Chapter 4
Morphology

4.1. Nouns

Nouns in Kokborok can be determined by their function in grammatical constructions as subjects or objects. Morphologically, they are determined by suffixing morphemes for number, gender and case. Nouns in Kokborok can be classified into basic nouns, derived nouns, compound nouns.

4.1.1. Basic nouns

4.1.1.1. Syllabic structure of noun roots

4.1.1.1.1. Monosyllabic noun roots

Monosyllabic noun roots having the syllabic pattern VC, CV, CVC, and CVV are found in Kokborok. Monosyllabic word having CVC pattern are frequently found in the language. However, monosyllabic words having VC pattern are comparatively less in number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VC</th>
<th>iŋ</th>
<th>‘a kind of tree’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kŋ</td>
<td>‘node’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ol</td>
<td>‘tax’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CV</th>
<th>da</th>
<th>‘chopper’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>‘mud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>‘paternal aunty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rí</td>
<td>‘cloth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tʰa</td>
<td>‘yam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kʰi</td>
<td>‘stool’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wá</td>
<td>‘bamboo’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CVC
dok  ‘white breasted water hen’
gap  ‘stain’
gọŋ  ‘bear’
hór  ‘fire’
kʰam  ‘drum’
kʰul  ‘cotton’
kʰum  ‘flower’
kol  ‘spear’

mol  ‘season’
nok  ‘house’
pun  ‘goat’
raŋ  ‘money’
run  ‘boat’

sal  ‘day, sun’
scŋ  ‘sword’
sor  ‘iron’
sóm  ‘salt’
tal  ‘month, moon’

tʰok  ‘oil’
tʰuk  ‘louse’
wak  ‘pig’
yak  ‘hand’
pʰon  ‘dust particle’
muk  ‘source’

CVV
mai  ‘rice’
mui  ‘curry’
4.1.1.1.2. Disyllabic noun roots

Disyllabic nouns roots with CVCV, CVVC, VCCVC, CVCVC, CVCC and CVCCVC syllabic pattern are found in Kokborok.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VCVC</th>
<th>a.buk</th>
<th>‘breast’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a.tʰuk</td>
<td>‘prawn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a.mιŋ</td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i.mιŋ</td>
<td>‘dream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i.laŋ</td>
<td>‘knowledge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u.waŋ</td>
<td>‘a kind of bird’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CVCV</th>
<th>bi.si</th>
<th>‘year’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bu.su</td>
<td>‘thorn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do.ga</td>
<td>‘door’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go.la</td>
<td>‘pitcher’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kʰ.i.li</td>
<td>‘nail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k.a.tʰi</td>
<td>‘flat ladle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k.a.mi</td>
<td>‘village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l.o.mo</td>
<td>‘pestle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m.a.la</td>
<td>‘castrated pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m.a.ri</td>
<td>‘mark, symbol’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m.o.so</td>
<td>‘chili’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m.u.sá</td>
<td>‘tiger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m.u.ci</td>
<td>‘needle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y.a.si</td>
<td>‘finger’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VCCVC  en.dul  ‘bamboo worm’

CVCVC  be ceŋ  ‘twig’
           bo.tʰop  ‘nest’
           bo.loŋ  ‘forest’
           ho.loŋ  ‘stone’
           hu.lok  ‘gibbon’
           kʰi.tuŋ  ‘tail’
           kʰo.ruŋ  ‘voice’
           kʰu.tuŋ  ‘thread’
           ke.ruŋ  ‘land tortoise’
           ki.sip  ‘han fan’
           ku.ruŋ  ‘sugar cane’
           ma.tʰam  ‘otter’
           ma.wak  ‘European mole’
           mo.kol  ‘eye’
           mu.pʰuk  ‘monitor lizard’
           pʰa.ruŋ  ‘pigon’
           si.piŋ  ‘sesame’
           tʰa.ruŋ  ‘ladle’
           ta.kʰum  ‘duck’

CVCCV  ban.ta  ‘basil’
           gen.da  ‘male pig’
           len.ju  ‘dragon fly’
           ran.di  ‘widow’
           sin.jo  ‘rat’
4.1.1.3. Trisyllabic noun roots

Trisyllabic noun roots with VCVCV, VCCVCV, CVCCVCV, VCVCVCV, CVCCVCVCV, CVCCVCVC, CVCCVCVC, CVCCVCVCV, CVCCVCVCV syllabic pattern are found in Kokborok.

VCVCV

CVCCVCV
VCVCVC  u.ri.bar  ‘hibiscus’
         u.ri.k³hui  ‘termite colony’

CVCVCVC  bo.ko.roη  ‘horn’
         be.ke.reη  ‘bone’
         bu.mu.t³hup  ‘cork’
         ya.k³hi.lik  ‘ladder’

CVCCVCV  duk.ma.li  ‘a kind of flower’
         kηη.ki.la  ‘cuckoo’
         sam.pa.ri  ‘magnolia’
         sam.pi.li  ‘shadow’
         sen.ka.ri  ‘moustache’
         ton.tu.ma  ‘eagle owl’

CVCVCVC  ya.si.tam  ‘ring’

CVCVCVCC  si.kam.buk  ‘snail’
          k³h.e.ram.buk  ‘cricket’

CVCCVCVC  cen.k³h.aurk  ‘fire fly’

4.1.1.4. Tetrasyllabic noun roots

Noun roots that belong to this group are even fewer than the tetrasyllabic noun roots.

V.CV.CV.CV  a.t³h.uki.ri  ‘star’

CV.CV.CV.CVC  mo.so.ko.roη  ‘antler’

CVC.CV.CV.CV  yon.sì.go.ga  ‘red cotton bug’

CV.CV.CV.CV  ba.gur.gu.dum  ‘a kind of pigeon’
4.1.1.5. Pentasyllabic noun roots

Pentasyllabic noun roots are very few. So far only one word has been attested.

\[ CV.CV.CV.CVC.CV \quad so.to.ro\ boŋ go \quad \text{‘marigold’} \]

4.1.2. Derived nouns

Nouns in Kokborok are derived from verbs and adjectives by suffixing different morphemes (§ 5.6).

4.1.3. Compound nouns

A compound is a word that consists of two or more stems. Compound nouns in Kokborok are formed by a combination two different lexical items. In Kokborok most of the lexical elements are combinable and productive. The following types of compound are found in Kokborok.

4.1.3.1. Noun + Noun compound

The Noun + Noun compound are formed by combination of two simple nouns

(12) \( k^buk-tui \)

\[ k^buk ‘mouth’ + tui ‘water’ \]

‘Spit’ (lit. mouth water)

(13) \( kuna-k^bi \)

\[ kuna ‘nose’ + k^bi ‘stool’ \]

‘Bogey’ (lit. nose stool)

(14) \( kotoka-k^bi \)

\[ kotok ‘throat’ + k^bi ‘stool’ \]

‘Phlegm’ (lit. throat stool)
(15)  \textit{kun\-tui} \\
[\textit{kun} ‘nose’ + \textit{tui} ‘water’]  \\
‘Snot’ (lit. nose water)  \\

(16)  \textit{bus\-k\-ok} \\
[\textit{bus\-} ‘baby’ + \textit{k\-ok} ‘container’]  \\
‘Womb’ (lit. baby container)  \\

(17)  \textit{can\-duk} \\
[\textit{ca\-} ‘waist’ + \textit{buduk} ‘rope’]  \\
‘Waist-thread’ (lit. waist rope)  \\

(18)  \textit{hoku\-tui} \\
[\textit{hoku} ‘smoke’ + \textit{tui} ‘water’]  \\
‘Vapour’ (lit. water smoke)  \\

(19)  \textit{k\textsuperscript{h}unju\-k\textsuperscript{h}i} \\
[\textit{k\textsuperscript{h}unju} ‘ear’ + \textit{k\textsuperscript{h}i} ‘stool’]  \\
‘Ear-wax’ (lit. ear stool)  \\

(20)  \textit{muk\-tui} \\
[\textit{muk} < (mokol) ‘eye’ + \textit{tui} ‘water’]  \\
‘Tears’ (lit. eye water)  \\

(21)  \textit{muk\textsuperscript{h}i} \\
[\textit{muk} < (mokol) ‘eye’ + \textit{k\textsuperscript{h}i} ‘stool’]  \\
‘Eye gum’
(22) \textit{mui-hamjuk}  
\quad [\textit{mui} ‘curry’ + \textit{hamjuk} ‘bride’]  
\quad ‘A kind of tortoise’

(23) \textit{tok\textsuperscript{b}a-r\textsuperscript{m}}  
\quad [\textit{tok\textsuperscript{b}a} ‘crow’ + \textit{r\textsuperscript{m}} ‘boat’]  
\quad ‘A kind of tree’

(24) \textit{mu-y\textsuperscript{a}}  
\quad [\textit{mui} ‘curry’ + \textit{w\textsuperscript{a}} ‘bamboo’]  
\quad ‘Bamboo shoot’ (lit. bamboo curry)

(25) \textit{doga-lam}  
\quad [\textit{doga} ‘door’ + \textit{lam} ‘way’]  
\quad ‘Door-way’

(26) \textit{abuk-tui}  
\quad [\textit{abuk} ‘breast’ + \textit{tui} ‘water’]  
\quad ‘Bresat milk’ (lit. breast water)

\textbf{4.1.3.2. Noun + Adjective Compound}

Noun + Adjective compound are formed by combination of noun and adjective.

(27) \textit{mui-kut\textsuperscript{b}m\textsuperscript{η}}  
\quad [\textit{mui} ‘curry’ + \textit{kut\textsuperscript{b}m\textsuperscript{η}} ‘raw’]  
\quad ‘Vegetable’ (lit. raw curry)
(28)  
  *mui-sele*

  [mui ‘curry’ + sele ‘lazy’]

  ‘Python’ (lit. lazy curry)

(29)  
  *tok-kolok*

  [bird ‘bird’ + kolok ‘long’]

  ‘Crane’ (lit. long bird)

(30)  
  *tok-sunta*

  [tok ‘bird’ + sunta ‘bald’]

  ‘Wood pecker’ (lit. bald bird)

(31)  
  *nobar-koto*

  [nokbar ‘air’ + kotor ‘big’]

  ‘Storm’ (lit. big air)

(32)  
  *mui-kʰon*

  [mui ‘curry’ + kʰon ‘coil’]

  ‘Banana flower’ (lit. coiled curry)

4.1.3.3. Verb + Noun compound

Verb + Noun compound are formed by combination of verb and noun.

(33)  
  *ka-lam*

  [ka ‘step’ + lam ‘way’]

  ‘Steps’ (lit. step way)
4.1.3.4. **Noun + Verb Compound**

Noun + verb compound are formed by combing a noun and verb.

(34)  *tok-kubak*
[ *tok* ‘bird’ + *kubak* ‘embrace’]
‘Parasitic plant’ (lit. embracing bird)

(35)  *ya-kʰep*
[yak ‘hand’ + kʰep ‘hold’]
‘Tongs’ (lit. hand hold)

(36)  *mui-lok*
[mui ‘curry’ + lok ‘be long’]
‘Gourd’ (lit. long curry)

(37)  *nok-sip*
[nok ‘house’ + sip ‘to fan’]
‘Broom’

4.1.3.5. **Verb + Verb compound**

Verb + adjective are formed by combining verb and adjective.

(38)  *rom-pʰe*
[rom ‘catch’ + pʰe < (pʰer) ‘be flat’]
‘Flattened rice’ (lit. flat catch)

4.2. **Gender**

Kokborok has no grammatical gender. Gender distinction in Kokborok is made lexically or by suffixes. Pronouns do not show any gender distinction as the word *bo* refers to both ‘he’ and ‘she’.
4.2.1. Human nouns

Basic kinship nouns in Kokborok have two separate distinct forms for each gender. The suffix -jila or -juk is used to indicate male and female.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hamjuk</td>
<td>'daughter in-law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mare</td>
<td>'girl friend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hik</td>
<td>'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayo</td>
<td>'niece'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi</td>
<td>'paternal aunty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sá-jila</td>
<td>'son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sá-juk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feminine
- hamjuk: 'daughter in-law'
- mare: 'girl friend'
- hik: 'wife'
- mayo: 'niece'
- pi: 'paternal aunty'
- sá-jila: 'son'

Masculine
- camari: 'son in-law'
- yar: 'boy friend'
- sai: 'husband'
- babu: 'nephew'
- piya: 'paternal aunt’s husband'
- sá-juk: 'daughter'

4.2.2. Gender marking of community nouns

The human nouns other than the kinship terms make the difference in sex by adding suffix -sa and -juk that indicates male and female respectively. There are two morphemes for female such as -juk and -ma. The suffix -juk is used with unmarried girl and the -juk-ma is used with aged or married woman. The use of -ma alone with aged or married woman may ungrammatical (39-41).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰuruk-juk</td>
<td>tʰuruk-juk-ma</td>
<td>tʰuruk-sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Muslim girl'</td>
<td>'Muslim woman'</td>
<td>'Muslim boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan-juk</td>
<td>wan-juk-ma</td>
<td>wan-sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Bengali girl'</td>
<td>'Bengali woman'</td>
<td>'Bengali boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰasiya-juk</td>
<td>kʰasiya-juk-ma</td>
<td>kʰasiya-sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Khasi girl'</td>
<td>'Khasi woman'</td>
<td>'Khasi boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* kʰasiya-ma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Khasi woman'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(39)   * kʰasiya-ma

‘Khasi woman’

61
(40) * garu-ma

‘Garo woman’

(41) * wan-ma

‘Bengali woman’

4.2.3. Gender marking of animal nouns

In case of animals maleness is indicated by the morpheme *cilə* or -la except animals like pig, and goat that uses separate word or suffix to indicate masculine. Femaleness is indicated by -juk which means young and that has not given offspring and -ma or buma means mother or aged as illustrated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>súi-juk</td>
<td>súi-ma</td>
<td>súi-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘young bitch’</td>
<td>‘mother dog’</td>
<td>‘male dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wak-juk</td>
<td>wak-ma</td>
<td>genda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘young pig’</td>
<td>‘mother pig’</td>
<td>‘male pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pun-juk</td>
<td>pu-ma</td>
<td>pun-juwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘she goat’</td>
<td>‘mother goat’</td>
<td>‘male goat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.4. Gender marking of birds

In case of birds the morpheme *cilə* or -la indicates male and *burui* indicates female.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tok-ma</td>
<td>‘mother hen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takʰum burui</td>
<td>‘duck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokʰu burui</td>
<td>‘dove’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.5. Gender marking of nouns by replacing *i* and *a*

Some nouns in Kokborok ending with vowels *i* indicate feminine and *a* indicate masculine as exemplified below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>randi</em> ‘widow’</td>
<td><em>randa</em> ‘widower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>banji</em> ‘female barren’</td>
<td><em>banja</em> ‘male barren’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.6. Gender marking of trees and plants

Plants and trees that bear fruits are considered as female in Kokborok. However, in case a fruit bearing plant or tree fails to bear fruits, is considered as male as can be seen below.

42) \( \text{koip}^h \text{ol} \quad \text{cila} \)
    papaya            male
    ‘Male papaya’

43) \( t^h \text{ailik} \quad \text{cila} \)
    banana           male
    ‘Male banana’

44) \( \text{kuwai} \quad \text{cila} \)
    betel-nut        male
    ‘Male betel-nut’

45) \( \text{moso} \quad \text{cila} \)
    Chilli            male
    ‘Male chilli’
4.2.7. Gender marking of agentive nouns

Agentive nouns in Kokborok can be marked for gender. The suffix -sa indicates male and -jukma indicates female as exemplified below.

Feminine Masculine
\[ p^h\text{-}al-nai\text{-}sa 'male seller' \quad p^h\text{-}al-nai\text{-}jukma 'female seller' \]
\[ b^h\text{-}nai\text{-}sa 'male player' \quad b^h\text{-}nai\text{-}jukma 'female player' \]
\[ k^h\text{-}ok-nai\text{-}sa 'male stealer' \quad k^h\text{-}ok-nai\text{-}jukma 'male stealer' \]

4.3. Pronouns

Pronouns in Kokborok can take number and case markers but do not show gender distinction. Thus, the word bó indicates both ‘he’ and ‘she’. Pronouns can be classified as, personal, demonstrative, interrogative, reflexive and indefinite.

4.3.1. Personal Pronouns

Kokborok personal pronouns differentiate three persons and two numbers. The second and third person singular forms can be pluralized by suffixing the morpheme -rok as given below in the table 7. However, like other Bodo-Garo languages, the first person plural in Kokborok is suppletive form as can be seen in the following table. There is no gender distinction in third person personal pronoun i.e., ‘bó’ refers to both the third masculine or feminine he/she.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>(a\text{-}\text{I}'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Second   | \(n\text{-}\text{you}' | \(n\text{-}\text{ro-k you' (PL)} |}
| Third    | \(b\text{-}\text{he}'  | \(b\text{-}\text{ro-k them'}  |

Table 7 Personal pronouns
The pronouns in Kokborok can be inflected for cases as given below in Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative –ø</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>奁í-ø ‘I’</td>
<td>奁í-ø ‘we’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>second</td>
<td>núí-ø ‘you’</td>
<td>no-rok-ø ‘you’ (PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>third</td>
<td>bó-ø</td>
<td>bó-rok-ø ‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative –no</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>a-no ‘to me’</td>
<td>cu/cuñ-no ‘to us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>second</td>
<td>no-no ‘to you’</td>
<td>no-rok-no ‘to you’ (PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>third</td>
<td>bó-no ‘to him’</td>
<td>bó-rok-no ‘to them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative –no</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>a-no ‘to me’</td>
<td>cu/cuñ-no ‘to us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>second</td>
<td>no-no ‘to you’</td>
<td>no-rok-no ‘to you’ (PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>third</td>
<td>bó-no ‘to him’</td>
<td>bó-rok-no ‘to them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive –ni</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>a-ni ‘my’</td>
<td>ci-ni ‘our’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>second</td>
<td>ni-ni ‘your’</td>
<td>no-rok-ni ‘yours’ (PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>third</td>
<td>bó-ni ‘his’</td>
<td>bó-rok-ni ‘their’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental –bai</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>奁í-bai ‘by me’</td>
<td>奁í-bai ‘by us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>second</td>
<td>núí-bai ‘by you’</td>
<td>no-rok-bai ‘by you’ (PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>third</td>
<td>bó-bai ‘by him’</td>
<td>bó-rok-bai ‘by them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative -bai</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>奁í-bai ‘with me’</td>
<td>奁í-bai ‘with us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>second</td>
<td>núí-bai ‘with you’</td>
<td>no-rok-bai ‘with you’ (PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>third</td>
<td>bó-bai ‘with him’</td>
<td>bó-rok-bai ‘with them’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 Personal pronouns with case inflection
4.3.2. Demonstrative pronoun

Demonstrative pronoun in Kokborok can be categorized on the basis of criteria such as proximity and distal: *i* ‘this’ and *u* ‘that’ as illustrated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>i</em> ‘this’</td>
<td><em>u</em> ‘that’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(46)  
\[
i \quad \text{musuk} \\
\text{DEM cow} \\
\text{‘This cow’}
\]

(47)  
\[
u \quad \text{cirai} \\
\text{DEM child} \\
\text{‘That child’}
\]

4.3.3. Interrogative pronoun

Interrogative pronoun in Kokborok can be categorized into two: simple and derived. Include the following. Interrogative pronouns are discussed in detail in § 5.5.2.

4.3.3.1. Simple interrogative pronouns

Simple interrogative pronouns in Kokborok are underived one as listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>sabo</em></td>
<td>‘who?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tamo</em></td>
<td>‘what?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>buphuru</em></td>
<td>‘when?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bahai</em></td>
<td>‘how?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>boro</em></td>
<td>‘where?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tani</em></td>
<td>‘why?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bo</em></td>
<td>‘which?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.3.2. Derived interrogative pronouns

Derived interrogative pronouns are derived from the simple ones by suffixing case markers as shown below.

- *sabo-ni* ‘whose?’
- *sabo-no* ‘whom?’

4.3.4. Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun in Kokborok is expressed on the nouns i.e., by suffixing -p^h\-aŋ to the noun *sak* ‘body’. It is interesting to note that it is used with all persons and numbers.

(48)  aŋ    sak-p^h\-aŋ
      I     body-REFL
      ‘I myself’

(49)  cmŋ    sak-p^h\-aŋ
      we    body-REFL
      ‘We ourselves’

(50)  núnŋ   sak-p^h\-aŋ
      you   body-REFL
      ‘You yourself’

(51)  no-rok    sak-p^h\-aŋ
      2PM-PL  body-REFL
      ‘You yourselves’
(52)  $bó \quad sak-p^h\text{ano}$
he       body-REFL
‘He himself’

(53)  $bó$-rok $sak-p^h\text{ano}$
he-PL   body-REFL
‘They themselves’

4.3.5. Indefinite pronouns

The following indefinite pronouns are found in Kokborok.

- $jesap^h\text{ano}$  ‘anything’
- $k^horo$ksap^h\text{ano}$  ‘anybody/anyone’
- $kisa$p^h\text{ano}$  ‘something’
- $jep^h\text{uru}$  ‘whenever’
- $jephurup^h\text{ano}$  ‘anytime’

4.4. Number

Number is not grammaticalised in almost all the Tibeto-Burman languages. Likewise, Kokborok being a language of the family exhibits typological feature of the same i.e., subject-verb-agreement is absent as far as number is concerned. Kokborok has two number distinctions viz. singular and plural. Kokborok has different ways of marking number on nouns. The singular is unmarked. Nouns are most commonly marked for number by the marker -rok. Other than suffixes, Kokborok also uses other means i.e., plural words and reduplication are used to denote plurality in the language. It is to be noticed that the number distinction in the language can be made of non-associative and associative as described below.
4.4.1. Non-associative plural

Non-associative plural is marked with the suffix -rok on any nouns other than personal names and kin terms. Personal pronouns in Kokborok can be pluralized by suffixing the same marker -rok. Interestingly, the plural suffix -rok is commonly used in Kokborok to pluralise most of the nouns irrespective of animacy-inanimacy, human and non-human from the morpho-semantic point of view. Interestingly, the mass and count nouns can also be marked by the same plural marker -rok.

(54) tók-rok
    bird-PL
    ‘Birds’

(55) pun-rok
    goat-PL
    ‘Goats’

(56) nok-rok
    house-PL
    ‘Houses’

(57) bijap-rok
    book-PL
    ‘Books’

(58) tʰailik-rok
    banana-PL
    ‘Bananas’
(59) \textit{holoŋ-rok}
stone-PL
‘Stones’

(60) \textit{kʰinci-rok}
hair-PL
‘Hairs’

(61) \textit{ri-rok}
cloth-PL
‘Cloths’

(62) \textit{holoŋsiki-rok}
pebbles-PL
‘Pebbles’

(63) \textit{doga-rok}
door-PL
‘Doors’

(64) \textit{bucului-rok}
seed-PL
‘Seeds’

(65) \textit{buwa-rok}
tooth-PL
‘Teeth’
Nouns denoting names of community can take the plural marker \(-rok\) as illustrated below in (67-71).

(67) \(l^huruk-rok\)
Muslim-PL
‘Muslims’

(68) \(wanjui-rok\)
Bengali-PL
‘Bengalis’

(69) \(boro-rok\)
Bodo-PL
‘Bodos’

(70) \(k^hasiya-rok\)
Khasi-PL
‘Khasis’

(71) \(garu-rok\)
Garo-PL
‘Garos’

Besides the other general human-referring nouns, deverbal agentive nouns are capable of taking plural suffix. These nouns are derived from verbs by suffixing the nominalizer \(-nai\) as illustrated below.
(72) $p^b\text{al-nai-rok}$
    sell-NOMZ-PL
    ‘Sellers’

(73) $k^b\text{ok-nai-rok}$
    steal-NOMZ-PL
    ‘Stealers’

(74) $k^b\text{apurum-nai-rok}$
    run-PL
    ‘Runners’

(75) $p^b\text{urum-nai-rok}$
    teach-NOMZ-PL
    ‘Teachers’

(76) $\text{surum-nai-rok}$
    learn-NOMZ-PL
    ‘Learners’

(77) $\text{musà-nai-rok}$
    dance-NOMZ-PL
    ‘Dancers’

(78) $\text{sòŋ-nai-rok}$
    cook-NOMZ-PL
    ‘Cooks’
Personal pronouns in Kokborok show three way distinctions in person and two way distinctions in number. As mentioned earlier, the second person and third person singular forms are pluralised by suffixing the marker -rok. Like most of the Bodo-Garo Languages of Northeast India, the first person plural is a suppletive form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>aŋ ‘I’</td>
<td>ciŋ ‘we’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>núŋ ‘you’</td>
<td>no-rok ‘you’ (PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>bó ‘he/she’</td>
<td>bó-rok ‘they’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 Personal pronouns showing three way contrast in person and two way in number

4.4.2. Associative plural

An associative may refer to more than two people—the bearer of the name and whoever is with him. The associative plural is marked with the suffix -sonŋ on personal names and kinship nouns, Roger-sonŋ (Roger-ASS) ‘Roger and whoever is with him’. It also refers to a group of people who are closely associated with each other—such as family members, or work partners as shown below.

(80) Ram-sonŋ
    Ram-ASS
    ‘Ram and others’
4.4.3. Plural word

Majority of the languages of the world express plurality by means of plural words, which modify nouns. This is true in the case of Kokborok as plural words are used to express plurality in the language as described below.

(86) \textit{bijap} \textit{kuban}\textit{\textbar\textbar}

book many

‘Many books’
(87)  
\textit{musuk kuban} \\
cow  many  \\
‘Many cows’

(88)  
\textit{ri  kuban} \\
cloth  many  \\
‘Many clothes’

\textbf{4.4.4. Reduplication}

Both nouns and interrogatives can be duplicated to denote plurality.

\textbf{4.4.4.1. Reduplication of nouns}

Reduplication of nouns in Kokborok denotes plurality as can be seen in (89-91).

(89)  
\textit{nok  nok} \\
house  house  \\
‘Several houses’

(90)  
\textit{bolo} \textit{ bolo} \\
jungle  jungle  \\
‘Several jungles’

(91)  
\textit{kami  kami} \\
village  village  \\
‘Several villages’
4.4.4.2. Reduplication of interrogative pronouns

Like nouns, reduplication of interrogatives in Kokborok also denote plurality as in (92-94).

(92)  
\[ \text{tamo tamo} \]  
what what  
‘What all?’

(93)  
\[ \text{sabo sabo} \]  
who who  
‘Who all?’

(94)  
\[ \text{boro boro} \]  
where where  
‘Which places?’

4.4.5. Numeral classifiers and number

Nouns in Kokborok can also be pluralized by using numerals. The nouns do not take plural marker when they co-occur with the numerals expressing more than one. Time nouns in Kokborok do not take classifiers, instead numerals are suffixed to it as shown in (95-100).

(95)  
\[ \text{hor-sa} \]  
night-one  
‘One night’

(96)  
\[ \text{hor-t\textsuperscript{3}am} \]  
night-three  
‘Tree night’
4.5. Numerals

Kokborok numerals are usually used with classifiers and it is basically a decimal system. Structurally, numerals can be classified into following categories viz., (i) cardinal (ii) ordinal (iii) multiplicative and (iv) fractional.

4.5.1. Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals can be sub-classified into the following types: (i) basic numerals (ii) compound numerals.

4.5.1.1. Basic numerals

The basic cardinal numerals in Kokborok are mono-morphemic. The following are the basic numerals found in Kokborok.

(97) bisi-ba
year-five
‘Five years’

(98) tal-sini
month-seven
‘Seven months’

(99) sal-nui
day-two
‘Two days’

(100) sal-ba
day-five
‘Five days’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Cardinal Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nui</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰ’am</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burui</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dok</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sini</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuku</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5.1.2. Compound numerals

Compound numerals in Kokborok are formed by the juxtaposition of two independent numeral morphemes.

4.5.1.2.1. Numerals showing the relationship of summation

The numerals from 11/eleven to 19/nineteen are formed by adding the lower numbers 1/one to 9/nine to the root of the decade ci as exemplified below:

- **ci-sa** | ‘eleven’ | [10+1=11]
- **ci-nui** | ‘twelve’ | [10+2=12]
- **ci-tʰ’am** | ‘thirteen’ | [10+3=13]
- **ci-burui** | ‘fourteen’ | [10+4=14]
ci-ba ‘fifteen’ [10+5=15]
ci-dok ‘sixteen’ [10+6=16]
ci-sini ‘seventeen’ [10+7=17]
ci-car ‘eighteen’ [10+8=18]
ci-cuku ‘nineteen’ [10+9=19]

4.5.1.2.2. Numerals showing the relationship of multiplication plus summation

Numerals in Kokborok from 21/twenty-one to 29/twenty-nine, 31/thirty-one to 39/thirty-nine, 41/forty-one to 49/forty-nine, 61/sixty-one to 69/sixty-nine, and 81/eighty-one to 89/eighty-nine and 91/ninety-one to 99/ninety-nine are formed through the multiplication of first two numerals and the summation of the third ones.

nui-ci-sa ‘twenty one’ [two x ten + one]
nui-ci-cuku ‘twenty nine’ [two x ten + nine]
h\(^{th}\)am-ci-sa ‘thirty-one’ [three x ten + one]
h\(^{th}\)am-ci-cuku ‘thirty-nine’
[three x ten + nine]

burui-ci-sa  ‘forty-one’

[four x ten + one]

burui-ci-cuku  ‘forty-nine’

[four x ten + nine]

ba-ci-sa  ‘fifty one’

[five x ten + one]

ba-ci-cuku  ‘fifty nine’

[five x ten + nine]

dok-ci-sa  ‘sixty-one’

[six x ten + one]

dok-ci-cuku  ‘sixty-nine’

[six x ten + nine]

sini-ci-sa  ‘seventy one’

[seven x ten + one]

sini-ci-cuku  ‘seventy nine’

[seven x ten + nine]

car-ci-sa  ‘eighty-one’

[eight x ten + one]

car-ci-cuku  ‘eighty-nine’

[eight x nine + nine]

cuku-ci-sa  ‘ninety one’

[nine x ten + one]
4.5.1.2.3. Formation of decades

For all the decades ci is suffixed to the lower numbers. The numbers twenty/20 through ninety/90 are multiplicative decimal constructions.

\[
\begin{align*}
nui-ci & \quad \text{‘twenty’} \\
[\text{two x ten}] & \\
\mathop{\ell}i\text{-}am-ci & \quad \text{‘thirty’} \\
[\text{three x ten}] & \\
burui-ci & \quad \text{‘forty’} \\
[\text{four x ten}] & \\
ba-ci & \quad \text{‘fifty’} \\
[\text{five x ten}] & \\
dok-ci & \quad \text{‘sixty’} \\
[\text{six x ten}] & \\
sini-ci & \quad \text{‘seventy’} \\
[\text{seven x ten}] & \\
car-ci & \quad \text{‘eighty’} \\
[\text{eight x ten}] & \\
cuku-ci & \quad \text{‘ninety’} \\
[\text{nine x ten}] & \\
\end{align*}
\]
4.5.2. Ordinals

Like other Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India in general and Bodo-Garo languages in particular, Kokborok doesn’t have the indigenous ordinal numerals, instead loan numerals are used to express the same, as the word for ‘second’ *dui nombor*, is borrowed from Bengali and the rest *third, fourth, fifth* and so on are formed by compounding Bengali cardinals *tin* ‘three’,......*at* ‘eight’ etc. and the English word ‘number’ with minor phonetic changes as shown below. However, the word first is of Kokborok origin.

\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{sikaŋ} & \quad \text{‘first’} \\
  \text{dui nombor} & \quad \text{‘second’} \\
  \text{tin nombor} & \quad \text{‘third’} \\
  \text{sat nombor} & \quad \text{‘seventh’} \\
  \text{sat nombor} & \quad \text{‘eight’}
\end{align*}
\]

4.5.3. Multiplicative

Multiplicative are formed by prefixing *wai-* to the cardinal numerals.

\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{wai-sa} & \quad \text{‘once’} \\
  \text{wai-nui} & \quad \text{‘twice’} \\
  \text{wai-tʰam} & \quad \text{‘thrice’} \\
  \text{wai-burui} & \quad \text{‘four times’} \\
  \text{wai-ba} & \quad \text{‘five times} \\
  \text{wai-sini} & \quad \text{‘seven times’} \\
  \text{wai-ci} & \quad \text{‘ten times’}
\end{align*}
\]

4.5.4. Fractional

The only fractional found in the language is *kʰakca* ‘half’. However, fractional like 1½ is expressed by using the general classifier *kai-* with the numeral as given below.
$k^bakca$ ½ (half)
$kai-sa\ k^bakca$ 1½ (one and half)

4.6. Classifier

Classifiers are defined as morphemes which occur ‘in surface structures under specific conditions’, denote ‘some salient perceived or imputed characteristics of the entity to which an associated noun refers’ (Allan 1977: 285).

4.6.1. Classifier construction

Classifiers in Kokborok always occur with the numeral, which makes a close bound syntactic unit in the following order: classifier + numeral. This syntactic unit may occur after or before the noun. However, the preferred order is N CLF-NUM as in (101-105). It is worth mentioning that the noun is never known to intrude between classifier and numeral.

(101) $tök\ ma-sa$
    bird  CLF-one
    ‘One bird’

(102) $bup^b\ an^ə\ p^b\ an^ə-nui$  
    tree  CLF-two
    ‘Two trees’

(103) $nok\ k^b\ niŋ-sa$
    house  CLF-one
    ‘One house’

(104) $ciw\ ai\ k^b\ orok-nui$
    child  CLF-two
    ‘Two children’
(105) kamculi $\textit{kai}$-sa
  shirt CLF-one
  ‘One shirt’

It is observed that the possible reverse order is CLF-NUM N as in (106-111).

(106) $ma$-sa $\textit{t}$ôk
  CLF-one bird
  ‘One bird’

(107) $p^h\textit{ai}$-nu $b^h\textit{ai}$
  CLF-two tree
  ‘Two trees’

(108) $k^h\textit{u}$-sa $n$ok
  CLF-one house
  ‘One house’

(109) $t^h\textit{ai}$-nu $t^h\textit{ai}$nu
  CLF-two banana
  ‘Two jackfruits’

(110) $\textit{kai}$-sa $k$isip
  CLF-two fan
  ‘One fan’

(111) i $t^h\textit{ai}$nu $k$otor $t^h\textit{ai}$-nu
  DEM banana big CLF-two
  ‘This two big jackfruits’
4.6.2. Properties of numeral classifiers

Numeral classifiers are, probably, the most commonly recognized type of classifiers, and are usually defined as classifying morphemes prototypically attached to numerals and expression of quantity (Croft 1994).

All the classifiers in Kokborok are bound and are used only in classifier constructions. Similarly, a numeral in Kokborok is also a bound morpheme and cannot occur without a classifier. However, Allan (1977) stated that this does not mean that all nouns are classified in all their occurrences in speech. Any noun can be used without a classifier unless in the context of counting.

This is true in the case of Kokborok too as evidence in the following examples.

(112) \( \eta \) kai-\( \eta \) bup\( ^h \) \( \eta \) \( l^h \)ui-\( k^h \)a
    I plant-NOMZ tree die-PST

    ‘The tree I planted has died’

(113) i \( l^h \)ailik kumun
    DEM banana ripe

    ‘This banana is ripe’

(114) t\( ôk \)-ro \( èk \) bir man-o
    bird-PL fly can-PRES

    ‘Birds can fly’

It is clear that in the above sentences (112-114), there are no classifiers along with any of the nouns, however, a classifier is obligatorily used with a numeral if it is enumerated as shown in (115-118).
According to Aikhenvald, morphologically, numeral classifiers come in one of three forms.

(i) They may be independent lexemes.
(ii) They may be affixes, or clitics, attached to, or fused with, numerals
(iii) They may be attached to, or fused with, head noun.

Kokborok falls under the second form of Aikhenvald’s classification as all the classifiers in the language are affixes in the form of prefixes as other Bodo-Garo languages do.

4.6.3. Classifiers in Kokborok

Most of the classifiers in Kokborok are typically mono-syllabic, mostly ending in consonant and some in a vowel and few are bisyllabic. The following lists of classifying morphemes are found to appear with numerals in Kokborok.
This classifier is used for counting human nouns. It is observed that the classifier $k^h orok$- is derived from the word $bok^h orok$ ‘head’.

(119)  $borök k^h orok\text{-}sa$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>CLF</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td></td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘One person’

(120)  $borök k^h orok\text{-}nui$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>CLF</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td></td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Two person’

(121)  $ciri\text{i} k^h orok\text{-}nui$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>CLF</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td></td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Two children’

(122)  $ciri\text{i} k^h orok\text{-}ba$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>CLF</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td></td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Five children’

This classifier is used to denote animals including reptiles, birds, worms, insects as such.

(123)  $cimi\text{ŋ} ma\text{-}sa$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cat</th>
<th>CLF</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td></td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘One cat’
(124)  cibuk  ma-sa
snake   CLF-one
‘One snake

(125)  takʰum mak-ʰam
duck   CLF-three
‘Three ducks’

(126)  tokla  ma-ba
cock   CLF-five
‘Five cocks’

(127)  yoŋp ma-ba
worm   CLF-five
‘Five worms’

(128)  ʰúk  ma-sa
louse   CLF-one
‘One louse’

(129)  ʰampui  ma-sa
mosquito  CLF-one
‘One mosquito’

(130)  kuk  ma-sa
grasshopper   CLF-one
‘One grasshopper’
This classifier is used to denote trees, plants, herbs and weeds. Etymologically, the morpheme $p^h\text{ṣη}$ is copied from the second syllable of the word $bu-p^h\text{ṣη}$ ‘tree’.

(131) $bup^h\text{ṣη}$  $p^h\text{ṣη}-sa$  
     tree  CLF-one  
   ‘One tree’

(132) $\text{ṭaicuk}$  $p^h\text{ṣη}-nui$  
     mango  CLF-two  
   ‘Two mango trees’

(133) $\text{moso}$  $p^h\text{ṣη}-sa$  
     chili  CLF-one  
   ‘One chili plant’

(134) $\text{kuwai}$  $p^h\text{ṣη}-nui$  
     betel nut  CLF-two  
   ‘Two betel nut trees’

(135) $\text{samlh}\text{ai}$  $p^h\text{ṣη}^h\text{-am}$  
     love thorn  CLF-three  
   ‘Three love thorn plants’

(136) $\text{wá}$  $p^h\text{ṣη}-sa$  
     bamboo  CLF-one  
   ‘One bamboo plant’
(137) \( lai p^h \circ \eta \quad p^h \circ \eta \text{-nui} \)

plaintain \( \text{CLF-two} \)

‘Two plaintains’

dek-

This classifier is used to denote branches of any trees and plants. This classifier is copied from the second syllable of the word \( be-\text{dek} \) ‘branch’.

(138) \( \text{bedek} \quad \text{dek-}\text{sa} \)

branch \( \text{CLF-one} \)

‘One branch’

(139) \( \text{moso} \quad \text{bedek} \quad \text{dek-}\text{nui} \)

chili \quad \text{branch} \quad \text{CLF-two}

‘Two branches of chili’

(140) \( \text{\textit{t}aicuk} \quad \text{bedek} \quad \text{dek-}\text{sa} \)

mango \quad \text{branch} \quad \text{CLF-one}

‘One mango branch’

c\(\text{c\texteta}-\)

This classifier is used to denote twig of trees, plants like bamboo etc. The classifier \( c\text{c\texteta} \) is copied from the second syllable of word \( be-\text{c\texteta} \) ‘twig’.

(141) \( \text{be\textit{c\texteta}} \quad c\text{c\texteta}-\text{sa} \)

tree \quad \text{twig} \quad \text{CLF-one}

‘One twig of tree’
(142) \textit{wacẹn} \textit{ceŋ-nui}

bamboo\_twig CLF\_two

‘Two twigs of bamboo’

(143) \textit{t’aicuk} \textit{beceŋ} \textit{ceŋ-sa}

mango \hspace{1cm} tree \hspace{1cm} CLF\_one

‘One twig of tree’

\textit{kol-}

This classifier is used to denote grain i.e., small piece of hard substance, seeds, eye etc. This classifier is copied from the second syllable of the word \textit{bo-kol} ‘grain’.

(144) \textit{bokol} \textit{kol-sa}

\hspace{1cm} grain \hspace{1cm} CLF\_one

‘One grain substance’

(145) \textit{mai} \textit{bokol} \textit{kol-nui}

\hspace{1cm} paddy \hspace{1cm} grain \hspace{1cm} CLF\_two

‘Two grains of paddy’

(146) \textit{mokol} \textit{kol-nui}

\hspace{1cm} eye \hspace{1cm} CLF\_two

‘Two eyes’

(147) \textit{bucului} \textit{kol-\textit{t’am}}

\hspace{1cm} seed \hspace{1cm} CLF\_three

‘Three seeds’
This classifier is used to denote long narrow or thin objects viz, rope, wire, thread, roads, hair, blood vessels/veins, tails, bamboo strips etc. It is copied from the second syllable of the word kʰu-ṁ ‘thread’.

(148)  kʰuṁ ṁ-tui
     thread CLF-two
     ‘Two threads’

(149)  lama  ṁ-ṭam
     road   CLF-three
     ‘Three way of roads’

(150)  kʰiŋi  ṁ-ba
     hair   CLF-five
     ‘Five hairs’

(151)  wáruk  ṁ-nui
     bamboo strip CLF-two
     ‘Two Bamboo strips’

(152)  sir  ṁ-sa
     vein   CLF-one
     ‘One vein’

(153)  buduk  ṁ-nui
     rope   CLF-nui
     ‘Two ropes’
\( t^\text{op} - \)
This classifier is used to denote drops of liquids viz, water, blood, oil etc.

(154) \( tui \quad t^\text{op-}t^\text{am} \)
- water CLF-three
  ‘Three drops of water’

(155) \( t^\text{ok} \quad t^\text{op-nui} \)
- oil CLF-two
  ‘Two drops of oil’

(156) \( t^\text{úi} \quad t^\text{op-ba} \)
- blood CLF-five
  ‘Five drops of blood’

\( k\text{anf} - \)
This classifier is used to denote flat objects, like books, cloths, mat etc.

(157) \( rí \quad k\text{anf-nui} \)
- cloth CLF-two
  ‘Two cloths’

(158) \( kamcului \quad k\text{anf-sa} \)
- shirt CLF-one
  ‘One shirt’

(159) \( lam^h\text{ai} \quad k\text{anf-sa} \)
- mat CLF-one
  ‘One mat’
(160) yan'bi nui  kuri-nui  
coarse mat  CLF-two  
‘Two coarse mats’

(161) bijap  kuri-nui  
book  CLF-two  
‘Two books’

kon-  
This is used to denote long objects like sticks, pen, spear, firewood and some of the body parts viz, teeth, finger, limbs etc.

(162) wasun  kon- u  
bamboo tube  CLF-two  
‘Two bamboo tube’

(163) raaidun kon-sa  
cane stick CLF-one  
‘One cane stick’

(164) buwa  kuri-nui  
teeth  CLF-two  
‘Two teeths’

(165) yak  kon-sa  
hand  CLF-one  
‘One hand’
(166)  yakoŋ kọŋ-nui
    leg   CLF-two
    ‘Two legs’

(167)  yasi  kọŋ-t’am
    finger CLF-three
    ‘Three fingers’

(168)  sukoŋ kọŋ-sa
    pen   CLF-one
    ‘One pen’

(169)  cakoŋla kọŋ-nui
    spear CLF-two
    ‘Two spears’

p’hon-
This classifier is used to denote pieces, such as meat, fish, etc.

(170)  bahan p’hon-sa
    meat  CLF-one
    ‘One piece of meat’

(171)  at’uk  p’hon-sa
    prawn CLF-one
    ‘One piece of prawn’

(172)  wahan p’hon-nui
    pork  CLF-two
    ‘Two pieces of pork’
(173) tohan \( p^h \text{on-t}^h \text{am} \\
chicken \quad \text{CLF-three}

‘Three pieces of chicken’

(174) puhan \( p^h \text{on-burui} \\
mutton \quad \text{CLF-four}

‘Four pieces of mutton’

(175) á \( p^h \text{on-nui} \\
Fish \quad \text{CLF-two}

‘Two pieces of fish’

bar-
This classifier is used to denote flowers, buds.

(176) buk\(^h\text{urui}\) \( \text{bar-sa} \\
bud \quad \text{CLF-one}

‘One bud’

(177) \( k^h\text{um}\) \( \text{bar-nui} \\
flower \quad \text{CLF-two}

‘Two flower’

(178) sotorobongo \( \text{bar-t}^h\text{am} \\
marigold \quad \text{CLF-three}

‘Three marigold flowers’

(179) buk\(^h\text{urui}\) \( \text{bar-sa} \\
bud \quad \text{CLF-one}

‘One bud of flowe’
This classifier is used to denote voluminous objects like houses and vehicles.

(180)  \textit{nom}  \textit{k}^{b}\textit{un}-\textit{nu}  \\
house  CLF-two  \\
‘Two houses’

(181)  \textit{saikel}  \textit{k}^{b}\textit{un}-\textit{sa}  \\
cycle  CLF-one  \\
‘One cycle’

(182)  \textit{gairin}  \textit{k}^{b}\textit{un}-\textit{sa}  \\
piled house  CLF-one  \\
‘One piled house’

(183)  \textit{malk}^{b}\textit{un}  \textit{k}^{b}\textit{u}-\textit{sa}  \\
vehicle  CLF-one  \\
‘One vehicle’

(184)  \textit{birk}^{b}\textit{un}  \textit{k}^{b}\textit{un}-\textit{nu}  \\
aeroplane  CLF-two  \\
‘Two aeroplanes’

(185)  \textit{rui}  \textit{k}^{b}\textit{un}-\textit{ba}  \\
boat  CLF-five  \\
‘Five boats’
lái-
This classifier is used to denote leaves of trees and plants, etc.

(186) **bulái lai-sa**

leaf    CLF-one

‘One leaf’

(187) **t'aicuk bulái lai-nui**

mango  leaf    CLF-two

‘Two mango leaves’

lep-
This classifier is used to denote coins and baked things like bread, biscuits etc.

(188) **biskut lep-t'am**

biscuit CLF-three

‘Three biscuits’

(189) **ruti lep-sa**

chapatti    CLF-one

‘One chapatti’

(190) **puisa lep-nui**

paise    CLF-two

‘Two coins of paisa’

(191) **cuwan lep-sa**

yeast bread  CLF-one

‘One bread of yeast’
**tui-**

This classifier is used to denote eggs, underground tubers or roots and yam etc.

(192) $l^h$aktúi $tui$-sa
    sweet potato CLF-one
    ‘One sweet potato’

(193) tóktui tui-$l^h$am
    egg CLF-three
    ‘Three eggs’

(194) $l^h$abucuk $tui$-nui
    tapioca CLF-two
    ‘Two tapiocas’

(195) batema tui-$l^h$am
    elephant’s foot CLF-three
    ‘Three elephant’s foot’

**k$^h$or-**

This classifier is used to denote holes in tree, bamboos, earth etc.

(196) hakor $k^h$or-sa
    hole CLF-one
    ‘One hole in earth’

(197) bok$^h$or $k^h$or-nui
    tree hole CLF-two
    ‘Two tree holes’
\(wak\) or \(k^h_{or-t^h_{am}}\)

bamboo CLF-hole

‘Three bamboo holes’

\(jor\)-

This classifier is used to denote pair of things or animals etc. It is copied from the word \(bo-jor\) ‘pair’

\(bojor\) \(jor-sa\)

pair CLF-one

‘One pair’

\(kamcului\) \(jor-nui\)

shirt CLF-two

‘Two pair of shirts’

\(musuk\) \(jor-sa\)

cow CLF-one

‘One pair of cow’

\(k^h_{op}\)-

This classifier is used to denote swallows of eatable or drinkable items.

\(urum\) \(k^h_{op-sa}\)

puffed rice CLF-one

‘One swallow of puffed rice’

\(k^h_{amcui}\) \(k^h_{op-nui}\)

pop corn CLF-two

‘Two swallows of pop corn’
(204) *romph e kʰop-tʰ am*
flattened rice CLF-three
‘Three swallows of flattened rice’

(205) *mai kʰop-sa*
rice CLF-one
‘One swallow of rice’

(206) *kuwai kʰop-sa*
betel nut CLF-one
‘One swallow of betel nut’

(207) *tui kʰop-nui*
water CLF-two
‘Two swallows or once of water’

*pʰak-

The classifier *pʰak-* is specifically used with bundles of bamboo, wood, firewood etc. as exemplified below.

(208) *wá pʰak-sa*
bamboo CLF-one
‘One bundle of bamboo’

(209) *bol pʰak-nui*
fire wood CLF-two
‘Two bundles of fire wood’
(210) **kuruk** \( p^h ak-t^h am \)
sugar cane  CLF-three
‘Three bundles of sugar cane’

(211) **siŋcŋη** \( p^h ak-ba \)
pampas grass  CLF-five
‘Five bundles of pampas grass’

**dul-**
This classifier is used to denote clod, molded things like molded pellets, and rice balls etc. It is copied from the second syllable of **bu-dul** ‘clod’.

(212) **budul**  **dul-sa**
clod  CLF-one
‘One clod’

(213) **hadul**  **dul-nui**
mud  clod CLF-two
‘Two clods of mud’

(214) **maidul**  **dul-sa**
rice ball  CLF-one
‘One rice-ball’

(215) **badul**  **dul-nul**
mud pellet  CLF-nui
‘Two pellets of mud’
This classifier is specifically used with the rupee or rupees.

(216) \textit{nə} \textit{kʰ} ok-nui
money CLF-two
‘Two rupees’

(217) \textit{nə} \textit{kʰ} ok-ba
money CLF-five
‘Five rupees’

(218) \textit{nə} \textit{kʰ} ok-ci
money CLF-ten’
‘Ten rupees’

\textit{ɛn-}
This classifier is used to denote nodes of bamboo and sugar cane.

(219) \textit{wá} \textit{ɛn-sa}
bamboo CLF-one
‘One node of bamboo’

(220) \textit{kuruk} \textit{ɛn-nui}
sugar cane CLF-two
‘Two nodes of sugar cane’

(221) \textit{kuruk} \textit{ɛn-ɛt-am}
sugar cane CLF-three
‘Three nodes of sugar cane’
**mocom-**

This classifier is used to denote amount in a single or doubled-up hand i.e., fistful.

(222)  sôm  mocom-sa

salt  CLF-one

‘One fistful amount of salt’

(223)  tui  mocom-nui

water  CLF-two

‘Two fistful amount of water’

(224)  mai′mocom-sa

rice  CLF-one

‘One fistful amount of rice’

**tuk-**

This classifier is used for counting pots of rice, rice beer etc.

(225)  maituk  tuk-sa

rice pot  CLF-one

‘One pot of rice’

(226)  cuwak  tuk-sa

wine  CLF-one

‘One pot of wine’

(227)  mutuk  tuk-nui

curry pot  CLF-two

‘Two pots curry’
Aikhenvald (2000) has rightly stated that “a language may have a ‘generic’ classifier which can be used with any—or almost any—noun, replacing other more specific classifiers”. Kokborok is no exception in this regard that it has a generic classifier \textit{kai-} as it may be used with any noun regardless of its semantic properties.

\begin{align*}
(228) & \quad \text{\textit{l'aruk kai-sa}} \\
& \quad \text{ladle CLF-one} \\
& \quad \text{‘One ladle’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(229) & \quad \text{\textit{manui kai-sa}} \\
& \quad \text{thing CLF-one} \\
& \quad \text{‘One thing’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(230) & \quad \text{\textit{betra kai-nui}} \\
& \quad \text{comb CLF-two} \\
& \quad \text{‘Two combs’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(231) & \quad \text{\textit{mai\textasciitilde{r}n\textasciitilde{kai-sa}}} \\
& \quad \text{plate CLF-one} \\
& \quad \text{‘One plate’}
\end{align*}

It is also important to note that like many other numeral classifier languages of South East Asia, some nouns in Kokborok do not take classifiers at all, as for example, time word such as hour, day, night, month, and year. In that case the numerals are directly suffixed to the nouns

\begin{align*}
(232) & \quad \text{\textit{dam-sa}} \\
& \quad \text{hour-one} \\
& \quad \text{‘One hour’}
\end{align*}
4.7. Case

The case markers determine and characterise clearly the relationship between noun phrases and how it is related to verbs. In a noun phrase the case markers can be suffixed to nouns or pronouns.

In Kokborok case inflection is the final element in the noun phrase, preceded or followed by a postposition if it is present. There are nine cases in Kokborok. They are: 1) Nominative 2) Accusative 3) Dative 4) Locative, 5) Ablative, 6) Instrumental 7) Comitative, 8) Genitive and 9) Intrusive.

4.7.1. Nominative case

Nominative case is the case of subject (noun and Pronoun). It is morphologically unmarked in Kokborok. The subjects of both the transitive and intransitive clauses are marked by zero case marking.
(237) bó-∅   munui-kʰa
    he-NOM    laugh-PST
    ‘He laughed’

(238) bó-∅   cibuk  butʰar-kʰa
    he-NOM    snake  kill-PST
    ‘He killed the snake’

(239) aŋ-∅   bó-no    siniw-∅
    I-NOM    he-ACC    know-PRES
    ‘I know him’

(240) David-∅  nog-∅  tʰáŋ-kʰa
    David-NOM house-LOC  go-PST
    ‘David went home’

(241) Amal  him-∅
    Amal  walk-PRES
    ‘Amal walks’

(242) Amal  bulai-kʰa
    Amal  walk-PST
    ‘Amal fought’

4.7.2. Accusative case

Accusative case is marked by the marker -no to the direct object of a sentence. It is used for patients of transitive verbs.
(243)  *David*  *Amal-no*  \(bu-\text{k}^h\text{a}\)

David  Amal-ACC  beat-PST

‘David beat Amal’

(244)  *ač*  *David-no*  *Amal-ni*  *kamiw-o*  *nuk-\text{k}^h\text{a}\)

I  David-ACC  Amal-GEN  village-LOC  see-PST

‘I saw David in Amal’s village’

(245)  *ač*  *bó-no*  \(nuk-\text{k}^h\text{a}\)

I  he-ACC  see-PST

‘I saw him’

(246)  *čič*  *bó-no*  \(nai\text{-}sí\text{-}nai\)

we  he-ACC  wait-DEF.FUT

‘We will wait him’

However, patient of intransitive clause can also be marked by accusative marker after transitivizing the verb with the causative suffix.

(247)  *ač*  *bó-no*  \(him-\text{ri}\text{-}k^h\text{a}\)

I  he-ACC  walk-CAUS-PST

‘I made him to walk’

(248)  *ač*  *bó-no*  \(munui-\text{ri}\text{-}k^h\text{a}\)

I  he-ACC  laugh-CAUS-PST

‘I made him to laugh’

The above examples demonstrate that the accusative marker is suffixed to the nouns or pronouns only.
The accusative case can be suffixed to interrogative pronoun in Kokborok. The interrogative pronoun sabo ‘who’ have the accusative form sabo-no i.e., ‘to whom’.

(249) sabo  sabo-no  bu-kʰa
who  who-ACC  beat-PST
‘Who beats whom?’

(250) núη  sabo-no  kudi
you  who-ACC  scold
‘Whom did you scold?’

The accusative case is also marked for all the subjects when they occur in independent clause.

(251) núη  o  pun-no  wa’ar-nai  suikur-no  nuk-kʰa
I  DEM  goat-ACC  kill-NOMZ  wolf-ACC  see-PST
‘I have seen the wolf that killed that goat’

(252) núη  o  ciřai-no  suk-nai  cibuk-no  but’ar-kʰa
we  DEM  girl-ACC  stung-NOMZ  snake-ACC  kill-PST
‘We killed the snake that stung that girl’

4.7.3. Dative case

When direct object and indirect are present, the indirect is being marked by the marker -no while the direct object remains unmarked. It is worth mentioning here that as in other Bodo-garo languages, the indirect object in Kokborok always precedes the direct object.
4.7.4. Locative case

The locative case expresses the location of the subject and it is marked by the case ending suffix -o occasionally preceded by postposition as in (257) and (258).

(253) \[\text{aŋ} \ bō-no \ raiŋ \ ri-k^h_a\]
I he-DAT money give-PST
‘I gave him money’

(254) \[bō \ a-no \ t^h_\text{aicuk} \ ri-k^h_a\]
he IPM-DAT mango give-PST
‘He gave me mango’

(255) \[\text{David} \ Amal-no \ rí \ bak-k^h_a\]
David Amal-DAT cloth distribute
‘David distributed cloth to Amal’

Ram Kolkata-\text{o} \ t^h_\text{āŋ}-k^h_a
Ram Kolkata-LOC go-PST
‘Ram went to Kolkata’

(257) \[tōk \ nuk^h_\text{ŋ} \ sakaw-o\]
bird roof top-LOC
‘The bird is on the top of the roof’

(258) \[\text{kaisiŋ} \ tui \ bising-o\]
tortoise water inside-LOC
‘Tortoise is in the water’
(259) tók  bupʰəŋ  bedeg-o  
bird  tree  branch-LOC  
‘The bird is on the branch’

(260) bó  bolonŋ-o  tʰəŋ-kʰa  
he  forest-LOC  go-PST  
‘He went to the forest’

(261) aŋ  bó-ni  kamiw-o  tʰəŋ-nai  
I  he-GEN  village-LOC  go-DEF.FUT  
‘I will go to his village’

(262) hór-o  tohan  sok-di  
fire-LOC  chicken  burn-IMP  
‘Burn the chicken in the fire’

(263) tui  golaw-o  
water  pot-LOC  
‘Water is in the pot’

(264) aŋ  nog-o  tʰəŋ-g-o  
I  house-LOC  go-PRES  
‘I am going home’

(265) bó-ni  kʰaklab-o  sobaikoks  təŋ-g-o  
he-GEN  chest-LOC  mole  have-PRES  
‘He has a mole in his chest’
4.7.5. Ablative case

The ablative case is the case that indicates the source i.e., ‘from’ or ‘out of’ of an action. It is expressed by the marker -ni.

(266) *bó Silchar-ni Dilli-wó tʰáŋ-kʰa*

he Silchar-ABL Delhi-LOC go-PST

‘He went from Silchar to Delhi’

(267) *Dipu Dilli-ni kipʰil-kʰa*

Dipu Delhi-ABL kiphil-PST

‘Dipu returned from Delhi’

(268) *bó bupʰαη saka-ni bahar-kʰa*

he tree above-ABL jump-PST

‘He jumped from the up of the tree’

(269) *sor tak-nai sor-ni da sinam-o*

iron make-NOMZ iron-ABL chopper make-PRES

‘Blacksmith make sickle out of iron’

4.7.6. Instrumental case

The instrumental case indicates the object by which the action is performed. In Kokborok the instrumental case is marked by the suffix -bai.

(270) *αη tʰαη-bai tʰáŋ-kʰa*

I boat-INST go-PST

‘I went by boat’
(271) silai-bai tók kok-di
gun-INST bird shoot-IMP
‘Shoot the bird with the gun’

(272) bó renθ-bai tʰailik pai-kʰa
he money-INST banana buy-PST
‘He bought a banana with money’

(273) bó tʰaruk-bai mui kol-kʰa
he ladle-INST curry stir-PST
‘He stirred the curry with ladle’

(274) Amar baik-bai pʰai-kʰa
Amar bike-INST come-PST
‘Amar came by bike’

(275) cinθ yaknθ-bai him-o
we leg-INST walk-PRES
‘We walk with legs’

(276) bó dá-bai bol tan-kʰa
he chopper-INST firewood paddy reap-PST
‘He cut the firewood with sickle’

(277) cinθ wá-bai tʰaicuk kʰak-nai
I bamboo-INST mango pluck-DEF.FUT
‘I will pluck the mango with bamboo’
4.7.7. Comitative case

The comitative suffix -bai expresses the meaning of ‘with’ or accompanied by’. The postposition baksa ‘along/together’ follows the comitative nouns or pronouns (282) and (283).

(278) bó-bai  pʰai-di
       he-COM come-IMP
‘Come with him’

(279) David Amal-bai  tonh-o
       David Amal-COM stay-PRES
‘David leaves with Amal’

(280) bó  amɛ-bai  Japan-o  tʰán-nai
       he  I-COM  Japan-LOC  go-DEF.FUT
‘He will go to Japan with me.’

(281) bó  bu-ma-bai  him-o
       he  3-PM-mother-COM  walk-PRES
‘He walks with her vmother.’

(282) núɛf  cɛɛ-bai  baksa  kipʰil-di
       you  we-COM  along  return-IMP
‘You return along with us’

(283) amɛ  bó-bai  baksa  tʰát-nai
       I  he-COM  along  go-DEF.FUT
‘I will go along with him’
4.7.8. Genitive case

The genitive case expresses the meaning of possession of something by the noun or pronoun. The genitive is marked by suffix -ni.

(284) *sita-ni* nok *nai|^h|ok*

sita-GEN nok beautiful

‘Sita’s house is beautiful’

(285) *bó-ni* nok

he-GEN house

‘His house’

(286) *a-ni* nok *Ganganagar-o*

1PM-GEN house Ganganagar-LOC

‘My house is at Ganganagar’

(287) *ubo* sabo-ni nok

DEM who-GEN house

‘Whose house is that?’

(288) *David-ni* saikel kît[a]l

DAVID-GEN bycyle new

‘David’s bicycle is new’

4.7.9. Intrusive case

The intrusive case indicates the medium through which the action is performed. It is expressed in Kokborok by suffixing the marker -tui to the nouns. The suffix -tui expresses the meaning of ‘via or through’.
(289) aŋ  Imphal-o  Silchar-tui  tʰâŋ-tʰa
I  Imphal-LOC  Silchar-INTR  go-PST
‘I went to Imphal via Silchar’

(290) bó  a-ni  yak-tui  Amal-no  raŋ  ho-kʰa
he  1PM-GEN  hand-INTR  Amal-DAT  money  send-PST
‘He sent money to Amal through my hand’

(291) bó  lama  kicar-tui  him-o
he  road  middle-INTR  walk-PRES
‘He walks through the middle of the road’

(292) Tripura-ni  borók  Manipur-o  Silchar-tui  t’hɑŋ-g-o
Tripura-GEN  people  Manipur-LOC  Silchar-INTR  go-PRES
‘People of Tripura go to Manipur through Silchar’

(293) David-ni  yak-tui  a-ni  manui  ho-di
David-GEN  hand-INTR  1PM-GEN  thing  send-IMP
‘Send my thing through David’s hand’

(294) Amal  David-ni  kami-tui  Silchar-o  pʰai-na  mɛŋ-g-o
Amal  David-GEN  village-INTR  Silchar-LOC  come-INF  need-PRES
‘Amal have to come to Silchar via David’s village’

4.8. Postpositions

Like many other SOV languages, the adposition in Kokborok is postposition. Kokborok has the following postpositions that occur after the NP, before the case marking suffix.
4.8.1. The postposition *saka* ‘on, above’

The postposition *saka* ‘above’ follows the noun and it can be followed by case markers.

(295) $bup^h\text{ātη}_1$ sakaw-o cibuk
    tree above-LOC snake
    ‘The snake is on the tree’

(296) $nuk^h\text{nη}_1$ saka-ni
    roof above-ABL
    ‘From the roof’

4.8.2. The postposition *uklok* ‘behind’

The postposition *uklok* ‘behind’ follows the noun and it can be followed by case markers.

(297) $a-ni$ uklog-o Debo
    1PM-GEN behind-LOC Debo
    ‘Debo is behind me’

(298) $ni-ni$ uklok-ni cirmi $i^h\text{uruksa}$
    2PM-GEN behind-GEN child Muslim
    ‘The child behind you is Muslim’

(299) $bó-ni$ nok hacuk uklog-o
    he-GEN house hill behind-LOC
    ‘His house is behind the hill’
(300) *at* doga uklog-o rí k^h^aci-k^h^a
I door behind-LOC cloth hang-PST

‘I hung the cloth behind door’

4.8.3. The postposition *bisə* ‘inside’

The postposition *bisə* ‘inside’ is also postposed to the noun and it can be followed by case markers.

(301) *Moniray* tui *bisə-g-o* koprom-k^h^a
Moniray water inside-LOC grope-PST

‘Moniray groped into the water’

(302) *cibuk* hakor *bisə-ni* nok^h^or-k^h^a
snake hole inside-ABL come.out-PST

‘The snake came out of the hole’

4.8.4. The postposition *gana* ‘near’

The postposition *gana* ‘near’ follows the noun and it can be followed by case markers.

(303) *a-ni* nok skul ganaw-o
1PM-GEN house school near-LOC

‘My house is beside the school’

(304) *tebil* gana-ni manui ho-di
table near-GEN thing send-IMP

‘Send the thing which is beside the table’
4.8.5. The postposition \( p^h \text{aiciq} \) ‘toward’

The postposition \( p^h \text{aiciq} \) ‘toward’ follows the noun and it can be followed by case markers.

\[
\text{(305)} \quad \text{ani} \quad \text{nanui}\text{-no} \quad \text{hacuk} \quad p^h \text{aiciq-o} \quad \text{\( t^h \text{a} \text{i} \text{r-ma} \text{nug-k}^h\text{a} \)}
\]

\[
\text{I \ grand.mother-ACC \ hill \ towards-LOC \ go-NOMZ \ see-PST}
\]

‘I saw grandmother going towards hill’

\[
\text{(306)} \quad \text{Laiot} \quad \text{bolon} \quad p^h \text{aiciq-ni} \quad \text{kip}^h \text{il-k}^h\text{a}
\]

\[
\text{Laitong \ forest \ toward-ABL \ return-PST}
\]

‘Laitong returned from towards the forest’

4.8.6. The postposition \( simi \) ‘since, from’

The limitative postposition \( simi \) indicates a temporal limit and mark the goal. To indicate a spatial source limit, the complements of this postposition, e.g. time word or nouns, have to be genitive-marked.

\[
\text{(307)} \quad \text{tini-ni} \quad \text{simi} \quad \text{sanui} \quad \text{\( \text{\( t^h \text{i} \text{r-d} \text{i} \))}
\]

\[
\text{today-GEN \ from \ work \ do-IMP}
\]

‘Work from today!’

\[
\text{(308)} \quad \text{bo} \quad \text{\( p^h \text{ti} \text{n-ni} \text{simi} \text{lu} \text{n-o} \))}
\]

\[
\text{he \ morning-GEN \ since \ sick-PRES}
\]

‘He has been sick since morning’

\[
\text{(309)} \quad \text{simi} \quad \text{\( ciri \} \quad p^h \text{ai-ya)
\]

\[
\text{tomorrow-GEN \ since \ we \ come-NEG}
\]

‘We will not come from tomorrow’
4.8.7. The postposition *jora* ‘upto, till’

The postposition *jora* ‘upto, till’ follows the noun and it can be followed by markers.

(310) **hatʰi jora pʰai-di**
    market upto come-IMP
    ‘Come up to market!’

(311) **sairik jora watui wa-kʰa**
    evening up to rain rain-PST
    ‘It rained up to evening’

(312) **David-no hor jora naṣiŋ-di**
    David-ACC night up to wait-IMP
    ‘Wait for David up to night!’

4.8.8. The postposition *botok* ‘along’

The postposition *botok* ‘along’ follows the noun and it can be followed by markers.

(313) **Sura lama botok him-o**
    Sura road along walk-PRES
    ‘Sara walks along the road’

(314) **bó tuisa botok him-oi pʰai-kʰa**
    he stream along walk-CPL come-PST
    ‘He walked and came along the stream’
4.9. Adjectives

Kokborok has two types of adjectives: simple adjectives and derived adjectives. However, few examples of compound adjectives are also found in the language.

4.9.1. Simple adjectives

Simple adjectives in Kokborok are non-derived adjectives as given below.

- **bara** ‘short’
- **bokobom** ‘whole’ (thing)
- **bukca** ‘empty’
- **butuwa** ‘fool’
- **cika** ‘dwarf’
- **dakti** ‘fast’
- **hace** ‘low’
- **hamya** ‘bad’ (lit. not good)
- **Helcη** ‘light’ (weight)
- **hilik** ‘heavy’
- **kesep** ‘narrow’
- **kicik** ‘torn’
- **kitηη** ‘round’
- **kormo** ‘yellow’
- **kului** ‘soft’
- **kulʰmη** ‘unripe’
- **kicam** ‘old’
- **kitul** ‘new’
- **mijil** ‘oily’
- **milik** ‘smooth’
- **natʰonη** ‘deaf’
pimol  ‘green’
sele   ‘lazy’
serem  ‘fragile’ (branch)
tʰene  ‘shallow’

4.9.2. Derived adjectives

Derived adjectives in Kokborok are adjectives which are derived from verbs or
verbal nouns by means of prefixation and suffixation.

4.9.2.1. Adjectives formed by prefixing kV-

Deverbal adjectives are derived from intransitive verbs particularly from stative
verbs by affixing derivational prefix kV- to the verb root. It is interesting to note
that the vowels in these prefixes generally assimilates with the vowels of the
verb roots. It is one of the productive morphological processes found in most of
the Bodo-Garo languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>stative verb</th>
<th>deverbal adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>ham</td>
<td>ka-ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-</td>
<td>bel</td>
<td>ke-bel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰek</td>
<td>‘be slant’</td>
<td>ke-kʰek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰet</td>
<td>‘be straight’</td>
<td>ke-pʰet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰer</td>
<td>‘be flat’</td>
<td>ke-pʰer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram</td>
<td>‘be lean’</td>
<td>ke-ram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sʰet</td>
<td>‘be sparse’</td>
<td>ke-sʰet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>bor</td>
<td>ko-bor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com</td>
<td>‘to soak’</td>
<td>ko-com</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoi</td>
<td>‘be wrinkle’</td>
<td>ko-hoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koi</td>
<td>‘be bent’</td>
<td>ko-koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Root</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Derivative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lok</td>
<td>‘be long’</td>
<td>ko-lok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰon</td>
<td>‘be decayed’</td>
<td>ko-pʰon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sok</td>
<td>‘be rotten’</td>
<td>ko-sok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sol</td>
<td>‘be similar’</td>
<td>ko-sol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>som</td>
<td>‘be black’</td>
<td>ko-som</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tor</td>
<td>‘be big’</td>
<td>ko-tor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰok</td>
<td>‘be tasty’</td>
<td>ko-tʰok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku-bai</td>
<td>‘be broken’</td>
<td>ku-bai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bʰui</td>
<td>‘be dense’</td>
<td>ku-bʰui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buk</td>
<td>‘be sharp’</td>
<td>ku-buk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuk</td>
<td>‘be high’</td>
<td>ku-cuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰui</td>
<td>‘be sour’</td>
<td>ku-kʰui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lum</td>
<td>‘be sick’</td>
<td>ku-lum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mun</td>
<td>‘be ripe’</td>
<td>ku-mun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pap</td>
<td>‘be salty’</td>
<td>ku-prap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plam</td>
<td>‘be spoil’</td>
<td>ku-plam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰak</td>
<td>‘be stringent’</td>
<td>ku-pʰak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰui</td>
<td>‘be fat’</td>
<td>ku-pʰui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰur</td>
<td>‘be white’</td>
<td>ku-pʰur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rʰui</td>
<td>‘be skilled’</td>
<td>ku-rʰui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sum</td>
<td>‘be stale’</td>
<td>ku-sum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tui</td>
<td>‘be sweet’</td>
<td>ku-tui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuk</td>
<td>‘be difficult’</td>
<td>ku-tuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰui</td>
<td>‘be dead’</td>
<td>ku-tʰui</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\[ t^h_{uk} \text{ ‘be deep’} \quad ku-t^h_{uk} \text{ ‘deep’} \]
\[ war \text{ ‘be wide’} \quad ku-war \text{ ‘wide’} \]
\[ ki- \]
\[ cak \text{ ‘be red’} \quad ki-cak \text{ ‘red’} \]
\[ k^h_{a} \text{ ‘be bitter’} \quad ki-k^h_{a} \text{ ‘bitter’} \]
\[ k^h_{am} \text{ ‘be burnt’} \quad ki-k^h_{am} \text{ ‘burnt’} \]
\[ k^h_{ar} \text{ ‘be stink’} \quad ki-k^h_{ar} \text{ ‘stinky’} \]
\[ k^h_{ra}_{}\text{‘be blue’} \quad ki-k^h_{ra}_{}\text{‘blue’} \]
\[ lai \text{ ‘be cheap’} \quad ki-lai \text{ ‘cheap’} \]
\[ rak \text{ ‘be hard’} \quad ki-rak \text{ ‘hard’} \]
\[ ra \text{ ‘be mature’} \quad ki-ra \text{ ‘mature’} \]
\[ ran \text{ ‘be dry’} \quad ki-ran \text{ ‘dry’} \]
\[ si \text{ ‘be wet’} \quad ki-si \text{ ‘wet’} \]
\[ s\i_{\eta} \text{ ‘be active’} \quad ki-s\i_{\eta} \text{ ‘active’} \]
\[ t^h_{\i_{\eta}} \text{ ‘be alive’} \quad ki-t^h_{\i_{\eta}} \text{ ‘alive’} \]

### 4.9.2.2. Adjectives formed by suffixing -\( si_{\eta} \)

Some adjectives in Kokborok are derived from the verbal nouns by suffixing -\( si_{\eta} \) to the same. It is important to note that adjective cannot be derived directly from the verbs rather it nominalised by the nominalizer -ma as evident from the ungrammaticality of following constructions (319-321).

(315)  
\[ kiri-ma-si_{\eta} \]
\[ \text{fear-NOMZ-NOMZ} \]

‘Fearful’

(316)  
\[ k^h_{airok}-ma-si_{\eta} \]
\[ \text{feel pity-NOMZ-NOMZ} \]

‘Pitiful’
(317)  *naisle-ma-sinṣa*
  hate-NOMZ-NOMZ
  ‘Hateful’

(318)  *wana-ma-sinṣa*
  worry-NOMZ-NOMZ
  ‘Worrisome’

(319)  *wana-siṣa*
  worry-NOMZ
  ‘Worrisome’

(320)  *naisle-siṣa*
  hate-NOMZ
  ‘Hateful’

(321)  *kiri-siṣa*
  fear-NOMZ
  ‘Fearful’

4.9.3. Compound adjectives

Kokborok has few examples of compound adjectives which may be also found in some other Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia.

(322)  *sak-baksā*
  [sak ‘body’ + baksā ‘together, same’]
  ‘Same-aged, contemporary’ (lit. body together)’
(323) *yak*bukca
[yak ‘hand’ + bukca ‘empty’]
‘Empty-handed’ (lit. empty hand)

(324) *tʰamci*kutunj
[tʰamci ‘anger’ + kutunj ‘hot’]
‘Hot-tempered’ (lit. hot anger)

(325) *munui*kolbok
[munui ‘laugh’ + kolbok ‘tasty’]
‘Funny’ (lit. tasty laugh)

(326) *kʰa*kaham
[kʰa ‘heart’ + kaham ‘good’]
‘Good-hearted’ (lit. good heart)

(327) *kʰa*hamya
[kʰa ‘heart’ + hamya ‘bad’]
‘Bad-hearted’ (lit. bad heart)

(328) *bukʰa*kulunj
[bukʰa ‘heart’ + kulunj ‘raw, unripe’]
‘Brave’ (lit. raw heart)

(329) *nai* Ḳok
[nai ‘look/watch’ + ‘be tasty’]
‘Beautiful’
As seen in (329) the word nait\textsuperscript{h}ok ‘beautiful’ is formed by compounding nai ‘look/watch’ and \textsuperscript{h}ok ‘be tasty’. But here \textsuperscript{h}ok means comfortable. Thus, because of its comfortable to watch or look, the word nait\textsuperscript{h}ok ‘beautiful’ is derived.

4.9.4. Semantic types

Dixon (1982) rightly pointed out that on the basis of semantic properties, adjectives can be categorized into various fields such as, dimension, human propensity, colour, age, value etc. It can be done in the case of Kokborok as well; the basic adjectives in the language can be further categorized into following in terms of their semantic properties as given below.

**Dimension**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KOKBOROK</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bara</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koto\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>‘fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotor</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuwar</td>
<td>‘wide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kep\textsuperscript{h}er</td>
<td>‘flat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Physical property**

Adjective denoting physical property is larger than any other group, and includes several antonym pairs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KOKBOROK</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hilik</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keple\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>‘straight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubuk</td>
<td>‘sharp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kului</td>
<td>‘soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kica\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kik\textsuperscript{h}a</td>
<td>‘bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kemun</td>
<td>‘ripe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuṭuk</td>
<td>‘deep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kিरा</td>
<td>‘dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limi</td>
<td>‘slippery’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitin</td>
<td>‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lewa</td>
<td>‘weak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Colour</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kormo</td>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kosom</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kिक्रानि</td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kििल</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burasa</td>
<td>‘old man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikििला</td>
<td>‘young’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Value</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morok</td>
<td>‘expensive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginचि</td>
<td>‘rich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitra</td>
<td>‘ugly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaham</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

128
Speed

\( \text{turuk turuk} \) ‘slow’ - \( \text{dakti} \) ‘fast’

Human propensity

\( \text{sele} \) ‘lazy’ - \( \text{kislan} \) ‘active’
\( \text{kobor} \) ‘mad’
\( \text{butuwa} \) ‘foolish/stupid’
\( \text{kho} \) ‘selfish’
\( \text{naitok} \) ‘beautiful’
\( \text{koborsuluk} \) ‘half-crack’

Difficulty

\( \text{kili} \) ‘easy’ - \( \text{kutuk} \) ‘difficult’

Similarity

\( \text{kosol} \) ‘similar’
\( \text{kubuni} \) ‘other’

Quantification

\( \text{kisa} \) ‘little’
\( \text{joto} \) ‘all’

Position

\( \text{hakecal} \) ‘distant’ - \( \text{gana} \) ‘near’
\( \text{kucuk} \) ‘high’ - \( \text{hace} \) ‘low’
4.9.5. Comparative construction

Kokborok also make use of comparative. However, the comparative construction in Kokborok can be formed by the marker of comparison selai similar to English ‘than’. However, the comparative marker kuk- is also used optionally along with the marker of comparison to form the comparative constructions in Kokborok.

(330) bó joto-ni selai hvjv-kuk manui bal-o
he all-from than light-COMP thing carry-PRES
‘He is carrying the lightest thing than all’

(331) bó bó-ni selai ham-kug-o
he he-from than be.good-COMP-PRES
‘He is better than him’

(332) Amal-ni selai David p'ujj-kug-o
Amal-from than David be.fat-COMP-PRES
‘David is fatter than Amal’

(333) David-ni selai Amal log-o
David-GEN than Amal be.long-PRES
‘Amal is taller than David’

(334) Amal-ni selai David bara
Amal-GEN than David short
‘David is shorter than David’
4.9.6. Superlatives

The superlative adjective is formed by suffixing -]\text{th}ak\] to the adjective roots.

- \textit{kolok-}\text{th}ak \quad \text{‘tallest’}
- \textit{kotor-}\text{th}ak \quad \text{‘biggest’}
- \textit{kaham-}\text{th}ak \quad \text{‘best’}
- \textit{sele-}\text{th}ak \quad \text{‘laziest’}
- \textit{bara-}\text{th}ak \quad \text{‘shortest’}
- \textit{kic\text{c}m-}\text{th}ak \quad \text{‘oldest’}

\begin{verbatim}
(335) bó rí kaham-\text{th}ak pai-k\text{h}a
he cloth good-SUPER buy-PST
‘He buys the best cloth’
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(336) hacug-o bup\text{h}a\text{t}i kic\text{c}m-\text{th}ak p\text{h}a\text{t}i-sa tong-o
hill-LOC tree old-SUPER CLF-one EXT-PRES
‘There is one oldest tree in the jungle’
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(337) kamiw-o a-ni nok naih\text{ok-}\text{th}ak
Village-LOC 1PM-GEN house beautiful-SUPER
‘My house is the most beautiful in the village’
\end{verbatim}

4.9.7. Standard of an equative comparative construction

In Kokborok, the suffix \textit{-hai} is used to refer one referent ‘as same as’ to some other referent. It is suffixed to the object compared with.

\begin{verbatim}
(338) nút a\text{t}i-hai bara
you I-EQUA short
‘You are as short as I’ (lit. you are short like me)
\end{verbatim}
4.10. Verbs

Verbs in Kokborok are one of the word classes which can take the markers for the categories of tense, aspect and mood etc. Almost all the verb roots in language are of monosyllabic type; however, disyllabic roots are also found in the language. Kokborok verbal stems are of two types, simple and compound.

4.10.1. Simple verbs

Simple verb stems are composed of both monosyllabic or disyllabic roots that may be either in open or closed syllable.

4.10.1.1. Monosyllabic roots

open monosyllabic roots

- *lu* ‘pour’
- *tʰu* ‘sleep’
- *su* ‘wash’

closed monosyllabic roots

- *pʰal* ‘sell’
- *tʰáŋ* ‘go’
- *səŋ* ‘cook’
4.10.1.2. Disyllabic roots

open disyllabic roots

\textit{cuba} ‘help’

\textit{kiri} ‘be afraid’

\textit{kuba} ‘vomit’

closed disyllabic roots

\textit{monok} ‘swallow’

\textit{sapul} ‘mix’

\textit{soton} ‘pull’

4.10.2. Compound verbs

Structurally, compound stem in Kokborok consists of i) verb + verb and ii) noun + verb.

4.10.2.1. Verb root + verb root

The following instances of compound verb contain two verb roots where the V1 is the head of the compound.

(341) \textit{ka-hu}

[ka ‘step’ + hu ‘rub’]

‘Rub foot’ (lit. to step and rub)

(342) \textit{ra-t^h}ar

[ra ‘cut’ + t^h ar < (but^h ar) ‘kill’]

‘Kill by cutting’

(343) \textit{kok-t^h}ar

[kok ‘shoot’ + t^h ar < (but^h ar) ‘kill’]

‘Kill by shooting’
4.10.2.2. Noun + verb root

(344) \( wa-t^h\text{ar} \)

\[ [wa < \text{(war)} \ ‘\text{bite’} + t^h\text{ar} < \text{(but}^h\text{ar)} \ ‘\text{kill’}] \]

‘Kill by biting’

(345) \( ku\text{-koro} \)

\[ [ku < \text{< (bukun)} \ ‘\text{nose’} + koro \ ‘\text{make mistake’}] \]

‘Snore’

(346) \( ku\text{-silai} \)

\[ [ku < \text{< (bukur)} \ ‘\text{skin’} + silai \ ‘\text{change’}] \]

‘to slough’ (lit. changing skin)

(347) \( ok-k^b\text{ui} \)

\[ [ok \ ‘\text{stomach’} + k^b\text{ui} \ ‘\text{be sour’}] \]

‘to feel hungry’ (lit. sour stomach)

4.10.3. Classes of verbs

There are two classes of verbs: transitive and intransitive. Morphologically, there is no differentiation between transitive and intransitive verb. However, the duo can be categorized by their arguments.

4.10.3.1. Transitive stems

The class of transitive verbs includes verbs with two or more arguments. Transitive verbs have agent and object arguments. In Kokborok, the grammatical functions of agent and object are generally indicated by word order and postpositional ‘case’ markers i.e., the agent NP precedes the object NP, which in turn precedes the verb.
(348) \( \alpha \eta \) bó-no nuk-\( k^h \)a
   I he-ACC see-PST
   ‘I saw him’

(349) núa rí su-di
   you cloth wash-IMP
   ‘You wash cloth!’

(350) bó \( l^h \)ailik ca-\( k^h \)a
   he banana eat-PST
   ‘He ate banana’

4.10.3.2. Intransitive stems

The class of intransitive verbs includes verbs with a single argument, which functions as the grammatical subject.

(351) cirai \( k^h \)orok-nui simi \( l^h \)ai-\( k^h \)a
   child CLF-two only be.alive-PST
   ‘Only two children survived’

(352) \( \alpha \eta \) him-\( k^h \)a
   I walk-PST
   ‘I walked’

(353) bó munui-\( k^h \)a
   he laugh-PST
   ‘He laughed’

In the above example (351), cirai \( k^h \)orok-nui ‘two children’ is the subject of the intransitive predicate \( l^h \)ai-\( k^h \)a ‘be survive’.
4.10.3.3. Ditransitive

In Kokborok ditransitive constructions, the constituent order is agent-indirect object-direct object, as can be seen in (354), where the agent is Kulu ‘Kulu’, the indirect object is Datarai ‘Datarai’, and the direct object is rang ‘money’.

(354) Kulu Datarai-no rani ri-kha

Kulu Datarai-DAT money give-PST

‘Kulu gave money to Datarai’

(355) Wakhirai Tokhirai-no t'hailik bak-kha

Wakhirai Tokhirai-DAT banana distribute-PST

‘Wakhirai distributed banana to Tokhirai’

(356) miya b'o-no kamcului kau-sa ri-kha

I yesterday he-DAT shirt CLF-one give-PST

‘I gave him a shirt yesterday’

4.10.3.4. The infinitives

The infinitive form of a verb is formed by suffixing -na to the verb stem, for example, k'hok-na ‘to steal’, sapik-na ‘to knead’, k'hur-na ‘to dig’ and miy-na ‘to drink’ etc. infinitives are used as the complements of verbs, with or without nominal complements of their own as can be seen below.

(357) nimi k'ina Silchar-o t'hau-na nay-nai

you tomorrow Silchar-LOC go-INF need-DEF.FUT

‘You will have to go to Silchar tomorrow’

(358) miy t'hau-na rang-o

I go-INF need-PRES

‘I have to go’
Kokborok has several causative affixes; more are prefixes than suffixes. The causative prefixes are $p^hV$-, $mV$-, $sV$-.

- $p^hV$: lok 'be long', $p^h$-lok 'lengthen'
  - nuk 'see', $p^h$-nuk 'show'
  - ran 'be dry', $p^h$-ran 'make dry'
  - war 'be widen', $p^h$-war 'widen'

- $mV$: $t^h$aq 'be alive', $mu$-$t^h$aq 'make alive, put life into'
  - $t^h$u 'sleep', $mu$-$t^h$u 'put to sleep'
  - si 'be wet', $mi$-si 'make wet'
  - kicik 'torn', $si$-cik 'tear'
  - sica 'wake up', $so$-ca 'waken'

- $sV$: bai 'be broken', $su$-bai 'break'
  - kiri 'be afraid', $si$-kiri 'frighten'
  - kuma 'to lost', $su$-kuma 'make lost'
  - $pe$ 'be straight', $se$-$pe$ 'straighten'
  - $pm$ 'be full', $su$-$pm$ 'fill'

In Kokborok, almost all the verbs irrespective of action, process and active, verbs can be causativized by the versatile verb $ri$ meaning 'give'. It is one of the productive morphological processes in Kokborok and other Bodo-Garo languages of North East India.
(360) *ca-ri-di*
    eat-CAUS-IMP
    ‘Cause to eat!’

(361) *munui-ri-kⁿᵃ*
    laugh-CAUS-PST
    ‘Caused to laugh’

(362) *som-ri-di*
    be.black-CAUS-IMP
    ‘Blacken, make black!’

(363) *pʰur-ri-di*
    be.white-CAUS-IMP
    ‘Whiten, make white!’

(364) *cak-ri-di*
    be.red-CAUS-IMP
    ‘Redden, or make red!’

(365) *mun-ri-di*
    be.ripe-CAUS-IMP
    ‘Make ripe!’

4.11. Tense

Tense indicates the time of action mentioned by the verb with reference to the time of speech act. There are three tenses in Kokborok which indicates present, past and future. All the tenses are marked morphologically by different markers.
4.11.1. Present tense

The present tense in Kokborok is expressed by the suffix \(-o\) as illustrated below.

(366) \(bó\) \(silchar-o\) \(tʰáŋg-o\)

he silchar-LOC go-PRES

‘He goes to Silchar’

(367) \(bó\) \(tui\) \(mŋ-o\)

he water drink-PRES

‘He drinks water’

(368) \(bó\) \(caw-o\)

he eat-PRES

‘He eats’

(369) \(bó\) \(tʰu-w-o\)

he sleep-PRES

‘He sleeps’

(370) \(bó\) \(kʰiikai\) \(kʰal-o\)

he hair comb-PRES

‘He combs hair’

(371) \(bó\) \(kʰapurum-o\)

he run-PRES

‘He runs’
4.11.2. Past Tense

The past tense in Kokborok is expressed by the suffix -kʰa as exemplified below.

(372) bó tini tʰāṭ-kʰa
   he today go-PST
   ‘He went today’

(373) ənə Silchar-o tʰāṭ-kʰa
   I Silchar-LOC go-PST
   ‘I went to Silchar’

(374) David pʰai-kʰa
   David come-PST
   ‘David came’

(375) bó bulai-kʰa
   he fight-PST
   ‘He fought’

(376) bó na-pʰai-kʰa
   he take-come-PST
   ‘He came and took’

4.11.3. Future Tense

There are two future tense markers in Kokborok viz. (i) -nai and (ii) -anu. The use of -nai indicates certainty, that is, the event will definitely take place. On the other hand, the use of -anu lacks such assertion on the part of speaker. The future tense in Kokborok is described below.
-nai

(377) bó ḍáη-nai
he  go-DEF.FUT
‘He will go’

(378) əə Dilli-o ḍáη-nai
I Delhi-LOC  go-DEF.FUT
‘I will go to Delhi’

(379) bó pʰai-nai
he  come-DEF.FUT
‘He will come’

(380) Amal kʰum kʰol-nai
Amal flower pluck-DEF.FUT
‘Amal will pluck flower’

(381) bó kap-nai
he  cry-DEF.FUT
‘He will cry’

-anu

(382) bó tini ḍŋg-anu
he  today play-IND.FUT
‘He will play today’
(383) əŋ  tāng-anu
     i       go-IND.FUT
‘I will go’

(384) bó  him-anu
     he     walk-IND.FUT
‘He will walk’

(385) David  tan-anu
     David cut-IND.FUT
‘David will cut’

(386) bó  kōl-anu
     he     pluck-IND.FUT
‘He will pluck’

4.12. Aspect

The following types of aspects are found in Kokborok.

4.12.1. Continuative

Kokborok has no continuative aspect marker like other Tibeto-Burman languages. The continuative is expressed by the auxiliary verb təŋ followed by the tense markers.

(387) bó  tāng-oi  təŋ-o
     he     go-CPL  be-PRES
‘He is going’
(388) bó  tʰáŋ-oi  toŋ-ka
he   go-CPL   be-PST
‘He was going’

(389) watui  waw-oi  toŋ-ko
rain  rain-CPL  be-PRES
‘It is raining’

(390) watui  wa-oi  toŋ-ka
rain  rain-CPL  be-PST
‘It was raining’

(391) bó  bó-no  buw-oi  toŋ-ko
he   he-ACC   beat-CPL  be-PRES
‘He is beating him’

(392) bó  bó-no  buw-oi  toŋ-ka
he   he-ACC   beat-CPL  be-PRES
‘He was beating him’

4.12.2. Completive aspect

Completive aspect in Kokborok is expressed by the suffixing -bai to the verb roots followed by tense or mood markers as exemplified below.

(393) cmŋ  semŋŋ  ṭaŋ-bai-ko
we  work  do-COMPL-PRES
‘We can complete the work’
(394) *cmi samni tanp-bai-kʰa*
we work do-COMPL-PST
‘We completed the work’

(395) *cmi samnni tanp-bai-nai*
we work do-COMPL-DEF.FUT
‘We will complete the work’

(396) *samnni tanp-bai-kʰai raŋ ma-pʰai-di*
work do-COMPL-COND money take-come-IMP
‘If the work is completed, come and take money’

(397) *mai ca-bai-di*
rice eat-COMPL-IMP
‘Complete to eat the food!’

(398) *ni-ni samnni pai-bai-pʰano kisa naisii-di*
you-GEN work finish-COMPL-COND little wait-IMP
‘Even if you complete your work, wait a bit’

(399) * bó samnni ma-pai-bai-kʰa*
he work OBGL-finish-COMPL-PST
‘He had to complete the work by any means’

4.12.3. Iterative

The iterative aspect is expressed by suffixing *-sau* to the verb root. It conveys the meaning of doing an action again.
(400)  *watui  wa-sau-kʰa*
       rain    rain-ITER-PST
‘It had rained again’

(401)  *watui  wa-sau-nai*
       rain    rain-ITER-PST
‘It will rain again’

(402)  *bó  bulai-sau-kʰa*
       he      fight- ITER-PST
‘He fought again’

(403)  *bó bulai-sau-nai*
       he      fight-ITER-PST
‘He will fight again’

This suffix can often used together with the morpheme *taisa* ‘again’ in the same clause.

(404)  *bó  taisa  bulai-sau-kʰa*
       he      again  fight- ITER-PST
‘He fought once again’

(405)  *bó  taisa  bulai-sau-nai*
       he      again  fight-ITER-PST
‘He will fight once again’

4.12.4. Inceptive

The inceptive aspect in Kokborok is expressed by suffixing *-sok* to the verb root followed by tense marker.
(406) \( \text{aŋ} \quad \text{t}\text{ŋ}\text{ŋ}-\text{sok}-k\text{h}a \)
I play-INC-PST
‘I started/begun to play’

(407) \( \text{aŋ} \quad \text{t}\text{ŋ}\text{ŋ}-\text{sok-nai} \)
I play-INC-DEF.FUT
‘I will start/begin to play’

(408) \( \text{aŋ} \quad \text{t}\text{ŋ}\text{ŋ}-\text{sog-anu} \)
I play-INC-IND.FUT
‘I will start/begin to play’

(409) \( \text{núŋ} \quad \text{p}\text{h}ai-\text{sok-di} \)
you come-INC-IMP
‘You start to come’

(410) \( \text{no-rok} \quad \text{p}\text{h}ai-\text{lai-\text{sok-di}} \)
2PM-PL come-SOC-INC-IMP
‘You (PL) start to come!’

4.13. Mood and Modality

Mood is a grammatical category of the verb which expresses the subjective attitude of the speaker towards the state of affairs described by the utterance (Bussman 1998:765).

4.13.1. Imperative

The imperative mood is used with the second person singular or plural to expresses an order, demand or request. The suffix \(-di\) is used to express the imperative mood in Kokborok.
(411) *mai ca-di*
   rice eat-IMP
   ‘Eat rice!’

(412) *t' mɪ-na p'ai-di*
   play-INF come-IMP
   ‘Come to play!’

(413) *na-p'ai-di*
   take-come-IMP
   ‘Come and take!’

(414) *munui-ri-di*
   laugh-CAUS-IMP
   ‘Make to laugh!’

(415) *p' u-nuk-di*
   CAUS-PRF-see-IMP
   ‘Show!’

4.13.2. Prohibitive/Negative Imperative

Prohibitive is the mood for expressing negative command (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:321). The prohibitive or negative imperative is formed by affixing the prefix *ta-* to the verbs and the imperative marker -*di* is also suffixed to the verbs.

(416) *ta-p'ai-di*
   PROH-come-IMP
   ‘Don’t come!’
(417) bó-no ta-tubu-di
he-ACC PROH-bring-IMP
‘Don’t bring him!’

(418) ta-munui-di
PROH-laugh-IMP
‘Don’t laugh!’

(419) ta-munui-ri-di
PROH-laugh-CAUS-IMP
‘Don’t make to laugh!’

(420) ta-na-pʰai-di
PROH-take-come-IMP
‘Don’t come and take!’

4.13.3. Capability
In Kokborok, the capability is expressed by the use of modal auxiliary. It indicates the actor’s ability to carry out the action denoted by the verb.

(421) bó pʰai man-o
he come CAP-PRES
‘He can come’

(422) bó Mugli kok man-o
he Manipuri language CAP-PRES
‘He can speak Manipuri language’
(423) *Amal* mai *soŋ* man-o
Amal  rice  cook  CAP-PRES
‘Amal can cook rice’

(424) *David* tʰ*iŋ* man-o
David  play  CAP-PRES
‘David can play’

(425) *Lily* kʰapurum man-o
Lily  run  CAP-PRES
‘Lily can run’

4.13.4. Probability
The notion probability is expressed in Kokborok through the use of probability suffix -*sai* by attaching to the verb root followed by a auxiliary verb *man*.

(426) bó  pʰai-sai man-o
he  come-PROB  AUX-PRES
‘He may come’

(427) bó  tini  tʰáŋ-sai man-o
he  today  go-PROB  AUX-PRES
‘He may go today’

(428) amai  mŋ-sai man-o
jaundice  be-PROB  AUX-PRES
‘It may be jaundice’
‘It may rain today’ (lit. rain may rain today)

‘He may die’

4.13.5. Obligation

The prefix ma- is used to express an obligation. The marker ma- is prefixed to the verbs and it can be translated as ‘must’, ‘have to’ or ‘ought to’, should etc. as shown below.

‘He will have to come today’

‘I had to go yesterday’

‘David had to go to Haflong’

‘You will have to cook’
4.13.6. Necessity

The necessity modality in Kokborok is expressed by the use of modal verb *nën* meaning ‘need’.

(435)  
*bō samui ma-tai-kʰa*

he work OBGL-do-PST  
‘He had to do the work’

(436)  
*bō tini tʰán-na nang-o*

he today go-INF NEC-PRES  
‘He has to go today’ (lit. he needs to go today)

(437)  
*nën samui tʰɨ-nə nang-o*

I work do-INF NEC-PRES  
‘I have to do work’ (lit. I need to do the work)

(438)  
*nën manui pai-na nang-nai*

we thing buy-INF NEC-DEF.FUT  
‘We will have to buy thing’ (lit. we will need to buy thing)

(439)  
*kaham-kʰai tʰu-na nang-o*

good-ADVlz sleep-INF NEC-PRES  
‘One needs to sleep well’

(440)  
*bō pʰai-na nang-nai*

I come-INF need-DEF.FUT  
‘He will have to come’
4.13.7. Conditional

The conditional in Kokborok is expressed by the suffixing \(-k^b\ai\) to the verb root.

\[(441) \quad \text{bó} \quad p^b\ai-k^b\ai\]
\[\text{he} \quad \text{come}-\text{COND}\]
‘If he comes’

\[(442) \quad \text{núŋ} \quad p^b\ai-k^b\ai\]
\[\text{you} \quad \text{come}-\text{COND}\]
‘If you come’

\[(443) \quad \text{sàumŋ} \quad mŋ-k^b\ai\]
\[\text{sunshine} \quad \text{hot}-\text{COND}\]
‘If the sunshine is hot’

4.13.8. Concessive

The concessive is expressed in Kokborok by means of suffixing \(-p^b\ano\) to the verbs. The concessive corresponds to English ‘even though’ or ‘although’.

\[(444) \quad \text{Murli} \quad p^b\ai-p^b\ano\]
\[\text{Murli} \quad \text{go}-\text{CONC}\]
‘Even though Murli comes’

\[(445) \quad \text{bó} \quad sàicmŋ-p^b\ano\]
\[\text{he} \quad \text{alone}-\text{CONC}\]
‘Even though he is alone’

\[(446) \quad \text{bó} \quad \text{l'ui-p^b\ano}\]
\[\text{he} \quad \text{die}-\text{COND}\]
‘Even if he dies’

Adverbs in Kokborok modify the verbs. Adverbs differ from nouns, verbs and adjectives in that they cannot take inflection. Adverbs in Kokborok can be classified into the following types.

4.14.1. Adverb of manner

Adverbs of manner can be divided into i) simple and ii) derived. Some simple manner adverbs are given below.

\[ \text{acomsa} \quad \text{‘suddenly’} \]
\[ \text{taisa} \quad \text{‘again’} \]

Derived adverbs in Kokborok are derived from adjectives by suffixing -\( k\ai \) as discussed below in section (4.14.4.2).

4.14.2. Adverb of time

Adverb of time words in Kokbork can denote present, past and future.

Present

There are adverbs which refer the present time.

\[ \text{tabuk} \quad \text{‘now’} \]
\[ \text{tini} \quad \text{‘today’} \]
\[ \text{taklai} \quad \text{‘this year’} \]

Past

There are adverbs that indicate time in the past.

\[ \text{miya} \quad \text{‘yesterday’} \]
\[ \text{seman} \quad \text{‘last year’} \]
\[ \text{humansa} \quad \text{‘the year before last’} \]
\[ \text{miya soni} \quad \text{‘the day before yesterday’} \]
Future

There are adverbs that indicate the time in future.

- \(k^h\text{ina}\) ‘tomorrow’
- \(ulo\) ‘later’
- \(k^h\text{ali}\) ‘next year’
- \(k^h\text{ina} \text{ sono}\) ‘the day after tomorrow’

### 4.14.3. Adverb of Location and Direction

There are two locational adverbs used in Kokborok: i) \(iro\) ‘here’ and ii) \(uro\) ‘there’. These locational adverbs are formed by suffixing -\(ro\) to the demonstratives \(i\) ‘this’ and \(u\) ‘that’ respectively.

- \(iro\) ‘here’
- \(uro\) ‘there’

### 4.14.4. Derived adverbs

Adverbs in Kokborok are derived from nouns and adjectives.

#### 4.14.4.1. Derivation of adverbs from nouns

Adverbs in Kokborok can be derived from nouns by suffixing -\(burum\) to the nouns denoting time words. It is interesting to note that there is only one adverb so far that is derived from the noun \(p^h\text{aan}\) ‘strength’ by suffixing -\(k^h\text{ai}\) as illustrated below (451).

(447) \(tal\text{-burum}\)

- \(\text{month-ADVCL}\)
- ‘Every month’
Every year’

(449) hor-burum
night-ADVLZ
‘Every night’

(450) sal-burum
day-ADVLZ
‘Every day’

(451) 𝑝^\text{kai} an-k^\text{h}ai
strength-ADVLZ
‘Forcibly’

4.14.4. 2. **Derivation of adverbs from adjectives**

Like other Bodo-Garo languages, Adverbs in Kokborok are also derived from adjectives by suffixing -\text{k}h\text{ai} to the adjective root.

(452) k\text{ot}h\text{ok}-k^\text{h}ai
tasty-ADVLZ
‘Tastefully’

(453) k\text{aham}-k^\text{h}ai
good-ADVLZ
‘Nicely/well/properly’
(454) \(kun^huk-k^h\text{ai}\)
deep-ADVLZ
‘Deeply’

(455) \(kila^h-k^h\text{ai}\)
cheap-ADVLZ
‘Cheaply’

(456) \(dop^hre-kap^hre-k^h\text{ai}\)
hasty-ADVLZ
‘Hastily’

(457) \(siri^h\quad siri^h-k^h\text{ai}\)
REDUP silent-ADVLZ
‘Silently’

(458) \(dakti-k^h\text{ai}\)
fast-ADVLZ
‘Quickly’

(459) \(ligilagai-k^h\text{ai}\)
untidy-ADVLZ
‘Untidily’
4.14.5. Compound adverbs

Compound adverbs in Kokborok are formed by the combining noun and intransitive verb ɲiŋ ‘be full’ as shown below. However, this is not productive in Kokborok and other Bodo-Garo languages of North East India.

(460) sa-ɲiŋ (sa from sal ‘day’)
    day-be full
    ‘Whole day’ (lit. full day)

(461) ho-ɲiŋ (ho- from hor night)
    night-be full
    ‘Whole night’ (lit. full night)

4.14.6. Reduplicated adverbs

Some adverbs are also formed by means of reduplication. The word jora ‘time’, saka ‘above’ and bisiŋ ‘inside’ are reduplicated to form adverbs as can be seen in the following examples.

(462) jora jora
    time time
    ‘Sometime’

(463) saka saka
    above above
    ‘Outwardly’

(464) bisiŋ bisiŋ
    inside inside
    ‘Inwardly’
4.14.7. Adverbs of degree

Adverb of degree is derived from specifier belai ‘very’ by suffixing adverbializer -\(k^h\)ai as in (465-468).

(465) \(\text{tini belai-}k^h\text{ai} \ t\eta-k^h\text{a}\)

today very-ADVLZ hot-PST

‘It was very hot today’

(466) \(\text{bó belai-}k^h\text{ai} \ n\eta\text{ng-o}\)

he very-ADVLZ drink-PRES

‘He drinks too much/very much’

(467) \(\alpha\eta \ miya \ belai-\)k\(^h\)ai \ \(t^h\text{u-}k^h\text{a}\)

I yesterday very-ADVLZ sleep-PST

‘I slept so/too much yesterday’

(468) \(\text{bó ok-}k^h\text{ui-ma} \ bagoi \ belai-\)k\(^h\)ai \ ca-k^h\text{a}\)

he stomach.be sour-NOMZ because very-ADVLZ eat-PST

‘Because of hungry, he ate so much’

4.15. Word formation

Word-formation is one of the productive morphological processes which are commonly found in South East Asian languages. Every language has a way of forming new words. The word formation processes found in Kokborok can be classified into compounding, affixation and reduplication.

4.15.1. Compounding

Like other Bodo-Garo languages, compounding is the most productive word-formation process in Kokborok. A compound may be a combination of two or more words to form a new word. Compounding in Kokborok can be sub-
classified into compound nouns as discussed in previous sections (4.1.3), compound verbs (4.10.2) compound adjectives (4.9.3) and compound adverbs (4.14.5).

4.15.2. Affixation

Affixation can be defined as bound morpheme that are affixed to words. Affixation in Kokborok can be divided into prefixation and suffixation.

4.15.2. 1. Prefixation

Kokborok has less number of prefixes than suffixes. Kokborok has two types of prefixes i) causative prefix and ii) deverbal adjective prefix as discussed below.

4.15.2. 1.1. Causative prefix

Kokborok has three causative prefixes i.e., $p^hV$-, $mV$-, $sV$-. Out of three prefixes, the two prefix $p^hV$- and $sV$- can be used with both transitive and intransitive verbs. Nevertheless, the prefix $mV$- is used with intransitive verbs only.

Consider the following examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$p^hV$-</td>
<td>lok ‘be long’</td>
<td>$p^h$-lok ‘lengthen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nuk ‘see’</td>
<td>$p^h$-nuk ‘show’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>war ‘be widen’</td>
<td>$p^h$-war ‘widen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$mV$-</td>
<td>$t^h$ai ‘be alive’</td>
<td>$mu-t^h$ai ‘make alive, put life into’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$t^h$u ‘sleep’</td>
<td>$mu-t^h$u ‘put to sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>si ‘be wet’</td>
<td>$mi$-si ‘make wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$sV$-</td>
<td>kiri ‘fear’</td>
<td>si-kiri ‘frighten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$p^h$ai ‘be straight’</td>
<td>se-$p^h$ai ‘straighten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$p^h$ai ‘be full’</td>
<td>$su$-$p^h$ai ‘fill’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.15.2.1.2. Deverbal adjective prefix

The deverbal adjective prefix is $kV$- has number of allomorphs i.e., $ka$-, $ke$-, $ko$-, $ku$- and $ki$-. These prefixes form adjectives from intransitive stative verbs. The full list is provided in (4.9.2.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>stative verb</th>
<th>deverbal adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$ka$-</td>
<td>ham</td>
<td>‘be good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ke$-</td>
<td>bel</td>
<td>‘be flexible’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ko$-</td>
<td>lok</td>
<td>‘be long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ku$-</td>
<td>cuk</td>
<td>‘be high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ki$-</td>
<td>cak</td>
<td>‘be red’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.15.2. 2. Suffixation

As already mentioned that like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, different types of affixations in Kokborok can be shown below.

4.15.2. 2.1. Suffixes forming nouns

4.15.2. 2.1.1. Noun from verb

This is the most common type of derivation. The verbal nouns are derived from verbs by suffixing -ma to the verb roots as illustrated below.

- $k^b$apurum-ma ‘running’
- $t^t$u-ma ‘sleeping’
- cu-ma ‘wrapping’

-mari

The suffix -mari derives noun from verbs.

(469) man-mari

get-NOMZ

‘Profit’
4.15.2.2.2. Suffixes forming adjectives

4.15.2.2.2.1. Adjectives from verbs

-<i>s</i>n<i>s</i>a

The -<i>s</i>n<i>s</i>a is comparable with English -ful in <i>fearful</i>. These types of adjectives are derived from verbal nouns. In Kokborok, the verb has to be nominalized by the nominalizer -<i>m</i>a and then followed by -<i>s</i>n<i>s</i>a. Without the use of nominalizer -<i>m</i>a, we cannot directly attach -<i>s</i>n<i>s</i>a to the verb root as discussed in (4.9.2.2).

(474)  <i>kiri-ma-s</i>n<i>s</i>a

fear-NOMZ-NOMZ

‘Fearful’
(475) \( k^h \text{airok-ma-si} \text{̄s}a \)

feel pity-NOMZ-NOMZ

‘Pitiful’

4.15.2. 2.3. Suffixes forming adverbs

4.15.2. 2.3.1. Adverbs from adjectives

Like other Bodo-Garo languages, Adverbs in Kokborok are derived from adjectives by suffixing \(-k^h\text{ai}\) to the adjective root. It can be compared to English -ly.

(476) \( kol^h \text{ok-k}^h\text{ai} \)
tasty-ADV.LZ

‘Tastefully’

(477) \( kaham-k^h\text{ai} \)
good-ADV.LZ

‘Nicely/well/properly’

(478) \( kull^h \text{uk-k}^h\text{ai} \)
deep-ADV.LZ

‘Deeply’

(479) \( dakti-k^h\text{ai} \)
fast-ADV.LZ

‘Quickly’

4.15. 3. Reduplication

“Reduplication stands for repetition of all or a part of a lexical item carrying a semantic modification. Reduplication, thus, can either be partial or complete (Abbi, 1992)."
Reduplication, the copying of all or part of a word as an affix to a stem, is a
notable morphological process in Kokborok, a characteristic it shares with other
Tibet-Burman languages of South Asia.

Abbi (1992) has classified reduplication into two types: morphological and
lexical reduplication.

4.15. 3.1. Morphological reduplication
According to Abbi (1992) morphologiocal reduplication “refers to the
minimally meaningful and segmentally indivisivle morphemes which are
constituted of iterated syllables”. Thus, the base and the iterated part together
constitute a single morpheme which is also a lexeme. Morphological
reduplication is divided into expressives.

4.15.3.1.1 Expressives
Expressive are the examples of morphological reduplication. It includes
onomatopoeias, sound symbolism, ideophones and imitatives. The expressives
might or might not have phonological symbolism. Like other South Asian
languages, Kokborok uses expressives to emote all the five senses of pereption,
i.e., of smell, sight, touch, hearing and taste. A few examples in Kokborok are
cited below.

4.15.3.1.1 Acoustic noises
a. animal noises

ka ka          ‘crowing of crow’
gau gau        ‘barking of dog’
ciyok ciyok    ‘chirping of chicks’
kok kokere kok ‘crowing of cock’
tik tik        ‘sound made by lizard’
b. noises of natural phenomena

*top top* ‘pattering of rain’

*gurun gurun* ‘thundering sound’

c. noises made by humans

*k₇er k₇er* ‘sound of snoring’

golok golok ‘sound of talking’

guluk guluk ‘sound of drinking’

dop dop ‘sound of walking’

*ti'ok ti'ok* ‘knocking of door’

d. noises by miscellaneous objects

*k₇iriŋ k₇iriŋ* ‘jingling of anklets’

don don ‘beating of drum’

4.15.3.1.2. Sense of sight

cumbak cumbak ‘twinkling’

4.15.3.1.3. Sense of touch

*srapar srapar* ‘sticky’

*rakl₇ o rakl₇ o* ‘hardy’

*sibuk sibuk* ‘damp/ wetty’

*sop₇uŋ sotp₇uŋ* ‘spongy’

4.15.3.1.4. Sense of smell

*hek hek* ‘acute bad smell’
4.15.3.1.4. Sense of taste

- $k^b aluk$ $k^b aluk$ ‘bitter’
- $k^b erem$ $k^b erem$ ‘crunchy’
- $k^b uituru$ $k^b uituru$ ‘tart’

4.15.3.2. Lexical reduplication

Lexical reduplication can be divided into three types, viz, echo formations, compounds and word reduplication.

4.15.3.2.1. Echo formation

According to Abbi (1992), an echo word has been defined “as a partially repeated from the base word - partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme (which can either be a consonant or a vowel) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable. The ‘replacer’ (phoneme/syllable) sound sequences are more or less fixed and rigid. The replacer sound sequences may not necessarily be unique but may never be numerous”.

Kokborok usually has the central low vowel -a- as replacer sound of echo-words as shown below.

- $k^b um$ ‘flower’
- $k^b um$ $k^b am$ ‘flower and such’
- $t^b ok$ ‘oil’
- $t^b ok$ $t^b ak$ ‘oil and such’

Some of the echo-words constructions are found in kokborok in which the initial consonants $s$- is shifted to $t$- as shown in the following examples.

- $som$ ‘salt’
- $som$ $tom$ ‘salt and such’
- $sui$ ‘dog’
- $sui$ $tui$ ‘dog and such’

If the base word begins with consonants $c$- and $b$- are replaced by $k^b$- and $s$- respectively as cited in the following examples.
4.15.3.2.2. Compounds

According to Abbi (1992), compounds refer “to the paired construction in which the second word is not exact repetition of the first but has some similarity or relationship to the first word either on the semantic or on the phonetic level”. It is to be noted that each word of a compound has a meaning of its own and can be used independently in a sentence.

- **rəŋ ɾl** ‘wealth’
- **rəŋ** ‘money’ and **ɾl** ‘cloth’
- **bupɔŋ ɾŋ** ‘flora’
- **bupɔŋ** ‘trees’ and **ɾŋ** ‘bamboo plant’
- **yak⁵⁶ yak** ‘limb’
- **yak⁵⁶** ‘leg’ and **yak** ‘hand’
- **kucuk hækse** ‘uneven’
- **kucuk** ‘high’ and **hækse** ‘low’
- **l⁵⁷ ai p⁵⁷ ai** ‘travel’
- **l⁵⁷ ai** ‘go’ and **p⁵⁷ ai** ‘come’

4.15.3.2.3. Word reduplication

According to Abbi (1987) word Reduplication refers “to the total or partial bimodal reduplication, meaning thereby, repetition of the base of the word or the stem. Reduplication can be of either a syllable or a larger constituent of a word or of the whole word. Whatever be the unit of reduplication, the end result is a new word which has no parallel in its non-reduplicated counterpart”.

“From the functional point of view, complete word reduplication can be further subdivided in to: (i) class maintaining, and (ii) class changing type” (Abbi, 1991).

4.15.3.2.3.1 Class maintaining complete word reduplication

Nouns, adjectives and interrogative pronouns can be reduplicated wholly in Kokborok as described below.
4.15.3.2.3.1.1. Reduplication of nouns

Reduplication is not common process with nouns. However, few nouns are reduplicated and they used to denote plurality in the language as in (480-482).

(480) nok nok
    house  house
    ‘Several houses’

(481) bolon bolon
    jungle jungle
    ‘Several jungles’

(482) kami kami
    village village
    ‘Several villages’

4.15.3.2.3.1.2. Reduplication of Interrogatives

Reduplication of interrogative pronouns in Kokborok also denotes plurality as in (483-485).

(483) tamo tamo
    what  what
    ‘What all?’

(484) sabo sabo
    who  who
    ‘Who all?’
(485) *boro boro*
where where
‘Which places?’

### 4.15.3.2.3.1.3. Reduplication of Adjectives

Adjectives can be reduplicated to denote intensity or plurality when they are used with nouns.

(486) *nok kotor kotor*
house big big
‘Big houses’

(487) *moso kumun kumun*
chil ripe ripe
‘Ripe chilies’

(488) *kamcului kital kital*
shirt new new
‘New shirts’

### 4.15.4.2.3.2. Class changing complete word reduplication

In Kokborok, the noun is reduplicated and consequently it derives adverb from noun as shown below.

* bisi ‘year’ bisi bisi ‘yearly’