

Case in Angami Naga - A Descriptive Account

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- 0.0. The paper, as the title suggests, is a descriptive note on case in Angami Naga, case looked upon as linguisticized role-relationship. It truly is a first crack at a murky area of a relatively obscure language which is what makes for its inconclusive nature.
- 0.1. The paper has three parts. The first part establishes propositional case-roles in Angami via what is called the dialogue test, and then arrives at a subject-choice hierarchy. The second part discusses their expression on the Noun Phrase and the third part their expression in verb morphology.
- 1.1. Case expresses the syntactico-semantic relation an NP contracts with the predicate in a sentence. Angami expresses seven case-roles which form part of the proposition. Their propositional nature is established by the heuristic criterion of the dialogue test. The dialogue test states that if B asks A an information-seeking question-word question about one of the arguments of a sentence A has uttered, and if A's answer of 'I don't know' is an acceptable one, then the argument in question is not an obligatory part of the proposition. It is not a propositional case-role. Consider the following exchange:

A : He grew scared
B : Why did he get scared?
A: i) because of the snake
 ii) I don't know
 iii) I didn't enquire

If A's answer of 'I don't know' is an acceptable answer, then CAUSE or whatever it is which is the argument that

¹ Angami is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by over a lakh people in the north-eastern state of Nagaland in India. Angami is a tone language. Tone is not marked in the data however because it doesn't bear on what the piece seeks to say.

B's question addresses is not an obligatory role of the verb, 'grow scared'. In Kannada, a South Dravidian language it is not, which means the argument under discussion is an obligatory role in the valency of the verb in Kannada whereas it is in Angami, which means it is linguistically inessential and optional in Angami. Another dialogue will make what is meant further clear:

A : George has brought this book
 B : For whom?
 A : I don't know

Benefactive or whatever role that B's question addresses is not an obligatory role of the verb 'to bring' because it NEED NOT be part of speaker-knowledge as the above interchange has it.

Roles like the comitative are not genuine primitive case-roles because one could talk about the comitative of what are true primitives like the AGENT, OBJECT and so on. And there are roles like Time and location (outer) which are strained in by the Dialogue test-which is therefore not a discovery procedure-but which owe their existence not to the verb or the language but to a verb-independent language-independent logical rule that time and space are inseparable concomitants of all actions/states in the cosmos.

Seven roles pass the dialogue test in Angami.

Dialogue 1

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| A : Vorü | 'came' |
| come-tns (=∅) | |
| B : shupuo | 'who?' |
| A : i) Vizolie | 'Vizolie' |
| *ii) a shi mo le | 'I don't know' |
| I-nom (=∅) | |
| *iii) a ketso-sü mo-te | 'I didn't enquire' |
| enquire VR ng df | |

Let's call this Role A

Dialogue 2

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| A : dukhri-wa-te | '(someone)killed someone' |
| kill VR df | |
| B : shupuo bu | 'who?' |
| who | |
| A : i) Savilie bu | 'Savilie' |
| *ii) a shi mo le | 'I don't know' |
| *iii) a ketso-sü mo-te | ' I didn't enquire' |

Let's call this Role B

Note that whatever is an obligatory part of speaker-knowledge is an obligatory (=propositional) role and this has nothing to do with grammatical relation slots that a language may force its speakers to fill.

2.0. Morphological/syntactic argumentation will help the analyst to identify the roles ruled in by the dialogue test. The nature of B's question in the dialogue frame leads one to identify them tentatively as: Agent (Role A), Executor (Role B), Goal (Role C), Source (Role D), Object (Role F), Instrument (Role G) and location (Role H).

2.1. The subject is generally unmarked. It may however be marked by -e, an output of a stylistic rule of primary topicalisation as in

Prestylistic

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. puo puoni ba | 'she is happy' |
| 2. ravizo themie kevi | 'Ravizo is (a) good man' |
| 3. a za peletunuo | 'My name is Peletunuo' |

Poststylistic

- | |
|--------------------------|
| 1a. puo-e puoni ba |
| 2b. ravizo-e themie kevi |
| 3a. a za-e peletunuo |

2.1.1. The subject-choice Hierarchy

When Agent is present, it becomes the subject (egs 4-6) Or else if Force is present, it becomes the subject (eg 7). Or else Executor becomes the subject (eg 8). Otherwise, Object/Patient is the subject (egs 9 & 10). Note that Instrument cannot become the subject:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 4. puo khutie tsii | 'he ate rice' |
| 5. puo puo kimie dukhriwate | 'he killed his wife' |
| 6. a sibou cietshe | 'I cut the tree' |
| 7. tikhrie (bu) siu whetsewate | 'the wind broke the tree' |
| 8. puo bu puo kimie dukhriwate | 'he was made to kill his wife' |
| 9. puo dukhriwate | 'he was killed' |
| 10. sibou tsete | 'the tree broke' |

2.1.2. The surface subject may encode the following case roles:

2.1.2.1. AGENT, the volitional animate instigator or doer of the action identified by the verb. Typically this is the subject of action verbs (egs 11a - d) and action-process Verbs (egs 12a and 12b).

| | | |
|-----|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 11a | we khutie tsüya | 'We eat rice' |
| 11b | a ndu puo ze kese | 'I met him yesterday' |
| 11c | puo thie a ngu | 'she saw me yesterday' |
| 11d | uko tenyidie silie ba | 'they are learning Angami' |
| 12a | puo Belho dukhriwa | 'he killed Belho' |
| 12b | tefüu puo mekiwa | 'the dog bit him' |

2.1.2.2. FORCE, the natural force which causes the action identified by the verb

| | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 13a | tikhrie (bu) siu whetsewate | 'the wind broke the tree' |
| b | tirü (bu) themeu peshiesü | 'the rain caused the landslide' |
| c | thezi (bu) ñiepuko vapeshuowate | 'the frost bit the flowers' |

The optional bu in 13 a-c, a little mysterious, presumably indicates the cause of the action expressed in the sentence rather than denote the Executor case role which it marks normally because the Executor presupposes the presence of a higher cause whereas in 13a-c there's no higher cause unless God is seen as one.

2.1.2.3. Experiencer, the animate experiencer of a physical/physiological state, sensation or emotional or cognitive state identified by the verb.

| | | |
|-----|---------------------|---------------------|
| 14a | niü puonushuo ba | 'Niü is sad' |
| b | a ani se ba | 'I am very happy' |
| c | Savilie merü ba | 'Savilie is hungry' |
| d | a puo ngupie aniya | 'I like her' |
| e | puo tenyidie shi ba | 'He knows Angami' |

2.1.2.4. Object

| | | |
|-----|-------------------------|---|
| 13a | puo rükrie | 'he is tall' |
| b | kotari mebo | 'the knife is sharp' |
| c | rünau za | 'the village is big' |
| d | puo luo mu dzü | 'she is short and fat' |
| e | hieko angamimie | 'we (excl.pl.)(are) Angamis' |
| f | hau a lesüga | 'this (is) my book' |
| g | kewhira rüna kemesa | 'Kohima is a clean city' |
| h | meriera tikhrie re | 'Merema is too windy' |
| i | this dyoba | 'today (is) Sunday' |
| j | rilde khril meku se tyo | 'the month of December will be very cold' |

2.2. The Direct Object may be marked by bu, pie/se or ϕ

| | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 16a | a puo bu vor nyü ba | 'I want(ed) him to come' |
| b | we ukepenuopfü bu u kelasü nudi chaya | 'we pray to God to save us' |

Semantically the bu-marked direct object encodes the case-role of Executor, the carrier out of a wish/request/prayer expressed in the sentence. Syntactically it marks the subject of an embedded sentence. This needs looking into. Chomsky has ruled Subj-to-Obj raising out of linguistic theory because the rule involves movement from a θ -position to another θ -position unlike the acceptable subj-to-subj raising which involves at least in English movement from a θ -position to a non θ -position. This is a desideratum of Angami syntax. The facts however are clear: When there is no embedded sentence, the same NP that'd have taken bu is NOT marked by bu:

17. We ukepenuopfü ki chaya
'We pray to God'

Compare 16b and 17. In 17 the same NP, an argument of the same verb takes ki, the Goal case marker instead of bu.

2.2.1. The direct object of linguistic-action verbs is marked by pie/se

- 18a a mhahuo pie/se kepethau ki ketso
'I asked the teacher a question'
b puo aomie dze pie/se pusü
'he spoke about AOs'
c a puo keyu puo pie/se a ki pusü
'My father told me a joke'
d a thedze puo pie/se n ki pusü
'I will tell you a story'

pie/se happen also to be Instrument case markers. One could take either of two tacks: One could say either that objects of communication verbs and Instruments have homophonous markers or that the language views objects of linguistic-action verbs as Instruments.

Direct - Objects are morphologically unmarked elsewhere.

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 19a tefü puo mekiwa | 'a dog bit him' |
| b a thevo puo khrülie | 'I bought a pig' |
| c n puo kiesülie | 'Call your father' |
| d puo pfhe balie | 'Wait for him' |
| e tefüu a re | 'The dog barked at me' |
| f a lesüda puo khasü | 'I gave a book' |

2.3.0. Locus expresses the 'locution or spatial orientation' of the action/state identified by the verb.

It denotes location of two types: (a) location inside and (b) location on the external surface, inessive and adessive

2 Also the theoretical issue of whether case-assignment follows theta-role assignment as in Case Grammar or theta-role assignment follows case-assignment as in GB has to be decided empirically.

respectively in traditional terms. Location inside is marked by nu and nunu for high-altitude substantives, nu occurring with verbs denoting habitual iterative action and nunu occurring with verbs denoting nonhabitual noniterative action.

- 20a cini dzü nu zetaya
 'sugar dissolves in water'
 b a thunudzü nunu cini pezesü
 'I dissolved sugar in milk'
 c a belho klas nu zetaya
 'I sleep in Belho's class (usually)'
 d a thie klas nunu zete
 'I slept in the class today'

Exterior Location is marked by gi

- 21a ki gi 'on the house'
 b bas gi 'on the bus'
 c a gi 'on me'
 d thevo gi 'on the pig'

The two kinds of location are not distinguished for commonly known high-altitude substantives and are expressed by gi and ginu, gi occurring with verbs denoting general, habitual action and ginu occurring with verbs denoting specific nonhabitual action:

- 22a puo lijüthu gi lhuya
 'he lives on/in the hills'
 b uko kijüthu ginu shieta
 'they died on/in the hills'
 c puo kepruoru ginu shieta
 'he died on/in the aeroplane'
 d ti gi themü kekra ba
 'there are many stars in the sky'

It is to be noted that in situations where there could really be no distinction between location inside and location on the surface, the interlocutor's knowledge of the relative altitude of the place referred to seems to determine the choice of the place case marker. Thus it is bazar nu 'in the bazar' if the market is not above the place of the speech act and bazar gi 'in the bazar' if the market is considerably higher in altitude than the place of the speech act.

2.4.0. The source case denotes the source of the action or state identified by the verb. Source may be i)spatial ii)temporal, iii)statal and iv)causal

i) Spatial Source may be a source not only of motion verbs like vo 'go' vor 'come' ketou 'roll down' etc. but also of

three-participant nonmotion verbs like *pie* 'receive' and *ngu* 'get' etc. It is marked for human nouns by *kinu*, for nonhuman nouns by *nunu* and for high-altitude substantives by *ginu*. If one takes *nunu* as the basic case marker, one has:

- 23a *ki* + *nunu* ⇒ *kinu* (human source)
 b *nu* + *nunu* ⇒ *nunu* (inanimate source of inanimate interior source, the traditional Elative)
 c *gi* + *nunu* ⇒ *ginu* (inanimate high-altitude source or inanimate exterior source)
- 24a *themie kinu* 'from the man'
 b *dimapur nunu* 'from Dimapur'
 c *ki nunu* 'from the house'
- 25a *kij^uthu ginu* 'from the hill'
 b *lesⁱkepruo ginu* 'from the kite'
 c *ti ginu* 'from the sky'
 d *sibo ginu* 'from the tree'
- 26a *a puo jie ginu guriu pieliete*
 'I took the watch from his hand' (from his wrist)
 b *a puo jie nunu guriu pieliete*
 'I took the watch from his hand' (from inside his grip)
 c *puo miz ginu tsh^ulie*
 'he took from the table' (from the surface)
 d *puo miz nunu tsh^ulie*
 'he took from the table' (from the drawer of the table)
 e *ki ginu*
 'from the open surface of the roof of the house'
 f *ki nunu*
 'from inside the house'

Temporal Source is marked by *nunu* if it is a well-defined point of time and by *nu* if it is an indeterminate period of time:

- 27a *keba ker^u nunu* 'since 10 o' clock'
 b *r^ude nunu* 'since December'
 c *khise nu* 'since morning'

Statal Source denotes the initial state of a process, and is marked by *nunu*:

- 28 *nagalnd steet ketsⁱ kie puo nunu za se parte*
 'Nagaland has grown very big from a very small state'

Cause Source denotes the origin Or cause-concrete Or abstract - leading to a consequence.

- 29a *themumie ginu penyoketsⁱ* 'having been born of woman'
 b *puo kethepfu ginu zapulesⁱ ngulie*
 'he got a certificate by virtue of his bravery'

2.5.0 The goal or Allative case-role denotes either the destination, direction or extent of a physical movement or the goal of a communicative act or of three-participant transfer verbs like *tsü* 'give' *ketse* 'send' etc.

The goal of physical movement and communicative act is marked by *ki* for human nouns. It is marked for inanimate nouns by *nu* and for commonly known high-altitude substantives by *gi*. Although the high-altitude substantives taking *gi* apparently make a finite nonproductive set which includes high-altitude places commonly known to an uneducated Angami mind, it is presumably potentially productive.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|---|
| 30a | <i>puo a^{ki} vor</i> | 'he came to me' |
| b | <i>puo puo ki</i> | 'to his father' |
| c | <i>kepeth^u ki</i> | 'to the teacher' |
| d | <i>ukepenyopfü ki</i> | 'to God' |
| 31a | <i>gauhati nu</i> | 'to Guwahati' |
| b | <i>les^uki nu</i> | 'to the school' |
| c | <i>ofis nu</i> | 'to the office' |
| 32a | <i>kijüthu gi</i> | 'to the hill' |
| b | <i>japfü gi</i> | 'to Japfü (a hill)' |
| | <i>ti gi</i> | 'to the sky/heaven' |
| | <i>khriü gi</i> | 'to the moon' |
| | <i>therü gi</i> | 'to the stars' |
| | <i>erest gi</i> | 'to Mt Everest' |
| | <i>sains kolej gi</i> | 'to the Science College (which is at a higher altitude at Kohima than the rest of the town)' |
| 33a | <i>we ukepenyopfüki cha moroshuo</i> | 'We should pray to God' |
| b | <i>a puo ki cha ketso</i> | 'I asked him the way' |
| c | <i>puo n^{ki} pusü tyo</i> | 'he will tell you' |

Nonhuman animate nouns do not take the Goal case marker. They take instead the locative postposition *penyo* 'near':

- 34 *nhicunyoko nienyo penyo vo*
'the children went near the cat'

The directional allocase denotes the direction typically of motion verbs. It is marked by *tsa* 'towards' when the direction is on a plane.

- 35a *balie n ki tsa vo*
'Balie went towards your house'
b *kerü tsa*
'toward the river'

When *gi* follows substantives (which do not form part of the finite set suggested in 2.5.0), it denotes direction upwards rather than the fact that (the referent of) the substantive itself is on a higher altitude. Thus,

- 36a uko kutub minar gi vo
 'they went up (the skyscraper that is) Kutub Minar'
 b a ki gi shie
 'I went up the house (perhaps onto the roof)'

The Extent allocase denotes extent either in space or time. It is marked by the postposition ketso 'upto'.

- 37a a bas stand ketso vo
 'I went upto the bus stand'
 b uko lesuki ketso vo
 'They went upto the school'
 c thie ketso
 'upto today'
 d ba keru ketso
 'upto 10 o' clock'

There is no formal difference on the temporal plane between Goal and Extent.

The Goal case is unmarked when it denotes the Goal of three-participant verbs like ~~pietsu~~ 'give' or ~~ketse~~ 'send' i.e., the indirect object of such verbs (the traditional Dative) is not marked.

- 38a raka kenie pie a tsucie
 'Give me two rupees'
 b a puo raka krie ketse pie a tsü
 'My father sent me hundred rupees'

2.6.0. The Instrumental case expresses the means (inanimate force or object) by which the action identified by the verb is done. It is marked for abstract substantives by/se(di)/ and for concrete substantives either by /pie/ or by /se(di)/ with /pie/ being much more frequent:

- 39a n ketarho se(di) 'with your advice'
 b a kekruohi se(di) 'with my help'
 40a umhi pie 'with our eyes'
 b uphizu pie 'with our feet'
 c raka kenie pie 'for/with two rupees'
 d bara hau si pie tshü 'This chair is made of wood'

Instruments of motion are expressed by nunu/ginu or ze/se.

- 41a a bas nunu/ginu vor
 'I came by bus'
 b uko tren nunu vo
 'They went by train'
 c a gari ze tyo tyo
 'I will go by bus'
 d a baisikl se lesuki/nu voya
 'I go to school by cycle'

2.7.0 The Genitive is a surface neutralization of diverse underlying case roles. It relates a noun or nouns and a substantive. This relationship is expressed typically by juxtaposition, the order being the genitival - head noun.

2.7.1. The following semantic areas of the Genitive may be identified:

a Human relationship

42a a zeu 'My friend'
 b puo kimie 'his wife'

b Possession(i) Inalienable/natural. In inalienable/natural possessive phrases, the classifier is dropped. This includes kinship terms and body parts.

| | | | | |
|-----|-------|----------|--------------------|---------------|
| 43a | anyo | 'son' | puo nyo | 'her son' |
| b | apuo | 'father' | n puo | 'your father' |
| c | umhi | 'eye' | puo mbi | 'her eye' |
| d | umo | 'body' | a mo | 'my body' |
| e. | theza | 'name' | puo za | 'her name' |

(ii) Alienable possession or ownership

| | | |
|-----|------------|---------------------|
| 44a | selie ki | 'Selie's house' |
| b | niü lesüda | 'Nii's book' |
| c | a pfü pfe | 'my sister's shawl' |
| d | ravizo vo | 'Ravizo's pig' |

(c) Belongingness

| | | |
|-----|------------|------------------------|
| 45a | u rüna | 'our villa[ge]/nation' |
| b | puo thinyo | 'his khel' |

(d) Partitive

| | | |
|-----|----------|--------------------|
| 46a | miz phi | 'leg of the table' |
| b | a ki za | 'part of my house' |
| c | bara bou | 'arm of the chair' |

(e) Expressive of measurement of time or space

| | | |
|-----|------------------|-----------------------|
| 47a | khriü se chuti | 'three months' leave' |
| b | dyobado puo rüve | 'a week's tour' |

(f)(i) Expressive of an internal or inherent attribute

| | | |
|-----|-------------|------------------------------------|
| 48a | kerü kesou | 'the depth of the river' |
| b | puo cha | 'his height' |
| c | ujie kecha | 'the length of the hand' |
| d | kiu kerükie | 'the height of the building/house' |

(ii) Expressive of an external or acquired attribute

| | | |
|-----|-------------|------------------------|
| 49a | hau ma | 'the price of this' |
| b | a ki nie | 'the rent of my house' |
| c | rüna krlüta | 'village head' |

(g) Purposive

| | | |
|------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| 50 a | thenumie les ^u ki | 'women's college' |
| b | thepfuko raz ^u ki | 'boys' hostel/camp' |
| c | mecie bou | 'salt container/box' |
| d | tisi pfe | 'winter clothes' |

Nouns in genitive relationship with the head noun as illustrated above have a determiner function. When /vie/ is suffixed to them, they function as nouns and may occur as subjects, predicate nominals or be followed by case markers. They are cases of zero projection (x^0) the lexical category itself being the maximal projection (\bar{x}) since they could have no phrasal elements around them:

| | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 51a | avie j ^u | 'I have none' literally 'mine none' |
| b | nvie | 'Yours' |
| c | les ^u da hau nvie | 'This book is yours' |
| d | mozolievie | 'Mozolie's' |
| e | a nvie nunu tsh ^u lie | 'I got (it) from yours' |

2.8.0. All Angami toponyms seem to end in /ra/ which used independently means 'place, village'. The word ra and all Angami toponyms behave differently from other nouns (including other place names) as far as case markers are concerned. They do not take the place and Goal case markers. The usual source case marker for inanimate nouns viz /nunu/ drops /nu/

2.8.1. Thus, Goal marker /nu/ is dropped

| | | |
|-----|----------------|-------------------------------|
| 52a | a vizol ra kho | 'I went (to) Vizol's village' |
| b | a kewhira kho | 'I went (to) Kohima' |

Contrasted with

| | | |
|-----|-----------------|---------------------|
| 53a | a dimapur nu ke | 'I went to Dimapur' |
| b | a ki nu vo | 'I went home' |

Place case marker /nu/ and /nunu/ are dropped

| | | |
|-----|------------------------------|--|
| 54a | a vizol ra ^h huya | 'I live in Vizol's village' |
| b | a kewhira ^h huya | 'I live in Kohima' |
| c | kewhira kolej se ba | 'There are three colleges (in) Kohima' |

Contrasted with

| | | |
|-----|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| 55a | a dimapur nu baya | 'I live in Dimapur' |
| b | a zeu ki nu baya | 'I live in (my) friend's house' |

The source case marker /nunu/ becomes /nu/

| | | |
|-----|-------------------|----------------------|
| 56a | a vizol ra nu vor | 'I came from Vizol' |
| b | a kewhira nu vor | 'I came from Kohima' |

Contrasted with

| | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 57a | a dimapur nunu khor ^u | 'I came from Dimapur' |
| b | a a ki nunu vor ^u | 'I came from my house' |

3.0 Case in the Verb

In language various grammatical categories have been assumed to belong in the syntactically and satisfactorily major grammatical/lexical classes of Nouns and Verbs. Number, gender, deixis, individuation, case etc. have been said to belong in the former class, and tense, aspect, mood, negation etc. in the latter. Some like the Interrogative, Outer Locative have the whole sentence in their scope. Note that concordance phenomena are derived phenomena, not basic ones i.e., 'number, gender etc. originally of the noun, may be copied in the verb optionally or obligatorily but optimally redundantly. In point of fact these categories have been seen in the taxonomic paradigm as standards criterial attributes of the two major form-classes. Some of these categories have however been found in a lexical class in which they were earlier not expected to. Thus, the temporal location of the referent of a noun has long been found formalized in the morphology of the noun in Amerindian languages. Tense markers could be added to nouns to place their referents in the temporal cosmos of the culture that underpins the language in question : for instance, a house that existed, a house that exists and a house that will exist. Case has typically been seen as a nominal trapping belonging either to noun morphology as in traditional grammar or to postpositional adnominal phrases as in (syntactic) valency theory (Tesnière 1959) and semantic valence theory (Gruber 1965), Fillmore (1968)).

In angami the traditionally adnominal category of case is realized in the Verb, too. The markers are

- a -lie and -s
- b -wa and mha- , and
- c te *ta* ta

First of all except mha- , which, as we shall see, is in a class apart, these are optional although they do occur more often than otherwise which may solely be a matter of performance. Secondly they mark not only the nature of some 'players' (actants, arguments) in the sentence, but mark the number of players as well except for te is ta which marks only quantitative valence.

The first group says something about the subject or rather the relationship between the role that the subject encodes and the verb. The second group says something about the nature of the role that the Direct Object encodes and the third single member group marks the number of participants, the nature of the verb as to transitivity, and not the nature of the players, as mentioned earlier.

-lie marks two participant (two - place) action Verbs whose subjects are the immediate recipients of the action depicted by the Verb.

Thus,

khriü 'buy'

58 a bulie puo khriülie tyo
'I will buy a shirt'

pie 'receive'

59 puo praiz pielie
'he received a prize'

mhatsü 'eat a meal'

60 avu mhatsüliekhe
'let us (incl. du) eat a meal'

thepu 'borrow'

61 puo a pen thepulie
'he borrowed my pen'

cha 'beg'

62 a priesa chalie tyo
'I will beg for unoney'

Each of the examples has two participants constituting the sentence nucleus along with the Verb which is an action Verb and the Agent is a recipient. 63 a-b below - have an action Verb which harbours two participants, one of which is an Agent subject, but since the Agent is not necessarily a recipient, the Verbs do not take -lie:

63 a puo lesüda phrü ba
'he is reading (a) book'

b Thepfudulho lesüki nu vo tyo
'Thepfudulho will go to school'

The mood of accomplishment is also marked in Angami by -lie :

64 a tekhu puo dukhrilie
'I achieved, the killing of a tiger'

b puo hau tshülie
'he achieved doing this'

The accomplishment mood marker is not to be confused with the -lie under discussion which is a Valency-role marker. -s marks action Verbs which may be 'two-participant' or 'three-participant' and whose subjects are the source or transmitters of the action identified by the Verb. Apart from this source meaning, -sü may also mean that the

the beneficiary of the action is someone other than the subject.

- pu 'to speak'
 65 pu^ülie 'speak!'
 petha 'to teach'
 66 a tenyidie pethas^ü 'I taught Angami'
 tarho 'to advise'
 67 a tarhos^ülie 'advise me'
 thepu 'to lend'
 68 n pezhie ri raka pengu pie a thepus^ülie
 'please lend me five rupees'
tsali tshü
 69 puo tsali puo tsh^üsü
 'she sang a song'

The 'two-participant' Verbs need not necessarily be transitive Verbs as the following set of examples shows:

- shie 'to die'
 70 jisu u lanu shie-s^ü
 'Jesus died for our sake'
tyo 'to go away'
 71 puo tyo-s^ü
 'he went away on our behalf/for our sake'

-wa marks two-participant action-process Verbs whose direct objects undergo some perceptible change of state/condition by the action and whose subjects are not the recipients of the action identified by the Verb except when the subject and the direct object are coreferential as in the first two examples below.

- dzü rülu 'bathe'
 72 dzü rüluwa-lie "bathe!"
dukhri 'to kill'
 73a puo puothyo puo dukhriwa
 'he killed himself'
 b a dukhri-wa-hie
 'don't kill me'
dathe 'to cut (as rope)'
 74 kerou dathewalie 'cut the rope'
khasü 'to release'
 75 kedieki nunu puo khas^ü
 'he was released from prison'
meki 'to bite'
 76 tefü a meki-wa
 'the dog bit me'
pevo 'to make one go'
 77 miehwo puo pevo-wa
 'someone made her go'

But

- ??78 a puo ngu-wa
'I saw her'
779 tef^ü a re-wa
'the dog barked at me'

The above sentences are suspect because the effect of the action on the DO is not perceptible.

mha- is in a class apart. Unlike the others it is a prefix and a proform. No syntactic object may occur with a mha- verb:

- 80a a mha-ts^ülie 'I ate a meal'
*b a biskits mha-ts^ü-lie 'I ate biscuits'

but

- 80c a biskits ts^ü-lie 'I ate biscuits'

See Giridhar (1991) for more on the behaviour of mha-

An interesting fact about -wa- is that it marks transitivity, and when the DO is deleted, the sentence acquires a passive meaning: There are no structural passives in Angami:

- 81 puo puo zeu dukhri-wa-te
'he killed his friend'
82 puo dukhri-~~wa~~-te
'he was killed'

-te marks one-participant i.e., intransitive process or action Verbs. This has positional variants: te & ta in the word-final position in a morphological construction and necessarily ta in a nonfinal position.

vü 'to bear fruit'

- 83 sibou vü zhi ta tyo
'the tree will bear fruit soon'

tyo 'go away'

- 84 tyo-ta-lie
'go away'

Finally, when there is a conflict between 'source' and 'object' competing for expression in the verb, 'source' holds the stage, and, when there is a conflict between 'object' and 'recipient' competing for expression in the Verb, 'recipient' holds the stage.

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