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# IV.—THE AO NAGA LANGUAGE OF SOUTHERN ASSAM.

The numerous tribes of the widely-extended Naga people are distributed over the irregular ranges of mountains which lie south of the Brahmaputra valley. Roughly speaking, their country extends between 93° and 97° E. long. and between 25° and 27° 30' N. lat.

The Ao Nagas, whose language forms the subject of this paper, correspond to the Central Naga group in Capt. Damant's classification, and may be more exactly defined as lying on the southern edge of the Sibsagor District, having as their eastern boundary the western branch of the Dikho River, and thence following westward the curve of the hills to about 26° 20' N. lat.

The name Ao, by which they call themselves, will not be found on any of the older maps or in publications on the hill tribes of Assam, but, instead, are used certain Assamese designations—as Hatigorias, Dupdorias, Assiringias, and a few others—given them in the time of the old Assamese kings. They have more than forty villages, and their number is estimated at about one hundred thousand.

No grammar or considerable vocabulary of the Ao Naga has hitherto been published—a fact true, indeed, of the speech of all the Naga tribes, up to the present time.

The language of this tribe is spoken in two dialects, called, respectively, Zwingi or Zungi and Mungsen. Tradition relates, in explanation of these two varieties of their speech, that when the section of the tribe calling themselves Zwingi occupied only a single village, they conquered the neighboring village of the Mungsen, and that thenceforth the two became one people. Though both dialects are current in most Ao villages, the Zwingi is the dominant one, and the one represented in these pages.

None of the brief lists of words published in Mr. Hodgson's works, and purporting to represent Naga speech, exactly corresponds to the Zwingi Ao. What he calls "Khari Naga" is mainly the Mungsen dialect, and "Tengsa Naga" is a mixture of Ao and the language of the tribe lying next east.

It may be said, in passing, that these vocabularies were collected many years ago, before the relations of the tribes were well understood, and from natives whose only mode of communication with their questioners was through imperfectly understood Assamese; hence confusion of dialects and other inaccuracies were almost sure to occur.

In Sir George Campbell's Specimens of the Languages of India, the dialect which he calls Deka Haimong, the Assamese name of a prominent village, appears to be identical with the Ao Naga, making some allowance for difference in mode of phonetic representation.

Probably no foreigner has a better acquaintance with the language of the Ao tribe than the Rev. E. W. Clark, who for ten years has resided among this people, in the service of the American Baptist Missionary Union. In the year 1879 there was obtained from Mr. Clark, and published in the Jour. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XI, Part II, a brief vocabulary of what he called the Zungī or Zwingī dialect of Naga, which is clearly the language under consideration, though the spelling of words is, in some instances, not accordant with later usage. To the same missionary belongs the honor of reducing this language to writing, and translating into it portions of the Scriptures, thus bringing it within reach of scientific investigation.

In the year 1884 he printed at Molung, his mission station at that time among this people, John's Gospel, and the life of Joseph as contained in eleven chapters of Genesis. To these was added, in the following year, a revised edition of Matthew's Gospel, which had before been issued by the same press in a tentative form. It is from these considerable specimens, supplemented by the explanations which Mr. Clark has had the kindness to communicate to me privately, that I have been able to prepare this paper, which contains, so far as I can learn, the first extended and systematic account of the structure of the Zwingi Ao language that has anywhere been published.

## I.—The Alphabet.

The number of characters which Mr. Clark uses, single or combined, to represent Ao sounds is twenty-nine. They are as follows:

Vowels, a, i, e, o, u, ŭ.	Labials, p, f, b, m.
Gutturals, k, q, g, ng.	Semivowels, y, r, l, v, w.
Palatals, ch, j.	Sibilants, s (c), sh, z.
Dentals, t, d, n.	Aspiration, h.

These letters all occur initially, except ŭ and v, which last letter seems scarcely to have a place in the language, being used mostly in transliterating Hebrew proper names, and occurring in only one Ao word, ova; but the sounds are of very different degrees of frequency at the beginning of syllables, the most frequent being t, a. m. s. k-and in this order. The least frequent, in order of infrequency, are ng, g, w, h, q, d, u, e, j. The final sounds of Ao words are, in a great majority of instances, vowels or nasals; and, among the latter, the guttural nasal is extremely common. The letters k and r, in this position, are not infrequent; but t, p, b -the only other finals noted in pure Ao words-are seldom heard. Other languages of the Tibeto-Burman group make restrictions as to initial or final letters; thus, in Garo, k, ng, t, p, y, l never occur as initials; the Lepcha allows as finals the vowels and k, ng, t, n, b or p, m, r, l only, but does not object to any of its sounds at the beginning of syllables; the Tibetan permits at the end of syllables, besides vowels, the consonants g, ng, d, n, b, m, r, l, s.

The vowels in Mr. Clark's scheme have in general the Italian sound, and, except the so-called long and short u, are not marked for quantity. The vowel a is heard as in 'ah'; i as in 'pin,' pique'; e as in 'met,' 'they'; o as in 'not,' 'note'; u as in 'boot'; ŭ as in 'but.' For the last character, which I employ for convenience in printing, Mr. Clark uses a looped v. This sound is very common in the language.

Of the pronunciation of the consonants, it is only necessary to remark that ch is heard as in 'church'; g as in 'go'; and that c, which occurs only after s, is used to "prolong and slightly aspirate" that letter. It may be noted that c has the sound of s in Assamese, which may have determined its use here. Certain of the mutes are used interchangeably, according to taste or euphony, as t, d; p, b; g, k.

A prominent feature of Ao phonetics is the absence of the aspirate mutes, which occur more or less in the Sanskritic languages of India. Not only are the sonant aspirates wanting—a characteristic of the Tibeto-Burman group in general—but the surd aspirates are wanting as well; thus, one finds Rut for Ruth, Betlehem for Bethlehem, etc.

## II.-Nouns.

(a) Gender. The distinction of gender is made only where the quality of sex actually exists, and is indicated in one of three

ways: firstly, and most commonly, by special sexual names, as tebu or bu 'father,' tetzü or tzü 'mother,' taei 'boar,' tin 'sow'; secondly, by added words for 'male' or 'female,' which differ somewhat according to the class of beings spoken of; thus, tebur (bur) and tetzür (tzür) are 'male' and 'female,' respectively, of human beings; and tebong (bong) and tetzür (tzür), of the lower animals; e. g. nabong 'goat' in general, nabong tebong 'he-goat,' nabong tetzür 'she-goat'; thirdly, by suffixes, ba for masculine and la for feminine; e. g. alar 'servant' in general, but alarla 'maid-servant.' These suffixes, however, are not in common use as indicative of gender.

The words ginungpo (for kinungpo) 'husband,' and ginungtzü (for kinungtzü) 'wife,' seem to illustrate how a syllable originally a noun may become virtually a gender-forming suffix. These words are compounded of ki 'house,' nung—perhaps for the longer nunger 'one who is in,' from the postposition nung 'in'—and po, an old word for 'man,' and tzü 'woman.' They mean, therefore, respectively, 'house-in-man' and 'house-in-woman'; or, as we often say, 'the man of the house,' 'the woman of the house.'

Many names of animate beings, as in other languages, convey in themselves no distinction of gender; e. g. *chir* 'child,' *tanur* 'boy' or 'girl,' *ak* 'swine.'

(b) Number. It is a rule of the language that number is not indicated by any special sign when the context renders this unnecessary; otherwise, a plural suffix is used, or one of several nouns of multitude serves as a substitute. The suffix is *tum*, which is used more often in books than in ordinary conversation; e. g. chir 'child,' chirtum 'children.' The more common nouns used for the same purpose are: telok or lok; terong or rong; arogo, shortened to rogo. The first means properly 'flock'; in a slightly different form it enters into the plural of the personal pronouns; e. g. nenok 'the flock of you.' The second means 'a clump,' as of bushes, and is commonly used when the postposition nung follows. The third corresponds most nearly to the English 'mess,' as the following interesting explanation by Mr. Clark shows. When the Ao Nagas start out on the war-path, one person carries for three or four others a basket of provisions. This is called arur-ku. In course of time the name of this essential part of the *impedimenta* was transferred to the group of persons dependent upon it; it was next contracted to arogo, and finally to rogo.

A rudimentary dual number is perhaps seen in such expressions

as tebur aser tetzărna, lit. 'male and female-two,' Andria aser Filipna 'Andrew and Philip-two.' Here na is for ana, the numeral 'two.'

(c) *Case-Relations*. It is hardly correct to speak of declension in Ao Naga, using that term in the sense which it has in the inflecting languages.

Though there appears some tendency to case-formation, the relations of nouns and pronouns to other members of the sentence are ordinarily expressed by position, or by words used like prepositions, but always placed after the word governed. Though, on a plan like this, the number of "cases" is limited only by the different relations expressed, the following table of the more frequent combinations will serve to illustrate the subject. We take the word *tebu*, which also has the form bu 'father.'

	SING.	
Nom.	tebu(e)	'a father.'
Acc.	tebu dak or dang	'a father.'
Inst.	tebu age	' by a father.'
Dat.	tebu dange	' to a father.'
Abl.	tebu nunge	'from a father.'
Gen.	tebu	' of a father.'
Loc.	tebu nung	'in a father.'
Voc.	ina or O tebu	'O father.'
	Plur.	

Nom.	tebutăm(e)	' fathers.'
Acc.	tebutăm dak or dang	'fathers.'
Inst.	tebutŭm age	' by fathers.'

This scheme must be taken as a rather rough survey of the manner in which the relations of case are expressed, since not only are the postpositions not restricted to the meanings given above, but they, to some extent, interchange in office according to the words with which they happen to be used in the sentence.

The suffix e, which appears with the nominative, is not a constant sign of that case, but is used only when the relation might be confused with that of other words in the sentence. The same letter is appended to a noun or verb in a variety of other uses: 1. It denotes the place in which motion ends; e. g. *kotak ime matutsü* 'shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven,' Yirusaleme tonga ashi 'having come to Jerusalem, said'; 2. By a somewhat similar use it forms a substitute for a purpose-clause, when added to a verb-root; e. g. ozoe pa käläme aru 'we have come to worship him,' for which kälämtsä or tekälämtsä is the ordinary expression —as will be noted hereafter; 3. It expresses manner of acting; e. g. Yohan meziunge mezäme aru 'John came neither eating nor drinking'; 4. It denotes cause; e. g. nenok Tebue meshitete 'because your Father knoweth not.' It is possible that these verbal forms in e are corruptions of the participle in a, and the last example should be read 'your Father knowing not.' The relation of direct object, if sufficiently indicated by the context, may dispense with the postposition. The relation of possessor which we have called genitive—is expressed solely by position before the governing noun. The other relations which are grouped under the genitive in the classic languages are otherwise expressed in Ao. The vocative is simply the root-word preceded by either of the interjections ina or O.

In case the noun is modified by a following adjective or pronoun, the postposition is placed after the latter; or, as one is accustomed to say in regard to some other languages of this group, the adjective or pronoun is inflected instead of the noun.

(d) Structural Character. There is no complete formal distinction between nouns, adjectives and verbs. Each in its rootform is indistinguishable from the others; and even the suffixes of derivation, which nouns often assume, are in great part common to all three. Thus, the suffix *er* forms the present indicative of verbs, verbal adjectives or participles, and nouns; *e. g.* the root *zilu* 'write,' taking on *er*, forms by contraction *zilur*, which means 'I,' etc., 'write,' writing,' or 'writer,' according to the connection.

Nouns are formed with great facility from other parts of speech; e. g. from the postposition nung 'in' is formed the noun nung  $\ddot{u}r$ (better nunger), which means 'one who is in,' inhabitant.' Both nouns and adjectives very often take a prefix, which has the form te before consonants and t' before vowels. With these parts of speech it appears to have no formative significance, but is rather intensive in character, and may be assumed or thrown off at pleasure; thus, one may say tebu or bu, tetz $\ddot{u}r$  or  $tz\ddot{u}r$ , tazung or azung. The same prefix, apparently, is used with the prohibitive imperative of the verb, where it virtually has a formative value, whatever may have been its original force.

#### III.—Adjectives.

(a) Formation. These have no declension, except in the sense referred to above. As already noted, the naked root may be used in an adjective sense; but many adjectively-used words add a suffix to the root. The most common suffix is ba, said to be a slightly altered form of pa, the third personal pronoun.

This suffix has a prevailingly relative sense, and stands in situations where we ordinarily employ a relative clause. Examples of its various uses are: In a transitive sense, *tanăr tefsetsă bushiba săgo* '(he) who sought (*bushiba*) to slay the boy has died'; in an intransitive sense, *Yihuda tsuba asoba kong ali* 'where is (he) who is born (*asoba*) king of the Jews?'; in a passive sense, *Isaya ainkar age zămbiba otsă* 'the word spoken (*zămbiba*) by the prophet Isaiah'; it may also form an abstract noun, as *nenok amangba amazi nenokdang săang* 'like your faith (*amangba*) be (it) to you.'

Though the words formed by this suffix are properly verbal adjectives—less often nouns—their derivation from verbs is still so present to the mind of the speaker that they may take a subject, like a verb; e. g. *Tsungrem teyare ashiba amato* 'like what the angel of God said' (*ashiba*). Here *teyar* takes the *e* of the nominative, as subject of the verb *ashi*. We should have expected *teyar age*, as in the example above.

A suffix nearly identical in form and use occurs in Lepcha; thus, from *rok* 'to read' is formed *rokbo* 'a reader'; from  $g\bar{a}n$  'to be old,'  $g\bar{a}nbo$  'one who is old'; from *tho* 'to place,' *thombo* 'placed.'

It is curious also to observe that a syllable ba is both the relative pronoun and the adjective-forming prefix in Khasi, a language which, though bordering on the Naga tongues, is supposed to be quite unrelated to them.

(b) Comparison. The comparison of adjectives is accomplished in a manner similar to that employed by other Tibeto-Burman languages; that is to say, the object which forms the standard of comparison is placed first, followed by a postposition, usually dang 'to'; next stands the other object; and last comes the adjective, without change of form and without adjunct. Examples are: ziungtsüdang taküm tuluba 'life is more than meat,' lit. 'meat-to life great-one (is)'; idakzi kechi tali zümbidir 'what one shall say more than this,' lit. 'this-to what much shall be said.' In the first example the suffix ba is supposed to be identical with the personal pronoun pa 'he, she, it'; in the second example, *idakzi* is *i*, the pronominal element, *dak* the postposition, and *zi* a suffix often appended to pronouns and nouns, and seemingly having an intensive force.

Comparison on a similar plan is seen in the following sentence in Garo: *ia*  $\bar{a}c\bar{a}kn\bar{a}$   $b\bar{a}te$  *ua*  $\bar{a}c\bar{a}k$  *canbātā* 'that dog is smaller than this dog,' lit. 'this dog-to that dog small (is).'

The superlative is expressed by singling one out of the whole number of individuals as possessing the quality *par excellence*; e. g. *nenok rong nung shiba tuluba* 'whosoever is greatest among you,' lit. 'your group in who great-one (is).'

## IV.---NUMERALS.

(a) Cardinals. The Ao has distinct names for the digits and a part of the tens. The compound terms from eleven to fifteen are formed by placing the smaller after the larger number, without a connective; thus, teri-ka 'ten-one,' teri-asum 'ten-three,' teribungu 'ten-five.' From sixteen to twenty, twenty-six to thirty, and so on, a new method is adopted ; e. g. metsu maben trok 'twenty not-brought six,' i. e. 'sixteen.' The explanation of this singular combination seems to be as follows: When the middle point between ten and twenty is reached, the mind forsakes ten, and, ceasing to add digits to that, runs forward to the second ten, and completes the calculation from that standpoint, saying 'six not yet brought to twenty,' etc. From twenty to thirty, thirty to forty, the same twofold procedure is repeated. 'Seventy' is tenem ser metzů 'fifty and twenty'; 'eighty' is lir anasů 'forty-twice'; 'ninety-nine' is telang maben 'hundred not-brought,' i. e. the number just short of a hundred.

The following table will illustrate the system of cardinals up to one hundred :

1 ka	11 teri-ka	21 metsŭri-ka
2 ana	12 teri-ana	26 semŭr maben trok
3 asŭm	13 teri-asŭm	30 semŭr
4 pezŭ	14 teri-pezŭ	40 <i>lir</i>
5 pungu	15 teri-pungu	50 tenem
6 trok	16 metsŭ maben trok	60 eokür
7 tenet	17 metsŭ maben tenet	70 tenem ser metsů
8 <i>ti</i>	18 metsŭ maben ti	80 lir anasŭ
9 tŭko	19 metsŭ maben tŭko	90 telang tŭko
10 <i>ter</i>	20 metsu	100 telang or noklang

(b) Ordinals. The ordinals are formed by adding to the cardinals the suffix *puba* or *buba*; e. g. anapuba (-buba) 'second,' asŭmpuba 'third.' An exception is tamapuba 'first,' which is not formed from the corresponding cardinal. To form ordinal adverbs a suffix *ben* is added to the cardinals; e. g. asŭmben 'thirdly.' The same suffix forms multiplicatives, as semŭrben 'thirty-times.' This is literally 'thirty-bringings,' if, as seems likely, *ben* is the common verb-root 'bring.' These forms may take at will the familiar prefix te (t'); e. g. tanapuba, tasŭmben.

## V.-PRONOUNS.

The Ao Naga has most of the classes of pronouns common to other languages. Whenever their case-relations are to be particularly defined, it is done by postpositions, in the same manner as with nouns.

(a) *Personal Pronouns*. These show some irregularities, both in their roots and in the formation of their plurals. Their forms are as follows:

	SING.	PLUR.
Nom.	Oblique.	
ıst ni	kŭtang (dang), etc.	{ ozonok, ozo, onok, asen
	<i>netang</i> , etc. pa- or badang, etc.	nenok parenok, pare

The nominative forms may take the suffix e under the same circumstances as do nouns. As already noticed, the plural suffix *nok* is for *lok* 'flock,' 'troop.' I have discovered no evidence of the so-called "inclusive" and "exclusive" forms of the 1st person plural.

(b) *Possessives*. It is doubtful whether the language has a formal possessive pronoun, since  $k\ddot{u}$  and ne, though used in a possessive sense before nouns, are also used with postpositions in other relations.

(c) Demonstratives. These have the following forms: ya; aba, abazi, azi; iba, ibazi. The first is commonly used as a near demonstrative, 'this'; the others—especially azi—as remote demonstratives, 'that.' They are used both adjectively and substantively, without change of form. Not infrequently they are employed—most often *iba*—for the third personal pronoun and for the definite article, for the expression of which there is no other provision in the language. We have already referred to the syllable zi. Mr. Clark conjectures that it is identical with ji 'true'; hence azi would mean 'that indeed, truly.' It is most often appended to nouns which have just before been used in the discourse, and is about equivalent to 'the before-mentioned.'

The numeral ka or kati is often used to represent our indefinite article or the indefinite expression 'a certain.'

(d) Interrogatives. These are: shir or shiba, referring to persons; kechi, referring to things; and koba, relating to persons or things.

(e) *Relatives*. There is no distinct relative pronoun in the language, but the interrogatives are used in that sense. Relative clauses are not a favorite construction in Ao Naga, but occur oftener than in some other languages of this group, and more frequently in the colloquial than in the written language.

By the addition of certain intensive syllables, indefinite relatives are formed, as *kechisa* 'whatever,' *kechisarena* 'whatsoever,' *shiresa* 'whoever.'

(f) Indefinites. Besides the use of ka, referred to above, there are two indefinite pronouns, *shinga* and *kecha*, distinguished in the same manner as the interrogatives.

(g) *Reflexive*. The reflexive pronoun for all persons and numbers is *pei*.

## VI.-VERBS.

It is hardly necessary to say that the Ao verb has no elaborate array of forms. It makes no distinctions of person, number or voice; it is poor in modes; but it fairly expresses relations of time, and enters freely into composition with other root-words of various character, by which its central idea is modified.

We will now take up in order the various forms of the Ao verbal system, and illustrate their uses.

(a) *Tenses.* 1. The present indicative is formed by adding to the root the suffix er.<sup>1</sup> This suffix is probably the verb 'to be' in one of its many forms; so that *ni bener* is literally 'I a bringer am,' or something like that. Roots ending in a vowel absorb the vowel of the ending; e. g. *ni zămbir* (*zămbi-er*) 'I speak,' *ni ngur* (*ngu-er*) 'I see.'

<sup>1</sup> Throughout the Scripture translations this suffix is represented as  $\breve{u}r$ , but Mr. Clark informs me that he now considers the form written above more correct.

A progressive form of the same tense is produced by the suffix *dage* or *daka*, appended in like manner directly to the root; e. g. *ni bendage* 'I am bringing.'

2. A preterite tense is formed by prefixing the vowel *a* to the root, a quite unexpected correspondence with the "augment" of some inflecting languages; examples are: *ni aben* 'I brought'; *ni angu* 'I saw.' A few verbs do not take this prefix, but form their preterite by means of a helping-verb, of which construction we shall speak more fully hereafter; thus *ni zămbi aka* 'I spoke.' The auxiliary verb in this example, *aka*, is the past tense of a verb which means 'to be' or 'to have,' as some of its uses indicate. When the initial letter of a root is *a*, this suffers no change in forming the preterite; e.g. *ni ashir* 'I say,' and *ni ashi* 'I said.'

Another form, which we may call the preterito-present, unites the augment of the past and the ending of the present tense, signifying thereby that the action lies partly in the past and partly in the present; thus, *ni am abener* means 'I am bringing bread,' and more, 'have brought some before'; while *ni am bendage* means only that 'I am on my way with some bread.'

3. The suffix ogo forms a tense commonly denoting a remote past, but sometimes to be translated by our perfect; e. g. ni benogo 'I brought' (some time ago), tanur tefsetsü bushiba sügo (sü-ogo) 'he has died who sought to slay the boy.'

4. A future tense is formed by either of the two suffixes di and  $ts\ddot{u}$ . The former is thought to refer to a near future, and in some connections is hardly distinguishable from the present; thus, ni bendi 'I am on the point of bringing,' ni shidi 'I am going to say.' The suffix  $ts\ddot{u}$  refers more indefinitely to the future; e. g. ni zümbitsü 'I shall say.'

(b) Modes. I. A conditional mode is formed by adding to the root one of two suffixes, ra and dir (di-ra). They both denote future condition, and the difference in their signification is said to be that the former denotes a condition uncertain of fulfillment, while the latter looks forward to its realization. The second form is oftenest used in relative clauses. Examples are: kechi-aser nenok meimerdang nenoke meimera, kechi azangzäktsä 'for if ye love (meimera) them that love you, what profit is it?'; zoko shirebenshidir aser saiyudir, pae kotak nätsung rong nung tambu ta azatsä 'but who shall do (benshidir) and teach (saiyudir) (them), he shall be called great in the number of the citizens of heaven.'

A third form of condition, which, however, does not often occur, requires the suffix rang (ra-ang), and answers to our future-perfect; thus, ni arurang 'if I shall have come,' azi sărang 'if that shall have been.' Sometimes the particle bang or bangila is added to ra; e. g. nenok amang zibi zang tekatdanga sărabang 'if your faith be as even one grain of mustard seed.'

The conclusion of such a sentence may be introduced by the conjunction *azangla* 'then'; or the syllable *la* may be attached to the verb or some other word; or it may be marked by no special sign. A'conclusion may be expressed with condition implied; e. g. *ni zümbila* 'I would speak.' With the future, *la* gives the idea of certainty or necessity; e. g. *ni zümbitsüla* 'I shall or must speak.' The suffix *ba* may be used in the same connection, as *ni zümbitsülaba* 'I (am) he who must speak.'

2. An imperative mode, confined to the 2d and 3d persons, is formed by the suffix *ang*, when used affirmatively, but by the prefix te(t') when used negatively; e. g. *na benang* 'bring thou,' *na teben* 'bring thou not.' The imperative is usually followed by a particle *ma* or *nei*, whose force is felt in softening the command.

(c) Voice. The Ao verb has no distinct passive form. This is a common fact of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Either the sentence is so constructed that there is no call for a passive, or the recipient of the action is made the object of the verb, and the latter is used impersonally; or a periphrastic form is constructed, the exact meaning of which is determined by the context. Much of the difficulty in regard to the expression of the passive idea in Ao Naga vanishes when one comes to clearly apprehend the fact that most of the verbs have both a transitive and an intransitive sense. This feature is familiar enough, though far less common, in English. We say the ship "drives" or "is driven" before the wind; it "breaks" or "is broken" with difficulty, and so on. Illustrations of Ao usage are: Simon, shibadang Pilor azar 'Simon, who is called Peter,' lit. 'whom (one) calls Peter'; ibae indang o va zilua-lir ' concerning him this word is written,' where zilua is perf. ptc. (here used intransitively) of zilu 'to write,' and lir is present indic. of li 'to be'; ya zumbi-akar 'this is (customarily) said,' where zumbi is simple root ' to say,' and akar is "preterito-present" of ka 'to be'; alumle nisungdang zumbia akaba o va 'this word which was said to men of old time.' Such combinations as in the second example are sometimes active, e. g. ni ya azak benshia-lir 'I have done all this.'

(d) Infinitive and Participles. The infinitive is properly the naked root in the simple verb, and so has no place in its system of "forms." Verbal nouns are constantly used in Ao in situations where the infinitive occurs in the inflecting languages. There are two forms which answer to participles. The first ends in er, and represents in general a present active participle; e. g. bener 'bringing,' zümbir 'speaking,' zilur 'writing'; the second ends in a, and ordinarily translates our perfect participle; e. g. bena 'having brought,' zümbia 'having spoken,' zilua 'having written.' However, this distinction is not strictly maintained, and they are sometimes used interchangeably, according to certain demands of style. From what has been said under the head of voice, it will now be quite plain that these forms correspond to passive as well as active participles in English.

The following examples will illustrate their uses : tanuro tetzŭna anir Israel limae oang 'taking (anir) the boy and his mother (lit. 'mother-two'), go into the land of Israel'; kare tashi temetŭr Yirusaleme tonga ashi 'certain wise men, having come (tonga) to Jerusalem, said'; Yisue ano tetezŭtsŭ ka zŭmbia ashi 'Jesus, uttering one more parable, said,' where zŭmbir would be more exact; pa arur mena ashi 'he, having come and taken his seat, said,' where arur mena is better style than arua mena, in this connection, though less exact.

(e) Periphrastic Forms. This subject has already been illustrated in part, and it will only be necessary to add a few more examples out of a considerable variety. Iba Yohan ot zung age atakpa scu abena ali ' that John wore (abena-ali) a garment woven of camel's hair.' If aben had been used, instead of abena-ali, it would not have implied habitual wearing, as does the latter, since li often means 'to abide,' 'to live.' Ainkar mapa ayega meyangluka ma 'have we not done many mighty works?' Temeshi pure kanga ngunŭ-aka 'righteous people greatly desired to see.' Idangvungzi pa shishi-adok 'then she arose.' Swarur-zi o Zumbia-adok 'the dumb man spake.' In the last examples the verb dok properly means 'to appear,' but is often used where its original sense is not appropriate; in other words, it shows a tendency to become a merely formative element. It should be understood, however, that such expressions as these above are in general loose combinations, which are hardly entitled to be called "forms "of the verb, in the sense in which that term is understood in the inflecting languages.

(f) Substantive Verbs. As in other languages, existence is predicated by a variety of verbs, which doubtless originally differed in meaning, though this difference now in some degree eludes detection. Examples are: ak or ka; aet or et; as or s ai; er; ali, li, le, la; k am; dok. Of these, as as sometimes means 'to cause to be,' and so 'to build'; li or le 'to reside'; ka 'to have'; dok 'to appear,' etc.

(g) Intensive Forms. An action may be emphasized by doubling the verb; thus, *Raühela pei chir indang zeba-zeba* 'Rachel weeping bitterly for her children.'

(h) Verbal Modifiers. It has already been remarked that the simple verb in Ao freely takes on syllables which modify in a variety of ways its original sense. Some of these form the familiar secondary conjugations of the inflecting languages. The following are examples : *daktsu* gives to a root a causative sense ; e. g. ni bendaktsur 'I cause to bear,' i. e. send or send for; tsu determines an action as done for another; e.g. ne nu nuk nunge anakzi endoktsütsü zungzunga angutsü 'thou shalt see clearly to cast out (*endoktsŭtsŭ*) the mote from thy brother's eye';  $n\ddot{u}$  forms desideratives; e. g. from pala 'to divorce' is derived palanu' to desire to divorce'; tet or ter gives a potential sense, as vanglutet 'able to make'; ma signifies 'to finish,' as zumbima 'to finish speaking'; tep means mutually, as meimtep 'to love one another'; tum, like ma, means 'to bring to an end'; set gives the idea of completeness, as *tefset* 'to thoroughly kill'; to gives the sense of an act done in part, as *chito* 'to eat some of': *lok* 'to attach to.' as azonglok ' to lift up and fasten,' as a load on an animal's back ; den or ten gives the idea of association, as benden 'to gather together'; tok is 'off,' 'away,' as leptok 'cut off'; zŭk has a variety of meanings; e. g. (1) to complete successfully, as zumbizuk 'to talk to good purpose'; (2) it reverses the action of the verb, as akum is to bring the animals up to the village, but akum $z \check{u} k$ , to let them loose; (3) to bring to an end, as  $r u z \check{u} k$  to finish reaping ; zen signifies repetition, as tsunglu aruzen ' the rain came continually'; shia alone is a prefix, and answers to the English prefix re-, as shia-aru 'come back' or 'revive,' shia-agŭtsŭ 'to give back,' 'restore.'

It seems probable that these modifying syllables are, in their origin, verbs; but I am unable to give a more exact account of them.

(i) Verbal Synonyms. The language is rich in verbs which

denote variations of the same general act; thus, *shidok* denotes 'wash' or 'cleanse' in general, *meyi* 'to wash the face,' *metsŭk* 'to wash the hands,' *tzŭsen* 'to immerse,' and so on.

In the foregoing brief outline of the Ao Naga verb, it has not surprised us to find that it has no full apparatus of forms to express nice shades of thought; indeed, a people without letters, like the Nagas, would have little call to invent expressions for thoughts which had no place in their minds. It is not strange, too, that the forms employed are not used with absolute consistency, when we recall the failings of even cultivated languages in this respect.

## VII.—Adverbs.

These words might, perhaps, better be called adverbial phrases, since they are, in great part, abbreviated sentences or combinations of a pronominal element with a postposition. Below is a list of those in most common use:

angnunge, thence.	<i>kode</i> , in any way.
angnungzi, thence.	kolene, whither (interrog. and rel.)
angzi, there.	kolen nunge, whence.
au, yes.	komama, like what?
azage, thither.	kong, where?
azi ode, so.	konge, whither ?
elengzi, thither.	kong nunge, whence?
ibag ŭtsŭe, then, after that.	kopiga, how far?
idangyongzi, immediately.	kŭn kŭn, often, sometimes.
idangzi, then.	lene, toward.
imamae, thus.	ma (interrog. and softening par-
kaatsü, why?	ticle).
kanga, greatly, very.	me(m') (interrog. & neg. particle).
kechiba, why?	nunga, no.
kechi koda, how?	nungta, no.
kechinung, where ?	qeiben, how many times?
kechiyong, why?	tamasa, first.
kechisa, why?	tang, now.
kechishi, why ?	tangyunge, quickly.
kechisüdang, when?	yage, hither.
kechisünung, wherefore.	yakte, quickly.
keleme, along with.	yamae, thus.
kena, now.	yange, here.
koda, in any way, how ?	yasŭr, then, afterward.
kodang when (interrog. and rel.).	zungzunga, clearly.
kodanga, at any time.	

### VIII.-POSTPOSITIONS.

The words which we are wont to call prepositions, because of their position relatively to the governed noun, may be called, for a like reason, postpositions in Ao Naga. The following are some of these words, with their ordinary significations :

age, by, with.	kelene, across.
alŭma, beyond.	madak, upon, over.
anuma, against.	madang, before, in presence of.
asoshi, for sake of, in order to.	madange, before, to presence of.
atuma, by (in oath).	melcn, in place of.
dak, in, at, etc.	meyong, against, for.
dang (tang), to, at, etc.	nung, at, in, to, on, by.
dange, into, to.	nungdang, onto, etc.
den (ten), with.	<i>sŭlen</i> , after.
donga, to, until, unto.	<i>tashi</i> , until, as far as.
indang, respecting.	yong, for (price).
kelen, after, beyond.	

Dak and dang are used in a variety of ways, according to the connection, and do not readily submit to precise definition. In compounds dak usually has the sense of 'place,' as amendak 'sitting-place,' imtak 'village-place.' Dang often governs a verb in the sense of 'while'; e. g. Babel nung alidang 'while (he) was in Babylon.' Indang occasionally means 'thing.'

The following are a few examples of the uses of postpositions: Abenzi asong asoshi kanga tebilim 'therefore be not anxious for the morrow.' Herod tsuba aser pa den Yirusalem nungür azak 'Herod the king and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him.' Yisue Yohan indang telokdang o ya zümbi meso 'Jesus began to speak this word to the multitude concerning John.' Koba pur pei anüma küptepera 'if any people are divided against themselves.' Aser Yisue tzü kelene aotsü melar 'and Jesus bids to go across the water.'

## IX.—Conjunctions.

It is well known that languages of this type have no such elaborately articulated sentences, with their array of co-ordinate and subordinate clauses, as do the inflecting languages. Hence there is no such call for connectives; but prepositional phrases and participial expressions are favorite styles of structure. There are, however, certain words—for the most part of very transparent origin—that serve to unite single words and clauses. The following are in most common use :

abenzi, therefore.	ka, though.
ano, and more.	kechiaser, for, because.
anungzi, therefore.	kechisunung, wherefore.
aser, and.	masŭ-masŭ, neither-nor.
ashiko, lest, perhaps.	mesŭra, or (if not).
azage, therefore.	nungzi, so that.
azangla, then (in apodosis).	saka, but (antithetical).
aziage, therefore.	sŭshia-sŭshia, either—or.
azisaka, but, nevertheless.	yaser, and so.
azisur, then, afterward.	zokorla, but.
bangila, if (in condition).	

The origin of a great part of this list seems obvious at a glance; thus, *azage* and the fuller *aziage* are azi + age ='by that'; *masŭ* is  $me + as\tilde{u} =$ 'is not'; *mesŭra* is  $me + s\tilde{u} + ra =$ 'if is not,' etc.

## X.-Syntax.

The examples and explanatory remarks of the preceding pages have already given some insight into the structure of Ao Naga sentences.

For the reason stated above, and because we are dealing with the speech of rude mountaineers, the syntax of the language is marked by great simplicity. The order of the sentence is the inverted one, the verb standing last and the subject first, though much freedom as to position is allowed the latter. Interrogative pronouns and adverbs stand first less often than in English; e. g. *Krista kechi nung asotsü* 'Christ in what place will be born?' Nouns or pronouns standing in a possessive relation precede the nouns they limit. Adjectives—especially those signifying 'good' or 'bad'—as a rule follow nouns; but there are numerous exceptions.

Relative clauses and all constructions taking their place stand before antecedent clauses; e. g. nenok kechi angu kechi angashi azi Yohandang oa shiang 'what ye have seen, what heard, that, having gone to John, tell.' On this principle, verbal adjectives in ba stand before their nouns; e. g. pae kidang aliba nisung azak sangwatsu 'it lighteth all men who are in the house.' The same fact is observed in the frequent construction where, instead of a clause introduced by a relative adverb of time, it is treated as a substantive and governed by some one of the ordinary postpositions. It may take a subject bearing the usual nominative sign, and a verb in any tense. Examples are: *pei zabaso am mishi nung tebue lung agŭtsŭtsŭ* 'if his son ask for bread, will a father give a stone?' lit. 'at his son asking for bread,' etc.; *Yisue parenokdange marudange* 'when Jesus had not come to them,' lit. 'at the not coming of Jesus to them.'

A purpose clause may be expressed in a similar way by the use of a postposition. To this end *asoshi* 'for the sake of' is employed; e. g. *nisunge*. angutsŭ asoshi nenoke parenok madang tim mapa teyanglu 'in order that men may see (them), do ye not righteous deeds before them,' lit. 'for the sake of men seeing,' etc. However, the more regular form to express purpose is a verbal noun which takes the suffix tsŭ and, at pleasure, the prefix te(t'), answering to our infinitive. As we have seen also, the verbal in emay be made to express the same idea. The copula is sometimes omitted.

I have now set forth in its principal features the structure of the Zwingi dialect of the Ao language, so far as I have been able to learn it from the sources named at the beginning of this paper. It would have been useful could I have pointed out the degree of relationship existing between the Ao and the other languages of this numerously divided people, particularly the Angami Naga; but the material for the comparison is not yet forthcoming, though it is reported that a grammar and vocabulary of the last-named tongue are ready for publication.

It is the well-nigh universal practice of writers on language, based, one may well suppose, on no very careful researches, to class all the rude tongues between Tibet and Burma among the monosyllabic languages, of which Chinese is the most prominent representative. But the tendency to combine roots, reducing some to a servile condition, is so marked, and has gone so far—as I have abundantly shown—that we shall be obliged either to enlarge our definition of a monosyllabic language, or to admit that this speech lies just over the border, among languages in the early stages of agglutination.<sup>1</sup> As compared with the Garo and the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Clark's latest utterance to me on this subject is as follows: "I should say that the Ao Naga language, in its present state, is unquestionably dissyllabic or polysyllabic, so much so that it is difficult to find short words for Lepcha, of which I recently gave an account, it does not seem to have advanced quite so far toward the higher type of structure.

The traditions of the Ao tribe point to an earlier home farther to the northeast, on the high ranges forming the watershed between Assam and Burma. There, as the story goes, they formed a single village; but in course of time, as their numbers increased, they gradually worked their way west and south, conquering or driving out weaker tribes, until they reached their present homes. The superior physical development and manly bearing of this people, compared with those of adjacent tribes of the same stock, give probability to this legend.

I am not without hope that, when British control and missionary labor shall have brought these rude hill tribes into a condition to admit of more direct observation, we shall be in a position not only to untangle and classify the confused mass of tongues spoken in Northeastern India and Burma, but to obtain thereby some trustworthy hints as to the wider ethnical relations and early wanderings of these interesting, but hitherto little-known, peoples.

I have only to add that, before making a final revision of this paper, I submitted it to Mr. Clark for examination. I have freely availed myself of the corrections and explanations which he had the kindness to make, and so have an added confidence that the general character of the language has been accurately represented.

## Specimen of Ao Naga.<sup>1</sup>

## The Temptation.-Matt. iv. 1-11.

(1) Ibagŭtsŭe Mozinge Yisu atitangtsŭ asoshi, Tanelae padang areme anir ao. (2) Aser lir nŭ lir aunung lumiseta ali nung Yisu ya adok. (3) Idangzi tatitangbae pa anasae arua ashi, nae Tsungrem chir sŭra azangla lung ya am kŭmdakzang. (4) Angzi pae langzŭa ashi, nisunge am tesa age malitsŭ zokorla Tsungrem bang nunge adokba o azak; azi oda zilua lir.

(5) Idangzi Mozinge padang temeshi imti anir lungki kolak nung mendaktsur, (6) padang ashir, nae Tsungrem chir sura, nae sasa tsukang; kechiaser azi oda zilua lir, na asoshi Tsungreme pei

sentences in making a primer for children learning to read. Yet the monosyllabic base of the language is quite apparent." This is just the view to which my own study of the language has brought me.

<sup>1</sup> In making this extract I have not thought it important to change the connecting-vowel  $\vec{u}$  to e, as suggested on a former page.

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teyartum melatsu, aser na tetsung lung nung memetsutsu, parenok netang tekabo age azongzuktsu. (7) Yisue padang ashi, nu Bu anung Tsungrem mulung tatitang ma; ano ya mae zilua lir.

(8) Tana, Mozinge padang tenemti anir, alima nung im azak aser parenok nukshidaktsütsü azak saiyua padang ashir, (9) nae aputaka ni külümüra bangila, ya azak ni ne nung agütsüdi. (10) Angzi Yisue padang ashir, teli tsükchir Mozing, kechiaser ya zilua lir, na pei Tebu anung Tsungrem külümang aser pa sa tenzükang. (11) Idangzi Mozinge padang toksür ao aser reprangang, kotak teyartüme arua yari.

## VOCABULARY.

adok, imperf. indic. of dok 'appear,' 'become.'

adokba, verbal adj. from the same verb, sig. 'which appeareth, proceedeth.'

age, postpo. 'with,' 'by.'

agŭtsŭdi, fut. indic. of agŭtsŭ (root gŭ or kŭ) 'give'; di, suf. of near future, 'will at once give'; apodosis of cond. clause.

ali, impf. indic. of li 'be'; used here as auxiliary verb.

alima, 'world.'

am, ' bread.'

anasae, 'near to'; derived from ana 'two,' hence lit. 'second to.' angzi, (a-dang-zi?) 'then.'

anir, pres. indic. or pres. ptc. of ani 'lead.'

ano, 'again'; derived from ana 'two.'

anung, 'sky,' 'heaven.'

ao, impf. indic. of o 'go.'

aputaka; pf. ptc. of aputak 'prostrate,' 'kneel.'

areme, 'desert'; with suf. e, denoting end of motion.

arua, pf. ptc. of aru ' come.'

aser, 'and.'

ashi, impf. indic. of ashi 'say'; ashir, pres. indic. of same verb.

asoshi, postpo. 'for sake of,' 'in order to.'

atitang tsu, from atitang 'tempt'; used as a verbal noun, governed by asoshi, but takes a subject and object; lit. 'for the sake of Satan tempting Jesus.'

aunung, 'night'; here plural.

azak, 'all,' 'every.'

azangla, 'then'; used sometimes, as here, with apodosis of cond. cl.

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azi oda, 'thus.'
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azong zŭktsů, fut. indic. of azong zůk 'support'; composed of azong or zong 'take' and zůk, which gives the idea of complete or successful action, 'hold securely.'

bang, 'mouth.'

bangila, particle sometimes used in protasis of cond. clauses.

Bu, 'father,' 'Lord.'

chir, 'child'; here 'son.'

*ibagŭtsŭe*, 'then'; composed of pro. *iba* 'this' + *agŭtsŭ* 'give' + adverbial suf. e; lit. 'granting this.'

idangzi (i-dang-zi), 'then.'

*im*, 'town,' 'kingdoms' in v. 8; suf. *ti* in *imti* and *tenemti* emphatic, 'great town,' 'lofty mountain.'

kechiaser, 'for.'

kolak, 'head,' 'pinnacle.'

kotak, 'heaven.'

külümang, imperative of külüm 'worship.'

kŭlŭmŭra, cond. mode of same verb; ra, mode-sign.

 $k \ddot{u} m da k z ang$ , imperative of  $k \ddot{u} m$  'become,' with causative suf.  $da k t s \ddot{u}$ , which contracts to da k z before ending.

*langzŭa*, pf. ptc. of *langzŭ* 'answer'; used here like pres. ptc. *lir*, pres. indic. of *li* 'be,' 'abide.'

lir, 'forty.'

*lumiseta*, pf. ptc. of *lumiset* 'fast'; set gives idea of complete abstinence; with ali equivalent to plupf. tense; both governed by nung in sense of 'when,' 'after.'

lung, 'stone'; plural in v. 3.

lungki, 'stone-house,' here 'temple.'

ma, a particle used to soften force of imperative.

mae, from ma 'front,' 'face,' with adverbial suf. e; ya mae 'in this manner,' 'thus.'

malitsü, fut. indic. of *li* or ali with negative prefix; 'shall not live.'

melatsü, fut. indic. of mela 'command.'

*memetsütsü*, 'in order not to dash'; the usual construction to express purpose; composed of neg. prefix  $me + \text{verb} mets\ddot{u} +$  "final" suffix  $ts\ddot{u}$ .

mendaktsur, pres. indic. or ptc. of men 'sit,' with causative suffix.

Mozinge, 'Satan,' with nominative suffix e. mulung, 'mind,' 'heart.'

na, pronoun, 2d person; so nae with nom. suffix. ne, oblique form of same pro.; so netang with postpo. tang for dang. ni, pronoun, 1st person; both subject and object in v. 9. nisunge, 'men,' 'mankind,' with nom. suffix. nů, 'day'; from anů 'sun'; here plural. nu, pro. of 2d person, in possessive relation. nukshidaktsŭtsŭ, 'glory.' nung, postpo. 'on,' 'against,' 'in,' 'to' in verses 5, 6, 8 and 9, respectively; 'after' or 'when' in v. 2. nunge, postpo. ' from.' o, 'word.' pa, pronoun, 3d person, as object; so padang; pae nom.; parenok, plural of same, suf. nok for lok 'flock.' pei, reflexive pronoun for all persons. reprangang, imper. mode of reprang ' behold.' sa emphasizes preceding word, here equivalent to 'only'; sasa, the same doubled, here equals 'self.' saiyua, pf. ptc. of saiyu 'show.' sŭra, cond. mode of sŭ 'be.' tana, 'again'; derived from ana 'two,' with prefix te (t'). Tanelae, 'Spirit,' with nom. suffix. tatitang, prohibitive imper. from atitang. tatitangbae, 'tempter,' from atitang with prefix te (t') and suf. ba. *Tebu*, same as *Bu*, with prefix *te*. tekabo, 'hand'; here plural; suf. bo usually rendered 'as to'; here of doubtful force. teli, prohibitive imper. of li 'be,' 'stay'; here 'stay not,' 'away!' temeshi, 'holy.' tenemti, ' mountain '; for suf. ti, see imti. tenzŭkang, imper. of tenzŭk 'serve.' tesa, 'alone'; emphatic sa with prefix te. tetsung, ' foot.' tevartum, 'angels,' with plur. suffix. toksur, pres. ptc. of toksu 'leave.' tsukang, 'fall,' 'cast'; imper. of tsuk. tsŭkchir, 'enemy.' Tsungrem, 'God.' ya, 'this,' 'these.'

ya, 'hungry.' yari, impf. of yari ' minister,' without prefix a. Yisue, 'Jesus,' with nom. suffix. zilua, pf. ptc. of zilu 'write'; with lir as auxiliary, 'is written.' zokorla, 'but.'

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