CHAPTER-III

MORPHOLOGY OF THE BORO AND THE GARO LANGUAGE
CHAPTER-3

3.0 MORPHOLOGY OF THE BORO AND THE GARO LANGUAGE

3.1 Morphology: Morphology is a branch of grammar and studies the structure of the words. It includes the stock of segmental morphemes, and the ways in which words are built out of them. It is a level of structure between phonology and syntax. Leonard Bloomfield defined morphology as the construction in which bound forms appear among the constituents... includes the constructions of words and part of words, while syntax includes the construction of phrases. It also refers to the form of words in a language system and includes the synchronic and diachronic study of word forms.

3.1.1 Definition of word in Boro and Garo:

In Boro and Garo, word is defined as one which is pronounced with a pause before and after it and is bounded by successive points at which pausing is possible. Morphologically, in Boro and Garo, a word must consist of either the root alone or a root along with affix, which may be one or more than one. This affix are either inflectional or derivational in both the languages.

3.1.2 Word class in Boro and Garo:

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1 Hockett, Charles F: A Course in Modern Linguistics, p.177
2 Bloomfield, Leonard: Language, p. 207
3 Hockett, Charles F: A Course in Modern Linguistics, p.167
In Boro and Garo, words have been grouped into word classes, traditionally labelled as the 'parts of speech'. In both the languages six such classes are recognised. These are: nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and conjunctions. Out of these word classes, nouns, pronouns and verbs are purely established on morphological criteria and the rest are established on functional or syntagmatic criteria. In both the languages, nouns and verbs are considered as major word classes because they outnumber the other classes of words.

3.1.3 Morphological Processes in Boro and Garo: The basic morphological processes in both the languages are inflection, derivation, reduplication and compounding. Inflection and derivation are formed either by prefixation or by suffixation or sometimes by prefixation-suffixation in Boro and Garo. Infix is not used in these languages. Prefixation and suffixation are considered as the most productive process of word formation in Boro and Garo. In comparison to this reduplication and compounding are less common and minimum in number.

a) Inflection:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Eng. Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰaŋ</td>
<td>reʔa</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰaŋ-gwŋ</td>
<td>reʔ-aŋ-gen</td>
<td>will go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰwi</td>
<td>reʔbaa</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Crystal, David: The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language, p.91
p\(^h\)wi-g\(\text{a}\)nu \hspace{1cm} re\text{?}baa-gen \hspace{1cm} will come
mansi \hspace{1cm} mande \hspace{1cm} people
mansi-p\(^h\)\(\text{a}\)wr \hspace{1cm} mande-ra\(\text{a}\) \hspace{1cm} peoples
m\(\text{a}\)\(\text{w}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{w}\)u \hspace{1cm} matchu \hspace{1cm} cow
m\(\text{a}\)\(\text{w}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{w}\)u-p\(^h\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{w}\) \hspace{1cm} matchu-ra\(\text{a}\) \hspace{1cm} cows

b) Derivation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Eng. Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>za</td>
<td>cha?a</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za-naj</td>
<td>cha?a-ni</td>
<td>eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rwzab</td>
<td>rw(\text{a})(\text{a})</td>
<td>to sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rwzab-gra</td>
<td>rw(\text{a})(\text{a})-gwpa</td>
<td>singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naj</td>
<td>nia</td>
<td>to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naj-naj</td>
<td>nia-ni</td>
<td>looking/ a view</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c) Compounding:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Eng. Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bar + ok(^h)a &gt;barok(^h)a</td>
<td>m(\text{w})kk(^h)a+balwa &gt;m(\text{w})kk(^h)abalwa</td>
<td>storm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za + zab &gt;zazab</td>
<td>cha?a + chapa &gt;cha?chapa</td>
<td>to dine together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan + k(^h)o &gt;dank(^h)o</td>
<td>den?a + ok(^h)a &gt; den?ok(^h)a</td>
<td>to cut out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d) Reduplication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Eng. Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sra(\text{a}) sra(\text{a})</td>
<td>sra(\text{a}) sra(\text{a})</td>
<td>thorough</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 Noun:

Noun is a very important category of morphology and is used in the grammatical classification of words. Basically a noun can function as a subject or an object or other case components. Nouns are also analysed in case of number, gender and case in Boro and Garo. Two distinct types of nouns are established in these languages. These are:

i) Basic noun and

ii) Derived noun

3.2.1 Basic noun:

Basic nouns, also known as primary nouns are independent and are not derived from another noun or any other class of words. These are either monosyllabic, bisyllabic or polysyllabic in nature. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Eng. Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mansi</td>
<td>mande</td>
<td>people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau</td>
<td>do?o</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwi</td>
<td>chi</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okʰa</td>
<td>mwjkʰa</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭkʰam</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zwu</td>
<td>chu</td>
<td>wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>wal</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰi</td>
<td>kʰi / kʰʰi</td>
<td>stool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>megon</td>
<td>mə y kron</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰwma</td>
<td>nachwyl</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰanai</td>
<td>kʰni</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʔi</td>
<td>zaʔa</td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akʰai</td>
<td>zak</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san</td>
<td>sal</td>
<td>sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hor</td>
<td>wal</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goi</td>
<td>gue</td>
<td>betelmut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guma</td>
<td>guk</td>
<td>grasshopper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>aʔa / ha</td>
<td>earth, soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bipaỹʰaŋ</td>
<td>bol</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰema</td>
<td>tʰwək</td>
<td>louse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰampʰwɨ</td>
<td>tʰampʰi</td>
<td>mosquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>nok</td>
<td>house, home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zwəmwi</td>
<td>aram</td>
<td>cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wua</td>
<td>waʔa</td>
<td>bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwədna</td>
<td>gw tʰok</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Basic nouns are further sub-divided into two distinct categories in Boro and Garo. These are:
i) Mass noun or uncountable noun and

ii) Count noun

Mass nouns are generally used in singular, while count nouns are used in
singular as well as in plural. Of course the uses of the mass nouns are also
available in plural forms, but such uses are very restricted. It is grammatically
wrong and should not be considered as regular item. These are used in colloquial,
not in standard language, which strictly follow the grammar.

### i) Mass noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Eng. Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bar</td>
<td>balwa</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'hwi</td>
<td>an?chi</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p^unη</td>
<td>p'hunη</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'aw</td>
<td>t'ho</td>
<td>oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ua</td>
<td>guri</td>
<td>fog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadri</td>
<td>a?dimu</td>
<td>dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwswη</td>
<td>giswηk</td>
<td>mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sajk'hun</td>
<td>salak'im</td>
<td>shadow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swraη</td>
<td>seηa</td>
<td>light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nihar</td>
<td>suri</td>
<td>dew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simaη</td>
<td>zumaη</td>
<td>dream</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ii) Count nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Eng. Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>na?t'ok</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
lama  rama  road, way
zibwu  chip\textsuperscript{h}u  snake
k\textsuperscript{h}aŋ\textsuperscript{h}rai  aŋ\textsuperscript{h}k\textsuperscript{h}e  crab
ont\textsuperscript{h}ai  ro\textsuperscript{h}oŋ  stone
hat\textsuperscript{h}ork\textsuperscript{h}i  ask\textsuperscript{h}i  star
salai  sre  tongue
zi  ba?ra  cloth
sit\textsuperscript{h}la  sara~sa?ra  courtyard
sonk\textsuperscript{h}ri  k\textsuperscript{h}ari  salt
got\textsuperscript{h}o  bi?sa  child
bangriŋ  bangria  earthquake
gon  groŋ  horn
gan  gran  feather
begeŋ  greŋ  bone
basá~bahá  grwp  nest
hat\textsuperscript{h}ai  wa~wagam  tooth
k\textsuperscript{h}oro  sk\textsuperscript{h}o  head
p\textsuperscript{h}ap\textsuperscript{h}li  p\textsuperscript{h}akk\textsuperscript{h}re  shoulder

3.2.2 Derived noun:

Derived nouns are formed by two processes in Boro and Garo. These are:
i) Class maintaining derivation and
ii) Class changing derivation
In both the categories, derivations are done by affixation. In class maintaining derivation, the grammatical categories of the words are kept intact. Derivational or class changing derivational nouns in Boro language are derived from the verb roots and in Garo these are derived from verb roots or the adjectives. But the derivations from adjectives are very rarely found in this language. Thus it appears that the derived nouns show three variations as noted below:

i) Abstract noun i.e. nouns derived from noun base

ii) Verbal noun i.e. nouns derived from verb base

iii) Adjectival noun i.e. nouns derived from adjectival base

3.2.2.1 Abstract noun:

Structurally an abstract noun appears as a basic noun plus a prefix or a suffix. A basic noun is the basic, which becomes an abstract noun only after adding prefix or suffix. Under this process, the additions of the prefix or the suffix don’t bring any change in the grammatical categories of the words. So, abstract bouns are basically the class maintaining derivational nouns. Such abstract noun formation prefixes in Boro are \{bi-, be-, p^i-, si-\}, while in Garo these are \{gi-, bi-, b\}.

a) Boro

i)\{bi-\}:

\[ \text{bi- n. p}^\text{h}an > n. \text{bip}^\text{h}an \quad \text{tree} \]

\[ \text{bi-n. gur > n. bigur} \quad \text{skin, bark} \]
Abstract nouns are also formed by addition of suffixes with basic nouns in Boro and Garo. Such abstract noun formation suffixes in Boro are \{-'i, -ari, -ai, -gra, -ru\} and in Garo these are \{-gypa, -gon, -grwm\}.
a) Boro

i){-t\text{h}i}:

- n. gw\text{h} sw\text{t}i > n. gw\text{h} sw\text{t}i
- n. s\text{w}d\text{w}b\text{t}i > n. s\text{w}d\text{w}b\text{t}i
- n. subun\text{t}i > n. subun\text{t}i

mentality
meaning
personality

ii){-ari}:

- n. gami-ari > n. gamijari
- n. abad-ari > n. abadari
- n. gw\text{h}n\text{w}k\text{w}ari > n. gw\text{h}n\text{w}k\text{w}ari
- n. hajen-ari > n. hajenari

villager
cultivator
scientific
plains dweller

iii){-t\text{h}ai}:

- n. ak\text{h}u-t\text{h}ai > n. ak\text{h}u\text{t}ai
- n. p\text{h}aw-t\text{h}ai > n. p\text{h}aw\text{t}ai

characteristics
drama

iv){-gra}:

- n. k\text{h}i-gra > n. k\text{h}gra

one who passes stool

v){-ru}:

- n. dawha-ru > n. dawharu

warrior

b) Garo

i){-gv\text{h}pa}:

- n. chalak\text{h}i-gv\text{h}pa > n. chalak\text{h}igv\text{h}pa
- n. soka-gv\text{h}pa > n. sokg\text{h}v\text{h}pa

an impostor
guest, visitor
n. nokma-gvpa > n. nokmagvpa an owner
n. ran-gvpa > n. rangwp a warrior
n. zwk-gvpa > n. zwkgvpa wife of someone

ii) {-gon}: 
   n. k-hi-gon > n. k-hi-gon latrine

iii) {-grwm}: 
   n. agal-grwm > n. agalgrwm prairie
   n. bol-grwm > n. bolgrwm an avenue of trees
   n. wa?-a-grwm > n. wa?-grwm an avenue of bamboos

3.2.2.2 Verbal noun:

Verbal nouns are generally composed of one verb root and a prefix or a suffix. In the verbal noun formation, the addition of prefix and suffix to the verb roots bring a change not only in the grammatical category of words but also to the meanings of the words. So, this type of derivation is known as class changing derivation. Such types of derivational prefixes in Boro are \{bi-, p-hi-\} and in Garo these are \{bi-, byi-, gi-, gyi-\}.

a) Boro

i) {bi-}:
   bi- n.bar > n. bivar flower
   bi-v. san > n. bisa number
   bi-v. duη > n. biduη heat
bi-v. ban > n. biban
duty/ responsibility

bi-v. dinthi > n. bidinthi
duty/ responsibility

bi-v. buηt > n. bibuηt
opinion/ remark

\text{ii)\{p^h\}-:}

p^h_i\text{-v. } t^haj > n. p^h_i\text{t}^haj
fruit

p^h_i\text{-v. } t^hwb > n. p^h_i\text{t}^hwb
cocoon

\text{b) Garo}

\text{i)\{bi\}-:}

bi-v. bal > n. bibal
flower

bi-v. t^bom? > n. bit^bom
cluster/clod

\text{ii)\{bw^t\}-:}

bw^t\text{-v. } chi > n. bw^tchi
egg

\text{iii)\{gi\}-:}

gi-v. zwpa > n. gizwp
fan

gi-v. sia > n. gisi
dead

\text{iv)\{gw^t\}-:}

gw^t\text{-v. } cham? > n. gw^tcham
old/ worn out

Verbal nouns are also formed by the addition of suffixes to the verb roots in Boro and Garo. Such verbal noun formation suffixes in Boro are \{-naj, -gra, -ari, -t^i, -t^ai\} and in Garo language these are \{-ni, -gwpa, -ram\}. 
a) Boro

i){ naj-}:

v. tʰaŋ-naj > n. tʰaʔnaj  going
v. pʰwli-naj > n. pʰwlinaj  coming
v. mawnaj > n. mawnaj  doing
v. kʰar-naj > n. kʰarnaj  running
v. undunaj > n. undunaj  sleeping
v. bunaj > n. bunaj  beating
v. buŋ-naj > n. buŋnaj  speaking

ii){ gra}:

v. pʰoraj-gra > n. pʰorajgra  reader
v. swu-gra > n. swugra  striker
v. mwsa-gra > n. mwsagra  dancer
v. rwyzab-gra > n. rwyzabgra  singer
v. zo-gra > n. zogra  seater
v. naj-gra > n. najgra  observer

iii){ ari}:

v.sibi-ari > n. sibijari  worshipper
v. pʰandaj-ari > n. pʰandajari  deceiver
v. bibaj-ari > n. bibajari  beggar
v. dawbaj-ari > n. dawbajari  
traveller

iv)\{th\i\}:

v. sw\i\-t\i\i > n. sw\i\i\i  
question

v. maw-t\i\i > n. mawt\i\i  
active

v. gonaj-t\i\i > n. gonajt\i\i  
acceptance

v. m\i\ndan\i\-t\i\i > n. m\i\ndan\i\i\i  
feeling

v. sinaj-t\i\i > n. sinajt\i\i  
acquaintance

v. bizir-t\i\i > n. bizirt\i\i  
explanation

v)\{th\ai\}:

v. lir-t\ai > n. lirt\ai  
weight

v. k\ai\-t\ai > n. k\ai\t\ai  
speed

v. nar-t\ai > n. nart\ai  
pressure

v. zan-t\ai > n. zant\ai  
distance

v. da-t\ai > n. dat\ai  
structure

v. nu-t\ai > n. nut\ai  
scene

v. m\i\n-t\ai > n. m\i\n\ai  
right

b) Garo

i)\{-ni\}:

v. badi\i\-ni > n. badi\i\ani  
trader

v. rw\i\-ni > n. rw\i\ani  
singer

v. dok\a\-ni > n. dok\a\ani  
striking
v. on?a-ni > n. on?ani  presentation
v. gesea-ni > n. geseani  quarrel
v. cha?a-ni > n. cha?ani  eating
v. k a?a-ni > n. k a?ani  doing
v. ok h a-ni > n. ok h ani  plucking
v. be?a-ni > n. be?ani  breaking
v. k h u?ona-ni > n. k h u?onani  curse
v. zechak h a-ni > n. zechak h ani  rejection
v. chi?a-ni > n. chi?ani  laying egg

ii){-gwpa}:

v. agana-gwpa > n. agangwpa  speaker
v. p h ot h a-gwpa > n. p h ot h gwpa  accuser
v. ra?a-gwpa > n. ra?gwpa  acceptor
v. dok h a-gwpa > n. dok h gwpa  striker
v. mesok h a-gwpa > n. mesok h gwpa  showman
v. grobot h a-gwpa > n. grobot h gwpa  creditor
v. grodak h a-gwpa > n. grodak h gwpa  litigator
v. bak h angia-gwpa > n. bak h angigwpa  thief
v. bi?gwla-gwpa > n. bi?gwlgwpa  beggar
v. bot h a-gwpa > n. bot h gwpa  challenger
v. gak h at h a-gwpa > n. gak h at h gwpa  climber
iii) {-ram}:

- v. aua-ram > n. auram
  bathroom

- v. suʔbua-ram > n. suʔburam
  urinal

- v. tʰua-ram > n. tʰuram
  bedroom

- v. kʰalʔa-ram > n. kʰalʔam
  playground

3.2.2.3 Adjectival noun:

Derivation of nouns from the adjective bases are not available in Boro language. In Garo language also such type of derivations are very minimum in number. In this language, adjectival nouns are formed either by prefixation or by suffixation. Such type of prefixes and suffixes are \{bi-\} and \{-gwpa\} respectively in Garo language.

a) Garo

i) By prefixation:

{bi-}:

- bi-adj. chua > n. bichu
  top/ end

ii) By suffixation:

{-gwpa}:

- adj. rwmwl-a-gwpa > n. rwmwlgwpa
  grease

- adj. aratʰ-a-gwpa > n. aratʰgwpa
  an idler/ lazy person

- adj. batʰ-a-gwpa > n. batʰgwpa
  majority/ maximum
Besides the two main processes of noun formation mentioned above, nouns are also formed by contraction and compoundisation in Boro and Garo.

3.3 Contraction of noun in Boro and Garo:

In both the languages, contract forms occur when they are preceded by the genitive case marker of the personal pronouns. This form of noun is found only in case of kinship terms in Boro and Garo.

a) Boro

\( p^h a \) ‘father’:

\( \text{an}-\text{ni } p^h a > n. \text{ap}^h a \)  
my father

\( \text{nvni}-\text{ni } p^h a > n. \text{nvmp}^h a/\text{nvmp}^h a \)  
your father

\( \text{bi}-\text{ni } p^h a > n. \text{bip}^h a \)  
his/her father

\( \text{da} \) ‘brother’:

\( \text{an}-\text{ni } \text{da} > n. \text{ada} \)  
my elder brother

\( \text{nvni}-\text{ni } \text{da} > n. \text{nvida} \)  
your elder brother

\( \text{bi}-\text{ni } \text{da} > n. \text{bida} \)  
his/her elder brother

\( \text{bwy} \) ‘grand father’:

\( \text{an}-\text{ni } \text{bwy} > n. \text{abwy} \)  
my grand father

\( \text{nvni}-\text{ni } \text{bwy} > n. \text{nvmbwy}/\text{nvmbwy} \)  
your grand father

\( \text{bi}-\text{ni } \text{bwy} > n. \text{bibwy} \)  
his/ her grand father

\( \text{bo} \) ‘elder sister’:

\( \text{an}-\text{ni } \text{bo} > n. \text{abo} \)  
my elder sister
my elder sister

his/her elder sister

ma 'mother':

my mother

your mother

his/her mother

b) Garo

de 'child':

my child

your child

his/ her child

p'h a 'father':

my father

your father

his/her father

ma 'mother':

my mother

your mother

his/ her mother

da 'elder brother':

my elder brother
3.4 Compound noun:

Compound nouns are formed by the combination of minimum two nouns in both the languages. These nouns are either of free form or of bound form in Boro and Garo. Compound nouns are formed under four processes in both the languages. These are:

i) Free noun + bound noun

ii) Free noun + free noun (free form)

iii) Free noun + free noun (contract form)

iv) Bound noun + bound noun

3.4.1 Free noun + bound noun:

This kind of nouns are formed by the combination of one free noun and one bound noun form in both the languages. Under this category bound noun forms are suffixed to the free noun forms to indicate different meanings.

a) Boro

i) dau ‘bird’:
dau + bo > n. daubo  
heron

dau + kʰa > n. daukʰa  
crow

dau + tʰu > n. dautʰu  
dove

ii) no  
‘house’:

no + ma > n. noma  
big house/main house

no + sa > n. nosa  
small house

iii) asi  
‘finger’:

asi + ma > n. asima  
thumb finger

iv) dwią  
‘water’:

dwią + ma > n. dwima  
big river

dwią + sa > n. dwisa  
small river

b) Garo

i) doʔo  
‘bird’:

doʔo + de > n. doʔde  
peacock

doʔo + kʰa > n. doʔkʰa  
crow

doʔo + kʰru > n. doʔkʰru  
dove

ii) waʔa  
‘bamboo’:

waʔa + ma > n. waʔma  
a jatee bamboo

waʔa + tʰon > n. waʔtʰon  
a bamboo stick

waʔa + tʰok > n. waʔtʰok  
a bamboo whistle

iii) zak  
‘hand’:
3.4.2 Free noun + free noun (free form):

This type of nouns are formed by the combination of two free form noun words in both the languages.

a) Boro

\[ p^h \text{isa} + z\text{wla} > n. \ p^h \text{isazwla} \sim p^h \text{isazla} \sim p^h \text{isala} \]
son

\[ p^h \text{isa} + z\text{w} > n. \ p^h \text{isazw} \]
daughter

\[ p^h \text{isw}\text{u} + z\text{wla} > n. \ p^h \text{iswuzwla} \sim p^h \text{iswuzla} \sim p^h \text{iswula} \]
grand son

\[ p^h \text{isw}\text{u} + z\text{w} > n. \ p^h \text{iswuzw} \]
grand daughter

b) Garo

\[ de + p^h \text{ant}^h e > n. \ dep^h \text{ant}^h e \]
son

\[ de + me? \text{ch}\text{wk} > n. \ deme? \text{ch}\text{wk} \]
daughter

\[ do?o + bip^h a > n. \ do?bip^h a \]
cock

\[ do?o + bima > do?bima \]
hen

3.4.3 Free noun + free noun (contract form):

Under this process, two free nouns, after combination, take a new form. In both the languages, such types of nouns are formed by keeping the initial syllable
of the first word and the full part of the second word. In Boro and Garo, the first nouns are minimum bisyllabic and the second words are monosyllabic. In Boro language, in contract noun formation process it is also seen that the first syllable of the first word take some oblique form and in some it is kept intact. But no oblique form is found in Garo language.

a) Boro

megon + kʰi > n. mwįkʰi

/ /

eye stool

gontʰon + kʰi > n. gunkʰi–gunke

/ /

dry muscus in the nostril

/ /

nose stool

megon + dwi > n. mwǳwi

/ /

tear

/ /

eye water

kʰuga + dwi > n. kʰudwi–kʰodwi

/ /

mouth water

b) Garo

mwįkron + kʰi > n. mwįkkʰi

/ /

eye stool
gïŋh PAY + k PAY > n. gïŋkh PAY dry muscus in the nostril

/ /
nose stool

mwïkrôn + chi > n. mwïkchi tear

/ /

eye water

k PAYswk + chi > n. k PAYchi saliva

/ /
mouth water

nachwl + k PAY > n. nakPAY ear wax

/ /

ear stool

3.4.4 Bound noun + bound noun:

Under this category minimum two bound nouns, not having any independent meanings are compounded to get a meaningful noun word.

a) Boro

mwi-sw > n. mwïsw buffalo

mw -swu > n. mwïswu cow

mw-sa > n. mwïsa tiger

t PAYai-zwu > n. t PAYaizwu mango

t PAYai-lir > n. t PAYailir banana
tʰai-gir > n. tʰaigir
dillenis indica

b) Garo

mat-ma > n. matma
buffalo

mat-chu > n. matchu
cow

mat-cha > n. matcha
tiger

tʰe?-gatchu > n. tʰeʔgatchu
mango

tʰe?-rwk > n. tʰeʔrwk
banana

tʰeʔ-broŋ > n. tʰeʔbron
jackfruit

In Boro basic vocabulary, names of the birds always begin with {dau}, the animal name with {me-, mu-, mxy -}, the fruit name with {tʰai-} and in Garo these are {doʔo}, {mat-} and {tʰe-} respectively.

3.5 Gender:

Gender is an important category of noun in Boro and Garo languages. It is used for the analysis of word classes displaying contrasts, such as masculine/feminine/neuter, animate/inanimate etc. Boro and Garo languages have not the grammatical gender. They have only the uses of natural gender. Gender distinctions are done only in case of noun words in both the languages. Two genders, masculine and feminine are identified in Boro and the Garo languages. Neuter and common genders have no grammatical relevance in both the languages and so gender distinction is found only in case of animate human and non-human.

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Crystal, David: A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, p. 158
nouns. Inanimate nouns have no place in the gender formation processes of both the languages. In Boro and Garo gender formation processes are discussed under the following heads:

i) Use of pairs of opposite lexical entities

ii) Use of attributes and

iii) Use of morphemes

3.5.1 Use of pairs of opposite lexical entities:

This type of gender formation process is especially used in case of kinship terms in Boro and Garo. Such pairs of words have not any formal relationship.

a) Boro

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Eng. Meaning</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Eng. Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apʰa</td>
<td>my father</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>my mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abwqv</td>
<td>my grand father</td>
<td>abwi</td>
<td>my grand mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumwqi</td>
<td>elder sister’s husband</td>
<td>abo</td>
<td>my elder sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ada</td>
<td>my elder brother</td>
<td>bazwi</td>
<td>elder brother’s wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bihaw</td>
<td>father-in-law</td>
<td>bikʰunzw</td>
<td>mother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰonbai</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
<td>binanaw</td>
<td>younger sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bisai</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>bisi</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Garo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Eng. meaning</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Eng. Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apʰa</td>
<td>my father</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>my mother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
atchu my grand father amb my grand mother
gume elder sister’s husband abi elder sister
ada my elder brother bochi elder brother’s wife
mama father-in-law mani mother-in-law
znq younger brother no younger sister
se husband zwk wife

3.5.2 Use of attributes:

Another device of gender formation in Boro and Garo are the use of words denoting ‘male’ and ‘female’. In both the languages, such male or female indicating words either precede or follow the nouns. In Boro language, words used to denote male human being is /hyua/ and female human being is /hinzaw/. In case of ghosts and spirits and birds the word /zwla -donda/ for male and /zw-dondi/ for female are used. The words /bunda, donqla, pʰʌnˈkə, dambra/ and /bundi, donqli, pʰʌnˈhi, dambri/ are respectively used to represent male and female animals in Boro language.

In Garo language /meʔa~meʔasa/ and /meʔchyk/ are respectively used to denote male and female human beings and also for gods and goddesses. On the other hand for birds, animals, ghosts and spirits /bipʰa/ for male and /bima/ for females are used. These male and female indicating words have their own meanings in both the languages.
In Boro and Garo the uses of attributes are discussed under the following two sub-heads:

i) Nouns relating to humans and

ii) Nouns relating to non-humans

3.5.2.1 Nouns relating to humans:

a) Boro

Masculine                        Feminine

hwua-hinzaw:

hwua mansi    male           hinzaw mansi    female
pʰisa hwua    son             pʰisa hinzaw    daughter
hwua alasi    male guest     hinzaw alasi    female guest

b) Garo

Masculine                        Feminine

meʔa-meʔchʷk:

meʔa bisa    male child     meʔchʷk bisa    female child
meʔa mande   male person     meʔchʷk mande   female person
meʔa chakkʰol male servant     meʔchʷk chakkʰol female servant
mʷde meʔa    he god          mʷde meʔchʷk    she god

3.5.2.2 Nouns relating to non-humans:

a) Boro
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>zwyla-zw</strong> :</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau zwyla</td>
<td>cock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daurai zwyla</td>
<td>he peacock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mvydai zwyla</td>
<td>he god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>donda-dondi:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daukʰa donda</td>
<td>male crow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bunda-bundi:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oma bunda</td>
<td>male pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mauzi bunda</td>
<td>he cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dongla-dongli:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swima dongla</td>
<td>he dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pʰantʰa-pʰantʰi:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwrma pʰantʰa</td>
<td>he goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>damra-damri:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwswu damra</td>
<td>male calf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>b) Garo</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bipʰa-bima:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matchu bipʰa</td>
<td>bull</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Boro language, the attributes ‘zwyla’ and ‘zw’ are also used with a very limited number of kinship terms. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʰisa zwyla</td>
<td>male child</td>
<td>pʰisa zw</td>
<td>female child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰiswuzwyla</td>
<td>grand son</td>
<td>pʰiswuzw</td>
<td>grand daughter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5.3 Use of morphemes:

The process of gender formation by using gender markers or morphemes are also a special feature in Boro and Garo. Previously this process was not available in the Tibeto-Burman group of languages. But later on these were used due to the influence of the Indo-Aryan group of languages. So, most of the words under this process are the borrowed words either from the Assamese or its cognate languages. Such gender formation morphemes in Boro language are {-i, -u, -e} and in Garo language it is {-i}. The masculine gender words ending with the vowel phoneme /a/ take the morpheme {-i, -u, -e} in Boro and in Garo it takes {-i}.

a) Boro

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-i:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bengha</td>
<td>deaf man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bʰagla</td>
<td>mad man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zamba</td>
<td>idiot man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'hana</td>
<td>blind man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ep'ra</td>
<td>dwarf man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balonda</td>
<td>widower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gendra</td>
<td>pot bellied man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ran'k'hwa</td>
<td>hot tempered man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'handa</td>
<td>flat nosed man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lengra</td>
<td>lame man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-u:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hait'h'a</td>
<td>short statured man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-e:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nabla</td>
<td>flat nosed man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hon'la</td>
<td>nose hollowed man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Garo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-i:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zara</td>
<td>foolish man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'hagla</td>
<td>mad man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benga</td>
<td>deaf man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'hana</td>
<td>blind man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>randa</td>
<td>widower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duba</td>
<td>washer man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6 Gender neutral form:

Some words don't show any gender distinction, but represent the community as a whole. These may either be animate human or non-human. These types of words are common in both the languages and are called common gender or gender neutral form words e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>olsia</td>
<td>alsia</td>
<td>lazy fellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mansi</td>
<td>mande</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oma</td>
<td>wak</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byrma</td>
<td>do?bok</td>
<td>goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alasi</td>
<td>Sok^h^a</td>
<td>guest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwswu</td>
<td>matchu</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k^h^anka^h^ua</td>
<td>alma</td>
<td>glutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau</td>
<td>do?o</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>na?t^h^ok</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>got^h^o/p^h^isa</td>
<td>bi?sa</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k^h^udia</td>
<td>dek^h^a</td>
<td>baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangrema</td>
<td>sen?wat</td>
<td>firefly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k^h^ansri</td>
<td>k^h^anchuri</td>
<td>earthworm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zwusai</td>
<td>p^hek^h^rongwpa</td>
<td>drunkard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibajari</td>
<td>bi?gwlgwpa</td>
<td>beggar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.7 Unique gender form:

Unique gender form words are comparatively very rare in Boro and Garo. These types of words have not their opposite gender and are used only in case of animate humans as well as non-humans.

i) Unique masculine gender form words:

a) Boro

badari woodcutter
dvuri priest
lauk₃ ar cowherd
k₄ asi castrated male animals or birds
budaŋ pot bellied man

b) Garo

azam barber
p₄ amoŋ pastor/preacher
rak₃ igwpa/rakk₄ ual cowherd
k₄ asi castrated male animal

ii) Unique feminine gender form words:

a) Boro

dvudini the central figure of Kherai worship. She is a sanctified medium of divinity, the para nature and is the essence of Kherai worship
bandi a sterile animal
bok₄ ali a baby nurser
akhuzi               a woman ignorant of weaving and embroidery
sundauri             a girl of naughty and fickle nature
tongali              a light natured woman
adungari             spinster
sangrema              a barren woman

b) Garo

barwikgwa             a baby nurser
zwikgwte              a co-wife/concubine
segri                 an unmarried woman
rańru                 a strewed woman
banzi                 a barren woman/a tree or plant that does not bear fruit

In both the languages, the unique feminine gender words are comparatively higher than the unique masculine gender words.

3.8 Pronoun:

Pronoun is an important part of inflectional morphology. It is a term used in grammatical classification of words, referring to the closed sets of items which can be used to substitute for a noun phrase (or single noun). In the

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6 Crystal, David: A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, p.287
Boro and the Garo languages they take only the number and case markers but never the gender markers.

**3.8.1 Types of pronouns:**

In the Boro and the Garo languages, five basic types of pronouns are found. These are:

i) Personal pronoun

ii) Demonstrative pronoun

iii) Interrogative pronoun

iv) Reflexive pronoun

v) Indefinite pronoun

**3.8.1.1 Personal pronoun:**

Personal pronouns show three-fold distinction in case of person and two-fold distinction in case of number in both the languages. These three fold distinctions of persons are-

i) First person (the speaker)

ii) Second person (the listener)

iii) Third person (others)

On the other hand the two-fold distinction of numbers are:

i) Singular number

ii) Plural number
3.8.1.1.1 Number and person of personal pronoun:

a) Boro

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st p.</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>zvŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd p.</td>
<td>nɔŋ (non-hon.)</td>
<td>nɔŋ-swŋ (non-hon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nɔŋ-²ŋ (hon.)</td>
<td>nɔŋ-²ŋ-mɔŋ (hon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd p.</td>
<td>bì (non-hon.)</td>
<td>bi-swŋ (non-hon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bì-²ŋ (hon.)</td>
<td>bi-²ŋ-mɔŋ (hon.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Garo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st p.</td>
<td>aŋ/aŋa</td>
<td>chwŋ/chwŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>an?chwŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd p.</td>
<td>naʔa</td>
<td>naʔ-son/naʔ-sonat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd p.</td>
<td>bia (proximate)</td>
<td>bi-son (proximate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ua (remote)</td>
<td>ua-son (remote)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The concept of plurality in both the languages are expressed by suffixation (as for nouns). It is also important to mention here that the first person plurals never took plural markers in Boro and Garo. The first person plurals have their independent forms as the singular numbers. Second and third person singular and plurals have two forms each in Boro language. These are honorific forms and non-

7 Benedict, P.K: Sino-Tibetan A Conspectus, p.93
honorific forms. But no such differences are found in Garo language in its second 
and third person singular as well as plural forms. On the other hand first person 
plurals have two different forms in Garo language known as speaker exclusive and 
speaker inclusive, which is absent in Boro language. Such types of exclusive and 
inclusive forms are also available notably in Himalayish, also in Tibetan and Mikir 
languages. P.K. Benedict also observed that no general Tibeto-Burman 3rd person 
independent pronoun can be established.

In Boro language, 1st person singular and plural numbers have not their 
honorific forms, but 2nd and 3rd persons have. The honorific forms indicating 
suffixes for both the persons and numbers are {-\textit{t\'an}}. The plural form indicating 
suffix for honorific forms are {-\textit{m\'yn}} and is always suffixed after the {-\textit{t\'an}}. In 
Boro language, the suffix {-\textit{s\'yr}} is always used with non-honorific forms. In Garo 
language, 2nd person plural suffix has two different forms {-\textit{s\'on}} and {-\textit{simn}}. 3rd 
person singular and plural have two different forms in Garo language. These 
indicate proximity and remoteness. For proximity the plural suffix {-\textit{s\'on}} is used 
and for remoteness {-\textit{man}} is used.

### 3.8.1.1.2 Case of personal pronoun:

In Boro and Garo languages, all the case markers are inflected after the 
personal pronouns, whether it is singular or plural, except the locative case marker 
{-\textit{aw}} in Boro language which is never used with the personal pronouns.

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8 Op cited, p.93  
9 Ibid, p.93
i) Case markers used with singular forms in Boro:

Nominative: -w / -a

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{an-w/ an-a} & \text{I / I have} \\
&\text{nu-w/ nu-a} & \text{You/ you have} \\
&\text{nuh-a} & \text{You} \\
&\text{bi-w/ bi-a} & \text{he/she is, he/she has} \\
&\text{bih-a} & \text{he/she is} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Accusative: -kh\text{wu}

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{an-kh\text{wu}} & \text{me} \\
&\text{nu-kh\text{wu}} & \text{you} \\
&\text{nuh-a k-h\text{wu}} & \text{you} \\
&\text{bi-kh\text{wu}} & \text{him/her} \\
&\text{bih-a k-h\text{wu}} & \text{him/her} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Instrumental: -zh\text{wu}

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{an-zh\text{wu}} & \text{with me} \\
&\text{nu-zh\text{wu}} & \text{with you} \\
&\text{nuh-a zh\text{wu}} & \text{with you} \\
&\text{bi-zh\text{wu}} & \text{with him/her} \\
&\text{bih-a zh\text{wu}} & \text{with him/her} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Dative: -nuw

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{an-nuw} & \text{to me} \\
\end{align*}
\]
Ablative: -ni -p²raj

- aŋ-ni-p²raj from me
- nvη-ni-p²raj from you
- nvηᵗʰaŋ-ni-p²raj from you
- bi-ni-p²raj from him/her
- biᵗʰaŋ-ni-p²raj from him/her

Genitive: -ni

- aŋ-ni my/mine
- nvη-ni your/yours
- nvηᵗʰaŋ-ni your/yours
- bi-ni his/her
- biᵗʰaŋ-ni his/her

Locative: -aw

In Boro language, locative case marker is never used with the personal pronouns.

ii) Case markers used with singular forms in Garo:

Nominative: Garo language has no nominative case marker.

Accusative: -kʰo
an-kʰo  me
naŋ-kʰo  you
bi-kʰo/ua-kʰo  him/her

**Instrumental: -chi**

an-chi  with me
naŋ-chi  with you
bi-chi/ua-chi  with him/her

**Dative: -na**

an-na  to me
naŋ-na  to you
bi-na/ua-na  to him/her

**Ablative: -o-ni**

an-o-ni  from me
naŋ-o-ni  from you
bi-o-ni/ua-o-ni  from him/her

**Genitive: -ni**

an-ni  my/mine
naŋ-ni  your/yours
bi-ni/ua-ni  his/her

**Locative: -o**

an-o  I have
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Markers</th>
<th>Formulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-w/-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zwi-w/a</td>
<td>we/we have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwiw /a</td>
<td>you/you have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwiw bani wu</td>
<td>you are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biswi-w/a</td>
<td>they/they have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bimi aminw-a</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-k(h)wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zwi-k(h)wu</td>
<td>us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwiw bani k(h)wu</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwiw bani wu k(h)wu</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biswi k(h)wu</td>
<td>them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bimi aminw k(h)wu</td>
<td>them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-zwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zwi-zwi</td>
<td>with us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwiw bani zwi</td>
<td>with you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwiw bani wu zwi</td>
<td>with you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biswi zwi</td>
<td>with them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bimi aminw zwi</td>
<td>with them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dative: -nv

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to us</td>
<td>zwηη-nv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to you</td>
<td>nwnsw-r-nv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to you</td>
<td>nynth-bnwn-nv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to them</td>
<td>biswr-nv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to them</td>
<td>bit-hanwn-nv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ablative: -ni-p^b\raj

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>from us</td>
<td>zwηη-ni-p^b\raj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from you</td>
<td>nwnsw-r-ni-p^b\raj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from you</td>
<td>nynth-bnwn-ni-p^b\raj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from them</td>
<td>biswr-ni-p^b\raj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from them</td>
<td>bit-hanwn-ni-p^b\raj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Genitive: -ni

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ours</td>
<td>zwηη-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yours</td>
<td>nwnsw-r-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yours</td>
<td>nynth-bnwn-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their</td>
<td>biswr-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their</td>
<td>bit-hanwn-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locative: -aw

The nominative case marker { - \u0937} is never used with honorific forms of personal pronoun in Boro language. Like this, the locative case marker is also not used with the plural forms of personal pronoun.
iv) Case markers used with plural forms in Garo:

Nominative: -- --

Accusative: -kʰo

cẖ̱n-kʰo  us
naʔ-soŋ-kʰo/naʔ-simaŋ-kʰo  you
bi-soŋ-kʰo/ua-manŋ-kʰo  them

Instrumental: -chi

cẖ̱n-chi  with us
naʔ-soŋ-chi/naʔ-simaŋ-chi  with you
bi-soŋ-chi/ua-manŋ-chi  with them

Dative: -na

cẖ̱n-na  to us
naʔ-soŋ-na/naʔ-simaŋ-na  to you
bi-soŋ-na/ua-manŋ-na  to them

Ablative: -o-ni

cẖ̱n-o-ni  from us
naʔ-soŋ-o-ni/naʔ-simaŋ-o-ni  from you
bi-soŋ-o-ni/ua-manŋ-o-ni  from them

Genitive: -ni

cẖ̱n-ni  our
naʔ-soŋ-ni/naʔ-simaŋ-ni  your
3.8.1.2 Demonstrative pronoun:

Two kinds of spatial distance are found in the demonstrative pronouns of Boro and Garo. These are:

i) Speaker proximate demonstrative pronoun, which refers to objects that are near to the speaker;

ii) Speaker remote demonstrative pronoun, which refers to objects that are far away from the speaker and are either visible or invisible but known.

In both the languages, no gender distinctions are found in demonstrative pronouns. These are used for animate humans, hon-humans as well as also for inanimate things or objects. In Boro language, these demonstrative pronouns are \{be\} and \{b\} and in Garo these are \{ia\} and \{ua\}. \{be\} and \{ia\} are near demonstrative and \{b\} and \{ua\} are distal demonstrative pronouns respectively in Boro and Garo. The plural suffixes used with animate humans are Br. \{-swr\}, Gr. \{-man\} and with animate non-humans and inanimate things or objects are Br. \{-p\swr\}, Gr. \{-ran\}. Demonstrative pronouns have also the capacity of taking case markers in both the languages.

3.8.1.2.1 Near demonstrative pronoun:
i) Singular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be mansi</td>
<td>ia mande</td>
<td>this man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be p\textsuperscript{h}\textit{it}\textsuperscript{h} ai</td>
<td>ia bit\textsuperscript{h}e</td>
<td>this fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be no</td>
<td>ia nok</td>
<td>this house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) Plural form:

| bes\textsuperscript{h} wr \swr | iaman\textsuperscript{h} sawa | who are they  |
| bep\textsuperscript{h} wr \ma | iaran\textsuperscript{h} mai | what are these  |
| bep\textsuperscript{h} wr \p\textsuperscript{h}it\textsuperscript{h} ai | iaran\textsuperscript{h} bit\textsuperscript{h}e | these fruits  |

3.8.1.2.2 Distal demonstrative pronoun:

i) Singular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bwi mansi</td>
<td>ua mande</td>
<td>that man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwi p\textsuperscript{h}\textit{it}\textsuperscript{h} ai</td>
<td>ua bit\textsuperscript{h}e</td>
<td>that fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwi no</td>
<td>ua nok</td>
<td>that house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) Plural form:

| bwis\textsuperscript{h} wr \swr | uaman\textsuperscript{h} sawa | who are those  |
| bwi\textsuperscript{h} wr \p\textsuperscript{h}it\textsuperscript{h} ai | uaran\textsuperscript{h} bit\textsuperscript{h}e | those fruits  |
| bwi\textsuperscript{h} wr \ma | uaran\textsuperscript{h} mai | what are those  |

3.8.1.3 Interrogative pronoun:

Interrogative pronouns are used for interrogation in Boro and Garo. In both the languages, they have either their independent forms or are also formed by
suffixed different case markers to the pronominal base forms. In Boro and Garo, interrogative pronouns are discussed under the following heads:
i) Free or independent form and

ii) Free form + case markers

3.8.1.3.1 Free form:

In both the languages, the numbers of free form interrogative pronouns are very limited. Their numbers are four in Boro and three in Garo.

a) Boro

ma what
swyr who
bobe~mabe~mobe~obe which
bwrwi how

b) Garo

mai what
sawa who
badia which

3.8.1.3.2 Free form + case marker:

Under this process, different case markers are suffixed to the free forms of both the languages.

a) Boro

i) {swyr}:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-w/-a</td>
<td>who is/are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-k\textsuperscript{h}wu</td>
<td>whom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-z\textsuperscript{h}η</td>
<td>with whom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-n\textsuperscript{h}η</td>
<td>to whom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-ni-p\textsuperscript{h}raj</td>
<td>from whom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>of whom/whose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-aw</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ii) \{ma\}:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-w/-a</td>
<td>what is/are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-k\textsuperscript{h}wu</td>
<td>what are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-z\textsuperscript{h}η</td>
<td>by what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-n\textsuperscript{h}η</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-ni-p\textsuperscript{h}raj</td>
<td>from what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>of what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-aw</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**iii) \{bobe-mabe-mobe-obe\}:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-w/-a</td>
<td>which is/are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-k\textsuperscript{h}wu</td>
<td>which one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-z\textsuperscript{h}η</td>
<td>with which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-n\textsuperscript{h}η</td>
<td>to which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-ni-p\textsuperscript{h}raj</td>
<td>from which</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Genitive: -ni   bobe-ni   of which
Locative: -aw   bobe-aw   where

It is seen that the interrogative pronoun {-tnyr} has not the capacity of taking locative case marker in Boro language.

{bwvrwi}:

This interrogative pronoun does not take any case markers and is sometimes used along with the interrogative pronoun {ma} e.g.

ma (what) + bwvrwi (how) > mabw rvwi–mabrwi        how

In Boro language, an interrogative pronoun is sometimes also formed by the combination of free form interrogative pronoun and one bound form. For example the word ‘mabwl’ or ‘mabl’ (when) is formed by the combination of one free form ‘ma’ and one bound form ‘-bwla’. This interrogative pronoun is used only in case of any query about time.

b) Garo

i){sa~sawa}:

Nominative:– sa/sawa who
Accusative: -k^h o sa-k^h o/sawa-k^h o whom
Instrumental:-chi sa-chi/sawa-chi with whom
Dative: -na sa-na/sawa-na to whom
Ablative: -o-ni sa-o-ni/sawa-o-ni from whom
Genitive: -ni sa-ni/sawa-ni of whom/whose
As in Boro language, the interrogative pronoun \{sa~sawa\} have not the capacity of taking locative case marker \{-o\} in Garo language.

Pluralisation of interrogative pronouns are also an important feature of Boro and Garo languages. In both the languages, interrogative pronouns are pluralised by reduplication.
a) Boro

**Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>swr</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bobe</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwrwi</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b) Garo**

**Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa-sawa</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.8.1.4 Reflexive pronoun:

Reflexive pronouns have their independent constituents in Boro and Garo languages. These are \{gaw\} in Boro and \{an?t\'an\} or \{an?t\'an\an\} in Garo.

**a) Boro**

- gaw: self, oneself, himself, herself
- bi- w gaw t\'an-gwn: he will go himself
- an\' gaw-nw za-gwn: I will eat myself

In the second sentence indicated above, the suffix \{-nw\} has been used to make the sense more definite.

**b) Garo**

- an\?t\'an/an\?t\'angan: self, oneself, himself, herself
In both the languages, concept of plurality of the reflexive pronouns are also formed by reduplication.

**a) Boro**

- `gaw gaw lwη`: drink yourself
- `gaw gaw kʰon`: sing yourself
- `gaw gaw pʰwi`: come yourself

**b) Garo**

- `an?tʰan tʰan rwηa`: drink yourself
- `an?tʰan tʰan rwηʔa`: sing yourself
- `an?tʰan tʰan reʔbaa`: come yourself

In the pluralisation of reflexive pronouns, it is reduplicated in a full manner in Boro language. On the other hand in Garo language only the second syllable of the reflexive pronoun is reduplicated.

In Boro language, sometimes during the time of reduplication, pleonastic suffix `{-ba}` is added to the first member of the reduplicated word.

- `gaw-ba gaw maw`: do yourself
- `gaw-ba gaw lir`: write yourself
- `gaw-ba gaw undu`: sleep yourself
Reflexive pronouns have also the capacity of taking plural morphemes in both the languages. These plural morphemes are only one each in both the languages. In Boro it is {-swr} and in Garo it is {-man}.

a) Boro

\[
\begin{align*}
gaw-sw^r k^h a-gwn & \quad \text{they will pluck themself} \\
gaw-sw^r su-gwn & \quad \text{they will wash themself} \\
gaw-sw^r t^h \psi i-gwn & \quad \text{they will die themself}
\end{align*}
\]

b) Garo

\[
\begin{align*}
an^h t^h a^n - \text{man} t^h \text{usi-gen} & \quad \text{they will sleep themself} \\
an^h t^h a^n - \text{man} r^e? - \text{gen} & \quad \text{they will go themself} \\
an^h t^h a^n - \text{man} k^h \text{at-gen} & \quad \text{they will run themself}
\end{align*}
\]

Reflexive pronouns have also the capacity of taking case markers in Boro and Garo. They take all the markers except the locative case marker.

a) Boro

Nominative: - w / -a  \quad gaw- w / gaw-a \quad \text{himself/herself}

Accusative: -k^h \psi u \quad gaw-k^h \psi u \quad \text{himself/herself}

Instrumental: -z\psi n \quad gaw-z\psi n \quad \text{with him/her}

Dative: -n\psi \quad gaw-n\psi \quad \text{to him/her}

Ablative: -ni-p^h raj \quad gaw-ni-p^h raj \quad \text{from him/her}

Genitive: -ni \quad gaw-ni \quad \text{of him/her}

Locative: -aw \quad ---- \quad ----
b) Garo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>anʔtʰaŋ</td>
<td>himself/herself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>anʔtʰaŋ-kʰo</td>
<td>himself/herself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>anʔtʰaŋ-chi</td>
<td>with him/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>anʔtʰaŋ-na</td>
<td>to him/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>anʔtʰaŋ-o-ni</td>
<td>from him/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>anʔtʰaŋ-ni</td>
<td>of him/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.8.1.5 Indefinite pronoun:

Indefinite pronouns do not show any definite sense in Boro and Garo. Indefinite senses are shown in case of animate humans, non-humans and also inanimate things or objects. Indefinite pronouns function as independent constituents of a sentence and their numbers are also very limited in both the languages.

a) Boro

- kʰajse: somebody/something
- swrba: somebody
- rawbw: nobody

b) Garo

- maiba: something
- saoba: somebody
- zawa: somebody
In Boro, the indefinite pronoun \( k^h \text{ajse} \) is used either with animate humans, non-humans or also with inanimate things or objects. \( s\text{wrba} \) and \( \text{rawby} \) are specially used in case of animate human beings. In Garo language, \( m\text{ai}ba \) is used with inanimate things or objects and \( s\text{aoba} \) and \( z\text{awa} \) are used specially with human beings.

Indefinite pronouns are also pluralised by the process of reduplication in Boro and Garo.

a) Boro

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k\text{ajse}} & \quad \text{something/somebody} \\
\text{s\text{wrba}} & \quad \text{somebody} \\
\text{rawby} & \quad \text{It has no pluralised reduplication}
\end{align*}
\]

b) Garo

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maiba} & \quad \text{something} \\
\text{saoba} & \quad \text{somebody} \\
\text{zawa} & \quad \text{somebody}
\end{align*}
\]

In Boro, all the case markers are used with the indefinite pronoun \( k^h \text{ajse} \). \( s\text{wrba} \) do not take the locative case marker and \( \text{rawby} \) take a very limited number of the case markers. On the other hand in Garo language, all the indefinite pronouns have the capacity of taking all the case markers except the locative case marker. A few specimens of these are given below.

a) Boro

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k\text{ajse-a}} & \quad \text{some are (-'a' nominative case marker)}
\end{align*}
\]
swpt>a-zwη ~ swr-zwη-ba with somebody (‘zwη’ instrumental case m.)
rawbw-ni ~ raw-ni- bw of nobody (‘ni’ genitive case marker)

b) Garo
maiba-k'h'o something (‘k'h'o’ accusative case marker)
saoba-chi with somebody (‘chi’ instrumental case marker)
zawa-ni of somebody (‘ni’ genitive case marker)

3.9 Number:

Number is an integral part of morphology and is inflected for the nouns and
the pronouns in Boro and Garo. It is used for the displaying of word classes:
singular and plural. Dual number system is not available in Boro and Garo. No
markers are used to represent singularity in both these languages. In case of plural
numbers, either the plural markers or plural indicating collective words are used or
are sometimes also represented by reduplication.

3.9.1 Use of plural morphemes:

Boro language has three and Garo language has four plural markers used
with nouns and the pronouns. These are: {p'hwp'h'ra, -swr, -mwn} in Boro and {p'ra, -soh, -man, -dhan} in Garo. In Boro language {p'hwp'h'ra} are used with
count nouns (animate humans, non-human and inanimate things or objects), with
demonstrative pronouns and with mass nouns in some special cases. {swr} is used
with second and third person non-honorific plural forms, with demonstrative
pronouns (when used in case of human beings) and \{-mvf\} is used with the second and third person honorific plural forms and also with the kinship terms. On the other hand in Garo language, \{-ran\} is used with mass as well as count nouns (animate humans, non-human and inanimate things or objects. It shows a sense of inferiority when used with animate humans), \{-son\} is used with second and third person plural forms of personal pronoun and with kinship terms, \{-dran\} is used to represent the group of anything.

a) Boro

i) \{-p^hwr/-p^hra\}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>got^h o</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swima</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mansi</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mua</td>
<td>thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p^h^it^h^ai</td>
<td>fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwi</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-p^hwr</td>
<td>no-p^hra houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>got^h o-p^hwr</td>
<td>got^h o-p^hra children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swima-p^hwr</td>
<td>swima-p^hra dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mansi-p^hwr</td>
<td>mansi-p^hra persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mua-p^hwr</td>
<td>mua-p^hra things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p^h^it^h^ai-p^hwr</td>
<td>p^h^it^h^ai-p^hra fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-p^hwr</td>
<td>these (non-human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwi-p^hwr</td>
<td>those (non-human)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) \{-swr\}:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwi</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-swr</td>
<td>these (human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwi-swr</td>
<td>those (human)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bi he/she bi-swyr they

nvη you (sing.) nvη-swyr you (pl.)

iii) {-mwn}:

nvη-tʰanη you (sing.) nvη-tʰanη-mwn you (pl.)
bi-tʰanη he/she bi-tʰanη-mwn they
ada elder brother ada-mwn elder brother and others
apʰa my father apʰa-mwn my father and others

b) Garo

i) {-ran}:

mande person mande-ranη persons
doʔo bird doʔo-ranη birds
bisa child bisa-ranη children
matchu cow matchu-ranη cows
bol tree bol-ranη trees
achak dog achak-ranη dogs
ia this ia-ranη these (non-human)
ua that ua-ranη those (non-human)

ii) {-son}:

naʔa you (sing.) naʔ-sonη you (pl.)
bia he/she bi-sonη they

iii) {-manη}:
ia this ia-man these (human)
uu that uu-man those (human)

iv) {-draŋ}:
zwiki wife zwiki-draŋ wife and others
doʔo bird doʔ-o-draŋ birds
de child de-draŋ children
zoŋ younger brother zoŋ-draŋ younger brother and others
no younger sister no-draŋ younger sister and others

3.9.2 Plurality signalled by nouns of multitude:

Plural numbers are also formed by using nouns of multitude in Boro and Garo. Nouns of multitude either precede or follow a noun and are used in the place of plural markers. They have their independent meanings.

a) Boro

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭηŋkʰam rice</td>
<td>gwbαŋ/burza ṭηŋkʰam a plenty of rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mansi people</td>
<td>gwbαŋ/burza mansi many people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau bird</td>
<td>dau pʰalw flock of bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na fish</td>
<td>na zakʰri group of fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwswu cow</td>
<td>mwswu pʰalw herd of cow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Garo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi rice</td>
<td>mi baŋə a plenty of rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mande people</td>
<td>baŋə mande many people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.9.3 Plurality signalled by numerals:

The concept of plurality is also formed by using numeral definitives in Boro and Garo. These numeral definitives are either two or more than two. Under this condition no plural markers are used to indicate the sense of plurality.

a) Boro

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bibar</td>
<td>bibar bar-nwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bipʰaŋ</td>
<td>bipʰaŋ pʰaŋ-tʰam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>megon</td>
<td>megon tʰai-brwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akʰai</td>
<td>akʰai pʰar-nwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰanai</td>
<td>kʰanai dwη-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwima</td>
<td>dwima goη-tʰam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwihu</td>
<td>dwihu tʰai-nwi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Garo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bibal</td>
<td>bibal bal-gni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zak</td>
<td>zak sam-gni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰni</td>
<td>kʰni dwη-bona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chibima</td>
<td>chibima dwl-tʰam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me?dwał</td>
<td>me?dwał ge-gni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

chair      | chair              | banʰa chair | many chair
do?o       | bird               | do?o zak    | flock of birds
matchu     | cow                | matchu hari | herd of cow
3.9.4 Plurality signalled by reduplication:

Plurality is also formed by reduplicating the nouns, pronouns or adjectives in Boro and Garo. In such cases pluralities are redundant and there is no need to affix any plural markers to either of the word classes.

a) Boro

i) Noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>no no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gami</td>
<td>gami gami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>or or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bipʰan</td>
<td>bipʰan bipʰan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) Pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>swyr</th>
<th>ma</th>
<th>Bobe</th>
<th>Swyr Swyr Swyr Swyr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>which</td>
<td>who are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>Bobe</td>
<td>what are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bobo</td>
<td>Bobe</td>
<td>Bobe</td>
<td>which are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swyr</td>
<td>swyr</td>
<td>swyr</td>
<td>with whom (pl.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iii) Adjective:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geder</th>
<th>Pʰisa</th>
<th>Gwswm</th>
<th>Mwzan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geder geder zibwu big snakes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰisa pʰisa hi small clothes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwswm gwswm megon black eyes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwzan mwzan gotʰo good children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b) Garo

i) Noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nok</td>
<td>nok nok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sona</td>
<td>sona sona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi</td>
<td>chi chi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wal</td>
<td>wal wal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bol</td>
<td>bol bol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From house to house
From village to village
From water to water
From fire to fire
From tree to tree

ii) Pronoun:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sawa</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zawa</td>
<td>somebody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maia</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Who are
What are
Somebody are
What are

iii) Adjective:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dal?a</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chona</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giswm</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nama</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Big snakes
Small clothes
Black eyes
Good children

In pluralisation of adjectives in Garo language, either the last syllable of the first member or the first syllable of the second members are temporarily dropped.

But no such process is available in Boro language.
3.10 Numerals:

Numeral is a term for number. In grammar it is often used to refer to one, two, three etc. The numeral system of Boro and Garo is decimal and are mostly common. The numeral system of the Boro and the Garo languages are newly created and developed and are discussed under the following two main heads.

i) Cardinal numerals and
ii) Ordinal numerals

3.10.1 Cardinal numerals:

In both the languages the cardinal numerals are one, two, three..... ten and others. Cardinal numerals are again sub-divided into two and are discussed as follow:

i) Basic or primary cardinal numerals and

ii) Derived or secondary cardinal numerals

3.10.1.1 Basic cardinal numerals:

The numerals having their absolute forms are basic cardinal numerals in Boro and Garo. The numerals from one to ten in Boro and Garo, twenty and thirty in Garo, hundred, thousand, lakh, crore in Boro and Garo are the basic cardinal numerals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nw1</td>
<td>gni</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t am</td>
<td>gw1 am</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brw1</td>
<td>bri</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
145

ba      boña      five
do      dok       six
sni     sni       seven
dain    chet      eight
gu      skʰ u     nine
zi      chikʰ-vh₁ ten
--      kʰ olongvšk twenty
--      kʰ olatchi thirty
zwu     rvtcha    hundred
rwza/hazar    hazal thousand
lakʰ     lak       lakh
kʰ-wuti  kʰ oti/guti crore

The basic cardinal numerals thousand, lakh and crore are the words borrowed from non-Tibeto-Burman group of languages. These languages have not their own counting system for these numerals.

3.10.1.2 Derived cardinal numerals:

Derived cardinal numerals have not their absolute forms in Boro and Garo. They are derived from the basic cardinal numerals by different derivational processes. These processes are:

i) Addition

ii) Multiplication
iii) Multiplication and addition

3.10.1.2.1 Addition:

The numerals from eleven to nineteen come under the process of addition in Boro and Garo. Under this process, the first member is ‘ten’ (‘zi’ in Boro and ‘chik’ in Garo) and the second members are the basic numerals beginning from one to nine. Under the addition process the word ‘chik’ used for ‘ten’ in Garo language is used only partially i.e. only the first syllable ‘chi-’ is used to represent ‘ten’ and then only the second members are suffixed to it.

a) Boro

zi (ten) + se (one) > zise eleven
zi (ten) + nỳi (two) > zинi twelve
zi (ten) + ba (five) > ziba fifteen
zi (ten) + sni (seven) > zisni seventeen

b) Garo

chi (ten) + sa (one) > chisa eleven
chi (ten) + gni (two) > chigni twelve
chi (ten) + boŋa (five) > chibonga fifteen
chi (ten) + sni (seven) > chisni seventeen

In Garo language, this process of addition also continues from 21-29 and 31-39. The numerals twenty and thirty have their independent forms in Garo language which are respectively represented by ‘kʰolgryk’ and ‘kʰolatchi’ e.g.
k⁹olgrwk (twenty) + bri (four) > k⁹olgrwkbri (twenty four)

k⁹olgrwk (twenty) + dok (six) > k⁹olgrwdok (twenty six)

k⁹olatchi (thirty) + gni (two) > k⁹olatchigni (thirty two)

k⁹olatchi (thirty) + sni (seven) > k⁹olatchisni (thirty seven)

Twenty and thirty have no such independent forms in Boro language. So, the process of addition in Boro language is compact only in between 11-19.

3.10.1.2.2 Multiplication:

Numerals of multiples of ten like twenty, thirty, forty and others up to ninety and multiples of hundred from one hundred to nine hundred and multiples of thousand from one thousand to nine thousand and the like come under the process of multiplication in Boro language. Multiples of ten from forty to ninety, multiples of hundred from one hundred to nine hundred and multiples of thousand from one thousand to nine thousand and the like come under the process of multiplication in Garo language. In this language, the multiples of ten from forty to ninety are derived by suffixing the basic numerals to 'sot- ', which is considered as a variant of the numeral 'chik⁹wŋ'.

a) Boro

nwi × zi > nwiizi (2 × 10 = 20) twenty

t⁹am × zi > t⁹amzi (3 × 10=30) thirty

se × zwu > sezwu (1 ×100=100) one hundred

or
b) Garo

sot × bri > sotbri ( 10 × 4= 40)          forty
sot × dok > sotdok (10 × 6=60)            sixty
sot × skₙu > sotskₙu ( 10 × 9=90 )         ninety
rwtcha × sa > rwtchasa (100 × 1=100 )     one hundred
rwtcha ×gni > rwtchagni ( 100 × 2=200 )   two hundred
hazal × sa > hazalsa ( 1000 ×1 = 1000 )   one thousand
hazal × skₙu > hazalskₙu (1000 × 9=9000)   nine thousand

3.10.1.2.3 Multiplication and addition:

This process begins from twenty one in Boro language and from forty one in Garo language. The numbers from twenty one to twenty nine, from thirty one to thirty nine and the like upto ninety nine in Boro and from forty one to forty nine,
fifty one to fifty nine and such other numerals up to ninety nine in Garo language come under this process of multiplication and addition.

**a) Boro**

- \( n̂ ŵ i \times zi + se > n̂ ŵ izise \) (\( 2 \times 10 + 1 = 21 \)) twenty one
- \( br̂ ŵ i \times zi + n̂ ŵ i > br̂ ŵ izinŵ i \) (\( 4 \times 10 + 2 = 42 \)) forty two
- \( ba \times zi + ba > baziba \) (\( 5 \times 10 + 5 = 55 \)) fifty five
- \( dain \times zi + ŝ n̂ i > dainzisni \) (\( 8 \times 10 + 7 = 87 \)) eighty seven
- \( gu \times zi + gu > guzigu \) (\( 9 \times 10 + 9 = 99 \)) ninety nine

**b) Garo**

- \( sot \times bri + sa > sotbrisa \) (\( 10 \times 4 + 1 = 41 \)) forty one
- \( sot \times bo̦ n̂ a + bo̦ n̂ a > sotbo̦ n̂ a̦ bo̦ n̂ a \) (\( 10 \times 5 + 5 = 55 \)) fifty five
- \( sot \times bo̦ n̂ a + sk^h_u > sotbo̦ n̂ a̦ sk^h_u \) (\( 10 \times 5 + 9 = 59 \)) fifty nine
- \( sot \times dok + sa > sotdoksa \) (\( 10 \times 6 + 1 = 61 \)) sixty one
- \( sot \times ŝ n̂ i + dok > sotsn̂ idok \) (\( 10 \times 7 + 6 = 76 \)) seventy six
- \( sot \times sk^h_u + sk^h_u > sotsk^h_u sk^h_u \) (\( 10 \times 9 + 9 = 99 \)) ninety nine

These are the three main processes of cardinal numeral formation in Boro and Garo languages. The numerals beyond one hundred will follow these three main processes in some extended form.

**3.10.2 Ordinal numerals:**

Ordinal numerals are the opposite of cardinal numerals. They denote position in a numerical series in Boro and Garo. In both the languages, two types of ordinal numerals are found. These are:
i) Fractional ordinal numerals and

ii) Non-fractional ordinal numerals

3.10.2.1 Fractional ordinal numerals:

Fractional ordinal numerals are of compound form in Boro and Garo. These are formed by using ‘bahagw’ or ‘k’aw’ (part) in Boro and ‘bak’ (part/portion) in Garo. In fractional ordinal numeral formation in Boro language, the genitive case marker {-ni} is suffixed to ‘bahagw’ and the numerals are kept independently. ‘k’aw’ do not take the case marker, but take the numerals directly. In Garo language the genitive case marker {-ni} is suffixed to the numerals.

a) Boro

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fraction</th>
<th>Boro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/4</td>
<td>brwi bahagwni se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>nwi bahagwni se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>brwi bahagwni t’am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>se k’awse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nwi k’awse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Garo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fraction</th>
<th>Garo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/4</td>
<td>bakbrini baksa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>of four portion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one portion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bakgnini baksa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>half</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.10.2.2 Non-fractional ordinal numerals:

Non-fractional ordinal numerals specially denote position in a numeral series. These kinds of numerals are formed by the process of suffixation in Boro and Garo. Non-fractional ordinal numeral formation suffixes in Boro and Garo languages are \{-ti\} and \{-gwpa\} respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se-t^h^i</td>
<td>sa-gwpa</td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brwi-t^h^i</td>
<td>bri-gwpa</td>
<td>fourth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-t^h^i</td>
<td>sk^h^u-gwpa</td>
<td>ninth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zise-t^h^i</td>
<td>chisa-gwpa</td>
<td>eleventh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwizi-t^h^i</td>
<td>k^h^olgrw^k-gwpa</td>
<td>twentieth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bazi-t^h^i</td>
<td>sotbo^eta-gwpa</td>
<td>fiftieth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.11 Classifiers in Boro and Garo:

Classifiers are fully dependent on numerals and so are also known as numeral definitives. These are always prefixed to the numerals in Boro and Garo.
Classifications of the classifiers are mainly dependent on the shape, size and the quality of the nouns. The use of classifiers is an important item in Boro and Garo. Such classifiers always take numerals and they either precede or follow a noun.

a) Boro

\[
\text{sa}----\text{se} \quad \text{mansi} \quad \text{a man}
\]

\[
/ \quad / \quad / 
\]

classifier one \hspace{1cm} man

\[
\text{mansi} \quad \text{sa}----\text{se} \quad \text{a man}
\]

\[
/ \quad / \quad / 
\]

man classifier one

b) Garo

\[
\text{sak}----\text{sa} \quad \text{mande} \quad \text{a man}
\]

\[
/ \quad / \quad / 
\]

classifier one \hspace{1cm} man

\[
\text{mande} \quad \text{sak}----\text{sa} \quad \text{a man}
\]

\[
/ \quad / \quad / 
\]

man classifier one

Such types of numeral classifiers also give a definite sense in both the languages. The most similar classifiers from both the languages are elaborated below.

3.11.1 Some common classifiers in Boro and Garo:
i) Br. \{sa-\}, Gr. \{sak-\}: In Boro, this classifier is used with human beings and supreme god. In Garo language it is used with human beings, gods, ghosts and spirits.

a) Boro

- hinzaw sa-se: a woman
- got*o sa-n\=wi: two children
- gosai sa-se: a god

b) Garo

- me?ch\w k sak-sa: a woman
- me?ma\=n sak-bri: four ghosts
- m\w t\=e sak-dok: six gods

ii) Br.\{ma-\} Gr.\{ma\=n-\}: These classifiers are used with birds, animals, fish and insects in Boro and Garo languages. In Boro language, it is also used with ghosts and spirits.

a) Boro

- dau ma-ba: five birds
- m\w swu ma-\=tam: three cows
- sigun ma-br\=wi: four vultures
- na ma-n\=wi: two fish
- sangrema ma-ba: five glow worms
- m\w d\=ai ma-n\=wi: two ghosts
b) Garo

- doijklm^lk na man-bona: five crows
- matchu man-gni: two cows
- na?ok man-dok: six fish
- se Tj?wat man-sni: seven glow worms

iii) Br. & Gr. {p h^an-}: This classifier is used with plants and trees in Boro and Garo.

a) Boro

- t^haizw?u p^an-se: a mango tree
- t^ailir p^an-nwi: two banana trees
- t^ulumsi p^an-ba: five tulsi plants

b) Garo

- t^e?gatchu p^an-sa: a mango tree
- t^e?rw?k p^an-gni: two banana trees
- t^ulusi p^an-bona: five tulsi plants

iv) Br. {ga}, Gr. {k^ana-}: These classifiers are used with the leaves of trees, cloth, book, paper, feather of birds and such other things or objects.

a) Boro

- bilai ga-se: a leaf
- zi ga-nwi: two clothes
- bizab ga-do: six books
satha gar-br^i - four umbrellas

b) Garo

bizak k^h-wi-sa - a leaf
ba?ra k^h-wi-gni - two clothes
lek^h a k^h-wi-dok - six books
chatt^h a k^h-wi-bri - four umbrellas

v) Br. {bar-}, Gr.{bal-}: These two classifiers are used with flowers in both the languages.

a) Boro

bibal bal-gni - two flowers
bibal bal-dok - six flowers
golap bal-sni - seven roses

b) Garo

bibal bal-gni - two flowers
bibal bal-dok - six flowers
golap bal-sni - seven roses

vi) Br. & Gr. {dwn-}: This classifier is used with long and thin things like rope, thread, hair, necklace and others in both the languages.

a) Boro

diru^h dwn-se - a rope
k^hundu^h dwn-nwi - two threads
vii) Br. & Gr. \{daŋ\}: This classifier is used with the sheaf or bunch of paddy, fruits or with such other species in both the languages.

a) Boro

\[\text{tʰailir daŋ-se} \quad \text{a sheaf of banana}\]
\[\text{mai daŋ-do} \quad \text{six bunches of paddy}\]
\[\text{goi daŋ-nwɪ} \quad \text{two sheaves of betelnut}\]

b) Garo

\[\text{eʔryk daŋ-sa} \quad \text{a sheaf of banana}\]
\[\text{mibidaŋ daŋ-dok} \quad \text{six bunches of paddy}\]
\[\text{gue daŋ-gnɪ} \quad \text{two sheaves of betelnut}\]

viii) Br. \{gon\}, Gr. \{ge\}: These two numerals are used with household objects, agricultural implements, musical instruments and such other things in Boro and Garo.

a) Boro

\[\text{wŋkʰam dw goŋ-nwɪ} \quad \text{two cooking pots}\]
\[\text{diŋkʰi goŋ-se} \quad \text{a mortar}\]
siphun gon-brwi four flutes
daba gon-tam three knives

b) Garo
me?dwk ge-gni two cooking pots
t'ênkh'ge-sa a mortar
t'ilori ge-bri four flutes
churi ge-gwítam three knives

ix) Br. {dab-}, Gr. {dam-}: These classifiers are used with village, any such other place, garden or others.
a) Boro
gami dab-nwí two villages
zajga dab-se a place
bari dab-sni seven gardens

b) Garo
son dam-gni two villages
biap dam-sa a place
bari dam-sni seven gardens

x) Br. & Gr. {zora-}: This classifier is specially used with the pairs of birds or any other things or species.
a) Boro
da'u zora-se a pair of bird
daút'uk zora-nwí two pairs of dove
zontha zora-th am three pairs of shoe

b) Garo

do?o zora-sa a pair of bird
do?k h ru zora-gni two pairs of dove
zut h a zora-gw t h am three pairs of shoe

xi) Br. {t h ort h i n h -}, Gr. {t h i n h t h ot-}: These two classifiers are used with drops of water or such other liquid objects.

a) Boro

dw i t h ort h i n h -se a drop of water
mw d w i t h ort h i n h -nwi two drops of tear
t h aw t h ort h i n h -ba five drops of oil

b) Garo

chi t h i n h t h ot-sa a drop of tear
mw k chi t h i n h t h ot-gni two drops of tear
t h o t h i n h t h ot-bona five drops of oil

xii) Br. {mu-}, Gr. {mw k-}: These two classifiers are used with the measuring of any long and flat things like rope, cloth and others.

a) Boro

diru n mu-se a cubit of rope
zi mu-nwi two cubits of cloth

b) Garo

budu mw k-sa a cubit of rope
ba?ra mẘk-gni two cubits of cloth

xiii) Br. {k³un-/k³unga-}, Gr. {k³op-}: These two classifiers are specially used to denote plaintain flowers in Boro and Garo.

a) Boro

mẘik³um k³un/k³unga-se a plaintain flower
mẘik³um k³un/k³unga-nwi two plaintain flowers

b) Garo

sobok k³op-sa a plaintain flower
sobok k³op-gni two plaintain flowers

xiv) Br. {p³un-}, Gr. { p³on-}: These two classifiers are specially used with the counting of betelnut in Boro and Garo.

a) Boro

goi p³un-se a pon of betelnut
goi p³un-nwi two pons of betelnut

b) Garo

gue p³on-sa a pon of betelnut
gue p³on-gni two pons of betelnut

xv) Br. {dẘl̊w-}, Gr. {dol-}: These two classifiers are used to denote group of peoples in Boro and Garo.

a) Boro

mansi dẘl̊w -se a group of people
mansi dẘl̊w -nwi two groups of people
b) Garo

mande dol-sa a group of people
mande dol-gni two groups of people

xvi) Br. & Gr. \{don-\}: This classifier is used to indicate the quantity of measurement with a kind of small bamboo basket in Boro and Garo languages.

a) Boro

mairon don-se a basketful of rice
mairon don-gu nine basketful of rice

b) Garo

miroin don-sa a basketful of rice
miroin don-sk\textsuperscript{b}u nine basketful of rice

xvii) Br. \{gorod-\}, Gr. \{grok-\}: These two classifiers are used with the draught of water, milk or such other liquid objects.

a) Boro

dwi gorodse a draught of water
zwu gorod-nwi two draughts of rice beer
gaik\textsuperscript{b}er gorod-brwi four draughts of milk

b) Garo

chi grok-sa a draught of water
chu grok-gni two draughts of rice beer
dud grok-bri four draughts of milk
xviii) Br. \{kʰobo-\}, Gr. \{kʰu-\}: These classifiers are used to represent a morsel of rice taken at a time in both the languages.

a) Boro

\[\begin{align*}
\text{γηκʰam kʰobo-se} & \quad \text{a morsel of rice} \\
\text{sira kʰobo-nwi} & \quad \text{two morsels of flattened rice}
\end{align*}\]

b) Garo

\[\begin{align*}
\text{mi kʰu.-sa} & \quad \text{a morsel of rice} \\
\text{chira kʰu-gni} & \quad \text{two morsels of flattened rice}
\end{align*}\]

xix) Br. & Gr. \{boza-\}: This classifier is used with large bundles of thatch, firewood, straw and others.

a) Boro

\[\begin{align*}
\text{bon boza-se} & \quad \text{a bundle of firewood} \\
\text{zigab boza-nwi} & \quad \text{two bundles of straw}
\end{align*}\]

b) Garo

\[\begin{align*}
\text{am?bol boza-sa} & \quad \text{a bundle of firewood} \\
\text{wa?a boza-gni} & \quad \text{two bundles of bamboo}
\end{align*}\]

xx) Br.\{tʰopʰla-\}, Gr. \{tʰom'-\}: These two classifiers are used with small bundles of any things or objects tied up in a cloth or others.

a) Boro

\[\begin{align*}
\text{mairon tʰopʰla-se} & \quad \text{a bundle of rice} \\
\text{zi tʰopʰla-nwi} & \quad \text{two bundles of cloth}
\end{align*}\]
b) Garo

miroŋ tʰom -sa a bundle of rice
baŋra tʰom gni two bundles of cloth

xxi) Br. {swi-}, Gr. {sri-}: These two classifiers are used with the slice of fruits in Boro and Garo.

a) Boro

kʰumbra swi-nwi two slices of pumpkin
tʰaibeng swi-brwi four slices of cucumber

b) Garo

gominda sri-gni two slices of pumpkin
tʰemwet sri-bri four slices of cucumber

xxii) Br. {tʰo-}, Gr. {tʰon-}: These two classifiers are used with the cut off portions of timbers, bamboos and such other varieties of things.

a) Boro

bon tʰo-se a firewood
wua tʰo-nwi two portions of bamboo

b) Garo

am?bol tʰon-sa a firewood
waŋa tʰon-gni two portions of bamboo

xxiii) Br. {kʰor-}, Gr. {kʰol-}: These two classifiers are used with different types of hole and also with the holes of ear and nose in Garo language.
a) Boro

hak₇ or k₇or-se a pond

gudu₇ or-nwi two holes

dwik₇ or k₇or-brwi four wells

b) Garo

a₇khol k₇ol-sa a pond

nachik₇ ol k₇ol-gni two earholes

gwįk₇ ol k₇ol-bri four nostrils

Besides the above mentioned classifiers, many other classifiers are also there in Boro and Garo languages. But their form and uses are not similar in both the languages as the classifiers mentioned above.

In Boro and Garo languages, it is also seen that sometimes the last syllable of the noun word resemble with the form of the classifiers. But their numbers are very limited in both the languages. A few specimens of these are given below:

a) Boro:

bi-p₇an p₇an-se a tree

bi-bar bar-se a flower

dau-dwi dwi-nwi two eggs

be-gor gor-t₇am three seeds

swi-ma ma-brwi four dogs

p₇i-t₇ai t₇ai-ba five fruits

p₇i-t₇wb t₇wb-do six cocoons

dwi-k₇or k₇or-sni seven wells
b) Garo:

- bi-bal bal-sa: a flower
- kʰil-dwη dwη-gni: two threads
- mi-bi-daŋ daŋ-gwʔam: three bunches of paddy
- bi-zak zak-bri: four green vegetable leaves
- na-chi-kʰol kʰol-gni: two earholes

3.11.2 Quantifiers:

Quantifier is a term used in semantic or logical analysis and it refers to a set of items which express contrasts in quantity. Quantifier also gives a relative or indefinite indication of quantity. In Boro and Garo, the numbers of quantifiers are very few.

a) Boro

- ese / ise: a few, a little
- gwʔan / burza: much, more

b) Garo

- onʔtʰ isa: a few, a little
- baŋʔa: many, much, more

3.12 Case:

Case is a grammatical category and is used in the analysis of the word classes to identify the syntactic relationship between words in a sentence. It also expresses the syntactic relation between a noun phrase and the predicate. Case relations are expressed by three ways in both the languages. These are:
i) By the addition of case markers
ii) By the absence of case markers
iii) By using post-positions

### 3.12.1 Types of cases:

In Boro and Garo languages, there are seven cases each including the ablative case. These cases are:

i) Nominative

ii) Accusative

iii) Instrumental

iv) Dative

v) Ablative

vi) Genitive

vii) Locative

A chart of these cases and case markers from both the languages are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-a, -w, -∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-∅, -kʰwu</td>
<td>-kʰo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-zwη</td>
<td>-chi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-nw</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-ni-pʰraj</td>
<td>-o-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-aw</td>
<td>-o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.12.1.1 Nominative case:

Nominative case is the case of the subject. It is suffixed either to the nouns or pronouns in Boro and Garo. The case markers in Boro are \(-a\), \(-w\), \(-\emptyset\). Garo language has no nominative case marker.

a) Boro

\{-a\}:

ada \----------a \undudwη

/ / / / my elder brother case m. is sleeping

‘My elder brother is sleeping’

bibari ------ a \wηk^b\ am \snηd\nη

/ / / / bibari case m. rice is cooking

‘Bibari is cooking rice’

na-------a \dwj\aw \t^h\aj\w

/ / / / fish case m. in the water live

‘The fish live in the water’

an------a \bizab\ \dono

/ / / / I case m. book to have

‘I have book’
The nominative case marker \{-\pi\} is never used with the nouns in Boro language. It has also no occurrence with the honorific singular and plural forms of personal pronoun.

In some of the sentences in Boro language, nominative case markers are not used either with the nouns or the pronouns. They live in a hiding position. But the sense of remaining in hiding position of the markers are identified from the sentence itself. A few specimens of such sentences in Boro language are:

\{\phi\}:

\begin{verbatim}
ada undud\pi
\end{verbatim}

my elder brother is sleeping
‘My elder brother is sleeping’
ram gabdwn
/

ram is crying
‘Ram is crying’

nwη phwi
/

you to come
‘You come’

In the above given sentences, case markers are absent with the words ‘ada’, ‘ram’ and ‘nwη’. The case markers absent with the words ‘ada’ and ‘ram’ are {-a}, and the marker absent with the word nwη is {-w}.

b) Garo

Garo language has no nominative case marker. In this language nouns or pronouns themselves perform the function of nominative case marker.

matchu{-ø} re?bazok
/

cow has come
‘The cow has come’

jadu{-ø} re?gen ma
/

jadu will go what
‘Will jadu go?’
ambi{∅}       gwypʰbok

/       /

grand mother       white

‘Grand mother is white’

3.12.1.2 Accusative case:

Accusative case defines the object of the verb. It denotes the direct object of
the transitive verb. Accusative case markers are used either to the nouns or the
pronouns in both the languages. The marker of this case in Boro is {-kʰwu, -∅} and
in Garo language {-kʰo}.

a) Boro

{-kʰwu}:

aŋ    be    pʰitʰai----kʰwu    zagwŋ

/   /   /   /

I this fruit case m. will eat

‘I will eat this fruit’

rama    aŋ----kʰwu    linʰordwŋ

/   /   /   /

ram is I case m. calling

‘Ram is calling me’

nwyŋ    be----kʰwu    labw

/   /   /   /

you this case m. bring
'You are to bring this'
b) Garo
   ｧηηα  なηη----k^0  なηη
       /     /     /     /
tome you  case m.  to need
   'I don’t need you'
   do?o  bιp^h a----k^0  rυm^ʔbo
       /     /     /     /
bird  male  case m.  to catch
   'Catch the cock'
   ȧma  なηη----k^0  ok^h amηα
       /     /     /     /
mother you  case m.  calling
   'Mother is calling you'

In some cases accusative case markers are not used with animate non-human
and inanimate things or objects. For example:
a) Boro
   bιw^η  な  {ο}  homdηη
       /     /     /
he/she  fish  catching
   'He/she is catching fish'
   rama  ωηk^h am  {ο}  zadηη
       /     /     /
ram  is  rice  eating
   'Ram is eating rice'
b) Garo

\[ \text{ŋa k'iːtʰap} \{\emptyset} \text{ pʰoraieŋa} \]

I book reading

‘I am reading book’

\[ \text{ua naʔthok} \{\emptyset} \text{ chaʔza} \]

he/she fish do/does not eat

‘He/she does not take fish’

\[ \text{apʰa bol} \{\emptyset} \text{ soŋeŋa} \]

my father tree planting

‘My father is planting tree’

3.12.1.3 Instrumental case:

Instrumental case shows the instrument of performing action of the verb. In Boro and Garo it is suffixed to the objects which is either nouns or pronouns. The instrumental case marker in Boro is \{-zŋə\} and in Garo \{-chɪ\}. Example:
a) Boro

biw ak^ai - zwn na homdwn

he/she is hand case m. fish catching

‘He/she is catching fish with the hand’

rua ---- zwn dan

axe case m. to cut

‘Cut with the axe’

nwma ---- zwn t^anp^a

your mother case m. go along with

‘Go along with your mother’

be ----zwn bu

this/it case m. to beat

‘Beat with this’

b) Garo

zak ---- chi rwn?bo

hand case m. to catch
‘Catch with the hand’
rua ---- chi  den’ya
/       /       /

axe  case m. to cut

‘Cut with the axe’
nar|m|a— chi  re?babo
/       /       /

your mother  case m. to come along with

‘Come along with your mother’
ia ---- chi  bu?a
/       /       /

it/this case m. to pierce

‘Pierce with it’

3.12.1.4 Dative case:

This case is used for the indirect object of the verb. In Boro and Garo, dative case markers are suffixed either to the nouns or the pronouns. The dative case marker in Boro is {-my} and in Garo {-na}.

a) Boro
bek’h|yu  an|7---- nw  hor
/       /       /       /

this/it  I  case m. to give
‘Give it to me’
mauzi——-nw ṣὴk'bam hỳ
/ / / /
cat case m. rice give

‘Give rice to the cat’
abo ———-nw dỳn
/ / / /

my elder sister case m. to keep

‘Keep to my elder sister’
nwị swr ——— nw hịgwịn
/ / / /

you who case m. will give

‘To whom will you give?’

b) Garo

an—— na on?bo
/ / /

I case m. to give

‘Give to me’
bi?gwa—— na on?cha
/ / /

beggar case m. to offer
'Offer to the beggar'
bi ----- na ra?baa
/ / /
he/she case m. to bring

'Bring to him/her'
abi-------- na on?bo
/ / /

my elder sister case m. to give

'Give to my elder sister'

3.12.1.5 Ablative case:

This case is the case of separation from the source. It indicates the source of
action being performed. There are no separate case markers to indicate ablative
case in Boro and Garo. In Boro language, the ablative case marker is formed by the
following process:

i) By suffixing the post position {-\(p^h\)raj} with the genitive case marker {-ni}.

On the other hand in Garo language it is formed:

i) By suffixing genitive case marker {-ni} to the locative case marker {-o}.

a) Boro

\[\text{nwpjda} ----- \text{ni-p}^h\text{raj} \quad \text{la}\]
/ / /

your elder brother case m. to take

'Take from your elder brother'
aŋ- ni-pʰraj  gwaŋanaw  tʰa
/ / / / / / 

I case m. at a distance to live
‘Keep distance from me’

no - ni-pʰraj  tʰaŋ
/ / / / / / 

home case m. to go
‘Go from home’

bi —ni-pʰraj  labŋ
/ / / / / / 

he/she case m. to bring
‘Bring from him/her’

b) Garo

naŋ?da------- o-ni  raʔa
/ / / / / / 

your elder brother case m. to take
‘Take from your elder brother’

bol - o-ni  bitʰ e  gaʔakʰa
/ / / / / / 

tree case m. fruit to fall
‘Fruit falls from the tree’
nok -o-ni re’a

/ / / /

home case m. to go

‘Go from home’

bi----o-ni ra?baa

/ / / /

he/she case m. to bring

‘Bring from him/her’

3.12.1.6 Genitive case:

A genitive case always stands to show the relationship between two objects. It also denotes possession or inter-nominal relationship. Genitive case markers are used with nouns and pronouns in Boro and Garo. In Boro and Garo, the genitive case marker is { -ni}.

a) Boro

aŋ ---- ni no

/ / / /

I case m. house

‘My house’

ama ------ ni hi

/ / / /

my mother case m. cloth
‘My mother’s cloth’

mỳswỳ --- ni  megon

/    /    /

cow case m. eye

‘The eye of the cow’

mỳ---ni  akʰai

/    /    /

you case m. hand

‘Your hand’

b) Garo

aŋ -- ni  nok

/    /    /

I case m. house

‘My house’

ama ---ni  baʔra

/    /    /

my mother case m. cloth

‘My mother’s cloth’

matchu -- ni  mỳkron

/    /    /

cow case m. eye

‘The eye of the cow’
It is also seen that during the time of indication of the relationships or kinship terms, sometimes, these case markers remain absent in both the languages. But these are understood from the sequence.

a) Boro

hari-ni pʰa > haripʰa 
mauzi-ni pʰisa > mauzi pʰisa 
dau-ni pʰisa > dau pʰisa/ dausa 
an-ni pʰa > apʰa

hari’s father 
calf 
chicken 
my father

b) Garo

hari-ni pʰa > haripʰa 
mengo ni biʔsa > mengo bisa 
doʔo-ni biʔsa > doʔo bisa 
an-ni pʰa > apʰa

hari’s father 
calf 
chicken 
my father

3.12.1.7 Locative case:

Locative case marker indicates the location of spatial and temporal reference in Boro and Garo. This case expresses the location of the subject i.e. things or objects, time or space. The locative case markers in Boro and Garo are {-aw} and {-o} respectively. These are used with nouns and pronouns in both the languages.
a) Boro

no----aw mansi gwija

home case m. man do/ does not have

‘(there is) No man in the house’

bipʰan̪----aw pʰitʰai doŋo

tree case m. fruit to have

‘(there is) Fruit in the tree’

be ---- aw dapʰwi

this case m. do not come

‘Do not come here’

bobe ---- aw doŋo

which case m. to have

‘where is (the thing or the object)’

b) Garo

nok ---- o mande gri

home case m. man nil/nothing

‘(there is) No man in the house’
bol ---- o  bit\h^e  do\eta
/    /    /

(tree case m.  fruit  to have

'(there is) Fruit in the tree'

i ---- o  da?reba
/    /    /

here/this  case m.  donot come

'Do not come here'

mai---- o  do\eta
/    /    /

what  case m.  to have

'Where is (the things or objects)'

In Boro and Garo, the case markers {-aw} and {-o} are used with inanimate things or objects and also with a very limited number of pronouns. But they never occur with personal pronouns in both the languages.

3.13 Verbs in Boro and Garo:

Verb is a very important part of word morphology. It is inflected for tense, aspect, but not for number and gender. It is also capable of taking negative imperative prefix or suffix in Boro and Garo. In both the languages every sentence has a verb and it indicates the action of the verb. From this point, verb is also thought to be a very important part of sentence.
3.13.1 Classification of verbs in Boro and Garo:

From the morphological point of view, verbs are divided into two great divisions in Boro and Garo. These are:

i) Morphological structures of the verb and

ii) Morphological functions of the verb.

3.13.1.1 Morphological structures of the verb:

Under the morphological structure, verbs are sub-divided into three great divisions in Boro and Garo. These are:

i) Simple verb

ii) Complex verb and

iii) Compound verb.

3.13.1.1.1 Simple verb:

Simple verbs or verb roots are used in an independent way without taking any affix. Most of the simple verbs are of monosyllabic nature in Boro and in Garo they are either monosyllabic or bisyllabic. A few specimens of simple verbs from both the languages are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰaŋ</td>
<td>reʔa</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰwi</td>
<td>reʔbaa</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>raʔa</td>
<td>to accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>to reap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hom</td>
<td>to hold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫym</td>
<td>to drink</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫytn</td>
<td>to sing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫwzab</td>
<td>to sing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫu</td>
<td>to rub/to wipe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣa</td>
<td>to twist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣe</td>
<td>to snatch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwlvj</td>
<td>to fall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫaw</td>
<td>to sail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫaw</td>
<td>to dig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫan</td>
<td>to count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫaj</td>
<td>to break</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫdyu</td>
<td>to feed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫa</td>
<td>to rain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫar</td>
<td>to cross</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫa</td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫam</td>
<td>to worn out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫab</td>
<td>to pile up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫəw</td>
<td>to steal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫu</td>
<td>to wrap up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gan</td>
<td>to put on dress</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
gar  gela  to avoid
k₇wβ  gwpe  to cover
lu  rwₐk₇a  to pour
swi  sk₇ea  to hang
saw  soʔa  to fire
sew  soa  to decompose

3.13.1.1.2 Complex verb:

Complex verb is also a very important category of morphological formation.

In Boro and Garo, complex verbs are formed by two ways:

i) Simple verb root with a prefix

ii) Simple verb root with suffix or suffixes

i) Simple verb root with a prefix:

In Boro and Garo languages, complex verbs are formed by adding prefixes to the simple verb roots. Such prefixes in Boro language are- \{da-, p₇u-, p₇w-, p₇o-, p₇a-, p₇e-, p₇i-, bi-, be-, sw-, si-, se-, si-, ho\}. In Garo language, these are- \{da-, p₇i-, p₇o-, p₇h, p₇e-, a-, m-, ma-, s-, ba\}. In Boro and Garo languages, the negative formation as well as the complex verb formation prefix is \{da\}.

a) Boro

i)\{da\}:

v. za  to eat
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da – v. za &gt; v. daza</td>
<td>do not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. t<em>h</em>an</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da – v. t<em>h</em>an &gt; v. dat<em>h</em>an</td>
<td>do not go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. p<em>h</em>wi</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da – v. p<em>h</em>wi &gt; v. dap<em>h</em>wi</td>
<td>do not come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. maw</td>
<td>to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da – v. maw &gt; v. damaw</td>
<td>do not do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ii) {p*h*u-}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v. sun</td>
<td>to be short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p<em>h</em>u – v. sun &gt; v. p<em>h</em>usun</td>
<td>to make short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. run</td>
<td>to be loose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p<em>h</em>u – v. run &gt; p<em>h</em>urun</td>
<td>to make loose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. dun</td>
<td>to be hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p<em>h</em>u – v. dun &gt; v. p<em>h</em>udun</td>
<td>to make hot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**iii) {p*h*w-}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v. mw<em>nh</em></td>
<td>to ripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p<em>h</em>w – v. mw<em>nh</em> &gt; v. p<em>h</em>w<em>mw</em>n</td>
<td>to make ripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. zw*wb</td>
<td>to complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p<em>h</em>w – v. zw<em>wb &gt; v. p</em>h<em>w</em>zw*wb</td>
<td>to make complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. law</td>
<td>to be long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p<em>h</em>w – v. law &gt; v. p<em>h</em>w*law</td>
<td>to make long</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
iv) \{{p^h}_o-\}:

v. zo to sit

\(p^h_o - v.\ zo > v.\ p^h_ozo\) to make sit

v. dom to bent

\(p^h_o - v.\ dom > v.\ p^h_odom\) to make bent

v) \{{p^h}_a-\}:

v. ham to be good

\(p^h_a - v.\ ham > v.\ p^h_aham\) to make good

v. haj to be low

\(p^h_a - v.\ haj > v.\ p^h_ahaj\) to make low

vi) \{{p^h}_e-\}:

v. seb to be narrow

\(p^h_e - v.\ seb > v.\ p^h_eseb\) to make narrow

v. lem to be slant

\(p^h_e - v.\ lem > v.\ p^h_elem\) to make slant

v. der to be big

\(p^h_e - v.\ der > v.\ p^h_eder\) to make big

vii) \{{p^h}_i-\}:

v. si to be wet

\(p^h_i - v.\ si > v.\ p^h_isi\) to make wet

v. siri to fall
\( p^h_i - \text{v. siri} > v. p^h_{\text{siri}}/p^h_{\text{sri}} \) to make fall

viii) \{bi-\}:

- \text{v. zir} to peel
- \text{bi - v. zir} > \text{v. bizir} to analyse
- \text{v. si} to open
- \text{bi - v. si} > \text{v. bisi} to make open

ix) \{be-\}:

- \text{v. k^h_{ew}} to open
- \text{be - v. k^h_{ew}} > \text{bek^h_{ew}} to make open

x) \{sw-\}:

- \text{v. gab} to weep
- \text{sw- v. gab} > \text{v. swgab} to make weep
- \text{v. nar} to pull
- \text{sw- v. nar} > \text{v. swnar} to lean on another
- \text{v. maw} to move
- \text{sw- v. maw} > \text{v. swmaw} to make move

xi) \{si-\}:

- \text{v. k^h_{yma}} to lose
- \text{si - v. k^h_{yma}} > \text{v. sik^h_{yma}} to hide

xii) \{se-\}:

- \text{v. gwrwym} to grope
se- v. gwqrw > v. segwqrw to grope with hands

xiii) {si-}:

v. tʰab to stick
si- v. tʰab > v. sitʰab to make stick

xiv) {ho-}:

v. gar to leave/to abandon
ho - v. gar > v. hogar to make leave, to make abandon

b) Garo

i) {da-}:

v. agana to speak
da – v. agana > v. daʔagana do not speak
chaʔa to eat
da – v. chaʔa > v. daʔcha do not eat
v. reʔbaa to come
da – reʔbaa > v. daʔreba do not come
v. rwʔta to cook
da – v. rwʔta > v. daʔrwʔta do not cook

ii) {pʰi-}:

v. nwʔka to see
pʰi – v. nwʔka > v. pʰinwʔka to show
v. opa to suck
pʰᵢ – v.opa > v. pʰiopa  

v. oka  

pʰᵢ – v. oka > v.pʰioka  

to make suck  
to set free  
to make set free

iii) {pʰo-}:

v. oka  

pʰo – v. oka > v. pʰo?oka  

to take out  
to make take out

iv) {pʰ-}:

v. r𝙬pa  

pʰ – v. rswicka > v. pʰrswicka  

to overflow  
to make overflow

v) {pʰe-}:

v. demʔa  

pʰe – v. demʔa > v.pʰeʔdemʔ  

to fold  
to make to fold

vi) {a-}:

v. bota  

a– v. bota > v. aʔbota  

to challenge  
to make challenge

v. rływʰa  

a– v. rływʰa > v. aʔrływʰa  

to drive away  
to make drive away

v. kʰʔa  

a – v. kʰʔa > v.aʔkʰʔa  

to claim  
to make claim

vii) {m-}:

v. rswicka  

to overflow
m - v. r\(w\)pa > v. m\(r\)w\(w\)pa
to make overflow

viii) \{ma-\}:

v. bon\(a\)
to finish

ma - v. bon\(a\) > v. ma?bon\(a\)
to make end

v. bra\(\eta\)
to go astray

ma - v. bra\(\eta\) > v. ma?bra\(\eta\)
to make go away

v. chana
to consider

ma - v. chana > v. ma?chana
to make consider

ix) \{s-\}:

v. k\(^h\)ea
to hang on the shoulder

s - v. k\(^h\)ea > v. sk\(^h\)ea
to make hang

v. k\(^h\)w\(p\)a
to shut

s - v. k\(^h\)w\(p\)a > v. sk\(^h\)w\(p\)a
to make shut

v. r\(w\)pa
to overflow, to inundate

s - v. r\(w\)pa > v. sr\(w\)pa
to make sink down

x) \{ba-\}:

v. chok\(^h\)ona
to alight

ba - v. chok\(^h\)ona > v. ba?chok\(^h\)ona
to make alight

v. dal\(?a\)
to grow

ba - v. dal\(?a\)
to make expand

v. dw\(\gamma\)ma

to swarm
ba– v. d_colsma > v. ba_colsma  

to make swarm

ii) Simple verb root with suffix or suffixes:

Complex verbs are also formed by the suffixation of one or more suffixes to the verb roots in Boro and Garo. These suffix or suffixes are negative formation suffixes, imperative or commanding suffixes, tense markers and pleonastic suffixes.

a) Boro

i) Negative suffix {-a}:

v. za  
to eat

v. za-a > v. zaja  
do not eat

v. undu  
to sleep

v. undu-a > v. undua  
do not sleep

v. t^haŋ  
to go

v. t^haŋ-a > v. t^haŋa  
do not go

v. t^haŋ  
to live

v. t^haŋ-a > v. t^haŋa  
do not live

v. p^hwi  
to come

v. p^hwi-a > v. p^hwija  
do not come

v. lir  
to write

v. lir-a > v. lira  
do not write

v. buŋ  
to speak
v. bunə- a > v.bunə do not speak
v. nar to push
v. nar- a > v. nara do not push
v. zaw to dig
v. zaw- a > v. zawa do not dig
v. ha to cut
v. ha- a > v.haja do not cut

The negative formation suffix {-a} has three more extended forms in Boro language. These are{-a-kʰwi, -li-a, -a-kʰiswi}. A few specimens of these extended forms are given below:

{-a-kʰwi}:

v. bar to jump
v. bar-a- kʰwi > v. barakʰwi has/have not jumped
v. nu to see
v. nu- a- kʰwi > v. nuakʰwi has/have not seen
v. lwn to drink
v. lwn-a- kʰwi > v. lwnakʰwi has/have not drunk
v. zw to kick
v. zw-a- kʰwi > v. zwakʰwi has/have not kicked
v. on to love
v. on-a-kʰwi > v. onakʰwi has/have not loved
{-li-a}:

v. nu
v. nu- li-a > v. nulija

v. or
v. or-li-a > v. orlija

v. su
v. su- li-a > v. sulija

v. bar
v. bar-li-a > v. barlija

{a-khiswi}:

v. maw
v. maw-a-khiswi > v. mawakhiswi

v. zo
v. zo-a-khiswi > v. zowakhiswi

v. undu
v. undu-a-khiswi > v. unduakhiswi

v. zw
v. zw-a-khiswi > v. zwakhiswi
ii) Imperative/commanding suffix {-dw}:

The suffix representing imperative sense and commanding are the same in Boro language. Its differences are identified only from the intonation used during the time of utterance.

{-dw}:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{v. k}^h\text{ar} & \text{to run} \\
\text{v. k}^h\text{ar}\_\text{dw} > \text{v. k}^h\text{ardw} & \text{please run/you run} \\
\text{v. bu} & \text{to beat} \\
\text{v. bu}\_\text{dw} > \text{v. budw} & \text{please beat/you beat} \\
\text{v. naj} & \text{to see} \\
\text{v. naj}\_\text{dw} & \text{please see/you see} \\
\text{v. zo} & \text{to sit} \\
\text{v. zo}\_\text{dw} > \text{v. zodw} & \text{please sit/you sit}
\end{array}
\]

iii) Tense markers:

Different tense markers are also used to the verb roots to turn them into complex verbs e.g.

{-w}:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{v. gab} & \text{to cry} \\
\text{v. gab}\_\text{w} > \text{v. gabw} & \text{cry/cries} \\
\text{v. k}^h\text{ar} & \text{to run} \\
\text{v. k}^h\text{ar}\_\text{w} > \text{v. k}^h\text{arw} & \text{run/runs}
\end{array}
\]
{-gyn}:

v. za to eat
v. za-gyn \(\Rightarrow\) v. za\_{gyn} will/shall eat
v. naj to see
v. naj-gyn \(\Rightarrow\) v. naj\_{gyn} will/shall see

iv) Pleonastic suffix \(-p^h a, -t^h ar\):

The pleonastic suffixes used in Boro language are \(-p^h a, -t^h ar\). They show a sense of definiteness and more emphasis in a word e.g.

\{-p^h a\}:

v. t'\_{han} to go
v. t'\_{han}-p^h a \(\Rightarrow\) v. t'\_{hanp^h a} to go along with (definitely)
v. lir to write
v. lir-p^h a \(\Rightarrow\) v. lir\_{p^h a} to write along with (definitely)
v. p^h oraj to read
v. p^h oraj-p^h a \(\Rightarrow\) v. p^h oraj\_{p^h a} to read along with (definitely)

\{-t^h ar\}:

v. zo to sit
v. zo-t^h ar \(\Rightarrow\) v. zo\_{t^h ar} to sit definitely
v. undu to sleep
v. undu-t^h ar \(\Rightarrow\) v. undu\_{t^h ar} to sleep definitely
v. k^h ar to run
b) Garo

i) Negative suffix {-za}:

v. kⁿhaa to hear, to listen
v. kⁿhaa-za > v. kⁿhaza do/does not hear
v. sekⁿa to snatch, to take away
v. sekⁿa-za > v. sekⁿza do/does not snatch
v. ama to win
v. ama-za > v. amza do/does not win
v. amʔa to search
v. amʔa-za > v. amʔza do/does not search
v. tʰapa to paste
v. tʰapa-za > v. tʰapza do/does not paste
v. sea to choose/to select
v. sea-za > v. seza do/does not select

Like the negative formation suffix {-a} of Boro language, the negative suffix {-za} of Garo language have also four more extended forms. These are{-za-kʰan,-za-chwna, -za-na, -zao}.

{-za-kʰan}: This suffix is used to show direct relation between the speaker and the listener.

v. kʰhaa to listen
v. kⁿaaz⁻kʰan > v. kⁿazakʰan  don't listen
v. doŋa  to live
v. doŋa⁻za-kʰan > v. doŋzakʰan  don't live
v. grapa  to cry
v. grapa⁻za-kʰan > v. grapzakʰan  don't cry
v. grepa  to sink
v. grepa⁻za-kʰan > v. grepzakʰan  don't sink

{-za-chwña}: This suffix do not show any direct relation between the speaker and the listener. It is used in an indirect way between the speaker and the third person.

v. kʰatwp⁻za-chwña > v. kʰatwpzachwña  not to cover
v. kʰatchaa  to be happy
v. kʰatchaa⁻za-chwña > v. kʰatchazachwña  not to be happy
v. kʰata  to run
v. kʰata⁻za-chwña > v. kʰatzachwña  not to run
v. maʔzota  to repair
v. maʔzota⁻za-chwña > v. maʔzotzachwña  not to repair
v. ranʔa  to dry
v. ranʔa⁻za-chwña > v. ranʔzachwña  not to dry

{-za-na}: This suffix is used to show direct relation between the speaker and the listener.
v. asonja to sit
v. asonja-za-na > v. asonzana don’t sit
v. atbha to bless
v. atbha-za-na > v. atbhzana don’t bless
v. chata to fix
v. chata-za-na > v. chatzana don’t fix
v. depbha to press
v. depbha-za-na > v. depbzana don’t press
v. gwpb to cover
v. gwpb-za-na > v. gwpzana don’t cover

{-za-o}:

v. cha?ja to eat
v. cha?ja-za-o > v. cha?zao not to be eaten
v. khnaa to hear
v. khnaa-za-o > v. khnazao not to be heard

ii) Imperative/commanding suffix {-bo}:

The imperative/commanding suffix in Garo language is also only one as in Boro language and its sense is identified by the intonation used during the time of utterance.

v. cha?ja to eat
v. cha?ja-bo > v. cha?bo please eat / you eat
v. grapa to cry
v. grapa-bo > v. grapbo please cry / you cry
v. t'haria to repair
v. t'haria-bo > v. t'aribo please repair / you repair
v. uia to understand
v. uia-bo > v. uibo please understand / you understand
v. p'hna to cover
v. p'hna-bo > v. p'hnbo please cover / you cover

iii) Tense markers:

In Garo language also different tense markers are used to the verb roots to turn them into complex verb.

{-eŋa}:

v. grapa to cry
v. grapa-ŋa > v. grapəŋa crying
v. grepa to sink
v. grepa-ŋa > v. grepəŋa sinking

{-gen}:

v. reʔa to go
v. reʔa-gen > v. reʔengen will go
v. mesaa to dance
v. mesaa-gen > v. mesagen will dance
iv) Pleonastic suffix {-pha, -ther}:

The pleonastic suffixes used in Garo language are {-pha, -ther}. They show a sense of definiteness and more emphasis in a word e.g.

{-pha}:

v. reʔa to go
v. reʔa-pha > v. reʔpha to go along with (definitely)
v. zw’mʔa to chew
v. zw’mʔa-pha > v. zw’mpha to chew along with (definitely)
v. kʰaʔa to do
v. kʰaʔa-pha > v. kʰaʔpha to do along with (definitely)

{-ther}:

v. dakʰa to do
v. dakʰa-ther > v. dakʰer to do definitely
v. rwkʰa to chase
v. rwkʰa-ther > v. rwkʰer to chase definitely
v. repʰa to peel
v. repʰa-ther > v. repʰer to peel definitely

3.13.1.1.3 Compound verb:

In Boro and Garo, compound verbs are formed by the combination of two or more verb roots. Compound verbs have also the capacity of taking one or more affixes in both the languages.
a) Boro

i) vr + vr

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{thaq + zvfb} & \quad \接地, \text{go everybody} \\
\text{laq + zvyb} & \quad \text{take away completely} \\
p^hwi + p^hyla & \quad \text{come pretendly} \\
\text{bwy + zob} & \quad \text{to bring nearer} \\
z + la + z + lap & \quad \text{eat and go} \\
dwn + p^hwi & \quad \text{come and keep} \\
b + p^hyla & \quad \text{to beat pretendly} \\
dug + p^hwi & \quad \text{to come and take bathe}
\end{align*}
\]

During the time of compounding, the first verb roots are always kept intact and sometimes some of the second verb roots take an oblique form in Boro language. The words like 'p^hwi p^hla', 'bup^hla' given above are the best specimens of this kind of oblique form words.

ii) Prefix + vr + vr:

\[
\begin{align*}
da + la + zwb & \quad \text{don’t take away completely} \\
da + dugwi + p^hwi & \quad \text{don’t come and take bath} \\
da + hw + p^hwi & \quad \text{don’t come and give} \\
da + hor + zwb & \quad \text{don’t give away completely}
\end{align*}
\]

iii) vr + vr + suffix:

\[
\begin{align*}
l + zwb + gwn & \quad \text{will take away completely} \\
dugwi + p^hwi + p^hin & \quad \text{come and take bath again}
\end{align*}
\]
iv) **Prefix + vr + vr + suffix:**

- **da + za + zwb + k\(^h\)a > dazaz\(\text{v}^{\text{i}}k\)h\(^a\) \> don't eat completely at a time**
- **da + maw + ph\(\text{v}^{\text{i}}\)i + t\(^h\)ar > damawp\(\text{v}^{\text{i}}\)it\(\text{t}\)ar \> don't come and do definitely**
- **da + za + lan + ph\(\text{v}^{\text{i}}\)in > dazalanp\(\text{v}^{\text{i}}\)n \> don't come and eat again**
- **da + zo + ph\(\text{v}^{\text{i}}\)i + ph\(\text{v}^{\text{i}}\)a > dazop\(\text{v}^{\text{i}}\)ip\(\text{v}^{\text{i}}\)a \> don’t come and sit along with**

v) **vr + vr + suffixes:**

- **k\(^h\)int\(^h\)a + hw\(\text{i}\) + t\(^h\)ar + mar > k\(^h\)int\(^h\)ahw\(\text{i}\)it\(^h\)armar \> go and speak definitely**
- **lan\(^h\) + ph\(\text{i}\)i + k\(^h\)a + t\(^h\)ar + g\(\text{v}\)\(\text{w}\)n > lanp\(\text{v}^{\text{i}}\)ik\(\text{v}^{\text{i}}\)at\(^h\)argw\(\text{n}\) \> will come and take**
- **take away definitely**

- **maw + zwb + t\(^h\)ar + mar + baj > mawzwbt\(^h\)armar\(\text{v}\)aj \> has/have done all the works completely**

b) **Garo**

i) **vr+ vr:**

- **cha?a + chapa > cha?chapa \> to eat together**
- **chaa + chapa > chachapa \> to grow together**
- **k\(^h\)aa + t\(^h\)epa > k\(^h\)at\(^h\)epa \> to wrap up**
- **k\(^h\)aa + chapa > k\(^h\)achapa \> to bind together**
- **ga?a + ph\(\text{v}^{\text{i}}\)aka > ga?ph\(\text{v}^{\text{i}}\)aka \> to kick off**
sea + chapa > sechapa

den?a + ok\textsubscript{h}a > den?ok\textsubscript{h}a
to cut out

chana + gala > changala
to substruct

ii) Prefix + vr + vr:

da + da\textalpha a + brea > da?da\texteta brea
don’t remove the rubbishes

da + ba?a + t\textsubscript{h}om?a > da?ba?t\textsubscript{h}oma
don’t carry on the back

da + den?a + p\textsubscript{h}e?a > da?den?p\textsubscript{h}ea
don’t cut down

da + den?a + ok\textsubscript{h}a > da?den?ok\textsubscript{h}a
don’t cut out

iii) vr+ vr+ suffix:

su?a + p\textsubscript{h}rua + gen > su?p\textsubscript{h}rugen
will pierce through

sua + p\textsubscript{h}rua + gen > sup\textsubscript{h}rugen
will peck through

cha?a + draa + bo > cha?drabo
compel to eat

t\textsubscript{h}usia + chapa + p\textsubscript{h}a > t\textsubscript{h}usichapp\textsubscript{h}a
to sleep together(definitely)

iv) Prefix + vr + vr + suffix:

da + cha?a + chapa + p\textsubscript{h}a > da?cha?chapp\textsubscript{h}a
don’t dine together

da + den?a + p\textsubscript{h}e?a + t\textsubscript{h}er > da?den?p\textsubscript{h}et\textsubscript{h}er
don’t cut down definitely

v) vr+ vr+ suffixes:

cha?a + chapa + t\textsubscript{h}er + gen > cha?chapt\textsubscript{h}ergen
will dine together definitely

chi?a + chena + t\textsubscript{h}er + gen > chi?chent\textsubscript{h}ergen
will lay egg first definitely

raa + re?baa + t\textsubscript{h}er + bo > rare?baterbo
come and reap it definitely

3.13.1.2 Morphological functions of verb:

In Boro and Garo, verbs are divided into three sub-categories from the functional point of view. These are:
i) Intransitive verb

ii) Transitive verb and

iii) Causative verb

### 3.13.1.2.1 Intransitive Verb

Intransitive verbs do not show any proper action of the verbs. In Boro and Garo languages, intransitive verbs are found in simple verb forms. For example-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>za</td>
<td>chaʔa</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꜞwη</td>
<td>rwηa</td>
<td>to drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꜚʔη</td>
<td>reʔa</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꜚʔwi</td>
<td>reʔbaa</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gab</td>
<td>grapa</td>
<td>to cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꜝwη</td>
<td>opa</td>
<td>to suck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undu</td>
<td>ꜚʔusia</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꜚʔwi</td>
<td>sia</td>
<td>to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>saa</td>
<td>to feel pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maw</td>
<td>kʰaʔa</td>
<td>to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zam</td>
<td>chamʔa</td>
<td>to worn out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu</td>
<td>boa</td>
<td>to swell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bir</td>
<td>bila</td>
<td>to fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ran</td>
<td>ranʔa</td>
<td>to dry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.13.1.2.2 Transitive verb:

In Boro and Garo, transitive verbs are basically of complex form. They are formed by using prefixes to the intransitive verb forms. In Boro and Garo, all transitive verbs are causative in nature. Such transitive verb formation prefixes in Boro and Garo languages are: \{p^h u-, p^h i-, p^h \psi -, p^h e-, bi-, sw -, ho-, na-\} and \{p^h i-, p^h -, p^h e-, p^h a-, ma-\} respectively.

a) Boro

i) \{p^h u-\}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>int.v. sun</td>
<td>to be short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(p^h u)-int.v. sun (&gt;) tr.v. (p^h usun)</td>
<td>to make short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>int.v. dun</td>
<td>to be hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(p^h u)-int.v. dun (&gt;) tr.v. (p^h udn)</td>
<td>to make hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>int.v. run</td>
<td>to be loose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(p^h u)-int.v. run (&gt;) tr.v. (p^h urun)</td>
<td>to make loose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) \(p^h i-\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>int.v. si</td>
<td>to be wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(p^h i)-int.v. si (&gt;) tr.v. (p^h isi)</td>
<td>to make wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>int.v. siri</td>
<td>to fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(p^h i)-int.v. siri (&gt;) tr.v. (p^h isiri~p^h isiri)</td>
<td>to make fall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iii) \(p^h \psi -\) :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>int.v. r(\psi)n</td>
<td>to know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(p^h \psi)-int.v. r(\psi)n (&gt;) tr.v. (p^h rv\psi\eta)</td>
<td>to teach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
int. v. zam to be old
\[ p^h\text{y}-\text{int. v. zam} > \text{tr. v. } p^h\text{y}zam \]
to make old
int. v. m\text{yn} to ripe
\[ p^h\text{y}-\text{int. v. m\text{yn}} > \text{tr. v. } p^h\text{y}m\text{yn} \]
to make ripe

iv) \{p^h\text{e}-\}:

int. v. sew to decay
\[ p^h\text{e}-\text{int. v. sew} > \text{tr. v. } p^h\text{e}\text{sew} \]
to make decay
int. v. dem to bend
\[ p^h\text{e}-\text{int. v. dem} > \text{tr. v. } p^h\text{e}\text{dem} \]
to make bend
int. v. lem to lean
\[ p^h\text{e}-\text{int. v. lem} > \text{tr. v. } p^h\text{e}\text{lem} \]
to make lean

v) \{bi-\}:

int. v. si to open wide
\[ \text{bi-int. v. } si > \text{tr. v. } \text{bisi} \]
to pull apart

vi) \{sw-\}:

int. v. gab to weep
\[ \text{sw-} \text{int. v. gab} > \text{tr. v. } \text{sw}\text{gab} \]
to make weep
int. v. maw to move
\[ \text{sw-} \text{int. v. maw} > \text{tr. v. } \text{sw}\text{maw} \]
to make move

vii) \{ho-\}:

int. v. gar to leave/ to abandon
ho-int.v. gar > tr.v. hogar to allow to go

viii) {na-}:

int.v. gar to leave/ to abandon

na-int.v. gar > tr.v. nagar to give up

b) Garo

i) {phH-}:

int.v. nwkh a to see

pHi-int.v. nwkh a > tr.v. phinwkh a to show

int.v. opa to suck

pHi-int.v. opa > tr.v. phiopa to make suck

ii) {ph-}:

int.v. rwpa to overflow

ph-int.v. rwpa > tr.v. phrwpa to make overflow

iii) {phe-}:

int.v. dem? a to fold

phe-int.v. dem? a > tr.v. phe?dem a to make fold

int.v. dep h a to bend/ to curve

phe-int.v. dep h a > tr.v. phe?dep h a to make bend

iv) {ph a-}:

int.v. rama to dry

ph a-int.v. rama > tr.v. phar a to make dry
v) \{ma\}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro Meaning</th>
<th>Garo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dvp to feed</td>
<td>du?a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or to bite</td>
<td>sua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swu to husk</td>
<td>su?a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lir to write</td>
<td>sea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.13.1.2.3 Causative Verb:

From the structural viewpoint, causative verbs are divided into three subdivisions in Boro and Garo. Morphologically, causatives do not differ either from the transitives or intransitives. These are:

i) Simple causative verb

ii) Complex causative verb and

iii) Compound causative verb

3.13.1.2.3.1 Simple causative verb:

Simple causative verbs are the verb roots in Boro and Garo. In Boro, these are monosyllabic and bisyllabic in Garo.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gaj</th>
<th>to plant</th>
<th>geʔa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>to love</td>
<td>syna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sỳʔa</td>
<td>to ask</td>
<td>sỳʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hαw</td>
<td>to sow seed</td>
<td>satʰa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu</td>
<td>to pour</td>
<td>rua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sʰi</td>
<td>to hang</td>
<td>skʰea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>to shape</td>
<td>rua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hʰw</td>
<td>to give</td>
<td>ronʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zab</td>
<td>to heap/to pile up</td>
<td>zapʰa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰin</td>
<td>to cover</td>
<td>pʰwña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saw</td>
<td>to chew</td>
<td>zwᵐʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seb</td>
<td>to squeeze</td>
<td>zetʰa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zaw</td>
<td>to winnow</td>
<td>zwʰpʰa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gum</td>
<td>to graze</td>
<td>chraa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.13.1.2.3.2 Complex causative verb:

In both the languages complex causative verbs are formed by two processes. These are:

i) By prefixation and

ii) By suffixation

i) By prefixation:

In Boro and Garo, the number of complex causative verb formation prefixes are comparatively higher than suffixes. In this type of verb formation, prefixes are always added only to the intransitive verbs in both the languages. So these types of
causative verbs are similar to the complex verbs formed by the process of simple verb root with a prefix which has already been discussed in the body of this thesis under the number 3.13.1.1.2(i) from page numbers 184-191.

ii) By suffixation:

The complex causative verb formation suffix in Boro language is \{-h\text{\textit{w}}\} and \{-t^3\text{\textit{a}}\} in Garo. In both the languages, these suffixes are added either to the intransitive or transitive verb forms.

a) Boro

i) From intransitive verb:

- \text{\textit{lau}}: to be long
  - \text{\textit{lau-h\text{\textit{w}}} > lauh\text{\textit{w}}}: to cause to be long
- \text{\textit{zen}}: to be defeated
  - \text{\textit{zen-h\text{\textit{w}}} > zenh\text{\textit{w}}}: to cause to be defeated
- \text{\textit{ra}}: to be hard
  - \text{\textit{ra-h\text{\textit{w}}} > rahn\text{\textit{w}}}: to cause to be hard
- \text{\textit{p^h\text{\textit{w}}}i}: to come
  - \text{\textit{p^h\text{\textit{w}}}i-h\text{\textit{w}}} > \text{\textit{p^h\text{\textit{w}}}ih\text{\textit{w}}}: to cause to come
- \text{\textit{sem}}: to decrease
  - \text{\textit{sem-h\text{\textit{w}}} > sem\text{\textit{h}}}\text{\textit{w}}: to cause to decrease
- \text{\textit{buη}}: to speak
  - \text{\textit{buη-h\text{\textit{w}}} > buη\text{\textit{h}}}\text{\textit{w}}: to cause to speak
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>p^un^h</code></td>
<td>to be fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>p^un^h-hw &gt; p^un^h^h^h</code></td>
<td>to cause to fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>bar</code></td>
<td>to bloom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>bar-hw &gt; barh^w</code></td>
<td>to cause to bloom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>bar</code></td>
<td>to jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>bar-hw &gt; barh^w</code></td>
<td>to cause to jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>k^h^h^w</code></td>
<td>to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>k^h^h^w-hw &gt; k^h^h^w^h^h</code></td>
<td>to cause to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>k^h^h</code></td>
<td>to run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>k^h^h-hw &gt; k^h^h^h^w</code></td>
<td>to cause to run</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) From transitive verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>su</code></td>
<td>to sew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>su-hw &gt; suh^w</code></td>
<td>to cause to sew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>su</code></td>
<td>to measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>su-hw &gt; suh^w</code></td>
<td>to cause to measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>p^h^h^a</code></td>
<td>to bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>p^h^h^a-hw &gt; p^h^h^a^h^h</code></td>
<td>to cause to bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>dan</code></td>
<td>to touch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>dan-hw &gt; dan^h^w</code></td>
<td>to cause to touch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>lan</code></td>
<td>to take away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>lan-hw &gt; lan^h^w</code></td>
<td>to cause to take away</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
un to sharpen
un-hv > unhv to cause to sharpen
on to love
on-hv > onhv to cause to love
elo to scoop out
elo-hv > elohev to cause to scoop out
kh am to burn
kh am-hv > kh amhv to cause to burn
ga to tread
ga-hv > gahv to cause to tread

b) Garo

i) From intransitive verb:
khata to run away
khata-t^a > khatat^a to cause to run away
bal to bloom
bal-t^a > balt^a to cause to bloom
re^a to go
re^a-t^a > re^at^a to cause to go
re?baa to come
re?baa-t^a > re?baat^a to cause to come
t^ua to sleep
\[t^h a-t^h a > t^h a t^h a\] to cause to sleep
\[a s o n a\] to sit
\[a s o n a-t^h a > a s o n a t^h a\] to cause to sit
\[b a r i a\] to increase
\[b a r i a-t^h a > b a r i a t^h a\] to cause to increase
\[r w p a\] to dip
\[r w p a-t^h a > r w p a t^h a\] to cause to dip
\[r a ? u a\] to steal
\[r a ? u a-t^h a > r a ? u a t^h a\] to cause to steal
\[r a ? a\] to take
\[r a ? a-t^h a > r a ? a t^h a\] to cause to take

ii) From transitive verb:
\[s u ? a\] to stab
\[s u ? a-t^h a > s u ? a t^h a\] to cause to stab
\[s u ? a\] to wash
\[s u ? a-t^h a > s u ? a t^h a\] to cause to wash
\[r a a\] to harvest
\[r a a-t^h a > r a a t^h a\] to cause to harvest
\[b i ? a\] to beg
\[b i ? a-t^h a > b i a t^h a\] to cause to beg
\[k^h a m a\] to burn
3.13.1.2.3.3 Compound causative verb:

In Boro and Garo, compound causative verbs are formed by the following three processes:

i) tr.v. + tr.v.

ii) tr.v. + int.v.

iii) int.v. + int.v.

a) Boro

i) tr.v. + tr.v.

zw + gar > zwgar to kick and cause to abandon

bw + pʰaj > bw)pʰaj to pull and cause to break
de + pʰaj > depʰaj  
 to dash and cause to break
kʰa + zoraj > kʰazoraj ~kʰazraj  
 to tie and cause to join
zvʰ + pʰolon > zwvʰolon~ zwvʰlon  
 to kick and cause to make hole

ii) tr.v. + int.v

naj + zwb > najzwb  
 to see completely
dan + gili > dangili~dangli  
 to cause to touch abundantly
za + zwb > zazwb  
 to eat completely
sa + gili > sagili~sagli  
 to cause to churn abundantly
pʰu + zwb > pʰuzwb  
 to uproot completely

iii) int.v + int.v

pʰun + zwb > pʰunzwb  
 to be fat completely
pʰwi + zwb > pʰwizwb  
 to come completely
maw + gili > mawgili~ mawgli  
 to cause to do abundantly
undu + gili > undugili~undugli  
 to cause to sleep abundantly

When transitive or intransitive verbs are compounded either to the transitives or the intransitives then in some second member words the vowel phonemes of the first syllables are optionally dropped. The verbs zoraj~zraj; pʰolon~pʰlon and gili~ gli are the few specimens in this regard in Boro language.

b) Garo

i) tr.v. + tr.v.

denʔa + pʰea > denʔpʰea  
 to cut down
chaʔa + chapa > chaʔchapa  
| to dine together |

kh aa + chvapa > kh achvapa  
| to bind up |

kh oa + tʰapa > kʰotʰapa  
| to sew up |

ii) tr.v. + int.v.

gaʔa + chroka > gaʔchroka  
| to skip |

denʔa + kʰnwa > denʔkʰnwa  
| to chop into pieces |

choa + doa > chodoa  
| to row upstream |

kʰaa + chepa > kʰachepa  
| to tie up the mouth of anything |

iii) int.v. + int.v.

kʰata + doa > kʰatdoa  
| to move up |

kʰata + dua > kʰatdua  
| to run away secretly |

In compound causative verb formation, the last vowel phoneme of the first member whether transitive or intransitive is optionally dropped in Garo language.

3.13.2 Syntactical functions of the verb:

From the syntactical point of view, verbs are divided into two categories in Boro and Garo. These are:

i) Finite verb and

ii) Infinite/ non-finite verb

3.13.2.1 Finite verb:

Finite verbs complete a sentence formally or semantically. They do not have the capacity to show gender, number and person distinctions in Boro and Garo.
a) Boro

アン ガブン トアングン

I tomorrow will go

'I will go on tomorrow'

ビョュミョ ジャ ノシム チワイジン

He/she yesterday to home came

'He/she came to home on yesterday'

アン ガンセ ビザ チョロアジャ

I a book reading

'I am reading a book'

b) Garo

アナミチャジェン

I rice will eat

'I will eat rice'

ウァノコ リュグノク

He/she to home just going
‘He/she is just going to home’

abi  chi  rỳŋen

/  /  /

my elder sister  water  will drink

‘My elder sister will drink water’

3.13.2.2 Infinite verb:

Infinite verbs do not show the completion of action of the verb. It shows the sense of need of something more for the completion of action of the verb. In Boro and Garo languages, infinite verbs have also not the capacity of showing gender, number and person distinctions.

a) Boro

aŋ undu-na...

bijwi pʰwi-na...

mỳswua gàŋswì za-na...

I by sleeping...

He/she is by coming...

The cow is by eating grass...

b) Garo

ana tʰusia-na...

ua reʔbaa-na

naʔa nokchi reʔa-na

I by sleeping...

He/she is by coming...

You after going to home...

3.14 Tense:

Tense is a grammatical category used to show the time of action of the verb.

John Lyon defined the term tense as- “the essential characteristic of the category of
tense is that it relates the time of action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance.”

In Boro and Garo, verbs are morphologically marked for tense and they show three way contrasts for tense in a broad way. These are:

i) Past tense

ii) Present tense and

iii) Future tense

3.14.1 Past tense:

Past tense indicates the completion of action of the verb before the time of utterance. From the time of completion of action of the verb, the past tenses in both the languages are divided into two sub-divisions. These are:

i) Immediate past tense and

ii) Remote past tense

3.14.1.1 Immediate past tense:

Immediate past tense indicates the completion of action of the verb just a while before utterance. Its marker in Boro is {-baj} and in Garo {-zok/aha}.

a) Boro

bi tʰaŋ------baj

/ / / /

he/she to go tense m.

---

10 Lyons, John: Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, p.305
‘He/she has gone’

\[ \text{ar} / \text{p}^{\text{h} \text{wi}} / \text{baj} \]

I to come tense m.

‘I have come’

\[ \text{biswr} / \text{undu} / \text{baj} \]

they to sleep tense m.

‘They have slept’

b) Garo

\[ \text{ua} / \text{re}\text{?} / \text{aha/zok} \]

he/she to go tense m.

‘He/she has gone’

\[ \text{ana} / \text{re}\text{?}\text{ba} / \text{aha/zok} \]

I to come tense m.

‘I have come’

\[ \text{uaman} / \text{t}\text{busi} / \text{aha/zok} \]

he/she to sleep tense m.

‘They have slept’
### 3.14.1.2 Remote past tense:

Remote past tense indicates the completion of action of the verb long before the time of utterance. In Boro and Garo its markers are respectively \{-dv\eta m\nu m\} and \{-ach\nu m\}. The tense markers \{-m\nu n\} and \{-ch\nu m\} are not directly suffixed to the verbs in both the languages. They take \{-d\nu\eta\} and \{-a-\} before them respectively in Boro and Garo.

**a) Boro**

\[
\text{an} \quad \text{lir}-----\text{dv}\eta m\nu m
\]

/I / / /

I to write tense m.

‘I wrote’

\[
\text{nu} \eta \quad \text{gb}-----\text{dv}\eta m\nu m
\]

/I / / /

you to cry tense m.

‘You cried’

**b) Garo**

\[
\text{ua} \quad \text{r\nu} eta-----\text{ach}\nu m
\]

/I / / /

he/she to sing tense m.

‘He/she sang’

\[
\text{an}a \quad \text{nokchi} \quad \text{re} eta-----\text{ach}\nu m
\]

/I / / / /

I to home to go tense m.

‘I went to home’
3.14.2 Present tense:

Present tense indicates the continuation of action of the verb during the time of utterance. In both the languages, present tense is sub-divided into two. These are:

i) Present indefinite tense and

ii) Present continuous/ Present progressive tense

3.14.2.1 Present indefinite tense:

This tense indicates the ever continuation of action of the verb, which is considered as eternal truth. Its marker in Boro is /-w/. This tense has no marker in Garo language. So its sense is indicated by the verbs itself.

a) Boro

sand sanzaha wηk^h^ar------w

I I I I

the sun to the east to rise tense m.

‘The sun rises in the east’

bi undu------w

I I I

he/she to sleep tense m.

‘He/she sleeps’

naja d^w^i^a^w^a^t^h^a------ w

I I I

the fish in the water to live tense m.

‘Fish live in the water’
b) Garo

\[ \text{an}\hat{\text{ch}}\text{v}\eta \ z\hat{\text{a}}\text{chi} \ r\hat{\text{e}}\text{a} \]

\[ / \ / \ / \]

we with the leg to go

'Vee walk on foot'

\[ \text{na}\hat{\text{a}} \ \text{chi} \ r\text{v}\eta \eta \]

\[ / \ / \ / \]

you water to drink

'You drink water'

\[ \text{u}a \ t^b\text{u}\text{isia} \]

\[ / \ / \]

he/she to sleep

'He/she sleeps'

3.14.2.2 Present continuous tense:

Present continuous tense indicates the continuation of action during the time of utterance. In Boro its marker is \{-d\eta\} and in Garo \{-ena\}.

a) Boro

\[ \text{amaja} \ \text{na} \ \text{hom}-----d\eta \]

\[ / \ / \ / \ / \]

my mother is fish to catch tense m.

'My mother is catching fish'

\[ \text{Gojsrija} \ \text{sir}\text{h}\text{la} \ \text{sib}-----d\eta \]

\[ / \ / \ / \ / \]

gojsri is courtyard to sweep tense m.

'Gojsri is sweeping courtyard'
‘He/she is drinking water’

b) Garo

‘My mother is cooking rice’

‘He/she is running to home’

‘Ram is reading book’

3.14.3 Future tense:

Future tense indicates the completion of action of the verb after the time of utterance. In Boro and Garo languages, future tense is also sub-divided into two. These are:
i) Immediate future tense and

ii) Remote future tense

3.14.3.1 Immediate future tense:

Immediate future tense indicates the taking place of action of the verb just after a while from the time of utterance. Its tense marker in Boro is {-mysw} and in Garo {-gnok}.

a) Boro

\[ \text{ani maw---nYSw} \]

'I am about to do'/ 'I am going to do'

\[ \text{bi no lu---nYSw} \]

'He/she is about to built a house'/ 'He/she is going to built a house'

b) Garo

\[ \text{ani k'a------gnok} \]

'I am about to do'/ 'I am going to do'
na’a ran?--------gnok

/     /     /

you to dry tense m.
‘You are about to dry’/ ‘you are going to dry’

ua nok rwk------gnok

/     /     /

he/she home to built tense m.
‘He/she is about to built a house’/ ‘He/she is going to built a house’

3.14.3.2 Remote future tense:

This tense indicates the occurrence of action of the verb in an indefinite period after the moment of actual utterance. This future has no certainty. It may be today, tomorrow or after one year etc. Its tense marker in Boro is {-gyn} and in Garo {-gen}.

a) Boro

aN kʰa------gyn

/     /     /

I to tie tense m.
‘I will tie’

mwn mwn--------gyn

/     /     /

you to get tense m.
‘You will get’
bi sansri------gvyn
/ / / /
he/she to swim tense m.
‘He/she will swim’

b) Garo
aŋa kʰa------gen
/ / / /
I to tie tense m.
‘I will tie’
naʔa manʔ------gen
/ / / /
you to get tense m.
‘You will get’
ua zro------gen
/ / / /
he/she to swim tense m.
‘He/she will swim’

3.15 Adjective:

Adjective describes or gives information about noun or pronoun. It also qualify a noun or a pronoun. Adjectives do not change their forms. They remain the same whether the noun to which they refer is singular or plural, or masculine or feminine.\(^{11}\)

\(^{11}\) Dictionary of Grammar, p.9
3.15.1 Adjectives in Boro and Garo:

In Boro and Garo, adjectives either precede or follow a noun. They do not have any markers in both the languages and are also not inflected for number and gender.

3.15.1.1 Adjective following the noun:

a) Boro

mansi mwyazə

/ /

man good
‘good man’

na geder

/ /

fish big
‘big fish’

b) Garo

mande nama

/ /

man good
‘good man’

nɔ̀h ok dalʔa

/ /

fish big
‘big fish’
3.15.1.2 Adjective preceding the noun:

a) Boro

mwyzaŋ mansi

/ /

good man

‘good man’

geder na

/ /

big fish

‘big fish’

b) Garo

nama mande

/ /

good man

‘good man’

dal?a na?t’ok

/ /

big fish

‘big fish’

3.15.2 Types of adjectives:

From the structural point of view adjectives are divided into two types in Boro and Garo. These are:
i) Primary adjectives and

ii) Derived adjectives

3.15.2.1 Primary adjectives:

Primary adjectives, also known as free or independent adjectives are either bisyllabic or polysyllabic in Boro and Garo.

a) Boro

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{swi} & \text{t}^\text{h} \text{y} & \text{truth} \\
\text{ben} & \text{ga} & \text{deaf} \\
\text{siri} & & \text{silent} \\
\text{ben} & \text{k}^\text{h} \text{a} & \text{bend} \\
\text{gwr} & \text{lwi} & \text{easy} \\
\text{k}^\text{h} & \text{en} \text{k}^\text{h} \text{ra} & \text{bend} \\
\text{udan} & & \text{free} \\
\text{ese} & & \text{few} \\
\text{burza} & & \text{much/more} \\
\text{somain} & & \text{beautiful} \\
\text{gazri} & & \text{bad} \\
\text{olsia} & & \text{lazy} \\
\text{ok}^\text{h} \text{ra} & & \text{obstinate} \\
\text{adua} & & \text{fool/stupid} \\
\text{adra} & & \text{half}
\end{align*}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koine Assamese</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰwmśi</td>
<td>dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikʰauri</td>
<td>poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swṛna</td>
<td>light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwkʰrwī</td>
<td>soon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwṛzan</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b) Garo**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dalʔa</td>
<td>big/large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chona</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bokʰa</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swṃa</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baŋʔa</td>
<td>much/plenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwṇʔa</td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swṇʔa</td>
<td>cold/chilly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nama</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soa</td>
<td>decomposed/rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zrwā</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zada</td>
<td>fool/idiot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwnʔa</td>
<td>dense/crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rwṃwyla</td>
<td>slippery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simwyla</td>
<td>fragrant/savoury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seʔena</td>
<td>smooth &amp; fine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.15.2.2 Derived adjectives:

Derived adjectives are the secondary adjectives. These are derived either from the verbs or other class of words. In Boro and Garo, derived adjectives are formed by three processes. These are:

i) By prefixation

ii) By suffixation and

iii) By compounding

3.15.2.2.1 By prefixation:

Under this process, adjectives are formed by using different prefixes to the verb roots. Such prefixes are \{gi-, gu-, ge-, gw\} and \{gw\}, \{gi-, gw, r\} respectively in Boro and Garo.

a) Boro

i) \{gi-\}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v. si</td>
<td>gi-</td>
<td>gisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. lir</td>
<td>gi-</td>
<td>gilir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
v. zi
to be torn
gi-v.zi > adj. gizi
torn

ii) {gu-}:

v. duŋ
to be hot
gu-v.duŋ > adj. guduŋ
hot
v. su
to be cold
gu-v.su > adj. gusu
cold
v. pʰuŋ
to be fat
gu-v.pʰuŋ > adj. gupʰuŋ
fat
v. suŋ
to be short
gu-v.suŋ > adj. gusuŋ
short

iii) {ge-}:

v. sew
to decompose
ge-v.sew > adj. gesew
decomposed
v. senŋ
to be thin
ge-v.senŋ > adj. gesenŋ
thin
v. seb
to be narrow
ge-v.seb > adj. geseb
narrow

iv) {gw-}:

v. tʰwi
to die
gw- v.tʰwi > adj. gwʰwi
dead
v. zwu
to be high
gw-v.zvũ > adj. gwzũ high

v. tʰaw to be tasteful

gw-v.tʰaw > adj. gwϊtʰaw tasteful

b) Garo

i) {gwϊ-}:

 v. chamʔa to worn out

gwϊ-v.chamʔa > adj. gwϊtcham worn out

ii) {gi-}:

 v. sia to die

 gi-v.sia > adj. gisia dead

 v. soa to rot/to decompose

 gi-v.soa > adj. giso rotten/decomposed

iii) {gw-}:

 v. tʰaŋa to be alive

 gw-v. tʰaŋa > adj. gwϊtʰaŋ alive

 v. tʰaŋa to be green

 gw-v. tʰaŋa > adj gwϊtʰaŋ green

iv) {rwϊ-}:

 v. cʰena to be light

 rwϊ-v. cʰena > adj. rwϊtchen light

3.15.2.2.2 By suffixation:

Under this process, adjectives are formed by using different suffixes to the verb roots. Such suffixes are \{-sula, -suli, -kʰo, -kʰyr, -lu, -brym, -tʰi, -sia\} and \{-gypy, -gea, -za, -su, -blekʰa\} respectively in Boro and Garo.
a) Boro

i) {-sula}:

v. za to eat
v. za-sula > adj. zasula gluttonous man
v. on to love
v. on-sula > adj. onsula kind hearted man

ii) {-suli}:

v. za to eat
v. za-suli > adj. zasuli gluttonous woman
v. on to love
v. on-suli > adj. onsuli kind hearted woman

iii) {-kʰo}:

v. gab to cry
v. gab-kʰo > adj. gabkʰo a crybaby

iv) {-kʰwr}:

v. swṃ to be black
v. swṃ-kʰwr > adj. swṃkʰwr dark green

v) {-lu}:

v. swṛzi to create
v. swṛzi-\.lu > adj. swṛzialu creative

vi) {-brṃm}:

v. swṃ to be black
v. swṃ-brṃm > adj. swṃbrṃm slightly black
vii) {-thi}:

v. bwhwi
v. bwhwi-thi > adj. bwwhitthi

to flow
current/running

viii) {-sia}:

v. baw
v. baw-sia > adj. bawsia

to forget
forgetful

b) Garo

i) {-gwp$a}:

v. gan$a
v. gan$a-gwp$a > adj. gan$a-gwp$a
v. go$na
v. go$na-gwp$a > adj. go$na-gwp$a
v. swyna
v. swyna-gwp$a > adj. swngwp$a

to have sexual desire
lustful
to be active
active
to move away
subject to die

ii) {-gea}:

v. go$na
v. go$na-gea > adj. gon$gea

bent/to droop
bent

iii) {-za}:

v. go$na
v. go$na-za > adj. gon$za

to be active
idle

iv) {-su}:

v. grapa
v. grapa-su > adj. grapsu

to cry
a crybaby
v) {-blekʰa}:

v. mwña to ripe

v. mwña-blekʰa > adj. mwñblekʰa over ripe

3.15.2.2.3 By compounding:

Derived adjectives are also formed by the combination of two independent verbs in both the languages.

a) Boro

v. naj ‘to see’-v. tʰaw ‘to be tasty’ > adj. najtʰaw worth looking

v. za ‘to eat’-v. tʰaw ‘to be tasty’ > adj. zatʰaw eatable

v. za ‘to be’-v. tʰaw ‘to be tasty’ > adj. zatʰaw suitable

v. gwym ‘to be firm’-v. zwër ‘to last’ > adj. gwymzwër grave/of little words

v. zwër ‘to last’-v. sar ‘to spread’ > adj. zwrsar everlasting

b) Garo

v. chaʔa ‘to eat’-v. tʰoa ‘to be tasteful’ > adj. chaʔtʰoa delicious/tasteful

v. dakʰa ‘to do’-v. gwmala ‘to accustom’ > adj. dakʰgwmala experienced/expert

v. sia ‘to die’-v. zoka ‘to run away’ > adj. sizok dead/departed

v. dona ‘to have’-v. nwa ‘to see’ > adj. donnwa considered to be rich

3.15.3 Classification of adjectives:

From the broad point of view and their practical uses adjectives are sub-divided into three categories in Boro and Garo. These are:
i) Qualitative adjective

ii) Quantitative adjective and

iii) Predicative adjective

3.15.3.1 Qualitative adjective:

In Boro and Garo languages, qualitative adjectives qualify the nouns. In both the languages, these types of adjectives either precede or follow the nouns.

i) Adjectives preceding the noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwyzan mansi</td>
<td>nama mande</td>
<td>good man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurwi p^h^it^h^aj</td>
<td>nom?a bit^h^e</td>
<td>soft fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwza ok^h^ran</td>
<td>gwytchak salgi</td>
<td>red sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gazri hinzaw</td>
<td>namza me?chwy</td>
<td>bad woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geder bip^h^aŋ</td>
<td>dal?a bol</td>
<td>big tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somaina megon</td>
<td>nit^h^oa mykron</td>
<td>beautiful eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwyd worms^h^ru p^h^it^h^aj</td>
<td>simyl `a bit^h^e</td>
<td>fragrant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adua mansi</td>
<td>gok^h^a mande</td>
<td>fool man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) Adjectives following the noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no geder</td>
<td>nok dal?a</td>
<td>big house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zi gw^ba</td>
<td>ba?ra ba?a</td>
<td>thin cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwi gudun</td>
<td>chi dw^h^a</td>
<td>hot water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.15.3.2 Quantitative adjective:

Quantitative adjective refers to the quantity of the nouns which they qualify. In Boro and Garo, quantitative adjectives are sub-divided into two categories. These are:

i) Definite quantitative adjective and

ii) Indefinite quantitative adjective

i) Definite quantitative adjective

Definite quantitative adjective shows the definite number of the nouns.

**Boro** | **Garo** | **Meaning**
---|---|---
mauzi mase | mengo mañsa | a cat
snitʰi san | snigwpa sal | seventh day
zibwuy manwi | chipu mañgni | two snakes
bibar barba | bibal balboña | five flowers
diruŋ dʒiŋbrwi | budu dʒiŋbrí | four ropes

ii) Indefinite quantitative adjective:

Indefinite quantitative adjective don’t show the number of nouns definitely.

They show it only in a collective way.
### 3.15.3.3 Predicative adjective:

In Boro and Garo, adjectives are also used predicatively. In predicative adjective formation in Boro language, the nominative case markers /-u/ and plural markers are used either with the nouns or the pronouns. On the other hand in Garo language, only the plural markers are used either with the nouns or the pronouns. Because this language has no nominative case marker.

**a) Boro**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gwbanη</td>
<td>mansi</td>
<td>many peoples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many/more man</td>
<td>many/more man</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ese</td>
<td>ṱηkʰam</td>
<td>a few rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>few/little rice</td>
<td>few/little rice</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This flower is case m. red
‘This flower is red’

bwi-------w   gwzwu   bipʰaη
/          /   /   /

That is case m. tall tree
‘That is a tall tree’
be sikʰla-----a somaina
/

this girl case m. beautiful

‘This girl is beautiful’

bwi-----pʰyr geder bizab
/

that pl.suffix big book

‘Those are great books’

be mwswu-----a gwswm
/

this cow case m. black

‘This cow is black’

b) Garo

ia bibal gwṭchak
/

this flower red

‘This is a red flower’

ua chua bol
/

that tall tree

‘That is a tall tree’
3.15.4 Degree of comparison:

In Boro and Garo, degrees of comparison are discussed under three main heads. These are:

i) Positive degree

ii) Comparative degree and

iii) Superlative degree

3.15.4.1 Positive degree:

Positive degree is not overtly marked in Boro and Garo languages. It is used as a general simple sentence in both the languages.
a) Boro

bi  gu{sub:b}ur
/
/

he/ she  white

'He/she is white'

ok{sup:h}ra{sub:n}a  sw{sup:m}k{sub:w}~{sub:r}
/
/

sky is  green

'The sky is green'

dau{sup:b}~{sub:a}ja  gw{sup:w}swym
/
/

crow is  black

'The crow is black'

naja  p{sup:h}isa
/
/

fish is  small

'The fish is small'

b) Garo

ua  gw{sup:w}p{sub:b}bok
/
/

he/she  white

'He/she is white'
3.15.4.2 Comparative degree:

In Boro and Garo, comparative degree generally means the comparison between any two persons, things or objects. In comparative degree adjectives are inflected in Boro and Garo. In Boro, comparative degree is formed by using the suffix `-kh rui` with which/whom the comparison is being made and suffixing `-sin` with the adjectives. The suffix `-kh rui` is never used directly and is suffixed only after the genitive case marker `-ni` in Boro language. On the other hand in Garo language, the comparative particle `{bate}` is used in an independent way. The dative case marker `{na}` is used either with the nouns or the pronouns with which/whom the comparison is being made. The comparative suffix used with adjectives in Garo language is `{bata}`.
a) Boro

\[\text{bi an}^{-\text{n}} \text{-ni}^{-\text{k}} \text{ru} \text{r} \text{e}^{-\text{d}} \text{-sin}\]

he/she case m. com. parti big com. suffix

‘He/she is older than me’

\[\text{sita-ni-ru} \text{r} \text{e}^{-\text{d}} \text{somain}^{-\text{a}} \text{-sin}\]

sita case m. com. parti. rita beautiful com. suffix

‘Rita is more beautiful than Sita’

b) Garo

\[\text{na}^{-\text{a}} \text{-na} \text{ bate a}^{-\text{n}} \text{a dal}^{-\text{a}} \text{-bata}\]

you case m. com. parti. I big com. suffix

‘I am older than you’

The above mentioned sentence is also used as-

\[\text{na}^{-\text{a}} \text{-na} \text{ bate a}^{-\text{n}} \text{a dal}?^{-\text{bata}}\]

you case m. com. parti. I big

‘I am older than you’

\[\text{sita-na} \text{ bate rita nit}^{-\text{a}} \text{-bata}\]

sita case m. com. parti. rita beautiful com. suffix

‘Rita is more beautiful than Sita’
3.15.4.3 Superlative degree:

The process of superlative degree formation in Boro and Garo languages are almost same to the comparative degree formation process mentioned earlier. In superlative degree, comparison is being made between more than two persons, things or objects. This degree always show the superiority or inferiority with which the comparison is being made. The words used for superlative degree formation in Boro language is \{gas\u0101i/boj\} and \{madaw/gezeraw\} and in Garo \{gysep\u0101o\} and \{p\u0101\u0161ak\}.

a) Boro:

be got\u0101o gas\u0101i/boj-----ni-------k\u0101rui----bw m\u0151zar\u0101---sin

\[
\text{this child all case m. com.parti. pleo. suffix good com.suffix}
\]

‘This child is the best of all’

zunadp\u0101\u0161---ni madao/gezer-----aw m\u0161yidera geder-----sin

\[
\text{animals case m. among case m. elephant is big com.suffix}
\]

‘Elephant is the greatest of all animals’
b) Garo:

pʰylak matburuni gwsepʰo monma dal?-----bata

all of the animals among elephant big com. suffix

‘Elephant is the greatest of all animals’

bibalraṇi gwsepʰo golap gwtychak-----bata

of the flowers among rose red com. suffix

‘Rose is red than all the flowers’

askʰraṇi gwsepʰo atʰampʰaṇ chyn?-----bata

of the stars among evening star bright com. suffix

‘Evening star is the brightest than all other stars’

3.16 Adverb:

Adverb is a grammatical category of words whose most frequent function is
to specify the mode of action of the verb. It adds information about a verb. Adverbs
don’t have any special markers. But syntactically they form a class which modifies
the verb.
3.16.1 Adverbs in Boro and Garo:

In Boro and Garo, adverbs don't have any special markers. It always precedes a verb in Boro and Garo. From the functional point of view adverbs are sub-divided into three categories. These are:

i) Adverb of time

ii) Adverb of manner

iii) Adverb of place

3.16.1.1 Adverb of time:

Adverb of time indicates the time of happening something. Based on their structure, adverb of times are divided into three sub-categories in Boro and Garo. These are:

i) Base form

ii) Base form + suffix (suffixes)

iii) Base form + base form

3.16.1.1.1 Base form:

Base forms are the primary or basic forms of adverbs of time. They are independent in form and structure and do not take any affix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>daʔo</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinwi</td>
<td>daʔal</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mwiya  mezial  yesterday
 gabwn  k^nal / k^ynal  tomorrow
 somphwr  sot^ne  day after tomorrow

3.16.1.1.2 Base form + suffix (suffixes):

This type of adverbs of time are not independent in form and structure. For their function they always depend on the base form of the adverb of time.

a) Boro

\[ da + sv > dasv \]  just now/ a little ago

\[ da + nw > danw \]  just now

\[ da + bw > dabw \]  even now/ this time too

\[ da + sim > dasim \]  till now/ even now

\[ dinwi + ni + p^raj > dinwinip^raj \]  from today

b) Garo

\[ da?o + si > da?si \]  just now/ a little ago

\[ da?o + ba > da?oba \]  even now/ this time too

\[ da?o + na > da?ona \]  till now/even now

\[ da?o + ano > da?ano \]  a little ago/ a moment ago

\[ da?o + an> da?an \]  a little after

\[ da?al + o +ona > da?alona \]  from today

3.16.1.1.3 Base form + base form:

The third process of adverb of time formation is completely different from the other two processes mentioned above. Under this category, the base form is not
the base form adverb of time. In both the languages, these base forms are either the
nouns, verbs or adjectives and adverbs of time are formed by the combination of
either the two nouns or the combination of any of the two categories among these
three categories.

a) Boro

n. pʰunza + n. sanza > adv. pʰunza-sanza  early in the morning

/ /

morning  east

n. pʰun + n. belase > adv. pʰun-belase  all the time

/ /

morning  afternoon

n. san + n. hor > adv. san-hor  day and night

/ /

day   night

n. hor + adj. gezer > adv. horgezer  midnight

/ /

night  middle

n. san + v. zyuḥu > adv. sanzyuḥu  mid day

/ /

day  to be high

b) Garo

n. wal + n. wal > adv. walwal  every night

/ /

night  night
3.16.1.2 Adverb of manner:

Adverb of manner indicates the mode of action performed by the verb or tells how something happens or had happened. During the time of formation of the adverb of manner adjectives, whether basic or derived take the role of base form. In both the languages adverb of manners are formed by three processes. These are:

i) Base form + suffix

ii) Reduplication of base form + suffix

iii) Intensifier and base form + suffix

3.16.1.2.1 Base form + suffix:

For adverb of manner formation under this process, Boro and Garo languages have one suffix each. These suffixes are \{-w\i\} in Boro and \{-e\} in Garo.
In both the languages, these suffixes are added to the adjectives to turn them into adverbs.

**a) Boro**

- adj. laswi + wi > adv. laswiwi  
  slowly
- adj. mwzan + wi > adv. mwzanwi  
  nicely
- adj. swit\(^b\)y + wi > adv. swit\(^b\)yi  
  truly
- adj. nonk\(^b\)aj + wi > adv. nonk\(^b\)ajwi  
  falsely
- adj. gwit\(^b\)wu + wi > adv. gwit\(^b\)wuwi  
  deeply

**b) Garo**

- adj. nama + e > adv. name  
  nicely
- adj. ban?a + e > adv. ban?e  
  largely/ greatly
- adj. nit\(^b\)oa + e > adv. nit\(^b\)oe  
  beautifully/ prettily
- adj. gwit\(^b\)al + e > adv. gwit\(^b\)ale  
  newly
- adj. gыта + e >adv. gыта  
  likely/ similarly

**3.16.1.2.2 Reduplication of base form + suffix:**

In the formation of adverb of manner under this process, any of the words of adjectival category are reduplicated. In Boro, adverbial suffix is used with the second member of the reduplicated adjectives and in Garo it is used with both the members.

**a) Boro**

- gwýbar gwýbar + wi > adv. gwýbar gwýbarwi  
  loudly
- gazri gazri + wi > adv. gazri gazriwi  
  badly
guar guar + wi > adv. guar guawi broadly

guseb guseb + wi > adv. guseb gusebwi narrowly

gudun gudun + wi > adv. gudun gudniwi hotly

**b) Garo**

bak¹roa + e bak¹roa + e > adv. bak¹roe bak¹roe distantly

onwa + e onwa + e > adv. onwe onwe adequately

ap¹ala + e ap¹ala + e > adv. ap¹ale ap¹ale widely

sroan + e sroan + e > adv. sroane sroane straightly

3.16.1.2.3 Intensifier and base form + suffix:

Under this process of adverb of manner formation, the base forms are the adjectives (basic or derived) in both the languages. The intensifiers used before the adjectives are *{zvfbvyl}* in Boro and *{namen}* in Garo and the suffixes used with the adjectives are *{−wi}* and *{−e}* respectively.

**a) Boro**

zwbd gw¹wu + wi > adv. zwbd gw¹wui very deeply

zwbd mwzan + wi > adv. zwbd mwzanwi very nicely

zwbd sundo + wi > adv. zwbd sundo wi very briefly

zwbd somaina + wi > adv. zwbd somainawi very beautifully

**b) Garo**

namen nama + e > adv. namen name very nicely
namen sapʰa + e > adv. namen sapʰe very skillfully
namen chelʔa + e > adv. namen chelʔe very distantly
namen selʔa + e > adv. namen selʔe very cleanly

3.16.1.3 Adverb of place:

Adverb of place indicates the location or place of taking action of the verb.

In Boro and Garo, adverbs of place are available. These are derived either from the nouns, pronouns or adjectives in both the languages. In Boro language, the adverb of place formation suffix used with the nouns and adjectives are \{-aw\}, which is a locative case marker. On the other hand the locative case marker is not directly used with the pronouns. It takes the genitive case marker \{-ni\} before it. In Garo language, the locative case marker \{-o\} is used with the nouns and adjectives and the suffix \{-no\} is used only with the pronouns.

a) Boro

i) From nouns:

   no + aw > adv. noaw at home
   bibar + aw > adv. bibaraw on the flower
   dwj + aw > adv.dwjaw in the water
   hagra + aw > adv. hagrajaw in the forest

ii) From pronouns:

   be + aw > adv. bejaw here
   bwj + aw > adv.bwjaw there
bobe + aw > adv. bobejaw  where/ in which place

iii) From adjectives:
kʰatʰi + aw > adv. kʰatʰijaw  at near
gyzan + aw > adv. gyzanaw  at distance
gahaj + aw > adv. gahajaw  in the bottom
gwyżwɝ + aw > adv. gwyżwuaw  on the top

b) Garo

i) From nouns:
nok + o > adv. noko  at home
bibal + o > adv. bibalo  on the flower
chi + o > adv. chio  in the water
buruŋ + o > adv. buruŋo  in the forest

ii) From pronouns:
ia + no > adv. iano  here/ in this place
ua + no > adv. uano  there/ in that place

iii) From adjectives:
sepʰaŋ + o > adv. sepʰaŋo  at near
cheloŋa + o > adv. cheloŋo  at distance
ona + o > adv. ono  in the bottom
chua + o > adv. chuo  on the top

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