



Research Paper

Agreement Patterns in Sakachep Language

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ABSTRACT:

This paper is the extract of the dissertation work of Master of Arts, Department of Linguistics, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong. In this paper, attempt has been made to discuss agreement patterns in Sakachep language. The Sakachep people living in Dima Hasao district are also known as the 'Khelma' and hence, will be used interchangeably in this paper. Agreement patterns found in the simple sentences, complex sentences and agreement in person, gender and number will be the main focus of this paper.

KEYWORDS: Sakachep, khelma, agreement, verbal agreement, ergativity.

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I. HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE SAKACHEP

1.1 Introduction

The Sakachep is one of the ethnic groups in the Kuki-Chin community in North East India. Sakachep is alternatively known as "Khelma", a term given by the British during their encounter with them when they administered North Cachar Hills, Cachar and Karbi Anglong districts of Assam.(Thang, 2019). Khamu and Langstieh (2009) asserted that the name Khelma is recognized only in the Dima Hasao district of Assam. In other districts of Assam and the neighbouring states of Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Nagaland, and Tripura, the community is known as the Sakachep community. The Sakachep were also named "Hadem" by the Pnar, a term translated as "backward people", but the term "Halam" (Ha-earth; lam-road) was referred to Sakachep to refer to a group of South Kukis in Tripura.

1.2 Land and People

According to SIL ethnologue (2003) the total population of this community is 25,000(approximately) in the entire region. Ethnologue reports the following locations for Sakachep. Karbi Anglong district, Dima Hasao district (formerly North Cachar Hills district), and Cachar district of Assam, Khelma village, Kohima district, Nagaland; Saithsama, Rumphung, and Mongor villages of Jaintia Hills district, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram and Manipur.

Concerning occupation, Bhattacharya and Dutta (2017) states that most of the Sakachep are engaged in agriculture. They practiced both settled and shifting forms of cultivation. Settled cultivation refers to permanent forms of cultivation which includes both dry and wet terrace cultivation. It is believed that more than 60% of the Sakachep is presently involved in agriculture. The agricultural produce includes rice, maize, millets and vegetables, mainly ginger. According to part from agricultural practices, coal is their main source of income and some of Sakachep are engaged in the government sector and some opted for small-scale business, carpentry, poultry and cattle rearing.

1.3 Genetic classification:

Dr. Sethi Antwi Ofori (2014) asserted that “genetic” is not associated with genes or genealogy. In fact, the term “genetic” is associated with “genesis” or “origin”. When languages are known to have developed from a common ancestral language, they are said to be genetically related. Genetical relationship refers to the linguistics characteristics that are inherited by one generation of speakers from another

Matisoff (1972, 2009) made four main divisions of the Kuki-Naga languages namely Central Kuki (incl. Lushei, Lai or Haka, Lakher), Northern Kuki (incl. Thado and Siyin), Old Kuki (which will include Sakachep as per the language classification) and Southern Kuki (incl. Sho, Yawdwin, Chinbok, Khami). In Matisoff’s language grouping, *Sakachep* is not listed but in this study the language is grouped under Old-Kuki looking into its typological characteristics and close linguistic affiliations with Biate, Rangkhoh and other languages which also belong to Old-Kuki Chin sub grouping.

Grierson (1904) classifies Kuki-Chin languages into two main groups: Meithei and Kuki-Chin languages proper. The Kuki-Chin proper is further divided into four groups –

- (i) Northern group (Thado, Sokte, Siyin, Ralte, Paite)
- (ii) Central group (Tashon, Lai, Lakher, Lushei, Banjogi, Pankhu)
- (iii) Old Kuki (Rangkhoh, Bete, Halam(**Sakachep**), Langrong, Aimol, Anal, Chiru, Kolren, Kom, Purum, Mhar, Cha)
- (iv) Southern group (Chinme, Welaung, Chinbok, Yindu, Chinbon, Khyang or Sho, Khami).

According to Lewis (2009) Sakachep belongs to the sub-groups of Kuki-Chin-Naga under the Tibeto-Burman language family. In a much narrow classification, Sakachep belongs to the Northern Kuki-Chin language of the Tibeto Burman language family. The figure may be presented as below:



Figure 1: Lewis (2009) classification of Kuki-Chin languages.

1.4 Methodology: The fieldwork was conducted among the Sakachep community in Dorbinship village in Dima Hasao District of Assam. This fieldwork was undertaken by the 3rd semester of Master of Arts, Department of Linguistics, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong, Meghalaya. This village is a compact settlement of the Sakachep speakers housing around 30 members. Data was collected through in-depth interviews of key-informants, open-ended questions and narration. It was collected for three days, precisely 7th November 2019-9th November 2019. Significantly, the informants, namely Ngirsuanthoi Nistri and Lallienthang Saithuvai are the translators of the Sakachep Bible.

II. II.LITERATURE REVIEW ON AGREEMENT PATTERN

2.1 Definition of agreement

Crystal (2003) claims that agreement is a grammatical theory that refers to a formal relationship between elements whereby form of one word requires a corresponding form of the other word. In generative linguistics, agreement in person, gender and number plays an important role especially in binding theory and case theory.

Corbett (2006: 1) vividly claims “agreement occurs when grammatical information appears on a word which is not the source of that information”. For example, in the word “She runs”, the form *runs* is singular agreeing in number with *she*. Patterns of agreement vary dramatically cross-linguistically, with great diversity and types of variations found. Interestingly, comparing examples from different languages, with different agreement systems explains agreement at work in variety of constructions. It also shows how agreement is influenced by the conflicting effects of sentence structure and meaning, and highlights the oddities of agreement in English.

2.2 Main agreement features (‘Phi features’)

Corbett (2006) asserted that there are three indisputable features. They are gender, number and person. They are called Phi-features in Government and Binding (GB) theory. These main agreement features may be discussed as below:

2.2.1 Gender:

The term “Gender” in Lyons (1968) is derived from the Latin general word meaning ‘class’ or ‘kind’. The three genders of Greek and Latin were the three main noun-classes recognized in the grammar. The traditional names for the three genders found in the classical Indo-European languages are ‘masculine’, ‘feminine’ and ‘neutral’. Gender plays a vital role in the grammar of English by comparison with its role in many other languages. There is gender concord; and the reference of the pronouns he, she, and it is very largely determined by natural gender. This depends upon the classification of persons and objects as male, female or inanimate.

Corbett (1991) provides a detail explanation on gender agreement. He explains the form and elements showing agreement. The common means of gender agreement is affixation which is inflectional affixes. In all the languages, the gender agreement markers do not show uniformity in its occurrence. Agreement markers occur before stem in Bantu languages whereas in Indo-European languages agreement comes after the stem. The least usual form of agreement is infix agreement.

2.2.2 Number:

Lyons (1968) claimed that the most common manifestation of the category of number is the distinction between singular and plural. Number has singular-singular and plural. Singular means ‘one’ and plural means ‘more than one’. The verb must agree with its subject in number and gender. That is, the verb must have the same number and person as its subject. Subject-verb agreement generally means that the third person singular verb form must be used with a third person subject in the simple present tense.

Croft (1990) explains number in a hierarchical form and divides the number system into singular-dual-plural system. He further claims that there is a structural evidence of the dual form. Structurally, the dual forms are frequently marked with a non-zero morpheme, just the plural is. Dual form consists of a morpheme added to the plural form, which in turn consists of a morpheme added to zero-marked singular form. One such example who uses dual-plural form is Kharia. Kharia animate nouns have plural in –ki and dual in –ki-yar.

Corbett (1991) asserted that number is a lexical feature of some nouns: those which are only singular (like English *health*) or only plural (like *trousers*) impose this feature on their modifiers. However, a considerable proportion of the nouns of a given language can be associated with both (or all) numbers.

Russian

Nov-	ye	korabl-i
New-PLU		ships-PLU
		‘New ships’

Here the number feature appears to relate primarily to the noun; the property denoted by the adjective is not affected by the change in number.

2.2.3 Person:

Lyons (1968) defines person with reference to the notion of participant roles: the ‘first person’ is used by the speaker to refer to himself as a subject of discourse; the ‘second person’ is used to refer to persons or things other than the speaker and hearer. And the “third person” is to be distinguished from the ‘first’ and ‘second’ person in several respects. The category of third person may combine with other categories as ‘definite’ or ‘indefinite’ and ‘proximate’ or ‘remote’. Pronouns of the first and second person are definite, whereas pronoun of the third person pronouns may be either definite or indefinite. In addition, Pronouns of first and second person necessary refers to human beings while pronouns of the third person may refer to human beings, to animals and to things.

Ching (2017) who did her extensive research on Teddim-Chin grammar, a Kuki-Chin language, asserted that person agreement markers can occur in the sentence final position. These are ‘ing’ (first person, realized), and ‘ning’ (first person, irrealis); ‘Teh’ (second person) has two variants depending on the preceding numbers. ‘inteh’ is a singular number and ‘unteh’ gives proposition or supposed meaning for the respective numbers.

Persons	Singular	Plural
First Person	Ing (realised)	Ung (Exclusive)
	Ning (Irrealised)	Ing (inclusive)
Second person	Teh	Uhteh (Exclusive)
	Inteh	Unteh (Inclusive)

2.2.4 Notion of verbal agreement

Bareh and War (2014) asserted that verbal agreement is one of the common features of Tibeto-Burman languages. Surprisingly, verbal agreement has disappeared in Chinese, Tibetan, Lalo-Burmese and most other branches but is still exists in the Kiranti languages of Nepal. Previously, most people have mistaken the agreement morphemes for full pronouns, leading to rather unusual interpretations. Traditionally, they were labelled as ‘pronominal prefixes and suffixes’. Bareh and War (2014) further asserted that Kuki-Chin , a Tibeto-Burman language, is known for its rich verbal agreement but the confusion towards whether reconstruction for Proto-Tibeto Burman should be considered or not has been going on since the mid-1970s. Two opinions sprung up in this regards; one opinion is that the phenomenon of verb agreement in the family is secondary development and the other is that ancient suffixal verb agreement be reconstructed for Proto-Tibeto-Burman; several languages of the family still retain this feature whereas man languages lack it. Delancey (2010) one of the leading exponents of this view states that substantial number of TB languages has verb agreement, and a substantial number of languages lack it. He further claims that agreement can be quickly and easily lost in TB languages as a result of intense language contact or through replacement of older finite structures by innovative new constructions based on clausal nominalization.

III. AGREEMENT PATTERNS IN SAKACHEP

3.1 Pronominals

Sakachep language exhibits consonant deletion (phonological process) from the first person singular to plural. Here, in the singular “kei”, the first consonant “k” is deleted in the plural form. Hence, *kei* is changed into “ei”. *keima* changes into *eini* with deletion of the first consonant *k* and *ma* and addition of *ni*. *kata* is changed into *eita* with the deletion of “ka” and addition of *ei*.

The 2nd Person also witnesses certain phonological changes: *ni* is added to the word ‘naŋ’ in 2nd person nominative pronoun. The last sound *ma* is deleted in singular pronoun and *ni* is added to the word *naŋ* in accusative pronoun. Notably, both the singular and plural possessive pronouns are identical. And the 3rd person singular in Sakachep language is ‘amahpa/amahnu’, while ‘anni’ is used for 3rd person plural.

3.2 Data Analysis

Like other Tibeto-Burman languages, Sakachep is a pro-drop language. The pro-drop along with its agreement may be discussed as below:

3.2.1 Intransitive verb

Example (1) and (2) is a pro-drop language where the pronoun is not overtly presented but covertly (syntactically) active. Both “*kei-*” and “*na-*” serves as 1st person and 2nd person agreement marker to the covert subject “*pro*”. However, in example (3) the prefix “*a-*”, which is attached with the verb “*la:m*”, is the agreement to the subject “*amah*”.

(1) Pro kei- la:m

- (2) Pro na- la:m
1st AGR dance
 'I dance'
2nd AGR dance
 'You dance'
 (3) amah- ha a -la:m
 He/She ABSL **3rd AGR** dance
 'He /she dances'.

3.2.2 Transitive verb

In example (4-6) the pronoun “ka-” is attached to the verb “sak” and “na-” attaches to the verb “sak” and ‘a’ is attaches to the verb ‘sak’. Informatively, the pronoun “ka” and “na” and “a” serves as a 1st person agreement marker , 2nd person agreement marker and 3rd person agreement marker respectively.

- (4) kei-in t^heihai ka- sa:k
 I ERG mango **1st AGR** eat
 'I eat mango'
 (5) naŋ -in t^heihai na- sa:k
 You ERG mango **2nd AGR** eat
 'You eat mango'
 (6) jɔn -in t^heihai a -sa:k
 John ERG Mango **3rd AGR** eat
 'John eats mango'.

3.2.3 Di-Transitive verb

In Di-transitive sentence, the pronoun is dropped in the first person and second person as found in example (7) and (8). But both the pronouns “ka” and “na” is attached to the verb “pek”. Somehow similar to example (4) and (5), both the pronouns serve as 1st person agreement and 2nd person agreement respectively. However, in example (09), “a-” is marked as the 3rd person agreement to the subject John. To avoid confusion between the agreement marker, “a-” is co-indexed with the word John using bold letter “i”

- (7) Pro lehk^habu -hah mary ke- pek joi
 Book ABSL Mary **1st AGR** give PST
 'I gave the book to Mary'
 (8) Pro lehk^habu -hah mary ne- pek joi
 Book ABSL Mary **2nd AGR** give PST
 'You gave the book to Mary'
 (9) lehk^habu -hah jɔn_i- in mary kɔma a_i- pek
 Book ABSL John ERG Mary to **3rd AGR** give
 joi
 PST
 'John gave the book to Mary'.

3.2.4 1st person Agreement marker- [1st person K(v)+ Verb:]

Agreement can also be analyzed on the phonetic point of view. Here, the first person “-Ka (my), ke- (my), koi-(I), ki- (I) are employed. Surprisingly, the phonetic sound especially the vowel sound follows the succeeding vowel sound resulting in the harmony of the vowel sound (Ka+ Vowel) along the succeeding vowel sound. In addition, the vowel sound of the succeeding word influence the pronoun so much resulting in the change of the sound of the personal pronoun.

- (10) ma hei ka sarnu ŋei
 These PLR MKR LOC my sister PLR MKR
 'These are my sisters'
 (11) ma ŋei so ke lehk^habu ŋei
 These PLR MKR LOC my book PLR MKR
 'These are my books'
 (12) assam reŋa ko- hɔŋ
 Assam from I come
 'I come from Assam'
 (13) Pro lehk^ha ki- mijiek
 Letter **1st AGR** write
 'I write a letter'.

ka+	sarnu =	kasarnu
[K(vowel) + Noun]		
kei +	lehk ^h abu=	kelehk ^h abu
[K(vowel)+ Noun]		
ka +	həŋ=	Kohəŋ
[K(vowel) + Verb]		
ka +	mijiek=	kimijiek
[K(vowel)+ Verb]		

3.2.5 Variations in ergative marking:

Dixon (1994) asserted that ergative characteristic is evident in a language when the intransitive subject is treated in the same manner as transitive object and differently from transitive subject. Under Kuki-Chin languages there are various markers for ergative case. According to Kharlukhi and Lyngdoh (2014:224), Halam and Biete, a sub-branches of Kuki-Chin languages, possess ergative case marking. The ergative case marking in Halam is marked by “-in”, while Biate is marked by a variations “-an, -in or -n”.

Almost similar to Biate, Sakachep also possess an ergative case and it is marked variedly. Like the variants of ergative case marking in Biate, we also witness that there is no uniformity in the use of ergative markings “-in, -han” in Sakachep language. The variants in the ergative marking may be attributed to the language contact and borrowing from Hrangkhoh, also a Kuki-Chin language, who lives closely with the Sakachep. Though different variants of ergative case- marking, the agreement marker “a-” is identical in the ergative sentences. The ergative case in Sakachep is marked by “-in” and “-han” . Examples maybe mention in the following:

- (14) jən -han to ʔməl le naipaŋ a- zep
 John ERG stick INST boy 3rdAGR hit
 ‘John hits the boy with a stick’.
- (15) khu:m -in məi a- luŋkham
 khum ERG moi 3rd AGR loves
 ‘Khum loves Moi’

3.2.6 Agreement in simple sentences:

3.2.6.1 Agreement in reflexive pronoun:

Here, in reflexive pronoun, the agreement marker for third person is both marked by “a-” and “an-”.

- (16) amahnu athethenin a- sam chep
 She herself 3rd AGR hair cut
 ‘She cuts hair by herself’
- (17) amahpa athenthein an- at
 He himself 3rd AGR cut
 ‘He cuts himself’

3.2.6.2 Agreement in reciprocal sentences:

Agreement marker is also present in reciprocal sentences. Sakachep employs the agreement marker “in-” to both the 1st person plural and 3rd person plural respectively.

- (18) eini in- luŋkham
 We 1st PLU AGR love
 ‘We love each other’
- (19) An in- dit
 They 3rd PLU AGR like
 ‘They liked each other’.

3.2.6.3 Agreement in relative pronoun

In example 20 and 21, the agreement “a-” is marked to satisfy the requirement of the relative 3rd person pronoun “Who”. In other words, “a-” is an agreement marker for the relative pronoun “who”.

- (20) tu -mə ka saldəŋ a- mərək
 Who Q.MKR my umbrella 3rd AGR stole
 ‘Who stole my umbrella?’
- (21) tu mə liten koi a- K^hoiboi amah
 Who Q.MKR glass Kept 3rd AGR broke that

Naipang kairo?
 boy call
 ‘Call the boy who broke my glass’

3.2.6.4 Agreement in Demonstrative pronoun

In example 22, the 3rd person agreement “a-” agrees to the subject “boy”.

(22) ma naipang var hi insietna ink^hatna
 That boy brilliant is competition first
 a- chang
3rd AGR stood
 ‘That brilliant boy stood first in the competition’.

3.2.6.5 Agreement in Interrogative pronoun:

In example 23, the 3rd person “a-” agrees to the subject “John”. But in example 24, the agreement “I” agrees the object “Nangla”.

(23)tu mɔ Jɔn pencil a- pek?
 Who Q.MKR John Pencil **3rd AGR** gave
 ‘Who gave pencil to John?’
 (24)nanɭa I- dam mɔ
 You **2nd AGR** Fine/well Q.MKR?
 ‘How are you?’

3.2.6.6 Agreement in complex sentences:

Example 25 is a complex sentences whereby “a-” is an agreement marker for “vok”. And in example 30 there are two agreement marker “a-” for the subject “amah”. However both the agreement markers are co-index to indicate that they points to the same subject.

(25) vɔk t^hata a- um jɔn ata ani
 Pig killed **3rd AGR** Presence John belongs PERF
 ‘The pig that was killed belongs to John’.

(26) amahi han ai- lun^hk^ham dɔŋmate ha leh^hk^habu
 He ERG **3rd AGR** love girl ABSL book
 ai -pek jɔi
3rd AGR give PST
 ‘He gave the book to the girl who he loves’

3.7 NUMERALS:

There are two number systems in Sakachep language. They are singular and plural. There is no single marker in Sakachep but plural was marked by the suffix “-ŋei”

(27) Pa
 ‘Father’
 (28) pa ŋei
 Father PLU. MKR
 ‘Fathers’
 (29) ŋa
 ‘Fish’
 (30) ŋa ŋei
 Fish PLU MKR
 ‘Fishes’

Agreement in number is also found in demonstrative pronoun. In both the sentences, the agreement marker “-ŋei” is employed

(31) ma ŋei hei ka sarnu ŋei
 These PLU MKR are my sister NUM. AGR
 ‘These are my sisters’
 (32) ma ŋei so ke leh^hkhabu ŋei
 Those PLU MKR are my book NUM. AGR

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