INTRODUCTION

How to Use This Book (A)

This book is a description of the Garo language. Its special focus is on the varieties of Garo that are spoken in Bangladesh, but I will also compare these to the varieties that are used in India, especially to the one originally spoken in the northeastern corner of the Garo hills, for it was that dialect which served as the basis for the Garo writing system. The book has a rather complex form because I need to address three very different sets of readers. This has forced me to make a number of compromises, and to introduce complications that some potential readers might be happy to avoid.

First, I would like to offer help to people whose goal is to learn one of the Garo dialects. This is, admittedly, a tiny audience, but I have something of a missionary spirit about the language, and I would like more of the people who live among the Garos to be able to speak it. Because I want to reach these people, however few they may be, I have done my best to explain things in a way that will be understandable to people who lack a background in linguistics, and to hold linguistic terminology in check. I have also given a glossary of technical terms in Appenix C. This is by no means a conventional "teach-yourself" book, however, and anyone who is looking for help in learning the language must read the later sections of this introductory chapter carefully. Only in that way will they understand the book's organization, and know how to find the information they need.

The second group for which this book is intended is that of professional linguists and Tibeto-Burmanists. Since I want my description of the language to be accessible to nonlinguists, those with a linguistic background

will have to endure a certain amount of elementary explanation that they might be happy to do without. Still, I have done my best to be explicit and technically accurate, and to organize the material in a way that will allow linguists to find the information that they are looking for. I have included a good many details of the kind that fascinate linguists but that may seem excessively esoteric to others. Learners who do not find these sections helpful should simply pass them by.

The third group of readers is likely to consist of people who speak Garo as their native language. I am not entirely comfortable about having the book used by Garo speakers because I feel very strongly that everyone who speaks Garo as a native language knows far more about it than I do. People who have spoken their language since childhood are always the final authority, and I cannot possibly teach such people to speak their own language. I have certainly made mistakes, and I would not want any reader to imagine that just because something appears here in print that it should influence the way they use the language. Nevertheless, Garo university students have already been asked to read my earlier attempt to describe the grammar of Garo (Burling, 1961), and I can hardly stop them from using this book in the same way. Whether I like it or not, I expect that some Garos students will work with this book, and I have included some sections that are intended specifically for them.

I need to be clear, right from the start, about what I imagine each of my three potential audiences might gain from this book, and about what its limitations are.

For Garo Speakers (B)

To start with, Garo readers must understand that the material in this book refers most specifically to the language as it is spoken in Bangladesh, and especially to the dialect of the Modhupur area. Bangladeshi Garos consider their dialect to be a form of A·beng, which in turn is a dialect of Garo. The Bangladeshi dialect does have a good deal in common with the A·beng that is spoken in the western part of the Garo Hills, but Modhupur is one of the southern-most Garo settlements. The Garo written language, by contrast, was first developed to represent the dialect that is spoken in the far northeastern corner of the Garo area. Both geographically and linguistically, this northeastern dialect and the dialect of Modhupur are about as distant from one another as two dialects of Garo can be. The written language has helped the northeastern spoken dialect upon which it was based to became a kind of standard to which educated Garos often adjust their own speech. As a result, many students in the Garo Hills speak

a form of the language that is reasonably close to written Garo. Students in the Garo Hills, therefore, are likely to find a good deal in this book that is different from their own speech. These differences between the dialects do not mean that either the dialect of Bangladesh, or the dialect spoken by educated Garos in the Garo Hills is wrong. It means only that Garo, like all languages, can be spoken in a variety of ways. I would be pleased if this book could contribute to the appreciation of, and respect for, the differences among the dialects.

One way in which this book could be of interest to people who already speak the language would be as a demonstration of how a language can be described. Readers should be able to learn about the nature of language in general and not simply about the nature of Garo. Garo speakers should be able to take my description as a starting point, but move beyond it and describe additional aspects of their language, aspects that I have not covered. They should be able to think of words and suffixes that I have left out. They should be able to think of additional ways to join words into complex sentences. I am convinced that students will learn more about their language by examining it themselves than by reading my description, but the way I go about describing it may provide ideas about how to go further, and how to describe it in even more detail. In order to help students get started in examining their own language, I have written a number of questions that should provide a place to begin. These questions are given in Appendix B, but they are keyed to the earlier chapters of the book.

One topic that I would expect Garo speakers to find interesting would be the differences among their dialects. I concentrate on the Modhupur dialect and make some comparative references to the dialect upon which written Garo is based, but I say very little about other dialects. This means that I leave out a great deal about most dialects of Garo, and it should be interesting to compare the full range of dialects to see how they resemble each other and how they differ. Appendix B includes a number of questions that are designed to get people interested in investigating dialect differences.

Garo readers must understand that this book is not intended as anything except a description of the language. It is not a guide to how Garo ought to be spoken. As a foreigner, and as someone who learned Garo only in adulthood, it is not my job to tell Garos how to speak their own language. Native speakers cannot possibly learn how to speak or write their language better by reading this book. I hope, however, that that this book can show them something about how to study and describe a language.

For Learners (A)

It would please me greatly if people who want to learn to speak Garo find this book helpful, but it is not written it as a conventional language guide. It is not organized into a graded series of lessons and it contains no exercises for learners. It is, instead, a description of the language, and it can only be used as a reference book. When you want to know how some aspect of the language works, you should be able to look up that topic and read about it in whatever detail you find useful at that point in your studies. I expect that anyone who wants to learn Garo will be in contact with Garo speakers, and I am certain that the practice gained by speaking with people will be far more useful than doing conventional exercises from a book. That is why you will find no exercises here. To use the book effectively, however, you will have to be able to find the topic you want to learn about at the time when you want it. This means that you *must* understand how the book is organized. You cannot possibly start at the beginning and go straight through to the end. You will have to learn how to jump back and forth.

One of the things that makes learning a language difficult is that you need to know something about everything before you can even start. You cannot say your first sentence without some words, but you also need some idea about how to pronounce them and some understanding about how to join them together into rudimentary phrases or sentences. Gradually you will expand your competence in all aspects of the language. You will increase your vocabulary, pronounce more accurately, and gain more control over the grammar, and you have no choice except to work on everything at the same time. On the other hand, a description of a language is easier to use if everything about a single topic is gathered in one place. But if everything on the same topic is assembled in one place, early learners will find far more than they need or want to know about each topic, and they will be quickly overwhelmed.

My solution to this dilemma is to assign each section to one of three levels, elementary, intermediate, and advanced. I have labeled these, respectively, A, B, and C. In the chapters on pronunciation, for example, the A-level sections give the basic information that a new learner needs in order to form understandable words and to interpret the sounds made by others. It gives what is needed to get started. The B-level describes some more subtle aspects of the pronunciation, such as the effects that adjacent sounds have upon each other. This should be helpful after the basic A-level material has been learned, but most learners would find it more then they want at the very beginning. The C-level sections on pronunciation are considerably more technical than even the B-level, and some learners may

never want to get entangled in them. I have included the C-level sections primarily for linguists and Tibeto-Burmanists, and I have allowed myself to write more technically in these sections than in the A-level and B-level sections. Some learners may find the C-level sections interesting or useful and they are here to explore for those who want them, but readers who do not have the linguistic background to understand these sections should not worry about them. Each major portion of the chapters on pronunciation is marked either A or B or C. A few relatively technical paragraphs are embedded within the A-level and B-level sections, however, so you must read thoughtfully. If some paragraphs seem too technical at first reading, skip them. You can return to them later to fill in your knowledge.

Volume II is devoted to the lexicon. Like the first volume it deals primarily with the dialect of Bangladesh, especially that of Modhupur, but all Garo dialects are similar enough that this section should be useful for learners anywhere. The Survival Vocabulary can be taken as the A-level. It offers no more than a list of about 250 essential words and suffixes. These should be enough to make a few of your needs known and they should give you a start in communicating, but you will soon need more. The Intermediate word list is B-level, and it moves to a slightly more adequate 1000 words. A surprising amount can be communicated with 1000 words, but the Garo speakers whom you meet will not limit themselves to such a restricted vocabulary, and it will not be long before you will want to move on to a fuller vocabulary. Of course no one should be so rigid as to suppose the first 250 words must all be learned before moving on to the 1000 word list. Obviously each learner will have special needs and will want to concentrate on the vocabulary that he or she finds most important. The 250 and 1000 word lists are meant only as general guides. Be warned: Garos use many thousands of words and, as with all language learning, your biggest single challenge will be to gain control over enough of those thousands to converse easily on all the topics that you find interesting.

The C-level vocabulary is simply the best word list or dictionary that you can find. The second volume has a good deal of information about vocabulary, but there are also good Garo to English dictionaries, all of them primarily of the northeastern dialect of Garo that served as the basis for the written language. The most readily available dictionary is D. S. Nengminza's *The School Dictionary* (1946 and later). This is reliable and helpful, but even this may be difficult to find in Bangladesh. H. W. Marak's *Ku'bidik* (1975) is a bit more complete and has Assamese as well as Garo translations, but it is more difficult to find. A third dictionary is Lucy Holbrook's, *Ku'rongdik*. This was written more than half a century ago but published only in 1998. Each of these dictionaries has some words that the others lack, and whichever you use should be of great help. English to

Garo dictionaries are, unfortunately less satisfactory. Those that have been available, such as Nengminza (1988) are all intended for Garo learners of English, rather than for English speaking learners of Garo. They often give English definitions of Garo words rather than English equivalents. Still, one of these dictionaries can give considerable assistance if you can find one. None of them, unfortunately, is readily available in Bangladesh.

The place to begin the study of the grammar is with Chapter 5, "Core Grammar: An Overview". This gives a brief survey of sentence organization, and has references to later sections where particular aspects of the grammar are considered in more detail. Chapter 5 can serve as a sort of index to the more detailed descriptions of particular parts of the grammar that come later.

The chapters on grammar, inevitably, have a considerably more complex organization than those on pronunciation or than the volume on vocabulary. In the grammar chapters, many of the topics covered are divided into A, B, and C-level parts. For example the section on numeral classifiers introduces the most common and essential classifiers as A-level, gives some less essential but still common classifiers as B-level, and leaves a large remainder for C-level. The complete section gathers into one place far more classifiers than a new learner would want, but other readers, and even learners at a later stage, will find it more useful to have everything on classifiers gathered together than to have it scattered about. The sections on many of the other classes of words and suffixes are divided in the same way.

Generally, you will want to gain a fairly good control over the material in the A-level sections before moving too deeply into the B-level sections. Similarly, you will probably want to postpone diving into C-level sections until you have a reasonable understanding of most of those at B-level. Still, you should not be rigid about this. Different learners will have different needs, and if you feel that you want to plunge ahead to the B- or even C-level for some topic while still working at the A-level for others, go ahead. Most learners, for example, can expect to find the C-level sections in grammar considerably more useful than the quite technical C-level sections on pronunciation. In any case, you will have to move back and forth among topics and among sections. Do not try to work straight through the book from the beginning to the end. You would get hopelessly bogged down. It is not that sort of book.

For Linguists (C)

I worry less about linguists than I do about either native speakers or learners. If what linguists want is here, they will find it. Still, I would like

to warn linguists that this is not a conventional grammar. It is, for one thing, a bit thin on formalities. I have wanted to be clear about how the language works, and I kept finding that formalities did more to obscure the language than to clarify it. I am also very much concerned with meaning. I want to explain not only how all those bits and pieces fit together into words and sentences, but also what they mean and why they are there. Perhaps my concern for meaning emerges from my own practical use of the language, but it also grows out of a conviction that meaning is what language is all about. The words and the grammar are no more than tools by which to express meaning, and a grammar that does not put meaning at the center misses the point. So I have done my best to explain what all the bits mean, and to show how they are used to achieve what speakers want to achieve. There will be places where I say things that will seem boringly obvious and elementary to linguists, but the effort to explain the language for nonlinguists may sometimes help linguists too. By always keeping my nonlinguistic audience in mind, I may even have avoided some of the impenetrable density that makes some grammars so hard to fight through, even for linguists. There is still much that I do not know about the language, but when my description butts up against the limits of my knowledge I have done my best to say so.

Linguists might like to know that except for the simplest examples (including most of those in Chapter 5), I have used examples given to me by, or at least approved by, native speakers. Some of these examples were caught on the fly when I heard them used and managed to make a note of them. Many others came from transcripts of recordings that I made with the help of consultants, of conversations, dialogues, and stories. Still others were offered during sessions with consultants who made up endless numbers of sentences to give me examples of how they talked. Of course, I put together lots of sentences of my own, testing my grasp of how the language works, and some of these, after improvements suggested by my consultants, have also found their way into the book. I am not so rash as to imagine that no mistakes have slipped through, but I believe most of the examples represent the natural and colloquial way in which Mandis and other Garos talk.

One final characteristic of this volume should be understood by everyone. It is, of course, a reference book. No one except me, and Aaron Ohlrogge who did a wonderfully conscientious job of proofreading, will, I hope, ever try to read it straight through. As such, I have permitted myself a good deal of repetition, hoping that most sections will be understandable on their own, without too much shuffling back and forth among sections on related topics. If you find yourself thinking "He said that in Chapter 6, why is he saying it again?" please remember that another reader may not

have read that earlier passage.

ONE

THE LANGUAGE AND THE PEOPLE

The Garo Hills form the western two-fifths of Meghalaya, one of the so-called "hill states" of northeastern India. Outsiders have always called the people who live in these hills "Garos", and their language has always been known as "Garo". The Garos are often included among the "hill people" of northeastern India, but Garos are also found in the low country that lies to the north, west, and south of the hills. The plains area to the south now lies in Bangladesh and it is the dialect of Garo that is spoken in Bangladesh that is the special focus of this book. More than a half million Garos live in India. The majority are found in the Garo Hills but many live in the neighboring districts as well. Well over one hundred thousand live over the border, in Bangladesh.

The word "Garo" is not often used by the people to whom it refers. It is used, instead, by other Indians, Bangladeshis, and foreigners, and for many of the people themselves, the word has acquired somewhat unpleasant connotations. Those living in Bangladesh generally prefer to call themselves "Mandis", which otherwise simply means 'people, human beings', and I will follow their preference here by referring to Bangladeshi Garos as "Mandis", and to their dialect, as "Mandi". This is the local pronunciation of the word that is pronounced "Mande" in the more northern dialects of the language. The difference in pronunciation gives me a convenient way to label the particular dialect with which I am especially concerned. The dialect of Bangladesh, to be sure, grades imperceptibly into the neighboring dialects of India, but so much of my own recent experience has been in Bangladesh, that I need a way to refer to the particular variety of the language that is spoken there.

The Mandis who live in Bangladesh are well aware of the differences between their own dialect and that of the hills to the north, but their own

use of the word "Mandi" includes everyone whom others call "Garo". They also refer to their own form of the language as "A·beng" and they recognize that it has some affinity with the A·beng dialects spoken in the western part of the Garo Hills. Beyond A·beng, however, they also recognize the special status of the dialect upon which written Garo is based and which has become a sort of standard dialect. Only rarely do people in Bangladesh try to model their own speech upon the northern dialect but they do sometimes suggest that it is in some degree "better" than their own local dialect. They are often able to provide a few stereotypic examples of how their dialect differs from the northern standard. Bangladeshi Mandis refer to this northern standard dialect as "A·chik". A·chik means, literally, 'hill' or 'slope', and to describe people as "A·chik" implies that they are hill people. The Mandis, who live in the flat plains of Bangladesh, do not feel that they are, in any sense, hill people, and they do not feel that "A·chik" can refer to them. Thus they use "A·chik" to refer specifically to Garos other than themselves, and to refer to the form of the language that they perceive to be dominant in the Garo Hills.

For Garos who actually live in the hills, "A·chik" has a wider scope, for it is used to refer to all the people whom others call "Garos", even those who live in the plains. I need a word that can refer to the language of the hills, however, and in particular I need to be able to refer to the dialect that has become, more or less, the standard. Repeatedly, I will need to contrast this northern ("standard") dialect with the dialect of the Bangladeshi Mandis. It will be convenient to follow the usage of Mandis of Bangladesh and refer to the standard dialect as "A·chik", and to contrast it with the southern and more local "Mandi" dialect.

Unfortunately, no generally accepted term has yet emerged that can replace "Garo" as a general term for all the people traditionally called "Garos". Bangladeshi Mandis apply "A·chik" more narrowly than northerners do. Northerners sometimes use "Mande", the northern pronunciation of southern "Mandi", as an equivalent for "Garo", but this is by no means universally accepted. In spite of its negative associations, therefore, I will continue to use "Garo" as a cover term for the full range of mutually intelligible dialects, both in India and Bangladesh, that outsiders have traditionally called by that term. I will also use "Garo" to refer to the written form of the language that many of these people now use. "A·chik" and "Mandi", therefore, are to be understood as two spoken varieties of the "Garo" language.

While I will be concerned primarily with Mandi as spoken in Bangladesh, and secondarily with the relatively "standard" A·chik, it should not be imagined that Garo has only two dialects. Mandi speakers recognize

their own dialect as a form of A·beng, but "A·beng" is also used for the dialects that are spoken in much of the western part of the Garo Hills, although these are not exactly the same as the dialect used in Bangladesh. The dialect of the northern part of the district is sometimes called A·we, and the standardized A·chik derives especially from eastern A·we. Chisak is found in the northeast just south of A·we. Matchi and Dual are spoken in the east-central portion of the hills and Ganching (also known as Gara) and Chibok are spoken in the south. I will have nothing to say about most of these dialects. All of them are mutually intelligible, although speakers who are unfamiliar with a dialect from an area distant from their own may need some patience and an occasional explanation in order to understand. All these dialects grade into one another without sharp borders. People listen to other dialects with curiosity and amusement but they do not correspond to deep divisions within the larger Garo community. The research that would tell us exactly how they differ from each other has yet to be carried out.

All of them are dialects of the Garo language, and most people who consider themselves to be ethnically Garo speak one of them. A few people who are accepted as Garos, however, speak distinct languages. The most important of these people are the A·tong, whose villages are found along the Simsang (Someswari) River in the southeastern corner of the Garo Hills. The A·tong consider themselves to be Garos and they are accepted as such by other Garos, but they speak a language that is different from and not mutually intelligible with Garo. Indeed, the language of the A·tongs is closer to the languages called "Koch" and "Rabha" than it is to Garo. Ethnic classification and language classification simply fail to correspond in this case. Outsiders sometimes find it confusing to be told that some Garos speak Garo while others speak A·tong, but this should be no more mysterious than to recognize that some Irish people speak Irish while others speak only English. Garo and A·tong are enough alike to allow A·tong speakers to learn Garo fairly easily, and many A·tong are bilingual. I have been told that the A·tong language is now losing ground to the numerically dominant Garo.

The language known as "Ruga" is, or was, spoken in a small area in the south central part of the Garo Hills. Like A·tong, Ruga is closer to the Koch and Rabha languages, and also to A·tong, than to the language of most Garos, but the shift to Garo has gone further among the Rugas than among the A·tongs. Indeed the Ruga language now appears to be moribund. A few older people can still speak what they consider to be Ruga, but the speech of those I have met is heavily influenced by Garo, and the remaining speakers admit that they are more comfortable with Garo than with Ruga. They lack the fluency that they remember in their parents. Their children,

they tell me, speak only Garo, though they may understand the Ruga of the older people. I doubt if anyone born after 1950 would claim to be able to speak Ruga.

Finally there is a group known as Megam to the Garos and as Lyngngnam to the Khasis. These people live in the western-most part of the Khasi hills, just to the east of the Garo Hills, and their culture is enough like that of the Garos that they are sometimes considered to be a subgroup of Garos. Their language, however, is similar to Khasi and thus a member of the Austro-Asiatic language family. It is utterly unrelated to Garo.

The Garo language belongs to a subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages known as the "Bodo" group or sometimes as "Barish, Bodo-Garo, or Bodo-Koch". In addition to Garo, these Bodo languages are spoken in pockets up and down the Brahmaputra valley in Assam, in the Cachar hills to the southeast, and as far south as the state of Tripura. The non-Garo languages of this Bodo group are themselves divided into two subgroups, as different from each other as they are from Garo. One of these subgroups includes languages known at various times and in various places by such names as Boro, Mech, Dimasa, Kachari, and Hill Kachari. Some of these various forms of speech may be sufficiently distinct from one another to count as separate languages, although some of their speakers now prefer to call themselves "Boro" rather than "Mech", "Dimasa", or "Kachari". Tiwa (formerly known as "Lalung"), also in Assam, and Kokborok (formerly "Tipra" or "Tripuri"), which is spoken in Tripura state to the south, are also closely related to Boro.

The languages of other main Bodo subgroup are sometimes known as the "Koch" languages. They include Rabha, spoken north of the Garo Hills and as far west as the northern part of West Bengal, several dialects or languages variously known as Tintinkiya Koch, Wa·nang Koch, or Pani Koch that are spoken to the west and north of the Garo Hills, and probably on the southern fringes as well. It is to this sub-group that the A·tong and Ruga languages belong. Finally, one other isolated language called "Deori" (often mistakenly confused with "Chutiya"), which is spoken further to the east in the upper part of the valley of Assam, also belongs to the wider Bodo group. When speakers of these Bodo languages encounter one another, they easily recognize the similarity of their speech, but few, if any, of them are mutually intelligible. Perhaps they differ from one another to about the same degree as the Romance languages of Europe.

The Bodo languages, in turn, are related to a group of languages spoken in the northeastern part of Nagaland and in the adjacent southeastern corner of the state of Arunachal Pradesh. From north to south, these languages include Tangsa, Nocte, Wancho, Phom, Konyak, Chang, and

Kiamungan. Konyak probably has the largest number of speakers of any of these northeastern "Naga" languages. Other closely related languages are spoken across the border in Myanmar. All these languages form one subgroup of Tibeto-Burman. Almost all of the languages spoken in the hills of northeastern India belong to the Tibeto-Burman family, but Khasi is an outstanding exception. To recognize languages as Tibeto-Burman is to state that they are distantly related to Tibetan, Burmese and to many other languages of Nepal, Myanmar, and parts of Southwest China. Finally, the Tibeto-Burman languages are even more distantly related to Chinese, and together they form the Sino-Tibetan language family.

The written form of Garo was developed by American Baptist missionaries during the final decades of the 19th century. These missionaries' first contact with Garos was in the northeastern corner of the Garo Hills, so the dialect of that area was used as the basis for the written language. This was also the area where schooling began and where the first substantial number of educated and literate Garos lived, and it was this historical accident that has made the northeastern-most dialect of Garo so influential for the speech of educated Garos. When the government of British India completed the occupation of the Garo Hills in 1873, the political headquarters was established in the west-central part of the Garo Hills, in a town that came to be called "Tura". A number of educated Garos from the northeast moved to Tura where they formed the nucleus of a growing body of educated speakers, and their dialect became established in Tura as well as in the northeast. A hundred years later Tura people still regarded the dialect of the surrounding villages as distinctly rustic. The northeastern dialect, or the standard that has grown out of it, is the subject of virtually all earlier descriptions of the Garo language, including my own.

Brief word lists of the language were collected in about 1800 by British officials (Eliot 1794, Hamilton 1940 [1820]) but almost a century went by before more American Baptist Missionaries began to produce the first real dictionaries and short grammars. They first used the Bengali alphabet but early in the 20th century they switched to Roman, and it is with the Roman alphabet that Garos have written ever since. The bible, hymn books and other Christian publications are widely available in the Garo Hills, though somewhat less so in Bangladesh. The language has been used as the medium of elementary education in the Garo Hills for many decades, and school books covering the entire range of elementary school subjects are prominent among Garo publications. Collections of folk tales, and a scattering of other publications in Garo have appeared from time to time, and two or three thin weekly newspapers appear with some regularity. People in the Garo Hills easily keep records and write letters in their language, but if anyone could be found who could read Garo as easily as many Westerners read

their own languages he or she could surely read the entire corpus of Garo printed literature within a few months.

The position of the written language is quite different in Bangladesh. The largest number of the 100,000 or so Mandis who live in Bangladeshi are found in the districts of Jamalpur, Mymensingh, and Netrakona, most of them within 10 or 15 kilometers of the Indian border just south of the Garo Hills. Another, though smaller concentration is found a bit further south in what only a few years ago could legitimately be described as the Modhupur forest, half way between the cities of Tangail and Mymensingh. The forest is a remnant of a larger forested area that once stretched so far to the southwest that it reached to within 20 or 30 miles of Dhaka, and it seems likely that Mandis were once found throughout much of this forested area, a considerably larger area than they now occupy. A few Mandis still live around Bhaluka, an area of slight elevation that lies about half way between Dhaka and the city of Mymensingh, and within recent memory Garos are reported to have lived in the neighborhood of Jaydebpur, only 25 miles north of Dhaka. The present work refers especially to the dialect of Modhupur, but I make some reference to the dialect of the border areas as well, and I point out some of the differences between A·chik, as spoken in the Garo Hills, and the Mandi dialects of Bangladesh.

Even in Bangladesh, Mandi is by no means uniform, but all its dialects are easily mutually intelligible, and Mandis move about freely enough to give everyone experience with a variety of dialects. Though they are most familiar with the Bangladeshi dialects, many people have visited the Garo Hills in India and have become familiar with northern dialects as well. Even those who have never traveled north have met occasional Northerners on visits to Bangladesh, so everyone has some awareness of the full range of Garo dialects. People move freely about the Garo Hills, and a considerable number of Garo refugees from Bangladesh have settled in the Garo Hills, so that people in the hills have also had wide exposure to other dialects.

Elementary schools in Bangladesh, even those located in Mandi villages, use Bengali as the medium of instruction, and as a result, Bangladeshi Mandis are more often literate in Bengali than in Garo. Many people study enough English to be able to associate speech sounds with the letters, and this is enough to allow them to sound out written Garo, though few Bangladeshi Mandis do so easily. Every Mandi in Bangladesh, whether literate or not, is well aware that the language has a written form that is widely used in India. Except for a few Bibles and hymn books, however, printed Garo rarely reaches the Mandis of Bangladesh.

The written language was originally based upon a dialect that is spoken far from Bangladesh. This dialect is as different from the Mandi dialects as

is any dialect of Garo, and it strikes Bangladeshi Mandis as a bit peculiar. The distance between Mandi and written Garo may have helped to make Bengali acceptable as a written language to the Mandis, and given them less incentive to push for using written Garo, and in fact there has been little interest among Mandis in promoting their own language as a substitute for Bengali in the schools. However, the minority status of the Mandi in Bangladesh and the overwhelming dominance of Bengali might well have been enough to assure the dominance of written Bengali even if written Garo were ideally suited to the local dialect.

In addition to other dialects of Garo, Mandi speakers have extensive experience with other spoken languages, especially Bengali and English. All Bangladeshi Mandis whom I have met are at least partially bilingual in Bengali and some are fluent. A very few Mandis have learned Bengali so well that it has become their dominant language, but for most, Mandi remains the first and most comfortable way of talking. It is the language of intimacy and of family life. Still, much that is new in the world comes to the Mandis through the medium of Bengali, and Mandis feel absolutely free to incorporate any Bengali word that they feel will be understood into their Mandi sentences. As a result, Bengali words flood into Mandi. These new words affect every corner of the language.

For those Mandis who receive sufficient education, English also becomes a significant influence, and English words join those from Bengali in invading Mandi. The prestige of English is even greater than that of Bengali, and those who are capable of doing so like to sprinkle their language with English words and phrases especially when speaking in relatively formal situations. As with Bengali words, Mandi speakers feel free to use any English word that they think others will understand, but since the level of skill in English is much lower and less widespread than skill in Bengali, the direct impact of English is less. Many English words come to Mandi indirectly through Bengali, however, and English must be placed beside Bengali, when considering the present linguistic environment of the Mandis, and when considering the changes that their language is undergoing.

Garos living in the Garo Hills are less often bilingual in any language than are those who live in Bangladesh, and no Indian language has as powerful an influence on Garo in India as does Bengali on the Mandi of Bangladesh, although even the dialects of the most remote corner of the Garo Hills have plenty of borrowed words. English is used as the medium of education beyond the elementary level in India, and even some elementary education is conducted in English. This means that English has a somewhat stronger role than it does in Bangladesh, but only a minority of Garos use English with any ease, and many remain effectively monolingual. The

impact of both Bengali and English can only grow in the decades to come.

TWO

SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

Introduction (A)

This chapter describes the pronunciation of the significant sounds of the Mandi and A'chik dialects of Garo. For the most part, these two dialects are so similar in pronunciation that a single description can serve for both. The few cases where they differ will be pointed out.

One source of difference comes from the varied influence that Bengali has had upon the Garo dialects. Bengali and closely related dialects of Assamese are spoken on three sides of the Garo Hills. These have probably been influencing Mandi and the other Garo dialects for a good many centuries. Borrowed words are so ubiquitous that to pretend to isolate "genuine" Garo vocabulary or "genuine" Garo phonology (pronunciation) is a bit artificial, because the large number of words that have been borrowed from Bengali have introduced new sounds and new sound patterns that all Garos now use easily. Nevertheless, by focusing first on the nonborrowed part of the vocabulary we begin from a reasonably stable and consistent starting point. Regularities emerge that might otherwise be missed. This description begins, therefore, with the nonborrowed core of Garo phonology. Later, the additions and modifications that have been introduced into the sound system as a result of contact with Bengali, and to a lesser but still important extent with English, will be described. Some people are far more fluent than others in Bengali and English, and individual speakers vary greatly in their success at carrying foreign sounds into their stream of Garo. This means that the stable phonological core of native Mandi phonology has to be seen within the context of extreme variation.

This and the next two chapters deal with pronunciation. The slanting brackets, / /, that enclose many of the examples, indicate that it is the pronunciation that is being considered. The symbols within the slanting lines represent the significant sounds ("phonemes") of the language. When the focus is less specifically on pronunciation, as it is in the later chapters, examples from Mandi and other dialects of Garo will be written in italics. Glosses (translations into English) will be enclosed in single quotes.

Syllables (A)

The first characteristic of the Garo sound system that needs to be understood is the crucial importance of the syllable. While Garo is not a tone language, the structure of its syllables closely resembles that of the tone languages of East and Southeast Asia. As is typically the case with these tone languages every Garo syllable can be described as having: 1) an initial consonant or consonant cluster; 2) a central vowel; and 3) a final consonant. In addition, 4) the glottal stop plays such a special (and even "tone-like") role in the language that it deserves to be considered as the fourth major component of the syllable. Of these four components, only the vowel is obligatory. Every syllable must have a vowel, but some have no initial or final consonant and no glottal stop. Like the tone languages with which it is related, Garo allows more consonants and consonant clusters at the beginning of a syllable than at the end. Many aspects of the Garo sound system have to be described by reference to the position of sounds within the syllable.

Each Garo syllable is pronounced as a distinct unit, and even where the same letter is used to represent both an initial and a final consonant, the letter must usually be pronounced in rather different ways in the two positions. Consonants that come between vowels in the middle of a word can be consistently interpreted as belonging either to the preceding, or to the following syllable, and they are pronounced in different ways depending on the syllable to which they belong. This means that a careful transcription of the language must show which syllable a word medial consonant belongs to. To make this clear I have separated the syllables of polysyllabic words with hyphens.

In addition to its phonological importance, the syllable is often a unit of meaning. Put differently, syllable boundaries often correspond to morpheme boundaries. (A morpheme is a minimal unit that carries meaning—the base of a word, a prefix or, more often in Garo, a suffix.) Hardly a single Garo morpheme is shorter than a syllable, but each syllable of a Garo word is often a morpheme that contributes its own particular meaning to the

total meaning of the word. Many Garo words have three or four syllables, and words with as many as seven or eight syllables are by no means uncommon. Each of these syllables, however, is likely to have a separate meaning, and a separate morphological identity. Borrowed words form an important exception to this generalization. Many borrowed words are polysyllabic, and the syllables of these words are much less likely to have identifiably separate meanings than are the syllables of older Garo words. Even among words that show no signs of having been borrowed, bisyllabic morphemes do exist, but more often each syllable contributes its own meaning.

Syllable Initial Consonants (A)

Table 2–1 lists all the consonants and consonant clusters that can be used to begin a syllable in the older vocabulary of Garo. In addition to these, Garos who are fluent in Bengali or English sometimes use Bengali and English consonants, or at least approximations to them, when using borrowed words, and the sounds that have been carried into Garo along with the borrowed words will be described later. For the sake of linguists who are unlikely to be able to turn for help to a native speaker of Garo, I will use phonetic terminology to describe the Garo speech sounds. Readers who want to learn the language will generally have the help of a Garo speaker who can be asked how the examples should be pronounced. You can imitate the pronunciation that you hear and ignore any phonetic terminology that is unfamiliar.

Table 2–1.

Syllable Initial Consonants

p-	t-	k-		
b-	d-	g-		
m-	n-			
s-	ch-	j-		
r-	h-	w-	(l-)	Ø
sp-	st-	sk-		
pr-	tr-	kr-		
br-	dr-	gr-		
mr-				
sr-	chr-	jr-		
spr-		skr-		

/p-/, /t-/, and /k-/ are, respectively, bilabial, dental and quite far back velar stops. All are voiceless and aspirated. /p-/ and /t-/ are pronounced

quite like English *p* and *t* when these come at the beginning of a word
before a vowel, and they are similar to the Bengali sounds that are usually
transliterated as "ph" and "th". /b-/ and /d-/ are the voiced equivalents
of /p-/ and /t-/, and they are quite similar to English *b* and *d* or to their
Bengali equivalents. /k-/ and /g-/ are pronounced a bit further back than
English *k* and *g* and they are occasionally somewhat affricated. They are
similar to the Bengali sounds usually transliterated at "kh" and "g".

/ch-/ and /j-/ are, respectively, voiceless and voiced affricates and /s-/
is a voiceless sibilant. The language lacks a voiced counterpart of /s-/ (i.e.
it has no *z* sound). /s-/ is pronounced in a position intermediate between
that of English *s* and *sh*, but it is closer to English *s* than is the *sh*-like
sibilant of Bengali. Since Garo has only one sibilant (i.e. it has no distinct
sh sound), even a rough approximation it is unlikely to be confused with
anything else. You are unlikely to do any harm, except to your own vanity,
if you do not pronounce it exactly right. /ch-/ and /j-/ are fairly similar to
the English sounds written with the same letters, but they are pronounced
with the tongue in the same position as Garo /s-/.

/m-/ and /n-/ are bilabial and apical nasals, very much like the English
nasals and in no way remarkable. /r-/ is a flap in which the tongue brushes
very quickly against the roof of the mouth until it is blown away. This means
that it is like the Bengali *r* rather than the English *r*. /h-/ and /w-/ are
very much like the equivalent English consonants. /h-/ is a rather unusual
sound in A·chik and in most other dialects of Garo spoken in India, but
it occurs more frequently in the Mandi dialects of Bangladesh. A number
of words that never have initial /h-/ further north, are regularly heard
with /h-/ in Mandi. Even in Mandi, however, initial /h-/ is extremely
variable. Many words that sometimes have initial /h-/ can be heard on
other occasions without it. This variation will be described in more detail
in Chapter 4 where it is included among other examples of variation.

In the table, /l-/ is in parentheses because it occurs only in borrowed
words and must, therefore, be assumed not to be a part of older Mandi
phonology. In the 1950's, dialects could still be found in the Garo Hills
that completely lacked initial /l-/. Speakers of these dialects pronounced
borrowed words such as /lem/ 'lamp' as /rem/. I have never met a Mandi
in Bangladesh who had any trouble with initial /l-/, however, and it is
pronounced easily by many speakers in the Garo Hills as well. Initial /l-/
is one of the two best established sounds that have come into Garo with
borrowed words (the other is syllable final /-s/), and it is a bit artificial to
exclude /l-/ even from the core of Mandi sounds. /Ø/, which can be read
as 'zero' is included in Table 1 to indicate that syllables can be found that
have no initial consonant at all.

The clusters given in the table as /sp-/, /st-/, and /sk-/ raise some fairly complex issues that will be considered in more detailed in the next chapter. Briefly, these clusters are pronounced with distinctly more aspiration (a stronger puff of breath) than are the *s* clusters of English. This aspiration keeps them distinct from the syllables which I write as /sip/, /sit/, and /sik/ which have such short vowels that they can sound like clusters to the untrained foreign ear. Since the /p/, /t/, and /k/ of these syllables are unaspirated, it is reasonable to consider them as syllable finals even though the vowels are very short. As will be described more fully later in this chapter, this shortening of /i/ is one part of a more general tendency for this vowel to be shortened under various circumstances.

Clusters can be formed from most initial consonants with /r-/: /pr-/, /tr-/, /kr-/, /br-/, /dr-/, /gr-/, /chr-/, /jr-/, /sr-/, /mr-/, /spr-/, and /skr-/. Clusters of /r-/ with /w-/, or /st-/, however, are not found, and with /n-/ they are marginal. The /r-/ clusters, of course, are made with the usual Mandi flapped /r-/ so they are quite different from the /r-/ clusters of English.

Garos write three other sequences of consonants as clusters: /kn-/, /gn-/, and /sn-/. For a practical orthography, this is an entirely reasonable way to write these sound sequences, but for somewhat complex reasons that will be considered later, I prefer to consider them to be full syllalbes, so I write them as /kin-/, /gin-/, and /sin-/. For this reason, they are not included here as clusters.

The following words illustrate each of the Mandi syllable initials.

p-   *pal-a* 'sell', *pil·-a* 'return', *am-pok* 'low stool'
t-   *tang-a* 'live', *te·-rik* 'banana', *git-tam* 'three'
k-   *kin-a-a* 'hear', *kil* 'cotton', *ang-ko* 'me'
b-   *bol* 'tree', *bil-ak-a* 'strong', *ta·-bol-chu* 'manioc'
d-   *da·-o* 'now', *dam* 'price', *man-di* 'person'
g-   *gal-a* 'throw away', *bi-gil* 'skin', *dal·-gip-a* 'big one'
m-   *man·-a* 'can', *mal-a* 'crawl', *bi-ma* 'female'
n-   *nok* 'house', *nam-a* 'good', *nam-nik-a* 'like'
ch- *ching-a* 'we', *chu* 'rice beer', *bit-chi* 'seed'
j-   *jak* 'hand', *jong* 'younger brother', *cha·-ja* 'doesn't eat'
s-   *sok-a* 'arrive', *song* 'village', *mi-si* 'millet'
r-   *ra-ma* 'path, road', *re·-a* 'go, come', *ba·-ra* 'cloth'
h-   *ha·-a* 'ground', *heng-gok* 'snore' *ha·-we* 'yes'
w-   *wak* 'pig', *wal* 'night', *ha·-we* 'yes'
l-   *lem* 'lamp', *le-ka* 'paper, write'
Ø   *am* 'mat', *i·-ang-a* 'go, move away'
sp- *spo-a* 'blow'

st- *stip-at* 'as much as', *stik-a* 'cover'
sk- *sko* 'head', *skang-o* 'before'
pr- *prak* 'each', *prap* 'kind of banyan tree'
tr- *tring-a* 'weave', *me·-tra* 'woman'
kr- *krong* 'post', *nok-krom* 'heir to a household'
chr- *chra* 'kinsmen', *chrik-a* 'shout, scream'
br- *bring* 'jungle', *te·-brong* 'jack fruit'
dr- *drak-a* 'badly torn', *pi·-sa-drang* 'children (plural)'
gr- *grang* 'feathers', *grong* 'horn', *greng* 'bone'
mr- *mrang-a* 'redish', *Mri* 'name of a Mandi lineage'
jr- *jro-a* 'chili hot', *jring-jring* 'always'
sr- *sruk* 'quietly, secretly', *sri* 'slice'
spr *sprong-a* 'blow off, as dust', *spru* 'snail'
skr- *skrik-a* 'remove the skin, peel', *skrok-a* 'insert through a
        loop or hole'

Syllable Final Consonants (A)

The syllable final consonants are shown in Table 2–2. As the table shows, fewer consonants and consonant clusters can occur at the end of a syllable than at the beginning, and many of those that do occur are quite different from any initial. The table includes the glottal stop (written as the Garos usually write it, with a raised dot) and clusters of /m/, /n/, /ng/, and /l/ with a glottal stop. As will be pointed out below, the glottal stop has such a different role from any other consonant that it can be considered to form class by itself, neither a consonant nor a vowel, but something of its own. For now, it can be included in the inventory of final consonants.

Table 2–2.

Syllable Final Consonants

-p	-t	-k		Ø
-m	-n	-ng	-l	
-m·	-n·	-ng·	-l·	-·
(-s)				

Syllable final /-p/, /-t/, and /-k/ are neither voiced nor aspirated. Generally they are not even "released". This means that the articulators are not opened after the consonant as they generally are in English. Thus they are quite different from any stops that occur as syllable initials, but

their pronunciation is much like that of the Bengali sounds that are usually transliterated as "p", "t", and "k" rather than "ph", "th", and "kh".

Of all the syllable final sounds of native Mandi words, only /-m/ and /-n/ are enough like the initials to be in any likelihood of confusion with them. In these two cases only, syllable initial and syllable final consonants seem to be nearly the same, and when an /m/ or an /n/ occurs between two vowels it is less obvious than with other consonants whether it belongs to the preceding or the following syllable. In addition to /-m/ and /-n/, a velar nasal, /-ng/, can be used as a syllable final, but this never occurs as word (or syllable) initial. In conformity with conventional Garo spelling, I write this velar nasal as a digraph (two letters) rather than with an n with a tail, which is the way linguists like to write it.

/-l/ is a lateral, but it is more retroflexed than English *l*. This means that the tongue tip is curled further back than in English and so, to an English speaker, it has a somewhat *r*-like quality. In native Mandi words, /r-/ occurs only as syllable initial, while /-l/ occurs only as syllable final. The two sounds are similar, and in borrowed words Garo speakers replace final /-r/ with /-l/ even more often than they replace initial /l-/ with /r-/. An old fashioned phonemicist would, of course, have considered syllable initial [r-] and syllable final [-l] to be allophones of the same phoneme. Apart from the fact that borrowed words with initial /l-/, have now become well established, however, ambiguity can be avoided for intervocalic *r*-'s and *-l*'s, even in native words, by following the conventional Garo spelling, and by using different letters in the initial and final positions. The following words illustrate the syllable final consonants when there is no glottal stop.

-p	*bi-tip* 'nest', *nap-a* 'enter
-t	*mat* 'squirrel', *kat-a* 'run'
-k	*nok* 'house', *dak-a* 'do'
-m	*mil-am* 'head hunting sword', *dim-a* 'buzz'
-n	*gan* 'song', *man-di* 'person'
-ng	*song* 'village', *ching-a* 'we'
-l	*bil* 'strength', *mil-a* 'fat'
Ø	*ci* 'water', *mi-rong* 'husked rice'

The remaining Mandi finals include a glottal stop. This is a catch in the throat made by closing the vocal cords very briefly. English speakers usually put a glottal stop in the middle of "ohoh", meaning "oops". Some of the most complex problems of Mandi phonology involve the glottal stops, and these problems will be treated more fully in a later section. Now, as a first approximation, the glottal stop can be considered as one of the final consonants and as a constituent of several final clusters. In conventional written Garo, the glottal stop is written with a raised dot, or sometimes

with an apostrophe. I will follow Garo practice and use a raised dot instead
of the dotless question mark that is conventional among linguists. Garos
refer to this letter as the *raka* or 'hard' letter, a word that rolls more easily
off the tongue than "glottal stop" so I will adopt the word *raka* here, along
with the raised dot. Unfortunately, since the raised dot is not an ordinary
letter of the English alphabet, many Mandis seem to feel that it is not a
fully legitimate letter in Mandi either, and this leads them, quite often,
to omit it from their writing even though it stands for an essential sound.
The following minimal pairs illustrate the difference between words that are
identical except that one is pronounced with a raka and the other without.

bi-a	'he, she'	*bi·-a*	'request, beg'
bu-a	'pierce'	*bu·-a*	'tell a lie'
ka-a	'tie'	*ka·-a*	'bitter'
ja-ko	'month' (accusative)	*ja·-ko*	'leg' (accusative)
so-a	'rot'	*so·-a*	'burn'

As several of these examples show, rakas often occur intervocalically,
and for reasons to be given shortly, such intervocalic rakas must always be
interpreted as belonging to the previous syllable rather than to the syllable
that follows. Ordinarily, however, they do not occur as word final. More
precisely, they do not occur as a part of a word's final syllable. Nor do
they ever occur as syllable initial. The base, or "combining form", for the
word meaning 'leg, foot', for example is /ja·-/, and various suffixes can be
attached to this base: /ja·-pa/ 'sole of the foot', /ja·-si/ 'toe', /ja·-ko/ 'foot'
(accusative case), etc. When used by itself however, some adjustment is
made to the base, with the result that a word final raka is avoided. In
northern dialects of Garo, the vowel of the syllable is echoed after the raka,
so the subject form, which has no suffix, is pronounced /ja·-a/. Occasionally
this pronunciation can be heard among Bangladeshi Mandis, usually under
very strong emphasis, but the more usual Mandi way to avoid final rakas
is simply to drop them entirely whenever they would otherwise occur in
the final syllable of a word. The usual Mandi pronunciation of the subject
form of the word for 'foot', then, is simply /ja/. In the farthest northeast
corner of the Garo area, near the area whose dialect served as the model for
orthographic Garo, I have heard case markers attached to forms with echo
vowels. Thus the accusative of /ja·-a/ 'foot' would be /ja·-a-ko/. Much
more common in my experience, even among educated speakers, is /ja·-ko/
where the accusative suffix is attached to the base form that lacks the echo
vowel.

In addition to being used by itself at the end of a syllable, the raka
can be used along with a syllable final /-m, -n, -ng/, or /-l/. In these
"clusters", the stop actually occurs nearly simultaneously with the other

sound, so that the cluster that I write /-m·/, for example, starts with a
nasal, has that nasal interrupted very briefly by a raka, and then continues
as a nasal. The following minimal pairs illustrate the difference between
finals with and without a raka.

jom-a	'sick'	*jom·-a*	'go stealthily, sneak'
rim-a	'take, bring'	*rim·-a*	'catch, hold, work'
chon-a	'small'	*chon·-a*	'finish'
sin-a	'like'	*sin·-a*	'cold'
song-a	'set up (as a post)'	*song·-a*	'cook'
ring-a	'drink'	*ring·-a*	'sing'
bil-a	'fly'	*bil·-a*	'roll up'

   Native Mandi syllables (or words) never end in /-s/, /-ch/, /-j/, /-h/,
/-w/, or /-r/, but syllable final /-s/ competes with syllable initial /l-/
for the role of the best established borrowed speech sound. All Mandis
pronounce a number of borrowed words with final /-s/. Some speakers can
also be heard to use a final /-r/ that contrasts with final /-l/ but this is
much less well established than final /-s/. Final /-ch/ is even less common
than final /-r/ but it can occasionally be heard. Except for speakers who
are very fluent in Bengali, no one makes a distinction between -*p* and -*b*,
-*t*, and -*d*, or -*k* and -*g* at the end of a syllable. As a linguist would say,
Garo does not have a voicing contrast in syllable final position. No final
clusters are possible except for those with rakas. Word medially, however,
any final consonant or cluster of one syllable can be followed directly by
any initial consonant or cluster of the next syllable. This means that fairly
complex consonant sequences are possible between two vowels, but these
can always be interpreted as divided between the two syllables. Here are
some examples of the various finals:

-p	*ko-tip* 'turban', *chip-a* 'close', *gap-a* 'full'
-m	*kam* 'work', *nok-krom* 'heir', *nam-a* 'good'
-m·	*nom·-a* 'soft', *rim·-a* 'hold, bring'
-t	*chit-a* 'rip, tear', *dut* 'milk', *rat-a* 'cut'
-n	*chun* 'lime', *ken-a* 'fear', *min-a* 'ripe'
-n·	*ran·-a* 'dry', *ron·-a* 'give', *den·-a* 'cut'
-k	*mik* 'eye', *wak* 'pig', *nok* 'house'
-ng	*ring* 'boat', *rang* 'gong', *song* 'village'
-ng·	*bang·-a* 'lots', *rong·-te* 'stone'
-l	*wal* 'night', *bol* 'tree', *pul* 'flower'
-l·	*dal·-a* 'big', *chel·-a* 'far' *pil·-a* 'return'
-·	*pi·-a* 'break', *na·-a* 'you', *do·-o* 'bird'
-s	*dos* 'ten', *mas* 'month'
Ø	*ci* 'water', *mi-rong* 'husked rice'

Vowels (A)

Garo has only five distinctive simple vowels. These are conveniently and reasonably written as *i, e, a, o, u*. Only the first of these raises any real complications.

/**i**/. I follow conventional Garo orthography in writing this vowel as /i/. In open syllables (those without a final consonant) and in syllables that end with a simple raka (rakas that are not a part of cluster) /i/ is pronounced as a high front unrounded vowel, somewhat like the vowel of English *see*. In closed syllables (syllables that end with a consonant other than a simple raka), however, it is a high back unrounded vowel. That is, it is pronounced with the tongue high in the mouth but drawn distinctly to the back. The lips are not rounded. This closed syllable vowel is unlike any vowel in either English or Bengali. The closest that English gets to it is an unstressed vowel such as the vowel in the first syllable of 'contain', but the Garo vowel is higher, further back, and often more stressed than the vowel of 'contain'. The open and closed syllable pronunciations of /i/ are strikingly different, but in native Mandi words there is perfect complimentary distribution of the two phones.

The difference between the two pronunciations of /i/ means that Mandi words such as /bi-ma/ 'female' and /rim-a/ 'take, bring' have very different vowels. These words do not rhyme. The first word sounds rather like "be ma". The first syllable of the second word sounds more like the first syllable of "remark" when that word is said without stress on its first syllable, but in Garo there is good stress on the /rim-/. Similarly, /bi-ka/ 'liver' and /bik-a/ 'carve' have very different vowels. *Mi* 'rice' and *pi·-a* 'break' have front vowels, while *mik-gil* 'eyelid' and *rim-it* 'yellow' have back vowels. *Bi-tip* 'nest' has one of each. Differences like this make it crucial to attend to Mandi syllable boundaries.

Under certain conditions /i/ is very short. It is distinctly shorter in closed syllables than in open syllables and it is particularly short when following /s-/. When /i/ occurs *between* syllable initial /s-/ and a syllable final consonant it is, in effect, shortened from both sides, and it can almost be shortened out of existence. Garos conventionally write a number of words as if they have consonant clusters that I prefer to analyze as syllables with very short /i/'s. Written *sni* 'seven' *kni* 'head hair' and *gni* 'two' represent words that can sound, to the English ear, as if they begin with clusters. Writing *sni, kni* and *gni* poses no problem for a practical writing system, but it results in the odd limitation that Mandi would completely lack such syllables as *sin, kin*, and *gin* before a syllable beginning with a vowel. This would be an eccentric limitation that would be quite out of harmony with the rest of the language. Greater regularity is achieved by

interpreting these words as bisyllables : /sin-i/, /kin-i/ and /gin-i/, and that is how they will be written here.

In the spelling used throughout this book, then, *i* means a high front vowel when it is in an open syllable but a high back unrounded vowel when it is in a closed syllable. In a very few exceptional circumstances the high back unrounded pronunciation appears in what seems to be like an open syllable. In such cases I will use "ɨ" for that high back vowel. In other exceptional circumstances, and also in less exceptional borrowed words, high front vowels appear in closed syllables. For reasons that will be explained later, I will use "ii" for these high front unrounded vowels where they occur in what seem to be closed syllables, as in *tiin*, the Bengali word for 'three', which sounds quite like English 'teen'.

The four remaining Mandi vowels vary less from one phonological environment to another than does /i/, so they pose fewer problems.

/**e**/. Mid front and unrounded. This vowel is just a bit higher than the *e* of English *bet, neck*, a bit closer to *paid* or *bait*, but it is not diphthongized. It is slightly higher in open syllables than in closed. *se* 'husband', *pek-a* 'intoxicated', *be·-en* 'meat'.

/**a**/. Low central and unrounded. Similar to, or just a bit further back than the English *a* of *father* or *calm*: *chang-sa* 'once', *cha·-a* 'eat'

/**o**/. Mid back and rounded. Similar to the *o* of *caught* or *paw* in those dialects of American English that pronounce these words differently from *cot* and *pa*. In open syllables *o* may be pronounced a bit higher than in closed syllables, so that it sounds almost like the vowel of English *go*, or even more like the vowel of French *mot* 'word': *no* 'younger sister', *nok* 'house', *cho·-a* 'dig'.

/**u**/. High back and rounded. Similar to the vowel of English *food, rude* but not quite so far back. Since /i/ in closed syllables is pronounced quite far back, and since /u/ is sometimes further front than the "back" vowels of many languages, the contrast between /i/ and /u/ in closed syllables is that of unrounded versus rounded rather than front versus back. In open syllables, however, /i/ is also decisively further front than /u/: *chu* 'rice beer', *pul* 'flower', *su·-a* 'stab, pierce'.

All vowels are shorter in closed than in open syllables, though the differences for most are less dramatic than for /i/. Nevertheless, differences in the vowels of open and closed syllables, particularly differences in their length, are an important clue that allows Mandis to easily distinguish words that differ only in the position of the syllable break. In the following pairs of words, those in the first column have closed first syllables and relatively short vowels. The vowels in the second column occur in open syllables and they are pronounced slightly longer. Words with an intervocalic /p/,

/t/, or /k/ are distinguished by the presence or absence of aspiration as
well as by vowel length. Aspiration occurs only with syllable initial stops,
not with syllable finals. The aspiration makes the location of the syllable
boundary quite obvious. Locating the position of the syllable break in
words with intervocalic nasals depends primarily upon the quality of the
vowel, obvious in the case of /i/ but more subtle for the other vowels.

kat-a	'run'	*ka-ta*	'word'
ram-a	'dry' (transitive)	*ra-ma*	'road'
chon-a	'small' (neutral)	*cho-na*	'thresh' (infinitive)
bik-a	'carve'	*bi-ka*	'liver'

The Mandi dialects of Bangladesh differ from A·chik in the pronunci-
ation of certain vowels. Most syllables that have /e/ or /e·/ but no other
final consonant in A·chik are pronounced with /i/ or /i·/ by most Mandis.
Thus A·chik /be·-a/ 'break' is usually pronounced /bi·-a/ by Mandis. A·
chik /se/ 'husband' becomes /si/ for Mandis. A·chik /be-be/ 'true' becomes
Mandi /bi-bi/. Where A·chik has /e/ in *closed* syllables (syllables ending
in a consonant), however, Mandi also has /e/. Both A·chik and Mandi have
/pek-a/ 'intoxicated', /ken-a/ 'be afraid' and /beng·-a/ 'forbid', and so on.
/Sik-a/ 'sew' and /sek-a/ 'elope, seduce' are as different in Mandi as in A·
chik. /se/ 'husband' and /si-/ 'die' are different in A·chik, but the same in
Mandi.

A parallel change has taken place in Modhupur but does not seem to
be established in the Mandi areas that border the Garo Hills. In Modhupur
syllable final /o/ has generally become /u/. A·chik /go-a/ 'thrown' becomes
/gu-a/ in Modhupur. A·chik /so·-a/ 'burn' becomes Mandi /su·-a/. Once
again, in closed syllables there is no difference between A·chik and Mandi:
/nok/ 'house', /grong/ 'horn', /ong·-a/ 'to be' are pronounced the same in
both dialects. In both cases, Mandi mid vowels are raised to high vowels
in open syllables and in syllables ending with a simple raka, but they are
not raised in Mandi closed syllables.

Oddly there are exceptions to the raising of the vowels, notably in
suffixes. Several very common suffixes, including /-o/ 'locative', /-ko/ 'ac-
cusative', and /-bo/ 'imperative' have syllable final /o/ in Mandi as well as
in A·chik. The raising of /o/ is less complete than the raising of /e/, how-
ever and the subordinating /-e/ of A·chik is generally pronounced /-i/ in
Bangladesh. Nevertheless, there are suggestions of some recognition of the
distinctiveness of both pairs of vowels even if the distinction is often lost. It
would seem that neither /e/ and /i/ nor /o/ and /u/ in open syllables have
totally merged, even in Modhupur. Certainly words exist, even for Modh-
upur speakers, that continue to be spoken with syllable final /e/ as well

as with syllable final /o/. Considerable individual and regional variability complicates the picture, and I do not understand all the variables.

In the face of this variability it seems safest in the book to write the vowels as they are pronounced in A·chik, that is with /-e/ or /-o/ depending on the A·chik pronunciation. I do this with some qualms, for it suggests a distinction that is not always made in the dialect to which this grammar most specifically refers. However, it will be relatively easy to learn to read syllable final /e/ and /o/ as if they are pronounced like /i/ and /u/, whereas if I were to obscure the difference between the vowels by always writing /i/ and /u/ there would be no way to recover the pronunciation used by speakers who make the difference. In this respect, then, I will write words in a more "standardized" form than they usually have when spoken in Bangladesh. This has one unfortunate consequence. It is all too likely that I have learned some words in Modhupur that are pronounced with either /i/ or /u/, but never had a chance to hear the word used in other dialects. In such cases, I have no way of knowing whether A·chik would have /e/ instead of /i/ or /o/ instead of /u/, and in my ignorance I have no choice but to write them as I have heard them, with /i/ or /u/.

Diphthongs (B)

Since neither syllable initial nor syllable final consonants are required in Garo, it is inevitable that vowels will sometimes follow each other directly with no intervening consonants. In some cases, it can be difficult to decide whether vowel sequences should be considered as consisting of two simple vowels, each belonging to a different syllable, or as diphthongs that constitute just one syllable.

In some cases the best choice is a sequence of two simple vowels. This is particularly clear when the vowels belong to different morphemes. *bi-a* 'he' (nominative) clearly consists of two morphemes, /bi-/ 'he' and /-a/ 'nominative', as shown by such words as *ang-a* 'I' (nominative), *bi-ni* 'his' (genitive), *bi-ko* 'him' (accusative) etc. In a case like this, there is no temptation to consider the vowels to constitute a single complex diphthong. Nor does the phonetics of /bi-a/ encourage the idea that /i/ and /-a/ form a single unit. The two vowels remain distinct and do not merge. In other cases, however, complex vowels can quite naturally be interpreted as diphthongs. I describe these in approximately the descending order of their frequency and of their diphthong-like nature.

/ai/ starts as a low central vowel and moves to high front. It is unrounded throughout, and is very much like the vowel of northern American English *my*. Mandis use it in many words, though a high proportion

of these are either interjections (*ai-au* 'wow!'; *hai* 'let go!') or borrowed (*jai-ga* 'place', *hai-brens* 'bench with a high back', *sai-kel* 'bicycle'). This suggests a somewhat marginal status or a recent development. However, even A·chik, with much less influence from Bengali, has well established words with /ai/, such as *mai-* 'what?' and *hai-da* 'don't know'. Like such Mandi words as *kai-sim* 'salt' or *bai-sik* 'how much?', these do not seem to be borrowed. All dialects, then, can be reasonably interpreted as having a diphthong /ai/.

/**au**/, like /ai/, starts as a low central vowel but it then proceeds to a high back rounded position. It is very much like the vowel of northern American English *now*. Like /ai/, it occurs in a number of borrowed words such as *lau* 'gourd' but it is also found in words that show no sign of having been borrowed: *jil·-au-a* 'flair up'; *mik-au-a* 'wake up, open eyes', *ai-au* 'wow!'

The status of /ai/ and /au/ as diphthongs is confirmed by a few words where they are used with rakas. Simple vowels are often followed by a raka, and a sequence of two vowels in different syllables is often interrupted by a raka: *pi·-a* 'break', *be·-en* 'meet'. In *chau·-a* 'rob, steal', *gau·-a* 'break open' and *hai·-a* 'know', the raka occurs with a diphthong. These are unlikely to be borrowed words, since borrowings rarely, if ever, have rakas. When a speaker is asked to pronounce these words slowly and carefully, the raka seems almost to interrupt the vowel as [cha·-u-a], [ha·-i-a], but in ordinary fluent speech [chau·-], [gau·-], and [hai·-] are single syllables, quite different from a two syllable sequence such as [go·-a] 'throw' or [cha ·-e] 'having eaten'. (The square brackets indicate that it is the phonetic details that are under consideration, while slant lines enclose the significant sounds or "phonemes".) Thus /ai/ and /au/ are like simple vowels in being able to occur either with or without a raka, but they are more common in syllables that have no rakas. They are rare in syllables that are closed by consonants other than a raka, although a few such syllables occur in borrowed words: *dauk* 'a kind of bird'; *bait* 'low wet area suitable for rice'.

/**oi**/ is very much like the English diphthong in *boy*. This is a common vowel in Bengali, while in Mandi and other Garo dialects it is probably found only in borrowed words. Some of these, such as *boi* 'book' and *oi-kor* 'letter' are used easily by Mandis, but are rarely or never used by A·chik speakers. I cannot imagine a Garo speaker of any dialect who does not use *so-moi* 'time', however.

/ai/, /au/, and /oi/ are the best established diphthongs in Garo. Two others occur with high enough frequency, at least in the Mandi dialect, to be considered as candidates for diphthongs.

/**eo**/ starts as a mid front unrounded vowel and then moves back to a

mid back rounded position. It occurs in a handful of Mandi words, none of them common: *seo·-seo-i* 'speaking with a hoarse voice', *kreo-kreo* 'with a cracking sound', *bit-e-deo* 'a kind of ground-living bird', *mreo-mreo* 'faintly, dimly', *breo-a* 'an unpleasant taste', *gil·-eo-gil·-eo* 'glowing, of coals'. Surely there are other such words but it is unclear whether there are enough to justify considering /eo/ to be a diphthong rather than a sequence of two vowels /e-o/. It would be interesting to compare these words with others whose bases end in /e/ but are followed by a locative /-o/ suffix, so as to determine whether any phonetic differences distinguish them.

/ui/ starts as a high back rounded vowel but moves to the front and becomes unrounded. It is not unlike the vowel of *phooey* or *gooey*. It is found in *kui-cha* 'eel', in borrowed words such as *sui-tar* 'sweater' and *kui-nain* 'quinine', and in A·chik *ui-a* 'know' and *gui* 'areca nut'. Its status as a diphthong is marginal and it could be regarded as simply a sequence of two simple vowels.

Beyond the diphthongs and marginal diphthongs already listed, any two vowels can succeed each other in adjacent syllables. It might be possible to find examples of all twenty-five possible vowel sequences, including repetitions of the same vowel, but some of these would surely be too rare to invite an interpretation as diphthongs. Borrowed examples include: *i-u-ni-on* 'union' the local administrative district in Bangladesh, *ko-e-ri* 'brown', *me-i-e* 'young girl'. Sequences of two morphemes can result in a wide variety of vowel sequences: *u-a* 'that', *i-a* 'this', *chi-o* 'in the water', etc. Two instances of the same vowel can occur side by side. Sometimes these are reduced to a single vowel, but the result is often a long vowel: *sa-a* 'sick, in pain'. The assimilation of such vowels is described in Chapter 4 in the section on "Morphophonemics".

Vowel sequences present one problem that I have not solved. A tiny number of words may, or may not, have a syllable with an intial *w-*. For example, Garo has a word meaning 'curved, as a crescent moon or a crooked smile'. I cannot find firm grounds for deciding whether to interpret this word as /ku·-eng-a/ or as /ku·-weng-a/. In the parallel case of *ku·-wang-a* 'with a wide open mouth' I interpret the word as having a *w* because there is a related word, *na-wang* 'a monster with a very large mouth who swallows the moon in an eclipse'. I know of no use of *eng/weng* that would force the choice of one or the other. It may be that there is simply no phonetic difference between the two.

The Glottal Stop or Raka (C)

Unlike most Tibeto-Burman languages, Garo does not have contrastive tones. Nevertheless, many aspects of Garo phonology resemble those of the tone languages of east and southeastern Asia, and it is abundantly clear that the Garo contrast between a raka and its absence is cognate to the two way tone contrast of several closely related languages such as Tiwa, Boro, and Rabha (Joseph and Burling, 2001). Even without real tones, the raka, together with the structure of Garo syllables, gives its phonology a somewhat tone-like character. Among other things, the raka is subject to more complex morphophonemic rules than any other phonological unit. Vowels, and all the consonants except the raka, are very stable, but rakas come and go according to quite complex rules. Phonetically, of course, rakas are stops, but they effect, and are effected by, their surroundings in quite different ways than other Garo stops:

1. All other syllable final consonants cause a preceding /i/ to assume its backed allophone, but in syllables closed with a raka /i/ has the fronted pronunciation that is otherwise found only in open syllables. Thus, the raka does not close the syllable in quite the same way as (other) final consonants.

2. The raka is more transparent to vowel assimilation than are other consonants. An /i/ that follows immediately after another vowel sometimes assimilates to the preceding vowel but assimilation never occurs if some consonant other than a raka intervenes between the vowels. Assimilation can take place if the vowels are separated by nothing more than a raka.

3. Open syllable /e/'s and /o/'s that are found in A·chik have been raised in some Mandi dialects, and they have fallen together, or almost fallen together, with /i/ and /u/. In closed syllables, all Mandi dialects that I am aware of retain /e/ and /o/ as distinct from /i/ and /u/. In syllables closed by a raka, however, /e/ and /o/ have been raised in Mandi in the same way that they have been raised in open syllables. Once again, syllables seem less securely closed by a raka than by other consonants.

In these three ways, the raka acts quite differently from other syllable final consonants, and in all cases the syllables in which it occurs act more like open syllables than do syllables closed with other consonants. It should be noted that syllables ending with /-m·/, /-n·/, /-ng·/, or /-l·/ act like fully closed syllables.

The most striking difference between the raka and other consonants, however, is that rakas disappear under some circumstances. The following generalizations seem to account for whether or not a raka will be realized in a particular syllable.

1. Underlying Rakas. Each syllable can be characterized as either having or not having an underlying raka, just as each syllable is character-

ized by particular consonants and a particular vowel. Syllables that do not
have an underlying raka (almost) never acquire them, but syllables with
underlying rakas often lose them. With a few minor exceptions, other vow-
els and consonants are very stable, but the raka is highly variable. The
raka appears most reliably when it is part of the first syllable of a word,
but where at least one other syllable follows. Numerous minimal pairs are
unambiguously distinguished by the presence or absence of a raka in the
first syllable. The raka (with some complications to be mentioned below)
occurs toward the latter part of the syllable and it can occur both in sylla-
bles with no (other) final consonant, or in syllables where it co-occurs with
final /-l/, /-m/, /-n/, or /-ng/. In the latter case it overlaps or interrupts
the co-occurring final consonant, but in conformity with conventional Garo
spelling, I write it after the other consonant. As will become apparent,
however, it can be helpful to think of the raka as a feature of the syllable
rather than as a member of a final cluster.

2. Final Syllable Deletion. As mentioned briefly earlier, rakas are not
expressed in the last syllable of a word, but they are avoided in different
ways in Mandi and in A·chik. In Mandi, a raka is rarely expressed in a
single syllable word even when the syllable must be interpreted as having an
underlying raka. For example, a word such as *wal* 'fire' must be considered
to have an underlying raka, because a raka consistently appears in inflected
forms such as *wal·-ni* 'of the fire', *wal·-ko* 'fire, accusative case', etc., as well
as in compounds that have *wal·-* as their first constituent, such as *wal·-ku-a*
'smoke' and *wal·-mi-si* 'spark'. Many one syllable Mandi noun bases act
like *wal·-*. They have a raka in their combining form but it disappears when
the syllable is used alone.

The rule for deleting rakas from final syllables of words requires care
about which sequences are to be considered as separate words and which
are to be considered compounds. Indeed the rule can be used to help to
define word boundaries. *han·-chi* 'blood' (lit. 'body-water', 'body liquid')
must be regarded as a compound since a raka appears in *han·-*. If *han* were
a separate word it would have no raka since it would be the final syllable of
the word. In *han jak* 'whole body', (literally 'body hand',) no raka occurs
with *han*, and this requires us to interpret the *han* of this phrase, as a
separate word.

Many one syllable verb bases occur in Mandi, but since verb bases
almost always have a suffix, those that have rakas hang on to them more
consistently than do noun bases, which are regularly used with no suffix at
all. Verb bases are usually protected from losing their rakas by at least one
suffix. One form of the negative imperative, however, is formed by a verb
prefix rather than a verb suffix. (This is the only fully productive prefix in

the language.) In this case the verb base need not be followed by any suffix at all, and then any underlying raka is lost from a Mandi verb base, just as it is more often lost from a noun base:

<div align="center">

cha·-a 'eat'   *da·-cha*   'don't eat'

</div>

This example is not conclusive, however, since the rule of second syllable deletion (see below) would remove the raka even if it were not in a final syllable. One other rather eccentric construction shows that rakas are dropped from word final verb bases, just as they are dropped from word final noun bases. Mandi has a reduplicated construction meaning "whether or not". This is by no means a common construction, but it requires the verb base to be used twice, both times without any affixes at all. *da·-* is prefixed to the second occurrence, but the first is found without an affix, the only situation I have encountered where a verb base is used with no affix whatsoever. In this case, any raka usually found in the verb base is lost:

man da·-man
get   NImp   get
'whether (we) get (it) or not'

Cha da·-cha,   i·-ang-na   nang-a.
eat   NImp-eat go-away-Inf   must-Neut
'Whether (we have) eaten or not, (we) must go'.

When used with a suffix, both *cha·-* 'eat' and *man·-* 'get' have rakas, but since in this construction the raka is lost from the first use of the verb base as well as from the second, its first use must be regarded as a separate word. Verb bases which ordinarily contrast in their rakas, such as *ring-a* 'drink' and *ring·-a* 'sing', lose their contrast in this construction: *ring da·-ring* could mean either 'whether or not (he) drinks' or 'whether or not (he) sings'.

The fate of final syllables with underlying rakas is quite different in northern dialects of Garo. In A·chik, the raka is not lost from final syllables but, instead, it is separated from the end of the word by an echo vowel: *ja·-a* 'foot, leg', *do·-o* 'bird'. When a raka co-occurs with /-m/, /-n/, /-ng/ or /-l/, the raka is separated from the other consonant by an echo vowel, the raka coming before the echo and the other consonant after. In both cases the raka ends up between two identical vowels. Thus in A·chik, when underlying /wal·-/ 'fire' occurs without a suffix, it is pronounced /wa·-al/, rather than /wal/, which is its form in Mandi. Forms with echo vowels are heard occasionally from Mandis, usually in situations of heavy emphasis, but Mandis more often drop the raka completely when it would otherwise

threaten to occur in the final syllable of a word or as part of a final cluster. Other examples of words where the two dialects have different free forms are shown in Table 2–3.

Table 2–3.
Combining and Free Forms

	Combining form	A·chik free form	Mandi free form
tuber	ta·-	ta·-a	ta
stick	gol·-	go·-ol	gol
bug	jong·-	jo·-ong	jong
body	han·-	ha·-an	han

3. Second syllable deletion. In both Mandi and A·chik rakas are uniformly deleted from the second syllable of a word. They are retained in third syllables. In two syllable words this rule simply duplicates the effect of Rule 2 in Mandi, though not in A·chik where an echo vowel is introduced by rule 2. In longer words, the effects of the rule become clear in both dialects. The most salient situation where these raka deletions can be noticed is in verbs with a derivational syllable that follows directly after a single syllable verb base. Many of these derivational syllables have rakas in other circumstances, generally when they are used as verb bases, but the rakas disappear when the syllable is in second position. *Pil·*- 'go back, return', for example, has a raka when it is used as either a verb base (and thus as the first syllable of the word), or when occurring as the third syllable of a verb. It loses its raka when it occurs in second position. Similarly, *dal·*- 'big' has a raka when used as a verb base but loses it in a number of compounds where it comes second. The operation of this rule can be seen in the following examples. *-ba·*- 'in this direction' does not occur as an independent word but since it has a raka when in third syllable position it must be regarded as having an underlying raka that is lost in second position

pil·-a	'return'
kat-pil-a	'run back'
kat-ba-a	'run in this direction'
kat-ba-pil·-a	'run back in this direction'
kat-pil-ba·-jok	'has run back in this direction'
tam·-bing-a	'round
mik-tam-bing-a	'round faced'
dal·-a	'big'

rong-dal-a	'big, of round things'
ning·-a-o	'inside'
ha·-ning-a-o	'in the ground'
ro·-a	'long'
mang-ro-a	'long of an animal'
tong·-sa	'one', of cylindrical objects
rat-tong-a	'cut', of cylindrical objects
kal·-a	'play'
mang-kal-a	'fool around, spook'
tom·-a	'gather'
ka-tom-a	'tie in a bundle, pack' (*ka-a* 'tie')

As soon as it is recognized that rakas occur easily in first and third syllables, but not in second syllables, it is natural to wonder about fourth syllables. It is not easy to maneuver syllables with underlying rakas into the fourth syllable of a word, but the following examples, formed either with the two syllable verb base *gu-ri* 'wander around' or with the two syllable affix, *-ru-ra·-* 'back and forth', suggest that the raka is deleted on the fourth syllable just as it is on the second.

gu-ri-ba·-pil-jok	'wander back in this direction'
gu-ri-pil·-ba-jok	'wander back in this direction'
i·-ru-ra·-pil-a-ring-a	'returning in a back and forth way'

It is more natural for *-ba·-* to precede *-pil·-* than to follow, so *gu-ri-pil·-ba-jok* is not a fully convincing example. *Gu-ri-ba·-pil-jok* is an entirely natural construction. The raka does seem to be lost from *-pil·-* in this word, and also in *i·-ru-ra·-pil-a-ring-a*. However, I do not find it easy to be confidant of my hearing in such long words, and I have been unable to devise longer words that would test later syllables. Verbs of six or seven syllables are easy enough to construct, but none of the syllables that easily come late in these words have underlying rakas. Note that the final syllable deletion rule and the second syllable deletion rule work together to make it (almost) impossible for rakas to occur in adjacent syllables (but see Rule 4, below, for intrusive rakas).

The second syllable raka deletion rule accounts for the way rakas are used in words formed by reduplication. Reduplication is a modestly productive process in Mandi and many words are formed by reduplication. Such words may have a raka on the first syllable, but never on the second:

jem·-jem-a	'constantly'
jing·-jing-a	'sift'
mol·-mol-a	'request, beseech'
dil·-dil-a	'shake with cold or fear'

When two syllable words are reduplicated, as happens very frequently with adverbs, any raka on the first syllable is faithfully copied into the third syllable as well.

je·-et-je·-et	'very heavy'
so·-om-so·-om	'very soft, of flour, mattresses, blankets'
sol·-i-sol·-i	'by small chops, as when carving'

Reduplication apparently leads to one partial exception to the preservation of the raka on the third syllable of a word. Reduplicated syllables are occasionally suffixed to a verb base. If the underlying single syllable has a raka it would not appear in the second syllable of the reduplicated form and once suffixed to a single syllable verb base the raka also disappears from the first syllable of the reduplication. In such cases the raka does *not* reappear on the second syllable of the reduplication even after it has moved into the third syllable of the word. This can easily be accounted for if we assume that suffixation takes place after reduplication. By the time suffixation occurs it seems to be too late to recover the underlying raka. I have not, however, uncovered many examples where a raka of this sort might be looked for in the third syllable, and too much faith should not be placed in this generalization.

jem·-jem-a	'repeatedly'
den·-jem-jem-a	'cut repeatedly'

A particularly interesting example is provided by *han dal·-a* 'big of body'. I believe I have heard this pronounced, in Modhupur, both as *han·-dal-a* and as *han dal·-a*. If this is correct, *han·-dal-a* can be regarded as a compound, where the first syllable retains its raka, but the second syllable undergoes the second syllable raka deletion rule. *Han dal·-a* would have to be regarded as two separate words, with the raka lost from the first word because it occurs in the final (only) syllable. (A·chik, of course, would probably have *a·-an dal·-a*.) Of the two Mandi pronunciations, *han dal·-a* is easier to elicit clearly. It is the pronunciation used whenever the linguist asks a speaker to repeat carefully. *han·-dal-a* seems to occur with rapid articulation, but its very rapidity makes it is more difficult to hear or to interpret with confidence. If my hearing is accurate, it suggests, reasonably enough, that with rapid speech, the two words merge into a compound. In no case is this ever heard (in Modhupur at least) with two rakas. I find is surprisingly difficult to locate the raka in cases like this. The raka is very clearly audible. It is entirely clear that there is one and only one raka, but the raka seems to float in a space that is separated from the other segments, almost as if it is a suprasegmental. Thus I find it remarkably difficult even to be confidant that *han dal·-a* and *han·-dal-a* are different. The point is

that the phrase (or word) as a whole has exactly one raka, but where in the sequence of segments the raka falls is of secondary importance. Some instrumental phonetics ought to be able to sort this out but it makes no difference to native speakers, and not much difference even to this speaker of Mandi as a second language.

4. In only one situation can a raka be introduced where none exists in the underlying syllable. When a two syllable verb stem (generally consisting of a one syllable verb base and a one syllable derivational suffix) ends with /a/, or less often when it ends with another vowel, a raka is often introduced before the present-neutral suffix -*a*. In effect, the raka separates the two /a/'s. This rule can override Rule 3, with the result that, in this one circumstance only, a raka can appear in the second syllable of some words, even when that syllable directly follows a raka in the first syllable: *i·-ba·-a* 'come', *i·-ba-pa·-a* 'come with', but *i·-ba-bo* 'come' (imperative), *i·-ba-pa·-bo* 'come with!' (imperative). There is, however, one important and clear exception even to this exception. The negative -*ja*- does *not* acquire a raka when occurring before -*a*. In fact the two /a/'s of -*ja*- and -*a* do not keep their distance at all, but merge. Verb suffixes that must be considered as formed from underlying -*ja*- plus -*a* are pronounced simply as /-ja/: *i·-ang-a* 'go', *i·-ang-ja* 'not go'. (See the section on "Vowel Loss" in Chapter 4.)

It is tempting to view the collapse of -*ja*- and -*a* into -*ja* as if there is some difficulty about pronouncing two *a*'s in a row. Two *a*'s seem to be in danger of merging into a single vowel unless they are kept apart by a raka. The vowel of -*ja*- merges, while a raka is inserted in other cases. This cannot be a satisfactory "explanation" however, because there is no problem at all about letting the -*a* suffix follow directly after a one syllable verb base that ends in -*a*: *sa-a* 'serve food', *ga-a* 'climb'. In such cases, no raka is introduced, but under even modestly careful articulation the vowel is pronounced long enough to count as two syllables. We are left with a peculiar and rather eccentric rule that allows a raka to be introduced in second syllables in the single situation where there is following -*a*. In no other situation are rakas added.

V-Raka-V Sequences (C)

Mandi and other dialects of Garo have more words than would be expected by chance in which the raka occurs between two identical vowels in successive syllables. Relatively few words have the form CV·-VC where the two vowels are different, but many are found with identical vowels. Consider, first, those in which the second syllable is closed with an /l/ or a nasal:

be·-en	'meat'
ke·-em-a	'excrement, dung'
be·-el-a	'spit out food'
so·-om-so·-om	'comfortable, soft'
sa·-al-a	'swell up, as when rice cooks'

These look very much like the result of expansion from an underlying single syllable by the addition an echo vowel. Such expansions are a regular feature of A·chik, but not of Mandi. For example, A·chik *jo·-ong* 'insect, worm' is expanded from underlying *jong·-*, which is the combining form used with case markers and in a large number of compounds. The impression that the forms in the list have been expanded from something shorter is strengthened by the existence of a few examples in which expanded and unexpanded forms alternate, even in Mandi:

bol·-a, bo·-ol-a	'rotten, of eggs'
jol·-a, jo·-ol-a	'rise, of water levels'
mo·-ong-a, mong·-a	'ask someone to go along'
se·-em-a, sem·-sem-a	'tiny'

So we have a few examples of alternations in Mandi between CVN· and CV·-VN, where N stands for any nasal or /l/. In A·chik, this is a fully productive alternation. Not all words with a V·-V form have unexpanded partners, however, so in the present language they cannot all be derived from unexpanded forms. *Be·-en* 'meat' is a very common word in both Mandi and A·chik but there is no related /*ben·-/, even when followed by a suffix. (The asterisk means that the form that follows does not exist.) Nor, so far as I am aware does /*som·-/ ever appear as an alternate pronunciation of *so·-om-* 'soft.' Words like *be·-en* and *so·-om-so·-om* have the look of expansions that have become lexicalized, frozen in their expanded form, though we can only guess at their actual historical derivation. The only way to describe the synchronic language is to list the various forms that each word assumes, and admit a lack of consistency.

More interesting are examples in which the second syllable ends in a stop.

ga·-ak-a	'fall down'
go·-ok-a	'come apart, come loose, fall out, of
	a tool handle or hair'
so·-ot-a	'kill'
de·-ep-a	'held by pressure, as with tongs'
se·-et-a	'pinch between two fingers'
ru·-ut-a	'stretch, as something elastic'
je·-et-je·-et	'very heavy'

On the analogy with the nasals, it is tempting to look for an alternation between CVS· and CV·-VS, where S stands for /p/, /t/, or /k/. However, S· (a stop with a raka) is never found in Mandi or even in A·chik. Or at least there is no contrast between stopped syllables with and without a raka. This means that in the present language, words like *ga·-ak-a* 'fall down' cannot be considered as expansions from underlying single syllables, simply because clusters consisting of a raka plus a stop (which would have to be the underlying and unexpanded source for these words) do not exist, either in Mandi or in any other Garo dialect that I am aware of. However, the raka *can* appear in syllables along with any of the *other* possible syllable finals of native Mandi words. That is, a raka can co-occur with final /m/, /n/, /ng/, or /l/, or as part of an otherwise open syllable, but a raka cannot co-occur with /p/, /t/, or /k/. Nor can it co-occur with final /s/ or with any other final consonants that are found only in recently borrowed words. Still, we do find a fair number of words that have the form CV·-VS, where S stands for /-p/, /-t/ or /-k/. In these words, two identical vowels are separated by a raka. If such words could be derived from underlying syllables of the form CVS·, this would imply a more symmetrical phonological pattern. It would mean that a raka could co-occur with any other syllable feature of the language (ignoring borrowings). In effect, any sort of syllable at all could either have a raka or not have a raka. This would suggest an even more tone-like quality for the raka.

The temptation to treat these words in this way is strengthened by an alternation that puzzled me for a long time.

so·-ot-a	'kill'
ra-sot-a	'kill with a knife, as a chicken' (*ra-* 'cut, slice')
rim·-sot-a	'kill by choking' (*rim·-* 'grab, hold')

The syllable *-sot-* is too much like *so·-ot-* to be a simple coincidence, but alternations of this sort are not common in Mandi. Nevertheless, if both *so·-ot-* and *-sot-* are regarded as deriving from an underlying (but never realized) *-sot·-*, an entirely regular pattern presents itself. In *ra-sot-a* and *rim·-sot-a* the raka disappears, as it would be expected to disappear in a second syllable. In *so·-ot-a*, on the other hand, an echo vowel is introduced which allows the raka to be preserved in a language that does not (any longer?) allow /-t·/ to be realized in a way that would contrast with simple /-t/.

A handful of parallel examples can be found.

je·-et-je·-et	'heavily'
on-jet-a	'place something heavy on something else'
sik-jet-a	'press down hard, squash'

goˑ-ok-a	'come apart, come loose'
gil-gok-a	'peel off, as bark' (*bi-gil* 'skin, bark')
rong-gok-a	'break off, of a round thing'
dok-gok-a	'hit and separate' (*dok-a* 'hit')
deˑ-ep-a	'squeeze, pinch'
rimˑ-dep-a	'depress with a finger'
kuˑ-dep-a	'having a flat mouth' (*kuˑ-sik* 'mouth')

gek-gek-a, geˑ-ek-geˑ-ek-a 'groaning with a high fever'

Words, such as *gaˑ-ak-a* 'fall' and *jeˑ-et-jeˑ-et* 'tight, forcefully' that have the form CVˑ-VS can have a distinctive glottalization that carries through both vowels, giving them a creaky quality that is otherwise unusual in the language. Creakiness is sometimes associated with glottal stops in Southeast Asian languages and it sometimes occurs with particular tones. It is not a widespread or salient feature of Mandi phonology, but its appearance in CVˑ-VS sequences both sets them apart as distinctive, and gives a unity to the syllable pair. This phonetic feature makes these seem more unified, more monosyllabic, than they otherwise would.

It is therefore very tempting to reinterpret the sequences that I have written as CVˑ-VS as deriving from underlying syllables of the form CVSˑ. It is true, however, that such syllables are very much rarer than CVNˑ syllables. Mandi had scores of words of the CVNˑ type in which the raka co-occurs with a nasal or /-l/. Far fewer syllables could be interpreted as having an underlying CVSˑ. Nevertheless, even these few call out for recognition.

There is, admittedly, one other possible source for apparent echo vowels. As will be described later, Garo has two very common suffixes that lack any initial consonant and that begin with an underlying /i/. The vowels of these two suffixes assimilate to the vowel of the previous syllable, but this happens only when the previous syllable is open or ends in a raka. This results in words in which a raka is surrounded by phonetically similar or identical vowels. It is possible to speculate, therefore, that a word such as *beˑ-en* 'meat' could have been derived from an earlier **beˑ-in*, by assimilation of the /i/ to the previous vowel. There is no real support for this in the contemporary language. Nor is there any historical or comparative evidence that would either confirm or rule out such a speculation.

The raka has now been described in sufficient detail to make its special role in the language clear. It does not act like any other consonant. It can co-occur with the majority of other final consonants, and a case can be made for its underlying co-occurrence with all of the final consonants except those that have been recently borrowed. The raka is not limited in

co-occurrence with any vowel or any syllable initial consonant. Syllables terminating in a raka act in several ways like open syllables. In all these respects the raka acts more like a feature of the syllable and less like a linearly ordered segment than do the vowels or the other consonants of the language. The raka also undergoes far more deletion than any other consonant or vowel. Summarizing these features, it seems fair to say that the raka acts in ways rather like the tones of other Southeast Asian languages. Glottalization works closely with tones in many of these languages. Glottal stops, and sometimes creaky voice, are characteristic of certain tones in some languages. The phonetics of the Garo raka do not permit it to be considered a real tone, but the language does present us with something that looks like a rudimentary tone system. Rabha, Boro, and Tiwa, languages that are closely related to Garo, all have two contrasting tones. The high tone of these languages is certainly cognate to the Garo raka (Joseph and Burling, 2001). I incline to the view that the Garo raka represents the last remnant of what was once an unambiguous tone system. Duanmu (1994) has presented an interesting argument that Garo represents, instead, a stage of incipient tonality, a stage that its sister languages have passed beyond. I leave this historical question open.

Conventional Garo Spelling (B)

The Garo romanization that has been in use for about a century, reflects the sounds of the language very closely, and in this book I have chosen to follow the now well established spelling wherever possible, even where this deviates from established linguistic usage. Thus I write *ch, ng* and · where linguists might prefer *wedge-c, eng* and a glottal stop symbol. I also write *m·, n·, ng·* and *l·*, although *·m, ·n, ·ng* and *·l* would be more satisfactory for describing the expansions with echo vowels. In spite of my acceptance of these conventions, my transcription still differs in two minor and one not so minor ways from the conventional orthography.

1. Syllable Boundaries. Conventional spelling does not mark syllable boundaries within words. This is defensible from a practical point of view, but it does result in a number of homographs for words that are in clear phonological contrast such as *rama* for both /ra-ma/ 'road' and /ram-a/ 'dry', and *bika* for both /bik-a/ 'carve' and /bi-ka/ 'liver'. I would not suggest that anyone use clumsy hyphens to mark all the syllable boundaries in a practical orthography, but a technical description needs to show them. Showing syllable boundaries has the additional virtue that, more often than not, it marks the boundaries of morphemes.

2. /i/. In some situations I write *i* where conventional spelling uses no vowel letter at all. These are cases where the *i* is very short, so the

temptation to omit it is understandable. Nevertheless, some aspects of pronunciation and grammar can be expressed more consistently if *i*'s are used to break up what otherwise look like clusters. Writing the *i*'s allows some morphemes to retain a more consistent spelling under varying conditions, and syllables such as /sin/, /sil/, and /gin/ become possible that would otherwise never occur directly before a vowel. For example, in conventional orthographic Garo, *n* is written as if it is the second member of a number of clusters: *gn-, kn-, sn-.* Even *sl-* is occasionally written as a cluster as in *slai* 'gun', although this places *l* prevocalically, something otherwise impossible in older Garo words. For present purposes, I prefer to write an *i* between the consonants, writing *sil-ai* 'gun' instead of *slai*, *gin-i* 'two' instead of *gni*, *kin-i* 'hair' instead of *kni*, and so on. These *i*'s are admittedly very short.

3. Mandi Specialties. Finally, most of my examples are drawn from the Mandi dialects of Bangladesh rather than from A·chik. In these examples, I generally spell words as they are pronounced in Bangladesh, even when this differs from the usual conventions of orthographic Garo. As explained earlier, I make one exception to this practice by writing *e* in many words that are generally pronounced as [i] in Bangladesh, and by writing *o* even when these become [u] in Modhupur. Spelling the words this way keeps them closer to conventional orthography and should not be too disturbing to readers most familiar with Bangladeshi Mandi. One must simply get in the habit of pronouncing most words written with syllable final *o*'s and *e*'s as if they are /u/'s and /i/'s.

I hope that these deviations from conventional spelling are sufficiently trivial that they will cause few problems even when readers shift back and forth between the examples in this book and materials that are written in conventional A·chik spelling.

Difficult Aspects of Pronunciation (A)

The most difficult sounds for a learner to pronounce in A·chik or Mandi depend, of course, upon the language or languages already spoken by the learner. Most learners, however, should find many of the sounds quite easy. The following are those that often give English and Bengali speakers the most difficulty.

The raka. The speech sound that usually gives the adult learners the most trouble is the glottal stop or "raka". A raka is made by closing off the glottis (the space between the vocal cords) and then very quickly reopening it. Speakers of all languages close and then reopen the glottis with great frequency, but learning to control the glottis voluntarily, as required for

speaking a language like Garo, can be a considerable challenge for people whose native language does not distinguish between words that have a glottal stop from those that do not. Listen to speakers of Mandi or A·chik when they make words with and without a raka, and keep imitating them until they accept your pronunciation. Practice *oh-oh* 'oops' or *ah-ah-ah-ah* as you might say it when mildly reprimanding a small child, until you get a feeling for just what you do when you make a raka. If you pronounce *ah-ah-ah-ah* very slowly, there will be an alternation between a humming sound and periodic abrupt interruptions with an interval of silence. (Don't whisper! You *must* say it out loud.) The humming is caused by vibration of the vocal cords and the interuptions occur when the vocal cords come together and "stop" the air from passing. This is the raka. Practice until you can easily distinguish such pairs as *bi-a* 'he, she' and *bi·-a* 'request, pray', *ga-a* 'climb' *ga·-a* 'step', *wal-ko* 'night (accusative) and *wal·-ko* 'fire (accusative)'.

Combining the raka with /m/, /n/, /ng/, or /l/ is likely to be particularly difficult. You might practice making an "m" sound, with the lips closed, but interrupt the humming sound now and then with rakas. The humming sound should stop each time you close your glottis and start again as soon as you separate your vocal cords. Practice with pairs such as *ring·-a* 'sing' and *ring-a* 'drink', *gam-a* 'cultivate' and *gam·-a* 'make a sound'. Listen carefully to native speakers and practice until they accept your pronunciation. The most difficult part of all will probably be remembering which words require a raka and which do not. You are likely to leave them out from some words where they belong and you may even put in extras where they do not belong. Generally, you will be understood even when you make mistakes,. You cannot expect people to stop and correct you, but you will sound funny if you don't get them in the right places. All you can do is to try, gradually, to get them in where they belong.

Backed /i/. The second Garo speech sound that is often unfamiliar to learners is the /i/ of closed syllables (syllables that end in /p, t, k, m, n, ng/, or /l/). This is called a "backed /i/" because the tongue is drawn far to the back of the mouth. You should be able to do a passable version of the closed syllable /i/ if you put your tongue in the position that English speakers use for the "u" of *food* but instead of rounding your lips as you do for *food*, you must spread them wide as in *feet*. As always, listening and imitating is essential. Eventually, you will get a sense that a closed syllable simply cannot have a front /i/ (one that sounds similar to the vowel of English *feet*) while an open syllable or a syllable ending in a simple raka cannot possibly have a backed /i/.

Syllable transitions. A somewhat trickier problem is posed by the transitions between syllables and it will probably take a bit longer to get a feel for these. As soon as you can, however, you should try to get a sense that there is a bit of a break between syllables. Each syllable often carries its own meaning in Garo, so the syllables are crucial building blocks of meaning as well as sound, and they are set off from each other in pronunciation somewhat more clearly than in many other Indian or European languages. (Syllable transitions are considered in considerable detail in the next chapter, but that discussion may be more detailed and technical than most learners will need or want. I offer only the most essential points here.)

Many more consonant sequences can occur in the middle of a Garo word than at the beginning or at the end, but even the most complex medial sequences can be split into two parts, the part that belongs with the preceding syllable and the part that that belongs with the one that follows. Any combination of an allowed syllable final consonant with an allowed syllable initial consonant or consonant cluster is possible in the middle of a word, but no others are. For example, medial *l-r* is possible because one syllable can end with an -*l* and the next can begin with an *r*-. On the other hand a medial *r-l is totally impossible. (The '*' means that what follows never occurs). Since vowels are slightly shorter (literally shorter because they take less time) in closed syllables than in open syllables, the length of a vowel is a clue to whether a following consonant is part of that syllable or part of the next. Once you get a feeling for the breaks between syllables, your knowledge of whether or not a syllable is closed will lead you to pronounce the length of the vowel shorter in closed syllables.

Here are some pairs and groups of words that have contrasting sequences of medial consonants. Listen to a native speaker's pronunciation of these words until you can hear the difference between them, and practice them until native speakers accept your own imitations.

> *cha·-che* 'rice husks, chaff' (*cha·-chi* in Mandi)
> *chat-chi* 'kinsman'
>
> *ram-a* 'dry'
> *ra-ma* 'road'
>
> *ka-ta* 'word'
> *kat-a* 'run'
>
> *bi-ka* 'liver'
> *bik-a* 'carve'
>
> *cho·-a* 'dig' (present-neutral)
> *cho·-na* 'to dig' (infinitive)
> *chon·-a* 'finish' (present-neutral)

chon-a 'little' (present-neutral)

cho-na 'thresh' (infinitive)

at-chu 'grandfather'

a-chak 'dog'

no 'younger sister' (nominative)

no-o 'near younger sister' (locative)

no-ko 'younger sister' (accusative)

nok 'house'(nominative)

nok-o 'in the house' (locative)

nok-ko 'house' (accusative)

/r/. Remember that Garo /r/ is made by flapping the tongue very quickly against the roof of the mouth. This is the way /r/ is made in most South Asian languages, so South Asians rarely have trouble with it, but /r/'s in many European languages are different, and an English /r/ sounds quite awful when it floats into a Garo sentence. Garos are tolerant, and since /r/ of any variety is unlikely to be confused with anything else, they will probably understand even a strong American /r/, but if you want your speech to sound right, you will have to learn to make /r/ the way the Garos do.

Stress and Intonation. The patterns of stress and pitch that are always a part of spoken language are often among the most difficult aspects of pronunciation for foreign learners to acquire, and there is little that you can do except try your best to imitate what you hear. I offer a rather technical account of some features of stress and intonation in the next chapter, and at some point in your studies this may provide a bit of guidance, but you are unlikely to want to get too deeply into this topic at first. Here are a few pointers to help you get started.

To start with, notice that many Garo words have a slight stress on their final syllable. That syllable may be said just a bit louder than earlier syllables and the pitch may rise, somewhat in the same way that an English word, such as *behave* has a stress and pitch rise on the second syllable. When pronounced slowly and clearly, a Garo sentence may seem to be a series of words, each set off by a slight rise at its end. An important exception to this is that many suffixes are not stressed, so that the stress stays on the syllable that would have been final had the word not had any suffixes. Some suffixes are stressed, however, and they can be thought of as attracting the stress from the stem of the word and pulling it to themselves. Listen to a speaker pronounce the following words and try to hear the point of stress. You must realize, however, that stress is generally less forceful than in English, and you may have difficulty hearing it at first. The words are written with an accent over the syllable that is most likely to be stressed.

Words with stress on the final syllable.
    pa-jóng 'uncle'
    me·-chík 'woman'
    a-chák 'dog'
    sok-jók 'has arrived'
    a-gan-jók 'has spoken'
    sok-gén 'will arrive' (A·chik)

Words with stress on a nonfinal syllable.
    a-gán-a 'speak'
    sók-a 'arrive'
    sok-nó-a 'will arrive' (Mandi)
    nók-o 'in the house'
    sóng-o-na 'to the house'
    sóng-o-ni 'from the house'
    i·-áng-bo 'go!' (imperative)

The stress is fairly subtle but if you can hear the difference between words with final and nonfinal stress you will be on your way to a reasonable pronunciation.

In addition to word stress, there are larger patterns of intonation that involve more than one word. Questions, for example, are often set off by a rising intonation quite similar to the rising intonation of many English questions, but there are other intonational patterns that are quite different from English. You have to listen and imitate.

THREE

JUNCTURE AND PROSODY

Syllable Transitions (C)

The phonology of single Garo syllables is reasonably straightforward, but some complications arise at the transitions between syllables. In a few cases it is not immediately obvious whether an intervocalic consonant should to be considered to be the final consonant of one syllable or the initial consonant of the one that follows. Nevertheless, careful analysis results in a clear decision in each case. A consistent treatment of syllable transitions allows various minimal pairs to be explained and, except for the comings and goings of rakas (glottal stops), which were considered in the previous chapter, and a limited amount of assimilation between adjacent vowels that will be described in the next, the great majority of morphemes maintain the same phonological form under all circumstances.

Speech sounds that occur as word initials, but not as word finals, are naturally considered to be syllable initials even when they occur between vowels. Thus an [r] or [ph] that occurs between vowels can always be regarded as the first consonant of the second syllable rather than as the final consonant of the previous one. Similarly speech sounds such as [ng], [l] and the unaspirated stops, that occur word finally but not word initially (at least in nonborrowed words), can be regarded as syllable finals whenever they occur between vowels. As would be expected under such circumstances, intervocalic sequences such as [l-r], [m·-ph], and [ng-b] occur easily in native Garo words, while sequences such as [*r-l], [*ph-m·], and [*b-ng] are quite impossible. Intervocalic sequences can be constructed only from a permitted final followed by a permitted initial.

In some cases, morphological divisions encourage one choice among possible syllable divisions. With absolute regularity -*ni* marks the genitive (possessive) of Garo nouns and -*ko* marks the accusative (direct object). When these suffixes appear in such words as *do·-ni* [do·ni] 'bird' (genitive) and *do·-ko* [do·kho] 'bird' (accusative), it is clear that the raka must be considered as part of the previous syllable, the noun base, rather than as part of the second syllable, which is a suffix. Thus, in spite of the fact that rakas never occur either at the beginning or the end of words, a consistent pattern emerges in which rakas can always be regarded as belonging to the earlier syllable, never to the later one.

The most difficult problems arise with the nasals /m/ and /n/, for these can occur as both word initials and word finals, and the pronunciation is hardly different in the two positions. When /m/ and /n/ occur between two vowels it is by no means obvious to a non-Garo listener whether they should be assigned to the first or to the second syllable. There can, however, be no doubt about the proper morphological boundaries between the bases and suffixes of the following verbs. The division between the morphemes is unambiguous, even if the phonology does not clearly reflect these divisions.

cho-a	'thresh' present-neutral
cho-na	'to thresh' infinitive
chon-a	'is small' present-neutral
chon-na	'to be small' infinitive

Cho- is a verb base meaning 'thresh' and *chon-* is a verb base meaning 'be small.' These bases occur, for example, with the suffix -*jok* as *cho-jok* 'threshed, has threshed' and *chon-jok* 'became small'. -*a* is the highly regular present or "neutral" tense-aspect suffix and -*na* the equally regular infinitive suffix. Neither the verb bases nor the suffixes are subject to morphophonemic irregularities, and at an abstract level of representation, there can be no question whatever about the correct morphemic division of these verbs.

There is, however, good reason to wonder whether *cho-na, chon-a* and *chon-na* are all in phonological contrast. In other words, do they differ from one another in pronunciation? One cannot simply ask a Garo speaker whether or not these words are pronounced alike. Even illiterate Garos have a clear sense of the forms that these verb bases and suffixes have in other constructions. They know, for example, that the verb base meaning 'be small' ends with an /-n/ sound and that the infinitive suffix begins with /n-/, and so it is only reasonable that they talk as if *chon-na* is different from *chon-a*. They mean different things and most verbs with these endings sound different. Few Mandis in Bangladesh are comfortably literate in their own language so they cannot easily discuss these words in terms of "letters"

but, when asked, they generally suggest that *cho-na, chon-a* and *chon-na* are all distinct. They certainly *ought* to be distinct, for they mean different things and are used in different ways. But it is not easy to know whether these people are "hearing" them as different only because the underlying forms are felt to be different.

Careful inquiry and careful listening make it clear, however, that *cho-na* is distinguished from the other two, at least when speech is reasonably careful. The first syllable is open, and open syllables regularly have longer vowels than closed syllables such as are found in *chon-a* and *chon-na*. Whether *cho-na* is always distinct from the others in rapid speech is not so certain, but if we take phonological contrast to refer to carefully articulated examples, *cho-na* is certainly pronounced differently from the other two. As my own fluency in Mandi has increased, I have, myself, come to "feel" something of a break before the *n* in *cho-na*, and to feel that the /o/ of *cho-na* is slightly longer than the /o/ of either *chon-a* or *chon-na*. In these latter words the vowel ends more quickly with prompt closure for the /-n/.

With equally careful listening and inquiry, however, it seems that *chon-a* and *chon-na* do not actually contrast. The words surely have different suffixes and any practical spelling system ought to distinguish them, allowing the present/neutral and infinitive suffixes to retain the same spelling as when they are used with other verbs. Nevertheless, they fall together phonetically.

A similar situation exists for words with rakas, as in the following examples:

cho·-a	'dig' present-neutral
cho·-na	'to dig' infinitive
chon·-a	'finish' present-neutral
chon·-na	'to finish' infinitive

Here we have the same suffixes as in the previous examples, but they are used with two new verb bases. Once again, all four words are surely different morphologiclly. By transcribing them this way, the spelling of all the morphemes is consistent under all circumstances. Careful listening reveals that *chon·-a* and *chon·-na* are pronounced alike, but that *cho·-na* is distinct.

/m/ is not found in such a convenient suffix as is /n/ and I have not found sets of words that show the possibilities of /m/ transitions as clearly as these four verbs demonstrate /n/ transitions. I know of no words that have to be derived from syllables that would imply an /m-m/ transition, but I have no reason to suppose that /m/ behaves any differently than /n/

in syllable transitions. Notice that *ra-ma* 'road' is in clear contrast with *ram-a* 'to dry' (transitive).

For the verb bases and suffixes used in these examples, there can be no doubt about the proper interpretation of the underlying forms, and the same is true of any word in which the syllables can be used in sufficiently varied situations to demonstrate their individual forms. Words such as *a-mu-a* 'sacrifice', *gu-me* 'brother-in-law', and *so-na* 'gold' (a borrowed, but well assimilated word) present no problem. The length of the first vowel shows that their nasals belong to the second syllables. They are like the nasal of *cho-na*, not like the nasal of *chon-a*. A few two-syllable words with intervocalic *m* or *n*, however, can be ambiguous. The name for one variety of small ant might be equally well interpreted as *sim-al* or *sim-mal*. These would be pronounced in the same way and neither syllable of this word has, so far as I am aware, any independent existence. Similarly, the word for 'yesterday' might be interpreted as either *min-i-o* or *min-ni-o* since, once again, the syllables have no independent existence that would reveal a particular underlying form. The only criterion to call upon in such cases is that of parsimony, and where there is no evidence to the contrary, I will write such words as if they have just one consonant between the vowels: *sim-al, min-i-o*.

Intervocalic stops prove easier to discriminate than intervocalic nasals because syllable initial and syllable final stops are clearly distinguishable by the presence or absence of aspiration. No such trait distinguishes initial and final nasals. Nevertheless, the situation for intervocalic stops is, if anything, slightly more complex than for intervocalic nasals. Consider the following examples:

no	'younger sister' subject or unmarked form
no-ko	'younger sister' accusative
nok	'house' subject or unmarked form
nok-o	'at the house' locative
nok-ko	'house' accusative

As in the case of the verb forms just considered, there can be no doubt that these transcriptions show the correct morphological boundaries within of these nouns. Nouns have no suffix when used as a subject. The locative suffix is regularly *-o*, while *-ko* is the completely regular accusative suffix. Unlike verbs, Garo nouns regularly occur with no suffix at all, so there is never a problem about isolating the base forms, in this case *no* and *nok*. Nor can there be any doubt about the underlying form of the case markers, *-o* and *-ko*. The only question is whether or not *no-ko*, *nok-o*, and *nok-ko* are pronounced differently. The stop in *nok-o* is not aspirated, and this suggests that its *k* is part of the first syllable, as would be expected from

the subject form of *nok* and from the usual form of the locative suffix. The lack of aspiration in *nok-o* clearly distinguishes it from both *no-ko* and *nok-ko*, both of which have aspirated *k*'s, as they should if their second syllables have initial stops. We might wonder whether *no-ko* and *nok-ko* are distinct from one another, but careful elicitation makes it clear that Garo speakers have no trouble in articulating them differently, or in hearing the difference. The first vowel is shorter and more abruptly terminated in *nok-ko* than in *no-ko*. Thus, all five forms given above are in contrast. Minimal pairs such as *rok-ka* 'protect', *rok-a* 'shave', or *sut-ta* 'thread', *su-ta* 'soda' (both borrowed, but well established), confirm these contrasts.

There is, however, another stop transition that does turn out to allow ambiguities. Logically, we might expect it to be possible for a final stop of one syllable, whether *-p, -t,* or *-k*, to be followed by either by a syllable with no initial consonant at all, or by a syllable having a voiced initial that is homorganic with the previous stop. In other words, we might expect syllable transitions such as *p-b, t-d* or *k-g*. Both alternatives must be allowed as underlying forms. *Mik-gil* means 'eyelid', and the syllables of this word both have transparent derivations. *Mik-* is never used alone as a word by itself, but it is found in a large number of compounds having to do with the eyes and face. The compounds in which it appears all agree in having the form *mik-*. The second syllable, *-gil*, also occurs in the word *bi-gil* 'skin.' Here, the *g* must be interpreted as syllable initial, both because *g* never occurs word finally and because the *i* of the first syllable is a front vowel, the form of /i/ that occurs only in open syllables. With the independent existence of both *mik-* and *-gil* established, there can be no doubt that *mik-gil* is the correct morphophonemic interpretation of the word meaning 'eyelid.' Its literal or etymological meaning, obviously, is 'eye skin'.

Many other words must be interpreted as having a final *-k* in one syllable followed by a syllable that has no initial consonant at all: *nik-a* 'see,' *nok-o* 'in the house' etc. I am convinced that the medial consonant sequences of *nok-o* and of *mik-gil* are identical. Unfortunately I have not discovered a single homophonous pair with unambiguously different derivations and different underlying forms that would clinch this conclusion. Still, I am confidant that the two sequences /k-g/ and /k-Ø/ (where 'Ø' indicates the absence of an initial consonant) are phonetically identical, even though both must be recognized as morphophonemically possible. (The example is parallel to that of English *Len's* and *lends*, which are phonetically identical even though derived from different underlying sources.)

Just as in the case of nasal transitions described above, some Garo words with stop transitions could be interpreted in either of two ways. The word for 'edge', for example, could be accurately represented as either *rik-*

ing or *rik-ging* for, as far as I am aware, its second syllable occurs only in this one word. As with homophonous nasal transitions, the parsimonious interpretation is to write such transitions with a single consonant unless there is a derivational argument suggesting *k-g*. Thus I write *rik-ing* for 'edge' but *mik-gil* for 'eyelid' although the syllable transitions are phonetically indistinguishable. Analogously /p-b/ is phonetically identical to /p-Ø/ and /t-d/ is phonetically identical to /t-Ø/.

We might suspect ambiguity in one other type of syllable transition, that in which a syllable initial /ch-/ follows either an open syllable, or a syllable final /-t/: /Ø-ch/ and /t-ch/. In this case, however, there is a clear contrast. I have discovered no minimal pairs, but there can be no doubt that *a-chak* 'dog,' and *na-chil* 'ear' have open first syllables, while the first syllables of *chat-chi* 'kinsman' and *at-chu* 'grandfather' end in /t/. It should be noted, however, that a large number of two syllable words have a /t-ch/ transition, while /Ø-ch/ transitions are considerably less common. This imbalanced distribution hints at some process that has introduced /-t/ into syllables that precede /ch-/, although no such process is active in modern Garo.

It should be noted in passing that there is no difficulty about maintaining a contrast between a raka and a final /-t/. *Gat-dap-a* 'put on and pile up, as dirt' (in which the /d/ of *-dap-* is confirmed by its presence in many other verbs) and *ga·-dap-a* 'step on something' (with the same *-dap-*) are in clear contrast. *Cha·-che* 'rice husks' contrasts with *chat-chi* 'kinsmen', even in Modhupur where *cha·-che* is pronounced [cha·-chi].

With 31 possible initials and initial clusters (including no consonant at all) and 12 possible finals and final clusters (interpreting the raka as forming clusters), the potential number of consonant transitions between syllables is 31 x 12, or 372. Of these, only the following seven pairs fail to be phonetically as well as morphophonemically distinct:

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{/m-m/} & = & \text{/m-Ø/} \\
\text{/m·-m/} & = & \text{/m·-Ø/} \\
\text{/n-n/} & = & \text{/n-Ø/} \\
\text{/n·-n/} & = & \text{/n·-Ø/} \\
\text{/p-b/} & = & \text{/p-Ø/} \\
\text{/t-d/} & = & \text{/t-Ø/} \\
\text{/k-g/} & = & \text{/k-Ø/}
\end{array}
$$

S-clusters (C)

Clusters, and apparent clusters that are formed from an /s/ plus either /p/, /t/, or /k/ raise some rather complex problems. The difficulties begin with the fact that /s/ seems to occur before two different kinds of voiceless stops, aspirated and unaspirated. The problem is to decide whether to interpret these sequences as clusters or as syllables with a very short /i/ between the /s/ and the stop.

Consider first the unaspirated examples. An innocent linguist might, at first, be tempted to transcribe the verb meaning 'insert, sew' as [ska]. The [k] has, if anything, even less aspiration than the English *k* that follows *s* in *skip*, and it may have none of the voicing between the [s] and [k] that would be expected, if a vowel separated them. Even forms of this verb with other suffixes than -*a*, might be transcribed in a parallel way: [skbo] 'insert' (imperative), [skjok] 'has inserted'. If any phonetic vowel occurs after the [s] of [skbo] or [skjok] it is very short, and there may be no voicing at all.

[skbo] and [skjok], clearly have two syllables, however, so if we decide against a vowel in the first syllable, the [s] would have to be regarded as syllabic. This seems awkward, since syllabic consonants need not be recognized elsewhere in the language. Also, most unaspirated stops are syllable final, and it would be out of harmony with rest of the language to have a prevocalic unaspirated [k] in [ska]. It thus seems more orderly to interpret these forms as having two syllables and, indeed a very short vowel can sometimes be heard just after the /s/: /sik-a, sik-bo, sik-jok/. If we were to interpret these syllables as lacking a vowel, we would also have to accept a restriction that would have no parallels elsewhere in the language: the syllables *sip, sit,* and *sik* would be impossible. /i/ is always short in closed syllables, and it is especially short in closed syllables that begin with /s/, so it is reasonable to see its occasional phonetic disappearance here as the result of being shortened from both sides. Between /s/ and either /p/, /t/, or /k/, the /i/ is almost shortened out of existence. It is only slightly less reduced before syllable final /m/, /n/, and /ng/. More of a vowel can be heard in /sil/, /sil‧-/, /sim‧-/ /sin‧-/ and /sing‧-/ though even these /i/'s are very short. The conclusion, therefore, is that when /s/ seems to be followed by an unaspirated stop, the sequence should be interpreted as having a particularly shortened form of the vowel /i/, and that these should be regarded as syllables rather than as consonant clusters.

This leaves sequences of [s] followed by one of the aspirated stops, [ph], [th], or [kh], as candidates for clusters. The aspiration makes these Garo sequences sound quite different from English *s* clusters. To the English ear they seem a bit labored or even lengthened. In fact, it is tempting to interpret them bisyllabically as, respectively, /sip-p-/, /sit-t-/, and /sik-k-/,

rather than more simply as /sp-/, /st-/ and /sk-/. This would suggest that each of these apparent clusters actually consists of a closed syllable followed by a simple initial. We would expect the /i/ in the first syllable of such sequences to be very short, even devoiced. In fact, when speakers slow down and articulate carefully, a word such as that for 'fingernail, claw' really does seem to become *jak-sik-kil*. When spoken more rapidly, however, the word seems to lose a syllable, and *jak-skil* seems a more reasonable interpretation.

I have experimented by pronouncing words such as this one in two ways, as *jak-skil* and *jak-sik-il* but Garo speakers seemed never to notice the difference. I have said "is it *jak-sik-kil?*", articulating the word slowly and carefully with what seemed to me to be three clear syllables. I have received the answer "right, *jak-skil*" where my respondent pronounced the word with two syllables even while agreeing to my three. It seems clear that there is no contrast here. The considerable free variation that occurs depends, in part, on the emphasis given to the word, and parsimony would seem to suggest that such examples should be interpreted as clusters rather than as longer sequences. The clusters can, however, be expanded under careful articulation. Thus words such as *stu-a* 'spit' and *stap-a* 'sticky' can sometimes sound (to me) like [sit-tu-a] and [sit-tap-a], but Mandis do not appear to notice the difference.

One other rather weak argument supports the interpretation of [sph], [sth], and [skh] as clusters. If they were interpreted as /sip-p-/, /sit-t-/, and /sik-k-/ the number of such sequences would be surprisingly large by comparison with other permissible sequences. Sequences such as /sit-p-/, /sok-t-/, etc. do occur, but none are nearly as common as /sp-/ (/sip-p-/), /st-/ (/sit-t-/), or /sk-/ (/sik-k-/). The relatively high frequency of the latter suggests that they should be interpreted as clusters. On straight phonetic grounds, however, there is no clear choice between /sip-p-/ and /sp-/, /sik-k-/ and /sk-/, or /sit-t-/ and /st-/. The /sk-/ of words such as *jak-skil* 'claw', that has a strongly aspirated second k, is as long or even longer than the /sik-/ in sik-a 'insert, sew', where the *k* is unaspirated. It is not phonetic criteria that lead to the conclusion that the former, but not the latter, should be considered a cluster. Rather, it is the distributional criteria that make the difference.

There are complications, however. Etymological considerations occasionally support the longer, two syllable interpretation. *skrok-a* (or *sik-krok-a*), for example means to 'put on' or 'wear' of garments that require the insertion of a body part, such as hats, bracelets, shirts, or socks. *Krok-a* is a rather close synonym. *Sik-* means 'insert, stick into'. *Sik-krok-a*, then, would seem to be an etymologically more revealing way of transcribing the word that means 'put on by insertion' than the more parsimonious

skrok-a. Similarly *prong-a* means 'fly about in the air, as dust', and *sip-prong-a/sprong-a* means 'blow off dust, dirt' so the expanded transcription reveals something that the reduced construction might obscure. *-tap-* is an affix meaning 'stick to, attach' and *sit-tap-a/stap-a* means 'sticky'. Again, the expanded form is etymologically more revealing.

The word for 'last year' can be pronounced [da·-sik-ka-ri] when said slowly and carefully (as when demonstrating for the linguist). When said at a more natural speed it becomes [da·-ska-ri]. Parsimony might lead one to interpret the word as *da·-ska-ri*, but its etymology suggests otherwise. As independent words, *da·-si* means 'ago, a while ago' and *ka-ri* means 'next year' or 'time of year, season', so the expanded transcription conforms more closely to the source words. To write the word as *da·-ska-ri* obscures the etymology. Even the expanded transcription *da·-sik-ka-ri* requires a /-k/ to be added to *da·-si* since the vowel of the compound has the backed pronunciation of /i/ which is found only in closed syllables. Perhaps it is only a small additional step to interpret the word as *da·-ska-ri*. Many languages are replete with assimilations that are every bit as radical as this, but assimilation like this is not at all common in Garo, or at least is it not evident in the contemporary language. If we take the form of the modern word to be *da·-ska-ri* we suggest that the constituents of some clusters in the modern language probably derive from originally distinct morphemes–entirely possible, but rarely evident in contemporary Garo.

The situation is quite different for variants of a Mandi word that means 'on top of'. This can be pronounced either as [sak-a-pong] or [ska-pong], the first alternative having the syllable final form of /-k/ which lacks aspiration, while the second alternate has the prevocalic form that is strongly aspirated. One might wonder whether these fail to contrast in the same way that [stu-a] and [sit-tu-a] 'spit' fail to contrast. In the case of [sak-a-pong] and [ska-pong], however, the two pronunciations are clearly recognized as distinct. People have explained clearly to me that both of these pronunciations are possible. People simply do not recognize any variation in the pronunciation of *stu-a* or *stap-a* 'sticky'.

It is a plausible conjecture that s-clusters in the contemporary language are in the process of formation. Syllables such as *sik-* or *sip-* or, even *si-* could be in the process of fusion into *sk-* and *sp-*. Many words with s-clusters now have no plausible derivation from an earlier prefix, but some do. Even those with no obvious derivation in the contemporary language may have some less obvious source. The Garo word for 'head', for example is *sko*. No one would propose writing it as *sik-ko* though that would have the same pronunciation. A number of other words can be found, however, where *ko* alone could once have meant 'head': *ko-dam* 'pillow', where *dam*

often means 'place', hence 'place for the head'; *ko-tip* 'turban'; *ko-chi-rok* 'bald'. Perhaps the *s-* in *sko* does derive, after all, from some obscure prefix, one that has long become completely frozen to the remaining part of the word. Certainly *ko* is never used by itself today to mean 'head', and I doubt if many speakers ever imagine that *ko* could have that meaning.

The facts are reasonably clear. On phonological grounds alone, there is little to choose between a two-syllable interpretation and a cluster interpretation in words like *sip-prong-a/sprong-a* 'to blow off' (dust, dirt, etc.), and there are many such words. The only question is the practical one of how to transcribe. When there is no plausible independent etymology for either part of the word, I will be parsimonious with extra letters and ink and write them as clusters. Since *ko* is never used by itself in any meaning related to 'head' I will write the word for head as *sko* rather than as the clumsy *sik-ko* Only when the word without the prefix exists as an independent word today, as is the case with *sik-krok-a* and *krok-a* will I interpret the word as having two syllables, but the decisions cannot avoid a degree of arbitrariness. I may well have missed some words that would suggest a two syllable rather than a cluster interpretation.

Word Stress (B)

In this section I offer a partial description of Garo word stress, but I cannot pretend that it is close to complete. It gives no more than a sketch of some of the more obvious characteristics of stress, and some pointers to what would be needed for a fuller understanding. I will state as much as I know or suspect, and try to make the limits of my knowledge clear.

First, a negative characterization: In addition to lacking tone, Garo lacks anything like the contrastive, or nearly contrastive, word stress of English. Garo has nothing that comes as close to a minimal pair as do English *cóntrast* (noun) vs. *contrást* (verb). To the extent that Garo can be said to have stress at all, it is relatively independent of the segmental phonology and relatively closely tied to the larger patterns of intonation. In particular, what I will call "stress" helps to define the boundaries of a word.

Nouns. Words with suffixes have more complex stress patterns than words without suffixes, and since verbs almost always have suffixes, it is easiest to begin by considering nouns. The first generalization about stress is that when bisyllabic nouns without suffixes are pronounced in isolation, and in the least emphatic or least marked fashion, they have a mild stress on the second syllable. This means that the final syllable of the word is a bit "stronger" than the first syllable. After a rather level first syllable, the

second starts just slightly higher and then falls. This is what I mean by "stress". Single syllable nouns, when pronounced in isolation, and without special emphasis, have a slightly falling pitch contour, much like the contour of isolated English monosyllables, and quite like the final syllables of longer Garo words.

The contour of two syllable Garo nouns is reminiscent of the pitch contour of two syllable English words that are stressed on the second syllable. Indeed there is a danger that an English speaker may interpret this as "stress" only because it sounds rather like English. Since Garo nouns with this stress pattern do not contrast with other nouns that are stressed differently, this Garo "stress" plays a very different role in the language than English stress does, and it is not as salient or strong as English stress. Nevertheless, the stress and pitch contour of a Garo word such as *bi-gíl* 'skin' is much more like English *distíll* , which has its stress on the second syllable, than like *ánthill* where the stress is on the first syllable.

Other than pitch contour, the phonetic features of these stressed final syllables are difficult to pin down. They are probably pronounced just a bit longer and just a bit louder than the first syllables. If so, their extra length and loudness probably persist when the nouns are used in a larger context of other words and sentences.

Stress is easiest to isolate in two syllable words, but the strongest stress also seems to fall on the final syllable in nouns of more than two syllables. The majority of three-syllable nouns are compounds, and these are most often formed from a single-syllable first member joined to a bisyllabic second member. In such cases, there is some stress on the first syllable as well as on the third (` means weak stress): *bòl-bi-ják* 'tree leaf,' from *bol* 'tree, wood' and *bi-ják* 'leaf'; *kù·-sim-áng* 'beard' from *ku·-* 'mouth' and *sim-áng* 'coarse body hair.' Such words have heaviest stress on the final syllable, somewhat weaker stress on the first, and the least on the second, which seems to be slightly squeezed from both sides. Compounds formed from a two syllable first element followed by a one syllable second element are less common but they do occur. In such compounds the stress difference between the first two syllables seems to be minimal, but the third syllable is set off from the first two: *man-di-kú* 'Mandi language' from *man-di* 'person, Mandi' and *ku·-* 'mouth, language.'

Noun stems with more than three syllables are not common, and those that occur are virtually all compounds. Four syllable words can be formed either from a one syllable element followed by a three syllable element, or from a pair of two syllable elements. There appear to be a slight but genuine difference in the stress patterns of the two types. *Dò·-ma-sek-í* 'kind of bird' is formed from *do·-* 'bird' and *ma-sek-i*. The two middle syllables

of this word are weak, the first intermediate, and fourth relatively strong. *Pi-pròt-ki·-sáng* is also a bird's name, specifically 'a kind of *pi-prót*'. It is thus formed from two bisyllabic constituents, and here the second syllable is stronger than the first. This suggests that first members of compounds hang onto some of their underlying stress pattern even when entering a compound.

Nouns with suffixes. Complications arise when nouns have suffixes. The simplest generalization, a generalization that will have to be considerably qualified later, is that, unlike the second members of compounds, noun suffixes often leave the stress in place, on the last syllable of the noun stem. As this suggests, suffixes are often rather lightly articulated. This is particularly clear with some case suffixes, notably with the locative -*o*. Pronounced in isolation, and without special emphasis, a word like *na-chíl-o* 'in the ear' certainly has some sort of peak on the second syllable, the same place where a stress occurs when the word has no suffix. The -*o* is pronounced with a somewhat lower pitch than the second syllable. It is fair to describe the pitch contour as rising a bit on the second syllable and then dropping again on the third, not unlike the pitch contour of a three syllable English word such as *delíver*.

In isolation, of course, even a word without a suffix drops in pitch at the end, so this alone is not enough to show that the stress stays on an earlier syllable, but in words such as *na-chíl-o* the penultimate syllable remains strongest. It seems that the drop in pitch which is found on the second syllable of *na-chíl* is spread out across both the second and third syllables of *na-chíl-o*. A more extreme example is the suffix -*ra-ra* 'all over the place'. In *me·-chík-ra-ra* 'women all over the place' the second syllable of the noun *me·-chík* still holds the pitch peak, while the final two syllables are both lower.

Some suffixes are "stronger" than the locative -*o* in the sense of being more likely to attract the stress. As will shortly become apparent, stress attraction is clearer for verb suffixes than for noun suffixes, but it shows up with nouns as well. The locative -*o* is a particularly "weak" suffix, for its stress is generally distinctly lighter than that of the preceding final syllable of the noun stem, but other case suffixes such as the accusative -*ko*, the possessive -*ni*, and the instrumental -*cha* also tend to leave the stress, on the previous syllable.

A number of other noun suffixes are more likely to draw the stress to themselves. The plural -*drang*, for example usually attracts the stress, and the difference in contour between *me·-chik-dràng* 'women' and *me-chík-o* 'at the woman' is unambiguous, at least when the words are said in isolation and without special emphasis. The reflexive -*tang* also attracts the stress

to itself, as in *song-táng* 'own village'.

The stress differences between case suffixes and other suffixes reflects their different syntax. The case suffixes are clitics. They are actually attached to the final word of a noun phrase, not necessarily to the noun itself. This means that their association with the noun is a bit loose. The plural and reflexive markers are suffixed directly to the noun stem where they would be expected to have a stronger effect on its stress and intonational patterns. When both a plural or reflexive marker and a case marker are used with the same word, the case suffix is always last. This allows stress to move to the first suffix, without becoming entangled in the second: *man-de-dráng-o* 'by the people'.

At the same time, closed syllables seem to attract stress more decisively than do open syllables. Most case markers are open syllables. The plural and reflexive suffixes all end in /ng/. This phonological difference may reinforce the syntactic difference and encourage the placement of stress on the plural and reflexive suffixes. I even have the feeling that two syllable nouns which have closed second syllables, such as *me·-chik* 'woman', have more decisive second syllable stress than words that have open second syllables, such as *man-de* 'person'. I have not, however, investigated this hunch systematically.

Verbs. Having considered the relatively simple stress patterns of nouns, we can move on to verbs. These rarely occur without at least one suffix, and many verbs have several. The ubiquity of suffixes makes it difficult to establish the underlying stress pattern of isolated verbs bases. Verbs without suffixes are mostly limited to one form of negative imperative. These are not only somewhat rare but, almost always rather emphatic. This makes them unsuitable as candidates for an unmarked stressed pattern. Positive imperatives and even some negative imperatives have suffixes. We had best consider only verbs with suffixes.

Leaving aside negative imperatives, every verb has at least two parts, a stem and one "principal verb suffix". By a considerable margin, the most common principal verb suffix is -*a*. This can indicate habitual acts or the present time but it is really a "neutral" suffix, amounting to a sort of the "unmarked tense". Typically, -*a* has rather little stress of its own and, at least in isolation, verbs with no other suffix than -*a* are stressed on the final syllable of the verb stem. This gives such verbs a stress and pitch contour similar to that of nouns with a locative suffix, and it invites the inference that if verbs could, like nouns, occur without suffixes, their stress patterns would be similar.

There are, however, a considerable number of other principal verb suffixes that can substitute for -*a*, and still other suffixes that can either pre-

cede or follow the principal verb suffix. Collectively, these raise a number
of complications.

One group of suffixes can be disposed of rather easily. These are a large
group that can be considered as derivational suffixes, and that are used to
form complex verb stems. Many of these derivational suffixes can be used
with a considerable number of verb bases, but they are not fully productive.
Indeed, the combination of a verb root with one of these derivational suffixes
can be considered to be a compound verb stem. The derivational suffixes
uniformly draw the stress to themselves and away from the preceding verb
root. Thus: *ré·-a* 'go, come', *re·-áng-a* 'go away', *kám-a* 'burn', *kam-prú-a*
'burn through', *ní-a* 'look', *ni-tát-a* 'stare'. This pattern of stress on the
final syllable applies to a very large number of verb stems.

A rather heterogeneous class of more productive inflectional suffixes
can follow the derivational suffixes, but still precede the tense-aspect suffix.
The distinction between the inflectional suffixes and the preceding deriva-
tional suffixes is not entirely sharp, but the later ones can be used with a
much wider range of verbs than the earlier ones, and the later ones can be
used more freely with each other. A single verb can have several of these
inflectional suffixes. Most of them, like the preceding derivational suffixes,
also draw the stress to themselves, and if several are used together it is the
last that has the greatest stress: *kat-píl-a* 'run back', *i·-ang-píl·-a* 'go back',
dong-kú-a 'still has', *dong-ku-já* 'doesn't have yet'. One inflectional suffix,
-ing- 'progressive', however, does not ordinarily draw the stress to itself.
-ing- is usually the last in the line of inflectional suffixes and, at least when
followed by the neutral tense suffix *-a*, the stress stops short of *-ing-*. Thus
kat-píl-ing-a 'running back', *kat-já-ing-a* 'not running'.

Except for the neutral *-a*, the tense-aspect suffixes draw the stress to
themselves. Generally *-jok*, a sort of perfect suffix, and *-na-jok* 'immediate
future' draw the stress to the *-jok* at the end of the word, and this stress
is usually quite strong: *Kat-ba-pil·-jók* 'has run back here', *kat-ang-na-jók*
'about to run away'. *-no-a* 'future' (in the Mandi dialect), consistently
draws the stress to itself, but to its first syllable, not its second. The final
-a is quite weak, and in rapid speech it is often dropped: *kat-ang-pil·-nó-a*,
or *kat-ang-pil·-nó* 'will run back there'. The progressive *-ing-*, which does
not draw the stress to itself, must always be followed by a tense-aspect
suffix and when this is anything except *-a* the stress, in a sense, jumps
over the *-ing-* to reach the tense-aspect suffix. *dak-já-ing-a* 'not doing', but
dak-jà-ing-jók 'not doing any more'. In the latter example, a weak stress
remains behind on the *-ja-* much as it does on the first element of some
noun compounds.

Verbs can be quite long. Six and eight syllable verbs are not uncom-

mon, and each syllable is often a distinct morpheme contributing its meaning to the overall sense of the verb. If stress is drawn to the last syllable it is hardly to be expected that all the previous syllables could be pronounced with identical stress, but the exact pattern of stress in such cases becomes very difficult to judge. It is almost impossible to find a "neutral" or "unmarked" pronunciation for such a word. The very fact that a verb has so many suffixes gives it a specialized meaning which may require emphasis of one sort or another. For what it is worth, my impression is fairly strong that even when the primary stress is drawn to the end of the word, the final syllable of the stem, often a derivational affix, retains somewhat greater weight than other syllables. This is hardly noticeable in shorter words, where a stressed final suffix such as *-jók* can quite overshadow the early location of stress, but if *-jók* is separated from the final derivational suffix by two or three intervening inflectional suffixes, the derivational suffix has a better chance to stand out: *dak-chàk-ja-ing-jók* 'not helping any more'. The stress of the derivational suffix does not stand out strongly, however, and I am not fully confidant of my judgment here.

Suffixes which follow the principal verb suffix raise still other problems. These come at the end, or close to the end of the verb and, since Garo is predominantly a verb final language, they usually come close to the end of a sentence. As should be expected, they interact with the sentence final intonation, and this adds greatly to their complications. *-kon* 'probably' is generally strongly stressed. *-na* 'quotative', *-ma* 'question particle' and even *-ming* 'past, conditional' are not. I will say no more about them.

One set of principal verb suffixes puts the verb into a form that can be subordinated to another verb or clause. Subordinating suffixes include *-e* and the more elaborate but largely synonymous *-e-ming*. In the least marked and least emphasized situation, these do not draw the stress to themselves: *i·-ba-píl·-e cha·-jók* 'having come back, (he) ate', *neng·-bé-e-ming at-chong-jók* 'becoming very tired (he) sat down'. However, subordinate verbs of this sort come at the end of one clause and mark a transition to the next, and larger patterns of intonation that mark out the larger constituents of the sentence intrude here, so it is difficult to isolate any sort of unmarked stress pattern. A few observations about larger intonational patters will be given below.

The third and final set of principal verb suffixes nominalize the verbs. The most common nominalizing suffixes are *-gip-a* and *-a* and neither of these draws the stress to itself: *kat-áng-gip-a* 'the one who runs away', *cha·-ku-já-ing-gip-a pi·-sa* 'the child who is not yet eating'. As this last example shows it is possible to have verbs with several syllables following the position of stress.

Other word classes. The stress patterns of words belonging to the minor word classes can be taken care of rather easily. Since their morphology is less complex than the morphology of either nouns or verbs, their stress patterns are correspondingly simple.

Personal pronouns and demonstratives are basically nouns, and their stress is much like that of nouns. The only significant difference is that monosyllabic pronouns and demonstratives have a special nominative form that is marked by the suffix -*a*. Like the homophonous verb suffix, this leaves the stress on the previous syllable: *áng-a* 'I'. This nominative -*a* disappears when other case suffixes are used, and the stress is then the same as with nouns, *áng-o* 'at me' (locative). Since personal and demonstrative pronouns do not enter into compounds in the way that many nouns do, the stress patterns are correspondingly simpler. It should be noted, however, that pronouns are never completely unstressed in the way they are in many languages. The nominative -*a* that is used with monosyllabic pronouns and demonstratives insures that pronouns never have fewer than two syllables, including the case suffix, and this makes them bulkier than some nouns, many of which are monosyllabic and carry no case suffix at all when acting as subjects of sentences. Instead of de-stressing pronouns, Garos simply leave them out completely when the sense is clear. If a pronoun is included at all, it is always given full stress.

Numerals are composed of a classifier followed by a number. These combine to form a word, and if no other suffixes are attached, the stress falls on the number, the second member of the pair. If a numeral is the last or only word in a noun phrase, a case suffix may be attached to it, and in this situation the stress pattern is the same as for nouns with case suffixes. Most classifiers are exactly one syllable in length, but some numbers have two syllables, and their stress falls on the second: *git-tám* 'three', *bong-á* 'five.' This means that in all cases the stress falls on the final syllable of the numeral, just before the case suffix if there is one.

Adverbs are the only other extensive class of independent words. Many adverbs are formed by some sort of reduplication, sometimes from a single syllable, sometimes from a disyllable. Some have identical first and third syllables while the second and fourth are partially or entirely different. Some have identical second and fourth syllables while the first and third differ. Some end with an -*e*, and some have -*e* at the end of both the first and last half. The examples suggest some of the possibilities. The main stress is shown by an acute accent, while lesser stress, if any, is shown by a grave accent. As can be seen from the examples, the main stress falls on the final syllable, except that -*e*, like many noun and verb suffixes, does not attract the stress. An underlying two syllable word would have stress

on its second syllable. When reduplicated, the main stress goes to the very
end, but some residual stress remains at the end of the first half.

jem·-jém	constantly
be-bé	truly
grok-grók	in gulps
a-dót-e	really
hèng-e-héng-e	widely spaced
ap-si-sí	very narrow
gòl·-dang-dáng	stick-like
mik-dèl-bu-bú	staring with wide eyes
a-gàl-ni-gál	from top to bottom
gong-gè-gong-gót	winding back and forth
mal-àk-mal-ák	craving water, thirstily
nom·-rìk-nom·-rík	neither very hard nor very soft
mang-mèng-mang-chíp	annoyed, pestered
on·-dìm-on·-chók	up and down, of roads, birds flying

Finally, a word needs to be said about interjections. By definition,
these are words that are used alone and that are not bound by syntactic
connections to other words. The phonology of many interjections is quite
deviant from more typical words, (as are English interjections such as *oh-
oh* and *mhm* 'yes') and their deviance extends to their intonation. The
intonation of the various interjections is considered along with their other
characteristics in Chapter 11, "Minor Parts of Speech".

Sentence Intonation (C)

In addition to its patterns of word stress, Garo, like all other languages,
has intonational patterns of stress, rhythm, and melody that stretch over
more than a single word and that help to bind words together into phrases,
clauses, and sentences. My understanding of these patterns is even more
rudimentary than is my understanding of word level stress, and this section
can do no more than offer a few broad impressions.

One of the simplest forms of intonation that stretches over several
words is that of a spoken list, as in the recitation of a list of names. In recit-
ing a list, Garos pronounce the final syllable of each word with a decisively
higher pitch than the earlier part of the word. This high pitch overrides
the final fall that is characteristic of isolated nouns. This list intonation is
reminiscent of the rising and suspensive intonation that is sometimes used
when giving a list in English, but the rise is even more pronounced in Garo.
The rise is also more abrupt than in English. It is a decisive and strong step

upward, so that the entire final syllable is high. The pattern becomes very clear when a list of personal names is recited. Garo personal names rarely have fewer than two syllables and only a minority have more than two. A list of personal names, then, becomes an alternation of notes in which the second syllable of each name is pronounced decisively higher than the first.

Numbers, of course, are used in counting. Bangladeshi Mandis almost always count with Bengali numbers when they get above five, but A·chik speakers can count indefinitely with their own numbers. The same intonation can be heard in counting as with lists. Each classifier-number pair starts low but rises decisively on the final syllable, but there is often a slight fall at the very end. This is the pattern of a final stressed syllable: *sak-sá, sak-gin-í, sak-git-tám, sak-brí* 'one person, two people, three people, four people'. When counting is done without classifiers, using only the numbers, the rise in pitch is less salient, but the terminal fall stands out more clearly.

The pitch contour of a word also changes when it appears in the context of the other words of a sentence. In isolation, the pitch of a word typically falls at the very end, even when a strongly stressed final syllable requires a rise before this final fall. In a sentence, words frequently end with a rise, which can nearly wipe out the terminal fall of isolated words. The final rising pitch of a word in context is nonterminal, for it points to something that is still to come. The falling pitch of an isolated word signals the end. The rising pitch that ends words when used in context is clearest when speakers deliberately slow down for the benefit of a scribbling linguist. They pause briefly after each word, and finish each one with a slight rise in pitch which indicates that more is to come. The pitch may actually dip slightly first, but it then rises gently to the end of the word, though more modestly than it rises with a list. Words are so much longer in Garo than in English that it is difficult suggest an English analogy to the Garo pattern, but a Garo sentence can give an impression somewhat like a sentence in French, in which each phrase tends to be terminated by a slight rise. As in French, also, the last word of a Garo sentence tends to fall rather than rise. The series of ups that mark the words, followed by a down that marks the sentence, is clear in slowly and carefully articulated sentences but it can be badly obscured by various broader intonation patterns in rapid or expressive speech.

At this point, my confidence in my own ears becomes shaky, but it seems to me that I can still hear something of a stress on the final syllable of the word stem even when a suffix follows and even when its terminal pitch rises. The stress can no longer be easily identified by its terminal fall in pitch, which is its most obvious characteristic in isolation, but it still seems to be pronounced a bit longer than other syllables, and perhaps it is just

slightly louder. A case marker may have a terminal rise, for example, even though the main stress comes earlier. It may also be the case, however, that I am reading things into the sounds. Perhaps I am even imposing my sense of the underlying phonology on complex forms. If I know that a syllable is stressed under other circumstances I may imagine a stress even when it is not there. In any case, in the context of a sentence, the stem final syllable is not characterized by nearly as distinctive a pitch contour as when it is pronounced in isolation.

Beyond these general adjustments that individual words undergo as they are adapted to the context of a sentence, both A·chik and Mandi have a number of larger intonational patterns that characterize longer stretches of speech.

Neutral statement intonation. As mentioned in the previous section, many rather neutral statements are marked by a series of rises but then end with a slight fall. Pauses within such a sentence are most likely to occur at the points where the intonation rises. Sentences having this intonational pattern are fairly easy to elicit from a speaker when the language is carefully articulated, but the pattern is often obscured in normal speech.

Questions. The intonation of questions formed with a question word is not much different from the normal statement intonation. As in many other languages, yes-no questions, which are formed in Garo by suffixing a final *-ma* or *-ni* to the sentence, are usually distinguished by a rising terminal intonation. This replaces the fall of a typical statement. This rising intonation is not obligatory, however, and some *-ma* questions have an intonation that differs little from a statement. It is also possible to make a question from a short phrase, or even a single word, by nothing more than the rising intonation, just as it is in English. Thus *mat-cha* with a rising intonation could be understood as meaning 'Is it a tiger?' while the same word with a falling intonation would be more likely to be understood as a simple label: 'It is a tiger'. Questions formed from full sentences generally have an overt question marker and it is not typical for a full question to be marked only by intonation, though it is not impossible. As an early learner of Garo who sometimes managed a question intonation without squeezing in the *-ma* that makes the question explicit, I can affirm that intonation is enough to let people understand a sentence as a question.

A negative question carries a very special rhetorical sense in Mandi, and it has a correspondingly special intonation. (I do not know whether or not the same usage is found in A·chik.) A question such as *mi dong-ja-ni?*, literally 'is there not rice?', carries the sense of a strong positive assertion: 'And *isn't* there rice though?' i.e., there is indeed plenty. (*mi* 'rice', *dong-* 'to exist', *-ja* 'negative', *-ni* 'question marker'). In such sentences the entire

verb, from the verb base through the final -*ni*, is usually pronounced with a distinctly high and quite level pitch that marks the special rhetorical force of the expression.

High pitched emphasis. Strong emphasis, especially to indicate a great distance, can be shown by raising the pitch level sharply, and greatly prolonging the syllable. It is possible to show emphasis by a slight lengthening and raising of pitch in English, but the Garo intonation is much more exaggerated. One unaccustomed to this emphatic intonation finds it quite startling. The speaker seems almost to stop talking, and then the normal intonation is replaced with a high pitched sung note on a greatly prolonged syllable. Then the note glides gently back down to normal talking pitch, and the speaker continues with what he has to say. This emphasis is often used with locative demonstratives, meaning 'way over there' 'at a great distance': *ai-wa:::::-chi dong-a* '(It) is wa:::::y over there'. The same intonation is also used occasionally to convey the meaning of a long time, as in *a-ga:::::n-te, a-gan-te, a-gan-te* '(he) ta:::::lked and talked and talked'.

Low pitched emphasis. Low pitch, like exaggerated high pitch can convey emphasis, but it is not accompanied by as much lengthening, and the impression on the foreign ear is not so startling. The syllable selected for emphasis drops abruptly in pitch and then climbs somewhat more slowly back up to normal level. It often gives added force to the adverbial affix -*be*- 'very.' *Nam-be-a* 'very good' can be marked by a sharp downward scoop on the middle syllable, and a rise back up to the normal pitch for -*a*. The same low pitch can also be used on some tense suffixes to suggest 'of course'. *Iˑ-ang-jok*, with low scooped pitch on -*jok*, means 'of course (he) has gone'. *Chaˑ-no-a* with a low scoop on -*no*- means 'of course (I) will eat'. This low pitch can imply something like 'what are you thinking, how can you doubt it?'

Suspensive Intonation. Protracted activity can be signaled by a level, almost monotone, intonation or by a very gentle coast downward. This is frequently coupled with a construction in which a verb is repeated several times, each time with the suffix -*te* that also indicates continuing activity. The vowel of -*te* is lengthened: *iˑ-ang-te:, iˑ-ang-te:, iˑ-ang-te:* 'going and going and going'.

Swooping. A skillful speaker raises and lowers the pitch of his voice in rather dramatic ways. In narrative, for example, after a suspensive, rather level, stretch which suggests some fairly protracted activity, a speaker may signal the end of that activity by momentarily raising the pitch level, and then letting it swoop down to the end of the sentence. Emphatic stretches where the voice is lowered seem almost to carve out hollows which end as the voice rises to a more neutral pitch. Imposed on all of the underlying normal

or unmarked characteristics of word stress and phrase stress, the language can seem almost to be a song that swoops up and down to emphasize points of rhetorical importance, and to prevent the language from becoming dull. I wish that I knew how to describe this properly, for it gives great force to well spoken Garo.

The expression of emotion. Finally, the manner in which emotion can be conveyed by intonation deserves a comment, although full description of this is beyond my ability. It is easy for a foreigner, even one who speaks Garo poorly and whose own language is as different from Garo as is English, to hear emotions such as anger, excitement, humor and boredom in Garo speech. I have no doubt that these are universal human emotions, and no doubt that they constrain people everywhere to use their voices in somewhat similar ways. Indeed I believe these emotions find expression not only in language but in the prelinguistic sounds of infants and in the non-verbal vocalizations of adults. Their role in linguistic intonation amounts to the invasion of a kind of primitive non-verbal communication into language. Linguists have always had difficulty describing the phonetic features that convey these emotions, partly because they are not characterized by the kind of contrastive principles that give structure to most of phonology. I believe the intonational expression of emotion is nearly as recognizable across the barriers of language and culture as are smiles, frowns, sobs and laughter. I will not attempt to describe this emotional expression here.

MORPHOPHONEMICS AND VARIATION

Morphophonemics (C)

This chapter reviews several characteristics of the Mandi dialect of Bangladesh. I have not investigated these topics in the same detail in A·chik and I am not confident of the extent to which they also apply to the northern dialects.

By comparison with many languages, Garo morphology is notable for its regularity. Its words, and the morphemes that join together to form words, tend to be very stable, undergoing few changes from one context to another. Nevertheless even Mandi pronunciation has a few irregularities, and this section considers four areas where phonology varies in complex or irregular ways: the progressive and emphatic suffixes, reduplication, lexicalized assimilation, and fast speech.

Progressive -ing- and Emphatic -in. In orthographic Garo, and in the northern dialects upon which the orthography is based, the progressive affix is pronounced, and spelled, /-eng-/. In some dialects in the west central Garo Hills it is pronounced /-ong-/. In Bangladesh it is most often /-ing-/ which, in accordance with the closed syllable pronunciation of /i/, has a high back unrounded vowel which will be symbolized here as [ɨ]. It is, of course, mere coincidence that this Mandi affix is spelled in the same way as the English suffix with a similar meaning. Its pronunciation is actually quite different.

When Mandi -*ing*- follows a syllable that ends in a consonant other than a raka (glottal stop) it is consistently pronounced [ɨng]: [kat-ɨng-a] 'running', [nap-ɨng-a] 'entering', [ran·-ɨng-a] 'drying', [song·-ɨng-a] 'cooking'.

When following an open syllable or a syllable ending in a simple raka, however, the vowel of -*ing* assimilates to the vowel of the preceding syllable. This means that the vowel of the affix repeats, or extends, the articulation of the previous vowel: [go-ong-a] 'throwing', [sa-ang-a] 'being sick', [bu·-ung-a] 'lying', [so·-ong-a] 'burning'. Even when the vowel of the preceding open syllable is /i/, and thus pronounced as a high front [i], the vowel of -*ing*- assimilates to it, and it is then pronounced further front than /i/ is otherwise pronounced in closed syllables: [si-ing-a] 'dying', [pi·-ing-a] 'breaking'.

In all cases, the /i/ of -*ing*- is very short, as it always is in closed syllables, but the phonetic effect of the assimilation is a lengthened vowel. Even with a raka, the effect seems more like a vowel interrupted by a raka than like two totally separate vowels. Under these conditions, -*ing*- hardly forms an independent phonetic syllable. This is an almost unique situation in Mandi in which a morpheme might be interpreted as shorter than a full syllable. This vowel assimilation is also an example of the special behavior of /i/, since no other vowel ever assimilates in this way. In spite of its assimilation, the affix can be written consistently as -*ing*-, since its actual pronunciation is completely predictable from the preceding vowel. This allows -*ing*- to retain the same spelling in all words, and its phonetic form is an automatic consequence of the form of the preceding syllable.

One other affix varies in the same way as -*ing*. This is -*in*, a suffix that foregrounds (calls attention to) the word to which it is suffixed. -*in* is primarily a noun suffix, although it is occasionally added to something else. -*in* and -*ing* are the only serious candidates for Mandi morphemes that are ever shorter than a full syllable. When -*in* is suffixed to a word that ends with a consonant it is pronounced as a full syllable: [a-chak-ɨn] 'the dog!' Since -*in* is a closed syllable, the vowel is very short and pronounced as [ɨ], but it is unmistakably there. When the same morpheme is added to a word ending in an open syllable, however, the vowel is assimilated to the previous vowel and reduced in length, leaving at most, a lengthened vowel. In fast speech the vowel may hardly even be lengthened and the vowel can seem very nearly to disappear, so that the suffix almost reduces to a simple [-n], as in [ba·-ran], reduced via [ba·-ra:n] from [ba·-ra-in] 'cloth-foregrounded'. Whatever lengthening the vowel has is apt to impresses the listener as caused by the emphasis on the word rather than as an added syllable.

When the foregrounding -*in* is added to a word ending in /i/, such as *tam-pi-in* from *tam-pi* 'fly' (noun), the effect is very much like a closed syllable with a high front vowel, [tam-pin], a possibility not ordinarily allowed in Mandi words. In this case we can interpret the suffix as having

an /i/ that is shortened due to the following /n/ and that is also assimilated to the vowel of the preceding open syllable. We can, then, interpret the underlying foregrounded form of the noun meaning 'fly' as /tam-pi-in/, with the second /i/ shortened and assimilated to the previous vowel. The result is a sort of pseudo-closed syllable with a high front vowel: [tam-pi:n]. This interpretation allows us to keep the generalization that /i/ assumes its fronted position only in open syllables.

Obviously, *-in* and *-ing* have parallel phonology. These are the only two affixes in Mandi with initial /i/'s in closed syllables. In both cases, when the preceding syllable is closed by a consonant other than a raka the vowel has the usual closed-syllable pronunciation. In both cases, also, this vowel can be so shortened as hardly to support a separate syllable, and so assimilated to the preceding vowel as to loose its high backed character. Both *-in* and *-ing-* are reasonably regarded as beginning life as separate syllables, and the simplest orthographic representation is to write them, under all circumstances, as *-in-* and *-ing*. The shortening and assimilation that obscures their separate syllabic status can then be regarded as the result of low-level phonological rules.

Partial Syllable Reduplication. Mandi makes extensive use of reduplication. In particular, a large number of adverbs have a reduplicated form: *ting-ri-ting-ri* 'quickly', *jol-jol* 'directly, systematically', *chrap-chrap* 'crowded together, as fruit on a tree'. A considerable number of adverbial affixes that are used to modify the meaning of verb bases also exhibit reduplication: *-rep-rep-* 'in circles', *-jep-jep-* 'into pieces', and many others. Some of these adverbs and adverbial affixes are always used in their reduplicated form, but some are related to single syllables that can be used alone. Numbers can also be reduplicated to give a distributed meaning: *sak-bri-bri* 'four to each person'.

Often, the two syllables of a reduplicated form are identical, but sometimes one or the other syllable is modified. The loss of a raka from the second syllable of a reduplicated form has already been described. It is lost from the second syllable of a word formed by reduplication of a single syllable, just as rakas are always lost from the second syllables of words. In addition, but more variably, a final consonant is often omitted from the *first* of a pair of reduplicated syllables. This loss depends, at least in part, on the speed with which one talks, so that the faster the speech, the more likely the loss. Speakers seem hardly to recognize the loss or to differentiate between the two pronunciations: *den·-gal-gal-a, den·-ga-gal-a* 'cut quickly', *bam-gok-gok-a, bam-go-gok-a* 'bent over, of people', *jo·-rep-rep-a, jo·-re-rep-a* 'stir, of food when frying', *kan pa-prak* 'each one', *bok-pa-pal* 'very white', *chik-je-jep-a* 'premasticate food for a baby', *rat-je-jep-a* 'cut

into small pieces', *ti·-ra-rak* 'suitable size'. When a syllable that has a raka along with a nasal or /l/ is reduplicated, the result can be that the nasal or /l/ is lost from the first syllable, while the raka is lost from the second: *i·-ang-je·-jem-a* 'go repeatedly'.

It is a bit startling to hear instances where the loss of the final consonant in the first of two reduplicated syllables leaves an exposed backed [ɨ]. This is a rare situation in which a backed [ɨ] occurs in what gives every appearance of being an open syllable: [chik-tɨ-tɨp-a] 'bite a lot of things', [ham·-rɨ–rik-a] 'wanted continuously', [chu-rɨ-rim-a] 'roll while sleeping'.

Exposed but backed [ɨ]'s can also appear in reduplicated numbers. While I have elicited these examples, I am not convinced of the productivity of the process, especially since the examples came from one of the few Mandi speakers who knows the Mandi numbers above five. The examples are given with the classifier *kan*, which is a residual category classifier used when no other more specifically appropriate classifier is available. They show some irregularities.

[kan gɨ-gɨn-i]	'two items'
[kan gɨ-gɨt-tam]	'three items'
[kan bɨ-bri]	'four items'
[kan bɨ-bɨng-a]	'five items'
[kan do-dok]	'six items'
[kan sɨ-sɨn-i]	'seven items'
[kan che-chet]	'eight items'
[kan sku-sku]	'nine items'
[kan chi-chi-kɨng]	'ten items'

Vowel Loss. When two identical vowels threaten to occur next to each other in adjacent syllables, they sometimes collapse into a single syllable and a single vowel. Unlike the assimilation of [ɨ] in /-ing/ and /-in/, this is an irregular process, happening with some pairs of morphemes but not with others.

The most complete loss happens when negative *-ja-* might be expected to appear before present-neutral *-a*. In this case *-ja* alone is found instead of what might have been the regular, but non-occurring **-ja-a*: *i·-ang-a* 'go' *i·-ang-ja* 'not go'. The /a/ of /ja/ is not lengthened and the irregularity has been fully lexicalized. Other tense-aspect suffixes retain their full form when used with *ja*: *i·-ang-jok* 'have gone', and *i·-ang-ja-jok* 'not go anymore'. *-ja-* occurs freely and without change with all other verb suffixes.

Almost as regular is the reduction of *-ba-* 'in this direction' and *-a* to yield simple *-ba*, as in *i·-ba* '(they) come'. In this case, unlike that of *-ja*, full

reduction does not always take place, Sometimes the vowel is lengthened, reflecting the two underlying -*a*'s: [i·-ba:].

The adverbial affix -*a-ri* 'just' is often followed by -*ing* 'progressive', and the two affixes generally, although not always, reduce to -*a-ring*-. When reduction takes place the resulting *i* is backed as it should be in a closed syllable, not fronted as in the more productive assimilation of -*ing* and -*in* to the preceding vowel as discussed above.

-*ja*, -*ba*, and -*a-ring*- are all high frequency suffixes and they often occur where *-*ja-a*, -*ba-a* and -*a-ri-ing-a* might be expected. They are exactly the sort of sequences where assimilation seems most likely. More surprising are several assimilations of the terminal verb suffix /-ai/, which indicates a mild correction to a previous statement. These assimilations are discussed more fully in Chapter 7, but, in summary, the following assimilations take place:

> -*a* 'present-neutral', + -*ai* > *ai*
> -*ja* 'negative', + -*ai* > -*jai*
> -*na* 'quotative' + -*ai* > -*nai*
> -*ming* 'perfect' + -*ai* > *mai*
> -*bo* 'imperative' + -*ai* > -*bai*

Possible Assimilations. In addition to the vowel assimilations considered in the previous section, a number of scattered words suggest that specific but quite idiosyncratic assimilation has taken place at some time in the past, and left some minor lexicalized irregularities. I list a few of those that have come to my attention to give a sense of the sorts of assimilations that are recognizable. Other examples could be added, but they are hardly a common feature of the language.

Bat-cha 'where to?' is pronounced with a final /t/ in the first syllable. The word is closely related to several other interrogative words with *ba*- as the first syllable, such as *ba-no* 'where at?' The /-t/ of *bat-cha* is irregular and looks as if it is the result of an assimilation, now lexicalized, to the following /ch/. Beyond this single word whose eccentricity seems to be explainable by assimilation, /t-ch/ syllable transitions are considerably more common than transitions in which /-ch/ follows an open syllable, but both transitions do occur, and they are in clear contrast. The insertion of /t/ before /ch/ is by no means automatic, productive, or complete. Neither *a-chak* 'dog' nor *Be-du-ri-a-cha* 'to Beduria' (the name of a village), has any hint of a /t/ before the -*cha*. Nevertheless, the high frequency of /t-ch/ suggests that there has been some tendency for -*t* to be added before *ch*. Not enough is known about the history of most words to confirm this conjecture. *Bat-cha* is the best single example where assimilation looks like a plausible explanation.

The word *da·-o* 'now' is occasionally replaced by *da·-a*. The /-o/ is the locative suffix, which appears as an almost frozen final syllable of a number of words that locate points in time: *am-bin-o* 'tomorrow'. *Da·-a* occurs most often in fixed phrases where something else follows: *da·-a bil-si, da·-bil-si* 'this year' (*bil-si* 'year'), *da·-a-ba, da·-o-ba*'again'.

A few words suggest the assimilation of *mik-* 'eye' to *mit-* when preceding /ch/, though there is vacillation in the pronunciation of these words: *mik-chip-a, mit-chip-a* 'close the eyes' (*chip-a* 'close'); *sam-mit-chip, sam-mik-chip* 'sensitive plant, a plant that closes its leaves together when touched', (*sam* 'herb, small plant'); There is alternation between *ku·-mit-chet-a*, and *ku·-mik-chet-a* 'swear to, promise'.

Ro·-on-a 'take out, take down' is the verb base of *ro·-on-kat-a* 'take out from under'. An alternative pronunciation for the latter is *ro·-ong-kat-a* which appears to be an assimilation to the following velar stop.

I have heard *cho·-ong-a* 'sufficient, enough' in place of the more common *chu·-ong-a*. The word is pronounced *chu·-ong-a* in A·chik, so the *o* of Mandi *cho·-ong-a* cannot be regarded as a a pronunciation left behind by the sound change that turned most syllable final /o/'s into the Modhupur /u/'s. It is possible that *cho·-ong-a* represents an assimilation of the first vowel to the second, but it is an unusual example.

These candidates for assimilation are random and exceptional. The stability of most morphemes is more impressive than any tendency to assimilate.

Fast speech. Like speakers of any language Mandis make shortcuts when they speak rapidly, and some sounds get modified as they adjust to adjacent sounds. They can be reduced in various ways, or even lost. We often take it for granted that the form with the strongest and most complete inventory of sounds is the fundamental one and that other forms are, by comparison "reduced", but our feeling for this may derive partly from our written language, which we take to be relatively full and complete. If we "leave out" the *d* when we say *round one* we still suppose it to have been there at some point, but dropped under the pressures of fast speech.

In a community where the written language is hardly known, and where no spoken standard is clearly recognized, it is often more difficult to point to a "full form" and to have any confidence that this stands behind other more "reduced forms". Mandi does, however, have some pronunciations that are relatively strong and others that are less so, and the weaker pronunciations may appear when less effort is made. For example the Mandi initial *h-* is extremely variable and is often dropped. The less effort is put into the speech, the more likely it is to be dropped. In this case it probably makes sense to consider the form with *h-* to be a full and unreduced form

that gives way in fast or relaxed speech to a reduced *h*-less form. Mandis cannot promiscuously add *h*- to every word that begins with a vowel. Still, Mandis more readily recognize that a word like *hang·-ki, ang·-ki* 'crab' has two alternate pronunciations than English speakers recognize the alternate pronunciations of *round, roun*. The Mandi attitude is that there are simply two ways of saying such words.

There are a number of words, such as the demonstrative pronouns, that can be pronounced either with or without a raka: *u·-a, u-a* 'that'. Here it is more difficult to be confidant that the form without the raka is a "reduction". Most words do not lose their rakas in fast speech, and the loss in the demonstratives is not obviously a matter of fast speech. Speakers simply allow both pronunciations. Even more difficult to attribute to fast speech is the alternation between locative *-o* and *-no* which is found with some demonstratives. With most nouns *-o* is the only possible form of this locative, but the words for 'here' and 'there' can be made with either form: *u·-no, u·-o* 'there'. This looks more like an *n* that that has been added than an *n* that is usually deleted. Even more like an addition is the *-a-* that is sometimes included in these words: *i-a-no* 'here'.

Thus the variation that is found in the pronunciation of demonstratives, and in some other Mandi words does not seem simply to be a matter of fast speech. The loss of *-h*, on the other hand, and perhaps the loss of some rakas, may occur in more relaxed, less emphatic articulations. Still, trying to list all the possible pronunciations of words such as those for 'here' and 'there' seems to go beyond what we except for fast speech.

Dialect Variation (B)

All dialects of Mandi spoken in Bangladesh are easily mutually intelligible, but this does not mean that they are completely uniform. As would be expected, they differ even more from the more northern dialects such as A·chik than they do from each other. Differences range from extensive and apparently regular sound changes to individual words that have two or more alternative pronunciations. For a community of people such as Bangladeshi Mandis who rarely write their own language and who, therefore, lack the consistent point of reference that is provided by a standardized spelling, it is occasionally difficult to draw a clear line between examples of a single word that has two alternate pronunciations, and examples of two entirely different words that have the same meaning. Many examples are clear enough, however, and in this section I am concerned only with examples where it seems reasonable to consider the variants to be alternative forms of the same word. I will begin by describing the most widespread and regular variables, and move toward those that are increasingly idiosyncratic.

This section deals only with differences among the dialects of Mandi that are spoken in Bangladesh and with the more obvious differences between Mandi and the A·chik dialects of the Garo Hills in India. The dialects spoken in India differ considerably among themselves, but these differences are not considered here.

Final e > i. A·chik has many words and many syllables that end with /e/ or with /e/ followed by a raka. Orthographic Garo reflects this pronunciation, so these words and syllables are regularly spelled with *e*. In the dialects of Mandi spoken in Bangladesh, most of these words, most of the time, are pronounced with /i/ rather than with /e/. Thus *bi-ti* 'fruit', *ki·-mi* 'tail', *mi-ja-o* 'yesterday', and *ri·-a* 'go, come' correspond to A·chik (and orthographic) *bi-te, ki·-me, me-ja-o* and *re·-a*. It is this sound change that yields *Man-di* in Bangladesh in place of the A·chik *Man-de*. Even in Bangladesh, some vacillation in the pronunciation of these words can be found. Some speakers are aware of the A·chik pronunciation and regard it as "better", and it may be the prestige of the northern dialect that encourages the occasional use of /e/ even in Bangladesh. It is not entirely clear, however, that the two vowels have fully fallen together in every Mandi area of Bangladesh. A few speakers seem to have an awareness of the contrast that does not rest merely on the prestige of A·chik and that goes beyond the handful of words that almost everyone pronounces with -*e*. These speakers seem to know which words belong on which side of the contrast, even if they are inconsistent in their own pronunciation. Still, the more common pronunciation in Bangladesh is /i/ or /i·/ for all words where A·chik has final /e/ or /e·/. Had this change been totally regular and undisturbed by other processes, we would expect to find no open syllables with /e/ and no syllables ending in /e·/. Today, some borrowings from Bengali have syllables or words that Mandis pronounce with final /e/, such as *be-ra* 'wall' and *je* 'relative pronoun'. In addition a few final /e/'s and /e·/'s survive for most or all speakers even in native Mandi words: -*de* 'contrasting suffix', *ha·-we* 'yes', *be·-en* 'meat' etc. It is not clear how such words have managed to survive a sound change that affected the great majority of words with /e/ and /e·/.

The change was regular enough to mean that syllable final /e/ and /e'/ are rather rare in Mandi, and many of the morphemes in which it does appear are special in one way or another. Some, such as /-de/ 'contrastive suffix' are affixes. *Be·-en* 'meat' is unusual in having what appears to be an echo vowel. *Ha·-we* 'yes', is an interjection, and it is rarely integrated into sentences. Where words have /e/ in northern dialects, I write them that way, even when they are regularly pronounced with /i/ in Bangladesh. This keeps my transcription closer to standard Garo spelling, and it distinguishes

some forms that would otherwise be homographs. To achieve a Mandi (i.e. Bangladeshi) pronunciation it is almost enough simply to pronounce orthographic syllable final -*e* and -*e·* as if they were -*i* and -*i·*. A few *e*'s and *e·*'s are found, however, even in Mandi.

Final o > u. In Modhupur, but as far as I know not elsewhere in Bangladesh, final /o/ has fallen together with /u/, just as final /e/ has fallen together with /i/. The /o/ to /u/ change has taken place under the same linguistic conditions as the /e/ to /i/ change (in open syllables and in syllables closed only with a raka), but it is confined to a much smaller geographical range. In north Mymensingh, along the border with the Garo Hills, /o/ and /u/ generally remain distinct under all conditions. The combining form of the word for 'bird' is pronounced *du·*- in Modhupur but *do·*- in north Mymensingh, just as it is in A·chik. Thus, as one moves south from the Garo Hills, one first encounters an area where many /e/'s have merged with /i/. Traveling on further to Modhupur, an area is reached where /o/ has risen to merge with /u/ as well. Like, /e/, /o/ is found in some borrowed words and even in Modhupur it survives securely in closed syllables. Oddly /o/ also survives in a few very common suffixes: /-ko/ 'accusative', /-o/ 'locative', /-bo/ imperative. In spite of these exceptions, the vowel is not common in open syllables.

Just as I distinguish *i* and *e* in my transcription, so will I continue to distinguish *o* and *u*. In this case, my transcription corresponds to the dialect of most Mandi speakers, as well as to A·chik. The Modhupur pronunciation can be inferred simply by reading syllable final *o* and *o·* as if they are pronounced /u/ and /u·/. As with *e* and *e·*, my transcription corresponds to orthographic Garo.

Initial h. In the Mandi of Bangladesh, a very large number of words can be pronounced either with or without initial /h/. Initial /h/ is very rare in A·chik, and even in Mandi it is subject to extreme variation. Indeed, I have encountered only one word that begins with /h/ and which, according to speakers with whom I have discussed it, never looses it: *ha-pen* 'short pants, half pants'. This is a borrowed word, and not very common, so it probably tells us nothing about the history of /h/. It would seem, then, that initial /h/ can be deleted from any older Garo word leaving a word with an initial vowel. On the other hand, a considerable number of words that begin with vowels seem never to have an initial /h-/ either in my experience or according to reports of native speakers: *a-jong* 'younger brother', *el-u* 'water leach', *in-tat-a* 'insult', *u-gal* 'platform for rice', and many others, including both native Mandi words and words that have been borrowed from Bengali. Speakers' reports are not entirely trustworthy on this matter. One man told me confidently that *ol-a* 'to carry from a tump line' never

starts with /h/ but I have certainly heard it as /hol-a/. Still, many words do seem to be immune to /h/. The obvious inference is that some words have underlying /h/ while others do not, but that even underlying /h/ is subject to optional deletion. In orthographic Garo, and in spoken A·chik all these /h/'s have been completely lost.

The difficulty with this generalization is that words differ greatly in their likelihood of retaining or losing /h/. Speakers have reported to me that even *a-gan-a* 'speak' and *ang-a* 'I' are occasionally pronounced with as much of an /h/ as *hang-a* 'warm one's hands by the fire. These must be very rare pronunciations, however. At least they sound outlandish to my less than perfect ear. Both *a-gan-a* and *ang-a* are very common words, and I have never noticed them used spontaneously with an /h/. At the other extreme, I have been told that it is possible to pronounce *hang-a* 'to warm one's hands at the fire' and *heng-gok-a* 'snore' without an /h/ but I do not recall ever hearing them pronounced this way in Bangladesh. To my ear they would sound almost as strange without an /h/ as *ang-a* 'I' would sound with an /h/. Many other words seem to be more balanced, occurring now one way, now the other, with no clear preference: *am·-a, ham·-a* 'want', *ang·-ki, hang·-ki* 'crab', *on·-a, hon·-a* 'give', *a·-ba, ha·-ba* 'field'. It may be tempting to speculate that the more common the word, the more likely the /h/ is to be deleted. It may also be noted that many of the words that are most clearly variable have a raka in the first syllable. The raka and /h/ are both forceful articulations so it is possible that they support each other. *Hang-a* 'warm hands', however, lacks a raka though it is generally, if not quite always, pronounced with /h/, so the relation between the raka and /h/ is by no means perfect.

We are, then, left with the situation that words with an underlying initial /h/ often loose it, but the likelihood of loss varies for different words. There is surely some dialect variation in the extent of /h/ loss. My impression is that older and more old-fashioned speakers are somewhat more likely to preserve /h/'s, but I have not tested this impression systematically. Certainly a single speaker can pronounce the same word in different ways on different occasions.

Closed syllable i and u. Since /i/ is so dramatically backed in closed syllables, the difference between /i/ and /u/ in that position is largely a matter of rounding. A number of words alternate between /i/ and /u/, and thus in the rounding of their vowel. Speakers with whom I have discussed this alternation acknowledge that they have heard both pronunciations, so it seems that, at least for these speakers, the phonological system has a place for both pronunciations. Which version is chosen appears to be partly a matter of individual idiosyncrasy, though my impression is that, unlike

h-deletion, each speaker is generally consistent for each word. I do not know whether the pronunciation with /u/ is more characteristic of certain localities than others.

The backed /i/ that appears in one form of all these words is the only Mandi vowel that foreigners find at all difficult. Bengalis who learn to speak a bit of Mandi rarely achieve much success with backed /i/, and Bengalis sometimes substitute /u/ where backed /i/ belongs. It is my impression, though I have not checked this carefully, that these words are more likely to be pronounced with /u/ by younger Mandis, and by speakers who use Bengali extensively. I have had speakers identify the /u/ pronunciation of some borrowed words as characteristically Bengali, while they call the backed /i/ pronunciation more authentically Mandi. Thus one can find hints that the choice of /u/ is encouraged by the influence of Bengali. Nevertheless /u/ can be heard the speech of some fully fluent and older Mandi speakers, so /u/ cannot be simply dismissed as a sign of a foreign accent. *Sik-ki/suk-ki* 'four-anna coin', with *suk-ki* being more Bengali, and *ro-sin/ro-sun* 'onion', with *ro-sun* being more Bengali.

Only a restricted set of words vary. Many others are consistently pronounced with /i/ and others with /u/. Variable words include: *bik-ma/buk-ma* 'belly', *bring/brung* 'forest', *ku·-sik/ku·-suk* 'mouth', *bi-ming/bi-mung* 'name', *am-bin-o/am-bun-o* 'tomorrow, *chu-stim-a/chu-stum-a* 'doze, nap'. In orthographic Garo, most of these words are spelled with *i: bik-ma, ku·-sik, am-bin-o*, but the word for 'forest' is spelled *bu-rung*, following a third pronunciation, one that more common in India than in Bangladesh.

One older man with strong feelings about the language waxed eloquent to me one day about the terrible pronunciation of some younger people who failed to pronounce /i/ in closed syllables in the proper Mandi way, but he charged them with fronting the vowel to [i], rather than unrounding it to [u]. He did not use linguistic terminology but he was clear about what he was saying.

n/l/r. Several Mandi phonological alternations apparently reflect the variation of Bengali. Words seem to have been borrowed in different forms from different Bengali dialects. One example is the alternation between /n/ and /l/: *nang-gol/lang-gol* 'plow' *na-gi-a/la-gi-a* 'need' *na-mai-a/la-mai-a* 'take down'. I am told that the initial *l* of standard Bengali becomes *n* in the dialect of Jamalpur, an area lying close to where Mandis live, so the alternation in Mandi can probably be explained by alternate sources of borrowed words. In several cases /n/ also alternates with /r/: *rang-tal/nang-tal* 'dishes, plates'. *ra-sin/na-sin* ' onion', *rang-gol/nang-gol* 'langur monkey'. It is possible that the forms with initial /r/ were borrowed from a Bengali dialect with initial *l*, but that the *l* was changed to

Mandi/r/ at a time when /l/ had not yet become securely established as a Mandi initial.

Alternations between word initial and word final /r/ and /l/ are probably the result of borrowings at different times rather than different source dialects. Early borrowings would have been more likely to adjust to the older Mandi pattern that allowed only /r/ initially and only /l/ finally. Later borrowings, made as Mandis became accustomed to initial /l/, would have been more likely to preserve the original form. More slowly, final /r/ has also become a possibility for some speakers. As people have gained fluency in Bengali they have less trouble with the original Bengali pronunciations, and some speakers may even "correct" their earlier pronunciation to conform to their perceptions of proper Bengali: *rek-ka/lek-ka* 'notebook', *ko-bol/ko-bor* 'news'. I have heard *jon-mo, jor-mo,* and *jol-mo* 'birth'.

Both /l/ and /r/ can be found word medially, but in older words these can be assigned, respectively, to the earlier and later syllables. A few words show somewhat random alternations between /l/ and /r/, suggesting that these two phones are, in fact, closely related within the phonology of the language: *king-kil-ak-a, king-krak-a* 'pull up (pant legs, lunggi)'. *tek-kra, te-kil-a* 'pottery plug for bowl for a water pipe' is borrowed from Bengali.

ch/s. Another alternation that may be attributable to borrowing from different sources is that between /ch/ and /s/ in such words as *ke-chi, ke-si* 'scissors', *kat-pen-sil, kat-pen-chil* 'pencil', *ku-chai-a, ku-sai-a* 'reveal', *ko-ros, ko-roch* 'expense, cost'. *Bi-char* is the usual pronunciation for 'legal case, trial' but *bi-sar* is occasionally heard as well. Note also *chiit* 'seat' on a bus. Standard Bengali has *ch* in most of these words but Assamese and some northeastern Bengali dialects with which Mandis have close contact have lost /ch/ in favor of /s/. Initial /ch/ is well established in all dialects of Garo, so there is no problem about borrowing words with this sound. The /s/'s in such words as *ke-si* 'scissors' and *bi-sar* 'legal case' must come from Assamese or from a dialect of Bengali where *ch* has become *s*. Where the /ch/ pronunciations of *kat-pen-chil* 'pencil' and *chiit* 'seat' come from, I do not know, though hypercorrection is a plausible explanation. For Bengalis, *ch* has a bit more class than *s* in some words, and Mandis could have caught this prejudice and pushed it too far. Syllable final variation, as in *ko-ros, ko-roch* 'expense', may be due to the absence of final /ch/ in older forms of Mandi. Final /s/ has been introduced by borrowing, but /ch/ is much less well established. One word that, as far as I know, is excellent old Mandi, also shows this alternation. A·chik *a-song-a* 'sit' corresponds to Mandi *at-chong-a*. This cannot be attributed to varied sources of borrowing, but I can offer no alternative explanation.

k/h. Mandi has a number of borrowed words in which /h-/ alternates

with /k-/: *du-kan, du-han* 'shop, store', *de-hai-a, de-kai-a* 'show, point out', *lek-ka, le-ha* 'written things', *ro-kom, ro-hom* 'kind, type, variety'. These are also probably due to varied sources of borrowing. The Sylhet dialect of Bengali uses *h-* where more standard varieties use *k-*, and Sylhet could certainly have been a source of borrowings. A few words that do not appear to be borrowings also show this alternation: *kang·-ki, hang·-ki, ang·-ki* 'crab', *ga-kat-a, ga-hat-a* 'climb up'. I can offer no explanation for these.

r/Ø. A handful of words alternate between initial /r-/ and no initial at all. A few of these allow /h/ as well. I can offer no explanation for this alternation: *re·-sal, e·-sal, he·-sal* 'banana leaf', *sang-et, sang-ret* 'firefly', *re·-king, e·-king, he·-king* 'wrap around skirt', *ron·-a, on·-a, hon·-a* 'give'.

Miscellaneous. Inevitably a fair number of words vary in such random ways that they defy categorization. I offer a sample:

dam-san, dam-han	'same, together'
sak-, ak-	'classifier for people'
i-song, bi-song	'they'
an-ching, na·-ching	'we, inclusive'
do·-bok, do·-mok	'goat'
mat-chu, ma·-su	'cow, cattle'
meng-go, meng-gong	'cat'
Cham-bi-gong, Cham-bu-gong	a lineage name

Individual Variation (B)

Quite apart from the relatively orderly types of variation discussed in the previous section, Mandi exhibits an extraordinary amount of individual variation. Although the Garo language is now written and although the written language has helped to create a standard that influences the spoken language of many speakers in India, this standard has, as yet, had relatively little impact in Bangladesh. Mandis are much more likely to be literate in Bengali than in their own language and they have only a weak sense of any standard in Garo. People are well aware of dialect differences. They can hear A·chik on the radio from India, and a good many people have, at one time or another, visited the Garo Hills. Occasionally an A·chik speaker finds his way to Bangladesh, giving people a chance to learn about the northern dialect, and people can even cite a few shibboleths to demonstrate the difference, but it is only rarely that a Mandi from Bangladesh tries to adapt his own speech to the northern standard and hardly anyone can do it effectively. They change a few suffixes and use a few northern words,

but the best they can do is sound like a southerner struggling to sound
like a northerner. The standard has little relevance to most speakers in
Bangladesh.

The result is that if two people pronounce a word differently or use
what appears to be the same word with different meanings there is no au-
thority whatsoever to appeal to, and people do, indeed, use many different
forms. In spite of this variation, people have surprisingly firm opinions
about what should and should not be said. The problem is that the opin-
ions show little consistency. I have worked intensively with nearly a dozen
people from the Modhupur area, asking them about their language and
especially about the form and meaning of their words. I have tried con-
scientiously to check one person's words against another's in the hopes of
avoiding idiosyncrasies. Repeatedly I have been told that what the previ-
ous person told me did not exist or, if it was recognized, that it was an
ugly way of talking. One person would tell me that a word should be pro-
nounced in one way and that only ignorant people pronounced it in some
other way. Someone else would then tell me with equal insistence that the
first person's favorite was used only by the ignorant, and the proper way
to say it was the way deplored by the other.

For some words, meanings are as hard to pin down as pronunciations.
I have stood with men engaged in slaughtering pigs. These are men who
butcher pigs several times a year for one celebration or another, so they are
well acquainted with internal anatomy. I have pointed to the heart, lungs,
kidney and liver and asked for their names. In response to my questions
some men give me decisive answers, but some look puzzled and call out
to others for help. A discussion then ensues, with different opinions being
offered and considered. The men eventually arrive at a consensus and then
tell me confidently what each bit of anatomy is called, but the consensus on
one occasion is not always exactly the same as on another. I am no longer
surprised to find that the word listed for 'heart' in one dictionary may have
what looks like a cognate translated as 'liver' in the dictionary of a closely
related language. But now I suspect that the dictionaries of languages like
Mandi give a greatly exaggerated impression of the language's uniformity.

It is sometimes not even clear whether two somewhat differing pronun-
ciations should be considered different words or different pronunciations of
the same word. *Reˑ*- and *iˑ*- are verb bases, both of which mean 'move
through space, go, come'. They are so different in pronunciation that we
might call them different words. On the other hand, they are connected
by *riˑ*-, the usual Mandi pronunciation of *reˑ*-. *Reˑ*- and *riˑ*- must surely
be considered different pronunciations of the same word, since hundreds
of other words show the same *e/i* alternation. A handful of other words

such as *ron·-a, on·-a* 'give' also alternate between *r-* and nothing. On the other hand, so far as I know, **e·-* never is heard, suggesting that the vowel of *i·-a* really is not the same as the vowel of *ri·-a* since only the vowel of the latter alternates. What about *ho·-on-a, hong·-gon-a* 'get down, get off', *hul·-a, wil·-a* 'sharpen', *rin-ek-rin-ek, rin-ek-a-rin-ek-a, rit-ek-a-rit-ek-a* 'sick and weak'? Perhaps *kul* and *pul*, both meaning 'masonry bridge' are so different that they should be considered as different words, but in a speech community with no point of reference that can be taken as any sort of standard, it is probably impossible to find criteria that will always give an unambiguous answers to the question of whether two forms should be regarded as different words.

The Influence of Bengali and English (B)

For many centuries, quite possibly for more than a thousand years, Bengali and Assamese or their antecedents have been in contact with languages belonging to the Bodo group of Tibeto-Burman, among which is Garo. It cannot have been many centuries since speakers of Bodo languages formed the majority population in much of the valley of Assam. The so-called Koch languages, which belong to the Bodo group, extended this group of languages well to the west, and perhaps to the south, of the Garo Hills. For many centuries, languages of the Indo-Aryan family, such as Assamese and Bengali, and languages like Garo and the other Bodo languages of the Tibeto-Burman family have existed side by side, and they have had every chance to influence each other. It is now possible to recognize influences that have traveled in both directions.

The languages of the two families have a quite similar basic typology. Both the Tibeto-Burman and the Indo-Aryan languages are verb final, and both mark noun phrases with case markers. Bengali has a rudimentary system of numeral classifiers, and Assamese has a somewhat richer system. Numeral classifiers are otherwise hardly known in Indo-Aryan languages but they are widespread in Tibeto-Burman, and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that they developed in Bengali and Assamese as a result of contact with Tibeto-Burman. Reduplication and echo-words are used in similar ways in both groups of languages. Some Garo sentences can be translated virtually morpheme for morpheme into Assamese.

At present, of course, the Indo-Aryan languages are spoken by the majority populations of both Bangladesh and northeastern India. As would be expected, the Tibeto-Burman languages, including Garo, are much more likely to be influenced by Bengali and Assamese than the reverse, but the influences that can be seen today rest on a long history which has given the

languages every opportunity to grow more alike, and to establish patterns
of easy borrowing. Since the Bangladeshi Mandis have such close contact
with Bengalis, and since they are so often bilingual, modern Mandi is even
more subject to borrowings than other dialects of Garo. Modern borrowings
into Mandi from Bengali are unmistakable, but much older borrowings can
be recognized as well. When I first began to learn Garo in the 1950's I was
living in a completely monolingual village in a rather remote region of the
Garo Hills. It was only in the 1980's, when I started to work in Bangladesh
that I realized that some of the words that I had once taken to be impeccable
Garo must have come originally from an Indo-Aryan language.

Today, thousands of new words are entering the Mandi dialect. All
Mandi speakers in Bangladesh speak some Bengali and some are fluent.
Everyone feels free to incorporate Bengali words, and even English words,
into their Mandi sentences as long as they believe that their listeners will
understand them. New ideas of the modern world reach the Mandis through
the medium of Bengali, and to a lesser extent through English, and vast
numbers of Bengali and English words have become accepted in daily usage.
Bengali words, then, occupy many levels in the language of Mandi speak-
ers. Some were borrowed long ago and are so thoroughly assimilated as
to be used by every speaker and hardly recognizable as borrowings. Other
words are borrowed on the fly by a speaker who knows a Bengali word, and
suddenly needs to express its meaning when speaking Mandi. Many Mandi
speakers are familiar enough with Bengali to interpret even old and well
assimilated borrowings as "bad" Bengali. Such speakers may introduce a
pronunciation that they feel to be more "acurate". Words are borrowed
and used by people with every degree of skill in Bengali, and they are pro-
nounced with every degree of fidelity to the original. Some speakers give
perfect renderings of the original Bengali pronunciation. Others assimilate
them completely to Mandi phonology. Most achieve something part way
between.

The result is endless variation. Words are pronounced in many ways
by many speakers, and Mandi listeners accept the variation with great
tolerance. It would give a totally false picture to imagine that Bengali
or English words have been borrowed according to a stable set of patterns.
The best that can be hoped for in a review such as this is to give a sketch of
some of the most common results, and suggest what the borrowing implies
for the Mandi language. The new phonological forms introduced into Mandi
from Bengali, and to a lesser extent from English, are listed here in roughly
the declining order of the consistency with which they are accepted. The
first few of those listed are well established and almost universally used.
Only a minority of speakers manage those listed toward the end. In some
cases Bengali influence leads to the expansion of the range of positions in

which an old sound can be used. In other cases entirely new speach sounds or entirely new phonological distinctions find their way into speech.

Final -s. /s/ occurs as word and syllable initial in older Mandi words, but never as word or syllable final. Bengali borrowings have established /-s/ as a final, probably for all speakers in Bangladesh and, I believe, for most or all Garo speakers everywhere: *dos* 'ten', *bas* 'enough', *tas* 'playing card'. The Bengali alphabet has three sibilant letters, but they do not contrast in the spoken language. The spoken Bengali sibilant is pronounced further back than the Mandi sibilant so that, to the English ear, Bengali seems to have [sh] while the Mandi sibilant is more like [s]. Mandis use their own /s/ in borrowed words, and Bengalis who have regular contacts with Mandis can recognize a Mandi accent by their special way of pronouncing /s/. Since both languages have just one voiceless sibilant there is no danger of ambiguity and any variety of /s/, even an English one, will be easily understood.

Initial l-. Just as /-s/ has become established at the end of syllables, so has /l-/ become established as syllable initial. In conservative Garo dialects spoken in the hills during the 1950's, these words were sometimes pronounced with the initial Mandi /r-/, but Bangladeshi Mandis keep /l-/ safely distinct from /r-/: *lem* 'lamp', *long-mo-ris* 'black pepper', *lep* 'quilt'. Some of the alternation between /l/ and /r/ noted above is probably due to borrowing at different periods, or by people variously skilled in Bengali, but many words used today have completely stable initial /l-/.

Final -r, -ch, -j. Final /r/, /ch/, and /j/ are much less easily used than is final /s/, although a few speakers manage them. Of the three, /r/ is probably the most common, but there is great vacillation. Many words with final /r/ in Bengali or English develop into /l/ when spoken by Mandis. Final /ch/ and /j/ are often replaced by /s/.

High unrounded vowels. In older Mandi words, the complimentary distribution of [i] and [ɨ] is complete. Front [i] never appears in syllables that are closed with any consonant except a raka; backed [ɨ] never appears anywhere else. Some borrowed words do have high front vowels in closed syllables, however, and some of these words carry their vowel into Mandi. This threatens to break up the old complimentary distribution, and to force the recognition of a new contrast between high front unrounded vowels and high back unrounded vowels. [Din] 'day' and [tin] 'three' are used by all Mandis, and probably by nearly all Garos in India as well. I never recall hearing them pronounced in any way except with a high front vowel. They never have the backed vowel that is expected in closed syllables.

If words such as [din] 'day' were to be written with *i*, and if spelling were to continue to reflect pronunciation, every Garo word with /i/ in a

closed syllable (i.e. [ɨ]) would need to have its spelling changed from *i* to
something else. I have chosen to avoid this wholesale respelling by using
/ii/ in words with high front vowels in what seem to be closed syllables.
As I pointed out earlier in this chapter, when a suffixed -*ing* 'progressive',
or -*in* 'foregrounding suffix' follow a vowel, its own vowel assimilates to
its predecessor. Assimilation occurs even when the earlier vowel is /i/. In
this case the word can be written with two /i/'s, the first belonging to the
previous syllable, the second representing the assimilated /i/ of the second
(closed) syllable. This yields such words as *tam-pi-in* 'fly' (n.) with the
'foregrounding' suffix, in which the second vowel is actually very short and
amounts, phonetically, more to a lengthening of the previous vowel than
to a separate vowel in its own right. This is the only situation in which
native Mandi words give the impression of having high front vowels in closed
syllables, and it is reasonable to transcribe these affixes as -*ing*- and -*in*
even in this situation, for this allows them to retain the same orthographic shape
regardless of the word to which they are attached.

A word like [tin] 'three' could, in the same way be transcribed as /ti-
in/. The second vowel would assimilate to the first, as /i/'s always do in
such circumstances, and it would be expected to be very short in a closed
syllable such as this. The acoustic effect is much like a high front vowel
in a closed syllable. Analyzing these borrowed high front vowels in this
way is, admittedly, something of a tour de force, and it is not as defensible
as the analysis of -*ing*- and -*in*. Nevertheless, the alternative would be to
revise the spelling of hundreds of Mandi words, and to pull my transcription
away from orthographic Mandi. As a way of acknowledging that these are
indeed single words and single morphemes, but to recognize at the same
time that they do have high front vowels, I use the somewhat *ad hoc* device
of transcribing them with double *i*: *diin* 'day', *biis* 'twenty', *biil* 'low wet
area, pond'. The spelling can be taken to imply a somewhat longer /i/ than
is usually found in closed syllable, an entirely accurate characterization.

Aspiration and Retroflexion. Bengali, like many South Asian lan-
guages, has two contrasts that are notoriously difficult for most Europeans:
first it has a contrast between dental and retroflex stops, and second, it
contrasts aspirated and unaspirated stops and affricates. The first of these
is as foreign to Mandis as it is to English speakers, but the second has a
slight echo in Mandi. Mandi word initials are aspirated while word finals
are not, but of course these do not directly contrast. Syllable initials and
syllable finals, however, can both occur in the middle of a word, and in
this position they can come into direct contrast. This allows a word medial
contrast between aspiration and nonaspiration, as in *bi-ka* 'liver' and *bik-a*
'carve', even though there can be no contrast at the beginning or end of
a word. For most purposes it is more revealing to describe the differences

among medial Mandi stops as due to the location of juncture rather than to differences in aspiration. Whether intervocalic stops have or do not have aspiration depends entirely upon whether they belong to the preceding or following syllable. Nevertheless, the juncture differences found intervocalically in Mandi words do make it possible for Mandis to interpret medial aspirated and nonaspirated stops in Bengali words differently, and to assign them to categories familiar from their own language. It is my impression that Mandis distinguish word medial aspirated and unaspirated stops considerably more easily than they distinguish them either at the beginning or end of a word.

Only Mandi speakers who are quite skilled in Bengali manage to maintain a difference between word initial aspirated and unaspirated stops in words they have borrowed into Mandi, and even fewer maintain a difference for word finals. Mandis are always more skillful with initials than finals. It is my impression that they are somewhat more likely to make the contrast with voiced initials than with those that are unvoiced. In other words, more speakers are able to make a distinctive aspirated (or breathy) voiced stop than are able to make a distinctive *un*aspirated voiceless stop. Many speakers, however, fail completely to make any contrast in initial aspiration. Contrasts among finals are very rare.

Like English, the Mandi language lacks a distinction between dental and retroflex consonants. Even in Bengali the dental/retroflex contrast is less marked than in most other Indo-Aryan languages and it is missing entirely from Assamese. The contrast is probably not strong in the dialects of Bengali with which Mandis are in contact, and few Mandis manage a contrast in borrowed words.

FIVE

CORE GRAMMAR: AN OVERVIEW

Simple Sentences (A)

This chapter surveys the central features of Garo grammar, focusing on the way simple sentences are constructed. It is intended to serve both as an introduction to the grammar of the language and as a guide to the chapters that follow. These later chapters will describe in more detail the words and suffixes of the language and their organization into sentences.

I start with a sentence that is very simple but that demonstrates a number of the most important features of the grammar. This sentence, like most of the other sentences that are given in this book, is characteristic of the Mandi dialect of Bangladesh, but A·chik sentences are not much different:

> *Ang-ni pi·-sa nok-o   cha·-ja-ing-a*
> I-Gen   child house-Loc eat-Neg-Prog-Neut
>
> 'My child is not eating at the house'.

This sentence consists of two noun phrases followed by a verb. The first noun phrase, *ang-ni pi·-sa* 'my child', is the subject of the sentence. The second noun phrase, consisting of just one word, *nok-o* 'at the house', is a locative. To call something a "locative" simply means that it shows the location where something happens. *-o* is the locative case marker. Many Garo noun phrases finish with a case marker that shows what role that particular noun phrase plays in the sentence. The *-o* shows that *nok* 'house' has the locative case. When used together *nok* and *-o* mean something like 'at the house' or 'in the house'. Subject nouns are used without a case

marker in Garo, so the subject of this sentence, *pi·-sa* 'child', does not have a case marker. Since most noun phrases that are not subjects do have case markers, the absence of a case marker is enough to suggest that *pi·-sa* is the subject. The *-ni* of *ang-ni* is the possessive, or "genitive", case marker and it acts very much like the possessive *-'s* of English. It is attached to *ang-*, which is a form of the first person singular pronoun 'I', and when *ang-* and *-ni* are joined together, they form a possessive pronoun that means 'my'.

The third constituent of the sentence, *cha·-ja-ing-a*, is the verb, and like most Garo verbs it comes at the end of the sentence. Garo verbs need to have at least two parts, the verb base and what can be called the "principal verb suffix". The verb base in the example is *cha·-* 'eat' and the principal verb suffix is *-a*. This is a kind of "neutral" tense but it is often used to show present time. *Pi·-sa cha·-a* would mean 'The child eats'. In addition to a verb base and a principal verb suffix, many verbs also have additional affixes that are inserted between the two obligatory parts. The verb in the example has two such affixes: *-ja-* 'not' and *-ing-* 'progressive'. The progressive gives a meaning much like English '-ing-', so *cha·-ja-ing-a* means 'is not eating'. (The fact that both English and Mandi have progressive affixes that are spelled *-ing-* is pure coincidence. Their pronunciation is actually quite different, since Mandi *i* before a consonant such as *-ng* sounds very different from English *i*. The A·chik form of the progressive is *-eng* rather than *-ing*.)

This is a very simple sentence but it demonstrates several important features of Garo grammar. The verb usually comes last. Nouns and noun phrases precede the verb and their role in the sentence is often shown by a case marker that comes at the end of the noun phrase. Both verbs and noun phrases can be very much more complex than those in this simple example, of course, and both need to be described in more detail.

Verbs (A)

The simplest Mandi verb (and indeed the simplest Mandi sentence) requires nothing except a verb base and a principal verb suffix, but verbs often have many more constituents than just these two. The best way to get a feeling for the way in which verbs can be built from smaller parts is to examine a list of verbs. Notice that each example given below has a verb base and a principal verb suffix. The verb base always comes first in the word. The principal verb suffix is often, though not always, last. The principal verb suffixes that are used in these examples are *-a* 'neutral', *-no-a* 'future', *-bo* 'imperative', and *-jok*. The meaning of *-jok* is a bit subtle

and will be explained more fully later, but for now it can be understood to convey the sense that English shows by the perfect tense. This is the tense constructed with 'have', as in 'I have gone'. *Sok-jok*, then, can be translated as 'have arrived'. The meaning of all these principal verb suffixes will be explained more fully in the next chapter. A Garo verb can, all by itself, act as a full sentence without an explicit subject, but it can sound odd to translate verbs into English without a subject. Therefore the translations include '(she)'. The parentheses indicate that nothing in the Garo sentence explicitly indicates 'she', but that this meaning might be understood from the general context. Of course a different context could lead to the sentences being understood as having 'I' or 'they' or 'the men' or a great many other things as the subject. Abbreviations are: Neut 'neutral tense'; Prf 'perfect tense'; Fut 'future tense'; Imp 'imperative'; Que 'question particle'.

> *sok-a*
> arrive-Neut
> '(she) arrives'

> *sok-jok*
> arrive-Prf
> '(she) has arrived'

> *sok-ba-jok*
> arrive-here-Prf
> '(she) has arrived here'

> *re·-ba-a*
> move-here-Neut
> '(she) comes'

> *re·-ba-jok*
> move-here-Prf
> '(she) has come'

> *re·-ba-no-a*
> move-here-Fut
> '(she) will come'

> *re·-ba-ja-no-a*
> move-here-not-Fut
> '(she) will not come'

> *re·-ba-bo!*
> move-here-Imp
> 'come here!' (imperative)

re˙-ang-bo!
move-there-Imp
'go away!'

re˙-ang-pil˙-a
move-there-back-Neut
'(she) goes back'

re˙-ang-no-a-kon
move-away-Fut-probably
'(she) will probably go'

a-gan-ing-a-ma?
speak-Prog-Neut-Que
'is (she) speaking?'

sok-pil-jok-ma?
arrive-back-Prf-Que
'has (she) returned?'

kat-ang-ku-ja-kon
run-away-yet-not/Neut-probably
'(she has) probably not yet run away'.

These verbs include a few examples of all the main types of verb con-
stituents. The verb bases in the examples are *sok-* 'arrive', *kat-* 'run', *a-gan-*
'speak, talk, say', and *re˙-* 'move through space'. Only *re˙-* would be likely
to strike a learner as at all odd. This verb means, roughly, 'to move oneself
in some unspecified direction'. Usually, though not always, it is used with
either *-ba-* or *-ang-*. These affixes show the direction of movement with
respect to the speaker. *re˙-ba-* means 'move in this direction, come' and
re˙-ang- means 'move in that direction, go'.

-ba- and *-ang-* are examples of what will be called "adverbial affixes".
Other adverbial affixes used in these sentences are *-pil˙-* 'return, back',
ku 'still, yet', *-ja-* 'negative', and *-ing-* 'progressive'. None of these are
obligatory but any or all of them can be used together, except that, as
opposites, it would make no sense to use *-ang-* and *-ba-* in the same verb.
Adverbial affixes almost always occur in a fixed order. If all these were
used in the same verb they would appear as *-ba-pil˙-ku-ja-ing-* literally
'here-back-yet-not-progressive', but more naturally translated as 'not yet
(be)-ing back here again'. These are some of the most common adverbial
affixes but there are scores of others. Using them skillfully is an essential
part of speaking Mandi well.

A number of "terminating" suffixes can follow the principal verb suffix
but only two are included among the examples. *-ma* forms yes-no questions.

These are questions that can be answered with either a 'yes' or a 'no'. *-ma* comes at the very end of the verb and thus at the very end of the sentence. The other terminating verb suffix used here is *-kon* 'perhaps, probably', a very common way of expressing doubt.

The examples illustrate two pervasive aspects of Mandi grammar and, indeed, of the grammar of all dialects of Garo. First, a high proportion of the meaningful chunks ("morphemes" as linguists call them) that are used to construct words are exactly one syllable long. Garo does have a few two-syllable morphemes, and a very few that are even longer, but not many. The two-syllable morphemes that are used in the examples are *a-gan-* 'speak', and *-no-a* 'future'. The individual syllables in these morphemes have no independent meaning of their own. Except for words borrowed from Bengali or English, a considerable majority of Garo morphemes have just one syllable.

Another characteristic of Garo that is illustrated by these examples is its remarkable regularity. Morphemes exhibit few changes as they join together to form words such as the verbs in these examples. Indeed, just two of the examples show any irregularity at all. In the next to the last example, the meaning 'back, return' is shown by *-pil-*, while earlier examples had *-pil·-*, with a raka. (This is the glottal stop, a catch made by quickly closing the vocal cords.) The variation between *-pil-* and *-pil·-* conforms to a very general Garo rule that rakas are always dropped from the second syllable of a word. The basic form of this morpheme should be regarded as *-pil·-*, with the raka shown by the raised dot, but it loses the raka whenever it forms the second syllable of a word. The final example shows a different kind of irregularity. *-ja-* is the regular sign of the negative in Garo. Ordinarily *-a* is the suffix that shows the neutral tense. When *-ja-* and *-a* would be expected to occur together in the same verb, however, the result is simply *-ja* rather than **-ja-a* (the asterisk indicates that the form shown is not actually used in speech). In other situations, *-ja-* and the following suffix retain their full forms:

sok-jok	'has arrived'
sok-ja-jok	'arrives no more'
sok-no-a	'will arrive'
sok-ja-no-a	'will not arrive'
sok-a	'arrives'
sok-ja	'does not arrive'

In summary: Verbs can include several constituents. First is the verb base. Second, there may be one or more adverbial affixes. Third, there must be a principal verb suffix. Fourth and last, there may be one or more terminating suffixes. The verb bases and principal verb suffixes, which form

the obligatory components of verbs, are described in detail in Chapter 6, "Verbs". The adverbial affixes and the terminal suffixes, which are optional, are described in Chapter 7, "Optional Verb Affixes".

Noun Phrases (A)

The only obligatory part of a Garo sentence is the verb. Neither a subject, object, nor any other type of noun phrase needs to be included in a sentence so long as the intended meaning is clear from the context. Many sentences, of course, do have one or more noun phrases and they can be used as subjects, objects, indirect objects, instrumentals (which show the instrument by which the action was accomplished), place locatives (to locate the action in space), time locatives (to locate the action in time), and in a number of other roles. The role of each noun phrase is generally made clear by means of a distinctive case marker that is suffixed to its final word. Since the role of each noun phrase is shown clearly by its case marker, the noun phrases can be placed in almost any order without obscuring the meaning, but normally they all come before the verb. The subject is likely to come before the object, but sometimes the object comes first instead. Differing orders of the noun phrases can imply slightly differing emphasis, but they do not change the fundamental meaning of the sentence. *The dog bites the cat* and *The cat bites the dog* mean very different things in English. In Garo, the direct object (the animal that is bitten) has to be clearly marked with the accusative case marker, *-ko*, and this allows it to be placed either before or after the subject, with no danger of confusing the biter from the one who is bitten. *A-chak meng-gong-ko chik-a* or *Meng-gong-ko a-chak chik-a* 'The dog (*a-chak*) bites the cat (*meng-gong*)', but *Meng-gong a-chak-ko chik-a* or *A-chak-ko meng-gong chik-a* 'the cat bites the dog'.

Simple noun phrases can consist of nothing more than a noun and a case marker, and nouns that are the subject of a sentence do not even have a case marker, but noun phrases frequently have additional constituents. These can include any or all of the following:

Demonstratives. The most common demonstratives are *i-a* 'this' and *u-a* 'that'. These are frequent constituents of noun phases, and when present, they are always first in the noun phrase. Notice that, unlike English, Garo does not have obligatory articles (words such as *the* and *a*), but when it is essential to indicate a definite meaning (the meaning conveyed by English *the*), Garos use a demonstrative. As a result, demonstratives tend to be used somewhat more often in Garo than in English and they can often be naturally translated by 'the' rather than by 'this' or 'that': *u-a*

a-chak 'that dog, the dog'. It is possible to use a demonstrative without a noun, and in this case it can be regarded as a demonstrative pronoun. The case markers are then attached directly to the demonstrative and the entire noun phrase is formed from a demonstrative and its case marker: *i·-ko cha·-bo* 'eat this'. *-ko* is the accusative (direct object) case marker. Demonstratives are described in more detail in Chapter 9, "Nominals".

Genitives (Possessives). Possessive nouns and possessive pronouns are always placed before the noun that stands for whatever is possessed. The case marker that shows possession for both nouns and pronouns is *-ni*: *ang-ni a-chak* 'my dog', *u-a a-chak-ni ki·-me* 'that dog's tail', *nang·-ni jak* 'your hand', *nang·-ni ma-ma* 'your maternal uncle'. Genitives are more fully described in Chapter 9, "Nominals".

Numerals. Garo numerals consist of two parts, first a classifier, then a number. Classifiers are chosen according to the type of object being counted. When counting people, the classifier is *sak-* or *ak-*. The classifier for animals is *mang-*. Still other classifiers are used for roundish objects, for thin flat objects, for long thin objects, and so forth: *me·-chik sak-sa* 'one woman', *me·-a-sa sak-gin-i* 'two men', *ma·-su mang-gin-i* 'two cows', *a-chak mang-sa* 'one dog'. In these examples, the numeral follows the noun that it modifies and that is the most common word order, but the numeral can precede the noun instead: *sak-sa me·-chik* 'one woman'. Garo has dozens of classifiers to choose among, and sometimes two or three different classifiers can be used for counting the same objects, the choice among them depending on the aspect of the object the speaker wants to emphasize.

Just as it is possible to use a demonstrative to convey a definite meaning, so is it possible to use a numeral formed from a classifier and *sa* 'one' to convey an indefinite meaning (the meaning shown in English by the indefinite article 'a'): *Sak-sa me·-a-sa re·-ba-jok* 'One man has come, a man has come'. It is also possible to use a numeral with no noun at all, and since the classifier gives considerable information about the thing being counted, Garos use numerals without nouns more often than English speakers do:. In *sak-git-tam re·-ba-eng-a* 'three people are coming', the classifier *sak-* shows that it is people, rather than animals, or busses, or anything else, that are coming. Since *sak-* is used only for people, no noun is needed to make that meaning explicit. Numbers and classifiers are described more fully in Chapter 10.

Modifying verbs. As will be explained more fully in the first section of the next chapter, the distinction between verbs and adjectives is less sharp in Garo than in English. Words that translate English adjectives can generally be used as intransitive verbs in Garo. At the same time, words that translate English verbs can be used to modify nouns in Garo. In other

words, the same words can be used in both ways, either as the verb of a sentence or as a modifier of a noun. When verbs are used as modifiers, a special type of principal verb suffix is used that puts the verb into a modifying form. The most explicit such suffix is -*gip-a*. From *dal·-a* 'to be big', for example, a modifying verb, *dal·-gip-a* can be formed: *dal·-gip-a a-chak* 'big dog'. *Cha·-gip-a me·-chik* 'the woman who eats', 'eating woman' is constructed from *cha·-a* 'eat' and *me·-chik* 'woman'. While modifying verbs are often placed before the noun they modify, they are sometimes placed afterwards instead. The suffix -*a* can form a modifying verb just as -*gip-a* can: *me·-chik chon-a* 'the small woman' is constructed from *me·-chik* 'woman' and *chon-a* 'to be small'.

Noun. The noun can be regarded as the central constituent of a noun phrase. It is the constituent that is modified by demonstratives, numbers, and verbal modifiers, and it is the noun's relationship to the rest of the sentence that is indicated by the final case marker. As in all languages, nouns form one of the largest classes of words, and Garo has thousands of them. Many nouns are single unanalyzable units (single morphemes) but even more are compounds, constructed from two or occasionally three or more parts, all of which are joined together into a single word. Typical nouns name body parts, plants and animals and their parts, natural objects, human-made artifacts, materials, kinship terms, and a very large number of more abstract phenomena. It is also possible to construct a noun from a verb by adding a "nominalizing suffix" to the verb, and a noun formed in this way can then be used as the central constituent of a noun phrase. Nouns and the formation of compounds will be considered in more detail in the first section of Chapter 8, "Nouns". The other constituents of noun phrases will be described in Chapter 9, "Nominals".

Pronouns. Like any language, Garo has personal pronouns with such meanings as 'I' and 'we'. Garo differs from English in making a clear distinction between 'you singular' and 'you plural', and it also makes a distinction between the 'we' that includes the person spoken to ("inclusive") and the 'we' that does not include the person spoken to' ("exclusive"). On the other hand Garo might be seen as less sexist than English since it makes no distinction between 'he' and 'she'. Garo does not have a pronoun that corresponds exactly to English 'it', but the demonstratives, *i-a* 'this', and *u-a* 'that' can be used in its place. Pronouns take case markers and they can act as noun phrases in much the same way as nouns can, but they rarely have modifiers of the kinds that are used with nouns. Pronouns have a few irregularities. Those in Table 5–1 that end with -*a* lose the -*a* when a case marker is added. This -*a* can be considered to be a nominative (subject) case marker that is used only with monosyllabic pronouns. The pronoun *na·-a* 'you singular' has a special form, *nang·-*, that is always used with

case markers. *ang-a* 'I' (nominative), *ang-ni* 'my' (possessive), *bi-ko* 'him, her (accusative)', *ching-o* 'at us, by us' (locative). The pronouns of Mandi differ somewhat from those used in A·chik. The main pronouns of the two dialects are given in Table 5–1. Pronouns will be described more fully in Chapter 11, "Minor Parts of Speech".

Table 5–1.

Mandi and A·chik Pronouns

	Mandi	A·chik
I	ang-a	ang-a
you, singular (free form)	na·-a	na·-a
you, singular (with cases)	nang·-	nang·-
he, she	bi-a	bi-a, u-a
we, exclusive	ching-a	ching-a
we, inclusive	na·-ching	an·-ching
you, plural	na·-song	na·-si-mang
they	bi-song	bi-si-mang, u-a-mang

Case Markers. Case markers show the relation of the noun or noun phrase to the rest of the sentence. The most important case markers are shown in Table 5–2. It is quite possible to have noun phrases with all five of these case markers in a single sentence. Four of the case markers need to be placed at the end of their noun phrases and they show the relation of their noun phrases to the rest of the sentence. The possessive case, shown by *-ni*, relates two nouns to each other, the possessor and the possessed, and both nouns occur within a single noun phrase.

Table 5–2.

Case Markers

subject (nominative)	"zero" (for nouns)
	-a (for some pronouns)
direct object (accusative)	-ko
indirect object (dative)	-na
possessive (genitive)	-ni
locative	-o

Ang-a am-bin-o   me·-chik-na bi-ni   a-chak-ko ron·-no-a
I-Nom tomorrow-Loc woman-Dat he-Gen dog-Acc   give-Fut
'Tomorrow, I will give the woman her dog'.

The case system will be described in more detail in Chapter 8, "Nouns".

Postpositions. Instead of prepositions, Garo uses postpositions. The difference is merely that postpositions come at the end of a noun phrase, while prepositions come at the beginning. Garo postpositions follow the case marker of a noun phrase, but the line between postpositions and case markers is not entirely sharp. They can be distinguished easily whenever both a case marker and a postposition are used together, as they often are. Some postpositions regularly follow a particular case marker. The clearest examples are postpositions that follow the possessive case marker -*ni*. For example:

Me·-a-sa ang-ni mik-kang-o dong-a.
Man   I-Gen face-Loc   is-Neut
'The man is in front of me (lit. 'at my face')'.

The postposition *mik-kang* is clearly derived from a noun that means 'face' but in this sentence it has the locative suffix -*o* and a locative meaning. In this usage, the locative -*o* is almost frozen to the noun, and *mik-kang-o* is used very much as we use 'in front of'. *Front* began as a body-part term just as *mik-kang-o* did, but both words have gained a specialized use to indicate a location.

Many, though by no means all, postpositions have the appearance of frozen, or partially frozen, locatives. This is hardly surprising since many postpositions indicate location in either time or space. Many postpositions, like *mik-kang-o* follow the possessive case marker, but others follow other case markers instead. Postpositions will be described in Chapter 9, "Nominals".

Minor Word Classes (A)

In Garo, as in most languages, nouns and verbs are the two largest classes of words. Several other classes that occur as constituents of noun phrases, such as numerals and pronouns have already been discussed briefly. In addition to these, several other classes need to be recognized. Most of these are described more fully in Chapter 11, "Minor Parts of Speech".

Adverbs. The third most extensive word class in Garo, exceeded only by nouns and verbs, is that of adverbs. Unlike nouns and verbs these take no affixes. A large number of adverbs exhibit reduplication or partial reduplication, meaning that the same syllable or same sequence of syllables is

repeated, sometimes with slight changes. Adverbs often occur immediately
before the verb of a sentence, but they can also be placed earlier. As will
become clear later, adverbs are closely related to verbs, and they are often
derived from verbs. The following are typical:

ting-ri-ting-ri	'quickly'
rik-rak-rik-rak	'restlessly'
jing-jeng-ga-jeng	'shaking, swinging back and forth'
jem·-jem	'regularly, repeatedly'

Question words. Garo has words that are equivalent to the 'wh-
questions words' of English such as *who, when, where* etc. These are used
in sentences in ways that are similar to nouns, pronouns, or adverbs, but
they ask questions that require a more precise answer than a simple 'yes'
or 'no'. Most of them are used in much the same grammatical situations
as nouns, and like other nouns they regularly take case markers.

Conjunctions. Garo makes less use of words that act as conjunctions
than does English. In some cases, it uses suffixes where English would use
conjunctions, and in some cases it simply places two words side by side
without any overt conjunction at all. Nevertheless a few conjunctions and
conjunction-like words are used: *ar* or *a-ro* 'and', *ong·-ja-o-ba* 'if not, or'.

Echo words. Garo has many hundreds, of "echo words" that follow
and augment another more meaningful word. The echo word generally re-
sembles the previous word by rhyming or by alliteration, hence the name
"echo", but the two words are not identical. Some echoes can be used
as independent words, without their partner, but many of them are used
only as echoes and these add little meaning of their own except to give a
certain weight or importance to their partners. The addition of the echo
gives rhetorical color to the language, and this is one aspect of their lan-
guage about which native speakers are clearly aware, and in which they
take considerable pleasure. They are known to the speakers as *ku·-pa me-
li-a* 'words that go well together'. Echo words are not restricted to just
one part of speech: *chat-chi tat-chi* 'kinsmen', *dong-su-sak dong-ru-rak*
'restless', *rang·-kan-ta chu-kan-ta* 'angry', *ma·-su mat-e* 'cattle'. Most lan-
guages spoken in the region, Bengali and Assamese as well as languages
belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family have echo words similar to those of
Mandi. Indeed, Garo has even borrowed a fair number of echo words from
Bengali: *bi-sun ti-sun* 'seeds', *nas-ta nos-ta* 'breakfast, snack'.

Interjections. Garo has a few words that are generally used in iso-
lation rather than being incorporated into a sentence, and this means that
they are not much involved in the syntax of the language. Many of these
interjections express emotions: *ai-au* 'wow!', *da·-nang* 'oh, dear, how sad'.

What is a Word? (B)

I have written this chapter as if it were obvious what a word is, but I have not yet justified the reasons for putting word breaks in some places, but not in others. In fact, it is not always obvious which sequences of meaningful morphemes should be considered parts of the same word and which should be divided among separate words. In a community where few people write their own language, the conventions of writing cannot tell us where word boundaries should fall, and the people themselves have no reason to think about the matter and no means of explaining word boundaries to an outsider who wants to write the language. Still, a number of criteria can help to define the boundaries of words.

First, the intonation, including rises and falls in pitch and changes in stress, tends to set off certain word-like chunks from one another. Second the order of meaningful elements is freer in some cases than in others. Other things being equal, where the order is rigid it is reasonable to consider the units to be a part of the same word, but where the order is free, it generally seems better to count the movable bits as separate words. This is not an entirely reliable criteria, however. Demonstratives, for example, always occur first in a noun phrase so they might be looked upon as prefixes, but other criteria suggest that they are much better considered to be separate words. In particular, demonstratives can be used alone, something that might not be expected of a prefix. The ability to be used alone, then, is the third and most reliable criterion for words. Any piece of the language that can be used by itself, with silence both before and after, but whose individual parts cannot be used alone, can be considered a word.

By this criteria everything from a verb base through the principal verb suffix has to be considered a single word, because none of the parts are capable of being used alone. This means that verbs can be very long. Even the terminating suffixes that follow the principal verb suffix must be considered to be a part of the preceding verb. It is true that the verb to which a terminating suffix is attached can be used alone and act as a word, but the suffix cannot. The suffix needs to cling to the verb so it lengthens the previous word and it does not contribute a new word to the sentence. Case markers are a part of the word that precedes them because case markers can never be used alone. Demonstratives are separate words because they can be used by themselves. Mostly, then, we can decide on word boundaries by paying attention to what can and cannot be used alone, but a few ambiguous cases remain even then, and a few arbitrary decisions seem unavoidable. Three constructions are particularly difficult.

Reduplicated Adverbs. When a single syllable is reduplicated it seems natural to consider the resulting pair to be a single word. The syl-

lables are said in rapid succession, nothing can intervene between them, and the syllables cannot, ordinarily, be used alone. When a three syllable sequence is reduplicated to form an adverb, however, it is not so clear that all six resulting syllables should count as a single word. *Ka-sin-e-ka-sin-e* 'slowly', is constructed from a form of the intransitive verb *ka·-sin-a* 'slow' and it is not impossible to use *ka·-sin-e* by itself. Nevertheless, consistency suggests that if single syllable reduplications are to be considered as single words so should three-syllable reduplications, and that is how I will write them.

Case Markers and Postpositions. I treat case markers as if they are part of the preceding word but I treat postpositions as if they are separate words. For the most part this seems satisfactory, but there are marginal cases where it is not entirely clear whether something should be considered to be a case marker or a postposition. It then becomes essentially arbitrary whether to call it a suffix or a separate word.

Incorporated Objects. As will be described more fully in Chapter 6, "Verbs", direct objects are used without a case marker if two conditions are fulfilled. First, the direct object must appear immediately before the verb and, second, the direct object must be indefinite. A definite direct object must have the accusative case marker *-ko*. Sometimes indefinite objects become so closely tied to the following verb that they seem to merge with it. Three verbs (or phrases) offer a particularly persuasive example: *mik-su-a* 'wash one's face', *jak-su-a* 'wash one's hands', *ja·-su-a* 'wash one's feet'. *Mik-* is a part of *mik-kang* 'face', while *jak* and *ja·-* mean, respectively, 'hands' and 'feet'. Except for these three verbs, *su-* appears only in *su-gal-a* 'wash (things)'. *Su-* is never used except in association with one of these other morphemes, but it obviously means 'wash'. It seems natural to consider *jak-su-* and the others to be compound verbs formed from what could originally have been a direct object but that has now become a part of the verb. There are other examples in which the object is less securely fixed to the verb and where it less easy to decide whether they form one word or two. Indeed, there is a gradation from independent objects, on the one hand, to forms like *jak-su-a* where the noun seems to be thoroughly incorporated into the verb, on the other. I find it impossible to draw a firm distinction between sequences that are so closely associated that the parts must be considered to form one word and others that form two words. There is an inevitable indeterminacy.

All of the classes of words and suffixes that have been introduced in this chapter will be described more fully in the chapters that follow. Chapter 6, "Verbs", has sections on verb bases and principal verb suffixes. Chapter 7, "Optional Verb Affixes", describes adverbial affixes and terminating

suffixes. Chapter 8, "Nouns", describes nouns bases and noun suffixes, in-
cluding case markers. Chapter 9, "Nominals", describes noun phrases and
their constituents: demonstratives, pronouns, question words, modifying
verbs and postpositions. Chapter 10, "Numerals", describes both classi-
fiers and numbers. Chapter 11, "Minor Parts of Speech", has sections on
adverbs, adjectives, question words, conjunctions, echo words, and inter-
jections. The final three chapters, 11, 12, and 13, deal with syntax. They
describe the way that all the many classes of words can be joined together to
form the phrases, clauses, and sentences that allow people to communicate.

Verb Bases, Verb Stems, and Verbs   (A)

The Garo language allows two kinds of sentences. The great majority have a verb as their major constituent, but a few consist of nothing more than two noun phrases. These are "equational sentences" which say that the two noun phrases refer to the same thing. To express this meaning in English we have to link two noun phrases with some form of the verb *be*, but no such linking verb is needed in Garo: *U-a me·-chik Bang-la-des-ni* 'That woman (is) a Bangladeshi'. Equational sentences will be considered in the final chapter of this book. With the single exception of equational sentences, a verb is an obligatory constituent, and the only obligatory constituent, of every sentence.

Verbs are constructed from constituents of four types, two of them obligatory and two optional. First, is what I will call a "verb base". This conveys the central meaning of the verb, and it is the piece of the verb to which the other constituents, most of them suffixes, are attached. The other obligatory constinuent is the principal verb suffix. This may be a tense-aspect suffix that completes not only the verb but also the sentence, or it can be a subordinating or nominalizing suffix that shows how the verb is related to other parts of the sentence. Nothing else than a verb base and a principal verb suffix are needed to form a complete verb. The other two constituents are optional. The adverbial affixes fit between the verb stem and the principal verb suffix. A single verb can have anything from no adverbial affixes up to a half dozen or so. They modulate the meaning of the verb in various ways, often in ways that resemble English adverbs. Finally, a verb may have, but does not need to have, one or two terminal

verb suffixes that come after the principal verb suffix. Terminal verb suffixes are used for such purposes as asking questions, expressing uncertainty, and citing another person's speech. *Kat-no-a* 'will run' has two meaningful parts: the verb base is *kat* 'run', and the principal verb suffix is *-no-a* 'future'. *Kat-ang-no-a* 'will run away' has a third constituent added to the first two, the adverbial affix *-ang-* 'in the direction away from the speaker'. This fits between the two obligatory parts of the verb. *Kat-ang-no-a-ma?* 'Will (he) run away?' adds the terminal verb suffix *-ma* that turns the sentence into a question. This chapter describes the two obligatory parts of the verb, while the optional affixes will be described in the chapter that follows.

The verb base is generally the first meaningful piece, or "morpheme" of a verb, as it is in *kat-no-a* 'will run' where *kat-* is the verb base. Mandi has a few bisyllabic verb bases, such as *a-gan-* 'say', *at-chong-* 'sit', and *chan-chi-* 'think, believe'. These consist of a single morpheme and they cannot be further divided into smaller meaningful constituents. Most Garo verb bases, however, are monosyllabic, consisting of just one syllable. The language has many hundreds of monosyllabic verb bases. These convey meanings of many sorts: states, movements, qualities, acts, manipulations and much else. But even hundreds of verb bases are not enough to convey all the meanings that people want to express, so large numbers of verbs include one or more morphemes that are added to the verb base, and that extend and refine the meaning of the verb bases. These are "derivational affixes". They are included among the larger group of "adverbial affixes and they will be treated in much more detail in the next chapter, but it needs to be stressed now that the affix that immediately follows the verb base often forms such a tight unit with the base that the pair needs to be considered as a lexical item. This combination of verb base and derivational affix is what I will call a "verb stem". The derivational affix typically has a fairly clear meaning of its own which it contributes to the meaning of the verb stem, but the meaning of the pairs cannot always be fully predicted from the meaning of their parts. An analogy from English would be a verb base such as *design*, which can attract a derivational prefix *re-*, to yield the verb stem *redesign*. The meaning of *redesign* is largely predictable from the meaning of its parts, but the meaning of some other verbs, such as *recycle* is less so. In English the derivational affix often precedes the verb base. In Mandi, the derivational affix characteristically follows.

For example, *-chak-* is a derivational affix that often has a meaning that suggests some sort of action toward someone else. It often implies either help of some sort, or a reciprocal action, but the exact meanings of the verb stems in which it is used need to be separately described and separately learned: *dak-chak-a* 'help' from *dak-a* 'do'; *hai·-chak-a* 'be understanding,

perceptive' from *hai·-a* 'know'; *a-gan-chak-a* 'answer, reply' from *a-gan-a* 'speak'; *ron·-chak-a* 'give help' from *ron·-a* 'give'; *ka·-sa-chak-a* 'sympathize' from *ka·-sa-a* 'love'; *dok-chak-a* 'hit back, return a hit' from *dok-a* 'hit, strike'. Thousands of verb stems of this sort are found in the language. In most respects these compound verb stems act just like simple verb bases, and they can take the full range of later affixes.

It is important to be clear about the difference between a "verb base", a "verb stem", and a "verb". The verb consists of a verb stem together with a principal verb suffix. Only a complete verb can be used as a word. There are several kinds of verb stems. If there is no derivational affix the verb base by itself acts as the verb stem, but there very large numbers of compound verb stems that have a derivational affix in addition to the verb base. Both simple verb bases and compound verb stems need a principal verb suffix to complete the verb.

Many, though by no means all, of the derivational affixes have an independent existence as a verb base. For example, *chak-*, as a verb base means 'support, side with, protect, defend, contribute to'. This is clearly related to the derivational affix used in the examples given just above, but most verb bases cannot be freely (productively) used as adverbial affixes and even those that can be used this way cannot generally be affixed to all verb bases, but only to a selection of them. The constructions of a verb base with a derivational affix, in other words, are conventional lexical items that must be learned by each speaker. Many examples will be given in the next chapter.

Mandi has two other kinds of compound verb stems in addition to those formed from a verb base and a following derivational affix. One of these has a first syllable that is derived from a noun. The other begins with a classifier. Neither of these is nearly as common as the verb stem with a following derivational affix, but they complicate the picture.

It was pointed out in the previous chapter that when an indefinite direct object immediately precedes the verb it does not take a case marker. *Bol-ko den·-a* means 'chop *the* wood'. The accusative marker *-ko* shows that some particular wood is being referred to. *Bol den·-a*, without the case marker, means 'chop wood, do wood chopping' where no particular wood is pointed to. The sentences are distinguished in their form by whether or not there is an accusative *-ko*, and they are distinguished in their meaning by whether the wood is definite or indefinite. Such phrases can be freely constructed, and nothing forces us to count a phrase such as *bol den·-a* as a single word rather than two. Sometimes, however, the use of a particular noun with a particular verb has become so conventionalized that it seems more natural to consider the pair to form a single word.

The verb *jak-su-a* 'wash hands', which was described in the previous chapter, includes *jak* which means 'hand' and which is used easily as an independent noun. It is easy to identify *-su-* as meaning 'wash', even though Mandis use it only in very restricted circumstances. Thus *jak-su-a* is best considered a single word. *Jik-gal-a*, from *jik* 'wife' and *gal-a* 'throw away', and *se-gal-a*, from *se* 'husband' and the same *gal-a*, have been conventionalized to mean 'divorce'. *Song-dong-a* from *song* 'village' and *dong-a* 'be at' means 'settle a village'. *Gi-sik-pil·-a*, literally 'mind-reverse' means 'reform'. In all of these, a noun has been incorporated into the verb stem as its first constituent. In some cases, the part of the construction that looks like a noun does not even have the same form as it does when it is used as a separate word. *Mik-chip-a* is formed from the root of the noun meaning 'eye' and *chip-a* 'close', but the word for 'eye' is *mik-gon* or *mik-ron* and *mik* is never used without being attached to something. The *ku-* of *ku·-dal-it-a* 'enlarge a mouth, such as the mouth of a basket' (lit. 'cause the mouth to be big') is clearly the root of the noun *ku·-sik* 'mouth'. The same *ku·-* is used with *rak-a* 'strong' in *ku·-rak-a* to mean 'speak loudly, shout'. Since *ku·-* is never used except in compounds, it cannot be interpreted as a separate word.

In some cases, nouns that do not appear to be the logical object are incorporated into the verb. The following examples are typical: *ja·-neng-a* 'tired, as from walking', (lit. 'leg-tired'); *jak-neng-a* 'have tired hands'; *han·-sel-a* 'healthy', (lit. 'body-healthy'); *Jak* 'hand, arm' is a special favorite as the first member of such compounds. In addition to *jak-su-a* 'wash hands', we find *jak-rak-a* 'quick, strong', (lit. 'having strong or quick hands'). *jak-ro-a* 'long, of sleeves', (lit. 'arm-long'); *jak-wat-a* 'let go of', (lit. 'hand-release'); *jak-si-ot-a* 'point to, point out'.

A third type of verb stem has a morpheme that is otherwise used as a classifier as its first constituent. The most common words of this type are formed from a classifier plus either *-dal-a* 'big' or *-chon-a* 'small', as in *king-dal-a* 'large, of flat things' where *king-* is the classifier for flat things; *rong-chon-a* 'small of round things' and many others. This is not a fully productive construction. **Sak-dal-a* which one might suppose would mean 'big of a person' is never used. A few other words with adjective like meanings can form verbs with classifiers, but these are much less common than those with *-dal-a* or *-chon-a* and they are quite idiosyncratic: *king-kil-ak-a* 'pull up, of pant legs or a lunggi', 'open, of a book' (*king-* 'classifier for flat things'); *ding-rak-a* 'strong, of long thin things' (*ding-* 'classifier for long thin things', *rak-a* 'strong'); *rong-git-ing* 'not fully cooked, as rice' (*rong-* 'classifier for round things', *git-ing* 'raw'); *mik-to-a* 'measure by forearm lengths' (*mik* the length of a forearm, *to-a* 'to measure').

All three kinds of compound verb stems can take the same kinds of suffixes as simple verb bases: adverbial affixes, principal verb suffixes and terminal suffixes. They differ in their internal composition, not in the larger constructions into which they enter.

Parts of Speech: Verbs and Adjectives (B)

The class of verbs can be defined as consisting of all those words that include a suffix such as -*a* 'neutral tense', -*no-a* 'future', -*bo* 'imperative', or any one of a dozen or so other suffixes. Many of these words have meanings that correspond to the words we call "verbs" in other languages, such as 'run, walk, cry, see, think', and 'worry'. As in most, perhaps all, languages, verbs form one of the two largest classes of words, and Garo has thousands of them. Nouns, of course, form the other large class of words, but Mandi nouns are formally distinguished from verbs, by taking a different set of suffixes and by entering into different kinds of constructions.

With verbs defined in this way, Garo is a very "verby" language. To put it less frivolously, Garo accomplishes many things with verbs that some other languages accomplish with nouns or other parts of speech. Among other things, most meanings that are conveyed by adjectives in English are conveyed in Garo by a type of verb. As a result, Garo hardly has a separate class of adjectives. Verbs take a much more complex set of affixes than nouns. Nothing but a verb is essential to make a complete sentence. Verbs can also be put into a form that can modify another verb, and most adverbs are derived from verbs.

Most English nouns are translated by Garo nouns, and most English verbs are translated by Garo verbs, but if we classify words as either nouns or as verbs according to the suffixes that they can take and by the larger constructions into which they enter, rather than by their meaning, it turns out that the ranges covered by Garo word classes and English word classes are by no means identical. The most striking difference between the languages is in the words that translate English adjectives. These take the same suffixes as verbs and so, by definition, they *are* verbs. The word that most naturally translates 'big', for example, is *dal·-a*. A literal translation of *dal·-a* into English should be 'to be big' rather than simply 'big', and such a translation would make its verbal nature explicit. *Dal·-a* can take the full range of verb suffixes and it is used much like any other verb: *dal·-no-a* 'will be big', *dal·-no-a-ma* 'will (it) be big?', *dal·-tok-jok* 'all have become big', and so on. This parallels the constructions of other intransitive verbs such as *kat-a* 'run': *kat-no-a* 'will run', *kat-no-a-ma?* 'will (he) run?', *kat-tok-jok* 'all have run'.

Dal·-a can be used to modify nouns in much the same way that adjectives can be used in English, but so can words that translate English verbs. This means that the ability to act as modifiers does not distinguish Garo adjectives from Garo verbs any more than does the ability to take verbal suffixes: *dal·-gip-a man-de* 'big person', *kat-gip-a man-de* 'the man who runs, the running man'. Whether a meaning is conveyed by an adjective or a verb in English is irrelevant for the assignment of a Garo word to a part of speech, and the crucial criterion is the type of constructions that it enters. What we find is that meanings such as 'big, narrow, hot, run', and 'sleep' are all conveyed in Garo by words that can be used both to modify nouns and to act as the main verb of a sentence. Since all these words are used in much the same way, they all have to be considered to belong to the same part of speech. Most of the Garo words that translate English adjectives are intransitive verbs. This does not mean that all intransitive verbs have exactly the same characteristics, any more than all nouns have exactly the same characteristics, but it takes a close look to find the differences. One difference will be described below in the section on "Nominalizing Suffixes".

Garo does have a small set of words that convey meanings that translate English adjectives and that are grammatically idiosyncratic. This set includes *gip-bok* 'white', *gi-sim* 'black', *git-dal* 'new', and a handful of others. As the examples suggest, they can be used without a principal verb suffix, something that is impossible for most verbs, even most verbs that translate English adjectives. These "*gi-* verbs" will be described as a separate word class in Chapter 11, "Minor Parts of Speech".

Parts of Speech: Nouns and Verbs (B)

Verbs and adjectives are less distinct in Garo than in English, but verbs and nouns are more distinct. A very large number of English words can be used as either a verb or a noun. Think of *hammer, rain, bite, walk, view, fish,* and *string* We can *sail* (v.) a ship with a *sail* (n.). We can *run* (v.) or go for a *run* (n.). We use a *can* (n.) to *can* (v.) beans, and so forth. In any particular example, a word can be easily identified as either as a noun or a verb, but we need to know how it is used in order to know its part of speech. Garo has far fewer words than English that can be used in these two different ways. With a few exceptions, a Garo word is used only as a noun or only as a verb. This leads to a number of differences in the way things are expressed in Garo and in English. In Garo, for example, *mik-ka* is a noun meaning 'rain' while *wa-a* is a verb meaning 'to rain'. It is quite natural to say *mik-ka wa-ing-a* literally 'the rain is raining'. This strikes English speakers as odd but it is simply the consequence of Garo's more

consistent distinction between nouns and verbs, and it is really no more odd than saying *the wind is blowing*, an example in which English happens to distinguish the noun from the verb.

In English we can often use the name of a tool for the action it performs, but this is not possible in Garo where tools are named by nouns and their actions are described by verbs. Thus in Garo, one cannot say, the equivalent of 'I hammer with a hammer'. The tool is called *hat-dur* but *dok-a* 'hit, beat' is what one does with it: *Ang-a hat-dur-cha dok-a* 'I hit with a hammer'. Perhaps it is the impossibility of using tool names as verbs that requires Garo to have large numbers of quite specialized verbs for the ways things are manipulated. Since these precise meanings cannot be conveyed by using a tool name as a verb, specialized verbs are needed instead. In English, we can 'shovel dirt, hoe dirt, or rake dirt', each with a different tool. Garos can *bak-a* 'dig out dirt when the dirt is to be used for something', *bil-a* 'dig out or extract something, such as an edible root', *cho·-a* 'dig a hole, as for a post', *kit-a* 'dig out dirt for a large hole such as a grave or a well', and *kong-a* 'dig by scooping and scraping'. None of these verbs tell us what tool used.

The clearer separation of nouns and verbs in Garo does not mean that meanings are always assigned to nouns and verbs in the same way as in English. *Wal* 'night', for example can be used as a verb in Garo: *wal-jok* 'it has become night, night has fallen'. Most Garo words for thunder and lightning are verbs. English *thunder* can be used as either a noun or a verb, but Mandi *hil·-hil-a* can only be a verb. English *lightning*, can only be used as a noun, but the Mandi words for 'lightning' are verbs: *el-ep-a, jil·-au-a*.

There are exceptions to the clear separation of nouns and verbs. One exception is *wal* 'night', which can not only take verb suffixes, but also noun suffixes: *wal-o-na* 'until night'. Another is *wal·-ku-a* 'smoke' which, like English 'smoke', can be either a noun or a verb. The words for elimination are also exceptions: Mandi *git-tam-a* 'urine, urinate', *ke·-em-a* 'stools, defecate'. *-a* is usually a verb suffix, but these two words end in *-a* even when used as nouns. A bit more common than such identical forms are noun-verb pairs in which the verb is formed by adding a principal verb suffix to a verb base that is identical to the noun: *bu-ra* 'old man', *bu-ra-a* 'to become old, of men'; *kram-chi* 'sweat, perspiration', *kram-chi-a* 'to sweat'; *jak-tom* 'fist', *jak-tom-a* 'make a fist'; *mi-dap* 'a wrapped up portion of rice', *mi-dap-a* 'wrap up rice portions'. A·chik equivalents of the elimination words also have identical noun bases and verb bases: *su-bu* 'urine', *su·-bu-a* 'urinate', *ki* 'stools', *ki-a* 'defecate'. Even this kind of noun-verb pair is far from common in Garo, however. More often, nouns and verbs are entirely distinct.

Transitive and Intransitive Verbs (B)

Like verbs in all languages, those in Garo fall into a number of subtypes that differ in the number of "arguments" that they can take. Intransitives can have a subject, but they cannot have an object. *Kat-a* 'run' and *chon-a* 'small' can have subjects, as in *ang-a kat-a* 'I run' and *bi-a chon-a* 'he is small' but they cannot have objects. A transitive verb such as *nik-a* 'see', however, can have an object, in addition to its subject: *Ang-a bi-ko nik-a* 'I see her', where *bi-ko* 'her' is shown to be the direct object by the accusative case marker *-ko* .

Just as Garo makes a shaper distinction between nouns and verbs than English does, so does it make a sharper distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs. A very large number of English verbs can be used either transitively or intransitively. A string can *break* (intransitive) or I can *break* (transitive) a string. A door can *close* (intransitive) or I can *close* (transitive) a door. Garo often has separate verbs for transitive and intransitive meanings, and when it does not, the transitive meaning must generally be distinguished from the intransitive by a causative affix. Some contrasting transitive and intransitive verbs are shown by the examples in Table 6–1. The examples suggest that some transitive-intransitive pairs are related. The first three pairs differ only in the *b-* of the intransitives and the *p-* of the transitives. Some Tibeto-Burmese languages have large numbers of verb pairs like these, with transitives and intransitives distinguished by the voicing of the initial consonant, but these are the only three pairs that I have come across in Garo. Perhaps they are the final remnants of a pattern that was more widespread at an earlier stage of the language. *Git-chit-a*, an intransitive, seems to be formed by adding the prefix *git-* to the transitive verb. The same relationship can probably be seen, even if a bit obscured, in *pik-a* 'pull out by the roots' (transitive), and *gip-ik-a* 'come out by the roots' (intransitive). Such prefixation is not a productive process in modern Garo, however, and this may be another example of a remnant of an earlier, more widespread pattern. Other intransitive/transitive pairs, such as *chot-a/tet-a* 'break (of long things such as string)' or *kam-a/so-a* 'burn', show no similarity at all.

When Garo does not have separate intransitive and transitive verbs it usually requires the difference to be shown by a causative affix. This is *-et-* or *-it-* in Mandi and *-at-* in A'chik: *sat-ti krip-jok* 'the umbrella is closed' (intransitive); *ang-a sat-ti-ko krip-et-jok* 'I have closed the umbrella' (transitive); *a-bu-a* 'to take a bath', *a-bu-it-a* 'to give a bath' as to a child.

Transitive verbs are almost always distinguished from intransitive verbs in Garo, but there are a few exceptions. I have heard speakers use *am·-pil-a*

Table 6–1. Intransitive and Transitive Verbs

	Intransitive	Transitive
burst	bret-a	pret-a
crush	bin-ek-a	pin-ek-a
break (solid things)	be·-a	pe·-a
break (string etc.)	chot-a	tet-a
boil	git-u-a	rit-a
come/pull out by roots	gip-ik-a	pik-a
tear	git-chit-a	chit-a
be covered/cover	git-dap-a	dap-a
come out/take out	ong·-kat-a	rong·-kat-a
dry	ran·-a	ram-a
tickle	ka·-kit-chu-a	rem-bu-a
burn	kam-a	so-a

'turn over' both intransitively for what one does oneself, or transitively for what one does to something else. I have also heard *wal-pil-a* 'return' used as both a transitive and an intransitive. Nevertheless, one speaker insisted to me that these words could not be used transitively without adding a causative affix. In any case, examples of words that can be used without change both transitively and intransitively are quite rare. The much more common Garo practice is for transitive and intransitive verbs to be carefully distinguished.

Most transitives can have just one object, but Mandi also has verbs that can take both an indirect object and direct object: *Bi-song ang-na boi-ko ron·-ing-a* 'They are giving me a book'. In this example *ang-na* 'to me' is the dative form of the pronoun 'I' and it is the indirect object of the verb; *boi-ko* is the accusative of the word the Mandis use for 'book' and it is the direct object. Various other arguments, such as instrumentals and various kinds of locatives are also possible. These will be considered in the section on Case Markers in Chapter 8, "Nouns".

The subjects, direct and indirect objects, instrumentals, locatives and the rest are the "arguments" of Garo clauses and sentences. The arguments of Garo are much like those of English or any other language except that none of them is ever obligatory. English requires a subject, and English transitive verbs require both a subject and a direct object. In Mandi, by contrast, as long as one is willing to rely on the context to make the meaning clear, it is always possible to leave out arguments, even to use the verb without any arguments at all. This means that we cannot define a transitive verb as one that *must* take a direct object, but only as one that *can* take a direct object.

Incipient and Continuing Action (C)

Many Mandi verbs have close English equivalents: *kat-a* 'run', *mal-a* 'crawl', *nik-a* 'see', and *ni-a* 'look' are all very close in meaning to their English translations. In some cases, however, one of the languages makes finer distinctions than the other. English, for example, more often distinguishes incipient actions from continuing states than does Garo. English distinguishes *wake up*, an incipient action, from *be awake*, a continuing state, but Garo uses the same verb for both: *mik-rak-a*. Nor does Garo distinguish *get dressed* (incipient) from *wear* (continuing), both of which can be named by the same Garo verbs.

Other distinctions are drawn more finely in Garo. No single Garo verb corresponds to English 'get dressed or wear', but the speaker must choose between several verbs according to the article of clothing that is being put on or worn, or according to the part of the body where it belongs. *Sit-ik-a* means 'put on or wear a hat'; *chin-a* is 'put on or wear a shirt or other garment for the upper body', especially when the garments are wrapped rather than put on by inserting a limb; *gan-a* is 'put on or wear a garment for the lower part of the body'; *skrok-a* 'put on or wear of bracelets, rings, shoes, socks', all of which require a body part to be inserted into the garment; *ga'-a* is 'wear or put on shoes', and so on. 'Lift', 'hold' and 'carry' are distinct in English, but the same Garo verbs can be used for all of them. However, the Garo verbs differ in the manner in which something is 'lifted, held' or 'carried'. Thus *ol-a* means 'hold from a tump line' (a strap across the forehead that supports a basket on the back) or 'carry by means of a tump line', or even 'lift it up to the position for carrying by a tump line'; *rip-e-a* means 'lift, hold or carry on the shoulder, as one carries a log'; *ba'a* means 'lift, hold or carry in a cloth, especially a child'; *ke-a* means 'lift, hold or carry something from a strap'.

Just as English has ways of distinguishing 'carry on the shoulder' from 'carry by a strap' when this is necessary (as I have just done in this very sentence), so Garo has ways of distinguishing incipient and continuing actions. Generally this is done by means of verbal affixes rather than by entirely separate verbs, however. (See *-ba-* and *-ang-* under "Adverbial Affixes" in Chapter 7). When the meaning is clear, as it often is, it is not necessary to make the distinction explicit.

Core Verbs (A)

Garo has thousands of verb bases and verb stems. Many, of course, have quite specialized meanings, but like English, Garo has a few very

common verb bases that have very general meanings. The meanings of some of these overlap the meanings of such core English verbs as *have* and *be*, but none of them are simple translations of the English verbs. Several core verbs are common enough to deserve special notice. They are described here in roughly the order of their frequency, the most common first.

Dong-a 'to be at, to exist, to have, there is, there are'. The meaning of *dong-a* overlaps several different expressions in English. Its most central meaning is 'to be in existence' or 'to be at a particular place' but depending upon the context it is often most naturally translated by 'there is', 'there are' or 'have'. Its meaning will be most easily understood from examples:

Ni-ten song-o   dong-a.
Niten   village-Loc be at-Neut
'Niten is at the village', 'Niten exists at the village'.

Le-ka te-bil-o   dong-a.
paper table-Loc be at-Neut
'The paper is on the table, There is paper on the table', The table has paper on it'.

Mi   dong-ja.
rice exist-Neg
'There is no rice', 'Rice does not exist', '(We) have no rice'.

Wak ang-o dong-a.
pig   I-Loc have-Neut
'I have a pig', 'A pig is at me', 'There is a pig with me'.

Chu   dong-a-ma dong-ja?
rice beer exit-Que   exit-Neg
"Rice beer, does it exist (or) does it not?' 'Is there rice beer or not?'

A sentence that has *dong-a* as its verb often includes a locative noun phrase (a noun phrase with the locative suffix *-o*) as one of is arguments. That phrase is often best translated by a prepositional phrase ('at the village', 'on the table'), but sometimes its most natural translation is as the subject of the verb 'have': *Ang-o dong-a* 'I have it', 'It is at me'. The answer to questions such as *Mi dong-a-ma?* 'Do you have any rice?', 'Is there any rice' is likely to be either *Dong-a* 'There is, It exists, Yes', or *Dong-ja* 'There is none, It does not exist, No'. The important uses to which *dong-a* is put make it an exceedingly common verb, probably the most common in the language.

Ong·-a 'to be, to be the same as, to be equivalent to, to be true'. Among verbs *ong·-a* is probably second in frequency only to *dong-a*, and

it translates a different sense of English *be*. It shows equivalence, that two things are the same or, when negative, not the same.

When *ong·-a* has the neutral tense-aspect marker, it is does not really need to be used at all, because Garo allows equational sentences that have no verb. *Ang-a Man-di* means 'I am a Mandi' and it usually needs no help from the verb *ong·-a*. *Ang-a Mandi ong·-a* would most likely be used only when it served to correct some contrary assumption. If someone had suggested that you might be a Bengali, the *ong·-a* would make a strong assertion, and correct the mistaken assumption, but a strong assertion could also be made by a forceful intonation without the *ong·-a*.

Lacking a verb, equational sentences have no way to convey the meanings that are carried by the verb suffixes. If the meaning of a verb suffix is required, *ong·-a* can be added to hold the suffixes, and it can be understood, in part, as a device that allows the suffixes to be used:

Bi-a Man-di ong·-ja. 'He is not a Mandi'.

Ang-ni su-e-tar ong·-ja. '(It) is not my sweater'.

Bi-a   A·chik man-de ong·-a-ma   ong·-ja?
he-Nomn Garo person   be-Neut-Que be-Neg
'Is he or is he not a Garo person?'

Nok-ma   ong·-no-a-ma?
rich man be-Fut-Que
'Will (he) be a rich man?'

Na·-a   stu-den ong·-e,   u-ni-ber-si-ti-o dong-ing-a.
you-Nomn student be-Sub   university-Loc be at
'You, being a student, are at the university'.

Ang-ni chon-o-ni   chol-a   da·-o-de ang-na ong·-ja-ing-jok.
I-Gen   small-from shirt   now   I-Dat   is-Neg-Prog-Prf
'The shirt from my childhood is no longer (suitable) for me'.

As with any verb, it is quite possible to use *ong·-a* without any noun phrase arguments at all: *Ong·-a-ma ong·-ja?* 'Is it (the case) or isn't it? Is it true or not?'

Dak-a 'do', 'perform', 'act', 'make', 'construct'.

Ma-ko dak-ing-a? 'What are (you) doing?', 'What are (you) making?'

Da·-dak-a-bo. 'Don't do it!'.

Am-bin-o dak-no-a. '(I) will do it tomorrow, will make it tomorrow'.

Dak-a is also used as an empty verb, a sort of dummy place holder that the language requires when there is no specialized a verb for a meaning that

is conveyed only by a noun (see the next section). *Gu-ri* is a noun meaning 'fog'. The verbal sense of 'to be foggy' can be conveyed by *gu-ri dak-a* literally 'fog does'. *Bo-dol dak-a* 'exchange', 'make an exchange'.

In addition, *dak-a* is often used with adverbs in a construction that can be seen as allowing the adverb to be used as a verb. *Dak-a* makes the subordination of the adverb unambiguous:

Chrip-chrip dak-e   tel   dong-a.
drenched   do-Sub oil   exist-Neut
'(It is) drenched with oil'.

Expressions with *dak-e* become a part of longer sentences:

Kan-sa ro-ti-ko   sak-gin-ing-sak-gin-ing dak-e   cha·-bo.
Cls-one bread-Acc Cls-two-each   do-Sub eat-Imp
'Each pair of people eat one piece of bread'.

Man·-a 'to be able to, accomplish, achieve, manage, finish'.

U·-ko man·-no-a-ma? 'Will (you) be able to do that?'

Man·-jok. '(I) have done it, (I) have managed'.

Man·-a often follows an infinitive verb where it acts quite like an auxiliary:

Cha·-na man·-no-a-ming.
eat-Inf   can-Fut-Pst
'(It) could be eaten'.

Ang-a   bu-ra-o-na   tek-tek gam   rim·-na man·-no-a.
I-Nomn old-man-Loc until   work (n)work-Inf able-Fut
'I will be able to work until old age'

Gim-ik-in ja·-chok-cha ram-a re·-na man·-a.
everybody leg-Inst   road   go-Inf able-Neut
'Everybody can walk with (his) legs'.

Like *dak-a*, *man·-a* is sometimes used as an empty verb to allow a noun to assume a verb-like role: *bal-wa man·-a* 'wind does', 'wind blows'; *ok man·-a* 'be sick to the stomach' from *ok* 'stomach'; *sol-di man·-a* 'have a cold', from *sol-di* 'head cold'. In these examples the nouns are the subjects of *man·-a* rather than the objects, so 'a cold does' and 'the stomach does' would be more literal translations than 'have a cold' and 'be sick to the stomach'.

The rare Mandi passive is sometimes marked with *man·-e* a subordinating form of *man·-a*:

Pi·-sa a-ma-cha   gam   rim·-na   hit-a   man·-e   cha·-a.
child   mother-Inst work (n) work-Inf (v) order-Neut able-Sub eat-Neut
'The child is ordered to work by (his) mother'. (lit. 'The child eats an
order by (his) mother to do work'.)

Rim·-a, ka·-a 'work, act'. In its literal sense *rim·-a* is the usual
Mandi word for 'work'. *Ka·-a* is the usual A·chik equivalent. *Ka·-a* is used
in a number of fixed phrases by Modhupur Mandis (*bi-a ka·-a* 'to get mar-
ried'; *ja·-chol ka·-a* 'reach an agreement about marriage arrangements') but
rim·-a is more usual for 'work'. The meanings of *ka·-a* and *rim·-a* overlap
with that of *dak-a*. All can mean 'do' but *dak-a* has a somewhat more
concrete sense and extends to 'make'. The meanings of *ka·-a* and *rim·-a*
extend instead to 'work'. Both *rim·-a* and *ka·-a* exemplify the distinction
between nouns and verbs. *Kam* and its variant *gam* are nouns meaning
'work' while *ka·-a* and *rim·-a* are verbs. It is quite natural to say either
gam rim·-a in Mandi, or *kam ka·-a* in A·chik, both meaning, literally, 'work
work'.

In A·chik, *ka·-a* also has the special job of helping to borrow verbs
from Bengali and English. While Garos generally borrow words easily, A·
chik speakers can be a bit reluctant about attaching Garo verb suffixes to
a borrowed verb. When they want to incorporate a foreign verb into their
speech, however, they can place *ka·-a* after the borrowed verb and attach
the Garo verbal affixes to the *ka·-a*: *o-pe-ret ka·-a* 'operate, do surgery'.
Ka·-a then becomes a device for incorporating borrowed words. Even in
Mandi a few such phrases can be heard, such as *ep-lai ka·-a* 'apply', but
the construction is used less freely than in A·chik. Bangladeshi Mandis are
more often comfortably bilingual than A·chik speakers are, and they have
less hesitation about using Mandi verbal suffixes with borrowed words, and
less need for an empty verb to hold the affixes.

Empty Verbs (B)

The sharp separation between Garo nouns and verbs means that it is
generally impossible, in any simple way, to use a noun as a verb. Unlike
English where hundreds of nouns such as *shovel, water, ship,* and *sail* are
easily used as verbs with closely related meanings, Garo nouns generally
remain nouns. In compensation, Garo has a very large number of verbs
with quite specialized meanings that do some of the work that is done by
English verbs such as *shovel* and *ship*. The language cannot have a verb
that corresponds closely to every noun, however. As a result nouns are
often coupled with a verb that carries little or no meaning of its own, but
that holds the verb suffixes and, in a sense, allows the noun to be used in a

verb-like way. Since subjects are not obligatory in Garo, the language has
no need for an empty pronoun to act like English *it* in *it is raining*. It does
need empty verbs.

For example, *ga-dil-a* is a noun meaning 'cloud' or 'clouds'. *Ga-dil-
a dak-a* means literally 'clouds do' but it is used where English has 'it is
cloudy. Where English has an empty subject, Garo has an empty verb.
Similarly *chak-ri* is a noun borrowed from Bengali meaning 'one who works
for wages' and *chak-ri dak-a* is 'do wage work', 'work for wages'. The lan-
guage has several alternate empty verbs, and more than one can sometimes
be used with the same noun. *Gam* is a noun meaning 'work'. 'Have (you)
done the work?' can be expressed in Mandi as *Gam-ko wa·-jok-ma?*, *Gam-
ko dak-jok-ma?* or *Gam-ko rim·-jok-ma?*. A·chik speakers are more likely
to say *Kam-ko ka·-jok-ma?*. None of these verb bases adds much meaning
of its own, but they can take any of the verb suffixes. The suffixes do add
meaning, and they let the sentence be completed.

Empty verbs, or verbs that are almost empty, provide a way of incor-
porating borrowings, not only verbs but also nouns, from other languages
into Garo. There is some resistance to attaching Garo verb suffixes to bor-
rowed verbs, and it is even more difficult to turn a foreign noun into a verb
by attaching Garo verb suffixes to it. The solution is to use an empty verb
to hold the suffixes. *Mik-ron ga-na ong·-jok* (lit. 'eye(s) blind became') uses
the Garo equative verb *ong·-a* as a way of incorporating the Bengali *ga-na*
'blind' into a Garo sentence. *Mas-ter Mo-hen-ko sa-sti on·-a*, literally 'The
teacher gives Mohen punishment' or, more naturally, 'The teacher punishes
Mohen', uses the verb for 'give' to incorporate the borrowed noun *sa-sti*
'punishment'.

The verbs used in constructions of this sort are not always entirely
empty, though their meaning is almost always less specific than the nouns
with which they are used. *Ku·-chi dap-a* and *ku·-chi gal-a* can both be
used where an English speaker might use 'spit' as a verb. *Ku·-chi* is a noun
meaning 'saliva' and it is used here with either *dap-a* 'cover' or *gal-a* 'throw
away', effectively allowing *ku·-chi* to be used in a verbal expression meaning
'to spit'. In the examples, *dak-a, man·-a, ka·-a, rim·-a* and even *ong·-a* add
little meaning that is not already given by the noun. They are required by
the syntax, because except for equational sentences, every sentence needs
a verb. When verb suffixes are needed, some verb is essential, and these
verbs of rather general meaning are pressed into service.

Other verbs can be used in similar ways but contribute a bit more
meaning. *Cha-a* is a verb that can mean 'grow' but in *nok-ma cha-a* it
means 'act as a *nok-ma* (big man, headman)'. *Ga-a* often means 'climb'.
Ma-rang ga-a means 'taboo exists, appears', where *ma-rang* means 'taboo'

or 'pollution'. *Ga-a* may imply that the *ma-rang* rises or climbs to envelop people, but its literal meaning has been diluted and the more general meaning is simply that some sort of taboo is in force. 'Foggy' can be either *gu-ri dak-a* 'fog does', or *gu-ri on-a*. *On-a* means literally 'go down, descend' which, perhaps, is how fog arrives. *Ra·-a* 'take, bring' looses most of its literal meaning in the phrase *heng-gok ra·-a* 'to snore' formed from the noun *heng-gok* 'a snore'. So a very considerable range of verbs can pull nouns into a verb-like role. Some add almost no meaning of their own, others add a little, and of course in many sentences the verbs contribute at least as much meaning as their arguments. The verbs may even be so explicit as to let the arguments to be omitted entirely. Verbs are not so easily omitted as nouns and noun phrases. Mandi does not need an empty pronoun like the English *it*. It needs a great many empty verbs.

Principal Verb Suffixes (A)

In addition to its verb stem, every verb requires one principal verb suffix, and together, these form a complete verb. Principle verb suffixes come in three varieties, each of which forms a different type of verb with a different role in the sentence:

1. Sentence completing suffixes. Except for equational sentences, every sentence requires one verb that has one of these sentence completing suffixes. Most often this is the last word in the sentence. This means that (again with the exception of equational sentences) it impossible to form a Garo sentence without a sentence completing suffix.

2. Subordinating suffixes. These turn a verb, together with any subject, object or other arguments that may come with it, into a form that can be subordinated to another verb. They provide one important way by which complex sentences can be built up from simpler parts.

3. Nominalizing suffixes. These turn a verb into a noun, or put the verb into a form that can modify a noun. Like subordinating suffixes, the nominalizing suffixes provide a way to build up complex sentences from simpler parts.

Since (almost) every sentence requires a sentence completing verb suffix, they are the most essential of the three types of principal verb suffixes, but it would be impossible to speak for very long, or to use anything beyond very simple sentences, without the help of subordinating and nominalizing suffixes. This section focuses on the principal verb suffixes that are used in the Mandi dialect, but many of these are used in A·chik as well. I also include several additional A·chik suffixes that are rarely heard in Mandi. Speakers generally understand the forms used in dialects other than their

own, so they are all part of the speaker's, or at least the listener's, passive linguistic knowledge, even when they are not actively used.

Sentence Completing Suffixes (A)

Suffixes that can complete a sentence fall into two major subtypes and a few leftovers. First are tense-aspect markers that express the time or the manner of the event. Second are several imperatives. The third and minor subtype consists of some miscellaneous forms that fit into the same position in a verb as the others, but that less clearly belong to a systematic set of suffixes.

Tense-Aspect Suffixes. The tense-aspect suffixes give a temporal dimension to the verb and to the sentence. Mandi has a closed set of four of these tense-aspect suffixes. A·chik has five. Two of the A·chik suffixes are the same as in Mandi. Two have the same meaning but different form. Mandi speakers recognize these two A·chik suffixes as equivalent to their own, but rarely use them. The fifth A·chik suffix has no equivalent in Mandi.

-a 'neutral'. All dialects of Garo use -*a* where English would use a present tense, but -*a* can also be used in such a generalized sense that it amounts to a neutral suffix, one that indicates little more than the absence of any of the more specialized meanings that are carried by the other principal verb suffixes. Linguists might call it the "unmarked" tense. When citing verbs in isolation, even nonliterate speakers add the -*a* suffix, and as Garo has become a written language, it has seemed natural to use it as the form to list in dictionaries. When indicating actions taking place at the present time, -*a* is generally used along with -*ing*- the marker of the progressive. In the absence of -*ing*-, -*a* often indicates habitual action or a general situation, not unlike the simple present of English. In contexts where the meaning is clear, it may even be used where English would call for a past tense, but the language also has other, less ambiguous ways to indicate the past.

Sal-a-rik-it i·-ba-a. '(He) comes every day'.

Nok-o te-bil dong-a 'There is a table in the house'.

Man-de cha·-tok-ing-a. 'All the people are eating'.

Gai-ra skul-o po-ri-ing-a. '(She) is studying at Gaira school'.

-jok 'change of state'. -*jok* can often be translated by the English perfect tense (the tense formed with *have*): *ang-a cha·-jok* 'I have eaten',

bi-song kat-tok-jok 'they have all run away'. For convenience, I will refer to *-jok* as the "perfect" tense marker, but the English perfect tense covers a wider range of meanings than *-jok*. Garo *-jok* means, specifically, a change of state. Thus *ang-a cha·-jok* really means 'my state has changed from one of not having eaten to one of having eaten.' A clumsy translation like this is forced on us most clearly when *-jok* is used with *-ja-* 'negative'. *Ang-a cha·-ja-jok* does *not* mean 'I have not eaten' but, instead, means 'I eat no more'. More precisely, the negative sentence means 'My state has changed from one of eating to one of not eating', so whether the verb is positive or negative *-jok* indicates a switch from one state to another. *I·-ang-jok* '(he) has gone', *i·-ang-ja-jok* '(he) does not go any more'; *wal-jok* 'it has become night', *wal-ja-jok* 'it is night no longer', *tang-ja-jok* 'not live any longer, changed from the state of living to the state of not living'.

   -jok indicates not only that the state has changed but that it remains in that changed state at the time of speaking. Thus, to say *i·-ang-jok* means not merely that '(he) has gone' but also that '(he) has not yet come back again', not merely '*has* gone', but '*is* gone'. *Ang-a cha·-jok* means not merely 'I have eaten' but 'I have eaten sufficiently recently that I do not yet have to eat again'. I am in the state of not needing to eat. Though overlapping in meaning, the English perfect tense provides a much less than perfect translation of *-jok*.

   -no-a, -no 'future'. *-no* is simply a phonologically reduced alternative of *-no-a*. It is especially likely in fast speech, but it is also perfectly pronounceable in slow and careful speech as well. Speakers recognize clearly that *-no-a* and *-no* are different in form but equivalent in meaning and use. This is probably the least problematic of the four tense-aspect suffixes since its meaning is a straightforward future:

   Ang-na i-ko   nang-no-a.
   I-Dat   this-Acc need-Fut
   'I will need this'.

   Mi-ko-ba   cha·-no-a ar   chu-ko-ba   ring-no-a.
   rice-Acc-also eat-Fut   and rice beer-Acc-also drink-Fut
   '(We) will both eat the rice and drink the rice beer'.

   Neng·-tak-o-de   neng·-ja-no-a.
   rest-if   tired-Neg-Fut
   'If (you) rest, (you) will not be tired'.

   -no-a sometimes implies desire or intent:
   Ring-no-a-ma? 'Do (you) want to drink?'
   Ring-no-a '(Yes, I) want to drink'.

Ring-ja-no-a '(No, I) do not want to drink'.

-gen 'future' (A·chik). The future is probably the most often cited example offered by Mandis who want to illustrate the way in which their dialect differs from A·chik. A·chik *-gen* is equivalent to Mandi *-no-a*, and every Mandi in Bangladesh seems to know that "they say *-gen* but we say *-no-a*". *-gen* is used in both writing and speaking by most educated Garos in India, and in India it is spreading at the expense of other forms of the future. Even in the 1950's some educated Garos found it quite amusing to hear me using such a folksy suffix as *-na-wa*, still another alternative for the future.

By the usual standards of Garo, *-gen* is a highly irregular form. The A·chik negative future is *-ja-wa* instead of **ja-gen* which would be regular but is impossible. *-wa* can be considered to be the form of the A·chik future suffix that is used only with the negative, while *-gen* is used only with non-negative verbs. Villagers in the area north of Tura, who speak a dialect that they call a "A·beng" or "Matabeng", use *-na-wa* as the positive future and, like A·chik speakers, use *-ja-wa* as the negative. Their dialect has a less irregular future than A·chik. Mandi speakers in Bangladesh, who use *-no-a* or *-no* for the positive future, and *-ja-no-a* or *-ja-no* for the negative future, have achieved complete regularity.

The meaning of *-gen*, like that of *-no-a*, is a straightforward future.

Ang-a kin-al-o re·-ang-gen. 'I will go tomorrow'.

A-chak chik-ja-wa. 'The dog will not bite'.

-na-jok 'immediate or intentional future'. This indicates that something is about to happen, or that the speaker is planning to do something:

Cha·-ja-ni   gim-in   ok-ri-na-jok.
eat-Neg-Gen because hungry-IFut
'Because of not eating, (I) will soon be hungry'.

Nang·-ni A-me-ri-ka-cha-na re·-ang-jok-o, ang-a-ba   nok-cha
you-Gen America-Loc   go-Nomz   I-Nomn-too house-Loc
re·-ang-na-jok.
go-IFut
'On your departure to America, I too will soon go home'.

-na-jok provides a polite way to announce one's intention.

Ching-a i·-ang-na-jok. 'We are about to/intend to leave'.

The negative of *-na-jok* parallels the meaning of the negative of *-jok*, for it means 'will not (do something) any more'. It does *not* mean 'do not intend' or 'not about to': *cha·-na-jok* '(I) am about to eat, I intend to eat',

cha·-ja-na-jok '(I) intend to eat no more, (I) am about to stop eating, I do not care for any more'. Like *-jok*, *-na-jok*, indicates a change of state, but it is a change of state that is about to take place or is in the process of taking place, rather than one that has already happened: *Bol ga·-ak-na-jok* 'The tree is about to fall, about to change its state from not yet fallen to fallen'; *bi-a kam rim·-ja-na-jok* 'he is about to stop working', 'he doesn't want to work anymore', 'he is about to change from a state of working to a state of not working'.

In both form and meaning *-na-jok* can be seen as combining the perfect *-jok* and future *-no-a*. Like *-no-a*, *na-jok* expresses future time. Like *-jok* it expresses a change of state. In form, also, it has a similarity to both of the other tense-aspect markers. The *-jok*'s of course are identical in the two suffixes. The *-na* of *-na-jok* is hardly identical to the future *-no-a* but it is close enough to suggest an etymological connection. The four Mandi tense-aspect markers thus form a tightly integrated set. *jok* shows change of state, *-no-a* shows future, *-na-jok* shows both, and *-a* shows neither.

-gin-ok 'immediate or intentional future' (A·chik). *-gin-ok* is a close synonym of *-na-jok* but it is more characteristic of A·chik, while *-na-jok* is the usual form heard in Mandi. *Si-gin-ok* 'about to die', *re·-ang-gin-ok* '(I) will now be going'. Like *-na-jok*, *-gin-ok* can probably be seen as combining two other tense-aspect suffixes, the A·chik *-gen* 'future', and *-jok*. The vowel change from *-e* to *-i*, is really a reduction to a shortened vowel and is found sporadically in other words. *-ok* has been more seriously distorted from *-jok* but the similarity between *-gen -jok* and *-gin-ok* is too close to be dismissed as mere coincidence, especially when we have the parallel example of *na-jok*.

These four tense-aspect suffixes are at the heart of the Garo, and Mandi tense system, but there is more to the expression of time that just these. In particular, the Mandi terminal verb suffix *-ming* 'past' and several adverbial affixes, *-ing* progressive, *-ang-* 'away', and *-ba-* 'in this direction', interact closely with the tense-aspect markers to allow the expression of complex and subtly different meanings.

-a-ha 'simple past' (A·chik). A·chik also makes heavy use of a fifth tense-aspect suffix that is rarely heard in Mandi and for which Mandi has no close equivalent, though its meaning is often conveyed by the morphologically more complex form *-a-ming*. *-a-ha* differs in meaning from *-jok* in indicating nothing about the present state. *Bi-a kat-ang-a-ha* means 'he ran away' but says nothing about whether he has come back or not. *Bi-a kat-ang-jok* means 'he has run away and is still gone'. *-jok* is also more likely to indicate the recent past, while *-a-ha* can refer as easily to 'long ago' as to 'just now'. When A·chik speakers use *-ja-* 'negative' together with

a-ha they collapse them together as *-ja-ha*, which means 'did not': *chik-ja-ha* 'did not bite'. The meaning of *chik-ja-jok* is 'does not bite any more'. Mandi speakers generally recognize and understand *-a-ha* even though they do not use it.

Imperative Suffixes (B). Mandi has several types of imperatives. These are formed by suffixes that occupy the same position in a verb that might otherwise be occupied by a tense-aspect suffix.

-bo 'positive second person imperative'. The normal way to tell or invite someone to do something is to use *-bo* as the principal verb subject. This can be used for an abrupt command, but imperatives are used as often when making an offer as when ordering, and they can then be very polite: *At·chong-bo* '(please) sit down' and *cha·-ku-bo* 'eat some more' can be very courteous, especially if said in a courteous tone of voice and with appropriate gestures. On the other hand, *I·-ang-bo!* 'Go away!' can be very abrupt and rude if said harshly or shouted.

Imperatives can be made stronger by adding *-da*, or more encouraging and courteous by adding *-ne*: *i·-ba-bo-da!* 'come here!', *i·-ba-bo-ne!* 'please come!' but the attitude of the speaker is conveyed at least as much by tone of voice and posture as by the added syllables. It is also possible, though not very common, to convey a rather abrupt imperative without any suffix. *u-ko cha* 'eat that'. This creates one of the very few situations in which a naked verb base or verb stem appears with no suffix at all. In accordance with the general rule that glottal stops do not appear in the final syllable of a word, Mandis drop the raka from a verb such as *cha·-a* 'eat' when it is used as a naked imperative.

-kan, ka-na 'third person imperative', 'let him', 'let them'. These give permission or instruct someone, but they do not necessarily imply a firm command. *-kan* and *-ka-na* are used only with third person subjects, explicit or implied, never with first or second persons. The two forms appear to be simple alternates. If they have any difference in meaning, I have failed to discover it:

Dong-kan. 'Let (him) be'.

I·-ba-ja-kan. 'Don't let (him) come'.

Da-rang-ba mo·-na cha·-a.   I·-ko-de   bi-a   cha·-kan.
No one-Ind NImp eat-Neut   this-Acc-but he-Nomn eat-Imp
'No one else eat it! Let him eat it'.

In a related, usage, *-kan* or *-ka-na* can be used as a subordinating suffix that typically subordinates its verb to a verb of saying or ordering. This will be described more fully in Chapter 13, "Subordination":

Bi-a   rik-kit-rik-kit bo-stu-ko   ra·-ba-ka-na a-gan-a.
He-Nomn this and that things-Acc bring-Sub   say
'He says to bring a variety of things'.

Bi-ni   gam rim·-a-ko   ang-a   don-kan hit-a
he-Gen work working-Acc I-Nomn put-Sub order-Neut
'I told him to stop his working'.

Occasionally *-kan* and *-bo* are used together. It seems that *-kan-bo* differs little in meaning from simple *-kan*:

Ji-ba ong·-kan-bo. 'Whatever, let it happen'.

Cha·-a-ri-kan-bo. 'Just let it be eaten.'

Jal   an·-tang-ni nok-cha   i·-ang-a-ri-kan-bo.
Each own-Gen   house-Loc go-just-let
'Let each just go to (his) own house'.

-et 'imperative'. Mandis use *-et* as an equivalent for either the second person imperative *-bo* or the third person imperative *-kan*, but *-et* is considerably less common. As a second person imperative it is a bit more forceful than *-bo*, even a bit abrupt, implying that something should be done right away:

I-a to-ra-ko   bi-na   ron·-et.
this basket-Acc her-Dat give-Imp
'Give this basket to her!'

As a third person imperative, *-et* is also more forceful than *-kan* or *-ka-na*, coming closer to giving an order than simply giving permission.

Bi-ko a-song-et. 'Tell him to sit down'

Bi-ko a-song-kan 'Let him sit down'.

-et is homophonous with one form of the causative affix and it seems to carry something of the causative or transitive force of that affix, but as an imperative it comes at the end of the verb in the same spot as the other principal verb suffixes. The alternative pronunciation *-it-*, that Mandis sometimes use for the causative, is not used for the imperative.

da·-, da·-. . .-a, da·-. . .-bo, da·-. . .-a-bo 'negative imperative'. The negative imperative in Mandi is most often shown by *da·-* prefixed to the verb, generally with a suffix on the verb as well. The suffix may be *-a* or *-bo*, or both of these together: *da·-cha-a-bo* 'don't eat', *da·-i-ang-bo* 'don't go'. Occasionally *da·-* is prefixed to a verb with no suffix at all, so that *da·-kat, da·-kat-bo, da·-kat-a* and *da·-kat-a-bo* are all possible ways to say 'don't

run'. *da·-* is the only productive inflectional prefix in the language, or at
least this is true for Mandi speakers. A few speakers, generally younger ones
I believe, can be heard to pronounce this as *da·-a* and to use it as a separate
word. They act as if prefixes are simply beyond reasonable expectations
for a Mandi speaker: *da·-a ring-a* 'don't drink'. When nothing at all is
suffixed to the verb, the imperative is particularly forceful: *da·-cha* 'don't
eat!', *da·-at-chong* 'don't sit!'. It is probably a bit easier to have a verb
that is lacking any suffix with the negative imperative than with a positive
imperative but even with the negative imperative a verb without a suffix
is not very common. A few speakers insist that some suffix, whether *-a,*
-bo or *-a-bo* is required with every negative imperative. Others ignore this
restriction.

mo·-na. . .-a-bo. A rhetorically distinctive negative imperative can be
made with *mo·-na* (which is more often a question word meaning 'why?')
when used with the negative imperative suffix *-a-bo*. The usual prefix *da·-*
of the negative imperative is not used with *mo·-na*:

> *Mo·-na na·-song ken-a-bo.*
> Why   you-pl.   afraid-Imp
> 'Don't you all be afraid'.

> *Da·-o-de mo·-na u·-cha   u·-cha-ko ni-a-bo.*
> Now   why   there-Loc there-Loc look-Imp
> 'Don't look here and there now'.

> *Ga-ri-o ga-du-o,   mo·-na   kra-cha·-a-bo.*
> Bus-Loc climb-Nomz why   embarrass-Imp
> 'Don't be embarrassed about getting on the bus'.

This construction might be thought of as meaning, literally, "why are
you doing that bad thing", but its rhetorical sense is a negative imperative,
telling someone not to do something. The *mo·-na* can be quite far from the
verb, further than is allowed for *da·-a*, even for speakers who use *da·-a* as
a separate word rather than a prefix.

-na-be 'negative imperative' (A·chik). This is the usual negative im-
perative in A·chik but it is rarely used by Mandi speakers. *Dak-na-be!*
'Don't do it!' *U-a nok-o-na nap-na-be!* 'Don't go into that house'.

Other Sentence Completing Verb Suffixes (C). The most fre-
quently used and most important sentence completing suffixes of Mandi are
the tense-aspect markers and imperatives, but the membership of Mandi
word and affix classes is rarely sharply bounded. A number of items are al-
ways clearly and unambiguously members of a class, but there are generally
others that are more marginal. The latter may be difficult to exclude on

formal grounds, but they are so much less common and so much more spe-
cialized in meaning that they seem hardly to belong with the others. The
two suffixes given here are less central than those described above. Among
other things, they are simply longer than the suffixes already listed, and
some sort of derivation from constituent morphemes seems plausible. As
they are now used, however, the bits are fused together quite securely.

-a-ha-jok 'past'. This appears to combine -*a-ha*, which is rarely used
by itself in Mandi, with the very common -*jok*. It has a bit of the meaning
of both of its parts. Like -*jok*, it describes a state that has changed and
not yet reverted to its original condition. It can suggest a kind of finality.
Like -*a-ha*, it refers to a point a bit further back in time than a simple -*jok*.
It would be incorrect to say **da·-o-han re·-ang-a-ha-jok* 'just now he went'
because the immediate past referred to by *da·-o-han* 'just now' conflicts
with the more remote time of -*a-ha-jok*:

   Si-a-ko dap-a-ha-jok. '(They) buried the dead one'.

   Bi-a   me-ja-o   Gai-ra-cha   re·-ang-a-ha-jok.
   he-Nomn yesterday Gaira-to   go-Pst
   'He went to Gaira yesterday (and has not come back)'.

I have heard -*a-ha-jok* more often from Modhupur speakers than from
others, and have had the impression that it is something of a Modhupur
specialty, but I have been told that it is used in other areas as well. Even
in Modhupur it is much less common than the tense-aspect markers listed
earlier, but it is available to speakers and it offers a subtle difference in
meaning from -*jok*. I find it odd that -*a-ha-jok* is used considerably more
often in Modhupur than -*a-ha* is used by itself, even though -*a-ha* appears
to be one of the constituents of the longer suffix..

-na-ba-gin-ang 'probably, probably will'. This looks like a complex
morphological form that is constructed from several parts, but it is not
clear where the parts come from or what contribution each makes to the
whole, so it can only be treated as a unit. It is well known in Modhupur
even if it is less common than the tense-aspect suffixes. -*na-ba-gin-ang*
often, though not always, refers to the future. The terminal verb suffix
-*kon*, which overlaps in meaning with -*na-ba-gin-ang* can refer to the past
as easily as to the future. -*na-ba-gin-ang* also implies a somewhat greater
likelihood than -*kon*: *si-na-ba-gin-ang* 'will probably die, seems to be about
to die'. *Ong·-na-ba-gin-ang* 'probably will', can be used by itself in the sense
of 'that is probably the case':

   Bon·-ku-ja-na-ba-gin-ang. '(He) probably isn't finished yet'.

Nang·-ko Di-sem-bal-o   Bang-la-des-o   nik-ja-na-ba-gin-ang.
you-Acc December-Loc Bangladesh-Loc see-Neg-probably
'(I) probably won't see you in Bangladesh in December'.

Subordinating Suffixes (B)

The members of the second subgroup of principal verb suffixes fit into the same position of the verb as the tense-aspect suffixes, but instead of forming verbs that can end a sentence, they form verbs that can be subordinated to another verb. They provide one of the chief ways of building up complex sentences from simpler parts. They will be introduced briefly here, but the constructions into which they enter will be considered in more detail in Chapter 13, "Subordination".

-na 'infinitive', 'to, for, in order to'. *-na* provides a means for joining two verbs in much the same way as English infinitives do, though it has a somewhat wider use. It can mean 'in order to', and it can also be used to ask permission. The infinitive verb with the *-na* suffix always comes first, and the two verbs always have the same subject. As in English, verbs of wishing, needing, and ability are prominent among those which are used with infinitive verbs:

Bi-a   kat-ang-na   ha·-sik-a.
He-Nomn run-away-Inf want-Neut
'He wants to run away'.

Ang-a   chu-na   man·-ja.
I-Nomn sleep-Inf can-Neg
'I can't sleep'.

When *-na* has the meaning 'in order to' the verb that follows the infinitive is not limited to meanings such as wishing and needing:

Me·-a-sa kam   rim·-na   i·-ba.
man   work (n) work (v)-Inf comes
'The man comes in order to work'.

When asking permission, *man·-a* 'can, may' can follow the infinitive but the infinitive can also stand alone. When no verb follows, the infinitive often has a polite *-ne* suffixed to it:

Ang-a ni-na-ne. 'May I see?', 'I'd like to see'.

Ang-a   ni-na   man·-no-a-ma?
I-Nomn see-Inf may-Fut-Que
'May I see?'

-e, -e-ming, -e-min-a. Garo speakers often join what might otherwise have been independent sentences by means of various principal verb suffixes that are suffixed to the verb of the first clause, and thus come at the very end of that clause. The first clause is, in this way, made subordinate to the second, main, clause. The simplest of these subordinating suffixes is *-e*, typically pronounced *-i* in the Mandi dialect. *-e-ming* and *-e-min-a* (*-i-ming* and *-i-min-a* in Mandi) are elaborate synonyms.

-e turns a verb into a form that can modify or be subordinated to another verb. Verbs with *-e* can act like adverbs, since they modify another verb, although they would rarely be translated into English as adverbs. It is often more natural to translate such verb sequences as if they were joined by an 'and':

Cha-deng-e dan-dan-a.
stand-Sub   lean-Neut
'Lean standingly', 'Lean in a standing way', 'Stand and lean'.

Bi-a   nok-o   nap-e   cha·-jok.
he-Nomn house-Loc enter-Sub ate
'Having entered the house, he ate', 'He entered the house and ate'.

Two or more verbs in *-e* can be used together.

Tom·-ka-e   cha-deng-e   dong-a.
gathered-close-Sub stand-Sub   be at
'(They) are standing gathered close together'

-o-de 'if', **-o-de** 'although', **-o-sa** 'only if'. Like other subordinating suffixes, these three complete one clause, and are followed by another clause. Although they all begin with *-o* they do not have a locative meaning:

Na·-a   re·-ang-o-de, ang-a-ba re·-ang-no-a.
you-Nomn go-if   I-also   go-Fut
'If you go I will go too'.

Na·-a re·-ang-o-ba, ang-a-de re·-ang-ja-no-a. 'Even if you go I will not go'.

Na·-a re·-ang-o-sa, ang-a re·-ang-no-a. 'Only if you go will I go'.

These three subordinating suffixes can also follow *-jok* or *-na-jok* as *-jok-o-de* or *-na-jok-o-de*, but they cannot follow *-no-a* 'future'.

Miscellaneous Subordinators. By comparison with the subordinating suffixes already given, those that remain are distinctly marginal. They are less common and have more specialized meanings. Nevertheless they fit

into the same grammatical constructions as the others, so they need to be
included with them.

-a-ri 'just, merely, right after'. The same *-a-ri*, or one that is ho-
mophonous and has the same meaning, is a common adverbial affix (see
the next chapter). When it is placed last in a verb, however, it subordi-
nates its clause to the next one, like any other subordinating suffix:

A-da-gip-a-de   ra-sot-a-ri   cha·-a-na.
older brother-but butcher-just ate-Neut-Quo
'It is said that the older brother, on the other hand, just butchers (it)
and eats'.

Cha·-a-ri, ang-a   do-kan-cha i·-ang-a.
eat-just   I-Nomn shop-to   go
'I just eat and then go to the shop'.

The following example has two *-a-ri*'s. The first subordinates its clause
to the next verb. The second is an adverbial affix that is followed by the
principal verb suffix *-jok*:

Bi-a   cha·-a-ri dong-a-ri-jok.   Cha-kat-ja-ing-jok.
he-Nomn eat-just   stay-just-Prf   stand-not-Prog-Prf
'He just eats and stays. (He) doesn't get up.'

-mit-ing, -mit-ing-o 'while'. This affix is oddly specific in meaning
for a principal verb suffix, but like any ordinary principal verb suffix, it is
added directly to verb stems. Words such as *skang-o* 'before' and *ja·-man-o*
'after', which seem to fall into the same semantic area, are postpositions and
have a very different syntax from *mit-ing-o*. When *mit-ing* is used without
the locative *-o* it means 'right now, right in the midst of'. It might be said
when calling out to someone to explain a delay: *mi cha·-mit-ing* '(I'm) in
the midst of eating'. More often, *mit-ing-o* is used with the locative suffix.
This nominalizes it and allows the phrase to become the argument of a
verb. It is not so narrow in its time referent as *-mit-ing*:

Ang-ni mi cha·-mit-ing-o, da·-ring-gam-a-bo.
I-Gen   rice eat-while-Loc   NImp-call-NImp
'Don't call while I am eating.'

Bi-ni   chu-mit-ing-o ang-a   sok-ba-jok.
he-Gen sleep-while   I-Nomn arrive-there-Prf
'I arrived while he was sleeping'.

-te. . .-te 'on and on'. This is used to indicate long lasting, continuous
action, The same verb stem is used twice, each time suffixed with *-te*:

cha·-te cha·-te 'eating and eating', *dak-te dak-te* 'doing and doing'. It is most characteristic of a narrative story telling style where some sort of lengthy and time consuming action is described:

>   *Ha·-a grin-e   ga·-ak-te ga·-ak-te bon·-jok.*
>   earth collapse-Sub falling   falling   finished
>   'Earth collapsing, falling and falling, it was finished'.

>   *A·-ba dang-te   dang-te   at-ka   bol-pang-cha do·-kru*
>   fields cultivating cultivating suddenly tree-Loc   dove

mik-u-a-ko   kin-a-na.
call-Nomz-Acc hear-Neut-Quo

>   'While (he was) cultivating and cultivating the fields, suddenly from a
> tree, the call of a dove was heard, it is said'.

Nominalizing Suffixes (B)

Nominalizing suffixes are the third type of principal verb suffix, and they put a verb into a form that can be used as a noun or that can modify a noun. Nominalized verbs are typically used in noun phrases, either as head nouns or as modifiers of head nouns, and like other noun phrase constituents, they can take suffixed case markers. Before nominalization, the underlying verb may have had one or more arguments (subject, object etc.), and these arguments can be carried into the nominalized construction. This is the way that relative clauses are constructed. Nominalization, along with subordination, helps to built up complex constructions from simpler parts. There are four important nominalizing suffixes: *a-*, *gip-a*, *-a-ni*, and *-o*.

-a. In nonnegative sentences, the neutral tense-aspect suffix and this nominalizing suffix are homophonous and both have the same unmarked or neutral character. Nevertheless, they differ in the constructions into which the enter, so they need to be distinguished. A verb nominalized with *-a* can be used as a noun. It can take the case markers and postpositions and act as the head of a noun phrase.

The most common use of a verb nominalized with *-a*, however, is to modify another noun. This is to say that these nominalized verbs fill the role of adjectives. In this role they can either precede or follow the nouns that they modify. The modifier-last position is probably the most neutral, least marked order, but there is little difference in meaning: *nok dal·-a, dal·-a nok* 'big house'.

Chon-a   pi·-sa-rang-na ron·-bo.
small-Nomz child-Plu-Dat give-Imp
'Give (it) to the small children'.

The negative of the nominalizing *-a* is *-gi-ja* rather than *-ja* which is the negative of the tense-aspect marker. The fuller form surely helps the listener to recognize the word as a nominalized verb and to identify he construction into which it has entered:

an-dal-gi-ja   nok
dark-NNomz house
'house that is not dark'

am-sok-gi-ja   chu-ak-a
imagine-NNomz tall-Neut
'unimaginably tall'

Ang-a   jak   nam-gi-ja-cha   mi   cha·-jok.
I-Nomn hand good-Neg-Inst rice eat-Prf
'I ate the rice with bad (i.e. dirty) hands'.

sko   sim·-gi-ja   ha-bu-a.
head wet-NNomz bathe-Neut
'bathe without a wet head, without getting the head wet'

gip-a. This nominalizing suffix overlaps in meaning with *-a* and the two are often interchangeable. However the homophony of the *-a* nominalizer with the neutral tense-aspect marker poses some danger of ambiguity. Probably for this reason modifiers formed with *-a* are most often found in relatively simple syntactic contexts. *-gip-a* has the considerable advantage over *-a* that its status as a nominalizer is unambiguous, and as constructions grow more complex it becomes more likely that *-gip-a* will be used in place of *-a*: *dok-gip-a* 'the one who hits'; *dal·-gip-a a-chak, a-chak dal·-gip-a* 'big dog'; *Tu-ra-o-na kat-ang-gip-a me·-a-sa* 'the man who ran away to Tura'.

Nor do *-a* and *-gip-a* have exactly the same meaning. Nominalizations with *-a* often convey a relatively abstract meaning, while those with *-gip-a* are more individualizing. *-gip-a* can often be translated as 'the one who' and it may pick out one example from many, as when pointing to a group of people and saying *dal·-gip-a man-de* 'the one who is big'. *-gip-a* often, though not always, implies an actor, often a human actor. The difference is shown clearly by two nominalizations of *ra-sot-a*, a verb meaning 'to butcher'. *Ra-sot-a* means 'butchering', 'the act of butchering'. A *ra-sot-gip-a* is a 'butcher', 'the person who does the butchering'.

Even when -*gip-a* does not refer to a human actor it does pick out particular individuals. In the next example *books* is indefinite. In the example that follows -*gip-a* indicates particular books:

Ang-a   gi-sim-a   boi-ko   nik-jok
I-Nomn black-Nomz book-Acc see-Prf
'I saw (some) black books'.

Ang-a   gi-sim-gip-a boi-ko   nik-jok.
I-Nomn black-Nomz book-Acc see-Prf
'I saw the particular books that are black'.

pi·-sa-ming a·-ti-cha   re·-ang-gip-a man-de.
child-with   market-Loc go-Nomz   person
'the man who went to the market with the child'.

me·-a-sa-ni me·-chik-na ron·-gip-a   wak
man-Gen   woman-Dat give-Nomz pig
'the pig that the man gave to the woman'

The negative of -*gip-a* is -*gi-ja-gip-a* 'The one who is not', 'those who are not'. This combines -*gi-ja*, which is the negative of the simpler -*a* nominalization, with -*gip-a*:

jak   nam-gi-ja-gip-a man-de
hand good-NNomz   person
'person whose hands are not good', 'thief'

Gip-bok-gi-ja-gip-a-ko ron·-bo.
white-NNomz-Acc   give-Imp
'Give (me) those that are not white'.

Mik-kang chi·-rong-gi-ja-gip-a pi·-sa-de, i-a.
face   clean-NNomz   child-but   this-Nomn
'This is the child with the unclean face'.

Kal-i dong-gi-ja-gip-a kol-om-ko   gal-jok.
ink   have-NNomz   pen-Acc   throw-away-Prf
'(He) threw away the pen that had no ink'.

Transitive verbs can modify nouns just as intransitives can, but they are most naturally translated into English as relative clauses:

Cha·-eng-gip-a man-de ok-a-no-a.
eat-Prog-Nomz person satisfied-Fut
'The man who is eating will be satisfied, will be full'.

Not only single verbs but even entire clauses can be nominalized. The arguments of the verb are then drawn into the resulting relative clause. The next sentence can be turned into a relative clause, as in the sentence that follows. In that second sentence the relative clause modifies *man-de* 'person':

Ang-a   man-de-ko me·-ja-o   nik-a-ming.
I-Nomn person-Acc yesterday-Loc see-Neut-Pst
'I saw the person yesterday'.

Ang-ni me·-ja-o   nik-gip-a   man-de da·-sal si-jok
I-Gen   yesterday-Loc see-Nomz   person   today   die-Prf
'The person I saw yesterday died today'.

As the examples suggest, the line between modification by an adjective and modification by a relative clause is less sharp in Garo than in English. However, as soon as arguments are pulled into a modifier along with the verb, the resulting clause is much more likely to precede the noun than to follow the noun that it modifies. As befits its greater complexity, it is also more likely to be marked by *-gip-a* than by *-a*. Single-word modifiers are somewhat more likely to follow the noun. Relative clauses will be considered in more detail in Chapter 12, "Complex Noun Phrases".

The details by which modification is accomplished reveal one difference among Garo intransitive verbs that parallels the difference between English verbs and adjectives. In the two following sentences *dal·-a* 'to be big' and *kat-a* 'to run' are used in what appears to be exactly the same way. Both of these sentences are fully grammatical. Sentences like this give us no grounds for setting adjectives apart as in any way different from other intransitive verbs:

Ang-a   ma·-su dal·-a-ko   nik-a.
I-Nomn cow   big-Sub-Acc see-Neut
'I see the big cow'.

Ang-a   ma·-su kat-a-ko   nik-a.
I-Nomn cow   run-Sub-Acc see-Neut
'I see the running cow'.

However speakers allow only the first of the next two sentences. These two differ from the previous pair in having the modifier before the noun rather than after it.

Ang-a   dal·-a   ma·-su-ko nik-a.
I-Nomn big-Sub   cow-Acc   see-Neut
'I see the big cow'.

Ang-a kat-a   ma·-su-ko nik-a
I-nom   run-Sub cow-Acc   see-Neut
'I see the running cow'.

Nevertheless, *kat-* 'run' can be placed in front of the noun by using the alternative nominalizer *-gip-a*. The following sentence is fully grammatical:

Ang-a   kat-gip-a ma·-su-ko nik-a
I-Nomn run-Sub cow-Acc   see-Neut
'I see the running cow'.

Dal·-a, *dal·-gip-a* and *kat-gip-a* can be placed on either side of the noun that is being modified. Only *kat-a*, is limited to the post-nominal position. The difference reflects the difference in the meaning of the two nominalizing suffixes. *-gip-a* is more individualizing. It has the meaning of 'the one that, the one who'. *-a* is more general and more abstract. *Kat-gip-a ma·-su* means very concretely 'the cow that runs'. *Kat-a ma·-su* is impossible. In this detail, Garo makes a distinction among its intransitive verbs that parallels the English distinction between adjectives and intransitive verbs. In most respects, both kinds of Garo intransitive verbs are used in exactly the same way.

-a-ni. 'abstract nominalizer'. *-a-ni* may be related to, or derived from, the nominalizer *-a* with a genitive case marker which, like other genitives can modify nouns. When used as a noun, however, a verb nominalized with *-a-ni* has an abstract meaning. Such nouns are not so productively constructed as nominalizations in *-a* and *-gip-a*, and their meanings are not entirely predictable from the meanings of their parts: *an·-seng-a-ni* 'joy', from *an·-seng-a* 'to be happy'; *dak-chak-a-ni* 'help' (n.) from *dak-chak-a* 'help' (v.); *i·-ang-a-ni* 'going, trip' from *i·-ang-a* 'go'; *cha·-a-ni* 'food' from *cha·-a* 'eat'; *chan-chi-a-ni* 'idea, thoughts' from *chan-chi-a* 'think'; *a-gan-grik-a-ni* 'conversation' from *a-gan-a* 'talk, say' and *-grik-* 'each other'; *in-grik-a-ni* 'conversation, often angry, argument' from *in-a* 'say'; *at-chong-chak-a-ni* 'things with a place for sitting, chairs, stools, etc.' from *at-chong-a* 'sit' and *-chak-a* 'fit'; *dok-a-sik-a-ni* 'musical instruments', literally 'things beaten and blown'. Verbs with adverbial affixes can be nominalized with *-a-ni*: *nik-ja-ing-a-ni* 'things not seen'.

Verbs nominalized with *-a-ni* can modify nouns just as genitive nouns can. The noun *sil-ni* 'of iron' modifies *sang-gong* 'bracelet' in *sil-ni sang-gong* 'iron bracelet, bracelet of iron', and verbs with *-a-ni* can act in the same way: *bi-a-ni sal* 'wedding day', from *bi-a* 'marry'; *mal-a-ni sam* 'love potion', from *mal-a* 'crawl' and *sam* 'herb, medicine', literally 'medicine to make someone crawl':

nok-o   dong-a-ni so-moi-o
house-Loc be-Nomz time-Loc
'at the time of being in the house, when in the house'

Locative Nominalizers. *-o* is a common locative case marker with nouns. In addition *-o* and several other more complex suffixes that include *-o* are used to nominalize verbs. Unlike the homophonous case marker, the *-o* nominalizers always have a temporal meaning, never a spatial one.

The simplest of the locative subordinators is simply *-o* 'when, at the time of':

Sal   nap-na-nap-na dak-o   ang-a   nok-o   sok-a.
sun   enter-enter   do-LNomz I-Nomn house-Loc arrive
'I reach the house when the sun is setting'.

-o can also be coupled with two of the tense-aspect markers to form morphologically complex nominalizing suffixes. *-jok-o* 'at the time of finishing', 'when (past)' combines the completive meaning of *-jok* with the locative meaning of *-o*. *-na-jok-o* 'when (future)' combines the future meaning of *-na-jok* with the locative meaning of *-o*. *-o* cannot be used together with the future tense-aspect marker *-no-a*:

An·-seng-a bon·-jok-o   cha-kat-na man·-no-a.
party   finish-LNomz get-up-Inf   able-Fut
'When the party has finished, (we) can get up'.

Nang·-ni cha·-na-jok-o   ang-ko   o-kam-bo.
you-Gen eat-IFut-LNomz I-Acc   call-Imp
'When you want to eat, call me'.

Locative nominalizers are more fully descried in Chapter 12, "Complex Noun Phrases".

Verbs and Postpositions (C)

One important function of the nominalizing suffixes is to put verbs into a form that allows them to be used with postpositions. As might be expected, this is especially important for the temporal postpositions such as *skang* 'before' and *ja·-man-o* 'after', though other postpositions can also be used after nominalized verbs. While postpositions can follow nouns formed with any of the nominalizing suffixes, *-a* is the nominalizer most often used, perhaps because the postposition itself makes the construction sufficiently transparent to render the more elaborate *-gip-a* redundant. Postpositions generally follow a case marker so when they are used with nominalized verbs

the sequence is: verb stem—nominalizer—case marker—postposition. The
use of postpositions with nouns and nominalized verbs can be compared in
the following table. The examples with nouns follow a case marker. The
examples with verbs follow the same case marker, but that, in turn, follows
the nominalizing suffix -*a*, except for the last example, in which it follows
nominalizing -*o*. Postpositions will be described in detail in Chapter 9,
Nominals.

Postpositions with:	Nouns	Nominalized verbs
Follows genitive:	*nas-ta-ni ja·-man-o* 'after breakfast'	*re·-ang-a-ni ja·-man-o* 'after going'
	ang-ni gim-in 'because of me'	*neng'-a-ni gimin* 'because of being tired'
Follows dative:	*ang-na gan-da* 'because of me'	*dok-a-na gan-da* 'because of the hitting'
Follows extended locative:	*me-ja-o-ni dip-at* 'since yesterday'	*neng'-o-ni dip-at* 'since being tired'

OPTIONAL VERB AFFIXES

Adverbial Affixes (A)

The two obligatory constituents of verbs, verb bases and principal verb suffixes, were described in the previous chapter. This chapter will describe the remaining two constituents, the adverbial affixes that fit between the verb base and the principal verb suffix, and the terminal verb suffixes that come last of all. Each verb needs one, but only one, principal verb suffix, but a verb can have a whole string of adverbial affixes or it can have none. These affixes permit verbs to convey a great deal of specific meaning that is conveyed in English by separate words. They are a distinctive feature of the Garo language, and skillful speaking requires the ability to toss them off easily.

There are some limitations on which affixes can be used with which verb bases and in a few cases, particularly where adverbial affixes are contradictory in meaning, there are restrictions on which of them can be used with each other. Nevertheless, many adverbial affixes can be used in the same verb and they can be used in almost any combination. Unlike word order, however, where the language permits great freedom, the order of the adverbial affixes is almost completely fixed. By and large, the more common adverbial affixes come late in the word, and these later affixes can generally be used most freely with the widest variety of verbs. A few adverbial affixes, in particular those that come near the end of the string, can be used with any verb in the language. Those that occur closer to the verb base are more idiosyncratic. Their meanings are not always as transparent as those that come later, and they are more restricted in the verb bases

with which they can be used. For the most part, adverbial affixes can be used freely with any of the principal verb suffixes and the meaning of the whole word generally follows in a transparent fashion from the meaning of its parts. Speakers freely construct new combinations of verb stems and adverbial affixes, and hearers must be able to reconstruct the overall meaning of words they have never heard before, just as people who listen to English must be able to understand the meanings of phrases they have never heard before. However, the derivational affixes that are found closest to the verb bases can form tight compounds with the verb base, and in this case the meaning of the resulting verb stems may not be fully predictable from the meaning of their parts.

Many adverbial affixes can be used in no other way than as adverbial affixes, but some can also be used as independent verb bases. The verb bases *dil-* 'lead, guide' and *pil·-* 'return', for example, can also be suffixed to other verbs as adverbial affixes. Indeed, so many forms can be used both as independent verb bases and as adverbial affixes, that derivation from verb bases seems the most likely origin of most adverbial affixes. However, some of the most frequently used adverbial affixes are never used as independent verb bases, and if they were originally derived from verb bases, any trace of that origin is now lost. Verb bases cannot now be productively converted into adverbial affixes, and it would be quite wrong to think of the building up of a sequence of adverbial affixes as simply a way of stringing verb bases together. To string ordinary verb bases together requires the first to have a subordinating suffix such as *-e*.

The language has scores of adverbial affixes. Those that are most common and most essential are described here, and a few examples are given of the less common types. Many others will be found in the word lists in Volume II. They are described here in approximately descending order of their frequency and importance. This means that those that occur latest in the word (closest to the principal verb suffix), and those that are most consistent in their meaning, are generally listed early, while those that are less common and more idiosyncratic are described later. However a few important affixes come relatively early in the sequence and a learner will need these quite soon. The "A" list includes the most essential of the adverbial affixes. These can be used with nearly all verbs, and they have entirely clear meanings. Their freedom of use and high frequency entitles them to be called "inflectional" affixes. The affixes on the "B" list are a bit less essential but still very general in their meaning. The affixes on the the "C" list are less common. The examples given here are grouped by their meaning. Some describe shape and direction, some separation and togetherness, and some strength and completeness. The final list gives examples of more specialized "derivational" affixes. These are found closest

to the verb base and they join with the base to form verb stems.

Adverbial Affixes: Inflectional (A)

-ing-, -eng-, -ong- progressive. Mandis pronounce this affix as *-ing-*, the A·chik say *-eng-*, and speakers of some dialects of northern A·beng in the Garo Hills say *-ong-*. In whatever way this is pronounced, it is the sign of the progressive. Its resemblance to English *-ing*, of course, is pure coincidence. In fact the English and Mandi affixes are pronounced quite differently since the Mandi syllable ends with *-ng*, so *i* has its backed pronunciation. The progressive affix in Garo, as in English, indicates that the action or condition indicated by the verb is in progress. *Bi-song kat-ing-a* 'They are running'; *Mu-a-ko dak-ing-jok?* 'What have (you) been doing?' For English speakers, the meaning is rather transparent when used with words that translate English verbs, though it is used in a slightly wider range of circumstances than is the English progressive. For example, the Mandi sentence *Ang-ko a-chak mang-cha-ing-a* 'the dog is angry at me' has a progressive *-ing* although its natural translation into English does not. The Mandi progressive in this case indicates that the anger is in effect right now and that it is not necessarily permanent.

Since words with "adjective" meanings are intransitive verbs in Mandi, the progressive suffix can be used freely with words that have meanings such as 'big, small, hot' and so on, and the meanings of the progressive of these verbs are not so obvious to an English speaker. As with words with such meanings as 'run' or 'give', however, the progressive refers to the current and on-going condition. *Ang-a cha·-ing-a* 'I am eating (right now), I am currently eating'; *Ang-a neng·-ing-a* 'I am tired (right now), I am currently in the state of tiredness (but I am not necessarily in a permanent condition of tiredness)'; *A-chak-pi·-sa chon-ing-a* 'The baby dog is small right now, currently in the state of smallness' (but that is not its permanent condition); *A-chak-pi-sa chon-a*, without the progressive suffix, means 'The puppy is small', (quite likely permanently, the runt of the litter perhaps). *-ing* also sometimes indicates a developing condition. *Ka·-sin-a* means 'to be cold, of objects'. *Ka·-sin-ing-a*, with an added progressive, can be used to mean 'getting cold'.

If a verb has other adverbial affixes, *-ing-* is always the last, immediately before the principal verb suffix. *-ing-* is often used along with *-ang* 'in that direction', or *-ba-* 'in this direction' which are also adverbial affixes, and when used together as *-ang-ing-* or *-ba-ing-* they mean progressive development: *dal·-ba-ing-jok* 'getting big' (see below under *-ang-, -ba-*). The progressive affix is very common and scores of examples are scattered throughout these chapters.

-ja- 'negative'. This affix also comes late in the sequence of adverbial affixes, but when both are present, *-ja-* always comes before the progressive *-ing-*. When used with most tense-aspect suffixes, the *-ja-* and the tense-aspect marker maintain their full forms: *-ja-jok* 'not any more', *-ja-no-a* 'will not', *-ja-na-jok* 'will not any more'. Where *-ja-* might be expected to occur with the present-neutral suffix, *-a*, however, it contracts. Instead of **-ja-a* which would be expected as the non-contracted form, what is actually found is simply *-ja*. This can be regarded as the negative form of the present-neutral tense. It is one of a number of contractions that take place when vowels would otherwise face each other across a syllable boundary. If, however, a progressive *-ing-* follows the *-ja-*, the present-neutral *-a* is as securely present as any other tense-aspect suffix: *cha·-ja-ing-a* 'not eating'. *-ja-* negates the verb, and thereby the sentence in which it is used: *kat-ja* 'does not run', *dal·-ja* 'is not big', *ken-ja-no-a* 'will not be afraid', *neng·-ja-jok* 'not tired any longer', *go-ja-na-jok* 'will not throw any longer', *kin-a-ja-ing-a* 'is not hearing', *chon·-ja-ing-jok* 'no longer getting small'.

-ku- 'still, yet'. In positive sentences, the most natural translation of *-ku-* is 'still' but it is used more often in negative than in positive sentences, and the combination *-ku-ja-* means 'not yet'. *-ku-* always comes before *-ja-*. *i·-ba-ku-a* 'still comes', *i·-ba-ku-ja* 'has not yet come', *i·-ba-ku-ing-a* 'is still coming', *-i·-ba-ku-ja-ing-a* 'is not yet coming'. *-ku-ja* is a kind of semantic negative of *-jok*, although it is not the formal negative. *-ja-jok* is the formal negative of *-jok* but that means 'not any more'. This leaves a semantic gap, since *-jok* is a kind of 'perfect' tense that means 'has' or 'change of state'. The semantic negative of *-jok* might be expected to be 'has not', 'there has been no change of state'. This meaning is supplied by *-ku-ja* 'not yet' and this is often coupled with *-jok* in balanced questions, as though they are positive and negative opposites. The next example shows this coupling of *-jok* with *-ku-ja*. (Balanced questions will be described more fully in Chapter 14 "Restructuring").

> *Cha·-jok-ma cha-ku-ja?*
> eat-Prf-Que eat-yet-not
> 'Have (you) eaten (or) not yet eaten?'

The combinations **-ku-jok* and **-ku-ja-jok* are rare to nonexistent, even though both *-ku-ja* and *-ja-jok* are very common, and *-ku-a* is by no means rare. Indeed, it is difficult to know exactly what *-ku-jok* or *-ku-ja-jok* might mean if they did occur. Perhaps they would be something like 'still changed state' and 'still not doing it anymore'. I will let others worry about whether these should count as ungrammatical or simply meaningless.

-et-, -it-, -at- 'causative'. Both -*et*- and -*it*- occur in Mandi with no discernable difference in usage other than speaker preference. The A·chik form is -*at*-. In whatever way it is pronounced, the causative can be used freely with any sort of verb, whether transitive or intransitive. It precedes both the progressive and negative affixes: *ron·-et-ing-a* 'causing to give'. In some cases, -*et*- amounts to a transitivizer, turning an intransitive verb into a transitive one: *mo-jim-a* 'shake back and forth' (intransitive), *mo-jim-et-a* 'cause something to shake back and forth'; *mik-brap-a* 'be dazzled by a bright light', *mik-brap-it-a* 'dazzle (someone) with a bright light'.

do-ga chip-jok 'the door has closed',

Me·-chik do-ga-ko chip-et-na   man·-ja
woman   door-Acc close-Caus-Inf can-Neg
'The woman cannot close the door'

Of course, the causative affix can be added to words that translate English adjectives as well as to words that translate English verbs: *git-chak-et-a* 'cause to be red, redden', *dal·-et-a* 'make large, enlarge'. Mandi has different intransitive and transitive verbs for 'boil': *git-u-a* intransitive and *rit-a* transitive; *Chi git-u-ing-a* 'The water is boiling'; *Am-bi chik-ko rit-a-ming* 'Grandmother boiled the water'. One woman, a fluent speaker, told me emphatically that it was perfectly possible to say *git-u-it-a* 'cause to boil' and that it meant the same thing as *rit-a*. She readily accepted both *ang-a chi-ko git-u-it-a* and *ang-a chi-ko rit-a* as meaning 'I boil the water'. Another fluent speaker told me just as decisively that *git-u-et-a* was utterly impossible, and that the only way to say that someone boils water is with *rit-a*. In fact, *rit-a* is so consistently used for the transitive sense of 'boil' that there is hardly a need for a consensus on whether or not *git-u-it-a* is possible. It is never necessary.

Except where a separate transitive word like *rit-a* may discourage or block a corresponding intransitive from taking a causative, the causative affix is highly productive. It can be used with almost any verb in the language, including transitive verbs: *dok-et-a* 'cause to hit, make (someone) hit', *on·-et-a* 'cause to give, make (someone) give'. I have occasionally heard double causatives—two causative affixes used together: *do-ga-ko chip-et-et-bo* 'cause (someone) to close the door'. Mandis have accepted triple causatives that I have constructed and tested, but I have never caught one in actual use and I am a bit skeptical of their likelihood or genuine acceptability.

Sometimes, however, a causative is added to a transitive verb without much change in meaning. In this case the causative affix seems simply to emphasize the transitive nature of the verb: *rik-a, rik-et-a* 'drive away,

chase away (especially animals)'; *eng-a, eng-et-a* 'untie'; *grip-a, grip-et-a* 'cover, put a cover on'. *Go-a* is a transitive verb meaning 'hit' and one speaker suggested to me that *go-et-a* with a causative means 'throw further or harder' than simple *go-a*. In the following example, also, the *-et-* in *ke·-em-et-a* simply strengthens the transitive nature of the verb, and makes the action more forceful:

> *Sak-a-cha-ko ni-o,   ang-ni mik-ron-o do   ke·-em-et-a*
> up-Loc   see-Loc I-Gen eye-Loc   bird defecate-Pres
> 'While I was looking up, a bird defecated in my eye'

Sometimes a causative verb can be used in two different ways. *pin-ik-a* is a transitive verb meaning 'point to, show'. *pin-ik-et-a*, with a causative affix, can be used with the same meaning, but it can also be used to mean 'make (someone) point'.

-ang- 'away' and **-ba-** 'in this direction' form a pair with opposite meanings. They are often used with verbs of motion, where *-ang-* indicates motion away from the position of the speaker while *-ba-* shows motion toward the speaker. *mal-ang-a* 'crawl away from here', *mal-ba-a* 'crawl in this direction', *kat-ang-a* 'run away', *kat-ba-a* 'run here', *jro-ang-a* 'swim away', *bil-ba-a* 'fly here'. Verbs such as *mal-a* 'crawl', *bil-a* 'fly', and *kat-a* 'run' can easily be used by themselves as long as there is no need to suggest anything about the direction of movement, though they can also be readily joined by one of the directional markers. *I·-a* is more consistently used with either *-ang-* or *-ba-*, yielding *i·-ang-a* 'go' and *i·-ba-a* 'come', though it is not impossible to use *i·-a* without a directional marker to mean simply 'move through space' without implying any particular direction.

The motion that is implied by one of these directional affixes can be somewhat metaphorical. *Dal·-ba-ing-a* 'getting large, growing' could describe a child who is growing up toward the height of the speaker. *Dal·-ang-jok* could describe a tree that has grown up and away from the height of the speaker. Even more abstractly, *-ang-* and *-ba-* can loose any sense of literal motion and simply convey the sense of 'becoming': *Ai-ao, ang-a neng·-ba-ing-jok* 'Oh dear, I'm getting tired, I've been getting tired'; *jrang-ba-a* 'grow light, as at dawn'. In this usage *-ang* and *-ba* become aspect markers that indicate change. Among other uses, they can indicate incipient action in a verb, a meaning that is more often lexicalized in English: *mik-rak-ing-a* 'is awake' has a progressive marker indicating an on-going state; *mik-rak-ba-a* 'wake up, come awake' shows that there is a change toward wakefulness. *Mik-rak-ba-ing-a* means '(he is in the process of) waking up'. *-ang-* and *-ba-* are very frequently used with the progressive *-ing-* and with *-jok* 'change of state':

> *Hai·-ba-ing-jok.* 'Has been coming to understand'.

Mik-ka nam-ang-ing-jok. 'The rain is getting better'.

Ang-a   da·-o a-rat-ba·-ing-jok.
I-Nomn now   bored-come-Prog-Perf
'I'm getting bored now'

These two directional markers always precede the other affixes that have already been described and they precede many that are still to be listed. Typically, they follow directly after the verb stem. Nevertheless, like the progressive, they are intimately involved in the semantics of tense and aspect. When used in the sense of 'becoming', *-ang-* and *-ba-* can be near synonyms, although even here they may be related to the state of the speaker. *mik-rak-ba-ing-jok* 'waking up' and *chu-ang-ing-jok* 'going to sleep' imply that the speaker is awake and that the sleeper's condition is approaching or moving away from that of the speaker. In their use as directional affixes *-ang* and *-ba-* are opposites, and in neither meaning can they occur together in the same verb.

-pil·-, -pil- 'return, reversed'. Garo has several other adverbial affixes in addition to *-ang-* and *-ba-* that indicate direction of movement. As an independent verb base *pil·-* means 'return, go back', and it carries that meaning into the verb to which it is affixed. As an independent verb it has a raka (glottal stop) but in accordance with the very general Garo rule, the raka is lost when it occurs as the second syllable of a word. It is retained when in third syllable position. *i·-ba-pil·-a* 'come back, return'; *pang-pil-a* 'reversed, upside down'; *am·-pil-a* 'turn away, turn around'; *wal-pil-a*, 'come back, return'; *tang-pil-a* 'come to life again after apparently being dead'.

In addition to *-pil·-*, A'chik speakers use the adverbial affix *-tai-* 'again'. *I·-ba-tai-bo* 'come again', *Nam-gi-ja-gip-a kam-ko dak-tai-jok* '(He) has done bad things again'. *-tai-* is rarely used in Mandi, and instead, *-pil·-* is extended in meaning to include the sense of 'again'. This means that, in Mandi, *pil·-* does not always imply a 'return' or an undoing of what went before, though it often does.

Most of the adverbial affixes that have been described up to now can easily be used together in the same verb: *kat-ba-pil·-ku-ja-ing-a* 'not yet running back here'.

-a-ri- 'just, merely, for no special reason'. *-a-ri-* is rarely used with a negative, but very frequently with the progressive. When followed immediately by the progressive *-ing-* the two affixes often contract to *-a-ring-*. Along with its central meaning of 'just, merely', it can sometimes suggest a certain surprise or rapidity. The same, or a homophonous, suffix with a similar meaning is also used as a subordinating suffix (see Chapter 6,

"Verbs"). *-a-ri* is very common in Mandi. My impression is that it is less often used in A·chik:

> *Ak-bri   si-a-ri-jok.*
> Cls-four die-just-Prf
> 'Seven people simply died'.

> *A·-gan-na   man·-a-ring-a.*
> speak-Inf   can-just-Prog-Neut
> 'I can just talk'.

> *Gim-ik-ko-in   cha·-a-ri-a.   Ma-ming ji-a-ni dong-ja.*
> all-Acc-Frg   eat-just-Neut anything   refusal be-Neg
> 'Just eats everything. There are no refusals' (expresses some surprise)'.

> *Ring-to   da·-ring-to   ring-a-ri-no-a.*
> drink-tasty not-drink-tasty drink-anyway-Fut
> 'Whether it tastes good to drink or not, (I) will drink (it) anyway.'

> *Bi-ming-ko ang-a-de   gu-al-a-ri-a.*
> name-Acc   I-Nomn-but forget-just-Neut
> 'I simply forgot (his) name'.

> *Un-i-ko-de i·-no-in   dim-dak-in   dong-tok-a-ri-ing-a.*
> then   here-Frg all-Frg   be-at-all-just-Prog-Neut
> 'Then all of them are just staying here'.

> *Tek-ja,   spok-e   don-a-ri-a.*
> lock-Neg insert-Sub put-just-Neut
> '(It is) not locked, just left plugged in'.

Adverbial Affixes: General (B)

The adverbial affixes of the next group are used a bit less often than those already listed, but they are still very common. They have somewhat more specific meanings than those in the first group, and they could be described as more "word-like" and less "grammatical". All of these except *-be-* 'very' precede *-it, -ku, -ja-,* and *-ing-* and all of them follow *-ang-* and *-ba*. The adverbial affixes in this set can generally be used productively with any verb base where the meaning is appropriate.

-be-, -bi- 'very, a lot'. Several adverbial affixes act as intensifiers. *-be-* is the most common and probably the least emphatic of them. *jang-be-a* 'very noisy', *kat-be-a* 'runs a great deal', *at-ti mat-be-a* 'the knife is very sharp', *cha·-be-a* 'eats a lot'. This is unusual among the adverbial affixes

in being able to occur in more than a single fixed position. Most often it comes before *-ja-* as in *dal·-be-ja* 'not very big', but occasionally it follows *-ja-* instead, in which case it strongly emphasizes the negation: *dal·-ja-be-a* 'very much not big' which could be expected to be good deal smaller than merely *dal·-be-ja* 'not very big'. *Dal·-ja-be-a* does not come entirely easily, however, perhaps because of the danger of ambiguity.

-tok- 'all, everything'. *Nik-tok-a* 'see everything', *kat-ang-tok-jok* 'have all run away'. *-tok-* risks ambiguity since 'all' can refer either to the subject or the object of the verb: *Ching-a bi-song-ko nik-tok-a* could mean either 'We all see them' or 'We see them all'.

-grik- 'mutually, each other'. *-grik-* forms reciprocal verbs and it can be used productively with any semantically appropriate verb stem: *a-gan-grik-a* 'converse, talk to each other', *sin-grik-a* 'like each other', *grong-grik-a* 'meet each other'. *-grik-* is used with a few verb bases in ways that have been conventionalized so that the meaning is not fully predictable from the meanings of the parts. *Dak-grik-a*, with the verb base *dak-* 'do, make' might be expected to mean 'do to each other' but it has, instead, the specialized meaning of 'fight'. The following sentence describes two people meeting each other. It would be odd, perhaps ungrammatical, without the *-grik-*, or it might be understood to mean that the man and woman together met a third person:

> *Me·-chik a-ro me·-a-sa grong-grik-a*
> man   and woman   meet-each other-Neut
> 'The man and the woman met each other'

Grong- 'meet' can be used transitively without the *-grik-* but with an accusative object instead: *Me·-a-sa me·-chik-ko grong-a* 'The man meets the woman'.

-srang- 'completely'. This is a stronger and more emphatic intensifier than *-be-* 'very': *i'ang-srang-a* 'completely gone, gone for good', *a-gan-srang-ja-jok* 'no longer says anything at all'. Like *-be-*, it has the unusual ability of being able to occur after as well as before *-ja-* and it is in fact a good deal more natural after *-ja-* than is *-be-*: *Nam-ja-srang* 'completely bad, terrible, awful', *cha·-ja-srang* 'eats absolutely nothing'. Since no principal verb suffix needs to follow *-srang* this has to be seen as a rather eccentric and idiomatic expression. It might even be proposed that *-srang-* counts as a separate word, different from the homophonous adverbial affix. In that case we would expect the principal verb suffix *-a* to have contracted with *-ja-* which would explain its apparent absence. However, *nam-srang-a* 'completely good' has the tense-aspect suffix *-a* after the *-srang-*, and *-srang-* is right where any proper adverbial affix belongs. **Nam-a-srang*

and *_nam-srang_ are utterly impossible. The absence of -_a_ from _nam-ja-srang_ is an anomaly.

-cheng- 'first, before doing anything else': _neng·-tak-cheng-bo_ 'rest first, (before doing anything else)'; _ang-a cha·-cheng-no-a_ 'I will eat first'.

    Cha ring-cheng-na ha·-sik-ing-a-ma?
    tea drink-first-Inf wish-Prog-Neut-Que
    'Do (you) want to drink tea first?' (before doing something else).

The same syllable, in related senses, is found in some other circumstances than as an adverbial affix. _A·-ba-cheng-a_ 'begin' appears to include this affix, but _a·-ba-_ does not exist as a separate verb base. _Cheng-o_ is an adverb meaning 'in former times'. It usually has a locative -_o_, but the first syllable is clearly related to this adverbial affix. After the negative imperative, -_cheng_ has the strange ability to occur after the tense-aspect marker -_a_, instead of before it, where proper adverbial affixes belongs: _da·-dak-cheng-a_ or _da·-dak-a-cheng_ 'don't do it first'; _da·-chok-cheng-a_ or _da·-chok-a-cheng_ 'don't write first'.

    Mo·-na kam-ko   ka·-a-cheng!
    NImp   work-Acc do-Neut-first
    'Don't do the work first!'

Other adverbial affixes cannot appear in this position, and perhaps this late appearing _cheng_ has more to do with the locative _cheng-o_ than with the adverbial affix.

-so- 'first, ahead, before someone else, wait'. While -_cheng-_ means to do one thing before another thing, -_so-_ means 'to do something before someone else does it': _Cha·-so-a_ 'eat before someone else', _cha·-cheng-a_ 'eat before doing something else', _seng-so-a_ 'wait', _i·-ang-so!_ 'go ahead!, go first!'

    Ang-a   re·-ang-na skang   cha·-cheng-no-a.
    I-Nomn go-Inf   before eat-first-Fut
    'I will eat first, before going'.

    Ang-a nang·-na skang   i·-ang-so-no-a.
    I   you-Dat before go-first-Fut-Neut
    'I will go before you, in front of you'.

-kal- 'more than, comparative'. This is the most common comparative affix in Mandi, while -_bat-_ (see just below) is more common in the A·chik dialects with which I am acquainted, but both affixes are widely understood: _dal·-kal-a_ 'bigger', _kat-kal-a_ 'runs more'.

Ang-a   nang·-na bat-e dal·-kal-a.
I-Nomn you-Dat more big-more-Neut
'I am bigger than you'.

-bat- 'more than, exceed, go across'. This is the usual comparative affix in the A·chik dialect that I am best acquainted with. It is equivalent in meaning and use to *-kal-*, but unlike *-kal-, -bat-* is related to, and presumably derived from, the independent verb base *bat-a* 'cross, go over, pass'. When used as an adverbial affix it can retain that meaning, though it can also be simply a comparative: *ga·-bat-a* 'step across, step over'; *nam-bat-a* 'better', *cha·-bat-a* 'eat more', *in-di-sik-bat-a* 'this much more'. *-bat-* is also clearly related to the postposition *bat-e* 'more than':

Bi-a ang-na bat-e bol-cha-bat-a.
he   I-Dat   more tall-more-Neut
'More than me, he is taller', 'He is taller than me'.

-dil- 'lead, causitive'. The main causative affix in Mandi is *-et-* or *-it-*, but a second affix, *-dil-*, sometimes acts as a causative as well. As an independent verb base, *dil-* means 'lead, guide, show how'. As an adverbial affix it often retains this meaning, but at times its meaning extends to causation: *re·-ang-dil-a* 'lead, guide'; *pi·-sa-ko cha·-dil-a* 'lead the child in eating, feed, cause to eat'; *ken-dil-a* 'frighten' (*ken-a* 'be afraid'); *ha-bu-dil-a* 'give someone a bath' (*ha-bu-a* 'take a bath'); *dong-dil-a* 'care for a baby or small child' (lit. 'lead in being'); *dak-dil-a* 'show how, lead' (lit. 'lead in doing'); *nang-dil-a* 'bump together', 'cause something to bump' (*nang-a* 'bump into something', intransitive). Perhaps *-et-* is becoming increasingly grammaticalized as a transitive marker, while *-dil-* is coming to take its place in a more literally causative sense.

-it- and *-dil-* may carry somewhat different meanings, with *-it-* being more directly causative. *Si-it-a* 'cause to die' implies specific killing. *Si-dil-a* is 'allow do die' as by neglect. A verb with both causatives is possible, though not common: *nik-dil-et-a* 'show where something can be seen'.

-man·- 'get, accomplish, manage to, finish, be able'. As an independent verb the central meaning of *man·-* is 'be able, can' and it carries a related meaning into its use as an adverbial affix. It can be used productively with most verb bases, but *-man·-* has merged with some verb bases into lexicalized verb stems with conventionalized meanings: *ku·-man-a* 'good at language, good at talking'; *ku·-man-ja* 'speak badly, stutter' (*ku·-sik* 'mouth, language'); *nik-man-a* 'notice, discover' (*nik-a* 'see'); *bil-man-a* 'have strength'; *sok-man-ja* 'fail to reach' (*sok-a* 'arrive').

Ang-ni re·-ang-a-ni gim-in,   ang-a   cha·-man·-jok.
I-Gen go-Nomz   because I-Nomn eat-finished-Prf
'Because of my departure, I have finished eating'.

-bru- 'falsely, pretending'. *in-bru-a* 'tell wrongly'; *jom-bru-a* 'pretend to be sick'; *dak-bru-a* 'pretend, pretend to do'; *i·-ba-bru-a* 'come when not expected, at a bad time'; *bi-ka so-bru-a* 'pretend to be angry'; *pin-bru-a* 'cover too much, as hair covering the face, a blanket over one's head'; *in-grik-bru-a* 'quarrel in jest'; *ra·-bru-a* 'follow without belief, as religious rules'.

-e- 'while going'. This indicates movement, travel. While not terribly common it it can be used quite productively:

Cha·-e-a-ma   cha·-e-ja?
eat-go-Neut-Que eat-go-Neg
'(Has he) gone to eat or not?'

Ang-a   nang·-ko srap-e-ja-jok.
I-Nomn you-Acc catch up-go-Neg-Prf
'I didn't catch up with you, didn't get there in time'.

In the following sentence the *-e-* of *don-e-no-a* 'will go and put' is redundant, repeating the motion already indicated by *re·-ang-e* 'while taking'. The adverbial affix *-e-* is homophonous with the subordinating suffix, but its meaning and syntax are quite different:

Ang-a   i·-ko   ba-bul-chi-cha ra·-ang-e don-e-no-a.
I-Nomn this-Acc kitchen-Loc   take-Sub put-go-Fut
'I take this and will put (it) in the kitchen'

Adverbial Affixes: Specialized (C)

The adverbial affixes that have been described in the previous two sections are very common, and they can be used freely and productively with a wide variety of verbs. Mandi has scores of others that are more specialized, and that vary from semi-productive to no more than minimally productive. A few examples of the least productive kind of adverbial affixes are described in the final part of this section. These are the kind that deserve to be called "derivational affixes". They form somewhat tighter constructions with the verb bases to which they are attached than do those listed earlier. The sample given here is intended to suggest the range of meanings that they convey and the kinds of verb stems that they can form. Some indicate

something about shape or direction of movement and others show something about spacing or strength, but their meanings are extremely varied. Many other examples are given in the lexical lists in Volume II.

Most of the bases to which these adverbial affixes are attached can act independently as verbs, and the affix simply refines the meaning of the base. A few of the bases are not verbs at all, however, but nouns or numeral classifiers. The nouns may originally have been incorporated objects, but they have become an integral part of the verb stems. *ja·-rik-a* 'follow (someone walking)', for example, is formed from *ja·-* 'foot, leg' and *-rik-* 'go after, follow'. *ja·-rik-a* is a completely conventional word and it would be impossible to use *rik-* by itself in this sense. Since it comes first, the *ja·-* might be considered to be the verb base although it is never used without an adverbial affix. In some cases, the verb base has no independent use at all, as a verb or anything else, but gains its meaning only in conjunction with an adverbial affix. The adverbial affixes of these verb stems do have identifiable meanings and they can be used in related sense with other verb bases. For example *deng-gok-a* means 'bow deeply'. *-gok-* has the meaning of 'bend the body' in a number of other verbs: (*geng-gok-a* 'sleep with the knees drawn up', *gok-gok-a* 'bend over', *bam-gok-a* 'bow') but if *deng-* ever had a meaning of its own, separate from *-gok-*, that meaning is now lost. Most of these adverbial affixes are used in no other way except as affixes, but a few can also be used as independent verb bases with the same or a related meaning.

A considerable number of adverbial affixes are reduplicated in form, the same syllable occurring twice, sometimes with a slight change. In their reduplication, they resemble lexical adverbs, which are very often reduplicated. A good many adverbial affixes can occur both in reduplicated and nonreduplicated form. The reduplicated version sometimes implies more repetition than the nonreduplicated form, though there may be little difference in meaning. *-tip-* and *-tip-tip* both occur as adverbial affixes with the meaning of 'cover': *rim·-tip-a* 'cover with the hands'; *wen-tip-tip-a* 'wind around thoroughly'; *ga·-jet-a, ga·-jet-jet-a* 'hold tight with the feet or legs'.

Shapes and Directions . The adverbial affixes do not fall into obvious categories, and they contribute all sorts of meanings to their verbs. A few meanings are characteristic, however, and a considerable number of adverbial affixes indicate something about the shape of the object being talked about or the direction of its movement. The following examples are typical.

-chok- 'pointed'. *ku·-chok-a* 'pointed, of a pen, an animal's nose, the crescent moon'; (*ku·-* 'mouth'); *ro·-chok-a* 'long and pointed' (*ro·-a* 'long');

ran·-chok-a 'thin, scrawny, of people', (lit. 'dry and pointed').

-chrit- 'in slices, into long pieces, in stripes, striped'. *sal-chrit-a* 'striped, as cloth, or a tiger' (*sal-a* 'pull, draw a line'), *den·-chrit-a* 'chop into long pieces' (*den·-a* 'cut, chop'), *mat-chrit-a* 'cut slightly, scratch' (*mat-a* 'cut, wound').

-ket- 'filled, squeezed tight'. *gap-ket-a* 'filled up tight, no more space, squeezed in' (*gap-a* 'full'); *dap-ket-a* 'push wet mud into cracks', 'bury'; *jot-ket-a* 'insert, plug up' (*jot-a* 'insert'); *chang-ket-a* 'choke on something'.

-on- 'down, downward'. *chok-on-a* 'get down, get off, as from a bus' (*chok-a* 'jump'); *ni-on-a* 'look down' (*ni-a* 'look'); *sik-on-a* 'push down' (*sik-a* 'insert'); *bil-on-a* 'fly down' (*bil-a* 'fly').

-pru- 'through, cut through'. *rat-pru-a* 'cut through' (*rat-a* 'cut, slice'); *ga·-pru-a* 'step through' (*ga·-a* 'step'); *dok-pru-a* 'knock a hole through' (*dok-a* 'hit').

-rik- 'follow, along the way'. *kin-a-rik-a* 'listen to' (*kin-a-* 'hear'); *ja·-rik-a* 'follow' (*ja·-* 'leg, foot'); *hai·-rik-a* 'recognize' (*hai·-a* 'know'); *dong-rik-a* 'stay behind' (*dong-a* 'be at'); *gi·-sik ra·-rik-a* 'remember' (*gi·-sik* 'mind', *ra·-a* 'take').

-ro-, *-ru-* 'long'. *mang-ro-a* 'long in the body' (*mang-* 'classifier for animals'); *chang-ro-a* 'tall, of people, trees'; *ja·-ro-a* 'long, of pant legs, shirt tails, for a long time' (*ja·-* 'leg').

-wen-wen- 'in circles'. *kat-wen-wen-a* 'run in circles' (*kat-a* 'run'); *bil-wen-wen-a* 'fly in circles' (*bil-a* 'fly'). As an independent verb, *wen-wen-a* means 'wind around, wrap around'.

Separate, Together, Pieces. Other adverbial affixes indicate whether objects are close together or spread apart.

-chap- 'together'. *ra·-chap-a* 'take together, take something with something else' (*ra·-a* 'take'); *sik-chap-a* 'put together' (*sik-a* 'insert'); *dong-chap-a* 'add a second spouse' (*dong-a* 'be at, dwell').

-drak- 'separate, into pieces'. *bit-drak-a* 'spread apart, as thatch, clothing'; *chit-drak-a* 'tear off' (*chit-a* 'tear'); *o-drak-a* 'take off, of banana peel' (*o-a* 'open'); *den·-drak-a* 'chop into pieces' (*den·-a* 'chop').

-gat- 'add, cover, put on top'. *so·-gat-a* 'push into fire' (*so·-a* 'burn' trans.); *di·-gat-a* 'lift onto, load' (*di·-a* 'lift'); *ra·-gat-a* 'adopt a child' (*ra·-a* 'take'). As an independent verb *gat-a* means 'load onto'

-ok- 'come apart, take apart'. *sal-ok-a* 'pull out' (*sal-a* 'pull'); *go·-ok-a* 'come apart, come loose'; *po·-ok-a* 'take off, take out, of hats, corks'. As an independent verb base *ok-a* means 'pull out, extract'.

-go·-ok-, *-gok-* 'broken apart, separated'. *dok-gok-a* 'hit and separate, as to knock off a handle' (*dok-a* 'hit'); *rong·-gok-a* 'break off a round thing,

such as the bottom of a glass' (*rong-a* 'classifier for small round things');
gil-gok-a 'peel, what happens to skin when irritated' (*bi-gil* 'skin'). As an
independent verb *goꞏ-ok-a* means 'separate, come apart'.

    -grang- 'spaced'. *ap-grang-a* 'widely spaced of basket pieces, made with
open spaces' (*ap-dalꞏ-a* 'wide'); *wa-grang-a* 'dented, of a knife blade' (*wa-*
'tooth'); *ka-grang-a* 'make with open spaces, of a fence' (*ka-a* 'tie, build
fence').

    -pri- 'into pieces'. *ak-pri-a* 'tear into pieces' (*ak-a* 'pick, pluck, as
fruit'); *go-pri-a* 'scatter' (*go-* 'throw'); *denꞏ-pri-a* 'cut into pieces' (*denꞏ-a*
'cut, chop').

    Strong, Fast, Complete, Constant. Many adverbial affixes indi-
cate the manner in which an action is performed.

    -chrak- 'forcefully, uncontrolled'. *biꞏ-chrak-a* 'break off, as branches in
the wind' (*bi-a* 'break'); *kiꞏ-chrak-a* 'defecate vigorously' (*kiꞏ-a* 'defecate',
used in Aꞏchik as a verb but used only in compounds in Mandi); *kenꞏ-chrak-
a* 'comb vigorously, as to get out lice' (*kenꞏ-a* 'comb'); *pik-chrak-a* 'pull out
strongly, as with roots, stones etc.' (*pik-a* 'pull out').

    -rak- 'strong, fast'. *gong-rak-a* 'fast'; *mik-rak-a* 'wake up', (lit. 'strong
in the eyes'), (*mik-ron* 'eye'); *mang-rak-a* 'healthy, strong of body' (*bi-
mang* 'body'); *ding-rak-a* 'strong of long slender things, like string' (*ding-a*
'classifier for string and long things'). As an independent verb base *rak-a*
means 'strong, firm, hard, difficult, expensive'.

    -tat- 'forcefully'. *dok-tat-a* 'hit forcefully' (*dok-a* 'hit'); *sik-tat-a* 'grab
by force, as sons-in-law were once captured'; *ni-tat-a* 'stare' (*ni-a* 'look').

    -tip-tip- 'repeatedly, thoroughly'. *ka-tip-tip-a* 'tie thoroughly'; *ba-ji-
tip-tip-a* 'thoroughly tangled'; *chot-tip-tip-a* 'tear to pieces, of string and
long things'.

    -srok- 'lightly, loosely, gently, partially, incompletely'. *dok-srok-a* 'hit
lightly' (*dok-a* 'hit'); *ha-bu-srok-a* 'bathe quickly or partially' (*ha-bu-a*
'bathe'); *a-gan-srok-a* 'tell partially, incompletely' (*a-gan* 'say, speak').

    -min-ek- 'soften, squash, crush'. *jot-min-ek-a* 'poke and make soft,
crush' (*jot-a* 'insert, poke into'); *gaꞏ-min-ek-a* 'step on and crush' (*gaꞏ-a*
'step'). As an independent verb, *min-ek-a* means 'tender, soft, ripe'.

Adverbial Affixes: Derivational (C)

    This final group of affixes includes those that are the most specialized
of all. Each is used with a restricted set of verb bases, and the meanings of
the resulting verb stems are less consistently predictable from the meaning
of the parts than are the meanings of the affixes listed earlier.

-brok- 'tasteless, bland, rotten, faded'. *so-brok-a* 'rotten, not good to eat' (*so-a* 'rot'); *chi-brok-a* 'tasteless, bland, insipid' (*chi* 'water'); *mik-brok-a* 'fade, loose color, grow dull' (*mik-* 'eye'). *Mik-* and *chi* are nouns rather than verb bases. They cannot be used as verbs without their derivational affixes, and the forms with the affixes are really compounds. A few similar examples will be found among the following verbs.

-chak- 'accept, receive'. *an·-chak-a* 'take into the body, be sick' (*an·-* 'body'); *wang-chak-a* 'open mouth to receive food from another' (*wang-a* 'open mouth wide'); *ni-chak-a* 'act as a midwife, one who sees and receives' (*ni-a* 'look').

-chak- 'for another, support, help'. This is homophonous with *-chak-* 'accept, receive', but seems to have a sufficiently different meaning to count as a separate affix. *dak-chak-a* 'help' (*dak-a* 'do'); *hai·-chak-a* 'be understanding, perceptive' (*hai·-a* 'know'); *a-gan-chak-a* 'answer, reply' (*a-gan-a* 'say'); *ron·-chak-a* 'give help' (*ron·-a* 'give'); *ka·-sa-chak-a* 'sympathize' (*ka·-sa-a* 'love').

-jip- 'with fanning, flapping'. *grang-jip-a* 'flap wings slowly' (*grang* 'wing'); *jak-jip-a* 'beckon, wave' (*jak* 'hand').

-nik- 'look upon, consider, regard'. *chon-nik-a* 'look down on, see as small' (*chon-a* 'small'); *dal·-nik-a* 'look up to, respect, see as large' (*dal·-a* 'big'); *nom·-nik-a* 'appear easy' (*nom·-a* 'easy, soft'); *nam-nik-a* 'like' (*nam-a* 'good'); *seng·-nik-a* 'show off' (*seng·-a* 'bright, smart'). As an independent verb *nik-* means 'see'.

-srip- 'slurp, swirl in the mouth'. *ku·-srip-a* 'swirl water in mouth to rinse it' (*ku-* 'mouth'); *sal-srip-a* 'suck, as on a straw, have a stuffy nose' (*sal-a* 'pull'); *ring-srip-a* 'slurp, as tea' (*ring-a* 'drink').

-to- 'good, tasty, beautiful, comfortable'. *gan-to-a* 'comfortable to wear' (*gan-a* 'wear'); *ni-to-a* 'beautiful to look at' (*ni-a* 'look at'); *kin-a-to-a* 'beautiful to hear' (*kin-a-a* 'hear'); *jak-kal-to-a* 'good to use, comfortable to use' (*jak-kal-a* 'use'). As an independent verb, *to-a* means 'taste good'.

-dik- 'painful, unpleasant, uncomfortable, ugly', the opposite of *-to-*. *ni-dik-a* 'ugly to see' (*ni-a* 'look'); *kin-a-dik-a* 'ugly to hear' (*kin-a-a* 'hear'); *dong-dik-a* 'uncomfortable, in a bad state' (*dong-a* 'exist'); *sa·-dik-a* 'hurt, be painful' (*sa·-a* 'sick, hurt').

Terminal Suffixes (A)

A rather heterogeneous set of suffixes can follow the principal verb suffix. One, *-ming*, expresses past time or conditionality and it works closely with the tense-aspect markers so it counts as part of the tense system.

Others ask questions, label speech as a quotation, and express doubt. A
sentence does not require a terminal suffix, but two, or rarely three, are
sometimes used together with the same verb, and their order is fixed. While
not obligatory, terminal verb suffixes convey important meanings, and they
are very frequent.

-ming 'Past, Conditional'. Except for its rare appearances with some-
thing other than a verb (see "Final Noun Suffixes and Terminal Suffixes"
in Chapter 8, "Nouns"), *-ming* always follows directly after one of the four
tense-aspect markers, *-a, -jok, -no-a,* or *-na-jok*. *-ming-* is very closely
linked to the tense-aspect suffix, and depending upon which tense-aspect
suffix it follows, it can be a simple past, a past perfect, or a conditional.
Generally it indicates that the statement made is not true at the present
time, although it may have been true sometime in the past, or it could
be true in the future or under some stated conditions. *-ming* is not used
in the A·chik dialect, where *-chim* and *-a-ha* divide its functions. For the
Mandi dialect, the combinations of *-ming* with each of the four tense-aspect
markers need to be considered separately.

-a-ming 'simple past'. Mandi does not have a simple past tense suffix
that corresponds to A·chik *-a-ha*, and the morphologically more complex *-
a-ming* takes its place. It is formed from present-neutral tense-aspect suffix,
-a, together with *-ming*, and it simply indicates that something happened
in the past. Whereas *-jok* describes a change of state in which the result
of the change is still with us, *-a-ming* is most often used when the result
of the action is no longer true: *Bi-a kat-ang-jok* 'He ran away (and is still
gone)', *Bi-a kat-ang-a-ming* 'He ran away, he had run away (but may have
come back)'.

> *I-a   nok-ko   tiin-gri   rik-a-ming.*
> this house-Acc tin-without build-Neut-pst
> 'This house was built without tin (i.e. without a tin roof)'.

> *Sal git-chak-a-ring-a-ming.*
> sun red-just-Prog-Neut-Pst
> 'The sun was just turning red'.

> *Bai-sik-ni   ke-ji   bre-a-ming?*
> how much-Gen kilogram buy-Neut-Pst
> 'How many kilos did (you) buy?'

> *Jak-a-si ja·-chok-ni sen-del   kan-gin-ing-ko gan-a-ming.*
> left   foot-Gen   sandal Cls-two-Acc   wear-Neut-Pst
> '(He) wore two left footed sandals'.

Progressives and negatives can be used with *-a-ming* in a straightfor-
ward way:

Je   so-moi ang-a   re·-ang-a u-a so-moi na·-a   gam
whatever time   I-Nomn go-Neut that time   you-Nomn work
rim·-ing-a-ming.
work-Prog-Neut-Pst
'Whenever I went, at that time you were working'.

Ang-a   skang nik-ja-ming; da·-o-ha   nik-jok.
I-Nomn before see-Neg-Pst   now-only see-Prf
'I didn't see it before; only now (I) have seen it'.

I-a   pi·-sa ha-bu-na   gok-ja-ming.
this-Nomn child bathe-Inf   desire-Neg-Pst
'This child did not want to bathe'.

-jok-ming 'past perfect'. This usually indicates that the event or situation described took place before some other event or situation:

Ang-ni i·-ang-a so-moi-o   sim-sim-jok-ming.
I-Gen   go-Nomz time- Loc twilight-Prf-Pst
'At the time of my departure, (it) had become twilight'.

Ang-a   i·-ang-ing-jok-ming. Nang·-ko nik-e   ang-a   pil·-jok.
I   go-Prog-Prf-Pst   you-Acc   see-Sub I-Nomn return-Prf
'I had (just) gone. Seeing you, I came back'.

Nang·-ni a-gan-a-ko   ang-a   kin-a-jok-ming in-di-ba re·-ang-na
you-Gen talk-Nomz-Acc I-Nomn   hear-Prf-Pst   but   go-Inf
man·-ja-jok.
can-Neg-Prf
'I had heard what you said, but I was not able to go'.

Nang·-ni re·-ba-na ang-a   mi song·-jok-ming in-di-ba na·-a
you-Gen come-Dat I-Nomn   rice cook-Prf-Pst   but   you-Nomn
cha·-na am·-ja-ing-jok.
eat-Inf want-Neg-Prog-Prf
'I had prepared rice for your arrival, but you were not wanting to eat'.

The negative *-ja-jok-ming* has the sense of 'not any more', just as *-ja-jok* does when used without the *-ming*:

Ang-a   mi   cha·-e,   ok-ri-ja-jok-ming.
I-Nomn rice eat-having hungry-Neg-Prf-Pst
'Having eaten rice, I was no longer hungry'.

Na·-a   bil-ang-o-de mi   cha·-ja-jok-ming.
you-Nomn fly-away-if rice eat-Neg-Prf-Pst
'If you were to fly away, (I) would not eat any more'. (Said to express sorrow at the prospect that a friend might depart by plane.)

-no-a-ming 'conditional', 'would have'. This is formed with the future suffix, and it has a conditional meaning. It is often used in sentences where another clause has *-o-de* 'if'. Since an *-o-de* clause cannot include a tense marker, its temporal reference must be inferred from the *-no-a-ming* clause:

Mi   ron·-o-de grap-ja-no-a-ming.
rice give-if   cry-Neg-Fut-Pst
'If (he) were given rice, (he) would not cry'.

Na·-a   kat-no-a-ming in-di-ba   ang-a   nang·-ko a-gan-ja-jok.
you-Nomn run-Fut-Pst   but   I-Nomn you-Acc speak-Neg-Prf
'You would have run but I no longer spoke to you'.

Ang-a   a-gan-o-de na·-a kat-no-a-ming.
I-Nomn speak-if   you   run-Fut-Pst
'If I (had) spoken, you would have run'.

Ang-a   chu-na   a·-sik-o-de   chu-a-ri-no-a-ming.
I-Nomn sleep-Inf wish-if   sleep-just-Fut-Prf
'If I (had) want(ed) to sleep I would just have slept'.

Bi-song re·-ang-ja-no-a-ming, ang-a   re·-ang-o-de.
they   go-Neg-Fut-Pst   I-Nomn   go-if
'They would not have gone if I (had) gone'.

Bi-a   ti-bi ni-ja-o-de, ang-a-ba   ni-na   ha·-sik-ja-no-a-ming.
he-Nomn TV look-Neg-if I-Nom-also look-Inf wish-Neg-Fut-Pst
'If they hadn't watched TV, I also would not have wanted to watch'.

Ak-git-tam-na pin-o-de, lep   kan-sa gip-ja-no-a-ming.
Cls-three-Dat cover-if   blanket Cls-one reach-Neg-Fut-Pst
'If (one tries to) cover three people, one blanket would not reach'.

-na-jok-ming 'present or future conditional'. This is formed from the immediate future *-na-jok* and *-ming*. Like *-no-a-ming* it has a conditional sense, but it is used for present or future time. Like *-no-a-ming*, this is often used in a sentence that also has a clause with *-o-de* 'if', or it can imply the sense of 'if' even if it is not explicitly stated:

Na·-a   re·-ang-na-jok-ming ang-a   nang·-ko re·-ang-na
you-Nomn go-IFut-Pst   I-Nomn   you-Acc go-Inf
on·-ja-jok.
give-Neg-Prf
'If you wanted to go, I would not give you (permission) to go'.

Na·-a   da·-sal noi-ba-ji-o   sok-ba-ja-o-de,   ang-a
you-Nomn today nine-o'clock-Loc arrive-here-Neg-if I-Nomn

re·-ang-na-jok-ming.
go-IFut-Pst

   'If you don't arrive by nine today, I will have gone'.

   As with *-ja-jok-ming*, the negative of *-na-jok-ming* means 'not any longer', 'not any more':

   Ang-a   wal-ni   mi   cha·-o-de ok-ri-ja-na-jok-ming.
   I-Nomn morning rice eat-if   hungry-Neg-IFut-Pst
   'If I had eaten rice in the morning, I would no longer be hungry'.

   Na·-a   ang-na do   be·-en-ko ron·-o-de, ang-a   wak be·-en-ko
   you-Nomn I-Dat   bird meat-Acc give-if   I-Nomn pig meat-Acc
cha·-ja-na-jok-ming.
eat-Neg-IFut-Pst
   'If you (had) brought me chicken meat I would eat no more pork'

   -chim 'conditional', 'past' (A·chik). This suffix is rarely used in Mandi, although Mandi speakers often know it well enough to recognize it as characteristic of A·chik. It corresponds, in large part to *-ming*. It can be used with the A·chik tense and aspect markers and it can mean either past or conditional (or both) just as *-ming* can. However A·chik also has the principal verb suffix *-a-ha* which takes over some of the functions that *-ming* has in Mandi. In effect, A·chik *-chim* and *-a-ha* divide the work of Mandi *-ming*. *-chim*, more consistently than *-ming*, means that the action described was true in the past but is no longer true. *-a-ha* is a past tense that indicates nothing about the present situation. *-ming* also leaves open the present situation, but it is more likely than *-a-ha* to imply that the present condition has changed: *re·-ang-a-ha* (A·chik) 'he went' (present condition unspecified); *re·-ang-a-chim* (A·chik) 'he went' (but is no longer there); *re·-ang-a ming* (Mandi) 'he went' (and is likely not to be there any more but that is not certain); *re·-ang-jok* (both dialects) 'He has gone' (and has not returned).

   Doubts, Questions, Quotes. The remaining terminal suffixes follow *-ming* if it is also present. They express a variety of meanings.

   -kon 'perhaps, maybe, probably'. This very common suffix is used to hedge a statement. It can follow *-a, -jok, no-a, -na-jok* or *-ming*, but it cannot follow an imperative. Occasionally it can be heard suffixed to something other than a verb:

   Bon·-ku-ja-kon '(It is) probably not finished yet'.

   Ching-ni te·-brong-ko ha·-mak-ha cha·-e   gal-ing-a-kon.
   we-Gen   jackfruit-Acc macaques   eat-Sub throw away-Neut-probably
   'Monkeys are probably eating and wasting our jackfruit'.

Sa-sai   re·-ang-a-kon,   ang-a-de hai·-ja.
someone go-Neut-probably I-but   know-Neg
'Someone probably goes, but I don't know'.

-ma 'question particle'. This provides the ordinary way to ask a yes-no question. It can follow any of the tense-aspect markers: *i·-ang-no-a-ma?* 'will (you) go?'; *kat-jok-ma?* 'has (he) run away?'. No syntactic adjustments need be made to a sentence when *-ma* is added, but it is often used with a question intonation in which the pitch rises at the end of the sentence, both on the *-ma* itself and on whatever immediately precedes it. Indeed a question intonation by itself is enough to ask a question that requires no more that a 'yes' or a 'no' in reply. The *-ma* makes it unambiguous:

I-a   man-de al-si-a-ma?
this-Nomn person lazy-Neut-Que
'Is this person lazy?'

Sak-sa-ba re·-ang-ja-ma?
anybody   go-Neg-Que
'Didn't anyone go?'

Na·-a   Gai-ra-cha i·-ang-ku-ja-ma? I·-ang-jok-ai.
you-Nomn Gaira-Loc   go-yet-Neg-Que   go-Pst-Emph
'Didn't you go to Gaira yet? Oh yes I did go'.

Ang-a   re·-ang-na man·-no-a-ma? in-e nang·-cha sing·-a.
I-Nomn go-Inf   may-Fut-Que   Sub you-Inst   ask-Neut
'(I) asked you: "will I be able to go?" '

-ma cannot be used in the same sentence as a question word. Compare the following two sentences. The first asks its question with *-ma*. The second uses *ma·-ko* 'what'. Both cannot be used together:

Na·-a   pi·-sa-na sing·-jok-ma?
you-Nomn child-Dat ask-Prf-Que
'Have you asked the child?'

Na·-a   pi·-sa-na ma·-ko   sing·-jok?
you-Nomn child-Dat what-Acc ask-Prf
'What did you ask the child?'

-ni 'question particle'. This is a near synonym of *-ma* but less common. Sometimes it suggests an expectation of agreement in the same way that tag questions do in English. When it is used with negative *-ja-* it carries a special rhetorical emphasis, having the sense of 'and was it not ever the case that...?' in order to suggest that 'it was indeed the case':

Bi-song bon'-jok-ni?
they   finish-Prf-Que
'They have finished, haven't they?'

Ja-wa   nang'-na in-di-sik dak-chak-no-a-ni?
someone else you-Dat this way help-Fut-Que
'Would someone else help you this way?' (Implying that they would not).

Ar Jol-jen kat-ba-ja-ni?
and Joljen run-here-Neg-Que
'And didn't Joljen ever come running!'

-mo 'question particle assuming agreement' (A·chik). For A·chik speakers, this is equivalent to the tag-questions of English. It anticipates agreement on the part of the listener. It's intonation, which starts quite high and drops decisively in pitch is remarkably similar to the intonation of English tag questions. -*mo* is never used by the Mandis of Modhupur:

Cha'-to-a-mo?
eat-good-Neut-Que
'Tastes good, doesn't it?'

-na 'someone said, I have heard that, quotative'. This suffix indicates that the sentence is a report of what someone has said, rather than a report of one's own observation. The -*na* is never obligatory, even when one is reporting another's speech, but it is a way of cautioning the hearer that the speaker cannot vouch for the truth of what he or she is reporting:

Te'-ga-chu-ko ak-tok-jok-na.
mangos-Acc   pick-all-Prf-Quo
'(She) said the mangos were all picked'.

Gu-nal-de nok-cha   i'-ba-jok-na.
Gu-nal   house-Loc came-it-is-said
'I heard that Gu-nal came to the house'.

-ne 'courtesy form, please'. An imperative can be made more polite by adding a -*ne* to the -*bo*: *A-song-bo-ne* 'Please sit down'; *Nap-bo-ne* 'Please come in'. A request for permission is also made more polite with a -*ne*. Requests are often made with a verb in the infinitive followed by -*ne*. The infinitive -*na* makes it clear that it is a request, and the -*ne* makes it more polite: *Ang-a at-chong-na-ne* 'May I sit down?' -*ne* can also follow a verb with a future or immediate future tense-aspect suffix. Either the future or the immediate future is often used to announce one's intentions. Adding

-*ne* shows courtesy and implies that the listener can in some degree share in the decision: *Re·-ang-na-jok-ne* 'I will go now, okay?', *Ang-a in·-o chok-no-a-ne* 'I will write here, if I may'. The intonation of -ne usually has a slight rise followed by a sharp fall. It is quite the opposite of the yes-no question intonation, but instead like the intonation of the A·chik tag question -*mo*.

-da strengthens an imperative. It is forceful. It can be abrupt or rude, but it is not necessarily so: *Cha·-bo-da* 'Eat!' is urgent but not necessarily rude; *Re·-ang-bo-da* 'Go away!' is likely to be rude and even to be intended as rude. Intonation and tone of voice make the intended meaning unambiguous.

-ro and -ai (C)

Two other suffixes show up at the end of the verb in the same way as terminal suffixes so they have to be counted among them, but they are considerably more specialized and less common than the others.

-ro. This suffix is much less essential than the terminal verb suffixes already described. It can be used to correct a previous statement or a presumption. The correction may be a mild one. If I had told someone incorrectly that I did not have a pen (*kol-om dong-ja*), I could correct myself by saying *dong-a-ro* '(I) have one after all.' -*ro* is sometimes used to give a positive answer to a negative question, but it can also correct presumptions that are only implicit in the situation. If one person makes a claim that second person denies, the denial can be marked with -*ro*. It can follow a statement, but not a question or an imperative. My impression is that some individuals use -*ro* much more than others. It may be that it is associated with particular regions or dialects, and that I have heard occasional speakers from areas where it is used, but I do not know what its distribution is. Most speakers I know use it quite sparingly, though everyone certainly knows and understands it:

Ang-a dong-a-ri-ing-a-ro.
I-Nomn be at-just-Prog-Neut-*ro*
'I am just staying (with nothing to do)'. (Perhaps the person addressed had mistakenly believed the speaker was engaged in some specific activity).

Bi-a te·-ga-chu-ko me-ja-o ak-a-ro.
she mango-Acc yesterday pick-Neut-ro
'He did too pick the mangos yesterday'.

Re·-ang-ku-ja-kon? Ra·-ang-a-ro!
go-yet-Neg-probably go-Neut-surely
'(She) probably didn't go yet? Yes she did!"

-ai (C). This suffix strengthens a statement, or like *-ro*, it offers a mild correction to a previous assumption. Like *-ro*, also, it is much less common than the previously described terminal suffixes. Unlike *-ro* it can be used with imperatives and with question-word questions, but it cannot be used with yes-no questions.

The most remarkable thing about *-ai* is the number of contractions that it forms with other suffixes. If said slowly and carefully, speakers can pronounce both the suffixes from which the contractions are formed, except that *-a-ai* and *-ja-ai* are difficult to elicit. In rapid speech the two original syllables reduce to one. This is very odd, because such contractions are not at all common in Mandi, or in other dialects of Garo, and *-ai* is by no means a high frequency suffix. One would expect contractions to affect the most frequent sequences, but sequences with *-ai* are certainly not highly frequent. The suffix *-ai* has neither an initial nor a final consonant, and it is possible that this phonological form encourages contractions, but neither the locative *-o* nor the subordinating *-e* are subject to contractions, although both are very much more common than *-ai*. *-ai* participates in the following contractions:

-a 'present-neutral', + *-ai* > *-ai*

-ja 'negative', + *-ai* > *-jai*

-na 'quotative' + *-ai* > *-nai*

-ming 'perfect' + *-ai* > *mai*

-bo 'imperative' + *-ai* > *-bai*

-ai follows many other affixes without contracting. With the exception of *-ming*, it does not contract after a syllable that ends in a consonant, and even after *-ming* contraction is less consistent than elsewhere. Thus the following do not contract: *-jok-ai, -ing-ai, ing-jok-ai, -kon-ai, -na-jok-ai*. Nor does *-ai* contract when following either form of the future tense-aspect suffix, *-no-a* or *-no*, even though these both end in a vowel.

-ai and its contractions almost always come at the very end of a sentence, though a postposed noun phrase can occasionally follow: *Re·-ang-jok-ai, ang-a-de* 'I, on the other hand really have gone'. The only way that *-ai* could be suffixed to anything other than a verb would be in an equational sentence that lacks a verb entirely: *I-a bol-pang-ai* 'This, indeed, is a tree'

-ai adds insistency to a statement or it offers a correction. Its use can be seen in the possible answers to the question *kol-om dong-a-ma?* 'Do (you) have a pen?' A neutral answer would simply be *dong-ja* '(I) don't have (one)'. If the question is insistent, a stronger answer would be *dong-jai* where the *-ja-* and *-ai* have been contracted to *-jai*, and where

the implication would be that the questioner really believes that the other person does have one, and the speaker wants to make a decisive denial. Of course if someone believed that you did not have a pen you could be equally insistent that you did have one by saying *kol-om dong-ai* 'I do too have a pen'.

Kat-ang-jok-ai. '(He) really did run off.'

Ma-ko dak-ing-ai? 'What in the world are (you) doing?'

Re'-ang-a-mai? 'Did (you) go?'

-ai can politely strengthen an imperative:

A-song-bo-ai, A-song-bai. 'Do sit down'.

It can be used with the negative and with combinations of other affixes:

Ok-kri-ku-jai. '(I am) not yet hungry!'

The quotative *-na* contracts with *-ai* as *-nai*. *-ai* strengthens an assertion, but *-na* attributes it to someone else, which reduces the speaker's responsibility for the accuracy of the statement. When used together as *-nai*, a firm assertion is made that the speaker really did hear another's claim, but the speaker still cannot attest to the truth of that claim. It remains hearsay:

Ok-ri-a-nai. '(He) really says (he) is hungry'

Bi-a a-chak-ko nik-jok-nai. 'It is definitely said that she saw the dog'

The terminal verb suffixes that have been discussed in this section are not quite so firmly and exclusively attached to verbs as are the preceding principal verb suffixes. Occasionally they turn up attached to a noun or to some other part of speech, but the vast majority of their appearances are with verbs. The use of terminal suffixes with nouns and other parts of speech will be described the section called "Final Noun Suffixes and Terminal Suffixes" in Chapter 9, "Nominals".

EIGHT

NOUNS

Noun Phrases (B)

Noun phrases form one of the major constituents of Garo clauses and sentences, and many clauses include several noun phrases. Noun phrases, in turn, can include several smaller constituents: demonstratives, possessives, nouns or pronouns, numerals, modifying verbs, and case markers. These were described briefly in Chapter 5 where it was pointed out that no single one of these constituents is found in every noun phrase, but that any one of them except a case marker can constitute a noun phrase all by itself. Case markers, when present, are always suffixed to the final word of the noun phrase, so they are really suffixes of the noun phrase rather than of a particular word. Strictly speaking they should be called "clitics", but I will usually refer to them informally by the more familiar word "suffix". Since any of the constituents of a noun phrase except a case marker can be used without any others, the case marker can be suffixed to any of these words. I will call any word that can have a suffixed case marker a "nominal". The word is meant to suggest that these words are noun-like in some respects but differ from nouns in others.

Prepositions and postpositions are not usually considered to be a part of the noun phrases with which they are used, so English *beside the snake pit* would be considered a prepositional phrase that consists of a preposition, *beside*, and a noun phrase *the snake pit*. In Garo, it is not easy to make a sharp distinction between a case marker and a postposition. Case markers and postpositions work together to show the role of the noun phrase in the sentence and its relation to the verb. It is somewhat odd to consider

the case marker but not the postposition to be a part of the noun phrase. For this reason I will sometimes write as if the postposition, like the case marker, belongs to the noun phrase. Some postpositions can take their own case markers so they can be considered to be nominals like the (other) members of noun phrases.

When a noun phrase includes a noun, the noun can be regarded as the "head" of the noun phrase, and all the other constituents of the noun phrase modify the noun. Along with verbs, nouns form one of the two largest classes of Garo words. Like verbs, nouns can have a variety of suffixes, but the number and complexity of noun suffixes is considerably less than that of verb suffixes. A "noun stem" is the word to which these noun suffixes can be attached. Typical noun stems are *jak-si* 'finger' and *nok* 'house'. Noun stems, unlike verb stems, can stand alone with no suffixes at all but, optionally, three kinds of suffixes can be used with them: plurals, case markers, and what I will call "final noun suffixes". Plurals are used only with noun stems. Case markers and final noun suffixes can be suffixed to any type of nominal.

Noun stems, in turn, can be simple or complex. The simple ones are the same as noun bases. This means that they are single morphemes, bits of language that cannot be divided into smaller meaningful parts. The complex noun stems are compounds that consist of two or more parts, at least one of which has an identifiable meaning of its own. All of this means that we need to recognize a hierarchy of morphemes, words and phrases. A noun phrase may consist of anything from one to many words, one of which is often, though not always, a noun. A noun must have a noun stem, either simple or complex, and it may also have various suffixes. The noun stem in turn may consist of several parts which, together, form a compound. Sometimes one of these parts can be considered the central component of the noun stem and hence the "noun base". Unlike verbs, however, where the first component is often very clearly the verb base, it is not always helpful or possible to select a single component of a noun stem as the base. A single word such as *nok* 'house' can act as a noun phrase, and this means that the same word can act simultaneously as a noun phrase, a noun, a noun stem and a noun base, but it is still essential to distinguish among these four levels.

Table 8–1 shows as example of a noun phrase and its components. It needs to be understood that the shorter components can simultaneously fill the more inclusive roles. Thus in a sentence such as *a-chak sing·-ing-a* 'the dog is barking', *a-chak* is not only a noun base (a single indivisible unit of meaning), but it a noun stem (a unit capable of taking noun suffixes), a noun (a complete word) and an entire noun phrase (a constituent of a

sentence) as well.

Table 8–1.

Hierarchy of Noun Phrase Components

Noun Phrase *ching-ni a-chak-pi·-sa-ba* 'Our puppy also'
Noun   *a-chak-pi·-sa-ba* 'puppy also'
Noun Stem   *a-chak-pi·-sa* 'puppy'
Noun Base   *a-chak* 'dog'

Nouns are used, first of all, as names for enormous numbers of concrete and not so concrete objects: animals, plants, the sky and the land, manufactured artifacts, body parts and parts of objects, kin terms, social positions, people and places, gods and spirits. Of course Garo also has nouns for abstract concepts, but it has fewer non-borrowed abstract nouns than does, for example, English. In part, this is compensated for by nouns that are derived from verbs, such as *neng·-a-ni* 'fatigue' from *neng·-a* 'to be tired'. Of course English also has nouns that are derived from verbs, but derivations in Garo are often more direct and obvious than those in English. In addition, in the present language, abstract nouns have been freely borrowed from both Bengali and English. The many hundreds or thousands of nouns that are needed to talk about modern government, education, religion, and technology are almost all borrowed.

Unlike Garo verb bases, noun bases can easily occur with no suffixes at all. Since many noun bases have just a single syllable, they can be very short: *nok* 'house', *jak* 'hand', *am* 'mat', *mi* 'rice' etc. The syllable structure of Garo allows fewer than 2,500 phonologically distinct syllables, however, and of course not all of these are used for noun bases, and many are used for nothing at all. Since a language needs many thousands of noun stems, and since these need to be kept distinct from each other, many noun stems in Garo must be longer that one syllable. The language has a good many two syllable noun bases, (*a-chak* 'dog', *am-bi* 'grandmother', *bo-bil* 'enemy' etc.) but the great bulk of noun stems are compounds. These are words that are constructed from at least two parts, at least one of which has a clearly recognizable meaning of its own. Often, though not always, both parts have a clear meaning. Compounds can, in turn, be joined into still longer compounds. The language has thousands of such compounds.

Noun stems can be used with no suffix at all, but sometimes they have plurals, case markers, and final noun suffixes attached to them. The most characteristic and complex of the noun suffixes are the case markers, but

these can also be suffixed to other nominals such as demonstratives and numerals. Other major word classes, in particular adverbs and verb stems, cannot take case markers. Since adverbs are often derived from verbs it is possible to assign all the major Garo word classes to one of two large categories. On the one hand, the nominals are noun-like, and on the other hand, adverbs as well as verbs are verb-like. The language has productive suffixes that can be added to verbs to turn them into nouns. It also has several verb bases (laregly empty of meaning) that can be used with nouns in a way that allows the nouns to act almost like verbs. This means that there are ways to convert nouns into verbs and verbs into nouns, but the distinction between the two underlying types of words is sharp.

Category Prefixes (B)

This and the following two sections will describe the ways in which compound nouns are formed. First, a very large class of compound noun stems are constructed from what I will call a "category prefix" followed by one or more additional syllables. Some of the additional bits have an identifiable meaning of their own, but many do not. The category prefixes give a kind of categorization to many of the objects of the world.

do·- 'bird'. *do·-* forms the first syllable of dozens of names for birds. Used alone *do* in Mandi (*do·-o* in A·chik) means 'bird', especially 'domestic fowl'. Many compounds formed with *do·-* refer to particular species of birds. Mandi examples include *do·-gep* 'duck', *do·-gu-gu* 'wild pigeon, dove', *do·-di* 'peacock', *do·-ka* 'crow', *do·-til-eng* 'woodpecker', *do·-reng* 'hawk', and dozens of others. A second level of compounding sometimes occurs when subvarieties are recognized. Within the category of *do·-reng* various types of hawks are distinguished as *do·-reng-chi-jeng, do·-reng-gan-tong, do·-reng-gek, do·-reng-sa-na* and *do·-reng-wal-ju-si*. *Do·-bak* 'bat' shows that the Garo classification does not always conform to the classification of biologists. The same prefix appears in a number of compounds that are not species names but that relate to birds in some way: *do·-bik* 'bird's intestines' (important because they are used in divination), *do·-gring* 'bird basket, a place for keeping birds', *do·-bi-ma* 'hen', *do·-pi·-sa* 'chick, baby bird'.

The meaning of *do·-* in these compounds is perfectly clear, but the meaning of the remaining syllables is often obscure. When the context is clear *do* or *do·-o* alone can mean 'domestic fowl' but the meaning can be made explicit by saying *do·-man-de* where *man-de* is the ordinary word for 'human being'. Thus *do·-man-de* means, literally, 'people's bird'. A number of bird names are felt to be onomatopoetic. A bird called *do·-pin-chep* has a

call that is regarded as sounding like *pin-chep*. *Do·-gu-gu* 'dove' and *do·-ka*
'crow' can probably be regarded as having onomatopoetic second portions.
I am unable to perceive any independent meaning in *-til-eng* or *-reng* which
form a part of the words for 'woodpecker' and 'hawk'.

Some compounds that do not name a species have more readily iden-
tifiable meanings. *Do·-bik* 'bird intestines' is clearly related to *bi-bik* the
general word for 'intestines' including those of human beings. *-bi-ma* is
used to identify the female of any species while *-bi-pa* identifies the male.
Even more, *-ma* and *-pa* reflect *a-ma* 'mother' and *a-pa* 'father'. Used as
an independent word, *pi·-sa* is Mandi for (human) 'child', and when used
as the second element of a compound, it identifies the young of an animal
species.

Do·- is a good example of a "combining form". It can be regarded as
the more basic form of the word, and it is the form from which the "free
form" is derived. In Mandi, the free form is made by dropping the raka of
the combining form. In A·chik the free form requires an echo vowel to be
inserted after the raka. In both dialects, rakas are kept out of the word's
final syllables.

With several dozen compounds, *do·-* is one of the most fertile of the
Garo category prefixes, but many others are used as well. Many designate
classes of animals and plants. Others refer to body parts, to nonliving
natural phenomena, or to human artifacts. The various ways in which
category prefixes are used can be seen from the examples which follow.

na·-. As with birds, so with fish. The names for very large number of
fish varieties begin with the syllable *na·-*. Unlike *do* or *do·-o*, one of which
serves as a general name for 'bird', neither *na* or *na·-a* is ever used alone to
mean 'fish'. The general name for 'fish' is *na·-tok*, and the second syllable
has no independent meaning that I can identify. *Na·-rim-il* is a slippery
kind of fish (*rim-il-a* 'slippery'), *na·-cheng-bit* 'a small edible fish', *na·-su-
deng-ga* 'a kind of fish with a large mouth', *na·-tik* 'fresh water shrimp'.
There are many others. As with birds, not all the words with *na·-* as the
category prefix refer to species. *Na·-kam* is 'dried fish of the ordinary kind'
(*kam-* 'burn'). *Na·-gran* is 'a special kind of dried fish'.

mat-. This is a much less common category prefix than either *do·-* or
na·- but it occurs in a number of words for mammals: *mat-ma* 'buffalo' (*-ma*
'large'), *mat-chok* 'deer', *mat-chu-ri* 'civet cat', *mat-ma-chi* 'porcupine',
mat-cha 'tiger, leopard'. A second level of compounding is possible with
mat-cha: *mat-cha-am-gip-a* 'the largest variety of tiger'; *mat-cha-ma·-jang-
chi* 'middle sized *mat-cha*; *mat-cha-a-rek* 'leopard, smallest sized *mat-cha*'.
Mat-cha-du is a human being who is capable of turning himself into a tiger.
Mat-gil is 'hide' (*bi-gil* 'skin'). Many other mammals are called by names

without a *mat-* prefix. Curiously, *mat* by itself, means 'squirrel', a much less prepossessing animal than most of those that have *mat-* as their first syllable. I know of no reason in Garo culture why a squirrel should have such terminological importance.

bol- is a prefix used for dozens of names of tree varieties, and in names for some parts of trees: *bol-chek-si* 'twig of a tree', *bol-dim* 'sprouts', *bol-gong* 'fallen tree', *bol-gan-tong* 'log, stick'. By itself *bol* can mean 'wood' as well as 'tree'. To talk about a tree, Mandi speakers often use *bi-pang* 'trunk, stalk, tree' instead of *bol*, but when they want to be fully explicit they say *bol-bi-pang*, achieving complete clarity by forming a compound from the word that can also mean 'wood' with the word that can also mean 'trunk, stalk'.

wa·- is used in names for the considerable number of varieties of bamboo that Garos recognize as distinct, and also for parts of the bamboo plant and for many objects made from bamboo: *wa-srep* 'a small variety of bamboo', *wa·-ja-ting* 'bamboo root' (*ja·-* 'leg, foot'), *wa·-chek-si* 'twig of bamboo', *wa·-gan-tong* 'length of bamboo', *wa·-si* 'rough split-bamboo matting', *wa·-sing* 'bamboo cup', and many others.

ta·- is used as a category prefix for a number of tubers: *ta·-bol-chu* 'cassava, manioc', *ta·-ma* 'a large edible tuber' (*-ma* 'big'), *ta·-mil-ang* 'sweet potatoes'.

bi- has two barely overlapping meanings. It is used as the prefix for a number of plant parts and also for some body parts of animals, but unlike the plant parts, most of the animal parts that begin with *bi-* are internal organs. Plant parts with *bi-* include *bi-du* or *bi-dil* 'the long growing part of a vine', *bi-gra* 'rice husks', *bi-jak* 'leaf' (*jak* 'hand'), *bi-bak* 'stem of fruit, leaf or flower', *bi-bu* 'a defective rice grain that has a husk but no seed', *bi-sil* 'the green outer surface of bamboo', *bi-gron* 'pit of some fruit, seeds, but not those to be planted', *bit-chri* 'seed for planting', *bit-chi* 'juice' (*chi* 'water'). The *t* of the last two examples is the result of a well lexicalized assimilation to the following *ch*. Whether it is the same prefix or a homophonous one, *bi-* is also used in *bi-bik* 'intestines', *bi-bil* 'afterbirth', *bi-ka* 'liver', *bi-kit* 'gall bladder', *bi-ba* 'breath', *bi-jol* 'mucus', *bi-mang* 'body of a person or animal', *bi-gil* 'skin'. *bi-king* can mean 'shell' for both plants and animals: 'egg shell', 'turtle shell', 'coconut shell', 'areca nut husk', and 'skull'.

ha·-, a·-. Several category prefixes refer to natural objects or substances. Of these *ha·-* 'earth, ground, soil' (always pronounced *a·-* in A·chik and sometimes in Mandi) is probably the most common. In the free form of *ha* (*a·-a* in A·chik) the word can be used without a suffix, but it also occurs in a large number of compounds: *ha·-ba* 'agricultural land, fields', *ha·-kin-te* 'lumps of earth', *ha·-kin-chi* 'dust', *ha·-dip-ek* 'mud', *ha·-rong-ga*

'uplands', *ha·-dok* 'area, region', *ha·-gil-sak* 'world, earth', *ha·-chik* 'hill, slope of a hill' from which comes *A·chik*, literally, 'hill dweller'.

wal·- 'fire' is used alone as *wal* (A·chik *wa·-al*). In its combining form it occurs in many compounds: *wal·-ku-a* 'smoke', *wal·-mi-si* 'spark', *wal·-jem* 'fire brand of lighted sticks', *wal·-gu-si* 'dark color left by smoke', *wal·-ki* 'burning coals', *wal·-tot* 'a device for starting a fire by friction'.

chi- 'water' is used alone, but also in such compounds as *chi-bol* 'puddle', *chi-mik* 'spring, water source', *chi-dek* 'pond, wide place in a stream', *chi-git-ok* 'narrow place in a stream' (*git-ok* 'neck'). *Chi* also occurs as the second member of other compounds, such as *mik-chi* 'tears' (*mik-* 'eye, face') (see next section).

jak- 'hand, arm', **ja·-** 'foot, leg'. A number of category prefixes refer to parts of the body. *jak* and *ja·-* appear in *jak-pa* 'palm of the hand', *ja·-pa* 'sole of the foot', *jak-sku* 'elbow', *ja·-sku* 'knee', *jak-si* 'finger', *ja·-si* 'toe', *jak-skil* 'fingernails', *ja·-skil* 'toenails'. These pairs capitalize on the homologies between the upper and lower limbs, but not all the words for parts of the arms and legs are so well matched. *Jak-pong* is the 'upper arm' but *ja·-ping* is 'thigh'. Other words refer to things related to the arms or legs: *ja·-kop* 'sandal', *ja·-gra* 'snare, loop to catch an animal's foot', *jak-mil-ong* 'lacking a bracelet, naked of a bracelet', *jak-ra* 'right hand', *jak-a-si* 'left hand'. These two category prefixes are also found in a good many words where the sense is more metaphorical than literal. *Ja·-ting* 'base of a tree, stubble of rice plants', *ja·-pang* 'base of a mountain'. *Jak-* is also used as the first syllable of a number of verbs that refer to the way the hand is used: *jak-jip-a* 'wave', *jak-si-ot-a* 'point', *jak-rak-a* 'quick, fast, especially of working with the hands', *jak-wat-a* 'let go, drop from the hands'.

mik- is not used alone but it is found in many compounds that refer to the eyes and face: *mik-ron* or *mik-on* 'eye', *mik-chi* 'tears', *mik-gil* 'eyelid' (*bi-gil* 'skin'), *mik-sim-ang* 'eyebrows', *mik-sik-im* 'forehead', *mik-kang* 'face'. The same morpheme is used in a number of verbs that concern the eyes: *mik-cha-a* 'like, love', literally 'eat with the eyes', *mik-chip-a* 'close the eyes', *mik-dap-a* 'get into the eye', *mik-dat-a* 'dazzled with glare', *mik-brok-a* 'dull, faded', etc. The postposition *mik-kang-o* 'in front of' is derived from *mik-kang* 'face'.

ku·- is not used alone but it is found as the category prefix in many words concerning the mouth: *ku·-sik* 'mouth, language', *ku·-chil* 'lip', *ku·-chi* 'saliva' (*chi* 'water'), *ku·-dim-bok* 'chin', *ku·-rang* 'voice', *ku·-sim-ang* 'beard'. The same form is found in a number of verbs that have to do with the mouth: *ku·-dim-a* 'kiss', *ku·-mi-si-a* 'whisper', *ku·-mong-a* 'discuss, consult, agree', *ku·-ra-chak-a* 'agree', *ku·-sim-ok-a* 'whistle', *ku·-mik-chet-a* 'swear, promise'.

pak- is not used alone and as far as I am aware it occurs as the initial syllable of only three compounds, but these are enough to make its meaning clear: *pak-wal* 'arm-pit', *pak-krong* 'shoulder', *pak-sim-ang* 'axillary hair'. Of the second portions of these words, *-sim-ang* appears in several compounds for various kinds of coarse body hair so its meaning is clear, but I am not aware of any other words that have either *-krong* or *-wal* in a recognizably related sense. Three words give *pak-* only the most tenuous claim to being a categorizing prefix, but, somewhat unusually, the same syllable occurs as the second member in a number of other compounds: *jak-pak* 'inside of the upper arm'; *ri-pak* 'inside of the upper part of a man's leg" *si·-pak* 'inside of the upper part of a woman's leg'; *gang-pak* 'the part of a bird's wing that is close to the body'. In all these words *pak* refers to the area where a limb connects to the torso,

kok- 'basket'. *Kok* is the usual word for basket in A·chik and particular types of baskets are named with compounds that have *kok-* as their first syllable. In the Mandi spoken in Modhupur, the usual independent word for 'basket' is *to-ra*, but *kok-* is found in a number of compounds. *kok-kreng* 'a roughly made openly woven basket', *kok-sep* 'a small basket generally used to hold small animals such as birds or fish', *kok-si* 'basket for carrying fish or eels'.

nok- 'house, building' is used in a large number of compounds, some for types of houses, others for parts of houses or spaces around houses, and still others for people or groups associated with houses. *nok-chol* 'opening in the side wall of a house', *nok-di* 'small house of a newly married couple', *nok-mong* 'main building, house of the senior couple of a family', *nok-pan-te* 'sleeping house for unmarried young men' (*pan-te* 'unmarried man, adolescent'), *nok-gil* 'back end of a house, back door', *nok-kap* 'house site', *nok-king* 'roof', *nok-krom* 'male heir of a household', *nok-na* 'female heir of a household', *nok-ma* 'wealthy man, village leader (*-ma* 'big'). *Nok* is also found as the second syllable of some compounds (see the next section).

a- or **ang-** occurs as the first syllable of a considerable number of kinship terms, more in Mandi than in the dialects of A·chik that I am familiar with. The meaning of these prefixes is considerably more obscure than is the meaning of the other categorizing prefixes listed here, and perhaps they should not even be considered as the same sort of prefix. Two terms, *a-bi* 'older sister', *a-da* 'older brother', always have an initial *a-*. In other cases, the forms with *a-* or *ang-* alternate with forms that lack such a prefix. Examples include *a-wang* 'father's younger brother' and *a-no* 'younger sister', which alternate with *wang* or *wang-gip-a*, and *no* or *no-gip-a*. *Ang-* can be used as a part of a considerable number of Mandi kin terms, but it is used less often in some more northern dialects. Even in Mandi *ang-* forms always

alternate with those without the *ang-*: *ang-jong, jong* 'younger brother', *ang-jik, jik* 'wife', *ang-se, se* 'husband'. I find it difficult to avoid feeling that *ang-* has something to do with the first person singular pronoun *ang-a*, but if it ever meant that in these words, its meaning is slipping away. It is perfectly possible to say *nang·-ni ang-jong* 'your younger brother'.

In addition to the widely used category prefixes described here, many others have a more restricted scope. Category prefixes vary greatly in the number of compounds into which they enter. Some, such as *do·-* 'bird' and *bol-* 'tree' are found in dozens. Others are found in only a few, and as the numbers become smaller it is hard to know at what point to stop calling them prefixes at all. *Tam-pi* 'fly' occurs as the first part of *tam-pi-rong-reng* 'dung fly', *tam-pi-sim-ik* 'gnat', and *tam-pi-a-mak* 'a small biting fly'. Is this enough to make *tam-pi* count as a categorizing prefix? Whatever the case, an enormous number of compounds are constructed from a first part with a clear meaning, often but not always, a single syllable. Some second elements also have clear meanings, while many others are entirely obscure. It is much less common to find a compound with a clearly identifiable second element following an obscure first element, but there is one curious exception. *Bi-du*, a noun meaning 'vine', forms a number of compounds that name particular kinds of vines. Oddly, it is *-bi-du* that is their second element. The meanings of the first parts of these compounds are more obscure: *kim-bal-o-bi-du* 'a thorny vine as thick as the thumb; *ma-ri-bi-du* ' a very large woody vine that can be as thick as a man's leg; *pal·-wang-bi-du* 'a rather tree like vine, with straight, but not standing, sections'; *ro-a-tik-bi-du* 'a thin vine with much indented fern-like leaves'. I have no idea why *-bi-du* should come second in compounds when other words with parallel meanings come first.

Noninitial Morphemes (C)

Compounds, by definition, are composed of at least two morphemes. The category prefixes that occur first in so many compounds form a clear set of morphemes, and their meanings are transparent. Morphemes that come later in a word are more varied and therefore more difficult to describe in an orderly way, but for convenience I will divide them among several types: 1. Morphemes that can also serve as independent words; 2. Bound forms that cannot be used alone but that can be quite easily used to form new compounds; 3. Bound forms that are never used except in a limited set of compounds, but whose meaning is nevertheless clear; 4. Constituents that have some recognizable derivation, but whose use in the compound is highly conventionalized; 5. Constituents that have no recognizable existence apart from the particular words in which they occur.

Independent words. Many words that can be used by themselves can also become the second elements of compounds. These compounds are conventionalized expressions with meanings that are reasonably transparent but not always completely so. A few morphemes that are used initially in compounds as category prefixes can also be used as second elements in compounds (e.g. *-jak* 'hand', *-nok* 'house', *-chi* 'water, liquid') but more often the noninitial parts of compounds are distinct. *Chi* 'water, liquid', is found in *mik-chi* 'tears', *kram-chi* 'sweat, perspiration', *ku·-chi* 'saliva' (*ku·-sik* 'mouth'), *an·-chi* 'blood', *bit-chi* 'juice', *wa-chi* 'rainy season' (*wa-a* 'rain'), and many others. *Ra-ma* 'road, path' is found in *tik-ra-ma* 'part in the hair', (lit. 'louse path'), and in *mat-ma-ra-ma* 'milky way' (lit. 'buffalo road'). *Nok* 'house, building' is found in *gil-ja-nok* 'church building' (*gil-ja* 'church as an institution'), *skul-nok* 'school building', *pak-nok* 'cook house', *dal-an-nok* 'brick or masonry house', *gan·-sang-nok* 'bamboo house built on a *gan·-sang* 'platform''', *wa·-si-nok* 'house made of split bamboo (*wa·-si*)', *ma·-nok* 'kinsmen on mother's side' (lit. 'mother-house'). *Jak* 'hand' is found in *bi-jak* 'leaf, hand of a plant', and *bi-jak*, in turn, is found in larger compounds: *bol-bi-jak* 'tree leaves', *sam-bi-jak* 'leaves of small plants'. *Bit-chi* 'juice', itself a compound of *bit-* 'plant parts' and *chi* 'water', enters into a number of larger compounds: *bi-ja-bit-chi* 'honey' (*bi-ja* 'bee'), *do·-bit-chi* 'egg' (*do·-* 'bird'), *ko-mil-a-bit-chi* 'orange juice'. *Sal* 'sun, day' is found in *da·-sal* 'today'. *Bring* 'forest' is found in *wak-bring* 'wild pig'. *Sil* 'iron' is found in *bol-sil* 'a tree with very hard wood'. *Gi-sim* 'black' is found in *ha·-gi-sim* 'dark colored earth', and so on.

Pi·-sa, the independent Mandi form of the word for 'child' (A'chik *bi·-sa*) can be productively added to animal names to mean the young of that kind of animal, and it is also used for a diminutive variety of a number of nonliving things: *ma·-su-pi·-sa* 'calf', *a-chak-pi·-sa* 'puppy', *me·-chik-pi·-sa* 'woman-child, girl', *jak-si-pi·-sa* 'little finger' (*jak-si* 'finger'), *pa-ra-pi·-sa* 'earthenware dish of a small size'.

If they have any independent existence at all, most constituents of noun compounds are themselves nouns, but there are exceptions. *Bo-a* is a verb meaning 'to swell up'. A number of compounds for swellings of particular types, have *-bo* as their second element: *dok-bo* 'swollen neck, goiter', *ri-bo* 'swollen testicles'.

Productive and semiproductive constituents of compounds. These are morphemes that can be freely added to nouns that have appropriate meanings, but that are not widely or freely used as independent words.

-bi-ma 'female' and **-bi-pa** 'male' can be added to the name for any kind of animal to indicate its gender. Villagers in the Garo Hills whom I

knew in the 1950's had no separate lexemes for male or female of animals
analogous to English *cow, bull, mare, stallion*. Mandis in Bangladesh have
now borrowed some gender distinctive lexemes from Bengali, but they also
continue to use *-bi-ma* and *bi-pa*. Only occasionally are these used as
independent words. One can ask *bi-ma-ma, bi-pa?* 'Is (it) male or female?'
and receive an answer: *bi-ma* 'female'. More often, they are suffixed to
animal names: *a-chak-bi-pa* 'male dog', *do·-bi-ma* 'female bird, hen', *mat-
cha-bi-pa* 'male tiger'.

-mrang or **-mrang-mrang** can be used with color terms, and a few
other words, to mean something much like English '-ish': *git-chak-mrang,
git-chak-mrang-mrang* 'reddish', *gi-sim-mrang-mrang* 'blackish', *mik-ki-
mrang-mrang* 'with running eyes, with much dirt from the eyes' (*ki* 'body
dirt, dung').

-ska 'of the same kind' can be used with names for types of people to
emphasize the common features of the group: *me·-chik-ska* 'fellow women';
ba-ju-ska 'own friends'; *jat-ska* 'of the same ethnic group'; *cha-song-ska*
'those of the same age, contemporaries'.

> *Ca-na-da-o Nel-son Man-de-ska-ko   grong-ja-na-ba-gin-ang.*
> Canada-Loc Nelson   person-same kind-Acc meet-Neg-Neut-probably
> 'Nelson probably met no fellow Mandis in Canada'.

> *A-chak-ba a-chak-ska-ko   hai·-a,   ma·-su-ba*
> dog-also   dog-own group-Acc know-Neut,   cattle-also

ma·-su-ska-ko   hai·-a.   Na·-a   man-de ong·-e   mu-a
cattle−own group-Acc know-Neut. you-Nomn person   are-Sub what
dak-e   man-de-ska-ko   hai·-ja.
do-Sub person-own group-Acc know-Neg

> 'A dog knows a dog, a cow also knows a cow. You, a person, don't you
> know a fellow person?' (Said to child who had beaten up another child).

> *Ma·-chong-ska-ko-de man-de-de kim-na   man·-ja.*
> lineage-own-Acc-but Mandis   marry-Inf must-not
> 'Mandis are not permitted to marry someone from their own lineage'.

-sa-ge 'deceased, former' can be added to the names of deceased per-
sons, or to kinship terms or titles that had once designated people now dead.
Am-bi-sa-ge 'deceased grandmother', *Sai-jan-sa-ge* 'the now deceased Sai-
jan', *Ni-kol-as ma-star-sa-ge* 'the deceased teacher Nikolas'.

Meaningful, but non-productive bound forms. These are con-
stituents whose meaning is clear, or reasonably so, but that are never used
as separate words. They cannot be used productively to form new words.
Some of these are used in dozens of compounds; others in very few.

-sim-ang 'coarse body hair' is found in *mik-sim-ang* 'eyebrows' (*mik-ron* 'eye'), *ku·-sim-ang* 'beard' (*ku·-sik* 'mouth'), *pak-sim-ang* 'under-arm hair' (*pak-krong* 'shoulder', *pak-wal* 'armpit'), *ri-sim-ang* 'male public hair' (*ri-gong* 'penis'), *si·-sim-ang* 'female pubic hair' (*si* 'female genitals'). With the exception of *si* (A·chik *si·-i*) neither part of any of these words is used except in compounds, but the meanings of all the parts are transparent.

-go-ra 'thicket, place with much growth' can be added to several plant names. *Na-ra-go-ra* 'place thick with rice stubble', *wa·-go-ra* 'bamboo thicket', *te·-rik-go-ra* 'a place with many banana plants', *bring-go-ra* 'thick forest'.

-ma, -bi-ma or **-a-ma** is added to a considerable number of words to indicate a large variety of some more general category. The meaning is less transparent than that of *-sim-ang* or *-go-ra*. I have asked Mandis to explain the meaning of *-ma* and found some of them unable to do so, although the examples given just below seem to leave no ambiguity. Most likely *-ma* is an old element that has been more fully merged into its words than have *-sim-ang* or *-go-ra*, although *-ma* occurs in a larger number of compounds than either of these: *ja·-dil-ma* 'large root', *ta·-ma* 'a large variety of edible tuber', *mi-ma* 'a large grained variety of rice', *nok-ma* 'village leader', literally 'house-big'. There is some overlap of the meanings 'large' and 'female' in these terms. *bi-ma* means 'female' of animals and *a-ma* is a word for 'mother', but both are found in words where they now mean 'big': *jak-si-a-ma,* or *jak-si-bi-ma* 'finger-big, thumb', *bi-ja-a-ma* 'a large type of stinging bee', *to-ra-a-ma* 'a large rice basket'.

-gip-a can be added to any kinship term to show that it must be understood as a term of reference and not as a term of address. In other words it is used to talk about kinsmen, not as a name by which to address them: *ma·-gip-a* 'mother', *am-bi-gip-a* 'grandmother', *su-gip-a* 'grandchild', etc. This suffix must be related to the identical nominalizing suffix that can productively turn any verb into a noun with the meaning 'the one who' does something. Its use with kinship terms is specialized, however, for they are the only nouns that can be suffixed with *-gip-a*. *-gip-a* is otherwise exclusively a verb suffix.

-pa 'male', 'father', **-ma** 'female', 'mother'. These are found in words such as *so-a-pa* 'an unwashed man', *dal·-am-pa* 'a man with a high opinion of himself', *ra-song-pa* 'proud man'. Each of these words has a partner with *-ma* that is used for women.

-chok, whose central meaning seems to be 'pointed', is found in *gol·-chok* 'arrow, pointed stake', *do·-chok* 'small bird with a pointed back part', *ja·-pa-ku·-chok* 'heel of the foot', *ku·-eng-ku·-chok* 'a shape with sharp corners, such as a triangle or diamond'.

-gran 'dried, especially in the sun' is used for several kinds of dried meat: *naꞏ-tok-gran* 'fish that is dried in the sun or by fire', *wak-gran* 'dried pork', *maꞏ-su-gran* 'dried beef'. Usually, but not always, it refers to edible meat. *A-chak-gran* would mean 'a dog's body that had dried out'. I have had conflicting opinions about whether *man-de-gran* 'a dried human body' would be a possible word.

Inevitably a few syllables occur in so few compounds that one hesitates to claim a relationship among them, but the following are at least plausible candidates for meaningful elements.

-chik is found in *meꞏ-chik* 'woman', *nam-chik* 'niece'

-chil occurs in *kuꞏ-chil* 'lip', and *naꞏ-chil* 'ear'. Perhaps it designates a flat piece of flesh.

If they have any independent existence at all, the initial constituents of noun compounds are usually nouns themselves, but a few second elements such as *-ram* and *-dam* can form noun compounds by being suffixed to verb verb bases. It would be possible to look upon these as nominalizers, since they turn verb bases into nouns, but their range is so much more restricted than the other nominalizers that this hardly seems useful.

-ram 'place, location' can be attached to verb bases to form compounds that mean 'the place where the action of the verb happens'. *at-chi-ram* 'birthplace' (*at-chi-a* 'be born)', *chu-ram* 'sleeping place' (*chu-a* 'sleep'), *gop-ram* 'cemetery' (*gop-a* 'bury)', *ka-ram* 'tying place', specifically 'the place where a dead person ties his cow on the way to the afterworld'.

-dam also contributes the meaning of 'place' to a number of compounds that have verbal elements: *dong-dam* 'living place' (*dong-a* 'be at'), *chaꞏ-dam* 'eating place'. *-dam* is also used with noun constituents: *haꞏ-dam* 'place, location' (*haꞏ-* 'ground, earth').

Conventionalized bound forms. A great many compounds, especially those with categorizing prefixes as their first constituent, have second constituents that are more or less obviously derived from independent words, but these second constituents can be so highly conventionalized that they partially or largely lose their independent meaning. *Ha-guk-ging-srok* is a grasshopper with a long head. The *-ging-* in this word surely comes from the word for 'nose'. In *ha-guk-mit-im* another kind of grasshopper, *-mit-im* is probably related to the word for 'fat' (the substance), but it is highly conventionalized here. *Sin-a-ru* means 'centipede' and *sin-a-ru-git-chak* is a particularly poisonous kind of centipede. This species is colored a warm reddish brown which is within the range of *git-chak* 'red' and the derivation is obvious, but the compound has been conventionalized to the point where it is simply the name of one kind of centipede. It is difficult for one who is not a native speaker of the language to be sure whether any

etymological derivation at all can be found for some of these conventional-ized second elements. Some have a clear origin, but others must be obscure even to native speakers.

Constituents without recognizable meanings. Very large num-bers of compounds have a meaningful first element followed by a second element that has no meaning apart from the particular compound in which it occurs. The first constituent of many of these compounds is a category prefix of the sort described in the previous section. The *jak* that is found in *jak-ra* 'right' and *jak-a-si* 'left' is the word for 'hand, arm', but *-ra* and *-a-si* seem to have no meaning or use apart from these words. In *chi-ring* 'small river', *-chi* means 'water', but *-ring* appears to have no independent meaning. In *ha·-kong* 'low place between hills', *ha·-pek* 'mud', and *ha·-kin-te* 'lumps of earth', the *ha·-* means 'ground, land, soil'. I can detect no independent meaning in the remainder of these words. *Wa* 'teeth' is found in *wa-ring* 'gums', *wa-gam* 'rear teeth, molars', and *wa-chu* 'front teeth', but the second syllables seem to be meaningless apart from their use in these words.

Ka-ta Jik-Se: Wife-Husband Words (B)

Compounds of one kind are so well known to Garo speakers that they have received a name: *ka-ta jik-se*, literally 'wife-husband words'. These are pairs of words, generally with quite concrete meanings, which when used together give a more abstract meaning than either word has by itself. *Jik-se* is itself an example of a *ka-ta jik-se*, for *jik* means 'wife' and *se* means 'husband', and when paired together the resulting compound means 'married couple' or two other things that belong together as, for example, *ka-ta jik-se*. Note than when words for male and female members of a pair are used together in Garo, the female one usually comes first. Most wife-husband words are formed from native roots, and there are scores of them, but one of my favorites is *sut-kut* derived from two borrowed words, 'suit' and 'coat', but carrying the general meaning of 'fine clothes'.

The two members of the pair may share some common phonology. Sometimes they rhyme, as do *sut* and *kut*. Some, though by no means all *ka-ta jik-se* have a partial rhyme and some are alliterative: *gan-ding-chin-ding* 'clothes, garments', literally 'lower garrets-upper garrets'; *an·-tam-pring* 'all the time', literally 'evening-morning'; *ha·-wal* 'property rights', literally 'land-fire'; *ha·-ba-song-ba* 'property', literally 'fields-also-village-also'; *nok-jam* 'property', literally 'house-granary'; *dok-a-sik-a* 'musical instruments', literally 'beat-blow', 'things that are beaten and blown'; *han·-jak* 'whole body', literally 'body-hand'; *sam-bi-jak* 'vegetables', literally 'herbs-leaves';

do·-mat 'animals generally', literally 'birds-squirrels'; *mat-cha-mak-bil* 'wild animals', literally 'tigers-bears'; *sok-me-ja·-ping* 'feminine temptations for a man', literally 'breasts-thighs'.

Bengali uses pairs of words to give abstract meanings that are very much like the Garo *ka-ta jik-se*, and a good many of these are used by Mandis even when speaking Mandi: *juk-biuk* 'calculation', literally 'addition-subtraction'; *lek-ka-po-ra*, 'literacy', literally 'writing-reading'.

Plurals etc. (B)

Most noun suffixes can be used with all types of nominals, not only with nouns. The plurals, however, are limited to nouns. Plurals are never obligatory in Mandi. A noun, by itself, is neither singular nor plural, and in the absence of a numeral or a plural suffix, the number must be inferred from the context. The meaning can be made explicitly singular by using a numeral meaning 'one', and it can be made explicitly plural, either by a higher number or by one of the plural suffixes. A plural suffix and a numeral are never used together with the same noun. Using both together would not merely be redundant but ungrammatical. When I have asked them, speakers have assured me that it is possible to use plurals such as *-rang* with nouns that refer to substances and that translate English mass nouns. I have challenged them to use such words as *chi-rang* 'waters' or *han·-cheng-rang* 'sands', however, and they then have trouble finding convincing examples. Generally, plurals are used only with nouns that translate English count nouns.

The title to this section is "Plurals etc." because these suffixes do not all literally indicate plurality. Their common feature is their exclusive attachment to noun. All of them are suffixed directly to the noun stem, and they come before the case marker, if there is one. If used with a nominalized verb, they follow the nominalizing suffix. This is logical, since it is the nominalizing suffix that creates the noun, and the noun must be created first, before a plural suffix can be attached to it.

-rang, -dang, drang. These three suffixes give the closest equivalents that Garo has to a plural. They are close synonyms and the choice among them is largely dialectal or even idiosyncratic. All three are easily understood by Garo speakers everywhere. They are common suffixes but by no means as common as the English plural, since they are not obligatory, and they are not used unless there is some special reason to make plurality explicit. My impression is that *-rang* is the most common, particularly in A·chik but *-dang and -drang* are also common in Mandi: *ba-ju-rang* 'friends', *do·-drang* 'birds', *nok-drang* 'houses'. Plurals can, of course, be attached

to nominalized verbs as well as to simple nouns, and borrowed words pose no problems: *dong-gip-a-dang* 'those who are there', *dal·-gip-a-drang* 'the big ones' (*dal·-a* 'big'), *chan-chi-a-ni-rang* 'thoughts' (*chan-chi-a* 'think'), *ken-a-rang* 'fears' (*ken-a* 'be afraid'), *pek-to-ri-rang* 'factories'.

> *Ka-mal-dang-ha a-gan-na man·-a.*
> priest-Plu-only   speak-Inf can-Neut
> 'Only the priests can speak'.

> *Gip-in man-de-drang-ba kin-a-na i·-ba-pa·-ing-a.*
> other   person-Plu-also   hear-Inf   come-with-Prog-Neut
> 'Other people also are coming along to hear'.

> *Man-de-dang-ni ha·-ba-song-ba   bang·-a-ming.*
> person-Plu-Pos fields-too-village-also much-Neut-Pst
> 'Mandis' property (lit. 'fields and villages') were plentiful'.

> *U-a so-moi-o di·-sa-rang a-gan-a.*
> that time-Loc child-Plu   speak-Neut
> 'At that time, the children speak'.

-ong 'the person named and his or her associates'. This is suffixed only to personal names or to substitutes for names, most often kinship terms. It cannot be used with pronouns. Most often it refers to the family or kinship group of the person named:

> *Ang-ni ba-ba-ong nang·-ni a-bi-ong,   bi-song-de*
> I-Gen   father-Plu you-Gen   older sister-Plu they
> *Ba-reng-ga-pa-ra-cha da·-o dong-ing-a.*
> Barenggapara-Loc   now   live-Prog-Neut
> 'My father's people and your older sister's people, they are now living in Barenggapara'.

> *Ma·-gip-a-ong bo-rang   rik-na   i·-ang-no-a-ming.*
> motherPlu   field house build-Inf go-Fut-Pst
> 'Mother and her people will have gone to build a field house'.

-ra-ra 'lots, all over the place, all around'. This is usually suffixed to words for people, animals, and physical objects. *Pi·-sa-ra-ra* 'children all over the place', *bol-bi-jak-ra-ra* 'lot of leaves everywhere', *nok-ra-ra* 'nothing but houses', *gang-gu-ra-ra* 'lots of mosquitoes', *ha·-gin-dil-a-ra-ra* 'awfully dusty'. This is usually used as an exclamation, generally with at least mild surprise, and often, though not always with a touch of dismay. It is not so often incorporated into a larger sentence: *Ai-ao, bu-ra-bu-ri-ra-ra* 'My gosh, there is nobody but old men and old women here'. Most often

it is used for concrete objects, but its use with abstract concepts is not impossible: *ken-a-ni-ra-ra* 'fears everywhere'.

It is only mildly paradoxical that *-ra-ra* can sometimes be used to mean 'lacking in'. Literally, *jak-ra-ra* means 'many hands, hands all over the place' but its implication is 'only hands, nothing but hands' i.e. 'empty handed, without anything else'.

-tang 'self, own'. This syllable can be suffixed to nouns denoting objects and people with whom one has close or intimate relations: *song-tang* 'own village', *ang-ni nok-tang* 'my own house', *pi·-sa-rang-ni am-bi-tang* 'children's own grandmother', *Ro-si-ni na·-chil-tang* 'Ro-si's own nose'. *-tang* is not used with ordinary physical objects and the idea of *bol-tang 'own tree' strikes people as ludicrous. The syllable is doubled to create a plural distributive meaning: *nok-tang-tang* 'each (one's) home', *song-tang-tang-o dong-bo* 'each stay in (your) own village'. Case markers follow the *-tang*: *man-de-tang-ko dong-bo* 'marry your own kind'; *pi·-sa-tang-ko dok-a-ri-a* '(he) just hits his own child'.

This suffixed *-tang* is obviously related to the reflexive pronouns *an·-tang* and *an·-tang-tang* 'myself, yourself, himself' etc. (See the section on "Pronouns" in the next Chapter.)

Case Markers (B)

Case markers characterize nouns as clearly as principal verb suffixes characterize verbs, and these two classes of suffixes define and distinguish the two largest classes of words in the language. Nominative nouns have no case markers, however, while verbs are hardly ever used without a principal verb suffix, so naked nouns are common but naked verbs very rare. The case marker is suffixed to the noun only if the noun is the last word in the noun phrase. Otherwise it can be attached to a numeral or modifying verb instead. It is also possible for a noun phrase to lack a noun entirely, and when a demonstrative is the only word in a noun phrase, it can easily take a case marker. Even a genitive may have a second case marker suffixed to it, if it is the last or only constituent of a noun phrase.

Case markers provide a way of organizing the noun phrases of a clause or sentence, and of showing how each noun phrase is related to the verb. In particular, some case markers show whether their noun phrases are the subject, the direct object, or the indirect object of the verb, while others have meanings for which prepositions are used in English: location in time and space, direction toward or away, instrument, accompaniment, similarity. Mandi has at least nine cases but they can be counted in different ways, and depending upon the criteria used, the number can reach as high

as thirteen or fourteen. This extensive system of case markers lets Garo have much freer word order than English, where word order is needed to indicate what is the subject and what is the object. Still, not even fourteen case markers are enough to make all the distinctions that a language needs, and Garo uses words that are similar to the prepositions of English to supplement its case markers. These follow the noun phrase in Garo rather than preceding it, so they are called "postpositions" rather than "prepositions", but they do the same job. They follow immediately after the word with the case marker and they are closely related to the case markers. Indeed, the line between case markers and postpositions is not entirely sharp in Mandi, which is one reason why it is not easy to count the number of cases. Nevertheless, most forms can be assigned unambiguously either to the category of case markers or to that of postpositions. Postpositions will be described in the next section, but to the extent that they interact with case markers, that discussion will need to be anticipated here.

For the most part, the meaning of each grammatical case is quite transparent. Mandi cases are somewhat less "grammaticalized" than are those in such languages as German, where the choice among cases often seems to depend as much on the syntax as on the meaning that needs to be conveyed. The forms of the case markers are also very stable. Cases are usually marked by a single form in all circumstances, with none of the irregularities that the varying declensions bring to some European languages. In Mandi, the cases can be chosen by the speaker and understood by the hearer largely on the basis of their meaning, with only a few complications introduced by the linguistic context in which they occur. The nominative is used for the actor, the active agent. With the great majority of verbs this corresponds to the subject in English. The accusative marks the thing acted upon. The dative marks the recipient. Thus, in a very straightforward way, *Me·-a-sa boi-ko me·-chik-na ron·-a* means 'The man gives the book to the woman'. *Boi* 'book' is marked with the accusative case marker *-ko*, *me·-chik* 'woman' with the dative case marker *-na*, and *me·-a-sa* 'man' is left with no explicit marker as the nominative subject. Other case markers include the locative, which shows the time or the place of the action, and the instrumental, which can mark the name of a tool or instrument that is used in performing the action. None of the noun phrases are obligatory, of course, and they may occur in any order because the case markers show their roles in the sentence so clearly.

Of course, there are complications, and case markers are sometimes used in ways that will surprise speakers of other languages. *A-chu-na sai-kel nang-a* means 'Grandfather needs a bicycle', but 'grandfather', the name of the one who needs the cycle must be in the dative case. This makes the literal meaning something like 'For grandfather, the cycle is needed'.

Rong·-te-cha do·-ko go-gak-a might be expressed in English as 'Throw a rock at the bird' but the rock is put in the instrumental case (*rong·-te-cha*) and the bird is in the accusative (*do'o-ko*), so it is constructed like 'Hit the bird with a rock, but *go-gak-a* means 'throw at' rather than 'hit'. The most natural Garo equivalent of 'I am named Raben' is *Ang-ko Ra-ben ming-a*. *Ming-a* is a verb meaning 'to name' but its subject is the name, and its object is the person named. A literal back-translation of this sentence into English would be something like 'Raben names me'. Similarly in the next example, which names the appropriate kinship term that someone should use for a particular person, the kinship term is nominative while the personal name is accusative:

Te-reng-pa-ko   na·-a   "a-wang" ga·-ak-a.
Tereng's father-Acc you-Nomn uncle   falls
'Tereng's father is your "uncle" ', ' "Uncle" names Tereng's father for you'.

'I will cover Mijen with a blanket' is most naturally translated as *Ang-a lep-ko Mi-jen-o pin-et-a*. As might be expected, *ang-a* 'I' is the subject and it has the nominative case. *Lep-ko* 'blanket', however, is the direct object as shown by its accusative case marker, while the person covered has the locative. The sentence can be most literally translated back into English as 'I spread the blanket over Mijen', for the verb is better translated as 'spread over' than as 'cover'. The verb does include the sense of 'over', not merely 'spread', however. A different verb base is used for 'spread under'.

Another example involves adornment. The literal meaning of the following example is something like 'I cause feathers to be inserted (in order to dress or decorate) to her', hopelessly awkward in English, but the right way to say it in Mandi. The objects used for adornment take the accusative, and the person who is adorned takes the dative:

Ang-a   bi-na   do·-me-ko   pot-et-a.
I-Nomn her-Dat feather-Acc dress-Caus-Neut
'I dress her with feathers'.

Sometimes two different case markers can be used with little or no difference in meaning. In the next sentence *nang·-* 'you singular' can be either dative or locative:

Ang-a   chi-ko   nang·-na/-o   ru-brap-a.
I-Nomn water-Acc you-Dat/-Loc sprinkle-Neut
'I sprinkle water on you'.

In the next example, *me·-chik* 'woman' can have either *-ming* 'with' or the accusative *-ko*:

Me·-a-sa me·-chik-ko/-ming grong-a.
man   woman-Acc/with   meet-Neut
'The man met (with) the woman'.

Each case now needs to be considered in more detail.

Nominative Zero/-a . The nominative case in Garo corresponds closely to the subject in English. With intransitive verbs the nominative case is used for the thing that is characterized by the verb, for the thing that is 'red' or 'hot', or that 'runs', or 'dies'. With transitives it is used for the agent that performs the action of the verb. Mostly, the nominative case is shown simply by the absence of any case marker. If other cases always had an overt case marker there would never be any ambiguity about which noun phrases are nominative, but a few other nouns, most often accusatives, are sometimes left without case markers, so the absence of a case marker is not a totally unambiguous signal of the nominative. The conditions in which other noun phrases are left without a case marker are limited, however, and ambiguity is rarely a problem.

There is also one exception to the generalization that the nominative case has no case marker. In the absence of any other case marker, pronouns with monosyllabic bases always have an *-a* added to the base. This *-a* can be considered to be the marker of the nominative case that is used only with a handful of monosyllabic pronouns: *ang-a* 'I', *na·-a* 'you sg.', *bi-a* 'he, she', *ching-a* 'we, exclusive', *i-a* 'this', *u-a* 'that' and *mo-a* 'what?' All other personal and demonstrative pronouns are polysyllabic, and they resemble nouns in having no overt case marker in the nominative. It would be possible, of course, to describe nouns and polysyllabic pronouns as having a "zero" case marker in the nominative, but little hangs on this, and I will consider the monosyllabic pronouns to be the only words to have a nominative case marker.

The demonstratives, *u-a* 'that' and *i-a* 'this', have a suffixed *-a* not only when they are nominative, but also when they act as modifiers within a noun phrase. Demonstratives always come first in a noun phrase so unless there are no other words, the case marker is suffixed to a later word. The demonstrative in such phrases has its *-a* even though it is not a nominative. *u-a man-di-ko* ' that person (accusative)'; *i-a song-o* 'this village (locative)'.

Unlike English, Garo does not require every sentence to have a subject, and many clauses and sentences manage comfortably without one. Of course, many other clauses and sentences do have subjects, and in ordinary speech the nominative is probably more frequent than any other case: *bi-a kat-ing-a* 'he is running', *pi·-sa ga·-ak-jok* 'the child fell', *wak dal·-no-a* 'the pig will be big'. Since the case markers show the role of the noun phrases

so clearly, the subject need not come first. *Ang-a bi-ko nik-a* and *Bi-ko ang-a nik-a* both mean 'I see him'. *Ang-ko bi-a nik-a* means 'He sees me'.

Most of the complications of the nominative arise when alternations between some other case marker and its absence are possible. It is sometimes difficult to know whether the alternative that has no overt case marker should be considered nominative (because there is no case marker) or some other case which has simply had its case marker deleted. Examples will be considered along with the description of the other case markers.

A few postpositions follow the nominative: *gin-ang* 'with', *gri* 'without', *sa-ra* a Bengali borrowing that also means 'without', and sometimes *skang* 'before'.

Accusative -ko. Garo is a straightforward nominative-accusative language. Direct objects, the recipient of the action of a verb, are generally marked with *-ko*:

> *Kan-sa ko-dam-ko-in   ang-na   ra·-ba-bo.*
> Cls-one pillow-Acc-Frg I-Dat   bring-Imp
> 'Bring me a pillow'.

> *Gim-ik-ko-in chok-a-ni   gim-in   gu-al-ja-jok.*
> all-Acc-Frg   write-Nomz-Gen because   forget-Neg-Prf
> 'Because of writing everything (I) no longer forgot'.

Nominalized verbs can take the accusative-*ko* like any other noun:

> *Ang-a   nang·-ni ta-muk   ring-a-ko   beng·-a.*
> I   you-Gen tobacco   drink-Nomz-Acc forbid-Neut
> 'I forbid your tobacco smoking'.

> *Ang-ni boi-ni   po-ri-a-ko   a-gan-a.*
> I-Gen   book-Gen read-Nomz-Acc talk-Neut
> '(He) talked about reading my book'.

When two verbs are used in a single sentence, each can have its own object:

> *Je   man-de a-chak-ko al-i-ing-a   u-ko-in   a-chak*
> whatever person   dog-Acc   bother-Neut that-Acc-Frg dog
> *chik-no-a.*
> bite-Fut
> 'Whoever bothers the dog, the dog will bite that (person)'.

A locative augmented with *-ni-ko* (see augmented locatives, below) can easily occur in same clause with a regular accusative:

Bi-a   nang꞉-cha-ni-ko i-a   ta꞉-bol-chu-ko am꞉-a.
he-Nomn you-Loc-Aug   this manioc-Acc   want-Neut
'He wants this manioc from you'.

Generally there is little problem in knowing which noun phrase should be the object of a verb, but Mandi has enough quirks to show that usage is not simply "natural". Some arbitrary conventions must be learned by anyone who learns the language:

Da꞉-kon-cha mi-dik-ko   grip-a.
top-Inst   rice-pot-Acc cover
'(He) covers the rice pot with a top'.

Mi-dik-o   mi-ko   grip-a.
rice-pot-Loc rice-Acc cover
'(He) covers the rice in the pot'.

Mo-hen-dro bi-ni   mas-tel-ko   ka꞉-o nang-a.
Mohendro   he-Gen teacher-Acc   angry-Neut
'Mohendro is angry at his teacher'.

A somewhat more complex example arises with words for telling, teaching, ordering and so forth. These are verbs that can take two objects, one for the person to whom the telling, teaching, or ordering is directed, and the other for what is told, taught or ordered. When a sentence includes both of these, the thing said or taught has the accusative case marker while the receiver has the dative, very much as in English 'John taught English (direct object, accusative) to the students (indirect object, dative):

Ang-a   nang꞉-na gol-po-ko   a-gan-a.
I-Nomn you-Dat story-Acc   tell
'I tell you a story'.

If, however, the thing said is not mentioned, the person who is the recipient can receive the accusative case marker:

Ang-a nang꞉-ko a-gan-a.
I   you-Acc speak-Neut
'I speak to you'.

Similarly, in the following two sentences, *stu-den-rang* 'students' must be dative when the accusative is needed for the subject that is taught, but 'students' can be accusative if the subject taught is omitted:

Ang-a   stu-den-rang-na Eng-lis-ko   po-ri-dil-ing-a.
I-Nomn student-Plu-Dat English-Acc   read-Caus-Prog-Neut
'I am teaching English to the students'.

Ang-a   stu-den-rang-ko po-ri-dil-ing-a.
I-Nomn student-Plu-Acc read-Caus-Prog-Neut
'I am teaching the student'.

It would seem that the accusative is given some priority that allows it to be used when it is not needed for another noun phrase. If the accusative is needed elsewhere, then the dative becomes the only choice.

The case markers are interdependent in some ways, and two noun phrases in the same clause do not ordinarily have the same case marker unless they have the same relationship to the verb. The following two examples have little difference in meaning, but the accusative *-ko* is used with different nouns, and this forces the other nouns to have different case markers, instrumental in one sentence, locative in the other:

Ba·-ra-cha mik-kon-ko ka-tip-a.
cloth-Inst   eyes-Acc   tie on-Neut
'(He) ties the eyes with a cloth'.

Ba·-ra-ko mik-kon-o ka-tip-a.
cloth-Acc eyes-Loc   tie on-Neut
'(He) ties a cloth on the eyes'.

In sentences where the third person imperative suffix *-kan* or *ka-na* subordinates one clause to another, the object of the main clause, which is simultaneously the logical subject of the subordinate clause, is marked with *-ko*:

Pi·-sa ma·-gip-a-ko chol-a   bre-ka-na in-e a-gan-a.
child mother-Acc shirt   buy-Imp Sub tell
'The child told (his) mother to buy a shirt'.

Two noun phrases can both be accusative if they are objects of different verbs. In the following sentence *bi-skut-ko* is the object of *cha·-ka-na* 'let eat' while *Jing-ji-ko* is the object of tell, and the logical subject of *cha·-ka-na*:

Bi-skut-ko Jing-ji-ko   cha·-ka-na a-gan-a.
biscuit-Acc Jing-ji-Acc eat-Imp   tell-Neut
'(He) told Jing-ji to eat the biscuit'.

Two nouns in the same clause can have *-ko* if they have identical relations to the verb. These are cases where English would have a conjunction:

Ching-a   me·-chik-ko me·-a-sa-ko   nik-jok.
We-Nomn women-Acc men-Acc   see-Prf
'We saw the women (and) the men'.

More often than not, in sentences of this sort, the two accusative nouns (or noun phrases) are tied together by having *-ba* 'also' suffixed to both of them: *Ching-a me·-chik-ko-ba me·-a-sa-ko-ba nik-jok.* With the *ba*'s this sentence is completely natural. Speakers accept it without the *-ba*'s, but it feels just a bit awkward to me:

Ang-ko-ba bi-ko-ba   al-si-a   chik-ing-jok.
I-Acc-also he-Acc-also laziness bite-Prog-Prf
'Laziness is attacking both me and him'.

There is one important exception to the expectation that the object will be marked with *-ko*. When the object occurs immediately before the verb and an indefinite meaning is intended, the accusative marker is omitted. If *bi-bal* 'flower' in the following sentence had the case marker *-ko* as would be required if it were anywhere except directly before the verb, it would mean 'the flower' or 'the flowers':

Bi-a   ang-na me-ja-o   bi-bal   on·-a-ming.
He-Nomn I-Dat   yesterday flower/flowers give-Neut-Pst
'He gave me a flower/flowers yesterday'.

Many indefinite expressions contrast in meaning with similar expressions that have been made definite by *-ko*: *bol-ko den·-a* 'chop the wood', *bol den·-a* 'chop wood'; *mi-ko cha·-a* 'eat the rice', *mi cha·-a* 'eat a meal'; *kam-ko rim·-a* 'do the work', *kam rim·-a* 'work, do work'; *gol-po-ko a-gan-bo* 'tell the story', *gol-po a-gan-bo* 'tell a story, tell stories, do story telling'. The language has many conventionalized object-verb pairs in which the objects do not, when used in the indefinite sense, take a case marker, but these are still the logical objects and no other accusative noun phrase normally occurs in the same clause: *a·-bol sot-a* 'cut firewood', *do ra·-sot-a* 'butcher chickens', *gro gam-a* 'pay a fine to settle a legal case'. As was pointed out in Chapter 6, "Verbs", some logical "objects" are so closely associated with the verb that they really need to be considered a part of the verb itself rather than its independent object: *mik-su-a* 'wash (one's) face', (*mik-kang* 'face'); *jak-jip-a* 'beckon, wave' (lit. hand-fan); *grang-jip-a* 'flap wings' (*grang* 'wing'); *mik-chip-a* 'close eyes'; *ku·-man-a* 'able to speak, speak well' (lit. mouth-able). As these examples suggest, body part terms are especially likely to be incorporated into verbs.

Dative -na 'to, for'. The central use of the dative is to mark the indirect object, especially the recipient of some action:

Bi-a   ang-na cha-ko   ron·-a.
he-Nomn I-Dat   tea-Acc give-Neut
'He gives me tea'.

Cha·-chi   gin-di-cha   wak-na   a-dal   on·-ing-a.
rice husks powder-Inst pig-Dat   animal food give-Prog-Neut
'(I) am feeding rice-husk powder to the pigs'.

A spirit can be the recipient of a sacrifice:

Nok-ni   mit-e-na   a-mu-no-a-ming.
house-Gen spirit-Dat sacrifice-Fut-Pst
'(He) would offer a sacrifice to the spirit of the house'.

More broadly, the dative indicates the individual who gains something, either physical or abstract. In a language without a separate benefactive case, the dative marks the one who benefits from some action:

Ang-a   bi-ni   ba-ju-na   li-chu   bre-a.
I-Nomn she-Gen friend-Dat   leeches buy-Neut
'I buy leeches for her friend'.

Li-bi   ma-gin-a nang·-na   kam   rim·-e   on·-a.
Libby-Nomn gratis   you-Dat   work do-Sub give-Neut
'Libby does the work for you for nothing'.

Ang-a   nang·-na boi-ko   pin-ik-a.
I-Nomn you-Dat   book-Acc   show-Neut
'I show you the book'.

Pi·-sa-na ang-a   chol-a-ko   pat-a.
child-Dat I-Nomn shirt-Acc   dress
'I dress the child in a shirt'.

Lep   chon-a-ni   gim-in   ang-na pin-o   gip-ja.
blanket small-Nomz-Gen because   I-Dat   cover-LNomz reach-Neg
'Because the blanket is small, it doesn't reach in covering for me'.

The beneficiary of a blessing is dative:

I-sol ang-na pa-ti-a.
God I-Dat   bless-Neut
'God blesses me'.

Even a tree can be a beneficiary:

Ang-a   chi-ko   bi-pang-na   ru-jok.
I-Nomn water-Acc tree-Dat   pour-Prf
'I watered the trees, I poured water for the trees'.

As pointed out in the previous section, the person ordered, taught, or spoken to can be shown by the dative. That person can be seen as

the recipient of the speech or teaching, or perhaps, he is the person who benefits. The thing that is said or taught takes the accusative -*ko*:

Pi·-sa-na   mu-a-ko   a-gan-a-ming?
children-Dat what-Acc say-Neut-Pst
'What did (you) say to the children?'

Ang-a   nang·-na sin-ing-a.
I-Nomn you-Dat   teach
'I teach you.'

The person or object toward which emotions are directed is often given the dative case:

Ang-a   bi-na   ka·-cha-a.
I-Nomn he-Dat angry-Neut
'I am angry at him'.

Bi·-sa-na   ken-chak-ing-a.
children-Dat worry-Prog-Neut
'(She) worries about the children'.

Bi·-sa-na sim-bra-a.
child-Dat miss-Neut
'(He is) lonely for the children'.

Jong·-na mit-chi-a.
bug-Dat disgusted-Neut
'(I am) disgusted by a bug'.

Chu-na   mat-u-a.
rice beer-Dat eager-Neut
'(He is) eager for rice beer'.

Dative -*na*, a noun suffix, and infinitive -*na*, a verb suffix, are homophonous. This might seem to be no more than simple coincidence, but in some cases infinitives and datives are used in parallel ways:

Ang-a   chip-pu-na ken-a.
I-Nomn snake-Dat fear-Neut
'I am afraid of snakes'.

Ang-a   jro-na   ken-a.
I-Nomn swim-Inf fear-Neut
'I am afraid to swim'.

With the verb *nang-a* 'need', the one who needs, and who is the potential beneficiary, always has the dative case. The thing needed is accusative:

Bi-na   bi-ni   chol-a-ko   nang-eng-a.
she-Dat she-Gen shirt-Acc   need-Prog-Neut
'She needs her shirt'.

Mo-dhu-pur-cha re·-ang-na ang-na ji-nis bre-na bi-ko   nang-no-a.
Modhupur-Loc go-Inf   I-Dat   thingsbuy-Inf she-Acc need-Fut
'I will need to have her go to Modhupur to buy things for me'.

Verbs that have been nominalized by *-a* can take the dative case marker:

Bi-ni   ru-a   sik-a-na   ang-a   bi-ko   hai·-a.
he-Gen rice seedling plant-Nomz-Dat I-Nomn him-Acc know-Neut
'I know him due to his rice planting'.

The dative can also be used for the price that is paid for something:

Ang-a   u·-ko   dang-ga rong-bong-a-na bre-a.
I-Nomn that-Acc money   Cls-five-Dat   buy-Neut
'I bought that for five taka'.

Several postpositions are used with the dative including *gan-da* 'because', *king-king* 'until, as long as', *skang* 'before'.

Genitive -ni. *-ni* is a straightforward marker of the genitive (possessive). It can be used with words for body parts (*ang-ni jak* 'my hand'), kinship terms (*ang-ni no-gip-a* 'my younger sister'), abstractions (*ang-ni chan-chi-a-ni* 'my idea') as well as with the names of physical objects (*ang-ni nok* 'my house'). The possessor, to which the *-ni* is attached, always precedes what is possessed, i.e. the Garo genitive is constructed like *the man's hat* rather than like *the hat of the man*.

A genitive noun can be used alone, without mentioning the thing possessed: *ang-ni* 'mine', *Di-jen-ni* 'Dijen's'. In this usage the genitive itself acts as a noun, and it is then able to take an additional case marker. In *ang-ni-ko nik-jok-ma?* 'have you seen mine' the accusative case marker *-ko* follows the genitive *-ni*. In *ang-ni-cha chok-bo* 'write it with mine' (e.g. 'my pen'), the genitive is followed by the instrumental case marker, *-cha*. In *ang-ni-cha cha·-bo* 'eat at mine (e.g. at my house)' the genitive is followed by the locative *-cha*. In the next example *-ming* 'along with' follows the genitive:

Ang-ni jik-ming   da·-re-ang-a-bo; Nang·-ni-ming re·-ang-bo.
my   wife-with NImp-go-NImp   your-Gen-with go-Imp
'Don't go with my wife; go with yours'.

The genitive is used with names of substances, when these modify the name of an object that is made from that substance: *sil-ni ji-nis* 'iron

thing' (lit. 'iron's thing, thing of iron'), *sil-ni be-ra* 'iron fence', *bu-su-ni be-ra* 'thorn fence', *le-ka-ni tang-ka* 'paper money, money of paper', *ha·-ni nok* 'house made of earth, mud house'. The genitive also allows many other nouns to be used as modifiers: *Jak-ra-ni mik-ron* 'right eye', *Pa-ki-stan-ni o-pi-sal* 'Pakistani officer', *bal-ti-ni chi* 'pail's water, water in the pail', *chi-ni paip* 'water pipe', *da·-al-ni po-ra* 'today's lesson', *do·-ni kim-il* 'bird's down', *dut-ni cha* 'tea with milk', *pen-ni ja·-teng* 'pant legs', *te-bil-ni ja·-teng* 'table leg, leg of the table', *skul-ni biil-ding* 'school building', *a·-rong-ga-ni ja·-pang* 'the foot of the mountains', *poi-la Boi-sak-ni sal-o* 'on the first day of Boisak (a Bengali month)', *bi-skut-ni tiin* 'biscuit tin, tin for biscuits', *ma·-su-ni gol-po* 'story about cows'.

> *Jak-a-si-ni kan-gin-ing-ko gan-a-ming.*
> left-Gen   Cls-two-Acc   dress-Neut-Pst
> 'Dressed the left two, the two on the left'.

> *Ang-a   biis   bo-chor boi-os-ni me·-chik-ko nik-a.*
> I-Nomn twenty year   age-Gen woman-Acc see-Neut
> 'I saw a twenty year-old woman, a woman of twenty years age'.

An important use of the genitive is to mark the subject of many subordinate and relative clauses. This distinguishes the subject of the subordinate clause with *-ni* as its case marker from the nominative subject of the main clause. (See the discussion of subordination in Chapter 13):

> *Ang-ni cha·-mit-ing-o bi-a   sok-ba-jok.*
> I-Gen   eat-while   he-Nomn arrive-here-Prf
> 'He arrived while I was eating. During my eating, he arrived'.

Genitive *-ni* is the favorite case marker for use with postpositions: *man-de-ni mik-kang-o* 'at the face of the person, in front of the person'; *te-bil-ni ko-sak-o* 'on top of the table, on the table's top'. These postpositions will be described in the next chapter.

Most case markers show how a noun or a noun phrase is related to a verb. Alone among the case markers, the genitive shows how two nouns are related to each other. Since postpositions are nominals (they can take case markers, and they resemble nouns in other ways as well), even when a genitive is followed by a postposition, it still relates two nouns, or at least two nominals. Some postpositions do follow other case markers, however, and in this situation other case markers than the genitive relate two nouns.

Instrumental -cha. This case marker is pronounced *-cha* in Mandi, but *-chi* in A·chik. In both dialects the instrumental is homophonous with the spatial locative and this parallel difference makes it tempting to regard

the language as having a single polysemous case marker that is used for both the instrumental and for some spatial locatives. However, the meanings are so different that I find it more natural to consider them to be separate cases and that is how I will treat them.

Instrumental -*cha* is often used with names for tools, or for any means by which something is accomplished:

Bi-a   cha-mos-cha cha·-ing-a.
he-Nomn spoon-Inst   eat-Prog-Neut
'He is eating with a spoon'.

The next example might be literally translated as 'see by means of (instrumental) a dream' but it is used where English speakers would say 'have a dream':

ju-mang-cha nik-a
dream-Inst   see-Neut
'have a dream'

A somewhat more elaborate expression is also possible:

Ang-o Ne-sen-pa ju-mang-cha ja-din-a.
I-Loc Nesenpa   dream-Inst   appear-Neut
'Nesenpa appeared to me by means of a dream, I dreamed of Nesenpa'.

In the following example, 'God', to whom the prayer is directed, has the instrumental case marker. Apparently God is being used to accomplish something:

I-sol-cha ang-ni jom-a-ko   nam-et-ka-na   bi·-a.
Got-Inst I-Gen   sick-Nomz-Acc good-cause-Imp
'(I) pray to God to cure my sickness'.

When reporting that someone has been questioned, the thing asked about is marked by the accusative and the person questioned is marked by the instrumental. The person who is questioned seems to be the instrument for finding something out:

Ang-a   bi-cha bi-ni   sai-kel-ko sing·-a-ming.
I-Nomn he-Inst he-Gen   cycle-Acc ask-Neut-Pst
'I asked him about his bicycle'

When the thing asked about is not mentioned, however, the accusative -*ko* is available for the person asked. Even then, however, instrumental -*cha* is an option. Thus either -*ko* or -*cha* is possible in the following sentence:

Ang-a   nang·-ko/-cha sing·-a-ming.
I-Nomn you-Acc/Inst ask-Neut-Pst
'I asked you'.

These options are very much like those with verbs of telling, teaching, and ordering, where the one who is told, taught, or ordered may be marked by the accusative unless the accusative is required for whatever it is that the person is told or ordered to do. In that case, the dative is used to mark the person while the accusative marks the instruction:

Ma·-gip-a pi·-sa-na   gol-po-ko a-gan-a-ming.
mother   children-Dat story-Acc told-Neut-Pst
'Mother told the children a story'.

The person who is told, taught, or ordered can be conceived of as receiving something—words, knowledge or a command—hence the dative. The person who is questioned can be conceived of as being used as an instrument by means of which the questioner learns something—hence the instrumental.

A choice between accusative and instrumental is also possible for what a bird does with its wings: *grang-ko pak-pak-a* 'flap the wings (accusative)' or *grang-cha pak-pak-a* 'flap with the wings (instrumental)'.

Mandi has a rather rare passive. The noun that would be nominative in an active sentence is marked by the instrumental in the corresponding passive sentence. The instrumental -*cha* is rather like the 'by' of an English passive such as *The dog was beaten by the man*, where *by* marks the noun that would be the subject of the corresponding active sentence, *The man beat the dog*. *Cha·-a* appears to be derived from the verb meaning 'eat', but its sence here is metaphorical, something like 'swallow a beating':

A-chak man-de-cha dok-a   man·-e cha·-a.
dog   person-Inst beat-Neut get   eat
'The dog was beaten by the man'.

The passive is described more fully in Chapter 14.

Locative -o, -no. -*o* can be used either as a spatial or temporal locative meaning 'in, at, by, on, near'. It shares the spatial sense with the other locative case marker -*cha*, but only -*o* can have a temporal meaning. -*o* can be productively suffixed to any noun that refers to something that exists in space or time, and can even be used with more abstract phenomena: *song-o* 'in, at, near, by the village', *Som-bal-o* 'on Monday', *cher-o* 'in, on the chair', *ang-ni gi-sik-o* 'in my mind'. A number of nouns and postpositions are so regularly used with -*o* that the affix can seem almost

to have become a part of the word, but most, perhaps all, of these words are occasionally used without the -o: *am-bin-o* 'tomorrow', *da·-o* 'now', *ja·-man-o* 'after', *ning·-a-o* 'inside of', *ki·-sang-o* 'in back of'.

An alternative form of this locative is -*no*, but it can be used only with a handful of pronouns: *u-no* 'there, in that place' (*u-a* 'that'); *i-no* 'here, in this place' (*i-a* 'this'); *sa-no* 'at whom, with whom, near whom' (*sa* 'who'); *je-no* 'at whichever, wherever' (*je* 'relative pronoun'). Even with these pronouns, -*o* is also possible: *u-o, i-o, sa-o, je-o*. The -*no* form of the locative can also be used with the augmented locatives (see below), giving -*no-ni, -no-na* and -*no-ni-ko*. Since the demonstrative roots to which these suffixes are attached can have several alternative forms, the locatives are afflicted with a bewildering amount of variation.

Whether a locative -*o* marks position in space or in time is generally shown clearly by the lexical item to which it is suffixed:

Ang-a   i-a   cher   dal·-a-o   a-song-eng-a.
I-Nomn this chair big-Nomz-Loc sit-Prog-Neut
'I am sitting in this big chair'.

Me-ja-o   si-jok.
yesterday-Loc die-Prf
'(He) died yesterday'.

-*o* is sometimes used where some movement is implied.

Boi-ko   te-bil sak-a-o   don-a.
book-Acc table on top-Loc put-Neut
'(I) put the book on the table'.

Ang-a   bol-o   nang-ting-dat-a.
I Nomn tree-Loc bump-Neut
'I bump into the tree'.

Ba-ren-da-o sal nang-ing-a.
veranda-Loc sun hit-Prog-Neut
'The sun is hitting the veranda'.

Ang-a da·-o a-rat-ba·-ing-jok   sa-di-a.
I   now bored-get-Prog-Prf alas
'Unfortunately I'm now getting bored'.

It can be used metaphorically:

Riin-o   ang-a ba-ji-a.
loan-Loc I   tangle-Neut
'I am tangled in a loan'.

Sal ang-ni mik-ron-o   mik-brap-ing-a.
sun I-Gen eyes-Loc   shine-Prog-Neut
'The sun is shining in my eyes'.

Locative *-o* is regularly suffixed to many spatial postpositions:

Me·-chik-ni se-pang-o   a-song-eng-a.
woman   beside-Loc sit-Prog-Neut
'(He) is sitting beside the woman'.

Nok-king sak-a-o   ding-sa   do-ri dong-a.
roof   on top-Loc Cls-one   rope be at-Neut
'There is a rope on the roof'.

Possession can be shown by the genitive, of course, but it can also be shown by the verb *dong-a* 'to exist, to be at (a place)', together with a possessor that has the locative case marker *-o*: *Ang-o to-ra dong-ja* 'I have no basket'. *To-ra* 'basket' is the subject of this sentence, and hence has the nominative case. The possessor has the locative case: *ang-o* 'at me'. The literal meaning of the sentence, then, is something like 'A basket is not at me'. This is the closest Garo comes to an English sentence with possessive 'have'.

There is no difficulty about having both a time locative and a spatial locative in the same clause:

O-gus-o   ang-ko Bang-la-des-o   nik-no-a-kon.
August-Loc I-Acc   Bangladesh-Loc see-Fut-Probably
'(You) will probably see me in Bangladesh in August'.

Ja-seng-o mo·-na   da·-o chu-na am·-ing-a?
light-Loc   what-Dat now   sleep-Inf want-Prog-Neut
'Why do you want to sleep, in the light, now?'

The case marker *-o* is used with nouns or other nominals, but it is also clearly related to several nominalizing suffixes that are used with verbs. When used with verbs, all nominalizers that include an *-o* are purely temporal in meaning, never spatial, so *-o* as a verb suffix means 'at the time of, when'. *-jok-o* combines the perfect *-jok* with the locative *-o* to mean 'at the time, when in the past'; *-na-jok-o* means 'at the time, when in the future':

Mi song·-o   mi·-dik-ko   grip-a.
rice cook-Loc rice pot-Acc   cover-Neut
'When cooking rice (one) covers the pot'.

Ang-ko sing`-jok-o,  a-gan-chak-na   man`-no-a.
I-Acc   ask-Prf-Loc answer-Inf   can-Fut
'When I have been asked, (I) will be able to answer'.

Nang`-ni bil-ang-na-jok-o   ang-a   jak-jip-ɛt-no-a.
you-Gen fly-away-IFut-Loc I-Nomn wave-Caus-Fut
'When you go (in the future), I will wave'.

Occasionally, the absence of locative *-o* signals an indefinite meaning, much as the absence of the accusative *-ko* does. *Nok nap-a* from *nok* 'house' and *nap-a* 'enter' is a conventional phrase meaning the first ceremonial opening of a newly built house. *Nok-o nap-a*, with the added locative marker. simply means 'enter the house' and it can be used for any ordinary occasion. The first of the next two examples suggests a definite bit of water. The second includes the word for 'water', but in the absence of a case marker, it does not imply any particular water, and the word almost becomes incorporated into the verb with a meaning something like 'they are strong at water-swimming':

Chi-o   jro-ing-a.
water-Loc swim-Prog-Neut
'(They) are swimming in the water'.

Bi-song-de chi   jro-na   rak-a.
they   water swim-Inf strong-Neut
'They are strong at swimming'.

Locative -cha. Like *-o, -cha* is a locative. It is used in a narrower range of circumstances than *-o*, but within its restricted range it is very common. Unlike *-o, -cha* is used only spatially, so it leaves *-o* with a monopoly over the temporal dimension. This means that *-cha* is used with fewer postpositions than is *-o*, and even with spatial postpositions it is less common than *-o*. *-cha* also differs from *-o* in more often implying movement, though when used without an additional "augmenting" suffix (see next section), it indicates nothing about the direction of the movement. *Be-du-ri-a-cha* 'to Beduria, from Beduria'. When used without an augmenting suffix, *-o* typically suggests a lack of movement, so the two case markers are by no means synonymous although they do overlap in meaning. *-cha* does not always indicate motion and *-o* does not always mean its absence: *Be-du-ri-a-o, Be-du-ri-a-cha* 'at Be-du-ri-a'.

Na`-a      je-cha-in               re`-ang-a u-a-cha-in
you-Nomn wherever-Loc-Frg go-Neut   there-Loc-Frg

ni-ri-ing-a.
quarrel-Prog-Neut

    'Wherever you go, in that place is quarrelling'.

    Ang-a   Gai-ra-cha ar   Jal-chat-ra-cha re·-ang-no-a.
    I-Nomn Gaira-Loc and Jalchatra-Loc go-Fut
    'I will go to Gaira and to Jalchatra'.

    Ang-ni-cha cha·-bo.
    I-Gen-Loc eat-Imp
    'Eat at mine (at my place)'.

One postposition is characteristically used with locative *cha*. *Bak* means 'on the side of, in the direction of'. *Bring-cha bak*, 'in the direction of the forest'.

Augmented Locatives: -ni, -na, -ni-ko. The two locative suffixes can both be augmented with one of three additional suffixes. Each of the various forms that result from this augmentation might be regarded as marking a separate case, but that this would result in a peculiar multiplication of cases. Alternatively, one might try to treat the augmentations as postpositions that follow the locative suffixes, but they seem, phonologically, to be a part of the previous word, and they are shorter than most postpositions. Moreover, *-o* and *-cha* are augmented in similar, though not quite identical ways, and the augmentations are used together so intimately that generalizations would be missed if they were not treated together.

The simplest augmentations for both *-o* and *-chi* are *-ni* 'from' and *-na* 'to, toward'. It is an odd fact that in another incarnation these are the genitive and dative case markers, but when following one of the locatives they show that the case marker refers to motion rather than position, and they also show the direction of the motion. Thus we have *da·-sal-o-ni am-bin-o-na* 'from today until tomorrow'; *Jol-oi-cha-ni Mo-min-pur-cha-na* 'from Joloi to Mominpur'.

The two locatives are often used together, however, and in this case the suffix with *-o* marks the closer location and the suffix with *-cha* marks the more distant one. If I were in Joloi I could say *Ang-a Jol-oi-o-ni Gai-ra-cha-na re·-ang-no-a* 'I will go from Joloi to Gaira'. Gaira, here, is shown to be farther away, and Joloi closer. *Ang-a Jol-oi-cha-ni Gai-ra-o-na re·-ba-a* 'I come from Joloi to Gaira' not only describes the direction of movement, but it implies that I am now closer to Gaira than to Joloi, since it is Gaira that has the case marker that shows it to be closer. Joloi has the case marker that means 'further away'. Of course *re·-ba-a* 'come' also implies that the speaker will be moving toward his present position, so there is an interdependence between the verb and the case markers. Mandis reject

sentences such as *Ang-a Jo-loi-o-ni Gai-ra-cha-na, re·-ba-a* as impossible.
The case markers assert that Jo-loi is closer than Gaira, while the verb
asserts that I "come". Since I come toward Garia, I must at the time of
speaking be in Gaira, or at least closer to Gaira than to Joloi.

With transitive verbs there is an extra complication. Verbs with such
meanings as 'bring', 'take', 'send', and 'carry' require *-ko* to be added as a
further augmentation to *-o-ni* and *-cha-ni*. Thus *-o-ni-ko* means 'from a
relatively nearby place' for things being moved, and *-cha-ni-ko* means 'from
a more distant place' for things being moved:

Ang-a   boi-ko   Mo-dhu-pur-cha-ni-ko Chu-ni-a-o-na   ra·-ba-ming.
I-Nomn book-Acc Modhupur-Loc-Aug   Chunia-Loc-Aug bring-Pst
'I brought the book from Modhupur to Chunia'.

Reng-di i·-no-ni-ko   u·-cha-na   ol-ang-a-ming.
Rengdi here-Loc-Aug there-Loc-Aug carry by tump-line-Neut-Pst
'Rengdi carried (it) by tump line away from here to there'.

As with intransitive verbs, there must be harmony between the direc-
tion implied by the verbs and that implied by the augmented case markers.

It is curious that all three augmenting syllables, *-ni, -na* and *-ko* can
also be used as case markers in their own right. Moreover, the fact that it
is precisely the transitive verbs that require *-ko* makes the connection with
the accusative difficult to dismiss as coincidence. Still, nouns with *-o-ni-ko*
or *-cha-ni-ko* as their case markers are hardly accusative. Nor is there any
difficulty in using accusative *-ko* in the same clause with the augmented
locative *-o-ni-ko*:

Ring-jeng mi-ko   Be-du-ri-a-cha-ni-ko ra·-ba-ming.
Ringjeng rice-Acc Beduria-Loc-Aug   bring-Pst
'Ringjeng brought the rice from Beduria'.

-ming 'with, along with'. This is considerably more specialized in
meaning than the case markers already described, and it also considerably
less common. It counts as a case marker because it is consistently used
with the combining form of the monosyllabic pronouns: *ang-ming* 'along
with me', *ching-ming* 'along with us', etc.

Ma-ming   mi cha·-no-a?
what-with rice eat-Fut
"What will (you) eat rice with?'

Dut-ming chi-ming   da·-brin-a-bo.
milk-with water-with NImp-mix-NImp
'Don't mix milk with water'.

No-si ru-a-cha bol   den·-e, Dim-si-ming bring-cha-ni-ko
Nosi   axe-Inst tree cut-Sub Dimsi-with   Forest-Loc-Aug
nok-o-na   ha·-bol-ko   ra·-ba-ming.
house-Loc-Aug firewood-Acc bring-Pst

'Having cut wood with the axe, Nosi brought the firewood home from the forest with Dimsi'.

The postpositions *-lo-ge* and *-grim* can follow *-ming*. Neither adds much to the meaning except to make the sense of 'along with' more forceful.

-git-a 'like, similar, by way of'. *-git-a* is even more marginal as a case marker than *-ming*. Not only is its meaning relatively specialized, but the way it is used is variable. It sometimes follows the free form of a pronoun or demonstrative, as in *u-a git-a* 'like that', where *-git-a* acts as if it is a postposition. Nevertheless it is used, at least part of the time, with the combining form of monosyllabic pronouns, and if this is taken as the defining feature of case markers, then *-git-a* can certainly be a case marker: *ang-git-a* 'like me', *ching-git-a* 'like us', *nok-git-a* 'like a house', *mong-ma-git-a* 'like an elephant'. Like case markers *-git-a* can follow nominalized verbs as well as nouns and pronouns: *ni-ri-a-git-a* 'like quarreling, similar to quarreling'. Like other case markers also, *-git-a* can follow a genitive, and it then means 'like some possessed object': *nang·-ni-git-a* 'like yours', *pan-te-ni-git-a* 'like the young man's'. Nouns with *-git-a* are very often followed by *dak-e*, a subordinating verb which, in effect, puts the noun into a sort of adverbial use: *Ang-git-a dak-e dak-bo* 'Do like me, do as I do'; *A-chak-git-a dak-e kat-ang-a-ming* '(He) ran away like a dog, in a doggy manner'.

I-a nok-git-a git-al nok   rik-bo.
this house-like new   house build-Imp
'Build a new house like this house'.

Dal·-a-git-a   ku·-sik   a-gan-na man·-a.
big-Nomz-like language talk-Inf   can-Neut
'(She) can talk like an adult (big one)'.

Ma·-su-ba man-de-git-a grap-ing-a.
cattle-also person-like   cry-Prog-Neut
'Cattle also cry like people'.

Ang-ni dak-a-git-a   da·-dak-a-bo,   ang-ni a-gan-a-git-a   dak-bo.
I-Gen   do-Nomz-like NImp-do-NImp I-Gen   talk-Nomz-like do-Imp
'Don't do as I do, do as I say'.

Je-git-a   dak-e ang-a   ring-a,   na·-a-ba in-dak-e ring-bo.
whatever-like do-Sub I-Nomn   drink-Neut you-also this-like drink-Imp
'In whatever way I drink, you also drink in that way'.

-*git-a* can sometimes mean 'via', 'by way of':

Ra-ma-git-a   re·-ang-bo.
road-by-way-of go-Imp
"Go along the road, via the road'.

Kat-gip-a-rang-ni   kat-gip-a-git-a   da·-a   cha-deng-e
run-Nomz-Neut-Plu-Gen run-Nomz-by way of NImp   stand-Sub be
dong-a-bo.
at-NImp
'Don't stand where the runners run'.

Je-git-a   sal nang-a,   u-a-git-a na·-ching a-song-no-a.
whatever-way sun hit-Neut   that-way we   sit-Fut
'Wherever the sun hits, in that place we will sit'.

More than most case markers, *git-a* has the ability to be suffixed to words that are not nouns or even nominals:

kan-sa-git-a 'like one' (numeral)

ket-chi-git-a 'sort of between' (postposition)

pos-chim-git-a 'more or less east'

ba-ro-ba-ji-o-git-a 'about twelve o'clock'

In another, though related, use, *git-a* can follow infinitives. 'In order to' is one meaning of the infinitive, and this meaning is made entirely explicit by adding *git-a*:

Mi cha·-na git-a   song·-bo.
rice eat-Inf   in-order-to cook-Imp
'Cook in order to eat a meal'.

Ang-a   re·-ang-na git-a   ta-ri-no-a.
I-Nomn go-Inf   in-order-to prepare-Fut
'I will get ready to go'.

Dal·-na git-a   bol-pang-na jai-ga don-bo.
big-Inf in-order-to tree-Dat   place   give-Imp
'Give a place in order for the tree to grow large'.

Case Markers and Postpositions (B)

As the examples of -*git-a* and -*ming* show, the line between case markers and postpositions is not entirely sharp. If all postpositions followed a case marker they would be easy to distinguish. The case marker would be

whatever followed immediately after the noun or other nominal, and the postposition would be whatever came next. If some postpositions followed the nominative case, however, they would follow nouns directly, just as case markers do. Only the monosyllabic pronouns give a decisive way to distinguish between them. Postpositions follow the *"-a"* or "free" form of the pronoun (which can be regarded as nominative), while case markers follow the "combining" form that lacks the *-a*. By this criterion, there is no doubt that *-ko, -na, -ni, o-, -cha* (locative), and *-cha* (instrumental) are cases. *Ang-ko, ang-na, ang-ni* and the rest all have the case markers attached to the combining form of the pronoun. By this criterion, *-ming* 'together with' is also a case marker because it is suffixed directly to *ang-* to yield *ang-ming*. When words function like postpositions by consistently following the *-a* form of monosyllabic pronouns, there is no difficulty about calling them "postpositions".

There are, however, at least three forms that I have heard used inconsistently, sometimes after the *-a* form of the monosyllabic pronouns and sometimes after the combining form. These blur the line between case markers and postpositions. Speakers have told me that *git-a* 'like, similar to', *gin-ang* 'with', and *gri* 'without' can be used after either form of the pronouns. Both *ang-git-a* and *ang-a git-a* 'like me' are possible. Whatever people say in the abstract, however, such consensus as I have been able to observe in actual speech suggests that *-git-a* is most often used with the combining form, and therefore can best be considered a case marker. For this reason, I have included it in the previous section along with other case markers. *Gin-ang* and *gri*, on the other hand, seem more often to be used with the free form of the pronouns: *ang-a gin-ang, ang-a gri*, so I include them with other prepositions in the next chapter. More interesting than where I have decided to put them, however, is their vascilation. Perhaps we are witness to a historical moment when certain postpositions are in the process of becoming case markers. Whatever historical changes are, or are not, underway, it would be an imposition of excessive linguistic tidiness to insist that each form be either a case marker or a postposition, or to imagine that grammatical cases are the sort of thing that can be definitively counted. Most Garo grammatical categories have fuzzy boundaries.

Final Noun Suffixes (B)

The last noun suffixes to be considered are also last in the noun phrase, and with singular lack of imagination, I will call these "final noun suffixes". Like case markers they are really clitics since they are suffixed to the final word of the noun phrase, whether that is the noun, a numeral, a modifier

or a demonstrative. Indeed, they come even later than the case markers. They follow the case marker, if there is one, and if there is a postposition following the noun phrase, they even follow the postposition. A case marker is suffixed to the noun before the postposition, and it shows the relation of the noun to the postposition, but a final noun suffix comes still later.

There are four final noun suffixes, and with one marginal exception, no more than one can be used with the same word. With nominative monosyllabic pronouns they are suffixed to the "free form" that has *-a*. They seem to be especially common with pronouns but they can be easily used with every type of noun. Although they are never obligatory, their absence can sometimes be stylistically awkward.

-ba 'also, too' is easily suffixed to nouns or pronouns: *Ang-a-ba nik-jok* 'I saw (it) too'; *na·-a-ba i·-ang-no-a-ma* 'will you go too?' The ambiguity of English 'I saw it too' cannot exist in Garo since there is a clear difference between *Ang-a-ba u-ko nik-a-ming* 'I also (as well as someone else) saw it' and *Ang-a u-ko-ba nik-a-ming* 'I saw it also (as well as something else)'. *-ba* always follows any case marker that is present: *Bi-song-ko-ba ni-bo* 'Look at them too', *Jo-loi-cha-na-ba kat-ang-jok* '(He) ran away to Joloi too'. *-ba* is often used on two successive nouns where English would join them by 'and' or 'both . . .and': *me·-a-sa-na-ba me·-chik-sa-na-ba ron·-bo* 'Give (it) to both men and women'. Longer phrases and clauses can be joined in the same way:

> *dal·-gip-a man-de-ba, chon-gip-a   man-de-ba*
> big-Nomz people-also small-Nomz people-too
> 'both big people and small people'

> *Ang-a-ba   i·-ang-no-a, bi-a-ba   i·-ang-no-a.*
> I-Nomn-also go-Fut   he-Nomn-also go-Fut
> 'I also will go, he also will go', 'He and I will both go'.

-de. This suffix signals a mild contrast or change from what had gone before or from what might have been expected. It differs from *-ba* in about the same way that English 'but' differs from 'and'. The meaning of *-de* and the way it differs from *-ba* are illustrated by two pairs of sentences. The first example of the first pair is fine because the pronoun and the verb of the second clause agree in saying something different from the first clause. The second sentence is strange because the *-ba* 'also', is out of harmony with *re·-ang-ja-no-a* 'will not go':

> *Na·-a   re·-ang-bo; ang-a-de   re·-ang-ja-no-a.*
> you-Nomn go-Imp   I-Nomn-but go-Neg-Fut
> 'You go, but I will not go'.

Na·-a   re·-ang-bo; ang-a-*ba   re·-ang-ja-no-a.
you-Nomn go-Imp   I-Nomn-also go-Neg-Fut
'You go and I *also will not go'.

The next pair is similar except that the first clauses are negative and this reverses the acceptability of *-ba* and *-de*. *Ang-a-de* 'but I' is impossible because it suggests that I will do something different than you, but this is contradicted by the verb. *Ang-a-ba* 'I also', is in harmony with the verb:

Na·-a da·-re-ang-a-bo; ang-a-ba   re·-ang-ja-no-a.
you   NImp-go-NImp I-Nomn-also go-Neg-Fut
'Don't you go; I will also not go'.

Na·-a da·-re-ang-a-bo; ang-a-*de   re·-ang-ja-no-a.
you   NImp-go-NImp I-Nomn-but go-Neg-Fut
'Don't you go; *but I will not go'.

Other possibilities would have both clauses positive or only the first one negative:

Na·-a re·-ang-bo, ang-a-ba   (*ang-a-de)   re·-ang-no-a.
you   go-Imp   I-Nomn-too (*I-Nomn-but) go-Fut
'You go and I will too (*but I will)'.

Na·-a da·-re-ang-a-bo, ang-a-de   (*ang-a-ba)   re·-ang-no-a.
you   NImp-go-NImp I-Nomn-but (*I-Nomn-also) go-Fut
'Don't you go, I, however, will (*also) go'.

Mostly, of course, *-de* and *-ba* are used in less redundant sentences than these so they add information:

Ang-a   bi-ko-de   nik-ja-ming.
I-Nomn he-Acc-but see-Neg-Pst
'I didn't see him (but I might have seen someone else)'.

Rim-ji-ko-ba   nik-ja-ming.
Rimji-Acc-also see-Neg-Pst
'(I) didn't see Rimji either'.

Ro-bi-bal-na skang-de   ang-a   jinis-ko   ra·-ang-na nang-ja-no-a.
Sunday-Dat before-but I-Nomn things-Acc take-Inf   need-Neg-Fut
'I will not need to take the things before Sunday'.

Ang-a   nang·-ko-de nik-ja,   gip-in   man-de-ko nik-a.
I-Nomn you-Acc-but see-Neg another person-Acc see-Neut
'But I don't see you, (I) see someone else'.

-*de* seems to occur rather often with pronouns that are postposed after the verb. This is a highly marked position for a noun phrase, and the -*de* seems to confirm its markedness. *Dong-ja, ang-a-de* '*I* don't have any' (whatever you might think).

It is difficult to get two -*de*'s into the same clause, but two can be used in successive clauses as a way of emphasizing a contrast:

Ang-a   mi-ko-de   cha·-no-a, ru-ti-ko-de   cha·-ja-no-a.
I-Nomn rice-Acc-but eat-Fut   bread-Acc-but eat-Neg-Fut
'I will eat rice, (I) will not eat bread'.

-sa, -ha 'only'. -*sa* is the pronunciation used in A·chik, but both *ha*- and -*sa* are used in Mandi. This suffix must be related to -*sa* 'one' although the word for 'one' is never pronounced -*ha*, even in Mandi. When suffixed to a noun, and in the absence of a numeral classifier, its meaning is 'only': *Bi-a-sa jom-ing-a* 'Only he is sick'.

Ang-ni pi·-sa-ha   mil·-a.
I-Gen   child-only fat-Neut
'Only my child is fat'.

A-chak an·-tang-ko-sa chik-a.
dog   self-Acc-only   bite-Neut
'The dog bites himself only'.

The next two examples not only show the use of -*ha*, but give additional examples of -*de* where it marks a contrast to the word marked with -*ha*. The meaning could be conveyed in English with 'however':

I-a pang-o-de   bi-jak-ha jap-pu-jap-pu dak-e   dong-a.   Bi-te-de
this tree-Loc-but leaf-only   thick   do-Sub exist   fruit
dong-ja.
exist-Neg
    'This tree is thick only with leaves. There is no fruit'.

Skang-de   nik-ja-ming, da·-o-ha   nik-jok.
before-but see-Neg-Pst   now-only   see-Prf
'(I) didn't see (it) before, (I) have seen (it) only now'.

-in. This very common suffix foregrounds, or calls attention to, the noun phrase to which it is suffixed. A good answer to the question *Sa bi-ko nik-a-ming?* 'Who saw him?' would be *Ang-a-in bi-ko nik-a-ming* '*I* saw him', where the *ang-a* takes the suffix -*in* since that is the noun phrase to which attention needs to be drawn. *Ang-a bi-ko-in nik-a-ming* 'I saw *him*'

would be a better answer to *Naˑ-a sa-ko nik-a-ming?* 'Who did you see?' The suffix does much the same thing as emphatic stress does in English:

> *Naˑ-a-in i-a   mi-ko   chaˑ-bo.*
> you-Frg this rice-Acc   eat-Imp
> '*You* eat this rice'.

> *Bi-a-in bi-ko   dok-a.*
> he-Frg   he-Acc hit-Neut
> 'It was *he* who hit him'.

> *Ang-a-in   ang-ko dok-a.*
> I-Frg   I-Acc   hit-Neut
> 'I hit myself', (It was not someone else who hit me.)

> *Ang-a   ang-ko-in dok-a.*
> I   I-Acc-Frg
> 'I hit myself'. (It was not someone else whom I hit.)

It is unusual for more than one noun phrase in a clause to be marked by *-in*. The purpose of *-in* is to call special attention to a noun phrase and the foregrounding of one noun phrase would be undermined by foregrounding another.

When *-in* follows an open syllable, two vowels face each other across a syllable boundary. In this case, the *-i* of *-in* is subject to assimilation with the preceding vowel (see Chapter 4, "Morphophonemics and Variation"). A good many *-in*'s, therefore, do little more than lengthen previous vowel, and in fast speech the vowel of *-in* can even be lost, leaving only a syllable final *-n* to represent the suffix: [ang-a-in, ang-aan, ang-an] 'I, foregrounded'. This is the closest that Mandi comes to a morpheme that is shorter than one syllable.

There is one marginal exception to the rule that only a single final noun suffix can be used on the same nominal. *-san* and *-han* are emphatic alternates of *-sa* and *-ha* 'only'. They can be interpreted as consisting of the shorter *-sa* or *-ha* to which *-in* 'foregrounded' has been added. The pronunciations of the pairs, when used together, are *-san* or *-han*. These can be readily understood as lexicalizations which conform to the frequent dropping of the vowel from the *-in* suffix whenever it follows another vowel. The meaning of *-san* and *-han* follows naturally from the meanings of their parts: 'emphatically only'. *-san* and *-han* are especially frequent with numerals: *sak-sa-san, sak-sa-han* 'only one (person)'.

Final Noun Suffixes and Terminal Suffixes (C)

The final noun suffixes and the terminal suffixes of verbs share two properties. Both come at the very end of their respective words, and perhaps in harmony with their late position, both are attached to their words just a bit less securely than are the earlier suffixes. Terminal suffixes turn up now and then suffixed to nouns, and final noun suffixes occasionally find their way onto verbs.

The terminal suffixes include -*ming* 'past', -*kon* 'probably', -*ma* 'question particle', -*na* 'quotative', -*ro* 'contradiction' and -*ai* 'emphatic'. Even -*ming* 'past, conditional', which is usually closely coupled with the tense-aspect marker, now and then gets attached to something other than a verb. In *ak-git-tam-ming-kon* 'there were probably three people', *ak-git-tam* 'three people' is a numeral consisting of a classifier and a number. Suffixed to it is not only -*ming* but also -*kon* 'probably'. There is no verb base in this phrase, but perhaps it can be understood as an abbreviation of *ak-git-tam dong-a-ming-kon*, where the verb base *dong-* holds the suffixes.

In *Ba-gip-a song-ni-ming?* 'from which village were (you)?', the -*ming* follows the noun phrase *ba-gi-pa song-ni* that, by itself, means 'of what village?' The -*ming* adds a component of past time. Equational sentences occasionally have a terminal suffix even in the absence of a verb. *I-a ma·-su-ma?* '(is) this a cow?' ends with -*ma*, the question marker for yes-no questions. Usually, -*ma* is the very last suffix of a verb (and thus of a sentence), but occasionally, as here, it turns up attached to something else. When used with an equational sentence, of course, terminal suffixes come at the end, just as they do with a verbal sentence. More often an empty verb, with little meaning of its own, is added to an equational sentence and it is this empty verb that holds suffixes. It seems odd to dispense with the empty verb.

Examples in which terminal suffixes are suffixed to nominals can often be interpreted as consisting of equational sentences, or fragments of equational sentences:

nok-kon 'probably a house' (as when seeing something dimly through fog)

sak-git-tam-kon 'probably three people'

nok-na 'a house, he says' (quotative)

nok-ma? 'is it a house?' (question particle)

i-a ang-ni ba-ju-ni nok-ming 'this used to be my friend's house'

nok-in-ro 'it is a house' (corrects an earlier statement')

ba-gip-a mas-ming? 'in what month was it?'

Tense-aspect suffixes more consistently need the support of an empty
verb base such as *ong·-* than do the terminal suffixes. The tense-aspect
suffixes are closer to the verb base and seem more securely attached to it.
Under enough pressure, however, even tense-aspect suffixes can get attached
to nouns or other nominals. Pushed by an inquiring linguist, consultants
will attach almost anything to almost anything else. The following sentence
has the tense-aspect suffix *-jok* attached to *a nok* 'house', a noun, a rare
but not quite impossible sequence:

Skang-dɛ   pu-kur-ming, da·-o-de   nok-jok.
before-but tank-with   now-but   house-Prf
'Formerly (there) was a pond, but now (there is) a house'.

The word *ding-tang* means 'different'. It is a very frequent nominal
modifier and in most respects acts like a noun rather than like a verb.
Neverthelss I once persuaded a consultant to say, and to grant that it was
allowable, *ding-tang-no-a.* Here, she suffixed the future tense marker to a
word that is, in most respects, a nominal. My consultant intended this to
mean 'will be different'. In the course of the discussion that led up to this,
however, she offered this fuller example:

I-a nok-git-a dak-ja-no-a,   ding-tang dak-no-a.
this house-like do-Neg-Fut   different   do-Fut
'(It) will not be like this house, (but) different'

Here *ding-tang* is followed by the verb *dak-a* 'do, make'. This can
act as an empty verb and take tense markers that are difficult to suffix
to words that are not verbs. In my consultant's example, *dak-a* can be
understood as coming closer to its literal meaning of 'make': '(the house)
will be made differently'. She also offered *ding-tang dak-e nik-no-a* '(it)
will look different'. Here again, she found a way to make *ding-tang* future
without actually suffixing the future tense marker to it. When she finally
did say *ding-tang-no-a* she was, I believe, performing a deletion. She cut
out the middle part, making for an abbreviated way of speaking. She
accepted this as a possible construction, but she clearly had a strong urge
to introduce something else, on which to hang the tense marker.

Another example that I once heard is *al-ak-si-ku-ja* 'not yet selfish'.
Here, *-ku-ja* 'not yet', consisting of two adverbial affixes, is added to a defec-
tive noun. My consultant called this an abbreviation of *al-ak-si ong·-ku-ja*
where the verb base *ong·-* is used to hold the affixes. Thus it may be nec-
essary to define verbs as those items to which tense-aspect markers can be
easily suffixed. Under sufficient pressure (from a linguist or fast speech)
affixes seem able to land almost anywhere.

As if in fair reciprocity for the occasional terminal verb suffix that joins a noun, the final noun suffixes, *-ba, -de, -sa* and *-in* occasionally find their way onto verbs, although in the vast majority of their appearances they are suffixed to nouns or other nominals. The *-in* that foregrounds a word probably appears on verbs more often than the other three final noun suffixes, though even instances of *-in* with verbs are unusual. In the first example, the *-in* seems to put the emphasis on the crying. In the second, it emphasizes the accomplishment of eating:

> *Man-de pi·-sa-de   ok-ri-jok-o   grap-no-in grap-no-in.*
> child   person-but hungry-when cry-Fut-Frg cry-Fut-Frg
> 'When a human child is hungry (he) will cry and cry'.

> *Cha·-na man·-a-ri-in i·-ang-jok.*
> eat-Inf   get-just-Frg go-Prf
> 'Having gotten (something) to eat, (he) left'.

The next example has *-ba* 'also' suffixed to an infinitive verb. It emphasizes the fact that working comes in addition to eating:

> *Je   man-de-rang cha·-na rak-a,   u-a   man-de-rang*
> whatever person-Plu   eat-Inf   strong-Neut those person-Plu

gam-u rim·-na-ba   rak-a.
work   work-Inf-also strong-Neut

'Which ever people are strongest in eating, those people are also strongest in working'

It must be emphasized that final noun suffixes only rarely appear on verbs and they are a bit anomalous. Terminal verb suffixes on nouns are marginally more common.

Homophony Among Suffixes (C)

Mandi affixes exhibit a surprising amount of homophony. Several noun suffixes have homophones among the verb suffixes, and homophony is also found within both sets of suffixes. In a number of cases there is enough similarity in meaning and use of these homophonous suffixes to suggest that this is not entirely a matter of coincidence.

The case markers of nouns and the principal verb suffixes of verbs have several similarities. They are the most essential suffixes of nouns and verbs respectively, and they occupy equivalent positions in their words. The least marked principal verb suffix is the neutral *-a*, and even though the nominative *-a* is used only with monosyllabic pronouns it is also a relatively

neutral suffix. Both for verbs and for the most common pronouns it seems entirely natural to use the forms suffixed with -*a* as the citation forms as, for example, the forms used in dictionaries.

Two other case markers, -*o* 'locative' and -*na* 'dative' have homophonous principal verb suffixes. -*o* is used as a nominalizing suffix with verbs where it retains its locative meaning. Less obviously related are the dative with nouns and the infinitive with verbs, both of which are shown by -*na*. This might be dismissed as a simple coincidence, but examples like the following, suggest some semantic as well as phonological parallels between them:

> *Bi-a   dak-grik-na ken-a.*
> he-Nomn fight-Inf   afraid-Neut
> 'He is afraid to fight'. (Infinitive)

> *Bi-a   jong·-na ken-a.*
> he-Nomn bug-Dat afraid-Neut
> 'He is afraid of the bug'. (Dative)

> *Chu   ring-na   nal-a.*
> rice beer drink-Inf eager-Neut
> '(He) is eager to drink rice beer'. (Infinitive)

> *Chu-na   nal-a.*
> rice beer-Dat eager-Neut
> '(He) is eager for rice beer'. (Dative)

More problematic is the homophony between the case marker -*ming* 'with, along with' and the terminal suffix -*ming* 'past, conditional'. A semantic relation between these is hard to see, but their homophony does add to the parallels between noun suffixes and verb suffixes.

Other homophonies relate several subordinating suffixes of verbs to final noun suffixes. The subordinating suffixes *o-ba* 'although', -*o-de* 'if', and -*o-sa* 'only if' have concluding syllables that are identical in pronunciation to three of the four final noun suffixes, -*ba* 'also', -*de* 'but', and -*sa* 'only'. An obvious semantic parallel unites -*o-sa* 'only if' and -*sa* 'if' but nothing so obvious unites the other two pairs. Still, the final noun suffixes can even occur after a locative -*o* creating even closer homophonies. *Cha·-o-ba* can mean either 'also when eating' or 'although eating'.

In addition to the similarities between noun and verb suffixes, there are parallels between the locative augmentations and other case markers. All three augmentations, -*ni*, -*na* and -*ko*, are homophonous with simple case markers. Both accusative -*ko* and the -*ko* that augments locatives are used with transitive verbs. Like the augmented locative -*o-na* 'toward', the

dative -*na* can imply, at least metaphorically, some sort of movement in the direction of a recipient. A semantic connection between genitive -*ni* and -*o*-*ni* 'away from' is not obvious.

I cannot suggest what these parallels mean, or if they mean any thing at all, but they seem to go well beyond what we should reasonably expect by chance.

NINE

NOMINALS

Introduction (A)

Demonstratives, pronouns, question words, proper names, modifying verbs and postpositions share many but not all of the characteristics of nouns. All can take case markers, and all are found regularly as constituents of noun phrases. These similarities are enough to make it reasonable to call them all "nominals". Each type of nominal has its own special features, however, and each will be described in this chapter. Genitives and numerals are also nominals (because they can take case markers and appear as constituents of noun phrases) but genitives were described in Chapter 8, "Nouns", and numerals are important enough to rate a chapter of their own: Chapter 10. For learners, I have marked most of the sections of this chapter with "B" since they contain a good many details that early learners will probably not want to be burdened with, but each section also includes some information that should be useful quite soon. Learners may find it helpful to read the first parts of each section quite early, but leave remaining parts for later.

Demonstratives (A)

The most important demonstratives are *i-a* 'this' and *u-a* 'that.' In a language without obligatory articles, one of these, most often *u-a*, is used when a definite meaning is essential: *u-a man-de* 'that man, the man'. As in this example, demonstratives that occur as modifiers within a larger noun phrase always have their *-a* form, but they lose their *-a* when another

case marker is used. *I-a* and *u-a* are also used as the nearest equivalents to the English pronoun 'it':

Ang-a   u-ko   nik-a-ming
I-Nomn that-Acc see-Pst
'I saw it'

Demonstratives are an area of the Mandi language where exuberant variation is at its most extreme. *U-a* and *i-a* are only the simplest of the possibilities. The words may, first, either have an initial *h-* or lack one. Second, they may have a glottal stop or lack one. This gives four possibilities: *i-a, hi-a, iʼ-a,* and *hiʼ-a*, with a parallel set for *u-a*. The locatives of these two demonstratives yield the ordinary words for 'here' and 'there'. Not only are these important and frequently used words, but they exhibit two additional dimensions of variation. An *-a* may be inserted as an extra syllable, and *-no* can be used as an alternative form of the locative suffix which, with most words, is uniformly *-o*. There are, then, sixteen possible ways to pronounce 'here': *i-o, iʼ-o, i-no, iʼ-no, hi-o, hi-no, hiʼ-no, hi-o, i-a-o, iʼ-a-o, i-a-no, iʼ-a-no, hi-a-o, hiʼ-a-o, hi-a-no, hiʼ-a-no*. The longer the form, the more forceful and emphatic is the sense conveyed, but the basic meaning does not change. I have tried, on a number of occasions, to persuade speakers that one or more of these alternatives is impossible, but I have never met with any success. I have heard many of them in use, though I cannot swear to having heard every single one of the sixteen.

In addition, a third demonstrative, with several variants of its own, is used for things at a greater distance than *u-a*. *Ai-a* is the simplest pronunciation of this "remote" demonstrative. *Ai-a* is rarely used as a modifier within a larger noun phrase, and it is most often used with a locative, giving it the sense of 'way over there, at that distant place'. It is not really an equal third member of the demonstrative set because it is always emphatic and quite typically accompanied by a very distinctive intonation that emphasizes the great distance that is being described. *I-a* and *u-a* are opposites, like English 'this' and 'that. *Ai-a* lies outside their range. *Ai-a*, moreover, has a number of variants, including *ai-wa* and *a-wa*, even before the case marker is added. All these variants share the same rich variability of the less expressive *u-a* and *i-a*: optional initial *-h*, optional glottal stop, and *-no* as an optional locative form. I will not even try to list the possible ways to say 'way over there'. This variability seems extreme when language is written, but it is less surprising in the spoken language. In the absence of a codified orthography, colloquial speech is all we can observe, and the variation exceeds the resources of conventional phonology. We have reached the limits of rule-governed language and have

entered realm of creative artistry, for it is possible to make up new ways to say 'way over there' almost without limit. Gesture and intonation can banish any risk of ambiguity from a great range segmental phonology.

Pronouns (B)

Pronouns are the most noun-like of any of the classes of nominals, except for nouns themselves. Pronouns might even be considered to be a sub-class of nouns, but they do differ from other nouns in a few respects. For one thing, they rarely take modifiers of any sort. As genitives, they may, themselves, modify a noun, numeral or modifying verb, but they do not ordinarily take modifiers of their own. Thus when they are not modifying something else, they almost always act alone as an argument of a verb. In this way they act like demonstrative pronouns, and they very frequently take case markers. The free forms of personal pronouns of Mandi, are shown in Table 9–1.

Table 9–1.

Mandi Pronouns

ang-a	'I'	ching-a	'we, exclusive'
		na·-ching	'we, inclusive'
na·-a	'you' sg.	'na·-song'	'you' pl.
bi-a	'he, she'	'bi-song'	'they' human

The -a that forms the final syllable of four of the pronouns can be considered to be a nominative case marker that is used only with pronouns that have monosyllabic bases. When any other case marker is used, it replaces the -a. Alternatively the -a form of the pronouns could be considered simply as the free and citation form. Bisyllabic pronouns, like nouns, lack any overt mark for the nominative. Na·-a 'you sg.' has an irregular combining form, nang·-. All case markers except -a are added to nang·-. The alternation between na·-a and nang·- counts as a major morphological irregularity in a language that is notably lacking in such irregularities. All case markers can be suffixed to pronouns just as they can be suffixed to nouns: ang-o 'with me, at me' (locative), nang·-ni 'your' (genitive singular), ching-ko 'us' (accusative), na·-song-na 'to you' (dative plural).

Garo pronouns do not have phonologically reduced forms. If a pronoun is pronounced at all, it is fully stressed. Where English might use a reduced form, Garo simply omits the pronoun altogether and relies on the context

to provide the sense. Because of the -*a* that is used for the nominative form of the monosyllabic pronouns, no personal pronoun or demonstrative is ever represented by an isolated monosyllable. Either a pronoun has two syllables of its own, or it is used with -*a* or with some other case marker. This gives pronouns more phonological substance than the many monosyllabic nouns of the language, which are easily cited in isolation or used in the nominative with no additional syllable.

A surprising fact, to anyone who is accustomed to languages with stable pronouns, is the dialectal variability of Garo pronouns. Several of the pronouns used in written Garo, and in the spoken dialect of many A·chik speakers, differ from those used in Mandi. (See Table 9–2.)

Table 9–2.

A·chik Pronouns

ang-a	'I'	ching-a	'we, exclusive'
		an·-ching	'we, inclusive'
na·-a	'you' sg.	'na·-sim-ang'	'you' pl.
u-a	'he, she'	'u-a-mang'	'they' human

The situation is actually more complex than implied by a simple two way division between Mandi and some sort of "standard" A·chik. An alternative second person plural, *no·-ong* is occasionally heard in Mandi. I have also heard both *bi-si-mang* and *i-song* as alternate forms for the third person plural, but I do not know in which dialects these are most often used. *U-a-mang* is a plural form of *u-a* 'that', 'it'. The use of *u-a*, and *u-a-mang* as personal pronouns in writing is probably based upon genuine oral usage in the dialect of the northeastern part of the Garo Hills, although in my experience, even educated and literate speakers more often use *bi-a* 'he, she' and either *bi-si-mang* or *bi-song* 'they' in their colloquial speech. *Ang-a, na·-a,* and *ching-a* are, so far as I know, used without variation by all Garo speakers.

In addition to the personal pronouns, Mandi has a number of other pronouns or pronoun-like words, three of which are characterized by the monosyllabic -*a*. One of these three is *mo-a* 'what?' (sometimes pronounced *mu-a*), a question word that has -*a* only in the nominative. Like other pronouns the -*a* is lost when another case marker is used. The other two are the demonstratives, *i-a* and *u-a*, which, in addition to their use as modifiers in larger noun phrases, can also be used alone as demonstrative pronouns. Since their final -*a* is usually lost when another case marker is added, they act like the monosyllabic personal pronouns.

Two other monosyllabic words that are similar to pronouns show no signs of nominative -*a*. One of these is the relative pronoun *je* 'whatever, whoever'. This has no -*a* in the nominative or free form and it is this form to which case markers are suffixed. The other is the question word *sa* 'who?', which also does without a nominative -*a*. Mandi occasionally loses a syllable when two *a*'s might be expected to be adjacent. This happens most notably when a neutral verb suffix -*a* might be expected to follow the negative -*ja*, but we find only -*ja*, as if the non-occurring *ja-a has been reduced to a single syllable. Conceivably we could explain away the absence of a "nominative -*a*" from *sa* as a result of a similar syllable loss.

A·chik, like Mandi, uses *sa*- as the combining form of the question word meaning 'who' and it is that form that takes case markers, but A·chik has an irregular form, *sa-wa* for the nominative. -*wa* could be considered the nominative case marker in A·chik.

The only other form in which -*wa* appears is *ja-wa* 'someone else'. This refers to someone different from those who have been mentioned before and it can almost always be translated as 'someone else'. It looks as though it is parallel to A·chik *sa-wa* 'who', but in Mandi *ja-wa* can take the full range of case markers without losing a syllable so it does not count as a monosyllabic pronoun. It is used only for people, never for animals or physical objects: *ja-wa i·-ba-ing-a* 'someone else is coming', *ja-wa-ko nik-a* 'saw someone else', *ja-wa-na ron·-bo* 'give it to someone else', *ja-wa-o da·-dong-a-bo* 'don't stay with anyone else'. The regular genitive is *ja-wa-ni* but it is also possible to say *ja-ni*, a faint Mandi echo of the more regular loss of -*wa* in A·chik: *ja-wa-ni nok, ja-ni nok* 'someone else's house'. Mandis do not drop the -*wa* with case markers other than the genitive. *Ja-wa* can made plural by suffixing -*rang*: *ja-wa-rang-git-a* 'like some others'.

Mandi also has several indefinite words that can be used in a pronoun-like way:

Da-rang 'everyone' is usually used as *da-rang-ba* and coupled with a negative verb to mean 'not anyone':

I-a   pang-ko da-rang-ba   den·-na-be. I-a-de
this-Nomn tree-Acc anyone-Ind cut-NImp   this-Nomn-but

ang-ni-sa.
I-Gen-only

'Don't anyone cut this tree. It is mine'.

Ke-o 'someone, anyone' is borrowed from Bengali but widely used by Mandis. Like *da-rang* it is often used in negative sentences:

Bi-a   an·-tang hit-a.   Keo-ko-ba   ka·-cha·-na man·-ja-jok.
she-Nomn herself   order-Neut anyone-Acc angry-Inf   can-Neg-Prf
'She ordered (it) herself. She can't be angry at anyone (for the consequences)'.

A-mik-ka 'someone, an unknown or hypothetical person' is used more easily in positive sentences. This may be a borrowing of Bengali *o-muk* but it is thoroughly assimilated. *A-mik-ka i·-ba-ing-a* 'Someone is coming'.

Reflexive Pronouns: an·-tang, an·-tang-tang 'self'. The Mandi reflexive pronouns *an·-tang* and *an·-tang-tang* are nearly synonymous. Some speakers have insisted to me that *an·-tang* is always singular, while *an·-tang-tang* may be either singular or plural. Others have said that both can be either singular or plural, and my own experience corresponds to this second view. Ordinarily they refer back to an earlier noun or pronoun, often to the immediately preceding word, but when the meaning is clear they can occur without an explicit antecedent. Depending upon the context, the reflexives can refer equally to first, second or third persons, to 'myself, yourself, herself, ourselves' and so on.

The two examples that follow illustrate two somewhat different uses of reflexives. In the first, the personal pronoun is nominative while the reflexive is accusative, and the action of 'seeing' is directed back toward 'myself'. In the second sentence, the two pronouns are both nominative and the reflexive simply emphasizes the fact that it is, indeed, 'I myself' who does the seeing, and not someone else:

Ang-a an·-tang-tang·-ko nik-a. 'I see myself'

Ang-a an·-tang-tang nang·-ko nik-a. 'I, myself, see you'.

The suffix *-in*, which foregrounds the word and focuses attention, and whose meaning resembles that of a reflexive, is so often suffixed to *an·-tang* and *an·-tang-tang* that it is easy to be fooled into supposing that it is simply a part of the word. In fact it is always possible to use the reflexive pronoun without *-in*, but using it gives the word some extra force:

Ang-a   an·-tang-in   nang·-ko ba·-ra-cha pin-dap-ɛt-a.
I-Nomn (my)self-Frg you-Acc   cloth-Inst cover-Caus-Neut
'I myself cover you with a cloth'.

Bos-tu an·-tang-tang-in rit-chu-na   man·-ja.
thing (them)selves-Frg join-Inf   can-Neg
'Things cannot join together by themselves'.

Tos   an·-tang-tang-in ching·-a.
torch self-Frg   light-Neut
'The flashlight shines by itself'.

Reflexives may take any of the case markers, though only the genitive
-*ni* is very common, probably because the occasions when it is semantically
appropriate to use a reflexive in any case except nominative or genitive are
limited. The genitive in the first example makes it clear that the possessor of
the book is the same person as is referred to by the subject of the sentence:
.

Ching-a   gim-ik-in an·-tang-tang-ni boi-ko   po-ri-ing-a.
we-Nomn all-Frg   own-Gen   book-Acc read-Prog-Neut
'We are all reading our own books'.

Bi-song   an·-tang-tang-na ra·-rik-gi-ja.
they-Nomn self-Dat   care for-Neg
'They don't take care of themselves'.

Ang-a   ai-na-o   an·-tang-tang-ko nik-a-ming.
I-Nomn mirror-Loc self-Acc   see-Neut-Pst
'I saw myself in the mirror'.

The next two examples illustrate the possibility of using two reflexive
pronouns together. In the first, one reflexive emphasizes the nominative
subject while the other is the direct object. In the second example, which
is an imperative, the nominative *an·-tang-in* is understood to refer to the
addressee, while *an·-tang-ni* modifies *poi-sa-ko* 'money':

Ang-a   an·-tang-in an·-tang-ko ba·-ra-cha pin-dap-a.
I-Nomn self-Frg   self-Acc   cloth-Inst cover-Neut
'I myself, cover myself with a cloth'.

An·-tang-in an·-tang-ni poi-sa-ko   ra·-bo.
self-Frg   self-Gen   money-Acc bring-Imp
'Bring your own money yourself'.

Question Words (B)

Like other languages, Garo has a large number of question words, but
all of them are constructed from one of three basic roots: *sa* 'who?', *mo-*
'what?' and *ba-* whose central meaning is probably 'which?' (of more
than one thing). The more specific meanings that are needed when asking
questions emerge when case markers are added to one of these roots. The
use of case markers with question words means that they are nominals, and
they are used in sentences in the same positions as noun phrases. Usually
they form noun phrases of just one word, but occasionally they modify
another noun and in this case they always occur first, in the same position

as a demonstrative: *ba-gip-a song-o grong-no-a?* 'in which village will (we) meet?' A genitive question word, like any other genitive, can occur with a possessed noun: *sa-ni piˑ-sa grap-ing-a?* 'whose child is crying?' The question particle *-ma* that is put at the very end of a sentence to form a yes-no question is never used in a sentence that has a question word.

Unlike ordinary nouns, a considerable number of irregularities beset the question words. In particular, not all combinations of roots with case markers are possible, and even among those that are possible some are much more common than others. The result is that certain combinations of root plus case marker have become lexicalized, with meanings that often correspond fairly closely to one of the more specialized questions words of English. For example, *ba-no* 'where?' is formed from the root *ba-* 'which?', together with one form of the locative suffix. The locative suffix is more often *-o*, but with demonstratives and *ba-*, *-no* is an optional alternative. *Ba-o* is possible for 'where', but *ba-no* is very common. Thus, on the one hand, if one simply wants a word that means 'where', it seems straightforward to translate it as *ba-no* or *ba-o*. On the other hand, from a more analytical point of view, these words are part of a larger paradigm and perhaps their etymological meaning should be considered as 'at which place'.

Questions words are also made complex by showing more dialectal variability than is found in most areas of the vocabulary. Mandi and Aˑchik share the three basic roots, and most forms used in one dialect would probably be understood by speakers of the other, but some forms are much more characteristic of one dialect and some forms more characteristic of the other. There is also considerable individual variability and, even for a single dialect, it is almost impossible to draw sharp lines between what is common and widely acceptable, what is allowed and grammatical but rare, and what is simply impossible. I have constructed combinations of a root with a particular case marker which I felt I had never heard in use, and tried it out on native speakers. Sometimes they tell me it is impossible, sometimes they have to think about it for a while but then find a context where they feel that it can be or might be used, and sometimes they immediately accept it. Which should a linguist count as grammatical? Perhaps it is linguistic methodology rather than nature of language that pushes us to insist on a sharp line between what is grammatical and what is not.

I will describe each root in turn, and survey the way case markers and some other suffixes are used with each of them. My description will refer primarily to the Mandi dialect, and while I will point out a few of the major ways in which it differs from Aˑchik, I will not try to give a complete account of the similarities and differences between the dialects. I start with

sa 'who', which is the least irregular of the three,

Sa 'who?'. *Sa* is the only one of the three interrogative roots that Mandis regularly use without modification in the nominative. This makes it a candidate, along with *je* 'whoever, whatever' for a monosyllabic pronoun that does not have a suffixed -*a* for the nominative and free form.

Used alone, *sa* asks the question 'who?' 'who's that?' Of course *sa* can also be used in longer sentences. The word order of a sentence with *sa* is no different from the word order of a sentence with any other noun, but since the order of noun phrases is so free this does not much restrict its position. At any rate, there is no need for any movement rule with questions words:

Sa   bi-ni   sam-ba-o   a-song-na ha·-sik-a?
who her-Gen beside-Loc sit-Inf   want-Neut
'Who wants to sit beside her?'

Sa takes case markers easily and without irregularities, and this makes it, by a wide margin, the most regular of the three question word roots: *Sa-ko nik-jok?* 'Who did (you) see' (accusative); *Sa-na ron·-no-a?* 'Who will (I) give (it) to?' (dative); *Bi-a sa-ni pi·-sa?* 'Whose child is that?' (genitive); *Sa-ming re·-ba-a?* 'Who did (you) come with?', *Sa-git-a dak-a?* 'Who is (he) like?'

Question words can, of course, be used with postpositions:

Na·-a   sa-ni   ki·-sang-o   cha·-deng-a-ming?
you-Nomn who-Gen behind-Loc stand-Neut-Pst
'Who did you stand behind?' (lit. 'At whose behind did you stand?')

Sa leaves the number unspecified. The answer could be either singular or plural. *Sa-sa* 'who all?' expects a plural answer, and often implies some sort of distributive sense. This is one example of the use of reduplication to convey a distributive meaning. *Mi-ko sa-sa-na ron·-a?* 'to whom all should rice be given?' implies that portions are being given to each, not that a single batch is being given to a collection of several people. I have been told that *sa-rang* is also a possible plural for *sa* though it feels marginal to me and it is must be used less than *sa-sa*. It would probably be used in a more collective sense than *sa-sa*, as *Sa-rang re·-ang-no-a?* 'Who all will go? Which group of people will go?'. People have denied the possibility of using the other plural suffixes with *sa* but I suspect that if they were pushed, at least a few of them would allow *sa-dang* and *sa-drang*. *Sa-gip-a* 'which (of several people)?' is possible but not common. *Ba-gip-a* is more usual in the sense of 'which', not only for objects, but also for people.

Mo·-, ma·-, mu·-, mai 'what?' This root has several pronunciations. Some pronunciations are more common with some case markers, others

with others, but there is much individual and dialectal variability as well. *Mai* is the A·chik root and that is occasionally heard from Mandis as well, but Mandis consider *mai* to belong primarily to another dialect than their own. *Mo·-, ma·-* and *mu·-* are all more common than *mai-* in Mandi, with *mo·-* probably in the lead with the most cases markers. Another variable is the raka (glottal stop) that is sometimes omitted, and it seems always to be absent from the nominative. The usual nominative and free form in Modhupur Mandi is *mo-a* or *mu-a*, an example of a monosyllabic pronoun with *-a* in the nominative. Occasionally one also hears *moi*. Like other question words, *mo-a* fits into the same position of the sentence as a corresponding non-interrogative noun phrase would: *te-bil-o gles dong-a* '(a) glass is on the table', *te-bil-o mo-a dong-a?* 'What is on the table?'

The dative of *mo-* may be pronounced *mo·-na, mu·-na* or *ma·-na*. Generally, but not always, it has a raka. *Mo·-na* means, quite literally 'for what?', and it is the usual way to ask 'why?' *Mai-na* is the A·chik version of 'why?' *Na·-a mo·-na u-ko cha·-jok?* 'Why did you eat that?'

The most common genitive form is *ma·-ni*, though *mo·-ni* occurs as well. It is used in such expressions as *ma·-ni sal-o* 'on what day?'. The word often means 'what kind of', as in *mo·-ni chol-a* 'what kind of shirt?' This question could elicit such answers as 'cotton', 'sleeveless' etc. In *ma·-ni gim-in* 'because of what?', 'why?', the genitive case marker is followed by a postposition that usually means 'because'.

The accusative occurs easily in questions such as *mo·-ko dak-ing-a* 'what are (you) doing?':

> *Na·-a   pi·-sa-na ma·-ko   a-gan-a?*
> you-Nomn child-Dat what-Acc say-Neut
> 'What did you say to the child?'

Like the locative of the demonstratives, the locative of *mu-a* is one of the places in Mandi where variation seems almost out of control. I have been given the following forms as possible locatives and I doubt if this exhausts the inventory: *mo·-o, mo·-no, mu-a-o, mu-a-no, moi-o, moi-no, ma·-o, ma·-no*. All of these would mean 'at what?, 'near what?', but in fact, none of them are very common. Locative questions are much more often formed with the root *ba-* (see below) and none of those with *mu-* or with other *ma-* roots are common enough for me to have a sense of their naturalness or relative frequency. Still, speakers insist that all are possible. Other locative case markers, such as *-cha, -cha-na, o-na,* etc. are even less commonly suffixed to *ma·-* or *mo·-* than are *-o* or *-no*.

Ma-ming 'what with?' seems more natural than *mo-ming* or other conceivable forms. *Ma-ming* is a part of a conventional courtesy expression

in which one person asks if another has had his rice (i.e. eaten a meal). If the answer is 'yes' it is likely to be followed by a second question: *ma-ming?* 'what with?', that is 'what vegetables or curry did you have with it?'

Like *sa*, *mu-a* and its inflected forms can be reduplicated to give a plural and, especially, a distributive meaning: *mu-a-mu-a dong-a?* 'what all is there?', *mo·-ko-mo·-ko nik-jok?* 'what all did (you) see?'

> *Mu-a-mu-a boi   ra·-ba-no-a?*
> what-all   book bring-Fut
> 'What books will you bring?'.

Mo·-rang, ma·-rang and *mo·-drang* are possible, or at least conceivable plurals, but people have denied the possibility of using the plural *-dang* with this root:

> *Ching-ni te·-brong-ko-de   mo·-rang cha·-e   gal-ing-ai?*
> We-Gen jackfruit-Acc-but what-Plu eat-Sub throw away-Prog-Emph
> 'What all has been eating at our jackfruit?'.

Ba-gip-a 'which?' is very common, and *sa-gip-a* 'who?, which people?' is at least possible, but speakers have denied the possibility of suffixing *-gip-a* to any form of the *mo·-* interrogative. Whatever meanings might have been assigned to the nonexistent **mo·-gip-a* have apparently been preempted by *ba-gip-a*.

Other suffixes that can be used with *mo·-* include *-git-a* 'like', *-sik-ni* 'how much': *mo·-sik-ni ro·-a* 'how long?, how much long?' *mo·-* with the appropriate case marker can also be followed by a postposition:

> *Wak ni-na   mo·-git-a dak-a?*
> pig   see-Inf what-like do-Neut
> 'What does a pig look like?'

> *Mo·-na   gan-da? / Ma·-ni   gim-in?*
> what-Dat cause   what-Gen cause
> 'Why?, For what reason?'

Yes-no questions are formed by placing a *-ma* at the end of a sentence. This is surely related to this question word root, but it occurs in an entirely different syntactic position. It is set decisively apart from the question words by its invariant and uninflected form. All by itself, *Ma?* can also be used to ask 'what did you say?'

Ba- 'what?' The third and final question word root is *ba-* or, as it is sometimes pronounced, *bat-*. Both semantically and morphologically it is the least regular of the three. It overlaps in meaning with *mo-*, and a

few forms that are constructed from *mo-* and *ba-* are reasonably close synonyms. However *mo-* simply means 'what?', while *ba-* often means 'which of several?' While their meanings are by no means identical, the two roots seem, in some cases, to have achieved a sort of division of labor, with one case being used more often with one of the roots and another case more often with the other, although absolute prohibitions on the use of a case marker with a root are hard to find. For example locatives can be used with *ma-* or *mo-* but they are not at all common. Locatives with *ba-*, on the other hand, are very frequent.

Ba- has the odd property of never occurring in the nominative, so the question of whether or not it has the monosyllabic *-a* does not arise. For the nominative, either the more elaborate *ba-gip-a* or one of the variants of *mo-a* is needed.

The accusative *ba-ko* is possible, and the difference in meaning between *ba-* and *mo-* shows up with special clarity in the accusative. *Ma-ko dak-ing-a* means 'what are you doing?'. *Ba-ko dak-ing-a?* means 'which (of more than one thing) are you doing?' *Ba-gip-a-ko* often replaces *ba-ko*, however. *Ba-ko* seems abrupt, a bit too abbreviated.

Ba- can occur with the genitive case in such expressions as *ba-ni sal-o* 'on what day?, on which day?' and *ba-ni song-ni man-de* 'People from what village?, from which village?' It can also be reduplicated: *Ba-ni-ba-ni song-ni man-de* 'People from what all villages?' *Ma·-ni*, the genitive of *ma·-* means 'why?', and thus differs sharply in meaning from the genitive form of *ba-*.

Ba- is not impossible with accusative, dative, or instrumental case markers but none of these are common. Both the other interrogative roots, *sa-* and *ma-*, take these case markers more easily. When offered examples of *ba-* with one of these cases, speakers sometimes unreflectively substitute *ba-gip-a*, which can more easily have these cases than can *ba-*. *Ba-git-a?* 'In what way? how?' is natural: *Ba-git-a re·-ang-no-a?* 'How will (you) go?, By which route will (you) go?'

Ba- comes into its own with locatives, where *mo-* is restricted. The *-o locative* often has its *-no* alternative when used with *ba-*, and either *ba-no* or *ba-o*, literally 'at which place' is the usual way of asking 'where?' In many other circumstances, the locative *-o* has a temporal meaning, but *ba-o* and *ba-no* always mean 'where', never 'when?' as in *bi-song ba-no dong-ing-a* 'where are they?' *Ba-* can also take the augmented locative suffixes *-o-na* and *-o-ni*: *Ba-no-ni ba-no-na mal-a-ming?* 'from where to where did (he) crawl?' With the locative *-cha*, which is also spatial, but generally implies motion, the root assumes the form *bat-*, probably an assimilation to the following *ch*. Two of the most common expressions, used when people

greet each other on the road, are *Bat-cha i·-ang-ing-a?* 'where are you going?' and *bat-cha-ni i·-ba-ing-a?* 'Where are you coming from?', 'Where have you been?'

In addition to being used with these case markers, *ba-* is used in a number of well lexicalized compounds that have more specialized interrogative meanings. Most of these compounds are, themselves, nouns, and some case markers can be more easily suffixed to these longer forms than to *ba-* alone.

bai-sik, ba-sik 'how many?', 'how much?'. *Bai-sik dal·-a* 'how big', 'how much big'; *bai-sik ba-ji-jok* 'what time is it?', 'how much (time) has struck?'; *bai-sik a-rim-a* 'how late?' In Mandi, *bai-sik* is often used in a construction with a numeral. The classifier is chosen according to the thing counted, and the number is always *-sa* 'one': *bai-sik ak-sa* 'how many people?'; *bai-sik mang-sa* 'how many animals'; *a-chak bai-sik mang-sa* 'how many dogs?'; *bai-sik sal-sa?* 'how many days?' As far as I know, this expression is not used in A'chik. Used with verbs for dimensions, *bai-sik-ni?* asks 'how much along that dimension?': *bai-sik-ni ro-a?* 'how long?'; *ba-sik-ni chrim-a?* 'how heavy; *ba-sik-ni ke-ji?* 'how many kilos?'. *Bai-sik-na* 'for how much' asks for a price: *bai-sik-na bre-a* 'how much did (you) buy (it) for?' *Ba-sik-git-a?* can also ask a price:

> *ba-sik-git-a   poi-sa ron·-et-na   nang-no-a?*
> how much-like money give-Cause-Inf need-Fut
> 'How much money will (one) need to give?'

Ba-di-sik is an expansion of *ba-sik* without much change in meaning by those who use it, but not everyone uses it easily. *Ba-di-sik-na bre-a-ming?* 'for how much did (you) buy (it)?' *Ba-di-sik-na* asks for the price; *ba-di-sik-ni* asks for the quantity.

ba-sok-o, ba-sik-o, bai-sik-o 'when?' This word looks as if it might be a locative of *ba-sik* 'how much', but whatever its etymology, this word is now thoroughly lexicalized in the sense of 'when?'. The A'chik form is *ba-sak-o*, a pronunciation rarely heard from Mandis. I have had Mandis deny the existence of *ba-sik-o* but I have also heard it used. Perhaps it should be regarded as a fast speech form. Occasionally *ba-sik-o-na* 'until when' and *ba-sik-o-ni* 'since when' are used as well:

> *A-du-ru-ko ba-sok-o sik-no-a-ming?*
> horn   when   blow-Fut-Pst
> 'When would the horn be blown?'

ba-gip-a 'which?'. The root *ba-* has 'which' as its central meaning, but the root must be a bit short to carry the meaning all alone, for it is not used in the nominative. Even with other case markers, *ba-gip-a-*, which can be

translated as 'which one?', is generally preferred over simple *ba-* when the meaning is 'which'. This is especially true when asking about people, where -*gip-a* is particularly appropriate, but it can be used for non-human and inanimate objects as well. The word means, specifically 'which of several?' *Ba-gip-a* is a noun and it can take all case markers: *ba-gip-a-ko cha·-ing-a?* 'which ones are (you) eating?', *ba-gip-a-ni chol-a-rang?* 'whose shirts?' Both *ba-gip-a-ni pi·-sa* and *sa-ni pi·-sa* mean 'whose child (is this)?' *Ba-ni pi·-sa* would be more likely to be understood as 'a child of which village, of which place?': *Ba-gip-a-ko ra·-no-a* 'which shall (I) take?'; *ba-gip-a song-o* 'in which village?'

> *Ba-gip-a-cha-na i·-ang-no-a?*
> which-Loc-Aug go-Fut
> 'To which (place) will (he) go?'

The locative form *ba-gip-a-o* 'where?' hardly differs in meaning from *ba-no*, but in this case it is the shorter form that is preferred. When modifying a noun, *ba-gip-a* usually means 'what sort of?':

> *Ba·-gip-a man-de-ni chol-a-rang?*
> what sort person-Gen shirt-Plu
> 'What kind of person's shirts (are these)?'

> *Ba·-gip-a pek-to-ri-ni chol-a-rang?*
> what sort factory-Gen shirt-Plu
> 'What kind of factory (would make these) shirts?'

> *Ba·-gip-a-rang-ni   pi·-sa?*
> what kind-Plu-Gen child
> 'What kind of people's child?'

Ba-di 'how?', 'in what way?' is an interrogative adverb, rather than a nominal, and it is used to modify a verb. It does not take case markers and it often immediately precedes its verb: *Ba-di chu-no-a* 'how will (you) sleep (e.g. on which side of the bed)'; *ba-di re·-ang-no-a* 'how will (you) go (e.g. by which road)?' An expanded form, *ba-dik-e*, is more common than the simpler *ba-di*. An even further expansion yields *ba-dik-e dak-e*, which may be the most common of all. *Ba-dik-e dak-e* is a compound expression that acts like an adverb meaning 'how?', which is what *ba-di* means all by itself:

> *Ba-dik-e dak-e   re·-ang-no?*
> how   do-Sub go-Fut
> 'how will (you) go?' (e.g. 'by which road? by foot or by bus?')

Ja-ba ba-dik-e dak-a?   To-a-ma   to-ja?
curry how   do-Neut taste good-Que taste good-Neg
'How is the curry? Does it taste good or not?'.

Ba-dak-a 'how?, what way?, what kind of?': *ba-dak-a man-de?* 'what kind of person?'. *Ba-dak-a* often means 'how does (it) look?'

Most question words can be reduplicated to give a plural meaning: *ba-gip-a-ba-gip-a?* 'which ones?', *sa-sa?* 'who all?', *mo-ko-mo-ko?* 'what all? (accusative)'. As the examples show, nominalizations and case markers are reduplicated along with the roots. *sa-ko-sa-ko dok-a?* means 'who all should be hit?' *Sa sa-ko dok-a?* is not a reduplicated form but has two separate questions words and would be understood to mean 'who hits whom?'

Proper Names (B)

Among Garos, as among speakers of every language, proper names form a substantial part of each individual's vocabulary. Every Mandi, of course, knows hundreds, perhaps thousands, of place names, and an additional hundreds or thousands of personal names. To these we might add the names of gods and spirits. Place names are taken so freely from one language into another that they seem hardly to count as belonging to a particular language, although the conventional pronunciations in each language make them quite variable. Place names in the Garo Hills are typically Garo words, or at least they conform closely to Garo phonology, but most place names do not have obvious meanings except as labels for the places. In the Mandi areas of Bangladesh the majority of place names appear to be Bengali in origin. *Pir-ga-cha*, a village name, for example, has a syllable final *r* which would not be expected in a native Mandi word. A village may have a *Pos-chim-pa-ra* 'western section', where *pos-chim* is Bengali for 'west', and *pa-ra* is Bengali for 'village neighborhood'. In addition to local names for villages, neighborhoods within villages, rivers and, where they exist, hills and mountains, Garos now have considerable knowledge of geography beyond their own areas, and they know the names of distant cities, countries, continents, and seas. All are subject to some phonological modification as they are adapted to Garo speech habits, but they are generally understandable, even to someone without knowledge of Garo.

Place names can productively form compounds with names of particular features of the places: *Gai-ra skul* 'Gaira school', *Dhaka so-hor* 'Dhaka city'. Of course, they take locative and augmented locative case markers easily: *Gai-ra-o* 'in Gaira', *A-me-ri-ka-cha-ni* 'from America' etc. Genitives are also common with place names: *Gaira-ni ra-ma* 'road to Gaira,

road in Gaira'; *Jo-loi-ni man-de* 'a person from Joloi' etc. Other case markers are less common, but not impossible. Place names do not, however, normally form the head of complex noun phrases. They are rarely used with demonstratives, numerals, or even modifying verbs.

The conventions for personal names differ from the practices of other societies more than do those for place names. Each Mandi has two family names and at least one personal name. In accordance with the matrilineal kinship system of the Garos, their family names are taken automatically from the mother. One of the family names is almost always *Marak, Sangma, Momin, Areng* or *Shira*. These are, or were, exogamous groups, and until recently no one was supposed to marry within his or her own group. The smaller family groups are known as "ma·chongs" and more than one hundred ma·chong names are probably in use. For modern purposes, Garos living in the Garo hills usually use one of the five exogamous groups names as their "last" or "family" name, and they use their ma·chong name as a "middle" name, often abbreviated to its initial. In Bangladesh, the ma·chong name is usually used as the "last name" though people are well aware of their membership in the larger groups and they continue to avoid marriage with someone from their own group.

Mandis share their family names with large numbers of people, but they dislike sharing a personal name with someone else, and they go to considerable lengths to find unique names for their children. Older Mandi names often had two syllables and their final syllables quite often gave a hint about the person's gender. Even now, female names tend to end with a vowel and male names with a consonant, although there are exceptions. Except for this gender distinction, personal names were, and often still are, simply made up, invented sequences of sound, conforming, of course, to the patterns of Garo phonology and selected to have a pleasant sound. People deliberately avoid using the name of anyone with whom they are acquainted. They cannot know the names of all the hundreds of thousands of Garos, however, so it happens occasionally that two people with the same name do meet, a situation regarded as distinctly unpleasant (Hvenekilde, Marak, and Burling 2000).

As an increasing number of Garos have gained a modern education and come in contact with members of other ethnic groups, the urge to find a unique name must have encouraged them to look to other languages and other groups for names that would be safely unique. It seems not to have bothered people to bestow a name of some foreigner, though the choice seems to have depended almost entirely on the sounds of the name rather than on admiration for the earlier holder of the name. Garos have been named 'Hitler' as well as 'Roosevelt', 'Truman', 'Aristotle', 'Milton'

and 'Knudsen Berg'. Hitler was probably not named in admiration of the original, but the others were probably not either. Some people have Western sounding, though in fact made up, names. The ending 'son' became popular for men's personal names, and 'Wilson, Jackson, Milikson, Nekson' and others have all been used. Many people in Bangladesh have Bengali names, or names with endings that make them sound Bengali: 'Mo-hen-dro' and 'Bi-jon-sing', but usually abbreviated to 'Mo-hen' and 'Bi-jon'.

Whatever the name, it acts linguistically much like any other noun. It can take the full complement of case markers, and in can be used as an argument of a verb. Personal names are less likely to be used with the other constituents of noun phrases, but it is not impossible to find some reason to use demonstratives, numerals, genitives, or other modifiers with a proper name. In the right circumstances one can distinguish two people unfortunate enough to have the same name as *dal·-a Rong-sen* 'big Rong-sen' and *chon-a Rong-sen* 'little Rong-sen', but such modification is not common, especially since Garos try so hard to avoid using the same name for more than one person. Personal names are regularly used along with ma·chong and exogamous group names, just as given and family names are used in the West.

Modifying Verbs (B)

Modifying verbs are described in Chapter 6, "Verbs". There it is explained that verbs that translate English adjectives and those that translate English verbs, can both be "nominalized" in a way that allows them either to modify a noun or to act as nouns themselves. Along with demonstratives, pronouns, and numerals, nominalized verbs count among the "nominals" of the language because they can take case markers and because they can act as a noun phrase or be used within a noun phrase. Nominalized verbs appear in sentences both as independent arguments of verbs, and as modifiers of other nouns. As modifiers, they may be single words that English speakers find natural to think of as "adjectives", but a verb can pull several of its arguments along with it when it is nominalized, and it is then more like a relative clause than an adjective. Whether or not it brings it arguments along, a verb needs a nominalizing suffix to convert it into a form that can act as a modifier or stand alone as a noun. A nominalized verb can take any of the noun suffixes that are appropriate to its position in the clause. See the section "Nominalizing Suffixes" in Chapter 6, "Verbs", and the section "Nominalized Verbs as Clause Constituents" in Chapter 12, "Complex Noun Phrases" for further discussion.

Postpositions (B)

From a comparative point of view, Mandi postpositions do the same job and cover approximately the same range of meanings as do the prepositions and postpositions of other languages. They carry such meanings as position in space, direction of movement, location in time, and causation. From the point of view of their place in the Garo language, postpositions refine and extend the meanings of the case markers. The dozen or so case markers indicate the general role that each noun phrase plays in its sentence or clause. When more precision is needed, it is time to call on a postposition.

Some postpositions are transparently derived from nouns. Indeed the line between a postposition and a noun is not entirely sharp. Consider the following Mandi sentence:

Bi-a   ang-ni ki·-sang-o cha-deng-eng-a.
he-Nomn I-Gen rear-at   stand-Prog-Neut
'He is standing in back of me'.

As a noun, *ki·-sang* 'buttocks' is an uncomplicated term for a part of the body. In its locative form, it is the ordinary Mandi way of saying 'behind, in back of', not only for people but for any object that can be considered to have a front and a rear. Thus *ang-ni ki·-sang-o* means, very literally 'at the rear of me' with the four meaningful parts given in the exact reverse order from English. The term, of course, exactly parallels English 'in back of' except that it exploits a word for a different part of the anatomy. In A'chik, the usual term for 'in back of' is *jang-gil-o*, derived from another body part word, *jang-gil* 'back'. The construction by which *ki·-sang-o* is formed is a fully productive one in Mandi. For example *ang-ni jep-o* means 'in my pocket'. Only two characteristics of *ki·-sang-o* make it, but not *jep-o*, a postposition: the frequency of its use, and its conventionalized meaning. As a postposition *ki·-sang* is sufficiently distinct from its meaning as a body part to refer to the 'back' of things which do not have body parts at all.

Only a few postpositions show their derivation from nouns as clearly as *ki·-sang-o* and *jang-gil-o*, but many others are constructed with the same possessive construction. *U·-ni gim-in*, for example, means 'because of that'. Once again the order of the meaningful parts exactly reverses that of English, and except for the absence of the locative case marker, its structure parallels that of *ang-ni ki·-sang-o*. In this case, however, the postposition *gim-in* 'because' has no existence except as a postposition. Indeed it so regularly follows a *-ni* in the previous word that it is almost tempting to consider the *gim-in* to be an additional noun suffix. *Gim-in* always follows a noun or nominalized verb in the genitive case. The more transparent derivation of postpositions such as *ki·-sang-o*, however,

suggests that postpositions, in general, should be considered as nouns that have become specialized in this use. As postpositions, however, they take only a restricted set of case markers.

Postpositions are often used with simple nouns (i.e. nouns that are not formed by nominalizing verbs) and the construction is then quite straight-forward. Usually the noun has a case marker and the postposition follows directly after the case marker. Just as *ki·-sang-o* always follows a genitive, most postpositions are associated with a single case, but there are compli-cations, and a few postpositions are able to follow more than just one case marker. Sometimes the meaning varies with the case.

Nominalized verbs can take postpositions just as simple nouns can. The verb base needs a nominalizing suffix before its case marker, so the sequence of suffixes is a bit more complex than with simple nouns, but in most cases the case marker is the same whether it follows a simple noun or a nominalized verb. This means that postpositions are closely associated with the case marker that characteristically precedes them. Case marker and postposition form a closely unified pair. The most common nominalizing suffix used before a postposition is -*a*, and the most common case marker is the genitive -*ni*. This means that a large number of postpositions follow -*a-ni*, which in turn follows a verb base: *re·-ang-a-ni gim-in* 'because of going', *cha·-a-ni ja·-man-o* 'after eating'.

Like *ki·-sang-o* 'in back of', *ja·-man-o* 'after' ends with an -*o*, presum-ably the locative case marker. This suggests that -*ja·-man* should be re-garded as a nominal, and indeed it should, but, unlike *ki·-sang* and *jang-gil*, discussed above, *ja·-man* has no separate existence as an ordinary noun. *Ja·-man* is occasionally used as a postposition even without the locative case marker, though that is relatively rare. It can also be used as an ad-verb meaning 'later', 'afterwards'. Still, it must have the locative -*o* in a considerable majority of its occurrences. This groups *ja·-man-o* with the words that are so characteristically locative that one can imagine the loca-tive suffix eventually fusing with the noun into an indivisible word. Because it remains possible to use *ja·-man* without a case marker, the fusion, if that is what it is, has only begun. Nevertheless, the class of nouns that carry semipermanent locative *o*'s is a salient one in the language. (See Chapter 11, "Minor Parts of Speech".)

Ja·-man is occasionally used with some other case marker than -*o*, most often with one of the augmented locatives:

Cha·-a-ni   ja·-man-o-na   dong-bo.
eat-Nomz-Gen after-Loc-Aug be at-Imp
'Stay until after eating'.

Da·-o-ni-ko   hai·-a,   ja·-man-o-ni-ko hai·-ja.
now-Loc-Aug know-Neut after-Loc-Aug   know-Neg
'(I) know about (the time) up to now, (I) don't know about from now
on (the future)'.

Ja·-man-ni gon-do-gul-ko   hai·-a.
later-Gen   disturbances-Acc know-Neut
'(I) know about the later disturbances'.

These case markers are not common with *ja·-man*, and only *ja·-man-o*,
and to a lesser extent *ja·-man*, are really frequent.

Gim-in 'because of', like *ja·-man-o*, is regularly used with verbs that
have been nominalized with *-a* which is followed, in turn, by a genitive:
re·-ang-a-ni gim-in 'because of going'. An entire clause may be nominalized
rather than just a single verb, so a verb may pull one or more noun phrase
arguments with it. Once it is nominalized, the original subject of the verb
is put into the genitive case. *Ang-a re·-ang-a* 'I go' can be nominalized to
ang-ni re·-ang-a 'my going', and this in turn used with a genitive and a
following postposition:

Ang-ni re·-ang-a-ni   gim-in,   da·-sal gam rim·-na man-ja.
I-Gen   go-Nomz-Gen because   today   work do-Inf   can-Neg
'Because of my going, (I) cannot work today'.

In the next few pages, a number of postpositions will be described,
grouped according to the case marker with which they are characteristically
used.

Postpositions that follow genitive -ni. By far the largest number
of postpositions follow the genitive case marker. This is especially char-
acteristic of spatial postpositions with such meanings as 'inside, beside,
behind' and so on, but many other postpositions follow the genitive as
well. The spatial postpositions are most often used with nouns, though
most can, sometimes with a bit of effort, also be made to follow verbs that
have been nominalized with *-a*. Two common postpositions that follow
genitive *-ni* have already been described: *Gim-in* 'because' and *ja·-man-o*
'after'. Several others are used in similar ways.

Mik-kang-o 'in front of', is used much as is *ki·-sang-o*. As a noun,
mik-kang means 'face'. *Gi-sep-o* means 'between', 'among':

Mit-e-ni   mik-kang-o bos-tu-rang-ko chin-a.
spirits-Gen in front-Loc thing-Plu-Acc   offer-Neut
'He offers things before (in the presence of) the spirits'.

ang-ni mik-kang-o-ba   ang-ni ki·-sang-o-ba.
I-Gen in front-Loc-also I-Gen   in back of-Loc-also
'both in front of me and behind me'.

Jong-a-da-rang-ni   gi-sep-o   sa   dal·-bat-a?
younger-brother-older-brother-Gen among-Loc who big-more-Neut
'Among the brothers, who is tallest?'

Ching-ni a-song-a-ni   gi-sep-o   da·-a a-song-a.
we-Gen   sit-Nomz-Gen between-Loc   NImp sit-Neut
'Don't sit between us', 'don't sit between our sitting'.

Among many other spatial postpositions are *sak-a-o* 'above, on top of', *sam-ba-o* 'beside', *ning·-a-o* 'inside, under':

Te-bil-ni sak-a-o   nang·-na ang-a   cha·-na don-a.
table-Gen on top-Loc you-Dat   I-Nomn eat-Inf put-Neut
'I put food for you to eat on the table'.

Nok-ni   sam-ba-o   wak-nol rik-ja-no-a.
house-Gen beside-Loc pig-sty   build-Neg-Fut
'(I) will not build a pig sty beside the house'.

A-song-a-ni   ning·-a-o kol-om dong-a.
sit-Nomz-Gen inside-Loc pen   be at-Neut
'There is a pen under the sitting', '(Someone) sits on a pen'.

-git-a is used as a case marker, but it can also be used as a postposition following genitive *-ni*, where it means 'so that', 'according to', 'for the sake of', 'in conformity with', and it can follow either a noun or a nominalized verb:

Ang-ni cha·-a-ni   git-a,   nang·-na ang-a poi-sa ron·-no.
I-Gen   eat-Nomz-Gen for the sake of you-Dat I-Nom money give-Fut
'I will give you money for the sake of my eating (so I can eat)'.

Dal·-a-ni   git-a   poi-sa   ron·-bo.
big-Nomz-Gen according to money give-Imp
'Give money according to the size'.

I-a   nok-ni   git-a dak-e   krus ta-ri-bo.
this-Nomn house-Gen like   do-Sub cross prepare-Imp
'Prepare a cross like the one of this house'.

Mandis also use several synonyms for *gim-in* 'because', most of which also follow *-ni*. Just why so many are needed is a bit of a mystery: *ang-ni gim-in, ang-ni pal, ang-ni a·-sel, ang-ni mik-ta* 'because of me', *re·-ang-a-ni*

a·-sel 'because of going', *cha·-a-ni pal* 'because of eating'. *Gan-da* is used with the dative *-na* and, less often, with genitive *-ni* in the same meaning:

> *Cha·-a-ni   gan-da ang-a   nang·-ko ka·-cha-a.*
> eat-Nomz-Gen because I-nomn you-Acc bawl out-Neut
> 'I bawl you out because of your eating'.

Postpositions that most often follow dative -na. While the largest number of postpositions follow nouns with a genitive case marker, several are most characteristically used after the dative *-na*.

Gan-da has two quite different uses, although some similarity can be seen in their meanings. As a postposition that follows a dative, or less commonly, the genitive, it means 'because, therefore, on account of, due to'. Speakers claim that it is synonymous with *gim-in, -a-sel, pal*, and *mik-ta*, all of which follow the genitive *-ni*. *Gan-da* then stands apart from the other postpositions with related meanings, since the others uniformly follow the genitive rather than the dative:

> *Bil-a-si-ni-na gan-da   re·-ang-na   nang-jok.*
> Bilasini-Dat   because go-Inf   need-Prf
> '(I) needed to go because of Bilasini'.

> *Ma·-su-na gan-da ang-a   neng·-jok.*
> cattle-Dat because I-Nomn tired-Prf
> 'I have become tired because of the cows'.

> *Bi-jak-na gan-da bi-a   ot-ing-jok.*
> leaves-Dat because he-Nomn sweep-Prog-Prf
> 'He has been sweeping on account the leaves'.

In addition, *gan-da* can follow a variety of case markers to convey a meaning something like 'as for, concerning, by contrast'. In this usage, *gan-da* calls attention to something, generally though not always, with an explicit contrast to something else. In the next example, the pronouns have the nominative case because they are the subjects of the verb:

> *Ang-a   gan-da   i·-no   dong-no-a; na·-a gan-da*
> I-Nomn concerning this-Loc   be at-Fut   you   concerning
> *Be-du-ri-a-cha i·-ang-no-a.*
> Beduria-Loc   go-will
> 'As for me, I will stay here; as for you, you will go to Beduria'.

In the next example the pronouns are in the dative because they mark the recipients:

Ang-na gan-da   mi-ko   ron·-bo; bi-na   gan-da
I-Dat   concerning rice-Acc   give-Imp he-Dat concerning
ta·-bol-chu-ko ron·-a-ri-bo.
manioc-Acc   give-just-Imp

'As for me, give me the rice; as for him, just give him the manioc'.

The next example has the pronoun in the accusative because it is the object of the verb:

Ra-ben-ko   gan-da re·-ang-kan   a-gan-bo.
Raben-Acc as for   go-Imp   tell-Imp
'Tell Raben to go (and not someone else)'.

Bat-e means 'more than' and it is the usual Garo way of making a comparison. It can follow a noun in the dative case, or a verb nominalized with *-a* and then made dative:

Me'a-sa-rang me·-chik-na bat-e   ro·-a.
men-Plu   women-Dat more-Sub tall
'Men are taller than women'.

Al-u-ko   cha·-a-na   bat-e   mi-ko   cha·-o-in
potato-Acc eat-Nomz-Dat more-Sub rice-Acc eat-LNomz-Frg
ok-ka-no-a.
hungry-Fut
'(I) will be more hungry for eating rice than for eating potatoes'.

Kat-a-na   bat-e   a-song-e dong-o-in   nam-no-a.
run-Nomz-Dat more-Sub sit-Sub   be-LNomz-Frg good-Fut
'Sitting will be better than running'.

Skang 'before' and *git-a* 'so that, suitable for' follow nouns in the dative case. Oddly, *skang* and *git-a* can also follow a verb suffixed with *-na* but without any overt nominalizing suffix. Ordinarily postpositions are used with a verb only when it has been nominalized, usually with *-a*. With a verb that has not been nominalized *-na* might be expected to be an infinitive, but the homophonous dative would be more likely before a postposition. Whether dative or infinitive, both noun stems and verb stems can be followed directly by *-na skang* or *-na git-a*. Could verbs followed by one of these postpositions have been nominalized with a zero nominalizer? That would be very strange, since no hint of a zero nominalizer is found elsewhere in the language, and there is not much hint of any sort of zero anywhere. To interpret *-na* as an infinitive suffix would mean that in this situation, alone, postpositions follow different affixes when following verbs than when following nouns. To interpret it as a dative allows a case

marker to be suffixed to a verb, an equally odd state of affairs. To speakers, of course, it makes no difference whether *-na* is a dative or an infinitive marker. *Skang* follows *-na* after both nouns and verbs. It is a problem only to linguists: *an-dal-na skang* 'before dark', *am-bin-o-na skang* 'before tomorrow', *gu-al-na skang* 'before forgetting'.

> *Cha·-na skang jak-su-bo.*
> eat-Dat before hand-wash-Imp
> 'Wash (your) hands before eating'.

Like *skang, git-a* 'so that, suitable for' is able to follow a noun with dative *-na* (as well as one with genitive *-ni*), and it can also follow verbs with *-na*:

> *Na·-tok-na git-a   sam-bi-jak-ko   rat-bo.*
> fish-Dat   suitable vegetables-Acc cut-Imp
> 'Cut the right amount of vegetables for the fish'.

> *Cha·-na git-a   mi   song·-bo.*
> eat-Dat suitable rice cook-Imp
> 'Cook the right amount of rice for eating'.

> *Dal·-na git-a   bol-pang-na jai-ga don-bo.*
> big-Dat suitable tree-Dat   place give-Imp
> 'Give a place for the trees suitable for their size'.

A-ge 'before' is a synonym of *skang* that has been borrowed from Bengali. Like its native Mandi synonym, it follows *-na* without an explicit preceding nominalizer: *cha·-na a-ge* 'before eating', *ring-na a-ge* 'before drinking'.

Postpositions that follow locatives. A few postpositions can follow one of the augmented locatives *-o-ni* 'from, after' and *-o-na* 'to, until'.

Dip-at is unusual in being able to follow both *-o-ni* where it means 'since, after', and *-o-na* where it means 'until, up to, as long as'. While *dip-at* is probably the most common pronunciation for this postposition, several other variants are also used: *dip-et, stip-at, stip-et*. Some individuals seem to prefer one or the other, though they also recognize the others and agree that all are possible. I detect no difference in meaning and Mandis tell me they are synonyms. This is one of those places where, for no apparent reason, Mandi has a large number of alternative forms: *am-bin-o-na dip-at* 'until tomorrow' *am-bin-o-ni dip-at* 'after tomorrow, from tomorrow on'; *da·-o-ni-dip-at* 'from now on'.

> *Chu-ti-o-na   dip-at ang-ni nok-o   dong-bo.*
> vacation-Loc-Aug until I-Gen   house-Loc be at-Imp
> 'Stay at my house until vacation'.

Dip-at can be used with nominalized verbs as well as with nouns. Since nominalization can be accomplished with *-o* plus either *-ni* or *-na*, yielding *-o-ni* 'since, after' and *-o-na* 'until, as long as', both nouns and verbs have identical suffixes before *dip-at*:

Neng·-o-ni   dip-at gam   rim·-na man·-ja-jok.
tired-Loc-Aug since work do-Inf   can-Neg-Prf
'Since being tired, (I) can no longer work'.

Jom-o-ni dip-at cha-kat-na   man·-ja-ing-a.
sick-Loc   since   stand-Inf   can-Neg-Prog-Neut
'Since getting sick (he) can't stand up'.

Ang-a   bu-ra-o-na   dip-at gam rim·-na man·-no-a.
I-Nomn old man-Loc-Aug until   work do-Inf   can-Fut
'Until I am an old man, I will be able to do work'.

King-king 'until, as long as' follows the augmented locative *-o-na* when it is suffixed to a noun. *Som-bal-o-na king-king* 'until Friday':

Am-bin-o-na   king-king dong-bo.
tomorrow-Loc-Aug until   be at-Imp
'Stay until tomorrow'.

King-king can also follow verbs with what must be regarded as an *-o* nominalization, plus a *-na* augment, yielding the same form that is suffixed to nouns: *re·-ang-o-na king-king* 'until going', *neng·-ja-o-na king-king* 'as long as (you) are not tired'. *sal-ja-chi-o-na king-king* 'until noon, until midday'.

Neng·-o-na   king-king gam   rim·-bo.
tired-LNomz-Aug until   work do-Imp
'Work until tired'.

Ok-kri-ja-o-na   king-king a-song-no-a.
hungry-Neg-LNomz-Aug until   sit-Fut
'(I) will sit as long as (I) am not hungry'.

Gu-al-ja-o-na   king-king gi-sik ra·-no-a.
forget-Neg-LNomz-Aug until   mind   take-Fut
'As long as (I) don't forget, (I) will remember'.

Postpositions that follow -ming. The case marker *-ming* 'along with' can be followed by the postpositions *grim* or *lo-ge* both of which mean 'together'. *Lo-ge* is borrowed from Bengali. I believe that I have even heard both used together as *grim-lo-ge* which amounts to a double redundancy and makes it impossible to miss the togetherness:

Ching-ming grim   i·-ang-no-a.
We-with   together go-Fut
'(He) will go along with us'.

Bi-song-ming lo-ge   bi-a   dong-eng-a.
they-with   together he-Nom be at-Prog-Neut
'He is living with them'.

Postposition that follows locative -cha. *-cha* can take the post-position *bak* 'side, in the direction of': *mik-kang-cha bak* 'at the front side', *bring-cha bak* 'in the direction of the forest'. *Bak* is often used after an-other postposition. Postpositions are themselves nominals and many regu-larly have the locative case marker *-o*. Less often they have the alternative locative *-cha*, but one of the uses of *-cha* is then to take the postposition *bak*, and this allows a sequence of two postpositions. In the next example, *ki·-sang-cha* 'at my behind' is a postposition following the genitive case, and *bak* is a postposition following the *-cha* locative:

ang-ni ki·-sang-cha bak
I-Gen behind-Loc side
'behind me', 'at the behind of me'

Postpositions following the nominative. The handful of post-positions that follow the nominative are distinguished from case markers only by the fact that they follow the *-a* or "free" form of the monosyllabic pronouns. If this *-a* is regarded as a case marker then they follow the nominative case marker.

Gin-ang 'with, along with'. A few speakers have assured me that *gin-ang* can follow the combining form of the pronouns. That would turn *gin-ang* into a case marker. The wider consensus, however, is that *gin-ang* must follow the *-a* form of the pronoun, and I therefore count it as a postposition, but this is one of the cases where the line between case markers and postpositions is blurred. In A·chik *gin-ang* and *gri* (see just below) can apparently be used in a rather eccentric but verb-like way where they mean 'to be with' and 'to be without', but examples are only rarely heard in Mandi, and I do not fully understand the nature of this verb-like construction. Even as a postposition, *gin-ang* is somewhat unusual in Modhupur, and it seems to be dying out among younger speakers. A few examples will suggest the range of its uses:

kim-il gin-ang jak
hairy with   arm
"arm with hair', 'hairy arm'

Bi-te gin-ang pang   bi·-grop-jok.
fruit   with   tree   collapse-Prf
'The tree with fruit has collapsed'.

Ang-a   chol-a gin-ang.
I-Nomn shirt   with
'I (am) with a shirt, I have a shirt'.

Bi-o-de   man-de a-wa   gin-ang a·-ti-cha   re·-ang-na
she-Loc-but person baby   with   market-Loc go-Inf
man·-ja-no-a.
can-Neg-Fut
'Being with (because she has) a new baby, she cannot go to market'.

Gri 'without'. Just about everything that has just been said about *gin-ang* could be equally well said about *gri*. Indeed, they form a pair of opposites, meaning 'with' and 'without', respectively. Like *gin-ang*, *gri* flirts with being a case marker, since it is occasionally, though not generally, used after the combining form of one of the monosyllabic pronouns. Like *gin-ang* also, it is sometimes used in a verb-like way meaning 'to be without', 'to not have', though neither *gin-ang* nor *gri* ever take verb suffixes. *Gri* may be marginally better established in Modhupur than *gin-ang*, but it also shows signs of dying out among younger speakers: *chol-a gri* 'without a shirt', *mik-gil gri* 'without eyelids, shameless':

mi-chi gri   ja-ba
gravy without curry
'curry without gravy'

Ang-a   gri   cha·-a-ri-bo.
I-Nomn without eat-just-Inf
'Just eat without me'.

Ang-a   mi   gri   dong-na man·-ja.
I-Nomn rice without exist-Inf can-Neg
'I can't exist without rice'.

I-a   man-de kam   gri   ang-cha sok-ba-ri-ing-a.
this-Nomn person work   without I-Loc   arrive-here-just-Prog-Neut
'This man without work (reason) came to me anyway'.

Ang-a   kok   gri   mi-rong-ko ra·-ba-a.
I-Nomn basket without rice-Acc   bring-Neut
'I bring rice without a basket'.

Jang-chi-o 'at the middle of' can follow the nominative, as in *song jang-chi-o* 'at the middle of the village'. The nearly synonymous *jat-chi-o*

more often appears in the fixed phrase *sal jat-chi-o* 'at the middle of the day, noon'. Postpositions, unlike adverbs, are not usually reduplicated, but *jol-jol* 'along, via, by way of' is used as a postposition in such phrases as *a·-sam jol-jol* 'along the bank (of a river, etc.)', or *bring jol-jol* 'by way of the forest'.

Sa-ra 'without' is a Bengali borrowing that is often used where *gri* might once have been used. It follows the combining form of the pronouns and so counts as a postposition rather than a case marker:

> *Wak sa-ra   cho-li-ja-no-a.*
> pig   without manage-Neg-Fut
> '(We) won't manage without pigs'.

Borrowed Bengali Case Markers and Postpositions (C)

The depth of influence that the Bengali language has had on Mandi is nowhere more dramatically illustrated than with the number of suffixes and postpositions that have been borrowed. Given the political and cultural pressures that have influenced the Mandis, it is hardly surprising to find large numbers of borrowed nouns, and even verbs, but Bengali words are borrowed with such ease that they drag their suffixes along with them. My impression is that Bengali noun suffixes are taken into Garo more easily than verb suffixes, but this may be because when verb suffixes are used I tend to interpret the resulting sentence as being fundamentally Bengali rather than Mandi. At that point I begin to feel that the remaining Mandi words have been borrowed into a sentence that is basically Bengali rather than the reverse. Whatever the case, borrowing can be sufficiently intense to make it difficult to be sure, in every instance, whether an utterance should be regarded as Mandi that has been strongly influenced by Bengali or Bengali that has been strongly influenced by Mandi. Still, I do think that there has been more resistance to borrowing verbal morphology than to borrowing nominal morphology. At least people rarely mix verb suffixes from the two languages into the same verb. Even the fact that, in the course of leaning Mandi, I have absorbed a considerable amount of Bengali noun morphology but very little verb morphology suggests that the noun morphology has been better integrated into Mandi.

Modern borrowing is made relatively easy by the typological similarity of the two languages, and the resemblances must be the result of some thousands of years of contact between the language families to which Garo and Bengali belong. Although Bengali is Indo-Aryian and Garo is Tibeto-Burman, both are verb final languages characterized by case markers, postpositions and rather free order of noun phrases before the verb. In both

languages, case markers are suffixed to the noun and postpositions follow the case markers. Bilingual Mandi speakers surely have some tendency to use Bengali case markers with Bengali words and Mandi case markers with Mandi words but that is only a tendency, not a rule. Bengali case markers can be heard on Mandi words and vice versa. I once heard a Bengali case marker attached to an English word which was embedded in a sentence that was otherwise Mandi.

The extent of borrowing varies with the amount of contact that speakers have had with native Bengalis, and it also varies with the speaker's expectations about the listener's knowledge of Bengali. Mandi residents of Dhaka use more Bengali words and more Bengali suffixes than villagers whose daily conversation is more often with other Mandis, and where standards of Bengali are not so high. Even in rural villages, however, Mandis in Bangladesh use a good many Bengali postpositions very easily, even when they seem to be synonymous with Mandi postpositions. Sometimes they even use the appropriate Bengali case marker on the word before the postposition, but more often they retain the Mandi case marker. It is striking that Bengali postpositions tend to follow the same case markers as Mandi postpositions of the same or similar meaning. Thus Bengali *a-ge* 'before, ago' follows the dative case markers, as does the synonymous Mandi *skang*. *Mik-ta* 'because', borrowed from Bengali, follows the genitive *-ni* as does the synonymous Mandi *gim-in*.

The use of *a-ge* 'before, ago' and *po-re* 'after' in place of their Mandi synonyms is probably encouraged by their use with time expressions that include numbers. People who have only Bengali words for the numbers higher than five, find it awkward to say something like 'six months ago' or 'six months from now' without putting the whole thing into Bengali. It is possible to say *choi-mas-na skang* 'six months ago' where *choi-mas* 'six months' is Bengali, but the dative suffix *-na* and the postposition *skang* 'ago' are in Mandi, but since there is no way of avoiding the *choi-mas*, the *a-ge* follows very easily to give *choi-mas age*. When the Bengali *lo-ge* 'together with' is used as a postposition following the Mandi case marker *-ming* 'along with', as it very often is, the effect is simply to strengthen the statement by bringing together two near-synonyms. When Bengali *por-jun-to* 'as long as, until' is used in place of the synonymous Mandi *king-king*, it is not easy to see what is gained, but it may come along with borrowed nouns or even suggest a hint of sophistication on the part of the speaker. Bengali *sa-ra* 'without' is used so often that some younger speakers feel uncertain about the use of the older Mandi *gri*. Still, large numbers of Mandi postpositions continue to be used even as Bengali synonyms enter the language.

   Case markers are borrowed less often than postpositions, and usu-
ally only when they are pulled along by borrowed words, but Mandis in
Bangladesh speak Bengali well enough to have no difficulty at all in un-
derstanding the odd borrowed case marker when it crops up in a Mandi
context. A woman who was speaking to me in Mandi once instructed me
to get off a bus *pa-ni tank-er ka-che* 'beside the water tank'. *Tank*, of
course, comes ultimately from English but *pa-ni* is Bengali for 'water' so
pa-ni tank has a Bengali feel about it, and the phrase has nearly become
the place name for this particular landmark. This makes it easy to use
when speaking some other language than Bengali, just as place names like
Dhaka or *Bangladesh* can be used in any language. The speaker might have
said *pa-ni tank-ni sam-ba-o*, with a Mandi case marker (*-ni* 'genitive') and
postposition (*sam-ba-o* 'beside'), but having used what felt like a Bengali
expression it was easy to complete the phrase with Bengali forms instead:
-er the Bengali genitive marker, and *ka-che* 'beside, next to', a Bengali
postposition.

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TEN

NUMERALS

</div>

Introduction (A)

The Garo words that I will call "numerals" consist of two parts: first a "classifier" (or "numeral classifier") that shows the kind of units that are being counted, and second the number. In phrases such as *three heads of lettuce* and *two sheets of paper* English has something very much like classifiers (*heads, sheets*), but Garo differs from English in requiring a classifier with virtually every number. Numbers occur as one part of a numeral, rarely alone.

In a sense, classifiers and numbers, define each other. Anything that is used right after a classifier can be considered to be a number, and anything that is used immediately before a number can be considered a classifier. When animals are counted, for example, *mang-*, must always be included in the phrase: *meng-gong mang-gin-i* 'two cats', *mat-ma mang-git-tam* 'three buffaloes'. When people are counted, *sak-* or its Mandi variant *ak-* is needed: *man-de sak-sa* 'one person', *me·-chik sak-bri* 'four women', *chau·-kok ak-gin-i* 'two thieves'. Long thin things such as string are classified with *ding-*: *do-ri ding-sa* 'one piece of string'. Whatever is counted must have a classifier so the classifiers give an implicit classification to the countable phenomena of the world—people, animals, abstract phenomena, and objects of various sizes, shapes and uses. Since it is probably impossible to construct a fully logical classification system that encompasses every countable thing, it may be inevitable that languages with rich classifier systems such as Garo need a residual category classifier that can be used when nothing more specific quite fits. In A·chik that classifier is usually *ge-*; in Mandi it is more often *kan-*: *nok ge-gin-i* or *nok kan-gin-i* 'two houses'.

Numerals share a number of features with nouns. In particular, they occur as constituents of noun phrases, and under the right circumstances case markers can be suffixed to them. Nevertheless numerals also differ from ordinary nouns in important ways. Not only does their internal structure differ from that of nouns, but they are unable to take the plural suffixes that nouns can take. Nor do they enter into compounds as nouns so often do. Numerals are different enough from ordinary nouns to deserve to be considered a different part of speech. Each of the two parts from which numerals are formed will be described in this chapter.

Numbers (A)

The A·chik dialect of Garo has a good supply of numbers. It is possible to count up to 999 with numbers that are purely Garo. The word for 'thousand' and the words for the higher numerical units are borrowed from Bengali but they are well assimilated into the language, and, when used together with the native Garo words for the smaller numbers, they allow A·chik speakers to use numbers with complete freedom. The dialects of Mandi spoken in Bangladesh have been so heavily influenced by Bengali that speakers frequently use borrowed Bengali numbers instead of the older Garo numbers. Schools and markets are the places where numbers are most often needed, and they are places where the Bengali language is dominant. As a result, Bengali numbers become so familiar that they are used by Mandis even when they speak their own language. Most Mandi speakers in Bangladesh do not even know the older Garo numbers above the word for 'five'.

The numbers from 'one' to 'five' are used without classifiers in only two circumstances: First, classifiers can be omitted when counting: *sa, gin-i, git-tam*, but speakers often include classifier even then: *sak-sa, sak-gin-i, sak-git-tam* 'one person, two people, three people'. Since Bengali numbers are so often used in Modhupur, counting with Mandi numbers is not common, and counting for very long is impossible, but A·chik speakers count easily with A·chik numbers, with or without classifiers. The second use of numbers without classifiers is as ordinals meaning 'first, second, third' and so forth, or 'first one, second one, third one'. These are constructed by adding *gip-a* to the cardinal number: *sa-gip-a* 'first, first one', *gin-i-gip-a* 'second, second one' etc. These are nouns and they can be used in all nominal constructions.

In view of the limited use of the older Garo numbers, it is surprising that the system of classifiers has survived in such a healthy state. The numbers between 'one' and 'five' do continue to be freely used, even by

speakers who do not know the native Garo word for 'six', and when any number at all is used, it requires a classifier. The numbers in A·chik and in Mandi are given in Table 10–1. They are given in the table without classifiers, but in use they are almost joined to a classifier.

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Table 10–1

Man-di and A·chik Numbers

</div>

	Mandi	A·chik
one	sa	sa
two	gin-ing, gin-i	gin-i
three	git-tam	git-tam
four	bri	bri
five	bing-a, bong-a	bong-a
six		dok
seven		sin-i
eight		chet
nine		sku
ten		chi-king
eleven		chi-sa
twelve		chi-gin-i
twenty		kol-grik
twenty-one		kol-grik-sa
thirty		kol-a-chi
thirty-one		kol-a-chi-sa
forty		sot-bri
forty-one		sot-bri-sa
fifty		sot-bong-a
ninety-nine		sot-sku-sku
one hundred		rit-cha-sa
one thousand		ha-jal-sa
1,275		ha-jal-sa-rit-cha-gin-i-sot-sin-i-bong-a

A few older people in Modhupur still remember an alternative counting system that is based on cycles of twenty rather than ten. This, and similar systems, are heard occasionally in the Garo Hills, but they have not found their way into orthographic Garo or into the speech of most educated people, so this way of counting is probably on its way to extinction. Through nineteen, the numbers are the same as in decimal counting, but for higher

numbers they are grouped by 20's instead of by 10's. These numbers are rarely used, and the only ones at all likely to be heard are the even multiples of 20. This dying system is shown in Table 10–2.

Table 10–2

Archaic Counting System

twenty	kol
twenty-one	kol-i-sa
twenty-two	kol-i-gin-i, kol-i-gin-ing
thirty	kol-a-chi
thirty-one	kol-a-chi-sa
forty	kol-chang-gin-i
forty-one	kol-chang-gin-i ge-sa
forty-two	kol-chang-gin-i ge-gin-i
fifty	kol-chang-gin-i-chi-king
fifty-one	kol-chang-gin-i-chi-sa
sixty	kol-chang-git-tam
eighty	kol-chang-bri
ninety-nine	kol-chang-bri ge-chi-sku
one hundred	rit-cha-sa

In addition to the numbers, a handful of other morphemes can be used with classifiers in the position where a number would otherwise go.

-*gip-in* 'another, a different'. *Ak-gip-in* or *sak-gip-in* 'someone else', *mang-gip-in* 'a different animal':

Sak-gip-in-ni   nok-cha   da·-dong-a-bo.   Nok-tang-o
Cls-other-Gen house-Loc NImp-stay-NImp   house-own-Loc
dong-a-ri-bo.
stay-just-Imp
'Don't stay in someone else's house. Just stay in your own house'.

-*rik-kit* 'every, each'. This can describe events happening jointly to everyone or to events that effect each one separately, but in the same way. It is likely to refer to a larger group of individuals than -*prak*: *ak-rik-kit* 'each person', *do·-mok mang-rik-kit* 'each goat'; *a·-ba dam-rik-kit* 'each field'.

Na·-a-de   sak-rik-kit-na a-gan-a-ring-a
you-Nomn-but Cls-each-Dat   talk-Nom-just-Prog-Neut
'You just talk to each of them'.

Ang-a   dil-a man-de.   Sak-rik-kit-na cha·-na ron·-na man·-ja-no-a.
I-Nomn poor person   Cls-each-Dat eat-Inf give-Inf can-Neg-Fut
'I am a poor man. I will not be able to give food to every one to eat'.

-prak 'each'. This is similar in meaning to *-rik-kit* but it is likely to imply a smaller number, and it is more focused on individual acts and events: *sal-prak* 'each day'; *kan-prak-ko ron·-bo* 'give one of each. *-prak* can be reduplicated, emphasizing the distributive sense: *sak-prak-prak-na kan-sa-kan-sa ron·-bo* 'give one to each person'.

Man-de sak-prak i-a   ra-ma-git-a Chu-ni-a-cha-na i·-ang-a.
people Cls-each this road-via   Chunia-Loc-Aug go-Neut
'Each person (separately) goes by this road to Chunia'.

Gip-in, prak and *rik-kit* can be considered to be numbers when they are used with classifiers. Unlike the numbers from 'one' to 'five', however, these three words are used in other ways as well, so they are not always found with a classifier.

Classifiers (A)

Classifiers specify both the nature and the size of the unit being counted. This is obvious in the case of measures such as *ke-ji-* 'KG, kilogram', *mail-* 'mile', and *kap-* 'the amount held in a cup', as in *cha kap-sa* 'one cup of tea'. It not quite so obvious for the classifiers that are used for people, animals and physical objects.

The natural translation for *a-chak mang-sa* is 'one dog' but on the analogy of *cha kap-sa* 'one cup of tea', we might translate the phrase more literally as 'one *mang* of dog'. This is made more plausible by such phrases as *ma-su ju-ra-sa* 'one team of cattle, one pair of cattle' in which the classifier *ju-ra-* specifies two animals rather than just one. If *ju-ra-* is a measure for two animals it is reasonable to consider *mang-* to be a measure for one animal—the amount of animal stuff contained in one animal. Similarly, *Man-de sak-sa* has the literal meaning of 'one *sak* of humanity' or 'the amount of humanity that constitutes one person'.

One way to understand the role of classifiers is to realize that languages like Garo do not make such a clear distinction between "mass nouns" and "count nouns" as English does. In English, mass nouns such as *water, milk, meat, iron,* and *sand* cannot be counted without the help of some measure word: *one puddle of water, two pounds of meat, three piles of sand. Puddle, pound* and *pile* specify, with varying degrees of precision, the size of the unit that is to be counted, as well as enough about its nature to know whether

it can be piled or weighed. Count nouns, on the other hand, require no classifier in English, but can be counted directly: *one person, five animals, three stars, four songs*. In Garo all nouns act like English mass nouns, and all require some unit of measurement whenever their amounts are counted.

Classifiers are not simply assigned to nouns in an arbitrary way. Rather, classifiers convey important meanings. It is often the case that a single noun can be used with more than one classifier, and each classifier contributes a different meaning: *te·-rik rong-sa* 'one banana, one *rong-* of banana', *te·-rik pang-sa* 'one banana tree', *te·-rik gal-sa* 'one hand (small bunch) of bananas', *te·-rik ol-sa* 'one arm (large bunch) of bananas', *te·-rik ke-ji-sa* 'one kilogram of bananas'. When all these are considered together, it is not unreasonable to understand *rong-* as specifying the amount of banana stuff held by a single fruit, just as *ke-ji-* specifies the amount of banana stuff held in a single kilogram.

The meanings that classifiers convey make it easy, when the context is clear, to use a numeral (i.e. the combination of a classifier and number) with no noun at all. In answer to a question about how many bananas are wanted, it would be entirely natural to say *ke-ji-gin-i* 'two kilograms' or *rong-bong-a* 'five fruits'. If the particular type of person is not known or is known so well that it need not be repeated, it is entirely appropriate to say *sak-gin-i sok-ba-jok* 'two people arrived', where a classifier is used, but no noun. Since *sak-* is used only for people, there is no possibility that this will be misunderstood as meaning two animals. Indeed, *man-de sak-gin-i* is completely redundant since *man-de*, the noun meaning 'people', conveys no more information than *sak-*. Of course, if it is important to specify a particular kind of person one is talking about, it is necessary to use a noun: *me·-chik sak-gin-i* 'two women'.

I will define the class of numeral classifiers to include all morphemes that can be prefixed to the numbers, and any combination of such a classifier with a number will be considered a "numeral". This is a somewhat broader definition for classifiers than has sometimes been used for other languages, but it is convenient for Garo. Defining classifiers this way does mean that the class includes several somewhat different kinds of morphemes. Most typical of what have generally been called classifiers are those that are used when counting discrete physical objects that have enduring shapes. These are the sorts of things that are named by count nouns in English, and it is the classifiers used for these objects that are most foreign to languages like English. In addition to the classifiers for people and animals, many of the most common and central classifiers in Garo indicate something about the shape of the object counted—whether it is more or less round, thin and flat, long and thin, and so forth. A few classifiers indicate the material

from which an object is made, or the use to which it is put. There are also classifiers for nonmaterial but countable things such as songs and ideas, and there is a residual category classifier for things not otherwise provided for.

In addition to the classifiers that indicate a single object, there are a very large number of classifiers that are used for parts of objects and for various kinds of collections: bunches, clumps, slices, chunks, etc. Classifiers that refer to parts and collections may seem less exotic to English speakers than those for single discrete objects, because chunks and clumps need to be specified in English just as they do in Garo. We are used to such 'classifiers' from our own language.

Words that refer to things without consistent shapes or boundaries, (that is, the words for things that are named by mass nouns in English) require different classifiers, and these will also seem less exotic to English speakers, because even English needs measure words when counting units of sand, water, or meat. The Garo classifiers that specify amounts of unbounded objects like dirt, grain, or sand fall into two types. First, there are containers. Any word for any container can be used as a classifier that specifies the amount held in the container. As my earlier example with *kap* 'cup' suggests, borrowed words for containers are easily used as classifiers. Second, there are weights and measures: mile, kilogram, yard, and so on. Most of the weights and measures now used in Garo are borrowed from either Bengali or English, but they can be considered classifiers because they are used with numbers. Garo also has some older measure words based on lengths of parts of the human body, and these continue to be used for some purposes.

Finally, there are units of time: 'day, week, year', and so on. These words can be used in Garo without another intervening classifier, so by the definition I am using, they are, themselves, classifiers. To English speakers they will seem the least exotic of all classifiers, but they are really very much like weights and measures. Instead of specifying units of weight, length, area, or volume, they specify units of time. Unlike other weights and measures, all of which can measure a wide variety of things (water, milk, meat, sand etc.), the time classifiers can measure only one thing: time. Uniquely, therefore, time classifiers are never used with a noun. *sal-sa* 'one day' says all that needs to be said, and no noun for 'time' can be added to it in the way that *be·-en* 'meat' can be used in *be·-en ke-ji-sa* 'one kilo of meat'.

Some morphemes can be used as both nouns and classifiers. This is true of all words for containers, all the time words, and a handful of others. *Song* 'village' is very unusual in being neither a time word or a container

but still being usable as both a noun and a classifier. This makes possible a phrase such as *song song-gin-i* 'two villages' in which the classifier echoes the noun. Echo classifiers are common in some languages but this is the only perfect echo that I have identified in Garo. A few other classifiers are obviously related to nouns or to verbs and some allow partial echoes. *Tom-* is a classifier for round things such as stomachs and *-tom* appears as a component of a few compounds: *a-tom* 'stomach' and *jak-tom* 'fist'. *A-tom tom-sa* 'one stomach', a partial echo, is possible. *Dol·-a* is a verb meaning 'wrap up'. *Dol·-* is a classifier for 'wrapped up bundles'. Many classifiers, including the majority of the most common ones, however, are used as nothing else but classifiers and suggest no derivation from any other part of speech. Volume II lists many other examples.

Each of these types of classifiers will now be described, along with a number of examples.

Core Classifiers (A). This first group of classifiers include those that are most common and most essential. They include the classifiers for human beings and for animals, and these, together with the more transparent classifiers for containers, time, and weights and measures, are enough to allow even early learners to make themselves understood.

Ak-, *sak-* 'people', and occasionally 'ghosts, spirits, gods'. A·chik allows only *sak-* but *ak-* is at least as common in Modhupur: *me·-chik ak-bri* 'four women'.

Mang- 'animals'. This is used for all sorts of animals, including mammals, birds, insects etc. I was once treated to a microscopic view of one of my own malarial parasites, and heard it referred to as *mang-sa* 'animal-one'. Occasionally, *mang-* is also used for ghosts or spirits. A homophonous syllable occurs in *bi-mang* 'body' and it must carry a bit of the sense of 'body' into its use as a classifier: *do·-bak mang-git-tam* 'three bats', *gang-gu mang-gin-i* 'two mosquitoes'.

Kan- 'residual category'. A language with an elaborate classifier system like that of Garo needs to have one classifier that can be used for a residual category of objects for which no more specialized classifier is readily available. This, at least, is necessary where the choice of classifier depends on meaning rather than on the arbitrary assignment of nouns to classes, as in a gender system. In Modhupur the residual category classifier is *kan-*. It is used most characteristically for miscellaneous man-made objects, but it may be used for anything that is sufficiently unusual not to have acquired a conventional classifier. Mandis easily advise non-native speakers, "when in doubt, use *kan-*", but to use *kan-* for a person or animal would be bizarre. *Kan-* can be used for such things as shoes, glasses, hats, ears, houses, doors,

lights, letters, books, baskets etc., though for many of these, it would be more elegant to use a more specialized classifier.

Geˑ-, giˑ-. The residual category classifier most often used in the Aˑ chik dialect is *geˑ-* and it would be understood anywhere. Like the Mandi *kan-*, it can be used for a wide variety of constructed artifacts.

Ro-kom- 'kinds, varieties'. *Ro-kom-* was originally borrowed from Bengali but it has been thoroughly assimilated into Garo. It can be used as both a classifier and a noun: *meng-gong ro-kom gin-ing* 'two kinds of cats'.

Ming- 'abstract concepts, incorporeal phenomena, diseases, songs, colors, spirits': *gan ming-git-tam* 'three songs', *chan-chi-a-ni ming-sa-han* 'only one thought'.

> *Bi-a   kuˑ-sik   ming-sa ming-gin-i-ko a-gan-a-ri si-jok.*
> he-Nomn language Cls-one   Cls-two-Acc   said-just   died
> 'He just said one (or) two things and (then) died'.

Rangˑ-, chang- 'times'. *Rangˑ-* is more common in Mandi while *chang-* seems to predominate among Aˑchik speakers. These are used for the number of times that something has happened or been done. *Do-ri rangˑ-git-tam biˑ-a-ming* 'the string broke three times'. *Do-ri ding-git-tam biˑ-a-ming*, with a different classifier, means 'Three strings broke'.

Shapes, Materials, Places (B). Classifiers for physical objects, especially constructed artifacts, are very often selected on the basis of the shape of the object. Somewhat less common are those that specify the material from which an object is made or the location where it is found.

Rong- 'round' and, especially, 'globular objects, pots, fruit, eyes, coins': *ku-mil-a rong-sa* 'one orange', *me-dik rong-gin-ing* 'two rice pots'.

Ding- 'long thin things: hairs, cords, strings, pieces of cane, wire, roads etc.': *do-ri ding-sa* 'one piece of string'.

King- 'thin flat things: ears, leaves and, especially, paper and things made from paper, including books': *bi-jak king-gin-i* 'two leaves'. *king-* is not used for cloth or for objects made from cloth.

Kol- 'holes: windows, doorways, holes in the ground or in a tree'.

Kuˑ- ' mouths, words, bits of language' (which come from the mouth), 'mouthsful'; also for 'solid somewhat flattish things: doors (as opposed to doorways), gongs, single split sticks of firewood': *aˑ-bol kuˑ-gin-ing* 'two sticks of firewood.

Sam- 'any bilateral body part, hands, eyes, etc.': *jak sam-gin-i* 'two hands', *mik-on sam-sa gan-ing-a* 'blind in one eyes'.

Dam- 'places and things in fixed places, villages, fields, houses': *ha·-ba dam-sa* 'one field', *dam-git-tam mat-a* 'wounded in three places', *ku·-gi-sep dam-gin-ing* 'two corners of the mouth'.

Song- 'villages'. *Song* is the ordinary Mandi noun for 'village' and this allows the atypical reduplication of *song song-gin-i* 'two villages' in which the classifier echoes the noun.

Dot- 'living or once living objects, most often those that are vertical and round in cross section: posts, lengths of bamboo, stalks, unsplit pieces of firewood': *a·-bol dot-sa* 'one unsplit piece of firewood'.

Bol- 'axes, bamboo knives (*at-te*), drums'. As a noun, *bol* means 'tree, wood' and as a classifier it is used for things that are long and wooden. Axes and knives have wooden handles and drums are made from a length of trunk.

Pat- 'things made of cloth, shirts, saris, quilts', also 'units of paper money, taka' (the Bangladeshi unit of currency).

Pieces, Parts, Groups, Bundles, Loads (C). Mandi has a very large number of classifiers that denote parts or groups of objects. Many of these are highly specific, referring to a particular kind of piece, or a particular kind of bundle. A few typical examples are given here:

Chom·-bak- 'bunches, such as bunches of onion plants or beans'.

Gal-wang- 'small bunches of bananas, 8 or so fruit'.

Pek- 'packs of cigarettes', an obvious borrowing.

Sreng- 'single bunches of thatch'.

Chong- 'banana clumps that typically have several diverging stalks'.

Gip-ak- 'loads, as firewood'.

Ma·- 'groups of chicks with a mother hen, a clutch'.

Gil- 'crosswise slices, such as loops of pineapple etc.'

Sri- 'lengthwise slices, of papaya, pineapple etc.'

Tong·- 'lengths, for pieces cut crosswise, of bamboo, wood, firewood, slices of a banana, the parts of a broken pencil'.

Pak- 'halves, half an areca nut, half a fruit, half of a piece of bamboo split lengthwise, one side of a piece of paper or of a coin: *sal pak-sa* 'half a day'. *Pak-* can sometimes mean 'the other side' as in *ra-ma pak-sa-cha* 'the other side of the road'.

Containers (B). The name of any container can be used as a classifier for the amount of material that it can hold. Since many new kinds of containers have found their way to the Mandis in the last century and brought their names with them, this is an area where borrowed classifiers

are common: *cha kap-sa* 'one cup of tea', *chi gil-es-sa* 'one glass of water'. It is impossible to list all the objects that might be used as containers, since almost any physical object might be pressed into service to hold something, and any of their names could become a classifier. The name of a container is used to count amounts held in the container. When containers themselves need to be counted, some other classifier must be used: *gil-es kan-sa* 'one glass'. *kap kan-sa* 'one cup'. Even *nok-* 'house' can be used as a classifier, as in *nok-git-tam* 'three houseful, three families'. When it is physical houses that need counting, *kan-* the residual category classifier can be used: *nok kan-git-tam* 'three houses (buildings)'.

Weights and Measures (C). Marketing has become so important that Mandis have fully absorbed modern units of weights and measures into their language. These measures always come with their English or Bengali names, and they continue to be adopted today. When I first knew the Garos, in the 1950's, the kilogram was unknown, but with the adoption of the metric system in both Bangladesh and India, the *ke-ji-* has become an important measure and a common classifier. Older Mandi words that come closest in meaning to the modern weights and measures all seem to be based upon parts of the human body. They continue to be used in situations where modern industrial and market precision is unnecessary.

Kru- 'finger span'. A unit of length measured from end of the end of the thumb to end of middle finger or little finger, when they are stretched as far apart as possible.

Mik- 'cubit'. A unit of length measured from the elbow to the tip of the extended middle finger, and counted as half a yard.

Mik-tom-. The length from the elbow to the end of the clenched fist.

Cho·-om- 'handful'. The amount that can be held in an open hand.

Man-de-. As a noun, of course, this is the word for 'person, human being'. As a measure, it is the height of a human being. It is used most often for heights, such as the height of a tree, rather than for lengths. *Man-de-git-tam* 'height equal to three times the height of a person', *man-de-sa ong·-jok* 'has grown to the height of a person', which might be said of a young tree.

Among the many weights and measures now used by Mandis and other Garos are the following:

Ke-ji 'kilogram'.

Ser, sel 'seer', an old standard Indian unit of weight equal to a bit more than two pounds. It is close enough to a kilogram to be rapidly retreating in favor of the more modern *ke-ji*.

Mon 'maund'. A old standard Indian unit of weight equal to 40 seers or about 82 pounds. It is still known, but probably dropping from use in both countries as the metric system becomes predominant.

Iin-chi- 'inch'.

Put- 'foot, 12 inches'. My impression is that *iin-chi* and *put* survive a bit better than *ser* and *mon*.

Time Words (B). Since words for time units are followed directly by numbers they are, by the definition I have adopted, "classifiers". It may seem odd to call units of time "classifiers", but they really are measures for time, just as *kap* and *ke-ji* are measures of volume and weight. Time words do differ from other classifiers in at least two respects, however. First, alone of all classifiers, they are never used with a noun. No noun for 'time' forms a phrase with a numeral, in the way that the noun meaning 'water' for example, can form a phrase with measure of volume. Garos say the equivalent of 'cloth one-yard' but they do not say the equivalent of 'time one-hour'. This is reasonable. Nothing except time can be divided into time units, so no information would be added if it were explicitly named. A measure of weight, such as a *ke-ji* could measure rice, meat, milk, or any number of other substances. A measure such as *sal* 'day' can measure only time.

The second way in which time classifiers are distinguished from most other classifiers (though not from containers) is that the same morphemes can also be used as nouns. This, too, follows from the nature of the meanings conveyed. Speakers often need to specify a number of days or years, and that requires a classifier, but speakers must also talk about 'this year' or 'next year' or an unusually 'hot year', where no number is called for. This requires time words to be usable as nouns, as well as classifiers. *ke-ji* rarely needs to be used as a noun and *sak* 'classifier for people', never does.

Sal- As a noun, *sal-* can mean either 'sun' or 'day'. It frequently takes a locative case marker to become *sal-o* 'during the day'. *Sal-bri* 'four days', *da·-sal* 'today', sal-a-rik-kit 'every day'.

Ja- 'month' is related to *ja-jong*, a noun meaning 'moon', but only the single syllable is used as a classifier.

In addition to *ja-* and *-sal* Mandis use *wal* 'night' with numbers so that it can be used as a classifier, as well as a verb or a noun: *Wal-bri* 'four nights' (classifier), *wal-jok* 'it has become night' (verb), *wal-o cha·-no-a* 'will eat at night' (noun). In spite of being derived from a noun meaning 'sun' the classifier *sal-* can measure 24 hour periods, as well as 'day time', just as the word *day* can in English. *Wal-*, on the other hand, refers only to the dark part of the day. *Wal* measures the intermittent and bounded

times of darkness rather than a continuous flow of time in the way that
sal- often does. I have been able to persuade a speaker to accept *an·-tam-
gin-i* 'two evenings', in which *an·-tam* is used as a classifier, though it is
certainly unusual, but **wal-ni-gin-i* 'two mornings' seemed to be beyond
the pale and was decisively rejected.

All the other time classifiers may be borrowed. Even *bil-si-* 'year' may
ultimately be derived from Bengali *bo-chor*. Except for modest phonologi-
cal adaptations, *gon-ta* 'hour' and *sop-ta* 'week' are straight from Bengali,
while *mi-niit*, of course, is from English. In A·chik the word for 'week'
is *an·-ti* rather than the borrowed *sop-ta* that is used by Mandis. *An·-ti*
otherwise means 'market', in A·chik, and since markets in the Garo Hills
usually convene every seven days, it is an appropriate word for 'week' as
well.

Bengali and English Classifiers and Numbers (C). Bengali is
unusual among Indo-European languages, and even among Indic languages,
in having a system of numeral classifiers, although by comparison with
Mandi its system is restricted to the point of impoverishment. Bengali
has only two common morphemes that are unambiguously classifiers: *-jon*
for 'people' and *-ta* for almost any other physical object. In addition to
these, it uses words for weights, measures, time, and containers in ways that
are reminiscent of Mandi classifiers, or for that matter, English measures
and containers. Mandis regularly use numerals constructed from a Bengali
number and one of the two principal Bengali classifiers, and they even
embed these numerals in sentences that are otherwise Mandi. Indeed, since
so few Mandis know any numbers above 'five' except those from Bengali,
they have no choice but to use Bengali numbers, and when they do so, they
use Bengali classifiers as well.

Although Bengali numerals, including their classifiers, are widely used
in Mandi (much less so in A·chik), the order of the morphemes is different
in the two languages. Classifiers always come before the number in Mandi,
but they always follow the number in Bengali. The difference in word
order probably inhibits the borrowing of either a number or a classifier by
itself. Both need to be borrowed together so that their relative order can
be preserved. Garos do not borrow a Bengali number to use with a Mandi
classifier, or a Bengali classifier to use with a Mandi number. Nevertheless,
the numerals as a whole are borrowed, so that one can hear both *riik-sa
kan-gin-ing* and *dui-ta riik-sa* 'two rickshaws'. With one apparent (but not
genuine) exception, classifier and number come together or not at all.

The apparent exception stems from the fact that a good many words
for containers, weights, measures, and units of time have been borrowed
into Mandi, some from Bengali, some from English, and some from English

via Bengali. This means that many of these words exist in both Bengali and Mandi. Such words may not be borrowed as classifiers, but once borrowed, they can easily be used as classifiers with either Bengali or Mandi numbers. They can be used in the order that is appropriate for the numerals of either language. Mandis can say either *chi gles-bri* or *char-gles chi* 'four glasses of water'. *Ro-kom-sa man-de* or *ek-ro-kom man-de* 'one kind of person' would both do the job. To say 'six bananas' they would have to say *choi-ta teˑ-rik* because they have no word for 'six' except *choi*, which is borrowed from Bengali. It must have the Bengali classifier *-ta* and the numeral always comes before the noun as it does in Bengali.

While borrowing is much more widespread in Mandi than in Aˑchik, borrowing is not negligible even in the hills. Even in the 1950's, people in the most remote villages occasionally used clock time, and when they did so they always used Bengali numbers: *tiin-ba-ji* 'three o'clock'. *-ba-ji* is a Bengali measure of time that is used for clock time after numbers such as *tiin-* 'three'. Mandis always refer to school classes with English numbers. Schools in Bangladesh use Bengali as the medium of instruction but children attend *kles wan, kles tu, kles tri, kles por, and kles paip*. Aˑchik speakers, like Mandi speakers, always use the Bengali word order for borrowed numbers and classifiers. Telephones have come to the Garo Hills since the fifties, more recently than clocks and clock times, but today, Aˑchik speakers who use the telephone always use use English when giving telephone numbers, but they use Bengali numbers for clock time, and their own Mandi numbers for most other purposes.

Numeral Suffixes and Reduplication (C)

Numerals are used with fewer suffixes than either verbs or nouns, but numerals are not always completely bereft of suffixes. First, numerals can take the full complement of case markers, but since case markers are really suffixed to noun phrases rather than to nouns, the numerals simply pick up the case markers in their capacity as constituents of noun phrases. The same can be said for the four final noun suffixes, *-ba* 'also', *-de* 'but', *-ha* or *-sa* 'only', and *-in* 'emphatic'. These are also clitics and they follow case markers. The plural markers, which form a distinctive set of noun suffixes, cannot be suffixed to numerals. As was pointed out early in this chapter, *-gip-a* can be suffixed to numbers to form ordinals (*gin-i-gip-a* 'second' etc.), but *-gip-a* cannot be suffixed to full numerals (i.e. it cannot be used in the same word with a classifier).

This leaves only one real candidate for a distinctive numeral suffix. *-sru* 'each' can follow numerals, but it is not entirely clear whether it should

be considered a suffix or a separate word. It is rarely used except after numerals, however, and this suggests that it should be considered a suffix: *tang-ka pat-sa-sru* 'one taka (the Bangladeshi unit of currency) each', *bol king-gin-ing-sru* 'two books each', *Mi rang-tal-sa-sru ronˑ-bo* 'give one plate of rice to each'.

Unlike nouns and verbs, numerals do not become paired with echo words, but they are subject to partial reduplication, and this also gives a distributive sense. Reduplication can be accomplished in three ways, without it seems, much difference in meaning. First, the entire numeral can be reduplicated:

> *Sak-gin-ing-sak-gin-ing dak-e   kat-bo*
> Cls-two-Cls-two   do-Sub run-Imp
> 'Run two by two, in pairs'.

> *I-a biˑ-sa-de sal-o   ak-sa-in-ak-sa-in   dong-a-ri-ing-a.*
> this child-but day-Loc Cls-one-Frg-Cls-one-Frg be at-just-Prog-Neut
> 'These children are just alone (one by one) during the day'.

Second, and perhaps most commonly, the number alone can be reduplicated: *Sak-gin-ing-gin-ing* 'two each'.

Finally, reduplication can be limited to the first syllable of the number. It can even be limited to the initial consonant and the vowel of the number, a process that has more in common with the phonological anticipations that are considered in the next chapter than with most reduplication. Such partial syllable reduplication occasionally puts a high back unrounded vowel (symbolized here with [ɨ]) in an open syllable, an exceedingly strange place for that vowel in Garo.

[sak-gɨ-gin-ing dak-e] 'doing it in pairs of people, two by two'.

Two numerals can be used one right after the other with the implicit meaning of 'or': *Mandi sak-bri sak-git-tam* 'one or two people'. It is startling to an English speaker to hear the higher number occasionally placed first: *kan-bong-a kan-bri* 'five or four things'.

Conclusions (C)

The examples given in this chapter are only a sample of the rich variety of classifiers found in Mandi and in other dialects of Garo. Many additional examples will be found in the lexicon in Volume II. It should be clear that the class of classifiers, as defined here, is an open one in the sense that when new needs arise, new classifiers can be added to the language. Borrowings

are common, and any speaker can create a classifier from a word for a container.

Some of the morphemes that are used as classifiers are used in no other way. *Sak-* (or *ak-*), the classifier for people, for example, has no use except as a classifier. Other morphemes that are used as core classifiers and as classifiers for shape are occasionally found as constituents of noun compounds, but hardly ever as independent words. *Mang-*, the classifier for animals has no independent existence in the present language, but the morpheme does appear as part the compound *bi-mang* 'body'. *Rong-* 'classifier for globular objects' is also found in *bi-rong* 'pit of a fruit'. *Ding-* 'classifier for long thin things' is found also as a part of the compound *kil-ding* 'thread'. Such double use of morphemes, as both classifiers and as constituents of noun compounds is fairly common, but quite irregular and by no means productive.

Mandi does have one construction, in addition to numerals, in which a large number of classifiers participate. *King-dal'-a* 'big (of flat things)' and *king-chon-a* 'small (of flat things)' are constructed from *king-*, the classifier for 'flat things', and either *dal'-a* 'big' or *chon-a* 'small'. A considerable number of other classifiers for shape can be used like *king-* and coupled with *dal'-a* or *chon-a* to describe the size of something that has the appropriate shape. Similarly, the derivational suffix *-ma* 'big' can be suffixed to a number of classifiers to form words meaning 'big' of something that could be counted with that classifier: *king-ma* 'big of flat things'. This is a rather eccentric construction and it is not fully productive, being used only with the classifiers for shape, not others.

Classifier systems have sometimes been compared to gender systems, as if each classifier defines a gender to which all nouns that are used with that classifier belong. Seen in this way, a language like Garo would have a very large number of genders. Where familiar European languages may have two or three genders, scores would be needed for Garo. If classifiers define genders, it might seem reasonable to include a note with each noun in the dictionary that specifies just which classifier or classifiers that noun can be used with. Perhaps this would be reasonable for some classifier languages, but it would be impossibly complex for Garo, where a single noun can often be used with several classifiers. Moreover, numerals are often used with no noun at all, so there would be no noun to "govern" which classifier to choose. Hearing *sak-gin-i i'-ba-ing-a* 'two *sak* are coming' it is perfectly clear that it describes people of some sort, but no antecedent noun is needed to force the choice of *sak-*. Rather, the *sak-* is chosen because of its meaning, just as any ordinary noun is chosen because of its meaning.

While Garo does not make as sharp a distinction between count nouns

and mass nouns as English, even in Garo, different classifiers tend to be used when counting the kinds of bounded and shaped objects that are named by count nouns in English than when counting the kinds of unbounded materials for which English uses mass nouns. *Sak* 'people', *mang-* 'animals', *kan-* 'residual category', and the classifiers that indicate shapes are almost always used with bounded objects that would be named by count nouns in English. Measures and containers are more often used for counting things that would be named by mass nouns in English.

Garo dialects differ in the particular classifiers that they use, but they differ little in the kinds of distinctions that classifiers make. *Sak* is used in A·chik, *ak-* is often substituted in Mandi; *ge-* is more common in A·chik, *kan-* in Mandi. Still, these dialectal differences are not sharp, and most classifiers would be understood by Garo speakers anywhere.

MINOR PARTS OF SPEECH

Earlier chapters of this book have dealt with the most important parts of speech, including the two largest, nouns and verbs. Demonstratives, pronouns, and postpositions, all of which resemble nouns in some ways, have been described as constituents of noun phrases. Numerals, consisting of a classifier and a number, needed a chapter of their own. Several other parts of speech now need to be described. Of these, adverbs form by far the largest group and they, along with some adverb-like locatives, will be considered first. Next, a number of idiosyncratic adjective-like modifiers will be described, and then echoes and anticipations, interjections, courtesy expressions, and finally, conjunctions. The number of parts of speech recognized for a language depends upon how finely one wants to draw distinctions among words. Whether pronouns and demonstratives are considered to be nouns or distinct parts of speech, for example, is a matter of convenience, not fact. Pronouns resemble nouns in many ways, but differ in others. I find the categories that I describe here convenient, but they are not the only way to categorize the words of Mandi.

Adverbs (A)

Adverbs form a very large word class, but the majority of them can quite naturally be regarded as having been derived from verbs. They are closely related to verbs, both in their form and in their meaning. Adverbs, however, take no suffixes at all, and in this respect, they differ as sharply from verbs as from nouns or even numerals. Adverbs often occur immediately before the verb of the clause in which they occur, but they can also occur earlier, with one or more noun phrases separating them from

the verb. They are distinguished from the noun phrases among which they
occur in their lack of a case marker. Semantically they are distinguished
by modifying the meaning of the verb rather than acting as one of its argu-
ments. As the examples will show, adverbs can convey a very wide range
of meanings.

It may not be obvious why I have labeled some words as "adverbs" since
they may be most naturally translated into English by either adjectives or
verbs. *Jol·-kep-kep*, for example, seems to be most naturally translated as
'narrow, especially of agricultural fields' but, unlike the English adjective,
it is used to modify a verb rather than a noun. *Bi-ni ha·-ba jol·-kep-kep
dak-a*, can be freely translated as 'his field is narrow' but a more literal
translation would be 'his field is done narrowly'. *Chau·-kok tim-e-tim-e a-
song-ing-a* might be translated as 'The thief is sitting and hiding' or even
'The hiding thief is sitting', but the literal construction is more like 'The
thief is sitting hidingly, in a hiding fashion'. *Tim-e-tim-e* 'hiding' is an
adverb which modifies *a-song-ing-a* 'sitting', and it describes the manner
in which the sitting is being accomplished. *To-ra bing·-chrip-chrip wat-bo*,
is more literally translated as 'weave the basket tightly' than as 'weave a
tight basket' (*to-ra* 'basket', *bing·-chrip-chrip* 'tight, of woven things', *wat-a*
'weave, of baskets').

Several kinds of adverbs can be distinguished by their form and by the
manner in which they are derived from verbs. In particular, the majority of
adverbs show some sort of reduplication, and many of these are transpar-
ently derived from verbs. The language has comparatively few adverbs that
are not reduplicated and that consist of a single morpheme, and even the
few words that can be used as simple adverbs can generally be used in some
other way as well. The following words that lack any form of reduplication
can be used as adverbs. They are a heterogeneous lot.

Skang is occasionally used in an adverb-like way to mean 'in the past'.
Skang am·-pang-cha rik-a-ming '(We) formerly built with thatch'. More
often, *skang* is used as a postposition, however: *an-dal-na skang* 'before
dark'. *Skang* can also be used with a locative suffix, making it a "locative
word" (see next section): *Ang-a-de skang-o Tu-ra-o dong-a* 'I used to be at
Tura'.

Teng-re 'early, soon, fast, quickly' can be used as a simple adverb, as
in *teng-re cha·-gal-gal-bo* 'eat quickly, soon'. It is frequently reduplicated to
teng-re-teng-re, however, thereby assuming a more conventional adverbial
form.

Da·-si 'a little while ago' and *da·-an* 'in a little while, a little while from
now' are clearly related to each other and also clearly related to *da·-o* 'now',
so they are not really monomorphemic. Nevertheless the second syllables

of *da·-si* and *da·-an* have no obvious etymologies and the two words are sufficiently specialized and lexicalized to be candidates for relatively simple adverbs. Like *skang*, they sometimes take a locative suffix.

Dam-san 'same, together, in one place' seems to be an adverb in *na·-ching sak-gin-ing dam-san a-song-eng-a* 'The two of us are sitting together', but *dam-san* is sometimes used with case markers and might be better considered a defective noun:

Teng-gil and *a-gre* can mean either 'very' or 'excessively': *teng-gil ding·-ing-a* 'very hot, too hot'. Not all speakers use both *teng-gil* and *a-gre*. My impression is that older speakers in Modhupur are more likely to use *a-gre* while younger speakers more often use *teng-gil*. *A-gre* is more common in A·chik. *A-gre* is also used as a postposition meaning 'in addition to, other than':

In addition to this mixed batch of adverb-like words, Mandi has borrowed a number of others from Bengali that are used more consistently as adverbs: *kup* 'very', *be-si* 'much', *so-man* 'evenly' etc. Much more characteristic of Mandi are the vast number of adverbs that have some overt indication in their form that they are adverbs. Their adverbial nature is sometimes shown by reduplication, sometimes by the suffix *-e*, and sometimes by both simultaneously.

Adverbs in -e. By using *-e* as the principal verb suffix, any verb can be put into a form that can act like an adverb and modify another verb. Strictly speaking, this is a construction that subordinates not only a verb, but an entire clause, to another verb. However, single verbs without any arguments are so often subordinated in this way that they need to be noted here as playing the role of adverbs: *mik-tal-e chu-a* 'sleep on one's back' (*mik-tal-a* 'lie on one's back'); *cheng-e don-ing-a* 'put aside (a basket) before it is finished, when only the base has been woven', from *cheng-a* 'to weave the base of a basket'; *dra-e i·-ba-a* 'come on one's own, come against the will of someone else' from *dra-a* 'to force, act with force'.

The very common verb *bang·-a* 'to be much, many, a lot' and the equally common derived adverb *bang·-e* 'in large amounts' illustrate the adverbializing function of *-e*: *man-de bang·-a* 'there are a lot of people' (verb); *man-de bang·-a i·-ba-jok* 'a lot of people came' (nominalized verb); *man-de bang·-e i·-ba-jok* 'people came in large numbers' (adverb). As a verb base, *bang·-* can take any of the tense-aspect markers: *in·-no bol-pang bang·-no-a* 'there will be many trees here'. As an adverb, *bang·-e* can modify a verb such as *dong-no-a* 'will be at': *in·-no bol-pang bang·-e dong-no-a* 'here the trees will be many' (adverb).

In the next example, *bang·-a* is a nominalized verb that modifies the noun *man-de*. In the example that follows, *bang·-e* is an adverb and it

modifies the verb *ronˑ-a-ming* 'gave'.

> *Ang-a bangˑ-a man-de-na   mi   ronˑ-a-ming.*
> I   many   people-Dat rice give-Neut-Pst
> 'I gave rice to a lot of people'.

> *Ang-a man-de-na mi   bangˑ-e   ronˑ-a-ming.*
> I   people-Dat rice   plentifully give-Neut-Pst
> 'I gave rice in large amounts to the person/people'.

Adverbs in *-e* are sometimes reduplicated, and thereby generally gain the meaning of 'long-lasting' or 'intermittent': *dong-e-dong-e* 'now and then'; *gal-e-gal-e* 'in part, omitting parts' (*gal-a* 'throw away'); *hengˑ-e-hengˑ-e* 'widely spaced' (of the pieces from which a basket is woven, of rice plants spaced out after transplanting); *tim-e-tim-e* 'secretly, in hiding', where the implication is that the hiding lasts for some time.

Simple Reduplication. Many adverbs are formed by simple reduplication, sometimes of a single syllable, often of two. Examples of single syllable reduplication include *chrap-chrap* 'crowded together, as growing fruit'; *bang-bang* 'empty, of a hole, a building, of land cleared of trees'; *dam-dam* 'always at the same place', *grang-grang* 'with open spaces, as an open weave basket'; *jring-jring* 'always, repeatedly'; *bom-bom* 'lukewarm'; *jemˑ-jem* 'regularly, repeatedly, often'. Some two syllable adverbs have similar but not identical syllables: *hang-jang* 'without reason, with no purpose, randomly, hurriedly'; *jrip-jrang* 'soundlessly, silently'.

Perhaps an even larger number of adverbs are formed by reduplicating two syllables: *tim-bong-tim-bong* 'wide, of fields, built widely'; *bi-dil-bi-dil* 'growing densely'; *dilˑ-mik-dilˑ-mik* 'smokily'; *seˑ-em-seˑ-em* 'tiny'; *reˑ-em-reˑ-em* 'having a small pattern, such as the creases in one's skin'; *rim-a-rim-a* 'see or hear partially, unclear, blurred'; *dil-ing-dil-ing* 'flying about, as dust'; *ting-ku-ting-ku* 'squeal, of a pig, loud, of a rice pounder, of angry talking'; *dim-prong-dim-prong* 'swirling with a lot of smoke, dusty'; *dip-u dip-u* 'very soft'; *pu-ta-pu-ta* 'in drops, spotted'; *tek-sram-tek-sram* 'crumbly, brittle'; *rik-rak-rik-rak* 'reflecting, shining, of a mirror, tin roof, metal, water'. *Kaˑ-sin-e-kaˑ-sin-e* 'slowly' is a three-syllable reduplication of a word that is already shown to be an adverb by its suffixed *-e*. Three-syllable reduplications are less common that two-syllable reduplications, but clearly they are not impossible.

Sometimes each syllable of a two syllable word is reduplicated separately: *dingˑ-ding-dalˑ-dal* 'just cooked, ready to eat'; *rauˑ-rau-tauˑ-tau* 'speaking loudly and rapidly'; *rik-rik-rak-rak* 'restlessly'; *soˑ-so-jeng-jeng* 'going from this to that without finishing anything'. Notice that when a

single syllable with a raka (glottal stop) is reduplicated the raka is not repeated in the second syllable, but if another syllable intervenes, the raka is reduplicated along with the rest of the syllable. Thus *se'-em-se'-em* has rakas in both the first and third syllable, while *so'-so-jeng-jeng* has the raka only on the first syllable. This follows the regular pattern of raka deletion in second, but not third, syllables.

Final Syllable Reduplication. Many adverbs have a reduplicated final syllable while earlier syllables remain without reduplication: *jol'-kep-kep* 'in a narrow manner, especially of fields, very thin, of a person'; *bing'-chrip-chrip* 'woven tightly, without gaps, of baskets'; *sim-dim-dim* 'having a dark color, as mountains when seen from away'; *gong'-rak-sak-sak* 'quickly, while running quickly'. Most adverbs of this type are derived from verbs which lack the reduplication: *chong'-pong-pong* 'growing out from a clump at the base' (*chong'-pong-a* 'to grow out from a clump at the base, like bananas or bamboo'); *mik-chok-chok* 'having a long pointed face' (*mik-chok-a* 'to have a long pointed face').

Incomplete Syllable Reduplication. Some adverbs have only partial reduplication of one or more syllables: *rin-ek-sin-ek* 'messy, knocked down, of growing plants'; *bu'-rin-eng-bu'-sin-eng* 'messily, of hair', *pil-eng-pil-ung* 'rocking back and forth, like a boat'; *gu-rung-ga-rang* 'aimlessly, of roaming about'.

Second and Fourth Syllable pairs. A considerable number of adverbs have identical second and fourth syllables, while their first and third syllables differ. In these adverbs, the third syllable is only a place holder, contributing no meaning of its own, but filling a phonological gap. The favorite third syllable is *-ga-*: *ru-ra-ga-ra* 'inconsistent'; *ding-dang-ga-dang* 'doing things in different ways'; *dil-dek-ga-dek* 'swing, wobble, move back and forth, of a bamboo bridge or a loose post'. Other third syllables occur, but less frequently: *rit-dang-ban-dang* 'separately, doing things in different ways'; *geng'-gang-bak-gang* 'disorderly, as of branches piled around'; *re-wa-se-wa* 'spoiled, filthy'. In some cases, alternate form of reduplication can be performed on a single underlying verb. *Ring-reng-ring-reng* and *ring-reng-ga-reng* 'swinging back and forth' are both derived from *ring-reng-a* 'to swing back and forth.

Finally, I have had heard two words that can only be described as having undergone double reduplication: *dang'-dang-dang'-dang* 'spaced out, as growing fruit' and *sim-sim-sim-sim* 'starting to get dark, starting to turn rotten'. Even though the Garo language came to this writer as a late second language, it feels natural to him that a syllable might be repeated four times. To imagine a syllable that had been repeated exactly three times is much more difficult.

It is not clear to me just how productively adverbs can be formed by reduplication from verbs. Speakers do not accept all of the reduplications that I have proposed, even when I follow common patterns, so there is no full productivity. On the other hand, I have heard many hundreds of reduplicated adverbs that conform to one of the patterns that I have described. The patterns seem quite varied, but of course an unlimited number of other patterns of reduplication might have been used instead. The patterns that are found in the language must come to seem very natural to its speakers, and it must not take much time or repetition for a new adverb to become established. My impression is that a considerable amount of both dialect and individual variation is found in the range of adverbs used. Speakers have denied the possibility of an adverb that I have heard someone else using. From this, I infer that new adverbs are coined fairly regularly, and that they become easily accepted as individual favorites, or established in one or another dialect. At the same time, large numbers of reduplicated adverbs are used in the same way by speakers from widely separated dialects, so they are by no means all idiosyncratic or local.

Locative Words (C)

Garo has a large number of words that are so often suffixed with a locative -o that the suffix seems almost to have become a part of the word. Fully frozen -o's are rare, however, so it would not be correct to consider these locative words to be a completely distinct part of speech. Rather, they are nouns of a special sort. They differ from other nouns in generally forming complete noun phrases all by themselves. Demonstratives, numerals, and modifiers can occur as constituents of most noun phrases, but they are rarely found in the same noun phrase as a locative word. An ordinary noun such as *nok* 'house' can occur with a locative case marker and still be associated with other words in a complex noun phrase such as *i-a dal·-gip-a nok-o* 'at this big house'. A locative word such as *da·-o* 'now', on the other hand, cannot be modified by a demonstrative, numeral or any other word. As this may suggest, these locative words are used in much the same way as some English adverbs, and they have a sufficiently distinct role to set them apart from other nouns, and even from other locatives. Like *da·-o*, many of these words have a temporal meaning.

The locative case marker seems rarely, if ever, to be totally frozen to the root. Even the *da·-* of *da·-o* 'now, at this time', is found in a number of related compounds such as *da·-sal* 'today' and *da·-si* 'a short time ago', although neither ** da·-a* nor ** da* is ever used alone with any related meaning. Other locative words that refer to points or periods of time include: *me-ja-o*

'yesterday', *min-i-o* 'day before yesterday', *am-bin-o* 'tomorrow', *a-tam-o* 'afternoon, evening', *wal-jat-chi-o* 'in the middle of the night, midnight'. The extent of lexicalization that has taken place in these words can be seen in an expression such as *am-bin-o-na skang* 'before tomorrow' where *am-bin-o* 'tomorrow' has a dative case marker in anticipation of the postposition *skang* 'before'. Dative case markers cannot be freely suffixed to all words with locative *-o*, but in *am-bin-o* the *-o* has become so frozen to the base as to have almost become a part of it.

-cheng- is an adverbial affix meaning 'before'. The related *cheng-o*, with a nearly frozen locative, means 'some time ago, in the past' and it is used as an adverb. *-ka-ri* forms compounds that name the seasons of the year, as *ding·-ka-ri* 'hot season' and *sin·-ka-ri* 'cold season', and *da·-sik-ka-ri* means 'last year'. *Ka-ri-o*, almost always with a well attached locative, means 'next year'. Names for the days of the week are borrowed from Bengali, but when used by Mandis, they often carry the locative suffix: *Suk-ro-bal-o* 'on Friday'. These words are often compounded with *sal* 'day' and the locative suffix then moves to the end: *Suk-ro-bal-sal-o*. Months are most often followed by *-ja* 'month' and the locative *-o*: *Mak-ja-o* 'in the (Bengali) month of Mak (January-February)', *Ep-ril-ja-o* 'in April'. In one way or another, names for months and days of the week are usually used with an *-o*.

As discussed in Chapter 9, "Nominals", a considerable number of postpositions with both temporal and spatial meaning also occur regularly with the locative *-o*: *sam-ba-o* 'near, beside', *gi-sep-o* 'among', *ja·-man-o* 'after', *sak-a-o* 'above', and many others. These, too, have semi-frozen locative *o*'s. From a purely formal point of view, *in·-o* 'here' and *un·-o* 'there' are merely the locatives of the demonstratives *i-a* 'this' and *u-a* 'that'. These particular locatives occur in a remarkably wide range of phonological variants, however, and this suggests that they have been lexicalized with the special meanings of 'here' and 'there'.

Locative words with a temporal meaning always have *-o* as their case marker, and those with spatial meaning often do as well, but some spatial postpositions can be constructed with the spatial locative *-cha* (*-chi* in A·chik), as well as with *-o*: *ki·-sang-cha* 'behind, in back of, toward the back'; *mik-kang-cha* 'in front of, at the face of, toward the front'; *pak-sa-cha* 'beyond, on the other side of'. All of these occur with *-o* as well: *ki·-sang-o, mik-kang-o* and *pak-sa-o*. *-cha* often indicates motion, either 'toward' or 'from', while *-o* is more likely to indicate a fixed position, 'at', 'in', or 'on'.

Defective Nouns (B)

While the great majority of English adjectives must be translated into Mandi as intransitive verbs, the language does have a number of words that are used to modify nouns but that, in most respects, behave more like nouns than like verbs. These are far fewer in number than the intransitive verbs, but individually they are both important and very common. They are also highly idiosyncratic. Many of them of them can be regarded as defective nouns, since they share a number of characteristics of nouns, but they cannot be used freely in all situations where most nouns are used. Many of these words name a quantity such as 'all, whole, most, half, some, part, a little, other', and so on, but other more diverse meanings are found as well: 'true, important, same, different, left, right, length, breadth'.

If these words can be characterized at all, it is by their diversity, indeed their eccentricity. They differ from each other in so many ways that it is difficult to make generalizations about them. All can modify nouns, and most can take case markers and stand alone as a noun phrase. In these ways, they are like nouns. Since most of them do not take verb suffixes, at least not at all easily, they are very different from the much larger number of intransitive verbs that can also modify nouns. As modifiers, some of these defective nouns can be placed only before the noun while others always follow and most can occur either before or after, just like ordinary modifying verbs. Most can take a -*gip-a* suffix and most can be reduplicated. Unlike nouns, however, many of these take a plural suffix only with difficulty or not at all. These are important and much used words. Perhaps only words that are urgently needed could maintain such rich eccentricities; they are used so frequently that they resist regimentation.

Consider, for example **gim-ik** 'all, entire, whole', a very common word that can be used in several ways. Unusually among the defective nouns, *gim-ik* can be used with classifiers, and then it fits into the position where a number usually belongs. This is semantically understandable, of course, since 'all' is a quantity, just as numbers are. *Ma·-su mang-gim-ik* 'all the cattle', *cher kan-gim-ik-ko ra·-ba-bo* 'bring all the chairs' where *kan-* is the numeral classifier that is often used for constructed objects such as chairs. *Gim-ik* admits some possibility for ambiguity. *Nok gim-ik* could mean either 'the whole house' or 'all the houses', though the context rarely leaves much doubt. People insist to me that *ma·-su gim-ik* can only mean 'all the cattle'. To say 'the whole cow' would require *ma·-su mang-gim-ik*, with *mang-* the classifier for 'animals'.

Apart from its use with classifiers, *gim-ik* can be used as a noun and as a modifier of nouns. Used alone in a noun phrase, it can take case markers: *gim-ik-na ron·-bo* 'give to all, give to everyone'. Often it is used

to modify a noun: *man-de gim-ik* or *gim-ik man-de* 'all the people'; *gim-ik mi-ko cha·-bo* or *mi gim-ik-ko cha·-bo* 'eat all the rice'. In this last example *gim-ik* is the last member of the noun phrase, so it takes the case marker just as a nominalized verb would. In *man-de-rang gim-ik* 'all the men', the plural marker *-rang* remains as a suffix on *man-de*, again just as it would if used with an ordinary modifying verb. Speakers deny that **gim-ik-rang* would be possible even if it were not modifying a noun, but this may be because of the semantic anomaly of pluralizing 'all'. In *man-de-de, gim-ik-in bi-ka so-no-a* 'all the people will be angry' the suffix *-de* 'but' which is generally suffixed to the final word of the noun phrase stays with the noun. This separates the *gim-ik* from the noun somewhat, as if the meaning is something like 'the people—all will be angry'.

In most respects then, *gim-ik* acts like a noun, or at least a nominal. It is generally a constituent of a noun phrase or it acts by itself as a noun phrase. Most nouns cannot be used productively to modify another noun, in the way *gim-ik* does, however. That is usually the prerogative of nominalized verbs, but *gi-mik* is certainly not a verb since it never takes verb suffixes and does not need to be nominalized in order to modify a noun. Nor do speakers allow *gip-a* to be suffixed to *gim-ik* in the way it can be suffixed to verbs, though this may, again, be due to the semantic anomaly of attaching something that means 'the one that is' to a word meaning 'all':

Ang-a   ang-ni nok   git-al-cha, gim-ik bos-tu-ko   rik-a·-ba-jok.
I-Nomn I-Gen house new-Loc   all   thing-Acc bring-Prf
'I brought all the things to my new house'.

Ching-a   gim-ik-in an·-tang-tang-ni   boi-ko   po-ri-ing-a.
we-Nomn   all-Frg   own-Gen   book-Acc read-Prog-Neut
'We are all reading our own books'.

Gim-ik-ko man·-ja-ni   gim-in,   a-ro-ba chan-chi-na nang-ku-no-a.
all-Acc   can-Neg-Gen because more   think-Inf   need-still-Fut
'Because (we) can't do everything, (we) will still need to think some more'.

Mit-am 'some' is as common and essential as *gim-ik*. Unlike *gim-ik*, *mit-am* cannot be used with a classifier, but it resembles *gim-ik* in being more of a noun than a verb. It does not take verb suffixes, but can be used either as a noun phrase itself or as a modifier of another noun. Unlike *gim-ik*, *mit-am* goes more easily before the noun that it modifies than after. Speakers even say that *mit-am som-oi-o* 'sometimes' is fine, but **so-moi mit-am-o* is impossible. With some reluctance, some speakers have accepted *man-de mit-am* 'some people'. Nevertheless, when used alone, rather than

as a modifier, *mit-am* can take case markers: *mit-am-ko-de nik-na man·-ja-ing-a* 'cannot see some (of them)'. Unlike *gim-ik*, *mit-am* can take the *-gip-a* suffix, though only when used alone, not when preceding a noun that it modifies: *mit-am-gip-a-de ga·-ak-jok* 'some of them have fallen'.

A third example is **rik-kit** 'each'. Like *gim-ik*, *rik-kit* can be used with a classifier, as if it were a number. *sak-rik-kit* 'each person'. Unlike either *gim-ik* or *mit-am*, *rik-kit* always follows the noun it modifies and any case marker that the noun phrase requires is suffixed to it: *man-de rik-kit-na a-gan-bo* 'speak to each person'.

The eccentricities of words like these make it difficult to make coherent generalizations. The difficulties are compounded by the near impossibility, for a linguist who is not a native speaker, to sort out what is disallowed by syntactic rule from what is disallowed by semantic anomaly. I have worked with many highly intelligent native speakers, but I have never been able to train one of them to make a consistent distinction between syntactic and semantic anomalies. Repeatedly I have been told that some combination of words is impossible, whereupon I have devised some more or less bizarre context in which the sentence might apply. My consultants have then said "oh yes, in that case it is fine". How many examples have been rejected, and stayed rejected, because my imagination fell short of devising a sufficiently ingenious context, I will never know. If I had ever successfully translated 'colorless green ideas sleep furiously' into Mandi, I have no doubt that it would have been soundly and unanimously dismissed as impossible. In the end, I have begun to doubt the possibility of drawing such a sharp line between syntactic and semantic anomaly as linguists generally hope for. I have even wondered if it makes sense to expect to look for a syntax that is autonomous.

Rather than pretending to find order where I see so much chaos, I will limit my exposition of defective nouns to listing a selection and giving some examples.

Dam-san 'same, together'. *Dam-san chu-bo* 'sleep together!' (Imperative). *Dam-san nok-o dong-bo* 'Stay in the same house!':

U-cha-ron   dam-san in-di-ba or-to-de   ding-tang.
pronunciation same   but   meaning-but different
'The pronunciation is the same but the meaning is different'.

This last sentence is constructed from two equational sentences connected by *in-di-ba* 'or'. The parts cannot be mistaken for verbal sentences because neither *dam-san* or *ding-tang* has a tense marker or any other verb suffix:

Me-ja-o   re·-ba-gip-a man-de dam-san-in da·-sal-ba re·-ba-jok.
yesterday come-Sub   person   same-Frg   today-also come-Prf
'The same people who came yesterday, came today also'.

Gip-in 'other, another'. *Gip-in ma·-su* or *ma·-su gip-in* 'a different cow':

Ang-a   dal·-a   man-de gip-in-ko san-di-ing-a.
I-Nomn big-Sub person   other-Acc search-Prog-Neut
'I am looking for another (a different) large person'.

Gip-in can be used with classifiers:

Sak-sa   man-de-ko sak-gip-in-ni   jik-na   jom·-a-ko
Cls-one person-Acc Cls-other-Gen   wife-Dat sneak-Sub-Acc
rim·-na   man·-a.
catch-Inf can-Neut
'(You) can catch one man sneaking to someone else's wife'.

Sak-gip-in-ni nok-cha   da·-a   dong-a-bo, nok-tang-o
Cls-other-Pos house-Loc NImp stay-NImp house-own-Loc
dong-a-ri-bo.
stay-just-Imp
'Don't stay at someone else's house, just stay at (your) own house".

Ding-tang 'different' can be used as a noun and take case markers: *Ding-tang-ko cha·-bo* 'eat something else'. More characteristically, however, it is used to modify another noun: *Da·-sal-de ding-tang chol-a-ko ra·-bo* 'bring a different shirt today'. With the help of *dak-e* 'in the manner of' it can be used adverbially to mean 'differently, in a different way': *ding-tang dak-e nik-no-a* 'will see (it) differently'.

Al-ak-si 'selfish'. This has a very strange meaning to be conveyed by a defective noun. One would expect that any Mandi word meaning 'selfish' would be an intransitive verb, but *al-ak-si* cannot take verb suffixes. My attempts to use it as a verb resulted in speakers adding a dummy verb to hold the suffixes: *sak-sa al-ak-si ong·-a* 'one person is selfish'. It readily modifies nouns: *man-de al-ak-si, al-ak-si man-de* 'selfish people'.

Pak-sa 'one half, one side, the other side'. This seems to have the form of a numeral (it includes *sa* 'one') but it is sufficiently lexicalized that it can itself be used as a classifier: *pak-sa-gin-ing* 'two halves, two sides'. Unlike most classifiers, however, it is enough of a nominal to take a locative case marker: *Sal pak-sa-o re·-ba-bo* 'come at noon', i.e. 'come when the day/sun is at the halfway point'; *U-a bait-ni pak-sa-o nok dong-a* 'there is a house on the other side of that low ground'.

Pak-ma 'most, majority, largest part'. This is related to *pak-sa* 'half', and it is unusual among these defective nouns in having a clear etymology. *Pak* means 'part', and *-ma* is used as the second element of many compounds in the sense of 'big', so it means the 'big part'. *Pak-ma man-de-in chu-ing-a* or *man-de pak-ma-in chu-ing-a* 'most of the people are sleeping'. *Pak-ma* cannot take a plural suffix but that limitation can be overcome by reduplication.

> *Ang-a, nang·-na bat-e   pak-ma-pak-ma cha·-ing-a.*
> I-Nomn you-Dat more   most   eat-Prog-Neut
> 'I am eating larger portions than you'.

Ok-ki-sa 'a little, a small amount'. *Ok-ki-sa mi dong-a, mi ok-ki-sa dong-a* 'there is a little rice'.

> *Wal gim-ik-o ok-ki-sa-ba   chu-na   man·-ja-ming.*
> night all-Loc a little-also sleep-Dat can-Neg-Pst
> 'For the whole night (I) couldn't sleep (even) a little'.

Kak-ket 'true, correct'. *Kak-ket gol-po, gol-po kak-ket* 'true story'. One would expect the idea of 'correct' to be conveyed by an intransitive verb in Mandi, but *kak-ket* cannot take the verb suffixes, and in the following example it needs the empty verb *ong·-a* to hold the verb suffixes. *Nang·-ni a-gan-a-in kak-ket ong·-a* 'Your talk is correct'. It can act as a noun and take noun suffixes: *Kak-ket-rang-ko kin-a-a* 'hear the correct things'.

Dak-ri 'most, majority'. *Mi dak-ri-ko cha·-bo* 'eat most of the rice'. *Dak-ri mi rat-na man·-jok* 'have finished cutting most of the rice', *Dak-ri neng-tak-jok* 'done most of the resting', *Ang-ni wak dak-ri dal·-jok* 'my pig has mostly grown'.

Many, though not all, defective nouns name a quantity, but not all words for quantity are defective nouns. *Bang·-a* 'many, much, a lot', for example, names a quantity but rather than being a defective noun, it is a perfectly good intransitive verb. It takes all verb suffixes: *bang·-no-a-ming-kon* 'would probably have been a lot'. Like any other verb, *bang·-a* can be nominalized and then used to modify a noun: *Bol-pang bang·-a-ko den·-jok* '(he) cut many trees'. The *-a-* in the middle of *bang·-a-ko* is the nominalizing suffix which is needed to put this intransitive verb into a form that can modify a noun. The need to be nominalized sets *bang·-a* apart from the defective nouns discussed in this section which have no need for a nominalizing suffix. They are modifiers to start with.

Gi-type Adjectives (B)

Mandi has a set of seven intransitive verbs with distinctive properties that make them more like English adjectives than are the other intransitive verbs of Mandi. All have meanings that are prototypically adjectival, and their first syllables are all *gi-*, *gip-* or *git-*. Comparison with Boro, a closely related language, suggests that these verbs once had the uniform first syllable *gɨ-*, a form that is still used in many adjective-like words in Boro. Over the course of time, in Mandi, this prefix has assimilated to the following syllable, so that it now appears in several somewhat different forms.

The seven words are: *gip-bok* 'white'; *gi-sim* 'black'; *git-chak* 'red'; *git-ting* 'raw, unripe'; *git-tang* 'living, fresh'; *git-dal* 'new'; *git-cham* 'old'. These can all be used as intransitive verbs and all can take the full range of principal verb suffixes. As their forms show, however, they have the unusual ability to be used without a principal verb suffix. A principal verb suffix is possible on all of them, but, unlike other intransitive verbs, they can be used to modify a noun without a nominalizing suffix: *nok gi-sim* 'black house', *man-de git-dal* 'new man' (often implying 'new son-in-law'), *bi-te git-ting* 'unripe fruit', etc.

With four of these seven words, it is possible to use the second syllable without the first. The remaining syllable then acts like an ordinary intransitive verb that must always be used with a principal verb suffix: *sim-a* 'black', *bok-a*, 'white', *tang-a* 'live, be alive, fresh', and *cham·-a* 'be worn out, old'. In their single syllable form, these take the full range of verb suffixes. *Kin-i bok-jok* 'the hair has turned white', *pul-ko-bi tang-ing-a-ma?* 'is the cauliflower fresh?'. Both the one-syllable forms and the two-syllable forms can be used as intransitive verbs. *Bok-a* and *gip-bok-a*, for example, can both mean 'to be white': *ba·-ra gip-bok-jok-ma?*, *ba·-ra bok-jok-ma?* 'did the cloth get white?'. Both can also be used as modifiers of nouns, but only the one syllable form requires the nominalizing suffix *-a*. In other words, *bok-a, gip-ok-a,* and *gip-bok* are allowed as modifiers, but **bok* is not. Most intransitive verbs risk an ambiguity when the verb follows a noun and has the principal verb suffix *-a*. The verb could be nominalized to let it modify the noun, or it could be the main verb of the sentence: *Chi ding·-a* can mean either 'the hot water' or 'the water is hot'. Because the *gi-* words have two forms, this ambiguity can be partially avoided. *Le-ka gi-sim* can mean only 'the black paper'. *Le-ka gi-sim-a* remains ambiguous, however. It can mean either 'the paper is black' or 'the black paper'. As the following example shows, the one-syllable forms that lack the prefix can be used as modifiers as well as verbs: *Sim-a do·-ko mu-a ming-a?* 'what is the black bird called?' More often, however, it is the prefixed forms of the words that are used as modifiers.

Indefinite -ba words (C)

Mandi and other dialects of Garo have a number of words that are suffixed with -*ba* and used in an indefinite sense in both negative sentences and in sentences with real or implied interrogatives. Their meanings overlap with the meanings of English words such as 'anyone', 'anything', 'someone' and 'something'. In negative sentences they are used where English uses 'nothing, nobody' and so on. Most of these words are constructed by adding -*ba* either to a question word, or to a numeral formed with a classifier and -*sa* 'one'. Perhaps the most common -*ba* word is *ma-ming-ba* 'anything, nothing', but it is an atypical example in one respect, because *ma-ming* is rarely used without the suffixed -*ba*. Most -*ba* words are formed from a word that is also used easily without the -*ba*. *Ma-ming-ba dong-ja* 'it is nothing, it doesn't matter, never mind' is a common fixed expression, but it is a typical example in which a -*ba* word is used with a negative verb. The two suffixes, -*ba* and -*ja*, reinforce one another. The next example is similar, but it has the accusative case marker -*ko*. Indefinite -*ba* always follows the case marker:

Ma-ming-ko-ba nik-ja.
something-Ind see-Neg
'(He) did not see anything, (he) saw nothing'.

Several other indefinite -*ba* words, in addition to *ma-ming-ba*, are common:

Ba-no-ba 'somewhere, anywhere' is derived from *ba-no* 'where?'

Ang-a   ba-no-ba   nik-ja-ming.
I-Nomn where-Ind see-Neg-Pst
'I didn't see (it) anywhere'.

Ba-no-ba poi-sa dong-a-ming?   Ang-a-ba hai·-ja.
where-Ind money be at-Neut-Pst I-also   know-Neg
'Where is the money? I also don't know'.

Sal-sa-ba 'any time, never' is derived from *sal-sa* 'one day'.

Sal-sa-ba   re·-ba-ja.
day-one-Ind come-Neg
'(They) never came'.

Bi-song ta·-bol-chu-ko sal-sa-ba   cha·-ja.
they   manioc-Acc day-one-Ind eat-Neg
'They never eat manioc'.

Na·-a   bil-ang-jok-o-no-de ang-ni nok-o   sal-sa-ba   man-de
you-Nomn fly-away-LNomz-but I-Gen   house-Loc day-one-Ind person
dong-ja-na-jok.
be-at-Neg-IFut
'When you have flown away (by plane), a person will never be (nobody
will ever be) at my house any longer'.

Rang·-sa-ba 'sometime, at any time, never' is derived from *rang·-sa*
'one time, once':

Mi-jen-ko ang-a   rang·-sa-ba   grong-ku-ja.
Mijen-Acc I-Nomn Cls-one-Ind   meet-yet-not
'I have never yet met Mijen'.

Sak-sa-ba 'someone, anyone, no one' is derived from *sak-sa* 'one per-
son':

Ang-a   je jai-ga-cha   i·-ang-a   u-a   jai-ga-cha sak-sa-ba
I-Nomn whatever place-Loc go-Neut   that place-Loc Cls-one-Ind
dong-ja-ming.
be at-Neg-Neut
'To whatever place I went, in that place there was no one'.

Sak-sa-ba   i·-ba-ku-ja.
Cls-one-Ind come-yet-Neg
'Nobody has come yet'.

In addition to the well lexicalized words that have been listed, any
numeral that is formed from a classifier with *-sa* 'one' can be made into an
indefinite word by having *-ba* suffixed to it. Such words are often used with
negative verbs where they mean 'none, no': *king-sa-ba* 'some, of flat things',
'none, of flat things' when used with a negative verb (*king-* 'classifier for
flat things'); *rong-sa-ba* 'some, none, of round things' etc.

Kan-sa-ba dong-ja. 'There is none'.

A·-chak mang-sa-ba chik-ja. 'No dog bites'.

Two other *-ba* words that are rarely used in Modhupur are used in
A·chik and sometimes in the dialects of Bangladesh that border the Garo
Hills: *Pang-na-ba* is constructed from *pang-nan* 'always', and when used
with a negative verb means 'never'. *Da-rang-ba* is like *ma-ming-ba* in being
rarely used without the *-ba*. When used with a negative verb it means
'nobody'. In Modhupur *sal-sa-ba* and *sak-sa-ba* generally take the place of
pang-na-ba and *da-rang-ba*.

When another word follows one of these *-ba* words within the same
noun phrase, the *-ba* is sometimes moved to the later word, in the same

way that case markers are moved to the end of their noun phrase. In the next example, the *-ba* has been moved to *dal·-a* 'big' from *kan-sa* where it is more often found:

> *Kan-sa dal·-a-ba   dong-ja.*
> Cls-one big-Sub-Ind be at-Neg
> 'There are no big ones, there is not one big one'.

-ba is not as regularly moved to the end of the noun phrase as are case markers, however. In the next example it has been moved as far as the noun, but not all the way to the modifier *dal·-a* 'big':

> *Mang-sa ma·-su-ba dal·-a   dong-ja.*
> Cls-one cow-Ind   big-Sub exist-Neg
> 'There is not a single big cow'.

A wider variety of *-ba* words are used in positive sentences than in negative ones, and here they imply some degree of uncertainty. They may be used in embedded questions or they may, themselves, imply a question. With sufficient ingenuity it is possible to find a way to use a *-ba* with just about any question word in combination with any case marker. The meaning of the *-ba* words in positive sentences is, again, indefinite, as can be seen by comparing sentences that have the same question words, once with, and once without, the *-ba*, as in the following examples with *sa* 'who?'. Appropriate case markers can be used with both *sa* and *sa-ba*:

> *Sa-ko san-di-ing-a?* 'Who are (you) looking for?'
>
> *Sa-ko-ba san-di-ing-a?* 'Are (you) looking for someone?'
>
> *Sa-ko-ba san-di-ja-ing-a.* '(I) am not looking for anyone'.
>
> *Sa-ni ma·-su?* 'Whose cow?'
>
> *Sa-ni-ba ma·-su, ang-a-de hai·-ja?* 'Whose cow?, I do not know'.
>
> *Sa-ming re·-ang-no-a?* 'Who will (he) go with?'
>
> *Sa-ming-ba re·-ang-no-a?* 'Will he go with anyone? I wonder whom

he will go with'.

Courtesy Expressions (B)

Like everyone else, Mandis have polite and impolite ways of speaking and they have expressions that convey courtesy, but the literal meanings of the expressions they use most are very different from those used in English or other western languages. Under the impact of English, and perhaps especially under the influence of western missionaries, a number of equivalents

for English politeness phrases have been developed. These are relatively recent additions to the language and they are quite artificial. People know them, but rarely use them except with a foreigner, or when trying to emulate foreign manners. They remain marginal.

Ka·-sa-pa·-e 'please' is a rather artificial translation of English 'please'. It is known but rarely used. *Ke-ma ka·-bo* or *ke-ma ka·-pa-bo* is supposed to be equivalent to 'excuse me, please forgive me' but it is no more common than *ka·-sa-pa·-e*. *Mit-tel-a* 'thank you' is used marginally more often than *ka·-sa-pa·-e* or *ke-ma ka·-bo*, but Mandis are apt to use it in situations where, by western standards, they should not do the thanking, but be thanked. When it is used at all, it is a sort of general purpose expression of courtesy, most often used when two people are leaving each other.

Sal-nam means, literally, 'day-good' and it is occasionally used as an equivalent for 'good day' or 'good morning', but since everyone recognizes it is an over-literal, even quite silly, translation of the English expression, it is as likely to said as a joke as to be serious. In the same way, *wal-nam* is occasionally used where English speakers would say 'good night'. Mandis seem to know the conventional English meanings of 'good morning' and 'good night' better than they know the meanings of 'please', 'excuse me', and 'thank you', or at least when they do use *wal-nam* or *sal-nam* they manage more often to use it at the right time of day and on the same kinds of occasions when the corresponding English expressions would be used.

Nam-e dong-a-ma? 'are things good?, how are you?' is probably as recent and artificial a construction as the others, but it has become much better established. The A·chik equivalent is *nam-eng-a-ma?* which is a no more than a syntactic variant. People do occasionally ask this question and receive the answer *nam-eng-a* 'good', 'fine' or, sometimes, *al-a-mal-a* 'so-so'.

Garos, like many Indians and Bangladeshis, simply do not often use courtesy phrases like these in the situations where English speakers find them so essential. This does not mean, of course, that Garos lack ways of showing courtesy, or that they lack the sense of gratitude that makes Westerners feel obliged to say 'thank you', but they do express their feelings in different ways. First, they signal more with the posture of the body than do westerners. They lower their heads a bit to show respect or gratitude. They avoid making themselves look tall or dominant, which might be taken as immodesty, and of course, they have polite and impolite ways to use language. Garos have less fear of silence and less need to fill all available space with talk than do Westerners, but this does not mean that they do not talk. Indeed, they chatter as incessantly as anyone else, but if they happen to have nothing to say they find no embarrassment in sitting in

silence. Still, when arriving and departing, and when meeting and leaving one another, there is usually an exchange of language.

When people meet on the road one often asks the other *bat-cha i·-ang-ing-a?* 'Where are (you) going?' When a Garo who is innocent of English wants to know how to say something in that exotic language, the first thing he or she asks is likely to be "How do you say *bat-cha i·-ang-ing-a?* ". If the one addressed is heading in the direction of his home (and people usually know where everyone else lives) he may be asked, instead, *bat-cha-ni i·-ba-ing-a?* 'Where are you coming from?' These questions are as conventional as is 'How are you?' among English speakers, and they are no greater an invasion of privacy. Nevertheless, they should be answered with some information – 'to my uncle's', 'to Joloi', or 'from my rice field' – but it is possible simply to say 'from over there.' Usually only one person asks the question. The other answers, but does not echo the original question back. On arriving at someone's house it is polite to call out *Man-de dong-a-ma?* 'Is there anybody (home)' and one might get the answer *dong-a* 'there is'. When leaving a group it is courteous to say *i·-ang-na-jok* 'I intend to leave' and sometimes people add *na·-song a-gan-ku-bo* 'You all go on talking'.

There are also a few grammatical markers of courtesy. The *-ne* that can be added to an imperative softens it and acts almost like 'please': *a-song-bo-ne* 'please sit down'. When added to an infinitive, the same *-ne*, used with appropriate intonation and gestures, is a courteous way to make a request: *Ang-a nap-na-ne?* 'May I come in?' Garo does offer ways to speak politely, just as it offers ways of speaking impolitely, but it has fewer fixed courtesy phrases than Europeans are accustomed to.

Interjections (B)

Like people everywhere, Garos have words that are generally used alone, rather than as constituents of sentences. Some of these words fit the conventional patterns of pronunciation of the language (its "phonology") even if they do not fit its syntax, but like speakers of all languages, Garos also use a number of conventional vocalizations that do not even conform to the usual phonology, so they hardly even deserve to be called "words". Most of these non-phonological forms indicate something about the emotions or attitudes of the speaker, and they can be understood without support from accompanying words. All of these forms, both those that do and those that do not conform to the usual phonology, can be called "interjections", and even the non-phonological ones, deserve to be considered because they are meaningful vocal noises, and because they are used along with language even if they are not integrated into its syntax or phonology.

Since the interjections are less well integrated into the language than other words, it is relatively easy to borrow them from one language to another. Indeed, the least language-like of these exclamations can hardly be said to belong to a particular language at all. In view of the high level of Mandi bilingualism, it not surprising that they share a number of their interjections with their Bengali neighbors. I give a few examples here of the interjections that Mandis use. Some of these are used widely by speakers of other Garo dialects, while others are more narrowly restricted to Mandi. Additional examples will be found in the lexicon in Volume II.

Ai-au 'oh my, dear me, wow' is a general expression of either surprise or dismay. The second syllable typically receives a heavy stress, and the intonation will generally show clearly whether the dominant emotion is surprise, wonder, or dismay. *Ai-au* is used by A·chik speakers as well as by Mandis, but it is not used by Bengalis.

Da·-nang 'oh dear' is a common expression of dismay. It may be used along with a sentence even if it is not really a part of it. Often it is placed after a verb, a position that is outside most of the organized syntax of the language. It is the position for afterthoughts that are moved from the more ordinary pre-verbal position. The intonation of *da·-nang* sets it apart as clearly as it sets apart any bit that is displaced from an earlier position. *bi-a si-jok, da·-nang* 'He died, alas'

At-cha 'okay, right, good' is used by speakers of many languages throughout both Bangladesh and much of India. It originally meant, literally, 'good', but as a borrowed word in Mandi it has largely lost that specific meaning. It is used in all its extended meanings, which are quite similar to the meanings of 'okay'.

Ki-ja-ni is a Bengali expression meaning, literally, 'who knows?' but it is often used by Mandis, even in otherwise Mandi contexts. It carries the general sense of 'I don't know, how can one know?'

Bap-a-ri-bap, ba-ba, o-ba-ba 'my gosh, wow!' are Bengali expressions of surprise that have been adopted by the Mandis.

Ha 'here, please take it'. This is used when giving something to someone.

[m] This consists of a sharply falling intonation, sometimes with a bilabial nasal *m*, or if the lips are open, with an ill-defined [ng] or [n]. It is an invitation for agreement, a sort of informal tag question, 'isn't that so? don't you agree?' This is widely used by both Mandi and Bengali speakers and by foreigners who have lived for a long period in Bangladesh, even when speaking English. It must have come originally from Bengali.

Iis, i-si with a falling intonation and sometimes with prolonged vowels, is an expression of disgust: 'yuck'.

Ai-a 'ow!' is an expression of sudden pain.

Finally, Mandi has a number of more or less conventional words that either fill in space when one has to think for just a moment before finding the right words, or that indicate that the speaker has made a mistake and is about make a correction. These come in the midst of a sentence, but they interrupt the syntax rather than forming a part of it.

a-kai has a reasonably consistent pronunciation that fits Mandi phonology, but it interrupts the syntax. It indicates that one has misspoken or made a mistake of some kind. It is frequently used when one has stumbled in speech or used an incorrect name by mistake. It can be used where English speakers might say 'I mean', but it has no meaning apart from its use in correcting errors. It is usually followed immediately by some sort of rephrasing or correction of what one has just said.

Ma·-bai, mai-ba, ma·-ki, ma-bi-ko, and *na-bi-ko* are all hesitation forms, said while collecting one's thoughts. They may be used in situations where an English speaker might say *uh*, but the availability of these conventional interjections does not stop Mandis from saying something very much like *uh* as well.

Answers to yes-no questions. Like interjections, answers to yes-no questions can be single words that are used outside of any syntactic context. Like interjections, also, they are sometimes phonologically anomalous.

All dialects of Garo, as far as I know, have straightforward words meaning 'yes' that are used when answering a yes-no question in the affirmative. *Ha·-we* is the fullest form in Mandi, but this is an area of many alternatives, and all of the following are possible: *ha·-we, a-we, we, u-e, a·-we, ha·-wi, ho·-we, hu-e-ro, ho* and even *te*. The accepted form for 'yes' in A'chik is *we*.

A'chik, as spoken in the Garo Hills, lacks a word that is equivalent to 'no', and the only linguistic way to give a negative answer is to repeat the verb of the question and to add a negative affix to it: *Mandi dong-a-ma?* 'is there anyone there?', *dong-ja* 'there is not'. *Am-bin-o i·-ang-no-a-ma?* 'Will (you) go tomorrow?' *I·-ang-ja-no-a* '(I) will not go'. Mandis have borrowed *na*, the Bengali word for 'no', and they use it freely to answer questions, often together with a single quick shake of the head.

Garos also have conventional ways of indicating 'yes' and 'no' with vocalizations that do not conform to the usual phonology of the language. 'No' can be indicated by a slightly rising intonation. This may be voiceless when it starts but it is then voiced, sometimes with the lips closed so that an [m] sound is produced but sometimes with the lips spread to produce some other, not very well defined, nasalized vowel or consonant. This is

then abruptly terminated by a glottal stop. The [m] or other nasal is similar
to [m] of the interjection that seeks confirmation (see above), but the rising
intonation and the glottal stop make the meaning of 'no' unambiguous.

'Yes' can be indicated by a vocalization that can either rise slightly
or fall slightly. Its distinguishing feature is a sharp interruption in voicing
made by a glottal stop. Both the closure of the vocal cords and their sub-
sequent release are distinctly audible, and there is voicing both before and
after the stop. The lips often remain closed so that an [m] is produced, but
an abrupt glottal closure interrupts it. Americans are likely to misinterpret
this, at first, as meaning 'no' because it sounds rather like an American
noise with that meaning, but the Garo 'yes' usually rises a bit in pitch and
has more stress at the end, while the American 'no' is more likely to fall
and to have more stress at the beginning.

A·chik has a word that means 'I don't know': *hai-da*. This word must
be related to the Mandi word for 'know, understand', which is *hai·-a*, with
hai·-ja as the negative, 'don't know'. A·chik has *ui-a* rather than *hai·-a*
for 'know', and A·chik *hai-da* is not analyzable. Mandi manages without a
separate lexical item for 'I don't know' and gets along fine with *hai·-ja*.

Conjunctions and Relatives (B)

The Garo dialects have many ways by which words, phrases, clauses
and sentences can be joined together into larger constructions, but the lan-
guage makes much heavier use of suffixes for this purpose than does English.
It has correspondingly less need for independent words such as conjunctions
and relative pronouns. Many of the suffixes have been described in earlier
chapters, especially in the section on "Subordinating Suffixes" in Chapter
6, "Verbs". The ways these can be used to build up complex constructions
will be the main topic of the remaining chapters of this book. Neverthe-
less, the language does have a number of independent words that act as
conjunctions, and it is these that form the topic of this section.

By English standards, older forms of Garo are impoverished in simple
conjunctions. Most strikingly, there is no simple native Garo equivalent
for *and*. Where two nouns would be connected by *and* in English, they
are often simply placed side by side in Garo. Many such pairings are so
conventional that they can be considered compounds: *jik-se* 'wife and hus-
band', *mi-bi-jak* 'rice and curry'. The construction is productive, however,
so that it is possible to join two nouns in a way that implies conjunction,
without using an explicit marker of conjunction: *hol-di chi-ni bre-jok* '(I)
bought turmeric (and) sugar'. To be more explicit, it is also possible to
suffix two nouns with *-ba*, as in *na·-a-ba ang-a-ba* 'both you and I', *chi-ba*

chu-ba 'both water and rice beer'. Longer phrases can be joined in the same way, but if one of a pair is suffixed with -*ba* the other must have its -*ba* as well:

> *ang-ni mik-kang-o-ba ang-ni ki·-sang-o-ba.*
> I-Gen front-Loc-also I-Gen   buttock-Loc-also
> 'both in front of me and behind me'.

> *Bi-gil gip-ok-ko-ba   bi-gil gi-sim-ko-ba   grong-no-a.*
> skin   white-Acc-also skin   black-Acc-also meet-Fut
> '(We) will meet both light skinned (people) and dark skinned (people)'.

The case marker -*ming* 'with, together, along with' can also be suffixed to a pair of nouns or pronouns: *ching-ming na·-song-ming* 'both we and you all', *mi-ming ja-ba-ming* 'both rice and curry'. Nominalized verbs can also be joined with -*ba*'s: *dal·-a-ba chon-a-ba* 'both big ones and small ones'. Tensed verbs cannot take the suffix -*ba*, but they can be conjoined implicitly simply by being placed side by side. They are linked by having the same series of suffixes:

> *Jil-ma cha·-jok ring-jok.*
> crowd eat-Prf drink-Prf
> 'A crowd ate and drank'.

> *Dal·-ing-a   chon-ing-a.*
> big-Prog-Neut small-Prog-Neut
> '(They are both) big and small'.

In addition to these ways of joining words and phrases, which are presumably old and native Garo, Mandi speakers have borrowed the word *ar* from Bengali and use it in a way that is close in both meaning and syntax to English 'and'. It is well assimilated into the language and is used freely to join two nouns, two verbs, or two longer phrases:

> *Ang-a   chi-ni ar   hol-di-ko bre-jok.*
> I-Nomn sugar and turmeric buy-Prf
> 'I bought sugar and turmeric'.

> *Ang-a   ring-na   ar   cha·-na nang-no-a.*
> I-Nomn drink-Inf and   eat-Inf need-Fut
> 'I will need to drink and eat'.

> *Ang-a   Gai-ra-cha re·-ang-no ar   Jal-cha-tra-cha re·-ang-no-a.*
> I-Nomn Gaira-Loc go-Fut   and Jalchatra-Loc   go-Fut
> 'I will go to Gaira and go to Jalchatra'.

It is even possible to use *ar* along with suffixed -*ba*'s, although the *ar* is redundant and optional:

Ang-a   nang·-ni bil-ang-o-ba   grap-a-ming (ar)
I-Nomn you-Gen fly-away-LNomz cry-Neut-Pst and
bi-ni   bil-ang-o-ba   grap-a-ming
he-Gen fly-away-LNomz-also cry-Neut-Pst
'I cried when you flew away (by plane) and cried also when he flew away'.

Some speakers in the Garo Hills, where Bengali influence is less strong, use *a-ro* instead of *ar* to mean 'and'. Occasionally even Modhupur Mandis use *a-ro* in this way, but in Modhupur *a-ro* is more often used to mean 'more' or 'moreover', which is closer to its Bengali sense:

A-ro chu   ring-no-a.
more rice-beer drink-Fut
'(I) will drink more rice-beer'.

Ang-a   mi cha·-jok-ming, in-di-ba a-ro   cha·-na nang-no-a.
I-Nomn rice eat-Prf-Pst   but   more eat-Inf need-will
'I have eaten (my) meal but need to eat more'.

Ang-a   chol-a ar   pa-ja-ma gan-a, aro   ur-na-ba
I-Nomn shirt   and   trousers   wear,   in addition sash
chin-na   nang-no-a.
dress-Imp need-Fut
'I am wearing a shirt and trousers, moreover (I) need a sash'.

Ar-ba is used only in negative sentences and, together with the negative, it means 'no more, not anymore': *ar-ba dong-ja-jok* 'there is no more', *ar-ba re·-ba-ja-na-jok* 'will not come any more'.

A-ro-ba is used only in positive sentences, where it means 'and also, in addition': *a-ro-ba re·-ang-no-a* 'and also (I) will go'.

Occasionally, Mandis even use the more elaborate and explicit Bengali *e-bong* which also means 'and' or 'in addition'.

The sense of 'but' is often conveyed with the final noun suffix *-de*: *Ang-a cha·-no-a, bi-a-de cha·-ja-no-a* 'I will eat but he will not'. In addition, Garo has closer native equivalents for 'but' than it does for 'and'. *In-di-ba*, or in Mandi, *hin-di-ba* or even *hin·-di-ba* with a raka (glottal stop), can connect two clauses with a meaning close to 'but':

Ang-a   re·-ang-na a·-sik-a-ming,   in-di-ba ang-ni
I-Nomn go-Inf   want-Neut-Pst but   I-Gen
man-de   jom-ing-a-ni   gim-in   re·-ang-na man·-ja.
spouse (person) sick-Prog-Nomz-Gen because go-Inf   can-Neg
'I would like to go, but because my spouse is sick I cannot go'.

The closely related *in-di-o-ba* (or *hin-di-o-ba* in Mandi) means 'but anyway' or 'in spite of':

    Ang-ni man-de   jom-ing-a,   in-di-o-ba   ang-a
    I-Gen   spouse (person) sick-Prog-Neut but anyway I-Nomn
re·-ang-no-a.
go-Fut
    'My spouse is sick, but I will go anyway'.

Mandi speakers also occasionally use the Bengali *kin-tu*, which is equivalent to *in-di-ba*, and *to-bu*, which is equivalent to *in-di-o-ba*, even when the rest of their sentence is in Mandi.

Ba can be used between two nouns to mean 'or'. As a suffix *-ba* means 'also', but when two nouns are joined with the *-ba* that means 'also', both must have the suffix. When *ba* means 'or' only one is used. Intonational differences between the suffix and the conjunction also help to avoid ambiguity. When 'or' is intended, the syllable is more clearly separated from the preceding word by juncture and stress than when the meaning is 'also':

    Ang-a   ba na·-a i·-ang-na nang-no-a.
    I-Nomn or you   go-Inf   need-Fut
    'I or you will have to go'.

    Ang-a-ba na·-a-ba i·-ang-na nang-no-a.
    I-also   you-also go-Inf   need-Fut
    'I and you will both have to go'.

A more explicit way of saying 'or' is with *ong·-ja-o-de*, literally 'if (it) is not': *Ro-nen ong·-ja-o-de bi-ni jik-gip-a* 'Ronen or if (it is) not (him) his wife':

    Mik-git-al ong·-ja-o-de ju-mang nik-no-a.
    Awake   be-Neg-if   dream   see-Fut
    'If (he) is not awake, (he) will dream', '(He) is awake, or (he) will dream'.

Clausal links. Garos often link two sentences together by means of a word that means little more than 'and then' or 'and so'. It is difficult to find clear criteria by which to decide whether this should count as a conjunction that joins the two shorter sentences into a single longer sentence, or instead, serves as an introduction to a new sentence. A considerable variety of forms are used for this linking, but they seem hardly to differ in meaning: *u-ni-ko, i-ni-ko, u·-ni-ko, i·-ni-ko, u-ni-ku-no, i-ni-ku-no, u·-ni-ku-no, i·-ni-ku-no* and sometimes even *in-di-tan*. As if such variability is not enough, a variety of Bengali forms have been taken into Mandi that are sometimes

used in much the same way: *tar-por, tar-po-re, ta-ba-de, tar-ba-de, tar-ba-de-se, ta-har, ta-ho-le, tai-le, ta-le, to-le, ta, te*. Perhaps this is the kind of variation that is allowed when there is no clear written standard that defines or restricts what is regarded as a real part of the language:

Hal-u-a-ghat mi-son skul-o   po-ri-a.   I·-ni-ko da·-a-ba ang-ko
Haluaghat   mission school-Loc study-Neut then   again   I-Acc
Bi-ri-si-ri-cha wat-et-a-ming, po-ri-na.
Birisiri-Loc   send-Neut-Pst study-Inf

'(I) studied at Haluaghat mission school. And then again, (they) sent me to Birisiri, to study'.

I-ni-ko i·-ni   ja·-man-o   da·-o-ba rang-ko   dok-ang-na-jok.
then   this-Gen after-Loc   again   gong-Acc beat-begin-IFut
'Then, after this again, (we) began to beat the gongs'.

I·-ni-ku-no am-bi   ang-ko   jil-na   ra·-ang-a.
then   grandmother I-Acc   raise-Inf take-Neut
'Then, grandmother took me to bring up'.

Ak-sa   man-de bi·-sa, u-a a-pa   a-ma-ni   ko-ta-ko
Cls-one person child   that father mother-Gen word-Acc-also
kin-a-ja-no-a-ming,   u-ni-ku-no song-ni   dal·-gip-a-ni
hear-Nomz-Neg-Fut-Pst then   village-Gen big-one-Gen
ko-ta-ko-ba   kin-a-ja-no-a-ming.
words-Acc-also hear-Nomz-Neg-Fut-Pst

'A child, would not listen to the words of his father and mother, and then would not listen to the words of the big ones of the village' (i.e. he would not obey).

Reduplication (C)

The final two sections of this chapter describe processes that are both phonological and grammatical. Reduplication is a widespread process that effects many parts of speech and its uses will be summarized in this section. The final section with then consider echoes and anticipations. Echoes repeat some of the sounds of the preceding word but add more bulk than meaning to the word. Phonological anticipations reduplicate some or all of an initial syllable.

Reduplication is a pervasive process in the language and it has been dealt with in these pages along with the word classes where it is found. Here I will only summarize and compare the various types. Reduplication

is used to convey three different meanings, plurality, a distributive sense,
and continuing or repetitive actions.

Plurality. Several kinds of words can be reduplicated to give the sense
of plurality. Important among these are questions words:

> *Sa-sa   re·-ang-no-a?*
> who-who go-Fut
> 'Who all will go?'.

> *Mo·-na-mo·-na   i·-ba-a?*
> why-Dat-why-Dat come-Neut
> 'For what reasons have you come?'.

> *Ba-gip-a-ba-gip-a   man-de-ba dong-ja.*
> which-Nomn-which-Nomn person-Ind be at-Neg
> 'I wonder which people are not here'.

The meaning can change depending upon how much appears to be
reduplicated, and the first of the following two examples is not really a
reduplication. The two *sa-ming*s refer to different people, as do the 'who'
and 'whom' of the English translation. *Sa-sa-ming* of the second example
is a genuine reduplication:

> *Sa-ming sa-ming   re·-ang-no-a?*
> who-with who-with go-Fut
> "Who will go with whom?'.

> *Sa-sa-ming   re·-ang-no-a?*
> who-who-with go-Fut
> 'Who all will (you) go with?'.

Indefinite *-ba* words and nominalized verbs can also be reduplicated to
show plurality:

> *Sa-sa-ba   re·-ang-a, ang-a-de hai·-ja.*
> who-who-Ind go-Neut   I-but   know-Neg
> 'Who all goes?, I do not know, I don't know who all goes'.

> *Chon-a-chon-a   ron·-bo!*
> small-Neut-small-Neut give-Imp
> 'Give (me) some small ones!'

> *bi-jak king-ma-king-ma*
> leaf   Cls-big-Cls-big
> 'big leaves'

A number of the defective nouns that are used as modifiers can be reduplicated to indicate plurality: *gip-in-gip-in* 'others', from *gip-in* 'another'; *ro-kom-ro-kom* 'kinds' (see the section "Defective Nouns" earlier in this chapter).

Si-jok-o   man-de-de ro-kom-ro-kom   dak-i-min-a ong·-kat-min-a,
die-LNomz person   kinds-kinds   do-having   come out-having
jang-gi.
soul
'When a man dies, having done various kinds of things, the soul emerges'.

Distributive sense. Numerals and numbers can be reduplicated to give a distributive sense: *rong-bri-bri cha·-a-ming* '(they) ate four each', *pak-sa-pak-sa-ko chok-bo* 'write on only one side of each', *kan-sa-kan-sa-ko ron·-bo* 'give one to each'. See section on "Numeral Suffixes and Reduplication" in Chapter 10, "Numerals".

Continuing or Repetitive sense. A number of verbs with meanings that describe continuous or repetitive action have a reduplicated or partially reduplicated form: *sim-sim-a* 'grow dark, as at sunset' from *sim-a* 'to be black, dark', *tim·-tim-a* 'rumble, of thunder, a motor, or a train', *hil·-hil·-a* 'rumble, of thunder or an engine', *rip-rip-a* 'rain a few drops', *dim-dim-a* 'burn vigorously'.

Many adverbial affixes also have a reduplicated form, often, though by no means always, carrying a sense of repeated or continuous action: *-jem-jem-* 'continuously', *-pak-pak-* 'a lot, heavily, as of rain', *-bek-bek-* 'freely, continuously', *-rik-rik-* 'repeatedly, piece by piece'.

A high proportion of adverbs show partial or full reduplication. Here, reduplication indicates not so much a specific meaning as the class to which the word belongs. Reduplicated adverbs have all sorts of meanings, but a good many do suggest a continuing or repetitive sense: *pil-eng-pil-ung* 'rocking back and forth, like a boat', *gu-rung-ga-rang* 'aimlessly, of roaming about', *da·-an-da·-an* 'often, again and again' from *da·-an* 'in a little while, soon'. When adverbs with an *-e* suffix are reduplicated, they usually gain a sense of continuous or repetitive action: *tim-e-tim-e* 'secretly, in hiding', implies that the hiding lasts for some time. Adverbial reduplication is described in the first section of this chapter.

One verb suffix is never used except with a reduplicated verb and its explicit meaning is protracted action. When *-te* is the principal verb suffix the whole verb is always reduplicated. The pair then means that the action continues over an extended period: *i·-ang-te i·-ang-te* 'going and going, continue to go'.

Bangla ku·-sik-ko-ba   ku·-rang-ko a-gan-te a-gan-te,
Bengali language-Acc-also sound-Acc   speaking-speaking
an·-tang-ni ku·-rang-ko-in nam-nik-ja-no-a.
own-Gen   sound-Acc-Frg like-Neg-Fut

'By continuously speaking Bengali (one) will dislike the sound of (one's) own language'.

Other partial reduplications. Garo allows some other words, parts of words, and parts of phrases to be repeated in ways that have less specific meanings than those just described. While not strictly reduplications, these add to the repetitive and echoing nature of the language.

More nouns have partial reduplication than would be expected by sheer chance, but these words do not convey any consistent meaning: *beng-beng-ka-ri* 'a bee that makes honey', *gu-ang-dom-dom-pa* 'a kind of spider that lives in the forest', *ha·-rong-rong* 'sloping land'.

Echoes and anticipations are partial reduplications, but they add more rhetorical color than concrete meaning to a speaker's flow or words (see the next section.)

Finally, certain balanced constructions should be noted. These are not true reduplications. Nevertheless, the two parts of the construction echo each other in ways that are reminiscent of reduplications. Balanced questions are particularly important: *Neng·-jok-ma, neng·-ku-ja?* 'Are you tired (or) not yet tired?' (See Chapter 14, "Restructuring".)

Echoes and Anticipations (C)

Mandis often increase the bulk of a word by adding syllables that either anticipate the sounds to come, or that echo the sounds that have just past. These anticipations and echoes add color to a speaker's style, and people explain clearly that they are used to make the language sound better. They make speech more pleasing to hear, or make it seem more important. They include some productive reduplications that are little more than phonological manipulations, but the language also has a large number of conventionalized reduplications.

Anticipations: -de. Almost any word can be expanded by reduplicating its first syllable and putting -*de* between the two identical syllables. There appear to be no restrictions on the parts of speech to which this expansion can apply. Anticipations with -*de* are often used in negative sentences, but they are not restricted to them. When used with a verb, the construction conveys a special assurance that the act was carried out as stated or, if the sentence is negative, that it was not carried out. With

words belonging to other parts of speech, *-de* calls special attention to that word. This expansion is not used easily with one syllable words, however. It seems to need the phonological balance of two syllables: *re·-de-re·-ang-ja* 'no indeed, he did not go', *re·-de-re·-ang-a-in* 'he did indeed go', *cha·-de-cha·-jok* 'has indeed eaten' (verb), *a-de-a-chak* 'dog' (noun), *sak-de-sak-sa* 'one person' (numeral), *ok-de-ok-ki-sa* 'a little' (defective noun), *ang-de-ang-a-in* 'I' (pronoun).

Occasionally more than a single syllable is reduplicated with the *-de* inserted after two or three syllables: *me-de-me-seng-a, me-seng-de-me-seng-a, me-seng-a-de-me-seng-a* 'sour'.

-ba: The syllable *-ba* can form an anticipation in the same way as *-de*. With a negative verb, *-ba* implies that some instruction was not carried out or that some expectation was left unmet: *re·-ba-re·-ang-ja* '(you) didn't go as was expected of you!', *re·-ba-re·-ang-a-in* '(you) did go', *nam-ba-nam-a* 'good', *me-seng-ba-me-seng-a* 'sour'.

-in, -an. Either *-in* or *-an* can form anticipations similar to those formed by *-de* and *-ba*, except that *-in* and *-an* are restricted to negative verbs. They are used neither with positive verbs nor with other parts of speech. As with *-ba* and *-de* these are most often added to the first syllable of a word, but they can occasionally be placed after two or three syllables: *re·-in-re·-ba-ja-ing-a* 'not going', *re·-ang-tok-in-re·-ang-tok-ja* 'not all go', *a-in-a-song-ja* 'not sit', *gu-in-gu-al-ja* or *gu-al-in-gu-al-ja* 'not forget'.

A final type of anticipatory reduplication occurs when the first consonant and first vowel of a word are repeated and the syllable completed with an *-n*. That syllable is then placed before the word, and it contributes a sense of thoroughness. This is usually done with negative verbs: *kan-kat-ja* 'not run at all', *kin-kin-a-ja-ing-a* 'not hear at all', *gan-ga-du-ja* 'don't climb at all, *don-dong-ja* 'none at all', *an-a-song-ja* 'don't sit at all'.

It is a curious fact that three of the syllables with which anticipations can be formed, *de, ba* and *-in* are homophonous with final noun suffixes. Even *-an*, which is an alternative to *-in*, is also an alternative of *-in* as a final noun suffix, but it is used more often by A·chik speakers than by Mandis. The only final noun suffix that has no equivalent here is *-sa/-ha* 'only'. I have tried, but failed, to persuade speakers to use *-sa* or *-ha* to form anticipations. I can see no similarity in meaning between the final noun suffixes and these anticipatory syllables, and I find the coincidence in form quite strange.

Echoes. The anticipations just described come at the beginning of words. Echoes come at the end. Echoes are more like full words than are anticipations. They almost always have the same number of syllables as the words they echo, and they almost always repeat some of the conso-

nants and vowels as well, but they are not identical to the earlier word. Some of the echoes are little more than phonological fill, but echoes are considerably more varied and complex than the more mechanical phonological anticipations. Some echoes are used as independent words with a similar, but generally not identical, meaning as the word that they echo. The echo construction is salient enough for native speakers to recognize it clearly, and to have given it a name: *ku·-pa me-li-a* 'words that go well together, harmonious words'. People enjoy the echoes and feel that they make the language more graceful and interesting.

The most productive and least imaginative echoes repeat a word except for a change in the first consonant. Often, the echo is given an initial *t-*. Any word at all can be echoed in this way, though some are more likely candidates than others, and nouns are probably the favorite choice: *pu-kur tu-kur* 'tank, constructed pond for water', *pul tul* 'flowers', *me·-chik te·-chik* 'women', *me·-a-sa te·-a-sa* 'men', *gam-u tam-u* 'work'.

Instead of changing the initial to *t-*, other modest changes can be made that are less productive and more idiosyncratic and conventionalized: *al-si-a mal-si-a* 'lazy', *me·-chik mo·-chik* 'women', *ja-brang-e ju-brang-e* 'worried, frightened'.

Other echoes deviate more from the base word. These are well conventionalized, but they add no meaning to the base word except for an indication that it is important in the sentence, for it is important words that attract echoes. Some well conventionalized echoes are phonologically quite different from the word they echo: *a-je-a an·-cha-a* 'to chant in a special way', *rang·-kan-ta chu·-kan-ta* 'angry', *dong-ru-rak dong-su-sak* 'restless, wiggly', *kat-ru-rak kat-su-sak* 'running back and forth', *git-ak-a gi-jem-a* 'cut into small pieces', *wa-chi wa-da* 'rainy season'. A very few echoes even have a different number of syllables from their antecedent: *bret-a man-chal-a* 'burst'.

A few words can be used as echoes with more than one word. *Mai-ja*, in particular, can be used to echo almost any negative verb, and it can violate the usual rule that the number of syllables is preserved in the echo. Since the verb base can vary, it is only the *-ja* that actually provides the echo: *cha·-ja mai-ja* 'does not eat', *re·-ang-ja mai-ja* 'does not go', *a-gan-ja mai-ja* 'does not talk'. A particularly common use of *mai-ja* is in *dong-ja mai-ja* 'does not exist'.

Echoes amount to partial reduplications, and any part of speech may have an echo. Most adverbs have some degree of reduplication, and some reduplicated adverbs differ little from echoes. *Ding-dang* is a common word meaning 'different'. It is possible to build this word into an echoing pair by adding *-ga-dang* and forming a new word, *ding-dang-ga-dang*. The added

ga-dang hardly changes the meaning, but unlike most echoes, it does change the grammatical category of the word. *Ding-dang-ga-dang* is an adverb that can modify a verb, while the original *ding-dang* is a nominal that can modify a noun. The adverbial form is like that of many other adverbs, with identical second and fourth syllables and a meaningless *-ga-* as the third syllable, but it is formed in very much the same way as an echoing pair. In *ding-dang-ko chokꞏ-bo* 'write (something) different' *ding-dang* is a nominal with an accusative suffix, and it is the object of the verb *chok-bo* 'write (imperative)'. In *ding-dang-ga-dang chok-bo* 'write differently' *ding-dang-ga-dang* is an adverb that modifies *chok-bo* 'write'. Echoing pairs, then, grade into reduplicated adverbs.

Echoing pairs also grade into a different kind of word pair. The wife-husband words (described in Chapter 8, "Nouns") are pairs of words that have related but different meanings. When used together, the pair generally has a more abstract meaning than either word does when used alone. Unlike ordinary echoes, wife-husband words need not have any phonological similarity. Nevertheless, some conventional pairs that imply an abstract sense, and that therefore count as wife-husband words, also have some echoing phonology so that they count as echo words as well. Some wife-husband words have no common phonology and some echoing pairs have meaningless second members, so a pair can be either echoing or a wife-husband word without being both. Some pairs are both, however, so it is impossible to draw a sharp line between echoes and wife-husband words.

The pair *sut-kut* 'fine clothes, dress up clothes', for example, nicely illustrates the overlap between echoing pairs and wife-husband words, at the same time that it illustrates borrowing. *Sut* comes from English 'suit' and *kut* from 'coat', but since the meaning of *sut-kut* is more generalized and abstract than the meanings of its parts, it counts as a fine wife-husband word. The words do not rhyme in English, but they do in Mandi, so they also form a satisfying echoing pair.

Borrowings of both echoing pairs and wife-husband words from Bengali are much more common than borrowings from English, because Bengali and Garo have very similar echoes and they can be easily borrowed whole: *o-suk be-suk* 'illness', *ni-ti ri-ti* 'law, custom', *nas-ta nos-ta* 'breakfast', *mon-tro ton-tro* 'ritual chant, mantra', *bi-sun ti-sun* 'seeds'. The echoing portions of these pairs are as meaningless in Bengali as in Mandi, but the first parts have been borrowed as ordinary words, and the echoes have come along with them. Quite possibly the entire process of echoing was borrowed from Bengali, but if so it has become a very well established process in Mandi. My examples all come from Mandi, but echoes are not limited to the dialects that have been most strongly impacted by Bengali. They are also found in

A·chik where borrowing has been much less intense than in Mandi.

Echoes begin as phonological expansions and with little meaning of their own. Nevertheless, well established echoes are used repeatedly with the same antecedent so they have plenty of chance to be infected by the earlier word's meaning, and speakers will sometimes explain the meaning of what seems to be an echo as if it is an independent word. It seems quite possible that, now and then, an echo manages to escape the companionship of its antecedent and starts to be used as an independent word with the same or closely related meaning. It is difficult to be confidant in particular cases, however, because two independent words are sometimes coupled together in what could be mistaken for an echo, as in some kata jik-se (wife-husband words).

COMPLEX NOUN PHRASES

The final three chapters of this book deal with syntax, the patterns by which words are joined into phrases and by which phrases are joined into larger clauses and sentences. A considerable part of what counts as syntax in many languages occurs, in Garo, within the words. The earlier chapters have described the ways in which words are constructed from smaller bits, and since Garo words are so long and so freely and productively constructed, much of what other languages do by joining words is accomplished, in Garo, by joining the smaller bits into words. The description of certain classes of morphemes, such as conjunctions, relatives, and even case markers, also had to deal with the larger constructions into which these morphemes enter. What remains is to consider the more general patterns that build up various sorts of phrases and sentences. This chapter describes a number of ways by which verbs can be made into nouns or incorporated into noun phrases. These constructions require a verb to be nominalized. This brings great flexibility to noun phrases, but it also comes at the cost of considerable complexity. Chapter 13 will describe how clauses can be joined together to create more complex sentences, and Chapter 14 will consider several ways in which, once they have been formed, sentences can be reorganized.

Nominalized Verbs as Clause Constituents (C)

Once verbs have been nominalized by either -*a* or -*gip-a*, they can be used in much the same way as ordinary nouns. Among other things, they can act as arguments of a verb, as subjects, objects, locatives, and so forth, and they can take case markers to show just how they are related to the verb. A nominalized verb can take any of the case markers. Unlike an ordinary noun, however, a nominalized verb can bring arguments into

the new sentence. In other words, it is really the whole clause, not just the verb, that is nominalized, though of course the verb need not have any arguments at all.

Verbs nominalized with -*a* generally have a somewhat abstract sense, somewhat like an English verb with -*ing*. Nominalizations with *gip-a* have more concrete meanings, and often refer to the "one who" performs the action of the verb. In the following pair of examples, the -*a* nominalization is used for the abstract act, while the -*gip-a* nominalization is used for the actor.

Ra·-sot-a-ko nik-a-ming. '(I) saw the butchering'.

Ra·-sot-gip-a-ko nik-a-ming. '(I) saw the butcher'.

When a clause that has a subject as well as a verb is nominalized, the subject is put into the genitive case. When this nominalized clause becomes a subordinate clause within a larger sentence, the genitive case distinguishes the subject of the subordinate clause from the subject of the main clause, which, of course, is nominative. In the following sentence, *ang-a* 'I' is nominative and it is the subject of *kin-a-a* 'listen to' which is the main verb of the sentence. *Bi-ni* 'his' is the subject of *ring·-a-ko*, a nominalized form for *ring·-a* 'sing'. This nominalized verb has the accusative case marker -*ko*, showing it to be the object of *kin-a-a*:

Ang-a   bi-ni   giit   ring·-a-ko   kin-a-a.
I-Nomn he-Gen song sing-Nomz-Acc hear-Neut
'I listen to his singing songs, I hear him sing songs'.

Nominative: -a, -gip-a . Nominalized verbs can take the full range of case markers, but in the nominative there is, of course, no overt marker at all. Nominative nominalizations in -*a* are common as modifiers of verbs. The simple -*a* is a bit short and indistinctive to serve in other capacities as a nominalizer, but examples do occur:

Ang-ni go-tat-a   til·-ang-e man-di-ko   nang-jok.
I-Gen   throw-at-Nomz fly-Sub   person-Acc hit-Prf
'My throw (of something), flying, hit the man'.

Nominative nominalizations in -*gip-a* have a bit more substance and so are less likely to give rise to ambiguity:

Dal·-gip-a ga·-ak-jok.
big-Nomz fall down-Prf
'The big one fell down'.

Mi   cha·-gip-a chi   ring-ing-a.
rice eat-Nomz water   drink-Prog-Neut
'The rice eater is drinking water'.

Accusative: -a-ko, -gip-a-ko. Nominalized verbs are often used with the accusative *-ko*:

Ang-a   bi-ni   sa-wi-a-ko   chak-chik-na man·-ja-jok.
I-Nomn he-Gen insults-Nomz-Acc   endure-Inf   can-Neg-Prf
'I can't stand his insults any more'.

Bi-ni   a-gan-a-ko   da·-a   be-be ra·-a-bo.
he-Gen talk-Nomz-Acc NImp   true   take-NImp
'Don't believe his talking, don't believe what he says'.

Chau·-kok-ni kat-ang-a-ko   nik-a-ming.
thief-Gen   run-away-Nomz-Acc see-Neut-Pst
'(I) saw the thief running away'.

Si-gip-a-ko   den·-na man·-a.
dead-Nomz-Acc cut-Inf may-Neut
'You may cut the dead ones'.

The negative of the nominalizer *-a* is *-gi-ja* and the negative of *-gip-a* is *-gi-ja-gip-a*. The negative forms enter the same constructions as the positive ones:

Ang-ni ha·-sik-gi-ja-ko   ang-a   a-gan-jok.
I-Gen   want-NNomz-Acc I-Nomz   say-Prf
'I said my non-wishes, I said what I didn't want'.

Ang-a   ka-li dong-gi-ja-gip-a-ko   gal-jok.
I-Nomn ink   have-Neg-Nomz-Acc throw away-Prf
'I threw away the one without ink'.

Dative: -a-na, -gip-a-na. Nominalizations with *-a* and the dative case marker *-na* often suggest a reason, or some degree of causality. In some cases 'because' may be a suitable translation, but in others something more like 'since' or even 'being the case' would give a better idea of the sense. With *gip-a, -na* more often indicates a recipient, just like many ordinary datives:

Bi-ni   dok-a-na   ang-a   ga·-ak-a.
he-Gen hit-Nomz-Dat I-Nomn fall-Neut

'I fell due to his hitting'.

Bi-ni   sok-ba-ring-ja-na   ang-a   re·-ang-a-ri-jok.
he-Gen arrive-here-right-time-Neg-Dat I-Nomn go-just-Prog-Prf
'Since he didn't arrive on time, I just left'.

Ha·-nem·-a-na, mi-ko   cha·-na   man·-ja-jok.
dirty-Nomz-Dat rice-Acc eat-Inf   can-Neg-Prf
'The rice cannot be eaten because of dirt'.

Ang-ni grap-a-na   bi-song ang-ko sing·-a   "ma·-na
I-Gen   cry-Nomz-Dat they   I-Acc   ask-Neut what-Dat
grap-ing-a?"
cry-Prog-Neut
'Because of my crying they asked me "why (are you) crying?" '

Ra·-sot-gip-a-na   on·-a-ming.
butcher-Nomz-Dat give-Neut-Pst
'(I) gave it to the one who butchered'.

Genitive: a-ni, a-gip-a-ni. Most nominalizations with *-ni* precede postpositions: *re·-ang-a-ni ja·-man-o* 'after going', *ang-ni gu-al-a-ni gim-in* 'because of my forgetting, because I forgot'. It is entirely possible, however, for nominalizations with *-ni* to be ordinary possessives:

Kat-gip-a-ni   chol-a-ko kat-gip-a-na   ron·-bo.
run-Nomz-Gen shirt-Acc run-Nomz-Dat give-Imp
'Give the runner's shirt to the runner'.

A nominalization with *-ni* can also indicate an abstract sense of the verb:

Cha·-a-ni   ji-nis ong·-ja.
eat-Nomz-Gen thing be-Neg
'(These) are not edible things'.

Bang·-e   sa·-dik-a-ni   ong·-ja.
much-Sub hurt-Nomz-Gen be-Neg
'(It) is not very painful'.

Like other genitives, those used with nominalized verbs can be followed by other case markers:

Ra·-sot-a-ni-ko   be·-en ra·-rik-bo.
butcher-Nomz-Gen-Acc meet   take-Imp
"Get meat from the butchering'.

A-gan-a-ni-ko   seng-ja, an·-tang dra-e-min-a kam-ko
talk-Nomz-Gen-Acc wait-Neg own   force-Sub   work-Acc
dak-a.
do-Neut
'Not waiting for talk (instructions), (he) does the work forcefully, himself'.

Locative: -a-o, -gip-a-o. Nominalizations that are used together with locative *-o* indicate the location where something happens. In this use, the locative has a spatial rather than a temporal sense. For a temporal sense, *-o* acts as its own nominalizer:

Bi-ni   ti-bi ni-gip-a-o   ang-a-ba   re·-ba-a.
he-Gen TV   look-Nomz-Loc   I-Nomn-also come-Neut
'I also came to the place of his watching TV'.

Ang-ni chi   ring-a-o   da·-a ring-a.
I-Gen   water drink-Nomz-Loc   NImp drink-Neut
'Don't drink where I drink, at my drinking place'.

Te-bil-ni   ok-ki-sa chel·-a-o   kan-sa boi   dong-a.
table-Gen a little   far-Nomz-Loc Cls-one book exist-Neut
'There is a book at a little distance from the table'.

-a-git-a, -a-gip-a-git-a. Nominalizations when used with *-git-a* mean 'like, as, in the manner of':

Ang-ni a-gan-a-git-a   dak-bo.
I-Gen   talk-Nomz-like do-Imp
'Do as I say'.

Jal   dong-kan, bi-ni   ha·-sik-a-git-a. Mo·-na rim-ang-a?
whatever be at-Imp he-Gen wish-Nomz-like why   take-away-Neut
'Let (him) be according to his wishes. Why take (him) away?' (as might be said to someone worrying that his child may be making a disturbance).

Kat-gip-a-rang-ni   kat-gip-a-git-a da·-cha-deng-e   dong-a-bo.
run-Nomz-Plu-Gen run-Nomz-like NImp-stand-Sub be at-NImp
'Don't stand where the runner runs'.

-a-ming, -a-gip-a-ming. Nominalizations used with *-ming* mean 'with, along with': *kat-gip-a-ming* 'along with the runner, with the one who runs'.

Relative Clauses (C)

A relative clause allows a sentence to be turned into a noun phrase. For example, a simple English sentence such as *The man is laughing* can be turned into the noun phrase *the man who is laughing*. *Who is laughing* is a relative clause which is introduced by the relative pronoun *who* and this relative clause now modifies *the man*. This noun phrase can be thought

of as being derived from a sentence, but once it has been turned into a noun phrase it can become a constituent of a larger sentence. Since relative clauses allow sentences to become noun phrases, and since noun phrases become constituents of sentences, there is a potential here for an infinite regress into infinite complexity. Sentences can contain noun phrases which can, themselves, contain sentences, and so on. Of course there are practical limits on the number of steps that are taken when real people produce real sentences, but in both Garo and in English relative clauses do contribute greatly to the complexity of sentences, as well as to their versatility.

A relative clause allows a verb to be used as a modifier of a noun. In the example just given, *is laughing* starts as a verb, but it ends as a modifier of *man*. In Garo, verbs and modifiers are more closely related than in English, and most of the words that modify nouns start as verbs. Before they can be used as modifiers, however, Garo verbs must be "nominalized" by placing a nominalizing suffix in the position of the principal verb suffix. In Garo, even the simplest modifiers are nominalized verbs. *Sim-bra-gip-a man-de* 'the person who is lonely, the lonely person' is formed from the verb *sim-bra-a* 'to be lonely' that has been nominalized as *sim-bra-gip-a*. Modifying verbs were described in Chapter 6, "Verbs", and in the section on "Modifying Verbs" in Chapter 9, "Nominals". It is the more complex constructions into which nominalized verbs enter that will be described here.

A nominalized verb is all that it takes to form a simple Garo modifier that acts like an English adjective. More complex modifiers, those that are more like English relative clauses, are formed from sentences that have two or more arguments. *Man-de jik-na sim-bra-a* 'the man is lonely for (his) wife' is a sentence whose verb has two arguments, the nominative *man-de* 'man' and the dative *jik-na* 'for (his) wife'. This sentence can be made into a noun phrase consisting of *man-de* and a relative clause *jik-na sim-bra-gip-a* 'who is lonely for (his) wife'. Here the dative argument has been pulled into the modifier along with the verb, and the full noun phrase is *jik-na sim-bra-gip-a man-de* 'the man who is lonely for (his) wife'. In English, relative clauses follow the noun they modify and are often marked with a relative pronoun such as 'who'. Mandi relative clauses almost always precede the noun, and they are marked with a nominalizer such as *-gip-a*. Single word modifiers such as *sim-bra-gip-a*, on the other hand, can go either before or after the noun. The difference in freedom of word order distinguishes simple modifiers from relative clauses, although both are constructed in much the same way. I will restrict the term "relative clause" to clauses that are more complex than a single nominalized verb.

Increasingly complex sentences allow increasingly complex relative clauses. We can start with the sentence shown in the next example that is

constructed from the verb *den·-a-ming* 'chopped', and four arguments: a nominative subject, a time locative, an instrumental, and a direct object.

> *Me·-chik skang-o   ru-a-cha a·-bol-ko   den·-a-ming.*
> women   previously-Loc axe-Inst firewood-Acc cut-Neut-Pst
> 'Women previously chopped the firewood with an axe'.

This sentence can be turned into a noun phrase in which the noun *a·-bol* 'firewood' is modified by a preceding relative clause that is made from the other three arguments together with the now-nominalized verb:

> *me·-chik-ni skang-o   ru-a-cha den·-gip-a a·-bol*
> women-Gen previously-Loc axe-Inst   cut-Nomz firewood
> 'firewood that was previously chopped by the women'

The resulting noun phrase can then be inserted into a larger sentence. (Mandi women, it should be noted, really do chop the firewood):

> *Me·-chik-ni skang-o   ru-a-cha den·-gip-a a·-bol-cha   wal*
> women-Gen previously-Loc axe-Inst   chop-Nomz firewood-Inst fire

su-bo.
burn

'Burn the fire with the wood that the women previously cut with the axe'.

Notice that the subject of this relative clause has changed from the nominative to the genitive case, from *me·-chik* to *me·-chik-ni*. Most dependent clauses in Garo have genitive subjects. Note also, that what was once the direct object, *a·-bol*, has been "extracted" from the clause and placed at its end. *A·-bol* was the object of the original sentence but on being extracted it becomes the head of the resulting noun phrase. In the larger sentence in which the noun phrase is embedded, the former object now takes an instrumental case marker, or more accurately, the entire argument including its relative clause takes the instrumental case marker. The fact that it is an argument, and the fact that it is instrumental is indicated by its new case marker, *-cha*.

The word order of relative clauses is a bit more constrained than that of main clauses. In the simple sentence from which this relative clause was derived, the arguments of the verb might have appeared in any order with no more than slight variation in pragmatic emphasis. Now, the extracted argument must be last, and the verb must come just before it. The old subject (now a genitive) is more regularly placed first within the clause than is the subject of a simple clause, although even with relatives some alternatives are possible. In the example given just above, *skang-o* 'previously'

could have come first. Mandis tell me that it is even possible to place the
genitive *me·-chik-ni* after the instrumental *ru-a-cha* 'axe' but that sounds
exceedingly awkward to me.

In this example, it was the object of the former sentence that was
extracted and modified by the relative clause, but it is possible, instead,
to extract either the subject noun phrase or the instrumental noun phrase
and to form the relative clause from everything else in the sentence:

skang-o   *ru-a-cha a·-bol-ko*   *den·-gip-a me·-chik*
previously-Loc axe-Inst firewood-Acc   cut-Nomz women
'the women who previously cut the firewood with the axe'

skang-o   *me·-chik-ni a·-bol-ko*   *den·-gip-a ru-a*
previously-Loc women-Gen firewood-Acc   cut-Nomz axe
'the axe with which the women previously cut the firewood'

In each case, the extracted argument comes last and is immediately
preceded by the verb with its nominalizing suffix. Everything else, including
the verb, modifies the extracted argument.

From a different sentence, it is possible to extract a locative:

Mi-jen song-cha-na   *mi-rong-ko ra·-ang-a.*
Mijen   village-Loc-Aug rice-Acc   take-away-Neut
'Mijen took the rice to the village'.

Mi-jen-ni   *mi-rong-ko ra·-ang-gip-a*   *song*
Mijen-Gen rice-Acc   go-Nomz-Neut   village
'the village that Mijen took the rice to'

Either the object or the locative can be extracted from *Me-tra pi·-sa-ko*
nok-o nik-a 'The young woman saw the child at the house':

me-tra-ni   *nok-o*   *nik-gip-a   pi·-sa*
young woman-Gen house-Loc see-Nomz   child
'the child who the young woman saw at the house'

me-tra-ni   *bi·-sa-ko nik-gip-a   nok*
young woman-Gen child-Acc see-Nomz   house
'the house at which the young woman saw the child'

It is also possible to extract the subject of the underlying sentence
and to use it as the head of the resulting noun phrase. In this case all the
other nouns and noun phrases retain their original case markers. Unlike a
subject, none of these change from their original case:

nok-o   pi·-sa-ko nik-gip-a   me-tra
house-Loc child-Acc see-Nomz woman
'the woman who saw the child at the house'

pi·-sa-ming a·-ti-cha   re·-ang-gip-a man-de
child-with   market-Loc go-NOM   person
'the person who goes to the market with the child'

Locative Nominalizers (C)

Several verb suffixes are related to or derived from the locative case marker -*o*. These can be regarded as nominalizing suffixes, even though they do a less complete job of nominalizing than -*a* or -*gip-a*. On the one hand, a verb with a locative nominalizer can act as an argument of a verb, and if this nominalized verb has its own subject, then that subject is put into the genitive: *bi-ni sok-ba-o neng·-jok* 'at his arrival he was tired, he was tired when he arrived'. This much makes the -*o* seem much like the other nominalizers. On the other hand, case markers cannot be freely suffixed to the locative nominalizers and this sets them apart from -*a* and -*gip-a*. Thus the locative nominalizers form a transitional category, falling somewhere between full nominalizers, and the subordinating suffixes that will be considered in the next chapter. The -*o* of these suffixes needs to be understood as acting simultaneously as a nominalizer and as a case marker. It is the only case marker that can be suffixed directly to a verb base.

-o. The simplest of these locative nominalizers is -*o*, the same as, or homophonous with, the locative case marker, but suffixed to verb bases rather than to nouns. It should be noted that -*o* can be suffixed not only directly to a verb base, but also to a verb that has already been nominalized with -*a*. Thus from the verb base *dok-* 'hit', we have both *dok-o*, with a locative nominalizer, and *dok-a-o*, in which nominalization is accomplished with the -*a* after which the ordinary locative case marker -*o* is suffixed. When -*o* is suffixed directly to a verb base as a locative nominalizer, it always has a temporal meaning. When acting as an ordinary locative on a verb that has already been nominalized with -*a*, it has a spatial meaning. (See the examples given in the first section of this chapter "Nominalized Verbs as Clause Constituents".) The difference can be seen in the following pair of sentences:

Bol den·-o   chip-u dong-a-ming.
tree chop-LNomz snake   be at-Neut-Pst
'There was a snake when the wood was cut'.

Bol   den·-a-o   *chip-u   dong-a-ming.*
tree chop-Nomz-Loc snake   be at-Neut-Pst
'A snake was at (the place of) the wood cutting'.

In the next group of examples the locative nominalizer is suffixed directly to the verb base, so the meaning is temporal:

Bi-ni   dok-o   ang-a   ga·-ak-a.
he-Gen hit-LNomz I-Nomn fall-Neut
'At his hitting, I fall, When he hits, I fall'.

Ang-ni Gai-ra-cha kat-ang-o,   na·-a-de
I-Gen   Gaira-Loc   run-away-LNomz   you-Nomn-but
Pir-ga-cha-o-na   re·-ba-ku-ja.
Pirgacha-Loc-Aug come-yet-Neg
'At the time when I ran off to Gaira, you had not yet come to Pirgacha'.

Bi-ni   re·-ang-o ang-a   grap-ja-ming.
he-Gen go-LNomz I-Nomn cry-Neg-Pst
'I did not cry when he left'.

Of course, no subject is required:

Mi song·-o   me·-dik-ko   grip-a.
rice cook-Loc rice-pot-Acc cover-Neut
'When cooking rice, the pot is covered'.

The verb to which *-o* is suffixed can have other arguments than a subject:

U-a kam-ko   dak-na i·-ang-o   bang·-a kang-a-ni-rang.
that work-Acc do-Inf   go-LNomz much   block-Nomz-Gen-Plu
dong-a-ming.
be-Neut-Pst
'On going to do that work there were many blockages, there were many blockages from going to do that work'.

Ang-ni tom-tom-a-ni   nok-o   bi-a-de
I-Gen   peaceful-Nomz-Gen house-Loc   arrive-LNomz he-but
chu-jok.
sleep-Prf
'When I arrived at the peaceful house, he had gone to sleep'.

In these examples the subject of the main verb of the sentence is placed close to the verb, but it is often brought to the front of the sentence instead. In this case, the nominalized verb (the one with the locative *-o*) together

with its own arguments occurs between constituents of the main clause. Indeed it is quite like an embedded clause. In the following example *bi-a* refers to the person who dies and *bi-ni* refers to the person who sleeps. *bi-ni chu-o* 'at his sleeping, while he sleeps' is surrounded by parts of the main clause. The whole sentence is ambiguous, since the two pronouns could refer either to the same person or to different people, but there is no ambiguity about which pronoun goes with which verb:

> *Bi-a   bi-ni   chu-o   si-a.*
> he-Nomn he-Gen sleep-LNomz   died
> 'He died while he slept'.

-jok-o, -jok-o-no. This suffix is formed from the perfect tense marker *-jok* together with locative *-o*, and the meaning of the compound suffix reflects both of its parts. *-jok-o* differs in meaning from *-o* in indicating that its action is no longer in progress but has been completed. This corresponds to the meaning of *-jok*. If *-jok-o-no* has a different meaning from *-jok-o* I have failed to detect it. *-jok-o-no* appears to be no more than a slightly elaborated synonym. *Bi-ni sok-ba-jok-o ang-a kat-no-a* 'When he has arrived, I will run away'.

As with *-o*, the subject of a verb with *-jok-o* as its principal verb suffix must be genitive, but it need not be expressed:

> *Nang·-ni mi cha·-jok-o-no ang-na-ba mi ron·-bo.*
> you-Gen rice eat-LNomz   I-Dat-also rice give-Imp
> 'When you have eaten your rice, give me some too'

> *Nang·-ni re·-ang-jok-o-no ang-ko-ba   nang·-ming rim-ang-bo.*
> you-Gen go-LNomz   I-Acc-also you-with   take-Imp
> 'When you go, take me with you'.

> *Wal-jok-o-no ang-a   do-ga-ko   chip-et-no-a.*
> night-LNomz I-Nomn door-Acc   close-Caus-Fut
> 'When it has become night, I will close the door'.

The following two sentences differ only in the grammatical case of the initial pronoun, and the most likely interpretation of both would be 'When I have seen you, I will not be angry'. However the nominative case of the pronoun of the first sentence shows it to be the subject of the main verb of the sentence so the meaning, more specifically, is 'When you are seen (by someone, maybe me), I will not be angry'. The genitive case of the pronoun in the second sentences shows it to be the subject of the subordinate clause, so its more exact translation is 'When I see you (someone, maybe I) will not be angry'. A sentence with both pronouns would be possible and that would make the meaning unambiguous:

Ang-a   nang꞉-ko nik-jok-o   kra cha꞉-ja-no-a.
I-Nomn you-Acc see-LNomz angry-Neg-Fut
"When you are seen, I will not be angry'.

Ang-ni nang꞉-ko nik-jok-o   kra cha꞉-ja-no-a.
I-Nomn you-Acc see-LNomz angry-Neg-Fut
"When I have seen you (someone) will not be angry'.

-na-jok-o, -na-jok-o-no. This compound suffix is constructed from
the immediate/intentional future tense marker together with the locative
nominalizer -*o*. The locative -*o* gives it a sense of a particular time, while
the -*na-jok* carries a sense of the future. It can mean 'on the point of', 'when
about to', but it can also mean 'before actually doing it'. Like -*jok-o-no*,
-*na-jok-o-no* appears to be no more than a slightly elaborated synonym of
its simpler equivalent:

Ang-ni re꞉-ang-na-jok-o, na꞉-a   re꞉-ba-bo.
I-Gen   go-LNomz   you-Nomn come-Imp
'Come when I am about to go'.

Nang꞉-ni cha꞉-na-jok-o ang-ko   o-kam-bo.
you-Gen eat-LNomz   I-Acc   call-Imp

'Call me when you are hungry, when you want to eat' (as a mother
might say to her child).

Na꞉-ching re꞉-ang-na-jok-o cher-ko   nok-ning-cha   ra꞉-ang-e
you-all   go-LNomz   chair-Acc house-inside-Loc take-Sub
don-ang-no-a.
put-Fut

'When you are about to leave, (you) will take and put the chairs in
the house'.

Of the four tense-aspect markers, -*o* is used in partnership with both
-*jok* and -*na-jok*. The plain -*o* when used as a locative nominalization can
be considered the partner of the neutral test-aspect marker -*a*. No locative
nominalization takes place in partnership with future *no-a*, however. This
might be regarded as a gap in the system.

SUBORDINATION

Word Order (B)

This chapter describes clauses, and the way in which clauses can be joined together to form larger sentences. The first step is to describe the organization of the main (as opposed to subordinate) clauses.

Order of Constituents in Main Clauses. So-called "pro-drop" languages have been widely discussed in the linguistics literature. This term describes a language in which a subject, specifically a pronoun subject, can be optionally omitted or "dropped" from a clause. Garo might be described as having pro-drop with a vengeance. Subjects simply are not included when the context makes the information unnecessary. For what it is worth, the non-native speaker who is writing this paragraph finds the term "pro-drop" to be whimsically misleading as a characterization of Garo. Subjects, whether pronouns, nouns, or noun phrases, simply never need to be put into the sentence at all, so there is nothing to be "dropped". The fact that Garo pronouns have no reduced forms confirms the lack of any sort of "dropping". If a subject (or any other argument for that matter) is not needed, it is simply not put in. If it is present in a sentence it is because the meaning requires it, and its importance would be undermined if it were phonologically reduced. If it is worth having at all, it is worth having it with full form and full stress.

The lack of any need for a subject is particularly striking in a language that has no hint whatsoever of verb agreement. If the subject is not included among the arguments of the verb, there is no way, from the sentence alone, to know what the subject might be, but of course, people

do not understand from isolated sentences. Listeners have countless clues
to help them interpret the speaker's meanings, both from the previous and
subsequent parts of the conversation and from the extra-linguistic situa-
tion in which the sentence is used. In a high proportion of sentences, if the
larger context is taken into account, it would be entirely redundant to put
in a subject. Garos do not bother.

Nor are any other arguments obligatory, and many Garo sentences
consist of nothing but a verb. Of course verbs cannot always do the job
alone, so many other sentences do include a string of arguments, but none
of these is obligatory, and so far as I have ever been able to discover, the
presence of one is never dependent upon the presence of another. If you
start with a sentence consisting of three arguments followed by a verb and
ask a speaker's opinion, you will be told that any selection of the arguments,
from none to all three, would form a possible sentence. This would admit
eight possible combinations of arguments. But it is not only the choice
of arguments that is left free, but also the order in which those selected
occur. The order of noun phrases is limited only by the rule that they
all normally occur before the verb, and even this rule is not absolute. An
argument is occasionally shifted to a postverbal position, but it then has an
unmistakably distinctive intonation that shows this to be a highly marked
place for an argument. In natural conversation, an argument is occasionally
shifted to the postverbal position, but given time to think about a sentence,
and time to compose it with care, consultants rarely do such a thing.

The order of items before the verb can be very free because the case
markers show the syntactic and semantic role of the noun phrases so clearly.
When asked, speakers simply say that any order is possible, and that all
mean the same thing. Nevertheless, some orderings are certainly more
frequent than others. Subjects, especially pronoun subjects, often appear
early in a clause, even first. Direct objects often come late, and direct ob-
jects that are indefinite usually come immediately before the verb. Adverbs
also have some tendency to be late, but this is no more than a tendency
and it is possible for them to occur anywhere in the sequence. Question
words have no special restrictions that distinguish their order from that of
other noun phrases.

Perhaps there is a tendency for old information to be placed early, as it
is in English, but that is not obvious. Of course old information can be more
easily omitted from a sentence in a language where arguments are always
optional, and old information that can be taken for granted is often simply
omitted from a Garo sentence. If only new information is included in the
sentence, it is impossible to sort what remains into old and new. This may
sound as if information is conveyed in a more compacted form in Garo than

in a language such as English that is less permissive about allowing omissions, but surely that cannot be the case. I have wondered if the apparent lack of redundancy that comes by omitting what is clearly understood is, to some extent, offset by the kinds of anticipating and echoing phonology that was described in the Chapter 11, but that is mere speculation.

Beyond these general and frequently violated tendencies, I have no doubt that the order is influenced by subtle pragmatic considerations. My sense is that *Me·-a-sa me·-chik-ko nik-jok* is likely to imply 'the man (whom we have been talking about) saw the woman', while *Me·-chik-ko me·-a-sa nik-jok* is more likely to suggest 'the woman (whom we have been talking about) was seen by the man' (*me·-chik* 'woman', *me·-a-sa* 'man'), but I cannot be confidant that I am not simply transferring my competence in English into my second language. All my attempts at generalizations amount to no more than a first approximation to an understanding of word order. Directing of attention, and the organization of information into old and new must be involved, but it may take a linguist with native competence to do justice to the subtleties.

Order of Constituents in Noun Phrases. The subject, objects, locatives and other arguments that come before the verb are noun phrases. These may be as simple as a single pronoun or as complex as the speaker's time and ingenuity allow. In most respects, the order of words within a noun phrase is considerably more constrained than that of arguments within a main clause, though it is still less rigid than the order of morphemes within a word. In one respect, however, a noun phrase is even less constrained than a sentence. An ordinary sentence does require a verb, but there is no single constituent that must be included within a noun phrase, not even a noun.

If a demonstrative is included it always comes first, and a case marker, along with any following postposition, always comes last. Verbal modifiers, numerals and the noun itself, come between the demonstrative and the case marker. Like demonstratives, genitives come early in the noun phrase and they always precede the word that names the thing possessed. The only thing that can precede a genitive is a demonstrative, as in *i-a man-de-ni nok* 'this person's house'. In this phrase, however, *i-a* 'this' modifies *man-de* 'person' rather than *nok* 'house', so it means 'the house of this person' rather than 'this house of the person'. (It could also be an equational sentence meaning 'This is a person's house.) In any case, a demonstrative and genitive are not very often found in the same noun phrase, so genitives, when present, are likely to begin a noun phrase

The point of greatest freedom of word order within the noun phrase is that numerals and simple verbal modifiers can occur either before or

after the noun. They always follow any demonstrative or genitive, and precede any case marker or postposition. There is probably a statistical preference to place numerals and verbal modifiers after the noun, but if both a numeral and a modifier are used with the same noun, one is likely to be placed before the noun and the other after, as if to get them out of each other's way. Relative clauses always precede the noun that they modify, but single-word verbal modifiers can either precede or follow.

In the presence of a genitive there is some tendency to place a numeral after the noun. Thus *ang-ni ma·-su mang-git-tam* 'my three cows', literally 'my cows three', is considerably more likely than *ang-ni mang-git-tam ma·-su*, although the latter is certainly possible. On the other hand, there seems to be little to choose between *bi-ni dal·-gip-a a-chak* and *bi-ni a-chak dal·-gip-a*, either of which means 'his big dog'. In other words, simple verbal modifiers occur as easily either before or after the noun modified, even in the presence of a genitive.

When the subject of a relative or subordinate clause is made genitive, it is always the first argument of the clause. This brings the genitive to the front of the noun phrase in which the relative occurs, and this is exactly where genitives belong in other circumstances:

Ja-sen-ni   me-ja-o   rim·-gip-a   chau·-kok
Jasen-Gen yesterday catch-Nomz thief
'the thief whom Jasen caught yesterday'

A demonstrative, numeral, or modifier can occur without any noun at all, and any one of them can act as the head of a noun phrase. It is possible, though hardly common, for a genitive to be used with either a number or a modifier, even in the absence of a noun: *ang-ni mang-git-tam* 'my three animals', where the classifier shows that it is animals that are being counted but the particular kind of animal is not made explicit; *bi-ni dal·-gip-a* 'his big one'. Case markers are suffixed to whatever word is last in the noun phrase, and this can be any constituent at all. The case markers are the only constituent of a noun phrase that are never used alone. They need to be suffixed to something, but it can be any other constituent.

The order of morphemes within words is described wherever the various types of words are described, and this will not be repeated here. Nevertheless it should be obvious that the "word", as that term is used here, is a rather different object than a word in English or in other European languages. Garo words have so many parts and these parts can combined so productively that it would be impossible for a dictionary to list all the possible words in the language. If a dictionary is considered to be a list of the words of a language, then a "complete" Garo dictionary would be utterly

impossible. In describing English we speak of "lexical items" and we think of them primarily as either words or short phrases whose meanings and use are sufficiently idiosyncratic that they need to be listed separately from the component words. Garo, of course, has such lexical items, but productive rules easily yield new Garo words from smaller parts, and these freely constructed words are not really lexical items, since their meanings are fully predictable from their parts. This means that it is often the smaller bits, such as numeral classifiers and adverbial affixes, that need to be listed in the dictionary as lexical items. Although these cannot act as independent words, they can be used productively to construct new words. Such words are as freely constructed as short phrases are constructed in English. English lexical items include both words and short phrases. Garo lexical items include many bound morphemes as well.

Clause Coherence: Final Noun Suffixes (C)

The relationship among the words that join to form a clause needs to be made clear for the listener, and word order, case markers, and various sorts of subordinators all help to bring this clarity. Another important means of keeping the organization clear in Garo is provided by the four final noun suffixes, *-ba* 'and, also, as well', *-de*, which can sometimes be translated as 'but', *-sa, -ha* 'only', and *-in* , which foregrounds its word and focuses attention. Like case markers these are really clitics rather than suffixes since they follow the final word of a noun phrase. They come after case markers, and if the noun phrase is followed by a postposition, they even come after the postposition. No more than one of these four can be suffixed to the same noun phrase. Their suffixation to nouns and other nominals was described in Chapter 8, "Nouns". This section will focus on the way they interact with each other and in that way help to organize a sentence.

-ba and **-de** form a pair with contrasting meaning. *-ba* says that things are similar, while *-de* says that the word it is suffixed to contrasts with something else: *bi-a-ba sok-jok* 'he also arrived (as did someone else'); *bi-a-de sok-jok* 'he arrived (with the implication that someone did not)'. In sentences like these, the suffixes add context to what is being said, and their contrasting meanings introduce constraints on the way they can be combined within a sentence or even in successive sentences. Two words with *-ba*'s can be used together as long as parallel actions are being described:

Man-di-ba   bi-des-i-ba   cha·-na   nang-a.
Mandis-also foreigners-also eat-Inf   need
'Mandis and foreigners both need to eat'.

Me·-chik-ko-ba   nik-jok, me·-a-sa-ko-ba   nik-jok.
women-Acc-also see-Prf men-Acc-also   see-Prf
'(I) have seen both the women (and) the men'.

nok-ni   sam-ba-o-ba   nok-ni   ning·-a-o-ba.
house-Gen beside-Loc-ba house-Gen   inside-Loc-ba
'both beside the house and inside the house'.

On the other hand, if two *-de*s are used in parallel, they must show some sort of contrast.

Na·-a-de   da·-o   cha·-bo   ang-a-de   ja·-man-o cha·-no-a
you-Nomn-but now-Loc eat-Imp I-Nomn-but later-Loc eat-Fut
'You eat now, but I will eat later'.

Mit-am-de gam gok-a,   mit-am-de al-si-a.
some-but   work eager-Neut some-but   lazy-Neut be-Neg
'Some are eager to work, but some are lazy'.

-de can be used in some situations where 'but' would be unlikely in English, but it still implies some sort of contrast. In the next example, the *-de* that has been suffixed to the pronoun *ang-a* 'I' is not explicitly contrasted to anything, but it still implies that someone else might know what I do not:

Cheng-o-ni-ko   ang-a-de a-gan-na hai·-ja-ing-a.
old times-Loc-Aug I-but   talk   know-Neg-Prog-Neut
'I am not able to talk about things from older times' (but someone else presumably can)'.

In the next example, where the suffix is used with *da·-o* 'now', it shows clearly that at some other time, litchis were *not* to be found at the market:

Da·-o-de a·-ti-o   li-chu   na-jok.
Now-but market-Loc litchi   appear-Prf
'Litchis have now appeared at the market'.

When a word has both a case marker and a *-ba* or *-de*, the case marker must come first. As this implies, *-ba* and *-de* are never used with the combining form of the monosyllabic pronouns, but require the free (or "nominative") form: *ang-a-ba* 'I also' and *na·-a-de* 'but you' are fine; **ang-ba* and **nang·-de* are impossible.

-ha, and **-sa** are alternative pronunciations of a final noun suffix that is so much like English 'only' that it raises few problems. It does have to interact with *-ba* and *-de* in logical ways, however. The first of the

following two examples is fine, but the second does not make sense, since
-*de* announces that something different will happen to Binsen than to Retji:

> *Ret-ji-sa   cha·-no-a, Bin-sen-de   cha·-ja-no-a.*
> Ret-ji-only eat-Fut   Binsen-but   eat-Neg-Fut
> 'Only Retji will eat, Binsen will not'.

> *Ret-ji-sa   cha·-no-a, Binsen-*de   cha·-no-a.*
> Retji-only eat-Fut   Binsen-but   eat-Fut
> 'Only Retji will eat, *but Binsen will eat'.

The next two examples have words with both -*ba* and -*sa*. Once again,
only the first example makes sense:

> *Retji-ba   cha·-no-a, Binsen-sa   cha·-ja-no-a.*
> Retji-also eat-Fut   Binsen-only   eat-Neg-Fut
> 'Retji will also eat, only Binsen will not eat'.

> *Retji-ba   cha·-ja-no-a, Bensen-*sa   cha·-ja-no-a.*
> Ret-ji-also eat-Not-Fut   Binsen-only   eat-Not-Fut
> 'Retji will also not eat, *only Binsen will not eat'.

The last of the final noun suffixes is **-in**, which foregrounds a noun or
noun phrase within a clause, and so focuses attention on it. Its role is rather
different from the other three, but by pointing to significant points, it also
helps to keep the organization of the sentence clear. Like -*de*, -*in* can be
used with no more than one item in a clause. This makes sense since the
purpose of -*in* is to select out the particular point to which attention should
be focused, and it would be contradictory to have two competing points of
focus. In many sentences, the -*in* draws attention to one particular word in
a straightforward way. Its sense can often be conveyed by emphatic stress
in English:

> *Cher-in   nam-ja.*
> chair-Frg good-Neg
> "The *chair* is bad'.

> *Kak-ket-rang-ko-in kin-a-a.*
> true-Plu-Acc-Frg   listen-Neut
> 'Listen to (the things that are) *true*'.

> *Ching-a   ba-no   a-song-a   u-a-no-in   a-chak re·-ba-ing-a.*
> we-Nomn what-Loc sit-Neut   there-Loc-Frg dog   come-Prog-Neut
> 'Wherever we sit, *there* the dog comes'.

Some words are particularly likely to attract -*in*. Among these are *gim-ik* 'all' and *an·-tang* 'self'. These words are often meant to carry an emphatic meaning, and their strength is augmented when foregrounded by -*in*. Indeed, *an·-tang* is so frequently used with -*in* that the suffix can almost seem to become a part of the word:

Bi-song   gim-ik-in al-ak-si.
they-Nomn all-Frg   selfish
'*All* of them are selfish'.

I-o   dong-gip-a mi-ko   ang-a   pak-ma-ko-in   cha·-jok.
this-Loc be at-Nomz rice-Acc I-Nomn large part-Acc-Frg eat-Prf
'Of the rice that was here, I have eaten *the largest part*'.

-*in* is often used in answers to questions where it usually marks the word that specifically supplies the answer. In the next example, consultants deny that it would be possible to put the -*in* on the *bi-ko*. This pronoun stands for *Romes* so it is information that is already known, and attention would not need to be drawn to it. On the other hand, while not required, -*in* would be perfectly fine on *ching-a* 'we'.

Sa   Romes-ko grong-a-ming?   Ching-a-in   bi-ko(*-in)
who-Nomn Romes-Acc meet-Neut-Pst   we-Nomn-Frg he-Acc(*-Frg)
grong-a-ming.
meet-Neut-Pst
'Who met Romes? *We* met him.'

In the next example, on the other hand, it is impossible to suffix the *ching-a* with -*in* since this refers to the same person as *na·-a* 'you' in the question. Here *ching-a* is old information and the new information is supplied by *Romes-ko*. This can be marked by -*in* but it is not required:

Na·-song sa-ko   grong-a-ming?   Ching-a(*-in)   Romes-ko-in
you   who-Acc meet-Neut-Pst   We-Nomn(*-Frg) Romes-Acc-Frg
grong-a-ming.
meet-Neut-Pst
'Who did you meet? We met *Romes*'.

The following two sentences use -*in* to focus the attention on different phrases. It would be impossible to have -*in* on both noun phrases in the same sentence.

Ang-a   kok-gri-in   mi-rong-ko ra·-ba-a.
I-Nomn basket-without-Frg rice-Acc   bring-Neut
'I brought the rice without a *basket* (but I might have brought it some other way)'.

Ang-a kok-gri   mi-rong-ko-in ra·-ba-a.
I   basket-without rice-Acc-Frg   bring-Neut
'I brought the *rice* without a basket (but might have used a basket
for something else)'.

The following sentence has a relative and correlative so it counts as
having two clauses. This makes it possible for both the relative pronoun
and the correlative pronoun to have an *-in* suffix:

Na·-a   je-cha-in   re·-ang-a,   u-a-cha-in
you-Nomn whatever-Loc-Frg go-Neut   that-Loc-Frg
ni-ri-ing-a.
quarrel-Prog-Neut
'*Wherever* you go, in *that* place there is quarrelling)'.

Collectively, the four final noun suffixes give a kind of scaffolding to
sentences, and even to the discourse. They must support each other logi-
cally if the discourse is to make sense. Although never obligatory, they are
very common. One's speech would be impoverished without them, even if
it would not be ungrammatical.

Conjoined and Subordinate Clauses (C)

Garo has many methods of combining two or more clauses into a single
sentence. By using these methods repeatedly, and in combination, it is
possible to build up very complex sentences. The constructions vary in
the type of constituents that are joined, in the tightness of the resulting
construction, and in the ways in which subordination is marked. A large
part of the complexity of Garo syntax lies in the many ways of joining
clauses.

Unmarked Clause Coupling. Just as words and phrases can be
conjoined in Garo with no overt mark at all, so can clauses, although as they
become longer and more complex, clauses are increasingly likely to have
some overt mark of subordination. The mark helps to keep the relations
among the clauses clear, but simple clauses may be clear without one:

Pa-jong i·-ang-jok-ming, di-di-ko   nik-e   pil·-ba-jok.
uncle   go-Prf-Pst   elder sister-Acc see-Sub return-Prf
'Uncle had gone, (but) seeing sister, (he) returned'.

Sa-sa   re·-ba-a   ang-a   hai·-ja.
who-who come-Neut I-Nomn know-Neg
'Who all came, I do not know'.

Sak-sa-ba   a-gan-na man·-ja-no-a ang-a   nam-a-ma
somebody-Ind say-Inf   able-Neg-Fut I-Nomn good-Neut-Que
nam-ja.
good-Neg
'Nobody will be able to say (whether) I am a good (person) or not'.

As noted in the section on "Conjunctions" in Chapter 11, "Minor Parts of Speech", conjunctions play a less prominent role in Garo than in English. Nevertheless, some conjunctions can be used to join clauses, as well as words and shorter phrases. Conjunctions that link two otherwise independent clauses, and the sentences that result from this linking are described in Chapter 11.

Subordinate Clauses with -e, -e-ming, -e-min-a. A verb or a clause can be subordinated to a following verb or clause by means of the subordinating suffix *-e* or by one of its longer synonyms *-e-ming* or *-e-min-a*. The subordinate clause normally precedes the main clause, and the verb of the main clause comes at the end of the sentence and carries the tense.

In some cases the two verbs are so closely linked that they amount to a compound verb. In the next example *gam-e cha·-a* is a conventional expression for 'living by working'. In the second example , *bon·-e* 'having finished' and *cha·-a* 'eat' are used together in the sense of 'eat up':

A·-ba gam-e   cha·-a.
fields work-Sub eat-Pres
'(We) live by cultivating land, (we) survive by farming'.

Ang-a   pal-gin-ing mi   bon·-e   cha·-a.
I-Nomn serving-two rice finish-Sub eat-Neut
'I eat up two servings of rice'.

In many cases, the verb in *-e* is little different from an adverb. In the following sentence *ja-brang-e* is derived from a verb meaning 'scared, frightened' but here it modifies the verb meaning 'stay':

Ang-a   ja-brang-e dong-jok.
I-Nomn afraid-Sub be at-Prf
'I stayed, frightened, I stayed in a frightened way'.

More than a single-*e* subordination can occur in the same sentence:

Na·-tok-ko nam-e   ni-e   cha·-ja-o-de, git-ok-o bu-su
fish-Acc   good-Sub watch-Sub eat-Neg-if   neck-Loc thorn
kang-no-a.
stick-Fut
'If you don't watch out well when eating the fish, the bones will stick in the throat'.

Nam-e   pa-rak-e   a-gan-bo.
good-Sub open-Sub speak-Imp
'Speak well and openly'.

Bang·-e   jom-e-ming, i-a   man-de   ma·-am-e chu-ing-a.
much-Sub suffer-Sub   this   person   groan-Sub sleep-Prog-Neut
'Suffering much, this man is sleeping with a groaning sound'.

Ma·-gip-a-ni mik-kang-ko nik-e   hai·-no-a.
mother-Pos face-Acc   see-Sub   know-Fut
'(He) will recognize (his) mother's face (a recognized stage of child development)'.

In most of these examples, the subordinate verb immediately precedes another verb, either the main verb or another subordinate verb. In cases where noun phrases precede pairs of verbs, the noun phrases act as the arguments of the pair. Paired verbs such as these always have the same subject. Subordinate verbs in *-e* do not need to directly precede the main verb, however, and except for the subjects, which must be the same, each verb can have different arguments. Subordination with *-e* is fully productive, and both the subordinate and main clause can be indefinitely long and complex:

Ang-a   lait-ko   net-e   nok-cha   re·-ang-a.
I-Nomn light-Acc shine-Sub house-Loc go-Neut
'I, shining a light, go to the house'.

Nok-cha sok-e   mi-ko   cha·-a.
house-to arrive-Sub rice-Acc   eat-Prs
'Arriving at the house, (I) eat rice'.

Kle-men-ko   rim-jol-e   ha·-ti-cha   re·-ang-a.
Clement-Acc take along-Sub market-Loc   go-Neut
'Taking Clement along, (I) go to the market'.

-e-min-a and *-e-ming* are longer synonyms of *-e*. As sentences grow longer and more complex, it becomes increasingly likely that one of the longer forms will be used instead of the simpler *-e*. Being longer, *-e-ming* and *-e-min-a* are also more explicit, and when the sentence is complex they probably help to keep the construction clear. No rule forbids a longer form in a short sentence, or the shorter *-e* in a long one, however, and the three suffixes can be freely substituted for one another with no change in meaning:

Sri-sri   rat-e-min-a cha·-jok.
in slices cut-Sub   eat-Prf
'(They) cut (it) in slices and ate'.

Gu-al-e-min-a ang-a   boi-ko   ra·-ang-ja.
forget-Sub   I-Nomn book-Acc take-Neg
'Forgetfully, I don't take the book'.

Pang-cha ga-du-e-min-a i-a   di·-sa-de ga·-ak-a cha·-a.
tree-Loc   climb-Sub   this-Nomn child-but fall-Neut get-Neut
'Having climbed a tree, this child got a fall'.

Me-ja-o   ang-a   al-si-a   chik-e-ming, kam-ko   rim·-na
yesterday-Loc I-Nomn laziness   bite-Sub   work-Acc do-Inf
man·-ja.
can-Neg
'Laziness having bitten me yesterday, I wasn't able to do the work'.

Hang-jang dak-e   i·-ang-e-min-a, bos-tu gim-ik-ko ra·-ang-na
hurriedly   do-Sub go-Sub   thing all-Acc   go-Inf
man·-ja-jok.
can-Neg-Prf
'Going in a hurried way, one can no longer take everything'.

A common rhetorical strategy for tying together the sentences of a discourse is to introduce a new sentence with a verb that echoes the final verb of the previous sentence but that ends with a subordinating suffix. Longer subordinating suffixes seem to do this better than a simple -*e*, and they infuse the discourse with a certain importance, almost a ceremonial flavor:

Ang-a   Ro-bi-bal-o Gaira-cha re·-ang-a-ming. Re·-ang-e-min-na,
I-Nomn Sunday-Loc Gaira-Loc go-Neut-Pst   Go-Sub
Mi-jen-pa-ming ku·-sik   a-gan-a.
Mijenpa-with   language speak-Neut
'I went to Gaira on Sunday. Having gone, I spoke with Mijenpa'.

As a final example, I offer the following sentence, which was constructed by a consultant, Bilasini Chambugong, to describe an event in which she and I had just participated. We had been discussing the subordinating -*e*, and she thought I might enjoy a better example. People do not generally construct sentences that are quite so elaborate, but she was playing with her language and found the sentence quite funny. Although self-consciously constructed, it is perfectly grammatical and perfectly understandable. Either -*e-ming* or -*e-min-a* could be substituted for any or all of the -*e*'s. Notice that *ma·-su* 'cow' is the subject of the entire sentence:

Ma·-su man-de-ko nik-et-e, ja·-pang-o re·-ba-e,   cha-deng-e
cow   person-Acc see-Sub   close-Loc come-Sub stand-Sub

dong-e,   man-de-ni jak-o   dok-a   cha·-e, re·-ang-jok.
be at-Sub person-Gen hand-Loc   hit-Nomz get-Loc go-Prf

'The cow, seeing the people from a distance, coming close, standing for a bit, getting hit by a person's hand, went away'.

Adverbs with dak-e. Adverbs are often followed immediately by *dak-e*, which is a form of the verb *dak-a* 'make, do' that has been suffixed with the subordinating *-e*. *Ja·-wek-a*, for example, is a verb meaning 'to have short legs'. A related adverb is *ja·-wek-wek* which is difficult to translate except as 'having short legs'. It is an adverb, however, so perhaps 'in a short-legged way' would be a more revealing translation. Adverbs modify verbs, and *dak-a* is used as a verb that an adverb can modify but *dak-a* itself is nearly empty of meaning: *ja·-wek-wek dak-a* 'do in a short legged way'. A phrase such as this, in turn, is often formed into an adverbial phrase by exchanging the final *-a* for the subordinating suffix *-e*. The phrase can now modify another verb so that *ja·-wek-wek dak-e kat-a* means 'run in a short legged way' or perhaps 'run, doing it in a short legged way'. A more compact *ja·-wek-e kat-a*, where *ja·-wek-e* is directly subordinated to *kat-a* is also possible, and that would seem to allow a considerably more direct and efficient way to do what *ja·-wek-wek dak-e kat-a* does. What the longer expression with *dak-e* seems to do is to make fully explicit the subordination of the adverb to the verb. *Ja·-wek-wek dak-e kat-a* is just a bit less in danger of being misunderstood than *ja·-wek-e kat-a*. Perhaps *dak-e* is on the way to becoming lexicalized as a marker of subordination.

The adverb *ran·-to-tok* is derived from the verb *ran·-tok-a* 'dried out'. The following sentence might have been constructed from *ran·-tok-e*, but instead the longer but more explicit wording with *dak-e* was used:

Ran·-to-tok dak-e   ja-ba   song-bo.
dried-out   do-Sub curry cook-Imp
'Cook curry in a dry way'.

Adverbs that do not end with *-e* are particularly likely to be used with *dak-e*:

pri-pri   dak-e   chit-a
in a small way do-Sub tear-Neut
'tear into small pieces'

gek-gek   dak-e   jom-a
feverishly do-Sub sick-Neut
'sick with high fever'

gol·-krang-krang dak-e   cha-deng-a
straight   do-Sub stand-Neut
'stand up straight'

Gip-eng-pang dak-e   chu-bo!
crosswise   do-Sub sleep-Imp
'Sleep crosswise!'

Mo·-na to-ra-ko   grang-grang dak-e   wat-a?
why   basket-Acc with-spaces do-Sub weave-Neut
'Why (do you) weave the basket with open spaces?'

Even verbs (or adverbs) that end in *-e* are sometimes used with *dak-e* although the verb alone should be capable of doing the job. Each sentence of the next example has a *dak-e*. In the first sentence, *dak-e* follows a verb in *-e* and in the second it follows an adverb:

Ji-nis-ko   nam-e   dak-e   ra·-bo.   Mo·-na in-dik-e
things-Acc good-Sub do-Sub bring-Imp why   like-that
bil-ding-bil-dang dak-e   ra·-a.
disorganized   do-Sub bring-Neut
'Bring the things nicely. Why bring (them) in a disorganized way like that?'

In-e. A sentence with an ordinary tense-aspect marker such as neutral *-a* or future *-no-a* can be subordinated to another verb (or sentence) with the help of the subordinating conjunction *in-e* placed between the two clauses. Verbs with meanings such as ordering, believing, and saying are often used in the second clause. Unlike subordination with the infinitive *-na* (see just below) the two clauses that are connected with *-in-e* can have different subjects, and both subjects remain in the nominative. This allows a very free kind of subordination. *In-e*, however, always shows some degree of logical or causal connection between the two clauses. It conveys, roughly, the sense of 'that is what'. The *in-e* construction is the only way to subordinate a sentence with an ordinary tense-aspect marker to another verb or sentence. *In-e* cannot be omitted from such sentences without disrupting the syntax and altering the meaning:

Pir-ga-cha song   ni-to-a   in-e ang-a   chan-chi-a.
Pirgacha   village beautiful-Neut   Sub I-Nomn think-Neut
'I think Pirgacha village is beautiful, Pirgacha village is beautiful, that is what I think'.

Ang-a   mi   cha·-jok in-e na·-a   ba-bul-chi-na a-gan-bo.
I-Nomn rice eat-Prf   Sub you-Nom cook-Dat   tell-imp
'Tell the cook that I have eaten'.

Bi-a   cha·-no-a in-e   ang-a   ji-nis-ko   ra·-ba-ming.
she-Nomn eat-Fut   Sub   I-Nomn things-Acc bring-Pst
'I brought the things so that she could eat'.

Bi-a   sok-ba-ku-ja   in-e ang-a   chan-chi-a.
he-Nomn arrive-here-yet-not Sub I-Nomn believe
'I believe that he has not yet arrived here'.

Bi-a nang·-ko at-ti-cha   den·-no-a in-e ku·-ching-a.
he   you-Acc bamboo knife-Inst chop-Fut Sub threaten
'(He) threatens that he will chop you with a bamboo-knife'.

"Nang·-ni a-gan-a-ko   ang-a   bi-bi ra·-a"   in-e bi-a
you-Get   speak-Nomz-Acc I-Nomn true take-Neut Sub he-Nomn
a-gan-a
say-Neut
'He said "I believe what you said" ', (lit. 'He said "I believe your talk-ing" '.

Bi-a sok-ba-ku-ja   in-e ang-a   chan-chi-a.
he   arrive-yet-Neg Sub I-Nomn think-Neut
'I think he has not yet come'.

Bi-a mo·-na sok-ba-a   in-e ang-a   chan-chi-a.
he   why   come   Sub I-Nomn wonder
'I wonder about why he has come'.

In-e is obligatory when subordinating a clause that ends with an or-dinary tense-aspect marker. It can be used optionally with some other types of subordination, but not all. It is optional with a clause that is subordinated with *-kan* or *-ka-na*, and in some cases after clauses subordi-nated with infinitive *-na*. However, it cannot be used when subordination is accomplished with *-e*, *-e-ming*, or *-e-min-a*, or with one of the locative subordinators.

The Infinitive -na. One verb or, indeed, one clause, can be sub-ordinated to another by means of the infinitive suffix *-na*. The infinitive marker is suffixed to the verb that completes the subordinate clause, and it is followed by the main clause.

A few Mandi verbs follow an earlier infinitive so closely and tightly that they might be considered to be auxiliary verbs. When one of these verbs is used, the subordinating conjunction *in-e* cannot intervene between it and the preceding infinitive verb. Many of these "auxiliaries" correspond in meaning to the verbs most often used with the infinitive in English. These are verbs of 'wishing, needing, ability' and so on. Since several of these verbs have meanings related to 'wish', I will call them the "wishing verbs", and the following wishing verbs have come to my attention: *ha·-sik-a* 'wish, want', *gong·-a* 'inclined to', *nal-a* 'enthusiastic about, addicted to', *nam-nik-a* 'like, love', *hai·-a* 'know, know how, understand', *nang-a* 'need',

man·-a 'can, be able to', *sap-a* 'be skilled at, know how'. The list is unlikely
to be complete, but I doubt if there are very many others.

> *Ang-a   mi cha·-na   man·-a.*
> I-Nomn rice eat-Imp can-Neut
> 'I can eat rice'.

> *Bi-a   kat-ang-na   ha·-sik-ing-a.*
> he-Nomn run-away-Inf want-Prog-Neut
> 'He wants to run away'.

> *Bi-a-de   do·-me-ko   pot-na   gong·-ja.*
> she-Nomn-but feather-Acc adorn-Inf incline-Neg
> 'She does not feel like being adorned with feathers'.

> *Ru-a   sik-na   hai·-a,   ang-a.*
> seedling insert-Inf know how-Neut   I-Nomn
> 'I know how to plant rice seedlings'.

> *Bi-a-de   bol ga-du-na sap-a.*
> he-Nomn-but tree climb-Inf know how
> 'He knows how to climb trees'.

One other verb, *ham·-a, am·-a*, has two uses and two meanings. It
can mean 'want', but in that sense it is almost always used with a noun
object rather than with an infinitive, so it does not count as a "wishing
verb". With an infinitive compliment it means 'about to, on the point of'
and in that usage it must be included among the auxiliary-like "wishing
verbs" although it does not, in this case, mean 'want' or 'wish': *Bi-a si-na
ham·-ing-a* 'He is about to die'.

> *Ang-a   nang·-ni ta-muk ring-a-ko   beng·-na am·-ing-a.*
> I-Nomn you-Gen tobacco drink-Nomz-Acc block-Imp going-to
> 'I am going to block your use of tobacco'.

Rarely, a noun or pronoun subject is slipped between the two verbs:

> *Chu   ring-na bi-song   nal-a.*
> rice-beer drink-Inf they-Nomn enthusiastic
> 'They are enthusiastic about drinking rice-beer'.

More often the main verb follows the infinitive directly, and the two
verbs form a tight pair. The absence of much that separates the verbs helps
to give the second verb the quality of an auxiliary.

Other verbs, whose meanings might lead one to expect them to belong
with the "wishing" verbs can be separated from a preceding infinitive by an
intervening subordinating conjunction *in-e*, although such an *in-e* is never

obligatory. Verbs which allow *in-e* and which thus act less like auxiliaries than those listed above, include: *ches-ta dak-a* 'try', *ku·-mong-a* 'agree to', *mat-u-a* 'greedy for, lust after', *ken-a* 'afraid of', *ku·-ching-a* 'threaten'. In the following examples, *in-e* is placed in parentheses to show that it is optional:

> *Ang-a   bi-ko   nam-et-na   (in-e) ches-ta dak-no-a.*
> I-Nomn you-Acc good-Caus-Inf Sub   try-Fut
> 'I will try to improve him'.

> *Na·-ching Gai-ra-cha re·-ang-na (in-e) ku·-mong-a.*
> we-Nomn Gaira-Loc go-Inf   Sub   agree-Neut
> 'We agree to go to Gaira'.

> *Song-cha   am-bin-o   re·-ang-na (in-e) na·-ching ku·-mong-jok.*
> village-Loc tomorrow-Loc go-Inf   Sub   we-Nom agree-Prf
> 'We have agreed to go the village tomorrow'.

> *Pan-te   me-tra-ko   dong-na   (in-e) mat-u-ing-a.*
> young man young-woman-Acc be with-Inf Sub   eager-Neut
> 'The young man is eager for the young woman'.

> *Ang-a   nang·-ko nik-na   (in-e) ken-a.*
> I-Nomn you-Acc look at-Inf Sub   fear
> 'I am afraid to see you'

> *Bi-a   ang-ko dok-na (in-e) ku·-ching-a*
> he-Nomn I-Acc   hit-Inf Sub   threaten-Neut
> 'He threatens to hit me'.

In addition to the constructions already described, infinitives can also express the sense of 'in order to, for the purpose of'. For this meaning, the main clause can have virtually any verb. As with other infinitive subordinations, the subject of the main and subordinate clauses must be the same, but their other arguments can be different. The arguments of the second verb are generally placed after the infinitive, so the two verbs can be separated more widely than when the infinitive is used in a more auxiliary-like way. *In-e* is optional when the sense is 'in order to':

> *Ang-a   ring-na   (in-e) cha·-kat-a.*
> I-Nomn drink-Inf Sub   stand-Neut
> 'I got up to drink, I stood in order to drink'.

> *Bi-a   cha·-na (in-e) re·-ba-ming.*
> he-Nomn eat-Inf Sub   come-Pst
> 'He came to eat'.

Ang-a   ha-bu-na (in-e) gang-cha i·-ang-a.
I-Nomn bathe-Inf Sub   river-Loc go-Neut
'I go to the river to bathe'.

Moi-la-ko ot-na   (in-e) ja-ta-ko   ra·-ba-jok.
dirt-Acc   sweep-Inf Sub   broom-Acc bring-Prf
'(He) has brought a broom in order to sweep the dirt'.

Me·-a-sa bi-te-ko   cha·-na (in-e) bol-pang-o ga-du-a-ming.
man   fruit-Acc eat-Inf Sub   tree-Loc   climb-Neut-Pst
'The man climbed the tree in order to eat the fruit'.

Notice that the prohibition of a change of subjects between the infinitive and the following verb means that Mandi does not allow a closely literal translation of an English sentence such as *I want him to go* where the subject of the infinitive verb is not the same as that of the main verb. In Mandi these can be expressed by a third person imperative (see next section) or by the type of nominalization that might be translated literally as 'I want his going'. Nominalizations of this type were described in the previous chapter.

Subordination with -kan, -ka-na. In one of their uses *-kan* and *-ka-na* are third person imperatives, as in *mi cha·-ka-na* 'let (him) eat'. In another use, the same suffixes act as subordinating suffixes, especially, although not exclusively, when the main verb has a meaning such as 'telling' or 'ordering'. The suffixes often reflect their imperative sense even when acting as subordinators, since the one who is telling or ordering can be thought of as issuing an imperative. As subordinators, just as when they are imperatives, *-ka-na* and *-kan* are alternate pronunciations with no apparent difference in meaning.

Usually the verb of the main clause has an accusative object, which is simultaneously the logical subject of the subordinate clause: *pi·-sa-ko* 'child, accusative', in the next example, and *nang·-ko* in the example that follows. *In-e* is an optional subordinating conjunction after *-kan* and *-ka-na*, and it is especially useful in marking the structure of complex sentences. One speaker told me that she feels more need for *in-e* after *-kan* than after *ka-na*.

Pi·-sa-ko mi cha·-ka-na (in-e) ma·-gip-a a-gan-a.
child-Acc rice eat-Sub   Sub   mother   tell-Neut
'The mother tells the child to eat rice'.

Nang·-ko boi   bre-ka-na (in-e) ang-a   hit-a
you-Acc book buy-Sub   Sub   I-Nomn order
'I order you to buy a book'.

-kan and *-ka-na* provide a way to escape the limitation that the subject of an infinitive must be the same as that of the main verb. Thus in English it is possible to say either 'I want to go' or 'I want him to go'. In the first case the subject of the two verbs is the same, but in the second they are different. In Mandi the infinitive *-na* can only be used when the subject remains the same: *Ang-a i·-ang-na ha·-sik-a* 'I want to go'. When the subject is different *-kan* or *-ka-na* must be used instead: *Bi-ko re·-ang-kan (in-e) ang-a ha·-sik-a* 'I want him to go'. *Bi-ko* is the object of *ha·-sik-a* 'want', and therefore in the accusative, but since it specifies who or what it is that is supposed to perform the action of the *-kan* clause, one can also think of it as the subject of the verb with *-kan*.

In the preceding examples, the subject of the main verb is placed after the infinitive clause and directly before the main verb, but it is very common for this subject to be shifted to the front of the sentence, where it is likely to be side by side with the object of the main verb (the subject of the *-kan* clause). In this case the subordinate clause is embedded within two parts of the main clause, with the subject of the main clause, as well as its object, coming first, and the verb of that clause coming at the end:

Ma·-gip-a bi·-sa-ko   mi   cha·-ka-na (in-e) a-gan-a.
mother   child-Acc rice eat-Sub   Sub   tell-Neut
'The mother tells the child to eat rice'.

Ang-a   nang·-ko boi   bre-ka-na hit-a.
I-Nomn   you-Acc book buy-Sub   order
'I order you to buy a book'.

Other verbs than those of ordering and telling can be used in the main clause after *-kan* or *-ka-na*, but they usually suggest some sort of directive action:

Man-di gra-mar   chok-kan   (in-e) ang-a   nang·-na dak-chak-ing-a.
Mandi grammar write-Sub Sub   I-Nomn you-Dat help-Prog-Neut
'I am helping you to write a Mandi grammar'.

The main verb can, itself, be an imperative, but the one who is directed by this imperative also tells someone else to do something:

Bi-ko   re·-ang-ka-na (in-e) hit-bo.
he-Acc go-Sub   Sub   order-Imp
'Order him to go' (i.e. the speaker tells someone to order someone else (*bi-ko*) to go'.

The *-kan* construction can sometimes mean 'so that, in order to', and in this case the object of the main verb need not be the same as the subject of the subordinate verb:

Mi   gip-u-ja-ka-na (in-e) ang-a   to-ra-ko   tin-e   ra·-a.
Rice leak-Neg-Sub Sub   I-Nomn basket-Acc line-Sub bring-Neut
'I brought a basket (that is) lined, so that the rice would not leak out'.

Bi-a re·-ang-kan (in-e) ang-a   gam rim·-na ches-ta dak-no-a.
he   go-Sub   Sub   I-Nomn work do-Inf try   do-Fut
'I will try to work so that he can go'.

Subordination with postpositions. Like any other noun, a nominalized verb can become the head of a postpositional phrase. For example *re·-ang-a-ni gim-in* 'because of going' consists of the verb base *re·-ang-* 'go' which is nominalized with -*a*. The genitive case marker -*ni* and the postposition *gim-in* 'because' complete the phrase. The phrase is exactly parallel to *ang-ni gim-in* 'because of me', except for the added nominalizing suffix -*a* of *re·-ang-a-ni*. A phrase with a nominalized verb, however, has one potential complication that a phrase with a pronoun or ordinary noun does not. A verb can bring its arguments with it when it is nominalized and then it is a whole clause that takes the postposition, not just a single word. Notice that the subject of a verb that is used in a prepositional phrase of this type is genitive, rather than nominative:

ang-ni me·-a-sa-ko nik-a-ni   gim-in
I-Gen man-Acc   see-Nomz-Gen because
'because I saw the man, because of my seeing the man'

While this is similar to a postpositional phrase, it actually plays a role in a larger sentence that is more like that of a subordinate clause. Even the genitive subject suggests that this should be seen as a subordinate clause. Such clauses are very common, especially with postpositions of cause and time, such as *gim-in* 'because of' and *ja·-man-o* 'after'.

Both the main verb of the sentence and the verb of the postpositional clause can have overt subjects, the former being nominative, the latter genitive. The nominative subject of the main verb may follow the postpositional clause or it can be moved to the front, and of course, neither subject is obligatory. Thus both the following sentences are fully grammatical, but *ang-a* in the first sentence is the subject of the main verb while *ang-ni* of the second is the genitive subject of the subordinate verb:

Ang-a,   re·-ang-a-ni   gim-in,   cha·-na man·-ja.
I-Nomn go-Nomz-Gen because eat-Inf can-Neg
'I cannot eat because of (someone's) departure'.

Ang-ni re·-ang-a-ni   gim-in,   cha·-na man·-ja.
I-Gen go-Nomz-Gen because eat-Inf can-Neg
'(Someone) can't eat because of my departure'.

Both pronouns can, of course, be used in the same sentence: *Ang-a ang-ni re·-ang-a-ni gim-in cha·-na man-ja.* 'I cannot eat because of my departure'.

Logical '-o' suffixes: -o-de 'if', **-o-ba** 'although', **-o-sa/-o-ha**, 'only if'. These three principal verb suffixes subordinate their clause to the following (main) clause of the sentence. Any sentence can be turned into a subordinate clause simply by using one of these three suffixes in the position of the principal verb suffix. Nothing else distinguishes this clause from an independent sentence. The two clauses can have either the same or different subjects, and each can have its own arguments. The subject of a subordinate clause that is formed with one of these three suffixes is always nominative, never genitive, as it is in some forms of subordination. No type of subordination is simpler than this. The three suffixes are closely related. They all begin with an *-o* and all express a logical relation between the clauses.

-o-de 'if'. Like other subordinating suffixes, *-o-de* completes a subordinate clause, and it is immediately followed by the main clause of the sentence. Thus, like other subordinating suffixes, the *-o-de* fits between the two clauses that it relates:

Cha·-to-ja-o-de da cha·-a-bo.
eat-good-Neg-if NImp-eat-NImp
'If (it) doesn't taste good, don't eat (it)'.

Gong-ge-ja-o-de, srong-a.
bent-NNomz-if   straight-Neut
'If (it) is not bent, it (is) straight'.

Ak-git-tam-na   pin-o-de, lep   kan-sa gip-ja-no-a-ming.
Cls(people)-three-Dat cover-if   blanket Cls-one reach-Neg-Neut-Pst
'If three people are to be covered, one blanket would not reach, One blanket would not reach for three people'.

-o-ba 'although, even if' is parallel in form to *-o-de*. It also forms a subordinate clause and it is followed by the main clause. The subjects of the two clauses can either be the same or different:

Ang-a   mi   cha·-o-ba   ok-kri-ing-a.
I-Nomn rice eat-although hungry-Prog-Neut
'Although I have eaten rice, (I) am hungry'.

Gim-ik-ko chok-o-ba,   da·-o rang·-sa   a-gan-prak-na
all-Acc   write-although now   Cls(times)-once explain-Inf

nang-no-a.
need-Fut
    'Although (I have) written everything, (you) need to explain once more'.

   Ang-ni pi·-sa jom-o-ba   ang-a Gai-ra-cha i·-ang-no-a.
   I-Gen child sick-although I   Gaira-Loc go-Fut
   'Although my child is sick, I will go to Gaira'.

   Da·-sal man·-ja-o-ba   sal-sa-de   man·-no-a.
   today   can-Neg-although day-one-but can-Fut
   'Although (I) cannot (do it) today, some day (I) will be able to'.

   Ang-a   ku·-rang-ko kin-a-o-ba   man-de-ko nik-ja.
   I-Nomn voice-Acc   hear-although person-Acc see-Neg
   'Although I hear the voice, I see nobody'.

   -o-sa/-o-ha 'only if'. *-o-sa* and *-o-ha* are both used in Mandi; *-o-sa* is the only form in A·chik.

   Na·-a   bil-ang-o-sa   ang-a   grap-no-a.
   you-Nomn fly-away-only-if I-Nomn cry-Fut
   'I will cry only when you fly away'.

   Bang-gal-ming bol-o-ha   Bang-la bol-ing-a.
   Bengalis-with speak-only-if Bengali speak-Prog-Neut
   '(We) speak Bengali only when speaking with Bengalis'.

   Bi-a i·-ba-o-sa   grong-no-a.
   he   come-only-if met-Fut
   '(We) will meet only if he comes'.

   -jok-o-de, -jok-o-ba, -jok-o-sa/-jok-o-ha. In addition to occurring in the position of the principal verb suffix, the three logical '*-o*' suffixes can occur after the tense-aspect marker *-jok* and after the immediate future *-na-jok* (see just below). Somewhat oddly, they cannot occur after the future tense marker *-no-a*. They do not occur after the present/neutral tense marker *-a* either, but it is not unreasonable to interpret simple *-o-de, -o-ba* and *-o-sa/-o-ha* to have been formed by the loss of *-a* before '*-o*'. In that way, the logical '*-o*' suffixes could be said to occur with three of the four tense markers, *-a, -jok* and *-na-jok*. Nothing is available to fill the gap left by the future, however.

   As would be expected, when one of these suffixes follows *-jok* the *-jok* adds a sense of completion to the 'if', 'although' or 'only'. The sense of completion is not always strong, however, and the meaning of these affixes

is sometimes not much different from that of the simpler *-o-de*, *-o-ba*, and *-o-ha/-o-sa*.

jok-o-de 'if'.

I·-ko   den·-e   sal-o   ram-jok-o-de, ran·-no-a.
this-Acc cut-Sub sunshine-Loc dry(vt)-Prf-if dry(vi)-Fut
'If it has been cut and dried in the sun, it will get dry'.

Neng·-tak-jok-o-de, gam rim·-na   re·-ang-bo.
rest-Prf-if   work do-Inf   go-Imp
'If you have rested, go to work'.

Bi-a re·-ba-jok-o-de, na·-chil kin-a-na nang-no-a.
he   come-Prf-if   ear   hear-Inf need-Fut
'If he has come, (you) will need to hear (about it)'.

Chi   tip-jok-o-de, na·-tok si-na-jok.
water dry up-Prf-if fish   die-IFut
'If the water has dried up, the fish will soon die'.

-jok-o-ba 'although'. Once again, the *-jok* adds a sense of completion to the *-o-ba* 'although':

Ang-a   re·-ang-jok-o-ba, nang·-ko gi-sik ra·-no-a.
I-Nomn go-Prf-although you-Acc   mind take-Fut
'Even when I have gone, (I) will remember you'.

Ang-a   nang·-ko nik-jok-o-ba,   kra cha·-ja-no-a.
I-Nomn you-Acc see-Prf-although embarrass-Neg-Fut
'Although I have seen you, (I) will not be embarrassed'.

Bi-a   kat-jok-o-ba,   bi-ka su-a.
he-Nomn run-Prf-although liver burn-Neut
'Although he has run away, (he) is angry'.

-jok-o-sa, -jok-o-ha 'only if' combines the sense of completion with that of 'only':

Wan-jok-o-sa,   rang-ko dok-na   man·-a.
Wangala-Prf-only-if gong-Acc beat-Inf can-Neut

'Only after the Wangala ritual can (one) beat the gongs'.

-na-jok-o-de, -na-jok-o-ba, -na-jok-o-sa/ha. Each of these three compound suffixes combines the sense of immediate or intentional future with the sense of one of the logical '*-o*' suffixes:

> *Neng·-tak-na-jok-o-de, ang-ko-ba a-gan-bo.*
> rest-IFut-if   I-Acc-also tell-Imp
> 'If (you) are about to rest, tell me too'.

> *Na·-a   bil-ang-na-jok-o-ba, ang-a   nang·-ko ni-et-no-a.*
> you-Nomn fly-IFut-although   I-Nomn you-Acc see-Fut
> 'Even though you are about to fly away (by plane), I will see you'.

> *Cha·-na-jok-o-sa, ring-gam-bo.*
> eat-IFut-only   call-Imp
> 'Call only when you are about to eat'.

Homophony of -de, -ba and -sa/-ha (C)

The syllables *-de, -ba, -sa/-ha* and *-in* have a curious insistence on cropping up together in a number of different places. They appear, first of all, as the four final noun suffixes, where *-de* shows a contrast with something, *-ba* means 'also', *sa-/ha-* means 'only', and *-in* foregrounds. Three of these also appear as *-de-, -ba-* and *-in-* in the phonological anticipations, which were described in Chapter 11, "Minor Parts of Speech" in the section "Echoes and Anticipations.

Now, a different selection of these syllables, *-de, -ba* and *-sa/-ha* are found tagging along after *-o* to form the three logical *-o* suffixes. In form, these are exactly like the combinations of locative *-o* together with one of the final noun suffixes. The logical *-o-ba* means 'although', while the *-o-ba* that joins locative *-o* to the final noun suffix *-ba* means 'also while'. The constructions are formally different, since a clause with the logical *-o-ba* requires a nominative subject, but *-o* nominalizers occur as subordinate clauses where they need genitive subjects. In the next example, the subjects of both verbs are genitive, showing that the *-o-ba* needs to be interpreted as having the meaning 'also when' or 'also at' rather than 'although':

> *Nang·-ni bil-ang-o-ba,   ang-a   grap-a-ming, bi-ni*
> you-Gen fly-away-Loc-also I-Nomn cry-Neut-Pst   he-Gen

bil-ang-o-ba   grap-no-a.
fly-away-Loc-also cry-Fut

> 'I cried at your flying away (by plane), (and I) will cry also at his flying away'.

In the next example, the subject is in the nominative, showing that the *-o-ba* means 'although':

> *Na·-a   bil-ang-o-ba,   ang-a   grap-ja-no-a.*
> you-Nomn fly-away-although I-Nomn cry-Neg-Fut
> 'Although you fly away, I will not cry'.

The logical *-o-de* 'if' also differs in both meaning and in the case of its subject from the locative *-o*, when followed by the final noun suffix *-de*. Whether it is a locative nominalizer or a logical *-o* suffix, however, *-o-sa/-o-ha* have much the same meaning. Both mean 'only if' or at least something close to it. Either a nominative or genitive subject is possible with little change in meaning. Very literal translations might be: *Bi-a bil-ang-o-sa, grap-no-a* 'Only when he flies away will (I) cry', *Bi-ni bil-ang-o-sa grap-no-a* 'Only at his flying away will (I) cry'.

Equational Sentences (B)

Throughout these chapters, I have repeatedly pointed out that the verb is the only obligatory part of a Garo sentence. Even this requirement has a few exceptions, though most of them are quite marginal. It is, of course, possible to use interjections by themselves, without a verb (e.g. *ai-au* 'wow!'). A single interrogative word can ask a question: *bat-cha?* 'where to?', *sa?* 'who?'. If the context is clear, it is also quite natural to use a single word as a reply to a question, and it need not be a verb: *da·-o* 'now', *ang-a* 'I', *rang·-gin-i* 'twice'. Practically any other word in the language can be used this way if the context is clear enough. Whether one wants to consider these to be sentences is a matter of definition. They are certainly meaningful and complete utterances.

Equational sentences constitute a more significant exception to the rule that every sentence requires a verb. These are sentences in which two noun phrases are equated to each other without the help of any verb at all. Such a sentence simply asserts that a thing named by one noun phrase is the same as a thing named by another noun phrase. Short and simple nouns can be equated, but so can quite complex noun phrases:

Bi-a   me·-chik.
he/she woman
'He/she (is) a woman'.

Na·-a   Ko-hi-ma; ang-a   Ra-ben.
you-Nomn Kohima   I-Nomn Raben
'You (are) Kohima; I (am) Raben'.

Nang·-ni jak kim-il gri.
You-Gen arm hair   without
'Your arm (is) without hair'.

In the following, more complex example, *kra-a* 'be proper' is a verb, but in this sentence it has been nominalized by *gip-a* 'the one who'. The

terminal noun suffix -*de* helps to show that this word completes the first noun phrase of the sentence. The second noun phrase consists of just one word, *me-chik-sa* 'woman':

> *I-a-rang-ko   man·-rik-na kra-gip-a-de   me·-chik-sa.*
> this-plu-Acc inherit-Dat proper-Nomz-but woman
> 'The proper one to inherit these (is) a woman'.

It is not possible to attach most verb affixes to a noun, even in an equational sentence, so whenever a tense, or a meaning conveyed by an adverbial affix is needed, a verb base must be found to hold the affixes. Filling this role is one important use of the verb base *ong·*-. In an equational sentence *ong·*- is placed after the second noun phrase, at the end of the sentence where verbs belong. Any combination of verb affixes can then be added to the *ong·*-. By itself, *ong·*- is nearly empty of meaning, but it holds the affixes. In fact, *ong·*- can be used as an equative verb even with no affix at all other than the neutral -*a*. This adds no real meaning to the sentence, just a bit of bulk. If the noun phrases that are equated are sufficiently complex, the *ong·*- may, of course, help to make the construction clear by marking its completion:

> *U-a ti-char sak-sa   me·-chik ong·-a.*
> that teacher Cls-one   woman   is
> 'That teacher is a woman'.

Ong·- is less dispensable when a negative or tense marker is needed, even in very simple sentences:

> *Bi-a si-pai   ong·-no-a.*
> he   soldier be-Fut
> 'He will be a soldier'.

> *Ang-a al-si-a ong·-ja.*
> I   lazy   be-Neg
> 'I am not lazy'.

In the section on "Terminal Suffixes" in Chapter 7, "Optional Verb Suffixes", it was pointed out that while terminal suffixes are almost always suffixed to verbs they are occasionally suffixed to nouns instead. This probably happens most often with equational sentences. Principal verb suffixes cling quite tightly to a verb base, but terminal verb suffixes such as -*ming* 'past', -*kon* 'probably', -*ma* 'question particle' and -*na* 'quotative' are just a bit less dependent on a verb. Equational sentences occasionally attract a terminal verb suffix even without a verb. I caught the following sentences on the fly from spontaneous talk:

I-a   nang·-ni-ma?
this-Nomn you-Gen-Que
'(Is) this yours?'

I-a   ang-ni bos-tu-ming-kon.
This I-Gen thing-Pst-probably
'This was probably my thing'.

Ang-ni dong-gip-a   nok   skang-o-de   am·-pang-ni-ming.
I-Gen   dwell-Nomz house formerly-Loc-but thatch-Gen-Pst
'The house in which I live was formerly thatched' (lit. 'of thatch').

RESTRUCTURING

The previous chapter described how clauses can be combined into complex sentences. This one considers a number of ways in which sentences, once formed, can be reorganized so as to give full flexibility to the language.

The Relative-Correlative Construction: je and ba (C)

In addition to relative clauses, that were described in Chapter 12, "Complex Noun Phrases", Garo has a second method of forming relatives. This is a parallel construction that requires a pair of pronouns. A special relative pronoun, usually *je*, is used in one clause, and a second "correlative" pronoun, usually a demonstrative, is used in the succeeding clause to refer back to the first. The result is sentence that has a form something like 'Whoever was thirsty, that one drank the water', where 'whoever' stands for the relative pronoun and 'that one' stands for the correlative. The relative-correlative construction can convey the same meanings as a relative clause ('the one who was thirsty drank water'), but it does so in a very different way.

The odd thing about the relative-correlative construction is that it appears to have been borrowed from Bengali. At least *je*, the most often-used relative pronoun, must be a borrowing, and the overall organization of the construction is very similar in the two languages. Since the Bengali relative-correlative construction is shared with other Indic languages it is implausible to suppose that the construction was borrowed into Bengali, either from Garo or from some other Tibeto-Burman language, and it is equally implausible to suppose that simple coincidence could have brought two such similar constructions to adjacent languages. If the construction

were confined to dialects such as Mandi that have been especially heavily influenced by Bengali, no one could doubt that the construction had been developed under influence of the neighboring language. However the construction is also well established in A·chik where the influence of Bengali is much less strong. Since the relative-correlative construction accomplishes a task for which Garo relative clauses offer a clear alternative, it is not obvious why it should have been borrowed, not only into Mandi, but more widely into other dialects of Garo.

The picture is made more complex by the occasional use of alternates to *je* that do not appear to be borrowed. These are used in much the same way as *je* but derived, presumably, from the interrogative *ba-* 'what, which?' that gives every appearance of being a native Garo word. One plausible historical path is that *je* established a pattern into which another word could move. Of course, one might also speculate that *ba-* relatives might be old and that it is the borrowed *je* that has been fitted into an old pattern. This, however, would leave us puzzled as to why *je* is now by far the most common and flexible relative pronoun. While the interrogative *ba-* was probably the source of the alternative relative pronoun, I have encountered no hint that either of the other two interrogatives, *mo-* or *sa-*, serving as a relative. None of this is more than speculative history at this point, and whatever its origins, the relative-correlative construction is now a well established part of the language.

Mandis use *je* easily, but they have not borrowed the full complexity of the Bengali relative system. Bengali has an extensive set of relative-correlative pairs. A few Mandis whose language has been especially strongly influenced by Bengali can be heard to use some of these even when speaking Mandi, but most speakers limit themselves to *je*, and use it together with a Mandi demonstrative as the correlative.

Je fits into the same position in a noun phrase as the demonstrative pronoun. This means that if the noun phrase includes other constituents it is *je* that comes first, but it also means that *je* can stand alone without any other noun phrase constituents. Case markers can then be suffixed directly to *je* to suit its particular role in the clause. In *je-ko ang-a nik-a* 'whatever I see', *ang-a* 'I' is the nominative subject and *je-ko* is the accusative object. Like a noun, however, *je* can also be used without a case marker when it is nominative: *je kat-ang-a* 'whoever ran away'. This is worth a special note because *je* is an unusual Mandi monosyllabic pronoun that does not have a suffixed *-a* in its nominative and citation form.

The *ba-* relatives are less common than the *je* relatives, and they cannot be used everywhere that the borrowed *je* can be used. In particular, *ba-* has the odd limitation that it has no free or nominative form, so it always

requires a case marker. This means that no form of *ba-* can be used as a
nominative relative. Nor can it occur as part of a larger noun phrase since
that would require the case marker to be suffixed to a later word.

The relative of the first clause is usually closely echoed by the demon-
strative correlative in the next. In the following examples, 'whatever' trans-
lates the relative pronoun *je*, and 'that' translates the correlative, *u-a*:

> *Je   man-de cha·-a-ming,   u-a man-de-in ring-a-ming.*
> whatever person eat-Neut-Pst   that person-Frg drink-Neut-Pst
> 'Whatever person ate, that person drank, The person who ate, drank'.

> *Ang-a je   ra-ma-git-a i·-ang-a, u-a   ra-ma-git-a-in*
> I-Nomn whatever road-via   go-Neut that-Nomn road-via

i·-ba-no-a.
come-Fut
> 'By whatever road I go, by that road will (I) come (back), I will come
> back the same way as I go'.

> *Na·-a   je   dak-e a-gan-a-ming u-a   dak-e ong·-ja.*
> you-Nomn whatever do-Sub say-Neut-Pst that-Nomn do-Sub be-Neg
> 'Whatever you said, that was not the case'.

While full echoing of the entire phrase is typical, it is not necessary:

> *Je   bi·-sa an·-tang gil-as-ko rim·-e   chi   ring-na*
> whatever child self   glass-Acc hold-Sub water drink-Inf

man·-ja, u·-na   na·-a   an·-tang kan-bo.
can-Neg those-Dat you-Nomn self   feed-Imp
> 'Whatever children cannot hold the glass themselves in order to drink,
> you yourself must feed those'.

The next examples have *ba-* relatives. In the absence of following
nouns, case markers are suffixed to both the relative and correlative. *Je*
could be substituted for *-ba* in these sentences:

> *Ba-ko   ang-a am·-a,   u-ko   bi-a ra·-ba-ing-a.*
> whatever-Acc I-Nomn want-Neut that-Acc he   bring-Prog-Neut
> 'Whatever I want, that he is bringing'.

> *Ang-a bat-cha   i·-ang-a-ming,   u-a-cha sak-sa man-de-ba*
> I-Nomn wherever-Loc go-Neut-Pst   there-Loc Cls-one person-Ind

dong-ja-ming.
be at-Neg-Pst
> 'Wherever I went, nobody was there, Nobody was at the places where
> I went'.

Na·-a   ba-dik-e don-a   in-dik-in   dong-a-ring-a.
you-Nomn however put-Neut   that-way-Frg be at-just-Prog-Neut
'However you put (it), (it) is still that way'.

The differences between the relative construction described in Chapter 12 and the relative-correlative construction described here can be seen in the next two examples. In the first of these, the verb, *chik-a* 'bite', has been nominalized with *-gip-a* so that the whole expression is a noun phrase that consists of a relative clause modifying *a-chak* 'dog'. In the second example the verb has not been nominalized, so the expression is a clause introduced by relative pronoun:

Ja-sen-ni pi·-sa-ko chik-gip-a   a-chak
Jasen-Gen child-Acc bite-Nomz   dog
'the dog that bit Jasen's child'

je   a-chak Ja-sen-ni   pi·-sa-ko chik-a-ming
whatever dog   Jasen-Gen   child-Acc bite-Neut-Pst
'whatever dog bit Jasen's child'

These alternative constructions can become parts of full sentences, of course, but in slightly different ways. The first is a noun phrase that can act as an argument of a verb. The second is a clause that must be used in parallel with a second clause that has a correlative pronoun:

Ja-sen-ni pi·-sa-ko chik-gip-a   a-chak-ko ang-a dok-a-ming.
Jasen-Gen child-Acc bite-Nomz dog-Acc   I-Nom hit-Neut-Pst
'I struck the dog that bit Jasen's child'.

Je   a-chak Ja-sen-ni   pi·-sa-ko chik-a-ming, u-a a·-chak-ko
whatever dog   Jasen-Gen   child-Acc bite-Neut-Pst that dog-Acc
ang-a   dok-a-ming.
I-Nomn hit-Neut-Pst
'Whatever dog bit Jasen's child, that dog I struck.'.

The relative pronoun can take a plural suffix, but as with nouns, the absence of an explicit plural does not necessarily imply singularity:

Je-rang   cha·-na rak-a,   u-a-rang gam-u rim·-na-ba rak-a.
whoever-Plu eat-Inf strong-Neut they   work do-Inf-also strong
'Whoever (plural) eats strongly, they will also work strongly'.

The next examples use *je-sik-ni* or *bai-sik-ni* 'whatever amount', in which the *-sik* means 'amount, quantity'. The same syllable appears in the correlatives *in-di-sik* 'this much' and *u-a-sik-ni* 'that much', as well in *bai-sik* 'how much?, what amount?':

Bi-a   ang-na je-sik-ni-in/ba-sik-ni-in ron·-a   ang-a-ba bi-na
I-Nomn-also he-Dat however-much-Frg   give-Fut I-Nomn he-Dat
u-a-sik-ni-in   ron·-no-a.
that-much-Frg give-Fut
    'However much he gives me, I will give him that much (the same amount)'.

Me-ja-o   je-sik-ni/ba-sik-ni man-de re·-ba-ming,
yesterday-Loc whatever number people   come-Pst
u-a-sik-ni-in   da·-sal-ba re·-ba-jok.
that-number-Frg today-also come-Prf
    'Whatever-number of people came yesterday, that number came today also'.

Postpositions can follow a relative or correlative that has the appropriate case, just as they can follow demonstratives:

Je-ni   gim-in   bi-a Mo-du-pur-cha re·-ang-a-ming, u·-ko-in
whatever-Gen because he   Modhupur-Loc go-Neut-Pst   that-Frg
man·-ba-ja-jok.
can-get-Neg-Prf
    'For whatever reason he went to Modhupur he was not able to do it, he was not able to do whatever he went to Modhupur for'.

Nang·-o bai-sik   kan-sa   pen-sil dong-a-ming,   u-a in-di-sik-ko
you-Loc how-many Cls-one pencil be at-Neut-Pst that that many
ang-na ra·-ba.
me-Dat bring-Neut
    'However many pens you had, bring me that many'.

Demonstrative pronouns are occasionally used to connect two clauses in a way similar to that of correlative pronouns, even without a relative in the preceding clause. The pronoun introduces the second (main) clause at the same time that it refers back to the first clause. These could be considered two separate sentences, but they are intimately connected:

Bi-a   re·-ba-no-a, u·-ko   ang-a   be-be ra·-ja.
he-Nomn come-Fut   that-Acc I-Nomn believe-Neg
'He will come, that I don't believe, I don't believe he will come'.

Bi-a   re·-ba-no-a-ma, re·-ba-ja-no-a u·-ko   ang-a   hai·-ja.
he-Nomn come-Fut-Que   come-Neg-Fut that-Acc I-Nomn know-Neg
'Whether he will come or not, that I do not know'.

I-a   bos-tu sa-ni,   i·-ko   bi-na   on·-bo.
this-Nomn thing who-Pos this-Acc he-Dat give-Imp
'Whose is this thing? Give it to him', 'Whosever this thing is, give it
to him'.

Balanced Questions (B)

Garo has several ways of asking questions. Question word questions
were discussed in Chapter 9, "Nominals". The interrogative suffix *-ma*,
with which yes-no questions are formed, was discussed along with other ter-
minal suffixes in Chapter 6, "Verbs". Yes-no questions can also be formed
simply by using a question intonation with a sentence that differs in no
other way from a declarative statement. One kind of question remains:
balanced questions in which two verbs, the first positive and the second
negative, are used in close succession and linked by a single intonational
pattern. The first verb of the pair always has *-ma*, the interrogative suf-
fix, and the second sometimes does as well. The two verbs share the same
arguments. In the first example, the second verb is exactly like the first
except for the addition of the negative-*ja-*. Both clauses have a distinctly
rising intonation but the first has its peak at the very end, while the second
peaks early enough to allow a quick final fall:

Bi-a   re·-ba-no-a-ma re·-ba-ja-no-a-ma?
she-Nomn come-Fut-Que come-Neg-Fut-Que
'Will she come, will (she) not come?', 'Will she come or not?'

The verbs are not always so similar. For example, the tense marker *-jok*
'change of state' is often liked with *-ku-ja* 'not yet', as in *I·-ba-jok-ma, i·-ba-
ku-ja?* 'Has (he) come (or) not yet come?'. Some balanced question even
have two different verbs or different modifying adverbs. When the second
clause lacks the interrogative *-ma*, it also lacks the rising intonation, but
that intonation remains on the first clause:

Do·-ga-rang ok-a-ma   chip-a?
door-Plu   open-Neut-Que closed-Neut
'Are the doors open or closed?'

Rak-e   tet-a-ma   ka·-sin-e tet-a?
difficult-Sub break-Neut-Que easy-Sub break-Neut
'Is (it) difficult or easy to break?'

The intonation of balanced questions gives a clear unity to the entire
construction. The pitch always rises at the end of the positive first clause,

and then either falls back gently or makes a second rise, depending on whether or not the negative second question ends with *-ma*.

Balanced questions form the largest of a long series of twinned constructions in Mandi. Syllables in a word alternate in their ability to include a glottal stop; the first and third syllable allow them, the second and fourth do not. The languages has hundreds of reduplicated adverbs and scores of reduplicated adverbial affixes. Nouns are reduplicated to show plurality, and numbers to show a distributive sense. Echo words bring still more paired expressions to the language, as do the *ka-ta jik-se* which pair two relatively concrete words to yield compounds with a more general sense than either of the parts has alone. Paired words or phrases both of which terminate in *-ba* 'also' give a rhythmical lilt to Garo, for which English 'both…and' offers a only pallid translation. In a language with so many paired expressions, balanced questions come as one of the most intricate varieties of twinning.

da·- Construction (C)

Another balanced construction, also with two clauses, has the meaning 'whether or not'. The second clause has the same form as an independent sentence, but the first clause has two occurrences of the same verb, with a *da·-* prefixed to the second. *Da·-* is otherwise used as a negative imperative, and as in some forms of the negative imperative, the verbs that surround the *da-* have no principal verb suffix, a very unusual fate for a Mandi verb. The verb may have adverbial affixes, however. In this construction, the *da·-* acts like a negative, and it carries no imperative meaning. The entire sequence, *X-da·-X*, means 'whether X or not'. *-a-ri-* often appears in the second clause since its meaning of 'just, simply' is semantically appropriate after a clause that means 'whether or not':

Ring da·-ring, bi-a   on·-a-ri-jok.
drink Neg-drink he-Nomn give-just-Prf
'Whether (we) drink or not he just gave (it)'. (i.e. 'he pushed a drink at us'.)

Tang-ka man da·-man ang-a   i·-ang-no-a.
money   get Neg-get   I-Nomn go-Fut
'Whether I get money or not, I will go'.

Ring-to   da·-ring-to   ring-a-ri-no-a.
Drink-good Not-drink-good drink-just-Fut
'Whether it is good to drink or not good to drink, (I) will just drink (it)'.

   So-no-ra i·-ba da·-i-ba   ang-a   am-bin-o nok-o   dong-na
   Sonora   come Neg-come I-Nomn tomorrow home-Loc be at-Inf
man·-ja-no-a.
can-not-Fut

   'Whether Sonora comes or does not come, I cannot be at home tomor-
row'.

Passive (C)

   Passives are not prominent in Mandi or, so far as I am aware, in other
dialects of Garo, but they do exist. Passives can be derived from active
sentences by promoting a noun phrase, most often the original direct ob-
ject, to the subject and changing its case from accusative to nominative.
Simultaneously the original subject is demoted to an instrumental. In addi-
tion, some adjustments to the verb are needed. Most often the verb of the
underlying active sentence takes the neutral tense marker -*a*, (or perhaps
it is an -*a* nominalization, there would be no way to distinguish them), and
either *cha·-a* or *man·-e cha·-a* is placed at the end of the sentence, after
the original verb. The new verb, *cha·-a*, can have any tense marker and
any terminal verb suffix.

   The following active sentence has a nominative subject, *pol-is*, and an
accusative object, *chau·-kok-ko*, 'thief':

   Chau·-kok-ko pol-is dok-a-ming.
   thief-Acc   police hit-Neut-Pst
   'The police beat the thief'.

   In the corresponding passive, *chau·-kok* becomes the nominative sub-
ject, and *pol-is* becomes instrumental:

   Chau·-kok po-lis-cha dok-a   man·-e cha·-a-ming.
   thief-Nom police-Inst beat-Neut get-Sub eat-Neut-Pst
   'The thief was beaten by the police'

   A very literal translation of this sentence would be 'The thief, by the
police, got (lit. ate) a hit'. *Man·-a* can mean 'get, achieve' while *cha·-a*
appears to be the verb whose literal meaning is 'eat'. *Cha·-a* also has the
metaphorical meaning of 'take on, assume', and it is in this sense that it is
used for the passive: 'The thief takes on a beating by the police'. The sense
might be suggested by a similar English metaphor: 'The thief swallowed a
beating by the police'.

   Man·-e, while often used, can be omitted. The parentheses indicate
optionality:

Kle-men ma-lik-cha nik-a   (man·-e) cha·-a.
Clement boss-Inst   see-Neut   get-Sub   eat-Neut
'Clement was seen by the boss (e.g. as he was caught stealing)'.

Pi·-sa a-ma-cha   gam   rim·-na hit-a man·-e cha·-a.
child   mother-Inst work do   order get-Sub eat-Neut
'The child was ordered to work by (his) mother'.

Sometimes, *-cha-ko* rather than just *-cha* marks the demoted subject. This looks suspiciously like an augmented locative. The next sentence can be derived from *Nang·-ko ang-a nik-a* 'I see you':

Na·-a   ang-cha-ko nik-a   man·-e cha·-a.
you-Nomn I-Inst-Acc   see-Neut   get-Sub eat-Neut
'You are seen by me'.

The passive construction is almost limited to sentences in which the original object, now the subject, is animate. A close translation of the English sentence 'The thief was beaten by the police' is possible because the 'thief' is animate. English can just as easily form a passive from 'The students raked the leaves', where the object is inanimate. 'The leaves were raked by the students' is a fine English sentence, but when I tried out a literal translation with Mandi speakers, it was greeted as hilariously impossible.

As another example, consider:

Bi-la-si-ni Ra-ben-na Man-di ku·-sik-ko   sin-ing-ing-a.
Bilasini   Raben-Dat Mandi   language-Acc teach-Prog-Neut
'Bilasini is teaching the Mandi language to Raben'.

From this we can create a passive in which Raben has become the new subject. Here it is a dative rather than an accusative that is promoted to the new subject:

Bi-la-si-ni-cha Ra-ben Man-di ku·-sik-ko   sin-ing-na man·-e
Bilasini-Inst   Raben Mandi   language-Acc teach-Inf   get-Sub
cha·-no-a.
eat-Fut
'Raben is being taught the Mandi language by Bilasini'.

I have tried and failed to obtain a passive in which the accusative *ku·-sik-ko* 'language' becomes the subject, to give an equivalent for 'the language is taught to Raben by Bilasini'. I have been met by puzzlement, laughter, and flat denials.

However, I did find one marginal exception to the rule the new subject must be animate. In the following sentence *da-ma* 'drum' is the new subject coming from the old object of *dok-a* 'beat'. I have had contradictory reactions to this sentence. Some have accepted it, while others have flatly rejected it. Even its partial acceptance suggests the special, nearly animate, role that drums have had in Garo culture:

Da-ma man-de-cha dok-a cha·-a.
drum   person-Inst hit   eat-Neut
'The drum is beaten by the man'.

The passive construction is not common in Mandi. A language that can omit subjects so easily has less need for a passive than one where a subject is required, and I was long under the impression that Mandi lacked a passive entirely. I was considerably surprised when I finally stumbled on it.

Comparative with -kal-, -bat- (B)

-kal- and *-bat-* are adverbial affixes that confer the comparative sense of 'more'. *-kal-* is more common in Mandi and *-bat-* more common in A·chik, but both are widely understood. They are often used with a noun phrase that has the postposition *bat-e*, which also means 'more':

Ang-a   nang·-na bat-e   dal·-kal-a.
I-Nomn   you-Dat   more   big-more-Neut
'I am bigger than you'.

While the postposition and the adverbial affix are often used together, either one by itself is sufficient to convey the comparative sense:

Jong-a-da-rang-ni   sa   dal·-bat-a?
younger-brother-elder-brother-Plu-Gen who big-more-Neut
'Of the brothers, who is biggest?'

The final example demonstrates the way to produce a superlative. Something is said to have more of some quality than anything:

gim-ik-na bat-e dal·-a
all-Dat   more big-Neut
'bigger than any', 'biggest of all'

Postposed Noun Phrases (C)

As I have repeatedly pointed out, the verb normally comes at the end of Garo clauses and sentences. When asked to provide linguistic examples, native speakers almost always place the verb last. In running speech, however, it is quite common for a noun, pronoun, or adverb to be moved to the postverbal position. Occasionally a pronoun is even repeated post-verbally after first being used before the verb. The post-verbal position is highly marked, and it is set off very clearly by the intonation. There is a drop in pitch at the end of the verb, and a noticeable pause between the verb and the following noun phrase. The postposed noun phrase generally starts on a particularly low pitch but it may rise again just slightly at the end. The intonational contour gives considerable saliency to the postposed noun phrase and suggests that it has not become fully grammaticalized in this position. The suffix -*de* is very frequently added to post-verbal pronouns. The -*de* indicates that something is attributed to the noun or pronoun that would not have been expected:

Cha·-ku-ja, ang-a-de.
eat-yet-Neg I-Nomn-but
'I, on the other hand, have not yet eaten'.

Any type of noun phrase can be moved to the post-verbal position. In the next examples, *chul-a-o* is a locative, *me-ja-o* a frozen locative, while *na·-a* is a nominative.

Ko-rai-a-ko   chan-bo, chul-a-o.
cooking-pan-Acc set-Inf   fireplace-Loc
'Set the cooking pan on the fireplace'.

Ang-a   ang-ni cha-ta-ko   ra·-ba-na gu-al-a-ming,   me-ja-o.
I-Nomn I-Gen umbrella-Acc bring-Inf forget-Neut-Pst yesterday-Loc
'I forgot to bring my umbrella yesterday'.

Mu-a dak-ing-a,   na·-a?
what do-Prog-Neut you-Nomn
'What are you doing?'

Most often it is just a single word that follows the verb, but the next examples show that a longer noun phrase can also be moved:

Nok-o   kam rim-na man·-a, ang-a   sak-san.
house-Loc work do-Inf   can-Neut I-Nomn Cls-one
'I alone can do the work in the house'.

Ang-a   bi-cha   ang-ni pi·-sa-na ji-nis ron·-et-ing-a,
I-Nomn she-Inst I-Gen   child-Dat things give-Caus-Prog-Neut

bi-ni   re·-ang-a-na.
her-Gen go-Nomz-Dat

'I gave her things for my child, at her departure'. ('She' is being used as an instrument for delivering something).

Bang-gu-ri-a-ming,   ang-ni mi   cha·-o
earthquake-Neut-Pst I-Gen rice eat-LNomz

'There was an earthquake while I ate'. (lit. '(It) earthquaked at my eating'.

Ang-a ni-na   ha·-sik-ing-a,   bi-ni   ru-a   sik-gip-a
I   look at-Inf want-Prog-Neut he-Gen rice seedling plant-Nomz
ha·-ba-ko.
fields-Acc

'I want to see his fields with planted rice seedlings'.

It is not surprising to find vocatives postverbally:

A-du-ru-ko ba-sok-o   sik-no-a-ming,   Ka-ka?
horn-Acc   when-Loc blow-Fut-Pst   Uncle
'When would (one) play the horn, Uncle?'

Occasionally a pronoun given once in the normal position before the verb is repeated after the verb:

Bi-a   gip-in   song-cha-na   kat-ang-a-ming, bi-a.
she-Nomn different-Frg village-Loc-Aug run-away-Pst   she
'She ran away to a different village'.

Postposed Subordinate Clauses (C)

Mandi subordinate clauses generally precede the main clause. Some sort of subordinator, such as *-e, -kan, -o-de, in-e* or a postposition finishes the subordinate clause and links that to the main clause that follows. This order is certainly the basic and unmarked one. Occasionally, however, the order is reversed, and the subordinate clause, together with whatever subordinator it has, is moved to follow the main clause. This marked position is shown by the intonation which sets off a postposed clause almost as clearly as it sets off a postposed noun phrase. The rule that accomplishes this readjustment is very simple. The two clauses simply switch positions with no required internal adjustments or additions to either clause. In the examples, the two clauses are separated by a comma so as to suggest the intonational separation that divides them. The subordinator now comes at

the very end of the sentence, thereby maintaining its position in the sub-ordinate clause, and showing the sentence to have a highly marked word order.

Imperative -kan.

Ra-ben Bi-la-si-ni-ko hit-a,   bi-ni   chat-chi-na   cha-ko
Raben   Bilasini-Acc   order-Neut   she-Gen kinsmen-Dat tea-Acc
ron·-kan.
give-Imp
'Raben ordered Bilasini to give tea to her kinsmen'.

Bi-ko a-gan-bo, ba·-ra-ko   gal-kan.
he-Acctell-Imp   cloth-Acc throw-Sub
'Tell him, he may throw away the cloth'.

Subordinating Conjunction in-e.

Ang-a   nang·-cha sing·-ing-a,   Man-di gra-mar chok-na in-e
I-Nomn you-Inst   ask-Prog-Neut   Mandi grammar write-Inf Sub
'I am questioning you, in order to write a Mandi grammar'.

Ang-a   bi-ko   ka·-cha-a,   bi-a   ang-ni chi-ti-ko
I-Nomn he-Acc bawl-out-Neut   he-Nomn I-Gen   letter-Acc
gal-et-jok   in-e.
throw away-Pst Sub
'I bawled him out, because he threw away my letter'.

Postposition

Bi-a   si-jok, ang-ni re·-ang-a-ni   ja·-man-o.
he-Nomn die-Prf I-Gen   go-Nomz-Gen after-Loc
'He died, after I left'.

Gim-ik-ko   chok-o-ba   da·-o   rang·-sa   a-gan-prak-na
everything-Acc write-although now-Loc   Cls(times)-one explain-Inf
nang-no-a, ang-ni gu-a-al-a-ni   gim-in.
need-Fut   I-Gen   forget-Nomz-Gen   because
'Although everything is written down (you) will need to explain once more, because of my forgetting'.

-o-de 'if'

Bi-song re·-ang-ja-no-a-ming, ang-a   re·-ang-o-de.
they   go-Neg-Fut-Pst   I-Nomn go-if
'They wouldn't go, if I go'.

-e-min-a 'having'

Rom-na re·-ang-a-ming, mi   cha·-e-min-a.
walk-Inf go-Neut-Pst   rice eat-Sub
'(I) went walking, having eaten'.

Subject Fronting (C)

For the most part, Garo clauses follow one another rather than being
embedded in each other, but there is one notable exception. Although the
main clause generally follows a subordinate clause in Garo, it is usually
possible to bring the subject of the main clause to the beginning of the
sentence. The result is that the main clause subject comes first, followed
by the subordinate clause, with the remainder of the main clause coming
last. The subjects of the two clauses may then be side by side:

Ang-a na·-a   gong·-ja-o-ba   wat-et-no-a.
I-Nom you-Nom inclined-Neg-although   send-Fut
'I will send (you) even though you are not inclined'.

Here 'I' is the subject of *wat-et-a*, the main verb of the sentence, while
na·-a gong-ja-o-ba is a subordinate clause inserted into the larger matrix
sentence. Other examples are:

Ang-a bi-ni   sa-wi-a-ko   kin-a-na ham·-chak-ja-jok.
I-Nom he-Gen insults-Acc   hear-Inf stand-Neg-Prf
'I can no longer stand his insults'.

Ang-a   bi·-sa-ko   hos-tel-cha-ko   ni-na i·-ang-ing-a.
I-Nomn children-Acc hostel-Loc-Aug see-Inf go-Prog-Neut
'I am going to the hostel to see the children'.

APPENDIX A

TEXTS

These short texts offer examples of more connected language than is provided in the earlier chapters of this book. The texts are taken from a book written by Kohima Daring called *Mandi Di·sarangna Golpo: Stories for Garo Children*. The author worked with me for several months in 1987, and I discovered that she was an extraordinarily gifted story teller. She could embroider and embellish the tales of her people and turn them into wonderful epics. Later, she put some of these stories into written form and made them into a book. Unusually for Garo printed books, hers reflects the dialect of Mandi spoken in Bangladesh, rather than adhering closely to the standards of most written A·chik. This makes them especially appropriate for this book.

For the most part, I have retained the author's spelling, although it differs in a few details from that used in the rest of this work. Kohima Daring's home is near the Indian border. Her dialect differs slightly from that of Modhupur, and her spelling reflects this in a few ways. In some details she adheres a bit more closely to "standard" A·chik than I do. For example she writes some clusters, such as *gn, kn* and *sl* where I break them up with *i*. In some other respects, however, her spelling is even further from A·chik than is mine. In particular, she spells a number of words with an initial *h-* that I omit. This is an area of great regional, individual, and stylistic variability, and both spellings can be defended. I have added the hypens and translations and, with the author's advice and permission, corrected a few minor typos. The only other change I have made is to write out some foregrounding (emphasising) suffixes as *-in* where she writes *-n*. Her *-n* spelling is phonetically and even phonologically accurate, but for the purposes of this book I prefer *-in* which reflects the underlying form and makes it possible to spell the suffix in the same way whether it follows

a vowel or a consonant. In everything else, I have left the stories as they
are printed. I extend my warmest thanks to Kohima Daring for permission
to use these stories in a way that she could never have anticipated when
she first wrote them.

Spru A ro Marakka

The Snail and the Barking Deer

 Sal-sa-o   ma-rak-ka   mang-sa kan-sa chi-ring-o-na hi·-ba-e
 day-one-Loc barking-deer Cls-one   Cls-one river-Aug   come-Sub
chi   ring-ing-a-ming-na.
water drink-Prog-Neut-Pst-Quo
 'One day a barking-deer came to a river to drink, it is said'.

Chi   ring-mit-ing-o   ma-rak-ka   nik-jok-na, jak-gri   ja·-teng-gri
water drink-while-Loc barking-deer see-Prf-Quo arms-without legs-without
spru mang-sa-ni   mal-am-e   ro-om-a-ko.
snail Cls-one-Gen crawl-Sub wander-Nomz-Acc
 'While drinking, the deer saw a snail, without arms or legs, wandering
around by crawling'.

Ma-rak-ka-de   u-ko   nik-e   ka·-ding-git-chi-e,   chon-nik-e,
barking-deer-but that-Acc see-Sub laugh-insultingly-Sub look-down-Sub
spru-ko   in-jok-na   "Cha-e   na·-a-de mo! jak-gri   ja·-teng-gri
snail-Acc say-Prf-Quo hey   you-but what arms-without legs-without
ku-sik-cha-ha   ra-ma-ko-ba   hi·-a".
mouth-Inst-only road-Acc-also go-Neut
 'Seeing this, the barking-deer laughed insultingly, looked down contemp-
tuously, and said to the snail "Hey, what are you?–without arms, without
legs, going along the road with your mouth" '.

 "Ang-ni jak   ja·-teng-rang-ko   ni-bo   ba-dik-i ro·-reng-ro·-reng dak-e
I-Gen   arms leg-Plu-Acc   look-Imp how   beautifully long do-Sub
ni-to-a".
see-beautiful-Neut
 ' "Look at my arms and legs, how long and beautiful they are" '.

 "Ang-ni ja·-gam-sa ga·-ak-o-in   na·-a-de sal-sni   wal-sni
I-Gen   step-one   fall-Loc-Frg you-but day-seven night-seven
hi·-o-ba   sok-ja-nu-a,   da·-nang".
go-although arrive-not-Fut alas
 ' "Even if you go for seven days and seven nights, you would not reach one
of my steps, alas" '.

 U-ko   kna-e   spru-ba   ka·-ding-smit-e ma-rak-ka-ko
 that-Acc hear-Sub snail-also smile-Sub   barking-deer-Acc
in-ska-jok-na,   "Na·-a   ang-ko   chon-nik-o-ba   ang-a-de
say-back-Prf-Quo you-Nomn I-Acc   look down-although I-but

nang·-ming kat-su-sa-e   ni-na   o·-ki-sa-ba ken-ja.
you-with   run-compete-Sub see-Inf little   fear-Neg
'Hearing that, the snail also smiled and said to the deer in return "Although
you look down on me, I am not the least afraid to see a running competition
with you" '.

"Nang·-ming ang-ming kat-su-sa-e   ni-o-ha   ha·-ai-na
you-with   I-with   run-compete-Sub see-Loc-only know-Inf
man·-nu-a jak-ja·-teng dong-gip-a   ta·-rak-bat-a-ma,   ku·-sik-cha
able-Fut   arms-legs   have-Nomz fast-more-Neut-Que mouth-Inst
hi·-a-ri-gip-a ta·-rak-bat-a".
go-just-Nomz fast-more-Neut
' "Only if you and I see by running, will be we able to know whether one
with arms and legs is faster, or one who just goes by mouth is faster" '.

U-ko   kna-e   ma-rak-ka-de ging-tong-ko sak-a-cha-na   di·-do-e
this-Acc   hear-Sub deer-but   snout-Acc   upward-Loc-Aug raise-Sub
"ha.. ha.. ha.." in-e ka·-ding-jok-na.
ha-ha-ha   Sub laugh-Prf-Quo
'Hearing this, the deer raising his snout upward, laughed ha-ha-ha, so it is
said'.

Ar spru-ko in-jok-na   "Hai, in-dik-i in-o-de han·-ching
and snail-Acc say-Prf-Quo lets go, this way say-if   we-inclusive
kat-su-sa-e   ni-srang-na.
run-compete-Sub see-completely-Quo
'And to the snail (he) said, "Lets go, if that is what you say, we will see
completely by running and competing" '.

"Han·-ching ha·-dok dam-sni-o-ni chi-ring dam-sni-o-na
we-inclusive area   seven-Aug   river   place-seven-Loc-Aug
kat-su-sa-a-na".
run-compete-Neut-Quo
' "We race from seven areas to seven streams", it is said'.

Bi-bi-in bi-bi bi-song-de kat-su-sa-ni   sal a-ro so-moi-ko tiik
true-Frg true they-but   run-compete-Gen day and time-Acc correct
dak-jok-na.
do-Prf-Quo
'Truly, they set the day and time of the race'.

Spru-de   u-a jol-o   dong-gip-a spru jat   ska gim-ik-cha
snail-but that region-Loc live-Nomz snail tribe itself all-Loc
ko-bol hon·-et-jok-na,   "Ma-rak-ka-de han·-ching spru jat-ko-de
news give-Caus-Prf-Quo deer-but   we-inclusive snails tribe-Acc-but

jak-gri,   ja·-teng-gri ku·-sik-cha-ha   ra-ma-ko hi·-a
arms-without legs-without mouth-Inst-only path-Acc go-Neut
bi-ni   ja·-gam-sa hi·-a-kon   han·-ching-de sal-sni
he-Gen step-one   go-Neut-probably we-but   day-seven
wal-sni   hi·-o-ba   sok-na   man·-ja-nu-a, in-e han·-ching-na-de
night-seven go-although arrive-Inf   able-Neg-Fut Sub we-Dat-but
ka·-ding-git-chi-a   a-ro han·-ching-ko-de chon-nik-a.
laugh-insultingly-Neut and we-Acc-but   look down-Neut
 'The snail gave all the news to the snail tribe of that area', "The deer laughs
insultingly at us and looks down on us, the snail tribe, without arms and
without legs, saying that even if we went for seven days and seven nights
we would still not arrive" '.

Bi-ni   ra-song-pa dak-a-ko   ni-na nang-a   in-e
he-Gen pride   do-Nomz-Acc see-Inf need-Neut Sub
ang-a   bi-ming kat-su-sa-na sal a-ro so-moi-ko tiik   dak-jok.
I-Nomz he-with race-Inf   day and time-Acc correct set-Prf
 'We need to see his pride [let's see how proud he is], so I set a day and
time with him to race'.

Hai han·-ching ap-san   hong·-e i-a kam-ko   ka·-na.
let's we-inclusive together be-Sub this work-Acc do-Inf
 'Let us be together to do this job'.

Ap-san   nang-rim-e kam   ka·-o-de han·-ching-in ham-nu-a a-ro
together unified-Sub work do-if   we-Frg   win-Fut   and
han·-chin-ni jat-na-ba   ra-song hong·-nu-a
we-Gen   tribe-to-also pride   be-Fut
 'If we work together united, we will win and there will be pride for our
tribe'.

     Je-ni   sal-o   ma-rak-ka na·-song-ni han·-tang-ni chi-ring-o-na
     what-Gen day-Loc deer   you-Gen   own-Gen   stream-Aug

sok-nu-a u-ni   sal-o   bi-ni   sok-na   skang han·-tang-tang-ni
arrive-Fut that-Gen day-Loc   he-Gen arrive-Gen before own-Gen
chi-ring-o dong-so-e,   "chop   chap in-e mik-o-so-tok-bo".
stream-Loc be at-ahead-Sub chop   chap Sub call-first-all-Imp
 'Whenever the deer is about to reach your own stream, at that time before
he arrives at your own stream, all call chop chap first'.

U-ko   kna-e-min-a u-no   dong-gip-a spru gim-ik-in gi-sik-o
that-Acc hear-Sub   that-Loc be-at-Nomz snail all-Frg   mind-Loc
duk man·-jok-na ar   ma-rak-ka-ko nam-en ka·-o-nang-e u-a
pain get-Prf-Quo and   deer-Acc   very   angry-Sub   that-Nomn

kat-su-sa-a-ni   sal-na   ta-ri-e   seng-e   dong-so-jok-na.
race-Nomz-Gen day-Dat prepare-Sub   wait-Sub be-first-Prf-Quo
 'Hearing this, all the snails who were there got hurt in their minds and
were angry at the deer, and prepared ahead and waited for the day of the
race'.

Kat-su-sa-a-ni   sal-o   bi-bin-bi-bi   ma-rak-ka a-ro spru u-a
race-Nomz-Gen day-Loc truly   deer   and snail that
chi-ring-o-na hi·-ba-jok-na.
stream-Aug   came-Quo
 'On the day of the race, indeed, the deer and the snail came to the stream,
it is said'.

Spru ma-rak-ka-ko in-jok-na,   "Na·-a   chi-ring dam-prak-o
snail deer-Acc   say-Prf-Quo   you-Nomn stream   place-each-at
sok-a-ming   ta-rim-e   hok hok   in-e mik-ko-bo ar   ang-a
arrive-Neut-Pst just then-Sub hok hok Sub call-Imp   and I-Nomz
gan-da chop chap in-e   mik-ko-nu-a in-e.
as for   chop chap Sub call-Fut   like this
 'The snail said to the deer "just when you have reached each river call hok
hok and as for me, I will call chop chap" '.

Ar sa.. gni.. git-am.. in-e bi-song-de sak-gni hong·-e ap-san
and one two   three   Sub they-but Cls-two be-Sub together
kat-na ha·-ba-cheng-jok-na.
run-Inf begin-Prf-Quo
 'And one.. two.. three.. the two of them began to run together'.

In-di-ba skang-gip-a chi-ring-o-na sok-na   skang-in ma-rak-ka-de
but   first-Nomz stream-Aug   arrive-Inf first-Frg deer-but
chop chap in-e spru-ni   mik-o-a-ko   kna-jok-na.
chop chap Sub snail-Gen   call-Nomz-Acc hear-Prf-Quo
 'But when arriving at the first river, the deer first heard the chop chap call
of the snail'.

Ma-rak-ka-de in-jok-na,   "At-chai, spru-de   ang-na skang ta·-rak-e
deer-but   say-Prf-Quo hey,   snail-but I-Dat   before quickly-Sub
kat-ing-jok" in-e.
run-Prog-Prf that is what
 'The deer said "Hey, the snail was running quickly, ahead of me'.

U-na   ma-rak-ka-de a-ro   bat-e   ta·-rak-e kat-e-ming-na da·-o
that-Dat deer-but   more   more-Sub quickly   run-Sub   now
kan-sa chi-ring-o-na sok-na   ham·-jok-na,   ar un-o-ba sok-na
Cls-one stream-Aug   arrive-Dat about to-Prf-Quo and then-also arrive

skang-in spru-ha   da·-a-ba   chop chap in-e mik-o-so-jok-na.
first-Frg snail-only now-also chop chap Sub call-first-Prf-Quo
'Because of that, the deer ran even more quickly, and again was about to
arrive at a stream and then, before (he) arrived, the snail again called chop
chap, it is said'.

Ma-rak-ka-de. "Ai-ao, jak-gri   ja·-teng-gri ma·-mang-ba ang-na
deer-but   gosh   arms-without legs-without only-Ind   I-Dat
bat-e   kat-na   rak-a"   in-e chan-chi-e gi-sik-o   nam-en
more-Sub run-Dat strong-Neut Sub think-Sub mind-Loc very
duk   man·-jok-na.
distress get-Prf-Quo
'The deer: "Goodness, just without arms and without legs, he is faster in
running than me" and, thinking that, had much distress in his mind'.

U-na ma-rak-ka-de a-ro   bat-e ta·-rak-srang-e   kat-jok-na,   u-no-ba
so   deer-but   more more quick-complete-Sub run-Prf-Quo then-also
in-dik-in   chi-ring-o-na sok-na   skang-in spru-ha
in that way stream-Aug   arrive-Inf   first-Frg snail-only
mik-o-so-a-ri-a-na.
call-first-just-Neut-Quo
'So the deer ran even faster, then also, in that way, before he arrived at
the river, the snail just called first'.

Ang-a   spru-ming ma·-mang-de kat-e   ham-na-in nang-nu-a in-e
I-Nomn snail-with only-but   run-Sub win-Dat   need-Fut Sub
jiit   dak-e   ma-rak-ka-de u-a cham-o-de nam-en ta·-rak-e
determined do-Sub deer-but   that time-Loc very   quick-Sub
kat-tim-ak-ang-jok-na.
run-thougtlessly-away-Prf-Quo
'I am only runing against a snail, I have to win, so in a determined way,
the deer at that time ran off very quickly without thinking?'.

Ar ma-rak-ka-de kan-sa   bol ja·-dil-o ga·-krok-a   git-a dak-e
and deer-but   Cls-one tree root-Loc step-insert-Neut like do-Sub
ga·-ak-e, jak bi·-e   un-on si-jok-na.
fall-Sub leg break-Sub then   die-Prf-Quo
'And the deer, catching his foot in a tree root, falling, and breaking his
leg, (he) then died, it is said'.

   Da·-nang ma-rak-ka-de han·-tang-ko ra-song dak-e dal·-nik-e,
   alas   deer-but   own-Acc   pride   do-Sub big-see-Sub
spru-rang-ni chang-a-ko sap-a-ko chan-chi-gi-ja kam ka·-e
snail-Plu-Gen ability-Acc skill-Acc believe-Neg   work do-Sub

han·-tang-ha bon·-jok-na   si-jok-na.
own-only   finish-Prf-Quo die-Prf-Quo
 'Alas the deer, because of its own pride and superiority, not believing in
the snails' cleverness and ability, brought his own end and death'.

Ar   ma-rak-ka-ni si-a-na   duk   hong·-o-ba   han·-tang-na a-ro
and deer-Gen   die-Nomz-Dat sorrow be-although own-Dat   and
jat-ni   ra-song-na ap-san   nam-a-ko   ka·-na man·-e
tribe-Gen pride-Dat   together   good-Nomz-Acc do-Inf can-Sub
spru-rang-de nam-en ku-si   hong·-jok-na.
snail-Plu-but very   happy   be-Prf-Quo
 'And in spite of sadness about the deer's death, their own and their tribe's
pride in being able to work well together made the snails very happy'.

Ar   ap-san   nang-rim-e, chan-chi-e kam-rang-ko ka·-o-de rak-a
and together united-Sub   believe-Sub work-Plu-Acc do-if   difficult
kam-ko-ba   ka·-na ham-a   in-e bi-bi ra·-jok-na.
work-Acc-also do-Inf succeed-Neut   Sub belief take-Prf-Quo
 'And they believed that by uniting together, they could succeed in doing
difficult works if they did thoughtful work'.

Achak aro Wak

The Dog and the Pig

Kan-sa song-o   bu-ra   bu-ri   jik-se-sa   dong-a-ming-na.
Cls-one village-Loc old-man old-woman wife-husb. live-Neut-Pst-Quo
'In a village lived an old man and an old woman, wife and husband, it is said'.

Bi-song-ni de-pan-ti de-mi-chik sak-sa-ba dong-ja-ming-na.
they-Gen son   daughter   one-Ind   have-Neg-Pst-Quo
'They had not even one son or daughter'.

Bi-song mang-sa a-chak a-ro mang-sa wak jil-nu-a-ming-na.
They   Cls-one dog   and Cls-one pig care for-Fut-Pst-Quo
'They would care for a dog and a pig'.

U-a a-chak a-ro wak-ko-in   bi-song-de de-pan-ti de-mi-chik git-a
that dog   and pig-Acc-Frg they-but son   daughter   like
nam-nik-nu-a-ming-na.
love-Fut-Pst-Quo
'They would love that dog and pig like a son and daughter'.

Bu-ri   sal-sa-de   wak a-ro a-chak-ko rik-am-e in-jok-na,
old-woman day-one-but pig   and dog-Acc   call-Sub say-Prf-Quo
"Na·-song da·-sal-de ha·-ba-cha hi·-ang-e ha·-ba gam-e-bo, je
you-Plu   today   field-Loc   go-Sub   field work-Imp whoever
nam-bat-e   ha·-ba gam-nu-a, u-na   mi-gim-in-ko cha·-na hon·-nu-a
good-more-Sub field   work-Fut he-Dat rice-for-Acc eat-Inf give-Fut
ar je   ha-rat-e, ha·-sik-gi-ja gam-nu-a u-na-de   cha·-chi-ko-ha
and whoever lazy   wish-NNomz work-Fut he-Dat-but husks-Acc-only
cha·-na hon·-nu-a".
eat-Inf give-Fut
'One day the old woman said to the pig and dog "You go to work in the fields today, and we will give rice to eat to whoever works the fields best. We will give only husks to eat to whoever is lazy and does not wish to work" '.

Wak a-ro a-chak-ba mi cha·-man ring-man-e   sak-gni hong·-e
pig   and dog-also   rice eat-finish drink-finish-Sub Cls-two be-Sub
ha·-ba gam-na   hi·-ang-jok-na.
field   work-Inf go-Prf-Quo
'The pig and also the dog, having finished eating and drinking, the two went to work in the fields'.

U-ni   sal-o-de   sal-ba   nam-en ding·-bi-a-na.
that-Gen day-Loc-but sun-also very   hot-very-Neut-Quo
 'The sun was terribly hot that day, it is said'.

Ha·-ba-cha sok·-a-rin   wak-de ha·-ba gim-ik-ko han·-tang-ni
field-Loc   arrive-just-Frg pig-but field   all-Acc   self-Gen
ging-tong-cha ring-gil-na ha·-ba-cheng-jok-na.
snout-Inst   root up-Inf begin-Prf-Quo
 'When he just got to the field, the pig began to root up the whole field
with his snout'.

Sal ding·-a-ko   chak-chik-e, o·-ki-sa-ba neng·-tak-gi-ja ha·-ba
sun hot-Nomz-Acc endure-Sub a-bit-Ind   rest-NNomz   field
gim-ik-ko sal hi·-ang-o-na   bi-a-de   bon·-e   ring-gil-jok-na.
entire-Acc day go-Nomz-Aug he-Nomn-but finish-Sub root up-Prf-Quo
 'Enduring the heat of the day and without resting a bit, he finished rooting
up until the day was gone'.

    Nok-cha   pil·-ba-e   nok-ma-gip-a-rang-na wak-de a-gan-jok-na
    house-Loc return-here-Sub master-Plu-Dat   pig-but say-Prf-Quo
"*Ha·-ba gim-ik-ko-in   ang-a   sak-sa-in   sal tong·-sa-in bon·-e*
field   whole-Acc-Frg I-Nomn Cls-one-Frg day half-one-Frg finish-Sub
gam-e   don-e   nok-cha   pil·-ba-jok.
work-Sub left-Sub house-Loc   return-here-Prf
 'When he came back to the house the pig said to his masters "I, alone, in
half a day, finished working the whole field and came back to the house'.

A-chak ang-ming o·-ki-sa-ba gam-pa-gi-ja   ha·-ba-o-na sok-a-ri-in
dog   I-with   a little   work-with-NNomz field-Aug   reach-just-Frg
ha·-ba ket-chi-ni   bol   sal-a-kim-o heng-gok ra·-e   tu-jok.
field   beside-Gen tree shade-Loc snore   take-Sub sleep-Prf
 'But the dog did not work with me even a little, but having reached the
field, (he) slept snoring in the shade of a tree beside the field'.

Ang-ni ha·-ba gim-ik-ko   bon·-e   gam-o-na-ba tu-a   sim-mak-ja.
I-Gen   field   whole-Acc finish-Sub work-Aug-also sleep-Neut wake-Neg
 'He slept without waking until I finished working the whole field'.

Gam-a bon·-e   ang-ni nok-cha   hi·-ba-a-ko   bi-a-de ha·-ai-rik-ja".
work   done-Sub I-Gen   house-Loc come-Nomz-Acc he-but know-Neg
 'Having finshed the work, he knew nothing of my coming to the house" '.

    Wak-ni ha·-ba gim-ik-ko bon·-e   gam-e   nok-cha
    pig-Gen field   all-Acc   finish-Sub work-Sub house-Loc

pil·-ba-a-ni   bang·-kal-a ja·-man-o-ha   a-chak-de tu-a sim-mak-e
return-here-Nomz much-more after-Loc-only dog-but   sleep wake-Sub
nik-jok-na, wak-de ha·-ba gim-ik-ko sak-sa-ni-in   bon·-e   gam-e
see-Prf-Quo pig-but field   all-Acc   alone-Gen-Frg finish-Sub work-Sub
nok-cha   pil·-ang-jok.
house-Loc return-there-Prf

'Much after the pig had finished the field and returned to the house, the dog, waking from sleep, saw that the pig had finished all the field alone and returned home'.

Nok-ma-de wak-na-ha   mi-gim-in-ko   cha·-na hon·-na-jok ar
master-but pig-Dat-only rice-concerning-Acc eat-Inf give-IFut   and
ang-na-de   cha·-chi-ko-ha   cha·-na hon·-na-jok in-e chan-chi-e a-chak-de
I-Nomn-but husks-Acc-only eat-Inf   give-IFut   Sub think-Sub dog-but
nam-en ken-jok-na.
very   afraid-Prf-Quo

"The master is going to give rice to the pig to eat and he will give me only husks to eat", that is what the dog thought, very frightened" '.

Bi-a-de teng-ri dak-e   ga·-chrak ga·-brit-e ha·-ba gim-ik-ko
he-but   quickly do-Sub   scratch-up scratch-up field   all-Acc
han·-tang-ni ja·-kol-ra-ra   dak-et-e   don-e   han·-tam-e-ha
own-Gen   foot-print-all-over do-cause-Sub   put-Sub evening
nok-cha   sok-ang-bru-jok-na.
house-Loc reach-away-falsely-Prf-Quo

'He, quickly scratching up the whole field, and putting in his own foot prints all over, only in the evening arrived back home, cheating'.

Nok-cha   sok-e   a-chak-ba nok-ma-gip-a-rang-na a-gan-jok-na,
house-Loc arrive-Sub dog-also   owner-Plu-Dat   speak-Prf-Quo
"Wak-de ha·-ba-o-na sok-a-ri-in   bol sal-a-kim-o heng-gok ra·-e
pig-but   field-Aug   arrive-just-Frg tree shade-Loc snore   take-Sub
tu-e dong-a-ri-a.
sleep be at-just-Neut

'Arriving at the house, the dog spoke also to the owners: "The pig arrived at the field and just slept, snoring, in the shade of a tree'.

Ang-a-ha   ha·-ba gim-ik-ko   sak-san bon·-e   gam-jok.
I-Nomn-only field   whole-Acc alone   finish-Sub work-Prf
'I finished working the whole field alone'.

In-dak-e-ha   ang-a-de   ha-rim-e pil·-ba-na   nang-jok.
in that way-only I-Nomn-but late   returned-here-Inf need
'Therefore I needed to return here late'.

Bu-ra   bu-ri-de   sa   ha·-ba-ko gam-chong-mot-a u-ko-in
old-man old-woman who   field-Acc work-really-Neut that-Acc-Frg
ha·-ai-na man·-ja-jok-na.
know-Inf able-not-Quo
 'The old man and woman did not know who really worked the field'.

Sa   ha·-ba-ko gam-chong-mot-a u-ko   ni-na in-e bu-ra   bu-ri-de
who field-Acc work-really-Neut   that-Acc see-Inf Sub old-man old-woman
ha·-ba-cha hi·-ang-jok-na.
field-Loc   go-away-Prf-Quo
 'The old man and old woman, it is said, went to the field to see who really
worked the field'.

Ha·-ba gim-ik-o bi-song-de a-chak-ni ja·-kol-ra-ra-ko-ha   nik-jok-na.
field   all-Loc they-but   dog-Gen foot-print-Plu-Acc-only see-Prf-Quo
 'In the whole field, they saw only the dog's footprint everywhere, it is said'.

Ar   bi-bi ra·-jok-na,   a-chak-in ha·-ba-ko gam-chong-mot-a,
and true take-Prf-Quo dog-Frg   field-Acc work-really-Neut
wak-ha   bi-song-na bu·-e   a-gan-a.
pig-only they-Dat   false-Sub say-Neut
 'And they really believed [took as true] that the dog worked the field and
the pig had spoken falsely to them'.

Nok-cha   hi·-ba-e-ming-na bu-ra   bu-ri-de   a-chak-de
house-Loc come-Sub-Quo   old man   old woman-but dog-but
nam-be-gip-a   sak-sa   in-e bi-bi ra·-e   mi-gim-in-ko cha·-na
good-very-Nomz Cls-one Sub   truly take-Sub rice-for-Acc   eat-Inf
hon·-jok-na.
give-Prf-Quo
 'Coming back to the house, the old man and old woman believed the dog
to be a wonderful fellow, and gave it rice to eat'.

Ar   bu-e   cha·-gip-a sak-sa   in-e ka·-o-nang-e wak-na-de
and false-Sub do-Nomz   Cls-one Sub angry-Sub   pig-Dat-but
cha·-chi-gin-di-ko-ha cha·-na hon·-jok-na.
husk-chaff-Acc-only   eat-Inf give-Prf-Quo
 'And being angry because of the false speaker they gave the pig only chaff
and husks to eat'.
U-no-ni-ha   a-chak-na mi-gim-in-ko cha·-na hon·-ing-a-na   ar
then-Aug-only dog-Dat   rice-for-Acc   eat-Inf give-Prog-Neut-Quo and
wak-na gan-da mi-gim-in-ming cha·-chi-ko hon·-pa-e ha-dal-ing-a-na.
pig-Dat as for rice-for-with   husks-Acc give-Sub feed-Prog-Neut-Quo
 'From that time they are giving the dog rice to eat, but feeding husks with
rice to the pig'.

Mi·tra Aro Atching

The Young Woman and the Red Ant

Sal-sa-o sak-sa mi·tra ha·-ba so·-a-ni-ko ha·-bol sot-ing-a-ming-na.
One day a young woman was cutting firewood from a burned field.

Un-on ha·-bol-ni at-ching mang-sa hong·-kat-e mi·-tra-ni ka·-bak-ko chik-a-na. Then a red ant came out from the firewood and bit the woman's breast.

U-na bi-ni to·-jot dak-e ja-gok-o gan-da bi-ni jak-ni at-ti-de go-bing-brang-a git-a dak-e ket-chi-ni kan-sa te·-bi-pang sak-a-cha til-ang-jok-na. Because of that, she was startled and her bamboo knife flew in an uncontrolled way from her hand to the top of a *te·-bi* tree.

Ar mat mang-sa-ni ki·-mi-ko den·-sot-a git-a dak-e chot-tong-e mat-e-jok-na. And as if (she) cut off the tail of a squirrel, (it) was cut it off.

Mat-ba u-na ja-gok-e ken-e bol sak-a-cha-na mal-do-ang-o gan-da te·-bi bi-ti rong-sa-ming-ha rak-e hi·-ang-e cha-dat-e-jok-na. The squirrel, also, startled and frightened from that, knocked strongly into a *te·-bi* fruit when he crawled up to the top of the tree.

U-a te·-bi bi-ti-ba pang kok-im-a-o heng-gok ra·-e tu-mit-ing mang-sa ma-rak-ka-ni ging-tong-o-ha ga·-ak-dap-e-jok-na. The *te·-bi* fruit fell down onto the snout of a barking deer who was asleep and snoring at the bottom of the tree.

Ma-rak-ka-ba u-na ja-gok-e tim-ing tim-ang kat-ang-o gan-da wak bi-pa-ni tu-si-mit-ing bi-tip-ko ga·-pru-e kat-ang-jok-na. The barking deer, startled from that, and running this way and that, ran and stepped through the nest of a sleeping boar.

Wak-ba un-a ja-gok-e kuk-kuk-a-ri bring jang-chi-git-a kat-pret-ang-o gan-da do·-pit jil-ma-ni bi-tip-rang-ko mo-chi-chi-a git-a dak-et-e bit-chi-rang-ko gim-ik-ko ga·-ak-dil-et-e, bi·-dil-et-e don-ang-jok-na. The pig was also startled and, making *kukkuk* sounds, ran to the center of the forest, and the nests of a flock of sparrows were shaken, causing all the eggs to fall and be left broken.

Do·-pit-rang-ba u-na ken-ja-gok-e bil-ding bil-dang dak-e bil-pi-pra-e mong-ma mat-ti mang-sa-ni na-chil ha·-kol ning·-a-cha hi·-ang-e nap-e-jok-na. The sparrows also were startled and frightened by that and flew this way and that, (they) went to and entered into the ear hole of a rogue elephant.

U-na mong-ma mat-ti-ba na-chil sa·-dik-a-na dong-to-ja-e kat-jo-jo-ang-o gan-da man-di sak-sa-ni mi-go-ra-git-a-ha kat-pret-man·-ang-jok-na. Because of that, uncomfortable (and) his ear hurting, the rogue elephant ran this way and that, breaking the paddy of a person's rice field.

Ha·-ba-ni mi-rang-de bang·-en bin-e-ke na-si-jok-na. The rice in the field was badly crushed and wasted.

Ha·-ba nok-ma-gip-a-de mong-ma-ko na-men ka·-o-nang-jok-na ar bi-ko so·-o-te gal-na ham·-jok-na. The owner of the field was very angry at the elephant, and he wanted to kill him.

Mong-ma u-na in-jok-na, Ang-ni-de ma-ming dus hong·-ja, do·-pit-rang-ni-ha dus. So the elephant said "It isn't my fault, it is the fault of the sparrows.

Bi-song-ha jil-ma hi·-ba-e ang-ni na-chil-cha nap-cheng-a ar u-na dong-to-ja-e-ha nang·-ni mi-go-ra jang-chi-git-a kat-pret-man·-ang-a". A flock of them came into my ear and, it being uncomfortable, I ran around breaking (the rice) in the middle of your rice thicket.

Do·-pit-rang-ba u-na in-jok-na, "Ching-ni-ba dus hong·-ja, wak-ha kat-chi-chi-ba-e-ming-na ching-ni bit-chi-rang-ko ga·-ak-dil-e, bi-dil-e don-ang-cheng-a, bi-ni-ha dus". The sparrows then also said "It isn't our fault either, the pig just ran back and forth causing our eggs to fall and break. It is just his fault".

Wak-ba in-jok-na, "Ang-ni-ba dus hong·-ja, ma-rak-ka-ha ang-ni bi-tip-o tu-si-mit-ing-o ga·-pru-e don-e kat-ang-cheng-a, bi-ni-ha dus". The pig also said "It isn't my fault either. The deer just ran first, stepping through my nest while I slept. It is his fault".

Ma-rak-ka-ba u-na in-jok-na, "Ang-ni-ba dus hong·-ja, mat-ni-ha dus, bi-a-ha ang-ni pang kok-ki-ma-o tu-mit-ing-o ang-ni ging-tong sak-a-o te·-bi bit-i-ko ga·-ak-dap-et-cheng-a". The deer then said "It isn't my fault either, but the squirrel's fault. He first made a *te'bi* fruit fall on my snout while I was sleeping at the bottom of my tree.

Mat-ba in-jok-na. "Ang-ni-ba dus hong·-ja, mi·-tra-ni-ha dus, bi-a-ha skang at-ti-cha go-bing brang-e ang-ni ki·-mi-ko cho-tong-et-a". The squirrel said "It isn't my fault either, it is the young woman's fault, she threw a bamboo knife wildly first and cut off my tail".

Mi·-tra-ba un-a in-jok-na, "Ang-ni-ba dus hong·-ja, ang-ni ha·-bol sot-mit-ing-o at-ching-ha ang-ni ka-bak-ko chik-cheng-a, bi-ni-ha dus". The young woman also said "It isn't my fault either; while I was cutting firewood, a red ant bit my breast first, it is his fault.

In-dik-i dak-e bai-rep-rep san-di-e ni-o-de nik-jok-na, at-ching-ni-ha dus. In this way, one after the other, by searching, it could be seen that it was the fault of the red ant.

U-na gan-da ha·-ba nok-ma-gip-a-de at-ching-ni ko-mor-ko ka-jang-jot-e-ming-na nok-cha sal-e ra·-ang-e, ong-a-ri-o rip-o-e don-jok-na. Therefore

the owner of the land tied a string tightly around the ant's waist and, pulling it to the house, put it on the fireplace shelf.

Ha-rim-e ka-e rip-o-e don-e-ming-na at-ching-de ko-mor jang·-jot-e git-chak-pil-jok-na. Tied there for a long time, the ant, with the waist squeezed, turned red.

U-no-ni-ha at-ching-ni be·-en ni-na git-chak-a-na a-ro ko-mor-ba jang·-jot-a-na. In that way the red ant's body is seen to be red and the waist was squeezed.

Saksanade Rakja

Alone is not Strong

Sak-sa man-di bi-ni jik-gip-a de-gip-a-rang-ko ra·-e song-sil nok-sil-gri chel·-a-cha bring-o nok rik-e dong-nu-a-ming-na. A man with his wife and children built a house and lived without neighbors far away in the forest, so it is said.

U-a man-di-de nok-sil song-sil-cha, no-a-bi, sa-du-a-da a-ro mo-sa-bo-ning-ni nok-cha nap-e-ga-e dong-na nam-e nik-ja-ming-na. This man did not like to go to the houses of his neighbors, his younger and older sisters, or his older and younger brothers-in-law.

Song-o bi-a hong·-o-ba, jom-o-sa-o-ba, si-o-bon·-o-ba, ma-ming cha·-a-ni-ring-a-ni hong·-o-ba bi-a han·-tang-ba hi·-ang-ja-nu-a-ming-na a-ro jik-ko, de-ko-ba hi·-ang-na hon·-ja-nu-a-ming-na. Even if there was a marriage in the village, if there was illness, if someone died, whatever the eating and drinking, he would not go himself and not let his wife or children go.

Jil-ma-ming, song-sil-nok-sil-ming hi·-pa-ka-na do-pa-ka-na jik-gip-a-ni a-gan-a-ko-ba o·-ki-sa-ba kna-chak-ja-na. He would not listen to his wife or hear of letting a crowd of neighbors come.

Se-gip-a-ni in-dik-i dak-a-na jik-gip-a-de nam-en kra-cha·-chak-nu-a-ming-na. With her husband acting this way, the wife would be very embarrassed by him.

Bi-song-ni dal·-gip-a bi·-sa-de ja-di dak-a-ming-na ar chon-gip-a-de ba·-e ra·-na-a-han nam-mit-ing-ming-na. The oldest child was foolish and (this was) the right time [age] for the younger one to be carried on the back.

Sal-sa-de u-a man-di chel·-a-cha ha·-ti cha·-na hi·-ang-a-na ar sim-sim an-dal-e-ha nok-o sok-a-na. One day the man went far away to a market and came back only late, after dark.

Ha·-ti-cha-ni-in bi-a-de jom-e hi·-ba-na a-ro nok-o sok-a-ni ja·-man-on jom-a bil-ong-e-ming-na wal-o-in bi-a-de si-jok-na. He came home from the market sick and after getting home the sickness became worse and in the night he died.

Dal·-a ba-ju-gri, song-sil-nok-sil-gri de-gip-a sak-gin-i-ko ra·-e, mang-gi-si-ming wal-o dong-na jik-gip-a-de nam-en ken-jok-na. Without neighbors (she) took (her) two children, the older without friends, and staying at night with the body, the wife became very frightened.

Bi-a-de ken-e-ming-na ma-ming-kon dak-na ha·-ai-pil-ja-jok-na. Becoming frightened she was unable to get her thoughts straight.

Song-ni man-di-rang-ko a-gan-en-a-ba sak-gin-i bi·-san ram-a hi·-na rak-ja.
The two children were not strong enough to walk to (let her) go talk to the
village people.

De-rang-ko don-e hi·-ang-na-ba, de-rang-ba mang-gi-si-ming dong-so-na
man·-ja-nu-a, chrik-e rik-am-et-o-ba chel-a-na da-rang-ba kna-ja-nu-a. (She)
could not leave the children to wait with the body (while) she went. Because
of the distance no one would hear screaming and calling.

In-dik-i dak-e ma-ming-kon chan-chi-na man·-ja-e-ming-na, de-gip-a dal·
gip-a-ko nok tong·-sa-cha tu-dil-e don-e, chon-gip-a-ko ba·-e an-dal-a nok-o
se-gip-a sa-gi-ni sku ket-chi-o at-chong-e grap-e rak-ki-e dong-jok-na. In
this way, not being able to think of anything, putting the older child to
sleep in one part of the house, sitting, holding the younger child, she sat
crying beside the head of her dead husband in the dark house.

Wa·-al-ba chul-a-o ha·-bol dot-sa-ko-han kam-ing-a-ming-na. At the
fire in the fireplace only one stick of wood was burning.

In-dik-i ken-a pak-sa, rak-a pak-sa dak-e mang-gi-si-ko rak-ki-mit-ing-o wal-
ting-o jong-sa-ri-gip-a hi·-ba-e-ming-na do·-ga pil·-sa-cha dong-e bi-ko rik-
am-jok-na "O bu-ji, ang-a sok-ba-jok do·-ga-ko o-ki-sa teng-ri dak-e o-et-
bo". In this way, half frightened, half strong, while guarding the body at
midnight, the brother-in-law came, and from the other side of the door
called out to her: "Oh sister-in-law, I have come, quickly open the door".

Jong-sa-ri-gip-a-ni ku·-rang-ko kna-ri-in bi-a-de nam-en ku-si hong·-
jok-na a-ro gi-sik-o bil man·-jok-na. Hearing her brother-in-law's voice, she
became very happy and gained strength of mind.

Teng-ri dak-e bi-a-de in-jok-na, "Do·-ga-ko han·-tang-in o-we nap-ba-bo
ang-jong, han·-ching-ni de da-a-sal-de dal·-bi-a ha·-sel hong·-a. Quickly
she said "Open the door yourself and come in brother. Our children have
had a terrible event today.

Nang·-ni a-da-de ha·-ti-cha-ni sok-ba-ri-in blong-e jom-git-ik-e nang·-ni
sok-na skang jang-gi gal-jok. Han·-ching-ko gal-e hi·-ang-jok bon·-ang-jok.
Your older brother arrived back from the market, suddenly very sick, and
before your arrival he died [cast away the spirit]; casting us away he left,
finished.

Ang-a-de sak-san de-rang-ko ra·-e grap-e dong-na nang-a-ring-jok. I have
needed to be crying with the children, alone.

Na·-a sok-ba-jok-ba nam-jok, bu-ji-sa hong·-e nang·-ni a-da-ni mang-gi-si-
ko pu-ju-e wal-seng-na man·-a-jok". It is good that you have also come,
being your sister-in-law, I have laid out your brother's body to stay until
dawn.

Bi-bin bi-bi jong-sa-ri-gip-a-de han·-tang-in do·-ga-ko o-we nok-o nap-
a-ri-in a-da-gip-a sa-gi-ni ja·-teng-cha-pak-a at-chong-a-ri duk-man·-bi-e

grap-jok-na. Truly the brother-in-law opened the door himself, came into the house, and sat beside the legs of his older brother, and cried with sorrow.

Dik-dik-sa ja·-man-o bu-ji-gip-a-de nik-jok-na, jong-sa-ri-gip-a-de krem-krem in-e man-gi-si-ko-de cha·-e gal-ing-jok. A bit later the sister-in-law saw that the brother-in-law was making a *krem-krem* sound eating and disposing of the dead body.

Bu-ji-gip-a-de ha·-ai-na man·-jok-na u-a-de bi-ni jong-sa-ri-gip-a chong·-mot hong·-ja, u-a-de mi·-mang skal-ha jong-sa-ri-gip-a-git-a dak-e bi-cha hi·-ba-a. The sister-in-law was able to know that this was not her real brother-in-law, but an evil spirit looking like the brother-in-law that had come to her.

Je-ba hong·-bo in-e-ming-na bu-ji-gip-a-de nok-ni hong·-kat-e kat-na chol san-di-ang san-di-ang in-jok-na, "Ang-jong, na·-a sak-san dik-dik-sa nang ·-ni a-da-ko rak-i-so-ku, ang-a de-rang-ko nam-e dak-e mik-gil sik-e tu-dil-ku-na" in-e. Whatever the case, the sister-in-law, searching for a way to escape from the house, said "Younger brother, stay alone for a bit guarding your older brother while I lead the children to close their eyelids for sleep.

Ken-e-ming-na bu-ji-gip-a-de an-dal-a-o ba-git-a kat-nu-a, ba-dik-i kat-nu-a ma-ming-kon chan-chi-e man·-ja-jok-na. Frightened, the sister-in-law could not think of what route or what way to run in the dark.

Dik-dik-sa dong-a-rin jong-sa-ri-gip-a-de sing·-jok-na, "Ba-o-jok bu-ji, teng-ri dak-e hi·-ba-bo, ang-a-ba in-o sak-san". In a bit, the brother-in-law asked "Where have you gone sister-in-law, come quickly, I am here alone."

Bu-ji-gip-a-ba in-jok-na, "Da·-o dik-dik-sa dong-ku-so-bo, de-rang da·-o-ba nam-e tu-ku-ja-ing-a". The sister-in-law said "Stay a little more now, the children have not yet gone well to sleep.

U-cha-de bu-ji-gip-a-de si-o-ba tang-o-ba nok-ni hong·-kat-e kat-a-in nam-bat-nu-a in-e-ming-na, de-gip-a chon-gip-a-ko nam-e dak-e ba·-e, dal·-gip-a-ni jak-ko rim·-e, chu-la-o kam-e dong-gip-a wa·-al gan-tong-ko ra·-e nok-ni chrok-e man-di-rang-ko chrik-e chrik-e rik-am-e song-cha-na kat-ang-jok-na. Then the sister-in-law thought, whether she lives or dies, it will be better to come out of the house and run; carrying the younger child and holding the hand of the older, taking a burning stick from the fire in the fireplace, jumping from the house, shouting and shouting (she) ran to the village.

Jong-sa-ri-gip-a-ba un-o, "Bu-ji ang-ko sak-san gal-e bat-cha kat-ang-ing-jok, ang-ko-ba seng-ku-bo, seng-ku-bo" in-e, bu-ji-gip-a-ni ki·-sang rik-ba-jok-na. The brother-in-law (said) this: "Sister-in-law, where are you running, leaving me alone, wait for me, wait" in this way he chased behind the sister-in-law.

Song-ni man-di-rang u-a chrik-a-ko kna-so-e-ming-na cha-ba-tok-jok-na. The village people hearing this shouting, all got ready.

Da·-nang bu-ji-gip-a-de ken-a pek-e neng·-e-ming-na de-gip-a sak-gin-i-ko ra·-e song ket-chi-o hi·-ba-e si-bok-e ga·-ak-e dong-jok-na. Unfortunately, the sister-in-law, frightened and exhausted with bringing two children, came near the village, fainted half dead and fell down.

Song-ni man-di-rang bi-song-ko di·-tom-e rip-i-e ra·-ang-jok-na ar u-a wal-o-in wa·-al-jem so·-e si-gip-a nok-cha hi·-ang-e ni-e-jok-na. The village people carried them back and lighting the night with a fire brand, went to the dead person's house to see.

Song-ni man-di-rang hi·-ang-e man-gi-si-ko u-a ap-san bi-ap-o-in nik-e-a-na ar mang-gi-si-ko ma-ming-ba cha·-ja-na. The village people coming, saw the body in the same place and nothing was eaten.

Man-di-rang ha·-ai-na man·-jok-na chong·-mot-de ma-ming hong·-ja in-di-ba sak-san ken-ja-brang-e chan-chi-e-ha in-dik-i hong·-a in-e. The people were able to know that really nothing happened, but being alone and ter-rified, (she) imagined it.

Wal seng·-min-i-de song-ni man-di-rang jil-ma hong·-e gan-chi rik·-e mang-gi-si-ko so·-e gal-jok-na. When it became light a crowd of village people built a pyre and burned and disposed of the body.

Ar u-ni sal-sa-gip-a-o-ni-in u-a man-di mi-chik-sa-ba sak-san dong-a-de nam-ja, so-moi ha·-sel sok-o da-rang-ko man·-ja in-e u-a song-on nok rik-e jil-ma-ming dong-jok-na. And from that day on, that woman knew it was not good to stay alone, when bad times come no one can manage, so she built a house in the village, and lived with the group.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

The questions that are assembled here are intended for speakers of Garo who want to investigate their own language and, in that way, broaden their understanding of how it is organized. People whose native language is one of the many dialects of Garo, whether Mandi, A·chik or some other dialect, know their language much better than the author of this book. They cannot expect to learn their language by reading what I have written here. Perhaps, however, they can learn something about how to investigate and describe a language. This appendix suggests questions that Garo speakers can ask in order to go beyond what is in this book. They are intended to help speakers discover more about their own language.

Some of the questions can be studied simply by thinking about your own language and asking yourself how you talk. Other questions require you to ask people from different regions how they speak so that you can find out how the language varies from one place to another. In this way you can learn about the differences among dialects. Some questions are complex enough for a whole class to work on together. Even though the book deals primarily with the dialects spoken in Bangladesh, these questions are intended to be of interest to speakers of all dialects. Indeed many of them ask you to compare dialects in order to understand both their similarities and their differences.

It is important that you understand that these questions are intended to get you thinking about your language. They have no single correct answer, and you will learn nothing at all by trying to memorize answers that you read somewhere or that someone else tells you. The point is not to find "correct" answers but, to learn the methods by which you can learn about your language by yourself, and to help you to work in a group where you can all help each other to understand and to learn.

The questions are arranged to correspond to the chapters of the book, but some of them overlap topics in more than just one chapter. Think about each question. Ask yourself whether you can think of some answers. Compare your ideas with the ideas of your friends and classmates. You should gain an understanding of how to learn about language by examining the way you and others talk.

General Questions

The following three questions can apply to all parts of the book. Speakers of any dialect of Garo might enjoy keeping these questions in mind as they read about the various subjects.

1. If you are a speaker of any other dialect of Garo than Mandi as it is spoken in Modhupur, you should ask, at every point, how your particular dialect differs from the one described here. You will probably find many ways in which your dialect is the same as that of Modhupur, but there will certainly be other points where the dialects are different. You can learn a lot about your own dialect simply by considering how it differs from some other dialect.

2. If you speak the Modhupur dialect, and even if you speak some other dialect of Mandi as spoken in Bangladesh or a variety of A·beng that is spoken in Meghalaya, you should always look for places where the description given in this book is wrong. The author of this book is not a native speaker of Mandi or of any other dialect of Garo, and he has certainly made mistakes. Native speakers are the final judge of what can and cannot be said in their language, and where the description in this book does not correspond to the way people talk, it is the author who is wrong, not the speakers. Even A·chik speakers should be able to find some errors, though they must keep in mind that something may be impossible in their dialect but still be perfectly normal in Mandi.

3. Think about some of the feature of the language that is described in this book. Try to find out how widespread that feature is in the dialects of Garo. Some things will be used by every speaker of every dialect. Many others things will not. Look for people who speak a variety of dialects and compare the ways in which people talk.

Two: Segmental Phonology

1. The table shows a few of the consonants that can come at the beginning of a Garo word:

p-	t-	k-
b-	d-	g-
m-	n-	

Find at least two words that begin with each of the consonants in the table.

2. Notice how the table in question 1 is arranged. Sounds that are similar to each other are placed in the same row or the same column. Look at the table and pronounce words that start with each of these sounds. Try to feel what you do with your tongue, lips and other parts of your mouth when you make each of these speech sounds.

By noticing how you place your speech organs for each of these sounds, you should be able to discover how the various sounds are related to each other. In what ways, for example, are /p/, /b/, and /m/ similar to each other? Why are they in the same column? In what ways are the sounds in the other columns similar? Why are /p/, /t/, and /k/ in the same row? In what way are these three sounds similar to each other?

For example, you will probably to notice that all the sounds in the first row are pronounced by building up air pressure behind some part of the mouth that has been closed, and then opening that part quickly. A slight puff of breath is made when the opening occurs. If you hold a piece of paper loosely in front of your mouth you will see the paper flutter in the "aspiration" that comes when the vocal passage is opened and the air pressure is released. Sounds of this sort are called "aspirated stops".

Now consider the three sounds in the second row and find out what they have in common. What do the two sounds in the third row have in common? Can you say them while pinching your nose shut?

3. There is a blank space in the table at the position of the third column of the third row. Can you explain why this space is blank? Would it be possible to make a speech sound that combines the characteristics of the sounds in the third column with the characteristics of the sounds in the third row? What would it sound like?

4. The next table shows most of the other consonants and consonant clusters (sequences of two or more consonants) that can begin a Garo word. Ø stands for 'zero' and it is meant to show that it is possible for a Garo word to begin with no consonant at all.

s-	ch-	j-	
r-	h-	w-	Ø-
sp-	st-	sk-	
pr-	tr-	kr-	
br-	dr-	gr-	
mr-			
sr-	chr-	jr-	
spr-		skr-	

Find at least two words that begin with each consonant and consonant cluster in this table.

5. The consonants in this second table do not form such a regular pattern as those in the first table, but you should still be able to find some similarities among them. What do the sounds in each of the rows have in common? (The row with *r, h,* and *w* consists of "left overs" and you will probably find that these have little or nothing in common.)

6. There are some empty spaces in the second table. There is a empty place where *nr* and *str* might be expected. Why are these omitted from the table? Can you think of any Garo words that begin with *nr* or *str*? If you can, then these clusters should be added to the table.

7. Try to think of words that begin with sounds that are not found in either of the tables. How many additional initial sounds can you find? Can you explain why they are not included in the table?

For example, you probably use some words that begin with *l* but no *l* is found in the table. This is because *l* is found at the beginning of words only when they have been taken from other languages. For example, *lem* means "lamp" in Garo, but the word was originally taken from English and its pronunciation still shows that it had a foreign origin. All languages borrow words from other languages and these gradually become incorporated into the new language. Sometimes their pronunciation continues to reveal something of their origin. If you look in a Garo dictionary you will see that Garo has fewer words beginning with *l* than with most other sounds. That is because of their foreign origin.

8. The consonant sounds in the next table can occur at the end of a word. Once again, -Ø means "zero" and it is used to show that it is possible for a Garo word to have no final consonant at all.

-p	-t	-k		-Ø
-m	-n	-ng	-l	
-m·	-n·	-ng·	-l·	-·
(-s)				

Find at least two words that end with each of the sounds in this table.

9. Notice that this list of final consonants does not have a blank in the third column or the third row in the way the first table did. Instead, the space is filled with -*ng*. Can you pronounce this sound at the beginning of a word? Neither Garo, English, nor Bengali has this sound at the beginning of a word, but many languages do. Khasi, Mizo, and most Naga languages have this sound at the beginning of a word. If you know someone who speaks Khasi, Mizo or one of the Naga languages, see if you can get him to pronounce a word that starts with *ng*. Try to imitate the word.

10. Notice that -*ng* is a "digraph". This means that it consists of two letters, but the two letters together represent just one sound. Digraphs are used when the alphabet does not have enough single letters to represent all the sounds of a language. *Ch* is a digraph in English. What other diagraphs are used in Garo or in English?

11. Both A·chik and Mandi can be thought of as having six vowel sounds that can be written with the following six letters: *i, i̵, e, a, o, u*. Conventional Garo writing does not use *i̵*, but the letter is used here to stand for the vowel in words such as *jik* 'wife'. *i* stands for the vowel in a word such as *chi* 'water'. Notice that these two vowels sound quite different, even though Garos usually write them both with the same letter. Make a list that of three or four words with each of these six vowels. (Notice that the word "vowel" can mean two different things. It can refer either to the *sounds* of a language or to the *letters* that are used to write these sounds on paper. Many languages have more vowel sounds than vowel letters.)

13. Think of at least ten words with the sound *i̵* and another ten words with the sound *i*. If several people are collecting words, put your lists together so that you have a large sample of words with each of these vowels. Can you find a pair of words that are exactly alike except that one of them has *i* while the other has *i̵*? What is the difference between the position in which *i* occurs and the one in which *i̵* occurs? Why is it possible in written Garo to use just one letter for both of these vowels?

14. Try to think of pairs of words that differ only in their vowels. If you think long enough, you should be able to think of pairs that differ only in these vowels: *i/e, i/a, i/o, i/u, e/a, e/o, e/u, a/o, a/u, o/u*. For example, *chi* 'water' and *chu* 'rice beer' are an example of a pair that differ in *i/u* but are otherwise the same. Why does written Garo need five vowel letters?

15. Pronounce the *i* sound of *chi* 'water', followed quickly by the sound of *i̵* in *jik* 'wife'. Try to make the vowels by themselves, without the consonants that come before and after them in the real words. Move back and forth quickly between these two vowels. Notice what changes you make

in the position of your tongue and mouth when you change back and forth. You should be able to notice that your tongue moves back in the mouth for *ɨ* and then to the front for *i*.

Now move back and forth in the same way between the vowels of *chi* 'water' and *chu* 'rice beer'. Once again you should be able to notice your tongue moving from front to back and then to the front again, but you should also notice another change. What is it?

Pronounce the other vowels of your language and examine how you place your mouth and tongue in order to make them.

16. Mandi (and probably all other dialects of Garo as well) has complex vowel sounds (diphthongs) that are made by sequences of two simple vowel sounds, such as those found in *lau* 'gourd', *mai* 'what?', *so-moi* 'time', *kreo-kreo* 'with a crackling sound', and *gui* 'areca nut'. With five distinctive vowel sounds, there could be 20 different pairs, not counting repetitions of the same vowel. Try to find examples in your own dialect of as many different vowel sequences as you can.

16. The text describes the use of the raka (glottal stop) in the Mandi dialect of Bangladesh. Other dialects use the raka in somewhat different ways. Consider your own dialect, and look for places in which your own use of the raka differs from the description given in Chapter 2 of this book.

18. In the Mandi dialect, rakas almost never occur in the second syllable of a word and they never occur in the final syllable of a word. Try to think of examples in your own speech of second syllable and final syllable rakas. If you can find any, can you discover the circumstances in which you use them?

19. Find ten or so words, or parts of words, that sometimes have a raka but sometimes do not. For example you may have a raka in *dal·-a* 'big', but not in *rong-dal-a* 'big of round things'. Try to figure out the differences between the circumstances in which a raka is used and the circumstances in which it is not used.

Three: Juncture and Prosody

1. Pairs of words such as *ra-ma* 'road' and *ram-a* 'dry', or *bi-ka* 'liver' and *bik-a* 'carve' do not differ from each other in their usual spelling, but they do differ in the place where the boundary between the two syllables is found. Think of as many other word pairs as you can that have the same sequence of letters in Garo but that differ in their pronunciation because the syllable boundary is in a different place.

2. The author of this book believes that *mik-gil* 'eyelid' and *mik-a* 'to smoke, as a fire smokes' have the same sounds surrounding the break

between syllables. If this is correct, the only reason to write *bi-gil* with a *g* but *mik-a* without one is that we know that *-gil* is also found in a few other words, such as *bi-gil* 'skin' where it certainly has a *g*. On the other hand, the *-a* of *mik-a* is found without a *g* in hundreds of other words such as, for example *ni-a* 'see'. Do you agree that *mik-gil* and *mik-a* have the same pronunciation between their vowels? Find as many words as you can that have the same sorts of sounds around a syllable break as these two words, and try to decide in each case how they should best be spelled. (Remember: it may be that some people pronounce these pairs of words differently, even though others pronounce them the same.)

3. Ask yourself whether you pronounce *cho-na* 'to thresh', *chon-a* 'small' and *chon-na* 'to be small' the same or differently. Ask yourself the same question for *cho·-na* 'to dig', *chon·-a* 'finish', and *chon·-na* 'to be finished'. Compare also *no-ko* 'younger sister, accusative', *nok-o* 'house, locative, at the house', and *nok-ko* 'house, accusative'. Look for other sets of words that differ from one another in the same way as these sets.

4. Consider just the *s* and *k* sounds that come near the beginning of words such as *sko* 'head' and *sik-krok-a* 'insert', *sik-a* 'wish', and *sku* 'nine'. Which of these have the same initial sounds? Which have different initial sounds? Notice carefully how you pronounce them, and try not be distracted by the difference in their spelling. Think of as many other words as you can that have the same initial sounds as one or the other of these words, and arrange them into groups whose members start with the same sounds. How many groups do you find? What spelling do you think would best represent these various sounds?

5. The author of this book believes that in the Mandi dialect in Bangladesh the words *me·-chik* 'woman', *kat-jok* 'ran away' and *sak-bri* 'four people' have one kind of stress, while words such as *kat-a* 'run', *nok-o* 'in the house', and *jak-ko* 'hand, accusative' have a somewhat different kind of stress. Those in the first group have a heavier stress on the second syllable than those in the second group. If you make this difference in stress, and if you can hear the difference, think of 5 or 6 additional examples of each kind of stress. Can you find any explanation for why particular words should have these different stress patterns?

6. If you know the words *do·-ma-sek-i* and *pi-prot-ki·-sang*, both names of birds, ask yourself whether they have the same pattern of stress. If you feel they have different stress patterns, look for other words that have each of them.

7. Almost any sentence can be pronounced with a variety of intonations. To start with, a simple sentence such as *Chi te-bil-o dong-a* would ordinarily mean 'there is water on the table' but if pronounced with a ris-

ing tone of voice it could be understood as a question: 'Is there water on
the table?' Think of other ways of pronouncing this sentence that would
indicate such things as anger, sorrow, excitement and so forth, and try to
figure out what it is you do with your voice to convey those meanings.

Four: Morphophonemics and Variation

1. List as many ways as you can think of by which you can express
the sense of 'there, in that place'. Some possibilities are *u-o*, *u·-no* and
ai-wa-o, but speakers of various dialects will probably find still other ways
of saying it. Compare the ways that you can say it with the ways that other
speakers can say it. Do you find differences?

2. Find someone who speaks a different dialect of Garo than you do.
This is likely to be someone who comes from a different part of the Garo
speaking area than you, but even people whose homes are quite close may
speak differently. Listen carefully to the way this person talks and try to
identify some of the differences in pronunciation between your own speech
and the speech of the other person. You may be able to find several kinds
of differences.

You can start by collecting particular words that you pronounce differ-
ently. Some Garos say *man-de* and others say *man-di*, for example. Some
say *A·-beng* and others say *Am·-beng*. Some say *chan-cho-ra* and others
say *cham-cho-ra*. Some say *bu-ring*, others *bu-rung* and still others *bring*.
Find as many words as you can which the two of you pronounce differently.

If you can find enough examples, look for differences that repeat them-
selves in different sets. For example, if you say *man-de* but the other person
says *man-di* it is quite likely that there will be other words that you also
pronounce with an *e* but that she pronounces with *i*.

Try find some sort of systematic difference, in which you pronounce a
set of words with one sound and someone else pronounces the same words
with a different sound. If you can find such systematic differences the next
step could be to investigate where each of the pronunciations is used. If
you can find enough people from various places where Garo is spoken, you
might even be able to draw a map to show the area where, for example,
people use *e* in words like *man-de* and where they use *i*.

Five: Core Grammar

1. Garo nouns can be defined as those words that take case markers
such as *-ko* 'accusative' or *-o* 'locative'. This would make *nok* 'house' a

noun, because it can take case markers: *nok-o* 'at the house' and *nok-ko* 'house, accusative'. Verbs can be defined as words that take tense-aspect markers such as *no-a* 'future' and *-jok* 'change of state'. *Kat-* 'run' is a verb because *kat-no-a* and *kat-jok* are possible. A few Garo words can be used in both ways, either as a noun or a verb. *Wal* 'night' must be counted as a noun in *wal-o* 'at night', but it is a verb in *wal-jok* 'it has become night'. Try to think of other Garo words that you can use as both nouns and verbs. You should be able to find a few, but you will probably not find a very large number. Most words in Garo that can be used as nouns cannot be used as verbs or vice versa.

2. Most English verbs are translated by Garo verbs, and most English nouns are translated by Garo nouns, but the correspondence is not perfect. In the Mandi dialect *el-ep-a* 'lightning' is a verb, but English *lightning* is a noun. To call *el-ep-a* a verb says nothing about its meaning, but simply describes how it is used in sentences (for example, with tense suffixes). Similarly, English *lightning* is a noun because it is used like other English nouns. For example, it can come after the article *the* in *the lightning*. So, words that mean the same thing can belong to different parts of speech in different languages. Think of as many examples as you can of words that have the same meaning in English and Garo but that need to be assigned to different parts of speech (such as *el-ep-a* and *lightning*). You can also look for ways in which Bengali or Assamese assign words to different parts of speech than Garo does.

3. Many Garo sentences consist of several noun phrases followed by a verb. The noun phrases are generally distinguished from each other by having different case markers. Try to think up sentences with as many noun phrases as possible, each with a different case marker. Compare your sentences with those thought up by friends and see who can think up the sentence with the most noun phrases.

4. A noun phrase can include a possessive, a modifying verb, a noun, and a numeral. One of each of these kinds of words is found in *Ang-ni chon-gip-a wak mang-git-tam* 'my three little pigs'. Logically, four words might be arranged in 24 different orders, but only a few of these orders are possible for a Garo noun phrase. Which of the 24 orders can actually be used in Garo? Do you feel that some orders are a bit unnatural even if they are not entirely impossible? Which orders do you find most natural? Do you find any difference in meaning when the order is changed? Would you chose different orders in different circumstances? Do different orders emphasize different things, for example?

5. You can think of a noun phrase as any phrase that ends with a case marker. Many noun phrases include a noun. Chose a noun and construct a

noun phrase that includes that noun and as many other words as possible. How long can a noun phrase be? Is there any limit on the length? (Some words other than nouns can take case markers. These are "nominals" and they are described in Chapter 9.)

Six: Verbs

1. *Kat-* 'run' and *nik-* 'see' are verb bases. They are single morphemes (single meaningful bits) that can be followed by any of the verb suffixes. *Dak-chak-* 'help' and *ka·-sa-chak-* 'sympathize' can take the same verb suffixes as *kat-* and *nik-*, but they have two parts so they are not single morphemes. They consist of the verb bases *dak* 'do' and *ka·-sa-* 'like, love', together with the derivational affix -*chak-* which can mean, approximately, 'for another person, on behalf of another person'. Other derivational affixes include -*chot-* 'finish', as in *cha·-chot-* 'eat up, finish eating', and *gro* 'lengthwise' as in *rat-gro-* 'cut lengthwise'. We can call the combinations of a verb base and derivational affix "verb stems". Select a derivational affix and think of as many verb stems as you can that are formed with it. Can you make a generalization that explains which verb bases can take the derivational affix and which cannot? Note that some derivational affixes can be used with many more verb bases than others. Note, also, that there is probably a good deal of dialect variation here, and a derivational affix that is common in one dialect may be missing from another.

2. In English, the same verb can often be used both as a transitive and as an intransitive. In *The string breaks*, *break* is intransitive, but in *I break the string* it is transitive. In Garo, transitives and intransitives are more often different: *Kil-ding chot-a* 'the string breaks' (intransitive); *Ang-a kil-ding-ko tet-a* 'I break the string' (transitive). A few verbs can be used both ways, however. Try to think of several Garo verbs that can be used both as transitives and as intransitives, and give examples of sentences in which they are used.

3. In Chapter 6, it is pointed out that a few transitive/intransitive pairs are distinguished by *p* vs. *b* as in *pi·-a/bi·-a* 'break'. In a few cases, the intransitive member of a pair has a first syllable that begins with *gi-*, *git-* or *gip-* and this seems to mark it as intransitive: *chit-a* 'tear (transitive)'; *git-chit-a* 'tear (intransitive)'. In still other cases, the transitive is marked by the causative affix: *chip-a*, *chip-et-a* 'close'. Can you find other examples of these patterns? Can you find other ways in addition to these three in which transitive and intransitive verbs are distinguished from one another?

4. Transitive verbs can take accusative objects while intransitive verbs cannot. Is there a class of verbs in Garo that can be used with datives

(indirect objects suffixed with *-na*) and another class that cannot? Make a list of verbs that can have dative objects. What sorts of meanings do such verbs have?

5. The Garo word *ol-a* might, on various occasions, need to be translated into English by either 'carry from a head strap', 'hold from a head strap' or 'lift to the position of holding by a head strap'. If it should be important for you to make these distinctions, how would you say each one of them in a way that would make your meaning clear?

6. *Man·-a* in *bal-wa man·-a* 'the wind blows', *on-a* in *gu-ri on-a* 'it is foggy', and *dak-a* in *ga-dil-a dak-a* 'it is cloudy' are described as "empty verbs" because they add little or no meaning to the noun. Garo dialects differ in which empty verbs they use, but all dialects have them. Think of some empty verbs in your own dialect and list the nouns that each can be used with. Can you think of some nouns that can be used with several different empty verbs? Why does the Garo language need to have empty verbs?

7. The future tense has several different forms in different dialects of Garo: *-gen, -na-wa, no-a*, and perhaps others. Speak to people from as many regions as you can, and ask them what form of the future is used in the area of their home. If you can find enough people from enough places, you should be able to make a map that shows the areas where each form is used. *-gen* is probably spreading while the other forms are becoming less common. Why do you think *-gen* is spreading? Is *-gen* in any way "better" than the others? Does it convey its meaning any more clearly than the others?

8. A considerable number of principal verb suffixes are listed in Chapter 6, but others can probably be found in dialects that the author of this book has not heard. Search for additional principal verb suffixes. Examine the way in which they are used, and decide whether they should be counted as sentence completing suffixes, as subordinating suffixes, or as nominalizing suffixes.

Seven: Optional Verb Affixes

1. Chapter 7 describes a number of adverbial affixes. More are listed in Section 0.4 of Volume II, but even that list is far from complete. Each dialect has some that are not found in other dialects. Look for adverbial affixes that are used in your dialect of Garo but that are not given in either Chapter 7 or in Volume II. Give several verbs that make use of each of these adverbial affixes. What is the meaning of each of the verbs? What is the meaning of each adverbial affix that you have found?

2. The inflectional affixes are the most widely used of the adverbial affixes, and many of them can be used together as part of the same word. Mostly they occur in a rigidly fixed order, but a few alternate orders are possible. Describe, as best you can, the most common order in which adverbial affixes occur. Then look for other possible orders. Which optional orders can you find? Do different orders mean different things?

3. Look for inflectional affixes that cannot be used together in the same verb. For example, it is difficult to use *-ba-* and *-ang-* in the same verb because they have contradictory meanings. Are there other inflectional affixes that are incompatible with one another so that they cannot be used together in the same verb?

4. Both *-bat-* and *-kal-* can mean 'more than'. Is there any way in which their meanings are different? Are they used in different regions? If so, where is each used?

5. A considerable number of adverbial affixes indicate something about the direction of movement. Others indicate something about shape. Some of these are described in Chapter 7 and others are given in Section 0.4 of the word list in Volume II. Try to think of as many other adverbial affixes as you can that indicate direction of movement and as many as you can that describe shape.

6. In the Mandi dialect, *-ming* can follow any of the four tense-aspect markers to form the compound suffixes *-a-ming, -no-a-ming, -jok-ming* and *-na-jok-ming*. Some kinds of A·chik have different suffixes that have similar meanings: *-a-chim, -gen-chim, -jok-chim* and *-gin-ok-chim*. Some dialects also have *-a-ha-chim*. Ask yourself which of the tense-aspect markers that are found your own dialect can be used with *-ming* or *-chim* (or perhaps with some other suffix in another dialect). Attach each of these compound suffixes to a single verb base such as *kat-* 'run', and explain what each word means. Try to figure out what each of the compound suffixes contributes to the meaning of the entire verb. For example, what does *-jok-ming* contribute to the meaning of *kat-jok-ming, nik-jok-ming*, or *dal·-jok-ming*?

Eight: Nouns

1. A very large number of noun stems are compounds formed from an initial morpheme with a clear meaning followed by a second morpheme whose meaning is often more obscure. *Nok* 'house, building' is used as an independent word but it also appears in compounds such as *nok-king* 'roof', where *-king* has no obvious independent meaning apart from this word. *Do·-til-eng* 'woodpecker' starts with the word for 'bird' but *-til-eng*

has no clear independent meaning. Other words, however, have readily interpretable second parts. *Pak-sim-ang* 'underarm hair', *mik-sim-ang* 'eyebrows', and *ku·-sim-ang* 'beard' are enough to show that *-sim-ang* means 'coarse body hair', even though it is never used except in compounds.

A few of these "second parts" such as *-sim-ang* are described in the section on 'Noninitial Morphemes' in Chapter 8, and some are given in section 0.15 in the glossary, Volume II, but native speakers of Garo should be able to think of many more. For example, if you collect a number of nouns with *-ma* as the second member, such as *mat-ma* 'buffalo', and *wa·-ma* 'a large variety of bamboo', the meaning of *-ma* will emerge very clearly. See how many of the second parts of words for body parts, animals, birds, trees, and so forth you can find that are not listed in this book. If you can find several words with the same second part, you will have a good chance of being able to assign a meaning to it. Can you, for instance, find *-ring* in any word except *chi-ring* 'stream, small river'? Does *-pek* occur in words other than *ha·-pek* 'mud'. What does each of these derivational noun suffixes mean? Native speakers will find it much easier to search for examples than will speakers of Garo as a second language.

2. When used as the first parts of compounds, morphemes such as *do·-* 'bird' and *jak-* 'hand, arm', can be called "categorizing prefixes". Can you think of categorizing prefixes that you use in your dialect but that are not given in Chapter 8 or in section 0.17 of Volume II? Find several examples of words in which they are used.

3. Native speakers of Mandi should also be able to find many examples of *ka-ta-jik-se* that are not given in this book. All you need to do is to think about words that you have heard used, and that you have used yourself. How many *ka-ta-jik-se* can you find?

4. The central meanings of the case markers are quite clear, but there are subtleties. The differences between locative *-o* and locative *-cha* are a bit complex. Dative *-na* not only marks the person to whom something is given, but it sometimes marks the object of emotions. In a few situations, it is even possible to use two different case markers with nearly the same meaning. The way to investigate the case markers is to collect many examples in which a particular case marker is used and sort the examples according to their meanings. The more examples you have the clearer the use of the case markers will be. Select a case marker and note the way you and other speakers use it. Try to describe how it is used in a way that is more detailed and accurate than the description that you find in Chapter 8.

5. Look for situations where you have a choice between two case markers for expressing the same meaning. Can you find reasons why these al-

ternative choices are possible? For example, you may be able to say either
Ang-a bi-ko ski-a or *Ang-a bi-na ski-a* 'I teach her'. When would you use
one and when would you use the other?

6. Which pairs of case markers can be used together in the same word?
For example *Ang-ni-ko ni-bo* 'look at mine' has a genitive case marker
followed by an accusative. What makes this possible? The augmented case
markers can also be looked upon as a sequence of case markers. Which
pairs of case markers can be used together? Which pairs cannot?

Nine: Nominals

1. The dialects that the author of this book has worked with have
several alternative forms for some pronouns. Can you find other alternatives
in other dialects?

2. In English, *he* and *she* differ in gender. The Garo third person
singular pronouns, *bi-a* and *u-a*, show no difference of this sort. Do you
think this means that English speakers are more aware of the differences
between males and females than Garo speakers are? On the other hand,
Garo makes a distinction between *ching-a* 'we, exclusive' ('we' that does
not include the person spoken to) and *an·-ching* or *na·-ching* 'we inclusive'
('we' that does include the person spoken to). Do you think this means that
Garo speakers are more aware of whether or not the person spoken to is
included in what is said than English speakers are? In thinking about this
question, realize that people have argued long and hard about questions like
this without coming to any general agreement on the answers. Nevertheless,
the question is an interesting one, and it is worth thinking about and worth
discussing with other people even if you do not come to conclusions that
you feel certain about.

3. Pick one of the question word roots in your dialect. This could be
sa-, ba- or either *mai-* or *mu-a* or something similar, but there is consider-
able dialect variation in these roots. Try out each of the case markers with
this question word root and determine which you can use easily, which is
uncommon but possible, and which is entirely impossible. (This will prob-
ably be easiest with *sa-* and most difficult with *ba-*.) Compare your results
with those of other people. What sorts of differences do you find?

4. The largest number of postpositions follow a noun phrase that has
the genitive case marker *-ni*. Look for as many postpositions as you can
find that follow other case markers. Chapter 9 lists some, but you can
probably find others.

Ten: Numerals

1. Numerals usually consist of a classifier and a number. Most numbers are simply the words that we count with: *one, two, three. . .* or *sa, gin-i, git-tam. . .* etc. However, a few other words can also be used with classifiers: *sak-prak* 'each person', *sak-gip-in* 'another person'. What other words can you think of that are used with classifiers in this way?

2. Many classifiers are listed in Chapter 7 and in Section 1.3 of the Lexicon in Volume II. Native speakers of any dialect of Garo will certainly be able to think of many more. Think of as many classifiers as you can that are chosen on the basis of the shape of the thing counted.

3. How many measure classifiers can you think of that are based upon the sizes of body parts? These are classifiers such as *mik-* which means 'the length of forearm from the elbow to the finger tip'. How many others can you find? They were probably more widely used before Indian and Western units of weights and measures came into the language. Ask old people if they remember other such terms that have gone out of use.

4. Find a friend who comes from a different area than you do and whose dialect is somewhat different. Compare the classifiers that you use with those that he or she uses. What differences do you find?

5. Collect examples of sentences which make use of reduplicated numerals such as *mang-sa-mang-sa, gong-git-tam-git-tam* and so on. Consider the circumstances under which these are used and try to define the meaning of each kind of reduplication.

Eleven: Minor Parts of Speech

1. Examples are given in Chapter 11 of adverbs that are reduplicated in various ways (one syllable, two syllable, full reduplication, partial reduplication, etc.) Think of several additional examples of each kind of reduplication that is described there. Search among other adverbs to see if you can find still other patterns of reduplication.

2. Locative words are words that are usually used with the locative *-o*, such as *am-bin-o* or *kin-al-o* 'tomorrow'. Most of these words occur occasionally without the locative suffix. Can you think of any locative words that *always* have *-o*? Make a list of locative words and examine the situations when they do *not* have *-o*. Can you find any consistent conditions in which the locative *-o* can be omitted from these words?

3. Defective nouns are a difficult and irregular area of the grammar. They are words that have some of the characteristics of ordinary nouns

but also have some special characteristics of their own. A good project for several people to work on together would be to collect as many examples of defective nouns as possible, and then consider what constructions each of them can, and cannot, enter into. Can you find consistent types of defective nouns? Are there groups of defective nouns that are used like each other, even if they are not like other nouns?

4. Try forming indefinite *-ba* words by suffixing *-ba* to a variety of question words that have a variety of case markers. With each word that you form, try to construct a reasonable sentence. Can you find any question words that cannot be used with *-ba*? For example which of the following are possible? Which can be used in meaningful sentences?: *sa-ba, sa-ko-ba, sa-na-ba, sa-ni-ba, sa-cha-ba, sa-cha-na-ba, sa-cha-ni-ko-ba, sa-ming-ba?* Make sentences from as many of these as possible and describe, as carefully as you can, the meaning that is contributed by *-ba*.

5. What sorts of reduplications are possible for question words and what meaning does each kind of reduplication convey? For example, which of the following are possible, and what does each of the possible forms mean: *sa-sa, sa-ko-sa-ko, sa-sa-ko, sa-ba-sa-ba, sa-sa-ba, sa-sa-ko-ba sa-ko-ba-sa-ko-ba, sa-ko-sa-ko-ba?* (If a form is impossible, you do not need to ask what it means. If it cannot exist, it cannot have a meaning.)

6. Can you find other meanings for which reduplication is used than those described in Chapter 11? If you can, think of some examples and explain their meaning.

7. Interjections differ a good deal from one dialect to another and even from one speaker to another. Make as complete a list as you can of the interjections that you use yourself.

Twelve: Complex Noun Phrases

1. The sentence *Me·-chik ru-a-cha a·-bol-ko den·-ing-a* 'The woman is chopping wood with an axe' can be turned into the relative clause *me·-chik-ni ru-a-cha den·-gip-a a·-bol* 'the wood that the woman chops with the axe'. The subject of the original sentence shifts from nominative to genitive, with the *-ni* case marker. Construct other noun phrases that have genitive of this sort and try to figure out the circumstances in which a nominative subject becomes a genitive.

2. For the most part, words such as *dal·-a* 'big', which translate English adjectives, and words such as *kat-a* 'run', which translate English intransitive verbs, are used in the same constructions in Garo. It is for this reason that all of them are called "intransitive verbs" in this book. Nevertheless

there are probably a few details in which they are used differently, such as the one described in the section on "Nominalizing Verb Suffixes" in Chapter 6. Look for other differences. To locate the differences, you should write parallel sentences that are just alike except that one has a word like *dal·-a* and the other has a word like *kat-a*. See if you can find constructions where the sentence is acceptable with one of the words but not with the other. If you can find such sentences, you will demonstrate that even in Garo there are some differences between adjectives and intransitive verbs. Can you find differences that are great enough to make you feel that Garo words like *dal·-a* should be called "adjectives" instead of "intransitive verbs"?

Thirteen: Subordination

1. Subjects, direct objects, and indirect objects can occur in almost any order in a Garo sentence. Different orders may, however, emphasize different things. Construct a sentence with several arguments, such as a subject, object, locative, and so on, and arrange these in various orders. Think about the situations in which you would use each of these orders. When would you be most likely to use each of them? Can you suggest how the emphasis would change according to the order even when the basic meaning remains the same? For example *Am-bi a-tam-o Jol-oi-cha i·-ang-jok* means 'Grandmother went to Joloi in the afternoon', but the first three words might be put in any order. Do you think that some orders might be best in answer to the question 'When did Ambi go to Joloi?'; What about in answer to 'Where did Ambi go this afternoon?' or 'Who went to Joloi this afternoon'?

2. If *Ang-ni kin-i bok-jok; bi-ni kin-i-de bok-jok* seems like a strange or even impossible way to talk, explain what makes it so peculiar.

3. Think of several sentences that have subordinate clauses. Think of some sentences in which an *i-ne* must be used to connect the two clauses and others in which an *i-ne* is impossible. You should be able to find still others in which an *in-e* is optional (allowed, but not required). Can you state the differences between the sentences that: 1. must have; 2. may have, and: 3. may not have an *in-e*?

Fourteen: Restructuring

1. Garo verbs usually come last in their sentences or clauses. Occasionally, however, one noun phrase is placed after the verb, as in a sentence such as *Bi-song-ni nok-ko nik-ku-ja, ang-a-de* 'I have not yet seen their house'. Nearly the same thing could have been said by *Ang-a-de bi-song-ni*

nok-ko nik-ku-ja. Make up several pairs of sentences, one with a postposed noun phrase (such as the one in the example) and one without. Consider carefully when you might use each, and try to determine how they differ. Of course they convey the same literal message, but they may differ in the attitude of the person who is speaking or in the kind of emphasis that he wants to give.

2. Much the same meanings can be conveyed by the relative *je* construction and by nominalized verbs: *Ang-ni gim-a-et-gip-a me-dik-ko san-di-bo* and *Je me-dik-ko ang-a gim-a-et-a, u-ko san-di-bo* both mean 'Look for the pot that I lost'. See if you can "translate" any sentence of one type into the other type. Do they convey exactly the same meaning or are there subtle differences? When would you be more likely to use one and when would you use the other?

3. Many balanced questions have a positive verb followed by a negative verb. In a question such as *ok-a-ma, chip-a-ma*? 'is it open or closed?', however, the verbs are different. Think of sentences with other pairs of verbs that can be used to form balanced questions. What sort of pairs can be used for these questions? Can any two verbs at all be used to make a balanced question?

APPENDIX C

GLOSSARY OF LINGUISTIC TERMINOLOGY

Accusative. The grammatical case used for direct objects, often for the recipient of the action. The accusative is marked in Garo by *-ko*.

Adverb. A word that modifies a verb. Garo adverbs are often reduplicated.

Adverbial Affixes. The term used in this book for the meaningful bits that go between a verb base and the principal verb suffix. Adverbial affixes include everything from derivational affixes such as *-chak-* that can be used with relatively few words (*dak-chak-a* 'help'), to inflectional affixes such as *-ja-* 'negative' or *-ing-* 'progressive' that can be used with every verb in the language.

Affix. A grammatical bit that is attached at the beginning or end of a word, or less often inserted into the middle. A prefix, suffix, or infix.

Affricate. A speech sound such as *ch* or *j*, in either English or Garo, that begins with the air passage blocked off, and that has some friction that can be heard as the air passage opens.

Allophone. A variant of a phoneme that occurs in a certain context. The letter *i* in Garo is pronounced in two different ways depending on whether a consonant does or does not follow in the same syllable. The *i*'s in *jik* 'wife' and *mi* 'rice' have very different pronunciations and they have different allophones of *i*.

Aspirated. A slight puff of breath that is a part of some speech sounds. *p, t,* and *k* are aspirated in both Garo and English. *b, d,* and *g* are not. The Bengali sounds transliterated at ph, th, and kh are aspirated, while those transliterated as p, t, and k, are not.

Assimilation. The change of a speech sound so that it becomes more like a nearby sound. The adjustment of adjacent sounds to one another.

Back. A vowel made with the tongue pulled to the back of the mouth. Garo *u* and *o* are back vowels, as is the allophone of *i* used in closed syllables such as *kil* 'cotton'.

Base. The main part of a verb, the part to which the affixes (almost always suffixes in Garo) are attached. *Re·-* is the base of the verb *re·-ang-ing-a* 'going'.

Bilabial. A speech sound such as *p* or *m* that is made by closing the lips.

Bisyllabic. Having two syllables.

Bound Form. A bit of language, such as a suffix, that is always attached to something else. *-sim-ang* 'coarse body hair' is a bound form in Garo since it is never used alone. *Kim-il* 'fine body hair' can be used alone, so it is a 'free form'.

Case Markers. Morphemes (suffixes in Garo and in many other languages) that show the "case" of the noun phrase to which it is attached and thus help to show how the noun phrase is related to the verb and to the rest of the sentence. Case markers can be used to make clear whether their noun is the subject or object of a sentence, or what other function it may have.

Category Prefix. The term used in this book for morphemes, generally single syllables, that come first in the word and that show the word's general category of meaning. *Do·-* in *do·-reng* 'hawk' and in the names of many other birds is a category prefix.

Causative. A particle or grammatical construction that gives a verb a causative meaning. Garo *chip-a* 'to close' describes something that doors do. *Chip-et-a* 'cause to close' describes what someone does who causes something else to close.

Central. A vowel made with the tongue pushed neither to the far front nor to the far back, but held somewhere in between. Garo *a* and the vowel in English *but* are central vowels.

Classifier, Numeral Classifier. A morpheme that is used along with a number. Classifiers refer to some feature of the thing being counted. In *man-di sak-sa* 'one person', *mong-ma mang-sa* 'one elephant' and *nok kan-sa* 'one house', *sak-, mang-* and *kan'* are classifiers for, respectively, people, animals and miscellaneous artifacts.

Clause. A sentence or a portion of a sentence that includes a verb. Main Clauses are usually capable of standing alone as sentences. A subordinate clause is often understood as having been formed from a sentence, but changed in some way that makes it dependent on the main clause of the sentence.

Clitic. A suffix that is attached to a phrase rather than to a single word. If you can say *the king of England's hat* then you are using *-'s* as a clitic since the hat does not belong to England but to the king.

Closed Syllable. A syllable that ends with a consonant.

Cluster. Two or more consonants that occur beside each other in the same word, with no intervening vowel: *st, pr* etc.

Combining Form. The form of a word or morpheme that can be attached to other words or morphemes. *do·-* 'bird' is a combining form in Garo since it combines with other bits. The **free form** is *do·-o* or *do*, depending on the dialect, and it can stand alone.

Complementary Distribution. The situation in which a significant sound of a language can be pronounced in two ways, but where each pronunciation is found in a different but well defined situation. One pronunciation of the Garo *i* always occurs in closed syllables, as in *jik* 'wife' or *mik-ron* 'eye'. Another pronunciation always occurs in open syllables such as *chi* 'water' or *mi* 'rice'. The two forms are "allophones" of the phoneme /i/ and they are said to be in complementary distribution.

Compound. A word that is made up of two parts, at least one of which has clearly identifiable meaning, and can often stand alone as an independent word. Garo *ku·-sim-ang* 'beard' is a compound made up of *ku·-* 'mouth' and *-sim-ang* 'coarse body hair.'

Consonant. A sound, such as *p* or *m*, in which the flow of air through the mouth is relatively restricted. Vowels, such as *a* or *o*, have a less restricted air flow. A letter that stands for a sound of this sort is also called a consonant.

Contrast. Two speech sounds that are different enough to distinguish different words are said to "contrast". *o* and *a* contrast in Garo because they can distinguish such words as *bi-pong* 'handle' from *bi-pang* 'trunk, stem'. The two Garo pronunciations of *i* do not contrast, because no pairs of words are distinguished by nothing except these two sounds.

Correlative. The partner of a relative pronoun in the Garo correlative construction. In a sentence having a form something like *Whatever you need, that we will find* the "that" stands for a correlative. It points back to the preceding relative ("whatever") and names the same thing.

Dative. The grammatical case that labels the recipient of some action. In *Ang-a bi-na to-ra-ko ron·-jok* 'I gave him the basket', *bi-na* 'him' has the dative case, as shown by *-na*, the dative case marker. This shows that it is the recipient.

Demonstrative. A pronoun such as *this* or *that* in English or *i-a* or *u-a* in Garo. They point to a particular (definite) thing and usually indicate something about its location.

Dental. A speech sound made with the tongue touching the upper teeth.

Derivational. This describes a suffix that "derives" one word from another, as *-chak-* derives the word *dak-chak-a* 'help' from *dak-a* 'do'.

Digraph. A sequence of two letters that stands for a single speech sound. *ch* and *ng* are digraphs in both English and Garo. *Th* is a digraph in English.

Diphthong. A vowel in which there is movement of the tongue or other speech organs. Garo *ai-au* is a sequence of two diphthongs, since *ai* and the *au* are both made with tongue movement. *au* also requires the lips to move.

Echoes, Echo Words. A word, that repeats, in whole or in part, the sounds of the preceding word: *nas-ta nos-ta* 'breakfast'. The echo has little meaning of its own, but it is felt to make the language sound better.

Equational Sentence. A type of sentence that has no verb, but that consists of two noun phrases which are "equated" to each other. *Me Tarzan; You Jane* consists of two very simple equational sentences.

Final Noun Suffix. The term used in this book for the suffixes that can follow the a case marker, including such suffixes as *-ba* 'also' and *-sa* 'only'.

Foregrounding. A way of bringing one item in a phrase or sentence "forward" where it will be the focus of attention. A way of emphasizing something. Shown in Garo by the suffix *-in*.

Free Form. A word that can be used without being attached to any other words or suffixes. *Mong-ma* 'elephant' is a free form in Garo because it can be used by itself. *Gal-* 'throw away' is a **bound form** because it cannot be used without at least one suffix.

Front. A vowel made with the tongue pushed toward the front of the mouth. Garo *e* is a front vowel. So is Garo *i* in open syllables such as in *chi* 'water'.

Frozen. When parts of a word can be seen to have separate origins but have become so closely linked together as to act as a single unit they are said to be "frozen". *Breakfast* originally meant "to break a fast", but the parts have become firmly frozen into a single word.

Genitive. The case, shown by *-ni* in Garo, that indicates possession: *Ang-ni jong-gip-a* 'my younger brother'.

Gloss. The words of one language that identify and translate a word or phrase of another language. In "*rang-gol* 'monkey'", "monkey" is the gloss.

Glottal Stop. A catch in the throat made by abruptly closing the vocal cords so that air cannot escape. The sound represented by the Garo raka, as in *ha·-a* 'earth, soil'.

High. A vowel made with the tongue raised high in the mouth. *i* and *u* are high vowels.

Homorganic. Two or more sounds that are made with the tongue, lips, and the other speech organs in the same position are said to be "homorganic". *p, b,* and *m* are homorganic in both English and in Garo because all of them have the speech organs in the same position.

Homographs. Two words that are spelled the same way even if their pronunciation differs. *Rama* 'road' and *rama* 'dry' are homographs in Garo.

Homophones. Two words or morphemes that are pronounced the same way but that have different meanings. *-na* 'dative' and *-na* infinitive, are **homophonous** suffixes in Garo

Imperative. A grammatical form, shown in Garo by a suffix such as *-bo* or *-kan*, that gives a command or instruction: *A-song-bo* 'sit down'.

Indefinite. A word with an indefinite meaning. English indefinite words include the indefinite article *a* and words such as *something, someone* and *anything*. In Garo, indefinite words are typically formed with a *-ba* suffix: *sa-ni-ba* 'someone's', *ba-cha-ba* 'to somewhere'.

Infinitive. A verb form, shown by the suffix *-na* in Garo, that allows that verb to be linked with another as in *cha·-na nang-a*. This corresponds to the English infinitive construction with *to*: *need to eat*.

Inflection. An affix that can be freely used with all the words of some part of speech. The English plural suffix and the progressive suffix *-ing* are inflections, as are Garo *-jok* 'change of state' and *-ing-* 'progressive'.

Instrumental. A grammatical case, shown in Garo by the suffix *-chi* or *-cha*, that shows that the noun to which it is attached is the instrument by which some action is accomplished.

Interjections. A word that is usually used by itself without joining other words in a grammatical construction. *Wow* and *okay* are English interjections. *Ai-au* 'wow' and *da·-nang* 'alas' are Garo interjections.

Intervocalic. Occurring between two vowels. *g* is intervocalic in English *biggest*.

Intransitive. A verb, such as Garo *kat-* 'run', that cannot take a direct object.

Juncture. The sound features that are found where two syllables or words are joined.

Lexicalized. Over time, two or more words or morphemes may fuze together into a single word and the original parts can cease to have any independence. The word that is formed in this way is said have been lexicalized, "turned into a word".

Locative. The grammatical case that shows that the word to which it is attached points to the time or place where something occurred: *Song-o* 'at the village', *a-tam-o* 'in the evening'.

Low. Characteristic of a vowel made while the tongue is low in the mouth. *a* is a low vowel.

Main Clause. The central clause of a sentence. The clause that can usually stand alone without the other clauses. Other clauses are subordinated to the main clause.

Medial. A speech sound or sequence of speech sounds that occurs in the middle of a word rather than at the beginning or end.

Mid. A characteristic of a vowel in which the tongue is neither very high nor very low in the mouth. *e* and *o* are mid vowels.''

Minimal Pair. Two words that differ in sound in just one way. *Buy* and *pie* are an English minimal pair that differ only in their first sounds. *Ring·-a* 'sing' and *ring-a* 'drink' are a Garo minimal pair differing only in the raka. Minimal pairs are valuable to linguists because they help to show exactly which sounds are significant in the language.

Morpheme. The smallest bit of language that carries its own meaning. A meaningful piece of a word. *Unhappily* consists of three morphemes, *un-, happy* and *-ly*. *Kat-ang-ja-no-a* 'will not run away' has four morphemes. **Morphology** is the study of the way in which words are constructed from morphemes.

Morphophonemics. The part of a description of a language that is concerned with the way in which the morphemes are pronounced, and the way that morphemes are formed from phonemes.

Nasal. A speech sound in which some air passes out through the nose. *m, n,* and *ng* are nasal consonants.

Neutral Tense. The Garo tense shown by the suffix *-a* has such a generalized meaning that it can be said to lack any of the more specific meanings of the other tense-aspect markers. As such, it can be thought of as a "neutral" tense.

Nominalization. The process by which a verb is put into a form in which it can be used as a noun. In Garo this is generally accomplished by a **nominalizing suffix** such as *-gip-a*. In *kat-ang-gip-a* 'the runner, the one who runs away' the verb *kat-ang-a* 'run away' has been made into a noun by the **nominalizing suffix** *-gip-a*.

Nominative. The grammatical case that shows that its noun is the subject of the clause or sentence in which it occurs.

Noun Phrase. An organized group of words, that, in Garo, may include not only a noun, but a demonstrative, numeral, and modifiers. It may be terminated by a case marker that shows how the noun phrase is related to the verb and to the rest of the sentence. A Garo noun phrase may be followed closely by a postposition.

Numeral. As used in this book, a numeral includes both a classifier and a number. A **number** is the part of a numeral without the classifier, including especially the morphemes for 'one, two, three' etc.

Open Syllable. A syllable such as *chu* 'rice beer' that ends with a vowel and does not have a final consonant.

Orthography. The way in which a language is written.

Parts of Speech. The major classes of words in a language, each of which is defined by the way it is used in grammatical constructions. Parts of speech in both Garo and English often differ in the affixes they are used with. All languages seem to have nouns and verbs but languages also differ in their parts of speech. English does not have classifiers and so it has nothing corresponding to Garo numerals. On the other hand, Garo does not have as distinctive a class of adjectives as English does.

Passive. A sentence pattern in many languages that can be thought of as being formed from an "active" sentence, by selecting a different noun phrase as the subject. *The man ate the rice* is an active sentence. *The rice was eaten by the man*, where *rice* has replaced *man* as the subject, is the corresponding passive.

Phonemes. The distinctive sounds of a language. Two sounds are called phonemes if they are different enough to keep words distinct. *s* and *ch* are distinct phonemes in Garo because they are different enough to distinguish such words as *si-a* 'die' and *chi-a* 'sweet'. If recently borrowed words are disregarded, the two different pronunciations of Garo *i* in such words as *mik* 'forearm length' and *mi* 'rice' are not separate phonemes because two words cannot be found that differ only in which kind of *i* they have.

Phonology. The way in which the sound system of a language is organized. The study of sound systems.

Polysyllabic. Having two or more syllables

Postposed. Moved to the end, after something else. When a pronoun is moved to follow a verb, as *ang-a* has been moved in *Bi-ko nik-ku-ja, ang-a-de* 'I haven't seen him yet', it can be said to have been postposed.

Postposition. A word that follows a noun phrase and a case marker (in Garo and in many other languages), and that shows such things as position in space or time, causation, and so forth. English has **prepositions** that precede the noun phrase instead of following it but they do the same job as the postpositions of Garo.

Prefix. A morpheme (small bit of language) that can be attached to the beginning of a word.

Principle Verb Suffix. The term used in this book to mean one of the main verbal suffixes, one of which must be used with every verb: *-jok* 'change of state', *-e* 'subordinating', *gip-a* 'nominalizing', and many others

Productive. A grammatical construction that speakers can use freely. Adding a plural in English is productive because speakers can form a plural of a word they have never heard before. English speakers can even form the plural of a nonsense word such as *floyt*. They know that the plural is *floyts*. Similarly Garo speakers know that the accusative marker *-ko* could easily be added to a nonsense word that they had never heard before. On the other hand, while the suffix *-sion* can be used to turn many English verbs into nouns (*confusion, diffusion, decision* etc.) it cannot be freely used with all verbs. **drinksion* and **wondersion* are impossible. Thus *-sion* is said to be a **nonproductive** suffix. Similarly, *-chak* can be added to many Garo verb bases (*ka·-sa-chak-a* 'pity', *a-gan-chak-a* 'answer' etc.), but it cannot be added freely to all verbs, so it, too, is nonproductive.

Prosody. The patterns of rhythm, pitch, and loudness that are characteristic of a language.

Question Words. Words such as *whose* and *what* in English, or the corresponding *sa-ni* and *ba-gip-a* in Garo, that make a question.

Raka. The Garo name for the glottal stop that is made by abruptly closing the vocal cords.

Reduced. A characteristic of speech sounds that have been weakened, perhaps as a result of rapid speech. Over many decades and even centuries, languages sometimes change by having sounds shortened, softened, and made less distinctive in various ways. These are said to be 'reduced'.

Reduplication. The process by which speech sounds, syllables, or words are repeated in some languages, including Garo, to convey certain meanings.

Reflexive. A word such as *myself, yourself* in English or *an·-tang* in Garo that points back to an earlier word. A construction such as *I saw myself* where the object is the same as the subject.

Relative. In English, a pronoun which introduces a relative clause, such as *who* in *the man who came to dinner*. In Garo the work of a relative

is done by a suffix such as *-gip-a* in *mi cha·-na i·-ba-gip-a man-di* 'the person who came to eat rice'.

Released. The separation of the speech organs (tongue, lips, etc.) from one another at the end of a speech sound. In English, sounds such as *k* are generally released at the end of a word such as *back*. In Garo, in words such as *A-chak* 'dog', they are more likely not to be released.

Retroflex. Sounds made with the tongue curled back, such as the American *r* or some consonants in Bengali. Garo *l* is somewhat more retroflexed than English *l*.

Rounded. A vowel characterized by rounded lips. The Garo vowels *o* and *u* are rounded, as are the English vowels in *caught* and *food*.

Stem. The part of a word without any inflections. *A-gan-chak-* 'answer' is a verb stem formed from the verb base *a-gan-* 'speak' and the derivational suffix *-chak-*. Stems can generally take the same inflectional suffixes as bases, so *a-gan-* and *a-gan-chak-* can equally well be followed by such suffixes as *-ing-* 'progressive' and *-ja-* 'negative'

Stop. A speech sound in which the air flow is completely stopped. *p, b, t* and *d* are stops in both English and Garo.

Stress. A feature, often a feature of certain syllables, that sets them apart from the surrounding syllables by being a bit louder, longer, or by having a different pitch.

Subordinate Clause. A clause that does not form an independent sentence but that is a part of a larger sentence.

Subordinating Suffix. In Garo, a suffix that puts a verb into a form that allows it to be subordinated to another verb.

Suffix. A particle such as a case marker or plural marker that can be attached to the end of a word.

Synonym. Two words with the same meaning or approximately the same meaning. *Small* and *little* are synonyms in English. Absolute synonyms in which two words have absolutely no difference in meaning are unusual.

Tense-Aspect Suffix. The term used in this book for several important verb suffixes of Garo, such as *-jok* 'change of state' and *-no-a* 'future' (Mandi). These can complete the main clause of a sentence and thus complete the sentence itself.

Terminal Suffix. The term used in this book for verb suffixes that come after the principal verb suffix. They include *-ma* 'question particle', *-ming* 'past' *-kon* 'probably' and a few others.

Tone. A characteristic of some languages, though not of either Garo or English, in which each word or syllable has a characteristic pitch and in

which words can be distinguished even if they differ in nothing except their pitch.

Transcription. A method of writing a language. The system by which a language can be represented on paper, generally by representing the sounds of the language.

Transitive. A verb that can or must take a direct object is called 'transitive'. *See* and its Garo equivalent *nik-a* are transitive verbs because they can take a direct object, such as *you* or *nang·-ko*, as in *I see you* or *Ang-a nang·-ko nik-a*

Unrounded. A vowel characterized by lips that are not rounded. in English and Garo, *i, e* and *a* are unrounded

Velar. Velum is the name for the soft palate, the back part of the roof of the mouth behind the bony hard palate. A velar sound is one in which the back of the tongue articulates against the velum. *k, g,* and *ng* are velar sounds

Voiced. A speech sound characterized by vibration of the vocal cords giving a humming sound. Most vowels, and such consonants as *l* and *m* are voiced. Other consonants such as *p* and *t* cause an interruption in the voicing (vibration), and these are called **voiceless**.

Vowel. A speech sound such as *a, i,* or *u* that is made with the vocal tract relatively widely open so that the breath can freely escape. Consonants differ in having a more restricted passage for the air. A letter that stands for such a speech sound is also called a vowel.

Yes-No Question. A question that can be answered with either a *yes* or a *no*.

Zero. A device used by linguists to show the absence of something. In an inventory of initial consonants a "zero" may be included to show that it is possible to have a word with no initial consonant at all. In English, where most words have a distinctive suffix for the plural, a word such as *deer* where the plural is the same as the singular, may be said to have a "zero" plural marker. Zero is sometimes symbolized by "Ø".

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THE LANGUAGE

OF THE

MODHUPUR MANDI (GARO)

Vol. I: Grammar

Robbins Burling

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PREFACE

I first fell in love with the Garo language almost fifty years ago when I went to the Garo Hills as a young anthropologist eager for field work. I needed the language as a tool through which to learn about Garo culture, but when I reached the field I had had a grand total of two courses in linguistics and I did not imagine that I would ever write a grammar. Still, I became fascinated with the language and I found that asking people about how they talked came as a welcome diversion from asking about their cross-cousins and their rituals and all the other things that anthropologists were supposed to ask about in the nineteen fifties. I ended my field work with a considerable bundle of notes on the language, and I gathered my notes together into a short grammar (Burling 1961). It was not until the eighties, more than three decades after my first trip, that I was able to return to work among the Garos. This time, however, because of political turbulence in Northeastern India, it was to Bangladesh that I traveled. In the course of a number of short trips I worked not only to regain my speaking ability but I also tried, more systematically than I had in the fifties, to deepen my understanding of the way the language works. Then, in 1996, I was finally able to visit Northeastern India and the Garo Hills once more, and I could see friends whom I had not seen for forty years.

In the course of my long first trip to the Garo Hills a half century ago and in the course of my several shorter trips since the late eighties, first to Bangladesh and then to India again, I have been helped, welcomed, and nurtured by many hundreds of people and organizations. My first trip in the fifties was made possible by a grant from the Ford foundation. It was the gift not only of field work, but of the academic career that followed. My first trip to Bangladesh was supported by the Fulbright Foundation and the second by the National Science Foundation, and when I finally got

back to Northeastern India, it was with the help of another grant from the Fulbright Foundation, this one to teach for seven months at Northeastern Hill University. I am profoundly grateful to all these institutions for their generosity.

In Bangladesh I formed warm friendships with Bengalis, with expatriates, and of course, with Mandis. Two of those to whom I felt closest have tragically and prematurely died. Kibriaul Khaleque, then on the faculty of Dhaka University, met me at the airport on the very first occasion when I traveled to Bangladesh. He and his wife Sayeda welcomed me, on countless occasions, to their home, and it was he who first introduced me to the Mandis of Modhupur. With his sudden death the Mandis and I lost a wonderful and valued friend. I lived on several occasions in the village of Gaira, in the home of Mironi Chiran and her husband Mijen Nokrek. Sontusma, as I always called Mironi, was killed in a terrible road accident leaving a yawning vacancy in the village and in the home I had known so well.

In Modhupur I have been taken in, sheltered, nourished in body and spirit and, indeed, accepted almost as one of them, by Father Eugene Homrich and his many co-workers, Mandi, Bengali, and expatriate, at the Catholic Missions in Jalchatra and Pirgacha. Just as Mironi Chiran and Mijen Nokrek took me into their home in Gaira, so did Retji Rem·a and her husband Binoi Kubi take me into their home for the three months that I lived in Jalichira. The other Mandis to whom I have the greatest specific debt are those who served as consultants when I worked to learn, and to learn about, their language. I list these people, inadequately, in the chronological order in which they worked with me: Benedict Mangsang, Philomena Mrong, Kohima Daring, Norendro Mri, Projendro Ha·gitok, Sosil Man·kin, Kuka Ha·gitok, and Bilasini Chambugong. I was always sustained by their sharp intelligence, their thoughtfulness, their lively good humor, and above all, by their friendship.

On my return to India I quickly accumulated a new mountain of debts. In the Garo Hills, Prof. Milton Sangma served as my host and mentor, arranging lodging, introducing me to everyone, helping me to find my way around and welcoming me to his home. No one could have a kinder or more thoughtful host.

Beyond these people to whom I have specific debts are the hundreds of other Garos who have welcomed me and befriended me. My life has been deeply enriched by my association with the Garos whom I have known in both India and Bangladesh. Of course, I have a special feeling for the people of the villages where I have lived and learned: Gaira, Jalichira and Noyonpur in Bangladesh, and Rengsanggri in India. A surprising number

of the people I knew in Rengsanggri in the fifties were still there, forty years later, now with their children and grandchildren, and a few with their great grand children. They welcomed me back with a warmth that I could never have imagined during the long decades when I had no contact with them. I hope I have not made too many mistakes with your beautiful language.

To all these people I give my thanks.

* * * * *

Volume II and Volume III

Volume II The Lexicon (xii + 457 pages). This volume includes several sections on the lexicon of Mandi: 1. A collection of Mandi words arranged by categories of meaning so that, for example, all kinship terms are collected in one place, words for body parts in another, color terms in another, verbs of carrying in still another, and so on (pp. 1-333). 2. A survial vocabulary, for learners, of about 250 of the most common and useful Garo words (pp. 335-343). 3. An intermediate word list of about 1000 words (pp. 345-389). 4. An English index of the Mandi words used in the first and second Volumes (pp. 391-456).

Volume III Glossary (vii + 232 pages). This volume is an alphabetical glossary of the Mandi words and affixes found in Volumes I and II.

Volume II and Volume III are available in searchable form, and as a down-loadable and printable PDF file at either:

http://name.umdl.umich.edu/bbv9808
or
http://www-personal.umich.edu/~rburling/

ABREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Italics have been used for examples. Most of these are Garo examples, but when English examples are given, they too are in italics.

' '   Single quotes surround English translations of Garo examples.

[ ]   Square brackets surround letters intended to show the phonetics (the specific sounds) of a sound, word, or phrase.

/ /   Slant lines surround a transcription in which the letters stand for the significant sounds (the "phonemes") of the language.

( )   Parentheses used in translations indicate that the words enclosed are not explicitly expressed in the original Garo, but can only be inferred from the context.

:   In phonetic transcription, a colon indicates lengthening of the preceding vowel.

ɨ   Represents the sound of the high back unrounded vowel in a Garo word such as *jik* 'wife' or *pil·-a* 'return'. Its pronunciation is quite different from the *i* of *mi* 'rice'.

ii   Double *i* represents a high front unrounded vowel very much like that in *mi* 'rice'. *ii* is used only in the unusual situation, mostly in borrowed words, when this vowel is found in a closed syllable, as in *tiin* 'three'. A single *i* in a closed Garo syllable is pronounced [ɨ].

·   Represents the glottal stop or, as the Garos call it, the 'raka'.

´   The acute accent shows the syllable of the word that has the most stress.

`   The grave accent shows a stress that is weaker than those marked with an acute accent, but still stronger than totally unstressed syllables.

Ø   "Zero". This indicates the absence or the possibility of the absence of something, such as the possibility that a word might have no initial consonant (a "Zero" initial consonant).

*   Indicates that what follows does not occur in Garo. It is judged by speakers to be incorrect or ungrammatical in some way.

The following abbreviations are used in interlinear translations to identify Garo affixes and grammatical words.

Acc   Accusative case marker *-ko*.

Aug   Augmenting suffix for Locatives *-ni, -na* or *-ni-ko*.

Caus   Causative affix, usually *-et-* or *-it-*, occasionally *-dil-*.

Cls   Numeral classifier. Any of the dozens of numeral classifiers. Occasionally, when the meaning is particularly important, the meaning is shown in parentheses: *ak-sa* Cls(people)-one.

Dat   Dative case marker *-na*.

Frg   Foregrounding final noun suffix *-in*.

Fut   Future tense-aspect marker *no-a*.

Gen   Genitive (possessive) case marker *-ni*.

IFut   Immediate or intentional future tense-aspect marker *-na-jok*.

Imp   Positive imperative *-bo, -kan, -ka-na* or occasionally *-et*.

Ind   Indefinite suffix *-ba*.

Inf   Infinitive *-na*.

Inst   Instrumental case marker *-cha*. (A·chik *-chi*).

LNomz   Locative nominalizer *-o, jok-o*, or *-na-jok-o*.

Loc   Locative case marker *-o, -no*, or *-cha*.

Neg   Negative affix *-ja-*.

Neut   Neutral tense-aspect suffix *-a*.

NImp   Negative imperative *-na-be, da·-* or *-a-bo*.

NNomz   Negative nominalizer, *-gi-ja*.

Nomn   Nominative case marker for monosyllabic pronouns *-a*.

Nomz   Positive nominalizing suffix *-a* or *gip-a*.

Plu   Plural markers, *-rang, -dang, -drang* or *-ong*.

Prf   Tense marker which indicates a change of state *-jok*.

Prog   Progressive *-ing-* or *-eng-*.

Pst   Terminal verb suffix for past or conditional *-ming*.

Psv   Passive marker *cha·-a* or *man·-e cha·-a*.

Que   Question particle *-ma*.

Quo   Quotative particle *-na*.

Sub   Subordinating suffix *-e, -e-ming, -e-min-a, -kan, or ka-na,* or the subordinating particle *in-e*.

Instead of being identified by abbreviations, a few affixes are identified by approximate translations. These do not always give a precise English equivalent, but they act as conventional identifiers of the Garo suffixes

'also'   The final noun suffix *-ba* 'also', 'too'.

'although'   The subordinating particle *-o-ba*.

'but'   The final noun suffix *-de*, which shows a mild correction or qualification of what has gone before.

'if'   The subordinating particle *-o-de*.

'just'   The adverbial affix *-a-ri-* 'just', 'anyway', 'simply'.

'with'   The case marker *-ming* 'with', 'along with'.

'yet'   The adverbial infix *-ku-* 'still', 'yet'.