.2 Multiplicative Compound Numeral

There are two types of multiplicative compound numerals in Poula. They are- i) Lower Multiplicative Compound and ii) Higher Multiplicative Compound numerals.

I. **Lower Multiplicative Compound Numerals:** In the formation of lower multiplicative compound numerals ie., from 40-90, the numerals are prefixed by a morpheme *ɹe*-.

(3.121)

ɹeməde	‘forty’
ɹeməŋə	‘fifty’
ɹeɹo	‘sixty’
ɹene	‘seventy’
ɹeʧa	‘eighty’
ɹekəɹ	‘ninety’

II. **Higher Multiplicative Compound Numerals:** In the formation of higher multiplicative compound numerals, the basic numerals are added to the root of *tɹe* ‘hundred’, *ni* ‘thousand’, *ta* ‘lakh’ and *ŋa* ‘crore’. The prefix *a*- of the basic numerals gets dropped as shown below:

(3.122)

tɹe-he	100x2	‘two hundred’
tɹe-məŋə	100x5	‘five hundred’
ni-li	1000x1	‘one thousand’
ni-məde	1000x4	‘four thousand’
ta-li	100000x1	‘one lakh’
ta-ne	100000x7	‘seven lakh’
ŋa-he	10000000x2	‘two crore’

The numerals starting from 101 are formed by adding a morpheme */nə/* at every digital increase which acts as a linker between the two numerals. Examples:

(3.123)

tɹe	nə	ki		tɹe	nə	məke	
hundred	CONN	ten		hundred	CONN	twenty	
‘one hundred ten’				‘one hundred twenty’			

tɪe	nə	ʃi	tɪe	nə	ɹeməde
hundred	CONN	thirty	hundred	CONN	forty
‘one hundred thirty’			‘one hundred forty		

3.5.8.2 Ordinal Numerals

Poula has only one ordinal number *aɹəkʰa* ‘first’, the rest of the other ordinal numbers are formed by suffixing the definitive marker *-na* to the stem. In comparison to the cardinal numeral *ali* ‘one’, the ordinal numeral *aɹekʰa* ‘the first’ is a suppletive form of *ali* ‘one’. Except this suppletive form, all other cardinal numbers are suffixed by the definitive marker *-na* which constructs ordinal numerals specified. Given below are the ordinal numbers in Poula.

Table 3.20 Ordinal Numerals in Poula

Ordinal	**Gloss**
aɹekʰa	‘first’
ahena	‘second’
atsʰəna	‘third’
mədena	‘fourth’
məŋəna	‘fifth’
aɹəna	‘sixth’
anena	‘seventh’
aʧana	‘eight’
akoɹna	‘ninth’
kina	‘tenth’

Sentential examples:

(3.124) a.	laɹəvə	atsʰə-na	foa	i	pi
	book	three-DEF	PP	1SG	give
	‘Give me the third book’				
b.	laɹəvə	ki-na	foa	i	pi
	book	ten-DEF	PP	1SG	give
	‘Give me the tenth book’				

3.5.8.3 Distributive Numerals

The distributive numerals in Poula are expressed by reduplicating the cardinal numbers; it is formed by partial reduplication. This pattern is followed throughout the entire process of distribution. As in the case of animate-human, the human marker *me-* is prefixed to the numeral and the numeral is partially reduplicated to indicate distribution. And in animate non-human, the second morpheme of the numerals are reduplicated to form distributive numerals. Examples:

Table 3.21 Distributive Numerals

Animate-human	**Animate (non-human)/ Inanimate**
me-lili 'one person each'	alili 'one each'
me-hehe 'two person each'	ahehe 'two each'
me-tsʰətsʰə 'three person each'	atsʰətsʰə 'three each'
me-mədede 'four person each'	mədede 'four each'
me-məŋəŋə 'five person each'	məŋəŋə 'five each'
me-ɪəɪə 'six person each'	aɪəɪə 'six each'
me-ʧaʧa 'eight person each'	ʧaʧa 'eight each'
mekoɪkoɪ 'nine person each'	akoɪkoɪ 'nine each'

3.5.8.4 Multiplicative Numerals

The multiplicative numerals in Poula are formed by prefixing /avu-/, /vu-/ or /su-/[18] to the cardinal numbers.

(3.125)	avuli or vuli or suli	'once'
	avuhe or vuhe or suhe	'twice'
	avuʧə or vuʧə or suʧə	'thrice'
	avuməde or vuməde or suməde	'four times'
	avuməŋə or vuməŋə or suməŋə	'five times

[18] The occurrence of the prefix */su-/* to indicate multiplicative numerals is seen only in the speech of the elderly people.

3.5.8.5 Approximate Numerals

Approximate numerals express the approximate number in counting. In Poula, the approximate numerals can be divided into two: i) Successive approximate numerals and ii) Non-successive approximate numerals.

I. Successive numerals in Poula are used to indicate successive approximate numerals with a connective */ho/* 'or'.

(3.126)

ali ho ahe	'one or two'
atsʰə ho məde	'three or four'
məŋə ho aɪə	'five or six'
ki ho məke	'ten or twenty'
tɪe li ho tɪe he	'one hundred or two hundred'

II. Non-successive approximate numerals are formed by adding the morpheme */li/* 'about' after the numerals. Examples are given below:

(3.127)

ʧə	məde	li		ki	muke	li	
three	four	about		ten	twenty	about	
'About three to four'				'About ten to twenty'			
tɪe-li	he	li		ni-li	he	li	
hundred-one	two	about		thousand-one	two	about	
'About one hundred to two hundred'				'About one thousand to two thousand'			

3.5.8.6 Fractional Numerals

The precise fractional numerals in Poula are 'half', 'full' and 'whole'.

(3.128)

məʒoli	'half'
pʰɪəu	'full'
məti	'whole'

The other fractional numerals in Poula are formed by adding the morpheme *ʒa* 'portion' and *hisəu* 'from' to indicate fractions.

(3.129) a.

ʒa	ʦʰə	hisəu	ʒa	li
portion	three	from	portion	one

‘One-third’

b.

ʒa	məde	hisəu	ʒa	he
portion	four	from	portion	two

‘two-fourth’

c.

ʒa	məde	hisəu	ʒa	ʦʰə
portion	four	from	portion	three

‘three-fourth’

d.

ʒa	ru	hisəu	ʒa	he
portion	six	from	portion	two

‘two-sixth’

e.

ʒa	ki	hisəu	ʒa	he
portion	ten	from	portion	two

‘two-tenth’

3.5.8.7 Aggregative Numerals

There are two types of aggregative numeral in Poula, the first one is formed by adding the morpheme *məti* ‘everything/all’ to the cardinal numerals. The morpheme *ahesə* is used to express the meaning ‘two together’ or ‘both’ and *məti* is used to express the meaning ‘three together’ or ‘all the three’, ‘all the four’ etc. as given below:

(3.130)

ahesə	‘both’
ʦʰə-məti	‘all the three’
məde-məti	‘all the four’
məŋə-məti	‘all the five’
koɪ-məti	‘all the nine’
ki-məti	‘all the ten’
məke-məti	‘all the twenty’
ʃi-məti	‘all the thirty’

The second form of aggregative numeral in Poula is formed by adding the morpheme *ʧoɹʰə* 'plus' after the cardinal numerals as given below:

(3.131) a. məŋə (pe) məŋə ʧoʂə ki
five and five plus ten
'Five plus five equal ten'

b. ki (pe) ahe ʧoʂə kiehe
ten and two plus twelve
'Ten plus two equal twelve'

3.5.8.8 Measurement System

Older people follow the traditional way of measurement system. Grains are measured from woven bamboo baskets or yarns and the length or breadth of something is determined from the length of the elbow or the width of the arm.

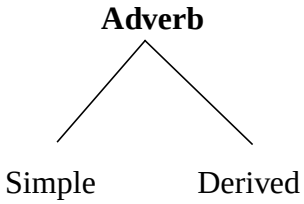
Table 3.22 Measurement System in Poula[19]

Measurement	**Gloss**
bauli	'a barnful'
məsəleli	'a basket full'
bazə	'a palm's worth'
pʰika	'a stride'
bamətɹəʒo	'a thumb size'
po	'a unit of measurement (standardized basket) of paddy'
və	'a unit of measurement of paddy'
kʰa	'arms width'
baoʧao soa	'elbow's length'
ʃiɹə	'kilo'
baʒiuʒo	'palm size'
kə	'splayed finger'

[19] Source: *Primer* In Chakhesang Poula (2021) Page-28

3.6 ADVERB MORPHOLOGY

Adverb is a "catch-all" category. Any word with semantic content (i.e., other than grammatical particles) that is not clearly a noun, a verb, or an adjective is often put into the class of adverb. Semantically, forms that have been called adverbs cover an extremely wide range of concepts (Payne, 1997, p.69). Adverbs can be characterized primarily in terms of their distribution. They are typically the most unrestricted grammatical category in terms of their position in clauses (Givón 1984: 77). An adverb in Poula is a word or expression that typically modifies a verb, adjective, or another adverb. It can also modify a determiner, clause, or preposition in a sentence. Adverbs provide information about the manner, place, time, frequency, degree, or certainty of an action or state expressed by the verb. They can help to clarify or enhance the meaning of other parts of speech in a sentence.



3.6.1 Simple Adverb

In Poula, a simple adverb consists of only one word and can be further divided into categories such as adverbs of manner, time, and place. Adverbs of manner describe how an action is performed, adverbs of time indicate when an action occurs, and adverbs of place specify the location or direction of an action. These adverbs play a crucial role in providing additional information about the circumstances or context of an action in a sentence. Sentential examples of each category are given below:

3.6.1.1 Adverb of Manner

This is the largest subcategory of adverbs in every language (Payne 1997: 69). An adverb of manner describes how an action denoted by a verb is carried out. It provides information about the manner in which an action is performed, indicating the way something is done. Adverbs of manner can modify verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs, adding detail to the action or state expressed in the sentence.

(3.132) a. pu ʃosa ta-vu-e

3SG slowly walk-come-EVID

‘He came slowly’

b. daŋi ta vitau-pi

Danyi ran quickly-OB

‘Danyi ran quickly’

c. pu ləu-su tɪutau-pi

2SG song-sing loudly-OB

‘She sang loudly’

3.6.1.2 Adverb of Time

Adverbs of time in Poula provide information about when an action happened, as well as for how long and how often it occurred. These adverbs specify the time or duration of an action, helping to establish the temporal context of a sentence.

(3.132) a i udʒo ne ŋo

1SG yesterday 2SG see

‘I saw you yesterday’

b. i ʃidʒo vu-le

1SG tomorrow come-FUT

‘I will come tomorrow’

c. i dauku pu dau

1SG last year 3SG met

‘I met him last year’

d. a-fə ʃɪamudi vu-le

NRL.PFX-mother afternoon come-FUT

‘My mother will come in the afternoon’

e. i kʰaiʧapia he bu-ləu vi ma

1SG a-while here sit-CAPMOD can IP

‘Can I sit here for a while?’

Table 3.23 Adverb of time in Poula

Adverb of Time	**Gloss**
aʒo	‘today’
sidʒo	‘tomorrow’
ʃidaone	‘day after tomorrow’
udʑo	‘yesterday’
udaone	‘day before yesterday’
tʰɹi	‘night’
aʒiutʰɹi	‘tonight’
tʰɹitətsə	‘midnight’
atɹəu	‘evening’
dʒotʰɹi	‘last night’
ʃidʒotʰɹikə	‘tomorrow night’
ʧo	‘morning’
ʂaməd i	‘noon’
ti tʰutsə	‘everyday’
duba ɹena	‘last week’
tʰɹəu ɹena	‘last month’
dauku	‘last year’

duba tsə	‘weekly’
t^hɹəu tsə	‘monthly’
mofo kapa	‘yearly’
atʃou/	‘now’
nanu/	‘later’

3.6.1.3 Adverb of Place

An adverb of place in Poula specifies the location or place where an action is carried out. It provides information about the spatial aspect of an action, indicating where something happens. Adverbs of place can modify verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs, helping to describe the position, direction, or movement of something in relation to a location.

(3.133) a. limo a mət^{h}a hi bu-e

PN 1SG beside LOC PROG-EVID

‘Limo is sitting beside me’

b. natəu-na tebəl t^{h}ɹu hi bu-e

child-DEF table below LOC PROG-EVID

‘The baby is below the table’

c. ʒumovia he kəu

Please here come

‘Please come here’

3.6.2 Derived Adverbs

Derived adverbs in Poula are formed by suffixing bound morphemes to the root word. These adverbs often indicate direction or manner of an action. Examples:

(3.134) a.	ɹi	-kəu	=	ɹikəu	‘upward’
	ɹu	-kəu		ɹukəu	
	up	way			
b.	tʰɹu	-kəu	=	tʰɹukəu	‘downward’
	down	way			
c.	pɹa	-lo	=	pɹalo	‘forward’
	ʤə	-lo		ʤəlo	
	front	way			
d.	tʰe	-lo	=	tʰelo	‘backward’
	back	way			

3.7 WORD FORMATION PROCESSES

“Word formation is concerned with the process that expands the vocabulary of a language, i.e. create new lexemes” (Kortmann, 2005, p.94). Word formation in Poula involves the creation of new words through processes such as derivation and compounding. These processes allow for the expansion of the vocabulary by forming new words from existing ones. Derivation involves adding affixes to existing words to create new words with different meanings or grammatical functions. Compounding, on the other hand, involves combining two or more words to create a new word with a distinct meaning. Both processes are important in enriching the Poula language and providing speakers with the ability to express a wide range of concepts and ideas.

3.7.1 Derivation

Morphological derivation in linguistics refers to the process of forming a new word from an existing word, typically by adding a prefix or suffix. This process allows for the creation of new words with different meanings, grammatical categories, or functions. Derivation is a common process in many languages and plays a crucial role in expanding the vocabulary and expressing complex ideas.

(3.135) a. tə ‘eat’ təvi ‘tasty’

təsi ‘not tasty’

b. tɪə ‘drink’ tɪəvi ‘tasty’

tɪəsi ‘not tasty’

c. ʒu ‘look’ ʒuvi ‘beautiful’

ʒusi ‘ugly’

d. asəa ‘happy = asəatau ‘happily’

e. ʤəpʰi ‘sad’ = ʤəpʰitau ‘sadly’

The morpheme *-me* serves as the agentive nominalizer in the language. For instance, if we have a verb like *tɹo* ‘play’, attaching to *-me*, it would create a noun meaning *tɹome* ‘player. This indicates that the noun derived with *-me* represents the person that performs the action indicated by the verb.

(3.136) f. laɹəpʰɹə ‘study’ = laɹəpʰɹəme ‘student’

g. tɹo ‘play’ = tɹome ‘player’

h. likʰo ‘cook’ = likʰome ‘cook’

3.7.2 Compounding

Plag (2003) defined compounding as ‘… the combination of two words to form a new word’. Compounds are words that are composed of two (or more) bases, roots, or stems (Lieber 2016: 48). Compounding is a morphological process where two morphemes are added to form another new word which may retain the same word class or change its word class.

3.7.2.1 Noun + Noun = Noun

Two independent nouns can be compounded together to form another noun.

	Noun		**+**	**Noun**		**= Noun**	
(3.137)	ʤə	‘water’	+	və	‘container’	= ʤəvə	‘water storage’
	pi	‘head’	+	və	‘container’	= pivə	‘hat/cap’

pi	'head'	+	ʂu	'hair'	= piʂu	'hair'
sə	'wood'	+	hə	'leaf'	= səhə	'tree leaf'
məkʰə	'chin'	+	me	'hair'	= məkʰəme	'beard'
tɪo	'game'	+	me	'people'	= tɪome	'player'
le	'bee'	+	ʤə	'water'	= leʤə	'honey'
kʰa	'plate'	+	ʤə	'water'	= kʰaʤə	'a type of tradition dish'
ʤə	'water'	+	kʰau	'plate'	= ʤəkʰau	'pond'
tʰə	'paddy'	+	ni	'festival'	= tʰəni	'December'
tʰə	'paddy'	+	ki	'house'	= tʰəni	'granary'
laɪə	'book'	+	ki	'house'	= laɪəki	'school'
səu	'sickness'	+	ki	'house'	= səuki	'hospital'
sə	'wood'	+	ma	'root'	= səma	'root of a tree'
laɪə	'book'	+	bu	'place'	= laɪəbu	'bookshelf'
tɪo	'game'	+	bu	'place'	= tɪobu	'playground'
zə	'bed'	+	bu	'ki'	= zəki	'bedroom'
vo	'pig'	+	səu	'meat'	= vosəu	'pork'
ʧo	'cow'	+	səu	'meat'	= ʧosəu	'beef'
hə	'chicken'	+	səu	'meat'	= həsəu	'chicken'

3.7.2.2 Noun + Noun + Noun = Noun

Morphological compounding can also be done by compounding three independent nouns to form another noun.

	Noun	**+**	**Noun**	**+**	**Noun**	**= Noun**
(3.138)	ʤə ‘water’	+	sahi ‘cloth’	+	ki ‘house’	= ʤəsahiki ‘tent’
	li ‘pot’	+	kʰau ‘plate’	+	na ‘thing’	=likʰauna ‘utensil’
	ʧo ‘cow’	+	ana ‘breast’	+	ʤə ‘water’	= ʧoanaʤə ‘milk’
	ki ‘house’	+	na ‘child’	+	me ‘people’	= kiname ‘cousin’
	tu ‘sister’	+	pɹəu ‘brother’	+	me ‘people’	= tupɹəume ‘siblings’
	fə ‘mother’	+	pə ‘father’	+	me ‘people’	= fəpəme ‘parents’
	ki ‘house’	+	na ‘child’	+	pa ‘partner’	= kinapa ‘neighbour’

3.7.2.3 Noun + Verb + Noun = Noun

(3.139)	laɹə ‘book’	+	pʰɹə ‘read’	+	me ‘people’	= laɹəpʰɹəme ‘student’
	laɹə ‘book’	+	ɹə ‘write’	+	bu ‘place’	= laɹəɹəbu ‘desk’
	ʤə ‘water’	+	tʰɹu ‘bath’	+	ki ‘house’	= ʤətʰɹuki ‘washroom’
	li ‘pot	+	kʰo ‘cook’	+	ki ‘house’	= likʰoki ‘kitchen’

3.7.2.4 Noun + Verb = Noun

(3.140)	mi ‘fire’	+	hə ‘blow’	= mihə ‘blow tube’
	ki ‘house’	+	kʰu ‘close’	= kikʰu ‘door’

3.7.2.5 Verb + Noun = Noun

(3.141)	ɹa ‘scream’	+	ke ‘horn’	= ɹake ‘trumpet’
	zau ‘fly’	+	ki ‘house’	= zauki ‘aeroplane’

3.7.2.6 Noun + Verb = Verb

A noun and a verb are compounded to form a verb.

	Noun		**Verb**		**= Verb**	
(3.142)	ʤə	‘water’ +	da	‘swim’	= ʤəda	‘swim’
	lə	‘song’ +	sə	‘sing’	= ləsə	‘sing’
	lude	‘path’ +	ta	‘go’	= ludeta	‘walk’
	li	‘pot’ +	k^ho	‘cook’	= lik^ho	‘cook’

3.7.2.7 Adjective + Adjective = Verb

(3.143) li ‘hot’ + k^ha ‘bitter’ = lik^ha ‘angry’

3.7.2.8 Verb + Adjective = Adjective

(3.144) tə ‘eat’ + vi ‘good’ = təvi ‘tasty’

tə ‘eat + ʃi ‘bad’ = təʃi ‘tasteless’

3.7.3 Reduplication

Reduplication is a morphological process in in which all or part of a word (typically the base, but not always) is repeated (Lieber, 2016, p.92). This process can involve the repetition of the entire word (total reduplication) or just a part of it (partial reduplication). Reduplication can serve various functions, such as indicating plurality, intensity, or repetition. It is a common phenomenon in many languages and can occur for both grammatical and lexical purposes.

3.7.3.1 Morphological Reduplication

Morphological reduplication is a linguistic phenomenon where all or part of a word is repeated to convey a specific meaning. This repetition can indicate various aspects such as intensity, continuity, or emphasis. In Poula, morphological reduplication is used to express different senses, including the sense of sight, touch, and feeling.

3.7.3.1.1 Sense of Sight

The sense of sight, or vision, is the ability of the eyes to detect and perceive light, which enables individuals to see objects and their surroundings. It allows for the perception of colours, shapes, distances, and movements of objects.

(3.145) a. mi-na $məp^h$ɪi dədə

fire-DEF spark expressive.sparkling

'The fire is sparkling'

b. vu məpʰɹi vava

Star twinkling expressive.twinkling

'Star twinkling'

c. mi tɹi pʰupʰu

Fire burn expressive.burn

'The fire is burning heavily'

3.7.3.1.2 Sense of Touch

The sense of touch, also known as tactile perception, is the ability to detect and perceive sensations on the skin or other parts of the body. It allows individuals to feel textures, temperatures, pressures, and vibrations, providing information about the physical properties of objects and the environment.

(3.146) a. məte məsa vivi

lip rough expressive.rough

'My lip is rough'

b. ləduna məta ləɹləɹ

road-DEF muddy expressive.muddy

'The road is muddy'

c. ləduna tʰau fəfə

road-DEF slippery expressive.slippery

'The road is slippery'

d. tʰəbuna mu tʰɹətʰɹə

rice-DEF sticky expressive.sticky

'The rice is sticky'

3.7.3.1.3 Sense of Feeling

The sense of feeling refers to the perception or awareness of sensations, emotions, or physical stimuli. It involves the ability to detect changes in the environment or within oneself. This sense allows us to experience a wide range of sensations, from physical touch and temperature to emotional states.

(3.147) a. ti məʂə ʃaʃa

Sky breeze expressive.breezy

'Cool breeze'

b. i məka hi si-ʂəəʂəə

1SG cold CONJ cold-expressive.cold

'I am shivering of cold'

c. pu ʂu tata

3SG sweat expressive.sweaty

'He is all sweaty'

3.7.3.1.4 Sounds from Natural Phenomenon

Natural phenomena like the wind and the rain often produce distinct sounds that are recognizable and have been described in various languages through onomatopoeic expressions. These expressions attempt to mimic or imitate the sounds themselves, providing a way for languages to represent these natural sounds in words.

(3.148) a. si -dədə

cold expressive.cold

'Shiver (from cold)'

b. tit^{h}ɹe məʂə -ʃaʃa

wind blow expressive.breeze

'Cool breeze'

c. ti ɹə vəvə

sky rain expressive.drizzle

‘Drizzling’

3.7.3.1.5 Sounds Produced by Human

The sounds produced by humans when performing actions can vary widely depending on the nature of the action and the context in which it occurs. These sounds, often onomatopoeic, can serve various purposes such as conveying information, expressing emotions, or simply adding texture to communication. For example, the sound of someone talking might be described as pe ʧi-ʧi which means ‘talkative’, while the sound of someone eating could be tu ɹoɹo. Similarly, sounds associated with activities like stomping and banging of doors can also be represented through onomatopoeic expressions. More examples are given below:

(3.149) a. ni-k^{h}u-k^{h}u

laugh-expressive.laugh

‘Act of laughing’

b. ba məda-pɹepɹe

hand clap-expressive.clap

‘Act of clapping’

c. ʂu-tata

sweat-expressive.sweat

‘Sweaty’

3.7.3.1.6 Sounds Produced by Animals

The following expressions are onomatopoeic words that imitate the sounds produced by animals. These words are often used in various languages to describe or mimic the noises animals make. For example, ‘meow-meow’ is used to represent the sound of a cat, ‘meh-meh’ for a goat and so on. Some more examples of sounds produced by animals and the onomatopoeic words associated with them are given below:

(3.150) bɹe-bɹe ‘of cow’

əŋ-əŋ ‘of pig’

wu-wu ‘of dog’

These onomatopoeic words help to convey the sounds of animals in a vivid and expressive way, adding richness to language and allowing people to mimic animal sounds in speech and writing.

3.7.3.1.7 Sounds Produced from Inanimate Objects

Sounds produced by inanimate objects can vary widely depending on their material, size, and the forces acting upon them. These sounds are often described using onomatopoeic words that mimic the noise they make. For example:

(3.151) $t^{h}ɹu$-$t^{h}ɹu$ ‘of drumming’

fri-fri ‘of whistling’

ti-ti ‘of honking car’

tsaŋ-tsaŋ ‘banging sound’

3.7.3.1.8 Action-Oriented Reduplication

Action-oriented reduplication is a linguistic phenomenon found in many languages, it involves the repetition of a verb or part of a verb to indicate the intensity, completeness, or continuity of an action.

(3.152) te və-və

walk

‘Walk fast-fast’

ɹəli ʃo-ʃo

slow

‘Slow-slow’

3.7.3.2 Lexical Reduplication

Lexical reduplication, also known as intentional word repetition, is a morphological process in which independent words undergo deliberate repetition, potentially resulting in a change of their lexical class (such as from a noun to a verb). This phenomenon is significant in morphology, the study of word structure and formation. In lexical reduplication, a word or part of a word is repeated to create a new form with a specific meaning. This process can involve various modifications, including changes in pronunciation, spelling, or meaning. The repeated form may retain its original lexical class or take on a new one, depending on the language and context.

3.7.3.2.1 Echo Word Formation

Echo word formation, or echo formation, is a linguistic process where words undergo partial repetition to create new forms. This partial repetition often involves the repetition of a syllable or a part of a word for various stylistic or expressive purposes. Echo words can convey distinctions of meaning such as emphasis, intensity, or emotional content. They are found in many languages and can serve as colourful additions to speech and writing.

3.7.3.2.2 Noun Reduplication

(3.153)	pəme	'father'	=	pəme-pəme	'father-father'
	fəme	'mother'	=	fəme-fəme	'mother-mother'

3.7.3.2.3 Verb Reduplication

(3.154)	tɪa	'cry'	=	tɪa-tɪa	'to cry over again'
	ni	'laugh'	=	ni-ni	'to laugh over again'
	tɪə	'drink	=	tɪə-tɪə	'to drink and drink again'
	ta	'walk'	=	ta-ta	'to walk and walk again'
	zi	'sleep'	=	zi-zi	'to sleep over again'
	tə	'eat'	=	tətə	'to eat and eat again'

Sentential examples:

(3.155) a. ɹəɹə ʧə ba nə

write-write and hand tired

'My hand is tired of writing'

b. tutu ʧə pʰi nə

run-run and leg tired

'My leg is tired of running'

3.7.3.2.4 Adjective Reduplication

(3.156)

ʂo	'tall'	=	ʂo-ʂo	'tall'
dzə	'short'	=	dzə-dzə	'short'
du	'big'	=	du-du	'big'
ti	'little'	=	ti-ti	'little by little'
te	'small'	=	te-te	'small'
ha	'poor'	=	ha-ha	'poor'

3.7.3.2.5 Cardinal Number Reduplication

Cardinal number reduplication undergoes partial reduplication.

(3.157)

ali-li	'one-one'
ahe-he	'two-two'
atsʰə-tsʰə	'three-three'
məde-de	'four-four'

Cardinal reduplication (animate-human)

(3.158)

meli-meli	'one by one'	
mehe-mehe	'two by two'	
meʧə-meʧə	'three by three'	*(..and so on)*

3.7.4 Clipping

Bauer (2019), ‘A clipping is a word shortened from a longer word’. Katrin Blatt (2008), ‘Clipping’ is a word formation process, but also the result of the process itself is called ‘clipping’. According to Kortmann (2005), there are productive and less productive word-formation processes, which are also called high productive and less productive. The most productive processes are responsible for the majority of neologisms, for example by prefixation like in “ex-minister”. Less productive word-formation processes basically are the various types of shortenings, such as back-formation, blend, acronym and clipping. Nevertheless, also within the group of less productive word-formation processes distinctions can be made. When on one hand, more than one word is affected by the process, the word-formation shall be either blend, initialism, acronyms or alphabetism. When on the other hand only one word is affected, the word-formation process must either be back-formation or clipping (Kortmann 2007: p. 109).

The types of clipping found in Poula include fore clipping (apheresis) and back clipping (apocope).

3.7.4.1 Fore Clipping

Fore clipping involves the removal of the beginning of a word.

(3.159)	uʃi	>	ʃi	‘dog’
	usa	>	sa	‘cat’
	ati	>	ti	‘black’
	hani	>	ni	‘rich’
	pʰiməja	>	məja	‘socks’

3.7.4.2 Back Clipping

Back clipping is the process of shortening a word by cutting off its ending

nufə	>	nu	‘village’
asame	>	asa	‘friend’
vupɹu	>	vu	‘vegetable’
laɹəvə	>	laɹə	‘book’
saba	>	sa	‘shawl’

3.7.5 Borrowing

Borrowing, within the framework of historical linguistics and language contact, is a phenomenon whereby a language incorporates lexical items from another language into its vocabulary. This process typically occurs when a language encounters cultural or technological concepts for which it lacks native terminology. As a result, speakers resort to adopting and adapting words from a source language to fill these lexical gaps. Given below are some examples of borrowed words.

Table 3.24 Borrowed Words in Poula

Borrowed word	**Transcription**	**Gloss**	**Source**
Shileper	ʃilepəɹ	'Slipper'	English
Chabi	ʧabi	'Key'	English
Sabü	sabə	'Soap'	English
Kitili	Kitili	'Kettle'	English
Bitiri	bitɹi	'Battery'	English
Bolo	bolo	'Ball'	English
Tosü la	tosə la	'Torch Light'	English
Basü	basə	'Bus'	English
Lai posü	lai posə	'Light poles'	English
Shimen	ʃimen	'Cement'	English
Eletri	eletɹi	'Electric'	English
Latini	latini	'Lantern'	English
Ejam	iʤam	'Exam'	English
Sabu	sabə	'Saabun' (soap)	Hindi

Gari	gaɹi[20]	'Gari' (car)	Hindi
Batin/Bartini	batin or baɹtini	'Baaltee' (bucket)	Hindi
Tiri	tiɹi	'tel' (oil)	Hindi
Alu	alu	'aloo' (potato)	Hindi
Pias	pias	'Pyaaj' (onion)	Hindi
Cobi	kobi	Gobhee (cabbage)	Hindi
Khüɹki	kʰəɹki/	'Khiraki' (window)	Hindi
Chamasü	ʧamasə	'Chammach' (spoon)	Hindi
Anarez	anaɹes	'Anaanaa' (Pineapple)	Hindi
Daru	daɹu	'Dava' (medicine)	Hindi
Chapata	ʧapata	'Chaay Pattee' (tea leaf)	Hindi
Chani	ʧani	'Cheenee' (sugar)	Hindi
Dukan	dukan	'Dukaan' (shop)	Hindi
Meseru	meseɹu	'Meseru' (fox)	Tenyidie
Chamüre	ʧaməɹe	'Chümerie' (Garlic)	Tenyidie
Mecie	meʧie	'Mecie' (Intelligent)	Tenyidie
Bara	baɹa	'Bara' (Chair)	Tenyidie
Merhi	meşi	'Mirhi' (Picture)	Tenyidie
Dzülüfü	ʤələfə	'Dzüloupfü' (Baptize)	Tenyidie

[20] The voiced velar plosive occurs exclusively in this specific borrowed word.

The borrowed words, termed loanwords, undergo a process of adaptation to align with the phonological, morphological, and semantic structures of the borrowing language. This adaptation, often referred to as nativization, involves modifying the borrowed word's pronunciation, spelling, and sometimes meaning to better integrate it into the borrowing language's linguistic system. Over time, loanwords may become fully assimilated into the borrowing language, sometimes to the extent that their foreign origin becomes obscure.

CHAPTER 4

SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE OF POULA

4.1 Word Order

Word order in linguistics typically refers to the sequence of subject (S), verb (V), and object (O) in a sentence. There are six possible basic word orders, each of which is followed by one or more languages worldwide. The most common basic word order is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV). According to Dryer (2019), 41% of the world's languages exhibit SOV word order. The table below displays the distribution of word orders in languages surveyed by Dryer (2013).

Word Order Distribution

Basic Word Order	Proportion of Languages
Subject-[Verb-Object]	46%
Subject-[Object-Verb]	41%
Verb-Subject-Object	9%
[Verb-Object]-Subject	3%
[Object-Verb]-Subject	1%
Object-Subject-Verb	0%

The basic word order of Poula is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV). Additionally, Poula includes various word order parameters such as subject and verb, direct object and verb, indirect object and verb, oblique object and verb, adjective and noun, genitive and noun, postposition and noun, demonstrative and noun, numeral and noun, degree word and adjective, relative clause and noun, auxiliary verb and the main verb, negation and verb, question words in interrogative phrases, yes/no words in interrogative phrases, and the order of clause structure.

4.2 Word Order Parameters

4.2.1 Subject, Object, Verb

Poula is characterized as a verb-final language, with its basic word order being Subject-Object-Verb (SOV). An example illustrating this word order is provided below: In the sentence *i u/i ani*, meaning 'I like dog(s)', the subject 'I' (I) is followed by the object *u/i* 'dog', which precedes the verb *ni* 'like'.

(4.1) i oʃì ani

1SG dog like

S O V

'I like dog' Lit: 'I like dog(s) (more than cat)'

Poula strictly adheres to the SOV basic word order, and scrambling of the grammatical relations—subject, object, and verb—is not permitted. This rigidity is particularly important because Poula permits the omission of the nominative case, which typically indicates the subject. Attempting to substitute the word order results in an ungrammatical sentence, as demonstrated in the example below:

(4.2) *i ani oʃì

1SG like dog

S V O

*'I dog like'

4.2.2 Subject and Verb

In Poula, the subject precedes the verb in both intransitive and transitive clause structures. In intransitive verb constructions, a future verb suffix is attached to the main verb. Examples illustrating these structures are provided below:

(4.3) a. i vu-le (*intrans*)

1SG come-FUT

'I will come'

b. daŋi-nu meli məsə-pi-e (*trans*)

1SG-NOM someone kick-OB-EVID

'Danyi has kicked someone'

Dryer (2005) proposed that the distribution of SV corresponds to three types of languages: SVO, SOV, and OSV. Poula, an SOV language by nature, always places the subject before the verb, and it is not possible to use the verb before the subject.

4.2.3 Direct Object and Verb

In Poula, the direct object (DO) precedes the verb, resulting in an OV word order. This ordering aligns with the OV and VO distribution described by Dryer (2008), which states, 'the distribution of OV and VO order among the Tibeto-Burman languages is fairly clear-cut and easy to describe. VO order is found only in two groups, namely Karen and Bai, and the remaining languages are all not only OV but generally fairly rigidly verb-final'.

Examples demonstrating the direct object preceding the verb are provided below:

In example (4.5 a), the direct object (DO) *kʰao* 'tiger' precedes the verb *sətha* 'kill' and in (4.5 b), the DO *ki* 'house' precedes the verb *sə* 'build'.

(4.5) a. pu-nu kʰao-na sətʰa-e

3SG-NOM tiger-DEF kill-EVID

'He killed the tiger'

b. pu ki sə-lə-e

3SG house build-CAPMOD-EVID

'He built a house'

4.2.4 Indirect Object, Direct Object and Verb

In Poula, the direct object (DO) and the indirect object (IO) can interchange in their occurrences; however, the direct object normally precedes the indirect object (DO > IO > V).

In example 4.a), the direct object *tʰɹo* 'machete' precedes the indirect object *i* 'I' and in 4.b), the direct object *laɹəvə* 'book' precedes the indirect object.

(4.7) pu tʰɹo fo i pi-e

3SG machete give 1SG give-EVID

'She gave a machete to me'

(4.8) i laɹəvə li moliba hisəu fo-lə-e

1SG book one moliba from give-SB-EVID

'I received a book from uncle Moliba'

4.2.5 Object, Oblique Object and Verb

Dryer (2005) defines an oblique object phrase as a noun phrase or adpositional phrase that serves as the adverbial modifier or adjunct of the verb. In Poula, the oblique object precedes both the direct object and the verb. Examples (4.9 a & b) illustrate this, where the oblique objects *bu* 'gun' and *afə* 'mother' precede the direct objects *kʰao* 'tiger' and *dəu* 'field', respectively. The verb follows both the oblique object and the direct object. While the direct object and indirect object can occur interchangeably, the oblique object typically occurs before the direct object.

(4.9) a) daŋi-nu bu fo kʰao-na tʰɹatʰa-e

Danyi-NOM guPosin INST tiger-DEF kill-EVID

'Danyi killed the tiger with a gun'

b) i a-fə sa dəu hi ho-e

1SG NRL.PRX-mother with field LOC go-EVID

'I went to the field with my mother'

4.2.6 Noun and Adjective

In Poula, the word order of nouns and adjectives is- noun precedes adjective (NAdj). In example (4.11 a), the adjective *ʒuvi* 'beautiful' follows the noun *lupe* 'girl'.

(4.11) a. lupe ʒuvi-ʧiu

girl beautiful-DM

‘Beautiful girl’

Similarly, in example (4.11 b), the adjective *ʒuvi* ‘beautiful’ modifies the head noun *natupe* ‘girl’.

b. natu-pe ʒuvi

Girl-FEM.SG beautiful

‘The girl is beautiful’

Given below are some more examples of NAdj, where the adjective follows the head noun.

c. me du so

men huge tall

‘huge tall person’

b. bu du məŋo

chair big soft

‘big soft chair’

In examples (14.11 c & d), there is a deviation from Hawkins' Universal 1 (1983, p.64), which asserts that languages with a prevalent Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) order typically arrange adjectives before nouns (AdjN). However, Poula, in contrast, primarily follows a Noun-Adjective (NAdj) structure, and attempting to reorder the words to *AdjN is not possible.

4.2.7 Genitive and Noun

Greenberg's Universal #5 states that if a language with a dominant SOV order has the genitive follow the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun. Poula exhibits a genitive-noun (GenN) word order, indicating that it is a head-final language. This GenN word order is prevalent in most Sino-Tibetan languages (LaPolla, 1994). In examples (14.12 a & b), the nouns *i* ‘I’ and *sani* ‘Sani’ modify the head nouns *laɹəvə* ‘book’ and *ki* ‘house’ with the genitive case suffix ‘-vi’.

(14.12) a. hena i-vi laɹəvə

DET 1SG.GEN book

‘This is my book’

b. sani-vi ki

Sani-GEN house

‘Sani’s house’

In example (14 c) the possessive prefix i- modifies the noun ‘mother’ as illustrated below:

c. i-fə

1SG.GEN-mother

Gen-N

‘(my) mother’

The word order NGen[21] is possible when the head noun is followed by a definitive marker as shown in example (14.12 d).

d. uʃì-na daɲi-vi

dog-DEF Danyi-GEN

‘Danyi’s dog’

Some nouns in Poula indicate possessiveness without the genitive marker. An example of this is shown in (14.12 e), where the modifying noun *uʃi* ‘dog’ is juxtaposed with the head noun *mi* ‘tail’ without the genitive case suffix ‘-vi’.

e. uʃì mi

Dog tail

GEN N

‘tail of dog’

LaPolla (1994, p.1) cited Hawkins’ Universal (1), which states that if SOV languages have AN as the word order, they will also have GN (where AN and GN stand for Adjective-Noun and

[21] GenN and NGen are abbreviations for Genitive-Noun and Noun-Genitive

Genitive-Noun, respectively). However, the AN order is not present in Poula, although it does have GN and not NG word order parameters. The NA word order is entirely dominant, and the reverse is not possible in the language. Hence, in accordance with this rule, the language once again violates Hawkins' Universal by having NA word order co-occurring with GN word order.

4.2.8 Order of Postposition and Noun

Greenberg's Universal #4 states that languages with normal SOV order are postpositional. Postposition follow the noun in Poula as shown in examples (14.13 a & b).

(14.13) a. am bu tʰɹu

mango tree under

N N PP

'Under the mango tree'

b. ʂəka hi

shelf on

'on the shelf'

In example (14.13 c), the phrase consists of a postposition *hisəu* 'from' preceded by the head noun *ki* 'house'.

c. ki hisəu

house from

'from the house'

Case can function as a postposition in noun phrase construction, as seen in examples (4.13 d & e). The instrumental case *fo* 'with' in (4.13 d), follows the head noun *tʰɹopiməʦə* 'knife' and the locative case *hi* 'in' follows the head noun *dəu* 'field'.

d. tʰɹopiməʦə-na fo

knife-DEF.NEUT.SG INST

'with the knife'

e. dəu hi

field LOC

‘in the field’

4.2.9 Demonstratives and Noun

Just like adjectives and numerals, demonstratives also precede the head noun in Poula. Given below are some examples:

(4.14) a. laɹəvə hena

book PROX.DEM

‘This book’

b. laɹəvə he-tʰɹo

book PROX.DEM-PL

‘These books’

c. ki hona

house MDL.DEM

‘That house’

d. ki sə-tʰɹo

house RMT.DEM-PL

‘Those houses’

LaPolla (1994, p.7) cited Hawkins' Universal #15, which states that all postpositional languages have the demonstrative and genitive modifying the head noun. In Poula, the possible word order for demonstratives is NDem. DemN does not normally occur in Poula, and such word order is not permissible in the language.

4.2.10 Order of Numerals and Noun

The numeral follows the head noun in Poula (NNum). In 10.a and 10.b the numeral *ali* 'one' and *atsʰə* 'three' follows the head noun *uʃi* 'dog'.

(4.15) a. uʃì ali

Dog one

'One dog'

b. uʃì atsʰə

Dog three

'Three dogs'

The constructions in Poula described above violate Hawkins' Implicational Universal #16, which states that postpositional languages have NumN and GenN word orders. In Poula, although GenN word order is dominant in genitive and noun constructions, NumN word order is not permissible. Greenberg's Universal #20 states that when the demonstrative, numeral, and descriptive adjective precede the noun, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite. However, this universal does not apply in Poula because the word orders DemN, NumN, and AdjN are not found in the language. Rather, the word orders for these constructions in Poula are NDem, NNum, and NAdj, respectively.

4.2.11 Degree Word and Adjective

In Poula, the degree word is suffixed to the adjectives, as shown in examples (4.16 a, b & c). The reverse word order, DegAdj, is not permissible in the language. Therefore, the word order for degree words and adjectives in Poula is AdjDeg.

(4.16) a. pɹəu du-tao

elephant big-very

Adj Deg

'Very big elephant'

b. du-tao

huge-very

Adj Deg

'Very good'

c. tʰa-tao

fat-very

Adj Deg

'Too fat'

Thus, from the examples provided, it is evident that the word order for degree words and adjectives in Poula is AdjDeg.

4.2.12 Relative Clause and Noun

Similar to its neighbouring languages such as Tenyidie, Chokri, and Khezha, Poula is a left-branching language. Consequently, the relative clause in Poula typically occurs to the left of the head, as shown in example (4.17 a).

(4.17) a. [pivə mədе fə-ʧiu] me-na a-pəu

cap green wear-DM man-DEF.NEUT.SG NRL.PRX-father

'The men who is wearing a green cap is my father'

Ezung (2018, p.80) stated that, 'the relative clause occurs to the right as well, as a postnominal externally-headed relative clause except when the head NP is modified by a quantifier or a numeral.' This phenomenon also occurs in Poula, as illustrated in example (4.18 b).

(4.18) b. me [pivə mədе fə-ʧu] -na a-pəu

men cap green wear-DM-DEF.NEUT.SG NRL.PRX-father

'The men who is wearing a green cap is my father'

Dryer (2008:42) mentions that 49% of Tibeto-Burman languages have both NRel and RelN word orders. Poula exhibits the presence of both NRel and RelN word orders.

4.2.13 Auxiliary and Main Verb

In Poula, the auxiliaries normally follow the main verb i.e., Vaux. Some examples are given below:

(4.19) a. pume nufə hi vu-le mo

3PL village in go-FUT NEG

'Aren't they going to village?'

b. i ha-tə-le

1SG thing-eat-FUT

'I will eat food'

In both (4.19 a & b), it can be observed that the verbal auxiliaries are suffixed to the main verbs *vu* 'go' and *tə* 'eat'. Therefore, the word order of auxiliary and main verb in Poula is VAux. The reverse word order AuxV is not permissible in Poula.

4.2.14 Negative Particles and Verbs

In Poula, the negative particle obligatorily occurs after the verb. The negation marker is a free morpheme occurring after the verbs and particles attached to the verbs, as exemplified:

(4.20) a. i vu-le moi

1SG come-FUT NEG

'I will not come'

b. I vu-le ho

1SG come-FUT NEG

'I won't go'

As seen in examples (4.20 a & b), the head verb *vu* 'go' precedes the negative verb suffix *-moi* and *ho* in the verb phrase *i vu-le moi* 'I will not come' and *i vu-le ho* 'I won't go'. The word order is VNeg and the reverse NegV word order is not possible in Poula. VNeg word order is a typical feature of the Angami-Pochuri languages.

4.2.15 Position of Question Word in Wh-Phrase

The question particle can occur initially and medially in a sentence construction in Poula as shown in (4.21 a & b).

(4.21) a. (ne) deki vu-le

2SG where go-FUT

'Where are you going?'

The subject *ne* 'you' can be pro-dropped in a sentence hence it is optional as shown in 15.a, this dropping of the subject results in word order WhV. In this cases, Wh-phrases occurs initially in a sentence as in (4.21 b).

b. (pu) depe poa

3SG what say

'What is he saying?'

Wh-phrase can occur initially without the intervention of the subject in an interrogative sentence construction as shown in example (4.21 c).

(4.21) c. depe sə

What happen

'What happened?'

Meanwhile, morpho-phonologically the Wh-phrase *depe sə* 'what happened' can be reduced to *de sə* which still carries the complete semantic meaning 'what happened'.

4.2.16 Position of Yes/No Words in Interrogative Phrase

Like most TB languages, the Yes/No questions in Poula are also formed with the help of question particles which occur at the final position of a sentence as shown below:

(4.22) a. ne ʧəu təu-le-o

2SG now eat-FUT-Q

'Will you eat now?'

b. ti ɹə-o

Sky rain-Q

'Is it raining?'

4.2.17 Order of Elements in a Sub-Ordinate Clause

The elements in a sub-ordinate clause consist of a relative clause and a complement clause. In sentence construction, both the relative clause and the complement clause are mostly head-final, while the coordinate clause is always the main clause.

In example (4.23 a), both the co-ordinate clause *i tale* 'I will walk' and *pu tule* 'she will run' functions as the main clauses, each coordinated with the conjunction *nə* 'and'.

(4.23) a. i ta-le nə pu tu-le

1SG walk-FUT and 3SG run-FUT

'I will walk and she will run'

In Poula, the order of complement clause occurs both at the beginning and at the end as shown in example (4.23 b & c). However, the dominant order is for the complement clause to occur at the beginning.

(4.23) b. [i vu-le-ʧiu] pu ʧu-mo

1SG come-FUT-DM 3SG know-NEG

'She didn't know that I was coming'

c. pu ʧu-mo [i vu-le-ʧiu]

3SG know-NEG 1SG come-FUT-DM

'She didn't know that I was coming'

4.3 Phrase Structure

A phrase is a group of words that function as a single unit, typically as part of a clause or sentence. Unlike a clause, a phrase does not contain a subject and a verb and, therefore,

cannot convey a complete thought. Grammatical phrases are groups of two or more words that work together to perform a single grammatical function in a sentence.

Phrase Structure rules

Phrase structure rules are a type of rewrite rule used to describe the syntax of a given language, closely associated with the early stages of Transformational Grammar, first proposed by Noam Chomsky in 1957. These rules are used to break down a natural language sentence into its constituent parts, including both lexical categories (like nouns and verbs) and phrasal categories. A grammar that uses phrase structure rules is a type of phrase structure grammar. These rules operate based on the constituency relation, which defines how words are grouped together in a sentence. This type of grammar stands in contrast to dependency grammars, which are based on the dependency relation between words in a sentence.

4.3.1 Noun Phrase

A noun phrase consists of a noun or a pronoun, which is called the head, along with any dependent words that come before or after the head. Essentially, a noun phrase is a phrase that functions as a noun. It includes a noun plus any determiners or modifiers directly related to it. Noun phrases always serve the grammatical function of nouns in a sentence.

4.3.1.1 Demonstrative

All the demonstratives in Poula are free morphemes and they follow the noun as shown in the given examples:

(4.24) a. pɹopa hana
flower DEM
'This flower'

b. pɹopa he-tʰɹo
flower DEM-PL
'These flowers'

c. putu huna
boy DEM
'That boy'

d. putu hu-tʰɹo
boy DEM-PL
'Those boys'

As seen in the examples provided, the demonstrative changes its form depending on the referents that are closer to the speaker or the hearer. For example, in (a) *pɹopa hana* means 'this flower', and in (c) *putu huna* means 'that boy'. The demonstrative changes from *hana* 'this' to *huna* 'that' based on the proximity to the speaker or the hearer.

There is a special locative form of demonstrative like 'here' and 'there'.

e. hehi vulu
here come

f. hutho vu
there go

‘Come here’ ‘Go there’

4.3.1.2 Order of Elements in a Noun Phrase

The order of the NP constituents in Poula is given below:

Possessor (Personal Pronoun)	Prenominal Modifiers	Demonstrative	Head Noun	Postnominal Modifiers	Particles Clitics

The demonstrative follows the noun in an NP as shown below:

(4.26) a. ki huna tɪu-e
house that tall-EVID
‘That building is tall’

b. natəpe hana ləu sə-e
girl this song sing-EVID
‘This girl sang’

Possessive NPs precede the head noun. In example (4.26 c) the possessive marker *-vi* precedes the noun *laɹəvə* ‘book’.

c. hena a-vi laɪəvə
this 1SG-GEN book
‘This is my book’

The postnominal modifiers that constitute a noun phrase (NP) are category suffixes, adjectives, numerals, number, case, gender and postpositions. These modifiers generally follow the head noun, as illustrated in the given examples:

d. i pfəkʰa ne vu-le
1SG tuesday on come-FUT
‘I will come on Tuesday’

e. natəpe-li tu-a vu-e
girl-one run come-EVID
‘One girl came running’

f. pu-nu pu nape le bu-e
3SG-NOM 3SG child look PROG-EVID
‘She is looking at her own child’

g. pe a nalo bu-e
grandmother 1SG left have-EVID
‘Grandma is sitting to my left’

h. danyi-nə ʧi-pau-na kə-ɹe
danyi-NOM language-speak-DEF.MASC.SG call-PRF
'Danyi called the speaker'

Some more NP examples are given below:

i. ki mədе-na ʒo-ʧu vi
house green-DEF.NEUT.SG DET sell-DM thing
'The green house is for sell'

j. rene-nə mudʑə fo natəu pi-ɹe
Rene-NOM candy APPLV child give-PRF
'Rene gave the little boy a candy'

k. sələ-nə ki həɹ hi ʂə bu-e
Sülü-NOM house red in live have-EVID
'Sülü lives in that red building'

4.3.2 Adjective Phrase

An adjective phrase is a group of words that describe a noun or pronoun in a sentence. The adjective in an adjective phrase can appear at the start, end, or in the middle of the phrase. It can both function as a modifier in a noun phrase as well as a head in an adjective phrase. The adjective phrase can be placed before, or after, the noun or pronoun in the sentence. An adjective phrase always has an adjective acting as the head. The adjective phrase may also contain words or phrases before or after the head. An intensifier modifies the ADJP. Examples are shown below:

(4.27) a. *tʰa tao* 'very fat' b. *ʒevi tao* 'very beautiful (girl)'
c. *ʒeʃi tao* 'very ugly' d. *ana tao* 'too low'
e. *tɹu tao* 'extremely high'

In the above examples, the intensifier *tao* 'very' occur as an independent morpheme and follows the head ADJ. Given below are some examples which illustrates their head-final construction in ADJ phrase.

(4.28) a. rene-nə natəupe ʒevi-ʧu li
rene-NOM girl beautiful-DM one
'Rene is a beautiful girl'

b. pɹopa he-tʰɹo ʒevi-e
flower this-PL beautiful
'These flowers are beautiful'

c. ki lu-na ʒuvi tao
house that-DEF beautiful very
'That house is very beautiful'

In examples (4.28 a, b & c), the adjective *ʒevi* 'beautiful' function as heads. The noun precedes the adjective and it is followed by an adjective intensifier. In (4.28 b), it can be seen that the plural marker is suffixed to the demonstrative rather than the noun, which is a typical feature of the Angami-Pochury language.

Similarly, the following examples also illustrates adjectives functioning as the head in ADJP. Adjectives is followed by a negation as seen in (4.28 d, e & f).

(4.28) d. pu [zeɪo vi-mo] tao
3SG habit good-NEG very
'He has very bad habits'

e. [a-sa-na tʰa] tao
my-friend-DEF.FEM.SG fat very
'My friend is quite fat'

f. pu [vasəu tɪa] tao
3SG skin white very
'She has very fair complexion'

Adjectives function as modifiers in noun phrases and they normally follow the head noun as shown in (4.28 g).

g. saso-me vi-na a-ʤəɪe
tall-HM good-DEF.MASC.SG my-brother(elder)
'The tall(good) man is my brother'

In example (4.28 h), the noun-like adjectives 'warm' modifies the head noun 'clothes' in the noun phrase 'warm clothes'.

h. ali na fə-ləu
clothe warm wear-IMP
'Wear warm clothes'

4.3.3 Verb Phrase

A Verb Phrase consists of a main verb alone, or a main verb plus any modal/ and/ or auxiliary verbs. In simple words, verb of more than one word is called a verb phrase. It is a phrase consisting of a verb, its auxiliaries (helping verbs), its complements, and other modifiers. Auxiliary verbs always come before the main verb. A verb phrase is a syntactic unit that corresponds to the predicate. In a verb phrase, the main verb normally follows the

noun phrase as shown in below examples. The verbal inflections function as post-verbal modifying elements of the head verb as seen in (4.29 a) *fo-lu-ɹe* ‘taken’ where the verb *fo* ‘take’ is suffixed by the modifying elements *-ləu* as potential capabilitive modal.

(4.29) a. pu haʂə-na fo-ləu-ɹe
3SG job-DEF take-CAPMOD.PRF
‘She has taken the job’

In example (b) *ki huna ʂə-səu* ‘don’t buy that house’, the verb is negated by a negative element *-səu* which is suffixed to the verb.

(4.29) b. ki huna ʂə-səu
house DET buy-NEG
‘Don’t buy that house’

In (4.29 c), the verb phrase consists of a subject *pu* ‘he’ and the adjunct *vakəu* ‘outside’ and the main verb *vu* ‘come’.

c. pu vakəu pa-ləu-vi
3SG outside come-CAPMOD-POSS
‘He might come outside’

4.3.3.1 Properties of a Verb Phrase

4.3.3.1.1 Negation

If a word can take a negative marker, then that word is considered to be a verb. Negation can be separated from the verb by some agreement forms and directional. The general negation marker follows the verb.

VP [V-cplx…. NEG] [vu səu]
go NEG
‘Don’t go’

4.3.3.1.2 Post-Verbal Directional

Pre-verbal directional is used to modify the direction of an action and directly precede the main verb.

VP-cplx [V-DIR] [dao muɹiØ]
pull pull-DIR
‘Pull upward’

4.3.3.1.3 Onomatopoeic Expressive

Some verbs can be modified by expressive that are sound-symbolic expressions. Onomatopoeic expressive do not occur with any other parts of speech.

V-cplx [V-ONO] [pʰika kho-kho]
shoe ONO
'Footstep sound'

4.3.3.1.4 The first-person marker

The first person does not occur only in VP, it can occur in the absence of verbs.

V-cplx [V…1PM] [i pu mo]
1SG 3SG NEG
'I'm not him'

4.3.4 Adverb Phrase

An adverb phrase is simply a group of two or more words that function as an adverb in a sentence. The adverb is the head of the phrase and can appear alone or it can be modified by other words. Adverb phrase typically answer the questions how, where, why or when something was done.

In example (4.30 a & b), the adverbs *ʃasu* 'slowly' and *tulimiti* 'always' are preceded by the subject *pu* 'he/she'. The adverbs function as verbal modifiers in a verb phrase as shown in the given examples.

(4.30) a. pu-nə [ʃasu ludu-ta-e]
3SG-NOM slowly road-walk-EVID
'She was walking slowly'

b. pu pɹasəu-tʰɹo [tulumiti nini] tao-je
3SG joke-PL always funny very-HB
'His jokes are always very funny'

c. pume ki ɹi pʰi bu-je]
their house river nearby have-HB
'Their house is by the river side'

From the given examples (4.31 a, b & c), it is seen that the adverbs in Poula occur in different position in a phrase and scrambling of the position does not bring about a change in the meaning.

(4.31) a. i **titʰune** laɹəki vu-je
1PL everyday school go-HB

‘We go to school every day’

b. I laɹəki **titʰune** vu-je
1PL school everyday go-HB
‘We go to school every day’

c. **titʰune** i laɹəki vu-je
everyday 1PL school go-HB
‘We go to school every day’

4.3.5 Postposition Phrase

Postpositional Phrase consists of a postposition and the words which follows it (a complement). In English grammar, a postpositional phrase is a group of words made up of a postposition (such as to, with, or across), its object (a noun or a pronoun), and any of the object’s modifiers (an article and/ or an adjective). It is only a portion of a sentence and cannot stand on its own as a complete thought. Postpositional phrases often tell where something happened, when it happened, or specify which one. Because of these functions, they’re often essential to understanding a sentence. The postpositional phrases (PPs) have postpositions as their head.

In example (4.32 a), the postposition *sa-* ‘with’ is prefixed by the dimunitive and the definitive marker. In example (4.32 b & c), the postpositions *tʰɹu* ‘under’ and *pʰao* ‘on’ occurs after the noun *bu* ‘table’.

(4.32) a. putu pu sa-ʧu-na pu na
boy 3SG with-DM-DEF3SG child
‘The boy with her is her son’

b. putu-na table tʰɹu akʰe bu-e
boy-DEF table under hide PROG-EVID
‘The boy is hiding under the table’

c. pu laɹəvə-na table pʰao kʰe-pi-ɹe
3SG book-DEF.NEUT.SG table on keep-give-PST
‘He kept the book on the table’

4.4 Clauses

This section discusses the different types of clauses.

4.4.1 Independent Clause

The independent verbal clause may be either affirmative or negative which may be in declarative, imperative, interrogative and other clauses.

4.4.1.1 Affirmative verb clause

Affirmative verb clauses are found in simple sentences. Example a), is a simple affirmative sentence with the finite verb *tɹə* 'drink' and the subject *i* 'I'.

(4.33) a. i ʤə tɹə bu-e
1SG water drink PROG-EVID
'I am drinking water'

4.4.1.2 Negative verb clause

Negative verb construction in Poula can take different forms. There are separate morphemes to indicate negation, including a default negation marker, an inability negation marker, and a prohibitive negation marker. Negation can occur in declarative, interrogative, imperative, and hortative sentences. In Poula, negative particles occur with verbs to form negative verbal clauses. Examples are provided below:

(4.34) a. i tə- le moi
1SG eat-FUT NEG
'I will not eat'

b. pu ta-le moi
2SG go-FUT NEG
'He will not go'

4.4.1.3 Affirmation vs Negative Verb clause

The occurrence of the negative particle in affirmative sentences results in negative sentences. Example (4.35 a) illustrates the affirmative sentence, whereas example (4.35 b) illustrates the negative sentence with the negative marker occurring after the verb.

(4.35) a. hena a-ki
DET POSS-house
'This is my house'

b. hena a-ki moi

DET POSS-house NEG

'This is not my house'

A sentence can have two clauses: one is the main clause, also known as the principal clause, and the other is the embedded clause, also called the subordinate clause. The main clause can occur on its own, but the embedded clause cannot occur on its own and therefore needs the support of the main clause for its occurrence in a sentence. The examples below illustrate a simple clause and an embedded clause:

(4.35) c. pu larəki ŋ̊ʰi vu [pu asame dau le vu-ɹe]

3SG school LOC go 3SG friend meet CONJ go-PRF

'She went to school to meet her friends'

b. i pʰoʃi [table ŋ̊ʰi bu-ʧiu-na] tə-ləu-ɹe

1SG apple table LOC have-DM-DEF eat-CAPMOD-PRF

'I ate the apple which was on the table'

In the above examples *i pʰoʃi təlәuɹe* and *pu larəki hi vu* are the main clauses which can stand alone without the subordinate clauses, *pu asame daule vuɹe* and *table hi buʧiuna* are the embedded clauses which is completely dependent on the main clause for its occurrence.

4.4.2 Dependent Clause

A dependent clause, also called as a subordinate clause or an embedded clause, is a clause which is dependent on another clause and cannot stand on its own. In Poula, the dependent clause can occur within the matrix clause as illustrated in examples (4.36 a & b).

(4.36) a. i laɹəki vu moaʃi

1SG school go need

'I need to go to school'

b. mədəapime [neme mədə-le-ʧi̪u səu] vu-le

teacher 2PL teach-EXST-DM CONJ come-FUT

'The teacher will come in order to teach you'

4.4.2.1 Relative Clause

A relative clause is a type of dependent clause that has a subject and a verb but cannot stand alone as a sentence. It modifies a noun or a noun phrase by giving more information about the person or thing mentioned. The dominant relative clause construction in Poula is pre-nominal/N-final, however, post-nominal/N-initial clause construction is also possible. Keenam and Comrie (1977) give a relative- clause strategy in the following hierarchical manner:

subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique > possessor

4.4.2.1.1 Pre-nominal/ N-final relative clause

A pre-nominal relative clause has the head noun occurring at the end of a sentence, with the relative clause occurring to the left. The following examples illustrate pre-nominal relative -clauses in Poula-

(4.37) a. [natəpe ləu səu ʧi̪u-na] a-vi asame

girl song sing DM-DEF 1SG-POSS friend

'The girl who is singing is my friend'

b. [ne-nə ʃo ʧi̪u-na] pɹupa zevi tao

you-NOM plant DM-DEF flower beautiful very

'The flower which you are planting is beautiful'

4.4.2.1.2 Post-nominal/ N-initial relative clause

In a post-nominal/ N-initial relative clause, the head noun occurs at the initial position, and the relative clause occurs to the right. The following examples illustrate post-nominal relative clause in Poula where the head noun *pətəu* and *putu* occurs at the initial position of the sentence.

(4.38) a. pətəu [laɹə-pʰɹə ʧiu-na a-na]

boy book-read DEM-DEF my-son

'The boy who is reading is my son'

b. putu [ne-nə sa ləu-səu ʧiu-na ləusəu sə tao]

man you-NOM with song-sing DM-DEF song-sing know very

'The man whom you sang with is a good singer'

4.4.2.1.3 Internally headed relative clause

Languages with a basic word order of SOV often have internally headed relative clauses (Keenan, 1985). In Poula, the head noun phrase occurs within the relative clause itself as illustrated in examples (4.39 a & b). Ezung (2018, p. 87-89), mentions that, '…in Angami too, in internally-headed relative clauses, the identical NP occurs in the embedded sentence and *not* in the matrix sentence'.

(4.39) a. [pəutəu sazau məde fə ʧiu]-na avi asame

man shirt green wear DM-DEF 1SG-POSS friend

'The man who is wearing a green shirt is my friend'

b. [pəutəu khau səthə-ʧiu]-na oʤo vu-e

man tiger kill-DM-DEF yesterday come-EVID

'The man who killed the tiger came yesterday'

4.4.2.1.4 Externally headed relative clause

In Poula, the head noun can also occur outside the relative clause and the sentence still remains grammatical as illustrated in examples (a) & (b).

(4.40) a. [sazau məde fə-ʧiu] pəutəu-na a-vi asame

shirt green wear-DM man-DEF 1SG-POSS friend

'The man who is wearing a green shirt is my friend'

b. [kʰao səthaʧ̀iu] pəutəu-na oʤo vu-e

tiger kill-DM man-DEF yesterday come-EVID

'The man who killed the tiger came yesterday'

4.4.3 Complement Clause

A complement clause is a dependent or subordinate clause that serves to complete the meaning of a noun, adjective, or verb in a sentence. In Poula, the complement clause can be shifted to any position in a sentence without changing the meaning, as illustrated in the examples below:

(4.41) a. sələ-nə [me-na depe ʂə nə] ɲai

sülü-NOM man-DEF what buy DUB see

'Sülü saw what the man bought'

b. sələ-nə ɲai [me-na depe ʂə] nə

sülü-NOM see man-DEF what buy DUB

'Sülü saw what the man bought'

c. [me-na-nə depe ʂə] nə sələ-nə ŋai

man-DEF-NOM what buy DUB sülü-ACC see

'Sülü saw what the man bought'

4.5 Types of Sentences

A sentence is a set of words that gives a complete meaning, it minimally consists of a subject and a predicate which conveys a statement, question, exclamation, or a command and consisting of a main clause and sometimes one or more subordinate clauses. It is the basic unit of language which expresses a complete thought.

4.5.1 Simple Sentences

A simple sentence, as defined by linguists, is a sentence that contains a single independent clause, which typically consists of a subject and a predicate (verb), and expresses a complete thought. Therefore, a simple sentence is a sentence consisting of a single main clause.

(4.42) a. i amʃì ʤəpai-e

1SG mango like-EVID

‘I like mango’

b. i kʰoto təu-be

1SG rice eat-HB

‘I eat rice’

c. i osa bu-e

1SG cat have-EVID

‘I have a cat’

4.5.1.1 Simple Indicative Sentences

A simple indicative sentence states facts in the form of statements, opinions, or questions.

(4.43) a. pɹəupa hana zevi tao

flower DET beautiful very

‘This flower is beautiful’

b. tisə məkai-e

weather cold-EVID

‘The weather is cold’

c. pu tʰa tao

3SG fat very

‘(S)he is very fat’

4.5.1.2 Simple Imperative Sentences

Simple imperative sentences are used to issue or express commands, make requests or orders, and give instructions or advice. The imperative marker in Poula is suffixed to the verb as illustrated in the given examples:

(4.44) a. la-ləu

Stand-IMP

'Stand up'

b. ki kʰu-ləu

house close-IMP

'Close the door'

c. vu-ləu

come-IMP

'Come'

4.5.2 Compound Sentences

Compound sentences are made up of two or more clauses conjoined by a coordinating conjunction. They are used to join two related sentences together into a single idea, although the sentences are not necessarily related semantically. Therefore, a compound sentence is a sentence that contains at least two independent clauses. Examples are illustrated below:

(4.45) a. i asai nəu pu ʤəphi-e

1SG happy but 3SG sad-EVID

'I'am happy but he is sad'

b. pu də-sə desənə pu asa-e

3SG dance-do because 3SG happy-EVID

'She is dancing because she is happy'

c. i pʰoʃì ʤəpai nəu pu amʃì ʤəpai

1SG apple like but 3SG mango like

'I like apple but he likes mango'

4.5.3 Complex Sentences

A complex sentence consists of two clauses: one main clause and one embedded clause. It is a combination of an independent clause (one that expresses a complete thought and could stand alone) and a dependent clause (one that expresses an incomplete thought and cannot stand alone). Therefore, a sentence that contains one independent clause and at least one dependent clause is a complex sentence.

(4.46) a. i mutsə-ʧìu aʒəu tiɹə-le

1SG think-DM tonight rain-FUT

'I think that it'll rain tonight'

b. takaɹakia tiɹə-ʧìu kəu i səza məde-na fə ɲi-be

whenever rain-DM PP 1SG shirt green-DEF wear want-HB

'Whenever it rains, I like to wear my green shirt'

c. me ʧaʧʰa səu-na təu ʤəpai nəu daɲi ʤəpai moi

people many meat-DEF eat like but danyi like NEG

'Many people enjoyed the meat but Danyi did not'

Syntactically, basic speech acts are carried out by different functional sentence types. For instance, a statement can be conveyed through a declarative sentence, a question through an interrogative sentence, a request or command through an imperative sentence, and an exclamatory remark through an exclamatory sentence. Examples are provided below:

4.5.4 Statements

A statement sentence in Poula is expressed through a declarative sentence. It is a type of sentence that conveys and expresses a simple piece of information in speech or writing.

(4.47) a. i laɹəvə ahe bu-e

1SG book two have-EVID

'I have two books'

b. ʧo-tʰɹo pɹo tə-e

cow-PL grass eat-EVID

'The cows are grazing'

c. pume ta-le mo

3PL go-FUT NEG

'They will not go'

In example (4.47 c), the sentence is negated by the negative particle *mo* which is also the default negative particle in the language.

4.5.5 Questions

Question or interrogative sentences in Poula are identified by the question mark (?). Poula exhibits both Wh-questions and yes/no questions. These types of sentences are used to ask questions, typically to request or extract information.

(4.48) a. tʰau ʒadi tʰulu moi

whose land fertile NEG

'Whose land is not fertile?'

b. ne ketʰolik-me mo

2SG catholic-HM NEG

'Aren't you catholic?'

4.5.6 Imperatives

Imperative sentences are used to express commands, orders, requests, and to give instructions or advice. Examples are provided below:

4.5.6.1 Commands

A command sentence is a type of imperative sentence that gives instructions, directions, or orders to the person being spoken to. These sentences minimally consist of a verb in the affirmative form. When accompanied by a negative particle, they form the negative form, as illustrated in (4.49 a & b).

(4.49) a. tə

'eat'

b. tə mo

eat NEG

'Didn't eat'

4.5.6.2 Requests

In Poula, sentences can be politely expressed with the help of the lexical word *tɹalo* 'please'. A request is the act of asking for something to be given or done, especially as a favour or courtesy.

(4.50) a. tɹalo tə-e

please eat

'Please eat'

b. tɹalo tə mo

please eat NEG

'Please don't eat'

4.5.6.3 Exclamatory

Exclamatory sentences are formed with the help of interjections that express exclamations based on surprise, shock, excitement, and embarrassment. They are considered the forceful version of declarative sentences, conveying excitement or emotion.

(4.51) a. teʧu! it^{h}ɹume atɹo hi ka-ɹe

alas! 1PL game in loss-PRF

‘Alas! We have lost the match!’

b. ai! bu-he deʒoʒoi ʒivi sa

oh my! place-DET how beautiful IMP

‘Oh my! What a beautiful place!’

c. teʧumte! bovi pu t^{h}e se

alas! bovi father die IMP

‘Bovi’s father passed away’ (exclaimed sorrowfully)

The above exclamatory sentences express different emotions, based on discontentment (4.51 a), excitement (4.51 b) and sorrow (4.51 c) respectively.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

This thesis provides a detailed structural description of the Poula language, particularly focusing on the variety spoken in the Phek district of Nagaland. Poula, spoken by the Poumai and Chakhesang communities, exhibits a rich and unique phonological, morphological and syntactic system. The Poula speakers in Nagaland are the inhabitants of three villages namely- Zhavame (Zhamei), Zelome, Tsüpfüme (Chobama), and the town of Razeba. The people or the language that the native speakers call is 'poula' /pula/ which other neighboring communities especially Chokri and Khezha called it 'sapou' /sapu/. Chapter 1 covers the introduction of the language, the community of speakers, the geographical region where it is spoken, the current status of the language, the research methodology, and the study's scope and delimitations.

In Chapter 2, the research encompasses a thorough analysis of both segmental and suprasegmental phonological features. The segmental phonology section explores the phonemic inventory of Poula, identifying 30 consonant phonemes. The distinctions are made according to the place and manner of articulation. Place of articulation such as; bilabial, labio-dental, alveolar, post-alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. Manner of articulation such as; plosives, fricatives, affricates, nasals, lateral and approximant. Poula has eight plosives having three-way contrast; bilabial, dental-alveolar and velar, /p, b/ /t, d/ /k/ /pʰ, tʰ, kʰ/. The voiced velar plosive[22] /g/ is absent in Poula thus, there is no corresponding voiced sound to /k/. There are five nasals in Poula, and the sounds are distinguished based on the following places of articulation; bilabial nasal /m/, alveolar nasal /n/, palatal nasal /ɲ/, velar nasal /ŋ/ and aspirated voiceless velar nasal /ŋ̊ʰ/. Fricatives are also distinguished based on the four places of articulation; labio-dental /f, v/; alveolar /s, z/; post-alveolar /ʃ, ʒ/; glottal /h/ and the voiceless retroflex fricative /ʂ/. Affricates in Poula are alveolar affricates /ʦ, ʣ/, post-alveolar affricates /ʧ, ʤ/ and the voiceless aspirated counterpart /ʦʰ/ and /ʧʰ/. Poula has three approximants, /w/, and /ɹ/ are the central approximants and /l/ is the liquid approximant. The occurrence of the bilabial approximant /w/ is very limited and it is found in word initial only. The only word with this sound is the male response word *we*. This study has noted that, /ɹ/ is the only sound in the language that can occur in the word-final position. Additionally, the presence of the voiceless retroflex fricative [ʂ] distinguishes Poula from other Angami-Pochuri languages, highlighting

[22] The voiced velar plosive occurs only in borrowed words, eg: /gari/ 'vehicle' (source- Hindi)

its unique phonetic characteristics. In Angami, three voiceless nasals (bilabial, alveolar, and palatal) have been identified in Khonoma Angami (Bhaskararao & Ladefoged, 1991). However, there are no reported occurrences of a voiceless velar nasal in any Angami-Pochuri languages. Therefore, the presence of the voiceless velar nasal in Poula, is an intriguing linguistic feature that distinguishes Poula from its Angami-Pochuri counterparts. Contrast based on the manner and place of articulation were given with examples.

Consonant clusters, though present, are restricted and generally consist of stops or fricatives combined with approximants (see §2.2.1.10). The language allows initial and medial consonant clusters, with a minimum requirement of two consonants. Vowel-initial clusters, where the clusters are preceded by a vowel, are also observed. However, the number of consonants in a cluster does not exceed two, and the syllable structure is analyzed as CCV, CCVV, CVCCV, VCCV, or VCCVCV. While clusters involving plosives with the alveolar approximant are common in Poula, clusters with fricatives and approximants (see §**Table 2.3**), are limited and primarily found in onomatopoeic word constructions. Additionally, Tibeto-Burman consonant clusters are only found in root-initial position (Benedict, 1972). This study has found that like most Tibeto-Burman languages, the occurrence of consonant sequence is very limited or in that case very rare in the language. Section §2.2.1.11 shows consonant sequence between an alveolar approximant followed by a consonant cluster; an aspirated alveolar plosive and an alveolar approximant and, an alveolar approximant and an alveolar fricative respectively. A detailed display of the phonotactic constraint has been shown in §**Table 2.5.** In the later section of the chapter, the vowels present in the language and its distribution has been shown with examples. This study presents 6 monophthongs, three front vowels /i/, /e/ and /a/ which occur in word initial, medial and final position, two back vowel /u/ and /o/, and one central vowel /ə/ which occur only in medial and final position. Both rounded and unrounded vowels are present and all the vowels are voiced. The positions of the vowels are plotted in a chart which is shown in §**Table 2.7**, and the contrast are shown basing on the position of the tongue, height of the tongue, and lip rounding. Vowel sequences in Poula are rare and typically consist of two vowels next to each other in a word, each belonging to separate syllables and making its own sound. Poula has 6 diphthongs which is attested only in word medial and final position.

In the suprasegmental domain, the thesis delves into the syllable structure and tonal system of Poula. The basic syllabic structure of the language is monosyllabic with V, CV and CCV syllable structures and it permits both opened syllable and closed syllable but closed syllables are not very productive as it occurs only with the alveolar approximant at the end of the word.

The polysyllabic words are mostly compound words and it can have up to five syllables. This study takes into consideration, the syllable pattern proposed by Clements and Keyser, while they suggest that the basic syllable types in all languages include CV, V, CVC and VC, however Poula deviates from this as it lacks the VC syllable type but does possess CV and CVC syllable types. The possible syllable structures in Poula such as monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and polysyllabic are illustrated in §**Table 2.10.** Closed syllable structure is observed in monosyllabic and disyllabic structures and it is not found in polysyllabic structures.

Like the other Tibeto-Burman languages, Poula is a tonal language exhibiting five distinct tones: high, low, extra low, mid-rising falling, and high-rising falling. These tonal distinctions are crucial for meaning differentiation within the language and are visually represented through distinct pitch patterns. The use of Praat software facilitated the analysis and visualization of these tones, underscoring their importance in Poula's phonological framework.

Chapter 3 discuss the morphology of the language. Words are classified into several word classes, including nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, postpositions and interjections. In Poula, Nouns and Verbs (§3.2 and §3.4) are the most significant classes due to their complex morphological and syntactic structures. Nouns in Poula can be simple nouns (§3.2.1), derived nouns (§3.2.2), and compound nouns (§3.2.3). Under this section, the thesis further explores the types of nouns and the different categories of nouns. The process of compounding to form a noun is an essential process in the language which can be a combination of noun + noun (see §3.2.3.1), adjective + adjective (see §3.2.3.2) or noun + verb (see §3.2.3.3) respectively. This study has observed two numbers in the language- singular and plural. The singular is unmarked which implies a single entity and no affixes are attached to it. The plural marker is marked with the suffix *-tʰɯo* and the marker is the same for both animate and inanimate nouns. There is no separate marker to indicate duality in Poula, and it is identified only by the cardinal number two '*ahe'*. This study has suggested three different terms used to refer to pairs, each with its own unique characteristics. *-bitu* is a bound morpheme and is used to refer to pairs, particularly in the context of animate (human) pairs. For example, *nabitu* is used to refer to twin babies, where *na-* means 'child' and *-bitu* is suffixed to indicate a pair. *-pa* is another bound morpheme and is suffixed to the preceding noun to indicate a pair. It is used exclusively with inanimate pairs. *Mobo* is an independent morpheme, used to refer to two objects that grow naturally attached or glued to each other. It is specifically used for inanimate pairs (see §3.2.4.3). Different quantifiers are used to indicate quantity or amount of something without openly stating the numerical value and it occur after the noun it quantify (see §3.2.4.4).

The chapter further explores the gender markers in the language. It distinguishes masculine and feminine genders (§3.2.5), with *-na* indicating male and *-fə* indicating female. The gender marker *-na* is flexible in its usage meaning that it is not exclusively reserved for males; it can also represent the female counterpart as well as neuter. For animate humans, the markers are *-pu* for male (e.g., *akimepu* 'husband') and *-fə* for female (e.g., *akimefə* 'wife'). Morphological gender marking in animate (+human) is categorized into agentive noun, proper noun and lexical noun. In agentive marking, in order to specify gender as either male or female, markers such as *-na*, *-pu*, *-fə*, or *-pe* are suffixed to the generic form, thereby indicating gender distinction (see §3.1.5.1.1). Section §3.2.5.1.2 discusses the gender marking in proper nouns, where certain markers are used to denote male names and female names. The morpheme *-ne* is reserved for female names, however there is no fixed marker that is employed for male names. While some elements, such as proper nouns and a few kinship terms, may take gender markers, the majority of kinship terms in Poula are lexical, meaning the term itself indicates the gender of the relative (see §3.2.5.1.3). Morphological gender making in animate (-human) distinguishes between male and female animals, and further distinctions are made between female with offspring and without offspring. A prominent feature of animate non-human is the specific usage of markers to denote gender and reproductive status. Additionally, an intriguing aspect of animate non-human entities is the distinctive marker associated with animals possessing horns (see §**Table 3.5**). This study has recorded nine types of case in the language- Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Instrumental, Locative, Associative, Benefactive, Additive and Ablative. The nominative case in Poula is not obligatory, the speaker has the liberty whether or not to use the marker. When the marker is attached to the subject, it indicates that the speaker is deliberately providing information about the subject's action to the listener. Except for the accusative case which is unmarked, the rest of the case are marked with separate morphemes (see §3.2.6.1).

Pronouns (§3.3) in Poula are free forms functioning as noun phrases and there is no distinct dual marker; duality is expressed using the cardinal number *ahe* 'two'. The different types of pronouns found in the language are- personal pronouns, possessive pronoun, reflexive pronoun, interrogative pronoun and demonstrative pronoun respectively. The personal pronouns in Poula have singular and plural forms and there is no separate form to distinguish between inclusive and exclusive category. It is distinguished in the conversation between the speaker and the hearer whether the hearer is excluded or included. The personal pronouns in Poula are not marked for gender, i.e., there is no separate forms or markers to indicate masculinity or

femininity. The possessive pronoun in Poula takes the place of a noun to show possessiveness or ownership. The possessive case marker in Poula is *vi* and it occurs as an independent morpheme as shown in §**Table 3.8**. The reflexive pronoun in Poula is morphologically marked by a bound form *-lia* 'self'. The marker is uniform and it can occur with any pronoun (see §**Table 3.9**. Three types of interrogative pronouns are listed in the language, and it is exclusively used for humans. The singular interrogatives can be used for both male and neuter beings where the gender of the person is unknown. In all the aspects, *tʰau* is the common base where different forms are suffixed to it to form the different interrogatives (see §**Table 3.10**). The other interrogative pronouns which can be used for both human and non-human consist of a number of free morphemes. *kena* 'which', is the only form which have dual, plural and diminutive forms. *deʒo* or *kiʒo* 'what (cost)' is the only interrogative pronoun which is exclusively applicable only in non-human interrogative pronouns. The other forms are spontaneously applicable in both human and non-human interrogatives (see §**Table 3.11**). Different interrogatives are used basing on the visibility of the object to the speaker which highlights the language's distinct nature. The demonstrative pronouns in Poula have different forms to indicate proximity, visible or not visible to the eye and remoteness basing on the distance in time (see §**Table 3.12**).

The third section of the chapter deals with the Verb Morphology of the language. Verbs (§3.4) in Poula generally start as simple monosyllabic or disyllabic forms and become more complex through inflection, which indicates tense, aspect, mood, person, and number. Verb-noun collocations in Poula are semantically distinctive and can be transitive or intransitive. These types of verbs are semantically distinct depending on the context it is used (see § example 3.57). Apart from the examples, there are other types of verbs that can be distinguished on the basis of the action which can be further explored. Like nouns. Verbs can be compounded to form another verb, it can be a combination of words belonging to the same word class or different word class. It can be combinations of verb + verb, noun + verb, adjective + adjective, and so on (see §3.4.2). Negation is expressed using various negative particles, often positioned after the verb (see §3.4.3). Negation in Poula is somewhat complex but a very interesting aspect in the language. The default negative particle is *moi*, sometimes reduced to *mo* in medial positions. There is another morpheme *hai* to indicate emptiness of something (person or thing) in a particular place (see §3.4.3.2). The language also features double negations, where two negative particles can either cancel each other out, resulting in a positive sentence, or maintain negativity. Additional aspects of negation include negative strengthening and conditional

negation. Causative verbs are words that indicates that one person causes another person to perform an action. Such verbs are indicated by prefixing the morpheme *mu-* to the existing verb forms (see §3.4.4). There are other aspects of verbs such as purposive form of verb (see §3.4.5), reciprocal form of verbs (see §3.4.6), associative form of verb (see §3.4.7) respectively.

Poula has a relatively simple tense marking system. The future tense is marked by the suffix *-le* attached to the verbal root, while the present and past tenses are generally unmarked. The future tense marker always occurs as the final morpheme in a word construction and can follow a negative marker (see §3.4.8). The language leans more towards an aspectual system then a strict tense structure, focusing on the nature and state of actions rather than their temporal positioning (see §3.4.9). The study explores eleven (11) different types of mood and various morphemes are employed to convey different mood in the language (see §3.4.10).

In the language, adjectives occur after the head noun. An adjective can describe quantity, quality, colors, taste, dimension, directional and comparison. The qualitative adjective in Poula offer a qualitative assessment of the adjectives in the sentence (see §**Table 3.14**). Adjective of quantity gives an estimated amount of the quantity rather than the specific number or amount of something. Color spectrum includes primary colors like red, blue, and yellow, as well as secondary colors. Secondary colors are created by mixing primary colors, resulting in hues such as orange, green, and purple (see §3.5.3.1). In Poula, adjectives can be inflected into comparative and superlative forms by adding the suffixes *-ʃo* and *-kʰa*, respectively (see §3.5.6). Other categories of adjectives like- adjective of taste, adjective of dimension, and directional adjectives are also illustrated in the following sections. The numeral system of Poula is basically decimal however, vigesimal system that is 'twenty-based system' is found from 20-29. Numerals in Poula are classified into the following categories: Cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals, distributive numerals, multiplicative numerals, approximate numerals, fractional numerals and aggregative numerals respectively (see §3.5.8). Poula has only one cardinal number *aɹəkʰa* 'first', the rest of the other cardinal numbers are formed by suffixing *-na* which is the definitive marker (see §**Table 3.20**). Distributive numerals in Poula are formed by partial reduplication of the cardinal numbers and this pattern is followed throughout the entire process. In the case of animate (+human), the prefix *me-* is affix to the cardinal number, and the numeral is partially reduplicated to indicate distribution. In animate (-human), the second syllable of the numeral is reduplicated to indicate its distribution (see §**Table 3.21**). In the olden days there was no devices for measurement and therefore they follow the traditional way of measurement

system. Grains are measured from traditional woven bamboo baskets or yarns and the length or breath of something is determined by the length of the elbow or the stride of a pace or the width of the arm (see §**Table 3.22**). This study categorizes Adverb into simple adverb and derived adverb. The post-nominal positioning of adverbs in Poula helps in structuring sentences and clarifying the context of the action described. Simple adverbs are further categorized into adverb of manner, adverb of time and adverb of place respectively. Derived adverbs in Poula are formed by suffixing bound morphemes to the root word and it indicates direction or manner of an action.

The last section of this chapter discusses the word formation processes of the language. Word formation in Poula involves the creation of new words through the process of derivation (see §3.7.1) and compounding (see §3.7.2). These processes serve as essential mechanisms for the formation of new words. Reduplication is a process in which a certain portion of the word is reduplicated, it can be partial or full reduplication. Reduplication in Poula is further divided into morphological reduplication (see §3.7.3.1) and lexical reduplication (see §3.7.3.2). Under morphological reduplication different types of senses such as- sense of sight, sense of touch, sense of feeling are discussed. Certain sounds which are produced by natural phenomenon, sounds produced by human and sounds produced by animals were also illustrated in the other sections. Under lexical reduplication, the words undergo a process which may allow them to retain their original lexical class or take on a new one depending on the context. Two types of clipping are found in the language- fore clipping (apheresis) and back clipping (apocope). In Poula, borrowed words, known as loanwords, go through a process of adaptation to fit the phonological, morphological, and semantic structures of the borrowing language. This adaptation, often called nativization, includes altering the borrowed word's pronunciation and it's spelling. Speakers of a certain language use borrowed words in order to fill the lexical gaps which is caused by cultural concepts or technological inventions. Poula speakers borrowed words from English, Hindi and its neighboring language like Tenyidie (see §**Table 3.24**).

Chapter 4 discusses about the syntactic structure of the language where Poula is characterized as a verb-final language, with its basic word order being Subject-Object-Verb (SOV). Additionally, Poula includes various word order parameters such as subject and verb, direct object and verb, indirect object and verb, oblique object and verb, adjective and noun, genitive and noun, postposition and noun, demonstrative and noun, numeral and noun, degree word and adjective, relative clause and noun, auxiliary verb and the main verb, negation and verb, question words in interrogative phrases, yes/no words in interrogative phrases, and the order

of clause structure. Poula strictly adheres to the SOV basic word order, and scrambling of the grammatical relations - subject, object, and verb - is not permitted. This rigidity is particularly important because Poula permits the omission of the nominative case, which typically indicates the subject. In Poula, the permitted word order is NAdj rather than AdjN, which contrasts with Hawkins' Universal 1 (1983:64). This universal theory suggests that languages with a prevalent Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) order typically place adjectives before nouns (AdjN). This language exhibits a genitive-noun (GenN) word order, indicating that it is a head-final language. LaPolla (1994:1) referenced Hawkins' Universal (1), which posits that if SOV languages exhibit an Adjective-Noun (AN) word order, they will also have a Genitive-Noun (GN) order. However, in Poula, the AN order is absent, despite the presence of GN order and the absence of NG order. The NA word order is the predominant pattern, and the reverse is not permitted in the language. Therefore, Poula violates Hawkins' Universal by having NA word order alongside GN word order.

The constructions in Poula challenge Hawkins' Implicational Universal #16, which asserts that postpositional languages should exhibit NumN and GenN word orders. While Poula has a dominant GenN order in genitive and noun constructions, NumN order is not permitted. Additionally, Greenberg's Universal #20 states that when demonstratives, numerals, and descriptive adjectives precede the noun, they appear in a fixed order, and if they follow the noun, the order remains the same or is reversed. However, this universal does not apply to Poula, as the language does not use the word orders DemN, NumN, or AdjN. Instead, Poula uses NDem, NNum, and NAdj for these constructions.

The chapter further explores the various types of phrase structures in the language. In Poula, a dependent clause can be embedded within a matrix clause, serving as a subordinate element that provides additional information or functions within the larger sentence structure. The dominant relative clause construction is pre-nominal or noun-final, meaning the relative clause comes before the noun it modifies §4.4.2.1.1. However, a post-nominal or noun-initial construction, where the relative clause follows the noun, is also possible as shown in §4.4.2.1.2. The head noun phrase appears within relative clause itself, meaning the noun being described is embedded within the clause. This construction is illustrated in examples (4.39 a & b) of §4.4.2.1.3, where the head noun phrase occurs as part of the relative clause rather than outside it. In Poula, the complement clause can be placed in any position within a sentence without altering its meaning (see §4.3.3).

In the later sections of the chapter, a detailed analysis of the different types of sentences in the language is provided (see §4.5). This includes an exploration of simple, compound, complex, and compound-complex sentences, as well as declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamatory sentences. The chapter further examines the syntactic structures and rules governing these sentence types, highlighting how they are constructed and used in various contexts.

The thesis closes by adding the days and months in the language as attached in *annexure* i and a list of selected references consulted during the course of this research work.

This study is an attempt by a non-native speaker to provide a detailed description of Poula grammar. The language exhibits both unique characteristics and similarities with its neighbouring languages, offering its own distinct complexities. Each chapter has been thoughtfully compiled to present the most accurate data possible, gathered from native speakers through natural speech, word and sentence lists, and visual aids. As the first work of its kind on this language variety, it is hoped that this study will serve as a valuable reference for future research.

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Annexure i

Days in a week

Rhatho	/ɹa.tʰo/	-	Sunday
Tapa	/ta.pa/	-	Monday
Pfükha	/fə.kʰa/	-	Tuesday
Müthaosho	/mə.tʰau.ʃo/	-	Wednesday
Müvuküu	/mə.vu.kəu/	-	Thursday
Kijü	/ki.ʤə/	-	Friday
Zhopa	/ʒo.pa/	-	Saturday

Months in a year

Süprathroü	/sə.pɹa.tʰɹəu /	-	January
Roüprathroü	/ɹəu.pɹa.tʰɹəu /	-	February
Shiprathroü or Valükathroü	/ʃi.pɹa.tʰɹəu / or /va.lə.ka.tʰɹəu /	-	March
Khanithroü or Kiduthroü	/kʰa.ni.tʰɹəu / or /ki.du.tʰɹəu /	-	April
Thranathroü or Apaothroü	/tʰɹa.na.tʰɹəu / or /a.pau.tʰɹəu /	-	May
Züduthroü or Müzüthroü	/zə.du.tʰɹəu / or /məzə.tʰɹəu /	-	June
Laonithroü	/lau.ni.tʰɹəu /	-	July
Nuthroü	/nu.tʰɹəu /	-	August
Ruluthroü	/ɹu.lu.tʰɹəu /	-	September
Chaduthroü	/ʧa.du.tʰɹəu /	-	October
Baowluothroü or Donithroü	/bau.ləu.tʰɹəu / or /do.ni.tʰɹəu /	-	November
Roünithroü or Thoünithroü	/ɹəu.pɹa.tʰɹəu / or /tʰəu.ni.tʰɹəu /	-	December

List of Language Consultants

Consultants	Gender	Age	Type	Place
P.Paul Dukru	Male	Over 70	Narrations/ Naturalistic Speech	Zhavame
Ngonyi Andrew Krocha	Male	Over 40	Naturalistic Speech	Zhavame
Akha Shupao	Male	Over 70	Narrations	Zhavame
Bunyi Krocha	Male	Over 30	Naturalistic Speech	Zhavame
Moliba Pohena	Male	Over 70	Narrations/ Naturalistic Speech	Kohima
Kekhwengolo Lea	Male	Over 50	Word List	Kohima
Revine Movi	Female	Over 25	Word List	Kohima
Shürhü Krocha	Female	Over 25	Word List	Kohima
Neikhwezü Venuh	Male	Over 70	Naturalistic Speech	Kohima
Vikuo Rhi	Male	Over 50	Naturalistic Speech	Kohima