

Some aspects of Folkloristics in Dimasa¹

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Abstract

Dimasa is a Bodo-Garo language which belongs to the greater Tibeto-Burman language family. It is one of the oldest living languages of Assam, which is also spoken in parts of Nagaland, Manipur and Meghalaya. It is a tonal language having rich agglutinating features and SOV word order. The language has mainly 4 dialects, that is, Hasao, Hawar, Dembra and Dijuwa with several sub-varieties of which, Hasao is the standard dialect, spoken in Dima Hasao, Assam. The focus of the paper is to understand the origin and settlement of the Dimasas with the help of linguistic description from some of the folk genres, especially, the folk epic, folk song and monologue. The paper will attempt a linguistic analysis of some of these old songs and, thereby, trace the possible migration route and the ancient traditions of the Dimasa people. It will also discuss few lexical items and their cultural-linguistic significance to the present day speakers. That is, the paper would like to highlight the relevance of Dimasa folkloristics in understanding the migration and origin of Dimasa and Proto-Bodo-Garo group.

Keywords: Dimasa, origin and settlement, cultural-linguistic significance, Dimasa and Proto-Bodo-Garo

Introduction

Dimasa is one of the oldest living languages of northeast India spoken mainly in Assam and Dimapur in Nagaland, parts of Manipur, Mizoram and Meghalaya. It belongs to the Bodo-Garo sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman language family. Hasao is the standard dialect of the language among the remaining major dialects, Hawar, Dembra and Dijuwa. The Dimasa population consists of 110,976 according to 2001 census. They are a multi-lingual people surrounded by speakers from Kuki-Naga (Tibeto-Burman), Assamese, Bangla, Nepali (Eastern Indo-Aryan) and Khasi (Austro-Asiatic) languages. The language can be considered to be vulnerably endangered based on the UNESCO report, since there is less use of the language beyond the domains and boundaries of Dimasa. Besides, implementation of Dimasa in language education and other means of revitalization have been scarcely fruitful in recent years by linguists and community members.

The age-old traditions and folkloristic aspects of Dimasa are equally threatened as a result, with the indigenous knowledge mostly remaining with the parental/grandparental

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generations. Although some of these folk traditions have had scanty documentation, and translated and published as a collection of folklores, by few researchers from other disciplines such as, folkloristics, sociology, literature, and few others, yet their significance as verbal lore, have been overlooked among recent linguists as a mere set of texts for linguistic analysis in grammar writing rather than a tool to understand the existence of the Dimasa people and their cultural beliefs with the use of this language.

The present paper, thus, studies some of these oral traditions along with making the linguistic analysis from these texts. At first, it traces the origin, identity and settlement of the Dimasas from the folk epic. Besides, it briefly discusses the cultural-linguistic significance of few lexemes from these folk songs, myths and legends. The paper, overall, aims to understand the origin of Dimasa while tracing its clues from the linguistic evidences in the folk traditions.

The term 'Dimasa'

The term 'Dimasa' which is an autonym and endonym, literally translates as 'sons of the great river'. It consists of the free lexeme *di* 'water' which also functions as a category prefix related to 'water' and bound morphemes *-ma* 'big' and the masculine suffix *-sa*. The language is referred to as *ma-grau* 'mother tongue (*ma* 'big, mother' and *grau* 'speech, word') or *grau-dima* 'Dimasa language', after the name of the community. The orthographical representation is 'Dimasa' with 's', which is pronounced in the language (standard dialect) as the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ as in /dɪmaʃa/. The community in general is referred to as *di-ma-fa* with the masculine suffix as well as meaning for 'son'. A female Dimasa, is more specifically, referred to as *dima-dʒik*, where *-dʒik* indicates the feminine suffix as well as the meaning for 'daughter'.

Since, Dimasa in general, refers to the riverine people, *di-ma-fa*, therefore, has two common interpretations to understand the origin of the river mentioned in the name: a) river Brahmaputra and b) river Dhansiri, owing to the migration and settlement in the nearby region. The old name of Brahmaputra is *Lohit* which seems to originate from proto-Bodo-Garo. Dimasas call the river as *Di-lao* /*di-lau*/ 'long river' (*Lohit* < *Louhit* < *Lau-hi* 'being long'). Historians also believe that after shifting their capital kingdom to Dimapur, the Dimasas derived its name from the river Dhansiri. Barman (2007) interprets the old name of Dhansiri as *Dangsiri* /*danʃiri*/ meaning 'a ravine of peaceful habitat (*dan* 'work' and *firi* 'peaceful'). 'Dimasa', therefore, can be interpreted as 'sons of the mighty Brahmaputra river', or 'sons of the Dhansiri river', which suggest that the Dimasa people are originally riverine, not from the hills (later settlements).

Another interpretation is that of being called 'Hidimba-cha' meaning 'sons of Goddess Hidimba' which interpolated as Dimasa (*Hirimbasā* > *Hidimbasa* > *Dimasa*), who was a legend from the *Mahabharata* and the wife of the *Pandava* prince, *Bhima*.² Their

² Dimasas are Hindus and blend old traditions in their practices. They are devout worshippers of *Hidimba* referred as *Hirimdi* by the community besides *Shibrai/Sibrai* who is akin to Lord Shiva.

grandson *Meghavarna* (*Jeemi-yung* cloud-immense ‘heavily cloudy’ in Dimasa) from *Ghatokcha* is considered as the first Kachari king in Barman (2007).³

The migration route- ‘Dilaobra’ and ‘Sanggibra’

One of the most well-known and sacred origin myths among Dimasas is the story of the mythological *Bangla Raja* ‘god of earthquake (earthquake god)’ and *Arikhidima* ‘name of a divine bird (Arikhi-FEM-big)’, who had a union at the confluence of the rivers Dilaobra and Sanggibra, where from came six eggs, namely, *Sibrai*, *Aluraja*, *Naikhuraja*, *Waraja*, *Gunyung*, *Braiung* and *Hamyadao* (Barpujari 1997 in Bathari 2017: 33), while the seventh egg did not hatch, and the Dimasa people believe that it was the cause of birth of malevolent spirits and disease. The identity of the rivers *Dilaobra* and *Sanggibra* in the origin and creation myth has led to several explanations. Longmailai (2013) deciphered the age-old epic from Barman (2007) similarly, narrating the migration of the Dimasas from a deserted homeland (possibly in northwestern Tibet) to the confluence of Dilaobra and Sanggibra.

Following is a part of an extract of the migration mentioning the confluence from the mentioned age-old epic:

- | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1) <i>hadzɪŋ</i> | <i>maɪ-laŋ-hɪ</i> , | <i>hadzɪŋ</i> | <i>muɪ^hum-hɪ</i> | <i>dam-ha</i> | <i>do(?)</i> |
| sand | get-become-PART | sand | accumulate-PART | moon-LOC | six |
| <i>ɾɪdʒɪŋ-dʒaŋ</i> , | <i>dau-hɪ</i> | <i>p^hai-dada</i> , | <i>di-lau-hɪ</i> | | |
| thousand-INST | roam-NF | come-NF.REDUP | water-long-NF | | |
| <i>bra-ha</i> , | <i>saŋ-dɪ</i> | <i>bra-ha</i> | | | |
| where-LOC | Sang-water | where-LOC | | | |

‘Having left the sand desert, for six thousand moons, having roamed and reached, where the rivers *Dilaohi* and *Sangdi* are located....’

The interpretation of this river confluence *di-lau* and *saŋ-di* mentioned in the narrative can have three possibilities (Longmailai 2017): a) Brahmaputra and Ganga, b) Brahmaputra and Tsangpo and c) Sênggê Zangbo and Gar Tsangpo. *Di-lao-bra* (water-long-wild/where) bears closest resemblance in origin with the old name of Brahmaputra ‘Lohit’ as ‘long river’ and *Sanggibra* mentioned as ‘Sangdi’ in Barman (2007) refers to an unknown Sangi river (*sang-di-bra* sang-water-wild/where), presumably, Tsang-po (Some also refer to the river Disang). Both the rivers have the source glacier, Angsi, located in the northwestern part of Tibet. *Angsi* is few hundred metres away from one of the Himalayan mountain peaks, Mt Kailash known as the abode of *Lord Shiva* (Hindu God). As mentioned earlier, Dimasas believe to be sons and descendants of their ancestor/Father *Sibrai* who was born out of the six eggs from *Arikhidima* and *Bangla Raja*. *Shiva* also bears some resemblances with the Dimasa Father/God *Sibrai*.⁴

Sênggê Zangbo (Tibetan name for Indus river is Sênggê) and Gar Tsangpo share the source of the river confluence within the similar location in Tibet near Mount Kailash. Both

³ The Dimasas reigned for over 800 years from 11th to 19th century with capital kingdoms at Dimapur, Maibang and mainly Khaspur, and they have been referred as the Kacharis in historical records.

⁴ The Hindu Shiva and Dimasa *Sibrai* are related though it is beyond the scope of the present paper to correlate them and conduct further research.

the river names and the Dimasa ‘Sanggibra’ are homophonous and are, perhaps, testimonies to the origin of their migration as linguistic evidences.⁵

Secondly, the period of migration in the extract is estimated to have taken 6000 moons, i.e. *dām-ha do rīdʒiŋ-dʒaŋ* ‘with six thousand moons’, which can be calculated further as, 500 years (12 months x 500years=6000 moons/months) approximately since the Dimasa counting system is lunar for months (Longmailai 2013). *do* is preposed to the head *rīdʒiŋ* in the folk epic although in the present day Dimasa, its word order is archaic since, modifiers mostly follow the noun. Thus, it is counted as *rīdʒiŋ-do* ‘thousand six’. While moon is used for counting months, sun, on the other hand, is used in counting for days as in *fam-fi* ‘one day (day/sun-one)’ and paddy for years as in *mai-t^hai-fi* ‘one year’ (paddy-NMZ-one). It can be remarked that Longmailai (in print) incorporates the time period of the migration of the Dimasas (Proto-Dimasas>Proto-Bodo-Garo) towards northeast India and Sunderbans with sometime between the Majjiyayao phase (2700-2300BCE) and the Banshan phase (2200-1900BCE) from Van Driem’s projection of Bodic expansion (2012: 192) with deforestation in Tibet during the two phases, which also collides with the Mahabharata epic during 1000-2500BCE, which DeLancey (2012) speculates as the time period when, the creolization of the Proto Bodo-Garo language was expanding in the Brahmaputra valley.

One of the most important evidences of the spread from the Brahmaputra valley, during the migration and settlement, is mentioned in the folk epic as the Sundri groves or the Sunderbans shown in bold in (2), with abundantly deeply rooted banyan trees:

- 2) *dabo bo-ni hət^hani-p^hraŋ dau-jan dʒi-fni-dʒaŋ*
 EMPH that-GEN place-POST weaving-place ten-seven-INST
mel-ɪf^ha k^ham-t^hau-hi dau-hi p^hai-ba-fe
 gathering-small sit-remain-PART weave-PART come-PST-EMPH
wlu-hi p^hai-ba-la p^hra de-fa-ri
 spin-PART come-PST-ADVR banyan big-INT-INT
p^hra p^haŋ fundri jader k^hor-mai-dik bofo da-mai-lik
 banyan tree Sundri roots NMZ.deep-reach-almost tip NEG-reach-ADJR

‘From that region, with the rise and evolution of seventeen clans, the small gathering keeping attending, all the way, from which indeed came the genesis of our culture as they came progressing gradually (and came across) very big banyan trees indeed, the banyan trees in the Sundri groves, roots spreading deep down, and unreachable tip’.

The Dimasas consider this folk epic to be very sacred since it is the only origin myth existing among the community. It can be further quoted from Thaosen (2009: 3), ‘the Dimasas claim that all social laws and rituals were formulated at *Dilaobra-Sanggibra*. The hymns chanted by the Dimasa priests refer to this place where they were composed by their forefathers.’

Other Folk traditions

Another folk legend narrates the disintegration of the Kacharis (Proto-Bodo-Garo group) including the Proto-Dimasas, due to heavy Sanskritisation of their brothers, mainly, Koches.

⁵ Sources from Encyclopedia Britannica (1987) cited in Wikipedia (2019).

The greater Kacharis, then, still strictly adhered to traditional practices. The separation was to be done by crossing the river Brahmaputra, as narrated, during the time of the Kachari ruler, Parvadhan, and reaching the other side of the river near Gauhati. Seven clans landed successfully but the stretch of rafts that was made of *sundi* canes, wood and bamboo, derailed with overcrowding subjects of the king. While many drowned in the process, several survived the disaster holding the raft as long as they could. Some of those who landed in different places, as such, were named as *Basumatari*, *Hajowari*, *Khariari* and those places became known as *Nalbari*, *Khagrabari*, *Palasbari*. The last survivors were the Dimasas (Proto-Dimasa group) who crossed the river Brahmaputra and landed to establish the Dimapur kingdom subsequently.

This is a well-known story among the Boro and Dimasa group of people till the present day. The period of disintegration occurred approximately between 916A.D. to 1030A.D. (Barman 2007).

In one account of a folk song that was documented during the author’s fieldwork in 2010, the presence of the word *mit^haj* ‘yak’ was found in the ‘Rice Pounding’ song *Maishuba*. The lines from the song mentioning *mit^haj* ‘yak’ is illustrated in (3):

3) ...*nolar-k^hro-ha* *mit^haj* *di* *liŋ-ba*,
 village-head-LOC yak water drink-PRES

nolar *bak^hla-ha* *mofo* *ŋam* *p^hram-du....*
 village under-LOC stag (red deer) grass dry-e-PRES

‘Above the village, yaks are drinking water; below the village, stags are drying the grass’.

Longmailai (2017) puts forth linguistic clues to life and habitat during the time period and place which is distinct from the present habitat. Yaks are grazing animals found in the cold climatic conditions of the Himalayan mountain regions, the nearest location from the Dimasa-inhabited region of northeast India which has a warmer, sub-tropical climate. The Dimasa presently rear buffaloes while yak is not an animal species to be found in this part of the region. They, however, do not rear bison (locally known as *mithun*) which is also found in the mountains of northeast India, since it is a hybrid species of yak and cow. Cow is a sacred yet impure (biologically productive) animal according to Dimasas, since it is milk giving and hence, touching, rearing, and even consuming the meat is strictly prohibited.⁶ The fact that yak is not found in this region other than buffaloes and bison for rearing by Tibeto-Burman speaking people, and that it occurs in the folk song, perhaps, suggests that the migration of the Dimasa people happened from the trans-Himalayan or Tibetan regions, preferably from the west, considering the river confluence Dilaobra-Sanggibra, as discussed in the folk epic earlier. The rice pounding song, therefore, seems to be very old as the migration of Dimasas.

⁶ Although Dimasas follow the present day Hinduism mixed with old beliefs and traditions, milk of bovines is still considered impure since it is a supplement for babies and children after mother’s milk. Hence, it used to be a taboo for adults to drink the milk in the olden days, and very few sections of Dimasa people continue the prohibition today.

Finally, one of the aspects from the story of the traditional necklace *raangbarsa* is taken to understand the ethno-linguistic significance of the necklace with the age-old traditions, which literally translates as in (4):

- 4) *raŋ-bar-fa*
 money-bloom-small
 ‘silver-coined necklace’

raŋ-bar-fa is an exocentric compound word and owes its origin to the amalgamation of Goddess Hirimba and Kali in that, the coins in the necklace metaphorically represent the heads adorned around the neck by Goddess Hirimba and Kali to symbolise victory of the good over the evil (personal communication with the informants) as illustrated in (5):

- 5) *tʰik*, *bo* *kali-kʰe-niŋ* *hirimdi* *dʒiŋ* *biffaf* *dʒa-hi*,
 right, 3SG Kali-ACC-EMPH Hirimdi 1PL believe become-PART
hirimdi-la-go *o-lei* *ʃbuŋ* *bokʰro-kʰe* *gain-pʰu-ja-ba*
 Hirimdi-TOP-HS DIST-similar man head-ACC wear-POT-RLVZ-NMZ
 ‘Similarly, we believe Hirimdi (Hidimba) to adorn the same’.

The king’s small head was replaced and minted in the 4 anna coins to decorate in the form of a necklace rather than human heads to celebrate and revive the victory of the Goddess, which has been replaced by the present-day coins and worn by many of the Bodo-Garo speaking people, including the Dimasa and the Kokborok. This, further, shows how contact and influence with multi cultures evolved the traditional religion and practices of Dimasa. The story of *Raangbarsa* also reflects the victorious plight of Hidimba from the Mahabharata epic, and it is a traditional necklace commonly found across the Tibeto-Burman speaking groups, besides Dimasa and Kokborok, such as Tibetan, Dhimal, Hrangkhol, and others.

Conclusion

Thus, it can be said that folk genres such as folk epic, legends and folk songs help in understanding linguistic evidences in the socio-cultural aspects present in a language. Toponyms such as the community and the language name ‘Dimasa’, native river names ‘Dilaobra’ and ‘Sanggibra’, names of Gods *Sibrai*, *Hirimdi*, person names *Basumatari*, *Hajowari*, *Khariari*, places names *Sundri*, *Nalbari*, *Khagrabari*, *Palasbari*, the presence of the common noun *mitʰaŋ* ‘yak’ in a folk song, and the traditional necklace ‘Raangbarsa’, are not only names of entities, as examined in the paper, rather, they serve the purpose to comprehend the origin and existence of the Dimasas in the realm of folkloristics. That the very essence in language documentation is not only to describe the grammars of a language, but also to acknowledge the text and discourse which are pivotal in understanding the relations between language and culture, remains evident in the present context.

Glossed Texts⁷

I. *Dilaobra-Sanggibra* (folk epic) modified and extracted from Longmailai (2013):

1. *hadzɨŋ mailaŋɨ hadzɨŋ mu^hum-hɨ dam-ha do rɔzɨŋ-dʒaŋ*
 sand desert sand accumulating-PART moon-LOC six thousand-INST
 ‘Sand desert, sands accumulating, with six thousand moons (lunar month)’

dao-hɨ p^hai-dada dɨ-lau-hɨ bra-haʔ saŋ-dɨ
 weave-PART come-after.PART river-long-NF where/mouth-LOC Tsang-river

bra-haʔ

where/mouth-LOC

‘after progressing gradually, where the river Lohit (Brahmaputra) is situated, where the river Tsangpo is situated’

hadzɨŋ mailaŋɨ hadzɨŋ mogont^hɨ doboŋ p^hu-lɨ-lɨʔ k^haʃaɨ
 sand desert sand ending point catkins white-INT-INT reeds

dʒau-lɨ-lɨʔ

red-INT-INT

‘sand desert, ending point of the sands, very white catkins flowers, very red reeds’

bo-nɨ hət^hani-haʔ mel-ma k^ham-p^hai-ba
 that-GEN place-LOC gathering-big sit-come-PST

‘in the place of that region, came together in a big gathering’.

2. *dabo bo-nɨ hət^hani-p^hraŋ dau-jan dʒɨ-fɨ-dʒaŋ*
 EMPH that-GEN place-POST weaving-place ten-seven-INST
 ‘From that region, with the rise and evolution of seventeen clans’

mel-tʃ^a k^ham-t^hau-hɨ dau-hɨ p^hai-ba-ʃe
 gathering-small sit-remain-PART weave/wander-PART come-PST-EMPH

‘the small gathering keeping attending, all the way, from which indeed came the genesis of our culture’

wlu-hɨ p^hai-ba-la p^hra de-ʃa-rɨ
 spin-PART come-PST-ADVR banyan big-INT-INT

‘as they came progressing gradually,(and came across) very big banyan trees indeed’

p^hra p^haŋ ʃundɨ jader k^hor-mar-dɨk bofo da-mar-lɨk
 banyan tree sundry roots NMZ.deep-reach-almost tip NEG-reach-ADJR

⁷ The texts that have been glossed here include different genres: folk epic, folk song and a monologue and hence, although Dimasa is a tonal language, the tone has not been marked to keep the glossing uniform owing to these different genres.

‘banyan trees in the Sundri groves, roots spreading deep down, and unreachable tip’.

3. *jader-ha mi? rziŋ miŋ-re bofo-ha dau raɟɟɪ-juŋ məlau-re*
 roots-LOC beast thousand flock-HAB tip-LOC bird society-vast play-HAB
 ‘Animals on the roots flocked in thousands, birds on top flocked and played’.

4. *ha-juŋ ha-k^ha-bo laib-fi gəlau-ja*
 rain-big rain-PRES-even.if leaf-one float-NEG
 ‘Even if thunderstorm rains, not even a single leaf floats away’.

5. *bar-juŋ p^hai-k^ha-bo deb-fi gərai-ja*
 wind-big come-PRES-even.if branch-one fall-NEG
 ‘Even if there is tornado, not even a single branch falls down’.

6. *mel-ma k^ham-t^hau-t^hau? mel-t^ha k^ham-t^hau-t^hau*
 gathering-big sit-ADJR-ADJR gathering-small sit-ADJR-ADJR
 ‘(It was) such a comfortable place for gathering-big and small’.

II. *Maishuba* (Rice pounding song recorded during the fieldwork in March 2010):

1. *foi-go-lo foi (fu-k^ha naŋ-k^ha-t^hɪ)*
 bear-HS-like bear pound-PFV need-PFV-HS
 ‘Bear it like it’s borne (it is pounded, it is needed)’.

2. *foi-go-lo foi (ɟəu-k^ha naŋ-k^ha-t^hɪ)*
 bear-HS-like bear husk-PFV need-PFV-HS
 ‘Bear it like it’s borne (it is husked, it is needed)’.

3. *aŋ-k^he badai-ja-rau-de dau-ma ragm-di*
 1SG-ACC dare-RLVZ-PL-TOP more-big (fight)-FEM
 ‘The ones who dare me are great unbeatable ones’.

4. *aŋ-k^he badai-ja-ba-de dau-ma ragm-di*
 1SG-ACC dare-RLVZ-NMZ-TOP more-big (fight)-FEM
 ‘The one who dares me is a great unbeatable one’.

5. *foi-go-lo foi*
 bear-HS-like bear
 ‘Bear it like it’s borne’.

6. *nolai-k^hro-ha mi^haŋ di liŋ-ba,*
 village-head-LOC yak water drink-PRES
 ‘Above the village, yaks are drinking water’.

7. *nolai bak^hla-ha mofo ʃam p^hrain-du*

village under-LOC stag (red deer) grass dry-PRES
 ‘Below the village, stags (red deer) are drying themselves on the grasses’.

8. *p^hai-di-di-rau* *nai-hi-naŋ* *t^hai-k^ha*
 come-REQ-REDUP-PL see-PROX-FUT.DIST fruit-bitter

nai-hi-naŋ
 see-PROX-FUT.DIST
 ‘Come, all (girls), we will go and see the bitter fruits’.

9. *t^hai-k^ha* *nai-ba* *lama-i-dʒaŋ* *t^hai-k^ha k^hau-gu-naŋ*
 fruit-bitter see-NF way-NF-COM fruit-bitter-(again)-FUT.DIST
 ‘Along the way back, while looking at the bitter fruits, we will also go and pluck them’.

10. *foi-go-di-lo* *foi* *foi-go-lo* *foi*
 bear-HS-REQ-like bear bear-HS-like bear
 ‘Bear it like it’s borne, bear it like it’s borne’.

11. *mai-la* *gdam* *doŋ-ba-t^hi* *bugur-fe-niŋ-t^hi*
 rice-TOP new EXIST-PRES-HS cover-ASS-EMPH-HS
 ‘The rice stays new, (it’s) only the covers indeed’.

12. *fu-k^ha* *naŋ-k^ha-t^hi* *dʒau-k^ha* *naŋ-k^ha-t^hi*
 pound-PFV need-PFV-HS husk-PFV need-PFV-HS
 ‘It is pounded, it is needed, it is husked, it is needed’.

13. *foi-go-lo* *foi* *foi-go-di-lo* *foi*
 bear-HS-like bear bear-HS-REQ-like bear
 ‘Bear it like it’s borne, bear it like it’s borne’.

14. *aŋ-k^he* *badai*, *dʒau-ba-t^hi* *bugur-fe-niŋ-t^hi*
 1SG-ACC dare husk-PRES-HS cover-ASS-EMPH-HS
 ‘Dare me, it is husked, (it’s) only the covers indeed’.

15. *fu-k^ha* *naŋ-k^ha-t^hi* *dʒau-k^ha* *naŋ-k^ha-t^hi*
 pound-PFV need-PFV-HS husk-PFV need-PFV-HS
 ‘It is pounded, it is needed, it is husked, it is needed’.

16. *foi-go-di-lo* *foi* *foi-go-lo* *foi*
 bear-HS-REQ-like bear bear-HS-like bear
 ‘Bear it like it’s borne, bear it like it’s borne’.

17. *aŋ-k^he* *badai-ja-rau-de* *dau-ma* *ragm-di*
 1SG-ACC dare-RLVZ-PL-TOP more-big (fight)-FEM

‘The ones who dare me are great unbeatable ones’.

18. *aŋ-k^he* *badai-ja-ba-de* *dau-ma* *ragim-di*
 1SG-ACC dare-RLVZ-NMZ-TOP more-big (fight)-FEM
 ‘The one who dares me is a great unbeatable one’.

19. *foi-go-di-lo* *foi* *foi-go-di-lo* *foi*
 bear-HS-REQ-like bear bear-HS-REQ-like bear
 ‘Bear it like it’s borne, bear it like it’s borne’.

III. *Raangbarsa* (Monologue recorded during fieldwork in December 2011 from Minisht Jidung):

1. *i-bo* *raŋborfa* *t^hr-ja-ba* *dži-ni*
 PROX-DEM Rangbarsa say-RLVZ-NMZ 1PL-GEN

məfain-dzu-rau-ni *don* *gde-ba*
 girl-FEM-PL-GEN asset big-DEF

‘This thing called Rangbarsa, is a big asset of a Dimajik (female Dimasa)’.

2. *i-bo* *raŋborfa* *fumu* *dža-ba-ni* *džiŋ* *gam-ba*
 PROX-DEM Rangbarsa why happen-NMZ-GEN 1PL wear-HABG
 ‘Why do we wear this Rangbarsa?’

3. *i-bo* *raŋborfa* *gam-ja-ba-ni* *ort^ho*
 PROX-DEM Rangbarsa wear-RLVZ-NMZ-GEN meaning

dža-k^ha *t^hr-k^ha-de* *e-de-he*
 happen-PFV say-PFV-CND PROX-(manner)-INT

‘The reason for wearing Rangbarsa is this’.

4. *džiŋ* *dima-dzu* *dimaŋa* *hirimba-ni* *bəfa*, *hirimdi-ni* *bəfa*, *ode*
 1PL Dimasa-FEM Dimasa Hirimba-GEN son, Hirimdi-GEN son and

t^hr-hi *džiŋ-k^he* *džiŋ* *t^hr-hi* *biffaf* *džam-du*
 say-NF 1PL-ACC 1PL say-NF belief complete-PRES

‘We believe in the fact that we are children of Hirimba’.

5. *hirimdi* *ek* *fomor* *mafi-ha* *bo* *mafi* *ifi-ba* *džəba-ha*
 Hirimdi one time one-LOC 3SG one much-INDF war-LOC

de-bani *bo-ni* *b^hrktori-ni* *hifab-džan* *bo* *fbuŋ*
 win-because 3SG-GEN victory-GEN according-INST 3SG man

bok^hro-k^he *gam-re*

head-ACC wear-HAB

‘Once upon a time, during a victory in the war, Hirimdi used to adorn her neck with human heads’.

6. *bo kali bo hirimdi-niŋ kali-fe*
 3SG Kali 3SG Hirimdi-EMPH Kali-ASS

‘She is Goddess Kali, that is, Goddess Hirimdi (Hidimba) is Kali, herself’.

7. *bo kali dʒiŋ duha puja kʰlar-ba-ha nar, kali*
 3SG Kali 1PL now puja do-HABG-LOC see Kali

murtri-kʰe ʃbuŋ bokʰro-kʰe bo mala gam-du
 statue-ACC man head-ACC 3SG necklace wear-HABG

‘The Goddess Kali that we worship during puja, wears human heads in the form of a necklace’.

8. *tʰk, bo kali-kʰe-niŋ hirimdi dʒiŋ biʃʃaf dʒa-hi,*
 right, 3SG Kali-ACC-EMPH Hirimdi 1PL believe become-NF

hirimdi-la-go o-lei ʃbuŋ bokʰro-kʰe gam-pʰu-ja-ba
 Hirimdi-TOP-HS DIST-similar man head-ACC wear-POT-RLVZ-NMZ

‘Similarly, we believe Hirimdi (Hidimba) to adorn the same’.

9. *bo-ni hiʃab-dʒaŋ-fe dʒiŋ diʃa-dʒu diʃaʃa*
 3SG-GEN according-INST-ASS 1PL Dimasa-FEM Dimasa

i-bo ranborʃa-kʰe gam-ba
 PROX-DEM Rangbarsa-ACC wear-HABG

‘Accordingly, we, the Dimasas, wear Rangbarsa’.

10. *o-de-bani ranborʃa dau-rɪ-ja-ba bo radʒa*
 DIST-(manner)-because Rangbarsa design-CAUS-RLVZ-NMZ 3SG king

bokʰro doŋ-ja-ba kʰa-fe
 head EXIST-RLVZ-NMZ small-INT

‘Therefore, the King’s small head in the coins are minted for Rangbarsa’.

11. *ranborʃa dau-ba radʒa bokʰro doŋ-ja-ba i-bo ʃar*
 Rangbarsa design-NMZ king head EXIST-RLVZ-NMZ PROX-DEM four

anna gam-ja-ba pʰuʃa-kʰe-fe ranborʃa dau-ba
 Anna wear-RLVZ-NMZ coin-ACC-ASS Rangbarsa design-HABG

‘The king’s small head found in 4 annas, is the actual minted coin used for the design’.

12. *dɪnɪ* *dak^hna-la* *p^huɪfa* *t^hi-k^ha-nɪŋ* *dau-la-nei-du*,
today tomorrow-TOP coin say-PFV-EMPH design-DIST-PROB-PRES

t^hi-k^ha-bo *afoɻ* *mnaŋ-de* *o-leɻ* *nija*
say-PFV-even.if real before-CNT PROX-similar NEG

‘Nowadays, any coins are taken to design the necklace but it was not so earlier’.

13. *bo* *radʒa* *bok^hro* *doŋ-ja-ba* *k^ha-fe* *dau-ba*
3SG king head EXIST-RLVZ-NMZ small-INT design-PST

‘The king’s head was designed in small size’.

14. *o-de-banɪ* *dʒɪŋ* *ɪ-bo* *raŋborfa* *dʒɪ-nɪ*
DIST-similar-because 1PL PROX-DEM Rangbarsa 1PL-GEN

dɪma-dʒu-rau-nɪ *bant^ha-de* *don* *gde-ba* *aru* *dʒe* *hɪrɪmɪdɪ-bəfa*
Dimasa-PL-GEN share-TOP asset big-NMZ and RLVZ Hirimdi-son

t^hi-hɪ *dʒɪŋ* *proman* *p^hnu-ja-ba* *ort^ho-dʒaŋ-fe*
say-NF 1PL proof show-RLVZ-NMZ word-COM-ASS

ɪ-bo *raŋborfa-k^he* *dʒɪŋ* *jauwar-ba*
PROX-DEM Rangbarsa-ACC 1PL use-HABG

‘That is why, this so-called Rangbarsa is an asset of Dimajik and it is evident that we are descendants of Hirimba, the reason for which, we wear them’.

15. *dʒɪ-nɪ* *dɪma-dʒu-rau* *gam-ja-ba-de*
1PL-GEN Dimasa-FEM-PL wear-RLVZ-NMZ-TOP

‘The ornament, that the Dimajiks wear, this is the fact’.

16. *o-leɻ* *t^hi-hɪ* *aŋ* *k^hna-rɪ-la-du*
PROX-similar say-NF 1SG listen-CAUS-REFL-PRES

‘Having said so, I make myself heard (of the story)’.

Abbreviations

1	First Person	FEM	Feminine	POST	Postposition
2	Second Person	FUT	Future	POT	Potential
3	Third Person	GEN	Genitive	PROB	Probability
ACC	Accusative	HAB	Habitual	PROX	Proximate
ADJR	Adjectivizer	HABG	Habitual Generic	PRES	Present
ADVR	Adverbializer	HS	Hear Say	PST	Past
ASS	Assertive	INST	Instrumental	REDUP	Reduplication
CAUS	Causative	INT	Intensifier	REFL	Reflexive
CND	Condition	LOC	Locative	REL	Relativizer

COM	Comitative	NEG	Negative	REQ	Request
DEF	Definite	NF	Non-finite	SG	Singular
DEM	Demonstrative	NMZ	Nominalizer	TOP	Topicalizer
DIST	Distal	PART	Participial		
EMPH	Emphatic	PFV	Perfective		
EXIST	Existential	PL	Plural		

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Translating the MMSE into Assamese: Suggestion for Culture and Language Appropriate Sentence Prompt

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Abstract

The current paper explores the relevance of the Mini Mental State Examination (MMSE) in an Assamese speaking population, with specific reference to two questions/prompts used in the said test. The paper suggests ways to remodel the said questions/prompts in a way suitable for the said population, on the basis of a test conducted with 50 people. Of the same 25 people were patients of Alzheimer's Disease as diagnosed by their physicians and 25 people were gender matched control subjects with no history of cognitive impairment. Once remodelled, all 50 people completed the test and were given the score as indicated in the MMSE score card.

Introduction

The MMSE or Mini Mental State Examination is established as a standard test for the detection of any tendency towards cognitive impairment. It was first published as an appendix to an article by Marshal F. Folstein, Susan Folstein and Paul R. McHugh in 1975. The test consists of a series of simple questions and problems in a number of areas- the time and place of the test, repeating lists of words, spellings words backwards, following written/spoken instructions, etc. It is one page long. It is one of the most popular tests used for a quick diagnosis of early stage AD; among other cognitive impairments. Even though it has been reported to be relatively insensitive to disease progression in moderate to severe cases¹, the MMSE and its scoring algorithm provides researchers with a solid base line, especially in synchronic studies like this one. The test measures the patient's orientation (10 points), registration of new information and repetition of the same (3 points), attention and calculation (5 points), recall of given information (3 points), and language and praxis (9 points). The highest score achievable is 30. The test provides researchers with the following scoring interpretation²:

Method	Score	Interpretation
Single Cut off	<24	Abnormal

¹ Schmitt FA, Cragar D, Ashford JW, et al. "Measuring cognition in advanced Alzheimer's disease for clinical trials". J Neural Transm Suppl. 2002;62:135-148.

² https://www.uml.edu/docs/Mini%20Mental%20State%20Exam_tcm18-169319.pdf

Range	>21	Increased odds of dementia
	<25	Decreased odds of dementia
Education	21	Abnormal for 8 th grade education
	<23	Abnormal for high school education
	<24	Abnormal for college education
Severity	24-30	No cognitive impairment
	18-23	Mild cognitive impairment
	0-17	Severe cognitive impairment

Methodology

The MMSE is in English with no standard Assamese translation available. Therefore, in order to make the test usable for an Assamese speaking population, or make the test administerable in Assamese, the method of back-translation was used to ensure proper adaptation of the test in the target culture. The World Health Organisation (WHO) recommends the following steps for achieving maximum adaptation³:

- Forward translation
- Expert panel back translation
- Pre-testing and cognitive interviewing
- Final version

The recommendations are strictly for tests designed by the WHO and its affiliating organizations, but they provided us with a definite methodology that guaranteed the best or near best result with respect to MMSE. Therefore, the MMSE was translated into Assamese by three multilingual native speakers of Assamese with expertise in the linguistic field so as to ensure familiarity with the terminology, and back-translated into English by a bilingual (English and Assamese) third party. A version with >90% equivalence to the original was finalized for the purpose of this research.

It may be noted here that the MMSE has two questions or prompts that needed not just a linguistic but a cultural translation. The MMSE at one point asks its respondents to spell **WORLDS** backwards. Assamese uses symbols to write vowel sounds instead of letters, unlike English. The test provides its alternative in the same section by asking respondents to count back from 100 in 7s. Since asking respondents to spell anything backward wouldn't have worked in Assamese, this paper suggests that the Assamese version of the test keep the counting activity only. Results of the use of the same in the test administered to the 50 people for this paper will be discussed later.

The second issue was with the phrase “No ifs, ands or buts”. The phrase is idiomatic in nature and invokes a sense of alliteration with the repetition of sibilants at the ends of the nouns. Valcour et al have talked about the low specificity for cognitive impairment of the phrase in a

³ http://www.who.int/substance_abuse/research_tools/translation/en/

multi-cultural and ethnic community in their paper⁴. They report that in a study conducted in Hawaii, 68% participants irrespective of cognitive status were unable to repeat the sentence used in MMSE, as opposed to the first phrase used for repetition in the Cognitive Abilities Screening Instrument (CASI) “he would like to go home”. No cognitively unimpaired participant of the Valcour study was unable to pronounce/repeat this sentence indicating a higher specificity of the phrase for the diagnosis of cognitive impairment. In the light of this study, and the fact that the Assamese translation of the exact sentence “no ifs, ands and buts” sat weirdly in the ears, the CASI sentence that reported higher specificity was translated and used in the translated MMSE. The same study also reports that a CASI score of 74 for cognitive impairment corresponds to an MMSE score of 22, which falls within our accepted range. This study was conducted with the translated version of the test in order to fulfill the pre-testing clause of the WHO recommendations, and the test version appropriate for administration to an Assamese speaking population was finalized only after expert panel feedback.

The study would also like to report that another sentence mirroring the alliteration of the original MMSE sentence and idiomatic characteristic of the same was also tested with the participants. The sentence appeared immediately after the translated CASI sentence during the test. The results of the same will be discussed later.

Results

The MMSE was administered to each participant in the following conditions: the researcher (interviewer) and the participant were left alone in a room in case of control participants, and with a caregiver in case of patients. The questions were read out from the MMSE one by one and the response of participants was recorded on a digital voice recorder, and marked in the physical sheet allocated to each participant. The data was then filed along with subject’s code name and patient information.

For the current study, only the following three parameters in Column 1 were considered. The following table comprises the number of people with CDR scores ranging from 0.5-1, 2 and 3. Since CDR score of 0 indicates no cognitive impairment, hence indicating the control participants, their results were not included in this table.

Test Question	CDR Score 3 (Severe cognitive impairment)	CDR Score 2	CDR Score 0.5-1
Counting back from 100 is 7s	0/10	4/6	8/9
Translated ‘He would like to go home’	4/10	4/6	9/9
‘Teu ha humuniyah kaahi gusi gol’	0/10	2/6	6/9

⁴ Valcour VG, Masaki KH, Blanchette PL. “The Phrase “No Ifs, ands or buts” and Cognitive Testing, Lessons from an Asian American Community”. *Hawaii Medical Journal*. 2007;61:72-74

[x/y], x=number of participants who completed the task, y= total number of participants with CDR score indicated in the head-cell of column.

As can be seen from the table above, the number question and the alliterative culture appropriate question added to the test are highly specific to the CDR scores of the participants. 100% of the severely cognitively impaired participants of the current test were unable to complete the task to a satisfactory level of completion. The alliterative culture appropriate question also appears to be highly specific to lower CDR scores of 2 and 1-0.5 as well.

All three questions were successfully completed by the gender matched control patients. No cognitively unimpaired participant had any difficulty completely any of the tasks.

Discussion and Conclusion

The MMSE is a standard test given to patients suspected of cognitive impairment. Availability of the same in Assamese will help researchers of the language have a tool that complements a physician's diagnosis. For the same purpose, this study was conducted. It can now be suggested that the Assamese version of the MMSE after translation of all the other points, replaces the spelling question with the number prompt, and the sentence 'No ifs, ands or buts' with the language and culture appropriate 'Teu ha humuniyaah kaahi gusi gol'. Both of these prompts are better suited in specificity and sensitivity to cognitive impairment and are better indicators of impairment as shown by the test conducted with 25 patients diagnosed with AD.

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Taboo and Euphemism in Sizang

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Abstract

Sizang is one of the endangered languages with few numbers of speakers. The beliefs and the identity of the people is maintaining amidst the threat of language endangerment. In sizang community the tabooed subject such as Marriage, funeral, naming or the terms of address especially the in-laws are interesting to note. The style of roundabout expression in sizang is also discussed in this paper. The socio-cultural aspects of this ethnic group are shown by the close network of kinship terminology in sizang.

Key words: Endangered languages, Taboo, kinship

Introduction

Sizang is a Kuki-Chin language of the Tibeto-Burman family. Thuavum or Kenedy peak in the Chin state of Burma (Myanmar) is the land of their heritage. In the Chin population the Sizang are a minority, about 10,000 in number. The present analysis is the Sizang language spoken in Tamu under the Sagaing Division of Myanmar (Burma) located at Indo-Myanmar border about 115Km south east from Imphal, Manipur (India).

Sizang is an endangered language. Being a small population and the nature of threat is primarily decrease in domains of use. As per UNESCO trends in Existing Language domains, the degree of Endangerment is limited or formal domain, Grade 2. The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions. Again, the language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language i.e the intergenerational transmission level is 6 as per GIDS (Fishman 1991). However, the language is not used in education.

The present paper attempts to highlight the socio-cultural aspect focusing on the taboo or the forbidden words and the way of expressing it in presentable form also known as euphemism. Wardhaugh (2002:237) states “Taboo is the prohibition or avoidance in any society of behaviour believed to be harmful to its members in that it would cause them anxiety, embarrassment, or shame. It is an extremely strong politeness constraint. Consequently, so far as language is concerned, certain things are not to be said or certain objects can be referred to only in certain circumstances, for example, only by certain people, or through deliberate circumlocutions, i.e., euphemistically”. The term sizang denotes both the people and the language. There are varied taboos available in the community, tabooed subject such as naming pattern, sex, marriage, and tabooed objects such as address term that has to be used carefully. The various subject and object tabooed in sizang community are illustrated as follows:

Naming New born baby

One cannot keep their baby's name according to their choices. The naming of a baby in sizang is related with the name of their ancestors. The first male baby born is always named after his father's father and if it happens to be a female, she is named after her father's mother. The next born babies are named after their grandparents (grandfather for a son and grandmother for a daughter) of their mother's side. Interestingly, one of the common term for indicating the order amongst the siblings are '-pi/-lien' for denoting 'elder ones' and 'lay' for denoting the 'middle ones' and n̄w for the 'younger ones.' For example:

- | | | |
|----|-----------|------------------|
| 1. | tapa-lien | 'elder son' |
| 2. | tanu-lien | 'elder daughter' |
| 3. | tapa- lay | 'middle son' |
| 4. | tapa- n̄w | 'youngest son' |

The sizang society is a patriarchal society. Marriage of a boy with his mother's brother's daughter is the customary rule. The affairs of the household are controlled by the male head. Under the parental relations, to indicate paternal side is denoted by 'pa-pi' whereas for maternal side is denoted by pu-pi. Here -pi denotes 'elder ones'.

For example:

- | | | |
|-----|--------|----------------------------|
| 5. | pa-pi | 'father' elder brother' |
| 6. | pu-pi | 'mother's elder brother' |
| 7. | papi | 'father's elder brother' |
| 8. | palay | 'father's middle brother' |
| 9. | pa-n̄w | 'father's younger brother' |
| 10. | ni-pi | 'father's elder sister' |
| 11. | ni-lay | 'father's middle sister' |
| 12. | ni-n̄w | 'father's younger sister' |

Taboo in kinship terms referring to in-laws

It is important to address the father-in law or mother -in-law with the proper distinction of the sex of the ego especially, in the terms of reference. Kinship terms as discussed above are obligatory to every Sizang. It becomes a taboo, if not followed the proper kinship term.

For example:

- | | | |
|-----|---------|------------------------------|
| 13. | teak-nu | 'mother in-law (female ego)' |
| 14. | teak-pa | 'father in-law (female ego)' |
| 15. | suŋ-nu | 'mother in-law (male ego)' |
| 16. | suŋ-pa | 'father in-law (male ego)' |

Taboo to address by name

In sizang custom a wife is not allowed to address her husband by his personal name; in fact addressing one's husband his personal name is taboo. Therefore, euphemistically, the husband is address by his wife as əpa 'their father (taking their children as point of reference)' or it refers the name of their child e.g. Suanpi-pa 'Suanpi's father'. But, a small fraction of the elite city dwellers are nowadays using the names to address their husband, though this has yet to catch up as a general mode of address. Similarly, father-in-law and

mother-in-law are not addressed to by the relevant kinship terms. They are held equal to own parents and therefore, the address terms for father and mother are used respectively.

Sizang people respect the older people and they always maintain the age factor. Thus, in accordance with the numbers of generation, such as pu for grandfather's generation and father's generation as pa or pa-pi 'father's elder brother', pa- nəw respectively. These terms are also used for non-kin.

Marriage

It is forbidden to marry a man and a woman from a same village. Thus, a bridegroom should select a bride from another village. Phungkhawm or the marriage between a man and a woman from a same village is tabooed.

Again, a married woman shouldn't eat any kind of meat during his absence. It shows love and obedience.

Funeral

There are two ritual ceremonies conducted in funeral, namely, mithi mai and mithi vui. If the person died in the morning Thaam vel ritual is conducted at noon (the word Thaam means 'tent'). If the person is died in the afternoon then the ritual will perform in the next day. The dead body will be placed in the Thaam and the priest will perform the ritual and the villagers will drink and dance which is known as mithi mai. When darkness set in, farewell song is sung and then followed by sanol i.e. naming all wild animal with which the dead man performed saai or 'victory or vengeance festival'. Finally, after sanol, the dead body is taken to the cemetery for burial along with a procession by unmarried young man and woman holding hand in hand singing farewell song. This ritual is known as mithi vui.

Sulsong means 'a widow without an offspring'. When a sulsong died, there will be mithi vui ritual only. Sulsong dead body was buried on the day mithi vui was performed.

Conclusion

The various socio-cultural aspect of sizang is discussed in this paper. Kinship terms as discussed above are obligatory to every Sizang. It becomes a taboo, if not followed the proper kinship term. The subject and object tabooed such as naming pattern, taboo in kinship terms referring to in-laws, taboo in address name, subject tabooed such as marriage and funeral are also discussed. It has been seen that linguistics peculiarity is present in some languages and absent in some other languages even of the same linguistic families and spoken by groups, closely akin to each other in other aspects of culture. The only direct link between a language and a culture is the kinship terminology.

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Swadesh Word List (100)

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Tharu

Tharu tribal community is spread in the Himalayan Tarai Region on Indo-Nepal border. The most well-known groups are the Rana, Dangaura, Kochila/ Morangia, Chitwania and Kathariya. These names represent the region they belong to like. They are chiefly occupied in agriculture, hunting and fishing. The description of their cultural characteristics confirms that they represent the northernmost extension of the Middle Indian aboriginal races rather than the Mongoloid peoples inhabiting at the Himalayan ranges. Their language 'Tharu' comes in the Indo-Aryan family and is also named as 'Tharuva or Tharuhati'.

SL.	English	Hindi	Tharu (Devanagari)	IPA
1	I	मैं	मँय	mãj
2	you (singular)	तू/ तुम , आप	तैं , तोंह	tẽ , tōh
3	he	वह	ऊ	u
4	we	हम	हमरे	həmərə
5	you (plural)	आप	तुहरे	tuhərə
6	they	वे / ये	ओकरे सब	okərə səb
7	this	यह	ई	i
8	that	वह	ऊ	u
9	here	यहाँ	एहर	ehər

10	there	वहाँ	वहर	wəhər
11	who	कौन	कोन	kon
12	what	क्या	का	ka
13	where	कहाँ	केहर	kehər
14	when	कब	कब	kəb
15	how	कैसा	कैसिन	kɛsɪn
16	not	नहीं	नाई	nɑɪ
17	all	सब/सारा	सक्कू	səkku
18	many	बहुत	ढेर	dʰer
19	some	कुछ	कुछ्छ	kucʰʊ
20	few	थोडा	एक चुटी	ek cʊʈi
21	other	दूसरा	दुसर	dʊsər
22	one	एक	एक	ek
23	two	दो	दुइ	dʊɪ
24	three	तीन	तीन	tin
25	four	चार	चार	car
26	five	पाँच	पाँच	pāc
27	big	बड़ा	बरवार	bərəwar
28	long	लम्बा	लम्बा	ləmba

29	wide	चौड़ा	चौरा / चवरा	cōra / cəwəra
30	thick	मोटा	ठूल / मोट	tʰul / mot
31	heavy	भारी	भार	bʰar
32	small	छोटा	छोट	cʰot
33	short	छोटा, नाटा	छोट	cʰot
34	narrow	सकरा	सकीर	səkir
35	thin	पतला	पातीर	patir
36	woman	औरत	मेहरुवा	mehəruwa
37	man (adult male)	आदमी	मनइ	mənəi
38	man (human being)	इंसान /व्यक्ति	लोग	log
39	child	बच्चा	बच्चा	bacca
40	wife	पत्नी	मेहरुवा	mehəruwa
41	husband	पति	थरुवा	tʰəruwa
42	mother	माता/मां	दाई	dai
43	father	पिता	बप्पा / बापू	bəppa / bapu
44	animal	जानवर	पशु / जानवर	pəʃu / janəwər
45	fish	मछली	मछरी	məcʰəri
46	bird	चिड़िया	चिरई	cɪrəĩ
47	dog	कुत्ता	कुकुर	kukur

48	louse	जूँ	लीख	lik ^h
49	snake	साँप	सपवाँ	səpəwã
50	worm	कीड़ा	कीरवा	kirəwa
51	tree	पेड़	रूखवा	ruk ^h əwa
52	forest	जंगल	बनवा	bənəwa
53	stick	डण्डा	दंडा	dəndə
54	fruit	फल	फल	p ^h əl
55	seed	बीज	बीया	bija
56	leaf	पत्ता	पतिया	pətija
57	root	जड़	जर	ʃər
58	bark (of a tree)	छाल	छाल	c ^h al
59	flower	फूल	फूल	p ^h ul
60	grass	घास	घास	g ^h as
61	rope	रस्सी	रसुरी	rəsuri
62	skin	त्वचा/चमड़ी	चमरा	cəmərə
63	meat	माँस	माँस	mãs
64	blood	खून	खून	k ^h un
65	bone	हड्डी	हड्डी	həḍḍi
66	fat (noun)	चरबी	चरबी	cərəbi

67	egg	अंडा	आँडू	ãru
68	horn	सींग	सींग	sīg
69	tail	पूँछ	पूँछी	pūc ^h i
70	feather	पंख / पर	डइना	ɖəna
71	hair	बाल	भुटला	b ^h uṭla
72	head	सर	मुन्टा	munṭa
73	ear	कान	कान	kan
74	eye	आँख	आँखि	ãk ^h i
75	nose	नाक	नाक	nak
76	mouth	मुँह	मुँह	mūh
77	tooth	दाँत	दाँत	dāṭ
78	tongue (organ)	जीभ	जीभ	jib ^h
79	fingernail	नाखुन	नाखुन	nak ^h un
80	foot	पैर	गोरा	gora
81	leg	टांग	टाँग	tāg
82	knee	घुटना	ठेहुना	t ^h ehuna
83	hand	हाथ	हाथ	hat ^h
84	wing	पंख	पर	pər
85	belly	पेट	पेट	peṭ

86	guts	अंतडी	अँतरी	õtəri
87	neck	गरदन	घेंचा	g ^h ẽca
88	back	पीठ	पीठ	piṭ ^h
89	breast	छाती	सीना / छाती	sina / c ^h ati
90	heart	दिल	दिल	dil
91	liver	यकृत्	कलेजा	kəleja
92	to drink	पीना	पीबे	pibe
93	to eat	खाना	खइना	k ^h əna
94	to bite	काटना	काटना	kaṭəna
95	to suck	चूसना	चुसना	cusəna
96	to spit	थूकना	थूकना	t ^h ukəna
97	to vomit	उल्टी करना	उल्टी	ulṭi
98	to blow	फूँक मारना	फूँकल	p ^h ūkəl
99	to breathe	साँस लेना	साँस लेहल	sās lehəl
100	to laugh	हँसना	हँसल	hōsəl

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