Chapter 5
Syntax

5.1. Noun Phrase

A noun phrase consists minimally of a head noun, which may be preceded or followed by the modifiers. The modifiers may be demonstratives, adjectives, numerals etc. The order of the NP with modifiers are schematised below.

DEM + POSS + N + ADJ + NUM-CL + QUANT

5.1.1. Noun phrase with adjective

NPs containing an adjective as modifier are very common. The adjectives may either precede or follow the head noun in Kokborok as illustrated below.

(489) nok kotor
       house big
       ‘Big house’ (lit. house big)

(490) kotor nok
       big house
       ‘Big house’

(491) cibuk kolok
       snake long
       ‘Long snake’ (lit. snake long)

(492) kolok cibuk
       long snake
       ‘Long snake’
(493) \( t\text{\`o}k \quad kulp^hur \)
bird white
‘White bird’ (lit. bird white)

(494) \( kulp^hur \ t\text{\`o}k \)
white bird
‘White bird’

(495) \( ciri^s \ kaham \)
child good
‘Good child’

(496) \( kaham \ ciri^s \)
good child
‘Good child’

(497) \( hukun^\ell \ kep^h^e^r \)
nose flat
‘Flat nose’

(498) \( kep^h^e^r \ hukun^\ell \)
flat nose
‘Flat nose’

5.1.2. Noun phrase with double adjectives

A noun phrase in Kokborok may have more than one adjective as modifier. In this case, both the adjectives may precede or follow the head noun, however the head noun cannot be intruded in between two adjectives as is evident from the following examples in (501) and (504).
(499) *cibuk kotor kolok
snake big long
‘Big long snake’

(500) kotor kolok cibuk
big long snake
‘Big long snake’

(501) *kotor cibuk kolok
big snake long
‘Big long snake’

(502) borók kup$h_i$ bara
person fat short
‘Short fat person

(503) kup$h_i$ bara borók
fat short person
‘Short fat person

(504) *kup$h_i$ borók bara
fat person short
‘Short fat person

(505) nok kuwar kotor
house wide big
‘Wide big house’
(506)  \( bup'^\text{h} \text{a}t \ kotor \ bara \)

         tree  big  short
   ‘Big short tree’

(507)  \( nok \ kotor \ na\text{it'}\ok \)

         house  big  beautiful
   ‘Beautiful big house’

5.1.3. Noun phrase with demonstrative

Demonstratives always precede the head noun in a noun phrase in Kokborok. It
is worth mentioning here that both proximal and distal demonstrative
pronouns may be used as modifier as exemplified below.

(508)  \( i \ \text{musuk} \)

        DEM  cow
   ‘This cow’

(509)  \( i \ \text{nok} \)

        DEM  house
   ‘This house’

(510)  \( u \ \text{musuk} \)

        DEM  cow
   ‘That cow’

(511)  \( u \ \text{nok} \)

        DEM  house
   ‘That house’
From the examples (514) and (515), it can be stated that within the same noun phrase, the demonstrative and noun do not agree in number. As in example (514), the noun is marked for number, but the demonstrative remains unmarked. It is interesting to note that the plural suffix -rok in Kokborok is marked for the whole noun phrase, not to the individual grammatical element as shown in (515) and (516).

5.1.4. Noun phrase with demonstrative plus adjective

The demonstrative always precedes the head noun whereas the adjective may precede or follow the same as illustrated in the following examples
(517) *i musuk kosom*
DEM cow black
‘This black cow’

(518) *i kosom musuk*
DEM black cow
‘This black cow’

(519) *u musuk kosom*
DEM cow black
‘That black cow’

(520) *i nok nai̱h ok*
DEM house beautiful
‘This beautiful house’

(521) *u nok nai̱h ok*
DEM house beautiful
‘That beautiful house’

(522) *u nok kotor nai̱h ok*
DEM house big beautiful
‘That big beautiful house’

(523) *u musuk kosom-rok*
DEM cow black-PL
‘Those black cows’
(524)  \( u \ nok \ nai^hok\-rok \)
DEM  house  beautiful-PL
‘Those beautiful houses’

(525)  \( u \ nok \ kotor \ nai^hok\-rok \)
DEM  house  big  beautiful-PL
‘Those big beautiful houses’

(526)  \(*ubo\-rok \ borók\-rok \ kolok\-rok \)
*DEM-PL  person-PL  tall-PL
‘Those tall people’

In a noun phrase with modifiers, as in the above examples (523), (524), (525), and in (526) the demonstrative and noun do not agree in number. Both the demonstrative and noun are not marked for number. The plural is marked on the modifier i.e., the whole noun phrase is marked for plural, not to individual elements within it.

5.1.5. Noun phrase with quantifier

The quantifier in Kokborok is usually follows the head noun, however the quantifier joto which may be Indic origin always precedes the head noun as illustrated below.

(527)  \( nok \ kuban\) 
house  many
‘Many houses’

(528)  \( pun \ kuban\) 
goat  many
‘Many goats’
(529) joto manui
    all thing
    ‘All things’

(530) joto borók
    all person
    ‘All people’

5.1.6. Noun phrase with numerals

Like any mother Tibeto-Burman languages, some nouns in Kokborok do not take classifiers to count and numerals are simply suffixed to the nouns regardless of its semantic properties as illustrated below as in (531-535).

(531) sal-sa
    day-one
    ‘One day’

(532) hor-nui
    night-two
    ‘Two nights’

(533) tal-tʰam
    month-three
    ‘Three months’

(534) bisi-ba
    year-five
    ‘Five years’
(535) *bisi-dok*

year-six

‘Six years’

### 5.1.7. Noun phrase with numeral classifiers

Noun phrase with numeral classifier can further have an adjective as modifier, which follows the noun and the numeral classifier follows the adjectives as given below.

(536)  *

mango CLF-One

‘One mango’

(537)  *

pig CLF-sa

‘One pig’

(538)  *

person CLF-three

‘Three persons’

(539)  *

mango big CLF-One

‘One big mango’

(540)  *

pig fat CLF-sa

‘One fat pig’
5.1.8. Noun phrase with possessive

In Kokborok possessive noun phrases, the possessor precedes the possessee. A possessor can be a noun or a pronoun. The order of the elements in Kokborok is possessor-possessed. A noun can also have multiple possessives as in (547) and (548).

(542) David-\text{n}i \quad n\text{o}k
David-POSS  house
‘David’s house’

(543) David-\text{n}i \quad k\text{i}ci\text{ŋ}
David-POSS  friend
‘David’s friend’

(544) David-\text{n}i \quad m\text{u}\text{s}u\text{k}
David-POSS  cow
‘David’s cow’

(545) b\text{ö}-\text{n}i \quad k\text{a}m\text{c}u\text{l}u\text{i}
he-POSS  shirt
‘His shirt’

(546) ci-\text{n}i \quad m\text{a}n\text{u}\text{i}
1PMPL-POSS  thing
‘Our thing’
(547) Amal-ni toi-ni nok
Amal-POSS aunty-POSS house
‘David’s Aunty’s house’

(548) bó-ni kicin-ni musuk
he-POSS friend-POSS cow
‘His friend’s cow’

5.1.9. Noun phrase with adjective plus specifier
In Kokborok, in a noun phrase consisting of head noun plus adjective with specifier where both specifier and adjective precede the head noun, however the order of elements can not be reversed as in (551-554).

(549) belai kaham borók
very good person
‘Very good person’

(550) belai sele borók
very lazy person
‘very lazy person’

(551) *borók belai kaham
person very good
‘lit. person very good’

(552) *borók kaham belai
person good very
‘lit. person good very’
5.1.10. Noun phrase with postpositions

Noun phrase with postpositions are common in Kokborok. The postpositions are postposed to the nouns as in other Tibeto-Burman languages do. Most of the postpositions can take case markers except in few cases where the case marker is optionally used as can be seen in (560) and (561).

(553) *borók belai sele  
    person very lazy  
    ‘lit. person very lazy’

(554) *borók sele belai  
    person lazy very  
    ‘lit. person lazy very’

(555) nukh sakaw-o  
    roof above-LOC  
    ‘On the top of roof’

(556) hakor bising-o  
    hole inside-LOC  
    ‘Inside the hole’

(557) lama kicar-o  
    road middle-LOC  
    ‘In the middle of the road’

(558) nok buskang-o  
    house front-LOC  
    ‘At the front of house’
(559) nok uklog-o
    house  behind-LOC
    ‘At the back of house’

(560) hacuk pʰaicing-o
    hill   towards-LOC
    ‘Towards hill’

(561) hacuk pʰaicinŋ
    hill   towards
    ‘Towards hill’

(562) lama botok
    road   along
    ‘Along the road’

(563) tuima botok
    river   along
    ‘Along the river’

5.2. Verb phrase
The verb phrase in Kokborok must consist of a verb (which may be simple, compound or derived) and some other optional elements (NPs or Adverbs) which generally precede the verb. There are simple sentences in which the VP consists of only V as shown in the following examples.

(564) bó him-o
    he  walk-PRES
    ‘He walks’
When the VP takes two NPs, the first NP is the indirect object and the second NP is the direct object and both objects precede the verb in the following order: S + IO + DO + V as exemplified below.

(565) bó nuŋ-kʰa
   he   drink-PST
   ‘He drank’

(566) bó tʰañ-nai
   he   go-DEF.FUT
   ‘He will go’

(567) tok bir-o
   bird   fly-PRES
   ‘Bird flies’

(568) añi bó-no በርณ ና-ቁጫ
   I   he-DAT   money give-PST
   ‘I gave him money’

(569) Danu Rali-no ና-ርณ ና-ዱጫ
   Danu Rali-DAT   money distribute-PST
   ‘Danu distributed money to Rali’

(570) bó a-no ና-ፋርህ ና-ቁጫ
   he   1PM-DAT   mango   give-PST
   ‘He gave me mango’
It is to be noted here that the verb phrase is also formed by the verb plus post-verbal suffixes: aspect, tense, modal, causative, negative markers etc. as shown below.

(571) tʰɛ́-kʰa
     play-PST
     ‘Played’

(572) tʰɛ́-bai-di
     play-COMPL-IMP
     ‘Complete to play’

(573) bó munui-ya
     he laugh-NEG
     ‘He doesn’t laugh’

(574) ca-ri-kʰa
     eat-CAUS-PST
     ‘Made to eat’

(575) ca-nai
     eat-DEF.FUT
     ‘Will eat’

In Kokborok, the verb phrase consisting of Verb and Adverb in which the Adverb generally precedes the Verb as shown in the following sentences.

(576) kaham-kʰai ca-di
     good-ADVLZ eat-IMP
     ‘Eat well!’
(577)  **borôk turuk turuk-kʰai him-o**  
person REDUP slow-ADVLZ walk-PRES  
‘The person walks slowly’

(578)  **bo miya Silong-ni pʰai-kʰa**  
he yesterday Shillong-ABL come-PST  
‘He came from shilling yesterday’

(579)  **bô iro pʰai-nai**  
he here come-DEF.FUT  
‘He will come here’

(580)  **bó sainkʰi pʰai-kʰa**  
he alone come-PST  
‘He came alone’

(581)  **siriŋ siriŋ-kʰai pʰai-di**  
REDUP silent-ADVLZ come-IMP  
‘Come silently!’

The structure of the verb phrase in Kokborok may be formulised as follows:

\[
\text{VP} - (\text{ADV.}) (\text{NP}_1 - \text{case}) (\text{NP}_2) \text{ V}
\]

**5.3. Clause types**

**5.3.1. Basic clause types**

**5.3.1.1. Declarative clause**

Declarative clause in Kokborok is unmarked. Semantically, it express statement, assertion etc. Declarative clause can be divided into verbal and non-verbal clause.
5.3.1.1.1. Verbal clause

Verbal clause in Kokborok can be divided into transitive and transitive. The distinction between transitive and intransitive clause can be made on the basis of arguments taken by the predicates. Transitive predicate take two core arguments as in (582) and (583) and the intransitive predicate can take an argument as in (584) and (585).

(582) $\alpha \eta$ no-no nuk-$k^h$a
   I 2PM-ACC see-PST
   ‘I saw you’

(583) $\alpha \eta$ $t^b$ailik ca-$k^h$a
   I banana eat-PST
   ‘I ate banana’

(584) bó him-o
   he walk-PRES
   ‘He walks’

(585) Debo musaw-o
   Debo dance-PRES
   ‘Debo is dancing’

5.3.1.1.2. Non-verbal clause

Non-verbal clause in Kokborok basically includes the nominal, existential/possessive and locative constructions. These construction types tend to be similar to one another grammatically in that they all tend to lack a semantically rich lexical verb (Payne, 1985). In Kokborok, non-verbal clauses lack main verb as discussed in the following section.
5.3.1.1.2.1. Nominal construction

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Kokborok is a copula less language where no copula is employed to link the two NPs i.e., NP$_1$ and NP$_2$. In other words, the nominal construction in the language is formed by the juxtaposition of two noun phrases where one of the NPs is the predicator of the same as exemplified below.

(586) bó  daktor
He  doctor
‘He is a doctor.’ (lit. he doctor)

(587) bó  a-ni  aŋ-pʰaymη
he  1PM-GEN  1-younger brother
‘He is my younger brother.’

(588) bó  Debajit
he  Debajit
‘He is Debajit.’

5.3.1.1.2.2. Existential/possessive/locative constructions

Existential/possessive/locative constructions in Kokborok are formed by the verb $\nuŋ$ meaning ‘be, have, stay’ followed by the tense or aspect markers as illustrated below:

(589) amal-ni  raŋ  $\nuŋ$-go
Amal-GEN  money have-PRES
‘Amal have money’
(590) bolong-o goŋ toŋ-go
forest-LOC bear EXT-PRES
‘There is a bear in the forest’

(591) tuisaw-o tui toŋ-go
stream-LOC water EXT-PRES
‘There is water in the stream’

(592) bó-ni toŋ-na nok toŋ-go
he-GEN stay-INF house EXT-PRES
‘He has a house to stay’

5.3.1.1.2.3. Interrogative clause
Kokborok employs the question word or particle to form the interrogative clauses. Here, the question words: sabo ‘who’ tamo ‘what’ boro ‘where’ etc are used to form the ‘wh-question’ as in (593-595) and the clause final question suffix -da~de, is used for ‘yes-no question’ as illustrated in (596) and (597).

(593) miya sabo hakor-o kilci
yesterday who hole-LOC fall
‘Who fell into the hole yesterday?’

(594) núŋ tamo muitu kilci man
you what remember do able
‘What can you remember?’

(595) Ahanrai tabuk boro-o toŋ
Ahanrai now where-LOC EXT
‘Where is Ahanrai now? (lit. where Ahanrai is at now?)

187
(596) \(n\dot{u}\dot{a}\, k^h\text{ina}\, p^h\text{ai-nai-da}\)
\[\quad\text{you tomorrow come-DEF.FUT-QM}\]
‘Will you come tomorrow?’

(597) \(n\dot{u}\dot{a}\, \text{mai}\, ca-nai-da\)
\[\quad\text{you rice eat-DEF.FUT-QM}\]
‘Will you eat rice?’

5.3.1.1.2.4. Imperative clause

The imperative clause is Kokborok is signaled by clause final suffix -\(\text{di}\). Predicates in imperative clause can take causative and completive aspect markers as in (600) and (601).

(598) \(p^h\text{ai-di}\)
\[\quad\text{come-IMP}\]
‘Come!’

(599) \(\text{acuk-}p^h\text{ai-di}\)
\[\quad\text{sit-come-LOC}\]
‘Come and sit!’

(600) \(\text{munui-}ri-di\)
\[\quad\text{laugh-CAUS-IMP}\]
‘Make to laugh or cause to laugh!’

(601) \(\text{mu}\dot{u}\dot{a}-\text{bai-di}\)
\[\quad\text{drink-COMPL-IMP}\]
‘Drink completely’
Other than the above types of clauses, the following types of clauses are attested in the language.

5.3.2. Temporal Clause

Temporal clauses add time information to the matrix clause. Temporal clause in Kokborok is introduced by postposing the subordinating words sikən ‘after’, ulo ‘after’ and subordinating suffix -pʰuru to the verb root of the main clause as exemplified below.

a. sikən ‘before’

The before clause is introduced by postposing the subordinating word sikən to the verb root of the main clause as shown below.

(602) watui wa-ма sikən pʰai-di
    rain rain-NOMZ before come-IMP
   ‘Come before it rains’

(603) tʰu-ма sikən mai ca-di
    sleep-NOMZ before rice eat-IMP
   ‘Eat before you sleep’

(604) bó tʰáng-ма sikən kap-kʰa
    he go-NOMZ before cry-PST
   ‘He cried before he went’

(605) oŋ tʰu-ма sikən tui mʊŋ-g-o
    I sleep-NOMZ before water drink-PRES
   ‘I drink water before I sleep’
(606) bó sog-oi-ma sikax añi sog-oi-nai
he reach-CPL-NOMZ before I reach-CPL-DEF.FUT
‘Before his reaching I will’

b. *ulo ‘after’*

Like before clause, after clause is introduced by postposing the subordinating word *ulo* to the verb root of the main clause.

(607) bó mai ca-ma ulo ḥáϊ-kh’a
he rice eat-NOMZ after go-PST
‘He went after eating’

(608) cni sok-ma ulo watui wa-k’h
we reach-NOMZ after rain rain-PST
‘It rained after we reached’

(609) bó p’h ai-ma ulo cni mai ca-nai
he come-NOMZ after we rice eat-DEF.FUT
‘We will eat after he comes’

(610) tui mi-ma ulo añi bó-bai ḥáϊ-nai
water drink-NOMZ after I he-COM go-DEF.FUT
‘After drinking water I will go with him’

(611) David ḥ’ni-ma ulo Amal-bai bulai-k’h
David play-NOMZ after Amal-PST fight-PST
‘After playing David fought with Amal’
c. \(-p^h\text{uru} \text{ ‘when’}\)

When clause is introduced by postposing the subordinator suffix \(-p^h\text{uru}\) to he verb root of the main clause as exemplified below.

\begin{align*}
(612) & \text{núŋ} \ b^hp^h\text{ai} & \text{at-p^h\text{uru}} & \text{aŋ} & t^h\text{u-jak} \\
& \text{you} & \text{come-when} & \text{I} & \text{sleep-PASS} \\
& \text{‘When you came I was at sleep’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(613) & \text{aŋ} & b\text{oikem-0} & t^h\text{aŋ-p^h\text{uru}} & d\text{a} & t\text{iling-0} \\
& \text{I} & \text{jungle-LOC} & \text{go-when} & \text{chopper} & \text{take-PRES} \\
& \text{‘When I go to jungle I take chopper’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(614) & \text{aŋ} & b^hp^h\text{ka} & k^h\text{a-p^h\text{uru}} & c\text{ibuk} & n\text{kuk-0} \\
& \text{he} & \text{tree} & \text{climb-when} & \text{snake} & \text{see-PST} \\
& \text{‘When I climbed a tree I saw a snake’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(615) & \text{bó} & b^hp^h\text{ai-p^h\text{uru}} & m\text{anui} & t\text{ubu-0} \\
& \text{he} & \text{come-when} & \text{thing} & \text{bring-PRES} \\
& \text{‘He bring thing when he comes’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(616) & \text{aŋ-\text{sala}} & t^h\text{u-p^h\text{uru}} & \text{aŋ} & \text{s\text{ami}-t\text{ang-0}} \\
& \text{1-son} & \text{sleep-when} & \text{I} & \text{work do-PRES} \\
& \text{‘I do work when my son sleeps’}
\end{align*}

5.3.3. Purposive clause

A purposive clause in Kokborok is introduced with the free morpheme \textit{bagoi} ‘for/in order to’. Semantically, purposive clauses provide reasons for performing the action. The purpose clause always follows the infinitive verb and in absence of it makes the sentence ungrammatical as shown in (622-624).
(617) bó ca-na bagoi ḏáį-kʰa
he eat-INF for go-PST
‘He went for eating’

(618) bórok ḗenį-ni bagoi bulai-kʰa
they money-GEN for fought-PST
‘They fought for money’

(619) cuŋ mai ca-na bagoi ḏai-o
we rice eat-INF for come-PRES
‘We came for eating rice’

(620) Debo bajar-o manui pai-na bagoi ḏáį-kʰa
Debo market-LOC thing buy-INF for go-PST
‘Debo went to market for buying thing’

(621) David him-na bagoi ḏáį-kʰa
David walk-INF for go-PST
‘David went for walking’

(622) *cuŋ mai ca bagoi ḏai-o
we rice eat for come-PRES
‘We came for eating rice’

(623) * Debo hatʰiw-o manui pai bagoi ḏáį-kʰa
Debo market-LOC thing buy for go-PST
‘Debo went to market for buying thing’
5.3.4. Conditional clause

The conditional clause in Kokborok is marked by -\text{k}^h\text{ai} ‘if’. The conditional comprise of verb stem plus the suffix -\text{k}^h\text{ai}. Morphosyntactically, the condition -\text{k}^h\text{ai} occurs in two environments: firstly, it is affixed to the verb stem and secondly to the causative verbs as in (630-631).

(625) \text{Amus} i \text{bi}^h\text{i} ca-\text{k}^h\text{ai} t^h\text{ui-nai}

Amus DEM medicine eat-COND die-DEF.FUT

‘If Amus eats this medicine, he will die’

(626) \text{David} ra\text{I} ri-\text{k}^h\text{ai} \omega\text{I} t^h\text{â¡-nai}

David money give-COND I go-DEF.FUT

‘If David gives me money, I will go’

(627) \text{Salim} t\text{I}i p^h\text{ai-k}^h\text{ai} ham-nai

Salim today come-COND good DEF.FUT

‘If Salim comes today it will be good’

(628) \omega\text{I} t\text{I}i ra\text{I} man-\text{k}^h\text{ai} \text{k}^h\text{i}na t^h\text{â¡-nai}

I today money get-COND tomorrow go DEF.FUT

‘If I get money today I will go tomorrow’

(629) \text{Danu} t^h\text{m}^h\text{I}t\text{k}^h\text{ai} Babu-\text{bo} t^h\text{m}^h\text{I}-nai

Danu play-COND Babu-also play DEF.FUT

‘If Danu plays Babu will also play’
\(\text{(630)}\) \(\text{núŋ} \ \text{bó-no} \ \text{munui-ri-}k^{h}a-i \ \text{əŋ} \ \text{no-no} \ \text{raŋ} \ \text{ri-nai}\)

you 3PM-ACC laugh-CAUS-COND I 2PM-ACC money give-DEF.FUT

‘If you make her to laugh I will give you money’

\(\text{(631)}\) \(\text{núŋ} \ \text{bó-no} \ \text{soŋ-ri-}k^{h}a-i \ \text{mui} \ \text{t}^{h}\text{ok-nai}\)

You he-ACC cook-CAUS-COND curry tasty-DEF.FUT

‘If you make him to cook the curry will be tasty’

5.3.5. Counterfactual clause

The counterfactual clause is formed by suffixing \(-mu\) to passivized form of verb. It encodes an event that was desired, intended or expected to happen, but which did not happen.

\(\text{(632)}\) \(\text{əŋ} \ \text{miya} \ \text{toi-bai} \ \text{kudi-jak-}k^{h}a\text{-mu}\)

I yesterday aunty-by scold-PASS-PST-CTF

‘I would have been scolded by aunty yesterday’

\(\text{(633)}\) \(\text{bó} \ \text{t}^{h}\text{aicuk} \ \text{ra-p}^{h}\text{uru} \ \text{yak} \ \text{ra-jak-}k^{h}a\text{-mu}\)

he mango cut-when hand cut-PASS-PST-CTF

‘When cutting mango, he would have cut his hand’

\(\text{(634)}\) \(\text{bó} \ \text{miya} \ \text{bu-jak-}k^{h}a\text{-mu}\)

he yesterday beat-PASS-PST-CTF

‘He would have beaten yesterday’

\(\text{(635)}\) \(\text{miya} \ \text{sikok} \ \text{but}^{h}\text{ar-jak-}k^{h}a\text{-mu}\)

yesterday thief kill-PASS-PST-CTF

‘The thief would have been killed stealing’
(636) bó pqiŋ-o samiŋ təiŋ-ya-ni bagoi bu-jak-k’a-mu
  he morning-in work do-NEG-GEN for beat-PASS-PST-CTF
  ‘He would have beaten for not doing the work in the morning’

5.3.6. Counterfactual in conditional clause

The counterfactual -mu typically occurs in the apodos (consequent clause) of a
ciclausal construction. The protasis, marked with conditional -k’h, usually
precedes it. The counterfactual expresses the unrealized or unrealizable status of
condition, and is preferred in explicitly hypothetical situations, where the
condition cannot be met or is not expected to be met within the time frame.

(637) náŋ a-no cuba-k’h ai samiŋ pai-k’a-mu
  you 1PM-ACC help-COND work finish-PST-CTF
  ‘If you help me, I could have finished the work’

(638) náŋ a-no raŋ ri-k’h ai pai man-k’a-mu
  you 1PM-ACC money give-COND buy can-PST-CTF
  ‘If you give me money, I would have bought’

(639) náŋ bó-no raŋ ho-k’h ai tini p’h ai man-k’a-mu
  you he-ACC money send-COND today come can-PST-CTF
  ‘If you send him money he could have come today’

(640) aŋ tini p’h ai-k’h ai k’h hna t’h án man-k’a-mu
  I today came-COND tomorrow go can-PST-CTF
  ‘If I came today I could have tomorrow’

(641) aŋ tɔŋ-k’h ai no-no cuba-i man-k’a-mu
  I EXT-COND 2PM-ACC help-CPL can-PST-CTF
  ‘If I am there I could have help you’
‘If my had helped me, I could have finished the work’

5.3.7. Concessive clause

The Concessive clause is expressed by means of suffixing \(^{p^h}ano\) to the verbs and adjectives. The concessive corresponds to English ‘even though’ or ‘although’.

(643) Murli \(t^h\)'ai-\(^{p^h}ano\) ai t^h'aifya
Murli go-CONC I go-NEG

‘Even though/although Murli goes I won’t go’

(644) bó saicu-\(^{p^h}ano\) borók \(k^h\)orok-burui-ni \(xum\)tu-\(^{p^h}ano\) man-o
he alone-CONC person CLF-four-GEN work do can-PRES

‘Even though/although he is alone, he can do the work of four persons’

(645) ai -\(^{p^h}ano\) bahar man-o
I short-CONC jump can-PRES

‘Although I am short, I can jump’

(646) Afirai-ni kamcului kic\(^{p^h}ano\) nai\(t^h\)ok
Afirai-GEN shirt old-CONC beautiful

‘Although Afirai’s shirt is old, it is beautiful’

(647) a-\(^{p^h}ano\) y\(^{p^h}ano\) kubai-\(^{p^h}ano\) ai p^h^hbig-o him-o
1PM-GEN leg broken-CONC I morning-LOC walk-PRES

‘Even though my leg is broken I walk in the morning’
5.3.8. Concessive conditional clause

The concessive conditional in Kokborok is formed by suffixing the conditional marker \(-k^h a\) plus concessive marker \(-p^h ano\) to the verbs. It is equivalent to English ‘even if’.

(648) \text{watui } \text{wa-}k^h a-\text{p}^h \text{ano} \quad \text{bo } p^h \text{ai-nai}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
\text{rain} & \text{rain-CC} & \text{he come-DEF.FUT} \\
\end{tabular}

‘Even if it rains, he will come’

(649) \text{sat}^h \text{t}^h \text{ai-}p^h \text{ano} \quad \text{cu}^h \quad p^h \text{atar-o} \quad  t^h \text{at}^h \text{nai}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\text{sunshine} & \text{hot-CC} & \text{we} & \text{outside- LOC} & \text{go-DEF.FUT} \\
\end{tabular}

‘Even if the sunshine is hot, we will go outside’

5.3.9. Desiderative clause

Kokborok does not have the verb denoting ‘want’. But has only one desiderative verb that can take sentential complement. The desiderative verb or word \textit{micu}\textit{n} expresses ‘desire or wish’. The desiderative verb is postposed to the main verb which takes the infinitive form and can be inflected for present and past tense.

(650) \text{i} \quad \text{t}^h \text{u-na} \quad \text{mic\textup{n}}\text{-o}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
\text{I} & \text{sleep-INF} & \text{DESID-PRES} \\
\end{tabular}

‘I want/wish to sleep’

(651) \text{i} \quad \text{t}^h \text{u-na} \quad \text{mic\textup{n}}\text{-}k^h \text{a}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
\text{I} & \text{sleep-INF} & \text{DESID-PST} \\
\end{tabular}

‘I wanted/wished to sleep’
The desiderative clause can be negated by the negative suffix -ya to the desiderative verb (655-659).

(655)  
\[ \text{bó ca-} \quad \text{miciŋ} \- \text{ya} \]  
\[ \text{he eat-INF} \quad \text{DESID-NEG} \]  
‘He doesn’t want to eat’

(656)  
\[ \text{on} \quad \text{bąŋ-} \quad \text{miciŋ} \- \text{ya} \]  
\[ \text{I go-INF} \quad \text{DESID-NEG} \]  
‘I don’t want to eat’

(657)  
\[ \text{bó samuŋ} \quad \text{nai-} \quad \text{miciŋ} \- \text{ya} \]  
\[ \text{he work} \quad \text{do-INF} \quad \text{DESID-NEG} \]  
‘He doesn’t want to work’

(658)  
\[ \text{bó pori-} \quad \text{miciŋ} \- \text{ya} \]  
\[ \text{he study-INF} \quad \text{DESID-NEG} \]  
‘He doesn’t want to study/wish’
5.3.10. Relative clause

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, relative clauses in Kokborok are nominalised verb forms which usually modify the noun or noun phrases. Kokborok exhibits externally headed relative clause where the relativized noun occurs to the right of the clause i.e., a headed relative clause directly precedes the head nominal it modifies. As in many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Kokborok lacks relative pronoun such as who, whom etc. as found in English and other European languages.

5.3.10.1. Headed relative clause

In headed relative clause, the relative clause is prenominal.

(660) miya $p^h$ai-nai borók a-ni kumui
    yesterday come-REL person 1PM-GEN brother-in-law
    ‘(The) man who came yesterday is my brother-in-law’

(661) miya walai-nai burui a-ni toi
    yesterday quarrel-REL girl/woman 1PM-GEN aunty
    ‘(The) girl/woman who quarreled yesterday is my aunty (maternal)’

(662) tini $p^h$uiŋ-o $t^h$ui-nai amniŋ miya lum-k$h$a
    today morning-LOC die-REL cat yesterday sick-PST
    ‘(The) cat which died today morning was sick yesterday’
(663) **sairig-o kʰapurum-nai ciːzi ɕikok**  
evening-LOC run-REL child thief  
‘(The) child who ran in the evening is thief’

(664) **pʰuiɡ-o him-nai bəru Matthews**  
morning-LOC walk-REL girl/woman beautiful  
‘(The) girl/woman who walks in the morning is beautiful’

### 5.3.10.2. Headless relative clause

Kokborok has a headless relative clause. The headless relative clause lacks an overt head nominal and it is interpretable as ‘those who’. The case marker or other suffixes of the noun phrase directly follow the relative clause.

(665) **mai son-ja-rok leŋ-ja-kʰa**  
rice cook-REL-PL tire-PASS-PST  
‘Those who cooked rice were tired’

(666) **miya raŋ na-nai-no aŋ kəmcului ri-kʰa**  
yesterday money take-REL-DAT I shirt give-PST  
‘I gave the shirt to one who has taken money’

### 5.3.10.3. Relative clause as a lexical item

Certain common concepts that are so frequently referred have acquired the semantic specificity of a compound lexical item. Consider the following examples.

(667) **tuk tak-nai**  
pot make-REL  
‘Potter’
(668) samuŋ taŋ-nai  
work  do-REL  
‘Worker’

(669) ri  sup-nai  
cloth  stitch-REL  
‘Tailor’

(670) kʰiŋći ra-nai  
hair  cut-REL  
‘Barber’

(671) da  tak-nai  
chopper  make-REL  
‘Blacksmith’

5.3.10.4. Subject relative clause

The subjects of agentive transitive or non-agentive intransitive clauses are relativized by the relativizer -nai where the relative clause precedes the head noun as can be seen in (672-676).

(672) doga  so-nai  borók  
door  close-REL  person  
‘(The) person who closed the door’

(673) lenŋ-nai  borók  
faint-REL  person  
‘(The) person who fainted’
In Kokborok, the object is relativized by the different relativizer -ma where the relative clause precedes the head noun. It is one of the typical features of Kokborok that subject and object are relativized by different relativizers -nai and -ma respectively, whereas most of the Tibeto-Burman languages makes use of same relativizer to relativize both the subject and object.

5.3.10.5. Object relative clause

In Kokborok, the object is relativized by the different relativizer -ma where the relative clause precedes the head noun. It is one of the typical features of Kokborok that subject and object are relativized by different relativizers -nai and -ma respectively, whereas most of the Tibeto-Burman languages makes use of same relativizer to relativize both the subject and object.

(674)  
him-nai  
burui  
walk-REL  
girl  
‘(The) girl who walks’

(675)  
war-nai  
súi  
bite-REL  
dog  
(The) dog which bites’

(676)  
kʰok-nai  
cirɔi  
steal-REL  
child  
‘(The) child who steals’

(677)  
bó  
burʰar-ma  
amiŋ  
he  
kill-NOMZ  
cat  
‘(The) cat that he killed’

(678)  
bó  
pai-ma  
tʰailik  
he  
buy-NOMZ  
banana  
‘The banana that he bought’

(679)  
Debo  
ri-ma  
raŋ  
Debo  
give-NOMZ  
money  
‘The money that Debo gave’
(680) \( a\eta\) so\(\eta\)-ma mui
   I cook-NOMZ curry
   ‘(The) curry that I cooked’

(681) \( cm\eta\) nuk-ma nok
   we see-NOMZ house
   ‘(The) house that we saw’

5.3.11. Hearsay quotative/verb say clauses

The hearsay quotative verb in Kokborok is \( hin\). The quotative verb precedes the main verb in a clause.

(682) Sopon \( p^b\)-ai-ya \( hin\)-o
   Sopon come-NEG QUOT-PRES
   ‘Sopon said he won’t come’

(683) \( b\delta\) tini \( p^b\)-ai-na \( hin\)-oi \( saw\)-o
   he today come-INF QUOT-CPL say-PRES
   ‘He says he will come today’

(684) David Amal-no \( ra\eta\) ri-ya \( hin\)-oi \( sa-k^b\)a
   David Amal-ACC money give-NEG QUOT-CPL say-PST
   ‘David said that he won’t give money to Amal’

(685) \( b\delta\) bu-jak-\( k^b\)a \( hin\)-oi \( k^b\)-in\(n\)-oi\(v\)-o
   he beat-PASS-PST QUOT-CPL heard-PRES
   ‘It was heard that he was beaten.’
(686) \(bó\ tini\ p^h\ai\-ya\ hin-o\i\ saw-o\)
he today come-NEG QUOT-CPL say-PRES

‘He said, he won’t come today’

(687) \(Hira\ t^h\eta\-ya\ hin-o\i\ sa-k^h\a\)
Hira play-NEG QUOT-CPL say-PST

‘Hira said that he won’t play’

5.3.12. Infinitive Clause

The infinitival clause is formed by suffixing \(-na\) to the dependent clause.

(688) \(bó\ hutel-o\ mai\ ca-na\ t^h\\eta\-g-o\)
he hotel-o rice eat-INF go-PRES

‘He went to hotel to eat rice’

(689) \(Debajit\ tuku-na\ t^h\\eta-\k^h\a\)
Debajit bath-INF go-PST

‘Debajit went to take bath’

(690) \(David\ him-na\ t^h\\eta-nai\)
David walk-INF go-DEF.FUT

‘David will go to walk’

(691) \(Amal\ David-bai\ bulai-na\ p^h\ai\-\k^h\a\)
Amal David-with fight-INF come-PST

‘Amal came to fight with David’
5.4. Negation

Negation in Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India is usually expressed by means of affixation either prefixation or suffixation and the both in some cases. Likewise, negation in Kokborok is mainly expressed by means of affixation particularly prefixation or suffixation, however infixation is totally absent in the language. Negation in Kokborok can be formed at the clausal level but not at the constituent level. In other words, negative strategies in Kokborok are those which are employed to negate the whole proposition or the clause. Like many other SOV languages, the order of negative suffix in Kokborok clause is SOV-NEG as proposed by Dryer (1988) for some SOV languages. In Kokborok, the same negator is employed to negate both the declarative and interrogative clauses; nevertheless, a special negator is employed to negate imperative clauses as discussed in the following sections. Unlike English negative indefinite e.g., no-body or nothing, the negative indefinite pronoun in Kokborok is formed by negating the verb rather than the pronominal.

5.4.1. Negation in declarative clause

The declarative clause in Kokborok is unmarked. Structurally, the declarative clauses in Kokborok may be divided into two: (1) verbal and (ii) non-verbal. Generally, the distinction of the duo is made on the basis of the presence or absence of the main verb in the clausal constructions. Nevertheless, different strategy is not employed to negate the verbal and non-verbal declarative clauses in Kokborok, instead the general negator -ya is invariably used to negate the same.

5.4.1.1. Negation in verbal clause

In Kokborok, negator -ya is usually employed to negate the verbal clauses in Kokborok however the affirmative remains unmarked as in (692-695).
(692) *Karan munui-o*
Karan laugh-PRES
‘Karan laughs’

(693) *Karan munui-ya*
Karan laugh-NEG
‘Karan doesn’t laugh’

(694) *Karan mai caw-o*
Karam rice eat-PRES
‘Karan eats rice’

(695) *Karan mai ca-ya*
Karan rice eat-NEG
‘Karan doesn’t eat rice’

It is worth mentioning here that other than the general nagator *-ya*, the negator *gilak* is also employed to negate the verbal clauses. The suffix *-gilak* denotes action to be always uncertain and it can be followed only by past tense marker *-h* as in (700).

(696) *Karan pʰai-gilak*
Karan come-NEG
‘Karan may not come’

(697) *Karan munui-gilak*
Karan laugh-NEG
‘Karan may not laugh’
5.4.1.2. Negation of non-verbal clause

Non-verbal predicates are negated like verbal predicates, using the general negator -ya, which occupies post-verbal position. The non-verbal clause in Kokborok basically includes the nominal, existential, locative and possessive constructions.

5.4.1.2.1. Nominal construction

In Kokborok, the general negator -ya is used to negate the nominal constructions i.e., the negator is directly suffixed to the nouns.

(701) bó daktor-ya

he doctor-NEG

‘He is not doctor’

(702) bó a-ni kiciŋ-ya

he 1PM-NEG friend-NEG

‘He is not my friend’
(703)  bó  wanjui-ya
       he   Bengali-NEG

‘He is not Bengali’

5.4.1.2.2. Existential/possessive/locative construction

Like other Tibeto-Burman language, Kokborok have existential verb for constructing existential clause (704). Croft (1991) proposes a typology of the relationship between verbal negators and negative existential forms. He finds three distinct types in the languages of the world: Type A in which the ordinary existential predicate is negated by the verbal negator, Type B in which there is a negative existential predicate different from the verbal negator, and Type C in which the negative existential is identical to the verbal negator. Thus, Kokborok is a Type B language as the negative existential predicate is different from the verbal negator. To negate the existential/possessive/locative construction, the negative existential morpheme kurui meaning ‘not exist’ is postposed to the nouns as illustrated in (705-710).

(704)  bolong-o  goŋ  tong-o
       forest-LOC  bear   EXT-PRES

‘There is a bear in the forest’

(705)  bolong-o  goŋ  kurui
       forest-LOC  bear   NEP

‘There is no a bear in the forest’

(706)  tulsaw-o  tui  kurui
       stream-LOC  water   NEP

‘There is no water in the stream’
5.4.2.3. **Negative interjections**

Negative injection in Kokborok is used for one-word reply to a question or a statement. In Kokborok, the negative particle "hi" is used to form the negative interjection in clause initially and is separated by the rest of the sentence by a pause.

\[(711) \text{ nú} \text{ ra} \text{ man-k} \text{a-da} \]
\[\text{you money get-PST-QM} \]
\[\text{‘Did you get the money?’}\]

\[(712) \text{îhi, maw-ya} \]
\[\text{no, get-NEG} \]
\[\text{‘No?’}\]
5.4.2.4. Negative imperative (prohibitive)

Kokborok has a special form of negation that is used in imperative clauses to the exclusion of non-imperative clauses (declarative and interrogative). Negative imperative in Kokborok is expressed by prefixing ta- to the verb root followed by imperative marker -di. It is interesting to note that ta- is one of the common prefixes inherited from PTB *da ~ *ta (Matisoff, 2003).

(713) núŋ̂ pʰai-nai-da
you come-DEF.FUT-QM
‘Will you come?’

(714) īhi, pʰai-ya
no come-NEG
‘No, I will not?’

(715) núŋ̂ iⁿát-nai-da
you go-DEF.FUT-QM
‘Will you go?’

(716) īhi, iⁿát-ya
no go-NEG
‘No, I will not go?’

(717) ta-iⁿát-di
PROH-go-IMP
‘Don’t go!’

(718) ta-pʰai-di
PROH-come-IMP
‘Don’t come!’
5.4.2.5. Negative hortative

The negative hortative in Kokborok is expressed by negative imperative marker ta- and the hortative marker -tʰu is attached to the verb root as exemplified below.

(719) ta-bulai-di
PROH-fight-IMP
‘Don’t fight!’

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

(721) bó ta-tʰáptʰu
he PROH-go-HORT
‘Let him not go’

(722) bórok ta-pʰai-lai-tʰu
they PROH-come-SOC-HORT
‘Let them not come’

(723) bó ranj ta-ri-tʰu
he money PROH-give-HORT
‘Let him not give the money’

(724) bó semniŋ ta-kaŋtʰu
he work PROH-do-HORT
‘Let him not do the work’
5.4.2.6. Negation in interrogative clause

The general negator -ya is used to negate the interrogative clause followed by the question marker -da. In other words there is no special form of negation to negate interrogative clause in Kokborok as can be seen in the following examples.

(725) núŋ ʃiʃi ʃ itáŋ-ya-da
you today go-NEG-QM
‘Won’t you go today?’

(726) núŋ Rahul-ya-da
you Rahul-NEG-QM
‘Are you not Rahul?’

(727) bó-nil-ya-da
he-GEN-NEG-QM
‘Isn’t his?’

(728) sabo ʃitáŋ-ya
who go-NEG
‘Who will not go?’

5.4.2.7. Negative strengthening

Kokborok uses the suffix -ciŋ for strengthening of negative statements which is directly attached to the verb root immediately followed by a negative marker -ya. It occurs only in negative environment to express intensification otherwise which may be ungrammatical as in (733-736).
(729) \(bó \ cuwak \ \hat{m}i\hat{r}-ci\hat{r}̣-ya\)  
   he \ wine \ drink-INTS-NEG  
   ‘He doesn’t drink wine at all’

(730) \(Amal \ \hat{t}\hat{m}i\hat{r}-ci\hat{r}̣-ya\)  
   Amal \ play-INTS-NEG  
   ‘Amal doesn’t play at all’

(731) \(Debo \ wahan \ ca-ci\hat{r}̣-ya\)  
   Debo \ pork \ eat-INTS-NEG  
   ‘Debo doesn’t eat pork at all’

(732) \(bó \ \hat{s}a\hat{n}̣ṇ \ \hat{m}i\hat{r}-ci\hat{r}̣-ya\)  
   he \ work \ do-INTS-NEG  
   ‘He doesn’t do work at all’

(733) \(*bó \ cuwak \ \hat{m}i\hat{r}-ci\hat{g}-o\)  
   he \ wine \ drink-INTS-PRES  
   ‘He drink wine at all’

(734) \(*Amal \ \hat{t}\hat{m}i\hat{r}-ci\hat{g}-o\)  
   Amal \ play-INTS-PRES  
   ‘Amal does play at all’

(735) \(*Dala \ wahan \ ca-ci\hat{g}-o\)  
   Dala \ pork \ eat-INTS-PRES  
   ‘Dala doesn’t eat pork at all’
5.4.2.8. Negative counterfactual conditional

The negative counterfactual clause is formed by suffixing the negative -gilak to verb root followed by the past tense marker and counterfactual suffix as illustrated below.

(736) *bó šamm ŋ taŋ-ciŋ-o
    he work do-INTS-PRES

‘He does work at all’

(737) núŋ a-no cuba-ya-k^h^ai šamm pai-gilak-k^h^a-mu
    you 1PM-ACC help-NEG-COND work finish-NEG-PST-CTF

‘If you don’t help me, I would not have finished the work’

(738) aŋ bóno raŋ ri-ya-k^ai bó pai man-gilak-k^h^a-mu
    I he-DAT money give-NEG-COND he buy can-NEG-PST-CTF

‘If I didn’t pay him, he could not have bought’

(739) bó miya p^h^ai-ya-k^h^ai tini t^h^áŋ man-gilak-k^h^a-mu
    he yesterday come-NEG-COND today go can-NEG-PST-CTF

‘If he didn’t come yesterday, he couldn’t have gone today’

5.4.2.9. Negative conditional

Negative conditional is formed by suffixing the negative morpheme -ya to the verb root followed by conditional suffix -k^h^ai.

(740) bó p^h^ai-ya-k^h^ai núŋ p^h^ai-di
    he come-NEG-COND you come-IMP

‘If he doesn’t come, you come!’

214
(741)  
he help-NEG-COND I help-DEF.FUT

‘If he doesn’t help, I will help’

(742)  
he play-NEG-COND he-ACC AUS.PRF-play-DEF.FUT

‘If you don’t play, we will make him to play’

5.4.2.10. Negative concessive

Negative concessive in Kokborok is formed by suffixing the negative marker -ya to the verb root followed by a concessive marker -p^h ano.

(743)  
Amal fat-NEG-CONC run can-NEG

‘Even though Amal is not fat, he cannot run’

(744)  
you play-NEG-COND watch-INF come-IMP

‘Even though you don’t play, come to watch’

(745)  
you come-NEG-COND I go-DEF.FUT

‘Even though you are not coming, I will go’

5.5. Interrogative

Interrogation in Kokborok can be formed by yes-no questions, question word, tag question and alternative question and reduplicated question word.
5.5.1. Yes-no questions

‘Yes-no’ questions, also referred to as polar questions, are interrogative clauses for which the expected answer is always either “yes” or “no”. Yes-no questions are marked by the marker -da ~ -de either to the verbs or nouns or adjectives.

(746) Q  núη  kʰiina  pʰai-nai-da
        you    tomorrow    come-DEF.FUT-QM
‘Will you come tomorrow?’

A    þ,  pʰai-nai
     yes,    come-DEF.FUT
‘Yes, I will’

(747) Q  Amal  núη  a-ni  aŋ-sala-bai  malai-kʰ-a-da
        Amal    you    1PM-GEN    I-son-with    meet-PST-QM
‘Amal, did you meet my son?’

A    þ,  aŋ  miya  malai-kʰ-a
     yes,    I    yesterday    meet-PST
‘Yes, I met him yesterday’

(748) Q  ibo  kícam-da
        DEM    old-QM
‘Is this old?’

A    þ,  kícamño
     yes,    old
‘Yes, it is’
(749) Q ibo  kical-da
DEM  new-QM
‘Is the house new?’
A ĩ,  kitaño
yes,  good
‘Yes, the house is new’

(750) Q  iro-da  núŋ  toŋ-na  miciŋ
here-QM  you  stay-INF  wish
‘Is it here you like to stay?’
A ĩ,  irono
yes,  here
‘Yes, here’

(751) Q  núŋ  Ḳuruk-da
you  Muslim-QM
‘Are you Muslim?’
A ĩ,  Ḳurukno
yes,  Muslim
‘Yes, I am Muslim’

(752) Q  Ronen  sa-ma  kok  kubui-da
Ronen  say-NOMZ  word  true-QM
‘Is it true what Ronen said?’
yes, Ronen say-NOMZ word true
‘Yes, the word what Ronen said is true’

5.5.2. Question words/content questions

Content questions are questions that are not answered by yes or no, and contain an interrogative pronoun. In other words WH question is merely formed by using WH pronoun as given below.

sabo ‘who’

sabo ‘who’ questions the subject of human referents for both transitive and intransitive verbs.

(753) miya sabo hakor-o kilai
yesterday who hole-LOC fall
‘Who fell into the hole yesterday?’

(754) sabo a-ni raŋ kʰok
who 1PM-GEN money steal
‘Who stole my money?’

In (755), sabo questions the subject of a serial verb construction as shown below.

(755) sabo pʰai sokpʰai-kʰa
who come arrive-PST
‘Who came and arrived?’

The question word sabo can be marked for possessive, accusative and comitative as examplified below.
(756) sabo-ni kamcului
who-GEN shirt
‘Whose shirt?’

(757) ubo sabo-ni nok
that who-GEN house
‘Whose house is that?’

(758) Anil sabo-no bu
Anil who-ACC beat
‘Anil beat to whom?’

(759) Dany sabo-bai ph'ai
Dany who-COM come
‘Dany came with whom?’

(760) aŋ sabo-bai t'ŋ-nai
I with-COM go-DEF.FUT
‘Whom shall I go with?’

tamo ‘what’

tamo is used to form WH question particularly for the of non-human referents as can be seen in (761-764).

(761) aŋ ph'aymŋ tů tamento k'ilaŋ
1-younger.brother you what do
‘Younger brother what are you doing?’
(762) \( \text{núŋ} \ tamo \ na-p^h\text{ai-na} \ p^h\text{ai} \)

you what take-come-INF come

‘You came to take what?’

(763) \( \text{bóro}k \ a-no \ p^h\text{ij-ge-o} \ tamo \ k^h\text{iΔlai-na} \ hin-oi \ smŋ \)

they 1PM-ACC morning-in what do-INF QUOT-CPL ask

‘They asked me what to do in the morning?’

(764) \( \text{núŋ} \ tamo \ muitu \ k^h\text{iΔlai} \ man \)

you what remember do able

‘What can you remember?’

The question \textit{tamo} ‘what’ can take a postposition or instrumental marker -\textit{bai} ‘with or by’ as shown below.

(765) \( \text{David} \ tamo-bai \ nog-o \ t^h\text{áŋ} \)

David what-INST house-LOC go

‘By what did David go home?’

(766) \( \text{Amal} \ no-no \ tamo-bai \ tok \)

Amal 2PM-ACC what-INST hit

‘With what did Amal hit you?’

\textit{tamo-\text{ni} ‘what for’}

The question word ‘what for’ is formed by suffixing -\textit{ni} to \textit{tamo} ‘what’, which is equivalent to English ‘why’ as can be seen in (767-769).

(767) \( \text{núŋ} \ tamo-\text{ni} \ p^h\text{ai} \)

you what-GEN come

‘What for did you come?’

220
(768) bó tini tamo-ni pʰai
    he today what-GEN come
    ‘What for did he come?’

(769) Adul tamo-ni ṭɐŋ na
    Adul what-GEN money take
    ‘What for did Adul take money?’

boro ‘where’

The question word boro ‘where’ is used to question locations of referents followed by the case markers -o and -ni as can be summarized in (770) and (771).

(770) Ahanrai tabuk borow-o
    Ahanrai now where-LOC
    ‘Where is Ahanrai now? (lit. where Ahanrai is at now?)

(771) nũŋ boro-ni
    you where-GEN
    ‘Where are you from?’

bup⁴uru ‘when’

The question word bup⁴uru is a temporal one, which inquires about the time of occurrence of situations. It is not used to ask about clock time (‘What time it is?’).

(772) Hori bup⁴uru sokpʰai
    Hori when arrive
    ‘When did Hori arrive?’
(773) núŋ buŋhuru ñháŋ-nai
   you when go-DEF.FUT
   ‘When will you go?’

**bahái ‘how’**

The word bahái questions the manner of an event or state, as in (774-776).

(774) bó bahái ñhui
   he how die
   ‘How did he die?’

(775) núŋ bahái p'ai
   you how come
   ‘How did you come?’

(776) núŋ bahái
   you how
   ‘How are you?’

**bo ‘which’**

This interrogative functions as a modifier to a noun which is the head of an NP.

(777) bo ñh'acuk na-nai
   which mango take-DEF.FUT
   ‘Which mango shall I take?’

(778) bo nok naih'ok
   which house beautiful
   ‘Which house is beautiful?’
(779) bo cirai miya bulai
      which child yesterday fight
   ‘Which child fought yesterday?’

busuk ‘how much/how many’

Quantities are questioned with busuk ‘how much/how many’ as illustrated in (780) and (781). Busuk obligatorily follows the head noun of the NP. Quantities of mass nouns are also questioned with busuk ‘how much/how many’, as in (782) and (783).

(780) sal busuk
      day how many
   ‘how many days?’

(781) tal busuk
      month how many
   ‘How many months’

(782) mairun busuk
      rice how much
   ‘How much rice?’

(783) t'oq busuk
      oil how much
   ‘How much oil?’
It is also used to ask about clock time (‘What time it is?’) as in (784)

(784) \textit{tabuk jora busuk}  
\textit{now time how much}  
‘What time it is now?’

For questioning how many times, the affix \textit{wai-} is prefixed to the question word \textit{busuk} (785) and (786).

(785) \textit{bó wai-busuk \textsuperscript{p\texttext{-}ai-k\texttext{-}a}}  
\textit{he MUL-PRF-how many come-PST}  
‘How many times did he come?’

(786) \textit{ núŋ bo-no wai-busuk \textit{bu}}  
\textit{you he-ACC MUL-PRF-how many beat}  
‘How many times did you beat him?’

However, when quantifying the nouns, classifier is an obligatory element and it is prefixed to the quantifier as in (787-792).

(787) \textit{pun ma-busuk}  
\textit{goat CLF-how many}  
‘How many goats?’

(788) \textit{t'ailik \textit{t'ai-busuk}}  
\textit{banana CLF-how many}  
‘How many bananas?’

(789) \textit{bup\texttext{-}h\texttext{-}nu p\texttext{-}h\texttext{-}busuk}  
\textit{tree CLF-how many}  
‘How many trees’
5.5.3. Alternative question

An alternative can be posed with the interrogative marker on first alternative, which may both be positive as in (793) or negative as in (794) and (795). As in the given examples, the positive alternative precedes the negative one.

(793) núq  t'áq-nai-da  tonq-nai
    you  go-DEF.FUT-QM   stay-DEF.FUT
    ‘Will you go or stay?’

(794) núq  t'áq-nai-da  t'áq-ya
    you  go-DEF.FUT-QM   go-NEG
    ‘Will you go or not?’

(795) núq  sonq-nai-da  sonq-ya
    you  cook-DEF.FUT-QM   cook-DEF.FUT
    ‘Will you cook or not?’
The alternative question in Kokborok can also be conjoined with *na* ‘or’ in more formal speech, which is borrowed from Indo-Aryan.

(796) náŋ$\text{ }$p$^b$ái-nai-da$\text{ }$na$\text{ }$p$^b$ái-ya
    you come-DEF.FUT-QM or come-NEG
    ‘Will you come or not?’

(797) aŋ$\text{ }$t$^b$áŋ-nai-da$\text{ }$na$\text{ }$t$^b$áŋ-ya
    I go-DEF.FUT-QM or go-NEG
    ‘Will I go or not?’

5.5.4. **Tag questions**

Tag questions are most frequently formed by placing *hai-ya-da* at the end of a sentence. The tag marker has only one form regardless of whether the questioned clause is positive or negative.

(798) *Davis borók sele hai-ya-da*
    Davis person lazy it is-NEG-QM
    ‘Davis is lazy person, isn’t it?’

(799) *Davis borók sele-ya hai-ya-da*
    Davis person lazy-NEG it is-NEG-QM
    ‘Davis is not lazy person, isn’t it?’

(800) *ca-ma t$^b$álik kot$^b$ok hai-ya-da*
    we eat-NOMZ banana tasty it is-NEG-QM
    ‘The banana we ate is tasty, isn’t it?’
(801)  ca-\textit{ma} t^\textit{la}lik kol^\textit{b}ok hai-ya-da  \\
we eat-NOMZ banana tasty it-NEG-QM  \\
‘The banana we ate is tasty, isn’t it?  \\

5.5.5. Reduplication of Wh- question words  
Reduplication of Wh- questions in Kokborok indicates the plural meaning.  

(802)  sabo sabo p^\textit{h}ai-k^\textit{h}a  \\
who who come-PST  \\
‘Who came?’ (lit. who are the persons that came?)  

(803)  boro boro t^\textit{a}\textit{r} ai-k^\textit{h}a  \\
where where go-PST  \\
‘What/which place did you go?’ (lit. what are the places visited?)  

(804)  tamo tamo nai\textit{t}  \\
what what need  \\
‘What do you need?’ (lit. what things do you need?)  

5.6. Nominalization  
Kokborok makes distinction between derivational and clausal nominalization. A derivational nominalization creates lexical nouns from other lexical categories and clausal nominalization is used to nominalize an entire clause. Kokborok has both derivational and clausal nominalization.  

5.6.1. Derivational nominalization  
Kokborok makes use of various nominalizers for deriving nouns from verbs and nouns from adjectives as discussed below.
Nominalizer -tʰai ‘place’

The nominalizer -tʰai expresses ‘place of the action expressed by the verb’.

(805) acai-tʰai
   born-NOMZ
   ‘Place of birth’

(806) ca-tʰai
   eat-NOMZ
   ‘Place of eating’

(807) ton-tʰai
   stay-NOMZ
   ‘Residence/place of staying’

(808) acuk-tʰai
   sit-NOMZ
   ‘Seat/place of sitting’

(809) tʰnɛ-tʰai
   play-NOMZ
   ‘Playground/place of playing’

(810) tʰu-tʰai
   sleep-NOMZ
   ‘Bed/place of sleeping’
Nominalizer -\textit{mun}\text{\textdquotesingle}

Like many other Bodo-Garo languages, Kokborok has the nominalizing morpheme/ nominalizer for the manner nominalization. The nominalizer -\textit{mun}\text{\textdquotesingle} is used to form nouns from the verbs expressing the ‘way of verbing as exemplified below.

(813) \textit{ca-mun}\text{\textdquotesingle}

\begin{flushleft}
\raisebox{0pt}[0pt][0pt]{eat-NOMZ}
\end{flushleft}

‘The way of eating’

(814) \textit{tor-mun}\text{\textdquotesingle}

\begin{flushleft}
\raisebox{0pt}[0pt][0pt]{stay-NOMZ}
\end{flushleft}

‘The way of staying/manner’

(815) \textit{t\textsuperscript{i}u-mun}\text{\textdquotesingle}

\begin{flushleft}
\raisebox{0pt}[0pt][0pt]{sleep-NOMZ}
\end{flushleft}

‘The way of sleeping’

(816) \textit{him-mun}\text{\textdquotesingle}

\begin{flushleft}
\raisebox{0pt}[0pt][0pt]{walk-NOMZ}
\end{flushleft}

‘The way of walking’
(817) นิม-นิม

drink-NOMZ

‘The way of drinking’

**Nominalizer -ma**

Abstract nouns and verbal nouns are formed by suffixing -ma to the verbal root and adjectival nouns are formed by suffixing same nominalizer -ma to the adjective roots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>deverbal nouns</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wansuk</td>
<td>‘think’</td>
<td>wansuk-ma</td>
<td>‘thinking/thought’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naisle</td>
<td>‘hate’</td>
<td>naisle-ma</td>
<td>‘hate/grudge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuk</td>
<td>‘be difficult’</td>
<td>tuk-ma</td>
<td>‘difficulty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tui</td>
<td>‘be sweet’</td>
<td>tui-ma</td>
<td>‘sweetness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰa</td>
<td>‘be bitter’</td>
<td>kʰa-ma</td>
<td>‘bitterness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰui</td>
<td>‘be sour’</td>
<td>kʰui-ma</td>
<td>‘sourness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tni</td>
<td>‘be hot’</td>
<td>tni-ma</td>
<td>‘hotness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰu</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>tʰu-ma</td>
<td>‘sleeping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰni</td>
<td>‘play’</td>
<td>tʰni-ma</td>
<td>‘playing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
<td>him-ma</td>
<td>‘walking’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>simple adjective</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>abstract nominal</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hilik</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
<td>hilik-ma</td>
<td>‘heaviness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>helen</td>
<td>‘light’</td>
<td>helen-ma</td>
<td>‘lightness’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

230
Nominalizer \,-kirak

The nominalizer \,-kirak is used to derive nouns from verbs referring the action of verb ‘who does a lot’ as shown below.

(818) \( \text{ca-kirak} \)

eat-NOMZ

‘One who eats a lot’

(819) \( \text{ná} \text{ń-kirak} \)

drink-NOMZ

‘One who drinks a lot’

(820) \( \text{th} \text{u-kirak} \)

sleep-NOMZ

‘One who sleeps a lot’

(821) \( \text{sa-kirak} \)

speak-NOMZ

‘One who speaks a lot’

(822) \( \text{kap-kirak} \)

cry-NOMZ

‘One who cries a lot’
(823)  *walai- kirak*
quarrel-NOMZ
‘One who quarrels a lot’

(824)  *bulai- kirak*
fight-NOMZ
‘One who cries a lot’

(825)  *him- kirak*
walk-NOMZ
‘One who walks a lot’

(826)  *tun- kirak*
work-NOMZ
‘One who works a lot’

(827)  *tun- kirak*
play-NOMZ
‘One who plays a lot’

**Nominalizer -mari**
The nominalizer -mari is used to derive nouns from verbs as illustrated below.

(828)  *man-mari*
get-NOMZ
‘Profit’
(829) \( p^h {\text{unuk}} - {\text{mari}} \)
show-NOMZ
‘Example’

(830) \( bai - {\text{mari}} \)
be.broken-NOMZ
‘Expense/expenditure’

(831) \( tui{n - \text{mari}} \)
be.hot-NOMZ
‘Temperature’

(832) \( t^h {\text{ai}}{{\text{f}}} - {\text{mari}} \)
go-NOMZ
‘Loss’

**Nominalizer -nai**

Kokborok has a distinct nominalising morpheme -nai to form agentive nominals referring the names of the occupation or where the person involved normally does the action as a job or regular activity. The formation of agentive nouns from the verb is also one of the productive morphological processes in Kokborok as noticed in other Tibeto-Burman languages. Like many other languages of the world, the agentive nominalizer -nai in Kokborok always occurs to the right of the nominal constructions as exemplified below.

\[
\begin{align*}
p^h al & \quad \text{‘sell’} & \quad p^h al - nai & \quad \text{‘seller’} \\
ri\text{cap} & \quad \text{‘sing’} & \quad ri\text{cap} - nai & \quad \text{‘singer’} \\
t^h uh & \quad \text{‘play’} & \quad t^h uh - nai & \quad \text{‘player’} \\
suruh & \quad \text{‘learn’} & \quad suruh - nai & \quad \text{‘learner’}
\end{align*}
\]
5.6.2. Clausal nominalization

Kokborok clausal nominalization process allows a complement clause to function as a noun phrase as shown in (833–835).

(833) 弩’y miya ri-ma manui kaham
you yesterday give-NOMZ thing good
‘The thing you gave yesterday was good’

(834) 弩’y son-ni ma mui l°ok-°a
you cook curry-NOMZ be.good-PST
‘The thing you gave yesterday was good’

(835) miya suri-nai boròk tini l°ui-°a
yesterday pray-NOMZ person today die-PST
‘The person who prayed yesterday has died today’

5.7. Reflexivization

Lichtenberk (1999) distinguishes reflexive markers into three main types: (a) nominal reflexives, where the marker exhibits properties of nouns or pronouns in the language; (b) verbal reflexives, where the marker is part of the morphology associated with verb (an affix, a clitic, or a particle); and (c) possessive reflexives, where the marker exhibits properties characteristic of certain possessive forms, such as possessive adjectives.

Kokborok falls under the first type of reflexivization proposed by Lichtenberk (1999) as the reflexive element is suffixed to the noun regardless of gender or
number distinctions. It is interesting to note that the reflexive marker \(-p^h\text{a}\) is attached to the noun sak not to the subject NP as exemplified below.

(836) \(a\text{a} \quad sak-p^h\text{a} \quad su-k^h\text{a}\)  
I body-REFL wash-PST  
‘I wash myself’

(837) \(a\text{a} \quad sak-p^h\text{a} \quad sam\text{u} \quad t\text{a}\text{a}-k^h\text{a}\)  
we body-REFL work do-PST  
‘We did the work ourselves’

(838) \(n\text{u}\text{a} \quad sak-p^h\text{a} \quad su-di\)  
I body-REFL wash-PRES  
‘You wash yourself’

(839) \(n-o\text{r}\text{k} \quad sak-p^h\text{a} \quad su-di\)  
2PM-PL body-REFL wash-IMP  
‘You wash yourself’

(840) \(b\text{o} \quad sak-p^h\text{a} \quad su-k^h\text{a}\)  
he body-REFL wash-PST  
‘He washed himself’

(841) \(b\text{o}-r\text{o}\text{k} \quad sak-p^h\text{a} \quad su-k^h\text{a}\)  
he-PL body-REFL wash-PRES  
‘He washed the cloth himself’

(842) \(D\text{u}\text{d}\text{u} \quad sak-p^h\text{a} \quad m\text{a}\text{m}\text{i} \quad t\text{u}\text{b}\text{u}-k^h\text{a}\)  
Dudu body-REFL thing brought-PST  
‘Dudu brought a thing himself’.
5.8. Word order

According to the typological classification of languages six basic word orders have been established; SVO, SOV, VSO, OVS, VOS, and OSV. As many other Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India, the basic order of words in Kokborok is Subject, Object and Verb (SOV).

5.8.1. Word order in transitive clauses

Transitive clauses have two arguments, a subject (S) and an object (O). The basic word order of grammatical element in transitive clause in Kokborok is subject followed by object, then followed by verb as in (844-846).

(844)  bó  hatʰiwould  tʰāŋ-kʰa

he   market-LOC   go-PST
‘He went to market’

(845)  amī  mai  ca-kʰa
I   rice   eat-PST
‘I eat rice’

(846)  amī  amīnī  nuk-kʰa
I   cat   see-PST
‘I saw a cat’
5.8.2. Word order in intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses consist of intransitive verbs and a subject as participant. In this type of clause, the subject generally appears before the verb as shown below.

(847) bó him-\(k^b\)a  
he walk-PST  
‘He walked’

(848) bó munui-\(k^b\)a  
he laugh-PST  
‘He laughs’

(849) bó bulai-\(k^b\)a  
he fight-PST  
‘He fights’

(850) tui kutuk-\(k^b\)a  
water boil-PST  
‘The water boiled’

5.8.3. Order of postposition and noun phrase

In Kokborok, postpositions follow the noun phrase they occur with, as in example (851-853).

(851) Galak daktor-ni \(l^b\)ani \(l^b\)āj-k\(h\)a  
Galak doctor-GEN to go-PST  
‘Galak went to doctor’
(852) bó lama botok him-o
he road along walk-PRES
‘He walks along the road’

(853) nukʰnəŋ saka tók
roof above bird
‘The bird is on top of the roof’

5.8.4. Order of genitive and noun

The order of genitive or possessive construction in Kokborok is genitive followed by noun i.e., genitive precedes the governing noun as in (854-856).

(854) Holo-ni nok
Holo-GEN house
‘Holo’s house’

(855) cirći-ni tok
child-GEN bird
‘The child’s bird’

(856) Amal-ni yak
Amal-GEN hand
‘Amal’s hand’

In a genitive construction with pronominal possessor, Kokborok places pronominal possessors before the head noun, as given below. It worth mentioning here that as many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Kokborok does not employ separate pronominal words, but use affixes to express possession, as in (857-862).
(857)  
\[ a-ni \quad kamcului \]  
1PM-GEN  shirt  
‘My shirt’

(858)  
\[ ci-ni \quad kami \]  
1PLPM-GEN  village  
‘Our village’

(859)  
\[ ni-ni \quad yar \]  
2 PM-GEN  friend  
‘Your friend’

(860)  
\[ no-rok-ni \quad pun \]  
2 PM-PL-GEN  goat  
‘You (pl) goat’

(861)  
\[ bó-ni \quad nok \]  
he-GEN  house  
‘His house’

(862)  
\[ bó-rok-ni \quad nok \]  
he-PL-GEN  house  
‘Their house’

5.8.5. Order of adjective and noun

In Kokborok, the adjectives usually follow the noun, however adjective may precede the noun as many other SOV languages do as can be seen in (863-868).
(863) *nok* *kotor*
house big
‘Big house’

(864) *kotor* *nok*
big house
‘Big house’

(865) *cibuk* *kolok*
snake long
‘Long snake’

(866) *kolok* *cibuk*
long snake
‘Long snake’

(867) *kamcului* *kičal*
shirt new
‘New shirt’

(868) *borók* *kaham*
person good
‘Good person’

### 5.8.6. Order of demonstrative and noun

Kokborok distinguishes two-way contrast of proximal (towards the speaker) versus and distal (away from the speaker). The demonstrative always precedes the noun as in (869) and (870).
5.8.7. Order of numeral classifier and noun

Like many other classifier languages of South East Asia, the numerals in Kokborok must occur with classifiers, and the numeral classifier follows the noun as in (871-875).

(871) tók ma-sa
   bird  CLF-one
   ‘One bird’

(872) kamcului kən-nui
   shirt  CLF-two
   ‘Two shirts’

(873) borôk kʰorok-tʰam
   person CLF-three
   ‘Three people’

(869) i nok
   this  house
   DEM  N
   ‘This house’

(870) u nok
   that house
   DEM  N
   ‘That house’
5.8.8. Order of relative clause and noun

There are two basic types of relative clause constructions found in languages of the world in which the relative clause follows the noun, and languages in which relative clause precedes the nouns. The relative clause in Kokborok always precedes the noun as in (876-878).

(876) əŋi pori-ma bijap
[I read-NOMZ] book
REL N
‘The book that I am reading’

(877) əŋi sini-ma ciwci
[I knew-NOMZ] child
REL N
‘The child that I knew’

(878) bó bulai-ma borók
[he fight-NOMZ] person
REL N
‘The person that you fought’
5.8.9. Order of degree word and adjective

There are two types of languages in the world in which the degree word precedes the adjective and the other in which degree word follows the adjective. In Kokborok, the degree word precedes the adjective that they modify as in (879-883).

(879) belai kotor
very big
DEG  ADJ
‘Very big’

(880) belai kut'uk
very deep
DEG  ADJ
‘Very deep’

(881) belai hilik
very heavy
DEG  ADJ
‘Very heavy’

(882) belai kicam
very old
DEG  ADJ
‘Very old’
(883) *belai sele*
very lazy
DEG ADJ
‘Very lazy’

5.8.10. Position of polar question morpheme

In Kokborok, the question morpheme occurs at the end of the sentence and it is affixed onto the last word of the sentence as in (884-888).

(884) *ni-ni miη David-da*
2PM-GEN name David-QM
‘Is your name David?’

(885) *Agunti pʰai-kʰ-da*
Agunti come-PST-QM
‘Did Agunti come?’

(886) *núi toŋ-nai-da*
you stay-DEF.FUT-QM
‘Will you stay?’

(887) *oŋ kʰina pʰai-nai-da*
I tomorrow come-DEF.FUT-QM
‘Shall I come tomorrow?’

(888) *núi samñi ioŋ-da man*
you work do-QM can
‘Can you do the work?’
5.8.11. Position of negative morpheme

Negative morpheme in Kokborok as in other Bodo-Garo languages occurs at sentence final position.

(889) *Holo* borók *ham-ya*

Holo person be good-NEG

‘Holo is bad person’ (lit. Holo is not good person)

(890) *bó* pori-*ya*

he read-NEG

‘He does not read’

(891) *bó* daktor-*ya*

he doctor-NEG

‘He is not doctor’

(892) *atη* tini *tʰu-ya*

I today sleep-NEG

‘I did not today’

(893) *bó* tini *səmə* tů-nai-*ya*

he today work do-DEF.FUT.NEG

‘He will not work today’

5.9. Causativization

According to Lakoff’s (1987:54-55) definition of “prototypical causation” the following features can be referred:

Prototypical causation appears to be direct manipulation, which is characterized most typically by the following cluster of interactional properties:
1. There is an agent that does something.
2. There is a patient that undergoes a change to a new state.
3. Properties 1 and 2 constitute a single event; they overlap in time and space; the agent comes in contact with the patient.
4. Part of what the agent does (either the motion or the exercise of will) precedes the change in the patient.
5. The agent is the energy source; the patient is the energy goal; there is a transfer of energy from the agent to the patient.
6. There is a single definite agent and a single definite patient.
7. The agent is human
8. a. The agent wills his action
   b. The agent is in control of his action
   c. The agent bears primary responsibility for both his action and the change.
9. The agent uses his hands, body, or some instrument.
10. The agent is looking at the patient, the change in the patient is perceptible, and the agent perceives the change.

As rightly pointed out by Payne (1997:176), transitive constructions can be formed on the basis of intransitive or transitive caused events. Causative predicates always involve one more arguments than the caused predicate. Therefore, if the caused event is intransitive, then the causative is also transitive. If the caused event is transitive, the causative is bitransitive.

Intransitive cause event

(894)  *Felu  Dulal-no  munui-ri-k’a*

Felu  [Dulal-ACC  laugh-CAUS-PST]

1  2

‘Felu made Dulal laugh’
Transitive caused event

(895) Felu Dulal-no mai ca-ri-kʰa
    Felu [Dulal-ACC rice eat-CAUS-PST]
    1    2    3

‘Felu made Dulal eat rice’

Causatives in Kokborok can be of two types viz. morphological and lexical.

5.9.1. Morphological causatives

Morphological causatives are formed by prefixing $p^hV$, $mV$, $sV$ and by attaching the versatile verb $ri$ ‘give’ to the verb roots. The vowel of causative prefix harmonizes with the vowels of the verb root as can be seen in (896-899). Other than the causative prefixes the causative morpheme $ri$ is very productive as it can be postposed to any verbs as can be seen in (900-902).

(896) bó a-no bi-ni nok $p^h$u-nuk-kʰa
    he  1PM-ACC  3PM-GEN house CAUS-PRF-see-PST
    ‘He showed me his house’

(897) bó bó-no si-kiri-kʰa
    he he-ACC CAUS.PRF-fear-PST
    ‘He frightend him’

(898) ri mi-si-di
    cloth CAUS.PRF-IMP
    ‘Make the cloth wet’

(899) golaw-o tui su-puŋ-di
    pot-loc water CAUS.PRF-IMP
    ‘Fill water in the pot’
(900) bó-no mai ca-ri-di
    he-ACC  rice  eat-CAUS-IMP
    ‘Make him to eat rice’

(901) bó-no him-ri-di
    he-ACC  walk-CAUS-IMP
    ‘Make him to walk’

(902) t’ailik mun-ri-di
    he-ACC  be.ripe-CAUS-IMP
    ‘Make the banana ripe’

5.9.2. Lexical causative

The lexical causative in Kokborok are in suppletive form as compared with their non-causative counterparts as shown in table 10. The verb but’h ‘kill’ and k’hani ‘make drink’ are lexical causative verb as the notion of causation (‘cause to die’) is already present in the lexical lexical of the verb itself (Payne 1997: 177).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non causative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t’ui ‘die’</td>
<td>but’h ‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mmi ‘drink’</td>
<td>k’hani ‘gave/make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>drink’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 Examples showing lexical causatives

(903) mni  amni  but’h-ar-k’h-a
    I    cat     kill-PST
    ‘I killed the cat’
5.9.3. Nominalization of causative verbs

All the causated verbs in Kokborok can be nominalized as given below.

(905) αη  бο-но  туй  κʰανι-αι

I   he-ACC   water   make drink-DEF.FUT

‘I will make him to drink water’

(906) νυη  пʰυ-νυκ-ма  мануи

you  CAUS.PRF-see-NOMZ  thing

‘The thing that you showed’

(907) бο  си-крі-ма  бο-рөк

he  CAUS.PRF-fear-NOMZ  person

‘The person that you frightened’

(908) αη  нө-нө  сәәр-ри-ма  мүй  тʰоқ-κʰа

I  you-ACC  cook-CAUS-NOMZ  curry  be.tasty-PST

‘The curry that I have made you to cook was not tasty’

(909) νυη  сәәнη  κәң-ри-ма  борөк  сәел

you  work  do-CAUS-NOMZ  person  sele

‘The person you made to do the work is lazy’
5.10. Passivization

According to (Siewireska 2005: 343) a construction can be classified as passive if it displays the following five properties:

a. it contrast with another construction, the active;

b. the subject of the active corresponds to a non-obligatory oblique phrase of the passive or is not overtly expressed;

c. the subject of the passive, if there is one, corresponds to the direct object of the active;

d. the construction is pragmatically restricted relative to the active;

e. the construction displays some special morphological marking of the verb.

The passive construction in Kokborok is morphologically marked by the suffix -jak to the verb root followed by a tense marker. Personal passive co-exists with impersonal passive in Kokborok. Personal passive is a passive with an overt lexical subject which are typically seen as involving a process of agent demotion (from subject to oblique role or total suppression) and process of patient promotion (from direct object to subject) as mentioned by Siewierska (2005). An example of personal passive is given in (911) and (913).

(910) *Mothorai* *Tokhiti-no* *kudi-\textsuperscript{h}a*

*Mothorai* *Tokhiti-ACC scold-PST*

‘Mothorai scold Tokhiti’

(911) *Tokhiti* *Mothorai-bai* *kudi-jak-\textsuperscript{h}a*

*Tokhiti* *Mothorai-by scold-PASS-PST*

‘Tokhiti was scolded by Mothorai’
(912)  *cibuk monok-*\(k^h\)a
    cibuk frog swallow-PST
    ‘The snake swallowed frog’

(913) *yongla cibuk-bai monok-*\(j\)ak-*\(k^h\)a
    frog snake-by swallow-PASS-PST
    ‘The frog was swallowed by snake’

Passive clauses which involve only agent demotion is called impersonal passives as given in (916) and (918).

(914) Amal mai *soi-*\(k^h\)a
    Amal rice cook-PST
    ‘Amal cooked rice’

(915) *mai Amal-bai soi-*\(jak\)-*\(k^h\)a
    rice Amal-by cook-PASS-PST
    ‘Rice was cooked by Amal’

(916) mai soi-*\(jak\)-*\(k^h\)a
    rice cook-PASS-PST
    ‘Rice was cooked.’

(917) Muthal doga p\(^h\)iyok-*\(k^h\)a
    Muthal door open-PASS-PST
    ‘Muthal opened the door’

(918) doga p\(^h\)iyok-*\(jak\)-*\(k^h\)a
    door open-PASS-PST
    ‘The door opened’
The passive verb can be interrogated by the question marker -de~da as given below.

(919) \( \text{mai } s\text{on-jak-}k^h\text{a-de} \)
    \( \text{rice } \text{cook-PASS-PST-QM} \)
    ‘Is the rice cooked?’

(920) \( \text{tui } k^h\text{ok-jak-}k^h\text{a-de} \)
    \( \text{water } \text{fetch-PASS-PST-QM} \)
    ‘Is the water fetched?’

5.10.1. Co-occurrence with a modal expressing probability

Kokborok has a modal expression in the suffix that conveys the notion of probability. The modal affix is suffixed to the passive followed by the auxiliary verb.

(921) \( \text{nú} \text{hat}^h\text{iw-o } \text{soli-jak-sai } \text{man-o} \)
    \( \text{you } \text{market-LOC } \text{cheat-PASS-PROB } \text{AUX-PRES} \)
    ‘There is a possibility that you may be cheated in the market’

(922) \( \text{bó } \text{kudi-jak-sai } \text{man-o} \)
    \( \text{he } \text{scold-PASS-PROB } \text{AUX-PRES} \)
    ‘There is a possibility that he may be scolded’

(923) \( \text{Danu } \text{bu-jak-sai } \text{man-o} \)
    \( \text{Danu } \text{beat-PASS-PROB } \text{AUX-PRES} \)
    ‘Danu may be beaten today’
5.11. Types of Sentences

The following types of sentences are found in Kokborok viz. simple, complex and compound sentence.

5.11.1. Simple sentence

A simple sentence in Kokborok consists of only a clause, which may be either verbal or non-verbal as illustrated below.

(924) tokla  koicig-o  
      cock  crow-PRES  
      ‘the cock is crowing’

(925) cirai  him-o  
      child  walk-PRES  
      ‘the child is walking’

(926) bai  t’uw-o  
      elder sister  sleep-PRES  
      ‘elder sister is sleeping’

(927) aη  Amal-no  siniw-o  
      I  Amal-ACC  know-PRES  
      ‘I know Amal’

(928) a-ni  ranη  tong-o  
      1PM-GEN  money  have-PRES  
      ‘I have money’
(929) \(La\ a-no\ ran\ ri-k^h a\)
\(La\ 1PM-DAT\ money\ give-PST\)
‘La gave me money’

(930) \(a\eta\ \bo-no\ th^h ailik\ ca-ri-k^h a\)
\(I\ \he-DAT\ banana\ eat-CAUS-PST\)
‘I made him to eat banana’

5.11.2. Complex sentence

Complex sentence consists of a main clause, with a finite verb, and one or more sub-ordinate clauses with a non-finite verb as illustrated below.

(931) \(tabuk\ p^h ai-nai\ cirii\ a-ni\ p^h n\yn\)
\(now\ come-REL\ child\ 1PM-GEN\ brother\)
‘The person who came now is my younger brother’

(932) \(David\ manui\ pai-na\ l^h ang-o\)
\(David\ thing\ buy-INF\ go-PRES\)
‘David went to buy thing’

(933) \(bo\ tu-ma\ bagoi\ p^h mi\k^h a\)
\(he\ sleep-NOMZ\ because\ fat-PST\)
‘He became fat because of sleeping’

(934) \(Sankar\ tabuk\ p^h ai-na\ hin-oi\ saw-o\)
\(Sankar\ now\ come-INF\ QUOT-CPL\ say-PRES\)
‘Sankar said, he will come now’
5.11.3. Compound sentence

The sentences in Kokborok are conjoined together by using the conjunctive participle -oi. However, the co-ordinator tai is also used to conjoin two or more sentences as illustrated below.

(935) əm  həlCorreo o  təŋ oi  məirən  pai-a
       I   market-LOC  go-CPL  rice  buy-PST

‘I went to market and bought rice’ (lit. having gone to market I bought rice)

(936)  bō hopu  cuwak  məŋ-o  tai  sal-o  walai-o
         he  whole  day  wine  drink-PRES  and  day-LOC  quarrel-PRES

‘He drinks whole night and quarrel at day’

(937)  Rabi-ni  rem  əŋ-o  pəiyaba  aicor  k
       Rabi-GEN  money  have-PRES  but  stingy

‘Rabi has money but he is stingy’

5.12. Kokborok as an SOV language

Like other verb final Tibeto-Burman languages, verbs in Kokborok normally follow the subject and object. The example given below shows that both the subject and object precedes the verb.

5.12.1. Kokborok and the Greenbergian universals

Kokborok as an SOV language conforms to all the characteristics that Greenberg has ascribed to SOV languages.

Universal 1. In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object.
Kokborok conforms *Universal 1* of Greenberg as in a declarative sentence with nominal subject and object, the subject always precedes the object.

(938) David hatʰiₜ-o  tʰąŋ-kʰa
David market-LOC  go-PST
‘David went to market’

(939) Debajit him-kʰa
Debajit walk-PST
‘Debajit walked’

(940) bó  musaw-o
he  dance-PRES
‘He/she dance ’

(941) Amal tui  mniŋ-kʰa
Amal water  drink-PST
‘Amal drunk water’

(942) Motʰorai  pʰai-nai
Mothorai come-DEF.FUT
‘Mothorai will come’

*Universal 4.* With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional.

Like other verb final languages of the world, the adpositions in Kokborok is postpositional.
Universal 7. If in a language with dominant SOV order, there is no alternative basic order, or only OSV as the alternative, then all adverbiaal modifiers of the verb likewise precede the verb. (This is the rigid subtype of III.)

As stated by Greenberg that a language with SOV has an alternative order like OSV. Like other SOV languages, the alternative word order in Kokborok is OSV as exemplified below.
(948) **bó a-no raŋ ri-kʰa**

he 1PM-DAT money give-PST

‘He gave me money.’

(949) **a-no raŋ bó ri-kʰa**

1PM-DAT money he give-PST

‘He gave me money.’

**Universal 9.** With well more than chance frequency, when question particles or affixes are specified in position by reference to the sentence as a whole, if initial, such elements are found in prepositional languages, and, if final, in postpositional.

The question marker in Kokborok occurs in sentence final position, as like other SOV languages do as in (950-954).

(950) **núŋ mai ca-nai-da?**

you rice eat-DEF.FUT-QM

‘Will you eat rice?’

(951) **bó pʰai-ya-da?**

he come-NEG-QM

‘Will he not come?’

(952) **bó tini pʰai-kʰa-da**

he today come-PST-QM

‘Did he come today?’
(953)  *ni-ni  raŋ  kurui-da*
   2PM-GEN  money  NEP-QM
   ‘Don’t you have money?’

(954)  *núŋ  íííí  toŋ-ya-da*
   you today  stay-NEP-QM
   ‘Will you not stay today?’

*Universal 14.* In conditional statements, the conditional clause precedes the conclusion as the normal order in all languages.

The conditional clause in Kokborok precedes the conclusion as most of the other languages do as in (955-959).

(955)  *aŋ  tʰáŋ-kʰai  bó pʰai-nai*
   I  go-COND  he come-DEF.FUT
   ‘If I go he will come’

(956)  *watui  wa-kʰai  kíčaŋ-nai*
   rain  rain-COND  cold-DEF.FUT
   ‘If it rains it will be cold’

(957)  *núŋ  tʰíŋ-kʰai  bó tʰíŋ-gilok*
   you play-COND  he play-NEG
   ‘If you play he won’t play’

(958)  *bó pʰai-ya-kʰai  núŋ  ta-pʰai-di*
   he come-NEG-COND  you  PROH-come-IMP
   ‘Don’t come if he doesn’t come!’
(959) bó ca-kʰai-da núŋ ca-na-ni  
he eat-COND-QM you eat-INF-GEN

‘Will you eat if he eats?’

*Universal 22. If in comparisons of superiority the only order, or one of the alternative orders, is standard-marker-adjective, then the language is postpositional. With overwhelmingly more than chance frequency if the only order is adjective-marker-standard, the language is prepositional.*

Kokborok conforms to Greenberg’s universal 22 as Kokborok follows the order of standard-marker-adjective. The standard marker in Kokborok is *selai* ‘than’ as illustrated below.

(960) Amal-ni selai David kolok  
Amal-GEN than David long

‘David is taller than Amal’

(961) i tʰaicuk-ni selai i tʰaicuk kotor  
DEM mango-GEN than DEM mango big

‘This mango is bigger than this mango’

(962) bó-ni selai bó nai³ok  
she-GEN than she beautiful

‘She is beautiful than her’

(963) gohati-ni selai silchar kaham  
Guwahati-GEN than Silchar good

‘Silchar is better than Guwahati’
(964)  
\[ \text{miya-}ni \quad \text{selai} \quad \text{tini} \quad \text{kicəŋ} \]
yesterday-GEN \quad than \today \quad \text{cold}

‘It is cooler today than yesterday’

Un** universal 27. If a language is exclusively suffixing, it is postpositional; if it is exclusively prefixing, it is prepositional.**

Like other postpositional language Kokborok has affixation with exclusively more suffixes than prefixes. Some of the suffixes include tense, aspect, mood, plural, causative, nominalising suffix etc. as shown in the following examples.

(965)  
\[ \text{tháŋ-}o \]
go-PRES
‘Goes’

(966)  
\[ \text{tháŋ-}nai \]
go-DEF.FUT
‘Will-go’

(967)  
\[ \text{tháŋ-k}h\text{a} \]
go-PST
‘Went’

(968)  
\[ \text{tháŋ-di} \]
go-IMP
‘Go!’

(969)  
\[ \text{nok-} \text{rok} \]
house-PL
‘Houses’
(970)  
\[ \text{him-ri-kha} \]
walk-CAUS-PST
‘Made to walk’

(971)  
\[ \text{t'\textit{ma}} \]
play-NOMZ
‘Playing’

(972)  
\[ \text{ton\textit{ok}}-\text{ma} \]
happy-NOMZ
‘Happiness’

\textit{Universal 36. If a language has the category of gender, it always has the category of number}

Like most of the Tibeto-Burman languages, Kokborok lacks grammatical gender, but has natural gender. Gender distinction of some nouns in Kokborok is made lexically however kin terms have two distinct forms for each sex i.e., male and female.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{camari} ‘son-in-law’</td>
<td>\textit{hamjuk} ‘daughter-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{piyai} ‘paternal aunty’s husband’</td>
<td>\textit{pi} ‘paternal aunty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kicin} ‘boy friend’</td>
<td>\textit{mare} ‘girl friend’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kokborok has two number distinctions viz. singular and plural. Singular is unmarked while plural is marked by the suffixes: -\textit{rok} and -\textit{son}. Animate and inanimate nouns can take the suffix -\textit{rok} to form plural as in (973-975). While -\textit{son} occurs with the kinship nouns and personal names as illustrated in (976-978).
Thus Kokborok conforms to Greenberg’s universal 36 as Kokborok has the category of gender and category of number as many other languages of the world do.
Universal 39. Where morphemes of both number and case are present and both follow or both precede the noun base, the expression of number almost always comes between the noun base and the expression of case.

Like many other SOV languages, both the morphemes and suffixes follow the noun base in which the number comes between the noun base and the expression of case.

(979)  \textit{cir}ii-\textit{rok-bai}  
\begin{verbatim}
child-PL-COM

‘With children’
\end{verbatim}

(980)  \textit{cir}ii-\textit{rok-ni}  
\begin{verbatim}
child-PL-GEN

‘Children’s’
\end{verbatim}

(981)  \textit{cir}ii-\textit{rok-no}  
\begin{verbatim}
child-PL-ACC

‘to children’
\end{verbatim}

(982)  \textit{manui}-\textit{rok-bai}  
\begin{verbatim}
thing-PL-INST

‘With things’
\end{verbatim}

(983)  \textit{Ram}-\textit{so}n\textit{-no}  
\begin{verbatim}
Ram-ASS-ACC

‘To Ram and others’
\end{verbatim}

Universal 40. When the adjective follows the noun, the adjective expresses all the inflectional categories of the noun. In such cases the noun may lack overt expression of one or all of these categories.
As like other SOV languages and Bodo-Garo, the adjectives take all the inflectional categories of the noun when it follows the nouns by lacking the overt expression as shown below.

(984) \( \text{tók} \quad \text{kosom-rok} \)

bird    black-PL

‘Black birds’

(985) \( \text{manui} \quad \text{kolok-bai} \)

thing   long-INST

‘With long thing’

(986) \( \text{tók} \quad \text{kosom-ni} \)

bird    black-GEN

‘Black bird’s’

(987) \( \text{manui} \quad \text{kolok-rok-bai} \)

thing   long-PL-INST

‘With long things’

(988) \( \text{t'ailik} \quad \text{kumun-rok-bai} \)

banana ripe-PL-INST

‘With ripe bananas’

*Universal 41. If in a language the verb follows both the nominal subject and nominal object as the dominant order, the language almost always has a case system.’*

As like other Tibeto-Burman languages, the verbs in Kokborok follow both the nominal subject and the nominal object, that is, both the nominal subject and the nominal object precedes the verbs with various case morphemes.
Universal 42. All languages have pronominal categories involving at least three persons and two numbers.

Like all the languages of the world, Kokborok has pronominal categories showing three way distinctions in person: first, second and third person and showing two way contrast in number i.e., singular and plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Pronominal forms</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>a-, ci-, cu-</td>
<td>aŋ ‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>ni-, nu-, no-, na-</td>
<td>náŋ ‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>bi-, bu-, bo-, ba-</td>
<td>bó ‘he’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 Pronominal categories involving three persons and two number.