A Comparative Study of Morphology and Clause Formation in

Car Nicobarese and *Sanenyo*

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jadavpur University.

By

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Declaration

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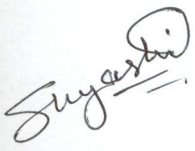
This thesis, titled **A Comparative Study of Morphology and Clause Formation in Car Nicobarese and Sanenyo** submitted by me for the award of the degree of the Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institute.



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Abstract

The work undertaken tries to make a comparative study of the morphological characteristics and clause formations in *Car Nicobarese* and *Sanenyo*, the two languages spoken in the Nicobar Islands. The Nicobaric languages branch is part of the Austroasiatic language family and comprises of six major languages, namely, Car Nicobarese, Chaura, Teressa, Central Nicobarese, Southern Nicobarese and Shompen which are also the names of the respective islands where they are spoken.

The dissertation has five chapters to cover the discussion and analysis starting with an introduction to the subject and conclusion at the end. Chapter 2 provides a detailed morphological comparison of *Car* and *Sanenyo.* It talks about the phrasal and agreement system, discussing the word order, tense, aspect, number and gender markings, including the pronominal system existing in the two languages. The chapter also defines the negation, interrogative and imperative constructions of the same. Chapter 3 discusses the case marking found in *Car* and *Sanenyo* and explains the various core and noncore grammatical relations and the cases that encode them. In addition to that, it talks about the predicates found in the languages, discussing compound and converbs and serial verb constructions. Apart from that, it also provides inputs on how Car and Sanenyo exhibit gerunds, passives, numerals and reduplication (especially in Sanenyo). In addition, the syntactic characteristics related to clause formation using various coordinators and subordinators present in the languages are analyzed and compared with the evidences found in the course of the work.

The linguistic features of *Car* and *Sanenyo* discussed and analyzed throughout the work bring out some notable and hitherto distinctive linguistic facts of the languages which require extensive research. Thus, the research aims to bring in newer insights into our understanding of the structure of Nicobaric languages.

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Suyashi

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LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

-	AFFIX BOUNDARY	DIR	direct
=	CLITIC BOUNDARY	DISTR	distributive
1	First person	DU	dual
2	Second person	DIR	direction
3	Third person	DIST	distal
ABL	ablative	EMPH	emphatic
ABS	absolutive	ERG	ergative
ACC	accusative	EXCL	exclusive
ADJ	adjective	F	feminine
ANIM	animate	FOC	focus
ATTR	attributive	FUT	future
AUX	auxiliary	GEN	genitive
CAUS	causative	HUM	human entity
CLF	classifier	IPFV	imperfective
COMP	complementizer	INAN	inanimate
COORD	coordinator	INCL	inclusive
CONT	continuous	IND	indicative
DAT	dative	INS	instrumental
DEF	definite	INTER	interrogative
DEM	demonstrative	LOC	locative
DET	determiner	M	masculine

N-	non-(e.g. NPST non- past)
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
NONVIS	non-visible
OBJ	objective
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PN	proper noun
PNG	Person/Number/Gender
POSS	possessive
PROH	prohibitive mood
PROX	proximal/ /proximate
PST	past
PTCP	participle
Q	question particle
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
REF	referential
SEQ	sequential marker
SG	singular
SUB	subject
TAM	Tense/Aspect/Mood
TR	transitive
VIS	visible
VOL	volitive mood

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Language family and classification

The chapter deals with the introduction to the Austroasiatic family and tries to describe the group divisions of the same. Further, it tries to understand the Nicobaric division in the family and studies the place of Sanenyo in the same group. In this chapter, frequent examples from three of the languages, namely, *Car* (spoken in Nicobar region), *Sanenyo* (spoken in Chaura island) and *Luro* (spoken in Teresa island) are cited. An attempt has been made to bring out the similarities and differences between them.

The term 'Austroasiatic' is derived from the Latin word *australis* meaning 'of the south' and the Austroasiatic (AA) family consists of almost 200 languages spoken in the East and the North East India and in Southeast Asia. Out of all, only two languages, Khmer and Vietnamese (which are also the largest spoken languages) are considered as national languages. The classification of the Austroasiatic (AA) language family has been through many controversies starting with William Schmidt in 1906 who proposed the idea of an 'Austric' language family consisting of both Austroasiatic and Austronesian languages. The knowledge that AA tribal possesses the "the highest frequencies of the ancient east-Asian mtDNA HG-M" made the scholars argue that they are "the earliest inhabitants of India." (Basu et al, 2003: 2280). However, one finds a lack of any distinctive and comprehensive justification of the "internal genetic classification of the phylum."

(Sidwell, 2009: 2). After almost century of Austroasiatic studies, one is still at a loss of consensus on the relationship between the linguistic branches of the family, the age and multiplicity of the phylum and appropriate model of study and research to address these issues. Austroasiatic languages are the most poorly researched of all those under discussion.

> *Many are not documented at all and some recently discovered in China are effectively not classified. The genetics of Austroasiatic speakers are almost unresearched. Austroasiatic is conventionally divided into two families, Mon-Khmer (in SE Asia) and Mundā (in India). Diffloth (2005, 79) now considers Austroasiatic to have three primary branches but no evidence for these realignments has been published. Indeed Austroasiatic classification has been dogged by a failure to publish data, making any evaluation of competing hypotheses by outsiders a merely speculative exercise.* (Blench 2008, 117-118)

Table 1.1: *Austroasiatic Classification by Pinnow (1963)(Sidwell 2009: 40)*

Western group (Nahali-Munda)

(A) West : Nahali (?)

(B) East : Munda

(a) North

Kherwari (Santali, Mundari, Korwa, etc.)

Kurku

(b) South

1. Central : Kharia, Juang

2. South-East : Sora, Pareng, Gutob, Remo

Eastern group (Khmer- Nicobar)

(A) West : Nicobarese (Nancowry, Car, etc.)

(B) East : Palaung- Khmer

(a) West : Khasi

(b) North : Palaung- Wa (Palaung, Wa, Riang, Lawa, etc.)

(c) East : Mon-Khmer (Mon, Khmer, Bahner, Sre, etc.)

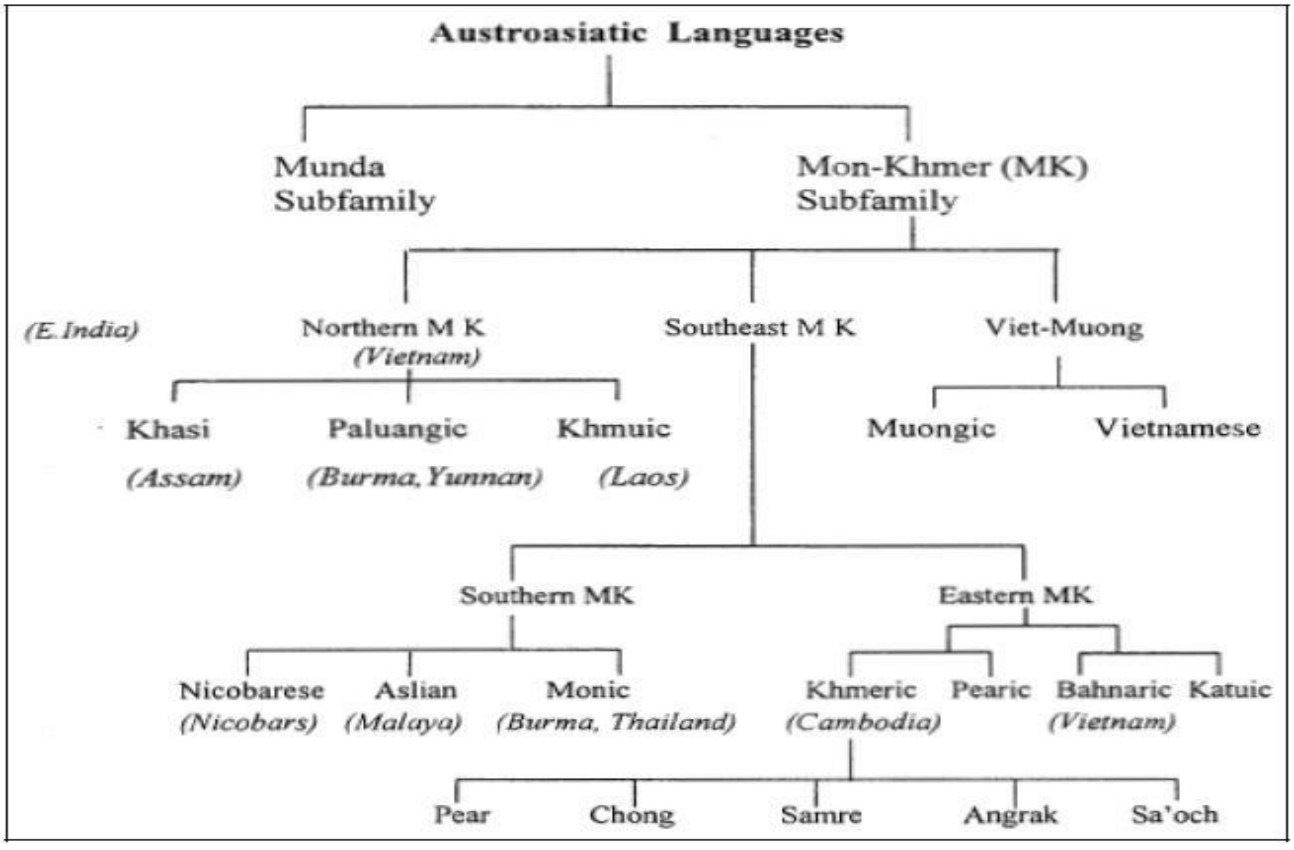
(d) South : Malacca

1. Sakai

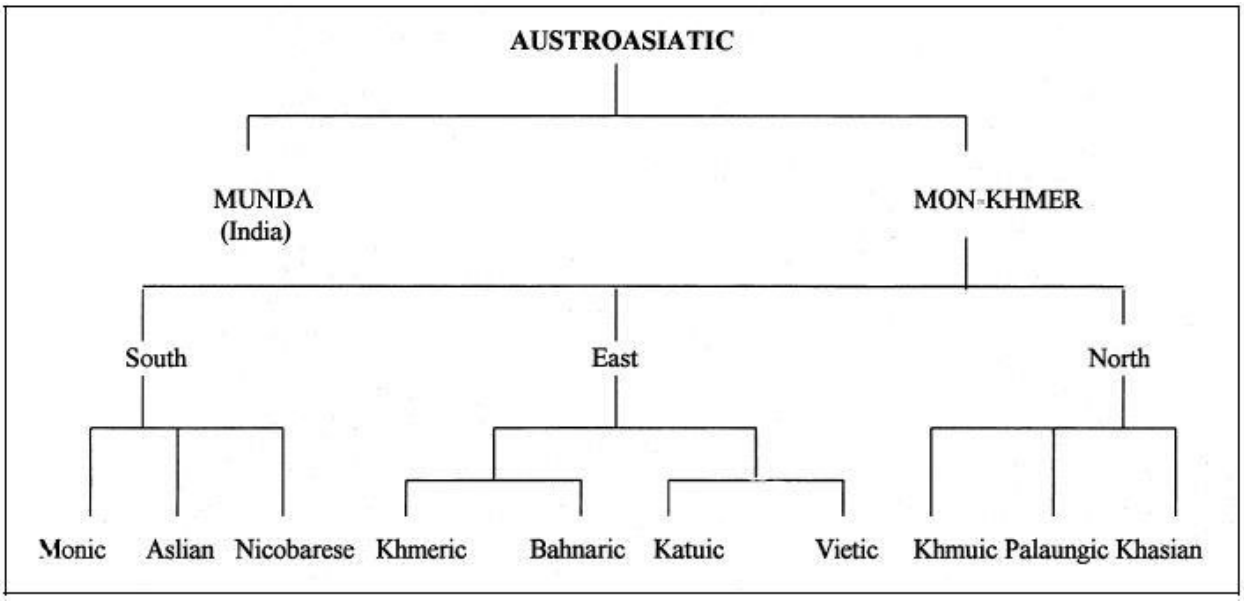
2. Jakud

3. Semang

Figure 1: *Austroasiatic classification of Mon-Khmer branch done by Diffloth(1980)*



Map 2: *Austroasiatic Classification by Diffloth (reproduced by Chazee 1999)*



Following are the majorly accepted branches of Austroasiatic language family and the dominant areas where they are spoken:

Table 1.2: *Branches of Austroasiatic(Sidwell, 2009: 3)*

Branch	**Main regions where spoken**
Aslian	Malay Peninsula
Bahnaric	Central Indo-China
Katuic	Central Indo-China

Khasic	Meghalaya, State of India
Khmer	Cambodia and neighboring areas
Khmuic	Northern Laos
Monic	Southern Myanmar and central Thailand
Munda	Eastern and Central India
Nicobaric	Nicobar Islands of India
Palaungic	Shan State of Myanmar
Pearic	Cambodia and Thailand
Vietic	Vietnam and Central Laos

The Austroasiatic languages are distinctly grouped into three major sub groups each spread over three different geographical locations. The Munda languages are spread over eastern and some parts of central India in the states of West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. While the Northern Munda languages include the Khwerian languages- Ho, Bhumij, Santali (third largest Austroasiatic language after Vietnamese and Khmer) , Mundari, Asuri, Birhor, Turi, Korwa and Korku. Some have developed scripts like *Ol Chiki* for Santali, *Warang Chiti* for Ho, etc.. The Mon Khmer languages are spread all the way from Meghalaya in India to Bangladesh, Malaysia, Cambodia,

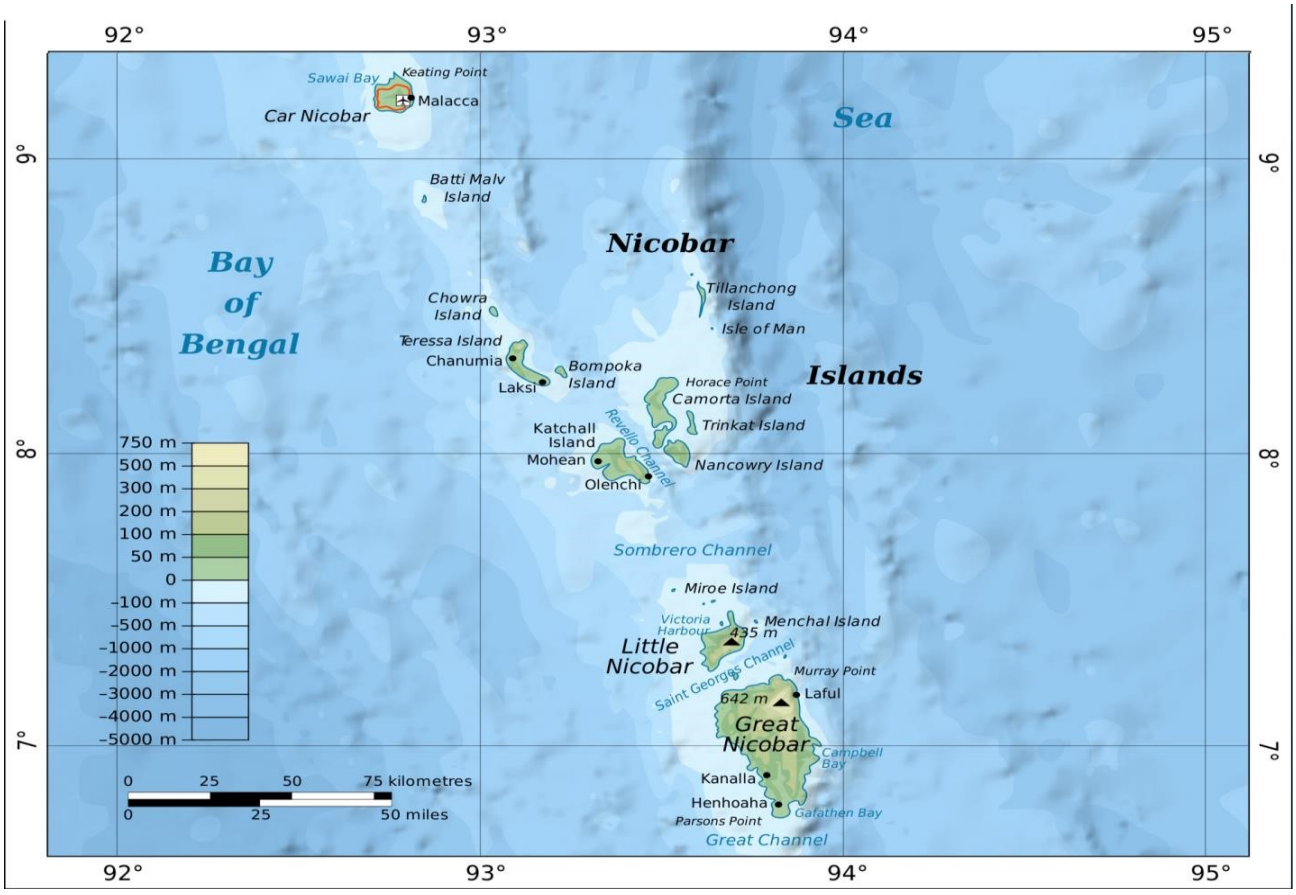
Vietnam, Thailand, and China. Mon Khmer has 12 main branches and almost 130 languages with Meghalaya housing the Khasi branch of North Mon Khmer languages, comprising of Khasi, Langrin Khasi, Mnar, Pnar, War, etc. The third group of languages called the Nicobarese languages, namely, Car Nicobarese, Chaura, Teressa, Central Nicobarese, Southern Nicobarese and Shompen are spread across the Nicobar Islands and named after the islands where they are spoken. However, some scholars place the Nicobaric languages under the Mon Khmer branch and do not consider them as a distinct group of languages. The existing typological study and research on Nicobaric languages are not conclusive enough to see it as a separate branch, thus placing it under the Mon Khmer branch as it shares the geographical and some typological features with other Mon Khmer languages. Diffloth (1974) modified the Pinnow model by introducing three families- Munda, Mon-Khmer and Nicobarese where the Mon-Khmer family was later sub divided based on the 'lexicostatistical' findings of Thomas and Headly in 1970. However, Diffloth (1974) himself merged the Nicobarese into Mon-Khmer with Aslian as its sister and later promoted 'Khasi-Palaungic-Khumic' as the third family (Sidwell, 2010).

The **Munda** languages are generally divided into North Munda languages (or the Khewerian Languages) and the South Munda languages and are essentially Verb final languages with agglutinating properties allowing derivations with affixes. They show the flexibility of grammatical class where the morphemes are assigned to a various class based on the categories they get assigned and do not yield any affixes showing their status (Koshy, 2015). The **Mon Khmer** languages are generally Verb medial with some derivational processes but mostly are isolating. The name essentially comes from Khmer, the language spoken in Cambodia and Mon, the language of the Mon people of Myanmar. Out of all the languages in this branch, only Vietnamese (spoken in Vietnam) and Khmer have official status. The **Nicobaric** languages are

generally Verb-initial (with a flexible word order) with the derivation and compounding along with affixation (prefixes suffixes, infixes and circumfixes). Unlike Munda and Mon Khmer languages, Nicobaric languages do not show any substantial influence of the South Asian languages thus proving to be difficult in typological profiling and often claimed not to be distinctive enough for internal classification of the Austroasiatic language family in to three different groups.

1.2. The Nicobaric branch

Map 3: *Map of the Nicobar Islands of India*



The Nicobar Islands are an archipelagic island chain in the eastern Indian Ocean. They are located in Southeast Asia, 150 km north of Sumatra, and are separated from Thailand to the east by the Andaman Sea. Located in the southeast of the Indian subcontinent, across the Bay of Bengal, they form a part of the Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, India.

The Nicobaric branch is a small and poorly documented branch of the AA family. The earliest sources for the study are the dictionaries and grammars made by Man (1872), Roepstroff (1884), Temple (1903), Whitehead (1925) and some other grammarians like Braine (1970) and Radhakrishnan (1981). However, they mostly talk about only two varieties- *Car* and *Nancowry* and hence the rest of the branch is almost untouched and not studied at all. The major language spoken in the Nicobar Islands is *Car Nicobarese* (caq) or simply *Car* or *Pu*, named after one of the most flourishing islands of Car Nicobar, which is situated in the northern-most of the twenty-two islands of Nicobar in the Andaman Sea. The rest of the languages/varieties spoken in the Nicobar are majorly constituted of six dialects that are also named after the islands where they are spoken:

1. Car
2. Chowra
3. Teressa and Bompoka
4. Central(Nancowry, Kamorta, Trinket, Katchall)
5. Southern (Great and Little Nicobar)
6. Shompen (interior of Great Nicobar Island)

It is important to note one of the earliest remarks made by Temple (1903), as quoted in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (1906: Vol. 4, pp. 15) that 'the Nicobarese speak one language in six dialects so different as to be mutually unintelligible. These six dialects are, from North to South, *Car-Nicobar, Chowra, Teresa, Central, Southern* and *Shom Pen*.' Earlier the Nicobaric languages were considered to be part of the *Shompen* language (Blench & Sidwell, 2011) and seen as a distinct branch of Austroasiatic but were later dismissed placing *Shompen* alone as a South Nicobaric language (Sidwell, 2017). The conclusion drawn was that *Car* was the northern most language, *Shompen* was the southernmost, and the rest rather form a central chain of dialects dominated by *Nancowry* or *Muot*. Among all the languages spoken in the Nicobar Islands, *Car Nicobar/ Pu* and *Muot* (spoken in Central Nicobar) are the only ones that have been properly documented. Chattopadhyay & Mukhopadhyay (2003) has about 780 words of Shompen language and Blench & Sidwell (2011) presented a paper "Is Shompen a distinct Branch of Austroasiatic?" in the fourth International Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics (ICAAL). However, no proper documentation of the language has been done yet. Nicobari has developed a writing system known as Nicobari script using Roman alphabets and have dictionaries made by Whitehead (1925) and Man (1889) respectively. In recent times, Das (1977) has done work on phonology and lexicon of Nicobari while Rajasingh (2017) has worked on Muot as part of the Andaman commissioned project with CIIL, Mysore in which he has mentioned the phonology, morpho-syntactic aspects of the language along with a dictionary.

The Nicobaric family shares the Verb initial and subject final word order with the head-dependent relationships- negation precedes the verb, adjectives precede the nouns and so on. However, the distribution of auxiliaries can be either before or after the verb phrase. Adverbial phrases are present at the periphery and can be either at the beginning or at the end depending on

the languages. Any modification to the nominal category can be done by either inflection or by simply adding the morphemes or further noun phrases. In some languages, they undergo the same changes as the verb, e.g. in negation where the negative particle is placed before the noun particle to change the meaning.

1. *həʈ̪ siŋrol ʈ̪ən kəʔp̄ɔ* (Sanenyo)
   NEG horn POSS cow
   'Cow does not have horns.'

2. *ʔət sinróːlu nun nɛ̃ː haʔún* (Car)
   NEG horn 3PL PROX.PL.INAN pig
   'Pigs have no horns.'

Noun phrases in Nicobaric languages usually contain four main grammatical categories, namely, determiner, adjective, noun and possessor. However, it is also observed that some languages like *Sanenyo* (spoken on Chaura Island) and *Luro* (spoken on Teressa, Bampoka islands) show markers (case, possessive or an indicative marker) attached to the agent or the subject in the clause/sentence. In such case as shown in the examples (4) and (5), the marker immediately precedes the head noun and all the other modifying categories like the adjective, numerals come before that.

3. *hol cu* (Car)
   friend 1SG.OBL
   'my friend'

4. *kəɲuic̄* ***t̪ən*** *cə* (Sanenyo)

pen POSS1SG

'my pen'

5. *ləipa* ***in*** *ca* (Luro)

book NOM 1SG

'my book'

Nouns are identified based on their syntactic distributions and the head of a noun phrase may optionally be inflected for number, animacy, case, gender, etc. The common nouns exhibit both animate and inanimate subclass and in languages like Sanenyo and Luro there is no differentiation in the distribution of other grammatical categories like demonstratives, possessive pronouns or classifiers. However, in languages like *Car*, there is a sharp difference between animate and inanimate common nouns which is marked by the 'distribution of the dual and plural demonstrative pronouns, the third person plural possessive pronouns, the third person dual and plural subject and interrogative pronouns , and the numeral classifiers.' (The Handbook of Austroasiatic Languages Vol 1 and Vol 2 2015)

Classifiers are 'morphologically simple' and numeral phrases generally follow the order number+classifer+noun. However, the use of classifiers is obligatory and the instances where one can drop them are not clear yet.

6. *nɛːt* ***mikíːcə*** *uháːʔ ʔan* (Car)

two CLF egg 3SG

'It has two eggs.'

The pronominal system is quite extensive and works done by Briane (1970) and Whitehead (1925) on pronouns of *Car* discusses various forms but does not offer a morphological study.

The languages of Nicobaric family contain pronouns for all three numbers and persons and the difference of inclusive/exclusive is sometimes shown by adding a separate morpheme like ***/hĩː/*** in *Sanenyo* to show inclusiveness placing it before the pronominal category. In *Car*, the difference is seen in the case of interrogative constructions, between the first person dual inclusive ***/ʔajah/***and the exclusive ***/ʔajə/***. In all situations, the subject pronoun base generates in non-interrogative constructions.

7. *kahsen ɛŋ nə tũhsi tito* (Sanenyo)
   how PST 3SG fall tito
   'How did Tito fell?'

Verbs occur canonically at the initial position of the sentence. The auxiliary verbs, which are part of the verb phrase, are mostly pre-verbal like the tense, aspect and mood and negation markers. However, in case both tense and aspect markers are present in a sentence, the aspect marker generally takes the sentence-initial position. It must be noted that the languages do not have a fixed VOS order and the categories can change places in case of narrations or to show focus. The verbal domain incorporates all kinds of verbs-action, position, utterance, body function, etc. Verbs are mainly categorized as transitive, intransitive (with lack of infinitives) and di-transitive. Serial verb construction is also found without any distinct morphemes to show the order of events except using conjugations to mark serialization. The sequential verb in *Car* consists of a stem followed by morpheme/–***hɛː***/ and does not require any subject to be stated while in languages like *Sanenyo*, *Luro* there is no additional marker. The sequential verb is defined by its position in the sentence and separate morpheme preceding the verb is used to mark the sequence.

8. ***rɛʔ*** *əkŋɔ̃k ən en məlŋə hɛː i̪t̪̃iək* (Sanenyo)

SEQ eat NOM 3SG then CONT sleep

'After eating, he went to sleep.'

The compound verb construction is rare. Separate morphemes are used in case of marking tense, aspect and mood. Verbs can also take adverbial modifiers and they generally occupy the initial position in a sentence. Verb inflection is observed in languages like *Car*, which has thirteen major inflectional constructions containing a stem, and up to three suffixes. Active and passive verbs are differentiated where the latter is either has a passive marker or a directional suffix,

9. *ŋáːtijə* 'bound' ~ *ŋáːti* 'be bound' (Car)

However, some languages rarely show any passive constructions and if the need arises it is done by a change in subject and object order known as valence transposing device. The verbs, however, do not get inflected for any passive marker. In some cases, passive verbs get inflected forming a reflexive passive verb in *Car* where the verb occurs as a stem extended by a ***/-ə/*** 'reflexive stem ending suffix' followed by a reflexive particle, ***/-rɛ/***.

10. *kafɨ́tə-**rɛ*** *cin* (Car)

brush-**REFL** 1SG

'I brush myself off.'

Major morphological processes involved are inflection (usually by suffixation) and derivation (usually by affixation and compounding). While languages like *Car* and *Muot* undergo both inflection and derivation, languages like Sanenyo and Luro barely show any inflection. The major word formation takes place via derivation and compounding.

In the subsequent chapters, the morphological and syntactic characteristics of *Sanenyo* and *Car* will be discussed and analyzed trying to bring out the differences and similarities between the two languages. Chapter 2 will be discussing the word order, various phrasal system, Tense, Aspect, Mood, Person, Number and Gender agreement along with pronominal system with negations, interrogatives and imperatives constructions in both *Car* and *Sanenyo*.

The aim in the next two chapters will be to explicate the two languages in terms of morphological and syntactic structures and try to understand the relationship between the two. It is often debated that *Sanenyo* is one of the many dialects of *Car* having many loan words and calques from the latter and yet they are mutually unintelligible according to the natives of Chaura Island. Thus, by attempting to understand the structure of the two languages, it is aimed to shed some light on this confusion.

Chapter 3 will focus on the case marking, complex predicate constructions like compound verbs, converbs and verb serialization, use of reduplication, passive constructions and gerund formation of language, as there has not been any work on the syntactic aspect of the *Car Nicobar* language. Further, the numeral system and the clausal relationships and sentence formation pattern in both the languages will also be discussed and analyzed in the same chapter. Major observations and conclusions will be noted in chapter 4. The *Car* data and sentence examples mentioned throughout the thesis has been citied from the Ph.D. dissertation by Jean C. Braine's 1970 University of California (Berkeley) Ph.D. thesis *Nicobarese Grammar (Car Dialect)* and the bracketed items indicate page numbers and order on the page. For *Sanenyo*, the data has been collected from Sanenyo speakers residing in Chaura and Teressa Island, Nicobar Island.

Chapter 2

Morphological Comparison of Car Nicobarese and Sanenyo

2. Introduction

The chapter describes the morphological characteristics of the Car and Sanenyo language and tries to outline the differences between the two. The language **Car Nicobarese ISO 639-3 caq** (also called ***Car*** or ***Pu***) is spoken in the Car Nicobar island and is also the lingua franca of the Nicobar Islands. It is thus the most widely spoken language out of all the Nicobarese languages and the language status is 3(wider communication)[1]. **Sanenyo ISO 639-3 crv /sənɛːɲə/** (also called ***Chaura***, or ***Tutet***), spoken by the Chaura people of the Chaura island is part of the Nicobarese branch of languages of the Austroasiatic language familyand the language status is 6b (Threatened)[2].

Both the languages showproductive usage of compounding and derivation processes (derived nouns and verbs). The major morphological processes involved in word formation are Derivation and Inflection (Prefixation, Suffixation, Infixation, and Circumfixation), Compounding, Clipping

[1] Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2015. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Eighteenth edition.* Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com.
[2] Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2019. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Twenty-second edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com.

and Borrowing. While Car shows agglutinating features with affixes changing the categories of newly formed morphemes, Sanenyo is mostly isolating lacking any variation of words to refer to different grammatical categories.The basic word order of both the language is Verb-initial and subject final, although it is not strictly fixed.

1. *ɲa maŋka ŋən kikoɲə* (Car)
   eat mango SG boy
   'Boy eats mango.'

2. *fɛ̈ːntə-rɛ sumkám cin, kapáh* (Car)
   four-REFL day 1SG die
   'I will die in four days.'
   (Braine:255.5)

3. həjɔ sü̱ ən məhɛːo (Sanenyo)
   play ball NOM boy
   'The boy is playing with a ball.'

In (1) and (3) the verb comes at the initial position of the sentence, in (2) the verb comes at the final position of the sentence after the subject.

In example (4) the verb comes before the object and the subject occurs before the verb. This kind of movement is allowed in the language, especially in running speech or during narrations.

4. lɛ̰t̪ ən məhɛːo ɛŋ həm hip̄u (Sanenyo)

PFV NOM boy PST eat banana

'The boy had eaten banana.'

In case of aspect markers, while example (5) from *Car* shows that it is attached to the verb present at the initial position of the sentence, in *Sanenyo* as shown in (4) the aspect marker comes at the initial position as a free morpheme.

5. *ʔahúˑt-ha-ŋa* *cin* (Car)

noose-INC.OBJ-PFV 1SG

'I've caused the noosing (of something.).'

(Braine:189.2)

2.1. *Phrasal structures of the Car and Sanenyo*

2.1.1. Adjectival Phrase

The **adjectives** in Car are usually attributive and are pre-nominal but agreement and demonstrative markers can occur between the adjective and the noun.

6. *ɻúhul* *kumléˑʔ-rɛ* *ʔan* *ŋam* *canɔˑcə*

increase strong-REFL AGR DEM storm

'The storm is increasing its strength.'

(Braine:111.1)

7. *kúːn-ə* *ʔan* *ŋam* *tarík*

small-PERS AGRDEM man

'The man is small.'

(Braine:122.3)

Similarly, in *Sanenyo*, the adjectives are also attributive in nature preceding the noun category and sometimes a relative marker /*ca*/ is placed between the adjective and noun along with the indicative marker /*ən*/ to modify the noun. The indicative marker is optional and can be dropped in running speech, that is, the omission of the morpheme /*ən*/ will not make ungrammatical. Thus both (8) and (9) is acceptable.

8. *t̪əməwu* *ca* *ən* *kəʔɛt̪* *neəʔ*

intelligent REL IND child this

'This is an intelligent child'

9. *t̪əməwu* *ca* *kəʔɛt̪* *neəʔ*

intelligent REL child this

'This is an intelligent child'

Gradable adjectives in *Car*can be modified using morphemes like /*təkɔʔ*/ 'very', /*poj*/ 'big' where adverbs follow the adjectives.

10. *póːj-haŋɛ́n* *ʔanɔ́hə* *kɛ́ːl* *ʔan*

big-DEL broken arm 3S

'He has a very badly broken arm.'

(Braine:196.2)

11. *təlalé·ʔ* ***takɔ́·ʔ*** *ʔəp(i)*

strong **very** 3S.NONVIS

'It is very strong.' (Braine:139.1)

In *Sanenyo,* gradable adjectives are constructed using morphemes like /*kəru*/ 'big, more', /*fulŋə*/ 'very' where the adverbs are placed before the adjectives such as in te following example.

12. *fulŋə lənuəh*

'very beautiful'

Car adjectives follow the classifiers and a pronoun can be placed before the adjectival category in such cases as in (13)

13. *heŋ* *taka* *ʔək* *tə-ʔakáh-ə* *tarík*

one CLF 3SG.PST.NONVIS LINK-good person

'There was a good man.'

(Braine:252.2)

Sometimes a link marker /*tə/* is placed after the pronominal marker to increase the emphasis.

14. *marɔ·ʔ-aŋén* *misí·ʔ,* *ʔi* *pu·,* *he·* *jik*

long-DEL long.ago LOC Car, when 3PL.NONVIS

má·-misí·ʔ *heŋ* *taka* *ʔək* ***tə*** *ʔakáha* *tarík*

elder-long.ago one CLF3S.PST.NONVIS**LINK** good person

‘Long ago in Car Nicobar, during the time of the ancestors, there was a certain good man.’

(Braine:225.1)

Sanenyo adjectives also follow the classifiers; however, the indicative marker is placed between the classifier and the adjective for emphasis.

15. *roic -ʈək* ***ən*** *ʈə- mihoe liːpare*

three-CL **IND** OBJ –thin paper

‘three thin sheets of paper’

Adjectives like ‘big’, ‘small’ or ‘many’ can also follow the numerals to provide emphasis on the amount or shape/size of the head noun as in (16).

16. *ʈə -hiəŋ* ***pəmiɛc*** *situn*

OBJ -one **small** bottle

‘one **small** bottle’

2.1.2. Adverbial Phrase

Car adverbs can be both pre-verbal as well as post-verbal as in (17), with a nominal particle placed between the verb and adverb as in (18).

17. *ʔət* *haɻɔ́h-**haɻa*** *cin*

NEG sleep-**at.all**1SG

‘I didn't sleep at all.’

(Braine:195.1)

18. ***mú·l-hə-ɾɛ*** *jin nə ɲa·ʔ*

together-each.other-REFL3PLSUB eat

'They eat together.'

(Braine:185.2)

There are set of six temporal locatives which predict the location in time.

a. /*amɔh*/ 'last night'

b. /*hurɨc*/ 'tomorrow'

c. /*misi.ʔ*/ 'long ago'

d. /*tahɨy*/ 'just now'

e. /*tənamuh*/ 'today'

f. /*vahɛr*/ 'yesterday'

Sanenyo adverbs usually come before the verb with the presence of nominal particle between the adverbial and verbal phrase and the adverbs are placed at the initial position of the sentence. The same pattern is observed in adverbs of time or attitude where they are placed at the initial position of the sentence which may or may not be followed by the main verb.

19. ***hətrɨic*** *re nə sut*

everydayplay 3SG ball

'He plays football every day.'

20. ***heʔə*** *ən mə̃ rɨk*

surelyNOM 2SG come

'You will surely come.'

Time adverbial precedes Place adverbials,

21. ***ʇə*** ***-riːəiə*** *ufɛ ən kəʔɛʇ ujɔhəre ka park*

OBJ **-evening**PL NOM child play IND park

'In the evening, the children play in the park.'

2.1.3. Noun Phrase

Car evinces a relatively fixed noun phrase structure with four categories in a particular order, that is, a determiner followed by an adjective (i), followed by the nominal category (ii), and finally followed by the possessor (iii). Since the language is essentially right branching, using Dryer's Branching Direction Theory, the branching category (which is syntactically more complex) appears on the right of the non-branching category (which is comparatively less complex) (Whaley 1996:91).Hence, we observe that the complement phrase follows the noun phrase. The morpheme /*tə*/ acts as a general linker and is sometimes used to introduce complement phrases as in (23).

22. *nup* *təhacáːpə* *líːpərɛ* *ʔək* *təkulóːʔ-uə*

3PL.NONVIS pile book 3S.PST.NONVIS stupid-POSS

ɲiːʔ *cu*

child 1SG

'The piled books of my stupid child.'

(Braine:251.6)

23. *heŋ* *taka* *ʔək* *misíːʔ* *tafísi,* ***tə***

one CLF 3SG.PST.NONVIS long.ago widow, **LINK**

fɛːn *maník* *kuːn*

four CLF son

'Once there was a widow who had four children.'

(Braine:241.3)

In adjectival/participial clause constructions, as mentioned earlier the adjectives are attributive in nature preceding the nouns in a simple clause with the optional presence of agreement and demonstrative markers.

24. *ʔakáha* *tarík,*

good person,

'good person.'

(Braine:224.3)

While showing possession of the noun that is qualified using adjectival categories, the possessive marker is attached to the adjective, such as in (25) and (26),

25. *ʔufó-və* *kunrə́ːn* *cin*

cold-POSS feet 1SG

'I have cold feet.'

(Braine:194.1)

26. *təkuló·ʔ-uə* *ɲi·ʔ* *cu*

stupid-POSS child 1SG

'…my stupid child.'

(Braine:251.6)

The adjective slot can be taken by a numerator, which is followed by an optional classifier as in (27). We are also not sure about the extent to which the classifiers are obligatory.

27. *nɛ·t* *mikɨ́·cə* *ʔuhə́·ʔ* *ʔan*

two CLF egg 1SG

'It (has) two eggs.'

(Braine:254.2)

Sanenyo is primarily head-initial language placing the modifiers after the categories they modify. Being right branching, the syntactic structure of complement phrase (which has a comparatively more complex internal structure and is a branching category) occurs right of the non-branching nominal category (Whaley 1996:91).

28. *ka* *məhɛ·o* *wəhɛ* *n̪ə* *diarrhoea* *lɛn̪* *lɛn̪ɛn* *ənrə* *kan̪*

IND boy yesterday OBJ sinpõicPFV well now EXP

'The boy who had fever yesterday is well now.'

The clauses, however, do not use an overt relative marker or a complementizer but do express head –initial **participial/adjectival clause constructions** where the adjectives are usually attributive preceding the nouns in simple sentences where the indicative marker is optional.

29. *pəməje ən kəʔɛt̪*
shy IND child
'shy child'

30. *mənkəʔləse ən kəʔɛt̪*
naughty IND child
'naughty child'

However, the adjectives can both precede as in (31) where 'shy' precedes and 'intelligent; follows the head noun 'child' or follow as in (32) where both the adjectives 'shy' and 'intelligent' comes after the head noun.

31. *pəməje ufɛ ka kəʔɛt̪ en t̪eməwu jəhnə*
shy PL IND child 3SG intelligent and
'Her children are shy and intelligent.'

32. *ufɛ ka kəʔɛt̪ en pəməje jəhnə t̪eməwu*
PL IND child 3SG shy and intelligent
'Her children are beautiful and intelligent.'

Genitive constructions are also observed to be head initial in both Car and Sanenyo where the head is followed by the dependent.

33. *cát-ŋɛn ʔək nuã· cu, ʔək tə sinɾó·l-**uə***(Car)

lost-away 3SG.PST bull 1SG.OBL, 3SG.PST LINKhorn-**POSS**

'My bull which has horns is lost.'

(Braine:149.4)

34. *ʈəʔ -ram* (Sanenyo)

mother -ram

'Ram's mother'

In *Car*, the genitive constructions with an adjectival phrase are observed to yield an obligatory possessive marker, attached to the adjectival particle which qualifies the possessed entity.

35. *nup təhacá·pə lí·pərɛ ʔək təkuló·ʔ-**uə** ɲi·ʔ cu* 3PL.NONVIS pile

book 3SG.PST.NONVIS stupid-**POSS** child 1SG

'The piled books of my stupid child.'

(Braine:251.6)

No such marking is observed in Sanenyo and the possessor-possessee relationship is shown using the word order itself.

36. *li:pəre cə* (Sanenyo)

book 1SG

'My book'

Car has no overt marking to show the difference between the alienable/ inalienable possession but *Sanenyo* has a possessive marker used in case of alienable possession as in (40).

- **POSSESSIVE**: [inalienable]

37. *laʔóh* *ʔən* *ŋih* *kal-rə́ˑn* *cu* (Car)
    break AGR DEM bar-foot 1SG.OBL
    'My leg is broken.'
    (Braine:131.3)

38. *t̪əʔ* *-en* (Sanenyo)
    mother -3SG
    'His mother'

- **POSSESSIVE**: [alienable]

39. *larák-**ə*** *kanúˑc* *cin* (Car)
    split-**POSS** pencil 1SG
    'My pencil split.'
    (Braine:193.5)

In *Sanenyo*, the morphemes /t̪əkɑ/ (for –visible) and /t̪ən/ (for +visible) can be used before the pronominal to emphasize the alienable possession such as in (40) and (40a).

40. *hiəŋ* *ka* *kən* *həiːəm* ***t̪əkɑ*** *t̪əʔ -cə* (Sanenyo)
    one IND female hen **POSS** mother -1SG
    'My mother has one hen.'

40a. *roic -ca ka ufɛ kunrəpə* ***t̪ən*** *cə* (Sanenyo)

three -CL INDPL shoe **POSS**1SG

'I have three shoes.'

Else, it can also be dropped sometimes (usually in running speech) as in (41).

41. *nijoʔ cə* (Sanenyo)

necklace 1SG

'My necklace'

2.1.4. Verb Phrase

Verb Phrases in both *Car* and *Sanenyo* are generally head-initial followed by a dependent phrase.

42. *mík-ə ca cin* (Car)

see-TR3PL.OBL 1SG

'I see them.'

(Braine:179.4)

43. *həkəp lipərɛː ən ram* (Sanenyo)

read book NOM ram

'Ram reads a book.'

It is quite plausible that the helping verb has lost its verbal character and became grammaticalized as an aspect marker. *Sanenyo* places thishelping verb-turned-aspect marker before the main verb, usually placed at the sentence initial position as in (45) and object and subject can interchange their position based on the speaker's discretion to show focus.

44. *həjɔ* *sut̚* *ən* *məhɛːo*

play ball NOM boy

'The boy is playing with a ball.'

45. ***lɛt̻*** *həjɔ* *su̻t̚* *ən* *məhɛːo* *ɛŋ*

PFV play ball NOM boy PST

'The boy had played with a ball.'

The same observation cannot be yet made for *Car* due to lack of sufficient data and research done on the language. However, we observe that the aspect markers are attached to the verbs and are not free in nature as unlike *Sanenyo*.

46. *ʔakíˑ-**ŋə**-váh* *ʔəp* *tíksənəríˑʔ* *cin*

determined-**PFV** -insistent 3SG.NONVIS dictionary 1SG

'I am out to get a dictionary.'

(Braine:203.5)

47. *hasíˑn-**ŋə*** *ʔinsíˑn* *cin* *min*

fit-**PFV** beam 1SG NPST

'I will put up the stabilizing beams (probably)'

(Braine:222.3)

2.1.5. Adpositional Phrase

Car and *Sanenyo*show prepositions. Consider examples (48) and (49).

48. ***ʔi*** *ʔaláha* *haʔún* (Car)

LOCbody pig

'…. in the pig's body.' (Braine:184.3)

49. *ɛaŋ* ***ɔl*** *cɔŋ* (Sanenyo)

go **on** ship

'go on a ship'

2.2. Agreement system of Car and Sanenyo

2.2.1. Tense

Car shows three-way distinction in terms of tenses, that is, **present, past and future**. However, the present tense is not overtly marked while the past and future tenses are obligatory marked. There is no change in the verb forms with a change in tense and separate tense markers for past and future tense are used.

a. Simple Present tense

50. *ɲa maŋka ən ram*

eat mango NOM PN

'Ram eats mango.'

b. Simple Past tense

51. *ɲa maŋka ən ram* ***tahii***

eat mango NOM PN**PST**

'Ram ate a mango.'

c. Simple Future tense

52. *ɲa maŋka ən ram* ***minə***

eat mango NOM PN**FUT**

'Ram will eat mango.'

Similarly, in *Sanenyo*, there are three tenses- **present, past and future** and the present tense is not morphologically marked while the past and future tense are necessarily marked.

d. Simple Present tense

53. *əkŋɔk ən ram*

eat NOM PN

'Ram eats.'

e. Simple Past tense

54. *əkŋɔk ən ram* ***ɛŋ***

eat NOM PNPST

'Ram ate.'

f. Simple Future tense

55. *əkŋɔk ən ram* ***mʔə***

eat NOM PN FUT

'Ram will eat.'

2.2.2. Number

Car exhibits three numbers: **singular, dual and plural** where it has an optional singular marking (in case of narrations or during running speech) and obligatory morphemes for dual and plural marking. There is again no change in verb forms with a change in number. Separate morphemes are placed before the subject to show the grammatical number.

a. Singular

56. *ɲa maŋka* ***ŋən*** *kikoɲə*

eat mango SGboy

'Boy eats mango.'

b. Dual

57. *ɲa maŋka* ***nã*** *kikoɲə*

eat mango DU boy

'Boys(two) eat mango.'

c. Plural

58. *ɲa maŋka* ***ne*** *kikoɲə*

eat mango PL boy

'Boys eats mango.'

Sanenyo also has three numbers: **singular, dual and plural** where it has separate morphemes only for dual and plural marking and like *Car,* there is no change in verb forms with a change in number.

d. Singular

59. *əkŋɔk ən məhɛːo*

eat NOM boy

'The boy eats.'

e. Dual

60. *əkŋɔk* ***unə*** *ən məhɛːo*

eat DUNOM boy

'The boys(two) eat.'

f. Plural

61. *əkŋɔk* ***ufɛ*** *ən məhɛːo*

eat PLNOM boy

'The boys eat.'

2.2.3. Gender

Gender agreementis also not found in both the language. However, in *Sanenyo* the morphemes [koɪŋ] for male and [kɑːn] for female are used in order to differentiate natural genders of the nouns using compounding. Lexically, [koɪŋ] means husband and [kɑːn] means wife.

62. [koɪŋ həiːəm] 'cock' [kɑːn həiːəm] 'hen'

63. [koɪŋ kɛːiŋ] 'male monkey' [kɑːn kɛːiŋ] 'female monkey'

Both *Car* and *Sanenyo* does have morphemes for ‘boy’ [*kikoɲə*] in *Car* and [*məhɛːo*] in *Sanenyo* and ‘girl’ [*kikaɲə*] in *Car* and [*huliə̃*] in Sanenyo and these are also used to differentiate for gender in [+human].

64. [*ɲiʔ ənkikoɲə*] ‘boy child’ (Car)

65. [*ɲiʔ ənkikaɲə*] ‘girl child’

66. [kəʔɛːt̪ ən məhɛːo] ‘boy child’ (Sanenyo)

67. [kəʔɛːt̪ ən huliə̃] ‘girl child’

2.3. *The pronominal system in Car and Sanenyo*

Car has an extensive system of pronominal and it often undergoes a lot of affixation and changes to agree with the semantic information imparted in the sentence. The pronouns carry a lot of information and often are fused with various affixes to generate meaning. The pronouns are inflected to show distinctions between inclusive/exclusive, human/non-human entity and visible/non-visible aspect of the subject. The following data has been discussed by Briane (1970:135-144) and Whitehead (1925: xxxii-xlii) and put into a table by Sidwell(2015:1246-1247).

Table 2.1: *Pronominal system of Car*

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="3">SG</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td colspan="3">3</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">cin,cini</td><td rowspan="2">man,mana</td><td>HUM</td><td>VIS</td><td>NVIS</td></tr>
<tr><td>NHUM</td><td>ʔan,ʔana</td><td>ʔap,ʔəp</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">DU</td><td>INCL</td><td>ʔan</td><td rowspan="2">nan</td><td rowspan="2"></td><td rowspan="2">nan</td><td rowspan="2">nap</td></tr>
<tr><td>EXCL</td><td>ʔan</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">PL</td><td>INCL</td><td>ʔin</td><td rowspan="2">jin, jina</td><td rowspan="2">HUM
NHUM</td><td>jin,jina,
caʔa</td><td>jip</td></tr>
<tr><td>EXCL</td><td>ʔin</td><td>nun</td><td>nup</td></tr>
</table>

Demonstrative pronouns "..are distributed both adjectively and pronominally" (Sidwell 2015:1248) and the animate/inanimate difference are inherently imparted by the demonstrative stem.

Table 2.2: *Demonstrative pronouns in Car*

Proximal	Distal
ŋɔh 'this (SG.ANIM)'	*ŋamɔ́h* 'that (SG.ANIM)'
veː 'these (PL.ANIM)'	*mɛ̃ː* 'those (PL.ANIM)'
náː 'these (DU.ANIM)'	*naː* 'those (DU.ANIM)'
ŋih 'this (SG.INAN)'	*ŋamúh* 'that (SG.INAN)'
nɛ̃ 'these (PL.INAN)'	*minɛ̃ː* 'those (PL.INAN)'

68. *taŋɛ́ˑʔ* *ʔən* ***ŋih***
bone AGR **PROX.SG.INAN**
'This is a bone.'
(Braine:132.6)

69. *saˑʔ* *mirún* ***ŋih*** *ʔən,* ***ŋíʔã***
resemble spot **DEM.PROX** 3SG **PROX.SPEC**
'This (color) is like this color.'
(Braine:132.7)

70. *saˑʔ* *ʔɛl* *mat* *ɻɔŋ* ***ŋɔh*** *ʔən,* ***ŋamɔ́ʔã***
resemble LOC face fruit **DEM.PROX** 3SG**DIST.SG**
'That (color) is like (the color of) this fruit.'
(Braine:132.8)

The demonstrative pronouns are reduplicated and are placed after the subject in order to express an emphasis/focus on the position of the subject.

71. *tavá˙j* *nun* ***nɛ*** *janɦ́˙tə,* ***nɛ***

pretty AGR **DEM** jewel, **DEM**

'These jewels are pretty.'

(Braine:130.6)

Interrogative pronouns can also perform the function of exclamation.

72. *ʔiɻɔ́˙ŋə* *ʔac* *ve:* *tarík*

how.many 3PL.INTER PROX.PL.ANIM person

'How many men (are there)!'

(Braine:145.6)

Sanenyo also has an exhaustive system of Pronominal with first, second and third person marking along with singular, dual and plural forms.

Table 2.3: *Pronominal system of Sanenyo*

	1	2	3
SG	*cəʔ*	*ciʔai ~ cĩʔ*	*cuʔu ~ cuʔ*
DU	*mẽ*	*inə*	*i:hɛ*
PL	*en*	*unə*	*ufɛ*

The language is partially pro-drop where the pronominal can be dropped in third person.

73. *ɔ̃icŋə cə kaʟ*

hungry 1SG EXP

'I am hungry.'

74. *ɔ̃icŋə kaʟ*

hungry EXP

'He is hungry.'

75. *ɔ̃icŋə ufɛ kaʟ*

hungry PL EXP

'They are hungry.'

The language uses a separate morpheme **/hĩ**:/ to show inclusiveness thus lacking distinct pronominal forms- which is added before the pronouns or before the verb in case of dropping of the pronominal.

For showing honorific/non-honorific, visible/non-visible, intimacy, politeness or any other social values, we see the addition of morphemes to signal those values withoutany change in the pronominal morphemes. Possessiveness is obligatorily omitted in case of inalienable possession as shown in (76).

76. *ɻəʔ -siʟa*

mother -sita

'Sita's mother'

The morphemes /t̪əkɑ/ (for –visible) and /t̪ən/ (for +visible) can be used before the pronominal to emphasize the alienable possession.

77. *hiəŋ ka kən həiːəm* ***t̪əkɑ*** *t̪əʔ -cə* (Sanenyo)

one IND female hen **POSS** mother -1SG

'My mother has one hen.'

77a. *kəɲuic̄* ***t̪ən*** *cə*

pen **POSS**1SG

'My pen'

Else, it can also be dropped as in (78).

78. *kəɲuic̄ cə*

pen 1SG

'My pen'

The demonstrative pronouns are /*neəʔ*/ 'this' and /*anə*/ 'that' and is placed after the head noun.

79. *məhɛːo* ***neəʔ*** *jəhnə huliə̃* ***anə***

boy **this** and girl **that**

'This is a boy and that is a girl.'

The language does not have any dual or plural demonstratives and change in number is denoted by adding the number marker before the head noun.

The reflexive pronoun /t̪ənrɛ/ for the first person and third person and /t̪ənme/ for the second person follows the personal pronoun.

80. *luʔt̪ao en* ***t̪ənrɛ***

like 3SG **REFL**

'He likes himself.'

As stated earlier the third person singular/pluralpronouns can be dropped and simply the DU/PLmarkers for respective numbercan be used instead, followed by the reflexive pronoun.

81. *luʔt̪ao unə****t̪ənrɛ***

like DU**REFL**

'They (two people) like themselves.'

82. *luʔt̪ao ufɛ* ***t̪ənrɛ***

like PL **REFL**

'They like themselves.'

The reciprocal pronoun is /t̪əŋ hiəŋ/ which follow dual marker as shown in (83).

83. *luʔt̪ao unə t̪ən hiəŋ*

like DU eachother

'They like each other.'

Interrogativepronouns are /*kun----kəʔ/* in case of the second person,dual (2DU) and second person, plural (2PL)

- **[inə-kəʔ-ən]:**

84. ***kun*** *lɛt̪ əkŋɔ̃k inə-****kəʔ-****ən*

Q PFV eat 2DL-**Q** -IND

'Did you two eat? '

- **[iːhɛ-kəʔ-ən]:**

85. ***kun*** *lɛt̪* *əkŋɔ̃k* *iːhɛ-**kəʔ-**ən*

Q PFV eat 2PL- **Q** -IND

'Did you three eat? '

2.4. *Negative constructions in Car and Sanenyo*

Negation is observed to be pre-verbal and pre-nominal in *Car*.

86. ***ʔət*** *sin̪ɻóˑl-u* *nun* *nɛ̃ˑ* *haʔún*

NEGhorn-GEN AGR DEM pig

'Pigs have no horns.'

(Braine:130.2)

87. ***ʔət*** *ʔakáh-a-lóˑn* *cin,*

NEG know-STAT -think 1SG

'I don't know….'

(Braine:244.1)

Sometimes the morpheme for 'lack' is also used to impart the negative sense.

88. ***tət-**mak,* *ʔisúh* *ʔəj* *ʔahə́h*

lacking-water, where? 1PL.SUB search

'(We have) no water, where shall we search?'

(Braine:205.1)

Car does not have a separate prohibitive marker and the same NEG morpheme is used in both senses.

89. *ŋac* *ʔin* *jih,* ***ʔət*** *mɨk* *kujá˙jə*
and.then 1PL oh!, **not** see shore
'Now we do not see the seashore.'
(Braine:145.3)

In *Sanenyo*, negation is observed to be pre-verbal and exhibit a prohibitive marker used for prohibition.

90. ***waʔ*** *mə* *ɛːre*
PROH 2SG go
'You may not go.'

91. ***waʔ*** *mə* *jɔtni*
PROH 2SG outside
'Do not go outside.'

The language explicates a separate negation marker which is suffixed to the pronominal category occuring at the initial position of the sentence.

92. *ciṯ* ***-mɛh*** *cuː*
1P.SG **NEG**go
'I will not go.'

93. *ciɻ* ***-mɛh*** *hɛːo lipare sita*

1P.SG **NEG**give book sita

'I will not give the book to sita.'

94. *məɻ* ***-mɛh*** *cuː*

2P.SG **NEG**go

'You will not go.'

95. *həɻ* ***-mɛh*** *cuː*

3P.SG **NEG**go

'He will not go.'

The negation of noun class is done in the same manner as the verb class, i.e., by adding the negative particle before the noun.

96. *siŋrol ɻən kəp̄ɔ*

horn POSS cow

'Cow has horn.'

97. ***həɻ*** *siŋrol ɻən kəp̄ɔ*

NEGhorn POSS cow

'Cow does not have horn.'

2.5. *Interrogative constructions in Car and Sanenyo*

Both *Car* and *Sanenyo* placesquestion particle at sentence initial position along with using intonation to frame interrogative sentences. The following tables shows various types of interrogative particles present in both the languages used in various situations:

Table 2.4: *Question particles in Car*

Time	/ʔehe/ 'when'						
98.	***ʔehé˙***	*ʔəm*	*vɛ́˙ʔ-ə-kú˙ʔ*	*ŋih*	*lí˙pərɛ?*		
	when	2SG.SUB	speak-INC.OBJ -face	PROX.SG.INAN	book		
	'When are you going to want this book?' (Braine:205.3)						
Place	/jih/, ʔisúh 'where'						
99.	***ʔisúh***	*ʔəm,*	*mɛʔɛ̃*				
	where	2SG.SUB	2SG				
	'Where are you?'(Braine:139.5)						
Thing	/*ʔasúh/* 'what', *ʔacíh*'which'						
100.	***ʔasúh***	*ʔəp*	*laʔɛ́n*	*mɛh,*	*ʔiŋ*	*tə*	*tahíj*
	what	3SG.NONVIS	work	2SG.OBL,	DEM	LINK	today
	'What work have you done today?' (Braine:143.1)						
101.	***ʔacíh***	*ʔap*	*min*	*kiɾə́˙n-ŋə-ɾɛ,*	*tə*	*ji˙ʔ*	
	which	3SG.NONVIS	NPST	on.foot-PFV -REFL,	LINK	2PL	
	'Which of you will go?' (Braine:205.2)						

Person	/*ʔacíh*/ 'who'				
102.	***ʔacíh***	*ʔap*	*lumkúŋ*	*ʔap*	*ʔɛlmáˑri*
	who	3SG.NONVIS	rattler	3SG.NONVIS	cupboard
	'Who is rattling the cupboard?'				(Braine:149.2/253.3)
Process	/*sitíh*/ 'how'				
103.	***sitíh***	*tíˑʔ*	*ʔap,*	*nə*	*fɛ̌l-an*
	how	hand	3S.NONVIS,	SUB	beat-3SG
	'How did he beat him?'				(Braine:253.2)
Quantity	/ʔaˑm/ 'how many'				
104.	***ʔaˑm***	*manɨ́k*	*kuˑn*	*ʔəm*	
	how.many	CLF	child	2SG.SUB	
	'How many children do you (have)?'				(Braine:254.1)

Table 2.5 Question Particles in Sanenyo

Time	/kuhɛ/ 'when'			
105.	***kuhɛ***	*mə̃*	*rɜk*	
	when	2SG	come	
	'When will you come?'			
Place	/ɑcʔcu/ 'where'			
106.	***acʔcu***	*ka*	*ɲi*	*mə*
	where	IND	house	2SG

	‘Where is your house? ’				
Thing	/ku/, /cin/ ‘what’ , /ɑcʔcu/ ‘which’				
107.	***cin***	*liəŋ*	*mẽ*		
	what	name	2SG		
	‘What is your name? ’				
108.	***ku***	*ɛːrəŋ*	*həm*	*mẽ*	
	what	want	eat	2SG	
	‘What do you want to eat? ’				
109.	***acʔcu***	*cuk*	*ka*	*ɲi*	*mə*
	which	room	IND	house	2SG
	‘Which is your house? ’				
Reason	/kunse/ ‘why’				
110.	***kunse***	*nə*	*rɜi*	*ka*	*wəməcare*
	why	3SG	leave	IND	job
	‘Why did she leave the job? ’				
Person	/ci/ ~ /cikɑ/ ‘who’ , /ciʈə/ ‘whom’ , /cun/ ‘which’				
111.	***ci***	*anə*			
	who	that			
	‘Who is that? ’				
112.	***ciʈə***	*ŋop*	*ʈənme*		
	whom	like	2SG		

	'Whom do you like? '					
Process	/kɑh sen/ ~ /kɑse/ 'how'					
113.	***kahsen***	*ɛŋ*	*nə*	*ʈ̪ũhsi*	*ram*	
	how	PST	3SG	fall	PN	
	'How did Ram fell?'					
Quantity	/kɑh rise/ 'how much'					
114.	***kahrise***	*ʈ̪ənəŋəse*	*ən*	*ram*	*ʈ̪ə*	*rupijə*
	how.much	get	NOM	PN	OBJ	money
	'How much money Ram get?'					

Sanenyo also has both positive / *həʔ*/ and negative /*həiʔ*/ tag questions but does not have any polar question particle.

2.6. *Imperative constructions in Car and Sanenyo*

Imperatives in both the languages are formed as simple statements following the verb-subject order withor without the addressee overtly expressed, except that in *Sanenyo*, intimate or honorific forms are also marked using separate morphemes.

98. *ɛːre mə̃* (Sanenyo)

go 2SG

'Go(order)'

But while addressing an elder person, /*rohmə ɛːre*/ is used while in case of intimate forms the morpheme /*hulɔŋ*/ 'friend' follows the verb */ɛːre*/ and for addressing younger, /*ɛːre məsu*/ is used. Orders can be softened using the morpheme /*hukuləsɛ*/ 'please'. The first person imperatives are referred by using /*haʔ*/ for DUAL and /*hĩ*/ for the PLURAL which is followed by the verb.

99. ***haʔ*** *ɛːre*

INCL.DUgo

'Let's go.'

100. ***hĩ*** *ɛːre*

INCL.PLgo

'Let's go.'

2.7. Summary

Both *Car* and *Sanenyo* thus have a VOS word order that is flexible in case of running speech/narrations. Often the aspect markerin *Sanenyo* (if present), occurs strictly at sentence initial position while in *Car* it is attached to the verb. Both the languages are primarily head-initial as we observed in different phrasal constructions with head occurring before the dependents and modifying the same, except for cases like adjectival constructions in which the adjectives can occur both before and after the noun for pragmatic purposes. In addition, the languages are consistently right branching where all the branching categories are placed after the non-branching categories, like the complement phrase following the noun phrase etc...Genitives are not marked and often in *Sanenyo*, the difference between the alienable and inalienable

possessive constructions are observed while in *Car* there is no such difference except in case of adjectival phrases where the possessive marker is attached to the adjectives modifying the noun. In the case of adverbial constructions in *Sanenyo*, time adverb precedes place adverb and there is a possibility that the aspect markers are essentially the grammaticalized helping verbs occurring at sentence initial position. No such observation can be yet made for *Car* due to the lack of data. The languages do not mark the present tense and there is no inflection observed in the language with respect to tense and aspect agreement. The languages have all three person and number and no overt gender system and again no inflection is seen with respect to person, number and gender agreement.

However in *Car*, the pronominal category is inflected to show inclusiveness, human/non-human and visibility while in *Sanenyo* there is a separate morpheme to showinclusiveness and for showing honorific, visibility, intimacy, politeness etc. we see addition of morphemes with no change in the pronominal morphemes, along with demonstrative, reflexive and interrogative pronouns(only in the second person).

Negation in both languages is pre-verbal and pre-nominal. Additionally, *Sanenyo* exhibits separate negative pronominal for different numbers. In the case of interrogative constructions, *Car* and *Sanenyo* places question particle at sentence initial position and form tag questions. Imperatives also follow the basic word order of verb-subject with separate morphemes to show honorific/intimate constructions.

The next chapter deals with the case system, passive constructions and transitivity in both the languages along with clausal formation (simple, relative, coordination) and also it discusses the complex predicates (compound verb, verb serialization, conjunct verbs), gerundial constructions, numeral system and reduplication found in *Sanenyo*.

Chapter 3

Clause levelComparison of Car Nicobar and Sanenyo

3. Introduction

This chapter deals with the characteristics of clause level constructions in *Car* and *Sanenyo* language and focuses on the case system, complex predicates, passive as well as gerund, reduplication, numeral system and further analysis of these constructions. The chapter also discusses various types of sentence formation and discusses the changes in the word order with relation to the preferred types.

3.1. *The case system in Car and Sanenyo*

Cases in the language are marked using both separate morphemes or through the position of nouns in the sentence. Based on their morpho-syntactic alignment, *Car* like Vietnamese does not have any overt morphological case system. *Sanenyo*, however, has a nominative-accusative case system where the subject of both transitive and intransitive verb gets a nominative case and the direct object gets an accusative case.

The **Nominative Case,** also referred to as the subjective case, is used to mark the agent/subject of the verb in the clause. Car does not have any nominative case marking and the subject is identified based on the discourse-pragmatic understanding of the speaker rather than just having a semantic role.

1. *héŋ-həɲ* *cin,* *fɛ·l* *tarík*
   one-outward 1SG, kill man
   'I have killed one man.'
   (Braine:124.3)

2. *lú·j-həɲ* *cin*
   three-outward 1SG
   'I caught three.'
   (Braine:124.4)

3. *ŋɔh* *ʔən* *co·n,* *ɻanɛ́h* *tanɨ́·c* *cu*
   PROXAGR tree, first to.plant 1SG.OBL
   'This is the first tree I planted.'
   (Braine:132.5)

The nominative markers in *Sanenyo* are */ən/* and */ka/* which are placed before the agent/subject of the sentence. */ən/* acts as the deitic, visible evidential marker in the sentence denoting that the speaker can actually see the agent performing the action as in (4).

4. *iṯ̈ə̈k* ***ən*** *ram*
   sleep **NOM**ram
   'Ram is sleeping (pointing at Ram).'

5. *iṯ̪i̪ək* ***ka*** *ram*

sleep **NOM**ram

'Ram is sleeping.'

On the other hand, if the speaker cannot physically see the agent performing the task as in (5), */ka/*is used as non-visible evidential marker. The non-visible evidential marker can be used in multiple scenarios- speaker might have seen Ram sleeping and is now passing the information to a third person or the speaker is aware of Ram's habit, thus assuming the evidentiality or he just might infer Ram sleeping if he is not around and his room is locked from inside.

The **Accusative Case**encodes the direct object of the transitive verb in a sentence. In *Car*, it is marked by /*tə*/ that also acts as an object marker and is placed before the direct object.

6. *haɻóh* *tum* *taˑk* *kahéˑʔ=tiˑʔ* *man,* ***tə*** *ɾupíˑʔ*

some number CLF take=hand 2SG, **OBJ** money

'Give me some money.'

(Braine:120.3)

7. *haɻóh-túm-hə-ta* *man,* ***tə*** *piɾúm*

some-number-INC.OBJ -towards 2SG, **OBJ** lead

'Give me some lead.'

(Braine:124.2)

However, the objective marking can be dropped as in (8) where we do not see any overt object marker before */liːpərɛ/* 'book'.

8. *kéˑʔ-tə* *líˑpərɛ* *cu* *man* *harό-túmə*

take-toward book 1SG.OBL 2SG some-number

'Give me some books.'

(Braine:126.2)

The morpheme /*tə*/also acts as a general linker and is sometimes used to introduce complement phrases.

9. *ʔakáh-ə-lóˑn* *cin,* ***tə*** *ʔɔ* *min,* *nə* *jih*

know-ATTR -think 1S, **LINK**3SG.OBL NPST, SUB come

'I know that he will come.'

(Braine:211.2)

In *Sanenyo*, accusative marking is also done by */ʈə/*, which is also placed before the direct object in the sentence.

10. *ŋop* *ən* *ram* ***ʈə*** *en*

love NOM ram **ACC** 3SG

'Ram loves her.'

11. *ŋop* *ən* *ufɛ* ***ʈə*** *cə*

love NOM PL **ACC**1SG

'They love me.'

The **Dative Case** marks the indirect object of a verb and often indicates the benefactor/ patient in a sentence. *Car* and *Sanenyo* do not overtly mark the indirect object and the dative in these languages is marked on the complements (indirect object) "of some two-place verbs low on the transitivityscale (e.g. verbs such as HELP, SEEK orLIKE)", "...of a few three-place verbs such as GIVE and SHOW" and those play the "...roles of purpose... and beneficiary..". (Blake 2004)

12. *kasál-ə mɛh cin, ʔəm tisɔ́k-ŋə kuj ŋih mak*
    dare-PERS3SG.OBL 1SG, 2SG.SUB jump-away over PROX.S.INAN water
    'I dare you to jump across this well.'
    (Braine:146.3/240.1)

13. *həwa man rahul ən ram*
    buy toy Rahul NOM Ram
    'Ram bought a toy for Rahul.'

The **Genitive Case** marks the relation between the two nouns in a sentence which can be both abstract and physical in nature. *Car* and *Sanenyo* do not mark genitives morphologically and the head-dependent order is observed to show the attributive relationship between the head and dependent noun/pronouns.

1) **Genitiveof Possession:**The genitive case shows the relationship between the possessor and possessee.

14. *nuã· cu,* (Car)
    bull 1SG.OBL
    'My bull..' (Braine:149.4)

15. *tasíːlə* *cu* (Car)

tackle.box 1SG.OBL

'…my tackle box.'

(Braine:111.3)

16. *ʈəʔ* *-sita* (Sanenyo)

mother -sita

'Sita's mother'

17. *mes* *cə* (Sanenyo)

table 1SG

'My table'

2) **Genitive of Material**:It points out the specific material used to make something.

18. *ʈə* *uhɛɔŋ* *ən* *ɲi* (Sanenyo)

OBJ stone IND house

'house of stone'

19. *hətwa* *ən* *nat* (Sanenyo)

bamboo IND rope

'rope made of bamboo'

In *Car*, as discussed in the previous chapter, in case of adjectival phrase having genitives, there is an obligatory possessive marker attached to the adjectival particle which qualifies the possessed entity.

20. *nɛmahuˑ-**və*** *ŋih* *tə-cóˑc* *panam*

PROX.PL wave-**POSS**PROX.SG.INANOBJ-rough village

'These waves of this troubled land.'

(Braine:251.1)

The **Instrumental case** is used to mark the noun acting as an instrument or mode using which the agent/subject of the action performes the action. Car does not always overtly use morphemes to show the mode of action and relies on thediscourse-pragmatic understanding of the speaker using word order as in (21) or by verb modifications (increasing the valency of the verb by adding the passive morpheme) as in (20) and (22).

21. *cáˑt-lə-ŋə* *ʔan* *ŋam* *ɲiˑʔ,* *tə* *cu*

lift-upward-away.PASSAGRDEM child, OBJ 1SG.OBL

'The boy is being lifted by me.'

(Braine:141.5)

22. *lɤ́klə* *tə* *havɨˑŋə* *cá-ʔə,* *pɔn* *latɔ́kkəti*

climbing device OBJ cobweb 3PL.OBL-EMPH because broken down

nuk *təʔaŋʊ́ˑʔ*

3PL.NONVIS creeper

'They went up by a cobweb because the creepers were broken down.'

(Braine:147.4)

23. *haʔə̃́h-ləŋə cáʔa, tə jik hól-ɾɛ*

feed-PASS 3PL.VIS, OBJ 3PL.NONVIS friend-REFL

'They were served by their friends.'

(Braine:183.2)

The instrumental case implies reason or cause of an action, which is also exhibited in *Car* using the word order and verb modifications.

24. *ʔət-kɔ́ʔcin tə nɛ kinláha-ɾɛ*

NEG-able 1SG OBJ DEM temptation-REFL

'I was unable (because of) these (my) temptations.'

(Braine:111.2)

Sanenyo uses prepositions like *from, on, by* etc. to indicate an instrument of an action.

25. ***ə̃hti*** *ʈə inluiŋ ən en nə -ɛtsi əphɔp*

fromOBJ axe IND 3SG 3SG -cut tree

'He cut the tree with an axe. '

The morpheme '*ə̃hʈi'* imparts the instrumental case to the object 'axe' using which the agent 'he' cuts the 'tree'.

26. *ɛaŋ* ***ɔl*** *bəs cə ɛŋ*

go **on** bus 1SG PST

'I went by bus(sitting on). '

The morpheme '*ɔl'* imparts the instrumental case to the object 'bus' on which the agent 'I' went.

The instrumental case is also used to specify something/someone accompanying an action and Sanenyo also uses morphemes like *with, together* to show the accompaniment of two nouns.

27. ***hulɔŋsi*** *ɛːre unə ram unə siʈa*

with go DU PN DU PN

'Sita is going with Ram.'

28. ***hiəŋri*** *cuk ufɛ ne siʈun*

together keep PL REF bottle

'The bottles are kept together.'

However, sometimes there is no overt marking and the relation is indicated using the word order.

29. *lɛʈ cuh dilli unə ram unə ʃjam*

PFV go Delhi DU PN DU PN

'Shyam has gone with Ram to Delhi. '

The case also indicates reason, cause or situation of an action and morphemes like because of, for, only etc. are used to mark the case.

30. ***hɛːʔɲuʈao*** *ʈə ən pəuʔɲiːre nə wiu*

because ofOBJ IND family 3SG work

'He works because of his family.'

The **Locative Case** generally marks the location of the head noun and often uses adpositions to express the location, therefore performing the function of an adverb. Both *Car* and *Sanenyo*has Adpositional case system where the nouns are accompanied by words that mark case rather than they being inflected.

Car is a prepositional language and imparts locative case using various morphemes to show the direction/location of the nominal category.

31. *lúːj-həl* *mitáːm* *cin,* ***ʔi*** *ɻoːj-coːn*
three-up nights 1SG, **DIR** branch-tree
'I was up in a tree branch three nights.'
(Braine:122.8)

32. *mɨk* *patíːʔ* *cin* *fɛːn,* ***ʔi*** *kuːj* *ɾɔːŋə*
see house 1SGfour, **DIR** top hill
'I see four houses on the hill top.'
(Braine:126.7)

33. *póːj-lə-ɾɛ* *ʔən* *ŋam* *mak* ***ʔɛl*** *ŋam* *tahéːl*
much-upward-REFLAGR DEMwater **LOC** DEM river
'The water in the river is increasing.'
(Braine:127.4)

34. *kap* *ʔan* *ŋamɔ́h,* *kuːʔ* *hiːʔ,* *tətmák*
tortoise AGR DEM, face 1PL.INCL.OBLPN
'That's a tortoise in front of us, Tətmak!'
(Braine:132.4)

There are also instances where there is no overt locative marker is used in a sentence and the sense of location is imparted using word order or discourse-pragmatic understanding of the speaker.

35. *ɻó˙lván* *cin,* *cuh* *ʔíntɛá˙*

many.times 1SG, go India

'I went to India many times.' (Braine:125.4)

36. *jíh-hɛn* *ʔih* *ʔan*

come-RECP 1PL.EXCL.OBL 3SG

'He came to us.'

(Braine:179.5)

Sanenyo is a prepostional language and uses a variety of prepostions like *in, inside, out, outside, near, right, left, behind, front, above, below* etc. to mark the locative case.

37. ***kaʈəʔɔl*** *iskul* *ka* *ʈao* *-cə*

in school NOM brother 1SG

'My brother is in the school.'

38. ***hɛʔlu*** *ful* *ən* *hiŋ* *nəsiəplə*

in east NOM sun rise

'The sun rises in the east.'

The **Ablative Case** is marked to show separation or something that is moving away from something and is marked on nouns, pronouns and adjectives. The ablative in *Car* and *Sanenyo*are governed by prepositions like *from, out of* to show separation.

39. *mít-ŋə ʔək cɔˑn, nə* ***ɻáʔaŋ*** *patíˑʔ-ɾɛ* (Car)

run-away 3SG.PST.NVIS PN, SUB**from** home-REFL

'John ran away from his home.'

(Braine:112.1)

40. *ɻáˑʔ-ŋə jih ʔəmɛh* (Car)

come-away where 2SG.INTER

'Where have you come from?'

(Braine:139.4)

41. ***hɛ̃ʔʈu*** *dilli ən sita mʔə* (Sanenyo)

from Delhi NOM PNFUT

'Sita will come from Delhi. '

42. ***hɛ̃ːʔʈu****-kui əphɔp ən nə tũhsi ən rai əphɔp* (Sanenyo)

from- height tree NOM 3SG fall NOM leaf-tree

'Leaves are falling from the tree.'

43. ***hɛ̃ːʔsu*** ***-****ɔl ən situn ən rak̄* (Sanenyo)

from -inside NOM bottle IND water

'Water spill out from the bottle.'

Using the theory of Inflectional case hierarchy (Blake: 2004), the presence of ablative/instrumental case (both are present in *Car* and *Sanenyo* and thus lacks any hierarchy)

confirms the presence of all the cases coming above it in the hierarchy. Therefore, both *Car* and *Sanenyo* have seven case, each performing their individual functions.

There are several ways to classify cases, one being structural vs. non-structural case. The former is dependent on the structural position of the arguments while the latter is semantically motivated. Blake (2004) also differentiates between Core Cases which generally encode "one-place and two-place transitive verbs" including nominative, ergative and accusative; and Peripheral cases which comprises of the rest of case relations. Based on the Case hierarchy (Blake: 2004), cases on the lower end of the scale are more frequentlyexpressed by case markers or adposition while those on the higher endof the hierarchy usually remain unmarked. The noun phrases bearing core relations are unmarked and the noun phrases which show the peripheral realtions are usully marked by adpositions. The core grammatical relations expressing the relationship between the subject, object and indirect object which use synthetic markers (inflections) like the suffixes are absent in both *Car* and *Sanenyo*. *Car* and *Sanenyo* lack any inflectional case and do not show any case suffixes using seperate words to mark the relation of noun and verb. *Car* typically exhibits no morphological case marking, but it does encode the object using a seperate morpheme placed before the direct object. *Sanenyo* shows accusative system where the subject is marked with nominative and the object with accusative markers. In case of marking the peripheral cases, analytic case markers(adpositions) bear the burden of marking the dependent nouns and there is an absence of any case suffix like in Indo-Aryan languages. The marking of the subject and differentiating it with direct and indirect object is done using the word order just like in *Thai*, *Indonesian*, *Vietnamese* etc. Genitive are generally found to be unmarked case attached to or modifying the noun. The rest of the peripheral cases, namely, instrumental, locative and ablative showing lower-rank relations are marked using

prepositions which are mostly lexical than grammatical in nature. Some languages like *Korean* have analytic case markers exhibiting variants which are phonlogically conditioned and change with respect to the nature of the stem. In such cases the case marker in question is essentially an affix. However such cases are not observed in *Car* and *Sanenyo* as the markers stand on their own, except in some cases where they might be affected by the lexical phonological rules.

3.2. *Complex predicates in Car and Sanenyo*

Car and *Sanenyo* have selective complex predicate constructions and most often exhibit the tendency to form simple predicates rather than the complex ones.

3.2.1. Compound verb constructions

Car lacks compound verb constructions where verbs do not combine to form meanings and separate morpheme is used to represent the action.

44. *jeːn* *pɔɾɔ́ː* *nə* *kapáh*

if although SUB die

'….even though they are dead.'

(Braine:224.3)

However, we do observe the affixation of a reflexive particle to the verb in order to convey the sense of sitting in (44), falling in (45) and eating in (46).

45. *ʔúːc-ə-ɾɛ* *man,* *ʔíʔa*

sit-ə-**REFL** 2SG, next

'Sit down next to me.'

(Braine:219.7)

46. *súk-tə-ɾɛ* *ʔan,* *nə* *ʔɛl* *mak*

fall-downward-**REFL** 3SG, SUB LOC water

'He fell into the water.'

(Braine:220.1)

47. *kɨhít-ŋə* *ɲáʔã-ɾɛ* *cin*

finish-away eaten-**REFL**1SG

'I finished my dinner.'

(Braine:176.1)

48. *fohʔan* *cin* *cu-ʔə*

hit 3SG1SG 1S.OBL-**REFL**

'I saw him myself.'

(Braine: 148.1)

Similarly, in *Sanenyo*, we do not observe any compound verb constructions and like Car, individual morphemes are used to impart the action in the sentence.

49. *lɛt̪* *kəpɛʔ* *ən* *en*

PFV dead NOM 3SG

'He is dead.'

50. *ʈ̪ũhsi ən en*

fall NOM 3SG

'He fell.'

*Sanenyo*does not show any **Explicator compound verbs**. The Tense, Aspect and Moodare marked using a separate morpheme either at the initial or final position of the sentence and there is no inflection observed on the verbal category.

51. *lɛʈ̪ rɜk ən en*

PFV fall NOM 3SG

'He came.'

3.2.2. Converb constructions

Converbs are the inflectional non-finite verbs that are used to exhibit adverbial subordination.

52. *kʰa-**kər*** *sona* (Hindi)

eat-CONV sleep

'Sleep after eating.'

53. *Non **ave-ndo**la chiave, nonpotè aprire* (Italian)

[not hav-CONV the key], not could open

'Not having the key, she couldn't open. '

(Haspelmath, 2000)

Car and *Sanenyo* do not have any converbs and morphemes like then, after, before etc. are used to signify the adverbial subordination. In some cases, the order of the verbs helps to establish a verb-adverb relationship.

54. *ɲa ŋaic* ***məl*** *harəh* (Car)

eat PFV then sleep

'Sleep after eating.'

55. *ureʔ ɲaŋəkuə-rɛ əp ŋaic* ***məlnə*** *cuhim inrəhə-rɛ* (Car)

first eaten-REFL 3SG PFV then go.PST sleep-REFL

'Having eaten his food, he went to sleep.'

56. *rɛh əkŋɔk* ***məl*** *itɨ̄ək* (Sanenyo)

before eat then sleep

'Sleep after eating.'

57. *rɛh əkŋɔk ən en* ***məlŋə*** *hɛ -itɨ̄ək* (Sanenyo)

before eat NOM 3SG then CONT-sleep

'Having eaten his food, he went to sleep.'

3.2.3. Serial verb constructions

Car has serial verb constructions where the verb signifying the first action is placed at sentence initial position, suffixed by a sequentialmarker and the rest of the verbs are placed in order of the action.

58. *tíŋ-**hɛ*** *nə* *ʔi* *haɲɔ́ˑc,* *ŋac* *ʔilɔ́ˑ* *ha-ʔɔ́kə*

arrive-**SEQ**SUBLOC Mus, and.then immediately CAUS-drink

'After arriving at Mus, they were made to drink.'

(Braine:194.2)

59. *calɔ́ˑʔ-**hɛ*** *tə* *ʔək* *máˑʔ,* *ŋacməl* *ʔəj* *láʔɛv-ɻén*

arrive-**SEQ**OBJ 3SG.PST.NONVIS chief, then 1PL.SUB work-NVOL

'When the chief came, then we worked.'

(Braine:194.3)

60. *kɨhíˑt-**hɛ*** *káha* *ʔəc* *voˑk,* ***ŋac*** *havɤ́t-kə-ɾɛ*

finish-**SEQ** body 1S.SUB bathe, **and.then** around-DIST-REFL

'Immediately after bathing I walked around.'

(Braine:194.4)

In some cases, the verbs are placed according to the sequence of actions and morphemes like 'also' is added to signify serialization.

61. *ɲaˑʔ* *ʔan,* *kuˑc* *ʔan,* *véˑʔ-kúˑ* *líˑpəɾɛ* *ʔinɾɛˑ*

eat 3P, write 3SG, speak-face book also

'He eats, writes, and reads.'

(Braine:228.3)

Sanenyo has serial verb constructions by concatenating two or more verbs or verb phrases often without any usage of subordinating conjugations or affixes.

62. *rɛː hərə*

go see

'Go and see.'

63. *hĩ ɛːre ɲu cah*

INCL.PL go drink tea

'Let us go and drink tea.'

However, for showing emphasis, the main verb is marked by placing it at the sentence-initial position and using the conjugations like 'and' for further serialization.

64. *lɛt̪* ***rɜk*** *ən en jəhnə pəicŋərɛ jəhnə ɛːre*

PFV **come**NOM 3SG and sit and go

'He came, sat and left.'

3.3. Passive constructions in Car and Sanenyo

In the given section, the Passive constructions in both languages will be discussed. A passive clause is observed to have a grammatical subject showing the theme of the main verb in contrast to an active clause where the subject is the agent of the verb. This interchange is usually done by either using the object as the subject of the clause and the subject either is removed or works as an adjunct in the sentence. *Car* has an exhaustive and elaborate Passive structure, yielding verb/stem inflections resulting in change in the valency of the verb. *Car* attaches thematic suffixes and passive morpheme to verb stems for passive constructions, thus we see change in the verb forms. In order to understand that, it is important to discuss the thematic suffixes and types of stems present in the language. Braine (1970) divides *Car* stems into three categories-

Class 1 stems that include causative stems and simple transitive stems, Class 2 stems that include non-agentive stems and Class 3 stems that have simple intransitive stems. Moving to thematic suffixes, *Car* has seven thematic suffixes attached to the thematic stem showing direction/aspect- /ə/, /həʊt/, /k/, /l/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /t/. Passives in *Car* are formed only in Class 1 and 2 stems where class 1 stem combines with thematic suffix(optional) and passive morpheme /ə/ while class 2 stems combines with a directional suffix(/həʊt/ or /t/ or /n/) and passive morpheme /ə/. In the latter we also observe an extension of stem done by morpheme /kə/. The passive morpheme /ə/ occurs only with passive verbs and has six allomorphs.

a. /*ə*/

b. /*a*/

c. /*ɸ*/

d. /*əŋə*/

e. /*və*/

f. /*u*/

g. /*u(ə)*/

Class 1 stems exhibit passive which show the object of the verb to be the grammatical subject of the sentence.

65. *mɨk-ka* *ʔən* *ŋih* *liːpərɛ,* *tə* *ceːn*

see-IPFV.PASSAGRDEM book, OBJ Jane

'This book is looked after by Jane.'

(Braine:183.1)

Class 2 stems from having passive verbs points out that the condition mentioned by that verb relates to the subject and thus has been caused.

66. *laʔóh-hət-və* *ʔək* *kúːʔ-cɔ́k,* *nə* *ʔi* *ʔaláha* *haʔún*
break-inward-PASS 3SG.PST.NONVIS face-arrow SUB LOC body pig
'The arrow point was broken in the pig's body.'
(Braine:184.3)

Another passive formation in class 2 stems is observed without the thematic suffix and with the passive morpheme /ə/.

67. *ɻóːl-kə-ti* *ɻɔ́ːʔ* *cin,* *véːʔŋə-náŋ*
many-IPFV.PASS-toward word 1SG, tell -ear
'I frequently gossip.'
(Braine:184.5)

Following are the two examples in both active and passive voice to illustrate the difference between the two voices.

- <u>Active voice</u>

68. *véːʔ-ɲə* *naŋ* *cu* *cɔːn*
tell-outward ear 1SG.OBL PN
'John tells me.'
(Braine:246.2)

- Passive voice

69. *vɛ́ːʔ-ɲu naŋ cin, təcoːn*

tell-PASS ear 1SG, OBJ PN

'I'm told by John.'

(Braine:246.3)

- Active voice

70. *mɨk ŋam líːpərɛ cin*

see DEM book 1SG

'I see the book.'

(Braine:245.1)

- Passive voice

71. *mɨk-əʔan ŋam líːpərɛ, tə cu*

see-PASS AGRDEMbook, OBJ 1SG.OBL

'The book is seen by me.'

(Braine:246.1)

3.3.1. Passive verb with reflexive ending

Car also shows a unique passive formation where the thematic stem (of any class) or simple stem combines with passive morpheme /-ə/ and reflexive morpheme /-rɛ/. Braine refers to this passive morpheme as "reflexive stem extending suffix"(Braine, 1970: pg.184).

72. /*samɛtlə-**rɛ***/ 'be the one to stab oneself up'

73. /*lɛhə-**rɛ***/ 'to hit oneself'

The passive verbs are suffixed with the reflexive morpheme exhibiting following variations in the language:

a. When an action occurs but neither the agent nor the goal is specified.

74. *mú·l-hə-ɾɛ jin, nə ɲa·ʔ*
together-each.other-REFL3PL, SUB eat
'They eat together (themselves).'
(Braine:185.2)

b. In case the agent is specified, the subject becomes the goal of the action.

75. *cít-lə-ɾɛ ʔan ŋam kasɔ́ŋ, tə ti·ʔ cu*
lift-upward-REFL AGRDEM box, OBJ hand 1SG.OBL
'The box is lifted up by me.'
(Braine:186.1)

c. It also indicates the increase of action without any reference to the subject.

76. *paɻú·j-lə-ɾɛ ʔan ŋam maj*
murky-upward-REFLAGR DEM sea
'The sea is getting murky.'
(Braine:186.3)

d. For numerators, suffixes /tərɛ/ and /lərɛ/ are inflected with the numerator stem showing increase.

77. *fɛ́ːn-tə-rɛ* *sumkám* *cin,* *kapáh*

four-down-REFLday 1SG, die

'I will die in four days.'

(Braine:255.5)

78. *tanίj-lərɛ* *majl* *ʔan*

five-increasing.REFL mile 3SG

'The meter has reached five miles.'

(Braine:127.3)

Sanenyo does not mark any change in the verb, or any change in the subject-object dynamics in the active and passive voice. Since the language is largely isolating, we do not observe any change in the verb forms or any specific passive morpheme. Passives are formed by change of "the directobject to subject and the demotion of the subject to a peripheral relation" (Blake 2004: 88)for the purpose of focus. This pragmatic usage of passives as discussed by Keenan (1985a) highlights the constituent of the clause that normally is not and thus is "pragmatically marked" (Whaley 1996:45). The speakers in general bring the listener's attention to the non-agent constituent that looks like the subject.

- Active voice

79. *futsica* *rai-əphɔp* *ufɛ* *ən* *wəmihɛːom*

burn leaf-tree PL NOM farmer

'The farmers burned the leaves.'

- Passive voice

80. *fut͡sica ufɛ ən wəmihɛːom ən rai-əphɔp*

burn PL NOM farmer IND leaf-tree

'The leaves were burnt by the farmers.'

- Active voice

81. *kəpɛːʔ ən ram tiʔ pɛʲc*

kill IND PN by snake

'The snake killed ram.'

- Passive Voice

82. *kəpɛːʔ tiʔ pɛʲc ən ram*

kill by snake IND PN

'Ram was killed by snake.'

3.4. Reduplication in Sanenyo language

Reduplication refers to the words formed "either by duplicating syllables, or by duplicating a single word (phonological word), partially or completely" (Abbi 2001). The reduplication structure in *Sanenyo*is obtained by repeating the entire lexical item and operates as a single lexical entity. The reduplication process is present in adverbs and some verb stem but not on adjectives as seen in other South Asian languages. Based on the data, Sanenyo does not show morphological reduplication. Complete lexical reduplication is found in the Sanenyo where lexical category is made up of two bimodal words like *həkiŋ- həkiŋ* 'while laughing' or *haʈ*

hɛcaʔ- həʟ hɛcaʔ 'slowly' derived from verb*həkiɲ-* 'laugh'and modifier *həʟ hɛcaʔ-* 'slow'.In addition, the process is not strictly observed in all scenarios and thus sometimes can be skipped.

The reduplication of adverbs conveys the role of intensifier and manner adverbs.

3.4.1. Intensifier

83. *həʟ hɛcaʔ- həʟ hɛcaʔ ka ʟəʔ- cə nə əkŋɔk*

NEG- fast NEG- fast IND mother-1SG 3SG eat

'My mother eats her food slowly slowly.'

84. *cətriic- cətriic hərə ən cə*

again again see NOM 1SG

'I saw her again and again. '

3.4.2. Manner adverb

85. *həkiɲ- həkiɲ ən en jəhnə kurot*

laugh- laugh NOM 3SG and mad

'She kept laughing and went mad.'

86. *həŋ sirok- sirok nə ɛːre*

only jump jump 3SG go

'He only hoped and hoped and went.'

The coming together of the reduplicant and the reduplicator imparts an "extension of the meaning inherent in the single lexical entry" (Abbi 2001) and is mainly observed in the

reduplication of adverbs. The adverbial reduplication is however not observed showing distributiveness and exclusiveness.

87. *rire cuk ən ɟəʔ ɲi cə həlɛ ũh*
all room IND OBJ house 1SG collect firewood
'I collected firewood from house by house.'

The language does not show echo formations and lacks reduplication for onomatopoeic words and separate morphemes are used to refer to the sounds produced during the action.

88. *cəhɛo*'sound made by dripping of water'

89. *wɔsi*'act of water running down through walls'

90. *liəŋu kətlɔp*' sound made by the throat while drinking water'

91. *liəŋu caka ən iəlsi*'sound made during crackling of fire'

3.5. Gerund constructions in Car and Sanenyo

Gerunds are a type of non-finiteverbs that function as a noun, retaining the property of verbs such as being modified by an adverb but also functioning as the subject of the clause. In *Car,* we observe the verbal noun occurring at the subject place and working as gerunds.

92. *kolo elalaha in jei joəi*
good health ? swimming
'Swimming is good for health.'

93. *laen cu ʔan ŋam həjən*

work 1SG.OBL AGR DEM hunting

'Hunting is my work.

In *Sanenyo*, the verbal noun too takes the subject place forming gerunds.

94. *lɛt̪ wəniəca cə ən hənjənə*

PFV work 1SG IND work

'Hunting is my work.'

95. *ənholə ɛ̃ːhəhi ənsehi jal*

health body for swimming

'Swimming is good for healthy body.'

96. *lɛt̪ wəniəca cə ne cəmih*

PFV work 1SG REF weaving

'Weaving is my work.'

3.6. Inter- Clausal constructions in Car and Sanenyo

In this section, the types of clauses in both *Car* and *Sanenyo* shall be discussed and how the various independent and dependent clauses are formed. Both *Car* and *Sanenyo* uses various coordinators and conjunctive adverbs in case of main clause constructions and subordinators in case of dependent clauses.

Independent clause: Simple sentences are formed in *Car* and *Sanenyo* using independent clauses containing a subject and predicate, with no conjunctions or subordinate clauses. In the case of

compound sentences, the independent clauses are joined using punctuations or coordinating conjunctions to serve various functions as mentioned in the following examples.

I. Car uses morpheme /*ʔinre*/ "and" at the end of the sentence as in (97, 98) while Sanenyo uses morpheme /*jəhnə*/ "and" as in (99) to add meaning or idea.

97. *ɲaˑʔ* *ʔan,* *kuˑc* *ʔan,* *véˑʔ-kúˑ* *líˑpərɛ* ***ʔinɾeˑ*** (Car)
eat 3SG, write 3SG, speak-face book **and**
'He eats, writes, and reads.'
(Braine:228.3)

(Car)

98. *ka-lúˑctə* *mak* *cin,* *nə* *ʔi* *tuˑt,* *ʔi* *ʔɔk* ***ʔinɾeˑ***
DISTR-mix water 1SG, SUBLOC milk, LOC coconut milk **also**
'I mix water with milk and coconut milk.'
(Braine:228.4)

99. *ufɛ* *ka* *kəʔɛt̪* *en* *pəməje* ***jəhnə*** *t̪eməwu*
PL IND child 3SG shy **and** intelligent
'Her children are beautiful and intelligent.'

II. To show time or sequence, Car uses morphemes like /*ŋacməl*/ "then" joining the two clauses to show the time or sequence of actions. It also uses the sequential morpheme which is suffixed to the first action, exhibiting serialization of actions as in (100). Sanenyo also uses morphemes like /*məl*/ "then" to show the sequence of actions as in (102).

(Car)

100. calɔ́·ʔ-hé· tə ʔək má·ʔ, **ŋacməl** ʔəj láʔɛv-ɻén

arrive-SEQ OBJ 3S.PST.NONVIS chief, **then**1PL.SUB work-NVOL

'When the chief came, then we worked.' (Braine:194.3)

(Car)

101. *tíŋ-hé· nə ʔi haŋɔ́·c, **ŋac** ʔilá· ha-ʔɔ́kə*

arrive-SEQSUBLOC Mus, **and.then** immediately CAUS-drink

'After arriving at Mus, they were made to drink.'

(Braine:194.2)

102. *rɛh əkŋɔk **məl** it̄iək* (Sanenyo)

before eat **then** sleep

'Sleep after eating.'

III. To show contrast, *Car* and *Sanenyo* uses morphemes like /*sɨn*/ "yet" and /*pəri*/ "but" respectively as in (103) and (104).

(Car)

103. *pɔrɔ́· cin ha-kɤ́p-t-ɛn ʔɔ, tə hisá·p,*

although 1SCAUS-know-toward-NVOL 3S.OBL, OBJ math,

***sin*-ŋə-ɾɛ pərí ʔaŋáh-ʔə, nə ʔət-hɨví·ʔ**

yet-PFV-REFL but 3S.INTER.REFL SUBNEG-know

'Although I taught him math, as yet he doesn't know.'

(Braine:228.1)

104. *təməwu nə pəuʔ həʈ-liək **pəri** nə əŋsɔŋ* (Sanenyo)

good 3SG man NEG-learn something **but**3SGcook

'He is a good man but cannot cook.'

105. *inəthɛo taŋtə* ***pəre*** *tə ən cɔŋ* (Sanenyo)

late reach **yet**OBJ IND ship

'He reached late yet he got the ship.'

IV. To show result, Car uses morphemes like /***lɨ́ktɛn***/ "therefore" and Sanenyo uses morphemes like /*ense*/ "so".

106. ***lɨ́ktɛn*** *ʔan, nə ta-ʔɔ́kə, miné·ʔ-ɲə, ŋam təŋə* (Car)

therefore3SG, SUBADJ-drunk name-outward DEM which.is.thus

manáh, tə-ʔɔ́kə

meaning ADJ-drunk

'Therefore it is called təʔɔ́kə, which means, "which is drunk".' (Braine:230.3)

107. *lɛt ɔoiC̄ŋə ən ram* ***ense*** *nə lɛtŋə həkŋɔk* (Sanenyo)

PFV hungry NOM PN**so**3SG PFV eat

'Ram was hungry so ate.'

V. To introduce a choice, Car uses morphemes like /*je*/ "or" and Sanenyo uses morphemes like /*rəʔfi*/ "if" joining the two clauses and bringing out the notion of alternative.

108. *ʔət ʔakáh-a-ló·n cin,* ***je·*** *ʔɔ, nə jih, je· ʔɔ* (Car)

NEG know-STAT -think 1S**if**3S.OBL SUB come, if 3S.OBL

nə ɻə̀h-ʔə˙

SUB NEG-EMPH

'I do not know whether he will come or not.'

(Braine:244.1)

109. *rohmə əŋsɔŋ* ***rɔʔfi*** *mə həmtiək ŋəmaʈ ən kəʔɛt* (Sanenyo)

either cook **or**2SG CAUS.sleep DIR NOM child

'He will either cook or put that child to sleep.'

3.6.1. Dependent clause

Complex sentences are formed in *Car* and *Sanenyo* using an independent clause with dependent or subordinate clauses (which may come before or after the main clause) using punctuations or subordinating conjunctions.

I. Noun clause

A noun clause consists of subordinating conjunction which is followed by the clause performing a nominal function and can act as the subject of the verb, the object of a verb, the object of a preposition or a subject or adjective complement. In *Car,* the main clause is simply followed by the dependent nominal clause to show the dependency as in (110) where the dependent clause is the object of the verb. The morpheme /*tə*/ acts as a general linker and is used to introduce complement phrases.

110. *ʔakáh-ə-lóˑn* *cin,* ***təʔɔ*** *min,* *nə* *jih*

know-ATTR -think 1S, **LINK**3SG.OBL NPST, SUB come

'I know that he will come.'

(Braine:211.2)

In *Sanenyo*, the main clause is followed by subordinating conjunction like 'then' to show the dependency of the noun clause as in (111) where the dependent clause also behaves like the object of the verb.

111. *akah-entao ənn̰ə* ***nek*** *həŋut̄-re* *nə* *in̰a*

know 3SG that shirt-REFL REF here

'He knows that his shirt is here.'

II. Adjective clause

Adjective or Relative clause is used to modify, quantify or describe the noun or the pronoun in the main clause. Generally, they begin with a relative pronoun like 'who', 'where', 'whom', 'whose' etc. in English. In *Car,* the adjectival clause describes the main clause and is usually separated by the object marker and punctuations as in (112).

112. *heŋ taka* *ʔək* *misíˑʔ* *tafisi,* *tə* *fɛˑn* *maník* *kuˑn*

one CLF 3SG.PST.NONVIS long.ago widow, OBJ four CLF son

'Once there was a widow who had four children.'

(Braine:241.3)

The adjective clauses in Sanenyo also lack any relative pronouns to show the dependency and they usually follow the main clause.

113. *jao –cə ənʈə uuʔhərɛ*

brother – 1SG 3SG stand

'The boy who is standing there is my brother. '

114. *pəɲiəcə ən ɲi ən ʈəʔ -cə*

small IND house NOM mother -1SG

'The house that is small is my mother's house. '

115. *nenhɛ həɲut̚ ʈə -kəruseae hawah cə*

this shirt OBJ -costly buy 1SG

'This shirt that I bought is costly.'

III. Adverb clause

Adverbial clauses are the subordinate clauses which modify or contextualize the main verb of the sentence using subordinating conjunctions like when , if, although, because etc... Adverbial clauses in *Car* exhibit similar pattern and use subordinating conjunctions as mentioned in the examples below to modify the main verb in the independent clause. Following are the various types of adverbial clauses found in the language used with reference to time, reason, purpose, condition, concession etc.

a. Time

116. *ʔúːc-haka cin,* ***he***ː *mɛh min, lɤ́p-tə-kúːʔ ʔinkúːp*

sit-CONT1SG**when**2SG.OBL NPST, close-toward-face door

'I will be sitting when you close the door.'

(Braine:224.1)

117. *ɻɔ́khərɛ ɻɔ·ʔ ʔin seh,* ***ʔunɔ́·c-ɾit*** *ʔək ʔinlé·n*

all say 1PL boo, **after**-tail 3SG.PST.NONVIS lecture

'We all said "boo" after the lecture.'

(Braine:202.3)

b. Reason

118. *lɤ́klə tə haví·ŋə cá-ʔə,* ***pɔn*** *latɔ́kkəti*

climbing.device OBJ cobweb 3PL.OBL-EMPH**because** broken down

nuk təʔaŋʉ́·ʔ

3PL.NONVIS creeper

'They went up by a cobweb because the creepers were broken down.'

(Braine:147.4)

c. Purpose

119. *haŋɛ́·ʔ likɨ́n-ɾɛ pəmcə, hɔ̃· cu ɾə́·n-lə-ɾɛ,*

stretch neck-REFL 2SG.OBL, want 1SG.OBL step-upward-REFL,

ʔi miné· sinró·l mɛh

LOCname horn 2SG.OBL

'Stretch your neck up as far as you can, so that I can stand on your horns.'

(Braine:147.3)

d. Condition

120. ***je·*** *ʔaj kɨhɨ́t-ku·ʔ ŋa·ʔ min, ŋac jih*

if1DU.EXCL.OBL finish-by.hand eat NPST, and.then come

'If we finish dinner, we will come.'

(Braine:244.2)

e. Concession

121. *pɔrɔ́·* *ʔaŋúh-ʔə* *nə* *kumɻáh,* ***sɤ́n-ŋə-ɾɛ*** *cu-ʔə,*

although PROX.S.INAN-EMPH SUB rain, **yet**-downward-REFL 1SG-REFL,

ʔəc *kiɾá·n-ŋə-ɾɛ*

1SG.SUB on.foot-away-REFL

'Although it is raining, yet I went.'

(Braine:233.1)

Sanenyo shows similar patterns where the adverbial subordinating conjunctions are used. Just as *Car*, they never come in the middle of the sentence and always precede or succeed the independent clause, adding information about when, where, why, how, how much or under what condition the action in the sentence takes place.

a. Time

122. ***hẽk*** *senə* *ɟeuŋəse* *ɟəka* *rupio* *hawah hi lori enrə*

when3SG get IND.NONVIS money buy ? car 3SG

'When he got the money, he bought a car.'

b. Place

123. *kak* *ɟəŋ* *heok̄* *entao* *cu-**ək*** *cə*

1SG do feel desire go-**wherever**1SG

'I went wherever I felt like going.'

c. Cause

124. *kɛwə* *ən* *kəmiloʔ* ***tinət*** *hɛː* *-lɛh* *nə* *tul*

catch IND thief **because** slow –leg REF run

'The thief was caught because he ran slowly. '

125. *ɔicŋə ne kəʔɛt̪ **ense** nə həlɛh*

hungry IND child **that's why**REF cry

'The child is hungry that's why she is crying. '

d. Purpose

126. *en hɛ̃ca nə əŋsɔŋ **hek** mə əkɲɔk*

3SG quicklyREF cook **so that**2SG eat

'She cooked quickly so that you could eat.'

e. Result

127. *hɛ̃k tik sənehə cə həcin ka lori cə mahise*

when very fast 1SG drive IND car 1SG accident

'I drove the car so fast that I had an accident. '

Both *Car* and *Sanenyo* exhibit coordination using three distinct coordinating conjunctions or coordinators to join items of equivalent syntactic importance. In case of dual and plural nominal numbers, the languages use dual and plural coordinators rather than using numerals to grammatical numbers. *Car* has three co-coordinators:

1. /inrɛ/ "and, also" : The morpheme occurs obligatorily at the final position in a sentence as in (128) to show coordination.

128. ʔɨ́n-ŋɛ́n hí·ʔ, lɤ́m po·p hi·ʔ, **ʔinɾɛ́·**

make.quid-away 1PL.OBL roll tobacco 1PL.OBL**also**

'Prepare betel leaves and our tobacco also.'

(Braine:146.4)

2. /nɑʔ/: Dual coordinator marks dual number and occurs before the noun (first and second) as in (129).

129. ***na·ʔ*** *fɻɛ́t,* ***na·ʔ*** *líviŋ*

DU.COORD PN **DU.COORD** PN

'Fred and Livingstone.'

(Braine:229.1)

3. /he/: Plural coordinator marks plural number and is also placed before all the nouns showing plurality as in (130).

130. ***he·*** *cɔ·n,* ***he·*** *méɾi,* ***he·*** *lú·si*

PL.COORDPN**PL.COORD**PN**PL.COORD** PN

'John, Mary and Lucy.'

(Braine:229.2)

However, in case of three/more names, the morpheme /***he***/ is used only with the first proper noun and the final proper noun can be followed by /*inrɛ*/ as in (131).

131. ***he·*** *cɔ·n,* ***he·*** *méɾi,* *lú·si* *ʔinɾɛ·*

PL.COORDPN**PL.COORD** PN, PN also

‘John, Mary, and Lucy.’

(Braine:229.3)

Sanenyo also has three coordinators.

1. /jəhnə/“and”: The morpheme occurs between the two conjuncts that are coordinated as in (132, 133).

132. *ɛ̃ː həwa ən cə tə appəl* ***jəhnə*** *ruic̄ ka maŋkə*

two buy NOM 1SG OBJ apple**and** three IND mango

‘I bought two apples and three mangoes.’

133. *əkɲɔk ən ram* ***jəhnə*** *ɲuː t̪ə -pijao rak̄*

eat NOM ram **and** drink ADJ -cold water

‘Ram eats and drinks cold water.’

2. /unɑ/: Dual coordinator also marks the dual nouns and is placed before the nouns as in (134).

134. *həm maŋkə una ram una sita*

eat mango DU PNDU PN

‘Ram and Sita eat mango.’

3. /ufɛ/ : Plural coordinator marks plural nouns and is again placed before the nouns as in (135).

135. *ɛaŋ ɔl bəs ufɛ ram mʔə ufɛ sita ufɛ rahul*

go on bus PL PN FUT PL PN PL PN

‘Ram, Sita and Rahul will go on bus.’

3.7. Numeral system of Car and Sanenyo

Both *Car Nicobarese* and *Sanenyo* have maintained the indigenous numeral system and have a comprehensive number system for cardinal whole numbers having a decimal numeral system. The following table shows the counting system of the two languages.

Table 3.1. *Numeral system of Car and Sanenyo*

Figure	***Car***	***Sanenyo***
1	*kahoːk, heŋ*	*hiəŋ*
2	*nɛːt*	*ɛ̃ː*
3	*luːj*	*roic*
4	*fɛːn*	*fɛːn*
5	*tanɨj*	*ʈaɛ*
6	*tafuːl*	*ʈəfuəl*
7	*sat*	*isaʈ*
8	*hɛwhərɛ*	*ənfɛːn*
9	*macuhtərɛ*	*kəlʔfɛːn*
10	*siːn/sɨm*	*sɔm*
11	*kahoːk siːn*	*sɔm hiəŋ*
12	*nɛːt siːn*	*sɔm ɛ̃ː*
13	*luːj siːn*	*sɔm roic*

14	*fɛːn siːn*	*sɔm fɛːn*
15	*tanɨj siːn*	*sɔm ʈaɛ*
16	*tafuːl siːn*	*sɔm ʈəfuəl*
17	*sat siːn*	*sɔm isaʈ*
18	*hɛwhərɛ siːn*	*sɔm ənfɛːn*
19	*macuhtərɛ siːn*	*sɔm kəlʔfɛːn*
20	*nɛːtʔanaːj*	*ɛ̃ːʈum*
21	*nɛːtʔanaːj kahoːk*	*ɛ̃ː ʈum hiəŋ*
22	*nɛːtʔanaːj nɛːt*	*ɛ̃ː ʈum ɛ̃ː*
23	*nɛːtʔanaːj luːj*	*ɛ̃ː ʈum roic*
24	*nɛːtʔanaːj fɛːn*	*ɛ̃ː ʈum fɛːn*
25	*nɛːtʔanaː tanɨj*	*ɛ̃ː ʈum ʈaɛ*
30	*luːjʔanaːj*	*roic ʈum*
40	*fɛːnʔanaːj*	*fɛːn ʈum*
50	*tanɨjʔanaːj*	*ʈaɛ ʈum*
100	*kahoːk rɔːŋ/ siːnʔanaːj/ heŋɔːŋ*	*hiəŋ nɔŋ*
200	*nɛːt rɔːŋ/ nɛːtɔːŋ*	*ɛ̃ː nɔŋ*
1000	*kahoːk kəɲ/ heŋ kəɲ*	*məmiːləʔ/ hiəŋ məmiːləʔ*
2000	*nɛːt kəɲ*	*ɛ̃ː məmiːləʔ*

From the above table, we find that simple cardinal numerals 1-10 in both *Car* and *Sanenyo* are in the simple forms, monomorphemic with no derivations/ compounding taking place. However, in

Car, the lexical numerals for eight and nine have suffix [*-arɛ*] attached to the base and in *Sanenyo* morphemes for 'eight' and 'nine' are formed using the base 'four', thus are polymorphemic.

136. [*ənfɛːn*]'eight' - [*ən-*] + [*fɛːn*] 'four'

137. [*kəlʔfɛːn*] 'nine - [*kəlʔ-*] +[*fɛːn*] 'four'

In addition, both the languages have the same morphemes for the numeral four. The languages express syntactic combinations for values after ten. This pattern of lower numeral being monomorphemic while the construction of higher numerals using some mathematical operations are 'crosslinguistically' frequent (Moravcsik 2013). Another crosslinguistic tendency is for higher numerals to go for 'larger-before-smaller' order of construction(cf. Greenberg 1978a: 273). However, *Car* follows the lower-before-higher rule for numerals 11-19 where lower numerals like base 'ten' [*siːn*] are added to 'two' [*nɛːt*] to make 'twelve' [*nɛːt siːn*]. Interestingly, this pattern is changed after twenty where further numerals are formed by adding a lower numeral to the base, like 'twenty two' is [*nɛːtʔanaːj nɛːt*] where 'two' [*nɛːt*] is added to base 'twenty' [*nɛːtʔanaːj*]. *Sanenyo* uniformly follows the larger-before-smaller rule, that is, all higher numerals are derived by adding a lower numeral to the base, like 'two' [*ɛ̃ː*] is added to base 'ten' [*sɔm*] to make 'twelve' [*sɔm ɛ̃ː*].

For numbers like 20, 30, 40 etc. both *Car* and *Sanenyo* multiply the lower numeral to the base, such as [*luːjʔanaːj*] 'thirty' (numeral 3 x base) (*Car*) or [*roic t̪um*] 'thirty' (numeral 3 x base) (*Sanenyo*). This order is also present in case of higher numerals like hundred, thousand and so on.

138. [*nɛːt rɔːŋ*] 'two hundred' - [*nɛːt*] 'two' + [*rɔːŋ*] 'hundred' (Car)

139. [ɛ̃ː *nɔŋ*] ‘two hundred’ - [ɛ̃ː] ‘two’ +[*nɔŋ*] ‘hundred’ (Sanenyo)

3.8. Summary

Case refers to “morphological marking on nouns” that encodes semanticand/or pragmatic information about the nominal arguments and is used to distinguish a noun from the other predicate arguments. Both*Car* and *Sanenyo*show cases where the former lack any overt morphological case marking while the latter shows nominative-accusative case system. Government is shown using word order, verb inflections and on discourse-pragmatic understanding in*Car* while *Sanenyo* explicitly uses a nominative marker to show the same. However, Car does use an object marker before the direct object in a sentence.*Sanenyo*also marks accusative case placing the object marker before the direct object in the sentence. Another similarity between the two languages is in case of Dative case where both of them do not have any overt marking and the dative in these languages is encoded on the complements (indirect object). In addition to that, the position of the indirect object in a sentence in *Car* is relatively fixed.*Car* and *Sanenyo* also lack any genitive marking morphologically showing head-dependent order for the same. The peripheral case are marked using the analytic case markers (prepositions). However, the instrumental case is rarely marked in*Car*, relying on the word order of the sentence along with discourse-pragmatic understanding of the speaker or verb modifications.*Sanenyo* has separate morphemes to show the mode or means of action. *Car* and *Sanenyo* are both prepositional in nature and imparts locative case using different morphemes to illustrate the direction/location of the subject. In the case of the Ablative case, both *Car* and *Sanenyo* have separate morphemes to show separation.

Coming to complex predicates, both *Car* and *Sanenyo* lack any compound verb constructions and separate morphemes are used to convey the actions. There is also a lack of explicator compound verbs in both languages. Converbs are also absent in both the languages and they have distinct morphemes to convey the verb-adverbial relation. In case of serial verb constructions, *Car*uses a dedicated suffix, which is attached to the verb placed at the initial position of the sentence and the rest of the verbs are placed according to the sequence of the actions. *Sanenyo* places the verbs in order of their occurrence without any affixation, signifying the sequence of actions.

For Passive constructions, *Car* has a set of suffixes that are attached to the passive verb at the sentence initial position to show the change in voice. However, Sanenyo does not have passive constructions and the interchange of subject and object position is done, in case the speaker intends to change the voice for focus/ narrative purposes.

Reduplication is often seen in *Sanenyo* in case of some verbs and adverbs to impart intensity and manner, though usage is optional in many cases. There is not enough data in *Car* to make any observations regarding reduplication process. Both *Car* and *Sanenyo*form gerund by pacing the verbal noun inthe subject position.

The chapter shows the inter-clausal relationships, discussing the independent and dependent clause formation, in *Car* and *Sanenyo* and various coordinators, conjunctive adverbs and subordinators used in the languages to form sentences. Lastly, the numeral system of both the languages is discussed where it is observed that they exhibit decimal number system and while simple cardinal numbers have basic forms, compounding is used in the formation of higher numerals using addition and multiplication processes. This chapter also ends our comparative

analysis of the two languages in an effort to understand the place of *Car* and *Sanenyo* in the Austroasiatic phylum. The next chapter concludes the analysis of the thesis.

Chapter 4

Conclusion

In the light of various theoretical understanding of the basic grammatical patterns of the languages belonging to Austroasiatic phylum along with detailed introduction to the Nicobaric family in the first chapter and the comprehensive morphological and clause formation of the two languages, namely, *Car* and *Sanenyo*, in the preceding chapters, one can infer a lot of interesting typological features of Nicobaric language family. The study of these two languages also sheds light on one of the least researched Nicobaric branches of the Austroasiatic family, bringing special attention to the agreement patterns, phrases and clauses and predicate formations. The examples are indexed here from the previous chapters using the pattern of (E,g. Ch X. Ex.Y), where 'X' refers to the chapter number and 'Y' refers to the example number in that chapter.

To begin with, both the languages show comprehensive use of word-formation processes like Compounding, Clipping, Borrowing and Derivation. However, based on the data discussed in the preceding two chapters, it can be said that while *Car* exhibits agglutinating properties using different morphemes (usually suffixes) attached to the base (or stem) to determine their meanings but remains unchanged after the union. This is different for *Sanenyo* where the morpheme-per-word ratio is quite low, with bare minimum inflections. *Sanenyo* can be considered as an isolating (or analytic) language. However, the language contains many polymorphemic words due to the presence of derivational morphemes.

The Nicobaric branch of languages is observed to be generally verb-initial, which is flexible in case of running speech/narrations. They generally follow the head-dependent arrangement of grammatical categories. Hence, the adjectives come before the nominal head are mainly attributive and pre-nominal in nature. *Car* engages the usage of agreement and demonstrative markers in an adjectival phrase (refer examples, 2.7, 2.8), whereas we do not find any such constructions in *Sanenyo.* There is an optional use of relative/indicative markers following the adjectives (refer example, 2.9.1). The construction of gradable adjectives also differs slightly in the two languages. In *Car* the adverbial modifiers follow the adjectives (refer examples, 2.10, 2.11) while in *Sanenyo* they precede the adjectives (refer example, 2.12). Being head-initial, the adverbs also precede the verbal category and often a nominal particle is placed between the adverb and the verbal particle (refer examples, 2.18, 2.20). However, it is also observed that Car adverbs can also be post-verbal (refer examples, 2.17) as we know that adverbs can float in a clause.

Both *Car* and *Sanenyo* complement phrases exhibit to be right branching where the head of the phrase precedes its complements (refer examples, 2.23, 2.28). Genitive constructions in *Car*show obligatory possessive marker qualifying the possessor (refer example, 2.35), while *Sanenyo* shows no such overt marking for the same (refer example, 2.37). One also observes that there is no apparent distinction between the type of possession, that is, between alienable and non-alienable possession in *Car* but *Sanenyo* yield have an optional possessive marker in case of inalienable possession and shows visible/non-visible differences in case of the alienable possession (refer examples, 2.41, 2.42). The aspect markers in *Sanenyo* are usually placed at the sentence initial position (refer example, 2.46). It is quite possible that the auxiliary verb in Sanenyo has lost its verbal character and has turned into an aspect marker. The position of the

aspect marker is not fixed and speakers sometimes place them at the final position in the sentence or between two clauses. However, such movement is mainly observed in the case of narration or running speech. Such freedom of movement is not observed in *Car* verb phrase where the aspect markers are generally attached to the verbal category and are not free in nature (refer examples, 2.47). Thus, *Car* shows positional restrictions with respect to the occurrence of aspect markers. Being head-initial languages, both *Car* and *Sanenyo* exhibit prepositions.

Moving on to the agreement system of the languages, both *Car* and *Sanenyo*have three tenses but it is only the past and future tenses that are morphologically marked (optionally marked in *Car* and necessarily marked in *Sanenyo*) (refer examples, 2.51, 2.54). Similarly, both languages have three numbers:singular, dual and plural and while *Car* has a separate optional singular marking (in case of narrations or during running speech)*Sanenyo* lacks any overt singular marking. Both show obligatory morphemes for dual and plural marking (refer examples, 2.57, 2.60). There is no overt change in verb forms with a change in tense or number in either of the two languages. Gender marking is not overtly present in both the languages and there is no morphological difference between gender in the human and animate entity. However, in order to differentiate between the biological genders, compounding is done by using separate male and female gender morphemes with the animate/human entity (refer examples, 2.63, 2.65).

The pronominal system of *Car* and *Sanenyo* exhibit first, second and third person along with singular, dual and plural forms. In *Car*, many inflectionsare observed where the nouns are inflected to differentiate between an inclusive/exclusive, human/non-human entity and visible/non-visible aspect of the subject (refer Table 2.1). The demonstrative pronouns are often reduplicated to impart emphasis (refer example, 2.70, 2.73) and the distinction of [+/_ animacy] is inherently present in the demonstrative pronominal stem (refer Table 2.2). Such inflections are

not shown by *Sanenyo* pronouns (refer Table 2.3) and for showing various information such as honorific/non-honorific, visible/non visible, intimacy, politeness, the addition of separate individual morpheme is observed. The demonstrative pronouns do not have any number marking on them and any change in number is marked by adding the number marker before the head noun.

Negation is observed to be pre-verbal and pre-nominal in *Car* and *Sanenyo* (refer example, 2.88, 2.92, among others) but unlike *Sanenyo, Car* does not have a separate prohibitive marker. *Sanenyo* also has separate negation suffix for different persons which is attached to the pronouns (refer examples 2.94, 2.95).

In the case of interrogative sentence constructions, the preferred syntactic position for the question particles of *Car* and *Sanenyo* is the initial position in the sentence (refer table 2.4 for *Car* and table 2.5 for *Sanenyo*). The imperative sentences, which are used to show illocutionary actions of command, prohibition, request or suggestion by the speakers, are constructed using simple declarative statements except that in *Sanenyo*, intimate or honorific forms are marked using separate morphemes while no such data has been found in *Car*.

While discussing some of the important grammatical features in the languages undertaken for research, some differences and similarities in case marking in *Car* and *Sanenyo* have been recorded. Based on the data, *Car* exhibits lack of morphological case and thus the grammatical relationsare indicated through discourse-pragmatic understanding of the speaker, word order or inflections in verbs whereas in *Sanenyo* a clear nominative marker is used. It also places the visible/non-visible evidential distinction of the subject using the nominative markers. It is interesting to note that *Car*shows the presence of an optional object marker which is placed

before the direct object in a sentence (refer examples 3.6, 3.8). *Sanenyo* also has an accusative marker which is also placed before the direct object in the sentence. Yet another similarity in both the languages no overt case marking in dative case and the dative relations are encoded on the indirect objects of the complements. To add another similarity, in*Car* and *Sanenyo*, genitives and the relationship of the possessor-possessee is demonstrated using the head-dependent word order (refer examples 3.15, 3.16). However *Car* does have a possessor marker /-*və*/ which is generally attached to the adjectival category qualifying the possessee (refer example 3.20). The instrumental case in *Car* is not overtly marked and is expressed using word order and modifications in the verb form. *Sanenyo* uses words like *from, on, by, with* etc.imparting the instrumental case. However these are sometimes dropped in Sanenyo too, and like Car, it exhibits the argument relation using word order (refer example 3.29). Both *Car* and *Sanenyo* use a variety of locative markers in the form of independent prepositions (prosodically) to show the location/direction of the noun. In the case of separation, both languages use word order and/or independent function words (refer examples 3.39, 3.42).

Based on the data and analysis, I argue that the languages contain relatively simpler verb morphology. The languages show neither compound verbs with no evidence of two or more verbs coming together, nor any converbs and the adverbial subordination is imparted using independent adverbs or simply through verb order. However, the languages do show serialization of verbs where more than one verb can occur simultaneously. *Car* attaches sequential suffix /-*hɛ*/ to the first action (which is placed at the sentence-initial position) followed by the rest of verbs in order of their occurrence (refer example, 3.60). In contrast, *Sanenyo* simply places the verbs in sequence without any usage of subordinating conjugations or affixes (refer example, 3.62).

Passive formation appears to be extensive in case of *Car* where the verb stem tends to get inflected for passives, as they are either suffixed with thematic/directional suffixes or with passive morpheme which has six allomorphs and occurs with the passive form of the verb (refer, examples 3.68, 3.69). Apart from the regular passive constructions, *Car* shows a rather exclusive form of passivization where the stem merges with passive morpheme /*-ə*/ and a reflexive morpheme */-rɛ*/ called "reflexive stem extending suffix"(Braine, 1970: pg.184) (refer examples, 3.72, 3.73). Various scenarios where this construction of passive verb with the reflexive ending is mentioned in the preceding chapter (refer examples, 3.74, 3.75). *Sanenyo*does not exhibit any such change in the verb forms in case of passive constriction except interchanging the subject-object position in the sentence but prefers the valence transposing.

Adverbial and in some cases verbal reduplication is observed in *Sanenyo* to increase the intensity or show manner. However, the process is not obligatory and can be dropped (refer example, 3.87). Gerund formation is also present in both the languages placing the verbal noun is placed at the subject position (refer examples, 3.92, 3.95, among others).

The syntactic features of *Car* and *Sanenyo* related to their sentence constructions and inter clausal relationships (subordinating, coordinating, dependent) are discussed. *Car* and *Sanenyo* indicate various coordinators, conjunctive adverbs for simple, compound sentences, and subordinators in case of complex sentences.

The numeral system of *Car* and *Sanenyo* are observed to have decimal number system where simple numbers have independent forms and as the value increases, the languages shift to complex forms (using addition and multiplication) (refer Table 3.1).

The morphological and clause formations of *Car* and *Sanenyo* discussed and analyzed throughout the work bring out some remarkable and hitherto unique linguistic facts of the languages which require extensive research. Thus, while this research has brought in newer insights into our understanding of the structure of Nicobaric languages and it may prove to be valuable for future research in the field, a lot of work still needs to be done. The morphological study of these two languages when compared to other languages of the Mon-Khmer branch will measure the lack of proper findings which has constrained the linguistic researchers to study both the discrepancy and the preservation of proto-Mon-Khmer structures(if any). Thus, it becomes difficult to bring out proper typological profiling of the branch. The debate regarding the relationship between Mon-Khmer languages and Nicobaric languages can also be embarked with an improved andmore widespread understanding of the Mon-Khmer languages (spoken in India as well as in Southeast Asia) and Nicobaric branch of languages of India.

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