



# Reduplication of intensifiers in Ollo (Laju) and Kasik (Khapa Nocte)

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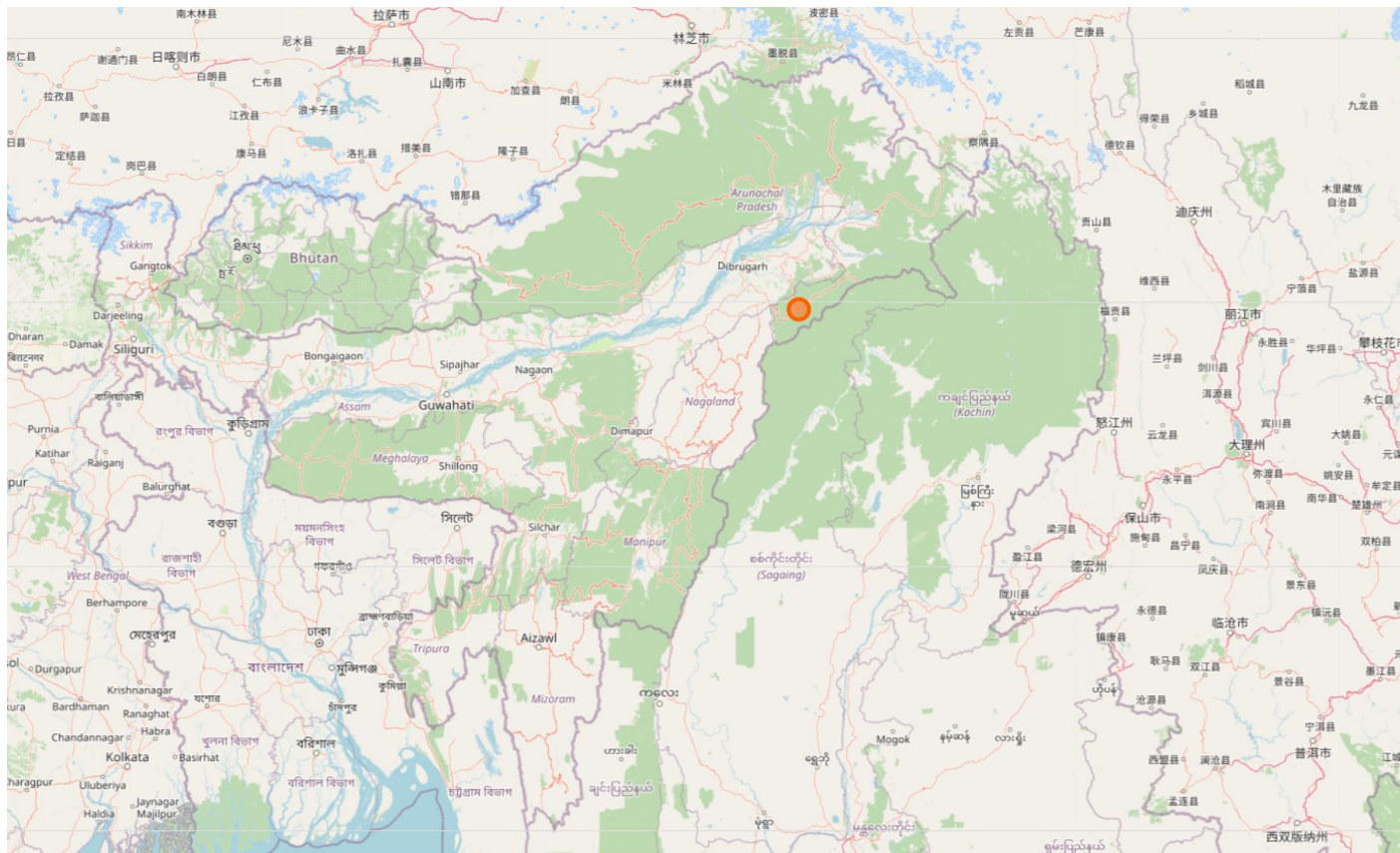
## Background

Ollo and Kasik are two Tibeto-Burman varieties, falling under the Northern Naga grouping within Sal (Tibeto-Burman)

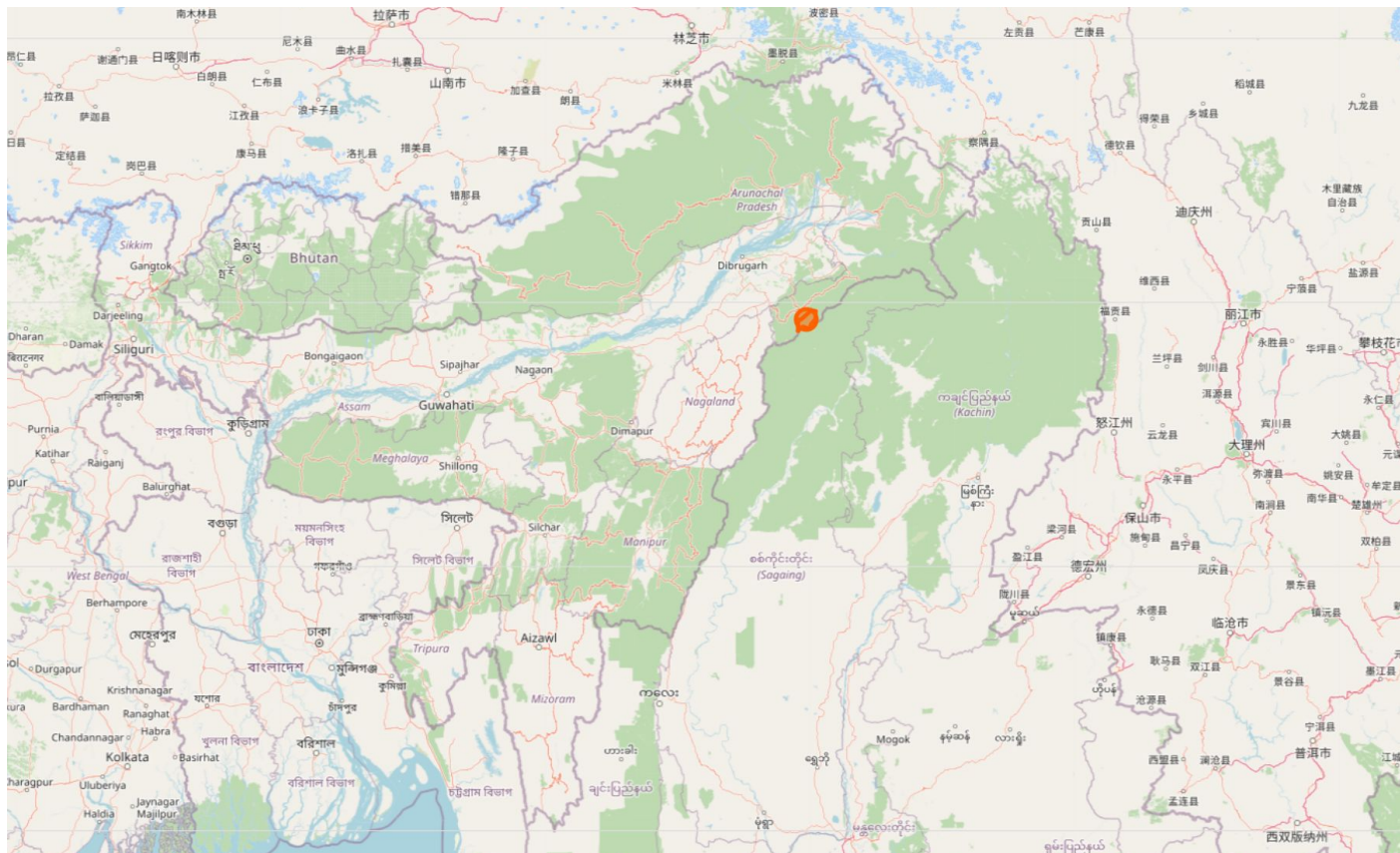
Kasik, also known as Khapa, is a Nocte variety which shows considerable difference in lexicon compared to other Nocte varieties. Kasik also serves as the ritual song language for other Nocte varieties.

Ollo is a related variety spoken in a handful of villages in Tirap district.

Both varieties are believed to belong to the same dialect continuum as Tangsa-Nocte\* based on lexical, phonological and syntactic criteria. (van Dam, forthcoming)

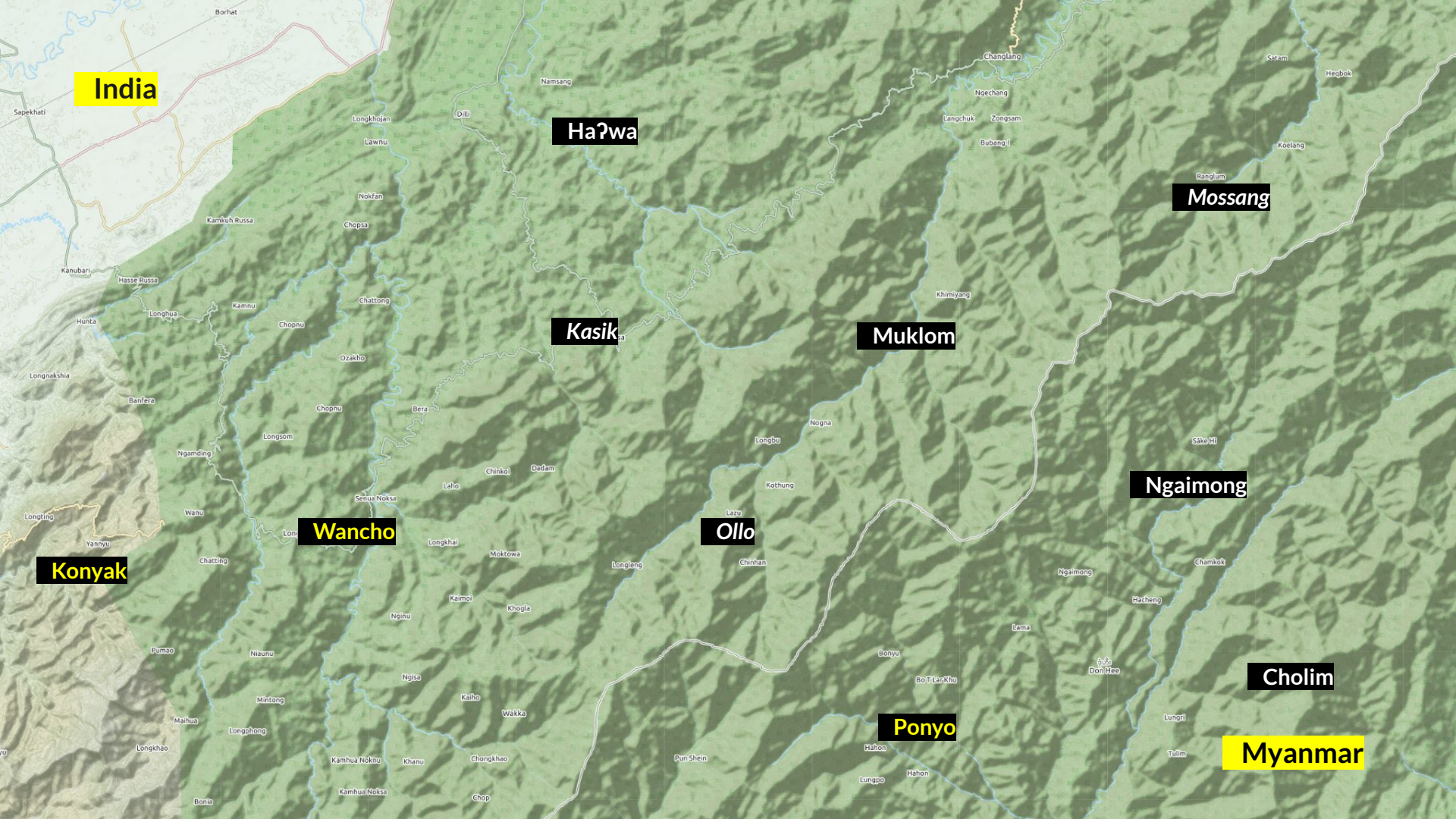


Kasik-speaking area (Pullong, Tupi...)



Olo-speaking area (Lazu, Noglo, Kothung...)





India

Ha?wa

Mossang

Kasik

Muklom

Ngaimong

Wancho

Olo

Konyak

Cholim

Ponyo

Myanmar



## A note on terms

Hereafter, the continuum to which these varieties belong will be called "Tangsa-Nocte" consistent with the earlier literature.

However, use of this label does not suggest that Ollo belongs to either the Tangsa or Nocte group. A more appropriate label for the continuum would be "Tangsa-Nocte-Tutsa-Ollo", as is used in van Dam (forthcoming, LPEHR).

For the sake of brevity, the shorter name Tangsa-Nocte is used.

Its use is not meant to imply any order of importance or classification.



## Research question

This study set out to determine if a pattern of reduplication characteristic to Tangsa-Nocte varieties was also found in Ollo and Kasik.

The pattern is as follows:

- Basic adjectives build on independent verbal stems (red, heavy, rough)
- A (sometimes meaningless) morpheme bound to that stem, which may be reduplicated based on metrical demands.
- AB(B) pattern

Various names: Intensifiers, expressives, modifiers &c.



## Example

Mossang (Muixshvungx) Tangsa:

aor<sub>2</sub>  
DEM

man<sub>2</sub>siu<sub>2</sub>  
cow

k<sub>2</sub>

ʃ<sub>2</sub>  
TOP/COP

red

de<sub>1</sub>~de<sub>1</sub>  
INT~RED

The modifier *de<sub>1</sub>* here may occur either reduplicated or with only a single token. The determining factor of whether or not reduplication will occur is predictable based on the overall sentence structure and meter (van Dam 2020)

Additionally, *de<sub>1</sub>* has no meaning on its own, nor a transparent etymology. In some cases, the etymology will be clear for some adjectives, but not as a general rule (van Dam 2018)

ABB pattern also quite common in Tangsa ritual language\*





# Syllable structure

$((C_0)\emptyset) C_1 V (C_2)$

$C_2 / r l n m \eta p t k \text{ ? } /$

V may be monophthong or diphthong, but no  $C_2$  in cases of diphthongs

$(C_0)\emptyset$  sesquisyllabic prefixes, e.g. nominal  $\emptyset$ -, causative  $t\emptyset$ -, reflexive  $r\emptyset$ - etc

*In Mossang*, adjective/verb stems will never have  $\emptyset$ - when modifiers are added\*



## Example

Mossang (Muixshvungx) Tangsa:

a <sub>0</sub> rɣ <sub>2</sub>	man <sub>2</sub> siu <sub>2</sub>	kɣ <sub>2</sub>	ʃɔ <sub>2</sub>	de <sub>1</sub> ~de <sub>1</sub>
DEM	cow	TOP/COP	red	INT~RED

a <sub>0</sub> rɣ <sub>2</sub>	man <sub>2</sub> siu <sub>2</sub>	kɣ <sub>2</sub>	ə <sub>0</sub> ʃɔ <sub>2</sub>
DEM	cow	TOP/COP	NOMZ.red

* a <sub>0</sub> rɣ <sub>2</sub>	man <sub>2</sub> siu <sub>2</sub>	kɣ <sub>2</sub>	ə <sub>0</sub> ʃɔ <sub>2</sub>	de <sub>1</sub> ~de <sub>1</sub>
DEM	cow	TOP/COP	NOMZ.red	INT~RED



## Reduplicatable "intensifiers"

Multiple bound morphemes exist, covering a wide range of modified meanings. These may function as intensifiers, or to describe the particular quality of the adjective, e.g. "faded red", "glistening white (sparkling)" etc.

Such modifiers exist elsewhere in the central Sal languages, such as Wancho, but follow different syntactical patterns than ABB.

As a diagnostic for membership in Tangsa-Nocte: this ABB pattern of reduplication with cognacy between the colour terms\* (and some modifiers) as one feature among many used to determine linguistic affiliation.



## Reduplicatable "intensifiers"

\* However, some variation occurs regarding etyma of basic colour terms within Tangsa-Nocte,

e.g.	PTN <b>#faŋ</b>	vs	PTB <b>*s-kyan</b>	"red"
	PNN <b>*poy</b>	vs	PNN <b>*luan</b>	"white"
	PTN <b>#βil</b>	vs	PNN <b>*Ç-crin</b> > PTN <b>#tʰuŋ</b>	"green" < "grass"

Cognacy in these terms is not a necessary condition, and in some varieties which use **#βil** for "green", a reflex of PTB **\*s-rin** > PNN **\*Ç-crin** occurs as a reduplicating modifier.

proto Northern Naga (PNN) forms from French (1983).  
proto Tibeto-Burman (PTB) from Matisoff (2003)

Table 1 – Modifiers for BLACK in Tangsa-Nocte varieties

	<i>*njak<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>*duk<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>*rieC<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>*sim</i>	<i>*rum<sub>3</sub></i>	<i>*ham<sup>5</sup></i>	<i>*htaun<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>*tʃaŋ</i>		<i>*ro<sub>1</sub></i>
Chamkok	nʰak <sub>4</sub>	duk	rik	sim	rum					
Hahcheng	nʰek <sub>4</sub>	duk <sub>4</sub>	ɾiɛt <sub>4</sub>			ham <sub>2</sub>				
Joglei	nʰak <sub>4</sub>	duk <sub>4</sub>		sim <sub>2</sub>					kʰaiʔ <sub>4</sub>	ro <sub>1</sub>
Chamchang	nʰaʔ <sub>4</sub>	dok <sub>4</sub>			rum <sub>3</sub>					ro <sub>1</sub>
Lungkhi	mak								ɣip	
Lungphi	nʰok <sub>4</sub>	duk <sub>4</sub>	riet	sim	rim <sub>3</sub>	ham	htaun <sub>2</sub>			ruu <sub>2</sub>
Maitai	nʰaʔ									
Moklum	nak/mak	dik		sam <sub>2</sub>	rim					
Mueshaung	nʰauk <sub>4</sub>	duk <sub>4</sub>			rum <sub>3</sub>		htaun <sub>2</sub>			ruu <sub>2</sub>
Mungre	nʰaʔ <sub>4</sub>		riɣʔ <sub>4</sub>		rum <sub>3</sub>				devʔ	ro <sub>1</sub>
Ngaimong	nʰek <sub>4</sub>	duk <sub>4</sub>	riek <sub>4</sub>							
Phong	mak <sub>4</sub>	dik	rik		ɾam <sub>2</sub>				tʰum	
Pinkhu	mak								diŋ	
Rangsi	nak/mak									
Rera	nak <sub>4</sub> .kʰam		riit <sub>4</sub>	ʃip				tʃaŋ		
Shangthi	nak*			ʃik						
Shangwal	nʰak <sub>4</sub>	duk <sub>4</sub>	rit <sub>4</sub>							
Tikhak	nʰak <sub>4</sub>									
Yongkuk	nʰak <sub>4</sub>	dok	riek	sim <sub>2</sub>	rum <sub>3</sub>	hum				

Table 2 – Modifiers for WHITE in Tangsa-Nocte varieties

	<i>*lon<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>*raŋ</i>	<i>*ljep</i>	<i>*tak</i>	<i>*teiaŋ</i>	<i>*put</i>		<i>*ro</i>
Chamchang	lu <sub>1</sub>	ruu <sub>2</sub>						ro <sub>1</sub>
Chamkok	lon	reŋ	lep	tak		put		
Hahcheng	lon <sub>1</sub>	reŋ <sub>2</sub>	ljep <sub>4</sub>					
Joglei	lon <sub>1</sub>		lep <sub>4</sub>	tak <sub>4</sub>		pet <sub>4</sub>		ro <sub>1</sub>
Mueshaung	lu <sub>1</sub>	ra <sub>2</sub>						ruu <sub>2</sub>
Munre	lon <sub>1</sub>	re <sub>2</sub>		teʔ <sub>4</sub>				ro <sub>1</sub>
Ngaimong	lon <sub>1</sub>	reŋ <sub>2</sub>						
Rera	lo <sub>1</sub> .ba					put <sub>4</sub>		
	mu						tu, tuuu, tʃup	
Shangwal	lon <sub>1</sub>	raŋ <sub>2</sub>						
Tikhak	lon <sub>1</sub>		lep					
Yongkuk	lon <sub>1</sub>	raŋ <sub>2</sub>	ljep	teʔ <sub>4</sub>		pat <sub>4</sub>	raʔ	

Rangsi	voan						foŋ	
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Rera	mu						tʃup, tʰy	
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	<i>*pon<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>*raŋ</i>	<i>*ljep</i>	<i>*tak</i>	<i>*teiaŋ</i>	<i>*put</i>		<i>*ro</i>
Moklum	puŋ <sub>1</sub>				teiaŋ <sub>2</sub>	poŋ	tsaʔ	
Phong	poŋ		lep	tuk <sub>4</sub>	teiaŋ <sub>2</sub>		tr	





# Olo

a.k.a. Layu, Laju



# Ollo

In Ollo, the ABB pattern occurs consistent with other TN varieties:

yah	me.su	ah	shaang	ram~ram
DEM	cow	COP	red	INTEN~REDUP
“That cow is very red”				

Cognacy is immediately apparent with Mossang terms "cow" and "red", while the demonstrative and "copula" lack cognacy with Mossang.

Ollo terms have been given by Mr. Nali Janpi of Deomali, Tirap District, Arunachal Pradesh



# Ollo

As in other TB languages, basic adjectives are prefixed in isolation. In Ollo, this is with *ka-*. The following is a partial inventory for Ollo:

red	<i>ka-shaang</i>	
white	<i>ka-thioh</i>	< PNN * <i>thow</i>
black	<i>ka-nyiak</i>	
green	<i>ka-sin</i>	< PNN * <i>Ç-crin</i>
yellow	<i>ka-tchaak</i>	

As in Mossang, when modifiers are added, the prefix is dropped:

black	<i>ka-nyiak</i>	very black	<i>nyak dok dok</i>
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Table 1 – Modifiers for BLACK in Tangsa-Nocte varieties

	*njak <sub>4</sub>	*duk <sub>4</sub>	*rieC <sub>4</sub>	*sim	*rum <sub>3</sub>	*ham <sup>5</sup>	*htaun <sub>2</sub>	*tʃaŋ		*ro <sub>1</sub>
Chamkok	nʰak <sub>4</sub>	duk	rik	sim	rum					
Hahcheng	nʰek <sub>4</sub>	duk <sub>4</sub>	ɾet <sub>4</sub>			ham <sub>2</sub>				
Joglei	nʰak <sub>4</sub>	duk <sub>4</sub>		sim <sub>2</sub>					kʰaiʔ <sub>4</sub>	ro <sub>1</sub>
Chamchang	nʰaʔ <sub>4</sub>	dok <sub>4</sub>			rum <sub>3</sub>					ro <sub>1</sub>
Lungkhi	mak								ɣip	
Lungphi	nʰok <sub>4</sub>	duk <sub>4</sub>	riet	sim	rim <sub>3</sub>	ham	htaun <sub>2</sub>			ruu <sub>2</sub>
Maitai	nʰaʔ									
Moklum	nak/mak	dik		sam <sub>2</sub>	rim					
Mueshaung	nʰauk <sub>4</sub>	duk <sub>4</sub>			rum <sub>3</sub>		htaun <sub>2</sub>			ruu <sub>2</sub>
Mungre	nʰaʔ <sub>4</sub>		ɾiʔ <sub>4</sub>		rum <sub>3</sub>				devʔ	ro <sub>1</sub>
Ngaimong	nʰek <sub>4</sub>	duk <sub>4</sub>	ɾiek <sub>4</sub>							
Phong	mak <sub>4</sub>	dik	rik		ram <sub>2</sub>				tʰum	
Pinkhu	mak								diŋ	
Rangsi	nak/mak									
Rera	nak <sub>4</sub> .kʰam		ɾit <sub>4</sub>	ɟip				tʃaŋ		
Shangthi	nak*			ɟik						
Shangwal	nʰak <sub>4</sub>	duk <sub>4</sub>	ɾit <sub>4</sub>							
Tikhak	nʰak <sub>4</sub>									
Yongkuk	nʰak <sub>4</sub>	dok	ɾiek	sim <sub>2</sub>	rum <sub>3</sub>	hum				

Table 2 – Modifiers for WHITE in Tangsa-Nocte varieties

	*lon <sub>1</sub>	*raŋ	*ljep	*tak	*tɕiaŋ	*put		*ro
Chamchang	lu <sub>1</sub>	ruu <sub>2</sub>						ro <sub>1</sub>
Chamkok	lon	reŋ	lep	tak		put		
Hahcheng	lon <sub>1</sub>	reŋ <sub>2</sub>	ljep <sub>4</sub>					
Joglei	lon <sub>1</sub>		lep <sub>4</sub>	tak <sub>4</sub>		pet <sub>4</sub>		ro <sub>1</sub>
Mueshaung	lu <sub>1</sub>	ra <sub>2</sub>						ruu <sub>2</sub>
Munre	lon <sub>1</sub>	re <sub>2</sub>		teʔ <sub>4</sub>				ro <sub>1</sub>
Ngaimong	lon <sub>1</sub>	reŋ <sub>2</sub>						
Rera	lo <sub>1</sub> .ba					put <sub>4</sub>		
	mu						tu, tuu, tʃup	
Shangwal	lon <sub>1</sub>	raŋ <sub>2</sub>						
Tikhak	lon <sub>1</sub>		lep					
Yongkuk	lon <sub>1</sub>	raŋ <sub>2</sub>	ljep	teʔ <sub>4</sub>		pat <sub>4</sub>	raʔ	

Rangsi	voan						foŋ	
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Rera	mu						tʃup, tʰy	
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	*pon <sub>1</sub>	*raŋ	*ljep	*tak	*tɕiaŋ	*put		*ro
Moklum	puŋ <sub>1</sub>				tɕiaŋ <sub>2</sub>	poŋ	tsaʔ	
Phong	poŋ		lep	tuk <sub>4</sub>	tɕiaŋ <sub>2</sub>		tr	



# Olo

## Semantic modifiers

spotted white

*thio-pot (-pot)*

very deep white

*thio-poong (-poong)*

discoloured red

*shaang-mon (-mon)*

< PNN \**pok?* compare pTani \**pun*

## Lexically specified

‘very black’

*nyak dok dok*

‘very yellow’

*tsak dok dok*

‘dark green’

*sin dok dok*

\* ‘very red’

\**shaang dok dok*

‘very red’

*shaang ram ram*

Mossang \**thiŋ duk duk*





# Olo

As mentioned, the origin of modifiers is often opaque. However, in some cases modifiers may stand on their own as adjectives as well.

<i>ka-mon</i>	dull, faded or discoloured
<i>shaang-mon</i>	matte red; faded red; discoloured red
<i>shaang-mon-mon</i>	"

# Ollo

Bound modifiers, as in other varieties in the Tangsa-Nocte continuum, may be heavily restricted to certain stems:

<i>sin-diak</i>	glossy green (green + leaf)
<i>thio-thi</i>	glossy white

In the case of *sindiak*, this is used for any glossy green item, and not limited to leaves, despite the etymology.





# Kasik

a.k.a. Khapa



## Kasik (Khapa)

Kasik does not always follow this pattern, however. Instead, intensification of basic colour terms is achieved by reduplication of the term itself:

ma.hu	le:h	sa:k~sa:k	la:h
cow	DEM	red~REDUP	INTEN
“That cow is very red”			

Additional work on Kasik is sorely needed, as it provides a significant departure from other Nocte varieties. Work in this regard is ongoing.



## Kasik (Khapa)

In some cases, the ABB pattern is used.

- ke-chu                      white              < PNN \**thow*
  - spotted white              chu-row
- ka-nyak                      black
  - spotted black              nyak-row

In Kasik, the modifiers appear to be more productive compared to other TN varieties.

- chen-chen                      sparkling
- **ke**-chu chen-chen              glistening





## Kasik (Khapa)

### Variable retention of prefix

speckled black	ke chu roh	
"	chu roh	(used for animals)

speckled white	ke nyak roh	
"	nyak roh	(used for animals)

here *roh* "written" used productively as a modifier of any colour term to mean "specked" on any colour background.

## Kasik (Khapa)

### Variable retention of prefix

<i>nikhep</i>	<i>ke-chu</i>	<i>rôh</i>	<i>ah</i>	<i>nga-pan</i>
shirt	NOMZ-white	speckled	COP	1Ps-POS

"The white dappled shirt is mine."

<i>mahü</i>	<i>ke-chu</i>	<i>rôh</i>	<i>ah</i>	<i>nga-pan</i>
<i>mahü</i>	<i>Ø-chu</i>	<i>rôh</i>		<i>ah nga-pan</i>
cow	NOMZ-white	speckled	COP	1Ps-POS

"The white dappled cow is mine."

### Muishvung Tangsa

* <i>svm<sub>x</sub>hung<sub>z</sub></i>	<i>v-lui<sub>z</sub></i>	<i>put</i>	<i>kue<sub>x</sub></i>	<i>ngvy<sub>z</sub></i>
<i>svm<sub>x</sub>hung<sub>z</sub></i>	<i>Ø-lui<sub>z</sub></i>	<i>put</i>	<i>kue<sub>x</sub></i>	<i>ngvy<sub>z</sub></i>
shirt	NOMZ-white	speckled	COP	1Ps.POS



# Conclusion



## Conclusion

- Modifiers are found in Olo following the same pattern as elsewhere in the Tangsa-Nocte-(Olo)-Tutsa continuum
- Along with cognacy of the tone system and common TN vocabulary, placement within the continuum is well supported.
- Kasik shows greater variation, lacking adherence to the AB(B) pattern of modifiers.
- However this variance is not total, as some ABB forms are attested, but also lacking the same prefix-dropping behaviour
- Kasik, while still under-documented, is already an outlier. This may point to a closer affinity to the Wancho-Konyak branch of Northern Naga, with heavy contact having led to its closeness to Nocte.
- Further investigation into this theory is required when travel allows.



**Thank you**





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