4. MORPHOLOGY : WORD-GRAMMAR.

4.0. Introductory

On the basis of our preceding analysis, we may divide Boro words into two general structural classes: (1) words consisting of morphemes which are bases and affixes; (2) words consisting of morphemes which may be termed as bases without any affix. The second structural class is incapable of taking any affix and as such it enters into no morphological constructions. This class may be called the particles, and their uses are discussed in the following chapter under syntax. The first general structural class may be called the non-particles. Their formations are discussed in this chapter, entitled Morphology or Word-Grammar.

According to our morphological criteria of bases and affixes, we now establish the following number and types of structural classes:

A. Non-particles:

(a) Nouns or Nominal group

1. Substantives or Nouns
2. Pronouns
3. Numerals

(b) Verbs or Verbal group

4. Verbs
5. Adjectives
6. Adverbs

B. Particles:

7. Adjectival and Adverbial
8. Conjunctional
9. Interjectional

(i) Exclamative
(ii) Imitative
These principal structural classes of words are formally distinguished from each other by their internal structure as well as by their external distributions. This is not to be regarded as the only way of analysing Boro words; I have simply worked out this analysis as one of the many possibilities.

As indicated above, a particle differs from a non-particle being a word with a form which represents a base (root or stem) without any affix. This may be described as:

Particle: Word with Base plus Zero affix (morpheme)
Non-particle: Word with Base plus affix (which may sometimes consist of allomorphs zero affix)

It may however be noted that adjectives and adverbs have been shown under the non-particles as well as under particles; a considerable number of adverbs are formed with verbal base and a kind of characteristic affixes which are suffixed to adjectival forms of the verbal bases. There are a limited number of adverbial and adjectival particles which do not take any characteristic suffix of the above nature; and these are placed under particles as to their uses and distributions in longer sequences of phrases, clauses and sentences within the domain of Syntax.

4.1 Nouns: Nominal Group

4.1.1 Substantives:

The nominal group consisting of substantives or nouns, pronouns and numerals has the ability to take the principal nominal suffixes indicating case relations and some prepositional relationships which are added to their bases.

The nominal group of structural classes is formed with nominal B bases plus nominal affixes. These nominal affixes contrast with the
verbal affixes added to the verbal group of structural classes.

Noun bases differ from pronoun bases and numeral bases in respect of the following points:

(a) Noun bases are more numerous in comparison to pronoun bases and numeral bases which are very few and limited.

(b) Noun bases are capable of taking principal nominal suffixes and a few secondary nominal affixes indicating singular-plural contrasts, masculine-feminine differentiation and nominal terminating suffixes as detailed below. Pronoun bases are capable of taking principal nominal suffixes and a limited number of secondary nominal affixes indicating singular-plural contrasts only. Numeral bases consisting of numeral classifying prefixes and quantifying bound bases may take only the principal nominal suffixes and a small number of terminating suffixes.

The following are the inflectional nominal affixes:

1. Principal nominal affixes: These indicate the regular case relations and other prepositional relations including the definitive and determinative senses.

2. Secondary nominal affixes:
   (a) Singular - plural indicating suffixes
   (b) Masculine - feminine differentiating suffixes

3. Nominal terminating suffixes.

4.1.1.1 Noun Bases:

There are a large number of noun bases in Boro and along with the verb bases, the noun bases constitute the major portion of Boro vocabulary. A verb base, if desired, may take a substantive indicating suffix and the resulting form becomes a verbal noun base capable of taking nominal affixes. With a few exceptions, most of the verb
bases may become verbal noun bases. Such resulting bases behave like noun bases EN and they take the principal nominal suffixes. Sometimes a limited number of adjectives and adverbs are used as nouns.

Thus the noun bases, apart from the pronoun bases and numeral bases, include the names of picturable objects, people, places, substances, and a number of abstracts, including social relationships in Boro. Their ranges partially occupy a limited sphere of verbal action and quality.

The noun bases with nominal affixes form the nouns. Some 'Nouns' are used in isolation without any apparent affix i.e. these are noun bases with general nominative morphemic zero affix. In response to questions like 'what is this?', 'what is that?', we get a number of small utterances signifying a thing or an object, these belong to the structural classes, described as nouns. As to the canonical shapes of nouns or substantives in respect of their number of syllables and typical tonal sequences, we have briefly the following as to simple and derived forms.

There are a large number of noun bases which are simple i.e. monomorphemic and monosyllabic; polysyllabic sum polymorphemic derived noun bases are comparatively fewer in number.

Examples of VO, OW, OWG with non-neutral tones in isolation or in general nominative case relations 2em 'rice-powder' 2or 'fire' 3en 'bed', 1the 'bamboo basket', 2geq 'horn', 3geq 'wing of a bird', 1gab 'colour', 2baam 'sea' 1si /'hi 'cloth', 1su 'thorn', 3gor 'iron', 1new 'rice-bear', 3thaw 'oil', 1they 'blood', 2daw 'bird', 1ha 'fish', 1phaw 'movement', 1peeq 'firewood', 1may 'paddy', 3raw 'voice', 1he 'garland', 1ha 'land';.
Noun bases having more than one syllable are sometimes analysable as a derived formation of nominalising affix plus bound noun base; there are different types of nominalising derivational affixes. Chiefly two types are found: (a) personal pronominal prefixes to bases indicating social relationships etc., (b) (non-pronominal and non-personal) general nominalising affixes.

(c) stem-compounds or combination of bases.

Examples of VOV, WOV, OW, VC etc. with or without neutral tones:

(a) With personal pronominal prefixes added to a number of bound bases of human relationship etc.: /2a-~2a~ma-/ as first personal pronoun relation indicator, /2nem~2nem~2ma-/ etc. as second personal pronoun relation indicator, and /2bi-~0phi-/ etc. as third personal pronoun relationship indicator

2a`pha 'my father' (-`pha as bound noun base 'father')

2nem`pha 'your father'

2bi`pha 'his father'

0phi`pha 'one's father'

'yay 'my mother'

2nem`ma~2nem`ma 'your mother'

2bi`ma 'his mother' (-`ma -` 'mother' as bound base)

2nem`ay 'my maternal uncle'

2nem`may/2nem`may 'your maternal uncle'

2bi`may 'his maternal uncle' (-`may/-`ay 'maternal uncle' as bound base)

2a`da 'my elder brother'

2nem`da 'your elder brother'

2bi`da 'his elder brother' (-`da 'elder brother')
In this respect, we may analyse the whole sets of nouns of relationships in Boro which are socially recognised and used. From the above examples and a few other examples given below, we are in a position to list the personal pronominal relation indicating prefixes and the set of noun bases implying relationship.

- 2a'dey/2da'dey 'my paternal uncle'; 2mem'they 'your paternal uncle'; 2bi'they 'his paternal uncle' (2ap'n)2ba'sey 'my elder brother's wife'; 2emnsey 'your elder brother's wife'; 2b2ba'sey 'his elder brother's wife' etc. etc.

4.1.1.2 Derived forms:

We thus arrive at a series of personal pronominal prefixes to noun bases of relationship, /2a-2am-/ (2apn-2mem-2me-),

(2bi-0phi-)/

(1) First personal prefix morpheme may be described as:
2a-2am- in which these allomorphs are prefixed to bound and free noun bases denoting human social relationship.

2a-: to bound noun bases with consonantal initial (onset)
2appha 'my father'; 2a1'da 'my elder brother'; etc.
(2pha,1'da are bound noun bases)

2am-: to bound noun bases with vowel onset
2am'ay/2a'may 'my maternal uncle' (1'ay/-1'may as bound noun bases)

(2apn): to free noun bases denoting relationship (2apn2n)2gu'mey '(my) elder brother's sister's husband';
(2apn) 2ba'sey '(my) elder brother's wife' etc. (2gu'mey, 2ba'sey are free noun bases). There are other complex and derived noun bases which do not take either 2a- or 2am-;
these may be interpreted to have \( \phi^- \) (as first personal pronominal prefix) considering the distribution of first personal context (after present or implied \( 2_{nay}^2 ni \) 'my').

(ii) Second personal pronominal prefixal morphemes may be represented by these allomorphs: \( 2_{nom-} \sim 2_{nom-} \sim 2_{nom^-} \phi^- \)

\( 2_{nom^-} \): to bound noun bases with consonantal initials other than labials (/\( ph \ b m / ) & dentic- alveolar /th/ \( 2_{nom}^1 da \) 'your elder brother'; \( 2_{nom}^1 gay \) 'your younger brother (lovingly in address)/ sister (beloved).

\( 2_{nom-} \): to bound noun bases with aspirates /\( ph th / \) and vowel initials; \( 2_{nom}^2 ay^1 eq \) 'your father's elder brother/sister'; \( 2_{nom}^1 pha \) 'your father'; \( 2_{nom}^1 phay \) 'your younger brother'; \( 2_{nom}^2 be \) 'your elder sister'; \( 2_{nom}^2 a noy \) 'your maternal aunt'; \( 2_{nom}^1 they \) 'your paternal uncle'; \( 2_{nom}^1 bow \) 'your grand father';

\( 2_{no-} \): to bound noun bases with /\( m / \) initial; \( 2_{no}^- \) varies with \( 2_{nom}- \)

\( 2_{no}^- 2_{nom}^1 ma / 2_{nom}^1 ma \) 'your mother'; \( 2_{no}^2 ma^1 doy \) 'your paternal aunt' (cf. \( 2_{ma}^1 doy / 2 a^1 doy \) 'my paternal aunt')

\( \phi^- (3^{rd}) \): to all other free noun bases that occur in the second personal pronominal context (\( 2_{nom}^1 ni \)) \( 2_{bi}^1 ni \) '(your) wife'

(iii) Third personal pronominal prefixes have these allomorphs:

\( 2_{bi-} (2_{bi}^2 ma-) \sim 0_{phi-} \sim \phi^- \)

\( 2_{bi-} \): to all bound noun bases in definite or particular context (\( 2_{bi}^1 ni \) = 'his/her') with consonantal initials; \( 2_{bi}^1 ma \) 'his mother'; \( 2_{bi}^1 da \) 'his elder brother'; \( 2_{bi}^1 gay \) 'his younger brother (lovingly)/sister (beloved); \( 2_{bi}^2 be \) 'his elder sister' etc.
to all bound noun bases in definite or particular context
with vowel initials (sometimes assimilated as 2blm-)

2bi2ma'dey 'his paternal uncle' (2a'doy/2ma'dey 'my
paternal uncle'); 2bi2ma'ney 'his maternal aunt'
(2a'ney 'my maternal aunt'); 2bi2ma'yog 'his father's
elder brother/sister (cf. 2ay'og 'my father's elder
brother/sister) etc. 2bi- is partly replaced by 2bib-
sometimes before bound noun base with /th/ initial:

2bib'they 'his paternal uncle' (cf. 2a'doy/2da'doy 'my
paternal uncle', 2mem'they 'your paternal uncle')

with unmarried adult or adult onetlae;

0phi- to a limited number of bound noun bases, in indefinite or
general context; 0phi'pha 'one's father'; 0phi'sa 'one's
child'; 0phi'say 'one's husband/her husband'; (cf. a
contra. 2bi'pha 'his father'; 2bi'sa 'his/her child';
these may be due to morpho-phonemic changes plus semantic
variations).

δ- (226) to all free noun bases that occur in the third personal
pronounal context; (2bi2ni) 2l9'ge 'his friend';
(2bi2ni) 2hin'saw 'his wife'; (2bi2ni/2sa2se2ni)
2how'a 'her/one's husband/'; etc.

(b) With non-pronominal general nominalizing affixes added to bound
or free noun bases, we have different shades of nominal meanings and
contexts of situations. These are treated briefly here as derivational
suffixes; some of them are:

(1) To indicate human limbs 2a- is used as a general nominalizing
prefix; 2a- might have a secondary affiliation to first personal
pronoun (2a- 'am 'I'), but this context is lost in the Boro language
as it is spoken and understood at the present times, 2a-
sometimes
varies with 2ma-; 2a'they-2a'thiq 'leg'; 2a'khay 'land';
2\text{a}^2\text{khan} 'knee'; 2\text{a}^1\text{khoeb} 'the lower portion of the knee';
2\text{a}^1\text{san} \sim 2\text{a}^1\text{si} 'finger'; 2\text{a}^1\text{gan} \sim 2\text{a}^1\text{gam} 'foot-step';
2\text{a}^2\text{su}'gur \sim 2\text{a}^2\text{su}'gur 'mailbox'; 2\text{a}^1\text{lay} 'the portion of leg below the knee';
2\text{a}^1\text{ as a prefix is also added to a small number of noun bases indicating ornaments related to human limbs:}
2\text{a}^1\text{san} \sim 2\text{a}^1\text{khan} 'bangle', 'bracelet'; 2\text{a}^1\text{tham} 'ring';
2\text{a}^1\text{ruq} \sim 2\text{a}^1\text{ruq} 'bamboo-string'.

(ii) /\text{2}^\text{si} \sim \text{0}^\text{si} / as a general nominalising prefixal morpheme is added to bound and free bases which may belong to different structural bases, but result in noun bases: \text{0}^\text{si} - before voiceless aspirates /ph th kh/ only & \text{2}^\text{si} - elsewhere. \text{2}^\text{si}^1\text{ma} & 'dream'; \text{2}^\text{si}^1\text{lay} 'gun';
\text{2}^\text{si}^\text{kh} \sim \text{0}^\text{si}^\text{kh} ^1 'big knife'; \text{0}^\text{si}^\text{phap} 'flute'; \text{0}^\text{si}^\text{khaw} 'thief';
\text{0}^\text{si}^\text{thla} 'maiden'; \text{2}^\text{si}^\text{thi} 'butterfly'; \text{0}^\text{si}^\text{khreb} \sim \text{0}^\text{si}^\text{greb} cigarette'; \text{0}^\text{si}^\text{thla} 'courtyard' etc.

(iii) /\text{opi} \sim \text{2}^\text{bi} / as general nominalising prefixal morpheme is added to a number of bound or free bases and result in noun bases denoting trees, fruits etc. This prefix appears to be connected with third personal pronominal prefix, but the concept of human and social relationship is absent in the following examples:

\text{0}^\text{phi} - before voiceless aspirates only as generalising; \text{2}^\text{bi} - before elsewhere as particularising.

\text{0}^\text{phi}^\text{phap} 'tree' (general); \text{0}^\text{phi}^\text{thay} 'fruit'; \text{2}^\text{bi}^\text{phap} 'tree' (particular); \text{2}^\text{bi}^\text{thay} 'fruit' (particular); \text{2}^\text{bi}^\text{bar} 'flower'
\text{2}^\text{bi}^\text{ban} 'load'; \text{2}^\text{bi}^\text{gur} 'bark of tree'; \text{2}^\text{bi}^\text{khap} 'shell' (of a fruit); \text{0}^\text{phi}^\text{thor} 'clod' (of earth).

Sometimes /\text{2}^\text{bi} \sim \text{2}^\text{be} / covers a wide range of nominal meaning.
being added to bound or free bases; 2be- before mid-vowels due to assimilation:— 2bi1day 'juice', honey'; 2bi3day 'egg' (of birds)
2be'gor 'seed'; 2be'dor 'meat'; 2bi^- 2be- are also prefixed to bases to mean human limbs, etc. 2bi1khu 'the back' (of a man);
2bi3kha 'chest', 'breast'; 2bi1khlo 'the pail' (of a man);

2bi'bu 'stomach'
2be'gaa 'bone';
2bi2ge'1ma /2big'1ma 'owner';
2bi'zab 'book'; 2bi'zi 'needle'.

(c) There are noun bases which take a number of bound elements after them. These elements appear to be contracted from noun bases which are used as free forms also.

(1) Free noun base plus bound form:

2doy'1ma 'big river' ('doy 'water' plus -'1ma 'mother' of. 2bi'1ma 'his mother')
2doy'1sa 'small river', ('doy 'water' plus -'1sa 'child' of. 2bi'sa øphi'1sa 'his son'; 'one's child'.)
2no'1ma 'big house', 'main house' (of the Beres) ('no 'house' plus -'1ma 'mother', big')
2no'1sa 'hut', 'small house' ('no plus -'1sa as above)
2daw'1sa 'chicken' (2daw plus -'1sa as above), small bird
Also 2ge'0phi'1sa (small net), 2na0phi'1sa 'small fish' etc.

-1ma and -'1sa may be regarded as derivational nominalising suffixes. But the following examples of disyllabic noun formation presents noun bases which are free plus bound elements which can not be called suffixes:

2daw'kha 'crow' (2daw 'bird' plus -'kha as bound form to mean a particular sheet, )
2daw'ari 'a kind of bird' in Assamese; karika and in Sanskrit; mārka (2daw- 'bird' plus -'ari)

Thus 2daw'ītā 'wood-pecker bird', 2daw'ītus 'dove', 2daw'īray 'peacock', 2daw'ībo 'crane', and many bird-names begin with 2daw meaning 'bird' (in general); and 'fowl' which are commonly domesticated (in particular). Words with more than two syllables are rare in respect of bird-names; but we may note following 2daw'ītīgaw 'a kind of forest bird' named in Assamese as māndarini, 2daw'īkha'as 'a bird of crow-type' etc. 2daw- may be regarded as derivational prefix in the above examples.

(ii) Free noun base 1moy 'animal' plus bound forms (morphemes) of different classes; 1moy has at least these allomorphs 2moy- (~2moh-~ 2muh- (as derivational prefixes)

1moy 'animal' (in general) and 'deer' (in particular).

2moy'ma 'big animal', 'mother of animal', big deer'.

2moy'der 'elephant' (2moy- plus -'der (~2gol'der 'big')

2moy'so~2moy'su 'buffalo' (2moy- plus -'so~'su )

2moh'ma 'tiger' (2moh- plus -'ma)

2moh'so~2moh'khow 'cow' (2moh- plus -'so~'khow).

2moh'day 'porcupine' (2moh- plus -'day )

2moh'phow 'iguana' (2moh- plus -'phow).

2moh'aron 'ant' (2moh- plus -'aron )

2muh'phur 'bear' (2muh- plus -'phur) etc.

(iii) Bound noun forms 2thay-~2thau- (~0phi' 2thay 'fruit') as derivational prefixes plus bound forms of different classes:

2thay'gir 'the acid fruit named 'ou ' in Assamese (2thay- plus- 'gir (~2gl'dir') 'wood - apple'.

2thay
(iv) There are many noun bases, free or bound, which take bound elements contracted from free bases sometimes, but these suffixed elements belong to different structural classes with divergent or obscure meaning to result in full-fledged nouns; these are examples of derivation; the first elements may be regarded as derivational prefixes or proclitics.

\[ \text{2} \text{thay} \text{su}^{1} \text{ri} \quad '\text{hog-plum}' (\text{2} \text{thay- plus } \text{2} \text{su}^{1} \text{ri}) \]
\[ \text{2} \text{thay} \text{beg} \quad '\text{cucumber}' (\text{2} \text{thay- plus } \text{1} \text{beg}) \]
\[ \text{2} \text{thay} \text{lif} \quad '\text{banana}' (\text{2} \text{thay- plus } \text{1} \text{lif}<\text{2} \text{glif} \text{r} \quad '\text{heavy}') \]
\[ \text{2} \text{thay} \text{dun} \quad '\text{a sort of arum}' (\text{2} \text{thay- plus } \text{1} \text{dun- } \text{1} \text{rum}) \]

(2) **Combined Noun Bases:** (A hyphen is used to indicate combination)

(1) Noun base followed by another noun base having often adjectival or qualifying sense; sometimes simple combinations only,

\[ \text{2} \text{bi}^{2} \text{bar-2} \text{ha}^{2} \text{ri} \quad '\text{flower garden}' (\text{2} \text{bi}^{1} \text{bar} '\text{flower}' \text{ plus } \text{2} \text{ha}^{2} \text{ri} \quad '\text{garden}', '\text{homestead}') \]
(ii) Noun base plus verbal noun base:

- **2məsəw-2gəsəri** 'bullock cart' (2məsəw 'cow' plus 2gəsəri 'cart')
- **2dəy-2bi'sma** 'mother river' i.e. 'big river' (2dəy 'water' plus 2bi'sma 'his mother')
- **2bərəsəmə-2mən'da'ram** (2bərəsəmə 'goat' plus 2mən'da 'ram'); 2bərəsəmə-2mən'di 'ewe'

(iii) Combination of two or more bases treated as a noun formation:

- **2bi'səmə-2bələphə-2səsəla'phər** 'mother, father and sons'
  e.g. 2əq 2bi'səmə-2bələphə-2səsəla'phər 'muhobay', 'I have seen the sons with their mother and father'.

- **2məy'la-2məla-2thəq'nəy-2mən'si** 'the man who came yesterday' (2məy'la 'yesterday', 2thəq'nəy 'going', 2mən'si 'man')

Noun bases indicating abstract things, properties, proper names, place names, verbal action, adjectival qualities, related things etc. are enumerated below with a few examples; for details of noun-phrases under syntax and vocabulary.

- **2məri** 'appearance', outward beauty'
- **2dəsəbə'rom** 'religion'
- **2phəb** 'sin'
- **2ba'səram** (a man named) 'Basiran'
- **2go'y'ari** (a woman) named 2əq 'Go'yari'
- **2məy'na'gəri** (a village named) Keinaguri'
- **2ba'səsu'gəni** '(a place/village named) Basugani' (Basugan)
- **2phəbəsəda'y'la** '(a river named) Phagladeq (Fagladia).'
- **2mən'may** 'act of laughing', 'to laugh' i.e. laughter (verbal-noun)
2ni2thi1 may 'act of knowing i.e. inform
2no9'gaw 'being true i.e. 'truth'
2go1'haw 'deep' (adjective), also means physical 'depress'
2go1'law 'long' (adjective), also means 'length'
2ga3'am 'physically good', also means 'goodness' (physically)
2ha2'kha - 2da'kha 'haste' (adverbial used as a noun)
2ha-1'hu 'land & property? (2ha- ∮ 1'na 'land' plus 1'hu
(rhyming syllable).
2ma-1'sa 'fish & other related things' (2ma- ∮ 1'na 'fish'
plus 1'sa (rhyming syllable) etc. etc.
1ga1'ga (voice of a crow) (reduplicated echo-word;
2el1'el 'voice of a frog' etc. etc. (cf. 5.1.3 also)

4.1.3. Inflection:

The substantives or nouns proper are capable of taking principal
nominal affixes, secondary nominal affixes and nominal terminating
affixes to a fuller extent as enumerated in 4.1.1.0. The details of
inflections with examples in respect of nouns, pronouns and numerals are
given in a subsequent sub-section (4.1.4).

4.1.2. Pronouns

4.1.2.0. General remarks: There are a limited number of pronoun
bases, less than a hundred as I count in the appended vocabulary
representing the common usages, and these pronoun bases may take
principal nominal suffixes and a limited number of secondary nominal
affixes indicating singular-plural contrast and if necessary a limited
number of terminating nominal suffixes. Pronoun bases never take
masculine-feminine differentiating suffixes; moreover a small
number of pronoun bases show irregularity in respect of taking even
principal nominal suffixes.

Pronoun bases are a subclass of nominal bases and have a clear-cut
place in morphology being distinct from verb bases; that is, a pronoun
base is not derivable from a verb base and the vice versa. Pronoun bases
cover the area of meaning occupied by nouns indicating men, animals, things, time, qualities etc. In brief, pronouns stand for these nouns in repeated and subsequent occurrences:

Pronouns may broadly be divided as homorphic and non-homorphic in demonstrative context; homorphic pronouns are few in number and respect of personal and, they are derived from the non-homorphic forms or primary bases. In respect of pronouns used to denote relative, interrogative and indefinite contexts, we have only non-homorphic forms of the pronominal bases.

4.1.2.1. Canonical shapes;

Pronoun bases may be simple, monomorphic consisting usually of one syllable; a few pronoun bases consisting of more than one syllable are analyzable and as such they are treated as monomorphic; on the other hand, we have a considerable number of pronoun bases having more than one syllable which may be termed complex, and derived. Pronoun bases may be reduplicated to denote plural, distributive or distinctive meanings.

Personal and demonstrative pronoun bases are mostly regular in taking the principal nominal suffixes; other pronoun bases often show irregularities. A number of pronoun bases other than personal pronoun bases may be used as adjectives and adverbs; in such circumstances they do not take the principal nominal suffixes and they rather form adjectival or adverbial phrases.

4.1.2.2. Simple and derived pronouns:

Personal Pronoun Formations:

The personal pronoun bases indicating first and second persons differ from the third personal pronoun bases which may further have demonstrative correlations; in fact, all these pronoun bases are substitutes for nouns in different environments including demonstrative and non-demonstrative.
The following is a list of major personal & demonstrative pronoun bases in respect of various phenomena of derivation and inflection: examples given at the outset represent bases with plus zero case suffixes indicating general nominative; combining allomorphs of the bases follow them.

(1) *ap (base plus zero suff., indicating general nominative)
'I': simple, monomorphemic indicating first person singular
non-honorific both masculine and feminine; the combining allomorph
2*ap- is used with all principal and terminating nominal suffixes;
2*ap'lo (nominative definitive) 'I exclusively', 2*ap'lep 'by or with me',
2*ap'le 'I only'; also with echo-words, 'ay-thay/lay-thay 'I or anybody'.

(2) *sep (general nominative) 'we': simple, monomorphemic
indicating first person plural corresponding to the above *ap 'I';
2*sep- as combining allomorph is used with all possible nominal
suffixes; 2*sep'kon 'us', 2*sep'be 'we too', 2*sep'mi 'our',
2*sep'ha=2*sa'ha 'our', belonging to us'.

2*sep'ephr (stylistically) 'we these honoured and dignified ones'
2*sep- 'we' plus -ephr 'plural indicator'; the combining allomorph
2*sep2ephr- as in 2*sep2ephr'mi 'our (honoured & dignified)' etc.

(3) *nep (general nominative) 'you (singular)'; simple, monomorphemic indicating second personal non-honorific singular, irrespective of gender; the combining allomorph 2*nep- is used with all permitted nominal suffixes; 2*nep'mi 'your', 2*nep'lo 'you definitively',
2*nep'le'kha 'you only definitively'.

2*nep'sor 'you (plural)'; general nominative context; to denote
definitive or determinative sense, 2*nep2sor 'you all definitively'
used; the combining allomorphs 2*nep2sor~2*nep2si- are used with
principal nominal suffixes as follows: 2*nep2si- before -'mi, -'pihray
(genitive & ablative case indicating suffixes) $2nQ^2$ from all other suffixes e.g. $2nQ^2$n1 'your (plural)', $2nQ^2$ni 'by or with you (plural),
$2nQ^2$sor 'you (accusative plural)'; this may be interpreted as
morpho-phonemic changes consisting vowel alternation and loss of
phonem: $2nQ^2$si- for $2nQ^2$sor- before a syllable with high front
vowel /i/.

$2nQ^2$thaŋ (general nominative) 'you honorific (singular)';
($2nQ^2$ plus -thaŋ) complex, second personal honorific singular
corresponding to $1nQ^2$; the combining allomorph $2nQ^2$thaŋ- is used
with plural suffixes -phær/ -mon (dialect variants) and all principal
nominal suffixes in addition to a few terminal nominal suffixes (as in
the case of $1nQ^2$) e.g. $2nQ^2$thaŋ1mon/ $2nQ^2$thaŋ1phær 'you all honorific
$2nQ^2$thaŋ1a - 'you honorific (singular nominative & definitive)',
$2nQ^2$thaŋ1phær/ $2nQ^2$thaŋ2mon1a 'you honorific (nominative & definitive)
$2nQ^2$thaŋ1lo 'you XXX honorific only', $2nQ^2$thaŋ2phær1lo/
$2nQ^2$thaŋ2mon1lo 'you all honorific only' etc. (cf. 4.24 (3), 2(b), & ff.)

(4) $2b^1$ 'he', 'she', 'that': simple, monomorphemic, indicating
third personal non-honorific singular in general nominative context
(with zero suffix); the combining allomorph $2b^1$- is used with plural
suffixes -1sor (for human being) & -1phær (for non-human being and
other things) and all principal nominal suffixes and permitted
terminal nominal suffixes: (cf. 4.24 (b) (3) & ff.) e.g. $2b^1$g 'he/
she/that (nominative)/those' (nominative & definitive) comparable to
$2b^1$sor 'they masculine and feminine) XXX /those 'general nominative)
to denote human beings, $2b^1$phær; $2b^2$phær 'they/those' to denote
non-human beings and other things'; $2b^1$sor 'by or with him/her/that'
(both human and non-human beings etc.); $2b^2$sor 'by or with them/
those (human beings); $2b^2$phær 'non-human beings & things);
The page contains text discussing the form and use of demonstrative pronouns in a language. The text explains the use of different forms, such as "this one," "it," and "far off," and provides examples of how these pronouns are used in various contexts. The text is dense and technical, focusing on the grammatical aspects of the language. There is no clear structure or format that stands out in the text. The page appears to be a continuation of a larger discussion on the topic, possibly from a larger document or book. The text is clear and readable, with no issues of quality or coherence that would affect comprehension.
uses may be called adjectival and pronominal (broadly nominal).

Pronominal uses: 2bi; 'be; 'boy:(Personal)

1boy 1boy 2bi 2scope2man2si1a 3they2bey 2bi1know 2be1know
2ap1be (personal)2al1thi10a0khoy1 'one man has died, I also did not
know/recognize him/this person.'

2bi2ni 2bi2phay1 2phoy0d0p0men 'His father came.'

2ap 2man2si2phor1 know 'num0d0p0b12sc1re 2o1seq1ha 2phoy0d0p0
'I am seeing the men, they are coming hither.' 2ap0o 2boy1know
2nu1hor0bey1 'I saw that one at a distance.'

2bi; 'be; 'boy: 'boy 'ma 2b1lay /'What is that?' (far off)
(Demonstrative) 2be 'ma 2b1lay /'What is this?' (near)

2boy1lay 2boy1phap /That (very far off) is a tree (definitely).

2bi2phor1a 2ap2ni 2bi2sad 'ma /'(Are) those my books?'

Adjectival uses of 2bi; 'be; 'boy:

(Demonstrative) 2bi 2man2si1ha 'ma 2go1ph1ha 'That man has no house.'

2bi1mor 2go2th1phra 2ga1ari/ 'Those children (are) wicked.'

2be 2ba2thra1know 'bup/ /Speak this information.'

2boy 2bep2phaga1know 'dam/ /Cut that (far off) tree.'

In these examples, the pronouns have adjectival distributions
with restricted forms in respect of taking only singular general
nominative (sere) suffixes.

The dialect variant forms of 2bi, 'be have similar demonstrative
sum adjectival distributions within their respective dialect regions.'

'Boy is a restricted variant of 'Boy.

Interrogative Pronoun Formations:

The following pronouns express the interrogative meanings
standing as substitutes for nouns:
(i) *aor 'who*: simple, monomorphemic indicating questions and standing for human beings in particular (general nominative); as a pronoun, it is always singular in form, implying plural sense if necessary in the necessary context and is capable of taking all principal nominal suffixes and a limited number of terminal nominal suffixes. As reduplicated forms, it has distributive and plural sense. The combining allomorph is *aor-; e.g. 2aor1' *aor- 'Who (are) you? 2be2'man2'al 'aor 2sa1'kho 'This man (is) (your) who (what relation)? 2san2'sor1'kho 2her0'me 'When shall I send? 2sor1'lay 2phoy0'me 'Who (moreover) will come? 2sor 2sor 2be3'av 3dep0'men 'Who were there? 2boy 2man2'sil'phra1'sor 'Who (are) these men? ' (sorley ~ sorhay)

(ii) *ma 'what*: simple, monomorphemic indicating questions or queries relating to an event or a thing or a being in general nominative context; The combining allomorph 2ma- is used with all principal nominal suffixes and a limited number of terminal nominal suffixes; occasionally the plural suffix -1'phor is added. *makayexes* *ma may be reduplicated to give plural and distributive sense:

- e.g. 2ma3'av 1'ma 3dep0'sor 'What is in the house?'
- 2ma1'sor 2m2'ba 3ma0'gen 'How (with what) shall I do the work?'
- 2ma1'phor 3bi1'lay 'What are these?'
- 2aor1' 1'ma 1'ma 1'na0'gen 'What (plural) will you (definitive) eat?'
- 2ma1'lay 2a1'da 2ma1'hay 2a1'gay 'What else my elder brother / younger sister?'
- 2ma1'bay 'what move? 2ma1'phor1'phoy0'gen 'What (plural)
(iii) 'bow 'where', 'in what' (indefinite): simple, monomorphemic used dialectally, but as a complex form 'bow'hay 'where in definitely' we have frequent occurrences. These forms have irregularities in respect of taking nominal suffixes, and they share the distributional characteristics of adjectives:

\[ 2\text{na}^2\text{ph}2\text{th}2\text{hay} '\text{Where will you go? (indefinite) where \text{will you go? (indefinite)}' } \]

\[ 2\text{na}^2\text{th}2\text{hay} '\text{You (honorific) will go where / what place?} \text{(a definite place)?' } \]

\[ 2\text{na}^2\text{th}2\text{hay} '\text{What side (you) go ?} (\text{of what side})' \]

(iv) 'be'be 'which', 'what determinatively': complex, polymorphemic, irregular in respect of taking nominal suffixes; the combining allomorph is 'be'be-. 'be'be 'what/which ?' e.g. 'be'be 'what/which ?' 'be'be 'what/which ?'

\[ 2\text{be}^2\text{be}^2\text{ni phray 2la}^2\text{be}^2\text{hay} '\text{From which/ what person or thing (you) have brought ?} \text{At what place will (you) go ?} ' \]

All these interrogative pronoun bases have attributive or adjectival tival uses. (iii) and (iv) have additionally adverbial uses. The adjectival distributions have restricted forms, usually the nominative (general) singular forms are used; (with tenemic alternants whenever necessary) e.g. (Adj)ective 'be'be 'which man's house (is) this ?'
What message (information) will you speak?
In which (what) place fish is available?
Which fish (you) will buy?
Where to go you (definitive) have tried?

Where to work you (plural) are coming?

Which side, which direction (indefinite)/
which side/direction (definite) as complex and derived formations have uses as irregular pronouns with distributions of adjectives and adverbs:

which side/direction (indefinite) you have come?
I shall go (immediate) which side (definitive sense)?

How much', 'how many'; how much more',
how many more': are complex and derived pronominal formations ('be 'this' plus -se 'one'/be-plus-se; be- plus -se plus -bap (be 'many'); with tonemic alternation or morpho-phonemic changes whenever necessary). These pronominal formations have the range of meaning covered by interrogative sum indefinite correlations; in brief, these are interrogative with quantitative contexts. Their distributions may be of pronouns or adjectives:

2be2se-, 2be2se2bap- as combining allemorphs are used with all principal and terminal nominal suffixes. In general nominative case suffix is added with plural context. 2be1se, 2be2se2bap as free allemorphs have attributive or adjective distributions.

E.g. 2ne2mo 2be1se 2kha2lan2dey? 'How much price you are fixing?'
Quantitative pronoun formations: (Both Indefinite & Definite)

The following pronoun bases have uses as substitutes for quantity with indefinite and definite contexts. Apart from pronominal uses, they have adjectival and sometimes adverbial distributions.

(a) Indefinite Quantitative pronouns:
1. \(2^1\text{se}/2^1\text{se}\) 'a little', 'slight', \(2^1\text{apa}\) 'as small quantity';

These free allomorphs are dialect variants of complex and derived formations: \((2^1-\text{ plus } -^1\text{se}/2^1\text{se}-\text{ plus } -^1\text{se})\) (gener. nomin)

the combining allomorphs are used with all the principal (except \(\text{nominative: zero}\) and terminal nominal suffixes with always of meaning. The reduplicative forms give plural and distributive sense.

Further pronominal derivation is possible; though we do not have a very regular paradigm of derivation. The difference of meaning is sometimes difficult to explain.

\[
\begin{align*}
2^1- & \quad 2^1\text{se} \quad 2^1\text{sl}^1\text{bap} \\
2^2- & \quad 2^2\text{se} \quad 2^2\text{sl}^1\text{bap} \quad 2^1\text{sap} \quad 2^2\text{sap}^1\text{pha} \\
3^1\text{se} & \quad 2^2\text{sap}^2\text{ma}^1\text{ni} \\
2^1\text{pha} & \quad 2^2\text{se}^1\text{graf} \quad 2^2\text{se}^1\text{ded} \\
2^2\text{pha} & \quad 2^1\text{pha} \\
2^1\text{se} & \quad 2^1\text{se}/2^1\text{se}
\end{align*}
\]

e.g. \(2^1\text{se}/2^1\text{se}\): 

Though these two are dialect variants meaning 'a little', 'slight', sometimes \(2^1\text{se}\) indicates 'this much', \(2^2\text{se}^3\text{rap}^3\text{aw} \quad 2^1\text{se}/2^1\text{se}\)
(There) is a little (slight) salt in the cup.

'Please bring a little only'; 'One' wants this little else (only).

"a little more", 'this much more/ 'a little even'; these have plural sense.

'definite'; (other uses are like 2i'se / 2e'se).

'such much'; 'so much'; 'this much else'; 'a little', 'a small quantity',

'this type of big'.

These four formations are all complex and derived; the last one

is used dialectally in Kamrup (particularly). All have plurality of

meaning. As regards, suffixation and distribution, these behave like

2i'se/2e'se, 2i2'si'bay/2e2'se'bay.

'little', 'a small quantity'; used dialectally in Goalpara

especially; may be reduplicative to indicate plural and
distributive sense with an element of emphasis in some contexts.

The possible suffixation and distribution are alike

2i'se/2e'se.

'little', 'a small quantity'; used as a dialect form in
Kamrup particularly; as regards reduplication, suffixation, and distribution, it is like 2e\(^1\)pha.

There are other dialect forms such as 2khi\(^1\)se, 2khi\(^1\)pha to mean little', 'a small quantity'; the first one is spoken in the west of North Goalpara, particularly in Jalpaiguri area and the second one is spoken as a dialect form in a restricted area of Kamrup.

2e\(^1\)se, 2e\(^2\)se\(^1\)bap, 2e\(^1\)sap, 2e\(^2\)sap\(^2\)ma\(^1\)ni, 2e\(^2\)se\(^1\)grab, 2e\(^2\)se\(^1\)ded may have definite quantitative sense in certain contexts. All these are primarily quantitative, and secondarily these may have definite or indefinite correlations.

2be\(^1\)se /2be\(^2\)se\(^1\)bap have been described in respect of Interrogative pronouns as having quantitative or indefinite contexts of meaning; 2be\(^1\)se is used indefinitely, whereas 2be\(^2\)se\(^1\)bap is used to mean a wider context with indefiniteness.

2se\(^1\)se; 2se\(^2\)se\(^1\)bap are derived from 1se 'that, which, what' (relative pronoun) to mean quantity indefinitely.

These may be used as substitutes for quantity of men or things. As regards, reduplication, suffixation and distribution (pronominal & adjectival), these are alike 2e\(^1\)se: 2e\(^2\)se\(^1\)bap and 2be\(^1\)se: 2be\(^2\)se\(^1\)bap.

The following is a list of common Quantitative pronouns with indefinite correlations:

2bur\(^1\)sa 'much, many'; plural; complex, reduplicative, capable of taking all principal and limited terminal nominal suffixes; e.g. 'ag\(^2\)an) 2bur\(^2\)sa\(^1\)khow (2bur\(^1\)sa) 'mu\(^0\)b\(^4\)ay\(^4\)' I have seen many.'
2bur'sa 2phøy0d0p, 'Many are coming.' 2tha'thr0bay, 'Many
too have remained for want of capacity.' 2ga'søy1bo 'all' (men),
'all persons' 2ga'zi1bo 'all' (things), 'everything'.

These two formations are distinguished (dialect difference) to
mean human and non-human with always plurality of meaning. These are
adjectival formations used as pronouns without losing their adjectival
forms and distributional uses.

As pronouns, these may be reduplicated, attached to all principal
and a limited number of terminal nominal suffixes.

e.g. 2ga'søy2khow1bo1bu 'Beat all (persons).
2ga'zi2khow1bo 2la1bo 'Bring all (things).
2ma'no2ga'søy1bo 2phøy1bay 'Why all (persons) together have come.'
2ga'szi2khow1bo 'her?' 'Give all (things) together.'

2boy1bo 'all' (men) : complex, plural; all principal (except
nominate determinantive -o/-a ) and terminal (limited) suffixes
are applicable. The permitted principal nominal suffixes are
usually infixed to the first element (nuclear I G) 2boy- and the
second element (peripheral I/G) -'bo follows the principal suffix.

For example:

2boy1bo 2ga'han 2a1ro 2mo'say0ma 'Are all well (physically)
and good (outwardly, other than physically)?'
1nøy/2møy 2boy'søy1bo 2nøy2gay2may1a 2ga'ariy, 'It (is) bad for
you to quarrel with all.'

The peripheral I/G -'bo is a midway between a terminal nominal
suffix and peripheral base formative morpheme.

-'lo, -'lay, -'loy, -'hay may terminate 2boy1bo in different
contexts with added shades of meaning.
2ma'lay 'other': complex and derived (2ma-plus -lay) with semantic change: meaning 'not self', 'not own') used in general nominative context with zero suffix; the combining allomorph 2ma'lay- is used with plural -lay and all the principal and a number of terminating nominal suffixes (nominative def. -a, acc. def. -khaw and all other principal nominal suff. and terminating suffixes -ma, -be, -le, -lo'kha, -).

2ma'lay2phor2ali phray 2may'reng 2la'be {'Bring rice from other (persons).'}

2bej'aw 2ma'lay 2go'y'aa 'Others (persons) are not here.'

2gu'ban 'other' (person or thing): complex and derived adjectival formation (2gu-plus -ban) used as pronoun; capable of taking plural -phor, nominative -a, -a, acc. -khaw and other principal suffixes, and terminating suffixes -ma, -be, -le, -lo'kha, -e -lay).

2gu'ban'khaw 'ban - 'Speak to other (person) 2hi'ee 2ra'me 2nay'a -> 2gu'ban'se 'That (He) is not also, other else.'

2khay'se 'some': complex, derived (2khay- plus -se) with plural sense, in general nominative context. The combining allomorph 2khay' may be used with almost all principal (-a, -khaw, -me) and a limited number of terminating nominal suffixes. Apart from pronominal distribution, it has adjectival distribution too .

2khay'se'ma 1hor'ee 2khay'se'ma 2hor'ee 'Some (persons) gives to some (persons), and does not give to some.' 2khay'se'ali phray 2ha'lir

3hay'aa'khi'saw 'Some (one) has not bought banana from some (persons)'

2khay'se'saw 3deq'ee 'Some (persons) are in the house.'

(Partly treated term. suff. -ma -lay,)}
2raw'1bo 'any one': complex, derived implying living being with
promemorial and adjectival distributions; it is composed of 2raw-
plus -'bo with semantic change and it parallels 2bay'1bo in
formation and suffixation.

2raw'khow'1bo 1da'beap 'Do not speak to any one.'

2raw'mi'beolay 1me 2go7'1al 'None has even (a) house'.

1naw 'a little', 'a small quantity': simple, monomorphemic, used
dialectally in Kamrup and Darrang districts particularly, synony-
rous with 2e1sa, 2e'pha described above. It parallels 21'se/
2e1sa/2e'pha in respect of suffixation and distribution (in general)
(also of 2naw'1le 'hor/ 'Give a little'.)

2bap'lay 'a little', complex, derived (2bap - plus -lay) used parti-
cularly in dialect regions of North Kamrup and Darrang. It
parallels 1naw in respect of major suffixation and distribution.

2dor'say 'many', 'much' (dialectally in Kamrup and Darrang) /2sa'bra
'many', 'much' (dialectally in Darrang)

Examples of the uses of 1naw, 2bap'gay, 2dor'say, 2sa'bra: 2ap'me
2naw'1le|nap0govmall 'I shall need a little.' 2ap'me 2naw'le 'hor/
'Give me a little only'.

2bap'lay'1bo 2go7'1al 'A little also is not available'
2bap'lay'1nay 3nay0al 'It is of no use with the help of A little.'
2ap'1go 2dor'say 1ma0bay1al 'I have seen many/much.'
2sa2bra2ni 2tha'khay 2say3ga 2nap'govmall 'Wanted place
(accommodation) for many.'

Quantitative pronouns with Interrogative correlations:

Quantitative pronouns are formed sometimes with the help of numeral
classifiers (§.23) plus 2be'lse~ -2se~ -pheso (Interrogative Indefinite
Indefinite Pronouns with Distributive correlations:

Indefinite pronouns with distributive contexts are formed with numeral classifiers plus a complex suffixal morpheme -^phrOm^bO indicating 'every', 'each' (singular).

\[2_{sa}^1 phrOm^bO\] 'everybody', 'each (person)'; \[2_{sa}^2 phrOm^bO\] 'everybody will surely learn.'

\[2_{ma}^2 phrOm^bO\] 'each (animal)', etc. etc.

The only distributive pronoun with indefinite context is:

\[2_{ga}^1 gay/2gaw'gay\] 'each', 'every' ; complex and derived \(^2ga^2gay^2gay^1khow\) 'I have seen each (person or thing).

Relative Pronouns with personal correlations:

'\[1se\] 'that, what, which' : simple, monomorphic, capable of taking principal and terminating nominal suffixes with pronominal and
adjectival distributions.

2ap 2se'khow 2mi'her0deg0mon $2mi' 2la'bo $0khay 'What I asked for, he did not bring,' i.e. 'The thing which I asked for, he did not bring.' 2se'khow'bo $0khay 'What also, each of them (accusative): 2say 'who,' 2 that (person); 2say'khow 2liy'her0deg0mon $2ni$ 'phay'0a $0khay 'He, who was called for, did not come.'

Relative pronouns with indefinite context:

2se'khow 'some one,' 2se'khow 2da 2la'bo $ 'Bring nothing.' 2se'khow 'buy0al' (one) speaks nothing.' 2ye'kho 'as much as, as many as' (quantitative) 2se2se'kho $ that much, so much / many as' (quantitative)

Reflexive pronominal sense is indicated by the following formations of adjectival nature:

2gaw 'self', 'own': 2gaw'ni 2ba'0thra 1'buy 1 Tell (your) own information.' 2gaw'ma 'just one's self'

2go2gay 'self, one's own', 2go2gay'ma 1'buy0deg0 k 'One has spoken oneself.' 2gaw'gay 'self, one's own'; 2gaw'gay'a 1'buy0al' One does not speak one's self.

Pronominal Formations with Adverbial Correlations:

There are a considerable number of formations derived from pronominal bases indicating time, place, manner, sequence, direction (side) etc. which have adverbial meaning and distribution. These formations differ from regular adverbial formations which are derived from verbal bases and are capable of taking characteristic adverbial suffix. As pronouns,
these formations are irregular in respect of capability of taking all the principal and terminating nominal suffixes. I list the major pronominal formations below:

Substitutes for Time:

2e2kha'li 'some days ago'; 2e2kha2li phOr 'these days ago.'
2i2kha'li/2bi2kha'li 'that day', 'the other day'
2da2kha'li/2da'khli 'day before yesterday'

All these formations are derived from 2o-/2i-/2bi-/2da- plus 2kha'li (-'khli) and with zero suffix indicative of locative sense; these are irregular in respect of nominative, accusative, dative case indicating suffixes from the point of their in capability of taking these suffixes. The genitive indicating -'ni, ablative indicating -2ni1phray and locative indicating zero are regularly used. The terminating suffixes -'mo,-'bo,-'lay may be used.

The following pronominal formations are also used as substitutes for time and these also share the irregularity more or less indicated in the above paragraph.

1da 'now', 'at present', 'present (time); 2da1be 'still', 'uptil now'.

2da2ni1a 'present time', 'now'; 2da1no 'just now.'
2da2san'li 'at present', 'uptil now.'
2da2se1bo 'uptil now'
2dan2di1se 'for a while', 'a brief period'

2di1mey /2de1mey 'to-day'
2de1nap 'after a long time', 'in future', 'future time'
2o3ba/2e1hla/2om'pha /2om2pha're 'then', 'after some time'.
2a'gla/ 2a'glay 'earlier', 'before time', 'formerly'
2de'glay 'this year'
2khal2ma'si 'next year'
2e'hray 'in this year'
2sep'pher/ 2sep'pher 'day after tomorrow'
2ga'hem 'tomorrow'
2e'ray/ 2e'ray be/ 2e'ray me 'always', 'for all time' (a2la2gar1be)
2go'de / 2go're 'ancient time', 'in old time'
2go'de 2go'day/2go're 2go'ray 'ancient time', 'in old time'
2de'hay 'a while ago'
2se1la2se1la 'at what /any time'
2ma2ba1ba 'sometimes'
2ma2saw 'at what time'
2ma2 2ma'bla 'when', 'what time'

Substitutes for Place : (side, direction)
2e'sep 'this side', 'this direction'
2he'sep 'that side', 'that direction' (cf. 2he'segy, 'which side')
2e'na 'this side' (dialectically)
2se'raw 'where'; 2se'raw be 'where also'

Noun bases and pronominal bases plus locative case suffix may in some contexts mean places or directions.

Substitutes for Manner :
2ma1na / 2ma2ma1na 'why', 'what reason', 'because of'
2ma2ma1ba 'why (indefinite)'
2ma'hray 'how'; 2ma2hroy1ba 'how (indefinite)'
2ma2me1the 'why else' 'why necessary'
Substitutes for Sequence:

3un3un 'close behind' /3un3aw 'after sometime'
2un1thiq /2un1sop 'towards the behind'

Special Indefinite Suffix to Pronouns:

As has been demonstrated in the above description of Pronoun bases and suffixation, the pronoun bases (simple and derived) may optionally take plural suffixes and terminal nominal suffixes and occasionally take at least one of the principal nominal suffixes. There is an indefinite indicative suffix -'ba (-2ba-) which has a range from terminal to derivational meaning and distribution. I mean to say that -'ba has a special indefinite use. Sometimes this element, added to Personal and Demonstrative pronoun bases, expresses a meaning of conditional context. It strengthens the sense of Indefinite pronouns which may take this suffix also.

2ap1ba, 2ap2ap1ba: 2ap1ba 'say0a0khay4a: Even I did not eat.'
2ap1ba 'ma 3a0g0a: 'What becomes of me (doubtful)'
2ap1ba 'ma 2bi1lay4: 'What is this one (unknown) ?'
2ap1ba 'ba 2ap2ap1ba: 2ap1ba 'thap0goa: 'Whose house (you) will go (indefinite: cf. 2ap1ba - 2ap1ba - 1ba)
2ap1ba 'what else', 'what thing' (uncertain): 2ap1ba 'what else (nom.)'
2ap2ap2ap1ba 2ap1ba: 'what things' (plural, reduplicative & indefinite)
2ap1ba 'whish one (uncertain)' /2ap1ba 'where' (uncertain)
2ap1ba 'how many', 'how many' ( indefinite, uncertain)
2ap1ba 'other one (indefinite & dubious)
2ap1ba 'which one (indefinite)'
2ap1ba 'when', 'what time' (uncertain)
2ap2ap2ap1ba 'how many person' (indefinite and doubtful)
Some further examples showing their uses:

2 se2 ni\textsuperscript{1} ba 'me' 'Whose (Some One's) house?'
2 se2 ba1 ni 'me' 'Somebody's house'
2 ma\textsuperscript{1} ba 'nap\textsuperscript{2} ge\textsuperscript{2} 'What else (indefinite) is needed?'
2 ma2 ni\textsuperscript{1} ba 2 raw 'What's voice / sound?', 'Something's sound'
2 ma2 ba1 ni 2 raw 'something's sound/voice.'
2 ma2 ba 2 ma1 bi 'bup\textsuperscript{0} dop\textsuperscript{p} \textsuperscript{\downarrow} (One) has spoken some (indefinite) utterances.'
2 be2 ba1 ba 2 man\textsuperscript{3} raw 3 dop\textsuperscript{0} e 'In which place is (this)?'
2 bi1 ba 2 be2 se1 ba 'How much is this (indefinite)?'
2 ma2 la1 ba 1 ma 1 bup\textsuperscript{0} 'What other person (indefinite) speaks?'
2 se1 ba 1 la2 bo\textsuperscript{0} dop\textsuperscript{p} 2 bi1 be2 ga1 ni\textsuperscript{1} ri 'bup\textsuperscript{p} \textsuperscript{\downarrow} The thing (you) have brought is bad.'
1 b\textsuperscript{1} ey 2 ma2 b la1 ni\textsuperscript{1} ba 2 qax\textsuperscript{2} kham 'That rice is of what time?'
2 sab2 se1 ba 2 be3 raw 3 dop\textsuperscript{0} e 'How many persons (uncertain) are here

4.1.2.3.

Inflection of Pronouns: Like substantives the most of pronouns are capable of taking principal nominal affixes and nominal terminating affixes. For details cf. 4.1.4.

4.1.3 Numerals

4.1.3.0 General remarks:

The numeral bases in Boro consist of two elements which may broadly be termed as numeral classifiers and quantifiers. A classifier classifies the object enumerated according to various criteria of size, nature quality etc. and it forms the first element of the base; this first element is usually a monosyllabic bound morpheme, occasionally occur; a few of these have membership of \( \text{s}\) as noun or verb as free morphemes. This first element appears to be prefixal to the following quantifier
which is usually monosyllabic and bound morpheme. A quantifier means the common cardinal numbers, 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. and the bound morphemes indicating these numbers are suffixed to the numeral classifiers; both of these elements are generally used with each other and as such it is rather arbitrary to choose one as case and the other as affix; and both are considered here to be nuclear ICs. The numeral classifiers may otherwise be termed 'numeral definitives', as these carry a certain amount of determinative sense. A small number of free forms or words meaning containers and measures may be used as numeral classifiers to the quantifiers.

The numeral formations consisting of classifiers and quantifiers may take only the principal nominal suffixes and terminating nominal suffixes. These never take gender indicating suffixes and plural indicating suffixes; in respect of meaning, the numeral formations contrast the plural indicating suffixes. The numeral formations qualify or specify the nouns to which these are related, when these are used before the nouns; this use is attributive. Otherwise the numeral formations may be used without the nouns after them (though the meaning of the nouns are understood) or the numeral formations may follow the nouns; in both these cases these behave like nouns with principal and terminating suffixes. The numeral formations with permitted nominal suffixes may sometimes be reduplicated to give distributive or emphatic sense.

Simple

4.1.3.1. Examples of canonical shapes & derived

As the quantifiers are used in day-to-day counting we find that a classifier *mon- (used to mean 'things', 'items' in general) is prefixed to the cardinal numbers. Of the cardinal numbers from one to ten, the first five are and regularly used without least of dialectical differences. In respect of the cardinal numbers from six to ten, there are irregularities and considerable dialectical variants.
In the dialect regions comprising of Darfang district and North Kamrup, a useful word 2se'khay' a group of four' (comparable to Assamese counting unit: *soma* or *buri*) serves the purpose of counting of things etc. when there are more than five. Theoretically and academically, counting from one to hundred with the help of cardinal numbers (from one to ten as per fixes sequences and combinations) is possible; but in practice, counting up to twenty is done with the help of common cardinal numbers from one to five and the unit - word 2se'khay. Alternatively, Assamese words (indicating numbers above five) are used without classifiers in Zero way of counting.

1 2se 2mon2se 'one' (thing)
2 -1ney 2mon1ney 'two' (things)
3 -2tham 2mon2tham 'three' ("")
4 -1brey/-1bri 2mon1brey/2mon1bri 'four' (things)
5 -1ba 2mon1ba 'five' (things)
6 -2do/-2ro 2mon2do/2mon2ro 'six' (things); 2se2khay' se 2mon2ney
7 -1mai/2si1ni 2mon1mai/2mon2si1ni 'seven' (things); 2se2khay' se
   2mon2tham (4 X 1 plus 3)
8 -1san/-1dan/-1dayn 2mon1sad/2mon1sday/2mon1dayn 'eight' (things):
   2se2khay' moy 
   (4 X 2)
9 -2si1khe (-2si1khaw) /-2su1gu (-1gu)/-1ne 2mon2si1khe
   (2mon2si1khaw)/2mon2su1gu (2mon1gu)/2mon1ne:
   2se2khay'mey 2mon1se (4 X 2 plus one)
10 1si / 1su /2khaw1se ; 2mon1si/2mon1su /2khaw1se ; 2se2khay'mey 2mon2ney
11 2si1se /2khaw1se 2mon1se /2se2khay1moy 2mon2tham
12 2si1moy /2khaw1se 2mon1moy /2se2khay1tham 
13 2si1tham /2khaw1se 2mon1tham/ 2se2khay1tham 2mon1se
14 2si1brey /2khaw1se 2mon1brey /2se2khay1tham 2mon1moy
15 2si1ba /2khaw1se 2mon1ba /2se2khay1tham 2mon1tham
The numeral classifiers (or numeral definitives) form a fairly extensive class of morphemes which occur directly before one of the common quantifiers (1, 2, 3, 4 & 5) and they take one of principal nominal suffixes and optionally one of the permitted terminating nominal suffixes (2h2/2h2o) to form words. These have different aspects of meaning in relation to the nouns which precede the numeral formations. With a small number of nouns several different classifiers may be used depending upon the aspect of these nouns intended to be emphasized. For example, 2ew2a 2tho1se 'a bamboo (undivided)'; 2ew2a 2thap1se 'a piece of bamboo'; 2ew2a 2su2ba1se 'a clump or cluster of bamboos'.

The following is a list of the common numeral classifiers used in the dialects under investigation and some of them show limited uses in restricted dialect areas of the language. The list is open for further addition.

(i) 2sa- is used for all sorts of human beings exclusive of...
except

(8) 2ma- is used for all species of animals, birds, insects and reptiles also for gods and ghosts e.g. 2hor2ma 2ma1brey 2la1bo0do1 (Please) bring five goats. 2day1ala 2ma2se2khow10 (bn) may 2hor0gga1sand (give) only one cock (a cock only). 2khap2kho2ma 2ma2sey2khow10 2ap 1ma0bay11 'I have seen two cockroaches also.' 2si1baw 2ma2se1a 1or0bay11 'A serpent has bitten.'; But 2m01day 2ma2sey1khow 2phu2si0gga1 ' (One) will worship (these) two gods.' 2bu2mur 2ma2tha2ma1bo 2ha2gra3yav 1tha0deg0mga1 'Three ghosts also lived (were) in the forest.'

(3) 2thay- is used for fruits, rupees, teeth, stones (cf. 0phi1thay 'fruit', noun) and similar round things; e.g. 2tha2lir 2thay2se1bay 1ho1 'Give a banana once more.'; 2tha2kha 2thay1ma 2ma0ha 3dep04ma1 'Do you have five rupees?'; 2ha2thay 2thay1se 3dep01boy 2bo2ray1ha11 'That old man has a tooth.' 2en1thay 2thay1se 1ho1 'Give a stone.'

(4) 2gap- is used for leaves of trees, books, wings (cf. 3gay 'feather', noun) pieces of cloth, paper and various flat things; 2be 2bas2phap1a 2bi2lay 2gap2se1bo 2gay1al1 'This tree has not even a leaf.' i.e. 'There is not a single leaf in this tree.'; 2kha 2gap1nay 3day0gga1 (One) will buy two papers.' 2bi2sab 2gap2se2khow1lo 2ap1mo 1har1 'Give me only one book.'; 2bi1ha 1ni1hi 2gap2than 3dep11 'He has three
pieces of cloth.

(5) ²phap- : used for trees, plants, woods, etc. especially in growing state; e.g. ṭphi⁰phap ²phap²se³sav ²be ²daw²kha¹ya ²ba⁰bay\| 'This crow has sat on a tree'; ²lay¹phap ²daw ²phap²ne³y²a¹be ²ne³ni ²u²kha³sav ²lo³y\| '(There) are two creepers also on the roof of the house'. (²phap- is derivable from ṭphi⁰phap, ²bep¹phap, ²lay¹phap ²lo³y¹phap, all being nouns)

(6) ²doy- : used for eggs; e.g. ²bi²doy ²doy²ba¹ni ¹ma ²bda¹sen (²daw) ṭ 'What is the price of five eggs?' ²bi²ni ²daw²no¹a ²daw²doy ²doy¹se ¹doy⁰bay\| 'His/her hen has laid an egg.' (For derivation, cf. ²bi³doy, ²daw²doy both being nouns)

(7) ²tho- : used for undivided bamboo, log (timber), cane etc. e.g. ²daw²phap ²tho²se¹so³y ²ka³h¹phlay ²daw¹nap⁰gen\| (A) sitting stool will have to be made with this portion of timber (wood).'; ²aw²a ²tho¹moy ²la¹be\| 'Bring two (undivided) bamboos'

(8) ²thop- : used for post, pêle, split bamboo required for house building purposes; e.g. ²no²sav ²ka³me²th³a ²thop¹ba ³daw\| 'There are five posts (poles) in the house.'; ²aw²a ²thop²se²ka³m³be ²nap¹la\| 'Even a piece of bamboo is not needed.'

(9) ²su²ba- /²thum²ba- : used for cluster or clump of bamboos, reeds etc. grown over the field; e.g. ²aw²a ²su²ba¹proy ¹dan \| ²aw¹no ²a³p³lo ²su²ba¹proy ²thum²proy 'Cut down four clusters of bamboos.'; ²nap¹gow\| 'I need two clusters (clumps) of reeds.'
2thu²ba- is a dialect variant with restricted uses. 2su¹ba/2thu¹ba
'cluster' 'clump' are used as freely as nouns.

(10) 2mon-: used for inanimate things or articles in general, also used
in abstract counting; e.g. 2su¹a 2mon²se²bo 2mo³aw
2goy²li¹ak' there is not even a thing in the house.' 2mup¹a
2mon²se²khow¹bo 2ap 2ni²thi¹ak' I don't know even a name.'
2dey¹ma 2mon¹se 'a (big) river.'

(11) 2sep-: used for cluster of grown paddy, vegetable, and similar
trees or plants; e.g. 2ap¹mo 2mey¹goy 2sep²broy¹khow 1bo/
'Give me four clusters of vegetable.' 2du²bli³aw²may²sep
2goy 2se²a¹bo 2ap 'man²əkə³khow ak' I did not see even a cluster of
paddy in the field.'

(12) 2goy-: used for horns, sticks, wooden furniture, house, weapon, and
similar inanimate hard and long things as well as instruments
(for derivation, cf. 2goy 'horn' used freely as a noun).
0ni¹phuz 2goy¹se 2la¹bo 'Bring a flute.' 2mey²khow¹ha
2goy 2goy¹hoj 2doy³k' The cow has two horns.'; 2law¹thi
2goy¹se 2ap¹mo 'bo/ 'Give me a stick.'

(13) 2doy-: used for rope, road, hair, chains, thread, tail, creeper, and
similar inanimate long, soft or flexible things or materials;
(for derivation cf. 2du¹dup 2du¹rap 'rope', used as nouns)
2ha¹thay²ni¹phray 2du¹dup 2doy¹troy 3hay² 'Buy four ropes
from the market.' 2mey¹ni 2khe²re³aw 2kha¹nay 2doy²se¹bo
2goy¹ak' (There) is not a single hair on your head.'
2mey¹ha 2lan²say 2doy¹se 3do¹ak' 'The deer has a tail.'
2la¹ma 2doy²tham¹ni 2kha²thi³aw 2ap¹o 'tha⁰gen ak' I shall
remain near the three roads.'

(14) 2doy-: used to determine sheave or cluster of bahaha, garlands,
necklaces etc.; e.g. 2tha'lid/2tha'liir 2dap²mo7²a¹be
3mən²agəp². 'Two sheaves of bananas are ripe.'
2hin²səw¹hə 2bi²bar¹ni 2ma²la (¹10) 2dap¹se 3deg ²
'The woman has a garland of flowers.' 2be 0si²khə¹ni
¹10 2dap²se¹a 2go¹ma⁰bay². 'This maiden's one necklace
has been lost' i.e. 'One necklace belonging to this
maiden is already lost.' (For derivation of 2dap-, cf.
2bi¹dap 'cluster of betel-nuts, cocoa-nuts etc.' used
as a noun even without a quantifier; with a quantifier
following, 2dap- as combining numeral classifier is
used in the dialect regions of North Kamrup.)
2bi²phəg³av 2na²le³khor (2na²ri³khol) 2dap¹brəy¹lo
(15) 2no²de² 'Four sheaves of cocoa-nuts are on the tree
'i.e. 'There are four sheaves (clusters) of cocoa-nuts on
the tree.'
2ap¹ne 3gəy 2dap²se¹lo ¹be² 'Give me a single
cluster of betel-nuts (areca-nuts) 'i.e. Give me a
cluster of betel-nuts only (nothing else).

(15) 2be²da- is used for cluster of sheaf of betel-nuts, cocoa-nuts
similar fruits that grow as sheaves in the dialect of North
North Goalpara particularly. (cf. 2be¹da 'sheaf' 'cluster' used freely as a noun)
2ap¹e 3gəy 2be²da¹mo7 2a¹re 2na²le³khor 2be²da¹se
2ə¹mo7 2ga²mi²ni²phray 3bay⁰gən². 'I shall buy
today two sheaves of betel-nuts and one sheaf of
cocoa-nuts from the village.'

(16) 2mu²tha- is used to determine sheaves of betel-leaves, bundles
of paddy-stalks, etc. (cf. 2mu¹thə 'handful' used as a
noun) 2pa¹thəy 2mu²tha¹mo7 2ap¹ne 2bay¹kha. 'Bay and
keep two sheaves of betel-leaves for me.'

2no3aw 3may 2mu2tha2se2a1nb2gay2li1a. Not a single sheaf of paddy (reaped) is in the house.'

2may 2si2gab 2mu2tha1brey 1may0gowl. 'Your bundles of paddy-stalks (straw of reaped paddy) are needed.'

(17) 2gay2ma- is used to determine bundle of thatch required for house building; (cf. 2gay1na 'bundle' used freely as a noun)
2sai1no 2thu2ri 2si2gab 2gay2brey 1he1. 'Give us four bundles of thatch.'

(18) 2a1thi- is used for bundles of fuel, (fire-wood & the like), sugar-cane etc. (as these are put and tied up), (cf. 2a1thi 'bundle' used freely as a noun).

2don 2a1thi1ney 2dm1kha. 'Preserve two bundles of fire-wood.'

0khu3ser 2a1thi1ha 1dan1. 'Cut five bundles of sugar-cane.'

(19) 2da1lab- is used for pieces of limestone, earth under plough, sometimes clegs of earth etc. (breakable substances in particular).

2nop1ni 2go2the1a 1ha 2da1lab1se 1mai0hav. 'Your child has eaten a cleg (piece) of earth.'

2da1lab1ney 1ten 2ha3ray 3dam0hav. 'Two pieces of limestone are also on the ground.'

(20) 2dor- is used for pieces of meat, slices of fish, and the like, and also for plots of land, number of villages, kingdoms etc. (for derivation of 2dor-, cf. 2be1der 'meat', 2ha1der 'kingdom', 'country' etc., used as nouns).

In the western parts of North Goalpara, the variant form
of this is 2dord- [ avot-]

\[2\text{be}^2\text{der}(2\text{be}^2\text{ded})\] 2\text{der}^1\text{hray} 1\text{sep}^1\text{do}^1\text{y}^1\text{t}^1 \text{Please cook four pieces of meat}. \quad 2\text{na}^2\text{dor}^2\text{se}^2\text{a}^1\text{be} \quad \text{2do}^1\text{y}^1\text{a}^1\text{a}^1

'Not even a single piece (slice) of fish is in the curry.'

\[2\text{ha}^2\text{qor} \quad 2\text{ao}^2\text{se}^2\text{3}^3\text{aw} \quad 2\text{an}^1\text{se}^2\text{ra}^2\text{sa} \quad 3\text{do}^0\text{mon}^1\text{j}^1\] (There) was a king in a kingdom (country).

\[(1)\] \[2\text{so}^-\]

Is used for portion of fish (not slices, cf. No. 20 above), portion of bamboo, wood, sometimes portion of meat also (not to mean pieces or slices) etc. (for derivation of.

\[3\text{so} \text{as a verb to mean 'make portions'}\]

\[2\text{so}^2\text{se}^2\text{a}^1\text{ni}^1\text{phray} \quad 2\text{so}^2\text{se}^1\text{lo} \quad \text{1d}^4\text{an}^4 \rightarrow 2\text{ap}^2\text{bi}^1\text{se}^1\text{g}^1\text{a}^1\text{ib} \]

\[2\text{gato}^1\text{phray} \quad 1\text{he}^0\text{gen}^1\text{y}^1\] 'Out one portion only from the bamboo; I shall make four fans with it. (This portion which may consist of many a piece).'

\[1\text{na} \quad 2\text{so}^2\text{se}^2\text{ni}^1\text{phray}2\text{der}^1\text{ba} \quad 3\text{so}^0\text{gen}^1\text{y}^1\] 'Five slices will result from even a portion of the fish.'

\[(2)\] \[2\text{so}^2\text{ra}^-\]

is used to denote pair of birds, shoes, wooden sandals etc. (cf. 2\text{so}^2\text{ra}^- \text{wrist}, \text{joint} used as a noun)

\[2\text{daw}^1\text{thu} \quad 2\text{so}^2\text{ra}^2\text{so}^1\text{a} \quad 2\text{be}^2\text{hay}^2\text{phaw}^3\text{aw} \quad 3\text{do}^0\text{y}^1\text{aw} \] 'A pair of doves dwell (one) on this tree.' i.e. There are a pair of doves on the tree.'

\[2\text{phaw}^1\text{thu} \quad 2\text{so}^2\text{ra}^1\text{so} \quad 2\text{so}^2\text{ni}^2\text{hi} \quad 2\text{a}^2\text{thaw}^3\text{aw} \quad 3\text{do}^0\text{mon}^1\text{j}^1\] 'A pair of wooden sandals were on your feet' i.e. 'There were a pair of wooden sandals on your feet.'

\[(23)\] \[2\text{su}^2\text{li}^-\]

is also used to denote pair of men and animals in general; sometimes the pair means two members of different sex in various social contexts; (cf. 2\text{su}^1\text{li}^- \text{pair} used as a noun).

\[2\text{haw}^2\text{a} \quad 2\text{hin}^3\text{aw} \quad 2\text{su}^2\text{li}^2\text{so}^1\text{a} \]
(24) 2ha2li-: is used to denote pair of bullocks, buffaloes, especially meant for agricultural and rural activities (the pair may consist of equal standard and of the same sex) of 2ha'li as a noun.

2se2saw 2ha2li2se'ni 2dan'a 2se2se'bay: 'How much (is) the price of one pair of cows (i.e. bullocks meant for plough)

2ap'e 2sey2se 2ha2li'mey 3bay'gon: 'Two pairs of buffaloes I (definitely) shall buy.'

(25) 2khop -: is used for shells of eggs, rinds of trees and fruits; (for derivation of 2bi'khop 'shell', 'rind', used as a noun)

2thay2gir'ni 2bi'khop'la 2khop'ba 3dog: 'There are five rinds (shells) of wood-apple (this fruit is known as Bilemis indica; ou in Assamese)

2do2na 2khop'mey 2la'bo: 'Bring two rinds of plantain (banana) tree.'

(26) 2khor-: is used for holes, trenches, ponds, wells, canals, etc.
(for derivation of. 2ha'khör 'canal', 2āgy'khör 'well' etc. used as nouns)

2ap 2be 2ga'2ni 2aw 2āgy'khör 2khör'brey 2a'ro 2ha'kör 2khör'noy 'I have seen four wells and two canals in the village.'

(27) 2gor-(2gord-) : is used for seeds, corn, pico and similar small and found or roundish objects ; (for derivation, cf. 2be'gor/ 2be'gord 'seed')

2be 0phi2thay'ha 2be'gor 2gor'noy 'This fruit has one seed.'

2ap'me 2phi2y'sa 2gor'mey 'be' 'Give me two pice.'

(28) 2thor-(2thord-) : is used for small elods (of earth), pebbles, etc.; (for derivation, cf. 0phi' thor/ 0phi'thord 'elod' (of earth), 2ha'thor 'small elods of ploughing field.')

2du'bil3aw 2thay'na'mey 2ha'thor 2thor'mey 2la'bo 'Go to the field and bring two elods.'

2on2thay 2thor'brey 2la'2na'mey 2go2tho'la 'The child is making joy to have (taking with him) four pebbles.'

(29) 2bar- : is used for flower in blooming stage ; (for derivation, cf. 2bi'bar 'flower', 3bar 'bloom') 2bi'bar 2bar'tham 2kha2na'mey 0ni2khla'no 'be' 'Fluck three flowers and give them to the maiden' (Give the maiden three flowers after having pluck)

(30) 2phi2p- : is used for words, voice, sound, stroke, etc.; 2ap'me 2ba2thra 2phi2p'se 2khin'tha ' (You) tell me one in information.' 2mey'ni 2bi2lay'ni 2ba2thra
2. I have not understood even a single word of your letter.

'The main principle of the first human being is five words' (the first man of creation) according to Boro myth; 2. a. sar 'code'.

(31) 2gur- : is used for skins, hides, husks, barks etc. (for derivation, cf. 2. bi'gur 'skin', 'hide', 'bark'); 2ap 2mep2hum3aw 1thep0kla 1mey 2bi2gur 2gur1se 2mep1no 2la1be0gna 'If I go to hunting, I shall bring you one hide of a deer.' 2mep2sin1ni 2mep2sem3aw 2bi2gur 2gur1mey 3deq -> 2gur2se1a 2ha2har3aw 3deq -> 2be 2g01be 'There are two skins in a man's body, one is outside (outer), it is thin.'

(32) 2thep- : is used for legs (of men, animals etc.) 2mep2sow1ha 2a2thip (2a2thap) 2thep1brey (2thep1bri) 3deq 'A cow has four legs.'

(33) 2khan- : is used for occasions, time; (for derivation, cf. 2khan 'time', 'occasion' used as nouns) it does not require an antecedent noun to express the numeral classifying sense fully.

2mey 2ap 2mep1khow 2kha2mey1le 'ma0bay' 'I have seen you to-day twice only.'

(34) 2dan- : is used for months (cf. -ten without antecedent noun) 2a2kha2phor 2mep2sow1lphray 2ap 2mep2sow0deq 'since a month I am suffering from fever.' (cf. also, 2mey1ay 2la2m2sa2may1a 2dan1se 'ma0bay')
(35) 2san-

: is used for days; it does not require an antecedent noun; (for derivation, cf. 2san 'sun', 'day' used as a noun) 2san²se¹ni 2un³aw 2ap 2phoa²phim⁰goa

'I shall return after a day (one day).'

(36) 2da²gla-

: is used for clouds, curd etc. 2se¹moy 2da²gla²se¹bo 2o²khrop³aw 2goy¹a\n
'Not a single piece of cloud is on the sky.'

(37) 2mor-

: is used for a shoulder-load i.e. a bundle that can be carried by a person in one of his shoulder; 2aj¹ne 2mo²lo 2mor¹se 1he⁰; 'Give me a shoulder load of reed.'

(38) 2mup-

: is used for a task or an appointment; 2ha²ba 2mup²se 2man¹ne 2man²al²phoa¹khew 2lip¹hor² 'Call the men to do a job (task).' '

(39) 2khup-

: is used for marriage, feast etc. 2ha²ba 2khup¹se 2khup¹ne 2ap¹ha 2tha²kha 2goy¹a\n
'I have no money to perform a marriage.' 2ha²tha²su¹ni 2khup²se¹ni 2tha¹khay 2ba²ri¹a 3man 1lan²doy⁰goa\n
'The old woman spreaded paddy for a marriage-feast.'

(40) 2da²kha-

: is used for blood in congelemated stage; 1they 2da²kha¹se 1goy²bay\n
'A small quantity of blood has (already) come out.'

(41) 2ban-

: is used for a pair of bags or sacks capable of receiving solid things, carried on a shoulder on the 2 two ends; (for derivation of 2bi¹ban 'a pair of loads') 2bi¹ne 2tha²kha 2ban¹se 2nap¹gow\n
'He requires a pair of loads of rupees.' 2man 2ban¹moy 1he⁰ 'Give two pairs of loads of paddy.'
(42) *phar-* (*phar-i*): is used for side of head, hand, ear, and similar limbs having two sides; *ap'ha 2khe're 2phar'se'ta 2sa'de'li*/'One side of my head is acheing.'

(43) *theb-*: is used for cocoon (of silkworm), heads of cabbage, etc.; *no'pi 2no'sha 0phi'theb /2bi'theb 2theb'mey 2dey' (there) are two cocoons in your house.'

(45) *ga-*: is used for year, publication, and general action; *bo'sor 2ga'se 2so'bo'bay 2dey' 'One year has passed.' *di'sum 2ga'moy'lo 2be 2bi'sa'b'a 2sa'de'li*/'This book has two editions only'. '2a 'ga'se7' 'eat once.' 'el' 2ga'moy' 'Drink twice.' To denote action, *ga-* does not require an antecedent noun.

(45) *khaw-*: is used to mean the half part of a thing (solid), also indicates 'ten' in counting; *gay 2khaw'se 2be 'Give one half of the betel-nut.' *be 2ha'a ni 2khaw'se 2men'se 2ma'o'bay 2dey' 'One-tenth part of this work (one) has already done.'

(46) *sup-*: is used for pipes, tubes or similar things; *be 2me 2ow'a'ni'phray 2ha' sup 2sup'mey 2dey' 'Cut two tubes from this bamboo.' (For derivation, cf. *ha'sup* 'tube', 'pipe'. Used as a noun.)

(47) *khe*2be-*: is used to mean a mouthful of cooked rice or other eatables of solid nature; *ga'kham 2khe'be'mrey'be 2sa'7' 'Eat four mouthfuls of cooked rice also.'

(48) *ge*2red-*: is used to mean a sip, or a mouthful of water, wine or other drinkables of liquid nature; *ap 1dey 2ge'red'se...khew 1dey'a'li*/'I have not drunk a sip of
water (definitive or determinative).

(49) 2\text{mu}^2\text{ga}^-; is used to mean one - fourth or a quarter of night i.e. a duration of three hours; for derivation of.
2\text{mu}^1\text{ga}^- 'a quarter of night' used freely as a noun.
2\text{mu}^2\text{ga}^- does not require an antecedent noun.
\text{sa}_p 2\text{mu}^2\text{ga}^1\text{se} 2\text{mu}^1\text{dzu}^0\text{ga}\text{m} warmly I shall sleep a quarter of night' (i.e. a full sleep is of three hours' duration)

(50) 2\text{do}^-/2\text{do}^2\text{khla}^-; is used to denote small cut pieces of meat/ other things. 2\text{be'}dor 2\text{do}^2\text{se}^1\text{khew}^1\text{be} 2\text{ap}^1\text{sa}^0\text{li}^0\text{a} warmly 'I do not eat even a small piece of meat! ^2\text{do}^2\text{khla}^1\text{brey}^1\text{be} ^1
'Give four pieces of sugar candy'.

There are a considerable number of free forms or morphemes (comprising of Boro words and loan-words from Indio and other foreign languages) which function like numeral classifiers. These are prefixed to the quantifiers directly; and the numeral formation does not require an antecedent noun. In fact, the numeral classifiers listed above may not require antecedent nouns if the context is clear; but they usually take antecedent nouns to clarify the meaning.

The following is a list of free forms or words that are commonly used to indicate containers and measures (size, weight, time and price) this list includes borrowed terms also as used in Boro. The list is not complete. The numeral classifiers listed above as No.s (4), (9), (12), (15), (16), (17), (18), (21), (22), (23), (24), (35), & (49) are derivable from free forms with similar or related meanings. These are excluded from the following list.

(a) 2\text{mu}^- (cf. 1\text{mu} 'arm-length' used as noun) is used to mean the measure of an arm-length i.e. one half of a yard; 2\text{mu}^1\text{se} 'one arm-length'
(b) \(a^2si\) (cf. \(a^1si\) 'fingernail') is used to denote the measure of the width of a finger; used along with \(a^2thay\) \(a^2si^2thay^1moy\) 'four finger width'

(c) \(bo^2ser\) (cf. \(bo^1ser\) 'year') is used to denote the time element of year; (loan from Indic, cf. Assamese \(bar\)) \(bo^2ser^1se\) 'one year'

(d) \(da^2bor\) (cf. \(da^1bor\) 'moment') is used to denote the measure of time equivalent to a moment; \(da^2bor^1se\) \(re^3tho^/thay^3de^/\) 'Stop for a moment.'

(e) \(ho^2phtha\) \(hob^2tha\) (cf. \(ho^1tha^/\) \(ho^2phtha\) 'week') (loan from Indic, cf. Assamese 'zaptah') is used to denote the time measure of a week; \(ho^2phtha^2se^ni^phhay\)

(f) \(hor\) (cf. \(her\) 'night' used freely as a noun) is used to denote the measure of time equivalent to a night; \(hor^1se\) 'one night', \(hor^1mey\) 'two nights' etc.

(g) \(ma^2kha\) (cf. \(ma^1kha\) 'collection', part) is used to mean a collection of people; \(ma^2kha^1se\) 'a collection or a section of people'

(h) \(na^2\) (cf. \(na^1\) 'anna', 1/16th part of a rupee according to Indian currency in vogue upto 1959 A.D. (e.g. cf. Assamese \(na^2\) \(na\) \(na^1se\) 'one anna', \(na^2\) \(na^1mey\) 'two annas')

(i) \(sar\) (cf. \(sar\) 'thousand') (loan from Indic; cf. Assamese \(basar\)) \(sar^1se\) 'one thousand'

(j) \(ser\) (cf. \(ser\) 'seer') (loan from Indic; cf. Assamese
1/40th part of a maund; 2 sas\(^{-1}\) se 'one seer'

(k) 2 mon\(-/\) 2 mo\(^{2}\) hom\(-\) (cf. 3 mon/ 2 mo\(^{3}\) hom 'maund'; loan from Indic; cf. Assamese man 'forty seers')

2 mon\(^{1}\) se 'one maund'; 2 mo\(^{2}\) se\(^{1}\) ni 'ma 2 dan'/

What (is) the price of a maund? Some other free forms are 2 re\(^{1}\) khom 'kind' or 'variety', 2 bo\(^{1}\) ma 'load', etc.

4.1.3.2

Suffixal morphemes in lieu of quantifiers:

As briefly shown above, numeral classifiers with the help of complex suffixal morphemes -2 be\(^{1}\) se\(^{-1}\) b\(^{1}\) se\(^{-1}\) phse and -2 phrom\(^{1}\) bo may form Quantitative pronouns with interrogative sum indefinite correlations and Indefinite pronouns with distributive correlations. Most of the simple numeral classifiers may take these two suffixal morphemes in lieu of the quantifiers, i.e. these suffixal morphemes occupy the place of quantifiers and result in a special type of numeral formations as illustrated below:

(1) -2 phrom\(^{1}\) bo: is suffixed to most of the common and simple numeral classifiers to denote singular indefinite distributive sense as in the case of English equivalents 'every ... ', 'each ... '; this is composed of two morphs -2 phrom \(-/\) -1 bo (the latter appears to be identical with the terminating nominal suffixes, but it is a composite part of the bound morpheme here) 2 man\(^{2}\) si 2 sa\(^{2}\) phrom\(^{1}\) bo

2 phrom\(^{1}\) bo 'every man will have to come';

2 mo\(^{1}\) dar 2 sa\(^{2}\) phrom\(^{1}\) bo 'each elephant';

2 gaz\(^{2}\) phrom\(^{1}\) bo 'each stick';

2 sa\(^{2}\) phrom\(^{1}\) bo 'every day' etc.
These three allomorphs of the suffixal morpheme are added to most of the common and simple numeral classifiers to denote plural indefinite interrogative sense carried usually by English equivalents 'how many ...'; these allomorphs are used as dialect variants and they display morpho-phonemic situations. The second and third allomorphs are often used.

\[2\text{be}^3\text{aw} 2\text{man}^2\text{si} 2\text{a}^1\text{se} (2\text{sa}^1\text{pha}) 3\text{dey} \uparrow \text{'How many men are here?'} \quad 2\text{thay}^1\text{gir} 2\text{thay}^1\text{pha} (2\text{thay}^1\text{b}^1\text{se}) 3\text{men}^0\text{bay} \uparrow \text{'How many wood-apples have ripen?'}\]

There is a suffixal morpheme \(-^1\text{pha} \quad \text{'one at a time '} \text{which is added to most of the common and simple numeral classifiers as follows. This shares the function of a quantifier as in the case of the above two suffixal morphemes of the Quantifying suffixes.} \]

(iii) \(-^1\text{pha} \cdots -^1\text{pha} ; \text{is suffixed discontinuously and being reduplicated to mean 'one at a time', 'one by one' in a distributive context ;}

\[(2\text{man}^2\text{si}^1\text{pha}^\text{e}) 2\text{sa}^1\text{pha} 2\text{sa}^1\text{pha} 2\text{phay}^1\text{pha}^\text{e}^\text{b}^0\text{bay} \downarrow \quad \text{'(The men) have returned one at a time (one by one).'}\]

\[2\text{sa}^1\text{pha} 2\text{sa}^1\text{pha} 1\text{lap} \uparrow \text{Take one by one (of animals).'} \]

\(-^1\text{pha} -^1\text{noy} ; \text{is suffixed as discontinuous and reduplicated to mean 'one or two at a time'} ; \]

\[2\text{a}^1\text{no} 2\text{men}^1\text{pha} 2\text{men}^1\text{noy} 1\text{ho} \uparrow \text{'Give me one or two at a time (of certain things)'} \]

\[2\text{thay}^1\text{pha} 2\text{thay}^1\text{noy} 1\text{sa}^1 \uparrow \text{'Eat one or two (fruits) at a time.'} \]
-\( ^2 \)pha : is suffixed alone to a limited number of
simple and common numeral classifiers to mean 'one separately', 'one different', 'having one' etc. etc.

\( ^2 \)men\(^1 \)pha 'one' (thing)

\( ^2 \)mu\(^1 \)pha 'one arm-length' i.e. 'having one arm'

\( ^2 \)sup\(^1 \)pha 'different kinds or varieties'

These Quantifying suffixes or suffixal morphemes may be treated as
derivational or derivative elements.

4.1.3.3 Inflection of Numerals. The inflection of numeral is limited
to the principal nominal affixes and nominal terminating affixes.
Examples are given in 4.1.4 as necessary.

4.1.4 Details of Inflection

As discussed in the preceding sections nominal bases are formed out
of free and bound morphemes and most of these having more than one
syllable display the derivation of nominal bases. It is not possible
here to analyse all the nominal bases as they are numerous; their
derivation also presents problems of alternate analyses. It is however
possible to analyse all the inflectional affixes which are added to
nominal bases. As classified above we have broadly the principal
and
nominal affixes, the secondary nominal affixes, nominal terminating
affixes.

(1) Principal nominal affixes include the suffixes that indicate
case relations, definitive meaning and determinative sense. Principal
nominal suffixes are added to substantives or noun bases proper directly
or to nominal formations which are analysable as noun bases plus
secondary nominal affixes. Principal nominal suffixes may usually
represent the end of nominal constructions, though a few terminating
Affixes are sometimes added to these constructions as bound morphemes without losing their individual meanings.

Principal nominal suffixes are: ----

(a) -∅ (zero) as general nominative case indicating suffix is present in all the noun bases which occur in isolation and as reply to queries. For examples: 2man'si 'man', i.e. (this is) man (and differs from other beings); 1ap 'I', 1mop 'you', 2sa'se 'one person' etc. All these examples consist of nominal bases plus zero suffix as general nominative case indicator. In simple statements also zero suffix is relevant; 2be 2sa'se 2man'si 'This (is) a man' (2man'si-plus zero suffix) 2ap 2sa'se 2man'si 'I (am) a man' (2ap-plus zero suffix).

(b) -'a~-'∅ represent allomorphs of the determinative nominative case suffixal morpheme to indicate definiteness of determinative sense; -∅ is added to all simple and non-homorific personal pronoun bases (e.g. 1ap, 1mop, 2bi) only; -'a is added to all other noun bases and nominal bases including homorific pronoun bases (2mop'thap 'you homorific' 2bi'thap 'he homorific etc.); -'a~-'∅ may follow secondary plural suffixes.

Examples:

2ap'∅ 'I definitely'; 2mop'∅ 'we definitely'; 2mop'∅ 'you definitely'; 2mop2mop'∅ 'you all definitely'; 2mop'thap'∅ 'you homorific definitely'; 2mop'thap'phra/2mop2mop'thap'mon'∅ 'they (all) homorific definitely'; 2bi'thap'∅ 'he homorific definitely'; 2bi'thap'phra/2bi'thap2mop'thap'mon'∅ 'they (all) homorific definitely'; 2mop2mop'thap'mon'∅ 'the man', 'the man determinately'; 2mop2mop'thap'mon'phra 'the man determinately'; 2sa2sa'se'∅ 'one person definitely'.
assumed to be present in all nominal bases (except pronouns) that constitute a direct object to the verbal formation.

\[2^a \text{ap} \ 2^a \text{na} \ '1 \text{m} \text{em}^0 \text{bay}' \ 'I have got fish' \ 'fish of varied species'.\]
\[2^b \text{ay} \ 2^a \text{ma}^1 \text{se} \ '1 \text{m} \text{em}^0 \text{bay}' \ 'I have got a fish'.\]
\[2^d \text{oy} \ 2^a \text{la}^1 \text{be} \ 'Bring water'.\]
\[2^e \text{ap} \ 2^a \text{man}^1 \text{al} \ '1 \text{mu}^0 \text{a} \text{kh} \text{oy}' \ 'I had not seen man (any) man'.\]
\[2^a \text{ap} \ 2^a \text{man}^2 \text{al} \ 2^a \text{sa}^1 \text{se} \ '1 \text{mu}^0 \text{bay}' \ 'I have (already) seen a man'.\]

(d) \(-^1\text{khow}\) as the determinative accusative case suffix to indicate definiteness and sometimes, exclusiveness:

\[2^a \text{ap} \ 2^a \text{ma}^1 \text{khow} \ '1 \text{m} \text{em}^0 \text{bay}' \ 'I have got the fish (the particular).\]
\[2^a \text{ap} \ 2^a \text{na} \ 2^a \text{sa}^2 \text{se}^1 \text{khow} \ '1 \text{m} \text{em}^0 \text{bay}' \ 'I have got (only) a fish'.\]
\[2^d \text{oy}^1 \text{khow} \ 2^a \text{la}^1 \text{be} \ 'Bring the water' \ 'this very or that'.\]
\[2^a \text{ap} \ 2^a \text{man}^2 \text{al}^1 \text{khow} \ '1 \text{mu}^0 \text{a} \text{kh} \text{oy}' \ 'I had not seen the man'.\]
\[2^a \text{ap} \ 2^a \text{man}^2 \text{al} \ 2^a \text{sa}^2 \text{se}^1 \text{khow} \ '1 \text{mu}^0 \text{bay}' \ 'I have (already) seen (only) a man'.\]

(e) \(-^1\text{ni}\) is a genitive case suffix to indicate direct genitival or possessive sense; it is added to all nominal bases and the resulting formations become the IC; of the following usually nominal formations. The resulting formation becomes an attribute or a peripheral to the following IC. It has the widest distribution in comparison to \(-^1\text{ha}\) which is an irregular case suffix indicating a belonging or a possession, \(-^2\text{ha}\) is added to a limited number of nominal base; it may be followed by another nominal form and then \(-^3\text{de}^a\) 'be' or its extended verbal form \(\text{be}\) usually occurs to mark the end of the utterance or the clause.

Briefly speaking, \(-^1\text{ha}\) occurs after nominal base followed by another nominal form and ultimately followed by \(-^3\text{de}^a\); \(-^1\text{ni}\) occurs after nominal base and is followed by another nominal form, but is not necessarily followed by \(-^3\text{de}^a\).
Examples:

2man2a12ni 2m01 sow 'the man's cow'

2ga2ni2ni 'bray 'the old man of the village'

2ap2ni 2bi2 sab'khow 'hor' 'Send my book.'

2m02ni 2ba2 thra 'bal0bay' 'has spoken information of house'

2ap2ha 2ma2se 2m02sow 3do00men0 I had a cow.' (as possessive)

2m02ha 2sa1nay 3dop0 'you have got pain'

2man2a12ha 2a1khay 3dop0 'The man has hand (s).'</n
2bi2ha 2go1 brah3 sa0 dop0men0 'He was in difficulty (had got difficulty)'

2sa2se1ni 2bi3 sab 'one person's book'; 2sa2se2ha 2bi2 sab

3dop0000 'one person has books (of any number).

(f) -2ni1 phray as a case affix is added to nominal bases to indicate ablative sense; this suffix is composed of two morphs -2ni and -1phray and results in a bound morpheme which has post-positional distribution in phrases being suffixed to nominal bases.

Examples:

2man2a12ni1 phray 'men0bay' (One) has got from the man.'

2m02ni1 phray 2la2bo1def 'Please bring from home.'

2bi2ni1 phray 'thap0a0kho' 1ap1 'I had not gone from that time (then or thereafter).'

2m02 sow 2sa2se2ni1 phray 2tha1 kha 2e2se1 bap 'men0bay' (One)

has got so many ruppes from a cow.'

(g) -1m0 is added to nominal bases to imply dative sense in respect of indirect object:

Examples:

2ap1 mo 2bi2 sab'khow 'ho' 'Give me the book.'

2m02 sow1 khow 2ap1 mo 2 'hor0g00n0' 'Send me the cow.'
2na02sow1ne 2gap'me 2sa'nay 'he / 'Give the cow to eat grass.'
2ap'me 2d1n'1thi / 'Show me.'

(i) -1mep is added to nominal bases to mean instrumental context and various meanings of addition, comparison etc.

Examples:
2da2ba'1mep 2goey'khow 1khar / 'cut the betel-nut with the knife.'
2go2tho'1mep 2ba2ha2ba'khow 2da 3maw / 'Do not do this talk with the boy.'

(ii) tennnen as a post-position to mean 'along with', 'together with':

Examples:
2go2tho'a 2bi2ma'1mep 2gap'kham 2sa1pha0deo0 / 'The boy has eaten rice along with his mother.'
2ap1'0 2mep2pha'1mep 2ray'slay0gen / 'I shall discuss with your father.'

(iii) to mean 'by way of':
2mep'0 2la2ma'1mep 2phey2phin'nap0gen / 'You will have to return by the road.'
2man2si'a 2der'mep 2ne3aw 3hab0deo0man / 'The man entered the house through the door.'

(iv) to mean 'in addition', 'added to':
2man2so1mep 2men2mep, 2men'mep 2san2san'bla
2men'than 3say0gen / 'Two being added to one becomes three.'

(v) to mean 'between', 'in comparison with' -1mep is added to both the nominal bases between which the comparison or relation is shown:
Battle took place between Rama and Ramon.

If I be compared to you, you will be bigger.

(h) 
-\(^3\)aw is used as locative case suffix to indicate place, time, order etc. -\(^3\)aw is added to -\(^1\)ni (genitive case suffix) and results in -\(^2\)mi\(^3\)aw to mean 'in the possession of' or 'at the disposal of' related to a person or living being.

Examples:

- \(^2\)hi\(^2\)ni \(^2\)me\(^3\)aw \(^2\)o\(^1\)na \(^3\)day\(^0\)e\(^\downarrow\) 'There are swine in his house.'
- \(^2\)ap \(^2\)go\(^2\)ha\(^2\)thi\(^3\)aw \(^1\)than\(^0\)o\(^0\)sey\(^\downarrow\) 'I am just going to Gaunati.'
- \(^2\)hor \(^2\)ge\(^2\)ser\(^3\)aw \(^0\)si\(^1\)khaw \(^2\)phey\(^0\)e\(^\downarrow\) (A) thief comes at midnight.'
- \(^2\)mon\(^2\)se\(^3\)aw \(^2\)mon\(^1\)ney \(^2\)san\(^2\)na\(^1\)bla \(^2\)mon\(^1\)than \(^3\)say\(^0\)e\(^\downarrow\) 'Two added to one becomes three.'
- \(^2\)ap \(^2\)um\(^3\)aw \(^1\)than\(^0\)g\(^0\)en\(^\rightarrow\) \(^2\)ney \(^2\)si\(^2\)gap\(^3\)aw \(^1\)thap\(^\uparrow\) 'I shall go afterwards; you go ahead.'
- \(^2\)ap \(^2\)ney\(^2\)mi\(^3\)aw \(^1\)thap\(^0\)g\(^0\)en\(^\downarrow\) 'I shall go to yours (your place)'

(1) -\(^1\)ha is used as a case suffix to mean 'In direction of', 'for the purpose of' after a limited number of nominal bases relating to household functions, hunting, fishing etc. The area of meaning covered by -\(^1\)ha is partially occupied by genitive case suffix -\(^1\)ni plus particles \(^2\)tha\(^1\)khay; but such combinations as -\(^1\)ni \(^2\)tha\(^1\)khay etc. are discussed separately and are excluded from the treatment of principal nominal suffixes.

Examples of the uses of -\(^1\)ha

- \(^2\)na\(^1\)ha \(^1\)thap\(^\rightarrow\) \(^2\)ney\(^1\)ha \(^1\)thap\(^\uparrow\) 'Go to fishing, go to hunting (to hunt deer)'
- \(^0\)si\(^2\)khlay\(^1\)a \(^2\)day\(^1\)ha \(^1\)thap\(^0\)g\(^0\)e\(^\downarrow\) 'The maiden has gone to fetch
Sometimes with a limited number of prenominal bases:

2ọ'

'Come to this direction'

2bọ'

'Go to that direction.'

Post-positions like 2ba'di, 2la'go'y, 1khay, 2thip'go'y, etc. with or without genitive -'ni before them serve partially the purpose of case suffixes; but these are not treated here under principal nominal suffixes because of the peculiar nature of these particles which are analysed separately.

(2) Secondary Nominal affixes: The secondary nominal affixes in zero include gender indicating suffix as and plural indicating suffixes in.

These affixes are not many in number and functions are sometimes expressed with other devices.

(a) Gender indicating suffix or masculine-feminine distinguishing suffix is used in respect of a limited number of noun bases indicating living beings, specially men and animals. The distinction of sex may be expressed in case of living beings only by the following three ways:

(i) using separate noun bases for male and female beings e.g. 2họ'

'male person'; 2bọ'

'female person'; 2phọ'

'(one's) younger brother'; 2bọ'

'(one's) younger sister' etc. ; (ii) using separate qualifying words to noun bases which precede these qualifying words (sometimes noun bases are omitted) e.g. 2bọ'

'male cat' ; 2bọ'

'male pig'; also 2bọ'

'male pig'; 2bọ'

'male cat'; 2bọ'

'male pig' ; also 2bọ'

'male cat'; (shī-goat); 2bọ'

'the male deer' (moose); 2bọ'

'the female deer' ( doe); 2bọ'

'the female cow'; 2bọ'

'the male dog'; 2bọ'

'the female dog' (bitch);
Examples of these masculine -feminine indicating suffixes:

2da1ala - seek; 2daw'q  - hen (also 2daw'ala : 2daw'ma)

2haj2sa1ala - male duck; 2haj2sa'ma  - female duck

2pha2sowi1ala - male pigeon; 2pha2sow1ma  - female pigeon

Ophi2sa1ala  /  bi2sa1ala /  Ophi2sa1ma  - son;  Ophi2sa1ma  - daughter
(also 2bi2sa1ma)  Ophi2sow1ala/Ophi2sow1ma /  2bi2sow1ala  - grandson;  
Ophi2sa1ma /  2bi2sa1ma  - granddaughters

The masculine -feminine indicating suffix -1ala/-1ma : -1ma is also used in the following noun bases indicating human relations as -哲 : -1ma (allomorph alternant) 2bi3haw - father-in-law; 2bi1khum1ma  - mother-in-law (his) 2bi2sa2ma'day (his) son-in-law; 2bi2ham1ma (his) daughter-in-law

The masculine-feminine indicating suffix -1a : -1ari is added to a limited number of noun bases denoting names of men and women which are so common in the Bara society. -1a has an alternate form as -2ram added to a few personal proper names. Another set of such suffix is -1a/-哲 : -1i which has a limited range of distribution.

Examples:

Masculine form | Feminine form | Noun-base
---|---|---
2gey'1araa | 2gey'1ari | 3gey/2gey- 'betel-nut'
2muk1ram | 2muk1ma | 2muk1ma
2lay'1araa | 2lay'1ari | 1lay/2lay- 'leaf'
2khum2thay'1araa | 2khum2thay'1ari | 2khum2thay/2khum2thay-
'a bitter brinjal-like fruit'
A limited number of noun bases denoting names of gods and goddesses take -1bray; -1bri as masculine -feminine indicating suffixes, though these suffixes are derived from free noun bases 'bray/2be'ray,'oldman'; 2bu'ri/1bri 'mt old woman' 2ba2the1bray 'Supreme Boro God'; 2bul'li1bri 'Goddess Bulli (known also as Burli; Assamese Bhoori)'; 2mon2sin'sin1bray 'Father of human beings; a deity'; 2may2nav1bri 'Goddess of harvests; Lekani/lokhimi' etc.

These masculine -feminine indicating suffixes or briefly, gender indicating suffixes are added to noun bases only.

(b) Plural indicating suffixes or singular-plural indicating suffixes are added to noun bases and some pronoun bases to denote more than one in number. To denote singular number, no suffix is necessary; this may be stated as the absence of plural suffixes or, having morphemic zero singular indicating suffix in respect of the noun or pronoun bases. Plurality may also be expressed by other qualifying words that precede or follow the bases. Plural indicating suffixes are in complementary distribution with these qualifying words which include numeral
formations, and a number of adjectival stems, such as $^2$go$^1$ba$p$, $^2$bur$^1$sa, $^2$ese, $^2$go$^2$ba$p$ etc., indicating quantity. In these contexts, noun bases (not pronoun bases) are interpreted to be plural forms either with allomorphic zero plural suffix or without any plural indicating suffix.

Examples of plural indicating suffix morpheme: (-1phet- -1seo- -1mon-)

-1seo: to noun bases qualified by quantitative words;

$^2$man$^2$si$^2$go$^1$ba$p$ 'many men'; $^2$go$^2$ba$p$ $^2$man$^1$si; $^2$daw
$^2$bur$^1$sa / $^2$bar$^2$sa $^2$daw 'many birds'; $^2$ma$^2$se$^2$mo$^1$sew / $^2$mo$^1$khow
'a cow'; $^2$ma$^2$moy $^2$mo$^1$khow 'two cows'; $^2$man$^2$si $^2$sa$^1$than/$^2$sa$^2$than $^2$man$^1$si 'three men' etc.

-1mon: to pronoun bases, $^2$mo$^1$thap 'you honorific', $^2$bi$^1$thap 'he honorific' (dialectal variant with -1phet) belonging to second
and third person honorific.

$^2$mo$^2$thap$^1$mon / $^2$mo$^2$thap$^1$phet 'You all honorific';
$^2$bi$^2$thap$^1$mon / $^2$bi$^2$thap$^1$phet 'you all honorific'; also
sometimes, $^2$se$^2$thap$^1$mon / $^2$se$^2$thap$^1$phet 'these persons honorific';

to noun bases indicating proper names:

$^2$ma$^2$ma$^1$may$^1$mon 'Sonaram and others'; $^2$lay$^2$ari$^1$mon 'Layari
and others';

-1seo: to pronoun bases indicating second and third personal non-
honorific.

$^2$mo$^1$seo 'you all'; $^2$bi$^1$seo 'they'; $^2$ese$^1$seo 'these
persons' (f); $^2$se$^1$seo 'these persons' (s)

$^0$phi$^1$seo 'that elder one (referring to one's
wife/ elder sister or husband's elder brother)' this form is
composed of two elements, $^0$phi- 'that one', 'he' or 'she'
(indefinite) plus -1seo 'plural indicating suffix'; the
resulting pronoun represents plural in form, but singular in
meaning, with socially honorific context.

-1pher: is added to all other noun bases and pronoun bases which do not take -1sor/-1mon / -$/ -1pher is a common plural indicating suffix which has the widest range of distribution. Adjectival forms used suffix as nouns may also take -1pher; sometimes this suffix is added to represent plural in form, but singular in meaning under socially honorific context of situations.

1 noun bases indicating common names, general things, objects, species of beings (men, animals, rivers) take -1pher; -1pher follows the gender indicating suffix:

2man2si1pher 'men'; 2m2s2s2pher 'cows';
2daw1pher 'birds'; 2m1pher 'houses';
2maw2si1pher 'cats'; 2maw2si 2bun2da1pher 'male cats';
2daw2sla1pher 'seeds'; 2daw2m1pher 'hens';
2si2bev1pher 'serpents';
2be2thra1pher 'words', 'informations';
2raw1pher 'voices'.

2 First personal pronoun plural form 1sep may take -1pher to mean honorific and dignified context of collective situations;
2sep1pher 'we, these honoured and dignified persons (egoistically); e.g. 2sep2pher2khow 2the1man1 'Speak to us only ?'

3 Third personal pronoun forms 2bi, 2sey, 2a/1i etc. may take -1pher to denote non-human beings and other things in general (contrast with -1sor to denote non-honorific human beings)
2bi1pher /2i1pher 'these (non-human) things';
2be1pher /2e1pher 'these (non-human) things';
2sey1pher 'these far off (non-human) things'. (2bi1pher
'sweepings' ; singular & plural.}

(4) Adjectival **ge²der 'big'** used as a noun and the noun base **bø¹ray 'old man'** take -¹pher to mean honorific social relations as follows; the resulting formations are singular in meaning:

**ge²der¹pher 'husband's elder brother or wife's elder sister';** this is used in all the three personal contexts without any pronominal prefix or with zero prefixal allomorph. To indicate plural sense definitely we have **ge²der²pher¹phra.**

**bø²ray¹pher 'my/your/his father-in-law';** to indicate plural, we have **bø²ray²pher¹phra (definitive) (contrast bø²ray¹pher²bø²ray¹phra 'old man' (general & definitive)**

These formations **bi¹pher 'sweepings', ge²der¹pher²phişey (my/your/his husband's elder brother or wife's elder sister'), bø²ray¹pher 'father-in-law'** are used in the more social contexts semantically and stylistically.

(3) Nominal Terminating Suffixes : The nominal terminating suffixes, if desired, may be added to nominal formations inclusive of the nominal bases plus secondary and principal nominal affixes. In such circumstances, the terminating suffixes close the formations on morphological level; the preceding nominal affixes become as if infixes in the nominal formations closed by the terminating suffixes.

Nominal terminating suffixes are inflectional in the sense in which we have called the principal and secondary nominal affixes to be inflectional. These terminating suffixes are bound morphemes; they have their individual meanings and do modify the meaning of the nominal formations to which they are suffixed. They belong to the larger class of General
Terminating Morphemes which include all nominal and verbal terminating affixes and particles in the morphological and syntactic levels. The nominal terminating suffixes listed below are not exclusive to nominal formations (nouns, pronouns, and numerals) only; some of them may be added to verbal formations (verbs, adjectives, adverbs) as well. Generally one, but sometimes a small number of more than one terminating suffixes may be added to nominal formations (composed of noun bases, secondary affixes and principal affixes in the possible relative sequences). General Terminating Particles may follow terminating suffixes on syntactic level.

-\(^3\)m/(-\(^9\)m) : 2\(^ap\)\(^1\)m\(^0\) (2\(^ap\)- 'I' plus nominative case suffix -\(^9\) plus -\(^3\)m terminating suffix) to mean 'I (the very one) emphatically' 2\(^m\)\(^a\)\(^2\)m\(^o\) 'why definitely'; 2\(^\text{man}\)\(^2\)\(^ni\)\(^2\)m\(^o\) 'the man' (definitely and emphatically); 2\(^sa\)\(^2\)\(^se\)\(^2\)m\(^o\) 'one person' (definitely and emphatically).

-\(^1\)lo/(-\(^9\)lo) : 2\(^ap\)\(^1\)l\(^o\) 'I only'; 2\(^ap\)\(^2\)k\(^h\)\(^w\)\(^1\)l\(^o\) 'me only'; 2\(^\text{man}\)\(^2\)\(^si\)\(^1\)l\(^o\) 'man only'; 2\(^\text{man}\)\(^2\)\(^si\)\(^2\)\(^\text{mi}\)\(^1\)l\(^o\) 'man's only'; 2\(^sa\)\(^2\)\(^se\)\(^1\)l\(^o\) 'one person only'; 2\(^sa\)\(^2\)\(^se\)\(^2\)\(^\text{mop}\)\(^1\)l\(^o\) 'by one person only'.

-\(^2\)b\(^o\)/(-\(^9\)b\(^o\)) : 2\(^m\)\(^o\)\(^2\)b\(^o\) 'we also'; 2\(^m\)\(^o\)\(^2\)k\(^h\)\(^w\)\(^2\)b\(^o\) 'us also'; 2\(^g\)\(^e\)\(^2\)\(^\text{the}\)\(^2\)b\(^o\) 'the child too/also'; 2\(^g\)\(^e\)\(^2\)\(^\text{the}\)\(^2\)\(^\text{ph}r\)\(^2\)b\(^o\) 'the children too/also'; 2\(^g\)\(^e\)\(^2\)\(^\text{the}\)\(^2\)\(^\text{ph}r\a\)\(^2\)b\(^o\) 'these children too/also'; 2\(^\text{ma}\)\(^2\)\(^m\)\(^o\)\(^2\)\(^\text{mi}\)\(^2\)b\(^o\) 'two (animals) also', 'both (the animals) also'; 2\(^\text{ma}\)\(^2\)\(^m\)\(^o\)\(^2\)\(^\text{mi}\)\(^2\)b\(^o\) 'of both (the animals) also'.

-\(^3\)b\(^o\) is added to -\(^3\)b\(^o\) also; 2\(^ap\)\(^2\)\(^e\)\(^2\)b\(^o\) 'I (definitely and emphatically) also'; 2\(^\text{man}\)\(^2\)\(^si\)\(^2\)\(^\text{m}\)\(^1\)b\(^o\) 'the man (definitely and emphatically) also'; 2\(^\text{man}\)\(^2\)\(^si\)\(^2\)\(^aw\)\(^2\)\(^\text{m}\)\(^1\)b\(^o\) 'on the man...
(definitely emphatically) also
\[2\text{mo}^2\text{se}^2\text{a}^2\text{b}^2\text{e}^0\text{to}'one thing (nominative) (definitely emphatically) also.

\[\text{lay/(-}^0\text{lay}) : 2\text{bi}^1\text{lay} 'this very (one)' (e.g. 2\text{ma} 2\text{bi}^1\text{lay} 'What is this very (one)?'

\[2\text{mu}^2\text{pa}^1\text{lay} 'the name (definitely)' 'the very name';
\[\begin{align*}
(2\text{mu}^2 \text{pa}^1 \text{lay} & 'the name (definitely)', \\
& \text{plus } 2^a \text{a} 'nominative determinative affix', \\
& \text{plus } -^1\text{lay} 'definite sense')
\end{align*}

\[2\text{boy}^1\text{lay} 2\text{bop}^2\text{phap}^1\text{a} 'that very tree (at a considerable distance)';
\[\text{boy}^1\text{lay} 2\text{bon}^2\text{phap}^1\text{a} 'that very tree (at a long distance within the range of sight).';

\[\text{lay/(-}^0\text{lay}) : \text{this is added to a limited number of noun formations indicating social relationship in the context of calling or address by the male persons only; this is interpreted as a terminating suffix to mean 'definitive sense lovingly and intimately'};
\[\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. } 2\text{phap}^2\text{bay}^2\text{a} 1\text{bup}^0\text{bay} & \rightarrow 2\text{da}^2\text{a}^1\text{lay} 2\text{a}^1\text{da}, \\
2\text{ay}^2\text{khow}^1\text{a} 2\text{lay}^2\text{phap}^1\text{a}^2\text{b}^0\text{g}^0\text{a} & \text{my older brother, elder brother (definitively), (you) must take me also along with (you); has told the younger brother.}
\end{align*}
(2a2da1le - is spoken by younger brother (male) in a loving and intimate context)

-1hay/(-0hay) : this is used by the female persons only in a similar context as in -1loj : e.g. 2da2ri2a 1hay 0hay -
2le0ray1hay 2le1ray 2ne2the 0phi' sa 2ma'se
2la2le1hay 1 'The oldwoman said "O (you) oldman, bring me an young parrot."
(definitiony in a loving and intimate context)

These two terminating suffixes are added to nominal formations indicating social relationship of loving and intimate nature where the persons (male and female) concerned may freely exchange their ideas with joke and jest : for examples, between husband and wife, between grandfather/ grandmother and grandson/ granddaughter, between great elder sister's husband (elder brother-in-law) and wife's younger sister/brother (younger sister-in-law/ brother-in-law), between elder brother and younger brother, between lover and beloved etc. The conversation may take place between two males, or two females or between one male/female and one female/male of the above types of relationship. The male shall use -1lej and the female shall use -1hay only.

-2a2le1kha/(-0le0kha) : is added to intensify the meaning of the terminating suffix -1le used in the sense of "only" (described above) : this is a complex terminating suffix consisting of -1le and -1kha as bound morphs.

2aj2le1kha 'I only (definitely)'
2a2ri2le1kha 'your only (definitely)'
2a2so2le1kha 'one person only (definitely)'
2man2ai2le1kha 'man only (definitely)'

(Vda1gy * la woken by younger brother (male) in a loving and intimate context)

-*taay/(-®hay) t this la meed by tha fenale persoae aaly la a
elnllar context as la -*lfiy | a.g. *buarl*a *fca|0k j ^
*b8*rejr*hay *lg*ray *bu*the •phi1 aa *aa* aa
*la*b©*hay / *flia eldwoaas eald " 0 Cyan) oldxsa, brine
aa aa ybog parrat«9 (definitively la a loving and inti­
aate context)
-1baw/(-0baw) is added to a limited number of numeral formations to mean 'additional sense'.

2khan2se1baw 'one time more', 'once more/again'
2khan2ney1baw 'two times more'
2sa2se1baw 'one person more'
2sa2se2man2ni1baw 'one man more'

For -2ba/-0ba; -1khi; -0bla/-1bla, -2ma1ni (-0ma0ni)

ef. General Terminating suffixes

4.2 Verbeoids or Verbal Group

4.2.1. Verbs

4.2.1.0. General remarks:

The structural classes known as verbeoids or verbal group consist of verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. The verbal group differs from the nominal group in respect of the characteristic sets of verb bases and verbal affixes. A verb base with a substantive affix may with a few exceptions form a nominal formation which is capable of taking nominal suffixes. There are a number of general terminating suffixes which have both nominal and verbal affixation. Thus there are a few meeting points between the verbal group and the nominal group but still, the differences are striking, in respect of form and meaning. Often a verb base becomes the nucleus of related adjectival and adverbial formations.

A morpheme may be assigned to the class of verb base if it can take at least one of the principal verbal suffixes. Verb bases may be simple or monomorphemic, and the number of simple verb bases forms a considerable portion of the vocabulary. Otherwise verb bases may be complex or derived having more than one morpheme as their components. There is theoretically no limit as to the number of morphemes that may combine themselves to form derived verb bases, but in practice, a derived verb base may have two to three morpheme normally.
4.2.1.1. Canonical shapes:

There is no limit in the phonemic form of the verb base, except in the fact that the suprasegmental feature of tone is regarded as basic to the verb base (simple or derived) and the suffixes are regarded to have neutral tones being subordinate to the verb base. The affixation to the verb bases presents the tonemic changes at morpho-phonemic levels. Actual tones may alternatively be indicated in different syllables of the verb base and affixes. These are matters of minor methodical convenience. I have indicated mostly according to the first method of basic sum neutral, tone marking method in case of simple verb bases and principal finite verbal suffixes. In case of a number of non-simple and non-principal finite affixes, the second method of actual tone marking is often followed; e.g. 1thap^gdn 'shall or will go'; 2^thap^may 'to go'; 2^thap^bla 'if (one) goes'.

4.2.1.2. Different types of verb bases:

A common set of verb bases may participate in verbal, adjectival and adverbial formations; i.e. the same verb base with different affixes may function as a verb, or an adjective or an adverb as the case may be; e.g. 3ham 'be good', 'come round'; 2ga^ham 'good' 2ga^ham^oy 'well', 'pleasantly'.

A small number of verb bases may be reduplicated to give generally distributive, or plural or continuous sense.

2^thap^oy 2^thap^oy 'going and going' (continuous)
2^thap^hay 2^thap^hay 'about to go, about to go'
1za^ode 1za^ode7 'please eat, eat' (distributive or plural or continuous)

The reduplication is equally possible in respect of adjectives and adverbs.
There are a few verb bases which show irregularity in respect of taking all the principal verbal suffixes and other verbal affixes. These may be called irregular verbs.

(i) 2ge- 2ge0a (2ge0a) 'is not', 'has not'; 2ge0a0m0n 'was not'.
(ii) 3dog- 3dog 'is' or 'are'; 3dog0m0n 'was' or 'were' (definitely)
      3dog0m0n 'was' or 'were'; 3dog0m0n 'was' or 'were' (definitely)
(iii) 1thu 'proceed', 'let (us) go'; 1tha0d0 'please proceed'

(i) and (ii) denot take future indicating principal verbal suffixes and a number of other verbal suffixes.

(iii) does not take past and future indicating principal verbal suffixes and a number of other verbal suffixes.

A small number of verb bases are used after nouns or nominal formations (Boro and non-Boro words) to make verbal phrase or combined verbal formation.

Some of them are:

(i) 1he 'give'; 2khe2ma 1he 'forgive', 'show forgiveness'
    2eri 1he 'bless', 'give blessing'
(ii) 2kha3lam 'do'; 2ha2ba 2kha3lam 'make (a) marriage', 'marry','marry'
    'do marriage' 2mar2si 2kha3lam 'make (a) man

(iii) 3maw 'do', 'work' : 2ha2ba 3maw/'Do a job', 'work'
(iv) 3za 'be' : 2ra2sa 3za/'be (a) king' ;
These verb bases are essentially used to adapt non-Boro words, especially Indic (Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, etc.) and English words (including verbs and nouns) as befitted to the language.

Thus the verb bases of Boro cover the area of verbal, adjectival and adverbial functions; more emphatically often it is the verb base that becomes the nucleus of adjectival and adverbial formations; the derivation of verb bases show an extended area of meaning covered by usually adjectives and adverbs.

The verb bases may be divided according to their various forms and meanings. They may be simple consisting of a syllable i.e. simple monosyllabic and monomorphemic; a small number of simple disyllabic and monomorphemic verb bases are also used; the rest of the verb bases are complex disyllabic or polysyllabic and correspondingly polymorphemic.

The verb bases may be transitive or intransitive; they have further causative and non-causative forms; the non-causative forms are regarded as basic, as the causative forms are the results of causative prefixation or suffixation. A few transitive verb bases have two objects. The causative affixes make intransitive verb bases transitive ones.

The simple monosyllabic and monomorphemic verb bases are many and these are considered to be basic verbs as they are the nucleus of further addition and enlargement in the process of derivation and inflection. Most of them are listed in the appended vocabulary. Below I list only a sample of them to show their phonemic shape and form correlated with significant distinguishing tones.
'on 'love'
'son 'spread a loom'
'or/'ord 'bite'
'er 'widen'
'un 'sharpen'
'ur 'dig soil' (as the swine do); 'move curry'.
'ow 'fry'
'sw 'plough'
'er 'move by a finger or a handle'
'or 'grow', 'be big', 'increase' (in quantity)
'kon 'arrange cloth'
'kon 'pick', 'pick by sorting', 'sing', 'spread thread for weaving'
'kon 'pierce into', 'speak piercingly'
'kon 'ask to clasp'.
'na 'pluck' (as a flower)
'kon 'bind', 'talk', 'speak', 'tie'
'haw 'burn', 'steal', 'cut (a betel-nut) etc.'
'kon 'bind the brim or border (of a casket)'
'haw 'run'
'haw 'smell like a raw fish'
'haw 'pierce into', 'make naked', 'unbark'
'haw 'place by throwing or pressing' (as in the case of a child in the stage of annoyance)
'hur 'dig soil by nail'
'hur 'feel itching', 'cause itch'
'hreb 'open', 'open a door or window'
'hreb 'ask repeatedly' (reduplicated) verb
'hreb 'pinch'
'hreb 'abuse repeatedly' (reduplicated)
'hreb 'trample', 'tramp'

ge  ‘be free’, ‘get release’
3ge  ‘hatch’
1ga  ‘trample’, ‘tread upon’, ‘be cured’
1gaw  ‘tear (a cloth)’, ‘split’
3gaw  ‘shoot (arrow, gun)’, ‘swell’
1gap  ‘be thirsty’
3gan  ‘wear’, ‘put on’
3gar  ‘leave’, ‘forsake’
3gab  ‘weep’
1gi  ‘be afraid of’
1gu  ‘put off’, ‘be loose and falling’ (as a garment)
1gep  ‘be open’, ‘open automatically’
1geb 1geb  ‘walk with shoes making appropriate sounds’
1gur 1gur  ‘catch fish’
1ge  ‘be cured’, ‘come round’
1gleb  ‘swallow at a time’
1glob 1glob  ‘boil with bubbles’
1so  ‘make pieces’
1seb  ‘love pretendingly’
1sa  ‘make rope’, ‘twist a string’
2sa  ‘ache’
3sa  ‘set a net or other fishing or hunting instrument’
1saw  ‘give a blow’ (by hand)
3saw  ‘push by a horn (as an animal does)’
2say  ‘sit on fireside’
3say  ‘sort vegetables’
1saw  ‘pour fully’; 1saw 1saw  ‘overflow’ (reduplicated)
2saw  ‘burn’
1sey  ‘polish’ (as a bamboo)
1seg  ‘seek’
3seg  ‘seek opportunity’
'san 'count', 'think'
'sab 'match' (like a kite)
'sab 'taste by sucking'
'si 'be wet'
'su 'thrust', 'wash', 'sew'
'su 'weigh'
'sew 'be rotten'
'se 'match away'
'fer 'leak' (water through a roof in rain)
'ser 'see by pressing'
'sh 'push through', 'forbear'
'soy 'tolerate', 'forbear'
'soy 'the', 'die'
'th a 'exist', 'remain'
'thap 'go'
'thap 'live', 'survive'
'thap 'pate gum'
'thi 'keep a thing for a person'
'th a 'proceed together'
'the 'suffice'
'dov 'feed'
'dop 'be'
'dau 'mould instruments (as a blacksmith does)', 'weave a cloth'
'dap 'touch'
'dan 'cut'
'der 'be big'
'do 'erect a post'
'day 'lay an egg', 'place on a hand'
'no 'offer'
'na 'bring out grain by treading''
'may 'look''
'mu 'see''
'phë 'sow seeds''
'phëy 'slap by a hand''
'phèy 'come''
'phëb 'place in a hole', 'bury in a hole''
'pham 'twist', 'encircle''
'pham 'sell''
'phu 'unroot''
'phur 'be white''
'phug 'be fleshy''
'phug 'be intoxicated''
'phë 'be intoxicated''
'phë 'swoosh', 'be excessive', 'be plenty''
'ba 'carry on back''
'bay 'break''
'bay 'buy''
'baw 'offer to a god''
'baw 'forget''
'bo 'be excessive', 'be plenty''
'bar 'jump''
'bar 'bloom''
'be 'beg, 'ask''
'bir 'fly''
'bu 'beat', 'strike' (with a rod)''
'bu 'swell''
'bu 'speak', 'say''
'bu 'fulfill''
'be 'pull', 'draw''
'bor 'become mad'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maw</td>
<td>'do', 'work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>'toast on a leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meq</td>
<td>'be tired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>'get'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>'ripen', 'boil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re</td>
<td>'leak water through a hole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>req</td>
<td>'ask to stop going'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ray</td>
<td>'know', 'perceive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ray</td>
<td>'harm by magical power'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ray</td>
<td>'abuse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ray</td>
<td>'speak', 'converse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ran</td>
<td>'be dry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ran</td>
<td>'divide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru</td>
<td>'boil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>'take'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>'be long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lay</td>
<td>'bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lap</td>
<td>'take away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lip</td>
<td>'call', 'shout'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lir/lird</td>
<td>'write', 'plaster a wall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lir</td>
<td>'be heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu</td>
<td>'build' (a house); 'spin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu</td>
<td>'pour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leq</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lem</td>
<td>'be overfloode', 'overflow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lem</td>
<td>'be ill', 'suffer from fever'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>her</td>
<td>'send'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>'be able'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>'out by pressing', 'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hab</td>
<td>'enter', 'set (as the sun)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\begin{quote}
1\text{ban} 'be weak'; lean', 'weaken'

3\text{ban} 'some round', 'be cured'

2\text{bhu} 'rub', 'cleanse'

1\text{be} 'give', 'drive'

1\text{heb} 'make', 'construct'

1\text{bon} 'catch'

1\text{bon} 'say', 'ask'

\text{A small number of disyllabic verb bases occur in the language; these are regarded as complex, underligible and monomorphemic; they are mostly of non-Boro origin.}

2\text{bu2zi} 'understand' (cf. \text{bus} 'understand' in Assamese)

2\text{bu2zay} 'make understand' (cf. Assamese: \text{busay})

2\text{me2ni} 'obey' (cf. \text{man} 'obey' in Assamese)

2\text{pmu2ni} 'worship' (cf. Assamese: \text{pma} 'worship')

2\text{be2say} 'save' (cf. Assamese \text{baa} 'escape')

2\text{gil2li} 'melt' (cf. Assamese: \text{gela} 'melt') etc. etc.

4.2.1.3. Derivation of verb bases.

Derived verb bases are here analysed as (i) a simple base plus a derivational affix; or (ii) a simple base plus a simple base or complex base or (iii) a simple base plus more than one derivational affix or (iv) a simple base plus more than one simple base or complex base.

(i) Simple base plus Derivational affix: Derivational affixes may be non-causative or causative; non-causative derivational affixes consisting of prefixes and \text{su} suffixes are more in number than the causative derivational affixes consisting of prefixes and suffixes. All these derived verb bases are disyllabic or polysyllabic having regarded as polymorphemic.

(a) Non-causative derivational suffixes are numerous in comparison
to a small number of prefixes. All these suffixes and prefixes are added to simple verb bases to modify or intensify the meaning of the simple verb bases; these do not destroy the original meaning of the simple verb base; some of these derivational non-causative affixes are syllables in the shape of some simple verb bases; but these occurring syllables are no longer used as simple verbs; hence these are treated as affixes in our analysis. Most of these are affixed freely to any of the simple verb bases; a few of them have restricted affixation; I have not divided them as productive versus non-productive derivational affixes for the simplicity of analysis. The common non-causative derivational suffixes are described below in respect of appropriate simple verb bases:

(1) \(-^0\text{baw}\): Means 'more', 'again' e.g. \(\text{1}\text{thap}^1\text{ga}^1\text{go}\) plus \(-^0\text{baw}\) become \(\text{2}\text{thap}^1\text{baw}^0\text{goa}\) 'I shall go again.'; \(\text{2}\text{be}^2\text{man}^2\text{ci}^1\text{a}^1\text{pho}\text{y}^2\text{baw}^0\text{de}^0\text{maw}^1\) 'This man came again.'

(2) \(-^0\text{bay}\): means 'continuous action'; e.g. \(\text{1}\text{bi}^1\text{beg}\) : \(\text{2}\text{bi}^1\text{bay}^0\text{go on begging}, 'beg continuously'; \text{1}\text{thap}^1\text{go}; \text{2}\text{thap}^1\text{bay}^0\text{go on}, 'go continuously'; \text{3}\text{gab}^3\text{weep}; \text{2}\text{gab}^3\text{bay}^0\text{weep continuously}, e.g. \text{2}\text{go}^2\text{the}^1\text{a}^1\text{gab}^3\text{bay}^0\text{de}^0\text{ma}\) 'The child is weeping continuously.'

(3) \(-^0\text{be}\): 'be out after finishing', 'come after doing'; e.g. \(\text{1}\text{la}^1\text{take}\) : \(\text{2}\text{la}^1\text{te}^0\text{take and come with the thing'}\) i.e. 'bring'; \(\text{2}\text{ma}^1\text{sla}^1\text{ma}^1\text{go}; \text{2}\text{la}^1\text{be}^0\text{bay}^0\text{h}^1\text{I have brought a cock.'; \text{1}\text{ba}^1\text{spak}; 'speak'; \text{2}\text{ba}^1\text{be}^0\text{spak and come'}; \text{2}\text{ma}^1\text{be}^0\text{look and come'}; \text{2}\text{bi}^1\text{be}^0\text{beg and come'}\)
(4) -°bro: 'by whims without permission', 'unknowingly';  
2thap¹bro- 'go accidentally'; 2ni° 2mep¹ni  
2me³aw 2thap¹bro⁰bay  
He has gone to your house accidentally by mistake';  
2mav³bro- 'do by whims without permission';  
2phøy²bro- 'come accidentally';  
2hab¹bro- 'enter by whims without permission' etc.

(5) -°brob: 'for a very short time', 'hastily';  
2thap¹brob-  
'go in haste', 'go within a very short time'; 2ap  
2me³aw 2thap¹brob⁰gan  
'I shall go home within a very short time.';  
2sa¹brob- 'eat hastily' etc.

(6) -°btha~°tha: 'to create obstruction', 'to hold the course of':  
(related to complex verb base 2bøb¹tha- 'oppose',  
'face the course'; cf. 1he 'drive' plus -°btha)  
1hem 'catch';  
2hem¹btha 'held and keep by obstruction';  
2ap 2be 2me²aw¹khor 2hem¹btha⁰mo  
2høy⁰a  
'I am unable to hold on keeping this cow.';  
2bu¹btha- 'oppose by beating', 'face by beating';  
2be¹btha 'held by pulling' etc. etc.

(7) -°dray: 'high degree', 'heavily';  
2bu¹dray- 'beat heavily',  
'beat to a high degree';  
2kõ 2go²the¹khor  
2bu¹dray⁰gan⁰gan  
'He beat the child heavily.';  
2dan¹dray- 'eat heavily',  
2er¹dray/ 2eal¹dray. 'bite heavily' etc. etc.

(8) -°den: 'demonstrate helpfully', 'show', 'favourably';  
3mav 'do', 'work';  
2mav³den- 'work helpfully';  
2bi°  
2mav²den¹bla 2ap¹o 2mav²drøy⁰gan  
If he show working helpfully, I shall be able to know the work.'

(9) -°ala: 'irregularly';  
2phøy 'come'; 2phøy²ala- 'come
irregularly'; 2be2man2sia1a 2be3aw 2phoy2dla2\theta|y\nu|j;' This man comes irregularly to this place.' 2they\'dla- 'go irregularly to some place.

(10)-\grom; firstly'; 2thap\'grom- 'go firstly'; 2ap 2thap\'grom\ogm|\j;' 'I shall go first.' 2sa1grom- 'eat firstly'; 2nu1grom- 'see firstly'; etc.

(11) -\grom : 'to find on supposition', 'to search for a thing on supposition'; 2gas\'tread'; 2ga1grom- 'search for a thing by treading or trampling with feet'; 2day1grom- 'search for a thing by touching'; 2nay1grom- 'search for a thing by looking or glance'; 2go1grom- 'search for a thing by hands'; etc. etc.

2ap 2sa1na1ni 2ag2tham\'khov 2nay1grom\ogm|\j;' 'I am searching for my gold-ring by looking (here and there).'

(12)-\gdaw; 'up', 'straightly up' (cf. 2go1daw as a verb means 'to look above by stretching the neck; this is a complex formation of doubtful derivation, may be connected with 2go1dna 'neck' plus 1may 'look'); 2ba\'gdaw 'beat straightly up' 'lash straightly up'; 2a2khra2ba2ni1ni 2a1khra 2ba1gdaw 'Beat straightly (strongly) with the cane (brought) from the cane-grove'; 2ha1gdaw 'cut by pressing straightly' etc.

(13)-\geli: 'melt into liquid', 'turn into dust'; related to verb base 2gi2li 'melt'; 2kham2gli- 'burn into ashes'; 2bi2ni 2no2a1lay 2kham2gli0hay\|j;' His house is even burnt into ashes.'; 2er1gli- 'bite into pieces'; 2ga1gli- 'tread or trample into powder or dust' etc. etc.
(14) -glup : 'all together without discipline'; 'eat';
   2sa'glup- 'eat all up without discipline'; 2be
   2go^the'a 2op'ham 2sa'glup0bay\|\|This child has eaten
   cooked rice scattering hither and thither); 2se'kham'glup-
   6lapse 'collect all (persons or things) together without
   a system' etc.

(15) -glap : 'for a while', 'for a short distance'; 2un2du'glap-
   'sleep for a short time'; 2be 2go^lo'y'a 2un2du'glap-
   0dep\|\| 'This baby slept for a short time.' 2tha-
   2bay2glap- 'walk for a short distance' 'etc.

(16) -glub : 'on all sides', 'encircling'; 2man2glub- 'cover up on
   all sides'; 2gor2si'a 2ma'khov 2man2glub0dep\|\| 'The
   bean has covered the roof of the house on all the sides.'
   2phan2glub- 'creep up on all sides' etc.

(17) -hoy : 'moving towards a place', 'in direction of a thing';
   2sa'hoy- 'in direction of eating'; 2hi 2sa'hoy0bay\|\|
   'He has already been in the direction of eating';
   2man2hoy- 'towards working' etc.

(18) -zred : 'a little', 'a small amount'; 3mav 'work'; 2man2zred-
   'work a little'; 2be 2man2si'a 2ha2ba 2man2zred0dep\|\|
   'This man is doing a little of the work.' 2hor1zred-
   'send a little' etc.

(19) -sem : 'at the beginning', 'at the outset'; 'firstly'; 'eat';
   2sa'sem- 'eat at the beginning', 'begin to eat',
   'to get to eat firstly'; 2ap 2op'ham 2sa'sem0bay\|\|
   2nen2cer1t 2sa'mo 'thap\|\| 'I have already begun to eat,
   you (all) also go to eat.' 2ma'sem- 'to see for the first
   time', 'to begin to see' etc. (cf. 2sem 'begin' as a
   verb)
(20) 0-slay/-slay : 'mutually', 'together', 'each other'; 3-ray 'speak', 'talk'; 2-ray2-slay/-2-ray2-slay- : speak each other', 'converse among many'; 2-man2-m2phor2-g2sn3aw 2-ray2-slay0-d0p0-mon->2-a2-re 2-mey2-hu3-rsw 2-thap1-ne 2-op-1-khar0-d0p0-mon\|\| 'The man conversed (among them) in the village and came out to go to hunting.'; 2-man1-slay/-2-man1-slay- 'quarrel each other' etc.

(21) 0-kha : 'keep along', 'keep apart'; 3-day 'buy', 'purchase': 2-bay2-kha- 'purchase and keep apart'; 2-mey 3-thaw 2-dig-2-gri'le 2-bay2-kha1-do\|\| 'You will please purchase and keep apart a bottle of oil only.'; '4-sen 'put'; 2-den1-kha- 'put and keep apart' i.e. 'preserve' etc. (cf. 3-kha 'bind' used as a simple verb)

(22) 0-khap: 'completeness', 'near'; 2-maw2-khap- 'work already finished'; 2-ba2-be1-khaw 2-maw2-khap0-day\|\| 'He has completed the working of this job in the meantime.'; 2-sa1-khap- 'finish the eating' etc.

(23) 0-khay: 'descending', 'lowering': 2-ba1-khay- 'draw to a lower place'; 2-ap 2-be 0-ph1-thay1-khaw 2-ba1-khay0-gom\|\| 'I shall pull down this fruit'; 2-se1-khay- 'sit down on a lower place'; 2-ba1-khay- 'beat a thing down' etc.

(24) 0-khaw: 'separate parts 2-dan1-khaw- 'cut into separate parts'; 2-bay1-phor 2-aw2-a 2-dan1-khaw\|\| 'Cut those bamboos into separate parts'; 2-sip1-khaw- 'tear into pieces'; 2-bay1-khaw- 'break into pieces' etc.

(25) 0-kthay: 'surely', 'absolutely'; (dialect variant cum assimilated form -0-thay occasionally) 1-bap 'speak'; 2-bap1-thay- 'speak surely'; 2-ap 2-be 2-ha2-thre1-khaw 2-bap1-thay0-gom\|\| 'I shall speak this information surely.' 1-ba 'beat'
father will beat you surely for this bad work.

The serpent pulled the frog from inside.

The child has broken into pieces by smashing.

The other shouted out of emotion to see the infant falling.

The cow has eaten the rice completely.

The cows have eaten the rice completely.
(32). -⁰khrob : 'along with', 'fully'; ³kha 'bind'; ²kha²khrob-
'bind fully'; ²əw²ə¹phən ²kha²khrob'do ²a¹darift' my
elder tie up the bamboos together (fully)';

(33). -⁰khreg : 'with surprise'; ¹gi 'be afraid of'; ²gi¹khreg-
'be afraid of out of surprise'; ²mə³phənma²ma²mi² moy
²go²th'ma ²gi¹khreg³go³glo'. The child is afraid of seeing
off the lightening out of surprise.'

(34). -⁰lap : 'be away', 'away after finishing' (cf. ¹lap 'take away'
used as a simple verb); ²sa¹lap² 'go away after eating'
²man²si¹a ²sa¹lap³bay³' The man has gone away after
eating'; ²lap¹lap² 'go away after drinking' etc.

(35). -⁰en- : 'be out'; ²bi¹en- 'be out for begging'; ²bu²ri¹a
²bi¹en³glo³' The old woman is out for begging.';
²gar³en- 'leave out' etc.

(36). -⁰pha : 'together with', 'along with'; ²thap¹pha- 'go along with'
²be ²man²si¹a ²bi¹nə ²thap¹pha³glo³'This man is
going along with him'; ²si²pha- 'wet with'; ²sa¹pha-
'eat together'; ²lap¹pha- 'take away along with'; etc.

(37). -⁰phin : 'again', 'back'; ²phəy²phin- 'come back', 'come again';
²go²th'ma ²si²thul²n¹pha ²phəy²phin³bay³'Children
have come back from the school.';
²thap¹phin- 'go back' etc.

(38). -⁰phay : 'break'; ²bo¹phay- 'break by pulling'; ²be ²man²si¹a
²ap¹n ²law²thi¹khow ²bo¹phay³bay³'This stick has
broken my stick by pulling.' ²si¹phay- 'break by
tearing' etc.

(39). -⁰phlay : 'continually', 'again and again'; ²sa¹phlay- 'eat
again and again; 202-tha1-prhu 202-op1-kham 201-sa1-phlay-dep
'The children are eating new rice again and again.'
201-bi1-phla- 'beg continually' etc.

(40) -0phu: 'busy', 'deeply merged in'; 320-saw 'work'; 220-saw2-phu-
be busy with working'; 20be 202-seg2-gray1-a 220-saw2-phu0-dep
'This youth is busy with working'; 220-ph2-ray2-phu- 'busy
with reading'; 220-sa1-phu- 'be busy with eating' etc.

(41) -0phru: 'break into many pieces'; 201-ga1-phru- 'make liquid-
pieces by trampling' ('ga 'trample'); 2bi1-
220-saw2-dey1-khow 201-ga1-phru0-bay 'He has made liquid-pieces
of the egg by trampling.'; 201-sa1-phru- 'make pieces by
tearing' etc.

(42) -0phnap: 'unknowingly', 'by mistake'; 202-tha1-phnap- 'go to a
place by mistake', 'go unknowingly'; 220-ap 220-hor3-saw
201-bi1-ni 220-saw 202-tha1-phnap0-dep0-mo0 'I went to his house
at night by mistake.'; 202-bu1-phnap- 'speak unknowingly'
i.e. 'speak unduly' etc.

(43) -0phup: 'expressively', 'openly'; 202-bu1-phup- 'speak openly',
'say expressively in public'; 220-hin2-saw1-a 220-ga2-si1-e9
202-tha1 202-bu1-phup0-bay 'The woman has already spoken
all informations openly.'; 3-khew 'open'; 220-khew2-phup-
'open expressively or visibly' etc.

(44) -0phaw: 'surplus', 'extra'; 120-sar 'scatter', 'sprinkle around';
220-sar1-phaw- 'scatter profusely'; 220-tha1-a 202-ha1-dri
220-sar1-phaw0-bay 'The child has scattered dust profusely.';
220-u1-si 'overflow'; 220-si1-phaw- 'overflow expressively'
exto.

(45) -0phram: 'partially'; 220-saw2-phram- 'do/ work partly' ;
The old woman lowered the young one of the parrot warily.
5.10

(52) -°so: 'make parts'; 2dan' se° 'cut into many parts'; 2ap 2be 2eq' a' khew 2dan' se° bay\down' "I have cut this bamboo into many parts."; 2ga' se° 'make parts by treading' etc.

(53) -°say: 'choice', 'selective' (cf. 3say 'sort vegetables' used as a verb); 2thap' say° 'go if one like', 'go out of choice'; 2ap° 2ha' bay\down' 2thap' say° bay° de\down' 'I have gone to the marriage out of choice'. I am; 2phay' say° 'come out of choice' etc.

(54) -°ara: 'for the last time', 'finally'; 2nay' ara° 'look for the last time'; 2bi' 2nay' a 2go' the' khew 2nay' ara° de\down' 'The mother is looking the child for the last time.'; 2on' ara° 'love for the last time'; etc.

(55) -°lip: 'make small parts by stroke'; (cf. 2si' lip 'make small parts' used as a verb) 2dan' lip° 'make small parts by cutting'; 2ap 2bedor' khew 2dan' lip° gen\down' 'I shall make smaller parts of the meat by cutting.'; 1 sa 'thrust'; 2sa' lip° 'make small pieces by thrusting' etc.

(56) -°the: 'hold the course of', 'obstruct'; 1 hom° 'catch'; 2hom' the° 'obstruct by catching'; 2bi 2thap' a 0si' khew\down' 1khow 2hom' the' bay\down' 'He (honorific) has held up the thief by catching.'; 2phap' the° 'obstruct by stopping' etc.

(57) -°the: 'for a while', 3 ro° 'ask to wait'; 2ro' the° 'ask to wait for a while', 'stop for a while';
2nap' sor 2re'othe'de 'You all wait a bit please'; 2thap'hap- 'be about to go', 'be at the point of going'; 2go2the'phra 2thap'hap0de0 The children are about to go.'; often used as reduplicate; 2go2the'phra 2thap' 1hap 2thap'hap 3dapo'0men" 'The children were about to go atmosphere.'; 2na'hap- 'about to eat'; 2phap'hap- 'about to come' (may be reduplicated) etc.

(62) -0hum : 'outside', 'out'; 2di'hum- 'bring out'; 0si2kha'phra 2na2ba'ni 2hin2sav'khow 2di'hum0bay" 'The maidens have brought out the marriage - bride.'
As the number of non-causal derivational suffixes is sufficiently extensive, I have tried to list a considerable number of them in the appended vocabulary; some of these suffixes are productive in the sense that they may be freely joined to any verb base and others are joined to a limited number of verb bases mostly governed by idiomatic uses.

(a) Non-causal Derivational Prefixes: A small number of pre-fixed morphemes has been noticed in respect of derivation:

(i) *e-/*ə-, /sə- 'be out', 'be up' used before 'kha' 'run' e.g. *ep'khar-/*ep'khar-/*əp'khar- 'come out'; əp'khar- 'run' əp'kha're 'The sun rises in the morning'.

(ii) *ə- 'make', 'do': used as special verbalising prefix before simple verb bases, *kha 'lifit', 'pick up'; *kha 'run'; before bound verb bases -1'har 'kill', -1'kha (2kha'ma) 'hide' etc. ə'kha- 'rise', 'ride'; ə'khar- ə'kha're 'He has ridden a horse.' ə'khar- 'rise from sleep'; ə'kha'thaw ə'khar- 'kill'; ə'khar- 'kill' ə'khar- 'kill by beating'; ə'khar- 'kill by piercing'; ə'khar- 'kill by shooting with a gun' etc. according to different ways of killing; These are however derivable as simple base plus bound simple base).

(iii) ə'kha- 'do softly': used as a special verbalising prefix before simple verb base ə'kha 'write' ə'kha

2ə'kha'kha 'You will please rub my body.'
The causative forms of simple and complex verb bases are derivable as having causative derivational prefixes or causative derivational suffix. The causative derivational affixation makes all intransitive verb bases transitive ones.

The prefixation may be discussed under three heads:

(i) the verb bases with prefixes of the sub-class beginning with the phoneme /b/ plus a vowel corresponding to the vowel phoneme of the following verb base: ²phV-(V is assimilated by the following vowel of the verb base)

(ii) the verb bases with prefixes of the sub-class beginning with the phoneme /b/ plus a vowel corresponding to the vowel phoneme of the following verb base: ²bV-

(iii) the verb bases with prefixes of the sub-class beginning with the phoneme /s/ plus a vowel corresponding to the vowel phoneme of the following verb bases: ⁰sV- The causative derivational prefixal morpheme may be symbolised as ⁰phV- ²bV- ⁰sV-

The only element that serves the function of causative derivational suffix is a verbal base -¹bØ (related to the simple verb base 'bØ 'give' ); this is a productive suffixal device to make any simple or complex verb base causative and transitive (from non-causative and intransitive forms). Even a transitive verb base may take -¹bØ and make the derived verb base doubly transitive (verb base having two objects).

A verb base that is irregular and is with causative meaning does not require causative derivational affixes of any kind: e.g.

'dow 'feed' has causative meaning as a simple verb base.
The prefixes of 0phV- type:

The morpho-phonemic changes involved in this type of prefixation are two-fold: segmental and supra-segmental. The segmental changes may be stated as follows: The complex verb bases with 0V- become phV-. Simple and complex verb bases with other 0, e, u/ will have prefixes with corresponding vowel phonemes i.e. 0phi- 0phe- 0phu-. With vowel phonemes / o, a, e/ we have 0pho-; except in the case of /a/, we have in some cases 0pha-.

The supra-segmental changes consisting of tonemic alternation are stated as follows:

The prefixes bear neutral tones and are dependent tonally to the next syllabic tone of the verb base. The prefixes as such may have equal or lower level of tones in comparison to the next syllabic tone of the verb base.

The verb bases (complex) with gV- as the first syllable become phV-corr related with appropriate tones.

Examples:

Complex verb bases with gV- changed to phV- 2ge'cap 'stand up', 'stand'; 2phe'cap 'make (one) stand up'; 2gu'sap 2ge'ser 'leak', 'leak below'; 2phe'ser 'make leakage'; 2ga'slop 'walk on the tip of legs'; 2pha'slop 'make (one) walk on the tip of legs'; 2gi'dip 'turn', 'whirl'; 2phi'dip 'make turn', 'make whirling'; 2ge'ser 'flow out water through a hole'; 2phe'ser 'make water flowing out through a hole'; 2gu'su 'be cold'; 2phu'su/ 0phu'su make (a thing) cold'; 2gu'dup 'be hot'; 2phu'dup 'make hot'; 2go'saw 'spread', 'scatter'; 2phe'saw 'make spread', 'make scattered'; 2go'sar 'scatter'; 2phe'sar 'make scattered'; 2ge'ada 'cut by making pieces'; 2phe'ada 'make cut into pieces'.
Simple and Complex verbs other than the above:

with prefix °phi-

°phi°lid/°phi°lir 'be heavy' ; °phi°lid/°phi°lir (°phi°lid/°phi°lir) 'make heavy';
°phi°si2ri 'fall down' ; °phi°si2ri 'make fall down';
°phi°si 'wet' ; °phi°si 'make wet';

With prefix °phe-

°phe°ded/°phe°der 'be big'; °phe°ded/°phe°der (°phe°ded/°phe°der) 'make big'.
°phe°sem 'decrease'; °phe°sem (°phe°sem) 'make decreased';
°phe°sep 'be light (less heavy)'; °phe°sep (°phe°sep) 'make light';
°phe°sen 'be defeated'; °phe°sen 'make (one) defeated';
°phe°len 'be bent'; °phe°len 'make bent';
°phe°dem 'be zigzag'; °phe°dem 'make zigzag';
°phe°er 'increase', 'grow'; °phe°er 'make increased' (the causative form displays an insertion of phoneme /h/);
°phe°ser 'leak' (water); °phe°ser 'make leakage';
°phe°reb 'become weak or feeble'; °phe°reb 'make weak';

with prefix °phu-

°phu°sup 'shorten', 'be short'; °phu°sup 'make short';
°phu°dup 'be deep', 'deepen'; °phu°dup 'make deep', 'make hole';
°phu°dup 'be hot'; °phu°dup (°phu°dup) 'make hot', 'boil';
°phu°su 'be cold'; °phu°su °phu°su 'make cold';
°phu°sur 'walk with long steps'; °phu°sur °phu°sur 'make (one) walk with long steps';
°phu°sup 'be soft', 'soften'; °phu°sup 'make soft';
°phu°rup 'be soft', 'soften'; °phu°rup 'make soft';
°phu°duy 'be small'; °phu°duy °phu°duy 'make small';
°phu°rul 'be mild'; °phu°rul (°phu°rul) 'make mild';
1 ru 'be boiled' ; 0 phu'ru (2 phu'ru) 'made boiled'.

with prefix 0 pho-

\[ \begin{align*}
1 \text{ sam} & \text{'be old'} ; 2 \text{ pho'sam} \text{ 'make old'} \\
1 \text{ ra} & \text{'be tight'} ; 2 \text{ pho'ra} \text{ 'make tight'} \\
3 \text{ thap} & \text{'live', 'survive'} ; 2 \text{ pho'thap} \text{ 'make living', 'make survived'} \\
1 \text{ nap} & \text{'want', 'be in need of'} ; 2 \text{ pho'nap} \text{ 'make wanted or needed'} \\
1 \text{ ba} & \text{'be thin'} ; 2 \text{ pho'ba} \text{ 'make thin'} \\
2 \text{ thaw} & \text{'be tasteful'} ; 2 \text{ pho'thaw} \text{ 'make tasteful'} \\
1 \text{ sap} & \text{'be cold'} ; 2 \text{ pho'sap} \text{ 'make cold'} \\
1 \text{ kha} & \text{'be dry', 'bitter'} ; 2 \text{ pho'kha} \text{ 'make bitter'} \\
1 \text{ ran} & \text{'be dry'} ; 2 \text{ pho'ran} \text{ 'make dry'} \\
1 \text{ law} & \text{'be long'} ; 2 \text{ pho'law} \text{ 'make long'} \\
1 \text{ naf} & \text{'be high'} ; 2 \text{ pho'naf} \text{ 'make high'} \\
1 \text{ thaw} & \text{'be deep'} ; 2 \text{ pho'thaw} \text{ 'make deep'} \\
1 \text{ khey} & \text{'be sour'} ; 2 \text{ pho'khey} \text{ 'make sour'} \\
1 \text{ dey} & \text{'be sweet'} ; 2 \text{ pho'dey} \text{ 'make sweet'} \\
\end{align*} \]

Exceptions are not many; but these appear to be governed by idiomastic uses.

with prefix 0 pha-

\[ \begin{align*}
3 \text{ ham} & \text{'come round', 'be cured'} ; 2 \text{ pha'ham} \text{ 'make cured'} \\
1 \text{ hay} & \text{'be lower'} ; 2 \text{ pha'hay} \text{ 'make lower'} \\
2 \text{ ray} & \text{'be covered'} ; 2 \text{ pha'ray} \text{ 'make covered'} \\
\end{align*} \]

with prefix 0 pha-

\[ \begin{align*}
1 \text{ so} & \text{'sit'} ; 2 \text{ pho'so} \text{ 'make seated', 'make (one) sit'} \\
1 \text{ sep} & \text{'stand', 'be standing'} ; 2 \text{ pho'sep} \text{ 'make (one) stand'} \\
\end{align*} \]

(iii) The prefixes of 2 bv-type:

The prefixation of 2 bv-type is similar to that of 0 phV-type from the point of vowel- correspondences of prefixes and verb bases.
In addition to the vowel assimilation involved morpho-phonemically, the consonantal onset /g/ of the first syllable of the following verb base becomes devoiced and aspirated changing into /kh/, the consonantal onset /s/ becomes devoiced changing into /s/ in the process of prefixation.

The supra-segmental correlation of the prefixes is considered as tone 2 in different contexts; alternatively, it may be represented as neutral tone, but in reality tone 2 is realized in different tonal associations; moreover no neutral tone is syllabically realized with voiced onsets in word initial positions.

Examples with prefixes: 2be-, 2bi-, 2bu-, 2bo, 2be-

3gop ‘bend’, Ibe bent’; 2be3khop ‘make bent’;
1go ‘be free’, ‘get release’; 2be1khe ‘make free’, ‘make released’;
2si ‘torn’; 2bi2si ‘make torn’;
2si1rid ‘be flowing’; 2bi2si1rid ‘make flowing’;
3so ‘torn’ (as a rope); 2bo3so ‘make torn’;
1gu ‘put off (clothing)’; ‘fall down with root’ (tree); 2bu1khu ‘make (clothing) put off’; ‘make (tree) fall down with root;
2su1phi ‘cut lengthwise (wood)’; 2bi2su1phi ‘make cut lengthwise’ (instead of 2bu2su1phi)
1gaw ‘be split’, ‘be torn’, ‘be separate’; 2bo1khaw ‘make split’, ‘make torn’; ‘make separate’;
1ga ‘be separate’, ‘be split’; 2bo1kha ‘make separate’, ‘make split’;
1gav ‘be open’; 2be1khep ‘make open’;
3gew ‘be loose’ (a knot); 1gew ‘be open’; 2be3khow ‘make loose’ ‘make open’;
1khu ‘put off (a clothing)’, ‘oust root’; 2bu1khu ‘make put off’, ‘make (a root) ousted’;
'kha  'pluck' (a flower or a fruit) ; ²bo'kha  'make (a flower or a fruit) pluck' ; etc. etc.

(iii) The prefixes of ⁰osV- type:

The prefixes of ⁰osV- type is similar to the ⁰phV- and ²bv- types of prefixes in respect of vowel correspondences. The consonantal onset /k/ is optionally devoiced and becomes /kh/ (aspirated) in a few cases; so also, /b/> /ph/. The supra-segmental feature of the prefixes is considered as having neutral tone dependent to the following syllabic tone of verb bases (as in the case of ⁰phV- type of suffixes).

Examples : with prefixes ⁰so- , ⁰su-, ⁰su; ⁰so- .

¹ge  'be free' ; ⁰so'kha/ ⁰so'ge (²so'kha/ ²so'ge)  'make free' ;
¹gi  'be afraid of',  'make (one) afraid of', 'make (one) full of fear';
¹gu  'put off (cloth) ; ⁰su'kha/ ⁰su'gu (²su'kha/ ²su'gu)  'make (clothing) put off'; (cf. ²bv- type also.)
¹bup  'speak', 'be sounded' ; ⁰su'bup/ ⁰sa'phup (²su'bup)
²bup  'fulfill', 'be filled up'; ⁰sa'phup/ 'fill up' ; 'make 'fulfilled' ;
¹ga  'be separate' ; ⁰so'kha/ ⁰so'ga (²so'kha/ ²so'ga)  'make separate'; (cf. ²bv- type of prefixes also.)
¹gaw  'be torn', 'be split' (etc.) ; ⁰so'kha/ ⁰so'gaw (²so'kha/ ²so'gaw)  'make torn', 'Make split' (cf. ²bv- type of prefixes also.)
³gab  'weep', ; ⁰so³gab (²so³gab)  'make (weeping) (one) weep';
¹bay  'break', 'be broken' ; ⁰sa'phay  'make (a thing) broken';
³bay  (instead of a hypothetically possible form ⁰sa'phay/ ²sa'phay #)
¹gap  'be thirsty' ; ⁰so¹gap (²so¹gap)  'make thirsty' ;
'maw 'move', 'be moving'; 2sa1maw (°sa1maw) 'make moving';
2gu2bup 'be muddy'; 2sa2gu2bup /°sa2khu2bup 'make muddy'; etc.

The causative derivational suffixation: -'ha'

When -'ha' is suffixed to a simple or complex verb base, no prefix of the above three types is needed. -'ha' makes intransitive verb bases transitive ones and transitive verb bases doubly transitive i.e. having two objects. In many cases, this suffixation is an easy and alternative method of causative derivation involving a smaller number of morpho-phonemic changes in respect of the preceding verb bases. This suffixal element is synonymous with the simple verb 'ha' 'give' as regards phonemic (segmental and supra-segmental) shape and meaning; the suffix -'ha' usually assimilates the tone of the preceding syllable either by lowering to mid or enhancing to mid (from low) or equating as high in different contexts.

Examples:

1gi 'be afraid of'; 2gi1ha 'make afraid of', 'cause to be afraid of'; (cf. 0si1gi/2si1gi as prefixed forms)
2ge1sep 'stand up'; 2ge2sep1ha 'cause to stand up' (cf. the prefixed form 2phe1sep)
1bar 'jump', 'cross'; 1bar 'ha 'make (one) jump/cross';
2mi1thi 'know', 'understand'; 2mi2th1ha 'let know', 'make (one) understand';
2phe1thay 'believe'; 2phe2thay1ha 'make (one) believe';
2kha1lam 'do', 'perform'; 2kha2lam1ha 'make (one) do/perform';
2mi2mi 'laugh'; 2mi2mi1ha 'make (one) laugh';
3kham 'burn'; 2kham1ha 'make (one) burn';
'na 'eat'; 'na1ha 'feed' (cf. 1dow 'feed' as simple causative)

This is a verb capable of having two objects.
'rep 'know' : 'rep'he 'make known', 'teach'; a double transitive verb.

'he' is not suffixed to irregular verb bases like 2gy-, 3nap-, 'thu- and a few other verb bases of simple causative nature (cf. 'dew 'feed', 'nap- 'be true' etc.)

Non-causative Derivational Prefixes of Adjectival Nature:

A considerable number of complex verbs are of adjectival nature; these generally have prefixes of 2gy- type. Mention has been made of these complex verb bases in respect of 0phV- type of precization. More will be found in the following description of adjectival derivation. It is to be noted that with 2gy- type of precization, the adjectival forms of a large number of simple verb bases are made. There is no phonemic difference between a verb and an adjective with 2gy- type of prefixes as to the shape, and supra-segmental features; as a derived verb base, it behaves like a simple verb base and is capable of receiving principal verbal suffixes; as an adjective, it takes only a limited number of adjectival suffixes to express comparative and superlative shades of meaning.

As regards derivation of the complex verbs of adjectival correlations, the vowel phoneme of 2gy- prefixes almost corresponds to the vowel phoneme of the following syllable of the simple verb base.

Examples: with 2ge-, 2ga-, 2gi-, 2gu-, 2go:

2ge2sob 'give hatching', 'give heat'
2ge1soc 'stand', stand up'
2ge2ser 'leak', 'leak down'
2gesbo 'drown (in water)'
2ge8hlo 'be fat (as in the case of an infant)'
2geb1theb 'theb 'remain silent and static' (reduplicated with rhyming syllable -1theb of onomatopoetic nature) ;
2gob- may be an analogical development; or a simple base with two other rhyming bound bases; thus it is a complex verb base.

2geəlob 'take breath (by fish)'

With 2ge- before verb bases with dissimilar vowels:

2ge1thay 'collect (things)', 'meet altogether'
3ge2thay 'give possession again', 'surrender'
2ge1may 'submit to'; 2mo2der1a 2man2al1khow 2ge1may2bay↓↓
   'The elephant has submitted to the man.'
2ge1ngux 2ge1gre 'crow (as a cock)'; -1gre is an onomatopoeic bound verb base.

Other examples:

2ge2lap 'forsake', 'leave'
2gi1dip 'turn', 'whirl'
2gi1bli /2ge2ble 'melt', 'be powder'
2ge2ser 'flow out water through a hole'
2ge2phe 'feel mild when pressed', 'be deposed with bad smell'
2ge2lep /2gel2lep 'be suddenly in a trap'
1gu1moy 'go to herd cattle' (2gu- has become 1gu- for the following high toned syllable; a morpho-phonemic change)
2gu1bur 'put off(a garment)'
2gu1sri 'roar', 'bellow' (like a tiger); (2gu- before dissimilar vowel)
2gu1bru 'be split (as a cucumber)'
2gu1slay 'change skin or cover (as a serpent)'; 2gu- is used before dissimilar vowel.
1gu1arep 'shiver with body hair being straight'

2ge1ber / 2ge1bed 'open a knot'
2ge3lem 'sweat', 'perspire'
2ge1mə 'be surprised'
261're  'be below water', 'drown in water' /261'da (dialectal)

261'sair  'must', 'must'
261'grop  'seek on supposition'
261'glo  'fall, 'fall down'
261'mor  'put out (a lamp)'

261'ma  'be lost', 'lose' (26- ; with dissimilar vowels)
261'sar  'scatter'  
261'da  'cut by making pieces'

With other prefixes of adjectival nature: 2mu-, 2ma- etc.

2mu2'nam  'smell good', 'smell'
2mu3'dem  'be good scented'
2mu1'sem  'tighten fist (of a hand)', 'close a handful'
2mu'sar  'make curling', 'rub to and fro'
2mu'goy  'hate'
2mu'lem  'be content' 'etc. etc.

(11) Derived Verb Bases: A simple base plus a simple base

The derivation of verb bases by the method 'a simple base plus a simple base' is widespread. In such combinations, both the bases express their individual meanings. The principal verbal affixes and terminating suffixes are added to the second base; the meaning of the first base predominate generally in the verbal construction; non-causative derivational suffixes, if needed, may follow the second base, then the principal verbal suffixes and lastly terminating suffixes general terminators may follow to close the verbal construction.

Such derivation of verb bases result in a number of morphophonemic changes consisting of segmental and supra-segmental modifications which are illustrated in the following examples of compounding
or grouping of verb bases. Some of these changes were illustrated in previous description of derivational affixes (prefixes and suffixes), and all these changes would determine the morpho-phonemics of the language.

(q) Derivation of a simple base plus a simple base, both as free morphemes:

1la 'take' plus 'be 'pull', 'draw' 2la¹be 'bring' (take and draw); 2la¹be-plus derivational suffix -°gr© 'firstly'; would become 2la²be¹gr© 'bring firstly'; 2la²be¹gr© plus a principal verbal suffix -°bay 'present perfect indicator' would become 2la²be¹gr©°bay 'has brought firstly'; this verbal construction may further take a verbal terminating suffix; in the example under consideration, we may add -¹ba (-°ba) 'dubious sense indicator'; the construction may then be represented as 2la²be¹gr©°bay°ba; sometimes a general terminator may be alternately added to express different shades of syntactic meaning; 2la²be¹gr©°bay may take, for example, -°de(°°de) 'please'; then the verbal construction would close as 2la²be¹gr©°bay°de\jj; has been please to bring firstly'.

1sa 'eat' plus 'be 'finish' *1sa¹s©b²sa¹s©b 'eat and finish' i.e. 'eat completely';

3gar 'leave', 'forshake', 'abandon' plus 3sa 'be' 4³gar³sa;
2gar³sa 'be abandoned', 'be left';

1bug 'speak' plus 'rog 'know' *1bug¹rog 2bug¹rog 'know to speak', 'know how to say';

3maw 'work' plus 's©b 'finish' 3maw¹s©b ²maw¹s©b 'finish doing', 'work completely';

1be 'draw', 'pull' plus 'kha 'pluck' 1be¹kha ²be¹kha 'pluck by pulling'; etc. etc.
In certain cases, the second base serves the functions of so-called auxiliary verbs, though such a distinction between principal and auxiliary verb bases is not very clear. The following are some of the examples of such combinations:

'gar 'leave', 'abandon' as the second base (simple & free) we have, 2hu2gar 'rub off' (2hu 'rub'); 2lap2gar 'take away' (lap 'take); etc. 1'lay

1'lap 'take' as the second base, we have 2thalap 'remain behind' (thar 'remain'); 2bag1lap 'go on speaking' (bag 'speak') etc.

2phoy 'come' as the second base, 2sa1phoy 'come and eat', 'eat after coming' (sa 'eat'); 2thalaphoy 'go after coming' (thap 'go'); etc.

1'lap 'go' as the second base, we have 2lay1lap 'fetch', 'bring by going' (lay 'bring'); 2bag1thap, 'eat by going' (sa 'eat'); etc.

1'khap 'pick up', 'collect up' as the second base, we have 2sa1khap 'eat up' i.e. 'be up after finishing eating'; 2bag1khap 'finish up speaking' (bag 'speak'); etc.

1'kha 'pluck' as the second base, we have 2sa1kha 'eat and be ready' i.e. 'preserve by eating';

2phor2may1kha 'make (it) notified' (phor 'may 'intimate', 'notify' a dissyllabic easily unanalyzable verb) etc. etc.

In some cases, the second verb base may undergo morpho-phonemic changes by loss of segmental phonemes (vowels consonants) and the second base serves the function of non-causative derivational suffixes; the second base may be dissyllabic easily unanalyzable but at the time of derivation it becomes monosyllabic by the loss of me vowel
(morphe-phonemically): \[\text{2} \text{du}^{1} \text{lun} \] 'fall by slipping' as the second base, we have \(\text{2} \text{so}^{1} \text{dlun} \) 'fall or slip down by kicking' (\(\text{'so} \) 'kick' plus \(-^{1} \text{dlun} /\text{2du}^{1} \text{lun}\)); \(\text{2} \text{ga}^{1} \text{dlun} \) 'fall or slip down by trampling' (\(\text{'ga} \) 'trample'); \(\text{2} \text{bu}^{1} \text{dlun} \) 'fall or slip down because of beating' (\(\text{'bu} \) 'beat', 'strike'); \(\text{2} \text{so}^{1} \text{dlun} \) 'fall or slip down because of piercing by horns' (\(\text{'so} \) 'pierce by a horn of cows etc. ') etc.

\(\text{2} \text{slip} \) 'be apart' as the second base, we have \(\text{2} \text{dam}^{1} \text{slip} \) 'be apart' by cutting' (\(\text{'dam} \) 'cut'); \(\text{2} \text{su}^{1} \text{slip} \) 'be apart by piercing or thrusting with a thorn or the like' (\(\text{'su} \) 'pierce', 'thrust') etc.

(b) Derivation of a simple base plus a complex verb base: both as free morphemes

\(\text{1lu} \) 'pour' plus \(\text{2kh}^{1} \text{mur} \) 'put out (a fire or a lamp)'
\(\text{2lu}^{2} \text{kh}^{1} \text{mur} \) 'put out or extinguish a fire or the like by pouring liquids (water or the like)'. \(\text{1sa} \) 'eat' plus \(\text{2kh}^{1} \text{ma} \) 'hide', 'do secretly', 'lose'; \(\text{2sa}^{2} \text{kh}^{1} \text{ma} / \text{2sa}^{1} \text{kh}^{1} \text{ma} \) 'eat secretly'

(iii) Derived Verb bases: a simple base plus more than a derivational affix.

More than one derivational affix may be added to a simple base to express different shades of meaning; there is no fixed sequence or order as to the occurrences of these affixes; generally the most common ones occur last, the rarer ones first; in some cases, the order or the sequence is determined by idiomatic uses.

\(\text{1thap} \) 'go' plus \(-^{0} \text{gro} \) 'before' plus \(-^{0} \text{phin} \) 'again'
\(\text{2thap}^{2} \text{gro}^{1} \text{phin} \) 'go back first' i.e. 'go again firstly'; \(\text{2thap}^{2} \text{phin}^{1} \text{gro} \) 'go back first' is also used and is equivalent to \(\text{2thap}^{2} \text{gro}^{1} \text{phin} \) in respect of meaning. Likewise, we have \(\text{2sa}^{2} \text{gro}^{1} \text{phin} - \text{2sa}^{2} \text{phin}^{1} \text{gro}-\)
'eat again firstly', 'eat back first'.

\[2la^2be^1phon^1\text{ 'take and come second' again'}\]
\[2la^2be^1gro^1\text{ 'take and come first'}\]
\[2la^2be^2gro^1phon^1\text{ 'take and come firstly again'}}\]
\[2la^2be^2phon^1gro^1\text{ 'take and come firstly again'}\]

(iv) Derived Verb bases: a simple base plus more than one simple base or complex base.

Examples of three simple and complex bases forming a compound of verbal bases capable of receiving derivational suffixes and principal verbal suffixes:

\[2sa 'eat' plus 2kho^1ma 'be lost' plus 1nöb 'finish'\]
\[2sa^2kho^2ma^1nöb^2 'finish eating secretly', 'eat up secretly';\]
\[2sa^2kho^2ma^2nöb^1phon^0bay\downarrow\text{ 'has already eaten up secretly again'}}\]
\[2sa^2kho^2ma^2nöb^2phon^1gro^0bay\downarrow\text{ 'has already eaten up first secretly again'}}\]

'lip 'call', 'shout' plus 1hor 'send' plus 1nöb 'finish'
\[2lip^2hor^1nöb^2 'send to call all persons', 'send for all';\]
\[2lip^2hor^2nöb^1phon^0gəm\downarrow 'shall (will) send for all again'\]
\[3gar 'leave' 'abandon' plus 3sa 'be' plus 2kho^1ma 'be lost', 'make secretly';\]
\[2gar^2sa^2kho^1ma 'be abandoned secretly'; 2gar^2sa^2kho^2ma^1gro^0bay\downarrow\text{ 'has already been abandoned first secretly'}}\]
\[2gar^2sa^2kho^1ma^0dog\downarrow 'is abandoning secretly'\]

Derivational Affixes: Special non-causative

A small number of derivational affixes are described below as they have special association of verbal mode and tenses. These are non-causative and these qualify or intensify (as the case may be) the connected verb bases not only from the point of meaning, but also from the point of time and mode. These are suffixed to simple or complex verb bases
and behave like infixes in the verbal construction followed by principal verbal suffixes.

(1) -°thar-: adds definiteness or positiveness to verb bases in present and past tense contexts; and gives the character of promise or assurance in future tense context; other non-causative derivational suffixes precede or follow if necessary.

2 ap °thap°thar°0a\_{\text{I positively go}}; 2 no\_{\text{You (all) have not gone at all positively}}; 2 be 2 man\_{\text{This man does not go definitely}}; 2 hi\_{\text{He has already gone home}}; 1 thap\_{\text{He will go first positively}}; 2 hi\_{\text{He will go first positively}} (both verbal constructions may be equally used); thus you have further examples, 'bup°thar- 'speak positively' ; 2 phøy°thar- 'go positively' ; 3 na°thar- 'be definitively' ; etc. etc.

(2) -°mar-: adds the sense of 'really', 'truly', 'after all, in spite of warning or obstruction' in present, past and future contexts.

2 man\_{\text{The man has already gone in spite of warning.}} i.e. 'the man has really gone.' 2 ap° 2 ga\_{\text{I shall really speak before all.}}

(3) -°kha-: (differs from non-causative derivational suffix (21)) -°kha adds the idea 'already complete or finished and is usually associated with past context; sometimes
it may be used in present and future to mean completeness in anticipation.

2b1'o 2be 2ta'tha'a'khew 'bup'xha'0-bay\ I 'He has already spoken out this information.' 2ga'hman 3dag'0 khay'0 0 0\ 'There is (already) rice. (no more needed) 2mo'3sow'a 3thoy'xha'0-gom'0-de\ I 'The cow will die, (it is known)'

(4) -'sin-' adds the idea of comparison in all time; (it has more frequent use in respect of adjectives) is associated with superlative degree of comparison also.

2mop'0 2ga'2sun'ni'khroy 3maw'0-sin'0-bay\ I 'You have already worked a lot (more) in comparison to all other.'

(5) -'nap-' (compare the simple verb 'map-' 'necessitate', 'want')

It implies the idea of necessity in present, past and future contexts; is used as a special derivational infix followed by principal verbal suffixes of inflective type. It may be added to almost all the regular verb bases of (simple or complex as the case may be) and the combination may be treated as derivation of a simple or complex base plus a simple verb base behaving as a derivational infix.

2mop'0 2mo'3aw 'thap'xmap'0-gom\ I 'You are to go home' i.e. 'It is necessary for you to go home.'

2mop'0 2ga'hman 'xao'0-map'0-gom\ I 'We shall have to eat rice!'

2bi'0 2phoy'xmap'0-bay\ I 'He had to come' i.e. 'It was necessary for him to come.'

(6) -'othr-' is used with negative verbal suffix -'a (principal & inflectional) and gives the combined meaning 'not for a long
time or occasion; it has usually the present time context, unless the other tenses are expressed in subordinate clauses.

\[ 2_{ap} \ 2_{be}^{3aw} \ {}^{1}_{th}a^{0}_{th}e^{0}_{r}o^{0}_{r}a^{0}_{r} \] 'I don't stay long here.'

\[ 2_{man}^{2si} \ 2_{ha}^{2ba} \ {}^{1}_{k}h^{0}_{o}^{0}_{w} \] 'The man does not do the job for a long time.'

4.2.1.4 Inflection of Verbs

Principal Verbal Affixes:

A verb in Boro includes a simple or complex (derived) verb base and a principal verbal affix in the minimum; it may or may not have one or more derivational affixes (suffixes) and general terminating suffixes or terminators. A verb is an indispensable item of a Boro sentence, and therefore every sentence in Boro includes at least one of the principal verbal affixes. By the term "principal verbal affixes,' we mean all the inflectional affixes of verbs other than the derivational affixes. Under the head of affixes, we have here only one negative prefix and a considerable number of negative and non-negative suffixes; some of these suffixes may be followed by one or more general terminating suffixes or terminators; in such cases the suffixes behave like infixes in a larger verbal construction on a syntactic level; but from the pure point of morphology and basic verbal construction, these are regarded as suffixes.

The principal verbal \textit{ex} affixes cover a wide range of meaning, usually done by tenses, moods, aspects, levels, and the like; moreover these affixes sometimes do the functions of relative pronouns and adverbs. We gave not classified the principal verbal affixes according to the element of time, mode, level and aspect, but have tried to
establish a small number of categories on the basis of the type of construction that the resulting verb can enter into. Broadly speaking, we have three categories: (a) Finite verbal affixes which form verbs that may be used to end sentences; (b) subordinate verbal suffixes which form verbs that can form only subordinate clauses and hence require a finite verb to complete the sentence; (c) substantive verbal suffixes which form verbs that enter into nominal constructions to form noun phrases or which can function as nouns themselves capable of taking noun-suffixes.

In the following examples of principal verbal affixation, the affixes are usually shown to have neutral tone being dependent on the tone of verb base; in a few cases, the actual tone (resulting tone) of the affixes is shown only to clarify the situation. The verbal procedures may be discussed under different methods in respect of verbal bases, affixes and phrases; but no attempt is made in this effect in the present description. In a number of examples, the alternative tone-marking is shown as a variant form.

**Finite Verbal Affixes:** Form Verbs that may be used as sentence finals:

The finite verbal affixes include a negative imperative prefix (indicates negative imperative present or future time context; this prefix is used with almost all the regular verb bases (simple or derived); the verb bases take the (principal) imperative verbal suffixes - (zero) or -; the resulting verbs are used as finite or sentence ending with or without terminating suffixes or terminators; ' da than', (tha) da than 'Don't go.'
"da\'thap0do/ (2da\'thap0do) /\'da\'thap0do/ 'Please don't go.'

-o\'a indicates negative habitual or general statement in present or future time context; it is synonymous with the prefix 0a-, but is never used on the same verbal construction at the same time with the prefix. The principal verbal negative suffix -o\'a has a number of extended and compound uses; some of them are listed below. This suffix may be added to all regular verb bases (simple, complex or derived); it is present in the irregular verb base 2goy-: 2goy0a (2goy1a) 'is not', 'has not'; -o\'a has allomorphs -y0a, -w0a;

2ap\'o 2ga2mi3aw 1tha\'p0a\'0\'I don't go to the village.' i.e.

'I refuse to go to the village.' 2man2si1phra 2be3aw

1ther0a\'0\'These men don't stay here.' 2ap\'ha 2phoy1sa

2goy0a\'0\'I have no money.' 2bi0\' 2hor3aw 1mu0a\'0\'He does not see at night.'

It may be stated that -y0a occurs after verb bases ending in -a, -e; -w0a occurs after verb bases ending in -a; and -o\'a occurs elsewhere.

-o\'li0a indicates negative more definite statement than -o\'a; it is an extended form of -o\'a with -0li-; has an allomorph -0la used dialectically.

2ap\'o 2ga2mi3aw 1tho0li0a\'0\'These men definitely don't

.. go to the village.'

2man2si1phra 2be3aw 1tho0li0a\'0\'These men definitely don't stay here.'

2bi0\' 2hor3aw 1mu0li0a\'0\'He definitely does not see at night.'

2ap\'ha 2phoy1sa 2goy0li0a/ 2goy0la\'0\'I have definitely got no money.'
-°a°kh©y : indicates negative statement in immediate or distant past tense context; is composed of two elements: -°a- plus -°kh©y (cf. -°s©y; a principal finite verbal suffix described with below) and has allomorphs -y°a°kh©y, -w°a°kh©y with conditional distribution (cf. -w°a, -y°a, -°a).

2ap°o 2ga²mi²aw 'they°a°kh©y\]|' I did not go to the village.'
2man²m²pha 2be³aw 'they°a°kh©y\]|' These men did not stay here.'
2bl°o 2her³aw 'me°a°kh©y\]|' He did not see at night.'
2har²an 2how²a²'mo 'her°a°kh©y\]|' Has not given to a caste Hindu male.'

This complex suffix is used with almost all the regular verb bases (simple and derived) only.

-°a°mən : indicates negative action in the past time context; is composed of two elements, -°a plus -°mən; is used with all regular verb bases only.

2be²ray 2bu²ri²'ha 2sob²maw 2go²the 2go²thay 2gøy²sa²'røy°a°-mən\]|'The children did not know to exist in the forehead (luck) of the oldman and the old woman.' i.e. 'According to their luck, the oldman and the old woman had no children.' (remote past)

-°a°khî°søyf -°a°kh©y°søy are also used to mean more assertive negative statement.

-°a°kh©y°gən may also be used.

-°g : (allomorphs °°, °y°g, °°°) indicates present time habitual/ action; sometimes, general situation or event, feeling etc.

The distribution of the four allomorphs of this morpheme represented by °°g is as follows:
-o\o : occurs only after the irregular verb base 3 deprecated 'be';
-\o\o : occurs after the regular verb bases ending in -e and -o;
-w\o : may occur optionally and dialectically after the regular verb bases ending in -u;
-\o : occurs elsewhere after all the regular verb bases.

2\o\o a\o\o 'The man dies. 'Man dies.' 1\a 2\o\o a\o\o 'I dwell in the village.'
2\o\o a\o\o 'He drinks rice-beer.' 2\o\o a\o\o 'The man sees with the eye.'

'A man sees with (his) eye.'
1\a 1\a 1\a 'You wash cloth.'
1\a 2\a 1\a 'I pull the rope.'
2\o\o 2\o\o a\o\o 'He is (certainly) in the house.'
2\o\o 'He is (surely) at (his) home.'
2\o\o 'He is in the house.' (general)

-\o\o a\o\o 'definite remote past indicator', -\o\o a\o\o 'definite future indicator' are used infrequently; -\o\o a\o\o is sometimes used infrequently to give strong emphasis in habitual or general present.

2\a\a a\o\a a\o\o 'Here was a king.' (remote past)
2\o\o a\o\a a\o\a a\o\o 'We will come in the evening.'
2\o\o a\o\a a\o\o 'I go (certainly) to the village.'
2\o\o 'He was in the house.'

-\o\o a\o\o indicates continuous action in the present or in the immediate past;
2\o\o a\o\a 'I am going to the village.'
2\a\o\o a\a 'The children are still eating rice.'
Yesterday he went from his home.

"I went to the village."

"These men came here the day before yesterday."

"I will be coming here."

"He has returned yesterday."

"He has (already) done evil (bad) deed (work) surely."

"Have you eaten rice or not?"
statement of fact in the past context; -⁰søy does not occur normally after -⁰bay and the form -⁰bay⁰søy appears to be redundant from the point of idiomatic uses.

2bi⁰ 2be⁰aw 2phoy⁰baya⁰søy "He had come here."
2bi⁰ 2phoy⁰bla (2phoy⁰bla) 2ge⁰th¹a 2haya⁰søy⁰gøm "The child be cured if he would come."

-⁰a: indicates the so-called historical present or narrative statement of events already taken place; it is usually taken -⁰søy and the form -⁰a⁰søy makes the statement relevant and near to the audience; the form -⁰a⁰gøm may also be used to mean general past or continuous in a historical or narrative background. (-⁰a, -⁰a⁰søy, -⁰a⁰gøm are variant forms in contrast to the negative -⁰a etc.)

2ge⁰dø 2go⁰day 2dab²se 2ga²mi³aw 2sa¹møy 2be²ray
2bu¹ri 1thay⁰søy 2man²se²kha¹li 2bu²ri¹a 2be²ray¹khew
1bup¹⁰gøm → 2sa²thø¹søm 2la¹bo¹hay 2bo¹ray↑

In ancient time, there were a pair of oldman and old woman in a village. One day the old woman told the oldman, "O my old one, please bring me a young one of a parrot."

-⁰gew: indicates willingness, resoluteness, in general present time context;
2man²al¹a 2no³aw 1thaw⁰gew "The man desires to go home."
2ap¹me 2thas²kha 1maw⁰gew "I am in need of money." i.e.
'To me money is needed.'

-⁰gew⁰gøw is rarely used to affirm a statement of willingness or resoluteness;
2am 2bi⁰ 2phoy⁰gew⁰søy "He desires to go truly."
-\text{gew}^0\text{men} : is used to express the statement of willingness in past hypothetical context; 
\text{2}\text{mr}\text{ap}^1\text{be} \ 2\text{bup}'\text{kha}^0\text{hla} \ 2\text{ap}^1\text{be} \ 1\text{thap}^0\text{gew}^0\text{men}\downarrow '\text{If you had told ahead, I would have gone.'}
\text{2}\text{ap}^1\text{be} \ 2\text{phey}^0\text{gew}^0\text{men}\downarrow '\text{I would have come too.' (the conditional context is implied)}
\text{0}\text{gew} is not associated with the future indicative -\text{gew}^0\text{men}.

-\text{no}^0 : indicates intention or purpose in interrogative immediate present or future context;
\text{2}\text{mr}\text{ap}^2\text{thap}^1\text{a} \ 1\text{bew}'\text{hay} \ 1\text{thap}^0\text{no}^0\downarrow '\text{You (honorific) intends to go to which place (where).' i.e. 'Where do you intend to go?'}
\text{2}\text{mr}\text{ap}^2\text{so}^1\text{e} \ 1\text{ma} \ 2\text{maw}'\text{no}^0\downarrow '\text{You (all) are doing (intend to do) what (job) ?' i.e. 'What do you intend to work?'}
\text{2}\text{ap}^1\text{e} \ 2\text{me}^2\text{be}^3\text{aw} \ 1\text{tha}^0\text{no}^0\downarrow '\text{Where shall I remain?'}

-\text{no}^0\text{sey} : indicates intention or purpose in immediate present or future context;
\text{2}\text{ap}^1\text{e} \ 1\text{thap}^0\text{no}^0\text{sey}\downarrow 'I go just now.'
\text{2}\text{mr}\text{ap}^1\text{e} \ 1\text{sa}^0\text{me}^0\text{sey}'\text{de}\downarrow 'Let us eat now.' i.e. 'We intend to eat just now.'

-\text{no}^0\text{men} : indicates intention or purpose in the past context which eventually did not materialize;
\text{2}\text{ap}^1\text{e} \ 2\text{ga}^2\text{mi}^3\text{aw} \ 1\text{thap}^0\text{no}^0\text{men}\rightarrow \text{2}\text{be}^2\text{be}^2\text{kha}'\text{mi} \ 2\text{e}'\text{kha} \ 3\text{ha}^0\text{deg}^0\text{men}\downarrow '\text{I intended to go to the village, but it was raining (which prevented me).'}
\text{no}^0 is not associated with -\text{gew}.

-\text{no}^0 : indicates expected, possible action, more or less definite
in immediate present or future context; may take further present tense indicator -o§Oy and future tense indicator -o§On for intensification;

2 ap 2no sa'§OgOgOn\"I intend to go\" (may be or may not be)
2 ap 2no sa'§OgOgn\"I shall eat afterwards.\" (definitely)
2 bi 2no sa'§OgOgOy\"He will go (it is known).\"
2 bi 2no sa'§OgOgOgOn\"He may go (uncertain).\"

-o§Oy : is used to denote future in north western dialect regions;

-o§Oy is used in negative context in central western dialect regions;

2 ap 2no ga'ben sa'§OgOgOn\"I shall go tomorrow.\"
2 ap 2no ga'ben sa'§OgOgOy\"I shall not go tomorrow.\"

i.e. \"I am not going tomorrow.\"

-o§Ono§Oy a'§Omen : is rarely used to give negative hypothetical context;

2 ap 2no ga'ben sa'§OgOgOn\"I would not have gone to the village.\"

-o§Ono§Oy a'§Omen : may be used to denote negative future;

2 bi 2no sa'§OgOgOn\"He will not come to his home.\"

-o§Oy : is used to denote past time statement in interrogative context;

1 no§ 2no ma'no sa'§Oy\"why did you eat?\"
2 no§ 2no sa'§OgOy\"You (all) where had gone did go\"

i.e. \"Where did you go?\"

-o§ (zero) : indicates imperative present or immediate future context;

may be used in negative with -Oda- prefixed to the verb\'s base; is suffixed to all regular verb bases; as a finite
verbal suffix it is associated with rise steep contour;

'nep 1thap / 'You go.'
0da2phay / 'Denon come.'

-0de/ -1de ; indicates imperative present or immediate future in an
insistent or polite manner;

'nep 1thap0de / 'You go please.'
2be5aw 2phay1de/ 2phay0de / 'please come here.'

As imperative indicators, the above two suffixes are associated
with second personal pronouns as nominatives.

-0ni ;

is associated with first personal pronominal nominatives
to indicate present present or immediate future in permi-
ssive or optative context;

'ap 1thap0ni / 'Let me go' / 'I may be permitted to go.'
1nep 2ma0ni / 'Let us work.' / 'We may be allowed to work.'

-0de0ni ;

insistent and polite than the above (-0ni) ;

'nep 1thap0de0ni / 'We may please be allowed to go.'/
'Let us kindly go.'

-0thep ;

is usually associated with third personal nominal or
pronominal nominatives, (rarely with first and second
personal pronomens) to denote permitted willingness, blessings
etc. in optative context;

2bi5e 1thap0thep / 'Let him go.' / 'He may be permitted
to go.'
2go2thep1phra 2ga2ham1oy 1thap0thep / 'Let these children
remain well' / 'I wish to bless these children to remain
well.'
2sa2ha1ni 2reg 2bi2a1di 2sa1ha 1thap0thep / 'The diseases
and disasters of the north may go to the north.' (by the grace of God.)

-0thot'osoy: may be used to mean permissive optative in more assertive manner;

2bi'4o 1thot'ot'osoy\"\'He may be allowed to go positively.'
'Let him go positively.'

Passive Voice Forms Of Verb Bases:

There is only one infix -0sa- (of the verb base 3sa 'be') that is attached to the regular verb bases followed by all permitted (principal) finite verbal suffixes, to express the passive voice sense if necessary;

1thap'o 0sagom /2thap'1sagom\"'will be gone'
1sa'o 0sagom /2sa'1sagom\"'will be eaten'
1ho'o 0sagom /2ho'1sagom\"'will be given'
2bi'sep 2pho'y sa 1ho'o 0sagom\"'Money will be given by him.'

The passive Causative form is analysed as verb base plus -0ho/-1ho plus finite -0sa plus finite verbal suffixes (for the use of -0ho/-1ho, cf. the causative derivational suffixation, 2027)

2be 2ba2thua 2mi2thi'1ho'o 0sahay \"\"
'This information has been made known.'

Principal Verb Suffixes Forming Subordinate Verbs:

(b) Subordinate verbal suffixes may form verbs that are used in subordinate clauses and these verbs are normally not capable of terminating a sentence; therefore, these require a finite verb to close the sentence; some have moreover substantive uses;

-0ho/-1ho: is used as infinitive indicating suffix to mean 'in
order to*, 'to', 'for' etc. and are suffixes to all the regular verb bases;

1sp 1thap^m 2œ^khar^bay\|\| 'I have come out to go.'

1mep 2un^du^m 2has^thay^bep\|\| 'You are trying to sleep.'

2bi^o 2be^aw 2phos^thar^m 1nap^gov\|\| 'He should come here.' / 'He is needed to come here.'

It appears that the subjects of the subordinate verb and the finite (sentence ending )verb must be the same.

Syntactically, the place occupied by the subordinate verb is assigned to a noun (substantive) also; in the following examples, substantive uses of these subordinate verbal constructions are shown;

2nep^sor^o 2ga^mi^aw 1thap^m 2ha^gov\|\| 'You (all) may go to the village.' (1thap^m 'to go', 2ga^mi^aw 'to go to the village' may be treated as general accusatives to the verb 2ha^gov\|\| 'are able')

2ha^ba^khew 2maw^m 2tha^khay 2bi^o 2be^hay 2phos^bay\|\| 'He has come hither to (in order to) do the job.' (2ha^ba^khew 2maw^m 2tha^khay may be treated as a noun -phrase)

-o may/ -i may: indicates the continuous action of the nature of being, doing in the particular verbal context; the subordinate verb may used impersonally or transitively in different situations;

2ap^h 2ga^hun 1thap^may 3sa^gov\|\| 'I shall be going tomorrow.' / 'Going will be made tomorrow by me.'

2ga^hun 2be 2ha^ba^khew 3maw^may 3sa^gov\|\| 'Tomorrow this work doing will be done' i.e. 'This work will be done tomorrow.'

In these two examples the finite verb 3sa- is helping the subordinate verbs in impersonal and transitive situations.
Syntactically the subordinate verbs with their immediate constituents may be treated as noun phrases functioning nominatively to 3səo'gəm.

As a substantive, the subordinate verbal construction may take the nominal suffixes:

2la2ma1se 1thap0may0aw (2thap2may3aw) 2ap1e 2ma1se 2my2de-
1khow 1mu0bay\.'l have seen an elephant while going along the road.'
(1thap0may plus -3aw locative case indicating suffix)

As an adjective or an attribute to a noun, the subordinate verbal construction may also be used:

2my1a 2phøy0may 2mən2si1a 2de2my1be 2phøy0thar0gəm\.'The man
who came yesterday would surely come today.'

2mən1məb0may 2hə2ma1khow 1ap 1mu0bay\.'I have seen the finished
work.'

2lip6hər3sa0may 2mən2si1a 2phøy0thar0aˌ\.'The man who was called
for would not definitely come.' (Passive context)

-oblə/-bəla: indicates conditional situations; is used with all
regular verb bases:

2my1e 1thap0bla (2thap1bla) 2ap1be 1həpəe 1thap0gəm\.'If you come, I shall also go.'

2go2thəˈla 2apˈkham 1sa0bla 2bi2may1a 2rop2may0əˌ\.'When the child eats cooked rice, his mother becomes gay.'

Sometimes -oblə may be used with extended (finished or developed)
verbal constructions (verb base plus principal verbal suffix):

-əsəo'sə: is used after all regular verb bases to denote the sense
of 'till', 'up to the very point', 'to the extent' etc.
in different time contexts with an element of emphasis;
As long as you remain here, I shall work.

As long as I desire to remain in the house, you do not call me. Also it may be used with means to mean 'along with', 'with', 'by' etc.

is used to mean finished or about to be finished action; with the verb base 'hon 'ask', 'speak', it forms a bound verbal construction to mean 'saying thus' to connect a clause in direct speech with a following finite verb on a larger syntactic level.

He is coming here having finished the work.
The child has come taking the book along with him.

He did not come telling me "(You) must go."

We think (consider) that this information is false.

-°ala°ba: is used to mean the negative sense of the above suffix;

You do not remain without having come.

This man is begging (seeking) money without working.

conditional affirmative; -°ala°ba conditional negative.

If he has gone, there will be a quarrel in that place.

If he had not gone, I would be sorry.

is negative conditional of the above (-°bla) and is used in the same manner:

If you do not go, tell me beforehand.

-°mon°bla: is also used to denote hypothetical conditional situations;

If he had been there, I would have met him also.

If he had not gone, the marriage would not take place.

-°ey...°oy: is used as a repeated suffix to mean consecutive action or continuous work;

If you didn't go, you would have sought him also.

If you had not gone, the marriage would not take place.
Drinking rice-beer on and on, eating cooked rice on and on my houses have torn into pieces.'

'Going along, this man has reached our village.'

This suffix is used single (-oey) in respect of adjectives changing into adverbs;

-0agew 0manj / -0agew 2manj ; is used as negative of the above;

'I do not eat until you desire to eat.' i.e. 'As long as you do not eat, I do not eat.'

-oa : is a discontinuous suffix and is used after limited regular verb bases to mean 'even if', 'until' as reduplicated

2go2tho'm9 3they'o'oa 3thap'o'o 2mulili 2dow'may'ogem, 'The child should be given (applied) medicine until death (till at the stage of dying and living: 3they 'die', 3thap 'live', 'survive');'.

-omaroa ; is used after all regular verb bases to mean 'as soon as', just as soon as', 'at the very instant' etc. in different time contexts; (It is a complex suffix; 0mar- plus -oae)

As soon as the man had gone, the thief ran away,'

As soon as (just as) you come I shall go together with you.'

-ogrog ..-ogma : is used as a discontinuous suffix with meaning similar to the above: 'instantly', 'at once', 'as soon as'.
'just as' etc.

\[\text{2phey}^0 \text{gra} \quad \text{2phey}^0 \text{gra} \quad \text{2man}^1 \text{psha} \quad \text{2lip}^1 \text{hor}^0 \text{dep}^0 \text{mon}^1\]

'just as the men had come, they called aloud (shouted).

\[\text{-}^0 \text{si} \quad \text{-}^0 \text{si} \quad \text{is a discontinuous reduplicated suffix to mean impending}
\quad \text{action in different time contexts;}
\]

\[\text{2man}^1 \text{psha} \quad \text{2bi}^2 \text{lo}^1 \text{psha} \quad \text{1thap}^0 \text{si} \quad \text{1thap}^0 \text{si}
\quad \text{2lin}^1 \text{hor}^0 \text{dep}^0 \text{mon}^1 \quad \text{The men are shouting on the point of going (at the time a)
from the fishing pool.)}
\]

Principal Verbal Suffixes: (a) Substantive Verbal Suffixes

The substantive verbal suffixes convert the verb bases into forms
that can function as nouns or noun phrases. These are capable of
taking noun-suffixes wherever necessary; syntactically these act like
nouns also.

Mention has been made in the preceding sub-section (242962) about
the substantive uses of verbal constructions formed with the subordinate
verbal suffixes -\( ^0 \text{no} \) and -\( ^0 \text{may} \) morphologically and syntactically.

-\( ^0 \text{no} \quad \text{2ap}^1 \text{e} \quad \text{2na}^3 \text{aw} \quad \text{1thap}^0 \text{no} \quad \text{2has}^1 \text{thap}^0 \text{no} \quad \text{I try to go home.}
\quad \text{2bi}^3 \text{e} \quad \text{2hup}^0 \text{no} \quad \text{2tha}^1 \text{khay} \quad \text{2phey}^0 \text{ho}^0 \text{dep}^0 \text{mon}^1 \quad \text{He came to
speak.' / 'He came in order to speak.'}

-\( ^0 \text{may} \quad \text{2san}^3 \text{aw} \quad \text{2un}^1 \text{du}^0 \text{may} \quad \text{2un}^2 \text{du}^0 \text{may}^1 \text{e} \quad \text{2ga}^1 \text{sril} \quad \text{To sleep
at day-time (is) bed.'} \quad \text{2ap}^1 \text{e} \quad \text{2phup}^3 \text{aw} \quad \text{2ap}^1 \text{khov}
\quad \text{2lip}^1 \text{hor}^0 \text{may} \quad \text{2khov}^1 \text{ma}^0 \text{dep}^0 \text{mon}^1 \quad \text{I am listening to a call to
to me in the morning.'} \quad \text{In the morning, I heard (someone)
whom calling to me.' -\( ^0 \text{may} \) has adjectival use also.

-\( ^0 \text{gra} \quad \text{(-}^1 \text{gra}) \quad \text{indicates the agentive sense to all the regular verb}
\quad \text{bases;}
\]

\[\text{2man}^0 \text{gra} / \text{2man}^1 \text{gra} \quad \text{'one who works'} \quad \text{1sa}^0 \text{gra} / \text{2sa}^1 \text{gra}\]
There are a considerable number of adjectival suffixes which form constructions that may have substantive uses.

Verbal Terminating Suffixes: The Verbal Terminating Suffixes or Terminating Verbal Suffixes are like the nominal terminating suffixes joined to verbal formations inclusive of bases and suffixes (derivational & principal). These terminating suffixes may or may not be necessary in the syntactic level to express the intended meaning. If these are used to close the verbal construction, then they become the part and parcel of the verb base and thus become dependent or neutral as to the tones being governed by verb base.

There are a small number of terminating suffixes which are common to both the nominal and the verbal group. Some are exclusive to each group. In addition to these, there are a small number of general terminating particle or general terminators that may be used after the basic utterance or more briefly, the verbal and the nominal constructions inclusive of terminating suffixes to indicate broad characteristics, such as question, quotation, emphasis etc. of the utterance or the construction.

The nominal uses of the terminating suffixes are shown with actual tones as an alternative method; the verbal terminating suffixes will be described in a following section with examples of their correspond-
It may be noted that the number of verbal terminating suffixes are more than the nominal terminating suffixes. Out of the nominal terminating suffixes mentioned above, -°lo°kha (-lo°kha), -°lo°kha (-lo°kha), -°°kha (-°kha), -°°kha (-°kha), -°°kha (-°kha), -°°kha (-°kha), are not normally used with verbs and verbal formations.

4. 2. 2. Adjectives

4.2.2.0 General Remarks

The Adjectival formations are based on verb bases. Adjectives share the functions of a verbs primarily. The adjectives are therefore regarded as a sub-class of the verbal formations comprising of verbs, adjectives and adverbs. As has been mentioned in §2.1.2, a common set of verb bases may participate in verbal, adjectival and adverbial formations. The adjectival formations are made by either prefixation to the set of verb bases, or by suffixation to the set of verb bases. There are a considerable number of derivational affixes (prefixes and suffixes) in respect of adjectival formations. Only a small number of inflectional suffixes (-°thar / -°thar, -°sin/ -°sin, -°sin°thar/ -°sin°thar, -°sin°thar/ -°sin°thar, -°sin°thar/ -°sin°thar, -°sin°thar/ -°sin°thar) are used to mean comparative and superlative degree of these adjectival formations.

These adjectival formations are complex and derived formations of verb bases (usually simple) and are capable of receiving inflectional suffixes.

In addition to these derived adjectives, there are a considerable number of other formations that may function as adjectives:

(a) Verbal formations with some substantive verbal suffixes may in some circumstances function as adjectives.

(b) Verbal formations with a number of subordinate verbal suffixes
may also function as adjectives.

(c) A small number of principal finite verbal suffixes (alone or with a derivational suffix) may under special circumstances participate in formations that function as adjectives or verbs.

(d) A small number of nouns may take a limited number of derivational suffixes and result in adjectival formations; these derivational suffixes may be morphemes, free or bound.

(e) All the numeral formations (consisting of classifiers and quantifiers) may function as adjectives in respect of the nouns that must follow the numeral formations.

A small number of particles, usually reduplicative or repetitive, with or without rhyming syllables may also function as adjectives; such particles are discussed in the body of the Syntax.

4.2.2.1. Adjectives vs. Other Form-Classes.

Adjectives may function, sometimes, as nouns and then they are capable of taking nominal suffixes, minimally the principal nominal suffixes.

Adjectives may also sometimes function as verbs, associated with a limited number of principal finite verbal suffixes (e.g. -oma, -may etc.)

Syntactically, adjectival formations may mark the end of utterances or sentences (usually done by the principal finite verbal formations); in such cases, the finite verbal form do not occur in the sentence.

4.2.2.2 Derivation

(a) Derivational Prefixes to Adjectives:

(1) 2gV- type of prefixes:

Adjectival formations with verbal correlations or complex verbs with adjectival correlations with
already under the sub-heading of 'Non-causative Derivational Prefixes of Adjectival Nature'. These may take principal finite verbal suffixes, -oq, -obay, etc., or take the verb base 3ha 'be' after them to express verbal sense. These may be used as adverbs to the successive verbs with or without taking the adverbial suffix -o'y.

Adjectival formations with 2gV- prefixes are numerous; a small number of them have been enumerated below; more are listed in the appended vocabulary, but by no means all.

The prefixes of this type are usually occur before simple and intransitive verb bases only a few instances are available of complex-intransitive, simple transitive and eneomatepastic reduplicative verbal prefixation.

2gV- type of prefixes with corresponding vowel phonemes in the verb bases plus morphemic zero suffixes:

Examples: with 2ge-, 2ga-, 2gi-, 2go-, 2g-a-, 2gy-

Prefixes to simple and intransitive verb bases:

\[2ge\text{belp} \quad \text{'with hole'} \quad \text{also used as a verb & a noun.}\]
\[2ge\text{tep} \quad \text{'standing', 'steep'} \quad \text{also used as a verb.}\]
\[2ge\text{ser} \quad \text{'leaking'} \quad \text{also used as a verb.}\]
\[2ga\text{hay} \quad \text{short stature', 'of low height'} \quad \text{cf. 'hay as a verb meaning' be short', 'be low'.}\]
\[2ga\text{ham} \quad \text{'good (physically)'} \quad \text{cf. 'ham 'be cured', 'be good'.}\]
\[2gi\text{si} \quad \text{'wet'(dialectically 2gis\text{si})} \quad \text{cf. 'si 'be wet' as a verb; the derivation displays a morpho-phonemic change of tones.}\]
\[2g\text{i\text{si}} \quad \text{'torn'} \quad \text{cf. 'si 'tear' as a verb.}\]
\[2gi\text{lir} \quad \text{'heavy'} \quad \text{cf. 'lir 'be heavy'; displays a morpho-phonemic change (dialectically, 2g\text{i\text{lid}}/2g\text{i\text{lird from 3lid/3lird}).}\]
2go₂pho  'mild', 'deposited with a bad smell' ; cf. 2phe 'be mild',
          'be deposited with a bad smell' as a verb.
2go₁beq  'straight' ; cf. 3beq 'be straight' ; displays a
          morpho-phonemic change.
2go₁seq  'light' (not heavy) ; cf. 1seq 'be light' used as a verb.
2gu₁sup  'short' (not long) ; cf. 1sup 'be short' used as a verb.
2gu₁su  'cold' ; cf. 1su 'be cold' used as a verb.
2gu₁phur  'white' ; cf. 1phur/1phud/1phurd 'be white' used as a
          verb.
2gu₁rup  'loose' (as a knot), 'soft' ; cf. 1rup 'be loose',
          'be soft' used as a verb.
2gu₁rup  'bent by loosening' ; cf. 3rup 'be bent or falling by
          loosening' ;
2gu³rup  'sounding', 'well-sounded' ; cf. 1rup 'speak'/3rup 'be
          good-tuned'.
2gu₁rup  'thick' ; cf. 2rup 'fulfil', 'be thick'.
2gu₁du  'deep', 'thick' ; cf. 1du 'be deep' used as a verb.
2gu₁phup  'fat', 'fleshy' ; cf. 3phup 'be fat'; displays a
          morpho-phonemic change in the process of derivation.
2go₁khey  'sour' ; 1khey 'be sour' used as a verb.
2go₁son  'black'; 1son 'be black' used as a verb.
2go₁sop  'bright'; 1sop 'be bright' used as a verb.
2go₁phon  'worn out', 'tattered'; cf. 1phon 'be worn out',
          be tattered'.
2go³mon  'ripe' ; 3mon 'be ripe' used as a verb.
2go₁go  'clear', 'clean', 'cured'; 1go 'be clear', 'be clean',
          'be cured' used as a verb.
2go₁doy  'sweet', 'tasteful'; 3doy 'be sweet', 'be tasteful'
          used as a verb; displays a morpho-phonemic change.
2go₁thøy  'dead'; 3thøy 'die' used as a verb; displays a
          morpho-phonemic change.
2go' thep 'straight' (as a bamboo); cf. 1thop 'be straight' used as a verb.

To Simple and Transitive Verb base:
2go'rep 'wise', 'one who knows'; cf. frop 'know', used as a transitive verb.

To Complex and Intransitive Verb base:
2go'se'rem 'dry', 'dried up'; cf. 2se'rem 'be dry', used as a complex intransitive verb.

2sv-type of prefixes with non-corresponding vowel phonemes in the verb bases plus morphemic zero suffixes:

Examples: with 2go-before simple and intransitive verb bases having 
-a / -e

2go'sam 'old'; cf. f sam 'be old'.
2go'ra 'tight', 'hard'; cf. f ra 'be tight', 'be hard'.
2go'shap 'living', 'surviving'; cf. 3thap 'live', 'survive'.
2go'ba 'thin'; cf. fba 'be thin'.
2go'sap 'cold'; cf. f sap 'be cold'.
2go'shaw 'tasteful'; cf. 2shaw 'be tasteful'.
2go'kha 'bitter'; cf. f kha 'be bitter'.
2go'ran 'dry'; cf. f ran 'be dry'.
2go'law 'long'; cf. flaw 'be long'.
2go'za 'red'; cf. 2 za 'be red', 'grow red'.
2go'pha 'tasteless'; cf. -fpha 'be tasteless'. 'annapinamah' 'tineenamah'.
2go'hap 'many', 'much', 'increased'; cf. f hap 'be many', 'be much', 'be increasing'.
2go'sam 'distant'; f sam 'be distant', 'be far'.
2go'hay 'broken'; f hay 'be broken'.

2go'thap 'be straight' (as a bamboo); cf. fthop 'be straight' used as a verb.
2go\(^1\)baw 'late'; cf. 'baw 'be late'.
2go\(^1\)sa 'aching', 'painful', 'burnt', 'pungent'; cf. 2sa 'be painful', 'ache', 'be pungent'.
2go\(^3\)xham 'burnt'; cf. 3xham 'be burnt'.
2go\(^1\)gaw 'torn'; cf. 3 1gaw 'be torn', 'be split'.

Other examples of 2g\(^1\)-type of prefixes with non-corresponding vowel-phonemes in the verb bases are not many; in some cases, the verb bases are simple but easily unanalysable as to their individual uses:

2go\(^1\)zri / 2gi\(^1\)zra 'bad', 'ugly' (2go-\(\rightarrow\)gi- plus -1zri / -1zra)
2go\(^1\)zri 2ge\(^2\)the\(^1\)khow 'up -ma\(^0\)day', 'I have seen the bad child.'; used with echo-words, also; 2go\(^2\)zri -3ph2\(^1\)zri 'bad or anything', etc.
2go\(^3\)day 'the youngest', 'the last (one)' (2go- plus -3day)
2go\(^3\)day 2bil\(^2\)-nap\(^1\)khow 2lip\(^1\)her 'call aloud the youngest sister-in-law'.

2go- before a verb-base (complex & intransitive) : 2go\(^1\)brab/ (2go\(^2\)br\(^1\)ab) 'difficult', 'hard'; cf. 2bo\(^1\)rab 'be angry', i.e. 'be difficult' by a semantic change (operating probably).

(ii) 2m\(^1\)-type of prefixes: A small number of adjectival formations with this type of prefixes are used in the language and they share the qualifications of other two members of the verbal group. The examples of 2m\(^1\)-, 2me\(^1\)-, 2me-, with or without corresponding vowel-phonemes in respect of the following verb bases or the like are only given below; these verb bases or the like may be bound or free and these are not easily analysable as to their individual uses and meanings.
(cf. the similar verbal prefixes 4.2.2\(\mathcal{A}\).)

2me\(^1\)nap 'good', 'nice' (apparently or inherently) cf. 2g\(^3\)ham 'good' (physically) described above; 2me- plus -1nap (cf. 2go\(^1\)nap 'cold'; 1nap 'be cold'); used with echo-words, as 2me\(^2\)-zay -2tho\(^1\)zay 'good or anything', etc.
2\textsubscript{m}3\textsubscript{den} 'good scented'; 2\textsubscript{m}3\textsubscript{den}\textsuperscript{1}phru 'full of good scent'; also used as a verb; is derivable as 2\textsubscript{m} - plus -3\textsubscript{den} / -2\textsubscript{den} - plus -1\textsuperscript{phru}.

2\textsubscript{m}0\textsubscript{led} 'indistinct', 'weak' (in case of light); is used as reduplicated also; in is derivable as 2\textsubscript{m}0 - plus -1\textsuperscript{led} (cf. 'lid' - 'lir-' 'write', 'rub'); 2\textsubscript{m}0\textsubscript{led} 2\textsubscript{m}0\textsubscript{led} 2\textsubscript{lem} the\textsuperscript{1}ma 'the indistinct (with weak light) lantern'.

2\textsubscript{m}0\textsubscript{alid} 'weak', 'with less light', 'indistinct'; is used as above (as reduplicated with the repetitive rhyming syllable); is derivable as 2\textsubscript{m}0 - plus -1\textsuperscript{alid} (cf. 2\textsubscript{m}0\textsubscript{alid} 'burn one-sided' below); 2\textsubscript{m}0\textsubscript{alid} -1\textsuperscript{alid} 'or 'slightly burning fire'.

2\textsubscript{m}0\textsubscript{seq} 'dry' (season)/ 2\textsubscript{m}1\textsubscript{siD} (dialectically) is derivable as 2\textsubscript{m}0 -/2\textsubscript{mi} - plus -1\textsuperscript{seq} / -1\textsuperscript{sin} cf. 'seq' 'be light (less in weight); 2\textsubscript{m}0\textsubscript{seq} 2\textsubscript{bo}ther 'dry season' (of the year, nearabout the autumn season).

2\textsubscript{m}1\textsubscript{day} 2\textsubscript{u}\textsubscript{day} 2\textsubscript{un}\textsubscript{day} 'small', 'little'; these variant forms are used in different dialect regions; derivable as 2\textsubscript{m}1 -/2\textsubscript{u} -/2\textsubscript{un} - plus -1\textsuperscript{day} (cf. 'day' 'lay eggs')

2\textsubscript{m}2\textsubscript{ku}\textsubscript{ku} 'busy', 'engaged'; is derivable as 2\textsubscript{m}2 - plus -2\textsubscript{ku}\textsubscript{ku} (a complex verb of uncertain origin)

2\textsubscript{m}3\textsubscript{lem} 'content'; is used as a verb also; is derivable as 2\textsubscript{m}3 - plus -3\textsubscript{lem} etc. etc.

Other Prefixes of Derivation:

The following few examples will show that there are a considerable number of derivational prefixes in respect of verb bases of diverse or easily unanalyzable nature in respect of form, usage and meaning; these verb bases may be simple, complex, or enomatopeotic (single or...
Further these may be intransitive or transitive, free or bound, of Boro or non-Boro origin.

A large number of examples are inserted in the appended vocabulary.

As to the adjectival formations of non-Boro origin, it is not possible to distinguish easily the prefix from the verb base; however these formations are regarded as adjectives, because they function as such in respect of the nouns qualified by them, in addition to their nominal uses with permitted nominal suffixes (principal secondary and terminating). A few adjectival formations may take the masculine-feminine indicating suffixes, -'a/-f; -'io in nominal context.

\[2o'khra\] 'silly', 'simpleton', 'obstinate'; \[2e-\] plus \-'khra;
\[2o'khra\] \[2ga2\] the 'khew \[2da'ba\] (\[0da'ba\]) 'Donot beat the silly child.'

\[2e2\]day\[2ga'la\] (masculine) /\[2e2\]day\[2ga'li\] (feminine) 'ugly to look at'; \[2e-\] plus \-2day- (verb) plus \-2ga'la/-2ga'li (compound suffixal morpheme) or plus \-2ga- plus \-la/-li;

\[2e2\]day\[2ga'la\] 'hew\a \ 'ugly male husband';
\[2e2\]day\[2ga'li\] 'hina\saw \ 'ugly female / wife'.

\[2e2\]lep'ga (masculine) /\[2e2\]lep'gi (feminine) 'pot-bellied (one)'; \[2e-\] plus \-2lep- (verb) plus \-1ga/-1gi (suffix)

\[2bo\] \[2e2\]lep'ga \[2sep'gra\] 'this pot-bellied youngman';
\[2mep'o\] \[2e2\]lep'gi \[0si2kha\]khew \[2m00bay'za\] 'Have you seen the pot-bellied maiden?'

\[2a1\]grena \ 'meaningless', 'without ways and means'; \[2a-\] (prefix) plus \-'grena
& r . r

(iMmllB«)/Bafffl (fiaislat) 'ilM it nad*, 'n A l|' | 2ay-

(prefix) pitta -'ga/-'gl (verb base plus masculine-feminine indicating suffixes, -'a/-'i). Both the forms are used dialectically, especially in north central dialect region including North Kamrup. (This derivation is a probability)

& r . r

(prefix) plua -'ga/-'gl (verb base plua nascullne-fodnlne indicating eufflxea, -'a/-'f ; -'i). *etb tbe fania are use*
daleatloally, especially In nerth central dialect raglen

*ay*ga*may'ga *aa If a auto (sale/ feaate)*

(prefix) plua -*ga/ -*gi aa A 2nay~ (prefix t eaeaatepeetlo)
pitta -'ga/'gl | are eoagpeonft fonia vita reduplicative (repetitive) rhyming syllables. (This is also a probable derivation.)

*eu* appear a te be a prefixal morpheme.

*ea'bra 'bra /*ea'bra *ea'bra * pare! sting* §  * sticking te a point* f

*ua'bra /®a'brl (masculine/feminine)' stupid*1 •fool*, 'idiot' 'simpleton' *fool*, 'idiot' 'simpleton'

*ua- (prefix) plua -'bra /-'brl (verb base ef enematopeotic nature plus masculine-feminine indicating suffixes) | used aa nouns also.

*ua'day * free*, 'open' ; probably *ua- (prefix) plua -'day (verb base of enematopeotic nature plus masculine-feminine indicating suffixes); used as nouns also.

*ua'day 'free', 'open' ; probably *ua- (prefix) plua -'day (verb base of enematopeotic nature plus masculine-feminine indicating suffixes); used as nouns also.

*ua'day 'free', 'open' ; probably *ua- (prefix) plua -'day (verb base of enematopeotic nature plus masculine-feminine indicating suffixes); used as nouns also.

*ua'day 'free', 'open' ; probably *ua- (prefix) plua -'day (verb base of enematopeotic nature plus masculine-feminine indicating suffixes); used as nouns also.

2e-mdla (masculine)/2e-mdli (feminine) 'flat-nosed'; may be 2e- plus -'dla/-'dli (verb base plus masculine feminine indicating suffix)

2e-mdli appears to be a prefixal morpheme.

2e-mdli 'bra /2e-md'bra 2e-md'bra 'persisting', 'sticking to a point'
**sem-** (prefix) plus 'bra 'bra (reduplicative verbal base of onomatopoetic nature); is also used as adverbs; 'bra 'bra 'fearfully', 'repeatedly'; may be regarded as adverbial particles (also cf. -'bra in 2a'bra).

2khep'khra 'curved', 'bent'; may be 2khep- (prefixal element plus -'khra (verbal morpheme; cf. -'khra in 2a'khra described above) of uncertain meaning. It is used in Indo (Indo-Aryan) Assamese also (cf. Assamese Standard form: kekra; Assamese Western Colloquial: Kekra).

2se'khle 2be'khle 'polished', 'greasy' (as in the case of skin, hide)
2se- and 2be- are prefixes of rhyming syllables with the common verbal element -'khle of onomatopoetic nature and uncertain meaning.

2se'gre'ma 'barren' (feminine); 2se-(prefix) plus -'gre - (verbal base with uncertain meaning) plus -'ma (suffix: connected with 2bi'ma 'mother').

2th'thla 'stammerer', 'half-mute'; may be 2th- (prefix of onomatopoetic origin) plus -'thla (verb base of uncertain nature).

2pha'gla 'mad'; may be 2pha- plus -'gla; is used in Assamese also (cf. Assamese Standard/ Colloquial forms: pegola/pagla)

2pha'bra 'one who jokes', 'frolic', 'one who is wicked'; used as a noun also; may be analysed as 2pha- plus -'bra; conforms to Boro derivational pattern, but is of uncertain origin; used in Assamese also (cf. phatra).

2pha'bra 2man'si2ni'phray 'man'be 2da'bi (0da'bi) 'Sometimes beg anything from a wicked man (a joker).'
2bu³drap 'awkward', 'ugly'; may be 2bu-(prefixal morpheme) plus
-³drap (onomatopoeic verbal element of uncertain origin
and meaning); 2tha¹phli 2bu³drap 'ugly thigh', also
'one with ugly thigh'. An alternative analysis may be from
the point of derivational suffixation: 2bu- (³bu) 'swell'
plus -³drap /-°drap (suffix) indicating 'bad action', etc.
and the resulting formation means 'swell badly' i.e. 'swell
ugly (to look at)'

(B) Derivational Suffixes to Adjectives:

The derivational suffixes are added to verb bases and the
resulting formations function like adjectives when they qualify means
They may be used as adverbs also if they modify the following verbs.
A considerable number of suffixes are regular in the sense that they
may be added to more than one verb bases. Like the prefixes, the
suffixes also express diverse or uncertain meanings in respect of
different verb bases. A short list of derivational suffixes are given
below with possible meanings. The masculine- feminine indicating
suffixes may follow the derivational suffixes to mean males or females
in some cases. The derivational suffixes are usually simple; a small
number of complex suffixes are also used; the suffixes may be, in a
few cases, reduplicated to express intensified or emphatic meaning.

The derivational suffixes are regarded as having neutral tones
and they are dependent to verb bases tonemically. The actual tones
are realized in accordance with the general morpho-phonemic rules of
the language.

°brap: 'slightly having'; e.g. 2kha¹brap (2kha-/¹kha 'be bitter'
plus °brap /°brap 'slightly having') means 'slightly
bitter', 'watery bitter'; adjectival use:
kha'brap 2ip'khrī 2da2la\'bo 'donot bring slightly bitter curry.'; adverbal use: 2ip'khrī\'a 2kha'brap 3za\'bay \(_v_\). The curry has become slightly bitter.'

2kho'y'brap 'slightly sour' (\(^2\)kho'y- \/~\(1\)kho'y 'be sour' plus \(1\)-brap/\(~\)brap (suffix) 'slightly having')

2kho'y'brap 2thay'sew 'slightly sour mango'; 2doy'brap 'watery', 'tasteless'; 2ip'khrī\'a 2doy'brap 'The curry (is) watery (i.e. tasteless).' (cf. 1doy 'sweeten', 'taste well'.)

\(~\)bro: 'having (in respect of heat, as in cooking)'; e.g.

2doy'bro 'waterlike heated' i.e. 'less heated', 'not properly cooked'; 2doy'bro 2ip'khrī 2ap'o \(\_g\)ay\(\_\)a \(_\uparrow_\) 'I donet eat (take) improperly cooked curry.'

\(~\)bur: 'mildly having', 'mild', as in 2dup'bur 'mildly hot'

\(\_\)dup/-\(1\)dup 'be hot' plus \(\~\)bur/-\(1\)bur); 2dup'bur 1doy 1her 'Send mildly hot water.'

\(~\)bru: 'slightly having', e.g. 2kho'y'bra 2slightly (watery) sour' (\(^2\)kho'y- \/~\(1\)kho'y 'be sour' plus \(\~\)bru/-\(1\)bru); is also reduplicated for emphasis; 2kho'y\(\_\)tha 2ne\(\_\)gep\(\_\)ni

2ip'khrī\'a 2kho'y'bru (2kho'y'bru) 3za\(\_\)dēm 'The curry of māyka (sour jute type) vegetable has become slightly (watery) sour (emphatic).' Other examples are: 2doy'bru 'slightly having water', 2kha'bru \(~\) 'slightly bitter', etc.

\(~\)bör: 'coloured with', 'painted with', as in 2za\(\_\)bör 'coloured with reddishness (as in the case of chewing betel nuts)' (\(^2\)za/-\(2\)za 'be red', 'grew red' plus \(\~\)bör/-\(1\)bör); 2za\(\_\)bör 3gay 2za\(\_\)dēm (\(1\)za\(\_\)dēm)\(\_\)a (One) has eaten betel nuts to the extent of becoming reddish.'; i.e.

3gay 2za\(\_\)moy \(\_\)khm\(\_\)gay\(\_\)a 2za\(\_\)bör 3za\(\_\)dēm\(\_\)a 'The mouth
has become (already) reddish due to betel nuts showing.

-°blawi: '(burning) with flame or blaze'; 2moq\(^1\)blaw /'moq\(^1\)blaw
\(1moq/2moq- 'lighten', 'give light' plus -°blawi/ -'blawi);
2moq\(^1\)blaw 2or\(^1\)ni 2kha\(^2\)thi\(^3\)aw 2da\(^1\)thap\(^1\) 'Do not go to the
fire with flames (i.e. blazing).'; used as a verb: 2era
2moq\(^1\)bay\(^0\)bay\(^1\)'The fire has given light with flames (burnt
with blazes).'

-°deb: 'slight', 'in small quantity'; e.g. 2sup\(^1\)deb 'slightly short'
\(2sup/-1sup 'be short', 'shorten' plus -°deb/-'deb); is
used as reduplicative to mean distributive sense; 2sup\(^1\)deb
2sup\(^1\)deb 2ha\(^2\)sup 1da\(^1\)'Cut the pipes in slightly short manner.'; etc. etc.

-°dab: 'slight', 'not very'; as in 2pхо\(^1\)dab 'slight soft' (in case
of body: specially in feminine context) (2pхо/-2pхо 'be
soft' plus -'dab/ -°dab) 2pхо\(^1\)dab 2hin\(^2\)saw\(^1\)a 2ge\(^2\)glay-
°dab\(^1\)'The slightly soft (bodied) woman has fallen down.'; etc.

-°dem: 'mild', 'slight' as in the case of 2ma\(^1\)dem/ 2mai\(^1\)dem 'mildly
cold', 'slightly cold'; is used also adverbially; 2ma\(^1\)dem
2mo\(^1\)dem 'mildly cold body'; 2dey\(^1\)khoa 2ma\(^1\)dem 1mo\(^2\)dem\(^1\)
'(One) has got (felt) the water mildly (slightly) cold.'; etc.

-°dub: 'short' as in 2hay\(^1\)dub (2hay/-1hay 'be lower' plus -'dub/-
°dub)); 2hay\(^1\)dub 2bop\(^2\)phap\(^1\)a 'the short statured tree';
'slight' or less' as in the case of 2pхо\(^1\)dab (2pхо- 'be soft'
plus -'dub/-°dub)); 2pхо\(^1\)dab 2q\(^1\)kham 'slightly mild
cooked rice' ; etc. etc.

-°dеп: 'slight in uniform manner' as in 2law\(^1\)dеп (2law/-1law- plus
-1dеп/-°dеп) 'uniformly and slightly long'; may be reduplica-
tive and adverbial; 2law'dap 2du'rup 'uniformly and slightly long rope'; 2du'rup'khow 2law'dap 2law'dap 'sa/'
'prepare the rope, uniformly and slightly long.'; 2ran'dap 'feebly dry'; 2ran'dap 2man'si'a 'the feebly withered man'; etc.

-o'dap 'feebly', 'in a weak manner', as in 2ran'dap (1ran/2ran-
'be dry' plus -o'dap/ -1'dap) ; is also used adverbially;
2ran'dap 2go2the'a 'the feebly withered child';
2be 2man'si'a 2ne'tra 2ne'na'mey 2ran'dap 3na0lap0bay 'This man has become feebly withered (lean) as he had to
suffer from fever.'

-o'dla/-o'dli (-o'la/-o'li) indicates masculine and feminine derivative
sense, sometimes both are used in a pair to mean mutual or
continuous action ; the meaning differs in different contexts,
generally means 'slight tendency';

Examples:

2phu'dla (Masculine) /2phu'dli (Feminine) 'palely white one'
(1phu'/1phur 'be white', 'whiten' plus white man' -o'dla/-o'dla
with morpho-phonemic change);
2phu'dla 2man'si'khow 2mu'li 'daw/ 'Feed the palely man
medicine.'
2phu'dli 2kin'saw'a 2pho'ybay 'The palely white woman has
already come.'
2be 2kin'saw'a 2phu'dli 'dli (partially reduplicative) 'this
woman (is palely white (emphatic)).'
2kha'dla/2khar'dla (2khar-/1khad (r) plus -1'dla/-o'dla) and
2kha'dli/2khar'dli ; used in a pair to mean mutual and
continuous sense of. 'khad (r) 'run' (verb)
The children are running to and fro.' (adverbial)

'running man'; 'the running woman' (adjectival);

'This child is running.'

(verb)

overwhelming', 'too much'; (phrasal) 'be white' plus 'too much') e.g. (phrasal)
'the field, overwhelmingly white'; (2pho) 'a male with wide face';
'a female with wide face' (used in loving or romantic contexts).

excessively', as in 'excessively white',
'be white', 'whiteen' plus 'excessively white man'; 'excessively white man (emphatic; partly reduplicative)'.

'be abundantly', 'luxuriantly'; 'grew' 'grown up luxuriantly' (be high' plus 'grew/luxuriantly; etc.
'happening' as in 'feeling hot' (be hot')
'plus -\(\text{haw}^\text{hav}\text{bar}^\text{hotness}',
'hotly blowing wind'; 2\(\text{dup}^\text{haw}\text{bar}^\text{hotness}'
1\(\text{man}^\text{haw}^\text{man}^\text{haw}^\text{man}^\text{haw}
'I am feeling (my) body having hotness.'

-\(\text{khe}^\text{black}
'discoloured', 'disfigured', as in 2\(\text{man}^\text{khe}^\text{black}
and disfigured' (1\(\text{som}^\text{me}^\text{m}^\text{be black}', 'blacken' plus -\(\text{khe}/
-\(\text{khe}); 2\(\text{man}^\text{khe}^\text{man}^\text{si}^\text{a}^\text{the man becoming black and}
disfigured'; 2\(\text{man}^\text{si}^\text{a}^\text{ze}^\text{bra}^\text{sa}^\text{noy}^\text{sa}^\text{man}^\text{khe}
'sa\text{boy}^\text{man}^\text{The man has become black with disfigured appearance
due to suffering from fever.'; used with -\(\text{ka}^\text{man}^\text{so}^\text{man}^\text{suffixes to mean degrees of comparison.

-\(\text{khe}^\text{having}', 'with', as in 2\(\text{ra}^\text{khep}^\text{having hardness'
i.e. 'angry' (1\(\text{ra}^\text{ba}^\text{be hard' plus -\(\text{khe}/
-\(\text{khe}); 2\(\text{ra}^\text{khep}^\text{man}^\text{si}^\text{khe}^\text{man}^\text{liq}^\text{'Do not call the angry man.'
2\(\text{man}^\text{si}^\text{a}^\text{ra}^\text{khep}^\text{du}^\text{man}^\text{delp}'\text{The man is speaking angrily.'
(adverbial use)

-\(\text{khep}^\text{being stiff or static (after death) as in 2\(\text{ra}^\text{khep}
'dry and static (due to death)'; used as a verb also:
2\(\text{ra}^\text{khep}^\text{sa}^\text{bu}^\text{a}^\text{the frog becoming stiff and dry (after death)'; 2\(\text{sa}^\text{bu}^\text{a}^\text{tho}^\text{man}^\text{noy}^\text{man}^\text{khep}^\text{O}^\text{man}'\text{The frog has become dry and static after becoming dead.'

-\(\text{kheb}^\text{having slightly' as in 2\(\text{ra}^\text{kheb}^\text{slightly hard'
(1\(\text{ra}^\text{ba}^\text{be hard'}); 2\(\text{be}^\text{kha}^\text{man}^\text{ray}^\text{a}^\text{ra}^\text{kheb'}\text{This white
gourd (is) slightly hard

-\(\text{khor}^\text{reddish' (2\(\text{sa}^\text{be red'} plus -\(\text{khor)
2\(\text{man}^\text{sa}^\text{boy}^\text{a}^\text{sa}^\text{go}^\text{man}^\text{sa}^\text{khor}^\text{sa}^\text{dlay}^\text{O}^\text{man}', 'The fever
has made the eye reddish.'

-\(\text{kheb}^\text{becoming dry' (1\(\text{ran}^\text{be dry'}
plus -°khreb); 2ran’khreb 2bi2lay’a 'the leaf that has become dry' i.e. 'dried up leaf'; used as a verb also: 2bi2lay’a 2ran’khreb°bay 1°The leaf has dried up.'

-°khreb as in 2ran’khreb 'becoming fully dry'; 2ran’khreb 2bi2lay’a 'the leaf that has become fully dry'; used as a verb also: 2bi2lay’a 2ran’khreb°bay 1°The leaf has become fully dry.'

°lab 'being excited' as in 2dup’lab 'being excited with hotness in body'; 2dup/2dup- 'be hot'; 2dup’lab 2man2si’a 'the man becoming excited due to the hotness in (his body)'; 2man2si’a 2dup’lab 2dup’lab 2kha3lam°deg 'The man is becoming too excited because of the hotness in (his body). The reduplication is due to emphasis.

°leb 'tendency towards' as in 2ba’leb 'being thin' (1ba/2ba- 'be thin'); 2ba’leb 2me3gap 'thinly cut vegetable'; 2me2gap’khew 2ba’leb 2ba’leb 1ha7 'Cut the vegetables thinly.' The reduplication gives a distributive sense. Also 2kha1leb 'having slightly bitterness' (2kha- 'be bitter')

°lep 'having' as in 2ba’lep 'a female having less weight' (2ba-/1ba 'be thin'); 2ba’lep 2kha3saw’a 'the woman having less weight'.

°lo 'having less' as in 2doy’le 'having less sweetness', 'having tasteless sweetness'; 2ap 2tha2lip’khew 2doy’lo 'mon°deg 'I have felt the mango having tasteless sweetness.' Also 2kha3y’lo 'being slightly sour'.

°map 'having', 'tending' as in 2Or°map 'a female having wide face' (3Or/2Or- 'be wide', widen' plus -°map); 2Or°map 2tha1kha 2kha3saw’a 'the woman having a wide face.'
-\text{\textsuperscript{4}m\textsuperscript{2}da/\textsuperscript{4}m\textsuperscript{2}di} used to denote a male and a female having a particular quality; as in \text{\textsuperscript{2}ra\textsuperscript{2}m\textsuperscript{1}da} 'a male that remains in short stature without growth' and \text{\textsuperscript{2}ra\textsuperscript{2}m\textsuperscript{1}di} 'a female that remains in short stature without growth' (cf. \text{\textsuperscript{1}ra/\textsuperscript{2}ra-} 'be hard').

-\text{\textsuperscript{5}phed} 'pointed', 'having pointed front' as in \text{\textsuperscript{2}law\textsuperscript{1}phed} 'long and pointed' (\text{\textsuperscript{2}law/-\textsuperscript{1}law} 'be long' plus -\text{\textsuperscript{5}phed}); 'b\text{\textsuperscript{oy}} \text{\textsuperscript{2}man\textsuperscript{2}si\textsuperscript{1}a} \text{\textsuperscript{2}ra\textsuperscript{1}phed} \text{\textsuperscript{11}}'That man (is) strong and sound in health.'

-\text{\textsuperscript{5}phrun/-\text{\textsuperscript{5}phun\textsuperscript{0}sla} 'slightly' as in \text{\textsuperscript{2}ram\textsuperscript{1}phrun/\textsuperscript{2}ram\textsuperscript{2}phun\textsuperscript{1}sla} 'slightly dry'; \text{\textsuperscript{1}na} \text{\textsuperscript{2}law \textsuperscript{2}nay\textsuperscript{1}a} \text{\textsuperscript{2}ram\textsuperscript{1}phrun/\textsuperscript{2}ram\textsuperscript{2}phun\textsuperscript{1}sla} \text{\textsuperscript{3}sa\textsuperscript{0}bay\textsuperscript{11}}'The exposed (in the sun) fish is already slightly dry.'

-\text{\textsuperscript{5}rap/-\text{\textsuperscript{5}rep} 'slightly' as in \text{\textsuperscript{2}sa\textsuperscript{1}rap/\textsuperscript{2}sa\textsuperscript{1}rep} 'slightly red' (\text{\textsuperscript{2}sa-} 'be red' plus -\text{\textsuperscript{5}rap/-\text{\textsuperscript{5}rep}); \text{\textsuperscript{2}man\textsuperscript{2}si\textsuperscript{1}a} \text{\textsuperscript{2}sa\textsuperscript{1}rap/\textsuperscript{2}sa\textsuperscript{1}rep} \text{\textsuperscript{3}sa\textsuperscript{0}bay\textsuperscript{11}}'The sun has already become slightly red (reddish).'

-\text{\textsuperscript{5}sab} as in \text{\textsuperscript{2}phud\textsuperscript{1}sab/\textsuperscript{2}phur\textsuperscript{1}sab} 'be pale and white due to illness'; (\text{\textsuperscript{2}phud/-\textsuperscript{1}phud(r)} 'be white' plus -\text{\textsuperscript{5}sab); \text{\textsuperscript{2}man\textsuperscript{2}si\textsuperscript{1}a} \text{\textsuperscript{2}sa\textsuperscript{2}na\textsuperscript{1}nay} \text{\textsuperscript{2}phud\textsuperscript{1}sab/\textsuperscript{2}phur\textsuperscript{1}sab} \text{\textsuperscript{3}sa\textsuperscript{0}lap\textsuperscript{0}bay\textsuperscript{11}}'The man has become pale and white due to suffering from illness.'

-\text{\textsuperscript{5}rap as in \textsuperscript{2}sa\textsuperscript{1}rap 'having red rays', (\textsuperscript{2}sa-/\textsuperscript{1}sa} 'be red' plus -\text{\textsuperscript{5}rap/\textsuperscript{2}sa\textsuperscript{1}rap 'light', 'light existing time') 'tall
nexxbethilh: 2san'a 2sa'rap 3san'obay'\ 'The sun has become red with rays.' or 'The sun has become reddish.'; 2mow'arp 'tall and beautiful' (2mow/-1mow 'be tall' plus -0'arp 'beautiful', 'full of brightness'); 2mow'arp 2man'ai 'the tall and beautiful man.'

-ar as in 2mow'ari 'tall and beautiful female' (2mow/-1mow 'be tall'); 2so'm'ari 'black woman' e.g. 2mow'ari 3hin'sow 'the tall and beautiful woman'; 2mow'ari 0si2khlay'a 2mow'so'adap, 'the black maiden is dancing'; but 2kha'ari 'extreme bitter' (2kha/-1kha 'be bitter' plus -0'ari) etc.

-ar as in 2sa'aro 'slightly red'; 2sa'aro 2san'aro 'the slightly red sunlight'; 2ha'aro 'thin and hanging (hair-knot)'; 2kha'may 0phi'khor'khow 2ba'aro 2kha'theo'deph, 'One has bound the hair-knot as thin and hanging.' etc.

-alap as in 2phud'alap/ 2phur'alap 'slightly white' (2phud/-2phur- 'be white'); 2g'khroy'khow 2phur'alap/ 2phud'alap 3so'adap, 'One has seen the sky as slightly white.'

-alid as in 2so'y'alid 'burn one-sided (as a leg)'; 2so'y'alid 2o'ra 'the fire burning one-sided'; also used as a verb; 2o'ra 2so'y'alid' lado'pay\ 'the fire is burning one-sided.'

-sa'0su as in 2do'y'sa'0su 'watery tasteful' (2do'y/-1do'y 'sweeten', 'tasteful' plus -0'su'0su); 2thay'la 2do'y'sa'0su 'The potato (is) watery tasteful.' 'This is a reduplicative derivation.'
-0tha as in 2sup1tha 'putting a prop or a support';
(2sup-/1sup 'be short', 'shorten'); 2sup1tha 2ow1a 'the bamboo put as a prop'; also used as a verb; 2ne1khow 2ow1a 2op 2sup1tha 0dey\"
\'one has put a prop to the house with the bamboo\'; 2hay1tha of short stature', 'dwarflike' (2hay-/1hay 'lower'); 2ra1ma 2sa1se 2hay1tha 2man1si\"
\'Ram (is) a dwarflike man\'; also of 2sup1tha 2ma1tha 'having flickering light' (2sup-/1sup 'lighten' plus-0tha plus 2ma1tha used as an imitative and reduplicative particle).

-0thab as in 2sup1thab 'short (in case of distance)';
(2sup-/1sup 'shorten', 'be short'); 2sup1thab 2la1ma 'short route'.

-0thap as in 2kha1thap 'too much bitter without taste';
2nim 2bi2lay1a 2kha1thap 'The nimu leaf (is) too much bitter' used as reduplicative for definiteness; 2nim 2bi2lay1a 2kha1thap 1thap 'The nimu leaf (is) too much bitter definitely.' Also of 2kh0y1thap 'watery sour' (2kh0y-/1kh0y 'be sour'); 2i2khri1a 2kh0y1thap 3za1dey\"
\'The curry is becoming watery (tasteless) sour.'

-0theb as in 2kha1theb 'watery (tasteless) bitter'; 2i2khri1a
2nim 2kha1theb\"/water (tasteless) bitter; 2i2khri1a 2kha1theb 3za0bay\"
\'The curry has become watery (tasteless) bitter.'

-0thep/-0thep as in 2ran1thep/2 ran1thep 'feeble', 'weak'
(not stout) (2ran-/1ran 'be dry'); 2ran1thep/2ran1thep 2man2si1a 2be3av 2ph0y0bay\"
\'The feeble man has come here.'

-0thi as in 2hay1thi 'dwarflike (female)'; 2be 2hay1thi 2hin3sav 'this dwarflike (of short stature) woman';
2งที่ 'with burning light'. 2กรกิ 'a 2งที่ 'the burning charcoal is shining with light
(repetitive use)'.

- งที่/-กที่ 'as in 2ผากรกิ/2กำกิ 'of
strong body without growth' (2ผากรกิ 'be hard' plus
งที่/-กที่) ; 2เปผากรกิ '2กรกิ' 2กรกิ '2กรกิ'

- งที่/-กที่ 'This man (is) of strong body without growth.'

- งท ง as in 2กรกิ 'slightly bitter' (2กรกิ 'be bitter'
plus - งท) ; 2เปผากรกิ 'มี 2กรกิ' 2กรกิ 'มี 2กรกิ'

- งท 'The jute vegetable tastes definitely slightly bitter.' (used as repetitive for emphatic and idiomatic
reasons).

- งท 'as in 2กรกิ 'becoming white', 'turning white' (2ผากรกิ
'be white', 'whiten' plus - งท) ; 2เปผากรกิ 'กรกิ

- งท 'This man has appeared to be (is seen) white as all the hair
has become grey.' or 'This man has turned white because
of his overall grey hair.'

- งท 'as in 2กรกิ 'of short stature', 'dwarf like' (2กรกิ 'be shorter',
'lower' plus - งท) ; used to denote male as in the case
of 2กรกิ.

- งท/ง 'as in 2กรกิ/2กรกิ 'growing lengthwise' 2กรกิ
(2กรกิ 'be long' plus - งท/ง) ; 2กรกิ/2กรกิ 'กรกิ'

- งท 'The growing
lengthwise white gourd (or the white gourd that has grown
lengthwise) is in the house.'
as in 2som'aro/2som'ari 'of ash colour (male)/(female)
(2som-'black) a 2am 2som'aro 2ran2sil'khow 1m0bay1
'I have seen the man having ash colour (slightly darkish colour).
2som'ari 2hin2saw2 2phay0bay1 The woman having ash colour has come.'

-0srip
as in 2ran'srip 'becoming withered due to dryness; as in the case of leaves, trees etc.' (2ran/-1ran 'be dry' plus -0srip) ; 2ran'srip 2harp2phay1a 'the tree becoming withered due to dryness'; used as a verb also ; 2harp2phay1a 2ran'srip0bay1 'The tree has become withered due to dryness.

-0srop
as in 2kha'srop 'watery bitter'; 2ip2khri1a 2kha'srop 3na'dow1 'The curry is becoming watery bitter (tasteless bitter). Also 2ran'srop 'withered, stiff and dry (as in the case of leaves, trees etc.); 2harp2phay1a 2ran'srop 3na0bay1 'The wood has become stiff due to withering and dryness.'

Derivational suffixes of complex nature:

-0sa0la / -0sa0li ; these two complex suffixes are added to a number of verb bases to express the sense of 'very much', 'too much' in masculine/feminine context; e.g. 2sa2sa1la '(a male) having the habit of eating too much'; 2sa2sa1li '(a female) having the habit of eating too much' (cf. 1sa 'eat'); other examples are 2sam2sa1la 'very much thoughtful (male)'/2sam2sa1li 'very much thoughtful (female) (cf. 1sam 'think')'; 2gab2sa1la/2gab2sa1li '(male)/(female) having the habit of weeping too much' (cf. 3gab 'weep'), etc. etc.

-0sa0la/-0sa0li ; these two suffixes are added to a number of verb bases to mean 'having the quality of', 'being the object of' in masculine and feminine contexts respectively;
e.g. 2en²san¹¹lu 'a male having the quality of loving' or 'a male being the object of love' i.e. beloved (male); 2en²san¹¹li 'a female having the quality of loving' or 'a female being the object of love' i.e. beloved (female) (cf. ¹san 'love' as a verb); 2en²san¹¹lu 'a male having the quality of thinking' or 'a male being the object of thinking or contemplation' i.e. thinker (male); 2en²san¹¹li 'a female having the quality of thinking' or 'a female being the object of thinking or contemplation' i.e. thinker (female) (cf. ¹san 'think', 'contemplate' as verb.)

-⁰aru/-⁰ari; these are added to a number of verb bases to indicate agentive sense in masculine and feminine contexts respectively e.g. ²en²san¹¹ru 'a male that loves' /²en²san¹¹ri 'a female that loves'; ²en²san¹¹ru 'a male that slains' /²en²san¹¹ri 'a female that slains' (of 'dan 'cut', 'slain' as a verb)

-⁰aw/-⁰sa²⁰aw; are added to a number of verb bases to indicate 'fitness' e.g. ²sa¹¹aw /²en²sa²⁰aw 'fit to be eaten (of ¹sa 'eat' as a verb); ²en¹¹aw/ ²en²sa¹¹aw 'fit to be loved'. -⁰aw is used as a reduplicative also.

-⁰ad; is added to a number of verb bases to indicate that the work is done, but the result is afresh; this suffix is related to the adjectival form ²go¹²dan 'new'. e.g. ²en¹²dan ²go¹²kham 'recently eaten rice' (cf. ¹sa 'eat'); ²en¹²dan ¹ow 'recently drunk rice-beer' (cf. ¹ow 'drink').

Verbal Formations used as Adjecitives:

(a) A considerable number of verbal formations with substantive verbal suffixes may function as adjectives:
2um2dumay 2g03tho 'sleeping child' (2um1du 'sleep' plus -0may as substantive verbal suffix)

2up1may 2ba2thra1khow 2ap 3km2na0khoy 'I have not listened to the spoken information.' (cf. 1up 'speak' plus -0may as a substantive verbal suffix)

2naw1gra 2man2sil1a 2phoy0deg 'The working man is coming or 'The worker is coming.' (cf. 3naw 'work' plus -0gra as a substantive verbal suffix)

(b) A considerable number of verbal formations with subordinate verbal suffixes may function as adjectives also:

2naw2ma9ba1may 2ha2ba 'the work that has been finished' i.e. finished work. 2naw2s2la1ba 2man1si 'the man who does not work' i.e. 'the man without work'.

(c) A small number of principal finite verbal suffixes may under special circumstances participate in verbal formations that function as adjectives:

2up1g3n1/bup0g3n 2ba2thra1khow 2ap 2ni2thi0a 'I do not know the message to be spoken.' (cf. 1up 'speak' plus -0g3n, a principal finite verbal suffix; 1bup0g3n is used also as a finite verb in future suffix).

Nominals used as adjectives.

(d) A small number of nouns may take a limited number of derivational suffixes to result in adjectival formations; e.g. 2ba2di2go1nap 'having intelligence', intelligent'; 2be 2sa1se 2ba2di2go1nap 2man1si 'This (is) an intelligent man.' (cf. 2ba2di-'intelligence' plus-2go1nap 'having' derived from 2go-/-go- plus 'nnap 'be in need of', 'want'); 2ma2lem2go1nap 'having brain', 'of sharp intellect' (cf. 2ma2lem 'brain'
Adjectives used as Nouns and Verbs.

Adjectives may function as nouns taking minimally the principal nominal suffixes; e.g. 2məp'ni 2ga2han1na '(are) you physically good?' (2məp'ni 'your', 2ga2ham-'physically goodness', -1na 'interrogative'), 2ap'mi 2ga3ham 'I (am) physically good.' (2ap'mi 'my', 2ga3ham 'physically goodness'); 2ga3han, an adjective is used here as a noun. 2mə2sətə'phray 2mə1səy 3səy0əə 'The excellence comes from the excellent.' 2mə1səy, an adjective meaning 'fine', 'excellent' is used as nouns.

Adjectives may also sometimes function as verbs being associated with a limited number of principal finite verbal suffixes; 2ga1ari0mən 'was bad' (2ga1ari 'bad' plus 0mən, past indicating principal finite verbal suffix); 2ga3ham0bay 'has become physically good etc. etc.

Inflection.

4.2.2.3. Inflection

A small number of inflectional suffixes are used to mean the so-called comparative and superlative degrees of a considerable number of adjectival formations. Most of the adjectival formations consisting of the gV- and mV-types of prefixes along with a small number of other adjectival formations may take the following inflectional suffixes: -
-dray/-'dray: used to mean the comparative sense in respect of adjectival formations; e.g. 2go2der'dray 'greater' bigger' 2be 2go2th0'l a 2ajni 'khu'roy (2ajni'khroy) 2go2der'dray 'This boy (is) bigger than I.' Other examples are 2go2nov'dray 'higher', 2go2der'dray 'sweeter'; 2m2say-j'dray 'finer', 'nicer'; 2un2doy'dray 'smaller' etc.

-sin/-'sin: used to mean the superlative sense; e.g. 2m2say'j'sin 'finest', 'nicest'; 2go2nov'sin 'highest', 2go2der'sin/2der'sin 'biggest', 2un2doy'sin 'smallest' etc. etc. 2be 2go2th0'l a 2boy'l'sin 2khu'roy (2boy'khroy) 2m2say'j'sin/ 'This boy is the best of all.' This suffix is used also as more or less comparative indicating.

-thar/-'thar: used to mean high degree of sense; e.g. 2go2der'thar 'more big', sufficiently big' ; 2m2say'thar 'high degree of goodness or fineness' i.e. 'sufficiently good or fine'.

-0sin'0thar/-2sin'thar: used to mean still stronger sense; e.g. 2go2der'sin'thar 'quite sufficiently big', 2m2say'sin-1'thar 'quite sufficiently fine' etc. etc. This has a definite and repetitive context. -0thar'-0sin/-2thar'sin is also used as a dialect variant.
4.2.3. ADVERBS.

4.2.3.0. General Remarks:

Adverbs as a structural class are included in the verboids or verbal group. Adverbs may be divided as regular and irregular. Regular adverbs are derived from verb bases and are capable of receiving a kind of characteristic inflectional suffix. Irregular adverbs may have nominal or adjectival correlations and they do not require the kind of characteristic inflectional suffix. Adverbs as distinct modifiers of verbs are not many in the language. The function of adverbs is usually performed by a number of verbal derivational affixes (Cf. 4.2.1.3) which may modify the meaning of the verb.

4.2.3.1. Canonical Shapes

The regular adverbs are usually polymorphemic and they share the canonical shapes of derived verbs and adjectives. The irregular adverbs may sometimes be monomorphemic. They may share the canonical shapes of other structural classes. The segmental and suprasegmental phonemic shapes of the morphemes are almost the same as in the case of verbs and adjectives showing permissible morpho-phonemic changes.

4.2.3.2. Derivation and Inflection

The derivation of regular adverbs shows usually the process of prefixation as in the case of adjectival derivation. A considerable number of adverbs are undervisible.

The only regular inflectional suffix of adverbs is -0y.

E.g. 2ga2ha'm 0y 'well' 'in physically good manner'; 2noy 2ga2ha'm 0y 3ego 00 0na 1 'Are you physically good?' (2ga- plus 2ham- 'be good' plus -0y) 2ga2sri1oy 'badly', 'in a bad manner', etc. etc.
Irregular adverbs are many; they may imply the element of time, place, manner, quality of the related verbs.

A considerable number of nominal formations including nouns and pronouns associated with the locative case indicating suffix may function as adverbs:

2be^3aw 'here' (2be- 'this' plus -0aw/-3aw locative case suffix);
2n5p1° 2be^3aw 'tha°de° You remain here.'

2kha^2thi^3aw 'near' (2kha^2thi- 'near' as a noun plus -3aw);
2ap1° 2n5p1°ni 2kha^2thi^3aw 'tha°gon° I shall remain near te you.'

A considerable number of pronouns (cf.4.1.2.2) are used with adverbial correlations; e.g. 2ga^1bon 'to-morrow'; 2ga^1bon 2ph0y/°Gone to-morrow.'

2d2kha^1li 'several days ago'
2ma^1bla 'when'
2o^1bla 'them'
2de°glay 'this year'
2khal2ma^1si 'next year' etc. etc.

The numeral classifier 2khOn- with quantifiers or numeral suffixes etc. may form irregular adverbs:

2khOn'se 'once' (2khOn- plus -1se 'one')
2khOn'mey 'twice' (2khOn- plus -1mey 'two')
2khOn^2phrom^1bo 'every time' (2khOn- plus 2phrom 'two')

A considerable number of easily unanalysable or underivable adverbs
are used in this language :-

\(2\gamma'\text{khroy} \quad \text{'speedily'} \quad (2\gamma- \text{ plus } -'\text{khroy }?)\)

\(2\lambda'\text{soy} \quad 2\lambda'\text{soy} \quad \text{ 'slowly' } (2\lambda- \text{ plus } -'\text{soy }?)\)

used as reduplicative.

A considerable number of reduplicative forms of adverbs are also used :-

\(2\phi'\text{pha} \quad 2\phi'\text{pha} \quad \text{ 'slightly' } (2\phi- \text{ plus } -'\text{pha; prenominal correlations})\)

\(2\rho\gamma'y'\text{du} \quad 2\rho\gamma'y'\text{du} \quad \text{ 'mildly' } (2\rho\gamma- \text{ plus } -'\text{du }?)\)

The rest of the adverbs are discussed under the syntax as they are used as particles and phrases.

4.3. General Terminating Suffixes or Terminators

The nominal terminating suffixes (4.1.4.) and the verbal terminating suffixes (4.2.1.4.) are inflectional affixes having more or less plenastic sense. The terminating suffixes which are common to verbal and nominal groups may be called General Terminating suffixes. Besides there are a small number of General Terminating suffixes and morphemes (or particles) that may be added to the utterance or sentence as a whole indicating a definite contour and these may be called the General Terminators.

(a) The examples of the various uses of nine nominal terminating suffixes are given in 4.1.4. Out of these nine suffixes, \(-\text{lo}°\text{kha/}\)
\(-\text{lo}°\text{kha} \quad \text{is exclusively used with the nominal group.}\)

(b) There are at least three exclusive verbal terminating suffixes consisting of single open syllables i.e., \(-\text{o}°\text{ne}, \text{-o}°\text{son} \quad \text{and } -\text{o}°\text{say.}\)

(c) There are not less than twelve general terminating suffixes which are common to nominal and verbal groups. These are \(-\text{o}°\text{ne}, \text{-o}°\text{lo, o}°\text{ne, o}°\text{lay, o}°\text{lay, o}°\text{hay, o}°\text{hay, o}°\text{ba, o}°\text{ba, o}°\text{khi, o}°\text{khi and o}°\text{ma}°\text{ni.}\)

All except the last consist of single open syllables.
(d) There are not less than six general terminating suffixes and merpheaes (particles) used as terminators in respect of sentences or utterances; these are -0ma, -0ma0ma, -0de, -0da, -0kh00ma, and -0a0ro0ma. These consist of one or more than one open syllables. This set may follow the suffixes enumerated in (a), (b) and (c) if necessary.

The meanings are diverse and the following examples will show their uses. The alternative tonemic markings are not indicated below.

Generally one, but sometimes more than one terminating suffixes are added in definite orders.

-0me : indicates mild action, politeness in respect of complete verbs; e.g. 1møp 1sa000ey00ey0me 'Do we now take to eating (in presence of many in a polite manner). 1møp 1thap0me00ey0me 'Do you now want to go?'

-0som : indicates action with a view to immediate present, may be of doubtful context; e.g. 1møp 1thap0som 'You go and see (what happens).'

-0say : indicates completed action with a view to immediate result; e.g. 1møp 1thap0say 'You go now (and let us see what be comes of it). 2møp1ser 1sa0say 1sa 'You all go on eating (reduplicative).'

The nominal uses of the following light terminating suffixes are given in 4.1.4. The verbal uses are given below.

-0me : expresses; e.g. 2bi'0 1thap0gen0me 1/

'eagerly.

2be 2doy1a 2go1thap0mo1/

'this water (is) definitely pure.' 2mo2sarp10y0mo 1thap0thap1/

'Let remain in a good manner definitely', 'Let remain well all along.'
-"10: Expresses the sense of 'only'; e.g. 1mey' 1thu010 I 'you proceed only.' 2bi1mi 2mo2dema 2mo1sao010@, 'His body (is) nice only.'

-"be: expresses the sense of also, 'in addition to' 2bi10 1thap0geno10g, 'also also,' 2ga3han0be 'physically good also'; 2mo2nov1be 2mo2sao10y 2mo3sao01e I 'You all also please dance nicely.'

-"0e: For definite expression -"be and -"ne are used in the same expression 2bi1be 1thap0geno10g 'He will definitely go also.'

-"0a: expresses the sense of just the fact or exactness; e.g. 2mo1sao 2ba2thra2khow1so9bup0de 'Please tell just nice words.' 'Please tell just nice information'; 2mo2sao10 1mo0dep0men 1ap 4, I thought to be nice.

-"lay: implies once again, 'all along' etc.; e.g. 1mo1na0lay I 'You eat now (I have eaten already).' 2phay0lay 'Come again', 'Come once more', 'come-again's

-"loy: implies loving and intimate context used by the males only (cf. 4.1.4) 2ap2khow2be 2lay2pha nay0geno10y 2a1da I 'O my elder brother, you will have to take me along with you when you go.' 2phas2bay1a 1bup0e 2phay0de0loy 2a1da I 'The younger brother says 'O my elder brother, please come along.' This is added to adjectives and adverbs also.

-"hay: implies the similar context of -"loy used by the females only (cf. 4.1.4) 2bu2ri1a 1bup0e 2so1ray 2daw1sa 2thirik 2ma1so 2la1bo0hay I 'The old woman says 'O my old one, bring me a chicken please.'
…-baw : expresses the sense of again, once again etc.; e.g. 2aep^thap^a 3mav^baw "You (homerific) work again."

The nominal and verbal uses of the following four terminating suffixes are given below:

-0ba : expresses elements of doubt, contradiction to an earlier statement etc.; e.g. 2sa'se0ba 2phy^dogy^na 2phy^a^waby (2sa'se0ba) 2sa'mey 2man^si'a'mey 2phy^dogy^na 2phy^a^khey^2ay

-0khi : expresses surprise mixed with an element of doubt in certain cases; e.g. 2bi0khi(2bi^khi) 3mav^gemy "Will he do (to our surprise and doubt)?" 2ra'ma0khi (2ra'ma^khi) 3mav^baya "What! Ram has worked!" 2bi^e 1sa^gemy^khi ^ "Will he eat (to our surprise)?"

-obla : expresses conditional statement; apart from the nature of subjunctive sense in verbal context, it is used with nominal formations as a conditional terminating suffix in phrases and clauses e.g. 2mep^bla 1thay^mey^na 1aep 1gi0gemy^men 1dye 'Had you not been present I would have been afraid of...' 1mey 1thay^bla, 1aep 1gi0men 'If you remain, I do not fear...'

-obla^bey is used to mean the sense of also, 'in addition to' in conditional context; e.g. 1mep 1sa^bla^bey ... 'if you had eaten also ...... ' etc. etc.

-0ma0ni : expresses the sense of 'only', 'one and all', 'altogether' etc.; e.g. 2man^si0ma0ni 2phy^se0baya^na 'All the men have finished already come' i.e. 'All the men have finished their coming.' 2mep^sor^1a 2haya0ma0ni 1sa^de "You
all eat as much as you can.' 1\text{thap}'\text{may}^0\text{ma}^0\text{ni} 2\text{man}^2\text{si}^1\text{phor} (2\text{man}^1\text{si}) 'all the men that are going' etc. etc.

(d) The following general terminating suffixes and morphemes or terminators express broad characteristics of utterances of the nature of a question, a quotation, an acceptance or a probability and the like.

-0\text{ma} : expresses the sense of a question in respect of the preceding statement; e.g. 1\text{mey} 1\text{thap}'\text{gum}^0\text{ma}^0 'Will you go?' 1\text{be} 2\text{sa}^1\text{se} 2\text{man}^1\text{si}^0\text{ma}^0 '(Is) he a man?' 2\text{mey}^1\text{ni} 2\text{ga}^3\text{han}^0\text{ma}^0 'You (are) physically well or not?' i.e. (Are) you physically well?'

-0\text{na}^0\text{ma} : expresses interrogative sense with an element of emphasis or strong inclination; e.g. 2\text{be} 2\text{bi}^2\text{sa}^1\text{ba} 2\text{bi}^2\text{mi}^0\text{ma}^0 (Is) this book yours?' 2\text{man}^1\text{si} 2\text{sa}^1\text{mey}^0\text{ma}^0 (Are they) two men?' 1\text{mey} 1\text{thap}'\text{gum}^0\text{ma}^0 'Will you go (definitely) ?'

This suffix is a compound of terminative suffix -0\text{ma} and the interrogative prenem -0\text{ma}.

-0\text{ar}^0\text{na}/2\text{ar}^2\text{ro}^1\text{ma} : expressed the sense of 'it is said' 'probably it was so' in the context of events happened in remote past; e.g. 2\text{go}^2\text{de} 2\text{go}^3\text{day} 2\text{dab}^1\text{se} 2\text{ga}^0\text{mi}^3\text{aw} 2\text{sa}^1\text{mey} 2\text{be}^1\text{ray} 2\text{bu}^1\text{ri} 3\text{go}^0\text{sh}^0\text{men}^0\text{ma}^0 2\text{ar}^0\text{ro}^0\text{ma} (2\text{ar}^2\text{ro}^1\text{ma}) \downarrow 'In ancient time a pair of old man and old woman lived in a village - it is said.' 2\text{ra}^1\text{ma} 2\text{ra}^1\text{sa} 3\text{go}^0\text{sh}^0\text{men}^0\text{a}^0\text{ro}^0\text{ma} (3\text{go}^0\text{sh}^0\text{men}^0 2\text{a}^0\text{ro}^1\text{ma}) \downarrow 'Ran was (a) king - it is said.'

-0\text{ar}^0\text{ro}^0\text{ma} (2\text{ar}^2\text{ro}^1\text{ma}) appears to be a component of 2\text{a}^1\text{ro} 'and' and 1\text{ma} 'what' with semantic change. These two are free morphemes and as such 0\text{ar}^0\text{ro}^0\text{ma}/2\text{ar}^2\text{ro}^1\text{ma} may be interpreted as a terminating bound morpheme or a particle used as the terminator.
-°khə′ma : expresses the sense of probability in different contexts, 
e.g. 2bi′e 1thap°gon°khə′ma ˌHe will probably go !'
2be 2sa′se 2man′si°khə′ma ˌ(Is) he probably a man ?'
-°khə′ma appears to be a compound of two morphemes -°khə 
and -°ma with interrogative sense. It may be interpreted 
as a particle too. -°khə is used after a finite verb : 
1məp 2hor 2be′se 2thə′bo°khə ˌafter how many nights'
staying you have come ?'

-°da : expresses the sense of 'indeed', really' in emphatic context 
or with element of request, endearment etc. ; 1məp 1thap°da ˌYou go really !'
1məp 1thap°da′de ˌYou please go 
definitely !' 1ap 1thap°di°ni°da ˌI go just now indeed
indeed (you remain here).': 2be 2na′se 2maw′ni°da
ˌThis (is) a cat indeed.'

-°da : expresses definiteness in the context of honour, request 
and usually after imperative suffix -°da ; e.g. 1məp 
3maw°da′da ˌYou please work along !' 2məp′ser
1thap°da′da ˌYou all go now (respectfully) !'
Verb Formation

Negative Prefix

Derivative Prefixes 4.2.13

Verb bases

Derivative suffixes 4.2.12

Finite verbal suffixes

Subordinate verbal suffixes

Substantive verbal suffixes

All Nominal Principal Suffixes 4.1.4(1)

Verbal Term. Suff. and Terminators 4.3