5  Verbal Inflections

5.0  Preview

So far we have discussed the process of creating complex stems in Bodo from a simple root. We have seen more than hundred bound lexically very specific suffixes, around a dozen of versatile verbs, and a couple of causative prefixes involved in the process of creating new stems. We can string these affixes together to form stems that compositionally express a whole range of meaning that is generally expressed in languages with separate words and phrases. Once we have the verb stem, what we need is a set of morphemes to affix to the stem in order to use the stem in an independent sentence in the discourse. We will call this set of morphemes inflectional morphemes or verbal inflections. The objective of the current chapter is to explore (i) the range of inflectional morphemes available in Bodo, (ii) their positions with respect to the stem, and (iii) their combinatorial possibilities. We will be primarily concerned with the distribution (position-class) and functions of individual as well as concatenated inflectional morphemes (see below). Prominent among the inflectional morphemes are the TAM markers (i.e. tense, aspect, and mode), mood markers, and various negative markers. We will deal with TAM markers in Section 5.1. Tense, aspect, and mode will be dealt with as separate categories in Sections 5.1.1, 5.1.2, and 5.1.3 respectively. At the same time, the distinction between tense, aspect, and mode is rather artificial and more presentational than categorical. As we will see, there are no separate paradigms for these grammatical categories. Looking at the position-class chart, we will see that markers of each of these grammatical categories are spread over different positions along with morphemes from other categories. In Section 5.2, we will deal with the grammatical category of mood (as distinct from mode). Bodo is particularly rich in coding various types of mood categories on verb, such as various type of imperatives, desiderative, and 'change of state'. After talking about TAM and mood, we will deal with combinatorial possibilities of these affixes and their resultant functions in Section 5.3. The semantic/pragmatic meanings expressed by various combinations of the named categories are very interesting and aptly demonstrate the functional richness of the verbal morphology. We will briefly talk about interrogatives in Section 5.4 just to show that these are not one of the verbal morphological categories in the way the imperative is. In Section 5.5 we will talk about the category of negation. Bodo also has a particularly rich set of negative morphology.
which is sensitive to the TAM semantics. In Section 5.6 we will talk about a few morphemes which, even though they occur on the verb, are never directly attached to the verb stem. Instead, they follow other inflectional morphemes. We will conclude this chapter with a summary in Section 5.7.

5.1 Tense, Aspect, and Mode markers

Tense, aspect, and mode are some of the operations that anchor or ground the information expressed in a clause according to its sequential, temporal, or epistemological orientation. Tense is associated with the sequence of events in real time, aspect with the internal temporal ‘structure’ of a situation, while mode relates the speaker’s attitude toward the situation or the speaker’s commitment to the probability that the situation is true (Payne 1997: 234). While the use of the terms tense and aspect is relatively straightforward, various terms are used to refer to what we are calling mode, such as mood and modality. However, we will draw a distinction between mode and mood here. We will use the terms mode to refer to “the speaker’s attitude toward a situation, including the speaker’s belief in its reality, or likelihood” (Payne 1997: 244). Under this category we will mostly talk about realis and irrealis modes, and its various types such as hypothetical, counterfactual mode, and so on. The term mood, on the other hand, will be used to refer to various types of speech-acts, such as indicative and imperative sentences, and their sub-types (cf Lyons 1977: 725-45). No reference will be made to the term modality in this work.

In the discussion of the TAM suffixes, the primary function is sometimes found to be accompanied by some additional function carried by that suffix. In such situations, the formal context where these secondary functions are found has been specified as far as possible. Additional sentence material presenting a supporting context for the item (form/function) under discussion is provided where necessary. The combination of grammatically/semantically compatible TAM morpheme sequences will be considered in the relevant sections.

The TAM suffixes in Bodo can be discussed under three headings as:

a) Tense suffixes
b) Aspect suffixes
c) Mode suffixes

5.1.1 Tense suffixes
There are two tense suffixes in Bodo, namely, the past tense suffix -mum and the future tense suffix -gum. Both have additional non-tense functions. There is no dedicated morpheme to indicate a present time. An additional morpheme -gou codes events which are imminent. We will call this immediate future form.

5.1.1.1 Past tense suffix -mum

The suffix -mum adds a sense of past time to event or state of the non-verbal clauses or independent clauses with nominalized verbs. It has other functions depending on its distribution. First, it adds a sense of counter-factuality when it is used in verbal clauses all by itself (i.e. without other inflectional suffixes) in an imperative clause with a second person subject. We will describe this use as the irrealis use of -mum (see below). Second, it indicates past-time in verbal clauses, when it follows the realis morpheme -daug or the habitual -at (see below for details). Finally, the suffix -mum expresses several other irrealis functions and/or politeness when it is combined with other inflectional suffixes, which we will talk about under the concatenation of TAM (Section 5.4) below. In the present section, we will illustrate the past-tense use of -mum with non-verbal and nominalized clauses.

5-1 (a) mansi-a muzan.
man-SUB good
‘The man is good.’

(b) mansi-a muzan-mum.
man-SUB good-PAST
‘The man was good.’

(c) be-jiu zibou-mum.
that-SUB snake-PAST
‘That was a snake.’
All of the above clauses are non-verbal clauses with nominal or adjectival predicates. The morpheme -mum adds a sense of past time in the above clauses.

The suffix -mum adds a sense of past-time all by itself to independent clauses which are derived through nominalization marked with the nominalizer -nai. The nominalizing function of the morpheme -nai is illustrated by the Examples in (5-2), (5-3) and (5-4).

5-2  be  na-ja  tʰu-i-nai.
     this   fish-SUB  die-NMLZ
     ‘This fish is dead.’

5-3  [aŋ-ni  san-nai-k⁰ou]  bi  muzag  mum-duŋ.
     1SG-GEN  think-NMLZ-OBJ  3SG  good  get-REAL
     ‘He liked my idea.’

Example (5-2) is a non-verbal clause with the deverbal adjective marked with the nominalizer -nai. Example (5-3) is a transitive clause with a complement cause, marked with the nominalizer -nai, functioning as the object of muzag mum ‘like/love’. In both examples, it is -nai that allows the verbs or the clause to function as a nominal expression.

The following independent clauses are derived through nominalization. These clauses still have the quality of nominal expressions in that the morpheme -mum adds a past time meaning instead of a counterfactual meaning, which is what we find on verbal clauses.

5-4  (a)  aŋ  mui-a  tʰai-zou  za-nai-mum.
     1SG  yesterday  mango  eat-NMLZ-PAST
     ‘I ate a mango yesterday.’

          (b)  muaŋ  mbla  pʰu-i-nai-mum.
     2SG  when  come-NMLZ-PAST
     ‘When did you come?’

5.1.1.2 Future tense suffix -gum
The suffix -gun which is attached directly to the verb stem, functions as a future tense marker, and is used to express future events and to make predictions, as illustrated below.

5-5  (a)  \textit{ag \textit{t}^b\textit{aγ-gum.}}

1SG  go-FUT

‘I will go.’

(b)  \textit{gabun \textit{ok}^b\textit{a ha-gum.}}

tomorrow  rain  rain-FUT

‘It will rain tomorrow.’

The morpheme -gun takes a case marker when the clause containing the verb to which -gun is attached functions as a complement or adverbial modifier within another clause with very high frequency. Other inflectional suffixes also take case markers, but this is comparatively rare. Consider the following examples.

5-6  (a)  \textit{[nuŋ \textit{p}^b\textit{uui-gum-k}^b\textit{ou]} \textit{ag \textit{mit}^b\textit{i-a-mum.}}}

2SG  come-FUT-OBJ  1SG  know-NEG-PAST

‘I didn’t know that you would come.’

(b)  \textit{[bi-sur \textit{t}^b\textit{aγ-gum-ao]} zuŋ manu \textit{t}^b\textit{aγ-bao-nu?}}

3-PL  go-FUT-LOC  1PL  why  go-again-INT

‘Since they are going, why do we go (there) again?’

(c)  \textit{[nuŋ-ni zuli za-gum-a] muija zuŋ-n-ao \textit{p}^b\textit{uui-duŋ-mum.}}

2SG-GEN  marriage  be-FUT-SUB  yesterday  1PL-GEN-LOC  come REAL-PAST

‘(The person) you are going to wed came to our house yesterday.’

The subordinate clause with -gun in (5-6a) functions as an object complement and is marked with the object marker -k\textit{kou} Similarly, the -gun marked clause in (5-6b) functions as a reason adverbial and is marked with the locative -\textit{ou}. The -gun marked clause in (5-6c) functions as a subject complement and is marked with the subject marker -\textit{a}. 
5.1.3  Immediate -gou

This suffix has the sense of immediacy, indicating that something is going to happen imminently. We gloss it as IMM(ediative).

5-7  bi  pʰui-gou.

3SG  come-IIM

‘He is coming.’

The above sentence indicates that the agent is already on his way and would arrive soon.

The morpheme -gou has a couple of other functions. First, it is an affirmative marker for some verbs, as discussed in Section 5.2.1 below. Second, it is a desiderative marker, discussed in Section 5.2.3 below.

5.1.2  Aspect suffixes

There are two aspect suffixes, namely, habitual -tu and perfect -bai  It was mentioned in Chapter 4, Section 4.1.4 that aspectual meanings are also encoded by adverbial suffixes, such as zuub ‘completive’, kʰaŋ ‘perfective’. However, they are not a part of the inflectional system of the language.

5.1.2.1  Habitual/Generic -tu

The morpheme -tu is a first positional inflectional suffix, i.e. no other inflectional or TAM suffix can precede it. Morphologically and semantically, it is the least marked of the inflectional suffixes. The morpheme -tu denotes a generic or habitual event – how things are in general, how they work in general in the discourse world of the interlocutors. Thus, this morpheme is used in expressing ‘universal truths’, known habits, established conventions, schedules, and so on. We gloss it as HAB(itual).

5-8  mansi-a  tʰuij-u.

man  die-HAB

‘Human beings die.’

5-9  bi  bizab  li-r-u.

3SG  book  write-HAB
‘S/he writes books.’

5-10  skul-a  gu  basi-jao  kʰuli-juw.
school-SUB  nine  o’clock-LOC  open-HAB

‘The school opens at nine.’

5-11  howasa-ja  hinzausa-kʰou  haba  kʰalam-uu.
young.man-SUB  young.woman-OBJ  marry  do-HAB

‘Man marries woman.’

5-12  be  sinima-jao  ektor-a  tʰwei-juu.
this  movie-LOC  protagonist  die-HAB

‘In this movie, the protagonist dies.’

The above sentences express not any specific event but states of affair that the speaker believes to generally hold true. The morpheme -ur also has another function namely, affirmative marking. This is taken up in Section 5.2.1 below.

5.1.2.2 Perfect -bai

The inflectional morpheme -bai has a privative relationship with the realis morpheme -duŋ (see Section 5.1.3.1). Both of these morphemes code an event which has taken place in the discourse world indicating that it is either completed or ongoing or has just started. In addition, the morpheme -bai has a sense of ‘present relevance’. Compare the following examples.

5-13  aŋ  bizab-kʰou  pʰu-zub-bai.
1SG  book-OBJ  CAUS-finish-PERF

‘I have finished (writing) the book.’

5-14  aŋ  bizab-kʰou  da-su  pʰu-zub-duŋ.
1SG  book-OBJ  now-CONTR  CAUS-finish-REAL

‘I finished (writing) the book.’
Example (5-13) is marked with the perfect -bai, and Example (5-14) is marked with the realis -duŋ. Both sentences express an event which is completed before the time of speech. The only difference is that in the former there is an implicature that now I am free to do something else or now I can go ahead and publish the book, or something of the sort. On the other hand, in the latter, there is no such implicature. It simply asserts that the event of writing the book is completed without having any consequence for the present.

Like -duŋ, the perfect morpheme -bai also can be used to code events which are simultaneous with the act of speaking. Compare the following pair of examples. The discourse context for the following examples is this – the agent participants/speakers of the following examples have been asked to do something; they refuse to carry out the action on the excuse that they are taking meal, i.e. the event coded with -duŋ / -bai.

5-15  aj  uŋkʰam  za-duŋ  tʰag-nu  ha-ja.
     1SG  rice    eat-REAL  go-INF    can-NEG
     ‘I am having my meal, I cannot go.’

5-16  aj  uŋkʰam  za-bai  tʰag-nu  ha-ja/la.
     1SG  rice    eat-PERF  go-INF    can-NEG/not.anymore
     ‘I am having my meal; I cannot go/go anymore.’
     ‘I have started having my meal; I cannot go/go anymore.

In both examples, the act of eating has been given as an excuse for not going to someplace. The most natural interpretation of the former example is that the act of eating is simultaneous with the act of speaking. In the latter example also, the act of eating is simultaneous with the act of speaking, although an alternative interpretation that the act of eating precedes the act of speaking is equally possible. In any event, in both examples the ongoing engagement with eating, which is simultaneous with the act of speaking, is presented as an excuse for not going to someplace. However, there is a difference in implicature – in the latter example there is a sense that the speaker/agent had the intention to go to the directed location, whereas in the former example there is no such sense. In other words, it is not obvious in the former example whether the speaker/agent would have gone to the directed place if he were not taking his meal. However, it is made obvious in the latter example that the speaker would have gone to the directed location if he was not taking his meal. Thus, the act of taking meal does make a difference in the latter sentence,
while it does not make much of a difference in the former sentence (because the intention is not obvious). This is where the sense of ‘relevance’ comes in.

5.1.3 Mode

We define mode as “the speaker’s attitude toward a situation, including the speaker’s belief in its reality, or likelihood” (Payne 1977: 244). In this section we will talk about the realis morpheme -\textit{duŋ}, one of the most frequent inflectional morphemes, and the irrealis morpheme -\textit{mum}, which we have already seen as a past tense marker. Additional types of modal semantics are expressed through concatenation of the future morpheme -\textit{guun} and concatenation of the irrealis morpheme -\textit{mum} with other inflectional morphemes. We will deal with these modal expressions under the section of concatenation of TAM (5.4) below.

5.1.3.1 Realis -\textit{duŋ}

The suffix -\textit{duŋ} (-\textit{du} in some dialects) is clearly related to the locative-existential copula \textit{dog} (see Section 5.2.1). However, synchronically it is a distinct morpheme and occurs as a suffix. It is a first position inflectional suffix. This suffix codes an event which has either already taken place, in recent or remote past, or is taking place at the time of speaking. The following sentence (5-17) is ambiguous with respect to time and its internal temporal state (i.e. whether the action is ongoing or over).

5-17 (a) \textit{got\textquotesingle o-a gab-\textit{duŋ}.}

child-SUB cry-REAL

‘The child is crying.’

‘The child cried.’

Thus, we can use the above sentence in two different situations – (i) a person can report a child crying at the time of speech, as shown in (5-18), or (ii) before the time of speech as in (5-19) below, using the above sentence.

5-18 \textit{got\textquotesingle o-a gab-\textit{duŋ}, gaik\textquotesingle er dou-p\textquotesingle tai.}

child-SUB cry-REAL milk feed-come

‘The child is crying, come and feed (him/her) milk.’

5-19 \textit{got\textquotesingle o-a gab-\textit{duŋ}, muijja bizi su-nai-jao.}
child-SUB  cry-REAL  yesterday injection inject-NMLZ-LOC
‘The child cried yesterday when the injection was given.’

What is common between the two events above is not the relative time of action or the internal temporal state, but the fact that the action of crying has taken place in the discourse world. This kind of semantic behaviour fits the definition of a realis marker (Comrie 1985:39-40; Payne (1997:244)).

5.1.3.2 Irrealis -mum

When we use the past morpheme -mum as a first position inflection on the verb stem (not necessarily the verb root), it contributes a counterfactual interpretation of an event, as illustrated by the following examples.

5-20  mun  pʰui-mum.
   2SG  come-IRREAL
‘You should have come.’ (but you didn’t)

In (5-20), -mum is directly attached to the verb stem, and we have a counterfactual event, i.e. an event that would/should have taken place in an alternative discourse world. This use of -mum is however limited to second person subject imperative only. We cannot say the following.

5-21  *aŋ  pʰui-mum.
   1SG  come-IRREAL
5-22  *bi  pʰui-mum.
   3SG  come-IRREAL

5.2 Mood suffixes

So far we have talked about inflectional suffixes which are primarily found in indicative sentences (especially declarative sentences) in Bodo. However none of those particularly mark the type of speech-act carried out by the sentences. In this section, we will deal with the verbal morphology that particularly encodes the type of speech-act carried out by particular sentence, such as command, request, affirmation, negation, interrogation, and so on. We will call these morphemes Mood suffixes. We will start with affirmative and
negative marking and deal with imperatives, desideratives, and interrogatives subsequently.

5.2.1 Affirmative marking

There are two affirmative markers, which have other functions elsewhere. The morpheme -\textit{ut}, which we have seen as habitual, does not add any specific meaning other than standing in opposite semantic relation to the negative -\textit{a}, when it occurs with the existential copula/auxiliary -\textit{doŋ}. It is optional for some speakers. Consider the following examples.

5-23 \textit{bi no-ao doŋ-ut.}  
3SG house-LOC exist-AFF  
‘S/he is at home.’

5-24 \textit{bi no-ao gui-ja.}  
3SG house-LOC not.exist-NEG  
‘S/he is not at home.’

Another affirmative marker is -\textit{gou}, which also has several other functions (or the form which is homophonous to it). The morpheme -\textit{gou} functions as an affirmative marker when it occurs with the equational copula \textit{naŋ} and four other verbs with modal meaning \textit{naŋ} ‘need/want’, \textit{ha} ‘can’, \textit{ruŋ} ‘know.how’, and \textit{mit}/\textit{mint}/\textit{bį} ‘know’. It is also semantically empty just like -\textit{ut} with these verbs. Consider the following pairs of examples.

5-25 (a) \textit{bi muzaŋ naŋ-gou.}  
3SG good COP-AFF  
‘S/he is good.’

(b) \textit{bi muzaŋ naŋ-a.}  
3SG good COP-NEG  
‘S/he is not good.’

5-26 (a) \textit{naŋ-nu rŋ naŋ-gou.}  
1SG-DAT money want-AFF
‘I want money.’

(b) *aj sansri-nu ha-gou.

1SG swim-INF can-AFF

‘I can swim.’

(c) bi injis raŋ-gou.

3SG English know-AFF

‘He knows English.’

The copula noŋ and the verb naŋ ‘need’ cannot take the form -ut at all (either habitual -ut or affirmative -ut), as shown in (5-27a & b). The verbs ha ‘can’, raŋ ‘know.how’ and mint’h ‘know’ can take both the affirmative -gou and the habitual form -ut as illustrated in (5-28).

5-27 (a) *bi muznaŋ noŋ-ut.

3SG good COP-AFF/HAB

‘Intended meaning: S/he is good.’

(b) *aj-nu raŋ naŋ-ut.

1SG-DAT money need-AFF/HAB

‘Intended meaning: I need money.’

5-28 (a) aj sansri-nu ha-jiu.

1SG swim-INF can-HAB

‘I can swim.’

(b) aj sansri-nu ha-gou.

1SG swim-INF can-AFF

‘I can swim.’

5.2.2 Negation

Another set of verbal inflection is the negative affixes. There are four of these affixes in Bodo – one prefix and three suffixes. The basic negative form is the negative morpheme -a suffixed to the verb stem. The negative imperative da- (5.2.2.1) is used as a prefix. Two
other negative forms have specific aspecl values: -dia ‘past negative’, -ak^ui ‘negative perfect’ and -lia ‘not anymore’ discussed in the Sections (5.2.2.3), (5.2.2.4) and (5.2.2.5) respectively. All of these forms are obviously etymologically composite forms, consisting of negative -a and another tense or aspect suffixes. All negative morphemes are first position inflectional morphemes. We will describe each of them in turn below.

5.2.2.1 Prefix da- ‘imperative prohibitive’

The imperative prohibitive form stands outside the general morphological pattern of the finite verb in that it is the only productive prefix in the language. We will gloss it as PROH(itive). The imperative is the bare, unaffixed stem as in (5-29).

5-29 t^aŋ ‘go!’

The prohibitive or negative imperative is indicated by the prefix da- illustrated by the examples in 5-30.

5-30 (a) da-t^aŋ.

PROH-go
‘Don’t go!’

(b) dusto da-k^alam.
aughty PROH-do
‘Don’t be naughty!’

5.2.2.2 Negative suffix -a/-uai

Simple negation is marked by the first-position inflectional suffix -a. This is the semantically least marked negation in that all other negative forms that we will talk below also have some additional temporal or aspectual meaning. This negative morpheme is used to negate habitual/generic and future events. In other words, a negative sentence is ambiguous between a negation of a habitual event and a future event. Consider the following example.

5-31 aŋ skul-ao t^aŋ-a.

1SG school-LOC go-NEG
‘I do not go to school.’
‘I will not go to school.’

In Example (5-31), either the speaker has never been to a school, or s/he will not go to school in future.

We do not find the negative -a in a particular type of subordinate clauses, namely those that take case markers, especially in the standard dialect (see Chapter 7, Section 7.2.1). These clauses include relative clauses (see Chapter 7, Section 7.2.4) and some adverbial clauses (see Chapter 7, Section 7.2.1.2). The negative form found in such subordinate clauses is -tui. Consider the following examples.

5-32  
dohai  \(p^hui\)-tui-ja  da  manu  \(p^hui\)-k\(h\)u?
that.time  come-NEG-SUB  now  why  come-Q
‘You said (you) wouldn’t come, but now why have (you) come?’

5-33  
bi  \(p^hui\)-tui-jao  a\(g\)  ese  duk\(h\)u  mum-bai.
3SG  come-NEG-LOC  1SG  little.bit  sadness  get-PERF
‘I am a bit hurt because he did not come.’

5-34  
bi  \(p^hui\)-tui-ni  a\(g\)  birat  raga  zua\(n\)-bai.
3SG  come-NEG-GEN  1SG  lot  anger  light-PERF
‘I got very angry because he did not come.’

5.2.2.3  Negative suffix -dia ‘past negative’

In some dialects we find a suffix -dia ‘not anymore’ with past reference as illustrated in 5-35. We gloss it as DISCON(tinuative). Compare it with -lia in Section 5.2.2.4.

5-35  
bi  t\(a\)g-dia.
3SG  go-DISCON
‘He did not go anymore.’

In varieties where this is not used, speakers would instead use the form t\(a\)g-a-stui ‘go-NEG-CS’

5.2.2.4  -ak\(h\)ui ‘realis/perfect negative’
The morpheme -akʰui is the negative equivalent of realis -daug and perfect -bai. The combined suffix carries the sense of ‘have/has not’, as illustrated in 5-36. We gloss it as NEG.PERF.

5-36  aj  waŋkʰam  za-jakʰui.
1SG  rice  eat-NEG.PERF
I haven’t eaten rice yet.’

5.2.2.5  -lia ~ -la ‘not still, won’t anymore’

The sense of this suffix is that the situation denoted by the verb was formerly true, but is no longer; it is roughly equivalent to English not anymore as shown in Example 5-37. We gloss it as DISCON(tinuative).

5-37  aj  tʰaj-lia.
1SG  go-DISCON
‘I’m not going to go anymore.’

5-38  bi-ɯ  da  zobra  noŋ-lia.
3SG-SUB  now  sick  COP-DISCON
‘Now he’s not sick anymore.’

Example 5-38 explicitly implies that the subject was previously sick, in contrast to 5-39 below, with the simple negative, which is a simple statement about the present, with no implications about any past state:

5-39  be  dao-wa  zobra  noŋ-a.
this  chicken-SUB  sick  COP-NEG
‘This chicken is not sick.’ (i.e., do not misinterpret its peaked appearance…)

5.2.3  Imperatives

A basic imperative sentence in Bodo consists of an unmarked verbal stem. However, there are several imperative forms in Bodo that either (i) add an additional shade of meaning, or
(ii) is specific to the person of the subject, or (iii) has to do with politeness. The following sections present the various imperative forms.

5.2.3.1 Second person imperatives -dual, -lai, and -nai

The suffix -dual is used with a second person imperative sentence to give a command. However, this form has an additional entailment that there is a change of some sort in the discourse world which, according to the speaker’s judgment, would allow the addressee to carry out the command. Compare the following examples.

5-40 nunu dual.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>go-IMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘You go.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5-41 nunu dual-dual.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>go-IMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘You go (now).’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (5-40) entails that something has taken place before the speaker asked the addressee to leave, which has encouraged him to give the command. We can use Example (5-41) in contexts such as the following – a meeting between the speaker and the addressee is over and thus the addressee is free to go; or a visit from the addressee has come to an end and s/he is taking a leave, and so on. In all these situations, something has happened, such as the closure of a meeting or the end of visit, which allows the addressee to leave. This is what is indicated in an imperative sentence with a verb form marked with dual. We do not have any such entailment in (5-40).

Two additional suffixes are found in a second person imperative sentence, namely -lai and -nai. Both of these forms add a sense of politeness to a command. The exact semantic difference between these two morphemes is very subtle. Moreover, they are interchangeable. The only noticeable difference is that -nai is restricted to certain dialects, such as Kamrupia. Consider the following examples.

5-42 ai-n-aos pʰaiwa bi-lai.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mother-GEN-LOC</th>
<th>money</th>
<th>ask.for-IMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘(You) please ask some money from mother.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5-43  uwun  pʰwi-nai.
this.side  come-IMP
'(You) please come here (this side).'

5.2.3.2 Jussive -ni

The morpheme -ni occurs with 1st person subjects to indicate intention or volunteering to
do a task. We will call it a jussive mood marker, although the term jussive, even in a
narrow sense, is usually employed to refer to both first person and third person
'imperatives'.

5-44  aŋ  tʰaŋ-ni.
1SG  go-JUS
'Let me go! (volunteering)'
'I am gonna go.'

The above sentence can be used in a situation in which the speaker aŋ ‘I’ volunteers to go
someplace, or expresses his/her intention to go someplace. The morpheme -nu has an
allophonic variation -ni which occurs when there is another suffix following, such as -
num ‘past’.

5-45  aŋ  tʰaŋ-nu-num.
1SG  go-JUS-about.to
'I could leave (if there is nothing else to say/do).'

The above sentence is a polite way of expressing ones intention to leave, by indicating that
s/he is making sure that s/he is no longer wanted/needed. The form -nu also occurs with
2nd person subjects in questions, where it is the addressee’s intention which is in question:

5-46  num  tʰaŋ-nuna?na
2SG  go-INT    INTER
'Will you go?' (Do you intend to go?)
We cannot use this form with 2\textsuperscript{nd} or 3\textsuperscript{rd} person subject imperatives; hence the following utterances are ungrammatical.

5-47  *\textit{num} t\textsuperscript{h}aŋ-\textit{ni}/nuu.

2SG go-INT

‘Intended meaning: You go!’

5-48  *\textit{bi} t\textsuperscript{h}aŋ-\textit{ni}/nuu.

3SG go-INT

‘Intended meaning: Let him go!’

5.2.2.3 Jussive -\textit{dini} /-\textit{duni}

We find both of the imperative suffixes mentioned above, namely the second person imperative -\textit{duu}, and the jussive -\textit{ni}, combined into a single form, i.e. -\textit{dini} or \textit{duni}. The second person imperative -\textit{duu} is not used with the first person subject all by itself, as shown in (5-49). Therefore, we are treating -\textit{dini} /-\textit{duni} as a single form coding the first person jussive, instead of a concatenation of two TAM suffixes -\textit{duu} and -\textit{ni}. The meaning of the composite morpheme can be composed (partially) out of the meanings of the individual morphemes. While the morpheme -\textit{duu} adds the sense that there is some sort of change in the discourse world, the morpheme -\textit{ni} adds the sense of intention, as in 5-50.

5-49  *\textit{an} t\textsuperscript{h}aŋ-\textit{duu}.

1SG go-IMP

5-50  \textit{an} t\textsuperscript{h}aŋ-\textit{duni}/\textit{dini}.

1SG go-IMP

‘I am going to leave (now).’

Example (5-49) shows the ungrammaticality of the use of -\textit{duu} with a first person subject all by itself. Example (5-50) shows the use of -\textit{duu} and -\textit{ni} as a single morpheme. The morpheme -\textit{dini} /-\textit{duni} in Example (5-50) denotes that the speaker \textit{an} ‘I’ is expressing his intention to leave. It also has the sense that something has changed in the discourse world which enables/encourages the speaker to leave, such as change in time, change in interest,
and so on. For instance, we can use this sentence in contexts like the following – I am waiting for someone, but the person did not show up on time; then I can say use this sentence to say that I am going to leave. This context involves (i) intention to leave and (ii) change in the discourse world i.e., that the time of meeting has come and gone.

5.2.3.4 Optative \(-t^{h}uŋ\)

This suffix has two distinct senses – command or demand and wish. As a command, \(-t^{h}uŋ\) can be described as a **third person imperative form**, which codes a command as transmitted indirectly through an intermediary to a third person participant. The following example can be used as a directive for someone to go to the market sent via another person (the addressee).

5-51  \(bi\)  \(hat^{h}ai-jao\)  \(t^{h}aŋ-t^{h}uŋ.\)

3SG  market-LOC  go-OPT

‘Let/ask him (to) go to the market.’

We can use the same morpheme to code a wish. When it codes a wish, this morpheme can occur with subjects in any person (not just the third). Consider the following examples.

5-52  \(bi\)  \(t^{h}ui-t^{h}uŋ.\)

3SG  die-OPT

‘I wish he were dead.’

5-53  \(zuŋ\)  \(derha-t^{h}uŋ.\)

1PL  victory-OPT

‘I wish we were victorious.’

5.2.4 Desiderative \(-gou\)

This suffix has the sense of ‘want to’, ‘wish’, ‘desire’, etc. We gloss it as DESID(ervative). This suffix is homophonous with immediate future \(-gou\) (see Section 5.1.1.3 above), and the affirmative \(-gou\) (see Section 5.2.1).

5-54  \(aŋ\)  \(za-gou.\)

1SG  eat-DESID

‘I would eat.’ (a desire)
The sentences containing the desiderative -gou in Bodo are inherently conditional. Thus it is implicit in the above example that there is a condition ‘if I get food’.

5.2.5 Change of state -sui

The morpheme -sui denotes that an event did not take place with any regularity previously, but now it does. -sui occur directly suffixed to the verb stem, though it may also be preceded by other TAM affixes. We gloss -sui as CS (change of state).

5-55 bi dana t'abai-jut-sui.

3SG nowadays walk-HAB-CS

‘Nowadays he walks.’

The above sentence implies that the agent participant did not walk regularly before, and probably used some other means to commute instead.

5-56 at'ik'bal-ao hinzaosa huwasa zebu p'arag gui-jà-lasiniu

nowadays girl boy anything difference not.exist-NEG-SUBORD

mump'rum-bu ruk'rum-ni suhuq'tai-ni gijan-k'ou

everything-also kind-GEN education-GEN knowledge-OBJ

got'p'ur-nu huu-nai za-jut-sui.

child-PL-DAT give-NMLZ be-HAB-CS

‘Today all sorts of educational values are given without making any distinction between boys and girls.’ [945: 2.17]

Example 5-56 implies that in the past, distinctions were made between boys and girls while pursuing certain disciplines in education, but nowadays these distinctions no longer exist.

5.2.6 Interrogatives

There are several interrogative morphemes used in yes-no questions in Bodo, such as -na, -nama, -da, -se, and so on. However, they are not part of the verbal morphology. Rather, they are free sentential particles. These will be dealt with in greater detail in a following chapter (Chapter 7). In the present instance, the following examples will suffice to show their use.
5-57  (a) laodum-a tʰan-gum na ?
PN-SUB go-FUT Q
‘Will Laodum go?’

(b) nuŋ be-kʰouza-juu ne ?
2SG this-OBJ eat-HABQ
‘Do you eat this?’

(c) be mansi nama ?
this man Q
‘Is this a person?’

5.3  Non-core verbal morphology

All verbal morphology we have discussed so far can occur directly on the verb stem, in one function or another. The verbal morphology to be taken up for discussion in this section is distinct from the rest dealt with so far in that it cannot occur directly on the verb stem. The following morphemes require an inflected verb form. In this sense they are not ‘inflectional’ morphemes since they do not turn a bare stem into a useable predicator in a predication. Nevertheless, since they occur typically on the verb, we are going to treat them under the heading of non-core verbal morphology.

5.3.1  Dubitative -daŋ

The morpheme -daŋ (-zaŋ in Kamrupia variety) expresses doubt, probability, or uncertainty. -daŋ follows other TAM suffixes, as shown in 5-58. We gloss this marker also as DUB(itative).

5-58  bi-sur tʰan-bai-daŋ.
3-PL go-PERF-DUB
‘They have probably left.’

We find -daŋ on the non-verbal predicates as well, as illustrated in 5-59.

5-59  be su ima-daŋ.
this dog-DUB
‘This is probably a dog.’
5.3.2 Quotative -\textit{nu}\textit{u}

This suffix is used to indicate hearsay, and follows a tense-aspect or a negative suffix. Like dubitative -\textit{daj}, this morpheme also cannot occur directly on the verb stem; it occurs only on inflected verbal stem.

5-60 \textit{alasi} \textit{p\textsuperscript{b}u\textit{i}-\textit{dum\textit{u}-nu}}.

\textit{guest come-REAL-QUOT}

'(I) heard that some guests have arrived.'

5.3.3 Precative -\textit{zen}

This suffix expresses the sense of an earnest request. It is always preceded by -\textit{j\textit{w}} that carries the default ‘habitual’ sense. We gloss it as \textsc{precative}.

5-61 \textit{nu\textit{u}nt\textsuperscript{b}a\textit{g}-\textit{a} \textit{ag-ni} \textit{aroz-k\textsuperscript{b}ou} \textit{k\textsuperscript{b}unason-\textit{u}-zen}}.

3SG.HON-SUB 1SG-GEN prayer-OBJ listen-HAB-\textsc{prec}

'I wish you listen to my prayers.'

5.4 Concatenation of inflectional/TAM suffixes

By concatenation of inflectional suffixes we mean the combination of two or more of these suffixes in a sequence. TAM and Mood suffixes can be concatenated up to a sequence of three to create a more complex temporal, aspectual and/or modal meaning. We have seen above that most of the inflectional morphemes are first position inflectional morphemes (on the stem, not necessarily on the root). But, there are a few which can be either a first position or a second or a third position inflectional morpheme. In each position they have a distinct function. For example, as a first position morpheme, -\textit{gun} codes a future time meaning, but as a third position morpheme it codes dubitative meaning. Before we talk about concatenations, we present the position class chart for the inflectional morphemes below.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Table 5.1}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Relative positions of the inflectional affixes} & \textbf{Example} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1:</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>1: TAM and Mood</th>
<th>2: Past, change of state</th>
<th>3: Counterfactual, dubitative, polite</th>
<th>4: Non-core verb morphology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>do-</td>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>&quot;prohibitive&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-num</td>
<td>'past' (on nonverbal predicate)</td>
<td>-num</td>
<td>'past' (on verbal clauses)</td>
<td>-num</td>
<td>'dubitative' (on verbal clauses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-num</td>
<td>'future'</td>
<td>-num</td>
<td>'change of state'</td>
<td>-num</td>
<td>'dubitative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gou</td>
<td>'immediate future'</td>
<td>-gou</td>
<td>'change of state'</td>
<td>-gou</td>
<td>'dubitative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ux</td>
<td>'habitual/generic'</td>
<td>-ux</td>
<td>'habitual/generic'</td>
<td>-ux</td>
<td>'habitual/generic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bai</td>
<td>'perfect'</td>
<td>-bai</td>
<td>'perfect'</td>
<td>-bai</td>
<td>'perfect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-day</td>
<td>'reals'</td>
<td>-day</td>
<td>'reals'</td>
<td>-day</td>
<td>'reals'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-num</td>
<td>'irreals' (on verbal predicate)</td>
<td>-num</td>
<td>'irreals' (on verbal predicate)</td>
<td>-num</td>
<td>'irreals' (on verbal predicate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-duu</td>
<td>'imperative.type'</td>
<td>-duu</td>
<td>'imperative.type'</td>
<td>-duu</td>
<td>'imperative.type'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lai</td>
<td>'polite imperative'</td>
<td>-lai</td>
<td>'polite imperative'</td>
<td>-lai</td>
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<td>-naa</td>
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<td>-naa</td>
<td>'polite imperative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n'</td>
<td>'jussive'</td>
<td>-n'</td>
<td>'jussive'</td>
<td>-n'</td>
<td>'jussive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dum</td>
<td>'jussive'</td>
<td>-dum</td>
<td>'jussive'</td>
<td>-dum</td>
<td>'jussive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-l'un</td>
<td>'optative'</td>
<td>-l'un</td>
<td>'optative'</td>
<td>-l'un</td>
<td>'optative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gou</td>
<td>'desiderative'</td>
<td>-gou</td>
<td>'desiderative'</td>
<td>-gou</td>
<td>'desiderative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>'negative'</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>'negative'</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>'negative'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this section our goal is (i) to show which combinations of the inflectional affixes are possible and which are impossible (grammatically, not just semantically) and (ii) to describe the function of the various concatenations. Most concatenations have transparent compositional meaning, but some are not quite so. We are going to organize various concatenations of the inflectional suffixes into a few groups based on the final inflectional suffix. The categories discussed under non-core verbal morphology are not being considered as part of the concatenations because their meanings are always transparent, and they can be attached to any sequence provided they are semantically compatible. The grouping of the concatenations is based on semantic grounds. Thus, we can characterize the group of concatenations
with the semantics of the final suffix, which are invariably irrealis/past -mun, future/dubitative -gun, and change-of-state -sui. Concatenations involving negation are discussed separately. Thus, we have the following groups of concatenations.

a) -mun-final concatenations
b) -gun-final concatenations
c) -sui-final concatenations
d) Concatenations involving negation

5.4.1 -mun-final concatenations

Inflectional concatenations with a final -mun have three types of semantics – past, counterfactual, and politeness depending on the inflectional morphemes which precede it. We will illustrate each type of use of -mun-final concatenations below.

5.4.1.1 Past interpretation

The concatenations in Table 5.2 have a past time interpretation. The listed concatenations are illustrated below.

Table 5.2

-mun final concatenations with past interpretation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Past interpretation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1a)</td>
<td>VERB-u-mun</td>
<td>‘used to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(VERB-HAB-PAST/IRREAL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2b)</td>
<td>VERB-u-sui-mun</td>
<td>‘started happening (generic event)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(VERB-HAB-CS-PAST/IRREAL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3c)</td>
<td>VERB-du-mun</td>
<td>‘past’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(VERB-REAL-PAST/IRREAL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4d)</td>
<td>VERB-du-sui-mun</td>
<td>‘started happening (specific event)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(VERB-REAL-CS/PAST/IRREAL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5e)</td>
<td>VERB-bai-mun</td>
<td>‘started happening (with present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(1a) **VERB-juu-mum** ‘used to’: Following the habitual suffix -juu- -mum simply adds a past time reference. In combination, the suffixes mean ‘used to’ or past habit.

5-62  apʰa-ja  hal  eo-wu-mum.
  father-SUB  plough  till-HAB-PAST
  ‘(My) father used to plough.’

(1b) **VERB-juu-sui-mum**: This concatenation indicates a change of a generic situation with past time reference, as opposed to a specific/individual situation. In (5-63) below, the changed situation is that there was no rain, but it started raining regularly.

5-63  bui  zaiga-jao  okʰa  ha-juu-sui-mum,
  that  place-LOC  rain  rain-HAB-CS-PAST
  ‘At that place it started raining (regularly).’

The above sentence describes a place where there was no rain before, but at a certain time it started raining at regular intervals. The reference here is not to an individual event of raining, rather to raining in general.

(1c) **VERB-dun-mum** ‘past’ : The combination -dun-mum has two distinct uses – (i) past time and (ii) polite realis (see 5.4.1.3). When we have a past time reference, the internal organization of the events remains unspecified – they may be progressive or completed, as illustrated below.

5-64  aŋ  unŋkʰum  za-dun-mun.
  1SG  rice  eat-REAL-PAST
  ‘I was eating rice.’

5-65  be  sinima-kʰou  aŋ  undui-jao  nai-dun-mum.
  this  movie-OBJ  1SG  young-LOC  watch-REAL-PAST
  ‘I watched this movie in my youth.’
5-66 zuŋ-ni-aŋ  muanja  alasi  pʰui-duŋ-mum.
1PL-GEN-LOC  yesterday  guest  come-REAL-PAST
‘A guest came to our house yesterday.’

Example 5-64 generally has a past progressive meaning, while the latter two examples have a simple past meaning.

(1d) VERB-duŋ-sui-mum ‘started happening in the past’: The effect of these concatenated suffixes is that the event had just started happening in the past, but the end result of the action was not known.

5-67 aŋ  gohati-aŋ  pʰorai-bla  guzan-ni  dao-pʰra
1SG  PN-LOC  read-when  far-GEN bird-PL
bir-bu-nu  hom-duŋ-sui-mum.
fly-PROX-INF  catch-REAL-CS-PAST
‘When I studied in Guwahati, the birds from faraway places started flying in.’

(1e) VERB-bai-mum ‘past perfective, had already happened’: These markers code an action that had already started before another action took place.

5-68 nuŋ  pʰui-baŋ  undu-bai-mum.
2SG  come-when  1SG  sleep-PERF-PAST
‘When you came in I had already slept.’

5.4.1.2 Counterfactual interpretation

The following concatenations of -mum have a counterfactual meaning. They are illustrated below.

Table 5.3
- `<mum>` final concatenations with counterfactual interpretation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Counterfactual interpretation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>VERB-gou-mum</td>
<td>‘counter-factual’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(VERB-IMM.FUT-PAST/IRREAL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2b) VERB-( t^h)an-mum</td>
<td>‘counter-factual third person imperative’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(VERB-3.IMP-PAST)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2c) VERB-( t^h)an-suut-mum</td>
<td>‘counter-factual third person imperative involving change of state’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(VERB-3.IMP-CS-IRREAL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2a) VERB-\( \text{gou-mum} \) ‘would do if…’: This combination is found in the matrix clause of ‘unreal’ conditionals (see Section 7.2.1.2.3.2 in Chapter 7 for more detail) which expresses hypothetical or counterfactual situations.

5-69 (a) \( \text{nun} \ \text{bu}n-\text{nai-ba} \ an-\text{bu} \ \text{t}^h\text{an-\text{gou-mum}.} \)
2SG say-NMLZ-if 1SG-also go-DESID-PAST
‘If you had informed me, I would also have gone.’

(b) \( \text{an} \ \text{bu} \ \text{t}^a\text{i}z\text{uo-\text{k}ou} \ \text{za-gou-mum}. \)
1SG-also mango-OBJ eat-DESID-PAST
‘I would also have wanted to eat mango.’

(2b) VERB-\( t^h\)an-mum ‘(s/he/they) should have’: This string of suffixes indicates a wish/expectation that should have been executed by a third person subject in the past as shown below.

5-70 \( \text{bi-su}r \ \text{t}^h\text{an-\text{t}^h\text{an-mum}.} \)
3-PL go-OPT-PAST
‘They should have gone.’ (but didn’t)

(2c) VERB-\( t^h\)an-suut-mum ‘should have been allowed to, but…’: This concatenation refers to some counterfactual condition in the past.

5-71 \( \text{alasi-a} \ \text{t}^h\text{an-thu}n-suut-mum \ \text{manu} \ \text{la}k^hi-bai \ \text{t}^h\text{a-k}^hi-a \ ? \)
guest-SUB go-OPT-CS-PAST why keep-PERF stay-Q
‘The guest should have been let to go, but why are you making him stay.’

5.4.1.3 Politeness interpretation
The following combinations have a polite interpretation. Some of them are illustrated below.

Table 5.4

-mun-final concatenations with politeness interpretation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Politeness interpretation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3a)</td>
<td>VERB-<em>diŋ-mun</em> (VERB-REAL-PAST/IRREAL)</td>
<td>‘polite realis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3b)</td>
<td>VERB-<em>nuŋ-sui-mun</em> (VERB-INT-CS-PAST/IRREAL)</td>
<td>‘polite expression of intention’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3c)</td>
<td>VERB-<em>bai-mun</em> (VERB-PERF-PAST/IRREAL)</td>
<td>‘polite perfect’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3a) VERB-*diŋ-mun* ‘polite request’: This concatenated sequence is used to express a mild demand or polite request, as illustrated below.

5-72  *aŋ  nuŋ-*t*’aŋ-ni-aŋ owa  t*’ose  bi-nu*

1SG  you-HON-GEN-LOC  bamboo one  ask.for-PURP

p*’ui-diŋ-mun*.

come-REAL-PAST

‘I am here to ask for a bamboo from you.’

(3b) VERB-*nuŋ-sui-mun* ‘intend to do now/immediately, if…’: This string of suffixes indicates a polite way of expressing one’s desire to do something imminently, with the intention of asking permission or of finding out if the addressee has something to say about it, as illustrated by Example 5-73.

5-73  *aŋ  t*’aŋ-*nuŋ-sui-mun*.

1SG  go-INT-CS-PAST

‘I’m going to go (now).’ (Do you have anything to say?)

5.4.2  -gum-final concatenations

The -gum-final concatenations express dubitative meanings of various sorts. The meanings of the concatenations are transparently compositional. The non-final members of the concatenation retain their meanings and the final -gum adds the sense of doubt to the entire proposition. Table 5.5 presents the various concatenations and their meanings with the verb p*’ui* ‘come’.

Table 5.5

-gum-final concatenations with prospective interpretation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Concatenations</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
The first of above concatenations namely (4a) is illustrated in more detail below.

(4a) -gou-gum ‘probably will’: -gou-gum has the sense of what its combined morphemes mean, i.e., ‘something will probably happen soon’ as (5-74 & 75) show. The concatenation -gou-gum is mostly found in conditional sentences, as illustrated below.

5-74 bitb’an-amun-ba t’b’an-gou-gum.
3SG.HON-SUB get-if go-AFF-DUB
‘If he gets a chance he will go perhaps.’

5-75 t’abai-nu ruja-naisase gotb-o-a bima-ni
walk-INF know-NMLZ one child-SUB mother-GEN
siga-n-oo maba za-nu k’egenk’ai-duaŋ.
in.front.of-LOC something eat-INF urge-REAL
‘A child who just learnt walking urged its mother to eat something.’

k’udija-ja unjk’am bii-duaŋ zu-naaŋ-gou-gum.
child-SUB rice ask-REAL be-need-IMMED.FUT-DUB
‘Probably the child is asking for some rice (to eat).’

[242: 5.24]

5.4.3 -swui-final concatenations

The -swui-final concatenations have a sense of ‘change of state’ – that an event did not used to take place, now it does. All the non-final TAM suffixes modify this meaning to indicate whether this change is regular, real, in future, and so on. The following table presents the -swui-final concatenations and their meanings with the help of the verb -p’swui ‘come’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(4a)</th>
<th>p’swui-gou-gum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(COME-IMM.FUT-FUT/DUB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4b)</td>
<td>p’swui-ju-gum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(COME-HAB-FUT/DUB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4c)</td>
<td>p’swui-duaŋ-gum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(COME-REAL-FUT/DUB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4d)</td>
<td>p’swui-bai-gum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(COME-PERF-FUT/DUB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl. No.</td>
<td>Concatenations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5a)</td>
<td><em>pʰui-juu-sui</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(COME-HAB-CS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5b)</td>
<td><em>pʰui-dan-sui</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(COME-REAL-CS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5c)</td>
<td><em>pʰui-gou-sui</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(COME-IMM.FUT-CS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5d)</td>
<td><em>pʰui-t’aug-sui</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(COME-3.IMP-CS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5e)</td>
<td><em>pʰui-bai-sui</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(COME-PERF-CS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5f)</td>
<td><em>pʰui-nui-sui</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(COME-INT-CS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the above concatenations are illustrated below.

**(5a)**-*juu-sui*: This combination means that an action has started happening regularly nowadays, though previously it did not. For instance, in (5-76), someone never used to come to the speaker’s house, but has started coming now. The suffix-sequence indicates a change of state.

5-76. *sigaj-ao pʰui-ja-mum dana pʰui-juu-sui.*

before-LOC come-NEG-PAST now come-AFF-CS
‘(He) didn’t come before, but nowadays (he) does.’

The suffix *-juu* often gets dropped in speech, but even so, the intended meaning is still carried by *-sui*.

**(5b)**-*duu-sui*’started happening again’: These combined suffixes mean that something has started happening again, which had stopped happening for some time. This
concatenation is exemplified in 5-77 (a-b). Example 5-77(a) indicates that the speaker is feeling numb in his legs now which he didn’t experience before; whereas 5-77(b) means the feeling of numbness has just recurred, perhaps due to rheumatism.

5-77  (a)  այ-նի  աթիջ-ա  ռոմ  ռոմ  մուն-դունջ.

1SG-GEN  leg-SUB  numb  REDUP  get-REAL
‘I am feeling numb in my legs.’ (lit. My legs feel numb.)

(b)  այ-նի  աթիջ-ա  ռոմ  ռոմ  մուն-դունջ-սուի.

1SG-GEN  leg-SUB  numb  REDUP  get-REAL-CS
‘My legs have started feeling numb again.’

(5e)-գու-սուի  ‘true of now, though not previously’: This sequence, when attached to a verb suggests that some fact is true currently true, though this was not so previously. Thus, the inflected verb means a new development of a fact which (5-78) illustrates.

5-78  սիգայ-աո  հոր-նայ-ա-մուն  դանա  բուբու  հոր-նայ-գու-սուի.

before-LOC  give-need-NEG-PAST  nowadays  everyone  give-need-AFF-CS
‘(We) didn’t need to give (it) before, but nowadays everyone has to.’

Example 5-78 implies that the villagers nowadays have to give money as donations to unknown agencies/parties which they didn’t have to previously.

(5e)-նու-սուի  ‘intend to do now, though previously not’: The effect of these combined suffixes is to signify an intention to do something now, though previously it was only thought of, as (5-79) shows:

5-79  ան  թեն-նու-սուի.

1SG  go-INT-CS
‘I’m going to go (now).’

5.4.4  Concatenations involving negation
We will look at concatenations of various negative suffixes with other inflectional forms in this section. We will divide the concatenations based on the type of negative morpheme involved in the concatenations.

5.4.4.1 Concatenations involving prohibitive da-

In the following, we describe various concatenations of the prohibitive morpheme with other inflectional suffixes. The following table presents a set of concatenations involving the prohibitive da- and their meanings with the help of the verb -pʰui ‘come’.

Table 5.7
List of concatenations involving prohibitive da-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Concatenations</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(6a)</td>
<td>da-pʰui-mum</td>
<td>‘I wished that you shouldn’t have come, but...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG-come-PAST/IRREAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6b)</td>
<td>da-pʰui-sui</td>
<td>‘(you) don’t need to come anymore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG-come-CS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6c)</td>
<td>da-pʰui-sui-mum</td>
<td>‘I wished that you didn’t need to come anymore, but...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG-come-CS-PAST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6d)</td>
<td>da-pʰui-tʰunŋ</td>
<td>‘let him/her/them not come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG-come-OPT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6e)</td>
<td>da-pʰui-tʰunŋ-mum</td>
<td>‘I wished that he/she/them be not allowed to come, but...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG-come-OPT-PAST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6f)</td>
<td>da-pʰui-tʰunŋ-sui</td>
<td>‘let he/she/they be not allowed to come anymore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG-come-OPT-CS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6g)</td>
<td>da-pʰui-tʰunŋ-sui-mum</td>
<td>‘I wished that he/she/they be not allowed to come anymore, but...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG-come-OPT-CS-PAST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6a) da-VERB-mum ‘shouldn’t have, but (you) did it’: We have a counterfactual interpretation in this concatenation.

5-80 mʊŋ  be  muli-kʰou  da-za-mum.  
2SG this medicine-OBJ PROH-eat-PAST
‘You shouldn’t have taken this medicine (but you have taken it).’

The above sentence can be used in such a situation where the mother had advised her son not to take a particular medicine, but the son not realizing the importance of the advice (or forgetfully) took the prohibited medicine.

(6b) da-VERB-sui ‘don’t do it anymore’: When the prohibitive form occurs with -sui, we have a sense of requesting someone not to continue doing something named by the main verb as in 5-81.

5-81  ay-k’ou-da-bu-sui.

1SG-OBJ PROH-beat-CS

‘Don’t beat me anymore.’

(6c) da-VERB-sui-mun ‘shouldn’t do it anymore’: The effect of this combination is a request not to continue doing something named by the main verb, though one used to do it before, as 5-82 shows.

5-82  nuŋ  bedor-k’ou  da-za-sui-mun-lui.

2SG meat-OBJ PROH-eat-CS-PAST-INFOR

(You) should no longer eat meat (for health reasons).’

In (5-82) the speaker expresses his/her concern about eating more meat; so, he/she urges the hearer politely not to continue eating meat.

(6d) da-VERB-t’unŋ ‘let (him) not’: This combination has the effect of an advice or wish of not doing something as a precautionary measure to avoid something negative.

5-83  ap’h-a-ja  na-k’hou-da-za-t’unŋ.

father-SUB fish-OBJ PROH-eat-OPT

‘Let father not take fish.’

‘I wish father do not eat fish.’
(6e) *da-VERB-*\textit{tʰuŋ-mum*}`let (him) not…’ (an anguish): The combination indicates regret/anguish for allowing someone/something to happen which was not expected, as illustrated in (5-84).

5-84 \textit{bi-sur da-tʰuŋ-tʰuŋ-mum.}

3-PL PROH-go-OPT-PAST

‘Let them not be allowed to go (but you have already allowed).’

In (5-84), the speaker expresses an anguish/distress for allowing some people to leave already which was against his will/expectation.

(6f) *da-VERB-*\textit{tʰuŋ-sui*}`let (him) not do so now, though (he) previously wanted to’: This string of affixes indicates that something should not happen now, though the agent participant has an intention to do so, as illustrated by (5-85).

5-85 \textit{alasi-ja da-tʰuŋ-tʰuŋ-sui.}

guest-SUB PROH-go-OPT-CS

‘Let the guest not be allowed to go now (though it was thought so before).’

‘I wish the guest does not leave now.’

In (5-85) the speaker expresses his opinion/desire that the guest should not be allowed to go out now for certain reasons, though s/he was in favour of this idea earlier.

(6g) *da-VERB-*\textit{tʰuŋ-sui-mun*}`shouldn’t have been allowed to, but…’: This concatenation of affixes means that something should not have been allowed to happen for someone’s benefit as exemplified by (5-86).

5-86 \textit{bi pʰuisa-kʰou da-laŋ-tʰuŋ-sui-mun}

3SG money-OBJ PROH-take.away-OPT-CS-PAST/IRREAL

\textit{maïron-kʰou-nui laŋ-tʰuŋ-sui.}

rice-OBJ-EMPH take-OPT-CS

‘Let he not be allowed to take the money, instead let him take some rice.’

The example (5-86) can be used in a situation in which a wife wishes that her husband offers rice instead of money to the moneylender as a payback for the money her husband borrowed, for the benefit of the household.
5.4.4.2 Concatenations with negative -a

The following are some of the concatenations of the negative suffix -a with the other inflectional suffixes. The negative suffix does not occur with -duŋ ‘real’, -gun ‘future’ (not dubitative -gun), -bai ‘perfect’ since they are all first position inflectional morphemes. The following table presents a set of concatenations involving the prohitive da- and their meanings with the help of the verb -pʰui ‘come’.

Table 5.8

List of concatenations involving the negative -a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Concatenations</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(7a)</td>
<td>pʰui-ja-mun</td>
<td>‘didn’t used to do something’ or ‘didn’t intend to but...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>come-NEG-PAST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7b)</td>
<td>pʰui-ja-sui</td>
<td>‘didn’t happen as expected’ or ‘happened as expected/unexpected’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>come-NEG-CS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7a) VERB-a-mun ‘didn’t used to happen, was not intending to’: The verb derived by suffixation of -a-mun has more than one sense. First, it is a negation of past habit as in 5-87(a); second, it expresses a counterfactual situation, as in 5-87(b).

5-87  (a)  aŋ  agla  bedor  za-ja-mun.
       1SG  before  meat  eat-NEG-PAST
       ‘I didn’t used to eat meat before.’

       (b)  aŋ  tʰaŋ-a-mun.
       1SG  go-NEG-PAST
       ‘I wouldn’t have gone’ (If he hadn’t called me…..)

(7b) VERB-a-sui ‘didn’t happen as expected’ (-dia in some dialects): The suffixes together indicate that something didn’t happen as expected, contrary to expectation, as illustrated by the Sentence 5-88.
5-88  alasi-pⁿr-a  pⁿui-jə-sui.
guest-PL-SUB come-NEG-CS
‘The guests didn’t turn up.’ (though everyone expected that they would)

In story-telling, the combined negative form -ja-sui is often used by the story-teller to
indicate the culmination of events but with positive overtones. This is an interesting use of
the marker in the language where the form is negative but the sense it carries is in the
positive. This is illustrated in the Example 5-89.

5-89  dao  kʰi-dla-nai  mairon-kʰou  su-ba-bu
bird  defecate-MAN-NMLZ  rice-OBJ  wash-if-even
su-ba-bu  guażuŋ kʰalam-nu  ha-ja-kʰui-sui.
REDUP  shining do-INF  can-NEG-NEG.NMLZ-CS
‘She couldn’t clean the bird-defecated rice even by repeated washing.’
[10: 2.4]
ze-se-nu  su-jiu  e-se-nu  gumu-su  za-laŋ-wu.
ZE-APPORX-FOC  wash-HAB  E-APPROX-EMPH  yellow-CONTR  be-DIST-HAB
‘The more she washed the more it became yellow.’

ma  kʰalam-bao-nu?
what  do-again-Q
‘What to do now?’
bi-kʰou-nu  soŋ-nay-gou  za-ja-sui.
That-OBJ-EMPH  cook-NEED-AFF  be-NEG-CS
‘She had no other alternative but to cook it (the defecated rice).’

5.4.4.3 Concatenations with -akʰui ‘not yet’

-akʰui occurs with -sui and -mum discussed below.

Table 5.9
List of concatenations involving -akʰui

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Concatenations</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(8a) VERB-ak'ui-mum ‘had not yet, till then’: The combined suffixes have more than one sense. Firstly, it indicates that something did not happen in the past; secondly, it indicates that something didn’t happen till certain point of time as the Examples (5-90) illustrates.

5-90  (a) bi-sur mit'iŋ-ao p'ui-jak'ui-mum.
      3-PL meeting-LOC come-NEG.PERF-PAST
      They didn’t come to the meeting.’

(b) alasti-p'h-a  wnjk'am  za-jak'ui-mum.
     guest-PL-SUB  rice  eat-NEG.PERF-PAST
     ‘The guests did not have eaten rice yet.’

(8b) VERB-ak'ui-sui/-ak'i-sui ‘didn’t happen as (it) was expected’: The effect of the combined suffixes is that something didn’t happen though it was expected to. The Example in 5-91 illustrates that the speaker didn’t eat rice at a particular place or time for some reason though he was expected to.

5-91  bi  wnjk'am  za-jak'i-sui.
      1SG  rice  eat-NEG.PERF-CS
      ‘He didn’t eat rice.’

5.4.4.4 Concatenations with -lia ~ -la ‘not still, won’t anymore’

-lia co-occurs with the tense suffixes -gum, -sui, and -mum as illustrated below.

Table 5.10

List of concatenations involving -lia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Concatenations</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(9a)</td>
<td>VERB-lia-gum</td>
<td>‘(it) won’t happen anymore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VERB-DISCON-DUB</td>
<td>perhaps’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9b)</td>
<td>VERB-la-sui</td>
<td>‘(it) is not going to happen now as expected’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**9a) VERB-lia-gum** ‘probably not anymore’: The combination of suffixes indicates ‘probably not anymore’ as illustrated in 5-92.

5-92  
*bitʰaŋ-aza-lia-gum.*

3SG.HON-SUB  eat-DISCON-DUB

‘Probably he is not going to eat anymore.’

5-92 is related to 5-93 in that the latter indicates a strong probability of the action not being true.

5-93  
*za-la-gum-day.*

eat-DISCON-DUB-DUB

‘Maybe (he) is not going to eat anymore.’

**9b) VERB-la-sui** ‘not anymore now, though...’ (< -lia ‘not anymore’): This sequence of suffixes indicates that some action or expectation of the past will not materialize/be realized.

5-94  
*əŋ  tʰaŋ-la-sui  nuŋ-sur  tʰaŋ-du.*

1SG  go-DISCON-CS  2-PL  go-IMP

‘I’m not going to go, you-all go.’

Example 5-94 suggests that even though people including the speaker himself/ herself expected to go, due to some change or turn in circumstances, that is not going to happen now.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at what we called inflectional morphemes or verbal inflections in Bodo. The core of these morphemes was shown to be the TAM morphemes.
We looked at the occurrence of these morphemes in various sentences in the indicative mood, which is the form of the majority of sentences in our corpus. We talked about three tense markers, namely past -mut, future -gum, and the immediate -gou. In addition, the distribution and functions of the two aspect markers namely, habitual/generic -uw and perfect -bai, and two mode markers – realis -dum and irrealis -mum were also dealt with. Having covered the TAM morphemes, we talked about morphemes that serve to encode various speech-act types. Affirmative and negative markers of various sorts were discussed. In this regard, several semantically more specific negative morphemes were noted namely, past negation marker -dia, perfect or realis negation marker -aktu, and future negation marker -lia/-la. A variety of of imperative markers, such as second person imperatives -dut, -lat, and -nai, jussives -ni, and -dini/dum, and optative -hunu were introduced. Besides the imperative, the desiderative and change of state mood markers and interrogatives were also looked at. On distributional grounds, a section on non-core verbal morphology was introduced to include those morphemes as the dubitative, the quotative and the preceptive which occur on the outer core of the verb stem and have discourse-level functions.

After taking note of the individual inflectional markers, these were examined from a compositional perspective. The various concatenations of these inflectional markers were examined and the functions they expressed were discussed. It was shown that the functions of individual morphemes depended on which morphemes they combine with, not just the position in which they occur.