

Sociolinguistic Profile and Linguistic Study of Tlosai (Mara)

*A Thesis submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy*

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Certificate from Supervisor

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "**Sociolinguistic Profile and Linguistic Study of Tlosai (Mara)**" submitted by **Manasi D. Nadkarni**, who got registered (registration no Reg. No. **D-7/ISLM/11/18** dated 18/01/2018) under the Faculty of Interdisciplinary Studies, Law & Management for the award PhD (Arts) degree of Jadavpur University is absolutely based upon his/her own work under the supervision of **Dr. Atanu Saha** and that neither his/her thesis nor any part of the thesis has been submitted for any degree/diploma or any other academic award anywhere before.

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Declaration

I, **Manasi D. Nadkarni**, hereby solemnly declare that the thesis entitled *Sociolinguistic Profile and Linguistic Study of Tlosai (Mara)* has been prepared by me through the research work carried out at the School of Languages and Linguistics, Jadavpur University. I declare that this thesis wholly or in part has not been submitted earlier to any University for the award of any degree or diploma. I further declare that the work undertaken by me is original and is a record of my own work.

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Sociolinguistic Profile and Linguistic Study of Tlosai (Mara)

Abstract

Tlosai (Mara - Lakher) is primarily spoken in the Saiha (Siaha) district of Mizoram in India and in the Chin Hills of Myanmar. In Mizoram, there are various languages and ethnic groups but they all are termed under the generic term 'Mizo'. The Mara language is distinct in its phonological and morpho-syntactical features from its neighbouring languages. The speech community exhibits a vivid sense of customs and cultural patterns. Though they share a common thread with the 'Mizo' living standards and belief system, they also retain their uniqueness through their lifestyle and cultural endorsement. This makes the study on the Mara (Lakher) language unique and interesting. The present study attempts to explore and discuss the Tlosai speech variety of the Mara (Lakher) language and its connection with neighbouring languages such as the Lai (Pawi) language (with which it shares close proximity) and the state official language Duhlian (Lushei).

This study is based on Tlosai dialect of Mara. It is also the lingua franca of the various dialects of the Mara speakers in Siaha district.

This thesis is an attempt in understanding the underlying morpho-syntactic processes of the Tlosai speech variety and also in gauging the sociolinguistic scenario that surrounds the Mara speech community in the state of Mizoram.

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1 Introduction

The chapter deals with a brief introduction of the Tlosai variety of Mara speaking people, their history, religion, culture, geographical location and the linguistic classification of the language. The chapter also includes a brief comparison of the above categories with those of Mizo and Lai people of Mizoram. It also includes objectives of the study, delimitation of the study and statement of the problem.

Mizoram is the north-eastern most state in India bordering with Myanmar to the east and the south and with Bangladesh to the west on the international front and with Manipur in the northeast, Assam in the north and Tripura in the northwest. According to the Census 2011, there are eight districts in Mizoram, namely, Aizawl, Lunglei, Champhai, Lunglawi, Mamit, Kolasib, Serrachip, and Saiha.

It is a land of shared beliefs, culture and ethos. The people of Mizoram are collectively called as Mizo. However, it is interesting to note that the term ‘Mizo’ is merely an umbrella term under which we find the conglomeration of the various languages and dialects such as the Hmar, Ralte, Lai, (Duhlian) Lushei, Mara, Chakma, Pang, Paite etc. The state official language is Duhlian (Lushei) and alongwith English is the lingua franca amongst all the ethnic communities in Mizoram.

The other languages and dialects continue to be used but amongst the respective ethno-linguistic groups. This has often led to their subjugation and in turn to their striving for sustenance and growth.

For the purpose of this study, we will be focusing on the Tlosai (Mara) language primarily spoken in the Saiha (Siaha) district of Mizoram. Tlosai (Mara) is also a Tibeto-Burman

language like the Duhlian (Lushei) but is distinctive in its phonological and morpho-syntactical features. The speech community exhibits a vivid sense of customs and cultural patterns. Though they share a common thread with the ‘Mizo’ living standards and belief system, they also retain their uniqueness through their lifestyle and cultural endorsement. This makes the study on the Tlosai (Mara) language unique and interesting.

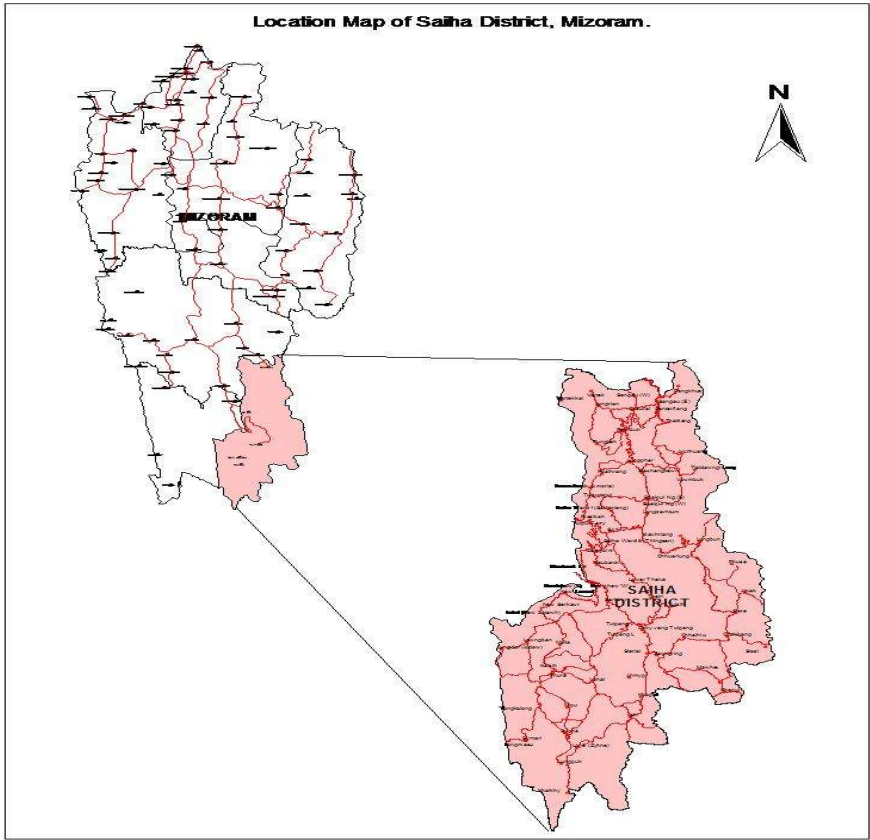
1.1 Mara Language and the people:

Geographical Location:

Mara belongs to the Kuki-Chin linguistic group. The Mara people are an ethnic tribe which belongs to the Mara Autonomous District of Mizoram (MADC), in India, and also found transnationally in the Chin Hills of Myanmar. According to the Census Report 2011, the population of the Mara people from MADC, Mizoram is 56, 574. The *Ethnologue* estimates the population of the Mara people in Myanmar as 26,000. In 2021 Census, the population of the Mara people from MADC, Mizoram is reported as 67,658.



Map1. State of Mizoram



Map 2. Location Map of Siahia



Map 3. Map of Chin State, Burma

MAP OF SAIHA DISTRICT
(Not to Scale)



Map 4. Map of Siah district

The area belonging to the Mara people is collectively called as the Maraland which extends from the southern part of Mizoram State in India to the southern part of the Chin State in Myanmar. India got its independence in 1947 and Myanmar in 1948. Till then, the Maraland was ruled by the British after their invasion.

After independence of both the countries, the Maraland was politically and internationally divided into two parts – India Maraland (also called as West Maraland) and Myanmar Maraland (called as the East Maraland).

East Maraland in Myanmar has an approximate total area of 11,200 square miles with three different townships in East Maraland -Thantlang, Matupi and Paletwa. It is bordered by Matu and Zotung in the east; Haka and Thangtlang in the north; West Maraland and Bangladesh in the west and Khumi and Arakan State in the south.

The West Maraland is situated in the southern part of the Mizoram, and covers an area of about 1445 square kilometres. It is flanked on the north and on the east by the Lai Autonomous District of Mizoram and on the east and the south by the Chin State of Myanmar. The West Maraland has its own administration in the name of ‘Mara Autonomous District Council’ (MADC) under the India Government. The West Maraland is also alternatively called as Siaha (pronounced as *Saiha* by the Lushei).

In the Mara reih (Mara language), *siaha* is a compound word of two syllables – *sia* meaning ‘elephant’ and *ha* meaning ‘tooth’ and altogether the word means ‘elephant tooth’. The Lushai word ‘*saiha*’ also means the same – *sai* meaning ‘elephant’ and *ha* meaning ‘tooth’. The place is so called because historically, a large amount of elephant teeth were found in the area.¹

¹ www.siaha.nic.in

1.2 Mara Ethnic Identity

The Maras retain a separate ethnic identity through their language and customs. Traditionally, the Maras were known by different names such as Mara, Lakher, Shendu or Shandu, Maring, Zyu or Zho, Tlosai, Khongzai, etc. These various names for the Mara people have been used by authorities and scholars in various references and a few historical documents on the studies of the Indo-Burman people.

Previously, The Maras were known as *Zao* to the Chins². Some writers and authorities have used this reference to designate the Mara people. Some have used the term, *Zou*³. The origin of the word is however obscure. Some scholars are of the view that *Zou* could be an English transliteration of the Chin word *Zo*⁴. This word also corresponds to the Mara word *Zyu*⁵ meaning 'hillside'. J. Shakespear⁶ also claims that the Chins used to identify Mara people as *Zo* or *Zochhia*. But the Mara people use the term *Mara* to identify themselves.

In the Arakan and Chittagong Frontiers, the Mara people were also known as *Shendu*. Some writers⁷ have used the term *Shendu* as a generic term to identify the Maras from the 'unadministered area' south of Lushai hills and around the north Arakan Hill Tracts. The word *Shendu* has also been alternatively called as *Sandu*, *Shandu*, *Shendoo*, *Shindoo*, *Shindu*, *Tseindu*, etc⁸. There are two possibilities of the meaning attached to the word *Shendu*. It could be an English deviation of the Khumi word '*Samtu*' meaning 'wearing a hair-knot above on the forehead'.⁹ It is also held that the Maras were known to the Khumis, Rakheins and Matus as *Sentu* in the earlier days. *Sentu* was the subversive word of the name of the Mara chief

² G.A.Grierson: *The Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Part I, Calcutta 1927, p.75

³ B.B.Goswami: *The Mizo Unrest – A study of Particularisation of Culture*, Jaipur, 1979, p.59; G.A.Grierson: *The Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Part III, New Delhi, Reprint, 1967, p. 126.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ R. A. Lorrain: *Grammar and Dictionary of Lakher or Mara language*, Gauhati, 1951, p.368

⁶ J.Shakespear: *Kuki- Lushai clans*, New Delhi, Reprint 1983, p.213

⁷ A.Mackenzie: *North East Frontier India*, New Delhi, Reprint, p. 330.

⁸ John Whitehand: *Far Frontier People and event in the North East India*, London, 1989, p.199

⁹ M.Vachei Chozah: '*Mara*' in the *Mara Deiva MSA Bulletin*, 6th Issue, (1986-1987), 1987,p.17

Siathyu, also known to the Lushais as the Sentunga.¹⁰ The Mara people from the erstwhile unadministered areas were called as Shendu since the early 19th Century. A.D.

To the Burmese and the Yaws of upper Myanmar, the *Shendus* were known as *Buangshe*, meaning 'one who puts a turban in front of the forehead.'¹¹ In his writings, Phayre¹² mentions the term, *Tseindus*, and assigns a list of thirteen clans under it. These clans have been identified by Parry¹³ with the Maras. S.R.Tickell¹⁴ also refers to the term *Shendu* while identifying the *Heima* group of the Maras. His list of the *Shendu* vocabulary draws up words which are in fact the *Heima* variation of the Mara language.

The Maras are also known as *Lakher*. The exonym *Lakher* also appears in various forms such as *Lakheyr*, *Lengkhe*, *Lokheyr* and *Lungkhe*. Phayre (1841) mentions the term *Lungkhe* was applied to the branch of the Mara people who inhabited the western slopes of the Mehphrutung Hill (locally known as Raitla)¹⁵. Freyer¹⁶ argues that the *Lungkhes* and the *Shendus* are members of the same ethnic group. Some writers claim that the term was given to the Mara people by the Lushei people of the present day Mizoram. According to Lehman (1970), the term *Lakher* was used by the neighbouring communities to call a Mara-manufactured cotton gin. The term appears to have originated from the practice of plucking cotton. The Lushais used to pluck cotton from the fruit with their hands whereas the *Lakher*s did it with a stick. The name *Lakher* came from this method of plucking cotton with a stick, *la* meaning 'cotton' and *kher* meaning 'to pluck or remove with a stick'. The British adopted the term *Lakher* during

¹⁰ K.Mara: *Mara Phopha nata Ryhpazy (Mara Folklores)*, Siaha, 2007, p.3

¹¹ G.E.R. Grant Brown: *Gazetteer of Northern Arakan District*, Rangoon, 1960, p.17

¹² Athur P. Phayre: *Account of Arakan*, JASB No. 17, 1841

¹³ N.E.Parry: *The Lakher*s, Calcutta Reprint, 1976, p.18

¹⁴ S.R.Tickell: *Notes on the Heuma or Shendoos*, JASB, No. 111, 1852

¹⁵ N.E.Parry: *ibid*, p.5

¹⁶ G.E.Freyer: *On the Khyeng people of Sandoway Arakan*, JASB Part I, 1875

the British invasion starting in 1886 (Lehman, 1970). This term is also used by Englishmen Lorrain (1951), Savidge (1908), and Parry (1932).

The Lusei (Mizo), the Lai (Pawi) and the Mara (Lakher) are from the conglomerate tribe of the Zo ethnic group of people who trace their identity to Chhinlung, Puk or Khul. They are related linguistically, socially and ethnically. However, owing to their strong perception of identity, the Lai (Pawi) and the Mara (Lakher) were granted respective autonomous district councils. As such, the Mara Autonomous District Council was born in 1987 under the Sixth Schedule Amendment¹⁷ of Indian Constitution after a long political struggle.

The word Mara is used as an umbrella term for the Mara community. Under this generic term ‘Mara’, we find different Mara dialectal sub-groups such as the Sizo-Chapi, Hawthai, Hlaipao-Zyhno, Iana or Vytu, Lochei and Tlosai. The Sizo sub-group includes Aru, Chapi Kihlo, Lialaira, Ratu, Saby, Sosai, Tokua, Tiko, Tisi, etc. Dr. K. Zohra¹⁸, states that the Hlaipao has a number of sub-groups such as the Heima, Lialai and Zyhno. The Tlosai sub-group are the Saikao and Siaha. The Hawthai, Lochei and Iana had no sub-groups.



¹⁷ <https://madc.mizoram.gov.in/>

¹⁸ Zohra K. (1994): The Maras of the Mizoram: A Study of their History and Culture, Guwahati University

Tisi

According to the *Ethnologue*, there are six principal groups of Lakhers (Mara), each with a number of sub-clans. The six principal groups are Tlongsai (Tlosaih), Hawthai, Zyhno, Sabeu, Lialai and Heima. Some resources like Wikipedia and Revolvly claim that the Mara has around 5 dialects, namely, the Tlosaih, the Hawthai, the Zyhno, the Chapi and the Vytu. Tlosaih is used as a lingua franca amongst the Mara people of Mizoram.

The *Ethnologue* states that the people of Tlongsai (Tlosaih) group mostly live at Serkawr, Saiha, Latawh, Lawngban, Tongkolong, Lawngdah, Isa, Longmasu and Naubawk.

The Hawthai people are settled at Tuisi, Theiri, Theiva and Chhuerlung and some other villages and are believed to have come from Haka and migrated to the Lushai Hills after the Tlongsais (Tlosaih).

The Zyhno are found mostly at Savang, Kaisch, Vabia, Laki and Chheihlu.

The Sabeu people are said to have originated in Haka and now are found at Chapui, Mawhrs and Satlawng.

The Heima and the Lialai groups came to the Lakher (Mara) land from the Arakan. These people are closely allied to the Sabeus.

In the Lakher (Mara) region there are a number of villages which are not inhabited by original Lakhers, but by some people of mixed origin of Lakhers (Mara) and Pawis (Lai). These villages are Ainak, Siata, Lungbun, etc.

The sub-groups of the Lakher people possess their own dialects, which differ in varying degrees from each other. The four principal dialects are Tlasai (Tlosaih), Zyhno, Sabeu and Hawthai. Of these dialects, Tlasai (Tlosaih) is used as the lingua franca amongst the Mara community.

1.3 The Mara (Lakher) People – A Brief History:

The history of the origin and migration of the Mara (Lakher) people to their present habitat is shrouded in mystery. There is no authentic written record of their origin but they exhibit a rich oral tradition which has been transmitted from generation to generation from time immemorial. The Maras have always been conscious of their origin and creation of mankind. The folklores based on these two events have always been central to the Mara ethnic identity and existence. They believe that the progenitors of the Mara people came out from the bowels of the earth from where they emerged out into this world. The folklore goes as follows, ‘In ancient days, a great darkness called a *Khazohra* fell on the world. Before this darkness, all men came out of a hole from below the earth. While coming out, the founder of each Mara group called out his name – Tlôσαι, Zhyno, Hawthai, Saby and Heima. The story further says that God saw a large number of Maras had come out and stopped the way. The Lushais when they came out, only the first one called out saying, ‘I am Lushai’ and the rest followed silently. God thought only one person has come out and held the opening of the hole much longer. Due to this many Lushais came out and this is the reason that till date the Lushais are more in number than the Maras. After all humans ventured out of the hole, God made every language different, and that is why we have so many languages today’.¹⁹

According to F.K.Lehman (1980), the Chins settled together as one group in the Chindwin Valley in the middle of the first millennium A.D.²⁰ But eventually, the hill tribes moved separately following different routes. One group moved southwards between the Chindwin and the Irrawaddy. The others moved south to the west of the Chindwin, and went up to the Chin

¹⁹ N.E.Parry: *ibid*, p. 4

²⁰ F.K.Lehman: *The Structure of the Chin Society*, Reprint, 1980, p.13

Hills and the Arakan Hill tracts before 1000 A.D.²¹ Sakhong²² claims that the migration of the Chins from Chindwin Valley to the Chin Hills may have taken place after 1395 A.D.

Stevenson²³ argued that there could be a number of causes of migration for the communities living in the hills. One could be that there was a land shortage in the primary place of living. Infertile soil or frequent severe famines compelled these people to migrate in search of better location. It could also have been due to population explosion as Lehman²⁴ indicates. There could have been a pressure on land due to large populations. Over population and the survival of the fittest could have led the smaller tribes to move to more tenable lands which was suitable for easy defence²⁵. Tribal warfare was a common cause for the weaker tribes to move to other places where they found least resistance.

The original home of the Mara people is still debatable. According to Hail²⁶, the earliest home of the Tibeto-Burmese people could be somewhere between the Gobi desert and to the north-east of Tibet, possibly Kansu. In all possibilities, it could be that the Mara people along with the other related tribes moved from the North to the Chindwin Valley²⁷. From the Chindwin Valley, the Mara people seem to have moved and shifted to the hills south of Kalemyo, mainly due to the influx and disturbances caused by other Tibeto-Burman ethnic groups such as the Shans. The Mara tradition held by the local elders also speaks of their early settlement at *Sôthlara* situated at the South of Kalemyo²⁸. This place has been identified by some scholars as *Suntla* or *Tashon*. Alternatively it is known as *Sothla*.

²¹ Vumson: *Zo History*, Aizawl, 1986, p.29

²² Lian Sakhong: *Religion and Politics amongst the Chin people in Burma*, (1896-1949), Sweden, 20000, p.66

²³ H.N.C. Stevenson: *Land Tenure in the Central Chin Hills of Burma*, Antropo, Vol. XXVII, No. 56, p. 47

²⁴ F.K.Lehman: *ibid.* p. 25

²⁵ H.N.C. Stevenson: *ibid.* p.47

²⁶ D.E.G.Hall: *A History of South East Asia*, London, 1955, p.122

²⁷ F.K.Lehman: *ibid.* p.11

²⁸ F.K.Lehman: *ibid.* p.141; also Vumson: *ibid.* p.48.

Historically it is said that the Maras came down as a group from the south Kalemryo region to the present Chin Hills of Myanmar in search of fertile lands and a better place of living. It is indicated that their approximate date of arrival could be estimated as the middle of 13th Century A.D. they settled in various places in the Chin Hills such as Zyuthla, Sôthla, Marakhiry and Zaokhai at different times. Later they moved to the south of Thatla areas and founded several villages such as Phiapi, Pheipha, Bôly, Chhiera, Bôpi, Sizô, Chhaongai, etc.²⁹. The nature of the variation of the hill ranges in the Chin Hills was such that it led to the scattered establishments of the various villages of the same Mara people. This eventually led to the development of separate socio-political organisations.

Moving further, the various Mara groups entered the erstwhile south Lushai Hills and the North Arakan Hills between late 15th century A.D. and early 16th century A.D. According to Hlychho, the Maras had already settled at their present settlement in the middle of the 16th century³⁰ A.D.

Chapi, Hawthai, Iana, Tlosai, and Zyhno sub-groups moved in the western direction, crossing the Kolodyne River and settled at the present Mara autonomous District of Mizoram. The other Mara groups such as the Heima, Lialai, and other sub-groups of the Sizo moved southwards, crossed the Kolodyne river and settled in northern Arakan, the present Matupi, Paletwa and Thlatla townships of the Chin state. The Sizos and the Locheis particularly settled in the south Thlatla Township on the east of the Kolodyne River.

Though scattered, the Mara people lived and practiced their culture and practices independently. Facchai (1994)³¹ states that it was with the conquering of their land by the British that the Maraland was divided and annexed into three different districts of British India and Burma colonies. The areas that came under British Chin Hills of Burma were those

²⁹ C.Hako: *Hlano Mara History*, 1970, p.13

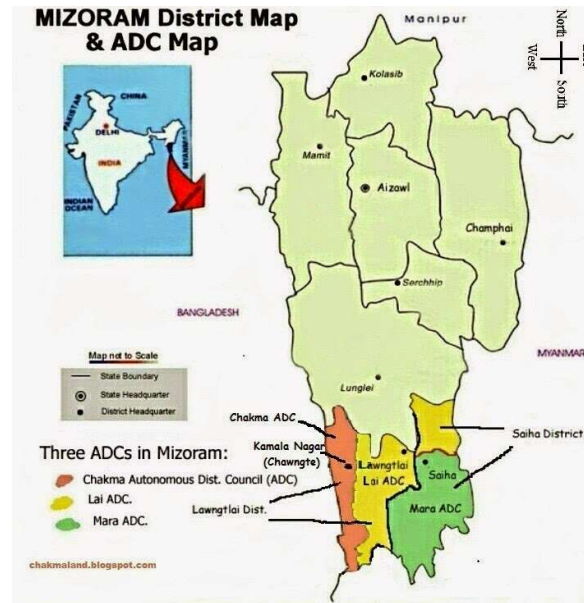
³⁰ Mylai Hlychho: *Mara History*, 1972, p.7

³¹ Facchai, L: *The Maras: From Warriors to Missionaries*. Siaha. ECM Mission. 1994

belonging to Lyutu and Lialai groups, larger parts of Vytu and Chapi-Ngiapha (Sizô) areas and half of Lôchei-Hawthai (mainly Lôchei group). The entire area of the Heima group and a small part of Tlôsai-Siaha territory came under the British Northern Arakan District in Burma. The entire region of the Zyhno group, half of the Lôchei-Hawthai (mainly Hawthai group), a larger part of Tlôsai-Siaha territory and small parts of Vytu and Chapi-Ngiapha (Sizô) areas came under the British Lushai Hills District of Assam, India. It was by 1924 that the entire Maraland fell under the British rule and the Maras not only lost their independence but were also divided and segregated through borders. In Mizoram, the Mara (Lakher) land is bordered on the west by the Fanais and Lushais, on the east and north by the Chins and on the south by the ethnic groups of Arakan hill tracts such as the Matus, Khurais and Khyengs.³²

In 1952, the Lushai Hills District which was upto then a part of the Assam state of India became the Mizo District Council. In 1963, the Lai and Mara people of the former Lushai Hills were grouped together under the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council. In 1972, the Mizo District Council was upgraded to a Union Territory. Similarly, the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council was divided and constituted as two separate autonomous district councils within the Mizoram Union Territory. In 1987, Mizoram became the 23rd state of the Union of India. The Maraland remained as and continues to remain as the Autonomous District Council within the state of Mizoram.

³² Parry N. E. Op.cit. p. 1



In the following paragraphs let us note the socio-political relation between the Mara and the Lai and subsequently between the Mara and the Mizo:

i) The Lai (Pawi) and the Mara (Lakher):

The Lai (Pawi) and the Mara (Lakher) exhibit distinct culture, customs and traditions which still play an important role in their social, economic and political life. Both the communities since time immemorial lived under the chieftainship system. Due to their similarities, we often come across intermingling of the Lai (Pawi) and the Mara (Lakher) people. It is quite common to find intermarriages between the two communities. Villages like Chapui, Chakhang, Chhuerlung, Ainak, and Siate of the Mara (Lakher) and Bualpui, Lungtian, Lungpher, Fungkah and, Rutkual of Lai (Pawi) are some villages where intermarriages are quite often.

According to the 2001 Census, the population of Lai (Pawi) of Lawngtlai District is 73,050 and of the Mara (Lakher) of Siaha (Saiha) District is 60,823. According to the 2011 Census, the population of the Mara (Lakher) has decreased to 56,574. For the Lai (Pawi), the same is recorded as 72, 587 according to the 2011 Census. The total population of the state of Mizoram in the Census 2001 was recorded at 8, 91,058 while the 2011 Census records it at 1,091,014.

Though the two ethnic groups are mainly concentrated in their own districts, we often find an overlap of their respective populations in each other's territory as well as in the other parts of the state.

It was in the year 1987 that the Mara (Lakher) people got a separate autonomous district. Before that, the Mara (Lakher) and the Lai (Pawi) co-existed together and they even had a Pawi-Lakher Regional Council in 1953 which enabled them to administer their province autonomously.

The Pawi – Lakher Regional Council (PLRC) was created under the provision of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The Pawi and the Lakher wanted political autonomy. The PLRC was the only Regional Council of its kind in India at that time. Soon however, the Lushai Hills were upgraded as the Union Territory of Mizoram after abolishing the Mizo District Council. The Pawi, the Lakher (Mara) and the Chakma did not want the Regional Council to be abolished. Hence, the PLRC was trifurcated into three Regional Councils, namely, the Pawi Regional Council (PRC), the Lakher Regional Council (LRC) and the Chakma Regional Council (CRC) on 2nd April 1972. Eventually, the three Regional Councils were upgraded to the status of full-fledged Autonomous District Councils on 29th April 1972. The Pawi Autonomous District Council (PADC) was changed into the Lai Autonomous District Council (LADC) and the Lakher Autonomous District Council was changed into Mara Autonomous District Council (MADC) in 1988.

The PLRC also had international boundaries with Myanmar and Bangladesh. Beside the Pawi (Lai) and the Lakher (Mara), there were other tribes, namely Bawm, Tlanglau, Pang, Riang (Bru), and the Chakma, who also inhabited the PLRC area. The PLRC covered all the Lakher inhabited areas within Mizoram. This was mainly because the Mara areas were all together in one space which also contributed largely to the ethnic identity consciousness of the Mara (Lakher) people. However, it could not include all the Pawi inhabited areas within Mizoram because of the scattered locations and the overwhelming influence of the Mizo Union over

some Pawi villages. The then Advisory Committee Member of the Lushai Hills and the first President of the Pawi-Lakher Tribal Union (PLTU), Mr. Z. Hengmang tried to include all the Pawi villages of the region but he was not successful due to strong resistance from the Mizo Union Leaders. That is why, Pawi-villages — Lungleng, Muallianpui, South Tawipui, Darzo, Thingfal, Mamte, Thlengang, South Vanlaiphai, North Tawipui, and Sairep — were included in the Lushai Hills District. This is also one reason why the Lai (Pawi) language has so much of intermix of loanwords and influence from Lushei. After settling the boundary dispute and demarcating it, the PLRC Advisory Committee selected Siaha (Saiha) was selected to be the headquarters and Lunglei was chosen as interim headquarters.

Before the annexation of the British, the Maras lived independently. They used to have village chiefs who were accountable for all the administrative system of the village. They are known to be hard working people. According to N. E Perry, ‘The Maras (Lakher) cannot be said to suffer from overwork, his day is always full, and he has no opportunity of experiencing the boredom of having nothing to do.’³³ However, they did not have any formal trade between each other nor with their neighbouring tribes. The main occupation of the Maras (Lakher) was agriculture. *Jhum* cultivation was the most common method used by them. The Mara before the advent of the British Administration lived a simple life and enjoyed independent life in their respective village under the administration of the Village Chief. The Chief administered the village with the help of his Council of Elders (Machas) and performed the legislative, executive and judicial functions. On 31st January, 1922, at the Baw meeting the whole area occupied by the Mara was divided into three different districts such as the Lushai Hills, the Chin Hills and the Arakan Hill Tracts. This demarcation brought about new changes to the district boundaries within the Chin-Lushai areas and from 1924, the Mara villages which fell under the Chief Commissioner of Assam formed part and parcel of the Lushai Hills District.

³³ Perry, N.E. (1932), ‘The Lakher’ Firma KLM Pvt. Ltd. on behalf of Tribal Institute Aizawl, Mizoram. P -73

The Mara came under the British authority with the final annexation of Zawngling village in 1924. The British administration in Maraland brought significant changes in the social, cultural, political, economic and religious life of the Maras. The most remarkable change with the introduction of the British Administration was the gradual weakening of the positions and powers of the Chiefs. The abolition of slavery undoubtedly diminished the wealth and importance of the Chief. Moreover, the traditional religious belief of the Mara was replaced by Christianity. The Christian missionaries introduced the system of formal education amongst the Mara.

For many years the Maras (Lakher) were seen as an 'intimidating force' by the authorities in Chittagong and Arakan. They were regarded as a powerful ethnic group which was famous for their raids and for enforcing 'wars' on the neighbouring ethnic groups. In 1847 - 1854 (Mara) Lakher raids on the Chittagong Hill tracts had been a constant occurrence, the Chittagong Hill tracts Superintendent of Police reported that nineteenth raids had been recorded³⁴. In fact, in the literature, we find instances of the Mara (Lakher) ethnic group responsible for the shifting and movement of the other Kuki-Chin ethnic groups, especially from the Chin Hills. And unlike other neighbouring hill ethnic groups who often shifted from one place to another frequently, the Maras were more stable. We can find the Maras building temporary houses in the form of thatched huts in order to avoid loss of items if in case they themselves were to get raided. They also preferred to build temporary huts where cultivation or farming was done and then go back to the village after cultivating season ended. One peculiar thing about them was that though they reigned terror due to their raiding activities, they were not aggressive in occupying the land of the people they raid. In fact they even had a custom of not killing the chief of the raided village. The prime motive for war among the Maras, was obtaining booty in the form of guns, metal, gongs or any other portable article which could be found. In those

³⁴ Ibid. P- 5

days, slaves too were saleable commodities. Therefore, captives were highly valued, and all the women and boys who were caught were carried off as slaves.³⁵ The slaves were considered as one's treasure and the more you had, the richer you were considered.

Since 1924, the then Maraland or Lakherland (Land occupied by the Maras) had been under British Rule. The British were very much frustrated with the habit or custom of raiding. So, as soon as the British administered the area, they prohibited the custom of raiding. At the same time, the British also abolished slavery and thus the 'wealth' of the Chiefs decreased. People increased their *jhuming* areas and started producing heavier crop of rice. People started using money more than the barter system they once knew. During this period, they were no longer isolated but rather they made connections with the neighbouring ethnic groups. A change in their culture was seen due to the influence of missionaries and Lushais (Mizo). It was the work of the Missionary that helped the Maras to have their own writings replicating the Roman scripts.

ii) The Lushei (Mizo) and the Mara (Lakher)

The Mara (Lakher) people were known to raid villages as we have already seen. They used to cause terror even in the Lushei (Mizo) dominated villages. Their prime motive was to collect arms and other booty. When the Lushei (Mizo) village of Lunsen was attacked and raided by the Mara (Lakher) people, the village chief Rothangpuia sought help from the British³⁶. This brought the entry of the British into the Mara (Lakher) occupied area. The British too had faced the gruesome raids of the Mara (Lakher) people in the British administered area of Chittagong.

³⁵ Perry N.E, 1932

³⁶ Mc Call, Major A.G., op.cit, p. 43

Today, there are three major political parties in MADC – Indian National Congress, Mizo National Front, and Mara Democratic Front. The Mara people largely feel that the Maraland is being neglected by successive Mizoram and Indian governments. They believe that less developmental funds are allocated to the area. There is a general disappointment that the Mizoram government seems to be creating hurdles in releasing funds to the Council. The overall development of the Council is slow and their needs and recommendations to the Central Government seem to have been caught into State negligence and slow actions. Alongwith this there is a general fear of being assimilated into the ‘Duhlianized identity of Mizo’. There are some demands that the Congress party is pressing forth for MADC. One is for ‘Direct Finance’ system for MADC wherein the central funds meant for the MADC could reach the latter directly instead of going through the Mizoram state government. Together with the Lai Autonomous District and the Chakma Autonomous District, they demand for a Union territory comprising of these three Councils. The Mara Democratic Front is pushing for the Union Territory exclusively for the MADC. The Mizo National Front is asking that the people of Maraland should join the ruling party of the state if it wants their land to be developed. In general, the MADC remains to be the least developed area of the Mizoram state (Hazarika 2001; Pillai 2006; Fachhai 2008).

(ECM) and the Congregational Church of India (CCI). Besides these, the Mara Student Organisation (M.S.O), Mara Thyulia Pawl (MTP), Mara Chano Py (MCHP) are consciously active and constructive in promoting the language and the culture of the Mara (Lakher) people. The Mara Student Organisation (M.S.O) works for the welfare of the youths and especially students of the community. The Mara Thyulia Pawl (MTP) is a voluntary organisation that looks at the preservation of the ethnic identity, custom and culture of the Mara people. It also strives to develop the Mara inhabitedop areas. The Mara Chano Py (MCHP) is a voluntary association that aims to look at the needs of the women.

On the political front too, we find the Mara Democratic Front (MDF) which was established in 1966 to be quite active. It has already formed coalition government with other political parties thrice in the Mizoram Legislative Assembly.

The Tlosai (Mara) language is recognized in the school curriculum of Mara Autonomous District Council (MADC) and is a compulsory subject for all schools up to Class VII (Middle School) under Board of School Education, MADC. Consecrated efforts are being made by the Mara people to maintain and preserve their language. Mizo, the state official language is also learnt by the Mara speakers. It would be interesting under the present thesis to observe the bilingualism, diglossia and L1-L2 usage by the Mara speakers in all age groups. At the same time, the language attitudes maintained by the community towards Mizo, the state language will give a better insight into the status of the community. We will discuss in details about the language usage and vitality in chapter 7.

1.5 Objective of the Study

The present study dwells on the Tlosai (Mara) language in particular and tries to understand its underlying structure and its position amongst the surrounding languages such as Duhlian (Lushei) and Lai (Pawi) with whom it shares some historical and linguistic similarities.

The objectives of this research are as follows:

1. Sociolinguistic study

The section deals with the sociolinguistic profile of Tlosai (Mara) in Mizoram. It explains how Tlosai (Mara) operates in Mizoram through a brief discussion of the history of Tlosai (Mara) in Mizoram, the past and the current status of the language, users and uses of Tlosai (Mara), and attitudes towards the Tlosai (Mara) and languages around them.

2. The phonological study which includes – (i) the study of segmental phonemes namely, consonants, vowels, diphthongs and triphthongs, (ii) suprasegmental (tone and length) and (iii) syllable structure.

3. Description of the morphophonemics processes found in the language.

a) The morphological study describes – derivation and inflection including (i) word formation processes, (ii) primary (lexical) grammatical categories such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs and (iii) Functional grammatical categories such as the determiners, particles, prepositions, modals, qualifiers, question words, conjunctions.

a) Morphosyntactic processes such as phrasal and clausal structures; prefixes, suffixes and affixes; word agreement

4. Language vitality (Areas related to language contact, language maintenance and shift, language convergence, language attitudes etc.)

The present study tries to perceive the nature of bilingualism in the speech repertoire of the Mara (Lakher) community.

In this direction, the study provides an overview of the issues surrounding language shift, language maintenance and efforts taken up by the community in preserving the language. It brings together some insights that would be conducted through on-field research as well as through secondary sources such as the related work by theoretical linguists, field linguists, and non-linguist members of the Mara community. This will help us to understand and to provide an integrated view of the viable functionality of the language from sociological as well as linguistic standpoint.

2 Literature Review

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the earlier works done in the language and also reviewed certain works done in related languages. It also provided the methodology adopted for this research work.

2.1 Onset

The Mara language got its written form only in the late 19th century. In 1884, missionary Rev. Reginald Arthur Lorrain (1951) and Rev. Fred W. Savidge (1908) created a rough phonetic transcription of Mara using the Roman alphabet and. R. A. Lorrain also reduced the Mara dialect into writing in 1908 based on the Hunter System.

The Mara Alphabet that he created stands as such:

A AW Y B CH
D E H I K
L M N NG O
O P R S T
U V Z AO YU

Further Lorrain compiled two sets of Mara dictionaries, namely, the Lakher-English Dictionary and English-Lakher Dictionary containing 7,000 to 8,000 words each. His Lakher Primer for use in school has been printed by the Assam Government for the Mission free of charges. His Grammar and Dictionary of the Lakher or Mara Language was published posthumously in 1951 by the Government of Assam. He also translated the Bible into Mara language. The New Testament translation work was completed in 1927 while the Old Testament translation work was completed in 1951. Eventually the complete Mara Bible was published in 1956 by Rev. A. B. Lorrain Foxall. The Grammar and Dictionary of Mara (Lakher) language was written by Rev. Fred. W. Savidge. The Dictionary was published by the Pioneer Press in Allahabad in

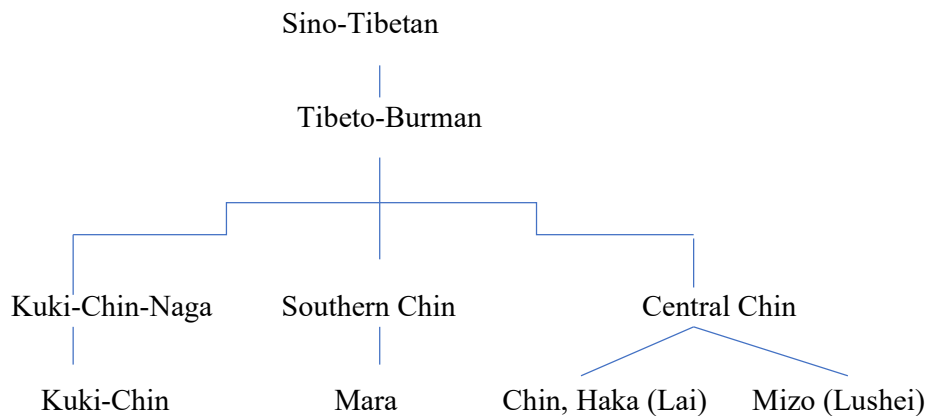
the year 1908. Rev. F. W. Savidge and Rev. J. H. Lorrain were the first pioneer missionaries to Mizoram and were mainly working with the Lusei (Mizo) speaking people. Rev. R. A. Lorrain was the younger brother of Rev. J. H. Lorrain.

Lorrain (1951) and Savidge (1908) laid the early linguistic foundation of the Mara language. Contemporary researchers such as VanBik (2009), Dryer (2008), Bedell (2004) and Van Driem (1993) to name a few have relied extensively on the works of Lorrain and Savidge. Both authors have described the sound inventory of Mara. Lorrain has briefly tried to examine the tri-tonal system of Mara language. Their citation of geographic details entails that their work was centred near or in West Maraland. Parry (1932) identifies that the dialect documented by Lorrain and Savidge was Tlongsai.

2.2 The Classification

The Ethnologue (Gordon, 2005) classifies Mara according to the hierarchy of Tibeto-Burman language families presented in Table 1. It places Mara in the group of Southern Chin languages.

Table 1: Ethnologue’s Linguistic classification for Mara



In some contradiction, however, Ethnologue also adds that Mara is a subgroup of Lushei, one of the Central Chin languages. (Note: the Mara speakers in Myanmar are geographically located between the central and southern areas.)

Lehman (1970) states that Mara belong to southern maraic group through his comparison of archaic Haka to Mara as well as a comparison of Haka and Mara ritual ceremony and language. Despite significant phonetic differences between Haka and Mara today, Lehman asserts the discovery of data indicating that a recent Haka sound shift has caused these differences, and that earlier Haka dialects and Mara were mutually intelligible. Ceremonial commonalities conforms his conclusion linking Haka and Mara in a shared linguistic and cultural history.

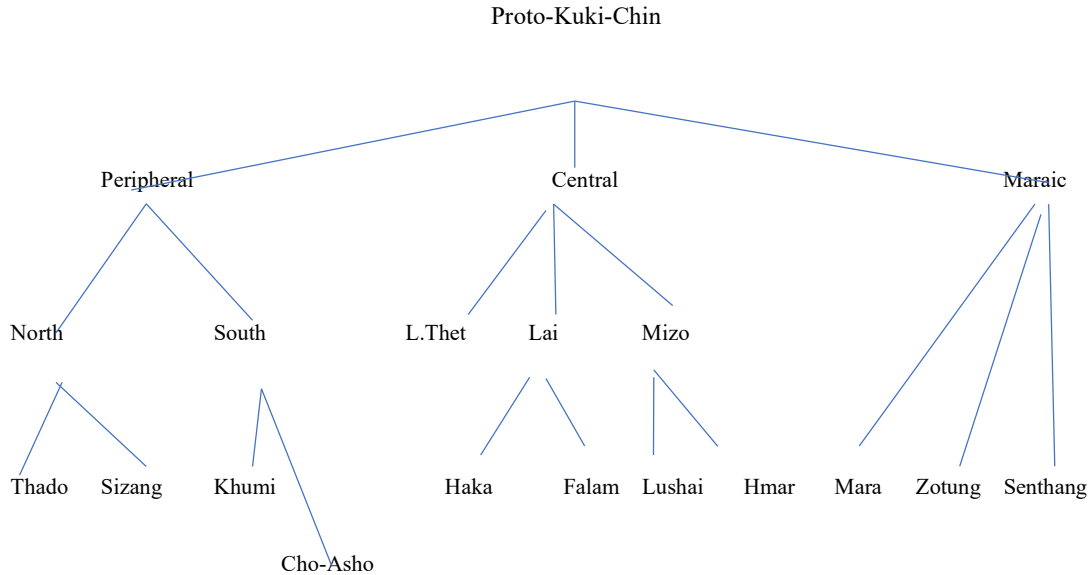
Matisoff (1996) in his Sino- Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus, ‘Languages and Dialects of Tibeto-Burman’, places Mara (Lakher) under the Central – Kuki group. In the Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and Philosophy of Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction (2003), Matisoff spells Mara (Lakher) as Maraa. Thurgood and Lapolla³⁷ also place Mara (Lakher) in Central Chin group.

A more recent study by VanBik (2009) places Mara in the Southern Chin categorization. VanBik provides phonological evidence to state that the Maraic group of languages is a sister group of Central Chin languages.

We will look at VanBik’s hierarchical structure of Proto-Kuki-Chin in the following page.

³⁷ (Lapolla, 2003)

Table 2: VanBik’s hierarchical structure of Proto-Kuki-Chin:



VanBik examines the historic changes in the Maraic group and states that they are distinct from the Central Chin languages such as Haka (Lai) or Mizo (Lushei).

2.3 Linguistic Studies

In his analysis of the various Tibeto-Burman languages³⁸, Matisoff claims that Maraa (Mara-Lakher) has voiceless nasals. He also discusses how Maraa, like many of the other Kuki-Chin languages, shows instances of etyma (a word or a morpheme from which a later word is derived) in the language. Example: *kili* ‘tickle’ ~ *ba-kəli* ‘armpit’. He also states that such reflexes of the etyma are not found in Lushai (Mizo). While comparing the etymon in Proto-Tibetan with Maraa, he states that the regular reflex of the Proto Tibetan etymon *-ak in Lakher (Maraa) seems to be -ao. Example: *wak ‘pig’ ~ Maraa vāo ‘pig’.

³⁸ (Matisoff J. , 2003)

Hartmann (2001) cites how Maraa (Mara- Lakher) exhibits the usage of prefixes to render different grammatical usages. For instance: *ahrei* ‘to live; *apahrei* ‘causes to live’, *athi* ‘dies’; *apathi* ‘to cause to die’, *achi* ‘bad’; *apaci* ‘to make bad’.

The most recent thesis by Arden (2010) shows the phonetic inventory of the Sabeu dialect of the Mara language and has discussed its contrastive sounds and contextual variants. Her study shows that one of the phonetic distinctive features of the Mara language (Sabeu dialect) is that it has lost the word-final consonants. Further on, the language shows voiceless sonorants, pre and post aspirated nasals and lowered and unlowered vowel pairs. Further, it discusses the morphosyntax of Mara (Sabeu dialect) pronominal words in intransitive and transitive sentences. The morphosyntax of the pronominal words in Mara (Sabeu dialect) demonstrates a split-ergative case marking pattern. It shows both nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive case marking systems for pronominal words.

Most of the phonological research in recent times has been done with the primary objective of reconstructing the proto-Kuki-Chin languages. VanBik (2009) conducted an extensive analysis of twelve Chin and Mara languages in order to trace their proto-Kuki-Chin ancestry. VanBik uses references from the data gathered by Luce during his field work of the Chin Hills in 1954 (Luce, 1985, cited in VanBik 2009) and from the fieldwork data gathered by a native Mara speaker in 2001 (VanBik, 2009:51). His primary objective was historical reconstruction of the Kuki-Chin languages. At the same time, his observations of the Mara phonetics and phonology play an important role in the study of present day Mara language.

Matisoff and VanBik made a tonal inventory (unpublished) to Lorrain’s dictionary (1951) which includes brief phonological notes. Though Mara shows three tones, Lorrain’s dictionary (1951) makes only orthographic representation. Löffler³⁹ (2002) states that Mara has lost all of its word final consonants. He further mentions that Lushei, if written without tones, may still

³⁹ L.G.Löffler (2002): *Some Notes on Maraa*, Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area, Volume 25.1

makes sense but Mara without tone marks, has many words which are written alike but pronounced differently which makes it difficult to be understood. According to him, both Savidge and Lorrain failed to understand this and so their dictionary and grammar, though the primary foundation for Mara linguistics, fails to capture the tone distinctions. Löffler further contends that Lorrain mentions Mara tones in his Grammar and Dictionary but the few tones he mentions seem to be mostly wrong.

Löffler states some of the important phonetic features of the Mara language as follows: Mara has aspirated nasals and laterals (written *hn-*, *hm-*, *hr*, *hl-*). Mara also does not have final glottal stops as a distinguishing feature unlike the Lushei wherein the glottal stop as a word final consonant is common. He further states that the five vowel system of the Latin alphabet are not sufficient to describe the seven vowels of the Mara; similarly the Mara language generates nine diphthongs and hence the Mara vowel and diphthong system should be presented as follows:

a, â, I, u, e, aw, y

ai, ao, ia, ie, ua, ei, yu, o, ô

Löffler also attempted to create a proto-Mara language using the comparisons between Mara (Sabeu dialect), Lushai, and Lai.

Dryer (2008)⁴⁰ reviews word order patterns in Tibeto-Burman VO (verb-object) and OV (object-verb) languages wherein he has studied the word order features of noun-adjective, relative clause and noun, noun-demonstrative, numeral noun, degree and adjective and negative and verb. In his findings, he states that amongst all other Tibeto-Burman languages, Mara splits its demonstratives in a DemNDem structure which is similar to the Mizo (Lushei) language.

Example:

⁴⁰ M.S.Dryer (2008): *Word-Order in Tibeto-Burman languages*, Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area, Volume 31.1

Mizo	Mara
hei...hi	he...he
‘this...here’	‘this...here’

In the analysis of Proto-Tibeto Burman verbal agreement systems, Van Driem (1993)⁴¹ summarizes the Mara particle agreement systems described by Lorrain (1951), Savidge (1908), and Weldert (1985). DeLancey (1989) discusses how the Mara verbal agreement paradigm reflects the onset of the subject-object model typical for the Kuki-Chin languages. While making suggestions for the preliminary reconstruction of the postverbal paradigm in the Proto-Kuki-Chin languages, he states that the older paradigm is lost in the Central Chin (e.g. Mizo) and Mara languages, but rather the older 2nd person index has been incorporated into the modern paradigm. In his article (2013)⁴², ‘The History of Postverbal agreement in Kuki-Chin’, DeLancey further argues that Mara shares the innovative prefix agreement paradigm characteristic of Kuki-Chin, except that its 1st person index is *ei* whereas other branches have *ka*. The agreement indices show considerable phonological independence from the verb. In Mara, as in Mizo, the 2nd person agreement word is preserved in several constructions but unlike Mizo, Mara also retains the 1st person form, though marginally. He suggests that the shared pattern of retention of the 2nd person agreement word in Mara and Mizo reflects a period of common development after their separation from PKC and that these two groups are related to one another as a Central-Maraic sub branch within KC.

Agreement pro-clitics in Kuki-Chin languages

Person	Mizo	Mara
1	ka	ei

⁴¹ G.Van Driem (1993): *The Proto-Tibeto Burman Verbal Agreement Systems*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Volume, Issue 2

⁴² S. DeLancey (2013): *The History of Postverbal Agreement in Kuki-Chin*, Journal of Southeast Asian Linguistics Society (JSEALS) 6: 1-17

2	i	na
3	a	a

Sharma⁴³ gives a detailed description of pronominal agreement marking on verbs in Mara. She states that in the Mara agreement system, the verb agrees with both the pronominal participants of the clause. She further states that Mara shows a person hierarchy of 1st > 2nd > 3rd when marking agreement.

Bedell (2004) briefly reviews intransitive and transitive pronominal words of the Mara language. Delancey (1985) and Soe (1994) discuss the didactic use of verb auxiliaries in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages. These type of usage adds a directive, aspectual and a type of motion sense to a main verb.

Example:

ro θei
write to be-PRE

‘Can write’

Arden (2010) makes a morphological analysis of the pronominal words while comparing the same with those of Weidert (1985). She states that some single morphemes have independent consistent meaning, while there are many other morphological and phonological exceptions which vouch for semantic consistency of morphemes. Arden also proposes a limited deictic hierarchy of pronominal words, based on the person of the sentence participants rather than their roles as agent or objects. Her dialect of study is Sabeu.

2.4 Ethnographic Studies regarding Ethnic Identity

⁴³ J. Sharma (2018): *Verb-pronominal agreement in Mara*, North East Indian Linguistics (NEIL) 8, 156-171, Canberra, Australian National University: Asia Pacific Linguistics Open Access. ISBN978-1-922185-41-9

There are a number of articles and writings related to the issues of ethnic identity, history and culture of the Mara, as well as of the Chin/Zo people in general.

F.K.Lehman (2008) attempts to define the umbrella term *Chin*, especially in relation to the contrastive terms *Zo* and *Vaai*. He states that ethnic identity is always a socio-cultural invention. In this context, he rationalizes that instead of arguing for the dominance and selection of either *Chin* or *Zo* as an umbrella term to define the same ethnic community, it is (Sharma, 2018) better to see the term in contrast to the term *Vaai* (which means either the Burmese people or the Bengal-Assam-Cachar people; the neighbour with which the Chin/Zo people may have lived with). He argues that the ethnic identities are conditioned and defined by local situations and because of inter- group and intra- group socio-political relationships.

Historian C. Kio (2008) also tries to explain the terminological confusion between the terms – Chin and Zo and claims that Chin is a much more globally known term for the same ethnic group. He tries to trace the history of the Chin people from their prehistoric beginning to their continuation in modern times. Another historian Lian H. Sakhong⁴⁴ (2003) attempts to answer the critical question of the Chin identity by testing the ethno-symbolic theory of] Anthony Smith. He tries to explain the question of history and origin of the Chins.

K. Zohra attempts to explain the historical origin and migration of the Maras. He insights that the Mara traditions do not go beyond their settlements in the Chin Hills of upper Myanmar and that their movement and final arrival at their present settlements could not be later than the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th century. He also tries to elaborate on the Mara identity.

Laiu Facchai in his paper, “Becoming a foreigner in one’s own land⁴⁵”, proposes and urges the Mara people to unite closer through religion, language and culture irrespective of the border

⁴⁴ Sakhong L.H. (2003)

⁴⁵ Facchai Laiu (2009), ed. K. Robin: *Becoming a foreigner in one’s own land*, Chin: History, Culture and Identity, p.287-307, Dominant Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi

issues. He argues that before the advent of the British, the Maras enjoyed absolute power in their own rights and that the Maraland was a conglomeration of city-states.

Apart from the above, there are other historical and political books such as V. V. Rao's *A Century of Tribal Politics in North East India*; A. N. Ray's *Mizoram Dynamic of Change*; R. N. Prasad's *Government and Politics in Mizoram*, R. Vanlawma's *Ka Ram leh Kei (My Country and I)* (in Mizo); Chaltuahkhuma's *Political History of Mizoram* (in Mizo); and others. These books make a general mention of the political journey of the Tlosai (Mara) people while discussing about Mizo politics. Similarly, most of the available books and writings deal with the Mizo (Lushai) language and history. It is worth a mention to state that Mara writer A Zakia who is known for his contribution to the development and growth of the Mara language was awarded the Padma Shri award in March 2018. He is the first Padma awardee from the Mara community. A Zakia is a prominent journalist and writer from Siaha. His efforts are highly valued due to his remarkable contribution to Mara literature and journalism at a time when the language was so overtly subjugated to the growing influence of the surrounding languages like Mizo and with English. A Zakia has authored over ten books in Mara including *Mara Grammar* and the *Children's Bible*. Tlosai (Mara) language is categorised as an endangered language by the International School of Linguists (ISL International) according to *Morung Express*. Between 1993 and 1996, he was the official translator of primary school text books under the Board of School Education of MADC.

But very little information apart from the above mentioned deals with the Tlosai (Mara) people and language in particular. The present study therefore aims to dwell into the socio-linguistic aspects of the Tlosai (Mara) in much detail. Also some studies claim that the Lai (Pawi) and the Tlosai (Mara) communities and languages are off-shoots of one another. This claim needs to be studied and verified. Thirdly, in the set-up of the linguistic ethos of Mizoram, one needs to understand and gauge the vitality of the Tlosai (Mara) language.

2.5 Sociolinguistic and Vitality studies

Sociolinguistics is the branch of linguistics which deals the study of language in relation to society. Unlike, its sister languages amongst the Kuki-Chin linguistic group, Tlosai (Mara) does not have much work reported in the sociolinguistic studies. Apart from a few articles mentioned below.

K.Robin⁴⁶, in his article, ‘Transnational Tribe of North East India: The Maras and their quest for identity’, discusses how the Mara community has struggled all along to find and retain their separate identity inspite of being constantly merged by historians under the various Chin and Mizo umbrella terms. He implores on how common ancestry, common homeland, traditional religion and culture and linguistic affinities runs deep amongst the various Mara language groups even though they are scattered between Mizoram and Chin valley of Myanmar.

In the article, Survey of the Zo language alongwith some of its cognates, researcher Philip Thanglienmang Tungdim, provides a comprehensive examination of the various Zo (Kuki-Chin) languages. He tries to find the relation between the North, South and Central Kuki-Chin languages.

Unfortunately, not much literature with respect to sociolinguistic studies, vitality and attitude studies and also studies on perceived bilingualism is found for Tlosai (Mara). I have attempted a preliminary investigation in chapter 7 of this thesis to understand Tlosai (Mara) for its vitality, attitude, usage and perceived bilingualism. The analysis is introductory and could be further developed for an indepth study of the same.

⁴⁶ K.Robin, Transnational Tribe of North ast India: The Maras and their quest for identity; Research Journal Humanities and Social Sciences. 2018.

3 METHODOLOGY

The present research is based on the field linguistic data. Primary and secondary sources have been used to cover the research. The researcher has used both qualitative and quantitative approach to conduct this research. For the qualitative research, I have tried to obtain data through open-ended and conversational communication. Primary source qualitative approach methods included one-to-one interview with participants, observations on focus groups, ethnographic research, case study research, record keeping and qualitative observations. One-to-one interviews helped in gathering precise information and data about the people's belief and motivations. Apart from one-to-one interviews, I also tried to collect data from an audience of around 6-10 respondents. This helped in procuring data for community based surveys, especially in the sociolinguistic data. Ethnographic survey helped me to study the people in their naturally occurring environment. This research design helped in understanding the culture, challenges and motivations faced by the community in first-hand setting. Case study research helped in collecting the data and inferring it. Record keeping method helped in the study of existing reliable documents on the language and the people and in using similar sources of information as the data source. For gathering secondary information, I have examined available books, gazettes, records, and other available documents. For the field work, I had visited Siaha and Aizawl which were the focal areas for research. This helped me conducting face-to-face interviews and discussions with the community members, thus gaining a first-hand information crucial to the data collection as well as in understanding the dynamics of the community. Qualitative data collection helped me to collect data that is non-numeric and based on the community's natural setting.

Quantitative research analysis involved analysing and gathering numerical data in order to calculate averages and to evaluate relationships. Some of the research design used by the researcher in quantitative analysis included sampling, surveys and questionnaires. This

research method has helped the present research to analyse numerical data and to derive conclusions based on the same.

3.1 Purposes and goals

The main purpose of this research is two-fold:

- i) To describe the Tlosai (Mara) language, and
- ii) To study the Tlosai (Mara) community in relation to the various ethno-linguistic groups that co-exist in Mizoram and to gauge the similarities, and differences amongst them. Furthermore, the research is also an attempt to find out how a ‘minor’ language like Tlosai (Mara) sustains itself in the state especially when the issue of self-identity has arisen quite dominantly in recent years. This research also seeks to learn the attitude that the native speakers show toward their own language and to that of the neighbouring languages.

To fulfil these purposes, we set the following goals:

1. Documenting the Tlosai (Mara) language through ethnographic study
2. Understand the language vitality of Tlosai (Mara)
3. To understand speakers’ attitudes towards other languages, especially to Lai (Pawi) and also towards Lushai (Mizo) (the state language of Mizoram)
4. To know the essence of the bilingual abilities of the members of the Tlosai (Mara) linguistic group

To accomplish all of these goals, this research work will be divided into two parts:

- 1) a descriptive analysis of the Tlosai (Mara) language of Mizoram;

2) an ethno-socio-linguistic study of Tlosai (Mara) language in Mizoram

3.1.1 Data Collection

Language documentation is defined as ‘a field of linguistic inquiry and practice in its own right which is primarily concerned with the compilation and preservation of linguistic primary data and interfaces between primary data and various types of analysis based on this data’ (Himmelmann 2006). As a part of the data collection, the researcher has focused mainly on primary data including audio and video recordings, field notes and written documents of the speech community. The researcher has tried to understand the ethno-linguistic knowledge of the community.

A] Field Work

For the purpose of collecting data and further documentation, the researcher has conducted extensive field work in Siaha (the primary field) and in Aizawl (for secondary data). These two places were selected because majority of the Tlosaih speakers reside in these areas. The data set incorporated in this dissertation is based on the primary data collection from native Tlosaih speakers through field studies.

The first round of data collection was for the analyses of the phoneme inventory in Tlosaih. For this, the data was developed from the Swadesh List. The list was elicited and was recorded from native Tlosaih speakers. A total of 378 lexical items were recorded during the field studies. The compiled data is presented in the Appendix of this dissertation. The data consists of monosyllabic words, disyllabic words, derived and non-derived disyllabic lexical items, and a few trisyllables.

In the following paragraphs, I have discussed the methods used for data collection.

i. Sampling on the macro level

For the Field Trip, I have used the Snowball Technique⁴⁷ to identify and connect to the informants. I used the method of Interview as well as Institutional surveys to gather and validate the information. I have tried to stay with the community itself in order to immerse herself into the culture and thus gain first-hand perspective about the community. I collected audio recordings of the sentence and word list alongwith folktales and songs as well as collected photos of the community for ethnolinguistic data.

ii. Sampling on the Micro-Level

The researcher conducted both individual and group interviews to investigate language attitudes, language use, social contact patterns, and cultural practices. We interviewed groups consisting of people of all ages and both genders. This helped us to discover typical opinions and practices of the people. We also made individual interview calls with Church leaders and school officials to find out about language use in their institutions. Much of the information about traditional culture was obtained informally from small groups and individuals.

3.1.2 Observation:

The researcher believes in direct observation leading to knowledge of people's natural behaviour in any setting. Interviews may reveal what people believe about their behaviour or the image they wish to portray of themselves. But observation reveals what they actually do. The researcher tried to be as discreet as possible to gain maximum first-hand information about the communities. We tried to observe language use, social interaction, and other cultural phenomena.

⁴⁷ Snowball sampling is also called as or chain sampling. It is a nonprobability sampling technique. The existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances.

3.1.3 Wordlists and Sentence List:

The researcher elicited a standard SIL wordlist from a small group of informants in each village visited. Group elicitation was used to allow for discussion of the most appropriate word for each gloss and to avoid isolating people, which would have been culturally inappropriate.

Figure 1 shows the methods used in this research.

Study	Method	Description	Aim	Number
Survey of the various language varieties co-existing in Mizoram	Interview method	Conversations with various community leaders and common people	Geographical locations, population figures, language similarities and differences	At least 10 interviews
Language attitudes, vitality, and bilingualism study	Sociolinguistic questionnaire	24 questions	Language preferences, domains of language use, ability in a second language, and education medium	9 villages
	Community information questionnaire	20 questions		

Ethno-Socio-Linguistic survey of Mara (Tlosaih) language	Language documentation	word list and sentence list	To document and understand the basic structure of language	6 villages and 1 town
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The survey was conducted through Pilot Study and Field Study.

3.1.4 Pilot Study

For the Pilot Study, the researcher used the Snowball Technique to identify and connect to the informants. The method of Interview as well as Institutional surveys was used to gather and validate the information. The researcher connected with some Mara speakers within the city of Kolkata. She tried to collect linguistic data from the informants while also trying to gain first-hand perspective about the community.

This information was further utilised to create sample interviews and other such strategies to conduct a field trip for data collection extensively.

The Pilot Study – A Brief Overview:

Finding Tlosai (Mara) speakers within the city of Kolkata proved to be challenging at the initial stage. The researcher met a few Mara natives but during the linguistic interaction and investigation, it was revealed that most of them had either merged their linguistic speech repertoire with the Mizo (Lushei) language or they can speak little in their speech variety. Most of the informants showed their affinity to Mizo and revealed that they had been staying out of Siaha in other parts of Mizoram in search of better economic opportunities for most part of

their lives. It is interesting to note that those settled ‘outside’ of Siaha were all youths from the age group of 18 years to 35 years.

After a couple of interviews, the researcher found two informants: 1) NC Ngopawngia (25 years, Female, resident of Siaha), and 2) Marvin (23 years, Male, resident of Siaha). Both the informants were Tlosaih speakers and assisted the researcher in understanding the basics of Mara society and culture as well as were helpful in data elicitation.

Overall the researcher observed that the language attitude amongst the Mara youths who have settled outside of Siaha are lax about their own language. Though they had been proud of the fact that they were Mara natives, they were equally happy to be associated and included into the Mizo umbrella. Their knowledge of Mara language seemed superfluous and intermixed with the Mizo language. Only a few speakers retained the Mara speech repertoire. We also found out that some of them have married and settled with their Mizo counterparts.

However, the data collected during the Pilot study with the aforementioned informants helped in preparing the questionnaire for the Field Study as well as the initial interaction with the Mara speakers provided vital information about their linguistic attitudes and affinity.

3.1.5 Field Study

Based on the findings of the Pilot Study tour and that of the subsequent questionnaire, the researcher visited the field in Siaha and in Aizawl, Mizoram for further investigations. The trip conducted from December 2021 to January 2022 was to understand and assess the socio-linguistic situation of the Mara in Mizoram.

Further details of methodology are described in the pertinent sections of this report.

3.2 Methods used by the researcher in the present research

3.2.1 Survey of the language varieties co-existing in Mizoram

Following were the research questions (and the initial findings) that we undertook to understand the socio-linguistic and ethnic situation in Mizoram:

Q1. Which are the different ethnic groups residing in Mizoram?

Q2. Which ethnic group is closely affiliated to which other ethnic group?

Q3. What is the area of concentration of each ethnic group within the state?

Q4. What language they spoke and what was their attitude toward other groups?

Q5. Census / UNESCO Reports

Q6. Statistical analysis of the Mara linguistic community in particular to adjudge the status of the language within Mizoram

Q7. Collection of data (word and sentence list; folklores) for analysis

- **Processes used for Data Collection and Analysis:**

A] Field

Siaha is the main place for field work where primary data was collected. The researcher visited Siaha town and met some professors at the Siaha College to understand the Tlosaih language and culture. There we met Ms Steffi, a college lecturer who guided us further into the community.

B] Informants:

Our main intention was to find a native speaker who is born and brought up and who continues to live in the ethnic settlement and who is fluent in the language. Through Ms Steffi's help, we found some participants who fitted the requirement. To collect data, we administered the questionnaire to 25 subjects in 3 different locations in College Vaih village block situated near Government Siaha College. The subjects were chosen to represent the population as a whole with regards to age, gender and education levels.

B] Data Recording:

The researcher collected data using a Zoom H2N Voice Recorder in formal as well as informal setup. The data was stored in (.wav) format. Videos and photos of the community in action were also collected.

C] Transcription:

The researcher has used IPA symbols for phonetic and phonemic transcriptions. For citation entry, I have used the Roman script. For the gloss, English language has been used. I have used the Leipzig Glossing Rules for glossing and abbreviations.

For grammatical analysis, we have used FLEx software.

- **Findings:**

The field trip enabled us to get a clearer perspective on the dynamics of the Mara society in Mizoram which assisted in formulating a vivid description of the community based on linguistic and sociology of the society. Having stayed with the community, we made efforts to gain the underlying inert ideologies that led to genuine findings needed for the research.

The findings are stated according to the related Research Questions and give us a simple skeleton of the socio-linguistic scenario amongst the Mara people.

Q1. Which are the different ethnic groups residing in Mizoram?

Mizoram is a multi-ethnic and pluralistic state. Mizo is an umbrella term under which several ethnic groups are included. Some of the groups are Lusei, Ralte, Lawitlang, Renthlei, Fanai, Kiangte, Faihriam, Pang, Tlanglau, Paite etc. These tribes have been assimilated under the Mizo umbrella and the Mizo state language (Duhlian-Lushai). Some of them like the Ralte, Paite, Hmar use their own language varieties but within their own communities while using the Duhlian-Lushai as the principle language. There are also other ethnic groups which resist their identification under the Mizo umbrella and have succeeded in establishing their individual Autonomous Districts – the Lai (Pawi), Mara (Lakher), and the Chakma.

Q2. Which ethnic group is closely affiliated to which ethnic group?

As mentioned above, most of the ethnic groups in Mizoram have been assimilated under the umbrella term ‘Mizo’. Though some retain their language variety within their own communities, it is observed that generally it is only the elderly that have retained it while the younger generation seems to know their varieties only passively.

The Lai language used in the Lawngtlai district of Mizoram seems to be closer to the Duhlian language but the extensive linguistic study of this claim is beyond the scope of this study. The Mara and the Chakma have maintained their uniqueness in terms of language and cultural identity.

Q3. What is the area of concentration of each ethnic group within the Kuki-Chin group?

Most of the ethnic groups are dispersed across the state. However, we find clumps of populations segregated according to their respective ethnic groups in specific areas marking their specific territories. The Lai, the Chakma and the Mara have their own autonomous districts, though we do find them scattered all across the state in search of better economic

opportunities. Most of the other ethnic groups may be scattered all around the state but they reside in their own enclaves. For instance the Paite may have their own enclave where most Paite stay together and so on.

Q4. What language they spoke and what was their attitude toward other groups?

The ethnic groups distinctively speak their own mother tongues within their own families or with the people of their own community. However, an interesting observation brings out the fact that ‘smaller’ ethnic groups try to ‘accommodate’ their language by using the ‘larger’ tribal language when talking to a person from that ethnic group. In Mizoram, the dominant language is the Duhlian language which has now been accepted as the lingua franca and the state language of Mizoram. Mizo (Duhlian language) is accepted and spoken by all in Mizoram. The Mara people came into contact with the Mizo only after the annexation of their lands by the British.

Q5. Census / UNESCO Reports

According to the Census 2011⁴⁸, the Mara population in India (Mizoram) is 56, 574. However 41,876 of the population in Mizoram reported themselves as Mara speakers. The *Ethnologue* estimates the population of the Mara people in Myanmar as 26,000. In 2021 Census, the population of the Mara people from MADC, Mizoram is reported as 67,658.

There are five identified dialects of Mara language in India. The dialects are Chapi, Tlosai, Hawthai, Zyhno and Vytu (Siata). Tlosai is used as official language for written form.

The Lai population according to the Census 2011 is 117,894. Only 28, 624 of the population in state claimed to speak Lai.

⁴⁸ (Commissioner, n.d.)

3.2.2 Research Questions related to the Mara ethnic group

It urges for the following specific goals:

1. To document and prepare description of the language.
2. To investigate the patterns of language use in the Mara community as well as attitudes towards their own language and towards other languages spoken in the region; to assess the vitality of the Mara language.

This will help to explore the degree of differences in linguistic features and to examine the ensuing social situations among and within different communities.

In Mizoram, especially in the three Autonomous Districts (CADC, LADC and MADC), as described earlier, there is an important relationship between language and ethnicity which ensues to territoriality of ethno-lingual elements. This relationship between language and ethnicity is not only reciprocal but also vital and socially significant. It stimulates the social behaviour and the psyche of the people ingraining their very thought process and attitudes. The language usage influences the formation of ethnic identity, but ethnic identity also influences language attitudes and language usages.

The field trip provided some information and insight on the Mizo community as a whole and on the Mara ethnic group in particular. Apart from theoretical knowledge, the field trip has immensely helped to collect valuable data on the Mara language using audio recordings of wordlists and sentence lists and also through photos and video collections.

3.3 Organization of the Dissertation:

To attain the aim of the dissertation, this research work is broadly classified into seven chapters.

The chapters of this dissertation are organised as follows:

Chapter 1 *Introduction:*

This chapter gives a brief account of the Tlosai (Mara) people with respect to their ethnic identity and their history. It gives a fair background of the language and how it stands in amongst the other neighbouring languages within Mizoram. It discusses the objective and aim of the study.

Chapter 2 *Literature Review:*

This chapter discusses the onset of Tlosai (Mara) language, its classification and linguistic studies pertaining to the language and to the other Mara dialects. It further discusses the ethnographic studies regarding the ethnic identity of the Tlosai (Mara) language.

Chapter 3 *Methodology:*

This chapter discusses the purposes and goals of the research. It mentions the observations and the methods used by the researcher. It further elaborates the research questions used by the researcher to achieve the goals of the study. It gives an outline of the chapters and their arrangement.

Chapter 4 *Phonology:*

This chapter presents in brief the phonetic and phonemic inventory of Tlosai (Mara).

Chapter 5 *Morphosyntax:*

This chapter discusses the morphological and morphosyntactic aspects of Tlosai (Mara).

Chapter 6 *Delineating Clauses in Tlosai (Mara):*

This chapter examines the word order, the transitivity, and the clausal structure in Tlosaih language.

Chapter 7 *Language Use, Attitude and Vitality*:

This chapter discusses and observes the usage of the language using surveys and interviews. It tries to find out about the attitude toward the language as well as the language vitality.

4 Phonology

The present chapter primarily focuses on the study of phonemes, allophones, and how sounds function within the Tlosai (Mara) language system to create meaning. For this purpose, it describes the phonetic and phonemic inventory of the segmental and suprasegmentals of Tlosai (Mara) language. It includes discussing the phonemic analysis and phonological rules of the language and examines how sounds are organized in Tlosai (Mara), including the identification of meaning-distinguishing sounds (phonemes) and how they vary in different contexts (allophones). Thus, the discussion includes – (i) the study of segmental phonemes namely, consonants, vowels, and diphthongs, (ii) suprasegmental features (tone and length) and (iii) syllable structure.

The chapter discusses Mara's contrastive sounds and contextual variants. It discusses Tlosai (Mara) inventory of consonants, vowels and tones. Like its sister languages in the Kuki-Chin group, Tlosai (Mara) distinctively uses glottal word-final consonants. Tlosai (Mara) phonetic inventory shows that the language has post-aspirated obstruents, pre- and post-aspirated nasals, and a set of voiceless sonorants. It primarily uses a low-mid-high three-tone system with occasional usage of a contour tone.

The phonology of the Tlosai (Mara) system can be classified into three major patterns: consonants, vowels and tones.

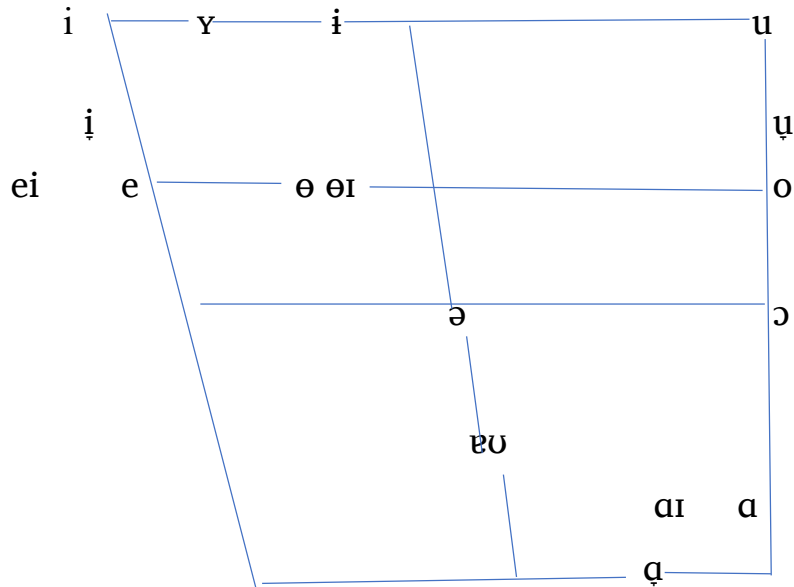
4.1 Study of Segments

In this section, I present the segmental phonology of Tlosai (Mara) including consonant and vowel phonemes. There are 37 consonant phonemes, and 5 vowels with 7 diphthongs.

The speech sounds in Tlosai (Mara) are classified into vowels and consonants.

4.2 Vowels

- i. The phonetic inventory for vowels of Tlosai (Mara) is as follows:



The Tlosai (Mara) vowel system is composed of a set of back vowels from open to close, and a more clustered set of front-center-close-mid set of vowels. The back low vowel α is the most common occurring vowel as it appears before and after every consonant except the bilabial glide. It follows the bilabial glide. The diphthong ɐʊ occurs as the most frequent after the vowel α . The mid-central vowel ə is often misunderstood with the mid-central unrounded vowel Λ and is also one of the frequently used vowel in Tlosai (Mara). Vowels / o / and / ɔ / are found in free variation with the sounds [α , ɐʊ]

i. Vowel heights

Tlosai (Mara) shows lowered and unlowered pairs of vowels which exhibit differing relative degrees of lip rounding and movement. I observe a lowered ɯ , which is less rounded than its lower counterpart u , a lowered ɨ , which is less spread than its lower counterpart i , and a lowered ɶ which is articulated with a wide-spread lip.

Its counterpart α is almost always pronounced with a high tone. Lowered ɔ is never found word-initially like its counterpart α .

Rounded Vowels	Unrounded Vowels	Tones
γ	I	High
ø	i	Mid
u	j	Low
ɔ	e	
o	ə	
ɔ	α	
	ɔ	

1. Phonemic contrast

Initial	Medial	Final
$/\text{i}/$ $/\text{ip}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔ}/$ ‘mango’	$/\text{i}/$ $/\text{tjivo}/$ ‘hippopotamus’	$/\text{i}/$ $/\text{tj}/$ ‘water’
$/\gamma/$ $/\gamma/$ ‘to be’	$/\gamma/$ $/\text{tjlyia}/$ ‘ground’	$/\gamma/$ $/\text{tj}^{\text{h}}\gamma/$ ‘duck’
$/\text{u}/$ $/\text{uno}^{\text{h}}\text{pa}/$ ‘sibling’	$/\text{u}/$ $/\text{θua}/$ ‘iron’	$/\text{u}/$ $/\text{lɔpu}/$ ‘caves’
$/\text{e}/$ $/\text{ei}/$ ‘I’	$/\text{e}/$ $/\text{rarɔsɛtɔ}/$ ‘camel’	-----
$/\text{o}/$ $/\text{ou}/$ ‘house’	$/\text{o}/$ $/\text{cɔlia}/$ ‘on’	$/\text{o}/$ $/\text{lao}/$ ‘solid’
$/\text{ə}/$ $/\text{ə}/$ ‘he / she’	-----	$/\text{ə}/$ $/\text{nɔtɔ}/$ ‘during’
$/\alpha/$ $/\alpha\text{lɔ}/$	$/\alpha/$ $/\text{sao}/$	$/\alpha/$ $/\text{θlɔla}/$

‘stone’	‘spring’	‘glass’
/ɔ / /ɔpa /	/ɔ / /d̪orâ /	/ɔ / /sɔ /
‘he’	‘plate’	‘food’
/u/ ---	/u/ /ŋiaç ^h u _ɛ /	/u/ /cabu/
	‘sweater’	‘book’

• **Phonemic Distribution Chart: Vowels**

	i	y	u	o	ɑ	ɔ	ə	e
Initial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Medial	+	+			+	+	+	+
Final	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-

All vowels in Tlosai (Mara) have a distinct syllabic nucleus. Vowels tend to be pronounced longer when they occur at the end of the word. Vowels with a falling tone are relatively shorter than vowels carrying a mid or a rising tone.

All vowels can occur word finally except the vowel /e /.

A. Allophonic Variations

a) /i / is a high front unrounded vowel. It has [i̠] and [i̟] as its allophone. [i̠] is a high central, unrounded vowel which occurs in closed syllable when the initial sound is a sonorant (i.e. m n ŋ l).

1. ʎyʔmiɑ ‘in front of’

[i̠] is a high front short unrounded vowel. It occurs as follows:

2. ní: ‘to eat’
3. ɛi ‘medicine’

[i̟] is a lowered high front short unrounded vowel.

4. sɨ́ ‘slave’

2) /u/ is a high back rounded vowel with two realizations – [u:] and [ʊ].

5. pāpú: ‘uncle’

In Mara orthography, ú is written a ‘ao’. [u:] is a high back rounded long tense vowel which occurs generally with a rising tone.

6. pàpḡ ‘grandfather’

[ʊ] is a lower, high, back, rounded lax vowel which occurs with a falling or a mid-tone.

As we can see, the tone and the vowel length is directly related.

3) Vowels /o/ and /ɔ/ are found in free variation with the sounds [ɑ,ɐʊ].

7. sɔpa ‘to keep’
sɐpa ‘to keep’
səpa ‘to keep’

8. saɔḡ ‘garden’
sɐɔḡ ‘garden’

vi) Diphthongs

I have found seven diphthongs in Mara; namely - **ao, yu, ai, ei, ia, ie, ua**

/ao/

9. yaʔsao ‘ginger’
10. apalao ‘to play’

/yu/

11. pyuŋi:ḡḡθaiɾa ‘musician’
12. aʃryu ‘to fight’

/ai/

13. ḡlasaθaiɾa ‘singer’
14. puasai ‘to leave’

/ei /

- | | |
|-------------|--------------|
| 15. lâθeipa | ‘dancer’ |
| 16. hroθei | ‘to survive’ |

/ia/

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| 17. sip ^h ia | ‘floor’ |
| 18. zaʔnia | ‘yesterday’ |

/ie/

- | | |
|-------------|----------|
| 19. siet̚no | ‘sister’ |
| 20. reina | ‘time’ |

/ua /

- | | |
|----------|-----------|
| 21. pua | ‘to walk’ |
| 22. suaʔ | ‘to rain’ |

4.3 Consonants

i) The phonetic inventory for consonants of Tlosai (Mara) is as follows:

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Retrolflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p p ^h b		t̪ t̪ ^h			ʈ ʈ ^h ɖ		k k ^h	q q ^h	ʔ
Nasal	m m ^h hm		n n ^h hn					ŋ		
Trill				r hr						
Tap / Flap						ɽ				
Fricative		f v		s z	ʃ ʒ				χ	h
Affricate					tʃ tʃ ^h dʒ					
Lateral Fricative										
Approximant	w			ɹ			j			
Lateral Approximant				l hl		ɭ				

i. Description of Consonant Phonemes

This section describes Mara's inventory of consonants. A description of each consonant is provided along with illustrative examples.

We shall look at the glottal stop, obstruent, nasals, trills, and approximants, together with their qualities of aspiration.

With the exception of the glottal stop, consonants are absent in word-final position.

1. Glottal stops

Glottal stops frequently occur in Mara. Most of the time, we find the glottal stop occurring only in the word-final position in the language. However at times, the glottal stop can occur as onsets as a result of morphological combinations.

23. k^heiṭa e

‘how’

This phrase is heard as k^heiṭāʔé where the glide of the glottal stop can be heard as an onset of the next morpheme.

2. Obstruents: Stops, Fricatives, Affricates

We find the obstruents to be both voiced and voiceless. In Mara (Tlosai (Mara)) bilabial and alveolar plosives, labiodental and alveolar fricatives, and alveopalatal fricatives all contain voiced and voiceless pairs. Only velar and uvular stops are voiceless.

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Retrolateral	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p p ^h b		t̪ t̪ ^h			t̬ t̬ ^h d̬		k k ^h	q q ^h	ʔ
Fricative		f v		s z	ʃ ʒ				χ	h
Affricate					tʃ tʃ ^h dz					

Table 4: Phonetic Inventory of Mara Obstruents

As per observation,

1. /p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop. It can be sometimes aspirated.

Example:

24. puɑ ‘to walk’

25. pa ‘man/father’

26. p^hɑ ‘well/good’

2. /t/ is a voiceless alveolar stop. The tongue tip is usually placed slightly behind the upper teeth so that it is pronounced as a dental stop.

27. hɔ̃t̪ipa 'child'
28. kɔ̃t̪a 'very much'

It can be sometimes aspirated.

29. t^heipa 'branch'
30. t^heiχija 'mango'

1. /k/ is a voiceless velar stop.

31. ku 'finger'
32. siku 'school'
33. kei 'my'

/k/ can also be heard as uvular [q] before /a/ or /i/.

34. viakao / viaqao/ 'to break'
35. kiaʔ/qieak/ 'to go'

/s, z/ when preceding /i/ can be heard as alveolo-palatal [ɕ, ʑ]

36. pizi /pizi/ 'shape'

3. Nasals: pre-, post- and unaspirated

	Bilabial	Labio - Denta l	Dental	Alevolar	Alveo - palat al	Retro flex	Pal atal	Vel ar	Uvu lar	Glot tal
N a s a l	m m^h ^hm		n n^h ^hn					ŋ		

Table 5: Phonetic Inventory of Mara Nasals

In Mara, we find unaspirated, pre-aspirated, and post-aspirated realizations of the bilabial and velar nasals.

1. Bilabial unaspirated /m/

The bilabial unaspirated /m/ is found in word initially and word medially.

37. mi:tq̄ kuvuiʔtupa ‘shepherd’

38. caʊlami ‘tail’

2. Bilabial aspirated /m/

The bilabial aspirated /m/ is found in word initially and word medially.

Example:

39. ^hmôpi ‘vulture’

40. pi^hmô ‘eagle’

3. Bilabial post-aspirated /m/

41. ēm^hàʊʔ ‘to blow’

The bilabial post-aspirated /m/ is most often produced.

4. Dental unaspirated /n/

42. ni ‘day’

5. Dental pre-aspirated /n/

43. ^hna ‘leaf’

6. Dental post-aspirated /n/

44. ān^hjāʊpāʔ ‘near’

7. Velar nasal /ŋ /

The velar nasal ŋ is observed to occur both word-initially and word-medially. It is never aspirated though. The velar nasal ŋ is not found in the word final position.

45. ŋiapâna ‘faith’

46. pyuŋi:tôθaipa ‘musician’

Tlosai (Mara) thus shows pre-aspiration of word-initial nasals and post-aspiration of word-medial nasals which is similar to the other dialects of Mara. According to Arden

(2010), this phenomenon has a phonetic rationale. She states that Mara has a series of voiceless nasals, and to distinguish one nasal from another the timing of aspiration and voicing is balanced. This helps in distinguishing one nasal from another. Most languages have a place of articulation contrast among nasals, and if aspirated, they are usually pre-aspirated.

4.4 Suprasegments

Under suprasegmental phonology, I include vowel length and tone of Tlosai (Mara). Tone functions as a means of differentiating lexical items. The Tlosai (Mara) language relies heavily on tones to differentiate word meanings and hence vowel length is not important in the language.

4.4.1 Vowel Length

Vowel length is the perceived length of a vowel sound. In Tlosai (Mara), vowel length is not considered to be a significant feature. Some linguists argue that Tlosai (Mara) has both short and long vowels. However, crucial evidence speaks otherwise. Vowel length is not phonemic in Tlosai (Mara) as it is in Mizo. The length of the vowel does not change the meaning of a word. However, we may come across some variation in vowel duration depending on the context and the speaker. For instance, longer vowels may appear in emphasized speech.

Loffer, in *Some Notes on Maraa* (2002) states the same that unlike its neighbors, Mizo and Lai, vowel length is not phonemic in Maraa. In fact, he states that Maraa is much closer to its southern neighboring language Khumi, rather than Mizo or Lai due to a number of similarities between the two such as loss of vowel lengthening, prefixes and pre- and post- aspirations of nasals and liquids. Further investigation between Mara and

Khumi may provide greater clarification of the same. But this, I leave for another cause as it is beyond the scope of the present study.

4.4.2 Tone

Tone, is a variation in the pitch of the voice while speaking. It helps to distinguish lexical or grammatical meaning. Proper tone usage is important for accurate understanding and communication in Tlosai (Mara). While the different dialects exhibit a similar basic tonal structure, specific tonal patterns may slightly vary between different Mara communities. The Tlosai (Mara) language is primarily a three-tone system wherein all three tones are contrastive. The primary three tones are:

High ´
Mid -
Low `

Tones	High	Mid	Low
	sáʔ ‘meat’	sāʔ ‘hair’	sà ‘rice’
	αθí ‘to die’	āθī ‘to kill’	----
	záʔ ‘to tickle’	zāʔ ‘night’	----
	-----	ρλī ‘to turn’	ρλì ‘tongue’

4.5 Syllable structure

The syllable is an important phonological unit. The inventory of the syllable initial consonants is quite different and larger than those of syllable final. In this section, I will discuss the syllable structure of Tlosai (Mara) according to previous literatures available on Tlosai (Mara). This will help us to gain a fresh insight into the syllabic structure and to help explain a re-syllabification process.

4.5.1 Representation of the Tlosai (Mara) Syllable:

Mara shows two types of stressed syllables: CV, CVV.

CV

47. nō ‘mother

48. ku ‘hand’

CVV

49. lia ‘in’

50. ŋia ‘to come’

The V: is a long vowel while VV represents a diphthong. Each syllable carries an obligatory tone. The Tlosai (Mara) syllable can be either open or closed. The syllable ending consonant plays an important role in determining the tone. Since, tone defines the syllable as a whole; those diphthongs converging on the high front vowel usually have a high or rising tone and those converging on the high back vowel and those converging on a low vowel usually have a low or falling tone.

- a) diphthongs converging on the high front vowel usually have a high or rising tone)

51. θí ‘to die’

52. pʌlí ‘tongue’

- b) diphthongs converging on the high back vowel and those converging on a low vowel usually have a low or falling tone)

53. puɑ̀ ‘to walk’

54. ɬekua` ‘but’

Monophthongs and diphthongs can occur in the word initial, medial and final positions. Long vowels cannot occur with glottal stop or glottalized consonants in the final syllable position. But diphthongs can occur with a glottal stop or glottalized consonants in the syllable final position.

55. mouʔ ‘name’

56. kiaʔ ‘to go’

Tlosai (Mara) language does not permit consonant clusters within a syllable. Instead, a consonant sequence (which comprises two consonantal sounds only) and geminate consonants are found.

In Tlosai (Mara), the syllable canon of the language is V, CV, and CVV. The onset of the syllable can be filled by any of the consonant (except the glottal stop) and the coda of the syllable can be filled by any voice unaspirated stops (except palato-alveolar stop) and voiced sonorant.

Tlosai (Mara) also exhibits a syllable without onset and coda. So Tlosai (Mara) has an obligatory syllable type of V1 and V2. The peak of the syllable can be filled by any vowel. The syllable can be further divided into open and closed syllables. The open syllables are those syllables which do not contain coda and closed syllables are those syllables which have coda. It is also important to note that the final vowels of an open syllable are always long.

Word level stress in Tlosai (Mara) is important as stress is relevant in determining syllable structure. The syllables in Tlosai (Mara) can have primary, secondary and tertiary stress depending on the number of syllables available in the word. Tlosai (Mara) exhibits penultimate stress pattern wherein the stress typically falls on the second-to last syllable of a word.

57. my'la ‘tomorrow’

Here, stress is falling on the second-to last syllable lâ.

58. lô 'θlôʔpâ 'sweets'

Here, stress is falling on the second-to last syllable θlôʔ.

Unstressed vowels also occur and show vowel shortening and vowel reduction to [ə] word initially and word internally. Prefixes and suffixes generally occur as unstressed syllables.

A traditional Tibeto-Burmese view of syllable applied to Tlosai (Mara) can be represented as follows (Matisoff 1978:23):

(P)C_i(G)V(:)(C_r)(S)

In this representation, P is the optional historically reduced prefix; C_i is the obligatory initial consonant; G is the optional second consonant (glide) in syllable initial consonant cluster. V is the obligatory vowel nucleus; (:) signifies vowel length; C_r is the optional coda and S is the optional suffix. P is a prefix which is unstressed and therefore no longer productive.

- **Findings:**

The traditional Tibeto-Burman approach to syllable structure is rooted in diachronic principles. However, this approach does not provide adequate explanation of synchronicity. The moraic framework gives more insight into the Mara syllable structure. While defining the Mara syllable it also helps into understanding the interaction of stress and syllable structure. Further in depth study of the same is beyond the scope of this discussion but the present discussion lays the basis for further studies. In Mara, there are five phonemic short vowels /i, e, a, ə, u/, five phonemic long vowels /i:, e:, a:, ə:, u:/ and 37 consonantal phonemes. The phonemic consonantal sounds which occur in the initial position are: /p, t, t̚, k, p^h, t^h, t̚^h, k^h, b, d, m, n, ŋ, t̚s, t̚s^h, f, v, s, z, h, r, r̚, l, l̚, tl, tl̚/ and those

which occur in the final positions are: /p, t, k, ʔ, m, n, ŋ, r, l/. Aspirated sounds cannot occur in the word final position and there is no voiced aspirated sound. Glottal stop occurs only in the final syllable position. The voiceless stops /p, t, k/ when they occur after short vowel are unreleased in the word final position. So, the phonemes /p, t, k/ has two allophones, [p, t, k] and [p̚, t̚, k̚]. The phoneme /e/ is in free variation with [e] and [ɛ]. There are eight (7) diphthongs i.e. /ao, yu, ai, ei, ia, ie, ua/ and can be divided into three types, (1). Diphthongs converging on a high front vowel, such as /ai, ei, ia, ie/, (2). Diphthong converging on a high back vowel, such as /yu, ua/ and (3). Diphthongs converging on a low vowel, such as /ua, ia/. The phonetic differentiation can be stated as: Vowel + Length and Vowel + Glottal Stop. So, glottal stop can be interpreted as the realization of syllabic shortness for this language. The syllable finals ending in glottalized consonants can be formulated as, Vowel + Liquid + Glottal stop whereas non- glottalized liquid can have Vowel + Liquid, Vowel (length) + Liquid.

5 Morpho-Syntactic Aspects

5.1 Introduction

Morphosyntax is a branch of linguistics that studies how words and sentence structure function together in the language to convey meaning. One of the distinctive characteristics of Tlosai (Mara) language is the use of numerous affixes in the construction of words. There are two processes by which words are formed in Tlosai (Mara):

Words formed by adding one or more affixes that do not change the category of the initial word.

Example:

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|--|--------------------|
| 1. | həʈi | | həʈi-naʔzy |
| | ‘child’ | | ‘children’ |
| 2. | a | | a-ʈəmy |
| | ‘him/her’ | | ‘himself/ herself’ |

Words which are formed by adding another word to the initial categorizer. The categorizer is the head noun and second part acts as a modifier of the initial syllable. Here, both the words can occur alone in a sentence, but when compounded they indicates specific member of the initial syllable.

- | | | | | | |
|----|----------|---------------|------------------|---|---------------------|
| 3. | u | + nau | + pa | = | unaupa |
| 4. | ‘elder’ | + ‘youngster’ | + ‘Masc. marker’ | | siblings (brothers) |
| 5. | nô | + pə | | = | nôpə |
| | ‘mother’ | ‘father’ | | | ‘parents’ |

Primary grammatical categories in Tlosai (Mara) are nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs.

5.2 Agglutinating morphology

Agglutinating Languages are languages with specific morphological characteristics primarily using word formations by combining morphemes, which are the smallest units

bearing meaning. Such languages involve stringing morphemes together for complex meanings.

Tlosai (Tlosai (Mara)) can be included among the agglutinative languages because it follows the process of agglutination by combining different morphemes into a single word while each single morpheme retains its meaning and pronunciation. Let us take a look at the following examples:

6. $\text{ɖyuch}^{\text{h}}\text{ainai}^{\text{p}}\text{a}$ (sofa) - $\text{ɖyuch}^{\text{h}}\text{ai}$ (chair) + $\text{nai}^{\text{p}}\text{a}$ (long)
7. $\text{θlak}^{\text{h}}\text{a}$ (first month) - θla (month) + $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{a}$ (first)
8. $\text{beich}^{\text{h}}\text{otupa}$ (chef) - bei (food) + $\text{ch}^{\text{h}}\text{o}$ (to cook) + tu (person) + pa (male gender marker)

As we can see from the above examples, Tlosai (Mara) can combine multiple morphemes with specific functions to form longer words. It can convey complex ideas with many morphemes combined together.

Further, we can state that there is no portmanteau morph in Tlosai (Mara). A portmanteau morph is a phonological sequence that cannot be analysed into smaller units in terms of form but has two or more distinct components in terms of meaning. For example, in the Latin inflection, *fer-a-ra* ‘I will be carried’ can be analysed as containing three morphemes – first person, singular, passive. The three morphemes are realised as a single portmanteau morph.

However, just like the Turkish language, Tlosai (Mara) exhibits rather agglutinative properties. Suffixes are added to the root word to create a single word that conveys meaning.

9. pacuasasəla = pacuasa + -səla
made to study study made to
10. pakeitu?pa = pakei + tu?pa
broken into pieces to break shattered

In the following sections, we will take a look at the Lexical categories, Inflectional morphology and Word formation processes.

5.3 Lexical categories

5.3.1 Nouns

A noun is a grammatical category that names something, such as a person, place, thing, or idea. In a NP, nouns can play the role of subject, direct object, indirect object, subject complement, object complement, appositive, or modifier. Nouns, then, are those elements that are inflected for case, plurality, class, or all three. Nouns could be divided into proper {Peter} versus common nouns (all others), mass {gravel} versus count nouns (others), or abstract {ambition} versus concrete nouns (others). (Whaley⁴⁹, 1997).

Classes of Nouns

The nouns in Tlosai (Mara) occur in all syllable types and with all four tones present in the language. They can also be derived from other word classes by adding affixes or compounding. They are broadly divided into three classes, namely, Basic (non-derived) nouns, Derived nouns and Compound nouns.

Basic nouns can be either mono-morphemic or poly-morphemic.

Derived nouns in Tlosai (Mara) are nominalized nouns, agentivized nouns and compound nouns.

A| Basic (Non-derived nouns):

Since Tlosai (Mara) is an agglutinative language, it is difficult to find morphologically simple non-derived nouns. However, certain words which belong to the category of common everyday objects and domestic animals can be found to be non-derived nouns.

11. voʔ 'pig'
12. tɬâʔ 'mountain'
13. sâ 'hair'
14. luʔ 'head'

B| Derived nouns:

⁴⁹ Whaley, L. J. (1997). Introduction to typology: The unity and diversity of language. SAGE Publications.

20. aveysa 'friend'	+	-ZY -Pl marker	=	aveysazy 'friends'
21. t ^h eiχija 'mango'	+	-ZY -Pl marker	=	t ^h eiχijazy 'mangoes'
22. aveysa 'friend'	+	-ZY-ɖua -Pl marker + Quantifier	=	aveysazyɖua 'all the friends'
23. t ^h eiχija 'mango'	+	-ZY-ɖua -Pl marker+ Quantifier	=	t ^h eiχijazy 'all the mangoes'

Declension of nouns:

Noun declension in Tlosai (Mara) involves changing the form of a noun by adding suffixes to indicate grammatical case. Case marking is a grammatical system that uses case markers to indicate the relationship between nouns and other parts of the sentence.

Case is a category of marking dependent noun phrases for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. The three phenomena that are clearly determined by case functions in many languages are: phonological realization, selection, and agreement.

Thus, a case marker is a formal device associated with a noun phrase that signals the grammatical role of that noun phrase. A case marker is then any segmental morphemes such as affixes, clitics, stem modification, suppletion, suprasegmentals (stress, pitch), and linear order patterns. A noun phrase is a group of two or more words headed by a noun. It consists of both the noun heads and their dependents. Grammatical role refers to both semantic functions, such as Agent and Theme, and their morphosyntactic reflections, such as subject and direct object. Grammatical roles may be more broadly classed as complement, adjunct, modifier, and determiner.

This is generally accomplished in natural language by case-marking, which marks roles of noun phrases in respect to verbs and other function-like expressions. Case-marking

helps us to adjudge the word-order, inflection, adposition (pre-position and post-position) in the language.

Nouns in Tlosai (Mara) are declined into cases as follows:

Case

Case name	Case marker	Semantic Functions
Agentive / Ergative	ṭa	Agent the subject of an intransitive verb has the same morphological marker as a direct object, and a different morphological marker from the subject of a transitive verb
Accusative	ca	Patient/ recipient
Instrumental	ṭa	Instrument
Dative	χa	Beneficiary
Locative	liaṭa	Location

i) Agentive / Ergative

24. hṭṭi ṭa lao ə ni:
child ERG food 3SG to eat

‘The child ate the food’

ii) Dative

25. hyutyu?pa ṭa hṭṭi ca cabu ə pi:
teacher ERG child DAT book 3SG to take

‘The teacher gave the book to the child’

iii) Causative

26. hyutyu?pa ʈa hoʈi ca a pa:cu sa
teacher ERG child DAT 3SG study made to

‘The teacher made the child study’

iv) Instrumental

27. hoʈina?zy ʈa roro caizô ʈa ama hʀi:
children ERG mango knife INST 3PL cut

‘The children cut the mango with a knife’

There is no specific case marker for Genitive case. Instead the belonging object is simply added after the noun to show belongingness.

28. ram lak^{hu}
Ram cap

‘Ram’s cap’

29. ei pə
I father
‘my father’.

The case marker in Tlosai (Mara) is a type of an analytic morpheme that is typically attached to the rightmost element of the noun phrase it marks. This element may be a noun, a personal noun or a demonstrative pronoun. The case marker can take the form of an affix or post-position.

1) Agentive/ Ergative

The agentive case marker in Tlosai (Mara) is ʈa. It is homophonous with the instrumental case marker. The agentive case marker may also be called as Ergative case marker. It is typically found marked on subjects of transitive clauses.

30. ram ʈa ip^ho a ni:
ram-3SG- AGT mango 3SG eat-PRE

‘Ram is eating a mango’.

31. nō ʈa a hōsaipa so lao a pi:
mother-3SG- AGT her baby-3SG food solid-ADJ him give

‘Mother fed solid food to her baby’

2) Accusative

The Accusative in Tlosai (Mara) is ca. It marks the object of the transitive clause.

32. radziv ganḍ^{hi} ca bomb ʈa θeip a ca
rajiv gandhi-3SG- ACC/DAT bomb AGT kill-PST he sent-comp
‘Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a bomb’

3) Instrumental

The case marker for marking the instrument which is used by the agent noun is ʈa. The instrumental case marker ʈa is homophonous with the agentive marker.

33. hōʈinaʔzy ʈa ip^hô caizô ʈa ama ^hri:
children-3SG AGT mango knife INST he cut-PRE

‘Children cut the mango with a knife’

4) Genitive

Unlike most of the Tibeto-Burman languages, Tlosai (Mara) does not have a genitive postposition. However, pronominal clitics occur with the head noun to mark the genitive form.

34. ram lak^hu
ram-3SG cap

‘Ram’s cap’.

In Tlosai (Mara), the pronominal agreement clitics also work as genitive markers in NPs.

35. ka - vjəcə i - vjəcə a - vjəcə
1sg cow 2sg cow 3sg cow
‘My cow’ ‘Your cow’ ‘His/Her cow’

5) Locative

The general locative marker in Tlosai (Mara) is liaṭa. It acts as a suffix when attached to the noun/ pronoun.

36. cabu ca θobyʔ ɕʰóʔ liaṭa sopa a ca
 book ACC box bottom LOC keep-PST 3SG sent-comp-marker

‘The book is kept at the bottom of the box’

6) Dative

The dative marker in Tlosai (Tlosai (Mara)) is χa. It shows the beneficiary in the sentence.

37. əra χa ə lao pi: teʔ
 horse DAT its-POSS feed give IMP

‘Give the horse its feed’

5.3.2 Pronouns

General sketch of the pronominal forms:

Personal pronouns

Personal Pronouns in Tlosai (Mara) come in two forms: Free forms and non-free forms.

The non-free forms are pro-clitic to the verb and cannot occur alone in a sentence, but the free forms can occur in the subject position of a sentence. The non-free forms of pronouns are used in NP to denote possession.

Personal Pronouns:

In Tlosai (Tlosai (Mara)), personal pronouns are:

	SG	PL
1p	keima	eima
2p	nâma	namô/ nâma
3p	amapa/ amanô	amô

38. keima ipʰô kei ni:
 1SG mango CLT eat
 ‘I eat mangoes’

39. amapa siku kia?
 3SG school go
 ‘He goes to school’

Both pronouns and pronominal words are made up of morphemes which indicate person and number. Thus, in pronouns, *kei* indicates first person, *na* second person, *a* third person, while the suffix *mo* shows plurality.

40. Kei pɔ o avɔtlonɔɔɔ
 Poss father house to return to

My father house to return

Since Tlosaih (Mara) is a Pro-drop language, we find that in both intransitive and transitive structures, subject, agent, and object pronouns are often omitted in speech.

Instead pronominal words and word order provide the necessary semantics.

For example:

41. siku kia? vɔna
 Loc INT-V. Neg marker
 school to go don’t

‘I don’t go to school.’

By contrast, pronominal words are essential with the exception of the 3p object pronominal word, which is absent in most cases. Case-markers are invariant with respect to person and number.

a] Clitics

Clitics in Tlosai (Tlosai (Mara)) are morphemes that function like words and are used to mark subject and object agreement in verbs. Following are examples showing the non-free forms (clitics) of pronouns which are used in NP to denote possession.

	SG	PL
1p	ka	eima
2p	na	namô/ nâma
3p	a /amapa/ amanô	amô

	SI	PI
1p	keima t̤əmy myself	eima t̤əmy ourselves
2p	nâma t̤əmy yourself	nâma t̤əmy yourselves
3p	a t̤əmy himself/herself	amô t̤əmy themselves

46. ei t̤a keima t̤əmy culeipa
I ERG by myself to study

‘I studied by myself’

47. na ŋiaç^huṭe viakao nâma t̤əmy p^hiepa
you sweater woolen by yourself stitched

‘You yourself stitched the woolen sweater’

48. s̤alma t̤a a t̤əmy ip^hô a ni:
salma ERG by herself mango 3SG to eat

‘Salma eats the mango by herself’

Possessive pronouns

	Singular	Plural
First Person	kei	ei
Second Person	na	na
Third Person	ə/ a	ə/ a

49. kei nô
my-POSS mother

‘my mother’

50. na nô
your-POSSmother

‘your mother’

Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative Pronouns are formed by a question words which follow the pronouns.

Who	ahy
What	χәра, χәра-е, χәрамәw
When	χәтi
Where	χәтәi?
Why	χәzia

ahy (Who)

51. ahy? ma a câ?
who Quest.marker 3SG DAT
‘Who is he?’

χәра, χәра-е, χәрамәw (What)

52. χәра mәw he?
What Ques. marker this
‘What is this?’

χәтi (when)

53. χәтi na si o
when you to go home
‘When are you going home?’

χәтәi? (where)

54. χәтәi? тiа na y
where to stay you to be

‘Where do you stay?’

χəzia (why)

55. Delhi la χəzia ma na si:
Delhi LOC why Qst.M. you to go

‘Why are you going to Delhi?’

5.3.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers like numerals follow the head noun. I have found three quantifiers in Tlosai (Mara) i.e. zyḡila ‘everything’, ahyma ‘none, nobody’ and cy^hsa ‘someone, somebody’

56. ḡoʔrə ḡa ho zyḡila ei calei k^hai
rupees ERG in everything 1SG to buy PAST

‘I could buy everything in 10 rupees’

57. ahyma o liaḡa y vei ei
nobody house inside to be NEG Decl

‘nobody is at home’

58. cy^hsa o liaḡa y ei
somebody house inside to be Decl

‘somebody is at home’

5.3.4 Adjectives

The adjectives in Tlosai (Mara) are broadly divided into – attributive and predicative.

The adjectives which modify the noun directly in the language under study are:

qualifier, quantifier, shape and adjectives of comparison.

Qualifier

59. məsiaʔ ḡoʔpa
elephant old

‘old elephant’

Quantifier

60. ʒəpə pək^ha

boy one

‘one boy’

Shape

61. θlâ pâlâhlô

moon round

‘round moon’

Adjective of Comparison

62. râʔ via

white deg. of comparison

‘whiter’

The above examples demonstrate that in Tlosai (Mara) the qualifier, quantifier, classifier, adjective and degree of comparison follows the head noun, unlike English.

When a noun is adjective modifier in a compound NP, it precedes the noun it modifies.

63. aθo miʃtri

tree/ wood craftsman

‘a wood craftsman’

Comparative marker – *via* is added to the positive form of the adjective to derive comparative form and affix – *cai* is added to the positive form of the adjective to form superlative degree.

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
râʔ	râʔ via	râʔ - cai
White	whiter	whitest

64. ei çysia ca râ? a ʔ
 my uniform PRT white 3SG to be

‘my uniform is white’

65. ei çysia ca a çysia hlaʔa a râ? -via
 my uniform PRT 3SG uniform than 3SG whiter

‘my uniform is whiter than his’

66. ei çysia ca râ? -cai a ʔ
 my uniform PRT 3SG whitest 3SG to be

‘my uniform is the whitest’

5.3.5 Verbs

Verbs and verb phrases canonically occur in the sentence final position in Tlosai (Mara).

67. ram ʔa ip^ho a ni:
 Ram Nom mango 3SG to eat

‘Ram ate the mango’

68. a tvu? ha
 3SG to sit DECL

‘He sat down’

69. oo ap^hapa ʔa mou? ʔe?
 house properly ERG to see IMP

‘See the house properly’

Tlosai (Mara) verbs also express stem 1 & 2 form like most of the Kuki-Chin languages.

The stem 1 form of the verb differs in their stem 2 form in the final consonant or in tone.

The stem 2 form is usually associated with low tone or falling tone and the final

consonants is mainly stops or glottalized consonants. Let us examine this phenomena in the following paragraph.

- **Verb Stem Alternation**

Stem verb alternation in Tlosai refers to a linguistic phenomenon where the base form of a verb ("stem") changes depending on the grammatical context. The same verb can appear in slightly different forms depending on the sentence structure.

70. raʔ-akʰipazy ʈa ʈa kʰipazy kɔ̌ əma avʌ
 hunters ERG forest from 3SG to come
 ‘The hunter came from the forest’

71. nô ʈa a canô a sɔ a pi:
 mother ERG 3SG sister 3SG food 3SG to give
 ‘Mother gave the food to her sister’

The verb in (1) is avʌ ‘to come’, accompanied by the subject agreement marker əma.

The verb in (2) is pi: ‘give’, accompanied by the agreement marker a.

Now let us consider the following sentences.

72. avɔ ɲia teʔ
 come in IMP
 ‘Come inside’

73. ʈaʔna navɔ pei teʔ
 Letter from you give IMP
 ‘Give me the letter’

In (3), the verb for ‘come’ changes to avɔ conditioned syntactically by its subordinate clause construction. In (4), the verb give changes to *pei* similarly conditioned morphologically by the imperative marker *teʔ*.

- **Verb compounding and reduplication**

Verb Compounding

In Tlosai (Mara), verb compounding refers to the process of creating a new verb by combining two or more existing words. These words are often a noun and a verb

combination to express a more specific action. The combined word acts as a single verb unit.

Structurally a noun is placed before a verb to form a compound verb.

74. beic^hɔʔ = bei + c^hɔʔ
 To cook food (uncooked) food to cook
75. θôpiaɔʔfuʔ = θôpi + ɔʔfuʔ
 Tea drinker tea to drink in excess

Verb Reduplication

Verb reduplication is a grammatical process wherein a verb stem is repeated to convey a sense of intensity, plurality or a continuous ongoing action.

The most common use in Tlosai (Mara), is to emphasize the degree or intensity of an action.

76. ram̩ ɬa ip^ho a ni:
 ram ERG mango 3CLT to eat
 ‘Ram is eating a mango’
77. ram̩ ɬa ip^ho a ni: ni:
 ram ERG mango 3CLT to eat to eat
 ‘Ram is eating plenty of mangoes’

Here, the verb ni: means ‘to eat’ but when used as a reduplicated verb ni:...ni: it means ‘to eat in plenty’ expressing the intensity of the action.

5.3.6 Adverbs

Adverbs in Tlosai (Mara) follow the verb.

78. hɔʔi ɬa la e:i: para θei vei
 child Nom food to eat Adv. Fast can Neg
 ‘The child could not eat fast’

In adverbs, the manner adverbs of manner can either precede or follow the main verb. The adverbs that precede the verb require some sort of modifiers, like the oblique or

locative marker where as there is no restriction to those adverbs which follow the verb. The time adverbs precede the main verb and the locative marker always follows the time adverb. The adverbs of place also precede the verb and take the direction marker and locative marker as a suffix.

5.3.7 Post Positions

The placing of a grammatical unit after a word to which it is primarily related is called as a post position. Tlosai (Mara) exhibits a number of post positions.

79. hɔ̃t̃ipɔ̃ t̃a bəl pɔ̃ palao χei
 boy Nom ball he to play Pre.cont

‘The boy is playing with a ball.’

80. cabu χa ɟokâ? cōlia so?te?
 book PRT table on keep

‘Keep the book on the table’

81. o t̃ly?mia liaɟa ip^hô a y
 house in front of in mango (tree) 3SG there
 ‘There is a mango tree in front of my house’

82. cavă nɔ̃ʊɟə θo kǒ^hna^hnaô t̃y?
 Autumn during tree from leaves they fall sent. marker

‘During Autumn, leaves fall from the tree’

5.4 Inflectional morphology

5.4.1 Person

Tlosai (Mara) shares the innovative prefixal agreement paradigm characteristic of Kuki-Chin, except that its 1st person index is *ei* where other branches have *ka*. In Tlosai (Mara), as in Mizo, the 2nd person agreement word is preserved in several constructions. Unlike Mizo, Tlosai (Mara) also retains the 1st person form, but only marginally.

DeLancey states that this shared pattern of retention of the 2nd person agreement word in Tlosai (Mara) and Mizo reflects a period of common development after their separation from PKC. This also explains why these two groups are related to one another as a Central-Tlosai (Mara)ic sub-branch within KC.

83. eina ly chi Tlosai (Mara)
 1SG.OBJ thank SG

‘You sg. thank me.’ (Arden 2010:115)

84. mín- rhê- reŋ- áŋ cê Mizo
 1OBJ- know- always- FUT 2SG

‘Please remember me!’ (Chhangte 1993: 92)

Unlike Mizo, Tlosai (Mara) separated the 2SU and 2OBJ functions by moving the agreement word to a preverbal position consistent with both the preverbal position of the new agreement indices and the SOV constituent order of the clause:

Object Agent	1SG	2SG	3SG
1SG		ei cha Σ	ei Σ
2SG	ei na Σ chi		na Σ
3SG	ei na Σ	a cha Σ	a Σ

Tlosai (Mara) person indexation (after Arden 2010)

In the above table, the symbol Σ is used to indicate the remaining phrases of the sentence.

The other remnant of the agreement word paradigm is the usage of second person $\text{ty}^?$.

85. a $\text{tyu}^?$ $\text{ty}^?$
 3SG sit Imperative

‘sit/ sit down’

5.4.2 Gender

Grammatical gender distinction is not found in Tlosai (Mara). The male and female are denoted by different denotative only in kinship terms. The male and female are mainly derived by prefixing or suffixing certain additive particles, if the specification of the gender of an object is necessary. Some animals, birds, etc. will have suffixes -nô (for females) and - pɔ / pa (for males) to determine the male / female equivalent of the said noun.

i:ʔ	i:ʔ nô	i:ʔ pɔ
‘dog’	‘female dog’	‘male dog’

There are three genders marked biologically in Tlosai (Mara) namely, Masculine, Feminine, and Neuter.

- a. Masculine and feminine genders are formed by affixing –pɔ for masculine and –nô for feminine.

86. chapɔ ‘boy’

87. chanô ‘girl’

- b. Sometimes, masculine and feminine genders are sometimes distinguished by different words.

88. ox sei

89. cow ʊjɛcə

- c. All the names of the animals, unless specified their gender, and the names of inanimate objects are of neuter gender. However it is not explicitly marked for neuter.

5.4.3 Number

The number system affects the nouns, pronouns and verbs in Tlosai (Mara). The number system can be broadly divided into: singular and plural. In a noun phrase plural is indicated either by morphology or by cardinal number. Morphologically, plurality of the subject is indicated by suffixing one of the following to the subject.

The plural form of a noun is formed by affixing one of the following terms to the end of the noun:

1. -zy 'all'
2. zyđila 'everything/ everyone'

The plurality is encoded in the modifiers or numerals that modify the noun and also in the agreement pattern.

- | | |
|-----------|-------------|
| 90. châbu | châbu sano |
| 'book' | 'two books' |

Tlosai (Mara) numerals can be classified as cardinal number, ordinal number, enumerative numeral and fractional number.

5.5 Word Formation Processes

Most of the Tlosai (Mara) words are monosyllabic in nature. There are very few words that are non-derived polysyllabic words. Tlosai (Mara) uses two major devices to form words. They are – affixation and compounding.

5.5.1 Affixation

Let us discuss the bound morphemes in details:

1) Affixes

Based on the place of occurrence, affixes are classified into 3 types:

i) Prefix:

A prefix is an affix which is attached to another morpheme at the beginning of a morpheme. The process of adding prefixes to free morpheme is called prefixation. Tlosai (Mara) has a causative prefix - pa which is used for causativization in a sentence.

- | | |
|----------|-------------------|
| 91. acha | apache |
| 'to cry' | 'to cause to cry' |

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 92. ap ^h a | apap ^h a |
|-----------------------|---------------------|

lost in the present Tlosai (Mara) language. Also, the contrast in vowel length has disappeared over time. But given that, all three tones are contrastive.

- | | | |
|------|--------------|------------------|
| 104. | o
house | ôʔ
lamp |
| 105. | ba
now | bâ
to cook |
| 106. | zāʔ
night | záʔ
to tickle |

5.6 Discussion

Tlosai (Mara) does not permit consonant clusters within a syllable. Instead, the syllable canon of the language is V, CV, CVV. The onset of the syllable can be filled by any of the consonants (except the glottal stop and glottalized consonants) and the coda of the syllable can be filled by any voice unaspirated stops (except palato-alveolar stop) and voiced sonorant. Tlosai (Mara) can show syllables without onset and coda.

Tone functions as a means of differentiating lexical items. The description and classification of sounds in term of length is important because speech sounds which are identical in their place or manner of articulations can differ in length or duration. Both vowel length and tone are phonemic in the language.

Morphologically, Tlosai (Mara) is an agglutinative language. Most of the polysyllabic words are the result of compounding, affixation and reduplication which are mainly derivational in nature. Tlosai (Mara) uses the following major devices to form words, such as, compounding, affixation, reduplication and the use of categorizers in the formation of words.

In Tlosai (Mara), there are two kinds of affixation involve in the formation of word, namely, prefixation and suffixation. Only verbal prefix is found in this language. There are number of suffixes found in the language and are much more productive in the

formation of word than prefix. The suffixes of Tlosai (Mara) can be listed according to their word class, such as, nominal suffixes, gender suffixes etc. The plural form of a noun is formed by affixing one of the following terms to the end of the noun:

Consider the example in (108) with -ZY suffix and -ZYḍua in (109)

107. aveysazy - aveysa + -ZY
 'friends' 'friend' + -Pl marker

108. aveysazyḍua - aveysa + -ZYḍua
 'friends' 'friend' + -Pl marker

The nominalizer suffix –na when suffixed to adjectives forms abstract nouns; this suffix is also employed to derive nouns from certain verbs and ordinal numbers are also derived from cardinals by this suffix.

Case markers are also suffixed or affixed to the preceding nouns. The adjectival suffixes are the adjectives of comparison suffixes, namely, – via (comparative) and - cai (superlative).

Morphological reduplication consists of expressive and lexical reduplication. Expressives are used to denote all the five senses of perception i.e. the senses of taste, touch, smell, sight, and hearing. The compound reduplication in Tlosai (Mara) refers to a compound word where the second constituent of the compound word may not be an exact repetition of the first but has a similarity or relationship with the first constituent on the semantic or phonetic level and the two words retain their meaning to some extent after compounded. Word reduplication in Tlosai (Mara) involves the reduplication of all the basic word classes i.e. Noun, Pronoun, Verb, Adjective, and Adverb. The word reduplication in Tlosai (Mara) can be complete, partial, or discontinuous. Complete word reduplication is again divided into Class maintaining and Class changing. Discontinuous word reduplication is mainly found in the reduplicated pronouns.

6 Delineating Clauses in Tlosai (Mara)

In chapter 5, we have noticed that Tlosai (Mara) is a predicate final and postpositional language. In this chapter, I will outline Word order, Transitivity, and Clauses.

6.1 Word Order

The word order for this language is SV for intransitive clauses and SOV for transitive clauses in Tlosai (Mara). Adjectives, numerals, and quantifiers follow the noun. The finite complementizer clause occurs finally.

6.1.1 Correlation of Greenberg's Universals Word Order

In this section we correlate some of Greenberg's universals of word order typology which are relevant to Tlosai (Mara) word order.

Universal 1: In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object.

Tlosai (Mara) has SOV word order where the nominal subject precedes nominal object. Thus, we can conclude that Tlosai (Mara) agrees with Greenberg's universal 1 as shown in below.

1.	ram	ɬa	ip ^h ô	ɑ	ni:
	Ram-ERG	mango	3SG	eat	

'Ram ate the mango'

Universal 2: In languages with prepositions, the genitive almost always follows the governing noun, while in languages with postpositions it almost always precedes.

Tlosai (Mara) agrees the second universal as the language has postpositional and the genitive precedes the governing noun. Tlosai (Mara) has no separate genitive marker but like in other Kuki-Chin languages, the genitive is indicated by word order in which the possessor precedes the possessee .

2. ram lak^{hu}
ram cap

‘Ram’s cap.’

3. ei çysia
my clothes

‘My clothes.’

Universal 3: Most often, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional.

Tlosai (Mara)’s basic word order is SOV and it shows postpositions. Hence, Tlosai (Mara) agrees with the third universal as shown in (4)

4. cabu ta dɔʔkaʔ cɔliɔɛ a y
book PRT table PP 3SG to be

‘The book is on the table.’

Universal 4: If a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun.

Tlosai (Mara) is an SOV language where the genitive precedes governing noun. Thus we can conclude that Tlosai (Mara) doesn’t correlate to Universal 4.

5. məsiaʔ tɔʔpa a θi
elephant old it died
‘The old elephant died’

Universal 5: If in a language with dominant SOV order, there is no alternative basic order, or only OSV as the alternative, then all adverbial modifiers of the verb likewise precede the verb. Tlosai (Mara) agrees with the fifth universal and its examples are given below.

6. ram ɬa ip^hô a ni:
 Ram-ERG mango 3SG eat
 S O V

‘Ram ate the mango’

7. ip^hô ram ɬa a ni:
 mango Ram-ERG 3SG eat
 O S V

‘Ram ate the mango’

8. o ap^hapa ɬa mouʔ tɛʔ
 house properly PRT to see IMP

‘see the house properly’

6.1.2 Predicted OV characteristics of TB languages

The distribution of OV and VO order among Tibeto-Burman languages is as follows. VO order is found only in two groups, namely Karen and Bai, and the remaining Tibeto-Burman languages are all not only OV but overwhelmingly verb-final (Dryer, 2008). The OV characteristics of Tibeto-Burman languages as predicted by Dyer which are related to Tlosai (Mara) are discussed below.

1. The SOV word order of Tlosai (Mara) is illustrated below.

9. ram ɬa (S) ip^hô a (O) ni: (V)
 Ram-ERG mango 3SG eat
 ‘Ram ate the mango’

2. Postposition and postpositional phrases precede the verb and auxiliary verbs ‘able’ and ‘want’ follow the verb it governs.

10. bəðʒar lâ ei vɔʔpa na bjuʔ ha
 Market PREP-loc I to go to want to-AUX

11. hɔʔi ɬa apalao ʰei ɖeʔ ə p^ha
 child ERG to play to be able to PAST 3-SG well-ADV

‘The child could play it well’

3. Like in Tibeto-Burman languages the predicate nominal in Tlosai (Mara) precedes the copula as in example (11).

12. hət̚t̚pa a châ
boy 3SG to be

‘He is a boy’

Here, the predicate hət̚t̚pa ‘boy’ precedes the copula ‘a châ’.

4. In most Tibeto-Burman languages, the standard of comparison precedes the adjective. The marker of comparison follows the adjective. We find this case in Tlosai (Mara) as well.

13. t̚i paopa hla t̚a t̚i çəva a paθai via
water-lake Conj-than NOM water-river 3SG clean-ADJ DEG

‘River water is cleaner than lake water’

5. Complementizer marking clauses functioning as arguments of the verb occur at the end of the clause.

14. na pazei t̚a çate a ra ha
OBJ-marker to hit PRT after which 3SG to run Past marker

‘he hit me and ran away’

15. ni: k^hait̚t̚gei ei pə hmoŋtao əpa vaŋa a puə
To eat to be over my father stroll 3SG to go 3SG to walk

‘Having eaten his meal papa went for a stroll’

The above example also illustrates how subordinate adverbial clauses precede the main clause.

6. Question particles in Tlosai (Mara) occurs at the end of the sentence.

16. na t̚la ma
you fine QST-marker

‘How are you?’

17. χətai? ɬia na ɣ

where to stay you QST-marker

‘Where do you stay?’

6.1.3 Word Order Features in Tlosai (Mara)

In this section, we discuss the order of noun and its modifiers- adjectives, relative clause, demonstrative, numerals, classifiers and the orders between the degree words and adjective, negative and verb, indirect and direct object, time and place adverbial.

A. Adjective and Noun

A noun can be modified, beautified, or degraded by an adjective. Adjective gives information about the noun it refers. The relation and order between adjective and noun in Tlosai (Mara) is NAdj i.e. an adjective follows a noun.

18. hətɬi siapa
child innocent

‘innocent child’

In a noun phrase with one or more modifiers like adjective, demonstrative and numeral, the word order is demonstrative-noun-adjective-numeral. The adjective and numeral follow the noun whereas demonstrative precedes the noun.

19. he hətɬi siapa sano
this DEM child innocent two

‘These two innocent children’

B. Relative Clause and Noun

The relative clause precedes the noun in Tlosai (Mara).

20. zaxaniata hətɬipa θlala pakei tupa ca ɔ te?
Yesterday boy glass to break in pieces PRT to call-IMP

‘Call the boy who broke the glass day before yesterday’

C. Demonstrative and Noun

Tlosai (Mara) has a split determiner system where the determiner precedes as well as follows the noun.

21. He pə he
DEM man DEM

‘This man’

D. Numerals and Noun

The order of numeral and noun in Tlosai (Mara) is NNum. The numeral follows the noun.

Example:

22. çabu sano parupa a ca
Book two to be stolen 3SG PRT

‘two books were stolen’.

E. Classifier and Noun

In Tlosai (Mara), if a classifier and a numeral occur together in the sentence, then the word order of the elements is as follows - noun, classifier, numeral. The classifier follows the noun and precedes the numeral.

23. θlâpâ a hlô sanko
moon 3SG round one

‘one round moon’

F. Degree Word and Adjective

The adjective modifiers or degree words in Tlosai (Mara) follows the adjective.

24. ʈi ca a paθai cai
water PRT 3SG clean-ADJ Sup. DEG

‘Cleanest water’.

G. Negative and Verb

There are four negative morphemes in Tlosai (Mara); - vənɑ, - vei, kʰɑ and – məpi. These four negative morphemes are suffixed to the verb to make the sentence or the verb negative.

Thus, we say that the negative morphemes follow the verb.

25. siku kiaʔ vənɑ
 school to go NEG

‘I don’t go to school’

26. mylâ Jaipur la si: ɔ məpi
 tomorrow Jaipur PREP to go PL NEG.FUT

‘Tomorrow we will not go to Jaipur’

27. avɔ ŋia kʰɑ
 PREP to come NEG

‘(you)do not come in’

28. həʈi ʈɑ ɑ si:ʈənô pazei vei
 Child ERG 3SG sister to beat NEG

‘The child did not hit his sister’.

H. Indirect Object and Direct Object

The indirect object precedes the direct object in Tlosai (Mara).

29. nô ʈɑ ɑt lao laoʈ
 mother ERG baby food solid 3SG to give

‘Mother fed solid food to the baby’

Tlosai (Mara) also permits both orders (IO-DO and DO-IO) word order.

30. nô ʈɑ həsaipa so lao ɑ pi:
 mother ERG baby food solid 3SG to give

‘Mother fed solid food to the baby’.

31. nô ʈɑ ɑ həsaipa so lao ɑ pi:
 mother-3SG- AGT her baby-3SG food solid-ADJ him give-

‘Mother fed solid food to her baby’

I. Time Adverbial and Place Adverbial

The time adverbial precedes place adverbials when they occur together in a sentence.

32. mylâ	Jaipur	la	si:	ɔ
Tomorrow	Jaipur	PREP	to go	PL

‘We will go to Jaipur tomorrow’.

6.2 Ordering in the Noun phrase

The noun phrase is a syntactic domain that can include the head noun (a noun or pronoun) alone or the head noun accompanied by other nominal modifiers. The head noun can be modified by several elements: determiners, possessives, classifiers, numerals, quantifiers, and adjectives. It can also be modified by a clause.

6.2.1 Determiners

Determiners modify the noun. In this section, we consider determiners as a category including articles and demonstratives. Tlosai (Mara), like the other Tibeto-Burman languages, does not exhibit an overt usage of articles.

33. məsiaʔ	ʔoʔpa	a	θi
elephant	old	it	died

‘The old elephant died’

Unlike articles, demonstratives are highly obligatorily in their contexts of use in Tlosai (Mara). Demonstratives are pointing signs directed toward a specific point in space. They elicit a double usage: they can be combined with a noun, and hence function as nominal modifiers, but they can also be used as pronouns.

ii) Nominal Modifier

34. He	həʔi	he
This	child	here

‘This child’

35. Hu	həʔi	hu
That	child	there

‘That child’

6.2.2 Demonstratives

36. he..he
‘this one’

37. hu..hu
‘that one’

This above example shows that demonstratives can be used in isolation to answer questions.

The position of the demonstrative

Demonstratives in Tlosai (Mara) are usually used as the reduplication of the demonstrative. In this case, as exemplified below, one demonstrative is produced at the beginning of the noun phrase and the other at the end of it.

38. He (dem) cabu he
‘This book’

Demonstrative reinforcer construction

A similar construction is the demonstrative reinforcer construction wherein the noun and demonstrative are articulated simultaneously: the former is articulated more dominantly than the latter. The demonstrative reinforcer construction combines three items: noun, demonstrative, and locative. The locative element acts as reinforcer and provides additional information on the exact location of the referent(s). In the example below, two pointing signs are produced, one before and the other after the head noun (man). From an articulatory perspective, the two pointing signs do not look alike: the former is quickly produced, whereas the latter is characterised by a more marked articulation.

39. Hu pa hu
 that man there
 ‘That man’

6.2.3 Possessive

The possessive phrase is a syntactic construction that involves two elements: a possessor (i.e. someone who possesses something) and a possessee (the possessed entity). There are two types of possessions - attributive and predicative.

40. ram lak^{hu} ca a noʔpa a ca
 Ram’s cap₁ PRT it₁ blue it₁ to be
 ‘Ram’s cap is blue.’

41. He lak^{hu} he ram a ca
 This cap₁ this Ram it₁ is
 ‘This is Ram’s cap’

Attributive possession (i) is included within the noun phrase while predicative possession (ii) does not combine with a noun, but predicates something about it.

6.2.4 Numerals

Numerals are nominal modifiers used to indicate the number of entities that are referred to. In Tlosai (Mara), there are three different types of numerals: cardinal, ordinal, and distributive numerals.

This section discusses the distribution of numerals within the nominal domain.

The position of the numeral

The distribution of cardinals in the Tlosai (Mara) nominal domain can be found only in the post nominal position.

42. hoʔi ʔa lôθlôʔpa sathô a ni:

child PRT sweets three he to eat

‘The child ate three sweets’

6.2.5 Quantifiers

While numerals specify exact numbers, quantifiers indicate certain amount of entities that are referred to. This section discusses the distribution of quantifiers within the nominal domain.

43. hoʃi ʔa lóθlôʔpa zyɟua a ni:

child PRT sweets all he to eat

‘The child ate all the sweets’

The position of the quantifier

Just like the other Kuki-Chin languages, the most frequent position for quantifiers in Tlosai (Mara) is after the noun.

Below, we can see some examples showing the post-nominal distribution of these nominal modifiers: the universal quantifier ‘all’ (a), the distributive quantifier ‘each’ (b), the existential quantifier ‘many’ (c), and the negative quantifier ‘nobody’ (d) follow the noun they quantify.

44. hoʃinaʔzy ʔa o avotlonatʔa

children all PRT house to return + PAST

‘All the children returned home’

45. hoʃinaʔzyɟila ʔa o avotlonatʔa

child each PRT house to return + PAST

‘each child returned home’

46. hoʃinaʔzykaw ʔa o avotlonatʔa

child many PRT house to return + PAST

‘Many children returned home’

47. hɔʔina? ahɣma ʔa o avy vei
child nobody PRT house to return NEG

‘None of the children returned home’

If a quantifier co-occurs with other nominal modifiers, such as adjectives and possessives, it tends to appear at the end of the nominal expression.

48. ei ɕabu zyɖua
my books all

‘All my books’

49. ei ɕabu θali zyɖua
my books story all

‘All my storybooks’

6.2.6 Adjectives

An adjective occurring within a noun phrase functions as an attributive adjective. In

Tlosai (Mara), adjectives occur after the noun they are attributing to.

50. hɔʔi siapa
child innocent

‘The innocent child’

Reduplicated adjectives

In places, a lexical adjective might occasionally be reduplicated. This is exemplified below with the adjective other.

51. hɔʔi ca a sia a sia
child₁ PRT he₁ innocent he₁ innocent

‘the child is (so) innocent’

The reduplication of adjectives does not induce any difference in meaning but rather is used to emphasize on the attribution.

Sometimes, two or more attributive adjectives co-occur within the same noun phrase, establishing a complex nominal expression. The relative order of multiple adjectives in Tlosai (Mara) appears to be sensitive to the semantic class they belong to. Let us take into consideration the distribution of the following semantic classes of independent lexical adjectives: provenance, colour, size, and quality.

When a provenance adjective and a colour adjective co-occur, the most common relative order is:

provenance + colour.

Consider the following example.

52. ζ ysia Burma r \hat{a} ?
 clothes Burmese white
 ‘White Burmese dresses’

When a provenance adjective, a colour adjective and adjective of quality co-occur, the most common relative order is:

provenance + colour + quality.

53. ζ ysia Burma r \hat{a} ? c^hi θ ai
 clothes Burmese white beautiful
 ‘A beautiful white Burmese dress’.

6.2.7 Pro drop

Tlosai (Mara) shows pro drop. It is the presence of this feature that allows the pronoun in the subject position to be dropped. The dropped subject can be recovered from the proclitic *a* that precedes the verb.

54. (ama ζ a) ip^h \hat{o} a ni:
 (He/she ERG) mango 3CLT eat

‘He/she is eating a mango.’

Like Hindi and Telugu, Tlosai (Mara) also permits a pronoun occurring in the subject position to be dropped. In the example given below, the subject pronoun can be dropped and yet the sentence is still grammatical.

55. amapa ʔa ip^hô a ni:
 3SG ERG mango 3SG to eat
 ‘He is eating a mango’

56. Ø ip^hô a ni:
 Ø mango 3SG to eat
 ‘he is eating a mango’

[Ø (zero) indicates that the pronoun is dropped.]

6.3 Ordering in the Verb phrase

A verb phrase can primarily be made up of a main verb and occasionally with one or more helping verbs. Apart from the verbs, there could be other words that are connected to the verb in the verb phrase which are called as dependents. These dependents can be adverbs, prepositional phrases, helping verbs, or other modifiers.

Tlosai (Mara), as discussed earlier, is an SOV language. It can also have OSV order in order to reflect the discourse prominence of or focusing on the object.

In simple clauses, the proclitic *a* immediately precedes the verb. It is a clitic pronoun inflecting for person, like an agreement affix. It always immediately precedes the verb and is obligatory in all clauses, except in certain well-defined cases, like imperative clauses.

57. ram ʔa ip^hô a-ni:
 Ram ERG mango 3-eat

‘Ram is eating a mango.’

58. ip^hô ram ʔa a ni:

mango Ram ERG 3CLT eat

‘Ram is eating a mango.’

59. ip^hô ni: te?
Mango eat IMP

‘Eat mango’.

6.3.1 Stem Verb Alternation

Verbs in Tlosai (Mara) have two forms known as Stem I and Stem II. The stems usually differ in their tone and final consonants. Stem II verbs occur in object WH-questions and in subordinate clauses like object relativised clauses, conditional clauses, reason clauses and nominalised clauses. Since Stem II verbs do not occur in simple declarative clauses, they can be considered as ‘reduced verbs’ that is, they are more nominal than verb-like. For instance, Stem II can occur in genitive constructions, a property of nouns and not verbs.

Examples of Stem Alternation:

Stem I	Stem II	Meaning
pi: (Decl) cabu a pi: ‘he gives the book’	pei (imperative) cabu pei ty? ‘give the book’	Give
θi:p (Decl) ama θi:p ‘he killed’	θeipa (Passive) ama θeipa ‘he was killed’	kill
avY avY sa Shall I come?	avɔ avɔ ŋja Come in	come

6.3.2 Negation

Negation is expressed in Tlosai (Mara) by negative particles that occur post verbally after the main verb in simple clause as well as in complex clauses.

60. siku kia? via?
 school go not

‘I did not go to school’.

61. lôθlô?pa eima pi: lei χia ciṭa ei ca ɔ
 sweets to me to give neg if to cry I acc Decl

‘If you don't give me the sweets, I will cry.’

6.3.3 Verb serialization

Verb serialization in Tlosai (Mara) refers to a grammatical construction where multiple verbs are placed consecutively in a sentence without a linking word. This phenomenon describes a sequence of actions or events.

In Tlosai (Mara), the verbs are simply placed one after the other with subject and object agreement markers attached as needed.

Example:

62. amapa ṭa ɔ liaṭa a avy sɔ a ni:,
 3SG ERG house at/in 3CLT to come food 3CLT to eat

 ṭi a ḍɔ?, ama pua
 water 3CLT to drink 3SG to go

‘He came home, ate food, drank water and he went out’

The above example shows how the verbs, ‘to come’, ‘to eat’, ‘to drink’ and ‘to go out’ are all strung together to describe the series of events.

‘We eat the mango’.

73. nama ɬa ip^ho na ni:
 2SG ERG mango 2SG to eat

‘You eat the mango’.

74. namo ɬa ip^ho namaei ni:
 2PL ERG mango 2PL to eat

‘You eat the mango’.

Mara has adopted the proclitic paradigm (discarding the post-verbal paradigm) unlike most of the north-western Kuki-Chin languages which use the post-verbal paradigm. According to DeLancey, in ‘The History of Postverbal Agreement in Kuki-Chin’ (2013), the post-verbal paradigm is existent in the conservative Northern Chin, Old Kuki, and Southern Chin sub-branches. However, he claims that this older paradigm has been lost in the Central Chin (e.g. Mizo) and Mara languages, but the older 2nd person index has been incorporated into the modern paradigms in these two languages.

Agreement proclitics in Mara and Mizo are as follows:

Mara	Mizo
ei	ka
na	I
a	a

According to DeLancey, the anomalous Mara 1st and Mizo 2nd person prefixes both appear to reflect the PTB 1PL form *i. The 1st and 2nd forms in Mara and Mizo, indicate that before Proto-Kuki-Chin (PKC) the language used some kind of Inclusive form of polite 2nd person reference. DeLancey states further that Mizo did not just stop using *na-* and started using *i-*, but rather both were in use, and the form which was not marked as polite eventually fell out of use in favour of the more polite one. The Mara data suggests

that the Inclusive form also had a use where i- had 1SG reference. Mara 1SG *ei* is a more inclusive form to indicate politeness in the speech.

- **Post-verbal examples in other Kuki-Chin languages:**

The Kuki-Chin languages fall into five groups: Northern Chin (Tedim, Paite, Sizang, Zahao, etc.), Old Kuki (Aimol, Anal, Tarao, Koireng, etc.), Central Chin (Mizo or “Lushai”, Lai, Bawm), Maraic (Mara or “Lakher”), and Southern Chin (Daai, Hyow, etc.).

Northern Kuki-Chin languages are conservative in preserving the pre-fixal agreement paradigm, in which the possessive proclitics are used with finite verbs as argument indices. Postverbal agreement paradigms in the Kuki-Chin branch were first reported by Henderson (1957, 1965) and Stern (1963).

A] (Paite)

75. *pai* *ní-ŋ*
 go FUT-1SG

‘I will go.’

76. *pai* *ní* *tɛʔ*
 go FUT 2SG

‘You will go.’

B] (Koireng)

77. *kəy* *dəktə* *əŋ*
 I doctor 1SG

‘I am a doctor.’

78. *nəŋ* *dəktər* *ce*
 You doctor 2SG

‘You are a doctor.’

C] Sunwar

79. *pîi* -n -uŋ

come -NONPAST -1SG

‘I am coming’

DeLancey states that the Northern Chin and Old Kuki agreement word system shows that the inflection for person and number does not occur directly on the verb, but either as in independent syllable, or is combined with a tense/aspect or other verbal operator to form a distinct syllable.

In Mizo (Central Chin) the secondary prefixal paradigm has completely won out, and is the only verbal paradigm. The archaic 1st person marking has completely disappeared, but several reflexes of the old 2nd person form are found in the transitive paradigm, certain imperatives, and certain other relict constructions. Chhangte (1993) and Peterson (2000) have noted the evident connection between the Mizo familiar imperative particle *te?* and the Northern Chin 2nd person form:

7. Mizo

80. *thû* -*te?*
sit -IMPERATIVE

‘Sit!’

This form, which is only one of several different Mizo imperative constructions, also occurs in a “less formal hortative”:

81. I -*kâl* -*te?* -*áj*
2PL -*go* -IMP -FUT

‘Let’s go (it’s time)!’

There is another 2nd person particle, *cê*, which matches the Old Kuki 2nd person index in form. (Chhangte 1993: 91-2)

The 2nd person *cê* occurs as a subject index in one formal, archaic request construction, when the 1st person object prefix is present:

82. *mín* -*chââg* ag *cê*

1OBJ -answer HORT 2SG

‘you [please] answer me’

6.4 Adpositional phrase

Tlosai (Mara) exhibits a large number of characteristics expected of it as an OV language.

Tlosai (Mara) employs postpositions (PP), which follow the noun phrase they combine with.

83. cabu ʔa ʔoʔkaʔ cō liaʔe ei a sopa ca
book ERG table PP LOC 1CLT 3SG keep DECL

‘I kept the book on the table’

84. ram ʔa bəs liaʔa siku kiaʔ
Ram ERG bus PP school attend

‘Ram goes to school in bus’

The examples above, also illustrate how adpositional phrases precede the verb in Tlosai (Mara).

3.1.3. Genitive constructions

Noun phrases modifying a noun and expressing possession or a relationship like kinship, precede the noun are called as genitive constructions.

85. ram lak^{hu} ca a noʔpa a ca
ram cap ACC 3SG blue 3SG DECL

‘ram’s cap is blue’

Pronominal genitives also precede the possessed noun, and are attached as proclitics.

86. kei pō lak^{hu} ca a noʔpa a ca
My father cap ACC 3SG `blue 3SG DECL

‘my father’s cap is blue’

6.5 Adverbial phrase

Tlosai (Mara) has a number of other word order characteristics which are typical of verb final languages. The manner adverbs (Adv), like objects, precede the verb.

Example:

87. ou ap^hapa ʔa mouʔ ʔeʔ
 house properly ERG see IMP

‘See the house properly.’

88. hoʔi ʔa lao para ni:
 child ERG food fast eat

‘the child eats the food quickly’

3.1.8 Interrogatives

Tlosai (Mara) employs a question particle which remains in-situ.

89. na ʔla ma
 You well QUES. Marker

‘how are you?’

Another characteristic feature of OV languages exhibited by Tlosai (Mara) is that interrogative phrases in content questions occur *in situ* rather than at the beginning of sentences.

Example:

90. ʔaʔi na Delhi la na si o
 when LOC Delhi LOC 2SG go QUES. Marker

‘When are you going to Delhi?’

91. ʔaʔaiʔ ʔia na ʔ
 Where-LOC stay 2SG QUES. Marker

‘where do you stay?’

6.6 Adjective Phrase

In terms of word order characteristics which do not correlate with the order of verb and object, is that the adjectives follow the noun.

92. hɔ̃ʝi siapa
 child innocent

 ‘innocent child’

Numerals also follow the noun,

93. çabu sano
 book two

‘two books’

Demonstratives can precede and follow the noun.

94. he çabu he
 This book here

The intensifiers follow adjectives.

95. mary ʞa c^{hi}θai kɔ̃ʞa ca
 mary ERG beautiful very DECL

‘mary is very beautiful’

Quantifiers like numerals follow the head noun.

96. caʞna aʞypa
 papers all

‘All the papers’

There are also a variety of constructions involving two verbs that conform to patterns typical of OV languages. For example, aspect and modality markers for ability or obligation must follow the main verb,

97. hɔ̃ʝi ʞa lao ni: para θei
 child ERG food eat fast to be able to

‘The child can eat fast’

6.7 Imperatives

Imperative constructions in Tlosai (Mara) refers to a grammatical structure which expresses direct command, instruction or request. The imperative construction in Mara

is formed by using the base form of the verb without the subject pronoun and followed by the imperative marker 'tɥʔ' or its variation form 'tɛʔ'.

98. avə tɥʔ
come IMP
'come'

99. ni: tɛʔ
eat IMP
'eat'

To create a negative command, a negative imperative marker 'kʰɑ' is added after the base verb.

100. avə kʰɑ
to come IMP
'Don't come'

101. ni: kʰɑ
eat IMP
'Don't eat'

The tone of voice and situation can influence the perceived level of authority or politeness within an imperative construction.

Imperatives do not have person agreement clitics. They consist of a bare Stem I verb followed by the imperative marker tɥʔ. The prohibitive is marked by the negative imperative marker kʰɑ.

Example:

102. avə ŋia tɥʔ
come in-LOC IMP
'come in'

103. avə ŋia kʰɑ

come in-LOC IMP

‘do not come in’.

6.8 Reflexives and reciprocals

These are marked by *ama* on the main verb. Reflexives take singular subject clitics on the verb and reciprocals take plural pronoun clitics.

104. səlma ʔa ip^hô ama a ni:
 salma ERG mango by herself he eats

‘Salma eats the mango by herself’.

Another syntactic feature of this type of construction is the dropping of the ergative suffix ʔa on the subject.

105. eima naʔa eima pəzei ca ɔ
 ourselves and ourselves hit DECL

‘we hit each other’.

6.9 Interrogative formation

The interrogation method in Tlosai (Mara) uses wh- questions and wh- question marker at the end of the sentence.

The wh- questions consist of a question word (listed below) and a wh- word marker such as **ma** (for living objects) and **mɔw** (for non-living objects).

Question words:

who	ahɣ
what	χəpa, χəpa-e, χəpamɔw
when	χaʔi
where	χəʔaiʔ
why	χəzia

Examples:

1) ahY (Who)

ahY? ma a câ?
who Quest.marker 3SG DAT

‘Who is he?’

2) χəpa, χəpa-e, χəpaməw (What)

χəpa məw he?
What Ques. marker this

‘What is this?’

3) χat̪i (when)

χat̪i na si ə
when you to go home

‘When are you going home?’

4) χət̪ai? (where)

χət̪ai? t̪ia na Y
where to stay you to be

‘Where do you stay?’

5) χəzia (why)

Delhi la χəzia ma na si:
Delhi LOC why Quest.Marker you to go

‘Why are you going to Delhi?’

6.10 Transitivity

This section discusses the agreement system of Tlosai (Mara), in particular agreement in different constructions: intransitive structures, transitive structures, agreement with the same person, agreement with ditransitive verbs, and agreement in hortative and

imperative constructions. As in most Kuki-Chin languages, the Tlosai (Mara) exhibits both preverbal and post-verbal agreement clitics.

The preverbal agreement clitics are homophonous with the possessive pronouns which occur before a noun. In intransitive constructions, the future affirmative paradigm has the same subject agreement clitics as the non-future paradigm. But unlike the non-future paradigm, the agreement clitics occur mostly after the verb and before the future tense marker in the future paradigm. In intransitive constructions, the postverbal agreement clitic shows up only in the future negative paradigm. As in the case of preverbal agreement clitics, the subject NP of an intransitive verb in the future negative paradigm can be dropped, and it can be recovered from its corresponding postverbal agreement clitics.

In Tlosai (Mara), a transitive verb agrees with its object for the 1st person. If a verb takes more than one object, one with an inanimate direct object and the other with an indirect human object, the human indirect object takes precedence over the inanimate direct object for agreement. The Imperative construction takes the regular pre-verbal subject agreement marker for 1st and 3rd person in both the singular and plural form. On the contrary, the second person does not take any agreement marker. However, the number (singular and plural of the person) is distinguished in the imperative marker itself. Like other Tibeto-Burman languages, Tlosai (Mara) is a pro-drop language. The pro-drop along with its agreement may be discussed as below:

6.10.1 Transitive verb

In the following examples the pronoun “ei-” is attached to the verb “ni:.” “ei” serves as a 1st person agreement marker, 2nd person agreement marker and 3rd person agreement marker respectively.

Example:

106. kei ʔa ip^ho ei ni:
I ERG mango 1st AGR eat

‘I eat mango’

107. nâma ʔa ip^ho na ni:
You ERG mango 2ndAGR eat

‘You eat mango’

108. jɔn -ʔa ip^ho a ni:
John ERG mango 3rd AGR eat

‘John eats mango’.

6.10.2 Intransitive verb

Example (108) and (109) are a pro-drop language where the pronoun is not overtly presented but covertly (syntactically) active. “ei” and ‘na’ serves as 1st person and 2nd person agreement marker respectively to the covert subject “pro”. In example (110) the prefix “a -”, attached with the verb “hlasəpa”, is the agreement to the subject “amah”.

109. Pro ei- hlasəpa
1st AGR sing

‘I sing’

110. Pro na- hlasəpa
2nd AGR sing

‘You sing’

111. amah a hlasəpa
He/She ABSL 3rd AGR sing

‘He /she sings’.

6.10.3 Di-Transitive verb

A ditransitive verb is a verb that takes two objects - a direct object and an indirect object.

In di-transitive sentence, the pronoun is dropped in the first person and second person as found the following examples.

112. t̪ɔʔrɔ t̪a ho zyɖila PRO calei k^hai
Ten rupees ABSL in everything buy PAST

But exceptionally, in the example with verb ‘to give’ both the pronouns “ei” and “na” get attached to the verb “pi:”. However, in example (3), “a-” is marked as the 3rd person agreement to the subject John.

113. Pro çabu çɑ mary ei pi: k^hai
Book ABSL Mary 1st AGR give PST

‘I gave the book to Mary’

114. Pro çabu çɑ mary na pi: k^hai
Book ABSL Mary 2nd AGR give PST

‘You gave the book to Mary’

115. çabu çɑ jɔni- t̪a mary a pi:
Book ABSL John ERG Mary to 3rd AGR give PST

‘John gave the book to Mary’.

6.11 Clauses

A clause is a group of words that contains a subject and a predicate. Clauses can be independent or dependent. Additionally, they can also be used to modify nouns or verbs. Like other Kuki-Chin languages, Tlosai (Mara) exhibits clauses that include relative clauses, cleft constructions, and hortative clauses. Tlosai (Mara) also has a phenomenon called verb stem alternation, where the verb in a clause appears in a different form.

We will discuss each of these characteristics in the following segments:

6.11.1 Simple Clauses

Simple clauses in Tlosai (Mara), exhibit a system of agreement between verbs and their arguments. This agreement is marked by prefixes on the verb that indicate the person of the subject.

This section deals with the clause and the basic clause structure in Tlosai (Mara). The different clause structures are also illustrated with examples. Like other Tibeto-Burman languages, the basic word order of Tlosai (Mara) is subject- object- verb and is consistently verb final. A clause may be consists of the verb with the relevant pronominal markers or may contain a single NP or several NPs. A clause can have only the verb and both the subject and the object can be understood because of the presence of the pronominal markers. The following figure gives an overview of the clause in Tlosai (Mara). Clauses are divided broadly into finite and non-finite constructions.

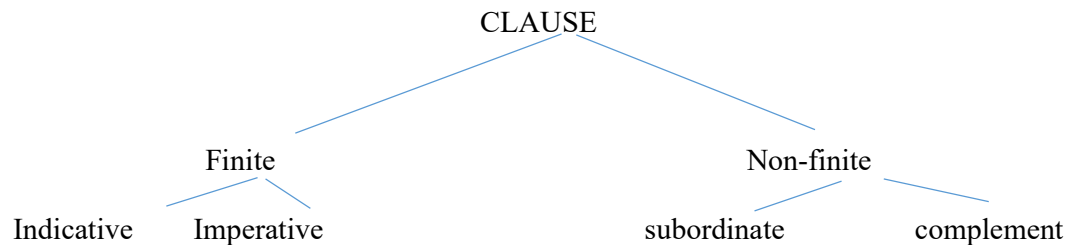


Figure1. Clause Structure

1. A finite clause is a form that can occur as an independent sentence or as a main clause as part of a multi-clause sentence (Crystal 2003). Finite clauses are marked by a combination of subject agreement, tense, aspect, modality and number or by the markers for subjunctive or imperative moods. The exact combination of markers can vary depending on the type of the clause.
2. Non-finite clauses lack many of the markers found in finite clauses. They are dependent clauses and occur in Tlosai (Mara) as medial clauses in clause-chains, as subordinate clauses and as complement clauses.

In this section, different sub types of finite indicative clauses will be discussed involving different types of predicates. The internal structure of some clauses will also be examined.

3.4.1. Non-verbal predicates

The different non-verbal predicates and their structures will be discussed in this section.

i. The copula verb $\alpha \gamma$

Copula verbs are sometimes called “semantically empty” verbs or also “grammatical verbs” (Payne 53 .1997: 112). The copula verb does not carry the lexical-semantic load of predication by itself, but it is rather carried by non-verbal predicate that occurs with the copula (Givon54 2001 vol I: 119).

Tlosai (Mara) possesses one copula verb $\alpha \gamma$, which occurs in the clause final position.

Examples below show the use of the copula in simple clauses.

116. amapa çəpə p^ha $\alpha \gamma$
 3SG boy good 3CLT=COP

‘He/she is a good boy.’

117. kei nô avy $\alpha \gamma$
 1SG POSS mother come 1CLT=COP

‘My mother has come.’

118. amanô ei si:ʔənô $\alpha \gamma$
 3SG 1PL-POSS sister 3CLT=COP

‘She is our sister.’

ii. Predicative adjectives

Predicative adjectives are also called attributive clauses (Payne55 1997: 120) and are clauses in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective. In Tlosai (Mara), the descriptive modifiers or adjectivals are derived from descriptive verbs. Therefore, predicative adjectives are formed in two different ways. The predicative function usually associated with an adjectives can be achieved either by an “adjective” as head of a verb phrase without a copula or a nominalized adjective, derived from a descriptive verb with

a copula. If the predicative adjective is expressed by a nominalized adjectival, the clause has the same structure as nominal predicates and equational clauses. If the predicative adjective is formed by a verb, then, we do not have a non-verbal predicate, but simply an intransitive verbal predicate. Example (1) shows a predicate nominal and (2) shows an “adjective” (which is actually a verb) heading an intransitive clause.

119. Mary ta çə̀nô p^ha a ʔ
 Mary ERG girl good 3CLT=COP

‘Mary is a good girl.’

120. Mary a p^ha ʔ
 Mary she good DECL

‘Mary is good.’

6.11.2 Comparatives

Another characteristic of Tlosai (Mara) is that in comparative constructions, the order is standard of comparison (St) followed by the marker of comparison (M) followed by the adjective.

121. paopa ʔi çə̀va ʔi hla ʔa a paθai via
 lake water river water than ERG 3SG clean COMP

‘River water is cleaner than lake water’

In the above example, the noun phrase *paopa ʔi* (lake water) is compared with another noun phrase *çə̀va ʔi* (river water). The adjective is *paθai* ‘clean’. The marker is a morpheme combining with the standard and indicating that the standard is being compared with something. The comparative marker *via* occurs after the adjective.

Equational clauses

Equational clauses “asserts that a particular entity is identical to the entity specific in a predicate nominal” (Payne 1997: 114). In Tlosai (Mara), equational clauses are formed by juxtaposing two noun phrases, the second phrase usually is the predicative. The two noun phrases are followed optionally by the copula element.

122.ka mɔ Mary ɣ
1CLT=name mary 3CLT=COP

‘My name is mary.’

123. mama hyutyuʔpa a ɣ
mama teacher 3CLT=COP

‘Mama is the teacher.’

Existential clauses

In Tlosai (Mara), existential constructions require a temporal and a locative expression.

The occurrence of the above mentioned copular verb *a ɣ* is obligatory for existential clauses. At discourse level, this existential verb typically functions to introduce participants. The clause in example (1) is an introductory sentence typically used in folktales.

124.vɔ liɑɑ canɔ aŋia pəkʰa ʧaipa a ɣ
before=ADV girl beautiful=INTS one LOC 3CLT=COP

‘Long ago, there lived a beautiful girl there.’

Verbal predicates

This section deals with the structure of simple clauses with verbal predicates. The basic distinction among verbal predicates is between intransitive verbs which take a single argument and transitive verbs which take two or more arguments.

The syntactic definition of the prototype of a transitive clause is simpler. Clauses that have a direct object are syntactically transitive; all others are syntactically intransitive. In Tlosai (Mara), objects of transitive clauses can be easily distinguished from oblique arguments and adjuncts, since objects are unmarked but obliques and adjuncts are marked by some kind of postposition.

125.Mary siku a kiaʔ
mary school=LOC 3CLT=go=DECL

‘Mary goes to school’

This example illustrates an intransitive clause with a locative adjunct.

126. ram ɬa ip^hô a ni:
 ram ERG mango 3CLT=eat=DECL

‘ram ate a mango.’

This example illustrates a transitive clause with an object that is unmarked.

6.11.3 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses take one argument in the subject position. Permanent states are expressed by descriptive verbs. Since Tlosai (Mara) has no natural class of adjectives, the modifying functions of adjectives is mostly expressed by descriptive verbs, as shown in the examples below.

127. ɲakchia ɬa a p^ha ɣ
 baby DEM CLT=beautiful=DECL

‘The baby is beautiful.’

128. ɲakchia ɬa a pamô ɣ
 baby DEM CLT=sleeping=DECL

‘The baby is sleeping.’

6.11.4 Transitive Clauses

Transitive clauses take two arguments: one in the subject position and the other in the object position. The subject of a transitive clause is always marked the ergative case marker - ɬa and the object is unmarked (zero-marked).

The examples below show that ergative case-marking does not depend on ‘agent-likeness’ of a subject and the ‘patient-likeness’ of an object.

129. canô ɬa a nɔta capɔ a pamô sa
 sister ERG 3CLT young brother 3CLT=sleep=DECL

‘The sister is making the little brother sleep.’

130. ram ʔa mary a moʔ ʔ
 ram ERG mary 3CLT see DECL

‘Ram sees Mary’

In Tlosai (Mara), case marking is very syntactic and is hardly influenced by semantic factors except for number of participants. All transitive clauses have ergative case marking. This also includes ditransitive clauses.

6.11.5 Ditransitive clauses

In ditransitive clauses, the indirect object can either follow or precede the direct object. Both the direct and indirect object are unmarked for case. Tlosai (Mara) has only few verbs that are inherently ditransitive and have to occur with the two object argument.

Some of the ditransitive verbs are shown in the sentences below.

131.nô ʔa hɔʔi a sɔ a pi:
 mother ERG child 3CLT food 3CLT=give=DECL

‘Mother gave the child food.’

132.nô ʔa a hɔʔi sɔ a pi:
 mother ERG 3CLT child food 3CLT=give=DECL

‘Mother gave food to the child.’

6.11.6 Causative clause

The causative particular in Tlosai (Mara) is -sa. The causative adds a new agent argument, the causer, to the argument structure. The old subject, now is the cause or is the agent of the caused event, but occupies a different grammatical relation in the derived argument structure.

133.capɔ a pamô ʔ
 boy ERG 3CLT=sleep=DECL

‘The boy is sleeping.’

In this sentence, *capo* is the unmarked subject in an intransitive clause.

134. *canô ɣa a nɔta capo a pamô sa*
sister ERG 3CLT young brother 3CLT=sleep=DECL

‘The sister is making the little brother sleep.’

In this sentence, the clause has become causative and transitive and the causer takes the position of the subject in a transitive clause.

6.11.7 Relative clauses

Relative clauses precede the main clause.

135. *hɔɣipa a pasapa ɣa zaɣnia ə θi hɔ*
boy 3SG fever DAT yesterday 3SG died PST

‘The boy who had fever died yesterday’

6.11.8 Complementation

In Tlosai (Mara), *ɲəsə*, the verb ‘to say’ functions as the complementizer, which occurs when the verb ‘say’ is not the verb of the matrix (main) clause.

136. *beiç^hoʔa k^ho a ɲəsə*
cook she like 3SG say

‘She likes to cook she said’

6.11.9 Passive constructions

Active sentence constructions tell us about what people (or things do) while passive constructions the subject is demoted and the object is topicalized.

In Tlosai (Mara), the passive voice is formed by using the passive marker **eiʔ** after the passive subject.

the agreement of participant's numbers and person feature with the verb. The verb agrees with the first- and second-person pronominal object. The presence and absence of case markers in the noun phrase does not influence the marking of arguments on the verb. It is a split-ergative language. However it does not agree with the third person pronominal object. The ergative case marker occurs with the subject in all tenses and aspects when the verb is transitive. The tense distinction in Tlosai (Mara) is between future and non-future (present and past).

In nouns we observe that there is a nominative, ergative and accusative case marker. The nominative case is used for inanimate nouns while the accusative is used for the animate nouns.

There are pronominal clitics in Tlosai (Mara). The language exhibits ergative pattern paradigmatically. Tlosai (Mara) like its neighbour Mizo is a pro-drop language. Both pronominal subjects and objects can be dropped due to the rich agreement system of the language. There is no grammatical gender in Tlosai (Mara).

7 Language Use, Attitudes, and Vitality Study

In this chapter, I would like to discuss the sociolinguistic situation of the three autonomous district councils while focusing mainly on the Tlosai (Mara) community.

7.1 Procedures:

In order to examine and determine language choice of a given community, the subjects were asked which language(s) they use in various domains. Domains are everyday situations in which one language variety is considered more appropriate than another (Fasold 1984:183).

A study of language attitudes helps in ascertaining how people perceive different speech varieties with which they have contact. This also helps in determining how people perceive their own language with respect to the languages they are surrounded with.

A study of language vitality helps in assessing the probability of whether a language will be used by the mother tongue speakers in future. A study of language vitality thus not only helps in determining whether a given language is progressing, developing and in use by the community but also it helps any linguist to base their recommendations for language and literature development of that language.

With this in mind, a sociolinguistic questionnaire was administered to gather vital information on language use, attitudes and vitality. There were also questions concerning bilingualism, literacy and dialect boundaries. All the questions were proposed in English as the subjects were well-versed with the same.

7.2 Survey

The questionnaire was administered to about 20 subjects in 3 locations in College Vaih village block situated near Government Siaha College. The subjects were chosen to represent the population as a whole with regards to age, gender and education levels. Among the 20 subjects, 13 were younger (age 40 or younger) and 12 were older than 40 years. 14 were male and 11 were female. 20 were educated through at leaser Class 8, and 5 had been educated through less than Class 8. The mother tongue of each subject is Tlosai (Mara) and each subject's mother and father also reported to have their mother tongue as Tlosai (Mara).

For all the questions in the questionnaire, data will be presented for all the 20 participants' combined. Individual responses from each subject are given in appendix F.

7.3 Language Use

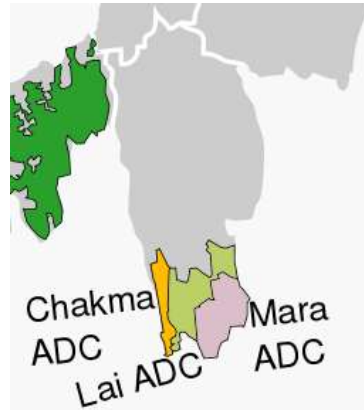
The questionnaire contained five questions that asked subjects which language they speak in a given situation. The aggregate of subject's answers in given in the Table 1. According to one of the three values: Mara (Tlosaih), Mizo and any other (other language or other Mara dialect). The results are given in percentage of subjects who use a particular language in each of the five situations. Some of the subjects mentioned using more than one language in certain situations.

Tab. 1 Language usage at different locations:

Question			Response		
----------	--	--	----------	--	--

What language do you use most of the time?	Mara (Tlosaih)	Mizo	Other Mara dialect	English	Any other
.....at home	98%	1%	1%	.....	.....
.....at church	100%	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....with neighbours	100%	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....with a village leader	100%	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....in a typical week	98%	1%	1%	.....	.....

The results from the questions regarding language use among the people surveyed in Siaha of the MADC area indicate that Mara (Tlosaih) is commonly used in most domains. The villages where the researcher could venture were mostly in and around the Siaha town.



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<https://madc.mizoram.gov.in/page/home>



https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c2/Maraland_map_physical.gif

Only 1% reported to have used other Mara dialects such as (Hawthai (Chapi town) or Zyhno / Hlaipao (Phura town) or Vytu) at home or in a typical week. But while conversing with the neighbour or at market or publicly, these people have reported to use the Mara (Tlosaih) dialect which is the lingua franca of the Siaha district. Mizo is used randomly at official places, especially with a Mizo personnel. Mara Tlosaih and Mara Saiko are two varieties found in the Siaha town. Our informant confirmed that they are actually the same but with a slight variation in the tone. Although other Mara dialect speakers may use their own dialect at home or within themselves, they use only the Mara Tlosaih in written form. The Bible is also written in Tlosaih dialect. As mentioned beforehand, the above survey was conducted only in the Siaha town and the other areas in the district use the other dialects at home and with their neighbours and at informal settings according to the dialect enclave. At church in these enclaves, the language used is again Tlosaih. Tlosaih is also taught in schools in these areas. Thus, the dialects are used mainly at home or at informal settings.

7.4 Language Attitudes

7.4.1 Attitudes regarding language use

The participants were asked about what language, according to them be used in certain domains. Their responses are tabulated below. One should note that at times, the subjects gave more than one response to some questions. Thus the percentage of the responses equals more than one hundred percentage.

Tab.2. Language used at different domains:

Question	Response				
	Mara (Tlosaih)	Mizo	Other Mara dialect	English	Any other
....at home	99%	----	1%	----	----
....for worshipping God	99%	----	1%	----	----
....as a medium in primary school	99%	1%	1%	1%	----

The Tab. 2 shows that Mara (Tlosaih) was the ideal choice for most of the domains. Only about 1% of the subjects interviewed thought that either English, Mizo or their own dialect should be used in each of the domain. Having said that, the researcher had interviewed the subjects from villages in and around Siaha town. Perhaps the

response could be varied in the enclaves where the Mara dialects are spoken. Their responses are in line with the responses that the participants gave for the languages they use as mentioned in Tab.1. Mara (Tlosiah) is the prominent language used in most of the domains.

7.4.2 Attitudes towards other languages

Following questions were asked to the participants to assess their attitudes towards other languages:

Question Key:

- i) Children: “Is it okay for your children to speak other languages better than your MT?”
- ii) Needed languages: Do you think people in your language group need to learn other languages in order to have a good job and a good future?

Tab.3. Summary of responses to questions regarding children’s speaking languages and needed languages:

Question	Response	
	Yes	No
Children	8%	92%
Needed Languages	100%	---

All the respondents believe learning another language would fetch them jobs and better livelihood.

Tab.4. Summary of responses to questions regarding which languages are needed and the most useful language.

Question Key:

- i) Other needed languages: Which other languages do you need?
- ii) Useful language: What is the most useful language to know in your village?

Question	Response				
	Mara (Tlosaih)	Mizo	Other Mara dialect	English	Any other
Other needed language/s	----	99%	----	100%	----
Most useful language in your village	100%	----	1%	----	----

Tab.3. shows that only about 8% of the subjects think it is okay if their children speak other languages better than Mara, but 100% agreed that Mara speakers need to learn other languages in order to have a good job and a good future. Thus, Mara speakers acknowledge the need for other languages, yet they also have mixed opinions regarding whether it is acceptable for children to speak any of these languages better than Mara.

Those respondents who said Mara speakers need to learn other languages were then asked which languages they need to learn. Mizo and English were the most common responses. The subjects made it known that they need to know Mizo, and English because Mizo is the state language, and English is an international language.

However 2% believe if *Maraland* was fully developed and had opportunity for better economic returns then perhaps, the need to learn Mizo would be less and Mara (Tlosaih) might become the language of business for the Mara speakers. None of the participants mentioned the need to learn Hindi, though it is taught in schools.

While generally acknowledging that Mara speakers need to learn other languages, most subjects also said that within their own villages Mara is the most useful language.

Responses to these four questions about attitudes towards other languages show that Mara speakers believe they need to know other languages, especially Mizo and English. These languages, however, generally should not replace Mara, but instead should be used in addition to Mara.

7.4.3 Attitudes towards language classes

Finally with regards to language attitudes, two sets of questions were asked about sending Mara speaking children to literacy classes in Mizo, English, Hindi and in Mara. Tab.4. displays a summary of subjects' responses to the first part of each of these sets of questions.

Tab.4. Summary of responses to questions regarding attitudes towards literacy classes.

Question Key: Would you send your child to a literacy class in the following languages?

Question	Response				
	Mara (Tlosaih)	Mizo	Other Mara dialect	English	Hindi

Literacy Classes	99%	99%	----	100%	----
------------------	-----	-----	------	------	------

The responses summarized in Tab.4. show strong positive attitudes towards Mara children's ability to read and write English. 100% said they would send their children to such a class. This indicates that English holds prestige among Mara speakers and is seen as an appropriate language of education. Almost all (99%) agreed to send their child to Mizo and Mara literacy classes. The one percent that remained hesitant had this thought line that both Mara and Mizo are anyway learnt in their homes or in school, so perhaps there was no need to send the child for the literacy classes in the same.

For the second part of each of these two sets of questions subjects were asked why they had responded as they did. The following tables display their reasons.

Tab.5. Reasons subjects gave for why they responded as they did to the question about sending their children to a Mizo literacy class.

Reason	Response	
	Yes	No
To learn for education	99%	....
For reading the Bible, hymns etc.	....	100%
To earn a livelihood	99%	....
To learn the language for language sake	....	100%

The most common and obvious reason subjects gave for saying they would send their children to a Mizo literacy class was to learn the language for a better means of education and survival in the state. Another major reason was to get a good livelihood.

Tab.6. Reasons subjects gave for why they responded as they did to the question about sending their children to a English literacy class.

Reason	Response	
	Yes	No
To learn for education	100%	....
For reading the Bible, hymns etc.	....	100%
To earn a livelihood	100%	....
To learn the language for language sake	99%	....

The most common and obvious reason subjects gave for saying they would send their children to an English literacy class was to learn the language better. Some other responses were more specific. For example, most of the subjects asserted that learning English helped them progress better in life in terms of education, livelihood and also to connect internationally.

Tab.7. Reasons subjects gave for why they responded as they did to the question about sending their children to a Mara literacy class.

Reason	Response	
	Yes	No
To learn for education	100%	....
For reading the Bible, hymns etc.	100%	....
To earn a livelihood	2%	98%
To learn the language for language sake	2%	98%

Almost all the participants agreed that Mara held a special place in their hearts as it was their mother tongue. Sending their children to a Mara literacy class would help in preserving their language and culture in the future generations even as many youngsters are getting influenced with the Mizo and even western lifestyle. The participants who

had a huge urge for their children to go to a Mara literacy class were mostly aged 40 years and above whereas the participants with lower age group did not seem very positive about the same.

7.4.4 Language vitality

In an attempt to assess whether Mara will be used by mother-tongue speakers in future generations, subjects were asked several questions about the vitality of their language. A summary of subjects' responses to two of these questions is given in Tab.8.

Tab. 8. Summary of responses to questions regarding the languages children speak.

Question Key:

- 1) What language do children in this village learn first?
- 2) When the children in this village grow up and have children of their own, what language do you think those children will speak?

Question	Response				
	Mara (Tlosaih)	Mizo	Other Mara dialect	English	Hindi
Children's first language	100%	1%	1%	....	....
Future generation's language	99%	1%	1%	1%	----

According to these responses, all Mara children today speak Mara as their first language. Furthermore, most subjects think that children in the next generation will speak Mara as their first language. These opinions indicate that Mara will be spoken for future

generations even though Mizo or English may also be used as a first language by a small percentage of Mara children.

To better assess the vitality of Mara, three other questions were asked about the languages that children speak and how well they speak them. A summary of responses is given in Tab.9.

Tab.9. Summary of responses to three language vitality questions.

Question Key:

- 1) Do many children in your village learn to speak another language before starting school?
- 2) Do young people (age 10) in your village speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?
- 3) Do children in your village speak another language better than your language?

Question	Response		
	Yes	No	Little
Children learning another language before starting school	10%	90%	---
Children speaking MT well	98%	2%	---
Children speaking another language better than MT	1%	99%	---

The answers to each of these questions give further indication that Mara is a safe language. A majority of subjects said children do not learn to speak another language before starting school. By the time they start school, then, Mara has been established as the language they use at home. Also, nearly all subjects said Mara children today speak Mara well. This, too, is an indication that Mara is not losing its status but instead is being

spoken regularly and fluently by children today. Nearly all of the subjects think that Mara children today speak Mara as their most fluent language. Although more and more Mara children may learn to speak Mizo/ English in years to come, it seems likely that they will continue to use Mara widely in their homes and throughout their villages.

In this research, the researcher is using an additional UNESCO vitality survey to understand and to find out about the Mara language vitality,

Name of the language being described in this report:	Mara
Alternative names of the language:	Lakher,
Family and branch of the language:	Kuki-Chin
Country/ies where the reference community whose language is being described is located:	India, Myanmar
Province(s) / region(s) where the community is located:	Mizoram (MADC)
Reference community (village/town) where the language described is spoken:	MADC (Siaha)
Year of the data reported in this report:	2018-2024

7.4.5 Language Vitality and Endangerment within the reference community

1. Overall vitality / endangerment score:	5	<u>The language is safe</u>	Reliability Index:	Comments
	4	Unsafe/ vulnerable	<u>3</u>	The language is safe but that being said that, being one of the ‘smaller’ languages within the Kuki-Chin group, Mara is always at the crux of being dominated by the other languages. Though it is still used as first person, Mizo and English are highly favored, especially by the younger generation. Hence the Mara could become vulnerable in next few generations, especially if efforts for preservation are not taken seriously.
	3	Definitely endangered	2	
	2	Severely endangered	1	
	1	Critically endangered		
	0	Extinct		

		0	
--	--	---	--

4. Proportion of speakers within the reference community	5	Nearly all speak the language (>90%)	Reliability Index:	Comments (including the size of the reference community, if known) All the people who were interviewed claimed that all speak the language Mara (Tlosiah); yet while interacting with the youths, it came to light that they highly favored Mizo and English and their Mara speech repertoire was often interspersed with Mizo vocabulary and syntax. At understanding level, almost all understood Mara (Tlosiah) and could also read it. Many of them (especially those whom I interacted with outside the Siaha district) did not show much enthusiasm about knowing Mara. This was especially true if they were hanging out with their Mizo speaking friends or relatives.
	4	<u>The great majority speak the language (70-90%)</u>		
	3	A majority speak the language (50-70%)		
	2	A minority speak		
	1	the language (30-		
0	50%) Very few speak the language (<30%) None speak the language	3 2 1 0		

6. New domains, i.e. new media, including broadcast media and the Internet	4	The language is frequently used in new domains	Reliability Index: <u>3</u> 2 1 0	Comments
	2	<u>The language is sometimes used in new domains</u>		
	3	The language is rarely used in new domains		
	1	The language is never used in new domains		
	0	Not applicable		

7. Domain of traditional knowledge (TK)	For conveying TK, this language is used:		Reliability Index: <u>3</u> 2 1 0	Comments
	5	<u>Frequently</u>		
	4	Sometimes		
	3	Rarely		
	2	Never		
	1	TK is conveyed using another language		
0	TK is rarely conveyed			

8. Materials for language education and literacy	5	There is an established orthography and literacy tradition with fiction and non-fiction and everyday media. The language is used in administration and education	Reliability Index: <u>3</u> 2 1 0	Comments The Mara language is recognized in the school curriculum of Mara Autonomous District Council (MADC) and is a compulsory subject for all schools up to Class VII (Middle School) under Board of School Education, MADC.
	4	<u>Written materials exist and at school children are developing literacy in the language. The language is not used in written</u>		

cy	3	<u>form in the administration.</u> Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.		
	2	Written materials exist but they may be useful only for some members of the community; for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.		
	1	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.		
	0	No orthography is available to the community.		

9. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use	5	Equal support for all languages, including the target language.	Reliability Index: 3 2 1 0	Comments
	4	<u>Differentiated support: Non-dominant languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domain. The use of the target language is prestigious.</u>		
	3	Passive assimilation: the dominant language prevails in the public domain, and no explicit policy exists for non-dominant languages.		
	2	Active assimilation:		

	<p>Government encourages shift to the dominant language. There is no protection for non-dominant languages, including the target language.</p> <p>1 Forced assimilation: The use of non-dominant languages, including the target language, is discouraged; the target language is neither recognized nor protected by the Government.</p> <p>0 Prohibition: Non-dominant languages, including the target language are prohibited.</p>		
--	---	--	--

10. Reference community members' attitudes towards their own language	5	<u>All members value the language of their community and wish to see it promoted.</u>	Reliability Index: 3210	Comments
	4	Most members support the continued use of their language.		
	3	Many members support language maintenance; many others are indifferent or may even promote shift to the dominant language.		
	2	Some members support language maintenance; some are indifferent or may even support language shift.		
	1	Only a few members support language		

	<p>maintenance but most are indifferent or may even support shift to the dominant language.</p> <p>0 No-one cares if the language disappears; all prefer to use the dominant language.</p>		
--	--	--	--

11. Type and quality of documentation	5	Superlative: There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts and a constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.	Reliability Index: 3 2 1 0	Comments (Please note whether the materials are specific to this reference community and whether they are available to them) Yes, only fair amount of materials are available
	4	Good: There is at least one good grammar, a few dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings.		
	3	<u>Fair: There may be an adequate grammar, some dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation.</u>		
	2	Fragmentary: There are some grammatical sketches, wordlists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.		
	1	Inadequate: Only a few grammatical		

	sketches, short wordlists, and fragmentary texts exist. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely unannotated.		
0	Undocumented: No material exists.		

12. Status of language programs		Reliability Index:	Comments
5	Successful: A regular and successful program is running involving >5 per cent of the community.	3	
4	Good: A program is running with two of the following characteristics: regular; successful; involving >5 per cent of the community.	2	
3	<u>Fair: A program is running with one of the following characteristics: regular; successful; involving >5 per cent of the community.</u>	1	
2	Basic: A program is running involving <5 per cent of the community, irregularly and with few or no outcomes.	0	
1	Aspiring: No language programs but some community members are talking of starting one.		
0	None: No language program and no interest in starting one.		

7.4.6 Linguistic Diversity

In this section, please describe the reference community as above in Section I. Assign scores for the following factors (where possible and where relevant) to characterize the linguistic situation and experience in the reference community:

a) External diversity (linguistic environment)

13. In everyday life, how many languages would a typical member of this community encounter:		Hear	Speak	Read	Write	Reliability Index:	Comments
						3	
						2	
						1	
						0	
	5 or more languages		✓		✓		
	<u>4</u> languages						
	<u>3</u> languages						
	2 languages						
	1 language						
	0 language						

14. In how many language	5 languages	4 languages	Reliability Index :	Comments

s is a typical member of this community fully fluent? ¹	<u>3 languages</u>	3	
	2 languages	2	
	1 language	1	
		0	
Which one(s)? Mara, Mizo, English			

15. In how many languages is a typical member of this community at least partially fluent? ²	5 languages	Reliability Index: <u>3</u> 2 1 0	Comments
	4 languages		
	3 languages		
	2 languages		
	1 language		
Which one(s)? Mara, Mizo, English			

16. How many languages are represented in	5 or more languages	Tolerated	Taught as subject	Used for instruction	Reliability Index:	Comments
		✓	✓		3	

the local schools?	4		2
	languages		
	<u>3</u>	✓	1
	<u>languages</u>		0
	2		
	languages		
	1 language		
Which one(s)? Mara is taught as MIL (Modern Indian Language); For medium of instruction it is either English or Mizo			

17. How many languages are represented in the local media?	Television	Radio	Print	Reliability Index	Comments
5 or more languages				<u>3</u>	
4 languages				2	
3 languages				1	
<u>2</u>	✓	✓	✓	0	
<u>languages</u>					
1 language					
Which one(s)? Mara, Mizo					

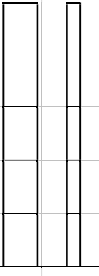
18. How is TV presence (broadcast		Reliability Index	Comments
5	Each language receives equal amounts of broadcast time		
4	Several languages receive good amounts of time		
3	Two or more languages dominate		
<u>2</u>	<u>One language</u>	<u>3</u>	Mainly Mizo predominates but for local and cultural shows Mara is used

time)		<u>predominates, but other</u>	2	
distribu		<u>language(s) are well-</u>	1	
ted		<u>represented</u>	0	
across	1	Over 90 percent of the TV		
the		broadcast time is		
various		dominated by only one		
languag		language		
es?	0	Only one language is		
		represented on TV		
Which one(s)? Mara, Mizo				

b) Internal diversity in the language:

19. Would you say this language is characterized by high internal (dialectal) diversity?	5	Very high internal diversity	Reliability Index: <u>3</u> 2 1 0	Comments
	4	High internal diversity		
	3	<u>Moderate internal diversity</u>		
	2	A little internal diversity		
	1	Virtually no internal diversity		

20. In everyd		He ar	Spe ak	Re ad	Wr ite	Reliability	Comments
----------------------	--	--------------	---------------	--------------	---------------	--------------------	-----------------

<p>ay life, how many dialect s would a typical membe r of this referen ce commu nity encoun ter?</p>	5 or more dialects	✓	✓		ty Ind ex: <u>3</u>
	4 dialects				2
	<u>3 dialects</u>				1
	2 dialects				0
	1 dialect				
	0 dialect				

<p>21. In how many dialects is a typical member of this commu nity fully or partially fluent?</p>	More than 2 dialects	<p>Relia bility Index : <u>3</u> 2 1 0</p>	<p>Comments</p>
	2 dialects		
	<u>1 dialect</u>		
<p>Which one(s)? Tlosaih</p>			

22. How equal are the dialects in speaker numbers?	5	Each dialect has equal numbers	Reliability Index: 3 2 1 0	Comments
	4	Several dialects have sizable numbers of speakers		
	3	Two dialects predominate		
	2	One dialect predominates, but other dialect(s) have good numbers of speakers		
	1	Over two thirds of speakers use one dialect		
	0	<u>One dialect is used by virtually all speakers</u>		
Which one(s)? Tlosaih				

23. How equal are the dialects in symbolic status and prestige?	5	Dialects fully equal in status/prestige	Reliability Index: 3 2 1 0	Comments
	4	Several dialects have parity in status/prestige		
	3	Two dialects have higher status/prestige than other dialects		
	2	<u>One dialect has higher status/prestige than all other dialects</u>		
	1	One dialect has lower status/prestige than all		

	other dialects		
Which one(s)? Tlosaih			
What is the status and prestige of this dialect(s)? Tkosiah is the Lingua-franca of Siaha district			

24. Would you say this language is characterized by high stylistic diversity, i.e., a variety of different registers and styles are commonly used in interaction?	5	Very high stylistic diversity, frequently encountered	R	Comments
	4	High stylistic diversity, often encountered	eli	
	3	<u>Moderate stylistic diversity, often encountered</u>	a	
	2	Some stylistic diversity, occasionally encountered	bi	
	1	Little stylistic diversity, encountered infrequently	lit	
	0	Virtually no stylistic diversity	y	
			In	
			de	
			x:	
			3	
			<u>2</u>	
			1	
			0	

¹ 'Fully fluent' is here defined as able to comfortably function in the language in everyday interaction and conversation.

² 'Partially fluent' is here defined as able to engage in basic conversation and understand most of what is said.

the portions marked in **bold and underlined are the correct answers

7.5 Bilingualism study

Bilingualism refers to the ability of an individual or an entire speech community to communicate adequately in a language other than the mother tongue. Among Mara speakers in Mizoram, two types of bilingualism data were collected: perceived bilingualism and measured bilingualism.

7.5.1 Perceived bilingualism

A] Procedures

First, data about subjects' perceived ability in various languages were collected. A series of five questions were given as part of the sociolinguistic questionnaire. The questions were generally asked in English. If a subject was not fluent in English, the questions were asked in a language the subject was comfortable in, which in these cases was either Mara or Mizo (both with the help of a local speaker who was fluent in all three). The questionnaire and the responses are summarized as follows.

B] Discussion of sample

The most basic question about perceived bilingualism simply asked subjects what languages they speak. This question was followed by a question that asked subjects at what age they began to learn each language that they are able to speak.

Tab.10. Summary of responses to questions about what languages people speak and when they learned them

Question Key:

- 1) Other than your mother tongue, what languages do you speak?
- 2) At what age did you begin to learn each of the languages you can speak?

Question	Response					
	Mara (Tlosaih)	Mizo	Other Mara dialect	English	Hindi	Other language
Language(s) subject speak	100%	99%	2%	55%	---	---
Average age at which each of the languages is learnt	Since birth	3-4 years	----	6-7 years	---	----

The subjects' responses indicate that most Mara speakers in Mizoram speak Mizo as their secondary language. Another common language that Mara speakers show fluency is in English. Mizo as a secondary language may be learnt at home especially in the town area where access to media and to Mizo people is common. Mizo is also taught in schools. Often the medium of instruction in school is English and Mizo. English is learnt at school and for most Mara children it becomes their L₃. The older generation were not very familiar with English. The younger generation going to school and further on to higher education showed more proficiency in English. Though Hindi is taught in schools, mostly the children rarely adopt it and hence as a speaking language it is less counted. Except for the few villages which border with the Lai Autonomous District, the Mara speakers show no speaking knowledge of Lai.

The average age for the subjects to learn Mizo is around 3-4 years while that for English is around 7 years when they enter school. However most of the elderly people have no knowledge of English.

The subjects were also asked to yield their most fluent and second most fluent languages.

Their responses are given below.

Tab.11. Summary of responses to questions about language fluency.

Question Key:

- 1) What language do you speak best?
- 2) What language do you speak second best?

Question	Response					
	Mara (Tlosaih)	Mizo	Other Mara dialect	English	Hindi	Other language
Best spoken language	100%	4%	2%	----	---	---
Second best	----	98%	----	----	---	----

The responses to these two questions about language fluency indicate that most Mara speakers think Mara is their best language. This can mean either they are most fluent in speaking Mara or that they are most comfortable using Mara. Out of the total, 4% said that Mizo is their best language. Those who vouched for Mizo to be their best language were mostly youths who have been residing outside of Siaha since childhood. For 98% Mizo is considered as their second best language.

Looking at this question regarding subjects' second-best language according to their age shows some interesting trends. Tab.12. displays the responses to this question from all the subjects, and also from the younger and older subjects separately.

Tab.12. Summary of responses to the question, “What language do you speak second best?”

Subjects	Response					
	Mara (Tlosaih)	Mizo	Other Mara dialect	English	Hindi	Other language
Overall	----	4%	----	----	---	---
Younger	----	98%	----	----	---	----
Older	----	60%	----			

The responses shown in Tab.12. indicate that, amongst Mara speakers in Mizoram, the younger people prone to be more bilingual than the older people.

After subjects named their second-best language, they were then asked two questions about their perceived ability in that language. Tab13. displays a summary of responses to these two questions.

Tab.13. Summary of responses to questions about ability in a second language.

Question Key:

- 1) Can you always say what you want to say in your second best language?
- 2) Can you understand jokes and proverbs in your second-best language?

Question	Response		
	Yes	No	Little
Can always say	80%	20%	10%
Understand jokes	98%	----	2%

The questions Tab13. are attempts to ascertain how confident Mara speakers are with using a second language. A majority of subjects said that they can always say what they want to say in their second-best language and that they can understand jokes and proverbs in that language. This indicates that Mara speakers in general are quite comfortable using a second language to communicate, at least in the domains in which a second language is needed.

7.5.2 Measured Mizo bilingualism

To assess the speakers' ability in their second language, Mizo, a measured bilingualism test was conducted to a number of people.

A. Procedures

The second type of bilingualism data that was collected was subjects' measured ability in Mizo. This was done through the use of a Mizo, Standard Repetition Test (SRT).

For the SRT, participants had to listen carefully to the selected sentences one at a time and then to repeat exactly what they have heard. Each repeated sentence is then scored according to a four-point scale (0–3), based on the participant's ability to exactly repeat a given sentence. The scores are tallied to a total out of 45 possible points. The total score also corresponds to an equivalent bilingualism proficiency level, or reported proficiency evaluation (RPE) level. Tab.14. displays SRT score ranges with the equivalent RPE level

for the Mizo SRT. Appendix G.1. gives a detailed description of the RPE levels and of SRT testing. Appendix G.2. contains the final form of the Mizo SRT.

Tab.14. ranges on the Mizo SRT corresponding to RPE levels.

SRT Raw Score	Range Equivalent RPE level	Summary description of proficiency level
0 – 2	1	Minimal, limited proficiency
3 – 8	1+	Limited, basic proficiency
9 – 14	2	Adequate, basic proficiency
15 – 21	2+	Good, basic proficiency
22 – 27	3	Good, general proficiency
28 – 33	3+	Very good, general proficiency
34 – 39	4	Excellent proficiency
40 – 45	4+	Nearly native speaker proficiency

B. Discussion of sample

The Standard Repetition Test (SRT) methodology was developed as a means of testing a target community’s level of bilingualism in a national language or in another language of wider communication. In this case, the target community was Mara speakers living in Mizoram, and the language tested was Mizo. A total of 25 mother-tongue Mara speakers were tested using the Mizo SRT. Among the 25 subjects, 13 were younger (defined as age 40 or below), and 12 subjects were older. Of the total, 14 of the subjects were male, and 11 were female. Finally, 20 of the subjects were educated through at least class 8 in Mizo medium, and 5 subjects had been educated through less than class 8 wherein the medium of education was again Mizo.

Results:

As was the case with perceived bilingual ability, measured bilingual ability also frequently correlates with demographic factors such as gender, age, level of education, and amount of travel. To adequately account for these factors, a sample of at least five people should be tested for each combination of demographic factors being researched. This section therefore presents the findings both as an aggregate of 25 subjects and according to various combinations of age, gender, and education level. Each subject's SRT test scores are given in appendix G.3. The 25 mother-tongue Mara speakers who took the Mizo bilingualism test had an average SRT score of 22 out of a possible 45 points. This SRT score equates to an RPE level 3, described as "Very good, general proficiency." A person who speaks a second language at this level is one whose "vocabulary is broad enough for daily topics and for conversations in most common domains (Radloff 1991:152). Comprehension for someone at an RPE level 3 "is possible if people speak carefully and simplify their speech somewhat, but their conversation could be easier if it is intercepted with native language" (page 152). Thus, the average Mara speaker in Mizoram might be able to use Mizo for common tasks; s/he would also be able to hold a long or deep conversation in Mizo but vocabulary and grammar could be intercepted with occasional Mara lexicon and syntax. The tone of Mara often overlaps that of Mizo even while the Mara speaker speaks in Mizo. Looking at the SRT data according to the three demographic factors of age, education, and gender shows that there are certain groups of Mara speakers who tend to be better Mizo speakers than other groups. Tab.15. gives statistics for each of two groups according to each of these three factors. It also gives the aggregate scores discussed in the previous paragraph.

Tab.15. Mizo SRT results according to demographic categories.

n = sample size

SRT = average SRT score

RPE = corresponding RPE level

s = standard deviation

Overall	Age		Education		GenderGender	
	Younger	Older	Educated	Uneducated	Male	Female
n = 25	n = 13	n = 12	n = 20	n = 5	n = 14	n = 11
SRT = 22	SRT = 27	SRT = 25.4	SRT = 26	SRT = 20.1	SRT = 26	SRT = 25.4
RPE = 3	RPE = 3	RPE = 2	RPE = 3	RPE = 2	RPE = 3	RPE = 3
s = 10.0	s = 10.1	s = 7.4	s = 8.3	s = 6.2	s = 10.5	s = 9.0

The numbers in Tab.15. show that within each demographic factor studied there is a difference in the SRT scores. Taking the demographic factor of age as an example, the younger subjects scored an average of 27 on the 45-point SRT, and the older subjects scored an average of 25.4. These scores correspond to RPE level of 3. Thus, Mara speakers in general exhibit increased bilingualism in Mizo.

The most telling demographic factor studied was education. Mara speakers who have had at least eight years of education in Mizo medium averaged an SRT score of 22. This score corresponds to an RPE level 3, which is briefly described as “good, general proficiency.” The uneducated Mara speakers, however, scored an average of only 20.1 on the SRT, which corresponds to an RPE level 2, described as “adequate, basic proficiency.” It can be assumed, then, that if more and more Mara speakers in Mizoram are educated in Mizo medium, they will be more bilingual in Mizo.

The sample sizes in the education category show that, of the 25 SRT subjects, 20 were educated in Mizo medium through at least class 8. It is interesting to note that most educated people from these villages were currently studying in high school or even in

college, and were therefore not living in the village. Mostly they would be studying in Siaha town or further on in other districts of Mizoram like Lunglei, Aizawl etc.

The gender of a subject was also a factor in how well he or she performed on the Mizo SRT. The 14 male Mara speakers who were tested averaged an SRT score of 26 while the 11 female Mara speakers who were tested averaged an SRT score of 25.4. Both of these correspond to RPE level 3. This shows that both genders are on par with terms of language proficiency.

Looking at each of these factors separately shows whether a Mara speaker is Mizo-medium educated or not and is the most telling demographic factor regarding his or her Mizo ability. Age and gender are also important contributing factors. Looking at all the possible combinations of these factors shows some more interesting indications. These results are given in Tab.16.

Tab.16. Mizo SRT results according to combinations of demographic categories.

n = sample size; SRT = average SRT score; RPE = corresponding RPE level; s = standard deviation

Gender	Educated		Uneducated	
	Younger	Older	Younger	Older
Male = 14	n = 10 SRT = 26 RPE = 3 s = 8.8	n = 4 SRT = 21 RPE = 2+ s = 6.7	n = 0	n = 0
Female = 11	n = 8 SRT = 25.4 RPE = 3 s = 8.5	n = 2 SRT = 20.8 RPE = 2+ s = 5.6	n = 0	n = 1 SRT = 18 RPE = 2 s = 4.9

The three factors of age, education, and gender result in eight possible combinations. Tab.16. shows that, among these eight possible combinations, no older uneducated younger males and females were tested; no younger females were tested. It was difficult to find younger, uneducated Mara speakers. With difficulty, only one older uneducated female was available for testing. Mizoram ranks second highest in terms of literacy and so almost all the youngsters are already educated while in the older generation too, no male was found uneducated. The villages where the data was collected was near the Siaha town and probably the ratio could vary if the data was collected deeper inside the countryside.

Based on the above data, a conclusion can be made that the Mara population residing in and around the Siaha town is able to use Mizo reasonably well. These people's vocabulary would generally be adequate, and they would be easily understood by other Mizo speakers. They would also be able to understand Mizo speech without much problem. The measured Mizo bilingualism testing shows Mara speakers in Mizoram possess a good command of Mizo. These people get educated in Mizo-medium schools through at least class 8.

7.6 A Note on the Education System in MADC, Siaha:

The Mara language is used in schools in MADC Siaha as a medium of education at least upto class IV with additional use of Mizo and English. Mara (Tlosaih) is taught in Primary schools from class I-VII and as an elective subject at middle school level under Mara Board of School Education. Hindi education is imparted from class V to IX.

According to an article published in The Optimist⁵⁰, the education system in MADC, Siaha is extremely poor and children lack basic learning skills. Recently, due to the

⁵⁰ www.theoptimist.news

initiative of the district's DC, Bhupesh Chaudhary, the schools developed their syllabus, methods of teaching and with upgrading their infrastructure.

DC Bhupesh Chaudhary introduced the project "Kawng Kawhmuhtu" which roughly translates into 'Mentorship programme'. According to his observation, most of the teachers in MADC used to teach in the outdated rote. The Kawng Kawhmuhtu project has many components for the holistic development of students. It focused on making learning as a fun activity. It primarily composed of: Smart Classrooms (equipping classrooms with latest educational materials, overhead projector with sound system, computer with latest learning aids); introducing and upgrading the libraries; and providing sports facilities in an aim in channelising the youthful energy into sports and thus to distract them from harmful drugs and abusive substances.

8. Conclusion

8.1. Present Study:

The present thesis has attempted to explore the sociolinguistic profile of Tlosai (Mara) in Mizoram as well as the phonological, the morpho-syntactical and the clausal structure of the Tlosai language.

The study presents the current status of Tlosai (Mara) in the state of Mizoram. It is the lingua franca amongst all the various dialects of Mara. Though, the Mara people were granted their own Autonomous Council, they are still striving for the acknowledgment and retention of their language and culture. Understanding the history of the Maras gives us more clarity on the struggles of these people for the upliftment of their language. At present, Mara language is safe but that being said, since it is one of the ‘smaller’ languages within the Kuki-Chin group, Mara is always at the crux of being dominated by the other languages. Though it is still used actively by the native speakers, Mizo and English are highly favored, especially by the younger generation. Hence, Mara could become vulnerable in next few generations, especially if efforts for preservation are not taken seriously. Here, we have taken into consideration only the Tlosai dialect. There lies a heavy assumption that the other dialects maybe at more risk.

Keeping the sociolinguistic set-up in mind, we have maintained a two-fold purpose of this research:

- i) to describe the Tlosai (Mara) language, and
- ii) to study the Tlosai (Mara) community in relation to the various ethno-linguistic groups that co-exist in Mizoram. This research also seeks to learn the attitude that the

native speakers show toward their own language and to that of the neighbouring languages.

The present research is based on the field linguistic data. Primary and secondary sources have been used to cover the research. The researcher has used both qualitative and quantitative approach to conduct this research.

In Tlosai (Mara), we found five phonemic short vowels /i, e, a, ɔ, u/, five phonemic long vowels /i:, e:, a:, ɔ:, u:/ and 37 consonantal phonemes. Aspirated sounds cannot occur in the word final position and there is no voiced aspirated sound. Glottal stop occurs only in the final syllable position. The phoneme /e/ is in free variation with [e] and [ɛ]. There are eight (7) diphthongs i.e. /ao, yu, ai, ei, ia, ie, ua/.

We have used the moraic framework to understand the syllable structure of the language as it gives more insight into the Mara syllable structure than the traditional Tibeto-Burman approach.

Mara language does not permit consonant clusters within a syllable. Instead, the syllable canon of the language is (C) V (V) (V) (C). Mara also demonstrates a syllable without onset and coda. The variety exhibits obligatory syllable type of V1 and an optional vowel after the obligatory vowel i.e. V1 (V2) (V3).

Morphologically, Mara denotes agglutinating characteristics. Most of the polysyllabic words are the result of compounding, affixation and reduplication which are mainly derivational in nature. Mara uses the following major devices to form words, e.g. compounding, affixation, reduplication and the use of categorizers in the formation of words.

Case markers are also suffixed or affixed to the preceding nouns. The adjectival suffixes are the adjectives of comparison suffixes, namely, – *via* (comparative) and – *cai* (superlative).

Morphological reduplication consists of expressive and lexical reduplication. Expressives are used to denote all the five senses of perception i.e. the senses of taste, touch, smell, sight, and hearing. The compound reduplication in Mara refers to a compound word where the second constituent of the compound word may not be an exact repetition of the first but has a similarity or relationship with the first constituent on the semantic or phonetic level and the two words retain their meaning to some extent after compounded. Word reduplication in Mara involves the reduplication of all the basic word classes i.e. Noun, Pronoun, Verb, Adjective, and Adverb.

Tlosai (Mara) is a verb-final language, with SOV as its basic word order. It reflects ergative-absolutive case alignment and pro-drop. Tlosai (Mara) employs postpositions (PP), which follow the noun phrase they combine with. Postposition and postpositional phrase precede the verb in a sentence. Adjectival modifiers of nouns like numerals, and classifiers follow the noun they govern. Adverbial modifiers also precede the verb whereas adjective follows the noun. Adverbial subordinators come at the end of the subordinate clause and the question particle in Tlosai (Mara) occurs at the end of the sentence. Tlosai (Mara) has a split determiner system where one determiner precedes and other follows the noun. Negative morphemes follow the verb in a clause or sentence. Time and place adverbials occur in descending order in Tlosai (Mara). The indirect object precedes direct object and vice versa.

Tlosai (Mara) exhibits most of the typological characteristics of Tibeto-Burman OV languages and it also agrees with most of the Greenberg's Universals. In Tlosai, Determiners are polymorphemic – the first part of the determiner occurs to the left while the second part occurs on the right of the noun.

Tlosai (Mara), like its conglomerate Kuki-Chin languages, shows an agreement system wherein various arguments are embedded in the verb. The Tlosai (Mara) language shows

the agreement of participant's numbers and person feature with the verb. The verb agrees with the first- and second-person pronominal object. The presence and absence of case markers in the noun phrase does not influence the marking of arguments on the verb. It is a split-ergative language. However it does not agree with the third person pronominal object. The ergative case marker occurs with the subject in all tenses and aspects when the verb is transitive. The tense distinction in Tlosai (Mara) is between future and non-future (present and past).

In nouns, we observe that there is a nominative, ergative and accusative case marker. The nominative case is used for inanimate nouns while the accusative is used for the animate nouns.

There are pronominal clitics in Tlosai (Mara). The language exhibits ergative pattern paradigmatically. Tlosai (Mara) like its neighbour Mizo is a pro-drop language. Both pronominal subjects and objects can be dropped due to the rich agreement system of the language. There is no grammatical gender in Tlosai (Mara).

The language use and attitude survey showed that the Mara population residing in and around the Siaha town is able to use Mizo reasonably well. They can also understand Mizo speech without much problem. The measured Mizo bilingualism testing shows Mara speakers in Mizoram possess a good command of Mizo. These people get educated in Mizo-medium schools through at least class 8.

However, with the younger generation leaning more towards English and Mizo, Tlosai (Mara) may be vulnerable if necessary action is not taken soon.

8.2. Future scope

Mara, as we have seen in the literature review of this thesis, has been given very little attention. The different dialects of Mara are even more neglected. It was difficult to find substantial fieldwork data on any dialect, except perhaps on Sabeu (M. Arden), and on

Tlosai by the early missionaries such as Lorrain (1951), Savidge (1908), and Luce (Luce, 1985, fieldwork performed from 1912-1964, cited in VanBik, 2009). Luce focused on the dialects of Myanmar, such as Sabeu while Lorrain and Savidge were focused on Tlosai dialect of Mara. These data, though they form the foundation for working on the various Mara languages, is not enough for understanding the language. Apart from that the other dialects are not even in the vicinity of any research. Moreover, the dialects may or may not be mutually intelligible, unlike most of the Kuki-Chin languages. Tlosai being the lingua-franca has been approved recently in schools and local official use. Further it is the language of the Bible. But most young speakers are leaning towards Mizo or English as we have seen above. I hope this thesis serves as stepping stone toward exploring the other dialects of Mara in Mizoram and in an in-depth study of Tlosai for further research.

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10 APPENDIX

Sociolinguistic Survey

Sociolinguistic questionnaire

1a. In which villages do the people speak very differently from you, so that you have trouble understanding them?

A: Chapi town/ Phura town in southern most Siaha

1b. When you go to these villages, what language do you use?

A: Tlosaih

2. What language do children in this village learn first?

A: Mara (Tlosaih/ other dialect)

3. Do many children in your village learn to speak another language before starting school?

A: No; sometimes Mizo

4. Do young people (age 10) in your village speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?

A: Yes

5a. Do children in your village speak another language better than your language?

A: No

6. When the children in this village grow up and have children of their own, what language do you think those children will speak?

A: Mara

7. In each of the following places and activities, what language do you use most of the time?

7a. At home? Mara (Tlosaih/other dialect)

7b. At church? Mara (Tlosaih)

7c. With neighbours? Mara (Tlosaih/other dialect)

7d. With a village leader?

A: Mara (Tlosaih)

8. In a typical week, which language do you use most?

A: Mara (Tlosaih/other dialect)

9a. Other than your MT, what languages do you speak?

A: Mizo; English

9b. At what age did you begin to learn each language?

A: Mara (since birth); Mizo (at 4-5 years); English (in school at 6years)

10. What language do you speak best?

A: Mara (Tlosaih/other dialect)

11. What language do you speak second best?

A: Mizo

12. Can you always say what you want to say in your second-best language?

A: Most of the time

13. Can you understand jokes and proverbs in your second-best language?

A: Most of the time

14. What language should a mother in your language group speak to her children?
A: Mara (Tlosaih/other dialect)
- 15a. Do you think people in your language group need to learn other languages, such as Mizo or English, to have a good job and a good future?
A: Yes
- 15b. If yes, which ones?
A: Mizo or English
16. Do you think it's okay if your children speak other languages better than your MT?
A: Preferably no
17. What is the most useful language to know in your village?
A: Mara (Tlosaih)
18. What language should be used as the medium of education in primary school?
A: Mara (Tlosaih)
19. What language is best for worshipping God?
A: Mara (Tlosaih)
20. If a foreigner wanted to learn your language correctly, what would be the best village for him to live in?
A: Siaha
21. Can you read and write letters and messages in standard Mizo?
A: Mostly yes
22. Can you read and write letters and messages in English?
A: Younger people – mostly yes; older people – mostly no
- 23a. If your community leaders set up a class to teach young children how to read and write standard Mizo or English, would you send your children?
A: Yes
- 23b. Why or why not?
A: For better future prospects
- 24a. If your community leaders set up a class to teach young children how to read and write Mara (Tlosaih), would you send your children?
A: Yes
- 24b. Why or why not?
A: Yes – to ensure that the future generation continues to retain and use Mara even when there is a huge influence of Mizo and English on Mara

Community Information Questionnaire (CIQ)

Name of village: Siaha

Transportation to village: By road from Aizawl

1. What is the location of your village by thana and district?
A: Siaha District
2. How many people and families live in this village?
A: 25,110
3. What religions are followed here?
A: Christianity
4. Which languages are spoken as mother tongues in your village?
A: Mara (Tlosaih / other Mara dialect)
5. What jobs do people in your village do?
A: Mainly farming; teaching; odd jobs
6. Where is the nearest post office?
A: Siaha town Post Office
- 7a. Can you make mobile calls in your village?
A: Yes

- 7b. If not, where is the nearest place you can make phone calls? ----
 8a. Where is the nearest hospital?
 A: Siaha town
 8b. Where is the nearest clinic?
 A: Siaha town
 9. Are there government schools in your village?
 A: Yes; around 20 government schools
 10. Are there any other types of schools or non-formal educational institutions in your village?
 A: private schools
 11. How many children in your village go to school? (All, most, half, or few?)
 A: Almost all
 12. How many girls in your village go to school? (All, most, half, or few?)
 A: Most of them
 13. At which standard do most children in your village stop going to school?
 A: The awareness for education has risen in past few years; atleast children are expected to complete their primary and secondary education
 14. In your village, how many students who begin school end up finishing 5th standard? (All, most, half, or few?)
 A: Most
 15. In your village, how many students who begin school end up finishing 10th standard? (All, most, half, or few?)
 A: Most
 16. How many people in your village have completed a BA or higher?
 A: More than half
 17. Do you have electricity in your village?
 A: Yes
 18. What is your water source?
 A: Ground water stored on the hill slopes emanates in the form of springs which are then used as a primary source of water supply
 19a. Do you listen to radio programs?
 A: Yes
 19b. In what language(s)?
 A: Mara and Mizo; a few responded to watching English and Hindi news as well
 20a. Do you watch TV programs?
 A: Yes
 20b. In what language(s)?
 A: Mara and Mizo

Mizo Sentence Repetition Test

Standard Sentence Repetition Test procedures

A Sentence Repetition Test (SRT)⁵¹ was developed by Radolff and Carla F. (1991) in order to assess the bilingualism ability of speech communities. It is based on the premise that ‘people’s ability to repeat sentences in a second language is limited by the level of their mastery of the morphology and syntax of that second language. The greater proficiency they have in that language, the better able they are to repeat sentences of increasing length and complexity.’ Thus an SRT is developed separately for each

⁵¹ Radolff (1991)

language that is to be tested. The sentences selected are then calibrated against an evaluative instrument called the Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE). The RPE helps us to evaluate the proficiency of their second-language speaking ability. Descriptions of RPE proficiency levels are as follows:

0+	Very minimal proficiency
1	Minimal, limited proficiency
1+	Limited, basic proficiency
2	Adequate, basic proficiency
2+	Good, basic proficiency
3	Good, general proficiency
3+	Very good, general proficiency
4	Excellent proficiency
4+	Approaching native speaker proficiency

An SRT provides a rapid assessment of a person's second language proficiency which helps build the bilingualism survey. The bilingualism survey helps to retain the profile of the second language proficiencies in the community under investigation. The SRT provides a general assessment of the bilingual ability of the community. A complete step-by-step methodology for developing and calibrating an SRT is given in Radloff (1991). RPE levels as assigned by mother-tongue rates show an internal consistency, but have not yet been correlated with any other, more widely recognized, scale of second language proficiency. The rationale and methodology for the Reported Proficiency Evaluation is also included in Radloff (1991). The development and calibration of an SRT proceeds through several steps: A preliminary form of the test is developed through the assistance of mother-tongue speakers of the test language. These people are then administered the preliminary form of the test. Based on their performances, fifteen sentences are selected, which prove to be the most discriminating of performance and also represent increasing complexity and length. These fifteen sentences are calibrated against the proficiency assessments from the RPE. This fifteen-sentence final form of the test is used in the bilingualism survey, and the resulting test scores are interpreted in terms of equivalent RPE proficiency levels.

The ranges of Mizo SRT scores corresponding to RPE levels are presented in figure Tab.17.

Tab.17. Mizo SRT scores and predicted RPE levels

Mizo SRT Score	Predicted RPE Level
-----------------------	----------------------------

0 – 2	1
3 – 8	1+
9 – 14	2
15 – 21	2+
22 – 27	3
28 – 33	3+
34 – 39	4
40 – 45	4+

Mizo Sentence Repetition Test

In the following transcription of the Mizo SRT, these line codes are used:

Code	Meaning
)	Sentence number
\m	Mizo sentence
\p	Phonetic transcription
\g	Word-by-word English gloss of transcribed text
\f	Free (natural) English translation of the text
\P	Practice sentence

Sentences:

- 1) Today is his birthday
\m Vawiin hi a piancham a ni
\p vɑjin hi ə piɑncɑm ə ni
\g today PRT his birthday he has
\f Today is his birthday
- 2) My father catches fish
\m Ka pɑ in sɑŋhɑ a mɑn
\p kɑ pɑ in sɑŋ^hɑ ə mɑn
\g my father PRT fish he catches
\f My father catches fish
- 3) They work there all day long
\m Nileng in hna an thawk

\p nileŋ in ^hna ən θək
 \g All day long PRT work they do (work)
 \f They work there all day long
 \#4 But tomorrow I will need this
 \m Naktuk ah he thil hi ka mamawh ang
 \p nəkʔuk aʔ he θil hi kə māməʔ aŋ
 \g tomorrow Postposition PRT this thing this I need SENT Completion Marker
 \f But tomorrow I will need this
 \#5 The wood craftsman is making a new window
 \m Thing mistiri in kawngkhar thar a siam mek
 \p θiŋ miʃʔri in kəŋk^har θar ə siam mek
 \g wood craftsman PRT window new he makes -ING
 \f The wood craftsman is making a new window
 \#6 Various types of sweets can be found in stores
 \m Dawr ah chithlum chi hrang hrang a awm.
 \p ɖər aʔ ciθlum ci ʃaŋ ʃaŋ ə əm
 \g store at sweets PRT various various they are
 \f Various types of sweets can be found in stores.
 \#7 They don't get much opportunity to rest
 \m Chawlhna hun remchang reng an nei thei lo
 \p cə^hna hun remçəŋ reŋ ən nei θei loʊ
 \g rest time opportunity they do not get
 \f They don't get much opportunity to rest
 \#8 He has to buy fruit this afternoon
 \m Vawiin tlaiah thei a lei a ngai
 \p vəjin ʔlajəʔ θei ə lei a ŋai
 \g today afternoon fruit he buys to be must
 \f He has to buy fruit this afternoon
 \#9 I received a gift from my sister
 \m Ka laizawnnu hnen atang thilpek ka dawng
 \p kə laizənnu ^hnen aʔaŋ θilpek kə ɖəŋ
 \g my sister gift precious she gives I receive
 \f I received a gift from my sister.
 \#10 It doesn't seem as if there's anyone home
 \m Tumah inah an awmlə a ang
 \p ʔumaʔ in aʔ əmləʊ ə aŋ
 \g right now house at (nobody) is there it seems
 \f It doesn't seem as if there's anyone home
 \#11 We will stay here until the rain stops
 \m Ruah a han hma chu hetah kan awm ang
 \p ruəʔ ə han ^hma cu heʔaʔ kən əm aŋ
 \g rain it stops till PRT here we will stay
 \f We will stay here until the rain stops
 \#12 Having bought the fish at the market a little while ago, I brought it for you
 \m Tun lawk a ka sangha lei kha I tana ka lei a nih kha
 \p ʔun lək a kə səŋ^ha lei k^ha i ʔəna kə lei ə niʔ k^ha
 \g market at I fish buy PRT I bring to you I buy a while ago
 \f Having bought the fish at the market a little while ago, I brought it for you
 \#13 He knew monkeys really like to imitate
 \m Zawng in mi entawn a hrət hle tih a hria

\p zəŋ in mi en̄tən ə ʃat̄ ʃat̄ ^hle t̄i? ə ʃia
 \g monkeys PRT people look they imitate really he knows
 \f He knew monkeys really like to imitate
 \#14 If you don't treat people well, they won't treat you well either
 \m Mi chungā I that loh chuan anni pawh I chungah an tha bik lo ang
 \p mi cuŋa i θat̄ lo? cuan ənni pə? i cuŋa? ən θa bik loo aŋ
 \g people PRT you treat well NEG if they you PRT they treat well either NEG
 \f If you don't treat people well, they won't treat you well either
 \#15 And in life at all times one must follow some rules
 \m kan damchhung hun ah hian dan chu kan zawm ve a ngai
 \p kən d̄əmc^huŋ hun a? hian d̄an chu kən zəm ve ə ŋai
 \g our life time at rules PRT we follow they must
 \f And in life at all times one must follow some rules
 \#16 Therefore, rivers benefit us a lot and sometimes also harm us
 \m Chuvangin, lui hian kan tan tangkaina tam tak nei mah se, a chang chuan kan tan
 hlauhawm a ni thung
 \p cuvaŋin lui hian kən t̄ən t̄raŋkaina t̄ram t̄ək nei ma?se ə caŋ cuan kən tən hlauhəm
 ə ni θuŋ
 \g therefore river all us DAT benefit help a lot but sometimes us DAT harm they do also
 \f Therefore, rivers benefit us a lot and sometimes also harm us.
 \#17 I didn't know before that there is such a vegetable as fermented bamboo shoot
 available in the market
 \m rawtuai thlengin dawr ah leithei in a awm tih ka hre ngai lo
 \p rətuai θleŋin d̄or a? leiθei? in ə əm t̄i? kə ʃe ŋai loo
 \g bamboo-shoot fermented store at to buy PRT it available I know not
 \f I didn't know before that there is such a vegetable as fermented bamboo shoot
 available in the market
 \#18 Rivers are very important for us because we are able to do business along river
 routes
 \m Lui hi kan tan a tangkai em em a, a chhan chu in sumdawn nan lui kawng te kan
 hmang
 \p lui hi kən t̄ən ə t̄raŋkai em em a ə ^han cu in sumdən nan lui kəŋ t̄e kən ^hmaŋ
 \g river PRT us DAT they important very very because business we river bank PRL we
 can do
 \f Rivers are very important for us because we are able to do business along river
 routes
 \#19 Nevertheless, sometimes on special occasions they have some fun
 \m A hun a zirin an in tihlim thin
 \p ə hun ə zirin ən in t̄i?lim θin
 \g on occasions special they PRT fun to be able to have
 \f Nevertheless, sometimes on special occasions they have some fun
 \#20 Although he searched a lot, he didn't find his axe because the river was deep
 \m A zawng nasa viau na in, a hrei erawh tui a thuk em avangin a hmu zo lo
 \p ə zəŋ nəsa viao nə in ə ʃei erə? t̄ui ə θuk em əvaŋin ə ^hmu zoə loo
 \g his axe PRT he searched a lot water it was deep but he find ASPECT not
 \f Although he searched a lot, he didn't find his axe because the river was deep.

Sentence Repetition Test scores

The table in this section displays the SRT scores for all 25 Mara subjects. The subject numbers in the far left column correspond to the numbering system we used to identify the subjects and compile their responses. For each of the twenty sentences, each subject's score is given. This is based on a four point scale (0–3) for each sentence. The total score at the far right is a summation of the subject's scores for the twenty test sentences.

Subj. No.	Mizo SRT sentence no.																				Total Score
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
1A	3	1	2	2	3	3	1	2	0	3	2	1	1	3	3	2	2	2	3	1	40
2A	2	1	3	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	3	3	2	1	1	2	3	38
3A	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	2	2	2	0	3	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	2	41
4A	3	3	2	1	2	1	1	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	46
5A	2	3	3	3	1	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	38
6A	3	1	2	2	3	3	1	2	0	3	2	1	1	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	41
7A	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	2	2	2	0	3	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	2	41
8A	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	1	0	2	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	48
9A	2	1	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	1	3	2	2	3	2	1	2	3	3	44
10A	3	1	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	1	2	2	3	32
11A	3	2	2	1	2	3	3	3	2	1	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	50
12A	3	2	2	2	3	3	1	2	0	3	2	1	1	3	3	2	2	2	3	1	41
13A	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	0	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	43
14A	3	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	3	0	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	1	2	2	48
15A	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	1	2	3	2	3	0	3	3	2	2	3	3	48
16A	3	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	47
17A	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	51
18A	3	2	3	2	0	1	3	2	1	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	0	2	1	1	38
19A	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	0	0	1	1	1	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	3	38

20A	2	3	3	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	3	3	1	2	2	3	3	2	2	1	40
21A	3	2	3	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	2	3	50
22A	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	47
23A	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	51
24A	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	53
25A	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	1	2	3	3	2	2	2	0	3	2	2	1	2	41

Sentence List

1

Word	ram	ɬa	ip ^h ô	a	ni:
Morphemes	ram	ɬa	ip ^h ô	a	ni:
Lex. Entries	ram	ɬa	ip ^h ô	a	ni:
Lex. Gloss	proper name	ERG	mango	he	ate
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	pro	3SG	v
Word Gloss	proper name	particle	noun	he	is eating
Word Cat.	n	nom	n	pro	v

Ram is eating a mango

2

Word	ram	ɬa	rorɔ	a	ni:
Morphemes	ram	ɬa	rorɔ	a	ni:
Lex. Entries	ram	ɬa	rorɔ	a	ni:
Lex. Gloss	proper name	ERG	mango	he	ate
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	pro	3SG	v
Word Gloss	proper name	particle	noun	he	is eating
Word Cat.	n	nom	n	pro	v

Ram is eating a mango

3

Word	ram	ɬa	θeɪχija	a	ni:
Morphemes	ram	ɬa	θeɪχija	a	ni:

Lex. Entries	ram	ṭa	θeɪχija	a	ni:
Lex. Gloss	proper name	ERG	mango	he	ate
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	pro	3SG	v
Word Gloss	proper name	particle	noun	he	is eating
Word Cat.	n	nom	n	pro	v

Ram is eating a mango

4

Word	siṭa	ṭa	ip ^h ô	^h moʔpa	a	ni:
Morphemes	siṭa	ṭa	ip ^h ô	^h moʔpa	a	ni:
Lex. Entries	siṭa	ṭa	ip ^h ô	^h moʔpa	a	ni:
Lex. Gloss	proper name	ERG	mango	ripe	3SG	to eat
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	pro	ADJ	3SG	v
Word Gloss	proper name	particle	noun	ADJ	he	is eating
Word Cat.	n	nom	n		pro	v

Sita is eating a ripe mango

5

Word	siṭa	ṭa	rorɔ	^h moʔpa	a	ni:
Morphemes	siṭa	ṭa	rorɔ	^h moʔpa	a	ni:
Lex. Entries	siṭa	ṭa	rorɔ	^h moʔpa	a	ni:
Lex. Gloss	proper name	ERG	mango	ripe	3SG	to eat
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	adj	pro	v
Word Gloss	proper name	nom	mango	ripe	he	to eat
Word Cat.	N	prt	n	adj	3SG	v

Sita is eating a ripe mango

6

Word	siṭa	ṭa	θeɪχija	^h moʔpa	a	ni:
Morphemes	siṭa	ṭa	θeɪχija	^h moʔpa	a	ni:
Lex. Entries	siṭa	ṭa	θeɪχija	^h moʔpa	a	ni:
Lex. Gloss	proper name	ERG	mango	ripe	3SG	to eat
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	adj	pro	v

Word Gloss	proper name	nom	mango	ripe	he	to eat
Word Cat.	N	prt	n	adj	3SG	v

Sita is eating a ripe mango

7

Word	ram	ʔa	ip ^h ô	a	^h ri:
Morphemes	ram	ʔa	ip ^h ô	a	^h ri:
Lex. Entries	ram	ʔa	ip ^h ô	a	^h ri:
Lex. Gloss	n	ERG	mango	3SG	to cut
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	pro	3SG	v
Word Gloss	ram	prt	noun	he	to cut
Word Cat.	n	nom	n	pro	v

Ram cut the mango

8

Word	ram	ʔa	rorɔ	a	^h ri:
Morphemes	ram	ʔa	rorɔ	a	^h ri:
Lex. Entries	ram	ʔa	rorɔ	a	^h ri:
Lex. Gloss	n	ERG	mango	3SG	to cut
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	pro	3SG	v
Word Gloss	ram	prt	noun	he	to cut
Word Cat.	n	nom	n	pro	v

Ram cut the mango

9

Word	ram	ʔa	θeiχija	a	^h ri:
Morphemes	ram	ʔa	θeiχija	a	^h ri:
Lex. Entries	ram	ʔa	θeiχija	a	^h ri:
Lex. Gloss	n	ERG	mango	3SG	to cut
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	pro	3SG	v
Word Gloss	ram	prt	noun	he	to cut
Word Cat.	n	nom	n	pro	v

Ram cut the mango

10

Word	hoʃinaʔzy	ʔa	ip ^h ô	caizô	ʔa	a	^h ri:
Morphemes	hoʃinaʔzy	ʔa	ip ^h ô	caizô	ʔa	a	^h ri:
Lex. Entries	hoʃinaʔzy	ʔa	ip ^h ô	caizô	ʔa	a	^h ri:
Lex. Gloss	children	ERG	mango	knife		3PL	to cut
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	n	prt	3PL	v
Word Gloss	children	ERG	mango	knife		3PL	to cut
Word Cat.	n	nom	n	n		pro	v

Children cut the mango by knife

11

Word	hoʃinaʔzy	ʔa	roro	caizô	ʔa	a	^h ri:
Morphemes	hoʃinaʔzy	ʔa	roro	caizô	ʔa	a	^h ri:
Lex. Entries	hoʃinaʔzy	ʔa	roro	caizô	ʔa	a	^h ri:
Lex. Gloss	children	ERG	mango	knife		3PL	to cut
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	n	prt	3PL	v
Word Gloss	children	ERG	mango	knife		3PL	to cut
Word Cat.	n	nom	n	n		pro	v

Children cut the mango by knife

12

Word	hoʃinaʔzy	ʔa	θeiχjja	caizô	ʔa	ama	^h ri:
Morphemes	hoʃinaʔzy	ʔa	roro	caizô	ʔa	a	^h ri:
Lex. Entries	hoʃinaʔzy	ʔa	roro	caizô	ʔa	a	^h ri:
Lex. Gloss	children	ERG	mango	knife		3PL	to cut
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	n	prt	3PL	v
Word Gloss	children	ERG	mango	knife		3PL	to cut
Word Cat.	n	nom	n	n		pro	v

Children cut the mango by knife

13

Word	Rizwan	a	ku	â	ca	â	ip ^h ô	a	^h ri:	nôʔa
Morphemes	rizwan	a	ku	â	ca	â	ip ^h ô	a	^h ri:	nôʔa

Lex. Entries	rizwan	a	ku	â	ca	â	ip ^h ô	a	^h ri:	nôṭa	
Lex. Gloss	Rizwan	POSS	finger	3SG	Acc	3SG	mango	3SG	to cut	while	
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	pro	Case	pro	n	pro	v	Interj	
Word Gloss	Rizwan	prt	finger	his	case	his	n	pro	v	interj	
Word Cat.	n	prt	n	pro	v	prt	pro	n	pro	v	interj

Rizwan cut his fingers while cutting the mango

14

Word	Rizwan	a	ku	â	ca	â	roro	a	^h ri:	nôṭa	
Morphemes	rizwan	a	ku	â	ca	â	roro	a	^h ri:	nôṭa	
Lex. Entries	rizwan	a	ku	â	ca	â	roro	a	^h ri:	nôṭa	
Lex. Gloss	Rizwan	POSS	finger	3SG	Acc	3SG	mango	3SG	to cut	while	
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	pro	Case	pro	n	pro	v	Interj	
Word Gloss	Rizwan	prt	finger	his	case	his	n	pro	v	interj	
Word Cat.	n	prt	n	pro	v	prt	pro	n	pro	v	interj

Rizwan cut his fingers while cutting the mango

15

Word	Rizwan	a	ku	â	ca	â	ṯeijjja	a	^h ri:	nôṭa	
Morphemes	rizwan	a	ku	â	ca	â	ṯeijjja	a	^h ri:	nôṭa	
Lex. Entries	rizwan	a	ku	â	ca	â	ṯeijjja	a	^h ri:	nôṭa	
Lex. Gloss	Rizwan	POSS	finger	3SG	Acc	3SG	mango	3SG	to cut	while	
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	pro	Case	pro	n	pro	v	Interj	
Word Gloss	Rizwan	prt	finger	his	case	his	n	pro	v	interj	
Word Cat.	n	prt	n	pro	v	prt	pro	n	pro	v	interj

Rizwan cut his fingers while cutting the mango

16

Word	ruṯ	ṭa	bəs	liaṭa	ip ^h ô	a	ni:			
Morphemes	ruṯ	ṭa	bəs	liaṭa	ip ^h ô	a	ni:			
Lex. Entries	ruṯ	ṭa	bəs	liaṭa	ip ^h ô	a	ni:			
Lex. Gloss	Ruth	ERG	bus	in	mango	3SG	ate			
Lex. Gram. Info	n	PRT	n	prep	n	pro	v			

Word Gloss	Ruth	ERG	bus	in	mango	3SG	ate
Word Cat.	n	PRT	n	prep	n	pro	v

‘Ruth ate the mango in the bus’

17

Word	ruθ	ʔa	bəs	liʔa	rərə	a	ni:
Morphemes	ruθ	ʔa	bəs	liʔa	rərə	a	ni:
Lex. Entries	ruθ	ʔa	bəs	liʔa	rərə	a	ni:
Lex. Gloss	Ruth	ERG	bus	in	mango	3SG	ate
Lex. Gram. Info	n	PRT	n	prep	n	pro	v
Word Gloss	Ruth	ERG	bus	in	mango	3SG	ate
Word Cat.	n	PRT	n	prep	n	pro	v

Ruth ate the mango in the bus

18

Word	ruθ	ʔa	bəs	liʔa	t ^h eiχjja	a	ni:
Morphemes	ruθ	ʔa	bəs	liʔa	t ^h eiχjja	a	ni:
Lex. Entries	ruθ	ʔa	bəs	liʔa	t ^h eiχjja	a	ni:
Lex. Gloss	Ruth	ERG	bus	in	mango	3SG	ate
Lex. Gram. Info	n	PRT	n	prep	n	pro	v
Word Gloss	Ruth	ERG	bus	in	mango	3SG	ate
Word Cat.	n	PRT	n	prep	n	pro	v

Ruth ate the mango in the bus

19

Word	səlma	ʔa	aʔəmy	ip ^h ō		a	ni:
Morphemes	səlma	ʔa	aʔəmy	ip ^h ō		a	ni:
Lex. Entries	səlma	ʔa	aʔəmy	ip ^h ō		a	ni:
Lex. Gloss	salma	ERG	herself		mango	3SG	to eat
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	pro		n	pro	v
Word Gloss	salma	Nom	herself		mango	she	eat
Word Cat.	n	prt	pro		n	3SG	v

Salma ate the mango by herself

20

Word	səlma	ʔa	aʔəmy	rorə	a	ni:
Morphemes	səlma	ʔa	aʔəmy	rorə	a	ni:
Lex. Entries	səlma	ʔa	aʔəmy	rorə	a	ni:
Lex. Gloss	salma	ERG	herself	mango	3SG	to eat
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	pro	n	pro	v
Word Gloss	salma	Nom	herself	mango	she	eat
Word Cat.	n	prt	pro	n	3SG	v

Salma ate the mango by herself

21

Word	səlma	ʔa	aʔəmy	t ^h eiχija	a	ni:
Morphemes	səlma	ʔa	aʔəmy	t ^h eiχija	a	ni:
Lex. Entries	səlma	ʔa	aʔəmy	t ^h eiχija	a	ni:
Lex. Gloss	salma	ERG	herself	mango	3SG	to eat
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	pro	n	pro	v
Word Gloss	salma	Nom	herself	mango	she	eat
Word Cat.	n	prt	pro	n	3SG	v

Salma ate the mango by herself

22

Word	həʔi	ʔa	ləθləʔpa	zyɖua	a	ni:	
Morphemes	həʔi	ʔa	ləθləʔpa	zyɖua	a	ni:	
Lex. Entries	həʔi	ʔa	ləθləʔpa	zyɖua	a	ni:	
Lex. Gloss	child	ERG	sweets	all	3SG	to eat	
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	Quant	pro	v	
Word Gloss	child	ERG	sweets	all	3SG	to eat	
Word Cat.		n	prt	n	Quant	pro	v

The child ate up all the sweets

23

Word	siku	kiaʔ	vəna
Morphemes	siku	kiaʔ	vəna

Lex. Entries	siku	kia?	vəna
Lex. Gloss	siku	to go (to school)	Neg.
Lex. Gram. Info	n	v	Neg. marker
Word Gloss	school	to go	don't
Word Cat.	N	v	Neg.

I don't go to school

24

Word	mylâ	Jaipur	la	eima	si:	vəna
Morphemes	mylâ	Jaipur	la	eima	si:	vəna
Lex. Entries	mylâ	Jaipur	la	eima	si:	vəna
Lex. Gloss	tomorrow	Jaipur	to	we	go	neg
Lex. Gram. Info	adv	prop. Noun	Prep	3SG	v	Neg.
Word Gloss	tomorrow	Jaipur	to	we	to go	didnot
Word Cat.	adv	n	Prep	Pro	v	neg

We will not go to Jaipur tomorrow

25

Word	zâ?nia	siku	kia?	vəna
Morphemes	zâ?nia	siku	to go	Neg. Marker
Lex. Entries	zâ?nia	siku	kia?	vəna
Lex. Gloss	yesterday	school	to go	did not
Lex. Gram. Info	adv	n	v	neg. marker
Word Gloss	yesterday	school	to go	did not
Word Cat.	adv	n	v	neg. Marker

I did not go to school yesterday

26

Word	həʃi	ʃa	a	si:ʃənô	pazei	vei	ʃa
Morphemes	həʃi	ʃa	a	si:ʃənô	pazei	vei	ʃa
Lex. Entries	həʃi	ʃa	a	si:ʃənô	pazei	vei	ʃa
Lex. Gloss	child	ERG	3SG	sister	to hit	Neg	pst
Lex. Gram. Info	n	Nom	pro	n	v	Neg	past

Word Gloss	child	ERG	his	sister	to hit	past tense marker			
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Word Cat.	n	dem	3SG	n	v	v			
-----------	---	-----	-----	---	---	---	--	--	--

The child did not hit his sister

27

Word	c ^h â	əmə	culeipa	vâṭa	ezâ?	na	əma	hlao	ac ^h â
------	------------------	-----	---------	------	------	----	-----	------	-------------------

Morphemes	c ^h â	əmə	culeipa	vâṭa	ezâ?	na	əma	hlao	ac ^h â
-----------	------------------	-----	---------	------	------	----	-----	------	-------------------

Lex. Entries	c ^h â	əmə	culeipa	vâṭa	ezâ?	na	əma	hlao	ac ^h â
--------------	------------------	-----	---------	------	------	----	-----	------	-------------------

Lex. Gloss	because they		to study	neg	exam	3PL	to fail	sent. marker	
------------	--------------	--	----------	-----	------	-----	---------	--------------	--

Lex. Gram. Info	conn	pro	v	neg.		n	pro	v	
-----------------	------	-----	---	------	--	---	-----	---	--

Word Gloss	because they		to study neg	you	3PL	to fail	prt		
------------	--------------	--	--------------	-----	-----	---------	-----	--	--

Word Cat.	conn	pro	v	neg.		n	pro	v	
-----------	------	-----	---	------	--	---	-----	---	--

Because they did not study they failed in the exam

28

Word	kei	nô	naṭa	ei	si:ṭənô		c ^h ə	avy	vei
------	-----	----	------	----	---------	--	------------------	-----	-----

Morphemes	kei	nô	naṭa	ei	si:ṭənô		c ^h ə	avy	vei
-----------	-----	----	------	----	---------	--	------------------	-----	-----

Lex. Entries	kei	nô	naṭa	ei	si:ṭənô		c ^h ə	avy	vei
--------------	-----	----	------	----	---------	--	------------------	-----	-----

Lex. Gloss	my	mother	neg.	my	sister		part	to come	neg
------------	----	--------	------	----	--------	--	------	---------	-----

Lex. Gram.	Poss	n	conj	n	Poss	sister	prt	to come	DECL
------------	------	---	------	---	------	--------	-----	---------	------

Word Gloss	mother	part	neg	my	sister		prt	come	neg
------------	--------	------	-----	----	--------	--	-----	------	-----

Word Cat.n	Poss	n	conj	n	Poss	sister	prt	to come	DECL
------------	------	---	------	---	------	--------	-----	---------	------

Neither my mother came nor my sister (from brother side)

29

Word	kei	nô	naṭa	ei	narônô		c ^h ə	avy	vei
------	-----	----	------	----	--------	--	------------------	-----	-----

Morphemes	kei	nô	naṭa	ei	narônô		c ^h ə	avy	vei
-----------	-----	----	------	----	--------	--	------------------	-----	-----

Lex. Entries	kei	nô	naṭa	ei	narônô		c ^h ə	avy	vei
--------------	-----	----	------	----	--------	--	------------------	-----	-----

Lex. Gloss	my	mother	neg.	my	sister		part	to come	neg
------------	----	--------	------	----	--------	--	------	---------	-----

Lex. Gram.	Poss	n	conj	n	Poss	sister	prt	to come	DECL
------------	------	---	------	---	------	--------	-----	---------	------

Word Gloss	mother	part	neg	my	sister		prt	come	neg
------------	--------	------	-----	----	--------	--	-----	------	-----

Word Cat.n	Poss	n	conj	n	Poss	sister	prt	to come	DECL
------------	------	---	------	---	------	--------	-----	---------	------

Neither my mother came nor my sister (from sister side)

30

Word	məsiaʔt̪ɔʔpa	θi	ma	vei
Morphemes	məsiaʔt̪ɔʔpa	θi	ma	vei
Lex. Entries	məsiaʔt̪ɔʔpa	θi	ma	vei
Lex. Gloss	old elephant	die	pst	neg
Lex. Gram. Info	adj n	v	pst	neg
Word Gloss	old elephant	die	pst	neg
Word Cat.	adj n	v	pst	neg

The old elephant did not die

31

Word	ɲia	avɔ	t̪yʔ
Morphemes	ɲia	avɔ	t̪yʔ
Lex. Entries	ɲia	avɔ	t̪yʔ
Lex. Gloss	inside	come	IMP
Lex. Gram. Info	prep	v	imp
Word Gloss	inside	come	IMP
Word Cat.	prep	v	imp

Come in

32

Word	ɲia	avɔ	kʰa
Morphemes	ɲia	avɔ	kʰa
Lex. Entries	ɲia	avɔ	kʰa
Lex. Gloss	inside	come	IMP neg
Lex. Gram. Info	prep	v	imp neg
Word Gloss	inside	come	IMP neg
Word Cat.	prep	v	imp neg

Do not come in

33

Word	ɲiacʰieʈa	avɔt̪yʔ	t̪yʔ
Morphemes	ɲiacʰieʈa	avɔt̪yʔ	t̪yʔ

Lex. Entries	ηiac ^h ieṭa	avəṭyu?	ṭy?
Lex. Gloss	ηiac ^h ieṭa	avəṭyu?	ṭy?
Lex. Gram. Info	interj	sit	IMP
Word Gloss	please	sit	IMP
Word Cat.	interj	sit	IMP

Please sit down

34

Word	ṭyu?
Morphemes	ṭyu?
Lex. Entries	ṭyu?
Lex. Gloss	sit down
Lex. Gram. Info	v
Word Gloss	sit down
Word Cat.	v

Sit/ Sit down

35

Word	aṅja	pasai	leipa	câ
Morphemes	aṅja	pasai	leipa	câ
Lex. Entries	aṅja	pasai	leipa	câ
Lex. Gloss	admission	allowed	neg	Decl
Lex. Gram. Info	n	v	neg	Decl
Word Gloss	admission	allowed	neg	Decl
Word Cat.	n	v	neg	Decl

Admission is prohibited

36

Word	və
Morphemes	və
Lex. Entries	və
Lex. Gloss	get lost
Lex. Gram. Info	v

Word Gloss get lost

Word Cat. v

Get lost

37

Word lei tyʔ

Morphemes lei tyʔ

Lex. Entries lei tyʔ

Lex. Gloss get lost Imp

Lex. Gram. Info v imp

Word Gloss get lost Imp

Word Cat. lei lei

Get lost

38

Word lθlθʔpa eima pi: lei χia ciʔa ei ca ɔ

Morphemes lθlθʔpa eima pi: lei χia ciʔa ei ca ɔ

Lex. Entries lθlθʔpa eima pi: lei χia ciʔa ei ca ɔ

Lex. Gloss sweets to me to give neg if to cry I acc Decl

Lex. Gram. Info n pro v neg interj v I acc Decl

Word Gloss sweets to me to give neg if to cry I acc Decl

Word Cat. n pro v neg interj v I acc Decl

If you don't give me the sweets, I will cry

39

Word imə pəzei ɔ ci χia ciʔa ei ca ɔ

Morphemes imə pəzei ɔ ci χia ciʔa ei ca ɔ

Lex. Entries imə pəzei ɔ ci χia ciʔa ei ca ɔ

Lex. Gloss to me to beat Decl prt if to cry I acc Decl

Lex. Gram. Info pro v Decl prt cond. v I acc Decl

Word Gloss to me to beat Decl prt if to cry I acc Decl

Word Cat. pro v Decl prt cond. v I acc Decl

If you will hit me, I will cry

40

Word	avɪ	poʔo	via	səla	capap ^h aopa a	^h mo	^h mâ	ɔpa	caʔa	
Morphemes	avɪ	poʔo	via	səla	capap ^h aopa a	^h mo	^h mâ	ɔpa	caʔa	
Lex. Entries	avɪ	poʔo	via	səla	capap ^h aopa a	^h mo	^h mâ	ɔpa	caʔa	
Lex. Gloss	come	early	if	then	letter	3SG	see	certainly3SG	Decl	
Lex. Gram. Info	v	adv	interj	conn	n	pro	I	adv	pro	Decl
Word Gloss	come	early	if	then	letter	3SG	see	certainly3SG	Decl	
Word Cat.	v	adv	interj	conn	n	pro	I	adv	pro	Decl

If he had come earlier, he would have certainly seen the letter

41

Word	na	hia ^h ri	səla	ca	θali	zyɖua	ei	c ^h o	ɔʔpa	caʔa
Morphemes	na	hia ^h ri	səla	ca	θali	zyɖua	ei	c ^h o	ɔʔpa	caʔa
Lex. Entries	na	hia ^h ri	səla	ca	θali	zyɖua	ei	c ^h o	ɔʔpa	caʔa
Lex. Gloss	to me	ask	then	acc	story	whole	I	tell	3SG	Decl
Lex. Gram. Info	pro	v	interj	case	n	adj	pro	v	pro	Decl
Word Gloss	to me	ask	then	acc	story	whole	I	tell	3SG	Decl
Word Cat.	pro	v	interj	case	n	adj	pro	v	pro	Decl

If he asks me, I will tell the whole story

42

Word	avɪ	t ^h ei	ɔpa	aca	χia	avɪ	ɔpa ca
Morphemes	avɪ	t ^h ei	ɔpa	aca	χia	avɪ	ɔpa ca
Lex. Entries	avɪ	t ^h ei	ɔpa	aca	χia	avɪ	ɔpa ca
Lex. Gloss	come	can	he	if	then	come	he Decl
Lex. Gram. Info	v	v	pro	if	prt	v	pro Decl
Word Gloss	come	can	he	if	then	come	he Decl
Word Cat.	v	v	pro	if	prt	v	pro Decl

If he can come, then he should

43

Word	ram	naʔa	siʔa	noʔθlɔʔaʔpa	moʔ	ɔpaʔa	əma	pua
Morphemes	ram	naʔa	siʔa	noʔθlɔʔaʔpa	moʔ	ɔpaʔa	əma	pua

Lex. Entries	ram	naṭa	siṭa	noʔθlɛṭaʔpa	moʔ	ɔpaṭa	əma	pua
Lex. Gloss	ram	and	sita	movie	to see	both	3PL	to go
Lex. Gram. Info	n	conj	n	n	v	adv	pro	v
Word Gloss	ram	and	sita	movie	to see	both	3PL	to go
Word Cat	n	conj	n	n	v	adv	pro	v

Ram and Sita both went to watch the movie

44

Word	hoṭinaʔzyṭa	ṭi	ni:	eiṭa	əma	ḍoʔ
Morphemes	hoṭinaʔzyṭa	ṭi	ni:	eiṭa	əma	ḍoʔ
Lex. Entries	hoṭinaʔzyṭa	ṭi	ni:	eiṭa	əma	ḍoʔ
Lex. Gloss	children	water	eat	together	they	to drink
Lex. Gram. Info	n	n	v	adv	pro	v
Word Gloss	children	water	eat	together	they	to drink
Word Cat.	n	n	v	adv	pro	v

Children ate and drank cold water

45

Word	mary	ca	ch ^h iθai	koṭa	ḍeikua	a	nōca	h ^h rozi:	p ^h a	vei
Morphemes	mary	ca	ch ^h iθai	koṭa	ḍeikua	a	nōca	h ^h rozi:	p ^h a	vei
Lex. Entries	mary	ca	ch ^h iθai	koṭa	ḍeikua	a	nōca	h ^h rozi:	p ^h a	vei
Lex. Gloss	mary	acc	beautiful	very much	but	3SG	behaviour	manner	well	neg
Lex. Gram. Info	n	v	adj	adj	conn	pro	n	n	adj	neg
Word Gloss	mary	acc	beautiful	very much	but	3SG	behaviour	manner	well	neg
Word Cat.	n	v	adj	adj	conn	pro	n	n	adj	neg.

Mary is beautiful but ill-natured

46

Word	sohail	ṭa	boo	ṭa	ḍeikua	reshma	ṭa	boo	vei
Morphemes	sohail	ṭa	boo	ṭa	ḍeikua	reshma	ṭa	boo	vei
Lex. Entries	sohail	ṭa	boo	ṭa	ḍeikua	reshma	ṭa	boo	vei
Lex. Gloss	sohail	ERG	help	ERG	but	reshma	ERG	help	neg
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	ERG	conn	pro	prt	n	neg

Word Gloss	sohail	ERG	help	ERG	but	reshma	ERG	help	neg	
Word Cat.	n	v	adj	adj	conn	pro	n	n	adj	neg

Sohail will help but not Reshma

47

Word	zaʔnia	noʔθlɔʔpa	moʔ	alopaʔa	eima	pua
Morphemes	zaʔnia	noʔθlɔʔpa	moʔ	alopaʔa	eima	pua
Lex. Entries	zaʔnia	noʔθlɔʔpa	moʔ	alopaʔa	eima	pua
Lex. Gloss	yesterday	movie	see	together	3PL	walk
Lex. Gram. Info	adv	n	v	adv	pro	v
Word Gloss	yesterday	movie	see	together	3PL	walk
Word Cat.v	adv	n	v	adv	pro	v

Yesterday we had gone to see the movie

48

Word	vɔba	ei	si
Morphemes	vɔba	ei	si
Lex. Entries	vɔba	ei	si
Lex. Gloss	now	us	go
Lex. Gram. Info	adv	pro	v
Word Gloss	now	us	go
Word Cat.	adv	pro	v

let us go now (-addressee)

49

Word	ʃi:na	eima	ʔyʔ	a	pei	ɖala
Morphemes	ʃi:na	eima	ʔyʔ	a	pei	ɖala
Lex. Entries	ʃi:na	eima	ʔyʔ	a	pei	ɖala
Lex. Gloss	punishment	us	IMP	3SG	bad	how
Lex. Gram. Info	n	pro	IMP	pro	adj	Interj
Word Gloss	punishment	us	IMP	3SG	bad	how
Word Cat.	n	pro	IMP	pro	adj	Interj

We got punishment, how bad! (-addressee)

50

Word	na	mooʔ	ahʏʔ
Morphemes	na	mooʔ	ahʏʔ
Lex. Entries	na	mooʔ	ahʏʔ
Lex. Gloss	your	name	Qst.
Lex. Gram. Info	pro	n	Qst.
Word Gloss	your	name	Qst.
Word Cat.	pro	n	Qst

what is your name?

51

Word	χəʔaiʔ	ʔja	na	ʏ
Morphemes	χəʔaiʔ	ʔja	na	ʏ
Lex. Entries	χəʔaiʔ	ʔja	na	ʏ
Lex. Gloss	where	stay	you	to be
Lex. Gram. Info	adv	v	pro	v
Word Gloss	where	stay	question	marker
Word Cat.	adv	v	pro	v

where do you stay?

52

Word	na	ʔla	ma
Morphemes	na	ʔla	ma
Lex. Entries	na	ʔla	ma
Lex. Gloss	you	how	Qst
Lex. Gram. Info	pro	adv	prt
Word Gloss	you	how	Qst
Word Cat.	pro	adv	prt

how are you?

53

Word	χaʔi	na	ʔi	o
Morphemes	χaʔi	na	ʔi	o

Lex. Entries	χαῖτι	na	ḍi	o
Lex. Gloss	where	you	go	home
Lex. Gram. Info	χαῖτι	na	ḍi	n
Word Gloss	when	you	go	home
Word Cat.	adv	pro	v	n

When are you going home?

54

Word	χαῖτι	na	si	o
Morphemes	χαῖτι	na	si	o
Lex. Entries	χαῖτι	na	si	o
Lex. Gloss	where	you	go	home
Lex. Gram. Info	χαῖτι	na	ḍi	n
Word Gloss	when	you	go	home
Word Cat.	adv	pro	v	n

When are you going home?

55

Word	Delhi	la	χəzia	ma	nə	si:
Morphemes	Delhi	la	χəzia	ma	nə	si:
Lex. Entries	Delhi	la	χəzia	ma	nə	si:
Lex. Gloss	Delhi	at	why	QST	you	go
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prep	Interr	prt	pro	v
Word Gloss	Delhi	at	why	QST	you	go
Word Cat.	n	prep	Interr	prt	pro	v

Why are you going to Delhi?

56

Word	ahv?ma	a	câ
Morphemes	ahv?ma	a	câ
Lex. Entries	ahv?ma	a	câ
Lex. Gloss	who	3SG	QST
Lex. Gram. Info	who	3SG	QST

Word Gloss	who	3SG	QST
------------	-----	-----	-----

Word Cat.	who	3SG	QST
-----------	-----	-----	-----

Who is he/she?

57

Word	χəzi:	hlo
------	-------	-----

Morphemes	χəzi:	hlo
-----------	-------	-----

Lex. Entries	χəzi:	hlo
--------------	-------	-----

Lex. Gloss	how much	money
------------	----------	-------

Lex. Gram. Info	Quant	n
-----------------	-------	---

Word Gloss	how much	money
------------	----------	-------

How much did you get?

58

Word	na	ni:	mâ	ma
------	----	-----	----	----

Morphemes	na	ni:	mâ	ma
-----------	----	-----	----	----

Lex. Entries	na	ni:	mâ	ma
--------------	----	-----	----	----

Lex. Gloss	you	eat	past	QST
------------	-----	-----	------	-----

Lex. Gram. Info	pro	v	past	QST
-----------------	-----	---	------	-----

Word Gloss	you	eat	past	QST
------------	-----	-----	------	-----

Word Cat.	pro	v	past	QST
-----------	-----	---	------	-----

Have you eaten?

59

Word	myla	avY	sa
------	------	-----	----

Morphemes	myla	avY	sa
-----------	------	-----	----

Lex. Entries	myla	avY	sa
--------------	------	-----	----

Lex. Gloss	tomorrow	come	QST
------------	----------	------	-----

Lex. Gram. Info	adv	v	QST
-----------------	-----	---	-----

Word Gloss	tomorrow	come	QST
------------	----------	------	-----

Word Cat	adv	v	QST
----------	-----	---	-----

Shall i come tomorrow

60

Word	αἴθρο?	κά?να	χα	na	ḥmô
Morphemes	αἴθρο?	κά?να	χα	na	ḥmô
Lex. Entries	αἴθρο?	κά?να	χα	na	ḥmô
Lex. Gloss	today	newspaper	DAT	you	see
Lex. Gram. Info	adv	n	prt	pro	v
Word Gloss	today	newspaper	DAT	you	see
Word Cat.	adv	n	prt	pro	v

Did you see the papers today?

61

Word	αυ	λιαῖα	bei	cʰo?	ῶμα
Morphemes	αυ	λιαῖα	bei	cʰo?	ῶμα
Lex. Entries	αυ	λιαῖα	bei	cʰo?	ῶμα
Lex. Gloss	home	at	food to cook	QST	
Lex. Gram.	n	prep	n	v	
Word Gloss	home	at	food to cook	QST	
Word Cat.	n	prep	n	v	prt

Will you be cooking today at home?

62

Word	χαπα	ma	na	pacâ	səla	mapa	ɲiasa
Morphemes	χαπα	ma	na	pacâ	səla	mapa	ɲiasa
Lex. Entries	χαπα	ma	na	pacâ	səla	mapa	ɲiasa
Lex. Gloss	what	QST	you	think	that	he	wonder
Lex. Gram. Info	QST	prt	you	v	conj	3SG	v
Word Gloss	what	QST	you	think	that	he	wonder
Word Cat.	QST	prt	you	v	conj	3SG	v

What do you think he was thinking?

63

Word	ahv	hema	na	unaupa
Morphemes	ahv	hema	na	unaupa
Lex. Entries	ahv	hema	na	unaupa

Lex. Gloss which amongst your brother

Lex. Gram. Info qst poss n

Word Gloss which amongst your brother

Word Cat. qst poss n

Which one is your brother? (boy asking)

64

Word ahv hema na rilapa

Morphemes ahv hema na rilapa

Lex. Entries ahv hema na rilapa

Lex. Gloss which amongst your brother

Lex. Gram. Info qst poss n

Word Gloss which amongst your brother

Word Cat. qst poss n

Which one is your brother? (girl asking)

65

Word hɔʔipa a pasapa χα zaʔnia ə θi hɔ

Morphemes hɔʔipa a pasapa χα zaʔnia ə θi hɔ

Lex. Entries hɔʔipa a pasapa χα zaʔnia ə θi hɔ

Lex. Gloss boy 3SG fever DAT yesterday 3SG die PST

Lex. Gram. Inf n 3SG n case adv pro v PST

Word Gloss boy 3SG fever DAT yesterday 3SG die PST

Word Cat. n 3SG n case adv pro v PST

The boy who had fever died yesterday

66

Word hɔʔipa θlala a pakeituʔpa χα ɔtyʔ

Morphemes hɔʔipa θlala a pakeituʔpa χα ɔtyʔ

Lex. Entries hɔʔipa θlala a pakeituʔpa χα ɔtyʔ

Lex. Gloss boy glass 3SG to break DAT to call

Lex. Gram. Info n n pro v case v

Word Gloss boy glass 3SG to break DAT to call

Word Cat. n n pro v case v

Call the boy who broke the glass

67

Word	zaxaniata	hoŋipa	θlala	pakeitupa	χα	otv?
Morphemes	zaxaniata	hoŋipa	θlala	pakeitupa	χα	otv?
Lex. Entries	zaxaniata	hoŋipa	θlala	pakeitupa	χα	otv?
Lex. Gloss	day before yesterday	boy	glass	to break	DAT	to call
Lex. Gram. Info	adv	n	n	v	case	v
Word Gloss	day before yesterday	boy	glass	to break	DAT	to call
Word Cat.	adv	n	n	v	case	v

Call the boy who broke the glass day before yesterday

68

Word	θoocia?	t ^h eipa	θv	te?
Morphemes	θoocia?	t ^h eipa	θv	te?
Lex. Entries	θoocia?	t ^h eipa	θv	te?
Lex. Gloss	broken	branch	to throw	imp
Lex. Gram. Info	adv	n	v	prt
Word Gloss	broken	branch	to throw	imp
Word Cat.	adv	n	v	prt

Throw away the broken branch

69

Word	azy	caolami	^h neileipa	ca	c ^h i:	kɔ
Morphemes	azy	caolami	^h neileipa	ca	c ^h i:	kɔ
Lex. Entries	azy	caolami	^h neileipa	ca	c ^h i:	kɔ
Lex. Gloss	monkey	tail	to not have	acc	nuisanceDecl	
Lex. Gram. Info	n	n	v	case	n	prt
Word Gloss	monkey	tail	to not have	acc	nuisanceDecl	
Word Cat.	n	n	v	case	n	prt

The tail cut monkey was a nuisance

70

Word	lak ^h u	θuaχai	liaṭa	abai ^h pa	ca	a	ṭla
Morphemes	lak ^h u	θuaχai	liaṭa	abai ^h pa	ca	a	ṭla
Lex. Entries	lak ^h u	θuaχai	liaṭa	abai ^h pa	ca	a	ṭla
Lex. Gloss	cap	nail	loc	hung	acc	3SG	fall
Lex. Gram. Info	n	n		v	case	n	v
Word Gloss	cap	nail	loc	hung	acc	3SG	fall
Word Cat.	n	n		v	case	n	v

The cap which was hung on the nail, fell

71

Word	həṭi	ṭlaleipa	θi	hə
Morphemes	həṭi	ṭlaleipa	θi	hə
Lex. Entries	həṭi	ṭlaleipa	θi	hə
Lex. Gloss	boy	fevered	die	pst
Lex. Gram. Info	n	adj	v	pst
Word Gloss	boy	fevered	die	pst

The fevered boy died

72

Word	θlala	pakeiṭu?pa	ə	tʏ?
Morphemes	θlala	pakeiṭu?pa	ə	tʏ?
Lex. Entries	θlala	pakeiṭu?pa	ə	tʏ?
Lex. Gloss	glass	breaker	call	IMP
Lex. Gram. Info	n	n	v	prt
Word Gloss	glass	breaker	call	IMP
Word Cat.	n	n	v	prt

Call the glass-breaker boy

73

Word	θəpi	aḍo?fu?pa	ə	tʏ?
Morphemes	θəpi	aḍo?fu?pa	ə	tʏ?
Lex. Entries	θəpi	aḍo?fu?pa	ə	tʏ?
Lex. Gloss	tea	drinker	call	IMP

Lex. Gram. Info	n	n	v	IMP
Word Gloss	tea	drinker	call	IMP
Word Cat.	n	n	v	IMP

Call the tea-drinker boy

74

Word	nəl	abaiʔpa	a	ʈla
Morphemes	nəl	abaiʔpa	a	ʈla
Lex. Entries	nəl	abaiʔpa	a	ʈla
Lex. Gloss	cup	hung	3SG	fell
Lex. Gram. Info	n	v	pro	v
Word Gloss	cup	hung	3SG	fell
Word Cat.	n	v	pro	v

The hung cup fell down

75

Word	həʈi	siapa
Morphemes	həʈi	siapa
Lex. Entries	həʈi	siapa
Lex. Gloss	child	innocent
Lex. Gram. Info	n	adj
Word Gloss	child	innocent

The innocent child

76

Word	həʈi	ɖoopa
Morphemes	həʈi	ɖoopa
Lex. Entries	həʈi	ɖoopa
Lex. Gloss	boy	innocent
Lex. Gram. Info	n	adj
Word Gloss	child	innocent

The innocent child

77

Word	hə̀t̪i	ca	a	doo
Morphemes	hə̀t̪i	ca	a	doo
Lex. Entries	hə̀t̪i	ca	a	doo
Lex. Gloss	child	acc	3SG	innocent
Lex. Gram. Info	n	case	pro	adj
Word Gloss	child	acc	3SG	innocent
Word Cat.	n	case	pro	adj

The child is innocent

78

Word	hə̀t̪i	ca	a	sia
Morphemes	hə̀t̪i	ca	a	sia
Lex. Entries	hə̀t̪i	ca	a	sia
Lex. Gloss	child	acc	3SG	innocent
Lex. Gram. Info	n	case	pro	adj
Word Gloss	child	acc	3SG	innocent
Word Cat.	n	case	pro	adj

The child is innocent

79

Word	nə̀t̪a	sə	lao	a	pi:
Morphemes	nə̀t̪a	sə	lao	a	pi:
Lex. Entries	nə̀t̪a	sə	lao	a	pi:
Lex. Gloss	child	food	solid	3SG	give
Lex. Gram. Info	n	n	adj	Pro	v
Word Gloss	child	food	solid	3SG	give
Word Cat.	n	n	adj	Pro	v

Mother fed the baby

80

Word	nə̀t̪a	a	sə	sapi	a	pi:
Morphemes	nə̀t̪a	a	sə	sapi	a	pi:
Lex. Entries	nə̀t̪a	a	sə	sapi	a	pi:

Lex. Gloss	mother	3SG	food	breast	3SG	give
Lex. Gram. Info	n	pro	n	n	pro	v
Word Gloss	mother	3SG	food	breast	3SG	give
Word Cat.	n	v	n	n	pro	v

Mother fed the baby

81

Word	nôṭa	a	sə	lao	cyʔsa	apa	pi:	sa
Morphemes	nôṭa	a	sə	lao	cyʔsa	apa	pi:	sa
Lex. Entries	nôṭa	a	sə	lao	cyʔsa	apa	pi:	sa
Lex. Gloss	mother	she	food	solid	nurse	to baby	give	made to
Lex. Gram. Info	n	3SG	n	adj	n	n	v	v
Word Gloss	mother	she	food	solid	nurse	to baby	give	made to
Word Cat.	n	3SG	n	adj	n	n	v	v

Mother made the ayaa [nurse] feed the baby

82

Word	ypəpa	ṭa	caʔna	ca	pə	ṭa	apak ^h y	sa
Morphemes	ypəpa	ṭa	caʔna	ca	pə	ṭa	apak ^h y	sa
Lex. Entries	ypəpa	ṭa	caʔna	ca	pə	ṭa	apak ^h y	sa
Lex. Gloss	servant	ERG	paper	DAT	father	ERG	to throw	made to
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	case	n	case	v	v
Word Gloss	servant	ERG	paper	DAT	father	ERG	to throw	made to
Word Cat.	n	prt	n	case	n	case	v	v

Father got all the papers thrown away by the servant

83

Word	ḡila	ṭa	Sita	paṭyu	əpa	ṭa	ratna	a	c ^h o
Morphemes	ḡila	ṭa	Sita	paṭyu	əpa	ṭa	ratna	a	c ^h o
Lex. Entries	ḡila	ṭa	Sita	paṭyu	əpa	ṭa	ratna	a	c ^h o
Lex. Gloss	Sheela	ERG	Sita	to make rise	someone	ERG	Ratna	3SG	to ask
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	v	pro	ERG	n	pro	v
Word Gloss	Sheela	ERG	Sita	to make rise	someone	ERG	Ratna	3SG	to ask

Word Cat. n prt n v pro ERG n pro v

Sheela asked Ratna to make Sita rise

84

Word hyutyuʔpa t̪a hət̪i ca a pacu sa

Morphemes hyutyuʔpa t̪a hət̪i ca a pacu sa

Lex. Entries hyutyuʔpa t̪a hət̪i ca a pacu sa

Lex. Gloss teacher ERG child acc 3SG to made to study

Lex. Gram. Info n pro n case pro v

Word Gloss teacher ERG child acc 3SG to made to study

Word Cat. n pro n case pro v

The teacher made the child study

85

Word forest ofsər t̪a θotaituʔpa θaʊ ə pət̪aisa

Morphemes forest ofsər t̪a θotaituʔpa θaʊ ə pət̪aisa

Lex. Entries forest ofsər t̪a θotaituʔpa θaʊ ə pət̪aisa

Lex. Gloss forest officer ERG woodcutter wood 3SG to make to cut

Lex. Gram. Info n n prt n n pro v

Word Gloss forest officer ERG woodcutter wood 3SG to make to cut

Word Cat n n prt n n pro v

The forest officer is making the wood cutter cut the trees

86

Word θaʊ əma t̪ai

Morphemes θaʊ əma t̪ai

Lex. Entries θaʊ əma t̪ai

Lex. Gloss trees 3PL cut

Lex. Gram. Info n pro v

Word Gloss trees 3PL cut

Word Cat. n pro v

Trees were cut

87

Word	canô	caṭa	ə	nôta	capə	a	pamô	sa
Morphemes	canô	caṭa	ə	nôta	capə	a	pamô	sa
Lex. Entries	canô	caṭa	ə	nôta	capə	a	pamô	sa
Lex. Gloss	sister	ERG	he	younger		brother	3SG	to put to sleep
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	pro	adj		n	pro	v
Word Gloss	sister	ERG	he	younger		brother	3SG	to put to sleep
Word Cat.	n	prt	pro	adj		n	pro	v

The sister is making the little brother sleep

88

Word	radziw	gand ^h i	ca	bomb	ṭa	ṭeipa	a	ca
Morphemes	radziw	gand ^h i	ca	bomb	ṭa	ṭeipa	a	ca
Lex. Entries	radziw	gand ^h i	ca	bomb	ṭa	ṭeipa	a	ca
Lex. Gloss	Rajeev	Gandhi	Acc	bomb	ERG	killed	3SG	Decl
Lex. Gram. Info	n	n	prt	n	prt	v	pro	Decl
Word Gloss	Rajeev	Gandhi	Acc	bomb	ERG	killed	3SG	Decl
Word Cat.	n	n	prt	n	prt	v	pro	Decl

Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a bomb

89

Word	computer	pacuasasəla	raia	^h nei	ha	əʔpa	caṭa
Morphemes	computər	pacuasasəla	raia	^h nei	ha	əʔpa	caṭa
Lex. Entries	computər	pacuasasəla	raia	^h nei	ha	əʔpa	caṭa
Lex. Gloss	computer	made to study	job	to have	pst	to him	Decl
Lex. Gram. Info	n	v	n	v	pst	3SG	Decl
Word Gloss	computer	made to study	job	to have			

If he had made him study computers he would have got the job by now

90

Word	əp ^h aḍa	ei	nôpəʒvṭa	science	pacusa
Morphemes	əp ^h aḍa	ei	nôpəʒvṭa	science	pacusa
Lex. Entries	əp ^h aḍa	ei	nôpəʒvṭa	science	pacusa
Lex. Gloss	alas	my	parents	science	to make to study

Lex. Gram. Info	interj	pro	n	n	v
Word Gloss	alas	my	parents	science	to make to study
Word Cat.	interj	pro	n	n	v

Alas, my parents had made me study science

91

Word	θlələ	byʔ	ei	pakei
Morphemes	θlələ	byʔ	ei	pakei
Lex. Entries	θlələ	byʔ	ei	pakei
Lex. Gloss	glass	bottle	by me	to break
Lex. Gram. Info	n		pro	v
Word Gloss	glass	bottle	by me	to break
Word Cat.	n	n	pro	v

The bottle broke (by me)

92

Word	səðərn	india	liɑʔɑ	c ^h oʊ	sap ^h a	əma	ni:	ʃo
Morphemes	səðərn	india	liɑʔɑ	c ^h oʊ	sap ^h a	əma	ni:	ʃo
Lex. Entries	səðərn	india	liɑʔɑ	c ^h oʊ	sap ^h a	əma	ni:	ʃo
Lex. Gloss	southern	India	loc	rice	cooked 3PL	to eat	just	
Lex. Gram. Info	adj	n	prt	n	adj	pro	v	adv
Word Gloss	southern	India	loc	rice	cooked 3PL	to eat	just	

Rice is eaten in Southern India

93

Word	canô	ca	ʒania	ʒoʊ	paʔpaʔɣipa	a	ca
Morphemes	canô	ca	ʒania	ʒoʊ	paʔpaʔɣipa	a	ca
Lex. Entries	canô	ca	ʒania	ʒoʊ	paʔpaʔɣipa	a	ca
Lex. Gloss	girl	acc	night	last	to get raped	3SG	Decl
Lex. Gram. Info	n	case	n	adj	v	pro	Decl
Word Gloss	girl	acc	night	last	to get raped	3SG	Decl
Word Cat.	n	case	n	adj	v	pro	Decl

A girl was raped last night

94

Word	mooleipana?	ṭa	eima	pazei	ei
Morphemes	mooleipana?	ṭa	eima	pazei	ei
Lex. Entries	mooleipana?	ṭa	eima	pazei	ei
Lex. Gloss	hooligans	ERG	to me	to beat	Decl
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	pro	v	prt
Word Gloss	hooligans	ERG	to me	to beat	Decl
Word Cat.	n	prt	pro	v	prt

I was beaten fast by the goondas/hooligans

95

Word	həṭi	ṭa	lao	ni:	para	ṭei	vei
Morphemes	həṭi	ṭa	lao	ni:	para	ṭei	vei
Lex. Entries	həṭi	ṭa	lao	ni:	para	ṭei	vei
Lex. Gloss	child	ERG	food	to eat	fast	can	neg
Lex. Gram. Info	n	ERG	n	v	adv	v	neg
Word Gloss	child	ERG	food	to eat	fast	can	neg
Word Cat.	n	ERG	n	v	adv	v	neg

The food cannot be eaten fast by the child

96

Word	əakua	ṭupa	vəṭa	câ	ro	ṭei	vəna
Morphemes	əakua	ṭupa	vəṭa	câ	ro	ṭei	vəna
Lex. Entries	əakua	ṭupa	vəṭa	câ	ro	ṭei	vəna
Lex. Gloss	cold	extreme	because of		to write	can	not
Lex. Gram. Info	n	adj	conn	prep	v	v	neg.
Word Gloss	cold	extreme	because of		to write	can	not
Word Cat.	n	adj	conn	prep	v	v	neg.

Because of cold, writing cannot be done by me

97

Word	həṭipə	ə	palao
Morphemes	həṭipə	ə	palao

Lex. Entries	həʔipɔ	ə	palao
Lex. Gloss	boy	he	playing
Lex. Gram. Info	n	pro	v
Word Gloss	boy	he	playing
Word Cat.	n	pro	v

The boy is playing

98

Word	həʔipɔ	ʔa	bəl	apalao	ʒei
Morphemes	həʔipɔ	ʔa	bəl	apalao	ʒei
Lex. Entries	həʔipɔ	ʔa	bəl	apalao	ʒei
Lex. Gloss	boy	ERG	ball	to play	present continuous
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	v	prt
Word Gloss	ball boy	ERG	ball	to play	present continuous
Word Cat.	n	prt	n	v	prt

The boy is playing with a ball

99

Word	həʔipɔ	ʔa	baʔla	ə	ni:
Morphemes	həʔipɔ	ʔa	baʔla	ə	ni:
Lex. Entries	həʔipɔ	ʔa	baʔla	ə	ni:
Lex. Gloss	boy	ERG	banana 3SG	to eat	
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	pro	v
Word Gloss	boy	ERG	banana 3SG	to eat	
Word Cat.	n	prt	n	pro	v

The boy ate a banana

100

Word	həʔipɔ	apalao	ʔeʔ	ə	p ^h a
Morphemes	həʔipɔ	apalao	ʔeʔ	ə	p ^h a
Lex. Entries	həʔipɔ	apalao	ʔeʔ	ə	p ^h a
Lex. Gloss	play boy	to play	past marker	well 3SG	well
Lex. Gram. Info	n	v	pst	3SG	adv

Word Gloss boy to play past marker well 3SG well

The boy played well

101

Word hɔ̃ɲinoʊ ʔa paʔi ə ni:

Morphemes hɔ̃ɲinoʊ ʔa paʔi ə ni:

Lex. Entries hɔ̃ɲinoʊ ʔa paʔi ə ni:

Lex. Gloss girl ERG meal she to eat

Lex. Gram. Info n prt n pro v

Word Gloss girl ERG meal she to eat

The girl had eaten the meals

102

Word nou ʔa beiʔ a c^ho

Morphemes nou ʔa beiʔ a c^ho

Lex. Entries nou ʔa beiʔ a c^ho

Lex. Gloss mother ERG food 3SG to cook

Lex. Gram. Info n prt n 3SG v

Word Gloss mother ERG food 3SG to cook

Word Cat. n prt n 3SG v

Mother will cook now

103

Word pei ei ʔaʔ

Morphemes pei ei ʔaʔ

Lex. Entries pei ei ʔaʔ

Lex. Gloss sad I ERG

Lex. Gram. Info adj pro prt

Word Gloss sad I ERG

Word Cat. adj pro prt

I am sad

104

Word ram ca a panao

Morphemes	ram	ca	a	panao
Lex. Entries	ram	ca	a	panao
Lex. Gloss	ram	acc	3SG	to be in pain
Lex. Gram. Info	n	case	pro	v
Word Gloss	ram	acc	3SG	to be in pain
Word Cat.	n	case	pro	v

Ram is in pain

105

Word	cabu	χα	la	la	ḡokâ?	côlia	so?	te?
Morphemes	cabu	χα	la	la	ḡokâ?	côlia	so?	te?
Lex. Entries	cabu	χα	la	la	ḡokâ?	côlia	so?	te?
Lex. Gloss	book	dat	take	and	table	on	to keep	IMP
Lex. Gram. Info	n	case	v	conn	n	prep	v	IMP
Word Gloss	book	dat	take	and	table	on	to keep	IMP
Word Cat.	n	case	v	conn	n	prep	v	

Pick up the book and keep it on the table

106

Word	əra	χα	əlao	pi:	ṽe?
Lex. Entries	əra	χα	əlao	pi:	ṽe?
Lex. Gloss	əra	χα	əlao	pi:	ṽe?
Lex. Gram. Info	n	case	n	v	prt
Word Gloss	horse	dat	feed	give	imp

Word Cat.

Give the horse the feed

107

Word	ɲiac ^h uta	cysia	pasu	ṽe?
Morphemes	ɲiac ^h uta	cysia	pasu	ṽe?
Lex. Entries	ɲiac ^h uta	cysia	pasu	ṽe?
Lex. Gloss	please	cloth	to wash	IMP
Lex. Gram. Info	interj	n	v	

Word Gloss please cloth to wash

Word Cat. interj n v

Wash the clothes please

108

Word ram ʔa zania a nô caʔna pap^hou

Morphemes ram ʔa zania a nô caʔna pap^hou

Lex. Entries ram ʔa zania a nô caʔna pap^hou

Lex. Gloss ram ERG yesterday 3SG mother letter to write

Lex. Gram. Info n prt adv pro n n v

Word Gloss ram ERG yesterday 3SG mother letter to write

Word Cat. n prt adv pro n n v

ram wrote a letter to his mother yesterday

109

Word viacaosâpiθupa ca sâʔpiʔi tʔtʔ ʔaopa ə ca

Morphemes viacaosâpiθupa ca sâʔpiʔi tʔtʔ ʔaopa ə ca

Lex. Entries viacaosâpiθupa ca sâʔpiʔi tʔtʔ ʔaopa ə ca

Lex. Gloss curd milk to be made from

Lex. Gram. Info n acc n v v 3SG Decl

Word Gloss curd acc milk to be made from it

Word Cat. n acc n v v 3SG Decl ə ə

Curd is made from milk

110

Word ravən ʔa ram aʃryu χei

Morphemes ravən ʔa ram aʃryu χei

Lex. Entries ravən ʔa ram aʃryu χei

Lex. Gloss ravan ERG ram to fight pre.cont.

Lex. Gram. Info n prt n v

Word Gloss ravan ERG ram to fight pre.cont.

Word Cat. n prt n v

Ravan fought with Ram

111

Word	hənuman	ʈa	ləŋka	caolaʔmei	ə	rɔ
Morphemes	hənuman	ʈa	ləŋka	caolaʔmei	ə	rɔ
Lex. Entries	hənuman	ʈa	ləŋka	caolaʔmei	ə	rɔ
Lex. Gloss	hanuman	ERG	lanka	tail	he	to burn
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prt	n	n	pro	v
Word Gloss	hanuman	ERG	lanka	tail	he	to burn

Hanuman burnt Lanka with his tail

112

Word	cava	nɔʊʈə	θo	ko	ʰnâ	a	zô
Morphemes	cava	nɔʊʈə	θo	ko	ʰnâ	a	zô
Lex. Entries	cava	nɔʊʈə	θo	ko	ʰnâ	a	zô
Lex. Gloss	autumn	during	tree	branches	leaves	3SG	to fall
Lex. Gram. Info	n	adv	n	n	n	pro	v
Word Gloss	autumn	during	tree	branches	leaves	3SG	to fall
Word Cat.	n	adv	n	n	n	pro	v

The leaves fall from trees in autumn

113

Word	ei	səcənô	ca ʈa	sôcyʈana	pi:	ʈeʔ
Morphemes	ei	səcənô	ca ʈa	sôcyʈana	pi:	ʈeʔ
Lex. Entries	ei	səcənô	ca ʈa	sôcyʈana	pi:	ʈeʔ
Lex. Gloss	my	daughter	toward	money	to give	Imp
Lex. Gram. Info	poss	n	prep	n	v	prt
Word Gloss	my	daughter	toward	money	to give	Imp
Word Cat.	poss	n	prep	n	v	prt

Give me some money for my daughter

114

Word	ahyma	o	liaʈa	y	vei	ei
Morphemes	ahyma	o	liaʈa	y	vei	ei
Lex. Entries	ahyma	o	liaʈa	y	vei	ei

Lex. Gloss nobody house loc to be not sent comp.

Lex. Gram. Info pro-form n loc v neg

Word Gloss nobody house loc to be not sent comp

Word Cat. pro-form n loc v neg

Nobody is at home

115

Word ၎်လံာ် ၎် ၎် ho zydila ei calei

Morphemes ၎်လံာ် ၎် ၎် ho zydila ei calei

Lex. Entries ၎်လံာ် ၎် ၎် ho zydila ei calei

Lex. Gloss rupees ERG whole everything i to buy

Lex. Gram. Info n prt adj adj pro v

Word Gloss rupees ERG whole everything i to buy

Word Cat. n prt adj adj pro v

I bought everything in ten rupees

116

Word sadô liaṭe pəpi a pənga

Morphemes sadô liaṭe pəpi a pənga

Lex. Entries sadô liaṭe pəpi a pənga

Lex. Gloss garden loc flowers 3SG to flourish

Lex. Gram. Info n prep n pro v

Word Gloss garden loc flowers 3SG to flourish

Word Cat. n prep n pro v

Flowers are blooming

117

Word ၎်ဝဲ?ka? cō liaṭe cabu a ṽ

Morphemes ၎်ဝဲ?ka? cō liaṭe cabu a ṽ

Lex. Entries ၎်ဝဲ?ka? cō liaṭe cabu a ṽ

Lex. Gloss table on loc book 3SG to be

Lex. Gram. Info n prep loc n pro v

Word Gloss table on loc book 3SG to be

Word Cat. n prep loc n pro v

The book is on the table

118

Word	cabu	ca	θobyʔ	cô	liɑ̃tɛ	sopa	a	ca
Morphemes	cabu	ca	θobyʔ	cô	liɑ̃tɛ	sopa	a	ca
Lex. Entries	cabu	ca	θobyʔ	cô	liɑ̃tɛ	sopa	a	ca
Lex. Gloss	book	acc	box	top of	loc	to keep	3sg	Decl
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prep	loc	n	3sg	v		
Word Gloss	book	acc	box	top of	loc	to keep	3sg	Decl
Word Cat.	n	prep	loc	n	3sg	v		

Books are kept on top of the box

119

Word	cabu	ca	θobyʔ	c ^h ôʔ	liɑ̃tɛ	sopa	a	ca
Morphemes	cabu	ca	θobyʔ	ç ^h ôʔ	liɑ̃tɛ	sopa	a	ca
Lex. Entries	cabu	ca	θobyʔ	ç ^h ôʔ	liɑ̃tɛ	sopa	a	ca
Lex. Gloss	book	acc	box	bottom	loc	to keep	3sg	Decl
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prep	loc	n	3sg	v		
Word Gloss	book	acc	box	bottom	loc	to keep	3sg	Decl
Word Cat.	n	prep	loc	n	3sg	v		

Books are kept at the bottom of the box

120

Word	o	^h nôley	liɑ̃tɛ	saɖô	a	ɣ
Morphemes	o	^h nôley	liɑ̃tɛ	saɖô	a	ɣ
Lex. Entries	o	^h nôley	liɑ̃tɛ	saɖô	a	ɣ
Lex. Gloss	house	behind	loc	garden	it	to be
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prep	loc	n	3sg	v
Word Gloss	house	behind	loc	garden	it	to be
Word Cat.	n	prep	loc	n	3sg	v

There is a garden behind my house

121

Word	o	ʈʌʏʔmia	liɑʈɑ	ip ^h ð	a	ɣ
Morpheme	o	ʈʌʏʔmia	liɑʈɑ	ip ^h ð	a	ɣ
Lex. Entries	o	ʈʌʏʔmia	liɑʈɑ	ip ^h ð	a	ɣ
Lex. Gloss	house	in front of	loc	mango (tree)	3sg	to be
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prep	prt	n	3sg	v
Word Gloss	house	in front of	loc	mango (tree)	3sg	to be
Word Cat.	n	prep	prt	n	3sg	v

There is a mango tree in front of my house

123

Word	o	ʈʌʏʔmia	liɑʈɑ	t ^h eiχʝja	a	ɣ
Morpheme	o	ʈʌʏʔmia	liɑʈɑ	t ^h eiχʝja	a	ɣ
Lex. Entries	o	ʈʌʏʔmia	liɑʈɑ	t ^h eiχʝja	a	ɣ
Lex. Gloss	house	in front of	loc	mango (tree)	3sg	to be
Lex. Gram. Info	n	prep	prt	n	3sg	v
Word Gloss	house	in front of	loc	mango (tree)	3sg	to be
Word Cat.	n	prep	prt	n	3sg	v

There is a mango tree in front of my house

124

Word	sietɕno	aveysazy	ngalaʔ	ʈɑ	əma	pua
Morpheme	sietɕno	aveysazy	ngalaʔ	ʈɑ	əma	pua
Lex. Entries	sietɕno	aveysazy	ngalaʔ	ʈɑ	əma	pua
Lex. Gloss	sister	friends	only	Erg	she	walk
Lex. Gram. Info	n	n	prt	case	3sg	v
Word Gloss	sister	friends	only	Erg	she	walk
Word Cat.	n	n	prt	case	3sg	v

Sister will go walking only with her friends

125

Word	narono	aveysazy	ngalaʔ	ʈɑ	əma	pua
Morpheme	narono	aveysazy	ngalaʔ	ʈɑ	əma	pua
Lex. Entries	narono	aveysazy	ngalaʔ	ʈɑ	əma	pua

Lex. Gloss	sister	friends	only	Erg	she	walk
Lex. Gram. Info	n	n	prt	case	3sg	v
Word Gloss	sister	friends	only	Erg	she	walk
Word Cat.	n	n	prt	case	3sg	v

Sister will go walking only with her friends

126

Word	ram	sieṭəno	a	^h neina	ca	myla	a	ca
Morphemes	ram	sieṭəno	a	^h neina	ca	myla	a	ca
Lex. Entries	ram	sieṭəno	a	^h neina	ca	myla	a	ca
Lex. Gloss	ram	sister	3sg	wedding	acc	tomorrow	it	is
Lex. Gram. Info	n	n	pro	n	case	adv	3sg	decl
Word Gloss	ram	sister	3sg	wedding	acc	tomorrow	it	is
Word Cat.	n	n	pro	n	case	adv	3sg	decl

127

Word	ram	lak ^h u	ca	a	noʔpa	a	ca
Morphemes	ram	lak ^h u	ca	a	noʔpa	a	ca
Lex. Entries	ram	lak ^h u	ca	a	noʔpa	a	ca
Lex. Gloss	ram	cap	acc	3sg	blue	3sg	Decl
Lex. Gram. Info	n	n	case	pro	adj	pro	decl
Word Gloss	ram	cap	acc	3sg	blue	3sg	Decl
Word Cat.	n	n	case	pro	adj	pro	decl

Ram's cap is blue

128

Word	çini	syno	naṭa	ṭlo	paŋəma	cakei	ṭua
Morphemes	çini	syno	naṭa	ṭlo	paŋəma	cakei	ṭua
Lex. Entries	çini	syno	naṭa	ṭlo	paŋəma	cakei	ṭua
Lex. Gloss	sugar	crystals	for	rupee	twenty-five	to buy	Imp
Lex. Gram. Info	n	n	prep	n	adj	v	imp
Word Gloss	sugar	crystals	for	rupee	twenty-five	to buy	Imp
Word Cat.	n	n	prep	n	adj	v	imp

129

Word	çabu	pakai	k ^h a
Morphemes	çabu	pakai	k ^h a
Lex. Entries	çabu	pakai	k ^h a
Lex. Gloss	book	turn pages	neg
Lex. Gram. Info	n	v	neg
Word Gloss	book	turn pages	neg
Word Cat.	n	v	neg

130

Word	əma	o	la	ei	ʋɔʔ	ma ^h la ^ʔ a ei	cysia	ei	θla
Morphemes	əma	o	la	ei	ʋɔʔ	ma ^h la ^ʔ a ei	cysia	ei	θla
Lex. Entries	əma	o	la	ei	ʋɔʔ	ma ^h la ^ʔ a ei	cysia	ei	θla
Lex. Gloss	his	house	to	ei	go	before	my	clothes	I change
Lex. Gram. Info	poss	n	prep	pro	v	adv	poss	n	pro v
Word Gloss	his	house	to	ei	go	before	my	clothes	I change
Word Cat.	poss	n	prep	pro	v	adv	poss	n	pro v

Before I went to her house I changed my clothes

131

Word	ɰi	paopa	hla	ɰa	çəva	ɰi	a	paθai	via
Morphemes	ɰi	paopa	hla	ɰa	çəva	ɰi	a	paθai	via
Lex. Entries	ɰi	paopa	hla	ɰa	çəva	ɰi	a	paθai	via
Lex. Gloss	water	lake	than	Nom	river	water	3SG	clean	comparitive
Lex. Gram. Info	n	n	prt	case	n	n	pro	adj	prt
Word Gloss	water	lake	than	Nom	river	water	3SG	clean	comparitive
Word Cat.	n	n	prt	case	n	n	pro	adj	prt

River water is cleaner than lake water

132

Word	gəŋga	ɰi	ɰa	a	paθai	cai
Morphemes	gəŋga	ɰi	ɰa	a	paθai	cai
Lex. Entries	gəŋga	ɰi	ɰa	a	paθai	cai

Lex. Gloss ganga water Nom clean Superlative

Lex. Gram. Info n n case adj prt

Word Gloss ganga water Nom clean Superlative

Word Cat. n n case adj prt

Ganga water is the cleanest

133

Word Bombay jɪʒa ca paʔna ʈa ɖekua delhi jɪʒa ca ahi

Morphemes Bombay jɪʒa ca paʔna ʈa ɖekua delhi jɪʒa ca ahi

Lex. Entries Bombay jɪʒa ca paʔna ʈa ɖekua delhi jɪʒa ca ahi

Lex. Gloss bombay weather case wet Nom butdelhi weather case dry

Lex. Gram. Info n n adj prt interj delhi weather dry

Word Gloss bombay weather case wet Nom butdelhi weather case dry

Word Cat. n n adj prt interj delhi weather dry

Bombay weather is wet but Delhi weather is dry

134

Word india la nuparu ʈa ɖekua japan la nuparu vei

Morphemes india la nuparu ʈa ɖekua japan la nuparu vei

Lex. Entries india la nuparu ʈa ɖekua japan la nuparu vei

Lex. Gloss india prt corrupt Acc but japan prt corrupt Neg

Lex. Gram. Info n prt adj case interj n prt adj neg

Word Gloss india prt corrupt Acc but japan prt corrupt Neg

Word Cat. n prt adj case interj n prt adj neg

India is corrupt but Japan is not

135

Word ei çysia ca a çysia hlaʈa a râʔ via

Morphemes ei çysia ca a çysia hlaʈa a râʔ via

Lex. Entries ei çysia ca a çysia hlaʈa a râʔ via

Lex. Gloss my clothes Acc his clothes than they white comp.

Lex. Gram. Info Poss n prt poss n prt 3SG adj comp

Word Gloss my clothes Acc his clothes than they white comp

Word Cat. Poss n prt poss n prt 3SG adj comp

My uniform is whiter than his uniform

136

Word çabu sano parupa

Morphemes çabu sano parupa

Lex. Entries çabu sano parupa

Lex. Gloss books two stolen

Lex. Gram. Info n adj v

Word Gloss books two stolen

Word Cat. n adj v

Two books were stolen

137

Word ramə sei çaiपा aथ् lā ha

Morphemes ramə sei çaiपा aथ् lā ha

Lex. Entries ramə sei çaiपा aथ् lā ha

Lex. Gloss bamboo long over there to lie PST

Lex. Gram. Info n adj dem v prt

Word Gloss bamboo long over there to lie PST

Word Cat. n adj dem v prt

Longish bamboo was lying there

138

Word θlāpā hlō

Morphemes θlāpā hlō

Lex. Entries θlāpā hlō

Lex. Gloss moon round

Lex. Gram. Info n qualifier

Word Gloss moon round

Word Cat n qualifier

Round moon

139

Word	çənô	pək ^h α
Morphemes	çənô	pək ^h α
Lex. Entries	çənô	pək ^h α
Lex. Gloss	boy	one
Lex. Gram. Info	n	adj
Word Gloss	boy	one
Word Cat.	n	adj

One girl

140

Word	çəpə	pək ^h α
Morphemes	çəpə	pək ^h α
Lex. Entries	çəpə	pək ^h α
Lex. Gloss	boy	one
Lex. Gram. Info	n	adj
Word Gloss	boy	one
Word Cat.	n	adj

One boy

141

Word	məsiaʔ	ʔoʔpa	θi
Morphemes	məsiaʔ	ʔoʔpa	θi
Lex. Entries	məsiaʔ	ʔoʔpa	θi
Lex. Gloss	elephant	old	died
Lex. Gram. Info	n	adj	v
Word Gloss	elephant		old
Word Cat.	n	adj	

The old elephant died

142

Word	kei	pə	o	avotlonɑɑ	aviasapə	a	^h ma	ha
Morphemes	kei	pə	o	avotlonɑɑ	aviasapə	a	^h ma	ha
Lex. Entries	kei	pə	o	avotlonɑɑ	aviasapə	a	^h ma	ha

Lex. Gloss	my	father	house	to return	friend	he	to leave	PST
Lex. Gram. Info	Poss	n	n	v	n	3SG	v	PST
Word Gloss	my	father	house	to return	friend	he	to leave	PST
Word Cat.	Poss	n	n	v	n	3SG	v	PST

By the time my father came home, his friend left

143

Word	çaʔna	navo	pei	teʔ
Morphemes	çaʔna	navo	pei	teʔ
Lex. Entries	çaʔna	navo	pei	teʔ
Lex. Gloss	letter	from you to me	give	IMP
Lex. Gram. Info	n	pro	v	IMP
Word Gloss	letter	from you to me	give	IMP
Word Cat.	n	pro	v	IMP

Give me the letter

144

Word	pua	teʔ
Morphemes	pua	teʔ
Lex. Entries	pua	teʔ
Lex. Gloss	to get out	IMP
Lex. Gram. Info	v	
Word Gloss	to get out	
Word Cat.	v	

Get out

145

Word	ɲiaç ^h uʔe	viakao	lalôʔpa	navo	p ^h iepa	ʔua
Morphemes	ɲiaç ^h uʔe	viakao	lalôʔpa	navo	p ^h iepa	ʔua
Lex. Entries	ɲiaç ^h uʔe	viakao	lalôʔpa	navo	p ^h iepa	ʔua
Lex. Gloss	you	sweater	woollen to knit	for me	knit	imperative marker
Lex. Gram. Info	n	adj	adj	it	v	IMP
Word Gloss	sweater	woollen to knit	for me	knit	imperative marker	

Word Cat.pro n adj adj it v IMP

Please knit a sweater (for me)

146

Word ηιαϕ^hu^hte viakao lalô?pa a p^hiepa t^hua

Morphemes ηιαϕ^hu^hte viakao lalô?pa a p^hiepa t^hua

Lex. Entries ηιαϕ^hu^hte viakao lalô?pa a p^hiepa t^hua

Lex. Gloss you sweater woollen to knit 3SG knit imperative marker

Lex. Gram. Info n adj adj it v IMP

Word Gloss sweater woollen to knit 3SG knit imperative marker

Word Cat.pro n adj adj it v IMP

Please knit a sweater (for yourself)

147

Word ləksmi hlasəpa mo? tua

Morphemes ləksmi hlasəpa mo? tua

Lex. Entries ləksmi hlasəpa mo? tua

Lex. Gloss lakshmi to sing a song see imp

Lex. Gram. Info n v v imp

Word Gloss lakshmi to sing a song to see imperative marker

Word Cat. n v v imp

See Lakshmi sing

148

Word a tyu? ha

Morphemes a tyu? ha

Lex. Entries a tyu? ha

Lex. Gloss he to sit down PST

Lex. Gram. Info pro v pst

Word Gloss he to sit down pst

Word Cat. pro v

He sat down

149

Word	ni:	k ^h aitɔtɔ	ei	pɔ	^h moŋao	ɔpa	vaɬa	pua
Morphemes	ni:	k ^h aitɔtɔ	ei	pɔ	^h moŋao	ɔpa	vaɬa	pua
Lex. Entries	ni:	k ^h aitɔtɔ	ei	pɔ	^h moŋao	ɔpa	vaɬa	pua
Lex. Gloss	to eat	to finish	my	father	stroll	he	to go	walk
Lex. Gram. Info	v	v	poss	n	n	3SG	v	v
Word Gloss	to eat	to finish	my	father	stroll	he	to go	walk
Word Cat.	v	v	poss	n	n	3SG	v	v

Having eaten his meal papa went for a stroll

150

Word	aparoupa	ɬa	ɕapap ^h aopa	rei	teʔ
Morphemes	aparoupa	ɬa	ɕapap ^h aopa	rei	teʔ
Lex. Entries	aparoupa	ɬa	ɕapap ^h aopa	rei	teʔ
Lex. Gloss	letter	ERG	to read	aloud	IMP
Word Cat.	n	prt	v	adv	IMP

Read the letter loud

151

Word	ou	ap ^h apa	ɬa	moʊʔ	ɬeʔ
Morphemes	ou	ap ^h apa	ɬa	moʊʔ	ɬeʔ
Lex. Entries	ou	ap ^h apa	ɬa	moʊʔ	ɬeʔ
Lex. Gloss	house	properly	Nom	to see	IMP
Lex. Gram. Info	n	adv	prt	v	IMP
Word Gloss	house	properly	Nom	to see	IMP
Word Cat.	n	adv	prt	v	IMP

See the house properly

152

Word	ɬao	p ^h a	vei	a	unɔʔpa	alovei	^h naiɬe
Morphemes	ɬao	p ^h a	vei	a	unɔʔpa	alovei	^h naiɬe
Lex. Entries	ɬao	p ^h a	vei	a	unɔʔpa	alovei	^h naiɬ
Lex. Gloss	flourish	well	neg	Poss	brother	own	to cheat
Lex. Gram. Info	v	adv	neg	poss	n	adj	v

Word Gloss	flourish	well	neg	Poss	brother	own	to cheat
Word Cat.	v	adv	neg	poss	n	adj	v

He did not do well having cheated his own brother

153

Word	si:	la	mouʔ	ʔeʔ
Morphemes:	si:	la	mouʔ	ʔeʔ
Lex. Entries	si:	la	mouʔ	ʔeʔ
Lex. Gloss	go	and	see	IMP
Lex. Gram. Info	v	interj	v	IMP
Word Gloss	go	and	see	IMP
Word Cat.	v	interj	v	IMP

Go and see

154

Word	na	pazei	ʔa	ʔaʔe	ara	ha
Morphemes	na	pazei	ʔa	ʔaʔe	ara	ha
Lex. Entries	na	pazei	ʔa	ʔaʔe	ara	ha
Lex. Gloss	you	to me	hit	PST	after	run PST
Lex. Gram. Info	n	v	prt	rel. marker	he run	PST
Word Gloss	you	to me	hit	PST	after	run PST
Word Cat.	n	v	prt	rel. marker	he run	PST

He hit me and ran away

155

Word	nâvɣ	ɔʔpa	kʰoʔ	vana
Morphemes	nâvɣ	ɔʔpa	kʰoʔ	vana
Lex. Entries	nâvɣ	ɔʔpa	kʰoʔ	vana
Lex. Gloss	your coming here to like	negative marker		
Lex. Gram. Info	n	dem	v	neg. marker
Word Gloss	your coming here to like	negative marker		
Word Cat.	n	dem	v	neg. marker

I don't like your coming here

156

Word	ahv	paŋi	ni:	k ^h oleipa
Morphemes	ahv	paŋi	ni:	k ^h oleipa
Lex. Entries	ahv	paŋi	ni:	k ^h oleipa
Lex. Gloss	who	food	to eat	like Neg
Lex. Gram. Info	det	n	v	prt
Word Gloss	who	food	to eat	like Neg
Word Cat.	det	n	v	prt

Who does not like to eat well?

157

Word	vəkua	heiʔpa	vaŋa	ə	no	ə hroθei	ha
Morphemes	vəkua	heiʔpa	vaŋa	ə	no	ə hroθei	ha
Lex. Entries	vəkua	heiʔpa	vaŋa	ə	no	ə hroθei	ha
Lex. Gloss	to return back	returned person	because	his	mother	she	to survive PST
Lex. Gram. Info	v	n	interj	3SG	n	3SG	v prt
Word Gloss	to return back	returned person	because	his	mother		
Word Cat.	v	n	interj	3SG	n	3SG	v prt

Because of his coming back, his mother could survive

158

Word	a	reina	ɖaʔ	həʔta	k ^h iç ^h oʔ	puasai	paŋo	o
Morphemes	a	reina	ɖaʔ	həʔta	k ^h iç ^h oʔ	puasai	paŋo	o
Lex. Entries	a	reina	ɖaʔ	həʔta	k ^h iç ^h oʔ	puasai	paŋo	o
Lex. Gloss	3SG	time	time	nearby	town	to leave	soon	
Lex. Gram. Info	3SG	n	n	adv	n	v	adv	Decl
Word Gloss	3SG	time	time	nearby	town	to leave	soon	
Word Cat.	3SG	n	n	adv	n	v	adv	Decl

He told me that he was leaving the town soon

159

Word	beiç ^h oʔ	a	k ^h o	ŋəsa
Morphemes	beiç ^h oʔ	a	k ^h o	ŋəsa

Lex. Entries	beic ^h o?	a	k ^h o	ɲəsa
Lex. Gloss	to cook	she	to like	she said
Lex. Gram. Info	v	pro	prt	v
Word Gloss	to cook	she	to like	she said
Word Cat.	v	pro	prt	
Free.	she said that she likes to cook			

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Word	ei	naranô	ɬa	zaɲnia	varu	ɲaiɬəpa	a
Morpheme	ei	naranô	ɬa	zaɲnia	varu	ɲaiɬəpa	a
Lex. Entries	ei	naranô	ɬa	zaɲnia	varu	ɲaiɬəpa	a
Lex. Gloss	my	sister	ERG	yesterday	to rain	heavily	it
Lex. Gram. Info	pro	n	prt	adv	v	adv	3SG
Word Gloss	my	sister	prt	yesterday	to rain	heavily	it
Word Cat.	pro	n	nomprt	adv	v	adv	3SG
sua?	a	ɬa?					
sua?	a	ɬa?					
sua?	a	ɬa?					
to rain	3SG	PST					
v	pro	prt					
to rain	3SG	to say					
v	pro	v					

My sister told me that it rained heavily last night

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Word	ei	seitənô	ɬa	zaɲnia	varu	ɲaiɬəpa	a
Morpheme	ei	seitənô	ɬa	zaɲnia	varu	ɲaiɬəpa	a
Lex. Entries	ei	seitənô	ɬa	zaɲnia	varu	ɲaiɬəpa	a
Lex. Gloss	my	sister	ERG	yesterday	to rain	heavily	it
Lex. Gram. Info	pro	n	prt	adv	v	adv	3SG
Word Gloss	my	sister	prt	yesterday	to rain	heavily	it
Word Cat.	pro	n	nomprt	adv	v	adv	3SG

sua?	a	ta?
sua?	a	ta?
sua?	a	ta?
to rain	3SG	PST
v	pro	prt
to rain	3SG	to say
v	pro	v

My sister told me that it rained heavily last night

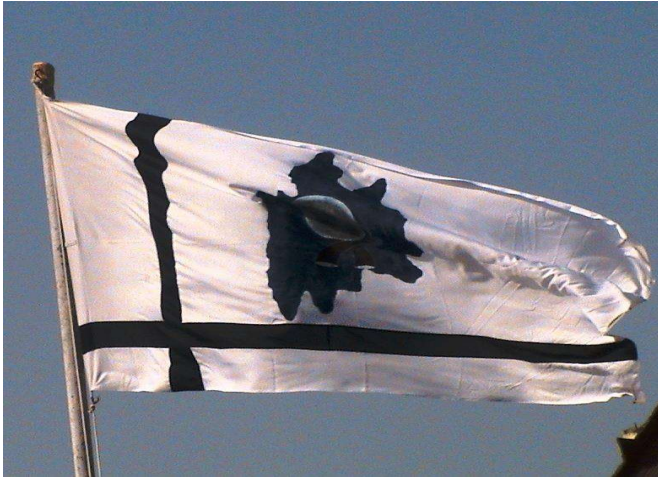
Photo Gallery



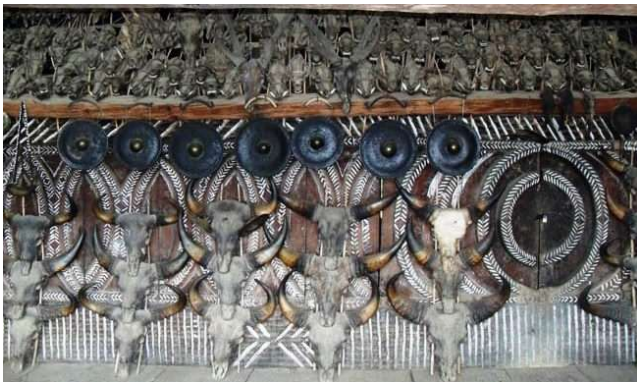
Img.1. Mara House



Img.2.Mara Traditional kitchen



Img.3 Mara Flag



Img.4. Headhunting trophies



Img.5. File Image Awhkhypa La

(Cultural Dance)



Img.6 File Image (Cultural Dance)



Img.7. Siaha Town



Img. 8. Siaha Town



Img. 9. Saikao Village



Img.10. Mt. Mawmna



Img.11. Rice Beer Traditional Pot



Img.12. Data ollection



Img. 13. Field Study (Siaha)



Img. 14. Mara Traditional Dress



Img. 15. Mara traditional

jewellery



Img.16. Mara dress (female)



Img. 17. Mara dress (Male)



Img.18. Lorrain Bungalow
(Missionary)



Img.19. Musical Instruments



Img. 20. Traditional style of cooking



Img. 21. Mara people before
the advent of Missionaries



Img.22. Traditional Cane Basket



Img.23. Traditional Pots and Items