6 Nominal category I: Inherent

6.1. Preview

As part of the discussion on grammatical categories of MKR we looked at one of the major elements, namely the verb and its associated categories, in the foregoing chapters. Now we turn to another major element, namely, the noun, in the present chapter and the next. We shall begin with some general observation on the noun as a grammatical category, looking at its key properties and then look at the nouns in MKR in the light of these general remarks on nouns.

Nouns are considered as the most central members of the word-class categories. It has important four properties.1

1. Inherent properties that a word either intrinsically has, or does not have.
2. Relational properties that mark the relationship of a word or phrase to the whole sentence (for example, whether a noun phrase is a subject or an object).
3. Functional potential, I. Nouns function as heads in the structure of NPs. The NPs, in turn, serve a variety of functions as subject, object (direct and indirect object), or predicative complement (subject and object complement) in clause structures, in complements of PPs or in PossP structures.
4. Functional potential, II. As heads of NPs, noun can take different ranges of dependents from the other word-classes.

Of these four properties, the first two are inflectional properties, while the other two are functional properties. Nouns in general have the categories of number, definiteness, gender, and case etc. As discussed in §2, the first three are considered inherent categories, while the last one is a relational category. Both types of category fall within the definition of grammatical categories of nouns. On the other hand, the last two properties of nouns listed above, namely, functional potential I and functional potential II, involve the function of nouns within the phrase and the clause. The following

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1 The discussion of these properties is based on Tallerman (1998) and Huddleston (1984)
discussion will be concerned with the grammatical categories correlatable to nouns within the specific context of MKR.

Nouns in MKR have an inherent category of specificity-classifiers\(^2\), and one relational category of case. Of these, the specificity-classifiers do not have a syntactic dimension i.e., they do not show agreement at the level of the phrase or the clause. On the other hand, the case markers play a pivotal role at the syntactic level. They are used to mark grammatical relations at the clause level.

The category of specificity-classifiers in MKR includes the set of classifiers that are contiguous with both numerals and nouns along with quantifying expressions and demonstratives. Based on their distribution within the NP, the classifiers can be divided into three types: Numeral classifiers, which are contiguous to numerals in numerical noun phrases and expressions of quantity; Noun classifiers, which are contiguous with nouns in noun phrases; and common classifiers, which occur with both numerals and nouns along with demonstratives. The distinction between numeral and noun classifiers is made on the basis of two criteria (Aikhenvald 2000: 90). The first criterion states that numeral classifiers occur only with numerical or quantity expressions, while noun classifiers occur independently of the presence of other modifiers in a noun phrase. According to the second criterion, the occurrence of numeral classifiers is obligatory in numerical NPs while noun classifiers may not be obligatory in noun phrases.

In addition to these types, the category of specificity-classifiers includes the plural formatives in MKR. The reason of including the plural formatives along with the other three types within the category of specificity-classifiers is that the function of these subcategories is similar in discourse. They always occur with nouns and specify the discourse status of the noun as either specific-unidentified or as specific-identified, depending on the relative position of the noun, numeral and classifier.\(^3\) However, it

\(^2\) This term has been adopted from Toulmin (2006) and used here in same sense as he does. A specificity-classifier has a discourse function of specificity as well as a grammatical a function as a classifier.

\(^3\) There are two reasons of using the term specificity-classifier instead of definitive marker. Firstly, there is a difference between specificity and definiteness. The notion of specificity indicates that the speaker intends for the NP to refer to a unique entity in the world, while the notion of definiteness requires that the addressees also be able to uniquely identify the NP referents (Toulmin \textit{ibid.}: 151). Secondly, the classifiers attached to numerals do not always indicate definiteness in Assamese as well as its close cognate Bengali. They also indicate indefiniteness, depending on their positions in specific syntactic slots, such as their occurrence with post-head numerals in Assamese. According to Masica (1986: 120), this is an indigenous feature of south Asian languages.
should be noted that the distribution of all types of classifiers and plural formatives is not similar in MKR. The different type of classifiers mentioned above are only marked when the noun referent is singular (or a single unit of men and things). In addition, apart from the information of specificity, both unidentified and identified, they always convey some additional sense relating to the inherent property of noun itself such as dimension and shape of the object referred to or combining features of sex, animacy and politeness of the referents. On the other hand, the plural formatives are used with all classes of nouns to express the meanings of plural and specificity-definiteness. However, it should be noted that all the plural formatives in MKR cannot be considered as classifiers. Some of them simply occur with all classes of nouns, irrespective of the semantic properties present in regular classifiers. By definition, these plural formatives cannot be considered as classifiers. Rather they should be described simply as plural markers or formatives. On the other hand, there are some other types of plural formatives, such as saba (pl) which are used to specify humans. There are also plural formatives like -sə (pl) that are used only with personal pronouns in MKR. This kind of plural formatives will be labeled as classifiers and discussed under the heading of Classifiers.

In addition, positionally, all kinds of classifiers are mutually exclusive of the plural formatives in MKR. The classifiers are found with all nominals (in post-nominal position and in pre-nominal position co-occurring with numerals as both suffixes and independent lexemes) including the numerals (in post-numeral position), pronominals of the third person (post-pronominal), demonstratives and sometimes with quantifying expressions (post-demonstrative or quantifier). The plural formatives, on the other hand, are found in post-nominal positions but not in post-numeral ones. Besides this, the plural formatives of MKR do not occur when the noun phrase includes a numeral. It may be noted here that many linguists use the term numeral classifier to refer to what have been described as common classifiers in this work as stated in the previous paragraph. But the nature of numeral classifiers found in other languages across the world like Bodo and Hakhun from Sinto-Tibetan language groups does not correspond to the nature of classifiers found in MKR or in modern Assamese. The numeral classifiers in Bodo as well as Hakhun can occur only with numerals but not with other elements other than numerals, as in MKR or in modern Assamese. From this point of view, the nature of Bodo numeral classifiers is different from the classifiers found in
Assamese. For this reason, the label *common classifiers* is used here to refer to those classifiers in MKR which are largely used with both numerals and nouns, and less frequently used with demonstratives and with personal pronouns of the third person which do not have any semantic differences like animacy, human, sex, politeness or dimensions, shape, structure, and so on. The choice of occurrence of this kind of classifiers with numerals and nouns is based on the pragmatic difference of indefinite and definite. If the classifiers occur with a head noun, then they express the definiteness of the referent. If they occur with numerals, then they can express the meaning of both indefiniteness and definiteness, based on their relative position to the head noun. The constituent order of numeral + classifier preceding the head noun conveys the meaning of indefiniteness and the constituent order of these following the head noun conveys the meaning of definiteness.

In addition to these markers, MKR has some relational nouns which take some suffixes for personal deixis. These suffixes mark relational nouns for the category of person. These suffixes are a unique feature of Assamese that has not been reported in other Indo-Aryan languages.

Thus, the structure of the noun word in MKR shows the feature of agglutination rather than the synthetic feature. It consists of the nominal stem, followed by plural formatives or classifiers plus case markers plus discourse markers. The structure of the noun word can be shown as follows:

**Stem – specificity classifiers – case markers – discourse markers**

The markers indicating personal deixis are attached immediately after the nominal stem, with or without following case markers.

The present chapter is structured as follows. The specificity-classifiers will be surveyed in §6.2, plural formatives in §6.3 and personal deixis in §6.4. The distribution and the function of the noun words at the phrase level will be discussed in §6.5. §6.6 will present a brief comparison of the phrase level functions of nouns between MKR and modern Assamese. The functions of NPs at the clause level will be dealt with in §6.7. Finally, §6.8 will present a summary view of the discussion in the preceding sections.

The discussion of case markers will be provided in a separate chapter (§7). There are two reasons for the decision to treat case in a chapter separately from the rest of the
categories of nouns discussed in the present chapter. The first is based on its categorial status. Case differs from other inflectional properties of nouns in terms of the role it plays in syntax of marking the relationship of a word or phrase to the whole sentence. As against this, the others inflectional properties of nouns do not play any role at the sentence level. They simply express inherent properties associated with nouns. The second reason is data specific. In comparison to the inherent categories associated with nouns in MKR there is much to say about case markers, hence the decision to devote a full chapter to them.

6.2. Specificity-classifiers in MKR

This section begins with some general comments on classifiers and then moves on to the specific discussion on MKR.

In addition to classifiers and plural formatives, gender is also included within the domain of classifiers. All three are considered categorization devices for nouns. The classifiers and plural formatives are realized in two ways – sometimes as free forms and sometimes as affixes. They are mostly used as suffixes and are never occur outside the noun phrase. Gender, on the other hand, is realized as a closed grammatical system which occurs outside the noun itself, within a head-modifier noun phrase or outside the noun phrase. Within the noun phrase, it appears as agreement markers on modifiers such as adjective, demonstratives and interrogatives. Outside the noun phrase, it appears (as noun class and gender) on the predicate or on adverbs. Hence, from this point of view, gender is considered as an agreement category for noun categorization, while the classifiers and plural formatives are a non-agreeing type of noun categorization device.

Grammatical gender is found to have disappeared in MKR and modern Assamese or its close cognates Bengali, Oriya. This issue will be discussed in §6.2.5. Apart from the plural formatives, total twenty-eight classifiers are found in MKR. Among these, twelve classifiers occur with both numerals and nouns along with demonstratives, seven classifiers occur as numeral classifiers, and nine are used as noun classifiers. The structure of these classifiers will be discussed in §6.2.1. §6.2.2 will deal with common classifiers found in MKR, since they are extensive in use than other noun and numeral classifiers. The numeral classifiers and noun classifiers will be considered in §6.2.3. The distribution of plural formatives will be surveyed in §6.2.4.
6.2.1. The structure of classifiers in MKR

Generally, numeral classifiers occur in four possible constituent orders mentioned below (Greenberg 1972; cited in Aikhenvald (2000: 104)).

(i) Numeral-classifier + noun
(ii) Noun + numeral-classifier
(iii) Classifier-numeral + noun
(iv) Noun + classifier-numeral

Of these, the first two orders are more common in languages of the world rather than (iii) and (iv) (Greenberg (1990: 228); cited in Aikhenvald ibid.: 105). However, languages do not seem to have consistency in the use of orders (i) and (ii). Some languages seem to permit variation in these two orders, as in most Tai languages. In these languages, classifiers usually follow numerals except for the number one which precedes. Similar variation is found in Bodo (Sino-Tibetan), where two constituent orders of numeral classifiers are found – one is classifier-numeral, and the other is numeral-classifier. Greenberg (1972; cited in Aikhenvald 2000: 105) claims that the second order is borrowed from Assamese.

Furthermore, the position of noun classifiers can be both pre-head and post-head. They occur both as independent lexemes and as suffixes in the two positions stated above.

The classifiers in MKR follow the same constituent order as other languages of the world when they occur with numerals or noun elements. The classifiers occurring with the numerals follow the orders shown in (i) and (ii), but not (iii) and (iv). In this case, MKR follows the basic order found in other languages.

Moreover, an examination of the classifier system in MKR shows that the classifiers occurring with nouns follow the constituent order of noun + classifier. Classifiers of this

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4 However, Greenberg does not clearly set out the distinction between classifiers as independent lexemes and classifiers as affixes. Suffixes are much more frequent than prefixes in the languages of the world. According to Aikhenvald, the preference for suffixed rather than prefixed classifiers could be linked to this (2000: 105).

5 Whether Bodo has been influenced by Assamese or it is the other way about, is still not clear. Goswami (1968: 110) suspects the influences of the Kolarian and Sino-Tibetan languages on the classifier system of Assamese during the formative period of the language. As evidence, he says that Assamese is still surrounded by different Tibeto-Burman languages and dialects which use classifiers and quantifiers to a very great extent. It should be noted that Assamese not only shows similarity with Tibeto-Burman languages in regard to the Classifier system, but also shows various lexical as well as structural similarities such as the relator noun construction, which is found in both Bodo and Assamese.
kind are either separate lexemes or suffixes attached to nouns. Classifiers occurring with
demonstratives follow the constituent order of demonstrative-classifier + noun.

6.2.2. The function of common Classifiers in MKR

The twelve classifiers of MKR occurring with both numerals and nouns are independent
lexemes as well as affixes. Even though these occur with both numerals and nouns,
their functions are quite different from each other (cf §6.1.). As mentioned earlier, these
classifiers pragmatically mark definiteness when they occur with nouns. Otherwise,
they express indefinite and definite reference depending on their position relative to the
nouns they qualify. This contrast is found in modern Assamese also, but modern
Assamese does not completely correspond to MKR in this regard. If the noun and
numeral-classifier sequence in modern Assamese is separated by a phrase juncture from
the head noun, it indicates indefiniteness as with the structure of numeral-classifier +
noun. Without the phrase juncture between the noun and the sequence of numeral +
classifier, the classifier encodes the information of definiteness, as illustrated in (1)-(3).

(1) 

I two-CLF movie watch-PST-1

‘I watched two movies (any two movies).’ (Indefinite)

(2) 

I movie-two-CLF watch-PST-1

‘I watched two movies (any two movies).’ (Indefinite)

(3) 

I movie two-CLF watch-PST-1

‘I watched two movies (two particular movies).’ (Definite)

As with other classifiers found across the languages of the world, the choice of
different common classifiers in MKR is also based on the inherent semantics of nouns.
MKR does not show any fixed constituent order of these classifiers. Sometimes they
occur as independent lexical items in the position immediately after the numerals.
Sometimes, they occur as suffixes to the numerals and sometimes they are found to be attached directly with head nouns as both suffixes and independent items.

The next two sections deal with common classifiers as independent items (§6.2.2.1) and as suffixes (§6.2.2.2).

6.2.2.1. Common classifiers as independent lexical items

The distribution of common classifiers as independent lexical items will be examined in terms of their occurrence with numerals (§6.2.2.1.1) and with nouns (§6.2.2.1.2).

6.2.2.1.1. Classifiers occurring with numerals

The classifiers occurring with numerals have the following constituent orders:

(i) Numeral-classifier + noun
(ii) Noun + numeral-classifier

These are used for indefinite reference and definite reference respectively, as illustrated below.

(a) gota. This classifier has been used extensively in MKR to refer to human and non-human nouns, body parts (demons), different kinds of arms, mountains, abstract entities such as night, yawn etc. It occurs with nouns and numerals as an independent lexeme and as a suffix. Here we shall consider its use as an independent lexeme. This classifier occurs with numerals in two patterns, as stated earlier. In one, it precedes the head noun, and in the other it follows, as exemplified in (4a-b).

(4) a. kuri gota caksu
   kuri gota caksu
   twenty CLF eye
   ‘Twenty eyes.’
   (Ar, Ch. 8, V. 233)

   b. mānuṣa dui goṭa
      mānuṣa dui goṭa
      man two CLF goṭa
      ‘Two men.’
      (Laṅ, Ch. 40, V. 3)
The first pattern is used to indicate indefinite reference while the second one indicates definiteness. It should be noted here that as in modern Assamese, the noun + numeral-classifier sequence of MKR does not carry any connotation of indefiniteness. All the examples of this sequence found in MKR are used to simply encode definiteness.

(b) gotā: This marker occurs less frequently than gota and refers to both human and non-human nouns. It mostly occurs with body parts, arms, mountains, day and night, plaited hair and so on. It also occurs in the numeral-classifier + noun order and in the noun + numeral-classifier order expressing indefiniteness and definiteness, respectively as in (5a-b).

(5) a. pānca gotā śara.
   pānca  gotā  śara
   five   CLF  arrow
   ‘Five arrows.’
   (Laṅ, Ch. 23, V. 9)

b. mahābīra ātha gotā
   mahābīra  ātha  gotā
   great warrior  eight  CLF
   ‘Eight great warriors.’
   (Ar, Ch. 16, V. 5)

The second sequence is rare in occurrence. Only two or three occurrences of this order are found in the entire Ramayana. As mentioned earlier, the second sequence always indicates definiteness. In the present instance, this definite meaning is contributed by the mention of the eight warriors in the immediately following verse.

(c) guṭṭi: The occurrence of this classifier is not extensive as that of the first two classifiers. It refers to both animate and inanimate nouns. This classifier does not seem to occur in the sequence noun + numeral-classifier*. Rather, it occurs in numeral-classifier + noun sequences, as in (6a-b).
(6) a. *pañca gūṭi bānaraka*
   *pañca gūṭi bānar-aka*
   five     CLF     monkey-DAT
   ‘Five monkeys.’
   (Utt, Ch. 11, V. 21)

   b. *eka gūṭi madhuphala*
   *eka gūṭi madhuphala*
   one     CLF     papaya
   ‘One papaya.’
   (Su, Ch. 19, V. 15)

(d) **khan.** This classifier is used to refer to different dimensions and shapes of the nouns qualified, which may be abstract or concrete entities. The occurrence of this classifier is also not very extensive in MKR. With numerals, it is found only in numeral-classifier + noun order, but not in the other constituent orders indicated above.

(7) a. *kuri khana karna*
   *kuri khana karṇa*
   twenty     CLF     ear
   ‘Twenty ears.’
   (Ar, Ch. 8, V. 232)

   b. *kuri khana bāhu*
   *kuri khana bāhu*
   twenty     CLF     arm
   ‘Twenty arms.’
   (Su, Ch. 13, V. 4)

(e) **khaṇ.** The use of this classifier is more extensive compared to *khan.* Like *khan,* it is also used to refer to different dimensions, shapes, and structures of qualifying nouns. Unlike *khan,* it occurs in both numeral-classifier + noun sequences and in noun + numeral-classifier sequences, as illustrated in (8a-b).
(8) a. kuri khāna hāta
    kuri khāna hāta
    twenty CLF hand
    ‘Twenty hands.’
    (Ar, Ch. 13, V. 78)

b. ratha daśa khāna
    ratha daśa khāna
    chariot ten CLF
    ‘Ten chariots.’
    (Ay, Ch. 25, V. 6)

(8a) and (8b) indicate indefiniteness and definiteness, respectively.

(f) khāni. The usage of this classifier is similar to that of khan and khāna. However, it is used more in a diminutive and endearing sense. khāni is only used in the numeral-classifier + noun order, as (9) illustrates.

(9) dui khāni carana
    dui khāni carana
    two CLF foot
    ‘Two feet.’
    (Ar, Ch. 6, V. 71)

(g) jana. Used with numerals and nouns to indicate human beings in a respectful or polite sense, irrespective of the distinction of male and female. Its occurrence with nouns will be discussed in the next section. With numerals, jana follows the only noun + numeral-classifier order and expresses definiteness, as in (10a).

(10) a. śīṣu tīni jana
    śīṣu tīni jana
    child three CLF
    ‘Three children.’
    (Ay, Ch. 16, V. 49)

The anaphoric use of this classifier is attested in (10b).
(b)  

This occurs only with female human nouns in a disrespectful sense. It also occurs in the noun + numeral-classifier order, as in (11).

(11)  

woman one-CLF-FEM  

'One woman.'  

(Ay, Ch. 24, V. 17)

(i)  

Used to refer to human beings in a respectful sense irrespective of the male and female distinction, as in (12).

(12)  

two-EMPH CLF slave  

'Two slaves.'  

(Kis, Ch. 20, V. 6)

(j)  

Occurs with both nouns and numerals, and indicates piece of something. It is used as singular. This classifier is only found in noun + numeral-classifier structure and indicates definiteness as attested in (13).

(13)  

earth seven-EMPH CLF  

'Seven pieces of earth.'  

(Ar, Ch. 8, V. 187)

(k)  

Used with both nouns and numerals to classify arrows only. It occurs only in the numeral-classifier + noun construction, and indicates indefiniteness, as in (14).
‘One arrow.’
(Kis, Ch. 5, V. 9)

(pānti) Occurs with nouns and numerals, referring to teeth, finger, nail and hair. It is found in the numeral-classifier + noun construction only.

‘Two rows of tooth.’
(Su, Ch. 17, V. 48)

6.2.2.1.2. Classifiers occurring with nouns

The twelve classifiers discussed above also occur with head nouns and indicate definiteness. It is important to point out that these classifiers can occur only with nouns in the absence of numerals in NP constructions. If a numeral is present in any NP construction, the classifier usually forms a constituent with the numeral, not with the head of the construction. However, even though in some languages like Kana of the Kegboid group of languages the classifier is attached to the head noun in the presence of a numeral, this pattern is very rare (Aikhenvald 2000: 110). The occurrence of these eleven classifiers with nouns is shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Common classifiers as independent stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.N</th>
<th>CLF</th>
<th>Illustrative examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>gota</td>
<td>nāka nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gota CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ar, Ch. 2, V. 15)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>guti</td>
<td>mṛga deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>goti CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Su, Ch. 17, V. 30)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>khana</td>
<td>ratha chariot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khana CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ay, Ch. 25, V. 9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Contd.*
Apart from gota, all these classifiers are distributed almost equally with both nouns and numerals, as separate lexemes. There is no occurrence of gota with nouns as a separate lexeme in the whole text.

Having considered the occurrence of classifiers with nouns as separate lexical items, the next section will look at those classifiers that occur with numerals and nouns as suffixes.

6.2.2.2. Classifiers attached to numerals and nouns as suffixes

All the twelve classifiers discussed in the previous section can be suffixed to numerals and nouns, as indicated in Table 6.2 and Table 6.3.
Table 6.2 Classifiers attached to numerals as suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL.N</th>
<th>CLF</th>
<th>Order 1 (NUM + CLF N)</th>
<th>Order 2 (N NUM + CLF)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-gota</td>
<td>tini-gota three-CLF</td>
<td>akāryya Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ay, Ch. 26, V. 59)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-gota</td>
<td>daśa-gota ten-CLF</td>
<td>śir-e man du-gota two-CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ar, Ch. 16, V. 40)</td>
<td>(Laṅ, Ch. 30, V. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-gūṭi</td>
<td>pāṇca-gūṭi five-CLF</td>
<td>bānar-e man Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ar, Ch. 15, V. 122)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>-khāṇa</td>
<td>dui-khāṇa two-CLF</td>
<td>ākāśa bāhu duī-khāṇa two-CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Laṅ, Ch. 29, V. 106)</td>
<td>(Ay, Ch. 12, V. 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>-khāṇi</td>
<td>du-khāṇi two-CLF</td>
<td>pāṇai sandal Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ay, Ch. 40, V. 29)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>-janī</td>
<td>Nil nāri eka-janī one-CLF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nil (Ay, Ch. 24, V. 17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>-pāṭa</td>
<td>eka-pāṭa one-CLF</td>
<td>bāna arrow Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ar, Ch. 8, V. 114)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3 Classifiers attached to nouns as suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL.N</th>
<th>CLF</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-gota</td>
<td>mrṛga-gota deer-CLF girī-gota mountain-CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ar, Ch. 11, V. 62) (Ar, Ch. 2, V. 40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-gūṭi</td>
<td>mrṛga-gūṭi deer-CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ar, Ch. 11, V. 37)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd.
Having looked at the classifiers that commonly occur with numerals and nouns in the foregoing sections, the next section will survey the functions of classifiers that occur either with numerals or with nouns will be surveyed (§6.2.3).

### 6.2.3. Functions of numeral and noun classifiers

The numeral classifiers (§6.2.3.1) and the noun classifiers (§6.2.3.2) will be considered in this section.
6.23.1. Functions of Numeral classifiers in MKR

As stated earlier, only seven classifiers are used with numerals. These are – ṭā, ṭī, pāri, hāna, hāra, hānka, and hanta. The differences in their distribution are as follows:

(i) Apart from pāri which occurs as a separate lexeme, the other classifiers are attached to numerals.

(ii) In addition to their occurrence with numerals, hāna, hāra, hānka and hanta are also attached to quantifying expressions. ṭā, ṭī, and pāri do not have this distribution.

(iii) ṭā, pāri, and hāra refer to inanimate objects while ṭī, hāna, hānka, and hanta refer to animate referents. Of the latter group, ṭī refers to non-humans, and the other three refer to humans only.

The functions of these classifiers are individually illustrated below.

(a) -ṭā: This occurs only three times in entire text, and is used to refer to one kind of weapon used for fighting, as in (16a-b).

(16) a. ṭhāṭā  narāce
    ṭhā-ṭā  narāc-e
    eight-CLF  spear-INS
    ‘Through the eight spears.’
    (Lañ, Ch. 29, V. 114)

b. pāṅcaṭā  narāca
    pāṅca-ṭā  narāca
    five-CLF  spear
    ‘Five spears.’
    (Ar, Ch. 8, V. 106)

(b) -ṭī: This occurs twice in the entire Ramayana text, and is used to classify the monkey in both instances, as in (17).
(17) *pāṇicaṭi bānare*
  *pāṇicaṭi bānar-e*
  *five-CLF monkey-ERG*
  ‘Five monkeys.’
  (Kis, Ch. 1, V. 9)

(c)  *-bāna*: Used only with the numeral *dui* and the quantifier *saba*. It refers to human beings in a respectful sense. This classifier occurs only in genitive constructions. However, though expected, the genitive marker *-ra* follows it only occasionally or rarely as (18 a-c) illustrate.

(18) a.  *duhāno sōpiṭa*
  *du-hān-o sōpiṭa*
  *two-CLF-EMPH blood*
  ‘The blood of two people.’
  (Ar, Ch. 8, V. 21)

b.  *duhānara sāṅge*
  *du-hān-ara sāṅge*
  *two-CLF-GEN with*
  ‘With two.’
  (Lañ, Ch. 34, V. 4)

c.  *sabāḥāna hite*
  *sabā-hāna hite*
  *all-CLF for*
  ‘good for all people’
  (Lañ, Ch. 33, V. 9)

(d)  *-bāra*: This occurs only with the numeral *dui* and the quantifying expression *saba* and refers to animate and inanimate nouns. When it occurs with the numeral *two*, it refers to a piece of something. Otherwise, when it occurs with a quantifying expression, it refers to a human being in a respectful sense. (19 a-b) illustrate.

(19) a.  *dohāra*
  *do-hāra*
  *two-CLF*
  ‘Two pieces.’
  (Ar, Ch. 11, V. 6)

b.  *sabāḥāre lagata*
  *sabā-hār-e lagata*
  *all-CLF-EMPH with*
  ‘With all.’
  (Lañ, Ch. 7, V. 46)

(e)  *-hāńka, -hāka*: The first of these occurs with the numeral *two* and the quantifying expression *saba*. The second one is found with the quantifier *saba*, as in (20 a-c). Both
classifiers are used to refer to human beings in a respectful sense. They seem to occur only in object position, even though the object marker seems to be optional, as in *duhāna*.

(20) a. *duhāňka*  
    *du-hāňka*  
    two-CLF  
    ‘The two.’  
    (Laṅ, Ch. 46, V. 15)

b. *sabāhāňke*  
    *sabā-hāňk-e*  
    all-CLF-EMPH  
    ‘The all.’  
    (Ay, Ch. 39, V. 28)

c. *sabāhāka*  
    *sabā-hāka*  
    all-CLF  
    ‘All’  
    (Ay, Ch. 1, V. 43)

(f) *-hante*. This classifier also occurs with numerals and with the quantifier *saba*, and refers to human beings in a respectful sense.

(21) a. *duihante*  
    *dui-hant-e*  
    two-CLF-ERG  
    ‘Two people....’  
    (Ay, Ch. 37, V. 11)

b. *duihantaro*  
    *dui-hant-ar-o*  
    TWO-CLF-GEN-EMPH  
    ‘Two people’s....’  
    (Kis, Ch. 7, V. 43)

c. *sabehante*  
    *sabe-hant-e*  
    all-CLF-ERG  
    ‘All people....’  
    (Ar, Ch. 2, V. 4)

(g) *pārī*. Used to refer only to teeth, as in (22a-b).

(22) a. *danta dui pārī*  
    *danta dui pārī*  
    tooth two row  
    ‘Two rows of tooth.’  
    (Ay, Ch. 27, V. 20)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kunda</td>
<td>Occurs only with fire and used as a separate lexeme.</td>
<td>(Laṅ, Ch. 51, V. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tara</td>
<td>Indicates something long and tied into a bunch. Occurs only with hair.</td>
<td>(Ay, Ch. 27, V. 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panji</td>
<td>Attached only to hair.</td>
<td>(Ay, Ch. 13, V. 19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sala</td>
<td>Refers to some particular place.</td>
<td>(Ay, Ch. 13, V. 1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.23.2. Functions of noun classifiers in MKR

There are nine classifiers that occur only with nouns. These are – *kunda*, *tara*, *panji*, *sāla*, *to*, *sālā*, *yuri*, and *yugala*. The functions of these classifiers are as follows.

1. **kunda**: It occurs only with fire and is used as a separate lexeme, as in (23a-b).

   (23) a. **agni kunda**
   
   b. **bāhni kunda**

   a pit for sacrificial fire
   
   (Laṅ, Ch. 51, V. 1)

2. **tara**: This classifier indicates something long and tied into a bunch. It occurs only with hair, as in (24).

   (24) **kesa tara**

   hair

   ‘Long, thick hair.’

   (Ar, Ch. 15, V. 123)

3. **panji**: Attached only to hair, as in (25).

   (25) **carmmasama pāṇji hena keśa**

   like skin

   ‘The hair-like skin.’

   (Ay, Ch. 13, V. 19)

4. **sāla** and **sālā**: These refer to some particular place. Both occur as separate lexemes. (26a-b) illustrate.
(26) a. hāti  ghora  šāla
   hāti  ghora  šāla
elephant  horse  CLF
   ‘The stable of elephants and horses.’
   (Ay, Ch. 34, V. 15)

   b. śmaśāna  šāla
      śmaśāna  šāla
      graveyard  CLF
      ‘Graveyard’
      (Ay, Ch. 40, V. 49)

   b. yajña  šāla
      yajña  šāla
      sacrifice  CLF
      ‘Sacrificial altar.’
      (Ay, Ch. 40, V. 49)  (Lañ, Ch. 33, V. 80)

(V) **ta** Occurs with the third person pronoun and with demonstratives, as a suffix.

(27a-b) illustrates.

(27) a. si-to
    he.INF-CLF
    ‘He’
    (Ar, Ch. 2, V. 14)

   b. ehi-to  āśra-me
      this-CLF  hermitage-LOC
      ‘In this hermitage.’
      (Ay, Ch. 20, V. 40)

(VI) **loka**. Used to refer only to a location, as in (28a-b).

(28) a. (ya-ib-i)  yama-loka
   (ya-ib-i)  yama-loka
   (go-FUT-2INF)  Yama-CLF
   ‘(You) will go the place of Yama.’
   (Ay, Ch. 21, V. 22)

   b. nāga-loka  jini-yā
      nāga-loka  jin-lyā
      snake-CLF  win-NF
      ‘By defeating the world of snakes…’
      (Lañ, Ch. 21, V. 65)

(VII) **yurt**. Occurs only with footwear to indicate a pair, as a separate lexeme. The use of this classifier is very rare. (29) is an example.
(29) pānai yuri
  sandal CLF
'The pair of sandals.'
(Lan, Ch. 54, V. 107)

(VIII) yugala. Occurs as a separate lexeme, with nouns to indicate a pair of arms, feet, birds, earrings, eyes, fans, and thighs, as in (30a-d).

(30) a. caraṇa yugala
   caraṇa CLF
    foot
    'The pair of sandals.'
   (Ar, Ch. 1, V. 103)

b. khaṇḍana yugala
   khaṇḍana CLF
    small bird
    'The pair of a small bird.'
   (Ar, Ch. 12, V. 73)

c. kundala yugala
   kundala CLF
    earring
    'The pair of earrings.'
   (Ay, Ch. 1, V. 15)

d. naiṇa yugala
   naiṇa CLF
    eye
    'The pair of eyes.'
   (Ay, Ch. 12, V. 4)

All the three kinds of classifiers discussed so far are summarized in Table 6.4 along with the nominal concepts that they serve to distinguish.

Table 6.4 Classifiers and nominal distinguished

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. N</th>
<th>CLF</th>
<th>Nominal elements distinguished by the classifiers s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gota</td>
<td>human, elephant, monkey, horse, ram, white ant, stomach, eye, head, body, beak, neck, face, nose, mountain, night, chariot, arrow, arms, tail, hole (cavity), tree, yawn, era, banner (flag), root of a tree, stone (hailstone), fort, fortification.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>gotā</td>
<td>human, ascetic, demon, offspring, warrior, demon, ram, donkey, horse, elephant, snake, eye, nail, head, hand, finger, arms, arrow, mountain, day, fist, braided hair (head)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>guti</td>
<td>deer, monkey, son, child, body, letter, fruit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>khana</td>
<td>heart, bow, tongue, cloud, earth, cloth, ear, chariot, meeting, bed, pyre, arm, father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>khāna</td>
<td>chariot, bow, earth, hand, pyre, arm, armour, tongue, sea, island, foot, meeting, city, cheek, back, sky, forest, place, fort, pole-bridge, bridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>khāni</td>
<td>bow, foot, heart, cloth, business, petition, lanka, face, sandal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>jana</td>
<td>friend, child, wife, woman, member of an assembly, chaste,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>jani</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>janā</td>
<td>slave, sinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>arms, monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>third person pronoun and demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>kunda</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>khanda</td>
<td>earth, mountain, cloud, summit of mountain, netherworld, heaven, offspring, sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>tāra</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>pāta</td>
<td>arrow, stick, spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>pāri</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>pānti</td>
<td>pearl, finger, tooth, hair (body)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>pānji</td>
<td>hair (head)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>sāla</td>
<td>horse, graveyard, elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>sālā</td>
<td>sacrifice (a place for sacrifice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>yuri</td>
<td>sandal (a pair of sandals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>yugala</td>
<td>arm, foot, earrings, eye, thigh, bird, fan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd.
The data found so far does not provide any clue for the use of the same classifier both as an independent lexeme and a suffix in MKR. It may have happened due to the factors mentioned in different places of this work. Such factors include poetic language, scribal error etc. which may be able to account for the irregular form-function mapping found frequently in MKR. It is also likely that the process of grammaticalization has a role to play in this choice. Further investigation is required before any definite conclusion can be reached.

However, the classifier system of modern Assamese is all suffixed to the numerals and nouns. Not even a single occurrence of classifiers as independent lexemes is found at this stage of the language. The behaviour of classifiers in modern Assamese suggests a grammaticalization pathway of the classifiers system of the language from the period of MKR to modern period.

In addition, not all the classifiers mentioned above exist in modern Assamese. However, it does not mean that the classifiers in modern Assamese are very less in number. Rather, modern Assamese uses classifiers extensively, with new classifiers added to the language in the course of time. Without dealing with those classifiers in any detail6, Table 6.5 presents a list the classifiers that are common to modern Assamese and MKR.

### Table 6.5 The common classifiers of MKR and modern Assamese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI.N</th>
<th>CLF</th>
<th>Context of occurrence</th>
<th>Illustrative examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-kôon</td>
<td>dimensional (space and time)</td>
<td><em>kapur-kôon</em> cloth-CLF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

The classifiers *janā, kunda, kbanda*, and *yugala* are also used in modern Assamese, but not very frequently. The use of these classifiers is restricted to more formal uses. Of the classifiers listed in Table 6.5, those numbered as 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, and 10 are common classifiers according to the definition given in §6.2., because they can occur with both nouns and numerals. No. 4 occurs as a numeral classifier, while the rest occur as noun classifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-zon</td>
<td>human male, respect/polite</td>
<td>manuh-zon man-CLF</td>
<td>lora-zon boy-CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-zoni</td>
<td>human female, lack of respect and for females of animals</td>
<td>suwali-zoni girl-CLF</td>
<td>goru-zoni cow-CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>after numerals (impolite when used with human male referents)</td>
<td>du-ta two-CLF</td>
<td>manuh man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>inanimate, non-human male, human male (impolite)</td>
<td>kolxa-tu pen-CLF</td>
<td>manuh-tu man-CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>same as to, but diminutive</td>
<td>lora-ti boy-CLF</td>
<td>suwali-ti girl-CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-tār</td>
<td>something long and loose tied into a bunch or bundle</td>
<td>suli-tār hair-CLF</td>
<td>barhon-tār broom-CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-pat</td>
<td>something long, flat and narrow</td>
<td>birija-pat …-CLF</td>
<td>bor'ā-pat oar -CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-pari</td>
<td>after tooth (a line or row of teeth)</td>
<td>dat-pari tooth-CLF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-hal</td>
<td>after animate and inanimate nouns (particular place)</td>
<td>gura-hal horse-CLF</td>
<td>tat-hal forge-CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-hala</td>
<td>after animate and inanimate nouns (house)</td>
<td>otiši-hala guest-CLF</td>
<td>rondon-hala kitchen-CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-zuri</td>
<td>after eye</td>
<td>soku-zuri eye-CLF</td>
<td>‘a pair of eyes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.4. Functions of plural classifiers

Thus far, we have been concerned with specificity classifiers that served to the function of definiteness-indefiniteness. However, another set of such classifiers that served to the fuction of plurality. In this section, we shall look at the form and function of such classifiers.

Two sets of plural formatives are found as classifiers in MKR. One set is occurs with nouns and the other with pronominal stems. Similar to the classifiers discussed in the previous section, both sets serve to classify nouns. The only the difference between them is that the classifiers being discussed here encode plural referents. They are used in a collective sense. However, the pronominal classifiers do not encode any collective meaning. They simply indicate plurality and occur with personal pronouns that have honorific referents. The following sections will deal with plural noun classifiers (§6.2.4.1) and plural pronominal classifiers (§6.2.4.2). Plural formatives used with all nouns will be discussed in §6.3.

6.2.4.1. Noun classifiers indicating plurality

Nine classifiers occur with nouns to indicate plurality. These are - kula, barga, māla, punja, yūtha, rāsi, loka, samāja, and jāka. Of these, kula, barga, punja, yūtha, rāsi, and samāja are Sanskrit words. The specialty of these classifiers is that they are attached only to certain kinds of nouns, but not to others. The different functions of these classifiers are outlined below.

(i) kula: This occurs only with animate nouns and indicates a group of people or a herd of animals. This classifier does not appear very frequently in MKR. It occurs both as an independent lexeme and as a suffix, as in (31a-b).

(31) a. rākṣasa kula
    demon  CLF.PL
    'A clan of demon.'

    (Laṅ, Ch. 8, V. 61)

   b. raghukula
    kula
    'raghu-kula
    Raghu-CLF.PL
    'A clan of Raghava.'

    (Ay, Ch. 10, V. 158)

(ii) barga: Occurs as an independent lexeme only with animate nouns, and indicates a group of people and demons, as in (32a-b).
(32) a. muni barga  
    b. rākṣasi bargaka

muni barga  
rākṣasi barga-ka
sage CLF.PL  
demon CLF.PL-DAT

‘A group of sage.’  
‘A group of demon.’

(Ay, Ch. 37, V. 3)  
(Su, Ch. 30, V. 72)

(iii) mālā. This occurs only with inanimate nouns referring to different flowers, stone, leaf, seed or fruit and indicates something that is joined and in a linear order. It occurs both as a separate lexeme and as a suffix. (33a-b) illustrate.

(33) a. rudrākṣa mālā  
    b. puspa-mālā

rudrākṣa mālā  
puspa-mālā
bead CLF.PL  
flower-CLF.PL

‘A rosary.’  
‘A garland.’

(Ar, Ch. 12, V. 58)  
(Ay, Ch. 5, V. 122)

(iv) puñja. Occurs with charcoal, only twice in the entire text. (34) illustrates.

(34) a. āṅgāra puñja  
    b. angara punja

āṅgāra puñja  
angara punja
charcoal CLF.PL  
charcoal CLF.PL

‘Charcoals.’

(Lañ, Ch. 29, V. 51)

(v) yūthā: Used to indicate a group of animate nouns such as demons and deer, as in (35a-b).

(35) a. rākṣasa yūthaka  
    b. mṛga yūthā

rākṣasa yūth-aka  
mṛga yūtha
demon CLF.PL-DAT  
deer CLF.PL

‘A group of demons.’  
‘A herd of deer.’

(Su, Ch. 8, V. 10)  
(Lañ, Ch. 13, V. 9)

(vi) rāśi: Occurs only after the noun for fame, and indicates a quantity, as in (36).

(36) a. yaśa rāśi  
    b. yaśa rāśi

yaśa rāśi  
yāsa rāśi
fame CLF.PL  
fame CLF.PL

‘A quantity of fame.’

(Kis, Ch. 12, V. 3)
(vii) **loka**: Used to refer to a group of human beings, as in (37a-c).

(37) 

a. *sabhāsada loka*  
*bhabhāsada loka*  
courtier CLF.PL

b. *rākṣasini loka*  
*rākṣasini loka*  
demon CLF.PL

'A group of courtiers'  
'A group of demons.'

(Lañ, Ch. 9, V. 328)  
(Lañ, Ch. 49, V. 27)

c. *pāṭesbarī loka*  
*pāṭesbarī loka*  
queen-consort CLF.PL

'A group of queen-consorts.'

(Kis, Ch. 1, V. 16)

(viii) **samāja**: This occurs only with animate nouns and indicates collectivity, as in (38a-c).

(38) 

a. *brāhmaṇa samāja*  
*brāhmaṇa samāja*  
Brahmana CLF.PL

b. *kapī samāja*  
*kapī samāja*  
monkey CLF.PL

'A group of Brahanas.'  
'A troop of monkeys.'

(Ay, Ch. 4, V. 5)  
(Lañ, Ch. 49, V. 16)

c. *amātya samāja*  
*amātya samāja*  
minister CLF.PL

'A group of ministers.'

(Kis, Ch. 20, V. 36)

(ix) **jāka**: Occurs only with the noun for arrow, to indicate a multitude of arrows. This classifier also occurs without the nasalization of the first vowel. Without the nasalized vowel, the classifier occurs with any animate and inanimate nouns to indicate collectiveness (cf. 39). For this reason, *jāka* is considered as a plural formative rather than a classifier.
Of these nine classifiers, only mālā and loka occur in modern Assamese. mālā occurs in same context and sense as in MKR while loka occurs only with pronominal stems in modern Assamese, indicating plurality, as in (40a-b).

6.2.4.2. Pronominal classifiers indicating plurality

Four classifiers occur with pronominal stems to indicate plurality. All of them are suffixed to pronominal stems. These classifiers are: -sā, -sambā, -rā, and -thera. Not all kinds of pronominal stems can take these suffixes. They can only be attached to second person familiar and third person honorific pronouns. For this reason, these suffixes have been included in the category of classifiers. Their functions are indicated below.

(a) -sā: This can occur only with the first person plural pronominal base āma as well as with the second person pronominal base toma and indicates plurality, as in (41a-b).

(b) -sambā: Used with third person pronominal bases and indicates plurality.
(42) a. *tasambāka*
   *tā-sambā-ka*
   *he.DST-PL-DAT*
   'Them'

   (Ay, Ch. 6, V. 5)

   b. *esambāka*
   *e-sambā-ka*
   *he.PRX-PL-DAT*
   'Them'

   (Kls, Ch. 26, V. 34)

(c) **-rā**: Used with second person pronouns and indicates plurality.

(43) a. *tomrā*
   *tonrā*
   *you-PL*
   'You'

   (Ar, Ch. 1, V. 49)

   b. *torā*
   *to-rā*
   *you-PL*
   'You'

   (Ar, Ch. 2, V. 30)

Only one occurrence of *tomrā* is found in the entire text and that too following the plural formative *saba* as in *tomrā sabaro* (Ar, Ch. 1, V. 49). *torā* is another form which occurs optionally with numerals or numeral + classifier sequences such as *dui* or *duijana, tini* and plural formative *saba* as in the following: *torā duijana* 'you -PL two -CLF' (Ar, Ch. 21, V. 6); *torā tini* 'you -PL three' (Ay, Ch. 37, V. 9); *torā sabaka* 'you -PL all -DAT' (Ar, Ch. 21, V. 8).

(d) **-thera**: It is used with the first person plural pronominal base.

(44) *āmā therā*
   *āmā therā*
   *we PL*
   'we'

   (Lañ, Ch. 29, V. 59)

This set of classifiers requires some discussions, because in addition to occurring in MKR, these classifiers have been part of the linguistic history of the area for some time. First we will consider the **-sā** element along with **-samba** and **-saba**. The form **-sā** not only occurs in MKR, but is found in other NIA languages like Bengali, Bihari, and Surjapuri spoken in KS (cf. §3). However, Chatterji does not want to consider **-sā** as a
separate element. Rather, he analyses -sāk as one element and refers to the form -sāt-ka- as inscripational in origin. He observes,

In Early Assamese we have the affix ə merg < -sākə >, as in the forms अमाग, तमाग < अमार साका, तमार साका > our, your, us, you, which are obsolete in Modern Assamese. (Devananda Bharali, ‘Assamiya-bhasar Maulik Bicar,’ p. 32). These would affiliate themselves to a MIA. < *amha-sakka, *tumā-sakka >, Sankritised into < *asma-satka, *yusma-satka >.

(1926: §504)

However, the MKR data does not allow us to consider -sāka as one element. Rather, the -ka element of this form appears to be functioning as a dative case marker and the -sā element as a plural marker. The evidence of dative function of -ka comes from another occurrence of the -sā element with the genitive case marker -ra and the locative case marker -ta such as āmāsāra ‘our’, tomāsāta ‘you, near you’ etc. The evidence of plural function of -sā can be seen from its occurrence in KS (cf. §3). However, in KS, the -s- element is considered as an oblique plural suffix, where -a is considered as a general oblique suffix. The reason for considering -a is a general oblique suffix is that -a is also the common oblique suffix in other related lects of Kamata such as Rajbangshi and Northern Bangla (KRNB) (Toulmin 2006.). Toulmin remarks,

The typical KRNB marking of oblique pronouns is with the suffix l-<s-PL-NOM>, lhamaug ‘1.PL-NOM’. However, in Kishanganj obliqueness is marked in plural pronouns by an -s- element (with a variant element tʃa), in addition to l-a-. This element comes between the pronominal base and the typical oblique suffix l-<s-PL-OBL>. The same element occurs in the third person plural oblique pronoun ‘them’: lis(m)a-, us(m)a-. (2006: 193)

However, MKR does not have an oblique suffix that corresponds to the -a in KRNB. Hence, the whole -sā element is considered as a plural suffix in MKR.

Toulmin also claims that in KS, the occurrence of the l-s- element in third person is similar with the element l-s- occurs in first and second person and the variable l-m-
that is found in third person has some connections with the plural marker -sambā, which is also found to present in early Assamese text. He explains the connection by considering the data from Kakati (1941: 295-96), in order to describe the origin of the -sambā and -saba suffixes used in early Assamese. According to him, if MIA -saba and *samba are considered as the sources of the -s element, then it can be hypothesized that the first and second person plural oblique pronouns /ham(s, tf)a/ and /tumsa/ in KS are reflexes of the inherited bases *ham-, tum-, and the oblique suffix *-a, and that these morphemes were supplemented at an early stage by a plural word *fam 'all' < *fombo, as follows: *hama foma -> *ham-fam-a -> *hamfa- '1PL.OBL'. The reduction of *mfm > *fm is probably phonologically rather than morphologically conditioned as the consonant cluster *mfm is phonotactically impermissible in KRNB. The variable element /-m/ in the KS third person plural oblique /-is(m)a/ is a variable retention from *fam 'all'. (P. 195)

The data from MKR seems to support Toulmin’s hypothesis, because both the suffixes -sambā and -saba occur with personal pronouns in MKR, indicating a plural function. Moreover, the position of the first suffix is similar to that of the suffix found in KS. In both languages, this suffix is attached only to third person pronouns, not to any other personal pronouns. Hence, there might be some connections between these two forms used in both languages. Moreover, the behaviour of the -s element found in KS strongly suggests that this element corresponds with the -s element that occurs in MKR. It also indicates that -s was not only used in Assamese at the time of MKR but it was also used in other cognates of Assamese like Kamata. A reason for the similarity between these two languages with respect to the status of -s element is that both languages are considered to have emerged from eastern Magadhi group. As a result of historical changes, this form has completely disappeared from modern Assamese, but exists in some lects of Kamata, such as KS.

-ra is not found in MKR alone. It also occurs in Bengali along with most KRNB lects (Toulmin 2006). However, the function of the Bengali -ra is different from the
function of the -ra of MKR or the KRNB lects in one respect. The Bengali -ra can be
used with all nominal elements that indicate animacy, while the use of the -ra in MKR
or KRNB is restricted to the pronominal system. Even though they differ from each
other in terms of functions, etymologically, the -ra element comes from the same
genitive origin. It is possible that this etymological factor might have been responsible
for Kakati's decision to analyse the -ra element of early Assamese as a genitive case
(1941: 293-94).

There may have been another reason that led Kakati to consider -ra of early
Assamese as a genitive. That reason is the occurrence of -ra with nouns of multitude
such as saba in tomra sabara, because -ra functions as a plural only with the co-
occurrence of the noun of multitude sabh in Maithili. In this context, Chatterji writes:

Originally, there was a noun of multitude after the strengthened genitive in << -a >>. This
stage is still found in the Maithili << hamarâ-sabh, tůharâ-sabha >> we, you; and in Bengali,
the noun of multitude can be optionally used. (Chatterji 1926:734)

Toulmin (2006:156), Jha (1985 (1958): 389) and Kakati seem to support the claim
of Chatterji. According to them, the occurrence of nouns of multitude such as 'all',
preceded by the strong form of the genitive (that is, suffixed with l-af) indicates
plurality in Maithili. According to Toulmin, "the marking of nominal plurality through a
construction noun-GEN(-a) + "noun of multitude" is well distributed in Mg. lects and
seems to been inherited from the proto-Mg. stage of linguistic history" (ibid: 156). But
in MKR, -ra occurs not only with the noun of multitude saba, it also occurs with
pronominal stems alone in the subject position, indicating plurality. In addition, -ra
occurs in MKR, followed by numerals other than 'one' and by classifiers indicating
definiteness, as in tōra duihanta 'both of you'; tōra duijana 'both of you'. It is also
found in modern Assamese, where plural pronominal forms can be followed only by
numerals that indicate more than 'one' + classifiers indicating definiteness, such as
tumalok duzon ‘both of you’. In addition to this evidence, data from Bengali and other KRNB lects also support the status of -ra as a plural morpheme.

This section focused on the pronominal classifiers that indicate plurality and dealt with the history of some forms. The next section will discuss another class of classifiers of nouns known as gender.

6.2.5. Gender in MKR

Gender is not grammatical in MKR. Sex is generally distinguished by the use of different words such as bāpa for father, māwa for mother, bhāi for younger brother and bahini for younger sister, and so on. In addition, sex is also distinguished by the use of some feminine suffixes -ini, -anil-ānī, -i after noun words indicating males, or after adjective words. But the mere presence of these suffixes does not indicate that MKR has gender. Rather, the process of adding feminine suffixes to noun words indicating male in order to turn them into feminine, is a part of the derivation process which can be considered simply as an influence of Sanskritism. In fact, such feminine suffixes, particularly those derived from OIA -ini, -ānī are indeed very common in all NIA languages including Assamese. They are found due to a social need to distinguish the female members of various occupational groups as well as female kin (Masica 1991: 218). The reason of not considering these suffixes within the grammatical category of gender is that these suffixes do not have any syntactic dimension i.e., they do not show any agreement relation with other categories, or their presence does not have any effect at the syntactic level, unlike Hindi, one of the Indo-Aryan languages, which exhibit a rich, highly grammatical gender system. Secondly, they are not productive. Only a few nouns or adjectives take these suffixes. However, grammatical gender has not only disappeared in Assamese but also in its close cognates Bengali and Oriya. The different processes that are found in MKR for differentiating males from females are illustrated below.
(a) By using distinct words indicating male and female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pītā</td>
<td>mātā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīṭṛ</td>
<td>māṭṛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāpa</td>
<td>māwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po</td>
<td>jī̄u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāī</td>
<td>bāhīnī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dada</td>
<td>bāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) By adding -ini/-inī

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bāgha</td>
<td>bāghinī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiger</td>
<td>tigress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīṣāca</td>
<td>pīṣācanī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demon</td>
<td>demoness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) By using -ī

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>badanī</td>
<td>well-bodied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nandini</td>
<td>happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaubanī</td>
<td>'young'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gajendra gamanī</td>
<td>'elephant-like walker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitopanī</td>
<td>pleasant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamala nayānī</td>
<td>'lily-eyed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(d) After -ending words indicating males?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jcuja</th>
<th>kuji</th>
<th>(Su, Ch. 8, V. 12)</th>
<th>(Ay, Ch. 4, V. 20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khom</td>
<td>Khuri</td>
<td>(Su, Ch. 8, V. 12)</td>
<td>(Su, Ch. 14, V. 59)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) By adding -/after adjective words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sundara lakṣmaṇa</th>
<th>Sundara lakṣmaṇa</th>
<th>Sundara lakṣmaṇa</th>
<th>Sundara lakṣmaṇa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Handsome Lakshmana</td>
<td>Handsome Lakshmana</td>
<td>Handsome Lakshmana</td>
<td>Handsome Lakshmana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sita</td>
<td>Sita</td>
<td>Sita</td>
<td>Sita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Shandsome Lakshmana.' 'Sita, the beautiful daughter of Janaka.'

(Su, Ch. 2, V. 3) (Su, Ch. 2, V. 4)

Like MKR, modern Assamese uses the same processes to distinguish sex. Grammatical gender has also disappeared from modern Assamese.

6.3. Plural formatives

It was stated in §6.1 that two kinds of plural formatives are used in MKR. The first of these was discussed in the section on classifiers (§6.2.4). A second set of plural formatives will be considered in this section. The former kind was found to be attached to only some kinds of nouns and pronouns (cf. §6.2.4.1 and §6.2.4.2) to form plurals unlike English -s or modern Assamese -bur, which can uniformly occur with all nouns to form the plural.

Six plural formatives occur in MKR: gana, caya, dala, sakala, samasta, and jāka. All these six formatives are Sanskrit in origin. They are used to indicate collectivity. The reason of discussing them separately from classifiers is that these classifiers can be attached to all types of nouns to indicate plurality. The functions of these classifiers are as follows.

(i) gana. Used with all kinds of animate and inanimate nouns and indicates plurality as in (45a-d).

---

7 kuji refers to a male referent with a lump on the back or bowed over. kuji, on the other hand refers to a female referent with a lump on the back or bowed over. khōrā refers to a lame man and khuri refers to a lame woman.
(45) a. *deba gaṇa*  
    deba gaṇa  
    deity PL  
    ‘Dieties’  
    (Kis, Ch. 1, V. 21)  

b. *nadi nada gaṇa*  
    nadi nada gaṇa  
    river river PL  
    ‘Rivers’  
    (Lañ, Ch. 48, V. 67)  

c. *mṛga pakṣi gaṇa*  
    mṛga pakṣi gaṇa  
    deer bird PL  
    ‘Group of deer, bird’  
    (Su, Ch. 34, V. 1)  

d. *tārā gaṇa*  
    tārā gaṇa  
    star PL  
    ‘Group of stars’  
    (Lañ, Ch. 43, V. 74)  

(ii) *caya*. Used with animate and inanimate nouns to express plural reference.

(46) a. *nakha-caya*  
    nakha-caya  
    nail-PL  
    ‘Nails’  
    (Ar, Ch. 6, V. 21)  

b. *lomacaya*  
    lomacaya  
    hair-PL  
    ‘Hairs’  
    (Ar, Ch. 6, V. 94)  

c. *puspa caya*  
    puspa caya  
    flower PL  
    ‘Flowers’  
    (Ar, Ch. 22, V. 18)  

d. *yaṣacaya*  
    yaṣacaya  
    fame-PL  
    ‘Fames’  
    (Ar, Ch. 23, V. 4)  

e. *astra caya*  
    astra caya  
    arm PL  
    ‘Arms’  
    (Lañ, Ch. 17, V. 103)  

f. *nāga caya*  
    nāga caya  
    snake PL  
    ‘Snakes’  
    (Kis, Ch. 26, V. 3)  

g. *bīra caya*  
    bīra caya  
    warrior PL  
    ‘Warriors’  
    (Su, Ch. 31, V. 28)
(iii) *dala*. Occurs with animate and inanimate nouns for expressing plural reference.

(47) a. asbadala  
asba-dala  
horse-PL  
‘Horses’

b. gajadala  
 gaja-dala  
elephant-PL  
‘Elephants’

c. naradala  
nara-dala  
human  
‘Humans’

(Ay, Ch. 10, V. 7)

d. nilotpala  
 nilotpala  
lily  
‘Lilies’

(Ay, Ch. 12, V. 4)

(iv) *sakala*. Used with all animate and inanimate nouns and forms plurals.

(48) a. kutumba sakala  
kutumba sakala  
relative PL  
‘Relatives’

(Ay, Ch. 9, V. 32)

b. naksatra sakala  
 naksatra sakal  
planet PL  
‘Planets’

(Ay, Ch. 10, V. 151)

c. kaccbapa sakala  
kaccbapa sakala  
tortoise PL  
‘Tortoises’

(Kis, Ch. 24, V. 3)

(v) *samasta*. Added to all nouns and forms plurals.

(49) a. byttänta samasta  
 byttänta samasta  
event PL  
‘Events’

(Ay, Ch. 2, V. 5)

b. asura samasta  
 asura samasta  
demon PL  
‘Demons’

(Ay, Ch. 5, V. 17)

(vi) *jäka*. Used with all nouns and indicates a herd of someone or something.
Of these seven classifiers, only -sakala, -jāka, and -saba are used in modern Assamese. Unlike MKR, the use of sakal is restricted in modern Assamese. It is allowed to occur only with nouns indicating humans in a respectful sense and encodes the plural function as shown in (52a-b).
Modern Assamese employs a full set of suffixes to encode this type of relationship. These suffixes are attached to all kinds of relational nouns in modern Assamese as opposed to only a few found in MKR (e.g. father, brother, and mother). For ease of comparing both sets, the deictic suffixes of modern Assamese are set out in Table 6.6.
### Table 6.6 The suffixes of personal deixis: allomorphs and distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
<th>After -a ending forms</th>
<th>After i/u and consonant forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(N)</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2INF(N)</td>
<td>-er</td>
<td>-r</td>
<td>-er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2FAM(N)</td>
<td>-era</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2HON(N)</td>
<td>-ek</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3INF(N)</td>
<td>-ek</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3HON(N)</td>
<td>-ek</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-ek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(56) **Examples of their use**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>After -a</th>
<th>After -i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(N)</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ḫoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-Ø</td>
<td>ḫoni-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mother-1(N)</td>
<td>ḫoni-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘My mother’</td>
<td>‘My sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2INF(N)</td>
<td>-er</td>
<td>mar</td>
<td>ḫoner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-r</td>
<td>ḫoni-er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mother-2INF(N)</td>
<td>ḫoni-er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Your mother’</td>
<td>‘Your sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2FAM(N)</td>
<td>-era</td>
<td>mura</td>
<td>ḫoniera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-ra</td>
<td>ḫoni-era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mother-2FAM(N)</td>
<td>ḫoni-era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Your mother’</td>
<td>‘Your sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2HON(N)</td>
<td>-ek</td>
<td>mak</td>
<td>ḫoniek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-k</td>
<td>ḫoni-ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mother-2HON(N)</td>
<td>ḫoni-ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Your mother’</td>
<td>‘Your sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3INF(N)</td>
<td>-ek</td>
<td>mak</td>
<td>ḫoniek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-k</td>
<td>ḫoni-ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mother-3INF(N)</td>
<td>ḫoni-ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘His mother’</td>
<td>‘His sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3HON(N)</td>
<td>-ek</td>
<td>mak</td>
<td>ḫoniek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-k</td>
<td>ḫoni-ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mother-3HON(N)</td>
<td>ḫoni-ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘His mother’</td>
<td>‘His sister’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Contd.*

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8 Chart based on Goswami and Tamuli (2003).
From the above comparison, it can be seen that of the four oppositons found in modern Assamese, MKR represents only three. No distinct marker is attached to relational noun for the first person in MKR. It is marked by -Ø marker as in modern Assamese. From the examples above, it is clear that personal deixis involves neutralization between the second person honorific, third person inferior and honorific forms in modern Assamese. However, the status of this neutralisation in the language at the time of MKR is not known. From the limited data and the poetic nature of the language of MKR, it is not possible to determine whether the language of the time of MKR used different suffixes for relational nouns at all levels as in modern Assamese, to distinguish the category of person.
With regard to the deictic suffixes, the Assamese language of the time of MKR and of the present time, exhibits a unique typological feature which set it apart from other Indo-Aryan languages. The question naturally arises as to when this feature came to be first used in the language. The phase of innovation might have been during the end of 13th century or it might have been from 14th century onwards. The reason for this line of thinking is that this feature is not present in the texts of Caryās which are attributed to the 13th century. These texts carry features of both Assamese and Bangla during the formative period of NIA. In addition, Toulmin’s (2006) study of the different Kamata lects, which are very close to Assamese in areal terms, reveals that this feature was completely absent in those lects. Even the possible presence of this kind of feature in proto-Kamata was not mentioned in that work. As stated earlier, the time of innovation of proto-Kamata and that of early Assamese is approximately the same. Besides, early Assamese literature was written under the patronage of the Koch kings of Kamatapur in Kamrupi or Western Assamese dialect. Hence, the possibility of a mix of some early Assamese and proto-Kamata features is obvious. But as far as personal deixis is concerned, no Kamata lect is found to have this feature. From this point of view, it can be concluded that the deictic suffixes attached to nominal stems are a unique feature of Assamese that might have innovated in the language around the end of 13th century or from the beginning of the 14th century. Moreover, the gap between the sparse use of these suffixes in MKR and their full-fledged use in modern Assamese suggests that these suffixes might have started to develop around the time of MKR.

6.5. Phrase-level noun words: distribution and function

The concern so far has been with the inherent categories correlatable to nouns. In the following sections, we are going to shift the discussion to the issue of the distribution and function of the noun word within a containing structure such as the phrase and the clause.

This section is divided into three main sections: §6.5.1 is going to present a general idea of the function of the noun word and its different dependents at the phrase level. §6.5.2 will discuss the functions of noun word in MKR in the light of the discussion provided in §6.5.1. The different dependents of nouns in MKR will be surveyed in §6.5.3.
6.5.1. Noun word functions at the phrase level: a general discussion

Structurally, a noun occurs in a noun phrase (NP) and it serves the function of head within the phrase. Hence, the general function of the noun word at the phrase level is as a head. However, sometimes it is used as a dependent also, as in the English example a boy actor. As a word-class, boy is a noun. But in this phrase, it functions as a modifier, with actor as the head of the phrase.

As a head, noun can take different dependents such as determiners and modifiers. The determiners can be of different types: quantifiers, relative determiners, interrogative determiners, negative determiners, assertive determiners, universal determiners, demonstrative determiners, possessive determiners, multipliers, numerals and articles. It should be noted that most of these determiners fall into the syntactic class of pronouns as well. For this reason such determiners will be labelled as pronominal determiners.

Furthermore, of the different dependents of nouns, some precede the head noun while others follow it. According to their relative position to the head noun, the former type of dependents is referred to as pre-head dependents. The latter type of dependents is referred to as post-head dependents.

Like determiners, modifiers can be of three types: adjectives, PPs, and clausal modifiers. Depending on their relationship with the head noun, modifiers can be further categorized as complements and adjuncts.

6.5.2. Noun word in MKR: phrase-level functions

The MKR data indicates the presence of all the determiner-types in the text, except for the article-like determiners of English. In place of the latter, MKR shows an extensive range of Classifiers discussed in §6.2. However, the distribution of the MKR determiners is not analogous to that of the determiners in English. The latter occur only in pre-head positions while the determiners in MKR are found in both pre-head and post-head positions, possibly without any pragmatic or syntactic significance.

Of the three types of modifiers: adjective, PP, and clausal modifiers, adjective modifiers have been extensively used in MKR. The use of the noun word as a modifier

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9 From the viewpoint of syntactic class, these determiners fall into the word-class of pronoun, but according to their syntactic function, they fall into the category of determiners as well.
is not very frequent in the text. For this reason, no separate section will be devoted to it. On the other hand, the noun in MKR takes a wide range of dependents. These will be examined in the next section (§6.6.).

Two examples of noun words as modifiers are provided in (57) and (58).

(57) ratna saba jbale
    ratna saba jbal-e
    jewel/gem PL sparkling-3
    'Jewels/gems are sparkling.'
    (Ay, Ch. 5, V. 122)

(58) ratna sinhasane
    ratna sinhasan-e
    jewel throne-LOC
    'The throne made by jewel.'
    (Ay, Ch. 2, V. 9)

In (57), ratna occurs as a noun, but in (58) it occurs as a modifier of the noun sinhasane.

The position of dependents relative to the head noun element depends on an empirical analysis of the data. For this reason the occurrence and function of the various kinds of dependents of nouns in MKR are discussed as follows – quantifiers (§6.5.2.1), relative and interrogative pronominal determiners (§6.5.2.2), possessive pronominal determiners, multipliers and numerals (§6.5.2.3), demonstrative pronominal determiners (§6.5.2.4) and adjectives (§6.5.2.5). The extent to which the occurrence of these dependents in MKR corresponds with the occurrence of dependents in modern Assamese will be surveyed in §6.5.2.6.

6.5.2.1. Quantifiers

There is a small group of quantifiers in MKR, which seems to be used with both count and non-count nouns. These are: aśeṣa ‘many’, alapa ‘a few’, alapika ‘a few’, alpa ‘a few’, aneka ‘many’, bahu ‘many’, bahuta ‘many’, samastra ‘all’, sakalo ‘all’, and sahasra ‘many’. The general function of all these expressions is to quantify the head
The examples illustrate the use of असेसा as a pre-head and post-head dependent. In (59) and (61), असेसा occurs in the pre-head position, preceding the head nouns राक्षसा,
bānara, gṛpta and jala. In (60) and (62), it occurs in the post-head position, following the head nouns rākṣasa, nagara, bala and āmoda.

In addition, āśeṣa occurs in another order where it is interrupted by a verb. Here, it occurs both with a preceding verb and a following verb, as illustrated in (63) and (64).

(63) bānaraka mārilā āśeṣa.
    bānar-aka mār-il-ā āśeṣa
monkey-DAT kill-PST-3 many

'(He) killed many monkeys.'

(Lañ, Ch. 13, V. 8)

(64) āśeṣa mārilā lāṭhī bhuku lāṭja bāri.
    āśeṣa mār-il-ā lāṭhī bhuku lāṭja bāri
many hit-PST-3 kick punch tail stick

'(He) hit much with stick, punch, tail and kick.'

(Lañ, Ch. 13, V. 49)

Apart from its quantifying function, āśeṣa also occurs as an adverbial modifier of a verb, as in (65) and (66).

(65) āśeṣa kāṇḍanta duyo ārttanāda kari.
    āśeṣa kāṇḍ-anta du-yō ārttanāda kar-i
many cry-3HON two-EMPH cry of agony do-NF

'Both shouted in agony and cried.'

(Ay, Ch. 32, V. 60)

(66) āśeṣa bulilā tāka dharmma-ka cināi.
    āśeṣa bul-il-ā tā-ka dharmma-ka cin-āi
many tell-PST-3 he-DAT duty-DAT introduce-NF

'Talked to him much about duty.'

(Lañ, Ch. 32, V. 35)

āśeṣa modifies the verb kāṇḍanta in (65) and the bulilā in (66).

(b) alapa. In all its four occurrences in the text, it occurs with non-count nouns as a pre-head dependent, as in (67a-b).
(67) a. alapa jalata
   alapa jal-ata
   little water-LOC
   'A little water.'
   (Ay, Ch. 37, V. 19)

b. alapa krodha
   alapa krodha
   little angry
   'A little angry.'
   (Lañ, Ch. 19, V. 69)

(c) alapika: Used with non-count nouns as pre-head dependents.

(68) alapika manusya
    alapika manusya
    little humanity
    'A little humanity.'
    (Ar, Ch. 8, V. 183)

(d) alpa: Occurs as pre-head dependents with non-count nouns as in (69) and (70). In these examples, alpa occurs as an adjectival modifier of the head nouns.

(69) alpa bayasara
    alpa bayas-ara
    less age-GEN
    Young age.'
    (Ay, Ch. 16, V. 51)

(70) alpa kalewara
    alpa kalewara
    less shape
    'Small shape.'
    (Su, Ch. 30, V. 50)

Along with the adverbial particle kari, alpa functions as an adverbial modifier of verbs, as in (71).

(71) kahilanta alpa kari.
    kah-il-anta alpa kari
    tell-PST-3 little ADV
    'Told a little.'
    (Lañ, Ch. 38, V. 45)
(e) **aneka**: Occurs with both count and non-count nouns as pre-head and post-head dependents, as in (72) and (73).

(72) a. \(\text{aneka} \quad \text{\(\tilde{s}\)\(i\)}\)  
\(\text{aneka} \quad \text{\(\tilde{s}\)\(i\)}\)  
many  
sage  
‘Many sages.’

b. \(\text{jalacara} \quad \text{aneka}\)  
\(\text{jalacara} \quad \text{aneka}\)  
water creatures  
many  
‘Many water creatures.’

(Ar, Ch. 5, V. 2) (Ar, Ch. 22, V. 2)

(73) a. \(\text{aneka} \quad \text{tapasy\(\tilde{a}\)}\)  
\(\text{aneka} \quad \text{tapasy\(\tilde{a}\)}\)  
many  
meditation  
‘Much meditation.’

b. \(\text{\(\tilde{s}\)oka} \quad \text{aneka}\)  
\(\text{\(\tilde{s}\)oka} \quad \text{aneka}\)  
grief  
many  
‘Much grief.’

(Ar, Ch. 1, V. 109) (Ar, Ch. 8, V. 273)

This quantifier occurs with a following quantifier *sahasra*, as in (74).

(74) \(\text{aneka} \quad \text{sahasra} \quad \text{\(\tilde{s}\)are}\)  
\(\text{aneka} \quad \text{sahasra} \quad \text{\(\tilde{s}\)are}\)  
many  
many  
arrows-INS  
‘Many many arrows.’

(Ar, Ch. 8, V. 106)

However, such occurrence is very rare in the text.

Apart from its quantifying function, *aneka* is also used as an adverbial modifier of verbs, as in (75).

(75) \(\text{aneka} \quad \text{\(\tilde{y}\)uj\(\tilde{l}\)\(\tilde{a}\)}\)  
\(\text{aneka} \quad \text{\(\tilde{y}\)uj\(-\)il\(-\)\(\tilde{\alpha}\)}\)  
a lot  
fight-PST-3  
‘(He) fought a lot.’

(Lah, Ch. 9, V. 285)

(f) **sahasra**: Occurs only with count nouns in a pre-head position.

(76) a. \(\text{sahasra} \quad \text{\(\tilde{s}\)ara}\)  
\(\text{sahasra} \quad \text{\(\tilde{s}\)ara}\)  
many  
arrows  
‘Many arrows.’

b. \(\text{sahasra} \quad \text{br\(\ddot{a}\)h\(\dot{m}\)\(\ddot{a}\)pa}\)  
\(\text{sahasra} \quad \text{br\(\ddot{a}\)h\(\dot{m}\)\(\ddot{a}\)pa}\)  
many  
Brahman  
‘Many Brahmans’

(Ar, Ch. 8, V. 122) (Ay, Ch. 30, V. 40)
This expression occurs with a following quantifying expression *aneka* as in (74) above and with a preceding numeral, as in (77)-(78).

(77) 
\[ \text{सोरसा सहस्रा नारी} \]
\[ सोरसा सहस्रा नारी \]
sixteen thousand woman

‘Sixteen thousand women.’

(Lau, Ch. 54, V. 191)

(78) 
\[ \text{ङ्गादिशा सहस्रा र्गी} \]
\[ ङ्गादिशा सहस्रा र्गी \]
twenty-eight thousand sage

‘Twenty-eight thousand sages.’

(Kis, Ch. 25, V. 5)

(g) *bahu*: Occurs with both count and non-count nouns in the pre-head position, as in (79a-b).

(79) 
\[ \text{a. बहु फलामुला} \]
\[ बहु फलामुला \]
a lot fruit-and+the+like

‘A lot of fruits etc.’

(Ay, Ch. 20, V. 45) (Lau, Ch. 48, V. 329)

\[ \text{b. बहु ग्हर्ता} \]
\[ बहु ग्हर्ता \]
much ghee

‘Much ghee.’

(h) *bahuta*: Used with count and non-count nouns and occurs in three positions:

(I) Post-head positions

(80) 
\[ \text{राक्षसा बहुता} \]
\[ राक्षसा बहुता \]
demon many

‘Many demons.’

(Ar, Ch. 8, V. 286)

(II) Pre-head positions

(81) 
\[ \text{बहुता दुरा} \]
\[ बहुता दुरा \]
much distance

‘Much distance.’

(Ar, Ch. 12, V. 59)
(III) Interrupted by verb

(82)  
\begin{align*} 
\text{sāra} & \text{ ā-nilā} \quad \text{bahuta} \\
\text{sāra} & \text{ān-il-ā} \quad \text{bahuta} \\
\text{arrows} & \text{bring-PST-3} \quad \text{many} \\
\end{align*} 

\‘Brought many arrows.'

(Lañ, Ch. 29, V. 9)

It is also used as an adverbial modifier of verbs.

(83)  
\begin{align*} 
\text{sītā} & \text{ kāndila} \quad \text{bahuta} \\
\text{sītā} & \text{kānd-il-a} \quad \text{bahuta} \\
\text{Sita} & \text{cry-PST-2INF} \quad \text{much} \\
\end{align*} 

\‘Sita cried very much.'

(Ay, Ch. 35, V. 18)

(i) \textit{samasta}: Occurs with count and non-count nouns as a pre-head and post-head dependent. (84a-b) illustrate.

(84)  
\begin{align*} 
\text{(a) samasta} & \text{ lokaka} \\
& \text{samasta} \quad \text{lok-aka} \\
& \text{all} \quad \text{people-DAT} \\
\text{\hspace{0.5cm} \text{\textquoteleft All people.}} \\
\text{(Ay, Ch. 23, V. 2)} \\
\end{align*} 

\begin{align*} 
\text{(b) asura samasta} \\
& \text{asura} \quad \text{samasta} \\
& \text{demon} \quad \text{all} \\
\text{\hspace{0.5cm} \text{\textquoteleft All demons.}} \\
\text{(Ay, Ch. 5, V. 17)} \\
\end{align*} 

\textit{samasta} also occurs as a head, as in (85).

(85)  
\begin{align*} 
\text{parikṣā} & \text{ karilo mai jā-nilōti} \quad \text{samasta.} \\
\text{\hspace{0.5cm} \text{\textquoteleft I examined and learnt all.}} \\
\text{(Lañ, Ch. 48, V. 37)} \\
\end{align*} 

(j) \textit{saba}: Occurs with count and non-count nouns in a pre-head position.

(86)  
\begin{align*} 
\text{(a) saba} & \text{ bandhu jana} \\
& \text{saba} \quad \text{bandhu} \quad \text{jana} \\
& \text{all} \quad \text{friend} \quad \text{CLF} \\
\text{\hspace{0.5cm} \text{\textquoteleft All friends.}} \\
\text{(Ar, Ch. 10, V. 41)} \\
\end{align*} 

\begin{align*} 
\text{(b) saba kāryya.} \\
& \text{saba} \quad \text{kāryya} \\
& \text{all} \quad \text{work} \\
\text{\hspace{0.5cm} \text{\textquoteleft All work.}} \\
\text{(Ar, Ch. 20, V. 49)} \\
\end{align*}
When this expression occurs in a post-head position, it indicates plurality, as in (87).

(87) *prthibira rājā saba*

*prthibī-ṛa rājā saba*

earth-GEN king all

'The kings of earth.'

(Ar, Ch. 13, V. 62)

(k) *sakalo*: Occurs with count and non-count nouns in both pre-head and post-head positions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-head position</th>
<th>Post-head position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(88) a. <em>sakalo māwa</em></td>
<td>b. <em>rāga roṣa sakalo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sakal-o māwa</em></td>
<td><em>rāga roṣa sakal-o</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all-EMPH mother</td>
<td>anger indignation all-EMPH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'All my mothers.'

'A(II) anger and indignation.'

(Ay, Ch. 9, V. 29) (Ay, Ch. 17, V. 10)

It is also used in a sequence interrupted by a preceding verb.

(89) *kathā kahilo sakalo*

*kathā kah-il-o sakal-o*

word tell-PST-1 all-EMPH

'(I) told him all the things.'

(Lañ, Ch. 6, V. 120)

(l) *bipula*: Occurs with count and non-count nouns as pre-head and post-head dependents, as in (90a-b).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-head position</th>
<th>Post-head position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(90) a. <em>bipula bala</em></td>
<td>b. <em>āndhāra bipula</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bipula bala</em></td>
<td><em>āndhāra bipula</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much strength</td>
<td>darkness much</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Much strength.'

'Much darkness.'

(Ar, Ch. 8, V. 25) (Ar, Ch. 8, V. 151)

From the above description, it is clear that some quantifiers of MKR can occur with both count and non-count nouns while others can occur with either, but not both. Apart
from this, the position of the quantifiers is also not fixed. They can occur as both pre-head and post-head dependents.

The various quantifiers discussed in the present section are summarized in Table 6.7.

### Table 6.7 Quantifiers in MKR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count nouns</th>
<th>Non-count nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre-head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>āśeṣa</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>alapa</strong></td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>alapika</strong></td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>alpa</strong></td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aneka</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sahasra</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bahu</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bahuta</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>samasta</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>saba</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sakalo</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 6.5.2.2. Relative and interrogative pronominal determiners

The forms functioning as relative and interrogative pronominal determiners serve the functions of quantifiers, possessives, demonstratives and adjectives. Of these functions, the determiners used in the possessive function refer to animate human nouns. The two following sections are concerned with relative pronominal determiners (§6.5.2.2.1) and interrogative pronominal determiners (§6.5.2.2.2).

#### 6.5.2.2.1. Relative pronominal determiners

There are eleven relative determiners in MKR: *yata, yatamāna, yateka, yāhāra, yāra, yehi, yi, yibā, yimata, yimāna* and *yīto*. Some of these occur in both pre-head and post-head positions, others in either of these positions. These are discussed below with appropriate examples.
(i) \textit{yata}: This form provides information about quantity. It occurs in the following positions – as a pre-head and post-head dependent, and interrupted by a verb.

\textbf{As a pre-head dependent}

(91) \begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{yata mātṛgaṇa} \hspace{1cm} \textit{yata dewa} \\
  \textit{yata mātṛ-gaṇa} \hspace{1cm} \textit{yata dewa} \\
  as many mother-PL \hspace{1cm} as many deity \\
  \begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{yata} & \textit{matṛ-gaṇa} \\
  \end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{yata} & \textit{dewa} \\
  \end{tabular} \\
  \[\text{‘As many mothers’} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘As many deities’}\]
\end{itemize}

\textbf{As a post-head dependent}

(92) \begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{rajāgaṇa yata} \hspace{1cm} \textit{duḥkhaśoka yata} \\
  \textit{rajā-gaṇa yata} \hspace{1cm} \textit{duḥkhaśoka yata} \\
  king-PL as many \hspace{1cm} sadness and grief as much \\
  \begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{rajā-gaṇa} & \textit{yata} \\
  \end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{duḥkhaśoka} & \textit{yata} \\
  \end{tabular} \\
  \[\text{‘As many kings.’} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘As much grief and sadness’}\]
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Interrupted by a verb}

(93) \begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{yata dīlō alaṅkāra} \hspace{1cm} \textit{yata dī-ō alaṅkāra} \\
  \textit{yata di-l-d} \hspace{1cm} \textit{yata di-l-d} \\
  as much give-PST-1 \hspace{1cm} \text{ornaments} \\
  \begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{yata} & \textit{dīlō} \\
  \end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{yata} & \textit{di-l-d} \\
  \end{tabular} \\
  \[\text{‘As much ornaments (I/we) gave.’}\]
\end{itemize}

b. \begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{dāsi dāsa śche yata} \hspace{1cm} \textit{dāsi dāsa āch-e yata} \\
  \text{servant.FEM servant.MASC} \hspace{1cm} \text{be-3} as many \\
  \begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{dāsi} & \textit{dāsa} \\
  \end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{dāsi} & \textit{dāsa} \\
  \end{tabular} \\
  \[\text{‘As many servants there are...’}\]
\end{itemize}

(ii) \textit{yatamāna}: Similar to \textit{yata}, \textit{yatamāna} serves the function of a quantifier and occurs as a pre-head determiner, as in (94a-b).

(94) \begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{yatamāna sneha} \hspace{1cm} \textit{yatamāna bīr-e} \\
  \textit{yatamāna sneha} \hspace{1cm} \textit{yatamāna bīr-e} \\
  as much love \hspace{1cm} as many hero-ERG \\
  \begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{yatamāna} & \textit{sneha} \\
  \end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{yatamāna} & \textit{bīr-e} \\
  \end{tabular} \\
  \[\text{‘As much love…’} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘As many heros…’}\]
\end{itemize}
(iii) **yateka**: Functions as a quantifier and occurs as a pre-head and post-head dependent.

**As a pre-head dependent**

(95) a. *yateka nṛpati*

   as many king

   'As many kings...'

b. *yateka pāpo-gāpa*

   as many sin-PL

   'As many sins...'

(Ar, Ch. 1, V. 81) (Kis, Ch. 10, V. 12)

**As a post-head dependent**

(96) a. *dibya astra yateka*

   divine weapon as many

   'As many divine weapons...'

   (Lañ, Ch. 43, V. 119)

b. *ātma śakati yateka*

   soul strength as much

   'As much strength...'

   (Su, Ch. 2, V. 23)

**Interrupted by a verb**

A verb can occur between *yateka* and a preceding head, as (97a-b) illustrate.

(97) a. *senā pāṭhāila yateka*

   soldier send-PST-3 as many

   'As many soldiers (he/they) sent.'

   (Su, Ch. 21, V. 24)

b. *yateka āche dewa*

   As many be-3 deity

   'As many deities that exist.'

   (Ar, Ch. 8, V. 23)
As a head
Apart from its determiner function, \textit{yateka} occurs as a head, as in (98).

\begin{verbatim}
(98) yateka mārili āji
     yateka mār-il-l āji
As many kill-PST-2INF today

‘As many you killed today…'
\end{verbatim}

(Lañ, Ch. 12, V. 6)

(iv) \textit{yahāra} and \textit{yāra}: These two forms refer to human nouns and serve the function of possessives. They occur in pre-head and post-head positions.

As a pre-head dependent

\begin{verbatim}
(99) a. yahāra carana
     yahā-ra carana
     who-GEN foot
     ‘Whose foot.’
     (Ar, Ch. 3, V. 36)

b. yahāra balata
     yahā-ra bal-ata
     who-GEN strength-LOC
     ‘By whose strength.’
     (Lañ, Ch. 9, V. 313)

b. yahāra bhāryyā
     yahā-ra bhāryyā
     who-GEN wife
     ‘Whose wife.’
     (Ar, Ch. 6, V. 50)

(Ar, Ch. 6, V. 50)

As a post-head dependent

\begin{verbatim}
(100) a. sewaka yahāra
     sewaka yahā-h-ra
     servant who-GEN
     ‘Whose servant…’
     (Ay, Ch. 1, V. 1)

b. saīnya yāra
     saīnya yā-ra
     soldier who-GEN
     ‘Whose soldier…’
     (Kis, Ch. 21, V. 46)
\end{verbatim}

Interrupted by a verb

\begin{verbatim}
(101) a. yahāra nāhi mana
     yahā-ra nāhi mana
     who-GEN no mind
     ‘Who does not want’
     (Ay, Ch. 10, V. 50)
\end{verbatim}
b. yāra nalaksiḷā pāra
   yā-ra na-lakṣ-il-ā pāra
who-GEN NEG-notice-PST-3 boundary
‘Whose boundary (someone) did not notice.’
   (Laṅ, Ch. 53, V. 37)

(v) yehi, yi, and yibā: These occur in a pre-head position and function as
demonstratives. The use of yi is more frequent than the other two.

(102) a. yehi ājīā
   yehi ājīā
which order
‘Which order...’
   (Ar, Ch. 16, V. 33)
   (Su, Ch. 41, V. 1)

b. yehi pathe
   yehi path-e
which way-LOC
‘In which way...’

c. yi garbbata
   yi garbb-ta
which pride-LOC
‘In which pride...’
   (Laṅ, Ch. 6, V. 24)
   (Laṅ, Ch. 19, V. 86)

d. yi kāryyaka
   yi kāryya-ka
which work-DAT
‘In which work...’

e. yibā garbbata
   yibā garbb-ta
whichever pride-LOC
‘In whichever pride...’
   (Laṅ, Ch. 2, V. 32)
   (Ay, Ch. 3, V. 30)

f. yibā rājā
   yibā rājā
whichever king
‘Whichever king...’

yibā allows a verb to occur between it and its head, but the others do not.

(103) yibā āche doṣa
   yibā āch-e doṣa
whichever be-3 fault
‘Whichever fault exists.’
   (Ay, Ch. 5, V. 51)
(vi) *yimata*: Occurs in a pre-head position and serves the function of an adjective.

(104) a. *yimata* samara b. *yimata* bira

*yimata* samara *yimata* bira

whatever kind battle whatever kind hero

‘Whatever kind of battle...’ ‘Whatever kind of hero...’

(Lañ, Ch. 48, V. 335) (Ar, Ch. 10, V. 29)

(vii) *yimāṇa* and *yito*: *yimāṇa* occurs as a pre-head dependent and functions as a quantifier. *yito* occurs as a pre-head and post-head dependent and serves the function of a demonstrative. (105) and (106) respectively illustrate.

(105) *yimāṇa* śakati

*yimāṇa* śakati

However much strength

‘However much strength...’

(Su, Ch. 2, V. 15)

(106) a. *yito* māwa b. *yito* dibya pañcāṇyta

*yi-to* māwa *yi-to* dibya pañcāṇyta

which-CLF mother which-CLF divine penta-nectar

‘Which mother...’ ‘Which divine penta-nectar’

(Ay, Ch. 34, V. 30) (Ay, Ch. 32, V. 86)

c. mahā bira *yito*

*mahā* bira *yi-to*

great hero which-CLF

‘Which great hero...’

(Lañ, Ch. 35, V. 105)

The various relative determiners discussed above are summarized in Table 6.8.
6.5.2.2.2. Interrogative pronominal determiners
There are eleven interrogative determiners in MKR. They occur as pre-head and post head dependents. All these forms are discussed below.

(i) *kata, kato, katoho, katamåna* and *kateka*. All five forms occur in a pre-head position and serve to quantify the noun head.

**The occurrence of *kata***

(107) a. *kata kåla*

  how much time

  'How much time...'

  (Ar, Ch. 9, V. 12)

b. *kata bhågya*

  how much luck

  'How much luck...'

  (Ar, Ch. 12, V. 45)
The occurrence of *katamāna*

(108) a. *katamāna* loka
*katamāna* loka
how many people
‘How many people...’
(Kis, Ch. 21, V. 33)

b. *katamāna* yaśa
*katamāna* yaśa
how much fame
‘How much fame...’
(Lañ, Ch. 33, V. 87)

The occurrence of *kateka*

(109) a. *kateka* dina
*kateka* dina
how many day
‘How many days...’
(Ay, Ch. 26, V. 7)

b. *kateka* pātaka
*kateka* pātaka
how many sin
‘How many sins...’
(Ay, Ch. 34, V. 37)

The occurrence of *kato*

(110) a. *kato* dina
*kato* dina
how many day
‘How many days...’
(Kis, Ch. 6, V. 39)

b. *kato* dūra
*kato* dūra
how much distance
‘How much distance...’
(Su, Ch. 15, V. 1)

The occurrence of *katoho*

(111) a. *katoho* bānara
*katoho* bānara
how many monkey
‘How many monkeys...’
(Lañ, Ch. 18, V. 47)

b. *katoho* bala
*katoho* bala
how much strength
‘How much strength...’
(Lañ, Ch. 8, V. 22)

(ii) *kāhāra*: Functions as a possessive in a pre-head position, as in (112).

(112) a. *kāhāra* ramaṇī
*kāhā-ra* ramaṇī
who-GEN lady
‘Whose lady...’
(Ar, Ch. 6, V. 43)

b. *kāhāra* śakati
*kāhā-ra* śakati
who-GEN strength
‘Whose strength...’
(Su, Ch. 35, V. 5)
(iii) *kibä* and *kino*: Both are used as pre-head dependents.

(113) a.  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{kibä} & \text{basta} & \text{sandeśa} \\
\text{kibä} & \text{basta} & \text{sandeśa}
\end{array}
\]

\text{what cloth news}

\text{‘What cloths, news...’}

(Ay, Ch. 26, V. 5)

b.  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{kibä} & \text{raṇa} \\
\text{kibä} & \text{raṇa}
\end{array}
\]

\text{what battle}

\text{‘What battle...’}

(Lañ, Ch. 9, V. 200)

(114) a.  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{kino} & \text{bākya} \\
\text{kino} & \text{bākya}
\end{array}
\]

\text{what sentence}

\text{‘What sentence...’}

(Ay, Ch. 2, V. 12)

c.  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{kino} & \text{pāpa} \\
\text{kino} & \text{pāpa}
\end{array}
\]

\text{what sin}

\text{‘What sin...’}

(Ay, Ch. 4, V. 17)

(iv) *kona* and *konabā*: Both are found to occur in pre-head position.

(115) a.  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{kona} & \text{aparaṅdhē} \\
\text{kona} & \text{aparaṅdh-e}
\end{array}
\]

\text{what crime-LOC}

\text{‘What crime...’}

(Ay, Ch. 5, V. 66)

b.  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{kona} & \text{thāne} \\
\text{kona} & \text{thān-e}
\end{array}
\]

\text{what place-LOC}

\text{‘What place...’}

(Ar, Ch. 6, V. 42)

d.  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{konabā} & \text{anisṭa} \\
\text{konabā} & \text{anisṭa}
\end{array}
\]

\text{what harm}

\text{‘What harm...’}

(Ay, Ch. 24, V. 11)

**Interrupted by a verb**

A verb can occur between *konabā* and a following head, as (116) illustrates.

(116)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{konabā} & \text{milila} & \text{doṣa} \\
\text{konabā} & \text{mil-il-a} & \text{doṣa}
\end{array}
\]

\text{what get-PST-3 fault}

\text{‘Found what fault...’}

(Ay, Ch. 6, V. 30)
The interrogative determiners are summarized in Table 6.9.

**Table 6.9 Interrogative determiners of MKR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count nouns</th>
<th></th>
<th>Non-count nouns</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre-head</td>
<td>Post-head</td>
<td>Pre-head</td>
<td>Post-head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kata</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katamāna</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kateka</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kato</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katoho</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāhāra</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kibā</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kino</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kona</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konabā</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5.2.3. Possessive determiners, multipliers and numerals

Following the survey of quantifiers and relative/interrogative determiners, the third category of noun dependents to be taken up in this section will cover the following three kinds of dependents – possessive pronominal determiners (§6.5.2.3.1), multipliers (§6.5.2.3.2), and numerals (§6.5.2.3.3).

6.5.2.3.1. Possessive pronominal determiners

The twelve possessive determiners found in MKR are *mora, mohora, toa, tohora, tohāra, tomāra, tāra* and *tāhāra*. Some of these occur as both pre-head and post-head dependents. Others are found either in pre-head or in post-head positions. The distribution of these determiners is illustrated below.
(a) *mora* and *mohora*: Both occur in pre-head and post-head positions.

(117) a. \[ mora \ bārīyā \\
mo-ra \ bārīyā \]
I-GEN wife

‘My wife.’

\[ parama \ iśbara \ mora \\
parma \ iśbara \ mo-ra \]
absolute god I-GEN

‘My absolute god.’

(Ar, Ch. 6, V. 81)

(Ar, Ch. 1, V. 33)

b. \[ dibya \ dhanu \ mohora \\
dibya \ dhanu \ mo-ho-ra \]
divine bow I-GEN

‘My divine bow.’

(Ay, Ch. 13, V. 27)

Elsewhere they occur with a verb element between it and the following head, as in (118a-b).

(118) a. \[ morm \ nasāhe \ antara \\
mo-ra \ na-sah-e \ antara \]
I-GEN NEG-bear-3 heart

‘My heart does not bear.’

(Ar, Ch. 13, V. 21)

b. \[ mohora \ kahīlā \ jannakathā \\
moho-ra \ kah-il-ā \ jannakathā \]
I-GEN tell-PST-3 story about birth

‘(He) told the story about my birth.’

(Su, Ch. 3, V. 32)

(b) *tora* and *tohora*: These are found in three positions – as pre-head and post-head dependents and with an interrupting verb between one of these dependents and a following head.

As pre-head dependents

(119) a. \[ tora \ hāta \ pāw \\
to-ra \ hāta \ pāw \]
you.INF-GEN hand foot

‘Your hand and foot.’

(Ay, Ch. 12, V. 61)

b. \[ tohora \ badana \\
toho-ra \ badana \]
you.INF-GEN face

‘Your face.’

(Ar, Ch. 12, V. 69)
As post-head dependents

(120) a. *sbāmī* *tora*
   *sbāmī* *to-ra*
husband you.INF-GEN

   ‘Your husband.’

   (Kis, Ch. 14, V. 87)

b. *grīwāta* *tohora*
   *grīwā-ta* *toho-ra*
neck-LOC you.INF-GEN

   ‘In your neck.’

   (Ay, Ch. 5, V. 8)

Interrupted by verbs

(121) a. *tora*  *āche*  *bala*
   *to-ra*  *āch-e*  *bala*
you.INF-GEN be-3 strength

   ‘You have strength.’

   (Kis, Ch. 26, V. 39)

b. *tohora*  *nāhi*  *lāja*
   *toho-ra*  *nāhi*  *lāja*
you.INF-GEN no shame

   ‘You do not have shame.’

   (Ay, Ch. 26, V. 60)

(c) *tohāra* and *tomāra*: *tohāra* occurs only as a pre-head dependent. *tomāra* occurs both as a pre-head and post-head dependent.

(122) a. *tohāra*  *śarīra*  *goṭa*
   *tohā-ra*  *śarīra*  *goṭa*
you-GEN body CLF

   ‘Your body.’

   (Kis, Ch. 12, V. 5)

b. *tomāra*  *mukha*
   *tomā-ra*  *mukha*
you.FAM-GEN face

   ‘Your face.’

   (Ar, Ch. 3, V. 2)

c. *tomāra*  *sbarūpa*
   *tomā-ra*  *sbarūpa*
you.FAM-GEN nature

   ‘Your nature.’

   (Ar, Ch. 6, V. 48)

d. *tanaẏa*  *tomāra*
   *tanaẏa*  *tomā-ra*
son you.FAM-GEN

   ‘Your son.’

   (Kis, Ch. 23, V. 33)

tomāra also occurs in det + verb + head or head + verb + det sequences, as in (123a-b).
(123) a. \textit{tomāra} \space \textit{dekhī} \space \textit{dukha}
\textit{tomā-ra} \space \textit{dekh-i} \space \textit{dukha}
you.FAM-GEN see-NF sorrow

'Seeing your sorrow...'

\text{(Kis, Ch. 14, V. 74)}

b. \textit{putreka} \space \textit{haibe} \space \textit{tomāra}
\textit{putr-eka} \space \textit{ha-ib-e} \space \textit{tomā-ra}
son-one become-FUT-3 you.FAM-GEN

'A son will be born to you.'

\text{(Laṅ, Ch. 3, V. 37)}

(d) \textit{tāra} and \textit{tabāra}: These occur in four positions – Pre-head, Post-head, Det + verb + head, and Head + verb + det.

Pre-head positions

(124) a. \textit{tāra} \space \textit{thāwa}
\textit{tā-ra} \space \textit{thāwa}
he-GEN place

'His place.'

\text{(Ar, Ch. 5, V. 9)}

b. \textit{tabāra} \space \textit{tanaya}
\textit{tabā-ra} \space \textit{tanaya}
he-GEN son

'His son.'

\text{(Ay, Ch. 4, V. 36)}

Post-head positions

(125) a. \textit{gāwe} \space \textit{tāra}
\textit{gā-ve} \space \textit{tā-ra}
body-LOC he-GEN

'His body.'

\text{(Ar, Ch. 8, V. 278)}

b. \textit{kapāla} \space \textit{tāhāra}
\textit{kapāl-ata} \space \textit{tāhā-ra}
forehead-LOC he-GEN

'His forehead.'

\text{(Laṅ, Ch. 29, V. 102)}

Determiner + verb + head / head + verb + det positions

(126) a. \textit{tāra} \space \textit{nāhi} \space \textit{bhāya}
\textit{tā-ra} \space \textit{nāhi} \space \textit{bhāya}
he-GEN no fear

'He has no fear.'

\text{(Ay, Ch. 3, V. 30)}

b. \textit{sukha} \space \textit{nāi} \space \textit{tāra}
\textit{sukha} \space \textit{nāi} \space \textit{tā-ra}
happiness no he-GEN

'He has no happiness.'

\text{(Ar, Ch. 1, V. 25)}
6.5.2.3.2. Multipliers

Multipliers are formed by numerals along with a following multiplicative word such as bār and guna. Only the numeral + guna sequence occurs in a determinative position.

This sequence occurs as a pre-head dependent of head nouns and denotes quantity, as (127a-b) illustrate.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(127) a.} & \quad \text{daśaguna} & \text{teja} & \text{bale} \\
\text{ten-MULP} & \text{power} & \text{strength-ERG} & \\
\text{'On the strength of tenfold power.'} & \\
\text{(Laṅ, Ch. 9, V. 63)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(127) b.} & \quad \text{āṭha} & \text{gupa} & \text{prāṇa} \\
\text{eight MULP} & \text{soul} & \\
\text{'Eightfold soul.'} & \\
\text{(Su, Ch. 28, V. 5)}
\end{align*}
\]

6.5.2.3.3. Numerals

Two types of numerals are found in determinative positions in MKR – cardinal numerals and ordinal numerals. Both types occur as pre-head dependents with any kind of noun. The examples of different numerals are given below.

(i) **Cardinal numerals:** Generally, cardinal numerals can co-occur with different classifiers and determine the head nouns. However, in MKR, these numerals occur without any classifiers and determine the head nouns as in the numeral + classifier sequence discussed earlier (§6.2.3). (128a-d) illustrate.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(128) a.} & \quad \text{bāra} & \text{bāra} \\
\text{twelve} & \text{hero} & \\
\text{'Twelve heros.'} & \\
\text{(Ar, Ch. 8, V. 50)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(128) b.} & \quad \text{cāri} & \text{bhāi} \\
\text{four} & \text{brother} & \\
\text{'Four brothers.'} & \\
\text{(Laṅ, Ch. 21, V. 56)}
\end{align*}
\]
(ii) Ordinal numerals: As mentioned above, this type of numerals occurs in the pre-head position of head nouns, as in (129a-c).

(129) a.  
\begin{align*}
\text{aśṭādaśa} & \quad \text{sare} \\
\text{aśṭādaśa} & \quad \text{sare-r-e}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
twenty-eighth & \quad \text{arrow-INS}
\end{align*}
‘With the twenty-eighth arrow.’

(Lañ, Ch. 30, V. 11)

b.  
\begin{align*}
\text{paṅcadaśa} & \quad \text{māsa} \\
\text{paṅcadaśa} & \quad \text{māsa}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
fifteenth & \quad \text{month}
\end{align*}
‘Fifteenth month.’

(Kis, Ch. 6, V. 12)

(Kañ, Ch. 52, V. 17)

Another kind of determiner which occurs in pre-head positions in MKR are fractions. Only two forms of fraction occur in the entire text – ardha, ādhā and derek. Ādhā is a simplified form of sanskritised ardha.

(130) a.  
\begin{align*}
\text{ardha} & \quad \text{candra} \\
\text{ardha} & \quad \text{candra}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
half & \quad \text{moon}
\end{align*}
‘Half moon.’

(Lañ, Ch. 43, V. 88)

b.  
\begin{align*}
\text{ādhā} & \quad \text{yajña} \\
\text{ādhā} & \quad \text{yajña}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
half & \quad \text{sacrifice}
\end{align*}
‘Half sacrifice.’

(Lañ, Ch. 33, V. 76)

c.  
\begin{align*}
\text{prahara} & \quad \text{dereke} \quad \text{gaiyā} \\
\text{prahara} & \quad \text{dereke} \quad \text{gaiyā}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{period} & \quad \text{one-half} \quad \text{go-NF}
\end{align*}
‘After one-and-a-half period is gone.’

(Ay, Ch. 33, V. 24)
6.5.2.4. Demonstrative pronominal determiners

In the foregoing section and its subsections we have discussed three types of dependents of nouns in MKR. In addition to the three types of noun dependents discussed so far (§6.5.2.1-§6.5.2.3), the fourth category of demonstratives will be dealt with in this section.

There are seven demonstrative determiners in MKR — i, ei, ehi, ito, sei, sehi, and sito. These forms are further categorized as proximal and distal demonstratives. The forms i, ei, ehi and ito fall into the category of proximal demonstratives. sei, sehi and sito fall are distal demonstratives. Both kinds of demonstratives are discussed below.

(I) /ei, ehi and ito: Of these three, the occurrence of i is quite frequent in MKR.

The three kinds of occurrence of i in MKR are — immediately before the head noun, preceding the numeral occurring before the head noun, and as a prefix to the head noun.

Immediately before the head noun

(131)  

\( i \)  bacana  
\( i \)  bacana  
this dialogue

‘This dialogue.’

(Ay, Ch. 5, V. 77)

Before the numeral

(132)  

\( i \)  tini  bhuwana  
\( i \)  tini  bhuwana  
this three world

‘This three worlds.’

(Ar, Ch. 13, V. 57)

As the first element of a modifying compound word preceding the head noun

(133)  

\( ithānara \)  kāryya  
\( ithān-ara \)  kāryya  
this place-GEN work

‘The work of this place.’

(Ay, Ch. 6, V. 6)
ei also occurs in the pre-head position, but not immediately before the head noun. It occurs in three different positions:

**Immediately before the head noun**

(134) a. ei dhanuta
    this bow
    'In this bow.'
    (Ar, Ch. 1, V. 80)

b. ei sthāne
    this place
    'In this place.'
    (Ar, Ch. 1, V. 25)

**Before the numeral + noun construction**

(135) ei dui bire
    this two hero
    'This two hero.'
    (Lāh, Ch. 3, V. 16)

**Before the plural formative**

(136) ei saba sīje
    this PL dress
    'These dresses.'
    (Ay, Ch. 5, V. 53)

**Before the head noun**

(137) ehi thāna
    this place
    'This place.'
    (Ar, Ch. 1, V. 66)
Before the numeral

(138) a. \textit{ehi cāri sanmukha} \textit{ehi cāri sanmukha} \textit{ehi cāri bīre} \textit{ehi cāri bīre}
\textit{this four front this four hero-ERG}
\textit{‘These four fronts.’} \textit{‘These four heros.’}
(Laṅ, Ch. 9, V. 50) (Laṅ, Ch. 14, V. 21)

Before the plural formative

(139) \textit{ehi saba sāje} \textit{ehi saba sāj-e}
\textit{this PL dress-ERG}
\textit{‘These dresses.’}
(Laṅ, Ch. 53, V. 8)
\textit{ito} consists of two morphemes: demonstrative \textit{i} + classifier-\textit{to} and occurs in three positions.

Before the head

(140) \textit{ito kathā} \textit{i-to kathā}
\textit{this-CLF word}
\textit{‘This word.’}
(Ay, Ch. 13, V. 43)

Before adjective modifiers of the head

(141) a. \textit{ito ghora pāpa} \textit{i-to ghora pāpa}
\textit{this-CLF terrible sin}
\textit{‘This terrible sin.’}
(Ar, Ch. 18, V. 53) (Ay, Ch. 20, V. 39)

Before plural formatives preceding the head

(142) \textit{ito saba janttu} \textit{i-to saba janttu}
\textit{this-CLF PL animal}
\textit{‘These animals.’}
(Ay, Ch. 12, V. 58)
(II) *sei, sehi* and *sito*. All three occur as pre-head dependents of nouns. But their positions relative to the head nouns differ.

*sei* occurs immediately before the head noun, as in (143a-b).

(143) a. *sei* mānsa
   *sei* mānsa
   that flesh
   ‘That flesh’
   (Ar, Ch. 5, V. 7)

   b. *sei* pathe
   *sei* path-e
   that way-LOC
   ‘That way.’
   (Laṅ, Ch. 53, V. 56)

Like *sei, sehi* also occurs immediately before the head noun. However, *sito* occurs in the initial position of the sequence: determiner + intensifier + adjective + head noun.

(144) a. *sehi* diśa
   *sehi* diśa
   that direction
   ‘That direction.’
   (Laṅ, Ch. 56, V. 10)

   b. *sehi* thāna
   *sehi* thāna
   that place
   ‘That place.’
   (Laṅ, Ch. 33, V. 37)

c. *sito* ṣarira
d. *sito* mahā dibya yāna
   *sito* ṣarira
   *sito* mahā dibya yāna
   that-CLF body
   that-CLF great divine chariot
   ‘That body.’
   ‘That great divine chariot.’
   (Ay, Ch. 37, V. 23) (Ar, Ch. 13, V. 54)

Another pronominal determiner, *kichu*, functions both as a negative and affirmative pronominal determiner as shown in (145a-b) and (146), respectively. The latter can be considered as a sub-variety of the quantitative determiner.

**As an affirmative determiner**

(145) a. *kichu* kathā
   *kichu* kathā
   some word
   ‘Some words.’
   (Ar, Ch. 1, V. 58)

   b. *kichu* bala
   *kichu* bala
   some strength
   ‘Some strength.’
   (Ar, Ch. 8, V. 97)
As a negative determiner

(146) kichu  doṣa  nāi
kichu  doṣa  nāi
some  fault  no

'Nothing any fault.'

(Ay, Ch. 35, V. 53)

Another pronominal determiner, *kiba*, comes under the category of affirmative determiners, and functions both as an interrogative (§6.5.2.2.2) and affirmative pronominal determiner.

6.5.2.5. Adjectives

The last few sections dealt with different kinds of determiners that occur as dependents of head nouns within any noun phrase. The present section looks at another kind of dependent known as adjectives.

Though determiners and adjectives share the feature of dependency in respect of the noun head, adjectives do not have the same distribution as determiners. First, determiners precede adjectives. Second, more than one adjective can occur in a long string to modify the head noun within a noun phrase. However, in general, only one determiner can occur in a noun phrase. Third, adjectives can take modifiers such as intensifying adverbs in English and Assamese. Determiners cannot take such modifiers.

Adjectives in MKR primarily serve the three functions cited below:

i) They can occur in Attributive function.

ii) They can occur in Predicative function.

iii) They can function as heads of noun phrases.

6.5.2.5.1. Attributive function

Of these three functions, the attributive function is more widely used in Rāmāyana. Adjectives are regarded as attributive when they premodify the head of a noun phrase. However, in MKR, attributive adjectives are sometimes placed immediately after the head, though this kind of usage is very less. The attributive use of adjectives can be seen
from the examples cited below. Both pre-head and post-head orders are presented in sequence.

(147) a. abadhya śara
    abadhya śara
    disobedient arrow
    'The disobedient arrow.'
    (Lañ, Ch. 17, V. 175)

b. abodha cawāle.
    abodha cawāl-e
    naive boy-ERG
    'The naive boy.'
    (Lañ, Ch. 43, V. 67)

c. sundari sitāka
    sundari sitā-ka
    beautiful Sita-DAT
    'To beautiful Sita.'
    (Ar, Ch. 6, V. 25)

d. bira adabbuta
    bira adabbuta
    hero strange
    'Strange hero.'
    (Lañ, Ch. 36, V. 7)

Some attributive adjectives in MKR occur in possessive NPs. The position of this type of adjectives is always pre-head but the position of possessive determiners seems to be variable. Sometimes it occurs between the head and the adjective modifier. The reason for this kind of variation in word order is obviously stylistic, not grammatical. Nor can any pragmatic reason be found to influence this kind of selection, apart from the poetic nature of language.

(148) a. mora abadhyā šarīra
    mora abadhyā šarīra
    I-GEN disobedient body
    'My disobedient body.'
    (Ar, Ch. 13, V. 52)

d. abādhya mohora bāṇa
    abādhya mohora bāṇa
    disobedient I-GEN arrow
    'My disobedient arrow.'
    (Ay, Ch. 35, V. 31)
6.5.2.5.2. Predicative function

In the predicative function, the adjectives function as subject complements. In that case, the subject complement has a copular relationship with the subject. This copula is not overt in the present tense, but occurs in the past and the future tense, as exemplified below.

**Present tense**

(149) tai abodha
tai abodha
you-INF naive
‘You are naive.’
(Ar, Ch. 19, V. 12)

(150) tai adhama durjana
tai adhama durjana
you-INF worst miscreant
‘You are the worst miscreant.’
(Su, Ch. 37, V. 31)

(151) agādha durgama sito baruṇa ālāya.
agādha durgama si-to baruṇa ālāya
infinite impenetrable that-CLF Barun residence
‘That residence of Barun is infinite and impenetrable.’
(Kis, Ch. 24, V. 4)

**Past tense**

(152) mukha bha-ilā nisrika bibarṇa
mukha bha-il-a nisrika bibarṇa
face become-pst-3 pale colourless
‘The face became pale, colourless.’
(Lañ, Ch. 39, V. 5)

**Future tense**

(153) āmā-ra ha-ib-e sāphala jiwna
āmā-ra ha-ib-e sāphala jiwna
we-GEN be-FUT-3 successful life
‘Our life will be successful.’
(Ay, Ch. 3, V. 62)
In (149-51), *abodha, adhama, durjana, agadha*, and *durgama* function as complements of the subject. But copula verb is not present here. In (152), *niśrīka* and *bībara* function as complements of subjects with the overt copula *bhailā*. In (153), the copula *haibe* links the subject *āmār jīwān* and its complement *sāphala*. Apart from the subject complement function, predicative adjectives are also used as object complements.

(154)  
\[ \text{kino} \quad \text{toka} \quad \text{abadhya} \quad \text{kari} \]  
\[ \text{kino} \quad \text{to-ka} \quad \text{abadhya} \quad \text{kar-i} \]  
\[ \text{what} \quad \text{you.-INF-DAT} \quad \text{indestructible} \quad \text{do-NF} \]  
\[ \text{brahma} \quad \text{dilā} \quad \text{bara} \]  
\[ \text{brahma} \quad \text{di-lā} \quad \text{bara} \]  
Brahma give-PST-3 boon  
‘What kind of boon did Brahma give you, making you indestructible.’

(Su, Ch. 25, V. 24)

In (154), the adjective *abadhya* is used as a complement of the object *toka*.

6.5.2.5.3. As head of noun phrase

As the head, adjectives can occur in the subject position of a sentence. They can also occur as complements, objects, and prepositional complements. But in MKR, the adjectives occurring as the head of a noun phrase can only function as the subject of the sentence, as in (155-56).

(155)  
\[ \text{karayore} \quad \text{sundari} \quad \text{āgata} \quad \text{upasanna.} \]  
\[ \text{karayor-e} \quad \text{sundari} \quad \text{āgata} \quad \text{upasanna} \]  
folded hands-AVZR beautiful before approached  
‘The beautiful one approached before (him) with folded hands.’

(Ar, Ch. 6, V. 62)

(156)  
\[ \text{bīnā} \quad \text{bāma} \quad \text{kare} \quad \text{dharī} \quad \text{sūtilā} \quad \text{sundari.} \]  
\[ \text{bīnā} \quad \text{bāma} \quad \text{kar-e} \quad \text{dhar-i} \quad \text{sūt-ilā} \quad \text{sundari} \]  
Veena left hand-INS hold-NF sleep-PST-3 beautiful  
‘Holding the veena with the left hand the beautiful one fell asleep.’

(Su, Ch. 11, V. 40)
Besides the above features, adjectives can be premodified by the intensifier *ati, āti, parama, and bara.*

(157) a. *ati bara śīlā gota*

very big stone CLF

‘The very big stone.’

(Laṅ, Ch. 41, V. 8)

b. *ati bara ātāṣa*

very loud shout

‘Very loud shout.’

(Laṅ, Ch. 48, V. 83)

c. *āti duḥkha mana*

very sorrowful mind

‘Very sorrowful mind.’

(Ar, Ch. 21, V. 17)

d. *āti bara pāpa*

very big sin

‘Very big sin.’

(Ay, Ch. 9, V. 41)

e. *parama sundarī bhāṛyyā*

very beautiful wife

‘Very beautiful wife.’

(Ay, Ch. 1, V. 7)

6.6. A comparison with modern Assamese

The present section seeks to focus on the dependents of nouns constructions in modern Assamese which correspond to similar constructions in MKR. This kind of discussion will help to look at the data from the two periods of Assamese from the perspective of historical linguistics. The six subsections will examine the use of quantifiers (§6.6.1), relative and interrogative determiners (§6.6.2 and §6.6.3), possessive determiners and adjectives (§6.6.4 and §6.6.5) and numerals and multipliers (§6.6.6).

6.6.1. The use of quantifiers

Of the nine quantifying expressions in MKR, six expressions are used in modern Assamese. These are – *oheh, olekh, onek, olop, bohut, homostro, hokolu,* and *hohosro.* These expressions are briefly set out in Table 6.10.
Table 6.10 Quantifiers in modern Assamese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL. N</th>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Context of occurrence</th>
<th>Illustrative example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>onek</td>
<td>people, books, birds</td>
<td>onek manuh onek man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>onek kitap manuh man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>onek manuh onek many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'Many men' 'Many books' 'Many men.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>olop</td>
<td>rice, water, milk</td>
<td>olop hat olop pani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>olop hat olop pani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'A little rice' 'A little water' 'A little rice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>bohut</td>
<td>people, dreams, books</td>
<td>bohut manuh bohut man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bohut kitap bohut man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bohut manuh bohut man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'Many men' 'Many books' 'Many men.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>homostro</td>
<td></td>
<td>homostro kot'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>homostro kot'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>all matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'All matters'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>hokolu</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>hokolu manuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hokolu all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'All men'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>hohosro</td>
<td></td>
<td>hohosro zon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hohosro all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'All men'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among them, *onek, olop, bohut, and hokolu* are more frequent. Positionally, the former set can occur as both pre-head and post-head dependents, while the other two can occur only in pre-head position. However, as in MKR, changing the order of words does not have any pragmatic or syntactic effect.
6.6.2.  Relative pronominal determiners

Of the eleven relative pronominal determiners, only four are found in modern Assamese – *yata, yāra, yi,* and *yimāna.* The function of *yata* element is not similar with that of its counterpart. In modern Assamese, it is not a determiner, while the other three forms are. The latter can occur in both pre-head and post-head positions relative to the head, without any pragmatic implication or grammatical variation. The head noun can be both countable or uncountable. The distinction between the countability and uncountability does not impinge upon the selection of the determiners.

6.6.3.  Interrogative pronominal determiners

Among the interrogative determiners of MKR, only *kībā* and *konobā* (represented in phonetic transcription as *kiba* and *konuba*) are found in modern Assamese. Though their function is similar with their counterparts in MKR, their distribution is different in two respects: Firstly, they can occur only in the pre-head position. Secondly, the selection of these forms depends upon the animacy property of the heads. The first one *kībā* occurs with inanimate nouns, while *konuba* occurs with human nouns.

\[(158) \quad \begin{array}{lll}
\text{a.} & kībā & \text{kam} \\
& kībā & \text{work} \\
& \text{‘Some work.’} \\
\text{b.} & kībā & \text{kotā} \\
& kībā & \text{matter} \\
& \text{‘Some matter’} \\
\text{c.} & \text{kunoba} & \text{manuh} \\
& \text{kunoba} & \text{man} \\
& \text{‘Some man.’}
\end{array} \]

6.6.4.  Possessive determiners

Four possessive determiners of MKR are found in modern Assamese. These are – *mora,* *tora,* *tomāra,* and *tāra* (represented by the phonetic symbols *mur,* *tur,* *tumar,* and *tar*).
mora is a first person form, tora is a second person inferior form, tomāra occurs is a second person familiar form, and tāra is a third person form. Though the functions of these determiners are analogous to those of their counterparts in MKR, distributionally they differ in one respect. They occur only as pre-head dependents, not as post-head ones, as in MKR. (159) illustrates.

\[(159)\]

\[(a)\] mur lora but * lora mur
mu-r lora lora mu-r
I-GEN boy . boy I-GEN
'My boy.' 'My boy.'

\[(b)\] tumar kitap but * kitap tumar
tuma-r kitap kitap tuma-r
you.FAM-GEN book book you.FAM-GEN
'Your book.' 'Your book.'

6.6.5. Adjectives

All the three functions of adjectives in MKR are found in modern Assamese as well. The only difference between modern Assamese and MKR is that the attributive adjectives do not occur after the head element in modern Assamese. The functions of adjectives in modern Assamese are indicated below.

(i) Attributive function

\[(160)\]

\[(a)\] dunija suwali b. mit'a am
dunija suwali mīt'a am
beautiful girl sweet mango
'Beautiful girl.' 'Sweet mango.'

(ii) Predicative function

As in MKR, the copula is not overt in the present tense as exemplified in (161a, 162a). But when these same sentences are used in the past and future tenses, the copula element is present (161b-c, 162b-c).
As subject complement

(161) a. suwalizoni _CHUNK_ dunija
   suwali-zoni _CHUNK_ dunija
   girl-CLF.FEM beautiful
   ‘The girl is beautiful.’

b. suwalizoni _CHUNK_ dunija
   suwali-zoni _CHUNK_ dunija _CHUNK_ as-il
   girl-CLF.FEM beautiful be-PST
   ‘The girl was beautiful.’

c. suwalizoni _CHUNK_ dunija
   suwali-zoni _CHUNK_ dunija
   girl-CLF beautiful be-FUT
   ‘The girl will be beautiful.’

(162) a. amtu _CHUNK_ mitʰa
   mango-CLF sweet
   ‘The mango is sweet.’

b. amtu _CHUNK_ mitʰa
   mango-CLF sweet be-PST
   ‘The mango was sweet.’

c. amtu _CHUNK_ mitʰa
   mango-CLF sweet be-FUT
   ‘The mango will be sweet.’

As object complement

(163) a. moi tak _CHUNK_ sukʰi
   moi ta-k _CHUNK_ sukʰi
   I he-DAT happy do-FUT
   ‘I want to make him happy.’

b. suwalizoni _CHUNK_ gorkʰon
   girl-CLF.FEM-ERG house-CLF
   ‘The girl is keeping the house clean.’
(iii) As heads of noun phrases

As heads, the adjectives of modern Assamese serve one more function than their counterparts in MKR. They can function as the subject and the object, as in (165).

(164) dusto manuhbure kot\textsuperscript{a}-tu kenebakoi zanile.
\hspace{3em}
dusto manuh-bur-e kot\textsuperscript{a}-t\textsuperscript{u} kenebakoi zanile

\text{dishonest man-PL-ERG event-CLF somehow know-PST-3}

'The dishonest persons somehow knew the event.'

(165) dustobure kot\textsuperscript{a}-tu kenebakoi zanile.
\hspace{3em}
dusto-bur-e kot\textsuperscript{a}-t\textsuperscript{u} kenebakoi zan-il-e

\text{dishonest-PL-ERG event-CLF somehow know-PST-3}

'The dishonest persons somehow knew the event.'

Instead of the noun phrase dusto manuhbure in (164), it is possible to use dustobure as in (165) in modern Assamese. In (165), the attributive adjective serves as the head of the phrase. Unlike English, this kind of heads can take all the inflectional properties of nouns such as number, case etc. as in the cited example.

The adjective that serves as a head can also occur in the object position, as in (166).

(166) tumi akorizonik t\textsuperscript{a}ogibo nalagisil.
\hspace{3em}
tumi akori-zoni-k t\textsuperscript{a}ogibo na-lag-is-il

\text{you.FAM stupid-CLF.FEM-DAT cheat-FUT NEG-need-iPFV-PST}

'You should not have cheated the stupid girl.'

In (166), akorizoni (instead of akori suwalizoni) functions as the head of the noun phrase. The -\textit{k} marker indicates the object function of this phrase.

Adjectives in modern Assamese can also be premodified by the intensifiers \textit{oti} and \textit{bor}, as in (167).

(167) a. oti \textit{\textsc{\textipa{g}}unija} suwali.
\hspace{3em}
\text{very beautiful girl}

b. suwalizoni oti \textit{\textsc{\textipa{g}}unija}.
\hspace{3em}
girl-CLF.FEM very beautiful

'a. Very beautiful girl.'

'b. The girl is very beautiful.'
303
c. bar bea kotha
  bor bea kotha
very bad matter
  'Very bad matter.'

6.6.6. Multipliers and numerals

Just as in MKR, *gun* is used with numerals to express the meaning of multiplication in modern Assamese. Another multiplicative word *bār* found in MKR also exists in modern Assamese, though it cannot function as a determiner.

(168) \( \text{tinigun dam} \quad \text{b. dugun tōka} \)

\( \text{tini-gun dam} \quad \text{du-gun tōka} \)

three-MULP cost two-MULP money

'three times costly' 'double the money'

The position of these multipliers in modern Assamese is as pre-head dependents, not as post-head dependents.

In contrast with MKR, modern Assamese has a full-fledged system of cardinal and ordinal numerals. However, it has to be admitted that on the basis of the limited data of MKR, it cannot be concluded that the Assamese language at the time of MKR did not use a complete set of numeral system like the one that exists in modern Assamese.

6.7. Clause-level functions of the NP

This section is divided into two sections: §6.7.1 will focus on the clause-level functions of the NP in MKR, while §6.7.2 will deal with the clause-level functions of the NP in Modern Assamese.

6.7.1. Clause-level functions of the NP in MKR

The distribution of the noun words in MKR was considered in the earlier section (§6.5) within the context of the phrase, in terms of its dependents. Having done that, the noun phrase as a whole can now be viewed as a single constituent within the higher-level hierarchy of the clause, in terms of its various functions. A few general points regarding
the function of noun phrases within a clause will be taken up first, and then the MKR
specific discussion will be done in this light.

An NP can consist of a single noun as a head, or it can be accompanied by one or
more dependents following or preceding it. The noun head serves a variety of functions
at the clause level – as subjects, objects (direct and indirect), predicative complements
(subject and object), oblique arguments etc. These functions are encoded by case
markers, word order, and agreement (cf. §7.1). Of these, the first and third devices are
in use in MKR. Word order is not fixed in MKR.

Case markers will be dealt with in the following chapter, while verbal agreement has
been covered in Chapter 3. The present section will deal with the different functions of
the NPs occurring in MKR.

NPs occurring in the subject position

(169) \textit{brahma rşigane subha dṛṣṭi cāhīlanta.}
\textit{brahma rśi-gaṇ-e subha dṛṣṭi cāh-il-anta}
\textit{brahma sage-PL-ERG auspicious look see-PST-3.HON}
‘The brahma- sages gave an auspicious look.’
\textit{(Ar, Ch. 8, V. 210)}

NPs occurring in the direct object position

(170) \textit{dui putra bohārika pāthāilanta bana.}
\textit{dui putra bohāri-ka pāṭhā-il-anta bana}
\textit{two son daughter-in-law-DAT send-PST-3.HON forest}
‘(S/he) sent the two sons and the daughter-in-law to the forest.’
\textit{(Kis, Ch. 1, V. 39)}

NPs occurring in the indirect object position

(171) \textit{pürbbata nṛpati moka dui bara dīla.}
\textit{pūrbbata nṛpati mo-ka dui bara di-l-a}
earlier king I-DAT two boon give-PST-3
‘The king gave me two boons earlier.’
\textit{(Ay, Ch. 5, V. 52)}
NPs occurring in the subject complement position

(172) bāpara ajñāya tumī haibā yubarāja.

father-GEN order-LOC you.FAM be-FUT-3FAM crown prince

‘You will be crown prince tomorrow by the order of your father.’

(Ay, Ch. 9, V. 24)

NPs occurring in the object complement position

(173) daśarath-e rāmaka karanta yubarāja.

Dasarath-ERG Ram-DAT do-3HON crown prince

‘Dasarath makes Ram the crown prince.’

(Ay, Ch. 4, V. 15)

NPs occurring in the oblique argument position

(174) kauśālyāra ghare cali gailā daśaratha.

Kausalya-GEN house-LOC move-NF go-PST-3 Dasarath

‘Dasarath went to the house of Kausalya.’

(Ay, Ch. 1, V. 34)

In (169), the NP brahma ṛṣigaṇ functions as a subject. The subject function of this phrase is indicated by the ergative marker -e. The NP dui putra bohāri in (170) functions as the direct object of the verb. The object function of this NP is encoded by the dative marker -ka. The same -ka marker is also attached to the NP moka in (171) where it expresses the function of indirect object. The direct object of this sentence is dui bara. In (172), the NP yubarāja functions as a complement of the subject tumī. In (173), the NP yubarāja is the complement of the object rāmaka. In (174), the NP kauśālyāra ghare functions as an oblique argument of the verb cali gailā. The oblique argument function of this NP is marked by the directional marker -e attached to the NP.
### 6.7.2. The clause-level functions of the NP in Modern Assamese

The various functions expressed by the NPs in MKR are also found in modern Assamese. These are summarized with appropriate examples in Table 6.11.

**Table 6.11 Clause-level functions of the NP in modern Assamese**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP</th>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>Contexts of occurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ram-e</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kʰa-l-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RAM-ERG</td>
<td>rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>eat-PST-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'Ram ate rice.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bag-tu</td>
<td>Direct object</td>
<td>bag-tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mar-il-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kill-PST-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hunter-CLF.MASC-ERG</td>
<td>tiger-CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'The hunter killed the tiger.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mak-ok</td>
<td>Indirect object</td>
<td>mak-ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sitʰi-kʰon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>letter-CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>di-l-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>give-PST-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tai</td>
<td>makok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>she.DST</td>
<td>mother-DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'She gave the letter to the mother.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikʰok</td>
<td>Subject complement</td>
<td>ram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ezon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sikʰok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ram</td>
<td>e-zon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one-CLF.MASC</td>
<td>teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Ram is a teacher.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥoḥapoti</td>
<td>Object complement</td>
<td>moi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>te ör-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hoḥapoti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pat-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>make-FUT.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>te ör-DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hede.HON-DAT</td>
<td>hoḥapoti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I will make him president.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gor-olo</td>
<td>Oblique argument</td>
<td>moi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>azi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gor-olo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>house-DIRT</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>go-FUT.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>azi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>today</td>
<td>gor-olo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I will go home today.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.8. Summary

This chapter has shown that the nouns in MKR involve three grammatical categories – classifiers, number, and case. The first two of these categories are considered as inherent categories. The last one is a relational category. Inherent categories are identified on the basis of the presence of the intrinsic properties of the relevant category.
in a word. Relational categories are identified on the basis of those properties that are used to mark the grammatical relationship between a word or phrase with the whole sentence. Among the categories of classifiers, number, and case, the first two do not have any syntactic dimension in Assamese. In other words, they do not show any syntactic link or agreement relation among the syntactic elements in a sentence. Case, on the other hand, is a relational category since it marks the grammatical relations within a clause.

Classifiers have been dealt with in the sections covering §6.2.1 to §6.2.4. The category of number has been treated in §6.2.4 and in §6.3. Grammatical gender is not found in MKR. Suffixes attached to noun words, or other lexical words serve to distinguish male referents from female referents. However, these features cannot be considered as part of grammatical gender. The relevant reasons in this regard have been discussed in §6.2.5.

A special set of suffixes to mark relational nouns has been dealt with in §6.4.

As a major word-class, the noun has some important functional potential. It functions as the head of an NP and as the head of a phrase. It can also take a wide range of dependents. The various dependents taken by nouns in MKR have been illustrated in §6.5. The various functions of NPs as subjects, objects, predicative complements and PP complements in a clause at the syntactic level in MKR have been discussed in §6.7.

While discussing the categories associated with nouns in MKR, an attempt has been made to present a brief account of those categories or forms of modern Assamese which seem to correspond directly with the categories of MKR. The reason for this is to show the nature of development of the language from the time of MKR to modern Assamese. However, since the main purpose of this study is to undertake a synchronic description of the relevant grammatical categories of MKR, the diachronic aspects of Assamese has not been pursued extensively except when the context has made it necessary.