CHAPTER- II
CHAPTER-II
THE RABHA LANGUAGE AND ITS LINGUISTIC VARIATIONS

2.0 : The Rabha Language:

Rabha is a linguistic off-shoot of Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages. It is spoken by a substantial number of the three principal dialectal groups, Rongdani, Maitory and Kocha in the Brahmaputra valley of Assam and in some regions of North-East India, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Bhutan, too. The rest sections of the Rabha tribe, viz Pati, Dahary, Bitaliya, Hana speak the patois of Assamese in Assam.

In fine, Rabha is in an ‘unstable bilingual’ position, for which the fact, once Grierson opined “Rabha language is dying out” (Grierson: 1902 : p.4)\textsuperscript{1}. Gait also opined the same (Gait: 1990 : p.47)\textsuperscript{2}.

2.0.1 : Rabha Dialects:

As sated earlier, Rabha has three principal dialects: Rongdani, Maitory and Kocha (invariably Songa, Chunga, Pani Koch).\textsuperscript{3} Rongdani and Maitory variety are found spoken in the district of Goalpara of lower Assam, and in some parts of Garo hills of Meghalaya, while Kocha variety is found in Kokrajhar, and Dhubri districts of lower Assam. Further, it is noteworthy that Kocha variety is found spoken in Meghalaya, North Bengal, Bangladesh\textsuperscript{4} and Nepal, too.

2.0.2 : More specifically, in terms of Rangdani and Maitary, these can be termed as ‘clan dialect:

This is not a water-tight linguistic division, because these are fairly identical, having almost the same traits. The distance of dialect areas that is dialect geography is not too far.
According to Das—

_The Maitory occupy the foothills of the Garo ranges .... Which (its) eastern region is occupied by the Rangdani (Das: 1960: Introduction: p.7)_6.

These are fairly close, and this dialect groups referred to can interact, easily.

On the other fund, what was referred to the areas as .... “The Rabhas are also found in North Goalpara (Das: opt-cit: 7)7, this place is, nowadays, the Kokrajhar district in BTC areas, comprising of the erstwhile Dhubri, Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon, and these areas are occupied, along with others, by Kocha variety. So, it goes without saying that the areas where linguistic variations are found spoken, are too far, and as such, variations become acute one.

It is, then crystal clear that Kocha variety retain its substantial phenomena of T.B traits, while Rongdani and Maitory variety are gradually getting slight aberated with close contact with that of Assamese and Bengali, and as its dire consequences, the later are becoming exglosic and the speech communities are becoming ‘unstable bilingual’ That is why, once Grierson opined “Rabha is now fast dying language’ (Grierson: op-cit: p.102)8.

In fine, there lies linguistic variation in phonology and morphology, but not syntactic, and there is fairly intelligibility among these varieties.

2.1: Phonology of Rabha:

It is noteworthy that most of scholar, among others “Hodson (1847)9, Buchanan (1800)10, Grierson (1903)11 Hunter (1987 : Reprint)12, Williamson (1869)13 did not record the phonemic status of Rabha, but they dealt with some Rabha words and grammatical features. Besides, the native writers, specially, Datta mentioned 16 Vowels in Rabha (Datta : 1967)14 Saha asserted that Rabha has 8 vowels and 7 allophones, with mentioning/ u:/ as tripthony (Saha: 1981 : 112)15,
Goswami mentioned 6 Vowels mentioning /o/,/ɔ/, but discarding /u:/ (Goswami: 1988: 25)\textsuperscript{16}. Rabha Hakacham mentioned 8 vowels (Hakacham)\textsuperscript{17} and the Runchum mentioned 8 vowels (Runchum: 2010)\textsuperscript{18}.

In principle, what native writers ascertain as to Rabha phonemes, it was perhaps done on the basis of conventional Assamese or Bengali alphabets by which Rabha is being transcribed both in loan and nativized words.

The following is an inventory of Rabha phonemes, which are ascertained by the place and manners of articulations of the native and monolingual speakers: These are segmental phonemes, which include 6 vowels and 16 consonants, and 2 supra segmental ones –

(a) Vowels phonemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) The six vowels phonemes occur in initial medial and final position of words:

Consonant phonemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Pharyngal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>P b P\textsuperscript{h} (b\textsuperscript{h})</td>
<td>t d t\textsuperscript{h} (d\textsuperscript{h})</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k g k\textsuperscript{h} (g\textsuperscript{h})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>f s z (z\textsuperscript{h})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frictional</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is worth mentioning that the aspirated phonemes in Romgdani and Maitory (Rong-Mai) variety are not specific and distinct one. As meticulously observed, it is found that such phonemes are still prevailing among the bilingual speakers of the speech community referred to and in Kocha (Kc) variety, aspirated phonemes are not found.

Following is an inventory of such morphemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rong-Mai</th>
<th>Kc</th>
<th>English version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. /dun//dhun/</td>
<td>/dun/</td>
<td>‘to rise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. /bhan/</td>
<td>/ban/</td>
<td>‘to cover up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. /dorai/</td>
<td>/dorai/</td>
<td>/dortay/(not ‘dhortay’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. /natham/</td>
<td>/nu:tu:m/</td>
<td>‘to heave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. /the//te/</td>
<td>/tu:i/</td>
<td>‘fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. /Lubhak/</td>
<td>/lu:u:ak/</td>
<td>‘frog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. /paman//phaman/</td>
<td>/dasman/</td>
<td>‘to know’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Judging these examples, it is to ascertain that these phonemes are sometime allophones.

**Phonetic description of vowel phonemes:**

/\i\/: high front unrounded,

/\u\/: high back rounded,

/\w\/: high back (slight central) unrounded,

/\e\/: front mid unrounded,

/\o\/: back mid rounded,

/\a\/: low central unrounded,

/\w\/: A special record is to be made that the phoneme is now getting aberated and simplifies gradually in Rong-Mati variety and by this phoneme loan words are nativized by epenthesis as in
2.1.1: Phonemic distribution of vowels phonemes:

In Rabha, all vowel phonemes occur in all three positions with their quantitative difference, as in

i) Initial position:

/i/: it

/umprin/: ‘afterward’

/u:l:zuk/: ‘happy’

/eta/: ‘a kind of insect’

/ok/: ‘bally’

/ŋ/: ‘I’

ii) Medial position:

/iti/: ‘by this side’

/barcuŋ/: ‘a clan of the Rabha tribe’

/dumak/: ‘all, entirely’

/penem/: ‘good’

/coko/: ‘wine’

/ataŋa/: ‘why’

iii) Final position:

/ibai/: ‘here’

/musu/: ‘cow’

/u:lu: -u:lu/: ‘happily’

/pare/: ‘village headman’
2.1.2 Phonetic description of consonant phonemes:

- /p/: voiced bi-labial plosive
- /ph/: voiceless bi-labial aspirated plosive
- /b/: voiced bi-labial unaspirated
- /bh/: voiceless bi-labial aspirated
- /t/: voiced alveolar unaspirated
- /th/: voiceless alveolar aspirated
- /f/: voiced alveolar unaspirated
- /s/: voiceless alveolar unaspirated fricative
- /z/: voiced alveolar unaspirated fricative
- /h/: voiceless glottal fricative
- /m/: voiced bi-labial nasal
- /n/: voiced bi-labial nasal
- /ŋ/: voiced velar nasal
- /r/: voiced alveolar trill
- /l/: voiced alveolar lateral
- /w/: voiced bi-labial semi-vowel
- /y/: voiced palatal semi-vowel
2.1.3 : Phonetic distribution of consonant phonemes :

i) Initial position :

\[ /p\hat{a}ŋ/ : \text{to stay} \]
\[ /\hat{p}h\hat{a}i/: \text{to come (fwi in Kc variety)} \]
\[ /b\hat{o}b\hat{a}i/: \text{to speak} \]
\[ /\hat{b}h\hat{a}ŋ/ : \text{to cover up (cf : /b\hat{a}ŋ/ in Kc variety)} \]
\[ /t\hat{a}r\hat{a}/ : \text{a clan of the Rabha tribe (of :/tar\hat{a}/ in Kc variety)} \]
\[ /\hat{t}h\hat{a}i/: \text{fruit (cf :/t\hat{w}i/ in Kc variety)} \]
\[ /\hat{d}aŋ/ : \text{to enter, (Kc variety)} \]
\[ /\hat{d}haŋ/: \text{to enter} \]
\[ /k\hat{a}r\hat{a}/ : \text{a clan of the Rabha tribe} \]
\[ /k\hat{h}ar/: \text{to do} \]
\[ /\hat{g}\hat{u}h\hat{u}i/: \text{chief} \]
\[ /\hat{f}aŋ/: \text{free (cf : /phaŋ/ in Rong-Mati variety)} \]
\[ /\hat{s}u:m/: \text{salt} \]
\[ /\hat{z}u:k/: \text{spouse} \]
\[ /\hat{h}a\hat{s}o\hat{n}/ : \text{earth, land, world} \]
\[ /\hat{m}u:\hat{k}/ : \text{to love, to cherish} \]
\[ /\hat{n}u:n/ : \text{you (cf : /n\hat{a}ŋ/ in Rong-Mati variety)} \]
\[ /\eta/: \text{has occurrence in initial position} \]
\[ /\hat{r}a\hat{m}/ : \text{road, path (cf : /l\hat{a}m/ (in Ke variety)} \]
\[ /\hat{l}a\hat{m}/ : \text{road, path (cf : /\hat{r}a\hat{m}/ in Rong-Mati variety)to stay} \]
\[ /\hat{w}/ : \text{It has no occurrence in initial position of word.} \]
\[ /\hat{y}/ : \text{It has no occurrence in initial position of word.} \]

ii) Medial position :

iii) /apa/ : own

\[ /\hat{a}p\hat{h}e/: \text{star} \]
\[ /\hat{b}e\hat{b}a\hat{k}/ : \text{all} \]
/atap/: readily made
/badan/: by this side
/bakai/: to give up
/bekhere/: in what way
/bagrai/: to fell down
/cafan/: thigh
/usu/: to urine
/azaŋ.gazaŋ/: wonderful
/gu:hui/: chief
/amai/: mother
/ano/: sister
/ŋkal/: scarcity, wants
/ara/: and
/ala.mala/: simply
/awa/: father
/baŋda/: a clan of the Rabha tribe.

Note: b^n, d^n & t^n has no occurrence in medial position.

iii) Final position
/cap/: to stand
/p^n/: It has no final occurrence in basis Rabha vocabulary, but occurred in loan wards, as in
/boroph/: ice, snow
/gab/: colour
/b^n/: It has no final & medial occurrence in Raha, as in
1) Kan+bhaŋ>/Kambaŋ/(not/Kamb^nŋ/)
2) D^nrai+taŋ>dartaŋ (not d^nraitaŋ)
/batat/: to fight
/th/: It has no final occurrence
/d/: It has no final occurrence
/dh/: It has no medial & final position: dhung but gu+
vdang>ugudun (not gudhuŋ/
/kak/: to bite
/kʰ/: no final occurrence
/g/: It has no final occurrence
/f/: It has no final occurrence
/s/: It has no occurrence in basic vocabulary, but occurred in loan words: mas: mouth
/z/: no final occurrence
/h/: It has no occurrence
/hadan/: place
/pidan/: new
/hason/: earth, land, world
/napar/: a kind of fish
/bu:l/: force
/bu:u/: an extra amount of meal
/bu:j/: to break up

Semi.vowels: /w/, /y/

2.1.4: Tones:

Like other Tibeto-Burmese languages, Rabha possesses basic tonal prominence. But most of writers, both foreign and native could not ascertain as to the existence of tone in Rabha. Earlier, the Missionary writers dealt only with that of some grammatical features, and vocabulary of the language referred to. In subsequent period, most of native writers termed these words of tones as homogenous or homonymy words etc. (Das)¹⁹, (Datta)²⁰.
Saha (1981) and Goswami (1982) opined that Rabha had lost its tones due to Bengali and Assamese influence. Rabha Hakacham expressed his doubts as to Rabha tones.

But as meticulously observed and found out that Rabha is a tone language, retaining the same degree in its dialect varieties, Rabha has inherited this tone as basic branch of TB language group.

Dutta remarked that Rabha has a vowel length citing some tonal prominence of Kocha variety (Dutta: 1961 : p.116).

The Rabha primer 'Krau Chadug' (1988) has a fairly list of tone. Then came the first exploring work for Rabha tone (Rabha: 1976), and it was followed by Koch (Koch: 1983). Jose rightly observed: Rabha was never thought of as a tone language, but... "More extensive analysis makes it conclusive that Rabha does use tone phonemically", (Jose: 2000).

Generally, tone is defined as having lexically significant, contrastive, but relative pitch on each syllable: (Pike: 1956). Thus each pitch pattern can bring about differences in the meaning of words.

In tonal prominence, a vowel is the nucleus of the syllable, while the consonants are marginal, and they initiate the movement by the chest pulse.

Rabha, as a tone language, each syllable is characterized phonologically, and only two systems are occurred in Rabha which are marked by high tone // And low tone \ . A list of tone is as follows:

/sa'm/ ‘a mortar’
/s'am/ ‘to wait’
/s'arn/ ‘grass’
/sa'/ ‘to eat’
/sa'/ ‘to child’
/sa'/ ‘a suffix denoting adverb’
/sa'/ ‘to get pain’
2.3.1: Syllables:

Generally as Crystal defined 'syllable is a unit of pronunciation typically larger than a single sound and smaller than a word' (Crystal: p.232). In Rabha, mono-syllabic and poly-syllabic words are found, which constitute words, bearing nucleus and phonemes ones. They are as follows:

2.3.2: Open-Syllable: with nucleus is closing segment: V > vowel & C > consonant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>/i/ : it, this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VV</td>
<td>/ui/ : a term of addressing someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>/bu/ : to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>/ti/ : now, at present c Rong-Mai /tel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>/bi/ : to bake, as fish, vegetable etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>/ci/ : to blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>/cu/ : to grow up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVV</td>
<td>/brai/ : to follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>/mu:u/ : to nourish the crops, just sown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVV</td>
<td>/drai/ : repeatedly.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.3: Closed-Syllable:

Generally a syllable ends in a consonant phoneme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>/an/ : 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>/un/ : a suffix, denoting an emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/bar/ : fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/par/ : flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/san/ : day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/sup/ : to absorb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/par/ : flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/lam/ : to dry in sun shine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.4: Diphthong:

/"ui/ : /phui/ ‘to come’ (Rong.Mai)
/uui/ : /tu:i/ ‘fruit’
/tmi/ ‘to come’ (Kc)
/u:ui/ : /u:n/ : ‘a suffix (‘-an’ in Rong-Mai)
/oi/ : /goi/: ‘areca nut’

2.3.5: Vowel Cluster:

These occur in initial, redial and final order, as in:
/"au/ : /ausau/: ‘ugly’ ‘mad’
/sauri/ ‘a collective work’
/uui/ : /urisa/: ‘such as, meh, ‘example’
/u:n/ : /u:imn/ ‘one has to go’ (must)
/u:la/ : /bu:ln/ ‘a/ is the suffix, denoting the present tense
marker in all parsons, it is a nominative case marker’.

2.3.6: Consonant cluster and germination:

It is found that Kocha variety abounds in cluster. As in the case of tonal
prominence, and allophonic variation in an aspirated phonemes, the other dialects
(Rong-Mai) have become a bit simplified in cluster rather than consonants.

Distribution of cluster:

1. (Ptkhdgemnszh) + r = 12
2. (Ptkbdgcmszh) + 1 = 11
3. k + (t) = 1
4. g + (n) = 1
5. t + (n) = 1
6. m + (ptbdzs) = 6
7. n + (tdcz) = 4
8. \( f + (l) = 1 \)

9. \( l + (ptkbdgc) = 8 \)

10. \( y + (tlgsc) = 5 \)

11. Three clusters occur in medial position:

\[
/\text{mpr mpl mbl ntr mfr ndl nzr ykr ygr}/ = 12
\]

2.3.7: Geminations:

\( /\text{ptkbagcmny}/z/ = 1 \)

A Few clustering words are illustrated below:

Pr = \(/\text{prat}/ 'to born'

\(/\text{saprat}/ 'to beat'

\(/\text{cuprun}/ 'together'

Kr = \(/\text{kram kram}/ 'roughly'

\(/\text{tukrai}/ 'huge'

\(/\text{kru}u/ 'speech, talk, language

eg: /\text{kru}urag Runchum/ "Sahity Sabha" (literary organization)

Tr = \(/\text{tram}/ 'to make intoxicated (taram)

\(/\text{hotrak}/ 'to make sound, to shout'

Br = \(/\text{brek}/ 'a utensil made of fruit'

\(/\text{debrek}/ 'slowly'

Dr = \(/\text{dro}n/ 'to make a heap' (godro\(n\) = its causitivized form\(/\text{adra}/ 'half' (< indic = ordha')

Gr = \(/\text{gograk}/ 'with round & big, as in eyes etc, stare (cf. 'goglok' in Rong-Mali)

Cr = \(/\text{cram cram}/ 'sharp'

Mr = \(/\text{mamrai}/ 'quickly'

\(/\text{umra}/ 'he, she'

Nt = \(/\text{nram}/ to get intoxicated (naram),
sr = /srai srai/ = “serially, in phased manner’
/bu:sru:k/ ‘ to pull back, as in rope’
zr = /zram zram/ ‘ falling heavily, as in waterfall, rain etc.
/azraŋ/ ‘ wholly’
hr /hru:k hru:k/ ‘ in sad manner, as in memorizing the past.
pl = /plak/ ‘ to get wide’
/daplak/ ‘ to make wide’
tl = /tlap/ ‘ to get time for doing something’
/kantday/ ‘ bare, without required things’
(cf: ‘ kantray’ in Rong +Mai).
kl = /klan/ ‘ to jump’ (kalan)
/klan/ ‘ to call (kalan)
/aklai/ ‘ to wash slightly
mpr = /nampran/ ‘ to bewilder’
/hampren/ ‘ thatch’
mpl = /nmplwu/ ‘ elephant’
ntr = /kantran/ ‘ a clan’
(cf: kantray’ bare without required thing)
mbr = /tauibroŋ/ ‘ The Brahmaputra River’
kl = /hamflan/ ‘ open, wide’
ygr = /mayram/ ‘ old, dirty’

2.3.8: Some clusters are to be simplified, by anaptaxis:
/daplak/ > /dapalak/
/klan/ > /kalan/
/tram/ > /taram/

It is highly interesting a fact that an aspirated phonemes are not prevalent in medial clusters, eg:
Such examples prove that Rabha aspirated phonemes are not distinct, but ‘.... They are due to influence of indic’ (Jose : 2000)33.

2.3.9: **Gemination** :

It is interesting to note that gemination is naturally made in an intensifier; generally it is a combine of two identical consonants within a boundary of vowel syllables, which can be discussed in phonotactics; eg:

/\textipa{gu:gu:k}/ ‘truly’ $\rightarrow$ /\textipa{gu:ggu:k}/ ‘very truly’

/\textipa{itin}/ ‘easily’ $\rightarrow$ /\textipa{ittin}/ ‘very easily’

/\textipa{nema}/ ‘good’ $\rightarrow$ /\textipa{nemma}/ ‘very good’.

2.2: **Morphology** :

Morphology is the ‘study of the grammatical structure of words’ (Matthews : 2007 : 252)33 and it – “studies the internal structure of words and the relationships among words” (Akmajian et al : 2010 : 12)34. Thus it includes the “stock of segmental morphemes, and the ways in which words are built out of them” (Hocket : 1970)35.

Generally it is dealt with word formation which is concerned with the process of (i) inflectional and (ii) compounding.

A simple word in Rabha is a minimally meaningful free form and mostly mono-syllabic and mono-morphemic one, and when segmented, it will have more than one meaning bearing super-fix ‘tone’.

In Rabha, word formation can be divided broadly by two process; derivation and compounding. The first is morphological while the other is lexical one.
Derivational affixes are generally bound morphemes which include suffixations, and other inflectional affixes are morphemes. Generally, derivational affixes are followed by inflectional ones. They are basically particles. Prefixes are very rare in Rabha.

Word compounding is a “process of making up wholly of smaller word” which differ from phrases of phonemic modification of their components juncture stress pattern or in a combination of their features “(Block & Fragger)" and “these are themselves words or form of words” (Mathews : 70).

2.2.1: Mono-Syllable:

Like other T.B. languages, Rabha also possesses their prominent mono syllabic features, they are non segmental, free lexis, and invariably by nature:

/sa/ ‘to eat’
/s’a/ ‘to get pain’
/la/ ‘fish’
/bar/ ‘fire’

Di-syllable:
/mu:kur/ ‘eye’
/fan:kai/ ‘a small insect’
/runcum/ ‘union’
/mwsu/ ‘cow’

2.2.2: tri-syllable:

/phakam con/ ‘germs that affect teeth’ (cf. fakam con in kc)
/dindikina/ ‘a kind of small fish’ (ambyphar sudden mola)
/kuncmkun/ ‘thanks’ (‘let there be happiness’)

Four – syllable:
/nuttumtutum/ ‘liable to hear in happiness’
/cukuluntum/ ‘that has marshy, as soil, etc. and grown in such soil’.
The following morphemes are suffixes and are generally juxtaposed offer stems.

/ca/: a negator, a suffix for interrogation
  eg: /Lu:ica/ ‘does not go’

/di/: a pleonastic suffix,

/fa/: reducendant form of /fwi/ (cf. Rong-Mai/phaei/) ‘to come’
  eg: /lafa/<\la (totake) \fui>/lafwl/>*/Lfwi/>lafa “bring and come”

/gok/: a pleonastic suffix, denoting ‘instant’: 
  eg/sagok/let it be eaten, instantly.

/zuu/: a perfective, (cf Rong-Mai/zo/)

/nag/: (cf. Rang-Mai/nag/you, in kc nwg/ : a suffix denoting ‘possession of’/muktuh+/ -/nag> ‘muktuhnag’ having forhead i.e.(fortune)’ i.e. fortunate: a suffix denoting ‘completeness’
  eg: /zut + - nag>zutnag “write and complete it

/par/: plural marker,

/pake/: an case marker of instrumental

/prin/: an ablative case marker.

2.5.1: Base forms:

Some words or base forms are formed with respective initial morphemes ‘as in /h/<\ha/means ‘land’ or ‘soil’ the earth, when inflected it denotes various meaning pertaining to its original word:

/hadan/<ha + pidan (new): ‘newly made land for cultivation or village,
/haceg/<ha + veeg (to be thin or light) ‘sand’
/hason/ (<ha + √son (to begin with), the earth, world (eg. 'Rabha hason))

/hacu/ (<ha + √cu (to become great, elevated) hill, mountain

/hapul/ (<ha + √polo (to fly), an aluminum /hu:du:l/'mud'

/hwn/ ‘the white ant’

/hakar/ ‘cave, hole or cavity’

/hu:ςir/ ‘earthworm’

/hu:mbrey/ ‘a kind of earthworm’

/hakap/ ‘a high bank of the river’

/c/ is an initial letter, and when inflected, it denotes various meaning for human organs:

/cakam/ ‘leg’

/caplak/ ‘foot’ and its sole

/cafan/ ‘thigh’

/cu:si/kor/nail (cf. ‘casakar’ in Rong-Mai).

/cu:si/ ‘hand’ (cf. Rong-Mai/thasi/ciskreŋ’/finger’

/cotoŋ/ ‘wrist’

/cuguk/ ‘knee’ (cf. cakathog’)

/cutumuk/ ‘heel’

/cufui/ ‘calf’

/caklop/(capak + kolop coverage) ‘foot wear

/cakum nar/ ‘foot side of bed, place etc. (cf. ‘cakamra’ Rong-Mai).

/cabrau/< cakam + vberau ‘to spread (legs) apart (cf. ‘cakbram’ in Rong-Mai)

/cwmwn/ < cakam + √ ‘man ‘to crawl’ (cf. /’caman/in Rong-Mai/foot print

/cukul/ ‘crippled’

/cusur/ septic occurred on naile etc.

/cuduk/ ‘step’
/cu:pici/ ‘to stumble off (by legs).
/catrak/ ‘to kick by the legs
/ciskolop/ ‘the palm of the hand’
/cakan/ ‘turning back, after stumbling
/c/ is an initial letter and after inflected, it denotes various meaning of water, blood or liquidity, and it is almost common features in S.T. language: as in
/ci/: blood
/cika/: water
/cu/: well
/cokor/: wine invariably/ coko/ in Rong-Mai
/cika-bwrwi/: lineage of the family
/cipok/< cika + \sqrt{pok}(to swell) tasteless
/cizlay/ ‘like ‘cipok’
/m/ is an initial letter, and when inflected, it means various meaning to man, and animals:
/marap/ ‘man’
/musu/ ‘cow’
/mapar/ ‘beer’
/masa/ ‘tiger’
/maicoq/ ‘deer’
/mocor/ ‘rat’
/musi/ ‘buffalo’
/u:/or/a/ is an initial letter when inflected is means various meaning of kinship term:
/u:cu/ ‘grand-father’
/u:wai/ ‘grand-mother’
/akai/
2.5.2: Compound words:
Two existing words are sometimes juxtaposed to form a new lexical items: eg:
/kru:u raŋ/< kru:u (word, speech, language) + raŋ (rain) (new coinage) "literature" 38
/marap zuku/ ‘man as a guest’
/kru:u acar/< ‘kru:u’ (word, speech, language) + acar (rules, system) = ‘system of language’ eg. ‘Grammar’
/ok nag/ ‘pragrant’ (woman),
/narek andar/ ‘dark’

2.5.3: Portmanteau Words:
These are the process of combination for forming a single word, and this is called portmanteau: eg in English: motor + hotel> motel, breakfast + lunch> brunch, Rabha has such words, as in:
cu:ku:lu:ntu:m <cika (water) + √ lu:p (to cover) + - mi (suffix) + tum (place, area) > *cu:ku:lu:ntu:m. > *cu:ku:lu:m tum > ‘cu:ku:lu:ntu:m’ ‘place where water is covered up, and if things grow therein, it will be tasteless or watery, like potatoes and other vegetables.
2.5.4: Word class:

The traditional notion on the classification of words is ‘parts of speech’, which is now analogous to word-class, and it was dealt with the meaning and functions of words. But these... “words are grouped into classes on the basis of their form and function, i.e. phonological, morphological and syntactic properties” (Verma et al: 1992 pp-73)³⁹.

2.5.5: Nature of Noun:

Noun is that element which functions as the subject, object or other case complements, and refers to the things set for word-classes. It forms a substantial number of stems than that of pronouns, numerals and adjectives, and are followed by suffixes of nominalizer, gender-marker, numeral or classifier, case marker and comparison marker.

Basic noun has two categories:

i) Uncountable Noun: eg: /ciːka/ ‘water’
/cokot/ ‘rice beer’
/ci/ ‘blood’
/swm/ ‘salt’
ii) **Countable Noun:** eg: ram/or/lam/ ‘road’
/twu/ ‘bird’
/ronj/or/lonj/ ‘stone’
/sunj/ ‘thinking’ (thought),

Thus nouns... “typically refer to people place clean, animals, and abstract or concrete things”.

### 2.5.6: Nominals:

It is a linguistic unit of noun, but its character is to be preceded by an article as in ...

The wounded was taken to the hospital.

In Rabha, after nominalized, it may mean by the article: eg:

i) sa ‘to eat’ + - kau > /sakai/ ‘act of eating’

Sentence: ‘sakai - ringkai o nema eating-drinking is good Here /o/, is the article :

ii) lunj ‘to sing’ + nji> ‘lunj’ act of singing

Sentence: cai lunj’ singing name is good

### 2.5.7: Nominalization:

By nominalization process, noun bases are generally formed from other parts of speech, usually verbs or adjectives.

In Rabha, two dialect form of nominalization are as follow:

i) Rong-Mai : /kai/ :

sa + - kai > /sakai/ act of eating’

ii) Kc : /ni/ (-yi, mi, as per morphological

sa + - ni> sani ‘act of eating’

sa + - yi> saji ‘act of being’

cap + - mi> capmi ‘act of standing’
iii) /mra/ : it is the same -er in English

zut + - mra > zutmra ‘writer’

Thus nominalized forms are to be followed by articles eg:

/capmio kanhey gmmwn nema/
‘standing is good for health’

/zutmra a fu:jiu:u/ ‘The writer has come’

2.5.8: Compound Noun:

(sa/ meaning ‘small’, a diminutive suffix,

eg: marap + sa > marapsa ‘child, baby’, twu + sa> twusa ‘chick’

(ci/ : redundant of ‘cika’, meaning ‘water’ or liquid things

eg: muci < mwkwr + cika/muckici > *mwkmrcika > * mwkci >
muci ‘water of eye’ i.e. ‘tears’

/vii + t u:i (fruit) > * lit u:i> lmtu:i fruits with its heavy weight, i.e. ‘banana’
Lautu:i < pilu:u (long) + tu:i (fruit) > * pilmuuiu:i> * plautu:i> lautu:i ‘a
gourd fruit’

Parcuq < nampar + cuq ‘to be big’ > * nampar- cuq> ‘parcuq’ ‘great
wind’, i.e. storm.
barcuq< barau (clan) + cuq > * barucuq> barcuq ‘great clan

2.5.9: Gender:

Like other TB language family, Rabha has no grammatical gender, that
is gender markers are not morphologically conditioned, but rather a type of overt.
It has a system of sex reference, and shows any obligation of gender concord: eg:

Rule - 1 :

Feminine        Masculine
/micik/ ‘women’  /mik/ ‘men’
/mu:zu/ ‘female’ (in animal) /mala/ ‘mala’
/mu:mi/ ‘grand-mother’ /u:cu/ ‘grand-father’
/zinu:u/ ‘sister’ /pu:rsi/ ‘brother’ and relatives
/bai/ ‘friend’ /u:cu/ ‘grand-father’

Note:
It is discerning a fact that in Rabha female counts first, perhaps due to matrilineal customs, and it is followed by male, and in that sense, the above list is prepared. A typical Rabha calls /amai – awa/ mother & father, not /father-mother/ as it is extant in patrichal society.

**Rule – 2 : Unique famines:**
/tuŋgin/ ‘a naughty women’
/buŋzin/ ‘a barren women or animal’
/buri/ ‘women who shares in marriage ceremony
/laga/ ‘a baby nurser’
/krundi/ ‘a sikilled weaver, artisan’
/zinoŋ zanoy/ ‘sister and sister-like’
/uŋrum/ ‘a naughty woman’

**Rule – 3 : Unique famines:**
/kwsi/ ‘castrated male animal’
/sen kana/ ‘having one testicle both men & animal’
/nakor/ ‘a cowhard’
/bwudi/ ‘a wonderer’
/maitok/ ‘an assistant to the priest’

**Rule – 4 : Gender-neutral kinship term:**
/zwk/ ‘spouse’
/nono/ ‘younger brother and sister’
In Rabha, besides ego or in the first person, no suffixation is needed, but in the 2nd and 3rd persons /bara/ is added to its kinship term. In Garo and Bodo there can be assigned:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference term</th>
<th>Address for 1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rabha: /ada/ ‘elder brother’</td>
<td>‘ada’</td>
<td>Nii dada/ada</td>
<td>‘dadabara’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodo: a-da/</td>
<td>‘ada’</td>
<td>‘nu:nda’</td>
<td>‘bida’ &lt; ‘bini ada’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.10 : Number and numerals:

The distinction between singular and plural clearly rests upon the recognition of persons, animals, and other objects, which can be enumerated.

In Rabha, there are two kinds of number singular and plural. Oval number is not found, although there exists 2 suffixes

/wisi/ ‘vocative for someone’
/pwlp/ ‘bustard child’

/nami/ < /nu: ʒ /you’+ - an ‘I’ > ‘namiŋ’ ‘we’ (inclusive)
/mu:gŋi/< /mu: ʒ /‘determiner’+ - niŋ ‘pronoun for ‘two’ for ‘we’
= muyniŋ ‘we’ (exclusive) (cf. /niŋ/ & /naŋ/ : see Pronoun)

Grierson (1903) opines that there is two pronouns inclusive /naŋ/ and exclusive /niŋ/ in Kocha variety and Garo (see pronoun : ....). But in Rong-Mai variety, there is no such pronouns.

Inclusive /naŋ/ is to be compared with the much-talked editorial ‘we’ and Vaishnovite saying /ami/ in Assamese.
There are no specific number concords between the subjects and finite verbs. The singular has no overt morphological marker, rather unmarked morphologically.

Plural markers in Rabha are as follows:

/\texttt{do}/ - ‘as in /marap do/ ‘men’

/\texttt{bizan}/ - /tobizan/ ‘birds’

/\texttt{ron}/ - /naron/ ‘you’ (plural)

/\texttt{par}/ - /anaupar/ sisters

/\texttt{zu:cki}/ - /musuzu:ki/ ‘herd of cows’

In written literature, nowadays, in honorific term /ron/ is used, as in /apron/< apa/ + /ron/ ‘you’.

\textbf{2.5.11: In selective plural:}

1) Nominal monosyllabic word is re-duplicated without inflectional, and thus remain bare stem, is in –

/\texttt{soj soj}/ ‘each and every village’,

/\texttt{can can}/ ‘who (are the other people)?

2) Di-syllabic word is reduplicated, as in

/\texttt{nu:gu nu:gu}/ ‘each and every house’ (or /nu:-nu:gu/)

3) Some peculiar rules for pronouns and its inflected forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rong-Mai: ‘naŋ’ you</td>
<td>/nron/ &lt; naŋ + ron&gt;*naŋron&gt; naron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kc       : nuŋ ‘you’</td>
<td>/nonon/ &lt; nuŋ + - ron&gt;* nuŋron&gt; * nuŋron&gt; nonu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rong-Mai : /i/ this, it, he     /eron/ ‘these, they’,

Kc       :                          /enon/ |

Besides, adjectives are pluralized as follows:
2.5.12: The Cardinals:

There are exact of good number of numerals in Rabha, and they are used to refer to one (1), two(2), three(3), four(4) and five(5) etc. In olden times, these were available, but due to lack of writing culture, they were missing miserably. But in the seventies of the last century, these numerals have been explored, both in Rong-Mai and Kc variety, and with slight difference, these are developed.\textsuperscript{42}

The following is an inventory of basic cardinal numerals up to 10 and ordinal numerals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Cardinal</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/cilöŋ/=0</td>
<td>'zero'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sa/ = (1)</td>
<td>/satha/ 1\textsuperscript{st}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/niŋ/ = (2)</td>
<td>/niŋtha/ 2\textsuperscript{nd}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tam/ = (3)</td>
<td>/tantha/ 3\textsuperscript{rd}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/briŋ/ = (4)</td>
<td>/briŋtha/ 4\textsuperscript{th}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/buŋ/ = (5)</td>
<td>/buŋtha/ 5\textsuperscript{th}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/krop/ = (6)</td>
<td>/kroptha/ 6\textsuperscript{th}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sin/ = (7)</td>
<td>/sinta/ 7\textsuperscript{th}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gin/ = (8)</td>
<td>/ginta/ 8\textsuperscript{th}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/suku/ = (9)</td>
<td>/sukuta/ 9\textsuperscript{th}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hasi/ = (10)</td>
<td>/hasita/ 10\textsuperscript{th}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* Invariably/clöŋ/ = zero in Rong-Mai

2.5.13: Derived Numerals:

10 + 1 = 11
10 + 2 = 12
10 + 3 = 13
10 + 4 = 14
10 + 5 = 15 etc.

2.5.14: **Post-determiners:**
Post determiners and as /gok/, /mwŋ/ etc. are to be followed by their cardinals:

- gok + sa> /goksa/ ‘one’ as in inanimate things.
- *uŋ + niŋ> uŋnig ‘two’
- *a + tam> atam ‘three’
- briŋ – brŋ ‘four’
- maŋ + sa> maŋsa ‘one’ as in animal (not men)
- muŋ + niŋ> muŋnig, ‘two’ as in animal &
- maŋ + tam> maŋtam ‘three’ man ‘animal’
- maŋ + briŋ> maŋbring ‘four animals’
- maŋ + buŋ> maŋbuŋ ‘five animals’
- sak + sa> saku ‘one men’
  (but not *saksa; instead ‘muŋnig’)

This numbers are used as quantifier in the pertitive construction denoting the quality and quantity of nouns.

2.6.0: **Determinatives and Classifiers:**
The process of determinatives refer to the numerals and classifiers. As Quirk asserts... “The kind of reference a particular noun phrase has depends on its determinative element, i.e. the item which ‘determines’ it” (Quirk et al: 2010 p.253).

Naturally, determiners are exclusive, having their ‘choice relation’.

The rule of the central determine in Rabha are /a/ and /be/ as in:
On the other hand, classifiers are generally particles that indicate the class: animals, birds, plants, shape and sizes of inanimate objects. They define the nature of the objects, quality and quantity and precede the numerals. Basically, they are bound morphemes.

Following is an extensive list of general classifiers:

/boza/: a bundle (cf. 'boza' As)
/beda/: used for a bunch of arca nut etc.
/batal/: used for a term or periodicity of issue (children birth)
/coř/: used for a clumps or clunder of agglutinated mass of tree, herb, paddy etc.
/comrač/: brunch of thatching grass, paddy etc.
/cuř/: used for a pipe, bamboo etc.
/dabar/: for a moment, a few time etc.
/gaŋ/: with a long thing
/gok/: for inanimate things
/guŋ/: for a long thing
/hal/: used for a plugging time (cf. As. Hal)
/hućok/: a morsel of (rice, meal etc.)
/hanđok/: for a fit of passion, sorrow
/faŋ/: (Rong-Mai – ‘phaŋ’): occurs with tree, herb (cf. Bd & Gr- ‘phaŋ’)
/fonŋ/: used for (i) rupees (ii) speech, lack (cf. Bd ‘phon’ ) (iii) slap
/flak/: used for a half.
/kar/: small, hard things or rich, seed etc.

It also occurs with small or diminutive like drop of water, rain etc.

/kol/: used for a time of milling, smaller than rice, as in beaten rice, puffed rice and other grinding process,
/kolob/ : used for a handful (cf. As ‘a muthi’) of rice, water etc.
/kran/ : used for flat things, as in leaf, paper etc.
/kep/ : used for a load carried at a time.
/lap/ : used for each and every time
/man/ : used for animal (not man)
/mik/ : used for ‘three’ (after 3 number), eg., ‘mik tam’ three men;
mikbring ‘four men’ etc.
/mun/ : used for two (after 2 number) : eg : munmi marap – two
men, mmsu munig – ‘two cows’ etc.
/muk/ : used for foot/feet (measurement),
/nok/ : used for a family or household (cr. Bd & Garo ~/no/)
/nor/ : used for a bird, animal and their flock or farm
/al/ : used for a herd or flock of animals etc (cf. As. ‘pal’)
/pak/ : used for a time of expedition or inspiration
/roza/ : used for a time, as in meal etc.
/tau/ : used for a time of dish, meal, curry etc.
/tarau/ : used for a class mate, colleague, group of the same age
/tor/ : used for a wood, long tools etc.
/tup/ : used for a group of bamboo etc. (cf. As. ‘tup’)
/tuji/ : used for leaves, piece of thread, rope, hair etc.
/tuji/ : used for fruit
/tolai/ : used for a drop of water, tears and other liquid things,
/sak/ : used for man, and it is followed by mwñ, may, briñ etc.
/sah/ : used for a day
/sampar/ : used for rice, while milling by mortals
/sir/ : used for anything split lengthwise, as in bamboo etc.
/suuzi/ : used for meal cooked one time
/zui/ : as in ‘pal (cf. As ‘zak’)
2.7.0 Pronoun:

The literal source... “pronoun may substitute for some word or phrase noun” 44. They make suffixes for case, person, gender, number etc.

The following is an illustration of various types of nouns:

Table – 2: Personal, reflexive, and possessive pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Personal pronouns</th>
<th>Reflexive Pronouns</th>
<th>Possessive Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subjective Case</td>
<td>Objective Case</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>aŋo</td>
<td>aŋapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>nŋ</td>
<td>nŋo</td>
<td>nŋapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>nuŋ</td>
<td>nuŋo</td>
<td>nŋapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Nonon/haŋon</td>
<td>Nonon/haŋo</td>
<td>noŋapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>uŋa</td>
<td>uapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>onŋ</td>
<td>onŋa</td>
<td>onŋapa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Barring these, ‘honorific pronoun is newly coined as /apronŋ/<apa+ roŋ). (Practically it has no well grounded etymology: apa ‘self + roŋ’ plural suffix.

1. /bara/ is a pronominal definitive, used for 3rd person, both in singular and plural number:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/azoy/</td>
<td>/nini azoŋ/</td>
<td>/azoŋ bara/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘my brother’</td>
<td>‘your brother’</td>
<td>‘his/her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/micik/</td>
<td>/nini micik/</td>
<td>/micik bara/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘my wife’ (woman)</td>
<td>‘your wife’</td>
<td>‘his wife’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. /zu/: </zu/> is a feminine gender marker used in 3rd person:

/Ramzu/: Ram's wife.

/hapakzu/: woman/girl, heartening other's /hapak/ (cf. khapak in Rong-Mai) Heart: that is, 'beloved'

Sometimes, /zu/ is used as an intensifier:

/roŋaizu/: woman who is too showy.

2.7.1: Personal Bonoun:

The most interesting feature in personal pronoun in Rabha is the extant of distinction between the first person plurals: /nĩŋ/ and /nay/, as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/aŋ/ 'I'</td>
<td>/nĩŋ/ 'we' including the person addressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/nany/ 'we': excluding the person addressed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inclusive

Exclusive

Grierson mentioned it in his LSI 45, and /nany/is fairly to be compared with that of

i) Assamese Bhakatiya saying /ami/

ii) An editorial saying 'we' and

iii) Rhetorical 'we'

This is generally used today for the collective sense of the nation and the party thereof.

2.7.2: Interrogative Pronoun:

In Rabha, /can/ u:tun/ /ato/ and /begana/ are the Interrogative pronouns which are used for the interrogate as in:

/nini u:tun (ato) muŋ ?:/ 'what is your name?

/your what name/

/hmy biganda toita ?:/ How do you do?

/you' how are doing ?/
2.7.3: Demonstrative Pronoun:

Such type of pronouns are to be termed as demonstrative determiners:

/ibai/< I + bai: in this place,
site : there*/i/ this it (near)
u+ bai : in this place, site,: distant reference.

Note: Like English, the plural ‘these’ and those, there are not such demonstrative pronouns. In this regard, plural suffixes are added:

1) u + do> udo
   that,
   she,
   he
   it

/do/ plural suffix : udo : these, those etc.

1) i + /o/ > ido : this things.
2) umra + do < u + marap + do : These/those people
3) Onoŋ + do> onoŋdo ‘those people’
(both plural, expressing speaker proximate and remoteness)

As stated above, i + bai> ibai, u + bai> ubai are the examples of demonstrative pronouns, with post-modifications. eg;

/ibai fu:i/ ‘come here’
/ubai poŋ/ ‘stay there’,

More examples of pronouns of demonstratives are /ataŋ/, ‘the other’

/u:dmk/ ‘some or someone
/canja/ ‘whichever/whoever,
/bebak/ ‘all’
/dumdaŋ/ all, entirely
/kisa/ ‘few’.
2.7.4: Reflexive Pronoun:

As illustrated above (2.2.20 Table-2) Reflexive pronoun and with /apa/ perhaps Indic /ap/, meaning ‘self’.

As the term implies, these pronouns “reflect another nominal element of the clause . . .” and function basic and emphatic.” (quirk: ibid: 356) as in:

/onoŋ apu:h iŋu:/ ‘They died themselves’.

(Note: /apa/+/- mn/> apu:n (- wn a is a suffix denoting emphatic sense).

But like English, this pronouns do not agree with the subject in terms of specially Gender, person, as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rabha</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/umra apa ainau:ai ru:ku:u/</td>
<td>‘she/he saw herself/ herself in the mirror’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/umra apa ci:µ:nu/</td>
<td>‘she/he died herself/himself.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: /umra/> u + marap + a> umra, This is a early chapter, /u/ was used, denoting both personal pronoun and its use in in-animate things, as in:

/he/u
/she/u
/it/u

In distribution senses, the process of reduplication of pronoun & essential; as in:

/apa apa lwi/ ‘go oneself’
/apa apa luŋ/ ‘sing oneself’.

The following is a list of reflexive, with its counts part possessive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reflexive pronoun</th>
<th>Possessive pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ay/ ‘I’</td>
<td>/u:ni/ (agi, ani): ‘my’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nu:ŋ/, (naŋ/ ‘you’</td>
<td>/nini/ (anani, naŋ,) ‘your’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aproŋ/ you (‘honorific)</td>
<td>/aproŋi/ ‘your’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\[\text{42}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{u}/ & \text{ (umra< u + marap + a) she, he, that} \quad /\text{uni}/ \text{ (umrani/ her, his, of this} \\
/i/ & \text{ it, this,} \quad /\text{ini}/ \text{ its}
\end{align*}
\]

**2.7.5: Indefinite pronouns:**

The Indefinite pronouns are applied for some persons things as in:

- \(/\text{mdu:k}/ \text{ 'some'}\)
- \(/\text{caʃba}/ \text{ 'somebody'}\)
- \(/\text{saksumba}/ \text{ 'nobody'}\)
- \(/\text{sak + sa + un + ba}/ \text{ 'nobody else'}\)

The above pronouns are pluralized by duplication while \(/\text{saksumba}/\) is not generally duplicated:

- \(/\text{caʃba caʃba}/ \text{ or } /\text{cay-caʃba}/\)
- \(/\text{udu:k udu:k}/ \text{ or } /\text{u:- udu:k}/\)

**2.8.0: Case Morpheme:**

The notion about Case morphemes, both in tradition and modern, is by large ‘notorious’. It varies from language to language, and as such, scholars may differ as to their number of a given language. \((\text{International Encyclopedia of Linguistics} : \text{p. 217})\)\(^47\).

The case Morphemes generally refer to nouns, adjective, pronoun or to different ways with its syntactic relationship. It is important in establishing the basic of grammar of language.

In Rabha, both colonial and native scholars did not deal with case morpheme with experiment analysis and extensive study.

Grierson, however described Rabha case into accusative with /\text{o}/, /\text{na}/, Genitive /\text{ni}/, Locative /\text{i}/ and Ablative /\text{nipara}/\(^48\).

The following exploration can be postulated, so far extensive study is concerned:
The Nominative Case:
/Ø/,/a/ ~ /wa/
It is used to indicate the subject of a sentence with a transitive verb. But in intransitive verb, /Ø/ is used,
eg: /ra furinj/ ‘it raihs’
/marap cia/ ‘man dies’

The Instrumental case:
/mun/ /pake/
It indicates the medium by which the action of verb is performed, irrespective of animate or inanimate things, as in
/cusimun kuma luw/ ‘work by hand’
/umra pake phai/ ‘come with him’

Genitive case: /ni~/yi/
It is meant for relationship of noun or pronoun; book in human or non-human things:
/unoua toua/ ‘I have (my) father’
/umra niyi turunjgir/ ‘He is our teacher’
The plural of /mi/&/yi/is/pini/ as in:
/Rampini nugu/ ‘Ram and their house’

The Ablative Case: /- naiprin/
This is used for separating the referred thing from the source, and used in the genitive case ending.
/ibaiprin tareg/ ‘Don’t go from this place’
/fañaprin twi soroka/ ‘fruit falls from the tree’
These are examples of Interactive case –

Example of Transitive Verb—

/\marap-a kwm lwuwa/ ‘The men performs his work’

/\musu:a harcak sao/ ‘The cow cats grass’

**The Accusative Case** : /\O/,~/\o/

This is used to indicate the direct object of a verb, for referring to noun or pronoun. But in case of non-human and materials, /\O/ is used in case endings.

/\aŋ mai /\O/sawu/ ‘I have eaten rice’

/\nuŋ \musu /\O/tacarai/ ‘Don’t grage a cow’

In other examples, /\na/ is used in consonants, while /\o/ is used in the final position of vowel : eg :

/\Ram-na lau/ ‘Give to Rum’

/\ram-o ta kanaŋ/ ‘Don’t inite to Rum’

**The Dative Case** : /\na/

This is to refer to the indirect object in the direction or purpose etc.

/\aŋ-na lcka lac /\ao/ ‘Give me a book’

**The Locative Case** : /\ai/ /~\ /\wai/

This case is used for the location, which is related with its lection.

/\nado cika-ai panye\ja/ ‘fishes live in water’

/\Rabha hasoŋai rabado paŋa/ ‘The Rabhas lives in Rabha hasoŋ’

**The Allative Case** : /\an/ /\wan/ :

It is used for the location or direction, eg : /\hu:curaŋ ta cwi/ ‘Don’t see towards the hills’.\(^49\)
2.9.0: Verb:
In Rabha, verb does not undergo its inflections for tense and person that is, there is no verb agreement and person concord; it simply occurs as predicates and then forms as an open set of words denoting actions.

1) Examples of simple verbs are as follow:
/ba/ ‘to carry on back as baby’
/fu:i/ (Rong-Mai/Phai/) ‘to come’
/cika/ ‘water’
/san/ ‘day’
/far/ (Rong-Mai/phar/) ‘night’

Complex Verbs: With Negative prefix/ and it denotes an imperative mood:
ta + √m/> /ta+vlui>/talui/ ‘do not go/
ta + √sa>/tasa/ ‘do not eat’
ta + √ren > taren ‘do not go, (r>l) η/.

In Rabha, there are prefixes for making causative from transivity and intransinities. Following is the rules of cousitivizatio process:
i) D + vowel, when followed by k,b,h

2.9.1: Caustivization:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive/Intransitive</th>
<th>Causatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kir/ ‘to be afraid’</td>
<td>di + √kir&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dikir/ to make afraid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kak/ ‘to bite’</td>
<td>da + √kak&gt;/dakak/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to occur to bite’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bur/: ‘to come down’</td>
<td>dw + bur&gt;/du:bur/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to cause to come down’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bam/ ‘to hatch’</td>
<td>da + √bam&gt;/dabam/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/pak/ ‘to make bum’
da + √pak>/dapak/
‘to cause to burn’

/pir/ ‘to be mature’
di+√pir/dipir/‘to make matured’

/ham/ ‘to burn (intransitive)’
da + √ham>/daham/
‘to cause to burn’

/hep/ ‘to weep’
de + √hep>/dehep/
‘to cause to weep’

/sum/ ‘to be wet’
gu + √sum>/gusum/
‘to cause to wet’

/su:u/ ‘to be rotten’
gw + √su:u>/gusu:u/
‘to cause to make rotten’

/zok/ ‘to be free’
go + √zok>/gozok/
‘to make free’

/za/ ‘to be wide’
ga + √za>/gaza/
‘to make wide’

/canj/ ‘to be cold’
ga + √canj>/gacanj/
‘to make cold’

/cunj/ ‘to be big’
gu + √cunj>/gucunj/
‘to make bit’

/twn/ ‘to follow’
gw + √twn>/gwtnw/
‘to cause to follow’

/dunj/ ‘to rise’
gu + √dunj>/gudunj/
‘to cause to rise’

/danj/ ‘to enter’
ga + √day>/dadanj/
‘to cause to enter’
t + \text{vowel}, when followed by m

/mwr/ ‘to be small’

/tw + \text{vowel}/\text{mwr}/

‘to make small’

/mu:n/ ‘to be ripe’

/tu: + \text{vowel}/\text{mu:n}/

‘to make ripe’

In the rest phonemes and polysyllables, an additional suffix tin ‘or’ dim is used for causitization process, as in:

/tak/ to make \sqrt{tak + tim>/takdim/} ‘to cause to make’

/lui/ ‘to go’ \sqrt{lui+tim>/luitim/} ‘to cause to go’

In an ambiance sense, generally no transivity or external agency is required, then zero morpheme is required:

/ran\text{fu:ija}/ ‘It rains’

/\text{marap cia}/ ‘man dies’

A negative suffix with monosyllabic /ca/ is added to its verb root:

\sqrt{lwi + - ca>/lu:ica/} ‘do not/does not go’

\sqrt{sa + - ca>/saca/} ‘do not/does not eat’

\sqrt{khar + - ca>/karca/} ‘do not/does not do work.’

2.10.0: Tense:

The present tense marker is /a/, and it is used for

i) habitual time,

ii) eternal truth

iii) instantaneous and conditional clause

As stated above, there is no person concord, as in:
/ay sa-a/ ‘I eat’
/nuŋ sa-a/ you eat’
/niŋ sa-a/ ‘we eat’
/oroŋ sa-a/ ‘They eat’.

Present progressive tense: /ta/
√lu:i + - ta> /lu:ita/ is going’
√sa + - ta> /sata/ is eating’

Immediate past: /zmu/ (cf. Zo in Rong-Mai)
√lu:i + - zu:u> /lmizuu/ ‘has/ have gone’
√sa + - zu:u> /sazu ‘has/ have eaten’

Remote past: /tnamuu/ eg:
√sa + - tamuu> /satnamuu/ ‘had eaten’
√lmi + - tnamuu> /lmitnamuu/ ‘had gone’
(cf. tnamuu in Rong-Mai)

Future tense: ./ma/~/-na./ja/
√cap + - ma> /capma/ ‘will stand’
√du:m + - ma> /du:mma/ ‘will grow’
√sa + - na> /sana/ ‘will eat’
√gatat + - na> /gatatna/ ‘will kill’
√tak + - jo> /takja/ ‘will do’
√brak + - ja> /brakja/ ‘will speak’.

Conditional tense: /mwn/ (cf. ‘mun in Bd, mun in Rong-Mai)
√sa + - na + - mun> /sanamun/ ‘would have eaten’
√rem + - na + - mun> /remamun / ‘would have gone’
/rmn/ is added to the verb as conditional ‘else’ with an infinite verb in a hypothetical past: as in -

/ag lu:iara:n nmp fu:i/ "you come if I shall go"

/ram fmiarun an pa? a/ ‘I shall stay if Ram comes’

Besides, /bur/ is a suffix of future fulfillment of the present “denoting the future of the present intension”, and it indicates the event is already on the way:

/ay lmibwr/ “I am to going” (ready to go),

/u sanbwr/ ‘he is going to eat (ready to eat)

2.10.2: Compound Verb:

\( /sfl+ /f\mu: i /> safu:: l/ ‘come & eat’ \)

\( /b\alpha l+ /f\mu:l > * balifu:: l/ ‘come back’ \)

As stated above, tone syllable leads to its meaning:

\( /s\alpha/ ‘t o eat’ \)

\( /s\alpha/ ‘eating’, act of eating \)

Thus tonecity leads to its gerund /ni/ /j/, (cf. Kai in Rong-Mai).

2.10: Adverb:

Adverbs are used for modifying the meaning of a verb, occurring before the verb and thus visualize its information’s. These are three kind of verbs, adverb of place, adverb of time, and adverb of manner.

Adverb of place:

In this regard, locative case ending /ai/ is placed for the noun, pronoun and adjective, as in ; nu:guai in the home/house, (Rong-Mai-nok-I noki’)

Dudhnoi - ti> dudhnoiti ‘at Dudhnoi’

u-bai ‘here’ in this place’
Adverb of time:

There is no existence of suffix or definition in this regard, it has an independent in nature, as in

/ti/ ‘at present’, ‘now’
/te/ (tiŋi) ‘today’
/tu:l tui/ ‘this year’
/na’jo/ ‘in the next year’

Adverb of manner:

There are 4 rules of adverb of manner and it is invariably adjective in nature: primary form suffix /ua/ and reduplication

Rule-1 : /- un/: penem ‘good: nice, + un> penemu:n ‘nicely’
/kuncuk/ + ‘happy’ + un> kuncua ‘happily’ invariably ‘thanks’

Rule-2: /mu:n/: penem + u:u:n> penemu:n ‘well’

Rule-3 : /sa/ penem + sa> penemsa ‘well’

Rule-4: Reduplicating the primary from i.e. adjectives:

/penem penem/ (very) ‘nicely’ /
/itin itin/(very) ‘likely’
/kuncuk kuncuk/ (very) ‘happily’

Besides, there are some suffixes which can be termed with that of comparison of adverbs etc. /ciba/ “than that of”

/Rum ciba sam nema/ ‘sam is good than that of Ram’
(Sam is better than Ram)
/Ramma tolak ciba nema/
Ram is good than that of others, (perhaps the ‘best’).

But it is noteworthy that like English, Rabha has the three degree of comparison, it has simple/ciba/suffix, using it in different way of comparison as stated above.

Besides, the following suffixes are used denoting adverbs

/se/ :
/su:i/

2.11.0: Adjective:

Generally adjectives refer to the following quality of noun, quantity, characteristic, shape and size, and colour etc.

Primary adjective:

They are always free from suffixations:

/ku:tu:i/ ‘near’
/gu:lu:i/ ‘easy’ etc.

The following suffixes are used for adjectives in various ways.

/a/ : It is used for predictive adjectives in positive sense: as in

√nem ‘to be good’ + - a> nema “good”
√tu:u ‘to be tasty’, + - a> “tu:u:u:a” ‘tasty’
√tu:n ‘to be hot’, + - a> “ce:q:a” ‘hot’
√ce:q ‘to be light’, + - a> “ce:q:a” ‘light’

/ca/ : It is used for negative sense:

√nem + - ca> nemca ‘not good’ is ‘bad’
√tu:n + - ca> ‘tu:u:ca’
√tu:u + - ca> tu:u:ca etc.

/ni/ : ~/mi/ :

/ku:ncu:kq/ ‘happiness’
/capmi/ ‘standing’
/cu:igi/ ‘seeing’
/gru:m/: It is used for personal pronoun; /dompogru:m/
/bibir/: It denotes quality:
/pisak bibir/ not red, but very ‘red’
/nay/: It is used for having extra quality of noun as in:
/ok naŋ/: having a child in the womb ‘pregnant’
/mainuŋ muinaŋ/: having rice & curry, that is ‘well to do’
/kai/: 
\nem + - kai (cf. nema) > ‘nemkci/ good
\nsa + - kai > sakai ‘eating’

Besides, gemination is another rule for adverbial form, and the last syllable is to be made gemination denoting its quality, and it is followed by /um/ morpheme:

/kumcu:k/ ‘happy’
/kumcu:k + k kun > kuncmkku:n ‘very happily’ or thanks

2.3 : Syntax:

2.3.0: The Sentence and its parts:

Syntax is the study of how words constitute to form sentences, and the rules which govern the formation of sentences (Richards: 1988: 285). In order to state general rules about the construction of sentences, it is constantly accessory to ‘refer to smaller units that the sentence itself’. (Quirk: 1989: 34).

An analysis of a sentence is generally concerned with its constituent. In other way, i.e. can be analyzed segmentally,
2.3.1: In Rabha, smaller units are distinguishable, and they are layered in its lower constituents:

The following are the examples:

Chart-1

/marapa cika nu:ja/ "The man drinks water"
2.3.2:

Chart-2

Sentence without verb:

Sentence

NP

N(oun) Pronoun

(Pronoun)

| nini |

A(djective)

Adjective

Zero verb

Zero verb

Relative Pronoun

| zuku |

/Pamroŋ nini zuku “pam (an his family is our relative”.


2.3.3:

Chart-3

In an embedded sentence, a matrix sentence is naturally seen eg.

\[ \text{i kap-a} \]

/Nigtia brak u:u di umra baiku cai kappa/ “Ningti said that she knows Baiku song”
2.4.0: Linguistic Variations: Rong, Mai & Kc:

As there lies variations in human languages as an universal phenomenon, Rabha has no exception; it has a marked difference in phonology and morphology but not in syntactic one. As observed, due to geopolitical situation, such variation is reasonable. As Trudgill observed... “Geographical barriers, such as large body of water, deserts, and mountains may separate speakers of what was once the same language, but distance by itself can also produce divergence”.\(^{52}\) Since time immemorial, the mighty river Brahmaputra has been creating a lofty barrier for creating such variations, and conversely, no emotional integration has been made among the speech community referred to.

It is noteworthy that the linguistic variations, Rangdani and Maitory are not to be invariably envisaged as water-tight division. They are, obviously not a—linguistic group, rather a clean based spatial group, and as such, their nexus is very close. Their inhabitances are also not fairly distant.

Further, it goes without saying that what the three dialect groups speak, these are, “highly intelligible”, (Rabha: 1990: 18).\(^{53}\)

It is found that most of the these Rongdani and Maitory dialect speaking people are ‘bilingual’....And thus shift their speech to the patois of Assamese, and in such ‘unstable bilingual opposition’, they emerge into ‘Pati Rabha’ such villages are huge in Goalpara district of lower Assam.\(^{54}\)

2.4.1: The Rangdani Dialect:

As per etymology, ‘Rongdani’ means ‘Rong’ (Lohong: rock) + ɟdan ‘to set in proper way’, - i- a suffix, denoting noun. In the traditional legend, these people were engaged in the setting of pebbles, rocks etc. for sitting arrangement in the Baikhu festival held in an early days in the Athiabari shrine (Rabha: 1990)\(^{55}\). So, it has been crystal clear that the Rongdani Rabha is not a dialect group, nor its counts part the Maitory Rabhas: they are a social division.
As stated earlier, (chapter-I) and as illustrated in the language Map, the Rongdani dialect speaking group reside in the following places:

a) Goalpara district of lower Assam:

b) Meghalaya (West & East Garohills)
Manikganj, Hatogori, Gronal, Mathepari, Nagua, Belgari, Dhalapara, Odulguri, Kanchakana, Haloidanga.

2.4.2 The Maitory Dialect:
This dialect is spoken in the lower Assam, and in the foothills of Garohills of Meghalaya. As stated above, this dialect speaking people reside nearby the areas where the Rongdani speaking people who reside, and as such, their dialects are fairly identical, in both tone and accentuation.

Damant had recorded 22 Maitory words on the name of ‘Matrai’ (Damant: 1880:228) and Friend Pareira also mentioned as to this dialect speaking people (Paraira..)

The following are the inhabitance of Maitory dialect speaking people:
a) Goalpara district of lower Assam:
Daridari, Taraibari, Kharboja, Basengpara, Joyramkuchi, Krichnapur, Choibari, Rongduba, Tharko, Panisali, Topajuli.akipara, Shyam Nagar, Rakula, Kain, Batapara, Natak, Thara.

It is observed that Maitory dialect retains some of peculiar traits in their speech. Most of their inhabitance are remote areas than that of the Rongdani dialect speaking group and these areas are adjacent to the foothills areas of Garo hills districts of Meghalaya and their lexical correspondences relate with that of Garo dialects.

2.4.3: The Kocha Dialect:

As stated earlier, Kocha dialect is spoken by a substantial numbers of the tribe in lower Assam, Meghalaya, North Bengal, Bangladesh and Nepal.

Special mention is to be made here that the Kocha variety in Meghalaya was scheduled as tribal group, making variable with that of the Rabhas (Govt. Ordinance : 1988).\textsuperscript{61}

It is worth mentioning that the Kocha dialects of Meghalaya is quite identical with that Maitory and along dialect of Garo language. What Dr. Grieson enemas rated the speakers of the Kocha language in his LSI, (Vol-III, Pt-II) this was based on the speech of Tintikia Koch which was care among the Koch dialects. Margan Wanang, Chapra etc.

Saha asserts that among Rabha dialects Kocha is more basic, its traits are quite identical with that of Tibeto Burmese speeches; These are as follows :

a. labio – dental phoueme/f/

b. relevance of /l/ :

There is no /r/ in T.B. stocks.

c. High Back unrounded Vowel Phoneme :/w/ such phoneme is....

“found in many north-east Indian Tibeto-Burman languages”
Besides, Rong-Mai dialects are gradually getting more simplified and aberrated, in the unstable bilingual situation, some drastic changes are barrowings have been taken place in their folksongs and in day-to-day dealings.

On the other hand, Kocha dialect specially in the tribal concentrated areas, like BTC of lower Assam is retaining its original traits.

The following are the inhabitants where the Kocha dialects are spoken:

a) Lower Assam: Kokrajhar District (BTC):

Belguri, Doppara, Magurmari, Sapkata, Prem Nagar, Kalabari, Sinsilitbari, Harinagari, Islampur, Chraidaika, Mainaguri, Balatong, Demdema, Zenzesa, Khasiabari, Gaonsulka, Chengmari, Ghaksa, Amlaiguri, Jalasiri, Pirbosa, Kachugaon, Devitola, Ambari, Hatibandha, Kazigaon, Khopati, Borsijhara, Sildanga, Bashbari, Modati.

a) Bongaigaon District (BTC):

Khagarpar, Kakragaon, Tepamari, Kachugaon, Athuagaon, Amguri, Mulagaon.

2.5.1: Linguistic variations explored:

a) Phonological:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rong-Mai</th>
<th>Kc</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i) Bi-labial/ph</td>
<td>labio-dental/f/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phaï/</td>
<td>/fui/</td>
<td>'to come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phak/</td>
<td>/fak/</td>
<td>pillar or post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phan/</td>
<td>/fan/</td>
<td>'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phonka/</td>
<td>/fonkor/</td>
<td>'clod of earth used for supporting vesels when cooking'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/phakam/ /fakam/ ‘teeth’

ii) /a/: low, central vowel /m/: high, back vowel

/nar)/ /nu:r)/ ‘you’

/natham/ /nu:tu:m/ ‘to hear’

/carpak/ /cudpak/ ‘soul, spirit’

iii) Aspirated consonant phonemes de-aspirated

/kh/ /h/

eg: /khapak/ /hapak/ ‘heart’

/khan/ /han/ ‘poteto’

/khok/ /kok/ ‘basket for carrying things on the back’

/natham/ /nu:tu:m/ ‘to hear’

/the/ /tu:i/ ‘fruit’

N.B.: exceptional hasong (not khasong)

iv) Alveolar, Tap/r/

/ram/ /lam/ ‘road, path’

/re the/ /lwtwi/ ‘banana’

/carpak/ /ewlpak/ ‘spirit’

(in saikal: ‘caripak’)

N.B.: exceptional: ray rasan raykraj etc:

2.5.2: Morphological:

Some words of Rong-Mai dialect groups are compared here with Kc, having their morphological features, most Rong-Mai words are getting a bit simplified, aberatted, due to bilingual situations:
Rong- Mai  Kc  English
/ne/  /nu:i/  mother-in-law (cf. Garo ne)
/cakul/  /cu:kul/  'physically handicapped'
/meca/  /miciksa/  'girl'
/mus/  /miksa/  'boy'
/pre/  /prurt/  'to perform'
/ki/  /kurru:i/  'to fall'
/natham/  /nutum/  'hear'.

N. B:
- In Saikai: 1990, it was written /miciksa/, and now it is getting simplified as /meca/ and /musa/< mik + sa was formed.
- In case of the case, a detailed description was given in this chapter (No.2), with its dialect varieties.

2.5.3 Rabha Vocabularies:

Grierson opined—

*Tibeto-Burman dialects posses a richly varied vocabulary. Thus we often find that the different varieties of some particular animals are denoted by means of different terms. But these languages evince a difficulty in abstract ideas.* (Grierson: 1990: p.5:LSI)

As a branch of Tibeto-Burman group, Rabha possess a rich vocabulary. They are still retaining their intact forms. Some basic vocabularies can exhibit the "physical anatomy" such as -

/lwr/ ‘bile, bitter fluid secreted by liver to aid digestion’
/pukcurj/ ‘the stomach of man’
/tur/ ‘the liver’
/gelkau/ ‘the stomach of animals’
/hapak/ ‘heart’
Basic vocabularies are generally related to natural phenomena: /h/ is initial letter, and when inflected, it denotes various aspects of ‘land’, as in –

/ha/ ‘land’ ‘soil’

Hasog ‘the Earth, the world, eg: ‘Rabha hasog’

/hacer/ (< he + √ceŋ ‘to be light): the light soil, i.e. sand

/hadam/ ‘place’ venue etc.

/hudui/ ‘mud’

/hadamur/ (hurfur) ‘dust’

/hadan/ ‘newly built place, village etc.’

/hacur/ ‘hill’ ‘mountain’

/hakar/ ‘hole in the earth’

/hakap/ ‘back of the river’

2.5.4 : Influence of Indic:

Some vocabularies are getting slightly changing in their phonemes, due to bi-lingual situation of the native speakers. Except Kocha variety, the two dialect speaking people, invariably Rongdani and Maitory switch easily to Assamese, and as a result, the Indic words or patois of Assamese undergo in a different culture and social situation, with a slight nativization process.

The following is an inventory of words denoting two situations:

1. Two types of phonemes are found prevalent in

‘duŋ’ ‘to rise’

‘dhun’

But not found aspirated phonemes in causitivization:

gu + √dhun > + gudhun ‘to cause vise’

(‘gudurny’ is right form)
‘dorai’
‘dhorai’
But not dhoraitag (dorai + tanj)
(doraitan or ‘dortan’ is right form)
‘ban’— to cover
‘bhan’
but not ga √bhan> * gban (when causitivized)
(‘gban’ is right form)
Kan + √ban> ‘kamban’ ‘to cover the body but not *kamban or ‘kamban’
(‘kamban’ is a right form)

2. In Saikai: 1909, some words also found in two forms:
Kar, khar— ‘to do’
Paman, phaman— to know, ‘to apprehend’
These “bh, dh, gh, jh are a feature of Assamese influence” (Jose: 2000)
Further, /misiksa/written in Saikai: 1909, and now it is aberatted as /mesa/.

In loan words, both Indic and foreign words undergo with their nativized phonemes, as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indic</th>
<th>Rabha</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bati</td>
<td>bwti</td>
<td>‘light, lamp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phorha</td>
<td>porai</td>
<td>‘read’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukh</td>
<td>suk</td>
<td>‘happiness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghonrha</td>
<td>gora,gohor</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oðkon</td>
<td>akai</td>
<td>‘to trac out to draw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cithi.</td>
<td>citi</td>
<td>‘letter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sometimes, loan words are made by the process of anaptaxis.
Goswami cited such examples which undergo into Sino-Tibaten languages (Goswami
Such words are as follows:

dharma> dhormo > dormo > dohrom ‘religion’
ardho > adhra > adra > ‘ada’ ‘half’
dhar > dahar > dar > ‘loan, ‘debt’
dhenkia > dinkia > ‘a wild bush (edible),
kumbha > kwmbwi ‘an earthen pot’
baishi > brapsi > bwpsi ‘a fluit’
ganda > gwndwi ‘rhinoceros’.

The native speakers accept some Indic words differences, as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indic</th>
<th>Rabha</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sukh</td>
<td>suk</td>
<td>‘happiness.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khobor</td>
<td>kopor</td>
<td>‘news’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biya</td>
<td>bhiya</td>
<td>‘marriage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khasi</td>
<td>kasi, kws</td>
<td>‘castrated male animal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phatra</td>
<td>patra</td>
<td>‘a liar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(goalparia dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phagun</td>
<td>pagun</td>
<td>‘a mouth phagun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bharha</td>
<td>bara</td>
<td>‘fare, rent’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Direct use of words from Indic, without change,

/lagia/ ‘to be in need’
/deha golai reyga/ as found in folksong in ‘sathar’
/pap/ ‘sin’
/punya/ ‘salvation, sacred’
As stated earlier, most Tibeto-Burman dialects evince a difficulty in abstract ideas so..."a fair number of words indicating abstract ideas" have been borrowed from Indic words directly:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indic</th>
<th>Rabha</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pap</td>
<td>pab</td>
<td>‘sin.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muki</td>
<td>muki</td>
<td>‘salvation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhormma</td>
<td>dormo,dohram</td>
<td>‘religion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kshama</td>
<td>koma</td>
<td>‘pardon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somoi</td>
<td>som</td>
<td>time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Newly-coined: neouym etc.

Following are the literary works, terms and new-coinage or neonyms, which have been prepared by the Rancham:

/runcum/ ‘the union. Association (Indian term ‘Sabha’)  
/baraŋ/ ‘the Union’ same as ‘runcum’.  
/hak bu:kur/ ‘dictionary’  
/kru:urAJ/ < (kru: + raŋ) ‘literature’ (Indian term ‘Sahitya’)  
/kru:u – acar/ ‘grammar’  
/hapak – zu/ ‘beloved’  
/mogso/ ‘souvenir’  
/carap/ ‘news’

Some foreign words and mixing both indic and foreign are also found:  
bench < banch  
eskul < school  
rumal < rumal
2.6.0: Kinship terms:

It is an universal institution, having its genealogical bonds, more popularly called ‘common blood’ from a common ancestor. Generally, it has two types: address and reference terms,

It is noteworthy that the Rabha tribes are matrilineal, and as such, their kinship terms are related with their pattern or systems. The study is, therefore interesting from the socio-linguistic perspective, reflecting their concept on gender and family relationship.

The following kinship terms of the Rabha tribes have been arranged in both terms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference terms</th>
<th>Address terms</th>
<th>English version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>au;a/baba</td>
<td>au;a/baba</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amai</td>
<td>amai/aya</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azoŋ</td>
<td>azoŋ</td>
<td>‘brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(‘zoŋ’ in Garo)</td>
<td>(younger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adaada</td>
<td></td>
<td>brother (elder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anao</td>
<td>anaa</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zinu:u</td>
<td>zinu:u</td>
<td>own sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(both elder &amp; younger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa -</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-buntu:i -</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mik-sa musa)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Paternal Relations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>English version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father’s father</td>
<td>wcu</td>
<td>‘grand-father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mather’s mather</td>
<td>wwai</td>
<td>‘grand-mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father’s brother (elder)</td>
<td>wtwi</td>
<td>‘uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father’s sister (elder)</td>
<td>mwni</td>
<td>‘aunty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father’s sister (younger)</td>
<td>mwni</td>
<td>‘aunty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father’s brother (younger)</td>
<td>butu:i</td>
<td>‘uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father’s brother’s son</td>
<td>azog</td>
<td>‘brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder brother’s wife</td>
<td>zabok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder sister’s husband</td>
<td>u:nu:y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger brother’s wife</td>
<td>buiusin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sister’s husband</td>
<td>u:nu:gsa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Maternal Relations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>English version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s father</td>
<td>u:cu</td>
<td>‘grand father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s mother</td>
<td>mu:u:i</td>
<td>‘grand mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s brother (younger)</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>‘uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s brother (elder)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s elder sister’s husband</td>
<td>u:tu:i</td>
<td>‘uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s younger sister’s husband</td>
<td>butu:i</td>
<td>‘uncle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In-laws:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In-law</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>English version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father-in-law</td>
<td>hru</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>'uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother-in-law</td>
<td>uu:i</td>
<td>amai</td>
<td>mother(address)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother-in-law</td>
<td>unurupsa</td>
<td>unura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister-in-law</td>
<td>unurupsa</td>
<td>unura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife's brother's wife</td>
<td>nama</td>
<td>anau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife's brother's sister</td>
<td>nusil</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social relationship:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>English version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>friend (male)</td>
<td>bai</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend (female)</td>
<td>baizu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend's father</td>
<td>tmurui</td>
<td>'uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend's mother</td>
<td>muurmi</td>
<td>'aunty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orphan</td>
<td>mururi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(both male & female)

As stated earlier, there terms are supposed to be an actual genealogical ties, and as the Rabha are matrilineal, so their terms are related thereof.

2.7.0: Tense & aspect:

It naturally appears that time is always for the present phenomenon and it becomes distinct and immediate past soon after the state of activity passed off, and whatever is ahead, is the future time. So, time has a universal phenomenon, which Quirk (1978) described as "...extra linguistic, existing independently in the grammar of any particular language."

The word tense denotes a verb form used to express a time relation, its activity and actions of future, present and past, while Aspect is generally used for
indicating the contrast of both time and tenses. Further, as Hocket asserts ... “Aspects have to do not with the location of an event in time, but with its temporal distribution or ... contour.”

In Rabha, verbs have two roots, simple and derived, which take the morphemes for tense and aspect, and these do not undergo inflection for person and number.

In Rabha, verbs occur as predicates, and form 'open sets of words denoting actions', but they show some kind of morphological inflection for tense and aspect.

Rabha verbs manifest three tense as cited above, with three aspects, habitual, progressive and perfective, within the present tense, two aspects, progressive and perfective in the past tense and no aspectral contrast in the future.

**Future tense:**

The realization of the future tense is marked by the morpheme {na}, which has two allomorphs {-ma} and {-ja}. Its dialectal variation is {-mo} and {-jo},

The choice of the appropriate one is subject to some phonological conditions, as in:

{-na} is suffixed to verb stems in vowel – ending and voiced consonants

/sa-na/ ‘will eat’

/ba-na/ ‘will take on the back’ (as baby) etc.

/gatat-na/ ‘will kill’

/batat-na/ ‘will fight with hand to hand’

/zur-na/ ‘will flee’

/kar-na/ ‘will keep around’

Note: If the stems end in n, there is the deletion of one n by haplology:
\( ^/ma+na > mnna > /mana/ 'will get' \)

{-ma} occurs in verb stems ending in \(-p\) (voiced):

/cap-ma/ ‘will stand up’

/cu:p-ma/ ‘will close up’

{-ja} occurs in

(i) vowels \(-I, -e, \)

(ii) voiceless \(-k\)

(iii) \(-a\)

eg:

/sai-ja//saja/ ‘will be/have’

/ci-ja//cija/ ‘will die’

/tak-ja/ ‘will do/prepare’

/pan.ja/>/pana/ ‘will stay’

/pan-ja/>/pana/ ‘will be sufficient’

**Present Tense:**

The present tense is realized in 3 aspects, present habitual, present progressive and present perfective, and distinctly marked by tense-cum-aspect morphemes.

**Present habitual:**

As Hornby (1990 :84) points out, for what was true in the past time, is true now, and is likely to be true in future time, the simple present, or present habitual is used. In Rabha, the present habitual is marked by {-a}. The following examples could be seen:

/marap ci-a/ ‘man dies’

/ran fu:ja/ ‘it rains’
Present progressive:
It is marked by {-ta}, and it indicates that 'the activity is still continuing' or 'it has just started, but not yet completed'
/mupari mai sa-ta/ 'Mupari eating rice'
/mai sa-tan/ (<\sa + ta + an) 'I am eating rice'

Present perfective:
It is marked by {-uu}, and it conveys the sense that the action is just completed, as in:
/an sa- uu/ 'I have eaten'
/uni bij uu sa-uu/ 'she (has) got married'

Past tense:
There are two aspects: simple past and past progressive
Simple past: It is realized by suffixing {-mun} to the verb stem, after
Perfective aspect:
/numpari lu:u:umumun/ 'Nampari had gone'
Past progressive: It is realized by suffixing a sequence of two morphemes: {-ta}, followed by {-mun}, as in:
/nampari sai-ta-mun/ 'Nampari was eating'
/lu:ita-mun-an/ (<lu:i + ta + mun + an) 'I was going'
Notes & references:

2. Gait remarked...." The Koch language is now practically extinct, but the traces of it which remain show that it was almost identical with Garo "(A History of Assam: Reprint: 1990, p.47).

   It is noteworthy that his Koch language is obviously 'Pani Koch'.... As termed by Hamilton (Comparative Vocabulary: 2014 : Reprint: ed. Dr. Sarma, Jorhat), and where this dialect is spoken today, it is known the Parbot jowar area under Kokrajhar district, entirely lower Assam. Pani Koch is now known as Kocha, or Ttikia Kocha.

3. After careful discerning, though having almost the same traits between Rongdani and Maitory, dialects of Rabha have been conventionally divided into three principal groups: Rongdani, Maitory and Kocha.

   The Runchum, being the premier and apex Rabha literary body has been playing a proactive role for making the Rabha standard language for their schooling children, since its inception.


8. Grierson: op-cit, p.102


11. Grierson: op-cit,


21. Saha, R.M.: op-cit,

22. Goswami, S.N.: op-cit,

23. Rabha Hakacham: op-cit,

24. In the field work, it is found in the three dialect varieties.


31. .....................: 1996: Orthography in Saikai-Baraikai (Rabha prayers and Hymns) Translated by Jose, U.V. and Jalan Hato, Don Bosco Publications, Guwahati,


36. Bloch, B.D., G.L. & Trager: 1942: Cutlihe of Linguistic Analysis, Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore,

37. Matthews, PH: ibid: p.70

38. This ‘kraurag’ word was first coined by a Rabha literary figure Amarsingh Koch (born -30th September, 1949), making joint ‘krau’ (language, speech) + raj (rain), Figuratively, language is an incansant as rain. In this regard, the Runchum was formed.
41. Rabha Hakacham UC: 1997: *Gender in Rabha in Languages of the North-East*, CIIIL, Myssore, ed: P.N. Dutta Baruah,
42. Koch, Dandi Ram: 1972: *Rabha satak*. In Musug Dammai ed: B.Koch, Kokrajhar,
44. ibid: p.335
45. ibid: p.356
51. Quirk, R: op-cit, p.34
54. Such villages are, among others, Miyapara, Zeera, etc.
55. Rabha, Rajen: op-cit, p.18