4.0. MORPHOLOGY

4.1.0. Nouns:

The noun in Dimasa may be defined as a class of words that can be followed by the markers for the categories of genders, numbers and cases, while the pronouns can be followed by the plural markers and case markers. In Dimasa, nouns are not differentiated according to persons, but the pronouns do.

4.1.1. Gender:

Gender distinction in Dimasa is determined on the natural recognition of sex, that is, gender is not grammatically marked in this language. It has only natural genders. The absence of grammatical gender is one of the typological features of Tibeto-Burman languages shared by Dimasa.

On the basis of semantico-morphological criteria, nouns are primarily classified into two classes, viz. (i) animate (ii) inanimate. Both human and non-human nouns are differentiated for masculine and feminine genders. All inanimate nouns are considered neuter.

![Figure 5: Gender Classes](image-url)
In Dimasa, there are different gender markers for both masculine and feminine. In case of [-human] [+ animate] nouns, the marker *zôla* meaning ‘male’ is postposed to the generic form of noun to denote masculine and *zik* meaning ‘female’ is postposed to denote feminine as exemplified below:

muṣu

musu *zôla*

musu *zik*

daono

daono *zôla*

daono *zik*

‘cattle’

‘bull’

‘cow’

‘fowl’

‘cock’

‘hen’

But in the case of human nouns also the feminine gender is indicated by postposing *zik* to the masculine form, e.g., *kunan* ‘abbot’ *kunan zik* ‘abbess’. However, *zôla* is not used to mark masculine in human nouns. Finally, neuter gender is not marked by any marker.

The various ways of expressing gender differentiation in Dimasa are as follows:

1. By using different forms to indicate two gender group, that is, the following nouns are lexically marked as masculine and feminine. This is evident in the use of kinship terms as shown below:-

Mas.

Fem.

bôsai

‘husband’

bihi

‘wife’

bôsa

‘son’

bisik

‘daughter’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naga</td>
<td>‘bachelor’</td>
<td>m̃tla</td>
<td>‘maid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bupa</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>buma</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahao</td>
<td>‘father-in-law’</td>
<td>bosuma</td>
<td>‘mother-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍda</td>
<td>‘brother’</td>
<td>ḍbi</td>
<td>‘sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boda</td>
<td>‘great grand father’</td>
<td>mayuŋ</td>
<td>‘great grand mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zuzu</td>
<td>‘grandfather’</td>
<td>daidai</td>
<td>‘grand mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boda</td>
<td>‘elder paternal uncle’</td>
<td>mayuŋ</td>
<td>‘elder paternal uncle’s wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidi</td>
<td>‘young paternal uncle’</td>
<td>madi</td>
<td>‘young paternal uncle’s wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidi bọsa</td>
<td>‘paternal uncle’s son’</td>
<td>bidi bisik</td>
<td>‘paternal uncle’s son’s wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bọza madi</td>
<td>‘paternal uncle’s daughter’s husband’</td>
<td>bidi bisik</td>
<td>‘paternal uncle’s daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumu</td>
<td>‘maternal uncle’</td>
<td>mami</td>
<td>‘maternal uncle’s wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maosa</td>
<td>‘mother’s younger sister’</td>
<td>maosi</td>
<td>‘mother’s younger sister’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. By using the gender markers-zəla and –zik for masculine and feminine respectively to the generic form of [-human, + animate] nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mas.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sisə zəla</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misi zəla</td>
<td>‘tiger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosraŋ zəla</td>
<td>‘fox’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alu zəla</td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daono zəla</td>
<td>‘cock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misai zəla</td>
<td>‘male deer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorai zəla</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burun zəla</td>
<td>‘(he) goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daodai zəla</td>
<td>‘peacock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mozo zəla</td>
<td>‘reindeer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sisa zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>misi zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mosraŋ zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alu zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daono zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>misai zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gorai zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>burun zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daodai zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mozo zik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While –zik is used to mark feminine ones among the [-human,+animate] nouns, the feminine nouns are further distinguished on the basis of whether the noun referred to is [+ adult] or [-adult]. Adult feminine nouns are marked not by –zik, but by –ma meaning ‘mother’.

E.g.,

daono zik ‘hen’
daono-ma ‘adult hen’
si-ma ‘adult female dog’
III. the agentive nouns and names of the occupations are made feminine by adding morpheme -zik to the masculine forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mas.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kunan/i</td>
<td>kunan zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'abbot'</td>
<td>'abbess'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rebya</td>
<td>rebya zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'author'</td>
<td>'woman author'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rephoza</td>
<td>rephoza zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'editor'</td>
<td>'woman editor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gəzaodaoya</td>
<td>gəzaodaoya zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'goldsmith'</td>
<td>'woman goldsmith'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poriya</td>
<td>poriya zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'reader'</td>
<td>'woman reader'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoza</td>
<td>hoza zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'leader'</td>
<td>'woman leader'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gedema</td>
<td>gedema zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'gentle man'</td>
<td>'lady'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rəzabya</td>
<td>rəzabya zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'male singer'</td>
<td>'female singer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baiya</td>
<td>baiya zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'male dancer'</td>
<td>'female dancer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>risuya</td>
<td>risuya zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'washer man'</td>
<td>'washer woman'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. By using -sa 'male' and -zu / -zik 'female' to indicate masculine and feminine respectively.

The male member of a community is referred to by the name of the community + -sa, and -zu / -zik is added for the feminine forms of the same.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mas.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gupu- sa</td>
<td>gupu-zu/zik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'European man'</td>
<td>'European woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas.</td>
<td>Fem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibir</td>
<td>gibir di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geblē̂n</td>
<td>geblē̂n di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōram</td>
<td>gōram di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natoŋ</td>
<td>natoŋ di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kora</td>
<td>kora di</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V. By adding the suffix -di.

The attributive nouns are made feminine by using the suffix -di with the masculine forms. The masculine forms are unmarked for gender, as exemplified below:
VI. Nouns without corresponding feminine counterparts:

Some nouns in Dimasa have no corresponding feminine forms.

E.g.,

- senya  ‘soldier’
- rupzaoya  ‘boat man’
- daitaiya  ‘murderer’
- na rimoya  ‘fisher man’
- haliya  ‘plough man’

VII. Nouns without corresponding masculine forms:

Some nouns in Dimasa have no corresponding masculine forms. This is so perhaps due to the fact that some of the professions are reserved only for women and some physical or social conditions are attributed only to women.

- daoyazik  ‘female weaver’
- gaiya zik  ‘planting woman’
- saokongini  ‘pregnant woman’
- painyazik  ‘woman selling goods in the market’
- haingazik  ‘a woman whose husband is alive’.

4.1.2. Neuter gender:

The inanimate nouns have no gender. They are not classified as masculine or feminine. Consider the following examples.

- no  ‘house’
4.1.3. Gender of loan words:

The inanimate loan nouns also do not show gender distinctions, i.e., they are considered as neuter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loan Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuyam</td>
<td>'bed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simi</td>
<td>'needle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sola</td>
<td>'shirt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dain</td>
<td>'moon’/ ‘month’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sain</td>
<td>'sun’/ ‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nosip</td>
<td>'broom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rebgonη</td>
<td>'pen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laisi</td>
<td>'book'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri</td>
<td>'cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ritap</td>
<td>'silk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koppra</td>
<td>'dish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laizôma</td>
<td>'letter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tEbUl]</td>
<td>'table'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[gh›ri]</td>
<td>'watch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bas]</td>
<td>'bus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dakt›r]</td>
<td>'doctor'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2. Numbers:

Dimasa has two number distinction, viz., (i) singular and (ii) plural. Plural in Dimasa is usually formed at the morphological level by suffixation of plural markers, such as -rao and -butu to the singular forms, while the singular forms of the nouns remain unmarked. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, the number is not grammatically significant in this language, i.e., there is no subject-predicate agreement as far as number is concerned. This is one of the typological features exhibited by the most of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Thus, Dimasa exhibits the typologically similar feature. Consider the following examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>gloss.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subun-rao</td>
<td>'men'</td>
<td>subun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nana-rao</td>
<td>'children'</td>
<td>nana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðnsa-rao</td>
<td>'boys'</td>
<td>ðnsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisa-butu</td>
<td>'dogs'</td>
<td>sisa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is clear from the above examples, that the plural marker –rao occurs with [+ human] nouns, whereas –butu occurs with [-human, ± animate] nouns. –rao never occurs with [-human] nouns. Consider the following examples.
* sisa-rao  ‘dog-pl.’
* dao-rao  ‘bird-pl.’
* bonpan-rao  ‘tree-pl.’
* musu-rao  ‘cattle-pl.’
* rebgoŋ-rao  ‘pen-pl.’

sisa-butu  ‘dogs’
daobutu  ‘birds’
bonpan-butu  ‘trees’
musu-butu  ‘cattles’

From the above analysis, it has been found that Dimasa conforms to the language universal no.36 as proposed by Greenberg (1963):

**Language universal no.36:** “If a Language has the category of gender, it always has the category of number.”

In noun phrases, which are composed of a head and a modifier, the plural morpheme is added to the head noun instead of the whole noun phrase. Thus the order is head noun + plural + modifier. Consider the following examples:

subuŋ gərao

man strong

‘strong man’
subuŋ - rao gərao

man- pl. strong

‘strong men’

no gede

house big

‘big house’

no – butu gede

house-pl. big

‘big houses’

mətla məzanŋ
girl beautiful

‘beautiful girl’

mətla-rao məzanŋ
girl-pl. beautiful

‘beautiful girls’

However, the plural morpheme is dropped if ‘two’ or ‘a higher numeral’ follows the noun phrases. In such cases the idea of ‘more than one’ (= plural) is expressed by the numerals. Consider the following examples.

subuŋ sao-gni

man Class. –two

‘two men’
suburj hilik sao-gni
man short Class. – two
‘two short men’
alu ma-tam
cat Class. – three
‘three cats’
alu gisim ma-tam
cat black Class. – three
‘three black cats’
mətla sao- bri
girl Class.-four
‘four girls’
mətla məzanə sao-bri
girl beautiful Class. – four
‘four beautiful girls’

Dimasa conforms to Greenberg’s language universal no.39 which states that;

**Language universal no.39:** “when morphemes of both number and case are presented both follow or both precede the noun base, the expression of number almost always comes between the noun base and expression of case.”
Consider the following examples.

- subuŋ - rao - ke
  - 'to (the) man’

- man - pl.-ACC.
  - of boys’

- ənsa- rao-ni
  - boy- pl. – GEN.

- sisa- butu-ne
  - dog-pl.-DAT.

- dao-butu-ni kermai
  - bird- pl.-GEN. tail

- ‘tail of birds’ / ‘bird’s tail’

From the above examples, morphemes of both number and case almost always follow the noun base. And also, the expression of the number almost always precedes the expression of case. Hence the cases will be discussed in 4.4.0.

4.2.1. Pluralisation of kinship terms:

The plurality of the kinship terms in Dimasa is expressed by suffixing -rao (the [+ human] plural marker) to the singular forms. But in the case of ‘mother’ and ‘father’, the plural forms
mean 'mother and others' or 'father and others'. Consider the following examples.

- bupa-rao: 'father and others'
- buma-rao: 'mother and others'
- bidi-rao: 'uncles'
- mumu-rao: 'maternal uncles'
- mami-rao: 'maternal aunts'
- δzani-rao: 'younger sisters'
- bōsa-rao: 'sons'
- bisik-rao: 'daughters'

4.2.2. Pluralisation of personal pronouns:

So far as the pronouns in Dimasa are concerned, they do not follow the above pattern; instead different forms are used for singular and plural as shown in table no.3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSONS</th>
<th>PRONOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIRST</td>
<td>δη 'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECOND</td>
<td>nī / nū 'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THIRD</td>
<td>bo 'he'/ she'/ ebo 'it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No.3: Number in Pronouns
It should be noted that in the above examples nisi / nusi ‘you’ (plural) and bonsi ‘they’ are actually the contracted forms (realized after morphophonemic changes) of nuŋ + si and bo + ni + si respectively. Thus it appears that –si is the plural marker used with pronouns only.

4.3.0. Pronouns:

Pronouns in Dimasa distinguish numbers, but no genders. Non-showing of gender distinctions in case of pronouns is one of the typological features of Tibeto-Burman languages shared by Dimasa. Pronouns may be classified into the following categories:

(i) Personal pronoun
(ii) Demonstrative pronoun
(iii) Reflexive pronoun
(iv) Relative pronoun
(v) Interrogative pronoun
(vi) Indefinite pronoun

4.3.1. Personal pronouns:

The personal pronouns in Dimasa distinguish three persons, and two numbers. This is illustrated in Table no. 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSONS</th>
<th>PRONOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>ḫi ‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>nuŋ /niŋ ‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>bo ‘he’/‘she’ ebo ‘it’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 4: personal pronouns in Dimasa.
The use of the personal pronouns is shown in the following examples:

др subun
I man
‘I am (a) man.’

dr mdsainzik
I woman
‘I am (a) woman.’

ни naga
you bachelor
‘you are (a) bachelor.’

нин мэтла
you maid
‘You are (a) maid.’

зин porï̧nsa
we student
‘We are students.’

nusi naga
you (pl.) bachelor
‘You are bachelors.’

bo gedema
he gentleman

‘He is a gentleman.’

bonsi gedema zik

they lady

‘They are ladies’.

ebo robgoŋ

it pen

‘It is (a) pen’.

From the above examples, it becomes clear that the gender distinction in pronouns is not determined by a gender marker or postposition, it is maintained by the corresponding adjunct which is in accord with such pronouns.

The pronouns can be inflected for cases. This is illustrated in Table Nos. 5-7. The case marking and case relations will be discussed in section [4.4.].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>ðŋ -φ</td>
<td>zĩŋ/ zũŋ -φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>ðŋ -ke</td>
<td>zĩŋ-ke/ zũŋ-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>ðŋ -ne</td>
<td>zĩŋ-ne/ zũŋ-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>ðŋ -ni</td>
<td>zĩŋ-ni/ zũŋ -ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>ðŋ -zan</td>
<td>zĩŋ-zan/zũŋ-zan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ðŋ -nisĩŋ</td>
<td>zĩŋ-nisiŋ/ zũŋ-nisiŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 5: Case marking for first person pronoun
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>niri/nuri-φ</td>
<td>nisi/nusi-φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>niri/nuri-ke</td>
<td>nisi/nusi-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>niri/nuri-ne</td>
<td>nisi/nusi-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>niri/nuri-ni</td>
<td>nisi/nusi-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>niri/nuri-zan</td>
<td>nisi/nusi-zan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>niri/nuri-nisir</td>
<td>nisi/nusi-nisir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 6: Case marking for second person pronoun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>bo-φ</td>
<td>bonsi-φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>bo-ke</td>
<td>bonsi-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>bo-ne</td>
<td>bonsi-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>bo-ni</td>
<td>bonsi-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>bo-zan</td>
<td>bonsi-zan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>bo-nisir</td>
<td>bonsi-nisir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 7: Case marking for third person pronoun.
4.3.2. Demonstrative pronouns:

The demonstrative pronouns in Dimasa are formed by adding the prefixes e- and hɔo- to third person personal pronoun bo, such as e- bo 'this' and hɔo-bo 'that'. Thus the former refers to persons or things which are located near the speaker and the latter refers to persons or things which are located far from the speaker. Consider the following examples.

- e-bo ənsa
  'This is (a) boy'.
- hɔo-bo ənsa
  'That is (a) boy'
- e-bo əŋ -ni rebgon
  this I-GEN. pen
  'This is my pen.'
- hɔo-bo nŋ -ni rebgon
  that you-GEN. pen
  'That is your pen'.
- e-bo bo-ni sisa
  this he-GEN. dog
  'This is his dog'
həo-bo nunu -ni alu

that you-GEN. cat

‘That is your cat’.

Plural demonstrative pronouns are also formed by suffixing plural morpheme -butu to the singular demonstrative pronouns which remain unmarked, such as (i) c-bo-butu ‘these’, (ii) həo-bo-butu ‘those’

e-bo-butu həmba laisi

this-pl. good book (sg)

‘These are good books’.

həo-bo-butu həmba laisi

that-pl. good book (sg)

‘Those are good books’.

həo-bo-butu laisi həm-ya

that-pl. book (sg) good-Neg.

‘Those are not good books’.

The above examples suggest that there is no double marking of number in a sentence. Only the pro-forms are marked for number in these sentences, their referent noun phrases are not marked for numbers.

4.3.3. Reflexive pronouns:

In Dimasa, zar is used as reflexive. zar occurs usually after the subject and appropriate case markers are added to it. However, if the
verb has the indirect object, then zar occurs after the indirect object. zar inflects only for cases. It does not inflect for numbers, genders or pronouns.

Tomba zar-ke do-du

Refl. –ACC. beat-PRE.

‘Tomba beats himself.’

bo zar- ke kadela-du

he Refl.-ACC. trust-PRE.

‘He trust himself.’

ŋə zar-ke do-du

I Refl.-ACC. beat-PRE.

‘I beat myself.’

prisoner zar-ke kataila-ba

Refl.-ACC. hang-PAST.

‘The prisoner hanged himself.’

ziŋ bo-ke zar slam-ba

we it-ACC. Refl. make-PAST

‘We made it ourselves.’

ŋə bo-ke zar klai-ba

I it-ACC. Refl. do-PAST

‘I did it myself.’
4.3.4. Relative pronouns:

There is no relative pronouns in Dimasa. The relative clause is expressed by means of participles. Consider the following examples:

\[\text{dē dē-ne laizōma riyaba subun-ke goron-ka}\]

'I met the man who gave me a letter'.

\[\text{erqha donyaba subun-ke dē miti-du}\]

'I know the man who lives here.'

\[\text{bo alu gisimyaba ani}\]

'det. cat black-partl. mine'

'The cat which is black is mine.'

4.3.5. Interrogative pronouns:

The interrogative pronouns found in Dimasa are as follows:

(i) sere ‘who’ (human)
(ii) sumo / smadi ‘what’ (non-human)
(iii) brdqha ‘where’
(iv) bisi ‘howmany’
(v) bedehe ‘how’
The interrogative pronouns can take postpositions or case markers. Consider the following examples:

bo sere?
he Wh
‘Who is he / she?’

nuŋ sere?
you Wh
‘Who are you?’

e-bo sere-ni satti?
this Wh-GEN. umbrella
‘Whose umbrella is this?’

oráha sere-ni laisi-betu?
there Wh-GEN. book-pl.
‘Whose books are there?’

e-bo sere-ne laisi-betu?
this Wh-DAT. book-pl.
‘Who are these books for?’

e-bo sumo?
this Wh
‘What is this?’
ninə smadi klas-du?
you Wh do-PRE.
‘What are you doing?’
Or
‘What do you do?’
ninə sere-ke nanzao-du?
you Wh-ACC. choose-PRE.
‘Who do you choose (out of these boys /men)?’
ninə sumu-ke nanzao-du?
you Wh-ACC. choose-PRE.
‘Which (one) do you choose?’
orəha sumu-ke laisibbutu doŋ?
there Wh-ACC. book-pl. be
‘Which books are there?’

4.3.6. Indefinite pronouns:
Dimasa has following indefinite pronouns:

(i) sereba ‘someone’ / ‘somebody’
(ii) saosibo ‘anyone’ / ‘anybody’
(iii) mussibo ‘anything’
(iv) asaba ‘something’ / ‘everything’
(v) kribbo ‘everyone’ / ‘everybody’
The use of indefinite pronouns in Dimasa is exemplified below:

ani mussibo giri
my anything Neg. Cop.
‘I donot have anything’.
sereba pai-blai-ka
someone / somebody come-Perf.-PAST
‘Someone / somebody has come’.
sosibo erôha pai-ya
anyone here come-Neg.
‘No one comes here.’
Or
‘Anyone does not come here.’
∂η-ne asaba-ke ri
I-DAT. something-ACC. give
‘Give me something’.
asaba hômbi
everything good
‘Everything is fine’.
∂η-ni nokor-ni kribbo lim-du
I-GEN. house-GEN. everyone ill-PRE.
‘Everyone in my house is ill’.
4.4.0. Cases:

Dimasa being a Tibeto-Burman language does maintain the typologically similar features of the family, i.e., case relation in Dimasa is expressed by postposing the case markers to the nouns or pronouns. In other words, all the case markers are postpositional. Dimasa also as an SOV language, maintains the characteristics that Greenberg (1963) has attributed to SOV languages as in,

Universal no. 4: “With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, language with normal SOV order are post positional.”

We find seven cases in Dimasa, viz., nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, genitive, ablative, and locative. The same case markers are used both for animate and inanimate nouns, but in the case of ablative, the animate and inanimate nouns take different markers. The case markers are not marked for the number or gender of nouns. The following is the description of cases in Dimasa.

4.4.1. Nominative:

The nominative case has no overt marker, it is realized as a zero morph. There is no ergative case in Dimasa, i.e., the subject of both the transitive and intransitive are treated alike. Semantically, the noun in nominative case may be an actor or agent. Consider the following examples.

bo φ  laizōma    reb-du

he NOM. letter write-PRE.

‘He writes (a) letter’.

Marry φ  mini-du

NOM. laugh-PRE.
‘Marry laughs’.

dao φ bir-re

bird NOM. fly-Hab.

‘Bird flies’.

taizu φ taobi

mango NOM. sweet

‘(The) mango is sweet’.

bo φ mākam zi-sai-du

he NOM. rice eat-Prog. –PRE.

He is eating rice.’

Tridip φ tailik zi-ka

NOM. banana eat-PAST

‘Tridip ate (a) banana’.

bo φ Dhiraj -ne masi laizāma reb-ma

she NOM. –DAT. det. letter write- FUT.

‘She will write a letter to Dhiraj’.

Shyam φ Anu –ke hātai-ha nu-ka

NOM. –ACC. market –LOC. see-PAST

‘Shyam saw Anu in the market’.
4.4.2. Accusative:

The accusative case is marked by φ or ke. In the case of a non-specific or non-particular noun (object) the accusative case is realized as φ, while it is realized as -ke if the noun (object) refers to a particular specific thing or person. But in the case of pronouns, -ke is invariably used. The following examples illustrate the above description.

bo rebgoη φ kɔma-ka
he pen ACC. loss-PAST
‘He lost the pen’.

η miyɔha bo-ne riba rebgoη-ke bo kɔma-ka
I yesterday he –DAT. giving pen-ACC. he loss-PAST
‘He lost the pen that I gave him yesterday’.

ɔnsa-ne taizu φ ri
boy DAT. mango ACC. give
‘Give mango to the boy’.

ɔnsa-ne taizu-ke ri
boy-DAT. mango-ACC. give
‘Give the (particular) mango to the boy’

η mɔsainzu φ sao-si lama-ha nu-ba
I woman –ACC. Class.- one road-LOC. see-PAST
‘I saw a woman on the road’.

η mɔsainzu-ke lama-ha nu-ba
I woman ACC. road-LOC. see-PAST

'I saw the girl on the road'.

laisi φ brai !

book ACC. buy

'Buy the book!'

ebo laisi-ke brai !

this book-ACC. buy

'Buy this (particular) book !'

4.4.3. Dative:

It is the case of indirect object marked by the marker -ne. Consider the following examples.

bo η-ne laisi φ ri-ka

he I-DAT. book ACC. give-PAST

'He gave me a book'.

nana-ne musundi φ ri

child-DAT. milk ACC. give

'Give milk to the child'.

nuŋ bo -ne tozi ri-ba

you he-DAT. ten rupees give-PAST

'You gave ten rupees to him'.
They feed food to the pig.

4.4.4. Genitive:

The genitive case is marked by the marker -ni. It indicates the possession of a thing or the relationship of a particular object with another object.

bo ḏη-ni rebgonj φ kma-ka

he I-GEN. pen ACC. loss-PAST

‘He lost my pen’.

Ꮦη Ram-ni no-ha taŋ-ka

I –GEN. house-LOC. go-PAST

‘I went to Ram’s house’.

Ꮦnsa-ni sao-ri

boy –GEN. Class.-cloth

‘(A) boy’s cloth’

alu-ni mutai

cat-GEN. eye

‘(A) cat’s eye’

bo-ni bupa

he-GEN. father
4.4.5. **Instrumental:**

The instrumental case is expressed by postposing the marker *zaŋ*. Consider the following examples.

- **bo hilai-zaŋ  misi gaotai-ka**
  'He killed (a) tiger with (a) gun'
- **bo ṛuŋ-zaŋ  tan-ka**
  'She went by boat'
- **kamzo bondo-zaŋ  slam-ba**
  'The chair is made of wood'
- **ṇa orṇa Trideep-zaŋ tan-ka**
  'I went there with Trideep'
‘Radha miyọha wa-zaŋ yam slam-ba

yesterday bamboo-INST. mat make-PAST

‘Radha made a mat with bamboo yesterday’

ŋη-ŋi daodi-zaŋ høn døŋ-ba

I-GEN. egg –INST. bread be-PAST

‘I had egg with bread’

4.4.6. Ablative :

The ablative case is expressed by postposing nipraŋ or nisĩŋ to the noun. nipraŋ occurs with inanimate nouns and nisĩŋ occurs with animate nouns or pronouns. Examples are shown below:

bo Delhi-nipraŋ paipin-ka

he -ABL. return-PAST

‘He returned from Delhi’

blai bonpaŋ-nisĩŋ glai-ba

leaf tree-ABL. fall-PAST

‘The leaf fell from the tree’.

bo kamzo-nipraŋ glai-ba

he chair-ABL. fall-PAST

‘He fell down from the chair’.

zuŋ musu-nisĩŋ musundi f mai-du

we cow-ABL. milk-ACC.get-PRE
‘We get milk from cow’

nun miŷha Ram-nisi⁷ laisi φ -ba

you yesterday -ABL. book -ACC. take-PAST

‘you took book from Ram yesterday’.

∂η bo-nisi⁷ tozi mai- naga

I he-ABL. ten rupees get-FUT.

‘I will get ten rupees from him’

4.4.7. Locative :

The locative case is expressed by postposing ha.

∂η Calcutta-ha tan-ka

I - LOC. go-PAST

‘I went to Calcutta’.

bo no-ha dona

she house-LOC. be

‘She is at home’.

bo lailonyaba dain-ha ti-ba

he last month-LOC. die-PAST

‘He died last month’.
The different cases and their markers discussed above are summarized in Table No. 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASES</th>
<th>MARKERS</th>
<th>MEANINGS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-Φ</td>
<td>Agent, experiencer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(subject)</td>
<td>-Φ, -ke</td>
<td>(Direct object)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>(Indirect object) to</td>
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<td>Dative</td>
<td>-ni</td>
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<td>by, with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>nisin [+animate]</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>nipraŋ [-animate]</td>
<td>to, at, in, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 8: Case markers
It is clear from the above analysis, Dimasa substantiates the arguments of language universal no.41 suggested by Greenberg (1963), which states that:

**Language universal no.41:** "If in a language the verbs follows both the nominal subject and nominal object as the dominant order, the language almost always has a case system."

### 4.5.0. Numerals:

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, numeral system in Dimasa is of the decimal type. It is a subclass of nouns which always follow the noun.

### 4.5.1. Cardinal Numerals:

There are a few basic forms of cardinal numerals with or without affixes. The numerals denoting the numbers from one to ten, twenty, fifty, hundred, and thousand are considered as the basic forms. The other numerals are derived from compounding these basic numerals. The basic numerals are given below:

- ma-si 'one'  
- ma-gōni 'two'
- ma-tam 'three'  
- ma-bri 'four'
- ma-boyā 'five'  
- ma-do 'six'
- ma-sni 'seven'  
- ma-zai 'eight'
- ma-sgu 'nine'  
- ma-zi 'ten'

The numerical classifier ma- is optionally prefixed to the most of the cardinal numerals except the basic numerals higher than ten.

The following cardinal numerals do not take the classifier /ma/.

- kon 'twenty'
The numerals from eleven to nineteen are formed by compounding the basic numerals from 1 (one) to 9 (nine) to zi meaning ‘ten’

zi-se ‘eleven’
\[10+1=11\]
zi-gdni ‘twelve’
\[10+2=12\]
zi-tam ‘thirteen’
\[10+3=13\]
zi-bri ‘fourteen’
\[10+4=14\]
zi-boya ‘fifteen’
\[10+5=15\]
zi-do ‘sixteen’
\[10+6=16\]
zi-sni ‘seventeen’
\[10+7=17\]
zi-zai ‘eighteen’
Cardinal numerals 30, 40, 70 and 90 are formed by compounding zi 'ten' to the numerals 3, 4, 60, and 80 respectively.

tam-zi 'thirty'
3-10

bri-zi 'forty'
4-10

bisatam-zi 'seventy'
60-10

bisabri-zi 'ninety'
80-10

The numerals from 11 to 99 are formed by compounding the basic numerals from 1 (one) to 9 (nine) to the numerals 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, and so on.

zi-se 'eleven'
10-1

zi-gəni 'twelve'
10-2

zi-tam 'thirteen'
10-3
zi-sgu ‘nineteen’
10-9

kon-se ‘twenty one’
20-1

kon-gəni ‘twenty two’
20-2

kon-tam ‘twenty three’
20-3

kon-sgu ‘twenty nine’
20-9

tam-zi-se ‘thirty one’
30-1

tam-zi-gəni ‘thirty two’
30-2

tam-zi-tam ‘thirty three’
30-3

tam-zi-sgu ‘thirty nine’
30-9

bisabri-zi-se ‘ninety one’
90-1
Numerals beyond 100 and 1,000 also follow the same pattern, that is, cardinals 1 to 9 are compounded to the 100 and 1,000.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{riziŋ-si} & \quad '1,000' \\
\text{riziŋ-si-se} & \quad '1,001' \\
\text{riziŋ-si-gəni} & \quad '1,002' \\
\text{riziŋ-si-tam} & \quad '1,003' \\
\text{riziŋ-si-bri} & \quad '1,004' \\
\text{riziŋ-si-sgu} & \quad '1,009'
\end{align*}
\]
4.5.2. Ordinals:

There is no native ordinal numerals in Dimasa. The word for ‘first’ is borrowed from Bengali and the rest are formed by compounding Bengali cardinals and the English word ‘number’.

E.g.,

- poila ‘first’
- dui nombər ‘second’
- tin nombər ‘third’
- sat nombər ‘seventh’
- at nombər ‘eighth’, etc.

4.5.3. Fractionals:

Fractional numerals are expressed by means of genitive ni ‘of’.

- ma-si ni gezer ‘1/2’
  one GEN. half/ middle
- ma-si (odehe) ma-si ni gezer ‘1 and ½’
  one and one GEN. half/ middle
- ma-tam ni ma-si ‘1/3’
  three GEN. one
- ma-bri ni ma-si ‘1/4’
  four GEN. one
ma-si (odehe) ma-tam ni masi ‘1 and 1/3’

one and three GEN. one

ma-do ni ma-gəni ‘2/6’

six GEN. two

ma-zai ni ma-si ‘1/8’

eight GEN. one

ma-zi (odehe) masi ni gezer ‘10 and ½’

ten and one GEN. half/middle

4.5.4. Multiplicatives:

Multiplicative numerals are formed by prefixing ṭlan ‘repeat’ to the cardinal numerals.

ṭlan-si ‘once’

ṭlan-gəni ‘twice’

ṭlan-tam ‘thrice’

ṭlan-bri ‘four times’

ṭlan-do ‘six times’

ṭlan-zi ‘ten times’

ṭlan-kon ‘twenty times’
4.5.5. Distributive Numerals:

Distributive numerals are formed by reduplicating the cardinal numerals as exemplified below:

- ma-si -- ma-si 'one by one'
- ma-gɔni -- ma-gɔni 'two each'
- ma-tam -- ma-tam 'three each'
- ma-zai -- ma-zai 'eight each'
- ma-zi~ ma-zi 'ten each'
- kon-kon 'twenty each'

4.6.0. Classifiers:

Classifiers are generally rich in Bodo-Garo (Benedict, 1972) languages. Dimasa being a language of this group, makes use of classifiers for denoting the semantic classification of the referent on the basis of the qualities of the noun, that is, its physical shape, size, and state etc. Classifiers in this language are predominantly of mono-syllabic structure. They occur with numerals and the classifiers precede the numerals. Classifiers usually follow the nouns. The following are the classifiers of Dimasa.

(1) The human nouns take the classifier sao

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>classifier</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subuŋ</td>
<td>sao-si</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>Class.-one</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'one man'
subun    sao-gəni

man Class. –two
‘two men’

ənsa sao-tam

boy Class. –three
‘three boys’
mətla sao-bri

girl Class.–four
‘four girls’

(2) Nouns denoting [-human, + animate] take the classifier ma:

sisa ma-si

. dog Class.–one
‘one dog’

sisa ma-gəni
dog Class.–two
‘two dogs’

alu ma-tam
cat Class.–three
‘three cats’
kamzo ma-si
chair Class.-one
‘one chair’

dao ma-tam

bird Class.-three
‘three birds’

dama ma-bri

butterfly Class.-four
‘four butterflies’

(3) Nouns denoting plants, trees, etc. take the classifier păñ:

bonpăñ păñ-si
tree Class.-one
‘one tree’

bonpăñ păñ-gōni
tree Class.-two
‘two trees’

sampan păñ-tam
grass Class.-three
‘three grass plants’
(4) Nouns denoting long things take the classifier gon:

rebgon gon-si
pen Class.-one
one pen'
rebgon gon-bri
pen Class.-four
‘four pens’
goda gon-si
stick Class.-one
‘one stick’
wa gon-tam
bamboo Class.-three
‘three bamboos’
trigon gon-gɔni
hay Class.-two
‘two hay plants’

(5) Nouns denoting rectangular things take the classifier gran:

sola gran-si
shirt Class.-one
‘one shirt’
sola gran-tam
shirt Class.-three
'three shirts'

risa  \text{graŋ}-gəni


towel Class.-two
'two towels'

risa  \text{graŋ}-boya


towel Class.-five
'five towels'

(6) Nouns denoting leaf of tree, plant, etc. take the classifier \text{lai}.

blai  \text{lai}-si

leaf  Class.-one
'one leaf'

blai  \text{lai}-gəni

leaf  Class.-two
'two leaves'

(7) Nouns denoting packets take the classifier \text{kon}:

wairep  \text{kon}-si

match  Class.-one
'one box of matches'

hon  \text{kon}-gəni

biscuit  Class.-two
'two packets of biscuit'
It is to be noted that there is a number of nouns denoting periods of the day, months, money etc. which do not take a classifier. Consider the following examples.

to-si
rupee-one
‘one rupee’
to-gəni
rupee-two
‘two rupees’
sain-si
day-one
‘one day’
sain-bri
day-four
‘four days’
dain-gəni
month-two
‘two months’
hor-si
night-one
‘one night’
hor-tam
night-three
‘three nights’

4.7.0. Quantifiers:

bôdam ‘many’, gôban ‘much’ / ‘more’, kaisa ‘some’, krip ‘all’, gizisa ‘little’, etc. are used as quantifiers in Dimasa. Quantifiers usually follow the noun in this language.

taizu bôdam ‘many mangos’
laisi bôdam ‘many books’
sômlai gôban ‘much/more curry’
mairôô gôban ‘much/more rice’
bar gôban ‘much/more air’
di gôban ‘much/more water’
subuân krip ‘all men’
alu krip ‘all cats’
rebgonô krip ‘all pens’
musundi kaisa ‘some milk’
di kaisa ‘some water’
bar kaisa ‘some air’
di gizisa ‘little water’
bar gizisa ‘little air’
4.8.0. Adjectives:

Adjectives in Dimasa are derived from verbs by adding derivational prefixes, such as gi-, gu-, gd-, ge-, to the stative verbs like zu ‘high’, de ‘big’ etc., these prefixes can be found in most of the Tibeto-Burman Languages specially in Bodo-Garo (Benedict, 1972) group. For examples, Bodo has prefixes like go-, ga-, gi-, ge-, etc. which are used to derive adjectives from verbs. Kokborok also has pronominal prefixes like ki-, kə-, ku-, etc. are used to derive adjectives from verbs. Thus Dimasa being a Language of this group shares the typologically similar feature. The following adjectives in Dimasa, which express the inherent states include quality, quantity, taste, colour and dimensional adjectives.

(i) Adjectives of quality:
- gede ‘big’
- gadain ‘new’
- gnənə ‘rich’
- gudum ‘hot’
- gəsain ‘cold’
- gətar ‘pure’

(ii) Adjectives of quantity:
- gəbanə ‘much’
- gizisa ‘little’

(iii) Adjectives of taste:
- gidi ‘sweet’
- gəbrap ‘sour’
(iv) Adjectives of colour:
- gisim  ‘black’
- gupu  ‘white’
- gəzao  ‘red’
- gəkран  ‘blue’

(v) Dimensional adjectives:
- gəlao  ‘long’
- gəwar  ‘wide’
- guzu  ‘high’
- gutu  ‘deep’
- gəsonə  ‘straight’ (for trees and plants)
- geblenə  ‘straight’ (for road)

It should be noted here that the following adjectives do not follow the above pattern.

E.g.,
- hilik  ‘short’
- kase  ‘small’
- məzənə  ‘beautiful’
- yənə  ‘great’
- bədam  ‘many’
- zaosum  ‘violet’
Adjectives in this language usually follow the head noun they qualify. It is also one of the characteristics of SOV languages, as observed by Greenberg.

Language universal 5: “If a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then adjective likewise follows the noun.”

Consider the following examples.

- subuŋ gərao
  - man strong
  - ‘strong man’
- mətla məzanə
  - girl beautiful
  - ‘beautiful girl’
- sola gəzao
  - shirt red
  - ‘red shirt’

Adjectives undergo no change for gender however, the case markers and plural markers are attached to the adjectives, not to the head noun.

E.g.,

- miyuŋ zəla gupu
  - elephant- male white
  - ‘white (male) elephant’
miyuni zik gupu

`elephant - female white`

‘white (female) elephant’

bo-ni kənai gəlao

`he-GEN. hair long`

‘His long hair’

bo-ni kənai gəlao

she-GEN. hair long

‘Her long hair’

subuŋ guzu -ke

`man tall -ACC.`

‘to a tall man’

subuŋ guzu -rao

`man tall-pl.`

‘tall men’

4.9.0. Verbs :

Verbs in Dimasa can be defined as roots which can take the morphemes (grammatical categories) for tenses, aspects & moods. Verbs are not marked for persons, numbers and genders in Dimasa. Verb roots may be divided according to their structures into two types – (i) simple and (ii) derived / complex. Most of the simple roots are monosyllabic while the derived roots are formed by compounding. Dimasa verbs are either transitive or intransitive. The following are the structures of verb roots.
4.9.1. Simple root:

Simple root consists of a root and also with absolutely nothing else attached to it. Simple verb roots in Dimasa are free morphemes, i.e., they are capable of standing independently on their own in larger constructions.

tan ‘go’
mini ‘laugh’
bir ‘fly’
pai ‘come’
kai ‘run’

4.9.2. Transitive and Intransitive:

There is no separate markers for transitive and intransitive verbs in Dimasa. Transitive verbs are those which can take a direct object while the intransitives are those which do not take a direct object but can have an indirect object.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zi ‘eat’</td>
<td>mini ‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lin ‘drink’</td>
<td>bir ‘fly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slam ‘make’</td>
<td>tan ‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu ‘see’</td>
<td>tu ‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri ‘give’</td>
<td>son ‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəna ‘hear’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zuru ‘help’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dotai ‘kill’ (by beating)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.9.3. Derived root:

4.9.3.1. Compound verbs:

Compound verbs are formed by combining two root morphemes together.

Compound verbs in Dimasa are exemplified below:

- 
  tan-pin ‘go back’ / ‘return’
  go back

- 
  ri-pin ‘give back’
  give – back

- 
  la-pin ‘take back’
  take – back

- 
  zi pai ‘come and eat’
  eat – come

- 
  da-pai ‘come and do’
  do – come

4.9.3.2 Explicator compound verbs:

An explicator compound verb is a morphological construction of two verbs $V_1 + V_2$, where the first verb is the predicating verb and the second verb is the explicator which modifies the meaning of directionality. The combination of $V_1 + V_2$ becomes one lexeme.

The $V_2$ is not the predicating verb because it does not give the main meaning; main meaning is supplied by the verb $V_1$. The entire compound of the finite verb – the predicating verb and the explicator is considered as one lexeme; not as two different lexical items. The $V_2$ is delexicalized and operated as a bound morpheme because, on its own, it does not give the same meaning (Abbi, 1990).
Dimasa makes use of a very small number of explicator compound verbs which form a closed set of verbs functioning as explicators, and do not come in pairs of opposites like COME-GO, TAKE-GIVE, SIT-STAND, RISE-FALL etc. as found in other Indian languages. Like other Tibeto-Burman, the sequence of Dimasa V₁ V₂ cannot be altered and V₂ can take the tense markers.

The explicators in Dimasa include la ‘take’, bai ‘sail’, sen ‘put’ and son ‘stand’.

la- indicates the sense of completion and sudden or abrupt actions.

\[\partial\eta\ tailik\ krip-ke\ zi-la-ka\]
I banana all-ACC. eat-ECV.-PAST

‘I ate up all the bananas.’

\[er\ddha\ -nipra\eta\ tan-\la\]
here _ ABL. go-ECV.

‘Go away from here.’

\[bo\ laiz\ddha\ shyam-ke\ ri-la-ka\]
he letter ACC. give-ECV-PAST

‘He wrote (down) (a) letter to Shyam.

bai- indicates continuation of action and gives the meaning of ‘keep on V-ing’.

\[\partial\eta\ m\ddka\ zi-bai-du\]
I rice eat-ECV.-PRE.

‘I keep on eating rice.’
bo laisi-butu-ke pori-bai-du
he book -pl. -ACC. read-ECV.-PRE.
‘He keeps on reading books’.
lama -ha taŋ-bai
road LOC. go-ECV.
‘Keep going on the road’.

**seŋ** is used to express the vigorous or violent actions.

∂ŋ di-ke bottle-ha lu-seŋ-du
I water-ACC. -LOC. pour-ECV.-PRE.
‘I pour the water inside the bottle.’

niŋ taizu-ke zi-seŋ
you mango-ACC. eat-ECV.
‘You eat the mango up.’

bo miy̌aŋha tozi ∂ŋ-ne ri-seŋ-ba
he yesterday ten rupees I-DAT. give-ECV.-PAST.
‘He gave ten rupees to me yesterday.’

**son** is used to express the actions performed attentively or carefully.

∂ŋ grao-ke ḳoŋa-son-du
I news -ACC. hear-ECV.-PRE.
‘I hear the news’ (attentively).

kusi-ke dan-son
work-ACC. do-ECV.
Do the work (carefully).
bo rəzaptai rəzap-son-ka
he song sing-ECV.-PAST
‘He sang (attentively) (a) song.’

4.9.3.3. Conjunct verbs:

A conjunct verb is a sequence constituted of either a noun + verb or an adjective + verb. Consider the following examples in Dimasa:

(i) daŋma ‘to do’
kusi daŋma ‘to work’
hadı daŋma ‘to cultivate’

(ii) zama ‘to be’ / ‘to become’
kusi zama ‘work to be done’
mel zama ‘happen to meet’
duku zama ‘to become poor’
gənaŋ zama ‘to become rich’
həmba zama ‘to become good’
həmya zama ‘to become bad’
gzao zama ‘to become red’
gupu zama ‘to become white’
4.9.3.4. Causative:

Causative or casual verb in Dimasa is morphologically marked. It is formed by adding ri meaning 'give' to the verb root whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. Other than the morphological causative, there is a verb like dain 'kill' which is inherently causative i.e., lexically causative; though the causative is not expressed at the morphological level in this case.

E.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-causative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nu-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zi</td>
<td>zi-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan</td>
<td>tan-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tu-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mini</td>
<td>mini-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slam</td>
<td>slam-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lin</td>
<td>lin-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəna</td>
<td>kəna-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>son-ri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the correspondence illustrated above, Dimasa being a Tibeto-Burman language does follow a common morphological process as reported by Matisoff (1989) that 'give' under goes a common grammaticalization process in Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Lahu to form a benefactive or causative marker.

4.9.3.5. Auxiliary verbs:

The auxiliary verbs form a small set of verbs, subordinate to the main lexical verb, which help to make distinctions in mood, aspect and
tense etc. In Dimasa, there are two types of auxiliary verbs, viz., (i) main auxiliary, and (ii) modal auxiliary.

(i) **Main auxiliary**: do is the main auxiliary verb and expresses the meaning of 'be' and 'have'. It functions as a copula in non-verbal predicates and also used obligatorily in locative predicates, past tenses, and in stative sense of possessions. Examples are given below:

- bo no- ha do
  he house-LOC. be
  'He is at home'.

- zin kimlin- ha do
  we garden-LOC. be
  'We are in the garden'.

- orha subun sao-gni do
  there man Class.-two be
  'Two men are there'

- bo kimlin- ha do ba
  she garden-LOC. be-PAST
  'She was in the garden (flower).'

- ḍh daktor do ba
  I doctor be-PAST
  'I was a doctor'.

- bonsi porsiṃsa do ba
  they student be-PAST
  'They were students.'
(ii) **Modal auxiliary:** pu 'can' and pu-re 'may' are the modal auxiliaries. Modal auxiliaries in Dimasa are bound forms.

\[
\text{I can go.}
\]

\[
\text{He can sing (a) song.}
\]

\[
\text{We may go there.}
\]
hadi ha-pu-re
rain fall-Mod.
‘It may rain’
Trideep kusi-ke daŋ-pu-re
work-ACC. do-Mod.
‘Trideep may do the work’.

4.10.0. Tense and Aspect:
Generally Tibeto-Burman languages give greater prominence to the category of mood than the categories of tense or aspect. Dimasa, unlike many other Tibeto-Burman languages does not exhibit the characteristic feature of Tibeto-Burman languages as pointed out by Zograph (1982), which states that “Tense is usually expressed by the addition of supplementary focusing words.” Comrie (1985) also pointed out that Tibeto-Burman languages like Burmese is considered to be a tenseless language. But Tibeto-Burman language like Dimasa distinguishes three tenses viz., (i) present (ii) past and (iii) future. The three tenses are usually marked by separate markers added to the verb after all other markers for aspect, mood, etc. have been added. In Dimasa, verbs are not marked for persons, numbers, and genders. The three tenses except future, can function in four aspects (i) indefinite (simple), (ii) habitual, (iii) progressive, and (iv) perfective. Hence, the future tense can not function in habitual aspect.

4.10.1. Present:
Present tense is marked by adding -du to the main verb. The four aspects of the verbs in present tense are as follows:

4.10.1.1. Present Indefinite (simple):
Present Indefinite is marked by zero, i.e., it is unmarked. Consider the following examples.

ðŋ poriko-ha taŋ-ϕ-du
I school-LOC. go-Indef. – PRE.
‘I go to school’.

• nuṇ cha liṇ-ϕ-du
you tea drink-Indef.- PRE.
‘You take tea’.

bo laisi pori-ϕ-du
he book read –Indef. PRE.
‘He reads book’.

ziṇ Hindi miti-ϕ-du
we know-Indef.-PRE.
‘We know Hindi.’

bonsi orṃha tan-ма nanızao-ϕ-du
they there go-inf. want-Indef.-PRE.
‘They want to go there.’

Ram alu-ke do-ϕ-du
cat-ACC beat –Indef.-PRE.
‘Ram beats the cat.’

4.10.1.2. Present Habitual:

Present habitual is marked by adding –re to the main verb. -re is used for expressing not only general habits, but also universal statements.

əṇ orṃha tan-re
I there go-Hab.
‘I go there (habitual)’.
nüŋ/ nŋ məkam zi-re
you rice eat-Hab.
‘You eat rice (habitual).’
bo movie nu-re
he see-Hab.
‘He sees / watches movie (habitual).’
subunŋ zi-re
man eat-Hab.
‘Man eats’.
bo nolaibo gaotulu mlou-re
he everyday football play-Hab.
‘He plays football everyday.’
daø bir-re
bird fly-Hab.
‘Bird flies’.
magusa tailik zi-re
monkey banana eat-Hab.
‘Monkey eats banana.’
Marry lim-re
ill-Hab
‘Marry is ill.’

4.10.1.3. Present Progressive :

əŋ tan-sai-du
I go-Prog.-PRE.
‘I am going.’

nuŋ laizəma rep-sai-du
you letter write-Prog.-PRE.
‘You are writing (a) letter.’

bo tailik zi-sai-du
he banana eat-Prog.-PRE.
‘He is eating banana.’

ziŋ daŋ-sai-du
we do-Prog.-PRE.
‘We are doing’.

dao-bütu bir-sai-du
bird-pl. fly-Prog.-PRE.
‘Birds are flying’.

subuŋ-rao mıkam zi-sai-du
man-pl. rice eat-Prog.-PRE.
‘Men are eating rice.’

bonsi rɔzaptai rɔzap-sai-du
they song sing-Prog-PRE.
‘They are singing (a) song.’

4.10.1.4. Present Perfective:

There is no distinction between present perfective and past perfective. The category of perfective takes past tense marker and belongs to past. Therefore, it will be discussed under past tense.
4.10.2. Past tense:

Past tense is marked by two markers viz. (i) -ka, (ii) -ba. The past tense with four aspects are illustrated below:

4.10.2.1. Past indefinite (simple):

Past indefinite is realized by zero marker, that is, it is unmarked. Consider the following examples.

\[ \text{ðη bo-ke nu-ϕ-ka} \]
I he-ACC. see-Indef.-PAST
'I saw him.'

\[ \text{αη bo-ke miyāha nu-ϕ-ba} \]
I he-ACC. yesterday see-Indef.-PAST
'I saw him yesterday.'

\[ \text{niη laizāma rep-ϕ-ka} \]
you letter write-Indef.-PAST
'You wrote (a) letter'

\[ \text{niη lailonjāba hor-ha laizāma reb-ϕ-ba} \]
you last night-LOC. letter write-Indef. PAST
'You wrote a letter last night.'

\[ \text{bo sapai-ϕ-ka} \]
he arrive-Indef. PAST
'He arrived.'
The examples given above clearly show that -ba is used when the time of the event within the past is specified as is evidenced by the use of adverbials; when no specific temporal information is provided other than that the event is located in past, -ka is used as past tense marker. However, -ba and -ka cannot be used alternatively, that is, these two markers are associated with different ranges of time frame.

4.10.2.2. Past habitual:

The past habitual aspect is expressed by using the marker -re and adverbs such as sðgan̄-ha 'before' mðnan̄-ha 'previous' etc. indicating that the action took place in past. Consider the following examples.

maitai-gni sðgan̄-ha ðη nolaibo daodi zi-re
year-two before I everyday egg eat-Hab.
'Two years ago I used to eat egg everyday.'

sðgan̄-ha ðη-ni nolaibo class don̄-re
before I-GEN. everyday Exist-hab.
'Earlier I had classes everyday.'

sðgan̄-ha ðη nolaibo poroñ-ha him-re
before I everyday morning -LOC. walk-Hab.
'Earlier I used to walk everyday in the morning.'

mðnan̄-ha bo gaotulu mlao-re
Past-LOC. he football play-Hab.
‘He used to play football’.
mɔnaŋ-ha bo orɔha tæŋ-re
past-LOC. he there go-Hab.
‘He used to go there.’

4.10.2.3. Past progressive :

As in present tense, the progressive in past tense is also marked by–sai.

əŋ tæŋ-sai-ba
I go-Prog-PAST
‘I was going’.

ziŋ tæŋ-sai-ba
we go-Prog-PAST
‘We were going’.

bo pai-sai-ba
he come-Prog-PAST
‘He was coming.’

bonsi lama-ha him-sai-ba
they road-LOC. walk-Prog-PAST
‘They were walking in the road.’

4.10.2.4. Past perfective :

Past perfective is realized by adding –blai to verb to which the appropriate past tense marker –ba or –ka is added.
དེ་བོ་ཀུ་-ཀེ་ རྩ་-བྱི་-ཀ འབང་-ཡུས་-མཁའ་རྩ་-བྱི་-བ།
I this work-ACC. do-Perf.-PAST
‘I have done this work’.

dེ་བོ་ཀུ་-ཀེ་ དུ་-ཧ་་མིན་རྩ་-བྱི་-བ།
I this work –ACC. now just do –Perf.-PAST
‘I have done this work just now.’

བོ་དི་-ཧ། དཀ་-བྱི་-ཀ
he -LOC. go –Perf. PAST
‘He has/ had gone to Delhi.’

བོ་མི་དོ་ཧ་དི་-ཧ། དཀ་-བྱི་-བ།
he yesterday -LOC. go-Perf.-PAST
‘He has / had gone to Delhi yesterday.’

བོ་མེ་-ཀ་
she die-Perf.-PAST
‘She has / had died’.

བོ་དཀའ་ཡ་-ཧ་ དཀ་-བྱི་-བ།
she last month -LOC. die-Perf.-PAST
‘She has / had died last month.’

ནུ་/ཉི་བོ་ཁ་-ཧ་ནུ་-ཏི་ཀ་-ཀེ་ རྩ་-བྱི་-བ།
you longback you-GEN. work-ACC. ངོ་-Perf. –PAST.
‘You have / had finished your work long time back’

ནུ་/ཉི་-ཏི་ཀ་-ཀེ་ རྩ་-བྱི་-བ།
you GEN. work-ACC. do-Perf.-PAST.
‘You have/had finished your work’
4.10.3. Future Tense:

There are two future tense markers in Dimāsa viz. (i)-ma and (ii)-nā. The use of - ma indicates certainty, that is, the event will definitely take place. On the other hand, the use of - nā lacks such assertion on the part of the speaker. The description of future tense in three aspects are as follows:

4.10.3.1. Future Indefinite (Simple):

As in present and past tense, future indefinite is realized by zero marker φ. Consider the following examples.

ेन ता-φ-मा
I go-Indef.-FUT.
‘I will (certainly) go.’

ेन ता-φ-नाना
I go- Indef. –FUT.
‘I shall go.’

नुन्त ता-φ-मा
you eat-Indef.-FUT.
‘You will (certainly) eat.’

नुन ता-φ-नाना
you eat-Indef.-FUT.
‘You will eat’

bo dakna Silchar-ha ता-φ-मा
he tomorrow –LOC. go-Indef.-FUT.
‘He will (certainly) go to Silchar tomorrow.

bo dakna Silchar-ha ता-φ-नाना
he tomorrow -LOC. go -Indef.-FUT.
‘He will go to Silchar tomorrow’
bonsi e-bo kusi-ke daŋ-ŋ-ma
they this work-ACC. do-Indef. -FUT.
‘They will (certainly) do this work.’
bonsi e-bo kusi-ke daŋ-ŋ-nan
they this work-ACC. do-Indef.-FUT.
‘They will do this work.’
ziŋ dakna zu liŋ-ŋ-ma
we tomorrow rice beer drink-Indef.-FUT.
‘Tomorrow we will (certainly) drink rice beer.’
ziŋ dakna zu liŋ-ŋ-nan
we tomorrow rice beer drink-Indef.-FUT.
‘Tomorrow we shall drink rice beer.’

4.10.3.2. Future progressive :

Future progressive is realized by adding progressive marker–sai to the verb.

ŋŋ tan-ŋ-sai-ma
I go-Prog.-FUT.
‘I shall be going’.
niŋ rep-sai-nan
you write-Prog.-FUT.
‘You will be writing’.
we work-ACC. do-Prog.-FUT.

‘We will be doing the work’.

4.10.3.3. Future perfective :

Future perfective also is realized by adding -blai to the verb.

\( \partial \eta \text{ dakna alaiba bubli-ha} \ \partial \eta \text{-ni} \ \text{porikha-ke ri- blai- na} \eta \)

I tomorrow part. time-LOC. I-GEN. exam-ACC. give-Perf. FUT.

‘By this time tomorrow I will have finished my exam.’

\( \text{bonsi Delhi-ha tan-blai- na} \eta \)

they -LOC. go-Perf.-FUT.

‘They will have gone to Delhi.’

\( \text{nirj kusi-ke dan-blai-na} \eta \)

you work-ACC. do-Perf.-FUT.

‘You will have done work.’

4.11.0. Moods :

4.11.1. Imperative :

Imperative mood in Dimasa expresses request on the one hand and command on the other. The imperative of command is expressed simply by the bare root while the imperative of request is expressed by the polite imperative morpheme realized as ha added to the verb root. Consider the following examples.

\( \text{tan ‘go!’} \)

\( \text{tan-ha} \)

\( \text{go-Pol. Imp.M} \)
‘Please go!’
zi ‘eat’
zi-ha
eat- Pol. Imp. M
‘please eat!’
ŋə-ne laisi-ke ri
I-DAT. book-ACC. give
‘Give me the book!’
ŋə-ne laisi- ke ri-ha
I-DAT. book-ACC. give-Pol. Imp. M.
‘Please give me the book!’
erôha pai
here come
‘Come here!’
erôha pai-ha
here come-Pol. Imp. M.
‘Please come here!’
ebo-ke klai
it –ACC. do
‘Do it!’
ebo-ke klai-ha
it-ACC. do-Pol. Imp. M.
‘Please do it!’
4.11.2. Capability:

The mood of ability or capability is expressed by adding the modal auxiliary -pu to the verb followed by tense markers.

bo kusi-ke dan-pu-du
he work-ACC. do-Mood-PRE.
‘He can do the work’.

ən tən-pu-nən
I go-Mood-FUT.
‘I (will) can go.’

bonsi rəzap-tai rəzap-pu-du
they song sing-Mood-PRE.
‘They can sing a song’.

4.11.3. Necessity:

The mood of necessity is expressed by the word naŋ meaning ‘need’ and tense markers are added to it.

ən tən-ma naŋ-du
I go-Inf. need-PRE.
‘I need to go.’

niŋ erəha pai-ma naŋ-ma
you here come-Inf. need-FUT.
‘You will need to come here’.

bo zuku-ma naŋ-du
she marry-Inf. need-PRE.
‘She needs to marry.’

bonsi e-bo-ke daŋ-ma naŋ-ba

they it-ACC. do-Inf. need-PAST

‘They needed to do it’.

4.11.4. Probability:

The mood of probability is expressed by the modal auxiliary –pure added to the verb. Actually pure is the combination of capability marker-\text{pu} and the habitual marker –\text{re}.

hadi ha-pure

rain fall-mood

‘It may rain’.

subuŋ pai-pure

man come-Mood

‘The man may come’.

ŋa oṛha taŋ-pure

I there go-Mood

‘I may go there’.

bo kusi-ke daŋ-pure

he work-ACC. do-Mood

‘He may do the work’.

4.11.5. Conditional mood:

The conditional mood is expressed by postposing kade ‘if’ to verb root. kade does not occur in isolation, it is always bound to verbs.
4.11.6. Permissive:

The permissive mood is expressed by using ri meaning ‘give’ and the tense, aspect markers are added to it.

bo-ke taŋ-ma ri
he-ACC. go –Inf. give
‘Allow him to go.’ (lit. give him to go)

nuŋ-ke nai ma ri –du
you-ACC. observe-Inf. give- PRE.
‘you are allowed to see.’

zuŋ-ke kusi-ke dan-ma ri-ba
we-ACC. work-ACC. do-Inf. give – past
‘we are allowed to do the work’
dη-ke laisi-ke language-ma ri
l-ACC. book-ACC. take-Inf. give
‘Allow me to take the book’.

4.12.0. Non-finite verbs:

Non-finite verbal constructions in Dimasa can be classified under three heads, viz., (i) Infinitive, (ii) Gerund, and (iii) Participles

4.12.1. Infinitive:

The infinitive in Dimasa is realised as - ma, which is suffixed to the verb roots. The use of the infinitive marker – ma is obligatory, otherwise without any marker the verb root expresses the imperative. Examples are shown below.

dη rōzaptai rōzab-ma nāţzao-du
I song sing-Inf. want-PRE.
‘I want to sing (a) song.’
nī nī-nī kusi-ke sazam – ma bubli giri
you you-GEN. work-ACC. finish –Inf. time Neg. Cop.
‘you have no time to finish your work’.
bo klai-ma nāţzao-du
he do-Inf. want –PRE.
‘He wants to do.’
ziŋ hotel-ha taŋ-ma naŋzao-du
we - LOC. go-Inf. want-PRE.
‘We want to go to (a) hotel’.
bonsi karmin φ pori-ma zen-ba
they story ACC. read-Inf. start –PAST
‘They started reading (a) story.’
bo Silchar –ha laisi φ brai-ma taŋ -ka
she – LOC. book –ACC. buy-Inf. go –PAST
‘She went to Silchar to buy (a) book’.

The position of infinitive in Dimasa as illustrated above is consistent with Greenberg’s language universal no.13:

Language universal no.13 : “If the nominal object always precedes the verb, the verb forms sub-ordinate to the main verb, also precede it.”

4.12.2. Gerund:

The gerund or verbal noun is formed by adding –ba to the verb root. Consider the following examples.

bətai- bukum zi-ba sao-ni klaihi həmbi
fruit eating health – for good
‘Eating fruit is good for health.’
ðəŋ pori - ba - ke naŋzao - du
I reading- ACC. like/ want - PRE.

- 156 -
‘I like reading.’

porika – ha mkao – ni laisi nai – ba hōm – ya


‘To copy (lit. seeing stealthily) in exam. is bad.’

son̤-ba naŋbi

cooking necessary

‘Cooking is necessary.’

4.12.3. Participles:

The participles in Dimasa fall into three groups, viz., adjectivals, conjunctives and adverbials.

4.12.3.1. Adjectival Participles:

Adjectival participle is formed by infixing – ya – between the verb root and the verbal noun marker – ba. The participles from yaba is equivalent to English one as in ‘the red one’. or Hindi vala, as in Khane vala ‘one that eats’, Dilli janevali ‘the one (fem.) that goes to Delhi’. This can be used in both past and non-past.

tan̤-yaba ‘the one who goes’ / ‘the one who went’
gra-yaba ‘the one who cries’ / ‘the one who cried’
pai-yaba ‘the one who comes’ / ‘the one who came’
subun̤ tan̤-yaba ‘walking man’ / ‘the man who walked’
nana gra- yaba ‘crying child’ / ‘the child that cried’
blai glai-yaba ‘falling leaf’ / ‘fallen leaf’
4.12.3.2. Conjunctive particles:

Conjunctive particles is formed by adding – hi to the verb root. It is used to express the meanings of sequential action, related action, cause-effect relationship and adverbial. Consider the following examples.

pai-hi laisi-ke pori
come – Conj. p. book – ACC. read
‘Having come read the book’
tan-hi zi
go-Conj.p. eat
‘After having gone eat!’
bo mokam zi-hi poriko- ha tan-ka
he rice eat-Conj.p.school-LOC. go-PAST
‘Having eaten he went to school’
eta kusi-ke szam- hi hettai- ha tan-ma
I work-ACC. finish-Conj.p.market-LOC. go- FUT.
‘Having finished the work I will go to market’
eta tan-hi laisi-ke den-ma
I go-Conj.P. book-ACC. keep-FUT.
‘I will go and keep the book’.
eta pai-hi nai-ma
I come-Conj. P. see-FUT.
‘I will come and see’.
mokao-ke kin-hi eta hilai la -ba
thief-ACC. fear-Conj.P. I gun take-PAST
‘I took gun for fear of thief.

misi-ke kin-hi bo kai-laŋ-ka
tiger-ACC. fear-Conj.P. he run-away-PAST
‘He fled away for fear of tiger.’

kasao- hi kna
kind-Conj.P. hear
‘Kindly hear (me).’

zi-ya- hi don
eat-Neg. -Conj.P. be
‘Observe fasting.’

kasao-hi ṣeta-ne laisi φ ri
kind-Conj.P. I-DAT. book ACC. give
‘Kindly give me (a) book.’

4.12.3.3. Adverbial participles:

Adverbial participle is formed by adding ha to the verbal noun form and used to express the meaning of ‘while’ or ‘at the time of V-ing’. Consider the following examples.

sainlaiba-ha ‘while speaking’ / ‘at the time of speaking’
himba-ha ‘while walking’ / ‘at the time of walking’
ziba- ha ‘while eating’ / ‘at the time of eating’
daŋba- ha ‘while doing’ / ‘at the time of doing’
rzabba- ha ‘while singing’ / ‘at the time of singing’
While eating rice, do not speak.

I saw him while he was walking on the road.

She wept while speaking.

Dimasa makes use of an emphatic particle, realized as nin, to emphasize the meanings expressed by nouns, pronouns, verbs and adverbs. This particle is post positional.

I saw him reading?

Sita is very good.

This is the house in which Ram slept.
ziri zar-nin ebo-ke dañ-pu-du
we self-Emp. P. it-ACC. do-Mod. PRE.
‘We can do it ourselves’
ðñ du-ha nín ani kusi-ke dañ-blai-ba.
I now -Emp. P. my work-ACC.do Perf.-PAST.
‘I have done my work just now’
bo subun-níi sisa-ke do-du
det. man -Emp. P. dog-ACC. beat-PRE.
‘The man beats the dog.’
sain-si-níi pai
day-one -Emp. P. come
‘Come in a single day’
e -bo nini-níi
it your -Emp. P.
‘It is yours’
níi pai-ma-níi nañ-ma
you come-Inf. -Emp. P. need-FUT.
‘You will need to come’.

4.14.0. Adverbs:

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages adverbs in Dimasa likewise precede the verb. Adverb is a class of words which specifies the mode of action of the verb or modifies the adjectives. Adverbs in Dimasa may be categorized according to their form into (i) simple/base adverbs, (ii) derived adverbs, (iii) compound adverbs, and (iv) reduplicated adverbs. Semantically, they may be categorized as (i) adverbs of time,
(ii) adverbs of place, (iii) adverbs of manner, (iv) adverbs of purpose, and (v) adverbs of quantity. The following are the forms of adverbs found in Dimasa.

(i) Simple adverbs: Simple adverbs consist of a single root morpheme. These are not morphologically marked.

E.g.,

- dinni ‘today’
- dakna ‘tomorrow’
- nolai ‘always’
- bedehe ‘how’
- bisilai ‘howmuch’
- porοη ‘morning’
- gebre ‘soon’
- dərga ‘suddenly’

(ii) Complex / Derived adverbs: Complex or derived adverbs consist of a single root followed by derivative suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Complex adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>məzaŋ</td>
<td>məzaŋsisi ‘beautifully’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rəgao</td>
<td>rəgaoisisi ‘clearly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>həm</td>
<td>həmsisi ‘well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rəzenə</td>
<td>rəzenəsisi ‘lightly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bubli</td>
<td>bublizanə ‘timely’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəbaisi</td>
<td>kəbaisisisi ‘pleasurably’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lai</td>
<td>laiolo ‘easily’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(iii) Compound adverbs: Compound adverbs consist of more than one root with or without any derivational or additional suffixes.

- sain –gezer: ‘mid-day’
- sain ‘sun/day’ + gezer ‘middle’
- dianni-dakna: ‘nowadays’
- dianni ‘today’ + dakna ‘tomorrow’
- hor –gezer: ‘mid-night’
- hor ‘night’ + gezer ‘middle’
- dakna –soni: ‘two days after tomorrow’
- dakna ‘tomorrow’ + soni ‘the day after tomorrow’

(iv) Reduplicated adverbs: Some adverbs are found by simply reduplicating the root. No suffix or postposition is added.

- prik ‘silent’ (adj.) → prik-prik ‘silently’ (adv.)
- kere ‘slow’ (adj.) → kere-kere ‘slowly’ (adv.)
- gibin ‘different’ (adj.) → gibin-gibin ‘differently’ (adv.)
- sraps ‘quick’ (adj.) → sraps-sraps ‘quickly’ (adv.)
- maitai ‘year’ (N) → maitai-maitai ‘yearly’ (adv.)
- raba ‘slight’ (adj.) → raba-raba ‘slightly’ (adv.)

The following is the classification of adverbs, according to their meaning or the ideas they express.
(i) Adverbs of time:

duha  ‘now’
dinni  ‘today’
miyəha  ‘yesterday’
dakna  ‘tomorrow’
soni  ‘the day after tomorrow’
poron  ‘morning’
sain gezer  ‘mid-day’
sainbli  ‘evening’
hor-gezer  ‘mid-night’

(ii) Adverbs of place:

brọha  ‘where’
erọha  ‘here’
orọha  ‘there’
sọganha  ‘ahead’
bọsaoha  ‘up’
baklaha  ‘down’
yahonha  ‘behind’

(iii) Adverbs of manner:

bedche  ‘how’
(iv) Adverbs of purpose:

- odezaŋ ‘because’
- odebani ‘so’
- zabalai ‘so that’

(v) Adverbs of quantity:

- bōdam ‘much’
- gōban ‘many’
- senuŋ ‘only’
- hōmisinuŋ ‘very’

4.15.0. Word Formation:

This is one of the common morphological processes found in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Dimasa being a Tibeto-Burman language, does have the following word formation processes viz., compounding, derivation and reduplication.
4.15.1. Compounds:  

Compounds are made up of at least two or more than two constituent bases which are root morphemes and are members of the categories of noun, adjective, verb etc.

Compounding is highly productive morphological process.

The type of Compounds in Dimasa are as follows:

4.15.1.1. Compound Nouns:

Compounds nouns are the most common type of Compounds in Dimasa. These may be classified in terms of the semantic relationship held by the constituent nouns.

Two main semantic relationships hold between constituent nouns.

(i) Equational Compounds: In this of Compound, the two words forming the compound noun have identical or very close meaning. The two constituents may differ in some basic attributive feature.

E.g.,

bon-pan \text{ ‘tree’}  
bon \text{ ‘tree’} + pan \text{ ‘plant’}  
mai-ron \text{ ‘rice’ (unboiled)}  
mai \text{ ‘paddy’} + ron \text{ ‘seed’ / ‘crop’}  
grao-kuran \text{ ‘discourse’ / ‘utterance’}  
grao \text{ ‘language’} + kura \text{ ‘voice’}  
s\text{‘sm’ ‘curry’}  
s\text{‘sm ‘grass’} + lai \text{ ‘leaf’}
(ii) Associative compounds: In this type, two nouns incorporating the extreme limiting referents of the same semantic field (representing a polar relationship), or two nouns incorporating the salient characteristics of that semantic field (in a less extreme association), form compounds whose referential range includes the whole semantic field.

E.g.,

- bar-di 'climate'
- bar 'air' + di 'water'
- ta-tai 'potato'
- ta 'underground root' + tai 'fruit'
- gedema-hoza 'respectable person'
- gedema 'gentleman' + hoza 'leader'
- dinni-dakna 'now a days'
- dinni 'today' + dakna 'tomorrow'
- gəzao 'red' + gupu 'white'
- gakraŋ-gisim 'deep blue'
- gakraŋ 'blue' + gisim 'black'
- dao-mi 'animal kingdom'
- dao 'bird' + mi 'animal'

The compounds in Dimasa can also be classified on the basis of the role of the words as head in the compounds. These types of compound include the following:

(iii) Endocentric compounds: It is a compound which contains an element that functions as head.

E.g.,

- mai-paŋ 'paddy plant'
mai ‘paddy’ + pañ ‘plant’
šəbai-ha ‘french bean’
səbai ‘bean’ + ha ‘soil’
sain-bar ‘sunflower’
sain ‘sun’ + bar ‘flower’

(iv) Tatpurusa (Determinative) compounds: In this type, the head of the compound is on the right side, i.e., the second member is the head of the compound.

E.g.,
naga-hoza ‘leader of bachelors’
    naga ‘bachelor’ + hoza ‘leader’
mətla-hoza ‘leader of maids’
mətla ‘maid’ + hoza ‘leader’
zəlai-hoza ‘young leader’
zəlai ‘young’ + hoza ‘leader’
ənsa-lugu ‘boyfriend’
ənsa ‘boy’ + lugu ‘friend’

(v) Karmadharay compounds: This type of compound is a combination of an adjective and a noun in which the noun is the head of the compound.

di -ma ‘big river’
di ‘water’ + ma ‘big’
(vi) Dvandva (copulative) compounds: In this type, two words are conjoined or coupled where both the elements are head.

E.g.,

bôsa-bisik 'son and daughter'
buma-bupa 'mother and father' (parents)
basai- bihi 'husband and wife'
sain-hor 'day and night'

Another system of classification used here is one in terms of the form classes of the elements of the compound.

(i) Noun + Noun:

daö-di 'egg' (of bird)
daö 'bird' + di 'egg'
ta-tai 'potato'
ta 'underground root' + tai 'fruit'
yao-di ‘weapon’
yao ‘hand’ + di ‘egg’
dao-no ‘hen’
dao ‘bird’ + no ‘house’
ta-moglai ‘sweet potato’
ta ‘underground root’ + moglai ‘Mongolian’

(ii) Noun + Adjective :
tai-zu ‘mango’
tai ‘fruit’ + zu ‘high’
ha-zu ‘hill’
ha ‘soil’ + zu ‘high’
mel-ma ‘conference’
mel ‘meeting’ + ma ‘big’
tampi-ma ‘housefly’
tampi ‘mosquito’ + ma ‘big’
no-sa ‘room’
no ‘house’ + sa ‘small’
ri-sa ‘towel’
ri ‘cloth’ + sa ‘small’

(iii) Verb + Noun :
rep-tai ‘topic’
rep ‘write’ + tai ‘fruit’
rep- hoza ‘editor’
rep ‘write’ + hoza ‘leader’
pori-dnsa ‘student’
pori ‘read’ + dnsa ‘boy’
rząp-tai ‘song’
rząp ‘sing’ + tai ‘fruit’
mlao-di ‘doll’
mlao ‘play’ + di ‘egg’

(iv) Compounds made of more than two root morphemes:
ha-zu-ma ‘mountain’
ha ‘soil’ + zu ‘high’ + ma ‘big’
rząp-tai-gra ‘folksong’
rząp ‘sing’ + tai ‘fruit’ + gra ‘old’
bai-tai – gra ‘folk dance’
bai ‘dance’ + tai ‘fruit’ + gra ‘old’

4.15.2. Derivation:

Derivation in Dimasa is employed as a morphological process to create new words by adding derivational suffixes.
4.15.2.1. Derivation of nouns from verbs:

(i) Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, verbal nouns in Dimasa are derived from the verbs by adding the derivative suffix -ba.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VR</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Derivative Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zi</td>
<td>'cat'</td>
<td>zi-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>'walk'</td>
<td>him-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liŋ</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
<td>liŋ-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rəzəp</td>
<td>'sing'</td>
<td>rəzəb-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri</td>
<td>'give'</td>
<td>ri-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>nu-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'eating'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'walking'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'drinking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'singing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'giving'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'seeing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Agentive nouns are also derived from verbs by adding the derivative suffix –ya.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VR</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Derivative Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bai</td>
<td>'dance'</td>
<td>bai-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəŋ</td>
<td>'work'</td>
<td>dəŋ-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pori</td>
<td>'read'</td>
<td>pori-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rəzəp</td>
<td>'sing'</td>
<td>rəzəb-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daitai</td>
<td>'murder'</td>
<td>daitai-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dao</td>
<td>'weave'</td>
<td>dao-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'dancer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'worker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'reader'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'singer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'murderer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'weaver'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.15.2.2. Derivation of Adverbs from adjectives:

Adverbs are derived from adjectives by adding the derivative suffixes –sis and –lolo.
4.15.3. Reduplication:

“Reduplication stands for repetition of all or a part of a lexical item carrying a semantic modification. Reduplication, thus, can either be partial or complete (Abbi, 1992).

Various types of reduplication include morphological and lexical reduplication. Morphological reduplication is further divided into expressives, and lexical reduplication into three types, viz., echo-formations, compounds and word reduplications (Abbi, 1987).

I have already discussed the compounds in the previous section. Now I will discuss the expressives, echo-formations and word reduplications in Dimasa.

4.15.3.1. Expressives:

Expressives are the examples of morphological reduplication. It includes onomatopoeias, sound symbolism, ideophones and imitatives. The expressives might or might not have phonological symbolism.

Expressives in Dimasa are used to emote all the five senses of perception, i.e., of smell, sight, touch, hearing and taste. A few examples cited below are to indicate the range and the depth of the perceptive powers of human beings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adj.</th>
<th>Adv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥəm</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥəm-sisi</td>
<td>‘well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṛṅgao</td>
<td>‘clear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṛṅgao-sisi</td>
<td>‘clearly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tao</td>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tao-sisi</td>
<td>‘sweetly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṛžẹŋ</td>
<td>‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṛžẹŋ-sisi</td>
<td>‘lightly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məżəŋ</td>
<td>‘beautiful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məżəŋ-sisi</td>
<td>‘beautifully’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lai</td>
<td>‘easy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lai-lolo</td>
<td>‘easily’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Acoustic Noises:

(a) Animal voices:

- ga-ga ‘crowing of crow’
- miyao-miyao ‘mewing of cat’
- gan-gan ‘barking of dog’
- brun-brun ‘humming of bee’

(b) Noises of natural phenomena:

- siri-siri ‘blowing of air’
- ziri-ziri ‘rippling of stream’
- sao-sao ‘flowing of water’
- grum-grum ‘roaring of cloud’

(c) Noises made by humans:

- ha-ha ‘roar of laughter’
- zap-zap ‘offensive sound made during chewing’
- krop-krop ‘sound of clapping’
- ton-ton ‘clatter of feet’
- gruk-gruk ‘sound of drinking water’
- srup-srup ‘sound of drinking tea’
- gluk-gluk ‘sound of gargle’

(d) Noises by miscellaneous inanimate objects:

- don-don ‘ringing of bell’
2. Sense of sight:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zin-zi} & \quad \text{‘shining’} \\
\text{mit-mit} & \quad \text{‘twinkling’}
\end{align*}
\]

3. Sense of touch:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{staple-staple} & \quad \text{‘sticky’} \\
\text{zembru-zembru} & \quad \text{‘wettish’} \\
\text{mili-mili} & \quad \text{‘smooth’} \\
\text{brakru-brakru} & \quad \text{‘roughness of the surface’}
\end{align*}
\]

4. Sense of smell:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-a} & \quad \text{‘fragrance’} \\
\text{hu-hu} & \quad \text{‘pungent smell’}
\end{align*}
\]

5. Sense of taste:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dipla-dipla} & \quad \text{‘sweet’} \\
\text{brapza-brapza} & \quad \text{‘sour’} \\
\text{katle-katle} & \quad \text{‘bitter’}
\end{align*}
\]
Besides expressing perceptual sensory words, expressives in Dimasa also express feelings, situations, manners, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uŋũ-uŋũ</td>
<td>‘crying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu-hu</td>
<td>‘anxious’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bĩŋ-bĩŋ</td>
<td>‘confuse’/ ‘idleness of brain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuk-tuk</td>
<td>‘thrill of horror’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zrep-zrep</td>
<td>‘speedy writing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.15.3.2. *Echo-formation*:

“An echo word has been defined as a partially repeated from the base word partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme (which can either be a consonant or a vowel) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable. The ‘replacer’ (phoneme / syllable ) sound sequences are more or less fixed and rigid.

The replacer sound sequences may not necessarily be unique but may never be numerous (Abbi, 1991).

Dimasa usually has –a- as replacer sound of echo-words. If the base word contains the vowel /a/ then the replacer sound is /u/. “An echo construction can be defined as the construction in which the base word is followed (in rare cases, preceded also ) by an echo word. The echo word has neither any individual occurrence nor any meaning of its own in the languages. It acquires the status of a meaningful element only after it is being attached to a base word. The echo word adds the meaning ‘etcetera’ and ‘things similar to’ or ‘associated with that’ to the base word or first word (Abbi, 1991).” Let us see how far the Dimasa examples of echo formation fit into this definition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dida</td>
<td>‘water and things similar to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nona</td>
<td>‘house and things similar to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bon ban</td>
<td>‘tree and things similar to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Further, there are instances where the ‘replacer’ is other than -u- and a-; a CV or CVC sequence is used as replacer the echo-word.

**CV**

- **baitai lutai**  ‘dance and things similar to’
- **mairon̄ diron̄**  ‘rice (unboiled) and things similar to’
- **hdtai sitai**  ‘market and things similar to’
- **damtai sutai**  ‘music and things similar to’
- **zotai katai**  ‘the style of speaking and things similar to’

**CVC**

- **səmlai boṛlai**  ‘vegetable and things similar to’
- **graotai ləmtai**  ‘utterance and things similar to’
- **hagrọ ləngrọ**  ‘forest and things similar to’

### 4.15.3.3. Word reduplications:

Word Reduplication refers to the total or partial bimodal reduplication, meaning thereby, repetition of the base of the word or the
stem. Reduplication can be of either a syllable or a larger constituent of a word or of the whole word. Whatever be the unit of reduplication, the end result is a new word which has no parallel in its non-reduplicated counterpart (Abbi, 1987).

Word reduplication is one of the most important and intriguing types of reduplication under lexical reduplication “From the functional point of view, complete word reduplication can be further subdivided into: (i) class maintaining, and (ii) class changing type” (Abbi, 1991). Here I will discuss the word reduplication of nouns, adjective, adverbs etc. in Dimasa.

(1) Class maintaining complete word reduplication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word Form</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kase 'small' (adj.)</td>
<td>kase-kase 'small small' (pl.adj.) (used with pl.nouns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gede 'big' (adj.)</td>
<td>gede-gede 'big big' (pl.adj.) (used with pl.nouns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nolai 'village' (N)</td>
<td>nolai-nolai 'villages' (lit. village-village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lama 'road' (N)</td>
<td>lama-lama 'roads' (lit. road-road)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rizin 'thousand' (N)</td>
<td>rizin-rizin 'thousands' (lit. thousand-thousand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məlai 'other' (adj.)</td>
<td>məlai-məlai 'other' (lit. other-other)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>həpai 'area' (N)</td>
<td>həpai-həpai 'areas' (lit. area-area)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nobro 'ward' (N)</td>
<td>nobro-nobro 'wards' (lit. ward-ward)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lailo 'easily' (adj.)</td>
<td>lailo-lailo 'very easily' (lit. easily-easily)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasru 'smiling' (N)</td>
<td>hasru-hasru 'very smiling' (lit. smiling-smiling)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(ii) Class changing complete word reduplication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kere</td>
<td>'slow' (adj.)</td>
<td>kere-kere</td>
<td>'slowly' (adv.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prik</td>
<td>'silent' (adj.)</td>
<td>prik-prik</td>
<td>'silently' (adv.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibin</td>
<td>'different' (adj.)</td>
<td>gibin-giben</td>
<td>'differently' (adv.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibi</td>
<td>'true' (adj.)</td>
<td>gibi-gibi</td>
<td>'truly' (adv.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raba</td>
<td>'slight' (N.)</td>
<td>raba-raba</td>
<td>'slightly' (adv.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rezen</td>
<td>'light' (adj.)</td>
<td>rezen-rezen</td>
<td>'lightly' (adv.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lugu</td>
<td>'friend' (N)</td>
<td>lugu-lugu</td>
<td>'friendly' (adj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maitai</td>
<td>'year' (N)</td>
<td>maitai-maitai</td>
<td>'yearly' (adv.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>