

**MORPHOLOGY OF THE ADI LANGUAGE
OF
ARUNACHAL PRADESH**



BY

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This is being submitted to the North-Eastern Hill University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics.

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To my parents
C. Lalchungnunga & Thankimi

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C. Lalrempuii

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

1dl	First Person Dual
1p	First Person Plural
1s	First Person Singular
2dl	Second Person Dual
2p	Second Person Plural
2s	Second Person Singular
3dl	Third Person Dual
3p	Third Person Plural
3s	Third Person Singular
ABIL	Ability
ABL	Ablative Case
ACC	Accusative Case
ADVRBLZR	Adverbializer
ART	Article
ASSOC	Associative
AUX	Auxiliary
ben	Benefative
CL	Classifier
COMP	Complementizer
COMP MKR	Comparative Marker
CONJ	Conjunction

DAT	Dative Case
DES	Desiderative Mood
DET	Determiner
DIS	Dissociative
DUB	Dubitative Case
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive Case
HORT	Hortative Mood
IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitive
INST	Instrumental Case
INT	Intensifier
LOC	Locative Case
man.adv	Manner Adverbial
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominative Case
NOMNLZR	Nominalizer
OPT	Optative Mood
PERF	Perfective
pp	Post Position
PRES	Present
PROG	Progressive (Continuous)
PROHIB	Prohibitive Mood
prt	Particle

PST	Past
QMKR	Question Marker
QUO	Quotative
REV	Reversal
suf	Suffix
SUP	Superlative Degree
tag	Tag question

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Adis

The Adis are the most important tribe living in the (Siang) district having quite a good number of sub-tribes.¹ The Adis were formerly known as the Abors. The term 'Abor' means in Assamese an independent, remote and unknown people and is applied somewhat loosely to a number of tribes and clans, specially those who occupy the hills east of the Miris as far as the Dibang river. But the people living there call themselves Adi and not Abor.

Adi is a language spoken by the Adis, one of the largest hill tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Though they were formerly known as Abors, their tribe name as per the census records is Adi. The Adis are sub-divided into different sub-tribes. Among them are Padam, Minyong, Pangi, Shimong, Ashing, Pasi, Karko, Bokar, Bori, Ramo, Pailibo, Milan, Tangam and Tagin. The Padam and Minyong are the largest groups.

The total population of the Adis according to the 1991 census is 1.2 lakhs, and they constitute the largest tribal group in Arunachal Pradesh. The Adis spread over in the East, West and Upper Siang Districts of Arunachal

¹ L N Chakravarty 1995 *Glimpses of the Early History of Arunachal Itanagar* Directorate of Research Government of Arunachal Pradesh P 36

Pradesh. The Adi-inhabited area is about 21,229 sq. kms. excluding the areas in the Dibang and Subansiri valley.²

1.2. The place of Adi in the Tibeto-Burman family of languages

Tibeto-Burman is generally regarded as a member of Sino-Tibetan family. Most of the classifications done on Tibeto-Burman are based on their genetic relationship, in which the languages so classified are claimed to have descended from a single ancestral language Tibeto-Burman. Tibeto-Burman is one of the four language families of India. The other three are Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic. Grierson observes that Tibeto-Burman languages stand out as a distinct family as compared with Tai and Chinese (Grierson, 1966, p.5). Tai and Chinese follow the subject-verb-object order whereas Tibeto-Burman languages use subject-object-verb order. There is no grammatical gender. Grammatical categories like case, number, etc., are expressed by free words added after the noun rather than by bound morphemes suffixed to the noun. They are thus like adjectives and follow the head noun.

Grierson classifies the Abor-Miri and Dafla in North Assam group, "The Abor-Miris and Daflas speak dialects which are so closely related that they can justly be considered one and the same speech form." (Grierson, 1966, p.568).

² Sachin Roy. 1966. *Aspects of Padam – Minyong Culture* P. 1.

Benedict (1972) organized the Tibeto-Burman family into seven nuclei, a helical model as presented below.

TB Classification (Keyed to lines)

Benedict (1972)

Tibeto Burman

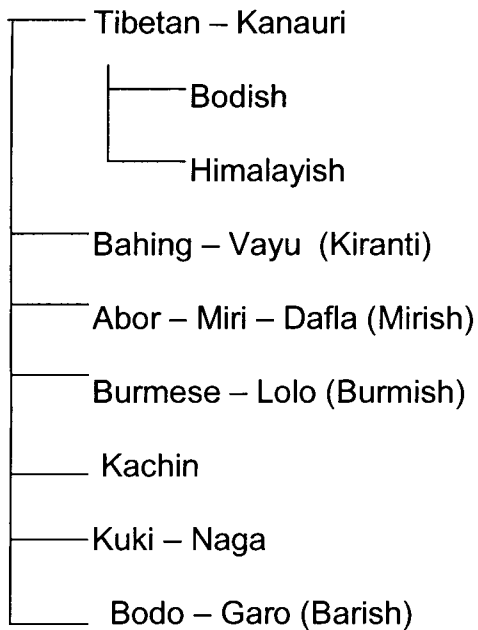


Figure 1. Benedict's classification of the TB languages of Northeast India.

He further classified the nuclei as having different members of languages. Among the seven nuclei, the classification he proposed for Abor-Miri-Dafla (Mirish) is presented below:

Abor- Miri-Dafla (Mirish)

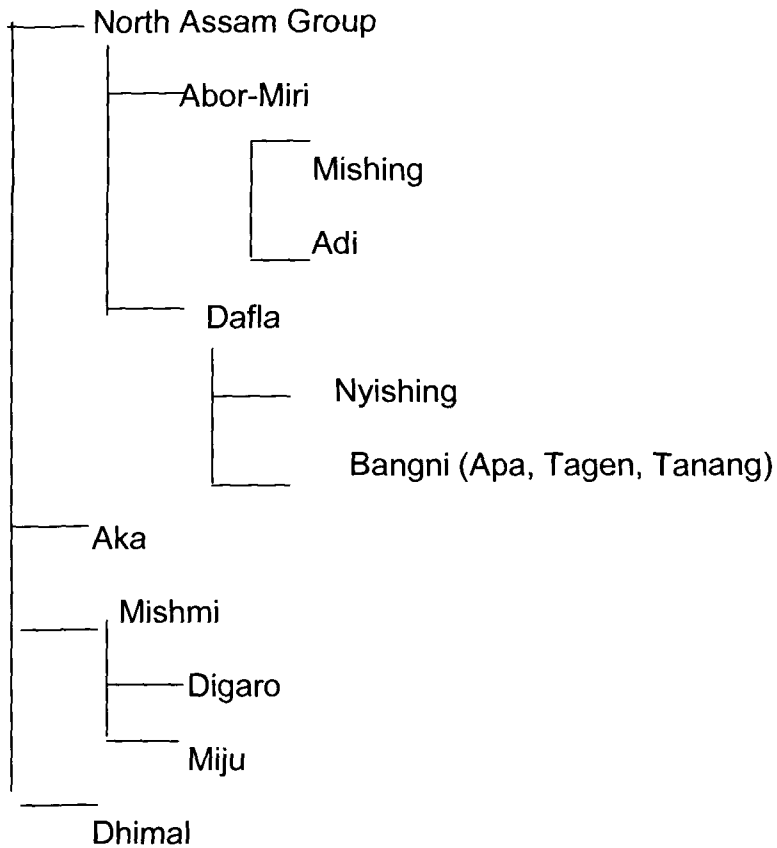


Figure 2. Benedict's proposal for Abor-Miri-Dafla classification

DeLancey (1991) has modified this model of Benedict in several respects. Benedict's Kuki-Chin-Naga, Abor-Miri-Dafla, and Bodo-Garo subgroups, spoken in NE India and adjacent regions of Burma, are lumped together under the purely geographical rubric of Kamarupan (Kamarupa, the

Sanskrit term for Assam).³ The term 'Kamaruppan' was first introduced by Matisoff (1991), which Robbins Burling (1999) comments it as being inappropriate and misleading as it is used 'simply as a convenient geographical catchall in which to toss these northeastern languages when their genetic subgrouping was unclear.'⁴

Burlings further says that DeLancey, who wrote the articles on Tibeto-Burman for the *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (DeLancey 1991), grouped all the Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeastern India together, but instead of calling them "Kamarupan" he used the term "Baric". Burlings found this 'a particularly unfortunate choice' because "Baric has been used to refer to just one particular subgroup of closely related Tibeto-Burman languages, and never before has "Baric" been used to embrace all of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Northeast India."⁵

Sun, in his Ph. D. dissertation (1993), gives a new name to the branch of Tibeto-Burman languages which were previously known as the Abor-Miri-Dafla, Mishingish, North Assam, or Mirish, which is **Tani**. His arguments for giving this new name to the mentioned branch of Tibeto-Burman languages in his own words are that in the days of the Linguistic Survey of India, the expedient term 'North Assam' was used to refer to the little known Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in a stretch of land between

³ Robbins Burling, 1999. 'On "Kamarupan"' in *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*. Volume 22.2, University of Michigan. p. 169-170.

⁴ Robbins Burling. "The Tibeto Burman Languages of Northeastern India". Draft, ts. 6. 9.1999 University of Michigan. P. 4.

⁵ Robbins Burling, 1999. 'On "Kamarupan"' in *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*... p.169-170.

Tibet and Assam. This geographically based label, adopted by Weidert (1987) to denote specifically the languages we now call Tani, is not very useful because of its misleading vagueness. The other old term 'Abor-Miri-Dafla', composed of names of the three major tribal groups speaking these languages, must also be discarded, since the outdated pejorative exonyms it is based on are now resented by native speakers of these languages. The term 'Mirish' (Benedict 1972), widely recognized as it is, is inappropriate because it is also based on the objectionable exonym 'Miri' which not only sounds offensive to its bearers, but covers only a small subset (e.g. the Misings and the Hill Miris) of the Tani-speaking tribes. Robert Shafer's term 'Mishingish' (q.v. Shafer 1967) is superior, but unfortunately also suffers from incomplete reference, since the term Mising is not recognized by such other major groups as the Apatanis, the Bengnis, and the Adis. There is, therefore, a real need to find an alternative term that can be readily acceptable to speakers of all languages belonging to this group...speakers of these languages share a legendary ancestor by the name of **Abo Tani**, with whom they all proudly identify... it seems, therefore, reasonable to designate this group of Tibeto-Burman languages as Tani.⁶

Burling (1999) has also adopted the name 'Tani' as suggested by Sun (1993). The membership of the Tani group is clear, but the internal relationships have been muddled by an ethnic classification that is only vaguely related to the language classification. The Tani area, barring a few

⁶ Tianshin Jackson Sun, *A Historical Comparative Study of the Tani (Mirish) Branch in Tibeto-Burman*, 1993, A Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley. P. 3-4.

aberrant linguistic islands, seems to consist of a continuum of mutually intelligible local varieties shading gradually into one another (Sun 1993:8).

Sun's Tani stambaum is reproduced in the following figure. The languages on the left side of the tree include those that are sometimes called "Nishi", while those on the right are more often called "Adi".⁷

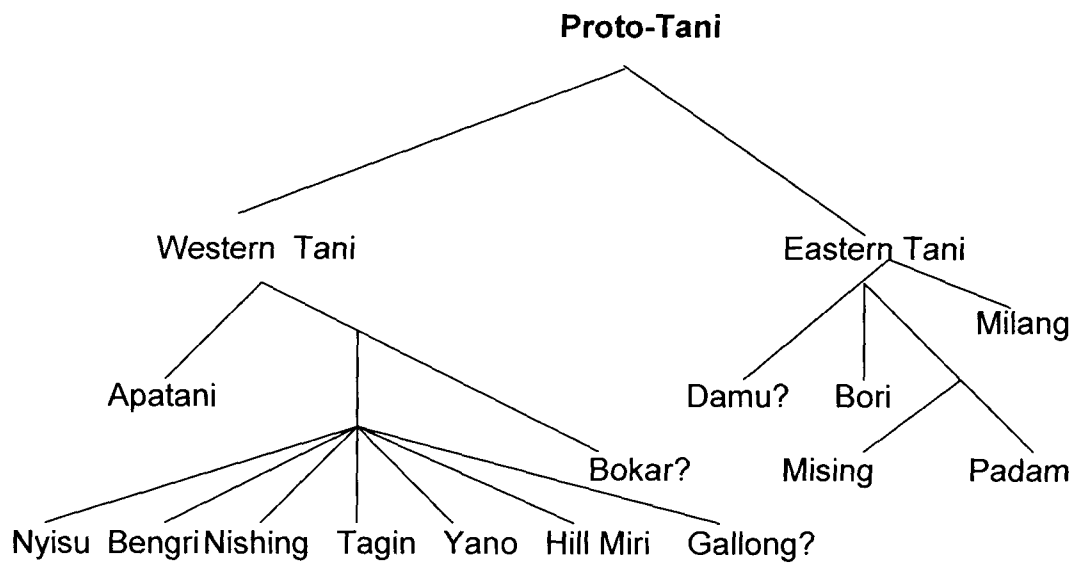


Figure 3. Stambaum of T.-S. Jackson Sun's classification of Tani languages.

Conclusion

Adi is generally believed to belong to the Tibeto Burman family of languages. However, there have been differences in the classifications put forward by various scholars. Of the classifications discussed in this chapter, that of Sun (1993) seems to be the most appropriate, moreover, Burling

⁷ Robbins Burling. "The Tibeto Burman Languages of Northeastern India"...p. 13

(1999) also evidently shares his views. In view of their discussions, the researcher also considers the classification of the two mentioned scholars, most plausible.

The above discussion has placed the Adi language in a somewhat less vague position than it had been in the past. The credibility of the classification of Adi under the Tibeto-Burman family of languages is also confirmed by the fact that the language also seems to fit well into Subbarao, Kevichusa and Kumar's Typological Characteristics of Tibeto-Burman Languages, (1999).

CHAPTER - 2

SURVEY OF LITERATURE

2.1. Works on Adi

There have been a number of research works done on the Tani languages by different scholars but no satisfactory description of the Adi language is available so far. The works and books that have been written on the Adi people are mostly about the culture and the society and those that have dealt with the language, are concerned mainly with the genetic classification.

The first work on Adi is found in the Linguistic Survey of India by Grierson (1904). In it he made brief sketches of Abor (Adi), Miri (Mising) and Dafla (Nishi). In this work, Grierson treated Adi and Mising together. However, the differences in the lexicon and phonology are also mentioned with examples. The nominals described include Gender, Number, Case, Numerals and pronouns. The verbals include the tenses, the aspects and the participles.

He started out by giving a brief introduction of the people and their habitat followed by the section in the phonology of the languages

Lorrain, a Baptist Missionary, made an impressive contribution by producing a comprehensive Abor-Miri (i.e. Padam-Mising) dictionary entitled 'A Dictionary of Abor-Miri Language with illustrative sentences and notes' (Lorrain 1907).

The dictionary was compiled during the author's stay at Sadiya (June 1900-Feb, 1903). The main language treated in this work seems to be an unidentified variety of Mising, but the entries were also meant to cover the closely related Padam, and sometimes also other forms of Adi (e.g. Pasi-Minyong). When different dialect forms exist for the same gloss, disambiguating labels are used (A for Padam; P for Pasi-Minyong, and absence of marking for Mising).¹

However, Lorrain's description has a number of limitations as pointed out by Ju Namkung (1996). He states that 'Abor and Miri (Padam and Mising), two closely related varieties of Eastern Tani, are treated together in Lorrain's dictionary. Global phonological differences between the two varieties, though not mentioned by Lorrain, most certainly exist. Separate Padam and Mising forms are provided only when Lorrain detected a linguistic (usually lexical) difference'. After Lorrain, some attempts have been made to describe the language by various researchers like Simon (1972), Dasgupta (1977), etc., but a thorough expert analysis on the language is still lacking.

A. Tayeng, an Adi, who worked as an Assistant Director of Research in the department of Philology, under the Government of Arunachal Pradesh published a Phrase Book in Padam (1983). The book contains a number of phrases and lexical items with their English gloss. The book has been a good source of data collection.

¹ Tianshun Jackson Sun, *A Historical Comparative Study of the Tani (Mishing) Branch in Tibeto-Burman*, 1993, A Ph D Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley p 17

Tamo Mibang and P.T. Abraham (2001) have also brought out a book entitled 'An Introduction to Adi Language'. The book contains sample discourses for various imaginary situations as well as explanations of some aspects of the grammar of the Adi language.

2.2. Survey of Related Literature

2.2.1. 3 Structuralist Models (Hockett)

As the concept of the morpheme was developed in structuralist theories of language, so word formation came to be viewed as the disposition of morphemes in a word. Morphology came to be dominated by the metaphor of word analysis rather than word formation as linguistic theory sought to provide techniques for decomposing words into their compound morphemes. According to Hockett (1958) 'Morphology includes the stock of segmental morphemes, and the ways in which words are built up out of them. He proposes three models.

Following are Hockett's (1958) models for language description-

(a) Item – and- arrangement (IA) Theory

This is the clearest of Hockett's models. This model took the morpheme as its basic unit- 'morphemes' including roots, inflections, derivational affixes, and so on. These items form what is called the surface structure. Hockett discusses the ablaut in the formation of strong past tenses in English verbs, as compared with the regular formation consisting of

affixation of *-ed* to the basic form (as *bake* – *baked*). He points out that descriptive linguistics up to that time had a variety of means for describing the fact that *took* is the past tense form *take*, and proceeds to compare them.

Hockett's list (1958a:393) are as follows:

- i. *took* is a single morpheme <...>
- ii. *took* is a portmanteau representation of the two morpheme sequence 'take' and /ed/.
- iii. *took* is an allomorph of the morpheme which appears elsewhere as 'take', plus a zero allomorph of /ed/.
- iv. *took* is a discontinuous allomorph /t..k/ of 'take' and an infixed allomorph /u/ of /ed/.
- v. *took* is 'take' plus a replacive morph /u/ <- /ey/ (read 'u/ replaces /ey/)

This citation is itself self-explanatory except for the term portmanteau which means a type of fusion of two morphemes into one.

All of these solutions have their drawbacks. But the option Hockett seems to prefer is that of (iv), though he explicitly denies that this means that the form *take* is comprised of /t..k/ plus an infix /ey/. However, this preference is relative to IA theory. As Hockett points out, in a different theoretical framework we would expect different solutions to be favoured. Hockett mentions one other approach in passing the Word-and-Paradigm theory, and devotes much of his discussion to what he sees as the main alternative to IA, the Item-and-Process (IP) Theory.

The IA Theory attempts to retain at all costs the idea of a one-one correspondence between form and function but poses a great difficulty in providing a satisfactory solution to these problems.

(b) Item – and – Process (IP) Theory

The IP Approach historically precedes the IA approach described by Hockett (1958). In an IP account we would distinguish between basic or underlying forms of a morpheme and forms derived after the application of certain processes. Thus, we would say that *bake* and *take* were underlying forms and that two distinct processes applied to them in the formation of the past tense. In the first, the process is affixation of *-ed* (or perhaps of the allomorph */t/*), in the second, the process is phonological in that the vowel of *take* is replaced by */u/*.

There remains a class of phenomena which neither IA nor IP seem well equipped to handle and that are the fusional nature of inflectional systems. Both IA and IP are fundamentally agglutinative. In IP word structure need not necessarily look agglutinative on the surface, but it is assumed to be agglutinative at the underlying level. This difficulty becomes apparent when asked how the IA or IP theories would handle the problem posed by Russian adjectival forms such as *bol'shomu* 'big (masc/neut. Dat. Sg. Adj)'

Large	masc/NEUT	DAT	SG	ADJ
Bol'sh		omu		

Both the IA and IP Theories are fundamentally agglutinating theories and are therefore relevant for typologically agglutinating languages.

(c) Word-and-Paradigm (WP) Theory

Hockett only mentioned this briefly. This is an approach to inflectional morphology, first presented in an articulated form in Robbins (1959) and defended meticulously within a generative framework by Matthews (1972; also Matthews, 1974). Robbins pointed out that there are certain generalizations, which can only be stated at the level of the whole word. His proposal was to revamp a much earlier tradition of word analysis devised from classical grammarians.

The key to the WP approach is our notion of the morphosyntactic word. Each inflected form has (at least) one morphosyntactic description (e.g., Past tense form or dative singular of the masculine/ neuter adjectival form) and the grammar then makes available paradigms that specify the formation, which corresponds to these categories. In other words, the relation between morphological form and morphosyntactic function is, many to many and not one to one.

The structuralists also talk about morphophonemics; they likened morphological structure to allomorphic variation. This connects morphological theory (what is known in structuralism as phonemics), and for certain schools of structuralism the result was an intermediate morphophonemic level.

As the structuralist models presented by Hockett are rather outdated and impractical, none of them are found to be suitable for the analysis of Adic morphological processes.

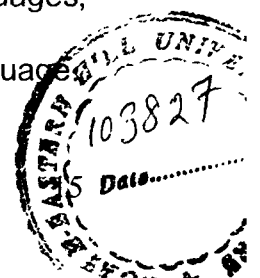
2.2.2. Principles of Descriptive Analysis (Nida)

Nida is of the opinion that a descriptive analyst must be guided by “very fixed principles” in order to be accurate and objective in the description of language.

The fundamental principles for linguistic description listed by Nida (1949: 1-3) are:-

- a) Descriptive analysis must be based on what people say, i.e., the primacy of spoken over written language, and the necessity to record what people actually say, not what they should say.
- b) The forms are primary and the usages secondary, i.e., a descriptive linguist should start with the form, and then describe the grammatical positions in which the forms occur.
- c) No part of a language can be adequately described without reference to all other parts, i.e., phonetics, morphology and syntax of a language can be described with reference to each other.
- d) Languages are constantly in the process of change, i.e., there are fluctuations in the use of alternative forms (e.g. proven vs. proved).

Language change is an attested fact of all human languages, but the rate of change varies at different times in the history of a language



In addition to the above fundamental principles, Nida states that “the science of descriptive linguistics should be concerned with structural relations in any and all languages” (p. 4). Hence, whenever the existing terms are applicable they should be used. In other words, Nida cautions against the use of technical words which are applicable only in specialized areas.

Since Nida’s book deals primarily with Morphology and the descriptive analysis of words, he put forward six important principles for the identification of morphemes:

Principle 1. Forms which have a common semantic distinctiveness and an identical phonemic form in all their occurrences constitute a single morpheme (e.g. *-er* in singer, dancer, walker, runner, etc.). Comparative Degree *-er* in taller, bigger, smarter, etc. is a different morpheme (p. 7).

Principle 2. “Forms which have a common semantic distinctiveness but which differ in phonemic forms... may constitute a morpheme provided the distribution of formal differences is phonologically definable.” (p. 14) (e.g. plural *s~z~iz*) which is phonologically definable.

Principle 3. “Forms which have a common semantic distinctiveness but which differ in phonemic form in such a way that their distribution cannot be phonologically defined, constitute a single morpheme, if the forms are in complementary distribution”, (in accordance with some restrictions) (p. 4).

Principle 4. "An overt formal difference in the structural series constitutes a morpheme if in any member of such a series, the overt formal difference and a zero structural difference are the only significant features for distinguishing a minimal unit of phonetic-semantic distinctiveness" (p. 54).

Principle 5. "Homophonous forms are identifiable as the same or different morpheme on the basis of (some) conditions" (p. 55). For examples, same morphemes: fish (n), to fish (v); different morphemes: pear, pare, pair.

Principle 6. "A morpheme is isolatable if it occurs under the following conditions:

1. In isolation (i.e., free morphemes like 'boy', 'run', etc.)
2. In multiple combinations in at least one of which the unit with which it is combined, occurs in isolation or in other combinations. (e.g. **con**ceive, **con**sume; **re**ceive, **re**sume).
3. In a single combination, provided the element with which it is combined occurs in isolation, or in other combinations with non-unique constituents. (e.g. 'cranberry', 'raspberry' because the element 'berry' occurs in isolation) (p. 60)

Nida's six principles have provided basic guidelines to field linguists dealing with morphological analysis especially those working on "unknown", undescribed languages. Obviously, some of the principles for identification of morphemes are for more thorough, exhaustive research. Since this is a preliminary research on Adi Morphology, many of these

principles have not found a place in the analysis, for example, allomorphs based on phonological environment (Principle 2) have not been considered in the present study, nor homophonous forms (Principle 5). However, the fundamental principles a, b, c listed above have been followed, including the use of known, traditional terminology. It is because of principle c that Phonology has been included as a chapter, and that whole sentences sometimes have been presented in the data.

2.2.3. Morphological Processes (Matthews)

In his *Morphology* (1991), Matthews talks about Sandhi Processes. He mentions that *Sandhi* are processes which correspond to the more familiar notion of *Assimilation*. It is a process in which a word-form emerges by the interaction and influence of one basic form on another. He makes a distinction between **external sandhi** (sandhi 'external' to the phonological word or operating across word boundaries) and **internal sandhi** (sandhi operating within them).

In the chapter on Morphological Processes, Matthews defines Morphological Process as '... a means of changing a stem to adjust its meaning to fit its syntactic and communicational context.' He puts forward the following processes:-

- (1) Affixation- Affixation is the morphological process whereby an affix is attached to a root or stem. He further divides affixation into three-

(a) Prefixation: A morphological process whereby a bound morpheme is attached to the front of a root or stem.

(b) Infixation: A morphological process whereby a bound morpheme attaches within a root or stem. And

(c) Suffixation: A morphological process whereby a bound morpheme is attached to the end of a stem.

(2) Modification, a morphological process which produces an alteration within a root or stem. This process includes-

(a) Suppletion, the replacement of one stem with another, resulting in an allomorph of a morpheme, which has no phonological similarity to the other allomorphs. The process suppletion, though not strictly morphological, typically encodes the same type of information as the other morphological processes already mentioned. It is often discussed in conjunction with them.

(b) Subtraction is a morphological process of modification that removes one or more segments from a root or stem.

(3) Reduplication- Matthews also mentions the process of reduplication, a morphological process in which a root or stem or part of it is repeated. Reduplication is further sub-categorized into:

- (a) Complete reduplication, where the whole word is reduplicated and
- (b) Partial reduplication, where only part of the operand is reduplicated.

This study has drawn on Matthews understanding of Morphological processes, with data from Adi (Ch. 7). However, other morphological processes like vowel change and stress change, replacement, have not been dealt with for lack of data.

Abbi (1992) too has dealt extensively with the morphological process of reduplication, since this is an important areal feature of South Asia, her work has been consulted to verify the existence of reduplication in Adi, and to show if the process is similar to other South Asian Languages.

For the Morphological Process of affixation, Napoli's (1996) sets of criteria for distinguishing derivational from inflectional affixes, proves to be useful. This study of Adi has made some use of Napoli's classification of Nominal Suffixes to indicate Person, Number, Gender, Class and Case, in chapter 5. Similarly, her discussion of verbal affixes to indicate Tense, Aspect, Mood and Modal affixes, have been helpful to analyse verbal affixes in Adi.

2.2.4. Linguistic Analysis (J. Andrews Bickford)

According to his own words, J. Andrews Bickford's book (*Tools for Analyzing the World's Languages: Morphology and Syntax*. 1998.) is intended as a 'bridge builder.' Its intended audience is people who want to learn how to do basic linguistic analysis, particularly on languages about which little information is available. The book makes an introduction to morphological and syntactic analysis, which covers both general characteristics of language and specific theoretical formulations and does so through rich exposure to diverse data from the whole world. This book also tries to bridge the gap that often exists between language description and formal linguistic theory. Linguistic theory approaches explanatory adequacy, it can help guide a descriptive analyst in fruitful directions. On the other hand, if descriptive linguists are aware of theoretical claims and find conflicts with facts in particular languages, they then have an opportunity to make a theoretical contribution and thus further refine our understanding of universal language structure. The book, thus, aims at contributing to this symbiosis of linguistic description and linguistic theory.

Bickford has included a number of very practical suggestions about how to go about doing descriptive linguistics, especially in chapters 24–27. His work has been especially helpful during the initial period of the study in helping the researcher to organize data in a meaningful way.

The principle frameworks he draws from are Transformational Grammar (starting with the Extended Standard Theory but with some more recent material from Government-binding Theory), A-morphous Morphology, Relational Grammar, Lexical Functional Grammar, Generalized Phrase

Structure Grammar, Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar, as well as the literature on linguistic typology, language universals, and functional approaches to linguistic structure. Since the book is structured around linguistic phenomena, it does not reflect the specialties of any one framework.

Conclusion

The above discussion is by no means a complete coverage of all the sources consulted. However, they constitute those that are most heavily relied upon. This study will take an eclectic approach; it will mainly be guided by the nature of the data rather than by any particular theory. However, the field methods for descriptive analysis of morphemes suggested by Nida and Bickford have been used while analyzing data, wherever applicable.

CHAPTER - 3

METHOD, PROCEDURE AND DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

3.1. Introduction

This chapter states the problem and delimitation of the study. The methods and procedures used and the definition of terms used are also discussed.

3.2. Statement of the Problem

The proposed study is entitled 'Morphology of the Adi Language of Arunachal Pradesh'

The need for the study arises from the various problems being faced. At the outset, there is no proper linguistic description on the Adi language. The linguistic descriptions done so far are very scanty. Lorrain (1907) made an attempt to give the phonological description of the language in his book 'A Dictionary of the Abor-Miri Language', but it however, lacks proper morphological description.

3.3. Delimitation of the study

The present study is delimited only to the Adi language as spoken by the Padams (Adi clan name), who inhabit the areas covered by the East Siang and Upper Siang Districts.

The present study is mainly descriptive, not adhering to any conceptual framework. However, it employs certain terms that have been used by various scholars that are found most suitable for describing aspects of the language.

Word formation processes like compounding, borrowing, coining, etc., which are crucial aspects of describing the morphology of any language, are however, not dealt with in this study due to difficulty in eliciting relevant data.

In dealing with certain word classes, it was not completely possible to separate the realm of morphology from that of syntax. This is especially so in the case where there are inflectional-like processes involved. Therefore both inflectional and derivational study of the language is made.

With regard to the morphological processes involved, only the nominals and verbals are discussed and that too, only with regard to affixation, modification and reduplication.

3.4. Objectives of the study

The objectives of the present study are to describe:

- (a) the basic morphology of the nominals in the Adi Language,
- (b) the basic morphology of the verbals in the Adi Language and
- (c) the morphological processes employed.

3.5. Methodology and Data

The linguistic fieldwork methodology¹ was adopted for this research study. Elicitation of linguistic data was done with the help of informants of various age groups using linguistic field procedures. For the collection of the primary data, the following elicitation methods were employed-

3.5.1. Observation Method.

This requires fairly good advance knowledge of the language under consideration. While adopting this method, it is assumed that the basic grammar is already known to the fieldworker, yet to refute or validate hypotheses one can adopt this method to collect further evidence....The observation method involves the participation of the field investigator in various social activities of the community. S/he may not play an active part in the day-to-day life; however, s/he will have to engage herself/himself in some social activities of the community life.²

Prior to the writing of this dissertation, I had stayed in Pasighat, which is in the East Siang District of Arunachal Pradesh, among the Adi people for a period of three years, during which I took part in various community activities. This experience gave me a fairly good knowledge about

¹ Anvita Abbi, *A Manual of Linguistic Field Work and Structures of Indian Languages*, Muenchen Lincom Europa, 2001, p 84

² Anvita Abbi, *A Manual of Linguistic Field Work and Structures of Indian Languages*, p 84

the culture, the basic aspects of the Adi language and sufficient time to collect data.

3.5.2. Documentary Source Method.

In the absence of real speakers of the language, either because they no longer exist, as the language is extinct, or because they are out of bounds of the investigator, the documentary source method is adopted. One has to rely on published material and make a trip to several places where such material is available.³

For writing this dissertation, I have made use of the few books, papers and material available on Adi language and also those that are related to Tibeto-Burman languages of the North east in general.

3.5.3. Interview Method.

This is the most common and widely used method for field investigation, and is strongly recommended. The field investigator can interview informants with or without the help of questionnaires. ...interviews are generally taken directly.⁴

³ Anvita Abbi, *A Manual of Linguistic Field Work and Structures of Indian Languages* . p 85

⁴ Anvita Abbi, *A Manual of Linguistic Field Work and Structures of Indian Languages* p 84

I have, in collecting data for this dissertation, gone to Arunachal during April, 2002 and again in September, 2004. The following list is the names of the persons I interviewed during these two visits:

1. Mr. Olom Tayeng (40), Pasighat.
2. Ms. Oshi Jamoh (30), Pasighat.
3. Mr. Mikim Perme (38), Pasighat.
4. Mr. Tonong Jamoh (26), Pasighat.
5. Mr. C. Pachhunga (30), Mariyang.
6. Mr. Boger Tayeng (30), Mariyang.
7. Mr. Apop Borang (67), Damro.
8. Mr. Toyom Pertin (38), Mariyang.
9. Ms. Noman Pertin (45), Mariyang.
10. Ms. Minam Pertin (18), Mariyang.

3.6. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Ablative case- Ablative case is a case that expresses a variety of meanings including instrument, cause, location, source and time.

Accusative case- Accusative case is the case in nominative-accusative languages that marks certain syntactic functions, usually direct objects.

Adverbializer- An adverbializer is a subordinating conjunction that

- links a subordinate clause to a main clause, and

- indicates that the subordinate clause has an "adverbial" or interpositional relation to the main clause, indicating
 - purpose
 - condition
 - time, and
 - location.

Affixation- Affixation is the morphological process whereby an affix is attached to a root or stem.

Agglutinating - An agglutinative language is a language in which words are made up of a linear sequence of distinct morphemes and each component of meaning is represented by its own morpheme.

Associative case- Associative case marks the association of a noun with another noun.

Allomorph- An allomorph is one of two or more complementary morphs which manifest a morpheme in its different phonological or morphological environments.

Case- Case is a grammatical category determined by the syntactic or semantic function of a noun or pronoun.

Causatives- A causative is a grammatical or lexical indication of the causal role of a referent in relation to an event or state expressed by a verb.

Classifiers- A classifier is a word or affix that expresses the classification of a noun.

Derivational morphology- Derivational morphology is the formation of a new word or inflectable stem from another word or stem. It typically occurs by the addition of an affix.

The derived word is often of a different word class from the original. It may thus take the inflectional affixes of the new word class.

Desiderative mood- A term used in the Grammatical Classification of sentence types, and usually seen in contrast to indicative, imperative, etc., Moods. It refers to Verb Forms or sentence/clause types used for expression of wants and desires- approximately translatable by 'I want + sentence', but often lexicalized, e.g. *to want to eat – to hunger*.

Determiners- A determiner is a word or affix that belongs to a class of noun modifiers that expresses the reference, including quantity, of a noun.

Dubitative mood- Dubitative mood is an epistemic mood which signals a speaker's reservation about the accuracy of his or her statement.

Elision: Elision is the omission of sounds, syllables, or words in spoken or written discourse.

Genitive case- Genitive case is a case in which the referent of the marked noun is the possessor of the referent of another noun.

Hortative mood- A hortatory discourse is a discourse that is an attempt to persuade the addressee to fulfill commands that are given in the discourse.

Imperative mood- Imperative mood is mood that signals directive modality, especially in commands. Its use may be extended to signal permission.

Inflectional morphology- Inflectional morphology is variation in the form of a word, typically by means of an affix, that expresses a grammatical contrast, which is obligatory for the stem's word class in some given grammatical context.

Iterative- Iterative aspect is an aspect that expresses the repetition of an event or state.

Morpheme- A morpheme is the smallest meaningful unit in the grammar of a language.

Morphological Process- A morphological process is a means of changing a stem to adjust its meaning to fit its syntactic and communicational context.

Morphophonemics- Morphophonemics is the study of phonemic differences between allomorphs of the same morpheme; a description of variations in a particular language.

Morphosyntactics- A morphosyntactic operation is an ordered, dynamic relation between one linguistic form and another.

Nominalizer- A nominalization is a noun phrase that has a systematic correspondence with a clausal predication, which includes a head noun morphologically related to a corresponding verb.

Nominative- Nominative case is the case that identifies clause subjects in nominative-accusative languages. Nouns used in isolation have this case.

Optative mood- Optative mood is a volitive mood that signals wishing or hoping.

Phoneme- A phoneme is the smallest contrastive unit in the sound system of a language.

Prefixation- Prefixation is a morphological process whereby a bound morpheme is attached to the front of a root or stem. The kind of affix involved in this process is called a prefix.

Prohibitive mood- Prohibitive mood is a directive mood that signals a prohibition. It is distinguished by

- the use of a negated imperative sentence that employs a negative marker distinct from that used in declarative sentences, or
- a verb form different from that of the imperative.

Quotative- A quotative evidential is an evidential that signals that someone else is the source of the statement made.

Reduplication- Reduplication is a morphological process in which a root or stem or part of it is repeated.

Root- A root is the portion of a word that

- is common to a set of derived or inflected forms, if any, when all affixes are removed
- is not further analyzable into meaningful elements, being morphologically simple, and
- carries the principle portion of meaning of the words in which it functions.

Sandhi- Sandhi is a term used in Syntax and Morphology to refer to the phonological modification of grammatical forms, which have been juxtaposed.

Stem- A stem is the root or roots of a word, together with any derivational affixes, to which inflectional affixes are added.

Suffixation- Suffixation is a morphological process whereby a bound morpheme is attached to the end of a stem. The kind of affix involved in this process is called a suffix.

Volitive Modality- Volitive modality is a deontic modality that expresses the speaker's attitude of hope, wish, or fear concerning the proposition expressed by the utterance.

3.7 Structure of the Thesis

In **chapter 1**, short introductions of the language under study, the people who speak it, and the area in which it is spoken is given. It also states the problems this research attempts to deal with.

Chapter 2 is a survey of literature. Previous works done by scholars on the Adi language is given in brief. Related works on morphological theories and analysis are also given.

Chapter 3 is divided into three sections. The first section is a discussion of the statement of the problems and the delimitation of the study.

The second portion is a section on the methods and procedures used for the study. The third section explains terminology used followed by the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 4 is a brief section on the revision of the phonetics and phonological system of the Adi language. The sounds both of consonants and vowels which Adi makes use of are given with a description of each. The Sandhi or the assimilation processes followed by the language is also discussed.

Chapter 5 is a section on the morphology of the nominals of the language under study.

The noun phrases form one of the major constituents of Adi sentences. The noun phrases can include several smaller constituents, viz, determiners, demonstratives, nouns, pronouns, numerals, modifying adjectives and case markers. The noun phrase includes a noun, which can be regarded as the “head” of the noun phrase.

In this chapter, the morphology of Adjectives is also dealt with, as they constitute an integral part of the noun phrase.

Chapter 6 deals with the morphology of the verbs - their construction and combination with other elements in a sentence.

The tense, aspect, moods, and modals systems are discussed. This is followed by the verb construction procedures, which include the complementizer and the causative. Another feature Adi is rich in is the verbal directional adverbials. A good portion of this chapter is, therefore, devoted to the verbal directional adverbials.

This chapter also deals with the morphology of adverbs as they constitute an integral part of the verb phrase.

In **chapter 7** the morphological processes employed in the Adi language are discussed.

The morphological processes employed are affixation, modification and reduplication. Affixation includes prefixation, and suffixation. Modification includes subtraction and suppletion. Finally, reduplication includes partial and complete reduplication.

Finally, **Chapter 8** is a discussion and conclusion of the preceding chapters.

CHAPTER - 4

PHONOLOGY

In order to do morphological analysis, it is considered necessary to describe the sound system of Adi. Hence this chapter will briefly describe the consonants, vowels and diphthongs in Adi. Data is also presented to illustrate the Sandhi phenomenon in Adi.

4. Phonology of Adi

Adi has 15 consonants, 8 vowels and six diphthongs. The Adi (Padam) sound system consists of the following:

4.1. CONSONANTS:

bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	p, b	t, d			k, g
fricatives			s	j	
nasals	m	n		ñ(ny)	ŋ (ng)
liquids		l		r	
semi vowels				y	

4.1.1. Description of the consonants:

/p/ voiceless, unaspirated, bilabial stop, occurs initially, medially and finally (unexploded).

/b/ voiced, bilabial stop, occurs initially, medially and finally (unexploded).

/t/ voiceless, dental stop, occurs initially, medially and finally (unexploded).

/d/ voiced, dental stop, occurs initially, medially and finally (unexploded)

/k/ voiceless, unaspirated, velar stop, occurs initially, medially and finally (unexploded).

/g/ voiced, unaspirated, velar stop, occurs initially, medially and finally (unexploded).

/j/ voiced, unaspirated, palatal affricate, occurs initially and medially

/s~sh/ voiceless, alveolar fricative, occurs initially and medially.

/m/ bilabial nasal, occurs initially, medially and finally.

/n/ dental nasal, occurs initially and medially.

/ ñ/ palatal nasal, occurs initially, medially and finally.

/ŋ/ velar nasal, occurs initially, medially and finally.

// dental lateral, occurs initially, medially and finally.

/r/ rolled, palatal liquid, occurs initially and medially.

/y/ palatal semi vowel, occurs initially and medially.

Adi does not have, as indicated from the inventory, any aspirated consonants.

4.2. VOWELS:

	front	central	back
high	i	ï	u
mid	e	ë	o
low		α	a

4.2.1. Description of the vowels:

/i/ high, front, close, short vowel.

/i/ high, central, close, long vowel.

/u/ high, back, rounded, short vowel.

/u:/ high, back, rounded, long vowel.

/e/ mid, front, spread, short vowel.

/è/ mid, central, spread, long vowel.

/o/ mid, back, rounded, short vowel. (as 'o' in the English word 'pot')

/a/ low, central, open, short vowel.

/a/ low, back, open, long vowel.

4.3. Diphthongs

Adi makes very little use of diphthongs, the diphthongs are six in number.

ua as in gual

ue as in kue

ia as in nia, siang

ai as in kai, aipe

oe as in pesoe

io as in pyona, simyo

4.4. Sandhi in Adi:

Sandhi is a term used in Syntax and Morphology to refer to the Phonological Modification of Grammatical Forms, which have been juxtaposed. The concept of Sandhi corresponds to the traditional notion of 'euphony' also known as 'vowel harmony'. The Concise Oxford Dictionary explains 'euphony' as 'the tendency to make phonetic change for ease of pronunciation'. Similarly the Century Dictionary says that 'as a principle active in the historical changes of language euphony is a misnomer, since it is ease of utterance, economy of effort on the part of the organs of speech, and not agreeableness to the ear, that leads to and governs such changes.'

Sandhi is mainly of two types: assimilation and dissimilation: In assimilation two elements are made more alike and in dissimilation two elements are made more different. Assimilation is again of two types- regressive assimilation, where the final sound of the preceding morpheme is changed to be more like the initial sound of the following morpheme, and progressive assimilation where the initial sound of the following morpheme is changed to be more like the final sound of the preceding morpheme.

Adi also shows features of Sandhi evident with specific final consonants. The feature is mostly regressive assimilation.

4.5. Sandhi rules in Adi

Rule 1

Words ending with *k, t, p, b, g, d* and *o*, are often assimilated ^{to} ~~by~~ the initial sound of the word immediately following it.

Final *k* often changes to:

1. *g* before initial *e*.

e.g. bi ngok alig e

He is my substitute. (alik → alig)

2. *g* before initial *y*.

e.g. dug yoka

Do not run. (duk → dug)

3. *g* before initial *g*.

e.g. lg gen

to push away (as boat from shore) (ik → ig)

4. *g* before initial *a*.

e.g. lg ang

to shine in or upon. (ik → ig)

5. *g* before initial *o*.

e.g. Tapi pileg ope i-dung

There is nothing but reed jungle. (pilek → pileg)

6. *ng* before initial *m*.

e.g. ngo lobang mang

I am not lazy. (lobak → lobang)

7. *ng* before initial *a*.

e.g. ing ang

To shine in or upon. (ik → ing)

8. *ng* before initial *n*.

e.g. si aye si airupe jing kang –ne ko

This is a very fine fruit. (kak → kang)

Final *t* often changes to:

9. *d* before initial *d*.

e.g. anyoko lu ed dak

He pronounces it a little differently. (et → ed)

10. *d* before initial *e*.

e.g. asi te ye milo apud e bojepe yu do

When the river rises there is a lot of foam floating on it.

(eput → epud)

11. / before initial /.

e.g. bukad lo yut bul la, gi la ma bong

Getting his feet stuck in the mud, he cannot walk.

(bukat → bukad)

12. /n before initial m.

e.g. dak ten mape gi yar toka

Go straight on without stopping. (tet → ten)

13. /r before initial r.

e.g. am gar ruk

Rice stubble. (gat → gar)

14. /i before initial y.

e.g. jei ye

(it) will dissolve. (jet → jei)

Final o often changes to:

15. /u before initial e.

e.g. no ngok biru e

you are my brother. (biro → biru)

16. o: before initial e.

e.g. nok aminem ingku e
 what is your name? (ingko → ingku)

17. o: before initial o.

e.g. (a) Bi ngok u e
 he is my son. (o → u)

(b) ko: e mote pe gi kang
 the child has gone a long way away.
 (ko → ko:)

(c) ngo: o gi pe
 Only I will go. (ngo → ngo:)

Rule 2

Change to which final *ng* is subject: Final *ng* is never changed to another letter, but is often omitted altogether.¹

Eg:

(18) kenong ngo keno- dung
 hungry 1s hungry-Pres
 'I am hungry.'

¹ J.H. Lorrain. 1907. *A Dictionary of the Abor-Miri language, with illustrative sentences and notes*,

Shillong: Eastern Bengal and Assam Secretariat Press.

(19)	geng	bi-m	ge-yoka
	to scold	3s-ACC	scold-PROHIB
			'Do not scold him.'

(20)	kang	ka-laju
	to see	see-HORT
		'Let us see'

Verbs, however, usually retain their final *ng* before *k*, *g*, *a* and sometimes before *e* and *n*;

e.g.: kenong e (I) am hungry.

In Nouns, the final *ng* seems to be part of the root noun itself, and its omission takes place irregularly, therefore making it difficult to formulate rules.

E.g.s:

apong	apo	si
beer	beer	DET
		'This beer'

arang	ekum	ara-lo
inside	house	inside-LOC
		'Inside the house'

Rule 3

The next rule characterizes progressive assimilation. The initial letter *l* is sometimes changed to *n* when the final letter of the preceding word is *n*.

E.g.: Each italicized *n* was originally *l*.

amin *no* close to

men *nen* to drive out

men *na* gak toka run (after it) and catch (it.)

(21) ngo mutkon *nok* sim mo-tung

1s wax ABL DET make-PST

"I have made this from bees' wax."

Conclusion

Adi has 15 consonants, 8 vowels and 6 diphthongs. The consonants include, among others, four nasals. And distinctions are made between the front and central *i* and also between the front and central *e*. Although there are diphthongs, the language makes very little use of diphthongs. This study does not deal with the Phonology of the Adi language extensively. However, it is included only in order to give one a general idea of the Adi sound system. The assimilation process (sandhi) is very common, especially in the conversational language.

CHAPTER - 5

NOMINALS

Pittman (1959) defines a simple word as, "any sequence of phonemes of a given language which belongs to a class of unlimited membership, and which is not analyzable into a combination containing a shorter sequence belonging to a class of unlimited membership."¹ This means that 'morphologically, a word may contain the root alone or a root plus one or more affixes.'²

Based on the above definition of Pittman the words in Adi may be classified into five categories, viz., nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs. There are also functional morphemes like determiners, conjunctives and postpositions, which may also be considered as words. However, these morphemes are free in form as opposed to bound morphemes.

The morphological processes found in simple words are prefixation, suffixation, modification and reduplication, of which the most common is suffixation. (The morphological processes are discussed in detail in the last chapter).

In the Adi language, nouns are the stems, which take number, gender and case suffixes. Nouns fall into two classes- (i) simple and (ii) derived. Simple nouns comprise forms for human, animate non-human and

¹ Richard S Pittman, 'On Defining Morphology and Syntax' *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol, XXV, No 3, July 1959

² Biligiri, H S , *Kharia*, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1965, p 35

inanimate entities, and the derived nouns are those other classes of words that take nominalizers.

Simple nouns comprise forms for human, animate non-human and inanimate entities. Examples:

Human nouns

ojing	baby
koo	child
milo	man
ane	mother
ami'	people
yaame'	young man

Animate non-human

gure'	horse
gooru	cow
kandari	cat
e'k	pig
ekki	dog

Inanimate nouns

aape'	cane container
sakpur	basket
abbuk	gun

dii'te	hill
eli'ng	stone
ekum	house

Derived nouns are differentiated from other nouns in that they are formed by the suffixation of nominalizers. The nominalizers are **–nam** and **–kan**, which may be suffixed to either an infinitive form of a verb or an adjective.

Examples:

do	→	do-nam
eat		eatable/food
ti	→	ti-nam
drink(v)		drink(n)
kamo	→	kamo-nam
dark		darkness
ai	→	ai-nam
good		goodness
do	→	do-kan
eat(v)		food/eatable

(A more detailed discussion of –nam and –kan as nominalizers is given in 5.7).

The noun phrases form one of the major constituents of Adi sentences. The noun phrases can include several smaller constituents, viz, determiners, demonstratives, nouns, pronouns, numerals, modifying adjectives and case markers. However, no single one of these constituents occurs in every noun phrase. But any one of them except a case marker can constitute a noun phrase all by itself. Case markers, when present, are always suffixed to the head nouns.

The noun phrase includes a noun, which can be regarded as the “head” of the noun phrase. Nouns can have a variety of suffixes. A ‘noun stem’ is the word to which these noun suffixes can be attached. Three kinds of suffixes can be used with the noun stem: plural markers, case markers and gender markers with –human, + animate nouns.

5.1. Plurality: Adi does not make use of inflections for plurality of the nouns. When plurality is intended, the suffix *-kidar* or *ki'di'emte* meaning ‘many’ is used.

e.g.:	ami	man
	ami-kidar	men
	ko	boy
	ko-kidar	boys

5.2. Gender markers: Adi has natural gender but lacks grammatical gender. In the case of human beings, suppletive forms reflect gender.

e.g.: abu (father) ane (mother)
 biro (brother) birme (sister)
 abing (elder brother) agu or mimi (elder sister)
 ani (younger brother) birme aniyang (younger sister)
 apang (uncle) anyi (aunt)
 aki (maternal uncle) amo (maternal aunt)

With regard to animals, the suffixes for gender are **-bo** for masculine and **-ne** for feminine.

Generic	Masculine	Feminine
ekki (dog)	ki-bo	ki-ne
perok(hen)	rok-po	rok-ne
eg (pig)	e-bo	e-ne
soben (goat)	ben-bo	ben-ne
eso (cow)	so-bo	so-ne

The nouns drop their initial syllables when they take these suffixes; normally the syllables dropped are the head. But fuller expressions are also permissible as in **eki-ki-bo**, **perok-rok-po** and so on. In such cases, the second syllable of the noun is reduplicated. The names of animals unless distinguished by a masculine or feminine suffix, and all inanimate objects, are of the neuter gender.

Gender in the young ones of animals is denoted by suffixes, the forms of which depend on the root word.

e.g.: eg (pig) eg-yego (pigling)
perok (hen) perok-rogo (chicken)
eso (cow) eso-so (calf)
soben (goat) soben-beno (kid)
ekki (dog) kisung (puppy)

5.3. Case and Postposition: Adi uses postpositions. The postpositions come at the end of the noun or the noun phrase and they precede the case markers. Some cases are expressed by the postpositions.

E.g.: (1) bi' ekum ara lokke len-dung
 3s house inside ABL come-PRG
 'He is coming from the house.'

(2) ekki de te'bul teyo-lo du-dung
 dog DET table on-LOC sit-PROG
 'The dog is sitting on the table.'

In Adi, grammatical relationships are expressed by means of phoneme or morpheme suffixation.

5.3.1. Nominative: nouns are case marked for nominative by suffixing **–e** for generic nouns and **–de** for particularized nouns.

e.g.: (3) ekki kidar-e ai-mang
dog pl-NOM good-NEG
'Dogs are not good.'

(4) ekki-de ai-mang
dog-NOM good-NEG
'That dog is not good.'

(5) kolom-de olet-to
pen-NOM fal-PST
'The pen fell.'

(6) kitab-de ai-mang
book-NOM good-NEG
'The book is not good.'

5.3.2. Accusative: The accusative suffix is **–em**, **-m** for pronouns depending on the phonological shape of the preceding morpheme: (if the preceding morpheme ends with a consonant, the accusative suffix is **-em**), **–me** for proper nouns and **–m** for all other instances.

e.g.:

(7) ngo-m bi-langka
1s-ACC give-IMP
'Give it to me.'

(8) jon-me bi-langka
John-ACC give-IMP
'Give it to John.'

(9) ngolu-m bi-langka
1p-ACC give-IMP
'Give it to us.'

(10) ngo nolu-m bi-ye
1s 2p-ACC give-FUT
'I will give it to you.'

(11) shedi bi' tani among-em pi-to
god 3s world-ACC make-PST
'God made the world.'

(12) shedi bi' adam-me-lang ib-me pi-to
god 3s Adam-ACC-CONJ Eve-ACC make-PST
'God made Adam and Eve.'

- (13) jon bi' mari-me po-to ngo nom aya-dung
 John 3s Mary-ACC say-PST 1s 2ACC love-PROG
 'John said to Mary, "I love you."

5.3.3. Genitive or possessive: the genitive case suffix **-k/-kke** is taken by the nouns and pronouns, for possession both forms can be used, but when it is used with the postposition 'for' the pronoun takes only the form **-k** and the proper nouns take only **-ke**.

- e.g.: (14) mina-ke kitab-e
 Mina-GEN book-NOM
 'Mina's book.'

- (15) bi-kke ekum
 3s-GEN house
 'His/her house.'

- (16) no-k legape
 2s-GEN pp
 'For you.'

- (17) ngo-kke
 1s-GEN
 'Mine.'

(18) bulu-kke ekum
 3p-GEN house
 'Their house.'

NOMINATIVE

ACCUSATIVE

GENITIVE

Person	Sing.	Dual	Plu.	Sing.	Dual	Plu.	Sing	Dual	Plu.
1st	ngo	ngonyi	ngolu	ngom	ngonyim	ngolum	ngok/ ngokke	ngonyik/ ngonyikke	ngoluk/ ngolukke
2 nd	no	nonyi	nolu	nom	nonyim	nolum	nok/ nokke	nonyik/ nonyikke	noluk/ nolukke
3 rd	bi	binyi	bulu	bim	binyim	bulum	bik/ bikke	binyik/ binyikke	buluk/ bulukke

Table 1. Personal pronouns in different cases.

5.3.4. Locative: The locative suffix in Adi is *-lo*.

e.g.: (19) a. ngo pasihat-lo du-dung
 1s Pasihat- LOC sit-PROG
 'I am staying in Pasihat.'

b. opek ekum ara-lo du-dung
 Opek house inside-LOC sit-PROG
 'Opek is inside the house'

5.3.5. Instrumental: The case marker for the instrumental case is *lok* or *lokke*.

e.g.: (20) ngo asek lok dem-do
1s stick INST beat-PRES
'I beat with a stick.'

5.3.6. Ablative: The case marker for the Ablative case is *lok* or *lokke*. The Ablative and Instrumental case markers are homonymous.

(21) ngo shillong lokke a-dung
1s Shillong ABL come-PROG
'I am coming from Shillong.'

Adi has different markers for indicating dissociation (i.e. movement away from a point) as well as for indicating the level- whether same, higher or lower. The suffixes are:

be-lok(ke) (movement away to a lower level)

e.g.

(22) Mizoram belok ngo saato
Mizoram ABL 1s come
'I have come (down) from Mizoram.'

lok(ke) (away from)

e.g.

(23) ngolu teyong telok giyasang-ye-ku
1pl heaven ABL ascend-fut
'We will ascend to heaven'

The Noun phrases can include determiners, other nouns, pronouns, numerals, modifying adjectives and case markers.

5.4. Determiners: Determiners in Adi either follow the nouns or else they occur concurrently before and after the noun. They are usually used as demonstratives. The determiners are **e, de, si, ko**.

e.g.: si kitab si
 DET book DET
 'This book'

 si galuk si
 DET coat DET
 'This coat.'

 amik-si
 eyes-DET
 'The eyes'

(28) doreng longe ko
 bright day DET
 'It is a bright day'

When the determiner occurs twice, the determiners before and after the noun is automatically similar.

E.g.

si galuk si
this coat this
'This coat'

de ekum de
that house that
'That house'

5.5. Numerals: In Adi, numerals follow the 10+1, 10+2, pattern.

5.5.1. Cardinal numbers

akon/atel	- one
annyi	- two
angum	- three
appi	- four
pilngo	- five
akke	- six
kinit	- seven
pinyi	- eight
konang	- nine
iyng	- ten
iyng kolang atel/akon	- eleven

iying anyi – twenty

iying api kolang atel - forty one

ling-ko – one hundred

In 1999, the Central body of Adi Agom Kebang (AAK), which is an association organized to improve the Adi language introduced a new counting system. The numbers from 1-10 are unchanged, but from 11 onwards they are shortened for convenience.

In shortening the names of the numerals, the morphological process involved is deletion of the first syllable of the first and second words. Then the second syllable of the first word is compounded with the second syllable of the second word.

e.g: yipi + akon = pikon
 forty one forty-one

 atel + akon = telkon
 one one eleven

 atel + annyi = telnyi
 one two twelve

 atel + akon = telkon
 one one eleven

angum +	konang	=	ngumnang
three	nine		thirty nine

akke' +	appi	=	ke`pi
six	four		sixty four

appi +	konang	=	pinang
four	nine		forty-nine

5.5.2. Ordinal numbers- in the construction of ordinal numbers, except in the case of the word meaning 'first', *len-* is prefixed to the second syllable of the corresponding numbers, and the nominalizer *-na* is suffixed.

e.g.:

kerayalumpe	first
len-nyi-na	second
len-ngum-na	third
len-pi-na	fourth
len-ngo-na	fifth

5.5.3. Fractionals

The Adi word for 'half' is *arot*.

atel kolang arot

one Conj half

'one and a half'

annyi kolang arot

two Conj half

'two and a half'

5.6. Noun Classifiers (numeral adjectives)

Like many Southeast Asian languages, Adi uses noun classifiers. Classifiers are words used with regard to collective nouns. Extensively, the classifiers follow determiners.

The classifier used for people is *midum*.

E.g. midum atel ko
 person CL one DET
 'One person'

 midum anynyi ko
 person CL two DET
 'Two persons'

 midum angum ko
 person CL three DET
 'Three persons'

second syllable of the classifier and the first syllable of the numeral word in the process.

E.g. mitel ko
 one person DET
 ‘One person’

 minyi ko
 two persons DET
 ‘Two person’

 mingum ko
 three persons DET
 ‘Three persons’

 mipi ko
 four persons DET
 ‘Four persons’

For animals the classifier is **-dor**

E.g.

 a -dor-ko (one animal)
 dor-nyi – ko (two animals)
 eso dor-nyi (two mithuns)
 eki dorny (two dogs)

eso dor-nyi (two mithuns)

eki dorny (two dogs)

goru dorum (three cows)

Trapped rats and birds when kept on a string or a stick (which is called **koyar**) to be dried are counted not individually but by the number of the **koyar** (ropes or sticks) used, i.e., many rats or birds may be kept in just one stick or tied in one rope.

E.g.: All the rats or birds in one stick are referred to a **yarkon**

yar-nyi

CL-two

'Two sticks of dried rats/birds'

While counting ropes or traps made from bamboo the classifier used is **sunam**, but only the first syllable **su** is used as a prefix to the numeral.

e.g.: su-kon

CL-one

'One trap'

su-nyi

CL-two

'Two traps'

su-ngum

CL-three

'Three traps'

The classifier used with sticks or other objects of long, cylindrical shapes is **asong**. It is shortened to **song** as a prefix for one but for the rest of the numbers it is further shortened to **so**.

e.g.: song-kon

CL-one

'One stick'

so-nyi

CL-two

'Two sticks'

so-ngum

CL-three

'Three sticks'

yoyi so-ngum

cane CL-three

'three canes'

tabat so-ngo
 sugarcane CL-five
 'Five sugarcanes'

pi- is prefixed to the numerals when the objects referred to are globular or round in shape.

umtir pi-pi
 orange CL-four
 'four oranges'

rokpi pi-nyi
 eggs CL-two
 'two eggs'

(29) kopung pi -nam-em ngo ken-mang
 bracelet CL-manner 1s know-NEG
 'I do not know how to mould a bracelet.'

(30) dem asi dem so etu so pi'-lik-langka
 DET water DET DET bowl DET CL-put-IMP
 'Put the water in the bowl'

circular things **-bi**
 a-bi ko
 one-CL DET
 'One necklace'

bamboo/cane **-bung/bu**

- (31) dibang bu-um ko ngo pa-to
bamboo CL-three DET 1s cut-PST
'I've cut three bamboos.'

load **-get**

- (32) e-get ge-lik toka
CL carry IMP
'carry a load'

For knives the classifier used is **song**, which is contracted to **so-** when it is prefixed to the second syllable of a numeral.

- E.g. eyok so-ying ko
knife CL-ten DET
'Ten knives'

Felled trees are classified by using **song** or **so-**

- E.g. (33) esing a-song ko telet-to
tree one-CL DET cut down-pst
'A tree is cut down'

- (34) esing so-nyi ko telet-to
tree CL-two DET cut down-pst
'Two trees are cut down'

a hand of bananas -**pak**-

E.g. kopak pak-peng

 banana Cl

 'bunches of bananas'

 kopak pag-ying ko

 banana CL-ten DET

 'Ten bunches of bananas'

Classifiers occurring with nouns that have high frequency usage

take the last syllable of the nominals as classifiers.

Egs. e'g yeg-nyi

 pig CL-two

 'two pigs'

 eso so-nyi

 mithun CL-two

 'two mithuns'

 ditak tak-nyi

 year CL-two

 'two years'

ro ro-nyi
morning CL-two
'two mornings'

alo lo-nyi
day CL-two
'two days'

Other examples are:

among a-lung-ko 'one field'
field CL

among e-zung-ko 'one cup of beer' (also used for other utensils)
beer CL

kitab a-bor-ko 'one book' (also used for other flat objects)
book CL

tokta atak 'one cot' (also used for other rectangular objects)
cot CL

epuk a-song-ko 'one arrow' (also used for other long objects)
arrow CL

kedī a-ming-ko 'one mango tree' (also used for other tall objects)
mango tree CL

engo a-pir-ko 'one fish' (also used for insects, body parts,
fish CL months, creepers, etc.)

5.7. Nominalizers:

-nam: The suffix **-nam** changes a verb into a verbal noun and an adjective into an abstract noun.

e.g.:

do	→	do-nam
eat		eatable/food
ti	→	ti-nam
drink(v)		drink(n)
kemo	→	kemo-nam
dark		darkness
ai	→	ai-nam
good		goodness

-nam is also used as a relative pronoun in the objective case and conveys the sense of 'that' or 'whom'. It occurs in a relative clause as the relative clause is nominalized.

–**kan** is also used as a nominalizer.

e.g.: do → do-kan
 eat(v) food/eatable

5.8. Quotative : A quotative is derived from the verbs of ‘say’. In Adi the quotative is **emnam**.

(35) bi’ mibom emnam ami ko kaa-to
 3s Mibom QUO person DET see-PST
 ‘He saw a man named Mibom.’

(36) ami-e bi-m arope mingkesudung emnam
 people-NOM 3s-ACC truly believe QUO

dem tat-la odi bi ase-to
 DET hear-ADVBLZR Odi 3s happy-PST

‘When Odi heard that people truly believed in her, she was happy.’

Lit: ‘Hearing the saying that people truly believed in her, Odi was happy.’

(37) kaling bi’ aroty emnam mimum ko-lo gi-to
 Kaling 3s Aroty QUO young woman DET-LOC go-PST

‘Kaling went to a young woman named Aroty.’

5.9. Interrogatives:

Wh- words in Adi are interrogative pronouns and they can also function as nominals. The Wh-words are as follows-

seko - who

ingkuem – which

ingkolo – where

ingkue – what

seko-me- whom

edilo – when

edit – how (many)

kape – how

editko mote – how far

kape- ila – why

Wh- words occur in the same slot as the constituent questioned. They are accompanied by a suffix *-n*, which is suffixed to the verb in the question.

e.g.: (38) no seko
2s WH
'Who are you?'

(39) si ingkue
DET WH
'What is this?'

(40) no ingkolo gi-ye-n
 2s WH go-fut-Q.MKR
 'Where are you going?'

Yes/no questions: Yes/No questions are made by suffixing *-nia/-n* to auxiliary verbs *-dung/-do* and the past morpheme *-to*.

e.g: (41) nolu pasihat-lo ekum kadu-nia
 2p Pasihat-LOC house be-Y/N
 'Have you a house at Pasihat?'

(42) no petang dem ka-to-n
 2s bird DET see-PAST-Y/N
 'Did you see the bird?'

Tag questions: adding *ai* to a statement forms Tag questions.

e.g.: (43) guname, ai
 hot tag
 'It's hot, isn't it?'

5.10 PRONOUNS

5.10.1. Personal Pronouns: Adi provides for three categories of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd personal pronouns- singular, dual, and plural.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First Person	ngo	ngonyi	ngolu
Second Person	no	nonyi	nolu
Third Person	bi	binyi	bulu

Table 2. Personal pronouns in different numbers.

The pronouns do not show agreement for verbs, tense, gender or number.

Examples:

(44) (a) ngo keno dung
1s hungry PROG
'I am hungry.'

(b) ngonyi keno dung
1dl hungry PROG
'We (two) are hungry.'

(c) ngolu keno dung
2p hungry PROG
'We are hungry.'

5.10.2 Reflexives

The reflexive base of the verb is formed by suffixing **-su** to the verb root. The verb thus formed indicates an action of which the subject or agent

and object are co-referential. Verbs with reflexive bases are used with reflexive pronouns.

e.g.:	ger-nam	ger-su-nam
	'to work'	'to work oneself'
	melik-nam	melik-su-nam
	'to put'	'to put oneself'
	mi-nam	mi-su-nam
	'to think'	'to think for oneself'
	mo-nam	momin-su-nam
	'to punch'	'to fight'
	ir-nam	ir-su-nam
	'to bathe'	'to bathe oneself'

5.10.3 Emphatic Reflexives:

The reflexive pronoun in Adi is *ai-e* or *a-gi-e* for the nominative case.

e.g.:	bi a-gi-e
	he himself or she herself

ai which means 'self' when prefixed by **-e** becomes myself, yourself, him/herself, itself, ourselves, yourselves, or themselves depending on the pronoun preceding it.

5.10.4 Reciprocals

Reciprocals are formed by suffixing **-bosu** to the root verb.

e.g.:	do-nam	do-bosu-nam
	'to eat'	'to eat with each other'
	ti-nam	ti-bosu-nam
	'to drink'	'to drink with each other'

5.11. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Adi occupy modifying slots in the noun phrase and can either precede or follow the noun. Adjectives do not take person, number and gender suffixes.

Adi adjectives have the following characteristics:

- (1) Adjectives are basic and derived.
- (2) Adjectives are not inflected for gender and number.

5.11.1. Basic adjectives:

botte	'big'
gunam	'hot'
aro	'true'
amena	'small'

Derived adjectives are of two types – attributive and predicative.

kamo-na yo
dark-suf night
'Dark night.'

yo -de kamo-do
night NOM dark-be
'The night is dark.'

botte-na ko
big-suf boy
'Big boy.'

ko-de botte-do
boy-NOM big-be
'The boy is big.'

5.11.2. Derived Adjectives

Derived attributive adjectives: The adjectives precede the nouns when they are attributive. When they are used as attributives, adjectives take the suffix –*na*.

e.g.: mik-ma-na ami
 amik-mang-suffix man
 eye-NEG-suf man
 ‘Blind man’

In this example, the morpheme for ‘eye’ which is *amik* is shortened to *mik* and the negative suffix –*mang* is shortened to –*ma*. The literal meaning of the sentence would be ‘no eye man’

agom po-ken-ma-na
agom po-ken-mang-suffix
word say-know-NEG-suf
‘Dumb’

In this example also, the literal meaning of the adjective if used in a sentence would be ‘cannot say a word person’.

asi ti-ling
water drink-DES
‘Thirsty’

Derived predicative adjectives: When the adjectives are predicative, the suffix *-na* is absent, and the negation *-mang* is used in the full form. In these constructions, the adjectives follow the nouns modified.

(45) ngolu-kke eJoe mik-mang-dung
1p-GEN old woman eye-NEG-be
'Our old woman is blind.'

(46) bi' gom-mang
3s speech-NEG
'He/She is dumb.'

5.11.3. Adjectives derived from verbs

The verb particle *-po* is suffixed to certain verbs to form adjectives these carry the sense of the action being pleasant.

(47) Olom-ke ome-em kam-po-do
Olom-GEN daughter-ACC see-prt-PRES
'Olom's daughter is beautiful'

(48) Boger-ke ekum-e duu-po-do
Boger-GEN house-NOM sit-prt-PRES
'Boger's house is nice.'
Lit: 'Boger's house is nice to sit in'

(49) tilek-ke apim-e do-po-do
 Tilek-GEN Rice-NOM eat-prt-PRES
 'Tilek's rice/food is tasty'

(50) bulu-ke miri-em tat-po-do
 3p-GEN song-ACC hear-prt-PRES
 'Their song is beautiful.'
 Lit: 'Their song is pleasant to hear.'

Depending on the nouns to be qualified, Adi has different words for the same adjective for different nouns, although they may have the same meaning.

e.g.: ege yorana
 cloth black 'Black cloth'

(51) lobo-lo ege yorana pamki-dung
 summer-pp cloth black warm-be
 'In summer a black cloth is warm.'

ekki kingka
 dog black 'Black dog'

(52) ngo (ekki) kingkako ka-dung
1s dog black DET have-PROG
'I have a black dog.'

goru ruka
cow black 'Black cow'

(53) korong kolo (goru) ruka ko dag-dung
river pp cow black DET stand-PROG
'A black cow is standing by the river.'

In the above two examples, the nouns **ekki** which means 'dog' and **goru** which means 'cow' can be dropped, as **kingka** and **ruka** are sufficient to mean 'black dog' and 'black cow' respectively.

ere-na esing
dry-na wood
'Dry wood'

piti-na ege
dry-suf cloth
'Dry cloth'

am min-na
paddy dry-suf
'Ripe paddy'

baldin-e pun –do

silver-prt bright-be

‘Silver is bright’

ngargo long-e-ko

bright day-prt-DET

‘A bright day.’

donyi-e angun-do

sun-prt bright-be

‘The sun is bright’

long-e-de ansing –na -ko

day-prt-DET cold-suf-DET

‘A cold day’

tapam-e ansing-do

ice prt cold-be

‘Ice is cold’

For certain nouns, the adjectival forms are formed by a complete or partial reduplication of the second syllable of the noun.

e.g.: eso sote

mithun big

‘Big mithun’

(54) solung-lo eso sote-em ar-do
 Solung-pp mithun big-ACC sacrifice-be
 'A big mithun is killed at Solung (festival)'

'ey'ek yek-ra
 pig big-suf 'Big pig'

(55) krismas-lo eyek yekra ba-do
 Christmas-ppig big sacrifice-be
 'At Christmas a big pig is sacrificed.'

(*Arnam*, which means *to sacrifice*, becomes *bado* when used with pigs and chicken)

ekum kumdong
 house long 'Long house'

(56) bi-k ekum de kumdong do
 3s-GEN house NOM long be
 'His/her house is long.'

ekum kumne
 house big 'Big house'

(57) ngo ekum kumne ko mo-dung
1s house big DET make-PROG
'I am building a big house.'

esing siyar
tree tall 'Tall tree'

(58) ngo esing siyar ko pa-to
1s tree tall DET cut-PST
'I cut a tall tree.'

asi sikil
water hot 'Hot water'

(59) sikil ti-milo aki-e aidung
hot water drink-CONDNL stomach-NOM good
'If one drinks hot water, the stomach is well.'

eyok yokrat
dao sharp 'Sharp dao'

(60) eyok-em yokrat -pe ge-langka
knife-ACC sharp-ADVBLZR carry-IMP
'Carry a sharp knife.'

(ami) mijing
 man old 'Old man'

(61) bi mijing kai
 3s old man PERF
 'He has become old.'

5.11.4. Quantitative adjectives:

Adjectivals, which indicate quantity are **anyongko** meaning 'some' and **anyongoko** which means 'a little'

e.g.: (62) ngom alo anyongko bi-langka
 1sACC salt some give-IMP
 'Give me some salt.'

(63) ngo lotel-lonyi-ko ki-to
 1s one day-two days-DET fever-PST
 'I had fever for a few days'

5.11.5. Adjectives formation:

When **-nam** is suffixed to some verbs, they act as adjectives.

e.g.: (64) apel de do-nam aye
 apple DET eat-NOMNLZR fruit
 'An apple is an eatable fruit'

ti-nam asi
 drink-suf water
 'Drinking water.'

5.11.6. Degrees of adjectives:

5.11.6 (a) The comparative degree in Adi is **ya** followed by the tense markers. The marker of comparison follows the standard of comparison, and the standard of comparison follows the noun qualified.

e.g.:

(65) si ekum si em ekum -em botte ya-do
 DET houseDET DET house DET big COMP.MKR.-PRES
 'This house is bigger than that house.'

(66) ngo sim ekum sim botte-ya-na-ko mi-do
 1s DET house DET big-COMP.MKR-suf-DET want-PRES
 'I want a bigger house than this.'

(67) otem bi oken-me bodong ya-do
 Otem 3s Oken-DET tall COMP.MKR.-PRES
 'Otem is taller than Oken.'

(68) mari bi odi-me kampo ya-dung
 Mary 3s Odi-ACC beautiful COMP.MKR.-be
 'Mary is more beautiful than Odi.'

5.11.6 (b) The superlative degree is *yalumdo*.

e.g.: (69) obang bi takaam lokke bodong yalumdo
 Obang 3s all from tall SUP
 'Obang is the tallest of all.'

5.11.7. Intensifiers:

nge* and *nge sekre

e.g.: (70) bi'm dem-nge ngesik-toka
 3s ACC beat-INT INT-IMP
 'Beat him thoroughly.'

(71) bi nom pa nge-ye
 3s 2NOM beat INT-will
 'He will beat you severely.'

(72) ngo no-m lu-nge sekre-la lu-ye
 1s 2s ACC scold- INT-ADVBLZR scold-FUT
 'I will give you a thorough good scolding.'

(73) ngo nom pi-nge sekre -ye
 1s 2s ACC slap-INT-FUT
 'I will give you a sound slapping.'

rung

e.g.: ekum botte run-na ko
 house big INT-suf DET
 'A very big house.'

(74) no ngo-m pyongum dokkom ngo la-ma-rung
 2s 1s-ACC steal eventhough 1s take-NEG-INT
 'Even though you accused me of stealing, I never took it.'

Conclusion

In Adi, plurality, gender (in –human, + animate nouns) and case are all indicated by the use of suffixes. Although Adi does not have the ergative-absolutive case, it is remarkably rich in other case markers, as has been illustrated. It is also rich in noun classifiers and moods.

Adi makes distinction between cardinal and ordinal numbers; the numerals follow the 10+1, 10+2... pattern.

Questions are fairly simple. In an Adi Wh- question, the Wh-word occurs in the same slot as the constituent questioned. Yes/no questions are formed by means of suffixation of a morpheme.

Regarding the pronouns, Adi has three categories- singular, dual and plural.

Adi is rich in adjectives. Depending on the nouns to be qualified, there are different words for the same meaning intended. This is achieved by the partial reduplication of the noun qualified.

CHAPTER - 6

VERBS AND ADVERBS

Verbs in Adi are never used in the root form. They necessarily take the tense, aspect, negation, mood, modal markers and imperative markers, otherwise, they cannot exist alone in a meaningful utterance. The verbs are not marked for person-number-gender.

In an Adi verb phrase, the verbs occupy the final slot, as also in the sentences. The verb stem and its suffix (es) constitute the head of the phrase.

The verb system in Adi consists of verb forms built upon verb stems. Any stem which can take the regular formative elements like tense, aspect and mood, is a verb stem. A verb stem construction is one of a verb root and one or more optional morphemes. When all the affixes of a verb are dropped, what remains is a root. The verb root as well as the stems may either be transitive or intransitive.

Examples:

6.1. Transitive verbs

ka 'see'

tut 'kick'

ti-nam 'to drink'

6.2. Intransitive verbs

gi 'go'
dug 'run'
du-nam 'to sit'

The infinitive form of the verb is formed by suffixing *-nam* to the verb root.

Examples:

Root	Infinitive form
do	do-nam
eat	to eat
gi	gi-nam
go	to go
ayang	ayang-nam
love	to love
bi	bi-nam
give	to give
bom	bom-nam
bring	to bring

6.3. TENSE

Tense in Adi does not change for person, number or gender. The present, past and future suffixes, are ***dung/do***, ***to/tuai*** and *ye* respectively. These three divisions of tense are imperfective in forms, i.e., they do not make any reference as to whether an action is complete or not.

6.3.1 The Present tense: For present tensed sentences, the morphemes are ***-dung*** or ***-do***; ***'-dung'*** is used as a 'be' verb whereas ***'-do'*** is used in generic or habitual sentences. These morphemes function as suffixes when they come after the verbs, but after other word classes, they function as free morphemes.

e.g.: (1) bi' so dung

3s here be

'He/She is here.'

(2) tani takame apin do-do

human all food eat-PRES

'All humans eat food.'

(3) sanggo-lok donyi-e sa-do

east-LOC sun-NOM rise PRES

'The sun rises in the east.'

- (4) no aginpe iskul-lo gi-do
2s everyday school-LOC go-PRES
'You go to school everyday.'

6.3.2 The past tense: -to, and -tuai suffixed to a verb indicates past action.

However, **-tuai** is used when the sentence is incomplete and has to be continued with another sentence or phrase.

- e.g.: (5) ngo apim do-to
1s food eat-PAST
'I ate food.'

- (5) ngo delo gi-tuai idokom ngo ken-mang
1s there go-PAST but 1s know-NEG
'I went there but (still) I don't know.'

- (6) ngolu delo gi-to
1p there go-PAST
'We went there.'

- (7) ngo eyok dem la-to
1s dao DET take-PAST
'I took the dao.'

6.3.3 The future tense: Suffixing **-ye** to the main verb indicates future action.

e.g.: (8) ngo apim do-ye
1s food eat-FUT
'I will eat food.'

(9) ngo eyok dem la-ye
1s dao DET take-FUT
'I will take the dao.'

(10) ngo bim ingki-ye
1s 2sNOM ask-FUT
'I will ask him/her.'

6.4. ASPECT

Adi makes use of three categories of aspect, which are, the present progressive aspect, the iterative aspect, and the perfective aspect.

6.4.1. Progressive: the morpheme **-dung** is the indicator of the present progressive aspect.

e.g.: (11) bi kap-dung
3s cry-PROG
'He/she (is) crying.'

(12) asi-e usa-dung
 water-prt boil-PROG
 'The water (is) boiling.'

6.4.2. Iterative: The verbal suffix **-yar** indicates the iterative aspect of an action.

e.g: lu-nam lu-yar-nam
 'to say' 'to keep on saying'

gi-nam gi-yar-nam
 'to go' 'to keep on going'

do-nam do-yar-nam
 'to eat' 'to keep on eating'

ti-nam ti-yar-nam
 'to drink' 'to keep on drinking'

6.4.3. Perfective: The Perfective aspect is marked by the suffixes **-bong, -kai, -ka, -yin, -ku** and **-tung**.

e.g.: (13) ngo ager dem i-yin-to
 1s work DET do-PERF-PST
 'I have done the work.'

- (14) ngo at-to-bong
 1s write-PST-PERF
 'I have written.'
- (15) ngo ken-kai
 1s know-PERF
 'I have learnt/known.'
- (16) minam bi eker/ai-ka-ku
 Minam 3s well-be-PERF
 'Minam has become well.'
- (17) ngo gi-to-ka
 1s go-PST-PERF
 'I had gone.'
- (18) bi pen-em bi-to-ka
 3s pen-ACC give-PST-PERF
 'He had given the pen.'
- (19) palik-tu-bong
 Print-PAST-PERF
 'has been printed.'

(20) kaalik -tung
see-PAST PERF
'has been seen.'

(21) ngo ambim la-tung
1s rice buy PAST PERF
'I have bought rice.'

6.5. Negation

Negation is implied by suffixing *-mang* or *-ma* to the main verb. When reference to the future is intended, the negation precedes the past and future markers.

e.g.: (22) ngo asi ti-mang
1s water drink-NEG
'I am not drinking water.'

(23) ngo asi ti-ma-ye
1s water drink-NEG-FUT
'I will not drink water.'

(24) ngo pasihat-lo gi-ma-to
1s Pasihat-LOC go-NEG-PAST
'I have not gone to Pasihat.'

6.6. MOODS

'...mood is a marker on the verb that signals how the speaker chooses to put the proposition into the discourse context. The main function of this definition is to distinguish mood from tense and aspect...'¹

In Adi, the morphemes expressing mood are suffixed to the main verbs. Adi has the following moods:

6.6.1. Imperative: The imperative mood is the form of the verb in issuing direct commands or orders restricted to second person subject.

The suffixes for the Imperative are **-langka**, **-tola**, and **-toka**. **-tola** and **-toka** are polite forms whereas **-langka** is used with younger children and also for giving orders to inferiors.

e.g.: (25) apim do-toka
 food eat-IMP
 'Eat food.'

(26) eget ge-tola
 load carry-IMP
 'Carry the load.'

¹ Joan L. Bybee, *Morphology*, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1985, p. 165.

(27) bojar lokke ambin re-langka
bazaarABL rice buy-IMP
'Buy rice from the market.'

6.6.2. Prohibitive: the prohibitive suffix is *-mapeka* or *-ma*

e.g.: (28) alat-ku-mapeka
come-back-PROHIB
'Do not come back.'

(29) dug-mapeka
run-PROHIB
'Do not run.'

6.6.3. Hortative: It signals a speech act by which the speaker grants permission to a 2nd person including the speaker himself.

The hortative mood is expressed by the suffix *-laju*.

e.g.: (30) ngolu do-laju
1p eat-HORT
'Let us eat.'

(31) ngolu gi-laju
1p go-HORT
'Let us go.'

(32) ngolu agom po-laju
1p word say-HORT
'Let us talk.'

6.6.4. Optative: The optative mood is a speech act by which the speaker grants permission to a 3rd person.

The Optative mood is expressed by *-moto*.

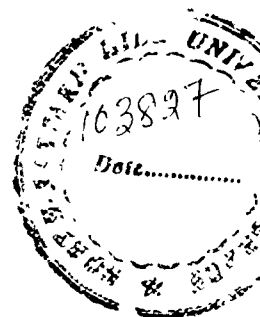
e.g.: (33) bi-m gi-moto
3s-ACC go-OPT
'Let (him/her) go.'

(34) bi-m do-moto
3s-ACC eat-OPT
'Let (him/her) eat.'

6.7. MODALS

6.7.1. Probability: To express probability, the modal verb suffix *-lado* is used.

e.g.: (35) ngo do-lado
1s eat-PROB
'I may eat.'



- (36) no la-lado
 2s take-PROB
 'You may take.'

Another means of expressing probability of an event is by suffixing **-dope** to the verb.

- e.g:
- | | | |
|-----|------|--------------------|
| (a) | tat | tat-dope |
| | hear | 'might have heard' |
| (b) | lu | lu-dope |
| | say | 'might have said' |
| (c) | bi | bi-dope |
| | give | 'might have given' |

6.7.2. Desiderative: The verb indicates the subject's wants or wishes. In order to indicate a desire for something the suffix **-ling** or **-li** is used.

- e.g.: (37) ngo gi-ling-do
 1s go-DES- PRES
 'I want/desire to go.'

- (38) ngo pori-li-do
 1s read-DES-be
 'I want/desire to read.'

6.7.3. Dubitative: This mood is usually described as expressing an element of doubt that the event described in the proposition occurred or will occur. In Adi dubitative mood is expressed by suffixing *-lado* to the first verb and the negation *-ma* followed again by *lado* to the second verb. Thus, in such a case the verb occurs twice.

e.g.: (39) ngo do-lado do-ma lado
 1s eat-AUX eat-NEG-AUX
 'I might eat.'

(40) ngolu gi-lado gi-ma-lado
 1p go-AUX go-NEG-AUX
 'We may not go.'

6.7.4. Complementizer

The suffix *-dope* is used in a complement clause. It is a Complementizer.

e.g.: (41) bim pori-dope po-langka
 3sNOM read-COMPL tell-IMP
 'Tell him to read.'

(42) bulum a-dope po-langka
 3pNOM come-COMPL tell-IMP
 'Tell them to come.'

6.7.5. Causatives

In Adi, causatives are of two types- *-mo*, which is used with adjectives, and – *lik*, which is used with verbs.

The suffix ‘-mo’

e.g.:	mar-ling	mar-li-mo-nam
	angry	to make angry, to provoke
	duuk	duuk-mo-nam
	sad	to make sorrowful, to grieve
	gi	gi-mo-nam
	go	to let go, to release

(43) ngo milo ko dem kap-mo-to
1s male child DET cry-CAUS-PST
‘I made the boy cry.’ (I caused the boy to cry)

(44) ngo ko ojing-em beerang dem arbin-mo-to
1s child baby-ACC servant DET bath-CAUS-PST
‘I made the servant bathe the baby.’

The suffix *-lik*

e.g.:	da	da-lik-nam
	lean	to cause to lean

6.7.6. Directional Verbs

Directional verbs are a set of bound morphemes suffixed to the root verbs.

They are usually added to the motion verbs.

1. Linear movement is indicated by **–kong** suffixation to the root verb.

e.g.:	gi-nam	gi-kong-nam
	go-inf	
	to go	'to cross'
	bi-nam	bi-kong-nam
	carry-inf	
	'to carry'	'to carry across'

2. Upward movement is indicated by suffixing **–sa** to the root verb.

e.g.:	gi-nam	gi-sa-nam
	go-inf	
	'to go'	'to climb up'

3. Reversal or the returning of an action is indicated by suffixing **–lat**, **–ku** or **–latku** to the root verb when the sentence is negative, but when the sentence is positive '–ku' is suffixed to the future marker.

e.g.:	(45)	a.	ngo	aa-ye-ku
			1s	come-FUT-REV
				'I will come back.'

b. ngo aa-ng-ku-ma-ye
1s come-REV-NEG-FUT
'I will not come back.'

(46) a. ngo gi-lat-ye-ku
1s go-REV-FUT-REV
'I will go back.'

b. ngo gi-latku-ma-ye
1s go-REV-NEG-FUT
'I will not go back.'

(47) ngo bi-lat-ye-ku
1s give-FUT-REV
'I will give (it) back.'

bi-nam	bi-latku-nam
'to give'	'to give back'

gi-nam	gi-latku-nam
'to go'	'to come back'

bom-nam	bom-lat-nam
'to carry/bring'	'to bring back'

dug-nam	dug-lat-nam
'to run'	'to run back'

4. Movement away from the source is indicated by suffixing **–nyok**.

e.g.:	dug-nam	dug-nyok-nam
	'to run'	'to run away'

gi-nam	gi-nyok-nam
'to go'	'to go away'

5. Forward movement away from the source is indicated by the suffix **–len**, but the distance is always proximate. It also indicates that the action resulted in bringing or in producing a new item.

e.g.:	gi-nam	gi-len-nam
	'to go'	'to go out'

dug-nam	dug-len-nam
'to run'	'to run out'

pi-to	pi-len-to
'made'	'made out'

pa-to	pa-len-tung
'cut'	'made by cutting out'

at-to	at-len-to
'wrote'	'made out by writing'

6. Movement away from the source, or to be rid of something/someone is indicated by the suffix **-pak**.

e.g.:	bom-nam	bom-pak-nam
	'to bring'	'to take out/away'
	gi-nam	gi-pak-nam
	'to go'	'to go out (in order to be rid of something)'
	bi-nam	bi-pak-nam
	to give	to get rid of something by giving it away
	lu-nam	lu-pak-nam
	to say	to get rid of by telling

7. Actions performed with somebody else is indicated by the suffix **-min**.

e.g.:	gi-nam	gi-min-nam
	'to go'	'to go with'
	dug-nam	dug-min-nam
	'to run'	'to run with or together'

8. Purpose of an action is indicated by the suffix **–lik**.

e.g.:	gi-nam	gi-lik-nam
	'to go'	'to go with (someone) in order to protect/to guide'
	lu-nam	lu-lik-bi-nam
	'to say'	'to say for/to insist'
	lu-mik-nam	lu-mik-bi-nam
	'to explain'	'to explain for/ to plead for'

9. Unwillingness to performing an action is indicated by the suffixes **–so** or **-got**.

e.g.:	gi-nam	gi-so-nam/gi-got-nam
	'to go'	'unwilling to go'
	do-nam	do-so-nam/do-got-nam
	'to eat'	'unwilling to eat'

10. Interruption of an ongoing action is indicated by the suffix **–sek**.

e.g.:	lu-nam	lu-sek-nam
	'to say'	'to interrupt'

gi-nam	gi-sek-nam
'to go'	'to cross/ to intersect'

11. To indicate that an action is performed by moving around in a specific area the suffixes **-gong** or **-go** is added.

e.g:	gi	gi-gong
	go	to go around/to loiter
	kaa	kaang-gong
	see/look	to look around
	ma	ma- gong
	walk	to walk around
	bi	bi-gong
	give	to distribute around

12. **bi** and **-bo** are benefactive verbal suffixes, i.e. when they are suffixed to a verb it indicates that the verb is performed to benefit someone.

e.g.:	(48)	ngo	no-m	lu-bi-la-ye
		1s	2s-ACC	say-BEN-FUT
		'I shall say for your benefit.'		

(49) ngo no-m gi-bi-la-ye
1s 2s-ACC go-BEN-FUT

'I shall go for your benefit.'

(50) ngo no-m bi-bi-la-ye
1s 2s-ACC give-BEN-FUT

'I shall give for your sake.'

(51) bulu miri pebo-em i-bo-to
3p cultural programs-ACC do-BEN-PST

'They performed the cultural program (for the benefit of others.)'

(52) bulu doying lu-bo-to
3p story say-BEN-PST

'They told a story (for someone.)'

13. Relative participles are formed in Adi by suffixing **-na** to the main verbs.

e.g.: aa-na ko
come-suf boy

'The boy, who is coming.'

tii-na ami de
drink-suf man DET
'The man who drinks'

duu-na mime
sit-suf girl
'The girl, who is present.'

14. The suffix **-nom** is added to a verb to indicate that an action in which the speaker imparts training to another person takes place.

e.g.: (53) ngo bi-m po-nom-dung
 1s 3s-ACC say- suf-PROG
'I am teaching him to speak.'

(54) ngo bi-m i-do-pe po-nom-dung
 1s 3s-ACC do-man.adv say-suf-PROG
'I am telling him how to do it.'

15. The suffix **-pa** and **-la** are added to a verb to indicate ability in performing an action.

e.g.: (55) ngo takaar dem kaa-pa-dung
 1s star DET see-ABIL-PROG
'I am able to see the star.'

(56) bi agom po-la-dung
3s language say-ABIL-PROG
'He can speak.'

(57) bi schoolgi-la-dung
3s schoolgo-ABIL-PROG
'He can go to school.'

(58) bi ager i-la-dung
3s work do-ABIL-PROG
'He can work.'

(59) ngo engo la-la-dung
1s fish take-ABIL-PROG
'I can fish.'

16. **-man** is suffixed to the verb to indicate enjoyment of an action performed.

e.g.: (60) ngo esing aye do-man-to
1s fruits eat-suf-PST
'I enjoyed eating the fruits.'

(61) bulu apong ti-man-to
3p beer drink-suf-PST
'They enjoyed drinking the beer.'

(62) ngolu television kaa-man-to
1p television see-suf-PST
'We enjoyed watching the television.'

(63) ngolu angong-em lu-man-to
1p friends-ACC talk-suf-PST
'We enjoyed talking with friends.'

17. The suffix *-riksu* added to the main verb and followed by the tense, indicates the coming together of two or more persons in performing an action.

e.g.: (64) ngonyi alak-e gak-riksu-to
1dl hand-prt shake-suf-PST
'We shook hands.'

(65) ngolu lu-riksu-to
1p talk-suf-PST
'We discussed.'

(66) binyi gom-riksu-to
3dl embrace-suf-PST
'They embraced each other.'

(67) ngonyi do-riksu-to
 1dl eat-suf-PST
 'We ate together.'

(68) ngonyi gi-riksu-to
 1dl go-suf-PST
 'We met while going.'

1. Actions that are habitual or regular in nature are formed by affixing *-ti* to an infinitive verb.

e.g.: gi-nam gi-ti-nam
 to go to go regularly

duk-nam duk-ti-nam
 to run to run regularly

(69) ami-kidar ekum-lo gi-ti-nam-de ai -mang
 person-PL house-LOC to go regularly good NEG
 'Regularly going to other people's house is not good.'

(70) somoi takam-lo agom lu-ti-nam-de ai-mang
 time always-PP language to-speak continually good-NEG
 'It is not good to talk all the time.'

e.g.: (71) tatik e man-dak-ku
frog art croak
'a frog is starting to croak.'

(72) pedong-e o-dak -bong
rain-NOM rain PRF
'It is about to rain.' Lit: 'Rain is about to fall.'

(73) ngo lu-dak
1s speak
'I am to speak immediately.'

3. To indicate that an action performed is to send or to part with something or somebody, the suffix **-lik** is added to the verb.

e.g.: lu lu-lik-nam
say to send a word

gi gi-lik-nam
go to send somebody off

bi bi-lik-nam
give to give away something to someone

kaa kaa-lik-nam
see to be seen off

4. **-jing** is suffixed to the verb to indicate that an action performed benefits or brings advantage to the doer.

e.g.: yupmang yupmang maa-jing
 dream 'to have a good dream.'

 ap ap-jing
 shoot 'good in shooting.'

 catch gak-jing
 catch 'good in catching.'

 i i-jing
 do 'good in something' or 'an expert (in something)'

5. To indicate that an action is not easy to perform because of the participant's shyness, **-nying** is suffixed to the verb.

e.g.: duu duu-nying
 sit 'embarrassed or feeling shy to sit'

 lu lu-nying
 say/tell 'embarassed or feeling shy to say'

gi	gi-nying
go	'embarrassed or feeling shy to go'
do	donying
eat	'embarrassed or feeling shy to eat'

6. **-sup** is suffixed to the verb to denote secrecy of the action performed.

e.g.:

lu-nam	lu-sup-nam
'to say'	'to say secretly'
bi-nam	bi-sup-nam
'to give'	'to give secretly'
gi-nam	gi-sup-nam
'to go'	'to go secretly'
kaa-nam	kaa-sup-nam
'to see'	'to peep'
laa-nam	laa-sup-nam
'to take'	'to steal'

7. To denote that someone refrains from performing an action in anticipation of its consequences, the suffix **-nyok** is added to the verb.

e.g.: lu-nam lu-nyok-nam
 'to say' 'to refrain from saying'

 i-nam i-nyok-nam
 'to do' 'to refrain from doing'

 pa-nam pa-nyok-nam
 'to cut' 'to refrain from cutting'

27. The participle **-yang** is suffixed to the verb to indicate that the subject of the verb is occupied in performing the action.

e.g.: tat tat-yang
 listen 'occupied in listening'

 lu lu-yang
 say/tell 'occupied in telling'

 ti ti-yang
 drink 'occupied in drinking'

 do do-yang
 eat 'occupied in eating'

 kaa kaa-yang
 see 'occupied in watching'

8. The form *-min* suffixed to a verb followed by *-gela* indicates that the action is performed collectively.

e.g.:	tat	tat-min gela
	hear	'join in hearing'
	lu	lu-min gela
	tell	'join in telling'
	la	la-min gela
	take	'join in taking'
	duk	duk-min gela
	run	'join in running'

6.8. ADVERBS

Semantically adverbs belong to that class of words, which modify the sense of a verb or restrict the scope of it to a place, time and manner of the action in question. In simple terms, an adverb is a form, which fills manner, place, temporal, and purpose slots in clause level constructions, i.e., adverbs of manner, adverbs of place, adverbs of time and adverbs of purpose. Adverbs in Adi precede the verbs.

adverbs of manner, adverbs of place, adverbs of time and adverbs of purpose. Adverbs in Adi precede the verbs.

Adverbs in Adi may be simple, derived or compounded. A simple adverb consists of a single root morpheme.

E.g.: supak now
 lodiem daily
 melo yesterday

A derived adverb consists of a root plus one or more suffixes. The most frequently used suffixes are *-pe* and *-lo*.

E.g.: (74) ekum ara-lo ami duu-dung
 house in-pp man sit-PROG
 'A man is sitting inside the house.'

(75) ngo-k agerem supak-pe iyin-mang
 1s-ACC work now- pp finish-NEG
 'I have not finished my work till now'

(76) peso-mape-ka mee'lam-lo kaa-laju
 fear-NEG-IMP after-pp see-HORT
 'Do not be afraid we'll see it afterwards'

A compound adverb has a multiple-root composition. Two base forms join together to form compound adverbs.

E.g.: aginpe-duyarnam

everyday-always

'forever'

leko -leko

sometimes-sometimes

'sometimes'

silo melo

today yesterday

'nowadays'

6.8.1. Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner are usually reduplicated words, although some words are not reduplicated, some of both types carry **-pe** which is a postposition.

e.g.: (77) etet etet-pe agom po-langka

slow slow-pp word say-IMP

'Speak slowly.'

(78) si olet tila olet tila i-dung

DET fall again fall again be-PROG

'It is falling again and again.'

(79) aso-pe du-langka
quiet-pp do-IMP
'Sit quietly.'

(80) bi kap tila kap tila i-dung
3s cry again cry again do-be
'He is constantly crying.'

6.8.2. Adverbs of Place

Adverbs of place are of two types, viz, base adverbs and derived adverbs, which are locative case nominals.

Base adverbs:

so here

telo there (up there)

belo there (down there)

The words used for *there* may be **telo** or **belo** depending on whether it points to a direction which is at a lower or higher level; the verbs that follow it may also be different although they mean the same.

E.g. telo sa-langka
there go-IMP
'Go (up) there.'

belo tok-langka

there go-IMP

'Go (down) there.'

Derived adverbs:

ingko -lo 'where'

what pp

6.8.3. Adverbs of time:

supak now

melo yesterday

nyampo tomorrow

re day after tomorrow

rokom at dawn

6.8.4. Adverbs of purpose

Adverbs of purpose are those words that may also be used as conjunctions:

dekepe likewise

deke legape so

depeila as a result

kapeila because

(79) opek darep-la kasu-king gi-min ge-to
 Opek stand-ADVBLZR Kasu-ASS go-ASSOC go-PST
 'Getting up, Opek went with Kasu.'

(80) balngo ko bi-la ngo re-ye
 Rs.5 DET give-ADVBLZR 1s buy-FUT
 'I will buy it for Rupees five.'
 Lit: 'By giving you Rupees Five, I will buy it.'

(81) bi mime-dem alak-lok gak-la sorep-to
 3s woman-NOM hand-ABL hold-ADVBLZR lift-PST
 'He/she took the woman by the hand and helped her get up.'
 'Taking the woman by the hand, he helped her get up.'

Conclusion

Adi differentiates between the present, past and future. The aspect has three categories- progressive (continuous), iterative and perfective). Four categories of mood include the Imperative, the Prohibitive, the Hortative and the Optative moods. Modals include probability, desiderative, dubitative modals, the complementizer and the causatives.

Adi has many directional verbs in which suffixes are attached to verb stems.

Verbs in Adi prove to be the most interesting among the word classes as they are capable of taking more varieties of affixes than do other

word classes. The adverbs on the other hand do not show much morphology and are rather limited in number.

CHAPTER - 7

MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

In this chapter the data is analyzed for morphological processes and rules involved. Following Matthews (1991) the Morphological processes employed in Adi language are analyzed as follows:

7.1. Affixation: Affixation is the process whereby an affix is attached to a root or stem. Affixation is of four types of which Adi makes use of only two –

7.1.1. Prefixation: In prefixation, a bound morpheme is attached to a root or stem.

E.g. In the construction of ordinal numbers, except in the case of the word meaning 'first', *len-* is prefixed to the second syllable of the corresponding numbers.

len-nyi-na	second
len-ngum-na	third
len-pi-na	fourth
len-ngo-na	fifth

7.1.2. Suffixation: In suffixation a bound morpheme is attached to the end of a root or stem. Suffixation is very common in Adi language. Word classes like nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, etc. all take suffixes to denote case, tense and aspect, manner, etc. in the following examples:

E.g.: mibom-ke
 Mibom-Gen
 ‘Mibom’s’

 do-to-bong
 eat-Pst- PERF
 ‘have eaten’

 kamo-na yo
 dark-suf night
 ‘Dark night’

 kampo-pe
 beautiful-Manner adverb
 ‘beautifully’

 ara-lo
 inside LOC
 ‘inside’

7.2. Modification: Modification is a morphological process, which produces an alternation within a root or stem. The two kinds of modification that Adi uses are:

7.2.1. Subtraction: It is a morphological process of modification that removes one or more segments from a root or stem.

e.g: apong

beer

apo si (subtraction of *ng* from *apong*)

beer DET

'This beer'

arang

inside

ekum **ara-lo** (subtraction of *ng* from *arang*)

house inside LOC

'Inside the house'

Subtraction is especially common when there is a compounding of nouns as in the following examples:

yipi	+	akon	=	pikon
forty		one		forty-one

midum	atel	becomes	mitel
person	one		one person

midum	anynyi	becomes	minyi
person	two		two persons

After the subtraction of *dum*, *mi-* from *midum* is compounded to the numeral word *-kon* from *akon* to mean 'one person. In the examples above both the process of subtraction and compounding takes place.

In the following example *song* which is a classifier for knives is contracted to *so-* by subtracting *ng*, similarly the word *iying* contracted to *-ying*, and the two are compounded to get the following result:

eyok + song+ iying	becomes	eyok so-ying
knife CL ten		knife CL-ten

7.2.2. Suppletion: It is a morphological process of modification in which one stem is replaced with another resulting in an allomorph of a morpheme, which has no phonological similarity to the other allomorph. In the following examples, the vowel *o* is replaced by *u* in the sentences:

E.g: (1) biro
brother

no ngok **biru** e
you are my brother.

(2) inko

what

nok aminem **inku e**

what is your name?

(3) o:

son

bi ngok **u e**

he is my son.

7.3. Reduplication: Reduplication is a morphological process in which a root or stem or part of it is repeated.¹

Reduplication is used with adjectives, adverbs, and gender formation, with nouns and also with relative pronouns.

Reduplication in adjectives of Adi is partial, i.e., the last syllables of the nouns are reduplicated to form the corresponding adjectives. Reduplication in adjectives is not compulsory, some adjectives are not reduplicated.

E.g.: eki **kingka**

dog black

'black dog'

¹ R.R K Hartmann, and F C. Stork. 1972. Dictionary of language and linguistics. London: Applied Science

goru **ruka**

cow black

'Black cow'

am **min** -na

paddy dry suf

'Ripe paddy'

eso **sote**

mithun big

'Big mithun'

e'ye'k **yek**-ra

pig big suf

'Big pig'

ekum **kumdong**

house long

'Long house'

ekum **kumne**

house big

'Big house'

esing **siyar**

tree tall

'Tall tree'

asi **sigu**

water hot

'Hot water'

eyok **yokrat**

dao sharp

'Sharp dao'

ami **mijing**

man old

'Old man'

7.3.1. Types of reduplication

Reduplication in adverbs may be complete lexical reduplication, partial or discontinuous word reduplication where a verb comes in between the reduplicated word.

7.3.1.1. Complete lexical reduplication:

E.g: etet etet -pe

slow slow man.adv

'slowly.'

7.3.1.2. Partial Reduplication

Sometimes a word (either a verb or a noun) is partially reduplicated to form a verb in a sentence.

Eg: (4) bi aksik **sik** -dung
3s sneeze sneeze PROG
'He/she is sneezing'
Lit.: He/she sneezed a sneeze.'

(5) domir **mir** -dung
thunder thunder PROG
'It is thundering'
Lit.: 'The thunder is thundering.'

(6) moton-taronet**on** -dung
earthquake quake PROG
Lit.: 'The earthquake is quaking.'

7.3.1.3. Discontinuous word reduplication:

E.g: olet tila olet tila
fall again fall again
'(It) falls again and again.'

7.3. Morphophonemic Rules

7.4.1. Accusative Pronouns: In accusative pronoun constructions, elision of the Syncope type is employed. The accusative suffix marker **-em** is attached to the person pronoun. There is deletion of the vowel, **e** of the accusative suffix marker for some constructions. For other constructions inversion is applied so that the attached accusative suffix becomes **-me**.

ngo + em = ngom /ngome

1s ACC

'(to) me'

ngolu + em = ngolum/ngolume

1p ACC

'(to) us'

no + em = nom/nome

2s ACC

'(to) you'

nolu + em = nolum /nolume

2p ACC

'(to) you'

bi + em = bim/ bime

3s ACC

'(to) him/her.'

bulu + em = bulum / bulume

3p ACC

'(to) them'

7.4.2. Genitive Pronouns: In Genitive pronoun constructions, both insertion and deletion are employed. The genitive suffix **-ke** is attached to the person pronoun, the initial consonant **k** of the suffix is doubled for some constructions, and for other constructions the person pronouns retain only the initial consonant **k** of the genitive suffix.

bi + ke = bikke / bik

3s GEN

'his/her/hers'

bulu + ke = bulukke / buluk

3p GEN

'their/theirs'

ngo + ke = ngokke / ngok

1s GEN

'my/mine'

ngolu + ke = ngolukke /ngoluk

1p GEN

'our/ours'

no + ke = nokke / nok

2s GEN

'your/yours'

nolu + ke = nolukke / noluk

2p GEN

'your/yours'

This same rule applies to the ablative and instrumental constructions.

asek lok/lokke

stick INSTR

'with stick'

shillong lok/lokke

Shillong ABLA

'from Shillong'

Conclusion

Suffixation is undoubtedly the most common morphological process in Adi. Other word formation processes, including compounding, are not discussed for lack of sufficient data. Only affixation, modification and reduplication are discussed.

CHAPTER - 8

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

This chapter summarizes the main findings of the present study.

With regard to typology, in Adi, the syllable is a crucial phonological unit, and the syllable initial consonants are larger in number than those of syllable finals. Adi has four nasal consonants *m*, *n*, *ŋ* and *ɲ*, all of which can occur initially, medially or finally. However, unlike most Northeastern Tibeto-Burman languages, aspirated consonants and the glottal stop are absent.

The Adi vowel system consists of fifteen consonants, nine vowels and six diphthongs. Although there are diphthongs, Adi makes very little use of them.

Chapter 4 dealing with Phonology reveals that assimilation is a common feature of the Adi phonology. Assimilation occurs at the morphemic boundaries and not within it. Syllable boundaries correspond to morpheme boundaries. As the combination of a number of morphemes is permissible in a single word, Adi is considered to be an agglutinating language.

Chapter 5 tries to analyze data related to nominals. A number of nouns take prefix and suffix-like morphemes. The noun phrases can include several smaller constituents, viz, determiners, demonstratives, nouns, pronouns, numerals, modifying adjectives and case markers. However, no single one of these constituents occurs in every noun phrase. But any one of them except a case marker can constitute a noun phrase all by itself. Case markers, when present, are always suffixed to the head nouns.

The noun phrase includes a noun, which can be regarded as the “head” of the noun phrase. Nouns can have a variety of suffixes. A ‘noun stem’ is the word to which these noun suffixes can be attached. Three kinds of suffixes can be used with the noun stem: plural markers, case markers and gender markers with –human, + animate nouns.

Unlike other Tibeto-Burman languages in the North East (India), Adi is rich in case markers, although it does not make use of the Ergative-Absolutive case system. Another feature Adi possesses, which is not uncommon to other Tibeto-Burman languages is the presence of noun classifiers. Adi has a number of classifiers, which are discussed in chapter five. Other features that are discussed are the Noun phrase construction, the determiners, the postpositions, the numeral system, the nominalizers, quotative, interrogatives and the pronouns.

Adi makes distinction between cardinal and ordinal numbers; the numerals follow the 10+1, 10+2... pattern.

Questions are fairly simple. In an Adi Wh- question, the Wh-word occurs in the same slot as the constituent questioned. Yes/no questions are formed by means of suffixation of a morpheme.

Regarding the pronouns, Adi has three categories- singular, dual and plural.

Adjectives, in Adi, constitute an integral part of the noun phrase. They occupy modifying slots in the noun phrase and can either precede or follow the noun. Adjectives do not take person, number and gender suffixes.

Adjectives in Adi may be predicative or attributive. The difference of forms between the two is achieved by means of affixation.

Adi is rich in adjectives. Depending on the nouns to be qualified, there are different words for the same meaning intended. This is achieved by the partial reduplication of the noun qualified.

In chapter 6, the verbs and adverbs are discussed. Adi is a verb final language, which makes use of postpositions. The verb in Adi is a morpheme capable of taking tense/aspect markers or the imperative markers. The verbs are not marked for person-number-gender. They are constituents that necessarily take a suffix, i.e., the verb stem cannot exist alone in a meaningful utterance without one or more suffixes. Verbs are studied with respect to their construction and combination with other elements in a sentence. They can be particularly complex, as they take negative and interrogative affixes and other various sorts of adverbial and tense affixes. These affixes are however, mostly suffixes. Adi verbs do not show any agreement.

Adi differentiates between the present, past and future. The aspect has three categories- progressive (continuous), iterative and perfective). Four categories of mood include the Imperative, the Prohibitive, the Hortative and the Optative moods. Modals include probability, desiderative, dubitative modals, the complementizer and the causatives.

Another feature Adi is rich in is the Directional verbs. These are morphemes which are suffixed to motion verbs and they specify the manner, direction or other aspects of a verb.

Adverbs constitute an integral part of the verb phrase. Adverbs in Adi may be simple, derived or compounded. Among the adverbs discussed are adverbs of manner, of place, of time, and of purpose. The adverbial clause is formed by means of suffixing an adverbializer to the main verb.

The morphological processes employed are affixation, modification and reduplication. Affixation includes prefixation and suffixation. Modification includes subtraction and suppletion. Finally, reduplication includes partial and complete reduplication.

This research is neither an exhaustive survey of the literature of the Adi language, nor an exhaustive description of the morphology of the language. It however, is an attempt to answer some of the questions arising from the study of the Adi language with regard to its morphology. There is a great scope for studying further, aspects of the morphology of the Adi language, which has not been touched upon in this dissertation. Scholars are encouraged to make a careful critical study of it and take, the shortcomings thereof, as a challenge for a more thorough and detailed study in the future.

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Transcribed by.....