

Negation in Jungli (Ao)

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Abstract

This paper gives a descriptive account of negation in Jungli (Ao), a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by the Aos in Nagaland, Northeast India. Jungli has two negative markers, the negative prefix ‘mā-’ and the prohibitive marker ‘tə-’. I examine the occurrence and restriction of these two prefixes in sentence constructions involving tense and aspect markers, modal markers, copulas, interrogatives and converb constructions. A short description of negative words in Jungli is also presented.

Keywords: Jungli, Chungli, Ao, negation

1. Introduction

Jungli (ISO 639-3 njo; earlier known as **Chungli**) is a Tibeto-Burman language of North-East India, spoken by the Aos in Nagaland. While they traditionally belong to Mokokchung district, which is the central part of Nagaland, they are found today in almost all urban areas of Nagaland. The Aos are divided into three main groups based on their cultural and linguistic differences: Jungli, Mongsen and Changki, each group with a distinct language/dialect. Of the total population of 260,008 (All India, Census 2011), a rough estimate is that 50% speak Jungli and 40% speak Mongsen. The remaining 10% speak Changki and other minor dialects (Coupe 2003). Though these dialects are spoken by the same tribal group, they are largely considered to be mutually unintelligible, though the standardization of Jungli and the exposure of the dialects to each other have reduced this level of unintelligibility. Mongsen and Changki are also considered to be closer to each other. Today, Jungli is used in the sphere of education, mass media, and all religious and formal activities.

Though it is a language spoken by a major tribe, not many linguistic works are available on the language, and none on negation to my knowledge. Gowda's (1978) grammar of Ao, which is based on Jungli, gives a very brief discussion on negation, identifying two negative prefixes /ta/ and /ma/. A number of phonological processes involving the prefixes are also discussed with examples.

In this paper, I examine the nature of negation in Jungli, giving a descriptive account with respect to its occurrence and restriction in different types of sentences. In section 2, the two negative prefixes are introduced along with a third possible negative suffix which occurs with the negative prefix. In section 3, the occurrence of negation is examined with respect to the tense/aspectual markers (§3.1), various copulas (§3.2), modal suffixes (§3.3), interrogatives (§3.4), and converbs (§3.5). In section 4, I look at the various negative words attested in the language. Section 5 concludes with a brief summary of the paper.

2. Negative Prefixes

Jungli is dominantly suffixing in nature and thus allows a number of verbal suffixes marking tense, aspect, mood and other verbal functions to occur in a linear order. Hence, apart from the prefix and the verb, modals, aspectual and tense markers occur in that particular order shown in (1).

- (1) (Prefix)–**Verb**–(Modal)–(Aspect)–(Tense)

In the predicate, the verb is the minimal requirement. While only one tense and one aspectual marker can occur in a verbal predicate (eg: zuuk-ta-ər 'hit-PROG-PRES'), a number of modal suffixes may occur with restrictions on their linear order. For example, the immediate suffix '-li?' can occur only after the chance marker '-fi?' and never before.

- (2) zùk-fi?-li?
hit-CHA-IMM
'immediately after hitting by chance'

In addition to the suffixes, a few prefixes are attested which mark adjectives, nominalisation and two types of negation: the normal negation marker 'mā-' and the prohibitive marker 'tə-'.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(3a) pā kitàŋ mā-ŋiũŋ
he home NEG-eat
'He did not eat at home.'</p> | <p>(3b) kitàŋ tə-ŋiũŋ
home PNEG-eat
'Do not eat at home.'</p> |
|--|---|

Such a distinction between normal negation and prohibitive negation can be seen in other Tibeto-Burman languages like Lotha (Acharya 1983), Sema (Sreedhar 1980), Angami (Giridhar 1980) and a number of Kuki-Chin languages. The Proto-Tibeto-Burman form for negation is **ma* or **maŋ* (Matisoff 2003), and while many of the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Northeastern region have developed post verbal negation (DeLancey 2015), Central Naga languages like Jungli have retained the proto preverbal form. The prohibitive form is also very close to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman form **ta* or **da*.

Apart from the two negative prefixes discussed above, another form of negation is attested which makes use of a suffix ‘-li’ along with the negative prefix ‘mā-’ and marks the permissive negation.

- (4) (ni) ímtāk-ī mǎ-tū-lī
 (I) village-NOM NEG-go up-NEG
 ‘Let me not go up to the village.’

The lone occurrence of the suffix (without the prefix) is not attested in the language. However, this may be a result of certain historical segmental changes in the suffix. In Jungli, the permissive suffix is ‘-ti’ as shown in sentence (5) below.

- (5) (ni) ímtāk-ī tū-tī
 I village-NOM up-PERM
 ‘Let me go up to the village’

Our assumption is that ‘ti’ has undergone some phonological change to ‘-li’ when it occurs in the negative. If this assumption is true, then the permissive negation can be explained as the negation of the Verb + Permissive suffix rather than postulate another form of negation.

3.1 Negation and tense/aspectual markers

In Jungli, the past tense is marked by a zero morpheme and hence the citation form of the verb is the same as the past tense form. The negative prefix can occur with all the three tense forms. On the other hand, the prohibitive negation ‘tǎ-’ cannot occur with the tense and aspectual suffixes (6b and 6c) as it attaches to non-finite forms of the verb as in (6a).

- (6a) tsúŋsəm tǎ-səm (b) *tsúŋsəm tǎ-səm-ər (c) *tsúŋsəm tǎ-səm-tsuì
 shoe PNEG-wear
 ‘Don’t wear shoes.’

Jungli also has two aspectual suffixes: -ja/-ta ‘progressive’ and -uku ‘perfective’. However, verbs with aspectual suffixes cannot be negated (see 7b and 8b).

(7a) pā ʃàʃā-tá-ər-à?
he walk-PROG-PRES-DECL
‘He is walking/he walks.’

(7b) *pā mō-ʃàʃā-tá-ər-à?

(8a) pā ʃàʃā-úkū
He walk-PERF
‘He has walked.’

(8b) *pā mō-ʃàʃā-úkū

In other words, the negative prefixes cannot occur with the verb when it is in the progressive or perfective form. To derive a negative semantic equivalent of the sentences in (7) and (8), one has to negate the verb in the present and past tense as shown in (9) and (10) respectively.

(9a) pā ʃàʃā-ər-à?
he walk- PRES-DECL
‘He walks.’

(9b) pā mō-ʃàʃā-ər-à?
he NEG-walk- PRES-DECL
‘He does not walk.’

(10a) pā ʃàʃā-Ø-à?
he walk-PST-DECL
‘He walked.’

(10b) pā mō-ʃàʃā-Ø-à?
he NEG-walk-PST-DECL
‘He did not walk/he has not walked.’

On the contrary, for the progressive forms in the past and future tenses, which are constructed by using the copula -li ‘be’ or/and -su ‘do’, negation is possible since it is the copula which is negated (11 and 12).

(11a) pā ʃàʃā-jā lī-ásù-Ø
he walk-PROG be-do-PST
‘He was walking.’

(b) pā ʃàʃā-jā mō-lī-ásù-Ø
he walk-PROG NEG-be-do-PST
‘He was not walking.’

(12a) pā ʃàʃā-jā ālī-tsú
he walk-PROG be-FUT
‘He will be walking.’

(b) pā ʃàʃā-jā m-ālī-tsú
he walk-PROG NEG-be-FUT
‘He will not be walking.’

Hence, while the negative prefixes freely occur with the tense suffixes, verbs in the present progressive and perfective aspect cannot be negated. In (11) and (12), there is the possibility of negating the main verb, which is discussed in section (converbs).

3.2 Negation of Copula

Similar to the copula constructions in (11) and (12), the other types of sentences which make use of the copula ‘-li’ include the possessive (13), the locative (14) and the existential constructions (15). The sentences are negated by negating the copula through prefixation.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(13a) nì kàrī lí-ər
 I car have-PRES
 ‘I have a car.’</p> | <p>(b) nì kàrī m-ālī
 I car NEG-have
 ‘I do not have a car.’</p> |
| <p>(14a) pā kùhīmā nūŋ lí-ər
 He kohima LOC be-PRES
 ‘He is in Kohima.’</p> | <p>(b) pā kùhīmā nūŋ m-ālī
 He kohima LOC NEG-be
 ‘He is not in Kohima.’</p> |
| <p>(15a) típəl nūŋ sən lí-ər
 table LOC money be-PRES
 ‘There is money on the table.’</p> | <p>(b) típəl nūŋ sən m-ālī
 table LOC money NEG-be
 ‘There is no money on the table.’</p> |

In some languages, existential sentences are negated differently from the norm. For instance, in Mishing (Mishra and Singha 2009), negation is constructed by using the negative copula ‘niya’ or the negative particle ‘ya’. However, the negative word ‘giri’ is used for the negation of existential sentences. In Jungli, we find no such distinction in the construction of negative existential sentences (15), following the norm of negating the verb.

In (13a)-(15a), the copula surfaces with the present tense marker ‘-ər’. However, note that its negative counterparts (13b-15b) do not allow the present tense marker to occur on the copula.

The declarative constructions in (13-15) can be responses to the choice interrogative *li-ər m-ali* ‘there or not there?’, which is discussed in section 3.4. However, this particular choice interrogative involving the copula verb ‘-li’ behaves exceptionally by not allowing the tense marker on the negated verb, perhaps as a result of the lexicalization of *mali* ‘not there’

The occurrence of the present tense marker in the sentence, though grammatical, is not the negative counterpart of the constructions in (14) and (15), but distinctly differs semantically as shown for the locative construction in (16) and existential construction in (17). The reason is that the verb no longer functions as a copula, but a main verb.

- (16) pā kùhīmā nūŋ m-ālī-ór 'He does not live in Kohima'
 he kohima LOC NEG-live-PRES *'He is not in Kohima'
- (17) típəl nūŋ sən m-ālī-ór 'Money does not live on tables'
 table LOC money NEG-live-PRES *'there is no money on the table'

Similar to the use of copulas in the sentences above, in equative constructions, a negated copula *másù* is used (18b). This copula is derived from the verb *ásù* 'do', which appears to have developed certain grammaticalized functions like the copula and negative.

- (18a) ípá-jā kārī
 DEM-PROX car
 'This is a car.'
- (18b) ípá-jā kārī m-ásù
 DEM-PROX car NEG-do (not)
 'This is not a car.'

In (18b), 'm-ásù' is equivalent to 'not'. It must be noted that 'm-ásù' can also be used as a negative word, meaning 'no' in response to yes/no questions. (see section 3.4)

Other than the two copulas seen above, in probability constructions, the verb 'akuk' is used which may mean 'win', 'able' or 'might/can', depending on the sentence. We focus only on the probabilistic meaning of the word.

- (19) pā kùhīmā-ī aū-tsú ákúk
 he kohima-ALLA go-FUT may
 'He might go to Kohima.'

For (19), there are three possible ways of negating the sentence, each with three distinct meanings.

- (20) pā kùhīmā-ī m-aū-tsú ákúk
 he kohima-ALLA NEG-go-FUT may
 'He might not go to Kohima.'

- (21) pā kùhīmā-ī aū-tsú m-ákúk
 he kohima-ALLA go-FUT NEG-may
 ‘It is not possible for him to go to Kohima.’

- (22) pā kùhīmā-ī m-aū-tsú m-ákúk
 he kohima-ALLA NEG-go-FUT NEG-may
 ‘It is not possible for him not to go to Kohima.’ (He must go to Kohima)

In (20), the first verb is negated which is the negative corresponding to the sentence in (19). In (21), the second verb is negated resulting in the negation of the possibility of going. In (22), both verbs can be negated resulting in a positive meaning.

Such constructions may be considered as pseudo-compounds. For Mongsén, Coupe (2007) considers negation to be a good diagnostic to differentiate between real compound verbs and pseudo-compounds, i.e., depending on the scope of negation. In Jungli, no real compounds are attested to our knowledge. However, as seen in (20-22), pseudo-compounds are attested, where negation can have scope over the first, second or both verbs, resulting in different forms of negation. (Also see section 3.5 on converbs)

3.3 Negation and modal suffixes

In the above sections, we have seen how tense and aspectual markers have restricted occurrences with the negative prefixes. In this section, we look at some of the other suffixes which mostly mark the various moods. It is seen that the negative prefixes can freely co-occur with most suffixes as shown below for the word *-zùk* ‘beat’.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| (23) | mā-zūk-táp | tà-zūk-táp | ‘reciprocal suffix’ |
| | mā-zúk-tàt | tà-zúk-tàt | ‘abilitive suffix’ |
| | mā-zúk-ŋi? | tà-zúk-ŋi? | ‘chance suffix’ |
| | mā-zūk-tsú? | tà-zúk-tsú? | ‘causative suffix’ |
| | mā-zúk-nè | tà-zúk-nè | ‘comitative suffix’ |
| | mā-zūk-tāŋ | tà-zúk-tāŋ | ‘conative suffix’ |
| | NEG-Verb-Modal | PNEG-Verb-Modal | |

While we do not examine the various suffixal combinations with the negative prefixes in detail, we see that the immediate suffix ‘-li?’ and the imperative ‘-āŋ’ never occurs with negation. The non-occurrence of these two suffixes has an explanation. The immediate suffix

‘-li?’ occurs only in converb constructions and is discussed in section 3.5. Similar to the immediate suffix, the imperative suffix too does not occur with negation. This is obvious as the language has a prefix ‘tə-’ which marks the negative imperative (prohibitive suffix). Hence, unlike languages like Sema (Sreedhar 1980) which makes use of a negative marker ‘-lo’ along with the imperative marker ‘ke’~‘kewi’ to mark prohibition, Jungli does not make use of the imperative suffix.

- (24a) zūk-āŋ ‘beat’ (24b) tə-zùk ‘do not beat’
 beat-IMP PNEG-beat

3.4 Negation and Interrogatives

In this section we examine three types of interrogatives and how such interrogatives are negated. The negative interrogative constructions slightly differ from the negative constructions we have seen so far. Firstly, in interrogatives which entail a choice as an answer, as in (25), the verb is repeated (including the tense markers) such that the first is positive while the second carries the negative prefix.

- (25) pā árù-èr m-árù-èr
 he come-PRES NEG-come-PRES
 ‘Is he coming or not?’

The second type of interrogatives are the yes/no questions. Consider the following yes/no questions below.

- (26) ípá-jā nā kàkét à-ná
 DEM-PROX your book Q
 ‘Is this your book?’

- (27) ípá-jā nā kàkét à-sù (m-ásù)
 DEM-PROX your book Q (NEG-do)
 ‘Is this your book (or not)?’

Temsunungsang (2009a) treats ‘-sui’ and ‘-na’ as interrogative particles and have no perceptible semantic difference. In (27), the negative word *másù* is optional. As such choice interrogatives are verbless, how can these be negated? To negate constructions such as (26), the negative word *másù* is inserted before the interrogative particle as shown in (28). As noted in (18), *másù* has been lexicalized, meaning ‘no/not’.

- (28) ípá-jā nā kàkát m-ásù nā
 DEM-PROX your book NEG-do Q
 ‘Isn’t this your book?’

Verbless constructions like (27) cannot be negated as the negative particle is already a part of the construction. However, unlike (28) where the negative word comes before the interrogative particle, in (27), the negative word comes after the interrogative particle, repeated in (30).

- (29) * ípá-jā nā kàkát *másù* sui
 (30) ípá-jā nā kàkát à-sù m-ásù
 DEM-PROX your book Q NEG-do
 ‘Is this your book or not?’

As mentioned in (25), in choice interrogatives, the verb is repeated where the second verb carries the negation. In (30), *à-sù m-ásù* is very similar to the construction seen in (25). *à-sù* could be confused with the positive form of the following verb *m-ásù* ‘neg-do’. However, *à-sù* is undoubtedly the interrogative particle as it has low tones on both syllables. Note that in underived Jungli verbs, LL is not a possible tonal pattern. Hence, in verbless constructions, the negative copula is used to negate the interrogative which is similar to negative constructions of declarative sentences in (31).

- (31) ípá-jā nā kàkát m-ásù
 DEM-PROX your book NEG-do
 ‘This is not your book’

The third type of interrogatives is the tag questions. In such constructions, the negative word occurs before the interrogative particle as shown in (33), which is similar to (28).

- (32) ípá-jā nā kàkát sùtí
 DEM-PROX your book Q
 ‘This is your book, is it?’
 (33) ípá-jā nā kàkát m-ásù sùtí
 DEM-PROX your book NEG-doQ
 ‘This is not your book, is it?’

3.5 Negation and converbs

As noted by Coupe (2006, 2007) a number of converb suffixes are observed in Mongsen where the most common is the sequential ‘-ər’ and simultaneous ‘-kə’ suffixes which “link multiple sequences of clauses expressing both chronologically ordered and simultaneous activities, with the whole of the complex sentence terminating in a finite verb at the end of the matrix clause”. In Jungli too, similar to Mongsen, the occurrence of the simultaneous and sequential suffixes, ‘-ā’ and ‘-əṛ’ respectively, is quite common, linking a number of verbs or dependent clauses.

- (34) pā àrú-əṛ, mən-əṛ, ʃiũṇ-əṛ mǎʃǎṇ-Ø
he come-CV sit-CV eat-CV sleep-PST
‘He came, sat, ate and slept.’

- (35) pā kən tən-ā árù-Ø
he song sing-CV come-PST
‘He came singing a song.’

Interestingly, the negation prefix does not co-occur with the above converb suffixes. In order to negate such sentences as in (34), there are three ways in which negation can have scope over the various clauses.

Firstly, the last verb of the matrix clause which has no converb suffix can be negated in the usual way. In this case, negation has scope only over the last verb or clause.

- (36) pā àrú-əṛ, mən-əṛ, ʃiũṇ-əṛ mǎ-mǎʃǎṇ-Ø
he come-CV sit-CV eat-CV NEG-sleep-PST
‘He came, sat, ate and did not sleep.’

- (37) pā kən tən-ā m-árù-Ø
he song sing-CV NEG-come-PST
‘He did not come singing a song.’

Alternatively, if any other verb, other than the final, is to be negated, the negative prefix must co-occur with another converb suffix ‘-i’ which will have scope over that verb alone. The suffix ‘-i’ can be roughly translated as ‘without’ which never occurs without the negative prefix. The converb suffix ‘-i’ never occurs on the final verb just like the other converb suffixes.

- (38) pā àrú-ēr, mē-mèn-i, ʃīūŋ-ār mǎʃǎŋ-Ø
 he come-CV NEG-sit-CV eat-CV sleep-PST
 ‘He came, without sitting, ate and slept.’

- (39) pā kèn mē-tén-i àrù-Ø
 he song NEG-sing-CV come-PST
 ‘He came without singing a song.’

Consequently, for a sentence where negation must have scope over the matrix/whole clause, all verbs in the clause must be negated either without (as in (40)) or with (as in (41)) the converb suffix ‘-i’. Also note that there is a listing intonation after the verbs in (40). However, such constructions are not common and can be said to be highly marked.

- (40) pā m-àrùú m-ámèn mǎ-ʃīūŋ āsār mǎ-mǎʃǎŋ
 he NEG-come NEG-sit NEG-eat and NEG-sleep
 ‘He did not come, sit, eat and sleep.’

- (41) pā m-àrù-i mē-mèn-i mē-ʃīūŋ-i mǎ-mǎʃǎŋ
 he NEG-come-CV NEG-sit-CV NEG-eat-CV NEG-sleep
 ‘He did not come, sit, eat and sleep.’

4. Negative words

While we have looked at the negative prefixes in the above discussion, a number of negative words are also found in Jungli.

- (42) a. ʃīŋá? ‘no one’
 b. kǎʃǎ? ‘nothing’
 c. kútáŋà? ‘never’
 d. kàtà? ‘none, not even one’
 e. kúŋà? ‘nowhere’

In all the negative words, we observe that /a?/ is a common occurrence at the end of the word. While this appears to be a marker attributing negation to the word, we do not have enough evidence to take a strong stand in favor of such a viewpoint. For instance, we can assume that the positive forms to the above (42a-e) are as follows.

- (43) a. *ʃipáʔ* 'who'
 b. *kóʃʃi* 'what'
 c. *kútánʔ* 'when'
 d. *kà* 'one'
 e. *kúnʔ* 'where'

While it is clear that the suffixation of /aʔ/ to the positive forms above results in its negative form for (43c) and (43e), there are certain phonological processes which affect 43(a, b and d).

- (44) a. *ʃipáʔ* + aʔ => *ʃiŋáʔ* 'who - NEG'
 b. *kóʃʃi* + aʔ => *kóʃʃáʔ* 'what - NEG'
 c. *kútánʔ* + aʔ => *kútánàʔ* 'when - NEG'
 d. *kà* + aʔ => *kàtàʔ* 'one - NEG'
 e. *kúnʔ* + aʔ => *kúnàʔ* 'where - NEG'

To go into the complexities of such phonological changes is beyond the scope of this paper and hence, we will continue to refer to such forms as negative words in our discussion below.

The above listed negative words in (42/44) can occur in a construction only when there is a following verb which is in the negative form as is evident from the sentences below.

- (45) *ítàk-ʃi* ***ʃiŋáʔ*** *m-ámən*
 there-DEM nobody NEG-sit
 'Nobody sat there'
- (46) *ítàk-ʃi* ***kóʃʃáʔ*** *m-ālī*
 there-DEM nothing NEG-be
 'Nothing is there.'
- (47) *pā* ***kútánàʔ*** *māpāŋ ʃiták nūŋ m-árù-ər*
 he never time right LOC NEG-come-PRES
 'He never comes on time.'
- (48) *nīsūŋ* ***kàtàʔ*** *m-árù-Ø*
 person none NEG-come-PST
 'Not a single person came.'

However, there may be other positive verb forms (converbs) between the negative word and the negated verb as shown below.

- (49) *ítàk-ʃĩ* *ʃĩǵá?* *àrū-ā* *m-ámèn- Ø*
 there-DEM nobody come-CV NEG-sit-PST
 ‘Nobody came and sat there.’

- (50) *ítàk-ʃĩ* *kóʃǵá?* *jù-ā* *m-ālĩ*
 there-DEM nothing keep-CV NEG-be
 ‘There is nothing kept there.’

Hence, the occurrence of a negative word requires the presence of a negated verb in the final position of the main clause. In addition, the converbs between the negated word and the final verb may be negated, resulting in double negation.

- (51) *ʃĩǵá?* *mə-ʃĩúŋ-i* *m-aũ-tsuú*
 nobody NEG-eat-CV NEG-go-FUT
 ‘No one goes without eating.’ (lit. No one, without eating, will not go)

In (51), the negation of both verbs results in the positive meaning ‘everyone must eat and go’. Note that we have examined such double negative constructions in section 3.2 (example 22).

In addition to the above negative words, two more words ‘*mà?*’ and ‘*núŋ*’ are attested which translates to ‘don’t want’ and ‘don’t’ respectively. Such words are found in response to questions. Gowda (1978) notes that the negative marker ‘*ma*’ “is also a free form and can be used as a negative reply to a question” while the more polite form of ‘*ma*’ is ‘*noŋ*’. In fact, ‘*mà?*’ appears to be a combination of the prefix ‘*mə-*’ + negative suffix ‘*a?*’ as seen above for the negative words while ‘*nuŋ*’ is a more polite form of the prohibitive negation ‘*tə-*’.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I examine the two negative prefixes: the negative ‘*mə-*’ and the prohibitive ‘*tə-*’. A third type of negation, i.e., the permissive negation is also discussed which however appears to be a case of negating the verb+permissive suffix, where the permissive suffix has undergone certain historical sound changes.

In section 3.1, we see that the ‘*mə-*’ negation co-occurs freely with the tense suffixes but never occurs with the prohibitive ‘*tə-*’. Both the negative prefixes also do not occur in aspectual and perfective sentences unless a copula is used where negation applies to the copula.

In section 3.2, I examine the negation of copulas which follows the norm attested elsewhere. Two verbs, *ālī* ‘be’ and *ásuù* ‘do’ can function as copulas in addition to its verbal function where the negated form of ‘*ásuù*’, can behave as a negative word in response to yes/no questions. It is also seen that Jungli does not make a distinction in negating existential and other types of sentences unlike other languages. I also briefly examine how pseudo compounds can be identified by using negation as a diagnostic.

In section 3.3, the co-occurrence of various suffixes with the negative prefixes is examined. I conclude that only the imperative and the immediate suffix cannot occur with negation.

In section 3.4, I examine negative polarity and tagged questions. In negative polarity sentences, the verb is repeated which is then negated while in tagged questions, the negative word ‘m-asuu’ is used.

In section 3.5, the negation of converbs is described. I conclude that there are three ways in which negation can have scope over the various clauses in such converb constructions while a converb can only be negated by using the negation ‘mə-’ and a suffix ‘-i’.

In section 4, I present the negative words which occur in a sentence only when there is a following verb which is in the negative form.

Abbreviations

ALL:	Allative marker
CHA:	Chance modal marker
CV:	Converb marker
DECL:	Declarative marker
DEM:	Demonstrative
FUT:	Future tense marker
IMM:	Immediate modal marker
IMP:	Imperative marker
LOC:	Locative marker
NEG:	Negative marker
NOM:	Nominative marker
PERF:	Perfective marker
PERM:	Permissive modal marker
PNEG:	Prohibitive marker
PRES:	Present tense marker

PROG: Progressive Aspect marker

PROX: Proximate

PST: Past tense

Q: Interrogative marker

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