DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF ADI

Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my mother

Lt. Mrs. Yami Borang

A lady who never went to school but learnt to
read all by herself through her own determination.

ACKNOWLEGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Pradeep Kumar Das, who is a wonderful and humble human being and a very much supportive guide. His utmost patience towards my blunders, promptness in every work without any delay, have not only help me in finishing my thesis but also taught me to be a more efficient scholar. His guidance in writing and effort in the official matter for finishing this thesis is inexplicable in words. I am glad full to have such an inspiring professor as my supervisor.

I am glad to all my family members; my mother (who left for heaven midway of this journey), my father, my siblings, and nieces and nephews who all have been eagerly waiting for the completion of my work. Their faith in me has kept me moving on during my difficult times. My special thanks to my sister-in-law Mrs. Gobi Megu Borang and my brother-in-law Mr. Martin Taki who are part and parcel of our family and on whom I can always count for any help needed.

Any expression of my deep gratitude would not suffice to express the help and support I was showered by my brother Tuting Borang and my all-weather friend Karsing Megu. Investment of their valuable time during my three fieldworks have enabled me to yield this thesis. I never got a 'No' from them for whatever help I requested for as they were always standing beside me.

I am indebted to Prof. Simon John, Director AITS, RGU who never failed to motivate and encourage me. I am thankful to Lisa Lomdak Asst. Prof. AITS, RGU for all her selfless help and valuable inputs. I am also thankful to Wanglit Mongcham Asst. Prof, AITS, RGU for giving his valuable time and help.

The very part and parcel of this thesis are all my informants and my hosts whom I have troubled much and who are always ready to provide information and data in a zeal to do something for the preservation of their language. It was not possible to complete this work without their co-operation, dedication, and understanding. I owe them unrepayable thanks.

A hearty thanks to my friends Tuhina Gao, Teshi Pipang, Dusu Yabo and Marnyir Padu who not only enlivened my stays in JNU but also inculcated the meaning of friendship in me by staying strong by my side during the darkest hour. All your hard-working nature have always been a source of inspiration for me.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank all the people who helped me through this journey. I might not have mentioned all your names here, but I will always be indebted to the help and support you all have shown towards me.

Thank you.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADV	Adverb
AUX	Auxilliary
BENF	Benefactive
CEM	Collaborative effort marker
COMP	Complementizer
CP	Conjunctive Participle
DEF	Definite
DEM	Demonstrative
EMPH	Emphatic
EW	Echo Word
EXC	Exclamation
EXP	Expressive
F	Female
HAB	Habitual
IM	Imitative marker
IMP	Imperative
IMPF	Imperfective
INDF	Indefinite
M	Male
NEG	Negative
NOMZ	Nominalizer
PERF	Perfective
PROG	Progressive
PST	Possible Syllable Structures
REP	Repitivive
RM	Repetitive marker
VREC	Verbal Reciprocal

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE STATE:

Among the eight north-eastern states of India, Arunachal Pradesh is the largest state in terms of area with total area coverage of 83,743 square kilometers which is approximately 31.8 percent of total area of northeastern states and 2.5 percent of India. The state has been labeled with various tags few of which are: Land of the Dawn-lit Mountains, Land of rising sun, Orchid state of India, Paradise of Botanist etc. The state is located between 26.28° N to 29.30°N latitude and 91.30°E and 97.30°E longitudes. Being the easternmost state of the country, Arunachal Pradesh shares international boundaries with three Asian countries viz. Bhutan to its west (160 km), China in the north-eastern side (1,080 km) and Myanmar to the east (440 km). Below is the map of India highlighting Arunachal Pradesh in red:

Figure 1: Map of India highlighting Arunachal Pradesh in red color

The state has twenty districts (21th district 'Lower Siang' is under process) as shown in the map below:

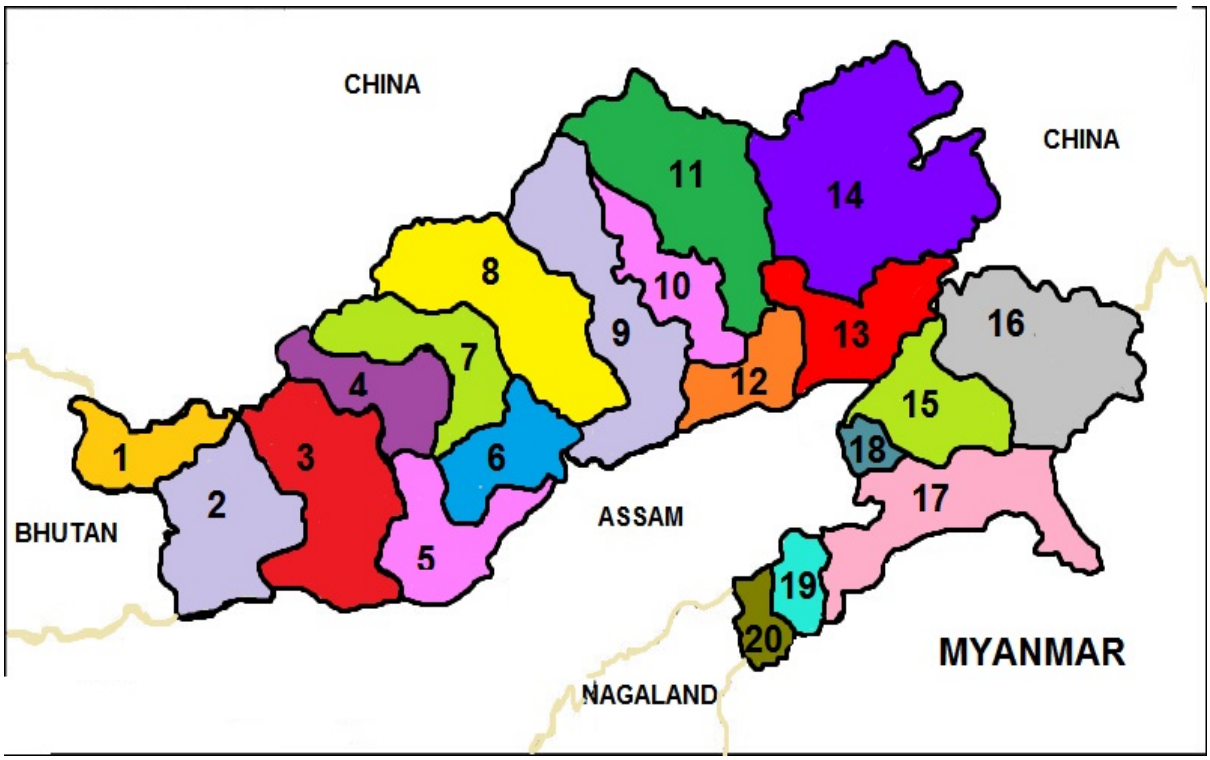

Figure 2: Map of Arunachal Pradesh highlighting its districts

District names:

1. Tawang
2. West Kameng
3. East Kameng
4. Kurung Kumey
5. Papumpare
6. Lower Subansiri
7. Kraa Daadi
8. Upper SUbansiri
9. West Siang
10. Siang
11. Upper Subansiri
12. East Siang
13. Lower Dibang Valley
14. Upper Dibang Valley
15. Lohit
16. Anjaw
17. Changlang
18. Namsai
19. Khonsa
20. Longding

1.2 POPULATION:

Contrast to its huge contribution to the geographical area, Arunachal Pradesh shares just a handful of the population of the country. According to 2011 official census of the government of India, the state has approximately 13 lakh population which is merely around 0.11 percent of the country's total population. This gives a clear picture that the state is sparsely populated and most of the areas are uninhabited. So, the state has the lowest density of population (in India) of 17 /km2 which is far lower than the Indian average of 370 /km2. However, the state record a high decadal growth rate of 25.9 percent from 2001-2011. The literacy rate of the state is 65.38% which is second lowest among all the states. In spite of having least population, the state lacks in providing education wide across the state.

Politically, the state was an independent area till 1824. On 1824, it was occupied by British when the British came to neighboring state Assam for Anglo-Burmese war. Between 1826-61, it was kept as non-regulated area and subsequently the British administration was established by and by and it was named NEFA (North-Eastern Frontier Agency). Arunachal Pradesh attained its statehood on 20th February 1987 as 24th state of India and since than the districts have increased year after year from five (5) to twenty-one (21). As per the census 2011, following are demography of the districts in the state:

Sl.No	District	Headquarters	Population	Density	Sex ratio	Literacy rate (%)
1.	Anjaw	Hawai	21089	3	805	59.40
2.	Changlang	Changlang	147951	32	914	61.90
3.	Dibang Valley	Anini	7948	1	808	64.80
4.	East Kameng	Seppa	78413	19	1012	62.48
5.	East Siang	Pasighat	99019	27	962	73.54
6.	Kurung Kumey	Koloriang	89717	15	1029	50.67
7.	Lohit	Tezu	145538	28	901	69.88
8.	L/Dibang Valley	Roing	53986	14	919	70.38
9.	Lower Subansiri	Ziro	82839	24	975	76.33
10.	Papumpare	Yupia	176385	51	950	82.14
11.	Tawang	Tawang	49950	23	701	60.61
12.	Tirap	Khonsa	111997	47	931	52.23

13.	Upper Siang	Yingkiong	35289	5	891	59.94
14.	Upper Subansiri	Daporijo	83205	12	982	63.96
15.	West Kameng	Bomdila	87013	12	755	69.40
16.	West Siang	Aalo	112272	13	916	67.62
17.	Kra Dadi*	Jamin				
18.	Namsai*	Namsai				
19.	Longding*	Longding				
20.	Siang*	Pangin				
21.	Lower Siang*	**Likabali				

Table 1: Demography of the districts of Arunachal Pradesh

**Districts created after 2011 Census*

***Disputed/Not yet official*

1.3 MIGRATION HISTORY:

No concrete written record can be traced regarding the origin of people of the state. The only evidence regarding the migration history is through oral history transcended from generations. For medieval period, little can be added from the references available from the Buranjis (Ahom chronicles) which are accounts of the relationship between Ahom kingdom and the tribal of the hills. Broadly, as per the oral version, the migration took place from Tibet and Burma in various phases.

1.4 TRIBES AND PEOPLE:

In the state of Arunachal Pradesh, there are about 25 major tribes and more than hundred sub-tribes. Among the 25 major tribes, which include, Nyishi, Galo, Apatani, Khampti, Tangsa, Nocte, Wancho, Monpa, Memba, Khampa, Idu-Mishmi, Sherdukpen, Singpho etc. Adi stands at second rank on the basis of population.

To generalize, the appearance of the natives of Arunachal Pradesh is that of Mongoloid features which include pale/fair complexion, prominent cheekbones, and oblique eyes with epicanthic fold, scanty body hair, beard, and mustaches.

1.5 SOCIAL LIFE OF THE STATE:

The community of the state are classified based on their ethnic affiliation rather than linguistics similarities. Again, under the tribe, further subdivisions are made based on one's clan. The clan lineage is strictly maintained to preserve correct order of lineage and also its sanctity. The tribes follow patriarchal system although the claim of equal treatment of man and woman are made. Patriarchy can be seen in the outlining of descendants through the male progenies and also through various social order like the head of the house is father/male member, inheritance rights only for men, acceptance of polygamy but not polyandry etc. Regarding the marriage, in Arunachal Pradesh both the exogamy and endogamy are practiced by the tribes. Tribe endogamy and clan exogamy is the general rule in marriage. The settlement pattern is permanent in form of village. Most of the residential houses in the villages are built on raised platform. All the tribes have their distinctive lifestyle, culture, custom and tradition. Their attire, costume and ornaments are well designed. Rice is their staple food and the Apong/Opo (local beer) forms an essential item of food habit[1]. Many of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh practice dormitory system for both boys and girls. The dormitory of the Noctes and Wanchos is called *Pang* and *Morung,* Adis called it *Dere* or *Musup* and among Galos, it is called as *Dere*[2].

Like colorful butterflies in the field, Arunachal Pradesh showcase varied colorful traditional attire and costumes which are adorn on during traditional folk dances which are usually performed during festivals and the rituals. Almost all the tribes and sub-tribes have their own festivals which are celebrated for different occasions but are mainly related to agriculture. The popular dances among many are Igu dance of Idu Mishmis, Ponung and Etor dances of Adis, Ajhi-Lamu of Monpas and Sherdukpens, Moh dance of Tangsas, Pakku-Itu of Apatanis, Niechi dou of Akas, Rikham-pada of Nyishis, Loku Bawang of Noctes and Ozele of Wanchos. There are number of festivals of each tribe which are celebrated on different occasions. These festivals are mainly associated with agriculture, New Year and belief system. Some significant festivals are Mopin of Galos, Solung of Adis, Losar of Monpas, Chalo Loku of Noctes, Si Donyi of Tagins, Nyokum of Nyishis, Dree of Apatanis and Reh of Mishmis[3]

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[1] H.G. Joshi, Arunachal Pradesh Past and Present, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2005, pp.17-30.

[2] Elwin, A Philosophy for NEFA, pp.223-236

[3] Pandey, History of Arunachal Pradesh, pp.90-150.

1.6 POLITICAL LIFE OF THE STATE:

The political affairs of the tribes are based on their customary law which is administered by village councils headed by *Gaam* or *Gaon Bura* and consist of village elders and chosen few as its members. Every tribe has their own councils and old age practiced customary laws which are exercised for village level disputes. Some of the councils are: *Mele* of Akas, *Jheme* of Khambas, *Wangham* of Wanchos, *Mimiang* of Mijis, *Berim* of Membas, *Abbala* of Mishmis, *Kebang* of Adis, *Ngothun* of Noctes and *Bang Nyele* of Nyishis[4]. The councils are chosen not based of hereditary but based on seniority and knowledge. However, among Noctes and Wanchos, system of king/chief and kingdom exist where the line of chieftainship is hereditary. The Monpa tribe follows the system of theocracy called *Mangmajom*, where a number of villages join together under the theocratic rule of a monastic authority. The Apatanis have clan-wise council known as Buliang[5].

1.7 RELIGIOUS LIFE:

The Indigenous religion is classified as *animism* as the people consider nature (sun-moon) as divine instead of any idolatry worship. But in recent times, rapid conversion into other non-native religion like Christian, Hindu have greatly altered the religious population statistics, making indigenous faith population as minor one. Following table is the religious population data of the State based on 2011 census:

Religion	**Percentage**
Christian	30.26%
Hindu	29.04%
Indigenous	26.20%
Buddhist	11.77%
Muslim	1.95%

[4] Joshi, Arunachal Pradesh Past and Present, pp.108-139.

[5] Pandey, History of Arunachal Pradesh, p.248

Sikh	0.24%
Jain	0.06%
Not Stated	0.48%

Table 2: Religious data of Arunachal Pradesh

As said above, recently, there is a rapid conversion to Christianity which has been aptly reflected in the census above. This resulted into the decrease in the number of population of indigenous faith and hence the locals have launched movement to revive the indigenous faith with the slogan 'Loss of culture is loss of identity'.

1.8 ECONOMIC LIFE:

Agriculture hugely dominates as the primary occupation, especially in villages. They practice both wet paddy cultivation and Jhoom/shifting cultivation by clearing and burning the jungle. The technologies used for agriculture are quite primitive and manual. Besides agriculture, the rearing of animals likes Mithun, Pig, Yak, Chicken, etc. are practiced both for commercial as well as for self-consumption. Trade and Commerce like Cottage Industries which include weaving, wood carving, carpet making, basketry and other cane and bamboo work also contribute to the village economy.

1.9 LANGUAGES OF THE STATE:

1.9.1 Official Language of the state:

Hindi and English are the official languages of the state, though English is more functional in both educational and official matter. After Chinese incursion in 1962, the government of India started Indianizing the state by sending large number of Hindi speaking teachers. Thus, Hindi became the second language in school and the students started using it widely. After Hindi, Sanskrit was introduced as the third language but recently locals have urged the government to introduce native language as the third language in school. So, many schools have primer book of local languages which they study till 7th-8th standard as third language. However, movement of native language as third language in school has a long way to go as not all tribes have their own script or properly written grammar book which can be introduced in the school formally.

1.9.2 Lingua Franca of the state:

Hindi, better be called 'Arunachalee Hindi' is used as lingua-franca among different tribes because the languages of different tribes are not mutually intelligible. However, Since the Hindi speaking teachers sent to Arunachal Pradesh after 1962 were from various parts of northern India like Bihar, Haryana, Orissa, Punjab, West Bengal, Assam etc. the Hindi spoken in the state today is more of a Pidgin. Lots of influence both from varieties of Hindi and also from mother tongues gave the Arunachalee Hindi a very different shape, especially in its phonology. So, the Hindi spoken in the state is a very much localized one without any gender agreement or with some mixed vocabularies as it can be seen in the examples below:

Hindi:	həm	ek du:sre ke ghar nəhi	dʒa:te
Arunachalee Hindi:	ham	ek dusra ka gor nəi	dʒatai
English Gloss:	'We don't visit each others houses'		

Hindi:	ve	a:pəs mẽ	ba:t	nəhi	kərte
Arunachalee Hindi:	wo log apos me		ba:t	nəi	kərtai
English Gloss:	They do not talk to each other.				

In the above examples, Aruanachalee Hindi does not have aspiration, no number agreement, and many phonological variations from standard Hindi. It is so much localized in accent and pronunciation that native Hindi speaker themselves fails to understand it very often. One such incident is often joked around where a shopkeeper in Delhi, overhearing two Arunachalees conversing in Hindi, commented Bhaiya aap logo ka bhasa Hindi jeisa hei 'Brothers your language sounds like Hindi'.

Assamese is another widely used lingua franca especially among the older population as they have used Assamese for education and for communication before the advent of Hindi in the state. Assamese spoken by Arunachalees are referred as *"Nefamese'* as Arunachal Pradesh was earlier known as NEFA (North East Frontier Agency). Nefamese again slightly varies from the Assamese spoken in Assam. For example, Assamese has honorific marking while Nefamese does not. This is again another influence of mother tongue.

1.9.3 Native languages of the state:

As said above, Arunachal Pradesh has twenty/twenty-one districts. Different tribes dwell together in single district and almost all the names of languages are same as the name of the tribe. So following table indicate the tribe as well as the language based on the districts:

Sl. No	District	Main Tribes & Languages
1.	Anjaw	Mishmi, Meyor
2.	Changlang	Tutsa, Tangsa, Nocte, Chakma, Singpho and the Lisu.
3.	Dibang Valley	Mishmi
4.	East Kameng	Bangnis(Nyishi), Akas, Mijis and Puroiks
5.	East Siang	Adi
6.	Kurung Kumey	Nyishi, Bangru, and Puroik
7.	Lohit	Zakhring, Khampti, Deori, Singpho, Chakma and Mishmi
8.	L/Dibang Valley	Idu Mishmi and Adi
9.	Lower Subansiri	Apatani
10.	Papumpare	Nyishi
11.	Tawang	Monpa
12.	Tirap	Nocte
13.	Upper Siang	Adi, Memba
14.	Upper Subansiri	Tagin, Nyishi and Galo
15.	West Kameng	Monpa, Sherdukpen, Miji, Bugun (Khowa) and Aka
16.	West Siang	Galo, Adi
17.	Kra Dadi	Nyishi
18.	Namsai	Tai Khampti, Singpho, Deori
19.	Longding	Wancho
20.	Siang	Adi
21.	Lower Siang	Adi, Galo

Table 3: District-wise tribes and languages of Arunachal Pradesh

Arunachal Pradesh is a major linguistic hotspot not only in India but in entire Asia as it is home to various tribal languages and its varieties. Since there is no extensive work on exact number of languages present, also due to difference in research methodologies, number of languages supposedly present in the state varies among various claims by different scholar and agencies. However, roughly it can be estimated that at least twenty-eight major languages (as listed in the table below) with numerous distinct varieties (the number which cannot be ascertain/listed as of now) are present in the state.

As per the classification of Blench and Post (2011), the languages of Arunachal can be broadly clubbed as:

Phylum	**Branch**	**Language**
Sino- Tibetan	Jingpho	Turung (Singpho)
Sino- Tibetan	East Bodish	Memba, Meyor, Monpa of Tawang, Monpa of Zemithang Brokeh Monpa of Dirang, Murshing and Kalaktang
Sino- Tibetan	Tani	Adi, Galo, Nyishi, Apatani
Sino- Tibetan	Tangsa Naga	Wancho, Nocte
Siangic	Milang- Koro	Milang
Kamengic		Bugun, Mey of Shergaon (Sherduken), Mey of Rupa (Sherdukpen) Sartang, Lish, Chug

Mishmic		Idu,
		Digaru,
*Northern Shan?	Tai-Kadai	Khamti
Isolate		Miji (Bangru?)
Isolate		Puroik
Isolate		Miju
Isolate	Hruisish	Hruso (Aka)

Table 4: Languages of Arunachal Pradesh (Blench and Post 2011: 12)

* → Added by me

1.9.4 Grading of Adi language vitality as per Survey of UNESCO:

Based on five points scale of (1) vulnerable, (2) definitely endangered, (3) severely endangered, (4) critically endangered and (5) extinct, UNESCO has classified the languages of Arunachal Pradesh ranging from Vulnerable (1) to Critically Endangered (4). Such as:

1) Vulnerable: Galo, Adi, Apatani etc.
(2) Definitely endangered: Singpho, Milang, Idu etc.
(3) Severely endangered: ----None--
(4) Critically endangered: Na, Tangam
(5) Extinct: ----None---

1.9.5 Languages in Arunachal Pradesh According to 2001 Census:

The 2001 census of government of India provide the following language data for Arunachal Pradesh. The census does not provide data for languages like Galo, Apatani, Khampti etc. as the census listed only the languages with 1 lakh or more speakers. So as per the census, the languages and their speakers in the state are:

Language	Population	Percent
Nyishi	2,08,337	15.00%
Adi	1,93,379	14.00%
Bengali	97,149	7.00%
Nepali	94,919	7.00%

Hindi	81,186	6.00%
Monpa	55,428	4.00%
Assamese	51,551	4.00%
Wancho	48,544	4.00%
Tangsa	34,231	2.00%
Mishmi	33,522	2.00%
Mishing	33,381	2.00%
Nocte	32,591	2.00%
Others	64,711	5.00%
*Rest (Accounted & unaccounted)	3,53,682	26.00%
Total	**13,82,611**	**100.00%**

Table 5: Language data of Arunachal Pradesh

Following is the pie chart of the table above:

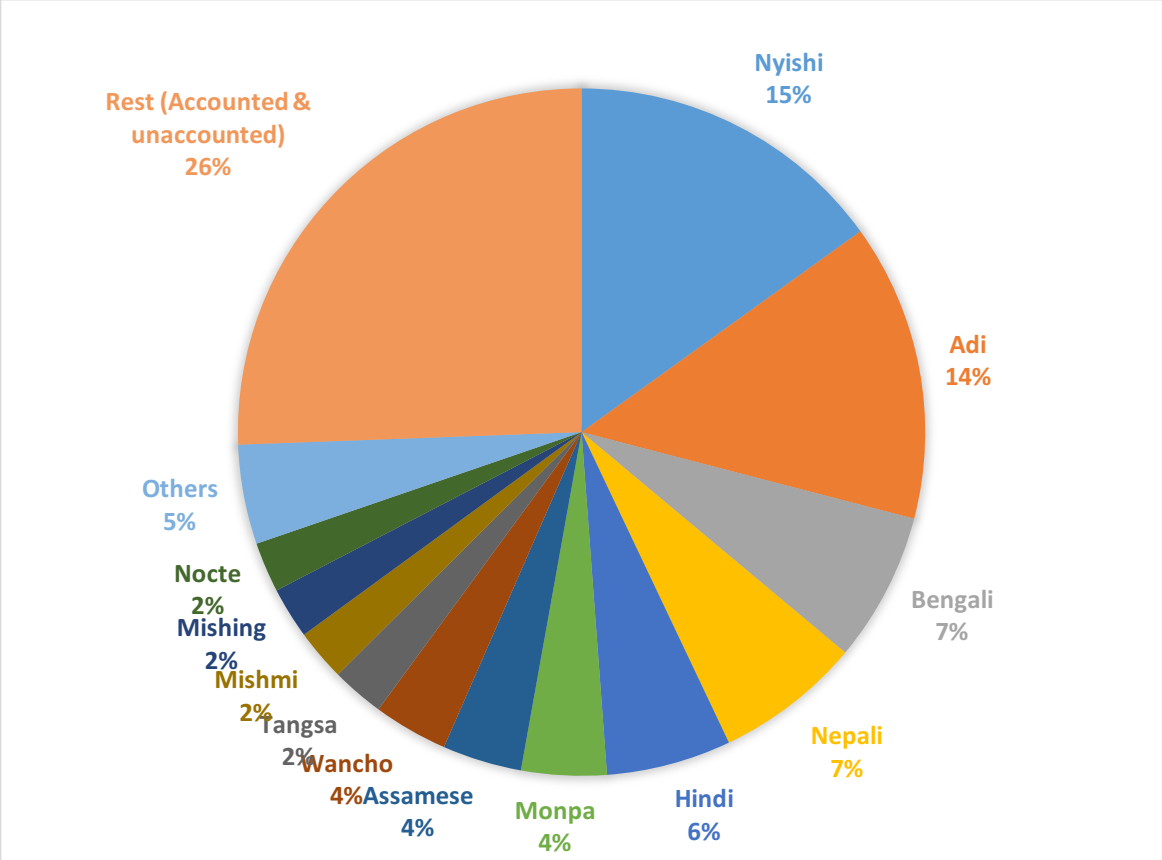

Figure 3: Pie chart of languages of Arunachal Pradesh

* include the languages which are:

i. Present in the state but not listed in census like Galo, Apatani etc.

ii. Which are not native languages of the state but listed in census, perhaps spoken by outsiders residing in the state.

Some of the languages in (ii) are:

Language	**Number of speakers**
Anal	11
Angami	6
Ao	102
Arabic	44
Bhotia	264
Deori	4504
Garo	523
Karbi/Mikir	1246
Kharia	274
Khasi	218
Kuki	133
Oraon/Kurukh	1132
Lushai/Mizo	1154
Munda	3132
Mundari	2104
Rabha	106
Rai	3862
Sherpa	436
Tamang	1027
Tibetan	9527
Total	**29,805**

Table 6: Some of the non-native languages of Arunachal Pradesh

1.10 THE ADIS:

Adi is second major tribes of Arunachal Pradesh after Nyishi tribe. Adis are residents of at least six districts of Arunachal Pradesh which are: Siang, East Siang, West Siang, Upper Siang, Lower Dibang Valley and Lohit (see Figure 2: Map of Arunachal Pradesh highlighting its districts). The approximate population of Adi people is around two lakhs. A handful of Adi people also inhabits Tibet Autonomous Region of China, where they are recognized as Lhoba tribe. However, this Lhoba tribe also include some Mishmi population, together they are acknowledged as one of the 56 ethnic group of China.

1.10.1 Subtribes:

Adis were known as Abor during British rule and this word is thought to be termed by or taken from Assamese. The people considered this exonym as inappropriate or derogatory to some extent, so the tribe was renamed as Adi which means 'Hill-Man'. Adi tribe is not a wholesome single tribe, rather, it is a conglomeration of at least fifteen subtribes namely:

Adi Subtribes	**District found at**
1. Padam /pa:dam/:	East Siang, Upper Siang, Lower Dibang Valley, Lohit, Namsai
2. Minyong /miŋoŋ/:	East Siang, Upper Siang, Siang, West Siang
3. Pasi /pa:si/:	East Siang, Upper Siang, Lower Dibang Valley
4. Karko /karko/:	Upper Siang
5. Simong /simoŋ/:	Upper Siang
6. Panggi /paŋgi/:	Upper Siang, Siang, East Siang,
7. Bori /bori/:	Siang
8. Bokar /bokar/:	West Siang
9. Ramo /ramo/:	West Siang
10. Pailibo /pailɨ:bo/:	West Siang
11. Milang /milaŋ/:	Lower Dibang Valley
12. Mising /misiŋ/:	East Siang
13. Asing /asiŋ/:	Upper Siang
14. Tangam /taŋam/:	Upper Siang
15. Komkar /komkar/:	Upper Siang
16. Somua??	Lohit

The sub-tribes are not limited to the districts mentioned, rather the districts mentioned are where they inhabit the most.

Among them, Padam, Minyong and Pasi are major in terms of population while Tangam, Asing etc. are minor as they have only few hundred speakers. The affiliation of these subtribes are based on ethnicity rather than language. In terms of culture and traditions, there are minute variations in their attire, living style, ornaments festivals etc. Perhaps most of the variations are mostly influenced by contact with other neighboring cultures. In terms of language, all of them are not mutually-intelligible at speech level. Since most of them are not mutually-intelligible, the major varieties like Padam and Minyong are used for communications. Most of the Adis are competent in Minyong and Padam varieties.

1.10.2 Physical Features of the Adis:

According the outsider's description, Adis "are short in stature and face having medium thick lips and dark brown eyes with an epicanthic fold. The skin color is dark brown with a fair complexion (Borgohain 1932: 18). "Physically, the northern Adi men are tall over six feet, while those of the southern area are short. According the A. Hamilton, all are flexible, active and well developed limps. They talk less but their rhythm of talking is very clear and distinct" (Hamilton 1912: 18). The Adis, both male and female, keep short and round hair-cut which is like a shape of bowl. This hair style is known as '*Dumrek'*.

1.10.3 Origin and Migration:

There are various theories regarding the original home of Adis, but it seems probable that they came to their present habitat from/around the Tibet. River Siang had a major role in determining the route of migration of most of the Adi clans. However, the exact location of their home in Tibet or beyond is still to be ascertained. In 19th and the early part of the 20th century, many Europeans (during British rule) took a keen interest in studying the migration trail of Adis. Such as W. Robinson, John Butler, Father Kreek etc. The result of their interest was not of much success as none could give a solid picture. In absence of any written records, The Adis themselves reckon on the oral literature like Aabangs, Aabes, Ponungs, Folklores, Legends, and myths. Some of the landmarks mentioned in this oral literature are believed to be in existence till this day. But due to modernization, these literatures are rapidly vanishing in lack of proper documentation. The songs and folklores are no more transcending into the

younger generations and very soon all these will vanish along with the death of the few older people with such knowledge.

1.10.4 Festivals:

Festival in Adi is known as *Giidi /gi:di/*. There are various festivals which the Adis celebrates with utmost gaiety. Their prime festivals are:

1.10.4.1 Unying-Aran:

Unying-Aran festival is celebrated on March 7 every year. This is the first festival of the year which is celebrated commemorating the arrival of spring season. Folksongs like *Bari* are sung and folkdance like *Yakjong* are performed. Community/group hunting are done especially of trapping of wild rats through locally made bamboo traps. This is mode of pest control on the onset of agricultural activities.

1.10.4.2 Solung-Etor:

it is the second festival celebrated on May 15 every year. This is a major festival meant for male members. This does not mean women do not involve in celebration, women do celebrate but they take passive role. *Etor* means 'Fence' in Adi, so in this festival the male member of the community gears up to protect the cultivation field by engaging themselves in community-fencing/individual-fencing around the field. This is followed by feast, merry making, offering to deity for prosperous harvest.

1.10.4.3 Solung:

Solung, is the greatest of all festivals which is celebrated for five days or more on first week of September. It is an agricultural festival celebrated post sowing of seeds or transplantation. The blessing of deities is invoked to protect the cultivation from natural hazards like flood, drought, pest etc. and also to provide abundant produce. to seek for future bumper crops. During *Solung,* every evening the *Ponung* 'Dancers' and the *Miri* 'Song Priest' perform *Ponung* dance at community ground and the entire village gather and join the performance as a part of celebration. On the last day of *Solung*, thorn, bow and arrows and other weaponries are displayed along the village corridors to protect the villagers from any evil eye.

1.10.5 Dances:

1.10.5.1 Ponung:

Ponung is classic folkdance of Adi traditionally meant for or lead by female members. The male members can voluntarily join. The word 'Ponung' includes both the dancers and the dance. The ladies/ponungs form a circular chain and the dance form is slow movements of hands while encircling the song priest who is referred to as *'Miri'*. *Miri* 'Priest' stands in the middle of the circle and lead the song while the *ponungs* chant the song after *Miri* while slowly moving in circular motion. *Ponung* is performed especially during *Solung* festival, and it is also a main mode of entertainment during any celebration or party.

1.10.5.2 Delong:

Delong dance is for male members of the community so it is specifically performed by Men during *Etor* festival.

1.10.5.3 Tapu (War Dance):

Tapu is a form of war dance so unlike ponung or delong it is performed with full energy and enthusiasm. It is meant to excite the energy of warriors so the performers express aggressiveness. It is performed only by male members with full war attire.

1.10.5.4 Yakjong:

Yakjong is performed by both male and female together of same age group or a friend circle. It is performed during *Aran* festival. It is like caroling during Christmas. The dancers go house to house to convey greetings and get gifts in form of rice, eggs, money, beer etc. in return. The group of dancers later consume the collections. it is part and parcel of *Aran* festival.

1.10.6 Family:

The father is considered as the head of the family. Inheritance right of properties is bestowed solely upon male progeny. The daughter may be given movable property especially from the maternal side, but immovable ones especially customary land etc. are prohibited to be transferred to the daughters. As the clan system and lineage are very strong in Adi, so daughter marrying outside of clan cannot be given a customary land. In the absence of male progeny to the couple, a male progeny is adopted even for namesake, not necessarily brought-up or look after, from the nearest bloodline. Except for the youngest son, all the elder sons are supposed

to move out of the house and have their own house once he is married. The youngest one looks after the parents and inherits the parental home. He also inherits maximum of the properties as he has added responsibilities of looking after the parents in comparison to his brothers.

1.10.7 Society:

In the traditional and typical Adi village, the houses in the village are clustered close to each other without any dividing fence. In the upper region like in Damro village, the houses are settled clan-wise but this practice of clan-wise housing pattern is not common among lower Adis. The plot of the house is never bought or sold inside the village. One is free to live and built a house in any desired plot. This is to say that the village area is common ground and not a private property. But of course norms are changing rapidly and there is a shift from egalitarianism to capitalism. The societal solidarity defines the tribalism. People are keen to help each other with a believe that *igulde gulpe e* 'Help is given and taken'. When called for help for any work, people do not expect reward or price of the help provided, rather, he knows even without utterance that the other person will be there when help is asked back or asked for. The traditional house construction is done with the help of the community. Once the date for construction of someone's house is announced, people come themselves to help. A typical Adi house takes one to three days to be completed and people help until the construction is over.

1.10.8 Council:

The village council in Adi villages is known as *Kebang /kəbaŋ/*. The various levels of *Kebang* are:

1.10.8.1 **Duusum:**

When petty cases are dissolved at private level between the two parties, it is called *Duusum /du:sum/. Duusum* literally means a 'Get-together' but in quite a judiciary context. In *Duusum,* two parties call a third party as pacifier. The third party may be a mutual friend/relatives, head of the village etc. who is expected to give unbiased judgment. *Duusum* is a private matter and is conducted at the private house mostly at the victim's house and any outsider usually do not get involved unless invited as witness.

1.10.8.2 **Baane Kebang**:

If the things are not solved in *Duusum,* a *Kebang* is summoned at clan level and this is called as *Baane kebang*. When the case is not solved or if the victim feels that justice was not delivered or if the accuse feels that he is wrongly framed in the case, *Baane kebang* is called for. The clan of both the victim and the accused are summoned. The person summoning the *Kebang* bears the all expenses for food and drinks.

1.10.8.3 Banggo-Kebang:

When there is inter-village dispute or if the two parties belong to different villages, then *Banggo-kebang* is called for. It is in inter-village level where the heads of both the villages are present and many other learned village seniors will give the verdict. It is open to all and anyone can participate as audience but only few chosen will be allowed to speak.

1.10.8.4 Bogum-Bokang Kebang:

At highest level lies the *Bogum bokang kebang* which is in pan Adi level. When something is a matter which concern the whole of Adi tribe, *Bogum-Bokang Kebang* is called for.

The pacifiers or the judges invited for solving the case is called *Kebang Abu. Kebang Abu* is chosen by virtue of his knowledge regarding such matter and not by his material or wealth influence. It is not a hereditary post but any man expert in pacifying without biasness is trusted with this duty. The form of punishment is not very harsh, at the most it will be fine either monetary or in form of animal.

1.10.9 Marriage:

Slight difference exists in the practice of wedding ceremony among various sub-tribes. Arrange marriage is not very common, rather, society allows both girl and the boy to choose their own partners although the preference of partner should be from outside the clan but inside the tribe/sub-tribe. Marriage among *Adi-Padam* is considered to be the simplest among all. Among *Adi-Padam, Kepel /ke:pel/* (which consist of few dried squirrels and some local rice beer) are carried by the boy's family (father and uncles) to the girl's family. The girl's family is informed beforehand so even the girl's father will summon his nearest relatives to welcome the groom's party. If the bride's father accepts the relationship, then he along with his relatives shall consume the gift while the bride's party are still seated. Once accepted, their nuptial

relationship is acknowledged. But today, feasting is compulsorily hosted by the bride's party while groom's party brings animals to be sacrificed or feasted upon like pigs, buffaloes, mithuns etc. Practice of polygamy is common among Adis but polyandry is not. A man can have multiple wives but the society neither encourage nor discourage it by enforcing any stringent punishment. A *Duusum* or *Baane Kebang* is called for when approached for divorced. The *Kebang* decide, after hearing the ordeal of husband and wife, whether to ask them to reconcile or to grant them divorce. The alimony varies among the subtribes.

1.10.10 Status of Women in Adi Society:

The women are considered to be much empowered in tribal society and many literatures consider them to be enjoying an equal status as that of man in the society. It is true to some extent considering some very few examples of women who are independent in terms of finance and decision making, but it is not applicable when a society is seen as a whole. Right from family, where the male is the head, even in societal administration, male takes the lead role. In society, man's word is given more weightage than female's. The popular phrase *mime-ane agom pede* 'Its just a female's view/word' can often be heard than and now to imply that it is a word of female and thus have no weightage. Work division is somewhat rigid like weaving is for women and hunting is for men. Even in agricultural front, heavy work like clearing jungle, felling of trees, fencing etc. are done by men while women take up weeding, seeding etc. No doubt, both the group help each other out, but the general norms always divide up the work to be done by particular gender.

In *Kebang* 'Village council', Women are less privileged. They can participate as audience but they have no say on deliberations making as *Kebang* is a male dominated council. It is almost prohibited for women to go for hunting in jungle (not even go along with man/husband). Man are not advised to take up weaving activities as doing so will diminish the manliness of the man as weaving is considered to be pure feminine activities. Few decades back, in education front, women were not allowed to attend school, however, this has completely changed. Women get equal opportunity for education as the man does. It is very true that all the prevailing gender bias are rapidly changing and becoming a matter of yesterday, but it will be very wrong to conclude that, at present, man and women enjoy equal status. The changes are happening but it will take more decades or century for man and woman to be fully equal n Adi society.

1.10.11 Religion:

Adis are not homogenous when it comes to religion. The followers of religions like Donyi-Poloism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism etc. are found among the Adis. Majority of Adi population still follow and preserve their age old practice of *Donyi-Poloism* which literally mean 'Sun-Moon'. So like many other tribal communities across the world, Adis also worship sun and moon. The original worshipping of sun and moon was quite a nominal one but it was revolutionized during 1970s mainly to fight against the rapidly growing Christianity among Adis. Since than the Donyi-Poloism has inclined more towards Hinduism by assimilating some

Hindu way of worshipping. The deities traditionally worshipped by the Adi include *Kine Nane, Doying Bote, Gumin Soyin* and *Pedong Nane* etc. Each of these deities are associated with particular task of guidance and protection. Christianity is one of the rapid growing religion not only among Adis, but in entire of Arunachal Pradesh. A blog name 'Center for Policy Studies'[6] reports the population of Adi Christian to be 25.3 percent in 2011. The blog also claims that among the subtribes, Minyong-Adis are least in terms of Christianity and the minor Adis like Bori, Bokar etc. have largest Christian population, although the Adi Bokars in Tibet have adopted Tibetan Buddhism. The Adi-Mising living in Assam border practice Hinduism to some extent even though they have not given up on their traditional worshipping system as well.

1.10.12 Funeral:

The death in Adi is classified as *natural death* and *unnatural death.* The classification is based on the way the person dies. If the death is through sickness it is considered as *natural death* and if it is a sudden death through accident or murder, it is considered as *unnatural death.* The other way to ascertain the type of death is *presence of blood on dead body.* If there is a blood stain on the corpse, then the death is considered to be doing of some unnatural entity and that death is an unnatural one. If a woman dies within the three days of birth is also considered unnatural as she would still be bleeding by third day of child delivery. The funeral is conducted based on these two categories such as:

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[6] http://blog.cpsindia.org/

1.10.12.1 Natural death:

In natural death, the mortal remain is kept inside house for one night. That night is called as *mangke*. The body is buried the next day and the villagers give full support to the bereaved family. All the visitors offer rice, sugar, tea leaves, biscuits etc. to be consumed during mourning which last for minimum of five days. The deceased is offered with traditional attires by near and dear ones which are to be buried along. The prestige of the deceased is often counted by the number of such gift she/he receives. The body is buried in village graveyard with proper farewell and rituals.

1.10.12.2 Unnatural death:

The mortal remain is not treated decently in case of unnatural death. The dead body is not brought inside the house and is disposed within an hour of the death. The graveyard for unnatural death is separate from the graveyard of natural death and is usually located at outskirt of the village. No proper farewell is given for unnatural death.

1.10.13 House Structure:

In a typical Adi house, not a single nail or iron is used. The house is completely constructed of materials such as:

Adi word	**Gloss**
Rope:	*rilam* 'Wild rope', *geying* 'Cane',
Pillar/post:	*esing* 'Wood', *eng* 'Bamboo',
Wall and floor:	*eng* 'Bamboo'
Roof:	*tase,* 'Reed', *tara* 'Wild thorny palm' *, tek* 'Palm'

The house is constructed on a raised platform. The layout of a typical Adi house is as follow:

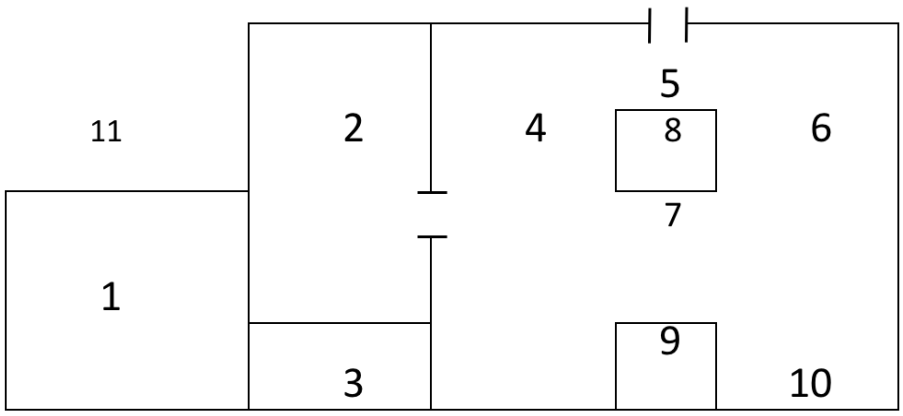


Figure 4: Adi House Layout

Description:

1. **Tunggu/guton** /tuŋgu/guton/: Tunggu is an extended open raise platform used as open porch for various purposes like sun-drenching the unhusk paddy, sitting etc.
2. **Tunggu guyup** /tunggu gujup/: This is the main porch of the house.
3. **Perok pere** /pərok pərə/: This is for keeping the chicken.
4. **Puyu** /puju/: This side of fireplace is for guests.
5. **Rising** /rɨ:siŋ/: A window kind of opening called *Rising* is located in northern side of fireplace. This side is for grandfather/father.
6. **Puyu** /puju/: The inner side of fireplace is reserved for family members or especially for parents.
7. **Kodang** /ko:daŋ/: The southern side of fireplace if for the person who is doing kitchen work like cooking. This side is called as *Kodaŋg.* This side is the kithchen from where all the cooking activities are supposed to be done.
8. **Merom** /mərom/: *Merom* is the fireplace. It is part and parcel in Adi house. It is place almost in middle of the house and Adi keeps only one *merom* nor matter how big the family is. Other tribes like Idu Mishmis keep the fireplace according to the number of joint family.
9. **Asi pere** /asi pərə/: *Asi pere* literally means 'Water spot'. It is located nearby the *kodang* as it is part of kitchen.
10. This place is use for keeping household stuffs.
11. **Baatum** /ba:tum/: This is the ground porch.

All the villagers in Adi village construct their granary together in one place which is located little away from the village. Just like their houses, even granary is constructed on raised platform.

1.10.14 Economy:

Adis are mostly agrarian and they practice both jhoom cultivation and wet rice cultivation according to the topography of their settlements. They sell the surplus produce to the market through which they earn meagre income. But since Adis produce the crop for their own consumption, the necessity of earning huge income is not thought to be required. They are very much hard working and not a single day is spent idly except the days of prohibition in the village. Adi men are expert in making bamboo and cane handicrafts which they sell in market.

The women are good at weaving traditional attires which have been largely commercialized in recent years. Many women also sell local beer and earn good sum of money. Recently, with the help of government initiatives, many self-help groups have been formed at villages where woman are given training on various income earning activities like pickle making, mushroom cultivation, tailoring etc. Many self-help group sustain themselves through such activities.

1.10.15 Kinship:

Kinship is very much important in tribal society in general and Adi tribe in particular. In Adi society, maternal uncles are considered to be the spiritual protector so when a person is believed to be possessed or haunt by malevolent spirits, maternal uncle is called for to perform the rituals. Aunts and uncles from both fraternal and maternal sides are given utmost respect and treated like parents. Nephews and nieces are treated like one's own children by aunts and uncles. Cousins are given status of brothers and sisters. Adi has separate terms for maternal and fraternal relatives as represented below:

	Fraternal Relationship	
1.	abu-apaŋ	Fraternal uncle (common)
2.	pa:tə	Fraternal eldest uncle
3.	pa:joŋ	Fraternal second eldest uncle
4.	pa:tum	Fraternal third eldest uncle
5.	pa:ji	Fraternal youngest uncle
6.	ɲa:ɲi	Fraternal aunt
	Maternal Relationship	
7.	akɨ	Mother's brothers (common)
8.	kɨtə/tə:tə	Maternal eldest uncle
9.	kɨjoŋ/a:joŋ/jo:joŋ	Maternal second eldest uncle
10.	kɨtum	Maternal third eldest uncle
11.	kɨji/ji:	Maternal youngest uncle
12.	a:tə/tətə	Mother's eldest sister (aunt)
13.	a:joŋ	Mother's second eldest sister (aunt)

Table 7: Fraternal and maternal kinship term in Adi

To marry inside the clan or bloodline is a taboo and people who overlooked this taboo are outlawed and orchestrated.

The kinship is greatly maintained even at clan level. During the time of distress, clan relatives give physical, financial and emotional support. Incase some huge penalty is imposed on a particular person for some crime like in cases of accidental death, robbery, adultery etc., his entire clan will contribute and pay the penalty.

1.10.16 Food:

The staple food of Adis are rice and green leafy vegetable (both cultivated and wild). Normally the people consume meals three times a day and in all the meals, cooked rice is compulsory. Food is served on wild leaf called as *ekkam* which is collected from jungle. One can also pack the rice on such leaf and carry it as tiffin as *ekkam* is quite stronger than any other leaf (like banana leaf) which are use as plate in different places. The local delicacies of Adis are prepared in a very simple way. The typical way is just to boil vegetable or meat with salt in plain water. However, addition of stored bamboo shoot which is called as *ikung* 'Wet fermented bamboo shoot', *iip* 'Dried bamboo shoot', ginger, garlic, herbs etc. form the traditional dish. Many herbs are not only added to cooking, but they are also mixed with salt and pounded dry chilly and stock it as kind of spice called as *Luktir*. Fermented soybean with strong smell is a favorite among Adis. It is mixed with ginger, garlic and consumed as chutney. Adis have their famous rice cake called as *etting* which is made of pounded rice cooked in *ekkam* leaf. Various seasonal insects are consumed by Adis.

Their favorite insect is *Tari* 'Sting bug' which come around November- December on the river bank under the stones. People collect it by flipping the stone and make chutney of it by mixing ginger and garlic. Locally brewed rice beer called *apong* is another important part of the culture. Guest are welcomed with drinks made at home and almost every household (who follows Donyi-Poloism) prepare the beer at home and offer it to the guest. Meat is another vital part of the Adi dietary. Both domesticated and wild meat complements the rice and green leaf. Wild meat is procured through hunting as Adis are very keen hunters and hunting is part and parcel of the culture. Both primitive and modern method are used for hunting and fishing. Guns are used for hunting bigger animals and various traditional traps are used for catching smaller ones. Various fish traps are also found among Adis.

1.10.17Seasons:

Months are termed in Adi as:

Month	Gloss
Bising	January
Jinmur	February
Kombong	March
Galling	April
Luking/Kijir	May
Lobo	June
Yilo	July
Tanno	August
Yio	September
Yite	October
Ao/Disang	November
Ane/Terem	December

Adis usually divide the year based on agricultural season and activities rather than on month provided above. Paddy cultivation begins from March and last upto December. Than January and February are kept for other non-agricultural activities like house construction because during winter, down pouring of rain is less so it more feasible to construct the house.

1.10.18 Handicrafts of Adi Tribe:

Adis use bamboo and cane to make their tools and handicrafts. Bamboo is more widely use as it is easier to get than the cane. Various handicrafts like different kind of baskets namely *egin* *'*Conical basket for carrying small grains like rice, mustard seeds etc.'*,* *kiro* 'Basket for carrying firewood and other articles'*,* *aape* 'Basket for keeping vegetables etc.'*,* *dora* 'Small reverse basket used for dining'*,* *sopur* 'Huge paddy storage'*,* *tali* 'Male bacpack'*,* *sobuk* 'Case for knife/sword/dao' etc. Adis alsmo make carpet by plaiting *taku anne* 'Padunas'.

1.10.19 Textiles:

The textiles produce by Adis can be broadly categorized into two groups:

Tamnam (Blanket): Adi uses two blankets, *Badu* and *Yambo* which are hand woven local blankets made of cotton and thick thread called as *badurang*. In earlier days *Badu* was woven from self-yarned cotton or *badurang*. After the cotton was yarned, it was

boiled along with crushed rice so the stickiness of the rice glued into yarn to harden the thread and then it is dried in the sun. The cotton fur called *Duput* are inserted to make the blanket warm.

Genam (cloth):

The Genam includes the, *Galuk* (Coats/blouse), *Ugon* (Loin) and *Gale* (Wrap around). The male and female have separate dress code. Women usually wear blouses called as *ulta galuk, lukying* etc. and wraparound called as *Gale.* There are different kinds of *Gale* like *ejo gale, gape gale, miri gale, gale, geman gale* etc. Adi men wears loin and local coat. Loin is called as *ugon*. It is a white piece of cloth which is used by men to cover the genitals. Men usually wears a traditional coat on top which are of various kinds like *lukjok, lukdi, popir galuk, mimak galuk, eeme galuk* etc. Various sub-tribes have their own design and patterns

1.11 LANGUAGE AFFILIATION OF ADI:

Family affiliation: Regarding the family affiliation of Adi language, many scholars have demonstrated different models of family trees. Following are the three major models of family trees of Adi language:

Paul K. Benedict (1972):

For Benedict, the 'Kachin (= Jingpho)' remain in centre of all the Tibeto Burman languages, from where Abor-miri-dafla branches out. Abor-miri-dafla is a broad conglomeration where Abor is the present day Adi spoken in eastern Arunachal, Miri (=Mishing) is a variation of Adi spoken mainly in upper Assam and Dafla is the present day Nyishi spoken in western Arunachal. Thus Benedict's placement of Adi is as follows:

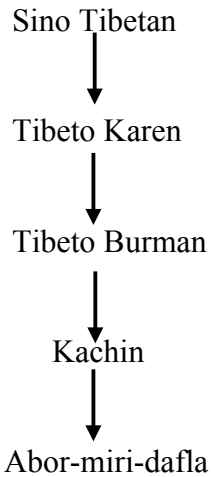


Figure 5: Paul K. Benedict's Tree (taken from Matisoff 2003: 4)

Matisoff (2003):

Matisoff, taking out Dafla (=Nyishi) from the conglomeration of Abor-miri-dafla, as presented by Benedict, merge the Adi language to a broader phylum called 'Kamarupan' on the basis of geographical distribution. So his model looks like:

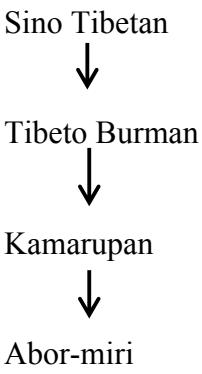


Figure 6: Matisoff's placement of Abor (=Adi)

Sun (1993):

The following is family tree diagram of Adi language presented by J.T. Sun [7] where he put the Adi language under Tani group.

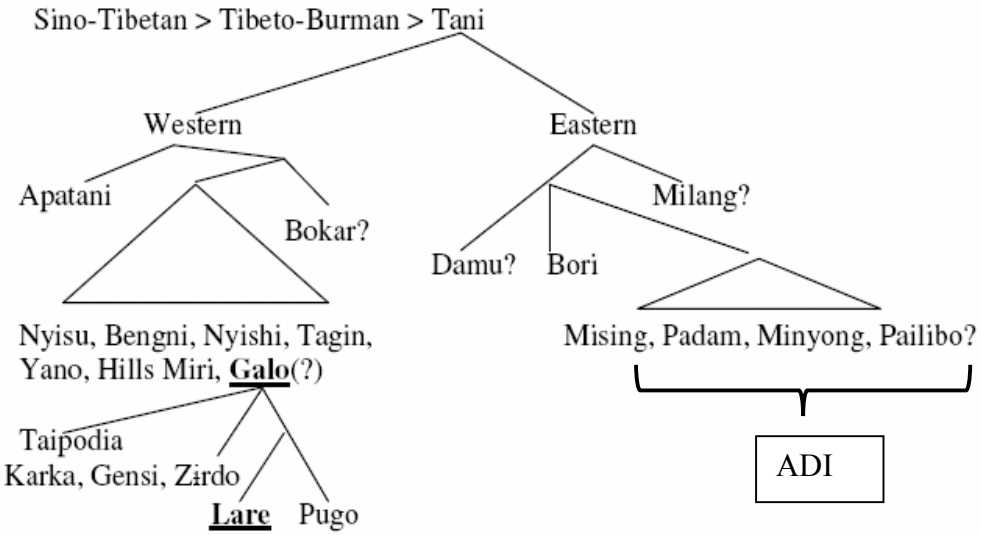


Figure 7: Sun's Family tree of Tani group (taken from Post 2005:1)

[7] This model has been extracted from M. Post (2005) page 1

This representation of Adi language (under Tani group) seems to be the most established and appropriate, however, more elaborate studies are required to have better classification of the varieties. For this thesis, I will be following the family tree in Fig. 4 however, all the varieties mentioned in (section 2.1.6) will be treated under Adi.

1.12 LITERATURE REVIEW:

This thesis is first of its kind as no other consolidated linguistics description of Adi language has been developed so far. In terms of cultural description, there are few good books which describe the socio-cultural aspects of Adis and in grammar front, few grammar books written by non-linguist local scholars are available which I will review in the following section. To stay in tune with my field of study, for review I have considered only the literatures which have specifically dealt with language and linguistics of Adi (Padam and Minyong varieties to be specific) and I have not reviewed the books which are concern with socio-cultural aspect. The review has been arranged based on the year of publication so that proper idea of development of linguistics works on Adi language can be grasped. So following are the works done so far on Adi.

Sir George Campbell

The first text dated back to 1871 titled *Specimens of languages of India, including those of the aboriginial tribes of Bengal, the Central provinces, and the eastern frontier* by Sir George Campbell. His work is more of collection of word list and phrases of various languages of India. He has listed words and phrase of several similar languages (including Adi) and provided English gloss for the same. In his words "The words and phrases have been selected with a view to test radical affinities, and already evident affinities may be traced, and the tribes may be classified better than has heretofore been possible. This was, in fact, the primary and official object of undertaking the work, and the justification of all the labour which it has involved" (Campbell 1871: 2). He has assigned Adi as Abor and has given wordlist for *Numerals, Pronouns, Body parts, Metals, Kinship terms, Celestial objects, Animals, Some verbs* and *Phrases.* Many of the Adi/Abor words listed under his works has phonological, morphological and syntactical deviation from the speaker of Padam and Minyong varieties of today. Other than providing few wordlist, there is no further analysis of the words provided.

Jack Francis Needham

J. F. Needham, a political officer of British India wrote *Outline Grammar of the Shaiyang Miri Language* (1886), written during his two years stay in Sadiya. Although, the work is on Miri language grammar, he has included some Abor/Adi wordlist by giving 44 pages long English-Miri-Abor vocabularies. In Needham's work, Abor and Miri vocabularies are ditto same which is quite surprising as although Miri and Abors are similar languages, there are many lexical variations. And unlike in Campbell's wordlist, where many Miri-Abor words could not be validated or remarked as 'unfamiliar' vocabularies by my informants, the Abor vocabularies in Needham's work could be easily validated by the same informants and said that its similar to what they speak today.

James Herbert Lorrain

In 1907, James Herbert Lorrain published *A Dictionary of Abor-Miri Language with illustrative sentences and notes.* J. H. Lorrain was a Baptist Missionary and as it was foremost duty of the missionaries to learn local language in order to preach profoundly. The dictionary was composed in both *Abor-Miri* to *English* and vice-versa. Since its publication, the dictionary has been of much importance and cited for many linguistics work carried out in the region. The author has not treated Abor and Miri separately and under the term Abor, the author has broadly covered *Adi-Pasi*, *Adi-Minyong* and *Adi-Padam*. In cases where lexical differences arose, they are clarified with labels like *A* for *Padam*; *P* for *Pasi-Minyong* etc. The dictionary is not in International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) which makes it difficult to grasp the exact sound of the words. And it has to be kept in mind that Adi-Padam, Adi-Pasi, Adi-Minyong and Miri have all dialectal variation as pointed out by Namkung "Padam and Mising, formerly known as Abor and Miri, two closely related varieties of Eastern Tani, are treated together in Lorrain's dictionary. Global phonological differences between the two varieties, though not mentioned by Lorrain, most certainly exist. Separate Padam and Mising forms are provided only when Lorrain detected a linguistic (usually lexical) difference" (Namkung 1996: 260).

G. A. Grierson

In Grierson's 1909 '*Linguistics Survey of India'*, he has given 17 pages long grammatical description of Abor-Miri and Dafla. He describes Abor and Miri as "Abor dialect is almost identical with Miri. The Pasi and Minyong, two other numerous tribes inhabiting the hills on the right bank of the Dihang, also speak the same language. No separate specimens have

been given'. So the author has again treated Abor (Adi) and Miri (Mising) as same which is not a very favorable choice in modern day linguistics description. In this description, the author has highlighted numerous topics like geographical location; morpho-phonological features; Nouns which include gender, number, case; Adjectives, Numerals, Pronouns, Verbs which include tense, aspect, mood, particles etc. Again, the works are not elaborative and language specific. Convenient orthography has been used for description rather than IPA.

Paul K. Benedict

In Benedict's work, *Sino-Tibetan A Conspectus* 1972, he has extracted Abor-Miri forms from Lorrain's dictionary and are used for substantiation of his Proto-Tibeto-Burman reconstruction. The work is very much commendable, but it is a pure historical study and is not a synchronic description of the language.

Aduk Tayeng

In 1983, A. Tayeng, a native government servant, who worked as an Assistant Director of Research in the department of Philology, under the Government of Arunachal Pradesh published *Phrase Book in Padam*. The book is purely a collection of 44 pages long phrases in Adi-Padam with little description. He has presented phrases of Noun, Pronoun, Adjective, Verb, Adverb and some daily uses common phrases. The book is good for learners of Adi language as the phrases are glossed in English alongside. However, linguistics analysis of the language is scarce and morpheme-to-morpheme gloss provided is not consistent and accurate.

Nicholas C. Bodman

In Bodman's 1988 work called *On the Place of Lepcha in Sino-Tibetan*, the term Adi has been used (perhaps for the first time in any written literature) instead of Abor, to include both Abor and Miri. As the title suggest, his main focus is on Lepcha language and its lexical comparison with other languages including Adi to find the status of Lepcha among these languages. He concludes that among the more than fourteen languages compared, Adi, Rawang, Jingphow, Ao, Naga and Mikir "May be the living languages most closely related to Lepcha, although they show considerable difference in morphology". So here again, little of Adi vocabularies have been used only for comparative purpose and not for study of Adi language itself.

Tianshin Jackson Sun

In Sun's work named *The Linguistic position of Tani (Mirish) in Tibeto-Burman: A Lexical Assesment* 1993*,* comparison of Tani lexicals with other languages like Mishmi, rGyarong, Dhimal, Taraon, Kaman, Lepcha, Dhammai etc. are provided without any detail description.

Tianshin Jackson Sun

Sun's thesis on *A Historical-Comparative Study of the Tani (Mirish Branch) in Tibeto-Burman,* 1993, introduces the pan name 'Tani' to include Abor-Miri-Dafla, North-Assam and Mirish. The term Tani has been introduced to do away with paleo-exonyms used by various other previous writers. His work is focused on identifying the main languages belonging to the Tani group and its equation or correlation with other nearby languages as well as Tibeto-Burman languages such as Garo, Kamman, Dhammai, Lepcha etc. As per his own findings, he agrees with the conclusion of Bodman stating that 'Adi may be among the Tibeto-Burman languages which are more similar in lexicon to Lepcha, the relationship between them is not very close (Sun 1972: 403).

Tamo Mibang

A booklet called *An Introduction to Adi Language* was published by T. Mibang and P. T. Abraham in 2001. The book contains basic wordlist and phrases along with some grammar. It is written in Adi-Padam and Adi-Minyong and it was designed for pedagogical purpose. The booklet has no elaborated grammatical description except for few paragraphs of grammatical explanations at the end of every unit.

James A. Matisoff

Matisoff's book called *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and Philosophy of Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction,* 2003, is a reconstruction of Tibeto-Burman roots through various Tibeto-Burman languages of which Abor is one. He has brought Abor-Miri-Dafla under the umbrella term *Kamarupan* which is not acceptable by many linguists working in the region. In his own words 'My use of "Kamarupan" as a geographical cover term for the subgroups of Northeast India (including Abor-Miri-Dafla, Bodo-Garo, and Kuki-Chin-Naga) remains controversial, although it is certainly useful' (Matioff 2003: xiii).

Tianshin Jackson Sun

In 2003, brief description was given about pan Tani languages in the chapter called *Tani* by sun in the book called *The Sino-Tibetan Languages.* The brief description is ten pages long and describe about Phonology, Morphoogy and Syntax of Tani langauges. It does gives a bird's eye view of the Tani languages which is important for referential purposes.

Baanui Danggen

An Adi grammar book called *Gommung Belui* was published by B. Danggen in 2013. The grammar is purely based on the framework of English grammar and is written in Adi language in roman script as per the conventional orthography of Adi and this makes the book unreadable to the readers who are not Adi speaker.

Tutum Padung and Kara Sako

T. Padung and K. Sako have conducted *'A Brief Survey among the Adi of Arunachal Pradesh,* 2015 '. It is a sociolinguistics survey pertaining to language use, language vitality, bilingualism among Adis etc.

Ganesh Devi and Lisa Lomdak

A recent publication of *The Languages of Arunachal Pradesh* in 2017 describes twenty languages of Arunachal Pradesh. It contains a twenty-two (22) pages long description of Adi language of which the description of grammatical aspects is around six pages long. The short description of the grammar highlights vowels, tone, pronoun, tense, Adverb, case, etc. The difference in vowel quantity, consonants etc. have been missed and most of the data are not transcribed in IPA.

As it can be seen from the above presented literatures which are available so far, there is no single solid description of Adi language. Most of the description under the term Abor-Miri are basically Miri data, and most of the work on Tani language has least Adi data. So to sum up, the following shortcomings can be seen in the literature available:

1. Almost all the works (leaving out few) are not transcribed in International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) which blur the prominence of some of the essential sound of Adi like central vowels /ɨ/.
2. Most of the earlier studies are comparative-historical analysis and there is no detail synchronic description of single particular languages or varieties of Adi.

3. Most of the data are used are second hand data.
4. Even the existing few page descriptions of grammar are inaccurate especially marking of the vowel quantity. Vowel quantity is phonemic in Adi and this have been missed out in description of both vowels and in marking vowel length in lexical items.

Highlighting the lacunae is not intended towards discarding the existing literature, rather it is to improvise upon it. None of the work is without shortcomings, but their goodness cannot be overlooked.

1.13 METHODOLOGY:

1.13.1 Transcription and Glossing:

The data have been transcrived using International Phonetic Alphabet and the 6glossing is done following Leipzig Glossing rule. Orthographic transcription is also done for sentences so that this work benefits not only linguist but also the language community. Hence, the glossing is in four level as follows:

First level:	IPA transcription
Second level:	Orthographic transcription
Third level:	Morpheme to morpheme glossing in English
Fourth level:	Translation in English

1.13.2 Theory:

This work intends to describe the Adi language based on traditional linguistics definitions of the grammar and without inducing or incorporating any particular theory. Certain frameworks are followed but only for the purpose of description of the language. Sound inventories, Lexical classes, affixes, particles etc. are all described as they occur in the language synchronically. Any comparative analysis of the varieties of languages are intentionally left out except in chapter 5 where sociolinguistics comparison is done.

1.13.3 Data:

The were collected using various tools and questionnaires mentioned in the section below. The first hand data collected consist of almost 2000 words and 500 sentences. These data were cross-verified with multiple informants for authenticity. The data were collected mainly from East-Siang District where the concentration of Adi-Padam is most.

1.13.4 Subjects:

The data collections were done from ten informants who are native speakers of Adi-Padam and who are speaking Adi-Padam since their childhood. For detail of informants (see Appendix 4). The Informants consist of five males and five females, from age range 27 to 70 years. Four of the informants have attained higher studies, four have studied till school level and rest two are uneducated.

1.13.5 Tools and techniques:

a. Questionnaire:

For eliciting the linguistics data, questionnaire containing basic wordlist of around 2000 words and 500 sentences were used. The questionnaire was prepared by combining various wordlists and sentences list from different sources provided below and it was modified to suit the context and environment of Adi people. Nonetheless, the collection of data was not limited to the word and sentence list, rather many impromptu data outside the questionnaire were also collected during the collection.

List of Questionnaires:

1. The Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire by Bernard Comrie, Max Planck Institute.
2. Questionnaires from *A Manual of Linguistic Fieldwork* by Anvita Abbi.
3. Questionnaires from SPPEL (Scheme for protection and preservation of Endangered Languages).
4. Questionnaires for Tibeto-Burman Languages by Mark Post and Team.
5. Wordlist compiled by myself according to the environment of Adi.

b. Observation method:

Apart from collecting questionnaire, data were also garnered through observation method. Especially for sociolinguistics portion in chapter 5, language domain, language transcendence observed among family members during my fieldwork.

c. Interview method:

Interview and interactive method were also used during data collection.

The tools used during the data collection are:

Sl. No.	Particulars	Quantity	Model name/number
1.	Still Camera	2	Canon EOS 600D SLR with Kit II EF S18-135mm IS Lens
2.	Audio Recorder	2	Zoom-H4NSP-Digital-Multitrack-Recorder
3.	Microphone	2	Lapel- Polsen OLM-10 Omnidirectional Lavalier Microphone
			Nx Audio Boom815 Shotgun Microphone
4.	Laptop	1	Dell inspiron 3542 15.6-inch Laptop (Core i3 4005U/4GB/500GB/Ubuntu/Integrated Graphics), Silver
5.	External Hard Drive	1	Seagate Expansion 4TB Desktop External Hard Drive USB 3.0 with Power(STEB4000300)
6.	SD Card	6	SanDisk Extreme PRO 32GB UHS-1 SDHC Memory Card Up To 95MB/s - SDSDXPA-032G-X46
			Sandisk 8gb Sd 30mb/s Class 10 Ultra Sdhc Card
7.	Headphone	2	Sony MDR-XB450 On-Ear Extra Bass(XB) Headphones (Black)

Table 8: The tools used during the data collection.

1.14 SCOPE OF RESEARCH:

As mentioned, Adi consist of fifteen or more varieties. The affiliations of these varieties are based on ethnic identity rather than linguistics. Since the descriptions of all the varieties are not possible in one work, the focus has been given to Padam variety in this work while giving a sociolinguistic profile of some of the varieties in the final chapter (chapter six). The areas of

the study are also limited to East Siang district as most of the Adi speakers are concentrated here. This thesis is an effort to bring out a consolidated description of grammar of Adi (Adi-Padam) as none exist till this date.

1.15 RESEARCH QUESTION:

Besides the objective of the study being a synchronic description of the language, a

1. What are the features of Tibeto-Burman family which are found in Adi?
2. What are the prominent phonological, morphological and syntactic features of Adi?
3. How different are the varieties of Adi?
4. How well the language is transcending to the younger generations?

1.16 OBJECTIVE OF THE WORK:

As said, this thesis is an effort to bring out at least an over all basic description of Adi language. This thesis is aimed to provide basic grammatical sketch and information of phonology, morphology, syntax and sociolinguistic of Adi. Also, the work is aimed to serve not only the linguists but also the language community.

1.17 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY:

→ The first and foremost limitation in this study is that the major portion of the study mainly covers the Adi-Padam variety. Although chapter five deals with varieties of Adi language, the main descriptive portion is to do with Adi-Padam. As some of the varieties differ with each other, it is not possible to cover the entire varieties in one single work in detail.

→ The next limitation is the area of study. As mentioned earlier, Adi is spoken in more than five districts, this research covers only two districts. I firmly believe that other than minor vocabulary variations within Adi-Padam in all the districts, the rest of the grammar remains same. Perhaps the variations in vocabulary within Adi-Padam is influence of language contact with other neighboring language and the grammatical particles, rules and structures are intact. This is merely a presumption and it can be ascertained only after thoroughly studying the Adi-Padam of all the districts.

→The third limitation is in the description itself. The description in this research is in no way exhaustive. The description is restrictive and limited in manner in order to cover larger domain. I would not like to overstate by saying that this thesis would cover the entire topic in detail, as doing so would be not possible in a single work. I intend to describe in short as many topics as can be covered in this work and without much detail theoretical discussion.

In spite of all the shortcomings and limitations, I believe that this work will serve as good base for any future research on Adi language. Since the data are transcribed in IPA, the pronunciation accuracy is far larger than earlier works which were transcribed only in roman orthography.

1.18 SUMMARY:

The chapter has introduced the demographic and geographic profile of Arunachal Pradesh so that better understanding about enormous diversity of the people, society and language can be grasped. After that, it has briefed about Adi society and culture. The language affiliation of Adi has been discussed. The chapter also presented the literatures available for Adi language so far. Than it elaborated on the methodology which are followed for writing this thesis.

Arunachal Pradesh attained its statehood on 20th February 1987 as 24th state of India and since and currently there are twenty-one (21) districts. There are about 25 major tribes and more than hundred sub-tribes. The community of the state are classified based on their ethnic affiliation rather than linguistics similarities. The political affairs of the tribes are based on their customary law which is administered by village councils. Hindi and English are the official languages of the state. Hindi is the dominant lingua-franca used as second language by natives. Adi is a Tibeto-Burman Language and is one of major language in Tani language group. So far, there is no single solid description of Adi language.

CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY

2.1 VOWELS:

Vowel is 'One of the two general categories used for the classification of speech sounds, the other being consonant. Vowels can be defined in terms of both phonetics and phonology. Phonetically, they are sounds articulated without a complete closure in the mouth or a degree of narrowing which would produce audible friction; the air escapes evenly over the center of the tongue. If air escapes solely through the mouth, the vowels are said to be oral; if some air is simultaneously released through the nose, the vowels are nasal[8]'.

In Adi, there are fourteen (14) vowels as represented in the vowel chart below:

	Front		**Centre**		**Back**	
	Short	**Long**	**Short**	**Long**	**Short**	**Long**
Close	i	i:	ɨ	ɨ:	u	u:
Close-Mid	e	e:			o	o:
Mid			ə	ə:		
Open	a	a:				

Table 9: Vowels in Adi

As presented above, Adi has six (6) Front vowels, four (4) Centre vowels and four (4) Back vowels. There is no contrasting nasal vowel in Adi though some vowels can be nasalized when occur in the environment of nasal consonant (See section 2.12.2). As it is the case in other Tani Languages like Nyishi and Galo, central unrounded vowel /**ɨ**/ is very prominent in Adi. In syllable, it can occur in all the three positions; initial, middle and final. Also, central vowel schwa /**ə**/ is another prominent vowel in Adi which also occurs in all three syllabic positions. Below are the examples of the vowels presented in the table above

[8] Crystal D., (2008), *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, Blackwell Publication, pg. 517.

(Vowel distribution and minimal pairs of the vowels are discussed in section 2.2 respectively)

Examples of the vowels:

	Vowel	**Example**	**Gloss**
1.	/i/	igul	‘Help’
		mipak	‘Insolent’
		tamit	‘Fly’
2.	/i:/	i:paŋ	‘Teeth’
		li:po	‘Squirrel’
		i:sep	‘Food Debris (in teeth’)
3.	/ɨ/	ɨjji	‘Blood’
		bɨ	‘He/she’
		amɨ	‘Seed’
4.	/ɨ:/	ɨ:ŋ	‘Grass’
		gɨ:maŋ	‘Funeral’
		mɨ:nam	‘Desired one’
5.	/u/	urom	‘Ghost’
		amuk	‘Fog’
		lujil	‘Advice’
6.	/u:/	pu:mu	‘Flood’
		pu:nə	Venus (Morning/evening star)
		lu:nə	Festival
7.	/e/	ek	‘Pig’
		meduk	‘Choke’
		raket	‘Landslide’

8.	/e:/	e:me	‘Second wife’
		ope:	‘Sect’
		le:na	‘Unripen one’
9.	/ə/	əmə	‘Fire’
		dəmduŋ	‘Beating’
		pəmɨ	‘Eagle’
10.	/ə:/	lə:mo	‘Dressing’
		də:na	‘Holy one’
		ə:na	‘There’
11.	/o/	omə	‘Daughter’
		apoŋ	‘Wine’
		momɨn	‘Fight’
12.	/o:/	mo:nam	‘Jungle’
		o:nam	‘A flavour’
		ro:nam	‘Fingering’
13.	a	arɨk	‘Field’
		tapat	‘Leech’
		makuŋ	‘Cucumber’
14.	/a:/	a:ma	‘Don’t come’
		ka:duŋ	‘ma:duŋ
		pa:duŋ	‘Getting’

2.2 MINIMAL PAIRS:

In this section, I will discuss the contrast in vowel quantity and distribution by carrying out *Minimal Pair Test* to ascertain the status of vowels as phonemes or allophones. B. Hayes (2000:20) illustrates minimal pairs as

> *A pair like ([taɪm], [daɪm]), differing in just one single location, is called a minimal pair. A minimal pair is the most effective way to show that two sounds are distinct phonemes*

This can be made clearer in the definition: **'**minimal pair is one of the discovery procedures used in phonology to determine which sounds belong to the same class, or phoneme. Two words which differ in meaning when only one sound is changed are referred to as a 'minimal pair', e.g. pin v. bin, cot v. cut[9]'.

2.2.1 Minimal pairs for vowel quantity:

As it can be seen above vowel chart, all the vowels have long and short counterparts i.e. language differentiates between long and short vowels. In other words, replacement of short vowel with long vowel brings complete change in the entire meaning of the word. This proves that the vowel quantities or length is phonemic in Adi. The phonemic status of short and long vowels will be substantiated with the minimal pairs presented below:

/u/		**/u:/**	
du	'Punch'	du:	'Sit'
pu	'Pluck'	pu:	'Uprooting'
bu	'Grap'	bu:	'Suck'

/ɨ/		**/ɨ:/**	
ɨ	'Crush'	ɨ:	'Ask'
ɨŋ	'Yes'	ɨ:ŋ	'Weed/grass'
bɨduŋ	'Carrying (on back)'	bɨ:duŋ	'Swelling'

[9] Crystal D. (2008), *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, Blackwell Publication, pg. 307.

/a/		**/a:/**	
a	'Roast'	a:	'Come'
an	‘Feel’	a:n	‘Rope’
kaduŋ	‘Have’	ka:duŋ	‘Seeing’

/ə/		**/ə:/**	
əduŋ	'Container’	ə:duŋ	'Crawling'
məto	‘Keep it’	mə:to	‘Pat (Imperative)’
təduŋ	‘Increase of water level’	tə:duŋ	‘Felling of tree’

/i/		**/i:/**	
in	'Pinch'	i:n	'Buttock'
sidak	‘Is dying’	si:dak	‘is growing’
kiruŋ	‘Sick beforehand’	ki:ruŋ	‘Underarm’

/o/		**/o:/**	
oto	'Fell'	o:to	'Cut (imperative)'
toduŋ	‘Agree’	to:duŋ	‘Spreading the food’
koma	‘Don’t sell’	ko:ma	‘Don’t cross (the river)’

/e/		**/e:/**	
geto	‘Get Away’	ge:to	‘Climb (Imperative)’
peduŋ	‘Cursing’	pe:duŋ	‘Slitting’
senam	‘Flirt’	se:nam	‘Grab with hair’

2.2.2 Minimal pairs for front, central and back vowels:

Front vowel

Short vowel

/i/	**/e/**	**/a/**
in ‘Pinch’	en ‘Defecate’	an ‘Feel’
pin ‘Pinch’[10]	pen ‘break’	pan ‘Crossing’[11]
asik ‘Skin’	asek ‘Stick’	asak ‘One each’

Long vowel

/i:/	**/e:/**	**/a:/**
si: ‘Growing’	se: ‘Grabbing’[12]	sa:‘Coming up/upward’
ki: ‘Flip’[13]	ke: ‘Bitter’[14]	ka: ‘See’
gi: ‘Ripen’	ge: ‘Climp’	ga: ‘Scratch with nail’

Central vowel

Short vowel

	/ɨ/		**/ə/**
ɨr	‘Bath’	ər	‘Glorify’
pɨk	‘Grab swiftly’	pək	‘Sweep’
ŋɨ	‘Shave’	ŋə	‘Head spinning’

[10] /in/ and /pin/ both means ‘Pinch’ but with a slight difference. Suppose when we pinch someone, it can be called as both /in/ or /pin/. But taking pinch of salt with tips of fingers will be /pin/ and not /in/.

[11] Crossing here is only for the situation when we cross or walk on rope or rope like things. Such as crossing river with hanging bridge, walking on rope walk etc.

[12] Grabbing with hair.

[13] As when flipping the rock to catch Sting bug.

[14] Like taste of strong caffeine.

Long vowel

/ɨ:/		/ə:/	
ɨ:	'Ask'	ə:	'Crawl'
mɨ:	'Want'	mə:	'Pat'
bɨ:	'Swell'	bə:	'Felling'

Back vowel

Short vowel

/u/		/o/	
uk	'Touch'	ok	'to itch'
ku	'(Dog)Bark'	ko	'Child'
ɲum	'Massage'	ɲom	'Drench'

Long vowels

/u:/	/o:/
u:(-duŋ) 'Smell blowing in the wind'	o:(-duŋ) '(River) Drying'
ku: (-duŋ) 'Fishing with net	ko: (-duŋ) 'Crossing the river'
bu: (-duŋ) 'Sucking'	bo: (-duŋ) 'Crossing by jumping'

2.2.3 Vowel Distribution:

Here I will present the distribution of every vowel in initial, medial and final position.

Vowel	Initial Position Example	Medial Position Example	Final Position Example
/i/	iməm 'Mistake'	kinam 'Illness'	ami 'Man'
	ipo 'Easy'	min- 'Ripen'	pəsi 'Needle'
	ipmaŋ 'Dream'	sitja 'Open (the door)	aki 'Stomach'
/i:/	i:kuŋ 'Bamboo shoot'	ŋi:nam 'To console'	--------
	i:paŋ 'Teeth'	mi:n 'Idle'	--------
	i:sin 'Gum'	ji:bə 'Plain'	--------

/e/	etak ‘Dry bamboo strip’	pet ‘Plait’	take ‘Ginger’
	er ‘Shout’	sep ‘Cut[15]’	tase ‘Thatch’
	esul ‘Young Bamboo’	met ‘Swallow’	əŋe ‘Colocasia’
/e:/	e:me ‘Second wife’	me:lam ‘Back’	----------
	e:ŋ ‘Bamboo’	se:ko ‘Who’	---------
	e:k ‘Pig’	me:ŋ ‘Wife	---------
/a/	at- ‘Write	tat- ‘Hear’	mata- ‘Search’
	ap- ‘Shoot’	san- ‘Dry’	sita ‘Elephant’
	ak- ‘Against’	mar- ‘Angry’	tapa ‘Pumpkin
/a:/	a:t ‘Gizzard’	pa:r ‘Ash gourd’	--------
	a:r ‘Sharp edge’	ma:n[16] mɨrsi ‘King chilly’	--------
	a:n ‘rope’	ta:r[17] ‘Wired fence’	--------
/ɨ/	ɨlnam ‘Sweat’	pɨl- ‘Pluck’	amɨ ‘Seed’
	ɨrsu ‘Bath’	amɨn ‘Name’	tarɨ ‘Wound’
	ɨŋ Ask	nɨk ‘Stab’	anɨ ‘Brother’
/ɨ:/	ɨ:ŋ ‘Grass’	pɨ: (-duŋ) ‘Arrive’	-------
	-------	mɨ: (-nam) ‘Want’	-------
	-------	dɨ: (lɨk) ‘Plant’	-------
/ə/	əlpak ‘Throw’	pəl- ‘Rotate’	əpə ‘Flatulence’
	ən- ‘Travel’	tək- ‘Cut’	əmə ‘Fire’
	əlluŋ ‘Boat’	kət- ‘Lie down’	omə ‘Daughter’
/ə:/	ə:rɨ ‘Deep’	tə:k ‘Palm’	---------

[15] One form of cutting like cutting paper with scissor.

[16] *ma:n* refers to Burma, as King chilly was brought from there. So *ma:n mɨrsi* literally means ‘Burmese chilly’

[17] Borrowed from Hindi

	ə:lum ‘Sink’	gə:rəp ‘Rise up’	---------
	ə:tət ‘Slow’	də:maŋ ‘Menstruation’	---------
/u/	uk ‘Burnt’	duk ‘Run’	ətku ‘Trap for rat’
	um ‘Catch’	lum ‘Winding of thread’	pətu ‘Mustard leaf’
	ugon ‘Loin cloth’	sum ‘weave’	badu ‘Blanket’
/o/	om- ‘Stitch’	nok ‘Your’	ko ‘Child’
	ol- ‘Confuse’	pok ‘Jump’	mo ‘Beat’
	or- ‘Distribute’	gok ‘Sing’	no ‘You
/o:/	o:ri ‘Coriander’	ko:jit ‘Whistle’	----------
	o:rɨ ‘Depth’	po:re ‘Design on wraparound’	---------
	o:nam ‘A taste’	ko:daŋ ‘Period’	----------

The first point to note, according to above data, is that the all the long vowels do not occur in final position (except for emphasis, see below). Most of them occur in initial position. when they occur in word medial, they occur at first syllable of the word with CV.CV(C) syllable structure. Only in few words they occurred in CVC syllable. on the other hand, Short vowel occurs in all initial, medial and final position.

Long vowel is also used for emphatic expression. When a particular expression is emphasized, short vowel is lengthened by stressing as in the examples below:

Normal	**Emphasized**
antʃo ‘Small’	antʃo: ‘Very small’
asopə ‘Be quite’	aso:pə ‘Be very quite’
kampoə ‘Beautiful’	kampoə: ‘Very beautiful’

It can be seen that long vowels are occurring at final position in the above examples for emphasi and when it does, tha vowel length is no more phonemic contrary to what I described above. So it can be said that where long vowels occur in final position, they are part of emphatic expression rather than a part of lexical item. So these long vowels can not be considered as vowel allophones.

2.2.4 Vowel Allophones:

The language has no vowel allophones as it is clear from the presence of minimal pairs of all vowels for both vowel quality and quantity presented above. The allophones may be present across the language varieties such as /ə/ is used as nominative marker in Adi-Padam but /e/ is used (instead of /ə/) in Adi-Tangam. However, I have not witnessed any such allophones inside Adi- Padam (Tangam Adi is yet to be studied elaborately).

2.2.5 Diphthongs:

According to Katamba, dipthongs are 'vowels whose quality change during their production'[18]. As per the data collected, the following diphthongs are present in Adi:

First vowel:	ɨ	ə	a
[a] second vowel:	ɨa		
[e] second vowel:		əe	
[ɨ] second vowel:			aɨ
[u] second vowel:			
[o] second vowel	ɨo		
[i] second vowel			ai

Table 10: Diphthongs in Adi

Examples:

Diphthong	**Example**	**Gloss**
/ɨa/	ɨam	Hanging Bridge
	pɨaŋ	Dawn
	pɨak	Crow
	gɨaŋ	Pillar
/ɨo/	ɨoŋ	Nerve
	rɨoŋ	Climber plant's rope
/əe/	məeŋ	Wife

[18] Katamba, Francis (1996): *An Introduction to Phonology*, Longman London and New York, pg. 12.

	bəen	Meat storing basket
	bəek	Eal
/ai/	ai	Good
	gai	Nice
	sai	Oh!
/aɨ/	aɨl	Foot sweat
	aɨr	Essence/quality of person

As presented in the above table, there are total five (5) diphthongs out of which two (2) are opening diphthongs (which are: /ɨa/ and /ɨo/) and three (3) are closing diphthongs (which are: /ai/, /aɨ/, /əe/).

There are many diphthongs like vowels which are not diphthong but actually are *synaeresis* which are discussed in the examples below:

Synaeresis: Synaeresis is "Contraction of two vowels from originally different syllables from between which a consonantal element has been dropped...."[19] It is a very common phonological process in Adi. In this process when the gliding sound /j/ occurs between two vowels, it is generally deleted which results into juxtaposition of two vowels making it look like diphthong. As it is presented in the examples below:

Synaeresis	**Process**			**Gloss**
/oe/	mojek	→	moek	'Needed/not fully spoiled yet'
	sojel	→	soel	'Mixed'
	pojel	→	poel	'Mixing the statements'
/io/	ijok	→	iok	'Self inflict'
	mijok	→	miok	'Great hunter'
/oi/	pojil	→	poil	'Advice'

[19] Bussmann, Hadumod (2006), *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, translated and edited by Trauth G. and Kazzazi K., Taylor & Francis e-Library

Also, adjacent vowels of two different syllables with syllable structure CV.VC appears to be diphthong as there is no clear vowel break or *Diaeresis* between the two vowels making them to occur in single syllable i.e. CV.VC → CVVC. Such as:

Example	**Gloss**
pual	Selective plucking
pouk	Incite anger
douk	Choke
mauk	Self inflicting disaster through one's own dream

For better understanding, the morphemic break and glossing of some of the examples are presented in the sentences below:

Example	**Sentence Glossing**			
/pual/	kampo-nəm		pu-al	to
	kampo-nem		pu-al	to
	beautiful-NOMZ.ACC		pluck-selective	IMP
	'Selectively pluck the beautiful one (like flower)'			
/pouk/	no	bɨ-m	po-uk	ma
	no	bi-m	po-uk	ma
	2.SNG	3.SNG-ACC	say-incite	NEG
	'Don't incite him with your words'			
/douk/	marna bodʒe	do-ma	do-uk	su-je
	marna boje	do-ma	do-uk	su-ye
	hot much	eat-NEG	eat-choke	VR-FUT
	'Don't eat much spicy, (you) will choke			

2.3 CONSONANTS:

Adi has total of eighteen (18) consonants. Out of eighteen consonants, fifteen are phonemes and rest three are non- phonemic or allophones. Following are the eighteen consonants in Adi presented in IPA consonant chart:

	Bilabial		**Alveolar**		**Palato-Alveolar**		**Palatal**		**Velar**		**Glottal**	
Plosive	**p**	**b**	**t**	**d**					**k**	**g**	**(ʔ)**	
Nasal		**m**		**n**				**ɲ**		**ŋ**		
Trill				**r**								
Fricative			**s**								**(h)**	
Affricate					**(tʃ)**	**dʒ**						
Approximant								**j**				
Lateral Approximant				**l**								

Table 11: Consonants of Adi

As seen in the table above, Adi has both voiced and voiceless bilabial plosives, Alveolar plosives and Velar Plosives, however, there is absence of aspirated consonants. Since aspiration is not present in the sound inventory of Adis, it is omitted even in borrowed words or in Target language. This shall be discussed in detail in the section 2.13.

On close observation, it has come to notice that Adi has the alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/ are not fully alveolar. Some of the speakers made it more dental by placing the tip of the tongue on the teeth while most pronounced it in between dental and alveolar by placing the tip of the tongue little behind the upper teeth. However, in this thesis, it will be represented as /t/ and /d/ for convenience.

Glottal plosive /ʔ/ in Adi-Padam is non-phonemic as it occurs only at coda position in *exclamatory expressions* like *ajaʔ* ‘Ouch’. It never occurs in any of lexical word. However, it is used as syllabic boundary in Adi-Minyong as in *naʔ.aŋ* ‘Mouth’. Its occurrence in other varieties of Adis are yet to be explored.

The language has four nasal consonants /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ and /ŋ/. All the nasals are voiced. As in many other Tibeto-Burman languages, voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ is used prominently in syllable initial position but also, in Adi it is equivalently used in coda position which stands it out from other western Tani languages like *Galo.* On contrary, /ɲ/ occurs only in onset position and in fewer lexemes. The detail of their occurrence will be presented with example in section 2.8 below

From alveolar fricatives, only voiced consonant /s/ is present as phoneme. /s/ has two allophones /ʧ/ and /h/. /s/ and /h/ occurs in free variation and / ʧ/ appears to be a borrowed consonant which occurs in artificially modified pronunciation like when talking or pampering an infant, mimicry etc. It is also noticed that, /ʧ/ has replaced /s/ in initial position in some speaker's speech. Nonetheless, for most of the speaker, since /ʧ/ is not native sound, they replace it with /s/ in loan words or even when speaking language like Hindi where it is a phoneme. Allophone /h/ occurs in initial and and medial position in free variation to /s/. However, they do not occur in final position except for /h/ which, in exclamatory expression, occurs in final position as in *ah* 'Disgust'. The detail discussion on allophones will be presented in section 2.2.4

Voiced alveolar trill /r/, voiced alveolar lateral approximant /l/ and voiced palatal approximant /j/ are all phonemic.

2.4 CONSONANTAL PHONEMIC CONTRAST

Out of total eighteen (18) consonants of Adi, fifteen (15) are phonemes. Following are the phonemic contrasts of these fifteen (15) phonemes presented according their distribution in word:

2.4.1 Syllable-Initial Contrasts

Bilabial plosives:

The language distinguishes between the voiced and voiceless bilabial plosives as given below:

/p/		**/b/**	
pa:	'Get'	ba:	'Burn'
pe:	'Cut'	be:	'Curse'
pət	'Kill'	bət	'Break'

Alveolar/Dental plosives:

The distinction is also made between voiced and voiceless alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/:

/t/		**/d/**	
tɨk	'Jump'	dɨk	'Poison or allergic'
tat	'Hear'	dat	'Crack'
tu	'Kick'	du	'Punch'

Velar plosives:

Velar voiced and voiceless consonant is also distinguished as given below:

/k/		**/g/**	
kok	'Hook'	gok	'Sing'
kum	'Pray'	gum	'Storm'
kə-	'To coil'	gə	'Wear'

Nasal consonants:

There are four nasal consonants in Adi -Padam and all of them are phonemic. Following the are minimal or near minimal pairs of the said four nasal consonants in Initial and position in Adi:

/m/	**/n/**	**/ ŋ/**	**/ɲ/**
mo 'Hit'	no 'You'	ŋo 'I'	ɲo 'Prohibition'
mə 'Lie'	nə 'Jealous'	ŋə 'Dizzy'	--------
amoŋ 'Land'	-------	aŋoŋ 'Friend'	aɲoŋ 'Little'

Alveolar affricate:

As said above, voiceless alveolar affricate is not native to Adi, however, distinction is made between voiced and voiceless alveolar fricative. Such as:

/tʃ/	**/dʒ/**
tʃum[20] 'Weave'	dʒum 'Hold'

[20]As said above, /tʃ/ occurs as free variation to /s/ in caregiver speech. Here as well, **tʃum** has been used in place of **sum**.

Alveolar trill and approximant:

Alveolar trill and lateral approximant are distinguished phonemically. Such as:

/l/		**/r/**	
lat	'light (V)'	rat	'Sharp'
lɨk	'Put'	rɨk	'Fill'
lə	'Plant (V)'	rə	'Buy'

Voiced Palatal nasal and approximant:

The phonemic status of /ɲ/ and /j/ in syllable initial position is not consistent in the sense that in some cases they act as phoneme and in other, they act as allophones as presented below:

/ɲ/ and /j/ as phoneme:

/ɲ/	**/j/**	
ɲo 'Apply (like cream)'	jo	'Night'
ɲum 'Massage'	jum[21]	'Decrease'
ɲu 'Cooked'	ju	'Bury'

/ɲ/ and /j/ as allophones

ɲaməŋ	jaməŋ	'Daughter-in-law'
ɲampo	jampo	'Tomorrow'
ɲamnə	jamnə	'Good girl'
ɲomraŋ	jomraŋ	'Jungle'

However, as per my observation, /ɲ/ and /j/ are phonemic since the examples of their being allophones are very limited. Also, their use as allophones are acceptable but are not commonly used by all in vernacular standard.

[21] *jum* is especially use when growth of bamboo is hampered by any means. So when one say *e:ŋ ə jumjinkai* 'Bamboos have lost or decreased'

2.4.2 Syllable-final Contrasts:

Out of 15 phonemes, only the following eight consonants can occur in coda position:

Plosives	**Nasals**	**Trill**	**Lateral fricative**
1. /p~b/	4. /m/	7. /r/	8. /l/
2. /t~d/	5. /n/		
3. /k~g/	6. /ŋ/		

In syllable-final (or coda) position, the voiced bilabial plosives /b/, /d/, /g/ and voiceless bilabial plosives /p/, /t/, /k/ occurs as allophones. In speech, use of voiced or voiceless does not make much difference, but when it comes to writing, some speaker prefers to use voiced consonant and some other opt for voiceless consonant. Example, if **speaker A** prefer to write *alap* 'Wing', **speaker B** might opt for *alab* but it does not make any change in the meaning of the word. There is no condition or rule that one must use only voiced or voiceless in writing, it simply is a matter of choice. It implies that there is no voiced or voiceless distinction in word final position.

However, even when they are allophones and one can choose voiced or voiceless, as per the data collected, most of the informants used voiceless consonants /p, t, k/ instead of voiced consonant /b, d, k/ in coda position. Only few informants used voiced consonants.

Example:

	Voiceless		**Voiced**	**Gloss**
/p~b/ →	kipop	~	kipob	'Abdomen'
	alop	~	alob	'Portion'
	petop	~	petob	'Drop'
/t~d/ →	tapat	~	tapad	'Leech'
	abat	~	abad	'Vomit'
	adut	~	adud	'Sound'
/k~g/ →	alak	~	alag	'Hand'
	a:k	~	a:g	'Itch/Branch'
	pok	~	pog	'Jump'

Since there are only eight consonants which can occur in coda position, there are fewer minimal pairs available for contrasting phonemes. Following are the minimal pairs and near minimal pairs of **Syllable-final Contrasts** found in the language. Such as:

Plosives:

/p/		**/t/**		**/k/**	
ap-	'Shoot'	at-	'Write'	ak-	'Against'
pop-	'Sit'	pot-	'Lie'	pok-	'Jump'
tap-	'Fall'	tat-	'Listen'	tak-	'Cut'

Nasals:

/m/		**/n/**		**/ŋ/**	
a:m	'Paddy'	a:n	'Rope'	a:ŋ	'Liver'
om	'Stitch'	on	'Pinch'	oŋ	'Dried (eg. River)'
pom	'Swell'	pon	'Spread (eg. Rumour)'	poŋ	'Clad'

Lateral approximant and Trill

/l/		**/r/**	
ol	'Confuse'	*or*	'Distribute'
ɨl	'Sweat'	*ɨr*	'Bath'
tol	'Strong'	*tor*	'Fencing'
dal	'Stir'	*dar*	'Awake'

2.5 CONSONANTAL ALLOPHONES:

There is no phonemic contrast found in the following Fricative and Affricate consonants, in other words they occur in free variation. However, /tʃ/ occurs mostly in caregiver speech or when someone talks to a baby with more love and affection. Such as:

/s/	/h/	/tʃ/	Gloss
ansiŋ	anhiŋ	antʃiŋ	'Cold'
anso	anho	antʃo	'Small'
pəso	pəho	pətʃo	'Fear'
su	hu	tʃu	'Later'
sa	ha	tʃ	'Okay'
se:ko	he:ko	tʃeko	'Who'
asi	ahi	atʃi	'Water'

So whenever someone use the allophone /tʃ/ instead of /s/ or /h/ in speech, he or she is considered to be speaking in childish tone. This was practically observed during my fieldwork when I deliberately replaced /s/ with /tʃ/ in frequently used words like *sa* 'Okay', *se:koi* 'who' etc. their remarks were 'you are speaking like baby' or 'she still has baby tongue'. It clearly indicates that /tʃ/ is not used in adult speech or so I called it 'Regular Lexicon'. Nonetheless, during data collection I found two words where /tʃ/ was used as allophone of /s/ by adult speaker in regular lexicon which are:

Adi word	Gloss
antʃo	'Small'
antʃiŋ	'Little'

It clearly indicates that the consonant /**tʃ/** is slowly finding a place in regular lexicon as well.

Given the data of /**tʃ/** above, the question that arise is *'why /tʃ/ does not occur in regular lexicon?'* the answer for this, as per my observation is that /**tʃ/** is not a native consonant of Adi language rather it has been borrowed probably from Hindi as Hindi is the second language and lingua-franca of Adis. I substantiate my statement with the following two points:

→ Absence of /**tʃ/** in native lexicon of adult speaker, especially mostly the old population of above 60 years of age implies that the consonant /**tʃ/** has been added only few decades back.

→ Even in the words which have been borrowed from Hindi, the replacement of the phoneme /tʃ/, (or /c/, /ts/ as different scholar represents differently) with /s/ can be seen. Such as:

Adi	**Hindi**	**Gloss**
assa	acca	Okay
seni	cini	Sugar
sur	chor	Thief
samus	cammac	Spoon
sosma	casma	Spectacle
satoni	cətni	Chutney

Note: Since this is only to present the replacement of consonant /c/ with /s/ in borrowed words of Adi, the changes of vowels are not accounted for.

→Also, as I myself is native speaker of Adi, my own intuition and conscience of my knowledge of the language consider /**tʃ**/ as non-native consonant.

2.6 SOME OF DIALECTAL VARIATIONS:

It has been noticed that in place where Adi-Padam use /l/ in coda position, Adi-Minyong use /r/ respectively.

/l/ in Adi-Padam	**/r/ in Adi-Minyong**	**Gloss**
abal	abar	Money
rabal	rabar	Sputum
robol	robor	Rubber[22]
amil	amir	Body
tol-	tor-	Strong
əl	ər	Throw

[22] Borrowed from English or Hindi.

Also, it has been noticed in a single instance that where Adi-Padam use /m/ in coda position, Adi-Minyong has used /n/ as presented below:

/m/ in Adi-Padam	/n/ in Adi-Minyong	Gloss
apim	apin	Food

These are not accounted under allophones rather they are dialectal variation. Many more such variations are present but itis not possible to fully described them in this work.

2.7 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE IN ADI:

In this section, I will describe the details of syllable structures in Adi. Syllable may be defined as a unit of pronunciation typically larger than a single sound and smaller than a word[23]. It is further defined as 'The syllable is composed of an optional onset, and an obligatory rhyme, or rime. The rhyme consists of the syllabic nucleus, or peak, which is a sonorant, normally a vowel, optionally followed by a margin or coda, typically a consonant. The rhyme may be preceded by an onset, typically a consonant'[24]. Following are the possible syllable structures (PST) in Adi:

	PST	Example	Gloss
i.	V	i	Do
		o	Fall
		u	Rear
		a	Roast
ii.	VV	ai	Good
		oa	Landing
		ao	Son
iii.	VC	a:m	Paddy
		a:k	Branch
		ip-	Sleep
		ok-	Itch

[23] Crystal D., (2008), *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, Blackwell Publication, pg. 467

[24] Brown K. and Miller J., (2013), *The Cambridge Dictionary of Linguistics*, Cambridge University Press, pg. 429

iv.	CV	ka:	See
		ma	Search
		ki	Sick
		bi	Give
v.	CVC	tom	Call
		bon	Expand
		pon	Spread (rumor)
		jop	Fly
vi.	CCV	bja	Swim
		kja	Crochet
		gja	Fly
vii.	CCVC	bjak	Migrate
		pjak	Splash
		pjom	Drench
viii.	CVVC	pɨak	Crow
		rɨoŋ	Climber rope
		ruak	Dark
		məeŋ	Estranged wife
ix.	CCVVC	bjauk	Drown

As shown above, there are nine (9) possible syllable structures in Adi and both open and closed syllables are present in the language, however, V appears to be the syllable canon of Adi rather than CV as in many other languages. This is quite in contrast with languages like Darma which do not allow vowel in initial position at all. But for Adi, vowel can not only occur in initial position but also can be a whole syllable in itself with not only phonological but also with full grammatical or lexical function. Also, it is clear from the above syllable structures that simple and complex onsets (C[glide]) are present, but there are no complex codas attested. Complex onsets/consonant cluster is discussed in detail in section 2.10 below.

2.8 ONSET AND CODA POSITION OF CONSONANTS:

In this subsection I will discuss about the consonants which can occur in onset and coda position. All the consonants in Adi can occur in onset position, but not all can occur in Coda position as presented in below:

Consonants	Onset	Gloss (CV(C))	Coda	Gloss ((C)VC)
p	po	Say	ap ~ b	Shoot
b	bo	Carry	ab ~ p	Shoot
t	tɨ:	Drink	tɨt ~ d	Wrap
d	dɨ:	Plant (V)	tɨd ~ t	Wrap
m	ma	No	a:m	Paddy
n	no	You	on	Pinch
ɲ	ɲu	Cooked	-----	-----
ŋ	ŋo	I	a:ŋ	Liver
r	ro	Morning	or	Distribute
s ~ h ~ tʃ	su	Later	-----	------
l	la:	Take	kal	Peel
j	jo	Night	-----	-----
k	ko	Ask	duk ~ g	Run
g	gu	Burn	dug ~ k	Run
tʃ	antʃiŋ[25]	Cold	------	------
dʒ	dʒa	Blow	------	------

So it is clear from above that only fourteen (14) consonants occur as full onset in word initial and only five (5) Phonemes occurs as full coda in word final position. For positon of vowel in initial, medial and final**,** see section 2.2.32.2.3 above.

2.8.1 Consonants Which Cannot Occur in Final Position:

The following six consonants cannot occur in syllable final position in Adi:

/ɲ/, /s/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /j/, /h/

[25] Occurring in Word medial Coda

these six (6) consonants do not occur in coda position at least in writing of Adi language, however, there may be some exceptions in speech form. Such as:

→ /ɲ/ and /dʒ/ may occur as coda in word medial position through 'progressive assimilation (PA)'

Before PA		**After PA**	**Gloss**
an-ɲi	→	aɲ-ɲi	'Two'
an-ɲiŋ	→	aɲ-ɲiŋ	'Shy'
lun-ɲiŋ	→	luɲɲiŋ	'Next year'
ad-dʒiŋ	→	adʒ-dʒiŋ	'Well written'

→/h/ may occur in word final position in exclamatory word like

Exclamation	**Gloss**
ah!	**'**disappointment or disagreement'
guah!	**'**Wah!'
uloh!	'Oho!'
eh!	'Alas!'

2.8.2 Consonants Which Occur Only in Final Position:

As mentioned above, the glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs only in word final position in exclamatory or imperative words like:

/ʔ/ in final position	**Gloss**
ajaʔ	'Ouch'
asoʔ	'Shut up'
imaʔ	'Don't do'
haiʔ	'oh!'

2.9 WORD STRUCTURE:

The language permits only upto trisyllabic words; if there is any quadrisyllabic word, the analysis exhibits that it is formed out of two independent words to form a compound words. So what is worthwhile here to notice is that at root word, the language does not allow more than three syllables in a word. In the following subsections, I will discuss the syllable patterns and word structure.

2.9.1 Monosyllabic word:

Monosyllable in Adi can have the following combinations of consonants and vowels or syllable shape:

Syllable shape	Adi example	Gloss
V	o	Son
VV	ai	Good
	oi	Yes (Answering a call)
VC	a:m	Paddy
	a:k	Branch
	e:ŋ	Bamboo
	i:n	Buttock
CV	ko	Child
	no	You
	si	This
	bɨ	He/she
CVC	nom	You (Objective)
	nok	Your
	pa:r	Ash guard
	tə:k	Palm

Table 12: Monosyllabic word structure in Adi

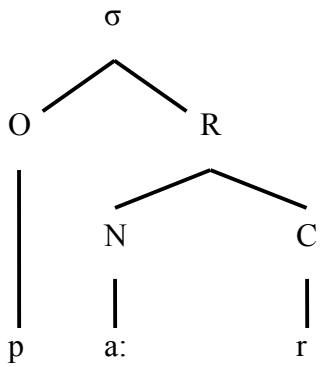
Word with V syllable are not common in Adi. Many of the verbs have this syllable structure but they are bound morpheme and not word. In fact, almost all verbs are bound morpheme in Adi so only nouns and modifiers qualify to be listed as monosyllabic words in the above table. So among free morpheme which can occur as an independent word, I could found only one example from my wordlist.

Like scarcity of V structure, VV structure is also not very common. The example *ai* 'Good' above is also a contracted from of *aji* (which is pronounced as *ai*).

VC, CV and CVC are comparatively available in larger number than earlier two (V and VV). Among which, VC was the most common syllable structure in monosyllabic noun. CV and CVC were the mostly pronouns and particle/modifier.

As it can be seen in the above example, monosyllabic nouns mostly have heavy syllable as they are consisting of long vowel and Coda or Margin.

So the branching of the Monosyllabic noun would be as given below:



(pa:r 'Ash gourd')

Note: a = syllable, O = onset, R = rhyme, N = nucleus and C = coda.

More Example of Heavy monosyllabic nouns:

Sl.No.	Syllable Structure	Adi word	Gloss
2	V	o:	Son
3	VC	a:m	Unhusk paddy
		a:ŋ	Liver
		e:ŋ	Bamboo
		o:ŋ	Nerve
		u:k[26]	Ornament
		a:n	Rope
		a:k	Branch
4	CVC	pa:r	Ash gourd
		ta:ŋ	Thorn
		sa:ŋ	Tea*
		to:t	Eupeodes
		tɨ:d	Leprosy
		tə:k	Palm tree

Table 13: Heavy monosyllabic nouns in Adi

[26] Ornament worn on waist

*Borrowed from Assamese /sa/

2.9.2 Bisyllabic word:

As said above, nouns in Adi generally are bisyllabic with the following syllable structure:

Sl. No.	Syllable Structure	Adi word	Gloss
1.	V.CV	asi	Water
		aki	Stomach
		əpə	Flatulence
		apɨ	Egg
2.	V.CVC	amik	Eye
		asar	Wind
		ətor	Fence
		igul	Help
3.	CV.CV	ŋaŋa	Baby
		mimi	Sister
		tarɨ	Wound
		tapɨ	Hailstone
4.	VC.CV	əkki	Dog
		annə	Leaf
		ammo	Paddy
		ənno	Thread
5.	VC.CVC	ənnok	Rice wine
		əlluŋ	Boat
		ətpaŋ	Slope
		aŋkəŋ	Chest
6.	CV.CVC	pətok	Container for wine
		pərok	Hen
		məkol	Charcoal
		taruk	Ant
7.	CVC.CV	rokpɨ	(Hen's)Egg
		mɨkkɨ	Smoke
		makbo	Son-in-law
		pakbo	Slave
8.	CVC.CVC	tokkɨt	Loofah

		sokjol mikmɨt dɨnsiŋ	Drool Eyebrow Flesh
9.	CCV.CV	kja:rə	Makeshift on tree (for hunting etc.)
10.	CVC.CCVC	bɨtpjor kotpjaŋ kurpjak	Cobra Huge monitor lizard Trowel for weeding

Table 14: Bisyllabic word structure in Adi

2.9.3 Trisyllabic words:

Trisyllabic root words are quite less in number in Adi. So most Trisyllabic root words are adverbs which are formed through derivation or inflection or are borrowed from other contact languages like Assamese, Hindi, Nepali etc. example:

Example of Trisyllabic words:

Word	**Adi example**	**Gloss**
V.CV.CV	aso:pə*	Quitely
CV.CV.CV	madoli***	Ornament**
CVC.CV.CV	mendari***	Cat
	mensuruŋ	Fox
	bəjjope*	Slowly
CVC.CV.CVC	tampilaŋ***	Ornament**
	sondoroŋ***	Ornament**
	kampopə*	Beautifully/Nicely
CV.CV.CVC	kotijaŋ***	

Note: * = Adverb, ** = see ornament list in Appendix, *** = Borrowed words

It is also to be noted that in Trisyllabic words, Adi do no have the syllabic shape CVC.CVC.CVC. In other words, there is no coda in the middle syllable of Trisyllabic words.

2.9.4 Quadri-syllabic words:

It is said above that, words with more than three syllables are compound words. It is clear from the examples below:

Adi examples	**Gloss**
taru-suŋŋu	Mosquito
dɨnə-məmut	Hurricane
tako-bəlaŋ	Pineapple
ta:tum-lepjo	Ursa major
pəku dʒu:dʒuk	A kind of bird
na:nə-pu:raŋ	Flower of convolvulaceae family

Note: the exact meaning of the words compounded are not known except for some of them like bəlaŋ 'Jackfruit', ta:tum- lepjo 'Beer-foot' etc.

Given all the data for syllabic structure above, it is noted that the rhyme is the only essential element of the syllable in Adi. The rhyme is always obligatorily present in all syllables. Typically, the nucleus slot in the rhyme is always occupied by a vowel. Also, monophthong (single vowel to be precise) can also form a syllable. So mono-syllabicity is the characteristic syllable feature of the language.

2.9.5 Principle of Maximality and Directionality of syllable structure of Adi:

To present the syllable structure of disyllabic and trisyllabic words, the principle of maximality and directionality are of worth taking up. The following disyllabic and trisyllabic words would reveal the importance:

Adi words	**Gloss**
ta.kam	All
ko.pjaŋ	Mud
jo.raŋ	Black
a.mik	Eye
mət.bu	Ash
lə.ga:.də	Because/the reason is
a:.pu	Breast
o.lət	Fall
ai.naŋ	Liver
mi.lo.koŋ	Man/Male

The careful study of these words exhibit that the DIRECTIONALITY for syllable structure in this language is RIGHT TO LEFT; and why it is so, the reason is according to the MAXIMALITY principle, a syllable satisfies itself maximally before moving to the next. In the word (a), the syllabification is ‘ta’ and ‘kam’, but it could also have been ‘tak’ and ‘am’. So why it is CV.CVC and not CVC.VC? Because the maximality principle satisfies itself from the right as CVC ‘kam’, and the left segments become the second syllable as ‘ta’. Whereas determining it from the left, the syllabification would correctly be [tak.am]; but its not the right syllabification in Adi. Similarly, word (d) would predict something like [am.ik] instead of [a.mik] if we take it as left-to-right. Therefore, the syllabification in the above-mentioned words clearly tells us that Adi has right-to-left directionality for syllabification rules. The maximality principle has side-by-side explained which tells us that CVC is the maximal internal structure of Adi syllables, except for C[glide] which is not true consonant cluster as glide is semi consonant. The internal structure and its maximal constituents provides the evidences for the external structure of syllables in a prosodic word.

2.10 CONSONANT CLUSTER

Unlike English or Russian, Adi does not entail much consonant cluster in single morpheme. The only consonant cluster which is allowed in single morpheme is the C[glide]. Example;

C[glide] in monosyllabic word

	Adi word	**Gloss**
CCV	bja	Swim
	pja	Wrestle/Flip
	gja	Blow
	pjo	Steal
CCVC		
	pjak	Splash
	bjak	Migrate
	kjak	Bark (dog)

C[glide] in multi-syllabic word		
(C)V.CCV(C)	ləpjo	Foot sole
	tabjab	Comb
	kopjaŋ	Mud
	əpjop	Bamboo Mat (for spreading cooked rice for making wine)
	si:pjak	Cotton
CVC.CCV	lakpjo	Palm
	kotpjaŋ	Big Monitor lizard
	bɨtpjor	Cobra

From above data it is noted that, C[glide] always occur in syllable initial position even in disyllabic word. It is true to the fact that glide /j/ do not occur in final position in most of the languages. Another observation here is that, in C[glide]V syllable, only two vowels /a/ and /o/ consistently follow the glide. This is seen in all the examples above. Whereas, when glide is not in cluster with a preceding consonant, other vowels do follow it as in examples below:

Adi word	**Gloss**
ajo	Tongue
ija	Open
aje	Seed/fruit
əjok	Dao (tool for cutting)
puju	Side of fireplace
uju	Ghost/Spirit
ji	Address term for youngest maternal uncle
taje	Feces

In the above examples, vowels /o/, /a/, /e/, /u/, and /i/ follows the glide. So it can be said that in consonant cluster of C[glide], only /o/ and /a/ follow the glide. Also, about the consonants,

consonant cluster or C[glide], only /p/, /b/, /k/ and /g/ can take the place of C preceding the glide. Again this is quite evident from the data above.

2.11 GEMINATION:

Unlike contrastive vowel length, consonant gemination or elongation is not very distinctive or contrastive. The elongation is very minimal as in the examples below:

Adi words	**Gemination**	**Gloss**
aso	asso	Quite
əmum	əmmum	Uselessly
pəso	pəsso	Scared
sala	salla	Slang word
are	arre	Exclamation word
aha	ahha	Exclamation word
pətu	pəttu	Mustard leaf

in the examples above, pre-gemination and post gemination words are disyllabic with syllable structure V.CV and V.CVC. However, an extra consonant has been added altering the syllable structure as VC.CV and VC.CVC respectively without altering the meaning of the word. Since this germination does not change the meaning of the word, germination is non-contrastive in nature. However, gemination across syllables when bisyllabic word has (C)VC.CV(C) syllable structure is found in Adi. As in examples below:

Adi words	**Gloss**
akkɨ	Debate
anɲiŋ	Shame
anso	Small
ampə	Husk
ankɨ	Anxiety
konno	Day before yesterday

The following table shows the combinations of consonant which can occur in this position:

Coda of first syllable →

Onset of Second Syllab-le ↓

	p	**b**	**t**	**d**	**k**	**g**	**m**	**n**	**ŋ**	**ɲ**	**r**	**l**	**s**	**j**	**dʒ**	**tʃ**
p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	-	+	+	#	+	-	-
b	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	-	+	+	#	+	-	-
t	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	-	+	+	#	-	-	-
d	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	-	+	+	#	-	-	-
k	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	#	-	-	-
g	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	#	-	-	-
m	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	-	+	+	#	-	-	-
n	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	-	+	+	#	-	-	-
ɲ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	+	+	+	#	-	-	-
ŋ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	-	+	+	#	-	-	-
r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	-	+	+	#	-	-	-
l	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	-	+	+	#	-	-	-
s	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	-	+	+	#	-	-	-
j	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	-	+	+	#	+	-	-
dʒ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	-	+	+	#	+	+	-
tʃ	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	+	X	-	X	X	X	-	-	X

Table 15: Possible consonant cluster in Adi

Note: + = Present
- = Absent
X = Possible but not grammatical
# = Not possible in native words but possible Through borrowed words

Examples:

Gemination	**Adi example**	**Gloss**	**Remark**
1. p ~ bp	tuppi	Cap	Borrowed
2. p ~ bb	apbuk	Gun	
3. p ~ bt	apta	Hunting	
4. p ~ bd	ipdɨ	Sleeping time	

5. p ~ bk	ipka	Died while sleeping	
6. p ~ bg	japgo	Door	
7. p ~ bm	ipmi	Sleepy	
8. p ~ bn	tapmo	Cause to fall	
9. p ~ bɲ	ipɲok	Sleep hidingly	
10. p ~ bŋ	ipŋo	5 nights	
11. p ~ br	apram	Unable to shoot	
12. p ~ bl	aplak	Miss shooting	
13. p ~ bs	apsi	Poaching	
14. p ~ bj	apjak	Scratched while shot	
15. p ~ bdʒ	apdʒiŋ	Skilled shot	
16. t ~ dp	tatpo	Melodious	
17. t ~ db	tatbaŋ	Likely to hear	
18. t ~ dt	ɨttɨ	Vagina	
19. t ~ dd	tatdɨ	Hearing time	
20. t ~ dk	atken	Able to write	
21. t ~ dg	atgɨŋ	Reason to write	
22. t ~ dm	atmo	Cause to write	
23. t ~ dn	atna	Writer	
24. t ~ dɲ	atɲiŋ	Difficult to write	
25. t ~ dŋ	atŋoŋ	Half written	
26. t ~ dr	tatruk	Already listened	
27. t ~ dl	kotlop	Chit	tl→ ll[27]
28. t ~ ds	atsem	Just write	
29. t ~ dj	atjin	Finished writing	
30. t ~ dʒ	atdʒon	Correction/edit	
31. g ~ kp	rokpo	Rooster	
32. g ~ kb	makbo	Son-in-law	
33. g ~ kt	tokta	Wooden plank	Borrowed
34. g ~ kd	tukda	Forehead	
35. g ~ kk	tokkɨt	Loofah	

[27] in speech

36. g ~ kg	əkgul	Baby Carrier[28]	
37. g ~ km	mikmɨt	Eyebrow	
38. g ~ kn	taknɨ	New year	dɨtak + anɨ
39. g ~ kɲ	sakɲom	Soak	
40. g ~ kŋ	takŋo	5 years	dɨtak+pilŋo
41. g ~ kr	jokrat	Sharp dao	əjok+rat(na)
42. g ~ kl	tuklok	Bald	Not borrowed[29]
43. g ~ ks	duksaŋ	Run upward	
44. g ~ kj	dukji	Run downward	
45. g ~ kdʒ	dukdʒem	Run over	
46. mp	kampo	Beauty	
47. mb	ambuk	Puff rice	
48. mt	tamtə	Shield	
49. md	tomduŋ	Calling (V)	
50. mk	pamki	Hot	
51. mg	omgɨŋ	Seam of cloth	
52. mm	ammo	Unhusk paddy	
53. mn	tumna	Mad/lunatic	
54. mɲ	əmɲo	Prohibited to say	
55. mŋ	omŋoŋ	Half-stitched	
56. mr	omrɨ	Papaya	
57. ml	əmla	That[30]	
58. ms	kumsu	Prayer	
59. mj	əmjar	Saying repetitively	
60. mdʒ	amdʒep	Flattened rice	Borrowed
61. np	anpaŋ	Get to feel	
62. nb	benbo	He goat	
63. nt	ontək	Pinch	
64. nd	andəŋ	Short	
65. nk	ankɨ	Worry	

[28] One element of baby carrying method

[29] It seems like borrowed word from the Hindi word /taklu/ 'Bald' but in actual it is a native word which is made blending of two different words: atuk + alok 'Head + barren/empty'

[30]Complementizer.

66. ng	mingor	Ripe early	
67. nm	mɨnməm	Wrongly named	
68. nn	ənnok	Fermented rice for beer	
69. nɲ	ənɲiŋ	Uneasy travel	
70. nŋ	ənŋo	Half way/ travel	
71. nr	manrɨ	Limit for speech	
72. nl	manla	Able to say	
73. ns	ansiŋ	Cold	
74. nj	manjin	Finish talking	
75. ndʒ	andʒeŋ	Struggle[31]	
76. ntʃ	antʃo	Small	
77. ŋk	loŋkin	Bone marrow	
78. ŋg	doŋgup	Winter[32]	
79. ɲɲ	aɲɲi	Two	nɲ → ɲɲ
80. rp	karpuŋ	Name[33]	
81. rb	arbjaŋ	Thigh[34]	
82. rt	marta	Aggressive	
83. rd	gorduŋ	Shoulder	
84. rk	arkep	Crotch	
85. rg	ɨrgɨŋ	Helper[35]	
86. rm	ormərn	wrongly distributed	
87. rn	orna	distributor	
88. rɲ	orɲiŋ	Difficult to distribute	
89. rŋ	arŋoŋ	Half washed	
90. rr	marrɨk	Welcoming with anger	
91. rl	surlat	Reverse (like balloon)	

[31] as struggle to free oneself when strangling etc.

[32] Its around January-February when the Agriculture activities are over and there is no rain so villagers are busy in constructing house.

[33] Name of a female legend from whom weaving is believed to be originated

[34] Body portion including Waist & thigh

[35] Helper of Song Priest during Solung festival

92. rs	mɨrsi	Chilly	Borrowed[36]
93. rj	orjin	Finished distribution	
94. rdʒ	ardʒiŋ	Washing nicely	
95. lp	olpoŋ	Half filled	
96. lb	kalbɨn	Peel off	
97. lt	əltok	Throw downward	
98. ld	pəlduŋ	Rotating	
99. lk	əlkut	Throw back	
100. lg	pɨlgot	Unwilling to pluck	
101. lm	pɨlma	don't pluck	
102. ln	ɨlnam	Sweat	
103. lɲ	pɨlɲiŋ	Difficult to pluck	
104. lŋ	məlŋək	Hypnotize	
105. lr	kəlrɨk	Coiling[37]	
106. ll	əllɨk	Throw	
107. ls	pəlsaŋ	Rotate upward	
108. lj	raljaŋ	Resist	
109. ldʒ	məldʒiŋ	Skill in advertising	
110. sp	pa:spə	To pass	
111. sb	pa:sbaŋ	Likely to pass	
112. st	pa:stuŋ	Passed	
113. sd	pa:sduŋ	Passing	
114. sk	ta:sko	A playing card	
115. sg	pa:sgot	Unwilling to Pass	
116. sm	pa:smaŋ	Not pass	
117. sn	pa:sna	Passed one	
118. dʒdʒ	adʒdʒiŋ	Skill in writing	Assimilation[38]

[36] It appears to be borrowed from Mirci in Hindi

[37] kəlrɨk = kəl + rik 'Coil + meet'

Coiling a rope (or something alike) in such a way that at some point the two strand or the two ends meet.

[38] atdʒiŋ → adʒdʒiŋ (at 'Write' + dʒiŋ 'Skill')

2.12 SOME OF PHONOLOGICAL RULES IN ADI:

There are many phonological and morpho-phonological processes and rules present in Adi. In this section, I will describe the phonological processes and rules which include: consonant and vowel assimilation, nasalization, final voicing, elision (syncope and apocope) etc.

2.12.1 Assimilation:

Assimilation is defined as:

> *'The influence exercised by one sound segment upon the articulation of another, so that the sounds become more alike, or identical'*[39].

Adi allows both vowel and consonant assimilation. In Adi, the manner of assimilation is *progressive assimilation.* Progressive assimilation is also known as Preservative assimilation. In the word of Forel & Puskás, the assimilation is said to be preservative "when the features of a phoneme are modified by the features of the phoneme immediately before it" (Forel & Puskás, 2005, p.50). In other words, the conditioned sound is preceded by the assimilated sound. In the following sub-sections, I will describe the assimilations of vowels and consonants that I have come across in my data. I believe the assimilations of Adi is not limited to what I have described below, but, there are more of such assimilations in the language which might not have appeared in my data or which I might have missed out. This can be described once assimilation process is studied thoroughly and in depth. The changes in vowel due to assimilation is not vivid in written form or word to word data elicitation, but are clear in speech and it's recording. Following are the assimilation processes I have witnessed:

a. Vowel assimilation. In a bisyllabic word, when vowel /o/ is in final position of preceding syllable and /ə/ is initial position of the following syllable, /o/ changes to /u/. This rule can be represented in phonological notation as:

o → u /___ ə

[39] Crystal D., (2008), *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, Blackwell Publication, pg. 39

Examples:

Before assimilation		After assimilation	Gloss
ko-əm	→	kuəm	To child
ro-əm	→	ruəm	In morning
o-əlaŋ	→	uəlaŋ	Child and
alo-ək	→	aluək	Some salt
polo-ə	→	poluə	Moon is

b. Consonant assimilation: It is noticed that among consonants /t/ goes under assimilation when it occurs as coda of the first syllable in bisyllabic word and it is followed by glide /j/ as onset of the second syllable. So the phonological notation of this rule will be:

t → j /___ j

Example:

Before assimilation		After assimilation	Gloss
atjin	→	ajjin	Finished writing
kɨtjam	→	kɨjjam	Just punch
atjan	→	ajjan	Reply
atjil	→	ajjil	Teach to write
kətjima	→	kəjjima	Sleep no more
tatjum	→	tajjum	Proud to hear

one more case of assimilation of /t/ is seen when it is followed by lateral /l/. Such as:

t → l /___ l

Example:

Before assimilation		After assimilation	Gloss
tatlɨ	→	tallɨ	Want to hear
kotlop	→	kollop	Chit of paper

motlop	→	mollop[40]	Meaning
pətlamaŋ	→	pəlla	Can not kill
gatlɨŋ	→	gallɨŋ	A kind of tree

Other than /t/, alveolar nasal /n/ also goes under assimilation when it is followed by palatal nasal /ɲ/. Such as:

n → ɲ /___ ɲ

Example:

Before assimilation		**After assimilation**	**Gloss**
anɲi	→	aɲɲi	Two
manɲo	→	maɲɲo	Prohibited to say
anɲiŋ	→	aɲɲiŋ	Shy
konɲiŋ	→	koɲɲiŋ	Two years back
pinɲo	→	piɲɲo	Brain

From the assimilation data described above, it is observed that the assimilation occurs at syllable boundary of single word given. So it is obligatory to have a Coda and an onset in word medial. Also, that the assimilated sound always precedes the source of assimilation making it *Progressive assimilation*.

2.12.2 Nasalization:

Nasalization is defined as the property of an otherwise oral sound that has acquired a nasal quality from contiguous sounds[41]. In Adi, vowels which are normally non-nasal are nasalized when followed by palatal nasal consonant /ɲ/. Such as:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{vowel} \\ -\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{vowel} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} / ____ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{palatal} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix}$$

[40] borrowed from *matlab* in Hindi

[41] Brown K. and Miller J., (2013), The Cambridge Dictionary of Linguistics, Cambridge University Press, pg. 302.

Example:

Before assimilation		**After assimilation**	**Gloss**
ɲa:ɲi	→	ɲã:ɲĩ	Fraternal aunt
aɲoŋ	→	aɲõŋ	Little
pəŋo	→	peɲõ	Stirring stick
aɲat	→	aɲãt	Sorghum
ɲoku	→	ɲõku	Snail
aɲun	→	aɲũn	Breast

The assimilation I have described above was *progressive* in nature, however, the nasalization is *regressive* that is to say that the vowel assumes nasal feature from the nasal sound which precedes it.

2.12.3 Final voicing:

It was said that the plosives /p, t, k/ are occurs in free variation to /b, d, g/ respectively in coda position. However, in some situation their status to occur whether as voiced or voiceless is conditioned by the surrounding sound (mostly following sound). In this thesis, I highlight a single situation but I believe there are more situation yet to be explored, which I could not dealt with due to lack of enough evidence and so are left for further analysis.

So when allophones p ~ b, t ~ d, and k ~ g occurs in coda position, and if it is followed by a vowel (especially schwa /ə/) then it is realized as voiced /b/, /d/, and /g/ respectively. For example:

/p ~ b/ in coda position		**Final voicing when followed by vowel**	**Gloss**
alap ~ b	→	alabə	Wing is
ap ~ b	→	abak	Miss fire
pəlap ~ b	→	pəlabə	Lid is

/t ~ d/ in coda position		**Final voicing when followed by vowel**	**Gloss**
adut ~ d	→	adudə	Sound is
dumɨt ~ d	→	dumɨdə	Hair is
ə:tət ~ d	→	ə:tədo	Slowly

/k ~ g/ **in coda position**		**Final voicing when followed by vowel**	**Gloss**
alak ~ g	→	alagə	Hand is
atuk ~ g	→	atugə	Head is
tadok ~ g	→	tadogə	Bead is

2.12.4 Elision:

Elision, also known as deletion which is defined as 'loss of a vowel, consonant, or syllable'[42]**.** Following are the various elision present in Adi:

Syncope: Syncope is the deletion of a sound in word medial position. In Adi, the word medial /ŋ/ is deleted under certain condition which will be discussed below:

Medial /ŋ/ deletion:

The voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ has tendency to occur at word initial and word final positions. /ŋ/ occurring at final position is one of the main difference in Adi and Galo language (both are from Tani language group). Adi usually place /ŋ/ in final position whereas Galo does not, as illustrated in the example below:

Adi	**Galo**	**Gloss**
ajaŋ	aja	Love
duŋ	du	Present tense marker

[42] Bussmann H. (2006), *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, translated and edited by Trauth G. and Kazzazi K., Taylor & Francis e-Library, pg. 355.

apoŋ	opo	Wine
jalɨŋ	jalɨ	Red
dumpoŋ	dumpo	Head
əlɨŋ	ɨlɨ	Stone

However, when /ŋ/ occurs at medial position, it gets deleted when followed by consonants except Velar plosives /k/ and /g/ (and vowels). Below I will present deletion of /ŋ/ in final positon and its retention when followed by /k/ and /g/ (and vowels).

Retention of /ŋ/ when followed by /k/, /g/ and vowels

Followed by /k/	**Gloss**
dʒoŋkəŋ	Chameleon
aŋkil	Fever sweat
soŋkək	Thin (human)
apoŋko	A wine
apɨŋkai	Accomplice
immaŋ kisa	Like dream
jaŋkai	Rotten

Followed by /g/	**Gloss**
kaŋgə	First seen
tuŋgu	Veranda
saŋgo	East
lɨŋgɨŋ	North
aŋgo	West

Followed by vowels	**Gloss**
ajaŋaloŋ	Very lovely
taguŋ amɨ	Mango seed
sa:ŋ asi	Tea-water (compound word)
mənaŋə	Very fast
əsiŋ əlɨŋ	Tree-stone (compound word)

It is seen in above data that when /ŋ/ is followed by /k/, /g/ and vowels, it is not deleted. Below, I will describe the deletion of /ŋ/ when it is followed by other consonants.

Deletion of /ŋ/ when followed by sound other than /k/ and /g/.

Example:

Before deletion		**After deletion**	**Gloss**
ajaŋlok	→	aja lok	With love
ajaŋpətom	→	aja pətom	Only love
tojaŋ tola	→	toja tola	Wait
mɨ:paŋ jar	→	mɨ:pa jar	Always remember
taŋ mɨlɨlə	→	ta mɨlɨlə	Full of thorns
ajaŋnam	→	ajanam	Beloved
aŋ lok	→	a:lok	With heart

The deletion of /ŋ/ is not obligatory rather it is optional. Some people prefer to retain it in writing however, in normal speech, it is usually deleted. Since the deletion of /ŋ/ is in word medial, it is

Apocope: Apocope is the deletion of sound in word final position. In Adi, some word final vowels are deleted as shown in the examples below:

Final vowel deletion: It is observed that in speech, certain vowels in final position are deleted. Such deletion occurs in three syllabic words which are open in nature. Afterwards the deletion of final vowel, the word become closed bisyllabic.

Example:

Open three syllabic word		**After deletion of final vowel**	**Gloss**
itola	→	itol	Do
ŋolukə	→	ŋoluk	Our
aropə	→	arop	Truly
rokpɨlo	→	rokpɨl	In egg
asilo	→	asil	In water

It is interesting that, both the above mentioned syncope (medial /ŋ/ deletion) and apocope (final vowel deletion) can occur in single word as well. In other words, both medial /ŋ/ and final vowel can be deleted in single word. I term it is *double deletion* in single word. Such as:

Syncope and apocope in one word:

Before deletion		After deletion	Gloss
takaŋ-lo	→	takal	In fern
makuŋ-lo	→	makul	In cucumber
i:paŋ-lo	→	i:pal	In teeth
taguŋ-lo	→	tagul	In Mango

Note: deleted /ŋ/ and vowel are underlined

However, as it is apparent in the example above, this double deletion is possible only when the location marker *lo* follows the word with /ŋ/in coda position.

2.12.5 Deletion of Voiceless Bilabial Plosive /p/ in Adi-Minyong:

In this phonological rule, the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ gets deleted when in middle of phonological word as a Coda of first syllable and onset of second syllable. However, it remains intact when in coda position and in the beginning or at the end of the phonological word. Such as:

Adi Word		/p/ deletion	Gloss
apin	→	a.in	Food
dopoŋ	→	do.oŋ	Wait
rəkpala	→	rək.ala	After biting
məpak	→	mə.ak	Abandon
əlpak	→	əl.ak	Throw
asopə	→	aso.ə	Be quite/
su:pak	→	su:.ak	Now
aropə	→	aro.ə	Really
ippoŋ	→	ip.oŋ	First (let me) sleep

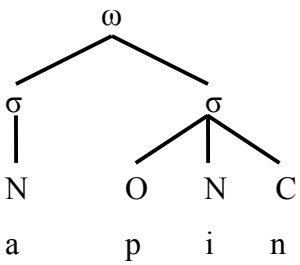
In the above examples, all the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ is deleted. The interesting thing to be noted here is that, even though the /p/ is deleted, the syllabification of the word does not change even after the deletion or it remain intact. In other words, there is no resyllabification after the deletion of /p/. Not only this, the vowel which followed the /p/ retain its quality and remain independent nucleus rather than assimilating with

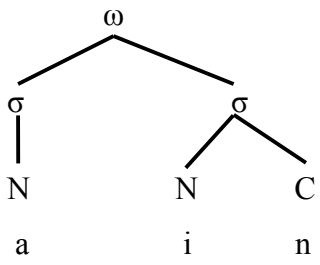
the vowel of preceding syllable. So bisyllabic word remain bisyllabic and does not become monosyllabic even after the deletion of /p/. It will be clear from the demonstration below:

Example:

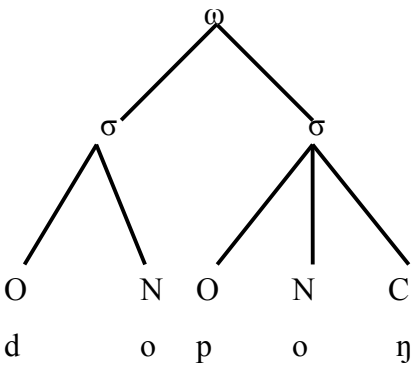
Syllabification before deletion **Syllabication after deletion**

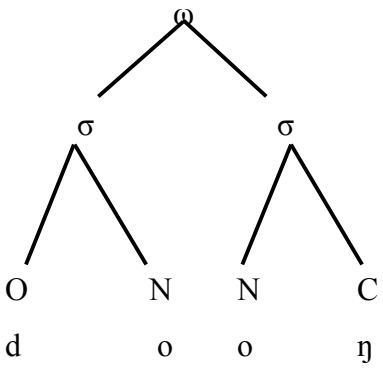
a. apin → a.in





b. dopoŋ → do.oŋ





In the above examples, it is seen that despite deletion of the /p/, Syllabication remains intact. This rule is very particular to Adi-Minyong and is not applicable to other varieties of Adi like Adi-Padam. In Adi-Padam, the deletion of any sound (consonant or vowel) in any position (medial or final) leads to resyllabification of the word as in example below:

Example:

Bisyllabic	→	**Monosyllabic**	**Gloss**
a.ji	→	ai	Good
pa:ji	→	pai	Youngest Fraternal uncle
mimi	→	mim/ mi: (mii)	Elder sister

Trisyllabic	→ Disyllabic	Gloss
ipala	→ ipal	After
kolo	→ kol	Give (Imperative)
ələ	→ əl	There
bulu	→ bul	They

2.13 SOUND CHANGE IN BORROWED WORDS:

It is a known fact that borrowed words are always modified according to the sound inventory system of the language. Adi has borrowed or replaced many of its native word with words from other languages like English, Hindi, Nepali, Assamese etc. Below I will present the borrowed words and the words which have replaced the native words.

Borrowed words: Some of the word which have no exact equivalent meaning or uses in Adi are being borrowed and use in regular day to day vocabulary.

Example:

Borrowed words	Original form	Source language	Gloss
saŋ	sa	Assamese	Tea
asipotal	Hospital	English	Hospital
isikul/iskul	skul	English	School
motlob	mətləb	Hindi	Meaning
gorom	gərəm	Hindi	Hot
gakɨr	gakir	Assamese	Milk
mendari/menkuri	menkuri	Assamese	Cat
bu:t	bəʊt	English	Boat
komti	kəm	Hindi	Less

Replaced words: Some of the Adi words are almost obsolete as they are being replaced with their equivalent term from other language. Especially the young generation have been using it since childhood that they are not even aware that those words are not Adi words and that Adi has its own term for that particular item. some of such examples are:

Example:

Adi words	Replaced with	Source language	Gloss
əgo	doloŋ	Assamese	Bridge
adol	le:t	English	Late
pəlup	dakoni	Assamese	Lid/cover
kotup	samus	Assamese	Spoon
ko:l	sigo	Assamese	Washing place
toilet	rəgum	English	Toilet

2.14 TONE:

Tone is the use of distinctintive pitch level in language to differentiate the word meaning.

In his description of Tani language phonology, Sun said "Phonemic tone is not a prevalent feature (in Tani). While completely non-existent in such eastern (Tani) languages as Bokar, lexically significant pitch occurs to varying degrees in many Western (Tani) languages (like Apatani)."[43]. Till today, tone in Adi is not a well discussed matter. So based on my auditory perception, Adi seems to have three level lexical tone as follow:

Tone	Example	Gloss
High	ó:	Son
Mid	ā:m	Paddy
Low	kò	Child
Mid-Low	mīkmò	Face
	ɲōrùŋ	Ear
	ātkòŋ	
	mɨ̄:nàm	Think
	kūmsùŋ	Granary
	āgó	Grave
High-Low	dʒó:dʒìŋ	Lizard

[43] Sun, Jackson T.-S. (2003). *Tani Languages,* in Thurgood, Graham, and LaPolla, Randy (eds.). (2003). *The Sino-Tibetan languages*. Page 457. London and New York: Routledge.

	ké:kòn	Year after two years
	sé:kò	Who
	pɨ́:ɲì	Eight
Mid-High-Low	ō:bɨ́:bɨ̀ŋ	Male Elder Counsin
	lōŋə́kò	One day

Table 16: Tone in Adi

As seen above, final tone is always lowin Adi. Nonetheless, auditory perception of tone is very deceptive and thus tone in Adi needs a dedicated acoustic study too.

2.15 SUMMARY:

There are fourteen (14) vowels and language differentiates between long and short vowels. Long vowels are phonemic in nature. there are total five (5) diphthongs out of which two (2) are opening diphthongs and three (3) are closing diphthongs. Adi has total of eighteen (18) consonants. Out of 18 consonants, 15 are phonemes and rest 3 are non- phonemic or allophones. As shown above, there are nine (9) possible syllable structure in Adi and both open and closed syllables are available in the language, however, V appears to be the syllable canon of Adi rather than CV as in many other languages. The language permits only upto trisyllabic words; if there is any quadrisyllabic word, the analysis exhibits that it is formed out of two independent words to form a compound words. The only consonant cluster which is allowed in single morpheme is the C[glide].

CHAPTER 3: MORPHOLOGY

3.1 PRONOUN:

Pronoun refers to the linguistics items which can be used to substitute a single noun or a noun phrase. Adi marks subject, object and possessive pronouns as follow:

3.1.1 Subject Pronoun:

Subject pronouns in Adi are:

Subject Pronoun	Gloss
ŋo	I
no	You
bɨ	He/she
ŋoŋi	We two
noŋi	You two
bɨŋi	He/she two
ŋolu	We
nolu	You (Plural)
bulu	They

Table 17: Subject pronoun

1st and 2nd person subject pronouns have nasal consonants in initial position, a feature quite common in Tibeto-Burman languages. The dual and plural suffixation will be discussed in detail in the ***Number*** section**.**

Examples:

1. ŋo ase duŋ
   ngo ase dung
   1st.SNG happy PRES
   'I am happy.'

2. ŋo- lu arɨk ən-je
   ngo- lu arik en-ye
   1st. SNG -PL field go-FUT
   'We will go to field.'

3. no-ɲi agom po-ma
   no-nyi agom po-ma
   2nd -DL word speak-NEG.IMP
   'You two do not talk'

3.1.2 Object Pronoun (OBJ):

Object pronouns in Adi are:

Object Pronoun	Gloss
ŋom	Me
nom	You'
bɨm	He/she'
ŋoɲim	We two
noɲim	You two
bɨɲim/buɲim	He/she two
ŋolum	We
nolum	You (Plural)
bulum	Them

Table 18: Object pronoun in Adi

As shown in the table above, object pronoun is formed by suffixing object particle /-m/ to subject pronoun.

Examples**:**

4. bɨ-m aja laŋka
   bi-m aya langka
   2nd.SNG-OBJ love IMP
   'Do love him.'

5. ŋo-lu-m isor aja-duŋ
   ngo-lu-m isor aya-dung
   1st -PL-OBJ god love-IMPF
   'God loves us'

6. bɨ-ɲi-m tom -to
   bi-nyi-m tom-to
   2nd-DL-OBJ call-IMP
   'Call (two of) them'

Object marker is indicated as OBJ for now, it will be further elaborated it accusative and dative in *Case* section below.

3.1.3 Possessive Pronoun (POSS):

Possessive Pronoun	Gloss
ŋok	My
nok	Your
bɨk	His/her
ŋoŋik	Our (two)
noŋik	Your (two)
bɨŋik/buŋik	His/her (two)
ŋoluk	Our
noluk	Your (Plural)
buluk	Their

Table 19: Possessive pronoun

As it can be seen in the table above, possessive pronoun is formed by suffixing genitive particle /-k/.

Examples:

7. bɨ-k aŋoŋ-ə iŋko -lo
   bi-k angong-e ingko-lo
   3rd.SNG-POSS friend-NOM what-LOC
   'Where is his friend?'

8. bulu-k arɨk-ə mo:tə duŋ
   bulu-k arik-e moote dung
   3rd.PL-POSS field-NOM far IMPF
   'Their field is far'

9. osi-k bɨro-ə se:ko?
   osi-k biro-e seeko?
   osi-GEN brother-NOM who?
   'Who is Osi's brother?'

So *subject pronoun* act as a base for formation of object and possessive pronouns. There is no sound change or alteration of the base in the process of formation of object and possessive pronoun.

3.1.4 Demonstrative Pronoun (DM):

'Demonstratives are deictic……They indicate the relative distance of a referent in the speech situation…..'[44]. In Adi, demonstrative pronouns generally indicate the directions from the point of speaker. Such as: The pronouns of north, south and east/west (as in a, b, c), also, they inherently denote that the proximity of the object is beyond the physical reach of the speaker. Demonstrative pronoun in (d), (e) & (f) indicate the location. Such as:

		DM	**Gloss**
10.	a)	bə	That (Southward/downward)
	b)	tə	That (Northward/upward)
	c)	ə	That (Westward/eastward)
11.	d)	si	This
	e)	so	Here
	f)	də	That

/bə/ may direct towards something which is at southward, downward, below, under or beneath. Like something under bed, someone standing downstairs, something beneath the pillow etc. Likewise, /tə/ indicates something at north, upward, above, beyond, uphill etc. /ə/ represents east, west or side. In all these three directions, prominence of schwa is quite noticeable.

[44]Holger Diessel 'Distance Contrasts in Demonstratives' *WALS.*

3.1.5 Order of demonstrative and noun

In Adi, demonstrative can occur in two ways for two different functions:

a. To show only Direction: In this case, it occurs only once, *before* or *after* the noun. Such as:

After the noun

12. ami **tə** ai- ma-na-ko
ami te ai- ma-na-ko
man **DEM** good- NEG-NOMZR-SNG.INDF
'That man (upward) is not a good man.'

Before the noun

13. **tə** ami ai-ma-na-ko
te ami ai-ma-na-ko
DEM man good-NEG-NOMZR-INDF
'That man (upward) is not a good man.'

b. Emphatic + Direction: In this case, Demonstrative pronoun occurs as *Discontinuous Reduplication* to emphasize the noun while signifying its direction:

14. **si** mimə **si** kampo-na-ko
si mime si kampo-na-ko
DEM girl **DEM** beautiful-NOMZR-SNG.INDF
'This girls is beautiful.'

15. **ə** ko **ə** kap-duŋ
e ko **e** kap-dung
DEM child **DEM** cry-PRES
'That child (westward/eastward) is crying.'

16. **so** amo **so** nolu du-je
so amo so nolu du-ye
DEM place **DEM** 2nd.PL stay-FUT
'You (plural) will stay in this place.'

3.1.6 Interrogative pronoun

Following are the interrogative pronouns in Adi:

Interrogative pronoun	Gloss
se:ko	Who
se:kom	Whom
se:kok	Whose
iŋko, kapə	What
iŋkolo	Where
iŋkoəm	Which
kapə kɨsa	How
ədɨlo	When

Table 20: Interrogative Pronoun

As seen in the table, the object marker –m and the genitive marker –k is inflected to the ***se:ko*** 'who' to make it ***se:kom*** 'Whom' and ***se:kok*** 'Whose' respectively. Likewise, the location marker -lo is inflected to ***iŋko*** 'What' to make it **iŋkolo** 'Where'.

Examples:

17. se:ko se:ko-m aja du-n?
seko seko-m aya du-n?
who who-OBJ love PRES-INT
'Who loves whom?'

18. se:ko-k galuk -ə kampo ja: -du -n?
seko-k galuk-e kampo yaa-du-n?
who-GEN cloth-NOM beautiful more -PRES-INT
'Whose cloth is more beautiful?'

Detail on the occurrence of interrogative pronoun in interrogative sentence will be discussed in *Chapter 5: Syntax*.

Person	Number	Subject Pronoun	Object Pronoun	Possesive Pronoun	Reflexive Pronoun
1st Person	Singular	ŋo	ŋom	ŋok	ŋo agiə
	Dual	ŋoŋi	ŋoŋim	ŋoŋik	ŋoŋi agiə
	Plural	ŋolu	ŋolum	ŋoluk	ŋolu agiə
2nd Person	Singular	no	nom	nok	no agiə
	Dual	noŋi	noŋim	noŋik	noŋi agiə
	Plural	nolu	nolum	noluk	nolu agiə
3rd Person	Singular	bɨ	bɨm	bɨk	bɨ agiə
	Dual	biŋi	biŋim	biŋik	biŋi agiə
	Plural	bulu	bulum	buluk	bulu agiə

Table 21 Person, Number and Pronoun in Adi

3.2 NOUN:

Nouns are items which display certain types of inflections (e.g. case or number), have a specific distribution (e.g. they may follow prepositions but not, say, modals), and perform a specific syntactic function (e.g. as subject or object of a sentence)[45]. This section will discuss *Types*, *Structure* and the *Inflections* of noun like person, number, gender etc. in Adi. Derivation of Noun will be discussed in *Chapter 4: Word Formation.*

3.2.1 Types of Noun

In this subsection, I will discuss the five types of nouns along with examples. Such as:

[45] David Crystal (2008). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 6th Edition, Blackwell Publishing, Pg.3

Common Noun:

A noun denoting a class of entities (animate beings or inanimate things, whether abstract or concrete); e.g. gorilla denotes any animal that can be classed as a gorilla (Brown and Miller 2013:87).

Adi	**Gloss**
milokoŋ	Man
əkum	House
abbuk	Gun
pərok	Chicken
takar	Star

The common noun in Adi can take suffixation of the properties of noun like *Number (plural), Case marker, demonstrative, definite-indefinite* markers.

Proper Noun:

Proper nouns or proper names refer to name of an individual person, place or thing, or a set of things, that they deem unique in a given context (Brown and Miller 2013:87).

Adi	**Gloss**
puːnə	Venus/Evening star
məːbo	Name of a village
jai gandi	Mahatma Gandi
osi	Name of a girl
komboŋ	March

Since proper noun must indicate a particular thing or person, it cannot take plural form. However, it can take other noun properties like *Case marker, demonstrative, definite-indefinite* markers.

Material/Concrete Noun:

A noun denoting a set of concrete objects, such as can be touched, seen, handled and so on: e.g. dog, pillow ((Brown and Miller 2013:96).

Adi	**Gloss**
joksik	knife
ɨːŋ	Grass

abal	Money
ɲogon	Bag
kopak	Banana
paksum	Banana flower
əliŋ	Stone

The material noun in Adi can also take suffixation of the properties of noun like *Number (plural), Case marker, demonstrative, definite-indefinite* markers.

Abstract Noun:

A noun denoting a state or property which cannot be seen, touched, etc; truth, (Brown and Miller 2013:5).

Adi	**Gloss**
ajaŋ	Love
aseŋ	Happiness
marliŋ	Anger
kəno	Hunger
pəso	Fear
aro	Truth
mənam	Lie

Abstract noun cannot take properties of noun like *plural marker* and *demonstarttive*. However, it can take *definite-non definite* and *case markers.* Another interesting thing to be notted is that abstract nouns in Adi behave like verb as well as they can take suffixation of verbal properties like *tense, aspect, mood, Polarity, nominalizer* etc as shown in the example below:

ajaŋ-to
ayang-to
love-PST
'Loved'

pəso-ti-ma-je
peso-ti-ma-ye
fear-REP-NEG-FUT
'Will not keep fearing'

In the example above, abstract noun, *ajaŋ* ‘Love’ and *pəso* ‘Fear’ takes verbal properties like tense, aspect and negation.

Collective Noun:

A noun denoting a number of individual things or animate beings as a group or collection (Brown and Miller 2013:85).

Adi	**Gloss**
əraŋ	Family
əkuŋ-ta:li	Utensils
simon-sili	Animals
tabam	Herd of elephant
miluŋ	Assembly/public

In Adi, many collective nouns are comprised of compound noun as shown in the example above. Collective nouns can take suffixation of the properties of noun like *Number (plural), Case marker, demonstrative, definite-indefinite* markers.

Countable Noun:

A noun denoting an individual entity that can be counted (Brown and Miller 2013:115).

Adi	**Gloss**
tasiŋ	Lemon
rokpɨ	Egg
tadok	Beads
ami	Man
ko	Child

Countable nouns take suffixation of the properties of noun like *Number (plural), Case marker, demonstrative, definite-indefinite* markers.

Uncountable noun:

A noun denoting an entity that is perceived as an uncountable mass of stuff as opposed to individuals that can be counted (Brown and Miller 2013:279).

Adi	**Gloss**
asi	Water
əmə	fire
asar	Wind
kedeŋ	Soil
do:muk	Cloud

Most of the uncountable nouns can not take plural marker but uncountable nouns like *kedeŋ* 'Soil' and *do:muk* 'Cloud' can take plural form. This division is perhaps due to texture of the substance. Soil is hard in nature and cloud sometimes forms shape which makes it sort of countable and thus entitled for plural marking.

3.2.2 Structure of Noun in Adi:

Nouns in Adi are monosyllabic, bisyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic.

Monosyllabic Noun:

Monosyllabic nouns are far lesser than Bisyllabic nouns. It is observed that most of the monosyllabic nouns in Adi have long vowels and generally have VC vowel structure. Such as:

Word	**Gloss**
a:m	Unhusk rice
a: ŋ	Liver
e: ŋ	Bamboo
o	Son
i̵:ŋ	Grass

Bisyllabic nouns:

Bisyllabic nouns are the most common noun found in Adi. Some examples are:

Word	**Gloss**
ari̵k	Field
pərok	Hen
amik	Eye
asar	Wind
əso	Mithun
i:paŋ	Teeth
takom	Grasshopper
mikmo	Face

Nouns with more than two syllables:

Nouns which have more than two syllables are usually derived, compounded, borrowed or blended. Such as:

Word	**Gloss**
tarusuŋŋu	Mosquito
kotija*	Rice sapling
mendari*	Cat
tampilaŋ	Necklace made of coins
sondoroŋ*	Long necklace like ornament

Note: * = Borrowed words

3.2.3 Person:

It indicates the number and nature of the participants in a situation[46]. Adi has three-way contrast of person, that are, 1st person, 2nd person and 3rd person as shown in the table below:

Person	**Singular**	**Dual**	**Plural**
1st person	ŋo 'I'	ŋoŋi 'We two'	ŋolu 'I PL'
2nd person	no 'You'	noŋi 'You two'	nolu 'You PL'
3rd person	bɨ 'He/She'	bɨŋi/buŋi 'He/she two'	bulu 'He/ShePL' (They)

Table 22: Person in Adi

Example:

19. kadʒu bu-lu-kə əkum a:-ladʒu
    kaju bu-lu-ke ekum aa-laju
    come 3rd.SNG-PL-GEN house come-REQ
    'Come, lets go to their house'

20. bɨ ŋo-m no-lu-k əkum-lo a:-bo-je
    bi ngo-m no-lu-k ekum-lo aa-bo-ye
    3rd.SNG 1st.SNG-OBJ 2nd.SNG-PL-GEN house-LOC come-lead-FUT
    'He will take me to your house'

[46] David Crystal (2008). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 6th Edition, Blackwell Publishing, Pg.358

21. igul ma:-je-n no ŋo-m?
igul maa-ye-n no ngo-m?
help NEG-FUT-INT 2nd.SNG 1st.SNG-OBJ
'Will you not help me?'

22. ŋo-lu no-lu-kə əkum-lo a:-je
ngo-lu no-lu-ke ekum-lo aa:-ye
1st.-PL 2nd-PL-GEN house-LOC come-FUT
'We will come to your house'

3.2.4 Number:

Numbers in Adi are marked with both ***nominal number inflection*** and ***noun phrase number enclitic***. Such as:

Singular: Definite Singular are unmarked but indefinite singular nouns are marked with /ko/ (See *Determiner section* for detail discussion on indefinite marker) as follow:

Definite singular: definite singular is unmarked for both noun and pronoun:

23. ŋo apim do-to
ngo apim do-to
1st.SNG food eat-PST
'I have eaten food'.

24. osi ai -maŋ
osi ai-mang
2nd.SNG.F good-NEG
'Osi is not good'.

Indefinite singular: Indefinite singular nouns are marked with /ko/ which is suffixed to the noun as follow:

25. asek-**ko** la:-to
asek-ko laa-to
stick-INDF.SNG bring-IMP
'Bring a stick'

26.	ko-**ko**	kap-duŋ
	ko-ko	kap-dung
	child-INDF.SNG	cry-PRES
	'A child is crying'	

Dual: In Adi, term for cardinal number two is '*aŋŋi'*. The second syllable ***ŋi*** of *aŋŋi* is suffixed to mark duality. Duality is marked both for nouns and pronouns, in pronouns it is marked obligatorily as shown in the sentences below; however, in noun it marks only some selective nouns.

27.	**ŋo -ŋi**	arɨk	ən-je
	ngo-nyi	arik	en-ye
	1st.SNG-DL	field	go-FUT
	'We two will go to the field'.		

28.	**no-ŋi**	arɨk	ən-je
	no-nyi	arik	en-ye
	2nd-DL	field	go-FUT
	'You two will go to the field'.		

29.	**bɨ-ŋi**	arɨk	ən-je
	bi-nyi	arik	en-ye
	3rd-DL	field	go-FUT
	'He/she two will go to the field'.		

Plural: There are three plural markers in Adi;

	Plural Marker	**Types**	**Mark**
a.	kɨdɨ/ kɨdar	NPNE	Noun
b.	ək	NPNE	Noun
c.	lu	Suffix	Pronoun

* NPNE = ***noun phrase number enclitic***.

Both ***kɨdɨ / kɨdar*** and ***ək*** are clitic and not suffix. Both mark plurality of nouns however there is a slight difference in their occurrence. *kɨdɨ/ kɨdar* is used for *Definite Subject* or when the speaker already has the idea of the subject of the sentence. For example, in example (30), the sentence ***ami kɨdiə a:duŋ*** 'Men have come', implies that the speaker already had prior knowledge/information that some people would come. *ək* is used for indefinite subject or when the speaker has no idea of the subject and encountering them without any prior knowledge about them as in example (31 below).

30. ami kɨdɨ -ə a-duŋ
    ami kidi-e aa-dung
    man PL-NOM come -PRES
    'Men have come'.

31. ami -ək a: -duŋ
    ami-ek aa- dung
    man-INDF.PL come- PRES
    'Some men have come'.

As presented above, plurality of pronoun is marked differently from noun. It is marked by suffix *–lu* (as in example 32 , 33 and 34) which is suffixed to the singular pronoun:

32. ŋo-lu arɨk ən-je
    ngo-lu arik en-ye
    1st-PL field go-FUT
    'We will go to field'.

33. ɲampo nolu dar-gor laŋka
    nyampo no-lu dar-gor langka
    tomorrow 2nd -PL wake-early IMP
    'Tomorrow you get up early'

34. ŋolu-nolu əraŋ-ə
    ngolu-nolu erang-e
    1st. PL-2nd.PL f amily-AUX
    'We are family'

pronoun plural marker *-lu* solely marks pronouns and cannot mark plurality of nouns. Suffixing of *–lu* on noun will result into ungrammatical words as presented below:

a.	**Singular Noun**		**Plural Noun**	
	ko	‘Child’	*kolu	‘Children’
	tamit	‘House fly’	*tamitlu	‘House flies’
	asek	‘Stick’	*aseklu	‘Sticks’

* Ungrammatical

Hence the overall structure of number markers in Adi would be as follow:

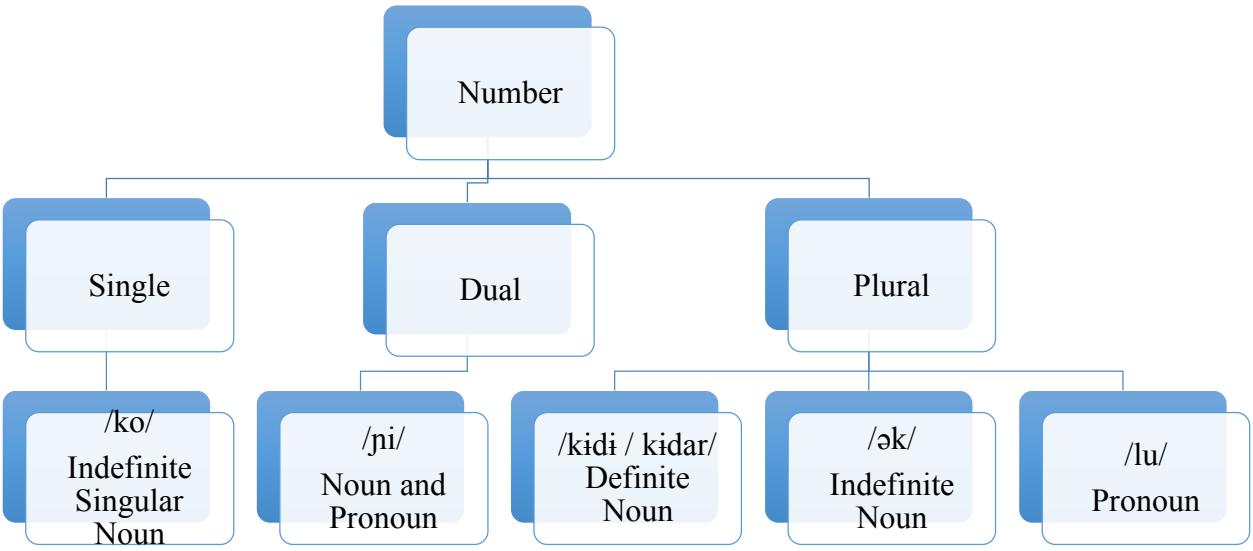


Figure 8: Number markers in Adi

3.2.5 Gender:

A grammatical category used for the analysis of word-classes displaying such contrasts as masculine (MASC), feminine (FEM) and neuter (NEUT), animate and inanimate, etc.[47]

Adi marks gender lexically rather than grammatically. Suffix ***/-nə/*** **(**derived from *anə* ‘Mother’) is use for feminine and suffix */-bo/* (derived from *abo* ‘Father’) is used for masculine. These gender markers are blended with the nouns.

[47] David Crystal (2008). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 6th Edition, Blackwell Publishing, Pg.206

3.2.5.1 Gender distinction in human

Among human, such gender marker ***nə*** (feminine) and ***bo*** (masculine) are suffixed to very few nouns because gender distinction in human are mostly done lexically. Such as:

Feminine	**Gloss**	**Masculine**	**Gloss**
a. pak**nə**	Female slave	pak**bo**	Male Slave
b. bəl**nə**	Daughters-in-law	bəl**bo**	brothers-in–law
c. jik**nə**	Sister-in-law	mak**bo**	Son-in-law

Lexical Gender distinction:

Feminine	**Gloss**	**Masculine**	**Gloss**
mimə	Woman	milokoŋ	Man
anə	Mother	abu	Father
omə	Daughter	o:	Son
ajo	Mother-in-law	ato	Father-in-law
mimə tə:tə	maternal eldest auntie	milokoŋ tə:tə	'Maternal eldest uncle'
anə palok	Female pastor	--------	--------

3.2.5.2 Gender Distinction in Animals:

The suffixation of gender markers /**-nə/** and **/-bu/** among animals are limited to few selective animals. This selection of animals is based on its frequency and frequency again is based on familiarity and necessity to make distinction. For example, the gender distinction is made for cow because it is necessary to know their gender for the purpose of domestication and utilization, however gender distinction is not made for rats, rabbits, etc. because the distinction is not required. If required, they are simply distinguished lexically as **anə** 'mother' or **abu** 'Father' rather than marking them with the gender marker **-nə** and **–bu.** Following are some of the examples of gender distinctions among animals:

Feminine	**Gloss**	**Masculine**	**Gloss**
ki:**nə**	Bitch	ki:**bo**	Dog
runə	Cow	ru-bo	Bull
sonə	Female mithun	so-bo	Male mithun

dʒapnə	Female duck	dʒap-bo	Male duck
bennə	Female goat	benbo	Male goat
be:nə	Female monkey	be:bo	Male monkey
darnə	Female cat	darbo	Male cat

Among the inanimate objects, gender distinction is made between sun and moon. Sun and moon are considered as divine and are worshipped where Sun is the mother, the life and light giver, more powerful which guide human during day, and Moon is the Father which guide during night. They are referred as:

Word	**Gloss**
anə doŋi	Sun mother
abu polo	Moon father

Other than Sun and moon, any object which are huge or large are considered as mother. Such as:

Word	**Gloss**
ron**nə**	Banyan tree
si**nə**	Big river
kum**nə**	Big house
rɨk**nə**	Big field
bə**nə**	Broad road

Another point to be noted is that there is no ***Gender Agreement*** in Adi. It will be clear from the following examples:

35. osi bɨ miri gok-duŋ
osi bi miri gok-dung
osi.F DEF song sing-PRES
'Osi is singing song'

36. obaŋ bɨ miri gok-duŋ
obang bi miri gok-dung
obang.M DEF song sing-PRES
'Obang is singing song'

As we can see from the above examples, Osi is a female and Obang is male. However, there is no grammatical gender marker or verb agreement to differentiate between feminine and masculine.

3.2.6 Determiner:

Adi has distinct definite and indefinite markers as elaborated below:

3.2.6.1 Definite:

Definiteness refers to a specific, identifiable entity. Adi nominal definiteness is marked by noun Phrase enclitics /*bɨ*/ and /*də*/. /*bɨ*/ marks only the proper or personal names and *də* marks the rest of the nouns other than proper or personal names.

/bi/*:** As said above, *bɨ* marks only the definiteness of proper names, such as in example (37), ***Osi is a proper name so *bɨ* marks Osi. In example (38), *aŋoŋ* 'Friend' has two implications: (i) it may refer to someone nicknamed as *aŋoŋ* 'Friend'[48] and (ii) it may refer to the common noun 'Friend'. So if the implication of (37) is (i), then the definite marker *bɨ* will occur to mark the definiteness of the proper noun, however, if it refers to the common noun 'Friend', or implication (ii), then the occurrence of *bɨ* would be prohibited as the definite marker *bɨ* cannot occur with other noun except for personal name. Now, regarding the etymology of *bɨ*, it is homophonous to the 2nd person singular pronoun 'He/she'. So, it can be safely interpreted that the earlier use of *bɨ* is somewhat like in example (39), and in the long run, it has been grammaticalized into definite marker.

37. osi bɨ miri gok-duŋ
    osi bi miri gok-dung
    osi.F DEF song sing-PRES
    'Osi is singing song'.

38. aŋoŋ bɨ miri gok-duŋ
    angong bi miri gok-dung
    friend DEF song sing-PRES
    'Friend is singing song'

[48]It is quite usual in Adi to nickname a friend as '*aŋoŋ'* instead of calling by the real name.

39. osi bɨ miri gok-duŋ
osi bi miri gok-dung
osi.F she song sing-PRES
'Osi **she** is singing song'.

***/də/*:**

də marks all the nouns, both animate and inanimate (as in example 40, 41and 42). Now, regarding the etymology of *də,* it is homophonous to demonstrative marker *də* 'That'. Perhaps the earlier use of this definite marker has some demonstrative inference like in example (43), which have been grammaticalized into definite marker later on.

40. ŋo ami də-m ka:-to
ngo ami de-m kaa-to
1st.SNG man DEF-ACC see-PST
'I saw the man.'

41. sita də mar-duŋ
sita de mar-dung
elephant DEF angry - PRES
'The elephant is angry.'

42. galuk də bet-duŋ
galuk de bet-dung
cloth DEF tear-PRES
'The cloth is torn'.

43. sita də mar-duŋ
sita de mar-dung
elephant that angry - PRES
'That elephant is angry.'

3.2.6.2 Indefinite:

Indefiniteness refers to an entity which is not capable of specific identification. In Adi indefiniteness is marked by the noun phrase enclitic ***ko*** and ***ək***, where the first marks the singular and later marks the plural. Such as:

/ko/: Indefinite Singular

44. ko -ko ɲok-kai
ko-ko nyok-kai
child-INDF.SNG missing-PST
'A child has gone missing'

45. ŋa:ŋa -ko kap-duŋ
ngaanga-ko kap-dung
baby-INDF cry-PRES
'A baby is crying'

In example (44), the speaker is not sure about the identity of *ko* 'Child'. In example (45) as well, the speaker knows that a baby is crying but cannot be definite about which baby is crying.

/ək/: Indefinite plural

46. bulu ati-ək ko-duŋ
bulu ati-ek ko-dung
3rd .PL something-INDF.PL sell-PRES
'They are selling something'

47. si:lo ami-ək a:-to
siilo ami-ek aa-to
today man-INDF.PL come-PST
'Some men came today'

Thus the overall definite and indefinite markers of Adi can be presented as the following:

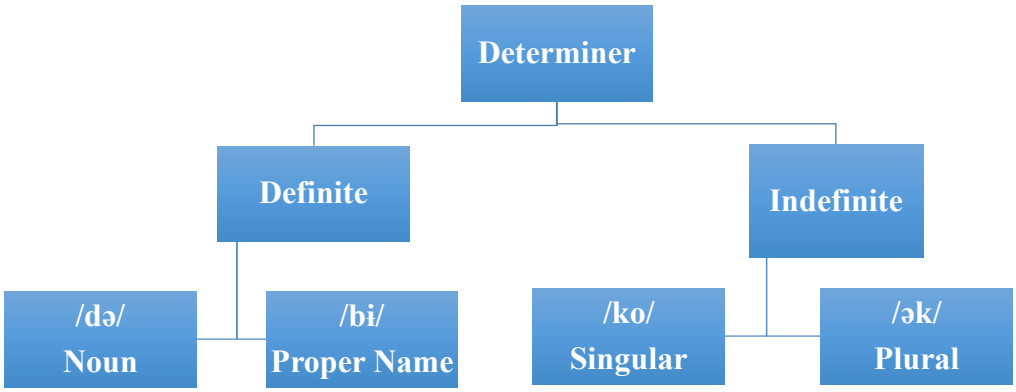


Figure 9: Determiners in Adi

3.2.7 Quantifier:

it refers 'to a set of items which express contrasts in quantity, such as *all*, *some*, *each*[49]. Quantifiers in Adi are:

i. **takam** 'All'

48. takam-ə gɨdum-lo a:laŋ-ka
takam-e gidum-lo aalang-ka
all-NOM gathering-LOC come-IMP
'Everyone come for gathering'

ii. **dəddɨ** 'Many/lot'

49. aba? dəddɨna abalə
aba deddina abale
EXC! many money
'Wow! Lots of money'

iii. **aɲoŋ** 'Small/little/some'

50. apim aɲoŋ-ko do-kɨ tola
apim ayong-ko do-ki tola
food little-INDF.SNG eat-try REQ
'Have little food'

[49] David Crystal (2008). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 6th Edition, Blackwell Publishing, Pg. 398.

iv. bodʒe ‘Many/lot’

51. aman bodʒe do-ma
aman boje do-ma
biscuit many eat-NEG
‘Do not eat lots of biscuits’

v. –rum (suffixed to verb) ‘One time use’

52. do-rum pak-ko
do-rum pak-ko
eat-QNT just-INDF.SNG
‘eatable, Just for one time’

vi. əbar ‘One Canonical shaped basket’

53. əsiŋ əbar-ko gə-bi
esing ebar-ko ge-bi
firewood one basket-INDF.SNG carry-BENF
'Carry (bring) me a basket of firewood'

vii. -bam ‘Mass or group’

54. ta-**bam**-ə mo:nam-lo je-duŋ
ta-bam-e moonam-lo ye-dung
elephant-group-NOM jungle-LOC live-PRES
‘The elephant group is in jungle’

viii. lakjum ‘One scoop of hand’

55. ambɨn lakjum-ko um-toka
ambin lakyum-ko um-toka
rice scoop of hand-INDF.SNG catch-IMP
‘Bring a handful of rice’.

3.2.8 Numeral:

Numeral is a class of words denoting numbers (e.g. thirty-three in English)[50]. In Adi has both cardinal and ordinal numeral systems as follows:

3.2.8.1 Cardinal:

In the words of Dryer 'Cardinal numerals are words denoting the number of things referred to'[51]. The cardinal numerals in Adi can be sub-grouped into **simple** and **derived.** Such as:

Simple Cardinal: Simple cardinal numerals range from 1-10. Such as:

Numerals	**Gloss**
atəl	one
anŋi	Two
aŋum	Three
appi	Four
akŋo/pilŋo	Five
akke	Six
kɨnɨt	Seven
pɨ:ɲi	Eight
konaŋ	Nine
ɨjiŋ	Ten

Further division can be made under simple cardinal number into two sets; the first set consist of 1-6 as they have vowel /a/ in their word initial position as shown above and the second set consist of 7-10 as they do not have /a/ in word initial position. It would not be very wrong to say that the first set (1-6) is the basic and primary numerals and the second set (7-10) seems secondary set. **pɨŋi** 'Eight' seems to be more of blending of *appi* 'Four' and *anŋi* 'Two' (see the rules of blending in Chapter 4: *Word Formation*) which would give the meaning 'two four (2x4)'. However, no explanation for other numeral of the second set could be formulated as of now.

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[50]http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Numeral

[51]Matthew S. Dryer 'Order of Numeral and Noun', *WALS.*

Derived Cardinal:

Derived cardinal numerals start form ten onwards. The numerals after ten are derived from the **simple** cardinal numerals.

For example:

12 = ɨjiŋ kolaŋ anŋi
iying kolang annyi
ten and two
'Twelve' (ten and two = twelve)

16 = ɨjiŋ kolaŋ akke
iying kolang akke
ten and six
'Sixteen' (ten and six = sixteen)

20 = ɨjiŋ anŋi
ten two
'Twenty' (two ten = twenty)

21= ɨjiŋ anŋi kolaŋ atəl
iying annyi kolang atel
ten two and one
'Twenty' (two ten and one)

Examples:

Numerals	Meaning	Gloss
ɨjiŋ kolaŋ atəl	ten and one	Eleven
ɨjiŋ anŋi	ten two	Twenty
ɨjiŋ anŋi kolaŋ atəl	ten two and one	Twenty-one
lɨŋko	-------	Hundred
lɨŋko kolaŋ aŋum	Hundred and three	One hundred three
lɨŋko-appi	hundred four	Four hundred
lɨŋko appi kolang appi	four hundred and four	Four hundred four
edʒar	-------	Thousand
edʒar-akke	thousand six	Six thousand

Table 23: Derived cardinal numerals in Adi

Cardinal numerals can also be blended with some selective nouns, especially with those alienable nouns which are commonly possessed by humans. Such as:

Noun	**numeral**	**meaning**	**blended noun**	**Gloss**
əkum	+ atəl	house one	kumtəl	'One house'
əkum	+ anŋi	house two	kumŋi	'Two houses'
əkum	+ aŋum	house three	kuŋum	'Three houses'
əso	+ atəl	mithun one	sotəl	'One mithun'
əso	+ anŋi	mithun two	soŋi	'Two mithuns'

3.2.8.2 Ordinal:

The ordinal numerals in Adi are mostly used for numbers or times of event (like two times or twice, 3rd times or thrice etc.). It does not stand for the position of some sequential related number such as third daughter, forth son etc.

Ordinal	**Gloss**
ləko	One time /Once
ləŋŋi	Two times/Twice
ləŋum	Three times/Thrice
ləmpi	Four times
ləmke	Six times
ləmdiкə	Everytime

Ordinal numbers can be reduplicated as well such as:

56.	ləko-ləko	a:-pat	toka
	leko-leko	aa-pat	toka
	once-once	come-visit	REQ
	'Do visit sometimes'		

Here reduplicated *ləko* 'Once' have the meaning 'Sometimes'.

3.2.9 Case:

Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads (Blake 2004: 1). Adi has Nominative-accusative case type. Following are the types of case relations and their respective markers in Adi.

	Case	Markers	Suffixes/clitics
1	Nominative	ə	Suffix
2	Accusative	əm, mə ~ m	Suffix
3	Dative	əm, mə ~ m	Suffix/clitic
4	Genitive	kə ~ k	Suffix/clitic
5	Locative	lo ~ l	Suffix/clitic
6	Ablative	lok/lokkə	Clitic
7	Instrumental	lok/kiŋ	Clitic

Table 24: Case markers in Adi

Nominative (NOM): "The term nominative (Greek onomastike¯, Latin no¯minatı¯vus) means 'naming'; the nominative is the case used outside constructions, the case used in isolation, the case used in naming. In most languages the nominative bears no marking, but consists of the bare stem; it owes its status as nominative to the existence of marked cases" (Black 2004:30). In Adi, Nominative is marked with the suffix /**-ə/** as in the examples below:

57. ko-**ə** apim do-duŋ
ko-e apim do-dung
child-NOM food eat-PRES
'Child is eating food.'

58. sa:r-**ə** do:jiŋ po-bo-je
sasr-e dooying po-bo-ye
sir-NOM story tell-lead-FUT
'Teacher will tell story.'

59. əkki-**ə** kjak-duŋ
ekki-e kyak-dung
dog-NOM bark-PRES
'Dog is barking'

In Adi, the nominative case is marked for all the nouns including animate and inanimate, except for proper noun and pronoun. The nominative noun is also found in both transitive and intransitive construction.

Accusative: Accusative is the noun which occurs as a direct object of a sentence. In Adi, accusative for Pronoun (PRN) and Proper Name (PN) is /mə/, and for Nouns (N) it is marked with /əm/. Such as:

Pronoun and Proper name

60.	ka:lɨŋ	ja:ŋ-mə	aja-duŋ
	kaaling	yang-me	aya-dung
	kaling.M	yang.F-ACC	love-IMPF
	‘Kaling loves Yang’		

61.	ram	bɨ-m~mə	tom-to
	ram	bi-m~me	tome-to
	ram.M	3rd.SNG-ACC	call-PST
	‘Ram called him/her’.		

Other nouns:

62.	ka:lɨŋ	ko-əm	aja-duŋ
	kaaling	ko-em	aya-dung
	kaling.M	child-ACC	love-IMPF
	‘Kaling loves child’		

63.	ka:liŋ	əkki-əm	aja-duŋ
	kaaling	ekki-em	aya-dung
	ka:ling.M	dog-ACC	love-IMPF
	‘Kaling loves dog’		

64.	ka:liŋ	galuk-əm	ətbɨn-to
	kaaling	galuk-em	etbin-to
	kaling.M	cloth-ACC	wash-PST
	‘Kaling washed cloth’		

Dative: Dative case (‘the dative’) typically expresses an indirect object relationship. In Adi, just like in case of Accusative, dative is marked by /mə/ for Pronoun and Proper Name, /əm/ for Noun. Such as:

/mə/ for Pronoun and Proper name:

65. oji aman-əm ŋo-mə bi-to
    oyi aman-em ngo-me bi-to
    oyi.F biscuit -ACC 1st .SNG(PRN)-DAT give-PST
    ‘Oyi gave the biscuit to me’.

66. oji aman-əm ka:liŋ-mə bi-to
    oyi aman-em kaaling-me bi-to
    oyi.F biscuit-ACC kaling.M (PN)-DAT give-PST
    ‘Oyi gave the biscuit to Kaling’.

/əm/ for Noun:

67. oji aman -əm əkki-əm bi-to
    oyi aman-em ekki-em bi-to
    oyi.F biscuit -ACC dog-DAT give-PST
    ‘Oyi gave the biscuit to dog’.

68. oji aman -əm ko-əm bi-to
    oyi aman-em ko-em bi-to
    oyi.F biscuit -ACC child-DAT give-PST
    ‘Oyi gave the biscuit to child’.

Genitive: Genitive is usually used to mark noun Phrases as dependents of nouns, i.e. it is primarily an adnominal case. Among its adnominal functions is the encoding of possessor…. (Blake 2004:5).’

In Adi, genitive is marked by two suffixes **-kə** and **-lok.** The former shows the possession possessed by proper names and pronouns and the latter shows the possession possessed by other nouns except for proper names and pronouns. Such as:

/kə/ for proper name and Pronoun: /kə/ can be realized as **k, kə** or **kkə** according to the environment in which they occur such as:

69. osi –k~kə galuk
osi-k~ke galuk
osi -GEN cloth
'Osi's cloth'.

70. bulu -k~kə galuk
bulu-ke galuk
3rd.PL-GEN cloth
'Their cloth'.

71. ŋo-k~kə ekum
ngo-k~ke ekum
1st.SNG-GEN house
'My house'

lok / lokkə for Nouns: the second genitive marker in Adi is **lok** or **lokkə.** These two occur in free variation and only with nouns. Such as:

72. midʒiŋ **-lok ~ lokkə** baŋgen-ə dir-to
mijing -lok ~ lokke nanggen-e dir-to
old man-**GEN** crutch-NOM break-PST
'Old man's crutch broke'

Locative:

It is used to '…..express the idea of location of an entity or action (Delancey 2008:287).'

In Adi, location case is marked with /lo/ which is suffixed to the noun such as:

73. ŋo-lu doluŋ-lo du: -to
ngo-lu dolung-lo duu-to
1st-PL village-LOC stay-PST
'We stayed in the village'

74.

solo	a: -to
solo	aa-to
here-LOC	come-IMP
‘Come here’	

75.

bəlum-lo	iman-ma
belum-lo	iman-ma
dirt-LOC	play-NEG.IMP
‘Do not play in dirt’	

the vowel of /lo/ can be omitted when the locative marker /lo/ is suffixed to an open word, n other words, the vowel become optional. such as:

asi + lo	→	asil(o)	In water
sa: + lo	→	sa:l(o)	In tea

Ablative: It refers to the form taken by a noun phrase which express ‘from’ or ‘out of’. Ablative is marked by /lok/ in Adi. Such as:

76.

bɨk-kə-lok	abal-əm	la:-po:-to
bik-ke-lok	abal-em	laa-po-to
3rd.SNG-GEN-ABL	money-ACC	take-borrow-PST
‘Money has been borrowed from him’		

77.

asi-ə	paip-lok	bɨt-tok	duŋ
asi-e	paip-lok	bit-tok	dung
water-NOM	pipe-ABL	drip-down	PRES
‘Water is dripping from pipe’.			

Instrumental: Instrumental case refers to the form taken by a noun phrase, often a single noun or pronoun, when it expresses the notion 'by means of'. Instrumental is marked by /lok/ or /kɨŋ/ as follow:

78. bɨ joksik -lok ojiŋ gat-to
bi yoksik-lok oying gat-to
3rd.SNG knife -INST vegetable cut-PST
'He/she cut vegetable with knife'.

79. məgap-kɨŋ hep-tola
megap-king hep-tola
forcep-INST clutch-IMP
'Clutch with forcep'

80. pəsi lok om-je
pesi lok om-ye
needle INST stitch-FUT
'Will stitch with needle'

3.2.10 Noun Classifiers:

The basic/simple nouns[52] of Adi uses various classifiers for different semantic entities. These classifiers determine the class of the noun according to their size, appearance etc. Morphologically, these classifiers get prefixed to the nouns. Following are the major classifiers:

a-	for	large number of basic nouns
si-	for	animal
pə-	for	birds, insects and reptiles
ta-	for	bodily excrements
ja-	for	colour
do-	for	weather, season, celestial body etc.

[52]'Basic noun here stands for the nouns which are not derived, inflected, compounded, reduplicated or blended.

Before delving into the examples, I would like to make it clear that these classifiers occur only with some selective nouns of that classified entity. This generalization has been drawn as there are almost always exceptions in all the seven major classes. I will discuss all these classifiers systematically by describing their structure, semantics and exceptions.

/a-/ :

Classifier a- is prefixed to vast number of basic nouns like nouns representing body parts, nature, food, numeral etc. Some of the examples of the entities that this classifier classifies are:

Semantic types	Terms	Gloss
Human	a- mi	Man
Nature	a-moŋ	Land
	a-sar	Wind/air
	a-si	Water
Food	a-lo	Salt
	a-pim	Food/rice
	a-dɨn	Meat
Body parts	a-mɨl	Body
	a-lak	Hand
	a-tuk	Head
Numeral (1-6)	a-təl	One
	a-ŋum	Three
Possession	a-rəm	Iron
	a-bal	Money
	a-rɨk	Cultivation Field
Kinship	a-nə	Mother
	a-bɨŋ	Elder brother
Feelings	a-jaŋ	Love
	a-dɨr	Sadness

Table 25: Classifier /a-/

/si-/:

The classifier **si-** is prefixed to the name of animals. This classifier **si-** is derived from the common term for animal ***simon***. Thus the first syllable **si**- of the word **simon** acts as a classifier to mark the class of animal. For example:

Term	**Gloss**
si- ta	'Elephant'
si- mjo	'Tiger'
si- dum	'Deer'
si- pjaŋ	'Jackal'
si- ra	'Wild boar'
si- beŋ	'Monkey'

Table 26: Classifier /si-/

However, there are exceptions of this classifier. Some of the animals do not get this prefix **si-**, rather some of them are termed by their appearance or look such as:

Name	**meaning**	**Gloss**
takar	star	Leopard
sitoŋ rudoŋ	river bank long ear	Rabbit

takar literally means 'Star', so since the leopard has star like spots on their body, they have been named according to their appearance. In the case of rabbit, *sitoŋ* means 'River bank' and *rudoŋ* means "long ear'. So the literal meaning of *sitoŋ rudoŋ* is 'the long eared animal found in river bank'.

/pə-/:

The common term for bird is /pəttaŋ/. So the first syllable pə- of the word pəttaŋ is prefixed in all the name of the birds. Thus this prefix pə- functions as a classifier of the noun class 'Bird'. Further, this prefix is also extended to hen, duck, owl etc. For example:

Term	Gloss
pə- rok	Hen
pə- dʒab	Duck
pə- roŋ	Pigeon
pə- ke	Parrot
pət- tun	Owl
pə- sin	Wild hen
pə-kɨ	Dove
pə-gaŋ	Horn bill
pə-ku dʒu:dʒuk	-----
pə-ŋu	-----
pə-rɨk	-----

Table 27: Classifier pə-

The exceptions here are:

Birds	Gloss
sogum	'Vulture'
lə:tot	'Peacock'
tik tik	----------
osoŋ	----------
e:dʒo kiro	Myna
kirik	Malachite sunbird

/**ta**-/ :

The classifier **ta**- marks small creatures like insects, reptiles, bugs etc. such as:

Term	Gloss
ta-pat	Leech
ta- mit	House fly
ta- ŋut	Bee
ta- ruk	Ant
ta- ri	Bug
ta- bɨ	Snake

ta- ke	Crap
ta- tɨk	Frog
ta- sum	Prawn
ta- ɲo	Snail

Table 28: Classifier ta- for insects

The exceptions here are:

doŋkal	Earthworm
komki	Praying mantis

Another classifier /ta-/ is prefixed to body excrements. Such as:

Terms	**Gloss**
ta- je	Stool/Excrement
ta- kil	Saliva
ta- ɲop	Mucus (of nose)
ta- rɨ	Wound
ta-sut	Pus

Table 29: Classifier ta- for bodily waste

Exceptions here are:

Adi	**Gloss**
miksi	Tear
əsi	Urine
rupuk rujuk	Ear wax
miksol	Eye wax
abat	Vomiting
ɨlnam	Sweat

/ja-/:

Prefix ja- is prefixed to the colour terms. Adi identifies 7 (seven) major colours, viz.; black, white, green, blue, red, pink and yellow. Other colours are mere extensions of these major colours. Such as *geliŋ* 'Orange' is identified as an extension or part of *jage* 'Yellow'. Other colours like maroon, violet, purple etc. have no terms.

Term	Gloss
ja- siŋ	‘White’
ja- liŋ	‘Red’
ja- ge	‘Yellow’
ja- jiŋ	‘Green’
ja- muk	‘Blue’
ja- ka	‘Black’

Table 30: Classifier ja-

Again, the exception here is *komboŋ* ‘Pink’. The literal meaning of the term *komboŋ* is ‘Flower of peach fruit’. So the colour term komboŋ ‘Pink’ is a semantic extension of the peach fruit tree flower, hence, it does not get the classifier /ja-/.

/do-/:

The classifier **do-** occurs with some of the nouns representing weather, climate, or celestial body. Such as:

Term	Gloss
do- muk	Cloud
do- ɲi	Sun
do- mir	Thunder
doŋ- gup	Monsoon
do- rəŋ	Sunny
do- ji	Winter wind

Table 31: Classifier do-

However, it does not occur with all the nouns of the same category mentioned above such as:

Term	Gloss
po:lo	Moon
takar	Star
lobo	Summer
ja:ri	Lightning

3.3 ADJECTIVE:

Adjective is traditionally said to be mofier of the noun is a most controversial lexical class. Unlike Noun and Verb, Adjective lacks clarity in its definition. According to Haspelmath "adjectives are sometimes like function words in that they form a rather small, closed class. For instance, Tamil (southern India) and Hausa (northern Nigeria) have only about a dozen adjectives……..…many languages appear to lack adjectives entirely, expressing all property concepts by words that look like verbs or like nouns"[53].

The adjectives in Adi are no less blurry in continuance to the above citation. The adjectives take many faces as shown below:

3.3.1 Adjective as modifier of noun:

81. mɨmə kampo.
    mime kampo
    Girl beautiful
    'Beautiful girl'

82. ami bodoŋ.
    ami bodong
    man tall
    'Tall man'

83. galuk jalɨŋ
    galuk yaling
    cloth red
    'Red cloth'

In the above examples, the adjectives occur as modifier to noun and when they occur as modifier, they almost always follow the noun.

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[53] Haspelmath, M. (2001). *Word Classes and Parts of Speech* in the book *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Macmillan Reference USA, pg. 16542

3.3.2 Adjective as noun:

Usage of an adjective as noun is very common in Adi. The nominalizer /-na/ which has the meaning 'the one' is suffixed both to adjective and verb to nominalized it. Such as:

84. mɨmə kampo-na.
mime kampo-na
Girl beautiful-NOMZ
'The girl who is beautiful'

85. ami bodoŋ-na.
ami bodong-na
man tall-NOMZ
'The man who is Tall'

86. galuk jaliŋ-na
galuk yaling-na
cloth red-NOMZ
'The cloth which is red'

So when nominalizer /-na/ is suffixed to the adjective, it can both follow or precede the noun such as *mɨmə kampo-na* can be *kampo-na mɨmə*. And after taking nominalizer, it can also take suffixes of noun like case marker, plural suffixes '*kɨdɨ'*, indefinite marker *'ko'* etc. Such as:

87. kampo-na-ə iŋkolo?
kampo-na-e ingkolo
beauty-NOMZ-NOM where?
'Where is the beautiful one?'

88. jaliŋ-na-ko
yaling-na-ko
red-NOMZ-INDF
'A red one'

89. bodoŋ-na kɨdɨ-ə
bodong-na kidi-e
tall-NOMZ PL-NOM
'Tall ones'

3.3.3 Adjective as verb:

The adjective also takes verbal suffix like tense and polarity (negative) marker. such as:

90. bɨ kampo-duŋ/to/je
bi kampo-dung/to/ye
she beautiful-PRES/PST/FUT
'She is/was/will be beautiful'

91. bɨ kampo-maŋ
bi kampo-mang
she beautiful-NEG
'She is not beautiful'

Apart from these, the structure of adjectives can be broadly classified into simple and derived. Such as:

Simple adjectives:

Adjectives	**Gloss**
təbək	Heavy
əssaŋ	Light
rəmak	Soft
rəjiŋ	Cold
antʃing	Cold
pamki	Hot
i:gaŋ	Warm
pɨrɨl	Round
tolnam	Hard

Derived adjectives: Derived adjectives are adjectives which ***are*** or ***can be*** derived from noun or verb such as:

Adjective particle /po/ 'Good/nice'

tat + po	hear + ADJ	'Nice to hear/good voice'
do + po	eat + ADJ	'Good taste'
gə + po	wear + ADJ	'Good to wear'
nam + po	smell + ADJ	'Good smell'

Adjective particle /ŋil/ 'Ugly'

tat + ŋil	hear + ADJ	'Funny to hear (Ugly voice)'

Adjective particle /ku/ 'Old'

kum + ku	house + ADJ	'Old house'
bu + ku	Father + ADJ	'Grandfather'
luk + ku	Cloth + ADJ	'Old cloth'
am + ku	Grain + ADJ	'Old grain'

In Adi, Attributive adjectives can both precede and follow the noun, later being more preferred. Such as:

Attributive Adjective following noun: In the following examples, the adjectives ***anɨ*** 'New', ***kampona*** 'Beautiful one' and ***jasina*** 'White one' follow the nouns.

92. galuk anɨ
galuk ani
cloth new
'New cloth'

93. mimə kampona
mime kampona
girl beautiful
'Beautiful girl'

94. ati jasina
ati yasina
thing White
'White thing'

3.4 VERB:

3.4.1 Classification of verbs:

In Adi, verbs can be classified into **simple** and **derived** verbs. Simple verbs are monosyllabic and derived verbs are either derived from simple verbs or formed by combining two verbs as described below:

Simple Verbs: simple verbs are monosyllabic Such as:

Syllabic structure	Verbs	Gloss
V	a:	Come
	ɨ:	Ask
	o	Fall
	u	Rear
CV	gɨ	Go
	do	Eat
	du	Sit
	la:	Take
VC	ap	Shoot
	ok	Itch
	uk	Shout
	ip	Sleep
CVC	pok	Jump
	man	Speak
	gom	Hug
	jak	Lick
CCVC	kjak	Bark
	bjak	Migrate

Since simple verbs are monosyllabic, they cannot stand alone. So they obligatorily take suffix as can be seen in the example below:

95. bɨ apim-əm **do-su-to**
bi apim-em do-su-to
3rd .SNG food-ACC eat-VR-PST
'He ate the food himself'

96. no gɨ-su-to
no gi-su-to
2nd .SNG go-VR-IMP
'You go yourself'

97. ka: -tɨ -ma
kaa-ti -ma
see -REP-NEG.IMP
'Do not keep looking'

3.4.2 Derived verbs:

As said above, derived verbs are either derived from simple verbs or formed by combining two verbs, hence, derived Verbs are disyllabic:

Verb			**Verb**			**Derived verb**	**Gloss**
ip	'Sleep'	+	ŋar	'Sound'	→	ipŋar	Snore
i	'Do'	+	bɨn	'Away'	→	ibɨn	Clean
duk	'Run'	+	ɲok	'Missing'	→	dukɲok	Elope
rat	'Scratch'	+	bɨn	'Away'	→	ratbɨn	Shave
ok	'Tie'	+	sul	'Pass through'	→	oksul	Hang
mɨ:	'Think'	+	ɲok	''Missing'	→	mɨ:ɲok	Forget

Causatives:

Causative is marked when the subject cause something to someone. In Adi causative is marked by the particle ***/mo/*** which is suffixed to the verb such as:

98. ka:liŋ ŋo-mə akor at-mo-to
kaaling ngo-me akor at-mo-to
Kaling.M 1st.SNG-DAT word write-CAU-PST
'Kaling made me to write'

99. ko-kɨdi-əm so a: -mo-to
ko-kidi-em so aa-mo-to
child-PL-ACC here come-CAU-IMP
'Let the children come here'

100. kandari-əm adɨn-əm do-mo ma-pəka
kandari-em adin-em do-mo ma-peka
cat-DAT meat-ACC eat-CAU NEG-IMP
'Do not let the cat eat the meat'

3.4.3 Compound verb:

Compound verbs are verbs which are formed by combining two verbs but function as a single verb. Compound verbs are abundantly present in Adi. Such as:

101. apim-əm **do-jin** ma-pəka
apim-em do-yin ma-peka
food-ACC eat(V1)-finish (V2) NEG-IMP
'Do not finish the food'

102. pa:p-na ami-ə **mɨ: -lat** su-to
paap-na ami-e mii-lat su-to
sin-NOMZ man-NOM think(V1)-back(V2) VR-PST
'The Sinner repented'

103.	no-k	agom-əm	**tat-lɨ**	maŋ
	no-k	agom-em	tat-li	mang
	2nd .SNG-GEN	word-ACC	hear(V1)-like(V2)	NEG
	'I don't want to hear you'			

104.	apim-ə	do-po	duŋ
	apim-e	do-po	dung
	food-NOM	eat-good	PRES
	'Food is tasty'		

3.4.4 Conjunct verb:

Conjunct verbs in Adi are formed by combining a noun or an adjective with a verb. The structure of conjunct verb in Adi is ***Noun/Adjective + Verb (Verbalizer).*** Such as:

105.	dumpoŋ	kinam-ə	ɨ-duŋ
	dumpong	kinam-e	i-dung
	head	pain-EMP	do-PRES
	'Head is aching'		

106.	ŋo	bɨm	ajaŋ-ə	iduŋ
	ngo	bim	ayang-e	i-dung
	1st.SNG	2nd-ACC	love-EMPH	do-PRES
	'I love him'			

3.4.5 Reflexive verbs (RV):

Verbal reflexive (VR) is marked by suffixed /-su/. There are numerous verbs which are marked by reflexive to denote self action (see section 5.5. for details in verbal anaphor). In the following examples, /-su/ denotes verbal reflexive:

RV	**Gloss**
ɨrsu	Bath
pesu	Swear
kumsu	Pray
mosu	Wash
nəsu	Jealous
ansu	Caution/alert

3.4.6 Reciprocal verbs (RECV):

reciprocal of verb is marked by /mɨn/ (see section 5.5. for details in verbal anaphor). In the following examples /mɨn/ marks verbal reciprocal:

RECV	**Gloss**
momɨn	Fight
lumɨn	Quarrel
gɨmɨn	Follow
bommɨn	Marry

3.4.7 Order of Verb and Verbal inflections

The verb inflections discussed above occurs in a systematic order.

107. gɨ-su-mo-ma-je-pə
gi-su-mo-ma-ye-pe
V -VR-CAUS-NEG-TENS-ADV
'May not let him go alone'

If the order is altered, either the meaning of the sentence change or it becomes ungrammatical. The order is exemplified in the sentence below:

* gɨ- ma –su –mo -je-pə (sentence become ungrammatical)
* gɨ-su-mo-je -ma -pə (Change in meaning. Here, /ma/ is no more a Negative particle.
* gɨ- pə-su-mo-ma-je (Change in meaning)
* gɨ-mo-su-je-ma-pə (Here, the sentence become affirmative. Meaning of Modal 'May' and Negation is lost).

3.4.8 Types of verbal stems:

Intransitive: The verb which takes only one argument is called intransitive verb. The lone argument of intransitive verb acts as subject of the sentence which is marked with Nominative case marker. In Adi, intransitive verbs like *ip* 'sleep', *a:* 'come', o 'Fall' etc. do not take an object such as:

108. oji ip-duŋ
oyi ip-dung
oyi sleep-PRES
'Oyi is Sleeping'

109. odʒiŋ-ə kap-duŋ
ojing-e kap-dung
Baby-NOM cry-PRES
'Baby is crying'

110. bodʒe-ru: -pə pədoŋ o-duŋ
boje-ru-pr pedong o-dung
heavy-EMPH-ADV rain fall-PRES
'Its raining heavily'

Transitive: Intransitive are the verbs which take two argumens, one as subject and another as direct object. The tense like ***ajaŋ*** 'Love' ***rə-*** 'Buy' ***do-*** 'Eat' etc. takes direct object where subject is marked with nominative marker and object is marked with Accusative marker. Such as:

111. oji ka:baŋ-mə aja-duŋ
oyi kaabang-me aya-dung
oyi ka:bang-ACC love-PRES
'Oyi loves Kabang'

112. ŋo ojiŋ rə-to
ngo oying re-to
1st.SNG vegetable buy-PST
'I bought vegetables'

113. əkki-ə apim do-duŋ
ekki-e apim do-dung
dog-NOM food eat-PRES
'Dog is eating food'

Ditransitive: Ditransitive verbs like bi- 'Give', ko- 'Sell'etc. take three arguments where subject is marked by nominative case, direct object is marked by Accusative case and Indirect object is marked by Dative case. Such as:

114.	oji-bɨ	ka:baŋ-mə	aman (-əm)	bi-to
	oyi-bi	kaabang-me	aman (-em)	bi-to
	oyi.F-NOM	kabang.M-ACC	biscuit	give-PST
	'Oyi gave buiscuit to Kabang'			

115.	ŋo	arɨk-əm	opaŋ- mə	kolɨk -to
	ngo	arik-em	opang-me	kolik-to
	1st.SNG	field-ACC	Opang.M-DAT	sell-PST
	'I sold the field to Opang'			

116.	aseŋ-bɨ	oji-mə	kitab-əm	rə-bi-to
	aseng-bi	oyi-me	kitab-em	re-bi-to
	Aseng.F-NOM	Oyi.F-DAT	book-ACC	buy-BENF-PST
	'Aseng bought a book for Oyi'			

3.4.9 Tense:

Tense is the term "referring primarily to the way the grammar marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb took place. Traditionally, a distinction is made between past, present and future tenses[54]". Adi exhibits all the three tenses as represented below:

Present Tense (PRES):

Present tense is marked by the marker /-duŋ/ which is suffixed to the verb such as:

117.	ŋo	apim	do-duŋ
	ngo	apim	do-dung
	1st .SNG	food	eat-PRES
	'I am eating food'		

[54]David Crystal (2008). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 6th Edition, Blackwell Publishing, Pg.: 479.

118.	bɨ	ip-pala	gərəp	duŋ-ku	
	bi	ip-pala	gerep	dung-ku	
	3rd .SNG	sleep-after	rise	PRES-back	
	‘He is up after sleeping’				

119.	ŋolu	takam-ə	ləkopə	miri	gok-duŋ
	ngo-lu	takam-e	lekope	miri	gok-dung
	1st -PL	all-NOM	together	song	sing-PRES
	‘We are singing song together’				

Past Tense (PST): Adi exhibits three kinds of past tense as presented below:

Past tense /kai/:

past tense /-kai/ is used when the action is very recent. Suppose a man went to market and is not back yet, then /kai/ is used. Such as:

120.	bɨ bodʒar gɨkai		
	bi	bojar	gi-kai
	he	market	go-PST
	‘He (just) went to market’		

121.	bulu	ən-kai
	bulu	en-kai
	they	travel-PST
	‘They (just) left’	

So when. /-kai/ is used, it is known that the action has been commended but not yet completed.

Past tense /-tuŋ/:

past tense /-tuŋ/ is used when the action has been recently completed. such as:

122.	bɨ	bodʒar gɨ-tuŋ	
	bi	bojar	gi-tung
	he	market	go-PST
	‘He went to market’		

123. nolu dopjo-tuŋ ai?
no-lu doppyo-tung ai?
you-PL steal-PST right?
'You have stolen right?'

Past tense /-to/:

Past tense /-to/ is used for action which happened in the past. Such as:

124. ŋo apim do-to
ngo apim do-to
1st.SNG food eat-PST
'I ate food'

125. bɨ ip-pala gərəp-to
bi ip-pala gerep-to
3rd.SNG sleep-after rise-PST
'He got up after sleeping'

126. ŋolu miri gok-to
ngo-lu miri gok-to
1st -PL song sing-PST
'We sang song'

The difference between these three past tenses lie in time. /-kai/ is recent and yet to be completed, /-tuŋ/ is completed but recent, and /-to/ is completed and may be/may not be recent. Another difference is in the *Grammatical Person* associated with the use of these tenses. With /-kai/, only third person (both singular and plural) can occur. This is because, it is always (first person) telling (second person) about third person.

The past tense /-tuŋ/ can only take third person when the sentence is in statement form. But it can also take second person when it is in question form. The third past tense /-to/ can take all the persons.

Future Tense: Future tense is mark with /je/ and it is suffixed to the verb. Such as:

127. ŋo apim do-je
ngo apim do-ye
1st .SNG food eat-FUT
'I will eat food'

128. bɨ ip-pala gə:rəp je-ku
bi ip-pala geerep ye-ku
3rd .SNG sleep-after rise FUT-back
'He will get up after sleeping'

129. ŋolu miri gok-je
ngo-lu miri gok-ye
1st .PL song sing-FUT
'We will sing song'

Hence, from the above data, it is clear that Adi has distinct three-way tense contrast, wherein Present tense is marked with /duŋ/, Past tense with /to/ and future tense with /je/. It is to be noted, that present tense marker /duŋ/ is homophonous to Imperfective marker. And past tense marker /to/ is homophonous to imperative marker.

3.4.10 Aspect:

It primarily refers to the way the grammar marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb[55]. Adi differentiates between perfective and imperfective aspects in the following manner:

3.4.10.1 Imperfective:

types of imperfective aspects in Adi are:

Habitual (HAB): The action which is done repetitively by default is marked with an adverb or with markers /tɨ/buŋ/dɨk/jar/. These markers have same meaning of habitual or iterative aspects and occurs in free variation. Such as:

[55]Ibid. pg 38

130.	ŋo	lo:dɨkə arɨk	ən-duŋ	
	ngo	loodikearik	en-dung	
	1st .SNG	daily field	go-IMPF	
	'I go to field everyday'			

131.	bɨ	sigret	tɨ: -jar	duŋ
	bi	sigret	tii –yar	dung
	3rd.SNG	cigarette	drink-HAB	IMPF
	'He smokes cigarette regularly'			

132.	apoŋ	tɨ:-tɨ-na	abu-ə	iŋkolo
	apong	tii-ti-na	abu-e	ingkolo
	wine	drink-HAB-NOMZ	father-NOM	where
	'Where is the man who regularly drinks'			

Progressive (PROG): The action which is or were being performed during the time of making the statement are marked with /duŋ/ which is basically a present tense marker but progressive aspect is inherent. Such as:

133.	ŋo-ɲi	iman	duŋ
	ngo-nyi	iman	dung
	1st-DL	play	PRES
	'We two are playing'		

134.	bulu	apim	do-duŋ
	bulu	apim	do-dung
	3rd.PL	food	eat-PRES
	'They are dining/they are eating food'		

135.	osi	ɨrsu-duŋ
	osi	irsu-dung
	osi.F	bath-PRES.PROG
	'Osi is bathing (herself)'	

Perfective (PERF): Perfective aspect is inherent in past tense marker /to/. Such as:

136. ŋo delhi ən-to
ngo delhi en-to
1st.SNG delhi travel-PST.PERF
'I went to Delhi'

137. mənŋniŋ bodʒe ru:-pə pədoŋ o-to
mennying boje ruu-pe pedongo-to
last year heavy EMPH-ADV rain fall-PST.PERF
'Last year it rained heavily'

3.4.11 Mood

Imperative (IMP): An imperative usage ('an imperative') refers to verb forms or sentence/clause types typically used in the expression of commands. Imperative in Adi is marked by /to/ which is suffixed to the verb. Such as

138. ager i-to
ager i-to
work do-IMP
'Do work'

139. gə:-rəp-to
gee-rep-to
rise-up-IMP
'Rise up'

140. əgə-əm ət-bɨn-to
ege-em et-bin-to
cloth-ACC wash-away-PST
'Wash the cloth'

Imperative can also be in prohibitive mood which can be termed as **Prohibitive imperative.** Prohibitive imperative is marked with negative particle /ma/. Moreover, to make the prohibition more commanding, /ma/ is strongly stressed. such as:

141. solo apoŋ tɨ:-ma
solo apong tii-ma
here wine drink-NEG.IMP
'Do not drink here'

142. mo-mɨn su-ma
mo-min su-ma
fight-VREC VR-NEG
'Do not fight (with each other)'

143. tatjem tatjem man-ma
tatyem tatyem man-ma
loud loud say-NEG
'Do not speak loudly/noisily'

Indicative: It refers to verb forms or sentence/clause types used in the expression of statements and questions.

144. bɨ ŋo-k anə
bi ngo-k ane
3rd.SNG 1st.SNG-GEN mother
'She is my mother'

145. ŋo bɨ-m aja duŋ
ngo bi-m aya dung
1st.SNG 3rd.SNG-ACC love PRES
'I love her'

146. ŋo so-lok ru:tum -ə
ngo so-lok ruutum-e
1st.SNG here-LOC leader-AUX
'I am the head of this place'

Subjunctive: Subjunctive denotes a mood of verbs expressing what is imagined or wished or possible such as:

147.	bɨ	ai-ku	mɨlo	ŋo	ase-je
	bi	ai-ku	milo	ngo	ase-ye
	2nd.SNG	good-back	if	1st .SNG	happy-FUT

'If he recovers, I will be happy'

148.	ŋo	mirəm	mɨlo	opan-əm	igul-je
	ngo	mirem	milo	opan-em	igul-ye
	1st.SNG	rich	if	poor-ACC	help-FUT

'If I am rich, I will help the poor'

149.	ŋo-k	mɨnamə	no	so	a:do	mɨlo
	ngo-k	miname	no	so	aado	milo
	1st .SNG-GEN	think	2nd.SNG	here	come	if

'I want you to come here (*Lit.* my thinking is, if you come here)'

3.4.12 Negation:

A process or construction in grammatical and semantic analysis which typically expresses the contradiction of some or all of a sentence's meaning. In Adi, Negation is expressed by particle /ma/ which is suffixed to the verb. Such as:

150.	no-lu	a:-ma	mɨlo	ŋo	mar-je
	no-lu	aa-ma	milo	ngo	mar-ye
	2nd .PL	come-NEG	if	1st.SNG	angry-FUT

'If you all do not come, I will be angry'

151.	bɨ	ai-ma-na	ami-əm	aja-maŋ
	bi	ai-ma-na	ami-em	aya-mang
	3rd.SNG	good-NEG-NOMZ	man-ACC	love-NEG

'He does not love the bad person'

The word for 'Enough' in Adi is 'alummaŋ' the literal meaning of which is 'Enough not'. Here, the positivity is expressed by negative particle. Some more examples of the same types are:

Words	**Gloss**
dolummaŋ	'Enough to eat'
tɨlummaŋ	'Enough to Drink'
gəlummaŋ	'Enough to Wear'

152.	bulu	əgə-galuk-ə	gə-lum-ma:-pə	ka-duŋ
	bulu	ege-galuk-e	ge-lum-maa-pe	ka-dung
	3rd.PL	cloth-blouse-NOM	wear-enough-NEG-ADV	have-PRES
	'They have enough cloths to wear'			

Also, the word 'Bad' is formed by inflecting Negative particle to the word 'Good'. Such as:

ai + maŋ good+NEG (good not) → Bad

3.5 ADVERBS:

It refers to a heterogeneous group of items whose most frequent function is to specify the mode of action of the verb[56]. In Adi, adverbs precede the verb as followed:

153.	bɨ	ətət-pə	gɨ-duŋ
	bi	etet-pe	gi-dung
	3rd.SNG	slow-ADV	walk (V)-IMPF
	'He walks slowly'		

Adverbs, especially manner adverbs can be reduplicated for emphatic expression. Such as:

154.	bɨ	**ətət-ətət**-pə	gɨ-duŋ
	bi	**etet-etet-**pe	gi-dung
	3rd.SNG	slow-slow-ADV	go-IMPF
	'He walks slowly'		

[56] Ibid. pg 14

other examples of adverbs are:

Time:

Present

supak	Now
siloməlo	Nowadays
silo	Today
siɲiŋ	This year

Past:

məlo	Yesterday
konno	Day before yesterday
konno məlo/məlo konno	In earlier days
mənɲiŋ	Yesteryear
konɲiŋ	Year before yesteryear
konɲiŋ mənɲiŋ	In earlier Years
Konɲiŋa	Many years before
kərapə	Before

Future:

ɲampo	Tomorrow
re:	Day after tomorrow
roke	2nd day after tomorrow
kekon	3rd day after tomorrow
keɲiŋ	4th day after tomorrow
lunɲiŋ	Next year
lunkəɲiŋ	Year after next year
su:	Later
su ɲampo	Many years/days after

Manner

adol	Late
mənaŋ	Fast
taijem	Noisy
bəijo	Slowly

3.6 SUMMARY:

In Adi, demonstrative pronouns generally indicate the directions of north, south and east/west and location from the point of speaker. Adi differentiates between singular, dual and plural pronoun where dual and plural are marked for all 1st, 2nd and 3rd person. Duality is marked obligatorily for pronouns, but for nouns, it marks only some specific nouns. Plural is marked differently for nouns and pronouns. Gender distinction is made to some specific nouns and there is no gender agreement in Adi. Definiteness is marked differently for proper names and other nouns. Cardinal numeral is blended with some specific nouns to show the number of the nouns concern. Ordinal numbers are used mostly to indicate the times of event like twice, trice etc. rather than positions of sequenced nouns like 2nd, 3rd etc. Adi has Nominative-Accusative case type with 7 distinct case relations viz. Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Locative, Ablative, Instrumental and Genitive. The case relation markers can be an affix or a clitic. Adi also has various noun classifiers. Adi has distinct three-way tense contrast, wherein Present tense is marked with /duŋ/, Past tense with /to/ and future tense with /je/.

CHAPTER 4: WORD FORMATION

The study of word-formation can be defined as the study of the ways in which new complex words are built on the basis of other words or morphemes. In sum, there is a host of possibilities speakers of a language have at their disposal (or had so in the past, when the words were first coined) to create new words on the basis of existing ones, including the addition and subtraction of phonetic (or orthographic) material (Plag 2002: 17)

In this chapter, I will describe the major word formation processes in Adi which are *Derivation, Reduplication, Compounding and Blending.* All these four processes are crucially important in Adi word formation as we shall see it below.

4.1 DERIVATION:

Derivation is new lexemes that are formed with prefixes and suffixes on a base are often referred to as derived words, and the process by which they are formed as derivation (Rochelle Lieber 2009:33). Derivation in Adi are as follow:

4.1.1 Verb → Noun

The verb is change to a noun with the suffixation of a nominal particle /-na/ as in the examples below:

Verb		**Nominalizer**		**Derived word**	
i- 'Do'	+	na	→	ina	'Doer'
a:- 'Come'	+	na	→	a:na	'Comer'
jat- 'Lie'	+	na	→	jatna	'Liar'
tom 'Call'	+	na	→	tomna	'Caller'
mo- 'Dance'	+	na	→	mona	'Dancer'

Example:

155. mo:nam -lo ami do-na ka-duŋ
moonam-lo ami do-na ka-dung
jungle -LOC man eat-NOMZ be-PRES
'There is man eater in the jungle.'

156. aman do-na ka-du-n?
biscuit eat-NOMZ have-PRES -INT
'Is there anyone who eats biscuit? (*Lit*. 'Is there a biscuit eater?')'

Including /-na/, following are some of the most commonly suffixed nominal particles (Nominalizers) in Adi.

Nominalizer	**Meaning**
-na	Doer of action
-ko	Place/Source of performing action
-kəŋ	Thing used in performing action

Examples:

Verb	**Gloss**	**Suffix**	**Gloss**	**Derived**	**Gloss**
ki-	'Sick'	-na	'Doer'	kina	'Sick person'
ip-	'Sleep'	-na	'Doer'	ipna	'Sleeping person'
do-	'Eat'	-ko	'Place'	doko	'Eating place'
ko-	'Sell'	-ko	'Place'	koko	'Selling place'
do-	'Eat'	-kəŋ	'an object use for keeping /placing something'	dokəŋ	'An object use for eating like plate'

Another way to derive nouns from verbs without suffixation of nominalizer is by changing the class of verbs to nouns. For example:

Verb		**Noun**
doŋoŋ 'Eating halfway'	→	doŋoŋ 'Leftover'
doruk 'Finished by eating'	→	doruk 'Waste of food/plate'
doman 'Eating for fun'	→	doman 'Party'
dɨrtuŋ 'To break'	→	dɨrtuŋ 'Broken piece'
ka:lɨŋ 'Desire to see'	→	ka:lɨŋ 'Name for male with the meaning *one desired to be seen*'

Like in above examples, many verbs are used as nouns or vice-versa as shown in the examples below:

Example:

***doŋoŋ* 'Eating halfway' (Verb)**

157. ŋo apim do-ŋoŋ duŋ
ngo apim do-ngong dung
1st.SNG food eat-half PRES
'I am on the half way of eating food.' (*Lit.* I am half eating food')

***doŋoŋ* 'Leftover' (Noun)**

158. apim do-ŋoŋ ka-du-n?
apim do-ngong ka-du-n
food eat-half have-PRES-INT
'Is there (any) leftover?' (*Lit.*Is there half eaten food?)

In Adi, there are certain verbal idioms and phrases which have nominal connotations such as:

	Verbal idioms		**Nominal Meaning**
a.	mɨji-mɨsaŋ	'Thinking down- thinking up'	'Intention'
b.	iji-isaŋ	'Doing down-up'	'Behavior'
c.	doji-dosaŋ	'Eating down-up'	'Eating habit/style'
d.	gəji-gəsaŋ	'Wear down-up'	'Dressing style'
e.	luji-lusaŋ	'Talking down-up'	'Talking style'

Such as:

159. bi-k iji-isaŋ-ə kampo maŋ
bik iyi-isang-e kampo-mang
2nd-GEN do up-do down beautiful-NEG
'His behaviour is not good'
(*Lit.* His behaviour is no beautiful)

4.1.2 Modifier → Noun

Just like in case of derivation from verb, noun is also derived from modifier by suffixing nominalizer **-na** 'Doer' to the modifier. Such as:

Modifier		**Nominalizer**		**Derived word**
bodoŋ 'Tall'	+	na	→	bodoŋna 'Tall one'
andeŋ 'Short'	+	na	→	andeŋna 'Short one'
aɲɲiŋ 'Shy'	+	na	→	aɲɲiŋna 'Shy one'

4.1.3 Noun → verb

Noun to verb derivation is simply done by changing class of the noun and without suffixation of any verbal particle.

Noun	→	**Verb**
əːdʒo 'Old woman'	→	əːdʒo 'Becoming old'
mimum 'Young woman'	→	mimum 'Young (F)'
hakɨk 'Hiccup'	→	hakɨk 'Hiccup'

In the above example, nouns like *əːdʒo* 'old woman', *mimum* 'Young woman' are used as verb also as they take verbal suffixes like *tense* as in the following example:

160. bɨ mimum-to
2nd.SNG young-PST
'She was young'
(*Lit.* She younged')

4.1.4 Noun → Modifier:

A noun can also be made as modifier by suffixing particle /*pə*/.

Noun	**Modifier**
ami 'Human'	amipə 'As a human'
dɨgɨŋ 'Winter	dɨgɨnpə 'Wintery'
mimə 'Girl'	miməpə 'As a wife'
kusereŋ 'Medicine'	kusereŋpə 'As a medicine'

4.2 REDUPLICATION:

Reduplication is the process of repeating or duplicating either a full word or just the part of a word. Reduplication is one of the important word formation processes in Adi . The importance lies not just in the duplication of a word or part of it, but in the meaning of the duplicated part which cannot be expressed merely with the non-duplicated word. To describe it systematically, I would follow the framework laid down by Anvita Abbi (1992) as follows:

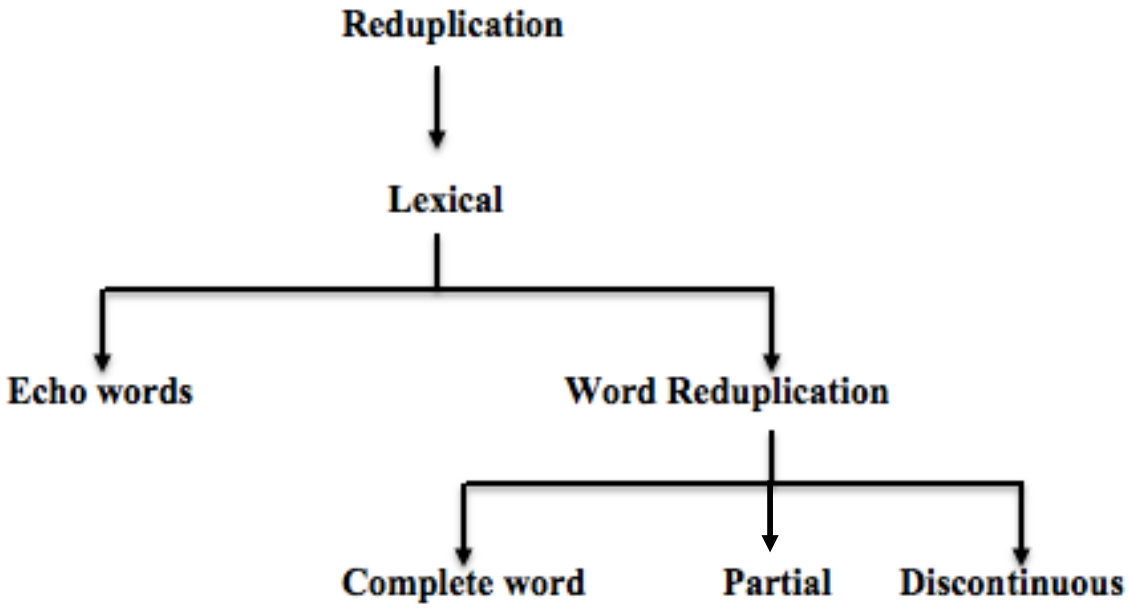

Figure 10: Reduplication (Abbi 1992)

4.2.1 Lexical Reduplication:

Following are the types of lexical reduplication found in Adi:

4.2.1.1 Echo formation:

"An echo words are partially repeated form of the base word, partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme (which can be either a consonant or a vowel) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable" (Abbi 1992:20).

The data of echo words in Adi shows that Adi has distinct echo words of its own. Distinct in the sense it has the structures (and semantics) which are not very similar to the echo formation of other South Asian languages and thus warrants in-depth research. The data interpretation of the echo words structures and semantics are as follows:

Structure: The replacer sound unit can replace the phoneme of either the first syllable or the second syllable. Normally language can have one or two replacers in echo words, however, Adi data shows three active replacers /**s/, /r/,** and /**j/** which is quite unusual. Moreover, there are words which have random echo formation and also words which have no echo formation at all.

Example:

Replacer /s/ in first syllable:

In the words which have consonant in initial position, the replacer ***s*** replaces the first consonant as given in example a – e below. However, in the words which have vowel in initial position, the replacer /***s/*** is merely added before the first vowel as given in example f - j.

	Echo-Word	**Gloss**
a.	mura sura	'Stool made of bamboo'
b.	nappaŋ sappaŋ	'Mouth etc.
c.	ɳoruŋ soruŋ	'Ear etc.'
d.	doŋoŋ soŋoŋ	'Left over etc.'
e.	tamit samit	'Fly etc.'
f.	apim sapim	'Food etc.'
g.	amik samik	'Eye etc.'
h.	ajaŋ sajaŋ	'Love etc.'
i.	abal asal	'Money etc.'
j.	ojiŋ sojiŋ	'Vegetable etc.'

Another possibility in the above examples is that the replacer /**s/** can also be put in the second syllable of the echo word irrespective of the sound in initial position i.e. consonant and vowel.

Relplacer /r/ in second syllable:

a.	ɲokkam ɲokram	'Nose booger etc.'
b.	ukkam ukram	'Scorch etc.'
c.	asum arum	'Small group etc.'
d.	kumtək kumrək	'Extra house etc.'
e.	abuk aruk	'Postule etc.'

f.	soŋkək sorək	'Thin etc.'
g.	takam taram	'Tiny branches'
h.	atak arak	'Dots etc.'
i.	ekam eram	'Residue of excretion'

Replacer /***r/,*** unlike replacer /***s***/, does not have the flexibility of occurring in any position or syllable. It has to replace the onset of the second syllable. As can be seen above, it also simplifies the consonant cluster in example (a) and (b) above.

Replacer /j/ in second syllable

a.	dɨrtuŋ dɨrjuŋ	'Half broken etc.'
b.	dopak dojak	'Leftover etc.'
c.	rupuk rujuk	'Ear wax'
d.	aput ajut	'Bubbles'
e.	asi aji	'Watery/wetness'

Replacer /***j***/, like replacer /***r***/, has to replace the onset of the second syllable and cannot occur in word initial position.

Words with random Replacer

The following words show some random echo words which do not include any of the sound units or replacers mentioned above. Such as:

a.	satoni patoni	'Chutney etc.'
b.	seraŋ maraŋ	'Stuffs etc.'
c.	saŋ tasaŋ	'Tea etc.'
d.	sakoni pakoni	'Tea strainer etc.'
e.	ippu rappu	'Bedding etc.'

Words with no echo formation

There are many words which do not have equivalent echo words. Such words usually have /**s/** in the word initial position such as:

	Words	**Gloss**
a.	sita	'Elephant'
b.	simjo	'Tiger'

c. soben ‘Goat’
d. sibeŋ ‘Monkey’
e. soki ‘Chair’

Semantics of echo word: Generally, echo words “conveys the sense of ‘etc.’ and ‘things similar to’ or ‘associated with that’, etc.” (Abbi 1992:20). However, in Adi it is used:

1. for *attenuation* as in example (i) below.
2. To mean *etcetera* as in example (ii) below.

Example:

161. ŋo mimə-simə mɨ:-maŋ
ngo mime-sime mii-mang
1st.SNG girl-EW want -NEG
‘I do not want any girl’.

162. aman asan ko-kom ka-maŋ
aman-asan ko-kom ka-mang
biscuit-EW SNG -also have -NEG
‘There is not biscuit etc. as well’

In example (161), *mimə* ‘Girl’ has been attenuated by adding echo-word and the speaker expresses that girl is least important to him. In second example, echo-word add the meaning of ‘Things like biscuit’.

4.2.1.2 Word Reduplication:

Word reduplication which is one of the important lexical reduplications “refers to the total or partial bimodal reduplication, meaning thereby repetition of the base of the word or the stem (Abbi 1992: 24)”. Word reduplication consists of:

i. Complete reduplication:

Complete word reduplications, where a word is fully duplicated, are in abundance in Adi. In the following examples we can see that the word **əkum ‘**House’ in example (0 below), ami ‘Man’ in (164 below) and **bedaŋ ‘**Road’ in (165 below) have been fully copied or duplicated.

163. bɨ **əkum-əkum**-lo ip-go duŋ
bi ekum-ekum-lo ip-go dung
2nd.SNG house-house-LOC sleep-around IMPF
'He/she sleeps around every house.'

164. **ami-ami** agom -ə
ami-ami agom-e
man-man word -AUX
'Different people's word.'

165. **bedaŋ bədaŋ**-lok gɨ-laŋka
bedang bedang-lok gi-langka
road road ABL go-IMP
'Go by road only.'

Semantics: The complete word reduplication usually has two semantics implications:

(i) Exclusiveness and
(ii) Distributiveness

The reduplication for exclusiveness usually denotes the sense of 'only' as in example (165 above) above and (166 below). For exclusiveness, as in example (166 below), instead of using ***pətom*** 'Only' as in example (167 below), the noun has been reduplicated. Thus the semantics of the sentence in (166 below) would be 'Bring only the beautiful one and not the ugly one'.

166. kampo kampo na-əm la -laŋka
kampo kampo na-em la-langka
beautiful beautiful NOMZ-ACC take-IMP
'Take (only) the beautiful one'.

167. kampo -na ***pətom***-əm la -laŋka
kampo-na petom-em la-langka
beautiful -NOMZ only-ACC take-IMP
'Take (only) the beautiful one'.

On the other hand, the reduplication in example (168 below) has distributive attribution, so to say it denotes the sense of 'Each and every'.

168.	ŋo	doluŋ doluŋ -lo	ən-go:-to
	ngo	dolung dolung-lo	en-goo-to
	1st.SNG	village village -LOC	travel -around- PST

'I travelled around each and every village'.

However, the semantics of the sentence in (168) is quite context dependent. Without presenting the context, the meaning would be ambiguous. It can have both **Exclusiveness**[57] (as in (169 below) and **Distributive** meaning as in (170 below). Hence the ambiguity can be cleared only with the help of context.

169.	taun lo	ənlɨ	ma-na-m	ləgapə	*ŋo*	*doluŋ-doluŋ*-lo	*əngoto.*
	taun-lo	enli	ma-na-m	legape	ngo	dolung-dolung-lo	engoto
	town-LOC	travel	NEG-NOMZ-ACC	for	I	village-village-LOC	travelled

'For (I) did not want to travel to town, I went ***only*** to villages.'

170.	kobor	bigonam	ləgapə	ŋo	*doluŋ-doluŋ-lo*	əngo:to
	kobor	bigonam	legape	ngo	dolung-dolung-lo	engooto
	news	circulate	for	I	village-village-LOC	travelled

'For giving the message, I travelled to ***each and every*** village.'

ii. Partial reduplication:

Partial reduplication is another important reduplication process in Adi and it is of two types which are:

a. Only the second syllable of a word is reduplicated as in example 25.
b. Second syllable is copied and a new syllable is added to it as in example 26.

Both basic/underived nouns and derived nouns can be partially reduplicated as follow:

[57]In case of Exclusiveness, it would mean 'I travelled around only to the villages and not anywhere else'.

Partial reduplication of basic/underived nouns:

Partial reduplication of basic nouns results in formation of another noun (as given in table below, especially in kinship terminology) and it can be only of type (a). As it can be seen in table below, the terms for maternal aunts and uncles are the results of partial reduplication of the terms for fraternal aunts and uncles.

Fraternaluncle	**Rank**	**Maternaluncle**	**Maternalaunt**	**Gloss**
pa***tə***	'Eldest uncle'	tətə	tətə	'Eldest uncle/untie'
pa***joŋ***	'Second eldest'	jojoŋ	jojoŋ[58]	'secondeldest uncle/untie'
pa***tum***	'Third eldest'	-----	tutuŋ	'Third eldest untie'
pa***ji***	'Youngest uncle'	jiji	------	'Youngest uncle'.

Table 32: Partial reduplication for kinship term.

Partial reduplication of derived nouns:

On the other hand, the partial reduplication of derived nouns results in forming semantic extension rather than forming another noun (as in example 171 and 172 below) and can be of both (a) and (b) types. The semantic extension resulted out of partial reduplication of derived nouns like **si si** (in 171a) **rasi** (172b.c) etc. express ***accentuation.*** Since they are not lexeme, they cannot stand alone without being preceded by their base.

[58] ŋ is deleted because of ŋ deletion rule.

	Example:	Word	Partial reduplication	Gloss
171.				
a.	jasi	**si si**		‘Very bright or white ’
b.	kaŋil	**ŋil ŋil**		‘Extreme ugliness one’
172.				
a.	antʃo	**tʃoli**		‘Very small’
b.	bottə	**təlləŋ**		‘Very big’
c.	jora	**rasi**		‘Very black/dark ’
d.	jaji	**jitə**		‘Very green’
e.	bodʒe	**dʒellə ŋ**		‘Very large amount’

iii. Discontinuous reduplication:

Discontinous reduplication which is a “kind of reduplicated structures that are disjoined by an interfixation of a syllable (which could be a V, or VC, or CV)” (Abbi 1992:27). Discontinuous noun reduplications in Adi are few. Instead, modifier discontinuous reduplication is more than that of noun reduplication. Semantically, the discontinuous reduplication exhibits a sense of ***emphasis*** or ***accentuation*** as in following examples:

Pronoun:

173. no ruŋ no
no rung no
2nd.SNG EMPH 2nd.SNG
‘It is/was you (only)’.

174. bɨ ruŋ bɨ
bi rung bi
3rd. SNG EMPH 3rd.SNG
‘It’s him’

Noun:

175. ami də ami
ami de ami
man DEF man
'Too many people'

176. alaŋ əi alaŋ
alang ei alang
soup EMPH soup
'Gravy all over'

177. adɨn əi adɨn
adin ei adin
meat EMPH meat
'Meat all over.'

Verb:

178. doje ruŋ doje
doye rung doye
eat-FUT EMPH eat-FUT
'Will eat anyhow'

Modifier:

179. kampo də kampo
kampo de kampo
beautiful DEF beautiful
'Very beautiful'

4.3 COMPOUNDING:

Compounding is the formation of new word by joining at least two bases (words or morphemes) from existing vocabulary which function independently in other circumstances. Compounding is a very common and important word formation process in Adi. In this section I will describe the structure and types of compounding in Adi.

4.3.1 Structure:

The possible structures of Adi compounds are:

(i) Word + word: In word + word compound, two different words are fully joined together and form a new word. Such:

	Word1	Word2		Compound word
1.	arəm 'Iron' +	tadok 'Bead'	→	arəm-tadok 'Property'
2.	asi 'Water' +	arɨk 'Field'	→	asi-arɨk 'Wet paddy field'
3.	tani 'human' +	amoŋ 'Land'	→	tani-amoŋ 'Earth'
4.	du:nam 'To Sit' +	daknam[59] ' To Stand'	→	du:nam-daknam 'Living (noun)'
5.	təjoŋ 'Up' +	amoŋ 'Land'	→	təjoŋ-amoŋ 'Heaven'
6.	təjoŋ 'Up' +	ami 'Man'	→	təjoŋ-ami 'Phantom'
7.	tabɨ 'Snake +	ɲa:ɲi 'Aunt'	→	tabɨ-ɲa:ɲi 'Centipede'
8.	ləbiŋ 'Knee' +	ko:niŋ 'Bend'	→	ləbiŋ ko:niŋ 'Kneel'
9.	əkər 'Active' +	əssaŋ 'Light'	→	əkər- əssaŋ 'Healthy'
10.	buku 'Grandfather' +	nəku 'Grandmother'	→	buku-nəku 'Ancestor'
11.	mikmo 'Face'	+ ləpaŋ 'Calf'	→	mikmo-ləpaŋ 'Appearance'
12.	ta:tum 'Bear'	+ ləpjo 'Foot sole'	→	ta:tum ləpjo 'Ursa Major'

The word + word compound can consist either of two nouns or a noun and a modifier where modifier sometime precede or follow the noun. Since verbs in Adi are bound morphemes, I do not consider them under word-word noun compound.

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[59]In the word dunam – daknam, **dunam** 'To sit' is derived from verb ***du*** 'Sit' by adding the nominalizer **nam** in the verb. Same is the case with **daknam** 'To stand'.

(ii) Root[60]+ (bound) morpheme:

Here, ***a root of a noun*** and ***a bound morpheme*** are joined together to form a new compound word. Such as:

	Root		Bound Morpheme			Compound word
a.	liŋ 'Stone'	+	-dor	'Flame'	→	lɨdor 'Meteor'
b.	lak 'Hand'	+	-dʒum	'Support'	→	lakdʒum 'Crutch'
c.	si 'Water'	+	-pjar	'Splash'	→	sipjar 'Tide'
d.	əl 'Throw'	+	-pak	'Away'	→	əlpak 'Throw away'
e.	ip 'Sleep'	+	-ŋar	'Sound'	→	ipŋar 'Snore'
f.	mik 'Eye'	+	-maŋ	'Negation'	→	mikmaŋ 'Blind'

This kind of compounding can be Noun, Verb and modifier.

4.3.2 Semantics:

semantically, compound words in Adi can be divided into two parts:

(i) Compositional:

In compositional, the semantics of a compound noun is totally based on the compounding words, so to say, the meaning is transparent. Such as:

Compound word	Meaning	Gloss
a. kumsuko-əkum	prayer house	'Temple'
b. gɨ:daŋ-lamge	front yard – back yard	'Yard'
c. asi-tapa	water-pumpkin	'Pumpkin'
d. omə-o:	daughter-son	'Children'
e. əgə-galuk	Wraparound-Blouse	'Cloth'
f. əso-go:ru	'Mithun-cow'	'Cattle'
g. pədoŋ-asi	'Rain-water'	'Bad/rainy weather'

---

[60]"root" in this thesis refers to two aspects.

Firstly, it stands for a ***whole noun*** which remains after subtraction of all the affixes.

such as: in ***nolum*** (no 'you'+ lu 'Plural' + m 'Objective') ***no*** is the root after subtraction of the affixes ***lu*** and ***m.***

Secondly, it stands for the ***part of a noun*** which represents the whole noun or a kind of that noun. Such as: ***əmə*** 'Fire' = mə*as in***mə**kol 'Coal'. Here, **mə** is considered as the 'root'.

Root here in (ii) stands for the second aspect of root given above. Hence the root is basically the second syllable of the noun.

(ii) Modified:

Another type of semantics of compound is formed by modifying the meaning of compounded words. Such as, in the example below *doŋi-polo* which means 'Sun-moon' does not mean the physical Sun and moon, rather it implies a sense of humanity, kindness, gentleness etc. This is because in Adi belief, sun and moon are considered to be god or a divine body which guide human throughout day and night and this sense of divinity is extended to human nature as in example (a) below. Same is the case with *ɲobuŋ nappaŋ* example (b) below which literally means 'Nose-mouth', however, its implication is not restricted only to the physical nose and mouth, rather extended to the whole face.

Compound word	**Meaning**	**Gloss**
a. doŋi-polo	sun-moon	'Kind/Humble etc.'
b. ɲobuŋ nappaŋ	nose-mouth	'Face'
c. asi amoŋ	water-land	'Environment/atmosphere'

Example:

180.	obaŋ	doŋi-polo	na-ko
	obang	donyi-polo	na-ko
	obang.M	sun-moon	NOMZ-INDF.SNG.
	'Obang is a gentleman.'		(*Lit.* Obang is sun-moon one)

4.3.3 Compound head: Head and headless

Now, regarding the headedness of the compound, out of 50 (fifty) random compound words collected, 30 of them are ***copulative compounds***, 15 are ***endocentric compounds*** and remaining 5 are ***exocentric compounds*** (see Appendix 2). Hence we can come to the conclusion that headless compound (copulative compound) pervades over headed compounds (endocentric compound) in Adi. Now I would present these three compounds along with their examples:

4.3.3.1 Copulative compound[61]:

Katamba defines copulative compounds as "From a semantic point of view, the coupled elements are of equal status, with neither element being regarded as the head that dominates the entire word. Copulative compounds are not semantically opaque. Rather, each element characterizes a separate aspect of the meaning of the entire word" (Katamba 1994:321). Copulative compounds consist of two nouns such as (see Appendix 2 for more examples):

	Noun-Noun	Meaning	Gloss
a.	əgə - galuk	cloth-blouse	'Clothing'
b.	anə - abu	mother-father	'Parent'
c.	domɨr - jari	thunder-lightning	'Thunder-lightning'
d.	buku-nəku	old father-old mother	'Ancestor'
e.	rokpɨ - take	egg-ginger	'Mixed of ginger egg (chutney)'

4.3.3.2 Endocentric compound:

The endocentric compounds can consist of noun+noun as in (a) and (b) below, noun+modifier as in (c), modifier+noun as in (e).

	Word	Meaning	Gloss
a.	asi arɨk	water-field	'(wetland) Paddy field'
b.	pori babu	study-master	'Teacher'
c.	galuk-anɨ	cloth – new	'New cloth'
d.	təjoŋ amoŋ	up-land	'Heaven'
e.	radaŋ gaŋ	middle-pillar	'Middle pillar (of house)

When compound is formed by two nouns as in example (a), generally (but not always), the first noun function as a modifier and thus modifies the second noun. Such as in (a), *asi arɨk* (water-field) '(Wetland) Paddy field' is a compound noun comprising of two nouns. So, basically the first noun *asi* 'Water' has an adjectival function of modifying the second noun *arɨk* 'Field'. So the second noun *arɨk* 'Field' determine the semantic of the whole compound and thus becomes the head of this compound noun implying the meaning 'a kind of field where there is water'.

[61]As per Katamba (1994:321), Copulative compound is dual headed from a syntactic point of view, in other word, both the words are considered as head, however, from a semantic point of view, it is headless as non of the word act as head. Here, I am looking at them from semantic point of view, hence treating them as headless compound.

4.3.3.3 Exocentric compound:

Exocentric compounds are "headless compounds which do not contain an element that functions as the semantic head which is modified by the non head elements" (Katamba 1994: 318). As said above, exocentric are few in numbers and they are usually constituted of two nouns. None of the nouns neither modifies nor does function as head, rather, it renders a new lexical meaning which is not very explicit from the words, in other words, the meaning is opaque. Such as, in the example (a) below, ***ədʒo kiro*** literally means 'Old women's canonical shaped basket', however, this compound neither refers to the old woman nor to her basket, it is a name of a bird. These compounds refer to a third element not present in any of the constituents of the compound.

Such as:

	Exocentric compound	**Meaning**	**Gloss**
a.	ədʒo kiro	old woman-basket	'Mynah'
b.	tatum ləpjo	bear-sole	'Ursa major'
c.	sita ləpjo	elephant-sole	'Bread in round shape'

4.3.4 Headedness: left or right hand head:

In the endocentric compounds, as per their lexical classes, the head can occur as follows:

a. Noun + noun → Right headed
   Example: asi arɨk
   water field
   '(wetland) Paddy field'

b. Modifier + noun → Right headed
   Example: təjoŋ amoŋ
   up land
   'Heaven'

c. Noun + modifier → Left headed
   Example: galuk anɨ
   cloth new
   'New cloth'

d. Noun + Verb → Left headed

Example: si pjar

water splash

'Tide'

From the above, we can see that the head can occur both in right (as in a and b above) and left (as in c and d). When the frequency of occurrence was observed, 85% of the head usually occurs at right. So to say, noun + modifier and noun + verb compounds are by far fewer than noun + noun and modifier + noun compounds. Hence, we can conclude that, the endocentric compounds in Adi are usually right headed.

4.4 BLENDING:

Blending, which is typically the fusion of two clipped words, is one of major word formation processes in Adi language. Blending is done in Adi by joining the ***second syllable of two words*** and since the verbs in Adi are monosyllabic, blending cannot take place in verbs and thus it is restricted only to disyllabic nouns and modifiers (adjectives and adverbs Structurally, such as:

Word1		**Word2**		**Blend word**
amik 'Eye'	+	amɨt 'Hair'	→	mikmɨt 'Eyebrow/eyelash'
galuk 'Cloth'	+	anɨ 'New'	→	luknɨ 'New cloth'
si:pjak 'Cotton'	+	atkoŋ 'Stick'	→	pjakkoŋ 'Spindle'
əjek 'Pig'	+	alə 'Leg'	→	jeklə 'Pig leg'
tabɨ 'Snake'	+	jajiŋ 'Green'	→	bɨjiŋ 'Flying snake'
abal 'Money'	+	atəl 'One'	→	baltəl 'One rupee'

Semantically, most of the blend word retains the meaning of its source words. The semantics of blending is also extended to the noun classifier. The first syllable of the blend word may also function as a classifier. Such as:

Classifier: **/mə/** is clipped from the word **əmə** 'Fire' and is used as a classifier for anything related to fire as in examples below:

Word	**Gloss**
məpi	'Spark'''
məjo	'Flame'
məru	'Torch'
mətbu	'Ash'
mərom	'Fireplace'
məkol	'Charcoal'
mərap	'Suspended platform above fireplace'

Apart from classifier, another important domain of blending is in ***Partonomic relation of human body.*** Those body parts which are considered to be in part-whole relationship (example 1 below) go under the process of blending and those parts which are not in part-whole relationship (example 2 below) refrain from the process.

	Word1	**Word2**	**Blend word**	**Gloss**
1.	a**mik** 'Eye'	ap**ɨ** 'Egg'	mik**pɨ**	eyebrow/eyelash
	alə 'Leg'	anə 'Mother'	lənə	'Thump toe'
	njoruŋ 'Ear'	abel 'Soft'	ru:bel	'Earlobe'
2.	nappaŋ 'Head'	ajo 'tongue'	*paŋjo	------

note: * = ungrammatical

4.5 SUMMARY:

The major formation processes in Adi are Reduplication, Derivation, Compounding and Blending. Adi echo words has three active Replacers; **/s/**, /**r/** and /**j/**. Echo words give the sense of **attenuation** and **generality**. Echo words are restricted in some of nouns; most of those nouns have /**s/** in word initial position. Complete noun reduplication is found in abundance in Adi and is use to imply ***distributiveness*** and ***exclusiveness.*** Partial and discontinuous reduplication are also present in Adi and are used to indicate ***accentuation.*** Compounding is a common word formation process in Adi. Headless compounds (copulative compounds) are more frequent than headed compounds. The rule of blending in Adi is ***'second syllable of both the words'.*** Blended words maintain semantic transparency.

CHAPTER 5: SYNTAX

5.1 WORD ORDER IN ADI:

Word order is systemamtic arrangement of syntactic elements in the sentence of a language. "One of the primary ways in which languages differ from one another is in the order of constituents, or, as it is most commonly termed, their word order. When people refer to the word order of a language, they often are referring specifically to the order of subject, object, and verb with respect to each other, but word order refers more generally to the order of any set of elements, either at the clause level, or within phrases, such as the order of elements within a noun phrase." (Dryer 2000:3). Languages which have fixed word-order are called *configurational languages*; and language which have flexible word-order are *non-configurational languages*

The subject, object, verb word order in Adi is as follows:

181. ŋo apim do-duŋ
ngo apim do-dung
I food eat-PRES
'I am eating food'

182. osi apim do-duŋ
osi apim do-dung
osi food eat-PRES
'Osi (F) is eating food'

183. əkki-ə apim do-duŋ
ekki-e apim do-dung
dog-NOM food eat-PRES
'Dog is eating food'

Like most of Tibeto-Burman langauges, Adi also has Subject + Object + Verb (SOV) word order or in other words Adi is verb final language. According to Dryer "there are some

languages in which only one order is permitted and other languages in which more than one order is permitted. Among languages of the latter sort, one can further distinguish languages in which one order is used more frequently than others from languages in which this is not the case[62]". Adi falls to the the category where more than one words order is permitted while keeping SOV as the preferable one. So the possible word order in Adi are:

SOV:

184. ŋo apim do-duŋ
ngo apim do-dung
I food eat-PRES
'I am eating food'

SVO:

185. ŋo do-duŋ apim
ngo do-dung apim
I eat-PRES food
'I am eating food'

OVS:

186. apim do-duŋ ŋo
apim do-dung ngo
food eat-PRES I
'I am eating food'

VSO:

187. do-duŋ ŋo apim
do-dung ngo apim
eat-PRES I food
'I am eating food'

[62] Matthew S. Dryer, *Determining Dominant Word Order*, WALS, Chapter 91.

VOS:

188. do-duŋ apim ŋo
do-dung apim ngo
eat-PRES food I
'I am eating food'

While SVO is the most preferred one, OVS is next in the line of preference. The rest (SVO, VSO and VOS) is possible but not used at least not without any grammatical particle especially case marker. They are usable with addition of grammatical particle such as:

VOS:

189. do-duŋ-ai apim-əm ŋo
do-dung-ai apim-em ngo
eat-PRES-do food-ACC I
'I do eat food'

In the above sentence, addition of particles *-ai* and *-əm* has change the semantics of the sentence slightly however, it validates the use of word order VOS. So it can be said that SVO, VSO and VOS word order are valid and are commonly used in more complex sentences with required grammatical particles and that SVO and OVS are used in simple sentence making. Since Adi is not confined to a single or fixed word order, it can be categorized under non-configurational languages.

5.2 DIRECT OBJECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT ORDER:

Direct object:

Direct object is a person or thing that is the recipient of the action of a ***transitive*** and ***intransitive verb*.** Since it is the direct recipient of the action, it is called as *direct object.* This is termed as ***Theme*** in Thematic role theory. Such as 'Chicken' in '*He sold the* ***chicken'.*** It will be represented as DO**.**

Indirect object:

refers to someone or something that occurs in addition to a direct object in ***ditransitive verbs*** and indicates the person or thing that receives what is being done or given. In

other words, they are indirect recipient of the action. It is termed as ***benefactive*** in Thematic role theory as it is for the benefit of indirect object the action was performed. It will be represented as **IO**.

The Direct object and Indirect object order in Adi is as follow:

190. no ŋo-m (IO) abal (DO) bi-maŋ
no ngo-m abal bi-mang
you I-DAT money give-NEG
'You did not give money to me'

191. osi obaŋ-mə (IO) abal(DO) bi-maŋ
osi obang-me abal bi-mang
osi(F) obang(M)-DAT money give-NEG
'Osi(F) did not give money to Obang(M)'

192. ŋo əkki-əm(IO) apim (DO) bi-to
ngo ekki-em apim bi-to
I dog-DAT food give-PST
'I gave food to the dog'

In the above examples, it is clear that *indirect object* occurs before *direct object* in Adi giving the order of S + IO + DO +V. And both indirect and direct objects occur between noun and the verb. So the above sentences still follow the SOV word order of the language. However, since Adi does not have fixed word order as mentioned above, even the position of direct and indirect objects can be altered giving the possible order of the following:

S+DO+IO+V:

193. ŋo apim-əm (DO) əkki-əm(IO) bi-to
ngo apim-em ekki-em bi-to
I food-ACC dog-DAT give-PST

‘I gave the food to the dog’

IO+DO+V+S:

194.	əkki-əm(IO)	apim (DO)	bi-to	ŋo
	ekki-em	apim	bi-to	ngo
	dog-DAT	food	give-PST	I
	‘I gave food to the dog’			

IO+S+DO+V:

195.	əkki-əm(IO)	ŋo	apim (DO)	bi-to
	ekki-em	ngo	apim	bi-to
	dog-DAT	I	food	give-PST
	‘I gave food to the dog’			

DO+S+IO+V:

196.	apim-əm (DO)	ŋo	əkki-əm(IO)	bi-to
	apim-em	ngo	ekki-em	bi-to
	food-ACC	I	dog-DAT	give-PST
	‘I gave food to the dog’			

As seen above, alteration of IO and DO is quite possible with addition of require case marking (which is not discussed here and it has been described in *case* section in Chapter 3).

5.3 SENTENCE-TYPES

5.3.1 Interrogative sentence

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) discuss several different ways of classifying questions. One of them is based on how the question defines the set of required answers. From this perspective, questions can be divided into three classes: polar questions, alternative questions and variable questions. What they call variable questions is those calling for an open range of answers, that is wh-questions ‘Who is that man?’ ‘Where are we going?’. Alternative questions, on the other hand, are questions typically requiring one of two or more choices explicitly given in the

question ‘Do you want tea or coffee?’.....A polar question calls for a choice between two polarity values: affirmative or negative. Therefore, the answers to the question ‘Is it ready?’ can be either ‘It is ready’ or ‘It is not ready’, equivalently ‘Yes’ or ‘No’. Consequently, the alternative name yes-no question is also widely used for this type of question” (Yaisomanang 2012:16).

5.3.2 Yes/No Questions:

This is a term which refer to types of question where a grammatical reply will be of the *yes or no* type. Cross-linguistically, there are various way to form yes/no questions in different languages. One can use raising intonation, a particle or a clitic, or a verbal affix to mark a yes/no question (Kroeger 2005: 203). Adi uses all these three two of these strategies. The decision of which one to be used for particular occasion depends upon the person to whom the question is asked and in what context. Questions that seek an answer of ‘yes’ or ‘no’ in Adi are formed in the following ways:

i. with an interrogative particle /a/
ii. with the interrogative particle /n/ affixed to verb;
iii. with an interrogative particles /ja/, /nɨa/, /nəja/ /nadɨ/ at clause final position;
iv. with raising intonation

The basic constituent order in yes-no question remains same. The addition of yes-no question particle does not change the order of the constituent as presented in the declarative sentence and yes-no question below:

197. bɨ agom tat-maŋ
bi agom tat-mang
3rd.SNG word hear-NEG
‘He does not listen’

198. bɨ agom tat-ma-n?
bi agom tat-man
3rd.SNG word hear-NEG-INT
‘Does not he listen?’

With Interrogative Particle /n/

Particle /n/ is the most formal one among the interrogative markers. It can occur with first, second and third person and also with present, future and past tense as illustrated in the examples below:

199. ŋo-lu iŋko-lo gɨ-je-n?
ngo-lu ingko-lo gi-ye-n?
1st-PL where-LOC go-FUT-INT
'Where will we go?

200. no ai-du-n?
no ai-dun?
2nd.SNG good-PRES-INT
'Are you all right?'

201. bɨ apim do-to-n?
bi apim do-to-n?
3rd.SNG food eat-PST-INT
'Did you eat food?'

particle /n/ is basically suffixed to verbal particles (like tense, aspect, negative marker etc.) and adverbial particle. It compulsorily occurs in word final position. as shown in the examples below:

/verb+NEG+INT/

202. bɨ do-ma-n?
bi do-ma-n?
3rd.SNG eat-NEG-INT
'Does not he eat?'

/verb+NEG+FUT+INT/

203. bɨ do-ma-je-n?
bi do-ma-jen?
3rd.SNG eat-NEG-FUT-INT
'Will not he eat?'

/verb+ADV+NEG+FUT+INT/

204. do-po-ma-je-n bɨ?
do-po-ma-je-n bi?
eat-ADV-NEG-FUT-INT 3rd.SNG?
'Will not he eat (now/first)?'

With Interrogative Particle /nɨa/

/nɨa/ is used when asking a person directly and expect a direct answer from him/her. So the person asked is expected to give an active response or to say that the answer he replies is his own and that he is not reporting someone else opinion. It has more certainty aspect.

205. no bɨ-m aja du-nɨa?
no bi-m aya du-nia?
2nd.SNG 3rd.SNG-ACC love IMPF-INT
'Do you love him/her?'

206. bɨ adɨn do-ma nɨa?
bi adin do-ma nia?
3rd.SNG meat eat-NEG INT
'Does not he eat meat?'

207. ŋo-lu-m bɨ tom-du-nɨa?
ngo-lu-m bi tom-du-nia?
1st-PL-ACC 3rd.SNG call-IMPF-INT
'Is he calling us?'

In this example, the person A is asking to B that whether person C eats meat or not. This will be used when Person B and C are close (like husband-wife, parent-child etc.) and that Person B knows well that person C eats or not. When /nɨa/ is used, subject can be first, second and third person as seen in examples above but not in /nadɨ/ where subject must be third person (see below).

/nɨa/ can also be used in non yes-no question where is gives the connotation of challenging, insulting or in repeating an order angrily etc. which is not accounted here as the concern here is only with yes-no questions.

With Interrogative Particle /nadɨ/

when **/nadɨ/** is used, the person asked may be in passive position, that is to say that he may be reporting someone else word. It has less certainty aspect.

208. bɨ adɨn do-ma nadɨ?
bi adin do-ma nadi?
3rd.SNG meat eat-NEG INT
'Does not he eat meat?'

209. bɨ ai-du nadɨ?
bi ai-du nadi?
2nd. SNG good-PRES INT
'Is he alright?

210. bulu a:-to nadɨ?
bulu aa-to nadi?
3rd.PL come-PST INT
'Did they come?'

/nadɨ/ is used only when asking a person about some else (when A ask B about C). This can be seen in the example above where the subject is always a third person. And when /nadɨ/ is used in non-interrogative sentence, it has almost the equivalent meaning of 'As if' which is in taunting manner. So the sentence above will give the meaning of 'As if he does not eat meat' and 'As if he is nice'. And when it is used in this manner, the subject is not restricted to third person as in example below:

211.	no	ai-du	nadɨ!
	no	ai-du	nadi!
	2nd.SNG	good-PRES	as if
	‘As if you are good’		

212.	ŋo	mar-ma-je	nadɨ!
	ngo	mar-ma-ye	nadi!
	1st.SNG	angry-NEG-FUT	as if
	‘As if I will not be angry’		

213.	bu-lu	tat-je	nadɨ!
	bu-lu	tat-ye	nadi!
	3rd-PL	NEG-FUT	as if
	‘As if they will listen’		

When /nadɨ/ is used in question and non-question form like above, the intonation also differs. In the former one, intonation rise and in the later one intonation is either level or it falls.

With Interrogative Particle /nəja/

/nəja/ is used as interrogative marker which is consider to be politer than the formal marker /n/.

214.	ŋo	bottə	du-nəja?
	ngo	botte	du-neya?
	1st.SNG	big/fat	IMPF-INT
	‘Am I fat?’		

215.	no-k-kɨŋ	abal	ka-du	nəja?
	no-k-king	abal	ka-du	neya?
	2nd.SNG-GEN-with	money	have-PRES	INT
	‘Do you have money with you?’			

216. bɨ a:-ma je-nəja?
bi aa-ma ye-neya?
3rd.SNG come-NEG FUT-INT
'Is he not coming?'

/nəja/ is also used as when taking suggestion about choosing or comparing something among many other stuffs, like a cloth in shopping mall etc. as shown in example below:

217. ə ai je-nəja?
e ai ye-neya?
That good FUT-INT
'Will that be okay?'

218. si kampo ja:do-nəja?
si kampo yaado-neya?
This beauty COMP-INT
'Is this more beautiful?'

With Interrogative Particle /ja/

/ja/ or /a/ has the meaning of 'This one?' which can be used for confirmation the answer of which will be in *yes-no* type. So this is included in yes-no question particle. Like:

219. si-m-ja / simɨa/ sima:?
si-m-ya/simia/simaa?
this-ACC-INT
'This one?'

220. ŋo-m-ja / ŋomɨa/ ŋoma?
ngo-m-ya /ngomia/ngoma?
1st.SNG-ACC-INT
'Me?'

221. bu-ɲi-m-ja /buɲimɨa/ buɲima?
bu-nyi-m-ya /bunyimia/ bunyima?
3rd-DL-ACC-INT
'Two of them?'

With Raising Intonation;

When the person asking and the person asked are in understanding context, use of interrogative particle is always not required.

Example:

222. no:?
noo?
2nd.SNG
'You'?

223. bu-lu apim doje:?
bu-lu apim doyee?
3rd-PL food eat-FUT
'They will eat food?'

224. no laŋ bɨ aŋoŋə:?
no lang bi angonge?
2nd.SNG and 3rd.SNG friend
'You and him/her are friend?'

As seen in the above sentences, there is no interrogative marker, but still the sentence is in question form which is done by raising the intonation. Whenever intonation is raised to make yes-no question, the last vowel of the sentence is stressed making it a long vowel. This is true for both open and closed syllable in final position. When question is form in this way by raising the intonation, the last word is stressed, if not, the clause is merely a declarative sentence. No doubt, different parts of the clause are stressed to give different semantic connotations (like in sarcasm, surprise etc.) which is not necessarily a question but those aspects are not dealt with here. Again, to make a declarative clause as question, last word is stressed and intonation is raised.

5.3.3 Tag Question:

Tags in Adi are found sentence finally, and are generally pronounced with raising intonation. These tags in questions are used for seeking affirmation from the interlocutor such as '*right?*' in English, or *naa?* in Hindi. The tag question is formed by using /ai/ in Adi. The tag /ai/ entails confirmation from the interlocutor, Generally, this tag question particle is used to get the addressee to engage in the reciprocal communication as in the following example in which a speaker supplies the information and asks the addressee to confirm the information. as shown below:

225.	si-m	la-lɨ:-na	ka-ma-je	ai?	
	si-m	laa-li-na	ka-ma-ye	ai?	
	This-ACC	take-want-NOMZ	present-NEG-FUT	TAG	
	'There will be no one willing to take this, right?'				

226.	ŋo-k	mɨ:nam-pə	bulu	adɨn	do-je-pə	ai?
	ngo-k	minam-pe	bulu	adin	do-ye-pe	ai?
	1st.SNG-GEN	think-ADV	3rd.PL	meat	eat-FUT-ADV	TAG
	'In my view, they will eat meat, right?'					

227.	ko	kɨdɨ-ə	aki	kəno	du:-pə	ai?
	ko	kidi-e	aki	keno	duupe	ai?
	child	PL-NOM	stomach	hungry	be-ADV	TAG
	'The children must be hungry, right?'					

/ai/ is not only use for tag, but also for many other purposes like in request, imperative, anger etc. but the what differentiate all these from tag is that, in tag the speaker first make a statement and than use the tag for confirmation.

Reply/answer:

"According to Huddleston and Pullum, an answer is different from a response, which is a pragmatic concept. To answer the question 'Have you seen it?', there can be answers as the following.

a. No/ I have.

b. I'm not sure I can't remember/ Possibly/ Does it matter?

c. I've already told you that I have It's on your desk I saw it yesterday.

The responses in (a) are considered ‘answers’ while the rest are not. The responses in (b) are used to avoid giving an answer for whatever reason and those in (c) imply and encode the answer ‘Yes’ though they are not logically analogous to ‘Yes’ answers. The responses in (c) are not answers, but simply contain extra information not requested in the question” (in Somphob, 2012, p.17).

So here I will be describing only the response in (a) above. The response in Adi is mark with:

Positive:	əm[63]~ɨŋ	‘Yes’
Negative:	ma	‘No’

/əm/ and /ɨŋ/ occur in free variation, that is both have same meaning. However, most of the people I have witnessed prefer to use /ɨŋ/ in informal/unwritten speech form and /əm/ in formal written form. But there is no rule per say which prescribed for its usage. /ma/ is used for responding in negation. Such as:

<u>əm~ɨŋ</u> **<u>‘Yes’:</u>**

228. əm~ɨŋ ai-duŋ
em~ing ai-dung
yes good-IMPF
‘Yes (I am) fine’

229. əm~ɨŋ du:-duŋ
em~ing duu-dung
yes sit-IMPF
‘Yes (mother) is there’

[63] /əm/ ‘Yes’ is homophonous to accusative case marker.

230. əm~ɨŋ a:duŋ
em~ing aa-dung
yes come-PRES
'Yes (water) comes regularly'

ma **'No'**

231. ma ai-ma-ŋ
ma ai-ma-ng
Not good-NEG-IMPF
'(I am) Not good'

232. ma du:-ma-ŋ
ma- duu-ma-ng
No sit-NEG-IMPF
'No (mother is) not there'

233. ma a:-ma-ŋ
ma aa-ma-ng
No come-NEG-IMPF
'No (water does) not regularly'

5.3.4 wh-question:

wh-question are questions which is asked using *wh- question words* like *what, when, who* etc. "Wh-questions are so called because in English they begin with *wh-words* and *wh-phrases* such as *what* and *what kind of sandwich*. Other examples are *which* or *which pickle*, *who, where, when, why and also how*" (Tallerman 2015). Following are the question words in Adi:

SL.No.	Interrogative words	Gloss
1.	se:ko ~ he:ko	Who
2.	se:kok ~ he:kok	Whose
3.	kapə/iŋko	What

4.	se:kom ~ he:kom	Whom
5.	iŋko	Which
6.	iŋkolo	Where
7.	ədɨlo	When
8.	kapəila	Why
9.	kapəkɨsa	How
10.	ədɨtko	How much

Table 33: Question words in Adi

wh- question can have two syntactic structures, *Wh- Fronting* and *Wh- In-Situ. Wh-Fronting* is when the question word is moved to initial position like in English as in the the example below:

Declrative sentence: Leena saw [an old friend] yesterday

Wh- question: **Whom** did Leena saw_____ yesterday?

Here, [an old friend] has been replaced with *wh-word* '**whom'** and it has been moved to the initial position of the sentence. However, in *Wh- In-Situ*, the wh-phrase does not change position and remains in the same position occupied in the clause by the phrase that is being questioned as in the example below:

Leena saw [an old friend] yesterday

*Leena saw **Whom** yesterday?

*(*this sentence is for representational purpose as in-situ question sentence in English is used for confirmation and not for question)*

Language either use *Wh- Fronting* or *Wh- In-Situ* to form question. However, Adi uses both *Wh- Fronting* and *Wh- In-Situ*. Such as:

234.	bulu	si:lo	arɨk	ən-je
	bulu	silo	arik	en-ye
	they	today	field	go-FUT

'They will go to field today'

In-situ :

235.	bulu	si:lo	iŋkolo	ən-je-n?
	bulu	silo	ingkolo	en-ye-n?
	they	today	where	go-FUT-INT

'Where are they going today?'

Fronting

236. iŋkolo bulu si:lo ən-je-n?
ingkolo bulu silo en-ye-n?
where they today go-FUT-INT
'Where are they going today?'

Both *fronting* and *in-situ* question sentences above are grammatical in Adi. in some instances, question word can also be placed in the final position in sentence. Such as:

Question word in sentence final position:

237. se:ko ŋo-m ikɨ su-la-nə?
seeko ngo-m iki su-la-ne?
who 1st.SNG-ACC challenge VREC-can-NOMZ
'Who can challenge me?'

238. ŋo-m i-kɨ su-la-nə se:ko?
ngo-m i-ki su-la-ne seeko?
1st.SNG-ACC do-try (challenge) VREC-can-NOMZ who
'Who can challenge me?'
(*Lit.* the one who can challenge me is who?)

In the above example, question word is shifted to sentence final position. Though there is no major semantic difference in examples, first sentence is more of challenging and the second one is more of asking. However, both can be used transversely.

Question word in sentence medial position:

239. kapəila bu-lu apim do-du-n?
kapeila bu-lu apim do-du-n?
why 3rd-PL food eat-PRES-INT
'Why are they eating food?'

240. bu-lu kapəila apim do-du-n?
bu-lu kapeila apim do-du-n?
3rd-PL why food eat-PRES-INT
'Why are they eating food?'

241. *bulu apim kapəila do-du-n?
bulu apim kapeila do-du-n
they food why eat-PRES-INT
'Why are they eating food?'

242. bulu apim-əm kapəila do-du-n?
bulu apim-em kapeila do-du-n?
they food-ACC why eat-PRES-INT
'Why are they eating food?'

The word order in Adi is SOV (subject, object, verb) so whenever question word occurs sentence medially, it has to occur between subject and object as in example (240) and it cannot occur between object and verb as in example (241). However, when object takes object case (Accusative or Dative) marker, the question word can occur between object and verb as in example (242).

The interrogative word can appear as the subject of an intransitive clause, as shown in (243) and (244) below, as the direct object of a transitive clause as shown in examples (245) and (246), and indirect object of ditransitive clause as show in (247) and (248) below.

243. se:ko ip-du-n də?
seeko ip-du-n de?
who sleep-PRES-INT there
'Who is sleeping there?'

244. se:ko ŋil-du-n?
seeko ngil-du-n?
Who laugh-PRES-INT
'Who is laughing?'

245. no iŋko-əm rə-je-n?
no ingko-em re-ye-n?
2nd.SNG which-ACC buy-FUT-INT
'Which one will you buy?'

246. no iŋko-ko mata-du-n?
no ingko-ko mata-du-n?
2nd.SNG What-IND search-PRES-INT
'What are you searching for?

247. bɨ abal-əm se:ko-mə bi-to-n?
bi abal-em seeko-me bi-to-n?
3rd.SNG money-ACC who-DAT give-PST-INT
'Whom did he give the money to?'

248. ŋolu aman-əm se:ko bulu-m bi-je-n?
ngo-lu aman-em seeko bu-lu-m bi-ye-n?
1st.PL gift-ACC who 3rd-PL-DAT give-FUT-INT
'Whom will we give the gift to?'

As seen above, interrogative pronouns also takes case markers like accusative case marker /əm/ in example (245) *iŋkoəm* and (247) *se:komə.* Also, the interrogative marker /-n/ is compulsorily suffixed sentence finally whenever there is question word in the sentence. Further examples of individual interrogatives are provided in the following subsections.

se:ko 'Who'

se:ko 'Who' can occur as interrogative pronoun in sentence initial, medial and final position. many speaker also add –la, –da and –dɨ making it *se:kola, se:koda, se:kodɨ*. These particles are emphatic in nature, but its emphasis is limited only to the pronoun itself and the emphasis does not encompass the entire clause. It can also occur as relative pronoun by taking case markers like *se:kokə* (Genitive), *se:komə* (Accusative, Dative). Such as:

GEN:

249. si:jum se:ko-kə əkum-lo gɨdum su-je-n?
siijum se:ko-ke ekum-lo gidum su-ye-n?
Tonight who-GEN house-LOC assemble VREC-FUT-INT
'Whose house will (we) assemble tonight?'

ACC:

250. no se:ko-mə toja-du-n?
no seeko-m toya-du-n?
2nd.SNG who-ACC wait-PRES-INT
'Whom are you waiting for?'

DAT:

251. sim galə sim no se:ko-mə bi-pə əmla sum-tu-n?
sim gale sim no seeko-me bi-pe emla sum-tu-n?
This wraparound this you who-DAT give-to COMP weave-PST-INT
'You have weaved this wraparound to give to whom?'

kapə 'What'

In Adi, 'What' has two forms; *iŋko* and *kapə.* Wherever, *kapə* occurs, it can be replaced with *iŋko* but vice-versa is not always possible. There are cases where only *iŋko* can occur. Such as:

kapə ~ iŋko

252. kapə ~ iŋko?
kape ~ ingko?
'What? (when asking someone to repeat what has been said)'

253. kapə ~ iŋko-ko i-du-n?
kape ~ ingko-ko i-du-n?
What -INDF do-PRES-INT
'What (you) doing'

The subject of second example is not overtly used. *Iŋko* always take indefinite marker *ko* making it *iŋkoko* but *kapə* does not. Since many Adi learners are not aware of this, they often say *kapəko* which is ungrammatical. This can be clearly seen below:

254. kapə əm-do-n?
kape em-do-n?
what say-PST-INT
'What (SUB) said?' (*Lit.* what he/she said')

255. iŋko-ko əm-do-n?
ingko-ko em-do-n?
what-INDF say-PST-INT
'What (SUB) said?' (*Lit.* what he/she said')

in the above examples, subject is not overt. And in second example, *ko* 'Indefinite marker' is compulsorily suffixed to *iŋko* 'What'. Even when some other particles are suffixed to it, *ko* has to occur at the word final. Such as:

iŋko-pak-ko 'Exactly what'
ingko-pak-ko

iŋko-pak-na-ko 'Exactly what kind'
ingko-pak-na-ko

Now, I shall describe where *kapə* cannot occur and only *iŋko* can take the place of 'What':

256. iŋko-koi?
Ingko-koi?
What-INDF
'What (is this)?' **Subject not overt.*

257. no-k amɨn-ə iŋko-ə
no-k amin-e ingko-e
3rd.SNG-GEN name-NOM what-AUX?
'What is your name?'

258. so iŋko-ko mata-du-n no?
so ingko-ko mata-du-n no
here what-INDF search-PRES-INT 2nd.SNG
'What are you searching here?'

The syntactic reason for such variation in occurrence of *kapə* and *iŋko* is a matter of further thorough investigation, which is not possible to be dealt exhaustively here.

kapə ~ iŋko 'What' also serve as root for other question words like:

SL.No.	**Interrogative words with root *kapə ~ iŋko* 'What'**	**Gloss**
1.	iŋkoəm	Which
2.	iŋkolo	Where
3.	kapəila	Why
4.	kapəkɨsa	How

kapəila 'Why'

As stated above, *kapəila 'Why'* is a complex word with root *kapə* 'What'. It takes various forms like *kapila* (shortened vowel during speech)*, kappə ila* (emphasizing when angry)*, kapə-kapə ila (*when asking/describing about the cause which lead to many consequences). Each of these three forms is found preceding the verb, as shown in examples:

259. məjum kapila a:- ma-n no?
meyum kapila a- man no?
last night why come-NEG-INT you
'Why did not you come yesterday?'

260. nolu kappəila ŋo-k tadok-əm pjoŋ-ka-n?
nolu kappeila ngo-k tadok-em pyong-ka-n
2nd.PL why 1st-GEN bead-ACC steal-PST-INT
'Why you (PL) steal my beads?'

261. kapə- kapə ila məgu-ə gu-lən ka-n?
kape-kape ila megu-e gu-len ka-n?
why fire-NOM light-start PST-INT
'Why the fire broke out'

***ədɨlo* 'When'**

ədɨlo 'When' is often pronounce as *ədɨl* in speech. It can be also reduplicated to give various meanings such as:

262. ka:liŋ no ədɨl ~ ədɨlo pasigat lok ən-to-ku-n?
kaaling no edil~edilo pasigat lok en-to-ku-n?
Name(M) 2nd.SNG when pasigat ABL travel-PST-back-INT
'Kaling, when did you come back from pasighat (name of town)?'

263. kusereŋ-əm ədɨ-ədɨlo do-dopə mando-n daktor-ə?
kusereng-em edi-edilo do-dope mando-n daktor-e?
medicine-ACC when-when eat-to say-INT doctor-NOM
'What all time doctor asked you to take the medicines?'

In both the examples above, /o/ in *ədɨlo* can be deleted. However, when used in reduplication, it has to be *ədɨ-ədɨlo* and cannot be **ədɨlo-ədɨlo*. So it can be called as partial reduplication or reduplication of the root. In declarative sentence, *ədɨ-ədɨlo* is used for 'Whenever' as below:

264. dəlok ila, *ədɨ-ədɨlo* doŋi-ə ua du:dɨ, pəkɨ-ə kap-duŋ
delok ila edi-edilo doŋi-e ua duudi, peki-e kap-dung
After that whenever sun-NOM set IMPF dove-NOM cry-IMPF
'After that, whenever the sun sets, dove cries' (non interrogative form)

***iŋkolo* 'Where'**

As stated above, 'Where' has the root *iŋko* 'What' which is followed by *lo* 'Locative marker' as shown in example (265, 266, and 267) below. So it has literal meaning of 'What-Locative'.

265. no iŋkolo du:-du-n?
no ingkolo duu-du-n?
2nd.SNG where sit-IMPF-INT
'Where do you stay/live?'

266. nolu iŋkolo arɨk idun?
nolu ingkolo arik idun?
2nd.PL where field do-IMPF-INT
'Where do you do field?'

267. ga:m əkum-ə iŋkolo?
gaam ekum-e ingkolo?
chief house-AUX where
'Where is the headman/chief's house?'

As seen above, *iŋkolo* 'Where' can also occur in medial as in example (265 and 266) and final position (as in example 267).

iŋko 'What' can also be followed by ablative marker *lok* 'From' to give meaning of 'From where' as shown in example below:

268. iŋko-lok asi ɟo:-du-n?
ingko-lok asi joo-du-n?
where-ABL water carry-IMPF-INT
'From where (SUB) carry water?'

**iŋkolok* 'From where' can also be used in non-interrogative sentence which is not accounted here.

***iŋkoə, iŋkoəm* 'Which'**

Which is used when enquiring about specifying one or more people or things from a definite set. In Adi, *which* has two forms ***iŋkoə*** and ***iŋkoəm*** and both these forms have the root *iŋko* 'What' and is followed by suffix *-ə* 'Nominative marker' and *əm* 'Accusative marker' making them 'What-NOM and 'What-ACC'. So, ***iŋkoə*** occurs in subject position as it has nominative case and ***iŋkoəm*** occurs in object position as it has accusative case. Such as:

269. iŋko-ə kampo ja:-do-n?
ingko-e kampo yaa-do-n
what-NOM beauty more-IMPF-INT
'Which one is more beautiful?

270. iŋko-əm kampo ja:-do-n?
ingko-em kampo yaa-do-n?
what-ACC beauty more-IMPF-INT
'Which one is more beautiful? (*Lit.* which one you like more?'

As shown above, ***iŋkoə*** occurs in intransitive sentence and ***iŋkoəm*** occurs in transitive sentence even though the subject in second example is not overt. As given in the definition of *which*, ***iŋkoə*** and ***iŋkoəm*** can have the meaning of *which* only when it is said in the context of *enquiring about specifying one or more people or things from a definite set.* When they are not used in this context, they simply have the meaning of *what.*

***se:kokə* 'Whose'**

se:kokə 'Whose' has the root *se:ko* 'Who' and suffix *k ~ kə* 'Genitive'.

271. se:ko-k amɨn-ə osi?
seeko-k amin-e osi?
who-GEN name-AUX osi
'Whose name is Osi(F)?'

272. nolu se:ko-kə əkum-əm mata-du-n?
nolu seeko-ke ekum-em mata-du-n
3rd.PL who-GEN house-ACC search-IMPF-INT
'Whose house are you searching?'

***se:komə* 'Whom'**

se:komə 'Whom' has the root *se:ko* 'Who' and the suffix *mə* which can be *accusative* (as in example a) or *dative* (as in example b).

273. no se:ko-mə tom-to-n?
no seeko-me tom-to-n?
2nd.SNG who-ACC call-PST-INT
'Whom you called?'

274. no aman-əm se:ko-mə bi-to-n?
no aman-em seeko-me bi-to-n
2nd.SNG gift-ACC who-DAT give-PST-INT
'Whom you gave the gift to?'

275. po:nuŋ miri-əm siɲiŋ seeko-mə bo-to-n?
poonung miri-em sinying seeko-me bo-to-n?
dance priest-ACC this year whom-DAT invite-PST-INT
'Whom have been invited for dance priest this year?'

Accusative and Dative case marker /mə/ are homophones[64]

***kapə-kɨsa* 'How'**

kapə-kɨsa 'How' is used to enquire about the way or manner. It is a compound word made of *kapə* 'What' and *kɨsa* 'Like' giving the literal meaning 'What-like'. such as:

276. kapəkɨsa no ŋo-m ken-du-n?
kapekisa no ngo-m ken-du-n?
how 2nd.SNG 1st.SNG-ACC know-IMPF-INT?
'How do you know me?'

277. kapəkɨsa apim mo-dun no ken-du-n?
kapekisa apim mo-dun no ken-du-n?
how food cook-IMPF 2nd.SNG know-IMPF-INT
'Do you know how food is cooked?' (*Lit.* how food is cook, do you know?)

278. ŋo-m pori[65] mo-ma-mɨlo ŋo kapəkɨsa pa:s[66] je-n?
ngo-m pori mo-ma-milo ngo kapekisa paas ye-n?
1st.SNG-ACC study cause-NEG-if 1st.SNG how pass FUT-INT
'If I am not let to study, how will I pass?'
(*Lit.* If you don't let me study, how will I pass?)

---

[64] Accusative case has two markers *əm* and *mə*

[65] Borrowed from Hindi/Assamese

[66] Borrowed from English

***ədɨt* 'How much'**

ədɨt 'How much' is used for asking *time* as in example (279), *price* as in example (280), *quantity* as in example (281), *level* as in example (282) etc.

279. ədɨt baɟi[67] dun?
edit baji dun?
how time PRES-INT
'What time is it?'

280. si ədɨt ə?
si edit e?
this how AUX
'How much is this?'

281. no ədɨt-ko ko-ə ka-du-n?
no edit-ko ko-e ka-du-n?
2nd.SNG how-INF child-NOM have-PRES-INT
'How many children do you have?'

282. bɨ ədɨt-lo pori dun?
bi edit-lo pori dun?
3rd.SNG how-LOC study IMPF-INT
'In what class does he studies?'

As it can be seen above, *ədɨt* 'How much' can take various suffixes according to the context of the question.

As per the data presented above, the questions words in Adi can be deduced to four main roots and rest of the question words as their derivations;

[67] Borrowed

Root Question words		Derived Question words	
se:ko 'Who':		se:kok	'Whose'
		se:kom	'Whom'
iŋko 'What':		iŋkoə/ iŋkoəm	'Which'
		iŋkolo	'Where'
kapə 'What':		kapəila	'Why'
		kapəkɨsa	'How'
ədɨt: 'How much':		ədɨlo (ədɨtlo)	'When'

5.3.5 Imperative sentences:

"Imperatives are directives conveying an illocutionary force of commanding, prohibiting, suggesting, permitting, or requesting by the speaker. The typical function of imperatives is to get the addressee(s) to do or not to do something" (Oxford Bibliography). In Adi, command (COMM) is marked by /to/, prohibition (PROB) is marked by /ma/, suggestive (SUG) is marked by /laŋka/ and request (REQ)/Benefactive(BENF) is marked by /bi/ such as:

verb-IMP	**Command** /to/	**Prohibition** /ma/	**Suggestive** /laŋka/	**Request** /bi/
do-IMP	i-to	i-ma	i-laŋka	i-bi
eat-IMP	do-to	do-ma	do-laŋka	do-bi
say-IMP	man-to	man-ma	man-laŋka	man-bi

Table 34: Imperative particles in Adi

Positive Imperative:

it is used when ordering something to someone. It is suffixed to the verb (as in example 283) and other verbal particles can precede it as in example (284), and (285).

283. dəm la:-to
dem laa-to
that take-IMP
'Take that'

284. dəm la:-po-to
dem laa-po-to
that take-first-IMP
'Take that (and give it to me)'

285. dəm la: bɨn- po-to
dem laa-bin-po-to
that take-away-first-IMP
'Take that away first'

/to/ is homophonous with past tense marker. The two is differentiated with intonation in spoken form where past tense /to/ has lowered intonation without stress as in example (286) where as imperative marker /to/ has raised intonation with stress as in example (287).

286. gɨ - tò (Lowered intonation)
gi - to
go- PST
'Went'

287. gɨ - tó (Raised intonation)
gi - to
go- IMP
'Go'

Negative imperative: Negative imperative is expressed by negative morpheme /ma/ which is a verbal suffix. When negative particle /ma/ is used in imperative sentence, it always occurs sentence or clause finally as in example (288, 289 and 290) below. However, it can occur sentence medially in non-imperative sentences as in example (291) below:

288. a:-ma
aa-ma
come-NEG.IMP
'Don't come'

289. abɨjaŋ-əm man-jan su-ma
abiʏang-em man-yan sum-ma
elder-ACC say-back VREC-NEG.IMP
'Don't talk back to elders'

290. ti:bi ka:-ti-ma, amik-ə ai-ma-je
tiibi kaa-ti-ma, amik-e ai-ma-ye
TV watch-REP-NEG.IMP eye-NOM good-not-FUT
'Don't keep watching television, eyes will get spoiled'

291. bɨ do-ma-mɨl əl-pak je
bi do-ma-mil el-pak je
3rd.SNG eat-NEG-if throw-away FUT
'If he does not eat, will throw it'

both the positive imperative /to/ and negative imperative /ma/ is possible only in *second person* in all singular, dual and plural form. It is not possible in first and third person as marked with asterisk in the example below:

1st person: *ŋo ito 'I do'
2nd person: no ito 'You do'
3rd person: *bɨ ito 'S/he do'

5.4 ANAPHORA:

In the words of Huang, "The term 'anaphora' is derived from the Greek word avacpopa which may mean 'carrying back'. In contemporary linguistics, it is commonly used to refer to a relation between two lingu istic elements, wherein the interpretation of one (called an anaphor) is in some way determined by the interpretation of the other (called an antecedent) . . . . . Linguistic elements that can be employed as an anaphor include gaps (or empty categories), pronou ns, reflexives, names, and descriptions (Huang 2000:1).

Adi mostly employs ***reflexives*** elements an anaphor. In this section, I will describe anaphora in Adi and their types: *Nominal* (Nominal reflexive and nominal reciprocal) and *Verbal* (verbal reflexive and verbal reciprocal) and their *Forms* (simple and complex form).

5.4.1 Nominal Reflexive:

Adi has nominal reflexive *agɨ* 'Self'. This Nominal reflexive takes suffixation of postposition compulsorily. The simple form consists of structure 'Self-case' and the complex form consists structure of 'self-case self-case'. In complex form, the first *self* always takes the nominative or dative case and second *self* takes other cases (genitive and locative). Thus the possible nominal reflexives in Adi are:

CASE	**SIMPLEX**	**COMPLEX**
NOM/DATIVE	agɨ - ə 'self-DAT'	agɨ - ə agɨ -əm 'self-DAT self-ACC' agɨ - ə agɨ -lo 'self-DAT self-LOC agɨ - ə agɨ -kə 'self-DATself-GEN'
ACCUSATIVE	agɨ -əm 'self-ACC'	
LOCATIVE	agɨ - kɨŋ 'self-LOC' agɨ -lo 'self-LOC'	
GENETIVE	agɨ -kə 'self-GEN' (own)	

Table 35: Adi Nominal Reflexives

Example:

SIMPLE:

292. no agɨ- ə gɨ- su-to
no agi-e gi-su-to
2nd.SNG self- NOM go- VR- PST.PERF
'You went yourself'

293. ŋo agɨ-əm arsi-lo ka:- su- to
ngo agi-em arsi-lo kaa-su-to
1st.SNG self-ACC mirror-LOC see- VR-PST.PERF
'I saw myself in the mirror'

294. osi gorom asi-əm agɨ-lo purkat su-to
osi gorom asi-em agi-lo purkat-su-to
osi hot water-ACC self-LOC spilt VR-PST.PERF
'Osi (F) spill hot water on himself'

COMPLEX:

295. obaŋ agɨ - ə agɨ -əm aja su-duŋ
obang agi-e agi-em aya-su-dung
obang self-DAT self-ACC love VR-AUX
'Obang (M) loves himself'

296. bɨ agɨ -ə agɨ -lo əbɨn ilɨk su-to
bi agi-e agi-lo ebin ilik su-to
3rd. PL self-NOM self-LOC disturbance put VR-PST.PERF
'He himself brought disturbance (upon himself)'

297. bulu **agɨ** - ə **agɨ** -kə omə-əm ka-su-maŋ
bulu agi-e agi-ke ome-em ka-su-mang
2nd. SNG self-NOM self-GEN daughter-ACC see-VR-NEG.IMPF
'They do not look after their own daughter by themselves'

5.4.2 Nominal Reciprocal:

Adi has only complex form of nominal reciprocal. The complex form consists of structure 'one-case other-case'. Like in reflexive, in reciprocal also, 'one' takes the nominative or dative case and 'other' takes other cases. Thus the possible nominal reflexives in Adi are:

RECIPROCAL (COMPLEX)	REDUPLICATED ANAPHORA
akon-ə akon- əm 'other-NOM another-ACC'	agɨ-agɨ 'self-self'
akon-ə akon-kə 'other-NOM another-GEN'	
akon- ə akon-lok other-NOM another-LOC	

Table 36: Adi reciprocal and reduplicative construction

Example:

298. akon-ə akon-əm aja bo-su laŋka
akon-e akon-em aya bo-su langka
other-DAT another-ACC love VREC-VR IMP
'Love one-another'

299. bulu akon-ə akon-kə əgə-əm gə-maŋ
bulu akon-e akon-ke ege-em ge-mang
3PL one-NOM another-GEN cloth-ACC wear-NEG.PERF/IMPF
'They do/did not wear one- another's cloth'

300. akon-ə akon-lok la:-bo su-to
akon-e akon-lok laa-bo su-to
other-NOM another-LOC take-VREC VR-PST.PERF
'Take from one-another

5.4.3 Reduplication of anaphora:

Reduplication of anaphora is quite common in Adi. The anaphora is reduplicated for various semantic reasons such as: to show the '*self-causation'* as in example (301) below, *distributiveness and particularity* as in example (302) below. However, both in (301) and (302) reduplication of anaphora is optional.

301. osi agɨ-agɨ-ə mar-su-to
osi agi-agi-e mar-su-to
Osi (F) self-self-DAT angry-VR-PST
'Osi(F) got angry by himself'

302. taka:mə agɨ-agɨ ekum-əm ka:- bom su-laŋka
takame agi-agi ekum-em kaa bom su-langka
All self-self home-ACC look- after VR-IMP
'Everyone looked after your own home'.

In example (302) above, the reduplicated anaphora emphasize that one shall look after his own home and not other's home. In Adi, nominal anaphor may be pro-dropped which makes the nominal anaphor optional. Hence the following pattern is possible in Adi nominal anaphor.

Occurance pattern of nominal anaphora in adi:

1. Subject-reduplicated anaphor-case-verb-VR (as in example 304)
2. Subject-the simplex form-case-verb-VR (as in example 305)
3. Subject-null form (∅)-verb-VR[68] .

such as:

303.	ojiŋ	∅	gɨ-	su-	to
	oying	∅	gi-	su-	to
	ojiŋ		go-	VR-	PST

'Oying (F) went herself'.

Emphatic Marker in Adi anaphora: Emphatic marker in Adi is /əi/ and it can be suffixed to the anaphor such as:

304.	no	agɨ- əi	mar-su-duŋ
	no	agi-ei	mar-su-dung
	You	self- EMPH	angry-VR-AUX

'You got angry by yourself'.

305.	si	agɨ-agɨ-əi	ai-ma-pə	i-su-duŋ
	si	agi-agi-ei	ai-ma-pe	i-su-dung
	this	self-self-EMPH	good-NEG-ADV	do-VR-IMPF

'This get spoiled by itself'

In the above examples, anaphora *agɨ* denotes self causation and emphatic marker /əi/ emphasize this self causation by asserting that no one but subject itself is responsible for the act.

[68] The case marker is also drop with anaphor.

Another way of emphasizing is by lengthening the vowel as in the example below:

Non-Emphatic		**Emphatic**	**Gloss**
agɨ pə	→	agɨ:pə	'Heavily'
mənapə	→	məna:pə	'Fastly'
kədʒokai	→	kədʒo:kai	'Since earl

When the vowel is lengthened the intonation of the syllable is also raised.

5.5 VERBAL ANAPHORA:

Adi has both verbal reflexive (VR) and verbal reciprocal (VREC). There is one form of VR and two VRECs which are marked obligatorily in Adi.

such as:

REFLEXIVE (VR)	RECIPROCAL (VREC)
su	bo, mɨn

Table 37: Adi verbal anaphora (reflexive and reciprocal)

Examples:

Verbal reflexive

306. ŋo kap-su-to
ngo kap-su-to
1st.SNG cry-VR-PST.PERF
'I cried myself'

307. ŋo ɨr-su-duŋ
ngo ir-su-dung
1st.SNG bath-VR-PRES
'I am bathing (Myself)

308. bɨ pot-su-dung
bi pot-su-dung
2nd.SNG deny-VR-PRES
'He is denying (his acts)

Verbal reciprocal:

309.	ŋo-lu	kina-əm	kaː-bom	bo- su-duŋ
	ngo-lu	kina-em	kaa-bom	bo-su-dung
	1st.PL	patient-ACC	look-after	VREC-VR-IMPF
	'We all together looking after the patient'			

310.	buŋi aja	mɨn-su-duŋ	
	bunyi aya	min-su-dung	
	2nd.DL love	VREC-VR-PRES	
	'They (dual) love each other'		

mɨn has two semantic realization (a) VREC and (b) 'doing after, following or imitation' (I will call it as IM 'imitative marker). For example, *mɨn* in example (311), is an IM and it means 'following' and is not a VREC. VREC occurs only when subject is dual or plural like in (310) but IM can occur with both singular and plural subject.

311.	bɨ	gɨ-mɨn	gə-duŋ
	bi	gi-min	ge-dung
	3rd.SNG	walk-follow	after-PRES
	'He is stalking/following'		

5.5.1 Reduplication of Verbal Reflexive (VR):

In Adi VR can be reduplicated to express the iterative action of the agent. The intended and inherent meaning of such reduplication is to show the action which is done by the agent repetitively for himself (self-benefaction). However, the meaning of self-benefaction is not overt in the sentence; the sentence literally means the iterative action of the agent. The repetitive marker (I will mark it as RM) *tɨ* is obligatory in such sentence. Such as:

312.	aman	do- su su- tɨ la
	aman	do-su su-ti-la
	biscuit	eat- VR VR- RM-IMPF
	'Keep on eating biscuit (by himself)'	

313. arsi-lo ka-su su-ti-ma
arsi-lo ka-su su-ti-ma
mirror-LOC look-VR VR-RM-NEG.IMP
'Don't keep looking (yourself) in the mirror'

Occurrence of Verbal Anaphor in Adi:

According to the above data, following conclusion can be drawn:

1. Both VREC and VR can occur together in one sentence. And usually VREC precedes VR. Such as in example (315).

2. Both VREC and VR occur after verb.

3. VREC (VR in case there is no VREC) gets suffixed to verb if verb is of single syllable. Such as in example (314 and 315). In (316) verb has two syllables so it does not get suffixed.

314. ŋo do-su duŋ
ngo do-su-dung
1st.SNG eat-VR-PRES
'I am eating myself'

315. ŋo-lu ka-mɨn su-duŋ
1st-PL look-VREC VR-AUX
'We are looking at each other'

316. ŋo əlpak su-to
ngo əlpak su-to
1st.SNG throw VR-PST.PERF
'I threw myself'

Function of VREC in Adi:

1. **Group activity:** it shows that the action is performed in a group.

2. **Collaborative effort:** VREC ***bo*** also function as **CEM** (collaborative effort marker).

Function of VR in Adi:

1. **Self causative**: it shows that an action happened itself or on its own.
2. **Self benefactive**: it shows that the agent did the action for his own benefaction.
3. **Do alone**: it also indicates that the action has been done by the agent himself (without anyone"s help). Usually in such sentence VR is use to show the courage of the agent.

It has been observed that the number, gender and person is unmarked in Adi anaphora.

5.6 PHRASE:

Phrase is "a term used in grammatical analysis to refer to a single element of structure typically containing more than one word, and lacking the subject–predicate structure (typical of clauses); it is abbreviated as P in such combinations as NP (= noun phrase), AdjP (= Adjective phrase) etc. Traditionally, it is seen as part of a structural hierarchy, falling between clause and word, several types being distinguished, e.g. 'adverb phrase' (e.g. very slowly), 'adjectival phrase' (e.g. the house, old and derelict), 'prepositional phrase' (e.g. in the morning)[69]". In this section, I will describe Noun phrase, Adjective phrase and adverb phrase in Adi.

5.6.1 Noun Phrase:

Noun Phrase is a phrasal constituent whose head is a noun. NPs in Adi can function as subjects, primary or secondary objects, and objects of prepositions. Here I will describe various kinds of dependents (non-head constituents) which appear in NPs in Adi and also the structure of the noun phrase.

NP as subject:

317.	[no-m	mɨ:-na	milokoŋ-də]$_{NP}$	a:-duŋ
	no-m	mii-na	milokong-de	aa-duŋ
	2nd.SNG-ACC	like-NOMZ	man-DET	come-PRES
	'The man who likes you came'			

[69] David Crystal (2008). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 6th Edition, Blackwell Publishing, Pg.: 367

318. [jajiŋ-na galuk də]$_{NP}$ bet-kai
yaying-na galuk de bet-kai
green cloth DET tear-PST
'The green cloth torn'

319. [apoŋ tɨŋɨr su-na kɨ-dɨ-də]$_{NP}$ gɨ-ka-ku
apong tingir su-na ki-di-de gi-ka-ku
wine drunk VR-NOMZ-PL-NOM go-PST-back
'The drunk people left'

As it can be seen in above, object *nom* in example (317) of the noun phrase precedes the head noun *milokoŋ*. Also, object of the noun phrase takes accusative case marker. In example (318) it is seen that adjective in noun phrase precede the head noun, however, it can also follow the noun with both being equally grammatical and acceptable. Adjective takes nominalizer /-na/ whether it follows or precede the noun. Determiner /-de/ occurs phrase finally in all the sentences. So, Noun phrase in Adi takes, *case, nominalizer* and *determiner* where *case* occurs with object of the phrase, nominalizer occurs both with verb and adjective as in example (317) and (319) and determiner occurs with all phrase finally.

NP as object:

320. bulu [appun kampo-ru-na-ək]$_{AdjP}$ bom-a tuŋ
bulu appun kampo-ru-na-ek bom-a-tuŋ
they flower beauty-very-NOMZ-DET carry-come-PST
They brought beautiful flowers.

321. ŋolu [tɨ:-na apoŋ əm] $_{AdjP}$ tɨ:duŋ
ngolu tii-na apong em tii-dung
we sweet-NOMZ wine -ACC drink-PRES
we take sweet wine.

322. bɨ [mimə kampo-na-əm] $_{AdjP}$ mɨ:-duŋ
bi mime kampo-na-em mii-dung
He girl beauty-NOMZ-ACC like-PRES
he likes the beautiful girl.

Adi is verb final language, so object noun phrase precedes the verb and follow the subject. As said before, this order is not rigid and can be altered like (OSV, SVO etc. but it is the most preferable and commonly used one. Also, like noun phrase in subject, noun phrase in subject also take, determiner, case and nominalizer.

5.6.2 Adjective phrase:

An adjective phrase is group of words that describe the noun in a sentence. In Adi, the adjective phrase can be placed before, or after, the noun in the sentence. such as:

323. [kampo ru:-na] appun-ək-ə gɨ:daŋ-lo ka-duŋ
kampo ru-na appun-ek-e giiang-lo ka-dung
beauty very-NOMZ flower-DET-AUX lawn-LOC have-PRES
'Very beautiful flowers are in garden'.

324. luk-nɨ [jalɨŋ jasiŋ-na-əm] la:to
luk-ni yaling yasing-na-em laato
cloth-new red white-NOMZ-ACC bring-IMP
'Bring the red-white new cloth'

325. ami [bodo-do:ra na-ko] a:to
ami bodo-doora na-ko a:to
man tall-EMPH NOMZ-DET come-PST
'A very tall man came'.

As said, adjective phrase may both precede (as in example 323) and follow (as in example 324 above) the noun phrase. The adjective phrase takes the nominalizer irrespective of whether it follow or precede the noun. However, determiner /ko/, /ək/ etc. always remain in same position. if adjective follows the noun, it will be with adjective, if adjective precedes the noun, it will be with noun.

5.6.3 Adverb Phrase:

Adverb phrase is the phrase where it has adverb head. In Adi, adverb phrase can both preced and follow the verb as follows:

326.	osi	[aseŋ	ru:-pə]$_{AdvP}$	to-kai
	bi	[aseŋ	ruu-pe]	to-kai
	Osi	happy	very-ADV	agree-PST
	'Osi(F)	agreed quite happily'		

327.	bɨ	[ə:tət	ətət-pə]$_{AdvP}$	gɨ-duŋ
	bi	etet	etet-pe	gi-dung
	3rd.SNG	slow	slow-ADV	walk-PRES
	'She walks slowly' (*Lit.* She walks slow slowly)			

328.	bulu	[ɲoku bərok-pə-na]$_{AdvP}$		ager	i-dun
	bulu	nyoku berok-pe-na		ager	i-dun
	they	slug	like-ADV-NOMZ	work	do-PRES
	'They work very sluggishly'				

/pə/ is adverbial marker in Adi and it is suffixed to the base. Just like adjective, adverb also precedes the verb. However, adverb can also follow noun but the preceding one is more acceptable. Adverb can also take nominalizer however it is optional unlike in adjective where it is compulsory. However, addition of nominalizer slightly changes the meaning of sentence. Without nominalizer the sentence is a plain statement but its addition makes it a complain or expressing dissatisfaction.

5.7 CLAUSE:

"A term used in some models of grammar to refer to a unit of grammatical organization smaller than the sentence, but larger than phrases, words or morphemes. The traditional classification is of clausal units into *main (independent or superordinate)* and *subordinate (or dependent) clauses*[70]"

There are two basic ways in which one clause can be embedded within another: *coordination vs. subordination*. In a coordinate structure, two main constituents belonging to the same category are conjoined, with or without a conjoining particle, to form another constituent of

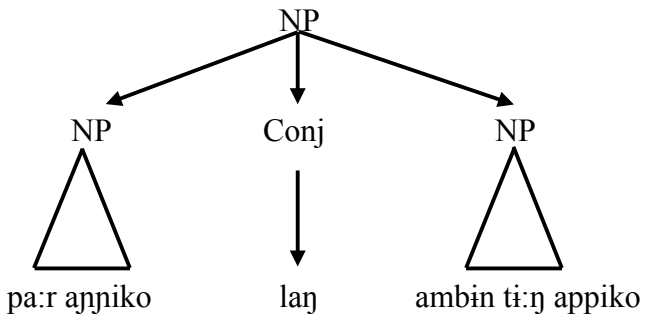
[70] David Crystal (2008). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 6th Edition, Blackwell Publishing, Pg.: 78

that category. Since both the constituents are main constituents, such a structure is usually considered to be doubly headed (Kroeger 2005: 218). In most of the languages, the two head head constituents in coordinating clause are put together by conjunctions (like *and, but, or* etc.) and in some languages intonation is used rather than conjunctions. Adi, follows the first type, that is, Adi uses conjunctions in coordinating clause such as:

[[midu mimak ə]$_{NP}$	laŋ	[moːton taron ə]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$
war	and	earthquake

[[*sijum*]$_{NP}$	*maŋkə*	[ɲampojum]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$
Tonight	or	Tomorrow night

[[paːr aŋŋiko]$_{NP}$	laŋ	[ambɨn tɨːŋ appiko]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$
two ash-gourd	and	four rice bag



In the above coordinate sentence, two S constituents are occurring as daughters and co-heads of the higher main S. Each of the daughter clauses has their own internal structure of an independent sentence, and neither of the one is embedded into the other.

5.7.1 Subordinate clause:

A subordinate clause is one which functions as a dependent, rather than a co-head. I will describe two basic types of subordinate clause in Adi:

a. Complement clauses
b. Relative clauses

5.1.1.1. Complement clauses:

"Complement clauses are clauses that occur as complements of a verb; in other words, they are required or licensed by the subcategorization features of the verb. They typically function as the subject or object of another clause, which is referred to as the matrix clause" (Kroeger 2005: 219). In Adi, complement clause is often marked with complementizer /əmla/ as illustrated below:

329.	ŋo	mɨːduŋ	[no	aː-je	əmla]
	ngo	miidung	[no	aa-ye	emla]
	1st. SNG	think	2nd.SNG	come-FUT	COMP
	'I think that you will come'				

330.	ŋo	mɨːnə	[no	apim do-to-boŋ	əmla]
	ngo	miine	[no	apim do-to-bong	emla]
	1st.SNG	think	2nd.SNG	food eat-PST-already	COMP
	'I thought that you have already eaten food'				

331.	bɨː	poduŋ	[bulu	upak pak	gɨka-ku	əmla]
	bi	podung	bulu	supak pak	gika-ku	emla
	3rd.SNG	say-PRES	they	now-EMPH	go-back	COMP
	'He is saying that they went back right now'					

As seen in the above examples, complementizer *əmla* is occurring sentence finally as complement clause is taking the position of the object making word order (SVO). However, complement clause can be moved in the beginning making OSV word order, or sentence medially making SOV word order. such as:

OSV:

332.	[no	aːje	əmla]$_{OBJ}$	ŋo	mɨː-duŋ
	[no	aa-ye	emla]	ngo	mii-dung
	2nd.SNG	come-FUT	COMP	1st. SNG	think-PRES
	'I think that you will come'				

SOV:

333. ŋo [no a:je əmla]$_{OBJ}$ mɨ:-duŋ
ngo [no aa-ye emla] mii-dung
1st. SNG 2nd.SNG come-FUT COMP think-PRES
'I think that you will come'

So, complement clause in Adi have free movement within the sentence, however, this does not influence the position of complementizer *əmla.* It always has to occur after verb at clause final position as seen in the examples above.

5.1.1.2. Relative Clause:

"Relative clause is a clause which modifies the head noun within a noun phrase" (Kroeger 2005: 230) Consider the following illustration of relative clause in Adi:

334. [sim apoŋ sim [jalɨ-na galuk gə-na] anə-əm]$_{NP}$ bi-to
sim apong sim [yali-na galuk ge-na] ane-em bi-to
this wine this red-NOMZ cloth wear-NOMZ mother-ACC give-IMP
'Give this wine to the mother/woman who is wearing red cloth'

335. [ka:liŋ [bim mets-lo pe:l bi-na] sa:r-əm]$_{NP}$ lupo su-to
kaaling[bim mets-lo peel bi-na] saar-em lupo su-to
kaling 3rd.SNG-ACC maths-LOC fail give-NOMZ sir-ACC speak VR-PST
'Kaling(M) spoke to the sir who failed him in maths'

336. [[ŋo-m məlo luka:-na] mimə-əm ŋo]$_{NP}$ ka:-to
[ngo-m melo lukaa-na] mime-em ngo kaa-to
1st.SNG-ACC yesterday insult-NOMZ lady-ACC 1st.SNG see-PST
'I saw the woman who insulted me yesterday'

As it can be seen in the above examples, Relative clause in Adi is embedded inside the noun phrase which makes it a kind of subordinate clause. Also, relative clause (which are put under brackets) in Adi is *prenominal* as it occurs before the noun which it modifies like *anə* 'mother' in example (334), *sa:r* 'Sir' in example (335) and *mimə* 'Lady' in example (336). It can be postnominal when relative pronoun is added in the

relative clause (as discuss below in example 337 and 338), but in the above sentences, there is no way the modified noun can precede the relative clause. Since, modified noun or the noun which the relative clause is modifying occurs outside it, we can say that relative clause in Adi is *externally-headed.*

As it is clear from the examples that Adi does not use relative pronoun to introduce the relative clause. Use of relative pronoun is possible but not usual, such as:

337. se:ko mimə-di [ŋom məlo luka:-ton], dəm mimə-dəm ŋo ka:-to
seeko mime-di [ngom melo lukaa-ton] dem-mime-dem ngo kaa-to
who ladi-DEF me yesterday insult-PST DET-lady-DET 1st.SNG see-PST
'I saw the woman who insulted me yesterday'

In the above example, *mimə* 'Lady' is repeated before and after the relative clause, and first mimə takes definite marker while second *mimə* takes determiners causing the omission of the *accusative* marker. However, it can be also said without repeating the *mimə* as follows:

338. se:ko mimə-di [ŋom məlo luka:-ton], dəm ŋo ka:-to
seeko mime-di [ngom melo lukaa-ton] dem ngo kaa-to
who ladi-DEF me yesterday insult-PST DET 1st.SNG see-PST
'I saw the woman who insulted me yesterday'

Both these examples require a pause (comma) after the the relative clause as illustrated above.

The gap of relative pronoun in the above relative clauses are filled by *nominalizer* /na/ which has the meaning of 'Doer' as in *gəna* 'One who is wearing' in example (334), *bina* 'One who is giving' in example (335) and *luka:na* 'One who is insulting' in example (336). This nominalizer function equivalent to English relative pronoun 'who', so, it can be said as *relativizer* in Adi. So when relative pronoun *se:ko* 'Who' is added as in example (338) above, nominalizer /na/ is replaced by some other particle.

Also, when relative clause in expressed usually without relative pronoun, the modified noun takes accusative case marker /əm/ as in *anə-əm* 'Mother-ACC' in example (334), *sa:r-əm* 'Sir-ACC' as in example (335) and *mimə-əm* 'Lady-ACC' as in example (336). The addition of relative pronoun also shifts the modified noun before the relative clause as seen in example (337). So it can be concluded that relative pronoun is not usually used in relative clause in Adi, but when it is used, it alters both the order and particles of the clause.

In Adi, relative clause precedes the noun and according to Dryer, the orders RelN (relation clause and Noun) and NRel (noun and relative clause) are approximately equally common among OV languages (Dryer 2008:2). He adds "The order of relative clause and noun does correlate with the order of object and verb only in the sense that RelN order (with the relative clause preceding the noun) is far more common in OV languages than it is in VO languages (Dryer 2005g).

5.8 NEGATION:

Negation is construction which conveys the contradiction of some or all of a sentence's meaning. In Adi, there are two negative particle /ma/ and /maŋ/. In addition to these two, /pəja/ also marks negation and occurs sentence finally. All of these negative particles occur after the verb. In this section I will describe negation in Adi in declarative, imperative and interrogative construction.

5.8.1 Declarative negation:

/ma/: In declarative sentence, ma usually do not occur in sentence final as show below:

339. ŋo apim domaje
ngo apim do-ma-ye
I food eat-NEG-FUT
'I will not eat food'

340. si:lo asi a:-ma -duŋ
silo asi aa-ma-dung
water come-NEG-PRES
'Today water is not coming'

341. osi pasigat ən-ma-dak
osi pasigat en-ma-dak
osi(F) pasigat go-NEG-going to
'Osi is not going to pasighat (a town)'

/maŋ/: In declarative sentence, /maŋ/ usually occurs in sentence final. And /maŋ/ also has perfective meaning as illustrated below:

342. ŋolu miru-əm pəso-maŋ
ngolu miru-em peso-mang
we enemy-ACC afraid-NEG.PERF
'We are not scared of enemy'

343. ŋo abbuk ap-ken maŋ aru ap-ken pəkom li:-maŋ
ngo abbuk ap-ken mang aru ap-ken pekom lii-mang
I gun shoot-know NEG and shoot-know also want-NEG
'I do not know how to shoot and I do not want to know also (how to shoot)'

5.8.2 Imperative negation:

/ma/: In imperative negation, /ma/ can occur in both sentence final and medial such as:

344. si:lo arɨk ən-ma pəka
siilo arik en-ma peka
today field go-NEG IMP
'Do not go to field today'

345. dəm do-ma
dem do-ma
DEM eat-NEG
'Do not eat that'

346. solo apoŋ tɨ:-ma
solo apong tii-ma
here alcohol drink-NEG
'Do not drink alcohol here'

Negative marker /maŋ/ do not occur in imperative negation.

5.8.3 Interrogative negation

/ma/: When *–ma* is used in interrogative negation, interrogative marker *–n* is suufixed to it such as:

347. si ai-du-n ai-ma-n?
this good-IMPF-INT good-NEG-INT
'Is this good or bad?'

348. migom-ə ka-ma-n?
migom-e ka-ma-n
officer-NOM present-NEG-INT
'Is not the officer there?'

349. no arɨk ən-ma-je-n?
no arik en-ma-ye-n?
you field go-NEG-FUT-INT
'Will not you go to field?'

/**maŋ**/: when *maŋ* is used, there cannot not be an interrogative marker /-n/. Since there is not interrogative marker, question is asked with raising intonation such:

350. migom-ə ka-maŋ?
migom-e ka-mang?
officer-NOM present-NEG
'Is officer not there?' (*Lit.* Officer not there?)

As it can be seen, negative particle *–ma* is more productive as it occurs in all the three (imperative, interrogative and declarative) constructions while *–maŋ* cannot. Also, *-ma* can take various suffixes like tense, interrogative, emphatic, nominalizer etc. while *–maŋ* cannot. On semantic front, *-ma* only negates the sentence of whatever kind like perfective, imperfective, present tense, future tense etc. whereas, *-maŋ* gives more perfective sense. However, this information is quite limited and it requires further

analysis as there are certain situation where *–maŋ* can also be used in imperfective construction but those are not detailed here.

Another morpheme which gives negative nuances without the negative particle /-ma/ and /-maŋ/ is /pəja/. Such as:

/pəja/: it is used specially to negate someone's conviction like someone to his/her junior (such as, a parent to the child).

Conviction:

351.	no	apoŋ	tɨ:-duŋ	ai?
	no	apong	tii-dung	ai?
	you	alcohol	drink-PRES	INT
	'You take alcohol, do you?'			

Response:

352.	tɨ:-pəja	
	tii-peya	
	drink-NEG	
	'I don't'	

It can be also replied as *tɨ:-maŋ* but when *tɨ:-pəja* is used, it gives the meaning of 'why/how will I drink'/ 'what makes you think that I drink?'/ 'how is it possiblethat I drink?' So *tɨ:-pəja* is basically a statement with negative connotation without any negative marker.

pəja is also used to express impossibilities such as:

353.	bɨ	apoŋ	tɨ:-pəja	
	bi	apong	tii-peya	
	he	wine	drink-NEG	
	'He possibly doesn't drink'			

Here, the man in the context is a gentleman who by look itself seems not to be consuming any intoxicants. In other words, his look is too gentle that it looks impossible that he takes intoxicants like alcohol.

/-ram/:

-ram literally means 'Not able/unable'. It is suffixed to the verb such as:

354. apim si pi:-ram-je
apim si pii-ram-ye
food this reach-unable-FUT
'Food will not be enough' (*Lit.* food will not be able to reach)

355. pədoŋ si o-ram-je
pedong si o-ram-ye
rain this fall-unable-FUT
'It will not rain' (*Lit.* rain will be unable to fall)

5.8.4 Double negation:

In Adi, when two negations are used, they cancel each other making the sentence positive such as:

-ma + -ma:

356. a:-ma-pə i-ma-je
aa-ma-pe i-ma-ye
come-NEG-ADV do-NEG-FUT
'(SUB) do not come, will not do'
'You must come'

-ma + -maŋ:

357. po-ma:-pə i-maŋ
po-ma-pe i-mang
tell-NEG-ADV do-NEG
'Its not possible that I did not tell you'
(*Lit.* (SUB) did not tell, that did not happen)

-ma + pəja:

358. a-ma-pə i-pəja
a-ma-pe i-peya
come-NEG-ADV do-NEG
'How is this possible that (SUB) did not come'
(*Lit.* Have not come, not happen)

In double negation –ma always take the position of first negation and *–maŋ* and *pəja* takes the second postion according to the context.

5.8.5 Negation in positive expression:

There is one more case in Adi where a Negative particle *–maŋ* is used to express positive sentence. such as:

359. apim si alum-maŋ
apim si alum-mang
food this enough-NEG
'Food is enough' (*Lit.* Food is not enough)

360. abə: abal si alum-əi-maŋ
abee abal si alum-ei-mang
EXP money this enough-EMPH-NEG
'Money is more than enough' (*Lit.* Money is not at all enough)

361. si alum pəja
si alum peya
this enoughNEG
'This is not enough/ this is more than enough'

Here, the word *alum* is ‘Enough’ but when one expresses it in sentence, one gas to add the negative particle to express the positive statement. So, when one wants to express ‘Not enough’, they have to use alternate ways like *pɨ:maje* ‘Will not reach’, *pɨ:ramje* ‘Will not be able to reach’ both of which means ‘Will not be enough’

Negative particles occur with verb when entire sentence has to be negated. It can also occur with adjective or adverb. such as:

Noun:

362. osi maŋ
osi mang
osi NEG
‘(It is) not Osi(F)’

Adjective:

363. kampo ma-na-ko
beauty-NEG-NOMZ-DET
‘Not a beautiful one’

364. antʃo maŋ
ancho mang
small NEG
‘Not small’

Adverb:

365. akgɨ-akgɨ pə-maŋ
akgi-akgi pe-mang
loud-loud ADV-NEG
‘Not loudly’

When negative particle occurs with noun, adjective and adverb, it negates only the concern lexical and not the entire event of action like in verb.

5.9 SUMMARY:

The word order in the language is SOV. *Indirect object* precedes *direct object* in Adi giving the order of S + IO + DO +V, while this order also is not fixed and can be altered. Adi marks interrogation with both interrogative particles and with raising intonation.

Adi has markers for both nominal and verbal anaphora. Relative clause in Adi is embedded inside the noun phrase. Adi has double negation to express positive statement.

CHAPTER 6: SOCIOLINGUISTICS PROFILE OF ADI AND CONCLUSION

"Sociolinguists study the relationship between language and society. They are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social contexts, and they are concerned with identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning. Examining the way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way language works, as well as about the social relationships in a community, and the way people convey and construct aspects of their social identity through their language" (Holmes 2013:1). In this Chapter, I will describe some of the sociolinguistics aspects related to Adi language such as orthography, script and related issues, language contact, native speaker's attitude towards their own language, multilingualism, varieties of Adi etc. This will be followed by conclusion.

6.1 LANGUAGE POLICY OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH:

I could not come across any written record of language planning and policy of Arunachal Pradesh during my collection of literatures from State and district libraries, archives and government offices. It may be a case of absence of language policy in the state or misplacement of the documents or my own inability to find out the same. But no one seems to know if there exist one hence I consider it to be the absence of any kind of policy at all.

Arunachal Pradesh as it is known as today, was an independent entity until British conquered Assam in 1824-26 during Anglo-Burmese war. Thereafter, by and by Arunachal Pradesh was annexed to Assam administration under British rule. So Assamese language was as primary language. Many elders in Arunachal Pradesh today had education in Assamese medium during those period. Even after independence of India, government of India did not interfere much in the internal affairs of Arunachal Pradesh so there was no rigid rule for choice of language in education and administration.

However, after the Chinese aggression in 1962, the government of India felt the need to Indianized the sate and this was done by expanding Hindi language especially through education. In India's three-language formula in education, Sanskrit was also introduced

replacing Assamese. Many adopted Hindi language as their second language as as most of the school teachers were Hindi speakers and the classes were taken in Hindi language even though the school were in English Medium. So, when Arunachal Pradesh got its statehood on 20th February 1987, English and Hindi were adopted as official language. Hindi could not be done away with as most of the population are dependent on it for communication. So the current scenario in Arunachal Pradesh is that verbally Hindi is dominant in all aspects, but in written, English thrives as Hindi is almost zero when it comes to formal writing be it official or non-official.

Recently, local language especially Adi has been introduced as third language in lieu of Sanskrit till 8th standard and many more such plan introduction of local languages in school are on the process. So, presently English and Hindi are the official languages, and local languages are taking up prominence to be introduced as third language in schools.

The Adi also has council for Adi language called as *Adi Agom Kebang* and the conference related to language issues are often organized.

Photo courtesy: *http://arunachal24.in/pasighat-xi-general-conference-of-adi-agom-kebang/*

6.2 LINGUA-FRANCA:

Unlike other region like Manipur, Assam etc., where dominant language (like Meitei, Assamese) is used as lingua franca, the scenario in Arunachal Pradesh is different. As the state is popularly known for its linguistics diversity, nonetheless, none of the language

dominant or minor has gained the status of lingua-franca. So in a situation where all the languages and sub-varieties are mutually unintelligible, and where there is no local language as lingua franca, 'Hindi' a language outside of the state is widely used as the bridge of communication among the tribes and sub-tribes.

An M. Phil dissertation on Hindi as a lingua franca in Arunachal Pradesh by Yanki Modi (2005) give an account of the use of Hindi amongst native Arunachalee in Capital area of Itanagar. The study presents the following statistics:

Age	**Percent**	**Domain**
15–35	83%	business transactions
	63%	interactions with their peer group
	20%	interactions with their family.
35–50	55%	business transactions
	10%	interactions with friends
		(Assamese is used 58% of the time) and 7–8% of interactions with their family.
50+	20%	business transactions,
	20%	interactions with friends and
	2.5%	interactions with their family.
The older generation is relatively more comfortable with Assamese;		
	52%	use Assamese with friends, and
	74%	use Assamese for business transaction.
	95%	over 50+ age group interact in their mother tongue with their families.

The above statistics is true for almost all the corners of Arunachal Pradesh where younger generation use Hindi as lingua Franca more than older generation.

6.3 ORTHOGRAPHY:

Orthography, which is a convention of writing, is a very much complicated affair among Adis. Since the communities have no developed script, roman alphabets are used with phonological adjustment. In this section, I will discuss the existing orthographies among Adis along with proper examples from various secondary sources. Such as:

a. I would like to term the first orthography which is use by maximum of population as 'Free style'. It is because there is no fixed rule for marking distinction in vowel length, diacritic for central vowels etc. The confusion in the written word is clear with the help of the context. Example in the word *du* 'Punch' and *du*: 'Sit' are written as *du* and the reader will understand whether its *punch* or *Sit* through the context of the sentence. In other written Adi literatures like school text books, bible etc., distinctions are made with the help of diacritics or extra vowels, but since it is not yet fully established and officially recognized and also more difficult to use, mass of the population rely on free style orthography. Following is a text taken from a Facebook post of an Adi speaker where the person has used free style orthography. The reason I extracted it from the social site is that it is the most naturally produced written text unlike in the environment of data collection where the writer often writes with conscious:

> "Ngoluk ADI gidang dolung kenyung konlokom sikepe dance mojine kadungai idola jega pangkumang agii talent em lengkan sukipe minekom iko kamang aying among moteng lo enla imin gedokupe ipene abal kakumang ila sikep agii talent em agii yeripe yekolo sige nyokge sulik dung."
>
> *Free Translation by myself: We also have good dancers in some corner of our Adi land but we do not have opportunity to showcase our talent as we cannot afford to go to cities so the inborn talent die and is buried with us in our own land.*

In the above example, the writer has not marked long vowels in words like *gidang (gi:dang), kenyung (ke:nyung), moteng (mo:teŋ)* etc. no distinction has been made in central vowel and /e/ is used for both /e/ and /ə/ and /i/ for both /i/ and /ɨ/ as in *gidang (gɨ:daŋ), sikepe (sikəpə)* etc. In the word *agii,* the writer has attempted to mark central vowel /ɨ/ with double vowel, but is not consistent as he did not mark it in the word *sukipe* which should have been *sukiipe.* From the above example it is clear that the free style in Adi use:

Adi free style orthography	IPA
e	e, eː, ə, əː
i	i, iː, ɨ, ɨː
a	a, aː
o	o, oː
u	u, uː
ng	ŋ
ny	ɲ

b. The second system orthography I am going to present also use the same roman alphabet but with diacritics to mark the mentioned above differences. Such as:

Su:pak ké Ané toker régoso, nolu takam kenyin sudung, Rapul takamé Ratan takamé Na:né Bapung mé Ba:bu Pertin ké mimé émyin bosumang. Ba:bu Tínlíng ké mimé émla ngolum émdum sunékom détdíné kadung.

Free Translation by myself: In this wife claiming regards, All of you know that all Rapul all Ratan do not claim mother Bapung to be father Pertin's wife. Many support us claiming her to be father Tinling.

In the above text the use of consonants remain same as earlier example, only changes are the following diacritics on vowel:

Adi Diacritics		IPA equivalent
é	=	ə
í	=	ɨ
a:	=	aː

This system is used by small population. Since it is not possible to insert the diacritics in mobile, people generally avoid using it at all.

c. The other set which differs on use of marking central vowels and long vowels follow this:

Adi Diacritics		IPA equivalent
e	=	ə
í	=	ɨ
a:	=	aa

This set is used in Adi Bible and school texts. Such as:

Adi Bible (Rev. 1:7):

7 Kaasutola, bí doomuglok aadakku, delokke mipil amige bím kaapayé, bím níkké neteng kaapayé; delokke amosokke ami takame bík legalok ankí kenoyé. Dekepe de iyérung! Amen.

Adi language school textbook:

Mahatma Gandhi ngoluk among (India) sim milun alaklok laalén bokuné. Bim ngoluk among sok abué émla ludo. Aapi minggap délokké aapi tolnam lok bík aminé supak lopé turla duuyardung. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru bí ngoluk among sok mingkésunam abu akonpé ito. Bí mirém ao kuai idakkom bí mirém la asengpé duumato. Gandhi king lékopé ager imín géla agí yénamém yéto. Milun kídar lok irengém bojeko paato. Paték lokom bojeko duuto. Amílé paték lo duudokom bík aapiém patéklo mélang maato. Sadhín paarong kudém bí Bharat sok kérang yaalum Prime Minister pé ito.

d. Tani-Lipi

Tani-Lipi was invented by Mr. Tony Koyu, a native of Arunachal Pradesh with the aim to make it pan-Arunachal script. The script basically is alphabetical in nature and is claimed to be easy to learn and also to adhere alphabet-sound correlated. Following is the propose script called Tani-Lipi:

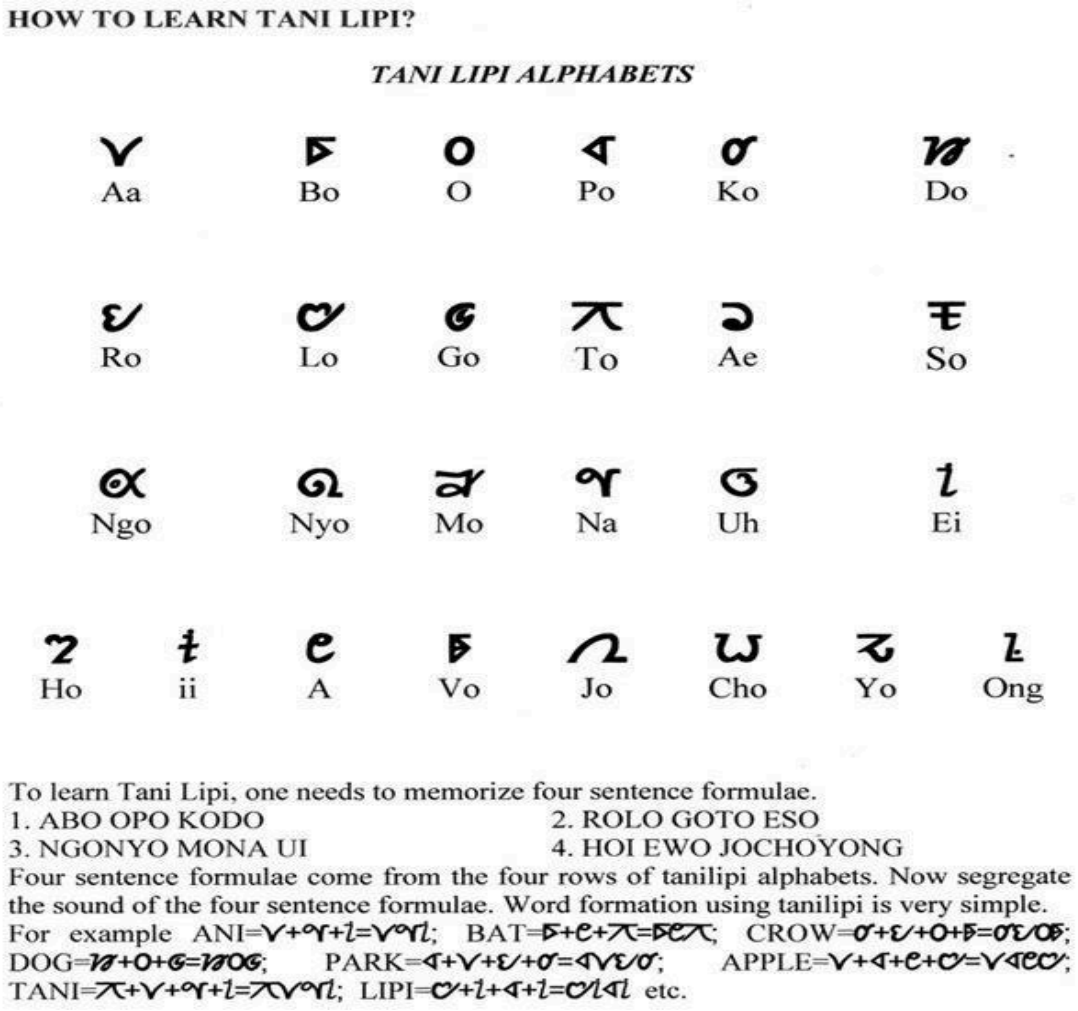


Figure 11: Tani-Lipi invented by Toni Koyu

However, many are critical about this script. Nending Omo, writes "Though the intention to create such a script is laudable, the Tani Lipi does not holistically cater to the basic purpose of the script it has been devised for. Few of the many limitations of Tani Lipi are, firstly, Tani Lipi does not represent all the sounds of the languages existing in Arunachal Pradesh. For instance, sounds like [ts] of Tangsa as in [**ts**w**ts**a] meaning 'praise', [Sh] of Monpa as in [ta**Sh**i] meaning 'Ta**sh**i (name of a person)',/ly/='ly' of Apatani as in [a**lly**o] meaning '(a**ly**o) tongue' etc. are not available". Many of such drawbacks have been highlighted in Tani-Lipi and till date it has not been recognized as official script.

6.4 LANGUAGE CONTACT:

"A term used in sociolinguistics to refer to a situation of geographical continuity or close social proximity (and thus of mutual influence) between languages or dialects. The result of contact situations can be seen linguistically, in the growth of loan words, patterns of phonological and grammatical change, mixed forms of language (such as creoles and pidgins), and a general increase in bilingualism of various kinds. In a restricted sense, languages are said to be 'in contact' if they are used alternately by the same persons, i.e. bilinguals[71]"

Adi is in close contact with Assamese and Hindi. In this section, I will discuss the borrowed words of Adi from Hindi and Assamese (and also English) which is result of language contact. Adi has lots of loan words from both the languages which have been borrowed and modified as shown in the examples below:

a. **From Assamese**: Many loan words borrowed from Assamese can be found in Adi.

Loan word in Adi	**Source word in Assamese**	**Gloss**
go:ru	goru	Cow
gakɨr	gakir	Milk
mendari	mekuri	Cat
golpota	golpota	An ornament
doloŋ	doloŋ	Bridge
saŋ	sa:	Tea
gɨrdʒa	girija	Church

In the above examples of loan words, many phonological changes can be seen. The above Assamese words have become so much parts and parcel of Adi lexicon. The native Adi word *əgo* 'Bridge' are seldom used especially in town area where language contacts are more.

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[71] David Crystal (2008). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 6th Edition, Blackwell Publishing, Pg.107

b. From Hindi:

Loan word in Adi	**Source word in Hindi**	**Gloss**
badʒi	badʒi	Time/fry
dukan	dukan	Shop
somoi	səməe	Time
ga:ri	ga:ri	Vehicle
samus (via Assamese)	cəmmədʒ	Spoon
baltiŋ (via Assamese)	ba:lti	Bucket
ti:ŋ	ti:n	Tin
mosola/mosolaŋ	məsala	Spices
satoni	catni	Chutney
soppol	cəppəl	Slipper
ma:p	ma:f	Forgive

c. From English

Loan word in Adi	**Source word in Hindi**	**Gloss**
be:ŋ	bank-	Bank
pu:n	phone	Phone
asipotal	hospital	Hospital
iskul	sku:l	School
a:pel	æpəl	Apple

The word ‘Danger’ has a semantic extension in Adi. It is used as an emphatic marker quite often as can be seen in the examples below:

366.	si	mimə	si	dendʒar	kampo	duŋ
	si	mime	si	danger	kampo	dung
	this	girl	this	danger	beautiful	PRES

‘This is girl very beautiful’

(*Lit.* This girl is danger beautiful)

367.	dendʒa:r-pə	do-ta-duŋ
	danger-pe	do-ta-dung
	danger-ADV	eat-Glut-IMPF
	'(Sub) eats quite a lot'	
	(*Lit.* He is dangerously glutton)	

In the above examples, the word *danger* has been used to intensify the expression. The second vowel of the word is also lengthen (as in the second) example which is way of marking emphatic is Adi. So Like the above examples, many of the speakers use the word *danger* in any kind of expression with intensity.

Another, interesting blending word I have come across the speakers speaking in their natural context was *baisanək*. This word was used especially among the speakers of *Mebo* village. This word is blending of two different words one form English and another from Hindi respectively which have been elaborated below:

/baɪ-ʧæns/	+	/əcanək/	→	/baicanək/
by-chance		achanak		bychanak/bysanak
		'Suddenly'		'Suddenly and by-chance'

As in example:

368.	ŋo	ka:mo-lo	pəsoə:	ila du:do-pak	baisanək	adut-ko man-kai
	ngo	kaamo-lo	pesoe	ila duudo-pak	baisanek	adutko man-kai
	I	night-LOC	fear	CP sit-exactly	baisanak	noise-INDF-say-PST

'As I sat frightened in the dark, a noise came suddenly and by chance'

6.5 LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT:

In this section, I will discuss assessment of Adi language vitality Based on *Language Vitality Assessment Form*[72] as below:

[72] Language Vitality and Endangerment. Paris: UNESCO Expert Meeting on Safeguarding Endangered Languages.

Language name: ADI ISO 639-3 code: adi			
Sl. No.	**Factors**	**Ratings**	**Description**
1.	Intergenerational Language Transmission	4	Unsafe, The language is used by some children in all domains
2.	Absolute Number of Speakers	------	Cannot ascertain
3.	Proportion of Speakers within Total Population	3	Majority speak the language
4.	Trends in Existing Language Domains	3	The language is in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains
5.	Response to New Domains and Media	1	The language is used only in few new domains
6.	Materials for Language Education and Literacy	3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
7.	Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes And Policies, Including Official Status and Use	3 or below	No explicit policy exist for minority languages
8.	Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language	3 or below	Many Members support language maintenance; others are indifferent
9.	Amount and Quality of Documentation	2	Fragmentary

Table 38: Adi Language Assessment

Assessment Elaboration:

In the first number, as per the scale of 5, Adi range on 4 'Unsafe/vulnerable' as almost all the children in villages speak Adi in all domain. Except in town and cities, the children may/may not speak their native language. And in comparison to town population, village population is more among Adis. It is not possible to ascertain absolute number of speakers of Adi. Even if it is based on population on census of India, giving absolute number is difficult. So it has been left blank instead of guessing a wrong figure. In serial number 3, Adi range on scale 3 as the speakers of language is in majority among the total population of Adi. In serial no. 4, Adi scales 3. Here I will present my observation of domain of the language during my field visits in two broad two domains:

Domain 1: Family:

During my field visits, I observed the conversation between family members. The number of houses and places are as follows:

Place	No. of Houses	No. of Houses conversing in Adi
Mebo village	10	10
Kiyit village	10	10
Motum village	10	10
Pasighat town	5	3
Ruksin town	5	4
Itanagar town	5	2
Parbuk village	5	5
Jia village	5	5

As it can be seen in the above table, families in villages are very quite adhering to converse in native language in comparison to the town. In villages, all the families I observed, converse in native language among the family members. But it was not the case in town. Out of five families in Pasighat town, three converse in Adi while in one of the family, children and parent conversation takes place in Adi while among siblings the conversation was in Hindi/Adi/English. The remaining one family converse in Adi/Assamese. In Itanagar, only two Adi families fully converse in native language. The children of one family were not having good competency in communicating in Adi so they preferred speaking in Hindi. They said 'People laugh at us when we speak Adi, so we do not speak'. The children of rest two families

were having good knowledge of Adi and alter between Adi and Hindi while Hindi being the preferable one. In Ruksin town, only one family converse in Adi-Assamese both while rest four converse only in Adi among the family members.

Domain 2: Community

The next domain of my observation was in community level like in village council, in gatherings like party/festival, funeral, prayer meet etc. In all such gatherings, the conversation takes place in Adi. All the formal gatherings of Adis are also solemnized in native language.
So based on the above observation, which is quite small in number but is still very insightful, I graded Adi on scale 3. For serial no. 5 as Adi is not much used in new domain like internet, broadcast media etc.

For serial no. 6, I graded on scale 3 and for serial no. 7, the grade is 3 or below. As it is a universally known fact that minorities are always discriminated in every field, even among Adis, the more minor varieties get lesser lights than major one like Adi-Padam and Adi-Minyong. The songs, books, bible, etc. are all written in Adi-Padam. Serial no. 8 also range on scale 3 or below. Few years back, it would have been on lower scale not necessarily due to negative attitudes towards native language but due to lack of awareness of the importance of the same. Many would comment 'who would want to know Adi (beside Adi themselves)'. But today, perspective is changing. More parents encourage their children to speak the mother tongue at home domain atleast. The sizeable amount of work have been done on Adi but they are not adequate nor scientific enough. So I have graded serial no. 9 on scale 3.

6.6 MULTILINGUALISM:

"No nation in the world is completely monolingual. In some cases, this is due to the way modern nation-states have been composed on the basis of rough geographic boundaries and because of historical political allegiances and conquest. Nowadays, it is also because of the ease and speed of movements of people between different nations". (Meyerhoff 2006:103). Very true to this statement, Adi is no exception when it comes to being a multilingual. Among the ten of my informants, only one 65 years old man was supposedly monolingual. Firstly he is illiterate and barely goes out of village so the need to communicate in Hindi does not arise for him. Secondly, he does have basic

understanding of the Hindi, but do not or have never spoken it as he hesitantly said that he is not comfortable speaking Hindi. On enquiring how he communicate with the non-native shopkeepers in the village, he said he speak in Adi to them and they understand. Like him, many older populations in villages are monolingual who either do not know Hindi or Assamese or are hesitating to speak despite having basic knowledge.

Nonetheless, other than these handful older population, Majority of Adis are multilingual. The other languages know apart from mother tongue being Hindi, Assamese, Nepali and English. Different languages are use in different occasions as per the need. This has been aptly stated as

"In many parts of the world it is just a normal requirement of daily living that people speak several languages: perhaps one or more at home, another in the village, still another for purposes of trade, and yet another for contact with the outside world of wider social or political organization. These various languages are usually acquired naturally and unselfconsciously, and the shifts from one to another are made without hesitation". (Wardhaugh 2006: 96)

6.6.1 Code Shifting and Code Mixing:

Since majorities of the Adis are multilingual, code-shifting and code-mixing are very common. Code-shifting which is conversational strategy of shifting from one language/style to another as per the interlocutor and code mixing is adding of content from another language while speaking.

Code switching was observed during a conversation between two students and a non-native teacher, the students regularly switched the code when speaking among themselves and when speaking to the teacher. The two students spoke in Arunachalee Hindi with each other while speaking in somewhat more standard Hindi while speaking to the teacher.

Code-mixing is very much usual as the speaker often mix Adi-Hindi-English as it can be seen in the examples below:

369.	no	abɨjaŋ-ə	dəpə	man-mɨlo	***nai***	***hoga***
	no	abiyang-e	depe	man-milo	nai	hoga
	You	elder-NOM	like this	say-if	not	happen

'If you being an elder say like this, it is not well'

370. no ŋom ***kja*** ***kor*** ***sokega***?
no ngom kya kor sokega?
you me what do can
'What can you do to me?'

371. bɨ **ekdom tərd** **klas menteliti** na-ko-na
bi ekdom third class mentality na-ko-na
He absolute third class mentality NOMZ-INDF-NOMZ
'He is an absolute third class mentality person'

In example (369) and (370), the speaker mix Adi and Hindi and in example (371) Adi-Hindi-English are mixed.

6.6.2 Language variation and attitude:

As said earlier, the sixteen subgroups of Adis are affiliated based on ethnicity rather than on linguistics. So it is important to ascertain the level of lexical similarities among the varieties/dialect. During my field visit to Adi-Tangam area, I found it mutually unintelligible at speech level though there are similarities at cognate level.

A sociolinguistics survey of language variation and attitude among Adis was conducted by Padung and Sako in 2015 by comparing a wordlist of around 307 lexical items and also through interviews. They provide matrix of percentage of similarities in the wordlist compared in the following way:

Padam
83 Shimong
76 80 Minyong
74 76 72 Ashing (Bogum-Bokang)
63 68 70 72 Bori
55 57 58 61 65 Pailibo
51 53 51 53 57 69 Bokar
49 50 49 51 54 65 72 Ramo
34 33 28 32 27 24 23 22 Milang

Their survey yielded that "The overall lexical similarity percentages among all Adi

wordlists ranges from 22 to 83 percent. The wordlist from Milang is the most divergent of all, with low percentages of 22–34 percent between it and the other wordlists.

Two main clusters emerge in the matrix. One cluster is comprised of wordlists from Padam, Shimong, Minyong, Ashing and Bori, with lexical similarity percentages ranging from 63 to 83 percent. The Ashing wordlist has a higher similarity than expected, since the language is reported to be difficult for some people to understand. In general, the wordlists in this cluster represent language groups that are geographically closer to one another than they are to the language groups from other locations. The other cluster is comprised of the Pailibo, Bokar and

Ramo wordlists, with lexical similarity percentages ranging from 65 to 72 percent. As with the other cluster, these language groups are generally close to one another geographically. The similarity between these two clusters is relatively low, ranging from 49 to 65 percent. (It should be noted that the threshold for deciding whether intelligibility is possible is 60 percent)" (Padung and Sako 2015:3)

Regarding huge gap of lexical divergence was higligheted also by Blench and Post as "the Indeed, the Milang language, which is usually considered Tani on the basis of a large number of cognates, may well either have a substrate of a quite different character or have borrowed intensively from such a language.....The hypothesis here is that Milang was either a non-Tani language that came under heavy and repeated Tani influence, or that it is a fundamentally Tani language which nevertheless retains a significant substrate from a non-Tani population" (Blench and Post 2011). Below are few lexical comparisons of the the varieties of Adis. Only Adi-Tangam and Adi-Karko lexicals were added by me and rest are taken from Padung and Sako 2015, Adi-Karko data were taken from Megu:1993, Tangam data were collected during my own field visit.

MN = Minyong, BR = Bori, RM = Ramo, ML= Milang, PL = Pai Libo, AS = Asing, PD = Padam, SM = Simong, BK = Bokar, TG = Tangam, KR = Karko.

sky		sun		stone	
MN	ʈaləŋ	MN	ɖoŋi	MN	əliŋ
BR	ʈaləŋ	BR	ɖoŋi	BR	əliŋ
RM	meɖomo	RM	ɖoŋi	RM	ɨliŋ
ML	ʈallə	ML	məruŋ	ML	ɖabu
PL	ʈallə	PL	ɖoŋi	PL	ɨlɨ
AS	ʈaləŋ	AS	ɖoŋi	AS	ɨliŋ
PD	ʈaləŋ	PD	ɖoŋi	PD	əliŋ
SM	ʈaləŋ	SM	ɖoŋi	SM	ɖabu
BK	meɖoŋmo	BK	ɖõŋi	BK	ɨliŋ
TG	tereŋ	TG	doŋi	TG	arɨŋ
KR	taleŋ	KR	doŋi	KR	əliŋ
day		morning		night	
MN	loŋa	MN	ɾo	MN	jo
BR	lo	BR	ɾo	BR	jo
RM	alo	RM	aɾo	RM	kə nə
ML	ane	ML	anap	ML	aju
PL	alo	PL	aɾo	PL	kə nə
AS	loŋə	AS	ɾokom	AS	jomaŋ
PD	loŋə	PD	ɾo	PD	jo
SM	loŋə	SM	ɾo	SM	jo
BK	lo	BK	aɾo	BK	ajo
TG	lopoŋ	TG	lokone	TG	mejuŋ
KR	loŋa	KR	rokom	KR	jo
uncooked rice		tree		meat	
MN	ɖobɪ n	MN	əsɨŋanə	MN	mə nə
BR	abɨ n	BR	əʃɨŋ	BR	aɖɨ n
RM	amə	RM	ʃɨn	RM	iɖin
ML	ɖukɨ	ML	haŋŋ i	ML	aɖɨ n
PL	ambin	PL	ʃɨnə	PL	aɖin
AS	ambin	AS	əsɨŋanə	AS	aɖɨ n
PD	ambɨ n	PD	əʃɨŋ	PD	aɖɨ n
SM	ambɨ n	SM	əʃɨŋ	SM	mə nə
BK	amə	BK	ʃɨŋne	BK	iɖin
TG	amben	TG	a:hɨŋ	TG	demi
KR	ambin	KR	əsiŋ	KR	adin

monkey		eye		tongue	
MN	hɨbeŋ	MN	amik	MN	ajo
BR	ʃibe	BR	amit̪	BR	ajo
RM	ʃebe	RM	mikh	RM	ajo
ML	abe	ML	amik	ML	ʃiḏal
PL	ʃobe	PL	aɲik	PL	ajo
AS	ʃɨbej	AS	imit̪	AS	ajo
PD	ibe	PD	amik	PD	ajo
	ʃibe	SM	amik	SM	ajo
SM	hibeŋ	BK	mikh	BK	ajo
BK	ʃə be	TG	amit	TG	ao
	ʃə be	KR	amik	KR	ajo
TG	*be:cuŋ*				
KR	Sibeng				

blood		mother		son	
MN	ijji	MN	ummo	MN	ao
BR	iji	BR	aji	BR	miloao
RM	uji	RM	ane	RM	hoɾo
ML	ajji	ML	aji	ML	oɾu
PL	uji		adʒi	PL	hoɾo
AS	ɨjjɨ	PL	ane	AS	aḏo
PD	ijji		ɲene	PD	ue
SM	ijji	AS	anə	SM	ao
BK	uji	PD	ane	BK	hoɾo
TG	aji	SM	ane	TG	ado
KR	iji	BK	anə	KR	aro
		TG	anne		
		KR	gauw		

As described in the *language assessment form* above, majority of the people I have interacted with, have positive attitude towards their own language, however, there are few who are indifferent especially the young people who have been educated outside the state prefer English over Adi or Hindi. Few of whom I have interacted with, do not feel necessity to speak the language as they always have lived outside the state and never really had necessity to use the language. Nevertheless, majority feel the need to speak language more. Another 28 years old female Adi speaker, who could not speak the language properly said ‘I want to marry my own

Adi boy who speaks Adi authentically, because later I do not want my children to be like me, I would want them to speak our own language'.

6.7 KINSHIP IN ADI

One of the distinctness of tribals are their solidarity. Solidarity is keenly maintained in community especially among kits and kins. Due to this, kinship is held very important in Adi society. In this section, I will present linguistic analysis of kinship terminology in Adi.

Adi has both referral and address term. Reference terms are the kin terms which are used to signify or describe or introduce a kin relation of one person to another. For instance, in the sentences *he is my father* or *she is my niece* 'Father' and 'Niece' are reference term' as the speaker is describing his/her relation to the referred person.

Address terms are the terms that we use for directly addressing a person. For instance, win the sentence *I love you, daddy!* 'Daddy' is an address term as the speaker is directly addressing the person. Following are reference and address terms in Adi:

Sl. No.	**Reference**	**Address**	**Gloss**
1.	abu	a:bu	Father
2.	anə	a:ji	Mother
3.	abɨŋ	a:bɨŋ	Elder Brother
4.	bɨrmə	a:mi	Elder brother (referential)
5.	apaŋ		Fraternal uncle
6.		pa:tə	Fraternal eldest uncle
7.		pa:joŋ	Fraternal second eldest uncle
8.		pa:tum	Fraternal third eldest uncle
9.		pa:ji	Fraternal youngest uncle
10.	akɨ		Mother's brother (referal)
11.		kɨtə	Maternal eldest uncle

12.		kɨjoŋ	Maternal second eldest uncle
13.		kɨtum	Maternal third eldest uncle
14.		kɨji	Maternal youngest uncle
15.	amo		Maternal Aunt
16.		a:tə	Mother's eldest sister (aunt)
17.		a:joŋ	Mother's second eldest sister (aunt)
18.		a:tuŋ	Mother's third eldest sister (aunt)
19.		a:ji	Mother's youngest sister (aunt)

As seen above, Adi has specific term for most of the kinship relations. Through kinship terminology addressed to one another, one can induce the proximity of their bloodline in Adi society.

6.8 SUMMARY

Adi has no well established orthography as a result, currently, various sets of orthography is in existence which are used as per one's convenience. There is no written language policy of the government of the state and recently measures have been take up to promote local languages b introducing it in schools as third language. Hindi is the widely used inter-tribe lingua-franca which is higly used by young generations. It is followed by Assamese and English. Adi has close contact with Hindi and Assamese due to which there are numerous borrowed lexical items. The language attitude of the locals towards their native tongue is positive and.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

The state has twenty districts (21th district 'Lower Siang' is under process) and approximately 13 lakh population according to 2011 census of government of India. In the state of Arunachal Pradesh, there are about 25 major tribes and more than hundred sub-tribes. There is subtle difference in culture and language among the tribes and the community of the state are classified based on their ethnic affiliation rather than linguistics similarities.

appearance of the natives of Arunachal Pradesh is that of Mongoloid features. The political affairs of the tribes are based on their customary law which is administered by village councils headed chosen wise men as its members. The Indigenous religion is classified as *animism* and there is a rapid conversion to Christianity. Agriculture hugely dominates as the primary occupation, especially in villages.

Hindi and English are the official languages of the state, though English is more functional in both educational and official matter. Hindi, better be called 'Arunachalee Hindi' and Assamese are used as lingua-franca among different tribes because the languages of different tribes are not mutually intelligible.

Regarding Adi tribe, it is the second major tribes of Arunachal Pradesh after Nyishi tribe. Adis are residents of at least six districts of Arunachal Pradesh. The approximate population of Adi people is around two lakhs and it is approximately 14% of the total population of the state. The village council in Adi villages is known as *Kebang /kəbaŋ.* Adis are mostly agrarian. The staple food of Adis are rice and green leafy vegetables. The language of the Adi is also known as Adi and it is a Tibeto-Burman Language and is one of the major languages in Tani language group of Arunachal Pradesh. Till date, there is no single solid description of Adi language.

Adi tribe is not a wholesome single tribe, rather, it is a conglomeration of at least fifteen subtribes. All the varieties of Adi have dialectal variation and some of them are mutually-unintelligible in speech level.

In Adi, there are fourteen (14) vowels, six (6) Front vowels, four (4) Centre vowels and four (4) Back vowels. Central unrounded vowel /ɨ/ and vowel schwa /ə/ are very prominent vowels in Adi. Long vowels are phonemic and all long vowels do not occur in final position (except for emphasis).

Adi has total of eighteen (18) consonants. Out of eighteen consonants, fifteen are phonemes and rest three are non- phonemic or allophones. The language has four nasal consonants /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ and /ŋ. As in many other Tibeto-Burman languages, voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ is used prominently in syllable initial position but also, in Adi it is equivalently used in coda position which stands it out from other western Tani languages like *Galo.* On contrary, /ɲ/ occurs only in onset position and in fewer lexemes.

Adi has no aspirated and sound, and there is no retroflex. Glottal plosive /ʔ/ in Adi-Padam is non-phonemic. /tʃ/ instead of /s/ or /h/ are allophones and they occur in free variation. /dʒ/ is native to Adi but /tʃ/ does not look like a native sound although it has penetrated and replaced /s/ in few lexical items.

There are nine (9) possible syllable structures in Adi and both open and closed syllables are present in the language and V appears to be the syllable canon of Adi. All the consonants in Adi can occur in onset position, but not all can occur in Coda position

Adi does not entail much consonant cluster in single morpheme. The only consonant cluster which is allowed in single morpheme is the C[glide]. Adi seems to have three level lexical tone *High, Mid, Low.*

The language permits only upto trisyllabic words; if there is any quadrisyllabic word, the analysis exhibits that it is formed out of two independent words to form a compound words. Adi has right-to-left directionality for syllabification rules.

Some of phonological rules found in Adi are: Assimilation, nasalization, deletion, final voicing etc.

1st and 2nd person subject pronouns have nasal consonants in initial position, a feature quite common in Tibeto-Burman languages.

Adi marks object Pronoun with /-m/ and possessive Pronoun /-k/. Most of the nouns in Adi are bysyllabic. Monosyllabic and trisyllabic nouns are far lesser than bisyllabic nouns.

Adi has three-way contrast of person, that are, 1st person, 2nd person and 3rd person. Numbers in Adi are marked with both *nominal number inflection* and *noun phrase number enclitic*. Singular are unmarked. Duality is marked both for nouns and pronouns, in pronouns it is marked obligatorily and in noun it marks only some selective nouns.

There are three plural markers in Adi *ƙidi/ ƙidar* for Noun, *ək* for indefinite Noun, *lu* for Pronoun. Adi marks gender lexically rather than grammatically.

Adi has Nominative-accusative case there are seven case markers: Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Genitive, Locative, Ablative, Instrumental

There are many noun classifiers in Adi. Adjectives in Adi do not just act as modifier, but they also act as noun or verb by taking suffixes. Most of the verbs are bound morpheme so they cannot stand alone. Adi has Compound verb, conjunct verb, reflexive verb and reciprocal verb.

Adi has three tense past, present and future. Further, there are three division of past tense.

Adi marks imperfective for habitual aspect. In Adi, Negation is expressed by particle /ma/ which is suffixed to the verb. In Adi, adverbs precede the verb.

The major word formation processes in Adi are *Derivation, Reduplication, Compounding and Blending.* Headless compounds (copulative compounds) are more frequent than headed compounds.

Like most of Tibeto-Burman langauges, Adi also has Subject + Object + Verb (SOV) word order or in other words Adi is verb final language and *indirect object* occurs before *direct object* in Adi.

The question is form by interrogative markers and also by raising the intonation. For *wh-* question, Adi uses both *Wh- Fronting* and *Wh- In-Situ*. Adi has both nominal and verbal anaphora. Anaphora can also be reduplicated to express various semantics. In verbal anaphor, both verbal reciprocal (VREC) and verbal reflexive (VR) can occur together in one sentence and usually VREC precedes VR.

In Adi, object noun phrase precedes the verb and follow the subject. Adjective phrase may both precede or follow the noun phrase. In Adi, relative clause precedes the noun.

Adi uses roman script for writing and despite many attempt by local scholars, there exist no well established alphabet, rather, many sporadic set of rules for writing which people use or abandon according to convenience and choice.

Hindi is the second language and is used and major lingua-franca all around the state. Adi has language contact with Hindi and Assamese and have borrowed many words from both.

The varieties of Adi language have numerous dialectal variation. Adi people's attitude towards their own language is positive and they use it in both social and home domains.

APPENDIX 1: ADI WORDLIST

	ADI	ENGLISH GLOSS
BODY PARTS		
20.	amɨl	Body (Whole)
21.	asik	Skin (of man)
22.	atuk/tukku/dumpoŋ	Head
23.	tukdaŋ ra:bi	Crown area of head
24.	tukdaŋ	Forehead front
25.	mikmo	Face
26.	amik	Eye
27.	mikmɨt	Eyebrow
28.	miktən	Eyelid
29.	mikmɨt / mikbər	Eyelash
30.	mikpɨ	Eyeball
31.	ɲobuŋ	Nose
32.	ɲokit	Nasal bridge
33.	ɲoruŋ	Ear
34.	mopum	Cheek
35.	nappaŋ	Mouth
36.	nabbel	Lip
37.	ajo	Tongue
38.	i:paŋ	Tooth

39.	pa:nə	Molar tooth
40.	sokkor aloŋ	Jaw
41.	sokkor	Chin
42.	alɨŋ	Neck
43.	koŋgak	Nape of neck
44.	lɨŋgu puru	Throat
45.	lɨ:pil	Adam's apple
46.	dumɨt	Hair (of head)
47.	nammɨt	Beard
48.	amɨt	Hair (of body)
49.	dumsum	Tuft, lock (of hair)
50.	gorduŋ	Shoulder
51.	aŋkəŋ	Chest
52.	a:pu	Breast
53.	ugɨŋ	Waist
54.	ki:ɲo	Navel
55.	ki:pop	Abdomen (external)
56.	aki	Stomach
57.	ki:raŋ	Womb
58.	lamku	Back
59.	inpum	Buttock
60.	indəl	Anus
61.	əmak/ɨttum	Penis
62.	onnoŋ, nonoŋ	Euphemisms of Penis
63.	tumpɨ	Testicle

64.	ɨttɨ	Vagina
65.	susum, ojiŋ, pipi	Euphemisms of Vagina
66.	alak	Arm/ hand
67.	ki:ruŋ	Armpit
68.	laktɨk	Upper arm
69.	lakdu	Elbow
70.	lakkit	Wrist
71.	laktum	Fist
72.	lakpjo	Palm (of hand)
73.	lakke lakreŋ	Finger
74.	laknə	Thumb
75.	o:təŋ	Knuckle
76.	lagin	Fingernail
77.	alə	Leg
78.	ugɨŋ	Hip
79.	lətɨk	Thigh
80.	ləbɨŋ	Knee
81.	ləpaŋ	Shin
82.	ləpum	Calf of leg
83.	ləkit	Ankle
84.	lədu	Heel
85.	ləpjo	Sole
86.	ləke ləreŋ	Toes
87.	lənə	Big toe
88.	ləjin	Toe nails
89.	aloŋ	Bone
90.	loŋkin	Bone marrow
91.	tukloŋ	Skull

92.	gɨːdʒi aloŋ	Spine, backbone
93.	ɨnmo aloŋ	Rib
94.	pinŋo	Brain
95.	aːpɨ	Heart
96.	aki asal	Intestines
97.	ɨoŋ	Vein
98.	ŋanam	Breath
99.	takil	Saliva
100.	rabal	Phlegm
101.	taŋop	Nasal Mucus
102.	rupu rujuk	Earwax
103.	miksi	Tears (N)
104.	ijji/ɨjji	Blood
105.	əsi	Urine
106.	taje	Excrement, faeces
BODY PROCESSES, FUNCTIONS		
107.	kəmɨr	Blink
108.	ŋɨ -	Blow nose
109.	ŋa-	breathe
110.	kotka	Yawn
111.	ipŋar	Snore
112.	mut-	Blow (with mouth)
113.	suk-	Spit
114.	sak-	Cough (v)
115.	ŋɨrbat	Belch
116.	hakɨk	Hiccough (n)
117.	sɨk-	Sneeze (v)

118.	si-	Urinate
119.	əpə	Break wind, fart
120.	en-	Defecate
121.	dan-	Shiver, tremble
122.	ɨlnam	Perspire, sweat
123.	bɨt-	Bleed
124.	ŋə-	dizzy
125.	simat	Faint
126.	ip-	Sleep (v)
127.	ipmaŋ/ immaŋ	Dream (n)
128.	darŋo	Wake up (intr)
SENSES		
129.	ka-	See
130.	tat-	Hear
131.	nam-	Smell (v)
132.	an-	Feel (passive)
133.	uk-	Touch, feel (active)
134.	dokɨ -	Taste (Verb)
INGESTION		
135.	do-	Eat
136.	rək-	Bite (v)
137.	jam-	Chew
138.	met-	Swallow
139.	meduk	Choke
140.	jak-	Lick
141.	bu-	Suck

142.	tɨ: -	Drink
BODY MOVEMENT		
143.	du: -	Sit
144.	gə:rəp	Rise up (intr)
145.	kət-	Lie down
146.	pəlkut	Turn round (intr)
147.	gɨ	Walk
148.	kor-	Step (v)
149.	tubə	Stumble
150.	ləbət	Limp
151.	ək-	Crawl
152.	duk-	Run
153.	bja-	Swim
154.	pok-	jump (v)
155.	tu-	kick
156.	tudʒem	Stamp (with foot)
157.	sut-	Indicate, point (as with the finger)
158.	tata	Clap (hands)
159.	pi-	Slap (v)
BODY STATES AND CONDITIONS		
160.	dak-	Stand
161.	tapda	Lean against (intr)
162.	gup-	Bend down, stoop
163.	un-	In squat position
164.	ləbiŋ ko:n3iŋ	Kneel
165.	kət-	Lying down
166.	pamki	Hot (Of Person)

167.	kəno	Hungry, Hunger (V)
168.	tɨ:lɨŋ	Thirsty, Thirst (V)
169.	tɨŋɨr	Drunk
170.	ape	Tired
171.	ipmi	Sleepy
172.	ape/du:pe	Rest
173.	mogum	Wrinkle (on skin) ride
174.	tuklok/tukkut	Bald
175.	mikmaŋ	Blind
176.	soŋkək	Thin
177.	mituŋ	Impotent (male)
178.	nəgən	Barren woman
179.	agom pomana	Deaf (mute) person
180.	tuŋgɨr	Hunchback
181.	ləbe	Cripple (n)
182.	milu partuŋ	Dwarf
183.	midə	Stupid person, imbecile
184.	tumna	Mad person
185.	əkər- əssaŋ	healthy, well
186.	ki-	sick, ill
187.	ijak	Hurt oneself
188.	ipɨ	Heal (tr), cure (v)
189.	kusereŋ	Medicine
190.	aikunam	Get well, recover
191.	itur	Revive
192.	tasut	Abscess
193.	bɨ:nam	Swelling

194.	ikol	Bruise
195.	lədat	Crack heel
196.	əmə tarɨ	Burn (n)
197.	gu:pu	Goiter
198.	ətnam	Hernia
199.	tarɨ	Wound, sore
200.	tasut	Pus
201.	rɨge	Scar
202.	doŋkal	Intestinal worm
DISEASES/ILLNESS/SICKNESS		
203.	kinam-ramnam	Illness, disease
204.	taruk	Ringworm
205.	tɨ:t	Leprosy
206.	ramnam	Fever (not malaria)
207.	kinam	Pain (n)
208.	andʒeŋ	Throb (with pain)
209.	abat	Vomit (n)
210.	batnam	Vomit (v)
211.	aki kinam	Stomachache, upset stomach
212.	tukku kinam	Headache
213.	ra:ju	Diarrhea
214.	karak	Scabies (the itch)
LIFE AND DEATH		
215.	jenam	Life
216.	turnam	Alive
217.	də:maŋ	Menstrual period
218.	ko: gənam	Pregnant
219.	ko: opak	Miscarriage

220.	oki	Labour (n), birth pains
221.	onam	Bear (child), give birth
222.	si:saŋ	Grow up
223.	miku	Old (not young)
224.	sinam	Death
225.	sinam	Dead
MAN'S NONPHYSICAL BEING		
KNOW, BELIEVE, TEACH		
226.	mɨ:nam	Think
227.	mɨŋkəŋ	Believe/faith
228.	mɨnam sunam	Hope (v)
229.	ken-	Know (something or someone)
230.	kennam-pa:nam	Knowledge/ wisdom
231.	midə-somo	stupid
232.	mɨŋa	confused
233.	inom/ɨkai	Learn
234.	lunom	Teach
235.	ka:tom	Show
236.	mɨ:pa	Remember
237.	mɨŋok/minŋok	Forget
EMOTIONS		
238.	aseŋ	Happy, joyful
239.	rɨŋgə	Rejoice
240.	ŋilnam	Laugh
241.	ŋilnam	Smile
242.	mɨ:dɨr	Sad/sorrow
243.	kapnam	Cry, weep

244.	ankɨ	Anxiety
245.	anɲiŋ	Shame (n)
246.	pəso	Fear (n)
247.	marliŋ-buliŋ	Angry/upset
248.	ŋi:nam	Calm (oneself)
249.	miŋkɨm, adum/ adum-ale	Proud
250.	miŋgə	Respect (v)
251.	ajaŋ	Love (v)
252.	kaŋki	Hate (v)
253.	despise, disdain	MɨŋgɨpMiŋgip
HUMAN WILL		
254.	mɨ:nam	Want, desire (v)
255.	lo:bak	Hesitate
256.	tolɨk	Allow, permit
257.	lujanam	Forbid
258.	itum	Prevent
259.	ikɨ	Try
260.	apɨŋ /ipɨŋ	Succeed
261.	iram	Fail
262.	iru	Pretend
HUMAN CHARACTER		
263.	ai	Kind
264.	bidar	Generous
265.	mikit	Selfish
266.	ipu-salumna	Corrupt
267.	romlaŋ	Wicked
268.	kaniŋ /migaŋ	Fierce
269.	nəsu-pasu	Jealous

270.	anɲiŋ	Shy
271.	ralna	Courageous, brave
272.	pəsona	Coward
273.	kenlɨŋ	Curious
274.	rɨkso /bəŋal	Lazy
275.	doŋgap	Patient
STAGES OF LIFE		
276.	odʒiŋ	Baby
277.	opum	Twin
278.	ko: / ŋaŋa	Child
279.	milokoŋ ko	Boy
280.	mime ko	Girl
281.	minə	Adult
282.	ja:meŋ	Young man
283.	mimum	Young woman
284.	mɨdʒiŋ	Old man
BLOOD RELATIONS / KINSHIP		
285.	əraŋ	Relative (by blood)
286.	buku-nəku	Ancestor
287.	buku-nəku	Grandparent
288.	abu	Father (referential)
289.	a:bu	Father (address)
290.	anə	Mother (referential)
291.	a:ji	Mother (address)
292.	bɨro	Brother (referential)
293.	abɨŋ	Elder brother (referential)

294.	a:bɨŋ	Elder brother (address)
295.	bɨrmə	Sister (referential)
296.	a:mi	Elder sister (address)
297.	apaŋ	Fraternal uncle (common)
298.	pa:tə	Fraternal eldest uncle
299.	pa:joŋ	Fraternal second eldest uncle
300.	pa:tum	Fraternal third eldest uncle
301.	pa:ji	Fraternal youngest uncle
302.	ɲa:ɲi	Fraternal aunt
303.	akɨ	Mother's brother (common)
304.	kɨtə	Maternal eldest uncle
305.	kɨjoŋ	Maternal second eldest uncle
306.	kɨtum	Maternal third eldest uncle
307.	kɨji	Maternal youngest uncle
308.	a:tə	Mother's eldest sister (aunt)
309.	a:joŋ	Mother's second eldest sister (aunt)
310.	a:tuŋ	Mother's third eldest sister (aunt)
311.	a:ji	Mother's youngest sister (aunt)
312.	o:jai/ o: ja:ji	Cousin (old)
313.	o:bɨŋ/o:bɨ:bɨŋ	Cousin (older)
314.	o:ŋaŋ	Cousin (younger)
315.	otɨŋ-ojin	Descendant
316.	o	Son
317.	omə	Daughter
318.	otən	Grandchild

319.	o/omə	Nephew/niece
320.	amɨn	Name
MARRIAGE RELATIONS		
321.	ato-ajo	In-law, relative by marriage
322.	milo	Husband
323.	mimə/me:ŋ	Wife
324.	e:poŋ	1st wife
325.	e:me	2nd wife
326.	e:siri	3rd wife
327.	ato	Father-in-law
328.	ajo	Mother-in-law
329.	makbo	Brother-in-law
330.	ɲaməŋ	Sister-in-law
331.	makbo	Son-in-law
332.	ɲaməŋ	Daughter-in-law
333.	tumbo	Celibate
334.	məeŋ	Widow
335.	do:m/gɨ:daŋ ko	Bastard, illegitimate child
RELATIONS, EXTENDED AND RELATIONS		
336.	miti	Tribe, ethnic group
337.	opɨn	Clan
338.	əraŋ	Family
339.	aŋoŋ	Friend
340.	kumrɨ-doŋgoŋ	Neighbour
341.	kaŋken	Acquaintance

342.	mibo, a:patna	Guest, visitor
343.	mijiŋ	Stranger (unknown person)
344.	miru	Enemy
345.	pjona	Thief
346.	miluŋ	Crowd
347.	ga:m	Chief, headman
348.	əki-pator	Eldest man of the village
349.	ru:tum	Master
350.	abɨl	Slave
PERSONAL INTERACTION		
ASSOCIATION OF PERSONS		
351.	ka:rɨk	Meet, encounter
352.	ləko	Together
353.	gɨdum	Assemble, meet together
354.	dobo	Invitation for dining
355.	məpak	Abandon
356.	dukŋok	Flee, run away from
357.	monpak	Drive away
358.	akam	Same
359.	aŋu	Different
360.	gəsu	Resemble in appearance
361.	imɨn	Imitate
362.	jitgə	Admire
363.	agom	Language
364.	gompil/gompɨ	Word
365.	orto (borrowed)	Meaning (n)

366.	gomuk	Tune
367.	adut	Voice
368.	po-	Speak, talk
369.	posi-poro	Whisper (v)
370.	er- / jer-	Shout (v), cry out
371.	lupo	Chat (v)
372.	bələ bələ	Mumble
373.	gommaŋ	Stutter
GREETING SALUTATION		
374.	aidun? (okay?)	Greet (v.)
375.	hina, əːi	Call (someone)
376.	sa/aipə	Say goodbye, take leave of
377.	gomtat	News
378.	airudo	Thank you
379.	pesu	Promise (n)/ oath/swear
380.	lukaŋ	Insult (v)
381.	manrɨt	Threaten
382.	akmɨn	Argue
383.	əbɨn	Annoy, disturb
384.	jatnam	Deceive
385.	lumɨn/pijjaŋ	Quarrel
386.	momɨn	Fight
387.	nɨk-	Stab
388.	pət-	Kill, murder
389.	kaːjan	Take revenge

CRIME AND JUSTICE		
390.	pjo-	Steal
391.	je:-	Rape
392.	ajon	Law
393.	aina	Fair, just
394.	imemna	Guilty
395.	adʒeŋ	Punish
CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT OF BODY		
CLOTHING		
396.	lə:mo	Dress (v)
397.	pɨtbɨn/bɨtpak	Undress
398.	araŋ	Naked
399.	dumlup	Hat
400.	bo:tari (borrowed)	Circular bamboo hat for man
401.	ugon	Loincloth
402.	lukdɨ	Robe (man's gown)
403.	galuk	Cloth, blouse
404.	galə	Wraparound
405.	əgə-əppon	Baby sling
406.	ləjup	Shoe, sandal
407.	təkbaŋ	Earring
408.	baŋgen	Cane, walking stick
409.	tadok	Beads
410.	du:dap	Male beaded necklace
CARE FOR BODY		

411.	ɨrsu	Bathe oneself
412.	ɨrbɨn	Bathe another
413.	ɲo:su	Apply (ointment)
414.	tɨtbɨn	Wipe off (excreta)
415.	po-	Cut (hair)
416.	ŋɨ-	Shave (v)
417.	tabjab	Comb (n)
418.	tupsu	Comb oneself (v)
419.	tokkɨt	Loofah
FOOD AND DRINK		
420.	apim	Food
421.	adɨn	Meat
422.	o:p	Fat
423.	alaŋ	Soup, broth
424.	ambɨn	Rice (uncook)
425.	doŋoŋ	Leftovers
426.	ojiŋ	Curry
427.	pətu	Mustard leave
428.	o:ri	Coriander
429.	pe:ron	Beans
430.	ma:n mɨrsi	King chilly
431.	kopɨ	Cultivated bitter eggplant
432.	ba:jom	Eggplant/brinjal
433.	tapɨŋ	Mould (n)
434.	ta:par	Mushroom
DRINK		

435.	apoŋ	Wine
436.	pɨdʒin	Undiluted rice beer
437.	ənnok	Rice beer
438.	nokjin	Unbrewed fermented rice for beer
439.	po:ro	Wine made of burnt husk
440.	poŋkaŋ	Much diluted lastly brewed wine
FOOD PREPARATION		
KITCHEN PREPARATION		
441.	mo-	Cooking rice
442.	kə:-	Cooking vegetable
443.	tək-	Chopping meat
444.	gatke	Cut open (fruit)
445.	gat-	Slice
446.	gatmɨk	Diced
447.	kal-	Peel (v)
448.	ijel	Mix (v)
449.	dal-	Stir
450.	kɨk-	Pound
451.	ɲor-	Grind
452.	pubɨn	Pluck (feathers)
453.	ba:-	Roast/fry
454.	a:rəŋ	Smoked
DOMESTIC UTENSILS AND CONTAINMENT		
KITCHEN UTENSILS		
455.	pəkiŋ	Cooking pot

456.	məgap	Bamboo tongs
457.	ədʒuk	Laddle
458.	kotub	Spoon
459.	pəlup	Lid
460.	asi giri	Dry gourd water container
461.	əkuŋ	Plate
462.	pəŋo	Bamboo stirring spoon
HABITATION		
PARTS OF A HOUSE		
463.	əkum	House
464.	sutpi/sukpi/suppi	Wall
465.	əjap	Door, doorway cover
466.	rɨ:siŋ	Window
467.	mɨ:loŋ	Roof
468.	tasut	Floor
469.	mərom	Fireplace
470.	gɨ:daŋ	Courtyard
471.	ətor	Fence (n)
472.	tor-	Fence in (v)
473.	kumsuŋ	Granary
474.	rəgum	Latrine, toilet
475.	ko:daŋ	Southern part of fireplace, use for cooking
476.	rɨ:siŋ	Northern part of fireplace use by male elders like father/grandfather
477.	puju	Eastern side of fireplace for parents and family
478.	puju	Western side of fireplace for guests

479.	tase	Thatch (n)
480.	əbaŋ	Ladder
481.	jambo	Locally weaved non-fur blanket
482.	badu	Locally weaved fur-blanket
483.	dumtən	Pillow
484.	taku	Locally plaited carpet
485.	əjok	Dao
486.	əgɨŋ	Axe
487.	ki:ro	Conical bamboo basket
488.	əgɨn	Conical bamboo basket
489.	əpo	Bamboo made winnowing tool
490.	a:pe	Basket for keeping vegetables, fruit etc.
491.	əsiŋ	Wood/tree
492.	eko	Dry bamboo use as firewood
493.	om-	Sew
494.	pəsi	Needle
495.	ənno	Thread (n)
496.	ətpək	Broom
497.	pək-	Sweep
498.	ətbɨn	Washing clothes
499.	arbɨn/bə:bɨn	Washing utensils
AGRICULTURE		
500.	arɨk	Field
501.	rɨksu	Boundary (of field)
502.	mo:nam	Jungle
503.	rɨga	Fallow land

504.	mo:pɨ arɨk	Dry paddy cultivation
505.	asi arɨk	Wet paddy cultivation
506.	mo:nə	Fertile soil
507.	sit-	Sow, plant
508.	dɨ: -	Transplant
509.	gat-	Harvest
510.	ser-	Winnowing
511.	jik-	Thrashing
CROPS		
512.	a:m	Paddy
513.	sapa	Maize
514.	miruŋ	Millet
515.	aɲat	Bazra
516.	tabat	Sugarcane
517.	siŋgjo əŋɨn	Cassava
518.	əŋe	Colocassia
519.	take	Ginger
520.	ke:si ke:pa	Turmeric
521.	pətu	Mustard
522.	si:pjak	Cotton
HUNTING AND FISHING		
HUNTING		
523.	apta	Hunt (v)
524.	ɨjji-əpuk	Bow -arrow
525.	əmo	Poison (on arrow)
526.	gɨniŋ	Lance (spear) (n)

527.	joksik	Knife
528.	joksa	Sword
529.	soŋkit	Kind of trap
530.	ətku	Kind of trap
531.	piŋŋo	Food kept for animal as trap
532.	ki:ruk	Community hunting for chasing away wild animals like elephant, tiger etc.
FISHING		
533.	sibok	Fishing by drying the river/rivulet
534.	poraŋ	Bamboo fish trap
535.	əsap	Fishing net
TRADE AND COMMERCE		
536.	abal	Money
537.	pəsi-ko:rət	Trade
538.	rənam	Buy
539.	konam	Sell
540.	arə	Price
RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL		
SUPERNATURAL BEINGS		
541.	do:ɲi-po:lo	Sun-moon (divine source/god)
542.	uju	Unvisible being
543.	urom	Demon, evil spirit , ghost
544.	ajit	Spirit (of dead person) (invisible)
545.	kum-	Pray
546.	do:ɲi-po:lo aja laŋka	God bless you
547.	ka:lu-kaŋor	Divine, prophesy (v)

548.	ijot	Omen
549.	moru	Bewitch, cast spell
550.	pelɨk	Curse
551.	ipak	Sacrifice
552.	ɲonam	Taboo
FESTIVALS/CEREMONIES/		
553.	soluŋ-lu:nə	Agricultural festival for woman
554.	soluŋ-ətor	Agricultural festival for man
555.	a:ran	Rat hunting festival
FUNERAL		
556.	gɨ:maŋ	Funeral (at occasion of death)
557.	pəŋe	Dirge
558.	simaŋ	Corpse
559.	junam	Bury
560.	ago	Grave
561.	goluŋ	Cemetery
562.	gokaŋ	Visiting the grave at dawn
563.	maŋke	First night of dead, when dead body is mourn upon
564.	ma:jet	Shroud
ANIMALS		
565.	hoɨ, go:ru (borrowed)	Ox (general term)
566.	rubo	Bull
567.	runə	Cow (female)
568.	əso	Bos frontalis (mithun)
569.	əso-go:ru	Herd (of cattle)

570.	bəndʒak	Buffaloe
571.	soben	Goat
572.	benbo	He-goat
573.	bennə	She-goat
574.	pərok	Chicken
575.	rokpo	Rooster (cock)
576.	roknə	Hen
577.	rogo	Chick
578.	pədʒap	Duck
579.	rokpɨ	Egg
580.	e:k	Pig
581.	sira	Boar (male pig)
582.	jego	Piglet
583.	əkki	Dog
584.	ki:suŋ	Pup
585.	mendari	Cat
586.	sita	Elephant
587.	sibeŋ	Monkey
588.	mensuruŋ	Fox
589.	kəbuŋ	Rat
590.	kɨrtɨ-laklat	Mole
591.	sito-ruroŋ	Hare
592.	lɨ:po	Squirrel
593.	ko:suŋ	Chipmunk
594.	bo:bɨ	Porcupine

595.	tappon	Bat
596.	simjo	Tiger
597.	takar	Leopard
BIRDS		
598.	pəttaŋ	Bird
599.	piak	Crow
600.	pəkɨ	Dove
601.	pəke	Parrot
602.	ŋi:tɨ-pəri	Sparrow
603.	pəgaŋ	Hornbill
604.	pəttun	Owl
605.	pəmɨ	Eagle
606.	sogum	Vulture
607.	take	Crab
608.	tasum	Shrimp
609.	taɲo/ɲoku	Snail
REPTILES		
610.	tabɨ	Snake, serpent
611.	bɨrəm	Cobra
612.	bɨjiŋ	Green snake
613.	dʒo:dʒiŋ	Lizard
614.	dʒoŋkəŋ	Chameleon
615.	sarkot	Monitor lizard
616.	sormon	Crocodile

617.	tatɨk	Frog
618.	raŋkop	Tortoise (land)
INSECTS		
619.	takom-tari	Insect
620.	tɨ:k	Louse
621.	tapi	Bedbug
622.	taksi	Cockroach
623.	taruk	Ant
624.	tabɨn-do:rɨn	Termite
625.	mo:pɨ tarom	Spider
626.	pa:pit	Dung beetle
627.	takom	Grasshopper
628.	komki	Praying mantis
629.	tapat	Leech
630.	tabɨ-ɲa:ɲi	Centipede
631.	doŋkal	Earthworm
632.	tamit	Fly (n)
633.	tarusuŋgu	Mosquito
634.	taŋut	Bee
635.	ta:pi-ta:jo	Dragonfly
636.	po:pir	Butterfly
PLANTS AND TREES		
637.	əsiŋ	Tree
638.	ronnə	Banyan tree
639.	e:ŋ	Bamboo

640.	təːk	Palm
641.	annə	Leaf
642.	aːk	Branch (of tree)
643.	əsiŋ asik	Bark (of tree)
644.	siːtuŋ	Stump
645.	appɨr	root
646.	atkoŋ	Stem, stalk (of maize, millet, etc.)
647.	appun	Flower
648.	ali (borrowed)	Shoot (new plant)
649.	iːkuŋ	Bamboo shoot
650.	taːŋ	Thorn
FRUITS		
651.	siːpɨ-siːje	Fruit
652.	kopak	Banana
653.	tasiŋ	Lemon
654.	umtɨraŋ (borrowed from santara?)	Orange
655.	omrɨtaŋ (borrowed)	Pawpaw, papaya
656.	tako-bəlaŋ	Pineapple
657.	muduraŋ (borrowed)	Guava
658.	bəlaŋ	Jackfruit
659.	kompɨ	Peach
PHYSICAL FEATURES		
660.	amoŋ	Ground, land soil
661.	dɨːtə	Mountain
662.	puntʃut	Summit, highest point

663.	ərak	Cliff
664.	kogoŋ	Valley
665.	aruŋ	Hole
NATURAL THINGS (MINERALS, ETC.)		
666.	əliŋ liːnə	Rock (large)
667.	əliŋ	Stone (small)
668.	liŋe-bəre	Gravel
669.	sijje	Sand
670.	pəmuk	Dust
671.	juːpjaŋ	Mud
672.	arəm	Iron
673.	uːn (borrowed??)	Gold
674.	joge	Rust (n)
675.	asi	Water
676.	sinə	Ocean, sea
677.	sieŋ	Lake
678.	poːjiŋ	Pool/pond
679.	siruŋ	Spring
680.	sirki	Waterfall
681.	roːdʒik	Brook, stream
682.	koroŋ	River
683.	robəŋ	River bank
684.	əgo, doloŋ (borrowed)	Bridge
FIRE RELATED		

685.	əme	Fire
686.	məju	flame
687.	mədʒər	spark
688.	mɨkkɨ	smoke, fume
689.	əsiŋ	firewood
690.	mətuŋ	half burnt firewood
691.	məkol	charcoal
692.	mətbu	ashes
693.	məpi	ash flake
SKY		
694.	taləŋ	Sky
695.	asar	Air/wind
696.	do:muk	Cloud
697.	mure	Rainbow
698.	do:ɲi	Sun
699.	po:lo	Moon
700.	latboŋ	Full moon
701.	lolat	Moon light
702.	ru:ruk	Eclipse (moon)
703.	takar	Star
704.	ta:tum ləpjo	Ursa major
705.	lɨ:dor	Meteor
706.	do:mɨr	Thunder
707.	ja:ri	Lighting
708.	ta:pɨ	Hailstone

709.	gumnam	Storm
710.	pədoŋ	Rain
711.	do:pjaŋ	Heavy rain/cat & dog
712.	pu:mu	Flood
713.	sipuŋ	Flood in stream, brook etc.
714.	dɨrɨ-kəno	Famine
SEASONS		
715.	mo:dɨ/to:dɨ	Season
716.	doŋgup	Agricultural break Mid January – First half of March (time to construct house and other non agricultural activities)
717.	do:san	Dry season
718.	dɨgɨn	Winter
719.	lobo	Summer
AMBIENT CONDITIONS		
720.	aŋun	light
721.	asir	Rays
722.	doŋi asir	Sun ray
723.	abɨr ajo	shadow
724.	ka:mo	Darkness
TIME		
725.	adɨ	Time
726.	su:pak	Now
727.	su:	Later
728.	kərapə	Before
729.	me:lam/-roŋəm	After

730.	mənaŋ	Early
731.	adol	Late
732.	ləko	Once
733.	ləkoda	Again
734.	ləkonəm	Sometimes
735.	ijar	Often
736.	mo:məm	Usually
737.	do:poŋ	Wait
738.	loŋə	Day
739.	jumə	Night
740.	po:lo	Month
741.	dɨtak	Year
742.	si:lo	Today
743.	məlo	Yesterday
744.	konno	Day before yesterday
745.	konkə	Two days before yesterday
746.	ɲampo	Tomorrow
747.	re:	Day after tomorrow
748.	roke	2 days after tomorrow
749.	ke:kon	3 days after tomorrow
750.	ke:ɲiŋ	4 days after tomorrow
751.	konɲiŋ-mənɲiŋ	Olden times
752.	mənɲiŋ	Last year
753.	konnɲiŋ	Last to last year
754.	konkəɲiŋ	2 years before last year

755.	so:sir-mo:mir	Dawn (before sunrise)
756.	rokom	Morning
757.	adəŋ	Evening
758.	do:ɲi uaŋ	Sunset
SPACE AND OBJECTS		
759.	ato/atɨ	Thing
760.	alop	Piece
761.	attɨŋ	Top
762.	rumkɨŋ	Bottom
763.	kəraŋ	Front (of something)
764.	me:lam	Back (of something)
765.	abə	Side (of something)
766.	ra:daŋ	Middle
767.	utpu	Bump (n)
EVENTS AND ACTIONS		
MOVEMENT (MOSTLY INTRANSITIVE)		
768.	bələŋ	Move
769.	bədu-bələŋ	Movement
770.	a:-	Come
771.	gɨ-	Go
772.	pɨ:lɨk	Arrive
773.	gɨlat	Return, go back
774.	lən	Come (or go) out, exit (v)
775.	sa:-	Ascend, go up
776.	tok-	Descend, go down

777.	olət	Fall
778.	baba	Swing (n)
779.	bɨ- (as in *baba bɨduŋ 'Swinging'*)	Swing (v), go back and forth
780.	jut-	Slide
781.	lo-	Roll
782.	bjar-	Spread (disease, fire)
783.	buk-	Burst
784.	batŋok	Disappear
785.	mənaŋ	Fast
786.	ə:tət	Slow
787.	lom-	Hasten, hurry (v)
788.	adat-ajat	Hurry (adv)
ACTIONS, EVENTS AFFECTING MATTER		
GENERAL		
789.	la:-	Take
790.	rot-	Snatch, seize
791.	um-	Catch (object in air)
792.	tɨ-	Pick up
793.	bom-	Hold
794.	ləŋon	Raise, lift
795.	lə:tok	Lower (tr)
796.	mələt	Drop (tr)
797.	əl-	Throw

798.	əlpak	Throw away
799.	ap-	Shoot (v)
800.	pəlkut	Turn over
801.	so-, bu-	Pull
802.	sat-	Drag
803.	nɨ-	Push
804.	dal-	Steer (v)
805.	gargoŋ	Surround
806.	tɨrkup	Twist
807.	piltum	Fold (v)
808.	kəl-	Coil (rope) (v)
809.	tu-	Hang up
810.	lo-	Spread out (like for drying in sun)
811.	kərdʒon	Stretching the body
812.	ru:si	Hide (tr)
813.	məŋok	Lose (tr)
814.	mata	Look for
815.	pa:nam	Find
816.	mut-	Blow (of wind) (v) (vent)
817.	mutpak	Blow away
ACTION WITH LIQUIDS		
818.	bɨt-	Flow, drip, leak
819.	pit-	Sprinkle
820.	mol-	Smear
821.	nɨklum	Dip

822.	bal-	Soak
823.	tamrəŋ/lorəŋ	Dry out (clothes)
824.	dʒi:lum	Sink
825.	ŋauk	Drown
ACTION OF LIGHT		
826.	par-	Light (fire)
827.	ɲot-	Light (Torch)
828.	imit	Extinguish (fire)
829.	rom-	Burn, blaze
830.	jol-	Melt (intr)
TYPES OF CUTTING		
831.	pe:-	Cutting in dissecting motion
832.	gat-	Cutting in a sawing motion
833.	tək-	Chopping
834.	dʒok-	Splitting apart something soft (like a rubber or animal skin)
835.	bɨtke/bɨkke	Splitting something hard (like bamboo)
836.	lot-	Peeling
837.	pa-	Cutting
838.	bə:- /tə:-	Felling tree
839.	ta-	Cutting wood for firewood
840.	kɨk-	Cutting off branches from tree (without felling)
841.	po-	Cutting hair
ASPECT		
842.	ilən	Begin
843.	ijar	Continue, resume
844.	ijin	End, cease, stop, finish, complete

845.	ituŋ, iŋoŋ	Half completion
846.	iməm	Mistake
847.	ipat	Make/do opposite
848.	iak	Missing out (in middle)
849.	ibo/igul	Help
850.	ikap	Close
ADJECTIVE		
SHAPE		
851.	bottə	Big
852.	abjaŋ-ajaŋ	Unwantedly big
853.	anco/ameŋ	Small
854.	kədon	High
855.	kəmap	Low
856.	bodoŋ	Long
857.	pudʒon	Lengthen
858.	andəŋ	Short
859.	pɨrɨl	Round
860.	pəjoŋ	Oval
861.	ŋəlnam/gi:nam	Fat (as in *fat girl)*
862.	bɨ:sam	Thick
863.	soŋkək	Thin (as in *thin girl)*
864.	besor	Thin/transparent
865.	bortak	Wide
866.	adʒok	Narrow
867.	ə:rɨŋ	Deep

868.	atam	Flat
869.	dʒonnam	Straight
870.	gərnam	Crooked
WEIGHT		
871.	təbək	heavy
872.	əssaŋ	weight
TIME		
873.	adol	Late
874.	mənaŋ	Fast
875.	lo:dɨ:kə	Everyday
876.	loŋəko	Oneday
PLACE		
877.	solo	Here
878.	əlo	There
879.	bəlo	Southern side
880.	təlo	Northern side
881.	si	This
882.	ə	That
QUALITY		
883.	ai	Good
884.	aimana	Bad
885.	rɨkso	Lazy
886.	arda	Energetic
887.	də:nam	Clean
888.	bəlum	Dirty

889.	kampo	Beautiful
890.	kaŋil	Ugly
891.	aniɨ	New
892.	aku	Old
QUANTITY		
893.	bodʒe	Many
894.	aɲoŋ	Little
895.	lakjum	Handful
896.	dorum	For one time consumption
897.	takam/tabuŋ	All
898.	atɨmaŋ	Nothing
899.		
FEEL		
900.	ratnam	Sharp
901.	pɨrat	Sharpen (knife)
902.	jirdʒoŋ	Sharpen, bring to point (arrow)
903.	harat	Rough
904.	pəlam	Smooth
905.	tolnam	Hard
906.	rəmak	Soft
907.	ərəŋ	Dry
908.	asi	Wet
909.	bəlap	Slippery
910.	dʒapnam	Sticky
911.	pamki	Hot (objects)

912.	anciŋ/rəjiŋ	Cold (objects)
COLOUR		
913.	ja-	Colour
914.	jasiŋ/jalun	White
915.	joraŋ/jaka	Black
916.	jaliŋ	Red
917.	jamuk	Blue
918.	jajiŋ	Green
919.	jage	Yellow
920.	ge:liŋ/gemoŋ	Orange
921.	komboŋ	Pink
TASTE AND SMELL		
922.	tiː nam	Sweet
923.	ku:nam	Sour
924.	kosaŋ	Bitter
925.	marnam	Hot/spicy
926.	bəne/o:nam	A kind of strong taste or sensation
927.	ku:jak	Salty
928.	ŋamnam	Savoury
929.	ke:nam	Bitter + sour
POSTPOSITIONS & CONJUNCTIONS		
930.	araŋ	In
931.	lu:ju	Out
932.	lo	At
933.	kapəila	Because
934.	idokom	But

935.	laŋ	And
936.	təjoŋ	Top/above
937.	rumkɨŋ	Below
938.	imɨlo	If
939.	idu:pə	Perhaps/ maybe
940.	aropə	Really, truly
941.	aipə	Well (adv)
942.	pətom	Only
943.	ɨŋ/əm	Yes
944.	ma	No
NUMERALS		
945.	atəl	One (1)
946.	anɲi	Two (2)
947.	aŋum	Three (3)
948.	appi	Four (4)
949.	pilŋo	Five (5)
950.	akke	Six (6)
951.	kɨnɨt	Seven (7)
952.	pɨ:ɲɨ	Eight (8)
953.	konaŋ	Nine (9)
954.	ɨjiŋ	Ten (10)
955.	ɨjiŋ kolaŋ atəl	Eleven (11)
956.	ɨjiŋ kolaŋ aŋum	Thirteen (13)
957.	ɨjiŋ anɲi	Twenty (20)
958.	ɨjiŋ anɲi kolang atəl	Twenty-one (21)

959.	ɨjiŋ aŋum	Thirty (30)
960.	ɨjiŋ appi	Forty (40)
961.	ɨjiŋ pilŋo	Fifty (50)
962.	lɨŋko	Hundred (100)
963.	lɨŋko anŋi	Two hundred (200)
964.	lɨŋko pilŋo	Five hundred (500)
965.	edʒar	Thousand (1000)
ORDINAL NUMBERS		
966.	kəraja:lum	First
967.	itɨl	After first
968.	me:lamja:lum	Last
969.	ORDER	
970.	itəm	Add
971.	ibɨn	Subtract, take away
972.	kɨnam/sannam	Count (v)
973.	akam	Equal
974.	ipan	Divide
GRAMMATICAL ITEMS		
PRONOUNS		
975.	ŋo	I
976.	no	You
977.	bɨ	He/she
978.	ŋolu	We
979.	nolu	You
980.	bulu	They

DIRECTION		
981.	solo	Here
982.	ələ	There
983.	mo:təŋ	Far
984.	anɨn	Near
985.	lɨŋgɨŋ	North
986.	sokko	South
987.	saŋgo	East
988.	aŋgo	West
989.	lakbɨk	Right (direction)
990.	lakke	Left (direction)
991.	pensam/ra:daŋ	Between
DEMONSTRATIVES		
992.	si	this (man)
993.	ə	that (man)
994.	si kɨdɨ	These
995.	ə kɨdɨ	Those
QUESTION WORDS		
996.	se:ko	Who?
997.	iŋko, kapə	What?
998.	iŋkoəm/ kapə-inəm	Which (one)?
999.	iŋkolo	Where?
1000.	ədɨlo	When?
1001.	kapəila	Why?

1002.	kapə-kɨsa	How? Comment?
1003.	ədɨtko	How many?
CONJUNCTIONS, ADVERBIALS, ETC.		
1004.	supak	Now
1005.	si:lo-məlo /si:jum-si:ro	Nowadays
1006.	si:lo	Today
1007.	siŋiŋ	This year
1008.	məlo	Yesterday
1009.	konno	Day before yesterday
1010.	konno məlo/məlo konno	In earlier days
1011.	mənŋiŋ	Yesteryear
1012.	konŋiŋ	Year before yesteryear
1013.	konŋiŋ-mənŋiŋ	In earlier Years
1014.	konŋiŋa	Many years before
1015.	kərapə	Before
1016.	ɲampo	Tomorrow
1017.	re:	Day after tomorrow
1018.	roke	2nd day after tomorrow
1019.	ke:kon	3rd day after tomorrow
1020.	ke:ɲiŋ	4th day after tomorrow
1021.	lunŋiŋ	Next year
1022.	lunkəŋiŋ	Year after next year
1023.	su:	Later
1024.	su ɲampo	Many years/days later

1025.	takjiŋ	Ten years
ORNAMENTS		
1026.	galə	Wraparound
1027.	galuk	Cloth
1028.	pa:pit	Head clothing
1029.	golpota	Necklace
1030.	no:k	Necklace
1031.	sondoroŋ	Necklace
1032.	tampilaŋ	Waistbelt
1033.	təkbaŋ	Earring
1034.	bəjop	Waistbelt
1035.	tadok	Beaded necklace

APPENDIX 2: WORDLIST FOR WORD FORMATION PROCESSES

Compound noun

	Adi Word	**Meaning**	**Gloss**
Copulative:			
1036.	apim ojiŋ	rice-curry	'Food/meal'
1037.	əki pərok	dog-hen	'Cattle'
1038.	buku-nəku	old father-old mother	'Ancestor'
1039.	ato ajo	father-in-law - mother-in-law	'In laws'
1040.	alo mɨrsi	salt-chilly	'Salt-chilly'
1041.	mimə milo	wife-husband	'Husband-wife'
1042.	dunam daknam	to sit-to stand	'Living (noun)'
1043.	donam tɨnam	to eat- to drink	'Eating (noun)'
1044.	doko tɨŋko	eating place-drinking place	'Place for eating/drinkitamul

1045.	tamul-paːn	betel nut- leaf	‘Betel leaf-nut
1046.	rokpɨ take	egg-ginger	‘Egg ginger chutney’
1047.	anə abu	mother father	‘Parents’
1048.	mimə milo	wife-husband	‘Couple’
1049.	omə oː	daughter-son	‘Children’
1050.	mimum jameŋ	young girl-young boy	‘Young girls and boys
1051.	gidaŋ lamge	front lawn-back lawn	‘Lawn’
1052.	kumrɨ doŋgoŋ	nearby house-neighbour	‘Neighbour’
1053.	tali bati	plate-bowl	‘Utensils’
1054.	ato ajo	father-in-law-mother-in-law	‘In-laws’
1055.	əkum əraŋ	house-family	‘HouseFamily’
1056.	lumɨn manmɨn	quarrel-argument	‘Fight’
1057.	adɨn əŋo	meat-fish	‘Non-veg’
1058.	tebul soki	table-chair	‘Furniture’
1059.	takom tari	grasshoper-bug	‘Insect’
1060.	makuŋ marɨ	cucumber-melon	‘Gourd family’
1061.	domɨ tɨmɨ	to eat with-to drink with	‘Chutney’
1062.	doko tɨŋko	eating place-drinking place	‘Eating-drinkingplace’
1063.	arəm tadok	iron-bead	‘Iron-bead (property)’
1064.	əgə galuk	wrapper-blouse	‘Cloth’
1065.	migom babu	officer-clerk	‘Administrator’

Endocentric

1066.	asi tapa	water pumpkin	‘Pumpkin’
1067.	mopɨ tɨgra	land-frog	Toad
1068.	tasiŋ oːri	lemon-coriander	‘A plant having smell of both lemon and coriander’
1069.	luji lusaŋ	talk down –talk up	‘Way of speaking’
1070.	ami aro	man-real	‘Gentleman’
1071.	asi pərɨ	water-corner	‘Place or corner for water storage’
1072.	pərok əkum	chicken-house	‘Chicken House’
1073.	ek rəgum	pig-house	‘Pig house’
1074.	amoŋ ato	land-owner	‘Land Lord’

1075.	asi tapat	water-leech	‘Leech that live in water’

Exocentric

1076.	sitoŋ rudoŋ	(River) Bank-Long ear	‘Rabbit’
1077.	pəsi mimum	niddle-young lady	‘Kind of Grassoper’
1078.	ədʒo kiro	old woman-basket	‘Mynah’
1079.	tatum ləpjo	bear-foot palm	‘Ursa major’
1080.	pərok akɨ	chicken-uncle	‘Kind of plant’
1081.	tako-bəlaŋ	???-Jackfruit	‘Pineapple’
1082.	ta:pi-ta:jo	----------	‘Dragonfly’
1083.	ŋi:tɨ-pəri	----------	‘Sparrow’

Blending:

	Noun1	**Noun2/**	**Blended**	**Meaning**	**Gloss**
1084.	amik	amɨt	mikmɨt	eye hair	‘Eyebrow’
1085.	anə	aku	nəku	old mother	‘Grandmother’
1086.	sidum	aki	dumki	dear intestine	‘Dear intestine’
1087.	ami	jalun	milun	white man	‘Foreigner (westerner)’
1088.	sipjak	amɨ	pjakmɨ	cotton seed	‘Cotton seed’
1089.	omɨr	appun	mɨrpun	papaya flower	‘Papaya flower’
1090.	apim	abak	pimbak	rice-sticky substance	‘Sticky substance of rice’
1091.	tadok	jalun	doklun	bead-white	‘White bead’
1092.	tadok	aro	dokro	bead-real	‘Real bead’
1093.	tadok	aku	dokku	bead-old	‘Old bead’

Reduplication

	Reduplication	**Gloss**
1094.	alak alak	‘Hand hand’
1095.	ko ko	‘Child child’
1096.	mimə mimə	‘Girl girl’
1097.	ami ami	‘Man man’

1098.	ajaŋ ajaŋ	‘Love love’
1099.	giła-giła	‘Walking walking’
1100.	jajiŋ-jajiŋ	‘Green-green’

Echo word

1101.	aruk asuk	‘Emptiness’
1102.	aruŋ asuŋ	‘Hole etc.’
1103.	əruk ərak	‘Loneliness’
1104.	asum arum	‘Small group’
1105.	ameŋ aseŋ	‘Small etc.’
1106.	antʃo anro	‘Litlle etc.’
1107.	keɲuŋ keruŋ	‘Corner etc.’
1108.	rodʒik rojik	‘Small river etc.’

APPENDIX 3: SENTENCE LIST

Case

1. olak abal əm/əmə ojiŋ **mə** bi-to
   olak abal em/eme oying me bi-to
   olak.F money ACC Oying **DAT** give-PST
   'Olak gave the money to Oying'.

2. anə aman- əm/əmə ko-**əm/əmə** bi-to
   ane aman-em/eme ko-em/eme bi-to
   mother biscuit- ACC child-DAT give- PST
   'Mother gave biscuit to the child'

3. asi-ə oŋ-kai
   asi-e ong-kai
   water-NOM dried-PST
   'Water has dried/gone off'

4. ram a:ra-lok əsiŋ gat-duŋ
   ram aara-lok esing gat-dung
   ram saw-INST wood cut-PRES
   'Ram is cutting wood with saw'

5. ŋo-k abal-əm se:ko la: -to-n
   ngo-k abal-em seeko laa-to-n
   1st.SNG-GEN money-ACC who-take-PST-INT
   'Who took my money?'

6. no- k galuk-ə bet-duŋ
   no-k galuk-e bet-dung
   2nd .SNG-GEN cloth- NOM tear-PRES
   'My cloth is torn'

7. ŋolu-k amoŋ -ə kampo duŋ
   ngolu-k among-e kampo dung
   1st.PL -GEN place-NOM beautiful PRES
   'Our place is beautiful.'

8. si ŋo-lu-k / kə əkum-ə
   si ngo-lu-k/ke ekum-e
   this 1st-PL-GEN house-AUX
   'This is our house'

9. ara-lo a:tola
   ara-lo aa-tola
   inside-LOC come-do
   'Come inside'

10. mo:nam-lo sita ka-duŋ
    moonam-lo sita ka-dung
    jungle-LOC elephant have-PRES
    '(There is) elephant in jungle'

11. no aki-lo doŋkal gə-duŋ
    no aki-lo dongkal ge-dung
    2nd.SNG stomach-LOC worm carry-PRES
    'You have worm inside your stomach'

Emphatic (EMPH)

12. ŋo adɨr-ə i-duŋ
    ngo adir-e i-dung
    1st.SNG sad-EMPH do-PRES
    'I am very sad.'

13. mɨŋ-ken ə:i ji-maŋ
    ming-ken eei yi-mang
    think-can EMPH more-NEG
    'Unable to think'

14. jago ru:-pə aja-na ko-ko
    yago ruu-pe aya-na ko-ko
    very EMPH-ADV love/cute-NOMZ child-INDF.SNG
    'Very cute child'

Number

15. omə-ə apim mo-duŋ
    ome-e apim mo-dung
    daughter-NOM food cook-PRES
    'Daughter is cooking food'

16. mimum **kɨdɨ-ə** miri mo-to
    mimum kidi-e miri mo-to
    young lady PL-NOM song dance- PST
    'Young ladies danced'

17. mɨdʒiŋ **kɨdɨ- əm** aja laŋka
    mijing kid-em aya langka
    old man PL-ACC love IMP
    'Do love the old men'.

18. do:luŋ **kɨdɨ-lo** ŋolu gɨ-go- je
    doolung kidi-lo ngolu gi-go-ye
    village PL-LOC we go-around-FUT
    'We will go around the Villages'

19. mimə kɨdar -ə əgə sum-dʒiŋ alo-duŋ
    mime kidar-e ege sum-jing alo-dung
    girl PL-NOM cloth weave-expert very much-IMPF
    ‘Girls are very much expert in weaving cloths’.

Definite

20. miri gok-dʒi-na osi (bɨ)
    miri gok-ji-na osi (bi)
    song sing-expert-NOMZ Osi.F DEF
    ‘Osi who is expert in singing’

21. oji (bɨ) ip-duŋ
    oyi (bi) ip-dung
    oji.F DEF sleep- PRES
    ‘Oji is sleeping’.

22. mimə də kampo-alo na-ko
    mime de kampo-alo na-ko
    girl DEF beautiful-EMPH NOMZ- INDF.SNG
    ‘The girl is a very beautiful one’

23. ko də ai-duŋ əm-do
    ko de ai-dung em-do
    child DEF good-PRES say-PST
    ‘The child is good (SUB) said’

24. aman də do-po ma:-do
    aman de do-po maa -do
    biscuit DEF eat-tasty NEG-PST
    ‘The biscuit was not tasty’

Indefinite

25. ko-ko a:-do
    ko-ko aa-do
    boy-INDF come-PST
    'A boy came'

26. pəttaŋ-ko ap-tuŋ o: -ə
    pettang-ko ap-tung oo-e
    bird-INDF shoot-PST son-NOM
    'Son has shot a bird'

27. abal-ko ŋom bi aja-su-la
    abal-ko ngom bi aya-su-la
    money-INDF me give love-VR-CP
    'Have sympathy and give me some money'

28. ai-na galuk -ko la:-to
    ai-na galuk-ko laa-to
    good-NOMZ cloth-INDF bring-IMP
    'Bring a good cloth.'

29. əliŋ-ko la:to
    eling-ko laa-to
    stone-INDF take-IMP
    'Bring a stone'
    (*Lit. Take a stone)*

Interrogatives

30. ədɨt -ko no la-je-n?
    edit-ko no la-ye-n?
    how-INDF 2nd.SNG take-FUT-INT
    'How many will you take?'

31. simon maŋ-ko –ja?
    simon mang-ko-ya?
    animal NEG-INDF-INT
    ‘Is it not an animal?’

32. si pen ko -ja ma pensil ko –ja?
    si pen ko-ya ma pensil ko-ya?
    this pen INDF-INT NEG pencil INDF-INT
    ‘Is this a pen or a pencil?’

33. no ai-du-n
    no ai-du-n
    2nd.SNG good-PRES-INT
    ‘Are you okay?’
    (How are you?)

Wh- question

34. no iŋkolo du-du-n?
    no ingkolo du-du-n?
    2nd.SNG where stay-PRES-INT
    ‘Where do you stay?’

35. bɨ he:ko ~ se:ko?
    bi heeko ~ seeko?
    3rd.SNG who
    ‘Who is he/she?’

36. heko no-k bɨro-ə?
    heko no-k biro-e?
    who 2nd.SNG-GEN brother-AUX
    ‘Who is your brother?’

37. no-k amɨn-ə iŋko-ə?
    no-k amin-e ingko-e?
    2nd.SNG-GEN name-NOM what-AUX
    ‘What is your name?’

38. ədɨlo no ŋo-m abal bi-to-n?
    edilo no ngo-m abal bi-to-n
    when you I-ACC money give-PST-INT
    ‘When did you give me money?’

39. si galuk si ədɨt arə?
    si galuk si edit are?
    this cloth this how price
    ‘How much is the price of this cloth?’

40. kapəkɨsa bɨ ken-to-n?
    kapekisa bi ken-to-n?
    how he know-PST-INT
    ‘How does he know?’

Reduplication

41. bottə botte -na -əm la: -to
    botte botte-na-em laa-to
    big big-NOMZ-ACC take-IMP
    ‘Take the big (big) ones.’

42. kadʒu bo:l bo:l keli -je
    kaju bool bool keli-ye
    let’s ball ball play-FUT
    ‘Let’s play ball (ball).’

43. miri gokla-gokla ager i-tola
    miri gokla-gokla ager i-tola
    song sing-sing work do-IMP
    ‘Sing while working’

Imperative:

44. so a:-to
    so aa-to
    here come -IMP
    ‘Come here’

45. no apim mo-to-ka
    no apim mo-to-ka
    you food cook –IMP-go
    ‘You go and cook food.’

46. ai-pə pori -laŋka
    ai-pe pori-langka
    nice-Adv study -IMP
    ‘Study nicely.’

47. gɨ -to-ku
    gi-to-ku
    go-IMP-back
    ‘Go away.’

48. so a:-ma pəka
    so aa-ma peka
    here come-NEG IMP
    ‘Do not come here.’

TENSE

Present Tense:

49. no-lu-m migom-ə tom-duŋ
no-lu-m migom-e tom-dung
2nd-PL-ACC officer-NOM call-PRES
'Officer is calling you (PL)'

Past Tense:

50. məlo ŋo-lu kəbaŋ i-to
melo ngo-lu kebang i-to
yesterday 2nd-PL meeting do-PST
'Yesterday we did meeting'

Future Tense:

51. abu-ə su ən-je-ku
abu-e su en-je-ku
father later travel-FUT-back
'Father will return later'

Negation

52. apoŋ tɨ:-na ami-ə ai-maŋ
apong tii-na ami-e ai-mang
wine drink-NOMZ man-NOM good-NEG
'Man who drinks is not good'

siɲiŋ arɨk-ə ral-maŋ
sinying arik-e ral-mang
this year field-NOM strong-NEG
'This year cultivation is not good'
(*Lit. this year field is not strong*)

Yes-No Question

53. no-lu-k doluŋ-lo asiə aipe a:-du-n?
no-lu-k dolung-lo asie aipe aa-du-n?
2nd PL-GEN village-LOC water good come-PRES-INT
'Do water come regularly to your village?'

54. si ai-je-n?
si ai-ye-n?
This good-FUT-INT
'Is this enough/good?'

55. bɨ əraŋ ka-du-n?
bi erang ka-du-n?
3rd.SNG family have-PRES-INT
'Is he married?'
(*Lit. Does he has family?)*

56. a:ji du:-du-n?
aayi du:-du-n?
Mother sit-PRES-INT
'Is mother there?'

wh- question

57. si-m no iŋko-lok la:-to-n?
si-m no ingko-lok laa-to-n?
This-ACC 2nd.SNG where-ABL take-PST-INT
'From where did you take this?'

58. se:ko-m no mata-du-n?
seeko-m no mata-du-n?
Who-ACC 2nd.SNG search-PRES-INT
'Whom are you searching for?

Nominative Reflexive:

59.

bulu	agɨ-əm	ajaŋ	su-duŋ
bulu	agi-em	ayang	su-dung
3rd.PL	self-ACC	love	VR-AUX

'They love themselves'

60.

oji	agɨ-ke	galuk-lo	akaŋ	ilɨk	su-to
oyi	agi-ke	galuk-lo	akang	ilik	su-to
Sita	self-GEN	cloth-LOC	dirt	put	VR-PST.PERF

'Sita herself put dirt on her own cloth'

Adjectives:

61.

kampo-na	mimə-ko
kampo-na	mime-ko
beautiful(ADJ)-NOMZ	girl(N)-INDF

'A beautiful girl'

62.

solo	ai-ma-na	ami	ka-duŋ
solo	ai-ma-na	ami	ka-dung
here	good(ADJ)-NEG-NOMZ	man(N)	have-IMPF

'There is bad man here'

APPENDIX 4: LIST OF INFORMANTS

1. Name: Mr. Karsing Megu
   Age: 30 years
   Village: Motum village
   Distict: East Siang
   Education: Ph.D
   Mother Tongue: Adi-Padam
   Other languages known: Hindi, English and Assamese (Nefamese)

2. Name: Ms. Kaman Borang
   Age: 35 years
   Village: Kiyit village
   District: East Siang
   Education: Upto class 8th
   Mother Tongue: Adi-Padam
   Other languages known: Hindi and Assamese (Nefamese)

3. Name: Mr. Bangkop Megu
   Age: 55 years
   Village: Kiyit village
   District: East Siang
   Education: Uneducated
   Mother Tongue: Adi-Padam
   Other languages known: Hindi

4. Name: Ms. New Tayeng
   Age: 40 years
   Village: Parbuk
   District: Lower Dibang Valley
   Education: Till 10th standard
   Mother Tongue: Adi-Padam

Other languages known: Hindi and Assamese (Nefamese)

5. Name: Ms. Loying Damin
   Age: 35 years
   Village: Silluk village
   District: East Siang
   Education: Till 10th standard
   Mother Tongue: Adi-Padam
   Other languages known: Hindi and Assamese (Nefamese)

6. Name: Ms. Olak Borang
   Age: 35 years
   Village: Mebo Village
   District: East Siang
   Education: Masters in Arts
   Mother Tongue: Adi-Padam
   Other languages known: Hindi, English and Assamese (Nefamese)

7. Name: Mr. Anokong Borang
   Age: 65 years
   Village: Mebo (Bogong)
   District: East Siang
   Education: Uneducated
   Mother Tongue: Adi-Padam
   Other languages known: -----

8. Name: Mr. Kaling Ratan
   Age: 30 years
   Village: Jia,
   District: Lower Dibang Valley
   Education: Masters in Arts
   Mother Tongue: Adi-Padam
   Other languages known: Hindi, English and Assamese (Nefamese)

9. Name: Mr. Anthony Pertin
   Age: 27 years
   Village: Pasighat
   Education: Bachelor of Arts
   Mother Tongue: Adi-Padam
   District: East Siang District
   Other languages known: Hindi, English and Assamese (Nefamese)

10. Name: Ms. Loming Perme
    Age: 37 years
    Village: Ayeng
    Education: 10^{th} Standard
    Mother Tongue: Adi-Padam
    District: East Siang District
    Other languages known: Hindi and Assamese (Nefamese)

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