Dimasa Language: Structure and Texts

by

Jonathan P. Evans & Dhrubajit Langthasa

Dimasa Language: Structure and Texts

by

Jonathan P. Evans and Dhrubajit Langthasa

Summary

This book presents a grammatical overview of Dimasa (known autonymically as *Grao Dima* /ɡɹawdima/; ISO 639-3), a Tibeto-Burman (Trans-Himalayan) language spoken mainly in Assam State, India. Dimasa is in the Bodo-Garo sub-branch of Tibeto-Burman and is spoken by about 110,000 speakers, most of whom are bilingual or trilingual in Bengali, English, and/or Assamese. Linguistic analysis is based upon the speech of Haflong, the town with the largest Dimasa-speaking population. Similar to other Bodo-Garo languages, Dimasa has seventeen consonants, with a two-way voicing contrast, and five vowels. Underlying word-initial consonant clusters can surface with an emergent vowel, yielding a sesquisyllabic structure. The variety of Dimasa spoken in Haflong does not yield convincing evidence for the existence of tones, although they have been noted in other descriptions of the language (Chapter 2). Chapter 3 describes the structure of nouns and noun phrases, including nominalizations. Noun phrases can be defined as those units that can be cliticized with a case marker. Like other Bodo-Garo languages, as well as those of the larger Sal group, counted nouns are formed by the sequence N CLF-NUM, an ordering that is rare among languages outside of this area. Dimasa verbs (Chapter 4) are highly agglutinating, with thirteen post-verb root suffix slots, up to three of which may be occupied in any given instance. Types of suffix include aspect-tense markers, directional and translocative markers, and fossilized serial verbs. Chapter 5 describes various aspects of discourse, such as topic marking and mirativity. The second part of the book contains twenty-one samples of natural language across a variety of genres, and includes samples of both oral and written language. Each text is introduced with an overview of the linguistic and cultural features displayed therein.

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

iv

Part II: Texts

Chapter VI: Introduction…………………………………….. **111**

Chapter VII: Narratives…………………………………….... **113**

Chapter VIII: Procedural discourse………………………………… **183**

Part I

Structure

Chapter I: Introduction

The Dimasa language (known autonymically as *Grao Dima* /ɡɾawdima/; ISO 639-3) is a Bodo-Garo language of the Tibeto-Burman language family. It is spoken by about 110,000 Dimasa people, mainly in the Dima Hasao district of Assam. Smaller populations live in the lower portion of Karbi Anglong district (East), the Lower Crescent Region of the Nagaon district, and the Cachar district of Assam. Smaller populations live in Nagaland (Dimapur District) and Manipur (Jiribam region). The name /di-ma-sa/ corresponds to "water-big-children", with reference to the Brahmaputra river, which is /dilaw/ in Dimasa. Ethnically, Dimasa speakers fall within the Kachari grouping, which is one of the earliest documented ethnic groups in Northeast India. Middle aged and older Dimasas are usually fluent in both Dimasa and Bengali. Young adult speakers tend to be fluent in Dimasa, Hindi, and English. If they grow up or go to school in Guwahati, then they are also fluent in Assamese. Lexical borrowings from Bengali into Dimasa are common; in some cases, it is not clear which Indo-Aryan language is the source of a borrowed word. Indo-Aryan borrowings are marked (IA) in the book.

In recent analyses of the Bodo-Garo linguistic grouping, Dimasa has been categorized within the Boro-Tiwa-Dimasa-Kokborok cluster, alongside Deori, Garo, and Koch clusters (Post & Burling 2017). Bodo-Garo (also Boro-Garo) is often grouped with Jingpho-Asakian and Northern Naga into a group called Sal (Burling 1983).

The present work introduces the phonology and morphosyntax of Dimasa as spoken in Haflong, the town with the largest Dimasa population. This dialect has seventeen consonants, with a two-way contrast in voicing/aspiration. There are five vowel phonemes, which are the tense vowels /i, e, a, o, u/. Lax versions of these vowels occur emergently between consonants in some initial clusters, creating sesquisyllables. Tones have been documented in some dialects, with analyses ranging from two (Jacquesson 2008) to three (Longmailai 2014) tones. Our analysis of Haflong speakers does not yield convincing evidence for the existence of tones in this variety (Chapter 2). Dimasa phonology is fairly typical within the Bodo-Garo group of languages.

Chapter 3 introduces the structure of nouns and noun phrases. Dimasa morphology is agglutinative; nouns are often formed from verbs via affixation. There are eight case markers which are cliticized onto noun phrases. Many Dimasa nouns are morphologically complex, either due to compounding, semantic prefixation, or nominalization. Like other Tibeto-Burman languages, adjectives do not form a distinct class; Dimasa words expressing adjectival concepts are either verbs or nouns, depending on the presence or absence of the nominalizing formative /g-/. Only human nouns can be specified for plurality.

A typologically unusual feature of Dimasa noun phrases is that counted nouns are formed by the sequence N CLF-NUM or CLF-NUM N. This ordering of elements is common in the Sal languages (Evans 2022), but almost non-existent elsewhere Aikhenvald (2000). In some languages of Southeast Asia, such as Southwestern Tai languages, the numeral one follows its classifier, which in turn follows its noun. However, numerals greater than one invariably precede the classifier (cf. Campbell & Shaweevongs (1982: 113–115) for Standard Thai, Lu (2012: 144–145) for Thai and Lue).

Dimasa verbs are highly agglutinating (Chapter 4), with two pre-verb root morphological slots, and thirteen post-verb root suffixal slots. There are relatively few examples in natural texts of more than three suffixes (example (1)).

(1) *aŋ*   *miziŋ-ka*   *de*   *boŋpaŋ*   *spaj-taɾ-pu-du*
    1SG   want-PRF   TOP   tree   break-ENTR-POT-PIPFV
    'If I want I can break the tree.' (78-Sainjang Bar)

Longer verbs are theoretically possible, but tests on native speakers have found that such words are difficult to parse or to use within a natural-sounding context. The suffix slot closest to the verb root is reserved for bound serial verbs. These are fossilized serial verb forms, which serve an adverbial function, form a closed class, and tend to be highly limited in terms of verbs that they combine with.

In terms of tense-aspect marking, Dimasa is aspect-prominent, although most temporal markers specify both aspect and tense meanings. There are two sets of directional suffixes. In the second postverbal slot there are four directional morphemes that indicate whether movement is upward, downward, away, or inward. In the fourth postverbal slot there are two translocative morphemes, which differ depending on whether it is the speaker who is being marked as translocative, or the (possibly elided) agent of the verb.

Clauses follow the Agent-Patient-Verb (SOV) constituent order which is typical for most Tibeto-Burman languages (Chapter 5). Dimasa has five topic markers, three of which indicate different degrees of divergence from expectation or from realis, while the other two extend or restrict the scope of the verb. There are three mirative markers, which encode degrees of surprise or shock on the part of the speaker, or anticipated surprise on the part of the listener.

Throughout the morphosyntactic description (Chapters 3–5), there are numerous sentence examples. These are largely taken directly from texts, or consist of slightly altered text examples. In some cases, the second author created example sentences in order to more succinctly illustrate a given phenomenon. Following the grammatical description, there are a number of natural language samples (texts), which are arranged according to genre. At the head of each text there is a brief comment that highlights cultural and/or linguistic aspects of the text under consideration.

It is the authors' hope that this work will serve as a reference for linguists, as well as for Dimasa speakers. We dedicate this book to the past generations of speakers who have preserved and enriched the beautiful Dimasa language, and have passed it down to the present time, and also to the coming generations of speakers whom we hope will be speaking it for many generations into the future.

Chapter II: Phonology

The Dimasa phonological inventory resembles those of other Bodo-Garo languages (cf., Joseph & Burling 2001). Obstruents display a two-way voicing distinction. Phonemically there are seventeen consonants, five vowels, a simple syllable structure, and, in some varieties, a lexical tone system. Many words are sesquisyllabic, with a light pre-syllable followed by a main syllable. Below we exemplify the consonant and vowel oppositions, as well as the syllable canon and the segmental and metrical structure of words. Along the way, allophonic realizations are explored.

2.1   Consonants

Dimasa has seventeen consonant phonemes as exemplified in Table 1; sounds occurring only in borrowed words are not listed (e.g., voiced aspirated stops in words borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages). The consonant inventory given here is the same as that found in Longmailai (2014), and differs from Singha (2001) and Jacquesson (2008) only by the existence of /ʔ/.

Table 1. The consonant phonemes of Dimasa

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop	p b	t d		k g	ʔ
nasal	m	n		ŋ	
tap		ɾ			
fricative		s z			h
approximant		l	j	w	

Except for /ʔ, ŋ/, all of the consonants in Table 1 can occur in word-initial position. Unlike Dimasa, some Bodo-Garo languages, such as Kokborok, distinguish three manners of stops; e.g., /p, pʰ, b/, etc. Table 2 shows the fifteen consonant phonemes that occur in word-initial position, paired with each of the five vowel phonemes, where possible.

Table 2. Onset-vowel combinations

	a	e	i	o	u
p	[pʰa]	[pʰeɾa]	[pʰi]	[pʰoŋ]	[pʰu]
	/pa/	/peɾa/	/pi/	/poŋ/	/pu/
	'attach'	'wedding ceremony'	'pluck'	'fat'	'white'

Table 2. *(continued)*

	a	e	i	o	u
b	[baʔ]	[bɛɾma]	[bi]	[bo]	[bu]
	/baʔ/	/beɾma/	/bi/	/bo/	/bu/
	'carry'	'chilli (var.)'	'pray'	'lay down'	'3SG'
t	[tʰa]	[tʰeɾ]	[tsi]	[tʰo]	[tʰu]
	/ta/	/teɾ/	/ti/	/to-/	/tu/
	'yam'	'anomaly'	'say'	'rupees (CLF)'	'sleep'
d	[dam]	[de]	[dzi]	[do]	[du]
	/dam/	/de/	/di/	/do/	/du/
	'play'	'big'	'water'	'beat'	'till (V)'
k	[kʰa]	[kʰeɾmaj]	[kʰi]	[kʰon]	[kʰu]
	/ka/	/keɾmaj/	/ki/	/kon/	/ku/
	'heart'	'tail'	'stool'	'pick'	'dig'
g	[ga]	[geɾma]		[goŋ]	[gu]
	/ga/	/geɾma/		/goŋ/	/gu/
	'climb'	'plant (sp.)'		'bend down'	'give birth'
m	[mandu]	[mel]	[mi]	[moɾ]	[mutʰaj]
	/mandu/	/mel/	/mi/	/moɾ/	/mutaj/
	'rest house in field'	'event'	'animal'	'dirty'	'eyes'
n	[naʔ]	[neʔ]	[niŋ]	[noʔ]	[nu]
	/naʔ/	/neʔ/	/niŋ/	/noʔ/	/nu/
	'fish'	'push'	'3SG'	'house'	'see'
r	[ɾa]	[ɾep]	[ɾiʔ]	[ɾo]	[ɾu]
	/ɾa/	/ɾep/	/ɾiʔ/	/ɾo/	/ɾu/
	'cut'	'write'	'cloth'	'comb (V)'	'boil (V)'
s	[ɕa]	[ʃe]	[ʃi]	[ɕo]	[ʃu]
	/sa/	/se/	/si/	/so/	/su/
	'pain'	'snatch'	'hang'	'reach'	'wash'
z	[dʒa]	[dʒeʔ]	[dʒi]	[dʒo]	[dʒuʔ]
	/za/	/zeʔ/	/zi/	/zo/	/zu/
	'happen'; 'be'	'net'	'eat'	'scold'	'pack'
h	[ha]	[hem]		[ho]	[hu]
	/ha/	/hem/		/ho/	/hu/
	'land'	'walk'		'weave bamboo'	'apply'

Table 2. *(continued)*

	a	**e**	**i**	**o**	**u**
l	[laʔ]	[lep]	[lim]	[loŋ]	[lu]
	/laʔ/	/lep/	/lim/	/loŋ/	/lu/
	'take'	'cut into pieces'	'ill'	'call'	'pour'
j	[jadeɾ]	[jen]			[juŋ]
	/jadeɾ/	/jen/			/juŋ/
	'roots'	'lay'			'worm'
w	[wa]				
	/wa/				
	'bamboo'				

Table 3. The distribution of /ʔ, ŋ/

	Medial			**Final**		
ʔ	--			[naʔ]	/naʔ/	'fish'
ŋ	[baŋaj]	/baŋaj/	'speak riddles'	[aŋ]	/aŋ/	'1SG'

Final /ŋ/ is subject to place assimilation before alveolars, including deletion before alveolar nasal. Table 4 gives examples using the second person pronoun /niŋ/; the same phenomenon can be observed on /aŋ/ 1SG, /ziŋ/ 2PL. Velar nasal articulation is preserved before homorganic and labial stops.

Table 4. Assimilation of final /-ŋ/ to a subsequent initial

/ _#t	/niŋ/	[nintʰane]	2SG BEN
/ _#n	/niŋ/	[nini]	2SG GEN
/ _#k	/niŋ/	[niŋke]	2SG ACC
/ _#b	/niŋ/	[niŋbo]	2SG (also)

Further evidence that /n, ŋ/ belong to distinct phonemes may be found by examining final /n, ŋ/ occurring after a range of vowels (Table 5).

Table 5. Contrast between /n, ŋ/

	a	e	i	o	u
-n	[dan]	[dʒen]	[kʰin]	[dʒon]	[kʰun]
	/dan/	/zen/	/kin/	/zon/	/kun/
	'pour'	'to start'	'be scared'	'wait'	'thread'
-ŋ	[baŋ]	[sʰeŋ]	[dʒiŋ]	[dʒoŋ]	[duŋ]
	/baŋ/	/seŋ/	/ziŋ/	/zoŋ/	/duŋ/
	'many'	'sword'	'1PL'	'spear'	'gloss'

Voiceless stops are aspirated when they are non-final (/t/ does not occur in final position); cf. Table 6. Figure 1 shows spectrograms for /pa/ 'attach' and /ba/ 'carry'. The noisy release of [pʰ] and the voicing bar of [b] are both visible. For three pronunciations of these words in isolation, the average voice onset times were -54 ms for [b] and +163 for [pʰ].

Table 6. Allophones of voiceless stops (/pɾ/ exemplifies clusters with /p, t, k/)

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/p/	[pʰaj]	'come'	[sampʰaŋ]	'plants'	[bɛdep]	'branch'
/t/	[tʰaŋ]	'go'	[bətʰaj]	'fruit'		
/k/	[kʰaj]	'run'	[bəkʰa]	'heart'	[tʰajlik]	'banana'
/pɾ/	[pʰɾoŋ]	'morning'	[ɕampʰɾaŋ]	'onion'		
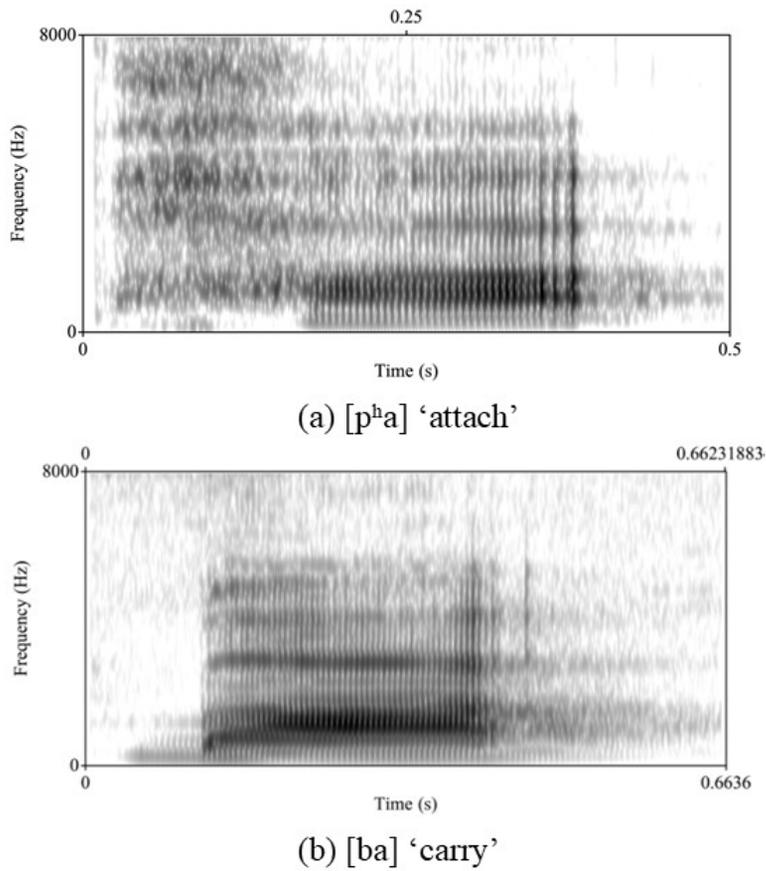
Figure 1. Spectrograms showing voicing and aspiration for /pa/ 'attach' and /ba/ 'carry'

Word-final /p, k/ become voiced when followed by a voiced-initial bound morpheme (Table 7).

Table 7. Morphophonemic voicing of final /-p, -k/

Bare form	Gloss	[-ba]	Non-future imperfective
[b(ə)lip]	'prone'	[b(ə)libba]	'prone NF:IPFV'
[tʰik]	'sufficient'	[tʰigba]	'sufficient NF:IPFV'

The phoneme /s/ has allophones [ʃ], [ɕ ~ ɕʰ] and [s]. Word-initially, [ʃ] occurs in the most environments (Table 8). Orthographically, [ʃ] is represented by {sh}, and both [ɕ ~ ɕʰ, s] are transcribed with {s}.

Table 8. Allophonic distribution of word-initial /s/

Phonetic	Phonemic	Orthographic	Gloss
[ʃi]	/si/	*shi*	'wet'
[ʃu]	/su/	*shu*	'beat'
[ʃe]	/se/	*she*	'snatch'
[ʃo]	/so/	*sho*	'reach'
[ɕa ~ ɕʰa]	/sa/	*sa*	'pain'
[slaj]	/slaj/	*slai*	'tongue'

Optional aspiration of [ɕ] before [a] appears to be due to airflow of the tongue as it lowers toward the [a] position. The [sl] cluster is given as representative of all /s-/ clusters. Borrowed words can have [s] in positions where it is disallowed by native phonology: [somoj] [*ʃomoj] 'time' (IA).

Likewise, Indo-Aryan borrowings can have /s/ in coda position: /jinis/ 'thing'. Medially, /s/ becomes [ʃ] before high vowels and remains [s] elsewhere (Table 9).

Table 9. Allophones of word-medial /s/

Medial	Phonetic	Phonemic	Orthographic	Gloss
[ʃi]	[hamʃiniŋ]	/hamsiniŋ/	*hamshining*	'immensely'
[ʃu]	[kʰajnʃuma]	/kajnsuma/	*khainshuma*	'request'
[se]	[tʰawsen]	/tawsen/	*thaosen*	'clan name'
[so]	[hɔsom]	/hsom/	*hosom*	'organization'
[sa]	[dimasa]	/dimasa/	*dimasa*	'Dimasa'
[sk]	[ɾepskaw]	/ɾepskaw/	*rebsgao*	'writer'; 'editor'

The phoneme /z/ is pronounced [dʒ] in all the environments in which it occurs: initially, medially, and preceding all vowels and diphthongs (Table 10). The transcription /z/ was chosen rather than /dʒ/ for convenience of transcription and to represent phonological opposition to voiceless /s/.

Table 10. Distribution and pronunciation of /z/

	a	**e**	**i**	**o**	**u**
Initial	[dʒa]	[dʒe]	[dʒi]	[dʒo]	[dʒu]
	/za/	/ze/	/zi/	/zo/	/zu/
	'happen'	'net'	'eat'	'speak'	'wine'
Medial	[gədʒam]	[gadʒep]	[gədʒi]	[gɔdʒo]	[gʊdʒu]
	/gzam/	/gazep/	/gzi/	/gzo/	/gzu/
	'old'	'trap (V)'	'torn'	'half'	'tall'

	Aw	**aj**	**uj**
Initial	[dʒaw]	[dʒaj]	
	/zaw/	/zaj/	
	'plow'; 'cut'	'shift'	
Medial	[gədʒaw]	[gədʒaj]	[budʒuj]
	/gzaw/	/gzaj/	/buzuj/
	'wash away'; 'erode'	'mistake'; 'fault'	'straight'

The alveolar stops undergo affrication before /i/, as seen in Table 11. Figure 2 demonstrates the voicing difference between [ts] and [dz]. For three instances said in isolation, the average voice onset times were -84 ms for [dz] and +205 ms for [tsʰ].

Table 11. Alveolar stops /t, d/ before the five monophthongs

	a	**E**	**i**	**o**	**u**
d	[dam]	[de]	[dzi]	[do]	[du]
	/dam/	/de/	/di/	/do/	/du/
	'play'	'big'	'water'	'beat'	'till'
t	[tʰa]	[tʰembɾa]	[tsi]	[tʰo-]	[tʰu]
	/ta/	/tembɾa/	/ti/	/to-/	/tu/
	'yam'	'creeper (sp.)'	'blood'	'money (CLF)'	'sleep'

(a) [tsi] 'attach'

(b) [dzi] 'water'
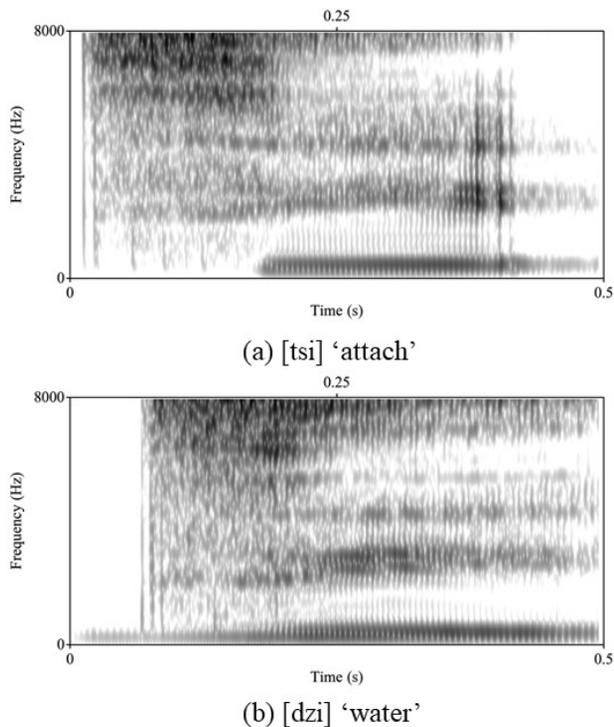
Figure 2. Voicing difference between [ts] and [dz]

The voiced stops /b/, /d/ and /g/ are always unaspirated. They occur only in initial and medial positions (Table 12).

Table 12. Distribution of voiced stops

	Initial		Medial	
b	[bədajn]		[tʰembɾa]	
	/bdajn/	'month'	/tembɾa/	'creeper (sp.)'
d	[dajn]		[bədajn]	
	/dajn/	'moon'	/bdajn/	'month'
g	[ɡaw]		[mɔɡoŋ]	
	/ɡaw/	'shoot'	/mɡoŋ/	'meat'

Consonant clusters can begin syllables in both word-initial and word-medial positions. Word-initially, labial and velar stops and /m/ can precede [ɾ, l], and /s/ can precede /ɾ, l, m, p, n, t, k/. In /ɾ, l/ consonant clusters in which the first sound is voiceless, /ɾ, l/ are devoiced (Table 13).

A consonant cluster (CC) may be defined as a tautosyllabic sequence of consonants with no vowel occurring between the consonants. In Dimasa, the set of phonemic consonant clusters is larger than the set of phonetic clusters. That is, for some underlying word-initial consonant sequences, there is an emergent allophonic vowel that yields a light syllable preceding the main syllable; e.g., /mɾam/ [məɾam] 'stink'. Words with this structure of a light syllable followed by the main syllable are often termed sesquisyllables (Matisoff 1973; Butler 2014, inter alia). However, numerous authors distinguish light syllables that are phonemically clusters (as in Dimasa) from sesquisyllables that are phonemically disyllables with an iambic structure, as in Turung (Thomas 1992; Morey 2010: 154; cf. Brunelle et al. 2020).

The present discussion addresses consonant sequences that occur on the surface as clusters. Sesquisyllables are discussed in the section on word structure (§2.3). In addition, permitted surface consonant clusters (Table 13) are sometimes broken up with the intrusion of an underspecified vowel between the two consonants (CC > CvC), yielding a sesquisyllable with more emphatic semantics than is found in the surface cluster form; e.g., /pɾaw/ > [pʰɾaw] 'close', [pʰəɾaw] 'really close'. A similar process has been observed in Atong (van Breugel 2014: 43).

Table 13. Word-initial consonant clusters

Initial	ɾ	l	m	p	n	t	k
p	[pʰ(ə)ɾaw]	[pʰl̥aw]					
	/pɾaw/	/plaw/					
	'shut'	'stretch'					
k	[kʰ(ɔ)ɾo]	[kʰ(ə)laj]					
	/kɾo/	/klaj/					
	'head'	'do'					
b	[b(ə)ɾaj]	[bla]					
	/bɾaj/	/bla/					
	'buy'	'arrow'					
g	[g(ə)ɾa]	[g(ə)law]					
	/gɾa/	/glaw/					
	'cry'	'long'					
s	[sɾ̥a]	[sl̥aj]	[s(ə)maj]	[spaj]	[snem]	[s(ə)taj]	[s(ə)kaj]
	/sɾa/	/slaj/	/smaj/	/spaj/	/snem/	/staj/	/skaj/
	'leftover'	'tongue'	'search'	'bean (sp.)'	'insect (sp.)'	'kill'	'trapped'

Fewer clusters occur word-medially, namely stops followed by /l, ɾ/, as well as /sl-, ml-/. The clusters /tɾ-, dɾ-/ only occur word-medially, not in initial position; /dɾ/ only occurs once in the lexicon (Table 14), which may be a borrowing from Hindi /santɾa/. In word-medial position, /p, k/ are aspirated in clusters, demonstrating that the stop is an initial consonant of the subsequent syllable, rather than functioning as a coda of the previous syllable. The stop /t/ is not aspirated in this position; /t/ neither occurs as a coda, nor as the first consonant in a word-initial cluster. The differences in aspiration are evident in the spectrograms in Figure 3. Averaging over three utterances in isolation, voice onset times were 97 ms for [pʰ], 143 ms for [kʰ] and 27 ms for [t].

Table 14. Word-medial consonant clusters

	ɾ			l		
p	[ɕampʰɾaŋ]	/sampɾaŋ/	'onion'	[kʰampʰlaj]	/kamplaj/	'floor seat'
k	[bokʰɾo]	/bokɾo/	'head'	[daŋkʰla]	/daŋkla/	'throw'
b	[tʰembɾa]	/tembɾa/	'creeper (sp.)'	[sajnbli]	/sajnbli/	'evening'
g	[bogɾoŋ]	/bogɾoŋ/	'seed'	[daglaj]	/daglaj/	'this year'
t	[ɕatɾaj]	/satɾaj/	'star'			
d	[hondɾa]	/hondɾa/	'orange (N)'			
s	[musɾaŋ]	/musɾaŋ/	'eyebrow'			

(a) [sampʰɾaŋ] 'onion'.

(b) [bokʰɾo] 'head'.
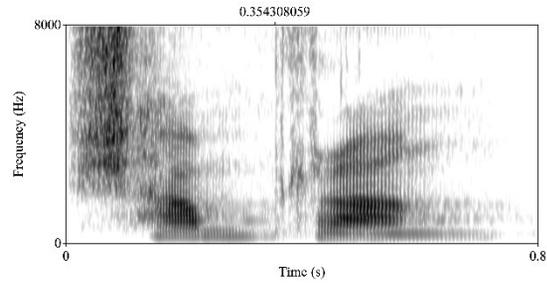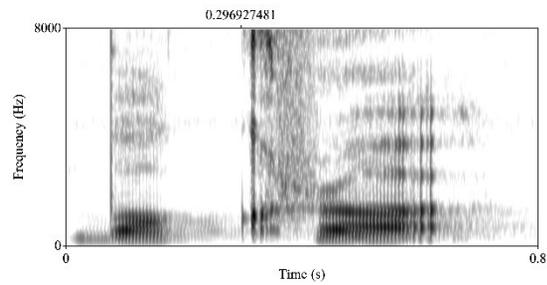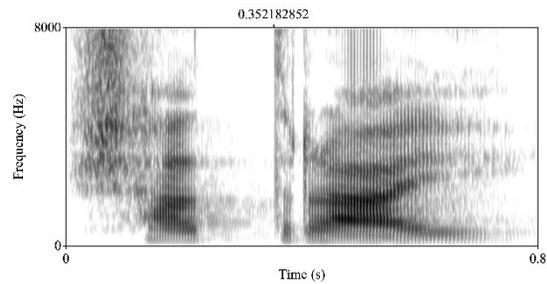
(c) [ɕatɾaj] 'star'

Figure 3. Differences in voice onset timing among medial stop-initial clusters. Time marker shows moment of release

Among urbanized speakers and those who have attended English medium schools, voiceless labial stops are spirantized when in word-medial position. Thus, /buplam/ [buflam] 'fats', but /paj/ [pʰaj] 'come', /dawtip/ [dawtip] 'nest'. The speakers analyzed in Longmailai (2014: 63–64) also demonstrated spirantization in word-initial position.

Coda consonants in Dimasa are comprised of the set /m, n, ŋ, p, k, r, l, ʔ, j, w/ (Table 15, Table 17). With the exception of the combination /-ajn/ (e.g., /dajn/ 'moon'), vowel-glide sequences occur without an additional coda following the glide.

Table 15. Coda consonants

	a	e	i	o	u	aj	aw	ej	uj
Ø	/ɾa/	/se/	/si/	/ɾo/	/su/	/ɾaj/	/ɾaw/	/dej/	/uj/
	'cut'	'snatch'	'hang'	'comb'	'weigh'	'cane'	'strong'	'OK'	'hey'
m	/kam/	/sem/	/kim/		/tajsum/				
	'sit'	'salt'	'flower'		'cucumber'				
ŋ	/aŋ/	/seŋ/	/ɾiŋ/	/soŋ/	/ɾuŋ/				
	'1SG'	'ask'	'learn'	'cook'	'boat'				
n	/man/	/len/	/min/	/ɾon/	/kun/	/dajn/			
	'respect'	'late'	'cooked'	'distribute'	'thread'	'moon'			
k			/tajlik/						
			'banana'						
p	/bzap/	/sep/	/tip/						
	'pile'	'squeeze'	'drop'						
ɾ	/baɾ/	/seɾ/		/hoɾ/	/bguɾ/				
	'air'	'iron'		'carry on head'	'skin'				
l		/mel/		/bol/					
		'meet'		'strength'					
ʔ	/naʔ/	/neʔ/	/piʔ/		/suʔ/				
	'fish'	'push'	'pluck'		'beat'				

2.2   Vowels

Dimasa has five phonemic vowels /i, e, a, o, u/. This vowel inventory is common across Bodo-Garo languages, although some languages, such as Atong, have phonemic shwa in addition to these five vowels (van Breugel 2014).

Table 16. Inventory of monophthongs

i		u
e		o
	a	

Dimasa has vowel-glide (VG) sequences that fall in sonority: /aj, aw, ej, uj/. The rising sequences /ja, wa/ occur in fewer words than VG sequences, and are most easily treated as syllables with /j-, w-/ onsets, as in /gi.si.ja/ 'head priest', /wa/ 'bamboo'. The VG sequence /aj/ can be followed by a nasal coda: /dajn/ 'moon'. Open syllable examples of VG rimes are given in Table 17.

Table 17. Inventory of vowel-glide sequences

	aj	aw	ej	uj
p	/paj/			
	'come'			
b	/bɾaj/	/blaw/		/buzuj/
	'buy'	'forget'		'straight'
t	/taj/	/taw/		
	'fruit'	'oil'		
d	/dajn/	/daw/	/dej/	
	'cut'	'mould'	'Ok'	
k	/kaj/	/kaw/		
	'run'	'pluck'		
g	/gaj/	/gaw/		/guj/
	'plant (vt)'	'shoot'		'bend'
m	/maj/	/maw/		
	'rice'	'move'		
n	/naj/	/naw/	/-nej/	
	'look'	'close friend'	'might have'	
r	/ɾaj/	/ɾaw/		
	'cane'	'strong'		

Table 17. *(continued)*

	aj	aw	ej	uj
s	/saj/	/saw/	/-sej/	
	'choose'	'burn'	'progressive'	
z	/zaj/	/zaw/		
	'shift'	'dig'		
h	/haj/	/haw/		/huj/
	'send'	'cry'		'hey!'
l	/laj/	/law/		/luj/
	'leaf'	'long'		'naughty'
j		/jaw/		
		'hand'		
w	/waj/			
	'fire'			

There are no lexical morphemes consisting of only a vowel, and words rarely start with vowels. Out of a lexicon of 37,812 entries, the number of vowel-initial native words is as follows: /a/ (17), /i/ (6), /o/ (2), /u/ (8), /e/ (2). All but two /a-/ initial forms are kinship terms with a vocative prefix: /a-da/ 'brother (voc)'; cf. /agasi/ 'day before', /alaŋ/ 'CLF-(instances)'. In most words beginning with /i, u/, the vowel functions as a proximal/distal prefix: /i-ɾa/ 'here', /u-ɾa/ 'there'. The only forms beginning with /o, e/ are /ode/ 'and'; 'that', /om/ 'yes', /egaʔ/ 'leg', /embɾuwalaj/ 'frog (sp.)'.

2.3 Phonological structure of words

Examples of monosyllabic morphemes are found in the above tables.

Lexical morphemes in Dimasa can vary in length from one to two syllables, including a length in between mono- and di-syllabic that has been termed sesquisyllabic (Matisoff 1973: 86, inter alia). Monosyllables have the canonical form (C)(C)V(G)(C). Disyllabic morphemes allow a maximal syllable in final position, and less commonly in initial position; e.g., /skajnzik/ [skajn.dʒik] 'witch'.

Crosslinguistically, sesquisyllables have been described as having a structure along the lines of Cv.CVC (cf. Butler 2014, inter alia). That is, the initial vowel lacks an inherent target; its features are provided by context. Glides and other codas do not occur postvocalically in initial light syllables.

In Dimasa, sesquisyllables and words with initial consonant clusters are both represented phonologically with initial CC-. The neutral vowel of the initial light syllable emerges due to phonotactic constraints that prevent articulation of a cluster. Thus, /bɾaj/ [bɾay] 'buy', but /bda/ [bəda] 'his brother'. Sesquisyllables contrast with full disyllabic words: /dma/ [dəma] 'tobacco', /dama/ [dama] 'butterfly'. In accordance with (Singha 2008: 21), we find that the emergent initial vowel of a sesquisyllabic morpheme or word in Dimasa is a lax counterpart of the vowel in the final syllable. That is, [ɪ, ɛ, ə, ɔ, u] precede [i, e, a, o, u], respectively (Table 18). For nouns that have permitted clusters, speakers can vary their pronunciation to produce sesquisyllables: /bɾe/ [bɾe ~ bɛɾe] 'bee'.

Table 18. Sesquisyllabic vowel combinations

a	e	i	o	u
[dəma]	[bɾe ~ bɛɾe]	[mɪni]	[bɔho]	[bumu]
/dma/	/bɾe/	/mni/	/bho/	/bmu/
'tobacco'	'bee'	'smile'	'stomach'	'name'

Eight consonants can occur in initial position in sesquisyllables: /p, b, m, n, k, g, s, h/; cf. Table 19.

Table 19. Possible initial consonants of sesquisyllabic words

/pdajn/	[pʰədajn]	'field'	/kmaɾ/	[kʰəmaɾ]	'pamper'
/bka/	[bəkʰa]	'heart'	/gka/	[gəkʰa]	'bitter'
/mtaw/	[mətʰaw]	'stop'	/sgɾaj/	[səgɾaj]	'shake (vt)'
/n-da/	[nəda]	'your brother'	/hsom/	[hɔsom]	'group'

Sesquisyllables can be dimorphemic, with the initial light syllable being a prefix. For example, kinship terms can be prefixed with /b-/ when used in the third person- and /n-/ in second person possessive: /b-da/ 'his brother', /n-da/ 'your brother'; cf. the fully disyllabic /a-da/ 'brother (voc)'. Six such prefixes have been attested in Dimasa (Table 20).

Table 20. Prefixes found in sesquisyllables

	Function	Root	Stem
b-	3SG.GEN	[-da]	[bəda]
		/-da/	/b-da/
		'brother'	'his brother'
n-	2SG.GEN	[-pʰa]	[nəpʰa]
		/-pa/	/n-pa/
		'father'	'your father'
g-	Adnominal Modifiers	[moɾ]	[gəmoɾ]
		/moɾ/	/g-moɾ/
		'dirty (N)'	'dirty (V)'
m-	Agentive	[kʰaw]	[məkʰaw]
		/kaw/	/m-kaw/
		'steal'	'thief'
k-	Nominalizer	[maɾ]	[kʰəmaɾ]
		/maɾ/	/k-maɾ/
		'raise (child)'	'raising (child)'
s-	Causative	[maw]	[s(ə)maw]
		/maw/	/s-maw/
		'move'	'cause to move'

In order to demonstrate the timing differences among clusters, sesquisyllables, and compounds, we measured the average times between the release of the first consonant and the onset of the second consonant for two instances each of clusters (/spaj/ 'bean', /snem/ 'wild sesame'), sesquisyllables (/pdajn/ 'field', /bka/ 'heart') and compounds with initial CV syllable (/mu-taj/ 'eye', /mu-kaŋ/ 'face'). Consonants showed 0 ms transition time, while the sesquisyllables had an initial syllable duration time of 180 ms, and the compounds averaged only 135 ms duration during the initial syllable. The recordings appear to have been made with careful speech. Sesequisyllables, with underspecified vowels, are clearly phonologically distinct from compounds. However, the degree to which the timing of minor syllables differs from full syllables in connected speech is yet to be resolved. The spectrograms in Figure 4 demonstrate these differences.
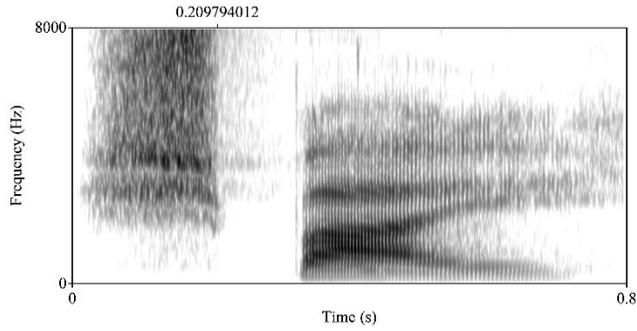
(a) Cluster transition in /spaj/ 'bean'. Marker indicates transition between [s], [p]
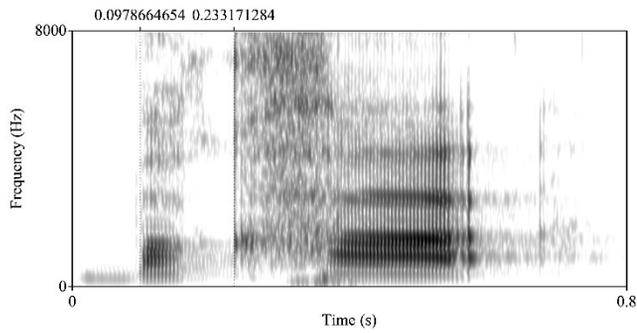
(b) Time of 180 ms between first two consonants of /bka/ 'heart'
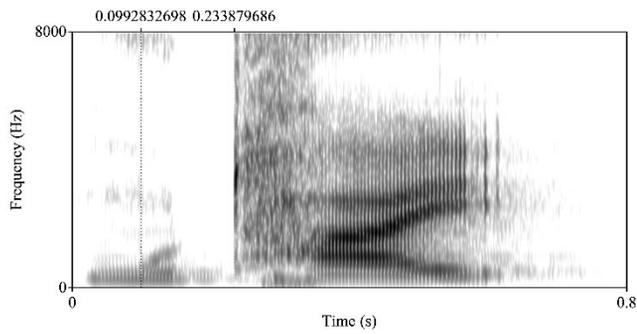
(c) Time of 135 ms between first two consonants of /mu-taj/ 'eye'

Figure 4. Timing of clusters sesquisyllables and compounds

In monomorphemic disyllables, not all vowel combinations are possible. Table 21 shows the attested combinations.

Table 21. Vowel combinations in monomorphemic disyllables

	a	e	i	o	u
a	[dama]	[bale]	[tʰatsi]	[ɕaŋkʰon]	[adʒu]
	/dama/	/bale/	/tati/	/saŋkon/	/azu/
	'butterfly'	'thin'	'save'	'flat basket'	'grandfather'
e	[bema]			[deɹgoŋ]	
	/bema/			/deɹgoŋ/	
	'spider'			'banks'	
ə	[dəma]				
	/dma/				
	'tobacco'				
i	[pʰisa]		[mini]		[ɹigu]
	/pisa/		/mini/		/ɹigu/
	'fishing rod'		'smile'		'kind of dress'
o	[ɹoma]			[bɔho]	
	/ɹoma/			/boho/	
	'leech'			'stomach'	
u	[ɹuwa]		[muɹi]		[bumu]
	/ɹuwa/		/muɹi/		/bumu/
	'axe'		'flute'		'name'

An examination of the gaps shows that, although any vowel can co-occur with /a/, the close vowels /i, u/ do not co-occur with the close-mid vowels /e, o/ in di-morphemic disyllables (with the exception of /di-koŋ/ 'water'-'?' 'river'). Table 22 shows that all of the plain vowels can co-occur with /aj/.

Table 22. Vowel combinations with /aj/ in disyllables

	a-	e-	i-	o-	u-
2nd syllable	*	/keɾmaj/	/misaj/	/moɾsaj/	/bumaj/
		'tail'	'deer'	'chilli'	'cut'
1st syllable	/bajza/	*	/kajlim/	/majko/	/majzu/
	'get up'		'basket for clothes'	'granary'	'sticky rice'

2.4 Tones and phonation

Dimasa has phonemic clear phonation, as well as allophonic light creakiness induced by final /-ʔ/, as in /naʔ/ 'fish'. The [ʔ] sound only surfaces in pre-pause position; when followed immediately by a morpheme or a subsequent word, glottal stop is not pronounced, and the phonation is clear. Some Dimasa varieties have been documented with lexical tones, which are subject to competing analyses. Jacquesson (2008) posits a two tone system, and gives contrasting examples on monosyllables. The higher tone, marked with superscript (2) is claimed to correspond with checked syllables in Garo; the other tone is treated as a default and is left unmarked. The examples in Table 23 show that both of Jacquesson's tones occur with voiced and voiceless obstruent onsets, sonorant onsets, and nasal rhymes. There is no discussion of the tonal properties of words longer than one syllable, nor of morphologically complex words.

Table 23. Minimal pairs under a two tone analysis (forms and transcription á la (Jacquesson 2008: 12–13))

k	/ka/	'to tie'	/ka^2/	'be bitter'
g	/ga/	'wear'	/ga^2/	'climb'
s	/si/	'wet'	/si^2/	'hang'
z	/zuʔ/	'pack'	/zu^2/	'wine'

Singha (2001), Sarmah & Wiltshire (2009), and Longmailai (2014) find evidence for Rising/High, Level/Mid, and Falling/Low tones. Line a) of Table 24 highlights the lack of consensus between the two-tone and three-tone analyses (cf. Table 23). Line b) shows that all three tones can occur with voiced stop initial. Lines a) and b) are both modal, lacking final /-ʔ/. Line c) shows that both Low and High toned syllables can have final glottal. No examples are given of mid tone with glottal stop.

Table 24. Sample contrasts under a three tone analysis (Longmailai 2014: 79)

a)	/kà/ (low)	'to tie'	/ka/ (mid)	'be bitter'	/ká/ (high)	'heart'
b)	/dì/	'water'	/dī/	'sweet'	/dájn/	'chop'
c)	/dòʔ/	'hit'			/díʔ/	'carry'

Longmailai (2014), Sarmah (2009), and Sarmah & Wiltshire (2009) give F0 traces for tones; the figures show substantial overlap of Mid and Low pitch trajectories, suggesting that for at least some forms, factors other than F0 may play a role in separating minimal pairs. Sarmah (2009) presents perception results supporting a three tone analysis. Sarmah also gives an acoustic and statistical analysis of disyllables, showing that initial syllables receive default Mid pitch, but that all three tonemes can be distinguished on final syllables of monomorphemic lexical items. Tones are not distinguished on suffixes (Sarmah 2009: 92–102). In reduplicated forms, tone is only distinguished on the last syllable.

2.5   Orthography

Dimasa orthography uses the Roman alphabet, and is not completely standardized; however, in practice, it does not vary much between speakers. Most letters have the values that would be expected if transcribing English. The glide /j/ is typically written as {i} postvocalically, but /y/ prevocalically: /kajnsuma/ {khainshuma} 'request', /gisija/ {gisiya} 'head priest'. The glide /w/ is transcribed {o} postvocalically. Aspirated stops are written with {h}: /tawsen/ {Thaosen} 'clan name'. Allophones of /s/ are transcribed as in Table 8.

2.6   Summary

Dimasa phonology is characterized by relatively simple syllable structure, and the prevalence of sesquisyllables of the form /CvCV(C)/, in which the first, light, syllable has vowel properties determined by the main vowel syllable. Dimasa is documented as tonal, with analyses ranging from two to three tones. The variety documented here, that spoken in Haflong, has not yet provided convincing evidence for a tonal distinction, although there is a distinction between modal voicing and syllables with a final glottal stop. Speakers of the Haflong dialect surveyed for the present study did not show consistent evidence for tones.

Chapter III: Nouns and noun phrases

Dimasa noun phrases are morphosyntactic units that take case marking clitics (Table 25). The smallest NP would be a lexical unit, which we identify as a noun. Thus, in many cases, whether a word is a noun or not depends on its function within its clause.

Table 25. Types of nouns and their possible case markings

	Common Noun	Proper Noun (person)	Proper Noun (place)	Derived Noun	Pronoun
	/noʔ/ 'house'	/deɾondi/ 'person name'	/gbaw/ 'place name'	/baw-taj/ think=NMLZ 'thought'	/aŋ/ '1SG'
NOM	Ø	/noʔ/	/deɾondi/	/gbaw/	/baw=taj/	/aŋ/
ACC	/=ke/	/no=ke/	/deɾondi=ke/	/gbaw=ke/	/baw-taj=ke/	/aŋ=ke/
GEN	/=ni/	/no=ni/	/deɾondi=ni/	/gbaw=ni/	/baw-taj=ni/	/aŋ=ni/
LOC	/=ha/	/no=ha/	*	/gbaw=ha/	/baw-taj=ha/	*
DAT, BEN	/=ne/	/no=ne/	/deɾondi=ne/	/gbaw=ne/	/baw-taj=ne/	/aŋ=ne/
ABL	/=nipɾaŋ/	/no=nipɾaŋ/	*	/gbaw=nipɾaŋ/	/baw-taj=nipɾaŋ/	*
ABL	/=nisiŋ/	/no=nisiŋ/	*	/gbaw=nisiŋ/	/baw-taj=nisiŋ/	*
INS	/=zaŋ/	/no=zaŋ/	*	*	/baw-taj=zaŋ/	*
COM	/=zaŋ/	/no=zaŋ/	/deɾondi=zaŋ/	/gbaw=zaŋ/	/baw-taj=zaŋ/	/aŋ=zaŋ/

3.1 Internal structure of nouns

Syntactically, nouns head noun phrases. In terms of their internal morphological structure, Dimasa nouns can be simple (monomorphemic) or complex. Simple nouns can be monosyllabic or polysyllabic: e.g., /noʔ/ 'house'; /haju/ 'life'; /zeŋkloŋmandeɾ/ 'rainbow'. Complex nouns can be formed by compounding, combining with semantic formatives, and derivation. Compound nouns can be classified as either transparent or semi-opaque. In transparent compounds, each root is a free morpheme whose semantic content is fully recoverable (Table 26).

Table 26. Transparent compound nouns

/ha-di/	'land'-'water'	'paddy field'
/na-gɾajn/	'fish'-'dry'	'dried fish'
/bɾe-di/	'bee'-'water'	'honey'
/haɾaŋ-gzaw/	'hill'-'red'	'Harangajao (place name)'

In Dimasa semi-opaque compounds, one element is a bound morpheme which may be se-mantically obscure. In many cases, these bound morphemes only occur once in the corpus, so their historical semantic values are not internally recoverable (Table 27). We use the term semi-opaque, because if both morphemes have obscure semantics, then the lexical item is not identifiable as a compound.

Table 27. Semi-opaque compounds

/pɾa-paŋ/	?-'plant'	'banyan tree'
/daw-pɾi/	'bird'-?	'pigeon'
/na-daŋ/	'fish'-?	'eel'

Some bound morphemes occur in multiple semi-opaque compounds, facilitating their semantic reconstruction, as in the 'eye' and 'face' compounds containing /mu-/ (Table 28). This bound morpheme would appear to ultimately reflect Proto-Tibeto-Burman *mik ⋉ *myak 'eye' (Matisoff 2003).[1]

---

[1] Proto-Tibeto-Burman reconstructions from Matisoff (2003) can be searched at https://stedt.berkeley.edu/~stedt-cgi/rootcanal.pl. The symbol {⋉} is an "allofam" symbol, used to indicate variation in the proto-language that cannot be further reduced (Matisoff 1978). Objections to this approach have been provided by Fellner & Hill (2019), while the "word family" analytical method has been defended by Handel (2019).

Table 28. Compounds containing /mu-/

/mu-taj/	'eye'-'fruit.like'	'eye'
/mu-sɾaŋ/	'eye'-?	'eyebrow'
/mu-guɾ/	'eye'-'skin'	'eyelid'
/mu-kaŋ/	'eye'-?	'face'
/mu-ki/	'eye'-'feces'	'rheum'
/mu-di/	'eye'-'water'	'tears'
/di-mu/	'water'-'eye'	'spring'

Some free morphemes occur in many compounds, reflecting the Dimasa linguistic tendency to form new words through compounding. There are numerous /di/ 'water' compounds, which can be either transparent or semi-opaque. Some compounds contain well-attested Sino-Tibetan roots, although they are not free morphemes in Dimasa (Table 29). The second morpheme of 'river' has cognates in Jingpho, Tangkhul, Chinese, and Tibetan (*klyoŋ 'river'; Matisoff 2003), while the second morpheme of 'water container' is attested throughout Northeast India, such as Hakhun /tik/ (Boro 2017), Muklom /tɕik/ (Mulder 2020) and Atong <tyk> (van Breugel 2014); cf. *m/ʔ-dik/ŋ (Matisoff 2003). We thank an anonymous reviewer for this insight.

Table 29. Compounds containing /di/ 'water'

/di-koŋ/	'water'-?	'river'
/di-dik/	'water'-'vessel'	'water container'
/di-pu/	'water'-'white'	'place name'
/di-koɾ/	'water'-?	'well'
/di-mu/	'water'-'eye'	'spring'
/di-bu/	'water'-?	'stream'
/di-dap/	'water'-?	'mud'
/ha-di/	'rain (v)'-'water'	'rain'
/ha-di/	'earth'-'water'	'paddy field'

Semantic formative-containing nouns combine two roots, in which the first, with a phonological structure /C(v)-/, contributes semantic content reminiscent of the patterns with 'water' and /mu-/. However, in these forms, the historical full morpheme indicated by the /C/ initial component cannot be recovered. Dimasa has two semantic formatives: /m-/ for animals and /b-/ for body parts. Although the resulting forms are sesquisyllabic, Dimasa has many other sesquisyllabic words that are not semantically recoverable formative nouns; e.g., /gde/ [gɛde] 'big' (cf. Table 32). Table 30 illustrates some of the /m-/ and /b-/ formative nouns.

Table 30. Semantic formative-containing nouns

m-	animal-	/m-si/	[mɪʃi]	'tiger'
		/m-sɾoŋ/	[mɔsɾoŋ]	'fox'
		/m-saj/	[məʃaj]	'deer'
		/m-sep/	[məʃep]	'buffalo'
		/m-zo/	[mɔzo]	'rat'
b-	body-	/b-guɾ/	[bɯguɾ]	'skin'
		/b-ka/	[bəkʰa]	'heart'
		/b-jaw/	[bɪjaw]	'hand'
		/b-kɾo/	[bəkʰro]	'head'
		/b-kawlaj/	[bəkʰawlaj]	'cheek'

Derived nouns are formed from either verbs or nouns (including nominalized verbs) that are coupled with one of ten derivational suffixes (Table 31). The nominalizers /-jaba/, /-jaɾaw/ and /-ba/ also function as phrase-level nominalizers. The nominalizers /-ba/ and /-ma/ can also be appended to verbs for relativization.

Table 31. Structure of derived nouns

verb	/zi/	'eat'	/-taj/	NMLZ	/zitaj/	'manner of eating'
verb	/daŋ/	'work'	/-jaba/	NMLZ	/daŋjaba/	'worker'
verb	/baw/	'think'	/-ma/	NMLZ	/bawma/	'thought'
verb	/daŋ/	'work'	/-jaɾaw/	PL.NMLZ	/daŋjaɾaw/	'workers'
verb	/daŋ/	'work'	/-ko/	LOC.NMLZ	/daŋko/	'work place'
noun	/mdaj/	'God'	/-ko/	LOC.NMLZ	/mdajko/	'place of worship'
noun	/seŋ/	'sword'	/-jaʔ/	AGT	/seŋjaʔ/	'warrior'
nominalized verb	/gde/	'big'	/-ba/	NMLZ	/gdeba/	'the big one'
nominalized verb	/gde/	'big'	/-ma/	AUG	/gdema/	'dignitary'
nominalized verb	/gɾa/	'old'	/-sa/	male	/gɾasa/	'old man'
nominalized verb	/gɾa/	'old'	/-zik/	female	/gɾazik/	'old woman'

Like many Tibeto-Burman languages, adjectives in Dimasa do not comprise a syntactic category. Descriptive states, such as 'long' or 'dirty', can be realized morphosyntactically either as verbs or as nouns. Stative (adjectival) verbs are underived, while nominalized stative verbs are prefixed with /g-/ (Table 32, examples (1–2)). In some cases, there is only an underived verbal form (/ɾaw/ 'strong'), and some nominalized statives lack an underived verbal form (/gzam/ 'old').

Table 32. Adjectival forms

Nominalization	Stative Verb	Gloss
/gzaw/	/zaw/	'red'
/glaw/	/law/	'long'
/gmoɾ/	/moɾ/	'dirty'
/gzam/	*	'old'
/gsu/	*	'unholy'
/gsajn/	*	'serene'
*	/ɾaw/	'strong'
*	/sɾiŋ/	'bright'
*	/mzaŋ/	'beautiful'

Case markers can directly mark a nominalized verb (1) or can mark the noun it modifies (2).

(1) *niŋ*   **gdajn**=*ke*   *la*   *aŋ*   **gzam**=*ke*   *la-la-naŋ*
2SG   **new**=ACC   take   1SG   **old**=ACC   take-REFL₂-CMM
'You take the new one, I'll take the old one.'

(2) *i-bu*   **gmoɾ**   *no*=*ke*   *de*   *la-ja*
PRX-DEM   **dirty**   house=ACC   TOP   take-NEG
'We won't take this dirty house.'

Stative verbs can be appended by verbal inflectional morphemes, such as aspect and mood markers (3–6), including the imperfective stative marker /-bi/, which only occurs on stative verbs.

(3) *aŋ*   *duguɾ-ja-bani*   **mɾam-du**
1SG   bath-NEG-because   **stink-PIPFV**
'I'm stinking because I didn't bathe.'

(4) *i-bu*   *ɾi*=*ke*   *duha*   *su-ja-ka*   *de*   *ham-ja-ma-ka*
PRX-DEM   cloth=ACC   now   wash-NEG-PRF   TOP   good-NEG-PRSP-PRF
'The cloth will be spoiled if (you) don't wash it now.'

(5) *i-bu*   *noʔ*   **moɾ-bi**
PRX-DEM   house   **dirty-STAT**
'This house is dirty.'

(6)   *Rahul=ni*   *knaj*   *de*   **law-bi**
       PN=GEN   hair   TOP   **long-STAT**
       'Rahul's hair is long.'

Also, the stative verb can be adverbialized by the adverbial marker /-si/ which functions like English /-ly/ in 'properly', 'beautifully', etc.

(7)   *nisi*   *ham-**si***   *lajsi*   *puri-laj*
       2PL   good-**ADVB**   book   study-RECP
       'You all study properly.'

(8)   *bu*   *kusi*   *bu-tu=ke*   *mzaŋ-**si***   *daŋ-du*
       3SG   work   DEM-PL=ACC   beautiful-**ADVB**   do-PIPFV
       'He does his work beautifully.'

Descriptors which only have a nominal form cannot be converted to verbs through morphological means (Table 32). However, they can function as part of a predicate if they occur with an auxiliary verb (9–10).

(9)   *i-bu*   *TV*   **gzam**   **za-bi**
       PRX-DEM   TV   **old**   **be-STAT**
       'This TV is old.'

(10) *mkam*   *labu=jaba*   **gzam**   **za-baŋ-ka**
       food   bring=REL   **burnt**   **be-many-PRF**
       'The food that was brought is too burnt.'

Similarly, adjectival verbs that lack a nominal form require a derivational process in order to be expressed as nouns. These verbs, whether inflected or not, become nominal by the addition of the nominalizing clitic /=jaba/ (Table 31; (11–12)).

(11) *i-bu*   ***sriŋ**=jaba*   *room=ha*   *doŋ-naŋ*
       PRX-DEM   **bright**=REL   room=LOC   EXST-CMM
       'Let's stay in this bright room.'

(12) *Dima.hasaw=ni*   **ra**-*daw-taw=jaba*   *puɾi*
     PN=GEN   **old**-CMP-SUP=REL   study

     hosom=ni   *daŋ-ko*   *baj-taɾ-ma-ka*
     organization=GEN   work=NMLZ   break-ENTR-PRSP-PRF

     'Dima Hasao's oldest student organization's office is going to break down.' (06-Dimasa News)

The /g-/ nominalizing prefix was described for Tibeto-Burman languages as early as Konow (1902, cited in Konnerth 2016). Konnerth (2016) documents its existence ranging from the Kuki-Chin languages of the India-Myanmar frontier westward to Newari. Further afield, Jacques (2021: 713–732) has documented the subject participle properties of the cognate prefix /ku-/ in the Japhug rGyalrong language of Sichuan.

     When prepended to active verbs, /g-/ functions as a patient participle: /baj/ 'break', /gbaj/ 'broken'.

(13) *bu*   *anthane*   ***gbaj***   *cup*   *ri-ba*
     3SG   1SG.DAT   **broken**   cup   give-NF:IPFV

     'He gave me a broken cup.'

Voiceless initial consonants do not become voiced when /g-/ is prefixed: /kam/ 'burn', /gkam/ 'burnt'.

3.2 Types of nouns

The following subsections explicate pronouns, proper nouns, spatio-temporal nouns and adjectival nouns.

3.2.1 Pronouns

Dimasa has four types of pronouns: personal, demonstrative, interrogative, and reflexive.

3.2.1.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Dimasa are free morphemes that represent either singular or plural; the gender of the referent is not specified. The third person pronoun can be used for humans, animals and inanimate objects, but can only be pluralized for humans (Table 33).

Table 33. Examples of personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural	Example	
1	aŋ	ziŋ	aŋ/ziŋ hafloŋ-ni	'I/We am/are from Haflong.'
2	niŋ	nsi	niŋ/nsi hafloŋ-ni	'You (SG/PL) is/are from Haflong.'
3	bu	busi ~ bunsi	bu/busi hafloŋ-ni	'He/They are from Haflong.'
3	bu	*	bu aŋke wajba	'It bit me.'

The 2nd person plural /nsi/ also functions as an honorific pronoun, used to politely address a person who is older than oneself. This use of /nsi/ is often found in formal events, meetings, conferences, etc. (14–15).

(14) **niŋ**   *iɾa=ha*   *kam-paj-ka*   *de*   *ham-naŋ-mu*
      2SG   here=LOC   sit-come-PRF   TOP   good-CMM-SBJV
      'It would be better if you (SG) would come and sit here.'

(15) **nsi**   *iɾa=ha*   *kam-paj-ka*   *de*   *ham-naŋ-mu*
      2PL   here=LOC   sit-come-PRF   TOP   good-CMM-SBJV
      'It would be better if you (honorific PL) would come and sit here.'

3.2.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Dimasa demonstrative pronouns consist of a distal/proximal prefix, followed by a morpheme whose semantics are not recoverable, except for /bu/ 'DEM/3SG'. The prefixes /u-/ (distal) and /i-/ (proximal) have variants in /o, e/ when the main vowel is /e/ ('this way', 'that way'; Table 34). It would appear that these morphemes are not fully specified with regard to their vowel features, and that the distal morpheme may have a structure like [+Back, -Low], and the proximal morpheme may be specified for [-Back, -Low]. However, until more of the feature geometry is worked out for Dimasa, it is not clear why the demonstrative pronouns with /a/ in the second syllable take /i, u/ and not /e, o/ in the initial syllable. Some vowel assimilation on emergent minor syllables has been noted in §2.3, but in those cases, [ə] appears in the syllable before /a/.

Table 34. Demonstrative pronouns

/ibu/	'this' (near the deictic center)
/ubu/	'that' (away from the deictic center)
/ede/	'this way' (near the deictic center)
/ode/	'that way' (away from the deictic center)
/izaŋ/	'this side' (near the deictic center)
/uzaŋ/	'that side' (away from the deictic center)
/iɾa/	'here' (near the deictic center)
/uɾa/	'there' (away from the deictic center)

3.2.1.3 Interrogative pronouns

Dimasa interrogatives can function as complete utterances (Table 35), or as pronouns within information-seeking questions (16–17), (20–22). Most interrogative pronouns are semi-opaque compounds. The question morpheme /na/ also occurs as a sentence final clitic, turning a declarative sentence into a yes/no question (18–19). To aid the comprehension of texts and example sentences, interrogative pronouns are glossed at the word level, rather than the morpheme level.

Table 35. Interrogative pronouns

/na-di/	Q-?	'What?'
/sɾe/	'who'	'Who?'
/hum-bu/	?-DEM	'Which?'
/bɾa-ha/	?-LOC	'Where?'

Example sentences in this section exemplify the interrogative pronouns; each interrogative pronoun is presented with a case-marking clitic, demonstrating that it functions as a noun.

(16) *[**nadi**(=ke)*   *klaj]=ma*   *paj-ba?*
     what(=ACC)   do=NMLZ   come-NF:IPFV
     'What's the purpose for coming?' (52-Phantau Raza)

In the text from which (16) is taken, there is no case marking on /nadi/; however, the definite accusative marker /=ke/ can be added in order to show that /nadi/ functions as a noun. The resulting literal meaning is, "What's the exact purpose for coming?" The interrogative noun /nadi/ can also be shortened to /na/ (17).

(17) **na**   klaj=ma   paj-ba?
     what   do=NMLZ   come-NF:IPFV
     'What's the purpose for coming?'

Also, /na/ can occur as a sentence-final clitic, in which it functions to change a declarative statement into a polar interrogative sentence (18–19).

(18) mkam   min-ka   **na**?
     food   cooked-PRF **Q**
     'Is the food cooked?'

(19) amaj   paj-ba   **na**?
     mother   come-NF:IPFV **Q**
     'Did Mom come?'

Examples (20–22) exemplify 'who', 'which', and 'where'.

(20) niŋ   **sre**=zaŋ   uɾa=ha   taŋ-pa-ma?
     2SG   **who**=COM₁   there=LOC   see-APPL-PRSP
     'With whom are you going?'

(21) **humbu**=ke   la-ma?
     which=ACC   take-PRSP
     'Which one will (you) take?'

(22) Rahul   **bɾa**=nipɾaŋ   paj-ba?
     PN   **where**=ABL   come-NF:IPFV
     'Where did Rahul come from?'

In addition to interrogative pronouns, there are interrogative adverbs /nba/ 'what', /nbani/ 'why', and /bde/ 'where'. These are discussed in §5.2.

3.2.1.4 Reflexive pronouns

There is only one reflexive pronoun in Dimasa; /zaɾ/ indicates reflexivity for all persons and numbers. In (23), the oblique argument 'by himself' does not require any case marking on /zaɾ/, while in (24), the core argument (patient) 'myself' takes accusative marking.

(23) *bu*   *school=ha*   *puɾi-ba=ha*   **zaɾ**   *soŋ-zi-ba*
    3SG   school=LOC   study=NMLZ:LOC   **REFL**   cook-eat-NF:IPFV
    'He used to cook and eat by himself while studying in school.' (62-Joy Bhodro Hagjer)

(24) *aŋ*   *sawmin=ha*   **zaɾ=ke**   *nu-ba*
    1SG   dream=LOC   **REFL=ACC**   see-NF:IPFV
    'I saw myself in a dream.'

3.2.2 Proper nouns

As in any other language, proper nouns in Dimasa are the names of specific entities, such as names of people, clans, traditional rituals or events, days of the week, geographical locations, rivers, etc. See Longmailai (2014: 114–139).

3.2.3 Space and time expressions

There are eleven Dimasa nouns that indicate spatio-temporal relations (Table 36). These forms are classified as nouns due to their morphosyntactic properties. Like other nouns, spatio-temporal expressions can occur as minimal units that take case marking, although they do not occur with /=zaŋ/ COM₁, INS. The most common case marker with spatio-temporal nouns is the locative /=ha/. In addition to having spatial semantics, /jahon/ 'behind' and /skaŋ/ 'in front of' denote the temporal relations of 'after' and 'before' (36–39).

Table 36. Spatial nouns

Spatial	LOC /=ha/	ACC /=ke/	GEN /=ni/	DAT /=ne/	ABL /=nisiŋ/ /=nipraŋ/	Gloss
/bisiŋ/	/bisiŋ=ha/	/bisiŋ=ke/	/bisiŋ=ni/	*	/bisiŋ=nisiŋ/	'inside'
/bajzi/	/bajzi=ha/	/bajzi=ke/	/bajzi=ni/	*	/bajzi=nisiŋ/	'outside'
/gzaɾ/	/gzeɾ=ha/	/gzeɾ=ke/	/gzeɾ=ni/	*	/gzeɾ=nisiŋ/	'middle'
/bziŋ/	/bziŋ=ha/	/bziŋ=ke/	/bziŋ=ni/	*	/bziŋ=nisiŋ/	'side, next to'

Table 36. *(continued)*

Spatial	LOC /=ha/	ACC /=ke/	GEN /=ni/	DAT /=ne/	ABL /=nisiŋ/ /=nipɾaŋ/	Gloss
/ketɾa/	/ketɾa=ha/	/ketɾa=ke/	/ketɾa=ni/	*	/ketɾa=nisiŋ/	'corner'
/jahon/	/jahon=ha/	*	/jahon=ni/	/jahon=ne/	*	'behind, after'
/skaŋ/	/skaŋ=ha/	*	/skaŋ=ni/	*	/skaŋ=nisiŋ/	'in front of, before'
/bsaw/	/bsaw=ha/	/bsaw=ke/	/bsaw=ni/	*	/bsaw=nisiŋ/	'above'
/bakla/	/bakla=ha/	/bakla=ke/	/bakla=ni/	/bakla=ne/	/bakla=nisiŋ/	'below'
/gzajn/	/gzajn=ha/	*		*	/gzajn=nisiŋ/	'far'
/ɾgoŋ/	/ɾgoŋ=ha/	*	/ɾgoŋ=ni/	*	/ɾgoŋ=nisiŋ/	'near'

Examples (25–26) exemplify spatial expressions, and demonstrate via possession and case marking that they are nouns. Possession is the typical linkage between a noun and its associated location.

(25) *bosta=ni*   ***bsiŋ**=ha*   *tim-ka*
     sack=GEN   **inside**=LOC   hide-PRF
     '(He) hid inside the sack.' (32-Asampha)

(26) *bu=ni*   ***bsaw**=ha*   *ɾi*   *balele-jaba=ke*   *jen-hi*
     DEM=GEN   **above**=LOC   cloth   thin=NMLZ=ACC   lay-SUCC
     homaw   *deŋ-ma*
     rice cake   keep-PRSP
     'Rice cake must be placed on the thin cloth laid on top of that.' (1-Judima)

Spatial nouns can also occur as the lone element in an NP, as in (27) and (28), where the spatial expression follows a topic marker and precedes the case clitic.

(27) *i-zaŋ*   ***bakla**=ke*   *paj-la*
     PRX=COM₁   **below**=ACC   come-REFL₂
     'Come down here this way.'

(28) *hono*   *bo*   **rgoŋ***=nipɾaŋ*   *taŋ-ba*
     pig   TOP   **near**=ABL   go-NF:IPFV
     'The pig also passed by (him).' (53-Magusha jang Jengailuma)

In addition to the general spatial terms, there are two more specific spatial nouns: monomorphemic /nikoɾ/ 'behind house, backyard', and the compound /no-skaŋ/ 'in front of house' (29–30). The grammatical pattern observed in (25) and (26) predicts that speakers would produce the phrase level expression /no=ni skaŋ/ 'house'=GEN 'front', which does sound grammatically acceptable to speakers, but this expression is not used.

(29) *baba-tu*   **nikoɾ***=ha*   *kam-laj-du*
     father-PL   **backyard**=LOC   come-RECP-PIPFV
     'Father and others are sitting in the backyard.'

(30) *zini*   **no-skaŋ***=ha*   *kimliŋ*   *doŋ*
     1PL.GEN   **house-front**=LOC   garden   EXST
     'There's a garden in front of our house.'

Dimasa has a fixed set of temporal expressions (Table 37) which can function as nouns ((30), ff.).

Table 37. Temporal nouns

Temporal	LOC /=**ha**/	ACC /=**ke**/	GEN /=**ni**/	DAT /=**ne**/	ABL /=**nisiŋ**/ /=**nipɾaŋ**/	Gloss
/pɾoŋ/	/pɾoŋ=ha/	/pɾoŋ=ke/	/pɾoŋ=ni/	/pɾoŋ=ne/	/pɾoŋ=nipɾaŋ/	'morning'
/sajn/	/sajn=ha/	*	/sajn=ni/	/sajn=ne/	/sajn=nipɾaŋ/	'daytime'
/sajnbli/	/sajnbli=ha/	/sajnbli=ke/	/sajnbli=ni/	/sajnbli=ne/	/sajnbli=nipɾaŋ/	'evening'
/hoɾ/	/hoɾ=ha/	*	/hoɾ=ni/	/hoɾ=ne/	/hoɾ=nipɾaŋ/	'night'
/bsajn/	/bsajn=ha/	/bsajn=ke/	/bsajn=ni/	/bsajn=ne/	/bsajn=nipɾaŋ/	'day'
/bhoɾ/	/bhoɾ=ha/	/bhoɾ=ke/	/bhoɾ=ni/	/bhoɾ=ne/	/bhoɾ=nipɾaŋ/	'moment'
/bubli/	/bubli=ha/	/bubli=ke/	/bubli=ni/	/bubli=ne/	/bubli=nipɾaŋ/	'time'
/bdajn/	/bdajn=ha/	/bdajn=ke/	/bdajn=ni/	/bdajn=ne/	/bdajn=nipɾaŋ/	'month'
/majtaj/	/majtaj=ha/	/majtaj=ke/	/majtaj=ni/	/majtaj=ne/	/majtaj=nipɾaŋ/	'year'
/duŋ-toɾ/	/duŋ-toɾ=ha/	/duŋ-toɾ=ke/	/duŋ-toɾ=ni/	/duŋ-toɾ=ne/	/duŋ-toɾ=nipɾaŋ/	'summer'
/mnaŋ/	/mnaŋ=ha/	/mnaŋ=ke/	/mnaŋ=ni/	/mnaŋ=ne/	/mnaŋ=nipɾaŋ/	'long time ago'
/ɡda/	/ɡda=ha/	*	/ɡda=ni/	*	/ɡda=nipɾaŋ/	'age, period'

Table 37. *(continued)*

Temporal	LOC /=ha/	ACC /=ke/	GEN /=ni/	DAT /=ne/	ABL /=nisiŋ/ /=nipɾaŋ/	Gloss
/jahon/	/jahon=ha/	*	/jahon=ni/	/jahon=ne/	*	'later, after'
/skaŋ/	/skaŋ=ha/	*	/skaŋ=ni/	*	/skaŋ=nisiŋ/	'before, in front'

The property that temporal expressions function as nouns is exemplified in examples (31–33). For (31), note that the time expression can be genitive and syntactically possess a noun: 'morning's food'.

(31) *amaj*   ***proŋ**=ni*   *mkam*   *zi-laŋ-ka*
     mother   **morning**=GEN   food   eat-along-PRF
     'Mom ate morning's food and left.'

(32) *nalaj*   *bo*   ***proŋ**=ha*   *mgoŋ*   *samlaj*   *soŋ-hi*   *mkam*
     every.day   TOP   **morning**=LOC   meat   dish   cook-SUCC   food
     zi   *ɾi-ɾe*
     eat   CAUS$_2$-SIPFV
     'Every morning (they) would cook meat and feed them.' (65-Sisha jang Hono)

(33) ***mnaŋ***   ***gda**=ha*   *saw-si*   *banzik=ni*   *basa-tu*
     before   **period**=LOC   CLF:human-one   widow=GEN   son-PL
     do   *doŋ-ba*   *=ne*
     six   EXST-NF:IPFV   =QUOT
     'It is said that a long time ago a widow had six sons.' (61-Phantao Raja)

In addition to fixed temporal expressions, Dimasa also has emergent temporal expressions, in which nouns such as /ansa/ 'child' (34) or /doŋ-ba/ 'staying' (35) can function as nouns with temporal reference.

(34) *Sambudan*   ***ansa**=nisiŋ*   *niŋ*   *hamsiniŋ*   *ɾaw-bi*
     PN   **child**=ABL   TOP   immensely   strong-STAT
     'Sambudhan was strong from childhood.' (08-Veer Sambudhan Phonglo)

(35) *bu*   *iɾa=ha*   ***doŋ-ba**=nipɾaŋ*   *aŋ=ke*   *miti-ba*
     3SG   here=LOC   **EXST=NMLZ**=ABL   1SG=ACC   know-NF:IPFV
     'He knows me after he's been staying here.'

From the list of spatial and temporal nouns it can be seen that /skaŋ/ and /jahon/ can function both spatially and temporally. /skaŋ/ can mean both 'before' (in relation to time, (36)) and 'in front of' (location, (37)). Likewise, /jahon/ can indicate either 'later' (in relation to time, (38)) or 'behind' (location, (39)).

(36) *samlajdik*   *bawku=ma=ni*   ***skaŋ**=ha*   *naŋ-jaba*
     dish   place=NMLZ=GEN   **before**=LOC   need=NMLZ
     bu-tu=ke   *bzom*   *klaj*
     DEM-PL=ACC   gather   do
     'Before placing the dish (on the stove) collect all the needed items.' (73-Gala Hon)

(37) *ani*   ***skaŋ**=ha*   *Rahul*   *doŋ*
     1SG.GEN   **before**=LOC   PN   EXST
     'Rahul is in front of me.'

(38) *noʔ*   *za-ba=ni*   ***jahon**=ha*   *bu*   *forest*   *department=ha*
     marriage   be=NMLZ=GEN   **after**=LOC   1SG   forest   department=LOC
     kusi   *daŋ-ba*
     work   work-NF:IPFV
     'After marriage, he worked in the Forest Department.' (02-Lifestory)

(39) *hono*   *de*   ***jahon***   ***jahon***   *paj-du*
     pig   TOP   **behind**   **behind**   come-PIPFV
     'Pig is coming behind me.' (65-Sisha jang Hono)

3.3 Plurality

Only human-referent nouns can accept plural suffixation, which can be either additive /-ɾaw/ or associative /-tu/. In additive plurality, referents are of the same kind; e.g., policemen or thieves (40), children (41).

(40) *lamaj lamaj*   *ura=ha*   *mkaw**(-ɾaw/-tu)***   *paj-ba*
    as soon as   there=LOC   thief-**PL**   come=NMLZ
    taɾmaj-hi   *police**(-ɾaw/-tu)***   *so-hi-ka*
    know-SUCC   police-**PL**   reach-TRNS.LOC-PRF
    'The police reached there as soon as they came to know that the thieves had come.'
    (34-Asampha)

(41) *ansa**(-ɾaw/-tu)**=ke*   *sliŋ*   *ɾi=ma=ne*   *klajhi*   *ziŋ*
    child-**PL**=ACC   teach   CAUS$_2$=NMLZ=DAT   for   1PL
    Haflong=ha   *doŋ-ba*
    PN=LOC   EXST-NF:IPFV
    'We stayed in Haflong to teach the children.' (02-Lifestory)

Proper nouns cannot be pluralized with /-ɾaw/, as by definition there can be only one referent of a proper noun. The associative plural /-tu/ marks a group in which the referents can be either homogeneous (e.g., kinship terms, (42)) or heterogeneous (e.g., when used with a proper noun, (43)).

(42) *ada**(-tu/*-ɾaw)**=ke*   *naj-hi=ma*   *aŋ*   *bo*   *taŋ-ma*
    elder.**brother-PL**=ACC   see-TRNS.LOC=NMLZ   1SG   TOP   go-PRSP
    'I will also go to see my brothers.' (52-Phantau Raja)

(43) *Asampa**(-tu/*-ɾaw)***   *g-tam=zaŋ*   *mlaj=ni*   *no=ha*
    PN-**PL**   CLF-three=COM$_1$ other=GEN   house=LOC
    zinis   *kaw-hi-ma*   *taŋ-ba*
    thing   steal-TRNS.LOC-PRSP   go-NF:IPFV
    'Asampha and the others, the three together went to someone's house to steal things.' (34-Asampha)

The free plural demonstrative /bu-tu/ 'DEM-PL' can pluralize all types of nouns: human, animate non-human, and inanimate. Depending on the context, /bu-tu/ can be either associative or additive. When the referents are non-animate, /bu-tu/ can represent either an additive or an associative plural with an "etcetera" reading (Vassilieva & Larson 2005; cf. (44)). The associative reading is not available for animate nouns ((45), 'cats'), and where blocked by the semantics of the proposition ((46), 'drains').

(44) *i-bu*   *table* ***bu-tu**=ke*   *laŋ*
   PRX-DEM table **DEM-PL**=ACC take
   'Take this table and stuff.' (associative)
   'Take these tables.' (additive)

(45) *i-bu*   *alu* ***bu-tu***   *isi* *za-bi*
   PRX-DEM cat   **DEM-PL** annoy be-STAT
   'These cats are very annoying.'

(46) *drain* ***bu-tu**=ni*   *di-lama* *giɾi*
   drain   **PRX-DEM**=GEN water-way absent
   'The drains' outlets are missing.' (06-Dimasa News)

Examples (47–49) show that /bu-tu/ can combine in a noun phrase with other plural marking. In (47) and (49) the beneficial act is focussed on the group as a whole. However, in (48), the act of giving is focused on the individual recipients within the group.

(47) *daŋ-**jaɾaw*** ***bu-tu**=ne* *i-bu=ke*   *ɾi-ha*
   work-**PL.NMLZ** **DEM-PL**=DAT PRX-DEM=ACC give-TRNS.LOC
   'Give this to the workers.'

(48) *daŋ-**jaba*** ***bu-tu**=ne* *i-bu=ke* *ɾi-ha*
   work=**NMLZ** **DEM-PL**=DAT PRX-DEM=ACC give-TRNS.LOC
   'Give this to each of the workers.'

(49) *gedema-zik* *puɾi-ansa-**raw*** ***bu-tu**=ke* *ka=ni*
   respected-FEM study-child-**PL** **DEM-PL**=ACC heart=GEN
   hamzao=ma *jawpa-ba*
   love=NMLZ   offer-NF:IPFV
   'Respected Ma'am offered her heart's love to the students.' (24-Bodo Talent Award)

3.4   Numerals and classifiers

In Dimasa grammar, many noun phrases include quantification; in this section we explore classifier-numeral compounds and expressions such as 'more' and 'less'. The count/mass distinction is not grammatically relevant; both mensural (51) and sortal classifiers (52), as well as those that are ambiguous between mensural and sortal (50) require classifiers.

(50) *mairong*   ***groŋ-si***
     rice   **CLF(seed.like)-one**
     'a grain of rice'

(51) *hazeŋ*   *truck*   ***ma-si***
     sand   truck   **CLF(GEN)-one**
     'a truckload of sand'

(52) *hilaj*   ***goŋ-tam***
     gun   **CLF(long.thin)-three**
     'three guns'

One evidence of the lack of mass/count distinction is the semantic distribution of morphemes corresponding to 'less' vs 'fewer' and 'much' vs 'many'. The Dimasa words with these meanings do not distinguish mass and count nouns. Table 38 shows that 'water' (a stereotypical mass noun) and 'houses' (count) can both be quantified by NP-internal /kisa/ 'little', 'few' and also by the verb /baŋ/ 'to be much/many'.

Table 38. Quantification of count and mass nouns

less water	iɾa-ha **kisa** di doŋ	'There is a little water here.'
few houses	iɾa-ha **kisa** no doŋ	'There are a few houses here.'
much water	iɾa-ha di **baŋ**-bi	'There is a lot of water here.'
many houses	iɾa-ha no **baŋ**-bi	'There are many houses here.'

Numerals are only used in a cardinal way, and are prefixed by classifiers when modifying a noun (50–52). The numerals 1–10 can occur as free morphemes (without classifiers) when counting items. Numerals greater than 10 but less than 20 consist of the base /CLF-zi/ CLF-'ten' followed by the numerals 1–9. The same pattern is used for higher numbers: /CLF-kon-se/ 'twenty-one'.

Table 39. Basic numerals 1–20

Numeral	Gloss	Numeral	Gloss
/CLF-se/	'one'	/CLF-zi-se/	'eleven'
/CLF-gin/	'two'	/CLF-zi-gin/	'twelve'
/CLF-tam/	'three'	/CLF-zi-tam/	'thirteen'
/CLF-bɾi/	'four'	/CLF-zi-bɾi/	'fourteen'
/CLF-bŋwa/	'five'	/CLF-zɾa/	'fifteen'
/CLF-do/	'six'	/CLF-zi-do/	'sixteen'
/CLF-sni/	'seven'	/CLF-zi-sni/	'seventeen'
/CLF-zaj/	'eight'	/CLF-zi-zaj/	'eighteen'
/CLF-sku/	'nine'	/CLF-zi-sku/	'nineteen'
/CLF-zi/	'ten'	/CLF-kon/	'twenty'

Note that 'five' is the only Dimasa word transcribed with three consonants in sequence. Matisoff (2003: 130) reconstructs *b-ŋa 'five' at the Proto Tibeto-Burman level; /w/ in the Dimasa form may have emerged from the transition between *ŋ and *a. A similar phenomenon is observed in Qiang, with forms like /ʁwɑ/ in most dialects (Evans 2001: 253). Due to sesquisyllabicity, vowel assimilation, anticipatory rounding, and weakening of the /ŋ/, /bŋwa/ > [bɔ̃wa]. When prefixed by a classifier, the initial /b/ becomes the coda of the first syllable, and there is no sesquisyllabic effect; e.g., /ma-bŋwa/ > [mãbwa] 'CLF-five'.

The numerals in Table 40 show that multiples of ten from 'forty' to 'ninety' (except 'fifty') are vigesimal-built upon /bisa/, a bound form for 'twenty' borrowed from Indo-Aryan. Thus, semantically 'sixty' is 'three /bisa/', 'seventy' is 'three /bisa/ and ten', etc. The numbers 'sixty' and greater, as well as the numbers from 'one' to 'ten' do not generally require classifiers. However, the numerals from 'eleven' to 'thirty-nine' and from 'fifty' to 'fifty-nine' always occur with classifiers.

Table 40. Multiples of ten

Numeral	Gloss	Gloss
/CLF-kon/	CLF-'twenty'	'twenty'
/CLF-tim-zi/	CLF-'three'-'ten'	'thirty'
/bisa-gin/	'twenty'-'two'	'forty'
/CLF-dan/	CLF-'fifty'	'fifty'
/bisa-tam/	twenty-'three'	'sixty'
/bisa-tam CLF-zi/	twenty-'three' CLF-'ten'	'seventy'
/bisa-bɾi/	twenty-'four'	'eighty'
/bisa-bɾi CLF-zi/	twenty-'four' CLF-'ten'	'ninety'
/ɾza-si/	'hundred'-'one'	'hundred'
/ɾziŋ-si/	'thousand'-'one'	'(one) thousand'

There are no ordinal numerals (e.g., 'third', 'fourth'). The only ordinal identifiers used denote the 'first' /skaŋ-taw/ and the 'last' /jahon-taw/ position, and are built upon 'front' /skaŋ/ and 'behind' /jahon/. Individual people or items in the middle of a sequence can be identified by their appearance or by their position relative to another individual that is more easily recognized; e.g., 'behind' or 'in front' (53).

(53) *Rahul=ni*   ***skaŋ**=ha*   *soŋ-jaba*   *ani*   *nohaɾi*
     PN=GEN   **infront**=LOC   stand=NMLZ   1SG.GEN   neighbor
     'The one standing in front of Rahul is my neighbor.'

Also, the morpheme /gzeɾ/ which means 'half' or 'middle' is used when it comes to dividing things in half (54).

(54) *ani*   *majtaj*   *bisabɾi*   *za-ma=ne*   *majtaj-si*
     1SG.GEN   year   eighty   be-PRSP=DAT   year-one
     gzeɾ   *doŋ-ko*
     half   EXST-DPROG
     'In one and a half years, I'll be eighty years old.' (51-Personal Story)

For dividing things equally, the classifier-numeral is reduplicated denoting the exact number each recipient gets (55).

(55) *kɾip*   *ansa-ɾaw=ne*   ***ma-si***   ***ma-si***   *lajsi*   *ɾi*
     all   child-PL=DAT   **CLF-one**   **CLF-one**   book   give
     'Give all the children one book each.'

Numeral classifiers in Dimasa are bound morphemes, which occur prefixed to numerals. Together they form a numeral-classifier compound, in which the classifier precedes the noun ((56), where CLF-NUM quantifies the noun 'tree'). This typologically highly unusual sequence is common across Bodo-Garo languages. It also occurs in other Sal languages, such as the Northern Naga languages Chang (Chor 2011: 20) and Tangsa (Boro 2017: 119–120), and the Jingpo-Luish languages Jingpo (Cheung 2007; Dai 2012), Turung (Morey 2010), and Kadu (Sangdong 2012). In addition, the CLF-NUM order is attested in the Kuki-Chin languages Lutuv (Berkson, n.d.) and Hakha Lai (James Wamsley, p.c.). The Karbi language, which is geographically close to Kuki-Chin displays the same order (Konnerth 2014: 140) as well. Evans (2022) shows that CLF-NUM ordering is common in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Northeast India. Outside of Northeast India, this order is only found in very few languages, such as Warekena (Aikhenvald 2000: 109).

(56) *aŋ*   *[boŋpaŋ*   ***paŋ-si]***   *gaj-ba.*
    1SG   [tree   **CLF-one**]   plant(V)-NF:IPFV
    'I planted a tree.'

In example (56) /paŋ-si/ 'one plant' is a numeral-classifier compound, where the bracketed NP is a classifier construction. The choice of noun determines the set of possible classifiers, which match nouns based on the size, shape, or other semantic property of the noun. In this case, the classifier is a partial repeater of the noun, a common strategy for the creation of classifiers (cf. Aikhenvald 2000: 103; Grinevald & Seifart 2004: 276).

    Historically, many Dimasa classifiers can be traced to nouns, including adjectival nouns. Most classifiers clearly correspond to nouns; e.g., /taj-/ 'fruit like' from /btaj/ 'fruit'; /dep-/ 'branch' from the full noun /bdep/ 'branch'; /peɾ-/ 'flat shape' from /gpeɾ/ 'flat'; /do-/ 'chunk' from /bdo/ 'solid chunk'; etc. However, there is a residue of classifiers like /goŋ/ 'long and thin' and /sɾeŋ/ 'spool', where the origin is unknown. Such classifiers may correspond to nouns that are no longer present in Dimasa. A few classifiers are extremely specific, such as /soŋ-/, used when counting bamboo. Table 41 appears to be an exhaustive list of Dimasa sortal classifiers.

Table 41. Sortal classifier inventory

Classifier	Meaning	Classifier	Meaning
/peɾ-/	'flat' (biscuit)	/di-/	'egg like'
/do-/	'chunk' (meat)	/saw-/	'human'
/goŋ-/	'stick like' (pen, gun)	/taj-/	'fruit-like or -shaped' (fruit, words, eyes)
/sɾeŋ-/	'spool' (thread)	/baɾ-/	'flower'
/poŋ-/	'bamboo container'	/diŋ-/	'hair like'
/paŋ-/	'plant'	/klep-/	'piece of' (fruit)
/kataj-/	'packet'	/soŋ-/	'bamboo stalk'
/dep-/	'branch'	/to-/	'rupees'
/gɾaŋ-/	'flat' (book, clothes)	/gɾoŋ-/	'seed like' (rice, grains)
		/ma-/	default CLF

Examples (57–61) exemplify CLF-NUM usage. In (57), the CLF-NUM compound /kep-si/ is a minimal case-taking noun.

(57) **kep-si**=zaŋ   ham-ja   tikade   **pin-tam**   liŋ-ka
      CLF:instance-one=INS   good-NEG   hen   **instance-three**   drink-PRF
      niŋ   ham-du
      TOP   good-PIPFV
      'If it doesn't help in one try, then drinking it three times will do good.' (25-Hononi Bemar)

The structure of example (58) also shows that CLF-NUM can function as a noun, because /taj-si taj-gin/ is the argument of the verb /so/ 'be adequate'.

(58) kaɾmin   kna-ba   law-ka   odebani   **taj-si**
      story   listen=NMLZ   long-PRF   so   **CLF-one**
      taj-gin   so-ja-la-pu-ɾe
      CLF-two   adequate-NEG-REFL$_1$-POT-SIPFV
      '(I) heard the story a long time ago, so one or two (parts) might be missing.' (61-Phantao Raja)

Example (59) shows that classifiers are used when counting one human referent ("one widow"), but are optional with more than one ("six sons").

(59) mnaŋ   gda=ha   **saw-si**   banzik=ni
      before   period=LOC   **CLF(human)-one**   widow=GEN
      basa-tu   **do**   doŋ-ba   =ne
      son-PL   **six**   EXST-IPFV   =QUOT
      'It is said that a long time ago a widow had six sons.' (61-Phantao Raja)

When counting humans, the numbers from one to three are exceptional. 'One' takes a classifier, as seen in (59). 'Two (humans)' is /gni/, and 'three (humans)' is /gtam/, with fusion of numeral and classifier. For 'four' and above, counting humans follows the general pattern for numerals and classifiers.

     Examples (60–61) show case marking directly on the CLF-NUM compound, further showing that it is functioning as a noun.

(60) *saw-si=**ke***   *loŋ-ka*   *niŋ*   *za-du*
     CLF(human)-one=**ACC**   call-PRF   TOP   be-PIPFV
     'Calling one person is enough.'

(61) *homau*   *per-shi=**ha***   *to-dan*
     rice cake   CLF(flat)-one=**LOC**   CLF(rupees)-fifty
     'One rice cake costs 50 rupees.'

3.5 Summary

Noun phrases in Dimasa are easier to define than nouns. A noun phrase is a unit of speech that can take at least one of eight different case-marking clitics. Many words that are not inherently nouns, such as CLF-NUM compounds, function as nouns when they are the only elements in the noun phrase. Nouns can thus be defined as lexical units that can take case marking. Adjectives do not exist as a separate class, but can be nouns or verbs, depending on the presence (noun) or absence (verb) of the /g-/ prefix. Only human-referent nouns can be marked for plurality. When counted, nouns precede a classifier-numeral compound word. This typologically unusual word order (Aikhenvald 2000) is common across Sal languages and other languages of the area (Evans 2022).

Chapter IV: Verbs and verbal morphology

The Dimasa verb is a lexical item that can express an action, an event, a process or a state. Verbs comprise an open class and act as predicate heads. The minimal verb word consists of a bare verb root as a free morpheme (§4.5.1, §4.7). However, verbs most commonly exist in expanded form with a prefix and/or suffix(es) as in Table 42. This basic structure is similar to that of other Bodo-Garo languages.

4.1 Overview of verb structure

If a Dimasa verb could take an affix in every pre- and postverbal slot, it would have a structure like that shown in Table 42. There are only two prefixes, the prohibitive (§4.5.1) and a non-productive causative marker (§4.3). The immediate postverbal slot contains bound serial verbs (§4.2). The second slot is occupied by directional markers (§4.6), followed by other slots.

Table 42. Dimasa verb complex

1	Prohibitive	/da-/			
2	Causative1	{s-, p-, m-}			
0	Verb Root				
1	Bound Serial Verbs	/-so/	'in halves'	et al.	
		/-majsi/	'pretend to'		
2	Orientation	/-klaj/	'downward'	/-ku/	'upward'
		/-siŋ/	'inward'	/-kla/	'away'
3	Passive	/-zaw/			
4	Trans Locative	/-hi/	'from speaker'	/-ha/	'from agent'
5	Reciprocal	/-laj/			
6	Reflexive	/-la/			
	Continuative	/-saj/			
7	Potential	/pu/			
8	Negation	/-ja/			
9	Epistemic Modality	/-naj/			
10	Commissive Modality	/-naŋ/			
	Split Imperfective	/-ɾe/			
	Non-future Imperfective	/-ba/			
	Present Imperfective	/-du/			
	Prospective	/-ma/			
11	Request	/-saŋ/			
	Optative	/-tiŋ/			
12	Perfect	/-ka/			
13	Progressive	/-ko/			

4.2   Bound serial verbs

The first postverbal slot is occupied by a class of morphemes that we call bound serial verbs. They are termed 'bound' because they do not occur as free morphemes elsewhere. In terms of morphological structure, they occur in the place where the second verb in a series occurs, which is immediately following the main verb (see §4.8 for discussion of serial verbs). Most bound serial verb morphemes only surface in one or two constructions. The morpheme /-kaw/ 'out' can occur as a full verb meaning 'pluck'; the origins of other bound serial verbs are unknown. Table 43 gives an exhaustive list of bound serial verbs. Some bound serial verbs only occur with one or two verb roots.

Table 43. Bound serial verbs (exemplified with 'study', 'step', and 'cut')

{'study'/	'step'/	'cut'}	Bound serial verbs	Gloss
		/dajn/	/-so/	'cut in halves'
		/dajn/	/-kli/	'cut into small pieces'
		/dajn/	/-paj/	'cut and fell'
		/dajn/	/-kaw/	'cut a piece out'
		/dajn/	/-kɾip/	'crush into pieces'
		/dajn/	/-kɾaj/	'use force to cause something to fall'
	/ga/	/dajn/	/-taj/	'step/cut to death'
	/ga/	/dajn/	/-di/	'nearly step/cut'
	/ga/	/dajn/	/-si/	'step/cut wide apart'
	/ga/	/dajn/	/-pɾe/	'unknowingly step/cut'
	/ga/	/dajn/	/-sle/	'miss step/cut'
	/ga/	/dajn/	/-bu/	'step/cut against one's wish'
	/ga/		/-diŋ/	'step around'
/puɾi/	/ga/		/-da/	'initially/first study/step'
/puɾi/	/ga/		/-taw/	'enjoy studying/stepping'
/puɾi/	/ga/	/dajn/	/-majsi/	'pretend to study/step/cut'
/puɾi/	/ga/	/dajn/	/-pɾaŋ/	'imprecisely/indecisively'
/puɾi/			/-baj/	'aimlessly study'
/puɾi/			/-taɾ/	'study entirely'
/puɾi/			/-pin/	'study again'
/puɾi/			/-pa/	'study with someone'
/puɾi/			/-daw/	'study more'
/puɾi/			/-laŋ/	'study and leave behind'

Examples (1) and (2) show bound serial verbs with suffixes in the second slot (Table 42), which verifies that the bound serial verbs occur in the first postverbal slot. In addition, (3) shows that speakers can apply more than one bound serial verb to a root.

(1) *i-bu*　　　　*mgoŋ=ke*　　　*bo*　　　*dajn-**so**-ha-ma-mu*
　　　PRX-DEM　　meat=ACC　　　TOP　　cut-**in.halves**-TRNS.LOC-PRSP-SBJV
　　　'This meat should also be cut into two halves.'

(2) *Rahul*　　*lajsi*　　　*puɾi-**taɾ**-pu-ka*
　　　PN　　　book　　　study-**ENTR**-POT-PRF
　　　'Rahul finished reading the book entirely.'

(3) *niŋ*　　*bɾa=ha*　　　*kaj-**diŋ-baj**-ba?*
　　　2SG　　where=LOC　　run-**around-aimlessly**-SIPFV
　　　'Where are you running around?'

The bound serial verbs serve an adverbial function, marking either a result (e.g., /-kli/ 'into bits') or manner (/-baj/ 'aimlessly'). Because of their semantic function, other Bodo-Garo grammars identify these morphemes as adverbial suffixes (Boro: Boro & Basumatary 2015). Longmailai (2014) identifies this class of morphemes as auxiliary verbs. For reasons given in the first paragraph of this section, we prefer the term bound serial verb. Full serial verbs are discussed in §4.8.

The rest of this chapter addresses inflectional morphemes, which are organized by semantics, rather than by position in the verb complex.

4.3　　Valence

Dimasa verbs take the following valence-changing affixes: causative {s- ~ p- ~ m-} and /-ɾi/, benefactive /-ɾi/, reciprocal /-laj/, passive /-zaw/ and reflexive /-la/.

4.3.1　 Causativity

There are two causative strategies in Dimasa, a set of non-productive prefixes {s-}, {p-}, {m-} and also a productive serial verb /ɾi/ which as a main verb means 'give'. Both strategies increase the valency of intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs. The causative /s-/ appears to have an origin in the Proto-Sino-Tibetan *s- prefix (LaPolla 2003: 22). Of the three morphemes, the most common causative prefix is /s-/, which occurs on eight monosyllabic verbs (Table 44, ff.).

Table 44. /s-/ causative verbs

/s-gɾaj/	'CAUS'-'fall'	'shake to fall'
/s-maw/	'CAUS'-'move'	'cause to move'
/s-kaw/	'CAUS'-'remove'	'cause to remove'
/s-zam/	'CAUS'-'finish'	'cause to finish'
/s-paj/	'CAUS'-'break'	'cause to break'
/s-gɾa/	'CAUS'-'cry'	'cause to cry'
/s-go/	'CAUS'-'free'	'set free'
/s-maj/	'CAUS'-'get'	'search'

(4) *boŋpaŋ*　　　*gɾaj-ba*
　　　tree　　　　　fall-NF:IPFV
　　　'The tree fell.'

(5) *aŋ*　　*boŋpaŋ=ke*　　***s-gɾaj-ba***
　　　1SG　　tree=ACC　　　CAUS₁-fall-NF:IPFV
　　　'I shook the tree down.'

The suppletive /s-/ prefixed form /s-maj/ of /maj/ 'get' has acquired the non causative meaning of 'search', and does not involve valence raising (6–7), although 'search' does suggest a higher level of agency than the non-prefixed 'get'. Examples (4–5) show that when causative prefixation yields increased valence, the causee is marked with accusative marking. Accusative marking is found in both {s-} causative, as well as the productive /-ɾi/ marking (14–15). However, for sentences with no change in valence, accusative marking is not found (10–11).

(6) *ziŋ*　　*iɾa=ha*　　*laj*　　　*maj-ba*
　　　1PL　　here=LOC　　banana leaf　get-NF:IPFV
　　　'We got the banana leaves here.'

(7) *ziŋ*　　*iɾa=ha*　　*laj*　　　***s-maj-ba***
　　　1PL　　here=LOC　　banana leaf　CAUS₁-get-NF:IPFV
　　　'We came here to search for banana leaves.' (61-Phantao Raja)

The /s-/ causative causes devoicing of an obstruent initial: /gaw/ 'fall apart', /s-kaw/ 'cause to fall apart'; /baj/ 'break', /s-paj/ 'cause to break'.

The causative prefix /p-/ occurs on just three verbs ((8–11); cf. Jacquesson 2008: 21).

(8) *aŋ*   *saw-si*   *subuŋ=ke*   *nu-ba*
    1SG   CLF-one   person=ACC   see-NF:IPFV
    'I saw a person.'

(9) *aŋ*   *niŋ=ke*   *bu*   *subuŋ*   ***p-nu-naŋ***
    1SG   2SG=ACC   3SG   person   CAUS₁-see-CMM
    'I will show you that person.' (Lit. 'I will cause you to see that person.')

(10) *ani*   *sola=ha*   *didap*   *naŋ-ba*
    1SG.GEN   shirt=LOC   mud   touch-NF:IPFV
    'I got mud on my shirt.'

(11) *bu*   *ani*   *sola=ha*   *didap*   ***p-naŋ-ba***
    PRX-DEM   1SG.GEN   shirt=LOC   mud   CAUS₁-touch-NF:IPFV
    'He put mud on my shirt.' (Lit. 'He caused mud to touch my shirt.')

The /p-/ causative marker also occurs with /ɾajn/ 'dry (intr.)'; /p-ɾajn/ 'dry (tr.)'. Finally, causative /m-/ only occurs with the verb /taw/ 'stop' ((12–13); cf. Longmailai 2014).

(12) *aŋ*   *puɾi-pu-ja-hi*   *taw-la-ba*
    1SG   study-POT-NEG-SUCC   stop-REFL₂-NF:IPFV
    'I stopped studying and wasn't able to continue.' (02-Lifestory)

(13) *busi*   *aŋ*   *puɾi-ba=ke*   ***m-taw-ba***
    3PL   1SG   study=NMLZ=ACC   CAUS₁-stop-NF:IPFV
    'They caused me to stop studying.'

The causative serial verb /ɾi/ is a productive marker of causativity and encodes both causation and permission.

(14) *basa-tu*   *hasigɾiŋ*   *blaj=ke*   *soŋ*   ***ɾi-zaw-ba***
    son-PL   Hashigring   leaf=ACC   cook   CAUS₂-PSV-NF:IPFV
    'The sons were made to cook the Hashigring leaves.'

(15) *basa-tu*   *hasiɹiŋ*   *blaj=ke*   *soŋ-ba*
  son-PL   Hashigring leaf=ACC cook-NF:IPFV
  'The sons cooked the Hashigring leaves.' (Phantao Raja)

The serialized causative can also follow a stative verb (16).

(16) *tajsa=zaŋ* *lim-taj* *ham* ***ri**=jaba=ke*
  lemon=INS sick=NMLZ good **CAUS₂**=REL=ACC
  bakla=ha *ɹep-du*
  below=LOC write-PIPFV
  'The sicknesses that can be cured (lit. 'made good') by lemon is written about
  below.' (07-Thaisa)

Causative marking is also used to indicate permission (17).

(17) *aŋ=ke*   *i-bu*   *kusi* *daŋ* ***ri***
  1SG=ACC PRX-DEM work do **CAUS₂**
  'Allow me to do this work.'

4.3.2 Benefactive

The verb /ɹi/ when serialized also functions as a benefactive marker. In a causative sentence, the causee is marked with accusative case /=ke/, and the patient is unmarked (examples in previous section). However, in a benefactive clause, the recipient is marked with dative /=ne/, and the patient takes accusative case ((18), ff.).

(18) *teacher* *busi=ne* *i-bu*   *page=**ke*** *miti*
  teacher 3PL=DAT PRX-DEM page=**ACC** know
  ***ri**-ba*
  BEN-NF:IPFV
  'The teacher informed them about the page.'

(19) *buma* *basa-tu=ne* *hasigriŋ* *blaj=**ke***
  mother son-PL=DAT Hashigring leaf=**ACC**
  soŋ ***ri**-ba*
  cook **BEN**-NF:IPFV
  'The mother cooked the Hashigring leaves for her children.' (61-Phantao Raja)

Examples (20–21) highlight the difference in structure between a causative clause (20) and a benefactive one (21). In the causative case (20), the causee takes accusative marking, while in the benefactive example (21), the action performed is nominalized and takes accusative marking.

(20) *aŋ=**ke***   *i-bu*   *kusi*   *daŋ*   ***ri***
     1SG=**ACC**   PRX-DEM   work   do   **CAUS$_2$**
     'Allow me to do this work.' (causative)

(21) *ane*   *i-bu*   *kusi=**ke***   *daŋ*   ***ri***
     1SG.DAT   PRX-DEM   work=**ACC**   do   **BEN**
     'Do this work for me.' (benefactive)

4.3.3   Reciprocal and collective

The collective morpheme /-laj/ denotes an action that is done by a group of individuals. When used as a reciprocal marker (22), the verb undergoes a reduction in valence, resulting in just one argument for a transitive verb. The marker also has a collective use, in which a group of agents can be overtly marked with a comitative case (23), or a collective agent can be implied (24).

(22) *ansaraw*   *su-**laj**-ba*
     children   beat-**RECP**-NF:IPFV
     'The children fought each other.'

(23) *g-tam=zaŋ*   *niŋ*   *zatropa=ni=ha*   *taŋ-**laj**-ka*
     CLF-three=COM$_1$ TOP   PN=GEN=LOC   go-**COLL**-PRF
     'The three together went to Jatropha's (place).' (10-Jatroma Jatropha)

(24) *graw*   *de*   *ira=ha*   *niŋ*   *zam*   *ɾi-**laj**-naŋ*
     talk   TOP   here=LOC   TOP   finish   CAUS$_2$-**COLL**-CMM
     '(Let us all) finish the discussion here and now.' (10-Jatroma Jatropha)

4.3.4   Passive /-zaw/

The suffix /-zaw/ marks the passive in Dimasa ((25), ff. Cf. Jacquesson (2008); Longmailai (2014)). The verb undergoes a reduction of valence when it is passivized. If the agent is specified, it is marked with instrumental case (26).

(25) *Raja gobinda chandra   staj-**zaw**-ka*
PN   kill-**PSV**-PRF
'Raja Gobinda Chandra has been killed.' (08-Veer Sambudhan Phonglo)

(26) *Sambudhan   zaɾ=ni   buma-bupa   doŋ-jaba   eɡɾaliŋ*
PN   REFL₁=GEN   parents   EXST=NMLZ   PN
*nolaj=ha   paj-ba=ha   gupusaɾaw=**zaŋ***
village=LOC   come=NMLZ=LOC   British=**INS**
*dajn-taj-**zaw**-ba*
cut-to.kill-**PSV**-NF:IPFV
'Sambudhan was killed by the British when he visited his parent's village,
Egraling.' (08-Veer Sambudhan Phonglo)

(27) *jawblaj   galaŋ-ka   wajnso-**zaw**-ma-ne*
proof   leave.behind-PRF   remember-**PSV**-PRSP-DAT
'(Sambudhan) Left behind achievements so that he would be remembered.'
'Achievements were left behind (by Sambudhan) so that he would be
remembered.' (08-Veer Sambudhan Phonglo)

Stative verbs, such as 'good' or 'tasty', when appended by the passive marker /-zaw/ become
transitive psychological verbs, which can be active (28) or passive (29).

(28) *basa-tu   samlaj=ke   zi-hi   hamsiniŋ*
son-PL   dish=ACC   eat-SUCC   immensely
*taw-**zaw**-ka   =ne*
tasty-**PSV**-PRF   QUOT
'Eating the dish the sons found it to be delicious.'

(29) *kɾip   subuŋ   dimaɾaza=ni   bisaɾ=ke   ham-**zaw**-ba*
all   person   Dimasa.king=GEN   thoughts=ACC   good-**PSV**-NF:IPFV
'The Dimasa king's decision was liked by every person.' (08-Veer Sambudhan
Phonglo)

In addition to the above mentioned uses, /zaw/ also functions as an adversative marker (30–
31).

(30) *bu*   *wallet*   *gma-**zaw**-ba*
      3SG   wallet   lost-**PSV**-NF:IPFV
      'He lost his wallet.'

(31) *bu*   *bupa*   *ti-**zaw**-ba*
      3SG   father   die-**PSV**-NF:IPFV
      'His father died on him.'

4.3.5 Reflexive

Reflexive verbs are marked with /-la/ in the sixth post verbal position (32). Reflexive marking is only available for intentional actions. Unintentional actions with an affect on the agent are not marked with reflexive (33).

(32) *bu*   *zar=ke*   *dotaj-**la**-ba*
      3SG   REFL$_1$=ACC   kill-**REFL$_2$**-NF:IPFV
      'He killed himself.'

(33) *mkam*   *son-ba=ha*   *jaw*   *kam-ba*
      food   cook=NMLZ=LOC   hand   burn-NF:IPFV
      'When I was cooking, my hand got burned.'

The reflexive marker is also used to indicate that the agent acted 'on his/her own'; that is, without outside influence (34–36).

(34) *bu*   *grasa*   *lamaj-lamaj*   *paj*   *pin-**la**-ka*
      3SG   old.man   as.soon.as   COM   return-**REFL$_2$**-PRF
      'The old man returned soon after that, on his own initiative.' (65-Sisha jang Hono)

(35) *homizin*   *duku*   *nan-hi*   *ti-**la**-ka*
      pig   sad   feel-SUCC   say-**REFL$_2$**-PRF
      'Feeling sad, the pig initiated saying…' (66-Nathu jang Homijing)

(36) *i-bu*   *kusi=ke*   *an*   *zar*   *dan-**la**-nan*
      PRX-DEM   work=ACC   1SG   REFL$_1$ do-**REFL$_2$**-CMM
      'I'll do this work (by) myself.'

4.4 Temporal marking (tense and aspect)

Most temporal morphemes in Dimasa encode a combination of tense and aspect, although /saj/ 'continuative' appears to only specify aspect (Table 45).

Table 45. Temporal markers

	Label	Tense Properties	Aspect Properties
/-ɾe/	Split Imperfective	Main verb: Past Aux: Present	Main verb: Habitual Aux: Stative
/-ba/	Non-future Imperfective	Non-future	Imperfective
/-du/	Present Imperfective	Present	Imperfective (includes continuous, habitual, futurate, generic)
/-bi/	Stative	Non-future	Imperfective
/-saj/	Continuative	any	Continuous
/-ko/	Durative Progressive	Non-future	Furthermore; Yet; Progressive
/-ka/	Perfect	Non-future	Perfect; Change of State; Inceptive
/-ma/	Prospective	Non-past	Prospective

4.4.1 Split imperfective /-ɾe/

The split imperfective marker /-ɾe/ conveys a range of meanings including present stative or past habitual, depending on context. It is used to mark events that either will not or might not continue beyond the present moment. Due to the range of use, it has been glossed as both habitual past (Longmailai 2014) and habitual present (Jacquesson 2008). In examples (37) to (40), /-ɾe/ is appended to a main verb, and yields a past habitual sense, in accord with Longmailai's analysis.

(37) *bu   iɾa=ha   paj-ɾe*
     3SG   here=LOC   come-**SIPFV**
     'He used to come here.' (with no implications on the present moment)

(38) *aŋ   skaŋ=ha   mgoŋ   zi-ɾe*
     1SG   before=LOC   meat   eat-**SIPFV**
     'In the past, I used to eat meat.' (but not anymore in the present)

(39) *i-bu*   *TV* *ham-ɾe*
   PRX-DEM TV good-**SIPFV**
   'This TV used to be good.'

(40) *aŋ*   *ɾaŋ* *naŋ-ɾe*
   1SG   money need-**SIPFV**
   'I used to need money.'

When combined with auxiliary verbs, /-ɾe/ yields a present stative tense-aspect. In examples (41–42), it combines with /naŋ/ 'need' and a nominalized verb phrase complement, yielding the sense of a present necessity. As a matrix verb, /naŋ-ɾe/ has a past tense reading (40).

(41) *i-bu=ke*   *daŋ=ma* *naŋ-ɾe*
   PRX-DEM=ACC   work=NMLZ need-**SIPFV**
   'This work should be done.'

(42) *ziŋ* *ma-si* *hosom* *ka=ma* *naŋ-ɾe*
   1PL CLF-one organization bind=NMLZ need-**SIPFV**
   'We need to form an organization.'

In combination with the verb /za/, /-ɾe/ yields the sense that a potential exists at the present moment. The inflected auxiliary verb /za-ɾe/ takes a VP complement with a bare verb (43–45).

(43) *mkam* *zi* **za-ɾe**
   food eat **be-SIPFV**
   'The food is enough to be eaten (for the time being).'

(44) *busi* *doŋ* **za-ɾe**
   3PL EXST **be-SIPFV**
   'They can stay (for the time being).'

(45) *bu* *duha* *taŋ* **za-ɾe**-*ka*
   3SG now go **be-SIPFV**-PRF
   'He can go now.'

When appended to an auxiliary verb, /-ɾe/ does not indicate habituality but identifies a state that exists for the time being (but might not continue into the future). In (45), perfect /-ka/ adds a change of state sense to the present moment, yielding a contrast between the person's ability to go now with a previous implicit inability. The perfect tense of the suffix /-ka/ combines with the non-future property of /-ɾe/ so that the verb in (45) does not convey the same temporal structure found in the previous two examples. The split imperfective /-re/ can combine with potential marker /-pu/ to yield meanings as in (46–47). These two sentences are grammatically non-future imperfective, because they identify the existence in the present moment of a certain potential (his coming, rain). Thus, if the potential events were to occur, they would be in the future at the time of speaking.

(46) *bu* *paj-la-pu-**re***
  3SG come-REFL2-POT-**SIPFV**
  'He might come of his own initiative.'
  (Lit. 'Until now, the possibility of his coming is still present.')

(47) *hadi* *ha-la-pu-**re***
  rain rain(V)-REFL2-POT-**SIPFV**
  'There's a possibility that it might rain.'

4.4.2 Non-future imperfective /-ba/

The morpheme /-ba/ marks non-future imperfective tense-aspect. Tense information for the verb complex is interpreted through context, but is limited to past and present. In the examples ((48), ff.), /-ba/ attaches to verbs of existence (48), or events where the ending is not in focus; e.g., 'born' (50), 'established' (51).

(48) *bu* *ɾazi=ha* *saw-si*   *bumu-gnaŋ* *kɾaw* *doŋ-**ba***
  3SG society=LOC CLF:human-one name-having elderly EXST-**NF:IPFV**
  'He was a reputed elderly person in society.' (16-Kalachand ni Jarimin)

(49) *bu* *ɾza* *ɾza* *msep* *kɾaŋ-**ba***
  3SG hundred hundred buffalo raise-**NF:IPFV**
  'He reared hundreds and hundreds of buffalo.' (16-Kalachand ni Jarimin)

(50) *aŋ* *1955=ha* *hazaj-**ba***
  1SG 1955=LOC born-**NF:IPFV**
  'I was born in 1955.' (51-Life Story)

(51) *bu*   *nolaj=ke*   *dimaɾaza*   *paj-ba=ha*

     DEM   village=ACC   Dimasa king   come=NMLZ=LOC

     *ka-ɾi-laŋ-**ba***   *=ne*

     bind-BEN-alone-**NF:IPFV**   =QUOT

     'It is said that the village was established when the Dimasa king came.' (16-Kalachand ni Jarimin)

In cases where the context indicates a present tense interpretation, /-ba/ allows a habitual reading (52).

(52) *ziŋ*   *de*   *duha*   *bo*   *msep-zaŋ*   *se*

     1PL   TOP   now   TOP   buffalo-INS   TOP

     pdajn   *daŋ-**ba***

     paddy.field   work-**NF:IPFV**

     'Even today we (but not others) plow the fields with the help of buffaloes.'

The use of /-ba/ in the varying contexts above shows why we propose an analysis of imperfective, rather than a combination of present, simple past, and progressive (Longmailai 2014) or past tense (Jacquesson 2008). A difference between the split imperfective /-ɾe/ and non-future imperfective /-ba/ is that the imperfective does not specify an endpoint, whereas an action marked with non-future imperfective is not supposed to continue beyond the present moment. Thus, in (47), it is possible that the farmer is still rearing buffaloes, but if /-ɾe/ were appended to the verb /kraŋ/, then the speaker is claiming that the farmer won't be rearing them in the future.

4.4.3 Present imperfective /-du/

Dimasa /-du/ marks present imperfective, encoding action happening at the present moment, without a focus on completion. Longmailai (2014) calls this marker 'simple present' and 'progressive', while Jacquesson (2008) identifies it as 'actual present'. Sentence (53) shows present imperfective marking on 'need'. Negated present tense sentences have no overt present marker (54), a feature that also holds for the extended uses of /-du/.

(53) *ɡɾaw*   *ma-si*   *mamaŋ*   *siŋ=ma*

     word   CLF-one   only   ask=NMLZ

     *naŋ-zaw-**du***   *ko*

     need-PSV-**PIPFV**   DPROG

     '(We) would like to ask one more question.' (10-Jatroma Jatropha)

(54) ɡɾaw   ma-si   bo   siŋ=ma   naŋ-zaw-**ja**-ka
     word   CLF-one   TOP   ask=NMLZ   need-PSV-**NEG**-PRF
     '(I) don't feel the need to ask even one question.'

As in English, present imperfective marking is used to encode the timing of events that are around the present but might not be occurring at the present moment, such as present habitual, generic, and durative temporality. Examples (55–56) show present habitual usage of /-du/, and also that the marker is omitted under negation.

(55) *Babusɾi*   *mkam*   *soŋ-**du***
     PN   food   cook-**PIPFV**
     'Babusri cooks food (regularly).'

(56) *Babusɾi*   *mkam*   *soŋ-**ja***
     PN   food   cook-**NEG**
     'Babusri doesn't cook.'

Present imperfective can indicate generic aspect, which encodes general properties that are deemed to be true, but do not claim that the described event is happening at the present moment (57–59).

(57) *tajsa=ke*   *nalaj*   *bo*   *hotel=ha*   *ɾi*   *pa-**du***
     lemon=ACC   every.day   TOP   hotel=LOC   give   APPL-**PIPFV**
     'Lemon is served in hotels every time (along with food).'

(58) *sisa*   *seŋ-**du***
     dog   bark-**PIPFV**
     'Dogs bark.'

(59) *dawla*   *najzu=ha*   *gisi-**du***
     cock   early.morning=LOC   crow-**PIPFV**
     'Roosters crow early in the morning.'

The present imperfective /-du/ also functions as a futurate marker. The future event can be overtly marked by the use of future reference 'tomorrow' (60–61) or 'day after tomorrow' (62). Events that can be marked in this way are either planned, scheduled, or known based on the speaker's certainty and knowledge. The futurate function of /-du/ referring to a future event is more certain and confident than the prospective /-ma/ and the commissive modality /-naŋ/.

(60) *zini*   *no=ha*   *dakna*   *mdaj*   *hu-**du***
     1PL.GEN   house=LOC   tomorrow   God   worship-**PIPFV**
     'There is a ritual offering at our place tomorrow.'

(61) *aŋ*   *dakna*   *Haflong*   *taŋ-**du***
     1SG   tomorrow   PN   go-**PIPFV**
     'I'm going to Haflong tomorrow.'

(62) *amaj-tu*   *soni=ha*   *paj*   *pin-**du***
     mother-PL   day.after=LOC   come   return-**PIPFV**
     'Mom and others are returning the day after tomorrow.'

4.4.4   Stative /-bi/

The stative marker /-bi/ only marks stative or adjectival verbs in Dimasa and does not mark any other form of verbs. Jacquesson (2008) calls it an assertive marker.

(63) *Haflong*   *hatan*   *mzaŋ-**bi***
     PN   place   beautiful-**STAT**
     'The place Haflong is beautiful.'

(64) *zini*   *no=ha*   *ansa-ɾaw*   *jaw-**bi***
     1PL.GEN   house=LOC   child-PL   loud-**STAT**
     'The children are very busy at our house.'

On the other hand, the stative verbs can take all the tense-aspect-mood markers, which further highlights how the function of the stative marker /-bi/ is different from the other tense-aspect-mood markers.

(65) *i-bu*   *phone*   *ham-du*
     PRX-DEM   phone   good-PIPFV
     'This phone is good.'

(66) *i-bu*   *phone*   *ham-**bi***
     PRX-DEM   phone   good-**STAT**
     'This is a good (model of) phone.'

(67) *maj=ke   majko=ha   lu-siŋ-ba   leŋ-ka*
     rice=ACC   granary=LOC   pour-inward=NMLZ   tire-PRF
     'It was tiring to pour the rice into the granary.' [one instance]

(68) *maj=ke   majko=ha   lu-siŋ-ba   leŋ-**bi***
     rice=ACC   granary=LOC   pour-inward=NMLZ   tire-**STAT**
     'It's tiring to pour the rice into the granary.' [typical case]

4.4.5   Perfect and inceptive /-ka/

The morpheme /-ka/ marks the perfect tense (cf. Jacquesson (2008); Longmailai (2014) "perfective aspect"). This suffix indicates the completion of an event prior to the reference time. Examples (69–71) demonstrate that the marker shows the completion of an event before the present time, with relevance to the present.

(69) *aŋ   skul=ha   kisa   puri-**ka***
     1SG   school=LOC   little   study-**PRF**
     'I studied a little in school.' (02-Lifestory)

(70) *Majbaŋ-sa-ɾaw   paj-**ka***
     PN-AGT-PL   come-**PRF**
     'The people from Maibang have arrived.'

(71) *mkam   min-**ka***
     food   cook/ripe-**PRF**
     'The food has been prepared.'

Although the present perfect usages above are most common, /-ka/ can also occur with a past perfect meaning (72).

(72) *aŋ   so-hi-ba=ha   de   kusi   zam-taɾ-**ka***
     1SG   reach-TRNS.LOC=NMLZ=LOC   TOP   work   end-ENTR-**PRF**
     'By the time I arrived, the work was already over.'

The Dimasa perfect marker /-ka/ is also used to indicate the inception or the beginning of an event and the resulting change of state. Examples (73–74) contain /-ka/ as both perfect and inceptive markers.

(73) *hadi*   *ha-**ka***
     rain(N)   rain(V)-**PRF**
     'It has started to rain.' or 'It has rained.'

(74) *busu*   *bo*   *so-paj-**ka***   *kɾam*
     bushu   TOP   reach-come-**PRF**   drum
     muɾi   *bɾiŋ-**ka***
     flute   sound-**INC table**
     'Bushu has also arrived and the drums and the flute are starting to be played.'

In examples (75) and (76), the combination of the prospective marker /-ma/ followed by inceptive /-ka/ marks the prediction of an event that the speaker judges to be imminent.

(75) *hadi*   *ha-**ma-ka***
     rain(N)   rain(V)-**PRSP-PRF**
     'It's about to rain.'

(76) *nana*   *tu-ma-**ma-ka***
     baby   sleep-**PRSP-PRF**
     'The baby is about to fall asleep.'

In conclusion, /-ka/ marks perfect and inceptive aspects; in combination with /-ma/ it yields immediate prospective. Unlike the perfective aspect which marks an event as a whole, perfect /-ka/ marks an event as complete with relevance to the reference time, or shows the inception of an event, or it can mark a change of state.

4.4.6   Prospective /-ma/

The prospective aspect suffix /-ma/ indicates events that are anticipated to occur after reference time. Prospective aspect marking can occur with future (77), present (78), or procedural (79) temporal properties.

(77) *dakna*   *driver=zaŋ*   *aŋ=zaŋ*   *taŋ-**ma***
     tomorrow   driver=COM$_1$ 1SG=COM$_1$ go-**PRSP**
     'I and my driver will go tomorrow.' (05-Conversation)

(78) *hadi*   *ha-**ma**-ka*
     rain(N)   rain(V)-**PRSP**-PRF
     'It's going to rain, now.' (01-Judima)

(79) *hoɾ*   *bonwa*   *deŋ-ba=ni*   *jahon=ha*   *kajko-**ma***
     night   five   keep=NMLZ=GEN   after=LOC   take.out-**PRSP**
     '(Then), after keeping (it) for five nights, take it out.' (01-Judima)

The examples show that the temporal property of the event marked by /-ma/ is not always future tense; rather, the event is in the future relative to the contextually given time (77–78) or to a potential event (79). For these reasons we identify /-ma/ as a marker of prospective aspect, rather than proximate future (Longmailai 2014) or possible future (Jacquesson 2008).

4.4.7 Continuative /-saj/

In Dimasa the continuative aspect is marked by /-saj/. Continuative always occurs in combination with another temporal affix. Continuative aspect can occur in present (80–81), future (82), or past time (83). Longmailai (2014) and Jacquesson (2008) also identify this morpheme as marking continuative aspect.

(80) *amaj*   *mkam*   *soŋ-**saj**-du*
     mother's   food   cook-**CONT**-PIPFV
     'Mother is cooking food.'

(81) *aŋ*   *no=ha*   *taŋ-**saj**-du*
     1SG   house=LOC   go-**CONT**-PIPFV
     'I'm going home now.' [said on the mobile phone]

(82) *niŋ*   *paj-pin-ba=ha*   *de*   *duŋ-**saj**-ma*
     2SG   come-repeat=NMLZ=LOC   TOP   hot-**CONT**-PRSP
     'When you come back it will be hot.'

(83) *niŋ*   *phone*   *klaj-ba=ha*   *aŋ*   *duguɾ-**saj**-ba*
     2SG   phone   do=NMLZ=LOC   1SG   bath-**CONT**-NF:IPFV
     'I was bathing when you called me.'

4.4.8 Durative progressive /-ko/

The durative progressive /-ko/ is used to express that an action or an event is 'still continuing' or 'yet to be over', similar to English 'yet', 'still', 'furthermore', etc. Longmailai (2014) identifies this morpheme as proximate progressive. Events marked by /-ko/ can occur in the present (84–86) or past (87–88).

(84) *hadi*   *ha-du-**ko***
      rain(N)   rain(V)-PIPFV-**DPROG**
      'It is still raining.'

(85) *sajnzaɾ*   *za-ja-**ko***
      noon   be-NEG-**DPROG**
      'It is not yet noon.' (66-Nathu jang Homijing)

(86) *iɾa=ha*   *kisa*   *doŋ-naŋ-**ko***
      here=LOC   little   EXST-CMM-**DPROG**
      '(Let's) stay for a little while here.'

(87) *ma-si*   *sign*   *board*   *bo*   *pa-ka-**ko***
      CLF-one   sign   board   TOP   put.up-PRF-**DPROG**
      'In addition to that they have also put up a sign board.' (12-Dimasa News Reader)

(88) *ziŋ*   *paj-pin-ba=ha*   *de*   *busi*   *doŋ-ba-**ko***
      1PL   come-back=NMLZ=LOC   TOP   3PL   EXST-IPFV-**DPROG**
      'They were still there when we returned.'

4.5 Mood markers

Dimasa marks mood in several categories: imperative (of varying degrees of politeness), degrees of potentiality/irrealis, negative, and interrogative. The mood markers in Dimasa also include the unrealized potential affixes: optative /-tiŋ/, subjunctive /-mu/ and potential /-pu/. Also the mood markers include a full deontic verb /naŋ/, a commissive modality suffix /-naŋ/, an epistemic suffix /-naj/, the negative /-ja/, and the interrogative /-na/.

4.5.1 Imperative

Several imperative strategies are used in Dimasa, as shown in Table 46. Imperatives can be indicated with bare verbal morphology, combined with zero marking of the second person, or are marked by morphemes indicating a request /-saŋ/, or insistence /daw/. The most polite imperative strategy is a yes/no question strategy. Prohibitive is marked with prefix /da-/. Each of these strategies is exemplified by the following examples. Direct imperatives, with zero verb affixation and zero marking of the second person, are shown in (89–90).

Table 46. Types of imperative

Morpheme	Function
-Ø	Direct imperative
/-saŋ/	Request
/daw/	Insistence
/da-/	Prohibitive

(89) *iɾa=ha*   *paj-**ø***
     here=dist   come-**ø**
     'Come here!'

(90) *bagan=ke*   *ɾgaw*   *ɾi-**ø***
     garden=ACC   clean   CAUS₂-**ø**
     'Weed the garden!' (Lit. 'Cause the garden to be clean!')

The next level of politeness is marked by /-saŋ/, represented in English glosses by 'please' (91–92). Jacquesson (2008) and Longmailai (2014) also identify this suffix as a marker of polite requests.

(91) *gajnsoŋ-hi*   *sniŋ*   *doŋ-laj-**saŋ***
     pay.attention-SUCC   TOP   EXST-RECP-**REQ**
     'Please pay attention, (all of you).'

(92) *paj-ha-**saŋ***
     come-TRNS.LOC-**REQ**
     'Come here, please.'

The lowest level of politeness that is added to an imperative is the insistent particle /dəw/ (also in Longmailai 2014), which has a pragmatic content similar to a tag question of "okay?" in English (93–94).

(93) *bu=ke*   *klaj*   ***daw***
     DEM=ACC   do   **insist**
     'Do this, okay?'

(94) *paj-ba=ha*   *gwaj*   *labu-pa*   ***daw***
     come=NMLZ=LOC   betel nut   bring-APPL   **insist**
     'Bring betel nut when you come, okay?'

Finally, the most polite imperatives are indirect requests spoken to older interlocutors, and which are grammatically framed as polar questions. In situations where more politeness is needed, such as requesting an elder to do something, requests are framed as questions, with no overt imperative marking (95).

(95) *niŋ*   *uɾa=ha*   *kam-pu-naŋ*
     2SG   there=LOC   sit-POT-CMM
     'Can you sit there?'

The prohibitive marker in Dimasa is /da-/, as seen in (96–97). The same marker is identified as prohibitive by Longmailai (2014) and Jacquesson (2008).

(96) ***da-****paj*
     PROH-come
     'Don't come!'

(97) ***da-****klaj*
     PROH-do
     'Don't do (it)!'

Prohibited verbs marked with /da-/ may also accept imperative markers /-saŋ/ or /daw/ (98–99).

(98) ***da-****klaj-**saŋ**
     PROH-do-**REQ**
     'Please don't do (it).'

(99) ***da-****klaj*   *daw*
     PROH-do   **insist**
     'Don't do (it), okay?'

4.5.2 Unrealized potential

There are three markers of unrealized potential or irrealis in Dimasa (Table 47). They are exemplified in the following subsections.

Table 47. Unrealized potential

Morpheme	Function
/-tiŋ/	Optative
/-mu/	Subjunctive
/-pu/	Potential

4.5.2.1 Optative /-tiŋ/

The optative suffix /-tiŋ/ marks a verb as containing a wish, prayer, or curse. Longmailai (2014) also identifies this morpheme as optative. Agents of optative verbs, which can be specified (100–102) or elided (103), are in the third person; affected arguments can marked with dative (102) or accusative (103) case marking.

(100) *bu*   *paj-la-**tiŋ***
      3SG   come-REFL₂-**OPT**
      'Let him come on his own.'

(101) *BJP*   *kam*   *hi*   *doŋ-ka*   *de*   *BJP*   *niŋ*   *kam-**tiŋ***
      BJP   sit   SUCC   EXST-PRF   TOP   BJP   TOP   sit-**OPT**
      'If the BJP is in power let them have the power.' (05-Conversation)

(102) *zi=**ne***   *bo*   *ham-tiŋ*   *nisi=ne*   *bo*   *ham-**tiŋ***
      1PL=**DAT**   TOP   good-OPT   2PL=DAT   TOP   good-**OPT**
      'Let it be good for us and also for you.'

(103) *niŋ=**ke***   *mdaj*   *danaŋ*   *bo*   *kza-si-si*   *deŋ-**tiŋ***
      2SG=**ACC**   God   later   TOP   happy-ADVB-ADVB   keep-**OPT**
      'May God keep you happily, also in the future.'

4.5.2.2 Subjunctive /-mu/

The subjunctive mood /-mu/ encodes wishes, desires, possibilities, and obligations. It demonstrates unrealized potential, as in (104); cf. Longmailai (2014).

(104) *aŋ*   *mkam*   *zi-ma-**mu***
       1SG   food   eat-PRSP-**SBJV**
       'I wish to have food.'

Examples (105–106) encode obligation with /-mu/.

(105) *zaɾ=ni*   *hatan=ɾe*   *se*   *baw=ma*   *naŋ-ɾe-**mu***
       REFL₁=GEN   place=ACC   TOP   thought=NMLZ   need-SIPFV-**SBJV**
       'People should be more considerate about their own land.' (05-Conversation)

(106) *zatɾopa=ɾe*   *nolaj-sa-ɾaw*   *wajnso-laj-ka*   *de*
       PN=ACC   village-AGT-PL   remember-RECP-PRF   TOP
       *ham-naŋ-**mu***
       good-CMM-**SBJV**
       'It would be good if the villagers remember Jatropha.' (10-Jatroma Jatropha)

In examples (107–109) /-mu/ encodes possibility.

(107) *aŋ*   *paj-ba=ha*   *glaj-du-**mu***
       1SG   come=NMLZ=LOC   fall-PIPFV-**SBJV**
       'I could have fallen down when I was coming.'

(108) *bu*   *dini*   *doŋ-pu-du-**mu***
       3SG   today   EXST-POT-PIPFV-**SBJV**
       'He could have stayed today.'

(109) *aŋ*   *dini*   *taŋ-ka-**mu***
       1SG   today   go-PRF-**SBJV**
       'I could have been gone today (but I was still here when you came to see me).'

When subjunctive /-mu/ follows imperfective /-ba/, the denotation is that the action of the verb was performed, but the purpose for which the verb was performed was not realized. For example, in (110), the action of going to the house occurred, but the reason for which the speaker performed the action was not accomplished; in this case the person he wanted to see was not there.

(110) *aŋ*   *no=ha*   *taŋ-ba-**mu***
 1SG   house=LOC   go-NF:IPFV-**SBJV**
 'I went to the house (but didn't meet him).'

4.5.3 Potential /-pu/

The morpheme /-pu/ marks the potential mood (cf. Jacquesson 2008; Longmailai 2014). It shows that an action or an event could possibly happen, or an agent has the potential to perform an action (111–114).

(111) *aŋ*   *i-bu*   *loŋtaj=ke*   *sgu-**pu**-du*
 1SG   PRX-DEM   stone=ACC   lift-**POT**-PIPFV
 'I can lift this stone.'

(112) XXXX   *Assam=ha*   *bo*   *campaign*   *klaj-la-**pu**-ɾe*
 PN   PN=LOC   TOP   campaign   do-REFL₂-**POT**-SIPFV
 'XXXX might campaign in Assam on his own.' (06-Dimasa News Reader)

(113) *aŋ*   *miziŋ-ka*   *de*   *boŋpaŋ*   *spaj-taɾ-**pu**-du*
 1SG   want-PRF   TOP   tree   break-ENTR-**POT**-PIPFV
 'If I want I can break the tree.' (78-Sainjang Bar)

(114) *pin-jaba*   *ɾi=ke*   *ko*   *ɾi-**pu**-naŋ*
 wear=NMLZ   cloth=ACC   take.off   CAUS₂-**POT**-CMM
 '(I) can take off the cloth (he's) wearing.'(78-Sainjang Bar)

The three unrealized potentials are semantically distinguishable from one another (115–117).

(115) *bu*   *no=ha*   *taŋ-**tiŋ***
 3SG   house=LOC   go-**OPT**
 'Let him go home.'

(116) *bu*   *no=ha*   *taŋ-ka-**mu***
       3SG   house=LOC   go-PRF-**SBJV**
       'He would have gone home.'

(117) *bu*   *no=ha*   *taŋ-**pu**-du*
       3SG   house=LOC   go-**POT**-PIPFV
       'He can go home.'

4.5.4   Deontic verb /naŋ/

The deontic verb /naŋ/ is a modal auxiliary verb that signifies an obligation or a requirement. The verb originated as a full verb 'need' (118). As a modal, /naŋ/ takes a nominalized verb phrase as its complement (119–121). The deontic verb in Karbi also has the same phonological structure and function (Konnerth 2014).

(118) *aŋ*   *ɾaŋ*   ***naŋ**-du*
       1SG   money   **need**-PIPFV
       'I need money.'

(119) *aŋ*   *[no=ha*   *taŋ]=ma*   ***naŋ**-ka*
       1SG   house=LOC   go=NMLZ   **need**-PRF
       'I must be going home (now).'

(120) *niŋ*   *[prime*   *minister*   *za]=ma*   ***naŋ**-du*
       2SG   prime   minister   be=NMLZ   **need**-PIPFV
       'You need to be Prime Minister (in order to accomplish your goals).'

(121) *zaɾ=ni*   *[hatan=ke*   *se*   *baw]=ma*   ***naŋ**-ɾe-mu*
       REFL1=GEN   place=ACC   TOP   thought=NMLZ **need**-SIPFV-SBJV
       '(People) should be more considerate about their own land.' (05-Conversation)

4.5.5   Commissive modality /-naŋ/

The commissive modality /-naŋ/ signifies the speaker's promise or prediction of an event in the future (122–125).

(122) *aŋ   sajnti-**naŋ**   kna*
      1SG   tell-**CMM**   listen
      'Listen, I'll tell (you).' (10-Jatroma Jatropha)

(123) *dam   bo   bu=ha   de   baŋ-daw-**naŋ***
      price   TOP   DEM=LOC   TOP   many-CMP-**CMM**
      'The price will also rise during that time.' (10-Jatroma Jatropha)

(124) *ɡɾaw   de   iɾa=ha   niŋ   zam   ɾi-laj-**naŋ***
      talk   TOP   here=LOC   TOP   finish   CAUS₂-RECP-**CMM**
      'We can finish the discussion here and now.' (10-Jatroma Jatropha)

(125) *bu   pin-jaba   ɾi=ke   ko   ɾi-pu-**naŋ***
      3SG   wear=NMLZ   cloth=ACC   take.off   CAUS₂-POT-**CMM**
      '(I) can take off the cloth he's wearing.' (51-Sainjang Bar)

Longmailai (2014) calls this marker 'distal future', while Jacquesson (2008) identifies it as 'definite future' to differentiate it from /-ma/, which both authors label as future. However, unlike future tense, /-naŋ/ can encode first person ability (124–125). In addition, the action of the verb which is suffixed by /-naŋ/ can occur in the immediate future (122).

4.5.6   Epistemic modality /-naj/

The epistemic /-naj/ in Dimasa marks an event that is either possible or probable. A speaker using this marker communicates an assumption or prediction based on his/her preexisting knowledge (126–127), or awareness of the context surrounding the utterance (128–129).

(126) *zalaj-ɾaw   sniŋ   ɾaza=zaŋ   paj   pa-**naj**-ba*
      youth-PL   only   king=COM₁   come   APPL-**EPIS**-NF:IPFV
      'Only the youths might have come along with the King.' (08-Veer Sambudhan Phonglo)

(127) *kisa   de   lap   za-daw-**naj**-ka*
      little   TOP   profit   be-CMP-**EPIS**-PRF
      'There might have been a little more profit.'

(128) *hadi   ha-**naj**-ka*
      rain(N)   rain(V)-**EPIS**-PRF/CS
      'It might have rained.' or 'It might be raining now.'

(129) *bu   no=ha   taŋ-**naj**-ka*
       3SG   house=LOC   go-**EPIS**-PRF
       'He might have gone home.'

4.5.7   Negative /-ja/

The negative in Dimasa is marked by /-ja/, which occurs with a subset of tense-aspect markers (130–133). Longmailai (2014) and Jacquesson (2008) also identify /-ja/ as the negative marker.

(130) *ode-bani   bu   leka   maj-**ja**-ba*
       DEM-because   3SG   attention/importance   get-**NEG**-NF:IPFV
       'That is why he didn't get importance.' (03-Present political situation)

(131) *zaɾ=ke   tati-ba   ɾiŋ-**ja***
       REFL₁=ACC   save/protect=NMLZ   know/learn-**NEG**
       '(They) don't know how to take care of themselves.' (05-Conversation)

(132) *ziŋ   mgoŋ   zi-**ja**-ka*
       1PL   meat   eat-**NEG**-PRF
       'We don't eat meat anymore.'

(133) *bu   no=ha   taŋ-bani   paj   pin-**ja**-naj-du-ko*
       3SG   house=LOC   go-because   come   return-**NEG**-EPIS-PIPFV-DPROG
       'He might not have returned yet after having gone home.'

4.5.8   Interrogative /na/

The sentence-final particle /na/ marks interrogative mood, specifically yes/no questions. In Dimasa, yes/no questions can be indicated with rising intonation at the end of declarative statements (134), or by ending the sentence with /na/ (135), (137).

(134) *ziŋ   Haflong   taŋ-ma*
       1PL   PN   go-PRSP
       'We are going to Haflong.' or 'Are we going to Haflong?' (with rising intonation)

(135) *ziŋ   Haflong   taŋ-ma   **na***
       1PL   PN   go-PRSP   **Q**
       'Are we going to Haflong?'

(136) *dini*   *hadi*   *ha-ba*
      today   rain(N)   rain(V)-NF:IPFV
      'It rained today.'

(137) *dini*   *hadi*   *ha-ba*   ***na***
      today   rain(N)   rain(V)-NF:IPFV   **Q**
      'Did it rain today?'

In addition, rhetorical questions can be marked with /na/ (138–139).

(138) *ziŋ*   *dimasa*   *ni-ja*   ***na***
      1PL   dimasa   COP-NEG   **Q**
      'Aren't we Dimasas?'

(139) *ziŋ*   *Haflong*   *taŋ-ma*   ***na***   *taŋ-ja*
      1PL   PN   go-PRSP   **Q**   go-NEG
      'Are we going to Haflong or not?'

Other question strategies include the use of interrogative pronouns (§3.2.1.3).

4.6   Location and direction

Like other Bodo-Garo languages, as well as languages in other Tibeto-Burman branches (e.g., Qiangic), Dimasa has direction and location marking affixed to the verb (Table 48). In Dimasa, these markers come historically from verbs; the last two markers also occur as full verbs (§4.6.5, §4.6.6). There are two trans-locative morphemes that occur in the fourth postverbal slot, while morphemes that indicate the direction of movement occur in the second postverbal slot.

Table 48. Location and direction marking suffixes

Morpheme	Function
/-ha/	TRNS.LOC
/-hi/	TRNS.LOC
/-ku/	upward
/-klaj/	downward
/-kla/	away
/-siŋ/	inwards
/-laŋ/	along

4.6.1 Translocative /-hi, -ha/

There are two translocative markers in Dimasa, /-hi/ and /-ha/. The translocative /-hi/ marks movement or location away from the speaker who is the deictic center (140–141). However, the deictic center in clauses with /-ha/ is not usually the speaker but rather the agent (142), which may be elided (143).

(140) *bu*   *Shillong=ha*   *laɟsi*   *puɾi-**hi**-ba*
3SG   PN=LOC   book   study-**TRNS.LOC**-NF:IPFV
'He went to Shillong to study.' (02-Lifestory)

(141) *i-bu*   *laɟsi=ke*   *uɾa=ha*   *deŋ-**hi***   *ta*
PRX-DEM   book=ACC   there=LOC   keep-**TRNS.LOC**   go
'Keep this book there.'

(142) *zatɾodi=ke*   *ani*   *ɾgoŋ=ha*   *loŋ-**ha**-saŋ*
PN=ACC   1SG.GEN   near=LOC   summon-**TRNS.LOC**-REQ
'Summon Jatrodi (to come) near me.' (10-Jatroma Jatropha)

(143) *mkam* *zi* *ɾi-ɾe*   *ode* *pdajn=ha*   *haj-**ha**-ɾe*
food eat CAUS₂-SIPFV and field=LOC   send-**TRNS.LOC**-SIPFV
'(They) used to be fed and sent away to the field.' (65-Sisha jang Hono)

Both /-hi, -ha/ have a source (either the speaker or the agent) and a goal, which is marked with locative /=ha/ in the same clause as the verb. In order to be marked with either /-hi, -ha/, the location must be considered to be far from first or second person.

The following four subsections detail the usage of the other set of directional markers.

4.6.2 Upward /-ku/

The morpheme /-ku/ indicates that the direction of the verbal action is upward. In (144), motion of the verb is upward toward the stove, while in (145), the pig moves his head upward so he can check the position of the sun.

(144) *samlaj*   *baw-**ku**-ka*
dish   place-**upward**-PRF
'The dish has been put on (the stove).'

(145) *homiziŋ*   *sajn=ke*   *naj-**ku**-hi*   *ti-ka*
pig   sun=ACC   look-**upward**-SUCC   say-PRF
'The pig looked up to the sun and said…'

4.6.3   Downward /-klaj/

The morpheme /-klaj/ indicates the direction of the verb action is downward (146–147).

(146) *maj=ke*   *iɾa=ha*   *ho-**klaj***
rice=ACC   here=LOC   put-**downward**
'Put down the rice here.'

(147) *zabaj=ke*   *iɾa*   *daŋ-**klaj***
garbage=ACC   here   throw-**downward**
'Throw the garbage here.'

4.6.4   Away /-kla/

The morpheme /-kla/ indicates that the movement of the verbal action is away from a deictic center, which is either the speaker (148), or some other referent such as the addressee (149). The semantics of /-kla/ differ from the translocatives /-hi, -ha/. On the one hand, /-hi, -ha/ indicate movement or location away from either the speaker or agent, and also movement toward a specified location. On the other hand, /-kla/ only indicates movement away from a reference point; no goal is specified. In addition, the translocatives are specified for movement away from first or second person, while movement marked with /-kla/ can accompany any person.

(148) *bu=ke*   *iɾa=nisiŋ*   *haj-**kla***
3SG=ACC   here=ABL   send-**away**
'Send him away from here.'

(149) *i-bu*   *bottle=ke*   *naŋ-ja-ka*   *de*   *lem-**kla***
PROX-DEM   bottle=ACC   need-NEG-PRF   TOP   throw-**away**
'If (you) don't need this bottle then throw it away.'

4.6.5   Into, toward /siŋ/

The verb /siŋ ~ seŋ/ 'to put inside', when serialized, marks the direction of the verb into a space (150–152).

(150) *maj=ke* *majko=ha* *lu* **siŋ**-*ba* *leŋ-bi*
   rice=ACC granary=LOC pou **inward**=NMLZ tire-STAT
   'It's tiring to pour the rice into the granary.'

(151) *bu* *bo* *bosta=ha* *hap* **siŋ**-*ka*
   3SG TOP bag=LOC enter **inward**-PRF
   'He also entered the bag.'

(152) *magusa* *loŋkoɾ=ha* *ɡlaj* **siŋ**-*ba*
   monkey cave=LOC fall **inward**-NF:IPFV
   'The monkey fell into the cave.'

Also, /-siŋ/ can mark the continuation of verbal action toward the goal (153) or further in effort (154).

(153) *niŋ* *i-zaŋ* *paj* **siŋ**-*daw-pu-du-ko*
   2SG PRX-COM₁ come **inward**-CMP-POT-PIPFV-PROG
   'You can come closer to this side.' (listener has already moved toward the
   speaker.)

(154) *bu* *puɾi* **siŋ**-*bani* *blaj-daw-ba*
   3SG study **inward**-because able-CMP-NF:IPFV
   'He's better because he studied more.'

4.6.6 Along/leave /laŋ/

The verb /laŋ/ 'take' occurs in serial verb constructions to indicate that the verb to which it is attached continues on, although its action can be non-telic (155). Continuation of action can be across time (157), or a progression, such as improvement of an illness (158). In addition, /laŋ/ can denote that the verb it serializes with can occur while another verb is occurring; cf. (156), where rice flour is being added while the curry is being stirred.

(155) *aŋ* *nisi=ni* *no* *ɡde* *hem* **laŋ**-*du*
   1SG 2PL=GEN house direction walk **along**-PIPFV
   'I'm walking along in the direction of your house (coincidentally).'

(156) *hon=ke*   *samlaj*   *bajdiŋ-saj=ba=ha*
rice.flour=ACC   curry   stir-CONT=NMLZ=LOC
ɾi   *pa*   **laŋ-ma**
give   APPL   **along-PRSP**
'The rice flour should be added while stirring the curry.' (52-Gala Hon)

(157) *zadi=ni*   *kusi*   *daŋ*   *pa*   **laŋ-ma**   *se*
community=GEN   work   do   APPL   **along-PRSP**   TOP
'Will keep on doing the work of the community.' (06-Dimasa News)

(158) *i-bu*   *bidi=ke*   *liŋ-ka*   *niŋ*   *ham*   **laŋ-du**
PRX-DEM   juice=ACC   drink-PRF   TOP   good   **along-PIPFV**
'The (sickness) gets better as soon as one drinks the juice.' (07-Thaisa)

The serial verb /laŋ/ can also indicate leaving, which appears to be a semantic extension of the 'removal' sense.

(159) *bu*   *taŋ=**ba**=ha*   *antane*   *lajsi*   *ɾi*   *laŋ-**ba***
3SG   go=**NMLZ**=LOC   1SG.DAT   book   give   leave-**NF:IPFV**
'He gave me a book when he left.'

4.7   Existential and copular verbs

The existential verb in Dimasa is /doŋ/ and the negated or in-existential verb is /giɾi/. The two verbs identify location (160–161) or possession (162) of their referents, or general (non-)existence (164–165). Like imperatives, existential and in-existential verbs do not always take affixes.

(160) *bu*   *lajsi*   *table*   *bsaw=ha*   **doŋ**
DEM   book   table   above=LOC   **EXST**
'The book is on top of the table.'

(161) *bu*   *lajsi*   *table*   *bsaw=ha*   **giɾi**
DEM   book   table   above=LOC   **INEXST**
'The book is not there on top of the table.'

(162) *bupluŋ-tu*   *g-tam*   **doŋ**-*ba*
brother-PL   CLF-three   **EXST**-IPFV
'(I) had three brothers.' (02-Lifestory)

(163) *nolaj*   *gbin=ha*   *se*   *school*   ***doŋ-ba***
      village   different=LOC   TOP   school   **EXST**-IPFV
      'The school was in a different village.' (02-Lifestory)

(164) *nolaj*   *gde*   *duha*   *bo*   *misi*   ***doŋ-ko***
      village   direction   now   TOP   tiger   **EXST**-DPROG
      'The tigers are still present in the village side.'

(165) *hagra=ha*   *duha*   *de*   *misi*   ***giri-ka***
      village   now   TOP   tiger   **EXST**-PRF
      'There are no tigers in the forest today.'

Inexistential marking is indicated by suffixation of /-ja/ NEG on the existential verb /doŋ/ for past (166–167) and future (168–169) events. Inexistential /giri/ only marks negated existence in the present moment (161, 165) or when marking a lack of possession (171). Note that (167) and (169) have the same form because tense-aspect is often unmarked on negated verbs.

(166) *aŋ*   *ira=ha*   ***doŋ-ba***
      1SG   here=LOC   **EXST**-IPFV
      'I used to stay here.'

(167) *aŋ*   *ira=ha*   **giri/**doŋ**-ja*
      1SG   here=LOC   *INEXST/**EXST**-NEG
      'I didn't stay here.'

(168) *aŋ*   *ira=ha*   ***doŋ-ma***
      1SG   here=LOC   **EXST**-PRSP
      'I will stay here.'

(169) *aŋ*   *ira=ha*   **giri/**doŋ**-ja*
      1SG   here=LOC   *INEXST/**EXST**-NEG
      'I won't stay here.'

(170) *ani=ha*   *raŋ*   ***doŋ-ba***
      1SG.GEN=LOC   money   **EXST**-NF:IPFV
      'I used to have money.'

(171) *ani=ha*   *ɾaŋ*   *giɾi-ba/*doŋ-ja*
        1SG.GEN=LOC   money   INEXST/**EXST**-NEG
        'I didn't have money.'

Dimasa has two copular strategies. When presenting information that has not been asked for, no verb is required, although the complement is followed by the topic marker /se/ if positive (172), and by /ni-ja/ if negative (173).

(172) *Bitush*   *teacher*   **se**
        PN   teacher   **TOP**
        'Bitush is a teacher.'

(173) *Bitush*   *teacher*   **ni-ja**
        PN   teacher   **COP-NEG**
        'Bitush is not a teacher.'

When answering a copular question in the present tense, a copular clause is used with the copular verb /ni/, which takes present imperfective /-du/ if affirmative (174), or /-ja/ if negative (175).

(174) *Bitush*   *teacher*   **ni-du**
        PN   teacher   **COP-PIPFV**
        '(Yes,) Bitush is a teacher.'

(175) *Bitush*   *teacher*   **ni-ja**
        PN   teacher   **COP-NEG**
        '(No,) Bitush is not a teacher.'

Copular statements in the past are marked with /za-re/ (177).

(176) *nede*   *hozaj*   *ni-ja*   *na?*
        3SG.uncle priest   COP-NEG   Q
        'Isn't your uncle a priest?'

(177) *ade*   *skaŋ=ha*   *hozaj*   **za-ɾe**
        1SG.uncle before=LOC   priest   **be-SIPFV**
        'My uncle used to be a priest.'

Future copular statements are indicated with /za-ma/ 'be'-PRSP or /za=ma naŋ-du/ 'be'=NMLZ 'need'-PIPFV. Although partially homophonous, /za-ma/ (178) contains prospective marking, while /za=ma/ (179) contains nominalization; hence these are different constructions.

(178) *niŋ*   *prime*   *minister*   **za-ma**
2SG   prime   minister   **be-PRSP**
'You will be prime minister.'

(179) *niŋ*   *prime*   *minister*   **za=ma**   **naŋ-du**
2SG   prime   minister   **be=NMLZ**   **need-PIPFV**
'It's necessary that you become Prime Minister.'

4.8   Serial verbs

The serial verb construction in Dimasa combines two or more independent verb roots followed by the inflectional morphemes to form a composite meaning. The first verb in a series carries more semantic load, while the second verb functions more like an auxiliary. Based on the various functions performed by serial verbs, they can be categorized as adverbial serial verbs (§4.8.1); deictic serial verbs (§4.8.2); causativizing and benefactive serial verbs (§4.8.3); resultative serial verbs (§4.8.4) and applicative serial verbs (§4.8.5). Negation can occur on both the first and the second verb in a series (§4.8.4).

4.8.1   Adverbial serial verbs

The verb /pin/ 'turn back' when serialized shows the repetition of an action (180). Also the morpheme /palaŋ/ shows carrying along of an action or an event (181).

(180) *bu*   *hadisa=ke*   *seŋ*   **pin-ka**
3SG   Bengali=ACC   ask   **again-PRF**
'He asked the Bengali (person) again.' (34-Asampa)

(181) *nolaj*   *nolaj*   *taŋ*   **palaŋ**   *hi*   *dol*   *ka*   **palaŋ-ba**
village   village   go   **along**   SUCC   group   form   **along-PRF**
'(He) went along village by village forming groups along the way.'

4.8.2   Deictic serial verbs

The verb /paj/ 'come' when used as a serial verb shows motion towards the deictic center, such as the speaker (182), or a location (183).

(182) *bu*   *no=ha*   *so*   ***paj*-*ka***
     3SG   house=LOC   reach   **come**-PRF
     'He reached home.'

(183) *hatan*   *ham-ja*   *za*   ***paj*-*ka***
     place   good-NEG   be   **come-PRF**
     'The place has started to become bad.' (10-Jatropha)

4.8.3   Causativizing and benefactive serial verbs

The verb /ɾi/ 'give' when used as a serial verb functions as either causative (184) or benefactive (185). For more reading on causative and benefactive, refer to §4.3.1, §4.3.2.

(184) *aŋ*   *sip-ka*   *niŋ*   *haduri*   *tapla*   *gphin*   ***ri*-*pu-du***
     1SG   blow-PRF   TOP   dust   ash   sweep   **CAUS₂-POT-PIPFV**
     'I can sweep away dust and ash when I blow.' (51-Sainjang Bar)

(185) *ansa-ɾaw=ne*   *school=ha*   *puɾi*   ***ri*-*ma***   *naŋ*
     child-PL=DAT   school=LOC   study   **CAUS₂-PRSP**   need
     bani   *Haflong=ha*   *paj-ba*
     because   PN=LOC   SG-NF:IPFV
     '(We) came to Haflong to get our children to school.' (02-Lifestory)

4.8.4   Resultative serial verbs

The resultative serial verbs show the result of the action of the verb. The verb /naj/ 'see' during serialization functions as 'to check or try' (186).

(186) *aŋ*   *i-bu*   *juta=ke*   *gajn*   ***naj*-*ma***
     1SG   PRX-DEM   shoe=ACC   wear   **try**-PRSP
     'I'll wear this shoe and check.'

The verbs /blaj/ 'able' (187) and /so/ 'reach' (188) both contribute the semantics of event completion when occurring in the second position of a serial verb combination. Either verb can occur with negation.

(187) *aŋ*   *mkam*   *zi*   ***blaj*-*ka***
     1SG   food   eat   **complete**-PRF
     'I have finished eating food.'

(188) *aŋ*   *school*   *puɾi*   **so**-*pu-ja*   *hi*   *taw-ba*
       1SG   school   study   **complete**-POT-NEG   SUCC   stop-NF:IPFV
       'I was stuck without being able to complete my studies.'

(189) *saw*   *ni*   *beher*   *baŋ-ja*   **ri**-*daw-du*
       body   GEN   weight   be.much-NEG   **CAUS$_2$**-CMP-PIPFV
       'Lessens the body weight.' (10-Thaisa)

4.8.5   Applicative serial verbs

The verb /pa/ 'attach' functions as an applicative marker 'along with' when it occurs as the second verb in a series (190).

(190) *Rahul*   *bo*   *ziŋ=zaŋ*   *taŋ*   **pa**-*du*
       PN   TOP   1PL=COM$_1$ go   **APPL**-PIPFV
       'Rahul will also go with us.'

4.9   Summary

Verbs are the most morphologically complex word class in Dimasa. Verbs are highly agglutinative, with two prefix slots and thirteen suffix slots; the presence of zero to two suffixes is the most common occurrence in texts. Tense and aspect tend to be morphologically inseparable, although mood markers are distinct. Dimasa, like other Bodo-Garo languages commonly uses serial verbs, in which a bare verb is followed by a (potentially) inflected one. The second verb in such a construction often has more of a grammatical than lexical meaning. There is a fixed class of combinations in which the second verb is not identifiable from other contexts; these are termed bound serial verbs. Dimasa also has two slots for marking direction or location. The unmarked case is that the action of the verb occurs near the location of the speech act participants. Two cislocative suffixes indicate ways that this presupposition can be violated. Furthermore, action orientations down/upward, inward/away can also be specified. The ways that these morphemes function in clauses may be observed in the next chapter.

Chapter V: Clauses and sentence structure

In Chapters 3 and 4 we discussed the structure of noun phrases and verb phrases, the primary components of clauses. In this present chapter we present the types of clauses that occur in Dimasa, and how they are formed from noun phrases, verb phrases and other components (§5.1). We then examine special types of clauses and sentences, such as interrogatives (§5.2), imperatives (§5.3), and identity clauses (§5.4). The next sections present clause combinations within sentences: comparison (§5.5), nominalization and relativization (§5.6), complementation (§5.7), coordination and disjunction (§5.8), purpose and condition (§5.9), and temporal sequencing (§5.10). Finally, we consider processes that act on whole clauses, namely topicalization (§5.11), hearsay and quotatives (§5.12) and evidentiality (§5.13). Adverbs are formed within the verb complex (§4.2), or from adjectival nouns (§3.1), and are not discussed within this chapter.

Dimasa independent clauses have a default constituent order of Subject-Object-Verb, the most common constituent order in Tibeto-Burman languages. Independent clauses can have from one to three arguments (1–5). Indirect objects follow direct objects and precede the verb (5).

5.1 Structure of independent clauses

Intransitives

(1) *aŋ*   *tu-ma-ka*
1SG   sleep-PRSP-PRF
'I'm going to sleep.'

(2) *bu*   *taŋ-pin-la-ma*
3SG   go-return-REFL-PRSP
'He will go back.'

Transitives

(3) *aŋ*   *mkam*   *zi-ka*
1SG   food   eat-PRF
'I ate food.'

(4) *ziŋ*   *Haflong*   *taŋ-du*
1PL   PN   go-PIPFV
'We are going to Haflong.'

Ditransitives

(5) *aŋ*   *lajsi=ke*   *Rahul=ne*   *laŋ-ba*
     1SG   book=ACC   PN=DAT   take-NF:IPFV
     'I gave the book to Rahul.'

In addition to clauses with one, two or three arguments, Dimasa allows clauses with no overt argument (PRO drop), when the argument can be recovered from context (6); this also occurs in imperatives (§4.5.1), and identity clauses (§5.4).

(6) *Rahul*   *nadi*   *klaj-ba?*
     PN   what   do-NF:IPFV
     'What is Rahul doing?'
     tu-ba
     sleep-NF:IPFV
     'Sleeping.'

5.2   Interrogative clauses

The sentence-final particle /na/ marks interrogative mood, specifically polar, or yes/no, questions. In Dimasa, polar questions can be indicated with rising intonation at the end of declarative statements (7), (10), or by ending a declarative sentence with /na/ (8), (10).

(7) *ziŋ*   *Haflong*   *taŋ-ma*
     1PL   PN   go-PRSP
     'We are going to Haflong.' or 'Are we going to Haflong?' (rising intonation)

(8) *ziŋ*   *Haflong*   *taŋ-ma*   ***na***
     1PL   PN   go-PRSP   **Q**
     'Are we going to Haflong?'

(9) *dini*   *hadi*   *ha-ba*
     today   rain(N)   rain(V)-NF:IPFV
     'It rained today.' or 'Did it rain today?' (rising intonation)

(10) *dini*   *hadi*   *ha-ba*   ***na***
     today   rain(N)   rain(V)-NF:IPFV   **Q**
     'Did it rain today?'

In addition, rhetorical questions can also be marked with /na/ (11).

(11) *ziŋ*   *Dimasa*   *ni-ja*   **na**
    1PL   PN   COP-NEG   **Q**
    'Are we not Dimasas?'

Tag questions are indicated with /na/ followed by a negated echo verb (12–13).

(12) *ziŋ*   *Haflong*   *taŋ-ma*   **na**   *taŋ-ja*
    1PL   PN   go-PRSP   **Q**   go-NEG
    'Are we going to Haflong or not?'

(13) *i-bu*   *nini*   *ɾi*   *ni-du*   **na**   *ni-ja*
    PRX-DEM   1SG.GEN   cloth   COP-PIPFV   **Q**   COP-NEG
    'Is this your cloth or not?'

Also, the interrogative /na/ precedes /bani/ 'because' (14) or /za/ 'be/happen' (15) to yield information-seeking questions. In (16) /na/ directly combines with the non-future imperfective /ba/ to form the question 'What happened?'. The verb /za/ cannot be elided when it occurs with other tense-aspect-mood markers; e.g., /-ma/ PRSP.

(14) *niŋ*   **na**   *bani*   *paj-ba*
    2SG   **Q**   because   come-NF:IPFV
    'Why did you come?'

(15) *iɾa=ha*   **na**   *za-ma*
    here=LOC   **Q**   be-PRSP
    'What will happen here?'

(16) **na**   *(za)-ba*
    Q   (be)-NF:IPFV
    'What happened?'

The interrogative adverb /bede(he)/ means 'how' (17–18). The two forms of the adverb are in free variation.

(17) **bede**   *za-du*
    how   be-PIPFV
    'How are (you)?'

(18) *bu*   ***bedehe***   *so-paj-ba*
     3SG   **how**   reach-come-NF:IPFV
     'How did he arrive?'

Content questions (who, which, where…) are discussed in §3.2.1.3.

5.3   Imperative clauses

Imperatives in Dimasa can be indicated with bare verbal morphology, combined with zero marking of the second person, or are marked by suffixes marking request /-saŋ/, or insistence /dəw/. The most polite imperative strategy is a polar question strategy. The prohibitive is marked with the prefix /da-/. Imperative strategies are further exemplified within the discussion of verb morphology (§4.5.1)

(19) *uɾa=ha*   *taŋ-**ø***
     there=DIST   go-**ø**
     'Go there!'

(20) *ane*   *mkam*   *labu-ɾi*
     1SG.DAT   food   bring=BEN
     'Bring me food!'

5.4   Identity clauses

Dimasa has two copular strategies. When presenting affirmative information that is new information, or has not been asked for, no verb is required, although the complement is followed by the topic marker /se/ ((16), §5.11). However, negative identity clauses take a negated copula /ni-ja/ (22).

(21) *Bitush*   *teacher*   ***se***
     PN   teacher   **TOP**
     'Bitush is a teacher.'

(22) *Bitush*   *teacher*   ***ni-ja***
     PN   teacher   **COP-NEG**
     'Bitush is not a teacher.'

When answering a copular question in the present tense, a copular clause is used with the copular verb /ni/, which takes present imperfective /-du/ if affirmative (23), or /-ja/ if negative (24).

(23) *Bitush*   *teacher*   **ni-du**
     PN   teacher   **COP-PIPFV**
     '(Yes,) Bitush is a teacher.'

(24) *Bitush*   *teacher*   **ni-ja**
     PN   teacher   **COP-NEG**
     '(No,) Bitush is not a teacher.'

Copular concepts in non-present tenses are expressed as in (25–27).

(25) *Bitush*   *teacher*   *za-**ba***
     PN   teacher   be-**NF:IPFV**
     'Bitush used to be a teacher.'

(26) *Bitush*   *teacher*   *za-**re***
     PN   teacher   be-**SIPFV**
     'Bitush was a teacher for awhile.'

(27) *Graduation=ni*   *jahon=ha*   *Bitush*   *teacher*   *za-**ma***
     graduation=GEN   after=LOC   Bitush   teacher   be-**PRSP**
     'After graduation, Bitush will be a teacher.'

The copular verb is not used in sentences with a subject and a stative verb (28).

(28) *Bitush*   *zu-bi*
     Bitush   tall-STAT
     'Bitush is tall.'

The copula is also not used in presentational sentences like (29–30).

(29) *i-bu*   *Bitush*
     PRX-DEM   Bitush
     'This is Bitush.' (default presentation)

(30) *i-bu*   *Bitush*   *se*
     PRX-DEM   Bitush   TOP
     'This one is Bitush.' (contrastive)

5.5   Comparison

Based on concepts and terminology in Fuchs (2014) and Treis (2018), we label the components of comparison as in (31).

> (31) *Rahul*   *Arup-ta*   *zu-daw*
>   Comparee   Standard-Standard.Marker   Parameter-Degree.Marker
>   PN   PN=DAT   tall-CMP
>   'Rahul is taller than Arup.'

Comparative constructions in Dimasa encode either inequality or equality.

5.5.1   Inequality

Within the category of inequality, comparative clauses can be further divided into superiority (more than, better than, ...) and inferiority (less than, not as good as, ...). We discuss each of these categories in turn.

Superiority–comparative

Comparison between two unequal entities is marked by the bound serial verb /-daw/ (degree marker), which is affixed to a verb (parameter). If both arguments in the comparison are specified, then the dative case /-tane/ or /-ta/ marks the standard, while the comparee does not require affixation. In (31), the parameter is stative, while in (32), the parameter is a stative auxiliary, and in (33), the parameter is an active verb.

> (32) *an**tane***   *azaŋ*   *football*   *mlaw-ba*   *blaj-**daw***
>   1SG.**DAT**   1SG.brother   football   play=NMLZ   able-**CMP**
>   'My brother plays better football than I.'

> (33) *Rahul=**tane***   *aŋ*   *puɾi-**daw**-ka*
>   PN=**DAT**   1SG   study-**CMP**-PRF
>   'I have studied more than Rahul.'

In texts, most instances of the comparative do not overtly specify the standard of comparison; e.g., in (34), the instance of cooking sticky rice with normal rice, which in this case is the standard, is elided. Also in (35), the act of eating lemon is the comparee and the act of not eating lemon is the standard, which is elided. Sentence (36) illustrates the use of a comparative construction within a noun phrase.

(34) *majzu*   *bojza*   *soŋ=ba*   *ham-**daw***
     sticky.rice   only   cook=NMLZ   good-**CMP**
     'It is better to cook just sticky rice.' (01-Judima)

(35) *tajsa*   *zi-ka*   *de*   *haŋ*   *la-ba=ha*
     lemon   eat-PRF   TOP   breath   take=NMLZ=LOC
     ɾgaw-si-si   *za-**daw**-du*
     clean-ADVB-ADVB   be-**CMP**-PIPFV
     'Eating lemon helps in breathing better.' (07-Thaisa)

(36) *aŋ*   *ɾsi-**daw**=jaba*   *bag=ke*   *nintane*   *zi-ɾi-naŋ*
     1SG   heavy-**CMP**=REL   bag=ACC   2SG.DAT   eat=BEN-CMM
     'I'll carry the heavier bag for you.'

Superiority–superlative

The superior superlative can be applied when the (conceptual) standard is plural. It is marked by appending /-taw/ after the comparative marker /-daw/. Example (37) exhibits grammatically plural standard, and superlative marking on an action verb. Example (38) shows superlative marking on a stative verb, where plurality of the standard is implied by real-world context rather than being grammatically explicit. Sentence (39) shows a notional plural '(of the people) in the house', with superlative marking on a stative verb. Finally, (40) elides the comparee completely.

(37) *dini*   *kɾip*   *naga-ɾaw=ni*   *bisiŋ=ha*   *aŋ*
     today   all   young.man-PL=GEN   inside=LOC   1SG
     kusi   *daŋ-daw-**taw**-ka*
     work(N)   work(V)-CMP-**SUP**-PRF
     'Amongst all the young men, I worked the most today.'

(38) *mi=ni*   *bisiŋ=ha*   *mijuŋ*   *di-daw-**taw***
     animal=GEN   inside=LOC   elephant   big-CMP-**SUP**
     'Among animals, elephants are the biggest.'

(39) *no=ha*   *aŋ*   *ɾa-daw-**taw***
     house=LOC   1SG   old-CMP-**SUP**
     'I'm the oldest in the house.' (02-Lifestory)

(40) *amaj*   *dawpaŋ*   *daw-ba*   *blaj-daw-**taw***

      1SG.mother   handloom   weave=NMLZ   able-CMP-**SUP**

      '(My) mother weaves the best.'

Superlatives can also be expressed within relative clauses, thereby providing superlative modification within a noun phrase (41).

(41) *hataj*   *taŋ=ba=ha*   *tataj*   *ham-daw-**taw**=jaba=ke*   *labu*

      market   go=NMLZ=LOC   potato   good-CMP-**SUP**=REL=ACC   bring

      'When you go to the market, bring back the best potatoes.'

Inferiority–comparative

In an inferior comparison, the comparee exhibits less of the parameter than is exhibited by the standard. The parameter is suffixed with the negative marker /-ja/ and the degree marker /-daw/.

(42) *dada*   *aŋ-ta*   *mkam*   *zi-**ja-daw***

      elder.brother   1SG=DAT   food   eat-**NEG-CMP**

      '(My) elder brother eats less food than I do.'

(43) *ansa-ɾaw*   *zo-zaw-ka*   *de*   *school*   *paj-**ja-daw**-du*

      child-PL   scold-PSV-PRF   TOP   school   come-**NEG-CMP**-PIPFV

      'The children show up less often at school if they are scolded (by teachers).'

(44) *i-bu*   *no=ni*   *waj*   *zna-**ja-daw***

      PRX-DEM   house=GEN   light   bright-**NEG-CMP**

      'This house's light is less bright (than typical houses).'

(45) *ɾaza=zaŋ*   *paj-pa=jaɾaw*   *baŋ-**ja-daw***

      king=COM$_1$ come-APPL=PL.NMLZ   many-**NEG-CMP**

      'The ones that came with the king were fewer (than the ones who were left back across the river).' (08-Veer Sambudhan Phonglo)

Inferior–superlative

The syntactic structure of the inferior superlative differs from the above categories, in that there is only one argument, the comparee, which is identified as belonging to a group that forms the standard. The parameter is suffixed with negation and with superlative marking (46).

(46) *zini*   *gzar=ha*   *Rahul*   *mkam*
     1PL.GEN   middle=LOC   PN   food
     soŋ-ba   *blaj-ja-daw-**taw***
     cook=NMLZ   able-NEG-CMP-**SUP**
     'Amongst us Rahul is the least skilled at cooking.'

5.5.2 Equality and similarity

Equality between two nouns is indicated by mentioning the two nouns and then following them with /laj/ (47) and the parameter of comparison.

(47) *Rahul*   *Arup*   **laj**   *zu(-ja)*
     PN   PN   **like**   tall(-NEG)
     'Rahul is (not) as tall as Arup.' (Lit. 'Rahul is (not) tall like Arup is tall.')

However, when the standard is expressed by a nominalized clause, the standard occurs at the beginning of the equative sentence, followed by the standard marker /laj/, the comparee, the topic marker /se/ (48) or /bo/ (49), and finally the parameter.

(48) *aŋ*   *lajsi*   *puri-ba*   **laj**   *niŋ*   *bo*   *puri-ka*   **se**
     1SG   book   study=NMLZ   **like**   2SG   TOP   study-PRF   **TOP**
     pass   *za-ma*
     pass   be-PRSP
     'You'll only pass if you also study like me.'

(49) *amaj*   *soŋ-ba*   **laj**   *saw-si*   *bo*   *soŋ-pu-ja*
     1SG.mother   cook=NMLZ   **like**   CLF-one   TOP   cook-POT-NEG
     'No one can cook like my mother.'

The standard marker /laj/ 'like' also occurs in sentences that assert that there is evidence for the existence of an event (50), which is not limited to the present moment (51). In these cases, a single clause (the standard) is followed by /laj/ and the copula /za/.

(50) *hadi*   *ha-ba*   ***laj***   *za-du*
     rain(N)   rain(V)-NF:IPFV   **like**   be-PIPFV
     'It seems like it's raining.'

(51) *train*   *maw-ma-ka*   ***laj***   *za-du*
     train   move-PRSP-PRF   **like**   be-PIPFV
     'It seems like the train is going to start.'

The similarity marker /laj/ is also used in single-argument stative expressions (52). Such cases communicate an opinion, rather than indicate the existence of evidence for a (possible) event or state.

(52) *bu*   *zu-bi*   ***laj***   *za-du*
     3SG   tall-STAT   **like**   be-PIPFV
     'He seems tall.'

Another strategy to communicate equality involves a nominalized parameter. In these cases, the first entity being evaluated is marked with the comitative clitic /=zaŋ/ and a stative (53) or active verb (54). In lieu of a degree marker, the word /bawsi/ 'same' occurs at the end of the clause. This word comes from the CLF-NUM compound /baw-si/ meaning 'one thought', but functions as a lexical unit in evaluations of equality. Negated equality can be communicated with /ni-ja/ after /bawsi/ (55), or with the stative verb /gbin/ 'to differ' (56).

(53) *Rahul=zaŋ*   *Arup*   *zu-ba*   ***bawsi***
     PN=COM$_1$ PN   tall=NMLZ   **same**
     'Rahul and Arup have the same height.'

(54) *Rahul=zaŋ*   *Arup=ni*   *daŋ-taj*   ***bawsi***
     PN=COM$_1$ PN=GEN   work=NMLZ   **same**
     'Rahul and Arup's working behavior is the same.'

(55) *Rahul=zaŋ*   *Arup=ni*   *daŋ-taj*   ***bawsi***   *ni-ja*
     PN=COM$_1$ PN=GEN   work=NMLZ   **same**   COP-NEG
     'Rahul and Arup's working behavior is not the same.'

(56) *Rahul=zaŋ*   *Arup=ni*   *daŋ-taj*   **gbin**
     PN=COM$_1$ PN=GEN   work=NMLZ **different**
     'Rahul and Arup's working behavior is different.'

In (53), the stative verb 'tall' yields a nominalized form meaning 'height' that is not possessed; however, in (54–56), the action verb 'work' yields a possessed noun meaning 'way of working' which is possessed by 'Rahul and Arup'.

    Relative to the similarity marked by /bawsi/, a stronger claim to similarity, 'exactly the same', can be specified with the general classifier and the number one: /ma-si/ (57–58).

(57) *Rahul=zaŋ*   *Arup=ni*   *daŋ-taj*   **ma-si**
     PN=COM$_1$ PN=GEN   work=NMLZ **CLF-one**
     'Rahul and Arup's working behavior is exactly the same.'

(58) *Rahul=zaŋ*   *Arup=ni*   *daŋ-taj*   **ma-si**   *ni-ja*
     PN=COM$_1$ PN=GEN   work=NMLZ **CLF-one** COP-NEG
     'Rahul and Arup's working behavior is not exactly the same.'

5.6   Nominalization and relativization

Table 49 presents the phrase-level nominalizing clitics of Dimasa. This table overlaps with the set of nominal derivation suffixes from Table 31, because some nominalizers operate at both lexical and phrasal levels. In the present discussion, we are interested in phrasal nominalizations —strategies that allow a phrase to function as an argument in a clause, as well as relativizers.

Table 49. Nominalizing and relativizing clitics

		Function
/ba/	NMLZ	Makes clause into freestanding NP (not a modifier)
/jaba/	REL	Relativizer, which can be ± animate, ± human
/jaɽaw/	PL.REL	Plural human relativizer
/ɡin/	SPCF	Adds specificity to nominalized complex

The nominalizer /ba/ turns a VP into an NP. As shown in example (59), the verb in a /ba/-nominalized NP is not inflected. This nominalization strategy may be contrasted with the lexical nominalizer /taj/ that attaches to a verb, not a verb phrase, which it turns into an NP (§3.1). In the /taj/ case, the verb 'lie' is nominalized by /taj/ and then possessed by the first person pronoun (60). However, in the /ba/ nominalization, the entire clause "I lie" is nominalized (59).

(59) *[aŋ   toki]=**ba**=ke   baba   ham-zaw-ja-du*
    1SG   lie=**NMLZ**=ACC   father   good-PSV-NEG-PIPFV
    'Father doesn't appreciate me lying.'

(60) *[ani   [toki=**taj**]]=ke   baba   ham-zaw-ja-du*
    1SG.GEN   lie=**NMLZ**=ACC   father   good-PSV-NEG-PIPFV
    'Father doesn't appreciate my lying.'

The clitic /jaba/ functions as a relativizer, turning the previous clause into a modifier for the subsequent noun. Relativized nouns can occur as various arguments, such as patient (61), comitative (62), locative (63), agent (64), etc.

(61) *aŋ   soŋ=**jaba**   samlaj=ke   zi-naŋ*
    1SG   cook=**REL**   dish=ACC   eat-CMM
    '(Lets') eat the dish I cooked.'

(62) *mosla   baŋ=**jaba**   samlaj=zaŋ   tajsa   ɾi-pa-du*
    masala   many=**REL**   dish=COM$_1$ lemon   give-APPL-PIPFV
    'Lemon is served with dishes which have more spices.' (10-Thaisa)
    (Lit. 'With dishes where the spice is much, lemon is also given.')

(63) *aŋ   doŋ=**jaba**   room=nisiŋ   dikoŋ=ke*
    1SG   EXST=**REL**   room=ABL   river=ACC
    nu-ha-du
    see-TRNS.LOC-PIPFV
    'From the room where I'm staying, the river can be seen.'

(64) *bu   loŋkaj   hoɾ=**jaba**   subuŋ   tajzu   gaj-du*
    3SG   basket   carrying=**REL**   person   mango   plant-PIPFV
    'That person carrying a basket grows mangoes.'

In texts, the noun phrase modified by relativization is often elided (65). Following the relative clause, resumptive pronouns may be used; e.g., /bu-tu/ (66).

(65) *ɾi   pajn=**jaba**   (subuŋ)   paj-ka*
    cloth   sell=**REL**   (person)   come-PRF
    'The cloth seller has arrived.'

(66) *hataj=ha*   *drain*   *daŋ=**jaba***   *bu-tu*   *baj-taɾ-ma-ka*
    market=LOC   drain   work=**REL**   DEM-PL   break-ENTR-PRSP-PRF
    'The drains which were built in the market are about to become entirely ruined.'
    (06-Dimasa News Reader)

The nominalizer /jaraw/ attaches to a VP without tense-aspect marking and makes a plural human noun which can occur on agents of both intransitive (67) and transitive (68) verbs. As seen above, arguments within a relative clause are not marked for case (68). However, adjuncts within the relative clause can take case marking (67). Because /jaraw/ specifies a plural human referent, it is not followed by an overt modified noun. The relativizer /jaraw/ can occur in cases other than nominal case, and can also be passivized (69).

(67) *[mel=ha*   *paj]=**jaɾaw***   *bɾa=ha*   *taŋ-ka*
    event=LOC   come=**PL.REL**   where=LOC   go-PRF
    'Where are the people who came to the event?'

(68) *[mgoŋ*   *dajn]=**jaɾaw***   *paj-ja-ko*
    meat   cut=**PL.REL**   come-NEG-DPROG
    'The meat cutters/butchers haven't arrived yet.'

(69) *[ɾem-zaw]=**jaɾaw**=ke*   *jail=ha*   *deŋ-du*
    catch-PSV=**PL.REL**=ACC   jail=LOC   keep-PIPFV
    'The ones who were caught are kept in jail.' (06-Dimasa News Reader)

In relative clauses, the marker /gin/ can be placed after the verb and before the relativizer /jaba/ or /jaraw/ to indicate specificity. For example, in (70), the context is that a particular individual had been identified as responsible for cooking.

(70) *mkam*   *soŋ-**gin**=**jaba***   *de*   *tu-ka*
    food   cook-**SPCF-REL**   TOP   sleep-PRF
    'The one who is supposed to cook has fallen asleep.'

(71) *sɾap*   *ti-blaj-**gin**=**jaba***   *gɾawtaj*   *ni-ja*
    soon   say-able-**SPCF-REL**   topic   COP-NEG
    '(This) is not a topic that can be completed soon.' (10-Jatropha)

(72) *i-bu*   *no=ha*   *taŋ-**gin**=**jaba***   *paj-ka*
    PRX-DEM   house=LOC   go-**SPCF-REL**   come-PRF
    'The people who are supposed to stay here have arrived.'

5.7   Complementation

There are two strategies to mark Dimasa complement clauses. In the first case, the complement clause is formed by the addition of the nominalizer /-ba/ (73–74). Alternatively, the complement clause may be formed by addition of the complementizer /tihi/ meaning 'that' or 'whether' or 'if' (75–77). The morpheme /tihi/ consists of a lexicalized combination of the verb /ti/ 'say' and the successive marker /hi/.

In sentences with complement clauses, the experiencer NP occurs in sentence-initial position, and the matrix verb communicates perception, speaking, etc. (73–74). Alternatively, the experiencer can follow the complementizer clause (75–76), or can precede the complementizer clause but not be in initial position (74).

(73) *aŋ*   *bu*   *ɾep=**ba**=ke*   *nu-du*
     1SG   3SG   write=**NMLZ**=ACC   see-PIPFV
     'I can see that he is writing.'

(74) *ziŋ*   *Haflong*   *taŋ=**ba**=ke*   *krip*   *miti-ka*
     1PL   PN   go=**NMLZ**=ACC   all   know-PRF
     'Everyone knows that we went to Haflong.'

(75) *dakna*   *zini*   *exam*   *doŋ*   ***tihi***   *aŋ*   *miti-ja*
     tomorrow   1PL.GEN   exam   EXST   **that**   1SG   know-NEG
     'I didn't know that our exam is tomorrow.'

(76) *bu*   *paj-ka*   ***tihi***   *aŋ*   *miti-du*
     3SG   come-PRF   **that**   1SG   know-PIPFV
     'I know that he has arrived.'

(77) *amaj*   *ziŋ=ke*   *mkam*   *zi-ma*   *na*
     mother   1PL=ACC   food   eat-PRSP   Q
     zi-ja   ***tihi***   *seŋ-ba*
     eat-NEG   **that**   ask-NF:IPFV
     'Mother asked us if we are going to have food or not.'

5.8 Conjunction and disjunction

5.8.1 Conjunction

Clauses in Dimasa can be combined with the conjunction /ode(he)/ 'and'. The conjunction occurs between two independent clauses, whose verbs take inflection (78–79). An analysis of the texts does not indicate a semantic or usage difference between /ode/ and /odehe/.

(78) *niŋ*   *no=ha*   *taŋ*   **odehe**   *aŋ=ke*   *phone*   *klaj*
     2SG   house=LOC   go   **and**   1SG=ACC   phone   do
     'You go home and call me.'

(79) *mkam*   *zi*   *ɾi-ɾe*   **ode**   *pdajn=ha*   *haj-ha-ɾe*
     food   eat   CAUS$_2$-SIPFV   **and**   field=LOC   send-TRNS.LOC-SIPFV
     '(They) used to be fed and sent away to the field.' (65-Sisha jang Hono)

5.8.2 Disjunction

The grammatical word /nijaka/ 'or else', 'otherwise', combined with topic marking, follows the first of two exclusive events (80) or logical possibilities (81). The disjunction morpheme /nijaka/ is a lexicalized combination of the copula /ni/ followed by negative /-ja/ and perfect /-ka/. The disjunction marker is always followed by the topic marker /de/.

(80) *niŋ*   *paj*   **nijaka**   **de**   *aŋ*   *bo*   *taŋ-pu-naŋ*   *ni-ja*
     2SG   come   **or.else**   **TOP**   1SG   TOP   go-POT-CMM   COP-NEG
     'You come or else I can't be able to go.'

(81) *an*   *ɾaŋ*   *kaw-zaw-ba*   **nijaka**   **de**   *gma-ba*   *se*
     1SG   money   steal-PSV-NF:IPFV   **or.else**   **TOP**   lose-NF:IPFV   TOP
     'Either (someone) stole my money or I lost it.'

5.9 Conditional and purpose statements

Conditional and purpose statements encode implicational relationships between the semantic content of two clauses.

5.9.1 Conditional

Conditional statements encompass an implicational relationship between a condition (antecedent, protasis) and a consequence (consequent, apodosis); e.g., English 'because' and 'if… then' statements. Markers of conditionality include /bani/ 'because', /si/ 'unless or until', and /tika/ 'if'. The markers are cliticized to the condition clause, making it a dependent clause. The consequent has the structure of an independent clause.

(82) *niŋ*   *paj-ma*   ***bani***   *bu*   *paj-ja-naj-du*
2SG   come-PRSP   **because**   3SG   come-NEG-likely-PIPFV
'Because you didn't come, s/he didn't come.'

(83) *aŋ*   *glass*   *dopaj*   ***bani***   *amaj*   *tamsi*   *bajgo-ba*
1SG   glass   break   **because**   mother   anger   come.out-NF:IPFV
'Because I broke the glass, Mom is angry.'

(84) *amaj*   *kasaw*   ***bani***   *se*   *aŋ*   *i-bu*
mother   care   **because**   TOP   1SG   PRX-DEM
kusi=ke   *daŋ-pu-ba*
work(N)=ACC   work(V)-POT-NF:IPFV
'Because of my mother's love, I was able to do this work.'

(85) *adaj*   *lim*   ***bani***   *dini*   *mel*   *za-naŋ*   *ni-ja*
Grandmother   ill   **because**   today   gathering   be-CMM   COP-NEG
'Because Grandmother is ill, the gathering won't happen.'

The conditional marker /si/ encodes two complementary scenarios. In (86) it indicates that first the condition of giving the money doesn't exist; then, when it does, the vegetables are given. In other cases (e.g., (87–88)), the condition being described is existing, and then comes to an end. The conditional marker /-si/ can attach to negative (86) or positive verbs (87–88).

(86) *niŋ*   *ɾaŋ*   *ɾi-ja-**si***   *samlaj*   *maj-naŋ*   *ni-ja*
2SG   money   give-NEG-**COND**   vegetable   get-CMM   COP-NEG
'As long as you don't give the money, you can't get the vegetables.'

(87) *habsaw=ha*   *doŋ-du-**si***   *aŋ*   *niŋ=ke*   *wajnso-naŋ*
world=LOC   EXST-PIPFV-**COND**   1SG   2SG=ACC   remember-CMM
'As long as I'm in this world, I'll remember you.'

(88) *bu*   *doŋ-du-si*   *ziŋ*   *taŋ-pin-pu-ja*

      3SG   EXST-PIPFV-**COND**   1PL   go-return-POT-NEG

      'As long as he keeps staying (in the house), we cannot return to it.'

The final conditional marker /tika/ comes from the combination of the verb /ti/ 'say' and the perfect /-ka/. It encodes hypothetical conditions and coincidences, like English 'if'. The conditional /tika/ is always followed by the topic markers /se/, /de/, /bo/, or /niŋ/.

(89) *i-bu*   *kusi*   *za-ka*   ***tika***   *de*   *aŋ*   *dini*   *taŋ-pin-ma*

      PRX-DEM   work   be-PRF   **if**   TOP   1SG   today   go-back-PRSP

      'If this works, then I'll go back.'

(90) *niŋ*   *paj-ka*   ***tika***   *bo*   *za-du*

      2SG   come-PRF   **if**   TOP   be-PIPFV

      'If you come it's also Ok.'

5.9.2 Purpose

Typologically, purpose statements tend to be defined according to their function rather than their morphosyntactic structures (Cristofaro 2013). In purpose statements, a main event (encoded by the main clause) is performed by an agent who has the intent that another event be accomplished (purpose clause, dependent event). If the agent of both events is the same, it is typically elided in the purpose clause (91). In Dimasa, the purpose clause appears first, with dative marking on the whole clause (92–93).

(91) *lim-ba*   *ham-daw=ma=**ne***   *muli*   *zi*

      ill=NMLZ   good-CMP=NMLZ=**DAT**   medicine   eat

      'Eat medicines for the illness to be cured.'

(92) *busi*   *mkam*   *zi=ma=**ne***   *paj-ba*

      1PL   food   eat=NMLZ=**DAT**   come-NF:IPFV

      'They came to eat food.'

(93) *ɾaŋ*   *kaw-zaw-ja=ma=**ne***   *gɾik-hi*   *doŋ-la*

      money   steal-PSV-NEG=NMLZ=**DAT**   careful-SUCC   EXST-RECP$_1$

      'Be careful (if you) don't want your money to be stolen.'

The purpose clause, with its dative marking, can be followed by /klajhi/ 'for the purpose of'. The morpheme /klajhi/ comes historically from the combination of the verb /klaj/ 'do' and the successive marker /-hi/. The main clause of the purpose statement can be realis (94) or irrealis (95).

(94) *no* *daŋ=ma=**ne*** ***klajhi*** *ɾaŋ* *bzom* *klaj-du*
  house built=NMLZ=**DAT** **for** money gather do-PIPFV
  '(He's) saving money to build a house.'

(95) *bemaɾ* *gba-ja=ma=**ne*** ***klajhi*** *no=ha* *doŋ-la*
  sickness catch-NEG=NMLZ=**DAT** **for** house=LOC EXST-RECP₁
  'In order to not get sick stay at home.'

5.10 Temporal sequencing

5.10.1 Simultaneous events

The locative clitic /ha/ can be appended to a nominalized event, to indicate that this event occurred during the time that another event, specified by the matrix verb, is going on (96–97).

(96) *aŋ* *paj-ba=**ha*** *hadi* *ha-ba*
  1SG come=NMLZ=**LOC** rain(N) rain(V)-NF:IPFV
  'It was raining when I came.'

(97) *samudan* *doŋ-ba=**ha*** *i-bu* *ɾazi=ke* *ka-ba*
  PN EXST=NMLZ=**LOC** PRX-DEM village=ACC tie-NF:IPFV
  'This village was formed during the time of Sambudhan.' (08-Veer Sambudhan Phonglo)

5.10.2 Successive events

The morpheme /hi/ occurs at the end of a clause that immediately precedes the timing of the subsequent clause (98–100).

(98) *seɾe* *ɾaw-daw* *kusi* *daŋ* ***hi*** *p-nu*
  who strong-CMP work(N) do **SUCC** CAUS₁-see
  'Work and show (me) who's stronger!' (78-Sainjang Bar)

(99) *boŋpaŋ* *kna* ***hi*** *doŋ-ba*
  tree listen SUCC EXST-IPFV
  'The tree was (lit., 'is') staying, listening (to them).' (78-Sainjang Bar)
  'The tree was listening to them, and stayed.'

(100) *bu* *Haflong* *taŋ* ***hi*** *aŋ=ke*
  3SG PN   go SUCC 1SG=ACC
  photo *haj-ba*
  photo send-NF:IPFV
  'He went to Haflong and sent me a picture.'

The successive marker /dda/ also comes after a non-final clause to indicate succession of events. It indicates that there is a time gap between the completion of the first event and the second event (101–102). In (101), if /dda/ were replaced with /hi/, the meaning would be "Coming home we cooked."

(101) *ziŋ* *no=ha* *paj* ***dda*** *mkam* *soŋ-ba*
  1PL house=LOC come NF food cook-NF:IPFV
  'We came home and then cooked.'

(102) *Nanadisa=ha* *zaj-bu* ***dda*** *uɾa* *de-ka*
  PN=LOC   migrate-? NF there big-PRF
  zu-ka *mla* *za-ka*
  tall-PRF girl be-PRF
  'After shifting to Nanadisa (I) grew up, became tall and became a girl there.' (51-Life Story)

In texts, speakers often use both /hi/ and /dda/ within a single sentence, depending on the relative duration of the different events (103).

(103) *Haflong=ha* *paj* ***hi*** *ziŋ* *no* *basa-sa* *bhara*
  PN=LOC come SUCC 1PL house small~DIM rent
  la ***dda*** *ansa-ɾaw=ke* *school=ha* *gba-ɾi-ba*
  TOP NF child-PL=ACC school=LOC join-CAUS-NF:IPFV
  '(After) Coming to Haflong (/hi/) we rented a small house (/dda/) and then got our children admitted to a school.' (51-Life Story)

5.11   Topicalization

Dimasa has five topicalization markers that operate with different semantics and also occur at different levels of syntactic organization. They are summarized in Table 50, and explicated below.

Table 50. Topicalization markers

/bo/	extends scope of verb from what was provided by the context; e.g., 'even', 'also'
/niŋ/	excludes possibilities other than the topic; e.g., 'only'
/se/	contrast to expectation or contrast to realis condition
/de/	weaker contrast with expectation or realis condition
/la/	weakest contrast with expectation or realis condition

The topic marker /bo/ can follow the first argument in a sentence, giving the sense of 'also' or 'even'. The addition of /bo/ connects the preceding topic to the context. The topicalized NP can be the subject (104), locative adjunct (105), instrumental adjunct (106), etc. In addition to marking noun phrases, /bo/ can topicalize an independent clause (107). The topic marker /bo/ extends the scope of the matrix verb by specifying that the preceding NP (105–106) or VP (107–108) is included within the matrix verb, in addition to whatever was already included by the context.

(104) *aŋ*   **_bo_**   *Haflong*   *taŋ-ma*
1SG   **TOP**   PN   go-PRSP
'I also will go to Haflong.'

(105) *India=ha*   **_bo_**   *coronavirus*   *paj-ka*
PN=LOC   **TOP**   coronavirus   come-PRF
'Coronavirus has arrived in India also.'

(106) *muli=zaŋ*   **_bo_**   *ham-daw-ja*
medicine=INS   **TOP**   good-CMP-NEG
'Even medicines cannot make it better.'

(107) *aŋ* *Haflong* *taŋ-ka* **_bo_** *sɾap* *paj-pin-ma* *se*
1SG PN go-PRF **TOP** soon come-return-PRSP TOP
'Even if I go to Haflong, I'll return soon.'

(108) *niŋ*   *paj-ka*   *tika*   **bo**   *za-du*
       2SG   come-PRF   if   **TOP**   be-PIPFV
       'If just you come and no one else, it's still okay.'
       'If you come in addition to everyone else, it's okay.'

The topic marker /niŋ/ adds exclusivity to the topic. For example, in (109), /niŋ/ adds the sense of "and not someone else" to the accusation. In (110), /niŋ/ emphasizes that I saw the event myself, even if no one else saw it. Example (111) shows that /niŋ/ topicalizes clauses, not only NP's.

(109) *niŋ*   **niŋ**   *ani*   *pen=ke*   *laŋ-ba*   *se*
       2SG   **TOP**   1SG.GEN   pen=ACC   take-NF:IPFV   TOP
       'It's you who have taken my pen.'

(110) *aŋ*   **niŋ**   *niŋ=ke*   *laŋ-ba*   *nu-ba*
       1SG   **TOP**   2SG=ACC   take=NMLZ   see-NF:IPFV
       'I personally saw you taking it.'

(111) *niŋ*   *paj-ka*   **niŋ**   *za-du*
       2SG   come-PRF   **TOP**   be-PIPFV
       'If just you come (and no one else), it's fine.'
       'If you just come (and don't bring a dish of food), it's fine.'

The final three topic markers, /se/, /de/, and /la/ indicate that the preceding topic contrasts with expectation or with realis conditions. The three markers are presented in decreasing intensity of contrast. The marker /se/ indicates that the state identified by the topic is not expected (112–113). It is also used in declaring a positive assertion that excludes other possibilities (109). In negative mood, topic marking is replaced by /ni-ja/ 'be not'.

(112) *aŋ*   *duha*   *Haflong=ha*   **se**   *doŋ-ba*
       1SG   now   PN=LOC   **TOP**   EXST-NF:IPFV
       'I stay in Haflong now (not somewhere else).'

(113) *i-bu*   *ani*   *pen*   **se**
       PRX-DEM   1SG.GEN   pen   **TOP**
       'This is my pen (and not someone else's).'

(114) *bu*   *teacher*   ***se***
3SG   teacher   **TOP**
'He is a teacher (and not some other profession).'

The marker /se/ is also used to indicate strong implication, as in (115).

(115) *hadi*   *ha-ka*   ***se***   *picnic*   *cancel*   *za-ma*
rain(N)   rain(V)-PRF   **TOP**   picnic   cancel   be-PRSP
'If it rains, then the picnic will definitely be canceled.'

The topic marker /de/ occurs in syntactic contexts that overlap with /se/ (116–118), where it identifies a weaker contrast with what was expected. The morpheme /de/ also pairs with the disjunctive construction (117–118).

(116) *aŋ*   ***de***   *Haflong=ha*   *se*   *doŋ-ba*
1SG   **TOP**   PN=LOC   TOP   EXST-NF:IPFV
'I stay in Haflong now.'

(117) *niŋ*   *paj-ka*   ***de***   *aŋ*   *bo*   *taŋ-naŋ*
2SG   come-PRF   **COND**   1SG   TOP   go-CMM
'If you come then I'll also go.'

(118) *niŋ*   *paj-ka*   ***de***   *aŋ*   *taŋ-ja-mu*
2SG   come-PRF   **COND**   1SG   go-NEG-SBJV
'I wouldn't have gone if you had come.'

Topic marker /de/ also indicates implication, as in (119).

(119) *hadi*   *ha-ka*   ***de***   *picnic*   *cancel*   *za-ma*
rain(N)   rain(V)-PRF   **TOP**   picnic   cancel   be-PRSP
'If it rains, the picnic will be canceled.'

Finally, /la/ marks a weak contrast with context or expectation (120–121).

(120) *aŋ*   ***la***   *Haflong=ha*   *se*   *doŋ-ba*
1SG   **TOP**   PN=LOC   TOP   EXST-NF:IPFV
'I live in Haflong.'

(121) *bu*   *somoj=ha*   ***la***   *school*   *taŋ-jaɾaw*   *bo*   *kom*
DEM   time=LOC   **TOP**   school   go-PL.REL   TOP   less
'At that time the school attendees were also fewer.'

When indicating a weak causal relationship, /la/ can be used (122).

(122) *hadi*   *ha-ka*   ***la***   *picnic*   *cancel*   *za-ma*
rain(N)   rain(V)-PRF   **TOP**   picnic   cancel   be-PRSP
'If it rains the picnic might get canceled.'

5.12   Hearsay and quotative

The indirect quotative /ne/ is a sentence final particle that marks the sentence as hearsay (123–124). Direct quotes are given without any morphological marking (125–126). Directly reported speech can occur after the verb /ti/ 'say' (125) or before it (126).

(123) *hadi*   *ɾaw-bani*   *lama*   *bon*   *za-taɾ-ka*   ***ne***
rain   strong-because   way   block   be-ENTR-PRF   **QUOT**
'It is said that the road is blocked because of the heavy rain.'

(124) *mlaj*   *de*   *ɾaŋ*   *ɾi-taɾ-ka*   ***ne***
others   TOP   money   give-ENTR-PRF   **QUOT**
'It is said that the others have completed giving the money.'

(125) *mdaj*   *ti-ba*   *ham-ja*   *kusi*   *da-daŋ*
god   say-NF:IPFV   good-NEG   work   PROH-do
'God said, "Don't do evil deeds."'

(126) *amaj*   *ziŋ=ke*   *ti-ba*   *hadi=ha*   *da-taŋ*
mother   1PL=ACC   say-NF:IPFV   rain=LOC   PROH-go
'Mom told us, "Don't go out in the rain."'

5.13 Evidentiality, likelihood judgements, etc.

Indicators of evidentiality, judgements of likelihood, etc., are encoded in various ways within and after the verb phrase. The epistemic marker /naj/ indicates a judgement based on inference (127–128), and precedes tense-aspect marking in the verb complex (cf. §4.5.6).

(127) *i-bu*   *kusi=ke*   *bu*   *daŋ-**naj**-ba*
      PRX-DEM   work=ACC   3SG   work-**EPIS**-NF:IPFV
      'He might have done this work.'

(128) *baba*   *no=ha*   *so-paj-**naj**-ka*
      father   house=LOC   reach-come-**EPIS**-PRF
      'Dad might have reached home.'

When the speaker claims the existence of direct evidence, such as the sound of rain, the marker /laj/ can be used (129–131). This marker functions like an adverb, occurring before the verb complex, in which the verb is always /za/ 'be'; 'happen'.

(129) *hadi*   *ha-ma*   ***laj***   *za-du*
      rain(N)   rain(V)-PRSP **like** be-PIPFV
      'It seems like it's going to rain.'

(130) *mkam*   *min-ka*   ***laj***   *za-du*
      food   cooked-PRF **like** be-PIPFV
      'It seems like the food is ready.'

(131) *ziŋ*   *paj-ba=ha*   *de*   *baba*   *no=ha*
      1PL   come=NMLZ=LOC   TOP   father   house=LOC
      doŋ-ba   ***laj***   *za-ba*
      EXST-NF:IPFV **like** be-NF:IPFV
      'When we came, it seemed like Dad was in the house.'

Reporting an event or a discovery that is not expected (mirative) is communicated with the sentence final particle /da/ (132–134). The particle functions much like English "It turns out that…" (Scott Delancey, p.c.). The particle /da/ is also used when communicating information that the speaker knows, but the speaker thinks the listener doesn't know (134).

(132) *i-bu*   *la*   *baba=ni*   *gari*   *se*   ***da***
PRX-DEM   TOP   baba=GEN   car   TOP   **MIR₁**
'Oh, this is Dad's car.'

(133) *niŋ*   *paj-ka*   ***da***
2SG   come-PRF   **MIR₁**
'Oh, you've come.'

(134) *current*   *paj-ka*   ***da***
current   come-PRF   **MIR₁**
'The power is back on.'
(The speaker is presenting this information to the listener who had no idea that the power was back and had been waiting for it.)

Another marker that exhibits mirativity is /law/. The morpheme /law/ encodes shock or occurrence contrary to one's expectation; it encodes a greater degree of surprise than /da/. In example (135) the speaker expressed shock as the discussion had become more intense than he/she was expecting. However, in (136) the speaker is shocked as he/she wanted to know about a certain topic but realized that it's not being discussed.

(135) *gɾawtaj*   *bu-tu*   *la*   *bajni*   *de-daw*
discussion   DEM-PL   TOP   many   big-CMP
de-daw   *za-paj-ka*   ***law***
big-CMP   be-come-PRF   **MIR₂**
'The discussion has become much bigger and bigger.' (10-Jatropha)

(136) *bu*   *gɾawtaj*   *la*   *musi*   *bo*   *bajgo-ja*   ***law***
DEM   discussion   TOP   any   TOP   come.out-NEG   **MIR₂**
'(You) haven't mentioned anything about that topic.' (10-Jatropha)

Finally, the mirative marker /ti/ communicates that the speaker thinks the listener will be surprised by the new information.

(137) *ani*   *lugu*   *hono*   *la*   *daŋ-ja*   ***ti***
       1SG.GEN   friend   pig   TOP   work-NEG   **MIR₃**
       'My friend, Pig didn't even work.'

(138) *aŋ*   *la*   *ni-ja*   ***ti***   *bu*   *laj*   *za-si-si*
       1SG   TOP   COP-NEG   **MIR₃**   DEM   like   be-ADVB-ADVB
       'As for me, I'm not exactly like that.' (13-Ning Khakuyaba)

5.14   Summary

This chapter has focused on ways that noun phrases and verb phrases combine to form clauses. The latter part of the chapter identifies operations such as topicalization, quotatives and evidentiality that operate at the clause or utterance level.

Part II

Texts

Chapter VI: Introduction

In Part II, we present a selection of texts that are chosen to exemplify a range of genres. Each text is introduced with comments that highlight cultural and linguistic features of interest in the text. Texts are then presented by three lines of data (orthographic, morphological, and gloss), along with phrase-by-phrase translation. The first two texts are written historical texts, about heroic Dimasa individuals—Veer Samudhan Phonglo and Joy Bhodro Hagjer—from the British colonial period.

These are followed by one piece of traditional fiction, the folk tale of the dog and the pig. There are then three personal narratives, which help to preserve the memory of life in recent times. Then there are two pieces of contemporary written fiction.

One procedural discourse—how to prepare Gala Hon (bitter gourd with rice flour)—highlights grammatical differences in giving instructions, rather than reporting.

These are followed by several types of written discourse, including textbook-type information, as well as health recommendations, and news reports. There are several pieces of poetry and both a modern and a folk song. In the category of verbal play are two humorous stories about Asampha, who in stories is always the last one to understand what is happening. Finally, there are a few dozen proverbs with their explanations.

Chapter VII: Narratives

7.1   Historical-written

7.1.1   Veer Samudhan Phonglo

This biographical summary has some interesting grammatical structures. The structure of sentence (1.4) resembles subject-verb-object order, because it has a subject NP, followed by an existential verb, followed by topic marking, and then the list of names. The alternative structure would consist of the NP 'their names' followed by the list of names, and with no overt verb.

Sentence (1.5) is an example of superlative verb structure.

In sentence (2.1) the verb sequence /deba zuba/ functions as a lexical collocation 'grow up', rather than 'get bigger and get taller'.

Sentence (6.2) contains a euphemism for death, 'stepped into the afterlife and went away'.

Finally, the title 'Veer' that is applied to Sambudhan Phonglo comes from the Sanskrit word for 'brave'. It is a title applied to Sambudhan Phonglo by mainland Indians. The written composition is provided here with permission.

Veer Sambudhan Phonglo
– Moushumi Thaosen (Maibang) Haflong Govt. College

1.1

Veer Sambudhan Phonglo	*26th*	*February,*	*basain*	*Marbari,*
Veer Sambudhan Phonglo	26th	February	bsajn	marɓaɾi
PN	26th	February	day	Tuesday

1850	*maithai*	*ha*	*Maibang*	*rogong*	*ha*	*Longkhor*
1850	majtaj	ha₂	majbaŋ	ɾgoŋ	ha₂	loŋkoɾ
1850	year	LOC	PN	near	LOC	PN

nolai	*ha*	*hajaiba*
nolaj	ha₂	hazaj-ba
village	LOC	born-NF:IPFV

Veer Sambudhan Phonglo was born in the year 1850 on 26th February on Tuesday in the village of Longkhor near Maibang.

1.2

Buni	*bupha*	*ni*	*bumu*	*mungmajang*	*Dephrondao*	*Phonglo*	*odehe*
buni₂	bupa	ni₂	bumu	muŋmzaŋ	Dephrondao	poŋlo	odehe
3SG=GEN	father	GEN	name	beautiful.name	PN	clan.name	and

buma	*ni*	*bumu*	*Kathgaidi*	*Phonglo.*
buma	ni₂	bumu	Kathgaidi	poŋlo
mother	GEN	name	PN	clan.name

His father's name was Mr. Dephrondao Phonglo and mother's name was Kathgadi Phonglo.

1.3

Bunsi	*khrip*	*jang*	*khaplung*	*bonwa.*
bunsi	krip	zaŋ	kapluŋ	bonwa
3PL	all	COM	sibling	five

All of them together were five brothers.

1.4

Bunsi	*ni*	*bumu*	*jakha*	*de*	*Sambudhan,*
bunsi	ni₂	bumu	za-ka	de₁	Sambudhan
3PL	GEN	name	be-PRF	TOP	PN

Amakan,	*Ramring,*	*Ramakanta*	*odehe*	*Haisolung.*
Amakan	Ramring	Ramakanta	odehe	Haisolung
PN	PN	PN	and	PN

Their names are Sambudhan, Amakan, Ramring, Ramakanta and Haisolung.

1.5

Sambudhan	*khaplung*	*bonwa*	*ni*	*gizar*	*ha*	*radaothao*
Sambudhan	kapluŋ	bonwa	ni₂	gizar	ha₂	ra-daw₁-taw
PN	sibling	five	GEN	middle	LOC	old-CMP-SUP

Sambudhan was the eldest among the five brothers.

1.6

Gunjung	*ha*	*khisa*	*dongba*	*ni*	*yahon*
gunzuŋ	ha₂	kisa	doŋ-ba	ni₂	jahon
PN	LOC	a.little	EXST-NF:IPFV	GEN	after

ha	*Saopre*	*nolai*	*ha*	*thanglaba.*
ha₂	sawpre	nolaj	ha₂	taŋ-la-ba
LOC	PN	village	LOC	go-REFL₂-NF:IPFV

After living in Gunjung he set off for Saopre village.

2.1

Sambudhan	*Saopre*	*nolai*	*ha*	*ning*	*deba*	*juba,*
Sambudhan	sawpɾe	nolaj	ha₂	niŋ₂	de₂-ba	zu-ba
PN	PN	village	LOC	TOP	big-NF:IPFV	tall-NF:IPFV

naga	*jaba*	*odehe*	*khrip*	*jadi*	*khushi*	*ha*
naga	za-ba	odehe	kɾip	zadi	kusi	ha₂
young.man	be-NF:IPFV	and	all	type	work	LOC

bo	*bu*	*ning*	*hoja*	*ja*	*hi*	*baigoba.*
bo	bu	niŋ₂	hoza	za	hi	bajgo-ba
TOP	3SG	TOP	leader	be	SUCC	come.out-NF:IPFV

Sambudhan grew up and became a young man in Saopre village, and turned into a leader in all kinds of work.

2.2

Nolai	*ha*	*naga*	*hoja*	*ja*	*hi*	*Hangso Bishu*	*jiba.*
nolaj	ha₂	naga	hoza	za	hi	haŋso bisu	zi-ba
village	LOC	young.man	leader	be	SUCC	harvesting.festival	eat-NF:IPFV

(He) also celebrated the harvesting festival as the leader of the young men in the village.

2.3

Yahon	*ha*	*Saopre*	*nolai*	*nising*	*bunsi*	*nokhorshi*
jahon	ha₂	sawpɾe	nolaj	nisiŋ	bunsi	nokoɾ-si
after	LOC	PN	village	ABL	3PL	family-one

jang	*Semdikhor*	*(Semkhor)*	*nolai,*	*Mahur*	*rogong*	*ha*
zaŋ	semdikoɾ	semkoɾ	nolaj	mahuɾ	ɾgoŋ	ha₂
COM	PN	PN	village	PN	near	LOC

jaibu	*phin*	*hi*	*Sambudhan*	*Mungshridi*	*Nasaidi*	*jang*
zaj-bu	pin	hi	Sambudhan	muŋsɾidi	nasajdi	zaŋ
shift-atelic	repeat	SUCC	PN	Miss	PN	COM

no	*jaba.*
no	za-ba
marriage	be-NF:IPFV

After that, from Saopre, the whole family moved again, ending up in Semdikhor Village near Mahur and Sambudhan married Miss Nasaidi.

3.1

Sambudhan	*ansa*	*nising*	*ning*	*hamsi*	*ning*	*raobi*
Sambudhan	ansa	nisiŋ	niŋ₂	ham-si	niŋ₂	ɾaw-bi
PN	child	ABL	TOP	good-ADVB	TOP	strong-STAT

odehe	*baoba*	*thubi.*
odehe	baw=ba₂	tu-bi
and	think=NMLZ	deep-STAT

From childhood Sambudhan was strong and was a deep thinker.

3.2

Bu	*madai*	*Sibarai*	*khe*	*soware.*
bu	mdaj	sibaɾaj	ke	sowa-ɾe
3SG	God	a.Dimasa.god	ACC	worship-SIPFV

He used to worship God Sibarai.

3.3

Sambudhan	*guphusarao*	*ni*	*yawaithai*	*khe*	*jajaoya*	*hi*
Sambudhan	gpusa-ɾaw	ni₂	jawaj-taj₁	ke	za-zaw-ja	hi
PN	foreigner-PL	GEN	use=NMLZ	ACC	be-PSV-NEG	SUCC

odehe	*khalaophuya*	*hi*	*mashi*	*dol*	*khaba*	*odehe*
odehe	kalaw-pu-ja	hi	ma-si	dol	ka-ba	odehe
and	tolerate-POT-NEG	SUCC	CLF-one	group	form-NF:IPFV	and

guphusarao	*jang*	*jba*	*dainlaiba.*
gpusa-ɾaw	zaŋ	zba	dajnlaj-ba
foreigner-PL	COM	war	battle-NF:IPFV

Sambudhan didn't like the treatment by the British and not being able to tolerate them, he formed a group and battled with the British.

3.4

Buha	*Sambudhan*	*buni*	*dol*	*khe*	*sling*	*rima*	*ne*	*khlai*
buha₂	Sambudhan	buni₂	dol	ke	sling	ɾi-ma₁	ne₂	klaj
DEM=LOC	PN	3SG=GEN	group	ACC	learn	BEN-PRSP	DAT	do

hi	*Maibang*	*khe*	*bono*	*khalaiba.*
hi	majbaŋ	ke	bono	ka-laj-ba
SUCC	PN	ACC	headquarter	form-COLL-NF:IPFV

At that time Sambudhan formed a headquarters at Maibang to train his group.

3.5

Odehe	*bu*	*ni*	*dol*	*ni*	*bumu*	*khe*	*"Mdairao"*
odehe	bu	ni	dol	ni	bumu	ke	mdajɾaw
and	3SG	GEN	group	GEN	name	ACC	God-PL

thi	*hi*	*dengba*
ti	hi	deŋ-ba
say	SUCC	keep-NF:IPFV

And he christened his group's name as "Gods".

4.1

15th	*January*	*1882*	*maithai*	*ha,*	*Sambudhan*	*Phonglo*	*bu*
15th	January	1882	majtaj	ha₂	Sambudhan	poŋlo	bu
15th	January	1882	year	LOC	PN	clan.name	DEM

ni	*dol*	*khe*	*la*	*pha*	*hi*	*Gunjung*	*nolai*	*ha*
ni₂	dol	ke	la₁	pa	hi	gunzuŋ	nolaj	ha₂
GEN	group	ACC	take	APPL	SUCC	PN	village	LOC

guphusarao	*jang*	*dainlaiba.*
gpusa-ɾaw	zaŋ	dajnlaj-ba
foreigner-PL	COM	battle-NF:IPFV

In the year 1882, 15th January, Sambudhan Phonglo, taking along his group fought with the British in Gunjung village.

4.2

Bu	*ha*	*Guphusarao*	*ni*	*gedeba*	*ja*	*hi*
bu	ha₂	gpusa-ɾaw	ni₂	gde=ba₂	za	hi
DEM	LOC	foreigner-PL	GEN	big=NMLZ	be	SUCC

dongba	*Major*	*Boyd.*
doŋ-ba	Major	Boyd
EXST-NF:IPFV	PN	

At that time, the head of the British was Major Boyd.

5.1

Gunjung	*ha*	*Guphusarao*	*jang*	*dainlaibani*		*yahon*	*ha*	*Sambudhan*
gunzuŋ	ha₂	gpusa-ɾaw	zaŋ	dajnlaj=ba₂=ni₂		jahon	ha₂	Sambudhan
PN	LOC	foreigner-PL	COM	battle=NMLZ=GEN		after	LOC	PN

bunsi	*ni*	*nokhor*	*odehe*	*dol*	*khe*	*la*	*pha*	*hi*	*Cachar*
bunsi	ni₂	nokoɾ	odehe	dol	ke	la₁	pa	hi	Cachar
3PL	GEN	family	and	group	ACC	take	APPL	SUCC	PN

ha	*thanglaba.*
ha₂	taŋ-la-ba
LOC	go-REFL₂-NF:IPFV

After fighting with the British, Sambudhan took along his family and group to Cachar.

5.2

Odehe	*nolai*	*nolai*	*thang*	*phalang*
odehe	nolaj	nolaj	taŋ	palaŋ
and	village	village	go	along

hi	*dol*	*kha*	*phalangba.*
hi	dol	ka	palaŋ-ba
SUCC	group	form	along-NF:IPFV

And went along village by village forming groups along the way.

5.3

Sambudhan	*yahonthao*	*ha*	*bunsi*	*ni*	*nokhor*	*khe*
Sambudhan	jahon-taw	ha₂	bunsi	ni₂	nokoɾ	ke
PN	after-SUP	LOC	3PL	GEN	family	ACC

Egraling	*nolai*	*ha*	*(Khaspur*	*rogong*	*ha)*	*deng*
eɡɾaliŋ	nolaj	ha₂	kaspuɾ	ɾgoŋ	ha₂	deŋ
PN	village	LOC	PN	near	LOC	keep

hi,	*bu*	*buni*	*dolkhe*	*la*	*pha*	*hi*
hi	bu	buni₂	dolke	la₁	pa	hi
SUCC	3SG	3SG=GEN	group=ACC	take	APPL	SUCC

Bhuban	*hading*	*ha*	*donghiba.*
Bhuban	hadiŋ	ha₂	doŋ-hi-ba
PN	hill	LOC	EXST-TRNS.LOC-NF:IPFV

At the last stage, Sambudhan, keeping his family in Egraling village, near Khaspur, took along his group and stayed in the Bhuban hills.

5.4

Yahon	ha	12th	February	basain	Simbari,	1883	maithai	ha
jahon	ha₂	12th	February	bsajn	simbari	1883	majtaj	ha₂
after	LOC	12th	February	day	Monday	1883	year	LOC

Sambudhan	jar	ni	buma	bupha	dongyaba	Egraling	nolai	ha
Sambudhan	zaɾ	ni₂	buma	bupa	doŋ=jaba	eɡɾaliŋ	nolaj	ha₂
PN		REFL	GEN	mother	father	EXST=REL	PN		village	LOC

phaiba	ha	guphusarao	jang	dainthaijaoba.
paj-ba	ha₂	gpusa-ɾaw	zaŋ	dajn-taj₂-zaw-ba
come-NF:IPFV	LOC	foreigner-PL	COM	cut-kill-PSV-NF:IPFV

Later, in the year 1883 on Monday the 12th of February, Sambudhan was killed by the British while he was visiting his parents in Egraling village.

6.1

Sambudhan	dambra	gaba	ni	yahon	ha	bu	ni	nobrajik
Sambudhan	dambɾa	ga=ba₂	ni₂	jahon	ha₂	bu	ni₂	nobɾazik
PN	after.life	step=NMLZ	GEN	after	LOC	3SG	GEN	wife

Nasaidi,	bisik	Duridi	khe,	labu	hi	Dima Hasao	ni
nasajdi	bsik	duɾidi	ke	labu	hi	dima hasaw	ni₂
PN	daughter	PN	ACC	bring	SUCC	PN	GEN

Longma	nolai	ha	phai	phinlaba.
loŋma	nolaj	ha₂	paj	pin-la-ba
PN	village	LOC	come	return-REFL₂-NF:IPFV

After Sambudhan died, his wife Nasaidi returned to Dima Hasao's Longma village bringing his daughter Duridi.

6.2

Buni	yahon	ha	Nasaidi	1928	maithai	ha	dambra	ga
buni₂	jahon	ha₂	nasajdi	1928	majtaj	ha₂	dambɾa	ga
DEM=GEN	after	LOC	PN	1928	year	LOC	after.life	step

hi	thanglaba.
hi	taŋ-la-ba
SUCC	go-REFL₂-NF:IPFV

After that, in the year 1928 Nasaidi stepped into the afterlife and went away. (died)

7

Jini	*ibu*	*Veer Sambudhan Phonglo*	*guphusarao*	*jang*
ziŋni$_2$	i-bu	Veer Sambudhan poŋlo	gpusa-ɽaw	zaŋ
1PL=GEN	PRX-DEM	PN	foreigner-PL	COM

jba	*dainlai*	*hi*	*Dimasa*	*ni*	*basao*	*ha*
zba	dajnlaj	hi	dimasa	ni$_2$	bsaw	ha$_2$
war	battle	SUCC	PN	GEN	above	LOC

majangsisi	*wainsoma*	*galangkha*
mzaŋ-si-si	wajnso=ma$_1$	galaŋ-ka
beautiful-ADVB-ADVB	remember=NMLZ	leave.behind-PRF

Our Veer Sambudhan Phonglo left behind on Dimasas the beautiful memories of his fighting the British.

7.1.2 Joy Bhodro Hagjer

Use of prospective marking /-ma/ in sentence (1.2), in the midst of a historical sequence of events, shows why /-ma/ is analyzed as prospective aspect, rather than as future tense, contrary to earlier studies.

Sentence (2.6) shows that serial verbs may be arranged in a sequence.

Finally, the nominal use of "minor pass" and "matric pass" show that borrowings are often treated as nouns; in both cases, the English phrase occurs as the object of its matrix verb.

This written biographical sketch is provided here by permission.

Joy Bhodro Hagjer
Source – (Ani Grao – 3) A Dimasa Language Primer For Beginners Editor –
Dimasa Sahitya Sabha Publisher – Primary Education Department –
Dima Hasao Autonomous Council, Haflong.

1.1

Gedema	*Joy Bhodro Hagjer*	*saoshi*	*Dimasani*
gdema	Joy Bhodro Hagjer	saw$_1$-si	dimasani$_2$
respected.person	PN	CLF:human-one	PN=GEN

hoja	*dongba.*
hoza	doŋ-ba
leader	EXST-NF:IPFV

Respected Joy Bhodro was a Dimasa leader.

1.2

Bu	*khe*	*"hoja"*	*jama*	*ne*	*ning*	*hajaiba*	*thiphudu.*
bu	ke	hoza	za-ma$_1$	ne$_1$	niŋ$_2$	hazaj-ba	ti$_1$-pu-du
3SG	ACC	leader	be-PRSP	DAT	TOP	born-NF:IPFV	say-POT-PIPFV

It can be said that he was born to be a leader.

2.1

Joy Bhodro Hagjer	*Hasao*	*raji*	*ni*	*Nanadisa*	*nolai*	*ha*	*1914*
Joy Bhodro Hagjer	hasaw	ɾazi	ni$_2$	nanadisa	nolaj	ha$_2$	1914
PN	hill.region	society	GEN	PN	village	LOC	1914

maithai	*ni*	*2nd*	*April*	*sainrili*	*ha*	*hajaiba.*
majtaj	ni$_2$	2nd	April	sajnɾili	ha$_2$	hazaj-ba
year	GEN	2nd	April	noon	LOC	born-NF:IPFV

Joy Bhodro Hagjer was born in Hasao area's Nanadisa village in the year 1914 2nd April at noon.

2.2

Bu	*ni*	*bupha*	*ni*	*bumu*	*Haisoram*	*Hagjer*
bu	ni$_2$	bupa	ni$_2$	bumu	Haisoram	hagzeɾ
3SG	GEN	father	GEN	name	PN	clan.name

ode	*buma*	*ni*	*bumu*	*Ringlaidi.*
ode	buma	ni$_2$	bumu	Ringlaidi
and	mother	GEN	name	PN

His father's name was Haisoram Hagjer and mother's name Ringlaidi.

2.3

Gedema	*Hagjer*	*ansa*	*niprang*	*laishi*	*phuriba*	*jgapbi.*
gdema	hagzeɾ	ansa	nipɾaŋ	lajsi	puɾi-ba	zgap-bi
respected.person	clan.name	child	ABL	book	study-NF:IPFV	keen-STAT

Respected Hagjer was keen on studying from childhood.

2.4

Bu	*ni*	*somoi*	*ha*	*Nanadisa*	*ha*	*phurikho*	*girikho.*
bu	ni$_2$	somoj	ha$_2$	nanadisa	ha$_2$	puɾiko	giɾi-ko
3SG	GEN	time (IA)	LOC	PN	LOC	school	INEXST-DPROG

There wasn't any school in Nanadisa yet in his time.

2.5

Ode	*bani*	*Hagjer,*	*Haflong Mission*		*she*	*phuriba.*
ode	bani	haɡzeɾ	Haflong Mission School		se₁	puɾi-ba
and	therefore	clan.name	PN		TOP	study-NF:IPFV

Because of that Hagjer studied in Haflong Mission School.

2.6

Haflong Mission School	*ha*	*phuriba*	*ha*	*jar*	*shong*
Haflong Mission School	ha₂	puɾi=ba₂	ha₂	zaɾ	soŋ
PN	LOC	study=NMLZ	LOC	REFL	stand

jiba	*khu*	*jiba.*
zi-ba	ku	zi-ba
eat-NF:IPFV	serve	eat-NF:IPFV

While studying in Haflong Mission School he cooked and ate all by himself (because he couldn't be with his family).

2.7

Bu	*school*	*niprang*	*minor*	*pass*	*khlai*	*hi*	*Shillong Government*
bu	school	nipɾaŋ	minor	pass	klaj	hi	Shillong Government
DEM	school	ABL	minor	pass	do	SUCC	PN

High School	*ha*	*phuriba.*
High School	ha₂	puɾi-ba
	LOC	study-NF:IPFV

After graduating minor (10th standard) from that school he studied in Shillong Government High School.

2.8

Bu	*school*	*niprang*	*first*	*division*	*ha*	*matric*	*pass*	*khlaiba.*
bu	school	nipɾaŋ	first	division	ha₂	matric	pass	klaj-ba
3SG	school	ABL	first	division	LOC	matriculation	pass	do-NF:IPFV

He graduated matriculation (10th standard) from school with first division.

2.9

Yahon	*ha*	*bu*	*Sylhet*	*ni*	*(duha*	*Bangladesh)*	*Morari Chand College*
jahon	ha₂	bu	Sylhet	ni₂	duha	Bangladesh	Morari Chand College
after	LOC	3SG	PN	GEN	now	PN	PN

ha	*phuriba.*
ha₂	puɾi-ba
LOC	study-NF:IPFV

After that, he studied in Sylhet's (now Bangladesh) Morari Chand College.

2.10

Bu	*college*	*niprang*	*ning*	*"Honors"*	*mai*	*hi*	*BA*
bu	college	nipɾaŋ	niŋ₂	Honors	maj	hi	BA
DEM	college	ABL	TOP	honors	rice	SUCC	bachelor.of.arts

pass	*khlaiba.*
pass	klaj-ba
pass	do-NF:IPFV

From that college (he) graduated with honors in Bachelor of Arts.

2.11

Hasao	*raji*	*ha*	*bu*	*ning*	*BA*	*pass*	*jajenba.*
hasaw	ɾazi	ha₂	bu	niŋ₂	BA	pass	za-zen-ba
hill.region	society	LOC	3SG	TOP	bachelor.of.arts	pass	be-start-NF:IPFV

From the Hasao district, he was the first one to earn Bachelor of Arts.

3.1

Gedema	*Hagjer*	*laishi*	*phuriba*	*haigerba*	*ni*	*yahon*	*ha*
gdema	hagzeɾ	lajsi	puɾi-ba	hajgeɾ=ba₂	ni₂	jahon	ha₂
respected.person	clan.name	book	study-NF:IPFV	leave=NMLZ	GEN	after	LOC

jar	*ni*	*hathani*	*ode*	*somaj*	*ni*	*baini*	*khusi*	*dangkha.*
zaɾ	ni₂	hatan	ode	somaz	ni₂	bajni	kusi	daŋ-ka
REFL	GEN	place.of.dwelling	and	society (IA)	GEN	many	work	do-PRF

After leaving his studies, respected Hagjer did a lot of work for his place and society.

3.2

Bupha	*thiba*	*ni*	*yahon*	*ha*	*Hagjer*
bupa	ti_1=ba_2	ni_2	jahon	ha_2	hagzeɾ
father	die=NMLZ	GEN	after	LOC	clan.name

Haflong	*haphai*	*ni*	*Mouzari*	*jaba.*
hafloŋ	hapaj	ni_2	Mouzari	za-ba
PN	area	GEN	area.officer (IA)	be-NF:IPFV

After his father's death, Hagjer served as the Mouzari of the Haflong area.

4.1

Bu	*somoi*	*ha*	*guphusarao*	*Dimasarao*	*khe*	*coolie*	*remlangre.*
bu	somoj	ha_2	gpusa-ɾaw	dimasa-ɾaw	ke	coolie	ɾem-laŋ-ɾe
DEM	time (IA)	LOC	foreigner-PL	PN-PL	ACC	coolie	hold-take-SIPFV

At that time the British would capture Dimasas to be coolies and take them away.

4.2

Bu	*ha*	*Hagjer*	*gasobamu*		*thikha*	*bo*	*bu*	*khe*
bu	ha_2	hagzeɾ	ga-so-ba-mu		tika	bo	bu	ke
DEM	LOC	clan.name	step-in.between-NF:IPFV-SBJV		if	TOP	3SG	ACC

"Defence of India Rule"	*dara*	*ha*	*rem*	*hi*	*jail*	*ha*	*jebba.*
Defence of India Rule	daɾa	ha_2	ɾem	hi	jail	ha_2	zep-ba
PN	rules	LOC	hold	SUCC	jail	LOC	lock.up-NF:IPFV

At that time, Hagjer intervened but he was caught and jailed under the Defence of India Rule.

4.3

Buni	*Mouzari*	*khusi*	*bo*	*giri*	*langlaba.*
$buni_2$	Mouzari	kusi	bo	giɾi	laŋ-la-ba
3SG=GEN	area.officer (IA)	work	TOP	INEXST	away-REFL$_2$-NF:IPFV

His Mouzari position was also taken away.

5.1

1944	*maithai*	*ha*	*Indian Air Forceha*	*sergeant*	*ja*	*hi*
1944	majtaj	ha₂	Indian Air Forceha₂	sergeant	za	hi
1944	year	LOC	PN=LOC	sergeant	be	SUCC

Ambala	*ha*	*donghiba.*
Ambala	ha₂	doŋ-hi-ba
PN	LOC	EXST-TRNS.LOC-NF:IPFV

In the year 1944, he worked as a sergeant in the Indian Air Force at Ambala.

5.2

Thikha	*bo,*	*desh*	*swadhin*	*jaba*	*ni*	*yahon*	*ha*
tika	bo	desh	swadhin	za=ba₂	ni₂	jahon	ha₂
if	TOP	country (IA)	freedom (IA)	be=NMLZ	GEN	after	LOC

hathani	*ni*	*khusi*	*dangma*	*bao*	*hi*	*1947*
hatan	ni₂	kusi	daŋ-ma₁	baw	hi	1947
place.of.dwelling	GEN	work	do-PRSP	think	SUCC	1947

ha	*sergeant*	*khusi*	*haiger*	*hi*	*phailaba.*
ha₂	sergeant	kusi	hajɾeɾ	hi	paj-la-ba
LOC	sergeant	work	leave	SUCC	come-REFL₂-NF:IPFV

But after the independence of the country, he left his work as a sergeant in 1947, and returned to work for his place (Dimasa region).

6.1

Gedema	*Hagjer*	*hathani*	*ni*	*khusi*	*dangma*
gdema	hagzeɾ	hatan	ni₂	kusi	daŋ-ma₁
respected.person	clan.name	place.of.dwelling	GEN	work	do-PRSP

thi	*dada*	*rajniti*	*ha*	*haba*	*shongkha.*
ti₁	dda	rajniti	ha₂	haba	soŋ-ka
say	NF	politics	LOC	work	stand-PRF

Saying that he would work for his place respected Hagjer took a stand in politics.

6.2

Ode	*blaiba*	*lai*	*lai*	*hathani*	*ni*	*khusi*	*bo*	*dangkha.*
ode	blaj=ba₂	laj₁	laj₁	hatan	ni₂	kusi	bo	daŋ-ka
and	able=NMLZ	like	like	place.of.dwelling	GEN	work	TOP	do-PRF

And as much as possible he also worked for his place.

7.1

Gedema	Hagjer	Hasao	raji	ni	District Council	ha
ɡdema	haɡzeɾ	hasaw	ɾazi	ni₂	District Council	ha₂
respected.person	clan.name	hill.region	society	GEN	district.council	LOC

Executive Member	bo	jakha.
Executive Member	bo	za-ka
executive.member	TOP	be-PRF

Respected Hagjer also became the Executive Member of the District Council.

7.2

Bu	ni	yahon	ha	1958	nising	1962	sosi	Delhi
bu	ni₂	jahon	ha₂	1958	nisiŋ	1962	so-si	Delhi
DEM	GEN	after	LOC	1958	ABL	1962	reach-COND	PN

ni	Rajya Sabha	member	jaba.
ni₂	Rajya Sabha	member	za-ba
GEN	Rajya.Sabha	member	be-NF:IPFV

After that, he also became a member of Delhi's Rajya Sabha from 1958 to 1962.

7.3

Bu	Assam	ni	Education	Minister,	Tribal Areas Development
bu	Assam	ni₂	Education	Minister	Tribal Areas Development
3SG	PN	GEN	education	minister	Tribal Areas Development

Minister	bo	jakha.
Minister	bo	za-ka
minister	TOP	be-PRF

He also became Assam's Education Minister and the Tribal Areas Development Minister.

8.1

Mungmjang	Hagjer	1973	maithai	ni	July	badain	18	basain
muŋmzaŋ	haɡzeɾ	1973	majtaj	ni₂	July	bdajn	18	bsajn
beautiful.name	clan.name	1973	year	GEN	July	month	18	day

ha	Guwahati	ha	thiba.
ha₂	Guwahati	ha₂	ti₁-ba
LOC	PN	LOC	die-NF:IPFV

Respected Hagjer died in the year 1973, in the month of July, on the 18th day in Guwahati.

8.2

Gedema	Hagjer	khe	Hasao	Raji	ni
gdema	hagzeɾ	ke	hasaw	ɾazi	ni₂
respected.person	clan.name	ACC	hill.region	society	GEN

Gandhi	thiphudu.
Gandhi	ti₁-pu-du
PN	say-POT-PIPFV

Respected Hagjer can be called the Gandhi of Hasao district.

7.2   Traditional-fiction

7.2.1   The dog and the pig / Sisha jang Hono phdain danglaiba

This written version of a traditional story is presented here with permission. The text displays both grammatical and cultural tidbits. The Dimasa people practice wet cultivation for rice, and also jhum (slash-and-burn) agriculture. The latter type of agriculture is described here, first in sentence (2.5), where the pig, without benefit of tools, uses his nose to turn the soil and break up clods. Later, the dog summarizes many of the steps of jhum in (5.5) and (5.6).

The reader may wonder why the old man calls the dog 'grandfather' (6.1). It is a mark of intimacy in Dimasa culture for the older member of the relational pair to address the younger member with his/her own form of address; hence, /azu/ 'grandfather'.

In (2.2) and later sentences we see serial verbs with /palaŋ/ 'go.along' as the second verb. This verb does not occur as an independent matrix verb. However, it is not classified as a bound serial verb because it productively combines with any semantically reasonable verb. It functions rather like an adverbial auxiliary verb.

In (2.11), the dog ends the sentence with the cohortative verb /ta/, 'let us'. Structurally, this appears to be an auxiliary, but it can also occur as a free-standing utterance; e.g., as an answer to a question, such as "Shall we go?"

Sisha jang Hono phadain danglaiba
Source – (Ahni Grao – 5) A Dimasa Language Primer For Beginners Editor – Dimasa Sahitya Sabha Publisher – Primary Education Department – Dima Hasao Autonomous Council, Haflong.

1.1

Nolai	mashi	ha	grasa	grajik,	shiaigin	dongba.
nolaj	ma-si	ha₂	gɾasa	gɾazik	siajgin	doŋ-ba
village	CLF-one	LOC	old.man	old.woman	couple	EXST-NF:IPFV

There was an old man and old woman in a village.

1.2

Bunsi	*sisha*	*mashi*	*hono*	*mashi*	*khrangba.*
bunsi	sisa	ma-si	hono	ma-si	kraŋ-ba
3PL	dog	CLF-one	pig	CLF-one	rear-NF:IPFV

They reared a dog and a pig.

1.3

Bunsi	*sisha*	*jang*	*hono*	*khe*	*phadain*	*dang*	*ri*	*bani*
bunsi	sisa	zaŋ	hono	ke	pdajn	daŋ	ɾi	bani
3PL	dog	COM	pig	ACC	field	do	CAUS₂	therefore

Because they made the dog and the pig work in the field,

1.4

nalai	*bo*	*phrong*	*ha*	*mogong*	*samlai*	*shong*	*hi*	*makham*
nalaj	bo	pɾoŋ	ha₂	mgoŋ	samlaj	soŋ	hi	mkam
every.day	TOP	morning	LOC	meat	curry	cook	SUCC	food

ji	*rire*	*ode*	*phadain*	*ha*	*haihare.*
zi	ɾi-ɾe	ode	pdajn	ha₂	haj-ha-ɾe
eat	CAUS₂-SIPFV	and	field	LOC	send-TRNS.LOC-SIPFV

(they) would cook curry and meat every morning, feed them food and send them to the field.

2.1

Bu	*magin*	*phadain*	*ha*	*thangsmaire,*
bu	ma-gin	pdajn	ha₂	taŋ-smaj-ɾe
DEM	CLF-two	field	LOC	go-together-SIPFV

They would go to the field together,

2.2

thikha	*bo*	*go*	*sisha*	*la*	*sisha*	*ni*	*baishi.*
tika	bo	go	sisa	la₂	sisa	ni₂	bajsi
if	TOP	DEM	dog	TOP	dog	GEN	habit

but the dog would have a dog's habits.

2.3

Phadain	*ha*	*sohikha*		*ning*	*su su*	*daodingbaima,*
pdajn	ha₂	so-hi-ka		niŋ₂	su su	dawdiŋ-baj-ma₁
field	LOC	reach-TRNS.LOC-PRF		TOP	ONP	go.around-without.intent-PRSP

hagra	*rogoma,*	*midimsu*	*phalangma,*	*ega*	*dikhu*
hagɾa	ɾgo-ma₁	mdimsu	palaŋ-ma₁	ega	di-ku
jungle	loiter-PRSP	smell	along-PRSP	leg	carry-upwards

hi	*sidiphrama.*
hi	sidi-pɾa-ma₁
SUCC	urinate-spray-PRSP

As soon as (the dog) reached the field, it would go around loitering in the jungle, would go sniffing around, and would lift up his leg and urinate.

2.4

Ode	*shining*	*thaoyakho,*		*hagra*	*bongra*	*rogo*	*phalangma,*
ode	siniŋ	taw₂-ja-ko		hagɾa	bongɾa	ɾgo	palaŋ-ma₁
and	only	stop-NEG-DPROG		jungle	old.woods	loiter	along-PRSP

muru	*mosrong*	*jang*	*goronlaima*		*wailaima*
muɾu	msɾoŋ	zaŋ	goɾon-laj-ma₁		waj-laj-ma₁
civet	fox	COM	meet-COLL-PRSP		bite-RECP-PRSP

Not only that, it would loiter along in the jungle and fight with civets and foxes.

2.5

Ulai	*jabai*		*hi*	*ning*	*sainshi*	*ni*	*sain*	*phlaima.*
u-laj₁	za-baj		hi	niŋ₂	sajn-si	ni₂	sajn	plaj-ma₁
DIST-like	be-without.intent		SUCC	TOP	day-one	GEN	day	finish-PRSP

By doing that it would wrap up one day.

2.6

Hono	*de*	*khasaosi*	*sainsong*	*phadain*	*ha*	*min min*	*jashi*
hono	de₁	kasaw-si	sajnsoŋ	pdajn	ha₂	min min	za-si
pig	TOP	pity-ADVB	whole.day	field	LOC	ONP	be-COND

ha	*lungkhuma*	*lungkhlaima.*
ha₁	luŋ-ku-ma₁	luŋ-klaj-ma₁
land	root-upwards-PRSP	root-downwards-PRSP

The pitiful pig would work all day turning the soil over by rooting (preparing it for cultivation).

2.7

Sainshi	*ni*	*haba*	*garbli*	*jakha*	*ning*	*sisha*
sajn-si	ni$_2$	haba	gaɾbli	za-ka	niŋ$_2$	sisa
day-one	GEN	work	time.to.leave	happen-PRF	TOP	dog

phaima,	*hono*	*ha*	*lungkhuyaba*	*khe*	*ga*	*phlema*
paj-ma$_1$	hono	ha$_1$	luŋ-ku=jaba	ke	ga	ple-ma$_1$
come-PRSP	pig	land	root-upwards=REL	ACC	step	tramp-PRSP

ode	*yagain*	*deng*	*langma.*
ode	jagajn	deŋ	laŋ-ma$_1$
and	foot.print	keep	away-PRSP

When it would be time to leave the day's work, the dog would trample the field that was rooted by the pig and leave behind footprints.

2.8

Haba	*gar*	*hi*	*phaiba*	*ha*	*sisha*	*ning*	*no*
haba	gaɾ	hi	paj=ba$_2$	ha$_2$	sisa	niŋ$_2$	no
work	leave	SUCC	come=NMLZ	LOC	dog	TOP	house

ha	*skang*	*sohidama*
ha$_2$	skaŋ	so-hi-da-ma$_1$
LOC	before	reach-TRNS.LOC-firstly-PRSP

When leaving the work, the dog would reach home first,

2.9

ode	*grasa*	*khe*	*thima,*	*"Aju,*	*ang*	*de*	*so*	*phaikha.*
ode	gɾasa	ke	ti$_1$-ma$_1$	azu	aŋ	de$_1$	so	paj-ka
and	old.man	ACC	say-PRSP	grandfather	1SG	TOP	reach	come-PRF

and tell the old man, "Grandfather, I have reached.

2.10

Hono	*de*	*yahon*	*yahon*	*phaidu.*
hono	de$_1$	jahon	jahon	paj-du
pig	TOP	behind	behind	come-PIPFV

Pig is coming behind.

2.11

Ani	*lugu*	*hono*	*la*	*dang*	*ning*	*dangya*	*thi.*
aŋ=ni$_2$	lugu	hono	la$_2$	daŋ	niŋ$_2$	daŋ-ja	ti$_2$
1SG=GEN	friend	pig	TOP	work	TOP	do-NEG	MIR$_3$

As for my friend Pig, he doesn't even work.

2.12

Lonyakha	*de*	*du*	*bo*	*nai*	*tha.*
lon-ja-ka	de$_1$	du	bo	naj	ta$_2$
believe-NEG-PRF	TOP	now	TOP	look	let's

If you don't believe me, then you can go and see even now.

2.13

Phadain	*ha*	*ani*	*yagain*	*gaja*	*nunang.*
pdajn	ha$_2$	aŋ=ni$_2$	jagajn	gza	nu-naŋ
field	LOC	1SG=GEN	foot.print	only	see-CMM

You'll only see my footprints.

2.14

Hono	*ni*	*de*	*musi*	*daogari*	*giri."*
hono	ni$_2$	de$_1$	musi	dawgaɾi	giɾi
pig	GEN	TOP	nothing	sign	INEXST

There's no sign of the pig's work."

2.15

Sainshikhali		*sisha*	*sainthiyaba*	*grao*	*khe*	*alga*
sajn-si-kali		sisa	sajnti=jaba	gɾaw	ke	alga
day-one-particular.day		dog	recount=REL	word	ACC	beside

niprang	*khana*	*hi*	*hono*	*kha*	*dukhu*	*nangkha.*
nipɾaŋ	kna	hi	hono	ka	duku	naŋ-ka
ABL	listen	SUCC	pig	heart	hurt	touch-PRF

One day, the pig heard the dog recounting the story from the side and felt hurt.

2.16

Odehe	*kha*	*bising*	*bising*	*thilakha,*	*"Sain*	*khe*	*sain*
odehe	ka	bisiŋ	bisiŋ	ti₁-la-ka	sajn	ke	sajn
and	heart	inside	inside	say-REFL₂-PRF	day	ACC	day

thiya	*hi,*	*hadzi*	*khe*	*hadzi*	*thiya*	*hi,*	*hathai*
ti₁-ja	hi	hadi	ke	hadi	ti₁-ja	hi	hataj
say-NEG	SUCC	rain	ACC	rain	say-NEG	SUCC	tooth

maosi,	*hajik*	*baisi*	*dangyaba*	*khe*	*bumu*	*khmakha.*
maw-si	hazik	baj-si	daŋ=jaba	ke	bumu	kma-ka
move-COND	hill	break-COND	do=REL	ACC	name	lose-PRF

And thought in his heart, "Not calling the sun as sun, not calling the rain as rain; (he) has spoiled the name of one who works until (his) tooth moves and the mountain breaks.

2.17

Khrosao	*ni*	*madairao*	*gibi*	*mosol*	*nuladu.*
kɾosaw	ni₂	mdaj-ɾaw	gibi	mosol	nu-la-du
head.above	GEN	God-PL	truth	false	see-REFL₂-PIPFV

The Gods above our heads see the truth and the lie for themselves.

2.18

Busi	*ning*	*nailanang."*
busi	niŋ₂	naj-la-naŋ
3PL	TOP	look-REFL₂-CMM

They will look after it themselves."

3.1

Haba	*garbli*	*jakha*	*ning*	*sisha*	*skang*	*skang*	*phai*
haba	gaɾbli	za-ka	niŋ₂	sisa	skaŋ	skaŋ	paj
work	time.to.leave	happen-PRF	TOP	dog	before	before	come

dada	*hono*	*khusi*	*dangya*	*thihi*	*grasa*	*ne*	*thi*	*sing*	*phaire.*
dda	hono	kusi	daŋ-ja	tihi	gɾasa	ne₁	ti₁	siŋ	paj-ɾe
NF	pig	work	do-NEG	that	old.man	DAT	say	inward	come-SIPFV

As soon as it's time to leave, the dog would go ahead and complain to the old man that the pig didn't work.

3.2

Thikha	*bo*	*grasa*	*hamsi*	*lon*	*singya.*
tika	bo	gɾasa	ham-si	lon	siŋ-ja
if	TOP	old.man	good-ADVB	believe	inward-NEG

But the old man didn't believe (the dog) entirely.

3.3

"Sisha	*de*	*sisha*	*se.*
sisa	de$_1$	sisa	se$_1$
dog	TOP	dog	TOP

"A dog is a dog.

3.4

Sisha	*ni*	*jathai*	*khe*	*mithidu.*
sisa	ni$_2$	za-taj$_1$	ke	miti-du
dog	GEN	be=NMLZ	ACC	know-PIPFV

Dog's behavior is known.

3.5

Gibi	*mosol*	*dakhna*	*phrik*	*phrik*	*naihinang",*		*baokha.*
gibi	mosol	dakna	pɾik	pɾik	naj-hi-naŋ		baw-ka
truth	false	tomorrow	quiet	quiet	look-TRNS.LOC-CMM		think-PRF

True or false, (I'll) quietly go and see tomorrow," the old man thought.

3.6

Nokha	*nai*	*hi*	*nalai*	*lai*	*ning*	*makham*	*ji*
noka	naj	hi	nalaj	laj$_1$	niŋ$_2$	mkam	zi
morning	look	SUCC	every.day	like	TOP	food	eat

ri	*hi*	*bu*	*magin*	*khe*	*phadain*	*ha*	*haihakha.*
ɾi	hi	bu	ma-gin	ke	pdajn	ha$_2$	haj-ha-ka
CAUS$_2$	SUCC	DEM	CLF-two	ACC	field	LOC	send-TRNS.LOC-PRF

In the morning, like every day, the two were fed food and sent to the field.

4.1

Ukhali		*ning*	*sainjer*	*ja*	*hi*	*grasa*
u-kali		niŋ₂	sajnzɾ	za	hi	grasa
DIST-particular.day		TOP	noon	happen	SUCC	old.man

phadain	*ha*	*sohikha*
pdajn	ha₂	so-hi-ka
field	LOC	reach-TRNS.LOC-PRF

On that very day, after noon the old man reached the field,

4.2

ode	*bijing*	*ha*	*thim*	*hi*	*bunsi*	*ni*
ode	biziŋ	ha₂	tim	hi	bunsi	ni₂
and	edge	LOC	hide	SUCC	3PL	GEN

jathai	*khe*	*nai*	*hi*	*dongkha.*
za-taj₁	ke	naj	hi	doŋ-ka
be=NMLZ	ACC	look	SUCC	EXST-PRF

and hid on the edge watching their behavior.

4.3

Bu	*grasa*	*hono*	*ha*	*lungkhu*	*lungkhlai*
bu	grasa	hono	ha₁	luŋ-ku	luŋ-klaj
DEM	old.man	pig	land	root-upwards	root-downwards

min	*min*	*khlaiba*	*nukha.*
min	min	klaj=ba₂	nu-ka
ONP		do=NMLZ	see-PRF

The old man saw the pig rooting up and down the field (to harrow it).

4.4

Hono	*ha*	*lungkhu*	*blaiba*	*jang*
hono	ha₁	luŋ-ku	blaj=ba₂	zaŋ
pig	land	root-upwards	complete=NMLZ	COM

As soon as the pig finished rooting the land,

4.5

bu	*sisha*	*brabai*	*niprang*	*phai*	*dada*	*hono*
bu	sisa	bɾabaj	nipɾaŋ	paj	dda	hono
DEM	dog	somewhere	ABL	come	NF	pig

lungyaba	*ha*	*basao*	*basao*	*ga*	*phleba*	*nukha.*
luŋ=jaba	ha₁	bsaw	bsaw	ga	ple-ba	nu-ka
root=REL	land	above	above	step	tramp-NF:IPFV	see-PRF

(the old man) saw the dog coming from somewhere trampling over the land harrowed by the pig.

4.6

Grasa	*baokha,*	*"Ibu*	*sisha*	*gabang*	*ning*	*grik*	*bangkha.*
gɾasa	baw-ka	i-bu	sisa	gbaŋ	niŋ	gɾik	baŋ-ka
old.man	think-PRF	PRX-DEM	dog	much	TOP	clever	be.much-PRF

The old man thought, "It's too much that this dog is too clever.

4.7

Grik	*bangyaba*	*khe*	*ang*	*hamsisi*	*thik*	*khlainang."*
gɾik	baŋ=jaba	ke	aŋ	ham-si-si	tik	klaj-naŋ
clever	be.much=REL	ACC	1SG	good-ADVB-ADVB	alright	do-CMM

I'll properly correct the too clever one."

4.8

Grasa	*hono*	*khe*	*khasaosisi*	*jajaokha.*
gɾasa	hono	ke	kasaw-si-si	za-zaw-ka
old.man	pig	ACC	pity-ADVB-ADVB	be-PSV-PRF

The old man felt bad for the pig.

4.9

Bu	*grasa*	*lamai lamai*	*gebre*	*gebre*	*no*	*ha*	*phai*	*phinlakha.*
bu	gɾasa	lamaj lamaj	gebɾe	gebɾe	no	ha₂	paj	pin-la-ka
DEM	old.man	immediately	hurry	hurry	house	LOC	come	return-REFL-PRF

The old man immediately returned home in a hurry.

5.1

Khisa	*yahon*	*ha*	*sisha*	*jang*	*hono*	*yahon*	*skang*	*so*	*phailaikha.*
kisa	jahon	ha₂	sisa	zaŋ	hono	jahon	skaŋ	so	paj-laj-ka
a.little	after	LOC	dog	COM	pig	after	before	reach	come-COLL-PRF

After sometime the dog and the pig reached home one after the other.

5.2

Skang	*so*	*phai*	*hi*	*nalai*	*lai*	*ning*
skaŋ	so	paj	hi	nalaj	laj₁	niŋ₂
before	reach	come	SUCC	every.day	like	TOP

sisha	*grasa*	*khe*	*thikha,*
sisa	gɾasa	ke	ti₁-ka
dog	old.man	ACC	say-PRF

The dog reached earlier and like every day told the old man,

5.3

"Aju	*Aju*	*dini*	*de*	*haba*	*dangba*	*dukha,*
azu	azu	dini	de₁	haba	daŋ=ba₂	du-ka
grandfather	grandfather	today	TOP	work	do=NMLZ	hard-PRF

hamsining	*lengkha.*
hamsiniŋ	leŋ-ka
immensely	be.tired-PRF

"Grandfather, grandfather, today's work was very hard and immensely tiring.

5.4

Dini	*de*	*daono*	*hain,*	*hono*	*hain*	*gthang*	*libidu.*
dini	de₁	dawno	hajn	hono	hajn	gtaŋ	libi-du
today	TOP	chicken	meat	pig	meat	raw	crave-PIPFV

Today I crave raw chicken and pork.

5.5

Ho	*gablaisi*	*ji*	*ri*	*Aju.*
ho	gablaj-si	zi	ɾi	azu
stomach	full-COND	eat	BEN	grandfather

Feed (me) until (my) stomach's full, Grandfather.

5.6

Ode	*Aju*	*hono*	*de*	*dini*	*bo*	*sainsong*	*gidibling*	*ha*
ode	azu	hono	de$_1$	dini	bo	sajnsoŋ	gdipliŋ	ha$_2$
and	grandfather	pig	TOP	today	TOP	whole.day	bush	LOC

lodai	*hi*	*donglaba,*	*dangsoshi*	*bo*	*ha*
lodaj	hi	doŋ-la-ba	daŋso-si	bo	ha$_2$
roll.over	SUCC	EXST-REFL$_2$-NF:IPFV	quarter.of.a.bigha-one	TOP	LOC

lungya,	*du*	*bo*	*duya.*
luŋ-ja	du	bo	du-ja
root-NEG	till	TOP	till-NEG

And, Grandfather, as for the pig, he spent the whole day rolling in the bush, and didn't even break up a quarter of a bigha of land; he also didn't do any tilling.

5.7

Ang	*gaja*	*bonkhreng*	*wakhreng*	*dangkhlaiba,*	*ha*	*slamba,*
aŋ	gza	bonkɾeŋ	wakɾeŋ	daŋklaj-ba	ha$_1$	slam-ba
1SG	only	wood.debris	bamboo.debris	throw-NF:IPFV	land	make-NF:IPFV

bonkhlep	*wakhlep*	*jabai*	*bojom*	*khlai*	*hi*
bonklep	waklep	zabaj	bzom	klaj	hi
wood.piece	bamboo.piece	garbage	collect	do	SUCC

wagrain	*saokhripba*	*ode*	*rgao*	*riba."*
wa-gɾajn	saw$_2$-kɾip-ba	ode	ɾgaw	ɾi-ba
bamboo-dry	burn-crush-NF:IPFV	and	clean	CAUS$_2$-NF:IPFV

All by myself, I had to throw away the wood and bamboo debris, prepare the soil, collect the garbage pieces of wood and bamboo, crush and burn the dry bamboo, and make it clean."

6.1

Daning	*de*	*grasa*	*sisha*	*khe*	*rogong*	*ha*	*long*	*dada*	*thikha,*
daniŋ	de$_1$	gɾasa	sisa	ke	ɾgoŋ	ha$_2$	loŋ	dda	ti$_1$-ka
later	TOP	old.man	dog	ACC	near	LOC	summon	NF	say-PRF

"Phai	*phai*	*Aju,*	*ning*	*gabang*	*ning*	*lengkha.*
paj	paj	azu	niŋ$_1$	gbaŋ	niŋ$_2$	leŋ-ka
come	come	grandfather	2SG	much	TOP	be.tired-PRF

Later, the old man called the dog over to him and said, "Come, come, Grandfather, you are very tired.

6.2

Ning	*phadain*	*dangba*	*khe*	*ang*	*bo*	*nuhikha.*
niŋ₁	pdajn	daŋ=ba₂	ke	aŋ	bo	nu-hi-ka
2SG	field	do=NMLZ	ACC	1SG	TOP	see-TRNS.LOC-PRF

I also saw you there, working in the field.

6.3

Ning	*hamsining*	*sao*	*mirimjaokha.*
niŋ₁	hamsiniŋ	saw₂	mɾim-zaw-ka
2SG	immensely	body	pain-PSV-PRF

You must be having intense body pain.

6.4

Nini	*mirimma*	*khe*	*ibu*	*goda*	*jang*	*khisa*	*go*	*rinang."*
niŋ₁=ni₂	mɾim=ma₁	ke	i-bu	goda	zaŋ	kisa	go	ɾi-naŋ
2SG=GEN	pain=NMLZ	ACC	PRX-DEM	stick	INS	a.little	set.free	CAUS₂-CMM

Let's get rid of your pain with this stick."

6.5

Ode	*thi*	*dada*	*phongin*	*phongtham*	*sikhakha.*
ode	ti₁	dda	poŋ-gin	poŋ-tam	sik-ha-ka
and	say	NF	CLF:blow-two	CLF:blow-three	whip-TRNS.LOC-PRF

And saying that (the old man) whipped (the dog) two or three times.

6.6

Sisha	*"gayeng*	*gayeng"*	*bring*	*hi*	*lembre*	*lembre*	*ja*
sisa	gajeŋ	gajeŋ	bɾiŋ	hi	lembɾe	lembɾe	za
dog	ONP	ONP	emit.sound	SUCC	limp	limp	be

hi	*khaikha.*
hi	kaj-ka
SUCC	run-PRF

Crying "gayeng gayeng" and limping, the dog ran away.

7.1

Hono	*bo*	*rogong*	*ha*	*dongba.*
hono	bo	ɾgoŋ	ha$_2$	doŋ-ba
pig	TOP	near	LOC	EXST-NF:IPFV

The pig was also nearby.

7.2

Sisha	*sikjaoba*	*khe*	*nu*	*hi*	*khajakha*
sisa	sik-zaw=ba$_2$	ke	nu	hi	kza-ka
dog	whip-PSV=NMLZ	ACC	see	SUCC	be.happy-PRF

Seeing the dog being whipped, (he) became happy,

7.3

ode	*kha*	*bising*	*bising*	*thikha,*	*"Dei,*	*thip*	*jakha.*
ode	ka	bisiŋ	bisiŋ	ti$_1$-ka	dej	tip	za-ka
and	heart	inside	inside	say-PRF	ok	enough	happen-PRF

and said in his heart, "Serves him right.

7.4

Ning	*sisha*	*grik*	*bang*	*bani*	*mithijaokha."*
niŋ$_1$	sisa	gɾik	baŋ	bani	miti-zaw-ka
2SG	dog	clever	be.much	therefore	know-PSV-PRF

You, Dog, were found out because you were so clever."

8

Odehe	*gibi*	*de*	*gibi*	*mosol*	*de*	*mosol*	*ja-hi*
odehe	gibi	de$_1$	gibi	mosol	de$_1$	mosol	za-hi
and	truth	TOP	truth	false	TOP	false	be-TRNS.LOC

ning	*thaokha.*
niŋ$_2$	taw$_2$-ka
TOP	stop-PRF

And it all ended with the truth being just a truth and the lie being just a lie.

7.3   Personal

7.3.1   Nibila Jidung-Life story

This oral text is provided with the permission of the speaker and recounts her life story. The main linguistic feature of the text is its discourse marking, using devices such as "After that" and "having done X, I did Y." The speaker is a 61 year old woman from Haflong, who, although illiterate, speaks Dimasa, Assamese, Hindi, and Bangla.

Lifestory
Narrated by Nibila Jidung. Age 61. Collected by Dhrubajit Langthasa
Nibila Jidung (F-61), Haflong, Assam. Illiterate.
Knows-Assamese, Hindi, Bengali.

1.1

Ang	*Nibila*	*Jidung.*
aŋ	Nibila	ziduŋ
1SG	PN	clan.name

I am Nibila Jidung.

1.2

Ani	*hajaithani*	*Harangajao.*
aŋ=ni$_2$	hazaj-tani	haɾaŋgzaw
1SG=GEN	born-place	PN

My birth place is Harangajao.

1.3

Ani	*baba*	*ni*	*bumu*	*Boikhonto*	*Bathari*
aŋ=ni$_2$	baba	ni$_2$	bumu	bojkonto	batari
1SG=GEN	father	GEN	name	PN	clan.name

odehe	*amai*	*ni*	*Derondi.*
odehe	amaj	ni$_2$	deɾondi
and	mother	GEN	PN

The name of my father is Boikhonto Bathari and the name of mother is Derondi.

1.4

Ang	*hajaiba*	*1955*	*ha*
aŋ	hazaj-ba	1955	ha₂
1SG	born-NF:IPFV	1955	LOC

I was born in 1955.

1.5

Bu	*ni*	*yahon*	*ha*	*ang*	*school*	*ha*	*khisa*	*phurikha.*
bu	ni₂	jahon	ha₂	aŋ	school	ha₂	kisa	puɾi-ka
DEM	GEN	after	LOC	1SG	school	LOC	a.little	study-PRF

After that, I studied a bit in school.

1.6

School	*ha*	*thangkha,*	*nolai*	*ha*	*school*	*niya*	*baiji*	*ha*	*she.*
school	ha₂	taŋ-ka	nolaj	ha₂	school	ni₁-ja	bajzi	ha₂	se₁
school	LOC	go-PRF	village	LOC	school	COP-NEG	out	LOC	TOP

I went to school; the school was not in the village, it was outside.

1.7

Nolai	*gibin*	*ha*	*se*	*school*	*dongba*	*ode*	*bani*	*ang*
nolaj	gbin	ha₂	se₁	school	doŋ-ba	ode	bani	aŋ
village	other	LOC	TOP	school	EXST-NF:IPFV	and	therefore	1SG

hamsi	*school*	*ha*	*thangphuya.*
ham-si	school	ha₂	taŋ-pu-ja
good-ADVB	school	LOC	go-POT-NEG

The school was in another village, that's why I couldn't go to school properly.

1.8

Bu	*somoi*	*ha*	*la*	*school*	*thangyarao*	*bo*	*khom.*
bu	somoj	ha₂	la₂	school	taŋjaɾaw	bo	kom
DEM	time (IA)	LOC	TOP	school	go-REL	TOP	less (IA)

At that time, the school attendees were also few.

1.9

Ode	*bani*	*saojang*	*saojang*	*school*	*ha*	*thangba*	*bo*
ode	bani	sawzaŋ	sawzaŋ	school	ha₂	taŋ-ba	bo
and	therefore	alone	alone	school	LOC	go-NF:IPFV	TOP

bakhalba	*la*	*khin*	*dada*	*bo*	*thaolaba*
bkal-ba	la₂	kin	dda	bo	taw₁-la-ba
sometime-NF:IPFV	TOP	fear	NF	TOP	stuck-REFL₂-NF:IPFV

ode	*bani*	*khlaihi*	*ang*	*school*	*phuri*	*sophuya*
ode	bani	klajhi	aŋ	school	puɾi	so-pu-ja
and	therefore	for	1SG	school	study	complete-POT-NEG

hi	*thaokha.*
hi	taw₁-ka
SUCC	stuck-PRF

So, sometimes I had to walk to school alone, and out of fear, I couldn't continue attending school.

1.10

Bun	*yahon*	*ha*	*amai*	*bo*	*khro*	*sajaoba,*	*baba*	*bo*
buni₂	jahon	ha₂	amaj	bo	kɾo	sa-zaw-ba	baba	bo
DEM=GEN	after	LOC	mother	TOP	head	hurt-PSV-NF:IPFV	father	TOP

boho	*saba.*
bho	sa-ba
stomach	hurt-NF:IPFV

After that, my mother was having headaches and my father was having stomachaches.

1.11

Bun	*yahon*	*ha*	*bahandaothu*	*khe*	*raokhima*	*nang*
buni₂	jahon	ha₂	bhandaw-tu	ke	ɾawki-ma₁	naŋ
DEM=GEN	after	LOC	younger.sister-PL	ACC	look after-PRSP	need

bani	*khlaihi*	*bo*	*blaiyaba.*
bani	klajhi	bo	blaj-ja-ba
therefore	for	TOP	able-NEG-NF:IPFV

After that, because I had to take care of my younger sisters, I wasn't able to continue (my schooling).

1.12

Ode	*school*	*ha*	*hamsi*	*phuriphuya*	*hi*	*thaoba.*
ode	school	ha$_2$	ham-si	pu ɾi-pu-ja	hi	taw$_1$-ba
and	school	LOC	good-ADVB	study-POT-NEG	SUCC	stuck-NF:IPFV

I couldn't continue studying properly, and I got stuck in that situation.

1.13

Duha	*bahandaothu*	*dong,*	*bada*	*buphlungthu*	*de*	*giri.*
duha	bhandaw-tu	doŋ	bda	bupluŋ-tu	de$_1$	giɾi
now	younger.sister-PL	EXST	elder brother	younger.brother-PL	TOP	INEXST

Now I have my younger sisters, but my older and younger brothers are no more.

1.14

Ang	*ning*	*radaothao.*
aŋ	niŋ$_2$	ɾa-daw$_1$-taw
1SG	TOP	old-CMP-SUP

I'm the oldest.

1.15

Bun	*yahon*	*ha*	*ani*	*bahandao*	*giddaoyaba*	*Ringmila*
buni$_2$	jahon	ha$_2$	aŋ=ni$_2$	bhandaw	giddaw=jaba	ɾiŋmila
DEM=GEN	after	LOC	1SG=GEN	younger.sister	younger=REL	PN

Langthasa,	*Langthasa*	*khe*	*no*	*ja*	*bani*	*bu*
laŋtasa	laŋtasa	ke	no	za	bani	bu
clan.name	clan.name	ACC	marriage	be	therefore	3SG

Ringmila	*Langthasa*	*jakha.*
ɾiŋmila	laŋtasa	za-ka
PN	clan.name	be-PRF

After that, my younger sister, Ringmila Langthasa, became a Langthasa because she married a Langthasa.

1.16

Nomita	*bo*	*Langthasa*	*khe*	*no*	*ja*	*bani*	*bu*
nomita	bo	laŋtasa	ke	no	za	bani	bu
PN	TOP	clan.name	ACC	marriage	be	therefore	3SG

Nomita	*Langthasa*	*jakha.*
nomita	laŋtasa	za-ka
PN	clan.name	be-PRF

Namita also became Langthasa because she married a Langthasa.

1.17

Buphlungthu	*gatham*	*dongba*	*busi*	*la*	*ansa*	*ha*	*ning*
bupluŋ-tu	g-tam	doŋ-ba	busi	la$_2$	ansa	ha$_2$	niŋ$_2$
younger.brother-PL	CLF:human-three	EXST-NF:IPFV	3PL	TOP	child	LOC	TOP

thikha,	*odehe*	*duha*	*saoshi*	*bo*	*buphlungthu*	*girikha*
ti$_1$-ka	odehe	duha	saw$_1$-si	bo	bupluŋ-tu	giɾi-ka
die-PRF	and	now	CLF:human-one	TOP	younger.brother-PL	INEXST-PRF

bahandaothu	*shining*	*dongsiba.*
bhandaw-tu	siniŋ	doŋ-si=ba$_2$
younger.sister-PL	only	EXST-COND=NMLZ

My three younger brothers died during childhood and there's not even one brother left, only younger sisters.

1.18

Bu	*ni*	*yahon*	*ha*	*ang*	*1972*	*ha*	*no*	*jaba*
bu	ni$_2$	jahon	ha$_2$	aŋ	1972	ha$_2$	no	za-ba
DEM	GEN	after	LOC	1SG	1972	LOC	marriage	be-NF:IPFV

After that, I got married in 1972.

1.19

Ani	*nobra*	*Prahlad*	*Jidung,*	*bu*	*Maibang*	*ni.*
aŋ=ni$_2$	nobɾa	Prahlad	ziduŋ	bu	majbaŋ	ni$_2$
1SG=GEN	husband	PN	clan.name	3SG	PN	GEN

My husband is Prahlad Jidung, he was from Maibang (lit. of Maibang).

1.20

No	*ja*	*bani*	*yahon*	*ha*	*ani*	*nobra*	*forest*	*department*
no	za	bani	jahon	ha₂	aŋ=ni₂	nobɾa	forest	department
marriage	be	therefore	after	LOC	1SG=GEN	husband	forest	department

ha	*khushi*	*dang*	*bani*	*jing*	*Hathikali*	*ha*	*thaohikha.*
ha₂	kusi	daŋ	bani	ziŋ	hatikali	ha₂	taw₂-hi-ka
LOC	work	do	therefore	1PL	PN	LOC	stop-TRNS.LOC-PRF

After marriage, because my husband worked in the forest department, we moved to Hatikali.

1.21

Bu	*ni*	*yahon*	*ha*	*Langting*	*ha*	*phaikha.*
bu	ni₂	jahon	ha₂	laŋtiŋ	ha₂	paj-ka
DEM	GEN	after	LOC	PN	LOC	come-PRF

After that, we came to Langting.

1.22

Langting	*ha*	*phaiba*	*ni*	*yahon*	*ha*	*ansarao*	*khe*
laŋtiŋ	ha₂	paj=ba₂	ni₂	jahon	ha₂	ansa-ɾaw	ke
PN	LOC	come=NMLZ	GEN	after	LOC	child-PL	ACC

school	*ha*	*phuri*	*rima*	*nang*	*bani*	*khlaihi*
school	ha₂	puɾi	ɾi-ma₁	naŋ	bani	klajhi
school=LOC	study	CAUS₂-PRSP	need	therefore	for	1SG

ang	*Haflong*	*ha*	*phaikha.*
aŋ	hafloŋ	ha₂	paj-ka
PN	PN	LOC	come-PRF

After coming to Langting, because we had to educate the children, we came to Haflong.

1.23

Haflong	ha	phai	hi	jing	no	basasa	bhara	la
hafloŋ	ha₂	pʰaj	hi	ziŋ	no	bsa-sa	bhara	la₁
PN	LOC	come	SUCC	1PL	house	small-small	rent (IA)	take

dada	ansarao	khe	laishi	phuri	rima	ne	khlaihi	jing
dda	ansa-ɾaw	ke	lajsi	puɾi	ɾi-ma₁	ne₂	kʰlajhi	ziŋ
NF	child-PL	ACC	book	study	CAUS₂-PRSP	DAT	for	1PL

Haflong	ha	dongba.
hafloŋ	ha₂	doŋ-ba
PN	LOC	EXST-NF:IPFV

Coming to Haflong, we rented a small house and in order to educate the children we stayed in Haflong.

1.24

Bu	ni	yahon	ha	ani	basathu
bu	ni₂	jahon	ha₂	aŋ=ni₂	bsa-tu
DEM	GEN	after	LOC	1SG=GEN	son-PL

Shillong	ha	phurihikha.
Shillong	ha₂	puɾi-hi-ka
PN	LOC	study-TRNS.LOC-PRF

After that, my sons went to Shillong to study.

1.25

Shillong	ha	phuri	hi	Jayraj	bo	Shillong	ha	HS	phuriba.
Shillong	ha₂	puɾi	hi	Jayraj	bo	Shillong	ha₂	HS	puɾi-ba
PN	LOC	study	SUCC	PN	TOP	PN	LOC	HS	study-NF:IPFV

Studying in Shillong, Jayraj also studied high school in Shillong.

1.26

Buni	yahon	ha	pass	ja	dada	Engineering	college
buni₂	jahon	ha₂	pass	za	dda	engineering	college
DEM=GEN	after	LOC	pass	be	NF	engineering	college

Rourkela	ha	phurima	ne	haihakha.
Rourkela	ha₂	puɾi-ma₁	ne₁	haj-ha-ka
PN	LOC	study-PRSP	DAT	send-TRNS.LOC-PRF

After that, he passed and he was sent to Rourkela Engineering College.

1.27

Haihaba		*ni*	*yahon*	*ha*	*pass*	*ja*	*dada*
haj-ha=ba₂		ni₂	jahon	ha₂	pass	za	dda
send-TRNS.LOC=NMLZ		GEN	after	LOC	pass	be	NF

duha	*bu*	*America*	*ha*	*dong.*
duha	bu	America	ha₂	doŋ
now	3SG	PN	LOC	EXST

After sending him, he passed and he's in America now.

1.28

Ani	*basa*	*giddaoyaba,*	*Shivraj*	*Gujarat*	*ha*	*chakri*
aŋ=ni₂	bsa	giddaw=jaba	Shivraj	Gujarat	ha₂	cakɾi
1SG=GEN	son	younger=REL	PN	PN	LOC	job (IA)

dang	*da*	*dong.*
daŋ-da	da₂	doŋ
work-NF	NF	EXST

My younger son, Shivraj is working in Gujarat.

1.29

Ani	*nobra*	*2014*	*ha*	*thiba.*
aŋ=ni₂	nobɾa	2014	ha₂	ti₁-ba
1SG=GEN	husband	2014	LOC	die-NF:IPFV

My husband died in 2014.

1.30

Basa	*giddaoyaba*	*bo*	*2015*	*ha*	*thiba.*
bsa	giddaw=jaba	bo	2015	ha₂	ti₁-ba
son	younger=REL	TOP	2015	LOC	die-NF:IPFV

Also my younger son died in 2015.

1.31

Go	*duha*	*ang*	*noha*	*bisikthu*	*gini*	*jang*	*bushuthai*
go	duha	aŋ	noha$_2$	bsik-tu	gini	zaŋ	busutaj
DEM	now	1SG	house=LOC	daughter-PL	two:human	COM	grandchildren

gini	*khe*	*la*	*hi*	*ang*	*jar*	*ni*	*no*	*ha*	*dong.*
gini	ke	la$_1$	hi	aŋ	zaɾ	ni$_2$	no	ha$_2$	doŋ
two:human	ACC	take	SUCC	1SG	REFL	GEN	house	LOC	EXST

Now, I'm at home with my two daughters and two grandchildren.

7.3.2   Experiences during the 2nd World War

This personal recollection was collected orally from the grandmother of Dhrubajit. There are several interesting linguistic features in the story. Reduplication is used for onomatopoeia to describe sounds (2.3), (2.7), (3.10) as well as the appearance of a parachute falling slowly from the sky (3.2).

In (2.2) it can be seen that the adverb /gza/, elsewhere glossed as 'only', here means 'approximately'. In combination with the CLF-NUM compounds, it yields the sense of 'packs', a meaning which is not explicitly stated.

Another feature seen in the text is that the same marker /-laj/ (3.7), (3.12) is used both for reciprocal ("we said to each other") as well as collective ("we were afraid together").

Stories from World War 2
Narrated by Derondi Bathari. Age 88. Collected by Dhrubajit Langthasa

1.1

Jing	*ansa*	*jabani*	*bubli*	*ha*
ziŋ	ansa	za=ba$_2$=ni$_2$	bubli	ha$_2$
1PL	child	be=NMLZ=GEN	time	LOC

During the time of our childhood,

1.2

maithai	*jai*	*maithai*	*sku*	*ni*	*bubli*	*ha*
majtaj	zaj	majtaj	sku	ni$_2$	bubli	ha$_2$
year	eight	year	nine	GEN	time	LOC

during the time of eight to nine years old,

1.3

guphusarao	*ni*	*jba*	*jaba*	*nuba.*
gpusa-ɾaw	ni₂	zba	za-ba	nu-ba
foreigner-PL	GEN	war	be-NF:IPFV	see-NF:IPFV

(we) saw the war of the British.

1.4

Bu	*ha*	*jing*	*singgao*	*birba*	*nu*	*hi*	*gmangre.*
bu	ha₂	ziŋ	siŋgaw	biɾ=ba₂	nu	hi	gmaŋ-ɾe
DEM	LOC	1PL	aeroplane	fly=NMLZ	see	SUCC	wonder-SIPFV

At that time, we would see the planes flying and wonder.

1.5

Jing	*la*	*hagra*	*ni,*	*laishi*	*phuriba*	*ringya*
ziŋ	la₂	hagɾa	ni₂	lajsi	puɾi=ba₂	ɾiŋ-ja
1PL	TOP	jungle	GEN	book	study=NMLZ	learn-NEG

bani	*mithiyalaba.*
bani	miti-ja-la-ba
therefore	know-NEG-REFL₂-NF:IPFV

As for us, since we are from the forest and not educated, we didn't know what they were.

2.1

Du	*lai*	*somoi,*	*seven to eight*	*beren*	*ha*	*hamlai*
du	laj	somoj	seven to eight	beɾen	ha₂	hamlaj
now	like	time (IA)	seven to eight	around	LOC	many

singgao	*birma.*
siŋgaw	biɾ-ma₁
aeroplane	fly-PRSP

Around this time, about seven to eight, many planes would fly.

2.2

Majai	*masku*	*jang*	*gaja*	*birma*
ma-zaj	ma-sku	zaŋ	gza	biɾ-ma₁
CLF-eight	CLF-nine	COM	approx.	fly-PRSP

They would fly in packs of eight to nine.

2.3

"Wung wung"   bringma.
wuŋ wuŋ   bɾiŋ-ma₁
ONP   emit.sound-PRSP
They would give off the sound, "wung wung."

2.4

Jing   jakha   de   ansa   ha   khinma.
ziŋ   za-ka   de₁   ansa   ha₂   kin-ma₁
1PL   be-PRF   TOP   child   LOC   fear-PRSP
And we would be scared during childhood.

2.5

Bu   ha   singgao   wai   gajao   khlai   hi   jini   nolai
bu   ha₂   siŋgaw   waj   gzaw   klaj   hi   ziŋ=ni₂   nolaj
DEM   LOC   aeroplane   fire   red   do   SUCC   1PL=GEN   village

basao   khe   bir   lang-ma
bsaw   ke   biɾ   laŋ-ma₁
above   ACC   fly   away-PRSP
At that time, the plane lighting up red would fly over our village.

2.6

Bu   ha   sandari   gaoba   thidu.
bu   ha₂   sandaɾi   gaw=ba₂   ti₁-du
DEM   LOC   gun   shoot=NMLZ say-PIPFV
It was said that they were firing guns then.

2.7

"Dam dam,   dam dam",   hilai   bring   phalangma.
dam dam   dam dam   hilaj   bring   palaŋ-ma₁
ONP   ONP   gun   emit.sound along-PRSP
"Dam dam, dam dam," the guns would sound.

2.8

Wai	*gajao*	*gakhrang*	*ja*	*phalangma.*
waj	gzaw	gkɽaŋ	za	palaŋ-ma$_1$
fire	red	green	happen	along-PRSP

The fire would (glow) red and green along the way.

2.9

Odehe	*bakhalba*	*de*	*phadain*	*thangba*	*ha*
odehe	bkal=ba$_2$	de$_1$	pdajn	taŋ-ba	ha$_2$
and	sometime=NMLZ	TOP	field	go-NF:IPFV	LOC

And sometimes while going to the field,

2.10

singgao	*hilik*	*hilik*	*khlai*	*hi*	*birba*	*bo*	*nure.*
siŋgaw	hilik	hilik	klaj	hi	biɽ=ba$_2$	bo	nu-ɽe
aeroplane	low	low	do	SUCC	fly=NMLZ	TOP	see-SIPFV

the planes could be seen flying very low.

3.1

Sainshikhali	*de*	*Longma*	*nolai*	*ha*	*subung*	*graiba.*
sajn-si-kali	de$_1$	loŋma	nolaj	ha$_2$	subuŋ	gɽaj-ba
day-one-particular.day	TOP	PN	village	LOC	person	fall-NF:IPFV

One day a person fell in Longma village.

3.2

Guphu	*khlai*	*dada*	*loo,*	*loo,*	*ja*	*hi*	*graiba.*
gpu	klaj	dda	loo	loo	za	hi	gɽaj-ba
white	do	NF	flash	flash	happen	SUCC	fall-NF:IPFV

It was white, and it fell, slowly flashing.

3.3

Bu	*ha*	*jing*	*Dimasarao*	*la*	*thiba*	*ringlaya.*
bu	ha$_2$	ziŋ	dimasa-ɽaw	la$_2$	ti$_1$=ba$_2$	ɽiŋ-la-ja
DEM	LOC	1PL	PN-PL	TOP	say=NMLZ	learn-REFL$_2$-NEG

At that time, we Dimasas didn't know what to say.

3.4

"Hai!
haj
EXCLM
"Hai!

3.5

Nadi   graikha?
nadi   gɾaj-ka
what   fall-PRF
What fell down?

3.6

Ibu   la   dub   she   janaidu   thi."
i-bu   la$_2$ dub   se$_1$ za-naj-du   ti$_1$
PRX-DEM   TOP   bomb.ONP   TOP   be-EPIS-PIPFV   say
This must be a boom thing!"

3.7

thilaiba   ode   khinlaiba.
ti$_1$-laj-ba   ode   kin-laj-ba
say-RECP-NF:IPFV   and   fear-COLL-NF:IPFV
We were saying to each other and we were all afraid.

3.8

Bu   singgao   ha   biryaba   saoshi,
bu   siŋgaw   ha$_2$ biɾ=jaba   saw$_1$-si
DEM   aeroplane   LOC   fly=REL   CLF:human-one
One person flying in the plane,

3.9

Longmasarao   ni   phadain   dangyaba   ha   glai   phaiba   ne.
loŋma-sa-ɾaw   ni$_2$ pdajn   daŋ=jaba   ha$_2$ glaj   paj-ba   ne$_2$
PN-person-PL   GEN   field   do=REL   LOC   fall   come-NF:IPFV   QUOT
fell down on Longma people's field it is said.

3.10

Bu	*ni*	*yahon*	*ha*	*singgaw*	*buthu*	*"grung grung"*	*birlaikha.*
bu	=ni$_2$	jahon	ha$_2$	siŋgaw	bu-tu	ɡruŋ ɡruŋ	biɾ-laj-ka
DEM	GEN	after	LOC	aeroplane	DEM-PL	ONP	fly-COLL-PRF

After that, the other planes started flying, "grung grung".

3.11

Bu	*subung*	*glai*	*bani.*
bu	subuŋ	ɡlaj	bani
DEM	person	fall	therefore

Because that person fell down.

3.12

Jing	*de*	*bu*	*ha*	*ansarao*	*jang*	*khraorao*	*jang*	*khinlaikha.*
ziŋ	de$_1$	bu	ha$_2$	ansa-ɾaw	zaŋ	kɾaw-ɾaw	zaŋ	kin-laj-ka
1PL	TOP	DEM	LOC	child-PL	COM	aged-PL	COM	fear-COLL-PRF

At that time all of us, the children and the old ones all were scared.

4.1

Longmasarao	*thiba*	*thihi*	*khanaba.*
loŋma-sa-ɾaw	ti$_1$-ba	tihi	kna-ba
PN-person-PL	say-NF:IPFV	that	listen-NF:IPFV

(We) heard the Longma people saying.

4.2

Bu	*subung*	*ne*	*bushi*	*goiphol*	*khao*	*hi*	*ji*	*riba.*
bu	subuŋ	=ne$_1$	busi	ɡojpol	kaw	hi	zi	ɾi-ba
DEM	person	DAT	3PL	papaya	pluck	SUCC	eat	BEN-NF:IPFV

For that person, they plucked papaya and fed it to him.

4.3

Odehe	*bu*	*subung*	*musi*	*sainlaiba*	*ringya*	*bani*	*Haflong*
odehe	bu	subuŋ	musi	sajnlaj-ba	ɾiŋ-ja	bani	haфloŋ
and	DEM	person	nothing	talk-NF:IPFV	learn-NEG	therefore	PN

ha	*dzigarlaiba.*
ha₂	digaɾ-laj-ba
LOC	drop-COLL-NF:IPFV

And because that person hadn't learned to talk, (he) was dropped off at Haflong (by the Longma people).

4.4

Bu	*jba*	*jaba*	*ha*	*jing*	*ulai*	*nuba.*
bu	zba	za-ba	ha₂	ziŋ	u-laj₁	nu-ba
DEM	war	happen-NF:IPFV	LOC	1PL	DIST-like	see-NF:IPFV

During the war, we saw things like that.

7.3.3 Wild times in Harangajao

The present text, an oral text given by a relative of Dhrubajit, captures some of the challenges of life in a bygone era. Linguistically, it is a helpful text for examining definite and indefinite marking of agents and patients. Proper nouns like Harangajao (1.1) and possessed nouns like 'my husband' (2.2) are definite by definition. More overtly, use of the demonstrative /bu/ marks definiteness, as in 'at that time' (2.1), 'the big tigers' (2.10). Definite accusatives are marked with the accusative marker /ke/, as in 'the paddy field' (2.5) and 'the helpers' (2.8). Most of the hunted animals are indefinite, with the exception of 'the big tiger' /misi gdeba ke/ in (4.5). Indefinite accusative nouns do not take case marking, as in 'goats' (2.14) and 'cows' (2.15).

There are two occurrences of the verbal applicative marker /pa/ in the text. In (2.6), it increases the valence of the verb 'throw' to become 'throw at', thus specifying that there was a target of the throwing of the fireballs, although the target 'elephants' is elided in the sentence. In (3.1), the applicative functions to include Sahab Lengra in the action of going.

Wild times in Harangajao

Narrated by Derondi Bathari. Collected by Dhrubajit Langthasa.

1.1

Mnang	*ha*	*Harangajao*	*ha*	*la*	*hagra*	*bangbimu.*
mnaŋ	ha₂	haraŋzaw	ha₂	la₂	hagɾa	baŋ-bi-mu
long.ago	LOC	PN	LOC	TOP	jungle	be.much-STAT-SBJV

Long ago, in Harangajao, there were many forests.

1.2

Dikhong	*ha*	*bo*	*na*	*bangbi*
dikoŋ	ha₂	bo	na₁	baŋ-bi
river	LOC	TOP	fish	be.much-STAT

In the river, there were many fish.

1.3

ode	*hagra*	*ha*	*bo*	*mi*	*bangbi.*
ode	hagɾa	ha₂	bo	mi	baŋ-bi
and	jungle	LOC	TOP	animal	be.much-STAT

And in the jungle, there were many animals.

2.1

Bu	*bubli*	*ha*	*la*
bu	bubli	ha₂	la₂
DEM	time	LOC	TOP

At that time,

2.2

ani	*nobra*	*ni*	*hadzi*	*ha*	*miyung*	*mai*	*ji*	*phaire.*
aŋ=ni₂	nobɾa	ni₂	hadi	ha₂	mijuŋ	maj	zi	paj-ɾe
1SG=GEN	husband	GEN	paddy.field	LOC	elephant	rice	eat	come-SIPFV

to my husband's paddy field, elephants would come, eat rice and trample (the field).

2.3

Mai	*minthor*	*ha,*
maj	min-boton	ha₂
rice	ripe-season	LOC

During the time when rice ripens,

2.4

Kali Puja	*ha*
Kali Puja	ha₂
Festival	LOC

during Kali Puja,

2.5

miyung	*mai*	*ji*	*phai*	*hi*	*hadzi*	*khe*	*thel*	*gakhli*	*langre.*
mijuŋ	maj	zi	paj	hi	hadi	ke	tel	ga-kli	laŋ-ɾe
elephant	rice	eat	come	SUCC	paddy.field	ACC	ONP	step-into.bits	take-SIPFV

elephants would eat the rice and trample down the paddy field.

2.6

Bu	*ha*	*wai*	*su*	*hi,*	*waishingdo*	*lem*	*phare.*
bu	ha₂	waj	su	hi	wajsiŋdo	lem	pa-ɾe
DEM	LOC	fire	blow	SUCC	fireball	pelt	APPL-SIPFV

At that (we) would light fire and throw fireballs at (the elephants).

2.7

Ode	*mesep*	*raokhiba*	*ha*
ode	mesep	ɾawki=ba₂	ha₂
and	buffalo	look after=NMLZ	LOC

And while looking after buffaloes,

2.8

rakhalrao	*khe*	*mishi*	*wai*	*phaire.*
ɾakal-ɾaw	ke	misi	waj	paj-ɾe
helper-PL	ACC	tiger	bite	come-SIPFV

tigers would come to attack the helpers.

2.9

Nikhor,   noskang   beren   ha   ning   mishi   phaire,
nikoɾ   noskaŋ   beɾen   ha₂   niŋ₂   misi   paj-ɾe
backyard   frontyard around   LOC   TOP   tiger   come-SIPFV

Tigers would come around the front yard and back yard of the house,

2.10

mishi   gedeba   buthu.
misi   gde=ba₂   bu-tu
tiger   big=NMLZ   DEM-PL

the big tigers.

2.11

Hadzi   dangyaba   ha,
hadi   daŋ=jaba   ha₂
paddy.field   do=REL   LOC

In the working paddy field,

2.12

bari   beren   ha   mishi   hor   ha   phaire.
baɾi   beɾen   ha₂   misi   hoɾ   ha₂   paj-ɾe
fence   around   LOC   tiger   night LOC   come-SIPFV

around the fence the tiger would come at night.

2.13

Ode   nokha   naikha   de   mishi   yagain   gaja.
ode   noka   naj-ka   de₁   misi   jaɢajn   ɢza
and   morning   look-PRF   TOP   tiger   foot.print only

And in the morning, there would be lots of tiger footprints.

2.14

Bu   ha   burun   wai   langre,
bu   ha₂   buɾun   waj   laŋ-ɾe
DEM   LOC   goat   bite   over.and.over-SIPFV

At that time (the tigers) would attack goats over and over,

2.15

musu	*wai*	*langre,*
musu	waj	laŋ-ɾe
cow	bite	over.and.over-SIPFV

would attack cows over and over.

2.16

Jadzi	*jadzi*	*mi*	*bangba,*	*mishi*	*bangba.*
zadi	zadi	mi	baŋ-ba	misi	baŋ-ba
type	type	animal	be.much-NF:IPFV	tiger	be.much-NF:IPFV

There were many types of animals, many tigers.

3.1

Ode	*bani*	*ani*	*nobra,*	*Sahab*	*Lengra*	*jang*
ode	bani	aŋ=ni₂	nobɾa	Sahab	Lengra	zaŋ
and	therefore	1SG=GEN	husband	PN		COM

Diphu	*thang*	*pa*	*dada*
dipu	taŋ	pa	dda
PN	go	APPL	NF

And because of that my husband went to Diphu along with Sahab Lengra,

3.2

Nathu Khampor	*ni*	*dukan*	*ha*	*hilai*	*braiba.*
natu kampoɾ	ni₂	dukan	ha₂	hilaj	bɾaj-ba
PN	GEN	shop (IA)	LOC	gun	buy-NF:IPFV

bought a gun at Nathu Khampor's shop.

3.3

Ura	*ha*	*kartoos*	*bo*	*maire.*
uɾa	ha₂	kartoos	bo	maj-ɾe
there	LOC	bullet (IA)	TOP	get-SIPFV

There, bullets were also available.

3.4

Ode	*bu*	*jang*	*miyung*	*gaokha,*	*mishi*	*bo*	*gaokha,*
ode	bu	zaŋ	mijuŋ	gaw-ka	misi	bo	gaw-ka
and	DEM	INS	elephant	shoot-PRF	tiger	TOP	shoot-PRF

moso	*bo*	*gaokha,*	*hono*	*bo*	*gaokha.*
moso	bo	gaw-ka	hono	bo	gaw-ka
deer	TOP	shoot-PRF	pig	TOP	shoot-PRF

And with that he shot elephants, also shot tigers, also shot deer, also shot pigs.

4.1

Sainshikhali	*maithai*	*shi*	*ni*	*mai*	*ra*
sajn-si-kali	majtaj	si	ni₂	maj	ɾa
day-one-particular.day	year	one	GEN	rice	cut

blaiba	*ni*	*bubli*	*ha*
blaj=ba₂	ni₂	bubli	ha₂
complete=NMLZ	GEN	time	LOC

One day, during the time of the completion of the year's reaping,

4.2

phadain	*ni*	*nargao*	*ha*	*musu*	*daobaiyaba*	*khe*
pdajn	ni₂	naɾgaw	ha₂	musu	dawbaj=jaba	ke
field	GEN	haystack	LOC	cow	stroll=REL	ACC

mishi	*phai*	*hi*	*waithaiba*
misi	paj	hi	waj-taj₂-ba
tiger	come	SUCC	bite-kill-NF:IPFV

a cow that was wandering around a field's haystack was killed by a tiger,

4.3

odehe	*mashi*	*mesep*	*khe*	*bo*	*waiba.*
odehe	ma-si	mesep	ke	bo	waj-ba
and	CLF-one	buffalo	ACC	TOP	bite-NF:IPFV

and one buffalo it also attacked.

4.4

Bu	*ha*	*ani*	*nobra*	*bongphang*	*basao*	*ha*	*basang*
bu	ha$_2$	aŋ=ni$_2$	nobɾa	boŋpaŋ	bsaw	ha$_2$	basaŋ
DEM	LOC	1SG=GEN	husband	tree	above	LOC	ramp

slamyaba	*ha*	*ga*	*hi*
slam-jaba	ha$_2$	ga	hi
make-REL	LOC	climb	SUCC

At that time, my husband climbing on a ramp made on a tree,

4.5

jon	*dada*	*mishi*	*gedeba*	*khe*	*gaothaiba.*
zon$_2$	dda	misi	qde=ba$_2$	ke	gaw-taj$_2$-ba
wait	NF	tiger	big=NMLZ	ACC	shoot-kill-NF:IPFV

waited and shot down the big tiger.

4.6

Bu	*ni*	*yahon*	*ha*	*bo*	*mishi*	*buthu*	*phaikhakho*
bu	ni$_2$	jahon	ha$_2$	bo	misi	bu-tu	paj-ka-ko
DEM	GEN	after	LOC	TOP	tiger	DEM-PL	come-PRF-DPROG

thikha	*bo*	*baini*	*bangyadaokha.*
tika	bo	bajni	baŋ-ja-daw$_1$-ka
if	TOP	many	be.much-NEG-CMP-PRF

Even after that, tigers kept coming, but much less often.

7.4 Modern fiction

7.4.1 Sain jang Bar

The text "The Wind and the Sun" is a retelling of one of Aesop's fables. The text demonstrates less pronoun deletion than is typically found in spoken Dimasa discourse, perhaps to reduce confusion of the three actors in the story (not including the hapless traveler). Topic marking is used to highlight contrasts in the argument between the wind and the sun characters.

The traditional story "The North Wind and the Sun" has a moral along the lines of the idea that the person who is kind will have more influence over others than will the person who is harsh.

However, the version presented here has a different focus: each person has his or her own abilities, which allows different individuals to succeed under different circumstances.

The written text is provided with permission.

Sain jang Bar
The Sun and the Wind

Source – (Ahni Grao – 3) A Dimasa Language Primer For Beginners Editor –
Dimasa Sahitya Sabha Publisher – Primary Education Department –
Dima Hasao Autonomous Council, Haflong.

1.1

(Lamayung	*rogong*	*ha*	*gede*	*khlai*	*hi*
lamajuŋ	ɾgoŋ	ha₂	gde	klaj	hi
road.way	near	LOC	direction	do	SUCC

bongphang	*phangshi*	*dong.*
boŋpaŋ	paŋ-si	doŋ
tree	CLF:plant-one	EXST

'There was a big tree near a road.

1.2

Sain	*jang*	*bar*	*bongphang*	*bakhla*	*ha*	*shong*	*hi*	*sainlaiba).*
sajn	zaŋ	baɾ	boŋpaŋ	bkla	ha₂	soŋ	hi	sajnlaj-ba
sun	COM	wind	tree	below	LOC	standing	SUCC	talking-NF:IPFV

The Sun and the Wind were talking standing beneath the tree.'

2

Sain—	*O*	*bar,*	*ani*	*sao*	*ha*	*raoma*
sajn	O	baɾ	aŋ=ni₂	saw₂	ha₂	ɾaw=ma₁
sun	EXCLM	wind	1SG=GEN	body	LOC	strong=NMLZ

bangbi,	*ang*	*hamsi*	*ning*	*raobi.*
baŋ-bi	aŋ	ham-si	niŋ₂	ɾaw-bi
be.much-STAT	1SG	good-ADVB	TOP	strong-STAT

Sun—O Wind, I have a lot of strength in my body, I am immensely strong.

3

Bar—	*Ani*	*sao*	*ha*	*bo*	*hamsi*
baɾ	aŋ=ni$_2$	saw$_2$	ha$_2$	bo	ham-si
wind	1SG=GEN	body	LOC	TOP	good-ADVB

ning	*raoma*	*dong.*
niŋ$_2$	ɾaw=ma$_1$	doŋ
TOP	strong=NMLZ	EXST

Wind—I also have a lot of strength in my body.

4

Sain—	*Donglaphure,*	*thikha*	*bo*	*ang*	*lai*
sajn	doŋ-la-pu-ɾe	tika	bo	aŋ	laj$_1$
sun	EXST-REFL$_2$-POT-SIPFV	if	TOP	1SG	like

raoyaba	*saoshi*	*bo*	*giri.*
ɾaw=jaba	saw$_1$-si	bo	giɾi
strong=REL	CLF:human-one	TOP	INEXST

Sun—You might have, but no one is as strong as I.

5.1

Bar—	*Ning*	*thikha*	*ning*	*jakha?*
baɾ	niŋ$_1$	ti$_1$-ka	niŋ$_2$	za-ka
wind	2SG	say-PRF	TOP	be-PRF

Wind—Just because you said so?

5.2

Ang	*raodao.*
aŋ	ɾaw-daw$_1$
1SG	strong-CMP

I'm stronger.

5.3

Ang	*khisa*	*shipkha*	*ning*	*ri,*	*haduri*	*thapla*	*giphin*	*riphudu.*
aŋ	kisa	sip-ka	niŋ$_2$	ɾi	haduɾi	tapla	gpin	ɾi-pu-du
1SG	a.little	blow-PRF	TOP	cloth	dust	ash	sweep	CAUS$_2$-POT-PIPFV

If I blow a little I can sweep away clothes, dusts, and ashes.

6.1

Sain—	*Bu*	*mushi*	*bo*	*niya.*
sajn	bu	musi	bo	ni_1-ja
sun	DEM	nothing	TOP	COP-NEG

Sun—That is nothing.

6.2

Ang	*khisa*	*dungkha*	*ning*	*khrip*	*dao*	*mi,*	*bongphang*	*samphang*
aŋ	kisa	duŋ-ka	$niŋ_1$	kɾip	daw_1	mi	boŋpaŋ	sampaŋ
1SG	a.little	hot-PRF	2SG	all	bird	animal	tree	grass.plants

dongbashi	*dongphuya*	*jadu,*	*dukhu*	*maidu.*
doŋ=ba_2-si	doŋ-pu-ja	za-du	duku	maj-du
EXST=NMLZ-one	EXST-POT-NEG	be-PIPFV	trouble	get-PIPFV

If I heat up a little, all the birds and animals, plants and trees cannot bear to live and they feel pain.

7.1

Bar—	*Ani*	*grao*	*khe*	*khana.*
baɾ	aŋ=ni_2	gɾaw	ke	kna
wind	1SG=GEN	word	ACC	listen

Wind—Listen to what I'm saying.

7.2

Ang	*mijingkha*	*de*	*bongphang*	*samphang,*
aŋ	miziŋ-ka	de_1	boŋpaŋ	sampaŋ
1SG	want-PRF	TOP	tree	grass.plants

no	*ha*	*spaitharphudu.*
no	ha_1	spaj-taɾ-pu-du
house	land	break-entirety-POT-PIPFV

If I want, I can destroy all the vegetation and property.

8.1

(Sainjang	*bar*	*badailaiyaba*	*grao*	*khe*	*bongphang*
sajnzaŋ	baɾ	badaj-laj=jaba	ɡɾaw	ke	boŋpaŋ
sun=COM	wind	compete-RECP=REL	word	ACC	tree

khana	*hi*	*dongba.*
kna	hi	doŋ-ba
listen	SUCC	EXST-NF:IPFV

'The tree was listening to the sun and the wind arguing with each other.

8.2

Gini	*ni*	*gede*	*nai*	*dada*	*bongphang*	*thikha).*
gini	ni$_2$	gde	naj	dda	boŋpaŋ	ti$_1$-ka
two:human	GEN	direction	look	NF	tree	say-PRF

Looking at the two, the tree said':

9.1

Bongphang—	*Nisi*	*gini*	*jang*	*grao*	*badailai*
boŋpaŋ	nisi	gini	zaŋ	ɡɾaw	badaj-laj
tree	2PL	two:human	COM	word	compete-RECP

hi	*musi*	*jadaoya.*
hi	musi	za-daw$_1$-ja
SUCC	nothing	be-CMP-NEG

Tree—Nothing will happen if you two just argue.

9.2

Buni	*slai*	*sere*	*raodao*	*khusi*	*dang*	*hi*	*phunu.*
buni$_2$	slaj	seɾe	ɾaw-daw$_1$	kusi	daŋ	hi	p-nu
DEM=GEN	change	who	strong-CMP	work	do	SUCC	CAUS$_1$-see

Instead of that, show who's stronger by doing work.

10.1

Sainjang	*bar—*	*Jadu*	*jadu,*	*ning*	*gibi*	*grao*	*khe*	*thikha.*
sajnzaŋ	baɾ	za-du	za-du	niŋ$_1$	gibi	ɡɾaw	ke	ti$_1$-ka
sun=COM	wind	be-PIPFV	be-PIPFV	2SG	truth	word	ACC	say-PRF

The Sun and the Wind—Ok, Ok, you said the right thing.

10.2

Ode	*thikha*	*de*	*sere*	*raodao*	*phunulainang.*
ode	tika	de₁	seɾe	ɾaw-daw₁	p-nu-laj-naŋ
and	if	TOP	who	strong-CMP	CAUS₁-see-RECP-CMM

Ok, in that case, let's show who's stronger.

11

(Bu	*somoi*	*ha*	*subung*	*saoshi*		*hem*	*hi*	*phaiba)*
bu	somoj	ha₂	subuŋ	saw₁-si		hem	hi	paj-ba
DEM	time (IA)	LOC	person	CLF:human-one		walk	SUCC	come-NF:IPFV

'At that time, a person was coming towards them talking.'

12.1

Bongphang—	*Duha*	*ede*	*khlai,*	*ho go*	*subung*	*saoshi*
boŋpaŋ		duha	ede	klaj	ho go	subuŋ	saw₁-si
tree		now	like.this	do	DEM	person	CLF:human-one

hem	*hi*	*phaidu,*	*nukha*	*da?*
hem	hi	paj-du	nu-ka	da₁
walk	SUCC	come-PIPFV	see-PRF	MIR

Tree—Now here's what to do, there's a person coming, walking, (you've) seen him, right?

12.2

Bu	*sola*	*thudu,*	*ri*	*bo*	*phindu.*
bu	sola	tu-du	ɾi	bo	pin-du
3SG	shirt	wear-PIPFV	cloth	TOP	cover-PIPFV

He's wearing a shirt and also a cloth (shawl).

12.3

Sere	*buni*	*solajang*	*phinyaba*	*ri*	*khe*	*kho*	*riphunang,*
seɾe	buni₂	sola=zaŋ	pin=jaba	ɾi	ke	ko	ɾi-pu-naŋ
who	3SG=GEN	shirt=COM	cover=REL	cloth	ACC	take.off	CAUS₂-POT-CMM

bu	*raodao*	*thihi*	*khrip*	*bo*	*haphrang*	*mainang.*
bu	ɾaw-daw₁	tihi	kɾip	bo	hapɾaŋ	maj-naŋ
DEM	strong-CMP	that	all	TOP	know	get-CMM

Whoever can take this person's shirt and the cloth off, that person will be known by everyone as the stronger.

13

Sain	jang	bar—	Ode	thikha	de	jing
sajn	zaŋ	baɾ	ode	tika	de$_1$	ziŋ
sun	COM	wind	and	if	TOP	1PL

jini	khusi	jennang.
ziŋ=ni$_2$	kusi	zen-naŋ
1PL=GEN	work	start-CMM

The Sun and the Wind—In that case, we'll start our work.

14.1

Bongphang—	Jonkho	jonkho,	alangshi	ha	niya.
boŋpaŋ	zon$_2$-ko	zon$_2$-ko	alaŋ-si	ha$_2$	ni$_1$-ja
tree	wait-DPROG	wait-DPROG	instance-one	LOC	COP-NEG

Tree—Wait, wait. Not at one go.

14.2

Saoshi	saoshi	khusi	jen.
saw$_1$-si	saw$_1$-si	kusi	zen
CLF:human-one	CLF:human-one	work	start

Start one at a time.

14.3

Bar	ning	jendasang.
baɾ	niŋ$_1$	zen-da-saŋ
wind	2SG	start-firstly-REQ

Wind, you start first.

15.1

Bar—	Go	ang	shipba	jenkha.
baɾ	go	aŋ	sip=ba$_2$	zen-ka
wind	DEM	1SG	blow=NMLZ	start-PRF

Wind—See, I'm going to start blowing.

15.2

(Bar	*bagjang*	*hu hu*	*khlai*	*hi*	*ship=ba*	*jenkha).*
baɾ	bag=zaŋ	hu hu	klaj	hi	sip=ba$_2$	zen-ka
wind	strong=INS	ONP	do	SUCC	blow=NMLZ	start-PRF

'The Wind started blowing strongly.'

16.1

Lama	*hemyaba*	*subung—*	*Yao*	*bar*	*hamsi*
lama	hem=jaba	subuŋ	jaw	baɾ	ham-si
way	walk=REL	person	EXCLM	wind	good-COND

ning	*raokha*	*lao.*
niŋ$_2$	ɾaw-ka	law
TOP	strong-PRF	MIR$_2$

The person walking on the way—Yao! The wind is really strong now.

16.2

Ri	*khe*	*hamsi*	*shik*	*phungnang.*
ɾi	ke	ham-si	sik	puŋ-naŋ
cloth	ACC	good-ADVB	pull	close-CMM

(I'll) pull close the cloth properly.

17

Lama	*hemyaba*	*ri*	*hamsi*	*shik*	*phungkha,*	*bar*
lama	hem=jaba	ɾi	ham-si	sik	puŋ-ka	baɾ
way	walk=REL	cloth	good-ADVB	pull	close-PRF	wind

bislai	*raodao*	*hi*	*shipdu,*	*bu*	*ri*
bislaj	ɾaw-daw$_1$	hi	sip-du	bu	ɾi
how.many	strong-CMP	SUCC	blow-PIPFV	DEM	cloth

khe	*gejepdao*	*hi*	*yaojang*	*shik*	*phungdaokha.*
ke	gzep-daw$_1$	hi	jaw=zaŋ	sik	puŋ-daw$_1$-ka
ACC	tight-CMP	SUCC	hand=INS	pull	close-CMP-PRF

The man walking on the road held on to the cloth well, the stronger the wind got, the tighter he pulled the cloth with his hands.

18.1

Bar—	*Blaiyakha,*	*ang*	*blaiyakha.*
baɾ	blaj-ja-ka	aŋ	blaj-ja-ka
wind	able-NEG-PRF	1SG	able-NEG-PRF

Wind—I can't, I can't.

18.2

Hamsi	*ran*	*pha*	*hi*	*bo*	*bu*	*subung*
ham-si	ɾan	pa	hi	bo	bu	subuŋ
good-ADVB	effort	APPL	SUCC	TOP	DEM	person

phinyaba	*ri*	*khe*	*kho*	*riphuyakha.*
pin=jaba	ɾi	ke	ko	ɾi-pu-ja-ka
cover=REL	cloth	ACC	take.off	CAUS2-POT-NEG-PRF

Still, after putting in an immense effort he couldn't make the person take off his clothes.

18.3

Sain,	*duha*	*ning*	*nai*	*nai.*
sajn	duha	niŋ$_1$	naj	naj
sun	now	2SG	look	try

Sun, now you try.

19

Sain—	*Dei*	*jadu,*	*ang*	*duha*	*ran*	*pha*	*nainang*
sajn	dej	za-du	aŋ	duha	ɾan	pa	naj-naŋ
sun	ok	be-PIPFV	1SG	now	effort	APPL	try-CMM

Sun—Ok, I'll try and put an effort in now.

20

(Sain	*bongphang*	*khetra*	*khe*	*yao*	*gongin*	*phlao*
sajn	boŋpaŋ	ketɾa	ke	jaw	goŋ-gin	plaw
sun	tree	corner	ACC	hand	CLF:thin-two	stretch

hi	*dungdao*	*rihakha)*
hi	duŋ-daw$_1$	ɾi-ha-ka
SUCC	hot-CMP	CAUS2-TRNS.LOC-PRF

'The Sun, stretching his two arms from the sides of the tree made it hotter.'

21.1

Lama	*hemyaba*	*subung—*	*Yao,*	*duha*	*de*	*dungkha,*
lama	hem=jaba	subuŋ	jaw	duha	de$_1$	duŋ-ka
way	walk=REL	person	EXCLM	now	TOP	hot-PRF

dung=ba	*blaiyakha.*
duŋ=ba$_2$	blaj-ja-ka
hot=NMLZ	able-NEG-PRF

Person walking on the road—Yao! Now it's getting hot, unbearably hot.

21.2

Sola	*ri*	*khokha*	*she*	*gasainsima.*
sola	ɾi	ko-ka	se$_1$	gsajn-si-ma$_1$
shirt	cloth	take.off-PRF	TOP	be.cold-COND-PRSP

It will only be cool if I take off my shirt and clothes.

22.1

(Lama	*hemyaba*	*subung*	*dungjaoba*	*blaiphuya*	*hi*	*sao*
lama	hem=jaba	subuŋ	duŋ-zaw=ba$_2$	blaj-pu-ja	hi	saw$_2$
way	walk=REL	person	hot-PSV=NMLZ	able-POT-NEG	SUCC	body

ni	*ri*	*kho*	*hi*	*bongphang*	*bakhla*	*ha*	*khamkha.*
ni$_2$	ɾi	ko	hi	boŋpaŋ	bkla	ha$_2$	kam-ka
GEN	cloth	take.off	SUCC	tree	below	LOC	sit-PRF

'Unable to take the heat, he sat beneath the tree taking off his body's clothes.

22.2

Sainjang	*bar*	*bo*	*bongphang*	*mithim*	*niprang*	*baigophai*
sajnzaŋ	baɾ	bo	boŋpaŋ	mtim	nipɾaŋ	bajgo-paj
sun=COM	wind	TOP	tree	hiding	ABL	come.out-come

hi	*saoshi*	*jang*	*saoshi*	*phakrong*	*ha*	*yao*
hi	saw$_1$-si	zaŋ	saw$_1$-si	pakɾoŋ	ha$_2$	jaw
SUCC	CLF:human-one	COM	CLF:human-one	shoulder	LOC	hand

remlai	*hi*	*shong*	*phaikha)*
ɾem-laj	hi	soŋ	paj-ka
hold-RECP	SUCC	stand	come-PRF

The Sun and the Wind together came out from hiding, resting their hands on each other's shoulders and stood there.'

23.1

Bar—	*Sain,*	*ang*	*deyakha.*
baɾ	sajn	aŋ	de$_2$-ja-ka
wind	sun	1SG	win-NEG-PRF

Wind—Sun, I lost.

23.2

Ning	*lama*	*hemyaba*	*subung*	*ni*	*ri*	*khe*	*kho*	*riphukha.*
niŋ$_1$	lama	hem=jaba	subuŋ	ni$_2$	ɾi	ke	ko	ɾi-pu-ka
2SG	way	walk=REL	person	GEN	cloth	ACC	take.off	CAUS$_2$-POT-PRF

You were able to take off the person's cloth.

23.3

Ang	*tha*	*ning*	*raodaokha.*
aŋ	ta$_1$	niŋ$_1$	ɾaw-daw$_1$-ka
1SG	DAT	2SG	strong-CMP-PRF

You are stronger than I.

23.4

Gibi	*jang*	*ning*	*khrip*	*tha*	*raodao.*
gibi	zaŋ	niŋ$_1$	kɾip	ta$_1$	ɾaw-daw$_1$
truth	COM	2SG	all	DAT	strong-CMP

Truly, you are stronger than all.

24

Bongphang—	*Sain,*	*ning*	*dini*	*dekha,*	*thikha*	*bo*	*gibin*
boŋpaŋ	sajn	niŋ$_1$	dini	de$_2$-ka	tika	bo	gbin
tree	sun	2SG	today	win-PRF	if	TOP	other

jathai	*ha*	*haba*	*ha*	*de*	*bar*	*bo*	*dema*	*she.*
za-taj$_1$	ha$_2$	haba	ha$_2$	de$_1$	baɾ	bo	de$_2$-ma$_1$	se$_1$
be=NMLZ	LOC	work	LOC	TOP	wind	TOP	win-PRSP	TOP

Tree—Sun, you won today, but in other work the Wind will also win.

25.1

Jar	*jarni*	*khusi*	*ha*	*de*	*khrip*	*bo*	*raobi*	*blaibi.*
zaɾ	zaɾni₂	kusi	ha₂	de₁	kɾip	bo	ɾaw-bi	blaj-bi
REFL	REFL=GEN	work	LOC	TOP	all	TOP	strong-STAT	able-STAT

Everyone is able in one's own work.

25.2

Phirthi	*basao*	*ha*	*dongyaba*	*mi*	*dao,*	*yungthai,*	*guthai,*
piɾti	bsaw	ha₂	doŋ=jaba	mi	daw₁	juŋtaj	gutaj
earth	above	LOC	EXST=REL	animal	bird	worm	insect

bongphang	*samphang*	*ne*	*sain*	*bilai*	*nangdu,*	*bar*	*khe*
boŋpaŋ	sampaŋ	ne₁	sajn	bilaj	naŋ-du	baɾ	ke
tree	grass.plants	DAT	sun	how.much	need-PIPFV	wind	ACC

bo	*khrip*	*ulai*	*ning*	*nangba*	*she.*
bo	kɾip	u-laj₁	niŋ₂	naŋ-ba	se₁
TOP	all	DIST-like	TOP	need-NF:IPFV	TOP

All animals and birds, worms and insects, trees and plants on this earth need air (lit. wind) as much as they need the sun.

7.4.2 Jabailaphure

This oral discourse appears here with permission of the author. The text combines the feel of a folktale with reference to contemporary societal stressors (e.g., COVID-19). The conclusion suggests a certain philosophical perspective on life's problems.

The default ordering of numerals, nouns, and classifiers in Bodo-Garo languages is N CLF-NUM. However, in (1.2), we find the order CLF-NUM COM N. Placing the CLF-NUM compound before the noun yields the definite meaning '(his) only horse'.

Most of the declarative sentences end with the quotative particle /ne/ to communicate 'it is said that'. The same morpheme appears before a direct quote in (1.4), (1.11), (1.13), and other sentences. In these cases, it occurs after the verb /ti/ 'say', yielding structures like: "And to him they said, it is said, ..." (1.4).

When the villagers first address the farmer in (1.4), they express the existence of only one horse and append the verb with the subjunctive mood marker /-mu/. The presence of the mood marker indicates that the situation should have been otherwise; that is, that the farmer should have had more horses.

Sentence (1.19) consists of just two clauses in prospective aspect, yielding the sense "will need care, will need patience."

In (1.27) we find a euphemism for the death of the youths, /zam-tar-ka/ 'have gone entirely away'.

Jabailaphure

Facebook: Dhriti Thaosen

1.1

Mining	*gda*	*ha*	*saoshi*	*hadzi*	*dangyasa*
miniŋ	gda	ha₂	saw₁-si	hadi	daŋ-ja-sa
long.ago	era	LOC	CLF:human-one	paddy.field	work-AGT-person

dongba	*ne.*
doŋ-ba	ne₂
EXST-NF:IPFV	QUOT

It is said that once upon a time there was a farmer.

1.2

Sainshikhali	*bu*	*ni*	*mashi*	*jang*	*gorai*
sajn-si-kali	bu	ni₂	ma-si	zaŋ	goɽaj
day-one-particular.day	3SG	GEN	CLF-one	COM	horse

khrangyaba	*gma*	*langlaba.*
kɽaŋ=jaba	gma	laŋ-la-ba
rear=REL	disappear	away-REFL₂-NF:IPFV

One day the only horse he reared disappeared.

1.3

Bu	*grao*	*khe*	*khana*	*dada,*	*ukhali*	*sainbli*
bu	gɽaw	ke	kna	*dda*	u-kali	sajnbli
DEM	word	ACC	listen	NF	DIST-particular.day	evening

ha,	*bu*	*ni*	*nohari*	*ha*	*dongyarao*	*bunsi*
ha₂	bu	ni₂	nohaɾi	ha₂	doŋjaɽaw	bunsi
LOC	3SG	GEN	neighborhood	LOC	EXST-REL	3PL

ni	*ha*	*nai*	*phaiba.*
ni₂	ha₂	naj	paj-ba
GEN	LOC	look	come-NF:IPFV

Hearing that news, that evening, those living in that neighborhood, came strolling to their place.

1.4

Ode	*bu*	*khe*	*thiba*	*ne,*	*"Mashi*	*jang*
ode	bu	ke	ti₁-ba	ne₂	ma-si	zaŋ
and	3SG	ACC	say-NF:IPFV	QUOT	CLF-one	COM

gorai	*donglabamu.*
goɾaj	doŋ-la-ba-mu
horse	EXST-REFL₂-NF:IPFV-SBJV

And told him, "There was only one horse.

1.5

Bu	*bo*	*khaijao*	*langlakha.*
bu	bo	kaj-zaw	laŋ-la-ka
DEM	TOP	run-MAL	away-REFL₂-PRF

Even that ran away on you.

1.6

Nini	*de*	*khopal*	*ning*	*hamyaba*	*she*	*na?"*
niŋ₂ni₂	de₁	kopal	niŋ₂	ham-ja-ba	se₁	na₂
TOP=GEN	TOP	luck (IA)	TOP	good-NEG-NF:IPFV	TOP	Q

Your luck is bad, right?"

1.7

Uba	*ha*	*hadzi*	*dangyasa*	*bo*	*thilakha*	*ne,*
u=ba₂	ha₂	hadi	daŋ-ja-sa	bo	ti₁-la-ka	ne₂
DIST=NMLZ	LOC	paddy.field	do-AGT-person	TOP	say-REFL₂-PRF	QUOT

"Om,	*jabailaphure."*
om	za-baj-la-pu-ɾe
yes	be-without.intent-REFL₂-POT-SIPFV

At that moment the farmer said, "Yes, may be."

1.8

Nokha	*naiba*	*jang*	*ning*	*gorai*	*la*
noka	naj=ba$_2$	zaŋ	niŋ$_2$	goɾaj	la$_2$
morning	look=NMLZ	COM	TOP	horse	TOP

phai	*phinlakha*	*thidu.*
paj	pin-la-ka	ti$_1$-du
come	return-REFL$_2$-PRF	say-PIPFV

As soon as it was morning, the horse is said to have returned.

1.9

Odehe	*bu*	*gorai*	*jang*	*mar*	*dada*	*ar*	*mashni*
odehe	bu	goɾaj	zaŋ	maɾ	dda	aɾ	ma-sni
and	DEM	horse	COM	take.a.liking	NF	and	CLF-seven

gorai	*phai*	*pabakho*	*ne.*
goɾaj	paj	pa-ba-ko	ne$_2$
horse	come	APPL-NF:IPFV-DPROG	QUOT

And it is said that seven more horses came along with that horse.

1.10

Bu	*grao*	*khe*	*khana*	*dada*	*nolai*	*ni*	*ansa*	*khrao*	*khrip*
bu	gɾaw	ke	kna	dda	nolaj	ni$_2$	ansa	kɾaw	kɾip
DEM	word	ACC	listen	NF	village	GEN	child	aged	all

bo	*phai*	*dada*	*busi*	*ni*	*ha*	*nai*	*phaiba*	*ne.*
bo	paj	dda	busi	ni$_2$	ha$_2$	naj	paj-ba	ne$_2$
TOP	come	NF	3PL	GEN	LOC	look	come-NF:IPFV	QUOT

On hearing that news, even all the children and the elderly came to their place to see.

1.11

Odehe	*bu*	*hadzi*	*dangyasa*	*khe*	*thikha*	*ne,*
odehe	bu	hadi	daŋ-ja-sa	ke	ti₁-ka	ne₂
and	DEM	paddy.field	work-AGT-person	ACC	say-PRF	QUOT

"Mashi	*gorai*	*gmajaoba*	*ha*	*mashni*
ma-si	goɾaj	gma-zaw=ba₂	ha₂	ma-sni
CLF-one	horse	disappear-MAL=NMLZ	LOC	CLF-seven

mai	*singkha*	*na*	*ning*	*de?*
maj	siŋ-ka	na₂	niŋ₁	de₁
get	inward-PRF	Q	2SG	TOP

And told the farmer, "Losing one horse you got seven more horses?

1.12

Baah,	*nini*	*de*	*khopal*	*ning*	*hamba*	*she*	*na?"*
bah	niŋ₁=ni₂	de₁	kopal	niŋ₂	ham-ba	se₁	ne₂
wow	2SG=GEN	TOP	luck (IA)	TOP	good-NF:IPFV	TOP	Q

Wow, your luck is so good right?"

1.13

Uba	*ha*	*hadzi*	*dangyasa*	*bo*	*thilakha*
u=ba₂	ha₂	hadi	daŋ-ja-sa	bo	ti₁-la-ka
DIST=NMLZ	LOC	paddy.field	work-AGT-person	TOP	say-REFL₂-PRF

ne,	*"Jabailaphure."*
ne₂	za-baj-la-pu-ɾe
QUOT	be-without.intent-REFL₂-POT-SIPFV

At that moment the farmer said, "May be."

1.14

Uli	*laoya*	*hi*	*ning*	*hadzi*	*dangyasa*	*ni*	*basa*
uli	law-ja	hi	niŋ₂	hadi	daŋ-ja-sa	ni₂	bsa
like.that	long-NEG	SUCC	TOP	paddy.field	work-AGT-person	GEN	son

bu	*hagra*	*ni*	*gorai*	*mashi*	*ha*	*ga*
bu	hagɾa	ni₂	goɾaj	ma-si	ha₂	ga
DEM	jungle	GEN	horse	CLF-one	LOC	climb

hi	*daobaiba*	*thidu.*
hi	dawbaj-ba	ti₁-du
SUCC	stroll-NF:IPFV	say-PIPFV

Not long after that, it is said that the farmer's son was riding one of the wild horses around.

1.15

Nolaikhro	*ha*	*sohiba*	*la*	*gorai*
nolaj-kɾo	ha₂	so-hi-ba	la₂	goɾaj
village-head	LOC	reach-TRNS.LOC-NF:IPFV	TOP	horse

she	*gibir*	*ja*	*langkha.*
se₁	gibiɾ	za	laŋ-ka
TOP	crazy	be	along-PRF

When (he) reached the main village, the horse became mad.

1.16

Odehe	*bu*	*khe*	*yathep*	*baisi*	*ha*	*ha*	*grai*
odehe	bu	ke	jatep	baj-si	ha₁	ha₂	gɾaj
and	3SG	ACC	leg	break-COND	land	LOC	fall

rikhlakha	*ne.*
ɾi-kla-ka	ne₂
CAUS₂-away-PRF	QUOT

And (the horse) caused the (son) to fall so that his leg broke.

1.17

Odehe	*ukhali*		*sainbli*	*ha*	*ning*	*hadzi*	*dangyasa*
odehe	u-kali		sajnbli	ha₂	niŋ₂	hadi	daŋ-ja-sa
and	DIST-particular.day		evening	LOC	TOP	paddy.field	work-AGT-person

jar	*ni*	*basa*	*khe*	*kobiraj*		*ni*	*ha*	*nai*
zaɾ	ni₂	bsa	ke	kobiɾaz		ni₂	ha₂	naj
REFL	GEN	son	ACC	traditional doctor (IA)		GEN	LOC	look

rihikha	*ne.*
ɾi-hi-ka	ne₂
CAUS₂-TRNS.LOC-PRF	QUOT

And in that very evening, the farmer took his son to see the traditional doctor.

1.18

Odehe	*bu*	*kobiraj*		*bu*	*khe*	*thikha*	*ne,*	*"Nini*
odehe	bu	kobiɾaz		bu	ke	ti₁-ka	ne₂	niŋ₁ni₂
and	DEM	traditional doctor (IA)		3SG	ACC	say-PRF	QUOT	2SG=GEN

basa	*ni*	*yathep*	*de*	*hamba*	*duma*	*she.*
bsa	ni₂	jatep	de₁	ham=ba₂	du-ma₁	se₁
son	GEN	leg	TOP	good=NMLZ	hard-PRSP	TOP

And the traditional doctor told him (the farmer), "It will be hard for your son's leg to recover.

1.19

Hamsi	*naishoma*	*nangma,*	*khalaoma*	*nangma.*
ham-si	najso=ma₁	naŋ-ma₁	kalaw=ma₁	naŋ-ma₁
good-ADVB	care=NMLZ	need-PRSP	patient=NMLZ	need-PRSP

You'll have to take care (of him) properly, (you) have to be patient.

1.20

Duha	*de*	*ning-ni*	*bubli*	*ning*	*hamyaba*	*she.*
duha	de₁	niŋ₁ni₂	bubli	niŋ₂	ham-ja-ba	se₁
now	TOP	2SG=GEN	time	TOP	good-NEG-NF:IPFV	TOP

You are having a hard time now.

1.21

Uba	*ha*	*hadzi*	*dangyasa*	*bo*	*thilakha*
u=ba₂	ha₂	hadi	daŋ-ja-sa	bo	ti₁-la-ka
DIST=NMLZ	LOC	paddy.field	work-AGT-person	TOP	say-REFL₂-PRF

ne,"	*"Jabailaphure."*
ne₂	za-baj-la-pu-ɾe
QUOT	be-without.intent-REFL₂-POT-SIPFV

At that moment the farmer also said, "May be.""

1.22

Saingin	*yahon*	*ha*	*ning*	*jba*	*she*	*ja*	*langkha*	*thidu.*
sajn-gin	jahon	ha₂	niŋ₂	zba	se₁	za	laŋ-ka	ti₁-du
day-two	after	LOC	TOP	war	TOP	happen	along-PRF	say-PIPFV

Two days later, war broke out.

1.23

Ode	*jba*	*thangma*	*ne*	*khlaihi*	*raja*	*nolai*	*nolai*
ode	zba	taŋ-ma₁	ne	klajhi	ɾaza	nolaj	nolaj
and	war	go-PRSP	DAT	for	king	village	village

subung	*rikhiba.*
subuŋ	ɾik-hi-ba
person	call-TRNS.LOC-NF:IPFV

And for going to war the king summoned people village by village.

1.24

nolai	*ni*	*khrip*	*naga*	*jalairao*	*khe*	*langtharlaba.*
nolaj	ni₂	kɾip	naga	zalaj-ɾaw	ke	laŋ-taɾ-la-ba
village	GEN	all	young.man	youth-PL	ACC	take-entirety-REFL₂-NF:IPFV

All the youths were taken away from the village.

1.25

Odehe	*hadzi*	*dangyasa*	*ni*	*basa*	*yathep*	*hamya*
odehe	hadi	daŋ-ja-sa	ni₂	bsa	jatep	ham-ja
and	paddy.field	work-AGT-person	GEN	son	leg	good-NEG

bani	*khlaihi*	*lang*	*phajaoyaba.*
bani	klajhi	laŋ	pa-zaw-ja-ba
therefore	for	take	APPL-PSV-NEG-NF:IPFV

And the farmer's son was not taken along because he broke his leg.

1.26

Buni	*hapthashi*	*yahon*	*ha*	*nolai*	*ni*	*khunang*
buni₂	hapta-si	jahon	ha₂	nolaj	ni₂	kunaŋ
DEM=GEN	week-one	after	LOC	village	GEN	village.headman

mudziru gundziru	*gra*	*dada*	*hadzi*	*dangyasani*	*no*	*ha*
mudiɾu gundiɾu	gɾa	dda	hadi	daŋ-ja-sa=ni₂	no	ha₂
crying.and.sobbing	cry	NF	paddy.field	do-AGT-son=GEN	house	LOC

graojma	*khana*	*ri*	*phaiba*	*ne,*	*"Go,*	*khanakha?*
gɾawzma	kna	ɾi	paj-ba	ne₂	go	kna-ka
news	listen	CAUS₂	come-NF:IPFV	QUOT	DEM	listen-PRF

After a week, the village headman crying and sobbing came to the farmer's house to give the news, "Have you heard?

1.27

Jini	*nolai*	*ni*	*jba*	*thangyarao*	*jamtharkha*	*ne.*
ziŋni₂	nolaj	ni₂	zba	taŋjaɾaw	zam-taɾ-ka	ne₂
1PL=GEN	village	GEN	war	go-REL	finish-entirety-PRF	QUOT

The youth of our village that went to war have all died (lit. 'finished').

1.28

Jba	*ha*	*thitharkha*	*ne.*
zba	ha₂	ti₁-taɾ-ka	ne₂
war	LOC	die-entirety-PRF	QUOT

(All of them) died in the war.

1.29

Nini	*basa*	*khe*	*de*	*madai*	*she*	*skosiba.*
niŋ=ni$_2$	bsa	ke	de$_1$	mdaj	se$_1$	sko-si-ba
2SG=GEN	son	ACC	TOP	God	TOP	rescue-COND-NF:IPFV

Your son was saved by God himself.

1.30

Nini	*de*	*khopal*	*hambi.*
niŋ=ni$_2$	de$_1$	kopal	ham-bi
2SG=GEN	TOP	luck (IA)	good-STAT

You have good luck.

1.31

Uliba	*ha*	*hadzi*	*dangyasa*	*bo*	*thikha*	*ne,"*
uli=ba$_2$	ha$_2$	hadi	daŋ-ja-sa	bo	ti$_1$-ka	ne$_2$
like.that=NMLZ	LOC	paddy.field	work-AGT-person	TOP	say-PRF	QUOT

"Jabailaphure."
za-baj-la-pu-ɾe
be-without.intent-REFL$_2$-POT-SIPFV
At that the farmer said, "May be.""

2

Duha	*ni*	*bubli*	*hamya*	*ni*	*bubli,*
duha	ni$_2$	bubli	ham-ja	ni$_2$	bubli
now	GEN	time	good-NEG	GEN	time

The time now is a bad time.

3

Corona	*ni*	*basain,*	*dukhu*	*ni*	*basain*
corona	ni$_2$	bsajn	duku	ni$_2$	bsajn
corona.virus	GEN	day	trouble	GEN	day

Corona's day, trouble's day.

4

Kha	*ha*	*baothai*	*mashi*
ka	ha₂	baw-taj₁	ma-si
heart	LOC	think=NMLZ	CLF-one

There's one thought in heart.

5

"Jabailaphure."
za-baj-la-pu-ɾe
be-without.intent-REFL₂-POT-SIPFV
"May be."

Chapter VIII: Procedural discourse

8.1   Gala Hon

This recipe describes the preparation of a common food among Dimasas. The text begins and ends with declaratives in realis mood. All of the instructions are given with prospective aspect. This timeless use of prospective aspect is one of the confirmations that /-ma/ is not a tense marker.

The spoken text is provided with permission.

Gala Hon
Collected by Kaberi Sengyung from Dericka Langthasa

1.1

Ang	*duha*	*gala*	*hon*	*samlai*	*ni*	*shongthai*	*thinang.*
aŋ	duha	gala	hon	samlaj	=ni$_2$	soŋ-taj$_1$	ti$_1$-naŋ
1SG	now	bitter.gourd	rice.flour	curry	GEN	cook=NMLZ	say-CMM

Now I'll tell the way to cook *gala hon* (bitter gourd with rice flour).

1.2

skangthao	*ha*	*samlaidik*	*ha*	*gala*	*khe*	*basa*	*basa*
skaŋ-taw	=ha$_2$	samlajdik	=ha$_2$	gala	=ke	bsa	bsa
first-SUP	LOC	sauce.pan	LOC	bitter.gourd	ACC	small	small

lep	*hi*	*dzi*	*ha*	*ruma.*
lep	hi	di	=ha$_2$	ɾu-ma$_1$
slice	SUCC	water	LOC	boil-PRSP

First, we'll slice the bitter gourd into small pieces and boil it in water.

1.3

Buni	yahon	ha	ura	sem	jang	morshai	jar
buni₂	jahon	=ha₂	uɾa	sem	=zaŋ	moɾsaj	zaɾ
DEM=GEN	after	LOC	there	salt	COM	chilli	REFL

thaojaoba	ni	basao	ha	rima.
taw₁-zaw=ba₂	=ni₂	bsaw	=ha₂	ɾi-ma₁
taste-PSV=NMLZ	GEN	above	LOC	give-PRSP

After that, we'll add salt and chilli based on one's taste.

1.4

Bu	ni	yahon	ha	naplam	samlai	khe	nai	hi	rima.
bu	=ni₂	jahon	=ha₂	naplam	samlaj	=ke	naj	hi	ɾi-ma₁
DEM	GEN	after	LOC	dry.fish	curry	ACC	look	SUCC	give-PRSP

After that, the dried fish will be added according to the need of the curry.

1.5

Samlai	gududzi	gududzi	ha	hon	khe	khre	khre	samlai
samlaj	gudu-di₂	gudu-di₂	=ha₂	hon	=ke	kɾe	kɾe	samlaj
curry	boil-nearly	boil-nearly	LOC	rice.flour	ACC	slowly	slowly	curry

khe	baidingsaiba	ha	ri	phalangma.
=ke	bajdiŋ-saj=ba₂	=ha₂	ɾi	palaŋ-ma₁
ACC	stir-CONT=NMLZ	LOC	give	along-PRSP

When the curry is about to boil, the rice flour must be added slowly, while stirring the curry.

1.6

Samlai	mindzi	mindzi	ha	samprangguphu	khe
samlaj	min-di₂	min-di₂	=ha₂	sampɾaŋ gupu	=ke
curry	be.cooked-nearly	be.cooked-nearly	LOC	garlic	ACC

dokhli	hi	rima.
do-kli	hi	ɾi-ma₁
beat-into.bits	SUCC	give-PRSP

When the curry is almost done the garlic should be ground and added.

1.7

Ilai	*gala*	*hon*	*khe*	*shongdu.*
i-laj$_1$	gala	hon	=ke	soŋ-du
PRX-like	bitter.gourd	rice.flour	ACC	cook-PIPFV

This is how gala hon is cooked.

1.8

Ibu	*samlai*	*khe*	*magainba*	*basain*	*ha*	*gudung*
i-bu	samlaj	=ke	mgajn=ba$_2$	bsajn	=ha$_2$	gduŋ
PRX-DEM	curry	ACC	cold=NMLZ	day	LOC	hot

gudung	*jiba*	*thaobi.*
gduŋ	zi=ba$_2$	taw$_1$-bi
hot	eat=NMLZ	taste-STAT

This curry tastes good when eaten hot on cold days.

Chapter IX: Reports

9.1   Description

9.1.1   Assam

A recurring pattern in the text is that in locative declarations, the location is stated before the identification of the thing being located (1.3), (1.5), (2.1), (2.2), (3.1), etc. Of the solar directions, the most morphologically simple is 'east' (1.3), while 'west' is 'sunset'=NMLZ (1.4). 'North' and 'south' are composed of 'sun'-'left/right'-direction (1.5), (1.6).

    Another notable feature is the lack of accusative marking on the object 'paddy fields' (3.3). Adding accusative marking would add the specification of definiteness. For example, /maj=ke/ would mean '(grows) the rice'.

    The text has relatively little discourse marking, perhaps due to its origin as a written text. This text is provided here by permission.

Assam

*Source – (Ani Grao – 3) A Dimasa Language Primer For Beginners Editor –
Dimasa Sahitya Sabha Publisher – Primary Education Department –
Dima Hasao Autonomous Council, Haflong.*

1.1

Assam	*jini*	*raji.*	
Assam	ziŋ=ni₂	ɾazi	
PN	1PL=GEN	state	

Assam is our state.

1.2

Dispur	*bu*	*ni*	*rajdhani.*
dispur	bu	=ni₂	rajdhani
PN	DEM	GEN	capital (IA)

Dispur is its capital.

1.3

Assam	*ni*	*sainja*	*gede*	*Manipur*	*jang*	*Nagaland,*
Assam	=ni$_2$	sajnza	gde	Manipur	=zaŋ	Nagaland
PN	GEN	east	direction	PN	COM	PN

To the east of Assam are Manipur and Nagaland,

1.4

sainjoroba	*gede*	*Bangladesh*	*ode*	*West*	*Bengal.*
sajnzɾo=ba$_2$	gde	Bangladesh	ode	West	Bengal
sunset=NMLZ	direction	PN	and	PN	

to the west are Bangladesh and West Bengal.

1.5

Ibu	*ni*	*sain*	*yaosi*	*gede*	*Bhutan*	*jang*	*Arunachal*	*Pradesh*
i-bu	=ni$_2$	sajn	jawsi	gde	Bhutan	=zaŋ	Arunachal	Pradesh
PRX-DEM	GEN	sun	left	direction	PN	COM	PN	

To the left side of the sun are Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh,

1.6

odehe	*sain*	*yaoda*	*gede*	*Mizoram*	*jang*	*Tripura*	*raji.*
odehe	sajn	yaoda	gde	Mizoram	=zaŋ	Tripura	ɾazi
and	sun	right	direction	PN	COM	PN	state

and to the right side of the sun are Mizoram and Tripura state.

2.1

Ibu	*raji*	*ha*	*hajik*	*harang*	*bangbi.*
i-bu	ɾazi	=ha$_2$	hazik	haɾaŋ	baŋ-bi
PRX-DEM	state	LOC	hill	slope	be.much-STAT

There are many hills and slopes in the state.

2.2

Assam	*raji*	*bising*	*ha*	*Karbi*	*Anglong*	*jang*	*Dima Hasao*
Assam	ɾazi	bisiŋ	=ha₂	Karbi	Anglong	=zaŋ	dima hasaw
PN	state	inside	LOC	PN		COM	PN

magin	*hajik*	*jila*	*dong.*
ma-gin	hazik	jila	doŋ
CLF-two	hill	district (IA)	EXST

Karbi Anglong and Dima Hasao are the two hill districts in the state of Assam.

2.3

Ibu	*jila*	*magin*	*ha*	*hajing,*	*mai,*	*sibling*
i-bu	jila	ma-gin	=ha₂	haziŋ	maj	sibliŋ
PRX-DEM	district (IA)	CLF-two	LOC	ginger	rice	black.sesame

ode	*khun*	*bo*	*maidu.*
ode	kun	bo	maj-du
and	thread	TOP	get-PIPFV

Ginger, rice, black sesame and thread are also obtained in these two districts.

3.1

Assam	*raji*	*ha*	*gede*	*khasi*	*dzibu*	*buthu*
Assam	ɾazi	=ha₂	gde	kasi	dibu	bu-tu
PN	state	LOC	big	small	water.ways	DEM-PL

ha	*Brahmaputra*	*dedaothao.*
ha₂	Brahmaputra	de-daw₁-taw
LOC	PN	big-CMP-SUP

Among the big or small water ways, the Brahmaputra is the biggest one in the state of Assam.

3.2

Ibu	*ni*	*yaoda*	*yaosi*	*haphlai*	*bangbi.*
i-bu	=ni₂	yaoda	jawsi	haplaj	baŋ-bi
PRX-DEM	GEN	right	left	plains	be.much-STAT

On its left and right there are many plains.

3.3

Haphlai	*ha*	*hadzi*	*dangdu*	*mai*	*maidu.*
haplaj	=ha₂	hadi	daŋ-du	maj	maj-du
plains	LOC	paddy.field	do-PIPFV	rice	get-PIPFV

In the plains, paddy fields are worked and rice is obtained.

3.4

Dibrugarh,	*Tinsukia,*	*Cachar*	*hathani*		*ha*	*cha*
Dibrugarh	Tinsukia	Cachar	hatan		=ha₂	cha
PN	PN	PN	place.of.dwelling		LOC	tea

gabang	*ning*	*maidu.*
gbaŋ	niŋ₂	maj-du
much	TOP	get-PIPFV

In the places Dibrugarh, Tinsukia, and Cachar, tea is abundantly found.

3.5

Assam	*niphrang*	*gibin*	*hathani*	*ha*
Assam	=nipɽaŋ	gbin	hatan	=ha₂
PN	ABL	other	place.of.dwelling	LOC

cha	*haihadu.*
cha	haj-ha-du
tea	send-TRNS.LOC-PIPFV

From Assam to other places, tea is exported.

3.6

Ibu	*khe*	*gar*	*hi*	*bo*	*Digboi,*	*Duliajan,*
i-bu	=ke	gaɽ	hi	bo	Digboi	Duliajan
PRX-DEM	ACC	leave	SUCC	TOP	PN	PN

Naharkatia	*hathani*	*ha*	*thao*	*maidukho.*
Naharkatia	hatan	=ha₂	taw₁	maj-du-ko
PN	place.of.dwelling	LOC	oil	get-PIPFV-DPROG

Aside from these, in the places Digboi, Duliajan, and Naharkatia, oil is obtained.

4.1

Assam	*ni*	*bising*	*ha*	*Guwahati,*	*Dibrugarh,*	*Silchar,*
Assam	=ni₂	bisiŋ	=ha₂	Guwahati	Dibrugarh	Silchar
PN	GEN	inside	LOC	PN	PN	PN

Tezpur	*ha*	*university*	*dong.*
Tezpur	=ha₂	university	doŋ
PN	LOC	university	EXST

Within Assam there are universities in Guwahati, Dibrugarh, Silchar and Tezpur.

4.2

Ibu	*khe*	*gar*	*hi*	*bo*	*medical*	*college,*
i-bu	=ke	gaɾ	hi	bo	medical	college
PRX-DEM	ACC	leave	SUCC	TOP	medical	college

engineering	*college*	*dongkho.*
engineering	college	doŋ-ko
engineering	college	EXST-DPROG

Apart from these, there are also engineering and medical colleges.

5.1

Assam	*raji*	*ha*	*khrip*	*jadi*	*ni*	*subung*	*dong.*
Assam	ɾazi	=ha₂	kɾip	zadi	=ni₂	subuŋ	doŋ
PN	state	LOC	all	community	GEN	person	EXST

In the state of Assam, there are people from all communities.

5.2

Bunsi	*jar*	*ni*	*grao*	*jar*	*joladu*	*odehe*
bunsi	zaɾ	=ni₂	gɾaw	zaɾ	zo-la-du	odehe
3PL	REFL	GEN	word	REFL	speak-REFL₂-PIPFV	and

dhormo	*bo*	*yawailadu.*
doɾmo	bo	jawaj-la-du
religion (IA)	TOP	use-REFL₂-PIPFV

They speak their own languages and follow their own religions.

5.3

Assam	raji	ni	hagra	bongra	ha	dam	gnang
Assam	ɾazi	=ni₂	hagɾa	bongɾa	=ha₂	dam	gnaŋ
PN	state	GEN	jungle	old.woods	LOC	price (IA)	rich

bongphang	bangbi.
boŋpaŋ	baŋ-bi
tree	be.much-STAT

In the jungles and forests of Assam, there are many valuable trees.

5.4

Kaziranga	ni	hagra	bongra	ha	dao	mi
Kaziranga	=ni₂	hagɾa	bongɾa	=ha₂	daw₁	mi
PN	GEN	jungle	old.woods	LOC	bird	animal

bo	bangbi.
bo	baŋ-bi
TOP	be.much-STAT

There are many birds and animals in the forests and woods in Kaziranga.

5.5

Ura	ha	bogrongshiyaba	gondar	maidu.
uɾa	=ha₂	bogɾoŋ-si=jaba	gondaɾ	maj-du
there	LOC	horn-one=REL	rhinoceros	get-PIPFV

There the one-horned rhino is also found.

5.6

Gibin	hathani	ni	subung	ura	ni	hagra
gbin	hatan	=ni₂	subuŋ	uɾa	=ni₂	hagɾa
other	place.of.dwelling	GEN	person	there	GEN	jungle

khe	nu	hi	majangjaore
=ke	nu	hi	mzaŋ-zaw-ɾe
ACC	see	SUCC	beautiful-PSV-SIPFV

People from different places find the forest beautiful,

5.7

odehe	dao	mi	khe	nu	hi	bo	khajare.
odehe	daw₁	mi	=ke	nu	hi	bo	kza-ɾe
and	bird	animal	ACC	see	SUCC	TOP	be.happy-SIPFV

and seeing the birds and animals, become happy.

5.8

Gibi	jang	ning	jini	Assam	hamsining	majangbi.
gibi	=zaŋ	niŋ₂	ziŋ=ni₂	Assam	hamsiniŋ	mzaŋ-bi
truth	COM	TOP	1PL=GEN	PN	immensely	beautiful-STAT

Truly, our Assam is really beautiful.

9.2   Explanation

9.2.1   Lemon/Thaisa

There are several grammatical features of interest in this text. Temporality in (5.1) is marked with the locative clitic /ha/. Unlike process texts, prospective is not used much in this text. Perfect tense /-ka/, as in (5.3), shows completion of drinking the spoonful of lemon juice. Present imperfective is used to indicate general truths, such as 'it's a good idea to', also in (5.3).

In (6.1) the accusative case marking indicates that the verb phrase literally means 'drink lemon juice a spoon of (it)' rather than 'drink one spoon of lemon juice'. In (6.2), present imperfective marking /-du/ appears, rather than the prospective /-ma/. Use of the present imperfective connotes a greater degree of certainty than if the prospective were used, much like the futurate use of present tense in English.

This written text is provided here with permission.

Thaisa
Lemon
Haflong Khurang, Facebook.

1

Thaisa	sao	ne	khlaihi	hambi,	muli	she.
tajsa	saw₂	=ne₁	klajhi	ham-bi	muli	se₁
lemon	body	DAT	for	good-STAT	medicine	TOP

Lemon is good for the health, it's even a medicine.

2.1

Bthai bkhim	*ha*	*muli*	*maiyaba*	*bangbi.*
btaj bkim	=ha₂	muli	maj=jaba	baŋ-bi
fruits.and.flowers	LOC	medicine	get=REL	be.much-STAT

Many medicines are obtained from fruits and flowers.

2.2

Ulaiba	*ha*	*belthai,*	*thailik*	*gthang,*	*thintri*	*gimin*
u-laj₁=ba₂	=ha₂	beltaj	tajlik	gtaŋ	tintɾi	gimin
DIST-like=NMLZ	LOC	bael.fruit	banana	unripe	tamarind	ripe

bogrong,	*slekathai,*	*powathai,*	*thaisudi,*	*hamlaithai,*	*phanthao*
bogɾoŋ	slikataj	powataj	tajsudi	hamlajtaj	pantaw
seed	haritaki	soapberry	hog.plum	indian.gooseberry	egg.plant

gimin,	*hondra*	*bugur*	*odehe*	*gibin*	*gibin*
gimin	hondɾa	bguɾ	odehe	gbin	gbin
ripe	orange.fruit	peel	and	other	other

dongkho	*khrip*	*muli*	*lai*	*yawaidu.*
doŋ-ko	kɾip	muli	laj₁	jawaj-du
EXST-DPROG	all	medicine	like	use-PIPFV

Among these bael fruits, raw banana, seeds of ripe tamarind, haritaki, soap berry, hog plum, gooseberry, ripe eggplant, peel of orange and various others can be used like medicine.

3.1

Ulaiba	*ha*	*thaisa*	*khe*	*bo*	*rajirao*
u-laj₁=ba₂	=ha₂	tajsa	=ke	bo	ɾazi-ɾaw
DIST-like=NMLZ	LOC	lemon	ACC	TOP	society-PL

muli	*lai*	*yawailaphudu.*
muli	laj₁	jawaj-la-pu-du
medicine	like	use-REFL₂-POT-PIPFV

In the same way, lemon can also be used by people as medicine.

3.2

Thaisa	*ha*	*Vitamin C*	*dong*	*thihi*	*scientistrao*	*proman*
tajsa	=ha$_2$	vitamin C	doŋ	tihi	scientist-ɾaw	proman
lemon	LOC	vitamin C	EXST	that	scientist-PL	prove (IA)

khlai	*hi*	*dengdu.*
klaj	hi	deŋ-du
do	SUCC	keep-PIPFV

Scientists have proven that lemon contains vitamin C.

3.3

Ilai	*thaisa*	*khe*	*sainmidi*	*makham*	*jiba*	*ha*
i-laj$_1$	tajsa	=ke	sajnmidi	mkam	zi=ba$_2$	=ha$_2$
PRX-like	lemon	ACC	often	food	eat=NMLZ	LOC

ansa	*niprang*	*ji*	*hi*	*phaidu*	*thikha*	*de*	*sao*
ansa	nipɾaŋ	zi	hi	paj-du	tika	de$_1$	saw$_2$
child	ABL	eat	SUCC	come-PIPFV	if	TOP	body

ha	*bemar*	*jaba*	*gbaba*	*khom*	*jadu.*
=ha$_2$	bemaɾ	za=ba$_2$	gba=ba$_2$	kom	za-du
LOC	sickness (IA)	happen=NMLZ	spread=NMLZ	less (IA)	happen-PIPFV

Because of this, if we eat lemon everyday from childhood it reduces incidence and spread within the body of illness.

3.4

Ode	*saogur*	*bo*	*hamdaodu.*
ode	saw$_2$-guɾ	bo	ham-daw$_1$-du
and	body-skin	TOP	good-CMP-PIPFV

And also the skin becomes better.

3.5

Sao	ha	bemar	giri	riba		jang	baoshi
saw₂	=ha₂	bemaɾ	giɾi	ɾi=ba₂		zaŋ	bawsi
body	LOC	sickness (IA)	INEXST	CAUS₂=NMLZ		COM	same

bemar	gbaginyaba	khe	bo	thaisa	mthaodu.
bemaɾ	gba-gin=jaba	=ke	bo	tajsa	mtaw-du
sickness (IA)	spread-SPCF=REL	ACC	TOP	lemon	stop-PIPFV

Along with wiping out the diseases of the body, it also causes the diseases that can be contracted from another person to be stopped.

4

Thaisa	jang	khisakhusuyaba	bemar	khe	ham
tajsa	zaŋ	kisa ~ kusu=jaba	bemaɾ	=ke	ham
lemon	INS	a.little-ATT=REL	sickness (IA)	ACC	good

riyaba	khe	bakhla	ha	repdu.
ɾi=jaba	=ke	bkla	=ha₂	ɾep-du
CAUS₂=REL	ACC	below	LOC	write-PIPFV

The minor illnesses that can be cured by lemon are written below.

5.1

Asaba	bubli	ha	odehe	bar dzi	gadain	jaba	ha
asaba	bubli	=ha₂	odehe	baɾ di	gdajn	za=ba₂	=ha₂
any	time	LOC	and	environment	new	be=NMLZ	LOC

garang	sadu	ode	gonggrai	bo	jadu.
gaɾaŋ	sa-du	ode	goŋgɾaj	bo	za-du
throat	hurt-PIPFV	and	cold	TOP	be-PIPFV

At any time, or when in a new environment, the throat hurts and also gets cold.

5.2

Ilai	*jadu*	*thikha*	*de*	*thaisa*	*bidzi*	*khe*	*dzi*
i-laj₁	za-du	tika	de₁	tajsa	bidi	=ke	di
PRX-like	be-PIPFV	if	TOP	lemon	juice	ACC	water

gudung	*jang*	*linghakha*		*ning*	*garang*	*sayaba,*
gduŋ	=zaŋ	liŋ-ha-ka		niŋ₂	garaŋ	sa=jaba
hot	COM	drink-TRNS.LOC-PRF		TOP	throat	hurt=REL

gonggrai	*jama*	*baoyaba*	*hamlangdu.*
goŋɤaj	za-ma₁	baw=jaba	ham-laŋ-du
cold	happen-PRSP	think=REL	good-along-PIPFV

If this happens, drinking lemon juice with warm water makes the throat pain and the cold become better.

5.3

Khepshi	*jang*	*hamya*	*thikha*	*bo*	*phrong*	*sainjer*
kep-si	=zaŋ	ham-ja	tika	bo	pɤoŋ	sajnzeɾ
CLF:a slice of-one	INS	good-NEG	if	TOP	morning	noon

sainbli,	*phintham,*	*lingkha*	*ning*	*hamdu.*
sajnbli	pin-tam	liŋ-ka	niŋ	ham-du
evening	repeat-three	drink-PRF	TOP	good-PIPFV

If after once it doesn't improve, drinking it three times in morning, noon and evening—it will be good.

6.1

Hang	*laba*	*ha*	*khisa*	*khisa*	*sakha*	*de*	*makham*
haŋ	la₁=ba₂	=ha₂	kisa	kisa	sa-ka	de₁	mkam
breath	take=NMLZ	LOC	a.little	a.little	hurt-PRF	TOP	food

jima	*ni*	*skang*	*odehe*	*asaba*	*jima*	*ni*	*skang*
zi-ma₁	=ni₂	skaŋ	odehe	asaba	zi-ma₁	ni₂	skaŋ
eat-PRSP	GEN	before	and	any	eat-PRSP	GEN	before

ha	*Thaisa*	*bidzi*	*khe*	*mashi*	*samosh*	*lingkha*
=ha₂	tajsa	bidi	=ke	ma-si	samosh	liŋ-ka
LOC	lemon	juice	ACC	CLF-one	spoon (IA)	drink-PRF

de   *hang*   *laba*   *ha*   *sayadaodu.*
de_1 haŋ la_1=ba_2 =ha_2 sa-ja-daw_1-du
TOP   breath   take=NMLZ   LOC   hurt-NEG-CMP-PIPFV

If breathing hurts a little, then before eating food or before eating anything, drinking one spoon of lemon juice can reduce the pain while breathing.

6.2

Hang   *laba*   *ha*   *ragaosisi*   *jadaodu.*
haŋ la_1=ba_2 =ha_2 ɽgaw-si-si   za-daw_1-du
breath   take=NMLZ   LOC   clean-ADVB-ADVB   happen-CMP-PIPFV

The breathing becomes cleaner.

7.1

Jiba   *lingba*   *jaya*   *hi*   *liver*   *khisa*   *hamya*   *jakha*
zi=ba_2 liŋ=ba_2 za-ja   hi   liver   kisa   ham-ja   za-ka
eat=NMLZ   drink=NMLZ   be-NEG   SUCC   liver   a.little   good-NEG   be-PRF

de   *sainmidi*   *phrong*   *ni*   *makham*   *jima*   *ni*   *skang*
de_1 sajnmidi   pɽoŋ   =ni_2 mkam   zi-ma_1 =ni_2 skaŋ
TOP   often   morning   GEN   food   eat-PRSP   GEN   before

ha   *Thaisa*   *bidzi*   *khe*   *dzi*   *dungbru*   *ha*
ha_2 tajsa   bidi   =ke   di   duŋbɽu   =ha_2
LOC   lemon   juice   ACC   water   lukewarm   LOC

gibring   *hi*   *lingkha*   *de*   *liver*   *hamdao*   *phalangdu.*
gibɽiŋ   hi   liŋ-ka de_1 liver   ham-daw_1 palaŋ-du
mix   SUCC   drink-PRF   TOP   liver   good-CMP   along-PIPFV

If the liver becomes affected because of the wrong eating and drinking habits, then drinking lemon juice mixed in lukewarm water before the morning food helps in curing the liver.

7.2

Hamyaba	*raokha*	*la*	*doctor*	*ni*	*muli*	*jima*
ham-ja=ba$_2$	ɾaw-ka	la$_2$	doctor	=ni$_2$	muli	zi=ma$_1$
good-NEG=NMLZ	strong-PRF	TOP	doctor	GEN	medicine	eat=NMLZ

nangdu,	*khisa*	*hamyaba*	*ha*	*de*	*ibu*	*jang*
naŋ-du	kisa	ham-ja=ba$_2$	=ha$_2$	de$_1$	i-bu	=zaŋ
need-PIPFV	a.little	good-NEG=NMLZ	LOC	TOP	PRX-DEM	INS

ning	*hamdu.*
niŋ$_2$	ham-du
TOP	good-PIPFV

If it gets worse then it is required to take a doctor's medicine, if it's a little bad then it can be cured in this way.

8.1

Makham,	*na*	*mogong*	*jiba*	*ha*	*boho laikha*	*de*
mkam	na$_1$	mgoŋ	zi=ba$_2$	=ha$_2$	bho laj-ka	de$_1$
food	fish	meat	eat=NMLZ	LOC	loose.motion-PRF	TOP

odehe	*ji*	*hi*	*mulu*	*mejer*	*jaba*	*ni*
odehe	zi	hi	mulu	mzeɾ	za=ba$_2$	=ni$_2$
and	eat	SUCC	pukish.feeling	giddy/dizzy	be=NMLZ	GEN

bubli	*ha,*	*hogang jaigang*	*jaba*	*ha,*	*Thaisa*	*bidzi*	*khe*
bubli	=ha$_2$	hogaŋ zajgaŋ	za=ba$_2$	=ha$_2$	tajsa	bidi	=ke
time	LOC	lethargic	be=NMLZ	LOC	lemon	juice	ACC

dzi	*ha*	*gibring*	*hi*	*lingkha*	*de*	*dei*	*thihaba*
di	=ha$_2$	gibriŋ	hi	liŋ-ka	de$_1$	dej	ti$_1$-ha=ba$_2$
water	LOC	mix	SUCC	drink-PRF	TOP	ok	blood-TRNS.LOC=NMLZ

ha	*ning*	*hamlangdu.*
=ha$_2$	niŋ$_2$	ham-laŋ-du
LOC	TOP	good-along-PIPFV

If after eating food, fish or meat, one gets diarrhea, or feels nauseous or dizzy or lethargic, then drinking lemon juice mixed in water makes it feel better instantly.

8.2

Ode	*bani*	*mosla*	*bangyaba*	*samlai*	*jang*	*makham*	*jiba*
ode	bani	mosla	baŋ=jaba	samlaj	zaŋ	mkam	zi=ba₂
and	therefore	masala (IA)	be.much=REL	curry	COM	food	eat=NMLZ

ha	*Thaisa*	*khe*	*nalai*	*bo*	*hotel*	*ha*	*ri*	*phadu.*
=ha₂	tajsa	=ke	nalaj	bo	hotel	=ha₂	ɾi	pa-du
LOC	lemon	ACC	every.day	TOP	hotel	LOC	give	APPL-PIPFV

That is why lemon is served along with spice enriched curries in hotels.

9

Sain	*jang*	*saogur*	*khamba*	*ha-*
sajn	=zaŋ	saw₂-guɾ	kam=ba₂	=ha₂
day	INS	body-skin	burn=NMLZ	LOC

When skin gets sunburned:

10.1

Hamsi	*sain*	*raoyaba*	*ha*	*dongkha*	*de*	*saogur*	*khamdu.*
ham-si	sajn	ɾaw=jaba	=ha₂	doŋ-ka	de₁	saw₂-guɾ	kam-du
good-ADVB	sun	strong=REL	LOC	EXST-PRF	TOP	body-skin	burn-PIPFV

The body skin gets burned when staying in scorching heat.

10.2

Ulai	*saogur*	*khamyaba*	*khe*	*srap*	*nalai*	*ni*	*saogur*
u-laj₁	saw₂-guɾ	kam=jaba	=ke	sɾap	nalaj	=ni₂	saw₂-guɾ
DIST-like	body-skin	burn=REL	ACC	soon	every.day	GEN	body-skin

ha	*labuphinma*		*thikha*	*de*	*Thaisa*	*bidzi*	*khe*	*lingma*
=ha₂	labu-pin-ma₁		tika	de₁	tajsa	bidi	=ke	liŋ-ma₁
LOC	bring-repeat-PRSP		if	TOP	lemon	juice	ACC	drink-PRSP

ode	*dzi*	*ha*	*misi*	*hi*	*Thaisa*	*bugur*	*khe*	*sain*
ode	di	=ha₂	misi	hi	tajsa	bguɾ	=ke	sajn
and	water	LOC	soak	SUCC	lemon	peel	ACC	sun

khamyaba	*ha*	*huba*	*bo*	*hamdu.*
kam=jaba	=ha₂	hu=ba₂	bo	ham-du
burn=REL	LOC	paint=NMLZ	TOP	good-PIPFV

In order to bring the sunburned skin back to normal skin then drinking lemon juice and applying the peel of the lemon soaked in water makes it better.

11

Gonggrai	*gushuba*	*ha-*
goŋgɾaj	gusu=ba₂	ha₂
cold	cough=NMLZ	LOC

When there is cold or cough:

12.1

Botor	*slaiba*	*ha*	*dorga*	*gonggrai*	*gushudu*	*thikha*
botoɾ	slaj=ba₂	=ha₂	doɾga	goŋgɾaj	gusu-du	tika
season	change=NMLZ	LOC	sudden	cold	cough-PIPFV	if

de	*Thaisa*	*bidzi*	*khe*	*dzi*	*dungbru*	*ha*	*sepsing*
de₁	tajsa	bidi	=ke	di	duŋbɾu	=ha₂	sep-siŋ
TOP	lemon	juice	ACC	water	lukewarm	LOC	squeeze-inward

hi	*lingkha*	*ning*	*hamdu.*
hi	liŋ-ka	niŋ₂	ham-du
SUCC	drink-PRF	TOP	good-PIPFV

When there is a sudden change in weather and one gets a cold and cough, drinking lemon juice squeezed into lukewarm water makes one feel better.

12.2

Gonggrai	*gushu*	*riyaba*	*biyadi*	*khe*	*odehe*	*negerphudu.*
goŋgɾaj	gusu	ɾi=jaba	bijadi	=ke	odehe	ngeɾ-pu-du
cold	cough	CAUS₂=REL	sickness (IA)	ACC	and	control-POT-PIPFV

The sickness causing cold and cough can be killed and controlled.

13

Yaojora	*yajora*	*saba*	*ha-*
jawzoɾa	jazoɾa	sa=ba₂	=ha₂
joints.of.hand	joints.of.legs	hurt=NMLZ	LOC

When arm or leg joints hurt:

14.1

Yao	*ega*	*mujudu*			*odehe*	*khisa*	*khisa*	*sadu*
jaw	ega	muzu-du			odehe	kisa	kisa	sa-du
hand	leg	stinging.senzation-PIPFV			and	a.little	a.little	hurt-PIPFV

thikha	*de*	*nalai*	*bo*	*Thaisa*	*bidzi*	*khe*	*dzi*	*ha*	*gibring*
tika	de₁	nalaj	bo	tajsa	bidi	ke	di	=ha₂	gibɾiŋ
if	TOP	every.day	TOP	lemon	juice	ACC	water	LOC	mix

hi	*phrong*	*sainbli*	*ling*	*hi*	*haptashi*	*nai*	*naila.*
hi	pɾoŋ	sajnbli	liŋ	hi	hapta-si	naj	naj-la
SUCC	morning	evening	drink	SUCC	week (IA) -one	look	try-REFL₂

If the arm or leg aches and feels a little pain, then try for a week drinking lemon juice mixed in water in morning and evening.

14.2

Nini	*sayaba*	*hamthardu.*
niŋ₁=ni₂	sa=jaba	ham-taɾ-du
2SG=GEN	hurt=REL	good-entirety-PIPFV

Your pain will all get better.

15

Sao	*ni*	*beher*	*bangya*	*ridaodu-*
saw₂	ni₂	beheɾ	baŋ-ja	ɾi-daw₁-du
body	GEN	weight	be.much-NEG	CAUS₂-CMP-PIPFV

Reduction of body weight:

16.1

Nalai	*bo*	*makham*	*jiba*	*ha*	*Thaisa*	*ji*	*phakha*	*de*
nalaj	bo	mkam	zi=ba₂	=ha₂	tajsa	zi	pa-ka	de₁
every.day	TOP	food	eat=NMLZ	LOC	lemon	eat	APPL-PRF	TOP

makham	*jiba*	*hojom*	*jaba*	*laidao.*
mkam	zi=ba₂	hozom	za=ba₂	laj₂-daw₁
food	eat=NMLZ	digest (IA)	happen=NMLZ	easy-CMP

Eating lemon everyday while having food makes digestion easier.

16.2

Ode	*makham*	*ji*	*hi*	*sao*	*ha*	*buplam*	*bojom*
ode	mkam	zi	hi	saw$_2$	=ha$_2$	buplam	bzom
and	food	eat	SUCC	body	LOC	fats	collect

jaginyaba	*khe*	*bo*	*khom*	*khlaidu.*
za-gin=jaba	=ke	bo	kom	klaj-du
happen-SPCF=REL	ACC	TOP	less (IA)	do-PIPFV

And it also reduces the accumulation of fat in the body as a result of eating.

16.3

Ode	*bani*	*nalai*	*bo*	*makham*	*jiba*	*ha*	*Thaisa*
ode	bani	nalaj	bo	mkam	zi=ba$_2$	=ha$_2$	tajsa
and	therefore	every.day	TOP	food	eat=NMLZ	LOC	lemon

ji	*phakha*	*de*	*sao*	*ha*	*buplam*	*khayadaoma*
zi	pa-ka	de$_1$	saw$_2$	=ha$_2$	buplam	ka-ja-daw$_1$-ma$_1$
eat	APPL-PRF	TOP	body	LOC	fats	form-NEG-CMP-PRSP

ode	*beher*	*khom*	*jama.*
ode	beheɾ	kom	za-ma$_1$
and	weight	less (IA)	be-PRSP

That's why eating lemon along with food will lessen the fat accumulation and weight.

9.2.2   Swine flu / Hono ni Bemar

The following public service announcement appeared in print, and is provided here with permission. The first part of the text is structured as a sequence of monoclausal declarative statements with stative verbs in present imperfective tense-aspect (marked with /-du/).

The second and third parts of the text are each introduced with a question in prospective aspect. The answers are a series of prohibitives (marked with /da-/), as well as imperatives (bare verb stems). Due to the generic nature of the statives in part one, and the structure of imperatives and prohibitives in parts two and three, there are almost no subjects in the entire text. The only pronouns are in the questions; that is, the reflexive /zar/ in (11) and the first person singular in (21).

Hono ni Bemar

Haflong Khurang, Facebook.

1

Hono	*ni*	*bemar*	*odehe*	*bemar*	*jathai*
hono	ni$_2$	bemaɾ	odehe	bemaɾ	za-taj$_1$
pig	GEN	sickness (IA)	and	sickness (IA)	be=NMLZ

Swine flu and symptoms.

2

Sao	*madaoplungdu.*
saw$_2$	mdaw-pluŋ-du
body	itch-unrestricted-PIPFV

Body itches all over.

3

Magainjaodu
mɡajn-zaw-du
cold-PSV-PIPFV

One feels cold.

4

Lengjaodu
leŋ-zaw-du
be.tired-PSV-PIPFV

One feels tired.

5

Gonggrai	*jadu*
goŋgɾaj	za-du
cold	be-PIPFV

A cold develops.

6

Diarrhoea   (khrip   de   jayalaphure)

diarrhoea   kɾip   de₁   za-ja-la-pu-ɾe

diarrhoea   all   TOP   be-NEG-REFL₂-POT-SIPFV

Diarrhoea (might not happen to everyone).

7

Bokhro   sadu

bokɾo   sa-du

head   hurt-PIPFV

One's head hurts.

8

Garang   sadu

gaɾaŋ   sa-du

throat   hurt-PIPFV

One's throat hurts.

9

Limkhudu,   sao   dungdu

lim-ku-du   saw₂   duŋ-du

be sick-upwards-PIPFV   body   hot-PIPFV

One gets sicker, develops a high temperature.

10

Gabama   mijingdu

gba-ma₁   miziŋ-du

vomit-PRSP   want-PIPFV

One tends to vomit.

11

Bede   jar   khe   bemar   gaba   riyama?

bede   zaɾ   ke   bemaɾ   gba   ɾi-ja-ma₁

how   REFL   ACC   sickness (IA)   spread   CAUS₂-NEG-PRSP

How to protect oneself from getting the illness.

12

Saokhe	*ragaosi*	*deng*
saw₂ke	ɾgaw-si	deŋ
body=ACC	clean-ADVB	keep

Keep the body clean.

13

Dzi	*badamma*	*ling*
di	bdamma	liŋ
water	a lot	drink

Drink lots of water.

14

Khisa	*khusi*	*dangbai*
kisa	kusi	daŋ-baj
a.little	work	do-without.intent

Do at least a little work.

15

Ishi	*dalengjao*	*ri*
isi	da-leŋ-zaw	ɾi
alot	PROH-be.tired-PSV	CAUS₂

Don't get too exhausted.

16

Mudri	*daphin*	*ri*
mudɾi	da-pin	ɾi
deep.sleep	PROH-repeat	CAUS₂

Don't keep sleeping.

17

Makham	*badamma*	*dajiphao*
mkam	bdamma	da-zi-paw
food	a lot	PROH-eat-in.excess

Don't eat food excessively.

18

Virus	*dongyaba*	*subung*	*khe*	*dadopha*
virus	doŋ=jaba	subuŋ	=ke	da-dopa
virus	EXST=REL	person	ACC	PROH-touch

Don't touch a person who is infected with the virus.

19

Virus	*dongyaba*	*ni*	*ri*	*khe*	*dadopha*
virus	doŋ=jaba	=ni₂	ɾi	=ke	da-dopa
virus	EXST=REL	GEN	cloth	ACC	PROH-touch

Don't touch an infected person's cloth(es).

20

Subung	*bangyaba*	*ha*	*dathang*	*(ura*	*ha*	*virus*	*dongyaba*
subuŋ	baŋ=jaba	=ha₂	da-taŋ	uɾa	=ha₂	virus	doŋ=jaba
person	be.much=REL	LOC	PROH-go	there	LOC	virus	EXST=REL

dongbailaphure)
doŋ-baj-la-pu-ɾe
EXST-without.intent-REFL₂-POT-SIPFV

Don't go to places with lots of people (someone might happen to be there who has the virus).

21

Ani	*ha*	*virus*	*habkha*	*la*	*malai*	*khe*	*bede*
aŋ=ni₂	=ha₂	virus	hap-ka	la₂	mlaj	=ke	bede
1SG=GEN	LOC	virus	enter-PRF	TOP	others	ACC	how

gabaya	*rima?*
gba-ja	ɾi-ma₁
spread-NEG	CAUS₂-PRSP

How to stop spreading the virus if I have been infected?

22

Gibin	*subung*	*jang*	*ri*	*dadophalai*	*ri*
gbin	subuŋ	=zaŋ	ɾi	da-dopa-laj	ɾi
other	person	COM	cloth	PROH-touch-RECP	CAUS₂

Don't mix up your clothes with others.

23

School,	*college*	*niyakha*	*de*	*khusi*	*ha*	*dathang*
school	college	nijaka	de₁	kusi	=ha₂	da-taŋ
school	college	or.else	TOP	work	LOC	PROH-go

Don't go to school, college or work.

24

Gusukha	*de*	*bukhu*	*khe*	*ri*	*jang*	*kha*	*phong*
gusu-ka	de₁	bku	=ke	ri	zaŋ	ka	poŋ
cough-PRF	TOP	mouth	ACC	cloth	INS	tie	to close

Cover your mouth with a cloth when coughing.

25

Yao	*mukhang*	*ragaosisi*	*su*
jaw	mukaŋ	rgaw-si-si	su
hand	face	clean-ADVB-ADVB	wash

Wash your hands and face very well.

9.3   News reports

9.3.1   B Bodo talent award

Like other written Dimasa texts, there is basically no discourse marking, although there is frequent sentence-internal successive marking with /hi/ 'and then'. The first sentence uses prospective marking to mark something like a subjunctive future-in-the-past, expressing hopes for the improvement of education.

Personally identifying information has been redacted, to respect privacy. Permission has been provided for the use of this text.

B Bodo Talent Award

www.facebook.com/JingDimasarao

1.1

Phuriba	*ni*	*haba*	*khe*	*jadao*	*rima*	*ne*
puɾi-ba	ni$_2$	haba	ke	za-daw$_1$	ɾi=ma$_1$	ne$_1$
study-NF:IPFV	GEN	work	ACC	be-CMP	CAUS$_2$=NMLZ	DAT

hamdao	*rima*	*ne*
ham-daw$_1$	ɾi=ma$_1$	ne$_1$
good-CMP	CAUS$_2$=NMLZ	DAT

To boost and improve the work of education,

1.2

Dima Hasao	*raji*	*ha*	*khusi*	*dangyaba*	*Rajathani-Educational-Society*
dima hasaw	ɾazi	=ha$_2$	kusi	daŋ=jaba	Rajathani-Educational-Society
PN	society	LOC	work	do=REL	PN

the Rajathani Educational Society working in Dima Hasao,

1.3

Maibang	*ni*	*Dishru-Cultural-Club*	*noma*	*ha*	*05-06-2015*
majbaŋ	ni$_2$	Dishru-Cultural-Club	noma	=ha$_2$	05-06-2015
PN	GEN	PN	hall	LOC	05-06-2015

basainkhali	*2015*	*ni*	*HSLC*	*odehe*	*HS*	*exam*	*ha*	*Maibang*
bsajn-kali	2015	ni$_2$	HSLC	odehe	HS	exam	=ha$_2$	majbaŋ
day-particular.day	2015	GEN	HSLC	and	HS	exam	LOC	PN

sub-div	*ni*	*bising*	*ha*	*hamsi*	*bumu*	*khlai*	*hi*	*pass*
sub-div	=ni$_2$	bisiŋ	=ha$_2$	ham-si	bumu	klaj	hi	pass
subdivision	GEN	inside	LOC	good-ADVB	name	do	SUCC	pass

jayarao	*buthu*	*khe*	*BBodo*	*Talent*	*award*	*riba.*
zajaɾaw	bu-tu	=ke	B.Bodo	talent	award	ɾi-ba
be-REL	DEM-PL	ACC	PN	talent	award	give-NF:IPFV

gave the B Bodo Talent Award on 05-06-2015 to the 2015 students of HSLC and HS, under Maibang Subdivision, who passed with flying colors, at Maibang's Dishru Cultural Club hall.

1.4

Ibu	*award*	*ni*	*bumu*	*Maibang*	*Higher Secondary*	*phurikho*
i-bu	award	=ni₂	bumu	majbaŋ	Higher Secondary	puɾiko
PRX-DEM	award	GEN	name	PN	Higher Secondary	school

ni	*principal*	*Ringkhring*	*Bhodreswar*	*Bodo*	*khe*	*ramaohi*
ni₂	principal	ɾiŋkɾiŋ	Bhodreswar	bodosa	=ke	ɾmaw-hi
GEN	principal	honorific	PN	clan.name	ACC	honor-SUCC

buni	*bumu*	*jang*	*dengba.*
buni₂	bumu	=zaŋ	deŋ-ba
3SG=GEN	name	INS	keep-NF:IPFV

This award is kept in the name of Mr. Bhodeswar Bodo, principal of Maibang HS School, honoring him.

1.5

Ibu	*maithai*	*ha*	*BBodo*	*Talent*	*award*
i-bu	majtaj	=ha₂	B.Bodo	talent	award
PRX-DEM	year	LOC	PN	talent	award

Mungmajangdi	*XXXX*	*ne*	*riba.*
muŋmzaŋ-di₁	XXXX	=ne₁	ɾi-ba
beautiful.name-FEM	PN	DAT	give-NF:IPFV

This year the B Bodo Talent Award was given to XXXX.

1.6

XXXX	*Evergreen*	*School,*	*Maibang*	*nising*	*2015*	*ni*
XXXX	Evergreen	School	majbaŋ	nisiŋ	2015	=ni₂
PN	PN		PN	ABL	2015	GEN

HSLC	*exam*	*ha*	*92%*	*la*	*hi*	*pass*	*jaba.*
HSLC	exam	=ha₂	92	la₁	hi	pass	za-ba
HSLC	exam	LOC	92	take	SUCC	pass	be-NF:IPFV

XXXX of Evergreen School, passed with 92% in the HSLC exam from Maibang.

1.7

Yaosandi	*ha*	*trophy,*	*certificate*	*odehe*	*rangjang*
jawsandi	=ha₂	trophy	certificate	odehe	ɾaŋ=zaŋ
prize	LOC	trophy	certificate	and	money=COM

rupees	*5000*	*yaophaba.*
rupees	5000	jawpa-ba
rupees	5000	to.hand-NF:IPFV

The prize which included a trophy, a certificate and cash worth 5000 rupees was awarded.

1.8

Odehe,	*HSLC*	*odehe*	*HS*	*ha*	*1st*	*Div*	*lahi*	*pass*	*jayarao*
odehe	HSLC	odehe	HS	=ha₂	1st	Div	la₁-hi	pass	zajaɾaw
and	HSLC	and	HS	LOC	1st	division	take-SUCC	pass	be-REL

In addition, the ones who secured 1st Division in the HSLC and HS,

1.9

50	*tane*	*bo*	*bangdao*	*hi*	*phuriansarao*	*buthu*	*khe*
50	tane	bo	baŋ-daw₁	hi	puɾiansa-ɾaw	bu-tu	=ke
50	DAT	TOP	be.much-CMP	SUCC	student-PL	DEM-PL	ACC

bo	*ibu*	*mel*	*ha*	*lamjaoba.*
bo	i-bu	mel	=ha₂	lamzaw-ba
TOP	PRX-DEM	meeting	LOC	honor-NF:IPFV

more than fifty students, were also honored in this meeting.

1.10

Ibu	*phuriansarao*	*buthu*	*khe*	*lamjaoyaba*	*mel*	*ha*
i-bu	puɾiansa-ɾaw	bu-tu	=ke	lamzaw=jaba	mel	=ha₂
PRX-DEM	student-PL	DEM-PL	ACC	honor=REL	meeting	LOC

During the meeting to honor students,

1.11

NCHAC	*ni*	*Education*	*ni*	*EM*	*gedema*	*manganang*
NCHAC	=ni$_2$	Education	=ni$_2$	EM	gdema	man-gnaŋ
PN	GEN	education	GEN	EM	respected.person	respect-rich

XXXX	*hamsi*	*bumu*	*khlai*	*hi*	*pass*	*jayarao*
XXXX	ham-si	bumu	klaj	hi	pass	zajaɾaw
PN	good-ADVB	name	do	SUCC	pass	be-REL

phuriansarao	*buthu*	*khe*	*kha*	*ni*	*hamjaoma*	*yaophaba*
puɾiansa-ɾaw	bu-tu	=ke	ka	=ni$_2$	hamzaw=ma$_1$	jawpa-ba
student-PL	DEM-PL	ACC	heart	GEN	love=NMLZ	to.hand-NF:IPFV

the Education Executive Member of NCHAC, respected XXXX, expressed his heart's love,

1.12

odehe	*daning*	*jadaoma*	*ne*	*thangdaoma*	*ne*	*bo*	*grao*
odehe	daniŋ	za-daw$_1$=ma$_1$	=ne$_1$	taŋ-daw$_1$=ma$_1$	=ne$_1$	bo	gɾaw
and	later	be-CMP=NMLZ	DAT	go-CMP=NMLZ	DAT	TOP	word

jang	*thi*	*riba.*
=zaŋ	ti$_1$	ɾi-ba
INS	say	BEN-NF:IPFV

and with his words he asked the students to do better and go further in the future.

2.1

Mrs.	*XXXX,*	*Dima Hasao*	*Dist*	*ni*	*IS*	*gedemajik*
Mrs.	XXXX	dima hasaw	Dist	ni$_2$	IS	gdema-zik
Mrs.	PN	PN	district	GEN	IS	respected.person-FEM

bo	*phuriansarao*	*buthu*	*khe*	*kha*	*ni*	*hamjaoma*	*yaophaba*
bo	puɾiansa-ɾaw	bu-tu	=ke	ka	=ni$_2$	hamzaw=ma$_1$	jawpa-ba
TOP	student-PL	DEM-PL	ACC	heart	GEN	love=NMLZ	to.hand-NF:IPFV

Mrs. XXXX, Dima Hasao District Inspector of Schools, also offered her heart's love to the students,

2.2

odehe	*Rajathani-Educational-Society*	*ni*	*ilai*	*hamba*	*khusi*
odehe	Rajathani-Educational-Society	=ni$_2$	i-laj$_1$	ham=ba$_2$	kusi
and	PN	GEN	PRX-like	good=NMLZ	work

haba	*ni*	*khlaihi*	*bo*	*kha*	*jang*	*hamjaoma*	*yaophaba.*
haba	=ni$_2$	klajhi	bo	ka	=zaŋ	hamzaw=ma$_1$	jawpa-ba
work	GEN	for	TOP	heart	INS	love=NMLZ	to.hand-NF:IPFV

and also offered love and respect to the Rajathani Educational Society for this good work.

9.3.2 Train schedule

The text is marked by the use of postpositions in both physical and temporal functions. For example, the ablative /nipraŋ/ appears in a physical sense in (1.2), but a temporal sense in (1.1).

The relative clause-internal specifier /gin/ appears in (1.5). However, when the relative clause identifies lack of such a train, the specifier does not appear (1.6).

The text also demonstrates interesting semantics; e.g., 'announce' is expressed as 'cause to listen' (1.1). Of lexical interest are the verbs /dawkuja/ 'move upwards' and /dawklajja/ 'move downwards'.

Train schedule
www.facebook.com/JingDimasarao

1.1

Dakna	*1-02-2016*	*Simbari*	*bsain*	*niprang*	*train*	*gdain*	*solima*
dakna	1-02-2016	simbaɾi	bsajn	nipɾaŋ	train	gdajn	soli=ma$_1$
tomorrow	1-02-2016	Monday	day	ABL	train	new	ply (IA)=NMLZ

ni	*grao*	*khe*	*Northeast-Frontier-Railway*	*ni*	*gede*	*niprang*
=ni$_2$	gɾaw	=ke	Northeast-Frontier-Railway	=ni$_2$	gde	=nipɾaŋ
GEN	word	ACC	Northeast-Frontier-Railway	GEN	direction	ABL

press	*release*	*ha*	*khana*	*rikha.*
press	release	=ha$_2$	kna	ɾi-ka
press	release	LOC	listen	CAUS$_2$-PRF

The North East Frontier Railway has announced that a new train will begin tomorrow, Monday, 1 February, 2016.

213

1.2

Ibu	*train*	*25657*	*Sealdah*	*niprang*	*Silchar*	*sosi*
i-bu	train	25657	Sealdah	=nipɾaŋ	Silchar	so-si
PRX-DEM	train	25657	PN	ABL	PN	reach-COND

hapthashi	*ha*	*saintham*	*solima.*
hapta-si	=ha$_2$	sajn-tam	soli-ma$_1$
week-one	LOC	day-three	ply (IA) -PRSP

This train 25657 will run from Sealdah to Silchar three days a week.

1.3

Ibu	*train*	*daokhuyaba*	*jang*	*daokhlaiyaba*	*25657/*
i-bu	train	dawku=jaba	=zaŋ	dawklaj=jaba	25657
PRX-DEM	train	move.upwards=REL	COM	move.downwards=REL	25657

25658	*Silchar*	*jang*	*Guwahati*	*ni*	*hato*	*ha*
25658	Silchar	=zaŋ	Guwahati	=ni$_2$	hato	=ha$_2$
25658	PN	COM	PN	GEN	time.period	LOC

New-Haflong	*station*	*ha*	*shining*	*mthaoma.*
New-Haflong	station	=ha$_2$	siniŋ	mtaw-ma$_1$
PN	station	LOC	only	stop-PRSP

This train, traveling upwards and downwards (25657/25658) between Silchar and Guwahati will only stop at New Haflong station.

1.4

Maibang	*ha*	*bo*	*mthaoya.*
majbaŋ	=ha$_2$	bo	mtaw-ja
PN	LOC	TOP	stop-NEG

It won't even stop in Maibang.

1.5

Skang	*ha*	*MG*	*train*	*bisli*	*dongba*	*Maibang*	*ha*
skaŋ	=ha₂	MG	train	bislaj	doŋ-ba	majbaŋ	=ha₂
before	LOC	MG	train	how.many	EXST-NF:IPFV	PN	LOC

mthaoya	*hi*	*lai*	*langba*	*girimu,*	*thikha*	*bo*	*duha*
mtaw-ja	hi	laj₂	laŋ-ba	giɾi-mu	tika	bo	duha
stop-NEG	SUCC	pass.by	along-NF:IPFV	INEXST-SBJV	if	TOP	now

Kanchenjunga-Express	*Silchar-Sealdah*	*soliginyaba*
Kanchenjunga-Express	Silchar-Sealdah	soli-gin=jaba
PN	PN-PN	ply (IA) -SPCF=REL

Maibang	*ha*	*mthaoya.*
majbaŋ	=ha₂	mtaw-ja
PN	LOC	stop-NEG

Previously, all the MG trains stopped at Maibang, but now the Kanchenjunga Express, the one that runs from Silchar to Sealdah, won't stop at Maibang. (Lit. 'out of all the MG trains there were none that did not stop at Maibang'.)

1.6

Jing	*Dimasarao*	*New Haflong-Guwahati*	*solima*	*ne*	*train*
ziŋ	dimasa-ɾaw	New Haflong-Guwahati	soli=ma₁	=ne₁	train
1PL	PN-PL	PN	ply (IA) =NMLZ	DAT	train

sainyaba	*khe*	*duha*	*sosi*	*mushi*
sajn=jaba	=ke	duha	so-si	musi
ask for something=REL	ACC	now	reach-COND	nothing

graojma	*girikho.*
gɾawzma	giɾi-ko
news	INEXST-DPROG

The train that we Dimasas have been requesting to operate between New Haflong and Guwahati has no news yet.

2

Ibu	train	25657	Maibang	railway	station	khe	Marbari,
i-bu	train	25657	maȷbaŋ	railway	station	=ke	marbaɾi
PRX-DEM	train	25657	PN	railway	station	ACC	Tuesday

Bosomti,	Singsri	bsain	thika	ning	10: 45	am	ha	New Haflong
bosomti	siŋsɾi	bsaȷn	tika	niŋ₂	10: 45	am	=ha₂	New Haflong
Thursday	Saturday	day	if	TOP	10: 45	am	LOC	PN

gede	lai	langma	ode	phai	phinyaba	train
ɡde	laȷ₂	laŋ-ma₁	ode	paȷ	pin=jaba	train
direction	pass.by	along-PRSP	and	come	return=REL	train

25658	Maibang	station	khe	Simbari,	Bubari,	Shukri	bsain
25658	maȷbaŋ	station	=ke	simbaɾi	bubaɾi	sukɾi	bsaȷn
25658	PN	station	ACC	Monday	Wednesday	Friday	day

thika	ning	3: 09	pm	ha	lai	langma.
tika	niŋ₂	3: 09	pm	=ha₂	laȷ₂	laŋ-ma₁
if	TOP	3: 09	pm	LOC	pass.by	along-PRSP

This train 25657 will pass the Maibang station on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays at 10:45 a.m., going toward New Haflong, and the returning train 25658 will pass the Maibang station at 3:09 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

Chapter X: Poetry and song

10.1   Poetry

10.1.1 Seasons

This written poem features three tense-aspect-mood markings. For phrases like "summer will come" or "winter will go", commissive modality (CMM), a mark of certainty is used. For events that have been completed, such as "summer has arrived" (5), or "it's the season to work in the field" (6), the verb is marked with perfect. Finally, sentences with topic marking and no overt verb are not marked for tense-aspect-mood (3–4).

   The poem appears here with the permission of the author.

Seasons / Bothor

Written by Jamata Naiding Nunisa in Thangamin Khaojeb by Dibarai Mahila Samity

1

Jalang	*dain*	*do*	*phaibunang*
zlaŋ	dajn	do	paj-bu-naŋ
summer	month	six	come-atelic-CMM

Six months of summer will come.

2

Maising	*dain*	*do*	*thangbunang.*
majsiŋ	dajn	do	taŋ-bu-naŋ
winter	month	six	go-atelic-CMM

Six months of winter will go.

3

Mnang	*bo*	*ode*	*ning*
mnaŋ	bo	ode	niŋ₂
long.ago	TOP	DST.DEM	TOP

Even long ago it was like that.

4

Du	*bo*	*ode*	*ning.*
du	bo	ode	niŋ₂
now	TOP	DST.DEM	TOP

Even now it is like that.

5

Jalang	*dain*	*do*	*so*	*phaikha*
zlaŋ	dajn	do	so	paj-ka
summer	month	six	reach	come-PRF

Six months of summer have arrived.

6

Phadain	*dangthor*	*ja*	*phaikha*
pdajn	daŋ-botɾ	za	paj-ka
field	work-season	happen	come-PRF

It's the season to work in the field.

7

Amai	*Abai*	*phadain*	*thangnang*
amaj	abaj	pdajn	taŋ-naŋ
mother	father	field	go-CMM

Mother, father will go to the field.

8

Thaisum	*manglai*	*gaihinang.*
tajsum	maŋlaj	gaj-hi-naŋ
cucumber	maize	plant-TRNS.LOC-CMM

Will plant cucumber and maize.

9

Haba	*gar*	*hi*	*phai*	*phinnang*
haba	gaɾ	hi	paj	pin-naŋ
work	leave	SUCC	come	return-CMM

Will return after leaving their work.

10

Thaisum   manglai   labunang
tajsum   maŋlaj   labu-naŋ
cucumber   maize   bring-CMM
Will bring cucumber and maize.

11

Nokhor   shi   jang   khamlainang
nokoɾ   si   =zaŋ   kam-laj-naŋ
family   one   COM   sit-COLL-CMM
The whole family will sit together.

12

Thaisum   manglai   jilainang
tajsum   maŋlaj   zi-laj-naŋ
cucumber   maize   eat-COLL-CMM
Will eat cucumber and maize.

13

Jalang   dain   do   thangbukha
zlaŋ   dajn   do   taŋ-bu-ka
summer   month   six   go-atelic-PRF
Six months of summer has gone.

14

Maising   dain   do   phaibukha
majsiŋ   dajn   do   paj-bu-ka
winter   month   six   come-atelic-PRF
Six months of winter have arrived.

15

Bushu   jithor   so   phainang
busu   zi-botoɾ   so   paj-naŋ
harvesting.festival   eat-season   reach   come-CMM
The season to enjoy Bushu will come.

16

Bushu	*jima*	*salainang*
busu	zi=ma$_1$	salaj$_1$-naŋ
harvesting.festival	eat=NMLZ	prepare-CMM

(We) will prepare to celebrate the festival.

17

Rigu	*risa*	*daolainang*
ɾigu	ɾi-sa	daw$_1$-laj-naŋ
women's.garment	cloth-small	weave-COLL-CMM

(We) will weave clothes together.

18

Bari	*jelep*	*sulainang*
baɾi	zelep	su-laj-naŋ
fence	net	weave-COLL-CMM

(We) will weave fences and nets together.

19

Nolai	*nolai*	*danglainang*
nolaj	nolaj	daŋ-laj-naŋ
village	village	do-COLL-CMM

(We) will work in all villages together.

20

Bushu	*ni*	*bisar*	*khamlainang*
busu	=ni$_2$	bisaɾ	kam-laj-naŋ
harvesting.festival	GEN	discussion (IA)	sit-COLL-CMM

(We) will sit together and discuss Bushu.

21

Beren	*beren*	*Bushu*	*ha*
beɾen	beɾen	busu	=ha$_2$
in.queue	in.queue	harvesting.festival	LOC

(We will celebrate) Bushu in lines.

22

Khrao	*jalai*	*baikho*	*ha*
kɾaw	zalaj	baj-ko	=ha₂
aged	youth	dance-house	LOC

The youth, the elderly in the dance arena.

23

Horsong	*horsong*	*khram*	*muri*	*damnang*
hoɾsoŋ	hoɾsoŋ	kɾam	muɾi	dam-naŋ
whole.night	whole.night	drum	flute	play-CMM

Drums and flutes will be played night after night.

24

Khaja	*mini*	*Bushu*		*ji*	*blainang*
kza	mini	busu		zi	blaj-naŋ
be.happy	smile	harvesting.festival		eat	complete-CMM

Happily and merrily we'll celebrate Bushu.

25

Maising	*dain*	*do*	*thang*	*phinnang*
majsiŋ	dajn	do	taŋ	pin-naŋ
winter	month	six	go	return-CMM

Six months of winter will go.

26

Jalang	*dain*	*do*	*phai*	*phinnang.*
zlaŋ	dajn	do	paj	pin-naŋ
summer	month	six	come	return-CMM

Six months of summer will return.

10.1.2 Burma King

This traditional song dates back to the days of battle between the king of Burma and the British in India, with the Dimasa kingdom and its people caught in the middle of the conflict.

Within Dimasa culture, songs are a traditional way to convey both positive and negative emotions; e.g., people will sing grieving songs at a funeral.

One interesting linguistic feature of the text is the use of commissive modality in a cohortative sense: "Come, friend, let's …" in (2), etc.

Burma King

By Ranghamdi Hapila Thaosen in Thangamin Khaojeb by Dibarai Mahila Samity

1

Burma	*Raja*	*phaidu*	*thidu*
Burma	ɾaza	paj-du	ti$_1$-du
PN	king	come-PIPFV	say-PIPFV

They say the Burma Raja is coming.

2

Phai	*dei*	*berao*	*khailainang*
paj	dej	beɾaw	kaj-laj-naŋ
come	ok	friend	run-COLL-CMM

Come, friend, let's run together!

3

Burma	*Raja*	*phaidu*	*thidu*
Burma	ɾaza	paj-du	ti$_1$-du
PN	king	come-PIPFV	say-PIPFV

They say the Burma Raja is coming.

4

Phai	*dei*	*berao*	*khailainang*
paj	dej	beɾaw	kaj-laj-naŋ
come	ok	friend	run-COLL-CMM

Come, friend, let's run together!

5

Burma	*jba*	*phaidu*	*thidu*
Burma	zba	paj-du	ti_1-du
PN	war	come-PIPFV	say-PIPFV

They say the Burma war is coming.

6

Phai	*dei*	*berao*	*khailainang*
paj	dej	beɾaw	kaj-laj-naŋ
come	ok	friend	run-COLL-CMM

Come, friend, let's run together!

7

Burma	*jba*	*phaidu*	*thidu*
Burma	zba	paj-du	ti_1-du
PN	war	come-PIPFV	say-PIPFV

They say the Burma war is coming.

8

Phai	*dei*	*berao*	*khailainang*
paj	dej	beɾaw	kaj-laj-naŋ
come	ok	friend	run-COLL-CMM

Come, friend, let's run together!

9

Bra	*ha*	*khainang,*	*bra*	*ha*	*khainang*
bɾa	=ha_2	kaj-naŋ	bɾa	=ha_2	kaj-naŋ
where	LOC	run-CMM	where	LOC	run-CMM

Where will we run? Where will we run?

10

Hagraling	*ha*	*khai*	*singnang*
hagɾa-liŋ	=ha_2	kaj	siŋ-naŋ
jungle-grove	LOC	run	inward-CMM

We'll run into the jungle grove.

11

Bra	*ha*	*khainang,*	*bra*	*ha*	*khainang*
bɾa	=ha₂	kaj-naŋ	bɾa	=ha₂	kaj-naŋ
where	LOC	run-CMM	where	LOC	run-CMM

Where will we run? Where will we run?

12

Hagraling	*ha*	*khai*	*singnang*
hagɾa-liŋ	=ha₂	kaj	siŋ-naŋ
jungle-grove	LOC	run	inward-CMM

We'll run into the jungle grove.

13

Sere	*thiba,*	*sere*	*thiba*
seɾe	ti₁-ba	seɾe	ti₁-ba
who	say-NF:IPFV	who	say-NF:IPFV

Who said? Who said?

14

Monorampha	*thi*	*phaiba.*
monoram-pa	ti₁	paj-ba
PN-father	say	come-NF:IPFV

Monoram's father came and said it.

10.1.3 Arrow

This poem occurs in two parts, like a sonnet, and is an example of modern Dimasa literature. The first part (Arrow 1) details the event when he shot his arrow which fell into an unknown place. A few days later the poet hears a melancholic song. While trying to find out the source of the song, the poet finds his arrow near a river where he unknowingly killed a woman, while the second part communicates the event where he hears the same song sung by the woman whom he killed in the first part. When he tried to find the source of the song, he found out that the song was sung by the woman's daughter.

There are several interesting linguistic phenomena in the text, such as sentences with verb-initial structure (3) or verb-medial structure (10). Example (15) shows four suffixes on one verb root, which is the largest number of affixes that have been attested thus far.

Arrow

Written by Nayan Hojai

1

Bla	*1*			
bla	1			
arrow	1			

Arrow 1.

2

Ang	*bla*	*gaoba*	*bar*	*ha,*
aŋ	bla	gaw-ba	baɾ	=ha₂
1SG	arrow	shoot-NF:IPFV	air	LOC

I shot an arrow in the air.

3

Glaihinaikha	*gibin*	*raji*	*ha.*
glaj-hi-naj-ka	gbin	ɾazi	=ha₂
fall-TRNS.LOC-EPIS-PRF	other	area	LOC

Might have fallen in some other area.

4

Tharmaiya	*ang*	*bra*	*ha*	*glaihikha*
taɾmaj-ja	aŋ	bɾa	=ha₂	glaj-hi-ka
know-NEG	1SG	where	LOC	fall-TRNS.LOC-PRF

I don't know where it fell.

5

Bleng	*theng*	*theng*	*ning*	*glaihinaikha,*
bleŋ	teŋ	teŋ	niŋ₂	glaj-hi-naj-ka
straight	vertical	vertical	TOP	fall-TRNS.LOC-EPIS-PRF

It might have fallen straight vertically,

6

Bar	*ha*	*de*	*birding*	*hi*	*thaolayanaikha.*
baɾ	=ha$_2$	de$_1$	biɾ-diŋ	hi	taw$_1$-la-ja-naj-ka
wind	LOC	TOP	fly-in.circles	SUCC	stuck-REFL$_2$-NEG-EPIS-PRF

could not have kept flying in circles.

7

sainbli	*lama*	*barsa*	*bar*	*sipba*	*ha*
sajnbli	lama	baɾ-sa	baɾ	sip=ba$_2$	=ha$_2$
evening	way	wind-small	wind	blow=NMLZ	LOC

In the evening when the wind was blowing,

8

Rogontiklikdima	*ni*	*khurang*	*lai*	*rajapba*	*khanajlihadu.*
rogontiklik-di$_1$-ma$_1$	=ni$_2$	kuɾaŋ	laj$_1$	ɾzap=ba$_2$	kna-zli-ha-du
PN-FEM-PRSP	GEN	voice	like	sing=NMLZ	listen-partly-TRNS.LOC-PIPFV

like the voice of Rogontiklikdima singing I partially heard.

9

Sereba	*khamao*	*gosong*	*khlai*	*hi*	*khananaidu.*
seɾe=ba$_2$	kmaw	ɡsoŋ	klaj	hi	kna-naj-du
who=NMLZ	ear	upright	do	SUCC	listen-EPIS-PIPFV

Someone must be listening to it with upright ears.

10

Ang	*tharmaiya*	*bu*	*sere*	*janang*	*thihi.*
aŋ	taɾmaj-ja	bu	seɾe	za-naŋ	tihi
1SG	know-NEG	3SG	who	be-CMM	that

I don't know who that person might be.

11

Lao	*lao*	*jang*	*sainshikhali*	*sainbli*	*lama*	*ha*
law	law	=zaŋ	sajn-si-kali	sajnbli	lama	=ha$_2$
long	long	COM	day-one-particular.day	evening	way	LOC

After a long time one day in the evening,

12

Dzigathai	*gbasi*	*ni*	*samphari*	*phang*	*khita*	*ha,*
digataj	gba-si	ni₂	sampaɾi	paŋ	kita	=ha₂
ghat	near-COND	GEN	tita.chapa.tree	plant	bottom	LOC

near the river ghat below the tita chapa tree,

13

Ang	*bla*	*gaokhlayaba*	*khe*	*mai*	*phinba.*
aŋ	bla	gaw-kla=jaba	ke	maj	pin-ba
1SG	arrow	shoot-away=REL	ACC	get	repeat-NF:IPFV

I got back the arrow I shot.

14

Bla	*khe*	*huri*	*jiyakho,*	*haro*	*khayakho.*
bla	=ke	huɾi	zi-ja-ko	haɾo	ka-ja-ko
arrow	ACC	termite	eat-NEG-DPROG	rust	form-NEG-DPROG

The arrow hasn't been eaten up by termites, hasn't rusted yet.

15

Alang	*shi*	*naidingbaihaba*	*de*
alaŋ	si	naj-diŋ-baj-ha-ba	de₁
instance	one	look-in.circles-without.intent-TRNS.LOC-NF:IPFV	TOP

When I turned around my head to see,

16

Mangathi	*khe*	*she*	*nuhadu.*
maŋgati	=ke	se₁	nu-ha-du
corpse	ACC	TOP	see-TRNS.LOC-PIPFV

I could see a corpse.

17

Mangathi	*khe*	*phlekhu*	*bamkhu*	*naiba*	*de*
maŋgati	=ke	ple-ku	bam-ku	naj-ba	de₁
corpse	ACC	pat-upwards	carry-upwards	look-NF:IPFV	TOP

Lifting up patting the corpse, I could see,

18

Mangathi	*de*	*Rogontiklikma*	*she.*
maŋgati	de$_1$	rogontiklik-ma$_2$	se$_1$
corpse	TOP	PN-mother	TOP

the corpse was that of Rogontiklikma.

19

Khabao	*phle*	*naiba*	*de*	*bla*	*jao*	*phayaba*
kabaw	ple	naj-ba	de$_1$	bla	zaw	pa=jaba
chest	pat	look-NF:IPFV	TOP	arrow	impale	attach=REL

ni	*maithi*	*dong.*
=ni$_2$	majti	doŋ
GEN	scar	EXST

Rubbing on the chest (I) saw, there was a scar from the arrow's impaling.

20

Bla	*2*
bla	2
arrow	2

Arrow 2.

21

Bar	*"sri*	*sri"*	*sipdu,*	*guwal*	*bo*	*dimdu,*
baɾ	sɾi	sɾi	sip-du	guwal	bo	dim-du
wind	ONP		blow-PIPFV	fog	TOP	cover-PIPFV

Wind blows "sri sri" the fog also covers,

22

Hading	*banar*	*ha*	*sereba*	*rajapdu.*
hadiŋ	bnaɾ	=ha$_2$	seɾe=ba$_2$	ɾzap-du
hill	side	LOC	who=NMLZ	sing-hard

someone is singing on the other side of the hill.

23

Khurang	*khana*	*thaosisi*	*khlai*	*hi*	*khanahadu,*
kuraŋ	kna	taw₁-si-si	klaj	hi	kna-ha-du
voice	listen	enjoy-ADVB-ADVB	do	SUCC	listen-TRNS.LOC-PIPFV

A very soothing voice can be heard,

24

Khamao	*gosong*	*khlai*	*hi*	*khanaya*	*khana*	*thaosisi.*
kmaw	gsoŋ	klaj	hi	kna-ja	kna	taw₁-si-si
ear	upright	do	SUCC	listen-NEG	listen	enjoy-ADVB-ADVB

(it's so pleasing) that one can't help but listen to it with ears upright.

25

Rajapthai	*khe*	*khanakha*	*lai*	*bo*	*jadu,*
ɽzap-taj₁	=ke	kna-ka	laj₁	bo	za-du
sing=NMLZ	ACC	listen-PRF	like	TOP	be-PIPFV

Seems like I have heard the song.

26

Khurang	*she*	*khana*	*thaodaokho*	*kha*	*baisisi*
kuraŋ	se₁	kna	taw₁-daw₁-ko	ka	baj-si-si
voice	TOP	listen	enjoy-CMP-DPROG	heart	break-ADVB-ADVB

khlai	*hi*	*khanahadu*
klaj	hi	kna-ha-du
do	SUCC	listen-TRNS.LOC-PIPFV

Such a lovely voice to hear, it breaks my heart.

27

Haplaokhro	*ha*	*khaikhu*	*hi*	*khanaba*	*de*
haplao-kɽo	=ha₂	kaj-ku	hi	kna-ba	de₁
mound-head	LOC	run-upwards	SUCC	listen-NF:IPFV	TOP

Climbing up to the top of the mound I heard,

28

Rogontiklikma	*rajapyaba*	*rajapthai*	*she.*
rogontiklik-ma₂	rzap-jaba	rzap=taj₁	se₁
PN-mother	sing-REL	sing=NMLZ	TOP

it was the song sung by Rogontiklik's mother.

29

Dzigathai	*lama*	*khe*	*hem*	*lang*	*hi*
digataj	lama	=ke	hem	laŋ	hi
ghat	way	ACC	walk	away	SUCC

Walking by the ghat's way.

30

Hading	*ga*	*so*	*hi*	*gainsong*	*naihaba*	*de*
hadiŋ	ga	so	hi	gajnsoŋ	naj-ha-ba	de₁
hill	step	complete	SUCC	alert	look-TRNS.LOC-NF:IPFV	TOP

Stepping across the hill to look at it attentively,

31

Samphari	*phang*	*bakhla*	*ha*	*sereba*	*rajapba*	*lai*	*khanadu*
sampari	paŋ	bkla	=ha₂	sere=ba₂	rzap-ba	laj₁	kna-du
tita.chapa.tree	plant	below	LOC	who=NMLZ	sing-NF:IPFV	like	listen-PIPFV

it sounds like someone is singing beneath the tita chapa tree.

32

Thang	*hi*	*naihaba*	*de*	*Rogontiklikdi*	*she.*
taŋ	hi	naj-ha-ba	de₁	rogontiklik-di₁	se₁
go	SUCC	look-TRNS.LOC-NF:IPFV	TOP	PN-FEM	TOP

When I went there, I saw Rogontiklikdi.

10.2 Folksongs

10.2.1 Ning khakuyaba

This song is an example of early contemporary Dimasa music, in which a young woman thanks a young man for the figurine he made of her. Replete with poetic devices such as elision in 'seven colors (of the rainbow)'. The song was composed and sung by Krishna Langthasa during the 1990's, and appears here with permission.

The overall structure of the poem is a series of statements and questions, with more declaratives than interrogatives. For example, the series:

(5) But me, I don't look like that.
(6) Why did (you) carve that out today?
(7) Beautiful like the seven colors of the rainbow.

Dimasa poetry is marked by repetition, such as the pairs of lines ending with the reduplicated adverbial marker /-si-si/.

The poetic style allows for changes in grammatical structure, as in (4), where the presence of the negative marker /-ja/ is difficult to translate as a negative.

Another poetic change is that the verbs tend to be non-final in this text (e.g., (14), (17)), with sentences tending to end in adverbs and nouns. The lack of discourse marking adds to the pacing of the poem.

Ning Khakuyaba Daogari

https://soundcloud.com/vishal-langthasa/nkdhq

1

Ning	*khakhuyaba*	*daogari*
niŋ₁	kaku=jaba	dawɡari
2SG	sculpt=REL	figurine

The figurine you sculpted.

2

Ang	*lai*	*nuba*	*bu*	*khe*	*shumuni*
aŋ	laj₁	nu-ba	bu	=ke	nabani+dial. var.
1SG	like	see-NF:IPFV	DEM	ACC	of why

Why does it look like me?

3

Bului	*shini*	*jang*	*majangsisi*
buluj	sni	=zaŋ	mzaŋ-si-si
color	seven	COM	beautiful-ADVB-ADVB

Beautiful like the seven colors (of the rainbow).

4

Jadu	*naiya*	*nai*	*thaosisi*
za-du	naj-ja	naj	taw₁-si-si
be-PIPFV	look-AGT	look	enjoy-ADVB-ADVB

Is pleasing to look at.

5

Ang	*la,*	*niya*	*thi*	*bu*	*lai*	*jasisi*
aŋ	la₂	ni₁-ja	ti₂	bu	laj₁	za-si-si
1SG	TOP	COP-NEG	MIR₃	DEM	like	be-ADVB-ADVB

As for me, I'm not like that.

6

Shumu	*khakhulaba*	*bu*	*khe*	*ning*	*dini*
nadi+dial. var.	kaku-la-ba	bu	=ke	niŋ₁	dini
of what	sculpt-REFL₂-NF:IPFV	DEM	ACC	2SG	today

Why did (you) carve that out today?

7

Bului	*shini*	*jang*	*majangsisi*
buluj	sni	=zaŋ	mzaŋ-si-si
color	seven	COM	beautiful-ADVB-ADVB

Beautiful like the seven colors of the rainbow.

8

Jadu naiya nai thaosisi
za-du naj-ja naj taw$_1$-si-si
be-PIPFV look-AGT look enjoy-ADVB-ADVB
Is pleasing to look at.

9

Mithiya thi ang malajik
miti-ja ti$_2$ aŋ mla-zik
know-NEG MIR$_3$ 1SG young.girl-FEM
I don't know, I'm just a young girl.

10

Dikhong gibirsa lai
dikoŋ gibiɾ-sa laj$_1$
river crazy-person like
Like a frenzied brook.

11

Tharmaiya thi ang ringya thi
taɾmaj-ja ti$_2$ aŋ ɾiŋ-ja ti$_2$
know-NEG MIR$_3$ 1SG learn-NEG MIR$_3$
I have never known, never learnt.

12

Hagrani mishai lai
hagɾa=ni$_2$ misaj laj$_1$
jungle=GEN deer like
Like a deer in the wild.

13

Phunukha saomin jar baoba lai
p-nu-ka sawmin zaɾ baw-ba laj$_1$
CAUS$_1$-see-PRF dream REFL think-NF:IPFV like
You showed me dreams the way you thought of them.

14

Shumu	phunulaba		bu	khe	ning	dini
nadi+dial. var.	p-nu-la-ba		bu	=ke	niŋ$_1$	dini
of what	CAUS$_1$-see-REFL$_2$-NF:IPFV		DEM	ACC	2SG	today

Why did you show me this today?

15

Donglabamu		ang	baola	hi	habsao	ni	waimu	khe
doŋ-la-ba-mu		aŋ	baw-la	hi	habsaw	=ni$_2$	wajmu	ke
EXST-REFL$_2$-NF:IPFV-SBJV		1SG	think-REFL$_2$	SUCC	world	GEN	worries	ACC

I was living, thinking about the worries of the world.

16

Khim	barshi		shining	sainbamu
kim	baɾ-si		siniŋ	sajn-ba-mu
flower	CLF:flowers-one		only	ask for something-NF:IPFV-SBJV

I asked for only one flower.

17

Yaophakha	khimling	khe
jawpa-ka	kimliŋ	=ke
to.hand-PRF	flower.garden	ACC

You handed me the flower garden.

18

Khani	khajama	labu	riba	lai
ka=ni$_2$	kza=ma$_1$	labu	ɾi-ba	laj$_1$
heart=GEN	be.happy=NMLZ	bring	give-NF:IPFV	like

Like bringing the heart's happiness.

19

Shumu	labu	riba	bu	khe	ning	dini
nadi+dial. var.	labu	ɾi-ba	bu	=ke	niŋ$_1$	dini
of what	bring	give-NF:IPFV	DEM	ACC	2SG	today

Why did you bring it to me today?

Chapter XI: Language play

11.1 Jokes

11.1.1 Asampha rides the train

The character Asampa recurs in Dimasa stories as someone who is foolish, and who is the butt of jokes. The humor of this text depends on the listener having competence in Hindi and Bangla languages, as well as Dimasa. In addition to code switching, the text is marked by repeated use of /ulaj/ 'again' or 'similarly'. The written version of this story is provided here with permission.

Asampha on a train
www.facebook.com/JingDimasarao

1

Sainshikali		*Asampa*	*train*	*ha*	*ga*	*hi*	*Guwahati*
sajn-si-kali		asampa	train	=ha₂	ga	hi	Guwahati
day-one-particular.day		PN	train	LOC	step	SUCC	PN

ha	*thangba*	*ne.*
=ha₂	taŋ-ba	ne₂
LOC	go-NF:IPFV	QUOT

It is said that one day Asampa was traveling to Guwahati by train.

2

Mashi	*station*	*ha*	*train*	*mathaoba*	*ha,*	*Asampa*
ma-si	station	=ha₂	train	mtaw-ba	=ha₂	asampa
CLF-one	station	LOC	train	stop-NF:IPFV	LOC	PN

saoshi	*hadisa*	*khe*	*Hindi*	*grao*	*jang*	*sengkha:*
saw₁-si	hadisa	=ke	hindi	ɡraw	=zaŋ	seŋ-ka
CLF:human-one	Bengali	ACC	Hindi	word	INS	ask-PRF

When the train stopped at one of the stations, Asampa asked one Bengali person in Hindi.

3

Ithu kya Station hai?
Ithu kya Station hai
What station is this? (IA)

4

Hadisa: Malum nahi.
hadisa   Malum nahi (IA)
Bengali person: Malum nahi ("I don't know").

5

Asampa	*baokha*	*station*	*ni*	*bumu*	*Malum nahi*	*station.*
asampa	baw-ka	station	=ni$_2$	bumu	Malum nahi	station
PN	think-PRF	station	GEN	name	Don't.know (IA)	station

Asampa thought that the station's name was Malum nahi.

6

Ulai	*ning*	*next*	*station*	*ha*	*train*	*mathaokha*	*ne*	*Asampa*
u-laj$_1$	niŋ$_2$	next	station	=ha$_2$	train	mtaw-ka	ne$_2$	asampa
DIST-like	TOP	next	station	LOC	train	stop-PRF	QUOT	PN

bu	*hadisa*	*khe*	*ulai*	*ning*	*seng*	*phinkha:*
bu	hadisa	=ke	u-laj$_1$	niŋ$_2$	seŋ	pin-ka
DEM	Bengali	ACC	DIST-like	TOP	ask	repeat-PRF

In that way, the train stopped at the next station, and Asampa asked that Bengali person again:

7

Ithu kya station?
Ithu kya Station hai
What station is this? (IA)

8

Hadisa: *Malum nahi.*

hadisa Malum nahi (IA)

Bengali person: Don't know.

9

Asampa	*baokha*	*skang*	*ha*	*Malum nahi*	*1*	*station.*	*odehe*
asampa	baw-ka	skaŋ	=ha₂	Malum nahi	1	station	odehe
PN	think-PRF	before	LOC	Don't.know (IA)	1	station	and

duha	*Malum nahi*	*2*	*station.*
duha	Malum nahi	2	station
now	Don't.know (IA)	2	station

Asampa thought, the first station must have been Malum nahi 1 and this was station Malum nahi 2.

10

Ulai	*ning*	*3rd*	*station.*	*ha*	*Asampa*	*bu*	*hadisa*
u-laj₁	niŋ₂	3rd	station	=ha₂	asampa	bu	hadisa
DIST-like	TOP	3rd	station	LOC	PN	DEM	Bengali

khe	*seng*	*phinkha:*
=ke	seŋ	pin-ka
ACC	ask	repeat-PRF

Similarly, at the third station, Asampa asked the Bengali person again.

11

Ithu kya station?

Ithu kya Station hai (IA)

What station is this?

12

Hadisa: *Malum nahi.*

hadisa Malum nahi (IA)

Bengali person: Don't know.

13

Asampa	*Malum nahi.*	*station.*	*bumu*	*bangjao*	*hi*	*bu*
asampa	Malum nahi	station	bumu	baŋ-zaw	hi	bu
PN	Don't.know (IA)	station	name	be.much-PSV	SUCC	DEM

hadisakhe	*thamsi*	*baigo*	*hi*	*gorna*	*sathaikha.*
hadisa=ke	tamsi	baɟgo	hi	gorna	sataɟ-ka
Bengali=ACC	anger	come.out	SUCC	neck	strangle-PRF

Finding too many Malum Nahi stations, Asampa became enraged and began strangling the Bengali person's neck.

14

Uba	*ha*	*bu*	*hadisa*	*jrikkaokha:*	*"Mago Mago."*
u=ba₂	=ha₂	bu	hadisa	zrikkaw-ka	Mago Mago
DIST=NMLZ	LOC	DEM	Bengali	yell-PRF	Mago.Mago (IA)

At that moment the Bengali person yelled, "Mago Mago." ("Mother! Mother!" in Bengali.)

15

Asampa	*"Dei*	*tika*	*la*	*Mago Mago.*	*station.*	*se*	*tihi*
asampa	deɟ	tika	la₂	Mago Mago	station	se₁	tihi
PN	ok	if	TOP	Mago.Mago (IA)	station	TOP	that

skangha	*nabani*	*thiyaba?"*
skaŋ=ha₂	nabani	ti₁-ja-ba
before=LOC	why	say-NEG-NF:IPFV

Asampa replied, "Ok, then, if it's Mago Mago station, why didn't you tell me so?"

11.1.2 Asampha the thief

In the opening of the story, the speaker employs the collective plural on Asampha's name /asampa-tu/ 'Asampha and others associated with him'.

Examples (4.1), (5.1), and (6.1) all contain the verb /pa-ba/ 'attach'-NF:IPFV. Serialization of this verb after /zik/ 'kick' adds the sense of goal orientation and intention to the kicking action. The following locative /ha/ functions as a temporal marker 'when' on the whole clause. In (6.2), /ha/ is replaced by the topic marker /de/ to highlight the contrast; that is, not until the bag was kicked three or four times, did it emit a sound. The same three examples (4.1), (5.1), (6.1) also show the use of borrowed ordinal numbers.

This written text is shared here with permission.

Asampa the thief
www.facebook.com/JingDimasarao

1.1

Asampatu	*gtham*	*jang*	*malai*	*ni*	*no*	*ha*
asampa-tu	g-tam	=zaŋ	mlaj	=ni₂	no	=ha₂
PN-PL	CLF:human-three	COM	others	GEN	house	LOC

jinis	*khaohima*	*thangba.*
zinis	kaw-hi-ma₁	taŋ-ba
things	steal-TRNS.LOC-PRSP	go-NF:IPFV

Three people, Asampa and them, together went to someone's place to steal things.

1.2

Jinis	*khaoba*	*ha*	*no*	*bubra*	*mithi*	*hi*	*Policerao*
zinis	kaw=ba₂	=ha₂	no	bubɾa	miti	hi	police-ɾaw
things	steal=NMLZ	LOC	house	owner	know	SUCC	police-PL

khe	*longhakha.*
=ke	loŋ-ha-ka
ACC	summon-TRNS.LOC-PRSP

While stealing things, the owner of house came to know about it and called the police.

2

Lamai lamai,	*ura*	*ha*	*makhaorao*	*phaiba*	*thihi*	*tharmai*
lamaj lamaj	uɾa	=ha₂	mkaw-ɾaw	paj=ba	tihi	taɾmaj
immediately	there	LOC	thief-PL	come=NMLZ	that	know

hi	*Policerao*	*sohikha.*
hi	police-ɾaw	so-hi-ka
SUCC	police-PL	reach-TRNS.LOC-PRF

Knowing that thieves were there, the police immediately reached the spot.

3

Asampatu	*jang*	*bu*	*ni*	*lugu*	*gini*	*bo*	*bosta*
asampa-tu	=zaŋ	bu	=ni₂	lugu	gini	bo	bosta
PN-PL	COM	3SG	GEN	friend	two:human	TOP	sack (IA)

mashi	*mashi*	*la*	*hi*	*bu*	*bising*	*ha*	*thimkha.*
ma-si	ma-si	la₁	hi	bu	bisiŋ	=ha₂	tim-ka
CLF-one	CLF-one	take	SUCC	DEM	inside	LOC	hide-PRF

Asampa and his two friends each took one sack and hid inside it.

4.1

Policerao	*1st*	*bosta*	*khe*	*jik*	*phaba*	*ha*	*bosta*
police-ɾaw	1st	bosta	=ke	zik	pa=ba₂	ha₂	bosta
police-PL	1st	sack (IA)	ACC	kick	attach=NMLZ	LOC	sack (IA)

bising	*niprang*	*"Bow*	*Bow"*	*bringkha.*
bisiŋ	=nipɾaŋ	baw	baw	bɾiŋ-ka
inside	ABL	ONP		emit.sound-PRF

When the policemen aimed and kicked the 1st sack, the sound "bow bow" came from inside the bag,

4.2

Policerao   thikha,

police-ɾaw   ti₁-ka

police-PL   say-PRF

the policemen said,

4.3

"*Ibu   de   sisha   she.*"

i-bu   de₁   sisa   se₁

PRX-DEM   TOP   dog   TOP

"This is a dog."

5.1

Policerao   2nd   bosta   khe   jik   phaba   ha   bosta

police-ɾaw   2nd   bosta   =ke   zik   pa=ba₂   =ha₂   bosta

police-PL   2nd   sack (IA) ACC   kick   attach=NMLZ   LOC   sack (IA)

bising   niprang   "Meow   Meow"   bringkha.

bisiŋ   =nipɾaŋ   meow   meow   bɾiŋ-ka

inside   ABL   ONP   emit.sound-PRF

When the policemen aimed and kicked the 2nd sack, the sound "meow meow" came from inside the bag,

5.2

Policerao   thikha,

police-ɾaw   ti₁-ka

police-PL   say-PRF

the policemen said,

5.3

"*Ibu   de   alu   she.*"

i-bu   de₁   alu   se₁

PRX-DEM   TOP   cat   TOP

"This is a cat."

6.1

Policerao	*3rd*	*bosta*	*(Asampa*	*thimyaba*	*bosta)*	*khe*	*jik*
police-ɾaw	3rd	bosta	asampa	tim=jaba	bosta	=ke	zik
police-PL	3rd	sack (IA)	PN	hide=REL	sack (IA)	ACC	kick

phaba	*ha*	*bosta*	*bising*	*niprang*	*musi*	*bo*	*bringya.*
pa=ba₂	=ha₂	bosta	bisiŋ	=nipɾaŋ	musi	bo	bɾiŋ-ja
attach=NMLZ	LOC	sack (IA)	inside	ABL	nothing	TOP	emit.sound-NEG

When the policemen aimed and kicked the 3rd sack (the sack where Asampa hid), no sound came from inside.

6.2

Policerao	*phintham*	*phinbri*	*bu*	*bosta*	*khe*	*jik*
police-ɾaw	pin-tam	pin-bɾi	bu	bosta	=ke	zik
police-PL	repeat-three	repeat-four	DEM	sack (IA)	ACC	kick

phaba	*de*	*bising*	*niprang*	*garang*	*baigokha,*
pa=ba₂	de₁	bisiŋ	=nipɾaŋ	gaɾaŋ	bajgo-ka
attach=NMLZ	TOP	inside	ABL	voice	come.out-PRF

When the policemen kicked the sack a third or fourth time, then a voice came from inside,

6.3

"Ang	*thathai*	*she*	*thathai."*
aŋ	tataj	se₁	tataj
1SG	potato	TOP	potato

"I'm a potato, a potato!"

Chapter XII: Wisdom

Chapter XII: Wisdom

12.1   Dimasa Sol / Dimasa proverbs

These proverbs were collected from family members of Dhrubajit. Some of them contain practical advice, such as (1), (2). Other proverbs seem to warn against displaying too much pride (6), (10), or advise to consider the impact of one's actions on other people (3), (5). Still other proverbs seem to contain observations about the way life and society function (4), (6), (7), (8), (9).

Dimasa Sol / Dimasa Proverbs

1

Nukhasao	*khe*	*naikhu*	*hi*	*lama*	*dahem*	*khuda*
nukasaw	=ke	naj-ku	hi	lama	da-hem	kuda
sky	ACC	look-upwards	SUCC	way	PROH-walk	stumble

hi	*glaire.*
hi	glaj-ɾe
SUCC	fall-SIPFV

Don't look at the sky while you're walking, you might stumble and fall. (Pride goes before a fall.)

2

Hon	*de*	*sudao*	*yerdao,*	*grao*
hon	de₁	su-daw₁	jeɾ-daw₁	gɾaw
rice.flour	TOP	grind-CMP	proliferate-CMP	word

de	*jodao*	*bangdao.*
de₁	zo-daw₁	baŋ-daw₁
TOP	speak-CMP	be.much-CMP

The more you grind the rice flour the more it proliferates, the more you talk the more it becomes. (Talk less and take action.)

3

Haplao	*mithim*	*mithim*	*sam*	*daji,*	*sam gablao*	*mai*	*jire.*
haplao	mtim	mtim	sam	da-zi	sam gablaw	maj	zi-ɾe
mound	hiding	hiding	grass	PROH-eat	sensitive.plant	get	eat-SIPFV

Don't eat grasses in the unseen side of the mound, one might end up eating the sensitive plants (which have thorns).

4

marshi	*majang*	*khurang*	*jang,*	*ri*	*de*	*majang*	*rimin*	*jang*
maɾsi	mzaŋ	kuɾaŋ	=zaŋ	ɾi	de₁	mzaŋ	ɾimin	=zaŋ
human	beautiful	voice	INS	cloth	TOP	beautiful	motif	INS

A human (marsi-formal.human) is beautiful because of the virtues (voice) and cloth is beautiful because of its design.

5.1

Miyung	*lai*	*deba*	*thi*	*bani*	*de*	*bondep*	*jang*
mijuŋ	laj₁	de₂-ba	ti₁	bani	de₁	bon-bdep	=zaŋ
elephant	like	big-NF:IPFV	say	therefore	TOP	wood-branch	COM

phai	*dada*	*sam*	*daji.*
paj	dda	sam	da-zi
wipe.out	NF	grass	PROH-eat

Just because one is as big as an elephant, one still shouldn't eat the whole plant by wiping out its branches.

5.2

Gorai	*lai*	*mang*	*lao*	*bani*	*thi*	*bani*	*de*
goɾaj	laj₁	maŋ	law	bani	ti₁	bani	de₁
horse	like	body	long	therefore	say	therefore	TOP

numa	*jang*	*phai*	*dada*	*dzi*	*daling.*
nu-ma₁	zaŋ	paj	dda	di	da-liŋ
see-PRSP	COM	come	NF	water	PROH-drink

Just because one's body is as long as a horse, one still shouldn't drink up the water as soon as s/he sees it.

6.1

Musuburma	ning	*mi*	*ni*	*ha*	*birdaoba,*
musubuɾma	niŋ₂	mi	=ni₂	=ha₂	biɾ-daw₁-ba
bear	TOP	animal	GEN	LOC	fool-CMP-NF:IPFV

bu	*bo*	*basa*	*khrangba*	*she.*
bu	bo	bsa	kɾaŋ-ba	se₁
DEM	TOP	son	rear-NF:IPFV	TOP

Amongst animals, the bear is more foolish but it still rears offspring.

6.2

Miyung	*ni*	*yathep*	*ning*	*dedaoba,*	*bu*	*bo*	*gasleba*	*she.*
mijuŋ	=ni₂	jatep	niŋ₂	de₂-daw₁-ba	bu	bo	ga-sle=ba₂	se₁
elephant	GEN	leg	TOP	big-CMP-NF:IPFV	3SG	TOP	step-slip=NMLZ	TOP

An elephant's feet are bigger, but even he slips. (Even the weakest survives, even the strongest fails.)

7.1

Raja	*basa*	*ne*	*grao*	*gamangya.*
ɾaza	bsa	=ne₁	gɾaw	gmaŋ-ja
king	son	DAT	word	wonder-NEG

A king's son doesn't wonder about words.

7.2

Magusa	*basa*	*ne*	*bondep*	*gamangya.*
magusa	bsa	=ne₁	bon-bdep	gmaŋ-ja
monkey	son	DAT	wood-branch	wonder-NEG

A monkey's son doesn't wonder about branches. (The king doesn't worry about the things he says. A monkey doesn't worry to look for means to escape.)

8

Rangkho	jang	rang	khailim	dongkha	bo	jar
ɾaŋ-ko	=zaŋ	ɾaŋ	kajlim	doŋ-ka	bo	zaɾ
money-house	COM	money	cane.basket	EXST-PRF	TOP	REFL

ni	hayu	khe	yaophakhor	dengphuya.
=ni$_2$	haju	=ke	jawpa-koɾ	deŋ-pu-ja
GEN	lifespan	ACC	palm-hole	keep-POT-NEG

Even if one has a safe or a basket full of money s/he cannot hold a handful of life.

9.1

Majangba	rigiba	maho	ni
mzaŋ=ba$_2$	ɾgi=ba$_2$	maho	=ni$_2$
beautiful=NMLZ	dirty=NMLZ	mother.womb	GEN

Beauty and ugliness are of the mother's womb.

9.2

Dang	jiba	daogainba	mlai	ni.
daŋ	zi=ba$_2$	daw$_1$-gajn=ba$_2$	mlaj	ni$_2$
work	eat=NMLZ	weave-wear=NMLZ	others	GEN

Working and weaving is (learned) from others. (We get our appearance from our parents, but our knowledge of how to make a living is learned from others.) (The two lines of the proverb have a parallel structure ending in a genitive; neither has a matrix verb.)

10

Maikho	jang	mairabam	dongkha	bo	maiphang	khe
majko	=zaŋ	majɾbam	doŋ-ka	bo	maj-paŋ	=ke
granary	COM	abundant.rice	EXST-PRF	TOP	get-plant	ACC

godophang	maduli	dengdaoya.
godopaŋ	maduli	deŋ-daw$_1$-ja
neck	necklace	keep-CMP-NEG

Even if I have a granary and abundant rice, I don't wear the rice plant on my neck. (The proverb is said about oneself, to say that one doesn't show off all of one's own possessions. Because it is said of oneself, the first person pronoun is inferred.)

11

Jar	*ni*	*yaopha,*	*jar*	*ni*	*khaolai.*
zaɾ	=ni₂	jawpa	zaɾ	=ni₂	kawlaj
REFL	GEN	palm	REFL	GEN	cheek

One's palm, one's cheek. (To shoot oneself in the foot.)

12

Khim	*de*	*majangba*	*bahai*	*jang,*	*subung*	*de*
kim	de₁	mzaŋ-ba	bhaj	=zaŋ	subuŋ	de₁
flower	TOP	beautiful-NF:IPFV	smell	COM	person	TOP

majangba	*yaoblai*	*jang.*
mzaŋ-ba	jawblaj	=zaŋ
beautiful-NF:IPFV	deeds	COM

A flower is beautiful because of its scent, a person is beautiful because of his deeds.

Abbreviations

1PL	First Person Plural		LOC	Locative
1SG	First Person Singular		MAL	Malefactive
2PL	Second Person Plural		MIR	Mirative
2SG	Second Person Singular		N	Noun
3PL	Third Person Plural		NEG	Negative
3SG	Third Person Singular		NF	Nonfuture
ABL	Ablative		NF:IPFV	Non-future Imperfective
ACC	Accusative Marker		NMLZ	Nominalizer/nominalization
ADVB	Adverbalizer		NOM	Nominative
AGT	Agent		NUM	Numeral
APPL	Applicative		ONP	Onomatopoeia
ATT	Attenuative		OPT	Optative
AUG	Augmentative		PIPFV	Present Imperfective
BEN	Benefactive		PL	Plural
CAUS	Causative		PN	Proper Noun
CLF	Classifier		POT	Potential
CMM	Comissive Modality		PRF	Perfect
CMP	Comparative		PRO	Pronoun
COLL	Collective		PROG	Progressive
COM	Comitative		PROH	Prohibitive
COND	Conditional		PROX	Proximal
CONT	Continuative		PRSP	Prospective
COP	Copula		PRX	Proximal
CS	Change of state		PSV	Passive
DAT	Dative		Q	Question Particle
DEM	Demonstrative		QUOT	Quotative
DIM	Diminutive		RECP	Reciprocal
DIST	Distal		REFL	Reflexive
DPROG	Durative Progressive		REL	Relative
DST	Distal		REQ	Request
ENTR	Entirety		SBJV	Subjunctive
EPIS	Epistemic Modality		SIPFV	Split Imperfective
EXCLM	Exclamation		SPCF	Specific
EXST	Existential		STAT	Stative Marker

FEM	Feminine	SUCC	Successive
GEN	Genitive Marker	SUP	Superlative
INC	Inceptive	TOP	Topic Marker
INEXST	In Existential	TRNS.LOC	Trans Locative
INS	Instrumental	V	Verb
IPFV	Imperfective		

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2000. *Classifiers: A typology of noun categorization devices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Berkson, Kelly. n.d. Field report on classifiers in Lutuv. Bloomington: Indiana Working Papers in South Asian Languages and Cultures (Manuscript.)

Butler, Becky Ann. 2014. *Deconstructing the Southeast Asian sesquisyllable: A gestural account.* Ithaca: Cornell University (Doctoral dissertation.)

Boro, Krishna. 2017. *A grammar of Hakhun Tangsa.* Eugene: University of Oregon. (Doctoral dissertation.)

Boro, Krishna & Basumatary, Prafulla. 2015. Adverbial suffixes in Bodo. In Post, Mark & Morey, Stephen & Delancey, Scott (eds.), *Language and culture in Northeast India and beyond: In honor of Robbins Burling.* Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics & The Australian National University.

Burling, Robbins. 1983. The Sal languages. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 7(2). 1–32.

Brunelle, Marc & Kirby, James & Michaud, Alexis & Watkins, Justin. 2020. Mainland South East Asia. In Gussenhoven, Carlos & Chen, Aoju (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of language prosody*, 344–354. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Campbell, Stuart & Shaweevongs, Chuan. 1982. *The fundamentals of the Thai language*. 5th edn. New York: Paragon Book Gallery.

Cheung, Candice Chi-Hang. 2007. On the noun phrase structure of Jingpo. *USC Working Papers in Linguistics* 3. 32–56.

Chor, Wan Ting. 2011. *A sketch grammar of Chang, final year project report.* Singapore: Nanyang Technological University.

Cristofaro, Sonia. 2013. Purpose clauses. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.), *The world Atlas of language structures online.* Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.

Dai, Qingxia. 2012. *Jingpoyu cankao yufa.* Beijing: China Social Sciences Press.

Evans, Jonathan P. 2001. *Introduction to Qiang phonology and lexicon: Synchrony and diachrony.* Tokyo: ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Evans, Jonathan P. 2022. Classifiers before numerals: Origin of an atypical morpheme order. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 45(1). 1–21.

Fellner, Hannes A. & Hill, Nathan W. 2019. Word families, allofams, and the comparative method. *Cahiers de Linguistique-Asie Orientale* 48(2). 91–124.

Fuchs, Catherine. 2014. *La comparaison et son expression en français*. Paris: Éditions Ophrys.

Grinevald, Colette & Seifart, Frank. 2004. Noun classes in African and Amazonian languages: Towards a comparison. *Linguistic Typology* 8(2). 243–285.

Handel, Zev. 2019. A brief response to Fellner and Hill's "Word families, allofams, and the comparative method". *Cahiers de Linguistique-Asie Orientale* 48(2). 125–141.

Jacques, Guillaume. 2021. *A grammar of Japhug.* Berlin: Language Science Press.

Jacquesson, François. 2008. *A Dimasa grammar.* (https://brahmaputra.ups2259.vjf.cnrs.fr/bdd/IMG/pdf/Dimasa_Grammar-2.pdf) (Accessed 2018-04-19.)

Joseph, U. V. & Burling, Robbins. 2001. Tone correspondences among the Bodo languages. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 24(2). 41–55.

Konnerth, Linda. 2014. *A grammar of Karbi.* Eugene: University of Oregon. (Doctoral dissertation.)

Konnerth, Linda. 2016. The proto-Tibeto-Burman *gV- nominalizing prefix. *Linguistics of the Tibeto Burman Area* 39(1). 3–32.

Konow, Sten. 1902. Zur Kenntnis der Kuki-Chinsprachen. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 56(3). 486–517.

LaPolla, Randy J. 2003. Overview of Sino-Tibetan morphosyntax. In Thurgood, Graham & LaPolla, Randy J. (eds.), *The Sino-Tibetan languages*, 22–42. London: Routledge.

Longmailai, Monali. 2014. *The morphosyntax of Dimasa.* Shillong: North-Eastern Hill University. (Doctoral dissertation.)

Lu, Tian-Qiao. 2012. *Classifiers in Kam-Tai languages: A cognitive and cultural perspective.* Boca Raton: Universal-Publishers.

Matisoff, James A. 1973. Tonogenesis in Southeast Asia. In Hyman, Larry M. (ed.), *Consonant types and tone*, 71–95. Los Angeles: Linguistics Program, University of Southern California.

Matisoff, James A. 1978. *Variational semantics in Tibeto-Burman.* Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.

Matisoff, James A. 2003. *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and philosophy of Sino-Tibetan reconstruction.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Morey, Stephen. 2010. *Turung: A variety of Singpho language spoken in Assam.* Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Mulder, Mijke. 2020. *A descriptive grammar of Muklom Tangsa.* Melbourne: La Trobeb University. (Doctoral dissertation.)

Post, Mark W. & Burling, Robbins. 2017. The Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India. In Thurgood, Graham & LaPolla, Randy J. (eds.), *The Sino-Tibetan languages*, 213–242. London: Routledge.

Sangdong, David. 2012. *A grammar of the Kadu (Asak) language.* Melbourne: La Trobe University. (Doctoral dissertation.)

Sarmah, Priyankoo. 2009. *Tone systems of Dimasa and Rabha: A phonetic and phonological study.* Gainesville: University of Florida. (Doctoral dissertation.)

Sarmah, Priyankoo & Wiltshire, Caroline. 2009. An acoustic study of Dimasa tones. In Morey, Stephen & Post, Mark (eds.), *North East Indian linguistics*, 25–44. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Singha, Kh. Dhiren. 2001. *The phonology & morphology of Dimasa.* Silchar: Assam University. (Doctoral dissertation.)

Singha, Kh. Dhiren. 2008. *An introduction to Dimasa phonology.* New Delhi: Saujanya Books.

Thomas, David. 1992. On sesquisyllabic structure. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 21. 206–210.

Treis, Yvonne. 2018. Comparative constructions: An introduction. *Linguistic Discovery* 16(1). 1–26.

van Breugel, Seino. 2014. *A grammar of Atong.* Leiden: Brill.

Vassilieva, Masha & Larson, Richard K. 2005. The semantics of the plural pronoun construction. *Natural Language Semantics* 13(2). 101–124.

LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS MONOGRAPH SERIES 66
《語言暨語言學》專書系列之六十六

Dimasa Language: Structure and Texts

by

Jonathan P. Evans & Dhrubajit Langthasa

Dimasa Language: Structure and Texts

by
Jonathan P. Evans & Dhrubajit Langthasa