CHAPTER-4

4.0 MORPHOLOGY

4.1 General Remark: Morphology is a branch of grammar which deals with the structure or forms of words. It studies the internal structure of words. In this regard, David Crystal writes, "the branch of grammar which studies the structure or forms of words, primarily through the use of morpheme construct". To illustrate this point Hockett's definition of morphology is acceptable. Hockett writes, "Morphology includes the stock of segmental morphemes and the ways in which words are built out of them". It is obvious that word plays an important role in morphological analysis. In these two languages, the word is considered as a part and parcel element in the morphological construction. In Boro and Rabha, word is a very important grammatical unit. It is a meaningful segment of a sentence and pronounced with a potential pause. Sometimes a word consists of only one root which is a free form and such type of root is capable of containing more than one morphemes. Some words are segmented into smaller grammatical units and some of these are beyond of segmentation. The following examples represent the form of non-segmental roots as well as words in Boro:

/bon/ firewood /za/ eat
/gón/ stick /za/ to be
/ná/ fish /bár/ to jump
/nó/ house /bar/ wind

1 Crystal, David: A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, p-232
2 Hockett, Charles. F: A Course in Modern Linguistics, p-177
/goy/ areca-nut /ôr/ bite
/hw̞/ give /hú/ cloth
/lá/ take /dán/ to cut
/sán/ to count /dan/ month
/san/ the Sun /hót/ to give
/daŋ/ touch /hor/ night

All these forms mentioned above are mono-syllabic root as well as words. These are capable of taking morphemes before or after it. It is mentionable that TB languages have words of simple mono-syllabic type. As belong to the TB group of languages, Boro and Rabha have also words of simple mono-syllabic type besides words of poly-syllabic type.

4.2. Syllabification of words:

A) Mono-syllabic word in Boro and Rabha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Rabha</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/zá/</td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td>/sá/</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dán/</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td>/tán/</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ná/</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>/ná/</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/múŋ/</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>/mun/</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lá/</td>
<td>to take</td>
<td>/rá/</td>
<td>to take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/goy/</td>
<td>areca-nut</td>
<td>/kui/</td>
<td>areca-nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/há/</td>
<td>soil, land</td>
<td>/há/</td>
<td>soil, land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gab/</td>
<td>colour</td>
<td>/gap/</td>
<td>colour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### B) Poly-syllabic word in Boro and Rabha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Rabha</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/swi-má/</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>/bá-kok/</td>
<td>bamboo tube</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dwi-má/</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>/a-pʰe/</td>
<td>star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mw-y-sw'u/</td>
<td>cow</td>
<td>/do-kʰom/</td>
<td>a low stool for sitting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gw-zá/</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>/ram-par/</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a-tʰéŋ/</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td>/má-si/</td>
<td>deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a-kʰá/i</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>/má-ru/</td>
<td>a wild cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mw-y-zan/</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>/kʰu-suŋ/</td>
<td>tortoise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bw-tr-má/</td>
<td>goat</td>
<td>/ré-tʰe/</td>
<td>banana, plantain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zu-náñ/</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>/na-kóř/</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mw-y-kʰaŋ/</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>/nu-kʰaŋ/</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Affixation of morpheme with words or roots is discussed in details in the morphological analysis. How the morphemes are affixed with or what about processes of word-formation through prefixation and suffixation is an important process of Boro and Rabha morphology. So, morphology of concerned languages in general is divided into two sub-fields: one is concerned with processes of inflection and the other concerned with processes of word-formation. The processes of word-formation have also two smaller sub-fields: one is concerned with processes of derivation and the other with processes of compounding.
4.3 Word class in Boro and Rabha:

Differences of opinions are found on the term 'word' offered by several linguists. The term 'word' has been used in different senses and linguists have made theoretical distinction. Also they have tried to identify approximate boundary of words, especially on the basis of morphological and syntactic grounds. In Boro and Rabha, words are defined traditionally as a form which is pronounced with a potential pause before and after it. A word is capable of taking affixes. A 'stem' (mostly free form) is a word and it is also capable of taking affixes i.e. either inflection or derivational affixes. From this point of view, Boro and Rabha words are grouped into the following sub-classifications:

A) Stem words (free forms)  B) Inflected words (by class maintaining process)  C) Derived words (by class changing process)  D) Compound words (by adding more than one word)  E) Conjunction (which are invariable by nature)

Furthermore, here is a traditional notion on the word classifications which is analogous to the 'parts of speech'. According to this notion, Boro and Rabha words are divided into the following sub-divisions: A) Noun B) Pronoun C) Adjective D) Verb E) Adverb and F) Conjunction

4.3.1 Noun in Boro and Rabha:

Noun is a sub-class of word. In Boro and Rabha, morphologically noun is divided into two broad classes. These are: A) basic noun and B) derived noun. Usually basic noun is underived unit i.e. not derivable from the same class or any other class of words while derived noun is formed by consisting of affix with the verb base and noun base. Examples are stated below from both the languages:
### 4.3.1.1 Basic noun in Boro and Rabha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Rabha</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dáu/</td>
<td>/tó/</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ná/</td>
<td>/nál/</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/omá/</td>
<td>/bak/</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dwi/</td>
<td>/chika/</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hú/</td>
<td>/nen/</td>
<td>cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t'vi/</td>
<td>/si/</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ó/</td>
<td>/bár/</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bon/</td>
<td>/b'an/</td>
<td>firewood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mai/</td>
<td>/mai/</td>
<td>paddy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lái/</td>
<td>/chak/</td>
<td>leaf of tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nó/</td>
<td>/nok/</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ok'á/</td>
<td>/ran/</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/san/</td>
<td>/san/</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hot/</td>
<td>/p'ar/</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/há/</td>
<td>/há/</td>
<td>soil, land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p'un/</td>
<td>/p'un/</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zwu/</td>
<td>/chokó/</td>
<td>rice-beer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gami/</td>
<td>/son/</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mwxw'u/</td>
<td>/másu/</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mansí/</td>
<td>/kay/</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In both the languages, basic nouns are also divided into two sub-classes: (A) Uncountable or mass noun and (B) Count noun or countable noun.

Traditionally a mass noun is used in singular while a count noun is used in plural forms and usually takes a plural suffix. On the other hand, a mass noun is not usually pluralized or counted. It refers to substances, commodities, qualities etc. Some examples are as follows.

### A) Uncountable or Mass nouns in Boro and Rabha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Rabha</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dʒi/</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>/chika/</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zvʁu/</td>
<td>rice-beer</td>
<td>/sɪ/</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰwᵽ'ɪ/</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td>/tʰuči/</td>
<td>oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zvʁmʁ'ɪ/</td>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>/raŋ/</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/okʰ'ə/</td>
<td>rain</td>
<td>/chwɨk/</td>
<td>cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰau/</td>
<td>oil</td>
<td>/chokᵽ/</td>
<td>rice beer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hor/</td>
<td>night</td>
<td>/pramchi/</td>
<td>dew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰun/</td>
<td>morning</td>
<td>/nukchi/</td>
<td>tear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰv⟩nsi/</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>/kuhuri/</td>
<td>fog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sw⟩ran/</td>
<td>light</td>
<td>/bəɾ/</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sukʰu/</td>
<td>happiness</td>
<td>/hapchi/</td>
<td>mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boro</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Rabha</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dáu/</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>/chak/</td>
<td>leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lái/</td>
<td>leaf of tree</td>
<td>/par/</td>
<td>flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bīphānj/</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>/kay/</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ná/</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>/neken/</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ak'āi/</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>/rethē/</td>
<td>banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/megōn/</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>/tāē/</td>
<td>fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k'wēmā/</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td>/pochō/</td>
<td>mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/asū/</td>
<td>finger</td>
<td>/nok/</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k'hugā/</td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>/noko/</td>
<td>door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ont'āi/</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>/nuk'ān/</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lamā/</td>
<td>road</td>
<td>/mēba/</td>
<td>tender bamboo shoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/got'ō/</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>/run/</td>
<td>boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p'at'w'y/</td>
<td>betel-leaf</td>
<td>/k'ochēn/</td>
<td>comb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k'ant'ra/</td>
<td>crab</td>
<td>/zap/</td>
<td>fan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/berē/</td>
<td>an insect</td>
<td>/sām/</td>
<td>mortar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bemā/</td>
<td>spider</td>
<td>/dok'om/</td>
<td>a kind of low stool for sitting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.1.2 Derived nouns in Boro and Rabha: Boro and Rabha have two processes of word formation i.e. derivational and inflection process. In the concerned languages, nouns are derived by adding derivational affixes. Usually derivational affixes can change the grammatical class of words while inflectional affixes maintain the grammatical class of words. In these languages, chiefly two types of derivational processes are postulated as stated below:

A) Noun derived from verb base  
B) Noun derived from noun base

4.3.1.2.1 Noun derived from verb base: In Boro and Rabha, nouns are derived by the addition of noun-formation suffixes to the verb base. In Boro, {-nay}, {-gra ~ -gwra}, {-ari}, {-thi}, {-thay}, {-sali}, {-giri} all are noun-formation suffixes. Example:

i) {-nay}:

- v. zá
  - eat

- zá-nay > n.zánay
  - act of eating

- v. máw
  - to do

- máw-nay > n.máwnay
  - act of doing

- v. sán
  - to count

- sán-nay > n. sánnay
  - act of counting

- v. lá
  - to take

- lá-nay > n. lánay
  - act of taking

ii) {-gra}:

- v. zá
  - eat

- zá-gra > n. zágra
  - eater, who eats

- v. maw
  - do
maw-gra > n. mawgra
doer
v. ran
to distribute
ran-gra > n. rangra
distributor
v. p'an
to sell
p'an-gra > n. p'angra
seller

iii) {-ari}:

v. bibay
to beg
bibay-ari > n. bibayari
begger
v. sibi
to pray
sibi-ari > n. sibiari
worshipper
v. p'anday
to deceive
p'anday-ari > n. p'andayari
deceiver
v. dawbay
to travel
dawbay-ari > n. dawbayari
traveller

iv) {-t'hi}:

v. maw
to do
maw-t'hi > n. mawt'hi
worker
v. gonay
to accept
gonay-t'hi > n. gonayt'hi
acceptance
v. mvndan

to feel
mvndan-t'hi > n. mvndan't'hi
feeling

v) {-t'hay}:

v. nár
to press
nár-t'hay > n. nárt'hay
pressure
v. ìfr
to write

lìfr-ìhay > n. lìfrìhay
writing

vi) {-sali}:

v. pìhoray
to read

pìhoray-sali > n. pìhoraysali
school

v. sibi
to pray, to worship

sibi-sali > n. sibisali
place of worship or temple

vi) {-giri}:

v maw
to do

maw-giri > n.mawgiri
doer

Likewise, {-kay}, {-gir}, {-brok}, {-bra} and {-dan} all are noun forming suffixes in Rabha which occur to the verb-base and capable of changing the original class of word. Some examples of noun-forming suffixes are as follows:

i) {-kay}:

v. sà
eat

sà-kay > n. sàkay
act of eating

v. mini
to laugh

mini-kay > n. minikay
act of laughing

v. rén
to go

rén-kay > n. rénkay
act of going

v. si
to die

si-kay > n. sikay
death

v. tán
to cut

tán-kay > n. tánkay
act of cutting
v. tonə to stay
tonə-kay > n. tonəkay act of staying
v. rûŋ to drink
rûŋ-kay > n. rûŋkay act of drinking
v. kʰa to bind
kʰa-kay > n. kʰakay act of binding
v. nê to wait
nê-kay > n. nêkay take care of, act of waiting
v. kan put on, to dress
kan-kay > n. kankay act of dressing

ii) {-gir}:
v. natʰam to listen
natʰam-gir > n. natʰamgir listener
v. triŋ to learn
triŋ-gir > n. triŋgir learner, student
v. kitriŋ to teach
kitriŋ-gir > n. kitriŋgir teacher

iii) {-brok}:
v. pri to buy
pri-brok > n. pribrok buyer
v. pʰar to sell
pʰar-brok > n. pʰarbrok seller
v. si to see, to look
si-brok > n. sibrok who looks, audience
v. sá to eat
sá-brok > n. sábrok who eats
iv) {-bra}:

v. ron to distribute
ron-bra > n. ronbra distributor
v. poray to read
poray-bra > n. poraybra reader

v) {-dam}:

v. triŋ to learn
triŋ-dam > n. triŋdam school
v. kʰar to work, to do
kʰar-dam > n. kʰardam place of working, office
v. pʰar to sell
pʰar-dam > n. pʰardam shop
v. tunuk (to show)
tunuk-dam > n. tunukdam auditorium

4.3.1.2.2 Nouns derived from noun base: Nouns are derived by the addition of noun formation suffixes to the noun base. {-tʰi, -ari, -tʰai, -sali, -tʰili, -giri} are noun formation suffixes in Boro, while {-grim, -dam, -giri} are added as noun formation suffixes to the noun base in Rabha. For Example:
A) Boro: {-ti, -ari, -tay, -sali, -tili, -giri}

i) {-ti}:

n. subun
subun-ti > n. subunthi personality
n. bibun-ti > n. bibunthi comment

ii) {-ari}:

n. abad cultivation
abad-ari > n. abadari cultivator
n. nvgwari city, town
nvgwari-ari > n. nvgwarari citizen
n. gvnwkhw science
gvnwkhw-ari > n. gvnwkwari scientist

iii) {-tai}:

n. p'aw acting in a drama
p'aw-tai > n. p'awtai drama

iv) {-sali}:

n. t'an a place where the village deities are worshipped
t'an-sali > n. t'ansali a place where the village deities are worshipped

v) {-tili}:

n. dawha war
dawha-tili > n. dawhatili warfare
n. abad  
paddy

abad-tʰiili > n. abadtʰiili  
a field of paddy

It is interesting to note that the suffix {−tʰiili} is probably a loan element adapted from the
Sanskrit word /stʰala/ or Asamiya /stʰan/ or /tʰai/ (place).

v i) {-giri}:

n. kʰontʰai  
poem

kʰontʰai-giri > n. kʰontʰaigiri  poet

n. phawthai  
drama

pʰawtʰai-giri > n. pʰawtʰaigiri  dramatist

n. tʰunlai  
literature

tʰunlai-giri > n. tʰunlāgiri  literateur

B) Rabha: {-grim}, {-dam}, {-giri}, {-pʰan}

i) {-grim}:

n. may  
paddy

may-grim > n. maygrim  paddy field

n. pan  
tree

pan-grim > n. pangrim  a forest consisting of trees

n. sam  
grass

sam-grim > n. samgrim  a field of grass

ii) {-dam}:

n. bár  
fire

bár-dam > n. bárdatm  fire-place
n. par
par-dam > n. pardam
garden

n. dʰawa
war
dʰawa-dam > dʰawadam
warfare

n. besor
mustard seed
besor-dam > n. besordam
field of mustard seed

iii) {-giri}:

n. kay
human being, man
kay-giri > n. kaygiri
master

n. chay
song
chay-giri > n. chaygiri
song writer

n. krwurani
literature
krwurani-giri > n. krwurangiri
literateur

iv) {-pʰaŋ}:

n. chay
song
chay-pʰaŋ > n. chaypʰaŋ
singer

n. bay
deity
bay-pʰaŋ > n. baypʰaŋ
an assistant of priest

It is worth mentioning here that both {-grim, -dam} are place or area indicating suffixes in Rabha added to the noun base to form noun class of words while {-sali, - tʰili} are also used in Boro as area or place indicating suffix to the noun base. Beyond this, there is also a process of word-formation in Boro which derives by adding prefixes. Verbal nouns are derived by adding prefixes before the bound base (i.e bound verb base). Examples are as follows:

A) Boro:
4.3.1.3 Some processes of noun formation: In Boro and Rabha, there is an important point in respect to the noun formation. Chiefly two processes are stated below by which nouns are formed in particular ways in both the languages:

A) Contract form of noun

B) Compound noun

4.3.1.3.1 Contract form of noun: In both Boro and Rabha, nouns are also formed by contraction. In Boro, contract form takes place when they are preceded by the pronoun with genitive case-marker. Contract form of noun occurs only in case of kinship terms. This process is not occurred in Rabha. Some examples in Boro are as follows:

aṇ-ni-bo > n. abo my elder sister

/aṇ/ is a pronoun, {ni} is a genitive case-marker and /bo/ is a bound noun, meaning elder sister.
bi-ni-pʰa > n. bipʰa  

/bi/ is a pronoun, {-ni} is a genitive case-marker and /pʰa/ is a bound noun, meaning father. Thus examples are as follows:

aŋ-ni-da > n. ada  

my elder brother

nvŋ-ni-da > n. nvŋda  

your elder brother

bi-ni-da > n. bida  

his elder brother

aŋ-ni-ma > n. ama  

my mother

nvŋ-ni-ma > n. nvŋma–nvŋma  

your mother

aŋ-ni-bwŋ > n. abwŋ  

my grand-father

4.3.1.3.2 **Compound noun:** The process of compounding takes place in Boro and Rabha. Nouns are formed by the combination of more than one noun. Some important ways of compound noun formation are stated below in case of Boro and Rabha:

A) Free noun + bound noun B) Free noun + free noun C) Bound noun + bound noun.

4.3.1.3.2.1 **Free noun + bound noun:** In Boro and Rabha, nouns are also formed by compounding process. In this process, two forms are combined together and derived a new word having an independent meaning. Example:

A) Boro:

n. dáu  

bird

dáu-bó > n. dáubó  

heron

dáu-kʰa > n. dáukʰá  

crow

dáu-sri > n. dáusří  

martin
In these examples, /bo/ is a bound noun and has indispensable relationship with heron while /kʰa/ and /srí/ has also relationship with crow and martin respectively. Thus, n./no/-meaning house, /ma/ is a bound noun, meaning big or main house; e.g:  
no-ma > n. noma main house of a family, big house
n. /no/-meaning house , /sa/ is a bound noun, meaning small; e.g: no-sa > n. nosa (small hut, small house)

B) Rabha:

n. bár fire
bár-dam > n. bárdam fire place
n. há land, soil
há-dam > n. hádam place
n. nok house
nok-dam > n. nokdam plot of land on which house is situated

In these examples, /dam/ is used as bound noun meaning location, place. Thus some examples are as follows:

n. may paddy, rice
may-zam > n. mayzam granary
may-dop > n. maydop bundle of paddy
may-don̂ > n. maydon̂ ear of corn

In the above mentioned examples, the term /zam/ (meaning granary), /dop/ (meaning bundle) and /don/ (meaning bunch) are used as bound noun. The word ‘may’ is a free noun base, meaning crop, paddy.
4.3.1.3.2.2 Free noun + free noun:

A) Boro:

dáu-zwl > n. dázwl ~ n. dúla cock
pʰisa-zwl > n. pʰisazwl ~ n. pʰisala son
pʰisa-zw > n. pʰisazw daughter

B) Rabha:
tó-maba > n. tómba cock
tó-mazu > n. tómbuz hen
mecha-sabra > n. mechasabra ~ n. mechabra girl child

Besides these, nouns are also formed by oblique process. In Boro and Rabha, if the two noun words are combined together then it derives a new oblique form (noun word) having a new meaning of its own. Examples are as follows:

A) Boro:
n. megon- n. dwi > n. mwydwi (tears)
  ↓  ↓
eye water
n. kʰuga- n. dwi > n. kʰudwi (saliva)
  ↓  ↓
mouth water
n. megon- n. kʰi > n. mwikʰi (eye-excreta)
  ↓  ↓
eye stool

B) Rabha:
n. nuken- chika > n. nukchi (tears)
  ↓  ↓
eye water
n. nuken- n. zi > n. nukzi (eye-excreta)
↓ ↓
eye stool
n. kʰ usem- n. men > n. kʰ umen (moustache)
↓ ↓
mouth hair on the body

4. 3.1.3.2.3 Bound noun + bound noun: Words are also formed by compounding more than one bound bases (i.e. bound noun). In this regard, compounding bases have or have no independent meaning or existence of their own. To form a meaningful morphological word, minimum two numbers of bound bases are combined together in both the languages. Some examples are as follows:

A) Boro:

\[ tʰai-lir \] > n. \[ tʰ ailir \] > n. \[ tʰ alir \] banana
\[ tʰ ai-gir \] > n. \[ tʰ aigir \] dillenis indica
\[ tʰ ai-sum \] > n. \[ tʰ aisum \] cucumber
\[ tʰ ai-kʰa \] > n. \[ tʰ aikha \] a kind of sour fruit
\[ thai-zwų \] > n. \[ tʰ aizwų \] mango

In these examples, the bound base /tʰai/ denotes any kind of fruit, while /lir, gir, zwų, sum, kʰa/ all the bound bases refer to a particular kind of fruit. This kind of noun formation is also found in Rabha. For Example:

B) Rabha:

\[ re-tʰé \] > n. \[ retʰé \] banana
\[ am-tʰé \] > n. \[ amtʰé \] guava
tʰé-kreŋ > n. tʰékreŋ  
> a kind of sour fruit

sum-tʰé > n. sumtʰé  
cucumber

The bound base /tʰé/ denotes any kind of fruit, while /re, am, kren, sum, pam/ refer to a particular fruit. Besides these, there are some similar examples in Boro and Rabha:

A) Boro:

mḇ-sá > n. mḇsá  
tiger

mḇ-swʰu > n. mḇswʰu  
cow

mḇ-pʰur > n. mḇpʰur  
bear

mḇ-kʰrá > n. mḇkʰrá  
monkey

mḇi-sw > n. mḇisw  
buffalo

B) Rabha:

má-sa > n. mása  
tiger

má-su > n. másu  
cow

má-da > n. máda  
bear

ma-kra > n. makra  
monkey

mi-si > n. misi  
buffalo

4.3.1.2 Gender in Boro and Rabha: Boro and Rabha have no grammatical gender as found in Hindi and Sanskrit languages. In Boro and Rabha, gender distinction is realized with the sex variation of animateness (human and non-human beings). Most of the languages belong to the Boro-Garo group of languages have more common affinities in the system of gender distinction. Traditionally male represents masculine and female represents feminine gender. In these languages, inanimate things do not bear the conception of sex variation. There is close unity
between sex and gender. It is interesting to observe here that in Boro and Rabha some human and non-human beings are known as common gender, because they do not disclose any clear male and female distinction. Besides gender unique forms are also found in both the languages.

4.3.1.2.1 Gender distinction in Boro and Rabha:

4.3.1.2.1.1 By using opposite sets of words: In Boro and Rabha, gender distinction is made in case of kinship terms by using opposite sets of noun words referring to masculine and feminine respectively. For example:

A) Boro:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/apʰa/</td>
<td>my father</td>
<td>/ama/</td>
<td>my mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ada/</td>
<td>elder brother</td>
<td>/bazwɨ/</td>
<td>elder brother's wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/abwɨ/</td>
<td>grand father</td>
<td>/abwɨ/</td>
<td>grand mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/amai/</td>
<td>maternal uncle</td>
<td>/anwɨ/</td>
<td>maternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bisai/</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>/bisi/</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bihao/</td>
<td>father in-law</td>
<td>/bikʰunzw/</td>
<td>mother in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰoŋbai/</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
<td>/binanao/</td>
<td>younger sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B) Rabha: Rabha has also the similar system of gender distinction in case of kinship terms. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dada/</td>
<td>elder brother</td>
<td>/buzi/</td>
<td>elder brother's wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/baba/</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>/aia/</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zirɔnɔ/</td>
<td>grand father</td>
<td>/zuzu/</td>
<td>grand mother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.1.2.1.2 By using attributive words: This is an important way of gender distinction in both the languages. The use of attributive words referring to different sexes (male and female) which precedes or follows the nouns is frequently applied. In Boro, attributives like /hvua/ meaning male and /hinzaw/ meaning female are used for human nouns. Besides, words like /bunda/, /pantha/ and /damra/ are used in case of male animals. /zwla/ and /zw/ are used in case of birds to denote masculine and feminine gender respectively. On the other hand, attributives like /bundi/, /pantbi/ and /damri/ are used in case of animals to denote feminine gender. Similarly words like /musa/ meaning male and /mecha/ meaning female are used in Rabha in case of human nouns. Thus words like /maba/ meaning male and /mazu/ meaning female are used in case of birds and animals for gender distinction. Examples are stated below from both the languages.

A) Gender distinction of human nouns:

i) Boro:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hvua-sa/</td>
<td>son</td>
<td>/hinzaw-sa/</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hvua-gotho/</td>
<td>male child</td>
<td>/hinzaw-gotho/</td>
<td>female child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hvua-alsi/</td>
<td>male guest</td>
<td>/hinzaw-alsi/</td>
<td>female guest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) Rabha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/musa-sabra/</td>
<td>male child</td>
<td>/mecha-sabra/</td>
<td>female child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nebra-musa/</td>
<td>father in-law</td>
<td>/nebra-mecha/</td>
<td>mother in-law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I) Boro:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/omá-bunda/</td>
<td>male pig</td>
<td>/omá-bundi/</td>
<td>female pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mauzí-bunda/</td>
<td>he cat</td>
<td>/mauzí-bundi/</td>
<td>she cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/swimá-bunda/</td>
<td>male dog</td>
<td>/swimá-bundi/</td>
<td>female dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bwrmá-pant'a/</td>
<td>he goat</td>
<td>/bwrmá-p'ant'hí/</td>
<td>she goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mwsyw'u-damra/</td>
<td>male calf</td>
<td>/mwsyw'u-damri/</td>
<td>female calf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dáu-zwla/</td>
<td>cock</td>
<td>/dáu-zw/</td>
<td>hen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B) Rubha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bak--maba/</td>
<td>male pig</td>
<td>/bak-mazu/</td>
<td>female pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kí-maba/</td>
<td>male dog</td>
<td>/kí-mazu/</td>
<td>female dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hañsiñ-maba/</td>
<td>male duck</td>
<td>/hañsiñ-mazu/</td>
<td>female duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tó-maba/</td>
<td>cock</td>
<td>/tó-mazu/</td>
<td>hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/prwn-maba/</td>
<td>he goat</td>
<td>/prwn-mazu/</td>
<td>she goat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1.2.2 Gender neutral forms in Boro and Rubha: There are some human and non-human animate nouns which do not show any distinction for gender. It is very difficult to identify the category of gender of these nouns if these are used lonely without adding gender marker or attributives to the nouns. These nouns are categorised under the common gender or neutral form in both the languages. Some examples are as follows:
A) Gender neutral form in Boro:

dáukʰá/ crow
/kʰusúŋ/ tortoise
/mwisw/ buffalo
/sesa/ hare
/alasi/ guest
/mansi/ man
/bwrmá/ goat
/mwikʰrá/ monkey
/kʰudia/ baby
/mwpajfu/ cow

B) Gender neutral forms in Rabha:

/bak/ pig
/kay/ man
/prwn/ goat
/makra/ monkey
/kaypiri/ baby
/másu/ cow
/tókʰa/ crow
/kʰúsun/ tortoise
/lokra/ wolf
4.3.1.2.3 Gender unique forms in Boro and Rabha: In both the languages, some human and non-human animate nouns are used traditionally as unique masculine and feminine gender. These are unchangeable into different genders by adding gender-markers. These are used for masculine and feminine gender separately based on traditional notion. Examples are stated below from both the languages:

A) Unique masculine gender: The following words have no female correspondence in both the languages. These are as follows:

i) Boro:

/badari/  wood-cutter
/dwuri/   priest
/laukʰar/ cowherd
/kʰasi/   castrated animal
/barlampʰa/ a most responsible person who leads the bride-groom’s party by dancing in the marriage ceremony

ii) Unique feminine gender: The following words have no male correspondence in Boro; e.g:

/dvpdini/   a sanctified woman of the Kherai worship and is believed as a medium of divinity
/bokhali/ a baby nurser
/sundauri - tongali/ a light natured girl or woman
/bwirati - barzvy/ a woman who serves betel-nut in the marriage ceremony of the Boros and dances with “barlampha”
/akuzi/ a woman who ignores weaving and embroidery
/bihari/ co-wife
/sangrema/ a barren woman
/adungari/ spinter

B) Rabha:

i) Unique masculine gender: The following words have no female correspondence in Rabha; e.g:
/baypan/ priest
/ksi/ castrated animal
/bauda/ drunkard
/zelpok/ lazy

ii) Unique feminine gender: There are some words which are considered as unique feminine gender having no male correspondence at all. Example:
/bokali/ baby nurser
/baygor/ naughty woman
/twkat/ male witch

4.3.1.2.4 Gender distinction by adding suffixes to the noun: In Boro and Rabha, gender distinction is made by adding gender-marker or suffix to the noun. In the following
examples, gender-markers like {-i}, {-u} and {-e} are used in place of vowel ending /a/ of the words. Generally this system was not applicable in both the languages. But they have adapted such a system of gender distinction by the influence Asamiya language. In course of time, addition of gender-markers to the noun are widely accepted and used in the concerned languages. For example:

**A) Boro:**

i) /a-i/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/benga/</td>
<td>a deaf man</td>
<td>/bengi/</td>
<td>a deaf woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰagla/</td>
<td>a mad man</td>
<td>/pʰagli/</td>
<td>a mad woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zamba/</td>
<td>idiot man</td>
<td>/zambi/</td>
<td>idiot woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰana/</td>
<td>a blind man</td>
<td>/kʰani/</td>
<td>a blind woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/balonda/</td>
<td>a widower</td>
<td>/balondi/</td>
<td>a widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/akʰunda/</td>
<td>an unmarried man</td>
<td>/akʰundi/</td>
<td>an unmarried women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) /a-u/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/haitʰa/</td>
<td>a short man</td>
<td>/haitʰu/</td>
<td>a short woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iii) /a-e/:

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/nabla/</td>
<td>a man of flat nose</td>
<td>/nable/</td>
<td>a woman of flat nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hoŋla/</td>
<td>a man of hollowed nose</td>
<td>/hoŋle/</td>
<td>a woman of hollowed nose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B) Rabha:** The process of gender distinction by adding feminine suffix is also occurred in Rabha. Generally the feminine suffix {-i} is used in place of vowel ending /a/ of the word. Example:
i) /a-i/:

m. /gasura/  a man who does not know how to work
f. /gasuri/   a woman who does not know how to work

m. /bandra/  a widower
f. /bandri/   widow

m. /zara/   a mad man
f. /zari/  a mad woman

m. /benga/  a deaf man
f. /bengi/  a deaf woman

m. /bhebra/ idiot man
f. /bhebri/ idiot woman

m. /sorira/ father of a child’s friend
f. /soriri/ mother of a child’s friend

4.3.1.3 Number in Boro and Rabha:

Number is a morphological category in Boro and Rabha. Both Boro and Rabha have two kinds of number i.e. singular and plural. No duel number is considered in both the languages. But it is used in Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi, Sanskrit etc. In Boro and Rabha, plurality is realized by adding suffixes to the nouns or pronouns. It is worth mentioning here that plural number is also realized by reduplication of nouns and pronouns.
4.3.1.3.1 Use of plural suffixes: Both Boro and Rabha have some plural suffixes which are used with nouns and pronouns. These are used with adjectives also. Boro has mainly three plural suffixes: {-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}}, {-m\textsubscript{w}n} and {-s\textsubscript{w}r}. The plural suffix {-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}} is used with human and non-human nouns. The plural suffix {-m\textsubscript{w}n} is used with kinship term and personal pronouns while {-s\textsubscript{w}r} is also used with personal pronouns. On the other hand, Rabha has also some plural suffixes which are used with nouns and personal pronouns. These are:{-t\textsuperscript{a}n},{-b\textsuperscript{iz}a} and {-r\textsuperscript{n}a}. The suffix {-t\textsuperscript{a}n} is used with human nouns and kinship terms. The suffix {-r\textsuperscript{n}a} is used with personal pronouns while {-b\textsuperscript{iz}a} is used with non-human animate nouns. Example:

\textbf{A) Boro: {-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}}} \\

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/g\textsuperscript{h}t\textsuperscript{o}/</td>
<td>/g\textsuperscript{h}t\textsuperscript{o}-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}/</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a\textsuperscript{la}si/</td>
<td>/a\textsuperscript{la}si-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}/</td>
<td>guests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s\textsuperscript{h}k\textsuperscript{h}l\textsuperscript{a}/</td>
<td>/s\textsuperscript{h}k\textsuperscript{h}l\textsuperscript{a}-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}/</td>
<td>girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s\textsuperscript{e}n\textsuperscript{a}ra/</td>
<td>/s\textsuperscript{e}n\textsuperscript{a}ra-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}/</td>
<td>youths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m\textsuperscript{a}n\textsuperscript{s}i/</td>
<td>/m\textsuperscript{a}n\textsuperscript{s}i-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}/</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o\textsuperscript{nt\textsuperscript{h}h}\textsuperscript{a}i/</td>
<td>/o\textsuperscript{nt\textsuperscript{h}h}\textsuperscript{a}i-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}/</td>
<td>stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b\textsuperscript{i}b\textsuperscript{a}r/</td>
<td>/b\textsuperscript{i}b\textsuperscript{a}r-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}/</td>
<td>flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b\textsuperscript{i}z\textsuperscript{a}b/</td>
<td>/b\textsuperscript{i}z\textsuperscript{a}b-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}/</td>
<td>books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h\textsuperscript{i}/</td>
<td>/h\textsuperscript{i}-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}/</td>
<td>clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m\textsuperscript{a}u\textsuperscript{z}i/</td>
<td>/m\textsuperscript{a}u\textsuperscript{z}i-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}/</td>
<td>cats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p\textsuperscript{h}b\textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{h}\textsuperscript{a}i/</td>
<td>/p\textsuperscript{h}b\textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{h}\textsuperscript{a}i-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}/</td>
<td>fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m\textsuperscript{w}\textsuperscript{s}w\textsuperscript{u}/</td>
<td>/m\textsuperscript{w}\textsuperscript{s}w\textsuperscript{u}-p\textsuperscript{h}w\textsubscript{r}/</td>
<td>cows</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**B) Rabha: {-bizan}**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/masu/</td>
<td>/masu-bizan/</td>
<td>cows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bak/</td>
<td>/bak-bizan/</td>
<td>pigs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ná/</td>
<td>/ná-bizan/</td>
<td>fishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/minkú/</td>
<td>/mingkú-bizan/</td>
<td>cats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nen/</td>
<td>/nen-bizan/</td>
<td>clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hē/</td>
<td>/hē-bizan/</td>
<td>fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pan/</td>
<td>/pan-bizan/</td>
<td>trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sám/</td>
<td>/sám-bizan/</td>
<td>morters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sandri/</td>
<td>/sandri-bizan/</td>
<td>sieves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nok/</td>
<td>/nok-bizan/</td>
<td>houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kf/</td>
<td>/kf-bizan/</td>
<td>dogs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Boro, the plural suffix {-mţi} is used with kinship terms and personal pronouns. In case of personal pronouns, the suffix {-mţi} is used after the honorific marker /-tai/, which is used after the second and third personal pronouns. On the other hand, Rabha plural suffix {-tai} is used with kinship terms and human nouns. Examples are stated below:

**A) Boro: {-mţi}**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ada/</td>
<td>/ada-mţi/</td>
<td>brother and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/agwi/</td>
<td>/agwi-mţi/</td>
<td>young sister and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/abo/</td>
<td>/abo-mţi/</td>
<td>elder sister and others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B) Rabha: {-tan}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dada/</td>
<td>/dada-tan/</td>
<td>elder brother and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bibi/</td>
<td>/bibi-tan/</td>
<td>elder sister and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zuzu/</td>
<td>/zuzu-tan/</td>
<td>grand mother and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aya/</td>
<td>/aya-tan/</td>
<td>mother and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kay/</td>
<td>/kay-tan/</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gabur/</td>
<td>/gabur-tan/</td>
<td>youths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mecha/</td>
<td>/mecha-tan/</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural suffix {-ron} is exceptionally used with kinship term. Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/baba/</td>
<td>/baba-ron/</td>
<td>father and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/buzi/</td>
<td>/buzi-ron/</td>
<td>sister-in-law and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bibi/</td>
<td>/bibi-ron/</td>
<td>elder sister and others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Boro, plural suffix {-swr} is used with personal pronoun, while {-ron} is used in Rabha for the same. Example:

A) Boro: {-swr}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/nw'η/</td>
<td>/nw'η-swir/</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.1.3.2 Plurality expressed by using nouns of multitude: In Boro and Rabha, there are some noun words which denote uniquely a meaning of multitude. If it is used with other nouns having singular meaning then it precedes or follows a noun. It is worth mentioning here that nouns of multitude are themselves independent words. In Boro, /gyvan ~ burza/, /pal/, /hanza/, /zakhri/ etc. are nouns of multitude, while /pal/, /zakari/ etc. are used as nouns of multitude in Rabha. For example:

A) Boro:
/bibar-gya ~ burza/ many flowers
/mwsvu-pal/ herd of cows
/subu-hanza/ group of peoples
/nazakri/ group of fishes

B) Rabha:
/par-panja/ many flowers
/to-panja/ many birds
/nazakri/ group of fishes
/masu-pal/ heard of cows
/prwn-pal/ heard of goats

4.3.1.3.3 Plurality expressed by reduplication: Plurality is expressed by reduplication of either nouns or pronouns and adjectives. Examples are stated below from both the languages:
A) Boro:

i) Noun:
/no no/ from house to house
/gami gami/ from village to village

ii) Pronoun: (interrogative)
/swjr swjr/ who are (the people)
/ma ma/ what are (the things or objects)
/bobe bobe/ which are (the things or objects)

iii) Adjective:
/gwydan gwydan no/ new houses
/geder geder dau/ big birds
/mv^zarj mv^zarj got^o/ good boys

B) Rabha:

i) Noun:
/nok nok/ from house to house
/soŋ soŋ/ from village to village

ii) Pronoun: (interrogative)
/chaŋ chaŋ/ who are (the people)
/ata ata/ what are (the things or objects)

iii) Adjective:
/pidan pidan nok/ new houses
/nema nema sabra/ good boys
/chuŋa chuŋa to/ big birds
4.3.1.3.4 Pluralisation of adjectives by using plural suffixes: In both the languages, adjectives are also pluralized by adding a plural suffix to it. Some examples are as follows.

A) Boro: {-pʰwṛ}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/gwl̩dan/</td>
<td>/gwl̩dan-pʰwṛ/</td>
<td>new ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hama/</td>
<td>/hama-pʰwṛ/</td>
<td>bad ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gedeř/</td>
<td>/gedeř-pʰwṛ/</td>
<td>big ones</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B) Rabha: {-bizan}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pidan/</td>
<td>/pidan-bizan/</td>
<td>new ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nemcha/</td>
<td>/nemcha-bizan/</td>
<td>bad ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/chuŋ/</td>
<td>/chuŋ-bizan/</td>
<td>big ones</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1.4 Case and case-endings: In Boro and Rabha, case is an important category of grammar. It is an inflected form of noun and has a close relationship between the noun phrase and the verb phrase of a sentence. In both the languages, case relationships are realised by three ways:

A) By the addition of case-ending
B) By the addition of post-position
C) In the absence of case-ending

4.3.1.4.1 Types of cases: Both Boro and Rabha have common type of cases which consist of following eight categories: A) Nominative B) Accusative C) Instrumental D) Dative E) Ablative F) Genitive G) Locative H) Possessive case
Each of the cases is expressed by different devices. It is called case-ending or case-marker. These are stated below separately:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case-endings</th>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Rabha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-φ, -a, -ω</td>
<td>-φ, -an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-φ, -kʰəu</td>
<td>-na, -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-zəŋə,</td>
<td>-pake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-nwə, -sim</td>
<td>-na, -nake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-ni-pʰrai</td>
<td>-ipara, -nipara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-ni,</td>
<td>-i, -ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-aw</td>
<td>-katan, -digi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>-ni-aw</td>
<td>-digi -katan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.3.1.4.1.1 Nominative case:
The nominative case is used to mark the subject of a sentence.

The subject always takes a case-ending i.e. {-a} in Boro, while {-an} is used for Rabha to stress something importance of the subject. Examples:

**A) Boro:**
/mansi-a wŋkʰəm závə/ Man eats rice
/mwsvʰ-a gənsv závə/ Cow eats grass
/dáu-a birvə/ Bird flies

**B) Rabha:**
/aŋ-an kʰərno/ I shall do
/náŋ-an sáno/ You shall eat
4.3.1.4.1.2 *Accusative case:* The accusative case is used to mark the object of a verb. It is expressed by adding case-ending to the noun or pronoun i.e. object of a sentence. In Boro, accusative case is expressed by the addition of case-ending {-φ} and {-k<sup>b</sup>γu}, while in Rabha {-a, -na} both are used alternatively to the object of a sentence. Examples are stated below:

**A) Boro:** Generally the accusative case-ending is dropped if the object is related to non-human beings and materials; e.g:

/rama mvʃswf'u {φ} gumdvq/ Ram is grazing cow

/rama wŋk'ám {φ} zádvq/ Ram is eating rice

/bi w bizáb {-φ} pʰoraidwq/ She/ He is reading book

The case-ending {-k<sup>b</sup>γu} is used with the object if the object is related with the particular name of a person and nouns or personal pronouns; e.g:

/əŋ madhu-k<sup>b</sup>γu lŋhórdwq/ I am calling for Madhu

/bi aŋ-k<sup>b</sup>γu mvʃznmwq/ She / He loves me

**B) Rabha:** Thus in Rabha, accusative case-ending is dropped when the object is related to the non-human beings and materials; e.g:

/chɪŋ kausa {φ} porayeta/ We are reading book

/oroŋ may {φ} sáeta/ They are eating rice

/ram kami {φ} khárqeta/ Ram is doing work

/lakhor másqu {φ} rabaeta/ The cowboy is grazing the cow

The case-ending {-a} is used with the object, when the object is personal pronoun; e.g:

/o aŋ-a praoeta/ He is calling for me

/nəŋ chaŋ-a sʊŋzo/ To whom you have asked?
The case-ending {-na} is used with the object, when the object refers to the name of a particular man; e.g:

/əŋ madhu-na praeta/  I am calling for Madhu
/nāŋ podu-na praeta/  You are calling for Padu

4.3.1.4.1.3 **Instrumental case:** The instrumental case is the case of instrument with which the action of the verb is performed. So, the instrument is a means of performing action of the verb. In these languages, the instrumental case is expressed by the addition of case-ending to the object. The object is either material, human or non-human beings. In Boro, the instrumental case-ending is {-zvŋ} while {-pake} is used as the instrumental case-ending in Rabha. Example:

**A) Boro:**

/əkɔ ai-zvŋ/  with hand (by means of hand)
/lamá-zvŋ/  by the way
/mwsw'u-zvŋ/  with the cow
/mansi-zvŋ/  with man
/mw'ŋ-zvŋ/  with you
/rua-zvŋ/  with axe

**B) Rabha:**

/máusu-pake/  with the cow
/kay-pake/  with man
/ram-pake/  by the way
/náŋ-pake/  with you
/báken-pake/  with axe

4.3.1.4.1.4 **Dative case:** The dative case is used to mark the indirect object of the verb. The case-ending is added with the noun or pronoun to refer direction or purpose etc. In Boro, the
case-endings {-nwf} and {-sim} are added, while in Rabha {-na} and {-nake} are used to the indirect object. Examples:

**A) Boro:**

i) {-nwf} is used to refer direct or indirect relation with the speaker:

/ən-nwf ganse bizāb hoːt/ Give me a book.

/mvswu-nwf gansw h,w/ Give grass to the cow.

/bibayari-nwf mayroŋ hoːt/ Give rice to the begger.

ii) {-sim} is used to refer the definite place, definite direction or remoteness of the definite place:

/biw no-sim tharibay/ She / He has gone to home

/biw dubli-sim thapbay/ She / He has gone to the paddy field

/be-sim pʰwi/ Come here

The case-ending {-nwf} is also used to pay honour, devotion, respect, prayer etc. to the distinguished persons or the God. For examples:

/gosai-nwf sibinay bāu/ Pay devotion to the god

/nw't-nw onnay arw sibinay/ Love and regards to you

**B) Rabha:** In Rabha, the case-ending {-na} and {-nake} both are used with the indirect object to refer definite direction, definite place or purpose etc; e.g.:

/ekay hori-na rākʰu/ Give it to Hari

/másu-na chika rākʰu/ Give water to the cow.

/oron noki-na rībano/ They will come to home

/an-nake may rāba/ Bring me rice.

/chin nān-nake kausa rākʰuno/ We shall give a book to you.
In Rabha, the case-ending {-na} is also used to refer direction of the object. The case-ending refers definite direction of the place. For examples:

/chiri guwahati-na ~ nake rěñõ/ We shall go to Guwahati.

/o noki-na ~ nake rībano/ He will come to home.

4.3.1.4.1.5 Ablative case: The ablative case is the case of separation from the source. In both the languages, there is no independent case-ending to denote the sense of ablation. It is formed by two ways:

A) By adding genitive case-ending

B) By adding post-position after the genitive case-ending

Hence, ablative case-ending is a combination of two morphemes. The genitive case-ending and the post-position both are consistently used to the indirect object. In Boro, {-ni} and {-pʰrai} both are used consistently to denote ablative case, while {-i-para} and {-ni para} both are used alternatively in Rabha. Examples:

A) Boro: {-ni -pʰrai}

/be zayga-nipʰrai gwzanao tʰǎŋ/ Go away from this place

/biw no-nipʰrai pʰwidwŋ/ He is coming from home

/donpʰǎŋ-nipʰrai pʰitʰai siriw/ Fruit fall from the tree.

B) Rabha:{-i-para} ~ {-ni -para}

/oron nok-para rībano/ They will come from home.

/nǎŋ aŋ-para kausa rāeta/ You have taken book from me.

/nǎŋ ram-para tʼē tarāba/ You don’t take fruit from Ram.
4.3.1.4.1.6 Genitive case: The genitive case is the case of relationship of something. In Boro, the genitive case is expressed by adding the case-ending {-ni} to the object of a sentence, while the case-ending {-i} ~ {-ni} is used in Rabha. In both the languages, the respective case-endings are added to the pronoun or noun class of words. Examples:

A) Boro: {-ni}

/əny-ni apʰa/  My father
/biwi zvŋ-ni pʰwŋŋiri/  He is our teacher
/bʰarota zvŋ-ni hador/  India is our country

B) Rabha: {-i ~ -ni}

/ən-i másu/  My cow
/chiŋ-i zanibra/  Our sister
/o-ni nen/  His cloth
/másu-ni zími/  Tail of the cow

4.3.1.4.1.7 Locative case: The locative case is the case of particular area, location or place on which the action of the verb is performed. In Boro, the locative case is expressed by the addition of case-ending {-aw}. It is used after the noun i.e. indirect object of a sentence, while in Rabha, the case-ending {-digi} is used to the indirect object of a sentence. Examples:

A) Boro: {-aw}

/dwɨ-aw nə tʰainy/  Fish lives in water
/no-aw mansi gʒia/  There is no man in the house
/pʰoraisali-aw pʰoraisa donə/  There are students in the school

B) Rabha: {-digi}

/hachu-digi pan toa/  There are trees in the hill
/kap-digi chika chwpan toa/  There is a little water in the glass
/pan-digi tʰɛ toa/  There are fruits in the tree
4.3.1.4.1.8 **Possessive case:** This case is the case of subject which expresses the meaning of possession of something. In Boro and Rabha, the possessive case is associated with the human noun and personal pronoun i.e. the subject of a sentence. In Boro, possessive case-ending is formed by the combination of genitive and locative case-ending i.e. {-ni -aw}, while the case-ending {-kataŋ} is merely used as the possessive case-ending in Rabha. Examples are stated below:

**A) Boro: {-ni -aw}**

/aŋ-niaw raŋ gwia/ I have no money in my possession
/nvw-niaw bizåb doŋ/ You have books in your possession
/ram-niaw phît'ai doŋ/ Ram has fruits

**B) Rabha: {-kataŋ}**

/u-kataŋ kausa toa/ She / He has books
/aŋ-kataŋ paysa toa/ I have money in my possession

4.3.1.5 **Numerals in Boro and Rabha:**

The term 'numeral' is often used to refer to one, two, three, four, five etc. These are pertaining to number. Boro and Rabha have almost a common numeral system. It is worth mentioning here that both Boro and Rabha have developed a common numeral system, which is newly created for academic purpose in recent times. Chiefly two kinds of numeral system are postulated for Boro and Rabha. These are: A) Cardinal Numeral and B) Ordinal Numeral

4.3.1.5.1 **Cardinal Numeral:** Cardinal Numerals are divided into two sub-divisions in both the languages. These are: A) Basic cardinal numeral and B) Derived numeral
4.3.1.5.1.1 Basic cardinal numeral: In Boro, from one to ten (1-10) have an independent form. Each of them is called base forms or basic numerals and other numerals are derived from the basic numerals. In Boro, zero has no independent identity of its own. Thus Rabha has also basic numerals, which start from zero to nine (0-9) number respectively. In Rabha, zero has an independent identity of its own, which forms a derived numeral by compounding with other basic numerals. In Rabha, the number ten (10) is a derived numeral, while it is used as basic numeral in Boro. Examples of basic numerals are stated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Rabha</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>ṭʰa</td>
<td>zero (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>one (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwğı</td>
<td>nŋi</td>
<td>two (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰaᵐ</td>
<td>tʰaᵐ</td>
<td>three (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brwği</td>
<td>chesa</td>
<td>four (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba</td>
<td>tola</td>
<td>five (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>krob</td>
<td>six (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sni</td>
<td>sia</td>
<td>seven (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dain</td>
<td>gin</td>
<td>eight (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu</td>
<td>biŋ</td>
<td>nine (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zi</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>ten (10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is worth mentioning here that the number ten (10) is called /satʰa/ in Rabha, which is formed by compounding two separate numbers i.e. the compounding of one (1) and zero (0).
4.3.1.5.1.2 Derived numeral: In Boro, derived numerals are formed by three processes. These are: A) By addition B) By multiplication and C) By multiplication plus addition

On the other hand, derived numerals of Rabha are chiefly formed by two processes. These are: A) By compounding and B) By multiplication.

In Rabha, compounding process is applicable from ten (10) to one hundred (100) and multiplication process is used from two hundred or onwards.

4.3.1.5.1.2.1 Process of derived numerals in Boro:

i) By addition: In Boro, numerals are formed by the process of addition. But this process is not introduced in Rabha. In Boro, the numerals from eleven (11) to nineteen (19) are formed by the process of addition in which the first component is ten (10) and the second component is any one of the cardinal numbers from one (1) to nine (9) number. Some examples are stated below:

\[
\begin{align*}
zi + se & \quad (10 + 1 = 11) \\
zi + n\text{\'wi} & \quad (10 + 2 = 12) \\
zi + t\text{\'am} & \quad (10 + 3 = 13) \\
zi + br\text{\'wi} & \quad (10 + 4 = 14) \\
zi + ba & \quad (10 + 5 = 15) \\
zi + do & \quad (10 + 6 = 16) \\
zi + s\text{\'i} & \quad (10 + 7 = 17) \\
zi + d\text{\'ain} & \quad (10 + 8 = 18) \\
zi + gu & \quad (10 + 9 = 19)
\end{align*}
\]

ii) By multiplication: Numerals are also formed by the process of multiplication in Boro. In this process, numerals like twenty (20), thirty (30), forty (40), fifty (50), sixty (60), seventy (70), eighty (80) and ninety (90) all are formed by multiplication of ten (10) with the respective basic numerals. Examples:
### iiii) By multiplication plus addition:

In Boro, the following numbers are formed by this process. Example:

\[
\begin{align*}
n\bar{w}_i \times zi + se & \quad (2 \times 10 + 1 = 21) \\
n\bar{w}_i \times zi + n\bar{w}_i & \quad (2 \times 10 + 2 = 22) \\
n\bar{w}_i \times zi + t\bar{a}m & \quad (2 \times 10 + 3 = 23) \\
n\bar{w}_i \times zi + br\bar{w}_i & \quad (2 \times 10 + 4 = 24) \\
n\bar{w}_i \times zi + ba & \quad (2 \times 10 + 5 = 25) \\
n\bar{w}_i \times zi + do & \quad (2 \times 10 + 6 = 26) \\
n\bar{w}_i \times zi + s\bar{n}i & \quad (2 \times 10 + 7 = 27) \\
n\bar{w}_i \times zi + dain & \quad (2 \times 10 + 8 = 28) \\
n\bar{w}_i \times zi + gu & \quad (2 \times 10 + 9 = 29)
\end{align*}
\]

Numerals like from twenty one to twenty nine (21-29) all are formed by this process. Thus numerals like from thirty one to thirty nine (31 – 39), forty one to forty nine (41-49), fifty one to fifty nine (51-59), sixty one to sixty nine (61-69), seventy one to seventy nine (71-79), eighty one to eighty nine (81-89), ninety one to ninety nine (91-99) all numerals are formed by this process.

#### 4.3.1.5.1.2.2 Process of derived numerals in Rabha:

**i) By compounding:** Rabha numeral system is very easy to understand and to analyse. It has basic numerals, which are comparable to Boro basic numerals. Besides Rabha numerals from ten
(10) to one hundred (100) are realized by the process of compounding and from two hundred (200) or onwards are derived by the process of multiplication. These numerical systems are newly created by the Rabha Bhasa Parishad. Some examples of derived numerals are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rabha Bhasa</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa tʰɑ</td>
<td>(ten)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa sa</td>
<td>(eleven)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa niŋ</td>
<td>(twelfth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa tʰam</td>
<td>(thirteen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa sesa</td>
<td>(fourteen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa tola</td>
<td>(fifteen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa krob</td>
<td>(sixteen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa sia</td>
<td>(seventeen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa gin</td>
<td>(eighteen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa bin</td>
<td>(nineteen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niŋ tʰɑ</td>
<td>(twenty)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niŋ sa</td>
<td>(twenty one)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ii) *By multiplication:* In Rabha, numerals are also formed by the process of multiplication. This process is used in case of the following numbers.

- \( \text{sat}^{h} \cdot \text{niq} \) (100 \times 2 = 200)
- \( \text{sat}^{h} \cdot \text{tham} \) (100 \times 3 = 300)
- \( \text{sat}^{h} \cdot \text{sesa} \) (100 \times 4 = 400)
- \( \text{sat}^{h} \cdot \text{tola} \) (100 \times 5 = 500)
- \( \text{sat}^{h} \cdot \text{krob} \) (100 \times 6 = 600)
- \( \text{sat}^{h} \cdot \text{sia} \) (100 \times 7 = 700)
- \( \text{sat}^{h} \cdot \text{gin} \) (100 \times 8 = 800)
- \( \text{sat}^{h} \cdot \text{bin} \) (100 \times 9 = 900)

The number one thousand (1000) is formed by compounding i.e. /\text{sat}^{h} \text{at}^{h} \text{a}/ (1000)

### 4.3.1.6 Classifiers in Boro and Rabha:

Classifiers or numeral definitives have function as specific determiner of the shape or size, quantity and quality of the objects or articles. Some of these are related with the human or non-human beings, gods and ghosts etc. In Boro and Rabha, classifiers are added to numerals to define the nature of the objects or articles or to define the quantity of the human and non-human beings or insects. Basically, these objects or articles are noun words. Noun precedes or follows the classifier. Most of the classifiers are used as bound morphemes.

The uses of classifiers are almost similar in both the languages. Some principal examples are stated below:

#### 4.3.1.6.1 Uses of classifiers in Boro and Rabha:

i) *Br. \{gan\}, Rb. \{k\}:* In both the languages, these two classifiers are used for all leaves of trees, books, papers, feather of birds, pieces of cloth, garments and various flat things. Example
Br. \{gaŋ-\}:

/biːlai gaŋ-se/ a leaf of tree
/kʰakʰwəɾ gaŋ-se/ a piece of paper
/bizəb gaŋ-se/ a book
/hiŋ gaŋse/ a piece of cloth
/pʰatʰwəɾi gaŋ-se/ a betel leaf
/gosla gaŋ-se/ a piece of shirt

Rb. \{kʰon-\}:

/nen kʰon-sa/ a piece of cloth
/pʰali kʰon-sa/ a handkerchief
/dam kʰon-sa/ a mat
/sola kʰon-sa/ a shirt
/chak kʰon-sa/ a leaf of tree

ii) Br. \{goŋ-\}, Rb. \{kʰon-\}: In both the language, these two classifiers are used for musical instruments, weapons, wooden furnitures, houses, sticks and similar long things, household articles made of bamboo, agricultural tools etc. Examples:

Br. \{goŋ-\}:

/no goŋ-se/ a house
/kʰam goŋ-se/ a drum
/kʰanəŋ goŋ-se/ a comb
/sikʰá goŋ-se/ a big size knife
/kʰ obāi goṣ-se/ a fishing basket

/nanɡwɁ goṣ-se/ a plough

Rb. {kʰon-}:

/nok kʰon-sa/ a house

/kʰ ochen kʰon-sa/ a comb

/zap kʰon-sa/ a hand fan made of bamboo

/kʰ okdur kʰon-sa/ a basket for keeping fish

/dokʰ om kʰon-sa/ a kind of low tool

/dam kʰon-sa/ a mat

/sám kʰon-sa/ a mortar

/bakeŋ kʰon-sa/ an axe

/kodal kʰon-sa/ a hoe

iii) Br. {ma-}, Rb. {maŋ-}: These two classifiers are used to all animals, birds, any kind of small beings and insects. Example:

Br. {ma-}:

/mwswɁ u ma-se/ a cow

/mwʃkʰ ra ma-se/ a monkey

/gorai ma-se/ a horse

/ná ma-se/ a fish

/sikʰiri ma-se/ an ant

/gumá ma-se/ a grasshopper
/zibwpu ma-se/ a snake
/bwímbá ma-se/ (a goat)
/mauzí ma-se/ a cat

Besides the classifier {-ma} is also used for gods and ghosts in Boro. e.g.

/mvódai ma-se/ a god
/mvódaí ma-nwi/ two gods

Rb. {maŋ-}:

/másu maŋ-sa/ a cow
/mása maŋ-sa/ a tiger
/tupú maŋ-sa/ a snake
/kí maŋ-sa/ a dog
/guk maŋ-sa/ a grasshopper
/ná maŋ-sa/ a fish
/tó maŋ-sa/ a bird
/tók’a maŋ-sa/ a crow

iv) Br. {sa-}, Rb. {sak-}: These two classifiers are used for human beings. Example

Br. {sa-}:

/mansi sa-se/ a man
/mansi sa-nwi/ two men
/mansi sa-t’am/ three men

Rb. {sak-}:
v) Br. {pʰan-}, Rb. {pʰan-}: In both the languages, these two classifiers are used for counting trees. Example:

Br. {pʰan-}:

/donpʰán pʰan-se/ a tree
/goy pʰán-se/ a betel-nut tree
/tʰailir pʰán-se/ a banana tree

Rb. {pʰan-}:

/retʰe pʰan-sa/ a banana tree
/pan pʰan-sa/ a tree
/kui pʰan-sa/ a betel-nut tree

vi) Br. {tʰai-}, Rb. {tʰe-}: In Boro, {tʰai-} is used to indicate any kind of fruits, eyes, rupees etc while {tʰe-} is used in Rabha for the same. Example:

Br. {tʰai-}:

/tʰaiwˈu tʰai-se/ a mango
/apel tʰai-se/ an apple
/tʰailir tʰai-se/ a banana
/tʰakʰa tʰai-se/ one rupee
/hatʰai tʰai-se/ a teeth
/megon tʰai-se/ an eye
Rb. {th e-}:

/tʰe tʰe-sa/ a fruit
/pochó tʰ-e-se/ a mango
/kui tʰ-e-sa/ a betel-nut
/réth e tʰ-e-sa/ a banana
/bantʰó tʰ-e-sa/ a brinjal

vii) Br. {dan-}, Rb. {don-}: In both the languages, these two classifiers are used for bunches, ears of corn etc. Example:

Br. {dan}:

/tʰalir dan-sa/ a bunch of bananas
/may dan-sa/ an ear of paddy

Rb. {don}:

/rétʰ e don-sa/ a bunch of bananas
/may don-sa/ an ear of paddy

viii) Br. {beda-}, Rb. {bada-}: These two classifiers are used for a bunch of areca-nut etc. Example:

Br. {beda-}:

/goy beda-se/ a bunch of areca-nut

Rb. {bada-}:

/kui bada-sa/ a bunch of areca-nut

ix) Br. {tʰw}, Rb. {tʰok-}: These are used for drops of water or oil etc. Example:
Br. \{tʰw̥b-\}:

/\textit{dw̥j-tʰw̥b-se}/ \hspace{1cm} a drop of water

/\textit{tʰau-tʰw̥b-se}/ \hspace{1cm} a drop of oil

Rb. \{tʰok-\}:

/\textit{chika tʰok-sa}/ \hspace{1cm} a drop of water

/\textit{tʰuchi tʰok-sa}/ \hspace{1cm} a drop of oil

x) Br. \{san-\}, Rb. \{san-\}: These are used for day in both the languages. Example:

Br. \{san-\}:

/\textit{san-se}/ \hspace{1cm} one day

/\textit{san-nw̥i}/ \hspace{1cm} two days

Rb. \textit{san}: 

/\textit{san-sa}/ \hspace{1cm} one day

/\textit{san-tʰam}/ \hspace{1cm} three days

xi) \{bw̥tʰi-\}, Rb. \{basi-\}: In Boro, \{bw̥tʰi-\} is used for a meal of rice, while \{basi-\} is used in Rabha for the same. Example:

Br. \{bw̥tʰi-\}:

/\textit{w̥kʰam bw̥tʰi-se}/ \hspace{1cm} a meal of rice

Rb. \{basi-\}:

/\textit{may basi-sa}/ \hspace{1cm} a meal of rice

xii) Br. \{hal-i\}, Rb. \{hal-i\}: These are used for a pair of ploughing bulls and for a pair of birds or animals for sacrifice. Example:
Br. {hali-}:
/mwɔsvl' u hali-se/ a pair of ploughing bulls
/mwɔ́svl' hali-se/ a pair of ploughing buffaloes

Rb. {hali-}:
/másu hal-sa/ a pair of ploughing bulls
/parok hal-sa/ a pair of doves

xiii) Br. {zora-}, Rb. {zor-}: These two classifiers are used for pair of things, birds and peoples etc. Example:

Br. {zora-}:
/dâu zora-se/ a pair of birds
/gosla zora-se/ a pair of shirts
/goy zora-se/ a pair of betel-nuts

Rb. {zor-}:
/tó zor-sa/ a pair of birds
/kui zor-sa/ a pair of betel nuts

xiv) Br. {dəŋ-}, Rb. {twŋ-}: These two classifiers are used for long and something flexible things i.e. hair, tail, thread, rope etc. Example:

Br. {dəŋ-}:
/k'anáí dəŋ-se/ a hair
/lanzaí dəŋ-se/ a tail
/dohor dəŋ-se/ a rope
/k'undún dəŋ-se/ a thread
Rb. \{twŋ-\}:
/k̂oro twŋ-sa/ a hair
/nentę twŋ-sa/ a thread
/zími twŋ-sa/ a tail

xv) Br. \{ต uba-/suba-\}, Rb. \{ต uba-\}: These two classifiers are used for cluster of bananas, bamboos, reeds etc. Example:

Br. \{suba-\}:
/ŋua suba-se/ a cluster of bamboos
/ʔailir suba-se/ a cluster of banana tree

Rb. \{ต uba-\}:
/ba tʰuba-sa/ a cluster of bamboo tree
/sam tʰuba-sa/ one cluster of grass

xvi) Br. \{haldŋa-\}, Rb. \{halsŋ-\}: These two classifiers are used for a string of fishes, meat or a string of anything. Example:

Br. \{haldŋa-\}:
/ná haldŋa-se/ a string of fish
/bedor haldŋa-se/ a string of meat
/goy haldŋa-se/ a string of betel-nut

Rb. \{halsŋ-\}:
/ná halsŋ-sa/ a string of fish
/kui halsŋ-sa/ a string of betel-nut
xvii) Br. (kʰobó-), Rb. (kʰup-): These two classifiers are used for a morsel of rice or food.

Example:

Br. (kʰobó-):

/kʰobó-se wŋkʰám/ a morsel of rice

Rb. (kʰup-):

/kʰúp-sa may/ a morsel of rice

It is worth mentioning here that always noun precedes or follows the classifiers in both the languages.

xviii) Br. (pʰon-), Rb. (tʰuka-): In Boro, the classifier (pʰon-) is used after or before the words, while (tʰuka-) is also used for the same in Rabha. Example:

Br. (pʰon-):

/kʰon⁵ a pʰon-se/ one word

Rb. (tʰuka-):

/katʰa tʰuka-sa/ one word

xix) Br. (pʰalw-), Rb. (pal-): These two classifiers are used in case of a flock of birds, herd of cows, cattles etc. Example:

Br. (pʰalw-):

/dáu pʰalw-se/ a flock of birds

/mwŋ hires pʰalw-se/ a herd of cows

/bwŋmá pʰalw-se/ a herd of cattles

Rb. (pal-):

/másu pal-sa/ a herd of cows

/prwŋ pal-sa/ a herd of cattles

/tó pal-sa/ a flock of birds
xx) Br. {dab-}, Rb. {thay-}: These two classifiers are used to denote a plot of land. Example:

Br. {dab-}:

/ha dab-se/ a plot of land

Rb. {thay-}:

/ha t'ay-sa/ a plot of land

xxi) Br. {mwzwqm-}, Rb. {buk-}: These two classifiers are used to determine an amount that contains a handful of things like rice, sugar, seeds and so on. Example:

Br. {mwzwqm-}:

/mairon mwzwqm-se/ a handful of unboiled rice
/begor mwzwqm-se/ a handful of seeds
/sini mwzwqm-se/ a handful of sugar

Rb. {buk-}:

/may buk-sa/ a handful of rice
/kén buk-sa/ a handful of seeds

xxii) Br. {k'andi-}, Rb. {siri-}: These two classifiers are particularly used for divided pieces of a areca-nut. Example:

Br. {k'andi-}:

/goy k'andi-se/ a piece of areca-nut

Rb. {siri-}:

/kui siri-sa/ a piece of areca-nut

xxiii) Br. {awai-}, Rb. {lop-}: These two classifiers are used for amount that contains in one open palm. Example:

Br. {awai-}:

/awai-se mairon/ a handful of uncooked rice
/awai-se dwi/ a handful of water

Rb. {lop-}:

/lop-sa mayron/ a handful of uncooked rice

xxiv) Br. {p^h^-}, Rb. {paw-}: These two classifiers are used for length between two knots (of bamboo, sugar-cane etc.). Example:

Br. {p^h^-}:

/\|ua p^h^-/-se/ a length of bamboo between two knots
/k^h^-user p^h^-/-se/ a length of sugar-cane between two knots

Rb. {paw-}:

/b^-paw-sa/ a length of bamboo between two knots
/kurchi paw-sa/ a length of sugar-cane between two knots

4.3.2 Adjectives in Boro and Rabha: The word ‘adjective’ gives information about a noun or pronoun. Generally it refers to the quality or characteristic, quantity and number of the noun. So, it qualifies the noun. In Boro and Rabha, adjectives tell something about the size, colour, number and quality of noun. Besides it always precedes or follows a noun. Examples:

A) Boro:

/mwzan/ mansi/ good man
/mansi mwzan/ good man

B) Rabha:

/chua kay/ tall man
/kay chua/ tall man

In these examples, Br. /mwzan/, Rb. /chua/ both are used as qualitative adjectives, which precedes or follows the noun.
4.3.2.1 Principal division: of adjectives: In both the languages, adjectives are classified into two principal divisions viz: primary and derived adjective. Primary adjectives are an independent unit, while derived adjectives are formed by the addition of prefix or suffix to the verb root and the noun. Some examples are stated below from both the languages. Example:

4.3.2.1.1 Primary adjectives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Rabha</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/udan/</td>
<td>free, open</td>
<td>/tim/</td>
<td>plenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bent/</td>
<td>bent, zig-zag</td>
<td>/tom/</td>
<td>firm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/es/</td>
<td>few, little</td>
<td>/tiv/</td>
<td>real, true</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kat/</td>
<td>nearby</td>
<td>/bvt/</td>
<td>silent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/baygor/</td>
<td>naughty</td>
<td>/benga/</td>
<td>deaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/somayna/</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
<td>/bwr/</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gwirv/</td>
<td>easy</td>
<td>/dan/</td>
<td>clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/burza/</td>
<td>much, more</td>
<td>/dachi/</td>
<td>deceitful</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.2.1.2 Derived adjectives: In both the languages, derived adjectives are formed by two ways i.e by prefixation and by suffixation.

A) Boro:

i) By prefixation: In this formation, prefixes are added to the verb root. Example:

{gw}:

v. /bân/ to be more, to be much
gw-bâŋ > adj. gwâbâŋ  
much, more

v. /zam/  
to be old

gw-zam > adj. gwâzam  
old, ancient

v. /tʰao/  
to be tasty

gw-tʰaw > adj. gwâthaw  
tastful

v. /zw ʰη/  
to be bright

gw-zw ʰη > adj. gwâzw ʰη  
bright

/zwu/  
to be high

gw-zwu > adj. gwâzwu  
high

/tʰwi/  
to die

gw-tʰwi > adj. gwâtʰwi  
lifeless, dead

{gu-}

v. /dûŋ/  
to be warm, to be hot

gu-dûŋ > adj. guðûŋ  
hot, warm

v. /sû/  
to be cold

gu-sû > adj. gusû  
cold, cool

v. /pʰûr/  
to be white

gu-pʰûr > adj. gupʰûr  
white

v. /pʰun/  
to be fat, to be fleshy

gu-pʰun > adj. gupʰun  
fat, fleshy

{ge-}

v. /seo/  
to rot
ge-sco >adj. gesco (rotten)

v. /sén/ to be thin

gi-sén >adj. gesén thin

v. /dér/ to be big

gi-dér >adj. gedér big, large

v. /zén/ to be defeated

gi-zén >adj. gezén defeated, dominated

{gi-}:

v. /zú/ to tear off

gi-zú >adj. gizi torn

v. /lir/ to be heavy

gi-lir >adj. gilir heavy

v. /si/ to get wet

gi-si >adj. gisi wet

ii) By suffixation: In Boro, adjectives are also formed by suffixation to the noun. Suffixes like {-bru, -law, -su} are adjective formation suffixes in Boro. Example:

{-bru}:

'/dwi/ water

dwi-bru >adj. dwibru watery, water like taste

{-law}:

'/dwi/ water

dwi-law >adj. dwilaw waterly, full of water
{-bo}:

/dwqi/ water

dwqi-bo > adj. dwibo a place full of water

{-braŋ}:

/dwqi/ water

dwqi-braŋ > adj. dwibrar water like taste

{-su}:

/dwqi/ water

dwqi-su > adj. dwisu water like taste

B) Rabha: In Rabha, derived adjectives are formed either by prefixation or suffixation process.

The prefix \{pi-\} is added to the verb root. Thus the suffix \{-kay\} is also added to the verb root.

Besides, the suffix \{-klaŋ\} is also added to the noun. Example:

i) By prefixation:

\{pi-\}:

v. /dana/ to be new

pi-dana > adj. pidan new

v. /lua/ to be more

pi-lua > adj. pilu many, more

v. /tʰara/ be pure, be clean

pi-tʰara > adj. pitʰar pure, clean

v. /tʰiŋa/ be fresh

pi-tʰiŋa > adj. pitʰiŋa fresh
ii) By suffixation:

{-kai}:

/nema/ be good
nema-kai > adj. nemkai good
v. /rama/ put to dry
rama-kai > adj. ramkai dried
v. /mwna/ to get ripe
mwna-kai > adj. mwknai ripen, get cooked
v. /tupa/ be hot
tupa-kai > adj. tupkai hot, warm
v. /chua/ be tall, be high
chua-kai > adj. chukai tall, high
v. /pana/ be plenty, be more
pana-kai > adj. pankai much, more
v. /kia/ be bitter
kia-kai > adj. kikai bitter
v. /sa/ be short
sa-kai > adj. sakai short
v. /kia/ be sour
kia-kai > adj. kikai sour

{-klaŋ}: This is an adjective formation suffix, which is added after the noun word. It corresponds to the Boro suffix {-law, -bru, -su}. Example: chika-klaŋ > adj. chikaklaŋ watery
4.3.2.2 Types of adjectives: Boro and Rabha have the following types of adjectives, which are further divided into three categories on the basis of function. These are: A) Adjective of quality B) Adjective of quantity C) Adjective of number

4.3.2.2.1 Adjective of quality: In both the languages, adjective of quality refers to the quality more about the persons or things indicated by each noun. Example:

A) Boro:

/nikh auri mansi/ poor man
/gwmpnp phitai/ ripen fruit
/gupur hi/ white cloth
/maotgi gothi/ active boy
/gwdan no/ new house
/gaham bizab/ good book

B) Rabha:

/pidan nok/ new house
/chitokai nen/ beautiful cloth
/hachu chua/ tall hill
/tunkai chika/ warm, hot water
/chunkai pan/ big tree
/nemkai mucha sabra/ good boy

4.3.2.2.2 Adjective of quantity: Adjective of quantity refers to the quantity of persons or things. Such adjectives show an indefinite number or amount like many, few, enough, whole, several etc. Example:
A) Boro:

/gwban mansi/ many people
/eselo wkam/ a few rice
/gwban som/ a lot of time
/khaise suburj/ some people

B) Rabha:

/paŋkai togrim/ many birds
/chupan may/ a few rice

4.3.2.2.3 Adjective of number: Adjective of number refers to definite number of things or persons. Such adjectives show how many persons or things (definitely) are meant. In both the languages, these adjectives are called numeral adjective. Example:

A) Boro:

/t’aiba asi/ five fingers
/saba suburj/ five people
/barnyi bibar/ two flowers
/mabrvi bwma/ four goats

B) Rabha:

/t’hamt’a kay/ thirty men
/maŋt’am masu/ three cows
/p’ansa pan/ a tree
/k’ansa nen/ a cloth
4.3.3 Pronoun in Boro and Rabha: Pronoun is a word, which is used instead of noun. In Boro and Rabha, it is used to substitute for noun or noun phrase. It can takes a suffix, which is particularly a number-marker and a case-ending.

4.3.3.1 Types of pronoun: There are mainly five types of pronoun in both the concerned languages. These are: A) Personal pronoun B) Interrogative pronoun C) Demonstrative pronoun D) Indefinite pronoun and E) Reflexive pronoun.

4.3.3.1.1 Personal pronoun: Both Boro and Rabha have a three fold distinction of personal pronouns. These are: first person, second person and third person. These are shown separately as follows:

A) Boro:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common-</td>
<td>an (I)</td>
<td>zwη (we)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honorific-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd Person:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common-</td>
<td>nwη (you)</td>
<td>nwη-swη (you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honorific-</td>
<td>nwη-taη (you)</td>
<td>nwη-taη-mwη (you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd Person:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common-</td>
<td>bi (he, she)</td>
<td>bi-swη (they)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honorific-</td>
<td>bi-taη (he, she)</td>
<td>bi-taη-mwη (they)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B) Rabha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st person:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an (I)</td>
<td></td>
<td>chin (we)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naη (you)</td>
<td></td>
<td>naη-ronη (you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd Person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o (he, she)</td>
<td></td>
<td>o-ronη (they)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In both the languages, plurality is expressed through suffocation. In Boro, {-svyr} and {-rmyn} both are used to denote plurality, while in Rabha, {-roη} is used for the same. In Boro, the suffix {-tkan} is used merely in case of honorific sense with the second and the third personal pronouns. But this kind of suffix is not applicable in case of Rabha. In both the languages, gender distinction is not available in case of first, second and third personal pronouns. P. K. Benedict observed that no general TB 3rd person independent pronoun can be established. Boro and Rabha have first, second and third person singular independent pronouns. Examples are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Independent Personal Pronoun in Br. and Rb.</th>
<th>Some TB roots 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1st Person | Br. /an/—I  
Rb. /an/—I | T. /ηa /-I  
K. /an/—I  
B. /ηa /-I  
G. /ηa |
| 2nd person | Br. /mŋη/—you  
Rb. /nη /—you | T. /nη /—you  
K. /nη /—you  
B. /nη /—you  
G. /nʔa /—you  
Dhi. /tnη /—you |
| 3rd person | Br. /bi/—he, she  
Rb. /o-u/—he, she | ———— |

4.3.3.1.2 Interrogative pronoun: Interrogative pronouns are used for interrogation. It is an integral part of the word morphology. In Boro and Rabha, the principal interrogative pronouns are listed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Rabha</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/svʔr/</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>/chan/</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Benedict, P.K: Sino-Tibetan A Conspectus, p-93
4 Ibid, p-93
In both the languages, different interrogative pronouns are formed by adding different case-endings to the principal pronoun. Followings are some examples in Boro, which are formed by adding case-endings to the principal interrogative pronouns:

**A) Boro:**

i) /swr/ who (it refers to human beings)

/swr-k\~wu/ to whom (by adding accusative case-ending: -k\~wu)

/swr-z\~w\~\eta/ with whom (by adding instrumental case-ending: -z\~w\~\eta)

/swr-n\~\eta/ to whom (by adding dative case-ending: -n\~\eta)

/swr-ni/ whose (by adding genitive case-ending: -ni)

/swr-nip\~rai/ from whom (by adding ablative case-ending: -nip\~rai)

/swr-niaw/ in whose (by adding locative case-ending: -niaw)

ii) /m\~a/ what (It refers to animals and any kinds of objects)

/m\~a-k\~wu/ to which? (by adding accusative case-ending: -k\~wu)

/m\~a-z\~w\~\eta/ with which (by adding instrumental case-ending: -z\~w\~\eta)

/m\~a-n\~\eta/ why? (’-n\~\eta’ occurs as dative case-ending)

/m\~a-ni/ of which? (by adding genitive case-ending: -ni)
/ ma-mp rai / from which (by adding ablative case-ending: -nip^raí)
/má-bwla>mábla/ when?
/má-bwri>máwri/ how?

The word / bwri / is an independent word as well as free morpheme and it refers to means or ways.

In Rabha, the following interrogative pronouns are also formed by adding case-endings to the principal interrogative pronouns. Some examples are as follows:

i) / chaŋ / who
/ chaŋ-o / to whom (by adding accusative case-ending: -o)
/ chaŋ-pake / with whom (by adding instrumental case-ending: -pake)
/ chaŋ-a / to whom, for whom (by adding dative case-ending: -a)
/ chaŋ-i / whose (by adding genitive case-ending: -i)
/ chaŋ-i-para / from whom (by adding ablative case-ending: -ipara)
/ chaŋ-i-katan/ in whose (by adding locative case-marker: -ikatan)

ii) / ata / what
/ ata-na / to which one (by adding accusative case-ending: -na)

iii) / bisi / where
/ bisi-na / to where (by adding accusative case-ending: -na)
/ bisi-ni-para / from where ({-ni-para} occurs as ablative case-ending)
/ bisi-ni / from which place ({-ni} occurs as genitive case-ending)
4.3.3.1.3. Demonstrative Pronoun: There are two kinds of demonstrative pronoun in Boro and Rabha. These are speaker proximate and speaker remote. Followings are the example of demonstrative pronoun in Boro and Rabha:

A) Boro:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Distal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/be/</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>/bwji/</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number markers and case-endings are also added after the demonstrative pronoun.

Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Distal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/be-(^{ph})^{w}-k^{b}^{wu} /</td>
<td>these are</td>
<td>/bwji-(^{ph})^{w}-k^{b}^{wu} /</td>
<td>those are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bi-(^{sw})k^{b}^{wu}/</td>
<td>they are</td>
<td>/bwji-(^{sw})k^{b}^{wu}/</td>
<td>those are</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these examples, the suffix \(\{-sw\}\) is used as a plural suffix and the suffix \(\{-k^{b}\}\) is used as a case-ending.

B) Rabha: In Rabha, demonstrative pronouns are used as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Distal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/e ~ i /</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>/ o ~ u /</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural suffix is also added after the demonstrative pronouns. Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Distal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/e-bizan /</td>
<td>these are</td>
<td>/ u-bizan /</td>
<td>those are</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is mentionable that the plural suffix {-bizan} is used in case of object, human and non-human beings. It is interesting to note that the plural suffix {-bizan} is comparable to the Boro plural suffix {-pʰwɁr}.

4.3.3.1.4 Indefinite pronoun: In Boro and Rabha, indefinite pronoun is not applicable to refer to a definite person or thing. But it refers to some persons or things. Followings are example of indefinite pronouns in Boro and Rabha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Rabha</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kʰayse/</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>/kese/</td>
<td>some</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/svrba/</td>
<td>somebody</td>
<td>/chaŋba/</td>
<td>somebody</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/raobwɁ/</td>
<td>nobody</td>
<td>/chakchaba/</td>
<td>nobody</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Boro, indefinite pronouns are pluralized by reduplication. Example:

/kʰayse kʰayse/ some
/svrba svrba/ somebody

The word /rawbɁ/ is not reduplicated or pluralized in Boro. On the other hand, Rabha indefinite pronouns are not reduplicated or pluralized. But the plural suffix {-tan} is added after the indefinite pronoun to denote plural number. Example:

sg. /kesa/ some
pl. /kesa-tan/ some
sg. /chaŋba/ somebody
pl. /chaŋba-tan/ somebody
sg. /chakchaba/ nobody
pl. /chakchaba-tan/ nobody
4.3.3.1.5 Reflexive pronoun: In Boro and Rabha, reflexive pronouns are very limited in number. In both the languages, reflexive pronominal sense is expressed by the following formation. Basically it is expressed by using independent word. In Boro, /gaw/ meaning oneself (myself, himself, herself, yourself) is an appropriate term in this regard, while /kakay/ meaning oneself (myself, himself, herself, yourself) and /kakron/ meaning themselves, both are used in Rabha. Definite suffix like {-nw} is used in Boro, while {-an} is used in Rabha with the reflexive pronoun. Example:

A) Boro:

/gaw/ self, oneself (myself, himself, herself, yourself)
/aŋ gaw-nw/ myself
/bi gaw-nw/ him/herself
/nwŋ gaw-nw/ yourself
/biswŋ gaw-nw/ themselves

B) Rabha:

/kakay/ oneself (myself, himself, herself)
/aŋ kakay-an/ myself
/u kakay-an/ himself/herself
/kakron-an/ themselves

Distributive sense is expressed by reduplication of pronoun in Rabha. Example

/kakron kakron/ themselves

Reduplication of pronoun is also mostly essential to denote distributive sense in Boro. Example
4.3.4 Verb in Boro and Rabha: In Boro and Rabha, verbs are defined as word which is used to say something about activity. Verbs are capable of taking affixes, tense and aspect markers. In both the languages, every sentence must have a verb and it is essentially concerned with the action. In these languages, verbs are classified into two principal divisions:
A) Morphological structure of verb and B) Morphological function of verb

4.3.4.1 Morphological structure of verb: On the basis of the structure, verbs are classified into three sub-divisions in both the languages. These are A) Simple verb B) Complex verb and C) Compound verb

4.3.4.1.1 Simple verb: In Boro and Rabha, simple verb is composed of a single verb root. It is mostly mono-syllabic in nature. Example:

A) Boro:

/kʰaw/ to steal
/bá/ to carry on back
/nay/ to see, to observe
/pʰwí/ come
/dw’u/ to feed
/tʰəŋ/ to go
/lwŋ/ to drink
/kʰa/ to bind
/ sán / to count
/ sáu / to burn, to set fire
/ mwyn / to get
/ su / to pierce
/ zo / to sit

B) Rabha:

/ bú / to beat
/ dúŋ/ to climb up
/ sá / to eat
/ pu/ to fly
/ kái / to plant
/ kʰär / to do
/ tán / to cut
/ nuk / to see
/ rēŋ / to go
/ sú / to pierce
/ tonŋ/ to stay
/ ma / to lose
/ kʰa / to find
/ prao / to call
/ nu / to sit
4.3.4.1.2. Complex verb: Complex verb is composed of different morphological segments.

Boro and Rabha have chiefly two types of complex verb. These are: A) Complex verb composed of negative and causative prefix B) Complex verb composed of negative and tense-marker.

4.3.4.1.2.1 Complex verb composed of negative prefix:

A) Boro: {da-}:

da-zá>dazá do not eat
da-tʰən>dəthən do not go
da-la>dalá do not take
da-pʰwɪ>dapʰwɪ do not come

B) Rabha: {ta-}:

ta-sá>tasá do not eat
ta-re₇>taré₇ do not go
ta-rá>tará do not take

ta-kʰap>takʰap donot weep/cry

The prefix {da-} of Boro and {ta-} of Rabha both are negative imperative prefix. Thus causative prefixes are also added with the single verb root. In Boro, {pʰw-, pʰe-, pʰo-, pʰi-, se-, pʰa-, bi-} etc are added with the verb root having a causative meaning, while prefixes like {ko-, ku-, kw-, kʰu-, go-, tʰw-, tʰu-, gw-, to-, tw-, do-, te-} are also added for the same in case of Rabha. Examples are stated below:
A) Boro:

i) \{p^h\mathbf{w}\}\}:

\(p^h\mathbf{w}-\mathbf{zwu}>p^h\mathbf{zw}\mathbf{wu}\) to make high

\(p^h\mathbf{w}-\mathbf{wpwp}>p^h\mathbf{wpwp}\) to make complete, to make finish

\(p^h\mathbf{w}-\mathbf{fran}>p^h\mathbf{fran}\) to make dry

\(p^h\mathbf{w}-\mathbf{wzem}>p^h\mathbf{wzem}\) to make old

ii) \{p^h\mathbf{e}\}\}:

\(p^h\mathbf{e}-\mathbf{seo}>p^h\mathbf{eseo}\) to cause to rot

\(p^h\mathbf{e}-\mathbf{der}>p^h\mathbf{eder}\) to make big

\(p^h\mathbf{e}-\mathbf{ez}>p^h\mathbf{ez}\) to defeat

\(p^h\mathbf{e}-\mathbf{sen}>p^h\mathbf{esen}\) to make thin

iii) \{p^h\mathbf{u}\}\}:

\(p^h\mathbf{u}-\mathbf{s}\mathbf{u}>p^h\mathbf{usu}\) to make short

\(p^h\mathbf{u}-\mathbf{d}\mathbf{u}>p^h\mathbf{udu}\) to make hot

\(p^h\mathbf{u}-\mathbf{seb}>p^h\mathbf{useb}\) to make narrow

iv) \{p^h\mathbf{o}\}\}:

\(p^h\mathbf{o}-\mathbf{z}\mathbf{o}>p^h\mathbf{ozo}\) to cause to sit

\(p^h\mathbf{o}-\mathbf{d}\mathbf{ob}>p^h\mathbf{odob}\) to cause to bend

\(p^h\mathbf{o}-\mathbf{son}>p^h\mathbf{oson}\) to cause to erect

v) \{p^h\mathbf{i}\}\}:

\(p^h\mathbf{i}-\mathbf{i}>p^h\mathbf{isi}\) to make wet

vi) \{p^h\mathbf{a}\}\}:

\(p^h\mathbf{a}-\mathbf{ham}>p^h\mathbf{aham}\) to repair

\(p^h\mathbf{a}-\mathbf{hay}>p^h\mathbf{ahay}\) to make lower
vii) {sv-}:

sv-gáb > swgáb  to cause to cry
sv-nár > swnár  to lean on another
sv-t'áb > swt'áb  to cause to fasten

B) Rabha:

i) {ko-}:

ko-chon > kochon  dress another
ko-tóí > kotóí  offer, give
ko-trok > kotrok  to cause to dance

ii) {ku-}:

ku-chun > kuchun  to make big, to make grow
ku-túñ > kutúñ  to make hot

iii) {kw-}:

kw-tat > kwätat  to make to touch each other
kw-trwn > kwätwn  to teach

iv) {kw^}:

kw-sá > kwśá  feed
kw-t'à > kwṭ'à  to cause to tear
kw-t^ar > kwṭ^ar  to make purify
kw-sráñ > kwśráñ  to make fresh and light

v) {go-}:
go-dón&godón  make complete

go-glak>goglak  be round and large

go-zok>gozok  save

vi) \{tʰw-\}:

\(t^h\text{w-k}^h\text{ap}\rightarrow t^h\text{w-k}^h\text{an}\rightarrow t^h\text{w-k}^h\text{am}\)  cause to cry

t^h\text{w-k}^h\text{an}>t^h\text{w-k}^h\text{an}  give to drink

t^h\text{w-k}^h\text{am}>t^h\text{w-k}^h\text{am}  cause to burn

vii) \{tʰu-\}:

tʰ\text{u-p}^h\text{u}\rightarrow tʰ\text{u-p}^h\text{uk}\rightarrow tʰ\text{u-p}^h\text{uk}  make hole

tʰ\text{u-p}^h\text{uk}\rightarrow tʰ\text{u-p}^h\text{uk}  cause to be trapped

viii) \{gw-\}:

gw-zái>gwzái  change place

gw-zwĩ>gwzwĩ  crush into pieces

gwʃdak>gwʃdak  console

ix) \{to-\}:

to-kóí>tokóí  to bend

to-koň>tokoň  to make less

to-ro>toró  make longer

x) \{tu-\}:

tu-mw>n>tu:n  to caused to be ripened

tu-mu>tu:n  to make to sit
43.4.1.2.2 Complex verb composed of negative and tense-marker: This type of complex verb is found in Boro and Rabha. Suffixes are added with the verb root as negative and tense-marker. In Boro, some negative suffixes are added with the mono-syllabic verb root. {-a} occurs as negative suffix in Boro. {-lia} and {-akʰwi} both are also added as extended form of {-a} particularly in case of negation as well as in certain statement. Example:

A) Boro:

i) {-a}:

\( r^b\text{a\-a}>r^b\text{a\-a} \)  
\( p^b\text{wi\-a}>p^b\text{wi\-a} \)  
\( d\text{a\-a}>d\text{a\-a} \)

\( \text{do not}/\text{does not go} \)
\( \text{do not}/\text{does not come} \)
\( \text{do not}/\text{does not touch} \)
nú-a>núa  do not/does not see
bú-a>búa  do not/does not beat

ii) {-lia}:
pʰwli-a>pʰwlia  will/shall not come
maw-lia>mawlia  will/shall not do
zá-lia>zália  will/shall not eat
tʰán-lia>tʰánlia  will/shall not go

iii) {-akʰwli}:
maw-akʰwli>mawakʰwli  have/has not done
zá-akʰwli>záakʰwli  have/has not eaten
pʰwli-akʰwli>pʰwliakʰwli  have/has not come

There are some suffixes i.e. generally tense and aspect markers and these are added with the verb. In Boro, the suffix {-w} and {-dwn} are added with the verb in case of habitual present and present progressive tense respectively while in Rabha, the suffix {-a} and {-eta} are added in case of habitual present and present progressive tense respectively. Examples:

A) Boro:

i) Habitual present tense: {-w}
/aŋ maw-w/ I do
/nwŋ maw-w/ You do
/bi maw-w/ He works

ii) Present progressive tense: {-dwn}
/ aŋ maw-dwŋ / I am doing  
/ nŋ'ŋ maw-dwŋ / You are doing  
/ bi maw-dwŋ / He is doing  

**B) Rabha:**

**i) Habitual present tense: {-a}**

/ aŋ k̞ár-a / I do  
/ chiŋ k̞ár-a / We do  
/ o réŋ-a / He goes

**ii) Present progressive tense: {-eta}**

/ aŋ sá-eta / I am eating  
/ o réŋ-eta / He is going  
/ nan réŋ-eta / You are going

In Boro, the suffix {-bay} and {-dŋmwp} are added in case of immediate and remote past respectively, while {-zo} and {-etamwp} are added in Rabha. Example:

**A) Boro:**

**i) Immediate past: {-bay}**

/ bi t̞áŋ-bay / He has gone  
/ bi p̞wi-bay / He has come  
/ bi maw-bay / He has done

**ii) Remote past: {-dŋmwp}**

/ aŋ t̞áŋ-dŋmwp / I went  
/ bi lu-m-dŋmwp / He wrote  
/ bi p̞wi-dŋmwp / He came
B) Rabha:

i) Immediate past: {-zo}

/ nàŋ réŋ-zo / You have gone
/o réŋ-zo / He has gone
/chin réŋ-zo / We have gone

ii) Remote past: {-etamwp}

/ an réŋ-etamwp / I went
/nàŋ réŋ-etamwp / You went
/o réŋ-etamwp / He went

In Boro, suffixes like {-nỳswpi} and {-gynp} are added with the verb in case of immediate and remote future, while in Rabha the suffix {-o} is added to the verb root. Example:

A) Boro:

i) Definite future: {-nỳswpi}

/ an t’làŋ-nỳswpi / I shall go recently
/an zà-nỳswpi / I shall eat recently
/zwò mao-nỳswpi / We shall do recently

ii) Indefinite future: {-gynp}

/ an zà-gynp / I shall eat
/bi p’bwì-gynp / He will come
/nỳ’ nỳnhor-gynp / You will call

B) Rabha:

i) Indefinite future tense: {-no}
In Boro and Rabha, the suffix {-gwumwn} and {-nomwn} are added respectively with the verb in case of conditional tense. Example:

**A) Boro:**

/ən tʰən-gwumwn/ I would have gone

/ən zə-gwumwn/ I would have eaten

/bi pʰə-gwumwn/ He would have gone

**B) Rabha:**

/ən rén-nomwn/ I would have gone

/chîn rén-nomwn/ We would have gone

/nán sá-nomwn/ You would have eaten

**4.3.4.1.3. Compound verb:** Compound verbs are formed by joining more than one verb.

Both Boro and Rabha have the following structure of compound verbs:

A) \(vr + vr\)

B) \(vr + vr + vr\)

C) \(vr + vr + vr + vr\) (occurrences are very limited)

**4.3.4.1.3.1 \(vr + vr\):**
A) Boro:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>za + zw</td>
<td>eat and finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za + p'wi</td>
<td>come to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la + bw</td>
<td>bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bay + p'wi</td>
<td>come to buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bun + zw</td>
<td>speak and act of finishing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B) Rabha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ren + cho</td>
<td>begin to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ran + cho</td>
<td>begin to take away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa + mwn</td>
<td>get to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi + cho</td>
<td>begin to look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ren + k'w'bak</td>
<td>pretend to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa + t'o</td>
<td>be tasty to eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.4.1.3.2 v r + v r + v r: These types of compound verbs are also found in both the languages. Examples are given below:

A) Boro:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hor + p'wi + zw</td>
<td>come and give completely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maw + p'wi + zw</td>
<td>come and do completely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bù + zw lay + p'wlá</td>
<td>pretend to beat and kick each other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B) Rabha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kok + k'w'bak + cho</td>
<td>begin to pretend of beating each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nukbar + k'w'bak + cho</td>
<td>begin to pretend of love each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badagur + k'w'bak + cho</td>
<td>begin to pretend of fighting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4.3.4.1.3.3 \( vr + vr + vr + vr \): These types of combination of verbs are occurred very rarely in Boro as well. In this formation of compound verb, each of the verb roots has an individual meaning. Combination of verb derives a new semantic word. Examples in Boro:

\[
\text{lín} + \text{hör} + k^h\text{wma} + zwp > \text{línhörk}^h\text{wmazw}\ 	ext{(act of calling secretly)}
\]

\[
\text{bēn} + t^h\text{um} + p^h\text{wlá} + zwp > \text{bēn^thump}^h\text{wlázwp} \ 	ext{(pretend to encircle fully)}
\]

4.3.4.2 **Morphological function of verb:** In Boro and Rabha, verbs are classified into three sub-divisions based on the morphological function. These are: A) Transitive B) Intransitive and C) Causative

4.3.4.2.1 **Transitive verb:** In both the languages, transitive verb qualifies an object which precedes it in the concerned sentence. Example:

**A) Boro:**

/ gothoa mase zibwp butf'arbay / The boy has killed a snake

/ biwh p^hit^hāi zādwη / He is eating fruit

/ biwh bizab p^oraydwη / He is reading book

In the above sentences, words like /zibwp, p^hit^hāi, bizab/ are the object of the verbs like /butf'arbay, zādwη, p^oraydwη/ respectively.

**B) Rabha:** In Rabha, the same principle operates. Example:

/ an may sazo / I have eaten rice

/ oroq may sanatamwp / They eat rice

/ nān kami k^hāreta / You are doing work

In the above sentences, words like /may, kami/ are the object of the verbs like /sazo, sanatamwp, k^hāreta/.
4.3.4.2.2 *Intransitive verb*: In both the languages, a verb which does not require an object in a sentence to complete its meaning is called an intransitive verb. Example:

**A) Boro:**

/ biświr minidwη / They are laughing
/ bi gabdwη / He is crying/weeping
/ gotbəoa undudwη / The child is sleeping

In the above sentences, the verb denotes a good sense without adding an object to it.

**B) Rabha:**

/ oron riβa / They come
/ oron minieta / They are laughing
/ musa sabrabe pʰəræcta / The boy is dancing

In the above sentences, the intransitive verb denotes a good sense without adding an object to it. It is worth mentioning here that distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in both the languages are realized by their action or on the basis of function.

4.3.4.2.3 *Causative verb*: In both the languages, causative verbs are always transitive. These are either monosyllabic or polysyllabic in nature. In Boro and Rabha, causative verbs are formed by affixation. Affixes are added to the verb roots. In these languages, causative formation is realized by the following ways:

A) Unique causative B) By addition of prefix to the intransitive or transitive verb C) By addition of suffix to the intransitive or transitive verb

4.3.4.2.3.1 *Unique causative*: There are some causative verbs in unique nature. These are not derived by affixation or compounding. Such verbs are quite a few in both the languages. It is
worth mentioning here that these are comparable to English verb ‘feed’ meaning cause somebody to eat. Examples are stated below:

A) Boro:

/dwŋ/  
cause somebody to eat or drink

B) Rabha:

/tepen/  
makes somebody to hide

/tʰwəkʰən/  
makes somebody to drink

4.3.4.2.3.2 By addition of prefix: Causative verb is realised by prefixation in both the languages. Prefixes are added to the transitive or intransitive verbs. Example:

A) Boro:

i) {pʰw}:

pʰw-zug >pʰwəzug  
to make old
pʰw-tʰwə >pʰwətʰwə  
to cause to die
pʰw-rúŋ >pʰwərúŋ  
to cause to get dry

ii) {pʰu-}:

pʰu-dûŋ >pʰudûŋ  
to make warm / hot
pʰu-rúŋ >pʰurúŋ  
to make loose / soften
pʰu-tʰu >pʰutʰu  
to cause to sleep

iii) {pʰi-}:

pʰi-si >pʰisi  
to make wet
pʰi-din >pʰidin  
to turn

iv) {pʰa-}:
pʰa-ham > pʰaham  cause to repair
pʰa-háy > pʰaháy  to make lower

v) {bi-}:
bi-zír > bizír  to analyse, to examine

vi) {mw-}:
mw-zwm > mwzwwm  cause to close finger

vii) {sw-}:
sw-gáb > swgáb  cause to cry, weep
sw-kʰ’a > swkʰ’a  cause to cure
sw-maw > swmaw  cause to jerk with hand

B) Rabha:
i) {ku-}:
ku-túŋ > kutúŋ  cause to make heat
ku-chuŋ > kuchuŋ  make large, big
ku-chu > kuchu  make tall

ii) {ko-}:
ko-chon > kochon  to wear another
ko-trok > kotrok  cause to dance

iii) {kw-}:
kw-chak > kwchak  command, order
kw-chán > kwchán  cause to wear out
kw-trwη > kw-trwnη  cause to teach
iv) {kh u-}:
k&u-swq > k&u-swq  make wet
k&u-tb & > k&u-tb &  make clean
v) {gw-}:
gw-dap > gw-dap  cause to cover
gw-zar > gw-zar  cause to remove
vi) {tw-}:
tw-kan > tw-kan  dress up another
tw-ma > tw-ma  cause to lose
tw-ran > tw-ran  cause to dry
vii) {tu-}:
tu-nuk > tu-nuk  show
tu-nu > tu-nu  make to sit
tu-pur > tu-pur  set free to fry
viii) {to-}:
to-kron > to-kron  cause to dry up
to-krop > to-krop  split open
to-koi > to-koi  twist, bend
ix) {te-}:
te-nem > te-nem  make good
te-pré>tepré

x) \{t^h e^\}-:

t^h e^\-k^h \=e^\>t^h ek^h \=e^\make fighting

t^h e^\-p^h \=e^\>t^h ep^h \=e^\make low

xi) \{t^h w^\}-:

t^h w^\-k^h \=ap^\>t^h w^k^h \=ap^\cause to weep

t^h w^\-k^h \=am^\>t^h w^k^h \=am^\cause to burn

xii) \{do-\}:

do-gom^\>dogom^ cause to bend

do-gon^\>dogon^ bring out

do-bôn^\>dobôn^ go to meet

xiii) \{dw\}-:

dw-bá^\>dwbá^ help another to tie a child on the back

dw-gap^\>dwpap^ make ready

xiv) \{du\}-:

du-gur^\>dugur^ cut down

du-bú^\>dubú^ press down

4.3.4.2.3.3 Addition of suffix: In Boro, causativisation is also realized by adding the suffix \{-hv\} to the transitive or intransitive verbs, while the suffix \{-tak\} is used in Rabha. Some examples are stated below:

A) Boro:

\{-hv\}:

maw-hv >mawhv^ cause to do by somebody

bun-hv >bunhv^ cause to speak by somebody
B) Rabha:

{-tak}:

sá-tak>sátak cause to eat
k₃ár-tak>k₃ártak cause to do by somebody
nuk-tak>nuktak cause to look by somebody
ruk-tak>ruktak cause to drive away

4.3.4.2 Tense and aspect in Boro and Rabha:

In both the languages, the term “tense” is used to show the time or state at which the action of the verb is performed. So, the discussion of the tense is consistently associated with the action of the verb. Action of the verb is performed in different aspects.

4.3.4.2.1 Principal tenses and aspects: There are three principal tenses in Boro and Rabha viz: present tense, past tense and future tense. In both the languages, present tense is used to indicate an action which is taking place at the time of speech act. The present tense has mainly two aspects viz: habitual tense and progressive tense. The past tense has also two aspects viz:
immediate past and remote past tense. Thus future tense has also two aspects viz. definite and indefinite future. Besides these, there is a particular kind of aspect in the past tense of both the languages which is comparable to the past conditional tense. It is worth mentioning here that tenses and aspects are realized by adding suffixes to the verbs. The analysis of tenses and aspects are made as stated below.

4.3.4.2.1.1 The present tense and its aspect: In Boro and Rabha, the present tense and its aspects are realized by adding suffixes to the verbs. Examples are stated below:

i) Habitual tense: This tense is used to mark habitual or repeated action performed at all times. In Boro, habitual tense is marked by the suffix {-w}, while the suffix {-a} is used in case of Rabha. Example:

A) Boro:
/ aŋ maw-w / I do
/ naŋ maw-w / You do
/ bi maw-w / He does
/ sana sanzaha wŋkər-w / — The sun rises in the east

B) Rabha:
/ aŋ kər-a / I do
/ naŋ kər-a / You do
/ o kər-a / he does

/Bwisymata raŋsan sanṣaŋ pəurai-a /—The earth moves round the sun.

ii) Present progressive tense: It refers to continuation of the action that taking place in the present time. This aspect is realized by adding {-dŋŋ} in Boro while the suffix {-eta} is used in case of Rabha. Example:

A) Boro:
The past tense and its aspect: The past tense has two aspects in both the languages viz: immediate past and remote past. These are realized by adding suffix to the verb.

i) Immediate past: It is realized by the suffix {-bay} in Boro, while the suffix {-zo} is added to the verb in case of Rabha. Example:

A) Boro:
/bi  t'âŋ-bay/ He has gone
/bi p'wi-bay/ He has come

B) Rabha:
/nâŋ  réŋ-zo/ You have gone
/o réŋ-zo/ He has gone

ii) Remote past: In Boro, remote past is realized by adding {-dvmmûn} while the suffix {-etamûn} is added to the verb in Rabha. Example:

A) Boro:
/aŋ t'âŋ-dvmmûn/ I went
/bi t'âŋ-dvmmûn/ He went

B) Rabha:
/aŋ réŋ-etamûn/ I went
4.3.4.2.13 The future tense and its aspects: The future tense is realized by the addition of suffix to the verb. In Boro, future tense has mainly two aspects viz: definite future and indefinite future. Rabha has only indefinite aspect for future tense.

i) Definite future: This is realized by the suffix {-nvpwi} in Boro. Example:

/ân maw-nvpwi / I shall do recently
/ân t'hâi-nvpwi / I shall go recently

ii) Indefinite future: This aspect is realized by adding {-gw} in Boro, while suffix like {-no} is added in case of Rabha. Example

A) Boro:

/ân t'hâi-gwn / I shall go
/ân zâ-gwn / I shall eat
/bi-lîr-gwn / He will write

B) Rabha:

/ân k'här-no / I shall do
/nân k'här-no / You will do
/o k'här-no / He will do
4.3.4.2.1.4 The past conditional tense: This tense denotes an action that takes place conditionally before the present time. In Boro, the suffix {-gwumwn} is added in case of this tense while {-nomwn} is added in Rabha for the same. Example:

A) Boro:

/ an tʰän-gwumwn / I would have gone

/ nwʔ tʰän-gwumwn / You would have gone

/ bi tʰän-gwumwn / He would have gone

B) Rabha:

/ an rēj-nomwn / I would have gone

/ nān rēj-nomwn / You would have gone

/ o rēj-nomwn / He would have gone

4.3.5 Adverb in Boro and Rabha:

In Boro and Rabha, adverbs are used to modify the meaning of a verb. In a sentence, it occurs before the verb and gives something information about a verb. In both the languages, most of the adverbs are formed by the process of derivation. In this process, suffixes are added to the noun, pronoun, adjective and verb. There are chiefly three kinds of adverbs. These are: A) Adverb of place B) Adverb of time and C) Adverb of manner.

4.3.5.1 Adverb of Place: Adverb of place tells about a proper place where something is happened. Adverbs of place are formed by adding locative case-ending to the noun, pronoun and adjective. In Boro, {-aw} is used to formed adverb of place, while {-i- -digi} is used for the same in Rabha. Examples are stated below:
A) Boro:

i) Derived from noun:

n. / nólogo / house, home
nólogo-aw > adv. nológaw at home

n. / dwi / water
dwi-aw > adv. dwiaw in the water

n. / okhrar / the sky
okhrar-aw > adv. okhraraw in the sky

akhail-aw > adv. akhailaw in the hand

ii) Derived from pronoun:

pron. / be / this, it
be-aw > adv. bewan here

pron. / bwéi / that
bwéi-aw > adv. bwéiaw there

pron. / bobé / which
bobé-aw > adv. bobéaw where

iii) Derived from adjective:

adj. / un / back side, after
adj.un-aw > adv. unaw in the back side, after

adj. / khatbi / nearby
khatbi-aw > adv. khatbaw nearby
adj. / gwązwu / high

adj. gwązwu-aw > adv. gwązwuaw on the top

adj. / gahai / low, down

adj. gahai-aw > adv. gahaiaw in the below

adj. / sigaŋ / front

adj. sigaŋ-aw > adv. sigaŋaw in front of

B) Rabha:

i) Derived from noun:

n. / nok / house, home

n. nok-i > adv. noki at home

n. / bªandar / granary

n. bªandar-i > adv. bªandari in the granary

n. / hachu / hill

n. hachu-i > adv. hachui in the hill

ii) Derived from pronoun:

pron. / i / it, this

pron. i-si > adv. isi here, in this place

pron. / u / that

pron. u-si > adv. usi there, in that place

The locative case-ending {-digi} is also used with the pronoun. Example:

i-digi > adv. idigi
iii) Derived from adjective:

adj. / kaphā / near
adj. kaphā-i >adv. kaphai nearby
adj. / mazar / middle
adj. mazar-i >adv. mazari in the midst of
adj. / zikhār / back
adj. zikhār-i >adv. zikhāri at the back of

4.3.5.2 Adverb of time: Adverb of time refers to a definite time when something happens. In both the languages, there are three processes by which adverbs of time are formed. These are:

i) Primary adverb: In both the languages, primary adverbs are independent in nature. Examples are stated below:

A) Boro:

/dinwē/ to-day
/gabwn/ tomorrow
/da/ at present
/mwēa/ yesterday
/denē/ in future
/deglai/ this year

B) Rabha:

/te/ to-day
/gapēn/ tomorrow
/tegap/ at present
yesterday

ii) Primary form + case-ending: In this process, the case-ending {-aw} is used for Boro, while {-i}, {-lan} and {-nani} are used for the same in Rabha. Example:

A) Boro:

i) {-aw}:

p^uη-aw > p^uηaw in the morning
belasi-aw > belasiaw in the afternoon
hor-aw > horaw in the night

B) Rabha:

i) {-i}:

zada-i > zadai some time in the future
p^uη-i > p^uηi in the morning
k^wςam-i > k^wςami in the evening

ii) {-lan}:

telan > telan in this year

iii) {-nani}:

tena > tena a while ago

iii) Primary form + primary form:

A) Boro:

san-hor day and night
p^uη-belasi morning and evening

B) Rabha:
4.3.5.3 Adverb of manner: Adverb of manner refers how something happens. In both the languages, adverbs of manner are formed by the following principal ways. These are:

A) Primary form + suffix

B) Reduplication of primary form

4.3.5.3.1 Primary form + suffix: In this process, suffixes are added to the primary form. In Boro, the suffix {-wi} is added to the adjective and the verb while {-raña}, {-e} and {-an} are added to the verbs and the adjectives in Rabha. Example:

A) Boro:

i) {-wi}:

adj. / mwzañ / good, nice
adj.mwzañ-wi > adv.mwzañwi nicely
adj. / geder / big, large
adj. geder-wi > adv. gederwi largely
adj. / gwbanñ / much, more
adj.gwbanñ-wi > adv.gwbanñwi in large quantity
adj. / gwzanñ / peace
adj. gwzanñ-wi > adv. gwzanñwi peacefully
v. / swlæy / to change
v.swlæy-wi > adv. swlæywi alternatively
B) Rabha:

i) {-raṇa}:

v. / nem / be good
v. nem-raṇa > adv. nemraṇa well
v. / natʰo / be melodious
v. natʰo-raṇa > adv. natʰorana melodiously

ii) {-e}:

v. / rak / be hard
v. rak-e > adv. rake sternly
v. / pen / make after
v. pen-e > adv. pene alternatively

iii) {-an}:

adj. / pʰroṇ / sudden
adj. pʰroṇ-an > adv. pʰroṇan suddenly
v. / prota / lead to
v. prot-an > adv. protan directly
v. / prana / be bright
v. pran-an > adv. pranən brightly
v. / proka / be easy
v. prok-an > adv. prokan effortlessly
4.3.5.3.2 Reduplication of primary form: In both the languages, adverbs of manner are also expressed by reduplication of primary form i.e. adjective. Example:

A) Boro:

adv. / pʰua pʰua / profusely
adv. / pʰri pʰri / in very fine drops of rains
adv. / pʰraw pʰraw / appearing brightly
adv. / pʰrawm pʰrawm / dry and not sticky
adv. / snai snai / in an orderly manner

B) Rabha:

adv. / pʰra pʰra / dry and not sticky
adv. / pʰraw pʰraw / appearing brightly
adv. / pʰroŋ pʰroŋ / speedly
adv. / pit pit / in a detailed manner

Besides these, adverbs of manner are expressed by reduplication of intransitive verb in Rabha. Example:

adv. / pʰungur pʰungur / slow movement
adv. / pʰwlap pʰwlap / continuous movement

It is worth mentioning here that onomatopoetic words are usually used as adverbial phrase in both the languages. Some examples are as follows:

A) Boro:

/re re ~ ze ze/ dripping of rain
/ raw raw / loudly speaking

**B) Rabha:**

/re re/ dripping of rain
/raw raw/ loudly speaking

* * * *