

**CHAPTER 5**

**DETERMINANTS  
OF  
IDENTITY  
III**

**LANGUAGE**

CHAPTER V

DETERMINANTS OF IDENTITY-III : LANGUAGE

In chapters III and IV, we studied and analysed common name, territory, culture and kinship as the determinants of identity of the Aka, Miji and their kindred. We found that the Miri-Akas or Pichangs were the only kindred who appear to be identifying differently from Akas and none from Mijis. No other ethnic element showed any sign of their independent identity. We also found that though, even Mijis were stated to be kindred of Akas by Dalton but actually, they both emerge out as different tribes. We also found that the language has played a very important part in all the other four attributes where tribe and territory names were linguistic elements and all names of household items, festivals, rites and rituals, gods and dieties etc., were differentiating because they again were linguistic elements. Similarly in kinship, the most distinguishing part are the kinship terms, which again are a linguistic element. Hence, language emerges as a very important determinant of identities of these ethnoses, even before we have actually taken it up as a detailed study.

In this chapter, we shall deal with language as a determinant of identity of Aka, Miji and their kindred, Miri-Aka in detail.

In chapter I, we have accepted phonology, morphology, semantics and syntax as the four aspects of language for setting language boundaries. The procedure laid down by C.F.Hockett for setting of language-boundary was accepted as a guideline and the field work was planned and conducted accordingly. The correspondences/similarities/affinities as well as the differences/distinctions on the basis of the four aspects stated above will now be found out from the available source-material and the collected field data. The identities of these three ethnoses shall be determined by the boundaries set with the help of their correspondences and differences. For this purpose, the available related literature is scanned here first.

We have no information about these languages for the period preceding the appearance of the British in Assam. The records during the British period too are scanty where we have only a few details about Aka language. Some information is available from C.H.Hesslemeyor (1868), E.T.Dalton (1872), Macgregor, C.R. (1884), Grierson (1910), R.S.Kennedy (1914) and Konow (1928). After India's independence some valuable work has been done by Shafer (1952, 1966), Egrod (1974), Benedict (1972), Voegelin & Voegelin (1969), Austin Hale (1982), R.Sinha (1959), K.Das Gupta (1969) and I.M.Simon (1970). A brief summary of the available material is given below.

The first available record about these languages is that of C.H.Hesselmeyer which states, "Their (Aka) language contains more words which can be traced to the valleys south of Patkoi range, joining the Shan and Manipuri countries, indicating close affinity with the Dafla and Abor tribes"<sup>1</sup>. Similar observations are made by C.R.Macgregor who stated that "... their language assimilates more with that of the tribes bordering Manipur than with that of their immediate neighbours, the Daflas and Bhutias ..."<sup>2</sup> E.T.Dalton collected a vocabulary list which included words of Hrusso (Aka) and a language which he has called as Miri-Angkas. The Vocabulary of Miri-Angkas is almost the same as that of Daflas, thereby raising the doubt about its veracity. Vocabulary against Hrusso (Akas) is completely different and varies from all the other languages in the group<sup>3</sup>.

Grierson has grouped Akas with North Assam group<sup>4</sup>, the grouping which has been accepted till-date by almost all the researchers. He however, differentiates Akas from the other languages of the group, stating,

"The difference between Aka and the other dialects of the group (Adi/Abhor, Miri, Dafla and Mishmi) is still greater. Under the influence of strange and radical phonetical laws, Aka has assumed a peculiar appearance and it is often difficult to compare its

vocabulary with that of the other Tibeto-Burman forms of speech ... Aka also differs from the other dialects of the group in many details of grammar. On the whole it can be said that the North Assam Group is not merely a philological, but also rather a geographical group. The North Assam dialects can roughly be described as Tibeto-Burman forms of speech intermediary between Tibetan and the dialects spoken in Assam and further India"<sup>5</sup>.

He further states,

"... there is considerable difference between various North Assam dialects. The position which they all and individually each of them occupy with reference to other Tibeto-Burman languages is also complex and cannot be brought under the simple formula. There are numerous points of agreement now with one, now with another group of dialects. The home of the North Assam tribes may be considered as a kind of backwater. The eddies of various waves of Tibeto-Burman immigration have swept over it and left their stamp on the dialects. On the whole, however, the North Assam forms of speech can be described as links which connect the Tibetan and Himalayan dialects with the languages

of the Bodo, Naga, Kuki-clan and Kachin groups"<sup>6</sup>.

The above remarks have been given in detail as these are very important for classification and establishment of affinities, of Aka with the other languages of Arunachal Pradesh and also because these have been the guiding points for all later researches on Akas.

After Grierson, the notable studies on these languages are of I.M. Simon, who prepared Aka Language Guide (1970) and Miji Language Guide (1970) though some information on languages given by Capt. R.S. Kennedy (1914), R. Sinha (1959) and Das Gupta (1969) too have some value. Kennedy was the first to write about Miji language, who along with Aka and Miji, noted 105 words of Khoa, Sherdukpen, Monke (Tawang), Mon-Ke (Dirang), Tibetan and East Bhutanese. He remarked, "It will be noticed that there is a distinct resemblance between Aka and Miji"<sup>7</sup>. R. Sinha however declares otherwise when he states, "The language of the Akas is quite different from their neighbouring tribes, the Daflas, the Mijis, the Monpas and Sherdukpens"<sup>8</sup>.

R. Sinha gives some details of Miri-Akas along with Akas and states, "The dialect of the Hrussos even differs basically from the dialect of Miri-Akas"<sup>9</sup>. He further explains, "It may be said at this stage that both the dialects of Akas; the Hrusso dialect and the Miri-Aka dialect, though, they differ mostly among themselves, probably belong

to the same common stock of languages - the Tibeto-Burman Group"<sup>10</sup>. Explaining more about Miri-Akas, he states, "The dialect of the Hrussos, forming the basic point of difference between the two sections of the Aka tribe, is not the commonly known dialect of the Hill-Miris, nor does it show any close affinity with the Bangni dialect spoken in the neighbouring areas of the Miri-Akas. As to when this difference in the dialect of the Akas and the Miri-Akas arose, it is not possible to account for, unless adequate philological research brings some more facts to light"<sup>11</sup>. He points to the difference between Hrusso and Miri-Aka and states, "At the present stage, it only seems probable that a section of the Akas, having occupied this part of the country, might have been geographically isolated from their community-brethren on the other side of the river, and thus might have evolved, in course of time, a distinct dialect of their own which they speak to this day"<sup>12</sup>. This explanation is analogous to the point discussed in chapter III that the name Miri-Aka appears to be as a result of these people living by the side of the river. Probably intrigued by the remarks of R. Sinha, I.M. Simon collected 30 words of Miri-Aka language calling it Pichang and compared the 13 numerals with Aka, Miji, Hill-Miri and Khoa languages and 19 basic words with Idu, Digaru and Miju-Mishmi languages. He found Miri-Aka having striking similarity with Mishmi dialects<sup>13</sup>. He also stated, "Miri-Aka to be speaking a dialect that bears little resemblance

with Akas"<sup>14</sup>, even though they are grouped with Akas. Giving the characteristics of Aka language, he mentions, "Aka, as spoken, has variable cadences, almost of sing-song character, and a wealth of fricatives and gutturals, reminiscent of Sema Naga. This seems to be so much a characteristic of the language that in certain dialect areas, 'r' sometimes gives way to gh. The information in Miji does not have the same striking variations as the Aka has. ... Miji in some respects seems to provide a link albeit a tenuous one, between Aka and the neighbouring group to the East i.e., Central Group"<sup>15</sup>. The Miji language as a link between Aka and the group to the East i.e., Central group, which he mentions as Bangni/Nissi, Apatani, Hill-Miri and Adi group; needs further verification<sup>16</sup>. Das Gupta compares a few words of Aka with Gallong and Singpho languages and tries to establish affinity between these languages but a comparative study with only a few selected words for the sake of establishing affinities is too far fetched, hence cannot be fully relied upon.

Simon mentions Khutso (Jamiri) and the Hulbro (Buragaon) as the main Aka dialects, "areas being separated by the Bichome river, although the variations are more of sounds than of substance"<sup>17</sup>. He also gives out a few speech differences between the two. It is quite interesting that he has now named Buragaon as Hulbro, though in Aka Language Guide it is stated by him as Khuvatso<sup>18</sup>. We will also

analyse these aspects at an appropriate stage. Simon also differentiates Aka from the Central Group giving out a few similarities and differences with Mijis as well. These details will be discussed in the later part of this chapter.

Grierson's observations about Akas; Simon's observations about Aka, Miji and Aka dialects; and Sinha's observations about the Aka and Miri-Aka are important and will be taken into account later at appropriate places.

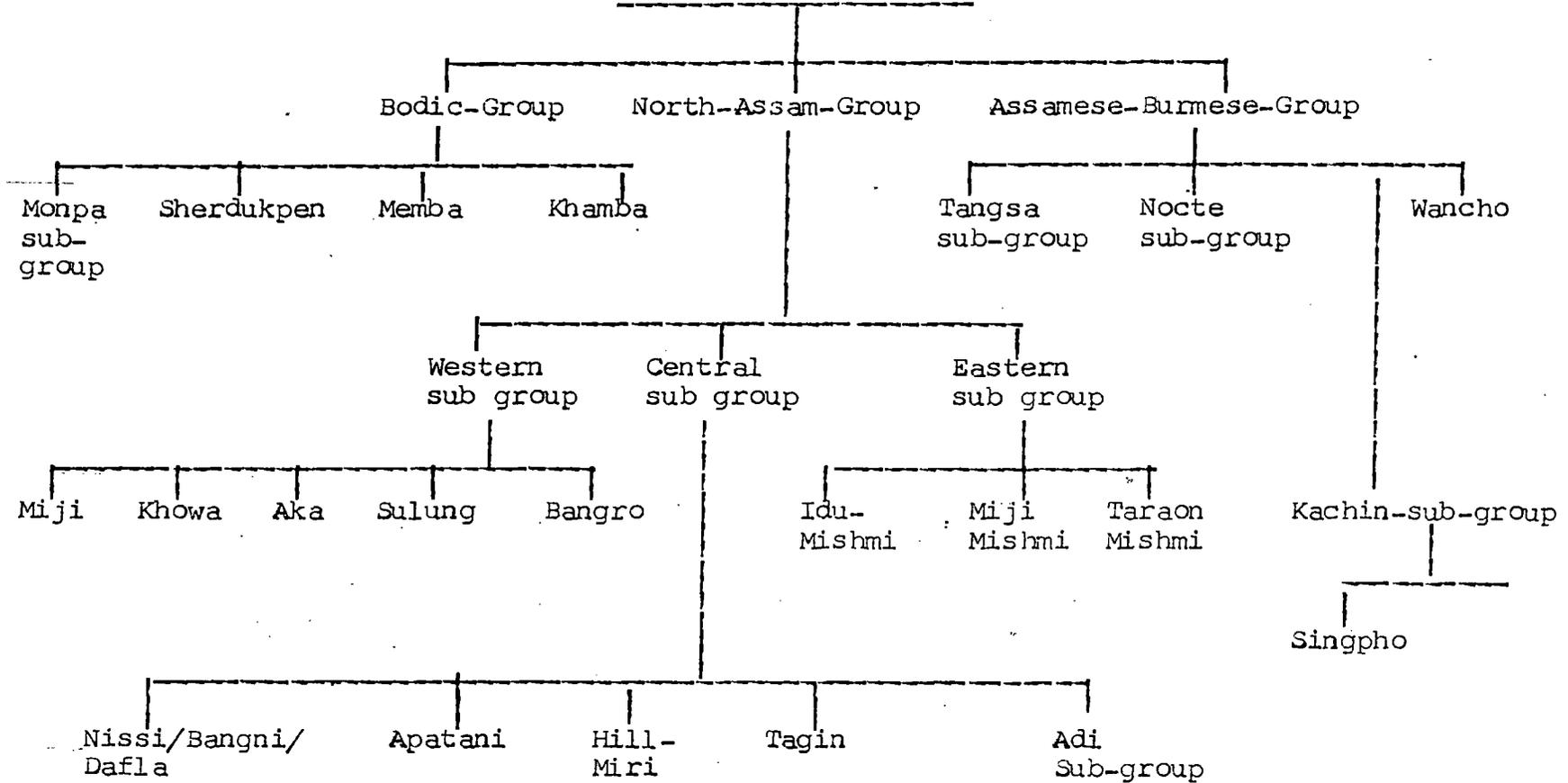
Austin Hale gives up diagrammatically the classification of the Indo-Burman languages as recorded by various previous researchers. This is of some help too, hence summed up here.

"Shafer (1952, 1966) and Egerod (1979) have grouped the Akas-Hrushish as unclassified Bodic/Burmic group while Benedict (1972) has grouped Aka with Abor-Miri-Dafla (nucleus) where Aka is close to the nucleus. I.M.Simon has grouped Aka and Miji under western group. Voegelin and Voegelin (1977) has grouped Aka under Gyarung-Mishmi non-pronominalised group"<sup>19</sup>.

A diagrammatic layout of grouping of these languages based on the above material is given in diagramme 5.1 on the following page.

Diagramme 5.1

Tibeto-Burman Branch



Note In addition to above, only one other language of Arunachal tribe Khampti mentioned in Chapter II falls under Thai Branch, and hence, does not appear under the Tibeto-Burman branch.

Based on the above mentioned secondary material on the languages, a tentative phonemic inventory, word list and a sentence list were prepared for the field work. During the pilot study, this list was modified to match the ground conditions and the material was recorded as is produced in various appendices shown against each.

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>	<u>Appendix</u>
Words listed	1958	1792	1164	'G' to 'U'
Sentences listed	95	73	76	'V' to 'CC'
Stories	-	-	1	'DD'
Songs	-	1	1	'EE' and 'FF'

The vocabulary list was divided into 13 groups (appendix F) for the purpose of differentiating basic vocabulary from cultural vocabulary and also for finding out the comparative frequency of phonemes in various fields of vocabulary items. The recorded sounds were transcribed and then fed into computer for counting. The various counts of these vocabulary items was done on the basis of their distribution initially, medially and finally, alongwith the 'end total' and 'grand total' for the purpose of comparative study of the phonemes. The counts are given at annexures of appendices 'G' to 'U' for each vocabulary group. The comparison was done through percentiles and by 'Chi Square test'. The details of the inferences drawn are given in the part on phonemic and morphemic analysis.

The vocabulary provided the semantic comparison of all the three languages, and the correspondences and differences were measured on a common scale. From these correspondences and differences the affinity was established amongst all the three and any two of the three languages. For the purpose of finding out the affinities of these languages with other Tibeto-Burman or other languages of the region, various vocabularies compiled by Grierson, Simon, Das Gupta, Dalton, Hesselmeier and a score of other researchers were compared with the vocabularies of these three languages. The structural analysis was carried-out, of the morphology. The recorded sentences were transcribed and were also compared through structural analysis. Correspondences and differences between these three languages and any two of the three were examined and the distinctions among the three ethnoses determined.

There have been dialectal variations in Aka and Miji, specially between Akas of the West (Jamiri-Buragaon area) and Akas of the East (Djingania-Kayanvalley-Palizi area) and similarly Mijis in the West Kamang district (Nafra circle) and Mijis of East Kameng district (Lada-Bameng circles) but the mutual intelligibility was not found to be affected by speech variations, hence the speech sounds of Jamiri-Baragaon of Aka region and Nafra-Lower Dzong of Miji region were accepted as the base for the study. Pichang remained the

base for Miri-Aka languages as all the Miri-Aka population is centered around Pichang and no dialectical variations were noticed.

The Phonetics ; The International Phonetic Association (I.P.A) system (given in table 'GG') was accepted as the primary source for development of the phonemic system. A pilot study was conducted to find out a common phonemic orthography, primarily based on the I.P.A. orthography.

The Phonemics ; From the phonetic analysis of all the three languages i.e., Aka, Miri-Aka and Miji, a phonemic inventory as shown at appendix 'HH' was prepared by inductive procedure. For preparing this inventory the phonetic orthography as available from I.P.A did not meet the requirements of sounds of the three languages hence, the orthography used by I.M. Simon in Aka and Miji Language Guides was duly modified keeping in mind the symbols of the I.P.A and other researches on Arunachal languages. It was found that these symbols could not be fed into the computer for computation, hence, a further modification had to be carried out. For further detailed analysis, it was found that it was worthwhile to include the use of diphthongs and nasalised diphthongs for a comparative study as they also seemed to the researcher to be distinguishing features. The comparative analysis of the phonemes was carried out on the guidelines given out by M. Swadesh<sup>20</sup> who listed the distinctive phonemic features as follows :-

- (a) Phonemic norms : i.e., use of phonemes initially, medially, and finally.
- (b) Phonemic distribution : i.e., frequent/ infrequent use of phonemes.
- (c) Prosodic features : i.e., common phonetic features, variational features and distributional features.

The phonemes which were finally adopted for computer feeding, were as follows :-

1. Based on I.P.A. symbols :- p,b,m,t,d,n,k,g,f,v,s, z,r,c,j,l,h,i,e,a,o, and u (22 symbols).
2. Based on Simon's symbols :- (in addition to the 22 above) ph, th, ch, kh, dh, gh, zh, hh, sh, ny, ng, y, w, ts, ks, tch, tsh, gz, dz, hl and ll (21 symbols).
3. Additional symbols:- used for facilitating computer feeding.
  - (a) Prolonged vowels :- Vowels depicted by use of colon (:) a:, e:, i:, o:, u: (five symbols).
  - (b) New consonants :- Consonants depicted by the use of colon (:) t:, th:, d:, g:, gh:, as in Hindi (ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण, झ) (five symbols).
  - (c) Diphthongs:- By use of a combination of two or more sounds/phonemes e.g., ae, ae:, ai:e: etc., given in the appendix ... from ae to i:i: (64 symbols).

- (d) Nasalised diphthongs:-By a combination of one or more sound symbols with the nasal (n).  
 To show this, we have Hindi equivalents to these sounds also given alongwith. These are a:n, e:n, o:n, i:n, u:n, io:n, ia:n, a:i:n, a:i:a:n, a:i:o:n, a:i:e:n ( आं, ऐं, औं, ईं, ऊं, इऔं, इआं, आइं, आइआं, आइऔं, आइंइं )  
 (11 symbols)

Final inventory accepted for all the three languages and given for computing is in appendix 'H'.

The recorded vocabulary items against which the sounds of all the three languages were recorded, were fed into the computer and the number of phonemes based on inventory given was computed and the use of phonemes was counted initially, medially and finally (to give distribution in a word) and also their 'end total' and 'grand total'.

The phonemes which were used by all these languages are as is given in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Phonemes Distribution

Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
<u>Consonants</u>		
(40)	(32)	(40)
k, kh, g, gh, ng,	k, kh, g, --, ng,	k, kh, g, gh, ng,

contd...

Table 5.1 contd ...

c, ch, j, --- ny,	c, ch, j, ---, ny,	c, ch, j, ---, ny,
-, th:, - -- --	- -- d: -- --	-, th:, d:, ---, -
t, th, d, dh, n,	t, th, d, -- n,	t, th, d, dh, n,
p, ph, b, bh, m,	p, ph, b, --m,	p, ph, b, bh, m,
f, v,	f, v,	f, v,
y, r, l, w, s, sh, z,	y, r, l, w, s, sh, z,	y, r, l, w, s, sh, z,
h, g:, gh:,	h, g:, gh:,	h, g:, gh:,
hh, ll, ts, tc, tsh,	ll, ts, tc,	hl, ll, ts, tc, tsh,
dz, gz, zh.		dz, zh.

Short Vowels

(5)	(5)	(5)
a, e, i, o, u.	a, e, i, o, u.	a, e, i, o, u.

Long Vowels

(5)	(5)	(5)
a:, e:, i:, o:, u:,	a:, e:, i:, o:, u:,	a:, e:, i:, o:, u:.

Short Diphthongs

(20)	(13)	(17)
ae, ai, ao, au, ea,	ae, ai, au, ei, eu, ia,	ae, ai, so, au, ea,
ei, eo, eu, ia, ie,	ie, iu, oe, oi, ou, ua,	ai, eo, eu, ia, ie, io,
io, iu, oe, oa, oi,	ui.	iu, oe, oi, ou, ui, uo.
ou, ua, ue, ui, uo.		

contd ...

Table 5.1 contd ...

Long Diphthongs

(30)	(21)	(26)
ae:, ai:, ao:, au:,	ae:, ai:, ei:, ia:,	ae:, ai:, ao:, au:,
ei:, eo:, eu:, ia:,	ie:, io:, iu:, oi:,	ea:, ei:, eo:, eu:, ia:,
ie:, iu:, oe:, ou:,	ua:, ou:, ui:, i:a,	ie:, io:, iu:, oe:, oi:,
ua:, ue:, ui:, uo:,	a:i:, i:a:, i:o:,	ou:, ua:, ue:, ui:,
a:o, i:a, i:o, a:i,	i:e:, o:e:, o:u:,	i:a, a:e:, a:i:, e:a:,
a:e, a:u, e:u, i:a:,	i:i:, a:i:o:,	i:a:, i:o:, o:i:, o:u:.
i:e:, i:o:, o:e:,	a:i:e:.	
i:i:, a:i:o:, a:i:e:		

Nasalised Diphthongs

(9)	(8)	(8)
a:n, e:n, o:n, i:n,	a:n, e:n, i:n, o:n,	a:n, e:n, i:n, o:n,
u:n, ia:n, io:n,	u:n, ia:n, a:i:n,	u:n, ia:n, io:n,
a:i:n, a:i:e:n.	a:i:a:n.	a:i:n.

Total phoneme sounds

40 + 5 + 5 + 20 +	32 + 5 + 5 + 14	40 + 5 + 5 + 17
30 + 9 = 109	+ 21 + 8 = 85	+ 26 + 8 = 101

Table 5.2

Average Phoneme distribution in words

<u>Elements</u> <u>Descrip.</u>	<u>Aka</u>		<u>Miri-Aka</u>		<u>Miji</u>	
	Pho- nemes	aver- age pho- nemes	Pho- nemes	Ave- rage pho- nemes	Pho- nemes	average phonemes
Words used	1958		1164		1794	
Phonemes in words	9344	4.772	5986	5.142	8773	4.892
1. Consonants	4806	2.452	3150	2.705	4985	2.781
2. Vowels	4538	2.320	2836	2.437	3788	2.111
a) Pure Vowels	2825	1.446	1559	1.158	2173	1.213
b) Long Vowels	1193	0.609	825	0.709	825	0.459
c) Diphthongs	447	0.228	367	0.325	533	0.297
d) Nasalised Diphthongs	73	0.037	285	0.245	257	0.144

The distribution of these phonemes initially, medially, and finally and in all positions is given in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 : Phoneme distribution initially, medially, finally and in all positions in all three languages

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
<u>1. Consonants</u>			
a) <u>All Positions</u> :	k, kh, g, --ng, c, ch, j, --ny,	k, --, g, --ng, c, --, j, --ny,	k, --, g, --, ng, c, ch, j, --ny,

contd ...

Table 5.3 contd ...

t,--,d--n,	t,th,d,--n,	t,th,d,dh,n,
p,--,b,--m,	p,--,b,--m,	p,--,b,--m,
y,r,l,v,w,s,	r,l,v,	y,r,l,v,w,s,
sh,z,h	h,sh,z.	h,sh,z,
gh:,ts,gz,dz	-----	-----
(27)	(19)	(24)

b) Initially

As in 1(a) above and gh, th:,th,dh,f, ph,bh,g:,gh:, hh,ts,tc,	As in (a) above and kh, ch,f,ph,bh, y,w,sh,z,g:, ts	As in 1(a) above and kh,th:, f, ph,bh,hl,ts,to, tsh,dh,zh
(39)	(30)	(35)

c) Medially

As in 1(a) and gh,g:,hh, ll,tc,dz,	As in 1(a) and kh,ch,d:,dh, f,ph,y,w,sh g:,ll,tc.	As in 1(a) and kh,gh,d:,f,ph, bh,gh:,hl,ll,ts, tc,tsh,dz,zh.
(33)	(31)	(38)

d) Finally

As in 1(a)	As in 1(a) and gh:	As in 1(a) and gh,gh:
(27)	(20)	(26)

2. Vowels

a) Short (5) a,e,i,o,u, a,e,i,o,u a,e,i,o,u

used in all positions in all the languages.

contd ...

Table 5.3 contd ...

b) Long (5)      a:,e:, i:,o:,      a:,e:,i:,o:,      a:,e:,i:,o:,  
                     u:                      u:,                      u:  
                     used in all positions in all the languages

c) Diphthongs

Short

All positions:

	ai, au (2)	oi (1)	ai, ou (2)
Initially:	ae, ai, au, oa, (4)	oi (1)	ai, ou, ui (3)
Medially	ae, ai, ao, ea, ei, eu, ia, ie, io, iu, oe, oi, ou, ua, ue, ui. (16)	ae, ai, au, ei, eu, ia, ie, oi, ou, ua. (10)	ae, ai, ao, au, ea, ei, eo, eu, ia, ie, io, iu, oe, oi, ou, ui. (16)
Finally	ai, ao, au, ea, ei, eo, eu, ia, io, iu, oe, oi, ou, ue, ui, uo. (16)	ae, ai, ei, ia, ie, iu, ou, ua, ui. (9)	ae, ai, ao, au, ea, ei, eo, eu, ia, ie, io, iu, oe, oi, ou, ue, ui, uo. (18)

Long

All Positions	au:, ou: (2)	-	ai:, a:i: (2)
Initially	au:, ei:, ou:, i: o, a: i,	oi:, ui:, a: i:, i: i:, a: i: o:,	ai:, a: i:, i: o:,

contd ...

Table 5.3 contd ...

	a:i:o:, a:i:e:	a:i:e:.	
	(7)	(7)	(3)
Medially	ae:, ai:, au:, eo:, eu:, ia:, ie:, io:, iu:, ou:, ua:, uo:, a:o:, i:a:, a:i:, i:a:, i:e: i:i:.	ai:, ei:, ia:, io:, iu:, ou:, oi:, ui:, ua:, ui:, i:a:, i:a, i:o:, o:e:, i:i:.	ae:, ai:, ao:, au:, ea:, ei:, ia:, ie:, io:, iu: oi:, ua:, ui:i:a, a:i:, i:a:, o:i:.
	(18)	(15)	(17)
Finally	ae:, ai:, au:, ei:, eu:, ia:, ie:, io:, iu:, oe:, ou:, ua:, ue:, ui:, uo:, a:o:, i:a:, a:o:, a:u:, e:u, i:a:, i:e:, i:o:, o:e:, i:i:, a:i:o.	ae:, ai:, ei:, ia:, ie:, io:, iu:, ou:, ui:, i:a, a:i:, i:e:, o:e:, o:u:, a:i:o: a:i:e:.	ae:, ao:, au:, ei:, ei:, eu:, ia:, io:, iu:, oe:, oi:, ou:, ue:, i:a, a:e:, a:i:, e:a:, i:a:, a:u:.
	(26)	(16)	(19)

Nasalised Diphthongs,

All Positions; a:n, i:n,

(2)

a:n, o:n, u:n,

(3)

a:n

(1)

Initial

a:n, i:n, a:i:n,

a:i:e:n

(4)

a:n, o:n, u:n,

a:i:a:n

(4)

a:n

(1)

contd ...

Table 5.3 contd ...

Medially	a:n, e:n, o:n, i:n, u:n, ia:n.	a:n, e:n, i:n, o:n, u:n.	a:n, e:n, i:n, o:n, u:n, io:n. ia:n
	(6)	(5)	(7)
Final	a:n, i:n, e:n, o:n, u:n, io:n ia:n, a:i:n.	a:n, e:n, i:n, o:n, u:n, ia:n a:i:n.	a:n, e:n, i:n, o:n, u:n, io:n ia:n, a:i:n.
	(8)	(7)	(8)

The 128 phonemes (as given in appendix 'HH') were fed into the computer on the basis of which the number of phonemes used in each language was worked out, are given in the Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 : Number of phonemes used as per distribution from 128 phonemes computed

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
<u>Total Phonemes used</u>	109	85	101
<u>Phonemes Used in various positions</u>			
1. <u>All Positions</u>	49	44	51
a) Consonants	33	30	35
b) Vowels	16	14	16
i) Short Vowels	5	5	5
ii) Long vowels	5	5	5

contd ...

Table 5.4 contd ...

iii) Short Diphthongs	4	1	2
iv) Long Diphthongs	2	-	2
v) Nasalised Diphthongs	2	3	1
2. Initially	64	52	51
a) Consonants	39	30	35
b) Vowels	25	22	16
i) Short Vowels	5	5	5
ii) Long Vowels	5	5	5
iii) Short Diphthongs	4	1	2
iv) Long Diphthongs	7	7	3
v) Nasalised Diphthongs	4	4	1
<u>Medially</u>	85	71	88
a) Consonants	33	31	38
b) Vowels	50	40	50
i) Short Vowels	5	5	5
ii) Long Vowels	5	5	5
iii) Short Diphthongs	16	10	16
iv) Long Diphthongs	18	15	17
v) Nasalised Diphthongs	6	5	7
<u>Finally</u>	87	62	81
a) Consonants	27	20	26
b) vowels	60	42	55
i) Vowels	5	5	5
ii) Long Vowels	5	5	5

contd ...

Table 5.4 contd ...

iii) Short Diphthongs	16	9	18
iv) Long Diphthongs	26	16	19
v) Nasalised Diphthongs	8	7	8

From the analysis of the phonemic features of all the three languages, we can draw the following inferences :

1. Akas use gh, th:, dh, bh, hh, tsh, dz, gz and zh consonants; ao, ea, eo, io, oa, ue, and uo short diphthongs; eo:, eu:, oe:, ue:, a:o, uo:, i:o, a:e:, a:u:, e:u:, o:u: long diphthongs and io:n as nasalised diphthong in addition to Miri-Akas while Miri-Akas used d: (ḡ) consonant and io:, oi:, o:u: long diphthongs more than Aka.

2. Similarly Akas use hh, and gz consonants; oa, ue, and ua short diphthongs; uo:, a:o, i:o, a:u:, e:u:, o:e:, i:i:, a:i:e:, and a:i:o: long diphthongs and a:i:e:n as nasalised diphthong additional to Mijis while Mijis use d:, and hl consonants; ao:, ea:, io:, oi:, o:i: and o:u diphthongs additional to Akas.

3. Mijis use gh, dh, bh, th:, hl, tsh, dz, zh consonants; ao, ea, eo, io, and ua short diphthongs, ao:, au:, ea:, eo:, eu:, oe:, ue:, a:e:, o:l:, and o:u long diphthongs and io:n nasalised diphthongs additional to Miri-Aka while Miri-Aka use ua, ue short diphthong, i.e., i:i:, a:i:e: and a:i:o:

Table 5.5 contd ...

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Bilabials : p,ph,b,bh,m (5)

Labio-dentals : f,v (2)

Lateral-alveolar : 1 (Differentiated from alveolar for comparison only) (1)

Approximants : y,r,w -do- (3)

Uvular and Glottals h,g: and gh: (combined to reduce space) (3)

Alveolar-Fricative : s,sh,z (3) (Differentiated for comparison only)

Affricates : hh,ll,ts,dz,gz,hl,zh,tc,tsh (9)

Vowels : 105

Short Vowels : a, e, i, o, u (5)

Long Vowels : a:,e:,i:,o:,u: (5)

Short Diphthongs: ae,ai,ao,au,ea,ei,eo,eu,ia,ie,io,iu,oa,oe,oi,ou,ua,ue,uo (20)

Long-Diphthongs: ae:,ai:,ao:,au:,a:e,a:i,a:o,a:u,a:e:,a:i:a:o:,a:u:,ea:,ei:,eo:,eu:,e:a,e:i,e:o,e:u e:a:,e:i:,e:o:,e:u:,ia:,ie:,io:,iu:,i:a,i:e,i:o,i:u,i:a:,i:e:,i:o:,i:u:,i:i:,oa:,oe:,oi:,ou:,o:a,o:e,o:i:o:u,o:a:,o:e:,o:i:,o:u:,ua:,ue:,ui:,uo:,u:a,ue:,ui:,u:o,u:a:,u:e:,u:i:,u:o:,a:i:e:,a:i:o:,a:i:e: (64)

Nasalised Diphthongs: a:n,e:n,i:n,o:n,u:n,ia:n,a:i:n,io:n,a:i:a:n,a:i:e:n,a:i:o:n (11)

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The counts of various morphemic groups of phonemes are given in annexures of appendices G to U. The morphemic group counts are as per appendix 'JJ'. The percentages of all these phonemes-groups were worked out and are given in appendices 'KK' and 'LL'. The distribution of grouped phonemes are given in appendix 'MM' and their percentiles are in appendix 'NN'. Based on the phonemic and morphemic grouping 'CHI Square' values have been calculated through computer and the 'probability of the CHI Square values which may be exceeded' is given as per appendix 'OO'; the degree of freedom level of various categories and groups is worked out as per appendix 'OO' and the CHI Square values worked out through computers for phonemic variables groups are at appendix 'PP'.

Chi Square Test of Freedom/Association level : A Chi Square test has been carried out to have a recheck on the values found through the earlier comparative analysis to ensure that Association/Affinity and Difference/Freedom levels as found out earlier are not widely out. The Association/Freedom level obtained in Table 5.6 are worked out with the help of a computer programme.

The worked out association/freedom levels are at table 5.7. The final analysis of the phonetic structure is given thereafter based on the values obtained through the percentiles and CHI Square measurements with the help of 5 point scale i.e., Excellent (5), Very good (4), Good (3), Poor (2) and Very Poor (1).

Table 5.6 : Associations/Differentiations in Phonemic Structures as observed through percentage of phonemic use

	<u>Aka/Miri-Aka</u>		<u>Miri-Aka/Miji</u>		<u>Aka-Miji</u>	
	A	D	A	D	A	D
Velars	0	5	1	4	0	5
Palato-alveolars	4	1	2	3	3	2
Dentals	4	1	3	2	3	2
Bilabials	4	1	2	3	2	3
Labio-dentals	0	5	0	5	3	2
Laterals	3	2	3	2	1	4
Approximants	0	5	1	4	3	2
Uvular/glottals	1	4	0	5	0	5
Alveolar-Fricatives	1	4	4	1	2	3
Affricates	0	5	0	5	1	4
Nasals	1	4	4	1	2	3
Short vowels	1	4	1	4	1	4
Long vowels	0	5	0	5	0	5
Short Diphthongs	1	4	0	5	0	5
Long Diphthongs	1	4	2	3	0	5
Nasalised vowels	0	5	3	2	1	4
Consonants	4	1	2	3	2	3
Vowels	4	1	4	1	4	1
Total	4	1	4	1	4	1
<u>Total sr 1-16</u>	21	59	26	54	22	58
<u>Mean</u>	1.3	3.7	1.7	3.3	1.4	3.6
<u>Percentage</u>	26%	74%	34%	66%	28%	72%
<u>Association</u>	Poor		Poor		Poor	
<u>Difference</u>	V.High		V.High		V.High	

From Table 5.6 the associations between all three and any two languages were found to be poor, differences being very high.

Table 5.7 : Degree of Freedom and Association in phonology

	10%			5%			1%		
	A/MA	MA/MI	A/ME	A/MA	MA/MI	M/MI	A/MA	MA/MI	A/MI
1. Velars	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5
2. Palato- alveolars	1	2	3	2	1	3	3	1	1
3. Dentals	2	5	5	2	5	5	3	5	5
4. Bilabials	2	5	5	2	5	5	1	5	5
5. Labioden- tals	5	5	1	5	5	2	5	5	3
6. Laterals	1	1	4	2	2	3	3	3	2
7. Approxi- mants	5	4	1	5	3	1	5	2	2
8. Uvular & Glottal	1	5	5	2	5	5	3	5	5
9. Alveolar- Frica- tives	5	1	5	5	1	5	4	2	5
10. Affricates	4	1	2	4	2	2	3	3	1
11. Nasals	5	1	5	5	0	5	5	1	5
12. Short Vowels	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
13. Long Vowels	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
14. Short Diphthongs	1	5	5	1	5	5	1	5	5

contd ...

Table 5.7 contd ...

15. Long Diphthongs	1	1	5	0	1	5	1	2	3
16. Nasalised Vowels	5	1	3	5	1	3	5	2	1
17. Conso- nants	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
18. Vowels	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
19. G. Total	2	2	5	3	3	5	5	5	5
<hr/>									
<u>Totals</u> Sr.1 to 16	48	52	64	55	51	64	56	55	58
<u>Mean</u>	3	3.25	4	3.44	3.2	4	3.5	3.4	3.63
<u>Percentage</u>	60%	65%	80%	68.8%	64%	80%	70%	68.8%	72.6%
<u>Freedom level</u>	good	good	V. good	good	good	V. good	good	good	good
<u>Associa- tion</u>	40%	35%	20%	31.2%	36%	20%	30%	31.2%	27.4%
<u>Level</u>	poor	poor	V. Poor	poor	poor	V. Poor	poor	poor	poor
<u>Over all</u>	<u>Freedom</u>		<u>Association</u>						
Aka/Miri-Aka (A/MA)	good 66.3%		poor 33.7%						
Miri-Aka/Miji (MA/MI)	good 65.9%		poor 34.1%						
Aka/Miji (A/mi)	V. good 72.2%		V. poor 27.8%						

Legend: A = Aka    MA = Miri-Aka    MI = Miji    V. = Very

Analysis

Comparative values of the freedom/association or difference/affinity are as follows :

Table 5.8 : Comparative study of results by percentiles and Chi Square

	Association	Freedom
<u>Aka/Miri-Aka</u>		
a) Through percentiles	Poor (26%)	Very High (74%)
b) Through 'Chi Square' 5%	Poor (31%)	Very High (68.8%)
<u>Aka/Mi ji</u>		
a) Through percentiles	Poor (28%)	Very High (72%)
b) Through Chi Square	Poor (20%)	Very High (80%)
<u>Mi ji/Miri-Aka</u>		
a) Through percentiles	Poor (34%)	Very High (66%)
b) Through Chi Square	Poor (36%)	Very High (64%)

Note :- The percentage has been taken by averaging the percentile reading and the reading found from the CHI Square.

From the above table, it is clear that :

1. Both percentile results and the results through Chi Square are remarkably close.

2. According to these results all the three languages have very poor association/affinity and very high/very good freedom level and very high differences. These are as follows :

- (1) Aka/Miri-Aka : Association poor (28%) and freedom very high (72%).
- (2) Aka/Miji : Association/affinity poor (24%) and freedom very high (76%).
- (3) Miri-Aka/Miji : Association/Affinity poor (35%) and freedom level (65%).
- (4) The above results also confirm to the overall visual observations.
- (5) The average number of phonemes in each word in each language also differs showing differing phoneme structure in a word..
- (6) Phonemic inventories recommended after considering the frequency of use and distributions and after dropping phonemes with a frequency 0.01% or less from total phonemes, because of suspected chance error are given out in the table 5.9.

Table 5.9 : Phonemic Inventory; Aka, Miri-Aka and Miji Languages

Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
k, <u>kh</u> , g, <u>gh</u> , <u>ng</u>	k, <u>kh</u> , g, --, <u>ng</u>	k, <u>kh</u> , g, <u>gh</u> , <u>ng</u>
c, <u>ch</u> , j, -- ny	c, <u>ch</u> , j, -- ny	c, <u>ch</u> j, -- ny
t, <u>th</u> , d, -- n	t, <u>th</u> , d, -- n	t, <u>th</u> d, -- n
p, <u>ph</u> , b -- m	p, <u>ph</u> , b, -- m	p, <u>ph</u> , b, -- m
f, v,	f, v,	f, v,
y, r, l, w, s, sh, z, h,	y, r, l, w, s, sh, z, h,	y, r, l, w, s, sh, z, h,
g:, gh:		gh:
hh, ll, ts, dz, gz (34)	ll (27)	hl, ts, zh (31)
<p>(Following phonemes with a frequency less than 0.01% (Aka-9, Miri-Aka-16 and Miji-12), have been excluded as they are likely to be induced/chance entries, or have not been used at all.</p>		
th:, dh, bh, tsh, zh, tc	d:, dh, g:, gh:, ts,	th:, d:, dh, bh, ll, tc,
t:, d:, hh,	tc, gh, ph, hh, dz,	tsh, dz, ti, g:, hh,
	gz, tsh, zh, t:,	gz. )
	th:, hh	
<u>Vowels</u>		
<u>Short</u>		
a, e, i, o, u,	a, e, i, o, u,	a, e, i, o, u
<u>Long</u>		
a:, e:, i:, o:, u:,	a:, e:, i:, o:, u:,	a:, e:, i:, o:, u:

Diphthongs have not been included as they can be constructed by combination of various vowels, both short and long. For nasalised vowels, use of half 'n' or 'a' specific sign i.e., will do).

Having seen the phonemic aspects of the three ethnoses, and finding out the clear differences existing among these ethnoses at the micro level i.e., phonemic level, let us proceed towards macro level i.e., morphology, semantics and syntax.

#### Morphology :

Morphology will be studied both at structural as well as functional level. Morphological structure includes free morphemes, bound morphemes, prefix, suffix and infix in all the languages. If the morphemes are visually studied, we find that about 30% words are the free morphemes while all others are bound morphemes in Aka, about 40% in Miji and about 50% in Miri-Aka. Let us see all these turn by turn.

#### Free morphemes :

Free morphemes are for those very basic words in all the fields e.g., face, hand, body, foot etc., in body parts, pain, boil and vomit in diseases, man, tribe, clan and village in society; house, hearth and rope in household and

the like. Some of the important free morphemes are given below in table 5.10.

Table 5.10  
Free morphemes in Aka/Miri-Aka/Miji

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Eye	enyi	niram	mei
Ear	uffu:	ra:n	lo:n
Hand	agz/izi	la:n	gi:h
Foot	ishi	livi/nivi	mulai/lai
Bone	irbe:	nira:n	mriyang
Skin	iksh	nippi:	lyang/meppe:
Blood	si:	ivvi:	zhai:
Pain	nau:	inni:	mano:
Boil	musso:	nishi:	dhin
Vomit	mau:	bu:n	mu/nu:
Man	nina:	muru:	nuvu:/nu:
Woman	memem/ufom	mimi/uyi	nimrai/ni:
Tribe	idge	co:n	
Clan	sama:	ja:ti	
Village	netci	koco	kabio:ng
Salt	gu:	plo:	la:
Milk	a:fu	a:fu:	dudh
Rope	shedra	ja:ru:	shi:
Water	hhu:/khu:	si:	vo:

contd ...

Table 5.10 contd ...

---

Paddy	zi:/ou:	ki:	e:n/e:m
Chilli	a:di	ada	zio:
Meat	fu:	su:	sekio:n
Fish	chi:	mo:la:n	coi:
Father	au:	abo:	aba:/abo:
Mother	a:nyi:	a:i:e:	a:nuih
Brother	a:i:e:	ama:	a:bo
Sister	amma	amma	amma
Wife	nofum	a:nye:	zhi:
Husband	lishi	ra:nciu	nighai
Sun	dru:	meme:	jo:
Moon	hubbe:	alla:	lu:
Star	liti:	dugrei	dotsung
Hill	phu:	go:n	phung
Land	no:	ku:	nah
Tree	si:/shuin	la:n	ou:
Animal	pallu:	simpe:	nuru:
Mithun	fu:	su:	shu:
Fire	mi:	milan	mai:
Bird	musu:/duo	polei	buzuh
I	no:	ne:n	nyang
You	ba:/jo:	nu:n/nune:	nyi:/ji:
He/She	i:	li:	i:/ai:
What	ha		thin/ciu
Good	uda	kappla:n	mevi:

---

contd ...

Table 5.10 contd ...

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White	gro:	lapro:n	miglia:n
Red	tshu:	la:n	mech
Black	giu:	ma:n	mumo:
One	a:	ice:	ung
Ten	g:hi	pa:nla:n	lin
Am	hi:		ti:
Are	no/ni		yu:
Be	du:	ri:da	yu:/shi:
Of	hio:	pa:da:	nite:n

---

Specific features of these free morphemes are that they make most of the bound morphemes and they are small in size i.e., two to four words, (barring a few). They are simple to pronounce and do not have cluster-phonemes or very rare clusters. Also they are used for those words which an individual uses in an ordinary speech and are the very basic for learning a language. Akas have words, smaller in size in general than the other two, Mijis having the longest of all the three. Almost all the morphemes in the languages are independent and are not similar with the other two (only two phonemes are similar between Miri-Aka and Miji, three each in Aka and Miji and Aka and Miri-Aka). This proves that the basic vocabulary of all the three languages being different, these three languages are different from each other.

Bound morpheme : The use of hyphens is required in almost every sentence in all the three languages. The hyphens are used after the prefix, before the suffixes and both before and after the infixes. Both class changing and the derivational prefixes and suffixes are being used extensively in all the three languages. Let us see the examples of all the three types of affixes :

Prefixes : All the basic morphemes act as prefixes to form class-maintaining bound-morphemes. e.g.,

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Eye	enyi	nira;m	mei
Eye-ball	enyi-likhu;	nira;m-nuffo	mei-rat
Eye-brow	enyi-siri	niram-nipp le	mei-mew/mei-simi
Hand	agz	la;n	gi:h
Palm	agz-khu;	la;n-pai;	gi:h-dilung
Thumb	agz-ya;ng	la;n-a:i;	gi:h-nuit
Finger	agz-itsa	la;n-phi/la;n-kin	gi:h-tsoh
Nail	agz-itsachi	la;n-r-phe	gi:h-thin
Finger-joints	agz-bzu-go	la;n-nira;n	gi:h-ro;n
Tree	she	la;n	ou;
Branch	she-bo;	la;n-tci;	ou;-ditsang
Stem	she-va;bo;	la;n-ai;	ou;-vio
Root	she-khri;	la;n-nira;n	ou;-khri;n
Flower	she-ba	la;n-no;p	ou;-boh

contd ...

contd ...

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Leaf	she-re	la:n-nu;	ou:leh
Fruit	she-je		ou:-then
Creeper	she-ja	la:n-jaru;	ou:-bo;

---

There are class changing prefixes also in all the three languages, as given below :

---

Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
fu (animal)	su: (animal)	shu: (animal)
fu:-cho (bear)	su:-mo:n (bear)	shu:-tsang (bear)
fu-phu (black necklace)	su:-ja:n (meat) (of mithun)	shu-cung (meat)
fu:-khro (dried meat)	su:-peve:n (boiled meat)	shu-phrinh (hide)

---

Class-changing prefixes are, however, far lesser than the class-maintaining prefixes, in all the three languages.

Infixes : All the three languages use infixes though to a very lesser extent, that too mainly while words are used in sentences but rarely in independent words. Examples are given below :

---

Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
gzi-tsi-lye (finger ring)	bju:-ngo:n-su: (yak meat)	shu-nu-ru (animal)
gido-da-u (straight-en)	nippe:-ple:n-fa: (rupees fifty)	shu-ja-nuih (ewe)

---

However, these infixes are generally used differently, i.e., the word meaning the same may have no infix in Aka, but may have an infix in Miji or in Miri-Aka.

Suffixes : Both class-maintaining and class-changing suffixes are used in all the three languages as given below :

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
<u>Class-maintaining</u>			
Bitch	silio-muth	ikle:-nibling	shahzhih-nuih
Mithun (female)	fu-muih	su:-nibling	shu:-nuih
Big (female)	vo:-muih	lile:-nibling	zho:-nuih
<u>Class Changing</u>			
i-hhu (white of egg)		la:n-nira:n (finger-joints)	shu-bu: (mithun)
fu-hhu (wild-pig)		zupra:n-nira:n (Skull)	mai-bu (ashes)
dang-hhu (understand)		la:n-nira:n (root)	a:-bu (father)

It is not always binding that the same affix is to be used at only one position, e.g., as suffix or prefix. The same affix can be used as prefix as well as suffix to mean the same word or for two different words e.g.,

---

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Calf	<u>isi</u> ;-ve;-libaka	<u>nivvi</u> ;-vo;n-re	<u>lai</u> -dibbon
	ungs- <u>isi</u> (cheek)	lagia- <u>nivvi</u> ; (right leg)	tsung- <u>lai</u> (sole)

---

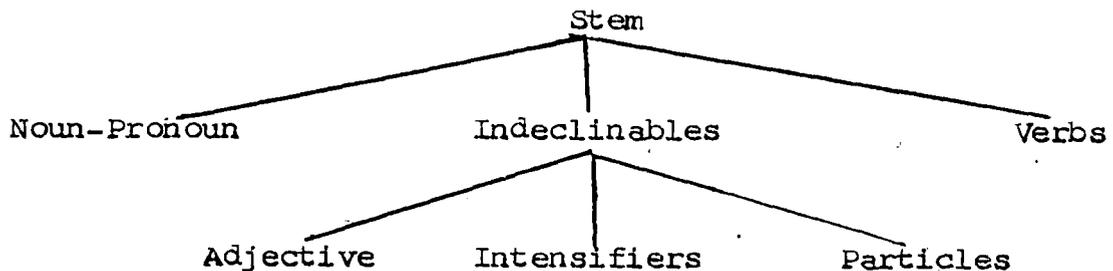
Analysis :

From the above it can be inferred that :-

1. Prefixes and suffixes are being used extensively by all the three languages.
2. Infix is used sparingly by all the three.
3. Some affixes are not used by any of the two languages, i.e., Aka and Miji, Aka and Miri-Aka and Miji and Miri-Aka. To convey the same purpose and meaning they all use different affixes.
4. Use of the same affix as prefix and suffix is often resorted to in all the three languages; specially in Miri-Aka language where it is not binding to use the affix either before or after the stem.
5. In structure, morphologically they generally follow the same structural pattern but the affixes semantically used for word structure differ.

Functional Morphology : Stems and the affixes as discussed above can be further clarified by functional morphology. Stems which can be inflected for case are nouns; for tense, aspect and mood are verbs, and stems which remain uninflected are indeclinables. Nouns are substitutable by pronouns. Adjectives are the stems which modify noun; intensifiers that modify adjectives and the particles that occur virtually independently are the indeclinables; prepositions and conjunctions fall in this category. Verbs identify actions, Nouns/pronouns come first, then adjectives, verbs and adverbs. Prepositions and conjunctions generally act as postpositions. This sequence is not followed strictly. At times, adjectives come before noun/pronoun and similar is the case with other affixes.

The distribution of all these functional elements is shown in the structural diagram below :



We shall study in detail and compare the functional use of these items.

Noun

1. Gender : Gender in all three languages is indicated in two different methods i.e., by different words and by adding suffix as given below :

a) Different words : e.g.

<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
au: (father)	murū (man)	nuvu (man)
anyi: (mother)	mimi (woman)	nimrai (woman)

b) Adding suffixes e.g.

silyo (dog)	like (dog)	shu-bu (bull-mithun)
silyo-imnyi (bitch)	like-nibling (bitch)	shu-nuih (cow-mithun)

2. Number : Number is indicated either by giving the quantity as suffix or a suffix to indicate more numbers. In Aka and Miji, sometimes no affix is used and the number is deduced from the text itself. Let us see all these three cases :

<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
------------	-----------------	-------------

a) Use of suffix :

silyo (dog)	ikle (dog)	shahzhi (dog)
silyo anya (dogs)	ikle-pam-ge (dogs)	shahzhi-na (dogs)

b) Quantity :

silyo-ksi  
(two dogs)

ikle-kene;  
(two dogs)

shahzhi-gni  
(two dogs)

c) Combination of two words is sometimes used for plurals in Aka i.e., 'sou-sam' (children) is a combination of two words meaning son and daughter.

3. Numerals : The numerals are either in individual-word form or a combination of a word and a suffix. The numerals 1 to 10, hundred and thousand in all three languages are indicated by words (see appendix 'S') while after deca upto next deca e.g. 11 to 19 are having the deca with an infix and a suffix used as plus. The multipliers of ten are reckoned in terms of multiplier number -- number as prefix e.g. zi-ghi (three-tens or thirty) in Aka. Generally higher than hundred, multipliers of hundreds are borrowed i.e., hazar (thousand) in Aka. A few examples of these are given below :

1 to 10 original	pum (five)	ple:n (five)	bungu: (five)
11 to 19	ghia:a:-kshi (10+2) (ten + locative infix + two)	palla:n-li-kene (ten + locative infix li + two)	lin-gni (ten + two) (no affix)

In Aka and Miri-Aka, locative infix a : (Aka) and li (Miri-Aka) are used in between the ten and next plus numeral while affix is not used in Miji.

21-29      bisha-a:-kshi      niffla:n-li-kene      gni-lin-gni  
22            (20 + LI a: + 2)      (20 + LI li + 2)      (Two-ten-two)  
              (LI = Locative infix)

In Aka and Miri-Aka, twenty has specific words i.e., bisha (probably adopted from Assamese bisha) and niffla:n respectively while in Miji, twenty is shown as ten multiplied by two i.e., gni-lin. For twenty two, all three languages add two as suffix while Aka and Miri-Aka also add locative infix as for figures 11 to 19.

For other multipliers of ten i.e., thirty, forty etc., Aka and Miji use the multiplier of ten before two i.e., pho-ghi (four-ten) in Aka and bli:-lin (four-ten) in Miji while in Miri-Aka instead of the use of palla:n for ten, suffix 'ffia:n is used i.e., kuple:- fflia:n (four-ten). Suffix seems to be a modified version of the original word. For hundred, there are different words in Miji and Miri-Aka i.e., bilong and palla: respectively while in Aka a prefix 'pho' is used as the multiplier i.e., pho-gi.

For thousand, modified version of Assamese haza:r is used in all three languages i.e., haza: in Aka, haja:r in Miri-Aka and haza:r in Miji.

4. Cases :- In cases, grammatical relationship is indicated through suffixes which are added on to nouns. These are actually noun-endings. While speaking in speed these suffixes

become agglutinated and can be located when spoken slowly with special stress. The noun, when acting as a subject, is not marked by a distinctive suffix, but suffixes are used only when it is acting as object. These suffixes should be termed as postpositions, added as they are to simple words or word combinations. Their isolability is the only factor which makes them distinct, when separated from the object. Examples are given below : (Objects : man and tree).

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
<u>Nominative</u>			
Man	nina	muru:	nuvu (no suffix)
Tree	aishuin	la:n	ou
<u>Accusative</u>			
The Man	no:-nina	ti:-muru-ti:	nuvu-ru
The tree	to-shuin	ti-la:n-li	ou-ru
<u>Instrumental/ Associative</u>			
With man	ri nin-yo	muru:- <u>paro:n</u>	nuva na-a/ nuvu jo-ru
With tree	ri shuin-yo	la: <u>paro:n</u>	ou:na-a/ ou:jo-ru
<u>Dative</u>			
For man	nina:-na-tharo:n	muru:pare	nuvu-ru
For tree	shuini <u>o:n</u>	la:n parre	ou:-ru
<u>Ablative</u>			
From man	nina tsigo	muru: gude	nuvu-nuyi
From tree	shuin tsigo	la:n guda	ou:-nuyi!

Genitive

Of man	No suffix	mur <u>u</u> pa:da	no suffix
Of tree		la:n pa:da	-do-

Locative &  
Directive

In man	nina ge	mur <u>u</u> : ama:ka	nuvu-ne/neh
In tree	shuin ge	la:n ama:ka	ou:-ne/neh

Purposive

For me	nine-bo	mur <u>u</u> :parre	nuvu-dizhen
For tree	shuin-bo	la:n-parre	ou:-dizhen

From the above it can be seen that all the three languages have different case-particles which are actually the postpositions. Akas and Mijis do not have suffixes for genitives. However, application of the case suffixes is done by the same method in all the languages.

Pronouns : Pronouns in all these languages can be classified as personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, of number and quantity, reciprocal, distributive and relative. Personal pronouns can be objective, possessive or possessive adjective (determiner) and can be classified as first, second and third person. As a rule, the form of pronouns is not affected in different relationships. They take no suffixes; only when they are used predicatively, the genitive take genitive suffix. The personal pronouns end in a vowel, short long or nasalised; in almost all the cases

excepting in Miji where for 'I' or 'me' 'ng' consonant is used. Amongst the Miji, all other first person pronouns have either 'i:' or 'a:' at the end, while Akas have 'o:', 'a:' and 'i:' only; Miri-Akas have 'e:n', 'e:', 'a:n', 'a:' or 'i:' at the end. Demonstrative pronouns too, in all these languages have vowel endings except in Miji where 'ng' is used at the end in two cases. Similar is the case with quantitative and interrogative pronouns. In interrogative pronouns, the beginning is with h, kh or d in Aka and k, kh c, or th in Miji. We will see these classifications of pronoun under five different headings i.e., personal, possessive, adjective-possessive, demonstrative, quantitative and interrogative.

Personal pronouns : These can be further classified into first person, second person and third person and also into singular and plural as shown in the table below :

Table 5.11

Person	Personal Pronouns							
	English		Aka		Miri/Aka		Miji	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
First	I	we	no	ngi	ne:n	em-e:n	nyang	any
Second	You	you	ba	jo	nu:n	nume:	nyi	ji
Third	He	they	i, to	i-na, to-na	li:	lime:	i:/a:i:	i:na:

Miri-Akas use -me: as suffix for plural of personal pronouns but Akas and Mijis use 'na' as suffix only in third person.

Possessive pronouns/Adjective-possessive pronouns : For use of pronouns as possessive as well as adjective possessive pronouns various suffixes used are 'chi' in Aka, -ghi, in Miri-Aka and tai:n in Miji.

Table 5.12

Possessive pronouns

English		Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji		
1st	My    our	no- chi	ni- chi	ne:- ime-ghi ghi	nyang- tai:n	anyi-tain
2nd	Your your	ba:- chi	jo- chi;	nu:- ghi	nume:-ghi; nyi- tai:n	ji-tain
3rd	His    the- Her    ir	i:- chi	to- chi	li:- ghi	lime:-ghi; a:i:- tai:n	i:na:- tai:n

The same is applicable for the pronouns when used as object.

Interrogative pronouns : Interrogative pronouns stand for the persons or things for which the questions are asked, and are the English 'wh' words. English equivalent of these pronouns are given below :

Table 5.13

Interrogative pronouns

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
What	ha, haniya	gina	thin,tang,tein
When	khye/ke	hago-na	khu-khrin/kro:
Where	ha:nga/ha:ga	ha:ju-na	gi-ya/khi-ya
Whose	dzu-ci/jia/ji -wa huga	asgu:-na	tsu:/ciu:-thai
Who	dzu: ju: jo-wa	asna	ciu: cu: siu:
Whom	ji-nio	asna	ciu
Why	deu,hado,ha:bo	halo-na	tung/teinrh
How	khinga	halo-na	kea./gingih-de cowai
How much/many	khinga	harge-na	khinyang/gingo

These interrogative pronouns are placed just before the verbal group in the Subject-Object-Verb patterns of these languages and are an exception to the English rule. Akas and Miri-Akas generally use 'h' phoneme in the beginning of interrogative pronouns, while Mijis use t,th,ts,k,kh,g, or c sounds.

Demonstrative pronouns : Demonstrative pronouns also known as determiners or demonstrative adjectives as pronouns stand for the persons/things pointed to e.g.

Table 5.14

Demonstrative pronouns

English		Aka		Miri-Aka		Miji	
Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
This	These	si-i:/ thoe	si:/ ozu:	ti:	thi:- me:	hung/ pai	phai- tsu/
That (Same level)	Those	phye/ thoe	i:o- hinge:	li:me:	mime:	phai- tsu	phai-
That (Above)		a:i: thi:	peci	khri: me:	--	tha:ng -tsu: cai:- ong	tha:ng -tsu:
That (Below)		ga: thu:/ ga:to: e:n	gua- ling	ba:-me:	nung	phy-tsu maniai -o:m	phu-tsu mulong

Specific feature of the demonstrative pronoun of all these languages is the use of different words for these pronouns for 'same level' 'above' and 'below'. Similarly for 'far' and 'near' (of 'that' and 'these') different words are used; exception being Mijis where singular and plural are generally the same.

Indefinite pronouns : Indefinite pronouns stand for particular persons or things, whose identity, number or quantity are definite, e.g.,

Table 5.15

Indefinite Pronouns

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Some	me-mye/tona	tikhra:-ge	tinc mai-ungh
Anyone	tcu/zeda-majia-a:	iging-ge-va	tinma:-te:a
None	mo:-a:/juchi-jama	kunga-ga	mang-ung tin- ma:n
Nothing	niva:/hamu	inge-va/ra:n-ga:n	te:no:n/ngo

All these languages have different indefinite pronouns.

Pronouns of Number and quantity :

Table 5.16

Pronouns of number and quantity

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Ten	gh	pa;nlla:n	lin
All	vyeu/ozu	purra:	veh/ve/meikio:n
Few	mesa:-me	tikra:nge	mia:n/may-ung
Little	mi:/mye	unga:	hainio:n
Many	a:nye:	a:nye:/aba:ja	mi-nau a:tivu-ma:n
Much	a:nye:/juchi- ja-ma	kunga:-ga:	mang-ung tin-ma:n

All these languages use different pronouns of number and quantity.

Adjectives : Adjectives in all these languages generally follow the noun they qualify. Generally used adjective types are Demonstrative, qualitative, interrogative, quantitative and distributive. No possessive adjectives are used. They are used in attributive (used after nouns), predicative (complement before verbs) and as other parts of speech as nouns, adverbs etc. Examples of the various types of adjective types are given in succeeding paragraphs.

Demonstrative Adjectives : Demonstrative adjectives in Aka and Miji languages are very exhaustive and explanatory that<sup>as</sup> what we have in English or Hindi. While giving out the direction they differentiate the various levels.

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
<u>That</u>			
above	thi:-a:i:e a:i:thi:	khri:-me; -jare-jae	phang-tsu
down	gathu:-a:i:e:n	ba;me:-jare:-jae	phu-tsu
Same level	phye-tho:e	li;me:-jare:-jae	phai-tsu/po;o
far	tho;	-	phai-tsu
<u>There</u>			
above	si:-ge;/gatho ligze	go-utumpa	thang-ya/cha:i:- o;n
down	a:yi:n	ama:ka	phy-ua/cha:ma
same level	si:/todi-ge	khripa;	phai:-ya:
far	gatho-ligze;	-	

contd ...

contd ...

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Those

above	pechi	-	thang-tsu-na
below	g.ua:-linge:-di	nung	phu:-tsu:-na
same			
level	i:ohi-nge:-da/ zana	mime:-pura- jaro-jae:n	phai:-tsu:-na/ po:ch
<u>These</u>	si:/eye/ozu:	thi:-me:	hung-na:/hu:n

---

From the above we find that the Aka and Miji demonstrative adjectives are more exhaustive and discriminatory than of Miri-Aka.

Distributive Adjectives : The Aka and Miri-Aka have not been found to be using distributive adjectives but are being used by Mijis. The replies by the Akas and Miri-Akas for providing equivalents of each, every, either, or neither have been in the negative while the Mijis provided the equivalent words easily as follows :

tsu:-mangloi (either) tsu:-mandey/akhemih (every)

ma:ng-lai (neither)

Quantitative Adjectives : All the three tribes use numerals which are quite clarifying/explanatory. For indefinite quantity i.e., some, many, little, any, much etc., they have their own words, as given below :-

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Any	hadamje	-	ku-medey
few	ne-sa:-me	tikra:nge	mey-ung/mia:ng
Many	a:-nye:/ane:	aba:ja	mein-na:ng/mi-nau
Much	a:nye:/sepew-u	tikra:nge/aba:ja	mi-nau/a:tivu-ma:n

Interrogative Adjectives : Same as explained for interrogative pronouns.

Possessive Adjectives : Same as explained for possessive pronouns.

Qualitative (of quality) Adjectives : All three ethnoses have qualitative adjectives. They have different words to indicate comparative degree of quality as given below :

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Good	u:-de:/uda	kappla:n	mivi:
Bad	ma-vo	-	mi-ngi:
Fine	hasa	-	mi-vi:
Big	dow/dio	-	mi-do/do
Clever	bu-zu	-	bhu-zi

Comparative degree

Good	u:-da:/uda	kappla:n ava:-	mivi
Better	are-e-u-phau	kappla:n-nuzung	-
Best	ere-u-m-du	kappla:n-sung	mivi-lafi

contd . . .

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High	levzo	utto;n	mene-via;n
Higher	ere-u-levao	utto;n-sung	mivian-lait
Highest	-do-	utto;n-su:te	-

---

From the analysis of the above it can be said that Akas and Mijis adjectives are better distinctive than Miri-Akas: all of them have well developed adjective systems.

Verbs : In all the three languages, the verbs do not change for number and gender. The usual verb substantive for Aka are suffix-du, -da or -de; for Miri-Aka these are -ga, -go or -gi and for Miji, these suffixes are -ru or -yu. The root is often used without any suffix in present indefinite tense. For 3rd person, the verbs take different suffixes than those taken for 1st and 2nd person. Suffixes for 1st and 2nd person are generally the same. The tenses are indicated differently in all the three languages with different suffixes to verbal roots in each language for every type of tense. The verbal roots are placed first in the verbal group but last in the sequence S-O-V (Subject-Object-Verb) of a sentence. Aka is found to be the most complicated language as far as the verbal suffixes are concerned as they use suffixes at convenience and rules seems to be often bypassed. The different suffixes as verbal roots used in all the three languages are given in the Table 5.17.

Table 5.17

Suffixes used to represent various tenses

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
<b>1. <u>Indefinite</u></b>			
(a) <u>Present</u> :	Verbal root may be without suffix. Suffix -we/-be/-bi/ -chho/-chha and -do are also added	-ga/-go/-go	Verbal root may be without suffix or with suffixes -ru, -yu or yu-shi
(b) <u>Past</u>	No marked difference is found between past and present. At times, -ni, -na, or -i are also added as suffixes.	-bo:	-ni:
(c) <u>Future</u>	-nye/-nie/-nya	-fo/-fa:	-ne; or -ney
<b>2. <u>Continuous</u></b>			
(a) Present	-khoe	-uga	-ri/-ri-jih/or -ri-giphang
(b) Past	-m-khiu	-ba-ga	jih-ni
(c) Future	kho-da	-bo-fo:	jih-ne

contd ...

Table 5.17 contd ...

Perfect

(a) Present	-affia-khoewe:	chan-ba-ga	-ye, -du
(b) Past	-affia-da-we:	ba-ga	-
(c) Future	affia-ji-jo-we:	-ba-bo-fo:	-

Perfect Continuous

(a) Present	-um/in-khue-we:	ba-us ga	-
(b) Past	jim-khoe-we:	ba -ga	-
(c) Future	jim -khoejo-we:	ba bo: to	-

A comparative table of use of verbs in various tense forms of the root 'go' is given below :-

Indefinite	Present	Past	Future
English	I go	I went	I shall go
Aka	no khagi woe:	no kho woe:	no khajo woe:
Miri-Aka	me: yi lang	me i: nga	me i: fo
Miji	nya:ng deih ru	nyang deih ni:	nyang deih ne:

Continuous

English	I am going	I was going	I will be going
Aka	ni khojim khoe woe:	no kho-jim chhue woe:	no khojim khojo woe:
Miri-Aka	me: yu: ga:	me i: nga	me: i: go: fo,
Miji	nyang deith riji	nyang deith rijini	nyang deih rijine

contd ...

contd ...

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Perfect

English	I have gone	I had gone	I would have gone
Aka	no kho woe;	no offa gaju woe;	noji jo woe;
Miri-Aka	me: yi:nga	me: i; ba:nga:	me; ba: yi: lang

Perfect  
Continuous

English	I have been going	I had been going	I would have been going
Aka	no kho itse jim khoe woe;	no kho use ji tchoe woe:	no khoitse jim kho jo woe;
Miri-Aka	me i: go: a ti ga:	me a go:n ga	me ba:n ego:fo

---

From the analysis of the verbs we find the following :-

- (a) Verbs come last in the sentence pattern Subject-Object-Verb in all the three languages.
- (b) Miri-Aka and Miji verb roots and suffixes are more simple and stable than the Aka verb roots and suffixes.
- (c) The roots and their use differ significantly in all the three language.
- (d) The root is often used without any suffix in present indefinite tense.

Adverbs : Seven classes of adverbs may be distinguished in all the three languages. These are of (1) time (s) place (3) manner or equality (4) interrogation (5) affirmation and negation (6) comparison and (7) quantity. Examples of these are given below :-

1. Adverb of time

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Formerly	furge	-	kyelow
Today	you	-	hung wo hung rugh or hu-ni
Tomorrow	jaha:	-	na-wu:
Yesterday	fu-gey	-	digah-wugh
Afterwards	sia:-funghe	puro:nda	jih-mi-nin-ya ksu-niu
Recently	khucho-eye	-	tsavo-matsu-yihru
Now	yam-hhwa/yam- kshwa	-	sih-siwo-dang
Always	ze:r:u:/siwa/ shau	uttei/udei	da:n-lang/dauglin
Sometimes	khe:ma	-	gilyin
Never	khe:-hhwa-je/khe- khua-je	-	dang-lin
Before	e-vra/uvu-je e-bra-ja	pa:ti-go:n	nivvian-yih-ru tso-raw
Then	memei/sinamal	-	
Soon	a:me:i:	-	mu-guthuh/yi- ruh

contd ...

contd ...

2. Adverb of place

Here	eye/ago	ti:	a:ho/a:ru:/niba: ng
Where	toe:/tha-ge:/si:	li:/khrupe	phaiyag/phu-lya
Near	inyisa/e-ni-cha/ ene-sa	elei	mi-ni mu-nih
Below			
Up	edju-ge/uthu:je	-	phung-thang/ choi
Down	gumge/lineo/ula:- goshe:	-	Dhu-yu/mumu:/ mu-bizin-za
At	ha:a:-go		
In	ulu:ge	ama:ka	ya ru
Far	erra-ge/ugage:	alla:	mirih/marang ha:no/ri/yo
Behind	ullu-ge:/e-phum-ge	<u>puaO:ngO:n</u>	mie:sa minge:-sa
Above the house	inye- <u>shkichage</u>	nungo	man <u>cha:i:o:n</u>
Below the house	neo:-uluge:	ama:ka/	
There up	gato/ligza	go-utumpa	thang-ya
There down	gtho-ai:n	ama:ka	phu:-ya
These same level	to/to/digo	khripa	phai-ya
That up/ above	tho/a:i:e:	ba:me/khrime -jare-jae	chai-ong
That down	gathu:-a:i:n	ba:me-jare jae	man <u>iaiasm</u>
That same level	go:/thoe:	lime jarejoe	po:rr

contd ...

contd ...

Adverb of Manner and Quality

Bravely	g:uo:-o:/neg:u:- du:	neuro:n- kample	miza:ng/miga:ng
Happily	lishu:/lobo:	uttu:- -macha:n	mu-ling-bu:/ lungs/thig-she
Quickly	khucho/chhu:cho	utto:- kappla:n/ uttu:-rui	mu-guthuh/ lung-bei
Fast	udro/mike:u,	pa:tti:	mi-bigah maj-ji
Slowly	sa:osha:/sho:- sho jan-jan	ise:-ise:	dimoh-nuye/ dumo-h-nu lumo
Friendly	ujoid/ija:a/e-ja	ajinlei	
Politely	shosa-shosa	o:i:n-misi -rige	mikhi:-khia:n
Rudely	<u>ma:o:i:o:</u>	ka:shi-ru-go	maga:n
Loudly	kho:-o:i:o	cha:ffu-re-ru	
Frankly		ijan-ija:n-rug	

4. Adverbs of Interrogation

What	ha/hanya	gina	<u>thin/tang/tein</u>
Where	ha:-ngi:/hang-ga	ha:ju:na	kro:/gi-ya/ <u>khiya</u>
Who	dju:-gwi:/jia/ huga	asna	<u>chiu:/tsu:</u>
Why	deu/hado/-bo/hondo	halo:na	thin-ru-de/tung
When	ke/khya/khe-ya- sigla	hago:na	khu-khrin/kro:
How	khin-ye	hrrge:na	kinya:nay/singo
Whom	ji-nio	-	chiu:-ru
Whose	dzu:chit	asguna:	chiu:/chiu-thai

contd ...

contd...

5. Adverbs of Affirmation and Negation

Never	kha:-hhwa-ja	-	daughin
May	khe-khua-je	-	-

6. Adverb of Comparison on Degree

High	levzo	utto:n	mene-via:n
Higher	ere-u-larzo	utton-suno	meno-via:n-lait
Highest	ere-u-m-lavzo	utto:n-sinte	mena-via:nt
Good	uda	kappla:n	mus;
Better	ere-e-u-phan	ava:- kappla:a	miri-lafi:
Best	ere-si-m-du	kappla:n -sung	-

7. Adverb of Quantity

Few	ne-sa:me	tikra:nga	m;a:n/mey-ung
Little	mi:/mye/mi-sa	gina	thin/tang.
Nothing	ni-va:	in-ge-va/ rai:n-ga:n	Tengo:n/nga
None	mo-a:/juchhi -ja-ma	kungo:-ga	mang-ung
Much	a:nye:/a:nyua:	tkkra:nge:	minau/a:tivu -ma:n
Many	a:nye/a:nyia:	aba:ja	main-na:ng

Adverbs are in frequent use in all three languages. The semantic element of adverbs differs in all. No patterns could be established however, due to less number of sentences recorded.

Prepositions : Following prepositions are generally used by all three ethnoses. They use different prepositions but the manner and place of use is generally the same :-

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
With (associative)	ja	purro:n	jo-ru:
With (Instrumental)	mbo, yo		na-a
In	ulu:ge	ama:ka	ya ru:
From	yo/gou/chi-yo	gadha:	yah/nuyi
At	ha:a:go	ha:ngo:ri:ya	
Behind	ulu-go	pu-o:no:n	minge:sa
For	-ro:n	pa:rre	dizhe:n
Over	hi-o:	pa:da	nintean
Under	livzi		muliviong
Cut	liuru:	-	mubazung
On account of	nausshi	-	gebion gshong

All ethnoses use prepositions frequently but with varying semantic elements.

### Conjunctions

Following conjunctions are being used by all the three ethnoses. They use different prepositions but the manner and place of use is generally the same.

---

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
And	sio:/ha:mso/ aiya	inia kinna:	sro/suru:
Because	-re	-	-
If	time/soio senemereda	nunga yony	nido-inta Chimta
Both	naksam-a:- se jochi	-	-
Yes	ya	-	ji
No	<u>ny</u> i	-	<u>ng</u> e

---

Conjunctions could be evaluated for Aka and Miji languages only and they were found to be close.

The functional morphology (grammar) study of these languages reveals the following :-

- (a) Gender in all the three languages is indicated by two methods i.e., with the use of separate words for both the genders, suffixes are frequently used for the female gender otherwise.
- (b) Number is indicated either by giving the quantity or with the use of suffixes.
- (c) Numerals are used either by individual word or by adding the multiplier/additive as suffix. Borrowed words are generally used to count higher than hundred.

- (d) Case-particles in the form of post-positions are used in all three languages but differently. Akas and Mijis do not have suffixes for genitives. The post positions get assimilated in a continuous speech and can be differentiated only from slow speech.
- (e) Pronouns in all three languages are classified as personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, of number and quantity reciprocal, distributive and relative.
- (f) Miri-Akas use '-me:' as suffix for plural of personal pronouns but Akas and Mijis use '-na:' as suffix only in third person.
- (g) Akas use '-chi', Miri-Akas '-gi' and Mijis '-tain' as possessive and adjective-possessive-pronouns.
- (h) Akas and Miri-Akas generally use 'h' phoneme in the beginning of interrogative pronouns while Mijis do not have a set phoneme for this purpose.
- (i) Different words for 'same level', 'above' and 'below' in all three languages is a specific feature of demonstrative pronouns.
- (j) All these languages have different indefinite pronouns or pronouns of number and quality.

- (k) Adjectives in all three languages generally follow the noun they qualify. All three languages differentiate demonstrative adjectives more clearly than in the case of English and Hindi. Amongst these ethnoses demonstrative adjectives are more exhaustive and distinguishing among Aka and Miji than in Miri-Aka.
- (l) Distributive Adjectives are used only in Miji but not in Aka or Miri-Aka.
- (m) All the three ethnoses use different distinguishing words for quantitative adjectives and interrogative adjectives.
- (n) All three languages have qualitative adjectives and they use different words to demonstrate different qualitative adjectives. They all use suffixes to state different comparative degrees.
- (o) In all three languages verbs do not change with number or gender. The usual verb substantive for Aka are suffix '-du', 'da' or '-de'; for Miri-Aka these are '-ga', '-go' or '-gi'; and for Miji the suffixes are '-ru' or '-yu'.
- (p) Verbs come last in all the languages in the sentence patterns which are Subject-Object-Verb (SOV).

- (q) Miri-Aka and Miji verb roots are more simple and stable than the Aka verb roots and suffixes. Verb substantives are used in all three languages which act as suffixes to the verbal roots.
- (r) The verb roots and their use differs significantly in all three languages.
- (s) Adverbs and prepositions are in frequent use amongst all. The semantic elements differ significantly amongst all, though the manner and place generally remains the same in all three language.
- (t) Manner, material and method of use of conjunctions in Aka and Miji languages appear to be close.

From the above the inference can be safely drawn that grammatically (morphological level) all these languages differ significantly from each other. Aka and Miji languages differ lesser than Aka/Miri-Aka and Miri-Aka/Miji. The semantic element is the major factor causing these distinctions which needs further study.

Semantics : In semantic analysis, the study is taken at two levels. First, an affinity analysis of these three languages will be carried out with the languages of the region with the help of 35 basic words selected from Grierson's 'Linguistic Survey' after matching them with the vocabularies recorded by other writers. The languages will first be compared

to find out to which family and group they belong and thereafter, their links will be studied with the languages of the group/groups (tables 5.18 to 5.23). The level of affinity will be measured on the basis of five point scale adopted in chapter II i.e., Excellent (5), Very Good (V.G.4), Good (3), Poor (2) and Very poor (1). Thereafter, the detailed comparison will be carried out with the vocabulary items given in volume II appendices 'G' to 'T' which contains 1978 Aka words, 1150 Miri-Aka words and 1874 words. The categories of these words are shown in table 5.24. These words are further grouped on the basis of 'basic' and 'cultural words' (Volume II Appendix 'JJ') and also on the linguistic basis (Volume II Appendix 'MM'). The first grouping is carried out to compare whether there is more similarity in basic words; it will be considered that the languages are basically different. The linguistic grouping is for convenience and to avoid comparing 128 phonemes and also to find out the pattern of sounds being used in these languages. Semantic affinities between vocabularies of the three languages are given at table 5.26 based on similarities given out in table 5.25.

Table 5.18 : Affinity of languages recorded by Grierson and others with Aka language

(Numerals 13, Pronouns 12, Body parts 10: Scale adopted, 5 point)

Group	Exe (5)	V. Good (4)	Good (3)	Poor (2)	V.Poor (1)	Total
<u>Tibeto-Burman</u>	40	12	9	10	1	72
Numerals (x13)	5	12	6	2	1	26
Pronouns (x12)	30	-	3	2	-	35
Body Parts (x10)	5	-	-	6	-	11
<u>Austro-Asiatic</u>	10	-	15	-	1	26
Numerals	-	-	3	-	1	4
Pronouns	10	-	9	-	-	19
Body Parts	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Indo-European</u>	5	4	-	6	-	15
Numerals	-	4	-	2	-	6
Pronouns	5	-	-	-	-	5
Body Parts	-	-	-	4	-	4
<u>Sinitic</u>	-	-	3	4	-	7
Numerals	-	-	-	2	-	2
Pronouns	-	-	-	2	-	2
Body Parts	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Dravidian</u>	5	-	-	-	-	5
Numerals	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pronouns	5	-	-	-	-	5
Body Parts	-	-	-	-	-	-

contd. ...

Table 5.18 contd ...

<u>Agglutinative</u>	5	-	-	-	1	6
<u>Non-Indian</u>						
Numerals	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pronouns	5	-	-	-	-	5
Body Parts	-	-	-	-	1	1

Overall affinity of Akas is 41% for Tibeto-Burman family, 15% for Austro-Asiatic family, 9% for Indo-European, 4% with Sinitic, 3% with Dravidian and Non-Indian agglutinative languages. The affinities being closest with Tibeto-Burman and closer next to Astro-Asiatic. We shall see Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic languages in detail and drop others due to their low affinities overall.

Table 5.19: Semantic Affinity of Aka with Tibeto-Burman and Astro-Asiatic families (based on 35 words of each language measured on 5 Point Scale)

	Max (5)	V. Good (4)	Good (3)	Poor (2)	V. Poor (1)	Total
<u>Tibeto-Burman family</u>						
<u>North Assam Group</u>						
Miji	15	8	15	4	1	43
Miri-Aka	05	-	-	6	3	14
Dafla	10	-	3	2	-	15
Abor	10	-	3	2	-	15

contd ...

Table 5.19 contd ...

Hill-Miri	10	-	3	2	-	15
Apatani	-	-	3	2	-	05
Mishimi	5	4	-	2	-	11
Padam	5	-	-	2	-	07
Gallong	10	-	-	2	-	12
Nocte	5	-	-	4	-	09
Monpa	-	-	-	2	-	02
Sherdukpen	-	-	-	2	-	02
Sulung	5	-	-	2	-	07
Howa	-	-	-	2	-	02
Tagin	5	-	-	2	-	07
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Himalayan Group</u>						
Newari	5	-	-	-	-	5
Sangpang	-	-	-	2	-	22
Manchu	5	-	-	-	-	5
Kulung	-	-	-	2	-	2
Chamba Lahuli	5	-	-	-	-	5
Limbu	-	-	3	-	-	3
Kampu	-	-	-	2	-	2
Rangkas	5	-	-	-	-	5
Murmi	5	-	-	-	-	5
Kanug	-	4	-	-	-	4

contd ...

Table 5.19 contd ...

Tami	5	-	-	-	-	5
Padi/Pahri/Pahi	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sunway	-	4	-	-	-	4
Hajor	-	4	-	-	-	4
<u>Naga Group</u>						
Tableng	-	-	3	-	-	3
Empeo	-	-	-	-	-	-
Namsangia	-	-	-	2	-	2
Banpara	-	-	3	-	-	3
Tamlu	-	-	-	2	-	2
Mosang	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Kuki-Chin Group</u>						
Chinbok	5	-	-	-	-	5
Yadurn	5	-	-	-	-	5
<u>Kachin Group</u>						
Bara Group	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Tibetan Group</u>						
Gyarung	5	-	-	-	-	5
Hairpo	5	-	-	-	-	5
Ba:tis	5	-	-	-	-	5
Balti	5	-	-	-	-	5
Ladaki	5	-	-	-	-	5
Purik	5	-	-	-	-	5

contd ...

Table 5.19 contd ...

Spiti	5	-	-	-	-	5
Kagati	5	-	-	-	-	5
Sherpa	5	-	-	-	-	5
Danjengka	5	-	-	-	-	5
Hloke	5	-	-	-	-	5
Kapte	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Lolo Moso Group</u>						
Aka (Kanang)	5	-	-	-	-	5
Aka	15	-	-	-	-	15
Lahu	10	-	-	-	-	10
Nung	10	-	-	2	-	12
Moso	5	-	-	-	-	5
Pympyn	5	-	-	-	-	5
<u>Austro-Asiatic Group</u>						
Damang	5	-	-	-	-	5
Wa	-	-	3+3+3+3	-	-	12
Darang	-	-	-	2	-	2
Khasi	5+5+5	-	-	-	-	15
Sakai	5	-	-	-	-	5
Malay	-	-	3	-	-	3
Khasi	-	-	3	-	-	3

Following languages have more than 5% affinity with Aka:-  
 Miji, Miri-Aka, Dafla, Abor, Hill-Miri, Mishmi, Nocte, Aka,

Lahu, Nung, wa and Khasi. Other languages are having only one or two words close which can be considered as a chance affinity hence affinity with them is not taken into account, further.

The groups to which affinities above the chance-factor of 1%, are, North-Assam group, Lolo-Moso group and Palaung-Wa group. In Lolo-Moso group the languages close are Aka, Lahu and Nung, while in Palaung-wa group the languages close are 'Wa' and 'Khasi'. In North-Assam group the languages close are Miji, Miri-Aka, Dafla, Hill-Miri, Padam and Mishmi.

Table 5.20 : Semantic Affinity of Miri-Aka with language families

(Total words 35 Scale 5 Point)

	Max (5)	V.Good (4)	Good (3)	Poor (2)	V.Poor (1)	Total
<u>Tibeto-Burman</u>						
Numerals		8	3	6	-	17
Pronouns		4	9	-	-	13
Body Parts	5	-	15	-	-	20
Total						50
<u>Austro-Asiatic</u>						
Numerals	-	-	-	2	-	2
Pronouns	-	-	3	-	-	33
Body Parts						
Total						5

contd ...

Table 5.20 contd ...

<u>Karen</u>						
Numerals	-	4	-	-	-	4
Pronouns	-	-	-	-	-	-
Body Parts						
Total						<u>4</u>
 <u>Dravidian</u>						
Numerals	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pronouns	-	-	-	-	-	-
Body Parts					2	<u>2</u>
Total						<u>2</u>

It can be seen that the maximum affinity of Miri-Aka is with Tibeto-Burman family. With other language families, affinity is very negligible. Hence for further analysis, the languages of Tibeto-Burman family will be considered for establishment of the further affinity.

Table 5.21 : Semantic Affinity of Miri-Aka with other languages of Tibeto-Burman family  
(Total words 35 scale 5 point)

	Max (5)	V.Good (4)	Good (3)	Poor (2)	V.Poor (1)	Total
<u>Tibeto-Burman family</u>						
<u>North Assam Group</u>						
Aka	5	-	-	6	3	14

contd ...

Table 5.21 contd ...

Miji	-	-	3	6	-	9
Dafla (Nissi)	-	4	-	-	-	4
Abor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Mishmi	5	3	3	-	-	11
Apatani	-	4	3	-	-	7
Gallong	-	4	-	-	-	4
Nocte	-	-	3	-	-	3
Hill-Miri	-	4	-	-	-	4
Digaru	-	4	3	-	-	7
Miju	-	4	-	-	-	4
<u>Lolo Moso</u>						
Sibia	-	-	3	-	-	3
Lisu	-	4	-	-	-	4
Moso	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Naga Group</u>						
Sema	-	4	-	2	-	6
Hlota	-	-	-	2	-	2
Chang	-	-	-	2	-	2
Tablang	-	-	-	2	-	2
Tangkul	-	-	3	2	-	5
Maring	-	-	-	2	-	2
Namsangia	-	-	-	2	-	2
Kwoirang	-	4	-	-	-	4
Empeo	-	4	-	-	-	4

contd ...

Table 5.21 contd ...

<u>Burma Group</u>	5	-	-	-	-	5
<u>Himalayan Group</u>						
Rangkas						
Newari			3	-	-	3
Chaurasya			-	-	1	1
Lepcha			3	-	-	3
Murmi			3	-	1	4
Kananri			3	-	-	3
<u>Bora Group</u>						
Dimasa				2	-	2
Tipura	-	4	-	-	-	4

From the above it can be seen that Miri-Aka is closest to Aka and then closer to Mishmi and Miji. With other languages, it has just a chance affinity i.e., only one or two words, the total of which comes less than 5%, hence has not been taken into account. Group-wise, it is close to North-Assam group and then Naga group, Himalayan group and lastly to Lolo-Moso group.

Table 5.22 : Affinities of Mijis with Languages families and Groups

(Total words 35 Scale 5 Point)

	Max (5)	V.Good (4)	Good (3)	Poor (2)	V.Poor (1)	Total
<u>Tibeto-Burman</u>						
Numerals	15	8	12	2	-	37
Pronouns	15	-	3	6	-	24
Body Parts	-	12	9	-	2	23
Total						<u>74</u>
<u>Dravidian</u>						
Numerals	-	-	3	-	-	3
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Karen</u>						
Numerals	-	4	-	-	-	4
Other,	-	-	-	-	-	--
<u>Agglitivative Non-India</u>						
Numerals	-	-	3	-	-	3
Other;	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nil affinity with other families	-	-	-	-	-	-

Miji has affinity only 42% approximately with Tibeto-Burman family 74 points out of 175, and only of one word each other groups, hence we shall consider Miji to be belonging to Tibeto-Burman family. We shall further see its affinity with the group and languages of Tibeto-Burman family.

Table 5.23 : Semantic affinity of Miji with other languages of the region

	Max (5)	V.Good (4)	Good (3)	Poor (2)	V.Poor (1)	Total
<u>Tibeto-Burman Family</u>						
<u>North Assam Group</u>						
Aka	15	8	15	4	1	43
Miri-Aka	-	-	3	6	-	9
Nissi (Dafla)	-	-	3	-	-	3
Howa	-	-	6	-	-	6
Nocte	-	8	-	-	-	8
Apatani	-	-	3	2	-	5
Mishmi	5	-	9	4	-	18
Abor	-	-	-	2	-	2
Miri	-	-	-	2	-	2
Padam	-	-	-	2	-	2
Gallong	-	-	-	4	-	4
<u>Naga</u>						
Banpara	-	-	3	-	-	3
Kaugoi	-	-	3	-	-	3
Sema	-	-	6	-	-	6
Maring	-	-	6	-	-	6
Kabui	-	-	3	2	-	5
Mosang	-	4	-	-	-	4
Koi-Ao	-	-	-	2	-	2

contd ...

Table 5.23 contd ...

Mikir	-	-	6	2	-	8
Tangkhul	-	-	-	2	-	2
Tungse	-	-	3	2	-	5
Padang	-	-	3	-	-	3
Kazang	-	-	3	2	-	5
Kangri	-	-	3	-	-	3
Namangia	-	4	-	-	-	4
Tablang	-	4	-	-	-	4
Supong	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Boro-Group</u>						
Dimasa	-	4	3+3	-	-	10
Garó	-	4	-	-	-	4
<u>Himalayan Group</u>						
Pahadi, Kanung, Vayu	X					
	X					
Rangkas, Dimal,	X		3 each	-	-	3 each
	X					
Kanesi, Sanwar,	X					
	X					
Lambichang, Murmi	X					
Pahadi	-	-	6	-	-	6
Limbu	5	-	3	-	-	8
<u>Lolo-Moso Group</u>						
A-ko, Moso, Lisu	-	-	3 each	-	-	3 each
Nung	-	-	9	-	-	9
Lehu	-	-	6	-	-	6

contd ...

Table 5.23 contd ...

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Hlota	-	-	6	-	-	6
<u>Tibetan Group</u>						
Kagate	-	4+4	-	-	-	8

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Analysis. From the above it can be seen that the Miji has some affinities with North Assam group, Naga group, Boro group, Lolo-Moso group and Himalayan group, maximum being with North Assam group. The affinity, however, with other than Assam Group can be considered as below the chance factor. Amongst the languages, the maximum affinity is with Akas and then with Mishmis. Other languages with whom it has an affinity above 5% (chance factor) are for Knowa 5%, Miri-Aka (6%) Dimasa (6%) Limbu 5%, Kagate 5% and Nung 6%) all however have very poor affinities.

More detailed semantic differentiation was carried out between Aka, Miji and Miri Aka languages with the help of more words than we had used earlier. For this purpose the number of words of these three languages recorded by this researcher are given in table 5.24.

Table 5.24 : Number of words/word forms in all three languages under various categories (files)

Sr.	Cat	English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
1.	Body	122	237	155	198
2.	Medical	45	51	44	38
3.	Society	194	227	174	190
4.	Meals	92	109	61	127
5.	Culture	120	118	19	86
6.	Marriage	25	26	20	25
7.	Kinship	119	218	131	201
8.	Nature	226	324	206	337
9.	Grammar	84	138	65	135
10.	Verbs	202	258	168	284
11.	Adjectives	78	131	49	117
12.	Numerals	32	55	42	53
13.	Proper nouns	-	86	16	83

Note ; 1. The words of the three languages include various speech-forms for the same word.

2. Miri-Aka religion (under head culture) words are not included because they could not be recorded. Similarly lesser number of other words specially proper nouns have been included, due to the same reason.

Table 5.25 : Words having affinity/closeness  
(5 Point Scale)

Sr.	English	Aka	Aka/ MA	Miri-Aka	M.A./ Miji	Miji	Aka/ Miji	Remarks
<u>Body</u>								
1.	Arm	wa	-		-	vae	3	
2.	Beard		-	ju	1	guh	-	
3.	Body		-	ga:	1	zah	-	
4.	Breast	a:ffu:	5	a:ffu:	-		-	
5.	Ear		-	muza	3	muzu	-	
6.	Face	agra:	3	agra:-pu:	-		-	
7.	Finger	agz-itsa	-		-	gi-ts-oh	2	
8.	Hand	e-gi	-		-	gi	3	
9.	Jaw			tani:	3	tuni:	-	
10.	Teeth	thu:	-		-	thu:	5	
<u>Medical</u>								
11.	Doctor	daktor	5	daktor	5	daktor	5	(Loan word)
12.	Hospital	aspi;tal	4	haspital	5	haspi-tal	4	-do-
13.	Medicine	dwa	3	dwa-go	3	dawok	3	-do-
14.	Pain	na:n	1	inni	1	no	1	
15.	Woman	mau:	-		-	mu:	3	
<u>Society:</u>								
16.	Circle	sarkal	5	sarkal	5	sarkal	5	-do-
17.	Circle Officer	si:o:	5	s:i:o:	5	si:o:	5	-do-

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

18. Deputy Commissioner	di:si:	5	di:-si:	5	di:si:	5	Loan word
19. Girl	mumsa	2	mumi	-	-	-	
20. Gram Panch -ayak	Pancait	5	pancait	3	pancga:	3	-do-
21. Old-woman	nuna	-	-	-	nu:	3	
22. Panchayat member	membar	5	membar	5	membar	5	-do-
23. Political Interpreter (PI)	pi:-a:i:	5	pi:-a:i:	-	member	5	-do-
24. Postman	da:g-lago	3	da:k	5	da:k	3	-do-
25. Village Headman	gao:n bura	5	gao:n-bura	5	gao:n- bura	5	-do-
26. Wife	ga:	3	gi:	2	zhi	2	
27. Woman	memem	3	mimi:	-	-	-	
28. Biscuit	biskit	5	biskit	5	biskit	5	-do-
29. Blanket	kombol	5	kombol	3	komblang	3	-do-
30. Book	khako	4	ka:ko	-	-	-	-do-
31. Bottle	botal	5	botal	5	botal	5	-do-
32. Bowl	bartan	-	-	-	bartan	5	-do-
33. Button	batan	-	guda:m	-	batan	5	-do-
34. Cell	sell	-	be:tri:	5	be:tri:	-	-do-
35. Chappal	capal	5	capal	5	capal	5	-do-
36. Cloth Unstitched	ge:	1	gi-lle	1	ga:	3	
37. Fan	pankha	-	-	-	faén	-	-do-
38. King	ra:ja:	5	ra:ja:	5	ra:ja:	5	-do-

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

39. Metal Jug	jug	5	jug	5	jug	5	Loan word
40. Milk	a:fu:	5	a:fu:	-	-	-	-do-
41. Paper	kako:z	3	ka:ko	3	kagaz	3	-do-
42. Pen	pe:n	5	pe:n	-	-	-	-do-
43. Pant	pe:nt	5	pe:nt	5	pe:nt	5	-do-
44. Photo	poto:	4	'foto:	p:to:		5	-do-
45. Price	igong	-		-igong		5	
46. Queen	ra:ni:	5	ra:ni:	5	ra:ni:	5	-do-
47. Radio	redi:o	5	radio	5	redi:o	5	-do-
48. Shirt	kami:z	-	poula	8	3	pailo	-do-
49. Shoes	si:ta	5	si:ta	-	-	-	-do-
50. Socks	mounza	3	munza	3	mauja	3	-do-
51. Table	sha:-tebul	3	teibul	5	tebul	5	-do-
52. Window	khidki	5	khidki	5	khidki	5	-do-
53. 'Dah' Medium	vetspha	2		-	vetsun	3	
<u>Meals :</u>							
54. Bear (drink)	bi:ar	5	bi:ar	5	bi:ar	5	-do-
55. Butter-tea	sime:				sama:	3	-do-
56. Milk	a:fu:	5	a:fu:			-	
57. Tea	sa:h	3	tsa:	4	sa:	4	-do-
58. Tea with sugar	sa:h-si:-ni:	3	si:ni:-sa:	5	sini:-sa:	3	-do-
59. Kerosene	kaeroshin	4	kira:sin	4	kirashin	4	-do-
60. Maize	sibbe:	-		-	sebea:n	2	-do-
61. Mustard-oil	saro:n-te:l	-	mi:tha:-te:l		sarso;n-tel	5	-do-

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

62. Salt	ru	-		-	lu	2	Loan word
63. Sugar	sini;	5	si:ni..	5	si:ni:	5	-do-
64. Wheat	phu;	3	pu;	3	peoh/pheo	3	
65. Almonds	bada;m	5	bada;m	5	bada;m	5	-do-
66. Apple	a:pl	5	a:pal	5	a:pal	5	-do-
67. Grapes	angu;r	5	angu;r	5	angu;r	5	-do-
68. Ground-nut	bada;m	5	bada;m	5	bada;m	5	-do-
69. Guava	amru;d	5	amru;d	5	amru;d	5	-do-
70. Mango	a:m	5	a:m	5	a:m	5	-do-
71. Orange	narang	5	narang	5	narang	5	-do-
72. Pear	na:spati	5	na:spati	5	na:spati	5	-do-
73. Pomegranate	ana;r	5	ana;r	5	ana;r	5	-do-
74. Pineapple	anana;s	5	anana;s	5	anana;s	5	-do-
75. Cabbage	khubbi	4	kubbi	5	kubbi	4	-do-
76. Carrot	gajor	4	gajra	4	gajar	5	-do-
77. Chillies	a:di	3	a:di	-		-	
78. Cauli-flower	ful-khubbi	4	pul-kubbi	4	ful-gubi	4	-do-
79. Potato	-	-	la:shanikku	3	lasha:nyia	-	
80. Raddish	mu:lle/ mullika	3	mu:le	5	mu:la	3	-do-
81. Vegetable	phuje	-			phen	1	
82. Fish	chi	3		-	tsi:	3	
83. Meat	fu;	2	su;	-	sekio:n	-	

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

Culture (Ornaments)

84. Silver-plated bead-necklace	magile	-	-	magile	5	Loan word
85. Bead	sum	-	-	sum	5	
86. Diamond-shaped ornaments	si:ban	-	-	sigba	2	
87. Necklace with large bead	double	-	-	doule:	5	

Marriage and Customs :

88. Engagement	goina-vio	1	ga:u	1	ga:-drava	1
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Nature :

89. Cloud	mumu	1	muba:u	1	ma:mang	2
90. Earth	n-ou	2	na:	5	na:	2
91. Field	vi:	-	-	vo:	2	
92. Gold	se:	-	-	se:	5	
93. Fire	mi:	-	-	mai:	3	
94. Hill	gaya	1	go:n	-	-	-
95. Iron	si:	-	-	si:	5	
96. Jungle	sembe:	4	sempe:	-	-	-
97. Landslide	roh	3	rah	-	-	-
98. Mountaintop	phu-dzu	-	-	-	phung-do	2
99. Sun	jo	-	-	-	jo	5
100. Bear	shu-co	2	su:mo:n	3	shu:-tsang	3

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

101. Fish	tsi:	-	-	tsi:-fi:	3
102. Horse	fugra:	3	sugra:	3	shu-gro: 2
103. Louse		-	fla:n	1	fe:n -
104. Mithun	fu:	4	su:	5	su: 4
105. Snake		-	gi:bu:	3	bu: -
106. Crow	pulga:	4	pulka	-	-
107. Bamboo	fu:	5	fu:	-	-

Grammar

108. I/me	no	2	ne:n	2	nyang 2
109. You (pl)	jo:	-		-	ji: 3
110. He/She	i:	2	li:	-	-
111. We	nyi:	-		a:nyi:	3

Verbs

112. Appologize	ma:f- -thro:n	4	ma:f-tro:n	2	ma:f-bai: 2	Loan word
113. Bark	phui-i:	-		-	phiw 3	
114. Bind	phu-dzo	-		-	phuh-dzo 4	
115. Bow	khi:i:-r:	-		-	giri h 2	
116. Bring	lave	-		-	lu-bi 2	
117. Build		-	re:n	1	ri:na -	
118. Burn	pho	-		-	phrau jong 1	
119. Eat	tso-u:	-	to	-	tsu:h 3	
120. Fall of hail-storm	ga-u	-		-	gu 4	

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

121. To be fast		-	pa:nti	2	fuentei	-	
122. Has/have	du:	-		-	du:		5
123. Hurt	tsadupo	-		-	sadupho		3
124. Itch	sidzu	-		-	gudzu		3
<u>Adjectives</u>							
125. All	vyen	-		-	veh		2
126. Big	dow	-		-	do		4
127. Clever	buzu	-		-	bhu-ji		3
128. Fall	gau:	-		-	goh		2
129. How much?	khinya	-		-	khinyu		3
130. Where ?	ha:nga	-	ha:ju:	-			3
<u>Numerals</u>							
131. One	a:	2	akia	3	akhe		2
132. Two	kshi	-		-	gnih		2
133. Four	pale:	2	kipplai	2	pilli:		2
134. Seven	mryo	-		-	myagh		1
135. Eight	sigih	-		-	sigih		5
136. Nine	sthu/sthi	-		-	sithu:		4
137. Thousand	Haza:	3	haja:r	4	haza:r	3	Loan word
<u>Kinship</u>							
138. Father	awo:	3	a:bo:	5	a:bo:		3
139. Brother's son	noyum	-		-	nuh		1

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

140. Brother's daughter	noyu:	-	-	neh	1
141. Elder brother's wife	angini	-	-	angeh	2
142. Father's elder brother's wife	a:phi:	-	a:co:	3 a:ci:	-
143. Mother's elder Brother's wife	a:ffe:	5	a:ffe:	-	-
144. Elder sister	amma:	5	amma:	5 amma:	5
145. Sister (common)	nimo:	1	na:	1 neh	1
146. Father's elder sister's husband	a:khi	-	-	akug	1
147. Father's younger brother	-	-	awa:ng	5 awa:ng	-
148. Mother's younger brother	ose:-a:-i:n	5	ose:-a:i:n	-	-
149. Mother's younger sister	annei	5	anei	-	-
150. Younger sister's husband	kama	5	kama	3 guma	3
151. Mother's mother	a:i:e-mukhran	3	a:i:u-mutan	-	-

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

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152. Wife's Brother, wife's elder sister	-	-	dia	5	dia	-
153. Wife's elder brother	-	-	bia	5	bia	-
154. Wife's elder brother's wife	-	-	bia	5	bia	-

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Table 5.26 : Scaling of Semantic Affinities

Sr. No.	Category	Aka/Miri-Aka			:Aka/Miji			:Miri-Aka/Miji		
		Count	%	Affinity	Count	%	Affinity	Count	%	Affinity
1.	Body	8/775	1.03	V.P.	13/99	1.31	V.P.	8/775	1.03	V.P.
2.	Medical	13/220	5.91	V.P.	16/185	8.65	V.P.	14/185	7.57	V.P.
3.	Society	131/870	15.06	V.P.	124/950	13.05	V.P.	106/870	12.18	V.P.
4.	Meals	101/305	33.10	V.P.	103/545	18.9	V.P.	97/305	33.80	V.P.
5.	Culture	0/95	0.00	Nil	17/430	3.95	V.P.	-0/95	0.00	Nil
6.	Marriage	1/100	1.00	V.P.	1/125	0.80	V.P.	1/100	1.00	V.P.
7.	Kinship	32/675	5.12	V.P.	17/1005	1.69	V.P.	39/675	5.86	V.P.
8.	Nature	30/1030	2.91	V.P.	30/1820	2.35	V.P.	20/1030	2.14	V.P.
9.	Grammar	4/325	1.23	V.P.	8/675	1.19	V.P.	2/325	0.62	V.P.
10.	Verbs	4/840	0.840	V.P.	29/1490	1.95	V.P.	5/840	0.60	V.P.
11.	Adjectives	0/245	0.00	Nil	17/585	2.91	V.P.	0/245	0.00	Nil
12.	Numerals	7/220	3.18	V.P.	16/265	6.04	V.P.	9/220	4.10	V.P.
13.	Total	331/5700	05.79	V.P.	400/9160	04.41	V.P.	303/5665	5.35	V.P.

From the above, we can find that :-

1. There are no affinities on the higher scales i.e., maximum, very good or good.
2. Almost all the affinities less the following are having very poor affinities.
  - a) No affinity or zero affinity :- in culture and adjectives among Aka/Miri-Aka and Miri-Aka/Miji.
  - b) Poor affinity :- in meals between Aka/Miri-Aka and Miri-Aka/Miji only.
3. To clarify the point of very poor affinities further, they have been further categorised as very poor-1 (between 10 to 19%), very poor-2 (between 5 to 9.9%) and very poor - 3 (below 5 but above 0).
4. We found very poor affinities on the upper - (1) scale to be in society among all and in meals among Aka/Miji only. In the middle scale-(2) come medical among all, kinship among Aka/Miri-Aka and Aka/Miji; and numerals among Aka/Miji only.

The reason for Miri-Akas having zero affinity with others in para 2 (a) above is probably because sufficient words for comparison were not available in Miri-Aka in these two fields.
5. The affinities of society and meals group are higher

probably because of numerous loan words of these fields in all these languages from common sources i.e., Assamese/Hindi/English languages.

In overall, similarities/affinities of all three languages or any two languages are very poor.

Analysis : From the comparative study of the semantic features of the three languages with about 400 other languages and also with each other, following can be inferred :-

1. All three languages are closest to the languages of Tibeto-Burman family, North-Assam branch, hence can be stated as belonging to this set.
2. All these languages semantically differ from each other significantly.
3. They differ significantly from all other languages of the region and cannot be considered as dialects of any other language.
4. Though these languages differ from other languages but they show marginal affinity with other languages but amount of this affinity differs.
5. Akas and Mijis can be stated as closest to each other semantically than to any other language of the region, though affinity is poor.
6. Aka has some affinity (Very poor) with Miri-Akas,

Bangnis, Abor, Hill-Miri, Gallong and Mishmi of North-Assam group of Tibeto-Burman family and with Ako, Lahu and Nung of Lolo-Moso group of Tibeto-Burman family and with Khasi 'and' 'wa' of Austro-Asiatic family. These affinities however, are of a few basic words only which may be, because of borrowing during their movements to the present location; or while their contact with each other at present location.

7. Affinity of Miri-Akas (after Akas) is only with Mishmis. This affinity reminds one of the statement by I.M.Simon about the striking resemblance of Miri-Aka and Mishmi. However, from the present study, this resemblance is not that obvious as can be taken note of for establishing their common identity. It may be, that during their movements, Miri-Akas stayed alongwith Mishmis for considerable period where they acquired these words from Mishmis.
8. Miji is shown to be having 'very poor' affinity with Mishmi and Dimasa only after its affinity with Akas. This too seems to be due to the reason of their contact during their mobility or stay with these people where they acquired some words from Mishmis and Dimasas.
9. Affinity with Mishmis of all the three ethnoses is of importance because it is likely that all these

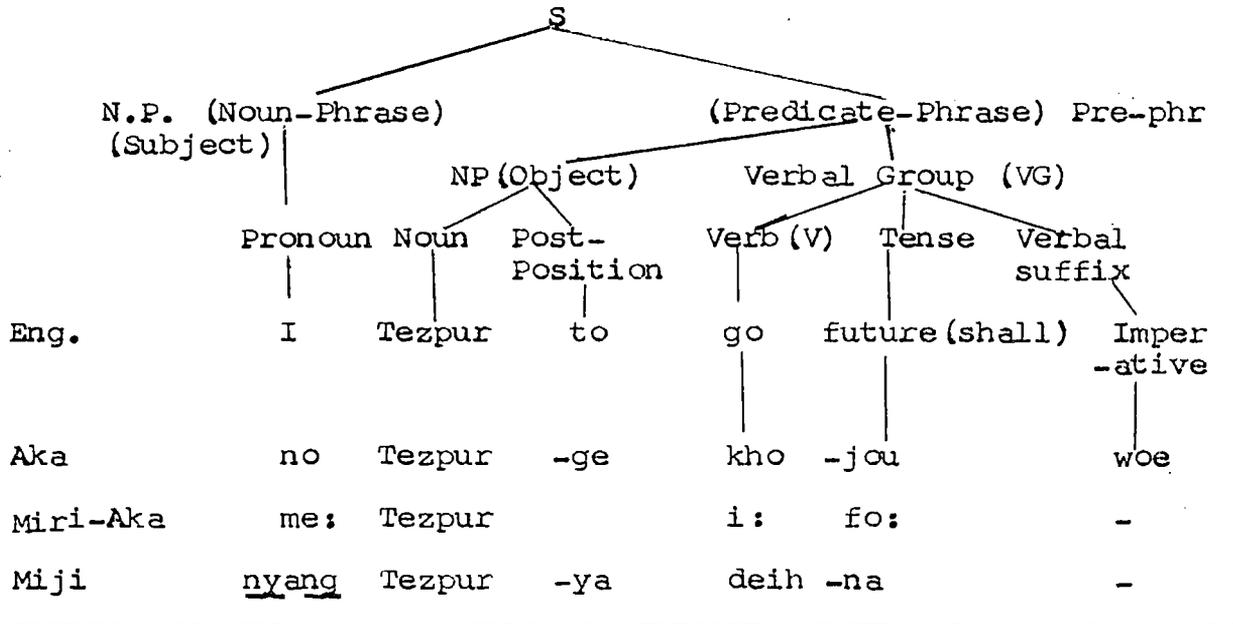
ethnoses after leaving their country and reaching their present location met somewhere near Mishmi country where-from they acquired certain words. Alternatively, it may be that all these tribes originally might be from the same tribe or from the same area as are the Mishmis, but separated long time back.

10. From the detailed study of all these languages based on the semantics, we find that the affinity between Akas and Miri-Akas is very poor but better than with any language of the region. Similarly the affinity between Miri-Akas and Mijis is very poor. But the similarity between Akas and Mijis is better, which seems to be as a result of prolonged contact and lot of loan words commonly loaned from Hindi/Assamese/English.
11. Affinity between these languages increased specially in the field of food items (vegetables) and new items of daily use.

After the study of phonology ; morphology and semantics, the fourth aspect of language attribute is syntax, which will be taken up now. The study of syntax is carried out only at surface structure level to avoid error due to human factor and the likely appearance of variations during interpretation.

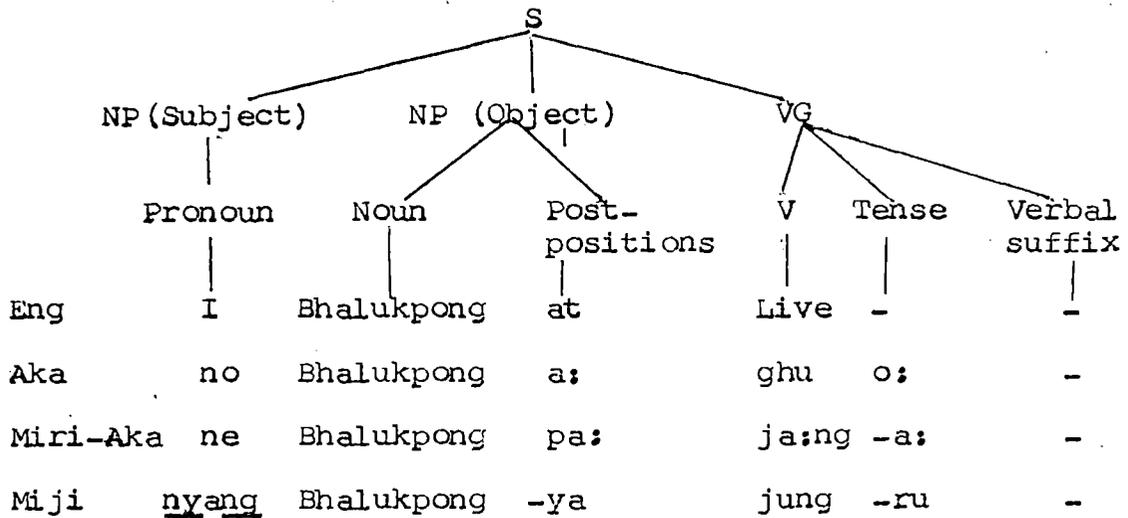
Syntax Structure : Basic syntax structure of all the three languages is generally the same i.e., Subject-Object-Verb (S-O-V). e.g. :-

English	I shall go to Tezpur.
Aka	no Tezpur ge kho-jou woe
Miri-Aka	me: Tezpur i: fo:
Miji	<u>nyang</u> Tezpur-ya deih-na




---

English	I live at Bhalukpong.
Aka	no Bhalukpong (lfo:ng-futhu:) a: gno-o;
Miri-Aka	ne Bhalukpong pa: ja:nga
Miri	<u>nyang</u> Bhalukpong-ya jung-ru



However, there are differences in the basic components of the three languages. These components will be discussed under two headings i.e., Noun Phrase and Predicate Phrase, in the succeeding paragraphs.

Noun Phrase (Subject) : Noun-phrase in all the three languages may consist of, pre-determiner, determiner, ordinal, quantifier, adjective-phrase, classifier and noun. Normally there is no rigidity in placing qualifying adjectives either before or after the qualified noun in the noun phrase. The articles are not used and the determiners as well as pre-determiners may be placed even after the noun acting as object. Examples are given below :

English	A tall man.
Aka	nina psheu (man tall)
English	a big man.
Aka	deu nina (big man)

English	Hunting dog.
Miri-Aka	ikle-suram/suram ikle (dog hunting/hunting dog)
English	Good food.
Miji	taavo mivi (food good)
English	Dirty water.
Miji	vu nici (water dirty)
English	Miji Language.
Miji	dhimmai-lau (Miji language)

Similarly placement of the adjective in the noun-phrase too is flexible though generally it comes after the noun; i.e.,

English	Your elder daughter.
Aka	ba sam nugo (You daughter elder)
Miji	<u>ngi</u> zumraih mukugro (you daughter elder)
Miri-Aka	mu; neg-mimi-gulup-go:n (you daughter elder)

If the adjective phrase is used as is shown earlier, the adjective may be either following or leading. Further examples are given below :

English	Eldest son.
Aka	nosa-nugu-fo: (son eldest)
Miri-Aka	ne; unga: -cho:n-su:n (son eldest)
Miji	zve : -mukho (son eldest)

In case there is a preposition phrase or post-position phrase the preposition or post-position is normally omitted and understood through the text e.g.,

English	Cut with knife.
Aka	vetsa -sa-fiu: (knife cut)
Miri-Aka	kapla ; de; -chiru: (knife cut)
Miji	vaitsen-z-rinrap (knife cut)

Here the noun comes first and the verb is transferred last, as is the case with all the grammatical sentence structures.

Predicate Phrase ; The typical predicate phrase may consist of noun-phrase (Object), post-positional phrase, adjective-phrase and a verbal-group. We shall take all these four one by one. Noun-phrase (object) comes immediately after the noun-phrase (subject) e.g.,

English :	My name is Deru.
Aka	na nu tonkion Deru (Me/I name Deru)
Miji	nyang minh Deru (me/I name Deru)
English	I killed a tiger.
Aka	no shithi shiu; (I tiger killed)
Miri-Aka	me cha; ru; lig (I tiger killed)
English	I am an Aka/Miji.
Aka	no Hrusso (I Aka)
Miji	<u>nyang</u> Dhimmai (I Miji)

In the above cases we have seen that in all the three languages object immediately follows the subject and also that the verb is omitted as it has to be inferred from the sentences only. Hence the use of verb becomes a secondary requirement only.

Post-positional phrase is a specific features of all these languages different from the prepositional phrase as the use of 'in', 'of', 'from' etc. is generally, after the noun/pronoun; though before the verbal group, e.g.,

1. English           with man.  
Aka               uffum mija (man with)  
Miri-Aka        muru pvro:n (man with)  
Miji             muvu-jo-ru (man with)
  
2. English           From Bana.  
Aka               bana-tsigo (Bana from)  
Miri-Aka        bana-gadha (Bana from)  
Miji             bana-nuyi (Bana from)

Sometimes these postpositions are omitted as they are supposed to be inferred from the sentence structure itself, e.g.,

- |          |                            |
|----------|----------------------------|
| English  | Hair of a cat.             |
| Aka      | asa umu (Cat hair)         |
| Miri-Aka | hawe: .mummi: (cat hair)   |
| Miji     | kha: shu: gopai (cat hair) |

In Miji however '-i' is occassionally used instead of omitting the suffix for 'of' i.e., nuvu-i-gopai (man of hair).

Adverb Phrase ; Adverb phrase in all the three languages is placed before the verbal group e.g.,

English	Come quickly.
Aka	khucho-khave ; (quickly come)
Miri-Aka	itre; ta ; ro; (quickly come)
Miji	mukhthu-dai; (quickly come)

Different adverbs are used for the same words like 'there' 'that' etc., according to the degree of level. This is different from other languages. Examples are given below :

<u>English</u>	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
There (same level)	to-dige	khripa	phai
There (up)	gato/ligza	go-utumpa	thang
There (down)	gtho-aiyeen	ama; ka	phu

Adjective-Phrase ; Generally adjective-phrase is just before the verb-phrase in all the three languages. Examples of the use of adjective-phrases are given below :

English :	Your dog is better than my dog.
Aka	ba tsilo no tsilo -se-i u-fo-da your dog my dog, good is
English	A dog is bigger than a cat.
Miji	shazhih kaa-shuru mi-do-laih dog cat big exceed

If we see the sentence structure of Aka and Miji, the structure is found to be as Subject-Object (comparative, qualitative, adjective) and finally the verb. For describing the degree, the pattern in all the three languages is however, different e.g.,

<u>English</u>	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
High	levzo	utto: <u>n</u>	mivia: <u>n</u> (mene -via: <u>n</u> )
Higher	ere-u-levzo	utto: <u>n</u> -sung	mivia: <u>n</u> -lait
Highest	ere-u-m-levzo	utto: <u>n</u> -su:te	-
Good	uda	kappla: <u>n</u>	mivi
Better	ere-e-u-phau	ava:-kappla:n	mivi:lafi;
Best	ere-u-m-du	kappla:n-sung	-

From the above it can be seen that use of ere-e-u and ere-u-m increase the superlative degree in Aka and are placed in front while in Miri-Aka ung and su:te or ava: or sung placed in front or following the adjective increases the superlative degree. Things however are different in Miji where the third degree is not found to be used.

While using interrogatives, the sentence construction does not change from simple sentences except that the 'wh' adjective is used just before the verbal group, which may often be omitted e.g.,

English	What is your name ?
Aka	ba ni -ni - haniya ? (You name what ?)
Miji	<u>ngi</u> minh thin ? (You name what ?)
English	Will the girl weave ?
Miri-Aka	ig-mingi pila ?

Verbal Group (VG) : Verbal group in almost all the cases comes at the end, along with the verbal suffix and the order is generally, the verb suffixed with tense. It also comes with the verbal suffix (as in Aka only) which has a different construction pattern where wa/wae/bae is often found attached at the end in each sentence, e.g.

English	Are you well ?
Aka	ba u-da ya ? (you well are ?)
Miji	nyang mi-vi yu-shi ? (you well are ?)

The reply to this answer is very simple i.e., question mark type speech is converted into normal imperative sentence and the verbal suffix is often missed e.g.,

English	I am well
Aka	no u-da (I well)
Miji	nyang mi-vi (I well)

As per the analysis of syntax structure, it is apparent that the basic sentence structures of all three languages is the same i.e., Subject-Object-Verb (S-O-V), with minor

variations specially in Aka languages which uses verbal suffix extensively. Use of Adjective-phrase in all three languages is not fully settled; instead prepositions, post-positional suffixes are used in all three languages.

The analysis of the four aspects of language attribute provides us the following inferences :-

1. The Aka, Miji and Miri-Aka are three clearly distinct languages which have very poor/poor similarities, and as such can be stated as three different languages.
2. They all can be grouped under North-Assam group of the Tibeto-Burman family as they have maximum similarities with this group.
3. They have maximum differences in phonology followed by the differences in morphology, semantics and then syntax. Their differences decrease from micro level (phonology) when they are maximum, to macro level (Syntax) when they are structurally close. It is most likely that in distant past they were part of the same language but with the passage of time their differences increased; due to long isolation and where they maintained their individual identities.
4. All three languages have some affinities, though

only marginal with Mishmi language of the region which is probably due to their having been close to Mishmis in some times past. This indicates that while migrating, they either passed through and stayed in Mishmi country; or have been close to Mishmis.

5. The Aka language has more peculiar characteristics than the other two and its rules are more difficult to understand than the other two, because of the complexities of its structural features. Miri-Aka is relatively simplest of all the three.
6. Marginal closeness of Akas with Lolo-Moso group and Palaung-Wa groups of Tibeto-Burman languages needs a separate in-depth study.
7. The closeness of these language is more where they have the loan words from the common source i.e., Hindi/Assamese/English mix. Maximum closeness is in words for the items which have been recently introduced into the area i.e., electronic goods, vegetables, fruits, modern amenities and administrative terms etc., and with the modernisation these similarities are likely to increase.
8. Their differences with the neighbouring languages are quite marked which shows that their isolation from the neighbours have been nearly complete for a

long time or they came into their contact at much later stage.

9. Miri-Akas, Mijis, or Akas do not belong to Bangni, Hill-Miri, Miri or any other language linguistically; the doubt which arose in the chapter on name, territory and culture, is set at rest with this.
10. The differences in kinship terms, despite close socio-cultural and marital relations, indicates that these relations are skin deep and not of very distant past. This also negates the theory that the Aka and Miji were having a common ancestor in the near past. It may be so in the distant past which however can-not be denied in view of the nonavailability of sufficient evidence to the contrary.
11. The closeness of Mijis to Akas being more than that of Miri-Akas is an indicator that Mijis have had longer contacts with Akas than the Miris-Akas. It also points to the fact that Miri-Aka is a splinter group of another tribe which might have come to the area much later than Mijis and their marriages with Mijis and Akas started much later as is pointed out in the interviews with them.

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