

Rabha



BY

U.V. JOSEPH

RABHA

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U.V. JOSEPH



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ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative	INCOMP	incompletive
ACC	accusative	INDEF	indefinite
AGT	agent	INF	infinitive
ALL	allative	INST	instrumental
Ass.	Assamese	INTEN	intensifier
ATTR	attributive	INTERR	interrogative
B	Bodo	intr.	intransitive
CAUS	causative	LOC	locative
CL	classifier	LSI	<i>Linguistic Survey of India</i>
COM	comitative	NONFIN	non-finite
CONT	continuous	NEG	negative
DAT	dative	N.IMP	negative imperative
DEF	definitive	NOM	nominative
ELA	elative	NUM	numeral
EMPH	emphatic	PASS	passive
EM.PRES	emphatic present	PAST	past
EXCL	exclamation	PER	perlative
EXH	exhortative	PL	plural
EX.DAT	extended dative	PRES	present
EX.INF	extended infinitive	POSTPOS	postposition
FIN	finite	QUOT	quotative
FUT	future	R	Rabha
G	Garo	REFL	reflexive
GEN	genitive	REL	relative
ILL	illative	REP	report(ed)
IMIT	imitative	SIM	similar(ity)
IMP	imperative	tr.	transitive
IMEPRF	imperfective	VECT	vector
INCL	inclusive		

SUMMARY

The work is dual in nature. It is both descriptive and correlative. The descriptive part involves an analysis of Rabha, and the correlative part aims at a synoptic view of Rabha, Bodo and Garo, all of which belong to a close-knit group of Tibeto-Burman languages.

1. *Language Area*

The Goalpara District of Assam, lying between the Brahmaputra and the State of Meghalaya, is the homeland of the Rabhas. It is here that the speakers of the Róngdani dialect, which is analysed here, live. Besides this area, Róngdani speakers are found in the contiguous areas in the Meghalaya. Rabhas are found also to the east of this territory, in the District of Kamrup. However, they have given up their language in favour of Assamese. There is another group of Rabhas, known generally as the Mayturi Rabhas who are found in a few villages along the southern bank of the Brahmaputra. There still exists another group of Rabhas, called the Kocha or Koch Rabhas, on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra. While Róngdani and Mayturi are mutually intelligible, neither Róngdani nor Mayturi is mutually intelligible with Kocha Rabha.

The present homeland of the Garos is the Garo Hills, in the Meghalaya, lying between Assam in the north and Bangladesh in the south. However, the Garos form a widely scattered group, and a considerable number of Garos are found in Bangladesh as well as in Assam, besides the other states of north-east India. The Garo dialect that is now considered Standard Garo, and forms the basis of written Garo, is more specifically the dialect of the northern areas of the Garo Hills bordering on Assam. The Bodo speaking community is found predominantly on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra in a large tract along the border with Bhutan.

Hence, the core area covered by the three languages is: the Garo Hills, the homeland of the Garos, in the south; this area merges in the north with the plains on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, which is the homeland of the Rabhas; further to the north and across

the Brahmaputra lies the land of the Bodos. The Rabhas are sandwiched between the Garos and the Bodos. However, the area that is considered to be the home of the Rabhas is not occupied exclusively by the Rabhas. Almost everywhere Rabhas live side by side with either the Garos or the Bodos or both the Garos and the Bodos, not to mention other communities that speak Indo-Aryan languages, Assamese or Bengali. Assamese and Bengali have exerted and continue to exert an influence on all the three languages to varying degrees. This geographic distribution of the three languages coupled with the fact that all the three languages belong to a close-knit group of languages whose roots are traceable to Proto-Bodo within the Tibeto-Burman family give rise to a very complex interplay of common heritage, borrowings from a common source and mutual influence. Against this background a correlative view of the three languages takes on greater significance, even if fraught with many difficulties.

2. *Objectives*

The research aims, first and foremost, at discovering the warp and woof of Rabha and thus to provide as detailed a descriptive account of the language as possible. With the help of existing descriptions of Bodo and Garo, the second stage of the research proposes to make a correlative analysis of Rabha, Bodo and Garo with a view of gaining a picture of their inter-relatedness and divergence.

3. *Methodology*

The methodology of intimate contact with the language in its natural setting of actual day-to-day use was preferred to that of extracting data from a few informants outside the natural language context. This was done during a period of nearly two years. The data so collected were double-checked with the help of a chief language informant. The cluster of villages around Bordamal, south-west of the town of Goalpara, was chosen as the centre stage. By the admission of the Rabhas themselves, Bordamal is the hub of the Rabha dialect called Róngdani Rabha, which is held in greater esteem by them. Incidentally, the dialect that was described in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (vol. III, part II: 102–108) and the dialect that forms

the basis of the first printed work in Rabha (a translation of the Gospel of Mark published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1909 under the title *Jisuni Nĩmkai Katha Markni Saikai*) was the Róngdani dialect, called Rongdania Rabha by the Rabhas.

For the second stage of correlative analysis of Rabha, Bodo and Garo, the result of the present analysis of Rabha and the descriptions of Bodo and Garo that already exist, along with my own knowledge of Bodo and Garo, have been used.

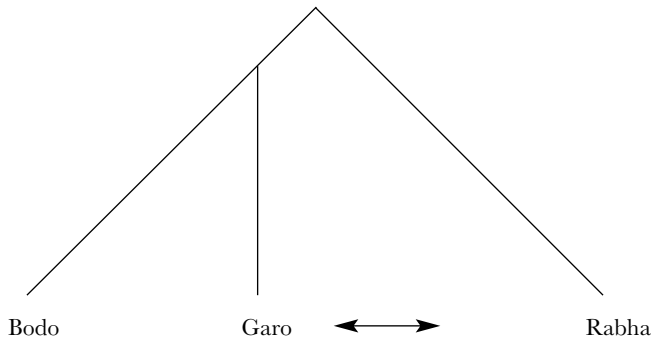
4. *Results*

The first part furnishes a descriptive account of the Róngdani dialect of Rabha spoken in and around Bordamal which is about 13 km to the south-west of Goalpara. Rabha, a Baric language (more specifically a Barish language) along with Bodo, Garo and their various dialects, is described for the first time in this work. Having the words *san* ‘day’ and *raŋsaŋ* ‘sun’ it qualifies to be included among the “Sal languages” identified by Burling.

The correlative part of this study highlights various areas of correspondence between the three languages along with differences that exist between them. It then becomes possible to see which of the languages come closer to each other in specific grammatical and lexical areas. Although it is not always easy to identify shared retentions from independent innovations, phoneme correspondence sets that have emerged as a result of correlating phonological forms necessitate the subgrouping of Bodo and Garo under one node, forming a larger group at a higher node along with Rabha, as shown below.

Such a tree diagram is quite contrary to the Tibeto-Burman taxonomies that divide the Bodo-Garo group into a Bodo branch and a Garo branch, treating Rabha as a dialect of Garo. However, this insight is in consonance with the tree diagram given by Burling for Bodo, Garo, Atong and Wanang, in which he subgrouped Atong and Wanang under one node called Proto-Koch, Bodo and Garo under another unnamed node, these two nodes being branches of a higher Proto-Bodo node.

On the morphological level, while Bodo and Rabha share certain common features such as the causative prefixes, which are absent in Garo, in other areas, such as the presence of a larger set of derivational verb suffixes, Bodo and Garo are closer. Having been greatly influenced



by Assamese, Rabha has lost nearly all of its derivational verb suffixes. Influence of Assamese and Bengali is least in Garo. Because they have been in greater contact with each other, Garo and Rabha show greater lexical correspondence. This is represented in the tree diagram by the double-headed arrow linking Garo and Rabha.

6. *Plan of the book*

The book consists of the introduction (chapter 0), the descriptive analysis of Rabha (chapters 1–6) and the correlation between Rabha, Bodo and Garo at various levels (chapter 7). The description of Rabha begins with the sound level analysis which establishes the phonemes of Rabha along with their phonotactic constraints. The grammar then proceeds to the lexical and phrasal analysis wherein the properties of derivation, compounding and inflection are dealt with, and culminates in the syntactic analysis. In chapter 7, where Bodo, Garo and Rabha are correlated, greater importance is given to phonemic correlation and to the affixal morphology of the three languages.

After this descriptive and comparative account sample texts in Rabha and the data that was collected on Rabha are provided. As there does not exist any comprehensive dictionary or word list of Rabha, it was felt that all the data that were collected should be included in the lexicon.

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

This grammar and dictionary of Rabha is a reworked version of the author's doctoral dissertation, defended at Deccan College in Pune on the 1st of November 1999. The Rabha language and people are mentioned by the earliest Western sources on the region. Yet this hefty volume is the first thorough description of this important but now endangered language of northeastern India. Despite its great value, the manuscript languished for years on the desk of an editor in Europe who in the end proved unable to publish the work. Fortunately the book later found its way to Leiden.

Joseph's phonological and phonetic notation and original formulations and analyses have been conserved with as little editing as possible. The work does not incorporate revisions in the structure of the Tibeto-Burman language family tree from after 1997. At the author's suggestion, this Brill edition accommodates a number of comments sent from Oslo by Robbins Burling to the author in friendly letters dated 10 December 1998, 26 November 1998 and 4 January 1999. In places the prose becomes rotund, but many linguists fussy about the sophistication of exposition end up documenting no new language data at all, let alone anything on the scale of Joseph's present detailed contribution on a hitherto undescribed language. This work is a tribute to the Rabha people and to Joseph.

No non-Rabha alive has greater knowledge of Rabha language and culture than Joseph, a native of Kerala who has mastered several languages of the northeast, including Khasi. Malayali family names and patronymics precede the given name by which a person is known, i.e. Thatil Umbavu Varghese Joseph. Yet to his parishioners at Umswai in the Mikir Hills or Karbi Anglong and to his many friends throughout the northeast, Joseph is known affectionately as Father Joseph of the Don Bosco Congregation.

George van Driem
Amsterdam, 1 March 2006

INTRODUCTION

1 *Aim and scope*

The work is both descriptive and correlative. The descriptive part involves an analysis of Rabha, and the correlative part aims at a synoptic view of Rabha, Bodo and Garo, all of which belong to a close-knit group of Tibeto-Burman languages.

The research aims, first and foremost, at discovering the warp and woof of Rabha, and thus, providing as detailed a descriptive account of the language as possible. With the help of existing descriptions of Bodo and Garo, the second stage of the research proposes to make a correlative analysis of Rabha, Bodo and Garo in order to gain a picture of their inter-relatedness and divergence.

2 *The term 'Rabha'*

'Rabha' is more correctly the Assamised name by which the Rabha community and their language are known to non-natives. The natives, however, refer to themselves as Rábatang (/rábatan/) which can be used both in the singular and in the plural, and they call their language 'Rába katha' which is actually Assamese or Bengali in origin. It is probably an indication that the distinction between how they refer to themselves and how they call their language is not natural to native thinking, as is true of many other ethnic groups. The native word for 'language', if one did exist, probably had *khú-* as the initial syllable, as in the words for 'mouth', 'tongue' and 'lip'. It is common to hear someone speaking of *júju bidironi khúran* ('language of grandparents') to mean 'language of the ancestors'. In synchronic Rabha, however, *khúran* means 'voice'.

3 *Language area*

The core areas where Bodo, Garo and Rabha are spoken are shown in Figure 1. The Goalpara District of Assam, lying between the

Brahmaputra and the State of Meghalaya, is the homeland of the Rabhas (see Figure 2). It is here that the speakers of the Róngdani (generally spelt as Rongdani or Rongdania) dialect, which is analysed here, live. Besides this area, Róngdani speakers are found in contiguous areas in the Meghalaya. Ethnic Rabhas are also found to the east of this territory, in the District of Kamrup. However, they have given up their language in favour of Assamese. There is another group of Rabhas, known generally as the Mayturi Rabhas who are found in a few villages along the southern bank of the Brahmaputra. There still exists another group of Rabhas called the Kocha or Koch Rabhas on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra. While Róngdani and Mayturi are mutually intelligible, both Róngdani and Mayturi are mutually unintelligible with Kocha Rabha.

The present homeland of the Garos is the Garo Hills, in the Meghalaya, lying between Assam in the north and Bangladesh in the south. However, the Garos form a widely scattered group, and a considerable number of Garos are found in Bangladesh as well as in Assam, as well as in other states of north-east India. The Garo dialect that is now considered Standard Garo, and forms the basis of written Garo, is more specifically the dialect called Awe spoken in the northern parts of the Garo Hills, bordering on Assam.

The Bodo speaking communities are found predominantly on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra, more precisely in a broad tract of land bordering Bhutan. The description of Bodo by Bhattacharya (1977) is based on the dialect of this region, which he called the dialect of north-west Assam.

Hence, the core area covered by the three languages is: the Garo Hills, the homeland of the Garos, in the south; this area merges in the north with the plains on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, which is the homeland of the Rabhas; further to the north and across the Brahmaputra lies the land of the Bodos. The Rabhas are sandwiched between the Garos and the Bodos. However, the area that is considered to be the home of the Rabhas is not occupied exclusively by the Rabhas. Almost everywhere Rabhas live side by side with either the Garos or the Bodos or both, not to mention other communities that speak Indo-Aryan languages such as Assamese or Bengali. Assamese and Bengali have exerted and continue to exert an influence on all the three languages to varying degrees. The geographical distribution of the three languages coupled with the fact that all the three languages belong to a close-knit group of languages

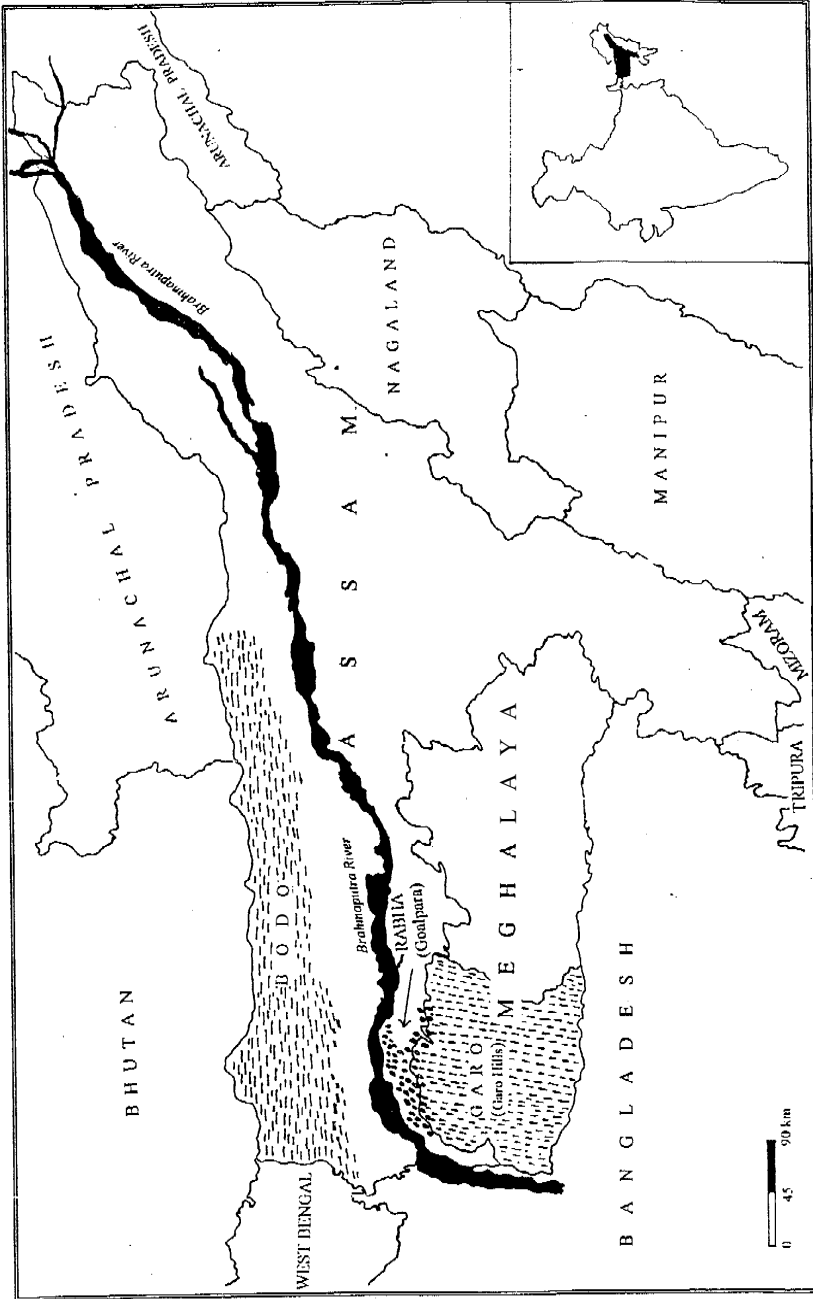


Figure 1 Map of Assam and Meghalaya showing the core areas of Bodo, Garo and Rabha

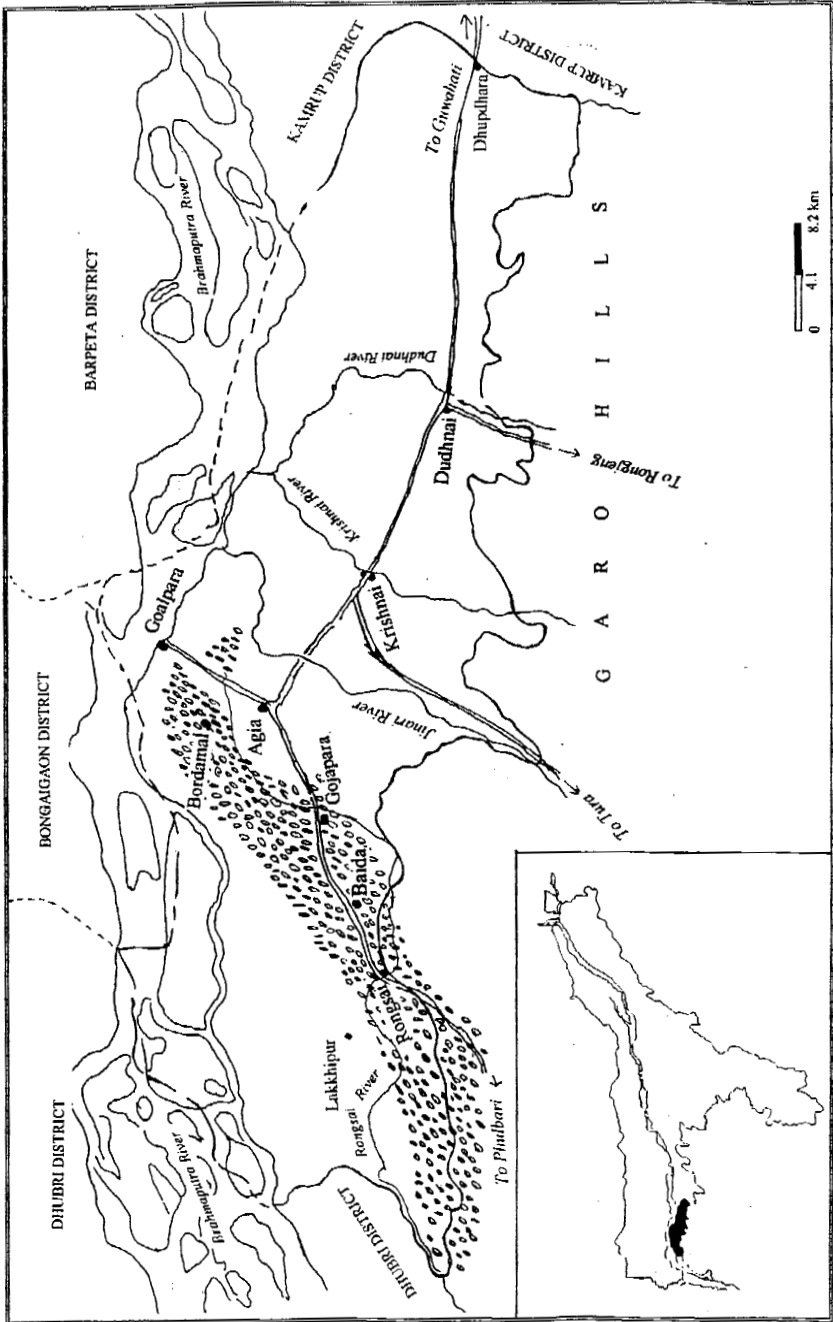


Figure 2 Map of Goalpara District showing the Rabha core area

whose roots are traceable to Proto-Bodo within the Tibeto-Burman family gives rise to a very complex interplay of common heritage, borrowings from a common source and mutual influence. Against this background a correlative view of the three languages takes on greater significance even if fraught with many difficulties.

4 *Methodology*

The methodology of intimate contact with the language in its natural setting of actual day-to-day use was preferred to that of extracting data from a few informants outside of the natural language context. This was done during a period of nearly two years. The data so collected were double-checked with the help of a chief language informant. The cluster of villages around Bordamal, south-west of the town of Goalpara, was chosen as the centre stage. By admission of Rabhas themselves, Bordamal is the hub of the Rabha dialect called Róngdani Rabha, which is held in greater esteem by them. Incidentally, the dialect that was described in *Linguistic Survey of India* (vol. III, part II: 102–108) and the dialect that forms the basis of the first printed work in Rabha (a translation of the Gospel of Mark published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1909 under the title *Jisuni Nimkai Katha Markni Saikai*) was the Róngdani dialect, called Rongdania Rabha.

For the correlative analysis of Rabha, Bodo and Garo, the result of the present analysis of Rabha and the descriptions of Bodo and Garo that already exist, along with my own knowledge of Bodo and Garo, are used.

5 *The Rabha people*

The earliest of records about the Rabhas contain an element of indeterminacy regarding their relationship with other related tribes within the Bodo family. Dalton (1872) does not treat them separately but mentions them while treating the Kacharis or the Bodos and notes that the ‘Rabhas and Hajongs of the Gawalpara District are also branches of the Kachari race, and connected with the Garos’ (p. 86). He speaks of them as being divided into two tribes, the Rongdaniya

and the Pati (p. 86). Damant (1880: 231) includes them in the Kachári-Koch sub-family along with Kachári proper, the Mech, the Koch, the Gáro and the Chutia sub-divisions. Within the Rabha group he speaks of four sub-divisions: Pati, Rangdoniya, Matrai (spelt also as Maitrai on p. 254) and Songga, and he considers the Matrai to be the purest specimens of the race (p. 234). A list of twenty-two supposedly Matrai words are also furnished (p. 254). Of these, all except the one meaning ‘dao’ are also Róngdani words. Robinson (1849: 216) places them among the various tribes of the Assam plains that are closely connected with the Kacharis. Waddel (1990: 65) considers them to be ‘an offshoot of the Kachari tribe which has adopted a thin veneer of Hinduism’, and speaks of them as being divided into Pati in Kamrup and Darrang, Rong-Dhaniya in Goalpara, and Totola (spelt also as Totala in the same article) in Goalpara. He says that a Rabha often described himself as a Rabha Kachari.

The indeterminacy regarding the Rabhas was most clearly expressed by Gait in the *Report on the Census of Assam for 1891*. He says, “There seems to be a good deal of uncertainty as to who these people really are. In Lower Assam it is asserted that they are an offshoot of the Garos, while in Kamrup and Darrang, it is thought that they are Kacharis on the road to Hinduism” (as in *LSI*, vol. III, part II: 102). He spoke of five divisions of Rabhas in the Garo Hills: Rangdania, Pati, Maitaria, Daburi and Kachari, and mentions that in Kamrup and Darrang these divisions tend to disappear leaving only Pati and Rangdania. He also says that they are probably a distinct tribe.

Playfair (1909: 20–22) points out that although Rabhas live in contiguous areas with the Akawés or the Awés (a Garo group; see Figure 3), Rabha, along with Koch, is linguistically closer to that of the Atongs and the Rugas who are geographically distant from both the Rabhas and the Koches. He also provides a comparative vocabulary of 34 words for these four languages and Awé (p. 167). Judging from this close similarity he comes to the conclusion that the Rabhas, Koches, Atongs and Rugas were the first inhabitants of the Garo Hills and that the arrival of later groups split up this group into two: the Rabhas and the Koches who moved north and west, and the Atongs and the Rugas who moved east and south (pp. 21–22).

6 *Rabha speakers and dialects*

From the language point of view Rabha, as understood today, comprises three principal dialects: Róngdani (spelt also as Rongdania or Rongdaniya), Mayturi or Mayturia (Mayturi in the present work) and Songga or Kocha. Of these, the Kocha dialect, spoken along the northern bank of the Brahmaputra, is highly divergent and is not intelligible with the Róngdani or the Mayturi dialect. The dialectic variations between Róngdani and Mayturi, both of which are spoken on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, in the Goalpara district of Assam and along the northern slopes of the Meghalaya, are minimal. They are not only mutually intelligible but one merges almost imperceptibly into the other as one moves westward from the core area of Bordamal.

The changes are noticeable already around the Gojapara-Baida-Rongsai region. The people of this area are actually Róngdani, speaking a dialect that seems to have been influenced by the Mayturi dialect. The Mayturi dialect speakers proper are actually found further to the south-west around and beyond Photomati and Tikrikilla, and to the north along the Brahmaputra between Goalpara and Pancharatna. Boro Paham considered to be the biggest single Rabha village, is a Mayturi village and is in Meghalaya. Sildanga, Goremari, Chutki, Kamarpara, Dariduri-Tilapara, Tarabari, Saldona, Makri Nos. 1 & 2, Dakorpita and Amtola, all of which are not far from the Brahmaputra, are reported to be Mayturi villages.

In the census of 1961 (as cited in Breton 1977: 24) the Rabhas numbered 108,000 in Assam. Of these only 28,000 reported Rabha as their mother tongue, of whom 19,000 were Assamese second language speakers, 5,000 were Bodo mother tongue speakers, and 75,000 reported Assamese as their mother tongue (among whom 1,000 were Rabha second language speakers and 4,000 Bodo second language speakers). Of the 6,000 ethnic Rabhas of West Bengal, 5,000 returned Rabha as their mother tongue, while 1,000 were Bengali mother tongue speakers. According to the census of 1971 Rabhas numbered 138,630 in Assam, 2,466 in West Bengal and 10,841 in the Meghalaya, besides 17,257 Koches in West Bengal and 13,520 Koches in the Meghalaya. An independent survey carried out by the Rabha Hasong (phonemically *háson*) Demand Committee in 1993 (Rongkho: 1995) found the number of Rabhas in Assam alone to be 374,152. However, of all the different and slightly divergent groups of people who regard

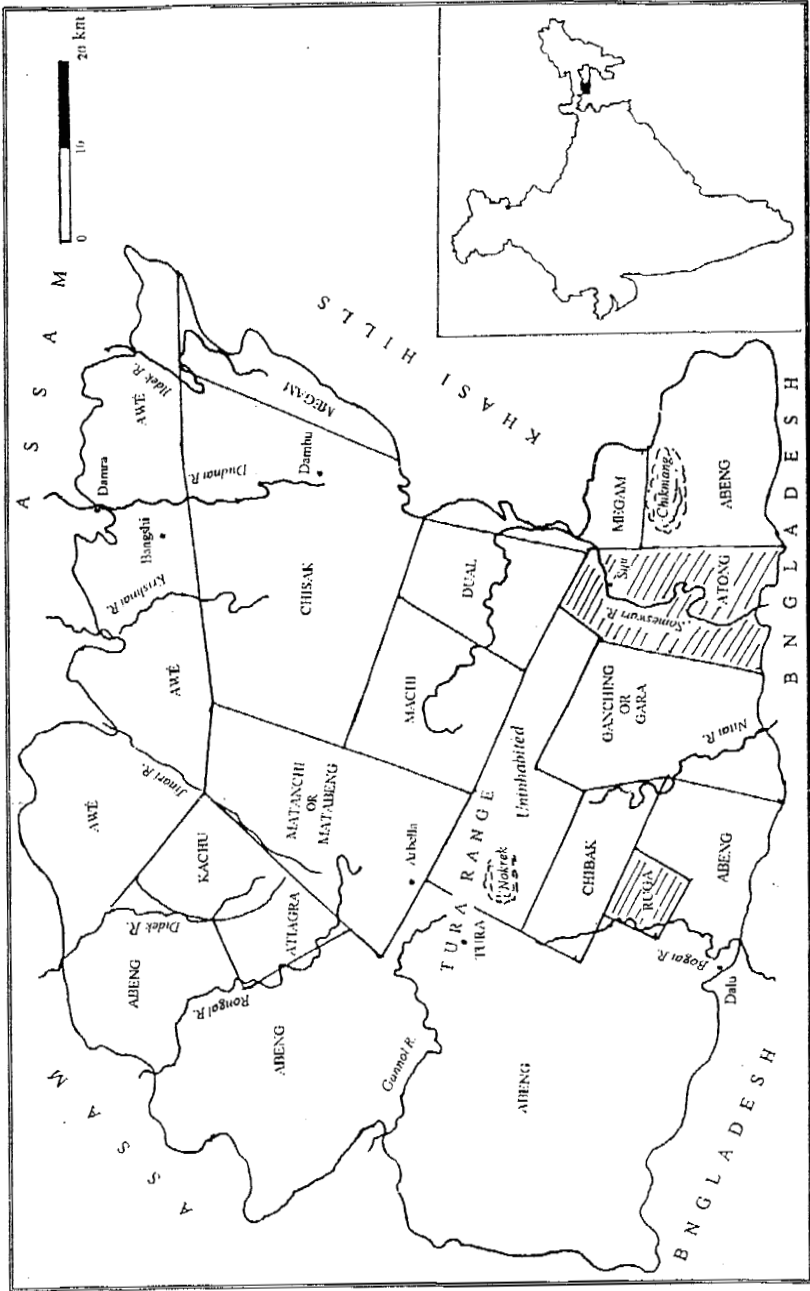


Figure 3 Map of Garo Hills showing the divisions of the Garo tribe with the Ruga and Along areas highlighted
Source: Playfair, 1909.

themselves to be Rabhas only the Róngdani, the Mayturi and the Koch groups still speak their native language. The others have adopted either Bengali or Assamese. It has not been possible to ascertain the exact number of speakers of the Róngdani or Mayturi dialects. The two groups put together may number around 60,000.

7 *Some scattered Róngdani speaking villages east of the river
Jinari (Bolbola)*

More than a century ago scholars noted that sections of the Rabhas had given up their language and that Rabha itself was dying out. Dalton (1872: 87) noted that the Pati Rabhas had adopted the language of the Bengalis, and Damant (1880: 234) noted that they had abandoned their language for Assamese. Grierson mention twice that Rabha was fast dying out (*LSI*, vol. I, part I: 64 and vol. III, part I: 102). The process of switching to Assamese is still working its way into more Rabha areas. In this context, I thought it worthwhile to present a survey of the few Róngdani villages to the east of the river Jinari (Bolbola) and just west of it but separated from the Róngdani heartland by a considerable distance. Figure 4 gives the approximate location of these villages along with other important centres in the area. These villages are most in danger of losing their mother tongue because they are few, distant from one another and surrounded by various other linguistic groups.

a) To the east of the river Dudhnai

As one travels west from Guwahati on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, Rabha settlements begin not far from Borjar. However, the eastern-most Róngdani speaking village is Amtola, close to Kahibari and 8 km north of Rongjuli on the Nogerbera road. Contiguous to and to the west of Amtola is Khilamara. Together they have 45 families. About 3 km to the west of Khilamara, and 7 km north of Doranggre, is Sattabari with 22 families. In all these villages Rabha is still used by all. The next nearest village is Rongpathar, 2 km south-west of Kasadol and 3 km south-east of Amjonga. The number of Rabha speaking families was never very large here. Today there are just a handful of elderly people who still speak Rabha. Coming further west, there is Kamarburi, 1 km east of Bonbahi or

3 km east of Dudhnai, with 40 families. Here Rabha is still used by all. People say that Choraimari, just contiguous to Kamarburi, was once a big Rabha speaking village. Today the village is a mixture of many ethnic groups with just 8 Rabha families, of which only 2 know Rabha.

One kilometre to the west of Bonbahi, and 3 km south-east of Dudhnai, is Silluk Sorokpara with 50 families, Silluk bakrapara with 43 families and Mendima (in the Meghalaya) with 43 families. In all these villages Assamese is slowly pushing Rabha out. There are a few families or a few elderly couples who tenaciously use Rabha still, while those of the younger generation either know only Assamese or use only Assamese even if they have passive competence in Rabha. This completes the picture of Rabha speaking villages to the east of the river Dudhnai.

According to what people say, many of these villages are the result of a wave of migration from further west during an epidemic. Therefore it is difficult to consider these villages as the last remnant of a larger number of villages that held on to their language while others gave it up. Probably such a process was already taking place, leaving its effect prior to this migration. What we now observe may have to be considered independently.

b) Between the rivers Dudhnai and Krishnai

About 3 km west of Damra on the Damra-Mendi road is Habanggri with about 75 families, all of whom speak Rabha. Adjacent to Habanggri is Hatimura, with a small number of families that speak Rabha, but Assamese is gaining prominence because of a section of the village that speaks only Assamese. To the north of Damas (which is 6 km from Damra) is Thobolpara, with 80 families, and adjacent to Damas is Rangsi (Khas Rangsi in Meghalaya, with 37 families, and Rangsi Bakra in Assam, with 35 families). In these villages Rabha is still the language used at home. Upper Deuripara, just 1 km from Damas, has 65 families. Only here those above 40 years know Rabha, which is spoken very little. The situation of Chechapani (pronounced Sessapani), with 55 families, just a little away from Deuripara, is similar. Only the elderly know and use Rabha. Both Deuripara and Chechapani have a considerable Bodo population. Miapara (in the Meghalaya), just 2 km from Chechapani, is a village of 100 families. Here many elderly people still know Rabha,

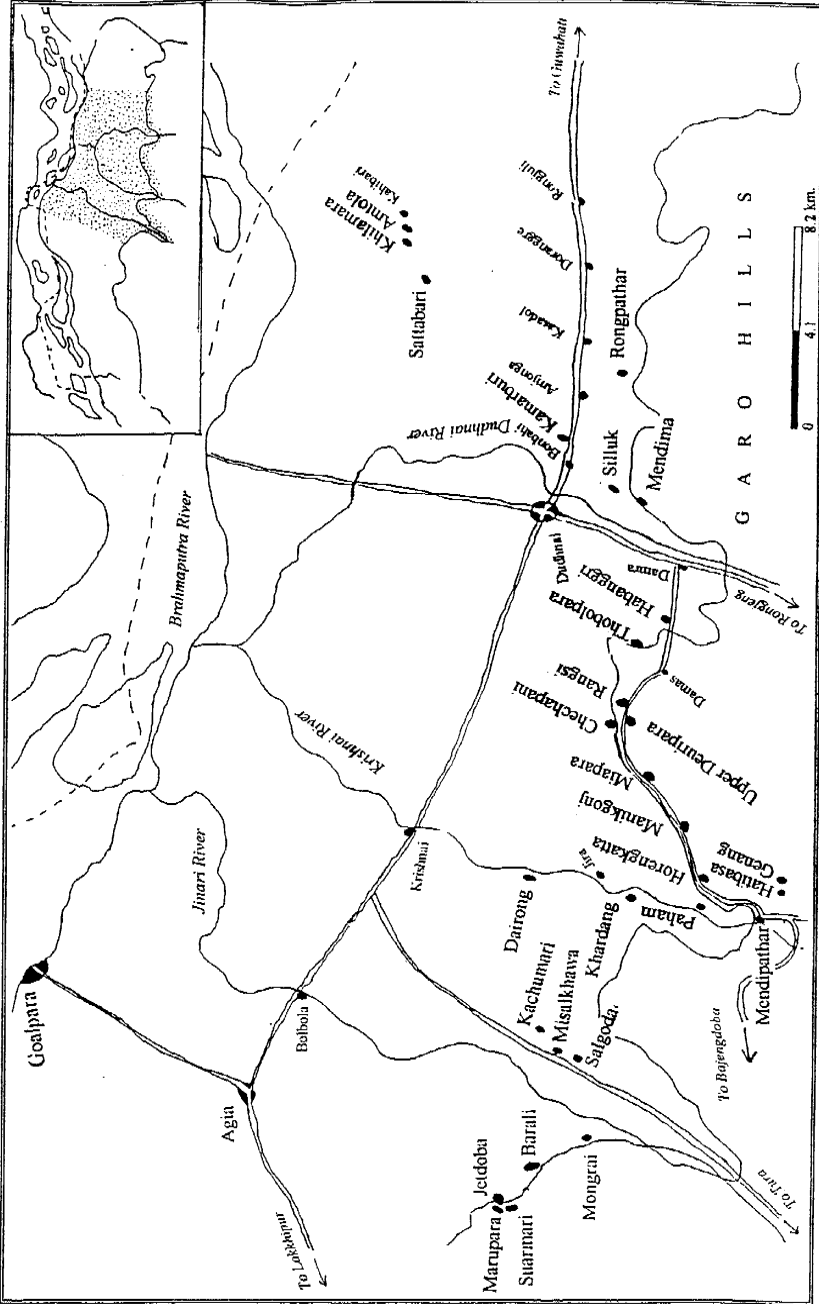


Figure 4 Map of part of Goalpara District showing scattered Rabha speaking villages east of the Rabha core area

but the process of Assamese replacing Rabha is practically complete. Two kilometres west of Miapara is Manikgonj (in the Meghalaya), having 145 families divided into two areas. There are 70 families that speak Assamese and 75 families that use Rabha. Two kilometres further to the west is Horengkatta (in the Meghalaya). There are 110 families in various smaller villages (Kachirpara, Boropara, New Horengkatta, Bakenang-Salpara, Bakrapara), all of whom use Rabha.

Genang (in the Meghalaya), lying 3 km to the south of Horengkatta, has 40 families. Rabha is very much alive here. But in Hatibasa just 1 km to the west only a few elders know and use Rabha. The next village is Mendipathar (in the Meghalaya). Just before the market area there are 22 families that speak Rabha. About 2 km north of Mendipathar is Paham, with 35 families. Only a few elders know or use Rabha here. Four kilometres north of Mendipathar, and 8 km south of Krishnai, is Jira, with 50 families. Here Rabha has already been replaced by Assamese. This completes the picture of Róngdani villages between the rivers Dudhnai and Krishnai.

c) Between the rivers Krishnai and Jinari

Three kilometres north-west of Mendi across the river Krishnai, and 12 km south of Krishnai town, is Khardang, with 125 families. Of these 90 families speak Rabha, while a section of 30 families speak Assamese. Six kilometres north of Khardang is Dairong having nearly 100 families in various smaller villages (Khatalguri, Raugari, Madapara, Amguri and Chocho para). In Dairong Rabha is spoken by all. About 6 km west of Khardang there is a cluster of three villages around Nabang market on the Paikan-Mendal road: Salgoda (33 families), Misalkhawa (42 families) and Kachumari (45 families). In all these villages Rabha is still spoken by all. Bhemajuli, with 75 families, lies 5 km to the west of Krishnai. Here Rabha is known and used by all. There are no other Róngdani villages to the east of the river Jinari.

However, there are a few villages to the west of the river Jinari that fall outside the predominantly Róngdani speaking areas lying further to the west. Lying on the Bajengdoba-Suarmari road and about 4 km west of Nabang is Mongrai, with 50 families. To the north-west of Mongrai at a distance of 2 km is Barali with 65 families. Suarmari on the Bolbola-Rongagora road at a distance of 14 km from Bolbola and 6 km from Rongagora (on the Bajengdoba-

Rongsai road) has 55 families. Just a little away from Suarmari on both the sides of the road are Jetdoba (35 families) and Marupara (30 families). All these villages still speak Rabha. Beyond these villages the nearest Róngdani village either to the north or to the west is more than 15 km away. Hence these villages can be considered to be lying scattered outside the Róngdani heartland. However, the dialect spoken in these villages is very similar to the one spoken around the Bordamal area.

8 *Rabha in Tibeto-Burman taxonomy*

8.1 *Rabha: A Baric language*

The differences at the higher nodes of the Tibeto-Burman (TB) taxonomies that classify the broad and wide spectrum of Tibeto-Burman languages do not affect the position of Rabha which has consistently and correctly been placed within a rather well-defined group of languages. However, a passing glance at the broader picture helps one to see Rabha on a larger canvas. The comparative presentation in parallel columns by Hale (1982) of the classifications of Grierson-Konow, Shafer, Benedict, Egerod and Voegelin-Voegelin is an excellent reference. A closer look at the organisation of the languages held together by the immediate higher node in which Rabha has been placed is revealing.

Grierson has a Bārā or Bodo group which Hale (1982: 34) presents as being divided further into Bārā (including Bodo, Mech, Dimasa, Kachari, Hōjai, Tipura, Lalung and Moran) and Garo including: (i) Standard Garo, Abeng, Dacca variety, Kamrup variety, (ii) Atong, Rabha, Ruga, Tintekiya, Koch, (iii) Wanang and (iv) Chutiya. While this seems to be the presentation of how Grierson explains the inter-relatedness of these languages in *LSI*, vol. I part I (p. 63ff.), in *LSI*, vol. III part II (p. 2), where he treats the Bārā or Bodo group, he identifies the following languages as ‘cognate languages’ of the Bārā group: True Bārā (Kachārī and Mech), Rābhā, Lālung, Dīmā-sā (or Hill Kachārī), Gārō (or Māndē), Tipurī and Chutiya.

Shafer (1966–1974) has a Baric group which is subdivided into a Barish section and a Nagish section. The Barish section is further divided into five branches: (i) the North Central Branch with Garo and its dialects (Atsik, Kamrup, Abeng, Dacca), (ii) Jalpaiguri Branch,

(iii) South Central Branch with Atong, Rabha, Ruga, Kontś, Tintekiya, Cooch Bihar, Kotś, (iv) Western Branch with Bodo (Metś), Dimasa (Hodzai), Tipura, Lalung, Mora, (v) Eastern Branch (Tśutiya). The Nagish languages include: (i) Mośang (Śangge), (ii) Namasangia, (iii) Banpara (Mutonia), (iv) Tśingmegnu (Tamlu), (vi) Angwanku (Mulung) and (vii) Tśang.

The term Baric, derived from Bārā or Bârâ, both of which were used by Grierson as phonetic representations of Bodo (*LSI*, vol. III, part II: 1), and the distinction between Baric and Barish probably goes back to Shafer (1953: 227). On the map giving the approximate locations of the various Tibeto-Burman language groups Grierson also used the form Bara without any diacritic marks (*LSI*, vol. I, part I: 53).

Benedict (1972: 5–6) has a Bodo-Garo (Barish) group. He distinguishes between a Bodo subtype (including Dimasa) and a Garo subtype, whilst recognising the closeness of Deori Chutiya and the Konyak languages (Banpara, Namsang, Tableng, Tamlu, Moshang, Chang) with this group. Within the Garo subtype he makes a further distinction between ‘Garo A’ including Rabha, Ruga and Atong and ‘Garo B’ including Abeng, Achik, and Awe (Benedict 1972: 5, note 20).

Egerod (1980) has a division Baric (Bodo-Garo) which has a Bodo Branch (Bodo, Dimasa) and a Garo Branch containing (i) Achik, Abeng, Dacca, (ii) Atong, Rabha, Ruga and Koch. He speaks of the affinities of the Nagish group, including Mo Shang, Namsang and Banpara, with Baric.

Although the terminology used by Benedict and Egerod seems to reflect the distinction between Baric and Barish that was made by Shafer, the distinction itself seems not to be strictly maintained. The Barish (Bodo-Garo) group of Benedict also includes the Nagish languages of Shafer. Egerod uses Baric to refer to the Barish languages of Shafer while making a passing mention of the Nagish languages. Yet, following Shafer, he observed that the ending -ic indicates a relatively large group of languages and -ish denotes a smaller grouping (Egerod 1980: 796).

The classification provided by Voegelin (1977: 82) features a Bodo-Naga-Kachin group. The Bodo subgroup has Bodo, Garo and Koch (Atong and Wanang) divisions, but Rabha is not mentioned. In a more recent classification of Tibeto-Burman languages Bradley (1994: 60) proposes a Northeastern India group of the Tibeto-Burman includ-

ing Shafer's Baric/Benedict's Bodo-Garo-Konyak groups and Jinghpaw and Sak or Luish group.

8.2 *Rabha in micro-taxonomic level*

At the lowest tier all taxonomies place Rabha along with the various dialects of Garo. When further subdivisions are made, Rabha is placed along with Atong and Ruga, as in the subdivision provided by Egerod or as in 'Garo A' group of Benedict or as in the South Central Branch of Shafer (which also includes Tintekiya, the Cooch Bihar dialect, Konts and Koch). Grierson speaks of Rabha as closely related to Garo. He considers that Atong, which is grouped together with Rabha by many, is probably the nearest to the original from which the various dialects are derived (*LSI*, vol. I, part I: 64).

8.3 *Rabha: A Sal language*

Burling (1983: 4) introduced the name 'the Sal languages' to define a group of languages that includes languages of the Bodo-Garo group and some of the "Eastern Naga group" which includes Chang (or Mojung), Phom (or Tamlu, Chingmengnu, Assiringia), Konyak (or Tableng, Angwanku), Wancho (Banpara, Mutonia), Nocte (or Nama-sangia, Mohongia) and Tangsa (or Moshang and Shange). The name of the group is derived from the word for 'sun' which in these languages is *san*, *sal* or *jan*, sometimes preceded by the syllable for 'sky', which sets this group apart from other Tibeto-Burman languages (Burling 1983: 11). Something to this effect was noted by Shafer (1953: 227) earlier with respect to the Baric languages, citing two vocabulary items: **sal* 'sun' and **war* 'fire' which are also found in Katsin. In his study, Burling included Boro, Garo, Atong, Wanang of the Bodo-Garo group and Konyak, Nocte and Tangsa of the Eastern Naga group comparing them against a list of comparative vocabulary items presented at the end in different tables according to their credibility as evidence for common lexical innovation. The 'Sal group of languages' does not introduce a radically new division as it defines Shafer's Baric or Benedict's Bodo-Garo-Konyak group of languages.

By the defining criteria for identifying a 'Sal' language, Rabha qualifies, as would be expected, to be included among the Sal languages. The Rabha word for 'sun' is *ran-san*, in which the initial

syllable means ‘sky, cloud, rain’. The precise words would be *raŋ-ká-raŋ* ‘sky’ (where *ká-raŋ* means ‘above, over’), *raŋ-khop* ‘cloud’, *raŋ* ‘rain’ (as also in nominal verbs *raŋ pha* ‘to rain’, *raŋ philaŋ* ‘to have lightening’, *raŋ ter* ‘to thunder’). The word for ‘day’ in the Bodo-Garo languages is usually the word for ‘sun’. Burling does not include this in his discussion of the vocabulary items peculiar to the Sal languages. The word for ‘day’ and ‘sun’ is *san* in Bodo and *sal* in Garo. In Rabha, the word for ‘day’ is *san* while the word for ‘sun’ is *raŋ-saŋ* which is very close to the Atong *raŋ-san* ‘sun’. Taking only the Bodo group and the word for ‘day’, Rabha is close to Bodo (and Garo), while in having an initial syllable in the word for ‘sun’ Rabha is close to Atong, though there is a difference in the final consonant, which is *-n* in Atong and *-ŋ* in Rabha. The initial syllable *raŋ* ‘sky, rain, cloud’ is the same in Rabha, Atong, Nocte and Tangsa.

9 *Literary activity*

There is hardly any literary activity in Rabha. There does not exist a written tradition. Occasionally small articles or poems appear in various souvenirs that are published on different occasions. From the time that Rabha was introduced in some primary schools some small textbooks have been prepared using the Assamese script by the language association *Bebak Rabha Kraurang Runchung* and published by the Assam State Text Book Production & Publication Corporation Ltd. The language of these productions is difficult to judge as they contain a mixture of slightly variant forms and a random admixture of Róngdani Rabha of the southern bank and Kocha Rabha of the northern bank. It is enough to take a look at the first four sentences of the lesson on page 27 of *Chag pidan* (*Thak ning*):

Rasan ara rampar sansa kiluk jinjo. Rasan braka, “ini bil bidii”.
Chabani rampar tepjo, “Onoŋbe cikai nemo”. Rasan manaii.

The first, second and fourth sentences are in northern Kocha Rabha, while the third sentence is in Róngdani Rabha. Here there is not only an admixture of vocabulary drawn from two dialects but also a random mixing of two phonological and grammatical systems. The mixture is neither Róngdani Rabha nor Kocha Rabha. One does not know what to call it. It is a classical case of a forced written variety created by simply mixing two mutually unintelligible dialects,

the mixture being without a spoken counterpart, either in the past or in the present. Such random mixing, even if done with the best of intentions, is linguistically unsound and will only retard the progress of the language if not keep it permanently stuck in a deep mire. The young minds that are fed with this concoction are baffled by it. It is disowned by all as a foreign idiom.

On the other hand, there are a few small books produced by the Rabha Bhasha Parishad, Dudunai, also using the Assamese script, meant as textbooks for those taking the Rabha language examination which this organisation itself administers. These have appeared under the names *Rabha Grammar*, *Sok-dāmbay* and *Par-jhampur*, each having two or three parts. The language of these books is the Róngdani dialect without any admixture.

CHAPTER ONE

SOUND LEVEL ANALYSIS

1.1 *Phonemic inventory*

The phoneme inventory of Rabha consists of 18 consonants, 6 vowels with tonal contrast and a set of complex nuclei.

1.1.1 *Consonants*

Table 1.1 gives the consonant phonemes of Rabha.

Table 1.1 *Rabha consonants*

Bilabial (labio-labial)	Alveolar (lamino-dental)	Palatal (lamino-palatal)	Velar (dorso-velar)	Glottal
p ph b	t th d	c j	k kh g	
m	n		ŋ	
		s		h
	r			
	l			

1.1.2 *Vowels*

Table 1.2 gives the Rabha vowels.

Table 1.2 *Rabha vowels*

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Close-mid	e		o
Open		a	

Besides these simple vowels, Rabha has a set of diphthongs or complex nuclei that are treated separately in 1.4.

1.1.3 *Tone*

Rabha has a lexically significant two-fold tonal contrast. A toneme of High Tone, marked with an acute accent mark above the vowel, is established to accommodate this phonemic feature. The Low Tone is unmarked.

1.1.4 *Juncture*

There exist minimal pairs that are differentiated solely by the presence of a morpheme boundary (concomitant also with a syllable boundary) and the consequent phonetic features arising therefrom. In such cases it is necessary to establish a closed juncture, marked ‘+’ when required. For typographical reasons, however, unless otherwise indicated a ‘-’ denotes a morpheme boundary.

1.1.5 *Voiced aspirated plosives*

It may be necessary to postulate a series of three voiced aspirated plosives (bilabial, alveolar and velar) for speakers whose speech contains a greater number of Assamese loan words. This set does not occur medially, finally or in clusters. They are usually replaced by the unaspirated series in the speech of others, some of whom do not articulate the voiced aspirated plosives even when speaking Assamese. However, a considerable amount of free variation between the aspirated and unaspirated voiced series, is a noticeable phenomenon within the Rabha speech community, and sometimes within a single idiolect.

babi ~ bhabi	‘to think, to feel’
bagina ~ bhagina	‘nephew’ (brother’s son in relation to a sister or sister’s son in relation to a brother)
balan̩ balan̩ ~ bhalan̩ bhalan̩	‘healthy, prosperous’
bar ~ bhar	‘load, burden’
daoa ~ dhaoa	‘battle, war’
dormo ~ dhormo	‘religion’
gorai ~ ghorai	‘horse’
garai ~ gharai	‘wound’

Probably under the influence of this free variation, some words that are distinctly native also show such free variation:

b̄ai ~ bh̄ai	‘be yellow’
d̄aŋ ~ dh̄aŋ	‘to enter’

1.2 *Illustration of contrast*

In illustrating phonemic contrasts glosses of verbs contain the infinitival ‘to’. Unless specifically mentioned this does not indicate that the corresponding Rabha verb is in its infinitival form; rather it is employed to avoid mistaking it for a corresponding noun in English.

1.2.1 *Consonants*

1.2.1.1 *Plosives*

1.2.1.1.1 *Aspiration*

(i) /p vs. ph/

pat-a	‘to go over, to go across (present tense)’
phat-a	‘vomit, cook in a bamboo (present tense)’
par	‘flower’
phar	‘night’
pan	‘tree’
phan	‘to go searching, to follow’
pak	classifier for weeks
phak	‘pillar, post’
pal	‘herd, flock, classifier for herds, flocks etc.’
phal	‘ploughshare’
pén	‘to alternate’
phén	‘to change, to transform (intr.)’
pok	‘to bloat, to get soaked’
phok	‘to uproot’
pún	‘be dense’
phún	‘to stitch, to tailor’
pu ~ pur	‘to fly (intr.)’

phu	'to sow, to sprinkle' (granular or powdery things like seeds etc.)
puk	'intestine'
phuk	'be trapped, be stuck'

(ii) /t vs. th/

to	'there be'
tho	'be tasty'
tal	'time' (of some event or activity)
thal	'plate'
tat-a	'to feel, be in contact with, be contiguous to' (present tense)
that-a	'to sacrifice' (present tense)
tari	'frequently inundated but dry otherwise (land along or close to the riverbed)'
thari	'to repair, to make good'
té	'now, today'
thé	'fruit'
teka	postposition meaning 'as much as'
thek-a	'to preserve, to keep separate' (present tense)
tú	'to feed by hand or by beak'
thú	'be deep'
tuk	'be overgrown, swell'
thuk	'to erect' (fence, wall etc.)

(iii) /k vs. kh/

<u>kai</u>	'person, human being'
<u>khai</u>	'to separate out, to branch off' (intr.)
kán	'body'
khán	'to cut'
kan	'to wear' (ornaments, dress for lower body)
khan	'yam'
kap	'be full, be filling the entire area'
khap	'to weep, to cry'
kari	postposition meaning 'all, everything'
khari	'salt'
kén	'seed'
khén	'crab'

ki	‘to fall’
khi	‘be sour’
ko	‘to throw’
kho	‘to stitch, to weave’ (hem of clothes, edge of woven articles etc.)
krik	‘to know, to be able’
khrik	‘be sufficient’
kriŋ	‘to sound, to produce noise’ (intr.)
khriŋ	‘to spread or scatter as firewood for drying’
krit-a	‘to break into pieces’ (intr., present tense)
khrit-a	‘to sprinkle’ (present tense)
kip	‘to cover, to put lid or roof etc.’
khip	‘to close’ (bags, books, lips etc.)
kuri	‘stage in the growth of fowl just before starting to lay eggs’
khuri	‘bowl, chalice’
takar	‘an evil spirit’
takhar	‘earthen jar used for brewing rice beer’

1.2.1.1.2 *Voicing*

(i) /p vs. b/

pat-a	‘to go over, to go across, to exceed’ (present tense)
bat-a	‘to weave baskets etc., to erect pillar or post’ (present tense)
par	‘flower, to bloom’
bar	‘to return’
pá	‘be thin’
bá	‘be pregnant (animals), carry children on back’
pak	‘burn (fire, intr.); be smeared with (dirt etc.)’
bak	‘pig’
pan	‘tree’
ban	‘winnowing fan’
paī	‘to carry’
baī	‘to plough (in nominal verb formation), deity’
pet-a	‘to carry slung from shoulder or tied to waist or under arm against body’ (present tense)
bet-a	‘to decompose’ (present tense)
pok	‘to bloat, to be soaked’

bok	'be white'
puk	'intestine'
buk	'to take a handful with hand cupped over the material'

(ii) /t vs. d/

tó	'bird'
dó ~ dóη	'to alight from being carried on back by someone'
taci	'do not look' (negative imperative <i>ta-</i>)
daci	'jokingly, in jest'
tak	'to do, to make, to weave'
dak	'to pluck'
tala	'lock, flat surface'
dala	'round winnowing fan for cleaning rice'
tan	'to put'
dan	'to spread' (tr.)
<u>tao</u>	'to ascend'
<u>dao</u>	'to open'
tar	'quality' (of personality, workmanship etc., used in nominal verb formation)
dar	'loan'
toη ~ to	'to stay, be present'
doη	'stalk or ear of grain or banana'
tor <u>ai</u>	'to help, to rescue'
dor <u>ai</u>	'adolescent girl'
t <u>oi</u>	'to hold'
do <u>i</u> ~ do <u>ie</u>	postposition meaning 'instead of'
tú-a	'to feed by hand or by beak' (present tense)
dúa	'very dilute rice beer'
túη	'be hot'
dúη	'to climb'
tik	'earthen jar in which rice beer is kept for fermenting'
dik	'to subside'

(iii) /c vs. j/

cak	'leaf'
jak	'to remove pots etc. from stove or materials from pots or mortar'

caŋ	‘who’
jaŋ	‘be able’
cepa	‘bamboo fish-trap or creel that is round and bulging in the middle and flat at the ends’
jep-a	‘to arrange neatly especially in layers’ (present tense)
cet-a	‘to tear’ (tr., present tense)
jēt-a	‘to separate, to part’ (hair, grass etc., tr., present tense)
cér	‘to split’ (intr.)
jér	‘to slide off, to fall off, as when consistency or adhesive quality is low’
cit-a	‘to lay egg’ (present tense)
jīt-a	‘to defecate’ (present tense)
cati	‘open oil lamp’
jati	‘local, native, not foreign’
cok	‘to lift’
jok	‘to escape’
coŋ	‘to begin, classifier for clusters of plants that grow in clusters’
joŋ	‘sharp or sharpened end of anything’
cot-a	‘to spit’ (present tense)
jot-a	‘to insert, to sting, to point’ (present tense)
cú	‘to wrap in leaves, cloth, paper etc.’
jú	‘to copulate’
cín	‘to lay a makeshift bridge’
-jìn	verbal suffix meaning ‘mutually’
cípan	‘a little’
jìpan	‘simultaneously, concurrently’
(iv) /k vs. g/	
ka	‘water’ (child language)
ga	‘to carry on head or shoulder’
kap	‘be full, be filling the entire area’
gap	‘colour’
kar	‘arrow’
gar	‘responsibility’
kraŋ	‘to stroll’
graŋ	‘roof-frame, to prepare a roof-frame’
krop	‘to split open’ (intr.)

grop	‘to digest, to sink and settle’ (land etc.)
krit-a	‘to break into pieces’ (intr., present tense)
grit-a	‘to grind, to crush to powder’ (present tense)
kimar	‘a rare word used only as an imitative with <i>séng</i> meaning waist’
gimar	‘perspiration’
kir ~ kiri	‘to fear, to be afraid’
gir	‘to collect’
kasi	‘a kind of reed’
gasi	‘a kind of tree’

1.2.1.1.3 *Places of articulation*

(i) Voiceless unaspirated plosives

/p vs. t/

pak	‘to burn (intr., fire), to be smeared with’
tak	‘to make, to do, to weave’
pat-a	‘to go across, to go over, to exceed’ (present tense)
tat-a	‘to feel, be touching, to be in contact’ (present tense)
pan	‘tree’
tan	‘to put’

/p vs. c/

pak	‘to burn (fire), to be smeared with’ (intr.)
cak	‘to help, to kindle (fire), to support’
pan	‘tree’
can	‘to prepare and keep the concoction for brewing rice-beer’
pom	‘classifier for a length of bamboo etc. between two notches’
com	‘to hide’ (intr.)

/p vs. k/

pak	‘to burn (intr., fire), to be smeared with’
kak	‘to bite’
pan	‘tree’
kan	‘wear’ (ornaments or dress for lower body)

rap 'to weave, to wind' (bamboo or rope work involving winding)

rak 'be hard'

/t vs. c/

pat-a 'to go across, to cross over, to exceed' (present tense)

cat-a 'to fit with handle, be thick' (present tense)

pet-a 'to carry slung from shoulder or tied to the waist or under arm against body' (present tense)

cet-a 'to tear' (tr., present tense)

pok 'to bloat, to be soaked'

cok 'to lift'

/t vs. k/

tan 'to put'

kan 'to wear' (ornaments or dress for lower body)

to ~ ton 'be, there be'

ko 'to throw'

tal 'time' (of some event or activity)

kal 'times'

/c vs. k/

cek 'be damp, be moist'

kek 'to split (firewood)'

cak 'to help, to light (fire)'

kak 'to bite'

cok 'to lift'

kok 'to beat'

(ii) Voiceless aspirated plosives

/ph vs. th/

phat-a 'to vomit, to cook in bamboo' (present tense)

that-a 'to sacrifice' (present tense)

phal 'ploughshare'

thal 'plate'

phar 'to sell'

thar	‘be clean’
phé	‘arrowhead’
thé	‘fruit’

/ph vs. kh/

pha	‘cutting edge of cutting instruments’
kha	‘to tie’
phap	‘to overflow, to inundate’
khap	‘to weep, to cry’
phén	‘to change, to transform’ (intr.)
khén	‘crab’
phrit-a	‘to bounce off, to snap shut as a trap’ (present tense)
khrit-a	‘to sprinkle’ (present tense)

/th vs. kh/

thá	‘to tear (intr.), vain’
khá	‘be bitter’
thəŋ	‘to touch’
kheŋ	‘be alive, to live’
tho	‘be tasty’
kho	‘to stitch or weave’ (hem of cloth, edge of basket etc.)
thok	‘group’
khok	‘basket’

(iii) voiced plosives

/b vs. d/

bak	‘to wrench apart’
dak	‘to pluck’
bok	‘be white’
dok	‘to take out’
bam	‘bread’
dam	‘mat’

/b vs. j/

ban	‘to use a path regularly or frequently’
ján	‘be far’

bak	‘to wrench apart’
jak	‘to remove pots etc. from stove or materials from pots or mortar’
bok	‘be white’
jok	‘to escape’

/b vs. g/

bat-a	‘to weave (baskets etc.), to erect (pillar etc.)’ (present tense)
gat-a	‘to place load on (present tense)’
bom	‘to swim’
gom	‘to bend (intr.)’
bre	‘heald in loom’
gre	‘be in excess’
briṗ	‘to creep, creeper’
griṗ	‘to cover under something’

/d vs. j/

dok	‘to remove, to take out’
jok	‘to escape’
dak	‘to pluck’
jak	‘to remove pots etc. from stove or materials from pots or mortar’
dap	‘be caught under, be buried under’
jap	‘to wave, to fan, to paddle, to pedal’

/d vs. g/

duk	‘sadness’
guk	‘grasshopper’
dap	‘be caught under, be buried under’
gap	‘colour’
gar ~ dar	‘responsibility’
dar	‘loan’
dop	‘Indian fig tree’
gop	‘story’

/j vs. g/

groṅ	‘to flow’
jroṅ	‘to wither’

gur	‘to lie down’
jur	‘to scoop up or turn over mud with snout’
graŋ	‘roof frame, prepare roof frame’
jaŋ	‘be unable to hear because of surrounding noise’
gota	‘solid’
jota	‘footwear’

1.2.1.2 *Nasals**/m vs. n/*

ma	‘to disappear’
na	‘to hear’
mam	‘rice’ (child language)
nam	‘to ask, to request’
man	‘to crawl’
nan	‘be capable of producing a feeling of satiation (food)’
mari	‘to grow old’ (feminine)
nari	‘to put forth new shoot’
masi	‘millet’
nasi	‘to love’
mat-a	‘get wounded, be sharp’ (present tense)
nat-a	‘to scour, to cleanse by scrubbing’ (present tense)
<u>mai</u>	‘paddy, cooked rice’
<u>nai</u>	‘to shine, to be bright’
maŋ	‘classifier for non-human animate beings’
naŋ	‘be useful, have’ (used in nominal verb formation)
tikam	‘head’
tikan	‘to dress up’ (causative prefix <i>tí-</i>)
pam	‘to embrace’
pan	‘tree’
tám	‘to beat a drum’
tán	‘to cut’
sam	‘grass’
san	‘day’
com	‘to hide’
con	‘to wear’ (dress for upper body)

/m vs. ŋ/

tikam	‘head’
tikaŋ	‘before, early, long ago’

nam	‘to ask, to request’
naŋ	‘be useful, have’ (used in nominal verb formation)
mam	‘rice’ (child language)
maŋ	‘classifier for non-human animate beings’
cám	‘to wear out, to become dilute’
cáŋ	‘to happen’
ram	‘path’
raŋ	‘sky, rain’
sím	‘be wet’
síŋ	‘to ask, to enquire’
gram	‘be left undone (work), be left uncultivated’
graŋ	‘roof-frame, prepare the roof-frame’

/n vs. ŋ/

tikan	‘to dress up’ (tr., causative prefix <i>tí-</i>)
tikaŋ	‘before, early, long ago’
tan	‘to put’
taŋ	‘to scrape’ (grass with weeding instrument)
man	‘to crawl’
maŋ	‘classifier for non-human animate beings’
can	‘to prepare and keep the concoction for brewing rice beer’
caŋ	‘who’
nan	‘be capable of producing a feeling of satiety (food)’
naŋ	‘be useful, have’ (used only in nominal verb formation)
son	‘to push through, to insert in’
soŋ	‘be short’
con	‘to wear’ (dress for upper body)
coŋ	‘to begin, classifier for cluster of plants that grow as clusters’
tín	‘to lead’
tíŋ	‘classifier for long and thread-like things’
ton	‘a measuring basket that contains five kilograms’
toŋ ~ to	‘to stay, be present’

1.2.1.3 *Lateral, trill and homorganic nasal*

/r vs. l/

tar	‘quality’ (personality or workmanship—used only in nominal verb formation)
tal	‘time’ (of some activity or event)
bir	‘to descend’
bil	‘strength’
phar	‘night, to sell’
phal	‘ploughshare’
thar	‘be clean’
thal	‘plate’
par	‘flower’
pal	‘herd, flock, classifier for herd, flock etc.’
nagra	‘roots that grow as plant or trailing growth that gets rooted’ (used only in nominal verb formation)
nagla	‘a kind of drum’
ora	‘boundary’
ola	‘then’
huri	‘bride’
buli	‘sacrifice’

/n vs. l/

min	‘be ripe, be cooked’
mil	‘be small’
tan	‘to put’
tal	‘time’ (of some activity or event)
on	‘yes’
ol	‘arum’
dan	‘offering’
dal	‘a shield’
pan	‘tree’
pal	‘herd, flock, classifier for herd, flock etc.’
anaŋ	‘wife’s elder brother or husband’s elder sister’
alaŋ	‘bamboo frame of a temporary shed’

1.2.1.4 *Fricatives*

/s vs. h/

sá	‘to eat’
há	‘land’
séŋ	‘waist’
héŋ	‘be sparse, be not dense’
sur	‘tune’
hur ~ huri	‘clan consisting of sub-clans’
soŋ	‘village’
hoŋ	‘there’

1.2.1.5 *Contrast between palatal consonants*

/c vs. j vs. s/

cok	‘to lift’
jok	‘to escape’
sok	‘to reach’
cit-a	‘to lay egg’ (present tense)
jít-a	‘to defecate’ (present tense)
sít-a	‘to trim by cutting away irregular parts’ (pillar, post etc., present tense)
coŋ	‘to begin, cluster, classifier for plants that grow as clusters’
joŋ	‘sharp or sharpened end of things like poles’
soŋ	‘village’
cak	‘to help, to support, to kindle (fire)’
jak	‘to remove pots from stove or materials from pots, mortar etc.’
sak	‘be red’

1.2.2 *Contrast between vowels*

(i) /i/

/i vs. u/

i	‘this’
u	‘that’
ci	‘to look’

cu	‘be high’
bí	‘to break’ (intr.)
bú	‘be subject to some state or action’
ciŋ	‘we’
cuŋ	‘be big, be great’
si	‘to die’
su	‘to peck, to butt’

/i vs. i/

bis	‘poison’
bis	‘age’
siŋ	‘tendril, root-like shoots of trailing plants’
síŋ	‘to ask, to enquire’
sir-sir	‘gently’ (flowing of water, blowing of wind)
sir	‘iron’

/i vs. e/

sit-a	‘smoothen by removing irregular parts of poles, posts etc.’ (present tense)
set-a	‘anoint, apply oil or paint etc.’ (present tense)
si	‘to die’
se	‘to suffer, to undergo suffering’
cit-a	‘to lay egg’ (present tense)
cet-a	‘to tear’ (tr., present tense)
bencek	‘how much’
bencik	‘echo word used with <i>káncik</i> ‘despicable’

/i vs. o/

sí	‘blood’
só	‘mosquito, fly’
rí	‘be heavy’
ró	‘be long’
si	‘to die’
so	‘to rot’
khi	‘be sour’
kho	‘to stitch, to weave’ (hem of clothes, edge of woven articles etc.)

/i vs. a/

ciŋ	‘we’
caŋ	‘who’
si	‘to die’
sa	‘to ache’
mia	‘yesterday’
ma-a	‘to disappear’ (present tense)
-niŋ	‘two’
naŋ	‘be useful, have’ (used in nominal verb formations)

(ii) /e/

/e vs. a/

cet-a	‘to tear’ (tr., present tense)
cat-a	‘be thick, to fix handle’ (present tense)
pet-a	‘carry slung from shoulder or tied to the waist or under arm against body’ (present tense)
pat-a	‘to go across, to go over, to exceed’ (present tense)
jep	‘to arrange neatly especially in layers’
jap	‘to wave, to fan, to paddle, to pedal’
nem	‘be good’
nam	‘to ask, to request’

/e vs. o/

cet-a	‘to tear’ (tr., present tense)
cot-a	‘to spit’ (present tense)
se	‘to suffer, to undergo suffering, to last’
so	‘to rot’
khep	‘to hold between’ (as between claws, nippers or forceps)
khop	‘to fold up’ (intr.)
sek	‘to snatch’
sok	‘to reach’
bek	‘to sweep’
bok	‘be white’

/e vs. u/

bek	‘to sweep’
buk	‘to take a handful with hand cupped over the material’
ger	‘to avoid, to skirt’
gur	‘to lie down’
neka	‘a variety of honeybee’
nuka	‘eye of seed’
tren-tren	‘in a stiff and straight manner’
trun-trun	‘discharging copiously’ (smoke)

/e vs. i/

bet-a	‘to decompose’ (present tense)
bit-a	‘to pull’ (present tense)
cek	‘be damp, be moist’
cik	‘become cold (things), become tranquil (situation)’
gret-a	‘to gnaw’ (present tense)
grit-a	‘to grind, to crush to powder’ (present tense)
sén	‘waist’
siŋ	‘to ask, to enquire’
cepa	‘a fish-trap that is round and bulging at the centre and flat at either end’
cip-a	‘to close’ (present tense)

(iii) /a/

/a vs. i/

pati	‘to install, to appoint’
piti	‘to believe’
sar	‘fertiliser’
sir	‘iron’
sari	‘row, line’
siri	‘inner hard section of wood’
can	‘to prepare and keep the concoction for brewing rice beer’
cin	‘to lay a makeshift bridge’

/a vs. u/

caŋ	‘who’
cun	‘be big, be great’
pán	‘be plenty’
pún	‘be dense, be closely placed’
nak	‘to step on, to trample on’
nuk	‘to see’
raŋ	‘sky, rain’
ruŋ	‘boat’
rak	‘be hard’
ruk	‘to drive away, to chase away’

/a vs. o/

rán	‘be dry’ (intr.)
rón	‘to distribute’
rá	‘to take’
ró	‘be long’
rán	‘to carry away’
rón	‘be strong’
rap	‘to wind, to weave’ (bamboo or rope work involving winding)
rop	‘to wither, to fail to produce good fruits’ (esp. grains)
khosrak	‘to receive light bruises’
khosrok	‘to abort’

(iv) */o/**/o vs. u/*

bok	‘be white’
buk	‘to take a handful with hand cupped over the material’
só	‘to burn (tr.), mosquito’
sú	‘to pierce, to pound’
so	‘to rot’
su	‘to peck, to butt’
bó	‘to clear (growth of grass, forest etc.)’
bú	‘be subject to some action on state’

/o vs. í/

rot-a	‘to boil’ (tr., present tense)
rit-a	‘to carry home or to carry in from having left for some purpose like drying, trapping animals, hooking fish etc.’ (present tense)
rop	‘to wither away, to fail to produce good fruits especially grains’
rip	‘be submerged’
srop	‘to pull out leaves or grains from branch or stack in one draw’
srip	‘to permeate, to get soaked slowly’
khrok	‘to remove dress, to shave’ (hair, beard etc.)
khrik	‘be sufficient’

(v) /u/

/u vs. í/

sún	‘to support with a prop’
sín	‘to ask, to enquire’
dul-dul	‘appearing as completely white or dusty’
díl-díl	‘with freshness’ (of new shoots)
gur	‘to lie down’
gír	‘to collect’
gun	‘a kind of tiny insect that attacks bamboo’
gín	‘smell’
run	‘boat’
rín	‘to drink’

1.2.3 *Contrast of tones*

(i) /i vs. í/

ki	‘to fall’
kí	‘dog’
si	‘to die’
sí	‘blood’
ci	‘to look’
cí ~ cit	‘to lay egg’

(ii) /e vs. é/

heŋ	‘to aim a blow’
héŋ	‘be sparse, be not dense’
jeŋ	‘to leak’
jéŋ	‘to bend’ (as plants having stalk)
ken	‘fullness of time’ (used only with reference to par- turation)
khén	‘crab’
keŋ	‘be alive, to live’
khéŋ	‘to comb, to angle’
neŋ	‘to apply, to mix, to grind’
néŋ	‘be tired’
reŋ	‘yam’
réŋ	‘to go’

(iii) /a vs. á/

aŋ	‘I’
áŋ	‘to ask persistently’
asa	‘hope’
asá ~ acá	‘egg of a big variety of common fly’
bar	‘load’
bár	‘fire’
caŋ	‘who’
cáŋ	‘to happen’
jaŋbra	‘son-in-law’
jáŋbra	‘wife’s elder sister’
kaci	‘sickle’
káci	‘spittle’
<u>kai</u>	‘person’
<u>kái</u>	‘to plant’
kan	‘to wear’ (dress for lower body or ornaments)
kán	‘body’
kani	‘to say’
káni	‘be near, be short’ (distance)
kara	‘a musical instrument’
kára	‘more than, above’ (postposition)
kha	‘to tie’
khá	‘be bitter’

khan	‘yam’
khán	‘to cut’
kraŋ	‘to stroll, to go for a walk’
kráŋ	‘come to an end’ (especially rainy season)
man	‘to crawl’
mán	‘to get’
<u>rai</u>	‘be soft’
<u>rái</u>	‘banana leaf’
raŋ	‘rain, sky’
rán	‘to take away’
sa	‘to ache, to pain’
sá	‘to eat’
sam	‘grass’
sám	‘mortar’
tan	‘to put’
tán	‘to cut’

(iv) /o vs. ó/

bom-a	‘to swim’ (present tense)
bóma	‘lap, foot’ (of hill, tree etc.)
coŋ	‘to begin; classifier for clusters of plants that grow in clusters’
cón	‘insect, worm’
<u>dôi</u>	‘a tree’
<u>dói</u> ~ <u>dóie</u>	‘instead of’ (postposition)
hoŋ	‘there’
hón	‘to bark’
joŋ	‘to wither, to droop’
jroŋ	‘to stack up, to pile up’
kho	‘to stitch, to weave’ (hem of clothes, edge of woven articles etc.)
khó	‘to draw water’
so	‘to rot’
só	‘to burn’ (tr.)
soŋ	‘be short’
són	‘place pot on stove for cooking’
to ~ toŋ	‘be present, there be’
tó	‘bird’

(v) /u vs. ú/

cu	‘be tall, be high’
cú	‘to wrap in cloth, paper, leaf etc.’
khu	‘to pour out’
khú-	classifier for morsels
muŋ	‘name’
múŋ	‘to desire, to feel a need for’
nu	‘to sit’
nú	‘mammary glands, breast, milk’
phuŋ	‘be full’
phúŋ	‘to stitch, to tailor’
ru	‘to bathe’ (used as a nominal verb formation with <i>cika</i> ‘water’)
rú	‘be affected or be eaten by pests especially locusts’
su	‘to peck, to butt’
sú	‘to pierce, to pound’

(vi) /i vs. í/

gín	‘odour’
gín	‘to wash’
jím	‘to break or be disintegrated into small pieces’ (intr.)
jím	‘to roam or loiter around’
mín	‘be cooked, be ripe’
mín	‘body hair’
rím	‘to cook’ (tr.)
rím	‘to catch’
sím	‘to follow, to track’
sím	‘be wet’
prín	‘to mix, be in agreement, be coherent’
prín	‘be over’

1.3 *Description of phonemes*1.3.1 *Consonants*1.3.1.1 *Voiceless unaspirated plosives*

(i) /p/

The bilabial unaspirated plosive /p/ is realised as [p] everywhere except in syllable-final position where, except as required by a following vowel, it is realised as unreleased [p[◦]]

[po:-t̪hóʔ]	/pocó/	‘mango’
[pa:r]	/par/	‘flower’
[kum-pa:k [◦]]	/kumpak/	‘nose’
[kho:-pɒŋ]	/khopɒŋ/	‘head-dress’
[ma:-ka:p [◦]]	/makap/	‘straw’
[ra:ŋ-khop [◦]]	/raŋkhop/	‘cloud’
[hap [◦] -t̪i:]	/hapci/	‘slush’
[do:p [◦]]	/dop/	‘bundle’

(ii) /t/

/t/ is a lamino-dental voiceless plosive. It is realised as unreleased [t[◦]] (except as required by the following vowel) in syllable-final position and as [t] elsewhere.

[téʔ]	/té/	‘today, now’
[tu:-púʔ]	/tupú/	‘snake’
[pi-ta:k [◦]]	/pitak/	‘to wriggle’
[d̪za:-ma:t [◦]]	/jamat/	‘a conglomeration of villages’
[tha:t [◦]]	/that/	‘custom’
[ki-trin]	/kitrin/	‘to teach’
[tha:t [◦] -bi-ja:n]	/thatbijan/	‘customs’

In some Indo-Aryan loan words that have not been fully nativised, a more retracted variety, an apico-alveolar or even apico-postalveolar (represented here as [t̪], is found.

[pi:-ta:]	/pita/	‘home-baked bread’
[ta:]	/ta/	‘rupee’

[t̥a:-ka:]	/taka/	‘money’
[ba:t̥ ^o]	/bat/	‘guilt, profaned state’
[ha:t̥ ^o]	/hat/	‘weekly market’
[t̥i-t̥i]	/citi/	‘letter’

In very strict phonemic analysis it is possible to establish a phonemic contrast between /t/ and /t̥/ as in:

[t̥a:]	/ta/	‘money’
[ta:]	/ta/	‘negative imperative prefix’

But, as the presence of [t̥] is limited to a handful of such borrowed words, this position has not been adopted.

(iii) /c/

The phoneme /c/ is a voiceless palatal affricate, phonetically [t̥ʃ]. The sound is analysed as a single phoneme along with the series of voiceless stops. The sound is aspirated (represented here as [t̥ʃ^h]) when followed by a high toned vowel. This happens most characteristically in the initial position. Even when not followed by a high toned vowel, occasionally it is heard to be aspirated for prosodic reasons of heavy stress.

[t̥ʃa:y]	/caɪ/	‘song’
[t̥ʃa:-ha:]	/caha/	‘tea’
[khú-t̥ʃa:r]	/khúcar/	‘lip’
[t̥ʃhá-ra:n]	/cáran/	‘paddy as seed’
[t̥ʃhá-tar]	/cátar/	‘base, radical cause’
[po:-t̥ʃhóʔ]	/pocó/	‘mango’

(iv) /k/

The phoneme /k/ is a voiceless velar plosive. The phoneme has a fronted variety ([k₊]) when followed by a front vowel; [k^o] in syllable-final position (with phonetically necessary releasing according to the requirement of the following vowel) and [k] elsewhere.

[k ₊ ek ^o]	/kek/	‘to split firewood etc.’
[k ₊ íʔ]	/kí/	‘dog’
[ba:k ^o]	/bak/	‘pig’

[t̥i-ka:m]	/tikam/	'head'
[t̥i-ka:ŋ]	/tikan̄/	'before, earlier'
[kok-that-a:]	/kokthata/	'to murder' (present tense)
[kri-ma:]	/kr̥ima/	'guest, visitor, relative'

1.3.1.2 *Voiceless aspirated plosives*

(i) /ph/

The phoneme /ph/, the bilabial voiceless aspirated plosive, does not show any allophonic variation except that intervocalically, either by itself or in combination with /l, r/, the sound tends to have gentler plosion and borders on being a bilabial fricative. But the occlusion is not altogether lacking to be able to characterise this phoneme as a true fricative.

[phu:]	/phu/	'to sow, to sprinkle and put in' (salt, sugar etc.)
[phok ^o]	/phok/	'to uproot, to pluck up'
[pho:-phla:]	/phophla/	'be hollow'
[se:-phra:]	/sephra/	'bandicoot'
[phrit ^o -a]	/phrita/	'to bounce at one end, to snap shut as a trap' (present tense)

(ii) /th/

The phoneme /th/ is a lamino-dental voiceless aspirated plosive. This phoneme does not show any allophonic variation.

[thé?]	/thé/	'fruit'
[tho:p ^o]	/thop/	'nest'
[tá-then̄]	/táthen̄/	'leg'
[thón]	/thón/	'to roll up'

(iii) /kh/

Like /ph/, /kh/ shows a tendency to spirantise. The degree of lack of occlusion is sufficient to give the resulting fricative allophonic status. The phoneme /kh/, then, has three allophones: [x] intervocalically either by itself or in cluster with /r/; [kh₊] when followed by a front vowel and [kh] elsewhere, [x] itself is fronted [x₊] when followed by a front vowel

[ma:-xa:m]	/makham/	‘liquor from steamed sticky rice’
[pha:-xa:m]	/phakham/	‘tooth’
[the:x+eŋ]	/thekheŋ/	‘bring back to life’
[tho:-xrok ^o]	/thokhrok/	‘finish up completely’ (liquid)
[kháʔ]	/khá/	‘be bitter’
[kha:n]	/khan/	‘yam’
[kho:-dom]	/khodom/	‘pillow’
[kh+i:]	/khi/	‘be sour’
[kh+éŋ]	/khéŋ/	‘to comb, to angle’
[kh+én]	/khén/	‘crab’

1.3.1.3 Voiced plosives

(i) /b/

The phoneme /b/ is the voiced counterpart of the bilabial plosive /p/. This phoneme does not have any allophones. When followed by high back /u/ it spirantises to a slight degree, but not sufficient to be considered a true allophone.

[ba:k ^o]	/bak/	‘pig’
[bi:-bi:]	/bibi/	‘elder sister’
[brek ^o]	/brek/	‘a variety of gourd’
[breŋ]	/breŋ/	‘bamboo that is split and flattened’
[bu:-bu-reŋ]	/bubureŋ/	‘a kind of wind instrument’

(ii) /d/

The phoneme /d/ is a lamino-dental voiced plosive. This phoneme has two allophones: [d] itself, which is the most commonly found allophone, and a retracted apico-alveolar [ɖ] found in a very few words. It is difficult to find a phonetic motivation for this allophonic variation. The only common feature noticeable in the words that contain [ɖ] is that it occurs only in the initial position and is followed either by *-ai* or by *-eŋ*.

[do:-do:]	/dodo/	‘a long robe’
[dok ^o]	/dok/	‘to extract, to take out’
[bo:-dron]	/bodro ŋ/	‘dung beetle’
[kho:-dlon]	/khodlon/	‘bald, a bald person’

[da:y]	/dai/	‘offence, to extend boundary’
[dáy]	/dái/	‘have a landslide’
[deŋ]	/deŋ/	‘to open’
[deŋ-ga:]	/deŋga/	‘a vessel hewn from wood’

(iii) /j/

Phonetically, the phoneme /j/ is an affricate (represented here as [d͡z]) at the same place of articulation as /c/. Unlike /c/, this phoneme does not have an aspirated variety even phonetically. On the other hand when followed by front vowel with high tone it is realised as a voiced palatal sibilant [z], which is its only allophone.

[zíʔ]	/jí/	‘dung, body dirt’
[zúʔ]	/jú/	‘to copulate’
[zí-phin]	/jíphin/	‘fart’
[dzi-ga:r]	/jigar/	‘hailstone’
[kin-dzun]	/kinjun/	‘bone’
[dza:p°]	/jap/	‘hand-held fan, to fan’

(iv) /g/

The phoneme /g/ is a voiced unaspirated velar plosive. This phoneme is fronted (represented here as [g₊]) when followed by a front vowel. In all other places the sound is realised as [g].

[g ₊ e:-rok°]	/gerok/	‘a variety of creeper’
[g ₊ i:-mi:]	/gimi/	‘elder sister’s husband’
[g ₊ i:-ri:]	/giri/	‘lord, master’
[ga:]	/ga/	‘to carry’
[ga:-goŋ]	/gagoŋ/	‘nipper, claw of crabs etc.’
[gom]	/gom/	‘to bend down’ (intr.)
[gur]	/gur/	‘to lie down’
[grim]	/grim/	‘forest’

1.3.1.4 *Nasals*

(i) /m/

The bilabial nasal /m/ is realised everywhere as [m], except that when word-final and preceded by a high-toned vowel, the sound is glottalised as a concomitant effect of the high tone.

[kha:m]	/kham/	‘a kind of drum’
[ra:m]	/ram/	‘path’
[mi:-ni:]	/mini/	‘to laugh’
[miŋ-kúʔ]	/miŋkú/	‘cat’
[sa:-ma:]	/sama/	‘metal ring on handles of instruments’
[sámʔ]	/sám/	‘mortar’
[támʔ]	/tám/	‘to beat or play drum’

(ii) /n/

Although in the same place of articulation as the lamino-dental /t, th, d/, the phoneme /n/ is more typically apico-alveolar. Its behaviour is comparable to that of /m/. There are, however, a few words with initial /n/ realised as a distinct lamino-dental nasal. There appears to be no apparent phonetic motivation for this behaviour. The only common feature that can be mentioned is that this variant ([n₊]) occurs initially in closed syllables whose coda is /m/. As no syllable with initial [n₊] and [p] as coda could be found, it could not be ascertained whether it is the feature bilabial or the [m] that occasions this change.

[n ₊ em]	/nem/	‘be good’
[n ₊ a:m]	/nam/	‘to ask, to request’
[n ₊ am-t ₊ a:k ^o]	/namcak/	‘sister’s daughter in relation to a brother’
[na:-ra:]	/nara/	‘stubble’
[ne:n]	/nen/	‘cloth’
[na:]	/na/	‘to hear’
[kónʔ]	/kón/	‘twig, stick’
[rónʔ]	/rón/	‘to distribute’
[khánʔ]	/khán/	‘to cut’

(iii) /ŋ/

The velar nasal /ŋ/ is slightly fronted in the presence of a front vowel and, like the other nasals, is glottalised when it is word-final and is preceded by a high-toned vowel.

[ra:ŋ]	/raŋ/	‘sky, rain’
[so:ŋ]	/soŋ/	‘village’

[mun̩ -i:]	/mun̩i/	‘in the name’ (locative)
[t̩ʃaŋ -i]	/caŋi/	‘whose’
[t̩ʃiŋ]	/ciŋ/	‘we’
[náŋʔ]	/náŋ/	‘you’ (sg.)
[réŋʔ]	/réŋ/	‘to go’
[ráŋʔ]	/ráŋ/	‘take away’

1.3.1.5 *Fricatives*

(i) /s/

The phoneme /s/ is a lamino-palatal fricative at the same place of articulation as /c, j/. This phoneme does not have any allophones. This sound tends to have greater friction when followed by a high-toned vowel. In a very few words it freely varies with post-alveolar [ʃ].

[khi-sa:m ~ khi-ʃa:m]	/khisam/	‘evening, twilight’
[sa:-sa:]	/sasa/	‘rabbit’
[sóʔ]	/só/	‘mosquito’
[sáʔ]	/sá/	‘to eat’
[a:-sa:]	/asa/	‘hope’
[si:-sa:]	/sisa/	‘lead’
[sa:s]	/sas/	‘courage’

(ii) /h/

The phoneme /h/ is a glottal fricative and has two allophones: a velar fricative [x] (along with a more front position when followed by a front vowel) when followed by a high vowel and a glottal fricative [h] elsewhere.

[xur ~ xu:-ri:]	/hur ~ huri/	‘clan consisting of sub-clans’
[xi:-tuk ^o]	/hituk/	‘advice’
[xir-xir]	/hir hir/	‘gently’ (blowing of wind)
[háʔ]	/há/	‘land’
[t̩ʃa:-ha:]	/caha/	‘tea’
[he-len]	/helen/	‘to lean’

1.3.1.6 *Trill, lateral*

(i) /r/

The phoneme /r/ is an apical trill. This phoneme does not have any allophonic variation, except that like the nasals it gets glottalised when it is word-final and is preceded by a high-toned vowel.

[bárʔ]	/bár/	‘fire’
[kúrʔ]	/kúr/	‘binding strip of bamboo or cane’
[re:ŋ]	/reŋ/	‘yam’
[re:]	/re/	‘cane, reed’
[ma:y-run]	/mairun/	‘polished rice’

(ii) /l/

The phoneme /l/ is an alveolar lateral approximant. This phoneme has an allophone quite similar to the dark [ɫ] of ‘pull’ when preceded by a back vowel. The sound is represented here as [ɫ]. Elsewhere it is like the clear [l] of English.

[jing-oɫ]	/jingol/	‘yoke’
[duɫ-duɫ]	/dul dul/	‘appearing as dusty or white (dust, grey hair)’
[do-khoɫ]	/dokhol/	‘robbery’
[pel-poɫ]	/pel pol/	‘with slow bubbling (boil)’
[pe:-la:]	/pela/	‘punishment’
[pa:l]	/pal/	‘herd, flock’
[li-ba:k]	/libak/	‘frog’

1.3.2 *Vowels*1.3.2.1 *Low-toned vowels*

In general, all low-toned vowels, except /ɨ/, show phonetically and environmentally conditioned length difference.

- They are long in initial and final open syllables.
- Medial syllables, whether open or closed, contain short vowels.
- Length of a vowel in an initial open syllable is shortened also when the onset of the second syllable is phonetically interpreted as occurring simultaneously with the coda of the previous syllable. Actual pronunciation is the only practical way of judging whether there is

such an overlap. When this happens the onset of the second syllable is always an aspirated sound. Deeper analysis might reveal that there actually was a fusion between a coda and a following onset which gave rise to those medial aspirated plosives. However, there are instances where a medial aspirated plosive is not interpreted as an overlap segment.

(d) Closed syllables have short vowels. In a very narrow phonetic analysis it is possible to see a minor length difference between the nucleus of stopped syllables (having stops as coda) and that of other closed syllables. However, this difference has not been included in the following transcription. These general length variations mentioned here are not mentioned while speaking of the other vowel-specific allophonic variations of the individual vowels. However they are incorporated in the representative sample given for each vowel. In this section ‘-’ stands for a syllable boundary.

(i) /i/

The phoneme /i/ is a high front unrounded vowel. This phoneme does not show any allophonic variation besides the length difference mentioned above.

[si:]	/si/	‘to die’
[tʃi:]	/ci/	‘to look’
[bi:-bi:]	/bibi/	‘elder sister’
[g ₊ i:-ri:]	/giri/	‘lord, master’
[ma:-si:]	/masi/	‘millet’
[mi:-a:]	/mia/	‘yesterday’
[si:-sa:]	/sisa/	‘lead’
[k ₊ i:-ri-a:]	/kiria/	‘to be afraid’ (present tense)
[mi:-ni-ki-tʃi-a:]	/minikicia/	‘to ridicule’ (present tense)
[tʃiŋ]	/ciŋ/	‘we’
[siŋ]	/siŋ/	‘tendril’
[a:-niŋ]	/aniŋ/	‘two things’
[so:-niŋ]	/soniŋ/	‘the day after tomorrow’
[kh ₊ il-tiŋ-tiŋ]	/khilitiŋtiŋ/	‘lean, lanky’
[tik ^o -tik-a:]	/tiktika/	‘a variety of hornbill’
[tip ^o -tip ^o]	/tiptip/	‘minutely’ (question, search etc.)
[pi-thiŋ]	/pithiŋ/	‘raw, unripe, uncooked’
[pi-kha:]	/pikha/	‘liver’

[si-tha:]	/sitha/	'residue that remains in a pot of rice beer'
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(ii) /e/

The phoneme /e/ is a front unrounded vowel midway between close-mid and open-mid position. Its allophonic variation is limited to the length difference common to the other vowels.

[re:]	/re/	'reed'
[g ₊ re:]	/gre/	'to be left over'
[ne:-ka:]	/neka/	'a variety of bee'
[t̚e:-t̚eŋ]	/ceceŋ/	'fleshy part of crab'
[pe:-la:]	/pela/	'punishment'
[be:-bra:]	/bebra/	'dull, dull person'
[k ₊ em-pha:r]	/kemphar/	'caudal fin of fish'
[t̚eŋ-tleŋ]	/centleŋ/	'tamarind'
[ben-t̚ek ^o]	/bencek/	'how much'
[t̚ek ^o]	/cek/	'fishing net'
[bek ^o]	/bek/	'to sweep'
[t̚et ^o -a]	/ceta/	'to tear' (tr., present tense)
[dzep ^o]	/jep/	'to arrange in layers'

A few closed monosyllabic words (especially having a non-plosive coda) have long [e:], which is retained even when not followed by word boundary. However, unlike with /a/ there is no evidence of lengthening of /e/ in all final positions.

[re:ŋ]	/reŋ/	'yam'
[re:ŋ-i]	/reŋ-i/	'of yam' (genitive)
[ne:n]	/nen/	'cloth, dress'
[ne:n-o:]	/nen-o/	'cloth' (accusative)

(iii) /a/

The phoneme /a/ is an open central vowel. The common length difference noted above gives rise to a phonetic qualitative difference to the vowel, such that a short [a] is higher on the height axis than the long [a:]. The vowel /a/ in a final syllable, irrespective of whether it is closed or not, tends to be articulated as [a:].

[ba:-ba:]	/baba/	‘dad, father’
[tʃa:-ri: ~ sa:-ri:]	/cari ~ sari/	‘breath’
[sa:-sa:]	/sasa/	‘rabbit’
[na:-kor]	/nakor/	‘ear’
[ra:-bu:]	/rabu/	‘a variety of gourd’
[ga:-phun]	/gaphun/	‘tomorrow’
[pak ^o -dza:]	/pakja/	‘thing’
[kap ^o -ta:]	/kapta/	‘splint, packing to fill gaps’
[hap ^o -tʃi:]	/hapci/	‘slush’
[taŋ-sa:r]	/taŋsar/	‘loom’
[ham-ja:r]	/hamjar/	‘field’ (for shift cultivation)
[tha:l]	/thal/	‘plate’
[pa:r]	/par/	‘flower’
[ga:p ^o]	/gap/	‘colour’
[pa:n]	/pan/	‘tree’
[ta:l]	/tal/	‘time’ (of some activity or event)’
[pha:k ^o]	/phak/	‘post, pillar’
[kaŋ-kar-bak ^o -ba:k ^o]	/kaŋkarbakbak/	‘on one’s back’ (fall)
[da:-pa-pla:k ^o]	/dapaplak/	‘flat and big’

(iv) /o/

The back rounded /o/ is, like its front counterpart /e/, midway between close-mid and open-mid positions on the height axis. This vowel shares the length difference common to the other vowels.

[so:]	/so/	‘to rot’
[bo:-da:]	/boda/	‘phlegmatic’
[bo:-seŋ]	/bosen/	‘leech’
[do:-do:]	/dodo/	‘a type of cloak’
[ne:-kho:]	/nekho/	‘wax from honeycomb’
[mo:-mo:]	/momo/	‘younger sibling’
[tʃon]	/con/	‘to wear dress’ (for upper body)
[dzon]	/jon/	‘pointed or sharp end of posts, poles etc.’
[bom-ba:]	/bomba/	‘pith’

[bo:-ron]	/boron/	‘medicine tied to forehead or applied on head’
[bok ^o]	/bok/	‘be white’
[do-khom]	/dokhom/	‘low stool’
[dzot ^o -a]	/jota/	‘to insert, to point (finger), to sting’ (present tense)

Like /e/, in certain closed monosyllabic words /o/ is present as [o:]. But, unlike /a/, there is no evidence of lengthening of /o/ in all final syllables.

[do:p ^o]	/dop/	‘bundle’
[tho:p]	/thop/	‘nest’
[so:ŋ]	/soŋ/	‘village’
[kho:k ^o]	/khok/	‘basket’
[do:t ^o]	/dot/	‘lamp’

(v) /u/

The phoneme /u/ is a high back rounded vowel. This phoneme does not show any allophonic variations besides the length difference indicated above.

[su:]	/su/	‘to peck, to butt’
[su:-su:]	/susu/	‘fresh-water porpoise’
[du:-ri:]	/duri/	‘dust’
[gu:-si:]	/gusi/	‘abscess’
[ra:-bu:]	/rabu/	‘gourd’
[ka:-ku:]	/kaku/	imitative word used with <i>picu</i> ‘baby’
[muŋ]	/muŋ/	‘name’
[ruŋ]	/ruŋ/	‘boat’
[guk ^o]	/guk/	‘grasshopper’
[duk ^o]	/duk/	‘sorrow’
[suk ^o]	/suk/	‘happiness’
[nu-kha:r]	/nukhar/	‘sleep’
[nu-kha:ŋ]	/nukhaŋ/	‘face’
[bu-khu-ri:]	/bukhuri/	‘a broad hat with leaves on bamboo frame’
[tʃuk ^o -tʃi:]	/cukci/	‘pus’
[tʃuk ^o -a:n]	/cukan/	‘precisely or exactly’ (in time or place)

(vi) /i/

The phoneme /i/ is central vowel that is accompanied by slight lip-spreading. This phoneme is basically a short vowel, and is never realised as a fully long vowel, although it does occur in open syllables. This characteristic sets it apart from the rest of the vowels. This sound has negligible allophonic variation along the front back axis in that it tends to be further back in the presence of a velar onset or coda. This difference has not been indicated in the sample of words given below.

[gi-ma:r]	/gimar/	‘perspiration’
[hi-l <u>au</u>]	/hila <u>u</u> /	‘black gibbon’
[di-ri-dim-sra:ŋ]	/diridimsraŋ/	‘with stutter’
[gi-ti-khi- <u>rao</u>]	/gitikhira <u>o</u> /	‘fearless and powerful’
[sim]	/sim/	‘to follow’
[riŋ]	/riŋ/	‘to feel sorrow’
[brɪp ^o]	/brɪp/	‘creeper, to creep as creepers’
[tɪt ^o]	/tɪt/	‘mystery’
[sɪk ^o]	/sɪk/	‘to press, to suppress’
[tɪk ^o]	/tɪk/	‘earthen pot for brewing rice beer’
[khrɪk ^o]	/khrɪk/	‘louse’
[ɪn]	/ɪn/	‘to say’
[kriŋ]	/kriŋ/	‘to sound, to produce sound’
[riŋ]	/riŋ/	‘drink’

1.3.2.2 *High-toned vowels*

All the six vowels are also realised as high-toned. The high-toned vowels are articulated with greater force of breath and are heard as tense, short and snappy. When they occur in final open syllables they culminate in a glottal stop; when they occur in final closed syllables having a non-plosive coda, the coda is glottalised. The glottal stop and the glottalisation are occasioned by the sudden closing of the glottis and the resulting devoicing that are concomitant features of high-toned vowels. This phenomenon affects also the duration of voicing of the coda making it shorter than in syllables containing a low-toned vowel, lending them an auditory characteristic of being glottalised. Unlike the low-toned vowels, the high-toned vowels do not show any phonetic length differences

(i) /í/

[síʔ]	/sí/	‘blood’
[míʔ]	/mí/	‘curry’
[kíʔ]	/kí/	‘dog’
[mí-muk ^o]	/mímuk/	‘mushroom’
[zí-min]	/jimin/	‘tail’

(ii) /é/

[pe:réʔ]	/peré/	‘chatterbox’
[phéʔ]	/phé/	‘arrowhead’
[théʔ]	/thé/	‘fruit’
[kar-béʔ]	/karbé/	‘covering of fish’s gill’
[ba:réʔ]	/baré/	‘a temporary dam’
[phé-dem]	/phédem/	‘to fold’
[ré-the]	/réthe/	‘banana’
[khénʔ]	/khén/	‘crab’
[séŋʔ]	/séŋ/	‘waist’
[kénʔ]	/kén/	‘seed’

(iii) /á/

[báʔ]	/bá/	‘bamboo’
[sáʔ]	/sá/	‘to eat’
[náʔ]	/ná/	‘fish’
[bá-kok ^o]	/bákok/	‘bamboo tube’
[tá-si:]	/tási/	‘hand’
[há-t[u:]	/hácu/	‘hill’
[bárʔ]	/bár/	‘fire’
[sámʔ]	/sám/	‘mortar’
[cánʔ]	/cán/	‘to happen’

(iv) /ó/

[sóʔ]	/só/	‘mosquito’
[tóʔ]	/tó/	‘bird’
[mo:-tʃhóʔ]	/mocó/	‘rat’
[kho:-róʔ]	/khoró/	‘head’
[tʃhónʔ]	/cón/	‘worm, insect’
[kónʔ]	/kón/	‘twig, stick’
[rón-ka:]	/rónka/	‘stone’

[kóm-reŋ]	/kómreŋ/	‘long bamboo for plucking fruits etc.’
[ró-tʃok ^o]	/rócok/	‘to put forth bud’

(v) /ú/

[núʔ]	/nú/	‘milk, mammary gland’
[súʔ]	/sú/	‘to prick, to pound, to pierce’
[tu:-púʔ]	/tupú/	‘snake’
[bu:-rúʔ]	/burú/	‘water-leech’
[kúrʔ]	/kúr/	‘binding strip of bamboo or reed’
[phúnʔ]	/phún/	‘to stitch, to tailor’
[rú-buŋ]	/rúbuŋ/	‘to gather, to collect together’

(vi) /í/

[rímʔ]	/rím/	‘to catch’
[bínʔ]	/bín/	‘to sharpen’
[sírʔ]	/sír/	‘to pour’
[ím-ba:]	/ímba/	‘husband’
[sím-pok ^o]	/símpok/	‘wet, drenched’

1.3.2.3 *Other tonal features*

A general feature of high-toned final open syllable is that phonetically it ends in a glottal cheque. There are other aspects of the high tone that, for the sake of more separate presentation here, have not been incorporated in the phonetic transcriptions elsewhere. Each word appears to have only one high-toned syllable. Tonal features of a high-toned syllable tend to spread on to the neighbouring syllable. The tonal spread is progressive and never regressive. It is more marked when both the syllables are open.

/má-su/	[má-súʔ]	‘cattle’
/má-sa/	[má-sáʔ]	‘tiger’

Accordingly, disyllabic compounds that bring together two high-toned monosyllables have the initial syllable marked for high tone.

/tó-ji/	[tó-zíʔ]	‘chicken-dung’ (<i>tó</i> ‘fowl’; <i>jí</i> ‘dung’)
/ná-ji/	[ná-zíʔ]	‘entrails of fish’ (<i>ná</i> ‘fish’; <i>jí</i> ‘dung’)

but, /bak-jí/	[bak ^o -zíʔ]	‘pig-dung’ (<i>bak</i> ‘pig’; <i>jí</i> ‘dung’)
/nakor-jí/	[nakor-zíʔ]	‘ear-wax’ (<i>nakor</i> ‘ear’; <i>jí</i> ‘dung’)

Exceptions to this pattern are the instances of total reduplication of high-toned monosyllables where the two separate instances of the high tone are distinctly identifiable along with a slight pause separating the two parts. A few examples are given below:

drí-drí	‘gradually’
gír-gír	‘brightly with plenty of embers’ (burn)
hór-hór	‘in a continuous stream’ (pour, gush forth)
jér-jér	‘with heavy drops’ (rain)
ró-ró	‘be long’ (plural sense)

However, when parts of compounds are themselves both disyllabic having a high tone, they are heard to be uttered either with the high tone only on the first part or on both the parts.

másu-sábra ~ másu-sabra	‘calf’ (<i>másu</i> ‘cattle’; <i>sábra</i> ‘offspring’)
sábra-músa ~ sábra-musa	‘son’ (<i>sábra</i> ‘offspring’; <i>músa</i> ‘male’)
sábra-méca ~ sábra-meca	‘daughter’ (<i>sábra</i> ‘offspring’; <i>méca</i> ‘female’)
nébra-músa ~ nébra-musa	‘father-in-law’ (<i>nébra</i> ‘parent-in-law’; <i>músa</i> ‘male’)

Here there may be an indication that, from the phonological point of view, these forms border on being compounds and syntactic constructions, and that forms such as *náji* ‘entrails of fish’ and other such compounds are more tightly bound together. More detailed analysis of the tonal behaviour and the phonological status of compounds have not been undertaken. In this work, parts of such compounds are either kept apart or joined by a hyphen or space, and each part is separately marked for the high tone.

1.4 *Complex nuclei*

For a neater analysis of the data with respect to complex nuclei, it is expedient to divide the relevant data into two parts:

- (i) core data consisting of native words only
- (ii) peripheral data consisting of loan words. Such forms are also more regional in nature and have features restricted to certain areas only.

Complex nuclei are diphthongs. The complex nuclei that are evidenced are ai, ao, au, oi, eo, ui, iu and ii. Three of them (ái, áo and ói) also occur with the high tone. Another way of treating them would have been to establish two approximants /w/ and /y/ occurring in these instances as the second member. This option has not been followed as the approximants will be able to handle only those complex nuclei whose second member is either /i/ or /o/. It would still be necessary to acknowledge a number of complex nuclei. Besides, there is no phonological or phonotactic motivation for establishing the approximants, as they never occur in any other environment.

1.4.1 *Contrast between complex nuclei*

Contrast has been established only for the more frequent of the complex nuclei. In certain instances only sub-minimal pairs are available.

- (i) /ai vs. ao/

<u>cai</u>	‘song’
<u>cao</u>	‘prefixed with numerals to mean ‘once, twice etc.’
<u>kai</u>	‘man’
<u>kao</u>	‘classifier for amount fried at a time’
<u>sai</u>	‘to set a trap’
<u>sao</u>	‘curse’
<u>pai</u>	‘to carry’
<u>pao</u>	‘classifier for a measure of bamboo etc. between two notches’

- (ii) /ao vs. au/

<u>brau-brau</u>	‘(burn) with big flames’
<u>brao-brao</u>	‘sharp and intense (aches, tastes)’
<u>grau-an</u>	‘with a loud noise (falling)’
<u>grao-grao</u>	‘intensely (shivering)’
<u>rau-rau</u>	‘watery, producing noise like falling water’
<u>rao</u>	‘voice’

<u>cau-cau</u>	‘plenty, in big numbers’ (small creatures, insects etc.)
<u>cao</u>	prefixed with numerals to mean ‘once, twice’ etc.

(iii) /ai vs. au/

<u>brái</u>	‘bring out (cud), protrude (tongue etc.)’
<u>brau</u>	‘(burn) with big flames’
<u>rai</u>	‘be soft’
<u>rau-rau</u>	‘watery, producing noise like falling water’
<u>bai</u>	‘deity’
<u>bau-bau</u>	‘be in excess, plenty’ (water, hair, beard)
<u>cai</u>	‘song’
<u>cau-cau</u>	‘plenty, in big numbers’ (small creatures, children)

(iv) /oi vs. ui/

Statistically, /oi/ is the fourth most common complex nucleus after ai, ao, and au, but this diphthong does not have a counterpart with the back rounded /u/ as the second element. Hence sub-minimal pairs are provided with one member having simple /o/, besides the minimal pairs with ui. This diphthong does occur with both the tones.

<u>soi</u>	‘broad woven material used as protection against sun and rain’
so	‘to rot’
<u>tói</u>	‘to hold’
tó	‘bird’
<u>troi-troi</u>	‘cluck (hen)’
tro-tro	‘intermittently (weep)’
<u>soi</u>	‘broad woven material used as protection against sun and rain’
<u>sui</u>	‘aim’
<u>kói</u>	‘to bend’
<u>kui</u>	‘betel nut’

1.4.2 *Description of complex nuclei*(i) /ai/

Phonetically the second element of /ai/ is a palatal approximant in all instances. The first element is longer when followed by a word

boundary or a vowel. In the phonetic transcription the length of the first element is represented as would be a long vowel, although the difference between a shorter and a longer occurrence does not correspond to a difference in vowel quality as is the case with phoneme /a/. It would probably be more correct to represent the shorter form with a notation to indicate half length, but this has not been done.

[ma:y]	/m <u>ai</u> /	'paddy'
[tʃa:y]	/c <u>ai</u> /	'song'
[ba:ra:y]	/bar <u>ai</u> /	'clan'
[dza:-ga-ma:y]	/jag <u>am</u> ai/	'pupa'
[ma:-ga-ma:y]	/mag <u>am</u> ai/	'sticky rice'
[pa:y-e-ta]	/p <u>ai</u> eta/	'is carrying' (continuous <i>-eta</i>)
[ra:y-e-ta]	/r <u>ai</u> eta/	'is soft' (continuous <i>-eta</i>)
[may-ca:m]	/m <u>ai</u> cam/	'old'
[ray-suŋ]	/r <u>ai</u> suŋ/	'onion'
[phay-da:m]	/ph <u>ai</u> dam/	'cheek'
[pay-prok ^o]	/p <u>ai</u> prok/	'a variety of bird'
[hay-ram]	/h <u>ai</u> ram/	'yawn' (used in nominal verb formation)

(ii) /ai/

The diphthong /ai/ occurs in only a very few words. When the first element is a high-toned vowel there appears to be no length difference in different environments. On the other hand, the abrupt cutting off of voicing results in a phonetic glottal stop just as in the case of the high-toned vowels.

[káyʔ]	/k <u>ai</u> /	'to plant'
[ráyʔ]	/r <u>ai</u> /	'banana leaf'
[tráyʔ]	/tr <u>ai</u> /	'to change, to exchange'
[dzáyʔ]	/j <u>ai</u> /	'to shift place'
[ráy-tʃa:k ^o]	/r <u>ai</u> cak/	'banana leaf'
[ráy-dzuŋ]	/r <u>ai</u> juŋ/	'a marsh plant'

(iii) /ao/

The diphthong /ao/ has three environmentally determined phonetic forms: [a:o] when followed by a word boundary; [ao] when followed by a consonant and [a:w] when followed by a vowel. Unlike the

situation with /ai/ whose second member is always realised as an approximant (palatal), the second member of /ao/ is realised as an approximant (bilabial in this case) only when followed by a vowel.

[<u>dza</u> :- <u>ma</u> :o]	/j <u>mao</u> /	‘an expression of pity’
[<u>ba</u> :- <u>ta</u> :o]	/ <u>batao</u> /	‘parrot’
[<u>ra</u> :o]	/ <u>rao</u> /	‘voice’
[<u>tao</u> -no:]	/ <u>taono</u> /	‘will climb’ (future tense)
[<u>t</u> jao- <u>ba</u> - <u>pe</u> - <u>ke</u> :]	/ <u>caobapeke</u> /	‘while winnowing’
[<u>dao</u> - <u>dzo</u>]	/ <u>daojo</u> /	‘opened’ (eyes, mouth etc.)
[<u>ta</u> :w- <u>eta</u>]	/ <u>taoeta</u> /	‘is climbing’ (continuous)
[<u>t</u> ja:w- <u>e</u>]	/ <u>caoe</u> /	‘having winnowed’ (incomplete)

(iv) /áo/

There is no evidence for length difference of the first element. The second member is glottalised or ends in a glottal stop when followed by a word boundary; this second element remains /o/ when followed by a consonant and is turned into a bilabial approximant when followed by a vowel.

[<u>dzáo</u> ?]	/j <u>áo</u> /	‘to fry’
[<u>kháo</u> ?]	/ <u>kháo</u> /	‘to peel’
[<u>phráo</u> - <u>phráo</u> ?]	/ <u>phráophráo</u> /	‘appearing brightly and in big numbers’
[<u>sráo</u> - <u>sráo</u> ?]	/ <u>sráosráo</u> /	‘many of the same size and age’ (fowls)
[<u>dzáo</u> - <u>bataŋ</u>]	/j <u>áobataŋ</u> /	‘those who are frying’
[<u>kháo</u> - <u>t</u> ja]	/ <u>kháoca</u> /	‘does not peel’ (negative)
[<u>dzáw</u> - <u>e</u>]	/j <u>áoc</u> /	‘having fried’ (incomplete)
[<u>kháw</u> - <u>eta</u>]	/ <u>kháoeta</u> /	‘is peeling’ (continuous)

(v) /au/

Two things are characteristic of this complex nucleus. The first is that it does not occur with a high tone. At least, no instance has been recorded in the data analysed. The second is that it does not show the environmentally determined length difference in the first element that was noted in the other complex nuclei. Consequently /au/ appears to have no other form even phonetically.

[tʃ <u>au</u> -li:]	/c <u>au</u> li/	‘wood shavings’
[p <u>au</u> -sa:y]	/p <u>au</u> sai/	‘to go backward’
[h <u>i</u> - <u>lau</u>]	/h <u>i</u> l <u>au</u> /	‘black gibbon’
[ma:- <u>rau</u>]	/ma: <u>rau</u> /	‘interjection of pleasant surprise’
[di - <u>lau</u>]	/di <u>lau</u> /	‘fleshy and sagging or protruding’
[tʃ <u>i</u> - <u>kau</u>]	/ci <u>kau</u> /	‘boiled (dish)’
[<u>rau</u> - <u>rau</u>]	/ <u>rau</u> <u>rau</u> /	‘watery or producing noise like falling water’
[<u>brau</u> - <u>brau</u>]	/ <u>brau</u> <u>brau</u> /	‘(burn) with big flames’

(vi) /oi/

The phonetic realisations of /oi/ are like those of /ai/ in having a palatal approximant [y] as second member, and the first member being realised as longer when a word boundary or a vowel follows.

[do:y]	/d <u>oi</u> /	‘a kind of tree’
[a:-k <u>ho</u> :y]	/ak <u>hoi</u> /	‘parched corn’
[ha:-po:y ~ ha:-pa:y]	/hap <u>oi</u> ~ hap <u>ai</u> /	‘a while ago, a while later’
[sa:ŋ-k <u>o</u> :y]	/saŋk <u>oi</u> /	‘make-shift bridge’
[ra:ŋ-g <u>o</u> :y]	/rang <u>oi</u> /	‘langur, long-tailed monkey’
[boy-ba:k ^o]	/bo <u>ibak</u> /	‘a creeper’
[moy-ra:]	/mo <u>ira</u> /	‘peafowl’
[phoy-tʃ <u>rop</u> ^o]	/pho <u>icrop</u> /	‘to wither, to shrivel’
[pro:y-a]	/pro <u>ia</u> /	‘to chant, to invoke deity’ (present tense)

(vii) /ói/

Only three vocabulary items having this complex nucleus were found in the data. However, phonetically this diphthong has two forms parallel to the forms of /ái/: one form with glottal stop when followed by a word boundary, and another without a glottal stop in other environments. No length variations exist.

[t <u>óy</u> ʔ]	/t <u>ói</u> /	‘to hold’
[d <u>óy</u> ~ d <u>óye</u>]	/d <u>ói</u> ~ d <u>óie</u> /	‘instead’

[kóyʔ]	/kó <u>i</u> /	‘bend’ (intr.)
[tóy-t]a]	/tó <u>i</u> ca/	‘does not hold’ (negative)
[kóy-e]	/kó <u>i</u> e/	‘having bent’ (incomplete)

(viii) /eo/

The diphthong /eo/ occurs in just a few words. This diphthong does not occur word-initially or word-finally, but only medially. This diphthong does not occur with the high tone. There is no conditioned lengthening of the first member, but the second member is realised as a bilabial approximant [w] when followed by a vowel.

[sew-a:y]	/se <u>o</u> ai/	‘to offer (sacrifice)’
[se <u>o</u> -ma:n]	/se <u>o</u> man/	‘respect, honour’
[lew-a le <u>o</u> -si]	/le <u>o</u> a le <u>o</u> si/	‘creepers’
[new-a:l]	/ne <u>o</u> -al/	‘mongoose’

(ix) /eu/

The diphthong /eu/ occurs in only one instance, and also in an echo word or jingle used with that word.

[de <u>u</u> -ri de <u>u</u> -si]	/de <u>u</u> ri de <u>u</u> si/	‘priest and his assistant’
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(x) /ui/

The diphthong /ui/ occurs only in a few vocabulary items. Some are loan words and some belong to child language. The items given below are the only instances of this complex nucleus.

[a:-g <u>ui</u>]	/ag <u>ui</u> /	‘to go forward’
[da:-d <u>ui</u>]	/dad <u>ui</u> /	‘to walk (child language)’
[k <u>ui</u>]	/k <u>ui</u> /	‘betel nut’
[s <u>ui</u>]	/s <u>ui</u> /	‘aim (used in nominal verb formations)’

(xi) /ii/

This occurs only in three vocabulary items, all of which are borrowed items. The second member is a palatal approximant phonetically.

[piy-la: ~ poy-la:]	pīla ~ poi <u>la</u>	‘first, first of all’
[bin-jaŋ-o:y ~	/binjaŋ o <u>i</u> ~	‘younger sister’s
bīy-ni-bra]	bīinib <u>ra</u>	husband for a brother’
[phiy-la:]	/phī <u>ila</u> /	an echo word used with <i>amka</i> ~ <i>amika</i> ‘so and so’

(xii) /iu/

The diphthong /iu/ is found only in one word which is also an areally restricted item. Although it is followed by a vowel in that word, the lip rounding of the second member is characteristic of /u/ rather than that of a bilabial approximant.

[t <u>iu</u> -an t <u>iu</u> -an]	/ci <u>uan</u> ci <u>uan</u> /	‘flash light with intermittent gleams, twinkle’
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1.4.3 *Resyllabification of complex nuclei*

In quick speech, items where the second member of complex nuclei are realised as frictionless approximants (which happens always in the case of *ai*, *ai*, *oi*, *oi*, and only when followed by a vowel in the case of *ao*, *eo*, *ao*, when a vowel follows), there appears to be a tendency to phonetically resyllabify the word which splits the complex nucleus, making the bilabial and palatal approximants the onset of the second syllable.

[daw-a]	[da-wa]	/d <u>ao</u> a/	‘battle’
[lew-a]	[le-wa]	/l <u>eo</u> a/	‘creeper’
[sew-ay]	[se-way]	/s <u>eo</u> ai/	‘to offer’ (sacrifice)
[ay-a]	[a-ya]	/a <u>ia</u> /	‘mother’

A few commonly used loan words that are syllabified in such a way that a frictionless approximant becomes the onset of a non-initial syllable appear to reinforce this resyllabification tendency.

[ga-wan]	‘theatrical performance’
[ja-way]	‘to plant’ (to produce seedlings)

According to Rabha phonology as treated here, the above two forms would be /gao-an/ and /jao-ai/ phonemically. A loan word of the above structure that has been nativised to avoid the initial approximant, is [sa-ya] ‘shade, shadow’. Its nativised form [say-na] /sai-na/ is still found in the speech of the elderly. It is a clear indication of the correctness of the phonemic analysis preferred here. However, /sai-na/ appears not to be favoured by the younger generation, and may eventually not be used at all. Here we have an indication that, either under the influence of loan words or independently of them, a process of resyllabification and the gradual introduction of the syllable-initial frictionless approximants [w] and [y] is just round the corner. The total lack of word-initial approximants probably acts as a check on this process.

As of now, however, the analysis that excludes the approximants [w] and [y] phonemically is corroborated by the fact that the language has comparable vocabulary items where these syllables cannot be syllabified in a fashion that splits up the two parts of the complex nucleus.

/ <u>a</u> i-a/	‘mother’
/ <u>a</u> i-cuŋ/	‘aunt in the sense of father’s elder brother’s wife or mother’s elder sister’, literally ‘big mother’
/ <u>s</u> eo- <u>a</u> i/	‘to offer (sacrifice)’
/ <u>s</u> eo-man/	‘to show respect’

The above forms warrant that the sequence /aia/ be syllabified as /ai-a/ and not as */a-ya/, and that /seoi/ be syllabified as /seo-ai/ and not as */se-way/.

1.4.4 *Distribution of complex nuclei*

Table 1.3 depicts the possible distributional occurrences of complex nuclei. Noteworthy points are that only /ai ao oi/ occur initially, and /eo iu ii/ occur only medially. All the complex nuclei occur word-medially. By the fact that complex nuclei do not allow a coda (see 1.5.3.4), all their occurrences are in open syllables.

Table 1.3 *Distribution of complex nuclei*

VV↓	initially	medially	finally
<u>ai</u>	✓	✓	✓
<u>ái</u>	×	✓	✓
<u>ao</u>	✓	✓	✓
<u>áo</u>	×	✓	✓
<u>au</u>	×	✓	✓
<u>oi</u>	✓	✓	✓
<u>ói</u>	×	✓	✓
<u>ui</u>	×	✓	✓
<u>eo</u>	×	✓	×
<u>iu</u>	×	✓	×
<u>ii</u>	×	✓	×

/ <u>ai</u> /	<u>ai</u> -a mai ba <u>ia</u>	‘mother’ ‘paddy’ ‘to plough’ (present tense)
/ <u>ái</u> /	trá <u>í</u> já <u>í</u> a	‘to change, to exchange’ ‘to shift place’ (present tense)
/ <u>ao</u> /	<u>ao</u> pra <u>o</u> da <u>oa</u>	‘to call or shout loud’ ‘to call’ ‘to open’ (lips, eyes etc.), (present tense)
/ <u>áo</u> /	já <u>o</u> khá <u>oe</u>	‘to fry’ ‘having peeled’ (participial -e)
/ <u>au</u> /	hí <u>au</u> cau <u>i</u>	‘black gibbon’ ‘wood-shavings’
/ <u>oi</u> /	<u>oi</u> sa <u>ŋkoi</u> mo <u>ira</u>	‘hello!’ ‘make-shift bridge’ ‘pea-fowl’

/ó <i>í</i> /	tó <i>í</i> kó <i>í</i> ca	‘to hold’ ‘is not bent’ (negative)
/u <i>í</i> /	ku <i>í</i> agu <i>í</i> a	‘betel nut’ ‘to go forward’ (present tense)
/eo/	seoman	‘respect’
/i <u>u</u> /	ci <u>u</u> an ci <u>u</u> an	‘twinkle, with intermittent gleams’
/i <u>í</u> /	pi <u>í</u> la	‘first, first of all’

1.5 *Phonotactics*

1.5.1 *Distribution of consonants*

Table 1.4 shows the distributional pattern of the consonants. All consonants except /ŋ/ occur initially. The phoneme /ŋ/ occurs morpheme-initially (therefore syllable-initially) within words. For details of the behaviour of /ŋ/ see 2.1.1.1. and 4.3.4.5. All consonants occur medially. Only /p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, r, l, s/ occur finally.

Table 1.4 *Distribution of consonants*

	initially	medially	finally
p	✓	✓	✓
t	✓	✓	✓
c	✓	✓	×
k	✓	✓	✓
ph	✓	✓	×
th	✓	✓	×
kh	✓	✓	×
b	✓	✓	×
d	✓	✓	×
j	✓	✓	×
g	✓	✓	×

Table 1.4 (cont.)

	initially	medially	finally
m	✓	✓	✓
n	✓	✓	✓
ŋ	×	✓	✓
r	✓	✓	✓
l	✓	✓	✓
s	✓	✓	✓
h	✓	✓	×

/p/ initially

pak-ja	‘thing’
pe-ré	‘chatterbox’
pi-ri	‘tender’
po-có	‘mango’
pitar	‘push’
puk	‘intestine’

medially

khopon	‘headdress’
dupi	‘incense’
gopa	‘creek-like narrow strip of land’
tupú	‘snake’

finally

raŋkhop	‘cloud’
makap	‘straw’
bríp	‘trailing plant, to creep as creepers’
bákhep	‘forceps’ (of bamboo)

/t/ initially

tan	‘to cut’
té	‘now, today’
tikri	‘small earthen pot’

tokraŋ	‘throat, neck’
t̄imak	‘soot’
tú	‘feed by hand or beak’

finally

that	‘custom’
konclot	‘wild turmeric’
ḡitmit	‘enthusiastically’

medially

cátar	‘base, foundation’
putuŋ	‘newly filtered’ (liquor etc.)
saturi	‘bridegroom’
pítam	‘fat, exude pleasant odour’
hituk	‘advice’

/c/ initially

candri	‘a round sieve for separating paddy and rice’
ci	‘to look’
coŋ	‘to begin’
centleŋ	‘tamarind’
cunthi	‘hump in bull’s neck’
cip	‘to close’

medially

bici	‘seedling’
daci	‘jokingly’
khocəŋ	‘comb, reed in loom’
picí	‘egg’
phacəŋ	‘canine tooth’
kaci	‘sickle’

/k/ initially

kaŋka	‘knife’
kumpak	‘nose’
kim <u>b</u> ai	‘water jar’

koŋ	‘stalk, stem, middle fibre of leaves’
kecaĩ	‘to sieve’
kiŋjuŋ	‘bone’
kaka	‘meat’

medially

noko	‘door’
kuká	‘a bushy plant’
cukuŋ	‘small variety of cockle’

finally

brek	‘a variety of gourd’
khrik	‘louse’
bak	‘pig’
gerok	‘a variety of creeper’

/ph/ initially

phaci	‘rain, rain water’
phoŋ	‘handle’
phuŋ	‘morning’
phék	‘smaller tubers that grow on main tuber’
phisu	‘a variety of tree’
phisa	‘to send, to dance’

medially

riphan	‘traditional dress of women’
gaphuŋ	‘tomorrow’
aphe	‘star’
kapha	‘near by’
dīphan	‘to emit unpleasant odour’

/th/ initially

theŋ	‘to touch’
thá	‘vein’
thok	‘group’
thim	‘to endure, to put up with’
thuci	‘oil’

medially

bathan	‘cattle enclosure’
táthen	‘leg’
natham	‘to listen’
pithiŋ	‘fresh, raw’
nukhathar	‘be sober’

/kh/ initially

kham	‘a kind of drum’
khisam	‘evening twilight’
kheŋ	‘be alive, to live’
khongra	‘hollow’
khúraŋ	‘voice, language’
khi	‘be sour’

medially

phakham	‘tooth’
bukhuri	‘a large hat’
nekho	‘wax from honeybee’
pikha	‘liver’
sokhor	‘to filter’
nukhaŋ	‘face’

/b/ initially

ban	‘winnowing fan’
boroŋ	‘tree-top watch-house’
bibi	‘elder sister’
bukhi	‘be hungry’
bín	‘to sharpen’
bek	‘to sweep’

medially

rabu	‘a variety of gourd’
siboŋ	‘thigh’
kabeŋ	‘a variety of ant’
bibur	‘spider’
gabur	‘male adolescent’

/d/	initially	
dakra		‘suddenly’
din̄din̄		‘to stand up’
deŋ		‘to open, to set free’
dún		‘to climb’
d̄ibaka		‘veranda’
doŋ		‘stalk or ear of grain’
	medially	
badila		‘bat’
pidan		‘new’
p̄ida		‘variety, kind of anything’
hadala		‘fence’
khodom		‘pillow’
dodo		‘a type of cloak’
/j/	initially	
jagamai		‘pupa’
jiksai		‘husband and wife, couple’
joŋka		‘a wide-mouthed fishing basket’
jep		‘to arrange in neat piles’
juluk jalak		‘sorrowful, sorrowfully’
	medially	
saja		‘reparation, penalty’
nijun̄		‘a variety of honeybee’
phajon̄		‘father’s elder brother’
baji		‘thunderbolt’
pajar		‘muffler-like cloth’
phojoŋbra		‘younger brother’
/g/	initially	
gargi		‘sorrel’
gompha		‘coil of hair tied behind head’
gugujem		‘dragonfly’
gemsuk ~ gemsú		‘pollen of a wild bush used to make indelible ink’

gircukuk	‘to tickle’ (causative)
gimthé	‘a projection, bulge or wart’
gagon	‘nipper, claw of crabs’

medially

jugur	‘shake’ (tr.)
magamai	‘sticky rice’
agam	‘bow, bend head’
nogor	‘shelter for domestic animals’

/m/ initially

ma	‘to disappear’
mendek	‘to take rest, to pinch’
muŋ	‘name’
min	‘be ripe, be cooked’
molon	‘naked’

finally

dam	‘mat’
kákam	‘chin’
dokhom	‘a low stool’
nákhem	‘dried fish’

medially

lematan	‘the Assamese’
damarsa	‘a short while’
kami	‘work’
kamiŋ	‘two persons’
gamuk	‘a tree’
sama	‘flat metallic ring on handles of instruments’

/n/ initially

ná	‘fish’
nen	‘cloth’
nuk	‘to see’
nok	‘house’
niniŋ	‘husband’s younger sister’
nibri	‘name of a sub-clan’

finally

kán	‘body’
kén	‘seed’
kón	‘twig, stick’
sun	‘mind, spirit’

medially

monok	‘to swallow’
mini	‘to laugh’
monol	‘beaten track, animal track’
bronin	‘the day after tomorrow’
mīnaŋ mīnaŋ	‘quietly, under cover’

/ŋ/ medially

celəŋa	‘a suspended triangular frame to keep food, etc.’
saŋi	‘a stretcher-like contrivance for carrying mud, etc.’
jaŋi	‘bodily appearance’
talūŋa	‘soft spot of head in children and corresponding are in others’

finally

braŋsin	‘flute’
ciŋraŋ	‘root’
baikholeŋ	‘whirlwind’
baroŋ	‘arrangement of seats during a common meal’
aniŋ	‘two things’

/s/ initially

san	‘day’
sokhop	‘peel’
sukbur	‘an animal trap’
séŋ	‘waist’
si	‘to die’

medially

masi	‘millet’
pheseŋ	‘advise, admonish’
isi	‘here’

sasa	‘rabbit’
risi	‘supreme God’
sisā	‘lead’

finally

Very few words end in /s/. Those which do have final /s/ are all borrowed items.

sas	‘courage’
boksis	‘gift’
dos	‘guilt’
ses	‘the end’
itihās	‘history’
as	‘sinew, fibre, texture of wood or meat, hair-like crack etc.’
is	‘rod connecting yoke and plough’

The only word that has a final /s/ and appears to be native is:

khus-khus	‘repeatedly, persistently’
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/h/ initially

While /h/ occurs both initially and medially, its privileged place of occurrence is the initial position. Words that contain a medial /h/ are few, and almost all of them are borrowed.

há	‘land’
heṅ	‘here’
hoṅ	‘there’
hī <u>l</u> au	‘black gibbon’
hur-hur	‘moderately (hot)’

medially

caha	‘tea’
laha	‘lac’
baha	‘lower shoulder’
dohola	‘ditch, drain-like channel formed by rainwater from roof’
kuhuri	‘mist’

mahari		'relatives of on the mother's side'
jahas		'ship'
itihās		'history'
jinahari		'adultery'
/r/	initially	
rá		'take'
reŋ		'yam'
ruŋ		'boat'
rón		'distribute'
rīŋ		'drink'
rí		'be heavy'
	medially	
siruk		'common myna'
khuri		'bowl, chalice'
duri		'fine dust'
pirak		'gall bladder'
moron		'fencing around the house'
	finally	
phar		'night'
bor		'a structure for creepers to spread'
nokser ~ nokcer		'broom-plant'
par		'flower'
sir		'iron'
/l/	initially	
libak		'frog'
liga ~ liga		'friend'
laŋgre ~ raŋgre		'moon'
lema		'of the Assamese'
lokok		'shake as within a container' (intr.)
	medially	
bīlap		'shutter, covering'
dala		'round winnowing fan'
loleŋ pholeŋ		'weak and emaciated'

helen	‘lean against’
helok	‘be loose or shaky’
finally	
bil	‘strength’
lil-lil	‘continuously or tremulously (shake, shiver)’
pelpol pelpol	‘with slow bubbling (boil)’
dal	‘traditional Rabha shield’
phal	‘ploughshare’
dil-dil	‘with freshness’ (new shoots or sprigs growing)
tal	‘time’ (of activity, event etc.)

1.5.2 *Distribution of vowels*

Table 1.5 shows the distributional pattern of the vowels.

Table 1.5 *Distribution of vowels*

	initial	final
i	✓*	✓
í	×	✓
e	✓*	✓
é	✓*	✓
a	✓	✓
á	✓*	✓
o	✓*	✓
ó	✓*	✓
u	✓*	✓
ú	×	✓
ĩ	✓*	×
í	✓*	✓*

Occurrences that are marked with ✓* indicate that they are very few. They occur under restricted conditions. The situation is elabo-

rated in the case of each vowel. A general observation is that high-toned vowels occur initially only rarely. The low-toned vowels too, with the exception of /a/, occur initially relatively infrequently. In the final position /i/ alone is excluded.

1.5.2.1 *Low-toned vowels*

(i) /i/ initially

All the native words that have an initial /i-/ have the proximate demonstrative meaning 'this'.

i-	'this' (takes the primary case suffixes)
<u>ikai</u>	'this' (attributive and proximate)
isiman̄ ~ isiman	'at this opportunity'
isi	'here' (locative)
intuŋ	'as big as this'
iganda	'like this one' (proximate)

Besides these, there are a few loan words that begin with /i/.

isor	'God'
is	'rod connecting yoke and plough'
ilam	'auction'
itihās	'history'

finally

hapci	'slush'
mani	'father's sister'
janthi	'a bamboo filter in pot used for brewing rice beer'
<u>cauli</u>	'wood-wool'
bidi	'grandmother'
cari	'breath'
gusi	'abscess'
duri	'dust'
cuni	'lime'

(ii) /e/

The occurrence of /e/ in initial position is very limited. All such occurrences, with the exception of *eta* ‘winged creature growing out of woodworm’, are in polymorphemic words where the initial /e-/ has the meaning ‘this’. For an analysis of this, see 4.3.2.1–7.

initially

ekai	‘this’ (attributive)
ekapeke	‘at this time’
encek	‘this much’
ekatan	‘this kind, this much’
eron	‘these’ (persons)
ekoro	‘this way’
ekan	‘like this (meaning idly, without any specific purpose), freely, gratuitously’
enganda ~ eganda	‘like this, in this manner’

finally

aphe	‘star’
cocre	‘tomboy’
gadre	‘a small variety of tiger’
gamone	‘a variety of wasp’
langre	‘moon’
re	‘cane, reed’
mandare	‘a thorny tree with red flowers’
dimbre	‘a kind of tree’

(iii) /a/ initially

ardi	‘to pray’
agam	‘to bow, to bend head’
anare	‘slowly’
aphe	‘star’
aŋ	‘I’

finally

badila	‘bat’
cika	‘water’

akha		‘a cluster’ (of banana)
neka		‘small variety of honeybee’
dibaka		‘veranda’
(iv) /o/	initially	
okot		‘time’
ol		‘a kind of arum’
ola		‘then’
on		‘yes’
ora		‘boundary’
ortho		‘meaning’
obosta		‘situation’

As in the case of /e-/ , which is a variant of *i* ‘this’, there are many words where the initial /o-/ is a variant of *u* ‘that’. For an analysis, see 4.3.2.1–6.

okai		‘that’ (attributive)
okapeke		‘at that time’
oncok		‘that much’
oroŋ ~ uroŋ		‘they, those’ (persons)
oganda ~ onganda		‘like that, in that manner’

finally

roŋkhó		‘broken rice’
momo		‘younger sibling’
dodo		‘a cloak’
hego		‘here, here it is’
aro		‘and’

(v) /u/

Very few words have an initial /u/.

urgi		‘to adore, to bow in veneration’
undrai		‘to frighten and flush out of hiding (by barking etc.)’
ur-ur		‘with hushed voice’ (speak)
ungur		‘to howl’ (dogs)

Besides these, there are words with initial /u-/ all of which contain demonstrative 'that' as a part of the total meaning. In a few such cases /u-/ freely varies with /o-/.

u	'he, she, that'
usi	'there' (locative)
uganda ~ oganda	'like that, like him'
uk <u>ai</u> ~ ok <u>ai</u>	'that' (attributive)
uroŋ ~ oron	'they, those' (people)
ubijan ~ obijan	'those' (things)

finally

kaŋku	'black big ant'
rabu	'a gourd'
sambu	'a variety of red ant'
picu	'new-born, tender child'

(vi) /i/

The vowel /i/ occurs initially in only a few words, and does not occur finally.

in	'say'
ica	'stand' (child language)

1.5.2.2 *High-toned vowels*

(i) /i/

The vowel /i/ does not occur initially. In final position, however, this vowel is quite common. Some instances arise out of a final *-t* that has been deleted, just as in the case of other final high-toned vowels.

kí	'dog'
jí	'dung'
mí	'curry'
sí	'blood'
cí	'lay egg'

(ii) /é/

Only one word in the entire corpus is found to have an initial /é/. This word does not belong to the core language but is retained only in child language.

é ‘to defecate’ (child language)

Final /é/ is rather common. A few instances arise out of a final *-t* or a final *-k* that has been deleted. Synchronic free variation between forms that still have such deletable final consonant without the high tone lends credibility to this analysis.

phoré	‘a trailing plant’
té	‘now, today’
phé	‘arrowhead’
thé	‘fruit’
kirdé	‘starfruit, a sour fruit’
peré ~ perek	‘a chatterbox’

(iii) /á/

Initially the vowel /á/ occurs only in one word.

án ‘be loud or shrill, ask persistently’ (children)

finally

bá	‘bamboo’
asá ~ acá	‘egg of a big variety of fly’
ná	‘fish’
há	‘land’
khra	‘ringworm’
thá	‘vein’
khokhá	‘dandruff’
khisá ~ khisak	‘big red variety of ant’

(iv) /ó/

Initially only two words were found to have /ó/. As in the case of /i/ and /é/, a few cases of final /ó/ are the result of final consonant deletion.

óne	‘a wild lizard’ (onomatopoeic)
ónepakthap	‘a parasitic plant’

finally

tó	‘bird’
só	‘mosquito’
ró	‘breadth’
mocó	‘rat’
khoró ~ khorok	‘hair’
banthó ~ banthok	‘brinjal’

(v) /ú/

The vowel /ú/ does not occur initially. Its occurrence finally is quite common. Some instances arise out of a final *-k* that has been deleted.

sú	‘thorn’
miŋkú	‘cat’
ciŋkú	‘ginger’
tupú	‘snake’
nú	‘milk, mammary glands’
burú ~ buruk	‘water-leech’
gepsú ~ gepsuk	‘rib’
gemsú ~ gemsuk	‘pollen of a wild plant used to make indelible ink’

(vi) /í/

Initially, the vowel /í/ occurs only in one word.

ímba	‘husband’
------	-----------

Finally, the vowel /í/ occurs in a small set of words where the high tone is the result of a following /t/ having been deleted. Phonetically, like all final high-toned vowels, these too end in a glottal stop, which may be seen as occupying the empty slot vacated by /t/ as a phonetic mark. In forms where final /t/ appears the tone is lowered.

bí ~ bit	‘to pull’
tí ~ tit	‘to pour’

rí ~ rít	‘to carry in’
drí-drí	‘imperceptibly gradually’ (movement)

1.5.3 *Initial and final consonant clusters*

No clusters occur finally. In initial position the clustering of more than two consonants is not found. Hence initial clusters are all of the form C_1C_2 . With the exception of a few instances C_2 is invariably /r/; C_1 can be /p, t, c, k, ph, kh, b, d, j, g, m, s/. The absence of initial clusters involving /th/ is a conspicuous gap in the pattern. There are, however, as will be seen below, word-medial clusters having /th/ as the first element in syllable-initial position. There are no clusters where C_1 is /n, h, l, r/. As /ŋ/ does not occur word-initially, the question of clusters with /ŋ/ as the first element does not arise. The phoneme /m/, which has been included among the possible C_1 consonants, occurs in a single instance *mrik* ‘be clean’, and other forms such as *mrik-an* ‘completely’, *mrik-mrik* ‘very clean, totally’ that are derived from it.

pr-	pramci	‘dew’
tr-	trap	‘be on time, have free time’
cr-	crak	‘to tear off’ (intr.)
kr-	kraŋ	‘to stroll’
phr-	phroŋan	‘suddenly in a flash’
thr-	×	×
khr-	khrá	‘ringworm’
br-	braŋsiŋ	‘flute’
dr-	dra	‘rough, coarse’
jr-	jroŋ	‘a pile, to pile up’
gr-	graŋ	‘roof frame’
mr-	mrik	‘be clean’
sr-	srap	‘be fitting’

The words with an initial cluster where C_2 is not /r/ can be divided into two groups.

(i) There are two semantically related instances where C_2 is /l/. One of them has a freely varying form with /r/ and an accompanying vowel change.

glikan	‘in one draught’ (drink)
glik-glik ~ grok-grok	‘fast and with big gulps’ (drink)

(ii) There are just four instances where C_2 is /th/. In all these four instances C_1 is /s/. Three of them have a freely varying form with an intervening /i/, indicating that such clusters have arisen quite recently following an optional vowel deletion.

skhama ~ sikhama	‘be cold, feel cold’
sthikhan ~ sithikhan	‘lull to sleep’
sthiphin	‘arouse from sleep’
sthikhi ~ síthikhi	‘kill, murder’

1.5.3.1 Constraints on the vowel following an initial cluster

There are constraints on the occurrence of the vowel following an initial cluster (see Table 1.6). In analysing this constraint the high-toned and low-toned vowels are treated together without making separate analysis for them.

The phoneme /p/ is the most preferred C_1 of an initial cluster. As already mentioned above, /th/ does not occur in initial clusters. Of those that do occur /d/ and /c/ are the least preferred consonants as C_1 .

Looking at the picture from the vowel angle, /a/ occurs as the nucleus of initial syllables with all permitted initial clusters, and /i/ occurs least in that position; /i/ is more preferred than /o/; /o/ is more preferred than /e/, and /e/ is more preferred than /u/. Instances of syllables with initial clusters having /i/ or /u/ as their peak are very few. The vowels can, therefore, be placed on a scale of occurrence in initial syllables with initial consonant clusters, starting with /a/ and ending with /i/, as /a, i, o, e, u, i/. Here there is probably an indication that /i/ is more a mid-close to mid-open vowel like /e, o/ rather than a high vowel like /i, u/.

There is but one word having /c/, the least preferred C_1 , as the first element of the initial cluster and /i/, the least occurring syllabic nucleus following an initial cluster, as the syllable nucleus. That word also has a freely varying form with an intervening /i/ between C_1 and C_2 of the initial cluster. This either signals the growth of such new combinations or the dying out of combinations that once existed. The former possibility seems more likely as there are other instances of vowel deletion leading to new initial clusters.

Table 1.6 *Constraints on vowel following an initial cluster for different initial C*

C→	p	t	c	k	ph	th	kh	b	d	j	g	m	s
Cra	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓
Cre	✓	✓	×	✓	×	×	×	✓	×	✓	✓	×	✓
Cro	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	×	✓
Cri	✓	×	✓	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Cru	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	×	✓	×	×	✓	×	✓
Cri	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

pr-	pra-	pramci pra	‘dew’ ‘give birth’ (animals)
	pre-	preŋ pret-a	‘be straight’ ‘to burst’ (intr., present tense)
	pro-	prokan prot-a	‘effortlessly or easily’ (pluck) ‘to open up at the opposite end, be intelligible’
	pri-	pri pri ~ p̄ir	‘be mature’ ‘to buy’
	pru-	pruk	‘be uprooted’
	pri-	priŋ prim-p̄rim	‘to mix, be in agreement, be coherent’ (intr.) ‘dappled, having many colours’
tr-	tra-	traŋ trak-trak	‘to shave off (grass etc.) by scraping’ ‘to a high degree’ (sour)
	tre-	tren-tren	‘straight and stiff’
	tro-	trok	‘jump’
		tronin	‘the fourth day from today’
	tru-	truŋ truŋ-truŋ	‘charge’ (in anger to attack) ‘copiously’ (discharge smoke)
	tri-	tripan triŋdam	‘silently’ ‘school’
cr-	cra-	crak crapan	‘to tear off’ (intr.) ‘all together in unison’
	cri-	crik-crak ~ cirik-carak	‘silent, quiet’

kr-	kra-	kraŋ	‘to stroll’
		kráŋ	‘be over, be on the wane’ (season)
	kre-	kreŋ	‘longer and bigger wing feathers of birds, wings’
		krepan	‘noisily with a cracking sound’ (break and fall)
	kro-	krop	‘to split open’ (intr., vegetable pods etc.)
	kron	‘to run dry’ (well etc.)	
kri-	krik	kriŋ	‘to know, to be able’
			‘to produce noise’ (intr.)
phr-	phra-	phráo-phráo	‘appearing brightly and in big numbers’ (stars)
		phra-phra	‘dry and not sticky’
	phro-	phronan	‘suddenly in a flash’ (passing by)
	phri-	phrit-a	‘to snap shut, to shut’ (present tense)
phriŋan		‘in a sudden waft or whiff’ (getting smell)	
khr-	khra-	khraŋsiŋ	‘earthworm’
		khra	‘ringworm’
	khro-	khrok	‘to undress, to shave or cut’ (hair, beard etc.)
	khri-	khrik	‘be sufficient’
khriŋ		‘to scatter, to spread’	
br-	bra-	braŋsiŋ	‘flute’
		brat-a	‘to feel shy’ (present tense)
	bre-	breŋ	‘bamboo that is split and flattened out’
		brek	‘a kind of gourd’
	bro-	bronin	‘the third day from today’
		bron-broŋ	‘directly without deviating left or right’
	bru-	bruŋ	‘to congregate, to gather together’ (intr.)
bri-	brip	‘creeper, to spread as creepers’	
	brin-brin	‘motionless and straight’	
dr-	dra-	dra	‘be rough, be coarse’
	dri-	dritan	‘suddenly, in a sudden action’ (pull)
jr-	jra-	jraŋ	‘be unable to hear’ (because of surrounding noise)
		jrao	‘be nearly ripe’

	jre-	jrek-jrek	‘abundantly in clusters’
		jreŋ-jreŋ	‘abundantly or profusely’ (of oil, fat etc.)
	jro-	jroŋ	‘to wither away’
		jropan	‘close together, side by side’
	jri-	jriŋ-jriŋ	‘not profusely, a little’ (weep)
gr-	gra-	graŋ	‘roof frame, to make a roof frame’
		gram	‘be left undone, be left fallow’
	gre-	gre	‘be left over’
		gret-a	‘to gnaw’ (present tense)
	gro-	groŋsiŋ	‘stripes’
		gron	‘to gather together by scraping along surface’
	gru-	gruŋ	‘to heap up’
	gri-	griŋ	‘bush, an area covered with bushes’
		griŋ	‘to cover under’
mr-	mri-	mriŋ	‘be clean’
sr-	sra-	srap	‘be fitting’
		sraŋ	‘get well, become well’
	sre-	sretan	‘suddenly in a flash’
	sro-	srop	‘pull out leaves from branches or grains from stalk with the palm in one draw, clean surface by hand’
		sroŋan	‘rapidly like an arrow, in a darting motion’
	sru-	srukan	‘secretly, on the quiet’
	sri-	sriŋ	‘to permeate, to get soaked gradually’
		sriŋ	‘to stretch out a line or rope or bamboo etc.’

1.5.3.2 Constraints on the coda of initial syllables with initial clusters

Table 1.7 is an analysis of the codas of initial syllables with initial consonant clusters with reference to the various syllable nuclei. The picture can be generalised to be a representation of the possible codas of all closed syllables with initial consonant clusters.

Table 1.7 *Constraints on the coda of initial syllables with initial clusters*

$C_2 \rightarrow$	-p	-t	-k	-m	-n	-ŋ	-r	-l	-s
C_1raC_2	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×	×	×
C_1reC_2	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	×	×	×
C_1roC_2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×
C_1riC_2	×	×	✓	×	×	×	×	×	×
C_1ruC_2	×	×	✓	×	×	✓	×	×	×
C_1riC_2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×

A single example each is provided as an illustration of the possibility presented in the table.

C_1rap-	trap	‘be on time’
C_1rat-	brat ~ brá	‘be shy’
C_1rak-	crak	‘to come off by tearing’
C_1ram-	gram	‘be left undone, be left fallow’
C_1ran-	×	
$C_1raŋ-$	kraŋ	‘to go for a stroll’
C_1rep-	krep-an	‘noisily with a cracking sound’ (break and fall)
C_1ret-	pret ~ pré	‘to burst out’
C_1rek-	brek	‘a variety of gourd’
C_1rem-	×	
C_1ren-	bren	‘be satiated’
$C_1reŋ-$	kreŋ	‘longer and bigger wing feathers of birds, wings’
C_1rop-	jrop-an	‘in unison’
C_1rot-	prot ~ pró	‘be intelligible, to open up at opposite end’
C_1rok-	trok	‘to jump, to bounce’
C_1rom-	jróm-an	‘closely together’
C_1ron-	gron	‘to gather together by scraping along surface’
$C_1roŋ$	jroŋ	‘to wither, to droop’
C_1rip-	×	
C_1rit-	×	

C ₁ rik-	crik-crak ~ cirik-carak	‘silent, quite’
C ₁ rim-	×	
C ₁ rin-	×	
C ₁ riŋ-	×	
C ₁ rup-	×	
C ₁ rut-	×	
C ₁ ruk-	pruk	‘be uprooted’
C ₁ rum-	×	
C ₁ run-	×	
C ₁ ruŋ-	bruŋ	‘to congregate, to gather together’ (intr.)
C ₁ rip-	trip-an	‘quietly’
C ₁ rit-	khrit ~ khri	‘sprinkle’
C ₁ rik-	krik	‘to know how to, to be able’
C ₁ rim-	grim	‘bush, area covered by bushes, forest’
C ₁ riŋ-	prin	‘to mix, be in agreement, be coherent’ (intr.)
C ₁ riŋ-	kriŋ	‘to make sound, to produce noise’ (intr.)

The phonemes /r, l, s/, which are legitimate codas in Rabha, do not occur as codas of syllables with an initial consonant cluster. Some borrowed item break this pattern, as in the case of /krus/ ‘cross’. The phoneme /k/ is the most versatile coda of such syllables, followed by /ŋ/. The phonemes /p, t/ have equal facility of occurrence, not occurring only when the nucleus is /i, u/, which incidentally are the vowels with least facility of occurrence as a nucleus following an initial consonant cluster. The nasals /m/ and /n/, besides not occurring when the nucleus is /i, u/, fail to occur as a coda when the nucleus is /e/ and /a/ respectively following an initial cluster, for reasons that are inexplicable. These are gaps in the pattern. That consonants other than /r, l, s/, which do occur as coda of initial syllables with cluster, occur only with some vowels and not others may be just a coincidence.

1.5.3.3 *Simple nucleus of open syllables with initial clusters*

Open syllables having initial clusters and a simple nucleus are very rare. Not all the vowels are found to occur in the data available (see Table 1.8). That is, syllables with initial clusters and a simple

nucleus are mostly closed syllables. The following list of words is an exhaustive list of such open initial syllables with an initial cluster and a simple nucleus found in the data.

dra	‘rough, coarse’
pra	‘give birth’ (animals)
prá	‘be in short supply’
bre	‘heald in loom’
gre	‘be in excess, be left over’
tro-tro	‘drop by drop, intermittently’ (weep)
pri	‘be mature’
pri ~ píř	‘to buy’

To this list must be added a set of words (mostly verbs) that appear as open or as closed syllables in final /-t/ under varying conditions. When they appear as open (when followed by a consonant in the following syllable), the vowel is always high-toned; when they appear as closed (when followed by a vowel in the following syllable) the vowel is low-toned. The following list exhausts such open initial cluster words found in the data.

brá-kai	‘shame’ (attributive -kai)
gré-kai	‘gnawing’ (attributive -kai)
pré-kai	‘bursting’ (attributive -kai)
grí-kai	‘grinding’ (attributive -kai)
khří-kai	‘sprinkling’ (attributive -kai)
krí-kai	‘breaking into splinters or pieces’ (intr., attributive -kai)
phrí-kai	‘snapping shut’ (attributive -kai)

Table 1.8 *Simple nucleus of open syllables with initial clusters*

V→	a	í	e	o	i	u	á	í	é	ó	í	ú
CCV	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×

1.5.3.4 *Complex nucleus following initial clusters*

As a rule, syllables that contain a complex nucleus are always open. Complex nuclei do not allow a coda. This is true also when there are initial clusters. Words that have an initial cluster and a complex

nucleus are very few. Only four complex nuclei /ai, ao, au, oi/ are attested as the peak of an initial syllable with a cluster. Table 1.9 shows the combinations that have been found.

Table 1.9 *Complex nucleus following initial cluster*

C↓	C <u>rai</u>	C <u>rao</u>	C <u>rau</u>	C <u>roi</u>
p	✓	✓	×	✓
t	✓	✓	×	✓
c	×	×	×	×
k	×	×	✓	×
ph	×	✓	×	×
th	×	×	×	×
kh	×	✓	×	×
b	✓	✓	✓	×
d	×	×	×	×
j	×	✓	×	×
g	×	✓	✓	×
s	×	✓	×	×

The following list contains all such words found in the data.

<u>brái</u>	‘bring out (cud), protrude’ (tongue etc.)
<u>trái</u>	‘to exchange’
<u>prai</u>	‘about, somewhat’
<u>brao</u>	‘be pungent’
<u>grao-grao</u>	‘intensely’ (shiver, shake)
<u>gráo-gráo</u>	‘be plentiful’ (people)
<u>jrao</u>	‘nearly ripe’
<u>prao</u>	‘call’
<u>khrao-khrao</u>	‘loudly, producing noise’ (scratching)
<u>srao</u>	‘very many of the same batch’ (fowl)
<u>trao</u>	‘to grow tall or long’

phráo-phráo	‘appearing brightly and in big numbers’ (stars)
kra <u>uan</u>	‘heavily and with noise’ (especially of breaking or falling)
gra <u>uan</u>	‘with loud noise’ (especially of falling of trees)
bra <u>u</u>	‘to burn brightly with big flames’
proi	‘to chant, to call on deity’
troi-troi	‘to cluck’ (hen before beginning to lay egg)

Occurrences of CrVV as a syllable-initial sequence in word-medial position have not been considered. Even if these are considered, the situation will not change much except that ai will take other consonant clusters that are possible in such a position, as in:

haŋ-kra <u>i</u>	‘shout loud, call loud out to’
jo-khla <u>i</u>	‘to stir’
gen-dra <u>i</u>	‘to detest’
co-gra <u>i</u>	‘to slap’
mon-cra <u>i</u>	‘to twist’

There are also instances that involve a new second member as in:

po-sta <u>i</u>	‘to regret’
ge-sta <u>i</u>	‘to touch in passing’
to-sta <u>i</u>	‘to plead’

1.5.4 *Medial clusters*

In analysing the medial clusters no distinction has been made between clusters that occur within and those that occur across a morpheme boundary. Consequently some of the instances have inflectional or derivational affixes. The analysis, then, gives a picture of medial cluster occurrence across the language as a whole in as much as the data on which the analysis is carried is representative of the language. Medial clusters can have either two or three members, and can be said to have the following forms: -VC₁C₂V- and -VC₁C₂C₃V-.

1.5.4.1 *Two-member medial clusters*

Table 1.10 shows the possible combinations in a two-member medial cluster.

Table 1.10 *Two-member medial clusters*

$C_2 \rightarrow$ $C_1 \downarrow$	p	t	c	k	ph	th	kh	b	d	j	g	m	n	η	s	r	l
p	×	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×	×	✓	✓	✓
t	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓	✓
c	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	×
k	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
ph	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓
th	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	×
kh	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓
b	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓
d	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓
j	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓
g	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	×	×	✓	✓
m	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	✓
n	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	✓
η	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	✓
s	✓	✓	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	✓	×	×	✓	✓
r	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	×
l	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×	✓	×	✓	✓	✓

The most versatile C_1 of medial two member clusters is /k/. This consonant occurs with all possible C_2 s. The nasals, the trill and the lateral approximant are the next in the order of versatility in this position. The least versatile C_1 of medial two member consonant cluster is /c/, followed by the voiceless aspirated plosives /ph, th, kh/ and the voiced plosives /b, d, j, g/. The occurrence of /t/ as C_1 appears high on account of a handful of instances that allow certain combinations. Otherwise /t/ too is quite low on the scale of occurrence as C_1 of medial clusters.

The most versatile C_2 of medial two member clusters is /r/. This

consonant occurs with all possible C_1 s. The next in order is /l/. It is not possible to segregate any segment as the least versatile C_2 , as their occurrences are more or less on a par. The examples given below follow the tabular presentation left to right and top to bottom.

-pt-	dapta	‘grow in clusters’ (teeth)
-pc-	hapci	‘slush’
-pk-	kopkop	‘closely woven’
-pth-	capthai	‘outer thigh’
-pkh-	khapkhithak	‘to pretend to cry’
-pb-	makapbor	‘haystack’
-pd-	bapdai	‘covenanted parent-child relationship’
-pj-	jipjip	‘concurrently, just enough to submerge’ (liquid)
-pm-	khapmo	‘will cry’
-ps-	gepsú ~ gepsuk	‘rib’
-pr-	cepreŋ	‘sesame’
-pl-	ciplik	‘insipid’
-tt-	khattik	‘true, genuine’
-tc-	batcia ~ bacia	‘classifier for meals’
-tk-	kotkotai ~ kokotai	‘cluck’ (hen)
-tph-	konclotphaŋ	‘wild turmeric plant’
-tth-	mettham ~ metham	‘three persons’
-tkh-	hatkhola	‘market place’
-tb-	hatbijan	‘markets’ (plural <i>-bijan</i>)
-tg-	giŋgiŋ	‘intense’ (dark)
-tm-	giŋmit	‘enthusiastically’
-tn-	tiŋni	‘of the mystery’ (genitive <i>-ni</i>)
-tr-	ciŋraŋ	‘root’
-tl-	caŋtla	‘courtyard’
-cr-	khencrek	‘green’
-kp-	tópukpuk	‘name of a bird’
-kt-	baktuk	‘a variety of wild yam’
-kc-	akci pakci	‘covered with dust and dirt’
-kk-	akkur	‘dark, grey’
-kph-	bakphaceŋ	‘long tooth of pigs’
-kth-	bokthai	‘navel’
-kkh-	akkho	‘dark grey’

-kb-	cakbaju	'bangle worn above elbow'
-kd-	sokdam	'a fish trap'
-kj-	pakja	'thing'
-kg-	gokgok	'with a blank look' (look)
-km-	nukmar	'be docile, be domesticated'
-kn-	caknar	'be deft, be fast with hand at work'
-kŋ-	bakŋa	'for or to the pig' (dative -ŋa)
-ks-	gaksuk	'trip, stumble'
-kr-	bakra	'open expanse of land'
-kl-	cakla	'round'
-phr-	aphrai	'writhe in pain, be in deep sorrow'
-phl-	phophla	'be hollow'
-thr-	cithrak nathrak	'ugly, shabby'
-khr-	kakhri	'a type of pot'
-khl-	jokhlai	'to stir'
-br-	bebra	'stupid, ignorant'
-bl-	keblaŋ	'forming a slit or such opening'
-dr-	bodroŋ	'dung beetle'
-dl-	khodloŋ	'bald'
-jr-	jonjojre	'slanting sideways'
-jl-	khijlai ~ khijlai	'to tease, to joke'
-gn-	magna	'in vain, uselessly'
-gr-	bagrai	'to fall'
-gl-	goglak	'big' (eyes, cockle)
-mp-	hampa	'cotton'
-mt-	nemtata	'like' (present tense)
-mc-	bamci	'rice-flour'
-mk-	amka temka	'so and so'
-mph-	gompha	'hair coiled behind head'
-mth-	caracamthé	'having dents or small depressions in surface'
-mkh-	dimkhim	'strong, well-built'
-mb-	ambaluri	'gooseberry'
-md-	ramduri	'dust from road'
-mj-	hamjar	'field where shift cultivation is done'
-mg-	jamgoda	'superstitious shadow of oneself that appears in dreams'
-mm-	jammakra	'maize, corn'
-mn-	samnukchep	'a thorny bush, mimosa'

-ms-	gemsú ~ gemsuk	‘pollen of a wild bush, the bush’
-mr-	kómren̄ ~ kónbren̄	‘long bamboo used for plucking fruits etc.’
-ml-	lemlem	‘hanging in a pendulous manner’ (as drapery)
-np-	nenpok kánpok	‘body and clothes wet from bath’
-nt-	antar	‘to wake up’
-nc-	banca	‘piece of wood or bamboo used to throw at or beat something or someone’
-nk-	kankai	‘dress’ (attributive <i>-kai</i>)
-nph-	panphala	‘plank’
-nth-	ganthai	‘bell tied to the neck of animals’
-nkh-	kánkhor	‘bodily appearance’
-nb-	khanbója ~ khambója	‘a variety of yam’
-nd-	kundi	‘bamboo reinforcement on rim of woven articles’
-nj-	ganji	‘weaving’ (used in nominal verbs formation)
-ng-	gengen	‘muddy, not clear’
-nm-	nenmar	‘fringe or tassel of clothes’
-nn-	nunnanai	‘an insect’
-ns-	mínsi	‘to be over-cooked’
-nr-	inran̄	‘proceed or continue to say’
-nl-	panlibak	‘a tree-frog’
-np-	henpapaklan̄ ~ hempapaklan̄	‘on this side’
-nt-	lan̄tia	‘naked’
-nc-	hán̄cen̄	‘sand’
-nk-	alan̄kar	‘an amphibious lizard’
-nph-	jamun̄phala	‘an absent-minded person’
-nth-	gan̄than̄	‘one who is careless in walking and trips often’
-nkh-	an̄khini	‘one of small branch-like sections of an ear of paddy’

-ηb-	pánba	‘a deity’
-ηd-	kunḍandri	‘soft bone of nose’
-ηj-	kinjuη	‘bone’
-ηg-	celenḡa	‘suspended bamboo frame for keeping things’
-ηm-	jīmaηmasi	‘hallucination, vision’
-ηn-	poηna	‘cook by steam’ (used in nominal verb)
-ηs-	haηsiη	‘duck’
-ηr-	raηraη	‘transparent’
-ηl-	joηlaga	‘quarrelsome, quarrelsome person’
-sp-	nispin	‘very’
-st-	asta	‘left over, not eaten’ (food)
-sth-	basthip ~ basithip	‘throw or smash to the ground’
-skh-	khuskhus	‘repeatedly’
-sb-	basbakeη	‘a kind of tree’
-sn-	nasná	‘a kind of fish’
-sr-	khasraη	‘tobacco rolled in leaf or paper as cigarette’
-sl-	disli	‘matches’
-rp-	carpak	‘spirit, soul’
-rt-	dārtanη	‘at a distance’
-rc-	gircuk	‘to feel ticklish’
-rk-	horka	‘a conical fish trap’
-rph-	gurphaη ~ guruphaη	‘priest’
-rth-	korthap ~ korthop	‘peel, skin’
-rkh-	kerkha	‘cotton gin’
-rb-	bīrbak	‘a tree’
-rd-	ardi	‘to pray’
-rj-	horjeη	‘to chirp’ (cricket)
-rg-	berga	‘different’
-rm-	barmasi	‘always’
-rn-	jarnam ~ janam	‘very’
-rs-	tarsak	‘having large forehead’
-rr-	khárraη	‘to continue or proceed to do’
-lp-	mīlpeke	‘while young’
-lt-	altu	‘be easy’
-lc-	mīlca	‘not small’ (negative)
-lk-	mīlkai	‘small’ (attributive)
-lph-	pulphak	‘pillar of bridge’

-kh-	milkhithak	‘to pretend to be small’
-lb-	helboŋ	‘be fat and pot-bellied’
-ld-	doldoŋ	‘loose and sagging’
-ln-	bilnaŋsraŋkai	‘the Almighty’
-ls-	halsiŋ	‘string on which something is strung’
-lr-	milraŋ	‘to continue to grow small’
-ll-	jalluk	‘chilly’

1.5.4.2 Three-member medial clusters

Three-member medial clusters of the form $-VC_1C_2C_3V-$ are fewer than two-member medial clusters. The new member that differentiates it characteristically is the C_1 . Only four consonants, /k, m, n, ŋ/, occupy the place of C_1 (a few exceptions are presented below). C_2C_3 are, by and large, comparable to the C_1C_2 of the two-member clusters. There are very few C_2C_3 combinations in the $C_1C_2C_3$ clusters that are not possible in the C_1C_2 combinations of the two-member medial clusters. A noteworthy exception is $-cl-$ in *konclot* ‘wild turmeric’.

The consonant that occurs in the C_3 slot is even more revealing. With few exceptions the C_3 position is occupied by either /r/ or /l/. This calls for a comparison of the C_2C_3 not with the medial two-member clusters, but with the initial clusters, which are always two-member and whose second member is, albeit with a few exceptions, invariably /r/. Some of the exceptions in both cases are also comparable.

Table 1.11 gives the occurrence of the consonants in the three slots of the three-member medial clusters. C_1 is occupied by consonants that are the most versatile codas in Rabha syllables; C_2 is occupied by consonants that occupy the C_1 position in initial clusters, the only addition being /th/ which does not occur as C_1 in initial clusters. C_3 is occupied by /r/ which is the only second member of initial clusters, and also by /l/. However, if we compare C_2C_3 of $C_1C_2C_3$ medial clusters as a unit with C_1C_2 initial clusters, we do come across new combinations like $-thr-$, $-kn-$, $-pl-$, $-tl-$, $-cl-$, $-kl-$, $-phl-$, $-khl-$, $-bl-$, $-dl-$ and $-sp-$. Of these, $-thr-$ (*l̄inthri* ‘in a row, contiguous’) is special as *th* is the only plosive that is not found in initial clusters; $-kn-$ (*ceŋkna* ‘fork in road or branch’) and $-sp-$ (*nokspa* ‘raised area outside house adjacent to wall’) are even more curious, as *n* and *p* do not enter into initial clustering as the second member.

In the other combinations, it is only this particular combination that is not attested in initial clusters.

At any rate, the situation permits the supposition that even in synchronically non-analysable three-member medial cluster words there must have once existed a syllable-cum-morpheme boundary between C_1 and C_2C_3 . Synchronically the morpheme boundary is not recoverable in all the instances, although a majority of the cases still have a morpheme boundary between C_1 and C_2 . The syllable boundary is present synchronically, and is easily arrived at from the phonotactic constraints, i.e. that synchronically Rabha does not have final consonant clusters, that initial clusters do not have more than two members, and that / η / never occurs as a syllable-initial consonant (except as a result of morphophonemic changes at a morpheme boundary, in which case it is always followed by a vowel).

Table 1.11 *Consonants that occur in a three-member medial cluster*

	p	t	c	k	ph	th	kh	b	d	j	g	m	n	η	s	r	l
C_1	×	×	×	✓	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×
C_2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×	✓	×	×
C_3	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓

The three-member clusters that break the constraint on C_3 are the following:

-ksp-	nokspa	‘raised area outside house adjacent to wall’
-ksth-	paksthap	‘having taste like that of betel nut’
- η kn-	ce η kn	‘fork in road or branch, etc.’

A few instances of three-member medial clusters that are totally different from the pattern described above are the result of morphophonemic changes at the classifier-numeral boundary (see 4.3.4.5) giving rise to *-lnth-* and *-mth-* clusters, as in *másu palntham* ‘three herds of cattle’ and *másu jomtham* ‘three pairs of cattle’. These are a problem for syllabification (see 1.5.6.7). The remaining three-member clusters can be divided into four groups depending on the C_1 consonant.

(i) $-VC_1C_2C_3V-$ clusters that have /k/ as C_1

-kpr-	prakprak	‘effortlessly’ (splitting fire-wood etc.)
-kpl-	bokplek	‘white that is pale and not bright’
-ktr-	toktram	‘to clear one’s throat’
-kk-	makkra	‘monkey’
-kbr-	gojokbra	‘saviour’
-kbl-	nukblak damblak	‘to a high degree’ (be angry, scold)
-kdr-	nokdron	‘the whole house-hold’
-kgr-	groggrog	‘profusely (cry), fast (drink)’
-ksr-	sruksruk	‘quietly, without making noise’
-ksl-	bokslek	‘dull white’

(ii) $-VC_1C_2C_3V-$ clusters that have /m/ as C_1

-mpr-	hampren	‘grass for thatching’
-mpl-	nukplek kumplek	‘to a high degree’ (be angry, sold)
-mkr-	krimkrim	‘heavily wooded’
-mphl-	hemphlan ~ henphlan	‘this side’
-mkhr-	d̄imkhria ~ d̄imkhim	‘not sprout completely’ (seeds)
-mbr-	tambron	‘river’
-mbl-	bomblan ~ bomalan	‘in front of body, at breast’
-mdr-	damdra	‘a coarse variety of mat’
-msr-	d̄imsran	‘not fluent, hesitant in speech’

(iii) $-VC_1C_2C_3V-$ clusters having /n/ as C_1

-ntr-	kantra	‘only, to the exclusion of everything else’
-ntl-	centlen	‘tamarind’
-ncr-	cencrai	‘to shout’
-ncl-	konclot	‘wild turmeric’
-nphl-	kónphlak	‘flat and small pieces of wood’
-nthr-	l̄inthri	‘in a row, contiguous’
-nbr-	br̄inbr̄in	‘motionless and straight and long’
-ndr-	candri	‘round bamboo sieve’

-ndl-	khándlak	‘very short’
-njr-	anjri	‘classifier for a handful’
-ngr-	pangrīm	‘forest’
-sr-	nensrīη	‘wire or rope or bamboo etc. used as a clothes line’

(iv) -VC₁C₂C₃V- clusters having /η/ as C₁

-ηpr-	kharaηpré	‘one whose body is full of ringworms’
-ηtr-	séηtrao	‘grow tall’
-ηcr-	áηcraī	‘giggle or shout loud’
-ηkr-	ceηkrao ~ ceηkroi	‘a variety of frog’
-ηkl-	koηklok	‘having a bent or beak-like curve’
-ηkn-	ceηkna	‘fork’ (in road, branch etc.)
-ηphr-	phronphron	‘speedily or intensely’
-ηphl-	heηphlaη ~ hemphlaη	‘this side’
-ηkhr-	ciηkhraη baηkhraη	‘haphazardly’
-ηkhl-	jaηkhla	‘ladder’
-ηbr-	biηbrap	‘flash’ (lightning)
-ηdr-	soηdron	‘the whole village’
-ηjr-	joηjre	‘slanting sideways’
-ηgr-	dingri	‘a fish trap’
-ηgl-	joηgleη ~ joηleη	‘lean, lanky’
-ηsr-	raηsri ~ raηsi	‘evening’

1.5.5 *Vowel sequence*

Besides complex nuclei, there exist contiguous occurrences of vowels. With the exception of a few instances, vowels that occur contiguously belong to different morphemes. Accordingly, sequential occurrences of vowels may be divided into two groups: vowel sequences within a single morpheme and vowel sequences across morpheme boundaries.

1.5.5.1 *Vowel sequence within a morpheme*

There are but a handful of words that are monomorphemic and contain a sequence of vowels, and all of them occur word-finally. If they are characterised as being of the form V₁V₂, then V₂ is always

/a/, and V_1 is a non-low vowel. However, it can be seen that the high vowels are more frequent than mid vowels in the V_1 slot. Instances involving /e, o/ are very few. Phonetically there is the intrusion or insertion of a frictionless continuant [y] when V_1 is a high vowel and [w] when V_1 is a non-high vowel. The list below is exhaustive as far the data analysed is concerned. The following combinations of vowels are found in monomorphemic words.

(i) -i-a

ba-ci-a	‘classifier for meals’
ba-si-a	‘left over from previous day’ (especially work, food etc.)
bu-ti-a	‘evil spirit believed to be men who turn into evil spirits at will, wreaking havoc on others’
ju-li-a	‘bag’
khun-ci-a	‘eel’
ku-ri-a	‘sickly person’
laŋ-ti-a	‘naked’
mi-a	‘yesterday’
siŋ-khi-a	‘rope used for carrying load suspended from a rod for carrying’
tu-ri-a	‘lady’s fingers’

(ii) -u-a

a-lu-a	‘(fish) dried at home’
ba-du-a	‘one who has incurred a fine for some offence’
baŋ-ku-a	‘shoulder rod for carrying loads’
du-lu-a	‘a drum’
ha-lu-a	‘ploughing bull’
ku-ru-a	‘hoof of animals, a kind of bird’
la-thu-a	‘one who habitually tells lies’
ma-lu-a	‘earthen pot for serving curry or rice-beer’
na-ku-a	‘young (cock) that is close to start crowing’
pu-cu-a	‘a south-westerly wind’
ru-a	‘rafter or sloping beams in a roof frame’

(iii) -o-a

jan-jo-a 'twins'
 jo-a 'time' (of some specific and routine activity like cooking)

(iv) -e-a

go-re-a 'a lazy person'

1.5.5.2 *Vowel sequence across a morpheme boundary*

With the exception of the above instances all the other occurrences of sequence of vowels are polymorphemic, each vowel belonging to a different morpheme. The morphemes that cause this situation are the following:

- (i) present tense suffix /-a/
- (ii) locative case suffix /-i/
- (iii) accusative case suffix /-o/
- (iv) incompletive suffix /-e/
- (v) emphatic suffix /-an/

Sequence of vowels across a morpheme boundary can be either of two vowels or of three vowels.

(i) Vowel sequences of the form $-V_1V_2$

Table 1.12 depicts the possible two-member combinations of vowels.

Table 1.12 *Two-member sequence of vowels*

$V_2 \rightarrow$ $V_1 \downarrow$	i	e	a	ɨ	u	o
i	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓
e	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓
a	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓
ɨ	×	×	×	×	×	×
u	✓	×	✓	×	×	✓

Table 1.12 (*cont.*)

$V_2 \rightarrow$ $V_1 \downarrow$	i	e	a	ĩ	u	o
o	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓
ĩ	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓
é	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓
á	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓
ĩ	×	×	×	×	×	×
ú	✓	×	✓	×	×	✓
ó	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓

As far as the non-high vowels are concerned, it becomes evident from Table 1.12 that /i/ does not take either the V_1 slot or the V_2 slot, whereas /u/ does not take the V_2 slot. The more frequent combinations are where V_2 is /e, a, o/; for the instances where the V_2 slot is filled by /i/ there are competing forms having a consonant that breaks the vowel sequence, thus reducing their frequency count. From the frequency of occurrence of either of the two competing forms it becomes evident that the form without the vowel sequence is more prevalent.

Another noteworthy point is that morphophonemic changes affect /e/, but not its back counterpart /o/, when preceded by high vowels turning the /e/ into high vowel. The raising of /e/ is total when the preceding vowel is /u/ but only partial when the preceding vowel is /i/. Thus, we have:

/u-e/ > /u-i/

When /e, i/ are preceded by non-high vowels except themselves, phonetically they tend to turn into a palatal approximants [y]:

/kha-e/ > [kha-y] 'having tied' (incompletive -e)
 /so-e/ > [so-y] 'having rotten' (incompletive -e)
 /mona-i/ [mona-y] 'in the bag' (locative -i)

Contiguous occurrence of /a/ is phonetically broken by a glottal stop, such that:

	/kha-a/ >	[khaʔa]	'to tie'
i-V ₂	i-i	sirgi-i ~ sirgi-ti	'in heaven' (locative)
	i-e	si-e	'having died'
	i-a	si-a	'die' (present tense)
	i-o	i-o	'this' (accusative)
e-V ₂	e-i	laŋgre-i ~ laŋgre-ti	'in the moon' (locative)
	e-e	se-e	'having suffered'
	e-a	se-a	'suffer' (present tense)
	e-o	bre-o	'the heald' (accusative)
a-V ₂	a-i	mona-i ~ mona-ti	'in the bag'
	a-e	kha-e	'having tied'
	a-a	kha-a	'tie' (present tense)
	a-o	cika-o	'water' (accusative)
u-V ₂	u-i	su-i	'having pecked'
	u-a	su-a	'to peck, to butt'
	u-o	u-o	'him' (accusative)
o-V ₂	o-i	Mogo-i	'in Mogo' (locative)
	o-e	so-e	'having become rotten'
	o-a	so-a	'to rot' (present tense)
	o-o	momo-o	'the younger brother or sister' (accusative)
í-V ₂	í-i	sí-i ~ sí-ti	'in blood' (locative)
	í-e	bí-e	'having broken'
	í-a	bí-a	'break' (present)
	í-o	kí-o	'dog' (accusative)
é-V ₂	é-i	thé-i ~ thé-ti	'in the fruit' (locative)
	é-e	pré-e	'having finished'
	é-a	khé-a	'hit (target), be proper (words)'
	é-o	thé-o	'fruit' (accusative)

á-V ₂	á-i	ná-i ~ ná-ti	‘in the fish’ (<i>ná-i</i> is rarely used)
	á-e	sá-e	‘having eaten’
	á-a	khá-a	‘bitter’ (present)
	á-o	bá-o	‘bamboo’ (accusative)
ú-V ₂	ú-i	thú-i	‘having become deep’
	ú-a	cú-a	‘wrap’ (in paper, leaf etc.) (present)
	ú-o	burú-o	‘leech’ (accusative)
ó-V ₂	ó-i	pocó-i ~ pocó-ti	‘mango’ (locative)
	ó-e	só-e	‘having burnt’
	ó-a	ró-a	‘long’ (present)
	ó-o	tó-o	‘bird’ (accusative)

(ii) Vowel sequences of the form -V₁V₂V₃

In analysing the three-member sequences of vowels, the high-toned and low-toned vowels have not been separately analysed. Such sequences of vowels are occasioned by the combined presence of case suffixes and the emphatic marker, and are consequently trimorphemic. If we set aside the few polysyllabic monomorphemic words that have a final sequence of vowels, the possible combinations of vowel clustering of the form -V₁V₂V₃ are only five, as represented in Table 1.13.

Table 1.13 *Three-member sequence of vowels*

V ₂ -V ₃ → V ₁ ↓	-e-a	-i-a
a-	✓	✓
o-	✓	✓
u-	×	✓

The privilege of occurrence of the various vowels in the various slots of V₁V₂V₃ cluster is that only /a, o, u/ (and their high-toned counterparts) may occupy the V₁ slot; only /e, i/ may occupy the V₂ slot, and only /a/ may occupy the V₃ slot.

rá-e-an	‘having taken’ (emphatic)
há-i-an	‘in the earth or land itself’ (emphatic)
so-e-an	‘having rotten’ (emphatic)
cokó-i-an	‘in the rice-beer itself’ (emphatic)
khu-i-an	‘having poured’ (emphatic)

The *-u-i-a* sequence may also be regarded as *-u-e-a* if the incomplete marker is taken to be *-e*. In the present analysis, however, the participial or incomplete morpheme is established as <-e ~ -i> without considering either allomorph as the base. The instances of the emphatic marker following the accusative case suffix, and thus giving forms having vowel sequence *-a-o-a* (with nouns ending in *-a*), and *-o-o-a* (with nouns ending in *-o*), are not found because after the accusative suffix <-o> the emphatic marker <-an> is realised as <-n>.

If polysyllabic monomorphemic words having a final vowel sequence are also taken into consideration, there are a few other combinations that are possible, including a few four-member vowel sequences, as shown below.

i-a-o	julia-o-n	‘the bag itself’ (accusative, emphatic)
u-a-o	kurua-o-n	‘the <i>kurua</i> bird itself’ (accusative, emphatic)
o-a-o	joa-o-n	‘the time itself’ (accusative, emphatic)
e-a-o	gorea-o-n	‘the lazy person itself’ (accusative)
o-a-i	bijoa-i	‘at what time’
i-a-i	julia-i	‘in the bag’

1.5.5.3 *Sequence of complex nucleus and a vowel*

With the exception of a few instances, co-occurrence of a complex nucleus and a vowel always overlaps a morpheme boundary. The vowel always occurs after the complex nucleus. Such occurrences are very rare. Table 1.14 shows possible VV-V occurrences.

Table 1.14 *VV-V sequence*

V→ VV↓	-a	-e	-o
<u>ai</u> -	✓	✓	✓
<u>ao</u> -	✓	✓	✓
<u>au</u> -	✓	×	✓
<u>oi</u> -	✓	✓	✓
<u>eo</u> -	✓	×	×
<u>ui</u> -	×	×	✓
<u>eu</u> -	×	×	×

The monomorphemic instances are:

<u>gao</u> -an	‘theatrical show’
<u>leo</u> -a	‘creeper’
<u>mai</u> -a	‘the day before yesterday’
<u>sai</u> -a ~ <u>sai</u> -na	‘shade’
<u>jai</u> -a ~ <u>jai</u> -na	‘image, reflection’

Polymorphemic instances are caused by the grammatical suffixes that begin with a vowel, parallel to the situation of vowel sequences across a morpheme boundary. A few examples are given below.

<u>gendrai</u> -a	‘to detest’ (present tense)
<u>pai</u> -e	‘carrying, having carried’ (incompletive)
<u>kai</u> -o	‘the man’ (accusative)
<u>tao</u> -a	‘climb’ (present tense)
<u>tao</u> -e	‘having climbed’ (incompletive)
<u>batao</u> -o	‘the parrot’ (accusative)
<u>brau</u> -an	‘with or having big flames’
<u>hilau</u> -o	‘the gibbon’ (accusative)
<u>moi</u> -a	‘wag, swing’ (present tense)
<u>phoi</u> -e	‘having withered’ (incompletive)
<u>jangoi</u> -o	‘the son-in-law’ (accusative)
<u>kui</u> -o	‘betel nut’ (accusative)

There exist very few possibilities of two vowels following a complex nucleus, as in the case:

dao-a-ina 'into the battle'

1.5.5.4 *Sequence of complex nuclei*

Clustering of complex nuclei is a very rare occurrence in Rabha. There are just two words that have such clusters:

rao-ai 'to speak, to call to from a distance'
seo-ai 'to offer up'

These, being verbs, may be followed by suffixes that are vowels as in the following cases:

rao-ai-a 'to speak, to call to from a distance' (present tense)
seo-ai-a 'to offer up' (present tense)
seo-ai-e 'having offered up'
rao-ai-e 'having spoken'

1.5.6 *Phonemic structure of syllables*

The syllable plays an important role in the organisation of Rabha. For the segmental analysis of syllables monosyllabic words provide a starting point. A well-formed monosyllabic root is also automatically a well-formed syllable. There appears to be some phonotactic motivation within the canonical syllabic structure of Rabha, which is discussed at the end of the present discussion, to warrant a division between the onset and the rhyme, the rhyme itself being composed of peak and coda.

1.5.6.1 *The simple nucleus as peak*

In Rabha, neither the onset nor the coda are obligatory elements for a syllable to be well-formed. There are instances of just a vowel nucleus being a well-formed monosyllabic word and, therefore by necessity, a well-formed syllable.

#V# u 'he, she, that'
 i 'he, she, this' (proximate)

If the restriction imposed by taking monosyllabic words as the starting point is relaxed by including monosyllabic grammatical morphemes, examples are many.

-V-	-a	‘present tense marker’
	-o	‘accusative marker’
	-i	‘locative marker’

1.5.6.2 *The Onset*

The nature of the possible onsets in Rabha becomes evident from the discussion of the possible initial consonant clusters. The onset may be a single segment or may be a cluster of two segments. In either case, there are well-formed monosyllabic words without the coda, giving rise to two more types of well-formed syllable: CV# and CCV#.

CV#	ná	‘fish’
	kí	‘dog’
	só	‘mosquito’
	re	‘reed, cane’
	ci	‘to look’
	ga	‘to carry’
	pha	‘cutting edge of instruments’
CCV#	khrá	‘ringworm’
	gra	‘growing by itself (not planted)’
	pra	‘to give birth (animals)’
	bre	‘heald (in loom)’
	pri ~ p̄ir	‘to buy’

1.5.6.3 *The coda*

The coda may be present with or without the onset, giving rise to three other types of syllables: VC#, CVC# and CCVC#. However, the coda is never a cluster.

VC#	ol	‘yam’
	on	‘yes’
	aŋ	‘I’
	in	‘to say’

	ak	‘be dark’
	ap	‘mirror’
CVC#	nán	‘you’ (singular)
	man	‘crawl, creep’
	tan	‘to put’
	cán	‘to happen’
CCVC#	brek	‘a variety of gourd’
	próm	‘to grope’
	jrón	‘pile, stack’
	gron	‘to scrape’

1.5.6.4 *Complex nucleus as peak*

A strong constraint exists in Rabha that if a complex nucleus is the peak of a syllable that syllable cannot have a coda. The onset may still be, if present, a single consonant or a cluster. This gives three more types of well-formed monosyllable: VV#, CVV# and CCVV#. Examples are:

<u>VV</u>	<u>ao</u>	‘to shout, to call’
	<u>oi</u>	‘hello!’
	<u>ai-a</u>	‘mother’

The first two are the only examples found in the data analysed of well-formed monosyllabic morphemes without onset and coda, the peak being a complex nucleus. Of the two, only ao is a root.

<u>CVV</u>	<u>bai</u>	‘spirit’
	<u>kai</u>	‘man’
	<u>tói</u>	‘to hold’
	<u>mai</u>	‘paddy’
	<u>tao</u>	‘to ascend’
<u>CCVV</u>	<u>proi</u>	‘to invoke, to call upon (deity)’
	<u>prao</u>	‘to call’
	<u>brái</u>	‘to bring out (as cud), to protrude (as tongue, fangs etc.)’

The constraint that a syllable with a complex nucleus cannot have a coda, along with the rule that a coda, if present, can only be a single

segment gives the phonotactic motivation for the division of the syllable into onset and rhyme, as there exists a constraint affecting the rhyme that it can, under no condition, have more than two segments or that the rhyme can have only one branching under it. If the rhyme itself is branched into peak and coda, then the peak cannot be a branching node. If the rhyme is not a branching node, then the peak may be a branching node accommodating a complex nucleus.

syllable	→	(onset) + rhyme
rhyme	→	V + (coda)
rhyme	→	<u>VV</u>

1.5.6.5 *The canonical shape of the syllable*

The canonical shape of a well-formed syllable in Rabha is:

$$(C_1) (C_2) \left[\begin{array}{c} V (C_3) \\ \underline{VV} \end{array} \right]$$

1.5.6.6 *The syllabic structure of words*

Words of four or five syllables are very ordinary in Rabha. In spite of the fact that the stock of affixes that modify the verb have considerably been reduced in Rabha when compared to Bodo and Garo, words of eight or nine syllables are still possible. A few examples are given below.

tere-tempon-kai-bijan-ni	REDUP-be.bulging-ATTR-PL-GEN	‘of the ones that have several bulges’
cuη-cuη-kai-bijan-o	big-big-ATTR-PL-ACC	‘the very big ones (accusative)’
mai-sá-lang-guduη-i-o	right-direction-GEN-ACC	‘the one on right side (accusative)’
handar-cipaη-cipaη-peke	dark-slightly-REDUP-while	‘while it is twilight’

nem-nem-kai-bijan-an-min	
good-good-ATTR-PL-EMPH-IMPERF	‘were really good ones’
bun-da-ban-batan-o	
lose.the.way(CAUS)-PL-ACC	‘those (accusative) who mislead’
tu-nuk-khithak-batan	
CAUS-see-pretend-PL	‘pretenders’
pan-rang-a-maca-min	
plenty-INTEN-PRES-INTEN-IMPERF	‘there really was plenty’
in-ran-bapeke	
say-proceed-while	‘in the course of speaking’
ren-brok-nata	
go-together-PAST	‘all went’

1.5.6.7 *Syllabification of polysyllabic words*

Syllabification of polysyllabic words does not present particular problems in Rabha except in a few cases. The canonical shape of the well-formed syllable is to be taken as the yard stick. In the first place syllabification is such that there are no codas that are not permitted by the canonical shape.

When this is done, we do come across a few medial cluster sequences, either as two-member clusters or as C_2C_3 of three-member medial clusters, that do not occur as initial clusters. Particularly noteworthy are the following: *-pl-*, *-phl-*, *-tl-*, *-thr-*, *-cl-*, *-kl-*, *-kn-*, *-khl-*, *-bl-*, *-dl-*, *-gl-*, *-sl-*, *-sp-* and *-sth-*. With the exception of *-kn-*, *-sp-* and *-sth-* all these have an /l/ or /r/ as second member. Of these *-sth-* and *-gl-* are parallel to the exceptions of initial clusters of monosyllabic words all of which otherwise have /r/ as the second member. Hence they can be considered a parallel to the situation on word-initial consonant clusters, *-kn-*, *-sp-* and *-cl-* are attested in one example each only /th/ occurring as the first element is also attested in just one instance.

A few instances of the two-member and three-member medial clusters that are totally different from the regular pattern also break the syllabic patterning of the language. Such clusters as *-lnth-* and *-rnth-* found in *masu palntham* ‘three herds of cattle’, *masu jomtham* ‘three pairs of cattle’ and other such examples are the result of morphophonemic changes at the classifier-numeral boundary (see 4.3.4.5),

and cannot be syllabified according to the regular syllabic patterning of the language. Both the above examples have *-ntham* reduced from *antham* 'three'. Following the morphemic composition these would have to be syllabified as *pal-ntham* and *jor-ntham* giving rise to syllable-initial clusters *-nth*. Other possibilities of syllabification too do not offer solutions that are in any way better. These must be accepted as residual and as not belonging to the core features of the language. The reduced form of the PAST <-nata> occurring as /-nta/ as in *rá-nta* 'took' (see 4.2.1–6) is another instance that creates medial clustering that falls outside of the normal pattern. /ŋ/ which does not occur word-initially, occurs syllable-initially at certain morpheme boundaries. Such instances are treated in 2.1.1.1.

CHAPTER TWO

PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND MORPHEMICS

2.1 *Phonological processes*

The present analysis of Rabha accommodates morphophonemic alternations understood as instances of alternations between phonemes (Lass 1993: 57) at morphemic boundaries in statements of allomorphs, but does not establish morphophonemes and a set of rules to accompany them. Phonemic transcriptions can, thus, be read off without having to decode them with context-specific rules. However, this has the minor disadvantage of not revealing some possible generalisations that could be arrived at regarding the phonological processes and variations at work in synchronic Rabha. The present section aims to fill this lacuna.

2.1.1 *Assimilation of place of articulation*

Rabha has a general tendency to synchronise co-occurrence of different places of articulation at morpheme boundary to a homorganic sequence. Within this general tendency we can notice, besides other consonant-specific changes, assimilatory processes that are both progressive and regressive depending upon what consonants are involved. The major tendency as well as the consonant-specific changes and assimilatory directions are best seen to be operative on the following morphemes, all of which have a parallel and comparable set of allomorphs.

- (i) infinitive: <-na ~ -a ~ -ma ~ -ŋa>
- (ii) past tense: <-nata ~ -ata ~ -mata ~ ŋata>
- (iii) future tense: <-no ~ -o ~ -mo ~ ŋo>
- (iv) genitive: <-ni ~ -i ~ -mi ~ -ŋi>
- (v) dative: <-na ~ -a ~ -ma ~ -ŋa>

2.1.1.1 *Progressive plosive-nasal assimilation of place*

The progressive plosive-nasal assimilation makes a nasal homorganic to the preceding plosive. We are able to be certain of the direction of the assimilation, as the stems on which these affixes are used can also be used as free forms having the final plosive.

In all the morphemes listed in 2.1.1 the allomorphs having an initial bilabial /m/ are used when the stem has a final bilabial /p/; the allomorphs having an initial velar /ŋ/ are used when the stem has a final velar /k/. As would be expected the allomorph having an initial alveolar /n/ is used when the stem has a final alveolar /t/ (examples are given in 2.1.1.2). However, there are other rules that operate in such combinations (see 2.1.2 below).

The allomorphs having an initial /-ŋ/ in each of the morpheme listed in 2.1.1 give one of the only two instances in Rabha (the other being in the area of classifier-numeral combination -see 4.3.4.5) where it occurs syllable-initially. It is the only consonant that does not occur word-initially. This consonant thus breaks the phonotactic generalisation that ‘a syllable can be bounded only by a phoneme or a group of phonemes that is phonotactically possible in word-initial or word-final position—a rule of syllabification as old as the writings of ancient Greek and Latin grammarians’ (Pulgram 1970: 43). There is evidence, however, that true to the expected generalisation, a marked tendency is observable in fast speech, with respect to these occurrences of the initial /-ŋ/, to further effect a regressive assimilation of the preceding root-final /-k/ into a glottalised final /-ŋ/. One illustration is given below.

kok + {dat}	>	kok + ŋa (<i>kok</i> ‘beat’)
	>	kokŋa
	>	koʔŋ-a

When this tendency, which may be taken to be already in progress, becomes an established fact, it will be necessary to establish alternating roots for such k-ending roots, provided other particulars remain unchanged. Synchronically, however, as the presence of the final *-k* (unreleased) and the initial *-ŋ* cannot be denied, particularly in slow speech, syllable-initial occurrences of *-ŋ* in these instances have been allowed to prevail even at the cost of a phonotactic generalisation.

2.1.1.2 *Progressive nasal-nasal assimilation of place*

For the morphemes listed in 2.1.1 the allomorphs having an initial alveolar /n/ are used with a stem ending in /n/. When the stem ends in any of the other two nasals /m, ŋ/, the allomorph that does not have an initial consonant is used. Putting the two together we can conclude that for stems ending in /m/ and /ŋ/ the allomorphs might have been *-ma* and *-ŋa* respectively, and that for some reason, Rabha does not tolerate *-ŋŋ-* and *-mm-* sequences although it accepts the sequence *-nn-*.

The allomorph having an initial alveolar /n/ is used also when the stem ends in /r, l, s/ or has a final open syllable. This shows clearly that the motivation behind the progressive plosive-nasal assimilation (as in 2.1.1.1) and the regressive nasal-plosive assimilation (see 2.1.1.3) is a more general compatibility of the contiguous places of articulation. It is a general tendency of Rabha that it refuses to accommodate, in the domain covered by these suffixes, sequences of plosive + nasal and nasal + nasal that are not homorganic. There are a few exceptions within the system outlined here. These have been pointed out at the end of the examples illustrated below. Another feature of the sound patterning in Rabha that becomes evident from this alternation is the avoidance of two consecutive bilabial and velar nasals, while the palatal nasal is permitted to occur. This alternation, although very characteristic of Rabha, is by no means automatic. There are instances of monomorphemic words, even if very rare, where the patterning avoided by this alternation is permitted.

With minor differences (which are pointed out in the respective places) the pattern of the alternation is uniform enough to warrant a common treatment. For these instances of alternation it would have been possible to set up a morphophoneme /N/, and reduce the morphemes listed in 2.1.1 to <-Na>, <-Nata>, <-No> <Ni> and <-Na> respectively. As mentioned earlier this has not been done to allow straightforward reading of the phonemic transcription. A few examples incorporating the general tendency noted in the sound patterning of Rabha with respect to the above morphemes are given below.

(i) Infinitive:

khap-ma	‘to cry’ (<i>khap</i> ‘cry’)
kek-ŋa	‘to split, tr.’ (<i>kek</i> ‘split’)
dún-a	‘to climb, to ascend’ (<i>dún</i> ‘climb’)
kham-a	‘to burn, intr.’ (<i>kham</i> ‘burn’)
tan-na	‘to put’ (<i>tan</i> ‘put’)
mīl-na	‘to be(come) small’ (<i>mīl</i> ‘be small’)
bīr-na	‘to come down, to descend’ (<i>bīr</i> ‘descend’)
ki-na	‘to fall’ (<i>ki</i> ‘fall’)
ko-na	‘to throw’ (<i>ko</i> ‘throw’)

(ii) Past tense:

pap-mata	‘dug’ (<i>pap</i> ‘dig’)
kok-ŋata	‘beat’ (<i>kok</i> ‘beat’)
pam-ata	‘embraced’ (<i>pam</i> ‘embrace’)
mīn-nata	‘is cooked, is ripe’ (<i>mīn</i> ‘be cooked, be ripe’)
soŋ-ata	‘became short’ (<i>soŋ</i> ‘be short’)
mīl-nata	‘became small’ (<i>mīl</i> ‘be small’)
thír-nata	‘bounced’ (<i>thír</i> ‘bounce’)
rā-nata	‘took’ (<i>rā</i> ‘take’)
bí-nata	‘broke, intr.’ (<i>bí</i> ‘break’)

(iii) Future tense:

khap-mo	‘will cry’ (<i>khap</i> ‘cry’)
dík-ŋo	‘will subside’ (<i>dík</i> ‘subside’)
nam-o	‘will ask, will request’ (<i>nam</i> ‘ask, request’)
rán-no	‘will dry’ (<i>rán</i> ‘be dry’)
rán-o	‘will take or carry away’ (<i>rán</i> ‘take away’)
jar-no	‘will run away’ (<i>jar</i> ‘run away’)
mīl-no	‘will become small’ (<i>mīl</i> ‘be small’)
gre-no	‘will be in excess’ (<i>gre</i> ‘be in excess’)
so-no	‘will get rotten’ (<i>so</i> ‘be rotten’)

(iv) Genitive:

raŋkhop-mi	‘of cloud’ (<i>raŋkhop</i> ‘cloud’)
bak-ŋi	‘of the pig’ (<i>bak</i> ‘pig’)
jamat-ni	‘of the association of villages’ (<i>jamat</i> ‘association of villages’)

mon-ni	‘of the mind’ (<i>mon</i> ‘mind’)
aŋ- i	‘mine’ (<i>aŋ</i> ‘I’)
kai-ni	‘of the person’ (<i>kai</i> ‘person’)
ki-ni	‘of the dog’ (<i>ki</i> ‘dog’)

(v) Dative:

khorthap-ma	‘for the skin’ (<i>khorthap</i> ‘skin’)
bak-ŋa	‘for the pig’ (<i>bak</i> ‘pig’)
kaitaŋ-a	‘for the people (pl.)’ (<i>kaitaŋ</i> ‘people’)
pan-na	‘for the tree’ (<i>pan</i> ‘tree’)
tó-na	‘to or for the bird’ (<i>tó</i> ‘bird’)
ná-na	‘to or for the fish’ (<i>ná</i> ‘fish’)

The genitive and dative show some exceptions. Especially with proper names, and probably by analogical construction, also with some regular nouns, the segmental sequences avoided by the alternation are occasionally heard to be used by native speakers. However, this cannot be held to invalidate the wide-ranging prevalence of the alternation discussed above.

Assam-ni	‘of Assam’
Binduram-na	‘for or to Binduram’
sám-ni hákhar	‘the hole of the mortar’
Silloŋ-ni	‘of Shillong’
soŋ-ni	‘of the village’
soŋ-na	‘for the village’

In the case of the genitive suffix, the use of *-ni* instead of *-i* can be seen as the language’s effort to avoid possible ambiguity arising from genitive forms with *-ni* reduced to *-i*, and forms with locative suffix *-i*, which become homophonous to each other. There does exist a way of circumventing this ambiguity without breaking the rule of alternation. That is by using the locative suffix *-ini*. However, native speakers often take recourse to by-passing the alternation.

2.1.1.3 *Regressive nasal-plosive assimilation of place*

Regressive nasal-plosive assimilation for place of articulation runs parallel to the progressive plosive-nasal assimilation. This process involves the assimilation of a nasal to the place of articulation of the

following plosive at a morpheme boundary. The direction of the assimilatory process is evidently regressive, as the forms without the assimilated segment are free forms. The assimilated forms are the ones regularly encountered in casual fast speech. But in cases where the unassimilated forms are also attested in slow and deliberate speech they too are given as alternants.

kham-bója ~ khan-bója	‘a variety of yam’ (<i>khan</i> ‘yam’)
kham-pancu ~ khan-pancu	‘tapioca’ (<i>khan</i> ‘yam’)
kham-bambri ~ khan-bambri	‘sweet potato’ (<i>khan</i> ‘yam’)
kóm-breŋ ~ kón-breŋ ~ kómreŋ	‘long pole for plucking fruits etc.’ (<i>kón</i> ‘stick, pole’)
kum-pak	‘nose’ (<i>kun</i> ‘rim, edge’)
kun-di	‘bamboo reinforcement on rim of woven articles’ (<i>kun</i> ‘rim, edge’)
hom-phlaŋ ~ hoŋ-phlaŋ	‘that side’ (<i>hoŋ</i> ‘there’)
hem-phlaŋ ~ heŋ-phlaŋ	‘this side’ (<i>heŋ</i> ‘here’)

In the four instances below *ruŋ* occurs as a clipped form of *máiruŋ* ‘rice’, whose final nasal consonant assimilates to the following plosive (besides other vowel changes): *rom-pe* ‘a type of fried rice’, *ron-tak* ‘earthen jar for keeping rice’ (*tik* ‘earthen jar’), *run-cu* ‘flat rice’ and *roŋ-khó* ‘broken rice’.

Two special instances where such assimilation has been completely lexicalised with deletion of the plosive are:

ame ‘I’ (definitive) (derived from <i>aŋ-</i> ‘I’ and <i>-be</i> ‘definitive suffix’)
náme ‘you’ (sg., definitive) (derived from <i>náŋ</i> ‘you’ and <i>-be</i> ‘definitive suffix’)

It can only be guessed that the plosive *-b* or *-be* was deleted or reduced and then underwent assimilation of manner to *-m*. There is no evidence in favour of this analysis, however. The only evidence is negative evidence that such contact assimilation of manner is not otherwise attested as a tendency in Rabha. The third term in *kónbreŋ* ~ *kómbreŋ* ~ *kómreŋ* ‘long pole for plucking fruits etc.’ is of the same category.

2.1.2 *The high tone ~ final-t alternation*

This is an alternation between a root-final *-t* (a segmental phoneme) and a high tone (a non-segmental phoneme) on the preceding vowel. This alternation affects the group of verb roots that have an alternating final *-t*. Within this specific situation there exist two different groups of verbs.

(i) A group of verb roots that abides by a general rule of having a low-toned nucleus along with a root-final *-t* (which happens when followed by a vowel), or a high-toned nucleus without the final *-t* (which happens when followed by a consonant or a word boundary). This situation of root alternants can be represented as:

$$-V_{\text{-high}} t\text{-}V\text{-} \sim -V_{\text{+high}} \text{-(C)(\#)}$$

For such cases, root alternants are established as follows:

pat ~ pá	‘to cross over’
phat ~ phá	‘to vomit, to cook in bamboo’
cet ~ cé	‘to tear, tr.’
cot ~ có	‘to spit’
rot ~ ró	‘to boil, tr.’

Accordingly we have:

pat-a	‘to go across’ (present tense)
pat-eta	‘is going across’ (continuous)
pá-no	‘will go across’ (future)
pá-kai	‘the crossing’ (attributive)
pá	‘go across’ (imperative)

When the root is disyllabic and already contains a high-toned vowel, the final *-t* is seen to be just dropped without the tonal change. If the root does not contain a high-toned vowel, the tonal change takes place.

rákhat-a	‘put away’ (habitual)
rákha-nata	‘put away’ (past)
nemat-a	‘like’ (present)
nemta-nata	‘liked’ (past)

There are many verb roots involving any of the vowels, including the high central vowel, as a nucleus. Like the assimilation of the place of articulation, this process too is not an automatic alternation and is restricted to verb roots. There are noun roots, though very few, that have a final *-t*, which is retained not only in its independent usage but also when followed by suffixes that have an initial consonant as is the case with the genitive and dative.

jamat-ni	‘of the association of villages’ (genitive <i>-ni</i>)
Rajot-na	‘for Rajot’ (dative <i>-na</i>)

However, outside the area of verb roots there are few lexicalised instances of such alternation, as in *ekatháni* ‘this kind or type’, *okatháni* ‘that kind or type’, *bekatháni* ‘of what kind or type’, all of which have *that* ‘behaviour’ followed by genitive *-ni*, and in *pré-pré* ‘with great force’ (knead or trample under foot), which is a reduplicated form of *pret* ~ *pré* ‘burst out’.

(ii) There is a group of six verb roots which have partially similar behaviour to the group considered in (i), but which, in partial defiance of the rule of alternation, undergo final *t*-deletion optionally also when followed by a vowel. The more commonly used form when a vowel follows is the one retaining the final *-t*. The process of *t*-deletion when followed by a C or #, however, is obligatory. These roots are:

cit ~ cí	‘to lay an egg’
jit ~ jǐ	‘to defecate’
jut ~ jú	‘to copulate’
net ~ né	‘to keep guard’
sit ~ sí	‘to smoothen out’ (wood, bamboo etc.)
thet ~ thé	‘to bear fruit’

Accordingly we have forms like:

thet-a ~ thé-a	‘to bear fruit’ (present tense)
thet-eta ~ thé-eta	‘is bearing fruit’ (continuous)
thé-no	‘will bear fruit’ (future)
thé- <u>kai</u>	‘bearing fruit’ (attributive)
thé	‘bear fruit’ (imperative)

For both these groups of verbs it would have been possible to establish a morphophoneme /T/ occurring in the final position of these verbs. This option was not chosen for the sake of greater transparency of the phonemic transcription. An interesting phenomenon that has been observed is that sometimes, albeit rarely, a form that belongs to group (i) is heard to be used without the final *-t* even when followed by a vowel. The following two expressions were each attested once:

aŋ baɪ θá-e buda-jo
 I sacrifice-INCOMP grow.old-PAST
 'I have grown old conducting sacrifices'

náme ekhare-se bí-a-ne!
 you(DEF) like.this-EMPH pull-PRES-EXCL
 'is it like this that you pull'

The verb roots used are *that* ~ *thá* 'to sacrifice' and *bít* ~ *bí* 'to pull', both of which are used without the final *-t* although they are followed by a vowel. The probable implication is that the difference in the behaviour of the verb roots of group (ii) is of recent origin and more members of group (i) are in the process of crossing over to group (ii).

At any rate, for a better understanding of the morphophonemic behaviour of the nominal and verbal repertoire of Rabha, the general tendency of assimilation for place of articulation and the alternations discussed above make it convenient to divide verb roots into the following groups depending upon the coda of the root:

group 1	coda /-p/
group 2	coda /-t/
group 3	coda /-k/
group 4	coda /-m/ or /-ŋ/
group 5	coda /-n/
group 6	coda /-r/, /-l/ or /-s/
group 7	having open final syllable

2.1.3 *Minor phonological processes*2.1.3.1 *Situations involving consonants*

(i) Nasal epenthesis

A few instances show insertion of a homorganic nasal, particularly the alveolar and the velar, before a plosive usually when the syllable preceding the plosive is open. Thus the inserted nasal acts as the coda of the preceding syllable. In a good many of the instances both the forms with and without the epenthetic nasal are found.

a-kal ~ aŋ-kal	‘starvation, poverty, drought’
bo-khra ~ boŋ-khra	‘share, part’
mancale-ka ~ mancaleŋ-ka	‘kingfisher’
tondale-ka ~ tondaleŋ-ka	‘woodpecker’
ma-grap ~ maŋ-grap	‘dilapidated and abandoned (house)’
be-ganda ~ beŋ-ganda	‘of what likeness’
e-ganda ~ eŋ-ganda	‘like this, of this type’
o-ganda ~ oŋ-ganda	‘like that, of that type’
bi-ji ~ biŋ-ji	‘needle’
ga-jal ~ gaŋ-jal	‘nail’

Parallel to *e-ganda ~ eŋ-ganda* ‘like this, of this type’ and *o-ganda ~ oŋ-ganda* ‘like that, of that type’ there are other formations built on the demonstrative markers *i-* ~ *e-* and *o-* without the form that lacks the epenthetic nasal: *e-n-cek* ‘this much’, *i-n-tuŋ* ‘this big’, *e-n-dek* ‘this deep or long’, *o-n-cok ~ o-n-cek* ‘that much’, *o-n-dok ~ o-n-dek* ‘that much deep or long’.

Parallel to *be-ganda ~ beŋ-ganda* ‘of what likeness’ there exist other formations built on the same interrogative morpheme *be-* which show only the forms with the epenthetic nasal: *be-n-cek* ‘how much’, *be-n-tuŋ ~ bi-n-tuŋ* ‘how big’, *be-n-dek* ‘how deep or long’.

(ii) Regressive consonantal dissimilation

It is surprising that a language which assimilates nasals to the place of articulation of a plosives in both nasal + plosive and plosive + nasal sequences should provide instances, even if only one or two, of just the opposite pattern. This is found in:

paη-cuη	‘jackfruit tree’ (<i>pan</i> ‘tree’, <i>cuη</i> ‘big’)
paη-thón	‘log’ (<i>pan</i> ‘tree’, <i>thón</i> ‘a cross-sectional section’)

(iii) Apocope

Deletion of a morpheme-final *-k* is attested in a few instances. In certain cases apocope leads to a high tone in the previous vowel, while in others the vowel is not affected:

khorok ~ khoró	‘hair’
buruk ~ burú	‘water leech’
nophak	‘pillar of the house’ (<i>nok</i> ‘house’; <i>phak</i> ‘pillar’)
bódom ~ bokdam ~ bokdom	‘stomach’
namcábra ~ namcak	‘sister’s daughter in relation to brother’
cáphrit ~ cáphri	‘to fall from hand’ (<i>cak</i> ‘leaf’, analysable also as ‘hand’)

(iv) Free variations

A few words show free variation between certain phonemes:

(a) between final *-k* and *-η*

<i>nájek</i> ~ <i>nájeη</i>	‘a variety of fish’
<i>náراك</i> ~ <i>náراη</i>	‘a small variety of fish’
<i>khencrek</i> ~ <i>khencreη</i>	‘green’

(b) between initial as well as medial *d* and *j*

<i>adi</i> ~ <i>aji</i>	‘a system of sharing in cultivation etc. on a fifty-fifty basis’
<i>raηduri</i> ~ <i>raηjuri</i>	‘downpour’
<i>dartuη</i> ~ <i>jartuη</i>	‘to run’

The compound suffixes *-dagai* and *-digi* (see 4.3.2.4–6) have probably grown out of such an alternation, from Bengali *jaga* ‘place’, the final *-i* being the locative suffix.

(c) between medial *b* and *g*

khubudam ~ *khugudam* 'chameleon'

This alternation has been fossilised and lexicalised in *dugú* 'to be pinned down, to be held down by force', which is the causative of *bú* 'be subject to some state or action' (expected form: *du-bú*) and in *dogom* 'to cause to hatch' which is the causative of *bom* 'to hatch' (expected form: *do-bom*).

(v) Mixed cases

There are a few isolated lexicalised instances that involve various changes:

té-bisri ~ té-birsi	'last year' (<i>té</i> 'now, today'; <i>bisir</i> ~ <i>bosor</i> 'year')
kai-mir-taŋ ~ kai-mitraŋ	'children' (<i>kai</i> 'person', <i>mi</i> 'be small' - <i>taŋ</i> 'plural marker')
maŋkhardam	'graveyard' (<i>maŋkham</i> 'grave'; - <i>dam</i> derivational suffix meaning 'place')
kacitaŋ ~ kacirtaŋ	'the Bodo tribe, one or many of the Bodo tribe'

2.1.3.2 *Situations involving vowels*

(i) Umlaut

Umlaut is regressive apophony or regressive vowel assimilation across one or more intervening segments (Lass 1984: 171f.). It is a very frequently encountered feature in Rabha, but it is not a case of automatic alternation.

tú-ci	'egg' (<i>tó</i> 'bird, fowl')
túkhuṛ	'pigeon, dove' (<i>tó</i> 'bird, fowl')
túkruk	'a variety of wild fowl' (<i>tó</i> 'bird, fowl')
cúŋci	'worm stage of common fly' (<i>cóŋ</i> 'worm, insect')
khukdur	'a small basket for putting fish in when fishing' (<i>khok</i> 'basket')
húnkur	'to growl, roar (tiger)' (<i>hón</i> 'to bark')

hukur ‘to bellow or roar (usually bull)’ (*hok* ‘to bark (deer), to shout unpleasantly’)

In all the cases above, the height of the vowel in the first syllable is raised because of the presence of a high vowel in the following syllable. The apophony is effected across one or more intervening segments.

The phenomenon of Umlaut is seen to be operative in the rules governing the phonological conditioning in deriving the various allomorphs of the causative morpheme (both prefixal and infixal), and the intensifier morpheme (both prefixal and infixal). Only a few representative examples are provided here. The situation is discussed in more detail in the respective passages of this grammar.

di-bí	‘to break’ (causative of <i>bí</i> ‘to break’)
tu-nuk	‘to show’ (causative of <i>nuk</i> ‘to see’)
de-gre	‘to cause to be in excess’ (causative of <i>gre</i> ‘be in excess’)
bun-da-ban	‘to mislead’ (causative of <i>bunban</i> ‘to lose one’s way’)
kun-tu-kur	‘to bend’ (causative of <i>kunkur</i> ‘to be bent’)
bu-thi-khi	‘to starve someone’ (causative of <i>bukhi</i> ‘be hungry’)
kiri-kirsin	‘with great fear’ (from <i>kirsin</i> ‘with fear’)
dara-daplak	‘very flat’ (from <i>daplak</i> ‘flat’)
tere-tempon	‘having many bulges’ (<i>tempon</i> ‘having bulg’)
kun-du-duk	‘bent very much’ (from <i>kunduk</i> ‘be bent’)
phoi-co-crop	‘very wrinkled and shrivelled’ (from <i>phoicrop</i> ‘be shrivelled’)
kon-ke-ke	‘very crooked’ (from <i>konke</i> ‘bent or crooked’)

A similar situation affects the third person pronouns, which are also demonstrative pronouns, *u* ‘he, she, that (non-proximate)’ and *i* ‘he, she, this (proximate)’, which are lowered to *o-* and *e-* respectively in many instances. What is peculiar about the alternations $u \sim o$ and $i \sim e$ is that in some instances they are not guided solely by apophony. There are instances where the high vowel refuses to be lowered by a following non-high vowel even in contiguity. This is discussed in greater detail in 4.3.2.1–7 and 4.3.2.1–6.

(ii) Progressive contact assimilation

Progressive contact assimilation is found in a few instances. The sequence *u-e* is invariably realised as *u-i*. This necessitates two allomorphs (*/-e ~ -i/*) for the incompletive marker and two allomorphs (*/-eta ~ ita/*) for the continuous marker.

nu-i	‘sitting, having sat’ (<i>nu</i> ‘sit’; <i>-i</i> ‘incompletive marker’)
sá-e	‘eating, having eaten’ (<i>sá</i> ‘eat’; <i>-e</i> ‘incompletive marker’)
khu-ita	‘is pouring’ (<i>khu</i> ‘pour’; <i>-ita</i> ‘continuous marker’)
sa-eta	‘is aching’ (<i>sa</i> ‘ache’; <i>-eta</i> ‘continuous marker’)

The raising of *-e* is not total when the preceding vowel is */i/* for which reason it is represented as in:

si-e	>	si-e	‘dying, having died’ (<i>si</i> ‘die’ <i>-e</i> ‘incompletive marker’)
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(iii) Distant dissimilation

Just as there is distant assimilation or apophony, so also there are instances of distant dissimilation where a later vowel is rendered dissimilar to break the occurrence of vowels that are alike in contiguous syllables. Most of the examples involve sequence of syllables that have the same vowel created by the process of causative affixation. Only a few examples are given below:

bokhó ~ bokhot	‘stomach be full, be not hungry’
bo-tho-khá ~ bo-tho-khat	‘to make stomach full, to remove hunger’ (causative <i>-tho-</i>)
dugú ~ dugut	‘to sink down’
du-du-gá ~ du-du-gat	‘to cause to sink down’ (causative <i>-du-</i>)
dogó ~ dogot	‘to rise, to come out’
do-do-gá ~ do-do-gat	‘to cause to rise, to cause to come out’ (causative <i>-do-</i>)
bir	‘to descend’
d̄i-bir ~ d̄i-bar	‘to lower, to let down’ (causative <i>d̄i-</i>)
d̄ik	‘to subside’
gi-dak	‘to quieten, to console’ (causative <i>gi-</i>)

(iv) Free variation

A few instances show free variation between different vowels as in: *liga* ~ *līga* 'friend', *riba* ~ *rība* 'come'; *kiri* ~ *kār* 'be afraid'; *réη* ~ *rínη* 'go'; *hiti* ~ *huti* ~ *hiti* 'elephant'; *bīsār* ~ *bosor* 'year'; *phoi* ~ *phii* 'come'; *hapai* ~ *hapoi* 'a while ago, a while later' and others.

2.2. Morphemics

2.2.1 Composition of morphemes

Morphemes in Rabha are composed of segmental phonemes of consonants and vowels, the suprasegmental phoneme of tone and, in some cases, a phoneme of juncture. The phoneme of juncture is not a property of a single morpheme but of a sequence of morphemes. In pairs such as *pa-ta* (with a syllabic boundary only) 'jute' and *pat* + *a* (with a morpheme boundary concomitant with a syllable boundary) 'to go across (present)' the phonemes involved are the same, but they possess different allophonic qualities, all of which is subsumed under the phoneme of juncture. In Rabha there are no instances of a morpheme consisting only of a suprasegmental phoneme. With the exception of an allomorph of the emphatic *-an* ~ *-n* (see 4.2.4.1–2) and the emphatic present *-ta* with limited distribution (see 4.2.1–3), of which *-t-* may be isolated as the emphatic marker while *-a* is the normal present marker, all the other morphemes in the language contain at least one complete syllable.

2.2.2 Types of morphemes

2.2.2.1 Roots

The distinction between a root as a morphologically simple form that underlies at least one paradigm or a partial paradigm and a stem as morphologically complex form that underlies at least one or partial paradigm (Matthews 1993: 64) is theoretically and terminologically defensible but has not been chosen here, as it does not enhance descriptive simplicity. All morphological constructions are viewed as built around a base, referred to as the root, with combining morphemes which may be prefixes, infixes or suffixes. All complex morphological constructions are analysable as consisting of simple roots

and affixes or derived roots and affixes. Roots, as employed here, cover the same area covered by stems and roots. The correct combination of a root and one or more relevant affixes results in a well-formed morphological construction or word.

2.2.2.2 *Affixes*

Affixes, by their nature, are all bound morphemes. They never occur in isolation. Affixes in Rabha are of three types:

(i) Suffixes. Suffixes form the bulk of the affixes. Consequently, suffixation is the more prominent morphological process. A few are given below.

- o (accusative)
- i ~ -iti (locative)
- no ~ -o ~ -mo ~ -ŋo (future)
- eta (continuous)
- nata ~ -ata ~ -mata ~ ŋata (past)
- jo (past)
- na ~ -a ~ -ma ~ -ŋa (dative and infinitive)
- kai (attributive)

(ii) Prefixes. There are only three morphemes that are prefixal.

1. *ta-* (negative imperative)
2. causative prefix having several phonologically conditioned allomorphs
3. prefixal intensifier having several phonologically conditioned allomorphs

(iii) Infixes. There are only two morphemes that are infixal.

1. causative infix having several phonologically conditioned allomorphs
2. infixal intensifier having several phonologically conditioned allomorphs

2.2.2.3 *Particles*

Particles do not enter into morphological constructions as roots and affixes do. They are monomorphemic, though not necessarily mono-

syllabic. Many of the disyllabic particles can be seen as reduplicated forms that are only attested as such. This is particularly true of adverbs (see 5.2.2).

2.2.2.4 *Bound and free morphemes*

Morphemes can also be divided on the basis of whether they are free or bound. Free morphemes constitute all roots and particles. The particles always occur as free morphemes, while the roots occur also in combination with affixes, which are always bound.

2.2.2.5 *Continuous and discontinuous morphemes*

As affixation includes infixation, suffixation and prefixation, it is natural to expect discontinuous morphemes. It is difficult to assert categorically that the root that takes an infix is discontinuous. What can be said is that an infix renders an otherwise continuous morpheme discontinuous, for in all cases without exception the morpheme rendered discontinuous by an infix has potential freedom of occurrence. Examples involving the two incidents of infixation are given below as illustration:

(i) Causative infix

bun̩baŋ	‘to lose one’s way’
bun̩-da-baŋ	‘to mislead, to cause someone to lose his way’ (causative <i>-da-</i>)
lekok	‘be shaky or loose’
le-to-kok	‘to shake, tr.’ (causative <i>-to-</i>)
mapak	‘be in agreement, be united’
ma-ta-pak	‘bring about agreement or unity’ (causative <i>-ta-</i>)

In both cases the root is rendered discontinuous by the causative markers *-da-*, *-to-* and *-ta-* respectively which are infixed, rendering the roots discontinuous. Yet these roots are continuous morphemes of the Rabha lexicon. Causative formations are discussed in 3.2.2.1.2.

(ii) Intensifier infix

keŋsoŋ	‘be slanting, be not properly aligned’
keŋ-so-soŋ	‘be very slanting, be not properly aligned to a great degree’

keŋkre	‘lean and lanky’
keŋ-ke-kre	‘be very lean and lanky’
kebak	‘be bow-legged’
ke-ba-bak	‘have very prominent bandy legs’

As in the situation above, the intensifiers are infixes *-so-*, *-ke-* and *-ba-* respectively. The presence of the infixes renders the roots discontinuous which are otherwise continuous morphemes of the Rabha lexicon having potential freedom of occurrence as discontinuous segments. These intensifiers, obtained by partial reduplication, are discussed at length in 5.1.1.3 (iii).

CHAPTER THREE

LEXICAL ANALYSIS

The lexical repertoire of Rabha is best analysed as forming two large basic groups and three small groups of lexical morphemes. The large groups are:

1. Noun roots
2. Verb roots

The small groups are:

1. Adjectives
2. Adverbs
3. Indeclinables

Although this division is made, it is by no means the case that the two groups have nothing in common. As a matter of fact the majority of adjectives are derived from verb roots. Many verb roots are equally adjectival in character. Yet a separation is useful, as there exists a small group of adjectives that are not related to verb roots. Nor is it true that the various groups that have been rubricised together are without any links connecting one to another. This is particularly true of the small groups of adjectives, adverbs and indeclinables. Many items function either as an adjective or as an adverb; many adverbs are also indeclinable. However, such a differentiation was thought to be utilitarian to allow a coherent way of looking at diverse functions that are variously carried out by the lexemes. This chapter deals with the two large groups of noun roots and verb roots. The smaller groups are dealt with separately in chapter 5.

3.1 *Noun roots*

The noun roots or the nominal group of lexemes are distinguished by their ability to form morphological constructions resulting in words

with the various groups of nominal affixes (see 4.3.3). This criterion will draw together nouns or substantives proper as well as pronouns and classifier-numeral formations. The two latter groups are analysed under noun phrases (see 4.3.2 & 4.3.4). This section deals with substantives proper.

Of all the groups of lexemes that qualify to be called noun roots, the group of substantives is certainly the largest. This group consists of names of objects, abstract qualities, places and people. Noun roots may be used in isolation. Besides these, a verb root may take a substantivising suffix resulting in a verbal noun, which in turn can take nominal affixes (see 4.2.3).

3.1.1 *Syllabic structure of noun roots*

3.1.1.1 *Monosyllabic noun roots*

Monosyllabic noun roots having the syllabic patterns VC, CV, CVC, CCVC, CCV and CVV are found. Such a broad statement can, however, be deceptive, as the language shows preference for certain patterns. Within the category of monosyllabic noun roots Rabha shows a clear preference for the CVC pattern. All the other syllabic patterns are very low in frequency, the least preferred patterns being the VC and the CCV types. Table 3.1 gives the breakdown of 170 monosyllabic nouns that were analysed for their syllabic structure.

Table 3.1 *Syllable structure count in 170 monosyllabic nouns*

VC	3
CV	18
CVC	121
CCVC	12
CCV	2
<u>CVV</u>	14
total	170

VC	as	‘sinew, fibre, hair-like crack’
	is	‘rod connecting yoke and plough’
	ap	‘mirror’

as and *is* are loan words, and *ap* is found only in the speech of some elderly people.

CV	bá	‘bamboo’
	jí	‘excreta, dung, body dirt’
	kí	‘dog’
	mí	‘curry’
	nú	‘breast, mammary glands, milk’
	pha	‘cutting edge (of cutting instruments)’
	phé	‘arrowhead’
	re	‘reed, cane’
	ró	‘length (as opposed to breadth)’
	sí	‘blood’
	só	‘mosquito’
	CVC	bár
bor		‘structure for creepers to spread, blessing, groom’
cak		‘leaf’
cek		‘fishing net’
dal		‘shield’
dam		‘mat’
gop		‘story’
guk		‘grasshopper’
gìn		‘smell’
hat		‘weekly market’
jap		‘hand-held fan’
jén		‘breadth’
jon		‘sharp or sharpened end of something’
kán		‘body’
kham		‘traditional Rabha drum’
khan		‘a kind of yam’
khén		‘crab’
kén		‘seed’
khok		‘basket’
kón		‘stick, twig’
kúr		‘binding strip of bamboo or reed’
mín		‘body hair’
muṅ		‘name’
nok		‘house’
nen		‘cloth’
par		‘flower’

	phap	‘yeast’
	phak	‘post, pillar’
	phar	‘night’
	ram	‘path’
	reŋ	‘yam’
	ruŋ	‘canoe’
	roŋ	‘colour’
	sir	‘iron’
	sam	‘grass’
	sám	‘mortar’
	san	‘day’
	séŋ	‘waist’
	soŋ	‘village’
	sun	‘mind’
	tal	‘time (of some event or activity)’
	thal	‘plate’
	that	‘custom, tradition’
	thop	‘nest’
	tik	‘earthen jar’
CCVC	brek	‘a gourd’
	brak	‘light, brightness’
	breŋ	‘bamboo split and flattened’
	bríp	‘creeper’
	graŋ	‘roof frame’
	grim	‘bush, an area filled with bushes’
	jrón	‘pile, stack’
	kreŋ	‘wing, wing frame, longer feathers of wing’
	kroŋ	‘horn’
	khrik	‘louse’
	prin	‘goat’
	sriŋ	‘whereabouts’ (used in nominal verb formations)
CCV	bre	‘heald in loom’
	khra	‘ringworm’
CVV	ba <i>̇</i> i	‘deity’
	ca <i>̇</i> i	‘song’
	do <i>̇</i> i	‘a tree’
	ka <i>̇</i> i	‘person’
	ma <i>̇</i> i	‘paddy’

<u>r</u> áí	‘banana leaf’
ra <u>o</u>	‘voice’
so <u>i</u>	‘a broad woven protection against sun and rain’

3.1.1.2 *Polysyllabic noun roots*

Although the internal structure of many polysyllabic noun roots is quite obscure, they may be conveniently treated as being either monomorphemic or polymorphemic. Polymorphemic polysyllabic noun roots are treated under derivation and compounding of noun roots (see 3.1.2). This section deals with polysyllabic noun roots that are monomorphemic. Monomorphemic polysyllabic noun roots can be bisyllabic, trisyllabic or tetrasyllabic.

(i) Bisyllabic monomorphemic noun roots

Bisyllabic noun roots are the most numerous of the polysyllabic noun roots. Theoretically all the possible combinations of syllabic structures of a bisyllabic word may be represented as:

$$(C)(C) \begin{bmatrix} V(C) \\ \underline{VV} \end{bmatrix} - (C)(C) \begin{bmatrix} V(C) \\ \underline{VV} \end{bmatrix}$$

However, all the possible combinations have not actually been attested in the data that have been analysed. The following patterns were found.

V-CV	a-phe	‘star’
	a-li	‘dividing line in fields’
V-CVC	a-kol	‘difficulty’
	a-laŋ	‘temporary shed’
V-CVV	a-khoi	‘parched corn’
VV-V	áí-a	‘mother’
VC-V	ón-e	‘a lizard’
VC-CV	aŋ-ka	‘sign’
	aŋ-ca ~ aŋ-sa	‘a cloth’
VC-CVC	aŋ-kal ~ a-kal	‘starvation, drought’

CV-V	jo-a mi-a	‘time’ (of some regular activity) ‘yesterday’
CV-CV	ka-ka ka-si ba-ta	‘meat’ ‘a plant’ ‘a small woven article to hold’ (betel leaf, betel nut etc.)
CV-CVV	da-lai	‘branch’
CV-CVC	bi-bur hi-tuk ba-roŋ do-khom	‘spider’ ‘advice’ ‘arrangement of seats at a common meal or function’ ‘low stool for sitting’
CV-CCV	se-phra	‘bandicoot’
CV-CCVV	ka-tra <i>̄</i> i	‘pen-knife’
CV-CCVC	bo-droŋ ce-preŋ ci-traŋ ja-glaŋ	‘dung beetle’ ‘sesame’ ‘root’ ‘ghost’
CVV-V	mai-a	‘day before yesterday, a few days back’
CVV-CV	moi-ra	‘peafowl’
CVV-CVC	boi-bak boi-sak	‘a type of creeper’ ‘a type of plant’
CVV-CCVC	pai-prok	‘a variety of small bird with long tail’
CVC-CV	deŋ-ga ciŋ-ku	‘wide-mouthed vessel hewn from wood’ ‘ginger’
CVC-CVV	daŋ-gai jip-thai	‘rod, stick’ ‘buttock’
CVC-CVC	bir-bak	‘a tree’
CVC-CCV	can-dri jaŋ-khla	‘round bamboo sieve’ ‘ladder, stretcher-like contrivance’

CVC-CCVV	ceŋ-krao ~ ceŋ-kroi	'a variety of frog'
CVC-CCVC	cen-tleŋ	'tamarind'
CCVC-CVC	braŋ-siŋ	'flute'
	khraŋ-siŋ ~ khaŋ-siŋ	'earthworm'

(ii) Trisyllabic monomorphemic noun roots

Trisyllabic monomorphemic noun roots are far fewer than the disyllabic noun roots. For synchronic morphemic analysis the list of such noun roots given below are opaque and, therefore, monomorphemic.

a-la-ri	'a variety of thin flat bamboo strip for binding'
a-laŋ-kar	'salamander'
aŋ-khi-ni	'one of many small branch-like parts of an ear of corn'
ba-di-la	'bat'
ba-du-a	'one who has incurred a fine'
bak-ca-la	part of roof that projects outward on the breadthwise side of a house'
ba-kha-ni	'a self-glorifying woman'
baŋ-ku-a	'a shoulder-rod for carrying load'
bu-khu-ri	'a broad hat of leaf on bamboo ribs'
ba-ma-ri	'married woman'
bu-gi-la	'crane' (bird)
ce-leŋ-ga	'a triangular bamboo frame suspended to keep things'
du-lu-a	'a kind of drum'
gu-gur-baŋ	'a big variety of pigeon'
gu-gu-jem	'dragonfly'
ha-da-la	'a type of fence'
ja-ga-mai	'pupa'
jam-bu-ra	'a big variety of lemon'
jam-go-da	'dream image believed to be one's own shadow'
jar-pi-rek	'mole or dark coloured growth on skin'
jo-loŋ-ga	'a bag usually slung from shoulder'
ki-la-khoŋ	'elbow'
ma-ha-ri	'relatives from the mother's side'
ma-lu-a	'earthen bowl used to serve curry or rice beer'
maŋ-ku-na	'pestle'

na-ku-a	‘young cock that has not begun to crow’
sa-ra-li	‘a bird with long webbed feet and beak like that of a duck’
saŋ-kho-la	‘a wading bird of black and white plumage’
sem-pa-tok	‘a variety of snake with the appearance of earthworm’
ta-ku-ri	‘bamboo stick used to spin thread’
ta-luŋ-a	‘soft spot of head in children or corresponding area in adults’
tik-tik-a	‘a variety of hornbill’
tor-ci-ka	‘frame for fluffing cotton’
tor-man-ji	‘a marsh plant’

(iii) Tetrasyllabic monomorphemic noun roots

Noun roots that belong to this group are even fewer than the trisyllabic noun roots. The items given below practically exhaust those that were found in the data.

am-ba-lu-ri	‘gooseberry’
ba-da-di-ka	‘a small variety of woodpecker’
bu-bu-le-ŋa ~ bu-bu-reŋ	‘a wind instrument made from the stalk of a bush’
bi -si -mi -ta	‘universe’
con-da-la-ka	‘a kind of fish’
dan-da-le-ka	‘a variety of plant’
din-di-li-ka	‘a small drum’
khaŋ-ka-la-ci	‘lizard’
ma-ca-le-ka ~ man-ca-leŋ-ka	‘kingfisher’
te-te-le-ka	‘a traditional wind instrument’
te-te-pa-li	‘a variety of bird that nests on ground among bushes’
ton-da-le-ka ~ ton-da-leŋ-ka	‘woodpecker’

There are a few dubious cases whose monomorphemic status leaves room for debate.

bi-si-baᅇ-khoᅇ	‘allergy’
na-ma-con-thé	‘a variety of lizard with granulated hide, chameleon’
tì-ma-ci-traᅇ ~ to-ba-ci-traᅇ	‘moss’
khu-sú-ma-kroᅇ	‘round and long piece of metal placed in hair as ornament’

The first may be argued to contain a form of *bis* ‘poison’, which could play a role in the semantics of the formation. The second contains *thé* ‘fruit’, which is found in other vocabulary items that indicate some projection: *gimthé* ‘a projection’ or *caracamthé* ‘having dents and depressions in surface’, referring in this instance to the granulated nature of the hide of the creature. The third probably contains the independent root *citraᅇ* ‘root’, which has a semantic relation to the meaning of the formation. For a possible analysis of *khu-sú-ma-kroᅇ* see 3.1.2.4-iv. If these arguments in favour of the polymorphemic status of these vocabulary items are not admitted, they have to be considered monomorphemic. There is, finally, a single instance of a five-syllable noun root:

kuᅇ-ki-la-ba-ri	‘a rake usually of bamboo with a single prong or tooth for turning over sheaves being threshed’
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This, however, probably contains *kuᅇ-* as a bound form making it polymorphemic. The root *kuᅇ* as a free form means ‘rim’ (of vessels, baskets etc.), and as a bound form it has the meaning ‘nose’, as is evidenced from the following vocabulary items.

kuᅇ-sí	‘blood from nose’
kuᅇ-dan-dri	‘soft bone of nose’
kum-pak (< kuᅇpak)	‘nose’
kuᅇ-thaᅇ	‘snout’

Like the four tetrasyllabic words discussed above, this too can be, with a little analysis, be considered polymorphemic. Monomorphemic noun roots in Rabha, then, can have four syllables at the maximum. Monosyllabic and bisyllabic roots are the most abundant of the monomorphemic noun roots.

3.1.2 *Derivation and compounding of noun roots*

The analysis of polysyllabic polymorphemic morphological constructions that are nouns and semantically have single referents is the subject matter of this section. Derivation is understood here in its most accepted nuance as the morphological process that results in the formation of new lexemes (Lyons 1977: 522), in this instance of new Rabha noun roots. Compounding is distinguished from derivation as it is defined to be the combination of at least two potentially free elements producing a new element (Bauer 1983: 28)

3.1.2.1 *Derivation of noun roots*

Very few derivational affixes and the involved processes in Rabha are truly productive in the sense of being capable of engaging new and large number of roots. The few derivational affixes that are identified operate within limited semantic areas on semantically analogous roots, such that each of the forms so derived show an element of partial lexicalisation.

On the other hand, a great number of polysyllabic noun roots in Rabha appear to be analysable as they contain either a potentially free root in its entirety along with a second element whose affinity is sometimes difficult to trace or is itself a partial muted root, or have both the parts that are in the twilight of doubt. Such cases are probably diachronic vestiges of compounds that have been battered beyond recognition by various sound changes and processes of lexicalisation that have been operative in the Rabha lexicon, for had they been the result of derivation having at least partial productivity even diachronically, the reflexes of those affixes would have been recognisable. After the few derivational affixes are enumerated, a sample of such cases as described above are given to shed light on the nature of noun roots in the Rabha lexicon.

Affixes involved in derivation of noun roots are all suffixes. A highly productive noun derivation is by the substantivising affix on verbs (see 4.2.3). Those that are described below work typically on nouns and are class-maintaining affixes. Exceptions, if any, are indicated in the relevant places, but are not treated in this section unless they are just stray instances and lexically conditioned without any semblance of productivity.

(1) -dam

The suffix *-dam* denotes a place or location that has a relation to the noun root. It is a class-maintaining or denominative nominalising suffix.

há-dam	‘place’ (<i>há</i> ‘land’)
bai-dam	‘place dedicated to a deity’ (<i>bai</i> ‘deity’)
bár-dam	‘fireplace, hearth’ (<i>bár</i> ‘fire’)
raŋsaŋ-dam	‘place with sunshine’ (<i>raŋsaŋ</i> ‘sun’)
nok-dam	‘location where house was located’ (<i>nok</i> ‘house’)
soŋ-dam	‘location where village was situated’ (<i>soŋ</i> ‘village’)
hasi-dam	‘place dedicated to the deity called <i>hasi</i> ’
háŋceŋ-dam	‘place with sand’ (<i>háŋceŋ</i> ‘sand’)
mai-dam	‘a heap of paddy’ (<i>mai</i> ‘paddy’)
bici-dam	‘place where seedling is grown’ (<i>bici</i> ‘seedling, usually of paddy’)

Besides these instances, where the base is potentially free and undergoes no morphophonemic changes, there are also a few instances where the base either has a different phonemic shape or is not potentially free even if semantically and morphologically recognisable. Nor is it possible to state categorically that all instances are class-maintaining.

bárkha-dam	‘funeral pyre’ (<i>bár</i> ~ <i>bárka</i> ‘fire’; <i>kha</i> ‘to tie’)
cága-dam	‘a waste pit’ (<i>cádop</i> ‘chaff’; <i>ga-</i> is probably related to Garo <i>gal-</i> and Boro <i>gar-</i> ‘to throw’, which in synchronic Rabha is <i>ko-</i> ‘to throw’)
jíga-dam	‘waste pit’ (<i>ji</i> ‘waste, dirt, excreta’; <i>ga-</i> is as above)
maŋkhar-dam	‘graveyard’ (<i>maŋkhram</i> ‘grave’)
sáŋkhor-dam	‘place where mortar is kept’ (In present-day Rabha <i>sáŋkhor</i> mortar’ has been replaced by <i>sám</i> ‘mortar’, but occurs as a classifier having the same meaning)

A few body parts contain *-dam*:

kín-dam	‘back’ (<i>kín-</i> ‘back’ is not free but is found in other lexemes: <i>kín-dalaŋ</i> ‘on the back’)
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bok-dam ~ bok-dom ~ bódom	‘stomach’
phai-dam	‘cheek’
nuk-dam	‘eyebrow’

In a very few cases *-dam* is also used to derive noun from a verb (see 4.2.3–3).

(2) *-bra*

The suffix *-bra* is a class-maintaining derivational suffix found in relational terminology expressing the meaning ‘one who is’. However, there are holes in the pattern, as accompanying morphophonemic changes also occur in some instances. In certain cases only a form with *-bra* exists, while in others the *bra*-form is rarely used; in still other cases both the forms exist and are used with the semantic nuance indicated above.

baba	‘father’
ba-bra	‘father, one who is the father’
huri	‘bride, daughter-in-law’
huri-bra	‘one who is the bride or daughter-in-law’

An inventory of all the forms that were encountered are given in Table 3.2 after a discussion of the following suffix that is related to *-bra*.

(3) *-brasan* ~ *-bran*

This suffix is related to *-bra* discussed above. The presence of *-bra* in *-brasan* ~ *-bran* is evident. It can be considered that *-san* is added to a *bra*-form giving both *-brasan* and a contracted form *-bran*. Both *-bra* and *-brasan* ~ *-bran* have the same range of lexical items upon which they operate. The semantic difference lies in the fact that *-brasan* ~ *bran* has a plural sense, i.e. plurality not in the normal sense of ‘more than one of the singular’, but in the sense as two or more of those who are bound by the relation indicated by the base to which the suffix is added. The actual number is not definitely indicated unless it is contextually explicit.

bidi-bran	kamiŋ	
grandmother-bran	two	
'grandmother and a grandchild'		
bibi-bran	(~ bi-brasan)	metham
elder.sister-bran	(~ elder.sister-brasan)	three
'an elder sister and two younger siblings'		

There are several gaps in the pattern. Certain bases have both the forms, while others have only one or none. In some instances there are minor modifications of the base itself. There are some relational terms that take neither of these suffixes nor *-bra*:

<u>aia</u>	'mother'
jaŋ <u>oi</u>	'son-in-law according to the matrilineal custom'
mosa	'wife's uncle'

(4) -pré

The morpheme *-pré* is a class-maintaining suffix giving the person-noun associated with the base. Its productivity is very limited. New bases drawn into its sphere of influence are never heard in normal speech.

guŋgar-pré	'one who has a runny nose' (<i>guŋgar</i> 'mucus')
khora <u>i</u> -pré	'one who cries easily especially when denied something' (<i>khora</i> 'bout of persistent crying')
saphra-pré	'one whose body is full of nettle rash' (<i>saphra</i> 'nettle rash')
sephra-pré	'one whose body is full of prickly heat' (<i>sephra</i> 'prickly heat')
gara <u>i</u> -pré	'one who is full of sores' (<i>gara</i> 'sore')

There is one instance where the base is no longer used as a free form:

kharaŋ-pré	'one who is infested with ringworm' (<i>khra</i> 'ringworm')
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There is one instance where it is not a class-maintaining affix:

khakho-pré	'a cry-baby' (<i>khakhoŋ khakhoŋ</i> 'about to weep', which itself is probably from <i>khap</i> 'weep, cry')
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Table 3.2 *Relational terminology with suffixes -bra and -brasan ~ -bran*
 (The meaning of the base is given serially after the table.)

	Base	-bra	-bran	-brasan
1	<u>a</u> ia	×	×	×
2	<u>a</u> icuᅇ	<u>a</u> icuᅇ-bra	<u>a</u> icuᅇ-bran	×
3	amaᅇ	amaᅇ-bra	amaᅇ-bran	×
4	anaᅇ	anaᅇ-bra	anaᅇ-bran	×
5	baba	ba-bra	×	ba-brasan
6	baᅇ(baᅇ)	baᅇ-bra	baᅇ-bran	×
7	bibi	bi-bra	bibi-bran	bi-brasan
8	bidi	bidi-bra	bidi-bran	×
9	buri	buri-bra	×	×
10	bᅇnjan <u>o</u> i	bᅇni-bra	bᅇni-bran	×
11	dada	dada-bra	dada-bran	×
12	gimi ~ gimi	gim(i)-bra ~ gim(i)-bra	gim(i)-bran ~ gim(i)-bran	×
13	janoᅇ	jana-bra	×	×
14	×	jaᅇ-bra	×	×
15	×	jáᅇ -bra	×	×
16	jinoᅇ	jini-bra	×	×
17	×	ji-bra	×	ji-brasan
18	×	joᅇkho-bra	×	×
19	júju	júju-bra	júju-bran	×
20	<u>k</u> ai	<u>k</u> ai-bra	×	×
21	mama	mam-bra	mam-bran	mam-brasan
22	mani	mani-bra	mani-bran	×
23	mita	mita-bra	mita-bran	×
24	momo	mom(o)-bra	mom(o)-bran	

Table 3.2 (*cont.*)

	Base	-bra	-braŋ	-brasaŋ
25	namcak	namcá-bra	×	×
26	×	né-bra	né-braŋ	né-brasaŋ
27	×	nusi-bra	×	×
28	niniŋ	niniŋ-bra	×	×
29	phajoŋ	phajoŋ-bra	phajoŋ-braŋ	×
30	×	phojoŋ-bra	×	×
31	×	sá-bra	×	×
32	sadu	sadu-bra	sadu-braŋ	×
33	síkhi	síkhi-bra	síkhi-braŋ	×
34	×	sú-bra	×	×
35	×	sunti-bra	sunti-braŋ	×
36	×	thé-bra	×	×

1. mother
2. aunt (father's elder brother's wife or mother's elder sister)
3. aunt (father's younger brother's wife or mother's younger sister)
4. wife's elder brother or husband's elder sister
5. father
6. uncle (father's younger brother)
7. elder sister
8. grandmother
9. bride or daughter-in-law
10. younger sister's husband for an elder brother
11. elder brother
12. elder sister's husband or paternal aunt's son or maternal aunt's daughter
13. younger sister for elder sister
14. son-in-law
15. wife's elder sister
16. younger sister for an elder brother

17. mother or female parent
18. husband's younger brother
19. grandfather
20. child (usually used as an imitative word with *sábra* 'child')
21. maternal uncle (younger or elder)
22. father's sister
23. namesake
24. younger sibling
25. sister's daughter (for a brother)
26. parent-in-law
27. wife's younger sister
28. husband's younger sister
29. father's elder brother
30. younger brother
31. child
32. wife's younger sister's husband
33. covenanted friend
34. grandchild
35. co-wife
36. grandchild (used as an echo word with *súbra* 'grandchild')

(5) -ra

This too is a class-maintaining suffix operating in only a few nouns to denote the side or place associated with the noun. Derived forms with *-ra* are usually used with the locative suffix rendering the total construction adverbial in function. The suffix *-ra* is very low in productivity, and no new lexical items are formed using it.

<i>tíkam-ra</i>	'the head side, place where head is (of bed etc.)' (<i>tíkam</i> 'head')
<i>cákham-ra</i>	'the foot-side' (<i>cákham</i> 'foot')
<i>khodom-ra</i>	'pillow-side' (<i>khodom</i> 'pillow')
<i>sirgi-ra</i>	'place where heaven is, heaven' (<i>sirgi</i> 'heaven')

(6) -dron

-dron is a class-maintaining suffix and conveys 'all minor units connected with the noun'. Forms with the suffix *-dron* tend to be lexicalised. The productivity of this suffixal process is very low.

nok-dron	‘the whole household, all the members of the family’
soŋ-dron	‘the whole village, all the families or all the people of the village’
há-dron	‘used only as an echo word with <i>soŋdron</i> ’

(7) -jak

This is a special suffix attached to proper names, especially of sons and daughters by parents when referring to the son-in-law or daughter-in-law as a device to circumvent the names of those who are thus referred to. Terms containing this suffix may also be used by elder siblings while referring to the wife or husband of younger siblings.

Anando-jak	‘wife of Anando’ (referred to by Anando’s parents or his elder siblings)
Nampa-jak	‘husband of Nampa’

(8) -khirao

This morpheme is suffixed to only a few nouns. The suffix is unproductive, and lexical items containing this suffix are best considered lexicalised or fossilised forms.

bidi- <u>khirao</u>	‘great great grandmother’ (<i>bidi</i> ‘grandmother’)
júju- <u>khirao</u>	‘great great grandfather’ (<i>júju</i> ‘grandfather’)
pansan- <u>khirao</u>	‘very old log of a sal tree’ (<i>pansan</i> ‘sal tree’)

In an isolated instance a form having *-khirao* and a bound base has adjectival function:

giti- <u>khirao</u> <u>kai</u>	‘a strong and fearless person’ (<i>kai</i> ‘person’)
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(9) -ju

This suffix too is unproductive. No new lexical items take this suffix. Its meaning can be glossed as ‘possessing a quality to a high degree’.

bár-ju	‘a big log as firewood’ (<i>bár</i> ‘fire’)
haga-ju	‘one who is impetuously eager or greatly eager’ (<i>haga</i> is used in nominal verb formation)

The morpheme *bárju* is itself used to form a compound with *mekhoi* ‘to steal’:

mekho-bárju ‘a great thief, a robber’

(10) Zero derivation or conversion

Instances of conversion understood as ‘the use of a form which is regarded as being basically of one form class as though it were a member of different form class’ (Bauer 1983: 227) giving noun roots are rare in Rabha. That makes the two cases below even more interesting:

nasi	‘to love’	>	nasi	‘love’
cuŋ	‘be big’	>	cuŋ	‘greatness’

In the case of *nasi*, the substantivised form *nasikai* ‘love’ is also used, but it has also the added nuance of ‘wife’ when used by the husband. The form *cuŋ* is used as a noun only as a noun complement in one expression *cuŋ tunuk* ‘to show greatness or to act great’. There are no other instances of zero derivation, making these two cases special. However, there are instances where a form is used both as a noun and as a verb. These are typically nouns having verbal usage, and are treated in 3.2.2.1.1–16.

3.1.2.2 *Noun compounding*

Compounding involves two or more potentially free bases. However, this does not give an easy way to differentiate between productive modification and compounding, as both involve two potentially free bases. The problem is compounded in Rabha by the fact that even in the case of modification, case suffixes, when required, are added not directly to the noun, but to the last member in the construction, whether it be the noun or the modifier. That is, from the morphological appearance and from the possibility of further affixation, instances of modification resulting in syntactic noun phrase and compounding are an artificial distinction in Rabha. One grades into the other. As a first major classification of Rabha compounds they may be divided into endocentric, exocentric and appositional compounds.

3.1.2.2.1 *Endocentric noun compounds*

Endocentric compounds are conveniently subdivided according to the position of the head, which can occur in the first position or in the second position. They may be further divided according to general patterns of the relationship that hold between the head and the modifier.

(i) Head-first endocentric noun compounds

(a) Attributive relationship

The periphrastic form which corresponds to a majority (by no means all) of the noun compounds having head in the first position can be seen as derived from an adjectival phrase with attributive adjective, which in Rabha is a root with attributive suffix *-kai*, and may be represented as:

A-ATTR B > B-A, where B is the head

The verb roots, many of which in Rabha are also adjectival in nature, can bear the attributive suffix and such roots fill slot A. Slot B is invariably filled by noun roots. In cases where a root does not directly take the attributive suffix, it may be necessary to posit a verb of becoming which will take the attributive suffix. The expanded phrasal form is:

A C-ATTR B > B-A, where B is the head, and C the verb of becoming

This expanded form accommodates not only those roots that require such a verb of becoming but also nouns which take the place of the modifier. A few examples are illustrated along with the phrasal expansion, and more examples are given without the phrasal expansion.

dra- <u>kai</u> dam	>	dam-dra	'a rough mat' (<i>dam</i> 'mat'; <i>dra</i> 'coarse')
nari- <u>kai</u> cak	>	cak-nari	'tender leaf' (<i>cak</i> 'leaf'; <i>nari</i> 'tender')
thar- <u>kai</u> san	>	san-thar	'a holy day' (<i>san</i> 'day'; <i>thar</i> 'holy')
oda cáŋ- <u>kai</u> <u>mai</u>	>	<u>mai</u> -oda	'paddy not properly dried' (<i>mai</i> 'paddy'; <i>oda</i> 'not properly dried')
<u>ai</u> -cuŋ			'father's elder brother's wife or mother's elder sister' (<i>ai</i> 'mother')

bidi-cuŋ	‘great grandmother’ (<i>bidi</i> ‘grandmother; <i>cuŋ</i> ‘big’)
doba-cuŋ	‘a big lake’ (<i>doba</i> ‘lake’; <i>cuŋ</i> ‘big’)
deuri-cuŋ	‘high priest’ (<i>deuri</i> ‘priest’; <i>cuŋ</i> ‘big’)
júju-cuŋ	‘great grandfather’ (<i>júju</i> ‘grandfather; <i>cuŋ</i> ‘big’)
par-cuŋ	‘storm’ (<i>rampar</i> ‘wind’; <i>cuŋ</i> ‘big’)
puk-cuŋ	‘intestines’ (<i>puk</i> ‘intestine’; <i>cuŋ</i> ‘big’)
kaŋka-koŋklok	‘knife having a beak-like end section’ (<i>kaŋka</i> ‘knife’; <i>koŋklok</i> ‘having a bent’)
kharok-daplak	‘amphibious variety of cockroach with flat body’ (<i>kharok</i> ‘cockroach’; <i>daplak</i> ‘be flat’)
kursi-daplak	‘a flat variety of beans’ (<i>kursi</i> ‘a variety of beans’; <i>daplak</i> ‘be flat’)
kúr-daplak	‘flat binding strip of bamboo’ (<i>kúr</i> ‘bamboo or reed binding strip’; <i>daplak</i> ‘be flat’)
hampreŋ-sani	‘fine variety of thatch grass’ (<i>hampreŋ</i> ‘thatch grass’; <i>sani</i> ‘fine’; <i>sani</i> ‘be fine’)
mí-khi	‘dish made from bamboo shoots turned sour’ (<i>mí</i> ‘curry’; <i>khi</i> ‘be sour’)
sok-nari	‘tender shoot’ (<i>sok</i> ‘shoot’; <i>nari</i> ‘be tender’)
par-nari	‘flower just blooming’ (<i>par</i> ‘flower’ <i>nari</i> ‘be tender’)
sam-nari	‘new shoot of grass’ (<i>saw</i> ‘grass’; <i>nari</i> ‘be tender’)
nen-thá	‘rag’ (<i>nen</i> ‘cloth’; <i>thá</i> ‘to tear’)
cukuŋ-goglak	‘a big variety of cockle’ (<i>cukuŋ</i> ‘cockle’; <i>goglak</i> ‘be round and big’)
kaŋka-tempon	‘knife with convex bulging edge’ (<i>kaŋka</i> ‘knife’; <i>tempon</i> ‘be bulging’)
brek-dambroŋ	‘a variety of round big gourd’ (<i>bek</i> ‘gourd’; <i>dambroŋ</i> ‘be round and big’)
tó-buda	‘cock that has begun to crow’ (<i>tó</i> ‘bird, fowl’; <i>buda</i> ‘be old’)
cokó-pidan	‘new rice beer’ (<i>cokó</i> ‘rice beer’; <i>pidan</i> ‘new’)
cokó-putuŋ	‘first filtering of rice beer’ (<i>coko</i> ‘rice beer’; <i>putuŋ</i> ‘freshly filtered’)
soŋ-maicam	‘old village’ (<i>soŋ</i> ‘village’; <i>maicam</i> ‘old’)
laŋgre-piri	‘young moon’ (<i>laŋgre</i> ‘moon’; <i>piri</i> ‘tender’)
nok-thákla	‘dilapidated house’ (<i>nok</i> ‘house’; <i>thákla</i> ‘dilapidated’)

nobek-sincini	'broom that is kept for some special purpose' (<i>nobek</i> 'broom'; <i>sincini</i> 'preserved for some purpose')
makhām-sincini	'rice beer called <i>makhām</i> kept for a long time'
kai-bambur	'dwarf' (<i>kai</i> 'person'; <i>bambur</i> 'undersized')
tó-bambur	'a variety of fowl with thick short legs' (<i>tó</i> 'bird, fowl'; <i>bambur</i> 'undersized')
kí-bambur	'a variety of short dog' (<i>kí</i> 'dog'; <i>bambur</i> 'undersized')
bak-jorai	'pig reared by one particular member of family' (<i>bak</i> 'pig'; <i>jorai</i> 'rear, cultivate separately')
mai-jorai	'paddy cultivated by one particular member of family' (<i>mai</i> 'paddy')
ná-pithin	'fresh fish' (<i>ná</i> 'fish'; <i>pithin</i> 'not dried, not cooked etc.')

When a noun takes the place of the attributive it is a particular semantic characteristic of the noun that modifies the head. For example *sábra* 'child, offspring' contributes the sense of smallness in the following compounds.

tík-sábra	'a small jar' (<i>tík</i> 'earthen jar')
hácu-sábra	'a hillock' (<i>hácu</i> 'hill')
motor-sábra	'a small vehicle' (<i>motor</i> 'vehicle' < English)

The sense of being the progenitor is given by *jíbra* 'mother' in the following compounds.

phaŋ-jíbra	'a tree from which other trees have grown' (<i>phaŋ</i> 'living plant or tree')
bár-jíbra	'fire preserved to light fire later' (<i>bár</i> 'fire')
tó-jíbra	'mother hen' (<i>tó</i> 'bird, fowl')

The sense of being slow and heavy is given by *boda* 'slow and phlegmatic' (usually person) in the following compounds.

khraŋsiŋ-boda	'big sluggish black earthworm' (<i>khraŋsiŋ</i> 'earthworm')
tupú-boda	'python' (<i>tupú</i> 'snake')

(b) Relationship other than attributive

There are other head-first endocentric compounds that cannot be seen as derived from the straightforward attributive relationship described in (a). The relationship within the compound, however, is of the head-modifier type. There are a number of compounds where the different species of a genus is indicated by compounding it with the name of an object whose ‘likeness’ that species has as the identifying characteristic different from the other species of the same genus.

guk-makcok	‘a variety of grasshopper that looks like a deer’ (<i>guk</i> ‘grasshopper’; <i>makcok</i> ‘deer’)
guk-nenteŋ	‘very thin variety of grasshopper’ (<i>guk</i> ‘grasshopper’; <i>nenteŋ</i> ‘thread’)
guk-panthón tupú-ráikōŋ	‘a stocky variety of grasshopper’ (<i>panthón</i> ‘log’) ‘a green variety of snake that looks like the stem of banana leaf’ (<i>tupú</i> ‘snake’; <i>ráikōŋ</i> ‘stem of banana leaf’)
mímuk-akhōi	‘mushrooms that grow in patches and look like parched corn’ (<i>míkuk</i> ‘mushroom’; <i>akhōi</i> ‘parched corn’)
ná-katrain	‘a variety of fish having appearance of pen-knife’ (<i>ná</i> ‘fish’; <i>katrain</i> ‘pen-knife’)
gusi-mairam	‘small pimple with a shiny head’ (<i>gusi</i> ‘pimple, abscess’; <i>mairam</i> ‘rice that falls out of plate while eating’)
sam-khobak	‘a variety of plant with white bunches of flowers’ (<i>sam</i> ‘grass’; <i>khobak</i> ‘grey hair’)

However, as in many other languages, it is not possible to make a generalisation about the precise semantic relationship that holds between the head and the attribute. The following examples will illustrate this point:

guk-sali	‘a variety of grasshopper found during the harvest of paddy’ (<i>guk</i> ‘grasshopper’; <i>sali</i> ‘a variety of paddy’ paddy-land)
cón-raŋsaŋ	‘a variety of cricket that chirps when the sun is going to be bright’ (<i>cón</i> ‘insect’; <i>raŋsaŋ</i> ‘sun’)
khok-miŋkú	‘a basket usually with more than one chamber

	so woven that cats get no access to its contents' (<i>khok</i> 'basket'; <i>miṅkú</i> 'cat')
sam-goda	'a type of grass with tiny bulb as tuber' (<i>sam</i> 'grass'; <i>goda</i> 'bulbous tuber')
khimphar-mutta	'a small bundle of small branches of a tree called <i>khimphar</i> ' (<i>mutta</i> 'a small bundle')
mera-mutta	'a small bundle of small branches of a plant called <i>mera</i> ' (<i>mutta</i> 'small bundle')

There are still other compounds of the head-attribute type where the attribute (often unique and uniquely used with one head) is used to specify the species of genus indicated by the head. It is difficult to arrive at a definite meaning for these attributes. In a very explicit context the attribute alone can stand for the compound with pragmatic deletion of the head:

cukuṅ-baró	'a variety of cockle' (<i>cukuṅ</i> 'cockle')
cukuṅ-poten	'a variety of cockle' (<i>cukuṅ</i> 'cockle')
guk-gaṅge	'a variety of grasshopper' (<i>guk</i> 'grasshopper')
tó-kuri	'hen that has just reached the stage to start laying eggs' (<i>tó</i> 'bird, fowl')
tó-nakua	'cock that has reached the stage of beginning to crow' (<i>tó</i> 'bird, fowl')

(ii) Head-last endocentric noun compounds

Many of the head-last endocentric noun compounds are *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Separately the part of the compounds require the use of case markers, one exercising syntactic government over another (Wilson 1961: 353).

(a) Genitive relationship

Compounds expressing a genitive relation typically involve cases of genitive deletion and can be represented as:

A-GEN B > A-B, where B is the head

As is true of all genitive relationships, both the members of such compounds are nouns. A few examples with the expanded form is given below followed by many more compounds, which are grouped together according to head'.

- pan-ni cak > pan-cak 'leaf of tree' (*pan* 'tree'; *cak* 'leaf')
 kaŋka-ni pha > kaŋka-pha 'cutting edge of knife' (*kaŋka* 'knife';
pha 'cutting edge')
 nakor-ni jí > nakor-jí 'ear wax' (*nakor* 'ear'; *jí* 'body dirt, dirt')

bilap 'shutter-like object'

- cukun-bilap shutter-like object that shuts cockle in' (*cukun*
 'cockle')
 neken-bilap 'eyelid' (*neken* 'eye')

biltin 'rope or strings used to tighten or increase tension'

- dulua-biltin 'strings on a kind of drum called *dulua*'
 kham-biltin 'strings on a kind of drum called *kham*'

cak 'leaf'

- bá-cak 'leaf of bamboo' (*bá* 'bamboo')
 nakor-cak 'external ear, earlobe' (*nakor* 'ear')
 tási-cak 'hand (from wrist downward)' (*tási* 'hand')
 táthen-cak 'foot' (*táthen* 'leg')

cátar 'base'

- bá-catar 'bamboo stump (along with roots)' (*bá* 'bamboo')
 pan-cátar 'tree stump (along with roots)' (*pan* 'tree')
 ram-cátar 'road shoulder' (*ram* 'road, path')

cón 'insect, worm'

- phakham-cón 'germs that attack teeth' (*phakham* 'tooth')

dalai 'branch'

- bá-dalai 'branch of bamboo' (*bá* 'bamboo')
 pan-dalai 'branch of tree' (*pan* 'tree')

duri 'powder, dust'

- boibak-duri 'powdery particles from the fruits of a creeper
 called *boibak*'

<i>boisak-duri</i>	‘powdery particle from the leaves of a bush called <i>boisak</i> ’
<i>mai-duri</i>	‘dust from paddy’ (<i>mai</i> ‘paddy’)
<i>nen-duri</i>	‘fluff’ (<i>nen</i> ‘cloth’)
<i>ram-duri</i>	‘dust from road’ (<i>ram</i> ‘road’)
giri ‘lord, master’	
<i>nok-giri</i>	‘lord of the house’ (<i>nok</i> ‘house’)
goda ‘bulbous tuber’	
<i>konclot-goda</i>	‘tuber of turmeric’ (<i>konclot</i> ‘wild turmeric’)
<i>réphan-goda</i>	‘bulb of banana tree’ (<i>réphan</i> ‘banana tree’)
grim ‘bush, area filled with bushes’	
<i>bá- grim</i>	‘a forest of bamboo’ (<i>bá</i> ‘bamboo’)
<i>mai- grim</i>	‘field of paddy (still standing)’ (<i>mai</i> ‘paddy’)
<i>pan- grim</i>	‘forest (of trees)’ (<i>pan</i> ‘tree’)
<i>re- grim</i>	‘a place full of reed’ (<i>re</i> ‘reed’)
<i>réphan- grim</i>	‘a place full of banana plant’ (<i>réphan</i> ‘banana plant’)
<i>ronka- grim</i>	‘a rocky or rock-filled place’ (<i>ronka</i> ‘stone, rock’)
hákhhar ‘hole’	
<i>kumpak-hákhhar</i>	‘nostril’ (<i>kumpak</i> ‘nose’)
<i>nakor-hákhhar</i>	‘holes of ear’ (<i>nakor</i> ‘ear’)
jí ‘excreta, dung, dirt, body dirt, waste material’	
<i>ná-ji</i>	‘entrails of fish’
<i>sir-ji</i>	‘dross, impurities from metal’ (<i>sir</i> ‘metal’)
<i>tó-ji</i>	‘chicken dung’ (<i>tó</i> ‘bird, fowl’)
jícap ‘pointed object or stinging organ’	
<i>kañka-jícap</i>	‘pointed end of knife inserted into handle’ (<i>kañka</i> ‘knife’)
<i>neka-jícap</i>	‘stinging organ of honeybee called <i>neka</i> ’
<i>nijun-jícap</i>	‘stinging organ of honeybee called <i>nijun</i> ’

kaka ‘meat’

bak-kaka	‘pork’ (<i>bak</i> ‘pig’)
másu-kaka	‘beef’ (<i>másu</i> ‘cattle’)
tó-kaka	‘chicken’ (<i>tó</i> ‘bird, fowl’)

koŋ ‘stem (of plants or leaf)’

cak-koŋ	‘stem of leaf’ (<i>cak</i> ‘leaf’)
khampancu-koŋ	‘stem of tapioca’ (<i>khampancu</i> ‘tapioca’)
rái-koŋ	‘stem of banana leaf’ (<i>rái</i> ‘banana leaf’)
reŋ-koŋ	‘stem of yam plant’ (<i>reŋ</i> ‘yam’)

kundi ‘reinforcement of bamboo on rim or edge of woven articles’

coreŋ-kundi	‘reinforced edge of fishing basket called <i>coreŋ</i> ’
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kuŋ ‘rim, edge’

coreŋ-kuŋ	‘edge of fishing basket called <i>coreŋ</i> ’
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kuŋthan ‘snout’

bak-kuŋthan	‘snout of pig’ (<i>bak</i> ‘pig’)
másu-kuŋthan	‘part of cattle’s face including nose and mouth’ (<i>másu</i> ‘cattle’)

nogor ‘shelter for domestic animals’

bak-nogor	‘pigsty’ (<i>bak</i> ‘pig’)
kí-nogor	‘kennel’ (<i>kí</i> ‘dog’)
másu-nogor	‘cattle-shed’ (<i>másu</i> ‘cattle’)
tó-nogor	‘pen, coop’ (<i>tó</i> ‘bird, fowl’)

phaceŋ ‘canine teeth, longer tooth of animals’

bak-phaceŋ	‘long tooth of pigs’ (<i>bak</i> ‘pig’)
hiti-phaceŋ	‘elephant tusk’ (<i>hiti</i> ‘elephant’)
kí-phaceŋ	‘canine tooth’ (<i>kí</i> ‘dog’)
mása-phaceŋ	‘canine tooth of tiger’ (<i>mása</i> ‘tiger’)

phak ‘post, pillar’

hadala-phak	‘post of fencing called <i>hadala</i> ’
pul-phak	‘pillar of bridge’ (<i>pul</i> ‘bridge’)

phon 'handle'

coren-phon 'handle of fishing basket called *coren*'
 kaŋka-phon 'handle of knife' (*kaŋka* 'knife')

pici 'egg'

tó-pici ~ tó-ci ~ tú-ci 'egg' (*tó* 'bird, fowl')

raŋciŋ 'juice, liquid extract'

kurci-raŋciŋ 'sugarcane juice' (*kurci* 'sugarcane')
 neka-raŋciŋ 'honey from bees called *neka*'
 nijun-raŋciŋ 'honey from bees called *nijun*'

sophla 'residue from which juice has been extracted'

kui-sophla 'residue that is spat out after chewing
 betel nut' (*kui* 'betel nut')
 makham-sophla 'residue from rice beer called *makham*'

sun 'mind'

bai-sun 'spirit of deity' (*bai* 'spirit, deity')
 tikar-sun 'spirit of an evil spirit called *tikar*'

tala 'flat surface'

hácu-tala 'flat surface on peak of hill' (*hácu* 'hill')
 tási-tala 'palm' (*tási* 'hand')
 táthen-tala 'sole of foot' (*táthen* 'leg')
 tikam-tala 'crown of head' (*tikam* 'head')

thop 'nest, shelter'

bak-thop 'shelter of wild pigs' (*bak* 'pig')
 cóŋ-thop 'cocoon' (*cóŋ* 'insect')
 neka-thop 'hive of a variety of bees called *neka*'
 nijun-thop 'hive of a variety of bees called *nijun*'
 tó-thop 'bird nest' (*tó* 'bird')

Words like *kén* 'seed', *pan* 'tree, wood', *phan* 'tree (as standing)', *thé* 'fruit' and others that designate objects that can be conceived as being essentially parts of something else enter into such compounds with great ease and frequency.

(b) locative relationship

Compounds where the case relationship between the head and the modifier is one of location are far fewer than those expressing a genitive relationship. That this relationship is enshrined in a modifier-head compound is arbitrary, as in many other languages. It can be symbolically represented as:

A-LOC *ton*-ATTR B > A-B, where B is the head;
ton 'to stay, to be present'

pan-i <i>ton-kai</i> <i>libak</i>	pan- <i>libak</i>	'tree frog, frogs that are found on trees'
kasi-khúsun		'tortoise found among bushes called <i>kasi</i> ' (<i>khúsun</i> 'tortoise')
pan-mímuk		'mushroom found on trees' (<i>mímuk</i> 'mushroom'; pan 'tree')
há-neka		'honeybee called <i>neka</i> that builds in earth' (<i>há</i> 'land')
sali-cukun		'cockle found in paddy fields' (<i>sali</i> 'paddy land'; <i>cukun</i> 'cockle')
tóji-bodron		'dung beetle found in chicken dung' (<i>tóji</i> 'chicken dung'; <i>bodron</i> 'dung beetle')
máji-bodron		'dung beetle found in cattle dung' (<i>máji</i> 'cattle dung'; <i>bodron</i> 'dung beetle')

All the following compounds that have the same modifier *jati* 'tribe' can be seen as having a relation of 'belonging' which is essentially a locative relation. They mean something which is of the tribe, and therefore, native, local and not foreign, in opposition to others of the same genus. Those that are so named are seen as the most common and typically 'of the place'.

<i>jati-bá</i>	'a variety of bamboo' (<i>bá</i> 'bamboo')
<i>jati-libak</i>	'a variety of frog' (<i>libak</i> 'frog')
<i>jati-mébao</i>	'a variety of gourd' (<i>mébao</i> 'gourd')
<i>jati-rái</i>	'leaf of a wild plant, the plant' (<i>rái</i> 'a wild plant, its leaf')
<i>jati-neka</i>	'a variety of honeybee called <i>neka</i> '

3.1.2.2.2 *Exocentric noun compounds*

Exocentric or *bahuwr̥hi* compounds are of the form A-B, where neither A nor B is the head. Neither A nor B is a hyponym of the other. The compound denotes a third entity which is signified by some perceived characteristic of the members of the compound. In some cases they also have a more literal meaning where it is endocentric with one of the members as the head. But it is seen that as the exocentric compound becomes more lexicalised, its endocentric counterpart with a head tends to be dropped in favour of the phrasal expansion.

náluk-bodom	‘calf muscle’ (<i>náluk</i> ‘tadpole’; <i>bódom</i> ‘stomach’)
másu-kunthan	‘heel’ (human) (<i>másu</i> ‘cattle’; <i>kunthan</i> ‘snout’)
táthen-gerok	‘knee cap’ (<i>táthen</i> ‘leg’; <i>gerok</i> ‘a creeper whose seed has similarity of shape to the knee cap’)
<u>bai</u> -san <u>koi</u>	‘rainbow’ (<i>bai</i> ‘deity’; <i>san<u>koi</u></i> ‘makeshift bridge’)
<u>bai</u> -khén	‘scorpion’ (<i>bai</i> ‘spirit, diety’; <i>khén</i> ‘crab’)
<u>bai</u> -kholen	‘whirlwind’ (<i>bai</i> ‘deity’; <i>kholen</i> ‘something in a circular form’)
tóci-bok	‘deciduous plant with white flowers’ (<i>tóci</i> ‘egg’; <i>bok</i> ‘be white’)
baṅkua-táthen	‘a bow-legged person’ (<i>baṅkua</i> ‘shoulder-rod for carrying load which usually has a curve’; <i>táthen</i> ‘leg’)
sagor-phena	‘a cactus’ (<i>sagor</i> ‘ocean’; <i>phena</i> ‘foam’, both are Assamese)

3.1.2.2.3 *Appositional noun compounds*

Appositional compounds are those where each of the member can be seen as the hyponym of the other.

sábra-músa	‘son’ (<i>sábra</i> ‘child, offspring’; <i>músa</i> ‘male person’)
sábra-méca	‘daughter’ (<i>sábra</i> ‘child, offspring’; <i>méca</i> ‘female person’)
nébra-músa	‘father-in-law’ (<i>nébra</i> ‘parent-in-law’; <i>músa</i> ‘male person’)
nébra-méca	‘mother-in-law’ (<i>nébra</i> ‘parent-in-law’; <i>méca</i> ‘female person’)

kai-sábra	‘child’ (<i>kai</i> ‘person’; <i>sábra</i> ‘child, offspring’)
lakhor-sábra	‘shepherd boy’ (<i>lakhor</i> ‘shepherd’; <i>sábra</i> ‘child, offspring’)
reŋ-phek	‘small tubers of a variety of yam called reŋ’ (<i>phek</i> ‘small outgrowth of tuber’)
ol-phek	‘small tubers of arum on the main tuber’ (<i>ol</i> ‘arum’; <i>phek</i> ‘outgrowth of tuber’)

3.1.2.3 *Position of the head in endocentric compounds*

As seen above, endocentric compounds are either head-first or head-last. This does not appear to be a totally arbitrary phenomenon. When two roots that generate an endocentric compound are in a case relationship, the head occurs last. When the relationship is not one of case relationship, the head occurs first. The following pair, where the same lexical item *cón* ‘worm, insect’ appears as the head in different places in two different endocentric compounds, illustrates this point.

phakham-cón	‘worms that attack teeth’ (<i>phakham</i> ‘tooth’)
cón-khobak	‘white lice found especially on domestic fowl’ (<i>khobak</i> ‘grey hair’)

In both the instances *cón* is the head. The first, with the head last, is derived from a genitive case relation, while the second, with the head first, has a relationship of similarity of appearance. In the following pair, on the other hand, the same lexical item *goda* ‘bulbous tuber’ appears in the second position in two different endocentric compounds, but acts as the head only in one where there exists a case relationship.

réphaŋ-goda	‘bulbous base of banana tree’ (<i>réphaŋ</i> ‘banana tree’)
sam-goda	‘a variety of grass having a bulbous tuber’ (<i>sam</i> ‘grass’)

The first compound, having a genitive case relationship, has the last element *goda* as the head, while the second compound, not having a case relationship, has the first element as the head. The same argument is true of the following:

hampren-nok	‘a thatched house’ (<i>hampren</i> ‘thatch’; <i>nok</i> ‘house’)
hampren-sani	‘a small variety of thatch’ (<i>hampren</i> ‘thatch’; <i>sani</i> ‘fine’)

Another way of looking at the same phenomenon is that endocentric compounds, where the modifier is also a noun, which is true of case relationship, have the head last, while endocentric compounds where the modifier is either not a noun, or if it is a noun, only a specific quality of that noun modifies the head, then the head comes first. The situation of a potential free noun *jísrok* ‘mud dug up by burrowing animals’ in the following pair is a typical illustration:

khén-jísrok	‘mud dug up by a crab at the mouth of its burrow’ (<i>khén</i> ‘crab’)
aphe-jísrok	‘shooting star’ (<i>aphe</i> ‘star’)

In the first, which is a head-last endocentric compound, the noun *jísrok* is the head and the noun *khén* the modifier. In the second, which is a head-first compound, the noun *aphe* is the head. The modifier *jísrok*, although a noun, contributes an instance of comparability between the trail of the shooting star and that of its own meaning which bears a facility to be interpreted as a trail. It may be said that although both *khén* and *jísrok* are nouns that play a modifying role in the respective endocentric compounds above, *jísrok* plays a more typically adjectival role making its compound head-first, while *khén* plays a more referential or nominal role making its compound head-last.

However, there are some compounds that disturb this explanation, at least by way of exception.

bata-mímuk	‘a big variety of mushroom’ (<i>bata</i> ‘flat container for betel nut etc.’; <i>mímuk</i> ‘mushroom’)
bata-hampren	‘a big variety of thatch grass’ (<i>hampren</i> ‘thatch grass’)
jon-kúr	‘a variety of bamboo binding strip with pointed end’ (<i>jon</i> ‘sharpened or pointed section’; <i>kúr</i> ‘binding strip’)

All the three compounds are head-last endocentric compounds. It would then be expected that the modifier would be a noun and that

there would be a relationship of case between the head and the modifier. The modifiers are indeed nouns, but there is no relationship of case between them. On the contrary, the relationship is one of comparison between a quality of the modifier noun and that of the head noun, the kind found in head-first compounds. These may be considered exceptions, as the explanation above holds true for the majority of endocentric Rabha compounds.

3.1.2.4 *Analysable polysyllabic nouns that are neither compounds nor derived*

Once the obviously transparent compounds and the constructions produced by the derivational suffixes, even if only minimally productive, are set aside, then we come across a big number of lexicalised nouns whose analysability varies from item to item. It is easy to group them together as just lexical nouns, but that would be at the cost of gaining an insight into the organisation of the lexicon of the language. What follows, then, is a primary synchronic analysis of such lexical nouns as far as their transparency permits an analysis. Burling (1984) carried out a similar analysis for noun compounding in Garo recognising what he called ‘categorisers’ (Burling 1984: 14, 16) which in Garo are initial syllables around which compounds are built.

The analysis given below is not exhaustive. Totally transparent items have not been included in this analysis, as they are considered either derived or compounded. The items considered here are all only partially transparent. It is probable that diachronically they must have been the product either of derivation or of compounding. For a cursory view we may divide them into various groups.

- (i) Items with a potentially free first element and a bound second element

tási-khu	‘finger’ (<i>tási</i> ‘hand’)
táthen-khu	‘toe’ (<i>táthen</i> ‘leg’)
jíbra-domka ~ jíbra-donka	‘step-mother’ (<i>jíbra</i> ‘mother’)
babra-domka ~ babra-donka	‘step-father’ (<i>babra</i> ‘father’)
sábra-dem(e)na	‘step-child’ (<i>sábra</i> ‘child’)

Most of the names for birds have the initial syllable *tó-* ‘bird’:

tó-bau	‘owl’
tó-dabone	‘wagtail’

tó-dones	‘a variety of hornbill’
tó-dĩmbai	‘a variety of small bird’
tó-khur ~ tú-khur	‘pigeon’
tó-kruk ~ tú-kruk	‘a variety of wild fowl’
tó-pak	‘butterfly’
tó-pha	‘a bird of partridge family’
tó-phre	‘sparrow’
tó-pruk ~ tú-pruk	‘a bird of bulbul family with long tail and red feathered spot below tail’
tó-raŋ	‘eagle’
tó-raŋkre	‘a variety of eagle’
tó-re	‘a variety of pigeon’
tó-sar	‘wild fowl’

Names for different varieties of bamboo as well as some related words have the initial syllable *bá* ‘bamboo (generic)’:

bá-sindoi	‘a tender or young of bamboo’
bá-the	‘a small thick variety of bamboo’
bá-traĩ	‘a common thin variety of bamboo’
bá-ram	‘last stage of the growth of bamboo after which it flowers, bears seeds and dies.’

ná ‘fish’ is found as initial syllable in the names of fish and related things:

ná-jek ~ ná-jeŋ	‘a variety of fish’
ná-khem	‘fish dried and pounded and preserved in bamboo tube’
ná-kraŋ	‘a variety of fish found mainly in holes along the bank’
ná-luk	‘tadpole’
ná-ner	‘an electric eel’
ná-rak ~ ná-raŋ	‘a variety of small fish’
ná-thuk ~ ná-kaceŋ	‘prawn’

Some words that have a relationship to fire has *bár* ‘fire’ as the first member:

bár-ceken	‘ember’
bár-khunci	‘smoke’

bár-jikham	‘half-burnt log’ (probably <i>-ji-</i> is from <i>ji</i> ‘excreta, dirt etc.’ and <i>-kham</i> is <i>kham</i> ‘to burn’)
bár-seŋ	‘firefly’

Many words that are either names for worms or related nouns have initial *cóŋ* ‘worm’, sometimes with morphophonemic vowel change:

cóŋ-boŋ	‘woodworm’
cúŋ-khumuti	‘tiny flies that gather around wounds’
cúŋ-ci	‘worm stage of common fly’

Some names of flies have *só* ‘fly, mosquito’ as the first syllable:

só-drak	‘a variety of fly that sucks blood from cattle’
só-jengra	‘a variety of fly with black body and long legs’
só-tomar	‘a tiny stinging fly’

khan ‘yam’ is found as the first member of many tubers, sometimes with morphophonemic changes:

khan-ci	‘a variety of yam’
kham-bambri	‘sweet potato’
kham-pancu	‘tapioca or manioc’
kham-bója ~ bója	‘a variety of wild yam’

A few names for baskets have *khok* ‘basket’ as the initial syllable:

khok-jengra	‘a variety of loosely woven basket’
khuk-dur	‘a small basket for putting fish in while fishing’

Several names for trees contain *pan* ‘tree’ as the first syllable:

pan-san	‘sal tree’
pan-sangoi	‘a variety of tree’
pan-cu	‘simul tree’

paŋ-cuŋ ‘mango tree’ (if second member is *cuŋ* ‘big’ then it is analysable and does not belong strictly to this group)

Many words that have meaning related to land have the element *há* ‘land’ as the first member:

há-manji ‘clay’
há-srak ‘red soil’ (*-srak* is probably a variant of *sak* ‘red’)
há-tok ‘region’
há-sur(i) ‘neighbour’ (usually used as an imitative word with *noksur(i)* ‘neighbour’)

nok ‘house’ is found as the first element in certain related nouns:

nok-dar ‘door’
nok-spa ‘raised area around the house just at the base of walls’
nok-sur(i) ‘neighbour’

rái ‘banana leaf is found in a few related words as first element:

rái-juŋ ‘a marsh plant whose leaf is used as plate (as also the banana leaf)’
rái-pram ‘pith of banana tree used as vegetable’
rái-thaphak ‘banana leaf used and discarded’

The word *kuŋ* ‘rim’ is found as the first element in a few words, sometimes with some minor morphophonemic change:

kum-pak ‘nose’
kundi ‘bamboo reinforcement on the rim of woven articles’
kuŋ-dandri ‘soft bone of nose’
kuŋ-thaŋ ‘snout’

It is possible that these initial free elements form compounds with other potentially free second elements. But, as those do not form the subject of discussion in this section, they have not been mentioned.

- (ii) Items with a potentially free second element and a bound first element

In certain cases such items involve some vowel change.

ré-phan	‘banana tree’ (<i>phan</i> ‘standing tree’)
ré-the	‘banana fruit’ (<i>thé</i> ‘fruit’); (<i>ré-</i> appears to be related to free word <i>rái</i> ‘banana leaf’ but is not potentially free)
rú-thop	‘scrotum’ (<i>thop</i> ‘nest’)
rú-man	‘male pubic growth’ (<i>mán</i> ‘body hair’)
sú-man	‘female pubic growth’ (<i>mán</i> ‘body hair’)
ká-man	‘beard’ (<i>mán</i> ‘body hair’)
susu-phak	‘posts holding logs in funeral pyre’ (<i>phak</i> ‘post’)
khiŋ-khi	‘sour plum’ (<i>khi</i> ‘be sour’)

- (iii) Items with a potentially free first member and a second member analysable as clipped or fused

ná-khar	‘a whole to trap fish’ (<i>há-khar</i> ‘hole’)
ji-khar	‘anus’
tikhar ~ tik	‘pot’ (<i>hákhār</i> ‘hole’)
no-khraŋ	‘roof’ (<i>nok</i> ‘house’; <i>káraŋ</i> ‘above’)

- (iv) Items with a potentially free second member and the first member analysable as clipped

pha-ji	‘tartar’ (<i>phakham</i> ‘tooth’; <i>ji</i> ‘body dirt, waste’)
má-ji	‘cattle dung’ (<i>másu</i> ‘cattle’; <i>ji</i> ‘body dirt, waste’)
phúŋ-ji	‘ash’ (<i>phónka</i> ‘stones of the stove’; <i>ji</i> ‘body dirt, waste’)
kuŋ-ji	‘dry mucus, nose dirt’ (<i>kumpak</i> ‘nose’; <i>ji</i> ‘body dirt, waste’)
kuŋ-sí	‘blood from nose’ (<i>kumpak</i> ‘nose’; <i>sí</i> ‘blood’)

A few other instances of blends involving clipping are noteworthy:

- (1) There are a number of words where *kho-* is present as a clipped form from *khoro* ~ *khoro* ‘hair’: *khobak* ‘grey hair’ is from *khoro* ~ *khoro* ‘hair’ and *bok* ‘be white’; *khobak* is also present in the compounds *sam-khobak* ‘a plant with white bunch of flowers’ (*sam* ‘grass’) and in *cón-khobak* ‘white lice, found especially on domestic fowl’ (*cón* ‘insect,

worm'). In *khophon* 'headdress', the second element is opaque; so too in *khotlon* ~ *khotron* 'brain'; while *khodam* 'pillow' has the derivational suffix *-dam* denoting 'place' as the second member, making the meaning of the noun root 'place for head'. Incidentally, *kho-* as the clipped element of *khorok* ~ *khoro* also enters into the formation of verb roots (see 3.2.2.4-iii). (2) From close similarity of semantic content it becomes apparent that in the following noun roots *run-* (with vowel and consonantal assimilation affecting the vowel and the final /η/) is a clipped form of *mairun* 'rice':

run-cu	'flat rice'
ron-khó	'broken rice'
rom-pe	'a type of fried rice'
ron-tak	'earthen pot for keeping rice' (<i>-tak</i> is from <i>tík</i> 'earthen jar')

(3) According to Bauer (1983: 234) the clearest example of blend is one where the etymology of the root word is only clear when specifically explained. This is probably true of *khusúmakron* 'long thin pieces of metal kept in hair as ornament', which is probably a coalesced form of *khoroki súkai mákron*, where *khorok* 'hair'; *-i* 'locative suffix' *sú* 'to pierce'; *-kai* 'attributive', and *mákron* which is not a presently active word but whose etymology is easy to deduce as 'animal horn' from *má-* found in names of many animals and *kron* 'horn'. The name may have been derived from an earlier cultural practice of keeping some sort of animal horn in the hair as an ornament. That *kho-* is a clipped form of *khorok* ~ *khoro* is attested in several instances. Here there is a vowel change by the following high vowel, as well as a change of the high tone of *má-* to *ma* conditioned by the high tone of *sú*.

3.2 *Verb roots*

The group of verb roots is determined morphologically by their ability to take the principal verb suffixes (see 4.2). With the appropriate suffixes, many of the verb roots also play an adjectival role, both as predicative adjectives and as attributive adjectives. However, the openness of the verb roots to the suffixes described in 4.2 varies. Certain roots, particularly those that are strongly adjectival in character,

do not easily take temporal suffixes. Those that are least open to such suffixes at least take the PRES *-a*, (which is time-neutral) and/or the suffix *-kai* ATTR (see 5.1).

3.2.1 *Syllabic structure of verb roots*

3.2.1.1 *Monosyllabic verb roots*

Monosyllabic verb roots are also monomorphemic. Undoubtedly monosyllabic monomorphemic verb roots constitute the basic building blocks of the class of verb roots. While a synchronic analysis has to admit genuine polysyllabic polymorphemic verb roots, a good number of polysyllabic verb roots are analysable as polymorphemic. Besides, if one is allowed the freedom and the luxury of digging a little beneath the synchronic data and thus probing behind the mist created by diachronic sound changes, either along the lines of internal reconstruction or by simple comparison of cognates in related languages like Bodo and Garo, the presence of monosyllabic monomorphemic verb roots can readily be discerned in polysyllabic verb roots.

Unlike monosyllabic noun roots, which are not really numerous, monosyllabic verb roots constitute a much bigger group. The syllabic patterns that were found in 375 roots are given in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 *Syllabic pattern count in 375 monosyllabic verbs*

V	0
<u>VV</u>	1
<u>CVV</u>	27
<u>CCVV</u>	6
VC	4
CV	85
CVC	196
CCV	17
CCVC	39
total	375

These numbers should not be taken to be absolute, as there are roots that fall into two syllabic patterns allomorphically which have been taken to belong to one pattern on the basis of greater frequency of occurrence in speech. For example,

pu ~ pur	‘to fly’
taŋ ~ traŋ	‘to scrape off’ (grass)

have been placed by CV and CVC patterns respectively. There is a group of verbs which have two base alternants, with and without an alternating final *-t*. The imperative forms which are without the final *-t* were taken to count the syllable types. This procedure increased the CCV count by 10 and the CV count by 37. However, this does not alter the general picture that emerges from the statistical analysis. A few examples for each syllable type are given below.

VV	<u>ao</u>	‘to yell, to shout’
CVV	<u>bai</u>	‘to plough’
	<u>cao</u>	‘to winnow, to clean with winnowing fan’
	<u>dai</u>	‘to extend boundary’
	<u>dai</u>	‘to have a landslide’
	<u>jai</u>	‘to shift place’
	<u>jao</u>	‘to fry’
	<u>kai</u>	‘to plant’
	<u>khai</u>	‘to separate out, to branch off’
	<u>koi</u>	‘to bend, intr.’
	<u>pai</u>	‘to carry’
	<u>nai</u>	‘be right, be clean’
	<u>moi</u>	‘to shake, to wag, to wave’
	<u>phoi</u>	‘to wither’
	<u>rai</u>	‘be soft’
<u>tao</u>	‘to climb, to ascend, intr.’	
<u>tói</u>	‘to hold’	
CCVV	<u>brai</u>	‘to bring out (cud etc.), to protrude’
	<u>brau</u>	‘to burn brightly’
	<u>brao</u>	‘to become close to ripening’
	<u>proi</u>	‘to recite, to chant, to invoke’
	<u>trai</u>	‘to change, to exchange’

VC	ak	‘be black’
	án	‘to ask persistently, to giggle’
	én	‘to cry persistently asking for something’
	in	‘to say’
CV	bí	‘to break, intr.’
	bí	‘to roast over embers in banana leaf’
	bó	‘to clear’ (growth of grass etc.)
	bú	‘be subjected to some action’
	ci	‘to look’
	cu	‘be high’
	cú	‘to wrap in cloth or leaf or paper etc.’
	kha	‘to tie’
	khá	‘be bitter’
	khi	‘be sour’
	ki	‘to fall’
	ko	‘to throw’
	nu	‘to sit’
	na	‘to hear’
	pha	‘to rain’
	rá	‘to take’
	rí	‘be heavy’
	ró	‘be long’
	sá	‘to eat’
	sa	‘to pain’
	só	‘to burn, tr.’
	so	‘to rot’
	tho	‘be tasty’
	thú	‘be deep’
CVC	bam	‘to submit oneself’
	bán	‘to use or go through (path) regularly’
	bán	‘to block’
	bek	‘to sweep’
	bón	‘be late’
	bón	‘to meet’
	bír	‘to descend’
	cok	‘to lift, to raise’
	con	‘to wear’ (dress for upper body)
	coŋ	‘to begin’
	cun	‘be big’

cip	'to close'
cìn	'to lay' (a makeshift bridge)
dan	'to spread'
dán	'to enter'
deŋ	'to set free'
gom	'to droop, to bend downward'
goŋ	'be willing'
gur	'to lie down'
gín	'to wash'
hón	'to bark'
hén	'be sparse'
ján	'be far'
jaŋ	'be able'
jap	'to wave'
kan	'to wear' (dress for lower body, ornaments etc.)
kek	'to split'
kham	'to burn, intr.'
khap	'to cry'
kheŋ	'to live, to be alive'
man	'to crawl'
mán	'to get'
mún	'to be left behind, to stay behind'
mīl	'be small'
mīn	'be ripe'
nar	'be fast'
nem	'be good'
nuk	'to see'
pap	'to dig'
par	'to bloom'
phap	'to overflow'
phar	'to sell'
phel	'be low'
phok	'to uproot, to pluck out'
phuŋ	'be full'
phún	'to stitch'
rak	'be hard'
rán	'to take away'
rap	'to weave'
rón	'to distribute'
rím	'to catch'

	rìm	‘to cook’
	ruk	‘to chase’
	rok	‘to lead cattle’
	sek	‘to snatch’
	sam	‘to wait’
	sok	‘to reach’
	soŋ	‘be short’
	són	‘to prepare and place pot on fire for cooking’
	sím	‘be wet’
	sím	‘be sweet’
	sín	‘to ask’
	sir	‘to pour’
	tak	‘to make, to do’
	tan	‘to put’
	tán	‘to cut’
	thar	‘be clean’
	thón	‘to roll up’
	thír	‘to bounce off’
	tín	‘to lead’
	túr	‘to grope with hand inside something’
	tún	‘be hot’
CCV	dra	‘be rough, be coarse’
	gre	‘be left over’
	pra	‘bear offspring, to give birth’ (animals)
	prá	‘be in short supply’
	pré	‘be over’
	pri ~ pir	‘to be over’
	pri	‘be mature’
CCVC	brám	‘be rough or grainy to touch or feel’
	bren	‘be bored’
	bruŋ	‘to congregate, to assemble’
	bríp	‘to creep, to trail’ (as creepers)
	crak	‘to come off by tearing’
	gron	‘to scrape and gather together’
	gríp	‘to cover under’
	jroŋ	‘to wither, to drop’
	jrón	‘to pile up, to stack up’
	khrik	‘be sufficient’
	krik	‘to know’

kron	‘to run dry’ (well, spring etc.)
mrik	‘be smooth, be clean’
preŋ	‘be straight’
próm	‘to grope’
proŋ	‘to float, be carried away (be air, water etc.)’
prín	‘to mix’
prín	‘be over’
srap	‘be matching’
srám	‘be crisp, be brittle’
sraŋ	‘to get well, to regain health’
srop	‘draw leaves or grain with palms’
sriŋ	‘to stretch out’ (thread, rope etc.)
srip	‘be soaked with, to permeate’

3.2.1.2 *Polysyllabic verb roots*

Rabha has a very impressive stock of polysyllabic, mostly bisyllabic, verb roots. Many of them present a serious problem when one sets out to make a general and satisfactory statement about their analysability and morphemic composition. On the one hand they are single lexemes, albeit the result of diachronic fossilisation and lexicalisation, and on the other hand there is formal similarity with synchronically derived forms of other lexemes. Parts of some such roots are recognisable as muted forms of other free roots.

Everything considered, polysyllabic verb roots can be divided into monomorphemic and polymorphemic roots. Polymorphemic polysyllabic verb roots are treated under derivation and compounding of verb roots (see 3.2.2).

(i) Bisyllabic monomorphemic verb roots

Of the various possibilities of bisyllabic patterns, the following were found in the bisyllabic monomorphemic verb roots.

V-CVV	a-lai	‘to suspend’
	a-gui	‘to go forward’
V-CCVV	a-phrai	‘to writhe in pain’
V-CVC	a-suk	‘to feel bored’
	a-suŋ ~ a-sin	‘to preserve’
	a-gam	‘to bend down, to lower head’

VC-VC	al-tu	'be easy'
	ar-di	'to pray'
	ur-gi	'to bow in reverence, to worship'
VC-CVC	an-tar	'wake up, be awake'
	uŋ-gur	'howl' (dogs)
VC-CCVV	un-drai	'to frighten and flush out of hiding'
CVV-CVV	seo-ai	'to offer up'
	rao-ai	'to utter, to call to'
CVV-CVV	pau-sai	'to retreat, to go backward'
CV-CV	ba-ri	'to increase'
	ba-si	'to wash' (clothes)
	bu-khi	'be hungry'
	ba-bi	'to think'
	bu-da	'to be or grow old (male)'
	da-bi	'to demand'
	da-khi	'to hide, to hinder vision'
	ga-gu	'to nod'
	ja-sa	'to calumniate'
	ka-ni	'to say'
	ká-ni	'be short (distance), be near'
	ko-mi	'to decrease'
	ma-du	'to pretend not to have, to not share'
	la-gi	'to need'
	ma-ni	'to obey, to act in consonance'
	mu-si	'to plaster'
	na-ri	'to put forth new shoots'
	na-si	'to love'
	pa-li	'to observe, to keep' (ritual, feast etc.)
	po-ra	'to increase and multiply'
phi-sa	'to send, to dance'	
pu-si	'to rear (animal), to keep and propitiate (deity)'	
pu-tu	'to boil, intr.'	
pi -ti	'to believe'	
sa-si	'to take pleasure in belittling someone powerless'	
ti-ri	'to feel good or comfortable about'	

CV-CVC	bo-loŋ		'be open at both ends'
	bu-thur		'be blunt' (flat edges)
	bu-tuk		'be blunt' (pointed edges)
	bi-gar		'to feel nausea'
	ce-leŋ		'have several sections' (on flat things like leaves)
	ce-pok		'be insipid'
	ba-thip		'close with hands' (eyes, nose, mouth etc.)
	ci-kaŋ		'be thirsty'
	da-laŋ		'be thin, flat and big'
	da-pak ~ daplak		'be flat'
	di-gap		'to make ready in advance'
	di-phaŋ		'to smell, to exude unpleasant odour, intr.'
	ga-gar		'to wipe'
	ja-bur		'have thick foliage'
	ju-gur		'to shake, tr.'
	ji-gam ~ jġim		'to gather ominously' (clouds)
	ka-lam		'be sick'
	ki-cak		'to command, to order'
	le-kok		'be shaky as when loose'
	lo-kok		'be shaky as inside some container'
	mo-dom		'to turn stale (food)'
	mo-nok		'to swallow'
	pe-tak		'be pasty, be paste-like'
	phe-sek		'to crow'
	phe-seŋ		'to caution, to admonish'
	phi-lap		'to quiver, to be tremulous'
	pi-tak		'be restless, to wriggle'
	pi-tar		'to push'
	se-lek		'to lick'
	si-lik		'to protrude' (tongue etc.)
	su-buk		'to render untidy'
CV-CCVC	ci-klan		'be watery'
	co-plen		'be very small' (buttocks)
	go-glak		'round and big' (especially eyes)
	je-grep		'have a coarse and grainy feeling to touch or tongue'

	kho-dlon	'be bald'
	kho-srak	'to receive slight bruises'
	kho-srok	'to abort'
	se-drak	'be not crisp or dry' (hair, thread etc.)
CV-CVV	ba-rai	'to spread forth or place an offering'
	ba-sai	'to select'
	bo-bai	'to speak'
	ba-tai	'to exceed a particular stage or period'
	bó-mai	'to form corn or grain within stalk'
	bo-rai	'to compensate, to pay a fine'
	bu-lai	'to cheat'
	ca-rai	'to look after cattle, to tend cattle'
	gu-nai	'to think'
	co-bai	'to chew'
	da-gai	'to brand'
	da-mai	'to gather into a heap'
	di-lau	'be fleshy and sagging or protruding'
	gá-rai	'to scold'
	go-bai	'to apply' (starch, colour etc.)
	go-lai	'to dissolve, tr.'
	ji-nai	'to commit adultery'
	jo-rai	'to make ready'
	jo-tai	'to make ready'
	pha-lai	'to split into two'
	ko-tai	'to offer'
	la-pai	'to trip, to stumble (by one's own dress)'
	me-khoi	'to steal'
	pa-tai	'to trim or smoothen by cutting away irregular parts'
	tho-gai	'to cheat'
	to-nai	'to open, to unfold' (tent, umbrella etc.)
	to-rai	'to help in need'
	po-rai	'to read'
CV-CCVV	ba-grai	'to fall'
	co-grai	'to slap'
	di-phrai	'be in deep sorrow'

	jo-khlai	'stir, shake well'
	khi-jlai ~ khijlai	'to tease'
CVC-CV	ban-di	'pretend not to know'
	can-di	'be bald'
	khaŋ-khi	'be gluttonous'
	phak-ra	'be multicoloured'
	sim-ji	'to develop worms'
CVC-CVC	bun-baŋ	'to loose one's way'
	dol-doŋ	'be sagging'
	dem-boŋ	'be round and big'
	dim-khim	'be strong and well-built'
	dir-taŋ	'be far apart'
	gak-suk	'to stumble, to collide'
	gir-cuk	'to feel ticklish'
	hak-siŋ ~ hakciŋ	'to sneeze'
	han-dar ~ handir	'be dark'
	har-cok	'to observe a day of rest and fasting'
	hel-boŋ	'be fat and pot-bellied'
	hek-jok	'be slanting side-ways'
	hel-dem	'be very fat'
	heŋ-goŋ	'have a big stomach' (usually of pregnant condition)
	kam-buŋ	'to cover with a cloth' (a child being carried on back)
	kam-suk	'be itchy' (from some agent)
	kem-phek	'be bending and collapsing'
	keŋ-jaŋ	'having a wide arch'
	keŋ-soŋ	'be crooked, be not aligned'
	khar-cok	'to take revenge'
	kor-kem	'to develop creases'
	liŋ-gur	'to nuzzle'
	men-dek	'to pinch, to rest'
	miŋ-gar	'be in a rage'
	phim-phur	'be completely bored'
	thim-bak	'to stop short while moving forward'

CVC-CCVC	biŋ-brap	‘to twinkle, to flash light’
	dam-bron	‘be big’
	d̄im-khr̄im ~ d̄im-khri	‘be strong and well-built’
	d̄im-sraŋ	‘be hesitant in speech, have a non-native accent’
	kaŋ-graŋ	‘to die in an inglorious manner, to fall from fame’
	khan-jrak	‘have taste of salt or alkaline water’
	maŋ-grap	‘to toddle’
	phak-sthap	‘have the taste of betel nut’
	pen-trak	‘to wriggle through’
	CVC-CCV <u>V</u>	gen-drai
haŋ-krai		‘to call out to, to shout and call’
lon-drai		‘to roll the tongue in speaking’
mon-crai		‘to wring, to twist’
CVC-CCV	d̄im-khri ~ d̄im-khr̄im	‘be strong and well-built’
CVC-CV <u>V</u>	haŋ-gai	‘to threaten’
	r̄iŋ-gai	‘to sob, to weep’
	sor-tai	‘to clean or gather together with hand in a scraping motion’
	sar-tai	‘echo word used with <i>sortai</i> ’

(ii) Trisyllabic monomorphemic verb roots

Trisyllabic monomorphemic verb roots are very rare. The few that were identified present tempting possibilities of analysability comparable to the trisyllabic roots treated in 3.2.2.3–b.

ba-da-gai	‘bring down another while wrestling or fight’ (probably causative from <i>ba-grai</i> ‘to fall’)
ba-da-gur	‘to wrestle’ (has formal similarity with a possible causative of unattested <i>ba-gur</i>)
ba-kha-nai	‘to praise, to glorify’
ba-si-thip ~ ba-sthip	‘throw or smash to the ground’ (the final

	- <i>thip</i> is probably to be identified with root <i>thip</i> 'to let down, place over')
gìn-gìn- <u>ai</u>	'to hum a tune' (has formal similarity with reduplicated forms)
ko-kot- <u>ai</u> ~ kot-kot- <u>ai</u>	'to cluck' (onomatopoeic)
khú-ju-muk	'arrange firewood for lighting a fire'
khun-ju-gur	'(fall) with head first'
men-ce- <u>krao</u>	'to claw, to maul, to scratch violently with nails'
rú-cu-kun	'become crumbled, to develop or form creases'

3.2.2 *Derivation and compounding of verb roots*

This section analyses the polysyllabic polymorphemic verb roots of Rabha in terms of derivational affixes and verb compounds.

3.2.2.1 *Derivational affixes*

Derivational affixes may be divided into non-causative derivational affixes and causative derivational affixes.

3.2.2.1.1 *Non-causative derivational affixes*

Rabha has but a very few non-causative derivational affixes. These few operate in small groups of roots and show signs of being fossilised and lexicalised. Although co-occurrence of these affixes is not ruled out theoretically unless impeded by semantic incompatibility, they are rarely used simultaneously on the same root. All these affixes are suffixes (with one exception; see No. 17 below) and play the role of adverbs. Some such suffixes are actually potentially free forms, but are taken to be derivational affixes because they still retain partial productivity, which is not true of compounding.

(1) -pán ~ -paŋ

This suffix is derived from root *pán* 'plenty, abundant'. As a derivational affix this morpheme indicates frequency and is usually used along with the negative *-ca*, giving a total meaning 'rarely'. Although its frequency is rather high, it must compete with the verb root *hén* 'sparse, infrequent'. If the root already contains a high tone, the allomorph *-paŋ* occurs.

in-pán-ca
 say-often-NEG
 ‘rarely said, not often said’

nuk-pán-ca
 see-often-NEG
 ‘rarely seen’

kalam-pán-ca
 be.ill-often-NEG
 ‘rarely sick’

(2) -soŋ

The meaning of this suffix is ‘ahead’, indicating doing or happening (depending on the meaning of the verb root) early, before or ahead of others. Its productivity is still relatively high.

nároŋ réŋ-soŋ -φ
 you.PL go-ahead-IMP
 ‘you(pl) go ahead’

pakja mán-na tikaŋ paísa ta-rákhu-soŋ
 thing get-INF before money N.IMP-give-ahead
 ‘do not give money before getting the thing’

Certain formations like *kani-soŋ* ‘to prophesy’ (*kani* ‘to say’), *ci-soŋ* ‘to expect or await’ (*ci* ‘to look’), *sam-soŋ* ‘to wait for’ (*sam* ‘to wait’), *thari-soŋ* ‘to prepare’ (*thari* ‘to make good’) are gradually becoming lexicalised. At the same time the adverb *tikaŋ* ‘before’ is seen to compete with *-soŋ*.

(3) -brok

This suffix adds the meaning ‘all or everyone’.

uroŋ réŋ-brok-ŋata
 they go-all-PAST
 ‘they all went’

This suffix is hardly used. Probably it is a recent entrant from the Mayturi dialect or an old suffix in its last days. Presently its function is generally carried out by adverbs like *dímdkai* ‘all’ and *sarkai* ‘everyone’.

d̥imdakai-an sá-no
 all-EMPH eat-FUT
 ‘all will eat’

sarkai-an réŋ-jo
 all-EMPH go-PAST
 ‘all went’

(4) -khithak

This suffix contributes the meaning ‘pretend to’ or ‘pretentiously’. Probably this ending is a causative derivation of *tak* ‘do, make’. Though extremely rare, in the speech of some elderly people the pronunciation *-kítak*, without the aspiration, can be heard which would be the causative form of *tak*.

nasi-khithak-a
 love-pretend-PRES
 ‘pretend to love’

kami rá-khithak-a
 work-pretend-PRES
 ‘pretend to work’

tu-nuk-khithak-a
 CAUS-see-pretend-PRES
 ‘put on a show, act hypocritically’

This suffix is rather frequent but in certain situations competes with *tunuk* ‘to show’ (causative from *nuk* ‘to see’).

(5) -jam

Glossed here as ‘needlessly’, this suffix can also mean ‘carelessly, unintentionally’.

nem-ca-kai pakja ana sá-jam-a
 good-NEG-ATTR thing why eat-needlessly-PRES
 ‘why eat unhealthy things carelessly?’

dón-kai dón-ca-kai ta-in-jam-φ
 true-ATTR true-NEG-ATTR N.IMP-say-needlessly-IMP
 ‘do not speak just anything (true and false)’

Verb formations like *babi-ca-raŋ-e* ‘without thinking’ are also frequently employed limiting the use of *-jam* to very specific situations. It is likely that *ríjam* ‘walk, move by oneself’ is derived from *rí -jam* (*rít ~ rí* ‘to remove’).

(6) *-gruk*

This suffix supplies the adverbial nuance ‘each other or mutually’. Its productivity is quite low.

su-gruk-a
butt-mutually-PRES
‘butt or gore each other’

tán-gruk-a
cut-mutually-PRES
‘cut each other, fight each other with sharp weapons’

A lexeme in which this suffix has been frozen is *kagruk* ‘to quarrel’. One can only hazard a guess about whether the initial syllable *ka-* could be related to *kak* ‘to bite’.

(7) *-khu*

This suffix can have several shades of meaning like ‘yet’, ‘still’ or ‘a while longer’. The meaning ‘yet, still’ is realised with regard to events or situations that have not begun, while the meaning ‘a while longer’ is realised with regard to the continuation of an event or situation that is in progress or has begun.

mai kái-na coŋ-khu-ca
paddy plant-INF begin-yet -NEG
‘not yet begun to plant paddy’

baba ana-an ríba-khu-ca-eta
dad why-EMPH come-still-NEG-CONT
‘why is dad still not arriving (has not arrived)?’

náron roŋ ci-khu-na múŋ-eta-na
you.PL festival see-still-INF desire-CONT-INTERR
‘do you(pl) desire to see the festival longer?’

(8) -ba

The derivational suffix *-ba* has two functions:

(a) to indicate a gradual coming into effect or attaining of a greater degree of the quality or state indicated by the root, glossed 'more'.

sábra cuṅ-ba-eta
child big-more-CONT
'the child is becoming bigger or is growing'

kalam-kai kai nem-ba-eta
sick-ATTR person good-more-CONT
'the sick person is getting better'

raṅsaṅ dogó-ba-eta
sun rise-more-CONT
'the sun is gradually rising'

(b) to indicate a 'movement towards' the speech situation. It is possible to distinguish three types of time relation between the activity indicated by the root and the sense of movement rendered by *-ba*. The suffix is glossed differently according to the specific sense.

(i) movement follows the activity

i-o-be bisi-ni para mán-ba-jo
this-ACC-DEF where-ABL get-bring-PAST
'where was this got from? (obtained and then brought)'

kani-e tan-ba-nata
say-INCOMP put-come-PAST
'said and came'

(ii) movement precedes the activity

caṅ kani-ba-nata
who say-come-PAST
'who came to say (give news)?'

(iii) movement and activity being simultaneous

cime sok-ba-jo
we(DEF) reach-come-PAST
'we have arrived'

The most common occurrences of *-ba* are fossilised as in *rí -ba* ‘come, move towards’, which like *ríjam* ‘walk’ (see No. 5 above) is analysed as deriving from *rí-ba* (*rít* ~ *rí* ‘to remove’), and in *rá-ba* ‘bring’ (*rá* ‘to take’). The uses described in (a) and (b)i are the most productive.

(9) *-raŋ, -aŋ, -eŋ, -e*

These four suffixes are not allomorphs of any one morpheme. What is special about them is that these four separately correspond to the four functions, (a), (b) i, ii, iii respectively of *-ba*, with the difference that these morphemes involve a spatial or conceptual ‘movement away’. This is a striking example of diversification of function and subsequent fossilisation of what must have been one suffix. They are probably related to the vector verb *ránŋ* (see 4.1.2–5) and have alternating forms with and without a high tone along the lines of the alternating forms of *-pánŋ* ~ *-paŋ* (No. 1 above).

(a) ‘continue, proceed, carry on’

in-raŋ-bapeke
say-proceed-while
‘while continuing to say’

cuŋ-raŋ-eta
big-proceed-CONT
‘(it) is continuing to grow big or bigger’

(b) to indicate a ‘movement away’ from the speech situation.

(i) movement follows activity

tak-e *tan-aŋ-a*
make-INCOMP put-go-PRES
‘to make and (leaving behind) go’

tu-nuk-e *tan-aŋ-jo*
CAUS-see-INCOMP put-go-PAST
‘showed and went’

(ii) movement precedes activity

prao-e *tan-eŋ-Ø*
call-INCOMP put-go-IMP
‘go and call or go and extend invitation’

kani-e tan-eη-jo
 say-INCOMP put-go-PAST
 ‘went and said or delivered a message’

(iii) movement and activity being simultaneous

ḍimdakai-an sok-e-nata
 all-EMPH reach-there-PAST
 ‘all reached (there)’

Like *-ba*, the two basic roots on which the above suffixes occur as fossilised are: *réη* ‘go (away or there)’, analysable as derived from *rí* *-aη* or *rí-eη* (*rít* ~ *rí* ‘to remove’) and *rán* ‘take away’, derived from *rá-aη* or *rá-eη* (*rá* ‘to take’) through different process of vowel coalescence. As the analysis shows, direction is intrinsic to roots *ríba* ‘to come’, *rába* ‘to bring’, *réη* ‘to go’, and *rán* ‘to take away’, and they may be glossed ‘move towards’, ‘take here’, ‘move away’ and ‘take away or there’ respectively.

While it may be hazardous to posit an absolute correspondence, one cannot fail to see the striking resemblance. It is a situation of semantic equilibrium being disturbed by some factors and being redistributed. Another striking similarity between these suffixes is that both show a tendency to be used with *kani* ‘to say’ and *tan* ‘to put’ in more lexicalised usage.

(10) *-raη*

This suffix acts as an intensifier (INTEN). This productive suffix is often used with the participial or incomplete suffix *-e*.

natho-raη-e chai chairuη-ata
 melodious-INTEN-INCOMP song sing-PAST
 ‘sang very melodiously’

páη-raη-a to-a-mín
 plenty-INTEN-PRES be-PRES-IMPRF
 ‘there was really plenty’

nem-raη-e kani-coη
 good-INTEN-INCOMP say-please
 ‘please say more clearly or better’

pré-raṅ-e	sá-e	rákha-nata
finish-INTEN-INCOMP	eat-INCOMP	VECT-PAST
'eat up the completely'		

The intensifier *-raṅ* is homophonous to the direction indicating suffix described above but appears to be a different morpheme. It is difficult to say if this morpheme too is distantly related to the vector verb *ráṅ* (4.1.2–5). That they are synchronically different is evident from the fact that consonant assimilation is possible only in one instance of the two suffixes used with the same root, as shown below.

mīl-raṅ-a	>	mīllaṅa
small-INTEN-PRES		very small
mīl-raṅ-eta	>	mīlraṅeta
small-proceed-CONT		continue to become smaller

(11) *-riṅ*

This suffix means 'know how to' or 'be capable of' and is both a class-changing derivational affix generating verb roots from noun roots as well as a class-maintaining derivational affix.

(a) class-changing

Only a very few instances of this function was found.

tīkar-riṅ-a
female.evil.spirit-know-PRES
'be capable of turning into a ghost or spirit (woman)'

butia-riṅ-a
male.evil.spirit-know-PRES
'be capable of turning into a ghost or spirit (man)'

(b) class-maintaining

nasi-riṅ-a
love-know-PRES
'be affectionate'

toṅ-riṅ-a
stay-know-PRES
'be well-behaved'

The suffix *-riŋ* is derived from the root *riŋ* ‘know how to, be able’ that has practically lost its free usage except with roots that also take the suffix.

cuŋ-a riŋ-a
 grow-INF know-PRES
 ‘have the capacity to grow’

nasi-na riŋ-a
 love-INF know-PRES
 ‘know how to love’

As a root *riŋ* is never used except following another root in its infinitival form. Roots such as *jaŋ* ‘be able’, *kriŋ* ‘know how to’ and *pháman* ‘know (facts)’ are used in other situations. Both the suffix and the free root are being fossilised and semantically restricted.

(12) *-jín*

The semantic content of this suffix is parallel to *-gruk* ‘mutually, each other’, but this suffix is highly infrequent. There is no lexeme in which it is found to be fossilised. Probably this suffix is a recent borrowing from the Mayturi dialect.

nasi-jín-a
 love-mutually-PRES
 ‘love each other’

cak-jín-a
 help-mutually-PRES
 ‘help or support each other’

(13) *-tho*

This suffix is derived from the root *tho* ‘tasty’ and has the meaning of ‘pleasant to’.

ci-tho-a
 look-pleasant-PRES
 ‘beautiful, good to look at’

na-tho-a
 hear-pleasant-PRES
 ‘pleasant to hear, melodious’

This still quite productive suffix is used characteristically, though not exclusively, in the negative as:

ram nem-don̄ba jota
 path good-although shoes
 kan-ca-bana rijam-tho-ca
 wear-NEG-because walk-pleasant-NEG
 ‘although the path is good because (subject) is not wearing shoes,
 (it) is unpleasant to walk’

capa khár-kai pró-ca-bana káosa porai-tho-ca
 print-ATTR clear-NEG-because book read-pleasant-NEG
 ‘because the printing is not clear it is not pleasant to read’

(14) -boi ~ -phoi

This suffix is derived from the irregular root *phoi* ‘come (here)’ which is used only as an exhortative or as a polite imperative, and does not take any verb affixes. As a suffix its semantic content is restricted to ‘come, come in’. The allomorph -boi is the more frequently used form.

nu-boi
 sit-come (in)
 ‘come (in) and sit’

dán-boi
 enter-come (in)
 ‘come in, enter inside’

Like the behaviour of the source root, no further affixation is possible after this affix. Forms with -boi ~ -phoi can be seen as contractions of expressions where the root *phoi* is used as an exhortative or as a polite imperative, a function which is still retained in the suffix.

nu-na phoi > nu-boi ~ nu-phoi
 sit-INF come ‘come (in) and sit’

(15) Diphthongisation of /a/

There are a few synchronic instances of a verb root being derived from a noun root by diphthongising the final vowel (which is usually /a/) or by suffixing a diphthong (complex nucleus) -ai.

<u>rao</u>	‘voice’
<u>rao-ai</u>	‘to speak, to utter some sound’
<u>samjora</u>	‘rope used to tie cattle together’
<u>samjorai</u>	‘to tie two cattle together’
<u>nata</u>	‘wheel on which starched yarn is wound (to remove starch)’
<u>natai</u>	‘to roll yarn on to the to remove starch’
<u>phala</u>	‘a half section’
<u>phalai</u>	‘to split into two halves’

A few roots in final *-ai* have a loan base:

<u>bulai</u>	‘to cheat’ (Ass. <i>bhul</i> ‘mistake’)
<u>basai</u>	‘to choose’ (Ass. <i>basi</i> ‘to choose’)
<u>bicrai</u>	‘to search’ (Ass. <i>bisari</i> ‘to search’)
<u>carai</u>	‘to shepherd’ (Ass. <i>sora</i> ‘to shepherd’)
<u>dagai</u>	‘to brand’ (Ass. <i>dag</i> ‘a mark’)
<u>jorai</u>	‘to join two things together’ (<i>jora</i> ‘a pair, a couple, a joint’)
<u>pausai</u>	‘to go backwards’ (Ass <i>pas/pis</i> ‘behind’)
<u>porai</u>	‘to read’ (Ass. <i>poḍi</i> ‘to read, to study’)

In many cases this process is accompanied by re-syllabification of the word itself, which is particularly true of loan bases that have a phonemic structure that is not acceptable in Rabha, as in the case of Assamese *dag* ‘a mark’, whose diphthongised form in Rabha would have to be syllabified *da-gai*. Rabha *ba-tai* ‘to exceed (especially a time or stage)’ appears to be a lexicalised form of Garo *bat* ‘to go over, to cross over, to exceed’ through such diphthongisation and resyllabification, while Rabha *pat* ~ *pá* ‘to go over, to cross over, to exceed’ is the cognate of Garo *bat* that can be linked through regular phonemic shift.

(16) Conversion

There are a few instances of a noun root being used as a verb root closely related to the noun without any derivational marker involved. It is neither a productive process, nor a widely attested one. The direction of conversion has been construed as forming verb roots from noun roots rather than the other way round.

- rampar, n. ‘wind’; v. ‘to blow (wind)’
 kambuṇ, n. ‘cloth worn by women, cloth with which a child on back is further covered’; v. ‘cover a child being carried on back’
 par, n. ‘flower’; v. ‘to bloom’
 dabi, n. ‘demand’; v. ‘to demand’
 bokhra ~ boṅkhra, n. ‘portion, share’; v. ‘to apportion’
 graṇ, n. ‘roof frame’; v. ‘prepare or build a roof frame’
 jap, n. ‘a hand-held fan’; v. ‘to fan oneself, to row, to paddle’
 br̥ip, n. ‘creeper’; v. ‘to creep as creepers’
 jrón, n. ‘stack, pile’; v. ‘to stack, to pile up’

(17) a-

This is an exceptional case of a loan negative prefix found as fossilised on two roots, of which one is a loan.

nar-e		a-nar-e	
fast-INCOMP	‘speedily’	NEG-fast-INCOMP	‘slowly’
suk	‘be happy, happiness’	a-suk	‘be ill at ease, be bored’

Both are lexicalised instances so that a native speaker might even consider the analysis bizarre. The form *suk* itself is a loan word. Both *suk* and *asuk* were probably loaned separately as independent morphs. There is also *khu-suk* ‘take shelter’ which formally looks like the causative of *suk*. *nar* is a native word. It is not clear how an Indo-Aryan negative prefix came to be associated with this base. In day-to-day language usage Rabhas use several Assamese words along with the negative prefix. However, the negative prefix itself has not entered Rabha with any measure of productivity

atoba	o-hubida	cáṇ-ata
some	NEG-convenience	become-PAST
‘there was some inconvenience’		

3.2.2.1.2 *Causative derivation*

As a first sweeping generalisation, causative formations ‘add a new argument that represents a notional causer’ (Palmer 1994: 214).

Beyond this it is difficult to make any generalisation covering all the different types of causative formations found in Rabha.

Rabha has three types of causative, all of which are morphologically marked. Using terminology employed by Palmer (1994: 214ff.), they are:

- (A) Directive causative
- (B) Manipulative causative
- (C) Active causative

They could also be classified according to the relative position of the causative morpheme in relation to the verb root as prefixal, infixal and suffixal. This option has not been followed here as the three-fold division given above is more insightful and also because the position of the morphemes is something that is too obvious. Viewed differently (a) and (b) can be considered 'indirect causatives' and (c) 'direct causative'.

(A) Directive causative

In directive causatives, the causative agent either advises, requests or orders the subject of the verb. Consequently only verb roots that have an agent-subject can undergo this formation, whereby the agent-subject is demoted to the position of the direct object and takes the accusative marker. The directive causative morpheme is a suffix, *-tak*, which is clearly related to the verb root *tak* 'make, do'.

u-be	aŋ-o	hat-ina	rəŋ-tak-ŋata
he-DEF	I-ACC	market-ALL	go-CAUS-PAST
'he asked me to go to the market'			

caŋ	oroŋ-o	cusar	khó-tak-ŋata
who	they-ACC	well	dig-CAUS-PAST
'who asked them to dig (the) well?'			

As the syntactic presence of two nouns in the accusative is not easily tolerated, the sequence is generally broken by inserting other elements.

jibra-be	babra-o	oroŋ-i	sábra-o	kok-tak-ŋata
mother-DEF	father-ACC	they-GEN	child-ACC	beat-ACC-PAST
'the mother made the father beat their child'				

There are also other verb roots like *kani* ‘to say’, *kicak* ‘to order’, *tostai* ‘to request, to beseech’ that are used periphrastically with necessary changes as a substitute for the morphological directive causative formation.

u-be	aŋ-o	hat-ina	rêŋ-a	kani-nata
he-DEF	I-ACC	market-ALL	go-INF	say-PAST
‘he asked me to go to the market’				

The semantics of the directive causative is uniform, varying only within the range prescribed above. In periphrastic formation the variation is indicated by the lexical content of the substituting verb roots.

(B) Manipulative causative

In this case, the causative agent acts or does something which results in the causative event. The active involvement of the original subject is not present. Its role is patientive, but morphologically it is demoted to the status of direct object and bears the accusative marker. Manipulative causatives are not restricted by the nature of the verb, unlike the directive causative which cannot be used with verbs that do not have an agent-subject. The morphological marker is *-tan*, which is related to the verb root *tan* ‘to put’.

ak-tan-a
black-CAUS-PRES
‘make black, blacken’

rêŋ-tan-a
go-CAUS-PRES
‘cause to go’

sá-tan-a
eat-CAUS-PRES
‘cause to eat’

rákhu-tan-a
give-CAUS-PRES
‘cause to give’

If the precise action of the causing agent or the situation through which the causation was effected is made explicit in the sentence, it

is generally done with the instrumental postposition *-peke* 'with' or the perlocative postpositions *-nalanɪ* 'through' or *tokoro* 'through'.

noksuri hásuri oroŋ-o jar-tan-nata
 neighbours they-ACC run.away-CAUS-PAST
 '(the) neighbours caused them to flee or run away'

oroŋ-i katha-ni nalanɪ
 they-GEN word-(GEN) PER
 oroŋ liga-bijan-o kagruk-tan-nata
 they friend-PL-ACC quarrel-CAUS-PAST
 'through their words they caused friends to quarrel'

The manipulative causative shows indirect forcing. It is semantically uniform. Because of its more versatile nature, when a morphological active causative cannot, on account of some constraint, be formed, it is this suffix that can also signify direct and active causation. Thus, *ak-tan* can mean 'cause to be black' indirectly, or 'blacken' directly. Such semantic widening of the role of the manipulative causative is seen to be operative in verb roots that do not have a prefixed active causative. All such verbs have the initial syllable without the onset. As will be seen below, only syllables with an onset undergo the prefixed active causative derivation.

(C) Active causative

Active causatives are more direct in the sense that they do not involve the verbal mediation of directive causative nor the indirect manipulative mediation of the manipulative causative. The causing action originates from the causative agent, i.e. the new subject; it acts on and culminates in the old subject to which it is directed. As predicted by Comrie (as quoted in Palmer 1994: 218) the original subject of an intransitive verb root comes to be marked by the accusative marker, while that of a transitive verb comes to be marked with the dative marker.

transitive verb: aŋ sá-nata aŋ-a khi-sá-nata
 I eat-PAST I-DAT CAUS-eat-PAST
 'I ate' 'I was fed'

intransitive verb: aŋ ki-nata aŋ-o ti-ki-nata
 I fall-PAST I-ACC CAUS-fall-PAST
 'I fell' 'I was dropped or made to fall'

Morphologically the active causative is more complex. Semantically it is more unpredictable, and there are more verb roots that do not have such a causative formation than those that do. As a rule monosyllabic verb roots that have /h, l/ as their onset or lack an onset do not undergo this derivative process involving a prefixed morpheme. Polysyllabic verb roots whose first syllable has /h, l/ as their onset or lack an onset may undergo this derivative process, but the causative morph is prefixed to the second syllable. Thus the initial vowel or /h, l/ are in no way involved. The active causative morpheme has several phonologically conditioned allomorphs. They can be divided into three groups depending on their syllabic structure and their position in relation to the verb root.

- (i) monosyllabic prefix
- (ii) bisyllabic prefix
- (iii) infix

(i) Monosyllabic prefixes of active causative formations

If a monosyllabic verb root does have an active causative formation, it is formed by prefixing the causative morpheme. One would have been able to make a very general statement that only monosyllabic verb roots have prefixal active causative formation but for the following two exceptions:

tiraŋ	‘to learn’	>	ki-triŋ	‘to teach’
kiri ~ kir	‘be afraid’	>	ti-kiri	‘to frighten’

Only the second may be considered a true exception, as in *ki-triŋ*, the root *tiraŋ* is reduced to a monosyllable. Even in the second case there exists a lexeme *ti-kar* ‘an evil spirit, a ghost’ that is morphologically causative and has related semantic content, although it is a noun.

The various allomorphs of the monosyllabic prefixal causative morpheme are of the form CV- (they differ widely in phonemic structure) and are obtained by partial reduplication of the onset and the peak of the root, controlled by consonantal harmony and apophony (vowel harmony) following definite rules.

(i. a) The consonant component of the causative prefix

The onsets of the verb roots that are involved in the active causative formation by partial reduplication can be any of the plosives, aspirated and unaspirated (p, t, c, k, ph, th, kh, b, d, j, g), the nasals (m, n), the fricative (s) and the trill (r). But the range of C of the causative prefix, which are all of the CV- pattern, is drastically reduced. Only two places of articulation are possible with the added diversity of voice and aspiration. The correspondence is presented in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 *Initial C of verbs and corresponding onset of causative prefix*

onset of root	onset of causative prefix
p, k, m, n, r	t
ph, kh	th
t, c	k
th, s	kh
b, g	d
d, j	g
C ₁ C ₂	C ₁

There is general harmony of voice and aspiration. If the onset of the verb root is voiced or aspirated, so too is the onset of the causative prefix. Yet /m, n, r/, which are phonetically voiced, take voiceless /t/ as the causative prefix, and /s/ has aspirated /kh/ as the causative prefix. Besides, if the onset is a cluster, the above pattern is faithfully adhered to with the added feature that the second element of the cluster does not figure in the causative prefix at all.

(i. b) The vowel component of active causative formations

The vowel harmony is more straightforward than the situation of the consonants (see Table 3.5). The same vowel of the verb root is reduplicated in the causative prefix. The only exception is /a/, which is reduplicated as /i/. Consequently, /a/ does not figure in the

causative prefixes. The consecutive presence of /i/ in two syllables sometimes gives way to optional dissimilation, as shown below:

CiCi > CiCa

This creates some homophones:

bar 'to return' > di-bar 'to return (transitive)'
 bir 'to descend' > di-bir ~ di-bar 'to let down, to lower'

In certain instances the change of /i/ to /a/ has been lexicalised with only the /a/-form found in circulation, while in other cases both forms are still found:

dik 'to subside' > gi-dak 'to quieten, to console'
 prin 'to be mixed' > ti-prin ~ ti-pran 'to mix'
 rip 'be submerged' > ti-rip ~ ti-rap 'to submerge'

If the root has a complex nucleus as its peak, only the first member of that complex nucleus appears in the causative prefix, following the rule of vowel harmony for simple peaks. A verb root with a high-toned vowel retains its high tone, but the peak of the causative prefix has a low-toned vowel in all circumstances.

Table 3.5 *Nucleus of verb and of corresponding causative prefix*

peak of verb root	peak of causative prefix
i, í	i
e, é	e
u, ú	u
o, ó	o
a, á	á
<u>V₁V₂</u>	V ₁

Semantically the causative forms show specialised meanings. No real generalisation can cover the entire range of meaning expressed

by the causatives. Below are a few examples arranged according to the onsets of the root as presented in Table 3.4 showing consonant harmony. In all the examples the initial syllable is the causative marker.

/p/	pán 'be plenty'	> t̄i-pán 'to increase, to cause to be plenty'
	pai 'to carry'	> t̄i-pai 'to make another carry, to lay a load on'
	pré 'be over'	> te-pré 'to finish'
	pur 'to fly'	> tu-pur 'to fly, tr.'
	pron 'float, rise and fly,	> to-pron 'to carry of (by wind, water etc.)'
	prin 'to be mixed up'	> t̄i-prin 'to mix'
/k/	ki 'to fall'	> t̄i-ki 'to drop, to cause to fall'
	kói 'be bent'	> to-kói 'to bend'
	kan 'to wear'	> t̄i-kan 'to put on another (ornaments), to dress up another (for lower body)'
	kak 'to bite'	> t̄i-kak 'to fix, to cause to bite'
/m/	ma 'to disappear, to loose'	> t̄i-ma 'to cause to loose'
	min 'be ripe, be cooked'	> t̄i-min 'to cause to ripen or to be ready'
	mar 'be friendly'	> t̄i-mar 'to make friendly, to domesticate'
	mot ~ mó 'extinguish'	> to-mó ~ to-mot 'to extinguish, to put out'
/n/	nu 'to sit'	> tu-nu 'to erect, to keep standing, to establish'
	nuk 'to see'	> tu-nuk 'to show'
	nén 'be tired'	> te-nén 'to cause tiredness'
	nai 'be bright'	> t̄i-nai 'to cause to be bright'
/r/	rán 'be dry'	> t̄i-rán 'to make dry'
	ró 'be long'	> to-ró 'to lengthen'
	rip 'be submerged'	> t̄i-rip ~ t̄i-rap 'to submerge'

/ph/	phel ‘be low’	> the-phel ‘to lower’
	phén ‘to change, to turn into’	> the-phén ‘to transform’
	phor ‘open (things covered)’	> tho-phor ‘to reveal, to let secret out’
	phuk ‘be stuck, be trapped’	> thu-phuk ‘to cause to be trapped’
	phrì ~ phrí ‘to snap, to bounce’	> thi-phrít ~ thi-phrí (~ thi-phrat ~ thi-phrá) ‘to cause to snap shut or bounce off (present tense)’
/kh/	khai ‘to branch off’	> thi-khai ‘to remove a portion, to separate out’
	kheṅ ‘to live, to be alive’	> the-kheṅ ‘to keep alive, to bring back to life’
	khrik ‘be sufficient’	> thi-khrik ‘to make sufficient’
	khop ‘to fold up, intr.’	> tho-khop ‘to fold up, tr.’
/t/	tao ‘to ascend’	> ki-tao ‘to make to go up’
	trok ‘to dance’	> ko-trok ‘to make dance’
	tún ‘be hot’	> ku-tún ‘to heat’
/c/	con ‘to wear (upper body)’	> ko-con ‘to dress up another (upper body)’
	cu ‘be high’	> ku-cu ‘to make taller or higher’
	cun ‘be big’	> ku-cun ‘to make big’
	cek ‘be damp, be wet slightly’	> ke-cek ‘to make damp or wet slightly’
	cám ‘be worn out, be dilute’	> ki-cám ‘to cause to be worn out, to dilute’
/th/	thar ‘be clean’	> khi-thar ‘to clean’
	thír ‘to bounce off’	< khi-thír ‘to cause to bounce’
/s/	sá ‘to eat’	> khi-sá ‘to feed’
	soṅ ‘be short’	> kho-soṅ ‘to shorten’
	sok ‘to reach’	> kho-sok ‘to make reach’
	sím ‘be wet’	> khi-sím ‘to make wet’
/b/	bam ‘to submit oneself’	> di-bam ‘to subdue’

bar 'to come back, to return'	> di-bar 'to give back, to return'
bí 'to break, intr.'	> di-bí 'to break, tr.'
bok 'be white'	> do-bok 'to polish (rice) brighter'
bir 'to descend'	> di-bir ~ di-bar 'to let down, to lower down'
/g/ gom 'to bend or droop down'	> do-gom 'to pull or bend downward'
gre 'be in excess, be left over'	> de-gre 'to cause to be left over'
gur 'lie down'	> du-gur 'to fell (trees)'
gram 'be undone or uncultivated'	> di-gram 'leave undone, leave fallow'
/d/ dán 'to enter'	> gi-dán 'to accept into, to receive into'
dún 'to climb'	> gu-dún 'to make climb'
dik 'to subside'	> (*gi-dik ~) gi-dak 'to console, to make quiet'
dim 'to sprout'	> gi-dim 'to make to sprout'
dap 'be covered'	> gi-dap 'to cover (especially cloud, shade etc.)'
/j/ jar 'to run away'	> gi-jar 'to drive away'
járí 'to shift or change place'	> gi-járí 'to change place of something'
jok 'to escape'	> go-jok 'to save'
jim 'to break into tiny parts'	> gi-jim 'to crush to powder or pulp'

(i. c) Special segmental changes involved in causative formations

There are a few cases of segmental changes that have mostly been lexicalised. Some of them are noted here. The causative of *bom* 'to hatch' is *do-gom* 'to make hatch' and not **do-bom*. This creates a pair of homophones with *do-gom* 'to bend or pull downwards', which is the causative of *gom* 'to droop or bend downwards'. A change involving /b/ and /g/ is found also in *du-bú* ~ *du-gú* 'to be held down, to be pinned down by force', which is the causative of *bú* 'be subject

to some state or action. The causative of *nem* ‘be good’ is *te-lem* ‘to cure, to make good, to rectify’ and not **te-lem*. Probably this form is patterned on *kalam* ‘be ill’. The causative of *mīl* ‘be small’ is *tī-mar* ‘to make small, to humble oneself’. Thus we have a pair of homophones with *tī -mar* ‘to make friendly, to win over, to domesticate’ which is the causative of *mar* ‘be friendly, be domesticated’. It is difficult to say whether *mīl* ‘be small’ and *mar* ‘be domesticated, be friendly’ are themselves related. It does not seem unlikely. The causative of the complex verb *cika ru* ‘to take bath’ is *cika tī-rá* ~ *cika tī-rat* ‘to bathe someone’. The root *na* ‘to hear’ has *tī-nai* ‘to cause to hear’ as its causative, producing another pair of homophones along with *tī-nai* ‘to make bright’, which is the causative of *nai* ‘be bright’. The root *dó* ~ *dón* ‘be, be true, be sufficient’ has only one form *go-dón* ‘to make true, to make to come true’ in the causative.

(ii) Bisyllabic prefixes of active causatives

Bisyllabic active causative prefixes, like the monosyllabic counterparts, engage monosyllabic verb roots. They may be considered extensions, by way of total reduplication, of the monosyllabic causative prefixes themselves. There are further restrictions on such formations. Only monosyllabic causative prefixes with /t/ as their onset have such reduplicated bisyllabic prefixes. While the range of the onset of the verb roots that have /t/ as the onset of the causative prefix is /p, k, m, n, r/, only verb roots that have /p, k/ as their onset are found to allow their monosyllabic causative prefixes to be reduplicated into bisyllabic prefixes. The pattern is in no way uniform. Only a few bases have this pattern. In certain cases both the monosyllabic causative prefix as well as the disyllabic causative prefix exist, while in others only the bisyllabic prefix is currently used. Semantically, both the monosyllabic and the bisyllabic prefixes have the same effect except that greater completeness or intensity is indicated by the disyllabic prefixes. All the instances encountered are reproduced below:

krop ‘to split open, intr.’	> to-krop ‘to split open, tr.’
	> toto-krop ‘to split open, tr.’
krí ~ krít ‘to break into pieces, intr.’	> títí-krí ~ títí-krít ‘crush and powder into bits’
phé ~ phet ‘be over’	> the-phé ~ the-phet ‘to finish up, tr.’

	> thethe-phé ~ thethe-phet 'to finish up, tr'
por 'breed, multiply'	> to-por 'to rear and multiply (usually animals and vegetation) > toto-por 'to increase (general)'
pré ~ pret 'to burst out'	> tete-pré ~ tete-pret 'to burst, tr.'
pró ~ prot 'come out at the opposite end'	> to-pró ~ to-prot 'pierce through, cause to penetrate'; toto-pró ~ toto-prot 'make reach the opposite end'
pró ~ prot 'prominent, conspicuous'	> toto-pró ~ toto-prot 'reveal, bring out in the open'
pruk 'be uprooted'	> tu-pruk 'to pull down, cause to fall' > tutu-pruk 'pull down violently'
pur 'to fly'	> tu-pur 'to set flying'
pur 'to burst out'	> tu-pur 'to prick and cause to burst out' > tutu-pur 'to open (things tied in bundle)'

(iii) Infixed active causative

Active causatives by infixation are formed from polysyllabic (actually only disyllabic with one exception which is trisyllabic, given below) verb roots. The infixes are of CV- pattern and are formed from the onset and nucleus of the second syllable by the same rules that yield the prefixes in the case of monosyllabic verb roots. A noteworthy difference is that, unlike the prefixal causative morphemes, in all instances except one (where the usual /i/ is present) the vowel /a/ appears as the vocalic component of the infix when the vowel of the root is /a/. All the forms that were encountered in the data are reproduced here classified only according to whether there are any segmental changes that are not covered by the general pattern of deriving the causative form. The base may be monomorphemic or polymorphemic.

(iii. a) Formations that do not involve any special segmental changes

bukhi	'be hungry'
bu-thi-khi	'starve or keep someone hungry'

bunban	‘loose ones way’
bun-da-ban	‘mislead’
dagá ~ dagat	‘come off, fall’
da-da-gá ~ da-da-gat	‘cause to fall off or come off’
japhrá ~ japhrat	‘be startled’
ja-tha-phrá ~ ja-tha-phrat	‘to scare, to cause to startle’
kapma	‘be destroyed completely, be annihilated’
kap-ti-ma	‘to destroyed totally, to annihilate’
kuṇ-kur	‘be bent’
kuṇ-tu-kur	‘to bend’
lekok	‘be shaky (as something that is loose)’
le-to-kok	‘to shake (something that is already shaky)’
lokok	‘to shake (as inside a closed container)’
lo-to-kok	‘to shake (what is inside a closed container)’
phakhá ~ phakhat	‘to snap, to break off (intr., present tense)’
pha-tha-khá ~ pha-tha-khat	‘to break, to snap, tr.’

ja-ti-kir ‘to frighten’ is the form a causative formation morphologically and semantically related to *kir* ~ *kiri* ‘be frightened’, but there is no free root **jakir*. Moreover, each of the alternants of *kir* ~ *kiri* has a separate causative formation (see 3.2.2.1.2–C i).

(iii. b) Formations that involve some special segmental changes

In the following examples, the nucleus of the second syllable of the root is changed in the causative form.

bo-khó ~ bo-khot	‘stomach be full and not hungry’
bo-tho-khá ~ bo-tho-khat	‘make stomach full, remove hunger’
du-gú ~ du-gut	‘to sink, to drown’
du-du-gá ~ du-du-gat	‘cause to sink down’
do-gó ~ dogot	‘to rise, to come out’

do-do-gá ~ do-do-gat ‘to cause to rise, to cause to
come out’

In the following example, the coda of the initial syllable is dropped in the causative.

par-kek ‘to split, to burst, intr.’
pa-te-kek ~ pa-ta-kek ‘to split open, to cause to burst’
(*< expected *par-te-kek*)

In the following example, there is metathesis between the onset of causative morph and the onset of the second syllable of the root.

gir-cuk ‘feel ticklish’
gir-cu-kuk ‘to tickle’ (*< expected *gir-ku-cuk*)
sun-thut ~ sun-thú ‘to shift or move a little’
sun-thu-khut ~ ‘to align or adjust by moving or
sun-thu-khú pushing in a little (logs etc.)’
(*< expected *sun-khu-thut ~
sunkhuthú*)

Closely resembling the above instance is:

asuk ‘be ill at ease, be bored’
asu-ku-k ‘to trouble or irritate’
(*< expected *a-khu-suk*)

The example below is an instance of vowel change as well as metathesis between the onset of the second syllable of the root and that of the causative morph:

diŋdiŋ ‘to stand’
diŋ-di-gaŋ ‘to make to stand’

The only trisyllabic verb root that has the infixal causative formation is the one given below of which the final *-ki* is related to the verb root *ki* ‘fall’.

sitrunki ~ sutranki ~ ‘to occur to mind’
sitrunki

sitrān-ti-ki ~ sutran-ti-ki ~ 'to remind, to cause to
sitrān-ti-ki remember'

(D) General observations on causatives

There are examples of roots that have all the various causative formations:

jar 'to run away'	jar-tak	'to ask or advice to run away'
	jar-tan	'indirectly cause to run away'
	gi-jar	'to chase away'
sá 'to eat'	sá-tak	'to ask or advice to eat'
	sá-tan	'indirectly cause to eat'
	khi-sá	'to feed'
diṅdiṅ 'to stand'	diṅdiṅ-tak	'to ask or advice to stand up'
	diṅdiṅ-tan	'indirectly cause to stand'
	diṅ-di-gaṅ	'to make to stand'

It is possible for a verb to bear two causative markers. An active causative formation may act as a base for other causative formations.

jar	'run away'
gi-jar-tak	'to ask or advice someone to chase a third party away'
gi-jar-tan	'to indirectly make someone chase another away'
kan	'to put on (ornaments or dress for lower body)'
tī-kan-tak	'to advice or ask someone to dress up or put ornament for another'
tī-kan-tan	'indirectly make someone dress up put ornament for another'

bak-o gi-jar-tak-bana, aṅ gi-jar-nata
pig-ACC CAUS-run-CAUS-because, I ACC-run-PAST
'as (I) was asked to chase the pig away, I chased (it) away'

Causativisation makes an intransitive root into a transitive root; a transitive root usually acquires the meaning of being done for or to:

sá	'to eat'	>	khi-sá	'to feed'
kan	'to wear'	>	tī-kan	'to put on for another'
kak	'to bite'	>	tī-kak	'to fix'

Lexicalisation of the semantic content is present in varying degrees in different bases about which it is difficult to make any general statement. Most instances involve restriction and narrowing or analogical widening of the semantic field of the root in the causative formation, as will be evident from the few examples provided below:

bok	'be white'	>	do-bok	'to polish (rice) brighter'
kak	'to bite'	>	ti-kak	'to fix, to lock'
bón	'to meet'	>	do-bón	'to go to meet'
nu	'to sit'	>	tu-nu	'to place erect'
dik	'to subside'	>	gi-dak	'to console, to quieten, to turn off (radio) etc.'
jar	'to run away'	>	gi-jar	'to chase away'

3.2.2.1.3 *Passivisation*

Rabha has two types of passive formation. One is periphrastic and the other morphological. The periphrastic passive is treated in 4.1.5–3ii, while the morphological passive is treated here. The morphological passive is obtained by the suffix *-mása* ~ *-masa*, which is probably a coalesced form derived from *mán* 'to get' and *sá* 'to eat'; it can also be seen as directly related to a lexical root *mása* 'to get to eat', which in turn is a coalesced form as treated above. When a root already has a high tone, *-masa* is used. The following are involved in passivisation:

- (i) The object of the active sentence is promoted to subject, though still having patientive role.
- (ii) The verb root is morphologically marked by the passive suffix.
- (iii) If the demoted subject is not deleted, it is suffixed with agentive suffix *-caki*. For an analysis of *-caki* see 4.3.3.2–4xix.

Morphological passivisation, however, is a restricted formation in Rabha. Not all verb roots, even if they are transitive, can be passivised. Using an expression that is borrowed from German (Matthews 1981: 16) it can be said that only verb roots that have an affected patient ('*affiziertes Objekt*') can be passivised. Such verbs are strongly transitive, the action not merely passing on to the object in the sense used while defining transitivity in traditional terminology, but in a way that it affects the object as an impingement on the object. Consequently, the root *nuk* 'to see', although transitive, having an

‘involuntary actor’ (Matthews 1981: 17), and an unaffected object cannot be passivised. Yet not all roots that can be described as having an affected patient undergo passivisation. For example, *gín* ‘to wash’ is hardly ever passivised. All this goes to show that passivisation is not a highly productive derivative process. There are only some verb roots, all of them having an affected object and generally indicating some unpleasant action to which this affected object is subjected to, that can undergo passivisation. A few examples are given below:

active:	babra	sábra-o	kok-ŋata
	father	child-ACC	beat-PAST
	‘the father beat the child’		
passive:	sábra	babra-caki	kok-mása-nata
	child	father-AGT	beat-PASS-PAST
	‘the child was beaten by the father’		
other roots:	minikici-mása	‘be laughed at’ (<i>míni</i> ‘to laugh’)	
	sú-masa	‘be stabbed’ (<i>sú</i> ‘to stab, to pound’)	
	káci có-masa	‘be spat upon’ (<i>káci có</i> ‘to spit’)	
	tó̄i-masa	‘be roughed up, be man-handled’ (<i>tó̄i</i> ‘to hold’)	
	gr̄ip-mása	‘be covered by’ (<i>gr̄ip</i> ‘to cover’)	
	má-masa	‘be wounded’ (<i>mat</i> ~ <i>má</i> ‘wound, be sharp’)	
	kokthá-masa	‘be murdered’ (<i>kokthá</i> ~ <i>kokthat</i> ‘murder’)	
	ín-mása	‘be scolded’ (<i>ín</i> ‘to say’)	
	gár̄ai-masa	‘be scolded’ (<i>gár̄ai</i> ‘to scold’)	

3.2.2.2 *Verb compounding*

Polymorphemic verb roots that are compounds in the sense of containing two or more potential roots can be divided into those containing only verb roots and those containing a noun root and a verb root

(A) verb root + verb root

The following instances of compound verb roots contain two verb roots:

kap-ma	‘be completely destroyed, be annihilated’ (<i>kap</i> ‘be full’; <i>ma</i> ‘to disappear’)
kheŋ-bar	‘to recover from extremely serious illness back to life’ (<i>kheŋ</i> ‘be alive, to live’; <i>bar</i> ‘to return’)
kok-thá ~ kok-that	‘to murder’ (<i>kok</i> ‘to beat’; <i>that</i> ~ <i>thá</i> ‘to sacrifice’)
na-sok	‘to answer a call, to respond to a call’ (<i>na</i> ‘hear’; <i>sok</i> ‘to reach’)
nem-tá ~ nem-tat	‘to like, be happy with’ (<i>nem</i> ‘be good’; <i>tat</i> ~ <i>tá</i> ‘to feel’)
nuk-trap	‘to happen to see, be just on time to see’ (<i>nuk</i> ‘to see’; <i>trap</i> ‘be on time’)
rón-kheŋ	‘be hard because not cooked properly’ (<i>rón</i> ‘be hard’; <i>kheŋ</i> ‘be alive’)
tán-ruk	‘to drive away by force of weapons’ (<i>tán</i> ‘to cut’; <i>ruk</i> ‘to drive away’)
cán-phuŋ	‘be fulfilled, to come to pass’ (<i>cán</i> ‘to happen’; <i>phuŋ</i> ‘be full’)

(B) noun root + verb root

bár-khu	‘to smoke’ (<i>bár</i> ‘fire’; <i>khu</i> ‘to pour’)
doŋ-ró	‘have long ears of grain’ (<i>doŋ</i> ‘ear of grain’; <i>ró</i> ‘be long’)
doŋ-soŋ	‘have short ears of grain’ (<i>doŋ</i> ‘ear of grain’; <i>soŋ</i> ‘be short’)
hába-coŋ	‘to begin’ (<i>hába</i> ‘work’; <i>coŋ</i> ‘to begin’)
kán-cak	‘to help, to support’ (<i>kán</i> ‘body’; <i>cak</i> ‘to help’)
mon-p̄iti	‘to believe’ (<i>mon</i> ‘mind’; <i>p̄iti</i> ‘to believe’)
mon-phén	‘to have a change of outlook’ (<i>mon</i> ‘mind’; <i>phén</i> ‘to change’)
mon-trái	‘to have a change of outlook’ (<i>mon</i> ‘mind’; <i>trái</i> ‘to exchange’)
mon-thíp	‘to apply one’s mind with great intent’ (<i>mon</i> ‘mind’; <i>thíp</i> ‘to let down, to place on’)
ram-sok	‘meet someone mid-way and accompany in as a gesture of welcoming’ (<i>ram</i> ‘path’; <i>sok</i> ‘to reach’)

sun-thip	‘to apply one’s mind with great intent’ (<i>sun</i> ‘mind’; <i>thip</i> ‘to let down, to place on’)
sén-gom	‘be bent at the waist’ (<i>sén</i> ‘waist’; <i>gom</i> ‘to bend’)
sén-khop	‘be bent at the waist’ (<i>sén</i> ‘waist’; <i>khop</i> ‘to fold’)
sén-trao	‘to grow tall, especially during adolescence or plants just before forming an ear within the stalk’ (<i>sén</i> ‘waist’; <i>trao</i> ‘to grow tall’)
sú-dra	‘to become mature’, said only of fruits whose maturity can be judged from the size, shape and hardness of thorn or hide (<i>sú</i> ‘thorn’; <i>dra</i> ‘be rough’)
sun-ki	‘to occur to mind’ (<i>sun</i> ‘mind’; <i>ki</i> ‘to fall’)
siri-kek	‘to split into smaller sections’ (<i>siri</i> ‘a section’; <i>kek</i> ‘to split’)

3.2.2.3 *Causative morphology and compounding as a tool for lexical analysis*

Causative morphology can be helpful for understanding some of the polysyllabic verb roots that, for lack of other leads to analyse them, are considered at least partially opaque and monomorphemic. Such an analysis is not a categorical assertion regarding the diachronic path these forms have traversed but a synchronic effort to understand them in the light of the causative morphological mechanism active in the present-day language. For this analysis it is convenient to divide them into disyllabic and trisyllabic roots.

(a) Bisyllabic roots

There are a number of bisyllabic roots, all of them transitive like the causatives, that bear morphological resemblance to causative formations had the second syllable been a free root. Synchronically, however, these second syllables are not free roots. But one cannot help wondering that they once were.

di-gap	‘make ready prepare in advance’
kho-srok	‘to cause to abort’
ki-cak	‘to order, to command’
pi-tak	‘to wriggle, be restless’ (intransitive!)
pi-tar	‘to push’
thi-khan	‘to suckle, to give or cause to drink’

te-pen	‘to hide’
to-prom	‘bury (embers) under ash’
tí-kap	‘be sticky’

(b) Trisyllabic roots

There are a few trisyllabic verb roots that have the formal characteristic of being causative forms of bisyllabic roots. The second syllables are all of the form CV-, and in most cases have consonantal as well as vowel harmony that in present-day Rabha involves both the infixal causative morpheme and the following syllable. There are also exceptions. In none of the instances is the supposed disyllabic root a free root. However, in many cases either one or both syllables that remain once the supposed infixal middle syllable is removed are free roots. It is for this reason that these were not treated along with the trisyllabic monomorphemic verb roots in 3.2.1.2-ii. A list of such roots is given below, and the recognisable parts are identified.

neŋ-te-pret ~ neŋ-te-pré	‘knead, work up dough or clay thoroughly’ (<i>neŋ</i> ‘to mix or knead’; <i>pret</i> ~ <i>pré</i> ‘to burst’)
nak-di-grít ~ nak-di-grí (~ nak-da-grít ~ nak-da-grí)	‘stamp heavily on, trample under foot’ (<i>nak</i> ‘to step on’; <i>grít</i> ~ <i>grí</i> ‘to grind or crush to powder’)
ga-di-grít ~ ga-di-grí (~ ga-da-grít ~ ga-da-grí)	‘trample of squeeze under foot’ (<i>grít</i> ~ <i>grí</i> ‘to grind or crush to powder’; <i>ga-</i> ‘is not potentially free’)
nak-te-pret ~ nak-te-pré (~ nak-ta-pret ~ nak-ta-pré)	‘tread heavily on, stamp or trample continuously or violently’ (<i>nak</i> ‘to step on’; <i>pret</i> ~ <i>pré</i> ‘to burst’)
tán-ce-kek	‘cut into small bits or pieces’ (<i>tán</i> ‘to cut’; <i>kek</i> ‘to split’)
tak-di-gír	‘to make up or invent and thus colour narration’ (<i>tak</i> ‘to do’)
cér-ca-ka <u>o</u>	‘pull and open or wrench apart’ (<i>cér</i> ‘to split’; <i>ka<u>o</u></i> is probably from <i>kh<u>ao</u></i> ‘to peel out’)
só-da-br <u>ao</u>	‘burn or cook to a certain

	extent by exposing to flame' (<i>só</i> 'to burn'; <i>brao</i> 'be burning and when pungent')
ja-ti-kir	'to frighten' (<i>kir</i> ~ <i>kiri</i> 'be afraid')

In the light of examples such as these it is possible to gain an insight into other trisyllabic verb roots that have parallel formal similarity. For example, *cá-ca-brak* 'to spread legs apart' and *cér-ca-bak* 'pull and wrench apart things stuck tightly together': *cér* 'to split' and *bak* 'to wrench apart' are free forms; *cá* is analysable as meaning 'leg' (see 3.3-1). But the middle syllable *-ca-* which occupies the place of the causative marker in parallel forms does not correspond to rules of causative derivation. One can only suppose that there was some segmental changes that produced and later lexicalised their forms. Other roots that are so analysable, although with less certainty, are:

si-thi-khan ~ sthi-khan	'to lull, to put to sleep'
sí-thi-khi ~ sthi-khi	'to kill, to murder'
sthi-phin	'to arouse from sleep, to make aware'

That the analysis given above is on the right track is supported by such forms as *só-di-bí* 'heat by fire and bend (especially bamboo strips or leaves)' in which the roots *só* 'to burn, tr.' and *bí* 'to break, intr.' as well as the causative form *di-bí* 'to break, tr.' are all potentially free.

3.2.2.4 *Analysable polysyllabic verb roots neither compounds nor derived*

Aside from the regular as well as the lexicalised and fossilised verb forms produced by derivation and compounding, one can still scan the Rabha verbal lexical repertoire to gain an insight into their formation to the extent that synchronic analysability permits, along the same lines that the noun bases were analysed.

(i) Polysyllabic verb roots having the first element free

cun-bron	'grow fast' (<i>cun</i> 'be big')
pam-bruk	'to embrace' (<i>pam</i> 'to keep in lap, to hold close to body')
hén-gran	'be very loosely placed' (<i>hén</i> 'loosely placed, sparse')

kha-si	'to suspend' (<i>kha</i> 'to tie')
kha-phuŋ	'to tie the mouth of vessels etc.' (<i>kha</i> 'to tie')
hón-kur ~ húŋ-kur	'to growl, to roar (tiger)' (<i>hón</i> 'to ark')
jám-sa	'to roam, to loiter' (<i>jám</i> 'to roam')
kán-cik	'to detest, to feel disgust' (<i>kán</i> 'body')
kek-cok	'have mark like one produced by axe on wood' (<i>kek</i> 'to split')
nén-gi	'be tired in the whole body' (<i>nén</i> 'be tired in parts of body')
min-si	'be over-ripe' (<i>min</i> 'be ripe')
gur-si	'to sleep' (<i>gur</i> 'to lie down')

In the above two cases it is difficult to say if the second element -*si* is related to the root *si* 'to die'.

bí-drak	'to pull or wrench violently' (<i>bí</i> 'to pull')
káci-brok	'to salivate' (<i>káci</i> 'saliva')
khap-rīŋgái	'weep remembering and recalling sorrow' (<i>khap</i> 'to cry')
mini-kici	'to ridicule, to laugh at' (<i>mini</i> 'to laugh')
mini-paplak	'to laugh almost as a giggle' (<i>mini</i> 'to laugh')
muŋ-sim	'to name, to mention by name' (<i>muŋ</i> 'name')
na-tham	'to listen' (<i>na</i> 'to hear')
pak-siŋ	'to lean against' (<i>pak</i> 'to stick to')
pak-thap	'to stick to, be sticky' (<i>pak</i> 'to stick to')
phak-sthap	'having taste like that of betel nut but to a lesser degree' (<i>phak</i> 'have taste like that of betel nut')
phel-dep	'lower than usual or required' (<i>phel</i> 'be low')
phoi-crop	'to wither, shrivel and be wrinkled' (<i>phoi</i> 'to shrivel')
rīn-ji	'grow feeble and emaciated, especially from sorrow, sickness etc.' (<i>rīn</i> 'feel sorrow or regret')
su-drak	'peck constantly and violently to bore a hole' (<i>su</i> 'to peck')

tún-bur	‘be tepid or warm, of a liquid’ (<i>tún</i> ‘be hot’)
thár-dak	‘to bounce off, to trip violently’ (<i>thár</i> ‘to bounce’)
thú-roṅroṅ	‘be very deep’ (<i>thú</i> ‘be deep’)
suk-thep	‘to keep or place inserted in— generally out of sight’ (<i>suk</i> ‘to insert in’)

The basic colour terms except the root meaning ‘green’ are all monosyllabic. Various shades of the basic colours are derived by the addition of an unanalysable second member:

ak ‘be black’	ak-kho	‘dark grey’
	ak-kur	‘dark (as a shadow)’
	ak-sokho	‘very dark grey’
	ak-jeger	‘dark grey’
bai ‘be yellow’	bai-sram	‘light yellow’
	bai-trop	‘light yellow’
bok ‘be white’	bok-plek	‘dim white’
	bok-slek	‘dull white’
	bok-del	‘white turned dull yellow’
sak ‘be red’	sak-kreṅ	‘light red’
	sak-kron	‘red (usually of ripe paddy)’

Different shades of taste are also derived similarly from basic tastes

khá-sik	‘slightly bitter’ (<i>khá</i> ‘be bitter’)
khi-cap	‘slightly sour’ (<i>khi</i> ‘be sour’)
sim-prek	‘slightly sweet’ (<i>sim</i> ‘be sweet’)

(ii) Polysyllabic verb roots having the second element free

khu-rán	‘not completely dry’ (<i>rán</i> ‘be dry’)
men-that ~ men-thá	‘kill by wringing’ (<i>that</i> ~ <i>thá</i> ‘to sacrifice’, present tense)
phaṅ-kha	‘to coagulate, to solidify’ (<i>kha</i> ‘to tie, to accumulate’)
sok-se	‘to endure, to put up with’ (<i>se</i> ‘to suffer, to last’)

suk-sá	‘to suck or draw into mouth’ (<i>sá</i> ‘to eat’)
sam-sok	‘to extend or reach one’s hand to accept what is given’ (<i>sok</i> ‘to reach’; it is difficult to say if <i>sam</i> is related to <i>sam</i> ‘to wait’)
ja-dún	‘be startled’ (<i>dún</i> ‘to climb’)
ja-mún	‘to forget’ (<i>mún</i> ‘be left behind’)
gugu-mún	‘to nod head heavy with sleep’ (<i>mún</i> ‘to have a desire’)
ja-sar	‘be healthy and good-looking—animals, plants etc.’ (<i>sar</i> ‘be bright’)
par-kek	‘to burst asunder’ (<i>kek</i> ‘to split’)
pu-pur	‘to burst open or be torn asunder under pressure’ (<i>pur</i> ‘burst’)

(iii) Blends

A blend is a new lexeme formed from part of two or more words in such a way that there is no transparent analysis into morphs (Bauer 1983: 234). Examples of such blends in the Rabha verbal repertoire are meagre. However, a few are best analysed as blends.

(1) *khogrop* ‘to cover the head’ is a blend derived from *khorok* ~ *khoró* ‘hair’ and *gríp* ‘to cover’. The basic semantic content of the members remains unaltered, but its use is specifically in relation to sleeping with head covered. The element *kho-* as a clipped form of *khorok* ~ *khoró* is also present in *khodlon* ~ *khodlen* ‘be bald’, and also enters into nouns that are blends (see 3.1.2.4–iv). (2) The form *khúmbrái* is derived from *khúman* ‘whiskers, tentacles’ (which itself contains *mán* ‘body-hair’) and *brái* ‘to protrude’. The meaning of the blend is restricted to the state when fish become dazed and surface with and head showing as happens when water is continually stirred by many people moving about and fishing in a small shallow place or for other reasons like heat, etc. (3) The element *tok-* as a clipped form of *tokran* ‘throat, gullet’ enters into a few roots. In some instances the second member is free, while in others it is bound:

tok-phuk	‘have hiccup, have obstruction in throat; (<i>phuk</i> ‘to be stuck’)
tuk-si	‘to cough’ (vowel change is conditioned)
tok-tram	‘to clear one’s throat’

(4) Verb root *masá* ~ *mása* ‘to get to eat’ is a blend obtained from *mán* ‘to get’ and *sá* ‘to eat’. (5) A simple instance of blend is *phal-kek* ‘to split into two half sections’ obtained from *phala* ‘a half-section’ and *kek* ‘to split’.

3.3 *Analysis of some partially opaque syllables in noun roots and verb roots*

The presence of strong internal evidence prompted this small section. Given the agglutinative nature of Rabha as a whole, and the derivational and compounding patterns analysed so far in particular, the presence of comparable morphs that bear semantic and phonemic semblance can be taken advantage of to gain a better understanding of some of the synchronic bases that may otherwise be considered totally opaque. A few morphs are analysed below:

(1) *cá-*

In all the following lexemes (verb roots as well as noun roots) the bound morph *cá-* has very specific, unmistakable and unambiguous semantic association to ‘leg’. In most instances the second elements, which contributes the remainder of the meaning content, are synchronically potentially free morphs.

<i>cá-phakha</i> ~ <i>cá-phakhat</i>	‘to develop cut-like wounds under the toes’
<i>cá-phuk</i>	‘to trip, to stumble’
<i>cá-roṅ</i>	‘be strong or steady to walk’
<i>cá-thir</i>	‘advance or proceed boldly with earnest intent’
<i>cá-dra</i>	‘sun become hot, sun’s rays (legs) become strong’
<i>cá-ca-brak</i>	‘spread legs apart’
<i>cá-ga-dop</i>	‘threshold, plank or bamboo-work across bottom of doorway’
<i>cá-gam</i> ~ <i>cá-man</i>	‘footprints’
<i>cá-khop</i>	‘footwear’

This association of *cá-* with ‘leg’, even if not admitted to accord bound morpheme status to *cá-* goes a long way to render transpar-

ent other opaque roots or parts of roots. Probably *cá-* is also related to *caka* ‘leg’ used in the two nominal verb formations given below.

<i>caka súŋ</i>	‘on sole (of feet)’ (<i>súŋ</i> ‘to support or to prop’)
<i>caka sú</i>	‘on tip-toe’ (<i>sú</i> ‘to stab, to pound, to pierce’)

and as a bound morpheme in two roots (albeit with aspirated /k/ and no tone):

<i>cakhathón</i>	‘knee’ (<i>thón</i> ‘a cross-sectional section’)
<i>cakhamra</i>	‘the foot-side’ (<i>-ra</i> is a derivational affix meaning ‘side’ or ‘toward’)

Under such compelling evidence, it is probably true to say: *cá* ~ *caka* ‘leg’

(2) *cak-*

The following roots contain *cak-* having specific reference to ‘hand’. The second elements of most of them are free roots.

<i>cak-túr</i>	‘to probe with hand inside’ (<i>túr</i> ‘to probe’)
<i>cak-nar</i>	‘be deft, be fast with work’ (<i>nar</i> ‘be fast’)
<i>cak-dún</i>	‘have an effective or good hand—especially when medicine given is effective’ (<i>dún</i> ‘climb’)
<i>cak-bram</i>	‘be skilled at work’
<i>cá-phrit</i> ~ <i>cá-phri</i>	‘slip and fall from hand’ (<i>cak</i> > <i>cá</i> with <i>k</i> -deletion)

Synchronically *cak* has the meaning ‘leaf’, and is also used in compounds like:

<i>tátheŋ-cak</i>	‘foot’ (from ankle below)
<i>tási-cak</i>	‘hand’ (from wrist below)
<i>nakor-cak</i>	‘external ear, ear lobe’

The postposition used to mark the agent of the passive construction is *cak-i* ‘at the hands of, by’. For an analysis of *-caki* see 4.3.3.2–4xix.

(3) khú-

All the following closely related words that define a semantic field related to ‘mouth, lips, language’ contain *khú-*: *khú-bak* ‘to open the mouth wide’; *khú-car* ‘lip’; *khú-cem* ‘mouth’; *khú-tam* ‘to kiss’; *khú-del* ‘have large protruding lips’; *khú-man* ‘mouth or opening or initial portion’; *khú-man* ‘whiskers’; *khú-cep* ‘cut round and smooth the mouth of cylindrical objects’; *khú-bek* ~ *khú-blek* ‘to gape, one who gapes’ and *khú-ran* ‘voice, language’.

All the three morphs analysed here correspond to the Garo *ja?*^a ~ *ja?*[?] ‘leg’, *jak* ‘hand’ and *ku?*[?] ‘mouth, language etc.’ respectively, analysed and termed “categorisers” by Burling (1984).

CHAPTER FOUR

PHRASE LEVEL ANALYSIS

4.1 *Verb phrase*

The verb phrase in Rabha has a very straightforward structure and may consist of just the verb root (which may be simple, compound or derived) or may have one or more of the inflectional affixes. Hence the analysis of the verb phrase amounts to the analysis of the verb formation. Still more precisely, it amounts to the analysis of the various inflectional affixes. The inflectional affixes typically form the outer layer of the verb formation, the inner layer being the derivational affixes discussed in 3.2.2.1. Before discussing the morphological behaviour of verbs, some groups of verbs with special functions need to be singled out.

4.1.1 *Modal verbs*

The following roots have been termed ‘modal verbs’:

jaŋ	‘to be able, can’
lagi	‘to need, must’
múnŋ	‘to feel a desire to’
goŋ	‘to be willing’
tiri	‘to dare or feel good about’

From the point of view of affixal morphology they behave in a regular fashion like the other verb roots except that they do not have imperative forms (which is true also of other verb roots like *muk* ‘to see’). The verb *tiri* ‘to dare, to feel good about’ represents a specific exception in that it takes only the PRES *-a* and NEG *-ca* morphemes. These features alone can hardly be held as distinguishing the two verbs in any specific manner.

What sets the modal verbs apart is the meaning that they engender syntactically rather than their behaviour morphologically. They generate both epistemic modal meanings involving a notion of possibility, probability and necessity (Palmer 1986: 18–19, 51) as well as

deontic modal meaning involving notions of permissions, obligation and requirement, all of which contain an element of will (Palmer 1986: 19, 96). This distinction has not been systematically pointed out in all instances. Moreover, when used modally they have the following common syntactic pattern:

$$\boxed{V_1\text{-INF} \quad V_{\text{finite}}}$$

where V_{finite} is a modal verb and V_1 a lexical verb.

dĩmdakai-an	rėn-a	jan-o	
all-EMPH	go-INF	able-FUT	
'all can go' (epistemic modality of possibility)			
'all may go' (deontic modality of permission)			
dĩmdakai-an	rėn-a	lagi-no	
all-EMPH	go-INF	need-FUT	
'all must go' (deontic modality of imperative)			
'all need to go' (epistemic modality of necessity)			
dĩmdakai-an	rėn-a	mún-o	
all-EMPH	go-INF	desire-FUT	
'all will wish to go'			
sak-sa-ba	kami rá-na	goŋ-ca	
CL-one-also	work-INF	willing-NEG	
'no one is willing to work'			
ame	u-o	do-bón-a	tiri-ca
I(DEF)	he-ACC	CAUS-meet-INF	dare-NEG
'I don't feel good (dare) to meet him'			

Like the other lexical verbs these five verbs can occupy the V_1 slot of the pattern:

$$\boxed{V_1\text{-INF-ba to-a}}$$

generating modal meaning of possibility and probability (see 4.2.2–liii), and in the V_1 slot of the related pattern in the negative:

$$\boxed{V_1\text{-INF toŋ-ca}}$$

generating the meaning of negation of the future.

Of all the five modal verbs *lagi* ‘need, must’ is different from the others for several reasons. First of all, it is the only one of the set that has a noun as object and behaves like a full lexical verb:

nán-a ato lagi-a? aη-a cīpan mairuη lagi-a
 you-DAT what need-PRES? I-DAT a little rice need-PRES
 ‘what do you need? I need some rice’

Secondly, *lagi* is the only one that can co-occur with any of the other four modal verbs in the following pattern:

V ₁ -INF lagi-FIN

nárouη kami rá-na jaη-a lagi-no
 you(PL) work-INF able-INF must-FUT
 ‘you should/must be able to work’

náme nu-i toη-a goη-a lagi-no
 you(DEF) sit-INCOMP stay-INF willing-INF must-No
 ‘you should be willing to sit (stay sitting)’

kai cuη-kai cáη-a neke káosa
 person big-ATTR become-EX.DAT book
 porai-na múη-a lagi-no
 read-INF desire-INF must-FUT

‘in order to become a great person (one) should be willing to study (read book)’

morubi cáη-doube kai-taη peke
 president become-if person-PL COM
 bobai-na tiri-na lagi-no
 speak-INF dare-INF must-FUT

‘If (one) becomes the president (one) must feel comfortable to speak with people’

The last example involving *tiri* with the infinitive suffix is not frequently encountered, but it is a well-formed sentence. The third reason is that it is the only modal that is a loan item (from Assamese *lag-* ‘need, must’). In conversational speech situation these modal verbs are often used without the preceding verb in the infinitive, giving the false impression that they are actually lexical verbs:

i-o-be aη jaη-o
 this-ACC-DEF I able-FUT
 ‘this I will be able [to do]’

ame goη-ca
 I(DEF) willing-NEG
 ‘I am not willing’

u-be tiri-ca
 he-DEF dare-NEG
 ‘he does not dare or feel comfortable about’

u-be múη-ca-eta
 he-DEF desire-NEG-CONT
 ‘he does not wish, he is unwilling’

However, these are instances where the verbs in the infinitive are contextually explicit and dropped in the utterance.

4.1.2 *Vector verbs*

Vector verb formations are of the pattern:

$$\boxed{V_1\text{-}e \quad V_2\text{-FIN}}$$

where V_1 , affixed with the participial or incomplete suffix *-e*, is the main verb and V_2 , with the finite suffix, is the vector verb (see also 4.2.2.–9). The vector verb adds but a minor shade of semantic nuance to the semantic content of the principal verb. Vector verb formation is a prominent feature of Rabha. The vector verbs are all lexical verbs that double up acting also as vector verbs. There are six such verbs: *rén* ‘go’; *rákhat* ~ *rákha* ‘leave aside, put away’; *rá* ‘take’; *tan* ‘put’ *rán* ‘take away’ and *rákhu* ‘give’. Of these the last four contribute a greater share of their lexical meaning, making the first four the true vector verbs.

(1) *rén* ‘to go’

As a vector verb it contributes the meaning ‘away’ or denotes passing into the state or condition indicated by the principal verb.

si-e réŋ-jo
 die-INCOMP VECT-PAST
 ‘passed away’

krit-e réŋ-a
 break.into.pieces-INCOMP VECT-PRES
 ‘break or go into pieces’

nem-ca-e réŋ-o
 good-NEG-INCOMP VECT-FUT
 ‘will turn bad’

rop-e réŋ-ata
 wither-INCOMP VECT-PAST
 ‘withered away’

The verb *réŋ*, which is an intransitive root, acts as vector only for main verb roots that are likewise intransitive. The resulting combination is also intransitive, but with an added dynamic element.

(2) *rákhat* ~ *rákha* ‘leave aside, put away’

As a vector this verb contributes different shades of meaning like ‘away, without restraining oneself, without considering the consequences, mindlessly, carelessly’, depending on the context and principal verb that it is used with.

ko-e rákha-jo
 throw-INCOMP VECT-PAST
 ‘threw away (carelessly)’

sá-e rákha-no
 eat-INCOMP VECT-FUT
 ‘will eat up (completely or against proper judgement)’

in-e rákhat-a
 say-INCOMP VECT-PRES
 ‘scold or reprimand to an excessive degree or without restraining oneself’

All these instances given above are with transitive roots as the main verb. The verb *rákhat* ~ *rákha* itself is transitive. However, it is also

used with intransitive verb roots as the main verb. In all such cases the meaning is of wilfully engaging in the activity or under external force but against proper judgement or opposite to what should have been done.

rén-e	rákha-jo
go-INCOMP	VECT-PAST
‘went (forcefully against advice or not being able contain the desire to go)’	

to-e	rákha-nata
stay-INCOMP	VECT-PAST
‘stayed behind (forcefully or unmindful of consequences)’	

However, it is not possible for this vector to be used with verb bases that do not have an agent subject. Thus it is ill-formed to say **ki-e rákha* (*ki* ‘fall’).

(3) rá ‘take’

The vector meaning of this verb is ‘accept’. The verb is not used with intransitive verb roots as the principal verb.

mani-e	rá-Ø
agree-INCOMP	VECT-IMP
‘consent, agree’	

cok-e	rá-nata
lift -INCOMP	VECT-PAST
‘accept to oneself, lift’	

pháman-e	rá-a
understand-INCOMP	VECT-PRES
‘understand (and accept)’	

bam-e	ra-a
submit oneself-INCOMP	VECT-PRES
‘accept humbly, submit oneself’	

khin-e	rá-a
pick up-INCOMP	VECT-PRES
‘pick up, gather up’	

gi-dán-e	rá-a
CAUS-enter-INCOMP	VECT-PRES
‘accept or receive into’	

tiraŋ-e	rá-a
learn-INCOMP	VECT-PRES
‘learn’	

(4) tan ‘to put’

This vector verb contributes a locative sense to the expression. All verb roots that take it as a vector indicate activity whose result, in some sense, lingers on even if the agent should move away.

kani-e	tan-a
say-INCOMP	VECT-PRES
‘leave a message’	

rúbuŋ-e	tan-nata
collect-INCOMP	VECT-PAST
‘gathered or collected and kept’	

asin-e	tan-a
preserve-INCOMP	VECT-PRES
‘preserve’	

mái	rīm-e	tan-nata
rice	cook-INCOMP	VECT-PAST
‘cooked rice (and kept)’		

bai sak-e	tan-a
propitiate-INCOMP	VECT-PRES
‘to propitiate deity’	

mái	khot-e	tan-a
serve	(rice)-INCOMP	VECT-PRES
‘serve rice (and keep)’		

hadala	thuk-e	tan-nata
fence	plant-INCOMP	VECT-PAST
‘built (and left) a fence called <i>hadala</i> ’		

khasi-e	tan-a
suspend-INCOMP	VECT-PRES
‘keep suspended’	

An additional feature that this vector alone has is that it can take direction indicating derivational affixes described in 3.2.2.1.1–8 & 9.

kani-e tan-aŋ-a
say-INCOMP VECT-away-PRES
'leave a message and go'

kani-e tan-ba-nata
say-INCOMP VECT-towards-PAST
'say or leave a message and come away'

kani-e tan-e-a
say-INCOMP VECT-there-PRES
'go and give or leave a message'

(5) ráŋ 'take away'

The vector meaning of this verb is close to the lexical meaning giving a sense of proceeding further with the activity, moving away or carrying away. It conveys a sense of spatial movement as well. In such situations the lexical meaning seems continuous with the vector meaning.

in-e ráŋ-a
say-INCOMP VECT-PRES
'continue or proceed to say'

kani-e ráŋ-a
say-INCOMP VECT-PRES
'carry on saying'

pai-e ráŋ-ata
carry-INCOMP VECT-PAST
'carried away'

rím-e ráŋ-o
catch-INCOMP VECT-FUT
'will capture (and carry) away'

bit-e ráŋ-jo
pull-INCOMP VECT-PAST
'pulled away'

mokhoi-e	rán-a
steal-INCOMP	VECT-PRES
‘rob away’	
sek-e	rán-a
snatch-INCOMP	VECT-PRES
‘snatch away’	

As a vector verb *rán* has a lot of similarity with the vector verb *rén*. The difference is that while *rán* is used exclusively with principal verb roots that are transitive, *rén* engages only intransitives as principal verbs.

The morphological and semantic evidence available leads the analysis of the derivational suffix *ran* (see 3.2.2.1.1–9) as having grown out of contractions where either *rén* or *rán* were used as vectors. It is also probable that the suffix *-ran* was derived in different usages from different vectors, from *rán* in some instances and from *rén* in other. The vowel of the suffix has collapsed to one fixed phonemic form, that of /a/. However, we are able to recover the original vector verb and its specific semantic content in the specific lexemes by the simple fact that as vector verbs they have exclusive affinity for either transitive or intransitive verb roots. Consequently the suffix *-ran* on a transitive root is to be interpreted as the reflex of the vector verb *rán* and the suffix *-ran* on an intransitive verb root is to be considered to be the reflex of the vector *rén*.

cuη-ran-eta	<	cuη-e	rén-eta
big-proceed-CONT		big-INCOMP	VECT-CONT
‘in becoming big’			
mil-ran-eta	<	mil-e	rén-eta
small-proceed-CONT		small-INCOMP	VECT-CONT
‘is becoming smaller’			
kani-ran-eta	<	kani-e	rán-eta
say-proceed-CONT		say-INCOMP	VECT-CONT
‘is proceeding on to say’			

In keeping with the affinity of these vectors, formations such as the following, where the principal verb roots and the vectors are switched, are ill-formed:

*cuŋ-e ráŋ-eta
 *mīl-e ráŋ-eta
 *kani-e réŋ-eta

The situation is rendered a little more complex because of the intensifier *-raŋ* (see 3.2.2.1.1–10). However when the possibility of ambiguity exists the native speaker chooses the expanded form with the vector verb, giving an additional proof that the direction indicating suffix *-raŋ* has indeed developed from the vector formations that are a predominant feature of Rabha. These are instances of clause chaining giving rise to a verbal derivational affix, parallels of which are evidenced also in other Tibieto-Burman languages (Hopper 1993: 199).

(6) *rákhu* ‘give’

The vector meaning of this verb is to indicate an action done ‘for an other’.

cika	ti-rat-e	rákhu-Ø
bathe	(CAUS)-INCOMP	VECT-IMP
‘bathe an other’		
<u>mai</u>	khot-e	rákhu-a
rice	serve-INCOMP	VECT-PRES
‘serve rice (for others)’		
cika	khu-i	rákhu-nata
water	pour-INCOMP	VECT-PAST
‘pour water (for another)’		
rón-e		rákhu-ita
distribute-INCOMP		VECT-CONT
‘is distributing’		
tu-nuk-e		rákhu-no
CAUS-see-INCOMP		VECT-FUT
‘will show’		

As a lexical verb *rákhu* is a ditransitive or a two-place verb requiring a direct object and an indirect object. As a vector verb it is used with principal verb roots that are similarly ditransitive.

A final point to be noted regarding all vectors is that they can also be used in the pattern:

$$\boxed{V_1\text{-e } V_2\text{-NONFIN } V_3\text{-FIN}}$$

where V_1 is the principal verb of the vector formation, V_2 the vector verb and V_3 the finite verb of the sentence. Such instances occur mostly when a modal verb is used.

añ mai khot-e rákhu-na lagi-no
 I rice serve-INCOMP VECT-INF need-FUT
 'I must serve rice'

bai thá-kai bai sak-e
 deity sacrifice-ATTR deity propitiate-INCOMP
 tan-na réñ-eta
 VECT-INF go-CONT
 'the one who conducts sacrifices is going to propitiate deity'

u-na-be cika tīrat-e rákhu-na lagi-a
 he-DAT-DEF bathe(CAUS)-INCOMP VECT-INF need-PRES
 'he has to be bathed'

4.1.3 *Nominal verb formations*

By nominal verb formations is meant complex verb formations that have a noun complement and function as a single verb root. Formally they are not different from syntactic combinations such as the following, which are not the subject of this section:

cika riñ
 water drink 'drink water'

where the noun is the object of the verb (with accusative marker dropped). However, it is not easy to determine the morphological unity of the noun complement and the verbal component of the nominal verb formations for the following reasons: (a) If we consider only the verbal component of the nominal verb formations, hardly any one of them is of such nature that it cannot be used with other noun roots in other morphosyntactic positions. They are all normal lexical roots. (b) If we consider the noun complement alone, with

the exception of a few, the rest are themselves quite free to syntactically combine with more than one verb root or to be used as free noun roots. (c) If we consider the totality of the nominal verb formation, it is rarely that the syntactic contiguity cannot be broken by some noun suffix, especially the terminating affixes.

Yet nominal verb formation is a very common and prominent feature of the Rabha verbal system. It is the Rabha technique to fill in the gaps in its verbal repertoire. Noun roots are pressed into service to function as noun complements to verb roots, the syntactic whole fulfilling the function of single verb roots that are otherwise absent in the verbal repertoire.

Some noteworthy characteristics of such nominal verb formations are: (a) Although it is a verbal function that the combination fulfils, the choice of the particular lexical verb is made by the nature of the complement. In certain cases it is just one verb root that can be used with a particular noun acting as noun complement. (b) In certain instances, however, the semantic field of the verb root is so restricted that they characteristically come to be used always with a related noun and in some rare cases are never used without a related noun. (c) A good number of nominal verb formations have idiomatic or figurative usage, sometimes still preserving the ordinary lexical usage and meaning. (d) What separates them from syntactic combinations of object-noun and verb is that while a noun that is the object of a verb may optionally be used with or without the accusative marker, a noun complement may never be used with the accusative (nor any other case indicating suffixes):

cika	riŋ-a	cika-o	riŋ-a
water	drink-PRES	water-ACC	drink-PRES
'drink	water'	'drink	water'
cika	ru-a	*cika-o	ru-a
have	bath-PRES		
'have	bath'		

The accusative marker is quite often dropped in Rabha. It is highly probable that the development of these nominal formations may have been aided by the deletion of case markers, especially the accusative, coupled with some bleaching of the meaning and change in the lexical characteristics of both the noun roots as well as the verb

roots. They easily take on figurative and lexicalised meaning. Such examples abound in Rabha. The examples given below are arranged in six groups depending upon the transparency and the freedom of occurrence of the components:

(A) Instances where the noun complement is semantically opaque and not free and the verb is transparent and free

cámosa dúṅ	‘develop tingling numbness in the feet as happens when sitting in a certain position for a long time’ (<i>dúṅ</i> ‘to ascend, to climb’; <i>cá-</i> is analysable as a bound morph meaning ‘leg’)
cota ci	‘to test, to put to test’ (<i>ci</i> ‘to look’)
cikṅ jar	‘have dysentery’
dor dó(ṅ)	‘be very difficult (work), be very serious (illness)’ (<i>dó</i> ~ <i>dóṅ</i> ‘be, be true’)
doro cáṅ	‘be critically ill’ (<i>cáṅ</i> ‘to become’)
gra dīm	‘grow by itself without being planted’ (<i>dīm</i> ‘sprout’)
hak rákhu	‘forbid’ (<i>rákhu</i> ‘to give’)
jaki cok	‘raise and lower the two layers of thread strung on loom by the action of the pedal’ (<i>cok</i> ‘to lift’)
jírak ma	‘be so entangled and intertwined and knotted that the loose ends cannot be traced’ (<i>ma</i> ‘to disappear’; <i>jírak</i> is used in another expression <i>jírak dogot</i> (~ <i>dogó</i>) ‘have piles’ but is not used elsewhere)
khasiṅ kha	‘tie a long piece of cloth diagonally across chest and back as protection against cold’, a practice prevalent long ago (<i>kha</i> ‘to tie’; some use <i>con</i> ‘to wear’ besides an unknown verb <i>có</i> ~ <i>cot</i>)
khim rásan	‘not remarry usually at the request of elders’ (<i>rásan</i> ‘to keep’)
khim tírap	‘not remarry usually by one’s own choice’
khim dibí	‘to remarry reversing a former decision’ (<i>dibí</i> ‘to break, tr.’)
koba réṅ	‘become useless (thing), be not true (to promise or expectation)’ (<i>réṅ</i> ‘to go’, <i>koba</i> is probably related to <i>ko</i> ‘to throw’)

maṅgator réṅ	‘die (usually disparagingly of someone hated or considered evil)’ (<i>réṅ</i> ‘to go’)
moka cáṅ	‘become disintegrated (wood) produced powdery stuff as if moth-eaten’ (<i>cáṅ</i> ‘to become’)
nagra ko	‘let down shoots that root themselves on ground or sends roots that grows as plant at a distance from the main plant’ (<i>ko</i> ‘to throw’)
pator to(ṅ)	‘have guts, have courage’ (<i>to</i> ~ <i>toṅ</i> ‘there be’)
poṅna rot (~ ró)	‘cook by steam’ (<i>rot</i> ~ <i>ró</i> ‘to boil’)
prīṅpraṅ cáṅ	‘to see stars as happens when one receives a blow to head’ (<i>cáṅ</i> ‘to become’)
sraṅ sá	‘develop black spots on clothes not well dried’ (<i>sá</i> ‘to ear’)
tīma ci	‘to divine (cause of illness etc.)’ (<i>ci</i> ‘to look’)
tera ko	‘have crash of thunder with lightning during which there is discharge of imaginary bolt or shaft’ (<i>ko</i> ‘to throw’)

(*tera baji* and *baji* are also used as noun complements instead of *tera*)

tar naṅ	‘be of good workmanship or reliable character’ (<i>naṅ</i> ‘have’)
tar mán	‘recognise (people), realise (situation), know (facts)’
tinti kak	have numbness in the extremities of body (like toe) due to severe cold’ (<i>kak</i> ‘to bite’)
tore ko	‘to fluff cotton into soft mass’ (<i>ko</i> ‘to throw’)

(B) Instances where the noun complement is semantically transparent but lacks potential freedom outside such nominal formations, while the verb is free and transparent:

adi pusi	‘rear animals on a fifty-fifty basis’ (<i>pusi</i> ‘to rear animals’; <i>rákhu</i> ‘to give’ is also used as verb with the meaning giving to another to rear on a fifty-fifty basis)
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cuṅ tunuk	‘to act big, pretend greatness’ (<i>tunuk</i> ‘to show’)
dapta d̄im	‘grow in cluster (tooth)’ (<i>d̄im</i> ‘to sprout’)
jamdoga dugut (~ dugú)	‘be held immovable in sleep supposedly by one’s own shadow’ (<i>dugú</i> ‘be pinned down’)
jor dogot (~ dogó)	‘start living separately from parental family, start a new village’ (<i>dogot</i> ~ <i>dogó</i> ‘come out’ <i>jorai</i> is also used as the noun complement)
khustia tunuk	‘to brood, be silent resentfully’ (<i>tunuk</i> ‘to show’)
kira sá	‘make a public promise with self-imposed punishment’ (<i>sá</i> ‘to eat’)
kira dibí	‘withdraw publicly a publicly made promise’ (<i>dibí</i> ‘to break, tr.’)
laga réṅ	‘be sold out fast’ (<i>réṅ</i> ‘to go’; verb roots <i>dugut</i> ~ <i>dugú</i> ‘to sink’ and its causative form <i>dudugat</i> ~ <i>dudugá</i> ‘to cause to sink’ are also used with appropriate semantic change)
maram sá	‘to rust’ (<i>sá</i> ‘to eat’)
pak rákhu	‘intertwine or twist fibres to form strands that are used to make rope’ (<i>rákhu</i> ‘to give’)
pak dibí	‘conduct a service to ward off possible effect of a curse or a spell or a promise not fulfilled’ (<i>dibí</i> ‘to break. tr.’)
roṅ mán	‘be happy’ (<i>mán</i> ‘to get’)
soi rá	‘to agree, to promise’ (<i>rá</i> ‘to take’)
sabri ko	‘give something or exchange something to ratify an agreement’ (<i>ko</i> ‘to throw’)
sabri sá	‘to accept something gives as a gift to ratify an agreement’ (<i>sá</i> ‘to eat’)
sriṅ ma	‘disappear not leaving any trace at all’ (<i>ma</i> ‘disappear’)

(C) Instances where the noun complement is potentially free but the verb, while being semantically transparent, has a bleached or

narrowed-down meaning, and is never used independently of with the noun complement with which it is collocates. In fact, the meaning of the verb can be deduced from the totality of the nominal formation rather than from the verb itself.

<u>bai</u> sak	‘propitiate a deity by making a vow to conduct a sacrifice’ (<i>bai</i> ‘deity’)
bár cak	‘light a fire’ (<i>bár</i> ‘fire’; <i>cak</i> independently means ‘help’)
cokó can	‘prepare and keep the concoction for brewing rice-beer’ (<i>cokó</i> ‘rice-beer’)
bár dap	‘to warm oneself by the fire’ (<i>bár</i> ‘fire’)
bursi khén	‘to ankle’ (<i>bursi</i> ‘fishing hook’)
cakri khuti	‘be an employee (usually of the government)’ (<i>cakri</i> ‘government service’)
cika ru	‘to have bath’ (<i>cika</i> ‘water’)
cika tírá (~ tírat)	‘to bathe someone’ (<i>cika</i> ‘water’)
golam khuti	‘work as a servant’ (<i>golam</i> ‘servant (male)’)
hal <u>bai</u>	‘to plough’ (<i>hal</i> ‘ploughing bulls’)
káci có (~ cot)	‘to spit’ (<i>káci</i> ‘spittle’)
kúr díp	‘to split binding strips or weaving strips of bamboo or cane’ (<i>kúr</i> ‘binding strips or weaving strips’)
ná bó (~ bot)	‘to fish’ (<i>ná</i> ‘fish’)
nenten tan	‘to spin yarn’ (<i>nenten</i> ‘thread’)
rañ pha	‘to rain’ (<i>rañ</i> ‘sky, rain’)
sañkoi cín	‘to lay a make-shift bridge’ (<i>sañkoi</i> ‘make-shift bridge’)

(D) Instances where both the complement noun and the verb are semantically transparent and potentially free but which function as single lexical units:

asa rásam	‘have hope’ (<i>asa</i> ‘hope’; <i>rásam</i> ‘to keep’)
asa mán	‘have hope’ (<i>asa</i> ‘hope’ <i>mán</i> ‘to get’)
<u>baikholen</u> rap	‘form a whirlwind’ (<i>baikholen</i> ‘whirlwind’; <i>rap</i> ‘to weave’)

ban ko	‘cast a spell’ (<i>ban</i> ‘spell’; <i>ko</i> ‘to throw’)
ban thiḥphrat (~ thiḥphrá ~ thiḥphrít ~ thiḥphrĭ)	‘break a spell’ (<i>ban</i> ‘spell’; <i>thiḥphrat</i> ~ <i>thiḥphrá</i> ~ <i>thiḥphrít</i> ~ <i>thiḥphrĭ</i> ‘to snap’)
báram phén	‘reach the stage in the growth of bamboo after which it flowers and dies’ (<i>báram</i> ‘such stage of bamboo’; <i>phén</i> ‘to turn into, be transformed’)
bathan rákhu	‘herd cattle in enclosure’ (<i>bathan</i> ‘enclosure for cattle’; <i>rákhu</i> ‘to give’)
bor mán	‘get a blessing’ (<i>bor</i> ‘blessing’; <i>mán</i> ‘to get’)
bor rákhu	‘to bless’ (<i>bor</i> ‘blessing’; <i>rákhu</i> ‘to give’)
dar bí	‘to take a loan’ (<i>dar</i> ‘loan’, <i>bít</i> ~ <i>bĭ</i> ‘to pull’)
dar bú	‘be in debt’ (<i>dar</i> ‘loan’; <i>bú</i> ‘be subject to some state or action’)
dos thiḥp	‘to accuse’ (<i>dos</i> ‘fault’; <i>thiḥp</i> ‘to lay, to place’)
jet khár	‘to compete’ (<i>jet</i> ‘competition’; <i>khár</i> ‘to do’)
jĭmanḥ nuk	‘to dream’ (<i>jĭmanḥ</i> ‘dream’; <i>nuk</i> ‘to see’)
khasraḥ sá	‘to smoke’ (<i>khasaraḥ</i> ‘tobacco rolled in leaf or paper’; <i>sá</i> ‘to eat’)
kami rá	‘to work’ (<i>kami</i> ‘work’; <i>rá</i> ‘to take’)
kapal nem	‘be lucky’ (<i>kapal</i> ‘forehead’; <i>nem</i> ‘be good’)
kapal to(ḥ)	‘be lucky’ (<i>kapal</i> ‘forehead’; <i>to</i> ~ <i>toḥ</i> ‘there be’)
katha mani	‘to obey’ (<i>katha</i> ‘word’; <i>mani</i> ‘obey, agree’)
katha rá	‘to obey, to accept other’s advice’ (<i>katha</i> ‘word’; <i>rá</i> ‘to take’)
kuḥsí bí	‘have nose-bleeding’ (<i>kuḥsí</i> ‘blood from nose’; <i>bí</i> ‘to break’)
maci rákhu	‘to starch, to apply starch’ (<i>maci</i> ‘starch’; <i>rákhu</i> ‘to give’)

<u>mai</u> rím	‘to prepare meal’ (<i>mai</i> ‘rice’; <i>rím</i> ‘to cook’)
<u>mai</u> sá	‘to have a meal’ (<i>mai</i> ‘rice’; <i>sá</i> ‘to eat’)
mátha kran	‘to hunt aniguana’ (<i>kran</i> ‘to stroll’)
<u>moi</u> kok	‘to drive a harrow’ (<i>moi</i> ‘harrow’; <i>kok</i> ‘to beat’)
<u>moi</u> rákhu	‘to drive a harrow’ (<i>moi</i> ‘harrow’; <i>rákhu</i> ‘to give’)
nakor na	‘to hear’ (<i>nakor</i> ‘ear’; <i>na</i> ‘to hear’)
neken nuk	‘to see’ (<i>neken</i> ‘eyes’ <i>nuk</i> ‘to see’)
nukhar réṅ	‘to sleep’ (<i>nukhar</i> ‘sleep’; <i>reṅ</i> ‘to go’)
nukhar rím	‘to feel asleep’ (<i>nukhar</i> ‘sleep’; <i>rím</i> ‘to catch’)
nuka dím	‘to sprout’ (<i>nuka</i> ‘eye of seed’; <i>dím</i> ‘to sprout’)
phar nai	‘be dawn’ (<i>phar</i> ‘night’; <i>nai</i> ‘be bright’)
ram bunḃan	‘to lose one’s way’ (<i>ram</i> ‘path’; <i>bunḃan</i> ‘to lose way’)
ram tìn	‘to lead on way’ (<i>ram</i> ‘path’; <i>tìn</i> ‘to lead’)
ram tìnai	‘to show a path or possibility’ (<i>ram</i> ‘path’; <i>tìnai</i> ‘make bright’)
raṣṅ sar	‘to feel elated, feel exalted’ (<i>raṣṅ</i> ‘glory’; <i>sar</i> ‘be shining’)
roṅ sé	‘to paint’ (<i>roṅ</i> ‘colour’; <i>set</i> ~ <i>sé</i> ‘to apply’)
tási heṅ	‘to aim a blow’ (<i>tási</i> ‘hand’; <i>heṅ</i> ‘to aim as if to blow’)
thuci set (~sé)	‘to anoint, to apply oil’ (<i>thuci</i> ‘oil’; <i>set</i> ~ <i>sé</i> ‘to apply’)

(E) Instances where both the complement noun as well as the verb are potentially free and semantically transparent but which function as single lexical unit having figurative meaning:

baroṅ bit (~ bí)	‘to segregate and assign separate place for individuals who for some reason cannot be given place along with the rest’ (<i>baroṅ</i> ‘arrangements of seat for a common meal’; <i>bit</i> ~ <i>bí</i> ‘to pull’)
bója rot (~ ró)	‘speak or discuss endlessly without reaching fruitful conclusion’ (<i>bója</i> ‘a variety of wild non-edible yam that does not soften even if boiled for a long time’; <i>rot</i> ~ <i>ró</i> ‘to boil’)
grím kran	‘to go to ease oneself’ (<i>grím</i> ‘bush, forest’; <i>kran</i> ‘to stroll’)

jírak dogot (~ dogó)	‘have piles’ (<i>dogot</i> ~ <i>dogó</i> ‘to come out’; <i>jírak</i> is potentially free only in another expression <i>jírak ma</i> ‘to loose the ends of thread-like materials because of being knotted’ but cannot any specific meaning except by deduction)
<u>kai</u> rá	‘to respect’ (<i>kai</i> ‘person’; <i>rá</i> ‘to take’)
kán bí	‘to menstruate’ (<i>kán</i> ‘body’; <i>bí</i> ‘to break’)
kapal dagat (~ dagá)	‘have ill luck, be put to shame’ (<i>kapal</i> ‘forehead’; <i>dagat</i> ~ <i>dagá</i> ‘to fall off’)
khongra krin	‘to snore’ (<i>khongra</i> ‘hollow in a tree-trunk’; <i>krin</i> ‘to sound’)
khúcem <u>sai</u>	‘to abstain or refrain from eating’ (<i>khúcem</i> ‘mouth’; <i>sai</i> has several meanings but here it seems to be quite opaque or must mean just ‘abstain’)
khúcem thír	‘be fluent in speech’ (<i>khúcem</i> ‘mouth’; <i>thír</i> ‘to bounce’)
mon bí	‘be discouraged’ (<i>mon</i> ‘mind’; <i>bí</i> ‘to break’)
neken cun	‘be jealous’ (<i>neken</i> ‘eye’; <i>cun</i> ‘be big’)
neken sa	‘be jealous’ (<i>neken</i> ‘eye’; <i>sa</i> ‘to ache’)
nijir ki	‘be conspicuous, evoke jealousy’ (<i>nijir</i> ‘field of vision’; <i>ki</i> ‘to fall’)
sok bí	‘be widowed’ (<i>sok</i> ‘shoot, apex of branch etc.’; <i>bí</i> ‘to break’)

(F) Instances that are true idiomatic expressions with two nouns or two verbs:

kí bokcaŋ poŋsa	‘feel nausea’ (<i>kí</i> ‘dog’; <i>bokcaŋ</i> ‘under-belly’; <i>poŋsa</i> ‘swell, ferment, have a spell of something’)
khúcem paré nan	‘speak without discretion’ (<i>khúcem</i> ‘mouth’; <i>paré</i> ‘a valve like object within fish trap’; <i>nan</i> ‘to have’)
mai bamci son	‘paddy develops milky juice within grain being formed’ (<i>mai</i> ‘paddy’; <i>bamci</i> ‘rice powder’, <i>son</i> ‘to insert’)

nakor nari na	‘have to hear unpleasant things especially about related people’ (<i>nakor</i> ‘ear’; <i>nari</i> is semantically opaque; <i>na</i> ‘to hear’)
neken bársiη dogot (~ dogó)	‘see stars before one’s eyes as happens as result of a blow to head or when standing erect suddenly from a sitting position’ (<i>neken</i> ‘eye’; <i>bársiη</i> ‘firefly’; <i>dogó</i> ~ <i>dogot</i> ‘come out, appear’)
nok cika dugut (~ dugú)	‘house be burnt down’ (<i>nok</i> ‘house’; <i>cika</i> ‘water’; <i>dugut</i> ~ <i>dugú</i> ‘to sink’)
nú khocenη poηsa	‘have a sickness of nipple’ (<i>nú</i> ‘breast, milk’; <i>khocenη</i> ‘comb’; <i>poηsa</i> ‘swell, ferment, have a spell of something’)
nukhaη bagi dan	‘to keep a share of something distributed for any one who might have been left out or who might accidentally turn up’ (<i>nukhaη</i> ‘face’; <i>bagi</i> is semantically opaque but is probably related to Assamese <i>bhag</i> ‘share’; <i>dan</i> ‘to spread’; the expression is also used with verb <i>mán</i> ‘to get’ to mean getting such a share)
séη kimar kha	‘be determined, be decided’ (<i>séη</i> ‘waist’; <i>kimar</i> is semantically opaque and is probably related to Assamese <i>komor</i> ‘waist’; <i>kha</i> ‘to tie’)

In the following expressions there are two verb roots. The first verb root is suffixed with *-e* which is the participial or incomplete marker.

bakon bá-e réη	‘elope with beloved (said of woman)’ (<i>bakon</i> is opaque; <i>bá</i> ‘to carry on back’; <i>réη</i> ‘to go’)
bódom koke sá	‘be hungry, have nothing to eat’ (<i>bódom</i> ‘stomach’; <i>kok</i> ‘to beat’; <i>sá</i> ‘to eat’)

bódom tám-e sá	This is same as the previous expression with the change of the verb <i>kok</i> 'to beat' to <i>tám</i> 'to beat'
caka sú-i ríjam	'walk on tiptoe' (<i>caka</i> 'leg'; <i>sú</i> 'to pierce, to stab'; <i>ríjam</i> 'to walk')
caka súη-e ríjam	'walk on sole' (<i>caka</i> 'leg'; <i>súη</i> 'to prop, to give support'; <i>ríjam</i> 'to walk')
jek <u>pai</u> -e ráη	'carry off or elope with a girl one loves' (<i>jek</i> is synchronically opaque but is probably related <i>jìksai</i> 'husband and wife'; <i>pai</i> 'to bear burden, to carry'; <i>ráη</i> 'to carry away')

4.1.4 Verb roots that generate nominal formations with diverse nouns

There are a few commonly employed verbs that join diverse lexical nouns that are transparent and potentially free generating parallel formations with semantic uniformity.

(1) *naη* 'to have'

This verb is used only in such nominal formations and cannot be used by itself. In situations where the possessive meaning 'to have' is to be had the verb root *to* ~ *toη* 'there be' is employed.

Examples with this root are many, and some of them have figurative meaning: *bódom naη* 'be pregnant' (*bódom* 'stomach'); *bil naη* 'be strong' (*bil* 'strength'); *cika naη* 'have the presence of water' (*cika* 'water'); *cukhorai naη* 'be capable of flying into a rage' (*cukhorai* is not potentially free); *hapci naη* 'be slushy' (*hapci* 'slush'); *jethá naη* 'be entangled, be knotted' (*jethá* 'entangled mass'); *kapal naη* 'be lucky' (*kapal* 'forehead'); *khotroη* (~ *khotloη*) *naη* 'be intelligent' (*khotroη* ~ *khotloη* 'brain'); *khúcem naη* 'be quick-tempered' (*khúcem* 'mouth'); *khrik naη* 'have lice on the body' (*khrik* 'louse'); *kreη naη* 'be winged' (*kreη* 'wing'); *kroη naη* 'be horned' (*kroη* 'horn') *kumpak naη* 'have a prominent nose' (*kumpak* 'nose'); *maηsiη naη* 'be fat' (*maηsiη* 'flesh'); *nukcón naη* 'have conjunctivitis' (*nukcón* 'conjunctivitis'); *pan naη* 'have the presence of a tree' (*pan* 'tree'); *rúbau naη* 'have a genital disease called *rúbau* (male); *súbau naη* 'have a genital disease called *súbau* (female); *tar naη* 'of good workmanship or reliable character' (*tar* is semantically opaque).

(2) *kha* ‘to tie, to bind’

Examples include *hapdai kha* ‘enter into a relationship by covenant as parent and child’ (*hapdai* is not potentially free); *hangar kha* ‘to build fence called *hangar*’; *katha kha* ‘make a covenant’ (*katha* ‘word’); *mita kha* ‘enter into a relationship by covenant among namesakes’ (*mita* ‘namesake’); *sikhi kha* ‘enter into a relationship by covenant as friends’ (*sikhi* ‘a bond friend’). There are many direct formations which are syntactic constructions with a verb and an object noun: *khophon kha* ‘to wear a turban’; (*khophon* ‘turban’); *kompa kha* ‘to roll cotton into a roll’ (*kompa* ‘a roll of cotton’); *maidop kha* ‘to pack paddy in bundle’ (*maidop* ‘bundle of paddy’); *makapbor kha* ‘to build a haystack’ (*makapbor* ‘haystack’); *sin kha* ‘to weave a web’ (*sin* from *bibur sinsap* ‘cobweb’).

This verb is also used as an intransitive root to mean ‘to form’: *bailola kha* ‘(hair) become matted or entangled in thick mass’ (*bailola* is not potentially free); *gandamola kha* ‘form green slimy moss-like algae in stagnant water’ (*gandamola* ‘such slimy substance’); *manxhap kha* ‘to accumulate’ (*manxhap* is not potentially free); *timacitraṅ (tobacitraṅ) kha* ‘to form moss’ (*timacitraṅ* ~ *tobacitraṅ* ‘moss found on rocks or land-surface’).

(3) *poṅsa* ‘swell, ferment, have a spell or bout of emotional outburst or sickness’

Combinations includes *bisibanxkhon poṅsa* ‘have allergic reaction’ (*bisibanxkhon* ‘allergy, skin irritation’); *cokó poṅsa* ‘rice beer ferments’ (*cokó* ‘rice beer’); *cukhorai poṅsa* ‘fly into a rage’ (*cukhorai* is not potentially free); *khorai poṅsa* ‘take recourse to crying to get something immediately’ (*khorai* is not potentially free).

(4) *tak* ‘to make, to do’

As a transitive verb meaning ‘to do, to make’, the formations formed with this verb are merely syntactic with the noun being an object noun. In nominal formations the verb it has the intransitive meaning ‘to form, to develop’ that is quite similar to the intransitive meaning of *kha* ‘to form’ and is also quite close to *nan* ‘to have’. Thus we have *gandamola kha* ‘to form green slimy moss-like algae found in stagnant water’ also used as *gandamola tak* with a comparable meaning.

A few other examples with *tak* are: *hapchi tak* ‘form slush’ (*hapci* ‘slush’); *khra tak* ‘to form or to develop ringworm’ (*khra* ‘an area

affected by ringworm’); *maṅsiṅ tak* ‘become fleshy (vegetables, fruits, tubers etc.’ (*maṅsiṅ* ‘flesh’); *nakorji tak* ‘form ear-wax’ (*nakorji* ‘ear-wax’); *pusi tak* ‘to form dirt’ (*pusi* ‘dirt’); *sirkeṅ tak* ‘form callus’ (*sirkeṅ* ‘callus’).

4.1.5 *Verbs with special characteristics*

(1) *to* ~ *toṅ* ‘there be, to have, to stay’

There are only two verb roots that show root alternation besides the group of verb roots that have a final *-t*, i.e. *to* ~ *toṅ* ‘there be’ and *dó* ~ *dóṅ* ‘be true, be enough’ (see No. 2 below). Both are also treated elsewhere as they enter into some special syntactic combinations. As a verb root the affixal morphology of the verb *to* ~ *toṅ* parallels any other verb root. The alternant *to* occurs when a vowel follows and the alternant *toṅ* occurs when a consonant follows (along with the assumption that the morphemes INF, DAT and FUT have an initial consonant as evident in the respective base morphemes <-na>, <-na>, <-no>, this consonant subsequently being deleted).

<i>to-a</i>	‘there is’ (PRES)
<i>to-eta</i>	‘there is’ (CONT)
<i>toṅ-o</i>	‘there will be’ (FUT)
<i>toṅ-a</i>	‘there to be’ (INF)
<i>toṅ-ca</i>	‘there is not’ (NEG)
<i>toṅ-toṅ-ca</i>	‘is there or is there not’ (root reduplication, NEG)

This verb does the work of ‘have’ as well as ‘being present’:

<i>aṅ</i>	<i>kataṅ</i>	<i>paṅsa</i>	<i>toṅ-ca</i>
I	LOC	money	there.be-NEG
‘I have no money’			
<i>náme</i>	<i>bisi</i>	<i>to-eta</i>	
you(DEF)	where(LOC)	stay-CONT	
‘where do you stay?’			

(2) *dó* ~ *dóṅ* ‘be, be true, be sufficient’

The verb *dó* ~ *dóṅ* is the only other verb besides *to* ~ *toṅ* (The verb above) that has root alternants other than the class of verb roots that have a final alternating *-t*. This verb too is regular as far as the affixal morphology is concerned. However, it has peculiarities that

make its use different from other verb roots. The alternant *dó* occurs when a vowel follows and the alternant *dón* when a consonant follows (along with the assumption that the morphemes *INF*, *DAT* and *FUT* have an initial consonant that is deleted).

dó-a	‘is true’ (PRES)
dó-eta	‘is true’ (CONT)
dón-o	‘will be true, will be sufficient’ (FUT)
dón-a	‘to be true, to be sufficient’ (INF)
dón-ca	‘is not true’ (NEG)
dón-dón-ca	‘is it true or not’ (root reduplication, NEG)

The meaning ‘be sufficient’ is not readily explicit with all the suffixes. It is most clear in the past and future tenses where such meaning is intended.

i-an	dón-o
this-EMPH	be.enough-FUT
‘this will be sufficient’	
dón-khu-ca	
be.enough-still	-NEG
‘is not enough yet’	

With the endings *PRES -a* and *NEG -ca* this verb can act as the copula equating two nouns:

náme	<u>kai</u>	dó-a		
you(DEF)	person	be-PRES		
‘you are a man (human being)’				
i-be	<u>kai</u>	dón-ca,	i-be	<u>bai-se</u>
this-DEF	person	be-NEG	this-DEF	deity-EMPH
‘this is not a human being, it is a deity’				

However, the copula is an optional element in such Rabha sentences and is used mostly for emphasis, as happens when the statement is made in the face of doubt or refusal from those to whom it is addressed:

náme kai
 you(DEF) person
 ‘you are a human being’

Unlike in English, the predicative adjectives in Rabha do not need a copula because the present tense ending *-a* renders the root predicative:

e-kai másu-be ak-a
 this-ATTR cattle-DEF black-PRES
 ‘these cattle are black’

Several affixes like *-don* ‘when’ (see 4.2.2.–3), *donbe* ‘if’ (see 4.2.4–4a), *-donba* ‘even if’ (see 4.2.4.1–4b) and *-donse* ‘only if’ (see 4.2.4.1–4c) are derived from this verb. Neither *to* ~ *ton* nor *dó* ~ *dón* has a dynamic sense, which is expressed by the verb of being and becoming (see No. 3 below).

(3) *cán* ‘be, become, happen’

The verb *cán* complements *dó* ~ *dón* in the sense that, while the latter is a verb of ‘being’ only, the former is a verb of ‘being’ as well as ‘becoming’, and is more characteristically a dynamic verb. The dynamic sense is more prominent in the past and future tenses.

náme kai cuŋ-kai cáŋ-o
 you(DEF) person big-ATTR become-FUT
 ‘you will become a great person’

u-be kai cáŋ-jo
 he-DEF person become-PAST
 ‘he has become a man (he has become someone great)’

Because of its dynamic sense this verb can take suffix *-ba* (see 3.2.2.1.1–8) to indicate the gradual coming into or attaining of a state:

nán-i kani-soŋ-kai-bijan anare cáŋ-ba-eta
 you-GEN say-before-ATTR-PL slowly happen-gradually-CONT
 ‘your prophecies are gradually being realised’

In the present tense (except when used along with suffix *-ba* and the ending CONT *-eta* as in the situation above) this verb conveys a stative

sense. In some cases its stative use parallels the copulative use of *dó ~ dón*. However, true to its dynamic nature, this inchoative verb indicates a continuation or prolongation in time of a state:

u-an soŋ-ini morubi cáŋ-eta
 he-EMPH village-GEN president be-CONT
 ‘he is the president of the village’

The verb *cáŋ* has other special functions:

(i) It is used with a number of borrowed nouns to turn them into verbs both stative as well as dynamic (but always intransitive):

bia cáŋ ‘be the marriage-day, get married’
 (*bia* ‘marriage’)
 dikdar cáŋ ‘be in trouble’ (*dikdar* ‘trouble’)
 duk cáŋ ‘be sad, become sad’ (*duk* ‘sadness’)
 gorom cáŋ ‘be hot’ (*gorom* ‘hot’)
 kom cáŋ ‘be less’ (*kom* ‘less’)
 khusi cáŋ ‘be sad, become sad’ (*khusi* ‘happiness’)
 muskil cáŋ ‘be in difficulty’ (*muskil* ‘difficulty’)

In present-day Rabha usage, several English words are being used similarly:

mitiŋ cáŋ ‘have or hold meeting’ (from English ‘meeting’)
 seminar cáŋ ‘hold or have a seminar’ (English ‘seminar’)
 treniŋ cáŋ ‘have or hold a training programme’
 (English ‘training’)

This verb is also used with native words, either nouns, verb roots themselves or some other formations from verb roots that have adjectival function but are more restricted in their affixal morphology, or indeclinables which need a verb of becoming to take further affixes.

(a) with nouns

sari cáŋ-a
 line become-PRES
 ‘form a queue’

phar cǎŋ-jo
 night become-PAST
 ‘it has become dark, it has become night’

i-be picu cǎŋ-eta
 this-DEF tender child.be-CONT
 ‘this is still a tender child’

(b) with verb roots having an adjectival function

aŋ-i cola pidan cǎŋ-eta
 I-GEN shirt new be-CONT
 ‘my shirt is new’

aŋ-i nok maicam cǎŋ-jo
 I-GEN house old become-PAST
 ‘my house has become old’

e-kai thé-be piri cǎŋ-eta
 this-ATTR fruit-DEF tender be-CONT
 ‘this fruit is still tender’

ná rim-kai pithiŋ cǎŋ-eta
 fish cook-ATTR raw be-CONT
 ‘the fish that is cooked is still raw’

(c) with indeclinables:

jumuk jamak cǎŋ ‘feel or become giddy’
 juluk jalak cǎŋ ‘be about to weep’
 jimprek koprek cǎŋ ‘be completely torn or broken’
 p̄liŋ pic̄iŋ cǎŋ ‘become helter-skelter (crowd)’

(iii) *cǎŋ* takes the suffix of the future following a finite verb according to the pattern:

V-FIN cǎŋ-{FUT}

to express the modal meaning of probability. Speculative judgements are made with or without the aid of any clues leading to the judgement. The following are two pieces of conversation.

- I. A: *oroŋ nem-eta-na*
 they good-CONT-INTERR
 ‘are they keeping fine’
 B: *nem-eta cáŋ-o*
 good-CONT be-FUT
 ‘they should be all right (there is no known reason for otherwise)’
- II. A: *oroŋ-i nok-i sak-sa-ba rao rákhu-ca-nata*
 they-GEN house-LOC CL-one-also speak-NEG-PAST
 ‘no one answered (responded) the call in their house’
 B: *dimdakai-an hat-ina réŋ-jo cáŋ-o*
 all-EMPH mark-ALL go-PAST be-FUT
 ‘probably all must have gone to the market’

The finite markers usually used with the main verb are the endings CONT *-eta*, PAST *-nata*, *-jo* and the suffix NEG *-ca*. The future ending is hardly ever used. However, events in future time are also covered by the ending -CONT *-eta*, as in:

u-ba réŋ-eta cáŋ-o
 he-also go-CONT be-FUT
 ‘probably he too is going’ or ‘probably he too will go’

A different device that creates a similar semantic effect for events of the past is treated in 4.2.1–8.

(4) *khár* ‘to do’

It has been mentioned that *cáŋ* forms only intransitive roots. By contrast, *khár* forms transitive roots from borrowed words. In this function the two complement each other, just as *cáŋ* and *dó* ~ *dóŋ* complement each other in being dynamic and stative bases respectively.

<i>asa khár</i>	‘to hope’
<i>bisar khár</i>	‘to judge’
<i>capa khár</i>	‘to print’
<i>dokhol khár</i>	‘to capture, to take illegal possession of’
<i>gop khár</i>	‘to converse, to converse telling stories’
<i>ilam khár</i>	‘to auction’
<i>joton khár</i>	‘to try, to make an effort’

kami khár	‘to function, to work properly (machines etc.)’
khoma khár	‘to forgive’
lanta khár	‘to practise’
lathua khár	‘to cheat’
map khár	‘to forgive’
porikha khár	‘to test, to put to test’
sason khár	‘to govern, to rule’
<u>soj</u> khár	‘to sign’

A few native nominal verbs too have *khár*:

<u>sui</u> khár	‘to aim’
khustia khár	‘to brood or to be silent resentfully’
noksaŋ khár	‘to ostracise’ (for an analysis of <i>noksaŋ</i> see 4.3.4.9–2)

In the pattern:

V-INF khár-eta

the verb *khár* gives the meaning ‘about to’ (the continuous ending *-eta* may be followed by appropriate suffixes):

<u>māi</u>	sá-na	khár-eta
rice	eat-INF	do-CONT
‘is about to have meal or eat rice’		
hat-ina	rén-a	khár-eta
market-ALL	go-INF	do-CONT
‘is about to go to the market’		

Its participial or incomplete form with suffix *-e* is used to form adverbs from adjectives, which are usually (but not only) derived from related roots by reduplication:

ak-ak	khár-e	nuk-ŋata
black-black	do-INCOMP	see-PAST
‘saw as a shadow or saw as a dark passing object’		
linthri	khár-e	dán-a
in.a.row	do-INCOMP	enter-PRES
‘enter (objects) consecutively as in a row (without leaving any)’		

4.2 *Inflectional affixes*

The inflectional affixes, in various combinations, effect a wide range of semantic nuances of tense, mood and aspect. Following the pattern established for Garo (Burling 1961) and Boro (Bhattacharya 1977) on morphological grounds the inflectional affixes of Rabha can be divided into three categories. They are dealt with separately in the following sections.

4.2.1 *Principal verb affixes that form finite verbs*

A verb bearing any one of the principal verb affixes that form a finite verb can close a verb formation. No other affix is strictly required, but may be followed by the general affixes (see 4.2.4). Ideally only one of them may be present. Co-occurrence is permitted between the negative suffix *-ca* and any of the tense-indicating suffixes (but not *ta-*, *-a* and *-ta*). All principal verb affixes that form finite verbs, except the negative imperative marker *ta-*, are suffixes. All of them except the imperative markers and negative marker are tense markers. Although these morphemes are glossed as past, present and future, their actual time reference is not exactly equivalent to the tenses of English. Hence some explanation is appropriate in each case because otherwise it is easy to miss the feel of the language. This is particularly true of the various combinations that bring together morphemes that separately signal two different tenses, and in combination generate a third nuance.

(1) Zero (\emptyset)

From the inflectional point of view, the barest verb form can act as the imperative form. There is no overt affix that signals the imperative. The verb root itself acts as the imperative. A zero morpheme (\emptyset) is considered to be present in the imperative forms of the verbs.

nu- \emptyset
 sit-IMP
 'sit'
 tak- \emptyset
 make/do-IMP
 'do, make'

khó-Ø
dig-IMP
'dig'

to-mó-Ø
CAUS-extinguish-IMP
'put out, extinguish'

Semantic incompatibility excludes imperative formations of some verbs as the following:

*tún-Ø	'hot'
*dó ~ dón-Ø	'be, be true, be sufficient'

When a situation requires the imperative use of such verb roots, the imperative of the verb of becoming *cán* 'be, become' is used with the other verb affixed with the attributive suffix:

tún-kai	cán-Ø
hot-ATTR	be-IMP
'be hot or become hot'	

nem-kai	cán-Ø
good-ATTR	be-IMP
'be good or become good'	

(2) ta-

Of all the inflectional verb affixes the morpheme *ta-* alone is prefixal. This affix indicates the negative imperative (N.IMP).

hoη-a-be	ta-réη
there-DAT-DEF	N.IMP-go
'do not go there'	

aη-o	ta-kok
I-ACC	N.IMP-beat
'do not beat me'	

o-koro	ta-pá
that-PER	N.IMP-cross.over
'do not cross over/pass that way'	

Complex verbs or verb roots that have a noun complement may take *ta-* either as prefix to the noun complement or to the verb root.

hak ta-rákhu ~ ta-hak-rákhu	‘do not forbid’ (<i>hak rákhu</i> ‘to forbid’)
gop ta-khár ~ ta-gop-khár	‘do not converse’ (<i>gop khár</i> ‘to converse’)

A similar mobility of the negative imperative is observed also in the case of vector verb formations.

ko-e	ta-rákha (~ ta-ko-e rákha)
throw-INCOMP	N.IMP-VECT
‘do not discard or throw away’	

(3) -a

When used with verb roots that denote an action the suffix *-a* indicates a habitual action, and turns roots that denote a state or quality into predicative adjectives. It must be considered time-neutral as there is no specific reference to any relative time. However as “presentness” is intrinsic to statements about habitual actions and permanent states in as much as they are presently true, and in as much as they indicate neither past or future, this suffix can be taken to indicate the present (PRES). But the morpheme does not indicate an action that is in progress.

oroη	kaka	sá-a
they	meat	eat-PRES
‘they eat meat’ (they are not vegetarians)		
ame	céηe-an	mīηsa-a
I(DEF)	early-EMPH	rise-PRES
‘I rise early’ (habitually)		
i-be	kai	róη-a
this-DEF	person	strong-PRES
‘this person is strong’		
u-be	kai	nem-a
he/that-DEF	person	good-PRES
‘that person is good’		

It will be seen later that the negative suffix *-ca* does not take the suffix PRES *-a* although a verb form containing it indicates habituality. On the other hand, many (with the exception of PAST *-jok ~-jo*) of the other tense suffixes have a morphologically overt inherent final *-a*, leading one to wonder whether *-a* is the primary suffix that indicates the finiteness of a verb in all tenses.

A special instance of *-a* is the suffix *-ta*. Keeping true to the semantics of *-a*, the suffix *-ta* denotes a habitual action but in a more emphatic manner. It is glossed EM.PRES. But, contrary to the nature of inflectional affixes, *-ta* is not found to be used with all verbs. Monosyllabic verbs do not take this suffix. More still, only verbs that have an open final syllable having /a, u/ take this morpheme readily. All these circumstances weigh heavily in favour of considering it a special instance of *-a*.

khi-sá-ta
CAUS-cat-EM.PRES
'does feed' (regularly)

rákhu-ta
give-EM.PRES
'does give'

baba minthaj rába-ta
dad sweet bring-EM.PRES
'dad does bring sweets'

This suffix is used to emphatically assert the opposite of what is wrongly asserted in a statement or implied in a query.

A u-be nok-ina rába-ca-na
he-DEF house-ALL come-NEG-INTERR
'does he not come home?'

B rába-ta
come-EM.PRES
'(he) does come'

It is easy to get the feeling that the *-t-* in *-ta* could be a root-final *-t*. That they are different, however, is evident from the semantic nuance of emphasis present along with the suffix *-ta*, and from the

fact that this element cannot be appear alongside any other principal finite verb suffixes even if that suffix has an initial vowel.

*rákhut-eta ‘is giving’
 *rábat-eta ‘is bringing’

Some verbs, however, do retain the *-t-* as in the following, but there is no effect on the preceding vowel when the *-t-* is dropped as would have been the case, had it been a root-final *-t-*:

roja-eta ~ rojat-eta ‘is itching’
 bija-eta ~ bijat-eta ‘is wiping’

A still more interesting phenomenon lending greater credibility to the requirement of the bisyllabic nature of the roots that take *-ta* is that monosyllabic *ma* ‘to lose’ never appears with *-ta-*, but its bisyllabic causative form appears optionally with *-ta-* when expressing the emphatic meaning of *-ta*. It is difficult to predict whether these few verb roots that take this suffix will have it permanently fixed on the root and develop a behaviour like that of the present root-final *-t-*.

(4) *-eta* ~ *-ita*

This suffix indicates an action that is currently in progress or a state or quality that is still true or true now. It has been glossed CONT without specific reference to tense as there is no continuous marker in any other tense except the present. The allomorph *-ita* is used when preceded by /u/.

kaisábra-taŋ kher-eta
 child-PL play-CONT
 ‘children are playing’

kai-taŋ hat-ina réŋ-eta
 person-PL market-ALL go-CONT
 ‘people are going to the market’

oroŋ mił-eta
 they small-CONT
 ‘they are (still) small’

budakai-be rón-eta
 old.man-DEF strong-CONT
 ‘the old man is (still) strong’

The question *nem-eta-na* ‘(are you) keeping fine?’ is the most common way of enquiring after someone’s well-being, which is invariably answered with ‘*nem-eta*’ ‘(I am) keeping fine’. It is seen that when the negative suffix *-ca* precedes *-eta*, the *-a* of *-ca* is optionally dropped and subsequently *-e* of *-eta* is also optionally raised. Such contraction results in unavoidable resyllabification of the various morphemes. Thus we have freely alternating forms such as:

nem-ca-eta ~ nem-c-eta ~ nem-c-ita ‘is not good’

That such a change is specific to the negative suffix *-ca* and does not occur when the root itself ends in *-a* (for example, *na-eta* ‘is hearing’ but not **n-eta* or **n-ita*) is an indication that the *-a* of *-ca* is actually an inherent principal suffix, PRES *-a*, which is optionally dropped when another principal suffix of the same nature is affixed. When the verb root has a final *-ai*, the vowel *-e* of *-eta* appears to be dropped as a result of assimilation and length reduction. However, in examples throughout the work the morpheme is represented as *-eta* and *-ita*.

kicai-eta ~ k*í* -cai-ta ‘is sieving’
 bai-eta ~ bai-ta ‘is ploughing’

(5) -no ~ -mo, -no ~ -o

This morpheme indicates the future tense. Besides these four allomorphs, there is another set of four morphemes with an additional final *-a* (*-noa* ~ *-moa*, *-noa* ~ *-oa*) which is in free variation with the set not having a final *-a*. However, this is practically disappearing from normal conversational language, but is frequently encountered in verses where it is employed also as a ploy to keep the metre. /-mo/ is used when the root ends in *-p*, /-no/ when the root ends in *-k*, /-o/ when the root ends in either *-m* or *-n*, and /-no/ in all other cases. Setting up <-no> as the basic allomorph has phonological motivations and has advantage in cross-lingual comparison.

kaisábra khap-mo
 child cry-FUT
 ‘the child will cry’

aŋ sam phok-ŋo
 I grass pluck-FUT
 ‘I will pluck grass’

kai-taŋ réŋ-o
 person-PL go-FUT
 ‘people will go’

nen kham-o
 cloth burn-FUT
 ‘cloth will burn’

raŋ pha-no
 rain-FUT
 ‘it will rain’

par-be par-no
 flower-DEF bloom-FUT
 ‘the flower will bloom’

With roots indicating a state or quality the future tense marker does not denote future time. It can just be a statement about the present state or, when the root is used in a dynamic sense, it can indicate the inchoative effect:

e-kai paga-be soŋ-o
 this-ATTR rope-DEF be.short-FUT
 ‘this rope will be small’

i-be cuŋ-o
 this-DEF big-FUT
 ‘this will become big’

(6) -nata ~ -mata, -ŋata ~ -ata

This past tense marker is commonly employed in narratives or when speaking of events long past. There is a sense of remoteness accompanying it. The allomorph /-mata/ is used when the root ends in *-p*, /-ŋata/ when the root ends in *-k*, /-ata/ when the root ends in

either *-m* or *-ŋ*, and */-nata/* in all other cases. The distribution is parallel to that of the future morpheme, and here too, *<-nata>* can be set up as the basic allomorph.

kai sak-sa ruŋ jap-mata
 person CL-one boat row-PAST
 ‘one person rowed the boat’

kai-taŋ mekhobárju-o kók-ŋata
 person-PL thief-ACC beat-PAST
 ‘the people beat the thief’

jíbra sábra-o pam-ata
 mother child-ACC place.in.lap-PAST
 ‘the mother placed the child in (her) lap’

dĩmdakkai-an nu-nata
 all-EMPH sit-PAST
 ‘all sat (down)’

té san-i raŋsaŋ túŋ-ata
 today day-LOC sun hot-PAST
 ‘today the sun was hot’

kamkai-ba jar-nata
 two.persons-also run-PAST
 ‘both the persons ran’

baidam-i deuri bamci khrí-nata
 sacrificial place-LOC priest rice powder sprinkle-PAST
 ‘The priest sprinkled rice powder on the sacrificial place’

The allomorph */-nata/* has a contracted form *-nta*, which is even further reduced to *-ta-* with a verb root ending in *-n*. The contracted forms are more prevalent in casual day-to-day usage.

mán-nata ~ mán-ta	‘got
tan-nata ~ tan-ta	‘put’
prao-nata ~ prao-nta	‘called’
rá-nata ~ rá-nta	‘took’
so-nata ~ so-nta	‘got rotten’
ki-nata ~ ki-nta	‘fell down’
nu-nata ~ nu-nta	‘sat’

(7) *-jok ~ -jo*

Like <-nata>, *-jok ~ -jo* sets the action in the past. This morpheme does not convey a sense of remoteness but a sense of recentness. Besides the lack of time depth, this affix conveys a sense of definiteness or completeness, and, in certain situations, the fact that the event which is completed is beyond any change or one's control.

u-be réŋ-jo
 he-DEF go-PAST
 'he went / he is gone'

In situations where the result of the action is in some sense still present it is this suffix, and not <-nata>, that is appropriate.

náme kai cuŋ-jo
 you.DEF person big-PAST
 'you have grown big' (it is evident and visible)

The two past tense markers are sometimes used interchangeably; however, definiteness, forcefulness, recent-ness and existence in the present of some effect or result of the action is closely bound with *-jok ~ -jo*, while remoteness, dispassionate declaration and the absence in the present of any effect or result of the action is closely bound with <-nata>. Such inherent differences between the suffixes surface when they are used in combination with the negative *-ca*.

aŋ réŋ-ca-nata
 I go-NEG-PAST
 'I did not go'

aŋ réŋ-ca-jo
 I go-NEG-PAST
 'I do not go / I will not go (any more)' [as a matter of decision and definiteness].

There is another type of finite verb formation which is a combination of the markers *INF* and *PAST* (see 4.2.2.-lvi).

(8) *-jono* ~ *-jano*

Formally this sequence is a combination of PAST /-jo/ and FUT /-no/. The combination engenders a modal meaning of judgement. It approximates the notion of ‘assumptive judgement’ proposed by Palmer (1986: 62). The judgement may be based on speculation or on some probable reason in the direction of which there is some pointer which allows one to make a speculation.

oroŋ nok-ina réŋ-jo-no
 they home-ALL go-PAST-FUT
 ‘they will have gone home’

The alternation between *-jono* and *-jano* is partly free variation. Careful speakers, especially women, tend to use *-jono* in all circumstances, while casual speakers, especially men, tend to introduce *-jano* in certain environments that favour it phonologically, such as when the negative suffix *-ca* precedes it, and by analogical usage in other environments.

oroŋ mai sá-khu-ca-jo-no / sá-khu-ca-jano
 they rice eat-still-NEG-PAST-FUT
 ‘they will not have had meal yet’

The same semantic content is expressed periphrastically by using *cáŋ* ‘to become’ which takes the ending FUT <-no> (see 4.1.5–3iii), while the main verb takes the PAST /-jo/ (in the presence of suffix *-khuca* ‘not yet’ *-jo* does not figure):

oroŋ réŋ-jo cáŋ-o
 they go-PAST become-FUT
 ‘they will have gone’

oroŋ mai sá-khu-ca cáŋ-o
 they rice eat-still-NEG become-FUT
 ‘they will not have had meal yet’

It is difficult to venture an opinion as to whether the morphological formation *-jono* has developed out of the contraction of the phrasal or periphrastic formation via the deletion of the verb of becoming or in some other way. It is possible to note a minor semantic difference

between the morphological and the phrasal formation. The morphological formation is a speculated judgement about a possibility deduced from some facts, like a habitual pattern of behaviour, while the phrasal formation is advanced as a probable reason to account for otherwise unexpected behaviour:

u-be si-jo-no
 he-DEF die-PAST-FUT
 ‘he will have died’ (he was already very old long back)

u-be si-jo cáη-o
 he-DEF die-PAST become-FUT
 ‘maybe (probably) he is dead’ (that is why there is no movement)

(9) -ba

This is a special past imperfect marker that may also be analysed as a contracted form of *-ba-m̃n* (see 4.4.1–5v). A nuance of current irrelevance of what in the past used to be is associated with this suffix.

aη mil-peke isi pan phaη-sa toη-ba
 I small-when here(LOC) tree CL-one there be-PAST
 ‘when I was young there was (used to be) a tree here’

aη kakai-an réη-ba
 I self-EMPH go-PAST
 ‘I myself had gone’

All these forms have exactly the same result if *-ba* be replaced with *-ba-m̃n*.

(10) -ca

The ending *-ca* indicates the negation of the verb. There are a few peculiarities of this suffix. First of all, when it is present it occurs immediately after all derivational affixes and as the first among the inflectional affixes, if more than one are present. A second characteristic of *-ca* is that it does not take the PRES *-a*. It is probably better to consider that *-a* is inherently present in *-ca*, thus rendering a second instance of the same suffix superfluous. Thirdly, it is the only affix (excluding the combination *-jono ~ -jano* which generates modal meaning) that can co-occur with the other principal affixes of this

section. These considerations would set it apart from the other principal affixes. Semantically it is very regular and highly productive, but at the same time this suffixes partakes in some other specific combinations with other suffixes.

oroŋ náŋ-a aŋ-a nasi-ca
 they you-DAT I-DAT love-NEG
 ‘they do not love each other’

kí hón-ca-eta
 dog bark-NEG-CONT
 ‘the dog is not barking’

mai sá-ca-nata
 rice eat-NEG-PAST
 ‘did not eat rice’

ame rákhu-ca-no
 I(DEF) give-NEG-FUT
 ‘I will not give’

(a) Root-INF toŋ-NEG

This phrasal formation generates negation of the future parallel to the morphological formations given above. This formation is closed for further affixation except by the general suffixes (see 4.2.4).

oroŋ mán-na toŋ-ca
 they get-INF have-NEG
 ‘they will not get’

ame jaŋ-a toŋ-ca
 I(DEF) able-INF have-NEG
 ‘I won’t be able to’

trap-ma toŋ-ca
 reach/be.on.time/have.time-INF have-NEG
 ‘will not be on time/will not have time/will not reach on time’

(b) Various combinations of *-e*, *-ca* and *-ro*

Three different combinations of these morphemes are possible: *-e-ca*, *-e-ca-ro* and *-ca-ro*. The sequences *-e-ca* and *-e-ca-ro* alternate with *-i-ca* and *-i-ca-ro*, which are used when preceded by /u/. Of these

only *-e-ca-ro*, and *-ca-ro* have semantic closeness with negation of the future. The form *-e-ca* is also treated here because of morphological closeness. In all instances the function of *-e-* seems to be to indicate past time reference, which is most evident in *-e-ca*. Hence this sequence is glossed as (PAST) within brackets to differentiate it from the regular PAST.

(i) *-e-ca*

The meaning of this sequence is paralleled by negation of the past or the *<-ca-nata>* combination.

oroŋ réŋ-e-ca
 they go-(PAST)-NEG
 ‘they did not go’ (but *oroŋ réŋ-ca* ‘the do not go’)

kai-taŋ ríba-e-ca
 person-PL come-(PAST)-NEG
 ‘people did not come’ (but *kaitaŋ ríba-ca* ‘people do not come’)

aŋ nuk-e-ca
 I see-(PAST)-NEG
 ‘I did not see’ (but *aŋ nuk-ca* ‘I do not see’)

There is a different possibility of analysis that *-e-* presents. That is to see this element as related to the partially fossilised verbal derivational affix *-e* (see 3.2.2.1.1–9) giving the meaning of distal directionality or ‘movement away from’. Two considerations would lend credibility to this approach. First, *-e* in *-e-ca* is the first element. As *-ca* occurs in all other instances as the first of the inflectional affixes immediately after the derivational suffixes, here *-e-* occupies a position of a derivational suffix. Secondly, in all instances where these affixes are used the sense of ‘movement away’ can be deduced. In some instances, however, it is necessary to see the idea of physical movement as being transposed to mental movement translatable as ‘effort’, as in the following. However, somehow the relation to the past has come to stick to this element, which is offset only by the further affixation of *-ro*.

nuk-e-ca ‘did not see’ (but had searched or gone to see)
 mán-e-ca ‘did not get’ (but had gone to get or made an effort to get)

(ii) -e-ca-ro

With the addition of *-ro*, the nuance changes greatly. The negation is now projected into the future. Besides, it is made more emphatic, certain, definitive and beyond changing. For lack of other ways of glossing it and because of its reference to future it is glossed (FUT).

cime náŋ-o nuk-e-ca-ro
 we(DEF) you-ACC see-(PAST)-NEG-(FUT)
 ‘we will not see you (any more)’ (even if we would love to)

somai toŋ-donba ame réŋ-e-ca-ro
 time there.be-even.if I(DEF) go-(PAST)-NEG-(FUT)
 ‘even if there is time I will not go’ (I am disinclined)

jartún-donba trap-e-ca-ro
 run-even.if reach.on.time-(PAST)-NEG-(FUT)
 ‘even if (one) runs (one) will not reach on time’

(iii) -ca-ro

The meaning of this morpheme is very close to the meaning of *-e-ca-ro* but it lacks the sense of movement (physical or mental).

aŋ-a ja-ba lagi-ca-ro
 I-DAT RED-INDEF need-NEG-(FUT)
 ‘I do not need anything more’

másu dán-baini para noko den-ca-ro
 cow enter-from the.time door open-NEG-(FUT)
 ‘from the time the cow entered the door is not kept open any more’

Based on the behaviour of *-ro* in both the instances (it occurs in no other situation as suffix) the origin of *-ro* can be traced in two directions: (1) It could be the past tense ending *-jo* itself which has undergone a $j > r$ phonemic change (incidentally Garo has parallel constructions with past *-jok*), or (2) It is probably contracted form of *aro* ‘and, again’ that is usually used adverbially before a verb. In conversational style this element is postposed to the verb in which case the initial *a-* tends to be dropped.

aro-lagi-ca ~ lagi-ca-ro ‘do not need any more’

However, as a suffix it has come to be permanently conjoined only in the instances shown above, but as a full word it is quite often postposed to any other verb formation.

(c) -ca-raŋ-e

Here, *raŋ* is probably related to the derivational affix *raŋ* (see 3.2.2.1.1–10). The suffix *-e* is the participial or incompletive maker (see 4.2.2.–9). The sequence as a whole is, then, not a finite formation, and has the semantic content ‘without’.

aŋ kataŋ sɨŋ-carəŋe ana bajɨŋ-a dogó-jo
 I LOC ask-without why outside-DAT come.out-PAST
 ‘without asking me why did (subject) go out’

cika ru-carəŋe aŋ peke ta-réŋ
 bathe-without I COM N.IMP-go
 ‘without bathing do not go with me’

(d) -ca-phaŋ

To render an irrealis meaning the suffix *-phaŋ* is used only in combination with *-ca*. The combination forms a finite formation. Semantically it is the same as the aspectual meaning generated by the combination *-ca-no-mɨn* (see 4.2.4.1–5iii) which typically marks the main clause of the unreal conditional sentences in the negative.

pháman-donbe aŋ réŋ-caphaŋ
 know-if I go-would.not.have
 ‘if (I) knew I would not have gone’

ton-donbe ton-ca ine kani-caphaŋ
 there.be-if there.be-NEG thus say-would.not.have’
 ‘if there was, (one) would not say that there isn’t’

(11) -khan

The ending *-khan* marks the optative (OPT), the third person imperative, indirect permission as well as non-committal, indifferent and resigned acceptance of a situation.

sirgirisí nán-a bor rákhu-khan
 God you-DAT bless-OPT
 ‘may God bless you’

siri sraṇan rasong sraṇan cáṅ-khan
 totally healthy become-OPT
 ‘may (you) be totally healthy’

kaisábra-taṅ nok-i-an toṅ-khan
 child-PL house-LOC-EMPH stay-OPT
 ‘let the children stay in the house itself’

bajin toṅ-bataṅ pímuṅ-ina dán-khan
 outside stay-PL inside-ILL enter-OPT
 ‘let those who are staying outside enter inside’

raṅ pha-doṅbe pha-khan
 rain-if rain-OPT
 ‘if it should rain, let it rain’

nok-ina réṅ-a síṅ-bataṅ réṅ-khan
 house-ALL go-INF ask-PL go-OPT
 ‘let those who have asked to go home, go’

-khan may be used with the negative suffix *-ca*.

cika bana cáṅ-ca-khan
 flood be-NEG-OPT
 ‘let there be no flood’

(12) *-coṅ*

A mild imperative that is actually a request is indicated by suffix *-coṅ*. Because this form implies a request which the subject of the verb is capable of executing, only verbs that require an agent-subject may take this suffix. Thus there are no formations like **nuk-coṅ* as *nuk* ‘to see’ does not take an agent subject.

aṅ-a-ba rákhu-coṅ
 I-DAT-also give-please
 ‘please give me too’

4.2.2 *Principal verb affixes that form non-finite verbs*

Non-finite verb forms are those that are restricted to subordinate clauses. They do not occur in the main clause and do not terminate a verb formation or a sentence. If in certain cases they do terminate a sentence it is always on account of some pragmatic deletion. Such instances are pointed out in the relevant places.

(1) -na ~ -ma ~ -ηa ~ a

This morpheme is the infinitive (INF) marker. The distribution is parallel to the allomorphs of future <-no> and past <-nata>. The allomorph /-ma/ is used when the root ends in *-p*, /-ηa/ when the root ends in *-k*, /-a/ when the root ends in either *-m* or *-η*, and /-na/ in all other cases. Setting up <-na> as the basic allomorph is phonologically motivated and has the advantage in cross-linguistic comparison

ame b̄ar dap-ma múη-eta
 I(DEF) warm oneself-INF desire-CONT
 ‘I desire to warm myself (sit by the fire)’

u-be mí dak-ηa hácu-ina réη-eta
 she-DEF vegetable pluck-INF hill-ILL go-CONT
 ‘she is going into the hill to pluck vegetables’

rompe topra cú-na rái dak-ηa lagi-no
 fried rice bundle pack-INF banana leaf pluck-INF need-FUT
 ‘(subject) must pluck banana leaf to pack fried rice’

kais̄abra-taη pan dúη-a kiri-ca
 child-PL tree climb-INF be afraid-NEG
 ‘children do not fear to climb trees’

j̄ibra mai rim-a tharison-eta
 mother rice cook-INF prepare-CONT
 ‘(the) mother is preparing to cook rice’

deuri bai thá-na goη-ca
 priest sacrifice-INF willing-NEG
 ‘the priest is unwilling to conduct the sacrifice’

kaim̄itraη kher-na réη-eta
 children play-INF go-CONT
 ‘children are going to play’

In some situations verb roots with the infinitival ending <-na> are used to act as finite verbs. These, however, can be seen as contextually explicit minor sentences, the main verb form being unexpressed. Such sentences have the following general features.

1. the subject is always first person—singular or plural
2. they are either adhortative, exhortative or requests where the clipped finite verb form is in the imperative

cime khár-na
 we(DEF) do-INF
 'let us do'

aŋ nu-na
 I sit-INF
 'let me sit' or 'allow me to sit'

nán-i cola pidan-o ci-na
 you-GEN dress new-ACC see-INF
 'let me see your new dress'

aŋ cika tí-na
 I water pour-INF
 'I shall pour water' or 'let me pour water'

There are complex formations using what are often referred to as postpositions. A few of these postpositions are used both with noun formations as well as with verb formations. Where the semantic content is not different they may be considered extensions of the dative affix. In the area of verb formations some are used characteristically in larger idiomatic phrases. These too are treated here.

(i) [INF] neke ~ [INF] nekene

As mentioned above *neke* forms an extended infinitive (EX-INF) formation with verb roots. This morpheme has a similar function as that of the dative morpheme (see 4.3.3.2–3). The extended form gives the normal infinitive formation an emphatic and intentional character, and may be paraphrased as 'in order to'.

mai r̄im-a neke mairuŋ toŋ-a lagi-no
 rice cook-EX-INF rice there.be-INF need-FUT
 'in order to cook rice there should be rice'

sábra-o kok-ŋa neke babra daŋgai khin-nata
 child-ACC beat-EX.INF father stick pick-PAST
 ‘in order to beat the child the father picked up the stick’

The *nekene* form is a freely varying form with the *neke* form. The longer morphemic sequence tends to be used when there is some insurmountable obstacle in the way of executing the activity, and such utterances usually said with a slight pensive or thoughtful pause:

nok hama-a nekene hádam-an toŋ-ca
 house build-EX.INF place-EMPH there.be-NEG
 ‘in order to build (a) house there is no land’

(ii) Root-[INF] ganda/teka tat(~ á)

Here there are two postpositions that can be used to generate the same semantic output. These enter into noun morphology too. The finite verb is invariably built on the verb root *tat* ~ *tá* ‘to touch, to feel, be contiguous’. The total meaning is ‘appear or feel to one’s mind’.

aŋ-a-be raŋ pha-na teka tat-a
 I-DAT-DEF rain-INF POSTPOS feel-PRES
 ‘to me it appears as if it is about to rain’

aŋ-a-be raŋ pha-na teka tá-ca
 I-DAT-DEF rain-INF POSTPOS feel-NEG
 ‘to me it does appear as if about to rain’

ki-na ganda tá-nata
 fall-INF POSTPOS fell-PAST
 ‘(it)appeared as if about to fall’

Generally the subject of the non-finite or subordinate verb and that of the finite verb are the same. The extended formations with *teka* and *ganda* are used when the speaker is the subject of the finite verb, while the non-finite verb generally refers to an evaluative experience of the speaker.

(iii) [INF]-ba to-a

This phrasal formation with a verb root with the infinitival suffix followed by *-ba*, which has the conjunctive meaning ‘also’, and the place of the finite verb occupied by the verb root *to* ~ *toŋ* ‘to say,

there be', which in this case is always suffixed with the present tense ending *-a*, generates the modal meaning of probability or possibility translated as 'may'.

raŋ pha-na-ba to-a
rain-INF-also there.be-PRES
'it may rain'

The negation of this phrasal form is special in as much as the negative is formed not on the finite verb, as would have been expected as in the case of (ii) above, but on the verb root bearing the infinitival suffix.

raŋ pha-ca-na-ba to-a
rain-NEG-INF-also there.be-PRES
'it may not rain'

It is not the case that morphologically no negative can be built on the finite verb, but such a negative formation turns out to be the negation of the future tense treated in 4.2.1–10a.

(iv) *-[INF] mán-jo*

In this phrasal formation involving the infinitive, the finite verb is always the root *mán* 'to get'. The principal suffix forming the finite verb is invariable the past tense ending *-jo*. This finite verb form effects the meaning 'happened to' with the added nuance of an admission of guilt, self-accusation, regret and sorrow for the deed, or satisfaction and joy at having had the opportunity to. The precise sense depends on the lexical meaning of the verb.

aŋ kai-o kok-ŋa mán-jo
I person-ACC beat-INF get-PAST
'I happened to beat people / I have beaten people'
ame Taj Mahal nuk-ŋa mán-jo
I(DEF) Taj Mahal see-INF get-PAST
'I have seen (or have had the opportunity to see) the Taj Mahal'

Morphologically it is possible to have a negation of this form in the past yielding the meaning 'not had the opportunity' to execute the activity indicated by the verb in the infinitive.

aŋ mása nuk-ŋa mán-khu-ca
 I tiger see-INF get-still-NEG
 ‘I have not had the opportunity to see a tiger’ (‘I have not got to see tiger’)

(v) -[INF]-doŋ

This form is in effect a finite verb (treated here since it is an extended form of the infinitive) and denotes the first person plural exhortative (EXH), and also indicates presumed or expressed mutual agreement between the speaker and the one spoken to, or contains an invitation to consensus and action in unison.

cime sirgiri kataŋ ardi-na-doŋ
 we(DEF) God LOC pray-DAT-EXH
 ‘let us pray to God’

indoŋbe, cime gaphuŋ-an réŋ-a-doŋ
 ‘then, we(DEF) tomorrow-EMPH go-DAT-EXH
 ‘then, let us go tomorrow itself’

cime ekhare babi-na-doŋ
 we(DEF) like.this think-INF-EXH
 ‘let us think in this manner’

(vi) -[INF]-jo

The combination of the infinitive and the past ending *-jo* generates the meaning ‘about to’. This combination too functions as a suffix that yields a finite verb.

phar nai-na-jo
 night bright-INF-PAST
 ‘it is about to be dawn’

bár mot-e réŋ-a-jo
 fire extinguish-INCOMP VECT-INF-PAST
 ‘fire is about to be extinguished’

mai min -na-jo
 rice/paddy ripe/cook-INF-PAST
 ‘rice is about to get cooked’ or ‘paddy is about to be ripe’

raŋsaŋ dugú-na-jo
 sun sink-INF-PAST
 ‘the sun is about to set’

(2) -makri

The morpheme *-makri* gives the meaning ‘rather than’ and evaluates two situations, one of which is considered more preferable or less unbearable.

gop khár-e toŋ-makri gur-e
 converse-INCOMP stay-rather.than lie-INCOMP
 toŋ-kai-an nem-a
 stay-ATTR-EMPH good-PRES
 ‘rather than talking it is better to lie down (sleep)’

nán-a kami rá-makri bikhi-e
 you-DAT work-rather.than hungry-INCOMP
 tong-kai-an nem-a
 stay-ATTR-EMPH good-PRES
 ‘rather than work for you, it is better to stay hungry’

(3) -doŋ

The ending *-doŋ* occurs with several shades of meaning, alone as in the present instance, and in combination in several other instances including the one just considered in (1v above).

Probably this morpheme is related to the verb root *dó ~ dóŋ* ‘be, be true, be sufficient’. The semantic content of the suffix is ‘when, at the time when, as soon as’.

kami prín-doŋ-an mai sá-na jaŋ-o
 work over-when-EMPH rice eat-INF able-FUT
 ‘when the work is over a (subject) can eat rice’

kai si-doŋ ma-doŋ
 person die-when ECHO-when
 soŋdroŋ-an harcok-a
 whole.village-EMPH fast and abstain-PRES
 ‘when death occurs, the whole village fasts and abstains from work’

sábra-o nuk-don-an jíbra khap-mata
 child-ACC see-when-EMPH mother cry-PAST
 ‘as soon as (the mother) saw the child the mother cried’

There are three extended suffix formations built on *-don* with further affixation by *-be*, *-ba* and *-se*, giving the forms *-donbe* ‘if’, *-donba* ‘even if’ and *donse* ‘if only’ respectively. These, however, have the added facility of being used as a verb suffix as well as noun suffixes and are, therefore, treated in 4.2.4.1.

(4) *-peke*

This same morph has both instrumental and comitative meaning when used with nouns. With verbs, however, this suffix has temporal reference and is closely related to *-don* (described in 2 above) but has the following differences:

1. This ending *-don* is tenseless or gnomic in the sense that it just refers to a time when something happens or will happen, and is more characteristically used in generic statements, for which reason the main clause generally has present time or future time reference. On the other hand *-peke* refers to past time, thus necessitating that the finite verb be cast in the past tense.

2. This suffix *-don* occupies a short stretch of time and relates two events that are conceptualised as simultaneous. On the other hand, *-peke* occupies a more indeterminate or longer stretch of time in the course of which the event of the finite verb in the past tense is supposed to have occurred.

aŋ mil-peke ciŋ-i nok-i kí
 I small-when we-GEN house-LOC dog
 maŋ-sa to-a-min
 CL-one there.be-PRES-ASP
 ‘when I was small there was a dog in our house’

(5) *-bapeke*

The ending *-bapeke*, glossed ‘while’, is also related to *-don* and *-peke* with the difference that *-bapeke*, while referring to a longer stretch of time like *-peke* and unlike *-don*, is more determinate than *-peke*, as the denoted situation has specific beginning and end; the suffix *-don*, of course, is punctual, referring more characteristically to a point in

time. The ending *-peke* has a rather hazy starting point and end point, while *-bapeke* has the two points well delimited. All the three relate two events.

náŋ-o ci-e toŋ-bapeke-an raŋ pha-nata
 you-ACC look-INCOMP stay-while-EMPH rain-PAST
 ‘while waiting for you itself, it rained’

u-ni katha kani-bapeke-an kái-taŋ
 he-GEN speak-while-EMPH person-PL
 dogot-e jar-nata
 go.out-INCOMP run.away-PAST
 ‘while he was still speaking people dispersed (coming out went away)’

bobai-kái prín-khu-ca-bapeke-an aŋ sok-ŋo
 speak-ATTR finish-yet-NEG-while-EMPH I reach-FUT
 ‘Even as the discussion is still on (while the meeting is still not over) I will reach’

(6) -roro

This is another suffix that relates the occurrence of two events both of which extend over a considerable stretch of time, and one is seen as placed within the other or executed concomitantly. Unlike *-bapeke* (No. 5 above), here both the events are conceptualised as having indeterminate beginning and end points. This morpheme too is glossed ‘while’.

réŋ-roro bobai-a
 go-while speak-PRES
 ‘speak while going or converse along the way or the journey’

sá-roro gop khár-a
 eat-while converse-PRES
 ‘converse during meal or while eating’

(7) -cekena

Formally and semantically this suffix is the allative noun suffix *-cekena* ‘up to, until’ having spatial reference. With verb roots, however, this morpheme has temporal reference similar to ‘until, as long as, till

such time that'. Besides suffixing to a bare root it also occurs in combination with either the negative suffix *-ca* or *-khuca* (negation in the past), which is a combination of *-ca* and *-khu* 'still'.

aŋ isi nu-cekena ja-ba dáŋ-a
 I here sit-as.long.as REL-INDEF enter-INF
 jaŋ-a toŋ-ca
 able-INF there.be-NEG
 'as long as I sit here no one will be able to enter'

oroŋ réŋ-ca-cekena ame dogó-ca
 they go-NEG-as.long.as I(DEF) come out-NEG
 'as long as they are not gone I will not come out'

křima sok-khu-ca-cekena ja-na-ba maí rákhu-ca-ge
 guest arrive-still-NEG-until REL-DAT-INDEF rice give-NEG-REP
 'until guest(s) arrive no one will be served rice, so they say'

The difference between *-khu-ca* and just *-ca* in this combination is negligible (but not in their regular usage as negation of the past tense and the present tense respectively). The only difference is that when *-khuca* is used, the finite verb acquires greater force and has specific reference to the moment that the result of the verb with *-cekena* is realised. On the other hand when only *-ca* is employed the time frame is more relaxed and elaborate and the emphasis on the result is reduced.

(8) *-baataŋ* ~ *bahataŋ* ~ *baataŋi*

The three forms vary freely, but the allomorph *-baataŋ* is most commonly employed. The meaning of this composite suffix is 'while or towards'. The meaning 'while' is very close to the meaning of the suffix *-bapeke*. The meaning 'towards' is realised only with a few roots indicating time of day.

réŋ-baataŋ aŋ-o do-bón-e réŋ-Ø
 go-while I-ACC CAUS-meet-INCOMP go-IMP
 'while going (on your way) meet me and go'

řiba-baataŋ pathar-ina dáŋ-e řiba-nata
 come-while paddy field-ALL enter-INCOMP come-PAST
 'while coming (on the way back) entered the paddy field (and came)'

phar nai-baataŋ rampar kok-ŋata
 night bright-towards wind beat-PAST
 ‘towards dawn there was a storm (the wind beat)’

(9) -e

The suffix *-e* is glossed INCOMP for ‘incompletive’. Verb roots having this suffix may also be participial (present or past) in function as in the example below:

tupú-o nuk-e kai-taŋ kiri-nata
 snake-ACC see-INCOMP person-PL fear-PAST
 ‘seeing the snake the people got frightened’

This suffix has two other more characteristic uses:

(i) It has adverbial use indicating the ‘manner’ according to which the second verb with the finite suffix is carried out. The syntactic form can be symbolised as:

V ₁ -e V ₂ -FIN

where V₂ with the finite suffix is naturally the main verb, and V₁ is the manner verb.

rao cuŋ-e prao-a
 voice big-INCOMP call-PRES
 ‘call with a loud voice’

tási jap-e prao-nata
 hand wave-INCOMP call-PAST
 ‘called waving with the hand’

preŋ-e diŋdiŋ-a
 straight-INCOMP stand-PRES
 ‘stand erect’

nophak-i helen-e diŋdiŋ-a
 pillar-LOC lean-INCOMP stand-PRES
 ‘stand leaning against the pillar’

raŋkhop ak-e jīgim-a
 cloud dark-INCOMP gather-PRES
 ‘dark clouds gather (literally, clouds gather as black)’

This is a highly productive usage. There are a considerable number of lexemes that have this affix bound to it, all having adverbial usage: *anar-e* ~ *andr-e* ‘slowly’, *bekhar-e* ~ *bekhr-e* ~ *bekher-e* ‘how’, *ekhar-e* ~ *ekhr-e* ~ *ekher~e* ‘like this, in this manner’, *okhar-e* ~ *okhr-e* ~ *okhor-e* ‘like that, in that manner’. The verb *khár* ‘to do, to make’ with the suffix *-e*, as in some of the examples above, is used often to build adverbs of manner giving the meaning ‘as, in the manner of’ as in:

ak-ak	khár-e	nuk-a
black-black	do-INCOMP	see-PRES
‘appears as black’		

Theoretically, any number of roots having the *-e* suffix can be strung together with only the very last one being a finite verb. This possibility may be represented by expanding the earlier symbolic representation as:

$$\boxed{V_1-eV_2-eV_3-e \dots V_n V_{finite}}$$

Two examples are given below to exemplify this possibility.

cokó	maikó	rñ-e	ná	kaka
liquor		drink-INCOMP	fish	meat
sá-e	siŋa	suk-e		
eat-INCOMP	horn	blow-INCOMP		
dai	kok-e	kham	tám-e	trok-e
gong	beat-INCOMP	drum	beat-INCOMP	dance-INCOMP
phisa-e		phar-sa-na	toŋ-ata	
dance-INCOMP		night-one-DAT	stay-PAST	

‘(people) stayed or spent the whole night drinking liquor, eating fish and meat, blowing the horn, beating the gong, beating the drum and dancing’

raŋsaŋ	rén-doŋ-an	aia	másu
sun	go-when-EMPH	mother	cattle
cip-e	tó	mok-e	
close-INCOMP	fowl	shut-INCOMP	
prin	kha-e	bak-ŋa	hadar
goat	tie-INCOMP	pig-DAT	feed
rákhu-i	cika	khó-e	
give-INCOMP	water	draw-INCOMP	

<u>mai</u>	mí	rīm-e	rot-e	nok
rice	curry	cook-INCOMP	boil-INCOMP	house
	há	bek-e		
	land	sweep-INCOMP		
dīmdak-ŋa	<u>mai</u>	khot-e	rákhu-i	matek
all-DAT	rice	serve-INCOMP	give-INCOMP	pot
	métek	gīn-e		
	pan	wash-INCOMP		
aro	neŋgi-bana	<u>mai</u>	ata	sá-caraŋ-e
and	tired-because	rice	what (etc.)	eat-without-INCOMP
	nukhar	rēŋ-ata		
	sleep	VECT-PAST		

‘As soon as the sun set, the mother shut cattle in, closed the pen, tied goats, fed the pigs, drew water, cooked meal, swept the house, served meal for all, washed the pots and pans and, as she was tired, fell asleep without having (her) meal’

Generally, but not necessarily, the last *-e* form is preceded by *aro* ‘and’. As is evident from the English translations of the two examples above, the *-e* forms can be rendered in English either with the *-ing* form of the verb or in the past tense which would generally require the conjunction ‘and’:

banca	khīn-e	kok-ŋata
wood	pick-INCOMP	beat-PAST
‘picking up a piece of wood, beat’ or ‘picked a piece of wood, and beat’		

(ii) There is yet another way in which *-e* combines with verb roots which is a syntactic reversal of the pattern encountered in (i). It can be symbolised as:

$$\boxed{V_1\text{-}e \quad V\text{-FIN}}$$

The reversal consists in the fact that in this case the root of the finite verb is a vector verb and V_1 which has the suffix *-e*, and is therefore non-finite, is the main verb. Vector verb formation is a prominent feature of Rabha and many verbs have the capacity to take more than one vector verb according to the nuance required.

si-e	rén-jo
die-INCOMP	VECT-PAST
‘passed away or died’	
riŋ-e	rákha-jo
drink-INCOMP	VECT-PAST
‘drank up’	

(10) -emene

This suffix could actually be considered to be an extended form of *-e*, and is analysable as *e-mene*, *-mene* itself being further analysable as derived from *mán* ‘get’ (the vowel losing its tone and being raised to *-e-* under pressure from both the directions) and a second instance of *-e*. The suffix closely parallels the English past participle. However, the distinction between the present participle and the past participle valid in English, does not strictly hold in Rabha. It was already seen that the INCOMP suffix *-e* could be rendered either using the *-ing* form of the verb or the past tense. However, the presence of *-emene* (as would be expected from the presence of *mán*) does add a nuance of completion.

jíbra	sábra-o	nuk-emene	u-o	pambruk-ŋata
mother	child-ACC	see-INCOMP	(s)he-ACC	embrace-PAST
‘seeing the child or having seen the child the mother embraced him/her’				
kiri-emene	oroŋ	jar-e	rén-jo	
afraid-INCOMP	they	run.away-INCOMP	VECT-PAST	
‘being afraid or having become frightened they ran away’				

Some of the lexemes that have *-e* bound to it can also be expanded with *-emene* as *okhar-emene* ‘and then, having done so’, *ekhar-emene* ‘thus, having done so’. In archaic sacrificial chants a shorter form *-emen* is frequently encountered.

(11) -dīpa ~ -dīpana

Its meaning is ‘till, until, until such time as’ and is quite similar to *-cekena* (No. 7 above). Both relate two events in time. There are, however, some differences, i.e. *-cekena*, but not *-dīpa* ~ *-dīpana*, can

be used with nouns as well, where it has spatial reference. The morpheme *-dīpa* ~ *-dīpana* is always used either with a verb already bearing the present tense ending *-a* (in very rare instances *-a* is not present) or the negative suffix *-ca* (which, as seen earlier, may incorporate a present suffix *-a*). For this reason this ending could even be treated as a postposition used as an extension of the present tense suffix *-a*. However, as there is no other example of a suffix forming a finite verb having a parallel extension via a postposition, and as at least occasionally the PRES *-a* is not present, this morpheme is treated as a suffix.

jaŋ-a-dīpa khár-no
 able-PRES-till do-FUT
 ‘(subject) will do as much as possible or capable’

nuk-ca-dīpa monpiti-ca
 see-NEG-till believe-NEG
 ‘do not or will not believe until or unless (subject) sees’

Another very minute difference between *-cekena* and *-dīpa* is that *-cekena* (when used with verb roots) has greater reference to the time aspect than to the semantic content of the verb, while *-dīpa* has greater reference to the semantic content of the verb, such that the two can be rendered more precisely as meaning ‘until such time that’ and ‘as long as or unless’ respectively. The ending *-dīpana*, which seems to have the presence of the dative <-na> in it just like *-cekena*, is closer to *-cekena* in having a greater reference to the time factor. When the time factor is more in focus, *-dīpana* is more easily used than *-dīpa*. The three affixes, then, can be seen as arranged on a cline: *-dīpa* having greater reference to the semantic content of the root, *-dīpana* to the semantic content of the root as well as to the time factor connecting the two events in question, and *-cekena* having greater reference to the time factor connecting the two events being related. Such differences are subtle but real.

(12) -naŋnaŋ

This suffix may be related to the verb root *naŋ* ‘be useful, have’ through some semantic change. In related languages the cognate of this verb has also the meaning ‘hit (target)’. As a suffix, the morpheme

means ‘about to, almost about to, one the verge of’. It is not very productively used.

rónka khé-nañnañ cáñ-ata
stone hit-about.to become-PAST
‘the stone was about to hit’ (missed the target by a very small margin)

khap-nañnañ cáñ-ata
cry-about.to become-PAST
‘was about to weep’

jartún-nañnañ khár-e ríjam-a
run-about.to do-INCOMP walk-PRES
‘walk so fast that it is quite like running’

ki-nañnañ cáñ-ata
fall-about.to become-PAST
‘was about to fall’

(13) -an

Although homophonous (and probably also homonymous) with the emphatic suffix *-an* ~ *-n* (see 4.2.4.1–2), this morpheme is not synonymous with it. Formally, the suffix does not have the reduced allomorph *-n*. Regarding its affixal properties, while the emphatic suffix *-an* ~ *-n* is used with verb formations as well as with noun formations, the present suffix *-an* is used only with verbs. Although the element of emphasis is present (for which reason it is glossed EMPH), the morpheme gives expression to the following special semantic nuances:

(i) The suffix builds repetitive (reduplicated) and special participial formation indicating prolonged continuation of the action. As will be seen in the examples below, this device is particularly used in narratives and story-telling.

rén-an réñ-an cusar gó-sa nuk-ñata
GO-EMPH GO-EMPH well CL-one see-PAST
‘having journeyed for a very long time (subject) saw a well’

sam-e to-an to-an nukhar réñ-ata
wait-INCOMP stay-EMPH stay-EMPH sleep VECT-PAST
‘having waiter and waiter for a long time (subject) fell asleep’

khap-an khap-an phar cáη-ata
 cry-EMPH cry-EMPH night become-PAST
 ‘as (subject) kept crying it became dark’

(ii) The suffix plays a special function of generating adverbs of manner from verb roots. The morpheme is not a productive affixation in the sense that it does not operate in new roots easily. There are also a number of adverbs which formally have *-an*, but whose base does not have potential freedom of occurrence. Yet on the basis of a number of synchronic free roots it may be safely and correctly deduced that also these were derived in the same fashion. Some roots went out of circulation, their forms with *-an* surviving as lexicalised items. Therefore below I have presented an entire list (as far the data analysed are concerned) of such forms, providing the roots or related forms that are still found in circulation (as far as it was possible to track down).

The following have bases that are free:

brau-an	‘(burn) suddenly having big leaping flames’ (<i>brau</i> ‘burn brightly with big flames’)
diḡrap-an	‘(fall) with face downwards’ (<i>diḡrap</i> ‘with face downwards, prostrate’)
diḡp-an	‘(get cut) in a flash, in a split second’ (<i>diḡp</i> ‘to split binding strips’—which involves sudden slicing)
khīp-an	‘close together without intervening space in between’ (<i>khīp</i> ‘to close’ (books, bags, lips etc.))
práη-an	‘brightly (breaking of dawn)’ (<i>práη</i> ‘bright, radiant’)
prot-an	‘directly and fast (come out)’ (<i>prot</i> ~ <i>pró</i> ‘bore through, lead to’)

The following forms have bases that are found elsewhere, either as reduplicated or in some other combination, but they are not free otherwise:

bron-an	‘directly, without deviating (entering)’ (<i>bronbron</i> ‘(enter) directly’)
cep-an	‘(catch or pinch) tight between fingertips’ (<i>cepcep</i> ‘(catch) by force’)
crap-an	‘(dance, reach) all together, in unison’ (<i>crapcrap</i> ‘together, simultaneously’)

drit-an	‘(pull) suddenly in one action’ (<i>drídrí</i> ‘gradually’, <i>drí-sa</i> ‘a little’)
glík-an	‘(drink) in one draught’ (<i>glíkglík</i> ~ <i>groggrog</i> ‘drink with great gulps’)
hór-an	‘(pour liquid) in a sudden powerful stream’ (<i>hórhór</i> ‘gushing forth in powerful continuous stream’)
jróm-an	‘(place) close together’ (<i>jrónjróm</i> ‘close together’)
kengren-an	‘(fall) side-ways from a sitting or standing position’ (<i>kengegren</i> ‘(fall) sideways from sitting or standing position’)
phron-an	‘(move) suddenly in a flash’ (<i>phronphron</i> ‘(fly, be carried away) speedily or intensely’)
jíp-an	‘(occur) simultaneously or concurrently’ (<i>jípjíp</i> ‘just submerging’)
krep-an	‘(break) nosily with a crashing sound’ (<i>krepkrep</i> ‘(break) into shreds’)
prok-an	‘(pluck) effortlessly’ (<i>prokprok</i> (pluck) effortlessly’)
sar-an	‘in a circle’ (<i>sarsar</i> ‘in a circle’)
sruk-an	‘secretly, on the quiet’ (<i>sruksruk</i> ‘quietly, without making noise’)
srak-an	‘imitative word used with <i>srukan</i> ’
tap-an	‘fast’ (<i>taptap</i> ‘fast’)
tró-i-an	‘in the fashion of being ejected out suddenly (tears, spittle)’ (probably related to <i>trotro</i> ‘drop by drop, flowing intermittently’)

The following do not have the base found in any other combination, nor are they used freely. They are found only as bound to *-an*.

ci <u>u</u> -an	ci <u>u</u> -an	‘(flash light or burn) with intermittent gleams’
cop-an		‘(sit, catch) in a style that includes folding or gathering into a more compact state’
copek-an		‘(sit) with hind portion touching ground or object used for sitting’
cuk-an		‘(meet, place) precisely or exactly at the same place or time’
gr <u>au</u> -an		‘(fall) with loud noise (as produced by leaves)’
jr <u>op</u> -an		‘(stand) close to each other, (stand with legs) together’
kra <u>u</u> -an		‘(fall) heavily and noisily’

mom-an ~ mam-an	‘immediately’
pak-an	‘very’
phriη-an	‘(get smell) in a sudden whiff or waft’
pik-an	‘(rise and leave) suddenly and abruptly’
srāη-an	‘(cut) in one chop’
sret-an	‘(cross over, be wounded) suddenly in a flash, quickly and directly’
srōη-an	‘(move) in a darting motion, rapidly like an arrow’
srīη-an	‘(disappear, catch a glimpse) in a sudden flash’
srip-an	‘(fall asleep) suddenly’
trip-an	‘quietly’ (<i>trīptrīp</i> ‘quietly’)

A few noteworthy points of these forms are: (a) With the exception of *diḡrap* and *keṅgreη* all the roots are monosyllabic. (b) All the forms in *-an* are manner adverbs. They all indicate a momentary one-time activity executed with suddenness and not one that occupies a long stretch of time. Exceptions are *pak-an* ‘very’ (an adverb of degree or intensity), *sar-an* ‘in a circle’ (adverb of place), and a few frequency adverbs not given in the list above like *sanaη-an* ‘everyday’ and *bosori-an* ~ *bisiri-an* ‘each year’. (c) Instances where the root has lost free use are far more. Even in cases where a comparable root is synchronically in circulation, a shade of semantic divergence is noticeable, although the relationship is beyond doubt. Possibly we can predict the ouster of either the root or the *-an* form in the future. (d) Reduplication of the base is found in many instances. This may be observed in cases where the action can be repeatedly performed or when a temporal stretching of the state or the activity is possible.

4.2.3 *Principal verb affixes that form substantive verbs*

All the affixes treated in this section are substantivising affixes that derive nouns from verb roots. As such they are all word class changing nominalising verb affixes. These could have been treated under the section of derivation of nouns. However they have been treated under this section in order to throw light on the affixal property and other characteristics of the verb roots rather than the property of the nouns that are the result of the affixation.

(1) -bra

The suffix *-bra* is the class-maintaining derivational noun suffix having the meaning ‘one who is’ treated in 3.1.2.1–2. It is very low in productivity and is found in some lexicalised forms indicating divine attributes.

takman-bra	‘Creator-God’ (<i>tak</i> ‘to make, to do’)
róne-bra	‘Distributor-God’ (<i>rón</i> ‘to distribute’)

Although its productivity is seldom attested in casual speech, its use to indicate agent nominalisation (in the singular only and never in the plural) is attested in careful and creative use of the language:

tin-bra	‘leader, one who leads’ (<i>tin</i> ‘to lead’)
kitriṅ-bra	‘teacher, one who teaches’ (<i>kitriṅ</i> ‘to teach’)

In normal speech, however, the attributive suffix *-kai* (see No. 4 below) is used.

(2) -khrok

This affix too is very low in productivity. But there are a few verb roots that take this suffix to indicate one who possesses the quality indicated by the verb root to a great degree:

kiri-khrok	‘a coward, one who is frightened’ (<i>kiri</i> ‘to be afraid’)
jasa-khrok	‘one who is known widely to spread calumny’ (<i>jasa</i> ‘to calumniate’)
madu-khrok	‘one who does not share or give anything away to anybody’ (<i>madu</i> ‘keep for oneself, refuse to share’)

(3) -dam

This suffix is a noun derivational suffix (see 3.1.2.1–1) which denotes a place associated with a noun. With verb roots it denotes a place associated with the verb root. The usage is not very widely attested and is encountered mostly by language activists to create specialised nouns non-existent in the language.

nok	tu-nu-dam	
house	CAUS-sit-place	‘foundation of the house’
trɪŋ-dam		‘school’ (<i>tɪraŋ</i> ‘to learn’)

(4) -kai

This is the most common substantivising suffix. Its basic morphological characteristic is of deriving the attributive (ATTR) form of a verb root. Functionally, however, it yields action nominalisation, subject nominalisation and object nominalisation, besides being attributive.

(i) The attributive function

A verb root suffixed with *-kai* yields an attributive form that can be used syntactically with a noun to produce an endocentric construction.

bok- <u>kai</u> nen	‘white cloth’ (<i>bok</i> ‘be white’; <i>nen</i> ‘cloth’)
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The order of the attributive and the noun is quite free.

nem- <u>kai</u>	<u>kai</u>	<u>kai</u>	nem- <u>kai</u>
good-ATTR	person	person	good-ATTR
‘good person’		‘good person’	
sak- <u>kai</u>	par	par	sak- <u>kai</u>
red-ATTR	flower	flower	red-ATTR
‘red flower’		‘red flower’	

Whichever form, the noun or the attributive, comes last takes the affixes attached to the noun phrase as a whole:

nok	cuŋ- <u>kai</u> -o	aŋ	nuk-ŋata
house	big-ATTR-ACC	I	see-PAST
‘I saw the big house’			
(cuŋ- <u>kai</u>	nok-o	aŋ	nuk-ŋata)
(big-ATTR	house-ACC	I	see-PAST)
‘I saw the big house’			

In very explicit situation, pragmatic deletion of the noun is very common letting the attributive formation directly receive further affixes:

mai r̥im-kai kai-o pra_o-ϕ
 rice cook-ATTR person-ACC call-IMP
 ‘call the one who cooks rice’

(mai r̥im-kai-o pra_o-ϕ)
 (rice cook-ATTR-ACC call-IMP)
 ‘call the one who cooks rice’

The formation of the plural shows some peculiarities: (a) Rabha is sensitive to human and non-human nouns in the plural marking. (b) Affixation can be either to the noun or to the attributive, whichever comes last in syntactic order. (c) When affixation is to the attributive, the human plural marker is *-batan*, while when it is to the human noun directly, it is the regular plural suffix *-tan*. The non-human plural is the regular *-bijan*.

másu ak-kai-bijan ak-kai másu-bijan
 cattle black-ATTR-PL black-ATTR cattle-PL
 ‘the black cattle’ ‘the black cattle’

diṅdiṅ-kai kai-tan (kai) diṅdiṅ-batan
 stand-ATTR person-PL person stand-PL
 ‘persons who are standing’ ‘(persons) who are standing or those standing’

The presence of *-ba* in the plural *-batan* can be traced to the attributive function of *-ba* (see No. 5 below), such that *-batan* could have grown out of noun deletion from a phrasal expression such as:

diṅdiṅ-ba kai-tan > diṅdiṅ-ba-tan

(ii) The attributive as subject nominaliser and as object nominaliser

Just a few examples will reveal that the attributive formation can function as subject nominalisation as well as object nominalisation.

r̥eṅ-kai sábra
 go-ATTR child ‘the child who is going’

rákhu-kai kai
 give-ATTR person ‘the person who is giving’

nuk- <u>kai</u>	pakja	
see-ATTR	thing	‘the thing seen’
rákh <u>u-kai</u>	pakja	
give-ATTR	thing	‘the thing that is given’

A corollary to object nominalisation is that it can stand for objects closely related to the verb.

sá- <u>kai</u>	‘food’ (<i>sá</i> ‘to eat’)
rīṅ- <u>kai</u>	‘drink’ (<i>rīṅ</i> ‘to drink’)

(iii) action nominalisation

-kai also builds abstract nouns similar to the gerunds.

kher- <u>kai</u> -an	u-ni	kami	
play-ATTR-EMPH	he-GEN	work	
‘playing is his work’			
u-ni	nukhar	rén- <u>kai</u> -o	aṅ nuk-ṅata
he-GEN	sleep-ATTR-ACC	I	see-PAST
‘I saw him sleeping (literally, I saw his sleeping)’			
‘khap- <u>kai</u> -be	kaisábra-taṅ-a	nem-a	
cry-ATTR-DEF	child-PL-DAT	good-PRES	
‘crying is good for children’			

In all these examples the function of the -kai forms is not strictly attributive. While there are nouns related to these forms, the nouns are not qualified by them, as when they are strictly attributive.

In sum, therefore, a form like *rīṅ-kai* can mean ‘drinking’ (gerund), ‘drink’ (related noun), something that is drunk (object nominalisation with noun deletion) or ‘one who drinks’ (subject nominalisation with noun deletion). Although the suffix is glossed ATTR it could equally well be glossed ‘nominaliser’ or ‘substantiviser’.

(5) -ba

The morpheme -ba is an affix that enters into several morphological formations, both with verb roots as well as with noun roots, generating different semantic effects. Here we analyse those instances

where an attributive type of formation parallel to the formation with *-kai* or a noun type of formation is generated.

(i) Attributive function of *-ba*

Verb roots affixed with the attributive *-ba* are generally used to modify very few nouns. The most characteristic use is to modify nouns indicating time or season, particularly the noun root *tal* ‘time, season’.

kami rá-ba tal
work-ATTR time
‘time of work, time when work is done’

maí rim-ba tal
rice cook-ATTR time
‘time when cooking is done’

raŋ pha-ba tal
rain-ATTR time
‘season of rain, rainy season’

The analysis of *-ba* as attributive is supported by the fact that the above formations are parallel to forms like:

raŋ pha-kai okot
rain-ATTR time
‘time of rain, season of rain’

When such formations with *-ba* are used attributively, they have a special affinity for the noun root *tal* ‘time, season’ and, though less frequently, to other nouns indicating time. Although of limited use, its function parallels *~kai*.

More evidence comes from the compound plural marker *-bataŋ*, which is used directly with verb roots to indicate subject nominalisation in the plural when the person-indicating noun is deleted. The initial *-ba* of *-bataŋ* is to be identified with the attributive suffix *-ba* as treated here. The element *-taŋ* is the human plural marker. In such instances the attributive suffix *-kai* is replaced by the attributive ending *-ba* (see also 4.3.3.1–3). The sequence *-bataŋ* is, therefore, glossed (ATTR)PL. When the noun is not deleted, the regular plural is formed on the noun with *-taŋ*:

nem-bataŋ	
good-(ATTR)PL	‘the good people’
cuŋ-bataŋ	
big-(ATTR)PL	‘the big or great people’

When pairs of echo words are used, the plural marker is suffixed in full to both the terms or in full only to the second term while the first term retains just *-ba*:

cuŋ-bataŋ	rón-bataŋ	
big-(ATTR)PL	strong-(ATTR)PL	
‘elders, leaders or great people’		
or, cuŋ-ba	rón-bataŋ	
big-(ATTR)	strong-(ATTR)PL	
‘elders, leaders or great people’		

Whenever any of these instances are expanded with a noun, the only permitted nouns are those which can take the plural *-taŋ*, the most generic of which is *kai* ‘person’, and the verb root will necessarily have to bear the attributive suffix *-kai*. Once again the complementary distributional function of *-ba* and *-kai* is evident.

nem-kai	kai-taŋ	
good-ATTR	person-PL	
‘the good persons’		
cuŋ-kai	rón-kai	kai-taŋ
big -ATTR	strong-ATTR	person-PL
‘elders, leaders, great people’		

(ii) Noun derivation by *-ba*

What is special about this function of *-ba* is that forms that have *-ba* and behave as noun roots always need to be further affixed with place-indicating case suffixes, especially the locative and the ablative (the only other exception is when it is followed by *ganda*—see (iii) below). Such formations are used only in a spatial sense when the case relation is locative, and in a temporal sense (in which case it always refers to past time) when the relation is ablative. Because these forms take case suffixes they have been treated in the present section. The suffix *-ba* is glossed as ATTR as in (i).

hoŋ pansan naŋ-ba-i cusar to-a
 there sal.tree have-ATTR-LOC well there.be-PRES
 ‘over there, where there is a sal tree there is a well’

eŋganda sam cika naŋ-ba-i-se ðim-a
 this.type grass water have-ATTR-LOC-EMPH grow-PRES
 ‘it is in places having presence of water this type of grass grows’

náŋ nu-ba-i-an to-a-mín
 you sit-ATTR-LOC-EMPH there.be-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘it was just where you were sitting’

e-kai cai-o-be aŋ baikho
 this-ATTR song-ACC-DEF I *baikho* festival
 cáŋ-ba-i na-nata
 become-ATTR-LOC heat-PAST
 ‘I heard this song at the festival of *baikho*’

raŋsaŋ dogó-ba-ini para raŋsaŋ dugú-cekena
 sun come.out-ATTR-ABL sun go.down-ALL
 ‘from sunrise to sunset’

náŋ peke bobai-ba-ini para ame cokó riŋ-khu-ca
 you COM speak-ATTR-ABL I(DEF) liquor drink-still-NEG
 ‘from the time I spoke to you, I have not drunk liquor’

hoŋ sam ðim-ba-ini para ciŋ diŋdiŋ-cekena
 there grass grow-ATTR-ABL we stand-ALL
 ‘from there, where grass grows, till here where we stand’

Just as it was possible in the case of the attributive function (i. above) of *-ba*, all instances of *-ba* along with the locative and ablative case affixes can be substituted with an attributive *-kai* formation with the addition of a noun of time or place:

náŋ nu-kai hádam-i-an to-a-mín
 you sit-ATTR place-LOC-EMPH there.be-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘it was just where you were sitting’

u-ni toŋ-kai hádam-i aŋ-ba to-a-mín
 he-GEN there.be-ATTR place-LOC I-also there.be-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘in the place where he was I too was present’

Not only do these examples demonstrate the two possibilities, but the noun required in the expansion shows whether the unexpanded form has temporal or spatial reference whereby the nouns required are *hádam* ‘place’ and *somai* ‘time’.

nán nu-kai hádam-i
 you sit-ATTR place-LOC
 ‘in the place where you sat’

nán nu-ba-i
 you sit-ATTR-LOC
 ‘in the place where you sat’

nán-o bóη-kai somai-ni para
 you-ACC meet-ATTR time-ABL
 ‘from the time (subject) met you’

nán-o bóη-ba-ini para
 you-ACC meet-ATTR-ABL
 ‘from the time (subject) met you’

In certain instances, the suffix *-ba* along with its composite forms in the locative and ablative come to be directly used with noun roots through verb deletion:

bia	cán-ba-i	>	bia-ba-i
marriage	become-ATTR-LOC		marriage-ATTR-LOC
‘at the marriage’			‘at the marriage’

baikho	cán-ba-i	>	baikho-ba-i
<i>baikho</i> festival	become-ATTR-LOC		<i>baikho</i> festival-ATTR-LOC
‘at the <i>baikho</i> festival’			‘at the <i>baikho</i> festival’

The fact that when a formation with *-ba* has temporal reference it invariably refers to the past time, suggests it to be a special past tense formation with *-ba* (see 4.2.1–9)

(iii) *-ba ganda*

ganda ‘like, as’ is a postposition used with nouns.

ni, cime kraŋ-ba ganda hat-ina réŋ-a
 come, we(DEF) stroll-ATTR as market-ALL go-INF
 ‘come, let us go to the marker for a stroll’

mia cáŋ-ba ganda té-ba
 yesterday happen-ATTR as today-also
 cáŋ-a-ba to-a
 happen-INF-also there.be-PRES
 ‘as it happened yesterday, it may happen today also’

aŋ-ba roŋ ci-ba ganda nán peke réŋ-o
 I-also festival look-ATTR as you COM go-FUT
 ‘I too will go with you as a visit to the festival’

These too have parallel formations with attributive *-kai*.

ni, cime kraŋ-kai ganda hat-ina réŋ-a
 come, we(DEF) stroll-ATTR as market-ALL go-INF
 ‘come, let us go to the market for a stroll or as a stroll’

When the time reference is past, it is difficult to distinguish it from the past tense form built with *-ba*. However, the true past tense construction with *-ba* as treated in 4.2.1–9 has aspectual meaning which does not imply present relevance and can therefore not be substituted with the *-kai* formation.

tikaŋ cáŋ-ba
 before happen-ATTR
 ‘as happened before’

ganda tikaŋ cáŋ-kai ganda
 as before become-ATTR as
 ‘as happened before’

tikaŋ kal -i pan bá páŋ-ba
 before time-LOC tree bamboo plenty-PAST
 ‘there used to be plenty of vegetation in former days’

But the parallel construction * *tikaŋ kal-i pan bá páŋ-kai* with *-kai* is ill-formed.

4.2.4 *General affixes*

General affixes are so called because they are affixed to a noun root or a verb root. They are used after the principal suffixes. They are treated here along with the other verb suffixes because they are more characteristically used with verb roots. Their usage with noun roots can also be viewed as cases of verb deletion. A division may be made between non-terminating general suffixes and terminating general suffixes.

4.2.4.1 *Non-terminating general affixes*

Theoretically non-terminating suffixes are available for affixation by terminating affixes.

(1) -se

This has several shades of meaning, mostly a nuance of emphasis (for which reason it is glossed EMPH just like the emphatic *-an*) along with a sense of being singled out apart from the rest, actually present or imagined. This suffix thus has the meaning ‘only’.

e-kai-o-se rá-Ø
 this-ATTR-ACC-EMPH take-IMP
 ‘take this (not any other)’

hácu(-ni) homphlan tokoro-se réŋ-Ø
 hill(-GEN) that.side PER-EMPH go-IMP
 ‘go along (via) the other side of the hill (not this side)’

nán-se ‘Oh! it is you’ (unexpected and pleasant surprise)
 (nán ‘you’)

aŋ-se ‘It’s just me’ (have no fear, it is me, don’t you recognise me) (aŋ ‘I’)

(2) -an ~ -n

This is the principal and pervasive emphatic marker, used with noun formations as well as verb formations. With pronouns it yields emphatic pronouns (which in English are rendered as reflexives).

aŋ-an réŋ-o
 I-EMPH go-FUT
 ‘I myself will go’

náŋ-i mona-be u-si-an toŋ-ba-mín
 you-GEN bag-DEF that(LOC)-EMPH there.be-PAST-IMPERF
 ‘your bag was there itself’

té-an réŋ-Ø
 now/today-EMPH go-IMP
 ‘go just now/go today itself’

tupú-be e-kai hákhar-i-na-n dán-ata
 snake-DEF this-ATTR hole-ILL(LOC-DAT)-EMPH enter-PAST
 ‘the snake entered this (very) hole’

When a suffix ending in the back vowel /o/ or the low vowel /a/ precedes the suffix *-an*, it is reduced to *-n*. Yet no such reduction takes place when the root itself is immediately followed by *-an*.

momo-an kani-nata
 younger.sibling-EMPH say-PAST
 ‘brother/sister(younger) (herself/himself) said’

momo-o-n praŋ-e ráŋ-Ø
 younger.sibling-ACC-EMPH call-INCOMP take-IMP
 ‘call (and take along) (your) brother/sister (younger)’

baba-an réŋ-ata
 father-EMPH go-PAST
 ‘father himself went’

ame kiri-emene pan-ni para
 I(DEF) fear-INCOMP tree-ABL
 bír-na-n jaŋ-ca-nata
 descend-INF-EMPH able-NEG-PAST
 ‘being afraid I just could not climb down from the tree’

i-be náŋ-i-an
 this-DEF you-GEN-EMPH
 ‘this is yours’

Just a few examples of its use on verb formations are given below.

u-be réŋ-o ín-donbe, réŋ-o-n
 he-DEF go-FUT say-if, go-FUT-EMPH
 ‘if he says he will go, he will certainly go’

nán-i kani-kai-be dó-a-n
 you-GEN say-ATTR-DEF be.true-PRES-EMPH
 ‘what you say (your statement) is definitely true’

kai-be nem-a-n
 person-DEF good-PRES-EMPH
 ‘the person is certainly good’

ame nu-na-n trap-ca
 I(DEF) sit-INF-EMPH get time-NEG
 ‘I don’t get time even to sit’

u peke bobai-na-n jaŋ-ca-nata
 he COM speak-INF-EMPH able-NEG-PAST
 ‘was not able just to talk to him/her’

(3) -san

The suffix *-san* is another emphatic (EMPH) suffix which appears to be a compound of the emphatic *-se* and the ending *-an*. Semantically this compound suffix expresses both the specific meanings of *-an* and *se*.

náme i-o-san mán-nata-na
 you(DEF) this-ACC-EMPH get-PAST-INTERR
 ‘is it only this that you got’

tikar-be phar-i-san kraŋ-a
 ghost-DEF night-LOC-EMPH wander-PRES
 ‘ghost(s) wander only at night’

kai-be hádabur-se, aro hádabur-san phén-no
 person-DEF dust-EMPH, and dust-EMPH turn into-FUT
 ‘man is only dust (only), and will turn into dust (only/itself)’

aŋ katan ato-ba toŋ-donbe ame nán-a-san rákhu-no
 I LOC what-INDEF there.be-if I(DEF) you-DAT-only give-FUT
 ‘If there is anything with me I will give (it) to you only (not to any other)’

Although this suffix is more characteristically used along with noun formations, it is also used along with verb formations adding the meaning ‘only, just’. In some expressions it can be translated as ‘just now’ (usually always preceded by the past tense suffix <-nata>).

ci-eta-san
 look-PRES-only
 ‘(subject is) just looking’

ma_i sá-nata-san
 rice eat-PAST-just now
 ‘just (now) (subject) had meal’

ríba-nata-san
 come-PAST-just now
 ‘(subject) just arrived’

(4) There are three extended formations of *-doŋbe*, which is a suffix forming a non-finite verb formation treated in 4.2.2–3. All the three build non-finite verb forms and can also be used with nouns.

(a) *-doŋbe*

This suffix, whose second part is probably analysable as the definitive morpheme *-be*, marks the conditional if-clauses.

san-i raŋsaŋ túŋ-doŋbe phar-i raŋ pha-no
 day-LOC sun hot-if night-LOC rain-FUT
 ‘if the sun is hot by (during the) day it will rain at night’

pa_isa toŋ-ca-doŋbe hat-ina ta-réŋ
 money there be-NEG-if market-ALL N.IMP-go
 ‘if there is no money do not go to the market’

This suffix is also used in verb formations that already have a finite suffix. However, these cases can be seen as the result of verb deletion.

náŋ réŋ-jo in-doŋbe ana u-o bóŋ-ca-nata
 you GO-PAST say-if why he-ACC meet-NEG-PAST
 ‘if you went why (is that) you did not meet him’

rén-jo	in-donbe	>	rén-jo-donbe
go-PAST	say-if		say-PAST-if
'if (one) says (one) went'			'if (one) went'
rén-o	in-donbe	>	rén-o-donbe
go-FUT	say-if		go-FUT-if
'if (one) says (one) will go'			'if (one) will go'

Their usage with noun roots also probably grew out of verb deletion.

kí-donbe	phacən	ton-o
dog-if	canine.tooth	there be-FUT
'if it is a dog (if a dog) it will have canine tooth'		
miḅkú-donbe	ná	sá-no
cat-if	fish	eat-FUT
'if it is cat (if a cat) it will eat fish'		

The deleted verb must be a verb of 'being' like *dó* ~ *dón* 'be, be true' which is readily deleted because the suffix itself is derived from that verb. Deletion avoids repetition such as *dón-donbe* 'if it is' or 'if it is true', or of another verb of 'being' and 'becoming' like *cán*.

(b) -donba

The second member is the morpheme *-ba* 'also'. The combination produces the conditional meaning 'even if, although'.

si-na	lagi-donba	ame	bar-ca-n
die-INF	need-even.if	I(DEF)	turn.back-NEG-EMPH
'even if I should need to die I will not (don't) return'			
d̄imdakai-an	rén-donba	u-be	rén-ca-ge
all-EMPH	go-even.if	he-DEF	go-NEG-REP
'even if all go he does not go, it is reported'			

It is used also with noun roots:

hiti-donba	hákhār-ina	ki-donbe	phuk-e	mún-o
elephant-even.if	hole-ILL	fall-if	stuck-INCOMP	stay-FUT
'even if it is an elephant if it falls into a hole it will stay stuck'				

There is a special use of *-doŋba* used to generate a finite verb. The resulting forms have a first person subject and can be rendered with ‘I suppose, I think’. Such expressions are characteristically uttered with a final falling inflection.

- oroŋ réŋ-jo-doŋba!
 they go-PAST-suppose
 ‘I suppose they are gone’
- nároŋ-an ríba-no-doŋba!
 you(PL)-EMPH come-FUT-suppose
 ‘I suppose you yourself will come’
- tupú-an-mín-doŋba!
 snake-EMPH-IMPERF-suppose
 ‘I think it was indeed a snake’
- náŋ-i-an-mín-doŋba!
 you-GEN-EMPH-IMPERF-suppose
 ‘I suppose it was yours (emphatic)’
- sarkai-an nem-eta-doŋba
 all-EMPH good-CONT-suppose
 ‘I suppose all are keeping fine’

(c) *-doŋse*

The second element is identifiable as *-se* ‘only’ (see No. 1 above), and true to the parts that make up this suffix, its semantic content is ‘only if’.

- dímdakai-an rapsaŋ mai sá-doŋse nem-a
 all-EMPH together rice eat-only.if good-PRES
 ‘only if all eat rice (have meal) together it is good’
- náŋ toŋ-doŋs cime roŋ mán-no-mín
 you there be-only.if we(DEF) happy-FUT-IMPERF
 ‘only if you are present we would be happy’

This suffix can be used with noun roots. This possibility too probably grew out of deletion of verb of being *dó* ~ *dóŋ* ‘be, be true’ as in the previous instances.

i-be mĩ̀kú-se, kĩ̀-doŋse nem-o-mĩ̀n
 this-DEF cat-only, dog-if.only good-FUT-IMPERF
 ‘this is only a cat, only if it was a dog it would have been good’

In combination with the IMPERF suffix *-mĩ̀n* (see 5 below), the ending *-doŋse* forms finite verb formations. Such formations are all in the subjunctive mood meaning ‘if only’, and can be seen as being parallel to a *-doŋbe* formation with verb root *nem* ‘good’ along with the FUT-IMPERF combination (a combination that generates the main clause of the unreal conditional clause—see 5iii below):

aŋ jaŋ-doŋse-mĩ̀n
 I able-only.if-IMPERF
 ‘if only I were able!’

aŋ jaŋ-doŋbe nem-o-mĩ̀n
 I able-if good-FUT-IMPERF
 ‘it would have been good, if I were able’

náŋ toŋ-doŋse-mĩ̀n
 you there.be-only.if-IMPERF
 ‘if only you were present!’

náŋ toŋ-doŋbe nem-o-mĩ̀n
 you be.there-if good-FUT-IMPERF
 ‘if you were there it would have been good’

Each of these can be seen either as indicating improbability in the future (e.g. you will definitely not be there) or impossible or contrafactual situation either of the present or of the past (e.g. I am just not able).

hat-ina réŋ-ba-i na-doŋse-mĩ̀n
 market-ALL go-ATTR-LOC hear-only.if-IMPERF
 ‘if only I had heard while at the market’

(5) *-mĩ̀n*

This suffix has various functions. Its main characteristic is of generating the imperfective aspect, for which reason it is glossed IMPERF. It follows *-doŋse* (see 4.2.4.1–4c) and precedes *-doŋba* (see 4.2.4–4b)

to produce specialised meanings. In combination with principal verb suffixes having present and past tense meaning, the suffix *-m̄in* acts as the imperfective aspectual marker.

(i) The sequence of morphemes PRES-IMPERF makes a statement about situations that were true in the past. With the addition of the IMPERF suffix *-m̄in*, the PRES *-a* is transposed to past time but still retains its capacity to make a habitual statement (relevant or true in the past).

u-ni kani-kai-be dó-a-m̄in
 he-GEN say-ATTR-DEF be.true-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘his statement or what he said was true’

hoŋ pan phaŋ-sa to-a-m̄in
 there tree CL-one there.be-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘there used to be a tree over there’

u-be ciŋ peke-an mai sá-a-m̄in
 he-DEF we COM-EMPH rice eat-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘he used to eat or have meals with us’

tikaŋ-be tapan sok-a-m̄in
 before-DEF fast reach-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘early (subject) used to reach quickly’

Whether the suffix refers to a single instance or has a habitual connotation is recoverable only from the context:

mí tho-a-m̄in
 curry tasty-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘the curry was tasty’ (one instance)

náŋ mai r̄im-peke mí tho-a-m̄in
 you rice cook-when curry tasty-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘when you used to cook (rice), the curry used to be tasty’ (habitual)

(ii) The combination of suffixes CONT-IMPERF gives a continuous action of the past

raŋ pha-eta-m̄in
 rain-CONT-IMPERF
 ‘it was raining’

okapeke u-be mĩl-eta-mĩn
 at that time he-DEF small-CONT-IMPERF
 ‘at that time he was still small’

- (iii) The combination of suffixes FUT-IMPERF has the special function of marking the main clause or apodosis of the unreal conditional sentence.

aŋ katan atoba toŋ-donbe aŋ nán-a rákhu-no-mĩn
 I LOC what-INDEF there be-if I you-DAT give-FUT-IMPERF
 ‘If I had anything with me I would give (have given) it to you’

nán kalam-ca-donbe nem-o-mĩn
 you sick-NEG-if good-FUT-IMPERF
 ‘it would have been good if you were not ill’

somaĩ toŋ-donde aŋ réŋ-o-mĩn
 time there be-if I go-FUT-IMPERF
 ‘if there were time I would have gone’

- (iv) The combination of suffixes PAST-IMPERF yields a form corresponding to the English past perfect.

cime oron-o-ba praŋ-nata-mĩn
 we(DEF) they-ACC-also call-PAST-IMPERF
 ‘we had called them also’

nán réŋ-ata-mĩn
 you go-PAST-IMPERF
 ‘you had gone’

When the past tense marker *-jo ~ -jok* is used, the meaning generated is similar to what is generated when the past tense marker is <-nata>, but the difference between <-nata> and *-jo ~ -jok* noted in 4.2.1–7 still persist, especially that of forceful definiteness and lack of time depth that is characteristic of *-jo ~ -jok*.

u-na-ba rákhu-jo-mĩn
 he-DAT-also give-PAST-IMPERF
 ‘he too was given some’

aη kakai-an nuk-jo-m̄in
 I REFL-EMPH see-PAST-IMPERF
 'I myself had seen (it)'

(v) -ba-m̄in

The combination has a meaning similar to that of the combination -PRES-IMPERF (see i. above) and makes a statement that was true in the past. The first element *-ba* indicates past tense in and of itself, and the difference between *-ba* and *-ba-m̄in* is subtle.

tikaη kal-i pan bá páηraηa toη-ba-m̄in
 before time-LOC tree bamboo plenty there.be-PAST-IMPERF
 'in the ancient days there was plenty of vegetation'

tikaη kal-i pan bá páηraηa toη-ba
 before time-LOC tree bamboo plenty there.be-PAST
 'in the ancient days there was plenty of vegetation'

The difference between *a-m̄in* and *-ba-m̄in* lies in the fact that some roots that indicate a state or quality do not take *-ba-m̄in* but only *a-m̄in*.

*sak-ba-m̄in (*sak* 'be red') sak-a-m̄in 'it was red'
 *bok-ba-m̄in (*bok* 'be white') bok-a-m̄in 'it was white'
 *tho-ba-m̄in (*tho* 'be tasty') tho-a-m̄in 'it was tasty'

Those that take both combinations do make a clear-cut distinction whereby *-a-m̄in* makes reference to habitual or regular situation or activity (true to the nature of PRES *-a* which indicates habitual situation), and *-ba-m̄in* indicates a one-time activity in the past (true to the nature of *-ba* which basically indicates past).

nuk-a-m̄in 'was seen, was visible'
 nuk-ba-m̄in 'had seen'

ame u-na kani-a-m̄in
 I(DEF) he-DAT say-PRES-IMPERF
 'I used to tell him'

ame u-na kani-ba-m̄in
 I(DEF) he-DAT tell-PAST-IMPERF
 'I had told him'

u-ni tán-kai pan cuṅ-a-min
 he-GEN cut-ATTR tree big-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘the tree which he cut was big’

u -ni tán-kai pan cuṅ-ba-min
 he-GEN cut-ATTR tree big-PAST-IMPERF
 ‘the tree which he cut had grown big’

(6) -bani

This suffix is probably to be analysed as a combination of the past tense suffix *-ba* and the genitive suffix <-ni> (or more specifically as a reduced form of the extended genitive form *-ni badan* ‘because of, on account of’). The suffix can be translated as ‘because, on account of’.

sikham-bani kai-taṅ nok-ini para
 cold-because person-PL house-ABL come
 dogó-na-n goṅ-ca
 out-INF-EMPH willing-NEG
 ‘because of the cold people are unwilling even to come out of
 the house’

raṅ pha-bani ram-bijan tikap tikap tak-a
 rain-because path-PL sticky make/do-PRES
 ‘on account of the rain paths are (have become) sticky’

Following through with the proposed analysis of the suffix, the above expression containing the suffix can be seen as derived from:

raṅ pha-nata. u-ni badan ram-bijan tikap tikap tak-a
 rain-PAST that-because path-PL sticky make/do-PRES
 ‘It rained. Therefore, paths are (have become) sticky.’

It might have been possible to use the suffix *-ba* in the place of PAST *-nata* in the above example but for the fact that *-ba* is not used for the simple past and conveys a sense of present irrelevance.

The combination *-bani* can be used with nouns whereby the deletion of a verb of being or becoming is to be posited.

phar-bani oroŋ réŋ-a kiri-a
 night-because they go-INF afraid-PRES
 ‘because it is night they are afraid to go’

Compare the less contracted from:

phar cáŋ-bani badaŋ oroŋ réŋ-a kiri-a
 night become-because they go-INF afraid-PRES
 ‘because it became night they are afraid to go’

(7) -bana

The meaning of this suffix is closely matched by that of *-bani* (No. 6 above), and its structure is also parallel to that of *-bani*. It is composed of the past tense ending *-ba* and the dative <na> and translates as ‘since, because’.

raŋ pha-ca-bana cika kroŋ-e réŋ-jo
 rain-NEG-because water dry-INCOMP VECT-PAST
 ‘because there is no rain, water has run dry’

másu toŋ-bana nú riŋ-a jaŋ-a
 cow there.be-because milk drink-INF able-PRES
 ‘because there is a cow (subject) we can drink milk’

This too can be used with nouns whereby the deletion of a verb of being or becoming may be posited.

sir-bana-se kham-ca-nata
 metal-since-EMPH burn-NEG-PAST
 ‘only because it was metal it did not burn’

This form can be seen as being contracted from: *sir cáŋ-bana-se kham-ca-nata* ‘only because it is metal it did not burn’ (*cáŋ* ‘to be, to become’).

4.2.4.2 *Terminating general affixes*

A subgroup of the general suffixes are the terminating suffixes. These too may be affixed to a verb formation or a noun formation. They close a morphological formation. No further affixation is possible

beyond these. These are more precisely enclitics (Blake 1994: 12), as they are analysable as separate elements from the point of view of syntax but are pronounced as part of the preceding word. Here, however, they are represented just as the other suffixes are represented, i.e. as part of the preceding word.

(1) -ge

When this suffix is used the statement is coloured as being a reported (REP) statement and not necessarily the speaker's opinion. Its meaning can be interpreted as: 'it is said, it is rumoured, people say'. The morpheme can be affixed to both verb formations and noun formations.

d̥imdakai-an nas̥iŋ-ata-ge
 all-EMPH drunk-PAST-REP
 'all were drunk, so it is reported'

n̥aŋ-o-n baroŋgiri pati-no-ge
 you-ACC-EMPH president appoint-FUT-REP
 'they say you will be appointed president'

When used with noun formations, a verb root is implicit in the context.

pason-ge
 ghost-REP
 'it seems it was a ghost'

raŋkáraŋ-i para-ge
 sky-ABL-REP
 'they say it is (was) from the sky'

(2) -na

This suffix is an interrogative marker marking a yes-no question. (In certain cases yes-no questions are also formed by reduplication of the root along with the negative suffix *-ca* see 6.3.2.)

n̥aŋ ná bot-eta-na
 you(PL) fish-CONT-INTERR
 'are you fishing?'

usi-an bóη-o-na
 there(LOC)-EMPH meet-FUT-INTERR
 ‘we shall meet there itself, shan’t we?’

nem-eta-na
 good-CONT-INTERR
 ‘are (you) keeping well?’

aη-na
 ‘is it me, you mean I?’ (aη ‘I’)

As a corollary, this suffix acts as the disjunctive marker in interrogative sentences, in which case it is affixed to the first of the two terms.

e-kai nú-be másu-ni-na pírn-ni
 this-ATTR milk-DEF cow-GEN-INTERR goat-GEN
 ‘is this milk cow’s milk or goat’s milk?’

oroη ríba-eta-na réη-eta
 they come-CONT-INTERR go-CONT
 ‘are they coming or going?’

náη-a be-kai-o lagi-a,
 you-DAT which-ATTR-ACC need-PRES,
 e-kai-o-na o-kai-o?
 this-ATTR-ACC-INTERR that-ATTR-ACC
 ‘which one do you need, this or that?’

(3) -rok

The suffix *-rok* introduces an element of doubt which can be rendered as ‘who knows! not quite sure’. This suffix constitutes an exception within this group, as it is not used with a noun formation. It follows either the present *-a* or the continuous *-eta* tense markers, but it refers to future time.

ná bó-na réη-eta ná mán-eta-rok
 fish-INF go-CONT, fish get-CONT-who knows
 ‘(am) going fishing, who knows if (I) shall get any fish’

cañse, ame u-o bóη-a-rok
 who.knows, I(DEF) he-ACC meet-PRES-who know
 ‘who knows! who knows if I will meet him

(4) -go ~ -gok

This suffix too is used only with verb formations. This morpheme follows only the present *-a* or the negative *-ca*. The suffix contradicts a statement made by someone—mostly when something that is good and correct is said in praise of another—and the one about whom it is said wants to contradict it in a light-hearted and modest manner and as a jest, but implicitly giving assent to the statement.

A: u-ni-be khúraŋ nem-a
 he/she-GEN-DEF voice good-PRES
 ‘his/her voice is good’

B: dóŋ-ca-gok
 ‘it is not true’ (actually admitting it)

(5) -de

The suffix means ‘O.K.? all right?’ when used with requests in the imperative form, and ‘have no fear’ with promises.

náme isi-an toŋ-Ø-de
 you(DEF) here(LOC)-EMPH stay-IMP-O.K.
 ‘you stay here itself, O.K.?’

aŋ rákhu-no-de
 I give-FUT-all right
 ‘I will give it to you, have no fear (or don’t worry)’

(6) -ne

This suffix expresses mild surprise at knowing something different from what one believed or supposed. It is not attested affixed to a noun formation.

okhare-ba cáŋ-a-ne!
 that.way-also happen-PRES-does it
 ‘does it happen that way too’ (I never knew or I never imagined!)

to-a-ne!
 there.be-PRES-is.there
 ‘Oh! is there?’ (I thought there wasn’t)

(7) -macan ~ macatan

This suffix appears to be related to the noun suffix *maca* (see 4.3.2.4–15). When used with verb formations it always follows the present tense ending *-a*. The final *-n* is analysable as an inherent instance of the emphatic ending *-an*. The semantic content is ‘certainly, definitely’. In this meaning it is not used with noun formations. The two allomorphs vary freely. The first form is more commonly encountered.

to-a-macan
there.be-PRES-definitely
‘there certainly is’

dó-a-macan
be-PRES-definitely
‘it is definitely true’

(8) -be

This suffix is the definitive (DEF) noun suffix (see 4.3.3.3–3). However, when used with a verb formation it shows characteristics different from its usage as a noun suffix. As a verb suffix it is used to indicate a mild emphasis, especially of the reason behind a certain course of action. The suffix is used when replying to a query, meant as stating the obvious. This morpheme generally follows only present ending *-a* and negative ending *-ca*.

ame saksan jaŋ-a-be
I(DEF) alone able-PRES-DEF
‘I can manage alone’ (as a reply to why one works alone)

paisa ton-ca-be
money there.be-NEG-DEF
‘there is no money (don’t you see)’ (stated as an obvious reason for not doing something that requires money)

4.3 *The noun phrase*

The noun phrase in Rabha may have a minimum of one and a maximum of three terms from the set given below. The order is

fixed. The case suffixes are suffixed to whichever term occurs last in syntactic order.

- (a) a verb root + attributive *-kai*
- (b) a noun root, simple or derived
- (c) classifier + numeral (or numeral + classifier, if the non-native system is used)

A fourth possible term is the third person pronoun used attributively with the affixation of the attributive *-kai*. When present, the pronoun always occurs as the first term of a noun phrase. Only very rarely are all the four terms present together.

4.3.1 *Order within the noun phrase*

The most preferred order of the terms within the noun phrase is:

Verb Root + ATTR - N - CL+NUM - Affix(es)

as in:

cuŋ- <u>kai</u>	pan	phaŋ-sa-ni
big-ATTR	tree	CL-NUM-GEN
'of a big tree'		

The order within the noun phrase is relatively free. In actual usage, subject, as it is, to pragmatic exigencies, all the following orders are possible:

cuŋ- <u>kai</u>	phaŋ-sa	pan-ni
phaŋ-sa	cuŋ- <u>kai</u>	pan-ni
phaŋ-sa	pan	cuŋ <u>kai</u> -ni
pan	cuŋ- <u>kai</u>	phaŋ-sa-ni
pan	phaŋ-sa	cuŋ- <u>kai</u> -ni

When only two terms are present, the preferred order is with the noun appearing first:

N - CL+NUM - Affix	as in:	pan phaŋ-sa-ni
N - Root+ATTR - Affix	as in:	pan cuŋ- <u>kai</u> -ni

However, the reversed order is also encountered, as in:

phaŋ-sa	pan-ni	(CL+NUM - N - Affix)
cuŋ-kai	pan-ni	(Root+ATTR - N - Affix)

The possibility of the noun appearing first or last is partially aided by the order in the neighbouring Indo-Aryan Assamese that has the noun in the last place. Not only the terms root + ATTR and CL + NUM but also the noun itself can undergo pragmatic deletion giving rise to the following types of noun phrases:

phaŋ-sa	cuŋ-kai-ni	(CL+NUM - Root+ATTR - Affix)
cuŋ-kai	phaŋ-sa-ni	(Root+ATTR - CL+NUM - Affix)
cuŋ-kai-ni		(Root+ATTR - affix)
phaŋ-sa-ni		(CL+NUM - Affix)

The analysis of the noun phrase, then, amounts to the analysis of the pronouns (the rest having been already dealt with in 3.1), the case affixes and the CL + NUM construction. The Root + ATTR construction is dealt with in 4.2.3–4).

4.3.2 *Pronouns*

The various types of pronouns are dealt with here. The pronouns do not form a separate class different from the nouns, as far as affixal morphology is concerned, except for very minor differences and some morphophonemic alternations. There is no gender distinction in the pronouns. The personal pronouns have special plural formations. Rabha makes a distinction between human and non-human pronouns in the third person plural, which is a feature of Rabha for plural formations in general. There is a distinction between proximity and remoteness in the third person personal as well demonstrative pronouns. This is indicated in the relevant places.

4.3.2.1 *Personal pronouns*

A feature that differentiates personal pronouns from other nouns is that personal pronouns have a special locative case marker indicating possession (see 4.3.3.2–6). Pronouns also have independent plural formations.

(1) $a\eta$ 'I'

The form $a\eta$ is the first person singular pronoun in the general nominative case. Its combining form is the same. A peculiarity of $a\eta$, which it shares also with its plural and the second person singular, is that it has a lexicalised form *ame* 'I (definitive)' arising from morphophonemic changes that have occurred in combination with the definite suffix *-be*:

$a\eta$	+	be	>	ame
I		DEF		'I (definitive)'

Judging from the morphophonemic tendency in Rabha for regressive assimilation of place in nasal-plosive combinations, the probable stages in the formation of this form may have been as follows:

$a\eta$ + be	>	am-be (regressive assimilation of place)
	>	am-me (progressive assimilation of manner)
	>	ame (reduction of geminate nasal cluster)

It could very well be that the plosive underwent deletion without undergoing progressive assimilation of manner. There is no way of deciding this. There are a few other instances of compounds where such changes have taken place. Assimilation of place of a nasal to a preceding or following plosive is a widely attested phenomenon in Rabha. Rabha's intolerance for nasal clusters, homorganic or otherwise, other than *-m-* clusters, at a morpheme boundary is also one of the predominant features that is the motivation behind part of the morphophonemic alternation of the nasal alternation dealt with in 2.1.1. Hence it may be supposed that the changes took place in the order posited above. However, this change has to be considered a lexicalised instance of an isolated occurrence, for it is not an automatic alternation, and there are situations where this change does not take place as in the combination of the third person plural $u\omega\eta$ ~ $o\omega\eta$ and the definite ending *-be* which produces $u\omega\eta be$ or $o\omega\eta be$ but not ** $o\omega me$* . In all other cases the morphological pattern of $a\eta$ is regular.

$a\eta$ -o	'me' (accusative)
$a\eta$ -i	'mine' (genitive)
$a\eta$ -a	'for me' (dative)

(2) *ciη* ‘we’

This form is the first person plural pronoun. This too, like the first person singular *aη* treated above, has *cime* ‘we (definitive)’ as the lexicalised form containing itself and the definite ending *-be*. Otherwise its morphological behaviour is regular, subject to the morphophonemic alternations peculiar to the suffixes.

<i>ciη-o</i>	‘we’ (accusative)
<i>ciη-i</i>	‘ours’ (genitive)
<i>ciη-a</i>	‘for us’ (dative)

The pronoun *ciη* serves as both exclusive and inclusive plural, the use of either being determined by the speech situation.

<i>cime</i>	<i>rēη-o</i> ;	<i>nāη</i>	<i>toη-Ø</i>
<i>we(DEF)</i>	<i>go-FUT</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>stay-IMP</i>
‘we will go; you stay’ (exclusive use)			
<i>ni,</i>	<i>cime</i>	<i>rēη-a</i>	
<i>come,</i>	<i>we(DEF)</i>	<i>go-INF</i>	
‘come, let us go’ (inclusive use)			

This is important to keep in mind, since there is another special inclusive first person plural (see No. 3 below).

(3) *ciηnāηaη* ‘we, we all’

This form is a special first person inclusive plural formed, as evident from its composition, by putting together the first person plural *ciη* ‘we’, second person singular *nāη* ‘you’ and first person singular *aη* ‘I’. This pronoun is pronounced as one word and means ‘you and I, we all (literally we-you-I)’.

<i>ciηnāηaη-an</i>	<i>phāman-a</i>
<i>we(INCL)-EMPH</i>	<i>know-PRES</i>
‘we all know’	

In normal speech it is not heard to be used except in the nominative along with the emphatic marker *-an*, as in the situation above.

(4) *nán* ‘you’

The pronoun *nán* is the second person singular ‘you’. Like *an* ‘I’ and *cin* ‘we’, this too has the lexicalised form *náme* ‘you(DEF)’, which is a combination of itself and the definite marker *-be*. In all other situations its morphological behaviour is regular.

<i>nán-o</i>	‘you’ (accusative)
<i>nán-i</i>	‘yours’ (genitive)
<i>nán-a</i>	‘for you, to you’ (dative)

(5) *náron* ‘you (PL)’

The pronoun *náron* ‘you(PL)’, the second person plural form, does not have the lexicalised form containing the DEF *-be*. Hence its affixal morphology is totally in consonance with the other nouns.

<i>náron-be</i>	‘you (PL, DEF)’
<i>náron-i</i>	‘yours (PL, GEN)’
<i>náron-a</i>	‘for you, to you (PL, DAT)’

(6) *u-* ~ *o-* ‘he, she, that’

Built into the meaning of this pronoun is an element of remoteness that is most evident when compared with *i-* ~ *e-* ‘this’.

As for the alternation *u-* ~ *o-* as well as the corresponding *i-* ~ *e-* ‘this’ it is difficult to see a clearly defined motivation behind the alternation. When a principal case suffix is used, it is always *u* that is employed: *u-ni* (GEN), *u-na* (DAT), *u-o* (ACC), *u-katan* (LOC) and so on. Recourse to possible phonological conditioning of any sort fails here, as *u-* refuses to be lowered to *o-* even in very close proximity with *-o* as in the accusative *u-o*. In some instances mere free alternation is seen, but with a marked preference for the forms having *o*: *oron* ~ *oron* (PL); *u-kai* ~ *o-kai* (ATTR).

In many other combinations when the reference is more adverbial rather than specifically demonstrative and pronominal, the bound allomorph is *o-*: *okapeke* ‘at that time’; *okhare* ~ *okhre* ~ *okhore* ‘like that, in that manner’. This distinction between having a real referent via its pronominal or demonstrative use rather than being adverbial is most clearly noticed in *u-ganda* ‘like him’ and *o-η-ganda* ‘like that, in that way’ (*-η-* is an intruding consonant homorganic with

the following consonant, see 21.3.1–i). However, it is difficult at this stage to make any categorical assertion.

Probably because of its monophonic condition it is hardly ever used by itself. If it has to be used in the nominative without any case affixes it attracts the definite ending *-be*. The only situation where the pronominal root is used without even the definitive *-be* is when in conversational style the subject is placed at the end of the sentence, as in:

bisi-na réŋ-jo u
 where(LOC)-ALL go-PAST he
 ‘where did or where has he gone to?’

the normal order of which would be:

u-be bisi-na réŋ-jo
 he-DEF where(LOC)-ALL go-PAST
 ‘where did or where has he gone to?’

Even in such circumstances the alternant *o-* has no independent existence, but occurs only in combination. Yet it cannot be said that *o-* is the bound allomorph, as *u-* also enters into combinations.

In the plural form there is a distinction between human and non-human reference with *u-roŋ* ~ *o-roŋ* ‘they (human) and *u-bijan* ~ *o-bijan* ‘those (non-human)’. Sometimes non-human animate nouns are also covered by *u-roŋ* ~ *o-roŋ*, but non-animate things are never referred by the human plural.

(7) *i-* ~ *e-* ‘this, it’

While *u-* ~ *o-* has a remote sense, the form *i-* ~ *e-* has a proximate sense. The alternation of *i-* ~ *e-* is exactly parallel to that of *u-* ~ *o-*. The freedom of occurrence of *i-* ~ *e-* with respect to each other also parallels that of *u-* ~ *o-*. The distinction of the plurals is also the same. There is the added element of proximateness distinguishing *i-* and *e-*, such that when referring to a very proximate referent *i-* is preferred to *e-*.

The behaviour of the various personal pronouns is represented in tabular form below:

Table 4.1 *Singular and plural of 1st and 2nd persons*

	sg	plural	
		inclusive	exclusive
1st	aη	ciη ciηnáηaη	ciη
2nd	nánaη	náronη	

Table 4.2 *Proximate and remote 3rd person singular*

proximate		remote	
human	non-human	human	non-human
i-, e-	i-, e-	u- ~ o-	u- ~ o-

Table 4.3 *Proximate vs. remote and human vs. non-human 3rd plural*

proximate		remote	
human	non-human	human	non-human
e-roη i-roη	i-bijan (e-bijan)	u-roη ~ o-roη	u-bijan ~ o-bijan

4.3.2.2 *Demonstrative correlates of third person singular*

In the glosses for the third person singular personal pronouns the demonstrative meaning ‘that’ and ‘this’ were included for *u ~ o* and *i ~ e* respectively. It was also noted that the pronouns seldom occur as free morphs with the exception of the conversational style with subject occurring last. In all such combinations the demonstrative meaning is also applicable.

u-ni	‘of that, his, hers’ (GEN)
u-o	‘that, him, her’ (ACC)
u-na	‘for that, to that, for him, to him, for her, to her’ (DAT)
u-be	‘that, he, she’ (DEF)

All such forms, and others besides, can also be generated with *i ~ e*: *i-ni* ‘of this’ (GEN); *i-o* ‘this’ (ACC); *i-na* ‘for this’ (DAT); *i-be* ‘this’ (DEF) and other forms.

4.3.2.3 *Attributive use of the demonstrative pronoun*

In the Rabha equivalents of such English sentences as ‘this tree is good’, where the use of the demonstrative pronoun is adjectival, the demonstrative forms have to be suffixed with the attributive suffix *-kai*.

e-kai pan-be nem-a
 this-ATTR tree-DEF good-PRES
 ‘this tree is good’

o-kai kai-taŋ
 that-ATTR person-PL
 ‘those people’

e-kai pan-bijan
 this-ATTR tree-PL
 ‘these trees’

As in other attributive situations when the noun being qualified is dropped for some reason, as when it is explicit, the attributive demonstrative takes case affixes:

o-kai-o ta-ráŋ
 that-ATTR-ACC N.IMP-take
 ‘do not take that’

The form *i-kai* is seldom used, and is employed when something very near is being referred to. This feature of Rabha where the demonstrative element takes the attributive suffix to function as attributive demonstrative is a special feature of Rabha that does not exist in the sister languages Garo and Bodo. The attributive morpheme *-kai* is basically a verb suffix that turns roots into substantive verbs. This capacity of a demonstrative to take a verb suffix is indeed special.

4.3.2.4 *Composite forms built on the demonstrative pronoun*

There are some forms built on the demonstrative pronouns that need to be singled out. Some of them are built on the attributive demonstrative, while others are built on the third person singular having

demonstrative correlation. Some of them have adverbial function, while others have adjectival function. However, they have not been categorised in terms of any differences that are found either formally or functionally. A few instances show morphophonemic changes or mutation of some sound. Many of them have parallel formations built on the interrogative pronouns. A tabular presentation is provided after the analysis of the relative pronoun (see 4.3.2.6).

In certain instances there exist alternating forms built on the alternants of the demonstrative pronouns *u-* or *o-* and *i-* or *e-*, while in many instances there exists only one form which has become lexicalised with one of the alternants of the demonstrative pronouns. These are indicated wherever relevant.

- (1) *u-si*
 'there (LOC)'

i-si
 'here (LOC)'

In the whole of the Rabha language the suffix *-si* has a very limited distribution. It is found only in these two instances and also in combination with the relative pronoun *ja* and the interrogative pronoun */bV-/* as *jasi* 'where' and *bisi* 'where?' (see 4.3.2.5). The meaning in all the four instances is locative. In fact, the general locative suffix *-i* is present in it. The composite form because of its inherent locative suffix and meaning can take only the DAT <-na> and the GEN <-ni> which easily combine with locative *-i*, and the secondary affixes related to them besides the definitive *-be* and terminating noun affixes and the general affixes.

- usi-na*
 'to there (ALL)'

isi-be cika toŋ-ca
 here-DEF water there.be-NEG
 'there is no water here'

isi-ni para jar-e réŋ-Ø
 here-ABL run-INCOMP VECT-IMP
 'run away from here'

It is worth noting that *-si* of Rabha is a reflex or cognate of Garo *-ci*, although in Garo the meaning is allative, motion towards or away rather than locative: Garo *u-ci* ‘to there’, *ia-ci* ‘to here’, *ba-ci* ‘to where (interrogative)’ and *je-ci* ‘to where (relative pronoun)’. Garo also has the usage together with dative *-na* as in *u-ci-na* ‘to there’, which is exactly parallel to the Rabha *u-si-na* ‘to there’.

(2) e-ka o-ka ‘such and such’

It is evident that the two forms are reduced and fossilised forms of *e-kai* and *o-kai* respectively. When used together they have indefinite reference.

eka oka san	‘such and such a day’ (<i>san</i> ‘day’)
eka oka <u>kai</u>	‘such and such a person’ (<u><i>kai</i></u> ‘person’)

Individual use of one them is found in just one idiomatic expression which contains a similarly reduced form of the borrowed Indo-Aryan relative *ja* suffixed with the attributive suffix *-kai*:

náŋ	ja-ka	aŋ	o-ka
you	REL-ATTR	I	that-ATTR
‘I am the way you are’ (we are in the same boat)			

(3) e-katháni
‘of this kind, of this behaviour’

o-katháni
‘of that kind, of that behaviour’

These forms are analysable as having the pronominal element, followed by the attributive suffix *-kai*, followed by the noun *that* ‘behaviour’ and the genitive <-ni>. They are, then, derived from: *e-kai that-ni* and *o-kai that-ni* respectively. The complex nucleus of *-kai* is reduced to a simple vowel, and the final *-t* of the noun is deleted, conferring the high tone on the preceding vowel. The latter phenomenon is a synchronic behaviour of Rabha with respect to the vowels followed by a root-final *-t* that is dropped. The meanings of the reduced forms correspond exactly to their phrasal expansion. The reduced forms can be used with or without a second instance of the attributive suffix *-kai*.

ekatháni pakja-o ana rába-jo
 this type thing-ACC why bring-PAST
 ‘why did (subject) bring this type of thing?’

ekatháni pakja-be nem-a
 this type thing-DEF good-PRES
 ‘this type of thing is good’

(4) e-kapeke
 ‘at this time’

o-kapeke
 ‘at that time’

These are to be analysed as clipped instances of *e-kai* and *o-kai*, as in the cases of *eka oka* and *ekatháni* and *okatháni* (Nos. 2 and 3 above) and *-peke*, which is both the comitative tense suffix with nouns (see 4.3.3.2–7) and a tense suffix with verbs (see 4.2.2–4).

As its function is adverbial, the only other possibility of further suffixation is by the terminating noun affixes and general affixes.

okapeke-an
 ‘at that time itself (EMPH)’

ekapeke-be
 ‘at this time (DEF)’

The interrogative pronoun /bV-/ and relative pronoun *ja* form similar combination.

(5) e-kan
 ‘gratuitously, freely just like this, without any specific aim’

o-kon-an
 ‘just like that’

The second element in each case is not identifiable nor semantically specifiable from the stock of morphemes that have been encountered. There exists no motivating factor, either semantic or formal, for analysing *-ka-* as a clipped instance of the attributive suffix *-kai*. The third element in *o-kon-an*, without which it is not used, is definitely the emphatic *-an*. The form *e-kan* is also used with this emphatic

marker as *e-kan-an*. These too are closed for further affixation except for the terminating and general suffixes. Particularly, *e-kan* which does not have a bound emphatic *-an* takes the same *-an*, definitive *-be* and emphatic *-se* quite freely.

ekan	to-eta
just.like.that	stay-CONT
'just idling away time'	
ekan-an	rákhu-nata
just.like.that-EMPH	give-PAST
'gave for free'	
u-be	okonan
he-DEF	just.like.that
'he is like that' (it is expected of him)	

There are no variant forms with *u-* or *i-*, nor with the relative pronoun or the interrogative pronoun.

- (6) e-daga-i
 'here, in this place, in this place'
- o-daga-i
 'there, in that place, at that place'

Strictly speaking these forms do not appear to be features of Rónđani Rabha. Rónđani speakers themselves consider them to be from Mayturi speakers. However they have gained currency among Rónđani speakers. The Bordamal core area has yet to be affected by it, where the frequently used forms to signal the same meaning are *isi* 'here', *usi* 'there', *heŋ* 'here' and *hoŋ* 'there'. The final *-i* is the locative *-i*, and the middle element *-daga-* is most probably a form of Indo-Aryan *jaga* 'place'. The alternation between /d ~ j/ is one also found in other instances including native words (see 2.1.3.1–v). Forms with *u-* and *i-* as alternants of *o-* and *e-* respectively are also frequently encountered. Two other forms, as shortened forms of these forms, are *i-digi* and *u-digi*, having the same meaning. The final vowel has influenced the preceding vowels. Consequently they are more commonly encountered with *u-* and *i-*. It is difficult to say whether *-dig-* is itself from Assamese *dix* 'direction'. The only suffix that is commonly used along with these forms is the emphatic *-an*.

odagai-an to-a-min
 there-EMPH there.be-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘it was just there itself’ (‘it was in that place itself’)

(7) e-san ~ i-an-san ~ i-a-san ‘just now’

All three are freely varying forms. The suffix *-san* is an emphatic marker meaning ‘only’ which itself can be analysed as a combination of emphatic markers *-se* and *-an* (see 4.2.4.1–3). The forms *i-an-san* and *i-a-san* probably contain another instance of the emphatic *-an*. These forms are used to speak about some activity that was just completed as in:

esan ríba-nata
 just.now come-PAST
 ‘just came’

Already having emphatic *-an*, which is a terminating suffix, there is no further affixation.

(8) e-maca-i ‘precisely here’
 o-maca-i ‘precisely there’

Both forms indicate precise location and have the locative *-i*. The suffix *-maca-* which contributes the primary meaning ‘precisely’ enters other formations too (see 15 below). Sometimes the attributive form of the demonstrative pronouns are also employed:

e-kai-macai ‘here itself’

The only other suffix that is encountered is the emphatic *-an*. The interrogative pronoun /bV-/ has a parallel form.

(9) ekai sorta-i ‘in this place, in this area’
 okai sorta-i ‘in that place, in that area’

In this case there are no forms built on the bare demonstratives *u-* ~ *o-* and *i-* ~ *e-*, except with the attributive demonstratives. The morph *sorta-* itself is a bound form and is found only along with the locative *-i*. The composite form has reference to a large area.

The form *sortai* has a limited distribution and only follows formations in attributive *-kai*. It also follows the interrogative pronoun /bV-/ suffixed with the attributive *-kai*.

- (10) e-khare ~ ekhere ~ ekhre ‘like this, in this manner’
 o-khare ~ okhore ~ okhre ‘like that, in that manner’

The form *-khare* is obtained from the verb root *khár* ‘to do’ suffixed with the incomplete or participial *-e*. As a suffix it lacks the high tone. The different forms alternate freely, the contracted forms being more prevalent in fast speech. Parallel forms are also formed with relative pronoun *ja* and interrogative pronoun /bV-/. Other terminating noun suffixes and the general suffixes may be affixed.

ekhare-ba ‘like this also’
 okhare-an ‘just like that’

- (11) i-simaŋ ~ i-siman ‘at this opportunity’

There is no parallel form built on *u* ~ *o*. This form does not take any further suffixes except some compatible terminating and general suffixes.

isimaŋ-an réŋ-Ø
 at.this.opportunity-EMPH go-IMP
 ‘go just now when it is opportune’

- (12) e-n-cek ‘this much’ (quantity)
 o-n-cok ‘that much’ (quantity)

The final syllables in these forms are opaque. Once affixed with ATTR *-kai* they are capable of taking any other noun suffix like regular nouns.

oncok-kai-o aŋ-a rákhu-Ø
 that.much-ATTR-ACC I-DAT give-IMP
 ‘give me the one having that much’

encek-san
 this.much-EMPH
 ‘only this much’

oncok-be dón-a dón-ca
 that.much-DEF enough-INF enough-NEG
 ‘that.much will not be enough’

They may be reduplicated to indicate distributive sense:

oncok-oncok ‘that much each’

- (13) e-n-dek ‘this much’ (height, length or depth)
 o-n-dok ‘that much’ (height, length or depth)

The analysis of these forms is parallel to that of forms under No. 12 above. There are parallel forms built on the relative pronoun and the interrogative pronoun. The *-n-* is an instance of intrusion. Similar arguments in favour and against the phonemic analysis of the second syllable as being /dV_k/ can be put forward as for /cV_k/ for forms in No. 12. There are no alternants built on *u-* and *i-*. Reduplication indicating a distributive sense and affixation with the attributive suffix *-kai*, besides the terminating and general suffixes, are also possible. Semantically, these too refer to quantity but in the precise sense of length, height or depth.

endek thú-donbe dón-o
 this.much deep-if enough-FUT
 ‘it will be enough if it is this deep’

ondok ró-kai-o bisi-ni para mán-nata
 that.much long-ATTR-ACC where-ABL get-PAST
 ‘where did (subject) get one as long as that’

endek-endek ró-kai-o rába-Ø
 this.much-this.much long-ATTR-ACC bring-IMP
 ‘bring ones as long as these’

- (14) i-n-tuŋ ‘this big’
 o-n-tuŋ ‘that big’

There is no form **untuŋ* which would have been expected. In every other respect these forms parallel the forms treated in Nos. 12 and 13. The semantic effect is denoting size. One is immediately reminded of the verb root *cun* ‘be big’ which, incidentally, is the only verb

root that can be used with these forms. There is no proof for any possible relation except semantic closeness and the phonemic similarity of the rhyme of the verb root and that of the last syllable of the forms under analysis. Such a clue is not available for the parallel forms of Nos. 12 and 13.

intuŋ-kai
‘one as big as this’

intuŋ cuŋ-kai-o lagi-no
this.big big-ATTR-ACC need-FUT
‘need one as big as this’

intuŋ intuŋ cuŋ-kai-bijan-o nán ráŋ-Ø
this.big this.big big-ATTR-PL-ACC you take-IMP
‘you take the ones as big as this’

(15) -maca and -teka

These two suffixes do not take pronominal elements directly, nor do they occur frequently. These morphemes are suffixed to the forms analysed and described in Nos. 12, 13, and 14 including their reduplicated instances and to parallel forms with interrogative pronoun /bV-/. The suffix *-maca* acts as an intensifier indicating surprise or indicating that the size, length etc. is considerable and so may be glossed as ‘so . . . (big/much/deep/long/high) . . . as’, whereas the suffix *-teka* is more a denoter of equality or of exactness of measure and so may be glossed as ‘as . . . (big/much/long/deep/high) . . . as’. The composite forms may further take the attributive ending *-kai*.

oncok-maca	‘so much as that’
encek-maca	‘so much as this’
intuŋ-maca	‘so big as this’
endek-maca	‘so deep/long/high as this’
bencek-maca	‘what great quantity, how much’
oncok-teka	‘as much as that’
ontuŋ-teka	‘as big as that’
intuŋ-teka	‘as big as this’
endek-teka	‘as deep/long/high as this’
bencek-teka	‘exactly how much’

intuη-maca-kai-o ana rába-jo
 this.big-so.big.as-ATTR-ACC why bring-PAST
 ‘why did (subject) bring one so big as this’

intuη intuη-teka-kai-bijan-o
 this.big this.big-as.big.as-ATTR-PL-ACC
 ko-e rákha-Ø
 throw-INCMP VECT-IMP
 ‘throw away the ones as big as this’

- (16) e-kataη ‘things like this’
 o-kataη ‘things like that’

These forms may be adjectival. There is generally an undertone of dissatisfaction about the things spoken about as being of inferior quality and somehow undesirable. Usually, the head noun is made explicit by the context, and these forms themselves directly take the noun suffixes.

The overall character and flavour of the forms as they come alive in normal usage leads one to analyse *-ka-* as a probable clipped instance of attributive *-kai* and *-taη* as an instance of the plural marker *-taη*. The plural marker *-taη* is used not only to mark plurality but also, especially with adverbs of time, to introduce an element of indefiniteness and doubt. The present instance may be one in which it indicates indefiniteness and doubt about quality.

okataη-o-be aη-a lagi-ca
 things.like.that-ACC-DEF I-DAT need-NEG
 ‘I do not need things like that’

- (17) o-η-ganda ‘like that, in that manner’
 e-η-ganda ‘like this, in this manner’

The form *-ganda* is the nominal postposition meaning ‘like’. However, the intruding *-η-* is just as in the forms treated in Nos. 12, 13 and 14, which acts as the coda of the first syllable (see 2.1.3.1). There are no parallel forms with the other alternants of the pronouns *u-* and *i-*. However, as noted in 4.3.2.1–6, when there is very specific pronominal reference forms such as *u-ganda* and *i-ganda* are encountered

meaning ‘like her, like her, like that one’ and ‘like him or her (very proximate), like this’ respectively. These forms are rendered nominal and adjectival through addition of attributive *-kai*. Other terminal suffixes are easily added. The interrogative pronoun /bV-/ admits of similar formation, but the relative pronoun *ja* does so only rarely.

ɛŋanda khár-Ø
 like.this do-IMP
 ‘do like this’

ɛŋanda-se khár-na lagi-a
 like.that-EMPH do-INF must-PRES
 ‘it is like that it must be done’

Derived adverbial forms can modify a whole sentence.

ɛŋandakhare
 ‘and then, having done so in that fashion, in that way’

ɛŋandakhare
 ‘and then, having done so, in this way, in this fashion’

- (18) e-koro ‘this way’
 o-koro ‘that way’

The morpheme *-koro* is the suffix of manner or direction. There are no forms built on the other pronominal alternants *u-* and *i-*. The terminating and general suffixes are very easily added. Both the interrogative pronoun /bV-/ as well as the relative pronoun *ja* have parallel forms.

ekoro-an pat-e réŋ-a jaŋ-a
 this.way-EMPH CROSS-INCOMP VECT-INF able-PRES
 ‘can cross this way itself’

okoro-be ta-réŋ
 that.way-DEF N.IMP-go
 ‘do not go that way’

Occasionally, through deletion of verb roots with attributive *-kai*, these adverbs may take noun suffixes.

ekoro réŋ-kai-na kára okoro réŋ-kai-an nem-a
 this.way go-ATTR-DAT than that.way go-ATTR-EMPH good-PRES
 ‘rather than going this way going that way is better’

ekoro-na kára okoro-an nem-a
 this.way-DAT than that.way-EMPH good-PRES
 ‘(going) that way is better than (going) this way’

4.3.2.5 *Interrogative pronouns*

Interrogative pronouns as well as adverbial interrogatives are treated in this section. Analysing the monomorphemic interrogatives as to their basic phonemic pattern, one can see them as divided into three groups:

- (i) those with a basic /cV-/ phonemic pattern
- (ii) those with a basic /a-/ phonemic pattern
- (iii) those with a basic /bV-/ phonemic pattern

Group (iii) dominates the area of interrogatives. There is only one member each in the other two groups. Both Garo and Bodo interrogatives can be analysed into these groups, the first two groups having one parallel member each for both the languages just as in Rabha.

The interrogatives have a few common characteristics: (a) They can be reduplicated to give a distributive sense except when impeded by semantic constraint, (b) They can be rendered indefinite by the suffix *-ba*, (c) They can take the noun suffixes unless blocked by a more appropriate form, (d) The definite ending *-be* is quite at variance with the basic nuance of the interrogatives, and when it is used in some cases it produces special meaning, (e) They take the plural suffix *-taŋ* either to indicate plurality (subject to semantic compatibility) or to further strengthen the indefiniteness. When following the indefinite *-ba*, the sense is never plural but is always that of indefiniteness unless countability is present in the meaning of the interrogative, and (f) some of them form compound interrogatives.

Group (i) /ca-/

There is only member in this group: *caŋ* ‘who’. This can take all the principal noun suffixes.

caŋ	‘who’ (NOM)
caŋ-a	‘for whom’ (DAT)
caŋ-i	‘whose’ (GEN)
caŋ-ba	‘someone’ (indefinite)
caŋ-ba caŋ-ba	‘someone or other’
caŋ-caŋ	‘who all’ (reduplicated)
caŋ-taŋ	‘who all’ (PL <i>-taŋ</i>)
caŋ-ba-taŋ	‘someone, someone or other’

The pronoun *caŋ* has no adjectival function and cannot take a noun after it except in the genitive form:

caŋ-i	másu
who-GEN	cattle
‘whose cattle’	

Group (ii) /a-/

Although there is only one basic member in this group, another form built with this basic member has lexicalised meaning and is treated separately (see No. 2 below):

(1) *at-* ‘what’

The pronoun *at-* is taken as the base because in certain instances a distinction is made between nominative *ata* and accusative *ato*.

náŋ-i	ata	muŋ
you-GEN	what(NOM)	name
‘what is your name’		
náme	ato	mán-jo
you(DEF)	what(ACC)	get-PAST
‘what did you get?’		

The difference is also maintained with the plural suffix *-taŋ*:

ata-taŋ	pakja-bijan	to-a
what(NOM)-PL	thing-PL	there.be-PRES
‘what all things are there?’		

ato-taŋ	pakja-bijan-o	nuk-ŋata
what(ACC)-PL	thing-PL-ACC	see-PAST
‘what all things did (subject) see?’		

However, this difference is one that is losing its grip, and it is possible to see the forms used interchangeably. Although the basic function is adjectival, this pronoun can also be used as an exclamatory interrogative.

ata	pakja	ki-nata
what	thing	fall-PAST
‘what thing fell down’		
ata	<u>kai</u>	u-be
what	person	he-DEF
‘what a person he is!’		

(2) ana ~ atana ‘why’

This interrogative is not monomorphemic but built on *ata* ‘what’ by the suffixation of the dative <-na>, which by contraction generates another alternant *ana* ‘why’:

ata + na	>	atana ~ ana ‘for what, why’
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Both forms are used currently and take the relevant affixes. However, as there is already a principal suffix, this form does not take other principal suffixes. Yet this form can take the extension of the dative and other terminating suffixes.

ana neke ~ atana neke	‘for what’ (extended dative)
ana-ba ~ atana-ba	‘for some reason’ (indefinite)

There are other uses to which *ata* is put:

(a) It is used along with some of the other interrogatives for emphasis and for stylistic effect:

ata	bisi
what	where(LOC)
‘where, where exactly’	

ata bekhare
 what how
 'how, how exactly, how on earth'

- (b) The form *ata* can be used with nouns as a generic echo form or as the second element of an imitative form to add the meaning 'and related things' or doing the work of 'etc.'

maí ata sá-e ríba-Ø
 rice what eat-INCOMP come-IMP
 'come having had meal, etc.'

nen ata rába-nata
 cloth what bring-PAST
 'brought clothes and other things'

With complex verbs having a noun complement, *ata* follows the noun complement:

cika ata ru-i réŋ-Ø
 have.bath (what)-INCOMP go-IMP
 'go having had a bath' (*cika ru* 'have bath')

The pronoun *ata* forms one compound interrogative along the lines of the composite forms built on the third person pronouns described in 4.3.2.4–3 along with the noun *that* 'habit, behaviour, custom' and the genitive <-ni> to give *atoháni* ~ *atatháni* 'of what kind, of what character, of what behaviour'. The second alternant *atatháni* is rarely heard.

Already having a bound instance of a principal suffix, its openness for further affixation for such suffixes is closed, but it may still take the attributive *-kai*.

atoháni pakja i-be!
 what.kind thing this-DEF
 'what kind of a thing is this!'

atoháni-kai pakja nán nuk-ŋata
 what.kind-ATTR thing you see-PAST
 'what kind of a thing did you see?'

Group (iii) /bV-/

A number of interrogatives are grouped together under this pattern. As evident from the phonemic representation, the common element is the initial *b-*.

There are only two interrogatives of the /bV-/ form that are monosyllabic. These two have a defective distribution. There is only one that is polysyllabic and monomorphemic. There may be a diachronic polymorphy hidden beneath this lone exception. The analysis in favour of the polymorphy of the rest of the polysyllabic forms, at least in the case of some of them, is based on parallel forms rather than on actual freedom of occurrence of its parts. Even so, the analysis appears to be in the right direction as individual cases will bear out.

(1) *bo* 'where'

This is a defective interrogative for two reasons: (a) it cannot take any suffix whatsoever, and (b) it cannot be used in a normal sentence as an interrogative, but is restricted to such utterances as:

bo
'where'

bo, ame nuk-ca
where, I(DEF) see-NEG
'where, I don't see'

'*bo, aη ci-na*
where I look-INF
'where, let me see'

In these sentences *bo* can also be placed sentence-finally. Generally its use implies an indirect negation of something believed or affirmed to be true by the listener, or it can also be a genuine enquiry, especially indicating eagerness to verify what the speaker thought to be not true or not there.

(2) *beη-* 'where (side, place, direction)'

This morpheme too is defective in the sense that it is never used by itself. Unlike *bo*, which is considered defective for other reasons, *beη* takes principal affixes that have a semantic relation to place:

beη-a	‘to where’ (DAT used as ALL)
beη-i	‘of which place’ (GEN)
beη-i para	‘from where’ (ABL)
beη-guduη	‘in which direction’

(*beηganda* is not to be analysed as being composed of *beη-* and *-ganda*, rather as compounded of *be* and *-ganda* with the intrusion of *-η*).

Another possible analysis is to place *beη-* which has a local sense, along with the many other forms having a final *-η* with inherent local sense. Several of these forms have parallel meaning with post-position *guduη* minus their own final *-η*. This, then, allows us to see *beη* itself as being composed of *be-* and the locative-indicating *-η*, or as *be-guduη* > *beηguduη* (homorganic nasal insertion) and later reduced to *beη* through back formation and fossilisation of *-η*.

Other forms that have very close correlatable formal and semantic similarity are *heη* ‘here’ and *hoη* ‘there’. This comparison and analogy between *beη* on the one hand and *heη* and *hoη* on the other, and a proposed analysis of *beη* as *be-η* is seen as not altogether ill-suited when it is seen that all the three have parallel forms such as:

beηphlaη ~ bempħlaη	‘which side, on which side’
heηphlaη ~ hemphlaη	‘this side, on this side’
hoηphlaη ~ homphlaη	‘that side, on that side’

The form *beη* cannot be reduplicated, nor can it take the plural *-taη*, and it can take indefinite *-ba* only when there is another suffix preceding it:

beη-a-ba	‘to somewhere, to anywhere’
beη-i-ba	‘of some place, of any place’

(3) *bedo* ‘when’

Synchronically this interrogative is monomorphemic, but its uniqueness as the only polysyllabic interrogative form that is monomorphemic casts a shadow of doubt on its monomorphemic character, at least diachronically. It must be an instance of fossilisation that is now opaque. There is no synchronic evidence for any sort of analysis. This adverb does not take all the principal noun suffixes.

bedo-ni para	‘since when, from what time’ (ABL)
bedo-cekena	‘till when, till what time’ (ALL)
bedo-ba	‘at some time’ (indefinite)
bedo-ba bedo-ba	‘at some time’
bedo-ba-taŋ	‘at some time in the future’ (indefinite, PL)
bedo-ba bedo-ba-taŋ	‘at some time in the future’

Reduplication is possible only with the indefinite *-ba* present.

(4) *bisi* ‘where (LOC)’

The analysability of this form is seen against a procedural presupposition that parallel and analogical forms be admitted for comparative purposes. A discussion of *-si* was already presented in 4.3.2.4. (1) while discussing *isi* ‘here’ and *usi* ‘there’. The form already contains an instance of the locative suffix. Consequently it takes only other suffixes that are formally and semantically compatible with the locative. This form can be reduplicated only with the indefinite *-ba*, and does not take *-taŋ*.

bisi-na	‘to where’ (DAT used as ALL)
bisi-ni	‘of what place, belonging to what place’ (GEN)
bisi-ni para	‘from where’ (ABL)
bisi-ba	‘somewhere’ (indefinite)
bisi-ba bisi-ba	‘somewhere’

(5) *be-*

There are a number of compound interrogatives that are all analysable as being composed of *be-* and one of a number of other forms, some of which are free and some of which are bound. The root *be-* itself has not been glossed, but its basic semantic content may be glossed as ‘which’, which is most clearly brought out by the affixation of attributive suffix *-kai* giving:

be- <u>kai</u>	‘which’
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just as in the case of the demonstrative pronouns which have attributive forms with the attributive suffix *-kai*. It is this form that enters into further affixal morphology:

bekai-o	‘which’ (ACC)
bekai-na	‘for which one’ (DAT)
bekai-ni	‘of which one’ (GEN)
bekai-ba	‘any, some’ (indefinite)
bekai-ba bekai-ba	‘any, some’
bekai-bekai	‘which all’

This compound form does not take *-tan*, but takes the plural marker *-bijan* in the more direct sense of indicating plurality:

bekai-bijan	‘which all’ (PL)
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Besides, either *be-* itself, or *beka-* as a clipped form of *bekai* or *bekai*, gives rise to a number of forms parallel to the forms discussed in the case of the demonstrative pronouns and their attributive counterpart with *-kai*. Such forms are given below with one or two examples each. No detailed description of the non-interrogative part of these composite forms are given as it is already given in the case of the demonstrative pronouns. However, cross reference is provided for easy access.

- (i) bekatháni ‘of what kind, of what behaviour’ (4.3.2.4–3)

bekatháni másu	‘what kind of cattle’
bekatháni-kai másu	‘what kind of cattle’ (ATTR)
bekatháni-kai-bijan	‘of what kind’ (ATTR, PL)

- (ii) bekapeke ‘when, at what time’ (4.3.2.4–4)

bekapeke-ba	‘at some time, at any time’ (indefinite)
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- (iii) bedagai ‘in which place, where’ (4.3.2.4–6)

Another related form *bedigi* ~ *bidigi* is seldom encountered.

- (iv) bekai macai ‘where exactly, in which place precisely’ (4.3.2.4–8)

- (v) bekai sortai ‘where, in which area’ (4.3.2.4–9)

- (vi) bekhare ~ bekhare ~ bekhre ‘how, in what manner’ (4.3.2.4–10)

- (vii) bencek ‘how much (quantity)’ (4.3.2.4–12)

bencek-ba to-a-m̄in
 how.much-indefinite there.be-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘there was a certain amount’

bencek-ŋa rá-nata
 how.much-DAT take-PAST
 ‘for how much was (it) taken (bought)’

bencek khár-e phar-nata
 how.much do-INCOMP sell-PAST
 ‘for how much did (subject) sell’

- (viii) bendek ‘how (deep/long/high)’ (4.3.2.4–13)

bendek-ba thú-a-m̄in
 how.much-indefinite deep-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘was of a certain depth’

bendek cu-ba-ini para ki-nata
 how.much high-ATTR-ABL fall-PAST
 ‘from what height did (subject) fall?’

- (ix) bintuŋ (~ bentuŋ) ‘how big’ (4.3.2.4–14)

bintuŋ-ba cuŋ-jo-m̄in
 how.much-indefinite big-PAST-IMPERF
 ‘had grown to a considerable height’

bana cika bintuŋ cuŋ-ba-ini para bir-nata
 flood water how big-ATTR-palce-ABL recede-PAST
 ‘from what level (size) did the flood waters recede?’

- (x) many forms take
- maca*
- and
- teka*
- described in 4.3.3.4–15

bendek-maca ‘how deep/long/high really’
 bencek-maca ‘how much really’
 bintuŋ-maca ‘how big really’
 bendek-teka ‘how deep/long/high exactly, as deep/long/
 high as what’
 encek-teka ‘how much really, as much as what’
 bintuŋ-teka ‘how big exactly, as big as what’

(xi) beṅganda ‘like what’

beṅganda-kai ‘of what kind’
 beṅgandakhare ‘how, in what manner’

(xii) bekoro ‘which way, by which way’

bekoro-ba ‘by some way’ (indefinite)

neken nuk-ca-bana be-koro-ba dán-a mán-jo
 eye see-NEG-because which-PER-indefinite enter get-PAST
 ‘as (subject) does not see clearly (subject) happened to enter
 some way’

bekoro-ba bekoro-ba ‘by any way, by some method or other’

(6) bi-

This morpheme is not used by itself, but there are number of compound interrogatives that are analysable as built from this root.

(i) biba ‘a certain’

The above form does not act as an interrogative by itself but functions with indefinite sense (true to the indefinite ending *-ba*) along with a noun following it:

biba okot-i
 a.certain time-LOC
 ‘at certain times’

biba tal-i
 a.certain time-LOC
 ‘at certain times (with specific reference to some regular activity)’

biba soŋ gó-sa-i kai
 a.certain village CL-ONE-LOC person
 sak-sa to-a-mín
 CL-ONE there be-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘in a certain village there was a person’

There are certain cases where a noun is used along with *bi-* as a single unit:

bi-hádam-i
 which-place-LOC
 'in which place'

bi-joa-i
 which-time-LOC
 'in which time (with reference to specific activity)'

The form *biba* has exactly the same meaning as *bekaiiba*, which is a composite of the interrogative *be-*, the attributive *-kai* and the indefinite *-ba*. Similarly, *bi-* in combination with a noun has the same meaning as *bekai* followed by a noun. Consequently each of the above examples may be expanded with *be-kai-ba* 'some' or *be-kai* 'which' depending on the sense intended as in:

be-kai-ba	soŋ-i	(or <i>biba hádami</i>)
which-ATTR-INDEF	village-LOC	
'in a certain village'		

be-kai	hádam-i	(or <i>bihádami</i>)
which-ATTR	place-LOC	
'in which place'		

(ii) biguduŋ 'how fast'

This is a deceptive interrogative, if one were to go by the meaning of its parts to arrive at the meaning of the whole. The morpheme *-guduŋ* shows 'direction' in every other instance of its occurrence. This combination, however, is purely an exclamatory interrogative meaning 'how fast'. Probably because of this speciality, and consequent lack of the sense of direction, it does not allow the insertion of the intruding homorganic *-ŋ*. The only suffix that is accepted by it is the emphatic *-an*.

biguduŋ-an	sok-bai-jo
how.fast-EMPH	reach-towards-PAST
'how fast did (subject) come (reach towards)!'	

biguduŋ-an	khár-na	jaŋ-jo
how.fast-EMPH	do-INF	able-PAST
how did (subject) succeed in doing so fast!'		

4.3.2.6 *Relative pronoun*

There is just one relative pronoun (REL) in Rabha, viz. *ja* ‘which, who, that’, which is clearly borrowed from Indo-Aryan Assamese or Bengali. Relative clauses are still a discordant note compared to the native way of effecting the same meaning, except that there is an emphatic foregrounding of the antecedent that is made possible by the relative *ja*. The loan morpheme *ja* has acquired quite some versatility along with some innovative uses that make it interesting. They are explored below:

(1) The relative *ja* can take the whole battery of noun suffixes including the attributive *-kai* and the rare locative *-si* which is otherwise found only on demonstratives and the interrogative /bV-/, e.g. *ja-o* (ACC), *ja-na* (DAT), *ja-ni* (GEN), *ja-si* (LOC), *ja-ba* (INDEF), *ja-kai* (ATTR) etc.

(2) This relative can form idiomatic verb-less sentences such as:

ja-ni pap ja
REL-GEN sin REL

‘each one is responsible for or must bear the consequences of his/her sins’

This pattern is rather productive, in each case the verb being understood from the nature of the noun and the context.

(3) It forms a special expression of the pattern:

V-(e)ton ja-eton

where V is any verb root. The *-(e)-*, dropped in some instances in the first term and never dropped in the second term, is the participial or incomplete *-e*, whilst *ton* is the verb root *to* ~ *ton* ‘there be, stay’. The part *V-eton*, analysing from semantic and formal closeness, is probably a contraction of:

V-e ton-donba
(verb root)-INCOMP stay-even if
‘even if (and the meaning of the verb)’

However, in the expression the whole of *-eton*, and not just the INCOMP *-e*, is intonationally a part of the verb root. The expression produces very emphatic and resolute nuance ‘whether or not, even if’. What is interesting is that in this expression *ja* doubles up as a verb root (at least as an echo form), being inflected just as a verb root would be.

bukhi-eton ja-eton ame sá-ca
 hungry-even.if REL-even.if I(DEF) eat-NEG
 ‘whether hungry or not I will not eat’

handar-ton ja-eton ame réŋ-o
 dark-even.if REL-even.if I(DEF) go-FUT
 ‘whether dark or not I will go’

raŋ pha-eton ja-eton náme réŋ-a-n lagi-no
 rain-even.if REL-even.if you(DEF) go-INF-EMPH must-FUT
 ‘whether it rains or not you have to go’

si-eton ja-eton ame kiri-ca
 die-even.if REL-even.if I(DEF) fear-NEG
 ‘whether (I) die or not I am not afraid’

(4) *jaka*

Like *eka oka* ‘such and such’ (see 4.3.2.4–2), *jaka* is a contracted form of *ja-kai* (REL-ATTR) and is used in the idiomatic expressions:

náŋ ja-ka aŋ o-ka
 you REL-ATTR I that-ATTR
 ‘I am in the way as you’ (we are in the same boat)

ja-ka babra ja-ka sábra
 REL-ATTR father REL-ATTR child
 ‘like father like son’

(5) The relative *ja* forms a number of adverbial and adjectival formations as well as compound conjunctions and interjections. Some of them are parallel to the formations of the demonstratives (as well as the interrogatives). Cross reference to the demonstratives is provided, as it is there that the second elements are pulled apart and analysed. Some of these are opaque, and no effort is expended to attempt an analysis.

ja-khare ~ jakhre ‘for example, the way that’ (4.3.2.4–10)

ja-khare oron khár-a
REL-do-INCOMP they do-PRES
‘the way they do’

ja-khare-ba ~ jakhreba ‘any how, somehow or other’ (INDEF)

nán ja-khare-ba réŋ-Ø
you REL-do-INCOMP-INDEF go-IMP
‘one way or other you will go’

ja-khar-donbe ~ jakadonbe ‘so that, that’

sirgiri, bor rákhu-Ø, ja-khar-donbe
God, blessing give-IMP, REL-do-if
cime khiŋ-e ton-o
we(DEF) live-INCOMP VECT-FUT
God, bless (us) that we may live (stay alive)’

jakoba! ‘let it be, come what may’

jakoba! ame réŋ-ca
come what may! I(DEF) go-NEG
‘come what may! I am not going or I don’t go’

jaka maka ‘haphazardly’ (probably contracted from *jakasi makasi* ‘untidy’)

jak maka ta-khár
haphazardly N.IMP-do
‘do not do haphazardly’

jasigoŋa ~ jasikoŋa ‘any where’

enganda sam jasigoŋa-n ðim-a
this type grass any where-EMPH grow-PRES
‘this type of grass grows anywhere’

je-n-cok ‘the amount that’ (4.3.2.4–12)

je-n-cok-an lagi-a oncok-an
the.amount.that-EMPH need-PRES that.much-EMPH
ráŋ-Ø
take.(away)-IMP
‘take the amount that is required’

je-n-dek ‘the length/depth/height that’ (4.3.2.4–13)

jendek thú-na lagi -a ondok-an
 that.depth deep-INF need-PRES that.much
 khó-Ø
 deep-EMPH dig-IMP
 ‘dig to the depth that is required’

je-n-tuŋ ‘the size that’ (4.3.2.4–14)

je-n-tuŋ-an cuŋ-a lagi-a ontuŋ-an
 that.size that-EMPH big-INF need-PRES
 tak-Ø
 that.size-EMPH make-IMP
 ‘make it as big as required’

In the above three instances *ja-* has changed to *je-*.

ja-ja-na kára ‘above all, more than anything’ (reduplication, comparative marker)

jajana kára-be kami rá-n lagi-no
 above.all this-DEF work-INF must-FUT
 ‘above all one must work’

(6) There is a set of expressions built around the relative *ja* and the verb root *mán* ‘to get’ which have idiomatic usage. They have the formal pattern:

ja-mán-ja-X

where X is either DAT *-na*, ACC *-o*, LOC *-si*, GEN *-ni* or adverbial *-khare*. Some of the other affixes that are compatible with these may be further affixed. The expression is not encountered in the nominative:

ja-mán-ja-na	‘to any one’ (DAT)
ja-mán-ja-na	ta-rákhu-Ø
anyone-DAT	N.IMP-give-IMP
	‘do not give to just anyone’
ja-mán-ja-o	‘any one’ (ACC)
ja-mán-ja-si	‘any where’ (LOC)

ja-mán-ja-ni ‘of anyone’ (GEN)
 ja-mán-ja-khare ‘any how’

These forms have a parallel further expanded, but not so frequently used, form of the pattern:

ja-X mán-a ja-X

where X in one of the permitted case suffixes or the incomplete *kháre* of *khár* ‘to do’ minus the high tone. The verb root *mán* always takes the present tense ending *-a*:

ja-khare mán-a ja-khare ‘any how, whichever way possible’
 ja-khare mán-a ja-khare khár-Ø
 anyhow do-IMP
 ‘do whichever way it is possible’

and a reduced form of the pattern:

ja-m-ja-X

where X is one of the case suffixes or the adverbial *khare*. The verb root *mán* is reduced to just its onset *m* and there is facultative tonal shift of the vowel of *ja* to a high *á*. The latter change, because of its freely alternating and inconsistent nature, has not been shown in the examples.

ja-m-ja-si ‘just anywhere’
 ja-m-ja-si-na ta-rén
 anywhere-ALL N.IMP-go
 ‘do not go just anywhere’

Table 4.4 *Special forms formed by the demonstratives, the interrogative and the relative pronoun*

	i- ~ e-	u- ~ o-	bV-	ja-
- <u>kai</u>	e- <u>kai</u>	o- <u>kai</u>	be-kai	ja- <u>kai</u>
-si	i-si	u-si	bi-si	ja-si
- <u>kai</u> > -ka	e-ka e-ka-peke	o-ka o-ka-peke	× be-ka-peke	ja-ka ja-ka-peke

Table 4.4 (*cont.*)

	i- ~ e-	u- ~ o-	bV-	ja-
-katháni	ekatháni	okatháni	be-katháni	×
-dagai	e-daga-I	o-daga-i	be-daga-i	ja-daga-i
-san ~ -nsan ~ -asan	e-san ~ iansan ~ -i-asam	×	×	×
-macai	ekai macai e-macai	okai macai o-macai	be- kai macai ×	jakai macai ×
sortai	ekai sortai	okai sortai	bekai sortai	jakai sortai
-khare	e-khare ~ e-khere ~ e-khre	o-khare ~ o-khore ~ o-khare	be-khare ~ be-khere ~ be-khre	ja-khare ~ ja-khare
-simaŋ ~ -siman	i-simaŋ ~ i-siman	×	×	×
-n-cek	e-n-cek	o-n-cok	be-n-cek	je-n-cek
-n-dek	e-n-bek	o-n-dok	be-n-dek	je-n-dek
-n-tuŋ	i-n-tuŋ	o-n-tuŋ	bi-n-tuŋ	je-n-tuŋ
-ganda	e-ŋ-ganda	o-ŋ-ganda	be-ŋ-ganda	ja-ganda
-koro ~ tokoro	e-koro ~ -e-tokoro	o-koro ~ o-tokoro	be-koro ~ be-tokoro	ja-koro ~ ja-tokoro

4.3.2.7 Reflexive and distributive pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are distinguished by the following characteristics: (a) They are not derived from the pronouns, which would have been expected to be their natural source, as is the case in English. From the formal closeness, they seem to be derived from the noun *kai* 'person'; (b) Distributive pronouns are derived from the reflexives; (c) They also function as emphatic pronouns; (d) They are distinguished from the interrogatives and the relative pronouns, as they do not take the indefinite *-ba*, although they do take the suffix *-ba* meaning 'also'; (e) Syntactically they follow the noun or pronoun; (f) Following a general rule in Rabha by which it is the last element in a noun phrase that takes the case markers, the reflexives take the case markers and via noun deletion can themselves stand for the noun.

(1) *kakai* ‘oneself’

This form is analysable as a partial reduplication of the noun *kai* ‘person’, and just as *kai* is not gender-specific, so too *kakai* is not gender-specific, nor is it person-specific. This form mirrors the pronouns that it is used with. However, it is number-specific and singular in sense.

aŋ	<i>kakai</i> -an	nuk-ŋata			
I	REFL-EMPH	see-PAST			
‘I myself saw’					
ki-be	<i>kakai</i> -ni	jaina-o	cika	kára-i	nuk-ŋata
dog-DEF	REFL-GEN	shadow-ACC	water	over-LOC	see-PAST
‘the dog saw its own shadow over the water’					
<i>kakai</i> -o	jamún-ε	u-be	ato-ba		
REFL-ACC	forget-INCMP	he-DEF	what(ACC)-INDEF		
	in-na	mán-jo			
	say-INF	get-PAST			
‘forgetting oneself he happened to say something’					

The form is reduplicated in its entirety to give both a plural and a distributive sense:

<i>kakai</i>	<i>kakai</i>	rén-a	lagi-a
REFL	REFL	go-INF	must-PRES
‘each one must go’			

(2) *kakakai* ‘selves’

This form can be viewed either as a partial reduplication of the singular *kakai* or as a contraction of *kakai kakai*, which is a total reduplication of *kakai*. This form has both plural and distributive meaning just like *kakai kakai*. In all other respects it is parallel to *kakai*.

kiri-ca-raŋ-ε		oroŋ	<i>kakakai</i> -o	buli
fear-NEG-intensifier-INCMP		they	REFL(PL)-ACC	sacrifice
	ganda	<i>soai</i> -nata		
	as	offer -PAST		
‘fearlessly they offered themselves as sacrifices’				

kakakai -ni pakja muja rúbun-e
 REFL(PL)-GEN things (belongings) collect-INGCOMP
 oron dogó-nata
 they set.out-PAST
 ‘each one taking his/her own belongings they set out’

(3) kakron ‘selves’

This form is basically plural. Distributive meaning may be construed in certain instances only. This form has also a nuance of exclusivity.

oron kakron-an kani-nata
 they REFL(PL)-EMPH say-PAST
 ‘they themselves said’

kakron cíncín rón-e rá-nata
 REFL(PL) among distribute-INGCOMP take-PAST
 ‘(they) distributed (it) among themselves (to the exclusion of others)’

cin kakron-i midri-ni para sak-sa-be
 we REFL-GENI among-ABL CL-one-DEF
kai cuñ-kai cán-ata
 person big-ATTR become-PAST
 ‘one from among us (one from ourselves) became a great person’

It can be used with indefinite sense as in:

kakron khó-ba-i kakron-an ki-a
 REFL(PL) dig-ATTR-LOC REFL(PL)-EMPH fall-PRES
 ‘one falls where one digs (a hole)’

It can be further reduplicated to give distributive and exclusive nuance:

náron kakron kakron-an pai-na lagi-no
 you(PL) REFL(PL) REFL(PL)-EMPH carry-INF must-FUT
 ‘you must each one carry (your own’s burden)’

(4) kakakron

Like *kakakai*, which is a partially reduplicated form paralleling the totally reduplicated form *kakai kakai*, *kakakron* is a partial reduplication (or a contraction of a total reduplication) of *kakron*. The meaning is the same as that of *kakron kakron*.

kakakron-an	kami rá-e	ci-khan
REFL(PL)-EMPH	work-INCOMP	look-OPT
‘let them themselves work and see (or experience)’		

Two lexemes that are not strictly speaking reflexives but convey a reflexive nuance with some connotation of exclusivity are *ciŋciŋ* and *jŋjŋ*. Of these *ciŋciŋ* is also used along with the reflexive *kakron*.

músa-taŋ	jŋjŋ	bobai-a
man-PL	among themselves	speak-PRES
‘men speak them themselves’		

4.3.2.8 Indefinite pronouns

It has already been seen that the interrogatives can be rendered indefinite by the indefinite ending *-ba*. Moreover, there exists a number of indefinite pronouns that are not derived. However, their non-derived status does not render them absolutely opaque. Many of them are analysable both formally and semantically. Some can be adjectival. Their openness for further affixation varies. In most cases no other suffix is added. Many attract the emphatic suffix *-an* or already contain a bound instance thereof. They do not take the indefinite *-ba*.

(1) diŋdak ‘all, everything’

diŋdak-o-n	ráŋ-Ø
all-ACC-EMPH	take-IMP
‘take everything’	

diŋdak-an	réŋ-ata
all-EMPH	GO-PAST
‘all went’	

When affixed with *-kai* this qualifier has specific reference to human nouns as ‘all, everyone (in a collective sense)’. As a result, I identify the second element as the noun root *kai* ‘person’ and not the attributive ending *-kai*. At any rate, the sequence *-kk-* is reduced to *-k-*:

dĩmdak(k)ai-an	nem-a	
all-EMPH	good-PRES	
‘all are good’		
dĩmdak(k)ai-o-n	prao-na	lagi-a
all-ACC-EMPH	call-INF	must-PRES
‘(subject) must call everyone’		

(2) *sarkai* ~ *sakai* ‘all, everyone’

This form is parallel to *dĩmdak-kai* with the difference that *sarkai* ~ *sakai* has both an individual and a distributive sense, while *dĩmdak-(k)ai* has collective reference. The bound presence of the noun root *kai* ‘person’ is unmistakable. Both forms refer only to persons

sarkai-an	kami rá-na	lagi-no	
everyone-EMPH	work-INF	must-FUT	
‘everyone must work’			
e-kai	khopor-be	sarkai-na-n	cán-a
this-ATTR	news-DEF	everyone-DAT-EMPH	be-PRES
‘this news is for everyone’			

(3) *mrikan* ‘everything’

The preceding form is related to the verb root *mrik* ‘clean’ and contains a bound instance of the emphatic ending *-an*. Yet it is interesting that it can still take a second instance of the emphatic *-an*, other terminating and general suffixes and, when it is necessary, even the accusative *-o*. This form can also be reduplicated.

mrikan	so-e	réŋ-ata	
everything	rot-INCOMP	VECT-PAST	
‘everything got rotten’			
mrikan-an	nem-ca-e	réŋ-jo	
everything-EMPH	good-NEG-INCOMP	VECT-PAST	
‘everything became bad’			

(4) *andakai* ‘another, the others’

The presence of a bound instance of the noun root *kai* ‘person’ is easily recognisable both formally and semantically. Although it is glossed as ‘the others’ in addition to the first gloss ‘another’, its basic sense is singular, referring to some one individual, but in an indefinite usage it is difficult to render the Rabha precisely in English. Its singular reference also flows from its formal singular character, evident from the presence of a singular *kai* ‘person’. In the English translation it is often rendered as ‘the others’. While referring to persons it is often heard to be used with the plural *-bijan*. It takes all the noun suffixes. It is not reduplicable.

andakai-ni *katha-o* *ta-natham*
 another-GEN word-ACC N.IMP-listen
 ‘do not listen to what others say’

andakai-na *neke* *dón-ca* *kakai-na* *neke-se* *porai-Ø*
 others-EX.DAT be-NEG oneself-EX.DAT-EMPH study-IMP
 ‘study not for others but for oneself’

(5) *antaŋ* ‘the others’

This pronoun too refers only to persons. The presence of the plural marker *-taŋ* is evident, and therefore, it may be considered the formal plural of *andakai* treated above.

(6) *bira* ‘some’ (persons and things)

This pronoun can take the noun suffixes but is often encountered by itself. This pronoun does not take the emphatic marker *-an*. It is not reduplicable.

bira-ni *badan* *dĩmdakai-an* *kok-mása-nata*
 some-on account all-EMPH beat-PASS-PAST
 ‘on account of some all were beaten’

bira-be *nem-a* *bira-be* *nem-ca*
 some-DEF good-PRES some-DEF good-NEG
 ‘some are good, some are not good’

(7) *berga* ‘another, different’

This pronoun can refer to people or things. The pronoun can be reduplicated and can take all the noun suffixes including the plural *-bjan*.

aŋ	tu-nuk-kai-o	rá-ca-raŋ-e	berga-o-se	rá-nata
I	CAUS-see-ATTR-ACC	take-NEG-INT-INCOMP	another-ACC-EMPH	take-PAST
‘without taking the one that I showed (subject) took another’				
barmasi-an	berga	berga	kai-taŋ	ríba-eta
always-EMPH	different	different	person-PL	come-CONT
‘always different people come’ or ‘are coming’				
berga-bjan-na	ta-kani			
another-PL-DAT	N.IMP-say			
‘do not tell (the) others’				

(8) *çipan* ‘a little, a small quantity’

This pronoun has a bound instance of the EMPH *-an*. The form is reduplicable.

aŋ-a-ba	çipan	rákhu-Ø		
I-DAT-also	a.little	give-IMP		
‘give me too a little’				
çipan	çipan	khár-e	rón-e	rá-Ø
a.little	a.little	do-INCOMP	distribute-INCOMP	VECT-IMP
‘divide and take a little each’				

(9) Indefinite of classifier-numeral combination

The classifier-numeral combination can, just like the interrogatives, be rendered indefinite by the affixation of the indefinite marker *-ba* when the numeral is *sa* ‘one’. The verb is always in the negative and the overall meaning is ‘none, not even one’. A few illustrations are provided below:

sak-sa-ba	toŋ-ca-miŋ
CL-ONE-INDEF	there.be-NEG-IMPERF
‘there was none (persons)’	

gó-sa-ba	nem-ca
CL-sa-INDEF	good-NEG
'not one (none) is good (things)'	
maŋ-sa-ba	kheŋ-ca-nata
CL-one-INDEF	live-NEG-PAST
'not one (none) lived or survived (animal)'	

Besides these regular formations there are a few fossilised instances that are analysable as having a bound presence of *sa* 'one' and function as an indefinite pronoun and adjective. There are no parallel formations with other numerals. However, they are indefinite only in contexts where the reference to the noun is explicit, and may be considered instances of indefinite reference through noun deletion.

- (i) késa 'a little'
 késa rá 'take a little'
- (ii) césa 'a section, a portion (of things torn)'
 césa césa rón-e rá-Ø
 a.section a.section distribute-INCOMP take-IMP
 'divide and take a small section each'

4.3.3 *Noun affixes*

A noun root in Rabha is capable of taking various combinations from a few sets of noun suffixes. The basic characteristic of these combinations is that they can be viewed as agglutinative combinations. There is no element of fusion at all except alternations imposed by morphophonemic changes. The various morphemes of any construction may be easily separated.

In the area of nouns there are no prefixes and infixes at all. All are suffixes. However, affixes alone do not account for the total phenomenon of noun inflection. It is necessary to admit of two layers of case marking: a layer of primary case markers and a layer of adpositions which, keeping to the natural tendency of verb-final syntax (Blake 1994: 99) of Rabha, are all postpositions. Some of these adpositions enter verb morphology where they are affixal rather than adpositional.

Some of the primary cases have extended forms via postpositions that alter the case relation only to a slight degree. Moreover, various combinations in the agglutinative fashion of the primary case markers produce different semantic effects. It is useful to distinguish ‘Relator Nouns’ or ‘Location Words’ (Blake 1994: 16) that play a part in the expression of local case relation by specifying the relative orientation (Blake 1994: 166). This feature is particularly noticed with the genitive case. Postpositions that are mere extensions of the primary case markers and those that are relator nouns are different in morphological behaviour, as the former may be further affixed only by the terminating affixes, while the relator nouns take other compatible primary cases markers or combinations of them. The possible combinations of the primary case markers, the occurrences of extended case marking via postpositions as well as the usage of relator nouns are all treated while discussing the primary case markers. Finally, there is a small set of set of terminating affixes that, when present, close a noun formation for further affixation except by the general affixes.

4.3.3.1 *Plural and collective*

Rabha grammar is not number-sensitive. Verbal inflection is the same for all numbers and persons. Positionally, a plural marker occurs as the first suffix of a noun root. Positionally and morphologically, then, the place of the plural marker in the realm of noun affixes is parallel to that of the negative suffix *-ca* in the realm of verbal affixation, occupying a place on the border between derivational affixes and inflectional affixes. Hence they are introduced here before treating the case affixes.

While it is possible to speak of a plural morpheme in the abstract as a grammatical category, Rabha plural morphemes denote manifoldness or multiplicity rather than plurality in the European sense of more than one of a countable noun.

Often a noun may be construed to be semantically plural in the Western sense though no plural morpheme is present.

- (i) when quantitative adjectives are present

<u>kai</u>	páŋa	ríba-nata-mín
person	plenty	come-PAST-IMPERF
‘plenty of people had come’		

cón pilupilu pítak-a
 worm as swarm wriggle-PRES
 ‘a swarm of worms wriggle or are in a wriggling motion’

sábra caucau
 child plenty
 ‘(there are) plenty of children’

kai girgir merao-nata
 person plenty gather-PAST
 ‘plenty of people gathered’

- (ii) when numeral formations are present

tó maŋ-aniŋ
 fowl CL-two
 ‘two bird(s)’

kai kamiŋ
 person two
 ‘two person(s)’

- (iii) when the noun is generic

u-be u-ni bari-ni thé phar-e
 he-DEF he-GEN garden-GEN fruit sell-INCOMP
 nok ham-jo
 house build-PAST
 ‘he sold the fruits of his garden and built a house’

cim másu-ni para nú mán-a
 we(DEF) cow/cattle-ABL milk get-PRES
 ‘we get milk from cows’

isi-be pan křimkřim-a
 here(LOC)-DEF tree plenty-PRES
 ‘here there are plenty of trees’

- (iv) when the noun is expressed with imitatives or echo formations
 (ECHO)

táthen tási
 leg hand
 ‘limbs (hands and legs)’

másu	máthai
cattle	ECHO
'cattle'	
mása	máda
tiger	bear
'wild animals (tigers and bears)'	
cón	guk
worm	grasshopper
'insects (worms and grasshoppers)'	
tó	bak
fowl	pig
'domestic animals (fowls and pigs)'	

(2) -bijan ~ -bijam

This suffix is a non-human plural marker with roughly the meaning 'ones':

másu-bijan
cattle-PL
'cattle'
nok-bijan
house-PL
'houses'
khok-bijan
basket-PL
'baskets'

The suffix is also used to form plurals of professions, which are all borrowed from English, although they actually denote persons:

doktor-bijan
doctor-PL
'doctors'
master-bijan
teacher-PL
'teachers'

nors-bijan
 nurse-PL
 ‘nurses’ (< English ‘nurse’)

The ending is also used to form the plural of a substantive verb with the ending *-kai* used attributively:

nem-kai-bijan
 good-ATTR-PL
 ‘the good ones’

cuŋ-kai-bijan
 big -ATTR-PL
 ‘the big ones’

ak-kai-bijan
 black-ATTR-PL
 ‘the black ones’

(3) -taŋ

This suffix is the human collective marker. The morpheme is used in various situations and has other related semantic effects as well.

(i) As an ordinary plural marker the ending is restricted to a few nouns. Besides *kai-taŋ* ‘persons’ (*kai* ‘person’) this suffix is restricted to relational terminology ending in the suffix *-bra*:

sábra-taŋ	‘children’ (<i>sábra</i> ‘child’)
babra-taŋ	‘fathers’ (<i>babra</i> ‘father’)

(ii) The ending has a collective sense and can therefore occur even with a singular, that is, in collocation with the numeral one, whereby the sense of singular group is conveyed.

(a) músa *kai* ‘male person’ (adjectival)

músa saksa
 man CL-one
 ‘one man’ (singular noun)

músa-taŋ sak-sa
 male/man-PL CL-one
 ‘one man’ (singular noun with *-taŋ*)

músa-taŋ kamiŋ
 male/man-PL CL-two
 ‘two men’

Other examples are:

méca-taŋ
 female/woman-PL
 ‘woman, women’

gabur-taŋ
 young.unmarried.man-PL
 ‘young unmarried man or men’

dorai-taŋ
 young.unmarried.woman-PL
 ‘young unmarried woman or women’

When such forms are used as imitatives or echo formations, usually both the terms bear the marker:

músa-taŋ méca-taŋ ‘men and women’

In the following instance either both terms or just the second term is suffixed with the marker:

dorai-taŋ gabur-taŋ ‘young men and women’
 or, dorai gabur-taŋ ‘young men and women’

(b) There are only two roots that are not nouns that take this suffix: *mari* ‘to grow old (female)’ *buda* ‘to grow old (male)’.

mari-taŋ sak-sa
 old(female)-PL CL-one
 ‘one old woman’

bedo-ba-taŋ
 when-INDEF-PL
 ‘sometime’

caŋ-ba-taŋ
 who-INDEF-PL
 ‘some people’

The indefinite interrogative may also be reduplicated and still take the collective marker:

caŋ-ba caŋ-ba-taŋ ‘some people’
 bedo-ba bedo-ba-taŋ ‘sometimes’

(vi) Nouns that are adverbs of time are also similarly rendered indefinite by collective *-taŋ* even without the indefinite suffix *-ba*:

gaphuŋ-taŋ
 tomorrow-PL
 ‘some time in the days to come’

soniŋ-taŋ
 day.after.tomorrow-PL
 ‘sometime in the days to come (not including tomorrow)’

ténaŋ-taŋ
 a.while.later-PL
 ‘sometime later’

(vii) The ending occurs as part of the compound suffix *-bataŋ* in combination with the attributive *-ba*. The element *-ba* in this instance takes the place of the attributive *-kai*. The compound suffix used directly on a verb root generates the plural form of a substantive verb whose subject is a human noun. Only one simple instance is shown here. For more detail see 4.2.3–5.

nu-kai kai
 sit-ATTR person
 ‘a person who is sitting, one sitting’

nu-ba-taŋ
 sit-ATTR-PL
 ‘those sitting’

(4) -ron

The ending *ron* is a human plural marker found in three situations:

- (i) for marking the second person plural and third person plural:

ná-ron	‘you (PL)’ (<i>nán</i> ‘you’ sg.)
u-ron ~ o-ron	‘they’ (<i>u</i> ~ <i>o</i> ‘he, she, that’)

The ending is also used in denoting non-human animate beings when they are spoken as personified.

- (ii) with relational terminology that does not have suffix -bra:

<u>a</u> ia-ron	‘mothers’ (<i>aia</i> ‘mother’)
baba-ron	‘fathers’ (<i>baba</i> ‘father’)
bidi-ron	‘grandmothers’ (<i>bidi</i> ‘grandmother’)
momo-ron	‘younger siblings’ (<i>momo</i> ‘younger sibling’)

- (iii) With proper names as well relational terminology the suffix has extended meaning of referring to the person whose name is included or the person denoted by the relational terminology ‘and others with him/her’ or ‘his/her associates’.

Raju-ron	‘Raju and others with him’		
baba-ron	phuṅ-i-an	hat-ina	réṅ-ata
father-PL	morning-LOC-EMPH	market-ALL	go-PAST
‘father and others with him went to the market early morning’			

Sometimes this plural ending is used with a kinship term to denote respect.

<u>a</u> ia-ron	kani-nata
mother-PL	say-PAST
‘mother said’	

4.3.3.2 *Case affixes*

Rabha has two layers of case-marking elements: an inner layer of affixal markers and an outer layer of adpositions. Using terminology

taken from Blake (1994:10) the affixal markers constitute an inner layer of ‘synthetic’ case markers and the postpositions constitute an outer layer of ‘analytical’ case markers. Rabha has five cases that are unambiguously affixal: the nominative (NOM), the accusative (ACC), the dative (DAT), the genitive (GEN) and the locative (LOC). Phonemically, these are all monosyllabic. The second layer of postpositions to these inner layer of affixal case markers, and combinations of the affixal markers achieve a wide range of specification.

Besides these, there are other case markers whose status either as affixes or as postpositions is difficult to determine. Unlike the truly affixal case markers mentioned above, these are all polysyllabic (mainly disyllabic). They are: *peke* ‘with, along with’ (instrumental and comitative), *cekena* ‘up to’ (allative), *koro ~ tokoro* ‘through’ (perlative), *ganda* ‘like’ (similarity), *sita* ‘including, along with’ (inclusive). They do not show any phonological integration by which they may be judged to be affixes; if they are taken to be postpositions, they are not postposed to a case-marked form. Maybe it is possible to consider them to be postposed to the nominative which, in Rabha, is unmarked. In the present analysis, however, they are treated separately as there is no way of deciding that they are postposed to any particular case.

(1) nominative

As in most languages, in Rabha ‘the nominative is the case used in isolation and is morphologically unmarked’ (Blake 1994: 32). True to the basic meaning the nominative is ‘the case used in isolation, the case used in naming’ (Blake 1994: 31):

<i>hádam</i>	‘place’
<i>kai</i>	‘person’
<i>cika</i>	‘water’

as well as in subjects of sentences as in:

<i>kai</i>	<i>sak-sa</i>	<i>rɛŋ-ata</i>
person-NOM	CL-one	go-PAST
‘one person went’		

(2) -o

This suffix marks the accusative case.

an nán-o nuk-ηata
 I you-ACC see-PAST
 'I saw you'

kaisábra kí-o gi-jar -nata
 child dog-ACC CAUS-run-PAST
 'the child chased the dog away'

miñkú-o nuk-e mocó jar-e réη-ata
 cat-ACC see-INCOMP rat run-INCOMP VECT-PAST
 'seeing the cat the rat ran away'

In many instances the accusative is dropped.

ná maη-aniη mán-nata
 fish CL-two(ACC) get -PAST
 '(subject) got two fish(es)'

oroη maī phar-na réη-eta
 they paddy(ACC) sell-INF go-CONT
 'they are going to sell paddy'

kai-taη nok ham-eta
 person-PL house(ACC) build-CONT
 'people are building (a) house'

When the object is highlighted, emphasised or used in a determinative sense the accusative marker is always retained.

o-kai ná maη-aniη-o rá-e u-be
 that-ATTR fish CL-two-ACC take-INCOMP he-DEF
 nok-ina réη-ata
 house-ALL go-PAST
 'taking those two fish he went home' or 'he took the two fish
 and went home'

(3) -ma ~ -na ~ -ηa ~ -a

This ending marks the dative (DAT) case in the sense of ‘to, for’. The distribution of the allomorphs is parallel to the distribution of the allomorphs of infinitive <-na> and future <-no>. The allomorph /-ma/ is used with roots that end in *-p*, the allomorph /-ηa/ with roots that end in *-k*, the allomorph /-a/ with roots that end in either *-m* or *-η*, and the allomorph /-na/ in all other cases. For an emerging trend of exceptions to this rule of distribution see 2.1.1.2. Setting up <-na> as the basic allomorph is phonologically motivated and makes better sense in cross-linguistic comparison.

kai-taη sorop-ma há deη-e rákhu-no
 person-PL road-DAT land free-INCOMP VECT-FUT
 ‘people will free land for the road’

oroη bak-ηa hadar ráη-eta
 they pig-DAT feed carry-CONT
 ‘they are carrying feed for the pig’

kai sak-sa pan-na cika tit-eta
 person CL-one tree-DAT water pour-CONT
 ‘a man is pouring water for (the) tree’

bukhi-kai kai-taη-a mai rákhu-Ø
 hungry-ATTR person-PL-DAT rice give-IMP
 ‘give rice to those who are hungry’

kalam-kai kai-na panchak rákhu-Ø
 sick-ATTR person-DAT medicine give-IMP
 ‘give medicine to the sick man’

The dative also expresses a relation of direction:

hoη-a ci-Ø
 there-DAT look-IMP
 ‘look in that direction or look there’

hoη-a-be ta-réη
 there-DAT-DEF N.IMP-go
 ‘do not go there’

The dative <-na> has an extended form <-na> *neke* (EX.DAT) which is basically dative with an added element of emphasis and specificity. The form *neke* forms a similar extended infinitive as well (see 4.2.2–1i).

i-o-be caŋ-a neke ráŋ-eta
 this-ACC-DEF who-EX.DAT take-CONT
 ‘for whom is/are (subject) taking this’

o-kai-o-be aŋ-a neke-an lagi-no
 that-ATTR-ACC-DEF I-EX.DAT-EMPH need-FUT
 ‘that I need for myself’

The dative can take three relator nouns generating three further relations of the dative. These postpositions, unlike those that follow the genitive, can further be affixed only by the noun terminating affixes and the general affixes. They cannot take the principal case markers.

(i) <-na> *kára*

The postposition *kára*, glossed ‘more’, has the lexical meaning ‘above, over’. In league with the dative it builds the comparative construction meaning ‘more than’.

e-kai pan o-kai pan-na kára cuŋ-a
 this-ATTR tree that-ATTR tree-DAT more big-PRES
 ‘this tree is bigger than that tree’

i-na kára-be náŋ-a ato lagi-no
 this-DAT more-DEF you-DAT what(ACC) need-FUT
 ‘more than this, what do you need?’

i-na kára-be ame ja-ba khár-na jaŋ-ca
 this-DAT more-DEF I(DEF) REL-INDEF do-INF able-NEG
 ‘more than this I can not do anything’

(ii) <-na> *tikaŋ*

The postposition *tikaŋ* has the lexical meaning ‘before’. Together with the dative it means ‘prior to, before’.

sasa-na tikaŋ khúsuŋ sok-ŋata
 hare-DAT before tortoise reach-PAST
 ‘the tortoise reached before the hare’

(iii) <-na> p̄ica

The postposition *p̄ica* is synchronically opaque. Along with the dative it has the meaning ‘besides, excluding’.

nāŋ-a p̄ica berga kai-an ton-ca
 you-DAT besides different person-EMPH there be-NEG
 ‘there is no other person besides you’

i-na p̄ica ato in-no
 this-DAT besides what(ACC) say-FUT
 ‘what to say besides this?’

(4) -mi ~ -ni ~ -ŋi ~ i

This suffix marks the genitive (GEN) case: ‘of’. The distribution of the allomorphs is parallel to the distribution of the allomorphs of infinitival <-na>, future <-no> and dative <-na>. The allomorph /-mi/ is used with roots that end in *-p*, the allomorph /-ŋi/ with roots that end in *-k*, the allomorph /-a/ with roots that end in either *-m* or *-ŋ*, and the allomorph /-na/ in all other cases. For an emerging trend of exceptions to this rule of distribution see 2.1.1.2. Setting up <-ni> as the basic allomorph is phonologically motivated and makes better sense in cross-linguistic comparison.

raŋkhop-mi kr̄iŋ-kai-o natham-Ø
 cloud-GEN sound-ATTR-ACC listen-IMP
 ‘listen to the sound of the cloud(s)’

bak-ŋi tátheŋ bí-nata
 pig-GEN leg break-PAST
 ‘(the) pig’s leg broke’

aŋ-i t̄ikam sa-eta
 I-GEN head ache-CONT
 ‘my head is aching’

rampar-na pan-ni cak -bijan dagat-e réŋ-jo
 wind-DAT tree-GEN leaf-PL fall-INCOMP VECT-PAST
 ‘on account of the wind leaves of the tree fell off’

The genitive, and not the nominative, is used to mark the noun that possesses or owns something.

u-ni másu páŋ-a
 he-GEN cattle plenty-PRES
 'he has plenty of cattle'

másu-ni kroŋ to-a
 cattle-GEN horn there be-PRES
 'cattle have horn(s)'

mása-ni suli toŋ-ca
 tiger-GEN trunk there be-NEG
 '(the) tiger has no trunk'

oroŋ-i sá-na riŋ-a to-a
 they -GEN eat-INF drink-INF there be-PRES
 'they are well off or they are rich (they have enough to eat and drink)'

The genitive takes the most number of relator nouns. A few of them appear to be a little different from the rest for they are semantically opaque outside such genitive construction. At the same time it is difficult to see them as mere extensions of the genitive as the semantic effect is totally different. However a tentative division is made between those that are opaque outside the genitive ambient (Group A) and those that are transparent (Group B).

Group (A)

(i) <-ni> *badan*

Apart from being totally opaque, the postposition or relator noun *badan* may still take the dative <-na> (allomorph /-a/) and its extended form with *neke*, giving a total of three forms with varying shades of meaning:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| (a) <-ni> <i>badan</i> | 'for the sake of, because of, on account of, about, concerning' |
| (b) <-ni> <i>badan-a</i> | 'for the benefit or good or sake of' |
| and (c) <-ni> <i>badan-a neke</i> | 'for the benefit or good or sake of' |

Forms (b) and (c) in the dative <-na> or its extended form with *neke* have benefactive meaning, while the form (a), which has only the postposition, is semantically more difficult to characterise by means

of some apt English translation ‘equivalent’. The tenor of the expression seems to be a mixture of typical dative and typical genitive. In the illustrations below the appropriate translation is included as gloss.

u-be náη-i badaη aη-a kani-nata
 he-DEF you-GEN about I-DAT say-PAST
 ‘he spoke to me about you’

oroη-i badaη-an cáη-ata
 they-GEN because of-EMPH happen-PAST
 ‘(it) happened because of them’

u-be ciη-i badaη-a neke-an kami rá-eta
 he-DEF we-GEN for sake-EMPH work-CONT
 ‘he is working for our sake’

baba-roη aia-roη sábra-taη-i badaη-a duk se-a
 father-PL mother-PL child-PL-GEN for sake suffer-PRES
 ‘parents suffer for the sake of the children’

The sequence *uni badaη*, which is a combination of the demonstrative *u* and *-ni badaη*, has the specialised meaning ‘therefore’ besides the regular meaning ‘because of him, because of that’.

(ii) <-ni> para

The genitive with postposition *para* marks the ablative ‘from’ (ABL). The postposition, while being opaque in Rabha, is actually a loan from Assamese, where *para* along with its own genitive forms the ablative.

sirgi-ni para khúraη kriη-ba-nata
 heaven-ABL(GEN-POSTPOS) voice sound-towards-PAST
 ‘(a) voice came (sounded) from heaven’

aia mairuη-ni para róηka dak-eta
 mother rice-ABL(GEN-POSTPOS) stone remove-CONT
 ‘mother is removing stones from rice’

nokgiri-be pan-ni para thé mán-na cisoη-a
 master-DEF tree-ABL(GEN-POSTPOS) fruit get-INF expect-PRES
 ‘the master looks forward to get fruit(s) from (the) tree’

cime másu-ni para nú mán-a
 we(DEF) COW-ABL(GEN-POSTPOS) milk get-PRES
 ‘we get milk from cow(s)’

ame isi-ni para gaphuη-an réη-o
 I(DEF) here(LOC)-ABL(GEN-POSTPOS) tomorrow-EMPH go-FUT
 ‘tomorrow itself I will go from here’

In certain instances the locative *-i* precedes the genitive <-ni>. These are treated under the suffix *-i* (see No. 5.iii below).

(iii) <-ni> saηi

The meaning of this combination is ‘in the opinion of’. *saηi* is synchronically opaque, but judging from its semantics in combination with <-ni>, it has an opaque noun *saη* and the LOC *-i*. The formation seems to be losing ground, and *mote*, a loan from Assamese, is fast taking over its semantic field.

náη-i saηi	‘in your opinion’
aη-i saηi	‘in my opinion’
náη-i mote	‘in your opinion’
aη-i mote	‘in my opinion’

(iv) <-ni> dói ~ <-ni> dóie

The expression generates the meaning ‘instead of’. dói ~ dóie is opaque and is rare in its phonemic composition as a postposition as it has a complex nucleus. Judging from the nature of the alternation with and without a final *-e*, it may probably have been an old verb root with the participial and incompletive *-e*.

aη-i	<u>dói</u>	náη-an	réη-Ø	
I-GEN	instead	you-EMPH	go-IMP	
‘you go instead of me’				
<u>mai</u> -ni	<u>dói</u>	ame	rompe	sá-no
rice-GEN	instead	I(DEF)	fried rice	eat-FUT
‘instead of rice I will eat fried rice’				

(v) <-ni> daoa ‘on account of, instead of, as result of’

The postposition is opaque and presents divergent semantic possibilities, some close to <-ni> *badan* ‘on account of’, and some close to <-ni> *dói* ~ <-ni> *dóie* ‘instead of’. At any rate, it is not very high in frequency of occurrence.

nán-i daoa an réŋ-a jaŋ-o
 you-GEN instead I go-INF able-FUT
 ‘instead of you I can go’

ata-ni daoa ekhre cáŋ-ata
 what-GEN because like this happen-PAST
 ‘on account of what did (it) happen like this?’

Group (B)

Group B consists typically of the relator nouns which are location words. They are semantically transparent though they may not, as found also in other languages that have this phenomenon (Blake 1994: 17), occur as free lexical nouns, especially because they are not nameable substantives. However in many situations they do act as nouns bearing case markers, especially the genitive marker. In many cases the genitive marker that precedes these relative nouns is quite easily dropped, and the relative nouns themselves always take one of the case suffixes having locational correlation such as the locative, the dative with directional sense, the genitive with locational reference or the composite locational case markers indicating the ablative (GEN + postposition), the illative (LOC + DAT) or the elative (LOC + GEN + postposition). Relator nouns express specific distinctions of locale and movement. Postpositions other than regular lexical nouns that have a final *-ŋ* for some reason have characteristics as if they are intrinsically locative (see xviii below for a tentative analysis of *-ŋ*). Hence, where the locative sense is required, forms that already have a final *-ŋ* may or may not have the locative suffix, their meaning being intrinsically locative. But it appears when in combination with other suffixes like the genitive or the dative.

(i) <-ni> *kára-i* ~ <-ni> *káraŋ*

The form *kára*, which acts as a postposition also with the dative to form the comparative (4.3.3.2–3i above), means ‘above, over’. In this

instance the suffix is always used with a bound locative *-i*. The alternant *káraŋ*, as indicated above, is intrinsically locative, but keeps its phonemic shape even in situations where a nominative would otherwise be required. The meaning of the expression can be either ‘on top of’ or what is sometimes referred to as the superessive (Blake 1994: 155) ‘above’.

pan(-ni) káraŋ tóthop to-a
 tree(-GEN) above bird-nest there.be-PRES
 ‘on top of the tree there is (a) nest’

pan(-ni) káraŋ-i para
 tree(-GEN) above-ABL(GEN POSTPOS)
 ‘from the top of the tree’

tíkam(-i) káraŋ tokoro
 head(-GEN) above PER
 ‘(via or through) above the head’

(ii) -(<ni>) káma-i ~ -(<ni>) kámaŋ

The form *káma* has the meaning ‘below’, and locative *-i* is bound to it, making the total meaning subessive: ‘below’.

pan(-ni) káma-i-na bîr-a
 tree(-GEN) below-ALL(LOC-DAT) descend-PRES
 ‘descend to the foot of the tree’

hácu(-ni) káma-i tambron to-a
 hill(-GEN) below-LOC river there be-PRES
 ‘below the hill there is (a) river’

o-kai dalai-ni káma-i mása
 that-ATTR branch-GEN below-LOC tiger
 maŋ-sa to-a-min
 CL-one there be-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘below that branch there was a tiger’

(iii) (<-ni>) majar ‘middle of, centre of’

The form *majar* meaning ‘centre, middle’ appears to have an Assamese origin. The form is used always with a place-indicating suffix like the locative, the perlative, the ablative, the illative or the allative.

kai-(ni) majar tokoro pentrak-e
 person(PL) (-GEN) middle PER wriggle-INCOMP
 réŋ-a lagi-jo
 go-INF need-PAST

‘had to wriggle (one’s way) through the middle of people (a crowd)’

oroŋ-i majar-i sak-sa diŋdiŋ-ata
 they-GEN middle-LOC CL-one stand-PAST
 ‘one (person) stood in their midst’

tambroŋ(-i) majar-ni para sak-sa
 river(-GEN) middle-ABL (-GEN POSTPOS) CL-ONE
 cencrai-e praŋ-nata
 shout-INCOMP call-PAST

‘from the middle of the river one (person) shouted and called (out)’

(iv) <-ni> midri ‘among (of)’ (*midri* ‘among’)

The meaning ‘among’ is specifically conceptual and not spatial. The spatial meaning is covered by *majar* ‘middle, centre’ (see iii above). But the lexeme *midri* is gradually being replaced by *majar*, and the semantic differentiation, already on the wane, will go out with it. The formations show two exceptions: (a) Probably because it already has a final *-i*, this form does not take another overt locative *-i* as the sense is already locative, and (b) the genitive on the noun is never deleted.

ciŋ-i midri jaŋ-kai kai toŋ-ca
 we-GEN among able-ATTR person there.be-NEG
 ‘among us there is no one capable’

oroŋ-i midri-ni para sak-sa
 they-GEN among-ABL (-GEN POSTPOS) CL-ONE
 tin-kai cáŋ-ata
 lead-ATTR become-PAST
 ‘one from among them became a leader’

(v) (<-ni>) kapha ‘near of, by the side of’ (*kapha* ‘near’)

aŋ(-i) kapha-i toŋ-Ø
 I(-GEN) near-LOC stay-IMP
 ‘stay near me, stay by my side’

oroŋ-i kapha-i-na ta-réŋ
 they-GEN near-ALL(LOC-DAT) N.IMP-go
 ‘do not go near them’

u-ni kapha-i-ni para dogot-e
 he-GEN near-ELA(LOC-GEN POSTPOS) come out-INCOMP
 jar-Ø
 run away-IMP
 ‘get away and run away from him’

(vi) (<-ni>) pímuŋ ‘inside of’

Having the inessive meaning ‘inside’, and true to the behaviour of the other relator nouns having a final *-ŋ*, its sense is basically locative.

kai sak-sa cika(-ni) pímuŋ-i-na dán-ata
 person CL-one water(-GEN) inside-ILL (LOC-DAT) enter-PAST
 ‘a man (one person) entered into the water’

cika(-ni) pímuŋ-ni para dogot-a
 water(-GEN) inside-ELA(LOC-GEN POSTPOS) come out-PRES
 ‘come out of the water’

cika(-ni) pímuŋ tokoro réŋ-a
 water(-GEN) inside PER go-PRES
 ‘go through the (inside of) water’

(vii) (<-ni>) homphlan ‘that side of, the other side of’

This relator noun has several other freely varying alternants: *hoŋ-phlan* and two other alternants *hompapaklan* and *hoŋpapaklan* (no analysis is attempted here) whose second elements are derived from sources that are unknown. This compound relator noun arises from *hoŋ* ‘there’ and *phala* ‘half-section’, both of which are synchronically free. It has already been noted that the relator nouns having a final *-ŋ* are intrinsically locative. Hence *hoŋ*, *phala* and the mysterious locative marker *-ŋ* together with phonemic and morphophonemic changes account for *hompflan* ‘the other (half-)side’. A few examples are given below:

sagor(-ni) homphlan há to-a
 ocean(-GEN) the.other.side(LOC) land there.be-PRES
 ‘there is land on the other side of the ocean’

tupú maŋ-sa cika(-ni) homphlaŋ-a
 snake CL-one water(-GEN) side-DAT the other
 man-e réŋ-ata
 crawl-INCOMP go-PAST
 ‘a (one) snake crawled across (went crawling) to the other side
 of the water’

(viii) (<-ni>) hemphlaŋ ‘this side of’

This too has the alternants *heŋphlaŋ*, *hemþapaklaŋ* and *heŋþapaklaŋ*. Everything else regarding their analysis is exactly parallel to that of *homphlaŋ* and its alternants.

tó maŋ-sa hácu(-ni) homphlaŋ-i para hemphlaŋ-a
 bird CL-one hill(-GEN) that side-ABL this side-DAT
 pu-i ríba-nata
 fly-INCOMP come-PAST
 ‘a (one) bird came flying from the other side of the hill to this
 side’

raŋkhop(-mi) hemphlaŋ-i para homphlaŋ-a ci-na jaŋ-ca
 cloud(-GEN) this side-ABL that side-DAT look-INF able-NEG
 ‘(one) cannot see from this side of the cloud to the other side’

(ix) <-ni> lebraŋ ‘on the left side of’ (*lebraŋ* ‘(on) left side’)

The genitive maker on the noun is not dropped. Like all other *ŋ*-ending relator nouns it is intrinsically locative, but the presence of the locative *-i* when required makes the expression more pleasing to the ear, although it can be dropped.

u-ni sábra u-ni lebraŋ-i nu-ita
 (s)he-GEN child (s)he-GEN left side-LOC sit-CONT
 ‘his/her child is sitting on his/her left side’

cime sorop-mi lebraŋ tokoro motor calai-a
 we(DEF) road-GEN left side PER vehicle drive-PRES
 ‘we drive (vehicles) on (through) the left side of the road’

(x) <-ni> maisálaŋ ‘on the right side’

The relator nouns *maisálaŋ* is a compound of the noun root *mai* ‘rice’ and the verb root *sá* ‘to eat’. The final *-ŋ* is the inherent locative

marker. With a little stretch of the imagination, the element *-la-* can be seen as deriving from the noun root *phala* ‘half-section’ that was encountered in *homphlan* (see vii and viii). The genitive on the noun is not dropped. The presence of the locative alone on the relator noun is not felt to be strictly necessary and is more often dropped.

sorop-mi maisálan-i para
road-GEN right side-ABL(GEN POSTPOS)
‘from the right side of the road’

aŋ-i maisálan tokoro
i-GEN right.side PER
‘through my right side’

o-kai nok-ŋi maisálan gudun pan
that-ATTR house-GEN right.side in.the.direction tree
phan-sa to-a
CL-one there.be-PRES
‘in the direction of the right side of that house there is a tree’

(xi) <-ni> jikhlan ‘behind of’ (*jikhlan* ‘behind’)

In every respect the behaviour of *jikhlan* is regular. In terms of morpho-semantic transparency, the noun *ji* ‘excreta, body-dirt etc.’ is recognisable as it also is in a number of other lexemes related to the ‘hind section’ of animals and related part of objects. The final *-ŋ* has the regular interpretation of being a locative indicator.

aŋ-i nok(-ŋi) jikhlan(-i) cusar to-a
I-GEN house(-GEN) behind(-LOC) well there be-PRES
‘at the back of my house there is a well’

tó-nogor-ni jikhlan tokoro sial maŋ-sa
coop-GEN behind PER fox CL-one
pímuŋ-i-na dán-ata
inside-ILL (LOC-DAT) enter-PAST
‘a (one) fox entered into the coop from the rear’

kaisábra u-ni jibra-ni jikhlan-i
child it-GEN mother-GEN behind-ABL (GEN POSTPOS)

para dogó-ca
 come out-NEG
 '(the) child does come out from behind its mother'

(xii) <~ni> nukhaŋ-i 'in front of'

The relator noun *nukhaŋ* is a regular lexical noun meaning 'face'. The final *-ŋ* does not, therefore, have the force of the locative. In fact, the presence of the locative *-i* is always present to generate the sense of spatial relation or reduces to a genitive construction meaning 'face of'. The genitive on the noun is also not easily dropped.

ame náŋ-i nukhaŋ-i diŋdiŋ-a srap-ca
 I(DEF) you-GEN infront-LOC stand-INF worthy-NEG
 'I am not worthy to stand in front of you'

o-kai kai kirsin̄kirsin̄ raja-ni
 that-ATTR person fearfully king-GEN
 nukha-i para dogó-jo
 in front-ABL come out-PAST
 'that person came out from in front of the king fearfully'

(xiii) (<-ni>) kicaŋ 'the side of'

The form *kicaŋ* is usually used along with the locative *-i* when locative sense is intended. However, like the other relator nouns ending in *-ŋ*, occasionally it is dropped. The genitive <-ni> on the noun is usually dropped.

nasin̄-kai kai ram(-i) kicaŋ-i-an
 drunk-ATTR person path(-GEN) side-LOC-EMPH
 ki-e múŋ-ata
 fall-INCOMP stay-PAST
 'the drunken man fell (falling remained) by the side of the road'

bugila-be damarsa-na-ba cika(-ni) kicaŋ-i para
 crane-DEF a.while-DAT-also water(-GEN) side-ABL
 réŋ-ca-nata
 go-NEG-PAST
 'the crane did not go even for a while from the side of the water'

This relator noun may be reduplicated to give the idea of ‘along the side of’, used with or without the perlativ *koro* ~ *tokoro*.

ram(-i) kicaŋ kicaŋ tokoro rijam-Ø
 path(-GEN) side side PER walk-IMP
 ‘walk along the side of the road’

(xiv) (<-ni>) *phásaŋ* ‘the (other) side of’

The surest direction to look for an analysis of this relator noun is the partitive classifier *phá-* (see 4.3.4.7.D.iii) in combination with numeral *-sa* ‘one’ and the final *-ŋ* (see xviii below). When adverbs *heŋ* ‘here’ and *hoŋ* ‘there’ are employed in the noun slot, the genitive cannot be used even optionally, and the meaning becomes a more clear ‘this side’ and ‘that side’ with the noun that creates the sides being contextually explicit.

sagor(-ni) *phásaŋ-i* ‘the other side of the ocean’
 hoŋ *phásaŋ-i* para heŋ *phásaŋ* ckena
 there side-ABL(GEN POSTPOS) here side ALL
 ‘from that side to this side’

When *guduŋ* is used, the form *phásaŋ* sheds its final *-ŋ* and becomes homonymous with the CL-NUM form:

hoŋ *phá-sa* *guduŋ* ‘on the other side’

(xv) (<-ni>) *khútakaŋ* ~ (<-ni>) *khútaklaŋ* ‘in front of’ (*khútakaŋ* ~ *khútaklaŋ* ‘in front’)

The initial syllable *khú-* of the relator noun (as analysed in 3.3–3), is identifiable as the syllable occurring in a number of words related to ‘mouth, lip, language’.

kun̄kila(-ni) *khútakaŋ-i* pan phaŋ-sa to-a
 gate(GEN) in.front-LOC tree CL-one there.be-PRES
 ‘there is a tree in front of the gate’
 aŋ-i nok(-ni) *khútakaŋ* tokoro-an sorop réŋ-a
 I-GEN house(-GEN) in.front PER-EMPH road go-PRES
 ‘(the) road goes just in front of my house’

(xvi) (<-ni>) *khúmaŋ-i* ‘at the mouth of, at the edge of’

The form *khúmaŋ* is also a regular lexical noun meaning ‘mouth (of vessels, holes etc.), edge or beginning of a patch of forest or garden etc.’ Its initial syllable is the one identified in 3.3–3. The genitive on the noun is easily dropped, but the final *-ŋ* of the relator noun does not have the force of the locative just as in the case of *nukhaŋ*. Without the locative *-i* the expression would reduce to a simple genitive construction meaning ‘mouth of’.

neoa *hákh*ar(-ni) *khúma*ŋ-i com-e *toŋ*-ata
 mongoose hole(-GEN) mouth-LOC hide-INCOMP stay-PAST
 ‘the mongoose lay in wait at the mouth of the hole’

*pangr*im(-i) *khúma*ŋ-i-an *do*ba *gó*-sa *to*-a-mín
 forest(-GEN) mouth-LOC-EMPH pond CL-one there.be-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘right at the edge of the forest there was (used to be) a pond’

(xvii) <-ni> *cában* ‘after’

The only transparent element in the relator noun is the initial syllable *cá-* which is identifiable as the one analysed in 3.3–(1) meaning ‘leg’. The locative *-i* is almost always used along with it. The relator noun in this case is reduplicable to give the sense of ‘immediately or closely behind’.

aŋ-i *cában*-i *nán* *rén*-a *jaŋ* -o
 I-GEN after-LOC you go-INF able-FUT
 ‘you can/may go after me’

nán-i *cában*-*cában* *u*-ba *sok*-ŋata
 you-GEN after-REDUP (s)he-also reach-PAST
 ‘close behind you (immediately after you) (s)he also reached’

With the demonstrative *u-*, this noun has the meaning ‘and after that, later on’:

u-ni *cában*-i ‘and after that, later on’

(xviii) (<-ni>) *guduŋ* ‘in the direction of’

This form has the meaning of ‘in the direction of’. In many respects *guduŋ* is at the crossroads of being a noun meaning ‘direction’, a

postposition to a case-marked noun (the group in which it has been placed here) and a loosely bound case marker like the instrumental and comitative *peke* ~ *pake*, the perlocative *koro* ~ *tokoro*, the inclusive *sita*, the allative *cekena* or the similarity-indicating *ganda*, all of which are considered case markers. The genitive <-ni> is usually always dropped, for which reason it is not shown in the examples below. However, as a postposition to a genitive-marked noun such a construction is perfectly well-formed though encountered only rarely in speech. An undertone of the genitive is also present in its semantic content, which is ‘in the direction of’.

tó maŋ-sa o-kai pan guduŋ-a pu-i réŋ-ata
 bird CL-one that-ATTR tree direction-DAT fly-INCOMP VECT-PAST
 ‘a (one) bird flew (went flying) in the direction of that tree’

nok-ŋi maísálan guduŋ-i para
 house-GEN right.side direction-ABL (GEN POSTPOS)
 rampar kok-ŋata
 wind beat-PAST
 ‘wind beat (came) from the direction to the right side of the house’

aŋ-i maísálan guduŋ tokoro rónka gó-sa
 I-GEN right.side direction PER stone CL-one
 thír-e réŋ-ata
 bounce-INCOMP go-PAST
 ‘a stone bounced off (or went) past the direction of my right side’

Like the relator nouns having a final *-ŋ* that signal a locative sense, *guduŋ* too has a locative sense. In the presence of *guduŋ* at least some of the relator nouns shed the *-ŋ* as if a double presence of the same marker is not required:

káma guduŋ salí-há cuŋ-cuŋ-a
 below direction paddy-field big(reduplicated)-PRES
 ‘in the lower region paddy-fields are very big’

kára guduŋ-a ci-Ø
 above direction-DAT look-IMP
 ‘look upwards’

In such instances, the forms *káman* and *káran* are equivalent to *káma guduŋ* and *kára guduŋ* respectively. For a clearer example see No. xiv above. It may not be far-fetched to look towards *guduŋ* as a possible source of the locative-indicating final *-ŋ*.

(xix) *caki* ‘by, at the hands of’

It is difficult to classify *caki*. This form marks the demoted agent of the passive formation (see 3.2.2.3). It is a postposition. Its relation to the genitive can only be arrived at by both internal reconstruction and cross-lingual comparison.

caŋ *caki* kok-mása-nata
 who by beat-PASS-PAST
 ‘by whom was (the subject) beaten?’

sábra-be baba *caki* gára*i*-masa-nata
 child-DEF father by scold-PASS-PAST
 ‘the child was scolded by the father’

With a little detour into Garo, the form *caki* can be placed in a better light. Both Garo and Rabha have parallel formations denoting the agent of a passive construction:

Garo sa-ni jak-ci
 who-GEN hand-INST
 ‘at whose hands, by’

Rabha caŋ cak-i
 who (hand-by)
 ‘at whose hands, by’

Besides, it has been possible to identify *cak* as ‘hand’ (see 3.3–2). The conclusion, then, is that *caki* is to be syllabified as *cak-i* ‘at the hands of, by’. It has lost its morphological association with a genitive-marked noun, a sense which it now bears in itself. Synchronically too, *cak* is analysable as meaning ‘hand’ in addition to its primary meaning ‘leaf’, *-i* being a reflex of the Garo instrumental suffix *-ci* (which in other instances is also found as *-si* in Rabha; see 4.3.2.4–1).

It is as if these forms (*guduŋ* and *caki*) have been caught as snapshots of their various stages of development. It may further be predicted that these postpositions that do not have a closer association to a case-marked noun may develop into affixes. Already at the present stage of the language, many of these postpositions are affixes in the areas of verb morphology and morphology of the pronouns.

(xx) <-ni> *nemaneke* ‘for the good of, for the betterment of, for the sake of’

This relator noun (if at all it can be included among them) has a different history. First of all it does not specify spatial relationship. Rather this form is close to the meaning of the formation *-ni badan*, treated in Group A (i) above. It is analysable as being built from the verb root *nem* ‘be good’ and the extended dative <-na> *neke*. It cannot be the extended infinitive form which also is <-na> *neke* because the noun is always with the genitive <-ni> making *nem* in this instance nominal in character. That forces one to conclude deletion of attributive *-kai*. <-ni> *nemaneke*, then, is reduced from <-ni> *nemkai-na neke*. For all its vagaries, the verb base *nemaneke* is the only one of its kind among the relator nouns, paralleling them in morpho-syntactic properties.

ciŋ-i *nemaneke*
 we-GEN good/sake
 ‘for our sake, for our good’

One is set to wonder if this has a parallel history with Garo *-ni namgnina* ‘for the good of’, which is also an isolated formation in Garo, and is almost isomorphemic with the Rabha {-ni} *nemaneke*.

(5) -i ~ -ti ~ -si

This is the locative (LOC) suffix. A word of caution is required: person-nouns do not take any of these suffixes (see No. 6 below).

nok-i	‘in the house’ (<i>nok</i> ‘house’)
soŋ-i	‘in the village’ (<i>soŋ</i> ‘village’)
pan-i	‘on the tree’ (<i>pan</i> ‘tree’)
cátla-i	‘in the courtyard’ (<i>cátla</i> ‘courtyard’)
sirgi-i	‘in heaven’ (<i>sirgi</i> ‘heaven’)

The alternant *-ti* enters the picture when a noun root has a final vowel, in which case it is preferred to *-i*. In some instances, the *i*-formation has already been ousted from normal usage although there is no strict rule banishing the locative *-i* after a vowel-final noun. It is *-ti* that never follows a consonant:

cika-i ~ cika-ti	‘in the water’ (<i>cika</i> ‘water’)
sirgi-i ~ sirgi-ti	‘in heaven’ (<i>sirgi</i> ‘heaven’)
(*mai-i) mai-ti	‘in the paddy or rice’ (<i>mai</i> ‘paddy, (cooked) rice’)
(*mí-i) mí-ti	‘in the curry’ (<i>mí</i> ‘curry’)
(*pukri-i) pukri-ti	‘in the pond’ (<i>pukri</i> ‘pond’)

Just as the complex nuclei most preferred by Rabha are *ai* and *oi*, so too, it is seen that locative *-i* is more readily accommodated by *-a* and *-o* than by the other vowels that would prefer *-ti* to *-i*. The roots that already have a complex nucleus avoid *-i*. The locative *-i* is found bound in many relator nouns (see 4.3.3.2-B iv above) and adverbs of place, the roots of which are otherwise potentially not free, as in:

e-kai	sorta-i
this-ATTR	area-LOC
‘in this area’	
e-kai	maca-i
this-ATTR	place-LOC
‘in this place itself, here itself’	

The form *-si* occurs only with the demonstrative pronouns, the relative pronoun and the interrogative /bV-/. For an analysis of *-si* see 4.3.2.4-1.

i-si	‘here’
u-si	‘there’
bi-si	‘where?’
ja-si	‘where (REL)’

The locative *-i* (as well as *-si* and *-ti*) forms some very important compound case markers in combination with the dative <-na>, the

genitive <-ni> and postposition *para*, where the locative is always the first element.

(i) -i-na (LOC-DAT)

This combination generates two effects: one of marking the allative (ALL) case of ‘destination or movement to or towards’, and the other of marking the illative (ILL) case of ‘destination or movement into’. The actual relation intended is explicit only within the context of the utterance and the compatibility of the noun and the verb to accommodate either meaning.

nok-i-na réŋ-jo
house-ALL(LOC-DAT) go-PAST
‘go home’

nok-i-na dán-jo
house-ILL(LOC-DAT) enter-PAST
‘entered (into) the house’

bosta-i-na tat-e tan-φ
sack -ILL(LOC-DAT) put in-INCOMP VECT-IMP
‘put (it) into the bag’

náme bi-si-na réŋ-eta
you(DEF) where-ALL(LOC-DAT) go-CONT
‘where are you going (to)?’

ja-si-na nán réŋ-eta u-si-na aŋ-ba réŋ-no
REL-ALL(LOC-DAT) you go-CONT there-ALL(LOC-DAT) I-too go-FUT
‘I too will go where you are going’

(ii) -i-ni (LOC-GEN)

This combination gives the special meaning ‘belonging to and coming from’ not in the sense of ‘movement from’ but as ‘belonging to the source’.

soŋ-i-ni kai-taŋ
village-LOC-GEN person-PL
‘people of (belonging to) the village’

nok-i-ni	<u>mai</u>		
house-LOC-GEN	paddy		
'paddy from the house (one's own and not bought)'			
nok-i-ni	tó-bijan	si-e	pré-jo
house-LOC-GEN	fowl-PL	die-INCOMP	finish-PAST
'the chickens of (belonging to) the house (have) all died'			
bi-si-ni	<u>kai</u>	i-be	
where-LOC-GEN	person	this-DEF	
'where is this person from?'			
i-si-ni	<u>kai</u> -taŋ	kami	rá-na goŋ-a
this-LOC-GEN	person-PL	work	willing-PRES
'people from here are willing to work (are industrious)'			

(iii) -i-ni para (LOC-GEN POSTPOS)

This formation effects the elative (ELA) 'from inside of, from within'. The meaning is not to be confused with the ablative which in Rabha is generated by GEN + POSTPOS (-<-ni> *para*). Ablative is more specifically 'from (the exterior of)' and elative 'from (the inside of)'. The break up of the marker parallels the distinction in meaning.

i-si-ni para	dogó-ca- <u>kai</u> -an	nem-a
this-ELA(LOC-GEN POSTPOS)	go.OUT-NEG-ATTR-EMPH	good-PRES
'it is good (better) not to go out from here'		
aŋ ja-si-ni para	rība-nata (continued below)	
I REL-ELA(LOC-GEN POSTPOS)	come-PAST	
u-si-na-n	bar-e	réŋ-o
that-ELA(LOC-GEN POSTPOS)-EMPH	return-INCOMP	VECT-PAST
'I will return to where I came from'		
grim-i-ni para	gó-sa	khúraŋ kriŋ-ba-nata
forest-ELA(LOC-GEN POSTPOS)	CL-one voice	sound-towards-PAST
'a voice sounded (came out) from (inside) the forest'		
cika-i-ni para	dogó-Ø	
water-ELA(LOC-GEN POSTPOS)	come out-IMP	
'come out of the water'		

However, the presence of the locative is not an absolute condition to signal the elative. The ablative combined with the semantic force of the noun and the verb in question can engender the elative meaning:

cika-ni para dogó-Ø
 water-ABL(GEN POSTPOS) come out-IMP
 ‘come out of the water’

(6) katan

The form *katan* is a special locative marker. It is difficult to judge whether it is a suffix or a postposition. From the phonemic composition, it falls foul of the first set of affixal case markers which are all monosyllabic, for it is disyllabic. Besides, the final *-η* is (as in many other instances) semantically amenable to the locative interpretation. The form *katan* is a special locative marker usually indicating possession (not necessarily ownership) by the noun. It is used only with person nouns, especially personal pronouns. Here it is represented as a postposition with a space between the noun and the locative marker.

aη katan káosa to-a
 I LOC book there.be-PRES
 ‘with me there is (a) book’

náη-i nen aη katan to-a
 you-GEN cloth I LOC there.be-PRES
 ‘your cloth is with me’

Like the other locative markers, *katan* too forms similar compound suffixes:

kalam-batan doktor katan-a réη-a lagi-a
 sick-(ATTR)PL doctor ALL(LOC-DAT) go-INF must-PRES
 ‘the sick go to (visit) the doctor’

ato-ba lagi-donbe aη katan-a ríba-Ø
 what-INDEF need-if I ALL(LOC-DAT) come-IMP
 ‘if (you) need anything come to me’

aŋ kataŋ-i para jar-e réŋ-Ø
 I ELA(LOC-GEN POSTPOS) run-INCOMP go-IMP
 'go away from my presence'

(7) *peke* ~ *pake*

Of the two alternants, *peke* is the one most consistently used in the core villages around Bordamal. As one moves westwards the form *pake* begins to appear. Probably *peke* ~ *pake* is derived from verb root *pak* 'to stick to' combined with the participial or incomplete *-e*. Semantically it is very likely, and verb roots as a source of adpositions is also a linguistically established phenomenon (Blake 1994: 163). Further evidence for such an analysis is the Garo instrumental marker *bak-sa* whose first syllable is comparable to and cognate with Rabha *pak*. This adposition marks two case relations:

(a) It marks the instrumental (INST) 'with'

kaŋka peke tán-φ
 knife INST cut-IMP
 'cut with the knife'

kúr peke kha-nata
 binding strip INST tie-PAST
 'tied with (a) binding strip'

It is also used to indicate the mode of transport used:

ruŋ peke pá-nata
 boat INST CROSS-PASS
 'crossed with the boat'

(b) It marks the comitative (COM) 'along with':

kaisábra u-ni baba peke réŋ-ata
 child he-GEN dad COM go-PAST
 '(the) child went with his dad'

si-cekena aŋ nán peke toŋ-o
 die-ALL I you COM stay-FUT
 'till death I will stay with you'

(8) cekena

This form marks the spatial allative (ALL) ‘to, up to’. In verb morphology this suffix marks the temporal allative ‘up to, until’. In consonance with its semantics it contains the dative <-na>, but the remainder of this case marker is opaque.

nok cekena ‘up to the house’ (*nok* ‘house’)
 hoŋ cekena ‘till there’ (*hoŋ* ‘there’)

hácu(-ni) homphlaŋ cekena
 hill(GEN) that side ALL
 ‘till the other side of the hill’

(9) koro ~ tokoro

This form marks the perlative (PER) ‘via, through, along’. Both the alternants are used equally frequently. This morpheme can also be used following a relator noun (see 4.3.3.2–4 Group B iii and xv) that is already a postposition to a case-marked form.

mása-be nok tokoro-an dán-e réŋ-ata
 tiger-DEF house PER-EMPH enter-INCOMP go-PAST
 ‘the tiger entered and went right through the house itself’

cime hácu tokoro ríba-nata
 we(DEF) hill PER come-PAST
 ‘we came along the hill’ (by a hill path)

pathar tokoro ram káni-a
 paddy field PER path short-PRES
 ‘through the paddy field the path is short’

(10) ganda

This postposition marks the relation of similarity (SIM) or being alike.

mása ganda nuk-ŋata
 tiger SIM see-PAST
 ‘it looked liked (a) tiger’

náŋ ganda aŋ-ni liga toŋ-ca
 you SIM I-GEN friend there.be-NEG
 ‘I have no friend like you’

kai ganda kai to-a
 person SIM person there.be-PRES
 ‘there are people who look alike’

(11) sita

This suffix marks the inclusive (INCL) relation ‘together with, along with, including’. When referring to persons it is equivalent to the comitative.

citraŋ sita phok-a
 root INCL pluck-PRES
 ‘pluck (up) along with the roots’

sábra-ba babra sita réŋ-ata
 child-also father INCL go-PAST
 ‘the child also went with the father’

té sita san-tham cáŋ-o
 today INCL day-three be-FUT
 ‘it will be three days including today’

4.3.3.3 *Terminating noun affixes*

The terminating noun suffixes are optional suffixes that may be added to the nominal formations after all the other required suffixes. These suffixes preclude affixation by other noun suffixes. It may be possible to consider them to be particles or clitics, except for the overall affixal morphology of the language, their intonational pattern that make them one with the rest, and the fact that these may still be followed by the general affixes (see 4.2.4). Co-occurrence of these terminating suffixes with other suffixes is very limited. If more co-occur, they occur in the order illustrated here.

(1) -kantra ~ -kantraŋ

The basic semantic content of this suffix is ‘only, just’:

i-o-kantraŋ-be ame rá-ca
 this-ACC-only-DEF I(DEF) take-NEG
 ‘only this I will not (don’t) take’

mí rím-kai cika-kantraŋ-se
 curry cook-ATTR water-only-EMPH

‘the curry (that) is cooked is only water (is too watery or has plenty of water)’

kán gota pusi-kantraŋ
body whole dirt-only
‘the whole body is full of dirt’

With certain nouns the form *kantraŋ* forms lexicalised meanings as in *tási-kantraŋ* ‘empty-handed’:

křima ci-na réŋ-donbe tási-kantraŋ bekhare réŋ-o
relatives see-INF go-if hand-only how go-FUT
‘if (one) goes to visit (relatives) how can (one) go empty-handed?’

In conversational situations where the nouns is contextually explicit, it is possible to use *kantraŋ* independently, as in the following piece of conversation:

A: náme maí sá-nata-na
you(DEF) rice eat-PAST-INTERR
‘did you have your meal (eat rice)?’
B: on ‘yes’
A: ata mí ‘what curry?’
B: maí kantraŋ ‘rice only’
A: kantraŋ? ‘only?’
B: kantraŋ! ‘only!’

(2) -ba

This suffix is different from the ending *-ba* that has been identified as having attributive and past characteristics, although homophonous with it. However it can be seen as related to the indefinite *-ba* that gives the interrogatives and the relative pronoun an indefinite sense. As a terminating suffix it means ‘also’.

i-ba nem-a, u-ba nem-a
this-also good-PRES that-also good-PRES
‘this also is good, that also is good (this as well as that is good)’

where it is translatable as ‘what about’. It actually emphasises the definitiveness and may also be rendered as ‘the X?’ (with rising intonation), where X is the noun:

nen-be ‘what about the cloth? the cloth?’ (*nen* ‘cloth’)
 oroη-be ‘what about them?’ they?’ (*oroη* ‘they’)

(4) -o

This form can hardly be a grammatical element. However, it is heard quite often in speech with the meaning ‘you mean’ in interrogative formations that do not have an interrogative marker, as when asking clarification of something not heard or grasped clearly, or with the meaning ‘that which, the one’ when giving location or information about something. It is always accompanied by a rising intonation. It may or may not be related to the accusative *-o*.

aη-o ‘you mean I’ (*aη* ‘I’)

ram ceηkna-i toη-kai-o
 path fork-LOC there be-ATTR-you mean
 ‘you mean the one at the bifurcation of the road?’

aη-i tikaη in-kai-o
 I-GEN before say-ATTR-you mean
 ‘you mean what I told you earlier, what I said earlier’

4.3.3.4 Conclusion

The affixal morphology of the nouns present a kaleidoscopic picture of the various combinations of the affixes in a typically agglutinative framework. There is a set of five affixal case markers (all of which are suffixes), another set of six case markers (including the locative *kataη*) that are midway between being affixal and postpositional, and a larger set of clear adpositions or relator nouns (all of which are postpositions). The postpositions themselves appear to be at various stages of development: some are lexical nouns like *nukhaη* ‘face’, and others are not nominal in character but are mere extensions of the primary case markers as *neke* in the extended dative; some are open to further affixation by principal suffixes, and others are closed to further affixation except by the terminating and general affixes; some are semantically transparent on their own, and others generate meaning only in the presence of case-marked nouns. On any plane, how-

ever, rather than see them as divided into neat classes, they can be better seen as being on a cline. It has also been possible to note some possible tendencies leading postpositions to break out of their dependency on case-marked nouns to being more affixal rather than postpositional.

4.3.4 *Rabha classifier construction*

The classifier construction in Rabha is a combination of a classifier (CL) and a numeral (NUM) used adjectivally to enumerate a noun (N). A typical classifier construction, then, has three terms: CL, NUM and N. Of these three terms, N admits of pragmatic deletion in a speech situation where the noun referred to is contextually explicit. For instances instead of:

aŋ-a-ba ná maŋ-sa rákhu-coŋ
 I-DAT-also fish CL-one give-please
 ‘give me also a (one) fish’

it is possible to say just:

aŋ-a-ba maŋ-sa rákhu-coŋ
 I-DAT-also CL-one give-please
 ‘give me also one (fish)’

Or, it is possible to delete the noun when the same noun has to be repeated again in the course of the same utterance or in the same speech situation as in:

aŋ-i mingkú maŋ-aniŋ to-a; maŋ-sa-be
 I-GEN cat CL-two there.be-PRES; CL-one-DEF
 ak-a aro maŋ-sa-be bok-a
 black-PRES and CL-one-DEF white-PRES
 ‘I have two cats; one is black and one is white’

At any rate, when the expression classifier construction is used in later sections, it refers specifically to the classifier-numeral unit (the motivation for this choice will be evident in 4.3.4.1) and only in a general sense to the expression including all the three terms. Until later sections, where the classifiers are more specifically described, any morph that combines with a numeral is referred to as a classifier.

4.3.4.1 *Rabha as a 'Numeral Classifier' language*

Allan (1977) distinguishes classifier languages from non-classifier languages basically by two criteria: '(a) They have classifiers, at least some of which are restricted to classifier constructions, although classifiers exist which function in other environments like nouns. (b) They belong to one of four types—(i) numeral classifier languages, (ii) concordial classifier languages, (iii) predicate classifier languages, and (iv) intra-locative classifier languages' (Allan 1977: 286). He further asserts that the numeral classifier languages where 'a classifier is obligatory in many expressions of quantity' (p. 286) are the 'paradigm type' (p. 286).

Following these criteria Rabha is a classifier language and belongs to numeral classifier languages (type i): In Rabha there are some classifiers (although only a few) that are restricted to the classifier construction only, and in expressions of quantity, as in enumeration with numerals, a classifier is obligatory. Examples are material classifiers *maŋ-*, *sak-* and *gó-*; shape classifiers *khó-* and *tíŋ-*; partitive classifier *phá-*; quanta classifier *pak-* and many others that are bound and are used only in classifier constructions. A numeral in Rabha is a bound morpheme and cannot occur without a classifier. As noted by Allan (1977: 286, note 2) this does not necessarily mean that all nouns are classified in all their occurrences in speech. Any noun can be used without a classifier when no enumeration is involved as in:

aŋ kái-kai pan-be kheŋ-eta
I plant-ATTR tree-DEF alive-CONT
'the tree I planted is alive'

kai ganda kai to-a
person like person there.be-PRES
'there are person who alike (there are persons like persons)'

oroŋ-i másu páŋ-a
they-PL cattle plenty-PRES
'they have plenty of cattle'

e-kai rónka-be rak-a
this-ATTR stone-DEF hard-PRES
'this stone is hard'

tó-bijan pu-na jaŋ-a
 bird-PL fly-INF able-PRES
 ‘birds can fly’

pan bá, hácu hájek,
 vegetation (tree bamboo), hills (hill valley),
 mása máda,
 wild animals (tiger bear),

coŋ guk aro d̄imdak pakja-bijan-o
 insects (worms grasshoppers) and all thing-PL-ACC
 sirgirisi tak-ŋata
 God make-PAST

‘God made the vegetation, the hills and valleys, wild animals,
 insects and all other things’

In all these sentences, there are no classifiers along with any of the nouns, but a classifier is obligatory if there is enumeration with the help of a numeral, as in:

ram(-i) kapha-i pan phaŋ-sa to-a-m̄in
 road(-GEN) near-LOC tree CL-one there.be-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘there was or there used to be a (one) tree by the side of the
 road’

caŋ-ba sak-sa kai r̄ba-eta
 who-INDEF CL-one person come-CONT
 ‘someone (some one person) is coming’

aŋ-i másu maŋ-aniŋ to-a
 I-GEN cattle CL-two there.be-PRES
 ‘I have two cattle’

rónka gó-sa ki-nata
 stone CL-one fall-PAST
 ‘one stone fell down’

tó maŋ-sa pu-i r̄eŋ-ata
 bird CL-one fly-INCOMP VECT-PAST
 ‘a (one) bird is flew away’

aŋ nároŋ-a ná maŋ-sa-ni sastar kani-no
 I you(PL)-DAT fish CL-one-DAT story tell-FUT
 ‘I shall tell you the story of a fish’

Rabha, then, is a typical numeral classifier language, bearing an intimate association between numerals and the classifiers, just as the typological label suggests. Allan feels that the label ‘numeral classifier’ is a misnomer as ‘in all numeral classifier languages, the classifiers occur in anaphoric and deictic expressions as well as in expressions of quantity’ (Allan 1977: 286). He proceeds to give examples from Thai for such glosses as ‘that dog’, ‘that [animal, coat, trousers, or table]’ and ‘four (of them) [animals, coats, trousers, or tables]’ to prove this point. Rabha, then, is an exception, and by that fact proves to be a numeral classifier language *par excellence*. In Rabha the classifiers enter the arena only if enumeration with numerals is present. The demonstratives alone without enumeration cannot call forth the classifiers. Conversely, if enumeration is present, then the presence of the classifiers is absolutely indispensable.

o-kai kí
 that-ATTR dog
 ‘that dog’

o-kai másu-bijan
 that-ATTR cattle-PL
 ‘those cattle’

e-kai hácu
 this-ATTR hill
 ‘this hill’

e-kai méca-taŋ
 this-ATTR woman-PL
 ‘these women’

e-kai pan phaŋ-sa
 this-ATTR tree CL-one
 ‘this one tree’

o-kai hácu gó-sa
 that-ATTR hill CL-one
 ‘that one mountain’

e-kai ná maŋ-aniŋ
 this-ATTR fish CL-two
 ‘these two fish(es)’

o-kai miŋkú maŋ-atham
 that-ATTR cat CL-three
 ‘those three cats’

Pragmatic deletion of the enumerated and classified nouns in explicit speech situations of the kind described in 4.3.4, where the classifier construction can be seen as acting anaphorically, does not amount to full-fledged anaphoric characteristic. It might, therefore, be justifiably argued that the classificatory function of the classifiers is, to a certain extent, secondary to enumeration. When invoked by the numerals, the classifiers classify the enumerated nouns according to various semantic criteria.

However, the situation presented by the Rabha classifiers, the numerals as well the classifier constructions, is of a highly reduced and mixed pattern, owing to influences and intrusions of a non-Rabha numeral system and the paradigmatic constructional shift ensuing therefrom (see 4.3.4.6). Therefore, while speaking of classifier constructions in Rabha, it is important to distinguish between the typically native Rabha pattern (which certainly is older) and the relatively newer pattern that is influenced by the Indo-Aryan Assamese in all areas related to the classifier construction: the numerals, the classifiers and the classifier constructions themselves. The methodology followed here is to describe the typically native pattern, although it is highly reduced in extensiveness, and then to view the newer pattern in relief against the background of the old. Whatever differences and shifts exist come out in sharper focus under such an analysis.

4.3.4.2 *Relative order within the classifier construction*

The classifier and the numeral form one unit having the fixed order CL-NUM. Classifier constructions are endocentric constructions, and just as in the endocentric attributive construction, the order of the noun and the CL-NUM combination is relatively free. The preferred order, however, is N CL-NUM, as in:

tó maŋ-sa
 bird CL-one
 ‘one bird’

kai sak-sa
 person CL-one
 ‘one person’

The possible reverse order, as in

phaŋ-sa pan
 CL-one tree
 ‘one tree’

rónka gó-sa
 stone CL-one
 ‘one stone’

indicates greater importance given to the fronted term. There appears to be structural evidence for this interpretation in the composition of classifier constructions. In the more preferred order of the classifier construction, it is as if the noun chooses a particular classifier by virtue of some inherent quality. The noun is the determining and important term and is in the first slot.

When a form that is morphologically a classifier by virtue of its being used in the classifier slot does not strictly classify nouns by semantic criteria related to any inherent quality of the nouns, but has more reference to quantitative aspects, as is the case with *lop-* ‘handful’ and *anjri-* ‘amount that is contained in two hands cupped together’, the overall thrust of that form is only quantitative. In such instances there is no inherent quality of the noun that determines the classifier. The bond between the noun and the classifier is weak, and the more common order is with the noun in the final position as in:

lop-sa mairuŋ
 CL-one rice
 ‘a handful of rice’

where the emphasis is not on the fact that it is ‘rice’ but that it is ‘a handful’. Even in such cases, it must be admitted, it is possible to say:

mairuŋ lop-sa ‘a handful of rice’

where the contextual emphasis is on the fact that it is ‘rice’ and not anything else, yet *lop-* is used not because the noun is ‘rice’ but because whatever be the noun, it is ‘a handful’. The presence of loan Assamese numerals alters the picture drastically (see 4.3.4.6).

4.3.4.3 *Rabha numerals*

The Rabha numeral system conjures up the image of a battle field in total disarray, its warriors either fallen or fleeing. Native Rabha numerals stop with three. All the higher numerals, if indeed there ever did exist a larger system, have been lost. A relatively archaic and unused numeral system that was obtained from a native is presented in Appendix I, and a newly created numeral system is presented in Appendix II. From four upwards, a switch is made to the Indo-Aryan Assamese numeral system. Even the three numerals that still exist need to be extricated from a tangle. As pointed out earlier, numerals in Rabha always co-occur with a classifier. This intimate co-occurrence accounts for the fact that the Rabha numerals are not free morphemes. The three forms of the numerals that occur most commonly are:

<i>gósa</i>	‘one thing’
<i>aniṅ</i>	‘two things’
<i>antham</i>	‘three things’

When a situation demands counting without reference to any noun, a Rabha finds it most convenient to count entirely in Assamese, where numerals are not bound to any classifier. The surest starting point in analysing the three numbers given above is the first one *gósa*. Its second syllable *-sa* stays constant in combination with any classifier:

<i>nok gósa</i>	‘one house’ (<i>nok</i> ‘house’; <i>gó-</i> ‘CL’)
<i>pan phaṅ-sa</i>	‘one tree’ (<i>pan</i> ‘tree’; <i>phaṅ-</i> ‘CL’)
<i>kai sak-sa</i>	‘one person’ (<i>kai</i> ‘person’; <i>sak-</i> ‘CL’)
<i>tó maṅ-sa</i>	‘one bird’ (<i>tó</i> ‘bird’ <i>maṅ-</i> ‘CL’)
<i>cak khó-sa</i>	‘one leaf’ (<i>cak</i> ‘leaf’; <i>khó-</i> ‘CL’)

It is, then, safe to put one’s finger on *-sa* as ‘one’ and *gó-* as classifier. This prefix is a classifier *par excellence*, but is used only with numeral ‘one’.

The analysis of *aniṅ* and *antham* is not as straightforward as that of *gósa*, because on account of the morphophonemics (see 4.4.4.5) their forms take different phonemic shapes in combination with other classifiers. In certain instances they are found in their entirety as

aning and *antham* along with another classifier. However, guided by the fact that *aning* and *antham* are parallel to *gósa* (though no trace of *gó-* is present in them) and that the numerals are always accompanied by a classifier, we may tentatively syllabify and analyse them as *a-niŋ* and *an-tham*, whereby *-niŋ* and *-tham* are considered as ‘two’ and ‘three’ respectively, and *a-* and *an-* considered as the counterpart of *gó-* with respect to ‘two’ and ‘three’ respectively. This analysis produces the set /*gó-* ~ *a-* ~ *an-*/, their distribution being lexically determined by *-sa*, *-niŋ* and *-tham* respectively. There are only two such sets of lexically bound alternating allomorphs of a classifier. The other is found in:

<u>kai</u> saksa	‘one person’ (<i>kai</i> ‘person’; <i>sak-sa</i> ‘CL-one’)
<u>kai</u> kamiŋ ~ kam- <u>kai</u>	‘two persons’ (<i>kai</i> ‘person’, <i>kam-iŋ</i> ‘CL-two’)
<u>kai</u> metham	‘three persons’ (<i>kai</i> ‘person’; <i>me-tham</i> ‘CL-three’)

which gives another set /*sak-* ~ *kam-* ~ *me-*/. The numbers too are identifiable except in *kamiŋ* where there is a reduced *-iŋ* instead of the expected *-niŋ* owing to morphophonemic changes. The freely varying alternant *kamkai* (which apparently does not contain the numeral) gives the clue that the classifier part is *kam-* rather than just *ka-*.

A question that can naturally occur to the mind is whether what remains of the Rabha classifier and numeral system is a vestigial form of an earlier pattern, where every number had specific and different classifier-numeral combinations, the classifiers being all bound and lexically conditioned by the numerals. Such a system, if there ever did exist a larger numeral system, would have been totally against the principle of economy that every natural language strives to maintain. However, that such a system did exist at least for a number of classifiers, is highly plausible (see further below). Synchronically, there are only two such lexically conditioned alternating allomorphs of a classifier. In every other case, the form of the classifier is constant as in the following example with *pan* ‘tree’ and *phaŋ-* ‘CL (plants)’:

pan phaŋ-sa	‘one tree’
pan phaŋ-aniŋ	‘two trees’
pan phaŋ-atham	‘three trees’

As more examples are pooled together, it will become clear that *aniŋ* and *antham* take different phonemic shapes and also play a dual role behaving typically as a composite of a classifier and the forms for numbers ‘two’ and ‘three’ respectively, as when placed in a paradigm with *gó-sa*, and also are just numerals capable of combining with other classifiers.

The morphophonemic changes (for details see 4.3.4.5) as well as the semantic difference in the two paradigms in Table 4.5, with *tɨk* acting as classifier in one instance for noun *cokó* ‘rice beer’, and as a noun taking the classifier *khó-* in another instance, reveal that there is something more to *aniŋ* and *antham* than just being pure numerals.

Table 4.5 *tɨk* ‘pot’ as classifier and noun

<i>tɨk</i> as classifier	<i>tɨk</i> as noun
cokó tɨk-sa	tɨk khó-sa
cokó tɨk-ŋ-aniŋ	tɨk aniŋ
cokó tɨk-ŋ-atham	tɨk antham

The difference in semantics, and therefore in the morphology and the morphological status and function, can hardly be doubted. As a classifier *tɨk* means ‘pitcher-full’, and as a noun it means the container ‘pitcher’.

Table 4.6 too brings out the dual nature of *aniŋ* and *antham* in the case of *bada*, which acts as noun (taking the classifier *gó-*) in one instance, and as a classifier (not in the restricted sense of classifying by inherent quality but in the generic sense of occupying the classifier-slot) in another instance for the noun *kui* ‘betel nut’.

Table 4.6 *bada* ‘bunch’ as classifier and noun

<i>bada</i> as classifier	<i>bada</i> as noun
<u>kui</u> bada-sa	bada gó-sa
<u>kui</u> bada-aniŋ	bada aniŋ
<u>kui</u> bada-antham	bada antham

When used as classifier this morpheme means 'bunch' or more precisely 'bunchful', while when used as noun it refers to the material of the bunch: its stem, ribs and other parts. This dual nature of *aniŋ* and *antham* is the result of a classifier that has become partially frozen as a prefix on numerals, along with morphophonemic fusion of some sort. The numeral *-sa* is the only one without fusion so that the classifier and the numeral are easily identifiable. In the related language Ruga all numerals from one to ten have frozen prefix *gai-*, and another related language Atong has *gō-* frozen on numerals from one to three (LSI vol. III, part II: 135), and Burling claims a frozen prefix *gi-* ~ *git-* for number 'two' and 'three' of Garo (Burling 1984: 37). All these prefixes in the three different languages bear close phonemic resemblance to each other.

One can venture an explanation. These languages had (or still have as in Rabha) numerals that were always bound morphs which could only be used along with a classifier. Hence these numerals lacked the capacity to be used in abstract counting. If they had to count, always some definite thing had to be enumerated. In the course of time different languages went varying directions and distances in freeing the numerals for abstract counting either by using the bound numerals as free morphs, as in Garo (which somehow got a prefix only numerals 'two' and 'three') or by letting the general classifier get permanently frozen on the numerals, as in Ruga, or by a mixed combination of the two strategies, as in Atong.

In Rabha, only three numerals have survived this upheaval, and it is hazardous to guess about the extinct members. The surviving members give an indication that there must have been much morphophonemic transformation at the morpheme boundary of CL-NUM combinations. Only the numeral 'one' has been spared, and only there is the general classifier also recognisable. An unwieldy and cumbersome system must have developed. Only the most tenacious classifiers survived. Thus we have the two sets /sak- ~ ka-me-/ and /gō- ~ a- ~ an-/. This accounts for the comparatively smaller number of classifiers in Rabha when compared to other languages like Garo, which still has certain specific classifiers whose counterparts do not exist in Rabha. The departure from the scene of the numerals, and some classifiers along with them, was no doubt partly prompted by the presence of the Assamese numerals, that are free morphs.

At any rate, once the dual function of *aniŋ* and *antham* is accepted the stage is set for a detailed survey of the classifiers in Rabha, which

is provided after an analysis of the morphophonemics of the numerals which will give an ordered account of the changing shapes of the numerals.

4.3.4.4 *Another possible approach to the Rabha numerals*

Having considered a tentative analysis of the Rabha numerals, it should be noted that numeral 'one' has two forms: a bound form *-sa*, which appears with all morphs that take the classifier slot, and a free form *gósa* which appears elsewhere. Similarly, the numerals 'two' and 'three' are free morphs, with *aniṅ* and *antham* appearing in all instances, their actual phonemic shape being determined by the morphophonemic behaviour described in 4.3.4.5.

There are at least two serious setbacks with this approach: (a) It will undercut a sweeping and true generalisation that in Rabha, when nouns are enumerated using numerals, a classifier is obligatory. For if we call *aniṅ* just a numeral, then in the expression *bada aniṅ* 'two bunches', where is the classifier? Not only is there just a question of losing a useful, true and broad generalisation, it is also one of the cardinal points (Allan 1977: 286) on which the status of numeral classifier language rests (see 4.3.4). Otherwise we shall end up admitting some enumerated or quantitative expressions with a classifier such as in *paṅ phaṅ-aniṅ* 'tree CL-two' and others that are without a classifier such as in *bada aniṅ* 'two bunches'. The same happens with *antham*. A way out of the situation is to consider the free form *gósa* as well as the other numerals as being composed of a classifier component and a numeral component. By this adjustment one is taken back to the analysis carried out in the first approach. (b) If *aniṅ* and *antham* are free forms, there is no basis for their entering into such close morphophonemic changes as they actually do (see 4.3.4.5). Otherwise it would be necessary to accept them both as free and as bound forms parallel to *gósa*, the free form, and *-sa*, the bound form of 'one'. It would be necessary to accept the composite nature of the free forms as discussed in (a). This again takes one back to the first approach by a roundabout path.

Whatever the angle of approach, *aniṅ* and *antham* are in some measure dual in character: partially opaque composites of a frozen classifier and a frozen numeral, and at the same time entering into combination with other classifiers as if they were just simple numerals. Such a situation is the residue of some unknown diachronic process

that has both changed and obliterated their separate phonemic composition and the morpheme boundary. The first approach of 4.3.4.3 appears to be descriptively simpler and seems to hold together the other aspects of the numeral-classifier system in a more coherent manner.

4.3.4.5 *Morphophonemics of classifier constructions*

Morphophonemics of the classifier constructions, although in keeping with the pattern of the language as a whole, has certain peculiarities that deserve special mention. For a clearer picture it is convenient to divide the classifiers into two groups:

- (a) monosyllabic classifiers
- (b) polysyllabic classifiers

The two special sets of classifiers analysed in 4.3.4.3, i.e. /gó- ~ a- ~ an-/ and /sak ~ kam- ~ me-/, are to be treated as belonging to a totally different pattern, as they have indistinguishable morpheme boundaries. The monosyllabic classifiers are further divided into four groups according to their coda, as:

- (i) -p, -k
- (ii) -m, -ŋ
- (iii) -n, -r, -l
- (iv) with open syllables

Further, the forms *-sa*, *aniŋ* and *antham* are the numerals that combine with the classifiers, notwithstanding the earlier arguments in favour of their composite nature and the subsequent but tentative analysis of the numerals as *-sa*, *-niŋ* and *-tham*. It has already been seen that they are dual in character. This line of approach makes broader morphophonemic statements possible.

In line with their dual nature, *aniŋ* and *antham* act as composites of classifier and numeral on a par with their counterpart *gó-sa*. As composites they enter into a **syntactic** construction with nouns, not occasioning any morphophonemic changes being discussed here, but as numerals they enter into a **morphological** construction with the classifiers thus coming under the operative force of the morpho-

phonemic changes being discussed here. This observation explains the morphophonemic differences at the morpheme boundary in classifier-noun constructions of nouns that themselves take the classifier slot or stand back to make place for the generic classifier *gó-*, as in the following paradigms. In the first set, *nok* occurs in the classifier slot (along with morphophonemic changes), and in the second *nok* is a regular noun having /*gó-* ~ *a-* ~ *an-*/ as its classifier.

<i>nok-sa-ni</i> <i>kaitan</i>	‘people of one village’
<i>nok-ηaniη-i</i> <i>kaitan</i>	‘people of two villages’
<i>nok-ηatham-i</i> <i>kaitan</i>	‘people of three villages’
<i>nok</i> <i>gó-sa</i>	‘one house’
<i>nok</i> <i>a-niη</i>	‘two houses’
<i>nok</i> <i>an-tham</i>	‘three houses’

The following morphophonemic rules are seen to operate at the boundary between the classifiers and numerals.

- (a) *-sa* remains unchanged in all environments with all classifiers.
- (b) *-aniη* and *antham* remain unchanged when the classifier is polysyllabic, irrespective of whether the second syllable is open or closed.
- (c) When the classifier is monosyllabic, the morphophonemic changes vary depending upon the final segment of the classifier:
 - (i) When a monosyllabic classifier having a final plosive, i.e. group (i) above, joins with *aniη*, a homorganic nasal is inserted following the plosive:

<i>grok-</i> + <i>aniη</i>	>	<i>grok-η-aniη</i>
<i>lop-</i> + <i>aniη</i>	>	<i>lop-m-aniη</i>

and when they join with *antham*, besides the insertion of the homorganic nasal, the *-n-* of *antham* is dropped:

<i>grok-</i> + <i>antham</i>	>	<i>grok-η-atham</i>
<i>lop-</i> + <i>antham</i>	>	<i>lop-m-atham</i>

The intruding *-ŋ* which becomes the syllable initial to the following syllable is one of the only two instances in Rabha (the other being in the area of a number of morphemes listed in 2.1.1.1) where /ŋ/ occurs syllable-initially. Its behaviour here is parallel to what is described in 2.1.1.1.

(ii) When the coda of the monosyllabic classifier is a nasal, i.e. group (ii) above, superficially the only change is that the *-n-* of *antham* is dropped. However, one may either consider that the insertion of the homorganic nasal is blocked by the prior presence of a nasal or posit such an insertion in an underlying stage followed by its deletion necessitated by the language's general phonotactic motivation that avoids two consecutive bilabial and velar nasals. The latter option would bring it more in line with the Rabha phonotactic tendency:

doŋ-	+ aniŋ	>	doŋ-ŋ-aniŋ	>	doŋ-aniŋ
pom-	+ antham	>	pom-m-atham	>	pom-atham

(iii) When the coda of the monosyllabic classifier is a dental, i.e. group (iii) above, the initial *a-* of both the numerals are dropped. In the case of coda *-n*, there is further reduction of the *n*-cluster when the numeral is *antham*.

jor-	+ aniŋ	>	jor-niŋ
jor-	+ antham	>	jor-ntham
pal-	+ niŋ	>	pal-niŋ
pal-	+ antham	>	pal-ntham
ton-	+ niŋ	>	ton-niŋ
ton-	+ antham	>	ton-(n)tham

(iv) When the classifiers are open monosyllables, whether the peak is simple or not, the rule is exactly same as (iii):

khó	+ aniŋ	>	khó-niŋ
khó	+ antham	>	khó-ntham
cao-	+ aniŋ	>	cao-niŋ
cao-	+ antham	>	cao-ntham

The situation of the monosyllabic classifier and numeral combination can be summarised and reduced to the following:

Rule 1 When the coda is plosive or nasal:

- (i) insert homorganic nasal
- (ii) reduce nasal clusters
- (iii) delete *-n-* of *antham*

Rule 2 When the coda is any other consonant or when there is no coda:

- (i) delete initial *a-* of the numerals
- (ii) reduce nasal clusters

The morphophonemic pattern described above is reminiscent of the behaviour of the genitive, dative, infinitive, future and the past morphemes. The inserted *-ŋ-* is evidently the reflex of the nasal *-n-* in the numerals. It would then theoretically be possible to represent *aniŋ* and *antham* as *aNiŋ* and *aNitham* respectively along with the required rules for the morphophonemic decoding of /N/. The effect of the preceding consonants on /N/ would have to be specified as across intervening segment *-a-*; the retention of *-n-* (or /N/ if so represented) in *aniŋ* and its deletion in *antham* would also have to be specified, although it is evident that the retention is the exception for reasons of pronunciation and phonotactics; forms such as **doŋ-aiŋ* or **grok-aiŋ* with a complex nucleus which would result from *-n-* deletion of *doŋ-aniŋ* and *grok-ŋ-aniŋ* would violate the strong phonotactic constraint of complex nuclei never having a coda. However, for reasons of simplicity and of being closer to the actual forms that occur in natural speech, this option of using the morphophoneme /N/ has not been followed in the present analysis.

4.3.4.6 *Effects of the loan numerals on Rabha classifier construction*

As already mentioned, the Rabha numerals stop with three. As a result of using the Indo-Aryan Assamese numeral system, several changes are introduced into the Rabha pattern.

- (i) Borrowing of the Assamese classifier

It is not possible to mechanically combine a Rabha classifier with an Assamese numeral or even an Assamese classifier with a Rabha numeral. Ideally both the numeral and the classifier are drawn from

the same homogeneous system. This does not mean that there is no borrowing of classifiers in either direction. Many classifiers that are used with native numerals have an Assamese origin, but they must be considered to be naturalised and incorporated into the Rabha system. In the reverse direction, many classifiers used with native numerals are also used with the Assamese numerals. However, their use in the Assamese system appears to be as nouns rather than as classifiers. There are also instances of borrowing of Assamese classifiers as NUM-CL constructions rather than as classifiers. This in turn leads to drastic reduction and simplification of the classification of nouns, especially when used with numerals higher than three, for only a few classifiers are borrowed in that fashion.

(ii) Presence of two types of morphological order

The Rabha order of the classifier and the numeral is of a fixed CL-NUM pattern. The Assamese pattern is of an equally unyielding NUM-CL pattern. The unbending nature of the two systems accounts for the mutual non-occurrence of an element from one system with a complementing element of the other system, as seen in (i) above. This makes Rabha a mixed system with a native CL-NUM order up to number three and a borrowed NUM-CL order from number four upwards.

(iii) Shift in native relative syntactic order

The Rabha syntactic predilection is not left unaffected. The loan numerals and the new morphological order that comes in along with them affects the Rabha syntax of the preferred order which is N CL-NUM. The following paradigm with *kai* 'person', *sak-* 'human CL (with other bound forms)' and *-sa* 'one' exemplifies all the three points discussed so far. For lack of other alternatives such switching between two systems, as is seen in the paradigm below, is an unavoidable and common occurrence in day-to-day usage:

<u>kai</u> sak-sa	'one person'
<u>kai</u> kamin̩ ~ <u>kai</u> kam <u>kai</u>	'two persons'
<u>kai</u> metham	'three person'
sari-jon <u>kai</u>	'four persons'

The form *sari* is the Assamese numeral ‘four’ and *-jon* is the Assamese classifier for human nouns. Rabha syntax is seen as not being strong enough to bend the new order to its more preferred order. In Rabha, the reverse order is, after all, employed even within the native system to signify emphasis of the fronted element (see 4.3.4.2). The Assamese syntactic order itself is not as sturdy as its morphological order, and does allow flexibility. However, with the loan Assamese numerals that are used along with an Assamese classifier, the more preferred syntactic order is NUM-CL N. A question worth pondering is whether this syntactic relativity in both the languages is the result of mutual influence. Thus, Rabha shows the following possible orders in the classifier constructions:

- (a) N CL-NUM (native preferred pattern)
- (b) CL-NUM N (order followed for stylistic effect)
- (c) NUM-CL N (order followed when loan numerals are employed)
- (d) N NUM-CL (rarely used order when loan numerals are employed; use is attested especially when the whole phrase including the noun is borrowed)

(iv) Other jolts to the native system

Inescapable as they are, the presence of the Assamese numerals from ‘four’ is an established fact. The system now works backwards replacing, as much by their natural ease and facility as by analogy, the remaining native numerals. This, as seen above, can only be at the expense also of the native classifiers. Consequently, forms such as:

ek-jon <u>kai</u>	‘one person’
dui-jon <u>kai</u>	‘three persons’
tini-jon <u>kai</u>	‘three persons’

where *ek* ‘one’, *dui* ‘two’, *tini* ‘three’ and *-jon* ‘human CL’ are all Assamese, are as commonplace as *kai saksa*, *kai kamin*, *kai metham* respectively, or in the reverse syntactic order with the noun *kai* in the final position. The comprehensive effect is that the Rabha classifier system is gradually being pulled apart, reducing the number and

importance of the native classifiers as well as the remnant of the numeral system.

The nouns hold their place for a while longer than the numerals and the classifiers, because on account of the relative syntactic order of the native pattern, even when Assamese NUM-CL changes the order and puts the noun in the final position, this is tolerated by Rabha nouns. But evidence is not lacking that points towards a trend of nouns being borrowed, replacing and reshaping the native system. For example, *raṅgre* ~ *laṅgre* ‘moon’ is a Rabha lexical noun that can also take the classifier slot following either of the two paradigms (following the morphophonemics of the classifier constructions):

laṅgre-sa	laṅgre gó-sa	‘one month’ (<i>gó-</i> ‘CL’)
laṅgre-aniṅ	laṅgre aniṅ	‘two months’
laṅgre-antham	laṅgre antham	‘three months’

However, with the introduction of the Assamese numerals and the noun *mas* ‘month’ these expressions are often reduced to the following, just as in Assamese, where numerals are free and need not always co-occur with a classifier:

ek mas	‘one month’
<u>dui</u> mas	‘two months’
tini mas	‘three months’

Expressions such as:

oroṅ	sari-jon	bai
they	four-CL	brothers
‘they (are) four brothers’		
cime	dui-jon	bai
we(DEF)	two-CL	brothers
‘we (are) two brother’		

where *oroṅ* and *cime* are Rabha, while the numerals *sari* and *dui*, the classifier *-jon* and the noun *bai* are all from Assamese, are becoming more and more common by the day.

Apart from the numerals, the classifiers and the nouns, it is also seen that lexemes belonging to other classes find their way into day-

to-day Rabha. An interesting example found in the most common form of inquiry:

koi-jon kai
 how many-CL person
 ‘how many people?’

Here *koi*- ‘how many (non-specific) and *-jon* ‘CL (human)’ are from Assamese. The Rabha interrogative *bencek* ‘how much’ has a narrow and more specific reference to quantity that is indeterminate and non-countable, and does not have or has lost the facility to be used in combination with classifiers. Incidentally, other classifiers still exist in Garo:

Garo: *basik-sak*
 how.many-CL(human)
 ‘how many people’

badita-phaŋ
 how.many-CL(plants)
 ‘how many trees’

4.3.4.7 *The Classifiers*

From the formal perspective a classifier is any morph that can combine with a numeral. A numeral is always bound and its use always requires a classifier. As an operational test to identify the morphs that morphologically and combinatorially behave like classifiers, it is advantageous to consider the numeral *-sa* ‘one’ only and exclude the numerals *aniŋ* and *antham*, as these are dual in character. The morphological yardstick, then, homes on to the following:

If: X-*sa*, where *-sa* is ‘one’,
 then: X is a classifier

While this is a sure test to identify the morphs that take the classifier slot in Rabha which is a ‘Numeral Classifier’ language having numerals that are bound morphemes along with the classifier, it gathers in morphs of various grammatical shades which need to be subdivided into more accurate groups.

According to the present more fine-tuned notion of classifier, a classifier is one that 'indicates an attribute of the object which assigns it a class' (Pe 1965: 170) or one that 'refers to the salient inherent characteristics of entities as perceived in them or imputed to them by the speaker' (Allan 1977: 303), and for Jones 'the first and defining type consists of those bound morphemes which, broadly, classify nouns into one of a limited number of categories, sometimes shape-specific but often arbitrary, and whose use is obligatory' (Jones 1970: 2). The other two categories of Jones are nouns which are repeated as their own classifiers and nouns that measure quantity, time and distance.

Allan's categorisation of classifiers is more detailed and is based on an approximation of the semantics of the classification of nouns that the classifiers themselves are shown to employ. He proposes a seven-tiered categorisation of classification employed by classifiers (Allan 1977: 297): (i) material, (ii) shape, (iii) consistency, (iv) size, (v) location, (vi) arrangement, and (vii) quanta (these numbers are used to identify the type of the Rabha classifiers discussed below) which intermesh and also have further sub-categories. Of these the first five are found only in classifier languages, while the last two occur also in languages like English, which is not a classifier language.

What is noticed in Rabha is that classifiers that classify by arrangement (type vi) and quanta (type vii) abound. This may be accounted for by the fact that the link between quantity and classification which is close in Numeral Classifier languages (Allan 1977: 306) is even closer in Rabha, which is evident from the fact that numbers in Rabha are always bound morphs. There are no classifiers in Rabha where 'consistency' (type iii) or 'size' (type iv) or location (type v) are the primary classifying criteria.

The discussion of the morphemes that are discovered by the morphological yard stick indicated above as being classifiers in combination with the numerals, is divided into broad divisions along the lines of categorising the classifiers presented by Allan. However, classifiers that are used with abstract verbal nouns have been kept out and presented in 5.2.1.4. There is another group (E) where the fossilised and lexicalised combinations of classifier and numeral *-sa* are discussed.

(A) Material or essence classifier (type i)

Material classifiers 'typically refer to the essence of the entities referred to by the noun' (Allan 1977: 299). There are only four such classifiers in Rabha. Classifier used with abstract or verbal noun which according to Allan are also material classifiers are treated in 5.2.1.4 (Allan 1977: 299).

(1) *gó-* ~ *a-* ~ *an-*

The identification of *a-* and *an-* as allomorphs of *gó-* follows the analysis carried out in 4.3.4.2. In any case, the entire set is a set of uniquely conditioned classifiers occurring only with numerals for 'one', 'two', and 'three' respectively. This is a material or essence (type i) classifier (Allan 1977: 300) and the most versatile classifier that accommodates 'heterogeneous inanimate objects, some of which may be alternately classified by more specialized classifiers' (Allan 1977: 300). It makes gains by broadening its semantic sphere of influence at the expense of other classifiers that fall into disuse or are weak enough to step aside occasionally. It is so generic that because there do not exist free numerals for counting, a Rabha, if he does use the native system, always uses the forms *gósa* 'one (thing)', *aniṅ* 'two (things)' and *antham* 'three (things)'.

Classifiers are normally used for general things like: *ram* 'path', *ramceṅkna* 'bifurcation or fork in road' *ali*, 'dividing line fields' *nok* 'house, family', *noko* 'door', *kirki* 'window'; *cusar* 'well' many others objects of daily use like pots and pans: *kimbai* 'pitcher', *matek* 'pot for cooking rice', *métek* 'pot for cooking', *maikón* 'bamboo spoon for stirring', *kocopat* ~ *kocipat* 'ladle', *sikini* 'sieve'; many parts of body like: *bódom* 'stomach', *phakham* 'tooth', *khápak* 'heart, chest', *cácakor* 'nail', *tásikhu* 'finger', *táthenkhu* 'toe'; all flowers, fruits, nuts and seeds: *par* 'flower', *kui* 'betel nut', *kén* 'seed', *pocó* 'mango' etc.; materials of nature like *aphe* 'star', *rónka* 'stone', *hácú* 'hill, mountain', *tambroṅ* 'river', *pangrim* 'forest', *hákhār* 'hole', *khaisuk* 'valley' and others.

thé <i>gó-sa</i>	'one fruit' (<i>thé</i> 'fruit')
thé <i>aniṅ</i>	'two fruits' (<i>thé</i> 'fruit')
thé <i>antham</i>	'three fruits' (<i>thé</i> 'fruit')

bódom gó-sa-ni sábra-taŋ
 stomach CL-one-GEN child-PL
 ‘children of one stomach (of one mother)’

(2) sak- ~ ka- ~ me-

Like the set described in (1), this too is a set of uniquely conditioned allomorphs, each one used only with numerals for ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘three’ respectively. This very specific set of material or essence classifier (type i) is used only with human nouns.

kai sak-sa ‘one person’ (*kai* ‘person’)
 sábra sak-sa ‘one child’ (*sábra* ‘child’)
 dadabraŋ kamin ‘two brothers’ (*dadabraŋ* ‘brothers’)
 músataŋ metham ‘three men’ (*músataŋ* ‘men(PL)’)

(3) maŋ-

This very exclusive and specific material or essence classifier (type i) is used with all non-human animate world from the smallest to the biggest, whether they be living on land or in water, whether they be winged or wingless.

só maŋ-sa ‘one mosquito’ (*só* ‘mosquito’)
 ná maŋ-sa ‘one fish’ (*ná* ‘fish’)
 miŋkú maŋ-aniŋ ‘two cats’ (*miŋkú* ‘cat’)
 hiti maŋ-atham ‘three elephants’ (*hiti* ‘elephants’)

These three classifiers are the most primary of all the Rabha classifiers. They define the Rabha conceptual classification of the experiential world at the very first level (see Table 4.7). The world of reality is seen as having a tripartite division into: (a) [+animate, +human], (b) [+animate, -human], and (c) [-animate]:

Table 4.7 *Classification of reality as evidenced from basic material classifiers*

(a)	(b)	(c)
+animate	+animate	-animate
+human	-human	
CL <i>sak-</i>	CL <i>maŋ-</i>	CL <i>gó-</i>

The rigidity of the division is borne out by the fact that the boundary between these classifiers is well-marked and rigid. In no instance are the classifiers pertaining to these interchangeable. At the same time, the Rabha distinction between the human and the non-human world is maintained in plural formations (see 4.3.3.1–2 & 3). The classifier *phan* is an indication that there probably was, at an earlier stage, a further division between the plant kingdom and the inanimate world. However, synchronically the basis for such a division is weak.

(4) *phan*

According to Allan ‘a general classifier for plants is uncommon’ (Allan 1977: 300). The form *phan* is just one such classifier. It is a material or essence classifier (type i) and is generally used for vegetation in general, e.g. trees and plants and creepers.

pan <i>phan</i> -sa	‘one tree’ (<i>pan</i> ‘tree’)
<u>mai</u> <i>phan</i> -sa	‘one growing paddy-plant’ (<i>mai</i> ‘paddy’)

Allan’s observation may yet be partly true in the case of Rabha. This form is not an exclusive classifier, as some species of plant life can be used with the general *gó*- or other classifiers. Even ‘tree’ itself sometimes is used with the general classifier *gó*-. The form *phan* is used only with plant life still standing and alive.

ram	<i>kiç</i> -i	<i>gó</i> -sa	pan	to-a-mín
path	side-LOC	CL-one	tree	there.be-PRES-IMPERF
‘by the side of the path there was tree’				

The weakening of the classifier *phan* must have been the result of a ‘shift towards general classifiers’ that has been observed in many languages (Allan 1977: 302). The form *phan* is also used as noun meaning ‘plant, tree (still standing or alive)’:

<i>phan</i>	<i>mil</i> -eta
plant	small-CONT
‘(the) plant or tree is still small’	

and is used in compounds along with the specific names of trees to mean one individual plant or tree that is standing and alive:

<i>kui</i> -phan	‘betel nut tree’ (<i>kui</i> ‘betel nut’)
<i>rêthe</i> -phan	‘banana plant or banana tree’ (<i>rêthe</i> ‘banana’)

(B) Shape classifiers (type ii)

Shape classifiers classify by shape (Allan 1977: 300), either dimensional (of which there are three in Rabha) or non-dimensional (of which there are two in Rabha). Besides, there are classifiers where shape plays a subsidiary role, e.g. quanta classifiers of collection like *con-*, *don-*, that combine with volume, or with partitive classifiers like *akha-*. Some shape classifiers of Rabha can be seen as having a subsidiary relation to ‘size’ and ‘consistency’, which are not primary classifying criteria in Rabha.

(1) *khó-*

This is a dimensional shape classifier (type ii). The basic determining shape seems to be ‘flatness’ along with ‘thinness’. This classifier is used with *cak* ‘leaf’, *dam* ‘mat’ *káosa* ‘paper, book’, *nen* ‘cloth(e)’, *kombol* ‘blanket’, *tim* ‘corrugated tin(iron) sheet’, *tokta* ‘plank’, *panphala* ‘plank’; and dress items such as: *gamsa* ‘cloth worn by men’, *rîphan*, ‘dress worn by women’, *kambun* ‘a part of woman’s apparel’, *tupi* ‘cap’, *dodo* ‘a dress’ and others.

cak *khó-sa* *dagá-jo*
leaf CL-one fall off-PAST
‘a leaf fell off’

aŋ-i *cola* *khó-niŋ* *to-a*
I-GEN shirt CL-two there be-PRES
‘I have two shirts’

dam *khó-ntham* *bá-nata*
mat CL-three weave-PAST
‘wove three mats’

This form is also used optionally (the more commonly used classifier being the general classifier *gó-*) for utensils, containers like bags and

sacks, baskets, furniture and modes of transport like boat. It is difficult to say whether these are used along with this classifier because they are perceived as having a flat exterior or because there is some other defining criteria lurking behind the classifier itself. Some such nouns are: *matek* 'a pot for cooking rice', *métek* 'pot for cooking', *khuri* 'bowl', *thal* 'plate'; *korai* 'a measuring basket', *ton* 'a measuring basket', *khok* 'a basket', *coreŋ* 'fishing basket' *khukdur* 'a small basket', *mona* 'bag', *bosta* 'sack', *tema* 'tin'; *dokhom* 'low stool', *palon* 'bed or bedstead', *tebil* 'table', *coki* 'chair' *mura* 'a stool'; *ruŋ* 'boat', *motor* 'vehicle', *saikel* 'bicycle' and others.

(2) *khrap*

This is a dimensional shape classifier (type ii) indicating 'flat (and generally large)' combined with a secondary nuance of arrangement (type vi). However, its influence spreads over very few nouns, and is generally used only with *hadala* 'fencing (usually prefabricated in large sections and later placed to form the fence)'.

hadala khrap-sa 'one pre-fabricated section of fence
called *hadala*'

By extension it may also be used of biscuits:

biskut khrap-matham 'three biscuits'

This form is reduplicated and used as an adverb:

khrap-khrap *jep-a*
neatly.in.stacks arrange-PRES
'arrange in neat piles (only flat things like *hadala*)'

khrap-khrap laga réŋ-a
(fast) sale GO-PRES
'be sold out fast (as if stacks just sold out), make a fast deal in selling'

(3) *tɪŋ-*

This is a one-dimensional classifier having a strong hint of a subsidiary classification by consistency. The basic determining connotation seems to be ‘thinness, slenderness (and flexibility or pliability)’. It is most characteristically used of strand-like, rope-like and flexible things like: *khorok* ~ *khoro* ‘hair’, *biltɪŋ* ‘stretches of hide or rope used on drums to maintain tension of beating surface’, *nentɪŋ* ‘thread’, *paga* ‘rope’ etc.

<i>khorok tɪŋ-sa</i>	‘a (one) strand of hair’ (<i>khorok</i> ‘hair’)
<i>nentɪŋ tɪŋ-anɪŋ</i>	‘two strands of thread’

This classifier is also used with bamboo as well as posts and pillars. Although posts and pillars are not pliable or flexible, they are slender (they are also used with the general classifier *gó-*). It is the presence of these nouns that make it a shape classifier rather than a consistency classifier.

<i>bá tɪŋ-sa</i>	‘one bamboo’ (<i>bá</i> ‘bamboo’)
<i>phak tɪŋ-atham</i>	‘three posts’ (<i>phak</i> ‘post’)

It is highly likely that the second syllable *-tɪŋ* of *nentɪŋ* ‘thread’ and *-tɪŋ* ‘stretches of hide or rope used on drums’ are themselves instances of *tɪŋ-*, and the adverb *tɪŋtɪŋ* ‘tightly’ usually used of verbs meaning ‘pull’ and ‘tie’ is probably a reduplicated form of *-tɪŋ*, in spite of the difference in tone in *tɪŋtɪŋ*.

(4) *cotok*

This is a shape classifier (type ii) of the non-dimensional subcategory combining with an element of material or essence classifier (type i). This classifier is used only with plants or shrubs (never trees) that grow as a bush; hence it means ‘bush-like (vegetation)’.

<i>cotok-sa grɪm</i>	‘one bush-like shrub’ (<i>grɪm</i> ‘bush’)
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This classifier may itself be used as a noun meaning ‘bush’, in which case the general classifier *gó-* is used. It can also be reduplicated as *cotok-cotok* ‘(grow) in bush-like shape’:

grim *cotok-cotok* ðim-a
 shrub in.bush-like.shape sprout-PRES
 ‘shrubs grow in a bush-like shape’

(5) kholeŋ

This classifier of shape (type ii) is not an arrangement classifier. Anything that resembles a patch or has an irregular round circumference can be used with this classifier. Hence, nouns like *raŋkhop* ‘cloud’, *khvá* ‘ringworm’, *gará* ‘wound’, *há* ‘land’ etc. may be used with this classifier.

kholeŋ-sa raŋkhop ‘a (round) patch of cloud’ (*raŋkhop* ‘cloud’)

This classifier is never used as a noun but is reduplicated *kholeŋ-kholeŋ* ‘in a round patch’:

má i kholeŋ-kholeŋ si-nata
 paddy in round patches die-PAST
 ‘paddy died or dried in round patches’

(6) dakhap ~ dakhla

This classifier is used only with ‘a patch of cloud’ and is generally limited to the numeral *-sa*. It is also reduplicated as an adverb.

raŋkhop dakhap-sa ‘a patch of cloud’ (*raŋkhop* ‘cloud’)
 raŋkhop dakhap-dakhap páŋ-a
 cloud in patches plenty-PRES
 ‘there are plenty of clouds in patches’

(C) Arrangement classifiers (type vi)

Arrangement classifiers identify objects by some non-inherent configuration, some specific location or non-inherent distribution (Allan 1977: 304–305).

(1) jrón

This is an arrangement classifier (type vi) that denotes ‘a stack, a pile’ of anything stacked or piled up.

<i>maidop</i> jrón-sa	‘one pile of paddy-bundle’ (<i>maidop</i> ‘paddy-bundle’)
<i>káosa</i> jrón-anin	‘two piles of books’ (<i>káosa</i> ‘paper, books’)
<i>rónka</i> jrón-atham	‘three piles of stones’ (<i>rónka</i> ‘stone’)

This classifier is derived from the verb root *jrón* ‘to pile up, to stack up’ and may also be used as a noun in which the general classifier *gó-* is used:

jrón <i>gó</i> -sa	‘one pile or one stack (of anything piled or stacked up)’
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(2) trap-

This is an arrangement classifier (type vi) and refers to things spread or placed in layered arrangement.

<i>nen</i> trap-sa	‘a layer of cloth’ (<i>nen</i> ‘cloth’)
<i>há</i> trap-sa	‘a layer of mud’ (<i>há</i> ‘mud, earth’)
<i>rónka</i> trap-sa	‘a layer of stone’ (<i>rónka</i> ‘stone’)

By extension it is also used of shifts or stretches of work, as the different shifts are seen as layered. Although it can be used to qualify a substantive verb, it is more often used as an adverb, as in:

trap-sa	<i>kami rá</i> -a
CL-one	work-PRES
‘work for a stretch of time’	

(D) Quanta classifiers (type vii)

The quanta classifiers, which are the most numerous in Rabha, can be seen as belonging to different subcategories.

(i) Subcategory of collection

For a better understanding of all the quanta classifiers of collection it is preferable to divide them further into two groups: (a) those classifiers that denote inherent configuration of arrangement, and (b) those that denote non-inherent configuration of arrangement.

(a) Collection classifiers with inherent configuration of arrangement

These are classifiers that refer to some arrangement as found in nature. In some measure, then, these also combine with the essence category as it is in the essence of such objects to configure in such fashion.

(1) thok

This classifier combines the semantic connotations of inherent and non-inherent configuration. This quanta classifier of collection has the meaning ‘drop’ and so exhibits the semantics of the inherent shape classifiers (type ii).

cika thok-sa	‘one drop of water’ (<i>cika</i> ‘water’)
thuci thok-ηaniη	‘two drops of oil’ (<i>thuci</i> ‘oil’)
nukci thok-ηatham	‘three drops of tears’ (<i>nukci</i> ‘tear’)

This classifier can be reduplicated with an adverbial meaning ‘to drip’ or ‘to leak’:

cika	thok-thok	jen-a
water	as.drop	leak-PRES
‘water leaks as drippings or drops’		

In addition, this quanta classifier of collection suggests the meaning ‘group, collection’. In this capacity it can take nouns like *kai* ‘person’ (and all other human nouns) and other nouns that can have their referents gathered as a collection or group.

thok-sa <i>kai</i> -taη	‘a group of people’ (<i>kai</i> ‘person’)
thok-ηaniη kherbatan	‘two groups of players’ (<i>kher</i> ‘to play’)

It can also be used as a noun to mean ‘association, party, group’, in which case the classifier used is the general *gó*-:

thok	<i>gó</i> -sa	jiti-no
party	CL-one	win-FUT
‘one part will win’		

(2) *bada* ~ *dap*

This *quanta* classifier of collection means ‘a bunch’ of things like betel nut, coconut, dates etc. that typically grow in a bunch, but not flowers or fruits that grow in clusters. ‘Bunch of banana’ is not covered by this classifier.

kui bada-sa ‘a (one) bunch of betel nut’

This classifier is also used as a noun to denote an entire bunch along with its main stem, smaller sections and all, and can refer just to the bunch without the nuts. This noun takes the general classifier *gó-*.

bada gó-sa ‘one bunch’ (of anything for which *bada* is usable’)

(3) *coŋ*

This collection classifier has the meaning ‘a cluster, a clump’. It is used with plants that grow in clusters rather than singly. Clustering refers to the way new shoots grow from the base. It is used most commonly of bamboos that grow in a cluster, although singly they have single stems.

bá coŋ-sa ‘one cluster of bamboo’ (*bá* ‘bamboo’)
sam coŋ-aniŋ ‘two clusters of grass’ (*sam* ‘grass’)
mai coŋ-atham ‘three clusters of paddy (planted)’ (*mai* ‘paddy’)
re coŋ-sa ‘a cluster if cane or reed’ (*re* ‘reed, cane’)

This classifier also serves as a noun meaning ‘cluster’:

be-kai-ba *bá* *coŋ* *tak-a*
 which-ATTR-INDEF bamboo cluster make-PRES
 ‘some (variety of) bamboo forms cluster’

(4) *gaŋkhoi*

This collection classifier means ‘a bunch, a cluster’ as of flowers or fruits.

par gaŋkhoi-sa ‘a bunch of flowers’ (*par* ‘flower’)
thé gaŋkhoi-aniŋ ‘two bunches or clusters of fruit’ (*thé* ‘fruit’)

It is also used as a noun, in which case it takes the general classifier *gó-*:

gaṅkhoi gó-sa ‘one bunch’ (of fruits, flowers)

and is also reduplicable as *gaṅkhoi-gaṅkhoi* ‘in clusters or bunches’:

thé gaṅkhoi-gaṅkhoi thet-a
fruit in clusters bear (fruit)-PRES
‘fruits grow in (many and big) clusters’

(5) doṅ

This collection classifier is used with ‘ears or stalks’ of corn or grain as well as bananas.

réthe doṅ-sa ‘a stalk of banana’ (*réthe* ‘banana’)
mai doṅ-aniṅ ‘two ears of paddy’ (*mai* ‘paddy’)
gom doṅ-atham ‘three ears of wheat’ (*gom* ‘wheat’)

It may also be used as noun meaning ‘stalk, ear’:

mai doṅ nem-ca-nata
paddy stalk good-NEG-PAST
‘stalks of paddy was not good (crop was bad)’

(b) Collection classifiers with non-inherent configuration of arrangement

(1) jor- ~ jora

This *quanta* classifier (type vii) of the collection subcategory is used for a pair or a couple of things or people. When used for people it has the special meaning of a couple, as husband and wife. The form *jora* ‘a pair’ is also a lexical noun which takes the general classifier *gó-*, and *jor-* is derived from it by apocopation. Although *jor-* is generally not free, it does function as the noun complement in the nominal verb formation *jor dogó* (~ *dogot*) ‘to start living separately from parental family’ or to start a new village separately.

másu jora-sa ‘a pair of cattle’

(2) hal

This quanta classifier (type vii) of collection has specific reference to a pair of ploughing bulls and a pair of birds especially in the context of sacrifices or payment of a fine:

másu hal-sa	‘a pair of ploughing bulls’ (<i>másu</i> ‘cattle’)
másu hal-niŋ	‘two pairs of ploughing bulls’ (<i>másu</i> ‘cattle’)
tó halsa	‘a pair of birds’ (<i>tó</i> ‘bird, fowl’)
parok halning	‘two pairs of dove’ (<i>parok</i> ‘dove’)

As a noun this form means ‘ploughing bull or the activity of ploughing’:

aŋ-i	hal	ton-ca
I-GEN	ploughing bull	there be-NEG
‘I have no ploughing bulls’		
hal	den-jo	
ploughing bulls	set free-PAST	
‘ploughing is over’		

(3) pal

This quanta classifier of collection refers to a ‘herd’ of animals, a ‘flock’ of birds, a ‘shoal’ of fish or even a ‘swarm’ of such smaller creatures as ants and worms.

másu pal-sa	‘a herd of cattle’ (<i>másu</i> ‘cattle’)
tó pal-niŋ	‘two flocks of birds’ (<i>tó</i> ‘bird’)
nijuŋ pal-ntham	‘three swarms of bees called <i>nijuŋ</i> ’

It is also used as a noun meaning ‘herd, flock, swarm’ with the general classifier *gó-*.

(4) halsiŋ

This quanta classifier of collection, meaning ‘a string of’ is usually used for fruits, flowers, fish, pieces of meat that are strung together on a string.

kaka halsiŋ-sa	‘a string of meat’ (<i>kaka</i> ‘meat’)
ná halsing-anŋ	‘two strings of fish’ (<i>ná</i> ‘fish’)

As a noun it refers to a stretch of thread, string, or such other material used to string things together. It is then used with the general classifier *gó-*, and refers actually to the string itself (before being used to string anything together) and, by extension, also to a string with something strung on it.

(5) *sukda*

This is a quanta classifier of collection like *halsin* and lies within the same semantic field as *halsin* (No. 4 above):

kaka *sukda*-sa ‘a string of meat’ (*kaka* ‘meat’)

The difference between *halsin* and *sukda* is that *sukda* cannot refer only to the string that is used for stringing together. It can also be used as a noun with the general classifier *gó-*, but it can refer only to a string with something strung on it already. Hence, in such sentences as ‘bring a string (for stringing something together)’ it is correct to say:

halsin *gó*-sa *rába*-Ø
string CL-one bring-IMP
‘bring a string (to string something together)’

but not:

sukda *gó*-sa *rába*-Ø

which is grammatically well-formed, but has the meaning ‘bring a string (with some contextually explicit material strung on it)’

(6) *jontha*

This quanta classifier of collection refers to a ‘bundle’ (rather big) usually of thin long things tied into a bundle particularly for the purpose of carrying. Hence nouns like *kón* ‘twig, stick’, *hampren* ‘thatch-grass’, *pata* ‘jute (stalk)’ can be used with it. It may also be used, but less commonly, of strand-like things like ropes, thread, hair etc. if tied together as a bundle.

jontha-sa *pata* ‘a bundle of jute (stalk)’ (*pata* ‘jute’)

It is used in nominal verb formation *jontha kha* ‘to tie into a bundle’, in compound *bájontha* ‘flambeau’ (made usually by tying long sticks or thatch or hay together).

(7) *mutta*

Like *jontha*, *mutta* too is a quanta classifier meaning ‘a handful of something thin and long tied as a bundle’. In its typical usage, it is used with long vegetables like beans, seedlings of plants, stalk of leafy vegetables, small branches of plants and such other things.

<i>khairok</i> <i>mutta-sa</i>	‘a (one) small bundle of beans’ (<i>khairok</i> ‘beans’)
<i>bici</i> <i>mutta-sa</i>	‘a (one) bundle of paddy seedling’ (<i>bici</i> ‘paddy seedling’)

It enters into a nominal formation as *mutta kha* ‘to tie into a bundle’, and is used as a noun meaning ‘bundle’, in which case it takes the general classifier *gó-*.

<i>mutta gó-sa</i>	‘one bundle (of such things as can be bundled)’
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(8) *topra*

This quanta classifier of collection is used with things ‘packed into a bundle (usually round) in cloth, paper, leaf, sack or such other material’.

<i>mai</i> <i>topra-sa</i>	‘a small package of rice’
<i>nen</i> <i>topra-aniṅ</i>	‘two small bundles of cloth’

In nominal verb formation, it takes a lexically unique verb *cú* as in *topra cú* ‘to pack as a bundle’. It can also function as a noun meaning such ‘small bundle or package in leaf, paper, cloth or sack etc.’, in which case it takes the general classifier *gó-*:

<i>topra</i>	<i>gó-sa</i>	<i>aṅ-a</i>	<i>rákhu-Ø</i>
bundle	CL-one	I-DAT	give-IMP
‘give me one bundle’			

(9) dam

It is used of things that are heaped up together. There is a secondary element of classification by shape. Evidently it is derived from the verb root *damai* ‘heap up, gather into a heap’. It can be used of anything that can be heaped up, especially grains, earth and even bigger things like logs and such other things.

<i>mai</i> dam-sa	‘a heap of paddy’ (<i>mai</i> ‘paddy’)
<i>rónka</i> dam-aniṅ	‘two heaps of stones’ (<i>rónka</i> ‘stone’)
<i>bá</i> dam-atham	‘three heaps of bamboo’ (<i>bá</i> ‘bamboo’)

(ii) Subcategory of instance

There is only one instance classifier (type vii): *pida-* meaning ‘kind or type of’.

pancak <i>pida</i> -sa	‘one type or kind of medicine’ (<i>pancak</i> ‘medicine’)
<i>mai</i> <i>pida</i> -aniṅ	‘two varieties of paddy’ (<i>mai</i> ‘paddy’)

(iii) Subcategory of partitives

Allan describes partitive classifiers as denoting ‘piece of’, ‘quarter of’ and other similar expressions that denote parts of a whole.

(1) phá-

This belongs to the partitive subcategory of the quanta classifiers (type vii) denoting ‘one of two that occur in a pair’. Therefore, it is used with parts of body like *neken* ‘eye’, *nakor* ‘ear’, *phaidam* ‘cheek’, *táthen* ‘leg’, *tási* ‘hand’, *nú* ‘breast’; things that have two sides like *káosa* ‘paper, book’, *hácu* ‘hill, mountain’, *tambroṅ* ‘river’, *sagor* ‘ocean’ etc. Naturally, this classifier cannot combine with numeral *antham* ‘three’.

<i>phaidam</i> phá-sa	‘one cheek’ (<i>phaidam</i> ‘cheek’)
<i>táthen</i> phá-niṅ-ba	bí-nata
leg CL-two-also	break-PAST
‘both the legs broke’	

When referring to sides or locations generated by nouns meaning river, ocean, mountain etc., *phá-* along with *-sa* can mean ‘that side, the other side’ or ‘this side’ especially when adverbs *heη* ‘here’ and *hoη* ‘there’ are used. (The origin of the relator noun *phásan* ‘the (other) side of’ is with this partitive classifier and the numeral *-sa* ‘one’—see 4.3.3.2–4 Bxiv)

sagor phá-sa gudun ‘on the other side of the ocean’
 hoη phá-sa gudun ‘on the other side’

(2) *thón-*

This classifier belonging to the partitive subcategory of the quanta (type vii) classifiers denotes actual or imagined parts or sections (usually cross-sectional) of long things.

panthón thón-sa ‘a piece of tree (a log)’ (pan ‘tree’)
 ram thón-sa cekena an nán peke réη-o
 path CL-one ALL I you COM go-FUT
 ‘for a part of the road I will go along with you’

The second syllable *-thón* of *panthón* is itself an instance of *thón*. However, *thón-* does not occur freely as an unbound morpheme.

(3) *taprak-*

This can also be considered a location classifier (type v) used of ‘a saliently and inherently locative noun’ (Allan 1977: 303) *há* ‘land’.

taprak-sa há ‘one plot of land’
 taprak-aníη há ‘two plots of land’

It has two reduplicated form *tarataprak* and *taprak-taprak*, both used adverbially in the meaning ‘(to tear) into small bits and pieces’. The morph *taprak* does not occur as a free form.

(4) *thai*

Like *taprak* (No. 3 above), *thai-* is a partitive classifier used only with a ‘plot or piece of land’, whether big or small, and irrespective of

actually split or imaginable as being divided into half-sections. Diverse nouns such as *pan* ‘tree’, *ná* ‘fish’, *thé* ‘fruit’, *hácu* ‘hill, mountain’, *kén* ‘seed’ can be covered by this classifier.

<i>hácu phala-sa</i>	‘one half-section of hill (if something such as a road dissects it into two)’
<i>bá phala-aniṅ</i>	‘two half-sections of bamboo’

It is used as noun meaning ‘half-section, a side’:

<i>phala aniṅ pha naṅ-kai</i>
side two edge have-ATTR
‘double-edged’

and also enters into compounds: *ná-phala* ‘fish torn into two and dried’ and *pan-phala* ‘plank’.

(9) *siri*

This *quanta* classifier (type vii) of the partitive subcategory is used for smaller strips, sections, parts or slices of things like *thé* ‘fruit’, *kén* ‘nuts’ *bá* ‘bamboo’ etc. Sections of thin and flat things like paper are not covered. If the number of parts is more than two, this classifier can be used. Cross-sectional sections of long things are not covered (see 2 above). Pieces are generally made lengthwise or laterally.

<i>kui siri-sa</i>	‘one small section or piece of betel nut’ (<i>kui</i> ‘betel nut’)
<i>bá siri-sa</i>	‘a small strip of bamboo’ (<i>bá</i> ‘bamboo’)

This classifier is used also as a noun meaning ‘strip, small lengthwise section’, and is also reduplicated to have adverbial use.

<i>siri-siri</i>	<i>ke-a</i>
strip(reduplicated)	split-PRES
‘split into very small sections’	

(iv) Subcategory of number

(1) *bisi-*

This quanta classifier (type vii) of number has unique reference to four bundles of paddy.

bisi-sa mai 'four bundles of paddy' (*mai* 'paddy')

(2) *ginda-*

This quanta classifier (type vii) of number too is used for groups of four things.

ginda-sa kui '(a group of) four betel nut' (*kui* 'betel nut')

(3) *pun-*

This quanta classifier (type vii) of the subcategory of number is used especially of small fruits and nuts of eighty.

kui pun-sa 'eighty betel nut' (*kui* 'betel nut')
naraŋ pun-niŋ 'a hundred and sixty (2 × 80) oranges'
 (*naraŋ* 'orange')

(v) Subcategory of dimension

There are two quanta classifiers of dimension: *pao-* ~ *pom-*. The semantic field covered by both these classifiers is identical except for the fact that *pao-* can also be used adverbially of taking a step, as in:

pao-sa agui-a 'go forward by a step' (*agui* 'to advance')

Otherwise, both are used of the length between two knots or rings of plants like bamboo.

bá pao-sa 'an internode of bamboo'
bá pom-sa 'an internode of bamboo'

(vi) Subcategory of volume

The *quanta* classifiers belonging to the subcategory of volume all indicate a certain ‘amount’ referred to by the various classifiers that mean ‘palm-ful’, ‘mouthful (draught as well as morsel)’, ‘fistful’ ‘mortar-ful’, ‘rod-load’ etc.

Besides these, there exist a number of classifiers relating to nouns of containers or measuring baskets. As classifiers, they refer to the measure that is contained in the object, while when used as nouns with the general classifier or another specific classifier, they refer to the containers themselves. This semantic difference, and the morphophonemic changes found when the monosyllabic classifiers are used as classifiers and not as nouns, are proof that their functions really differ.

(1) *anjri-*

This *quanta* classifier of volume is used for a ‘handful’ or for the amount (usually of granular or powdery materials like rice, pulses, mud, sand etc.) contained in two hands cupped together.

<i>anjri-sa ma<u>irun</u></i>	‘a handful (both the hands) of rice’ (<i>ma<u>irun</u></i> ‘rice’)
<i>anjri-sa rompe</i>	‘a handful (both the hands) of fried rice’ (<i>rompe</i> ‘fried rice’)
<i>anjri-sa cepren</i>	‘a handful (both the hands) of sesame’ (<i>cepren</i> ‘sesame’)

(2) *lop-*

This *quanta* classifier of volume is used for such things as described in (1) but for the amount contained in a single cupped palm of the hand.

<i>lop-sa tipai</i>	‘a palm-ful of pulse called <i>tipai</i> ’
<i>lop-maniñ bamci</i>	‘a palm-ful of rice-flour’ (<i>bamci</i> ‘rice-flour’)

(3) *grok-*

This *quanta* classifier of volume is used for a ‘draught’ of liquid.

<i>cika grok-sa</i>	‘a draught of water’ (<i>cika</i> ‘water’)
<i>cika grok-ñaniñ</i>	‘two draught of water’ (<i>cika</i> ‘water’)

Although *grok-* is not a free morpheme in any other situation, it has a reduplicated form *groggrok* ‘profusely’:

nukci grokgrok khap-a
 tears profusely cry-PRES
 ‘cry profusely, cry with a profusion of tears’

(4) khú-

This quanta classifier of volume denotes a ‘morsel’.

khú-sa mai sá-nata
 CL-one rice eat-PAST
 ‘ate a morsel of rice’

(5) thuka-

This quanta classifier of volume is not used really to count and measure, but in respect of words. It takes only the noun *katha* ‘word’. This unique classifier can also be considered to be a material classifier.

katha thuka-sa ‘one word’

It yields indefinite meaning ‘a few (words)’ when used in the form of an echo formation as:

katha thuka-sa thuka-aniñ kani-na
 word CL-one CL -two say-INF
 ‘to say a few words’

(6) dop-

This quanta classifier of volume is used uniquely of a bundle of paddy. It has specific reference to (the amount of) paddy (and by extension also to the bundle) that is bundled and tied in hay which is the most common (and in earlier days probably the only way) of wrapping paddy.

mai dop-sa ‘a bundle of paddy’ (*mai* ‘paddy’)

Although *dop-* is not used as a free morpheme in any other environment, it is present in *maidop* ‘bundle of paddy’. When referring

together. The main ingredient in such a concoction in the Rabha style is fish.

ná motoka-sa 'one pinch of fish chutney'

(10) cobor

This *quanta* classifier of volume means 'a handful' or 'a fistful' of thin and slender things, and may be used with nouns like *sam* 'grass', *makap* 'hay', *kón* 'twigs', *grím* 'shrub', *há* 'land, mud', *ná* 'fish', *cáji* 'garbage, waste', but it is not used of liquid or big objects.

makap cobor-sa-ba to-ecaro
 hay CL-one-also there.be-not.any.more
 'there isn't even a fistful of hay any more'

It is also used as a verb meaning 'be bushy (especially tail of bird)':

tó-ni jímīñ cobor-a
 bird-GEN tail be.bushy-PRES
 '(the) bird's tail is bushy'

and is also reduplicated as *cobor-cobor* '(gather and eat) with great or big fistfuls':

cobor-cobor buk-e sá-a
 fistful(reduplicated) gather.with.hand.placed.cupped eat-PRES
 OVER-INCMP
 'eat with big fistfuls gathered with hand cupped over (the food)'

(11) sáñkhor

This *quanta* classifier of volume means 'a mortar-ful' referring to the amount that is pounded at a time.

sáñkhor-sa runcu 'one mortar-ful of flat-rice' (*runcu* 'flat-rice')

It is probably derived from *sámkhor*. The form *sám* is synchronically a noun meaning 'mortar'. The form *sáñkhor* is found only as classifier and also in another derived noun *sáñkhordam* 'place for keeping mortar or for pounding things in a mortar'. However, *sáñkhor* itself does not mean 'mortar' in the present-day language.

(12) *boŋ*

This quanta classifier of volume is used to indicate ‘a rod-load’, by one man. It can also refer to the amount number of trips made carrying some load on a carrying-rod by one man.

boŋ-sa mai ‘a rod-load of paddy’ (*mai* ‘paddy’)
boŋ-atham makap ‘three rod-loads of hay’ (*makap* ‘hay’)

Probably it is derived from *baŋkua* which is the name of a shoulder-rod used for carrying load by one man’. Occasionally it is also used as a noun in which case the general classifier *gó-* is used.

(13) *barti*

This quanta classifier is parallel to *boŋ* except that this refers to ‘a rod-load’ by two men, the load being carried suspended in the middle.

barti-sa rónka ‘one rod-load of stone’

It is derived from the noun *barti* which is the name of the rod for carrying a load by two men. As a noun it is used with the general classifier *gó-* to refer specifically to the rod itself.

(14) *bacia*

It is difficult to categorise this classifier. It has indirect reference to amount or volume (type vii), as of complete meals.

bacia-sa mai ‘one meal’

This form is also used of dishes or things meant to be made into a dish. The amount intended is not any absolute amount. It is a relative amount that is sufficient for the number of people in the family. It is most commonly used of fish caught by someone by fishing.

ná bacia-sa gorgor dón-o
 fish CL-one quite be enough-FUT
 ‘fish will be quite enough for a meal’

Even without the number component the same meaning is clear:

māi bacia sá-e réŋ-Ø
 rice (one) meal eat-INCOMP go-IMP
 ‘have a meal and go’

ná bacia gorgor dóŋ-o
 fish (one) meal quite enough-FUT
 ‘fish will be quite sufficient for a meal’

(15) brek

As a noun this classifier means ‘dried rind of a gourd which is used for serving rice beer’, and as a classifier it refers to a ‘gourd-ful’.

brek-sa cokó ‘one gourd-ful of rice-beer’ (*coko* ‘rice-beer’)
 brek-ŋaniŋ cika ‘two gourd-fuls of water’ (*cika* ‘water’)
 brek-ŋatham cika ‘three gourd-fuls of water’ (*cika* ‘water’)

It is used with the general classifier *gó-* to refer to the gourd itself:

brek gó-sa ‘one gourd’
 brek aniŋ ‘two gourds’
 brek antham ‘three gourds’

(16) khuri

As a noun this form means ‘bowl’, and as a classifier it refers to a ‘bowl-ful’ of anything:

khuri-sa cika riŋ-ata
 CL-one water drink-PAST
 ‘drank a bowl-ful of water’

When used as a noun, it takes the shape classifier *khó-* and refers to the bowl itself and not to the content:

aŋ u-na khuri khó-sa rákhu-nata
 I he-DAT bowl CL-one give-PAST
 ‘I gave him a (one) bowl’

(17) korai

As a noun, this form means ‘a small woven basket used as a measure’, and as a classifier it takes the shape classifier *khó-* and refers to a ‘basketful (the basket being a *korai*)’ of something.

<u>korai</u> -sa <u>mairuŋ</u>	‘a basket-ful of rice’
<u>korai</u> <i>khó</i> -sa	‘one measuring basket called <i>korai</i> ’

(18) *ton*

The form *ton* is another measuring basket with the capacity to hold five kilograms. As a classifier it denotes ‘a basket-ful (the basket being a *ton*)’. As a noun it takes the shape classifier *khó-*.

<i>ton</i> -sa <i>há</i> sa	‘a basket-ful (<i>ton</i>) of fertilizer’ (<i>há</i> sa ‘fertilizer’)
<i>ton</i> -tham <u>mai</u>	‘three basket-ful (<i>ton</i>) of paddy’ (<u>mai</u> ‘paddy’)
<i>ton</i> <i>khó</i> -ntham	‘three baskets called <i>ton</i> ’

(19) *tik*

This classifier is derived from noun root *tik* ‘earthen jar used for fermenting rice beer’ which takes the shape classifier *khó-*. When it acts as the classifier it refers to a ‘jarful (the jar being *tik*)’.

<i>cokó</i> <i>tik</i> - <i>ŋaniŋ</i>	‘two jarfuls of rice-beer’ (<i>cokó</i> ‘rice-beer’)
<i>cokó</i> <i>tik</i> - <i>natham</i>	‘three jarfuls of rice-beer’ (<i>cokó</i> ‘rice-beer’)
<i>tik</i> <i>khó</i> -ntham	‘three jars’
<i>tik</i> <i>khó</i> - <i>niŋ</i>	‘two jars’

Rabha has the facility of using many other words denoting containers as classifiers to denote the amount contained in them, all of which when used with other specific classifiers refer to the containers themselves. Some common examples would be:

bosta-sa	<u>mairuŋ</u>
CL-one	rice
‘a sack(-ful) of rice’	
bosta	<i>khó</i> -sa
sack	CL-one
‘one sack’	

khok-ηaniη besor
 CL-two mustard
 ‘two baskets of mustard’

khok khó-niη
 basket CL-two
 ‘two baskets called *khok*’

botol-sa thuci
 CL-one oil
 ‘a bottle-ful of oil’

botol khó-sa
 bottle CL-one
 ‘one bottle’

tim-sa thuci
 CL-one oil
 ‘a tin of oil’

tim khó-sa
 tin CL-one
 ‘one tin’ (*tim* ‘tin’)

Such examples can be multiplied by other nouns including borrowed nouns such as *trok* ‘truck’, *glas* ‘glas’ and others.

(20) soη

Although this is not a container like the other classifiers above, this form behaves in a similar fashion. It is derived from the noun root *soη* ‘village’. Used as a classifier it refers to the people of the village, and as a noun to the village.

soη-atham-ba réη-ata
 CL-three-also go-PAST
 ‘people of all the three villages went’

soη gó-sa-ba jok-ca-nata
 village CL-one-also escape-NEG-PAST
 ‘not even one village escaped’

(21) *nok*

The behaviour of *nok* is parallel to that of *soŋ*. As a noun it means ‘house’, and as a classifier it refers to the people or to family.

nok-sa-ni kai-taŋ
 CL-ONE-GEN person-PL
 ‘people of one family’

nok-ŋaniŋ-ba jar-e réŋ-jo
 CL-TWO-also flee-INCOMP VECT-PAST
 ‘both the families fled’

nok gó-sa kham-ata
 house CL-ONE burn -PAST
 ‘one house burnt’

náŋ-i ham-kai nok a-niŋ-ba nem-ata
 you-GEN build-ATTR CL-TWO-also good-PAST
 ‘the two houses that you built were good’

In some situations, such differences are submerged by the context, but the difference remains, as is clear from the following example:

oroŋ to-a nok-sa-san-doŋba, oroŋ-i
 they there be-PRES CL-ONE-ONLY-although they-GEN
nok an-tham
 house CL-three
 ‘although they are one family, they have three houses’

In this example, it is not possible to substitute *nok gó-sa-san-doŋba* in the place of *nok-sa-san-doŋba*, nor *nok-ŋtham* in the place of *nok antham*.

(vii) Subcategory of measure of weight

(1) *ser-*

This quanta classifier (type vii) of weight is used for a kilogram. Names of anything that is weighed can be used with this classifier.

mairuŋ ser-sa ‘one kilogram of rice’ (*mairuŋ* ‘rice’)
mai ser-niŋ ‘two kilograms of paddy’ (*mai* ‘paddy’)
cini ser-ntham ‘three kilograms of sugar’ (*cini* ‘sugar’)

(viii) Subcategory of measure of time

Quanta classifiers of time are few. Of these only *pak* is not nominal in character. The rest are nominal in character, but differ from the classifiers of volume as they cannot be used as independent nouns along with any other classifiers. An obvious reason is that while they are semantically equivalent to the corresponding nouns in English, they are certainly not objects. Exceptions to this rule are *langre* ~ *rangre* and *basor* ~ *bisir*, which can also be used as nouns with *gó-* as the classifier. Another distinguishing feature of the measure of time is that they can take another noun in the classifier construction only when the classifier construction is itself used with the genitive marker. They can also be used with verbal nouns. By the morphological criterion of being able to combine with numerals these are indeed classifiers, but they have semantic peculiarities that make their behaviour in other respects different from other classifiers.

(1) *pak-*

This measure classifier (type vii) of time is a unique classifier used only with *hat* 'week'. It is different from other time categories because it is always a bound form and has no relation whatsoever with the noun with which it is used.

hat	<i>pak-sa</i>	<i>pat-e</i>	<i>rɛŋ-jo</i>
week	CL-one	pass-INCOMP	VECT-PAST
'a (one) week went by'			

hat	<i>pak-ŋaniŋ</i>	'two weeks'
hat	<i>pak-ŋatham</i>	'three weeks'

(2) *phar*

As a noun root this form means 'night'; as a classifier it refers to a 'night-long time'. It cannot be used with another classifier.

<i>phar-sa</i>	'one night'
<i>phar-niŋ</i>	'two nights'
<i>phar-ntham</i>	'three nights'

<i>phar-niŋ</i>	<i>net-e</i>	<i>toŋ-kai</i>
CL-two	keep vigil-INCOMP	VECT-ATTR
'a night's vigil'		

phar-ntham-i nukhar
 CL-three-GEN sleep
 ‘sleep of three nights or three night’s sleep’

phar-sa-ni ram
 CL-one-GEN path
 ‘a night’s path, journey or distance’

(3) san

As a noun it means ‘day’; as a classifier it denotes ‘day-long time’. This too cannot be used with another classifier.

san-sa ‘one day, a day’s time’
 san-niṅ ‘two days’ time’
 san-tham ‘three days’ time’

san-sa-ni kami
 CL-one-GEN work
 ‘a day’s work’

san-sa-ni ram
 CL-one-GEN path
 ‘a day’s path, journey or distance’

san-sa-na khúcem sai-kai
 CL-one-DAT fast-ATTR
 ‘a day’s fast’

(4) rangre ~ langre

As a noun it means ‘moon’ and by extension ‘month’; as a classifier it denotes ‘month-long time’. It is used like any other noun with the general classifier *gó-*.

rangre-sa ‘one month, a month-long time’

rangre-sa-ni somai
 CL-one-GEN time
 ‘a month’s time’

rangre-sa kami rá-kai
 CL-one work-ATTR
 ‘a month’s work’

dĩmdak-ŋa césa-césa rón-e rákhu-Ø
 all-DAT a.little.each distribute-INCOMP give-IMP
 ‘distribute a little each to all’

(2) ké-sa

The forms **ké-aniŋ* and **ké-antham* do not exist. The form *ké-sa* means ‘a little’ or ‘a small amount’ of anything, especially as separated out from a larger whole, even of time in which case it means ‘a while’ and is used adverbially.

ké-sa mai ‘a small amount of rice’
 ké-sa nu-no
 a while sit-FUT
 ‘will sit a while’

It can be reduplicated to give distributive sense of ‘a little each’:

késa-késa rompe rón-Ø
 a.little.each flat.rice distribute-IMP
 ‘distribute a little each of the flat-rice’

(3) damar-sa

This lexicalised form has the specific temporal meaning ‘a short while’. The forms **damar-aniŋ* and **damar-antham* do not exist. The form *damar-sa* is mostly used adverbially, although theoretically it can be used with the noun *somai* ‘time’ or nominally when the noun is deleted.

damar-sa-ni badan trap-ca-nata
 a.short.while-EX.GEN be.on.time-NEG-PAST
 ‘did not reach by a short time or missed by a small margin of time’

damar-sa-na neke sam-a jaŋ-ca-na
 a.short.while-EX.DAT wait-INF able-NEG-INTERR
 ‘can (one) not wait for a short while’

It may also be reduplicated:

damrsa-damarsa.mendek-e	kami rá-donbe	néngi-ca
short.while.each.rest-INCOMP	work-if	be.tired-NEG
if (one) works resting for short periods of (one) does not get tired'		

(F) Classifiers used only with Assamese numerals

That the following classifiers are used only with the Assamese numerals, mostly those above three, is an indication that these are still to be completely nativised. They have been borrowed into Rabha as classifier NUM-CL constructions rather than as just classifiers.

(1) -ta

This suffix acts as a generic classifier but has wider semantic field than the native generic classifier *gó-*, as it also replaces the animal classifier *maŋ-*. Sometimes it is also used for trees, although there exists another more specific borrowed classifier *dal-* which replaces *phaŋ*, the native classifier for vegetation.

car-ta	másu
NUM-CL	cattle
'four cattle'	

(2) -jon

This classifier takes the place of the native human classifier *sak-*.

pas-jon	kai
NUM-CL	person
'five people'	

(3) -dal

This form replaces the plant classifier *phaŋ-*, especially for bamboo, the suffix *-ta* being more characteristically used for other trees. It is special in the sense that although being a borrowed element, it has been well nativised and is quite often heard to be used with native numerals, in which case it is used mostly for bamboo and things that would otherwise require the classifier *tíŋ-* (see 4.3.4.7–B3)

cari-dal bá
 NUM-CL bamboo
 ‘four bamboo’

rúbok mala dal-nin
 garland CL-NUM
 ‘four strands of a garland called *rúbok*’

bá dal-sa
 bamboo CL-NUM
 ‘one bamboo’

(4) khan-

This loan replaces the native classifier *khó-*.

can-khan káosa
 NUM-CL book
 ‘four books’

(5) thuba-

The form *thuba-* replaces the classifier *cotok-* and *coŋ-*. Its behaviour is parallel to *dal-* in the sense that it too is partially nativised and is sometimes used with native numerals.

bá pas-thuba
 bamboo NUM-CL
 ‘five clusters of bamboo’

bá thuba-sa
 bamboo CL-NUM
 ‘one cluster of bamboo’

(6) bar

This classifier is used with verbal nouns or in enumerating actions, and replaces the native classifiers *cao-*, *phén-* and *jakri-* which are used for abstract substantive verbs (see 5.2.1.4).

cari-bar kalam-ata
 NUM-CL be ill-PAST
 ‘was ill four times’

(7) kup

Replacing the classifier *phon-*, the form *kup* is used as a classifier with verbal nouns for number of beatings. Like *dal-* and *thuba-*, this too shows signs of being nativised, as it is also used along with native numerals. However, when used with native numerals *aniη* and *antham* it undergoes morphophonemic changes only optionally.

cari-kup kok-ηata
 NUM-CL beat-PAST
 ‘beat four times’

kup-sa kok-ηata
 CL-NUM beat-PAST
 ‘beat once’

kup-aniη ~ kup-maniη kok-ηata
 CL-NUM beat-PAST
 ‘beat twice’

(8) tup

The loan *tup* replaces the classifier *thok-* only with reference to drop and to groups of people.

can-tup cika
 NUM-CL water
 ‘four drops of water’

(9) tukra-

The loan *tukra-* replaces *thón-* and *katak-* and is used of pieces of three-dimensional objects that are divisible by breaking, cutting etc.

cari-tukra bá
 NUM-CL bamboo
 ‘four pieces of bamboo’

(10) por

The loan *por* lies within the same semantic field as Rabha *pao-* or *pom-*, lies within both of which are used for the length of bamboo or such other things that have rings, notches or knots. It shows signs of being nativised as it is used occasionally also with native numerals.

cari-por bá
 NUM-CL bamboo
 ‘four lengths of bamboo’

bá por-sa
 bamboo CL-NUM
 ‘a length of bamboo’

(11) pura

The loan *pura* replaces *dop-* and is used to numerate bundles of paddy.

cari-pura mai
 NUM-CL paddy
 ‘four bundles of paddy’

(12) Measurements of time

For the measurement of time, Assamese nouns like *din* ‘day’, *sopta* ‘week’, *mas* ‘month’ and *bosor* ‘year’ are used with Assamese numerals. The form *bosor* and sometimes also *sopta* are used also along with Rabha numerals (*sopta-sa* ‘one week’; *bosor-sa* ‘one year’), and can also be used along with the Rabha generic classifier *gó-* (*sopta gó-sa* ‘one week’; *bosor gó-sa* ‘one year’)

(G) An overview of the classifier system when Assamese numerals are present

If the entire system is observed along with the Assamese numerals, the classifiers can be seen as falling into three groups: (1) A small subset of the Rabha classifiers treated above that never enter into any sort of construction along with the Assamese numerals, whether they be below three or above three. To this set belong *gó-* ~ *a-* ~ *an-*, *sak-* ~ *kam-* ~ *me-*, *khó-*, *tɪŋ-* etc. (2) There is a small group of Assamese classifiers that can be used only along with Assamese numerals, indicating that they are borrowed as NUM-CL construction rather than as classifiers. To this set belong *-ta*, *-jon*, *-khan*, *-bar* etc. (3) A very small subset of classifiers treated in (F) that can be used with Rabha numerals and with all the Assamese numerals including one, two and three. To this set belong *kup-* and *dal-*. (4) A large subset of the Rabha classifiers treated above that are used with Rabha

numerals up to three and are also used with the Assamese numerals four and above. The last group is quite large. An illustration is given below to highlight a few salient features.

mai doŋ-sa
 paddy CL-NUM
 ‘an ear of paddy’ (similarly *doŋ-aniŋ* and *doŋ-atham*)

but, cari-doŋ mai ‘four ears of paddy’ (Ass. *car* ~ *cari* ‘four’)

It is also possible to use the Assamese generic classifier *-ta* and use *doŋ* as a regular noun:

cari-ta doŋ mai ‘four ears of paddy’

When we consider that the Assamese numerals, unlike the Rabha numerals, are potentially free morphemes, it is difficult to judge whether *doŋ* in *cari-doŋ mai* is a classifier or a noun. The possibility of forms with and without *-ta* arises from the fact that Rabha *doŋ* is also a noun and the fact that in Assamese while enumeration such as ‘one N’, ‘two N’ etc. need to be of the form NUM-CL N, several expressions such as ‘a N of N’ (parallel to ‘a bucket of water’) are of the form NUM N N.

The classifiers that exhibit these varied phenomena cannot be classified according to the criteria used in classifying the classifiers. Classifiers that can be used along with Rabha numerals and also with Assamese numerals are capable of doing so by virtue of a greater potentiality for free occurrence deriving from a greater measure of nominal semantic content rather than mere classificatory semantic content. In short, the really true classifiers of both the Rabha system and the Assamese system that do not have any other function, especially a nominal one, hold out against any incest between the two systems. If such classifiers are borrowed (in the present case from Assamese to Rabha), this happens together with the numeral of the source-language (here Assamese) as classifier constructions, and not just as classifiers.

4.3.4.8 Classifier construction affixes

There are just two suffixes that can follow the classifier construction.

The suffix can also join the complete CL-NUM classifier construction.

sak-sa-san
 CL-one-only
 ‘only one person’
 gó-sa-san
 CL-one-only
 ‘only one thing’

The difference between the corresponding forms is slight but genuine.

sak-san réŋ-ata
 CL-only go-PAST
 ‘went alone’ (not necessarily only one went)
 sak-sa-san réŋ-ata
 CL-one-only go-PAST
 ‘only one person went’

(2) -saŋ

This form has a very limited distribution; it is used only with *sak-* and *nok-*. The meanings are in different stages of lexicalisation.

sak-saŋ ‘alone, lonely’
 nok-saŋ ‘one house alone, aloof and detached’

The classifier *noksaŋ* also yields the nominal verb formation *noksaŋ khár* ‘to ostracise’. Probably, both derive from some fossilised extension of the suffix *-san*.

CHAPTER FIVE

ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS, INDECLINABLES

The motivation behind placing adjectives, adverbs and indeclinables in one section is manifold. A good number of the adjectives and adverbs themselves form an overlapping set. Those that belong to this intersecting set may be employed adjectively to qualify a noun and adverbially to modify a verb, an adjective or an adverb. Adjectives have a highly reduced possibility for affixation, limited mainly to habitual/present *-a* and attributive *-kai*. Some are also indeclinables. Hence, there is an intersection between adjectives and adverbs on the one hand and other indeclinables on the other. The adjectives and adverbs stand midway between verbal and nominal bases that are open to the full set of verbal or nominal affixes and the indeclinables that are not open to affixation, and grade off into indeclinables. Several such parts of speech, especially the adjectives, show patterns of morphological behaviour that are very flexible.

On a different tier, a good number of morphemes that function either as adjectives or as adverbs or as both, have a verbal base. This reveals the central place that the verb roots command in the lexical and grammatical patterning of Rabha. The verb roots are versatile entities that can be moulded and dressed by various morphological processes to play varied roles. Those adjectives and adverbs that are derived from verb roots could very well have been treated along with the verbs specifying the processes (mostly, partial or total reduplication) or affixation that enable them to play the adjectival or adverbial role.

At the same time, derived adjectives and adverbs that have a verb root as their basic component do not exhaust the entire set of morphemes that play the adjectival and adverbial role. There is an extensive set of non-derived and indeclinable morphemes that are mostly (but not always exclusively) adverbial in character. For Garo, Burling set up a category of particles where such indeclinables including conjunctions and interjections are placed (1961: 63), and adjectival or adverbial function of derived morphemes find mention as a corollary of the verbal affixes. Here, however, these two groups are treated together, although they have a different morphological texture, to

highlight their functions as well as the processes involved in their derivation.

5.1 *Adjectives*

Adjectives can be seen either as being derived from a verb root or as simple and non-derived. There is yet another set of adjectives that are used only with an echo formation.

5.1.1 *Derived adjectives*

5.1.1.1 *Adjectives derived by PRES suffix -a*

A number of verb bases that have adjectival semantic content yield a predicative adjective when suffixed with the present tense ending *-a*, while other verb roots give a finite verb form with habitual meaning (see 4.2.1). Neither these roots themselves nor the roots along with the suffix can be used syntactically with *cáŋ* ‘to be, to become’ to indicate ‘becoming’ or ‘coming into the state of quality indicated by the verb root’.

<u>kai</u> -be	nem-a
person-DEF	good-HAB
‘the man (person) is good’	

but, *kai nem cáŋ-a

and, *kai nem-a cáŋ-a

This negative formal behaviour is an important distinguishing mark of this group of verb roots that have adjectival correlation because other groups of adjectives are characterised positively by this possibility. These roots, being basically verb roots, take all the verb suffixes. When suffixes indicating future and past time are used, this gives the inchoative nuance of ‘becoming’:

nem-o	will be/become good’ (FUT -o)
nem-ata	‘was/became good’ (PAST -ata)

In the present-tense, however, the inchoative sense is present only if suffix *-ba* is also used:

nem-eta	‘is/is being good’ (CONT <i>-eta</i>)
nem-ba-eta	‘is becoming good/better’

Most of the monosyllabic verb roots that have an inherent adjectival connotation can be reduplicated (along with some minor phonemic changes in some instances) to express greater degree or intensity and/or plurality according to semantic compatibility.

nem-nem-	‘very good’
cuŋ-cuŋ-	‘very big’
mrik-mrik-	‘very clean’
soŋ-soŋ-	‘very short’
ró-ró-	‘very long, very tall’
mi-mil-	‘very small’ (final <i>-l</i> is dropped in the first syllable)

Some monomorphemic colour terms too can be reduplicated thus:

ak-ak	‘very black’
bok-bok	‘very white’
sak-sak	‘very red’

Reduplicated forms too are open to the verb suffixes, and need to be suffixed with either the present *-a* and the attributive *-kai* to function as predicative and attributive adjectives respectively.

pan-bijan-be	soŋ-soŋ-a
tree-PL-DEF	short-short-PRES
‘the trees are very short’	
soŋ-soŋ-kai	pan-bijan
small-small-ATTR	tree-PL
‘(the) short trees’	

5.1.1.2 *Adjectives derived by attributive -kai*

Verb bases affixed with the attributive suffix *-kai* generate attributive adjectives that can be used in endocentric constructions.

nem-kai	kai
good-ATTR	person
‘good person’	

This suffix is discussed in fuller detail in 4.2.3–4. Unlike the formations with the suffix *-a*, formations with *-kai* may be used syntactically with *cáη* ‘to be, to become’:

nem- <u>kai</u>	cáη-a
good-ATTR	be/become-PRES
‘(it) is good’	

5.1.1.3 *Adjectives derived by reduplication of disyllabic verb roots*

The disyllabic verb bases in Rabha are capable of being reduplicated in several ways producing derived forms that play adjectival (as well as adverbial) roles. Such reduplicated forms, unlike the possible reduplicated forms of the monosyllabic roots discussed above, need not necessarily be affixed with another suffix. In fact, forms that have undergone such processes of reduplication are highly reduced in their affixal potential. The only affixes to which they are further open are the present *-a* and the attributive *-kai*. Most naturally they are used without any further suffixation. The general suffixes may, however, follow.

The semantics of the forms derived by reduplication is not always straightforward, but is at the same time not so varied as to defy all attempts at generalisation. However, the productivity of the processes is not reducible to simple statements. There are forms that follow the general pattern to varying degrees. Some allow all different ways of reduplication while others allow only some. There also exist forms that are reduplicated whose base is no longer used except as reduplicated (see Appendix III). There exist three ways of reduplication: (i) total reduplication, (ii) disyllabic prefixal reduplication and (iii) monosyllabic infixal reduplication.

5.1.1.3.1 *Total reduplication*

The forms that are generated by total reduplication are generally used as predicative adjectives. However, they do not take the present *-a* that in other cases denotes a predicative adjective. The sense of the sentence is complete without a verb and without a suffix. It is characteristic (but certainly not obligatory) for the subject to take the definite *-be* or the emphatic *-an* and for the adjective itself to be followed by the emphatic *-se*. Semantically either the plurality of the subject or the intensity of the quality or both are signalled.

ram-bijan petak-petak-se
 path-PL be.sticky(REDUP)-EMPH
 ‘paths are (very) slippery’

nok-bijan-be dīrtan-dīrtan
 house-PL-DEF be.distant (REDUP)
 ‘houses are (very) distant (from each other)’

u-ni bobai-kai-be dīmsraŋ-dīmsraŋ-se
 he-GEN speak-ATTR-DEF stutter(REDUP)-EMPH
 ‘his speaking has a stutter’ (the use is adjectival in Rabha, and not nominal)

These may be (in some instances obligatorily) used syntactically with *cāŋ* ‘to be, to become’ to give the inchoative sense, or with other experiential verbs like *tat* ~ *tá* ‘to feel’, *nuk* to appear or to see, to seem’.

kai-be khakhon-khakhon cáŋ-jo
 person-DEF be.about.to.weep (REDUP) become-PAST
 ‘the person became/was about to weep (tearful)’

bigar-bigar cáŋ/tat-a
 ‘feel.nausea(REDUP) become/feel-PRES
 ‘feel nausea or have nausea’

Many such forms are very naturally used as adverbs. If the meaning of the verb root does not have adjectival correlation, the reduplicated form is used only as an adverb. In adverbial usage the sense of repetitiveness is present.

dīmsraŋ-dīmsraŋ bobai-a
 stutter(REDUP) speak-PRES
 ‘speak with a stutter’

5.1.1.3.2 *Disyllabic prefixal reduplication*

The disyllabic prefixes are created out of the onset and syllabic of the first syllable of the verb root. If the first syllable of the verb root be of the form $C_1V_1C_2-$, the prefixes are always of the pattern $C_1V_1rV_2-$, where V_1 and V_2 are identical to each other and the same as the vowel of the first syllable of the verb root, and C_1 is identi-

cal to the onset of the first syllable of the verb root. Verb roots with an initial cluster are not seen to yield such reduplicated forms.

keṅṣon	‘bent, crooked’	>	kere-keṅṣon	‘very crooked (in many places)’
dembon	‘having a bulge’	>	dere-dembon	‘having several bulges’
kirsin	‘frightened’	>	kiri-kirsin	‘very frightened’

The morphological behaviour of reduplicated forms obtained by prefixal reduplication is parallel to those obtained by total reduplication. Most characteristically they are used predicatively without the present *-a* that otherwise indicates predicative adjective, although rarely some forms are encountered to be used along with the attributive *-a*. They may be suffixed with the attributive *-kai*. The sense of the sentence is complete without a verb or without any other suffixes. However, the subject usually takes the definite *-be* or the emphatic *-an*. The verb root *cáṅ* ‘to be, to become’ may be used syntactically to indicate the inchoative sense. Semantically the effect is of plurality and intensity of the situation, and, when used adverbially, repetition of the action.

ram-an	kere-keṅṣon
path-EMPH	prefix-crooked
‘the path is (very) crooked or winding’ (plurality of bends or turns)	
daṅgai-be	koro-konke
stick-DEF	prefix-bent
‘the stick is bent (in many places)’	

5.1.1.3.3 *Monosyllabic infixal reduplication*

The monosyllabic infix is an exact copy of the onset and syllabic of the second syllable of the disyllabic verb roots that permit such reduplication. Unlike the first syllables of the disyllabic verb roots that allow prefixal reduplication, the second syllables quite often have clustered onsets. However, the second member of the cluster, which according to Rabha phonotactics is /r/, does not take part in the formation of the prefix.

The morphological behaviour of the forms with infixal reduplication is parallel to the forms with prefixal reduplication. Except very

rarely, they are used predicatively without the predicative present *-a*. The attributive *-kai* may be used to generate attributive adjectives. When required, the verb root *cáŋ* ‘to be, to become’ can be used to indicate the inchoative sense or the verb roots *tak* ‘to do, to make’ and *khár* ‘to do’ to indicate the causative meaning. The semantic effect is always of intensity and never of plurality. The resulting forms are usually used as adjectives and only very rarely as adverbs.

thé	phoi-co-crop	cáŋ-e	rén-jo
fruit	shrivelled(infix <i>-co-</i>)	BECOME-INCOMP	VECT-PAST
‘(the) fruit became shrivelled’			

There are a few instances where the vowel of the infix is the vowel of the initial syllable of the verb root by assimilation. This is seen to happen only when the vowel combination in the two syllables of the verb root is *o-e* or *o-a*:

joŋ-jre	> joŋ-jo-jre	‘slanting, bent sideways’
pho-phla	> pho-pho-phla	‘hollow’

The possibility of the verb root to be reduplicated either in its entirety or partially, either with a disyllabic prefix or a monosyllabic infix, is not reducible to general statements. Probably at some time depth the phenomenon was a very productive feature of Rabha. At the present stage, however, it operates only on certain verb roots. It still has semi-productivity, but there is no explanation for the synchronic fact that certain forms allow one or other reduplication or that there exist forms that formally bear an unmistakable imprint of being a form generated by one of the processes, while the verb root itself is no more active in the language. The form *bucur* ‘bulging out’ has all three processes operating on it, to produce *bucur-bucur* ‘bulging and sagging’, *bu-cu-cur* ‘having prominent bulge’ and *buru-bucur* ‘having several bulges’. There is *kirsin-kirsin*, *kir-si-sin* and *kiri-kirsin* all meaning ‘with fear or fearfully’, but no free form **kirsin*, which is certainly derived from *kiri* ‘be afraid’. Some forms are blocked by semantic incompatibility, as is the case with *ci-klan* ‘watery and insipid’, which does not have **ciri-ciklan*, as it is difficult to conceive of an item of food that is ‘watery and insipid’ plurally or in several parts of the food. For these reasons, all the instances of the reduplication that were encountered in the data are presented in Appendix III.

5.1.1.4 *Nouns as adjectives*

Some nouns like the following can be used adjectively.

bebra	‘an idiot, mentally deficient person’
alsia	‘lazy person’
gorea	‘lazy person’
cipra	‘a stingy person (masculine)’ (feminine <i>cipri</i>)
jara	a stupid person (masculine)’ (feminine <i>jari</i>)

Their peculiarities include not taking the present *-a* when used predicatively, being able to be used predicatively with or without the attributive *-kai*. They can be used syntactically with the verb root *cáŋ* ‘to be, to become’.

u-be	alsia
(s)he-DEF	lazy
‘(s)he is lazy’	
alsia(-kai)	kai
lazy(ATTR)	person
‘lazy person’	

The noun *khattik* ‘truth’ has also attributive as well as predicative use, but does not take the attributive *-kai* or the present *-a*.

5.1.1.5 *Adjectives having recognisable base*

There are a few adjectives that appear to have been derived from a synchronically free base but whose second element is opaque. Probably these second parts represent productive affixes or diachronic nouns that have been fossilised. These are not used predicatively without the actualising verb *cáŋ* ‘to be, to become’. They are used attributively with or without the attributive *-kai*.

buda-rasi	‘middle-aged (man)’ (<i>buda</i> ‘grow old - male’)
mari-rasi	‘middle-aged (woman)’ (<i>mari</i> ‘grow old - female’)
buda-khololon	‘very old (man)’
mari-khololon	‘very old (woman)’

5.1.2 *Non-derived adjectives*

There exist a small number of adjectives that are not derived from verb roots. These are morphologically distinguished by the following characteristics: (a) They do not take the present suffix *-a*. Burling identified a similar group of such forms for Garo (Burling 1961: 11) which nevertheless belong to the class of verb roots, as their affixal properties in relation to the other verb suffixes are regular. When used predicatively they require no further suffix. The subject tends to take the definite *-be* readily.

cokó-be maicam
 rice-beer-DEF old
 ‘the rice beer is stale’

but, * cokó-be maicam-a (with suffix *-a*)

(b) Although occasionally they are heard to be used with some time-indicating suffixes, especially the past *-jok ~ -jo*, it is most natural to affix such suffixes to an actualising verb, most characteristic of which is *cáŋ* ‘to be, to become’, to which such affixes are affixed.

nen-be maicam cáŋ-jo
 dress-DEF old become-PAST
 ‘the dress became (is become) old’

The parallel form *nen-be maicam-jo*, wherein the PAST *-jo* is directly suffixed to the adjective, is not totally ungrammatical but is a very rarely heard form.

(c) These adjectives may also be used attributively in endocentric construction without the normal attributive suffix *-kai*. In such cases, the subject cannot take the definite *-be*.

cokó maicam ‘old rice-beer’

However, they may take the attributive *-kai*, especially when there is deletion of the noun. It must immediately be re-emphasised that the use of *-kai* with these adjectives is indeed very rare. This is true of *mai-cam* ‘old’, *pi-thiŋ* ‘raw’, *pi-dan* ‘new’, *pu-tuŋ* ‘freshly filtered (alkaline water, rice beer etc.)’, *pi-ri* ‘tender (babies, fruits, vegetables etc.)’ and *basia* ‘left-over the previous day (work, food etc.)’.

maicam-kai-o aŋ-a rákhu-ϕ
 old-ATTR-ACC I-DAT give-IMP
 ‘give me the old one’

There are very few adjectives that cannot take the suffix *-kai* at all. Examples are *magna* ‘useless, in vein, fruitless (work, effort etc.)’ and *takrai* ‘a good number (people, things)’. It is possible to see the many modifying morphemes that are used to modify species names to indicate specific varieties within the species as belonging to this group of adjectives. Some such modifying morphemes are synchronically opaque and generate meaning only in such compounds that are actually attributive endocentric constructions.

(d) These adjectives show a greater rigidity with respect to their syntactic position in relation to the noun. In Rabha the modifier may either precede or follow the noun. In these cases, however, the adjectives follow the noun obligatorily. The narrower the semantic field of the adjective (as is the case with modifiers used with species names) and the lesser the affixal capability of the adjective (as is the case with those that do not take even the attributive *-kai*), the more rigid the lack of mobility of the adjective in attributive endocentric constructions. They always follow the noun. Thus,

mai asta
 rice extra or left-over’
 ‘rice that is left-over’

but, *asta mai

kharci putuŋ
 alkaline water freshly filtered
 newly or freshly filtered alkaline water’

but, *putuŋ kharci

cika basia
 water from the previous day
 ‘water that is left over from yesterday’

but, *basia cika

It may rightly be inferred that the noun-modifier syntactic order is basic to native syntax rather than the modifier-noun order.

There are others like *cīpan* ‘a little’ (containing emphatic *-an*) which can also be used adverbially; *doro* ‘serious (illness), difficult (work)’ *candia* ‘bald’ and *nukdadren* ‘about to weep’ (*nukhan* ‘face’) which are generally used only along with *cān* ‘to be or to become’; *jakasi* ‘dirty, shabby, unkempt’, *gota* ‘solid’, which are used predicatively without suffix *-a* and attributively with or without the attributive *-kai*.

5.1.3 *Adjectives having echo formations*

These adjectives are formally characterised by the presence of echo formations. The two parts are inseparable and are always used together. In forming the second part of the total expression that may specifically be referred to as the echo, there is always some segmental change. In a few cases, the echo part is a totally different expression without any phonemic relation to the first part. The majority of them are disyllabic in the first part as well as in the echo form. In a few such expressions the first part, and in some cases also the echo part, is clearly related to some verb root.

Morphologically these are usually used along with the actualising verb *cān* ‘to be, to become’. Hence the use is predicative. Some of them, however, take attributive *-kai*. Rarely, a few function attributively even without the attributive suffix *-kai*. The examples given below have not been divided into smaller groups based on any of the aforesaid characteristics, whether phonemic, formal or morphological. Some relevant points are noted wherever necessary. There are others that can function as both adverbs and adjectives. Such formations are given in section 5.2.2 on reduplicated adverbs.

ajaŋ-mijaŋ	‘giddy, dizzy’
alaŋ-calaŋ	‘orphaned, having no support’ (<i>alaŋ</i> ‘skeletal frame of temporary shed’)
akci-pakci	‘covered with dust and dirt’ (<i>ak</i> ‘black’ <i>pak</i> ‘to stick to’)
balan-balan	‘healthy, prosperous’
cirik-carak ~ crik-crak	‘quiet, silent’ (also used attributively: <i>crik-crak hádam</i> ‘a quiet place’)
dole-dale	‘lifeless and exhausted’
juluk-jalak	‘sorrowful, tear-filled’ (also used with monosyllabic) adjectival infixal redupli- cation: <i>jululuk-jalalak</i> ‘very sorrowful’)

jumuk-jamak	‘giddy, dizzy’
jĩmprek-koprek	‘completely torn or broken’ (<i>jĩm</i> ‘to disintegrate into tiny bits’ <i>ko</i> ‘to throw’)
khasik-khusik	‘small and congested’ (used also attributively: <i>khasik-khusik h́adam</i> ‘congested place’)
khobre-nubre	‘having dishevelled hair strands falling over face’ (derived form <i>khoro</i> ‘hair’ and <i>nukha</i> ‘face’)
lolen-pholen	‘lean, weak, emaciated’
maᅇkren-muᅇkren	‘dirty, covered with dust’ (especially children)
minpok-minpok	‘nearly cooked’ (<i>min</i> ‘be cooked’)
nuksak-paisak	‘face be blood-shot’ (<i>nukha</i> ‘face’; <i>sak</i> ‘be red’; <i>pai-</i> is probably from <i>phai-</i> of <i>phai-dam</i> ‘cheek’)
phaker-phuker	‘undecided, dilly-dallying’
sunᅇadai-maᅇadai	‘naked (women)’ (exceptionally trisyllabic in each part)
thelthel-belbel	‘slushy and dirty, squalid’ (<i>thelthel</i> may be used by itself)
trĩptrap ~ trĩptrĩp	‘quiet’
tũᅇtũᅇ-haohao	‘tumultuous’ (situation; <i>tũᅇ</i> ‘be hot’)
tũᅇtũᅇ-haᅇhaᅇ	‘piercingly hot’ (sun’s heat; <i>tũᅇ</i> ‘be hot’)

The following are reduplications of monosyllables without any phonemic change.

bau-bau	‘abundant’ (water, beard)
daᅇ-daᅇ	‘open, clear, without obstructions’ (space, place)
koᅇ-koᅇ	‘bulging’
phra-phra	‘dry and not pasty or sticky’ (land, earth, food)

5.2 Adverbs

Adverbs can be divided into two large groups: those that are formally reduplicated and those that are not reduplicated.

5.2.1 *Formally non-reduplicated adverbs*

Adverbs that are formally not reduplicated are not necessarily not morphologically derived and may form a distinct class of morphemes without any intersection with other classes of morphemes. As a matter of fact, with the exception of a few that are not derived, the rest of the adverbs have nominal or verbal correlation. They are, however, treated below according to the type of adverb, and their relation to other classes of morphemes is indicated alongside.

5.2.1.1 *Adverbs of place*

Most, but not all, adverbs of place have a nominal base and either have inherently, or are capable of taking, the noun affixes.

heŋ	‘here’
hoŋ	‘there’
heŋhoŋ	‘here and there’
isi	‘here’
usi	‘there’
kaphai-i	‘near by, by the side’ (locative <i>i</i>)
natra-i	‘at a distance’ (locative <i>-i</i>)
káraŋ ~ kára-i	‘above, on top’ (locative <i>-i</i>)
kámaŋ ~ káma-i	‘below’ (locative <i>-i</i>)
jíkhlaŋ	‘behind’
maísálaŋ	‘to the right-hand side’
lebraŋ	‘to the left-hand side’
bomalaŋ ~ bomblaŋ	‘at the chest or in front of body’
pímuŋ	‘inside’
bajiŋ	‘outside’

5.2.1.2 *Adverbs of time*

The adverbs of time have a nominal base.

té	‘now, today’
té-laŋ	‘this year’
té-birsi	‘last year’ (<i>-birsí</i> < <i>bisír</i> ‘year’ and locative <i>-i</i>)
té-gap, té-roro, té-kali	‘nowadays’

té-naŋ ~ té-noŋ	‘a while ago, a while later’
hapoi ~ hapai	‘a while ago, a while later’ (probably locative <i>-i</i>)
jadai	‘in the coming year’ (locative <i>-i</i>)
bītirī	‘next year’ (<i>bītir</i> ‘season’; locative <i>-i</i>)
ga-phuŋ	‘tomorrow’
so-niŋ	‘the day after tomorrow’
bro-niŋ	‘the day after <i>soniŋ</i> ’
tro-niŋ	‘the day after <i>bronīŋ</i> ’
mi-a	‘yesterday’
māi-a	‘the day before yesterday’
maia-oro	‘in the past days’
ekapeke	‘at this time’ (pronominal <i>e-</i> , attributive <i>-kai</i> and <i>peke</i> ‘while’)
okapeke	‘at that time’ (parallel to <i>ekapeke</i> with pronominal <i>o-</i>)
damarsa	‘a while, a short while’ (<i>-sa</i> is numeral <i>-sa</i> ‘one’)
tikaŋ	‘before’
cában-i	‘later’ (locative <i>-i</i>)

The forms *tikaŋ* and *cában* can also be reduplicated as *tikaŋ-tikaŋ* ‘just ahead’ *cában-cában* ‘just behind, just following’. It is interesting to note that some forms can refer to past time as well as future time without any formal change: *ténaŋ* ~ *té-noŋ* ‘a while ago or a while later’; *hapai* ~ *hapoi* ‘a while ago or a while later’; *té* ‘now, today’ is present in *té-laŋ* ‘this year’ and *té-bīrsi* ‘last year’.

5.2.1.3 *Adverbs of manner*

There are two very frequently used suffixes to create manner adverbs: (i) incompletive *-e* (see 4.2.2.–9), and (ii) *-an* (see 4.2.2–13). On some adverbs these suffixes are present as an inherent part as in:

anar-e	‘slowly’ (<i>a-</i> ‘loan negative prefix; <i>nar</i> ‘be fast’; <i>-e</i> ‘incompletive suffix’)
moman ~ maman	‘fast’

There are some that are partially analysable:

ekan ~ ekanan	‘just like this, without any specific intention, freely, gratuitously’ (pronominal <i>e-</i> ‘this’, emphatic <i>-an</i>)
okonan	‘just like that’ (pronominal <i>o-</i> ‘that’, emphatic <i>-an</i>)
nemsúmari	‘pleasantly’ (speak; <i>nem</i> ‘be good’)

Some manner adverbs are nevertheless not analysable:

dakra	‘suddenly, without preparation’ (and its variations: <i>dao-dakra</i> and <i>dakra-dikra</i> both having the same meaning).
rapsaṅ	‘together, in unison’
soja	‘straight, directly’

5.2.1.4 *Adverbs of frequency*

Some frequency adverbs have the morphology of classifier constructions. They are analysable as being of the form X-Y, where Y is a numeral. According to the classification of classifiers by Allan (1977: 299), the first elements of these forms are called ‘action classifiers’. Most characteristically they function as adverbs of frequency. These may also be used with verbs of repetitive actions that have been rendered nominal by the attributive suffix *-kai* with such meanings as ‘one time or once’, ‘two times or twice’ and ‘three times or thrice’ as if these actions or the associated verbal nouns are classified. A few Assamese forms are given in 4.3.4.7-F 6 & 7. The more frequently encountered native forms are:

(1) *cao-* for general repetitive actions

<i>cao-sa</i> nuk-a	‘see once’ (<i>nuk</i> ‘to see’)
<i>cao-niṅ</i> kani-a	‘twice say’ (<i>kani</i> ‘to say’)
<i>cao-ntham</i> praο-a	‘call thrice’ (<i>praο</i> ‘to call’)

(2) *phén-*

Like *cao-*, this form also is used for general repetitive actions. It is also used as verb root *phén* ‘to transform, to become, to turn’.

phén-sa réŋ-a	‘go once’ (<i>reŋ</i> ‘to go’)
phén-niŋ ríba-a	‘come twice’ (<i>ríba</i> ‘to come’)
phén-tham ci-a	‘look thrice’ (<i>ci</i> ‘to look’)

(3) phoŋ-

This form is used only of ‘beatings’. It probably has some relation to the noun *phoŋ* ‘handle’, as there is close similarity in wielding a stick in beating with wielding an instrument holding it by with handle.

phoŋ-sa kok-a	‘beat once’ (<i>kok</i> ‘to beat’)
phoŋ-atham kok-a	‘beat thrice’ (<i>kok</i> ‘to beat’)

(4) jakri-

This form is used with two natural events: short spells of rain and jolts of an earthquake.

jakri-sa raŋ pha-a	‘rain once’ (<i>raŋpha</i> ‘to rain’)
jakri-aniŋ há đir-a	‘have one jolt of earthquake’ (<i>há đir</i> ‘have earthquake’)

The form *jakri-* can be used freely as a noun meaning ‘occasion’ (usually with locative sense):

ríba-kai	jakri
come-ATTR	occasion(LOC)
‘the coming occasion or in the coming occasion’	

It is also reduplicated to mean ‘intermittently, repeatedly’:

jakri-jakri	raŋ pha-eta
occasion (REDUP)	rain-CONT
‘it is raining intermittently’	

(5) sákho-

This is used only of human child bearing.

sákho-sa sábra mán-a	‘have child once’
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The initial syllable is common in other related lexemes: *sábra* ‘child’ and *sáron* ‘brood, one batch of hatchlings’.

(6) *batri-*

This form is used specifically for bearing offspring by animals.

batri-sa sábra pra-a ‘bear offspring(animal) once’

Besides these that have numerals as a part of the form, there are other adverbs of frequency like the following:

<i>barmasi</i>	‘always’ (most likely contracted from Ass. <i>baro</i> ‘twelve’ <i>mas</i> ‘month’ and locative <i>-i</i>)
<i>basakalaŋ ~ basakali</i>	‘always’ (locative <i>-i</i>)
<i>sanaŋan</i>	‘everyday’ (<i>san</i> ‘day’)
<i>oprai</i>	‘always, as usual’ (<i>-i</i> is probably locative <i>-i</i>)
<i>jela-sela</i>	‘never’ (<i>jela . . . sela</i> is used also as conjunction meaning ‘when . . . then’)

5.2.1.5 *Adverbs of affirmation*

The adverb *jatokore* ‘really, certainly’, which is compounded and reduced from *jat* ‘truth’ *khár* ‘to do’ and incompletive suffix *-e*, is a very commonly used adverb of affirmation.

5.2.1.6 *Adverbs of degree*

There are just a few adverbs of degree: *nimin ~ nemen* ‘very’ (< *nem* ‘good’ with incompletive *-e*, emphatic *-an* and lexicalised morphophonemic changes); *nispin* ‘very’ and *jamam ~ janam* ‘very’; *jatmacan* ‘really, very’ (*jat* ‘truth’).

5.2.2 *Formally reduplicated adverbs*

The formally reduplicated adverbs are all either adverbs of manner or degree. These are used only as reduplicated forms. The majority of them are so specialised and limited in their semantic field that

they are typically used to modify only a few verbs, and in some cases only one. When such is the case with an adverb, native speakers without the slightest hesitation give the particular verb as soon as the adverb is mentioned. In the examples below, some such verbs are mentioned within brackets. Reduplication is generally without any change in phonemic structure. Some phonemic change in the second part. As complete a list as found in the data is given in the various sections below.

5.2.2.1 *Adverbs that are formally reduplicated without phonemic change*

Based on the number of syllables, it is possible to further subdivide this group into those that are bisyllabic (reduplication of a monosyllable) and those that are tetrasyllabic (reduplication of a bisyllable).

5.2.2.1.1 *Disyllabic adverbs that are reduplications without phonemic change*

bor-bor	‘forcefully’
bór-bór	‘properly’ (be cooked)
braŋ-braŋ	‘openly and to the person concerned’ (speak)
breŋ-breŋ	‘intently and without blinking eyelids’ (look)
bul-bul	‘brightly and with plenty of flames’ (burn)
doŋ-doŋ	‘fast’ (walk)
dul-dul	‘completely or to a great degree’ (be grey, be smeared with dust)
dīl-dīl	‘freshly, with freshness’ (sprigs grow)
dīr-dīr	‘intensely’ (shiver, quiver)
gar-gar	‘fast, without delay’ (go)
brīn-brīn	‘as straight and long’ (sleep, be long)
gír-gír	‘brightly with plenty of embers’ (burn)
gok-gok	‘with a blank stare’ (look)
gón-gón	‘clearly’ (see)
gor-gor	‘sufficiently’ (be enough)
grao-grao	‘intensely’ (shiver)
grim-grim	‘all together’ (go)
gur-gur	‘with rolling sound’ (thunder)
gīt-gīt ~ gīti	‘to a high degree’ (be dark)
hir-hir	‘gently’ (blowing of breeze)

hór-hór	‘in a continuous stream’ (gush forth, pour)
hur-hur	‘moderately’ (be hot)
jér-jér	‘with heavy drops’ (rain)
jr̄iŋ-jr̄iŋ	‘a little, not profusely’ (weep, shed tears)
j̄im-j̄im	‘heavily’ (rain)
khron-khron	‘soundly’ (sleep)
khrao-khrao	‘producing noise’ (scratch)
kh̄iŋ-kh̄iŋ	‘directly to the person concerned’ (say)
kr̄iŋ-kr̄iŋ	‘to a high degree (be clean)’
lan-lan	‘to a high degree’ (be long; it further reduplicated with another free form <i>liŋ-liŋ</i> as <i>liŋliŋ-lanlan</i>)
lek-lek	‘continuously’ (laugh)
lem-lem	‘in the fashion of drapery (hang curtain or clothes etc.)’
leŋ-leŋ	‘in an oozing and flowing manner’ (of mucus; it is further reduplicated with non-free <i>luŋluŋ</i> as <i>leŋleŋ-luŋluŋ</i>)
liŋ-liŋ	‘to a high degree’ (be long; it is further reduplicated with another free form <i>lan-lan</i> as <i>liŋliŋ-lanlan</i>)’
lok-lok	‘fast and in a hurry’ (eat)
l̄il-l̄il	‘continuously, with quiver’ (shake)
phom-phom	‘acutely’ (swell)
phrao-phrao	‘brightly and in large numbers’ (shining of stars)
phra-phra	‘with writhing movements’ (dying of birds, animals etc.)
pol-pol	‘vigorously’ (boil with bubble)
prak-prak	‘with ease or repeatedly’ (split or break)
pré-pré	‘thoroughly’ (tread, trample; <i>pret</i> ~ <i>pré</i> ‘to burst’)
pur-pur	‘with bubbles’ (boil; it is further reduplicated with non-free <i>parpar</i> as <i>purpur-parpar</i>)
re-re	‘incessantly’ (weep, rain)
ro-ro	‘endlessly in a continuous stream’ (leak, flow; probably it is related to verb root <i>ró</i> ‘be long’; it is also used along with non-free <i>pepe</i> as <i>roro-pepe</i> ‘endlessly’)
r̄in-r̄in	‘continuously without a break’ (do, work)
siŋ-siŋ	‘acutely’ (smell rotten)

sip-sip	‘gently, lightly’ (drizzle; <i>sipu-sipu</i> ~ <i>sipur-sipur</i> are also used)
tak-tak ~ trak-trak	‘angrily or disinterestedly’ (look)
taŋ-taŋ	‘greatly, to a high degree’ (be parched or be hard especially land)
tek-tek	‘well pressed down or in great quantity’ (eat)
tip-tip	‘minutely’ (question, investigate, cross-examine)
trak-trak	‘to a high degree’ (be sour)
ur-ur	‘in a hushed voice’ (speak)

Some such formations, as the ones given below, are also capable of being used as adjectives.

bel-bel	‘soft and watery, in a soft and watery fashion’ (be cooked; it is further reduplicated with non-free <i>bulbul</i> and free <i>thelthel</i> as <i>belbel-bulbul</i> and <i>thelthel-belbel</i>)
<u>brao</u> - <u>brao</u>	‘pungent, acute, with a pungent or acute taste or feeling’ (pain, taste)
<u>cau</u> - <u>cau</u>	‘plenty, to a great degree’ (children, render dirty; it is further reduplicated with free <i>girgir</i> as <i>girgir-caucau</i>)
cur-cur	‘heaped up, in a heap’ (gather)
gir-gir	‘plenty’ (children; it is further reduplicated with free <i>caucau</i> as <i>girgir-caucau</i>)
<u>gráo</u> - <u>gráo</u>	‘many’ (people, things)
jrek-jrek	‘in clusters, abundantly’ (bear fruits)
jreŋ-jreŋ	‘fatty, in abundance’ (apply oil)
káŋ-káŋ	‘stiff, in a stiff manner’ (place things like sticks, hold tail)
kéŋ-kéŋ	‘projecting out, in a manner of projecting out from the surrounding’
khus-khus	‘repeatedly, with unabated insistence’ (come to disturb)
khim-khim	‘steadfast, steadfastly’ (be, preserve, believe)
kir-kir	‘tight, strictly’ (tie)

phór-phór	‘early’ (morning)
<u>rau-rau</u>	‘watery, noisily’ (falling of water)
sir-sir	‘gently and in small amounts’ (flowing of liquid, blowing of wind)
srá <u>o</u> -srá <u>o</u>	‘very many of the same batch’ (chicks)
tén-tén	‘upright, in an upright or vertical position’
thok-thok	‘as drops’ (fall, drip; <i>thok-</i> ‘classifier for drop, group’)
tren-tren	‘in horizontally straight position’ (sleep)
títítít	‘tight, taut’ (pull)

5.2.2.1.2 *Tetrasyllabic adverbs that are reduplications without phonemic change*

bara- <u>bara</u>	‘just opposite or facing each other’ (be)
cim <u>brau</u> -cim <u>brau</u>	‘with intermittent gleams’ (twinkle)
golen-golen	‘unenthusiastically or leisurely and alone’ (move around)
haga-haga	‘over-enthusiastically or before others’ (do, act, speak)
horcok-horcok	‘with rapid springy movement’ (dance)
hirin-hirin	‘indistinctly’ (hear)
khontlek-khontlek	‘repeatedly’ (speak)
lada-lada ~ leda-leda	‘as cluster’ (bear fruit, be hanging)
lan <u>koi</u> -lan <u>koi</u>	‘gently and in a wavy manner’ (move like cat’s tail)
lomo-lomo	‘with a swaying and swinging movement’ (move)
mikta-mikta	‘ferociously or violently’ (be angry and show anger)
minan-minan	‘under cover, on the quiet’ (act, do)
panjar-panjar	‘each his/her/its way’ (go, disperse)
pelpol-pelpol	‘with slow bubbling’ (boil)
phosen-phosen	‘in a slightly putrid stage’ (exude odour)
sera-sera	‘neatly, orderly’ (arrange or stack up long things like bamboo)
thiluk-thiluk	‘tremulously, with a to-and-fro motion’ (vibrate, shake)

A few that are given below are used both as adjectives and as adverbs.

celen-celen	‘as undetached shreds, into undetached shreds’ (tear)
pilu-pilu	‘plenty, in a wriggling fashion’ (movement of worms in big numbers)
siri-siri	‘into several pieces’ (cut)
thotho-simsim	‘tasty, delicious, deliciously’ (<i>tho</i> ‘be tasty’ <i>sim</i> ‘be sweet’)

5.2.2.2 *Adverbs that are formally reduplicated with phonemic change*

These may be analysed as reduplicated or as having an echo formation, as some of them contain a second element that is a euphonic repetition of the first part with some consonantal or vowel change. With the exception of *gıt-mıt* ‘enthusiastically (work)’ this group contains only tetrasyllables, i.e. reduplications of a bisyllable.

anda-munda	‘at random, randomly’ (do, act, speak etc.)
ceñceñ-beñbeñ	‘noisily, boisterously’ (speak, shout) (<i>ceñceñ</i> ‘be shrill’)
gerda-gerdi	‘haphazardly, in a disorderly fashion’ (throw, keep)
haka-daka	‘hurriedly’ (do, act etc.)
jaka-maka	‘carelessly, haphazardly’ (do, act etc.)
tiliñ-talan	‘suspiciously’ (observe, scan with eyes, look around)
huluñ-halan	‘spaciously’ (big)
jamuñ-sumuñ	‘absent-mindedly’ (do, say)
jiñjiñ-janjan	‘glitteringly’ (shine)

A few are used as adjectives as well as adverbs.

ciñkhran-bañkhran	‘haphazard, haphazardly’ (place, throw)
cithrak-nathrak	‘shabby, shabbily’ (dress; probably derived from <i>ci</i> ‘to look’ <i>na</i> ‘to hear’)
dolen-dolten	‘suspended, in a dangling manner’ (carry)
piliñ-piciñ	‘helter-skelter’ (go, run)

5.2.2.3 *Adverbs that are reduplicated nouns*

Some nouns (mostly those that have the connotation of space, shape or frequency including some that act as classifiers) can be reduplicated to give adverbs of place especially to qualify some ‘movement along or through’. Probably these have developed from deletion of the perlocative *koro* ~ *tokoro* ‘through, along’. A few of these are also adverbs of manner. These can only be used with verbs of motion like *réŋ* ‘go’. In some cases, it is also possible to use other verbs when not blocked by semantic incompatibility, as in *kicaŋ-kicaŋ nu* ‘sit along the side’.

bóma-bóma	‘along the foothill’ (<i>bóma</i> ‘foothill’)
grim-grim	‘along the forest’ (<i>grim</i> ‘forest’)
hákap-hákap	‘along the shore or bank’ (<i>hákap</i> ‘shore, bank’)
jakri-jakri	‘intermittently’ (<i>jakri-</i> ‘classifier for abstract nouns’)
jikhar-jikhar	‘close behind’ (<i>jikhar</i> ‘posterior, anus’)
khonkhap-khonkhap	‘on all fours, as flat against ground (usually of toddling, movement of tortoise)’ (<i>khonkhap</i> ‘flat scaly things like coagulated scabs of wounds’)
kholeŋ-kholeŋ	‘in patches’ (<i>kholeŋ-</i> ‘numeral prefix for a patch’)
khrap-khrap	‘neatly in piles, fast (sell)’ (<i>khrap-</i> ‘classifier for single items of flat things stacked together’)
kindam-kindam	‘along the back, along the ridge’ (<i>kindam</i> ‘back, ridge’)
kicaŋ-kicaŋ	‘along the side’ (<i>kicaŋ</i> ‘side’)
maru-maru	‘along the slope’ (<i>maru</i> ‘slope’)
ram-ram	‘along the way (without deviating)’ (<i>ram</i> ‘path’)

5.3 *Indeclinables*

Besides the indeclinable adverbs and adjectives that were encountered in the sections on adjectives and adverbs, there are other indeclinables. Formally they are defined by their inability to take any affixes. However, not all of them are simple and unanalysable. As

the use of the analysable or derived indeclinables matches that of the unanalysable or derived indeclinables, they have been grouped together. Where transparency is present, the possible analysis is indicated. They perform varying syntactic functions.

5.3.1 *Conjunctive indeclinables*

Conjunctive indeclinables do the work of joining full sentences or shorter sequences. Some are analysable, while others are not.

(1) *aro* ‘and’

This form is a clear borrowing from Indo-Aryan Assamese-Bengali. In present-day Rabha, however, it is a firmly established conjunction. It is employed to join words as well as longer sequences.

u-ni kⁱ aro miŋkú rapsaŋ gur-a
 (s)he-GEN dog and cat together lie-PRES
 ‘his dog and cat lie together’

aŋ hat-i-na réŋ-ata aro nákhem pⁱr-nata
 I market-ALL(LOC-DAT) go-PAST and dry.fish buy-PAST
 ‘I went to the market and bought dry fish’

Verbs may be conjoined without using *aro* but by suffixing the first verb with the inceptive *-e*.

aŋ cika ru-i gur-nata
 I have bath-INCOMP lie.down-PAST
 ‘I had a bath and lay down’

In idiomatic expressions that involve echo forms, whether they be nouns or verbs, *aro* is not employed. They are interpreted either as having unitary meaning or as conjoined.

u-ni nok há toŋ-ca
 (s)he house land there be-NEG
 ‘(s)he has no property (house and/or land)’

bidi kakai-an taŋ-a-min tak-a-min
 grandmother REFL-EMPH spin-PRES-IMPERF weave-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘grandmother herself used to spin and weave’

- (2)
- ba*
- ‘or, either . . . or’

náŋ ba aŋ ‘you or I, either you or I’

u-ni dada ba bibi réŋ-o
 (s)he-GEN elder brother or elder sister go-FUT
 ‘either his/her elder brother or elder sister will go’

Along with *ba*, there are also *dóŋcadon* ‘or else, if not, otherwise’ and *dóŋcadonbe* ‘or else, if not, otherwise’ both of which contain the verb root *dó* ~ *dóŋ* ‘be, be true’, negative *-ca* (see 4.2.3–3 and 4.2.4.2–4a).

- (3)
- onoba*
- ~
- onaba*
- ‘even then, in spite of it, still, although’

This form is most likely derived from third person singular *u-* ~ *o-*, dative /-na/ and the terminating suffix *-ba* ‘also’.

u-be cao-niŋ porikha rákhu-nata; onoba jaŋ-e-ca
 (s)he-DEF twice exam give-PAST; still able-PAST-NEG
 ‘although (s)he appeared twice for the examination, (s)he did not succeed’

ciŋ metham-ba bit-e ci-nata-min,
 we CL-three-also pull-INCOMP look-PAST-IMPERF,
 onoba jaŋ-e-ca
 still able-PAST-NEG
 ‘three of us tried to pull (pulled and saw), still (we) did not succeed’

- (4)
- natai*
- ~
- natanai*
- ‘but’

Between the two forms of this conjunction, *natai* is used more often, and it too is rapidly being replaced by Assamese *kintu* ‘but’.

aŋ porai-na nam-ba-min, natai
 I read-INF desire-PAST-IMPERF, but
 cak-kai toŋ-ca-min
 help-ATTR there be-NEG-IMPERF
 ‘I had wished to study, but there was no helper (none to support)’

kai-taŋ-i paisa toŋ-ca, natai oroŋ-i
 person-PL-GEN money there be-NEG, but they-GEN

há to-a
land there be-PRES
'people have no money, but they have land'

(5) ogodoŋan 'then, if so'

This form is analysable as containing emphatic *-an* and the verb root *dó ~ dón* 'be, be true' that is found in many morphemes. The initial *o-* is probably related to the third person singular *u ~ o*. However, *-go-* is opaque from a synchronic perspective. In normal and casual conversational style, this form is hardly ever heard.

katha thuka-sa-san kani-Ø, ogodoŋan aŋ-i
word CL-ONE-EMPH say-IMP, then I-GEN
khápak khisan-no
heart peace-FUT
'say just one word and/then my heart will be peaceful/soothed'

(6) atana ~ ana

This form is the interrogative adverb that can also be used as a conjunction.

aŋ u-o kok-ŋata, ana u-be
I (s)he-ACC beat-PAST, because (s)he-DEF
aŋ-o minikici-nata
I-ACC ridicule-PAST
'I beat him/her because (s)he ridiculed me'

It is often used along with *indonbe* 'then' (*in* 'to say' *donbe* 'if'), as in *ana indonbe* 'the reason being, because' ('literally 'if one may say/give the reason').

(7) okharemene ~ okhremene ~ okhoremene 'and then, and later consequently'

This very commonly encountered conjunction is analysable as the third person singular *u ~ o*, the verb root *khár* 'to do' and the extended participial or incomplete *-emene*, giving the total literal meaning 'having done so'.

ame san-sa-na kami rá-nata; okharemene
 I(DEF) day-one-DAT work-PAST; then
 handar-doη-an nukhar réη-jo
 dark-when-EMPH fall asleep-PAST
 ‘I worked for a whole day, and then fell asleep by nightfall’

The same function is also carried out by *ekharemene* ~ *ekhremene* ~ *ekheremene*, which is built on the third person proximate singular *i-* ~ *e-* for events that are perceived as being proximate and near to the speech situation.

(8) *ondoηbe* ~ *indoηbe* ‘if so, if such be the case, then’

This form is composed of the verb root *in* ‘to say’ and the suffix *-doηbe* ‘if’ (see 4.2.4. 1–4a).

aη-a somai rákhu-φ; indoηbe aη tharisoη-a jaη-o
 I-DAT time give-IMP, then I prepare-INF be able-FUT
 ‘give me time, then I will be able to prepare’

The ending *-doηbe* ‘if’ can itself be seen as reduced from *indoηbe*. Accordingly the above sentences can be conjoined into one complex sentence without any semantic alteration as:

aη-a somai rákhu-doηbe aη tharisoη-a jaη-o

(9) *ondoηba* ~ *indoηba* ‘even so, even if it is so, even then, still, nevertheless’

The analysis is exactly parallel to that of *ondoηbe* ~ *indoηbe*, and the suffix *-doηba* meaning ‘even if’ (see 4.2.4. 1–4b) can be seen as a reduction of this conjunction.

nán aη-a cak-ca-nata; ondoηba aη nán-a nasi-a
 you I-DAT help-NEG-PAST; still I you-DAT love-PRES
 ‘you did not help me, still (or, even so) I love you’

aη san-sa-na kami rá-nata, ondoηba nán
 I day-one-DAT work-PAST, still you
 aη-a ja-ba rákhu-ca
 I-DAT REL-INDEF give-NEG
 ‘I worked a whole day, still you do not give me anything’

- (10)
- jakadoṇbe*
- ~
- jakhardoṇbe*
- ‘so that’ (purposive)

This conjunction is built on the relative pronoun *ja*, the verb root *khár* ‘to do’ and *-doṇbe* ‘if’. While *jakhardoṇbe* is phonemically complete, *jakadoṇbe* is the alternant that is more commonly encountered in casual speech.

ciṇ-a *bor* *rákhu-ϕ* *jakadoṇbe* *cime*
 we-DAT blessing give-IMP, so that we(DEF)
 khísán-e *toṇ-o*
 peace-INCOMP stay-FUT
 ‘give us blessing (bless us) (so) that we may live in peace’

- (11)
- dóncadoṇbe*
- ‘if not, or else, otherwise’

This form is analysable as the verb root *dó* ~ *dón* ‘be, be true’, negative *-ca* and *-doṇbe* ‘if’. The negative of the suffix *-doṇbe* ‘if’, which is *-cadoṇbe* ‘if not’, is a reduction of this conjunction.

- (12)
- okharedoṇbe*
- ~
- okhredoṇbe*
- ~
- okhoredoṇbe*
- ‘if that is so, if like that’

This form is analysable as third person singular *u-* ~ *o-*, the verb root *khár* ‘to do’ and *-doṇbe* ‘if’. There is also *ekharedoṇbe* ~ *ekhredoṇbe* ~ *ekheredoṇbe* built on the proximate third person singular *i-* ~ *e-*, having conceptually proximate meaning as ‘if it is so, if like this’.

nán *mon* *thip-e* *porai*, *okharedoṇbe*
 you mind apply-INCOMP read, if so
 sitrinki-na *jaṇ-o*
 remember-INF able-FUT
 ‘read with attention, then (you) will be able to remember’

- (13)
- sela*
- ‘then’

kitriṇ-kai *bobai-na* *coṇ-ata*, *sela*
 teach-ATTR speak-INF begin-PAST, then
 catro-bijan *tripan* *toṇ-ata*
 student-PL silent stay-PAST
 ‘the teacher began to speak, then the student remained silent’

The fuller form of this conjunction is with *jela* ‘when’, viz. *jela . . . sela* ‘when . . . then’. In normal conversational style, the full form is

seldom heard. The morpheme *sela* itself is not frequently encountered. There are many non-finite verb suffixes that are used in subordinate clauses to render the same meaning. The combination *jela-sela* is used as an adverb meaning ‘never’.

(14) in-e ‘that’

This complementiser is the incomplete form of the verb root *in* ‘to say’ and is used as the quotative verb.

u-ba réŋ-o ine aŋ na-nata
 (s)he-also go-FUT that I hear-PAST
 ‘I heard that he also would go’

(15) uni badaŋ ‘therefore’

This adverb is the genitive form of the third person singular *u* with postpositional extension. It is not completely true that it is indeclinable, as it may still take terminating suffixes like the emphatic *-se* or *-an* or *-ba*.

raŋ pha-nata; uni badaŋ aŋ réŋ-ca-nata
 rain-PAST; therefore I go-NEG-PAST
 ‘it rained, therefore I did not go’

There are other non-finite suffixes like *-bana* ‘because of’ and *-bani* ‘because of’ that are used to make complex sentences without the use of *uni badaŋ*.

5.3.2 Interjections

Interjections are verbal expressions of momentary mental attitudes or near-voluntary verbalised mental reactions to pain, surprise, resignation to situation or other such states. They are most naturally used alone. However, they can also be used as part of a sentence.

(1) ni

This particle is an adhortative, and its use is limited to situations that involve actual spatial movement by the speaker and those to whom it is addressed. Its nuance may be paraphrased as ‘let us go, come let us go’. Although *ni* is often used alone as *ni!* meaning ‘let

us go', it is perfectly well-formed, and is regularly heard to be used, in its expanded form placed either at the beginning or at the end of the sentence:

ni cime réŋ-a / cime réŋ-a ni
 let us we(DEF) go-INF we(DEF) go-INF let us
 'come let us go'

(2) a-ka!

This interjection is an expression of pain and is also used either just once or repeatedly.

(3) jakoba!

This interjection is usually used as a reply or response to an other's warning about the possible difficulties or danger involved in a proposed action, which the one who utters the interjection takes lightly or does not let oneself be deterred by. Its nuance, therefore, may be rendered as 'come what may, let it be, whatever happens'. It is used by itself or in a sentence as:

jakoba! 'let it be, come what may'
 jakoba! ame réŋ-o
 come what may! I(DEF) go-FUT
 'whatever happens I will go'

(4) hego!, hogo!

These interjections are used as surprised, excited and instantaneous reactions to having spotted something that is physically pointed out. The form *hego* has proximate and *hogo* has distal significance.

(5) jamao!

This interjection is an expression of affectionate pity, sympathy or sorrow that is evoked by other's or even one's own condition.

jamao! náme ato cáŋ-jo
 Oh my! You(DEF) what(ACC) happen-PAST
 'Oh dear! what ever happened to you'

(6) marau!

An expression of glee or pleasant surprise, this form is used when something comical happens, mostly performed absent-mindedly.

(7) ha mandai! ~ aiu mandai!

This is an expression of pity, sympathy and affection, especially towards children and such helpless subjects.

(8) baphra

This form is a borrowing from Assamese and means ‘poor fellow!’.

u-be kalam-eta-min, baphra!
 (s)he-DEF sick-CONT-IMPERF, poor fellow
 ‘Oh the poor fellow! (s)he was sick’

(9) caṅse!

Phonemically as well as semantically, its first syllable is the interrogative *caŋ* ‘who’, and the second syllable is identifiable as the emphatic *-se*. This interjection means ‘who knows!’. It is the immediate answer to a question or enquiry when the person is not in the know.

A: raŋ pha-pha-ca -no
 rain(REDUP)-NEG-FUT
 ‘will it rain or not’
 B: caṅse! ‘who knows’

When used in a sentence, it acts as the adverbial meaning ‘perhaps’ that modifies the whole sentence.

A: caṅse u-be kalam-ata-min
 perhaps he-DEF sick-PAST-IMPERF
 ‘perhaps he was sick’

(10) on ‘yes’

This word indicates agreement to a statement made or affirmative reply to a question.

A: *çipan cén-e dogó-donbe trap-mo-mín*
 a little early-INCOMP set out-if be on time-FUT-IMPERF
 ‘if (subj.) had set out a little earlier (subj.) would have been
 on time’

B: on ‘yes’

or, A: *e-kai-na*
 this-ATTR-INTERR
 ‘is it this’

B: on ‘yes’

However, usually a yes-no question is responded to in the affirmative or the negative, using the verb in the question, either with or without the negative *-ca*.

A: *náme réη-o-na*
 you(DEF) go-FUT-INTERR
 ‘will you go’

B: *réη-o / réη-ca*
 go-FUT / GO-NEG
 ‘will go’ / ‘will not go’

There is no word in Rabha corresponding to the English ‘no’. The verb root *dó ~ dóη* is used as *dó-a* ‘it is, it is true’ (PRES *-a*) or *dóη-ca* ‘it is not, it is not true’ (NEG *-ca*).

(11) oi

This interjection can be rendered ‘hey’ and is an expression used for calling attention, responding to a call or for calling someone whose name is not known.

oi caηbe
 hey who-DEF
 ‘hey! who goes there or who is there’

(12) ore

This indicates surprise or being taken aback at something unexpected or out of the ordinary. Generally the final vowel has initial rising intonation, is lengthened and fades off.

(13) *phoi*

This expression is special in many respects. Strictly speaking, it is not an interjection but a special verb root because it has verbal meaning ‘come’ in the exhortative sense.

isi-na	<i>phoi</i>
here-DAT	come
‘come here’	

Yet it never takes any of the verbal affixes except *-con* ‘please’, as in *phoi-con* ‘please come’. It can also be used in combination with verbs as the second element with a meaning close to ‘come’, its use being limited to gentle or respectful imperatives. In such combinations, *-phoi* freely alternates with *-boi* (see 3.2.2.11–14). As an interjection it is quite close to *ni* described above. It is an invitation to come or just join in a common activity. Besides these, other borrowed interjections like *aca*, which indicates agreement, understanding and mild but pleasant surprise at having come to know something, are also frequently used.

CHAPTER SIX

SENTENCE LEVEL ANALYSIS

6.1 *Dispensability and indispensability of the verb*

Judging from the presence or absence of a verb form, Rabha sentences can be divided into those in which the verb plays a central role and those that do not have a verb at all.

6.1.1 *Sentences with the verb as central element*

The vast majority of complete Rabha sentences have a finite verb as its central and most important element. In such sentences the finite verb alone is the necessary item. The subject too may undergo pragmatic deletion if the context is clear enough. Accordingly, depending upon the transparency of the context, all the following sentences are well-formed.

an hat-ina réŋ-ata
I market-ALL go-PAST
'I went to the market'

an réŋ-ata
I go-PAST
'I went (to the market)' (when 'to the market' is implicitly evident)

hat-ina réŋ-ata
market-ALL go-PAST
'(I) went to the market' (when 'I' is implicitly evident)

réŋ-ata
'(I) went (to the market)' (when 'I' and 'to the market' are implicitly evident)

It might be argued that when the context is explicit, parts of the above sentence such as *hati-na* 'to the market' or *an* 'I', without the verb, can also be used as minor or elliptical sentences.

6.1.2 *Verb-less sentences*

There are instances of complete sentences that have no verb at all. Three different such sentences may be distinguished.

(1) noun + noun = sentence

Sentences that contain two nouns syntactically united and forming full sentences are semantically equivalent to the copulative sentences of English having the copula ‘to be’. However, it is seen that, though not obligatory, generally one of the terminating suffixes such as *-be*, *-an* and *-se* is almost always present with the subject noun.

náŋ-an raja
 you-EMPH king
 ‘you (are) the king’

náŋ-se raja
 you-EMPH king
 ‘you (are the) king’

náme raja
 you(DEF) king
 ‘you (are a) king’

It is also possible that the second noun too is accompanied by the suffix *-se*:

náme kai-se
 you(DEF) person-EMPH
 ‘you (are) only (a) man’

The above sentences without a verb can also be expanded with the verb *cán* ‘be, become’ along with the PRES suffix *-a* as:

u-be raja cán-a
 he-DEF king be-PRES
 ‘he (is a) king’

In certain instances, it is possible to have the expansion with the verb *dó* ‘to be’:

i-be rónka dó-a
 this-DEF stone be-PRES
 ‘this is (a) stone’

If the semantic content carried by the other verb suffixes needs to be incorporated, the verb *cán* ‘to be, to become’ has to be present.

u-be raja cán-o
 he-DEF king become-FUT
 ‘he will become (a) king’

An exception to this rule is the aspectual verb suffix *-min*, which can join either with the verb *cán* ‘be, become’ or be used with the predicate noun directly, provided the underlying finite verb suffix that would be present with *cán*, when expanded, is the present *-a*:

u-be raja-min (~ u-be raja cán-a-min)
 he-DEF king-IMPERF
 ‘he was (a/the) king’

It is also possible to have a noun phrase in the place of the nouns:

nán sak-sa nem-kai kai
 you CL-NUM good-ATTR person
 ‘you (are) a good person’

u-ni sábra-an ciṅ-i gaonbura
 he-GEN son-EMPH we-GEN headman
 ‘his son (is) our village headman’

(2) noun + adjective = sentence

The syntactic and semantic properties of these sentences are the same as those discussed in (1) above. For Rabha, the distinction between a verb and an adjective is a difficult one to draw. Here, by adjective is meant both those that never take a verbal suffix as is the case with *khattik* ‘true’ or those that can potentially take a verbal suffix but form a complete grammatical sentence without the presence of such a suffix. In the examples given below *khattik* ‘true’ can never take a verb suffix, and is therefore a true adjective, whereas

korokoŋke ‘bent, winding’ is a partially reduplicated form of the verb root *koŋke* ‘be crooked’, which as a reduplicated form does not take any verbal suffix, and *maicam* ‘old’ is a verb root with potential openness to only a few of the finite verb suffixes.

i-be khattik
 this-DEF true
 ‘this (is) true’

ram-an korokoŋke-se
 path-EMPH very winding-EMPH
 ‘(the) path (is) very winding’

i-be maicam
 this-DEF old
 ‘this (is) old’

When expanded with a verb, they require either the verb *dó* ‘to be’ or the verb *cáŋ* ‘to be, to become’. Words such as *maicam* that are unaltered verb roots have the capacity directly to take some of the finite verb suffixes or have these suffixes affixed to the verb *cáŋ* ‘be, become’ or *dó* ‘be, be true’

i-be maicam-jo (or *i-be maicam cáŋ-jo*)
 this-DEF old-PAST
 ‘this has become old’

i-be khattik dó-a
 this-DEF true be-PRES
 ‘this is true’

ram-an korokoŋke cáŋ-a
 path-EMPH very.winding be-PRES
 ‘the path is very winding’

(3) Idiomatic sentences

A few verb-less idiomatic sentences were encountered in the data:

jaka babra jaka sábra
 how father how child
 ‘like father like child’

nán jaka an oka
 you how I thus
 ‘I (am) as you (are)’

6.2 *Word order*

The most natural and preferred Rabha word order is S-O-V:

an maí sá-nata
 I rice eat-PAST
 ‘I ate rice’

u roṅ an-i líga-o nuk-ṅata
 they I-GEN friend-ACC see-PAST
 ‘they saw my friend’

As the case markings render a great amount of transparency, word order is relatively free especially between the S and the O. Hence, the sentence above can, without any difference in emphasis, be *an-i líga-o u-roṅ nuk-ṅata* ‘they saw my friend’. For the sake of emphasis, however, sometimes the subject and sometimes also the object is placed after the verb:

rṅ-ca ame
 go-NEG I(DEF)
 ‘I don’t (or will not) go’

kok-ṅo an nán-o
 beat-FUT I you-ACC
 ‘I will beat you’

sak-sa-ba toṅ-ca nok-i-be
 CL-NUM-also there be-NEG house-LOC-DEF
 ‘there is none in the house’

6.3 *Simple, complex and compound sentences*6.3.1 *Simple sentences*

A typical Rabha sentence consists of one or more nouns (or NPs) along with a finite verb. A few examples are given below.

kaisábra-be nukhar réŋ-eta
 person child-DEF sleep-PRES
 ‘the child is sleeping’

aŋ u-o pháman-a
 I he-ACC know-PRES
 ‘I know him’

u-be aŋ-a káosa khó-sa rákhu-nata
 he-DEF I-DAT book CL-NUM give-PAST
 ‘he gave me a book’

cime phuŋ-ini para raŋsi cekena
 we(DEF) morning-ABL evening ALL forest
 grim tokoro réŋ-ata
 PER GO-PAST
 ‘From morning till evening we went through the forest’

aŋ katan paisa to-a-miŋ
 I LOC money there.be-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘I had money’ (there was money with me)

6.3.2 *Compound sentences*

A conjunction may be used to string together complete sentences:

aŋ hat-ina réŋ-ata aro ná piŋ-nata
 I market-ALL go-PAST and fish buy-PAST
 ‘I went to the market and bought fish’

kaitaŋ u-o praŋ-nata-miŋ natai u-be réŋ-ca-nata
 people he-ACC call-PAST-IMPERF but he-DEF go-NEG-PAST
 ‘people had called him but he did not go’

u-roŋ mai phar-nata na phar-ca-nata
 he-PL paddy sell-PAST or sell-NEG-PAST
 ‘did they sell paddy or did (they) not sell?’

Garo sentences parallel to the last type of interrogative sentence are called *Balanced Questions* by Burling (1961: 72). The form *na* is the interrogative particle, which in this case may also be considered to be a disjunctive marker. It is possible to have different verbs rather than have the same verb repeated, as in:

u-roŋ phar múŋ-ata na nok-ina bar-e réŋ-ata
 they night stay-PAST or house-ALL return-INCMP VECT-PAST
 ‘did they stay the night or (did they) return home?’

When the same verb is repeated, it is possible to have the same effect without the interrogative particle *na* at all:

u-be nok-i toŋ-toŋ-ca-no (or *u-be nok-i toŋ-o na toŋ-ca-no*)
 he-DEF house-LOC be-be-NEG-FUT
 ‘will he be there in the house or (will he) not (be there)’

6.3.3 *Complex sentences*

A complex sentence is one in which there is a main clause, with a finite verb, and one or more subordinate clauses with a non-finite verb. In a Rabha complex sentence, the subordinate clause always precedes the main clause. Thus the finite verb occurs last in the sentence in both the simple and the complex sentences. All the verb suffixes that form non-finite verbs (see 4.2.2) can be used in subordinate clauses, and all the verb suffixes that form finite verbs (4.2.1) can be used to terminate a sentence or form a main clause.

nán cak-doŋbe ame jaŋ-o
 you help-if I(DEF) able-FUT
 ‘if you help, I will succeed (be able)’

u-o kok-doŋba u-be khap-ca
 he-ACC beat-even if he-DEF cry-NEG
 ‘even if (one) beats him, he does not cry’

raŋ pha-bana hapci tak-jo
 rain-because slush form-PAST
 ‘because it rained, it became slushy’

6.3.4 *Correlative sentences*

By correlative sentence is meant a sentence the two parts of which are introduced by a correlative conjunction, as in:

bencek-an lagi-a oncok-an ráη-Ø
 hou much-EMPH need-PRES that much-EMPH take-IMP
 ‘take as much as is needed’

jela somai mán-no sela aη réη-o
 when time get-FUT then I go-FUT
 ‘when I get time then I will go’

The relative clause constructions also need to be included in this category. The relative pronoun *ja*, although a borrowed element from Bengali or Assamese, is used quite frequently in Rabha.

ja-si náη to-eta u-si aη-ba toη-o
 REL-LOC you stay-CONT there-LOC I-also stay-FUT
 ‘I too will stay where you (are) stay(ing)’

ja pan aη kái-nata okai pan-be thé-jo
 REL tree I plant-PAST that tree-DEF bear fruit-PAST
 ‘the tree which I planted bore fruit’

The semantic content of these two sentences can be generated without the use of the relative pronoun as below, but the relative constructions are more emphatic.

náη toη-ba-i aη-ba toη-o
 you stay-ATTR-LOC I-also stay-FUT
 ‘where you stay I too will stay’

aη kái-kai pan-be thé-jo
 I plant-ATTR tree-DEF bear fruit-PAST
 ‘the tree I planted bore fruit’

STRUCTURE OF NOUN FORMS

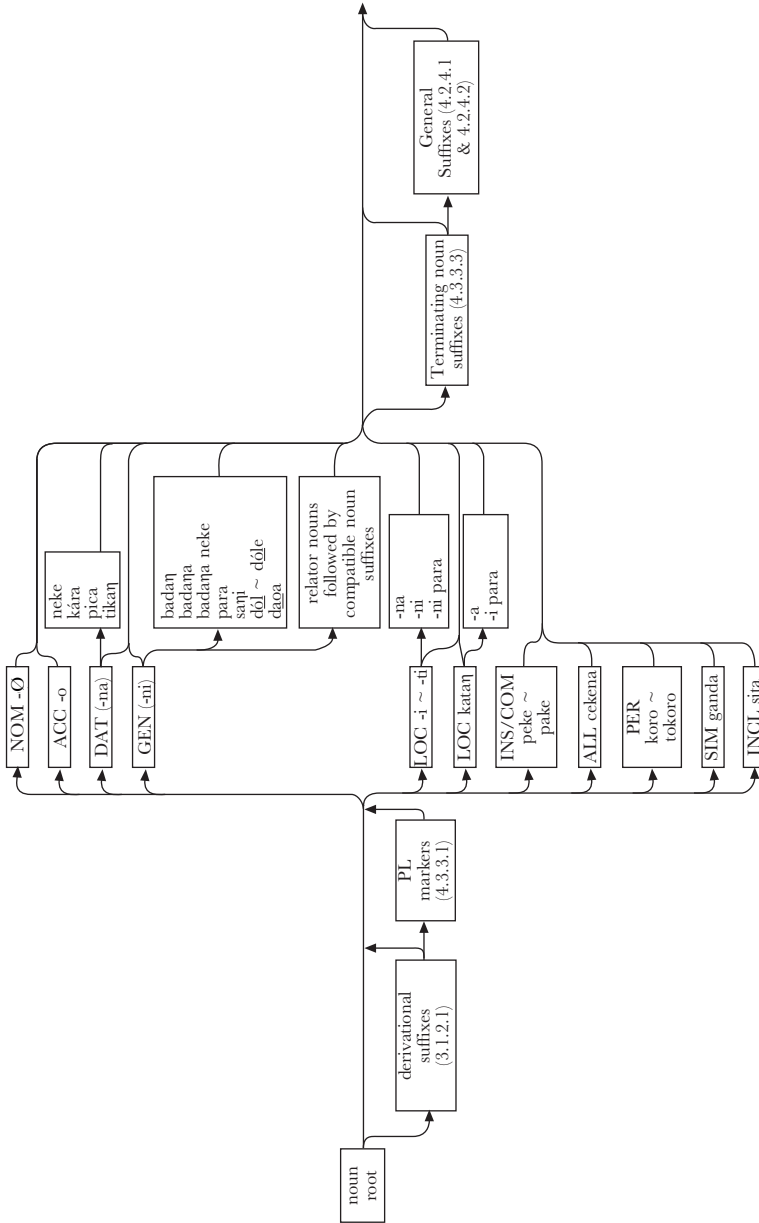


Figure 5. Structure of noun forms

STRUCTURE OF VERB FORMS

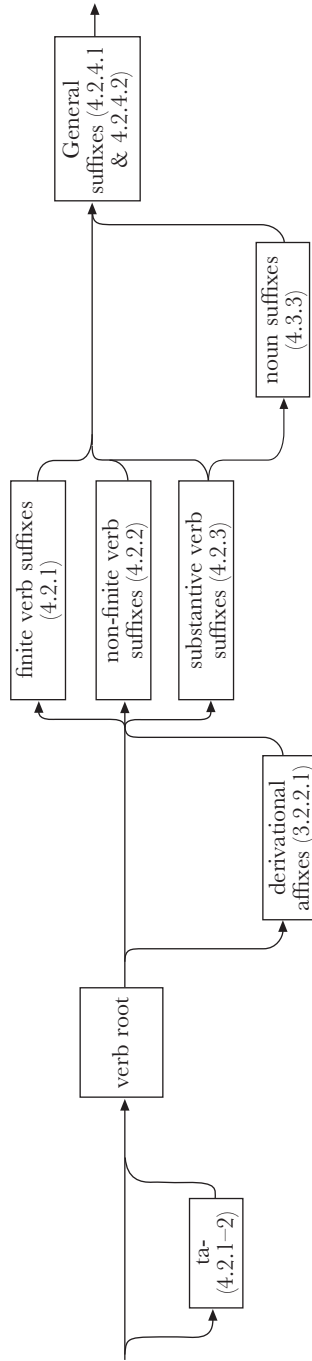


Figure 6. Structure of verb forms

- N.B.
1. Derivational affixes include prefixes as well as suffixes
 2. Total reduplication of disyllabic roots (5.1.1.3.1) and partial reduplication (prefixed and infixal—5.1.1.3.2 & 5.1.1.3.3) drastically reduce affixal possibility, and are not considered here.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CORRELATIVE ANALYSIS OF BODO, GARO AND RABHA

Kelkar (1978) defined correlative linguistics as a branch of comparative linguistics coordinate with historical linguistics. While historical linguistics is diachronic in approach, correlative linguistics is synchronic in approach. My approach is correlative but also has a diachronic dimension.

The possibilities of correlation between the languages that have been grouped together as Barish languages are great, spreading across several languages that have not been researched in any depth, except Boro and Garo. Hence, in the present correlative work only Boro and Garo (besides Rabha) have been included. The preference is guided by availability of descriptive material and my own closer personal knowledge of the languages. Were other related languages like Tiwa and Kokborok included, there would emerge a very revealing mosaic of various shifting and changing patterns of phonological and morphological correlation, both synchronic as well as of a considerable time depth.

7.1 *A synoptic and correlative view of the phonology of Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

For the purpose of correlation, the already existing works on Bodo and Garo are combined with my own knowledge of the two languages. As the data are drawn from various sources, the phonemic notation, especially for Bodo, had to be streamlined to make the synoptic view easier. Any such change is acknowledged in the relevant places. As there is a reconstruction of Proto-Bodo phonemic system (Burling 1959), a comparison with it is made. Burling used the name Kachari rather than Boro or Bodo, as he wanted to keep name Bodo to designate the whole group. In this work, however, when referring to Burling's work on Bodo, 'Kachari' has consistently been replaced by 'Bodo' and 'K' by 'B'.

7.1.1 *The consonantal system*

The consonant section of the phoneme inventories provided for Bodo by Burton-Page and Bhattacharya (1955), Burling (1959), Bhat (1968) and Bhattacharya (1977) match. The voiceless plosives are represented as /p t k/ as normally done, and not /ph th kh/ as in Bhattacharya. The phonemic analysis of Garo is from Burling (1961 and 1981). The affricates /c j/, although treated along with the plosives in the analysis of Rabha, are placed outside the plosive category for the sake of correlation. Besides, the glottal stop and the syllabic approximants, discussions on which have been deferred for separate treatment, are not shown in the Table 7.1 which gives a synoptic view of the consonant phonemes of the three languages. Table 7.2 presents the consonant phonemes of Proto-Bodo (Burling 1959:450).

Table 7.1 *Consonant phonemes of Bodo, Garo an Rabha*

Bodo			Garo			Rabha		
p	t	k	p	t	k	p	t	k
b	d	g	b	d	g	b	d	g
						ph	th	kh
				c			c	
				j			j	
m	n	ŋ	m	n	ŋ	m	n	ŋ
			w					
	s	h		s	h		s	h
	z							
	r			r			r	
	l			(l)			l	

Table 7.2 *Consonant phonemes of Proto-Bodo (Burling 1959:450)*

	p	t	k
	b	d	g
	m	n	ŋ
	s	c	j
r	l	h	w ? (')

7.1.1.1 *The plosives*

Different names have been used for the articulators involved in /t d th/: Burling calls them 'apico-dental', while Bhattacharya and Burton-Page call them 'denti-alveolar', and in the present analysis of Rabha they are referred to as 'lamino-dental'. However, the articulators and the place of articulation for these phonemes in the three languages are the same.

All the three languages have a three-way contrast of place coupled with the contrast of voice, giving a set of three voiceless plosives /p t k/ and a set of three voiced plosives /b d g/. Rabha stands apart in having phonemicised aspiration in voiceless plosives acquiring a third set of three plosives: /ph th kh/. A study of the development of aspiration in native Rabha words and the phonemic shifts and readjustments that caused this change would be a possible field for further investigation. In Bodo, aspiration of the voiceless plosives varies allophonically. The variation is described as being dependent upon the following vowel (Burling 1959: 436 and Burton-Page 1955: 338), or just free (Bhat 1968: 2). In Garo, the phenomenon of aspiration is more specifically definable, the voiceless plosives being always aspirated pre-vocally and never aspirated post-vocally (Burling 1981: 73). Consequently they are always aspirated initially, but are always 'un-voiced, unaspirated and, except as required for the articulation of a later syllable, unreleased' (Burling 1981: 62). A voiced aspirated stop series seems to be emerging in Bodo (Bhat 1968: 2) and Rabha at least in the speech of those who incorporate a large number of Assamese loan words. This phenomenon is not noticed in Garo.

7.1.1.2 *The affricates*

Rabha and Garo have a set of two affricates /c j/, which Bodo lacks. Bodo has /z/, not present in Garo and Rabha. In describing /z/, Bhat says that it 'has a voiced affricate [dz] as its allophone initially (where it freely varies with [z]) as well as before nasals' (Bhat 1968: 3). Burling says it 'is a weak affricate rather than a simple spirant' (Burling 1959: 436) and also establishes the correspondences /*c/ > B /z/ and /*j/ > B Ø for some Bodo vocabulary.

The establishing of Bodo /z/, while being phonologically sound in a synchronic analysis guided strongly by the principle of pattern congruity, and being typographically and visually aesthetic in print,

has the disadvantage of disguising the fact that Bodo [dz] is the result of a */c/ that set out on a path of sonorisation. Even if it is headed for [z] or even further beyond on the lenition axis of 'opening' (Lass 1984: 178), presently it is at an indeterminate station midway between the affricate and the fricative. Establishing /j/ instead of /z/, and seeing the allophony of [z] from the perspective of /j/ (rather than in the reverse direction, even if it be at the expense of pattern congruity resulting in a gaping hole in the pattern, would be equally sound phonology and would have the added advantage of drawing forth a hidden pattern that lies stretched across language boundaries. /j/ is a phoneme in Garo and Rabha, while /z/ is not a phoneme in either. However, the force of pattern congruity that is at work in Bodo as a single universe of phonemic patterning, can not be overlooked. Having lost /*j/ (through /*j/ > Ø), there emerges a tendency to lose /*c/ in favour of /z/ (/*c/ > /z/) as there is already an /s/ with which it can pair.

7.1.1.3 *The nasals*

The nasals remain the same in all the three languages as a copy of the set reconstructed for Proto-Bodo. In all the three languages, there is also a strong constraint that /ŋ/ cannot occur initially.

7.1.1.4 *The trill, the approximants (lateral and bilabial) and the fricatives*

All the three languages have a trill /r/ and a lateral /l/. It will be noticed that the Garo lateral is placed within brackets in the inventory. In the 1959 and 1961 works, Burling collapsed the Garo lateral and the trill (which he also calls a flap) into a single /r/ and considered the lateral be the phonetic form of /r/ in the final position. While this is true, later he acknowledged that they 'should be regarded as quite different and not be forced into the same framework' (Burling 1981: 63). In Rabha and Bodo, /r/ and /l/ are real phonemes. However, contrast is easily established in the final position, but not in the initial position. There has been much phonemic shift involving /r/ and /l/ as is evident from cognates available in the three languages (see 7.2.16; 7.2.2.7 and 7.2.2.8). Synchronic free variation involving the two are also noticed in Bodo and Rabha.

Garo is unique among the three languages in having a bilabial approximant /w/ as a true consonant. All the three languages have the fricatives /s h/. Their favoured position is the initial position.

/s/ is seen to spread its influence to the final position under impetus from borrowed items in all the three languages. The phoneme /h/ does not occur finally at all. Between the three languages there have been shifts involving /c/, /s/ and /j/ on the one hand and /h/ and its deletion on the other hand (see 7.2.1.4).

7.1.2. *The vocalic system*

7.1.2.1 *The simple syllabic nucleus*

Although the correspondences between the vowels of comparable etyma in the different languages may present knotty problems, as an inventory of phonemes, the vowels create the least problem. All the different analyses of the three languages come up with:

- a high front (unrounded) vowel /i/
- a high back (rounded) vowel /u/
- a mid (or higher-mid) front vowel /e/
- a mid (or higher-mid) back vowel /o/
- a low (central unrounded) vowel /a/

In addition, Rabha and Bodo (but not Garo) have a sixth vowel that is described in similar terms but are orthographically represented differently by different authors. Bhattacharya (1977: 49) represents it as /ō/ and describes it as being unrounded with lip spreading, and ranging from close to half-mid and central to back, and overlapping the area of /u/ and /o/. Burton-Page (1955: 337) calls it an unrounded vowel, its range varying from half-close and back to half-close and central overlapping partially with /o/, and uses the symbol /θ/. Bhat (1968: 3) and Burling (1959: 436) represent it as /ə/; Bhat places it as a high vowel along with /i u/, while Burling places it as a mid vowel in the company of /e o/. In the present work, the Rabha counterpart of the same is represented as /i/. For the sake of easy comparison in comparative framework the symbol /i/ is used for all the three languages. Words from other works have been, with the supposed good will of the authors concerned, re-represented with this representation of the vowel. Table 7.3 gives a comparative presentation of the vowel systems of the three languages along with the system reconstructed by Burling as the possible Proto-Bodo system.

Table 7.3 *Vowel phonemes of Bodo, Garo, Rabha and Proto-Bodo*

Bodo		Garo		Rabha		Proto-Bodo	
i	u	i	u	i	u	i	u
ɨ				ɨ			
e	o	e	o	e	o	e	ɨ o
a		a		a		a	

It is not that Garo has no trace of this sixth vowel at all. The Garo /i/ has a very significant allophone that occurs in syllables closed with any consonant except the glottal stop, which Burling described as ‘slightly spread higher-mid central’ (1961: 2) or ‘further back and bit lower’ likening it to [ɨ] (1981: 66) or ‘distinctly further back but still high’ for which he used the symbol [ɨ̃] (1992: 37). The historical implications of this Garo allophone was suggested by Burling, proposing that the Garo phoneme /i/ ‘has resulted from the falling together of two vowels which in the other Bodo languages are now pronounced like the two allophones of Garo /i/ but which are not in complementary distribution’ (Burling 1959: 435). The direction of the change is stated as being an instance of merger from two phonemes of the proto-stage to one with two very distinct allophones in Garo rather than as one of split from one phoneme with two very distinct allophones in the proto-stage to two phonemes in languages other than Garo.

7.1.2.2 *The diphthongs or complex syllable nuclei*

In speaking generally of the diphthongs, tonal features have not been taken into separate consideration. In the 1961 grammar of Garo, Burling noted that the Garo vowels do not show any sign of diphthongisation (Burling 1961: 1) and interpreted all sequences of vowels as constituting as many syllables as there are vowels. Even monomorphemic sequences of vowels as the adverbial suffix *-ai* or the interrogative *mai* ‘what’ were treated as disyllabic. Later, however, it was noted that some /a-i/ and /a-u/ monomorphemic sequences ‘hardly sound bi-syllabic’, but it was still considered advisable to assign each vowel to a phonologically separate syllable (Burling 1981: 71). Still later, he came closer to admitting the need of /au/ and /ai/ sequences

in the inventory of syllable nuclei for native words, and /oi/ for borrowed items (Burling 1992: 38). The reluctance and the long period over which the change is made is a clear indication that diphthongs are rare in Garo. The final position of admitting the two diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ for native words and /oi/ for loan items is more true to natural Garo speech.

All except Burling avoid diphthongs for Bodo but set up two approximants /w y/ called 'constricted' by Burton (1955: 340), 'semi-vowels' by Bhat (1968: 3) and 'non-syllabics (semivowels)' by Bhattacharya (1977: 39). Burling (1959: 436), on the other hand, avoids the approximants and includes a set of four diphthongs: /ai au ii iu/ (underlining not original). However, according to the description by Bhattacharya, if the semivowels were set aside in favour of a set of diphthongs, which is also a possibility admitted by Bhattacharya (1977: 40), they would give rise to nine diphthongs: /oi ai ei ii ui ou ao eo iu/. Rabha has the following predominant diphthongs: /ai ao au oi/ and a subsidiary set of /eo eu ui iu ii/ that occur only in a few items.

Table 7.4 *Diphthongs of Bodo, Garo, Rabha and Proto-Bodo*

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	Proto-Bodo
/ <u>ai</u> <u>au</u> <u>ii</u> <u>iu</u> / or	/ <u>ai</u> <u>au</u> /	/ <u>ai</u> <u>ao</u> <u>au</u> <u>oi</u> /	<u>ii</u> <u>ui</u>
/ <u>oi</u> <u>ai</u> <u>ii</u> <u>ei</u> <u>ui</u> <u>ou</u> <u>ao</u> <u>eo</u> <u>iu</u> /. / <u>oi</u> /	/ <u>oi</u> /	/ <u>eo</u> <u>eu</u> <u>ui</u> <u>iu</u> <u>ii</u> /	<u>ai</u> <u>au</u>

The presence of *ii and *ui in the vocalic chart (Burling 1959: 450) for Proto-Bodo is intriguing and is probably a printing mistake. In the diagrammatic representation on the preceding page of the possible lines, derived from the comparative vocabulary, along which Garo is suggested to have modified the reconstructed Proto-Bodo vocalic system, the diphthongs which appear are ii, iu, ai and au. Besides, in none of the languages investigated in that study are the diphthongs ii and ui present. But ii and iu are present in Bodo and Atong, which are the languages Burling considers to have the essentials of the Proto-Bodo vowel system. Hence *ii and *ui of the chart above for Proto-Bodo are to be understood as *ii and *iu respectively.

The use of the semivowels in Bodo as done by Bhattacharya and Burton-Page is facilitated, as there is no phonemic contrast between sequences where either /u/ or /o/ is the second member. This is

not true of Rabha which has a contrast between /ao/ and /au/. It is not the case that all the diphthongs proposed in all the languages stand in contrast to all the rest. At any rate, what appears most apparent is that Rabha and Bodo have a greater number of diphthongs than Garo. The Proto-Bodo system, as far as the diphthongs are concerned, is midway between Garo on the one hand having very diminished presence of diphthongs, and Bodo and Rabha with at least as many (as in the case of the analysis of Bodo by Burling) or an expanded set of diphthongs as in the case Rabha (and Bodo, as analysed by Bhattacharya).

7.1.3 *The glottal stop and the tone features in the respective languages*

Laying aside non-conclusive and unsuccessful earlier attempts to explain tonogenesis in the Tibeto-Burman languages that were anchored either on an assumption of a two-tone or three-tone system of a proto-language, or through the nature of the initial consonant of the syllable, Weidert (1979 and 1987) provides evidence for establishing a Tibeto-Burman tonogenetic laryngeal reconstruction theory that seeks to explain the present-day tonal system of Tibeto-Burman languages, especially the Barish (Bodo-Garo-Konyak) and Kuki-Naga-Chin languages, as the reflex of a proto-stage characterised by phonation types. The entities held responsible for tonal diversification are (Weidert 1987: 4):

[---]	*Ø(zero)/VOICE	periodic vibration of vocal folds under pressure
[--?]	*?/CREAK	low frequency vibrations of a small section of the vocal folds
[--h]	*h/BREATH	glottis widely open

The correspondences that were found in inter-lingual comparison were called Tonal Categories (TC) (Weidert 1987: 3). Weidert finds that the Western Barish languages of Tripura and the Brahmaputra valley (Bodo, Garo, Rabha, Dimasa, Lalung, Tripuri, Meche) have remained non-tonal, displaying only phonotactic contrast of syllable types: glottalised vs. non-glottalised. ‘The glottal stop of monosyllabic roots is assumed to be the direct and non-prosodic reflex of the common Barish *?/TC-II category’ (Weidert 1987: 12).

7.1.3.1 *The glottal stop of Garo*

Burling gives a clear, concise and accurate account of the glottal stop in Garo. His grammar of 1961 did not elaborate on the behaviour of the glottal stop. However, in two subsequent articles (1981 and 1992) the phenomenon was more elaborately described. His more recent contact with the Bangladeshi variety of Garo is certainly evident in the examples he gives. He also notes the differences between the northern variety, which is the basis of the literary Garo, and the southern Bangladeshi variety. The peculiarities of the Bangladeshi variety are not much dealt with here as it is the northern variety, and more specifically the particular dialect that forms the basis of the written Garo, with which Rabha has been and still is in close contact. The main properties of the glottal stop in Garo as presented by Burling are summarised below with critical comment wherever necessary.

- (i) The glottal stop never occurs syllable-initially.
- (ii) It occurs only syllable-finally where it may occur by itself or in cluster with /m n ŋ l/, giving minimal pairs:

ka-a	‘tie’	kaʔ-a	‘bitter’
ro-a	‘loiter’	roʔ-a	‘long’

(*ruʔ-a* ‘long’ given by Burling as contrasting with *ru-a* ‘pour’ is from the Bangladeshi variety.)

rim-a	‘take, bring’	riʔm-a	‘catch, hold, work’
con-a	‘small’	coʔn-a	‘finish’
sin-a	‘like’	siʔn-a	‘cold’

(*sin-a* is hardly ever used in present-day Garo meaning ‘like’, but there is a homonym meaning ‘to move a little to make room’ and ‘to cut to make the mouth of tubes, usually bamboo, regular’ which are still very much alive)

soŋ-a	‘set up, as a post’	soʔŋ-a	‘cook’
riŋ-a	‘drink’	riʔŋ-a	‘to sing’
bil-a	‘fly’	biʔl-a	‘roll up’

(iii) It never occurs word-finally either by itself or in cluster. When a syllable with a final unclustered glottal stop appears in word-final position, the northern dialect adds an echo vowel, the unexpanded form showing up when not in the word-final position:

jaʔ-a ‘leg’ (*jaʔ-pa* ‘sole of the foot’; *jaʔ~kol* ‘foot-print’;
jaʔ-si ‘toe’)

When a clustered glottal stop appears word-finally, an echo-vowel separates the glottal stop and the consonant. The unexpanded form is the combining form.

joʔ-oŋ ‘worm’ (*joʔŋ-dol* ‘a cricket’; *joʔŋ-bru* ‘a kind of work’)
 waʔ-al ‘fire’ (*waʔl-tim* ‘fireplace’; *waʔl-sre* ‘spark’)

Although these observations are not wrong, it is to be noted that contrary to what Burling observes (1981: 70; 1992: 41), at least in the northern variety, the expanded form is found not only in word-final position but also when a primary case suffix is affixed:

jaʔ-a-ko ‘leg (accusative)’
 jaʔ-a-ni ‘of the leg (-*ni* ‘genitive’)
 waʔ-al-ci ‘with fire (-*ci* ‘instrumental’)
 joʔ-oŋ-na ‘for the worm (-*na* ‘dative’)

Besides, when a glottal stop shows word-finally in a compound such expansion is not observed at all:

matchu-ki ‘cattle-dung’ (*matcu* ‘cattle’; *kiʔ-i* ‘body dirt’)
 wa-j-oŋ ‘germs that attack teeth’ (*wagam* ‘tooth’; *joʔ-oŋ* ‘germ’)

For the analysis of the glottal stop between two identical vowels, Burling distinguishes two syllable types: CVʔ-VN (N stands for nasal or /-l/) and CVʔ-VS (where S stands for final /-p/, /-t/ and /-k/). Many of the CVʔ-VN words have also an unexpanded CVʔN form, while some others do not. An example is *beʔ-en* ‘meet’ which does not have a corresponding **beʔn-*. Such instances are considered examples where the expanded forms have been lexicalised. Burling (1981: 70) proposes the shorter forms as basic and more suitable for compar-

ative linguistic purposes. On the other hand, none of the CV?-VS forms has a corresponding CV?S form.

ga?-ak-a	'fall down'	*ga?k-
go?-ok-a	'come apart, come lose'	*go?k-
so?-ot-a	'kill'	*so?t-
se?-et-a	'pinch between two fingers'	*se?t-

ru?-ut-a 'stretch' which is another example given by Burling (1992: 47) as belonging to this set is not found in the northern variety, nor can it be considered to belong to this group because it does not appear to be monomorphemic like the rest of them. It appears to have the causative suffix *-at* (changed to *-ut*) along with the Bangladeshi variety *ru?-a* 'long' (1992: 36), whose northern form is *ro?-at-a* 'to lengthen'.

He sees a possible relation between *-sot* in *ra-sot-a* glossed as 'kill by slicing (with a knife)' and *so?-ot-a* 'kill', finding a missing link between the synchronic CV?-VS words and their short forms. There is no evidence, however, to indicate that *-sot* really means 'kill'. In the northern dialects *-sot* is a verb modifying syllable meaning 'sever'; a verb root *sot* 'to chop, to cut off' is also noted. *de?n-sot-a* means 'to chop off' and not 'kill by cutting'. Hence the relation between *so?-ot-a* and *-sot* seems unlikely.

Arguing from the overall behavioural pattern of the glottal stop which includes: (i) its inability to instantiate the central allophone [ɨ] of /i/ like other syllable-final consonants, (ii) its transparency (in Bangladeshi dialect) to vowel assimilation and (iii) its deletability and dissociability from its clustered occurrence, Burling argued for the glottal stop to be considered a fourth part of the syllable along with the onset, the peak and the coda; a feature of the syllable as a whole rather than a linearly ordered segment, and for Garo itself to be considered a minimal tonal language. In its tonal characteristic he considers Garo to be 'having a tone system that is degenerate, rather than incipient' (1992: 50). He also pointed to the possibility of exploring possible relation with Bodo tones.

Duanmu (1994) took up some of the arguments of Burling and came to the conclusion that the peculiar behaviour of the glottal stop in Garo can be explained with in feature geometry, and that at the present stage there is no sufficient reason to call the Garo

glottal stop a tone. He also says that the final *-p*, *-t* and *-k* are all glottalised and that CVʔ-VC forms are probably the original and basic form, the CVʔC forms being the shortened form resulting from vowel deletion. He opines that ‘Garo is yet to acquire tone, instead of already gone through the process of tonogenesis AND (original capitals) being near the completion of tone loss’ (Duanmu 1994: 80).

7.1.3.2 *Tone in Bodo*

Burling established a phonemic glottal stop for Bodo (1959: 346) and noted the close interaction between it and the high pitch, which he regarded the allophone of the glottal stop, in the following syllable. Burton-Page (1955) described Bodo as having three tones; Halvorsrud (1959) and Halvorsrud and Mosahari (1968 as cited in Burling 1992: 50), as having two tones. A two-tone system underlies the dictionary of Mochari (1985) although he speaks of a three-tone system. Bhattacharya (1977) speaks of four lexically significant tones. Weidert (1987: 426) finds Boro to be ‘a stage model of tonematization’. His findings are in line with that of Burling. The main findings of Weidert are as follows.

Weidert (1987) sets up a non-tonal phonological base for Bodo ‘single syllables as being undifferentiated in regard to pitch realisation’ (p. 420). The syllables, however, are considered to be either smooth or stopped (having a stop sound or having an underlying glottal stop).

Smooth syllables: /CV/, /CVR/
 [R = resonants /m, n, ŋ, r, u, i/]
 Stopped syllables: /CVʔ/, /CVRʔ/, /CVP/
 [P = obstruents /-p -t (= -rʔ), -k/]

There is no mention of why the other vowels are not included in the set for R. A preceding glottal stop or stop is held responsible for the high pitch in a following syllable making the language have ‘tonetic output which is fully characterised by distinctive pitch’ (p. 426).

[hadriʔ] ‘dust’ (*haʔ* ‘earth, ground’)
 [diikonʔ] ‘stream’ (*di* ‘water’)
 [daolútpír] ‘bulbul birds’ (*daoʔ* ‘bird’; *-pír* ‘plural marker’)

Weidert, however, mentions situations that break this pattern: (i) There are instances where the syllable with the underlying glottal stop itself receives the high tone as in:

<u>d</u> áo	‘bird’ (< <i>daoʔ</i>)
ná	‘fish’ (< <i>naʔ</i>)
nó	‘house’ (< <i>noʔ</i>)

(ii) There appears to be also syllables with an underlying glottal stop that fail, in particular instances, to confer high pitch on a following syllable, as in:

[habruʔ]	‘mud’ (<i>haʔ</i> ‘earth, ground’)
[hapauʔ]	‘ant-hill’ (<i>haʔ</i> ‘earth, ground’)

(iii) There are also a few instances of a high pitch when the preceding syllable is underlyingly smooth:

[<u>d</u> ikórʔ]	‘a well’ (<i>dii</i> ‘water’)
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For the unanalysable disyllabic expressions he sets up the following syllabic shapes /CV(R)-CV(R)/, /CV(R)-CV(R)ʔ/, /CV(R)ʔ-CV(R)/, /CV(R)ʔ-CV(R)ʔ/ and /CVP-CV(R/P)ʔ/, the glottal stop or P raising the pitch of the following syllable. The first syllables of these unanalysable disyllabic words, called ‘prefixes’ in established Tibeo-Burman usage, are referred to as ‘presyllables’. Some of these, however, are synchronically active morphemes. Weidert himself admits that under such an analysis the presyllables will have to be considered as having allophonic variation with and without an underlying glottal stop as in:

[si-gi] or /si-gi/	‘to frighten’ (causative of <i>gi</i> ‘be afraid’)
[si-p <u>á</u> iʔ] or /siʔ-p <u>á</u> iʔ/	‘to break’ (causative of intransitive ‘ <i>pai</i> ʔ’ ‘to break’)

This allophony is permitted at the phonemic level when it is absent at the phonetic level. Weidert justifies this as ‘the glottal stop which is arbitrarily introduced into words of mid-high pitch realisation appears to have comparative motivation’ (p. 427).

7.1.3.3 *Tone in Rabha*

Rabha is analysed as having a lexically marked two-tone system. Allophonically, the presence of a glottal stop is detected when the high toned syllable occurs word-finally. Otherwise it is absent. Unlike what has been reported to be the situation in Bodo, in the normal behavioural pattern of the high tone in Rabha, it is not seen to relinquish its position to induce high pitch in the following syllable. However, a high-toned initial syllable in a disyllabic word raises the pitch of the second syllable without leaving its place on the first syllable. It is simple case of spreading of tonal feature.

The high-toned syllables of Rabha appear to have followed the pattern of the Bodo examples where the underlying glottal-stopped syllables themselves receive the high pitch. The stopped syllables having /-p, -t, -k/ as coda do not show tonal differentiation. All of them appear to be having a higher pitch than the normal low tone. This is, however, not marked as high tone.

7.1.3.4 *Glottal stop and tone correlation in the three languages*

Lexical correlation reveals that there is unmistakable match between Rabha words with a high tone, Garo combining forms (where there is a difference between the combining and free forms) having a glottal stop and the Bodo underlying forms with the glottal stop (or with a high tone, if so marked). The high tone of Rabha, then, is correlatable with the glottal stop of Garo and the high tone of Bodo, if the underlying glottal stop of Bodo is taken to confer a high tone on the syllable itself. The cognates presented below show the correlation. It is a vindication of the fact that the high tone on the syllable following the glottal stop in Bodo, is phonetic rather than phonemic. The syllables with the glottal stop (or the high tone) are the basic and phonemic entities.

The correlation also shows that the extension of the analysis of the glottal stop to presyllables or prefixes is unnecessary. Prefixes are as much active in present-day Rabha as in present-day Bodo. The prefixes in Rabha have low tone and are not affected by the tone in a following syllable. In the Bodo instances where an underlying allophony in the presyllables becomes necessary to hold on to the generalisation that a glottal stop confers a high tone on a following syllable, are probably instances where a glottal stop, if present, raises the pitch of the glottal-stop-bearing syllable itself.

7.1.3.4.1 *Correlation involving all the three languages*

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
bá	baʔ	bá	'carry on back'
bá	baʔ	pá	'be thin'
bá	baʔ	bá	'bear offspring' (R non-human)
báŋ	baŋʔ	páŋ	'be plenty'
<u>bái</u>	bí	bí	'to break, intr.'
béŋ	beŋʔ	báŋ	'B to guard, G to forbid, R to block'
bún	biŋʔ	pún	'be dense, be thick'
dán	denʔ	tán	'to cut'
dún	diŋʔ	tún	'be hot'
<u>dáo</u>	doʔ-o; doʔ-	tó	'bird'
<u>díi</u>	ciʔ	cí ~ cit	'to lay egg'
<u>éo</u>	oʔ	bó	'to clear (jungle)'
<u>éo</u>	joʔ	<u>jáo</u>	'to fry'
gá	gaʔ-ak	da-gat ~ dagá	'B be detached, G to fall, R be detached and fall'
<u>gái</u>	geʔ	kái	'to plant'
gó	goʔ-ok	do-got ~ dogó	'to come off (as handle etc.)'
<u>gáo</u>	gaʔ-o	kháo	'B be torn, G to peel off, R to peel'
gón	goʔ-ol, goʔl-	kón	'stick' (R small stick, twig)
gú	goʔ-ok	do-got ~ dogo	'come off (and fall as hair etc.)'
há	aʔ-a	há	'land, earth'
jám	camʔ	cám	'B decrease, G R 'be worn out''
ján	celʔ	ján	'be far'
já	caʔ	sá	'to eat'
<u>jáo</u>	coʔ	khot ~ khó	'to dig'

(Bodo has *kut* 'to serve rice' for which Garo uses *sa* and Rabha uses the same *khot* ~ *khó* as above)

jú	cuʔ	cú	'to pack by wrapping in leaf etc.'
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ká	kaʔ	khá	‘be bitter’
kán	kenʔ	khén	‘to comb’
<u>káo</u>	koʔ	khó	‘to draw water’
kí	kiʔ-i, kiʔ-	jí	‘faeces, dirt’
lá	raʔ	rá	‘to take’
lá-bi	raʔ-ba	rá-ba	‘to bring’
laŋ	raʔ-aŋ	rán	‘to take away’
<u>láí</u>	eʔ-sal	<u>rái</u>	‘banana leaf’
<u>láí</u> -paŋ	reʔ-paŋ	ré-phaŋ	‘banana plant’

(G *eʔ-sal* is reduced from *reʔ-sal*. *reʔ-paŋ* is not much in use in today’s Garo for which *teʔrik biŋaŋ* literally ‘banana tree’ is the normal expression. But many words contain *reʔ-* having related meaning: *reʔ-mande* ‘banana (tree)’, and *reʔ-cam* ‘used banana leaves where *cam* < *git-cam* ‘old’, *reʔ-cu* ‘plantain leaf shaped like a cone’, *reʔ-su* ‘a variety of banana plant’ etc.)

<u>láo</u>	roʔ	ró	‘be long’
mén	neŋʔ	nén	‘be tired’
mín	manʔ	mán	‘to get’
ná	naʔ-tok	ná	‘fish’
nín	naʔ-a, naŋʔ-	nán	‘you (singular)’
oʔ-a (RB 59)	waʔ-a	bá	‘bamboo’ (<i>o-aʔ</i> in Weidert 1987: 423)
ot, ort, ór	waʔ-al, waʔl-	bár	‘fire’
rán	ranʔ	rán	‘be dry’
² re- ¹ zeŋ (PCB)	ceŋʔ	cén	‘be light’
<u>sáo</u>	soʔ	só	‘to burn, tr.’
sín	(kaʔŋ-kare)	sén	‘waist’

(Garo has *seŋʔ-ki* ‘waist band’, *siŋʔ-mroŋ* ‘hip, waist’, *siŋʔ-mroŋ* ‘hip’, *siŋʔ-groŋ* ‘waist’, *siŋʔ-o ke* ‘to tie at the waist’ (*-o* locative suffix, *ke* ‘to suspend from shoulder or waist’); it is difficult to say if *kaŋʔ-kare* ‘waist’ has a form of *seŋʔ-* in it, although it is not unlikely as the alternation between *s* and *k*, though rare, is not absent in all the three languages. At any rate, *seŋʔ-* ‘bright’ seems to have forced the word meaning ‘waist, hip’ into disuse.)

són	soŋʔ	són	‘B G to cook, R to place pot on fire’
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<u>sóu</u>	sú	sú	‘to pound, to strike’
sú	sú	sú	‘to stab, to pierce, B G also ‘to wash’
sún		sún	‘to prop up, to support’

(Garo has several words where *siŋʔ-* is present as bound, having related meaning: *siŋʔ-cak* ‘to support’, *siŋʔ-cal* ‘to support’. *siŋʔ-do* ‘to support and raise’ and *siŋʔ-kam* ‘a prop’)

sín	siŋʔ	sín	‘to ask’, G also ‘to bark’
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(Mochari gives *sún* ‘to bark’ besides the meaning ‘to prop up’, and Bhattacharya finds *sín* with different tones meaning separately ‘ask’ and ‘bark’.)

sím	siʔm	sím	‘B G to soak (tr.), R be wet (intr.)’
<u>tái</u>	taʔ	thé	‘fruit, to fructify’ R <i>thé</i> ~ <i>thet</i> ‘to fructify’
<u>tóu</u>	tuʔ	thú	‘be deep’
<u>tíi</u>	anʔ-ci	sí	‘blood’
tón	doʔl	thón	‘to roll up’
	wiʔ	bí	‘to cook in banana leaf’
ún	wiʔl	bín	‘to whet’

7.1.3.4.2 Correlation involving two languages

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
bá	baʔ	(pak)	‘to perch (bird)’; (R <i>pak</i> is probably related)
bí	bí	(nam)	‘to ask’
<u>dái</u>	ciʔ	(sim)	‘be sweet’
dúm	dimʔ	(thuk)	‘to fence’
gá	gaʔ	(nak)	‘to tread, to trample’
jín	ciŋʔ	(nai)	‘be bright’
tá	taʔ-a, taʔ-	(khan)	‘yam’
<u>dóu</u>	(noʔm)	tú	‘to feed into mouth or beak’
<u>dái</u>	(rimʔ)	<u>tói</u>	‘to hold, to grasp’
dám	(dok)	tám	‘to beat (drum etc.)’

ún		bín	‘to grind’
kí -mín	(kim-mil)	mín	‘fur, body hair’

(Garo has intransitives *binek* ‘to become crumble or become crushed’ and *biʔn* ‘to become blunt’, but it is difficult to correlate them with certainty)

There appears to be more words between Garo and Rabha that can be so correlated. A few of them, without the Bodo words having the same meanings, are given below:

Garo	Rabha	
anʔ-	kán	‘body’ (Bangladeshi G <i>haʔn</i> —RB 1992: 44)
anʔ-ceŋ	hán-ceŋ	‘sand’
aʔ-son	há-son	‘land in the sense of country’
aʔ-cu	há-cu	‘hill’ (B ² <i>haʔzow</i> -PCB or <i>haji</i> MM)
aʔ-ba-ceŋ	há-ba-ceŋ	‘to begin’
caʔ-ri	cá-ri	‘seed for planting’
saʔ-am	sám	‘mortar’ (present-day G has <i>caʔ-sam</i>)
daŋʔ	dán	‘to enter’ (present-day G has <i>nap</i> ‘to enter’)
eŋ	heŋ	‘to untie, to aim a blow’ (It is strange that B has <i>éŋ</i> ‘to untie’)
eŋʔ	hén	‘be sparse, be thinly placed’
gomʔ	kóm	‘to encircle, to enclose’
geʔ-	gó-	‘classifier’
jaʔ-a, jaʔ-	cá-, caka	‘leg’
jaʔ-teŋ	tá-teŋ	‘leg’
jaʔ-man	cá-ban	‘later’
jímʔ	jím	‘to loiter, to wander’
joʔ-on, joʔŋ-	cón	‘worm’
juʔ	jú	‘to copulate’
maʔ-man	phá-man	‘to understand’ (present-day G <i>maʔ-si</i>)

Many Garo and Rabha words whose meanings have some relation to ‘mouth’, ‘lip’, and ‘tongue’ have a correlatable first syllable.

kuʔ-ci	ká-ci	‘saliva’ (strangely R has <i>k-</i> and not <i>kh-</i>)
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kuʔdim	khú-tam	‘to kiss’
kuʔ-raŋ	khú-raŋ	‘language’
kuʔ-simaŋ	khú-man	‘G beard, moustache; R moustache’ (R <i>ká-man</i> ‘beard’)
maʔ-bak	má-pak	‘to be in agreement’
meʔ-asa	mú-sa	‘man’ (R also ‘male -human’; G also has <i>meʔ-a</i> ‘human male’)
meʔ-a	mé-ba	‘bamboo shoot’
meʔ-cik	mí-cik	G ‘woman, R ‘wife’
meʔ-man	mé-man	‘ghost’
meʔ-ci	mí	‘curry’
roʔn	rón	G ‘give’ R ‘to distribute’ (present- day G has <i>oʔn</i> ‘to give’ and <i>sual</i> ‘to distribute’)
roʔ-on, roʔn-	rón-ka	‘stone’
roʔn-ci	rón-ci	‘whet-stone’
saʔ-roŋ	sá-roŋ	‘G young one, R age, brood, hatching’
saʔ-	sá-	‘offspring, child’

(There are several related G words having *saʔ-*: *saʔ-con* ‘last-born’, *saʔ-dek* ‘a hatchling’, *saʔ-típ* ‘womb’ and many others. R has not many: *sá-bra* ‘child’; *sákho-* ‘classifier for human childbirths’)

tiʔl	thír	‘to bounce’
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There are, however, some instances that do not correlate, although correlation would be expected:

goŋʔ	goŋ	‘be willing’ (B <i>goŋ</i> ‘to agree’)
iʔl-ep	phi -láp	‘to flash lightning’
noʔm	nom	‘G ‘be soft’ R ‘to chew and make soft’
riʔŋ	cai-run	‘to sing’ (R <i>cai</i> ‘song’)

7.1.3.4.3 *Tone and final k-deletion*

There are a number of correlatable etyma in the three languages where Garo and Rabha have a final *-k* and Bodo has instead a high tone on the preceding vowel.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
dá	dak	tak	'to make', B R also 'to weave' G <i>dok</i> 'to weave'
dú	dik	tuk	'be overgrown (grass)'
dí	-dik	tik	'pot' (G <i>-dik</i> is found as bound in <i>me?-dik</i> 'pot for cooking rice'; <i>sam?-dik</i> 'pot for cooking curry'; <i>dikka</i> 'a pot for brewing rice- beer, and many other similar words.
go-dó	git-dok	tok-raŋ	'neck'
gì -bá	gip-bak	(pambruk)	'to embrace'
gó	jok	jok	'to escape'
gí	grik	(nai)	'be clear and transparent'
já	git-cak	sak	'be red'
jé	cek	cek	'fishing net'
jé-jé		jrek-jrek	'heavily (rain)'
kó	kok	khok	'basket'
kú	kik	khrok	'to remove (dress, bark, peel etc.)'
lú	rik	(ham)	'to build'
lí	rik	rú-bok	'string of beads' (In present-day Garo <i>rik</i> itself is not commonly used, but other words having it in bound form are common: <i>rik-ci</i> 'a necklace', <i>rik-git-dok</i> 'a necklace'.
mú	mik	muk	'arm-length'
mú	mik		'to fumigate'
ná	nak	nak	'to thresh, to massage'
nó	nok	nok	'house'
nú (DNS)	nik	nuk	'to see'
pé	pek	phek	'be inebriated or be so affected'
pú	pik	phok	'to uproot, to pluck'
rá	rak	rak	'be hard'
sá	ko-sak	(ká-raŋ)	'above'
sá	sak	phi -sak	'to twist' (more commonly used G form is <i>wenwen</i> 'to twist')
sú	cik	cik	'be cold (things)'

sú	sik	suk	‘to blow air, to stitch, to string up (as garland)’
sí	sik	sik	‘to insert in, to press in’
tí	tik	(khrík)	‘be sufficient’
oʔ-ma (RB 59)	wak	bak	‘pig’

7.1.4 *Phonotactics*

7.1.4.1 *The simple initials*

There is a lucid and precise description of the Garo initial consonant occurrence possibilities provided by Burling (1981). Table 7.5 presents the Garo simple initials as presented by him.

Table 7.5 *Garo simple initials (Burling 1981: 77)*

/p	t	k		
b	d	g		
m	n			
s	c			
j				
h	r	w	#	(l)/

The entire set is enclosed within slanted brackets to indicate their phonemic status. # indicates the possibility of an onset not being present. The lateral /l/ is placed within brackets as its true shape initially is [r], and occurs as [l] initially only in recent borrowings.

Bhattacharya (1977) starts by proposing to discuss the possibilities separately for ‘neutral toned’ and ‘non-neutral toned’ syllables. However, for monosyllables there is discussion only of ‘non-neutral toned’ (mono)syllables (p. 65), the possible initial consonants being /p t s k b d z g m n r l h/ (the order is as in the original where the voiceless plosives are presented as /ph th kh/). There is a discussion of ‘neutral toned’ syllables, but that is as occurring within disyllabic words in isolation (p. 66). As possible syllable initials in disyllabic words whether they be neutral toned or non-neutral toned, whether they be in the first syllable or the second syllable, each set

of possibility is a subset of the possible consonants of a non-neutral toned monosyllable given above. Hence it may be correct to take this larger set as the syllable initial consonants without differentiating between toned and non-toned syllables.

In an earlier section (Bhattacharya 1977: 23) while discussing the structure of the Bodo syllable, he presents different possibilities of the initial segments which are also divided according to neutral toned and non-neutral toned syllables. Here, however, clustered initials are also taken into consideration, and he gives three different sets: one set for initials of a neutral toned syllable which are always single consonants, and one set each for a possible first member and the second member of a cluster that can occur as initial of a non-neutral toned syllable. The situation is, naturally, a little involved but it neither alters the set given above nor can any of the three sets be truly representative of a monophonic initial. For comparative analysis it appears safe to keep to the set given above.

The Rabha situation is quite simple; the possible initials are /p t k ph th kh b d g c j m n r l s h/. Without presenting an elaborate tabular formation, a general statement can be made about the syllable initials of all the three languages: Any consonant of the phonemic inventory of any of these languages with the sole exception of /ŋ/ can be an initial segment. The phonetic shape of the phoneme is, naturally, provided by the relevant allophonic rules. In none of these languages is an initial consonant obligatory.

With this picture we may be justified in considering that all the reconstructed phonemes of the Proto-Bodo stage with the exception of *ŋ and the glottal stop must also have had the freedom of being initials at the proto-stage. This gives the following initial consonants at the proto-stage */p t k b d g m n s c j r l h w/.

7.1.4.2 *The finals*

Table 7.6 gives the set of final consonants provided for Garo by Burling.

Table 7.6 *Garo final consonants (Burling 1981)*

/p	t	k		
m	n	ŋ	l	#
?m	?n	?ŋ	?l	?/

The situation presented by the descriptions of Bhattacharya and Bhat contains some contradictions. The presentation of Bhattacharya has to be seen against the background given above while discussing the initials. While discussing the 'non-neutral toned' (mono)syllable he gives the permitted codas to be/b d z g m n ŋ r l/ in that order (the semivowels included by him have been kept out here) (Bhattacharya 1977: 66). Another smaller set /n ŋ/ is presented while discussing disyllabic words (probably of the second syllable). Two other sets of codas are given while discussing the structure of the syllable: one set /n ŋ/ as the codas of a neutral toned syllable, and another /b d z g m n ŋ r l/ as the possible codas of a non-neutral toned syllable. The first and the last sets are in one-to-one correspondence in every aspect including their order of presentation.

However, an explanatory statement made in the same context of discussing the initials and finals makes identification of some of the important final consonants difficult. He says 'Syllable-finally /b d z g/ only occur as unreleased voiceless non-aspirates before pause without corresponding comparable phonemes' (Bhattacharya 1977: 66). Are we to identify them as [p], [t] [s] and [k] as they are voiceless? (If it is the case that only one set of stops appears finally as is the case in Rabha and Garo, it is really immaterial, as suggested by Burling (1992: 35), whether they are represented by the voiceless series or the voiced series). Or is [c] the final shape of /z/ rather than [s], for it is said that the finals are also unreleased besides being voiceless.

There are problems on either front. Both [s] and [c] are unlikely candidates as finals for native Bodo words: /c/ is neither a Bodo phoneme nor an established allophone of any phoneme, nor an eligible final consonant in the other cognate languages; [s] is unlikely to be full-fledged final for there are very few words that have a final [s]. For that matter even /z/ is a poor candidate as a final consonant, which as a phoneme is a Bodo innovation based on the Proto-Bodo /*c/ (Burling 1959: 446); its reflex, /c/, in the other languages of the group does not occur finally. This points in the direction that if /z/ is indeed a final consonant, it could have only acquired that status having been a part, analogically, of the growth in Bodo of voiced finals instead of the voiceless finals of the cognate languages. It is present finally in just one word, *aroz* 'prayer' in the entire list of vocabulary provided by Bhattacharya at the end of his work. The use of the expression 'before pause' further complicates the picture,

for a doubt arises whether there is a separate set of syllable-final consonants and another set word-finally.

The analysis of Bhat has some further different points to add. He says ‘None of the voiceless stops occur in the word-final position. The two voiced stops *d* and *g* are also extremely rare finally. Among the fricatives, *h* occurs only in four words as word-final consonant. There are no instances of a word-final *z* and a single one of *s*.’ (Bhat 1968: 5). The overall picture is difficult to synchronise. We leave it at that, noting that probably a fresh analysis of the situation would be required to come to more definite statements. The two accounts put together do point towards the presence of voiced plosives rather than voiceless plosives in the final position, which is, no doubt, a major departure from the pattern noticed in the other languages.

For Rabha, the only possible finals are /p t k m n ŋ r l (s)/. Neither the phonemic aspiration nor the phonemic voicing of the initial consonants figures in the finals. The phone /s/ is kept within brackets as it is found mainly in borrowed items and in a few instances that appear to be native. The occurrence of a final /t/ is also limited to a few items. No verbs have a word-final /t/ as a root-final -t gets deleted when followed by a word-boundary or another consonant.

Keeping aside the glottal stop and the glottalised Garo final consonants, and noting that in Bodo a fresh analysis would probably be required to clarify some doubtful points, it can still be maintained that as far as the final consonants are concerned there is probably in Bodo a radical departure from the pattern observable in Garo and Rabha, in that Bodo has final voiced plosives. In none of the three languages there are clustered finals (except the glottalised instances in Garo). Taking for the moment the finals identified by Bhattacharya, the picture presented by the three languages is given in Table 7.7 along with a probable set of finals for Proto-Bodo.

Table 7.7 *Final consonants of Bodo, Garo, Rabha and Proto-Bodo*

Rabha	Garo	Bodo	Proto-Bodo
/p t k	/p t k	/b d g	*/p t k
m n ŋ	m n ŋ	m n ŋ	m n ŋ
r l (s)/	l/	z r l/	r l/

As the Proto-Bodo phonemic system is reconstructed to be having a glottal stop, it must legitimately be supposed that the Proto-Bodo stage should have had final glottal stop and final glottalised consonants (final *ʔ, *ʔm, *ʔn, *ʔl and/or *ʔr) parallel to the synchronically present situation in Garo.

7.1.4.3 *The clustered initials*

The Garo initial clusters as given by Burling (1981: 77) are /sp st sk pr tr kr br dr gr sr cr jr/. As evident, the Garo initial clusters are of the form C₁C₂-. When C₂ is /r/, C₁ may be /p t k b d g s c j/; when C₁ is /s/, C₂ can also be /p t k/ besides the regular /r/. In the same article he acknowledges phonetic clusters [gn kn sn sl] which are phonemicised by him with an intervening vowel as /gin kin sin sil/ respectively (1981: 62). Even if the phonemicisation is phonologically on the right track, it can hardly be doubted that at least [gn kn sn] are being solidly established as initial clusters in Garo, for there are more than a stray incident of their occurrence. In a different place, however, (Burling 1992: 35) he also includes /mr spr skr/.

The Bodo situation is comparable, but needs to be understood in the context that they are presented. The 'complex initials' that are permitted onsets of 'non-neutral toned' (mono)syllables (in the order given by the author but without the sign for aspiration of the voiceless plosives) are /pr tr sr kr br dr zr gr sl bl/ (Bhattacharya 1977: 65). 'Neutral-toned syllables' can not have a cluster (Bhattacharya 1977: 23). He provides a different set / pl tl kl dl zl gl gm gn pn dn sm bn hr hl km kn/ as complex initials of the second syllable of disyllabic words. We shall, however, concern ourselves with the true initials. These are of the form C₁C₂-. When C₂ is /r/, C₁ can be /p t k b d g s z/; when C₁ is /s b/, C₂ can also be /l/ besides the regular /r/.

The Rabha initial clusters have a neat pattern. They are of the form C₁C₂-; C₂ is invariably /r/, and C₂ may be /p t k ph kh b d g c j s/, giving the following possibilities of initial clusters: /pr tr kr phr khr br dr gr sr cr jr/. The absence of /thr/ is a conspicuous hole in the pattern. In addition there is one instance of /gl- ~ gr-/ , and there are four instances where C₂ is /th/. Three of them have a freely varying form with an intervening /i/, giving an indication that such clusters have arisen recently following an optional vowel deletion:

skhama ~ *sikhām* ‘be cold, feel cold’; *sthikhan* ~ *sithikhan* ‘lull to sleep’; *sthiphin* ‘arouse from sleep’; *sthikhi* ~ *sithikhi* ‘kill, murder’. Finally, there is a single instance of /mr-/. Table 7.8 gives the possible initial clusters in the three languages along with a possible set for Proto-Bodo.

Table 7.8 *Initial clusters of Bodo, Garo, Rabha and Proto-Bodo*

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	Proto-Bodo
pr tr kr	pr tr kr	pr tr kr	*/pr tr kr
bl br dr gr sr jr	br dr gr sr cr jr	phr khr br dr gr sr cr jr	br dr gr sr cr jr/
sl	sp st sk	[sth skh]	
	mr	mr	
	spr skr		
	[kn sn gn sl]	[gl]	

A trend noticeable in all the languages is the growth of more clusters as a result of a vowel deletion. While it is not possible to phonemise the Garo clusters /sp st sk/ in every case as is done with [kn sn gn sl] by Burling, the following sets of cognates provide evidence that a step backwards into time such a phonemic situation may have been the order in Garo:

B si-gaŋ	‘before, early’
G skaŋ	‘before, early’
R ti-kaŋ	‘before, early’
G sko	‘head’
R ti-kam	‘head’

In the above examples, Garo alone has the clusters; at least on the evidence of such cognates, it can reasonably be argued that the initial clusters with *s* as C₁ and a plosive as C₂ are the result of diachronic vowel deletion. The position gains greater credence when we consider synchronic reduction of G *sik* ‘to desire’ to just *sk-* when followed by a vowel as in: *sk-a* (-present *-a*). Similarly, borrowed *ski* ‘to learn, to teach’ (< Ass. *hikha* ‘to teach’) alternates with *sik-i*. The

growth of *s*-clusters in Rabha can also be seen even in the face of synchronic evidence as the result of vowel deletion.

A very salient feature regarding /s/ of these languages emerges from the *s*-clusters that do not have /r/ as second member. Unlike in English, the plosives following /s/ tend to retain their aspiration, phonemic or allophonic, as in the initial position. In Rabha, the *s*-clusters are invariably followed by the aspirates even if in a freely alternating clusterless form the plosive is unaspirated. The indication seems to be that /s/ of these languages is heavily fricative, inducing aspiration if not present or not letting already aspirated consonants to de-aspirate. At least in the case of Rabha there is further evidence for the strongly fricative nature of the /s/ that parallel the aspiration of the plosives. In the formation of causatives where the onsets of the causative prefixes are aspirated only if the initial consonant of the root is aspirated, roots having an initial /s/ take an aspirated consonant /kh-/ as the onset of the causative prefixes.

Although Burling gives three-member initial clusters for Garo, they are very dubious. He does not give any examples, and I have not come across any instance in the northern variety. They are totally absent in Rabha and in Bodo.

7.2 *Phoneme correlation in Bodo, Garo and Rabha vocabulary*

For the phoneme correlation between the three languages, available materials have been made use of. The materials are all of different quality and have been prepared with different frameworks. The work on Bodo by Bhattacharya (1977) with a four-tone differentiation is difficult to synchronise with others like that of Bhat (1968) which identifies two tones or that of Burling (1959) which has a glottal stop, unless one takes the highest of these four tones to be equivalent to the high tone or the glottal stop in the other frameworks. But this is apparently not possible as the correspondence does not always hold, as the instances below show:

Bhattacharya	Bhat	Mochari	
¹ phuŋ	phuŋ	phuŋ	'morning'
³ gab	gáb	gab	'to cry'
² daw	dáw	dá <u>o</u>	'bird, fowl'
¹ du	du	du	'to swell'

However, when items are drawn from these sources, they have not been altered except for using a uniform /i/ to represent the mid central vowel, regarding the nature of which there is unanimous consensus. The use of *w* and *y* as the second member of the diphthongs has also been retained if it is used in the source, as there is no way of knowing, especially in the case of *w* whether it stands for /o/ or /u/.

The language described by Bhat, while being essentially the same as that described by Bhattacharya, does have dialectal differences that need to be kept in mind. As an example involving a consonant, there are many items in the vocabulary of Bhat where items that have an initial /s/ in other sources are consistently with a /k/. Such a feature is noted by Mochari as being dialectal. Bhattacharya has only the *s*-forms. Some are borrowed while the others are native words:

kan	‘day, sun’ (< native <i>san</i>)
ka	‘human classifier’ (< native <i>sa-</i>)
kú	‘to pick, to stitch, thorn’ (< native <i>sú</i>)
ku	‘to hit with the fist’ (< native <i>su</i>)
kima	‘boundary’ (< Ass. <i>sima</i> ~ <i>xima</i>)
kiŋgo	‘lion’ (< Ass. <i>xīŋho</i>)
kasti	‘punishment’ (< Ass. <i>xasti</i>)
koman	‘smooth, level’ (< Ass. <i>xoman</i>)
kom	‘Monday’ (< Ass. <i>xombar</i>)
kontay	‘to think’ (< Ass. <i>sinta</i>)
komay	‘time’ (< Ass. <i>xomoy</i>)

As an example involving a vowel, there are several instances where the mid central /i/ appear instead of the low /a/:

ga-ran	‘dry’ (< <i>gī-rán</i> ‘dry’)
ga-dan	‘new’ (< <i>gī-dan</i> ‘new’)
ga-zam	‘old’ (< <i>gī-jam</i> ‘old’)
ga-rá	‘hard’ (< <i>gī-rá</i>)
ga-láw	‘long’ (<i>gī-láw</i>)

The second syllable of all except *gī-dan* is a free morpheme; the composite being formed with the adjectival prefix /gV-/ which in the dialect investigated by Bhat has the same vowel as the root (Bhat

1968:64), while the dialect investigated by Bhattacharya or is the basis of Mochari's dictionary has /i/ when the root has /a/ (Bhattacharya 1977: 207), although there are a few instances of the vowel being identical.

Some Bodo items are drawn from the Bodo-English Dictionary by Mochari (1984). This employs an 'h' to indicate high tone. It has also the framework that Bodo differentiates between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless plosives; it uses *k* and *kh*, *t* and *th* as well as *p* and *f*. In line with the phonemic analyses carried out for Bodo by others, when items from this dictionary are used, the high tone is marked on the vowel with an acute accent and the orthographic differentiation between the aspirated and the unaspirated voiceless plosives has been suppressed. Because of the diverse sources used, in the sections to come, the sources of Bodo entries other than that of Mochari have been indicated within brackets: DNS (Bhat, D.N.S), MM (Mochari, Moniram) and PCB (Bhattacharya, P.C.). Much of the data can be found in more than one source.

Most of the Garo items are drawn from the dictionary by Marak (1975). The glottal stop represented there by a raised dot is represented here following the pattern established by Burling (1981).

Semantic shifts that have taken place in the different languages along with phonemic shifts create difficulties for correlation. The glosses, therefore, will not always be the complete picture of the meaning of the words in individual languages. It sometimes happens that phonemically related lexemes in two languages have diverged semantically.

For an example: B has *jao* 'to winnow in a winnowing fan' and 'to row', and *sib* 'to winnow or blow off chaff with a winnowing fan'; G has *co* 'to row', and *jip* 'to winnow with a winnowing fan'; R has *cao* 'to winnow in a winnowing fan' and *jap* 'to row' and 'to winnow or blow off chaff with a winnowing fan'. The phonemic correlation would be B *jao* ≡ G *co* ≡ R *cao* and B *sib* ≡ G *jip* ≡ R *jap*. However, the semantic correlation is B *jao* ≡ G *co* ≡ R *jap* for the meaning 'to row', and B *sib*-G *jip*-R *jap* for the meaning 'to blow off chaff with a winnowing fan'. For the meaning 'to winnow in a winnowing fan' Garo has *kiʔ-rok* and R has *ki-cai* besides *cao*, giving another semantic correlation without parallel phonemic or lexemic correlation. Another example is Garo *jap* 'to pile up' which is related not to R *jap* 'to row, to winnow' but to R *jep* 'to arrange neatly' and B *jeb* 'to pile up'.

Finally, the correspondences are synchronic and are viewed from the angle of Rabha, although the Rabha etyma are placed in the last column. The headings, therefore, refer to the Rabha phonemes. These correlations do not necessarily indicate an equivalence of the phonemes discussed for all vocabulary items that are not in focus. However, they are a clear indication that at some time depth the languages made a choice for one form, differentiating it from the other related languages.

7.2.1 *The initials*

Table 7.9 gives the major phoneme correspondence sets found for the initials of Bodo, Garo and Rabha.

Table 7.9 *Phoneme correspondence sets for the initials of Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

Bodo	Garo	Rabha
high tone	glottal stop	high tone
b-	b-	p-
d-	d-	t-
s-	s-	t-
g-	g-	k-
p-	p-	ph-
h-	w-	ph-
t-	t-	th-
k-	k-	k-
b-	b-	b-
ϕ-	w-	b-
d-	d-	d-
g-	g-	g-
ϕ-	j-	c-
d-	c-	c-
j-	c-	c

Table 7.9 (cont.)

Bodo	Garo	Rabha
high tone	glottal stop	high tone
s-	s-	s-
j-	c-	s-
m-	m-	m-
m-	m-	n-
n-	n-	n-
r-	r-	r-
l-	r-	r-
h-	r-	r-
C-	Cr-	Cr-

7.2.1.1 *The voiceless aspirated plosives*

There are two general and very conspicuous patterns of phonemic shift between the three languages in the area of the plosives attested in a good number of vocabulary items that clubs together Bodo and Garo on the one hand and Rabha alone on the other:

- (1) Bodo-Garo /voiceless plosive/ \equiv Rabha /voiceless aspirated plosive/
 - (2) Bodo-Garo /voiced plosive/ \equiv /Rabha voiceless unaspirated plosive/
- or,
- (1) Bodo-Garo /p- t- k-/ \equiv Rabha /ph- th- kh-/
 - (2) Bodo-Garo /b- d- g-/ \equiv Rabha /p- t- k-/

The symbol \equiv is used rather than $<$, $>$ or $=$ not to indicate any direction or equality. Correlation (1) is clearly an instance of lenition establishing phonemic aspirates from phonemic non-aspirates having phonetic aspirates as allophones, and hence, the direction is Bodo-Garo $>$ Rabha. The direction of the other is difficult to ascertain. If one goes by the proto-forms established for some etyma by Burling, here there is an instance of fortition, the direction again being Bodo-Garo $>$ Rabha. If one goes by some of the Tibeto-Burman roots

(Benedict 1972), it appears to be an instance of lenition which is a more natural process. Whether the two correlations are independent of each other, or whether either was triggered by the other is difficult to establish. If comparable phenomenon is present in other related languages, a clue may be had. There is evidence in Bodo indicating that alternation between a voiced initial and a voiceless initial segment was seminally present in it (see 7.4.1.5). Correlation (1) was probably triggered by large-scale borrowing from Assamese having aspiration phonemic. If that be so, it is interesting that Bodo which also has a considerable amount similar loan words has not undergone this shift.

- (i) Bodo /p-/ ([ph-]) ≡ Garo /p-/ ([th-]) ≡ Rabha /ph-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
pái-tom	peʔ-dem	phé-dem	'to fold'
pan	pal	phàr	'to sell'
pán	paʔn	rá-phan	'to wrap'
paŋ	paŋ	phàŋ	'plant classifier'
² pa ¹ pli (PCB)	pakkre	phá-kron	'shoulder'
pe	pek	phék	'be affected by stimulants'
pú (DNS)	pik	phok	'to uproot'
puŋ	priŋ	phùŋ	'morning, early day'
pì	pu	phù	'to sow (seeds), to sprinkle'
pin	pin	phìn	'to cover with cloth'
pín	piʔl	phén	'to transform, to return'
poŋ-	poŋ-	phòn	'numeral prefix for number of times (R beating, B words etc.)'
pì	pu	phù	'to sow, to scatter (seeds etc.)'

Other examples involving only two languages may be added: G *pe* R *phai-dam* 'cheek'; G *pek* 'branchings' R *phék* 'small tuber-branchings on big tubers'; B *pun* G *pil* 'to anoint'; G *po-pla* R *pho-phla* 'hollow'; G *puŋ* R *phuŋ* 'be full'. There is a small set of words that have the correlation B /h-/ ≡ G /w-/ = R /ph-/. For another correlation B Ø ≡ G /w-/ ≡ R /b-/ (see 7.2.1.3).

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
ha	wa	phà	‘to rain’
hatáí	wagam	phakhám	‘tooth’
hagma	warikiŋ, warin	phakoŋ	‘gum (of teeth)’
hor	wal	phàr	‘night’
hogar	wat-at	phi-sà	‘to send’ (G causative -at)

(ii) Bodo /t-/ ([th-]) ≡ Garo /t-/ ([th-]) ≡ Rabha /th-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
tam	tam	-tham	‘three’
	tari	thari	‘to prepare, to repair’
tar (DNS)	tal	thàr	‘be clean’
-tat	tat	that ~ thá	‘to sacrifice, to kill’
tao	to	thò	‘be tasty’
tao	to	thoci ~ thuci	‘oil’
tái		thet ~ thé	*‘bear fruit’
pí-tái	te?	thé	‘fruit’
	tí?l	thír	‘to bounce off’
tóu	tu?	thú	‘be deep’
toŋ-	to?ŋ-	thón-	‘numeral prefix for pieces’

It is possible to find correlation involving two languages only: B *tab* ‘to thatch’ G *tap* ‘to stick, to paste’; B *té* ‘to block or restrain water’ G *tek* ‘to lock’; B *tí* G *tik* ‘be sufficient’; G *tok* R *thok* ‘group’ (besides G *dol* B *dilì*).

(iii) Bodo /k-/ ([kh-]) = Garo /k-/ ([kh-]) = Rabha /kh-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
ka	ka	khà	‘to tie’
ká	ka?	khá	‘be bitter’
kam	kram, dama	khàm	‘a drum’
kam	kam	khàm	‘to burn’
	ke?	khé	‘be fitting, hit target’

kán	keʔn	khén	‘to comb’
<u>ka</u> o	ko	khò	‘stitch (edge of baskets)’
<u>ká</u> o	koʔ	khó	‘to draw water’
keb	kep	khep	‘to nip, to hold between as by nippers, claws, forceps or pincers’
kó	kok	khok	‘basket’
kot	kot	khot ~ khó	‘to scoop’ R also ‘to dig’
kib	kip	khíp	‘to close, to cover’
^l ku ^l dum (PCB)	kuʔ-dim	khú-tam	‘to kiss’ (similarly the first syllable of the words related to ‘mouth, voice, language’ have a parallel correspondence in all the three languages).

There are just a few instances where a Bodo-Garo /t-/ turns up as Rabha /kh-/. Although evidenced only in a few cases, it does not appear to be just chance: B *tá* G *taʔ*- R *khàn* ‘taro, yam’ (and also found in names for many tubers); B *taŋ* G *taŋ* R *kheŋ* ‘be alive’; the word for ‘raw, unripe’ in Bodo is formed from this root with the adjectival prefix *gì-*, while G has *gít-tiŋ* and R *pí-thiŋ*, and the word for ‘green colour’ in each language is drawn on either of the two terms: B *gì-taŋ* G *taŋ-sek* R *khen-crek* ~ *khen-cér* ~ *khen-crak* (with assimilation of *-ŋ* to *-n*).

The following correspondences found mostly between two languages also belong to this class: B *kun* G *kil* ‘cotton’ (R *ham-pa*; but old people say it was *khil*); B *keb-* G *kep-* ‘general numeral prefix for number of times’ (R *cao-*); B *kón* G *koʔn* ‘to coil’; B *kii* R *khi* ‘be sour’ (G *me-seŋ*); G *kan* R *thi* *-khàn* ‘to suckle, to give to drink’; G *kari* R *kha-ri* ‘salt’ (B *soŋkri* ~ *soŋkrii*, RB 1959: *soʔŋkri*); G *ka-ro* R *kha-rok* ‘cockroach’; G *kaʔ-sa* ‘to love’ R *khá-si* ‘an echo word with the word meaning love’; G *keʔ* R *khé* ‘be appropriate, to hit target’ G *kim* R *khim* ‘to marry’ (in Rabha found only in semantically fossilised forms); G *ko-piŋ* R *kho-poŋ* ‘turban’; G *koʔ-* R *khó-* ‘numeral prefix for flat things’; G *ko-dam* R *kho-dóm* ‘pillow’; G *koʔ* ‘to cover, to close (tr.)’ R *khop* ‘to fold up (intr.)’.

It is seen that in admitting loan words, Rabha treats the initial plosives as either aspirated or unaspirated depending on the source language’s phonemic system. Garo, and probably also Bodo, reduces

them to phonetic [ph-, th-, kh-] and phonemic /p-, t-, k-/ keeping to the pattern of each of the language. Rabha examples are:

kami	‘work’
komi	‘to become less’
kona	‘corner’
khema	‘forgiveness’
khusi	‘happiness’

7.2.1.2 *The voiceless unaspirates*

(i) Bodo /b-/ ≡ Garo /b-/ ≡ Rabha /p-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
bá	baʔ	pá	‘be thin’
bá	baʔ	pak	‘to perch (as bird)’
bam		pàm	‘take in lap, embrace’
bat, bart, bár	bat	pat ~ pá	‘to go across, to cross over’
bar	bal	pàr	‘flower, to bloom’
bar	bal-wa	ram-pàr	‘wind’
bán	baʔn	pán	‘be more, plenty’
bún	biʔn	pún	‘closely placed, not sparse’
bi-d̥i	bit-ci	pi-cí	‘egg’
bon	bol	pàn	B ‘firewood’ G R ‘tree’
bet	bret	pret ~ pré	‘burst, to germinate’
bi-ka	bi-ka	pí-kha	‘liver’
	bri	pì	‘be mature’
<u>ba</u> i	bre	pì ~ p̄r	‘to buy’
	brin	p̄rìn	‘to mix’
	brimbrim	p̄rimp̄rim	‘be spotted, be multi-coloured’
	boʔn	p̄rìn	‘to be over’

There are very few examples where there is a correspondence of initial *p-* without change: B *p̄i-tai* R *p̄i-ti* ‘to believe’; B *pa-la* G *pal* R *pa-la* ‘share, shift of work’ G also ‘instead (with genitive)’.

(ii) Bodo /d-/ ≡ Garo /d-/ ≡ Rabha /t-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
da, dá (DNS)	da	tà	'negative imperative (prefix)'
da	daʔ	té	'now'
dá	dak	tak	'make, do, weave (clothes)'
daŋ	daŋ	tàŋ	'to clear grass or weeds'
dán	deʔn	tán	'to cut'
dún	duʔŋ	tún	'to be hot'
dáo	doʔ	tó	'bird'
dao-ki	do	tào	'to ascend'
don	don	tòn	'a measuring basket'
din	don	tàn	'to put down'
doŋ	doŋ	tòn	'there be, be present'
dóu	duʔ	tú	'to feed (into mouth)'
din-	din-	tin-	'classifier for long things'
dám	(dok)	tám	'to beat (drum)'
	dam	tamài	'to trim, to prune'
dii-den	dil	tìn	'to lead'
dí	dik	ták	'pot, jar'
dú	dik	tuk	'to grow thick (grass)'
du, ¹ du (PCB)	(rip-pom)	tuk	'to swell'

There appears to have been some shift that gave an initial /t-/ in Rabha while the corresponding etyma have /s-/ in Bodo and Rabha:

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
sa-lai	sre	khú-tlai	'tongue' (<i>khú-</i> prefix)
si-gaŋ	skaŋ	tì-kàŋ	'before'
si-lin	(ski)	tì-ràŋ	'to learn' (G <i>ski</i> < Ass.)
koro	sko	tì-kàm	'head' (R <i>khorok</i> 'hair')
si-lai	sre	trái	'to change, to exchange'
	srap	trap	'to catch up with, to be on time'
	sim-a ni	tìmà cì	'to divine' (G <i>ni</i> R <i>ci</i> 'to look')

G *sara* 'courtyard' and R *tala* 'flat surface' are probably so related, and *-tla* of R *cá-tla* 'courtyard' is a reduction of R *talà*, *cá-* itself

being a bound morpheme for 'leg'. It is noticed that between Bodo and Rabha, both of which have causative prefixes, such a change may be traced in a causative prefix: B *si-gab* R *thi-khap* 'cause to cry'; B *su-phuŋ* R *thu-phuŋ* 'make full'; B *si-gi* R *ti-kiri* 'frighten'; B *si-mao* R *to-mó* 'shake'. In all these examples there is correspondence between the /s-/ of the causative prefix in Bodo and the /t-/ or /th-/ of the causative prefix of Rabha. However, when the Rabha root does not begin with a voiced consonant this change is seen not be operative as the Rabha rule of agreement with regard to voicing supersedes it even when the Bodo prefix turns the voiced root-initial to voiceless for Bodo: B *si-pái* (*bái* 'break, intr.') R *di-bí* 'break, tr.'.

Into this set must be included also: (i) the B prefix *se-* and its R counterpart *tV-* that are prefixed only to some adjectives in Bodo and some bound morphs having adjectival correlation in Rabha meaning 'as . . . as': B *se-det* as big as (*det* ~ *dert* ~ *dér* 'big'); *se-gláo* 'as long as' (*gláo* < *gí* -*láo* < *láo* 'long' along with the adjectival prefix *gí* -); R *te-n-cek* 'as much as', *ti-n-tuŋ* 'as big as'; and (ii) the allomorph *-ti* of the Rabha locative morpheme *-i*, both of which, along with fossilised *-si* on morphemes like *bi-si* 'where', *u-si* 'there' and *i-si* 'here', are the reflexes of the Garo *-ci*. There are examples with the correlation B /j-/ ≡ G /c-/ ≡ R /s-/. The present correlation of G /s-/ ≡ R /t-/ is one in which Bodo has no part. The sequence of the development may be conceived as *-ci* > *-si* > *-ti* ~ *-i*. G *crok* R *trok* 'to dance' is of the same order. B *tab* R *tap* 'suddenly' is a rare instance of correspondence between initial /t-/ with out any shift.

(iii) Bodo /g-/ ≡ Garo /g-/ ≡ Rabha /k-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
gan	gan	kàn	'to wear, to put on'
gái	geʔ	kái	'to plant'
gaŋ	graŋ	krèn	'wing, feather'
gao	go	kò	'to throw'
gar	gal	kò	'to discard, to throw away'
	gaʔl-de	kir-dé	'star-fruit'
guntun	giŋtiŋ	kumpák	'nose'

(B *-n-* and R *-m-* in the above example are the result of consonant assimilation. All the languages have words having *-ŋ-* and having

meaning related to ‘nose’ that correlate: B *guŋ-kí* G *gìŋ-kí* R *kuŋ-ǰí* ‘mucus’ (R only ‘dried mucus’); B *guŋ-tíí* G *gìŋ-sí* R *kuŋ-sí* ‘blood or bleeding from nose’.)

gón	goʔl-dik	kón	‘stick’
goŋ	groŋ	kròŋ	‘horn’
be-gen	greŋ	kín-juŋ	‘bone’
goi	gue	kùì	‘betel nut’

There are many more lexemes between Garo and Rabha that are correlatable: G *gap* R *kap* ‘be full’; G *gim-be* R *kìm-bai* ‘pot for water’; G *gip* R *kíp* ‘to spread, to cover’; G *goʔm* R *kóm* ‘to enclose’; G *goŋ-ge* R *kón-ke* ‘to be bent’ (related to this G also has *koʔŋ-ke* B has *goŋ* and *koŋ-kai*).

There are a few exceptions involving either Rabha *k-* or *kh-*: B *gab* G *grap* R *khap* (instead of the expected *kap*) ‘to cry’; G *kaʔ-ma* R *ká-ma* (expected *khá-ma*) ‘below, underneath’; B *gel* G *kaʔl* R *khèr* ‘to play’; G *kim-kim* R *khìm-khìm* ‘firm, stable’ (B has *gi-gim* which is probably prefix *gi-* and *gim*); B *kundi* R *kundi* ‘bamboo reinforcement on the edge of woven articles’. Another very special instance of exceptional correlation is B *kí* G *kiʔ-i* R *ǰí* ‘faeces (R also ‘body dirt, waste etc.)’.

7.2.1.3 Voiced plosives

Although many instances of initial voiced plosives of B and G correspond with an unaspirated voiceless plosive of R, there are examples where R has the same voiced plosive. The phonetic motivation that led to the shift of only some initial B G voiced plosives to R voiceless unaspirated plosives is presently not clear. There ought to be some reason behind this phenomenon which the present analysis has not been able to unearth.

- (i) Bodo /b-/ ≡ Garo /b-/ ≡ Rabha /b-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
bá	baʔ	bá	B G ‘bear offspring’ R ‘be pregnant’
bV-	bV-	bV-	‘most of the interrogatives’
bada	bada	badà	‘bunch’ (< Ass.)

	bade	batàì	'to cross beyond the limit'
bagrai		bagràì	B 'to overthrow' R 'to fall'
bái	beʔ	bí	'to break (intr.)'
	bam	bàm	'to obey, to submit oneself'
	bam	bòm	'to brood' R also 'to swim'
basi	base	basài	'to select' (< Ass.)
bén	beʔn	bán	B 'to guard' G R 'to block'
bĩrsi	(mĩlsi)	bũrsi	'fishing hook'
bĩlĩ	bil	bĩl	'strength'
bĩ	(sal)	bĩt ~ bí	'to pull'

A set of R lexemes having initial /b-/ have /w-/ in the G cognates and a vowel in the B cognates. It was seen earlier that some Rabha initial /ph-/ is correlatable with G /w-/ and B /h-/ (see 7.2.1.1).

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
oʔ-ma (RB 59)	wak	bak	'pig'
oʔ-a (RB 59)	waʔ-a, waʔ-	bá	'bamboo' (Weidert gives <i>o-aʔ</i>)
on	wan-ci	bam-ci	'rice flour' G also 'yeast'
	waŋ	bàn	'paternal uncle'
<u>eo</u>	we	bàì	'to plough' G also 'to creep'
	wa-tek	bu-tuk	'be blunt'
	wiʔ	bí	'to cook in banana leaf'
ún	wiʔl	bín	'to whet'
ot, ort, ór	waʔ-al, waʔl-	bár	'fire'

A mixed example is B *ha-suŋ* G *waʔ-siŋ* R *bákok* 'bamboo tube used for keeping things in'. The expected B form should have been *oʔa-suŋ*. In a few instances Rabha has *b-* while G lacks it: G *ok* R *bók-dam* 'stomach' (B *udĩ*); G *oʔ* R *bó* 'to clear jungle'. B *bi-pa* G *pa-* R *ba-* is a rare instance where Rabha *b-* correlates with Bodo-Garo *p-*. In Garo *baba* 'dad' is used as an address term.

(ii) /d-/

Examples that involve unchanged correlation of /d-/ in all the three languages are difficult to come by. The only instance is of B G R

-de 'suffix meaning O.K.'. A few instances involving two languages can be found (mainly Garo and Rabha): G *dan* R *don* 'ear, cluster (pulses, grains)' (B *mai-dan*); G *daʔη* R *dán* 'to enter' (also G *naʔ B hab*); G *dap* R *dap* 'to bury' R 'be buried (intr.)'; G *dipet* R *dɛp a* 'postposition meaning upto'; G *daldal* R *dıldil* 'tender(ly) (baby, new shoots)'; G *dilʔdil* R *dãrdãr* 'with shiver (tremble)'; B *dùm* G *dìʔm* 'to plant fence, partition etc.'

In a few instances Rabha has a *d-* while Garo (in some cases also Boro) lacks it: G *an* R *dan* 'to spread (tr.)'; G *am* R *dàm* 'mat' (B *em*); G *ak* R *dak* 'to pluck'; G *ok* R *dok* 'to remove, to take out'; G *oʔη* R *dó* ~ *dón* 'be, be true'; G *eη* 'to untie' R *deη* 'to untie, to set free' B *éη* 'to untie' (unexpected high tone)

There are a few exceptions where none of the larger regular patterns is kept: B *dan* G *dan* R *then* 'to touch' (expected R *ten*); B *tón* G *doʔl* R *thón* 'to roll up' and B *pái-* tom G *peʔ-dem* R *phé-dem* 'to fold' (expected *d-* in Bodo and *t-* in Rabha).

(iii) Bodo /g-/ ≡ G /g-/ ≡ R /g-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
goη	goʔη	gòn	'be willing'
go-rot-	grok-	grok-	'numeral prefix for a draught'
gu-má	guk	guk	'grasshopper'
	grim	grìm	'stony land' R also 'bush-land'
gu-m̄i	gu-me	gi-mì, gi-mì	'elder sister's husband'
grìm	grimgrim	grímgrím	'in a body, in large numbers'

To this may be added B *gá* G *gaʔ-ak* 'to break off (and fall) and B *gú* G *goʔ-ok* 'to come off (and fall as hair)' both of which in R is *dogot* ~ *dogó* 'to come off (and fall)'; B *ga* G *ga* 'to ride (animal, vehicle)'; B *gab* R *gap* 'colour' (G *ron*); B *gá* G *gá* 'to trample, to tread' which is present in R *gadagrít* ~ *gadagrí* 'to trample violently' (the lack of high tone might mean it is related to G *ga* 'to force ones way, to attack').

There appear to be many more examples of such correlation possible between Garo and Rabha: G *gel* R *gèr* 'to avoid'; G *gat* R *gat*

~ *gá* 'to load'; G *ge?* R *gó-* 'generic classifier'; G *gil* R *gír* 'to collect'; G *gínél* R *gì -nàl* 'crocodile'; G *gun-gre* R *gun-gár* 'mucus' (in many other words related to 'nose' R has *k-*); G *gom* R *gom* 'to bend downward, to droop'; G *gre* 'to spill over' R *grè* 'to be in excess'; G *grep* 'to sink and fall to the bottom' R *grop* 'to sink and settle'.

7.2.1.4 *The affricates and the fricative*

Shifts appear to have taken place involving the affricates and the fricatives of the three languages. The voiceless affricate is absent in Bodo. The /z-/ , represented here as /j-/ , established for Bodo is phonetically an affricate. The Rabha initials are correlated with those of Bodo and Garo.

7.2.1.4.1 *The affricate /c-/*

The following patterns of correlation are found:

- (i) B \emptyset \equiv G /j-/ \equiv R /c-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
(bi-lái)	bi-jak	cak	'leaf'
akái	jak	cak-, (tási)	'hand'
a-ten	ja?-a, ja?-	cá-, (táthen)	'leg'
asigur, asikur	jakskil, ja?skil	cácakor	'nail (of fingers and toes)'
aktam, agtam	jakstem	cácakom	'ring'
-a	-ja	-ca	'negative suffix'
asi	jaksi	(tásikhu)	'finger'
² a- ¹ tiŋ (PCB)	ja?-ten	(táthen)	'leg'

Evidently Rabha does not have free lexemes meaning 'leg' and 'hand' that bear this correlation. Bodo and Garo have many more words having this correlation, and they all have meanings related to 'hand' and 'leg' for which Rabha has words having its present free lexemes having the same meanings as base: G *jak-pa* B *a-pa* 'palm, paw' (R *tási talà*); G *jak-a-si* B *ag-si* 'left-hand side'; B *ag-da* G *jak-ra* 'right-hand side' (R *maísálan*); G *jaksku* B *antu* 'knee' (R *táthen gerók*); G *jakamboŋ* B *akanti* 'forearm')

(ii) B /d-/ ≡ G /c-/ ≡ R /c-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
d̄ī	ci	cikà	‘water’
d̄ī	ciʔ	cit ~ cí	‘to lay egg’
bi-d̄ī	bit-ci	pi-cí	‘egg’

There is some indeterminacy with the Bodo lexeme, as it is sometimes marked with different tones to mean ‘egg’ and ‘juice’; Garo has the same word to mean both, and Rabha has *ran-ciŋ* ‘juice’. Another example of this correlation where Rabha has totally different lexeme is: B *d̄ī* G *ciʔ* R *sim* ‘be sweet’.

(iii) B /j-/ ≡ G/c-/ ≡ R/c-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
j̄ou	cu	cokó (< cu-kó)	‘rice-beer’
j̄ou	cu	cù	‘be tall, be high’
j̄ú	cuʔ	cú	‘to wrap in leaf, paper etc.’
jí	cit	cet ~ cé	‘B be torn, G R to tear (tr.)’
jam	git-cam	mai-càm	‘old’
ja-jen	aʔ-ba-ceŋ	há-ba còŋ, còŋ	‘to begin’
re-jen	ceʔŋ	céŋ	‘be light’
jé	cek	cek	‘fishing net’
j̄iŋ	ciŋ	cìŋ	‘we’

The following sets too belong here although there is either greater semantic deviation or the set is not complete:

jan		càn	‘B place pot on fire for cooking R keep pot of rice-beer for brewing’
j̄áo	coʔ	(khot ~ khó)	‘to dig’ (B <i>kut</i> G <i>kot</i> ‘to dig, to scoop’)
jom	(tim)	còm	‘to lay in wait’
jum	cin	còn	‘to wear (as shawl or shirt)’
j̄ib	cip	cip	‘to close’ B also ‘be over’
j̄iŋ	ciʔŋ	(nài)	‘be bright’

There are many more examples of correspondence between Garo and Rabha: G *ceŋ* R *~ cen-tlèn* 'tamarind'; G *can* R *cìn* 'to lay a makeshift bridge'; G *cat* R *cat ~ cá* 'to fix a handle, to be thick' (B *rì -ja* G *rit-ca* 'be thick' are related to G *cat* R *cat ~ cá* 'be thick'); G *caʔ-ri* R *cá-ri* 'seed for planting'. The correspondence in B *nai* G *ni* R *cì* 'to look' is totally different and is not found attested in any other set, and the correlation B *sú* G *cik* R *cik* 'be cold (things)' is a deviation of the correspondence discussed above in that Boro has *s-* instead of the expected *j-*. However, the vowel correspondence and the high tone in the Bodo cognate are regular, and the semantic content is unmistakably the same.

7.2.1.4.2 Affricate /j-/

Various phonemic shifts have wiped out the possibility of any correlation of the initial /j-/. A rare exception seems to be B *jab* G *jap* R *jep* 'to arrange, to pile up'. The relative pronoun B *je*, *jaí* G *je* R *ja* is a borrowed element. There is one instance of Rabha /j-/ appearing as /j-/ in Bodo and as /c-/ in Garo: B *ján* G *ceʔl* R *ján* 'be far'. Another instance of Rabha /j-/ turns up as /j-/ in Garo but as /g-/ in Bodo: B *gó* G *jok* R *jok* 'to escape'. There are, however, several instances of correlation between Garo and Rabha words: G *jam* R *jam* 'granary'; G *ju-man* R *jě -man* 'dream'; G *jip* R *jap* 'to winnow, to wave' (B *sib*); G *jiʔm* R *jím* 'to loiter, to roam'; G *jot* R *jot ~ jó* 'to pierce through, to point'; G *jik-se* R *jík-sai* 'husband and wife'. The components of the Garo form *jik-se* are synchronically regular words in Garo: G *jik* 'wife', *se* 'husband'. In Rabha, *jík* is found in fossilized expressions, the normal word for 'wife' being *mí-cik*; *sai* meaning 'husband' is not used in synchronic Rabha, for which the word is *imba*.

7.2.1.4.3 Fricative /s-/

The following inter-language correlations are found:

- (i) Rabha /s-/ ≡ Garo /s-/ ≡ Bodo /s-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
sa	sa	sà	'have pain'
sa	sa	sai	'to set a trap'
sá	sak	phi -sák	'to twist (as for making rope)'
san	sal	sàn	'day' B G also 'sun' R <i>raŋsaŋ</i> 'sun'
sao	sao	sào	'curse'

<u>sào</u>	soʔ	só	‘to burn, tr.’
suŋ	(kaʔn-dik)	sòŋ	‘be short’
se	sa	-sá	‘one’
<u>seo</u>	so	sò	‘to rot’
seb	sep	sep	‘to squeeze, to press out’
sín	(see 7.3.4.1)	sén	‘waist’
sam	samsi	sàm	‘grass’
sat	sat	set ~ sé	‘to drain water’; B G also ‘to sprinkle’
só (DNS)	sok	sok	‘to reach’
són	soʔŋ	són	B G ‘to cook’ R ‘to place of fire for cooking’
sú	sik	suk	‘to blow air, to stitch, to string up (as garland)’
sí	sik	sik	‘to insert in, to press in’
<u>sóu</u>	suʔ	sú	‘to pound, to strike’
sú	suʔ	sú	‘to stab, to pierce, to pound’ B G also ‘to wash (clothes)’
<u>sou</u>	su	sù	‘to butt, to gore’
sua	sua	suà	‘profanation’
sún	(see 7.1.3.4.1)	sún	‘to prop’
sím	siʔm	sím	B G ‘to soak’ R ‘be wet (intr.)’
sín	siʔŋ	sín	‘to ask’
sìr	sil	sìr	‘iron (metal)’

There are a few items attested only in two languages, but which belong to this group: G *soŋ* R *sòŋ* ‘village’ (B *gami*); B *saikoŋ* R *sánkoi* ‘a makeshift bridge’ (G *jaʔl-an*); B *som-pir* R *só-niŋ* ‘day after tomorrow’ (G expresses it phrasally). There is but one isolated example of the possible correlation B /t-/ ≡ G /s-/ ≡ R /s-/ in B *tíi* G *si* R *si* ‘to die.’ To this may be added another isolated but related case of B *tíi* G *anʔ-ci* R *sí* ‘blood’.

(ii) Bodo /j-/ ≡ Garo /c-/ ≡ Rabha /s-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
já	caʔ	sá	‘to eat’
já	git-cak	sak	‘be read’
	cak	sak	‘have enough room or place’

7.2.1.5 *The nasals*

There are a considerable number of comparable lexemes having unchanged initial nasals. There are but a few minor shifts. The nasal /ŋ/ does not occur word-initially in any of the three languages.

(i) Bodo /m-/ ≡ Garo /m-/ ≡ R /m-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
ma-	maŋ-	màŋ-	'numerical prefix for animals'
<u>mai</u>	me-, mi	mài	'paddy'
magna	magna	magnà	'in vain'
man	mal	màn	'to crawl, to creep'
mia	mejal	mià	'yesterday'
mono, molon	minok	monok	'to swallow'
muŋ	bi-miŋ	mùŋ	'name'
mín	maʔn	mán	'to get'
mi-	mat-	má-	'first syllable in many names of animals' G also 'squirrel'
min	min	mìn	'be cooked'
maoʃi	meŋgo	miŋkú	'cat'
mú	mik	muk	'an arm-length'
mú	mik		'to fumigate'
mini	(kaʔ-diŋ)	mini	'to laugh'
ma	<u>mai</u>	(ata)	'what'
mìn	mik-mal	màr	'be familiar, be domesticated'

There are more examples found in Garo and Rabha: G *mat* R *mat* ~ *má* 'be sharp, to be wounded'; G *moʔŋ* 'to urge, to persuade' R *mún* 'to desire'; G *miʔ-ci* ~ *meʔci* 'gravy, soup' R *mí* 'curry, vegetable'. There are just a few instances where R turns up with an unexpected /n-/: B *mì* -*kaŋ* G *mik-kaŋ* R *núkhaŋ* 'face'; B *megon* G *mikgron* ~ *mikron* R *neken* 'eye'.

(ii) Bodo /n-/ ≡ Garo /n-/ ≡ Rabha /n-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
kì -na	kna	nà	‘to hear’
ná	naʔ-tok, naʔ-	ná	‘fish’
ná	nak	nak	‘to thresh, to tread’
nú (DNS)	nik	nuk	‘to see’
naŋ	naŋ	nàŋ	B G ‘be useful, be necessary, to hit target, to stick to’ R ‘be useful, come handy’
nó	nok	nok	‘house’
nìŋ	naʔ-a, naʔŋ	nánŋ	‘you (singular)’
-nì	-na	<-na>	‘dative suffix’
-nì	-ni	<-ni>	‘genitive suffix’
-nì	-na	<-na>	‘infinitive suffix’

There are more correctable words between Garo and Rabha: G *nal* ‘to gorge’ R *nàn* ‘be capable of producing satiety if eaten in large quantity’; G *nat* R *nat* ~ *ná* ‘to scour’ (B *nat* ‘to press against, to thrust against’); G *nam* R *nèm* ‘be good’; G *niam* ‘to search’ (probably from *nì* ‘to look’ and *aʔm* ‘to search, to ask for, to want to’; *sandi* ‘to search’ is the word used in present-day Garo) G *nam* ‘to ask, to request’. In one exceptional case each, Boro and Rabha turn up with an /m-/: G *neʔŋ* R *néh* B *mén* ‘be tired’; B *bi-nanao* ‘small sister’ G *nono* ‘small sister’ R *momò* ‘small sister or brother’.

7.2.1.6 *The trill and the lateral*

The Garo trill and the lateral are in complementary distribution; the former occurs only initially, and the latter, only finally. Consequently the possible combinations are reduced. The following correlations are seen.

(i) Bodo /r-/ ≡ Garo /r-/ ≡ R /r-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
rán	raʔn	rán	‘to be dry’
rá	rak	rak	‘be hard’
raì-dìŋ	re	rè	‘cane, cane’

ran	roʔn	rón	B R 'to divide G 'to give' (strangely B has no tone)
ru	rit	rot ~ ró	'to boil'

The following that are attested only in two languages probably belong to this group: B *rao* R *rao* 'voice'; B *rua* G *rua* 'axe'; B *rìŋ* R *rìŋ* 'to know'; B *rob* 'to get weak' R *rop* 'to wither (grain etc.)'.

(ii) Bodo /l-/ ≡ Garo /r-/ ≡ Rabha /r-/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
lú	rik	(hàm)	'to build'
lu	ru	(khù)	'to pour'
lí	rik	rú-bok	B G 'necklace, garland' (R <i>rúbok</i> 'a waist-band of white beads'; <i>bok</i> 'be white')
lìŋ	rìŋ	rìŋ	'to drink'
(kon)	riʔŋ	caì-rùŋ	'to sing (strangely no tone in R')
lá	raʔ	rá	'to take'
lá-bì	raʔ-ba	rá-ba	'to bring'
lán	raʔ-aŋ	rán	'to take away'
láì	reʔ-	rái, ré-	'banana leaf' (see also 7.1.3.4.1)
lama	rama	ràm	'path'
lam	ram	ràm	'to dry in the sun'
láo	roʔ	ró	'be long'
lab	rap	rap	B G 'to roof' R 'to weave'
leb	rep		'to peel, to slice'

G *rìŋ* R *rùŋ* 'boat' also belongs here, for which B has a borrowed *nao* 'boat'. Both in Bodo and Rabha there are words that have an alternation *l- ~ r-* as in: B *ruat ~ luat* 'leech' (G *ruat*, R *bosén*, *buruk*); R *langré ~ rangré* 'moon' (B *okapír* G *jaŋon*); R *libak ~ rúbak* 'frog'.

(iii) B /h-/ ≡ G /r-/ ≡ R /r-/

There are just a few examples of this pattern. Nevertheless it is a significant one that probably has a greater time depth than the other apparent shifts that are more easily noticed and also more easily

explained. The fact that the vowel and tone features correlate as in the rest of the corpus makes the correlation even more pertinent. A similar correlation B /h-/ \equiv G /w-/ \equiv R /ph-/ is discussed in 7.2.1.1.

Bodo Garo		Rabha	
hóm	riʔm	rám	‘to catch, to capture’
hom	(soʔŋ)	rám	B ‘to cook by steam’ R ‘to cook’ (Boro has <i>ru</i> ‘to cook, to boil’. This correlates with G <i>rit</i> ‘to boil’ R <i>rot</i> ~ <i>ró</i> ‘to boil’.)
hó	rok	(khrok)	‘to shave or to scrape’
hí	rik	rok	B G ‘to hunt, to chase, to urge ahead (cattle etc.)’ R ‘to drive cattle, to carry things in’
ha	rat	rat ~ rá	‘to cut, to reap’
heb	(wat)	rap	‘to weave, to intertwine’

(iv) B /l-/ \equiv R /l-/

Bodo Garo		Rabha	
lebra	(jakasi)	lebrà ~ lebrán	B ‘left-handed’ R ‘left-hand side’
liŋliŋ	(roʔ-reŋ)	liŋliŋ	‘slender and long’
l <u>ə</u> o	(budu, wegipa)	l <u>ə</u> o	‘creeper’

Initial *r*-deletion is noticed in isolated instances in both Garo and Bodo, but not in Rabha: B *ontái* G *roʔŋ-te* R *rón-ka* ‘stone’; B *lái* G *eʔ-sal* R *rái* ‘banana leaf’; B *ran* (expected high tone) ‘to divide, to distribute’ G *oʔn* (attested also as *roʔn*) ‘to give’ (*raʔ-ron* ‘to divide, to distribute’) R *rón* ‘to divide, to distribute’. Burling (1959: 447) cites B *p̄ii* G *i-(ʔ)* ‘come’ as an example of the correspondence *ii > B ii G *i*. This is not convincing. G *i-(ʔ)* is a variant of the normal *reʔ-ba* ‘come’ that is phonetically heard as [riʔ-ba] and as [iʔ-ba] as a result of *r*-deletion that is mentioned above. As a matter of fact *p̄ii*

'come' is never encountered in Garo. In Rabha, its counterpart *phoi* is used only as a hortative and never as a regular verb. Nevertheless the rule established by Burling holds in other examples.

7.2.1.7 *The initial clusters*

Initial clusters are found in all the three languages. However, etyma that can be correlated inter-lingually are few. A noticeable pattern is of a Garo-Rabha cluster that is simplified in Bodo.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
bab	brap	prap	B 'be salty' G 'be too salty' R 'be caustic'
bet, bert, bér	bret	pret ~ pré	'to burst, to explode' R B also 'to germinate'
<u>bai</u>	bre	pri ~ pìr	'to buy'
beṅ	dim-breṅ	prèṅ	'be straight'
gaṅ	graṅ	krèṅ	'wing, feather'
goṅ	groṅ	kròṅ	'horn'

Some etyma are attested only in two languages: B *gí* G *grik* 'be clear, be transparent (liquid)'; B *jé-jé* R *jrek-jrek* 'heavily (rain)'; B *sab* R *srap* 'to swoop down and carry off (as hawk)'; B *gi* -*bra* R *drá* 'rough, coarse' (G has something close to it in *me-gra* ~ *mi-gra* 'coarse rice, where *me-* ~ *mi-* 'rice').

A few instances show other variations or simplifications in languages other than Bodo: B *gab* G *grap* R *khap* 'to cry'; B *puṅ* G *prin* R *phùn* 'morning', B *be-geṅ* G *greṅ* R *kín-juṅ* 'bone'; G *baṅsi* R *braṅ-siṅ* 'flute'.

There are a few lexemes that are found in different languages without cluster simplification: B *sráo* R *sráo-sráo* 'many, in great number'; B *lan-tri* 'a series or a set of things in succession' R *lín-thri* 'contiguously or without interruption'; B *le-brà* 'left-handed person' R *le-bra* 'left-hand side' (probably from Assamese). B *sa-lai* G *sre* R *khú-tlai* 'tongue' where the cluster in the Bodo cognate is simplified not by deletion but by the presence of a vowel is an indication that clusters may have developed in these languages mainly as a result of vowel deletion. This is a phenomenon that is noticeable in the three languages even as a synchronic feature. G has also *-sare* instead of

sre in *waʔl-sare* ~ *waʔl~sre* ‘flame (tongue of fire)’ parallel to B *ór-salai* R *bár-khú-tlai* ‘flame’.

7.2.1.8 Presence or absence of an initial consonant

Besides the instances that already been pointed out in various relevant places of some initial consonants that have been dropped or inserted in one language or the other, there are some Bodo lexemes that dialectically either have or lack an initial *n*-. *nagtam* ~ *aktam* ‘ring’, *nakai* ~ *akái* ‘hand’, *nakanti* ~ *akanti* ‘arm’, *napa* ~ *apa* ‘sole of foot’, *nakob* ~ *akob* ‘back of knee’, *napakon* ~ *apakon* ‘the hollow of palm or sole’. All these instances have *jaʔ*- ‘leg’ or *jak* ‘hand’ in Garo and *cá*- in Rabha if the cognates are present. There is another set of B words, mostly having meanings related to ‘rain, sky, moon etc.’ having such alternation: *oka* ~ *noka* ‘rain’, *okapír* ~ *nokapír* ‘moon’, *okran* ~ *nokran* ‘sky’. B *non-gou* ‘be true’ is probably related to G *oʔn* ‘be, be true, become’ through *n*-insertion. Rabha too may have had at least some instances of an alternation involving initial *n*-. R *ak* ‘be black’ has its cognates neither in Boro nor in Garo (B *gi-sim* G *gi-sim* ‘black’) but in Atong *bi-nak* and Wanang *pe-nek* (Burling 1959:440). Rabha seems to have lost the *n*-.

Although the phenomena of C-insertion are attested only in a few instances in synchronic situation, it may reasonably be argued that these are the last flickering of what must have been in some earlier stage a larger conflagration that affected a bigger number of lexemes.

7.2.2 The final consonants

The major phoneme correspondence sets for the finals of Bodo, Garo and Rabha are given in Table 7.10

Table 7.10 Phoneme correspondence sets for finals of Bodo, Garo and Rabha

Bodo	Garo	Rabha
-b	-p	-p
-t ~ rt ~ high tone r	-t	-t /-V ~ high tone/-C
Ø	-t	-t/-V ~ high tone/-C

Table 7.10 (*cont.*)

Bodo	Garo	Rabha
high tone	-k	-k
-m	-m	-m
-n	-n	-n
-n	-l	-n
ŋ	ŋ	-ŋ
-r	-l	-r

7.2.2.1 /-p/

The only correlation that is found, is B /-b/ \equiv G /-p/ \equiv R /-p/. This is in consonance with the Bodo phonotactic situation of having final voiced plosives instead of the voiceless plosives as is the case with Garo and Rabha.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
bab	brap	prap	'be salty, be caustic'
seb	sep	sep	'to squeeze out'
seb	cep	cep	'be narrow, be flat'
ma-gab	me-gap	ma-káp	'hay'
keb	kep	khep	'to hold between as by pincers, nippers etc.'
kip	kip	khip	'to close, to cover'
tob	top	thop	B 'to make nest' G R 'nest, shelter'
gab	grap	khap	'to cry'
jib	cip	cip	'to shut in' B also 'be over'
jab	jap	jep	'to arrange, to pile up'

The following are found only in Bodo and either Garo or Rabha: B *gab* R *gap* 'colour'; B *bi-kob* G *bi-kop* 'shell, covering' (related to G *kop* R *khop* 'be folded up'); B *leb* G *rep* 'to cut, to peel' B *deb* 'to bend, to lean' G *dep* 'to press'; B *tab* R *tap* 'suddenly, immediately'; R *sab* R *srap* 'to swoop down and carry off as by a hawk'. B *sib* G *jip* R *jap* 'to winnow' are probably related although there are other

semantically and phonemically intersecting lexemes in all the three languages (see 7.2). There are many lexemes in Garo and Rabha in which the correlation of the final /-p/ is found.

7.2.2.2 /-t/

The absence of voiceless plosives in the final position in Bodo leaves very few lexemes that can be correlated across all the three languages. Mochari, however, records many words as having three alternants either having a final *-t* or a final *-rt* or a final *-r* with the preceding vowel having a high tone. In a few instances there is a fourth alternant with final *-d* as is the case with B *nat* ~ *nart* ~ *nár* ~ *nad* ‘to push, to thrust against’. All such words have a final *-r* in Bhattacharya. The observation of Mochary is pertinent, as many such lexemes having the said alternation turn out to have a final *-t* in Garo and in Rabha. This gives the first correlation of the final *-t*. In the area of R verb roots, a root-final /-t/ is retained only when followed by a vowel.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
kut, kurt, kúr	kot	khot ~ khó	‘to scoop’ R also ‘to dig’
bet, bert, bér	bret	pret ~ pré	‘to burst, to explode’
nat, nart, nár, nad	nat	nat ~ ná	B ‘to push, to thrust against, to press against’ G R ‘to scour’
bat, bart, bár	bat	pat ~ pá	‘to go across, to go beyond’
-tat, tart, -tár	tat	that ~ thá	‘to sacrifice, to kill’

The Bodo cognate in the above example is not a free morpheme but is found in *bú-tat* ‘to beat to death’ (*bú* ‘to beat’), *si-tat* ‘to kill’ and *pi-tat* ‘to cause to die’. In a minor twist to the correlation, a few of such alternating lexemes of Bodo have *-l* in Garo and *-r* in Rabha:

- B *sit* ~ *sirt* ~ *sír* ‘to pour from a vessel’ R *sír* ‘to pour into a vessel’
 B *ot* ~ *ort* ~ *ór* G *waʔ-al*, *waʔl-* R *bár* ‘fire’

This poses a problem for determining the direction of the Bodo alternation as either $-t > -rt > -r$ (with high tone) or as $-r$ (with high tone) $> -rt > -t$. Both $-t$ being the starting point or the end point have a problem as voiceless plosives are not present finally in Bodo. If the direction is $-t > -rt > -r$, then these represent the final stage of the disappearance of the voiceless final plosives. If the direction be $-r > -rt > -t$, then it must be considered the beginning of a further change admitting final voiceless plosives. The former appears to be more plausible. Bodo lexemes having such alternation of the final $-t \sim -rt \sim -r$ (with high tone) for which Garo has $-l$ and Rabha has $-r$ are probably analogical productions, and their actual links lie with the Garo-Rabha $-r$ or $-l$.

B *kat* \sim *kart* \sim *kár* 'to run away, to flee' is certainly cognate with G *kat* 'to run' following the first pattern. The Rabha word having the same meaning is *jar* 'to run away, to flee'. This lone Rabha example seems to indicate that the Rabha $-r$ too was a part of the alternation presently noticeable in Bodo. The correlation linking Rabha /j-/ to Bodo-Garo /k-/ is seen in another instance: B *kí* G *ki?* $-i$, *ki?* R *jí* 'faeces, excreta, waste'.

A few lexemes follow the pattern B $-\emptyset \equiv$ G $/-t/ \equiv$ R $/-t/$. In these instances neither is the above mentioned alternation nor a high tone (except in one case) on the preceding vowel present in the Bodo cognates. At least in one instance Garo too loses the final $-t$: *rit-ca* (see below)

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
ru	rit	rot \sim ró	'to boil'
ha	rat	rel	'to cut, to reap, to harvest'; in R only as an echo word with <i>khán</i> 'cut, harvest'
ri-ja	rit-ca, cat	cat \sim cá	'be thick'
<u>dái</u>	ci?	cit \sim cí	'to lay egg'
<u>mao</u>	mo	mot \sim mó	'to move'
né	(ni-tim)	net \sim né	'to guard, to watch'

It is difficult to conclude whether the final $-t$ of R *do-gót* \sim *do-gó* 'to come out, to rise' and *da-gat* \sim *da-gá* 'to fall off' is an exceptional

mutation by replacement of the final *-k* of G *goʔ -ok* ‘to come off’ *gaʔ-ak* ‘to fall, to fall off’. The Bodo cognates *gó* and *gá* respectively would indicate that a *-k* has been deleted. Another instance of correlation involving a final *-t* is the syllable in names of animals (see 7.3.6.1)

7.2.2.3 /-k/

The absence of the final voiceless plosive in Bodo has a different impact in the lexemes where Garo and Rabha cognates have a final *-k*. The reflex of the final *-k* is not *-g* (unlike in the case of *-p* that is found as *-b*), nor is it just absent. Instead, the preceding vowel of the Bodo lexemes come to have the high tone (see 7.1.3.4.3). Words having a final *-k* in Garo and Rabha that are correlatable are many.

A special instance where the final /-k/ in Rabha is correlatable with a glottal stop in Garo and high tone in Bodo is G *bá* G *baʔ* R *pak* ‘to perch, to settle (as bird, fly etc.)’. In Bodo and Garo the same words have other meanings that are rendered in Rabha by a correlatable *bá*. This correlation between the glottal stop and /k/ seems to be present also in G *jaʔ-a, jaʔ-* ‘leg’ and R *caka, cá-* ‘leg’. While the present normal word for ‘leg’ in Rabha is *tá-then*, *caka* ‘leg’ is found in a few fossilised expressions, and *cá-* having unambiguous meaning ‘leg’ is found in some compounds (see 3.3).

In assimilating loan words Bodo either turns a final voiceless plosive into a voiced plosive or adds a final vowel, while Garo and Rabha turn final voiced and voiceless aspirated plosives into voiceless plosives: B *jug* R *juk* ‘age, era’; B *dag* R *dàk* ‘sign, mark’; B *mulug* R *muluk* ‘province, region’; B *duku* G *duk* R *duk* ‘sorrow’; B *suku* G *suk* R *suk* ‘happiness, satisfaction’.

7.2.2.4 /-m/

The final *-m* is a very stable consonant. The only pattern that is found between the three languages is of correlation without any change.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
gi-jam	git-cam	m̄ai-càm	‘old’
kam	kam	khàm	‘to burn (intr.)’
kam	kram	khàm	‘a drum’

lam	ram	ràm	'to put to dry'
sím	siʔm	sím	B G 'to wet' (tr.) R 'be wet'
sam	sam, sam-si	sàm	'grass'
em	am	dàm	'mat'
-tam	git-tam	-tham	'three'
hóm	rín	rín	'to catch, to capture'
hom	(soʔŋ)	rím	B 'to cook by vapour'
			R 'to cook'
dám	(dok)	tám	'to beat (drum, instruments)'

In one instance both Bodo and Garo have an epenthetic vowel: B *lama* G *rama* R *ram* 'path'. At syllable or morpheme boundary, however, some assimilatory morphophonemic changes are noticed: R *sán-khor* 'mortar' (< *sám-khor*) 'mortar'; G *wan-ci* 'rice-flour' (< *wam-ci*; R *bam-ci* 'rice-flour').

7.2.2.5 /-n/

The final /-n/ presents two patterns: The first pattern is where all the three languages have unchanged /-n/.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
mín	maʔn	mán	'to get'
mín	mín	mín	'be ripe, be cooked'
rán	raʔn	rán	'be dry'
gan	gan	kàn	'to put on, to wear'
hín	in	ìn	'to say'
dán	deʔn	tán	'to cut'
dín	don	tàn	'to put down'
pin	pin	phìn	'to cover with cloth'

B *jum* G *cin* R *cin* 'to wrap oneself in cloth or dress' is an exception in that Bodo has /-m/. The second pattern has the correlation B /-n/ ≡ G /-l/ ≡ R /-n/.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
bon	bol	pàn	B 'firewood' G R 'tree, wood'
d̥i-den	dil	tìn	'to lead'
san	sal	sàn	'day' B G also 'sun'

pín	piʔl-	phén	‘to change, to transform’
gón	goʔ-ol, goʔl-	kón	‘stick, twig’
man	mal	màn	‘to crawl, to creep’
tón	doʔl	thón	‘to roll (tr.)’
ján	ceʔl	ján	‘be far’
gi-dan	git-dal	pí-dan	‘new’
ki-mín	ki(m)-mil	mín	‘body-hair, fur’
ún	wiʔl	bín	‘to whet’

There are a few instances, where only two languages are represented: G *can-bat* ‘to lay a makeshift bridge’ (bat ‘to cross over’) R *cín* ‘to lay a makeshift bridge’; G *nal* ‘to gorge’ R *nàn* ‘be capable of producing satiety if had in large quantity’; G *jan-gil* > ‘back’ R *kín* ‘the outer area’ (*kín-dam* ‘back’); B *kun* G *kil* ‘cotton (plant and cotton)’; G *pun* G *pil* ‘to anoint’.

7.2.2.6 /-ŋ/

Like /-m/, the nasal /-ŋ/ is a stable final consonant and is attested in all the three languages without change.

Bodo	Garó	Rabha	
bán	baʔŋ	pán	‘be plenty’
bún	biʔŋ	pún	‘be dense, be thick’
beŋ	dim-breŋ	prèŋ	‘be straight’
dāŋ-	dīŋ-	tāŋ	‘shape classifier for long things’
méŋ	neʔŋ	néŋ	‘be tired’
goŋ	groŋ	kròŋ	‘horn’

There are two isolated exceptions: B *kán* G *keʔn* R *khén* ‘to comb’ and B *san* G *sal* R *raŋ-saŋ* ‘sun’ (< R *san* ‘day’).

7.2.2.7 /-r/

Although the Garó [r] and [l] are in complementary distribution, the former occurring only initially, and the latter only finally, they are represented as /r/ and /l/. However, this phonemic situation of Garó makes the correlation highly limited. Correlatable instances are all of the pattern B /-r/ ≡ G /-l/ ≡ R /-r/.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
a-si-gur	jakskil, jaʔskil	cá-ca-kor	'nail, claw' (G <i>jak</i> 'hand'; <i>jaʔ</i> 'leg')
bir	bil	pùr ~ pù	'to fly'
bar	bal-wa	ram-pàr	'wind'
bar	bal	ram-par	'to blow (as wind)'
bar	bal	pàr	'to bloom'
bi-bar	bi-bal	pàr	'flower'
sir	sil	sìr	'iron, metal'
tar	tal	thàr	'be clean'
	tiʔl	thír	'bounce off'

Other examples involving two languages are: G *gel* R *gèr* 'to evade'; G *gìl* R *gìr* 'to collect'; B *gur*- G *gìl*- 'classifier for certain flat things'. B *pan* G *pal* R *phar* 'to sell' is an exception both to this pattern as the Bodo cognate has /-n/, and to the pattern involving B /-n/ and G /-l/ as the Rabha cognate has /-r/.

7.2.2.8 /-l/

Although /-l/ is a feature of all the three languages, there are no etyma that are correlatable across the three languages. It is an indication of a shift that has affected an earlier stage entirely. None of the word-final /-l/ of Bodo and Rabha has an *l*-ending word in Garo. The correlations are only of the type discussed under /-r/ and /-n/, where /-l/ of Garo correlates with Bodo-Rabha /-r/ or /-n/.

The only instances that involve at least two languages are: G *mik-mal* 'be friendly, become domesticated (intr.)' R *tì-màr* 'to domesticate (tr.), to humble (oneself)' (causative of *mar* 'be friendly') which appears to contain R *mìl* 'be small'. The connection is suspected only on the ground that the Boro cognate *mìn* 'be tame, be domesticated' has a final *-n* which makes it possible to hold that the final consonant of the Rabha word is more likely *-l* rather than *-r*. An *r*-ending Rabha word would have an *r*-ending word in Bodo. Hence, probably Rabha *mar* 'be domesticated' is also a deviant form of *mìl* 'be small'. The semantic relation between 'be small' and 'be domesticated, be humble' is not far to seek. Another instance is G *dildil daldal* 'frail and weak' R *dàldàl* 'with freshness (sprouting of tender shoots). Both the instances are only minor points of contact.

7.2.3 *The syllables*

When the three languages are correlated the vowels show shifts in many directions making generalisations difficult. However, there are very evident major as well as minor patterns, though not without some exceptions.

7.2.3.1 */a/*

The pattern B /a/ \equiv G /a/ \equiv R /a/, irrespective of whether the syllable is closed or open, is a correlation that is attested in a large number of etyma. Only a few examples are given below:

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
já	caʔ	sá	‘to eat’
sa	sa	sà	‘to pain’
ká	kaʔ	khá	‘be bitter’
ka	ka	khà	‘to tie’
gab	grap	khap	‘to cry’
lab	rap	rap	B G ‘to roof’ R ‘to weave’
bat, bár, bart	bat	pat ~ pá	‘to go across’
dá	dak	tak	‘to make’ B R also ‘to weave’
kam	kam	khàm	‘to burn (intr.)’
man	mal	màn	‘to crawl, to creep’
rán	raʔn	rán	‘be dry’
aŋ	aŋa, aŋ-	àŋ	‘I’
bán	baʔŋ	pán	‘be plenty’
bar	bal	pàr	‘to bloom’

Another rather prominent pattern is B /i/ \equiv G /a/ \equiv R /a/. Because this involves some very frequently used suffixes, it gives a totally different acoustic effect to Bodo. In Garo, the allophone [i] of /i/ never occurs finally; in Rabha it occurs finally only in the imperative form of some verbs (on account of root-final *t*-deletion) and in a few adverbs like *drí -drí* ‘gradually’. On the other hand, the occurrence of final-/i/ is a prominent feature of Bodo. For this reason Bodo rings quite different to the ear from both Garo and Rabha.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
mín	maʔn	mán	'to get'
níη	naʔ-a, naʔη-	nán	'you (singular)'
sír	sa-wa	càη	'who'
-ni	-na	{-na}	'infinitive suffix'
-ni	-na	{-na}	'dative suffix'
- i	-a	-a	'present suffix'
- i ~ -a	(Ø, -de)	(Ø, -be)	B 'determinative nominative' G R 'determinative'

A third pattern, attested only in a few instances, is B /a/ ≡ G /e/ ≡ R /a/ as in B *ján* G *ceʔl* R *ján* 'be far'; B *dán* G *deʔn* R *tán* 'to cut' and G *gi(n)-nel* R *gi -nal* 'crocodile'. In a still different mould, Bodo has /o/ (along with consonant change or deletion) where Garo and Rabha have /a/ as in:

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
oʔ-ma (RB 59)	wak	bak	'pig'
hor	wal	phàr	'night'
ot, ort, ór	waʔ-al, waʔl-	bár	'fire'

Besides these, there are a few isolated instances that apparently do not show a pattern and have most probably been affected by other shifts or constraints: B *-se* G *-sa* R *-sá* 'one'; B *dín* G *don* R *tàn* 'to put'; B *ku-dìi* G *kuʔ-ci* R *ká-ci* 'saliva'; and B *bén* 'to guard' (or *pán* 'to forbid') G *beʔη* 'to forbid' (or *peʔη* 'to block, to partition') R *bán* 'to block'

7.2.3.2 /e/

/e/ appears to be involved in even more correlation than /a/ across the three languages. Here too the dominant pattern, though not as massively attested as in the case of /a/, is B /e/ ≡ G /e/ ≡ R /e/. The reduction in etyma is partially accounted for by the fact that it holds true only in closed syllables. There are no examples, except that of the B G R suffix *-de* 'O.K.', where /e/ corresponds without change in the three languages in open syllables. In an open syllable either Bodo or Garo or both have a diphthong while Garo has /e/ (see 7.2.3.7).

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
mɛŋ	neʔŋ	nɛŋ	'be tired'
re-jɛŋ	ceʔŋ	cɛŋ	'be light'
jé	cek	cek	'fishing net'
sé	sek	sek	'to snatch'
pé	pek	phɛk	'be intoxicated'
seb	sep	sep	'to squeeze, to press out'
keb	kep	khɛp	'to hold between pincers, forceps, nippers etc.'
bet, bert, bér	bret	pret ~ pré	'to crack, to burst'
ben	dim-breŋ	prɛŋ	'be straight'

A few instances found in open syllables in two languages only (especially G and R) are: G *gre* 'to spill' R *grè* 'be in excess'; G R *rè* 'reed' and G *keʔ* R *khé* 'be fitting, be proper' also belong to this group. A second pattern is B /a/ ≡ G /a/ ≡ R /e/.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
gaŋ	graŋ	krɛŋ	'wing, feather'
daŋ	daŋ-tap	thɛŋ	'to touch'
(mì -jaŋ)	nam	nɛm	'good'
da, dá (DNS)	daʔ	té	'now'
taŋ	taŋ	khɛŋ	'be alive'
jab	jap	jɛp	'to arrange neatly, to pile up'
sat	sat	set ~ sé	'to drain out water'

In a third pattern R /e/ corresponds with Bodo-Garo /i/. As the Garo instances are all closed syllables /i/ is phonetically [ī].

jí	cit	cet ~ cé	B 'be torn' G R 'to tear'
sín	siʔŋ-	sɛŋ	'waist'
pín	piʔl	phɛn	'to turn, to transform'
(pun)	sit	set ~ sé	'to anoint, to smear' (present-day G has <i>noŋ</i> or <i>pil</i>)

B *kán* G *keʔn* R *khén* is a mixed pattern with either an unexpected /á/ in Bodo or an unexpected /e/ in Garo.

7.2.3.3 /o/

As in the case of /e/, there are no examples of open syllables having correlation of /o/ between all the three languages without any shift. In open syllables, at least one language, either Bodo or Rabha, has a diphthong (see 7.2.3.7). Keeping this aside there are two major patterns of correlation.

(i) B/o/ ≡ G /o/ ≡ R /o/

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
gón	goʔ-ol, goʔl-	kón	'stick, twig'
só (DNS)	sok	sok	'to reach'
són	soʔŋ	són	B G 'to cook' R 'to place pot on fire to cook'
tón	doʔl	thón	'to roll'
kó	kok	khok	'basket'
nó	nok	nok	'house'
jom	(tim)	còm	'to lie in wait' (G has <i>combu</i> 'to enter stealthily, to lay in wait')
bim-puŋ	bi-poŋ	phòŋ	'handle' (-u- of B <i>bimpuŋ</i> is the result of assimilation)
goŋ	groŋ	kròŋ	'horn'
koŋkai, goŋ	goŋ, gonge	kòŋke	'be bent, crooked'
doŋ	doŋ	tòŋ	'there be'

There are other examples like B *tob* 'to make nest or hive or cocoon' G *top* R *thop* 'hive, nest, cocoon'; B *goŋ* G *goʔŋ* R *goŋ* 'be willing'; G *joʔ-ŋŋ*, *joʔŋ-* R *cón* 'worm, insect'; G *roʔ-ŋŋ*, *roʔŋ-* R *rónka* 'stone' (B *ontái* is related to G *roʔŋ-te* 'stone' through initial consonant deletion, diphthongisation and assimilation of place of articulation).

(ii) B /u/ ≡ G /i/ ≡ R /o/

The Garo instances are all of closed syllables where /i/ is allophonically [ɨ].

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
ru	rit	rot ~ ró	'to boil'
pú	pik	phok	'to pluck, to uproot'
kú	kik	(khrok)	'to remove skin, dress, dress etc.'
jum	cin	còn	'to wear, to wrap oneself in cloth'

To this may also be added B *kut* 'to scoop and serve rice etc.' G *kot* 'to dig, to scoop' R *khot* ~ *khó* 'to dig, to serve rice etc.'; B *-kur* ~ *-gur* G *-skil* R *-kor* 'nail (of fingers and toes); B *gi-mit* G *kim-mit* R *mot* 'to extinguish (intr.); and B *lí* G *rik* 'to build' (R *ham*); B *suŋ* R *soŋ* 'be short' (G *kaŋʔ-dik*).

If a third pattern be identified, it is one with /a/ in Garo cognates: G *kodam* R *khodom* 'pillow'; G *bo-raŋ* R *bó-roŋ* 'a tree-top watch-house'; G *-dan* R *dòŋ* 'ear or stalk of grain' (B *mài-dan* ~ *mài bi-dan*); G *bam* R *bòm* 'to brood to hatch'. In a few instances the Garo cognates have /e/: G *geʔ-* R *gó-* 'general classifier' and G *grep* R *grof* 'to sink and settle'. In just one case Bodo and Garo have /e/ while Rabha has /o/: B *ja-jen* G *aʔ-ba-ceŋ* R *coŋ*, *há-ba-* *còn* 'to begin'.

7.2.3.4 /u/

Two general patterns of correlation are present.

(i) B /u/ ≡ G /i/ ≡ R /u/. As in the case of the correlation B /u/ ≡ G /i/ ≡ R /o/, the Garo instances are all of closed syllables where /i/ is allophonically [ɨ].

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
bún	biʔŋ	pún	'be dense or thick, be closely placed'
dún	diʔŋ	tún	'be hot'
sún	siʔŋ-	sún	'to prop up'
dú	dik	tuk	'grow thick (grass etc.)'
sú	sik	suk	'to blow air, to stitch'
kuŋ-	giŋ-	kuŋ-	'nose'
nú (DNS)	nik	nuk	'to see'
puŋ	piŋ	phún	'morning'

G *riŋ* R *ruŋ* 'boat' belongs to this class (Bodo has a borrowed *nao* 'boat'). The other instances are: B *bun* R *phún* 'be full'; B *pun* G *pil*

‘to smear, to anoint’; B *muŋ* G *bimun* ~ *biniŋ* R *mùŋ* ‘name’. If G *mo?ŋ* ‘to persuade, to entice, to allure’ and R *múŋ* ‘to desire, to feel a need to’ are related in spite of the semantic difference it is an exceptional correlation.

(ii) B /u/ ≡ G /u/ ≡ R /u/. This correlation of unchanged correspondence is found in both open and closed syllables. This is a different behaviour compared to /o/ and /e/ which do not have such correspondence in open syllables. However, this correlation is less prevalent than the one considered above.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
gu-má	guk	guk	‘grasshopper’
su-a	su-a	su-à	‘profanation’
sú	bu-su, bu?-su	kanta-sú	‘thorn’
sú	sú	sú	‘to stab, to pierce, to pound’ B G also ‘to wash (clothes)’
jú	cu?	cú	‘to pack by wrapping in paper or leaf etc.’

The initial syllable in words having meaning related to ‘mouth’, ‘tongue, voice’ are correlatable across the three languages: B *ku-*, *kou-* G *ku?-* R *khú-*. The Bodo syllable can be interpreted as having underlying glottal stop. Bodo *bú* ‘to beat’ G *bu*, *bu?* ‘to prick, to pierce through’ R *bú* ‘be subject to some state (like rain or being in debt)’ appear to be related.

There are a few instances of correspondence other than the ones considered above: B *pí* G *pu* R *phù* ‘to sow, to sprinkle (grains, powders etc.)’ (the Bodo *i* is unexpected); B *hí* G *rik* R *ruk* (also semantically slightly variant *rok* ‘to drive cattle’) ‘to chase, to hunt’ (the Bodo *i* is unexpected); B *bir* G *bil* R *pùr* ~ *pù* ‘to fly’ (expected Bodo *-u-*); B *jí-bou* G *cíp-bu* R *tu-pú* ‘snake’ (expected Bodo *-u-*).

7.2.3.5 /i/

Rabha words having /i/ that can be correlated across the three languages, with or without change, and whether the syllable is closed or not, are very few. Although /i/ does occur in closed syllables in R, its occurrence in closed syllables is far fewer than the occurrence of /i/ in closed syllables. When it does occur in closed syllables there

appears to be some phonotactic constraint controlled by the coda. The most preferred coda of a Rabha /i/ is /-ŋ/. This explains a rather unusual correlation B *j̄iŋ* G *ciŋ* R *cìŋ* where the expected Rabha vowel would be /i/ (see 7.2.3.6); other correlations are G *git-tiŋ* R *p̄i-thiŋ* ‘raw, unripe’ (B *gi-taŋ*) and B R *liŋ-liŋ* ‘slender and long’.

There are just a few instances of the correlation B /i/ ≡ G /i/ ≡ R /i/ in open syllables. The cognates in the other languages are also open-syllabled. In such Garo instances, /i/ is phonetically also [ī], not [i]. The first syllable of G *bit-ci* below, is an exception as *t*-insertion has retained the allophonic quality of /i/ as [ī]. The number of correlating etyma are reduced mainly by the presence of *īi* in the corresponding Bodo words (see 7.2.3.7–iii).

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
bi-ka	bi-ka	pí-kha	‘liver’
kí	kiʔ-i, kiʔ-	jí	‘faeces’ R also ‘dirt’
mi-ni	(kaʔ-diŋ)	mi-nì	‘to laugh’
a-si	jak-si	tá-si	B R ‘hand’ G ‘finger’
soŋkri, soŋkrīi	kari	khari	‘salt’ (Burling 1959 B <i>soʔŋkri</i>)
bi-díi	bit-ci	pi-cí	‘egg’ (initial syllable correlated)

There are a few instances with a change in the Garo vowel to /e/ (sometimes) alternating with /i/. Even when phonemically and orthographically the vowel is represented as /e/ it is mostly pronounced as [ī]. This explains this set of words. Most of the examples involve only Garo and Rabha: B *mi-a* G *me-jal* R *mi-à* ‘yesterday’; B *iŋ-kri* ~ *iŋ-krīi* G *meʔ-ci* ~ *miʔ-ci* ‘gravy’ R *mí* ‘curry’; G *meʔ-cik* ‘woman’ R *mí-cik* ‘wife’ (B *hinjao*); G *weʔ* ~ *wiʔ* R *bí* ‘to cook in banana leaf’; G R *i* ‘this’ (B *be* ‘this’ *bīi*, *bi* ‘he, she, that’).

7.2.3.6 /ī/

There is only one major pattern of correlation which is B /ī/ ≡ G /i/ ≡ R /ī/. In this correspondence, although phonemically the Garo vowel is different, the phonetic component is one of total equivalence as the correlation involves only closed syllables where the Garo /i/ is [ī].

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
dɪŋ-	dɪŋ-	tɪŋ-	'classifier for long things'
mɪn	min	mɪn	'be ripe, be cooked'
sɪŋ	siʔŋ	sɪŋ	'to ask'
sɪr	sil	sɪr	'iron, metal'
bɪl	bil	bɪl	'strength'
sɪm	siʔm	sɪm	B G 'to make wet, to immerse in water (tr.)' R 'be wet (intr.)'
dɪ	dik	tɪk	'pot'
sɪ	sik	sɪk	'to put in, to insert'
lɪŋ	rɪŋ	rɪŋ	'to drink'
hɪn	in	ɪn	'to say'
kɪb	kip	khɪp	'to cover'

There are many more instances that involve two languages, particularly Garo and Rabha: B *tɪ* G *tik* 'be sufficient'; G *gil* R *gɪr* 'to collect'; G *brin* R *prɪn* 'to mix'; G *brim-brim* R *prəm-prəm* 'be spotted'; G *sriŋ* R *sɪŋ* 'to stretch out something long like rope'; G *tiʔ l* R *thɪr* 'to bounce off', G *wiʔl* R *bɪn* 'to sharpen' (B *ún*); G *-gil* (*jaŋ-gil* 'back') R *kɪn* 'back, the outer side'

Besides this one pattern, there are isolated instances that do not form any general pattern: B *pin* G *pin* R *phɪn* 'to cover (with a cloth)' (B expected *pɪn*); G *can* R *cɪn* 'to construct a makeshift bridge'; G *gaʔlde* R *kɪrdé* 'a sour fruit'; B *dɪi-den* G *dɪl* R *tɪn* 'to lead'; B *mɪ -sa* G *me-sa* R *phɪ -sà* 'to dance'; B *sú* G *cik* R *cɪk* 'become cold (things)'; B *gu-mɪi* G *gu-me* R *gi-mi* ~ *gɪ -mɪ* 'elder sister's husband' (initial syllable correlated). Garo *reʔ-* 'move' (*reʔ-ba* 'come', *reʔ-aŋ* 'go') and R *rɪt* ~ *rɪ* 'to move (tr.) from which R *rɪ-jam* 'walk, move by self', R *rɪ-ba* 'come' and R *rɪŋ* 'go' (contracted from *rɪ -aŋ*) are obtained, are related, but there is shift in the vowel. In speech, however, both G *reʔ-* and R *rɪ-* tend to be rendered [rɪ] with or without the glottal stop or the high tone in the respective languages.

Of the few words where Bodo has /h-/ corresponding to Garo-Rabha /r-/ two of them show vowel correspondence B /o/ ≡ G /i/ ≡ R /ɪ/: B *hóm* G *rɪʔm* R *rɪm* 'to catch, to capture' and B *hom* 'to cook by vapour' R *rɪm* 'to cook' (G *soʔ ŋ* 'to cook').

7.2.3.7 *The diphthongs*

In cognates where Bodo and Rabha have a diphthong, Garo has a simple vowel. Although diphthongs are not totally absent in Garo, neither is it a remarkable feature nor do they enter into inter-language correlation. Burling considers diphthongs to be a feature of the proto-stage that have been simplified in Garo. The inter-language analysis of the three languages shows that four Garo vowels, /e o i u/, correspond to diphthongs in Bodo and Rabha. The diphthongs are, therefore, looked at from the angle of the Garo vowels, distinguishing minor pattern within the general pattern controlled by these vowels.

(i) Garo vowel /e/

When the Garo vowel is /e/, either both Bodo and Rabha have the diphthong /ai/ or Bodo alone has the diphthong, R having /e/ itself or /i/. This corresponds with Burling's (1959:449) dotted lines linking /e/ and /ai/ as one of the vowel reductions for Garo. Rabha retains characteristics of both Bodo and Garo.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
<u>gái</u>	geʔ	<u>kái</u>	'to plant'
<u>mai</u>	me-	<u>mài</u>	'paddy, (rice)'
<u>salai</u>	sre	<u>khú-tlai</u>	'tongue'
	pe	<u>phai</u> -dam	'cheek'
	gim-be	<u>kím-bai</u>	'water pot'
<u>lái</u> -pan		<u>ré</u> -phan	'banana plant' (R has many words where G <i>reʔ</i> - and R <i>rái</i> correlate)
<u>pái</u> -tom	peʔ-dem	<u>phé</u> -dem	'to fold'
<u>bi-tái</u> , <u>tái</u> -	bite, teʔ-	<u>thé</u>	'fruit' (B <i>tái</i> G <i>thet</i> ~ <i>thé</i> 'to fructify')
<u>bái</u>	beʔ	<u>bí</u>	'to break (intr.)'
<u>bai</u>	bre	<u>pri</u> ~ <u>pír</u>	'to buy'
<u>rai</u> -dñ	re	<u>rè</u>	'reed, cane'
<u>koŋ-kai</u>	goŋ-ge	<u>kón</u> -ke	'be bent'

(ii) Garo vowel /o/

When the Garo vowel is /o/, either Bodo alone or both Bodo and Rabha have the diphthong /ao/. Once again Rabha has characteristics of both Bodo and Garo in that in some instances it agrees

with the diphthong of Bodo and in others with the simple vowel of Garo. However, the presence of the simple vowel in Rabha is more predominant.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
<u>sáo</u>	soʔ	só	‘to burn (tr.)’
<u>dáo</u>	doʔ-o, doʔ-	tó	‘bird’
<u>gao</u>	go	kò	‘to throw, to shoot’
<u>láo</u>	roʔ	ró	‘be long’
<u>tao</u>	to	thò	‘tasty’
<u>tao</u>	to	tho-ci ~ thu-ci	‘oil’
<u>kao</u>	ko	khò	‘to stitch (edge of baskets)’
<u>káo</u>	koʔ	khó	‘to draw water’
<u>máo</u>	mo	mot ~ mó	‘to quiver, to shake (intr.)’
(<u>dao-kí</u>)	do	taò	‘to ascend, to go up’
<u>jáo</u>	coʔ	(khot ~ khó)	‘to dig’
<u>jao</u>	co	caò	B ‘to winnow, to row’ G ‘to row’ R ‘to winnow’ (G <i>jíp</i> ‘to winnow’ R <i>jaþ</i> ‘to row’)
<u>rao</u>	(kuʔ-)	raò	‘voice’ B also ‘language’

(iii) Garo vowel /i/

When the Garo vowel is /i/ (only open syllables), Bodo has the diphthong /ii/ while Rabha has /i/.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
<u>dii</u>	ci	ci-kà	‘water’
<u>dii</u>	ciʔ	cit ~ cí	‘to lay egg’
<u>dii</u>	ciʔ	(sim)	‘be sweet’
<u>tii</u>	si	sì	‘to die’
<u>tii</u>	anʔ-ci	sí	‘blood’
<u>kii</u>	(mesen)	khì	‘be sour’
o-kun-dii	waʔl-ku-si	bár- khun-ci	‘smoke’ (probably the B initial syllable ought to be <i>úr</i> , parallel to G

			<i>waʔl</i> and R <i>bár</i> , all meaning ‘fire’)
bi-gu-m _{ii}	gu-mi	gi-mi ~ gi-mì	‘elder brother-in-law’
ba-j _{ii}	bo-ci	bu-jí	‘elder sister-in-law’
bi-b _{ii}	ambi	bidi	‘grandmother’
ku-r _{ii}		khu-rì	‘bowl’

Bodo extends this correspondence as a device to naturalise borrowed items too: B *du-b_{ii}* ‘to sink’ (G *du-bi* < Ass. *dubi*); B *pa-t_{ii}* ‘betel leaf’ (Mayturi *pai* ‘betel leaf’; Ass.-Bengali *pat* ‘leaf’); B *ba-r_{ii}* ‘garden’; B *hal-d_{ii}* ‘turmeric’.

(iv) Garo vowel /u/

The behaviour of both Bodo and Rabha is parallel to their behaviour when the Garo vowel is /i/. Only Bodo has the diphthong /ou/, while Rabha has /u/.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
j <u>ou</u>	cu	cù	‘be tall’
j <u>ou</u>	cu	cokó (< cukó)	‘rice-beer’
ji-b <u>ou</u>	cip-bu	tupú	‘snake’
t <u>ou</u>	tuʔ	thú	‘be deep’
d <u>ou</u>	duʔ	tú	‘to feed into mouth or beak’
s <u>ou</u>	suʔ	sú	‘to pound’
s <u>ou</u>	su	sù	‘to peck, to gore, to butt’
bi-s <u>ou</u>	suʔ	sú-	‘grandchild’

Besides these four regular patterns, there are a handful of instances that either have a different pattern or are exceptions to the four patterns above: B *d_{ii}* R *t_{oi}* ‘to hold’; B *s_{ai}* G *sa* R *s_{ai}* ‘to set a trap’; B *é_o* (expected *á_o*) G *joʔ* R *j_{áo}* ‘to fry’; B *é_o* (expected *á_o*) G *oʔ* R *bó* ‘to clear (jungle)’; B *e_o* (expected *á_i*) G *we* R *b_{ai}* ‘to plough’; B *se_o* (expected *sou*) G *so* R *sò* ‘to rot’; B *-kou* (expected *-kao*) G *-ko* R *-o* ‘accusative marker’; B *-i_i*, *-nan_{ii}* (expected *á_i*) G *-e* R *-e* ‘participial and manner suffix’; B *n_{ai}* (expected *-i_i*) G *n_i* R *ci* ‘to look’; B *ou-aʔ* (Weidert 1987:423) / *oʔ-a* (RB 59) G *waʔ- a, waʔ-* R *bá* ‘bamboo’.

7.2.3.8 *General remarks on the syllabics*

Table 7.11. presents the major vowel correspondences between the three languages.

Table 7.11 *Phoneme correspondence sets for syllabics of Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

Bodo	Garo	Rabha
a	a	a
i	a	a
a	e	a
o	a	a
e	e	e
a	a	e
i	i [ɨ]	e
o	o	o
u	i [ɨ]	o
u	i [ɨ]	u
u	u	u
i	i	i
ɨ	i [ɨ]	ɨ
<u>ai</u>	e	<u>ai</u>
<u>ao</u>	o	o
<u>ao</u>	o	<u>ao</u>
<u>ii</u>	i	i
<u>ou</u>	u	u

Burling considers the Garo vocalic system to be a reduced system from the proto-stage. In particular he considers the allophonic behaviour of Garo /i/ ([ɨ] in closed syllables except when the glottal stop is the coda, and /i/ elsewhere) to be the result of 'falling together of two vowels which in the other Bodo languages are pronounced

like the allophones of the Garo /i/' (Burling 1959: 345). However, Garo /i/ is correlatable in considerably big number of cognates with Bodo-Rabha /u/, Bodo-Rabha /i/, Bodo /ii/ and Rabha /e o/ and only to a less extent Bodo-Rabha /i/. Hence, it is not a case of the allophones of Garo /i/ corresponding with two phonemes of other languages having the same phonetic content as the allophones of Garo.

The lines along which Garo is believed to have reduced its syllabic pattern as given by Burling, however, holds true, but is not the full picture. The diphthong represented by him as *au* is more correctly *ao*; *iu* varies freely with *ou* (which is the one used here). These do not change the equations as there is no contrast in Bodo between the syllabics concerned. In its vocalic system, Rabha is closer to Bodo than Garo as a phonemic inventory. In the correlations that can be established for the syllabics, Rabha is at a mid-way station between Bodo and Garo.

7.3 *Correlation of noun classes and noun morphology*

7.3.1 *Noun formation*

By noun formation is meant a noun that has been affixed with the necessary affixes, derivational as well as inflectional, to play a syntactic role. The pattern of noun formation in the three languages bear very close formal or morphological similarity. This close formal similarity is reflected in the diagrammatic representation of the noun formation first identified by Burling for Garo (1961: 62) and later by Bhattacharya for Bodo (1977: 230) and in the present work for Rabha (Fig. 6).

If just the common pattern be abstracted leaving aside minor differences, it can be seen that a noun may be affixed with a number of affixes in all the three languages in a semi-agglutinative framework. All such affixes are suffixes. Bhattacharya (1977: 112) identifies a few derivational prefixes. These, however, are not productive in the language. In all the three languages, the first suffix that may be used with a noun, whether simple, derived or compounded, is the plural morpheme. The next in order are the principal case suffixes and the possible combinations of the case suffixes. Certain case forms, especially the genitive forms, may take postpositions that effect further

nuances especially of more specific spatial and temporal relations. These may further be followed, in all the three languages, by terminating noun suffixes that close the noun formation for further suffixation by noun suffixes. However, these are still open to suffixation by a set of morphemes that may be used either with verb formations or noun formations. Some of such general suffixes are terminating suffixes after which no further whatsoever is possible.

Minor differences do exist, say in the number of productive derivational suffixes, the extent of the semantic area of particular suffixes, the possibility of combination of case suffixes, phonological integration of a suffix into the stem by which it may be considered either a suffix or a postposition and the number of suffixes in the various category of suffixes. These aside, the general morphological picture abstracted from the morphological behaviour of the noun is so true of all the three languages that most noun formations in the three languages can be seen to be isomorphic, as in the few examples below.

Bodo: mande -raŋ-ni
 Garo: mansi-pir-ni
 Rabha: kai-taŋ-i
 person-PL-GEN
 ‘of the persons’

Bodo: bi-sir-ni gejer-ao
 Garo: ua-maŋ-ni gisep-o
 Rabha: o-roŋ-i majar-i
 3rd sg.-PL-GEN POSTPOS-LOC (POSTPOS ‘among, midst’)
 ‘in their midst, among them’

Bodo: náŋ-ni-si
 Garo: naʔŋ-na-sa
 Rabha: náŋ-a-se
 you(sg.) DAT-EMPH
 ‘just for you’

7.3.2 *The noun phrase*

In all the three languages the typical noun phrase may have three terms: a noun (N), a classifier construction and an attributive adjective. The native order in the classifier construction is CL-NUM for the three languages. The internal structure of the attributive adjective

varies quite drastically. If the adjective is derived from a verb root, Bodo has an adjectival prefix, whereas Garo and Rabha have suffixes (see 7.4.1.2).

Garo:	aṇa	sak-sa	nam-gipa	mande-ko	nik-aha
Bodo:	aṇ	sa-se	mi-jaṇ	mansi-kou	nu-bai
Rabha:	aṇ	sak-sa	nem-kai	kai-o	nuk-ṇata
	I	CL-NUM	good	person-ACC	see-PAST
	'I saw a good man' (G <i>nam</i> R <i>nem</i> 'be good'; G <i>-gipa</i> R <i>kai</i> 'attributive suffix; B <i>mi -jaṇ</i> has fossilised attributive prefix.)				

The order of the terms within the noun phrase is not strictly obligatory in any of the languages. Under prosodic exigencies and requirements various combinations of the three terms can be encountered. However, the natural order is with the adjective or the classifier construction following the noun, especially when only two terms are present. Further affixation is to the term that occurs syntactically last.

Bodo:	bonpaṇ	gi-jou-ao	(<i>jou</i> 'be tall'; adjectival prefix <i>gi-</i>)
Garo:	bol	cu-gipa-o	(<i>cu</i> 'be tall'; attributive suffix <i>-gipa</i>)
Rabha:	pan	ró-kai-o	(<i>ró</i> 'be tall'; attributive <i>-kai</i>)
	tree	tall-LOC	
	'on the tall tree'		
Bodo:	ga-ham	bijab-pir-ni	(<i>ham</i> 'be good'; adjectival prefix <i>ga-</i>)
Garo:	nam-gipa	kiṭtap-raṇ-ni	(<i>nam</i> 'be good'; attributive suffix <i>-gipa</i>)
Rabha:	nem-kai	káosa-bijan-ni	(<i>nem</i> 'be good', attributive <i>-kai</i>)
	good	book-PL-GEN	
	'of the good books'		
Bodo:	ná	ma-se-kou	
Garo:	naʔ-tok	maṇ-sa-ko	
Rabha:	ná	maṇ-sa-o	
	fish	CL-NUM-ACC	'one fish (accusative)'

A fourth term that may be present in the noun phrases is the demonstrative pronoun. It is rarely that it is present along with all the other three terms. When present it is always the first element in the

noun phrase. In Rabha alone the pronoun requires the attributive *-kai* to function attributively.

Bodo:	be	mansi			
Garo:	ia	mande			
Rabha:	e-kai	kai	(attributive <i>-kai</i>)		
			'to his person'		
Bodo:	bii	gotho-pir-kou	nai-Ø		
Garo:	ua	biʔsa-raŋ-ko	ni-bo		
Rabha:	o-kai	kaisabra-taŋ-o	ci-Ø	(attributive <i>-kai</i>)	
	that	child-PL-ACC	look-IMP		
			'look (at) those children'		
Bodo:	be	ge-dert	ná	ma-nii-kou	(<i>dert</i> 'be big'; ATTR prefix <i>ge-</i>)
Garo:	ia	daʔl-gipa	naʔ-tok	maŋ-gni-ko	(<i>daʔl</i> 'be big'; ATTR- <i>gipa</i>)
Rabha:	e-kai	cun-kai	ná	maŋ-aniŋ-o	(<i>cun</i> 'be big'; ATTR <i>kai</i>)
	this	big	fish	CL-TWO-ACC	
				'these two big fish (accusative)'	

7.3.3 *Classes of nouns*

In all the three languages, the class of nouns or noun roots is one of the two largest groups of morphemes, the other being that of the verb roots. They are morphologically definable in each language by a common criterion of being able to take a specific set of affixes (see 7.3.4). There are no classes of nouns that are different in the grammatical constructions as to require some other criterion besides that of their ability to combine with the set of noun affixes. However, it is possible to single out smaller groups of nouns that form a semantically coherent and closed set like the pronouns (personal, demonstrative, relative, reflexive and indefinite) and the interrogatives. These do have minor differentiating characteristics between the three languages that make interlingual analysis interesting.

7.3.3.1 *The personal pronouns*

One characteristic that differentiates the personal pronouns of Garo on the one hand and that of Bodo and Rabha on the other is that

those of Garo have a free form and a combining form. Rightly does Burling (1961: 38) call the free form the ‘nominative form’ and considers the final *-a* which is present in many of the free forms and absent in the combining form a special nominative suffix. It can be seen as the fossilised or vestigial presence of the nominative still active in Bodo (as *-i* on some pronouns and as *-a* on other nouns). In other cases the nominative is not overtly marked in Garo. In the area of noun morphology the nominative appears to be one specific area where the different languages took different routes just like the instance of the monosyllabic adjectival prefix that introduced many related changes in Garo and Bodo.

Bodo:	aŋ	táŋ-a	aŋ-kou	da-bú		
Garo:	aŋa	reʔ-aŋ-ja	aŋ-ko	da-dok		
Rabha:	aŋ	réŋ-ca	aŋ-o	ta-kok (or <i>dok-nabe</i>)		
	I	go-NEG	I-ACC	N.IMP-beat		
	‘I do (will) not go’			‘do not beat me’		
Bodo:	jŋ	kamani	mao-diŋ	jŋ-ni	no-a	ge-dert
					(NOM <i>-a</i> ; ADJ <i>ge-</i>)	
Garo:	ciŋa	kam	kaʔ-eŋa	ciŋ-ni	nok	daʔl-a
					(PRES <i>-a</i>)	
Rabha:	ciŋ	kami	rá-eta	ciŋ-i	nok	cuŋ-a
					(DEF <i>-be</i> ; PRES <i>-a</i>)	
	we	work-CONT		WE-GEN	house	big-PRES
	‘we are working’			‘our house is big’		

(1) The first person

The first person singular pronouns are:

Bodo:	aŋ
Garo:	aŋ-a ~ aŋ-
Rabha:	aŋ

The first person pronoun in each language has special plural form:

Bodo:	jŋ
Garo:	ciŋ-a ~ ciŋ-
Rabha:	ciŋ

Garo and Rabha have a distinction between the inclusive and the exclusive first person plural which is *aʔn-ciŋ* in Garo and *ciŋ-náŋ-aŋ* (which is a chained combination of the first person plural *ciŋ*, the second person singular *náŋ* and the first person singular *aŋ*) in Rabha. It is not impossible that the Garo form *aʔn-ciŋ* is also contracted from a similar chain **aŋ-naʔ ŋ-ciŋ*, composed of the combining forms of the first person singular (*aŋ-*), the second person singular (*naʔŋ-*) and the first person plural (*ciŋ-*). Burling records another inclusive plural *naʔ-ciŋ* 'we'. Probably it is a dialectal variant. It is never used in writing nor heard in areas where the speech is close to the written variety. Rabha has a first person definitive singular *ame* 'I' and a first person definitive plural *cime* 'we' which are fused forms of the first person singular and plural respectively with definitive suffix *-be*.

(2) The second person

The second person singular pronouns are:

Bodo: nńŋ (DNS; nńŋ MM; nńŋ.² Weidert)
 Garo: naʔ-a ~ naʔŋ-
 Rabha: náŋ

The plurals are:

Bodo: nńŋsír
 Garo: naʔ-simaŋ
 Garo: náronŋ

Boro *nńŋsír* is sometimes reduced to *nńŋsi-* in combination. Besides, there is *nńŋtaŋ*, an honorific singular, which in the plural takes either *-pír* or *-mín* (dialectal variant). Garo has another plural *naʔ-sonŋ* that is quite commonly employed in speech but not in writing.

(3) The third person

The third person singular pronouns are:

Bodo: bi, bií
 Garo: u-a ~ u-; bi-a ~ bi-
 Rabha: u

In many respects, the third person pronouns have specialities and complexities especially when they are used as attributive demonstratives. These functions are, therefore, treated separately below.

Although Bhattacharya says that the Bodo *bi* is simple monomorphemic nominative, it is generally always used along with the determinative suffix *-i* as *bīi*, which is the basic morpheme used to mean 'he, she' whether proximate or remote. Bodo has also an honorific set with suffix *-taŋ*. When the meaning is 'it, this', *be* is used for proximate 'it' and *bīi* for remote 'that'.

Garo has free forms *u-a* and *bi-a* (which is more prevalent in speech) meaning 'he, she' whether proximate or remote. Although *u-* (and *bi-*) is the normal form in combinations, in some instances *ua* as well as *un-* act as combining forms. When the referent is an impersonal 'it, this', parallel to the Bodo *be-* (and its other variants) there is a proximal *i-a* without distinction of free and combining forms. But Garo lacks a specific distal pronoun to parallel the Bodo *bīi*, for which *ua* (and *u-*) itself is used. Parallel to the Bodo situation, in the singular the third person pronoun proper meaning 'he, she, it' is *u-a*.

The Rabha *u*, although a free morpheme, is seldom used as a free form. In the nominative as no other suffix follows it takes the definitive *-be*. Parallel to the proximate pronouns of Garo and Bodo for the impersonal referent 'it, this' there is a proximate *i* 'this' which can also be used to refer to humans, especially in combination. In combination there appears *e-* and *o-*, but these are variants of *u-* and there is no indication of a third morpheme of remoteness.

For the plurals, Bodo has *bi-sir* 'they (human)' and *bi-pir* 'they (non-human)'. The same is true of the other morphemes of the singular. Garo has plural *ua-raŋ* for non-human nouns and *ua-maŋ* for human nouns; similarly *ia-raŋ* and *ia-maŋ* in the proximate category. Rabha has the plural suffix *-roŋ* for human nouns and *-bijan* for non-human nouns.

To speak inclusively of all the three languages, there appears to be a considerable amount of free variation in the use of the singular third person pronouns. There is a distinction between proximal and distal reference as well as a grammaticalisation of human and non-human pronominal referents very sharply in the plurals alone. While Rabha and Garo employ only two basic morphemes for these purposes, Bodo has three. Bodo also has honorific formations lacking in the other two languages. Keeping aside the honorific forms of Bodo, the third pronouns can be tabulated as in Table 7.12.

Table 7.12 *Third person pronouns (not attributive) of Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

	proximate				remote			
	human		non-human		human		non-human	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
Bodo	bi, bi-i	bi-sir	be	be-pir bi-pir	bi, bīi	bi-sir bīi-sir	bīi	bīi-pir
Garo	ua, u-, bia, bi-	ia-maŋ	ia	ia-raŋ	ua, u-, bia, bi-	ua-maŋ bi-soŋ bi-simaŋ	ua, u-	ua-raŋ
Rabha	i	i-roŋ~ e-roŋ	i, e-kaī ~ i-kaī	i-bijan	u	u-roŋ~ o-roŋ	u, u-kaī ~ o-kaī	u-bijan u-kaībijan ~ o-kaībijan

It must be borne in mind that the most regular singular personal pronouns are the remote forms *bi* and *bīi* in Boro, *ua* (also *bia* in speech) in Garo, and *u* in Rabha. The other forms come into play mainly in plural formations.

7.3.3.2 *Attributive demonstratives*

When the third person pronouns are used attributively the number of the pronominal and demonstratives that can play the attributive role is considerably reduced in the three languages (see Table 7.13). The human and non-human difference that is noticed in the pronouns and the demonstratives is not had as attributives. Only the distinction between the distal and proximate referents is held.

Table 7.13 *Attributive demonstratives (not pronouns) of Boro, Garo and Rabha*

	proximate noun		remote noun	
	human noun	non-human n.	human noun	non-human n.
Bodo	be	be	bīi	bīi
Garo	ia	ia	ua	ua
Rabha	i-kaī, e-kaī	i-kaī, e-kaī	u-kaī ~ o-kaī	u-kaī ~ o-kaī

To play the attributive role, the Bodo and Garo third person pronouns need no overt marker. The Rabha forms can function as adjectives only when suffixed with the attributive *-kaī*.

Bodo:	<u>bi</u>	mansi	be	bonpaŋ
Garo:	ua	mande	ia	bol
Rabha:	o- <u>kai</u>	<u>kai</u>	e- <u>kai</u>	pan
		‘that man’		‘this tree’

As demonstrative adjectives they do not have plural forms either, as the plural marker is suffixed to the noun or other terms in the noun phrase.

Bodo:	be	nó-pir
Garo:	ia	nok-raŋ
Rabha:	e- <u>kai</u>	nok-bijan
	this	house-PL
		‘these houses’

7.3.3.3 *The reflexive*

Their singular forms are given below. The Boro and the Garo forms are closely related phonemically.

Bodo:	<u>gao</u> , <u>gao-gai</u>		
Garo:	aʔn-taŋ		
Rabha:	ka- <u>kai</u>		
Bodo:	bi	<u>gao-kou</u>	<u>gotai-bai</u>
Garo:	ua	anʔtaŋ-ko	onʔkaŋ-aha
Rabha:	u-be	<u>kakai-o</u>	<u>seoai-nata</u>
	he	self-ACC	offer-PAST
			‘he offered himself’

In all the languages the reflexives also function as emphatic pronouns.

Bodo:	aŋ	<u>gao-ni</u>	<u>kina-bai</u>
Garo:	aŋa	anʔtaŋ-an	kna-aha
Rabha:	aŋ	<u>kakai-an</u>	na-nata
	I	self-EMPH	hear-PAST
			‘I myself heard’

The reduplicated forms formed by partial or total reduplication have plural and distributive sense:

Bodo: gao-gao
 Garo: aʔn-taŋ-taŋ
 Rabha: ka-ka-kai ~ kakai-kakai

Rabha has also *ka-kron* and *ka-ka-kron* ~ *kakron-kakron* as plural forms.

7.3.3.4 *The interrogatives, the relatives and the indefinites*

For Garo, Burling identifies and differentiates the interrogatives, relatives and the indefinites as a formal group by their facility to take the suffix *-ba* rendering the form indefinite. The same may be said of Bodo and Rabha. This Garo suffix and its correlative counterparts in Bodo and Rabha are discussed below (see 7.3.3.4.3).

7.3.3.4.1 *The interrogatives*

To gain a broader intra-lingual as well as inter-lingual generalisation, it is advisable to treat the whole set of interrogatives as a group rather than just the interrogative pronouns alone. A synoptic approach to the three languages shows that there is a substratum of phonemic as well as semantic correlation that is quite close. However, each has diverged to varying degrees. The synchronic analysability of the various interrogative morphemes in each language varies from morpheme to morpheme. At any rate, to the extent that transparency is present, the monomorphemic interrogative morphemes can be divided, on the basis of their phonemic composition, into three groups, just as it is done in the present analysis of Rabha:

- (i) those with a nasal onset or lacking it

Group one has only one member in each language and has the meaning 'what':

Bodo: ma
 Garo: mai
 Rabha: at- (nominative *ata* and accusative *ato*)

The adverbial interrogative 'why' which is also used as a conjunction meaning 'because, for' in each language is derived from this basic interrogative with the suffixation of the respective dative:

Bodo: ma-ni
 Garo: mai-na
 Rabha: ata-na ~ ana

Bodo has a another conjunctive morpheme *manina* which is parallel to *mani*. The adverbial interrogative 'how' in Bodo and Garo (but not in Rabha) are also derived from this basic morpheme: B *mabiri* ~ *mabri* 'how' which is derived from *ma* 'what' and *biri* 'how'. *biri* itself means 'how' but the composite form is more generally used (to the extent that *biri* is a free morpheme Bodo alone has such an adverbial interrogative as a free form); G *maidake* (from *mai* 'what', *dak* 'to do, to make' and the incompletive or participial suffix *-e*). The Rabha counterpart is derived from base *bV-* (see iii below). The logic of the Bodo and Garo forms is 'what way or what how' and that of Rabha 'which way or which how'. Bodo has another peculiarity that the adverbial interrogative *mabla* 'when' is also derived from *ma* 'what'; *-bla* is probably related to the suffix *-bla* 'if'. The Garo and Rabha forms have the base *bV-*.

(ii) those with a fricative or affricate onset

This group too contains just one morpheme in each language meaning 'who':

Bodo: sir
 Garo: sawa (combining morphemes *sa-* and *san-*)
 Rabha: caŋ

(iii) those with a basic *bV-* pattern

The majority of the interrogatives fall into this category in each language. It appears that this group has more than one member, unlike the two groups discussed above, only because the synchronic forms are opaque and not analysable. The greater likelihood is that at the base of the various interrogatives in each language is a single basic morpheme whose semantics is amplified and expanded with other suffixes whose transparency is hidden behind the veil of various diachronic changes.

Bodo has *baoha* ~ *bouha* 'at where, to where' (*-ha* is related to locative suffix *-ha* and is used also along with *bobe* 'which' to mean 'in which, at which'); *bese* ~ *besebaŋ* 'how much, how many' (*-baŋ* is related *-baŋ* 'plenty'); *bobe* ~ *bobea* 'which'.

Garo has *ba*o ~ *ba*no 'at where' (locative suffix *-o*); *ba*ci ~ *ba*cina 'to where' (dative suffix *-na*); *ba*sako 'when' (locative *-o*) and *ba*dia 'which'.

Rabha has *bi*si 'at where' (*-si* is a clear transform of *-ci* in G *ba*ci); *bi*sina 'to where' (dative suffix *<-na>*); *bo* 'where' (irregular in many respects); *bencek* 'how much'; *bendek* 'how (deep, high, long); *bentu* 'how much (big)'; *bedo* 'when'; *be*kai 'which' (attributive *-kai*) and *be*ŋ 'in which direction (irregular as it is not a free form). Rabha alone has special forms to signal 'how much' as referring to size, quantity and linear dimension separately. Besides these many other adverbial formations are formed from these along with other suffixes.

It appears that all the interrogatives in each language are derived from just three basic interrogative morphemes each: Group (i) of the NV- pattern (where N is a nasal onset followed by a vowel) meaning 'what'; Group (ii) of FV- pattern (where F is a fricative or an affricate onset; V, a vowel) meaning 'who' and Group (iii) of the bV- pattern (where *b* is /b/) meaning 'which'. Semantically, then, a what-morpheme, a who-morpheme and a which-morpheme act as the basic foundation of the interrogatives that are further affixed with specific suffixes to signal the other interrogative requirements of the languages. That reduces the interrogative system to one of a pronominal interrogative system, the adverbial interrogatives being all derived. Table 7.14 presents the commonly used synchronic free forms of the interrogatives in the three languages. Forms given within brackets are either the combining forms or other variants along with a case marker.

Table 7.14 *Interrogatives of Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

	Bodo	Garo	Rabha
who	si	sa-wa (sa-, san-)	caŋ
what	ma	mai	at- (ata, ato)
why	ma-ni, ma-ni-na	mai-na	ata-na, a-na
when	ma-bla	ba-sak-o	be-do
which	bo-be, bo-be-a	ba-di-a	be-kai
at where	be-be-ao, bou, bo-bou, bou-ha	ba-o, ban-o	bi-si, bo

Table 7.14 (*cont.*)

	Bodo	Garo	Rabha
to where	<u>bo</u> -ha	ba-ci, ba-ci-na	bi-si-na, beŋ-a
from where	bo-be-ni-pr <u>ai</u>	ban-o-ni, ban-o-ni-ko	bi-si-ni, bi-si-ni-pa-ra
how	bi <u>rii</u> , ma-bi <u>r-ii</u> ~ ma-b <u>rii</u>	ma <u>i</u> -dak-e	be-khar-e ~ be- kher-e ~ be-khre

7.3.3.4.2 *The Relative*

All the three languages have a relative pronoun borrowed from Indo-Aryan Assamese:

Bodo: je, jai
 Garo: je
 Rabha: ja (~je)

The Bodo *jai* has a greater, but not exclusive, affinity to refer to persons as 'he who'. Rabha has developed more native expressions built on the relative pronoun that are lacking in Bodo and Garo. In all the three languages the relative pronoun is capable of taking the principal noun suffixes:

Bodo: jai-kou (accusative *-kou*)
 Garo: je-ko (accusative *-ko*)
 Rabha: ja-o (accusative *-o*)

Bodo: jai-ni (genitive *-ni*)
 Garo: je-ni (genitive *-ni*)
 Rabha: ja-ni (genitive *-ni*)

Bodo: jai-ni (dative *-ni*)
 Garo: je-na (dative *-na*)
 Rabha: ja-na (dative *-na*)

In each language there exist lexicalised formations involving the relative pronoun as base:

Bodo: je-r-ao 'the place which' (< *je-* and locative suffix *-ao* with *r*-intrusion)

je-r-ii 'the way how' (< *je-* and manner suffix *-ii* with *r*-intrusion)

je-se (~ jesen) 'as much as' (< *je-* and *bese* 'how much')

je-se-baŋ 'as much as' (< *je-* and *besebaŋ* 'how much')

je-la ~ je-bla 'when' (< *je-* and verb suffix *-bla* 'if, when')

Garo: je-basi 'any how' (< *je-* and probably *baci* 'to where' with the change -c- > -s- as in the Rabha forms *bisi* 'at where', *jasi* 'the place which', *usi* 'there' and *isi* 'here')

je-n-salo 'the day or time which' (< *je-*, *sal* 'day', locative suffix *-o* and *n*-intrusion which probably is from the emphatic suffix *-an*, for *je-an salo* is also possible as a phrasal form of *jensalo*)

Rabha appears to have a greater repertoire of native formations built on the relative pronoun (see 4.3.2.6). But it lacks a counterpart for Bodo *jenten* 'somehow or other' which is found in Garo as *jene tene* 'somehow or other'. The expression *jela sela* is found in Bodo meaning 'in the future' and in Rabha meaning 'never (used only in negative imperative)' but not in Garo. Some Rabha forms contain *ja-* while others contain *je-* as a result of morphophonemic changes.

7.3.3.4.3 *The indefinite suffix*

In each of the three languages, there is a suffix that renders the interrogatives and relatives indefinite. There are also other indefinite forms that take this suffix, besides those that do not take it. As Burling pointed out, the suffix is closely related to the suffix meaning 'also'. The suffix in the three languages are:

Bodo: -bi ~ -ba, -kia

Garo: -ba

Rabha: -ba

Bhattacharya (1977: 132) identifies only *-ba* for Bodo. However, it is seen that *-bi* (which in fact is the suffix meaning 'also' with which it is homonymous) has greater statistical probability than *-ba*. The presence of both *-ba* as well as *-bi* is intriguing; however, their alternation is not arbitrary or free. In one instance where both the suffixes may be used, there appears to be a preference for *-bi* when the

sentence is negative and for *-ba* when the sentence is positive. The examples below are drawn from Mochari:

mabla-ba	‘sometimes, at times, now and then, occasionally’ (<i>mabla</i> ‘when’)
mabla-bi	‘never, at no time, at no occasion’

However, this generalisation is certainly not true in other instances as *-bi* can be used also in positive sentences:

je-bi	‘anything’ (<i>je</i> ‘relative pronoun’)
jai-bi	‘any person, anybody’ (<i>jai</i> ‘relative pronoun’)
rao-bi	‘anyone, anybody’
jerao-bi	‘anywhere, everywhere’

Such positive expressions can easily be turned into negative sense with a verb in the negative:

je-bi non-a	‘it is nothing!’ (<i>non</i> ‘be true’; <i>-a</i> ‘negative suffix’)
je-bi giia	‘it is nothing!’ (<i>giia</i> irregular negative form of <i>don</i> ‘there be’)
jerao-bi giia	‘is nowhere’ (<i>giia</i> irregular negative of <i>don</i> ‘there be’)

On the other hand *-ba* formations are never used in negative sentences. Their meaning is positive always.

ma-ba	‘something’ (<i>ma</i> ‘what’)
mabirii-ba	‘somehow, accidentally’ (<i>mabirii</i> ‘how’)
bobou-ba	‘somewhere’ (<i>bobou</i> ~ <i>bobeao</i> ‘where’)
sir-ba	‘someone’ (<i>sir</i> ‘who’)

When the negative sense of these forms are required, a form with suffix *-bi* built either from the same base (if that is possible) or from another base has to be employed. That is how there is *mabirii-bi* as well as *mabirii-ba*; but as there is no **ma-bi* or **sir-bi*; *je-bi* and *rao-bi* along with a verb in the negative have to be used.

The Bodo suffix *-kia* is used with the same meaning of indefiniteness with some bases. Such forms are found only on the relative pronoun as base.

jai-bi	≡ jai-kia	‘any person’
jebi	≡ je-kia	‘any (thing)’
jerao-bi	≡ jerao-kia	‘at any place’
jeb ^l ai ^l bi	≡ jeb ^l ai ^l -kia	‘at any time’
jek ^o u ^o bi	≡ jek ^o u ^o -kia	‘any one (accusative - <i>kou</i>)’
jai ⁿ i ⁿ -bi	≡ jai ⁿ i ⁿ -kia	‘to any one (dative - <i>ni</i>)’

The Garo and Rabha situation need no discussion as the formations are quite straightforward indefinite formations with no alternants for the suffix.

je-ba	‘any, any one, anything’ (<i>je</i> ‘relative pronoun’)
sao-ba	‘someone’ (<i>sawa</i> ‘who’)
basako-ba	‘sometime’ (<i>basako</i> ‘when’)
badia-ba	‘something, some one thing’

The formations in each language may be reduplicated to give repetitive, plural or greater indefinite sense:

Bodo:	sirba	sirba	‘some people’
	mablaba	mablaba	‘sometimes, occasionally’
	(very indefinite)		
Garo:	saoba	saoba	‘some people’
	basakoba	basakoba	‘sometimes, occasionally’
Rabha:	caṅba	caṅba	‘some people’
	bedoba	bedoba	‘sometimes, occasionally’

A common feature that is applicable to these indefinite formations in all the three languages to varying degrees, is the possibility of using the plural marker to give the sense generated by reduplication.

Bodo:	mabla-ba-pir	‘sometimes’
	sirba-pir	‘some people’
Garo:	badia-ba-raṅ	‘some (things)’
	sao-ba-raṅ	‘some people’
Rabha:	bedo-ba-taṅ	‘sometime’
	caṅ-ba-taṅ	‘some people’

The possibility of using the plural marker is present even with reduplicated forms:

Bodo:	sir-ba	sir-ba-pir	‘some people’
Garo:	sao-ba	sao-ba-raŋ	‘some people’
Rabha:	caŋ-ba	caŋ-ba-taŋ	‘some people’

Burling mentions that in Garo the indefinite suffix *-ba* has the unique property of being used either before or after the principal noun suffix. This is true. However, the most commonly and normally used pattern is as following the principal noun suffix. As a matter of fact in some instances the formation with the principal suffix following *-ba* is ill-formed:

Garo:	daraŋ-ko-ba	‘no one (accusative <i>-ko</i>)’, but not *daraŋ-ba-ko
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7.3.4 *The plurals*

The category of plural in normal understanding means more than one of the same thing. While this sense is not absent in the understanding of the plural in the three languages, there are other semantic nuances that make the use of this term not an exact signification of the phenomenon observed. That apart, the plural morphemes in these languages are difficult to correlate inter-lingually. On the one hand there are morphemes in each language that, from the phonemic content, appear to have the same source, but which cannot be correlated in every semantic detail. For example, the Garo derivative *-taŋ* meaning ‘one’s own’ appears to be related to the Rabha *-taŋ*, which is a plural suffix, and to the Bodo *-taŋ* which is used to derive honorific personal pronouns; the Garo *-draŋ* having plural semantics is certainly related to the Rabha *-dron* which is a derivational affix used with a few nouns like *nok* ‘house’ and *soŋ* ‘village’ to indicate the totality of the members. Similarly the Garo general plural suffix *-raŋ* is related to the Rabha plural suffix *-ron* but has quite a different area of influence.

In some respects the languages are in agreement. In none of these languages is the plural category obligatory. Plurality may be semantically present without the presence of an overt plural marker. This is particularly true when there is a quantitative adjective that indicates plurality:

Bodo:	mansi	gi-bán
	man	ADJ-plenty
Garo:	mande	baʔη-a
	man	plenty-PRES
Rabha:	<u>kai</u>	pán-a
	person	plenty-PRES
		'plenty of people'

or, when a numeral formation is present:

Bodo:	dáo	ma-tam
Garo:	doʔo	maη-gittam
Rabha:	tó	maη-atham
	bird	CL-three
		'three bird(s)'

or, when a noun is used in generic sense to stand for the whole species or when nouns are used as imitatives or echo forms.

The various plurality indicating suffixes in the three languages can roughly be correlated as in Table 7.15.

Table 7.15 *Plural markers of Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

	honorific use	primary use in personal pronouns	human plural	general plural
Bodo	-min	-sir	×	-pir
Garo	×	-maη	×	-raη, -draη
Rabha	×	-roη	-taη, -roη	-bijan

The two Garo suffixes *-taη* and *-maηmaη* discussed by Burling (1961: 44) along with the plural markers as suffixes that can occur along with plural suffixes have been kept out as they are not plural markers at all.

Table 7.15 brings out two important differences between the languages: (i) that Bodo alone has an honorific plural suffix *-min* used after the honorific suffix *-taη* which itself is probably related to the Rabha plural suffix *-taη*. The likelihood is higher as in Rabha *-taη* is not a general suffix but a human plural suffix. It is difficult to say

if *-min* also is related to the Garo *-man* which also has plural semantics related to persons. Dialectically *-pir* is also used in the place of *-min*.

Bodo: níŋ-taŋ-min ‘you (honorific, plural)’

(ii) that Rabha alone has a special human plural *-taŋ* used of ordinary nouns. It is used as *-bataŋ* in combination with the attributive *-ba* to indicate plurality of agent-subjects of a verb. In Bodo and Garo, the suffixes *-pir* and *-raŋ* fill this function

Rabha:	kai-taŋ	‘people’
	rén-ba-taŋ	‘those who are going’
Bodo:	mansi-pir	‘people’
	phii-gra-pir	‘those who are coming’
Garo:	mande-raŋ	‘people’
	reʔaŋ-gipa-raŋ	‘those who are going’

Bodo *-sir*, Garo *-man* and Rabha *-roŋ* are primarily used with the second and third person pronouns:

Bodo:	níŋ-sir	‘you (pl)’	bi-sir	‘they’
Garo:	naʔ-simaŋ	‘you (pl)’	ua-man	‘they’
Rabha:	na-roŋ	‘you (pl)’	u-roŋ ~ o-roŋ	‘they’

The pattern only shows the primary, and not the exclusive, use of the suffix. In Garo and Rabha, the respective morphemes *-man* and *-roŋ* can be used also to mean ‘and related others or and those along with’. Burling records this instance as *-maʔŋ*; however, it is the same as the plural marker *-man* discussed above.

Garo:	baba-man	‘dad and others (with him)’
Rabha:	baba-roŋ	‘dad and other (with him)’

In Rabha *-roŋ* is also used not just in the sense explained above but also as a normal plural marker indicating ‘many’ for a number of nouns having relational meaning. The correlated Bodo and Garo suffixes *-sir* and *-man* do not have this facility:

Rabha:	bidi-roŋ	‘grandmothers’
	momo-roŋ	‘young siblings’

At any rate, the three suffixes Bodo *-sɪr*, Garo *-maŋ* and Rabha *-roŋ* can only be used of nouns denoting persons. Hence although Bodo and Garo lack a human plural marker parallel to the Rabha *-taŋ* (and *bataŋ*) a vestigial substratum of distinction between human and non-human nouns persist in the plural formations via the distinction seen in the plural marker for the personal pronouns.

The general plural suffixes are Bodo *-pɪr*, Garo *-raŋ* and Rabha *-bijan*. Bodo *-pɪr* is probably a well-nativised Assamese plural suffix *-bur*. It has acquired facility to be used in the place of the other plural suffixes too. In Garo, *-raŋ* is the general plural marker; *-draŋ* is used only with a few nouns. The Rabha general plural suffix *-bijan* is used with names of profession like *doktor* ‘doctor’ although the referent is a person.

A common feature of the plural marker in these languages is that they can be used with some interrogatives with the indefinite suffix and some nouns that function as adverbs of time to render them further indefinite. For this function the plural markers that are used are Bodo *-pɪr*, Garo *-raŋ* and Rabha *-taŋ*. The Rabha *-bijan*, which actually forms a set along with Bodo *-pɪr* and Garo *-raŋ*, is not used. Apparently, it cannot signify any sense besides strict plurality in the sense of ‘many’.

Bodo:	mabla-bi -pɪr	‘sometimes, on some occasions’ (<i>mabla</i> ‘when’)
Garo:	knal-raŋ-o	‘in the days to come’ (<i>knal</i> ‘tomorrow’ -o ‘locative’)
Rabha:	gaphuŋ-taŋ	‘in the days to come’ (<i>gaphuŋ</i> ‘tomorrow’)

It becomes evident, then, that morphemes that seem to have some earlier common source have carved out different semantic fields that are not synchronically coextensive in the three languages. Within a language too, the semantic fields of the various morphemes criss-cross making correlative analysis difficult.

7.3.5 *The principal noun suffixes*

In all the three languages, a noun root, simple, derived or compounded, may be followed by suffixes that denote case-relation. Burling’s grammar of Garo (1961) as well Bhattacharya’s analysis of

Bodo did not refer to them directly as case suffixes, rather treated them as suffixes and described their morphological and semantic role.

The present analysis of Rabha accepts a two-layered case marking system with simple or compound principal suffixes in the first layer and a second layer of postpositions. Bhattacharya does mention some postpositions (1977: 152). The Garo counterparts of many of the postpositions of Rabha are treated as affixes in Burling's analysis as they combine with the combining forms of the pronouns. The area of the pronouns is the sole area in Garo where there exists a difference between free forms and combining forms, basing on which the status of the morphemes either as affixes or as postpositions is determined. Within the analysis of a single language this is a sound methodology. This criterion, however, is not testable in Bodo and Rabha where in the entire language there is no differentiation between the free form and combining form for any class of nouns. The suffixal status of some of Burling's secondary noun suffixes (1961: 45) is more difficult to demonstrate either on phonological or distributional grounds. The integration of these forms into the host does not appear to be intimate enough to warrant treatment as suffixes. Some of these secondary suffixes are clearly nouns. For example *-asel* 'because of' treated as a secondary suffix to genitive *-ni* is a noun meaning 'reason'. There are others that do not have such semantic transparency. It is clear, then, that it is difficult to decide whether a particular morpheme is a suffix or a postposition. For correlative purposes, however, the two-tier system is accepted with an inner layer of case markers (simple or compounded) and an outer layer of postpositions. There are also relator nouns in all the three languages used especially with the genitive formations. Table 7.17 shows the various case suffixes of Bodo, Garo and Rabha.

(1) The nominative

The normal nominative in all the three languages is reported to be not marked overtly. In the analysis of Bodo by Bhat a nominative marker *-a* is spoken of. Bhattacharya calls it (and its allomorph *-i* which appears in some pronouns: *büi* 'he, she' and others) the determinative nominative suffix. In fact, it is difficult to strictly differentiate these two functions as the suffix occurs only in the nominative. Mochari (1977: 17) calls it the determinative suffix.

mansi-a ga-ham
 man-DET ADJ-good
 'the man is good'

boŋpaŋ-a gi-jou
 tree-DET ADJ-high
 'the tree is tall'

Several of the free forms of the Garo pronouns have a final *-a* which, according to Burling, could be considered a special nominative suffix. The combining forms of the pronouns lack this *-a*, besides other changes. An inter-lingual correlation points to the fact that there must have existed a nominative suffix **-a* that has been abandoned completely by Rabha, retained as an optional nominative-determinative indicator in Bodo and preserved in a fossilised form on the pronouns of Garo which is dropped to give the combining forms which are all correlatable with the only forms of the pronouns in Rabha. Thus we have:

First person singular: B aŋ; G aŋa, aŋ; R aŋ
 First person plural: B jŋ; G ciŋa, ciŋ; R ciŋ
 Second person singular: B nŋ; G naʔa, naʔŋ; R nán
 Third person singular B bi, bi; G bia, bi-, ua, u-; G u

When the determinative or definitive sense is required Garo uses *-de* and Rabha uses *-be*. The Bodo examples above with the nominative determinative suffix *-a*, can be rendered with Garo *-de* and Rabha *be*.

G mande-de nam-a
 R kai-be nem-a
 person-DET good-PRES
 'the man (person) is good'

G bol-de cu-a
 R pan-be ró-a
 tree-DET tall-PRES
 'the tree is tall'

However, the difference lies in the fact that the Garo *-de* and Rabha *-be* are only determinative and may be used after other case suffixes, while Bodo *-a* ~ *-i* can be used only in the nominative, thus combining the nominative and the determinative, just as Bhattacharya named it.

The total absence of the nominative in Rabha makes the nominative forms, especially the monophonic *u*, attract the definitive suffix *-be* very easily. Rabha, but not Bodo or Garo, has fossilised first person singular *ame* 'I (DEF)' and first person plural *cime* 'we(DEF)' both of which contain the DET *-be*.

(2) The accusative

The accusative suffixes, bear close phonemic similarity across the languages:

Bodo:	-kou
Garo:	-ko
Rabha:	-o

(3) The dative

The dative suffixes are::

Bodo:	-ni
Garo:	-na
Rabha:	<-na>, <-na> neke

Rabha has a very frequently used extended dative with postposition *neke* (which also forms extended infinitive). The extended dative has the meaning 'precisely for'. Garo has a postposition *gita*; however, it is used only with the infinitive and not with the dative.

Besides, Garo and Rabha have very regularly used postpositions along with the dative:

Garo:	-na skañ	'before' (<i>skañ</i> 'before')
	-na bate	'more than' (<i>bat</i> 'to exceed', <i>-e</i> 'participial marker')
	-na agre	'besides, except' (<i>agre</i> 'to exceed')
Rabha:	<-na> tikan	'before' (<i>tikan</i> 'before')
	<-na> kára	'more than' (<i>kára</i> 'above, on top')
	<-na> pica	'besides'

Burling also mentions *-na kin̄kin̄* 'until'. However, it is more characteristically used with the compound suffix *-ona*. Strangely enough Bodo does not form such forms with the dative. However, in Bodo, these semantic units are generated from the genitive.

(4) The Genitive

The genitive suffixes are:

Bodo:	-ni
Garo:	-ni
Rabha:	<-ni>

The genitive suffix is the one that forms the greatest number of extended formations and formations with relator nouns, generating meanings of more precise spatial orientations like 'above', 'below', 'among'. The relator nouns in each language are analysable to varying degrees. Some are regular lexical nouns while others are used only in such constructions along with the genitive such that they appear to be grammaticalised as postpositions. Some of the frequently used formations are given below:

Bodo:	-ni <u>kaini</u>	'because of'
	-ni <u>prai</u>	'from (ablative)'
	-ni <u>takai</u>	'for, for the sake of'
	-ni <u>kurii</u>	'more than'
	-ni <u>junii</u>	'because of'
	-ni <u>gejerao</u>	'in the midst of'
Garo:	-ni <u>gimin</u>	'because of or about'
	-ni <u>pal</u>	'instead of'
	-ni <u>kri</u>	'in accordance with, according to'
	-ni <u>kosako</u>	'on top of'
	-ni <u>kamao</u>	'below'
	-ni <u>ja?mano</u>	'after'
	-ni <u>gisepo</u>	'among, in the midst of, in between'
	-ni <u>sepaŋo</u>	'be the side of, near'
	-ni <u>mikkaŋo</u>	'in front of'
	-ni <u>ki?saŋo</u>	'behind'
	-ni <u>niŋo</u>	'inside'
Rabha:	<-ni> <u>badan</u>	'because of, for the sake of, on account of'

<-ni>	badaṇa	
<-ni>	badaṇa neke	
<-ni>	para	‘from (ablative)’
<-ni>	dó̄i ~ <-ni> dó̄ie	‘instead of’
<-ni>	saṇi	‘according to’
<-ni>	káraṇ	‘on top of, above’
<-ni>	kámai	‘below, under’
<-ni>	cábani	‘after’
<-ni>	majari	‘in between, in the midst’
<-ni>	mīdri	‘among’
<-ni>	kaphai	‘be the side of, near’
<-ni>	pīmuṇ	‘inside’
<-ni>	khúmaṇi	‘at the beginning of, at the mouth of’
<-ni>	nukhaṇi	‘in front of’
<-ni>	jíklaṇi	‘behind’
<-ni>	khútakaṇi	‘at the front of’

The final *-ao*, *-o* and *-i* in the Bodo, Garo and Rabha expressions respectively are the respective locative suffixes which is the commonly used suffix in such formations. However, if needed other relevant and semantically compatible suffixes may be used. Bodo *-ni praí* and Rabha *-ni para* have the second element borrowed from Assamese *pora* which functions exactly in a parallel construction in Assamese giving the ablative along with the genitive. Garo, which has not developed this feature, signals the ablative through a combination of locative and genitive, which is still a possibility in Bodo and Rabha.

(5) The locative

The locative suffixes are:

Bodo: *-ao*, *-ha*

Garo: *-o*

Rabha: *-i* ~ *-iti* ~ *-ti*

Given that the suffixes indicating the basic case-relations like the genitive and the dative are phonemically correlatable across the three languages, the difference in the locative suffix seems to break the pattern. The Bodo *-ao* also indicates direction or movement towards. The Garo and Rabha locative suffixes also show a minor semantic

difference that surfaces when in combination with the principal suffix *-na*. An explanation for the both phenomena is given while discussing the Garo instrumental *-ci* (see No. 7 below).

Bodo and Rabha have a special suffix *-ha* and *kataŋ* respectively, used usually with human nouns to indicate possession by or nearness to.

Bodo:	aŋ-ha	paisa	gĩa	(<i>gĩa</i> irregular negative of <i>doŋ</i> 'there be')
Rabha:	aŋ kataŋ	paisa	toŋ-ca	
	I-with	money	be-NEG	
	'I have no money (with me there is no money)'			

Garo signals this directly with the locative:

Garo:	aŋ-o	paisa	doŋ-ja
	I-LOC	money	be-NEG
	'I have no money (with me there is no money)'		

The meaning of nearness can be rendered one of movement or direction with further suffixation in Rabha. Bodo does not require further affixation. In Garo this meaning is had by the direction indicating *-ci* or *-ona* (which is locative-dative). Bhattacharya (1977: 149) considers the Bodo suffix *-ha* to be in overlap with the genitive suffix. That it is a locative suffix rather than a genitive suffix is evident from the meaning it generates with the relatives, the interrogatives and the indefinites: *bobe-ha* 'in which place, in whom?'; *boi-ha* 'in all persons?'; *jai-ha* 'the one with or in whom' (*jai-ha je-bi gĩa* 'the one who has nothing'); *bou-ha* ~ *bao-ha* 'where (locative)'.

(6) Various combinations of locative, dative and genitive suffixes

In all the three languages, combinations of the locative, dative and genitive generate ablative (from), allative (to or towards and up to) and illative (into) and elative (from inside) meanings.

Garo has locative-genitive *-oni* 'from', locative-dative *-ona* 'to, towards, up to' and a specific *-oniko* (difficult to say if *-ko* is in any way related to the accusative *-ko*) 'from' in the sense of 'from source' the source being static and the moving object as being 'moved by another' but not moving by itself. To these composite suffixes other postpositions may be added to give more specific meaning.

-ona dipet	‘until, up to’
-ona kiŋkiŋ	‘until, up to’
-oni dipet	‘from, since’
-oni intal ~ -ni intaltal	‘from, since’

Rabha has the locative-dative *-ina* ‘into’, locative-genitive (along with a postposition *para*) *-ini* ~ *-ini para* ‘from (as from source)’.

The semantic shift between Garo and Rabha is remarkable. The locative-dative combination generates allative sense of ‘up to, until’ in Garo, while in Rabha it generates also the illative sense of ‘into’ (besides the normal ‘to’). For the allative ‘up to, until’ meaning Rabha employs *-cekena*, and for the illative sense of ‘into’ Garo normally uses a relator noun as in: *-ni ni?ŋ-ci* ‘into the inside of’. That the locative suffix *-i* of Rabha has inherent sense of movement, surfaces when it is used in combination with the dative *-na*. To generate such dynamic sense the Garo locative is insufficient; it needs another direction indicator *-ci*. This semantic difference between the Garo and Rabha locative suffixes, and the fact that the Rabha locative suffix *-i* bears no similarity to that of Garo or Bodo, are due to the fact that the Rabha *-i* has its source in the Garo *-ci* (see No. 7 below).

The semantic shift in the locative-genitive combination is not much except that the G *-oniko* is replaced by *-ini para* in Rabha and *-ni prai* in Bodo. Rabha takes no postpositions after compound suffixes, unlike Garo which does.

Compound suffixes appear to be not common in Bodo. The reason could be that unlike in Garo and Rabha, the Bodo locative *-ao* also indicates also movement or direction towards.

Bodo:	aŋ gami- <u>ao</u>	tá-(y)î (intrusive [y])
	I village-LOC	stay-PRES
	‘I stay in the village’	
	aŋ gami- <u>ao</u>	táŋ-dîŋ
	I village-LOC	go-CONT
	‘I am going to the village’	

(7) The instrumental, the comitative, the perlative, the direction and similarity

These functions have been clubbed together as different combinations of these functions are performed by the same suffix in the three languages:

Table 7.16 *The instrumental, comitative, perlative along with the direction and similarity indicating morphemes in Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

	instrumental	comitative	in the direction of	perlative	similarity
Bodo	j̄ɪŋ	j̄ɪŋ, j̄ɪŋ liŋise	-ao, tiŋi	j̄ɪŋ	badi
Garo	-ci	baksa, muŋ, -muŋbaksa	-ci, cipak, -cina, -ona	gita	gita
Rabha	peke ~ pake	peke ~ pake, sita	-ina, gudun	-koro ~ -tokoro	ganda

It is difficult to treat any one suffix and any one function as it would not give a total picture of the behaviour of the suffix. It is evident that here, as well in other areas of the grammar of these languages, the semantic areas are cut up differently by different morphemes. One suffix that combines one set of two functions may have to be correlated with a suffix in another where it combines other functions. Many suffixes also show peculiar behavioural pattern.

The Bodo *j̄ɪŋ* (spelt with a high tone by Mochari) has instrumental, comitative as well as perlative function. It takes *liŋise* 'together with' (*liŋi* 'friend') as an optional emphatic postposition in the comitative use. Besides, it has the special feature of being used with two nouns to indicate mutual action.

Bodo: daba-j̄ɪŋ
 knife-with
 'with knife' (instrumental)

aŋ n̄ɪŋ-j̄ɪŋ t̄aŋ-pa-ḡɪŋ
 I you-with go-together-FUT
 'I will go along with you' (comitative)

lama-j̄ɪŋ t̄aŋ-Ø
 path-along go-IMP
 'go along the path' (perlative)

'Movement towards' is indicated by *-ao* which is also the locative suffix, and *-tiŋi* shows direction itself:

nó- <u>ao</u> tán	‘go home or go to the house’
	(<i>nó</i> ‘house’; <i>tán</i> ‘to go’)
nó-tiŋ <u>ii</u> tán	‘go towards the house’

The notion of being alike, in Bodo, is indicated by *badi*:

mansi	badi	nu-(y) <u>i</u>	(intrusive [y])
man	like	look-PRES	
‘looks like a man’			

Garó *-ci* is both instrumental and direction-indicating, but not prelativ or comitative.

Garó:	atte-ci	
	knife-with	
	‘with knife’	(instrumental)
	nok-ci	
	house-to	
	‘to the house’	(indicating direction)

Garó happens to be the only language having this combination. Burling considers them to be homonyms with very different meanings. It is difficult to say whether they are homonyms or just homophones. The reflex of Garó *-ci* having the meaning of direction persists in a few lexemes of Rabha as *-si* having changed the meaning to locative.

Garó:	ba-ci	‘to where’	>	Rabha:	bi-si	‘(at) where’
	u-ci	‘to there’	>		u-si	‘there’
	ia-ci	‘to here’	>		i-si	‘here’
	je-ci	‘to where (relative)’	>		ja-si	‘(at) where (relative)’

The mutation further progressed resulting in the loss of the consonant (probably after having changed also into *-t*, traces of which are still present in the allomorphs of the Rabha locative) giving birth to the Rabha locative *-i* and its other allomorphs (*-ti* ~ *-iti*). However, although it ended up being a locative suffix, it is seen that its dynamic sense is not totally wiped out. It surfaces when used in combination with dative suffix *-na* giving the illative meaning ‘into’. Garó locative-

dative combination, on the other hand, generates the allative 'up to, until'. That the Rabha locative *-i ~ -ti* has resulted from the Garo *-ci*, which is dynamic in sense, explains the inherent dynamic sense as well the reason for its phonemic shape that is so different from the locatives of Bodo (*-ao*) and Garo (*-o*).

Within Garo itself, direction-indicating *-ci* combines with dative *-na* and genitive *-ni* giving forms *-cina* 'to, towards' and *-cini* 'from' which are quite parallel to *-ona* 'up to, until' and *-oni* 'from'. It also combines with *-pak* and *-bara* generating spatial 'towards' and temporal 'towards' respectively.

The comitative in Garo is signalled by *-baksa* and *-mun*, and occasionally by a combination of both these forms.

Garo:	aŋ-baksa	doŋ-bo
	aŋ-mun	doŋ-bo
	aŋ-munbaksa	doŋ-bo
	I-with	stay-IMP
	'stay (along) with me'	

-gita indicates both perlocative 'path along, way through' and similarity of 'being like':

Garo:	bol	gita	nik-a
	tree	like	see-PRES
	'looks like (a) tree' (similarity)		
	aʔbri	gita	reʔaŋ-bo
	mountain	by	way go-IMP
	'go by the mountain (path)' (perlocative)		

Rabha has the greatest specialisation of the functions that are being treated in this section. The form *peke ~ pake* (verb root *pak* 'to stick to') is both instrumental and comitative. *sita* has the similar meaning of 'together with, including'.

Rabha:	kaŋka	peke	tán-Ø
	knife	with	cut-IMP
	'cut with the knife' (instrumental)		
	oroŋ	peke	toŋ-Ø
	they	with	stay-IMP
	'stay along with them' (comitative)		

citraŋ sita phok-a
 roots together with pluck-PRES
 ‘pluck along with roots’ (inclusive)

baba sita réŋ-ata
 father along with go-PAST
 ‘went along with father’

The perlativ *koro* ~ *tokoro* has only one function in Rabha and is unique in phonemic composition.

cika tokoro-an pá-Ø
 water through-EMPH go over-IMP
 ‘go across through the water itself’ (perlativ)

The indication of similarity is correlatable across the three languages. Its Garo counterpart has also perlativ function.

nok ganda nuk-a
 house like see-PRES
 ‘looks like (a) house’

Having used up the direction indicating *-ci* of Garo to form the locative *-i*, Rabha has settled on *guduŋ* to indicate direction and a locative-dative combination to indicate movement towards:

nok guduŋ ‘in the direction of the house’ (*nok* ‘house’)
 nok-ina réŋ-Ø
 house-to go-IMP
 ‘go home or go to the house’

Table 7.17 Case suffixes in Bodo, Garo and Rabha

	Bodo	Garo	Rabha
nominative	Ø - (-i ~ a)	Ø ~ (-a)	Ø
accusative	-kou	-ko	-o
dative	-ni	-na	{-na}
genitive	-ni	-ni	{-ni}

Table 7.17 (*cont.*)

	Bodo	Garo	Rabha
locative	- <u>ao</u> , -ha	-o	-i ~ (i)ti, katan
to (movement)	- <u>ao</u>	-ci, -cina	-ina
ablative	-ni -ni <u>prai</u>	-cini, -oni -ciniko, -oniko	-ini -ini para
‘up to, until’	-sim	-ona dipet -ona kiŋkiŋ	-cekena
in the direction of, towards	-tiŋi (spatial)	-cipak (spatial) -cibara (temporal)	guduŋ (spatial)
instrumental	-jŋi	-ci	peke
comitative	-jŋi, jŋi liŋise	baksa, muŋ, muŋbaksa	peke ~ pake, sita
‘like’	badi	gita	ganda
perlative	-jŋi	gita	koro ~ tokoro

7.3.6 *Nouns and noun derivation*

Keeping the productive and semi-productive derivational affixes aside, the structure of the nouns of Bodo, Garo and Rabha can be scanned on a correlative basis with great profit. The analysis presented below of the nouns and the processes of noun formation in the three languages is partly along the lines first pointed out for Garo by Burling (1984) and partly along the lines the polymorphemic Rabha nouns have been analysed in the present work.

Burling analysed ‘noun compounds’ in Garo finding in them a pattern of being composed of ‘a categorising initial portion, most often a single syllable, to which is added one or more syllables that indicate the specific member of the category’ (Burling 1984: 14). He called these initial syllables ‘categorisers’ (p. 15). This approach towards this section of the Garo lexicon is highly revealing and can be extended to Boro and Rabha through a comparative approach.

However, there are certain aspects of Burling’s approach that need to be analysed and evaluated. (1) Burling admitted that in many cases the initial categorisers are not potentially free. The second parts

used along with the categorisers are also in many instances not free, nor are they semantically identifiable. Yet Burling treats them all as compounds, while general morphological theory understands compounds as combinations of two or more potential stems. (2) Compounds that contain an initial categoriser are of the form *x-y*, where *x* is the categoriser and *y* the restricting term, *x-y* being a subset of *x*. This is equivalent to saying that *x-y* is a head-first endocentric compound. Burling's observation that there are many such compounds where the elements *x* and *y* are in a genus-differentiae relationship is true and exposes a common device in Garo (as well as in Bodo and Rabha to varying degrees as will be seen below). However, among the array of illustrations given by Burling, in addition to the head-first genus-differentiae endocentric compounds, there are others that denote other things closely related to the categoriser. These are head-last endocentric compounds of the form *x-y*, *x-y* being a subset of *y*, creating a situation where in two occurrences of *x*, it is a categoriser in one instance but not in the other. The latter are instances of *tatpurusha* compounds where the relationship between the parts is not of the genus-differentiae type, rather of some case-relationship, one exercising syntactic government over another (Wilson 1961:353). The most commonly noticed case-relationship is the genitive-case relationship, the compounds themselves having grown out of genitive-deletion. Accordingly, separating the head-first and head-last endocentric compounds for these languages, as has been done for Rabha in the present analysis, has deeper significance and relevance. It is true that Burling reserved the term categoriser for the initial element in compounds having genus-differentiae relationship. However, while discussing many categorisers no distinction is made between these two different types of relationship that exist between the parts of the compound.

An interesting point that differentiates Garo on the one hand, and Rabha and Boro on the other, is that in the latter we come across categorisers in the initial position as well as in the second position. That is, in Boro and Rabha, categorisers are found to occur in head-first endocentric compounds with genus-differentiae relationship and in head-last endocentric compounds with differentiae-genus relationship. This is a noteworthy phenomenon and appears to be a deviation from the norm of head appearing first when the relationship is a genus-differentiae relationship.

Burling's approach has the advantage of covering a bigger area of Garo nouns, thus providing a bird's eye view of noun formation

in Garo. However, the same can be brought into sharper focus by paying attention to the relationship that holds between the parts of compounds.

All things considered, the comparative analysis below takes into account only the most productive and common of the categorisers. The term ‘categoriser’ is understood as indicating the genus or the broader category whether it occurs as the first element or the second (as it happens in certain Boro and Rabha instances), while the other term indicates the differentiae. The occurrence of categorisers or genus indicators as the second part in head-last endocentric constructions in Boro and Rabha is diagnostic of influence from Assamese. If the identified categorisers enter into *tatpurusha* compounds, some examples are provided. Burling analysed the categorisers as used in Garo to classify the animals, the plants, the natural world, objects of human manufacture and body parts, having also a section for miscellaneous and scattered forms.

7.3.6.1 *The animal categorisers*

Burling identified four important categorisers that organise much of the animal kingdom: *doʔ-*, *naʔ-*, *joʔŋ-* and *mat* for ‘birds’, ‘fish’, ‘insects’ and ‘four-legged animals’ respectively. A few of the very many examples that Burling gives are given below (Burling’s use of *ch* for /c/, *ng* for /ŋ/ and /ʔ/ for the glottal stop following the standard orthography of Garo has not been maintained here):

- doʔ-*: *doʔ-o* ‘domestic fowl’; *doʔ-gep* ‘duck’; *doʔ-po* ‘owl’; *doʔ-ka* ‘crow’; *doʔ-kru*; ‘dove’; *doʔ-ok* ‘raven’; *doʔ-pat-ci* ‘swallow’; *doʔ-bak* ‘bat’.
- naʔ-*: *naʔ-tok*, ‘fish’; *naʔ-ek*, ‘a big flat fish’; *naʔ-dan* or *naʔ-gran* ‘eel-like fish’; *naʔ-tik* ‘prawn’; *naʔ-nil* ‘eel’; *naʔ-kam* ‘dried fish’ (*kam* ‘burn’).
- joʔŋ-*: *joʔ-on* ‘bug’ (more accurately ‘insect’); *joʔŋ-bo* ‘a white worm that lives underground’; *joʔŋ-dol* ‘a species of large cricket’; *joʔŋ-su* ‘a kind of caterpillar’.
- mat*: *mat* ‘squirrel’; *mat-burun* ‘animal’ (*bu-rung* ‘forest’); *mat-cu* ‘cow, cattle’; *mat-ca* ‘tiger’; *mat-capeŋ* ‘leopard’; *mat-cok* ‘deer’; *mat-cru* ‘civet-cat’. *mat-te* ‘a rogue animal’. To this also belongs *mak-kre* (< *mat-kre*) ‘monkey’ and *mat-pil* ‘bear’ and *mat-pu* ‘a species of lizard’ all of which Burling wrongly syllabifies as *mak-re*, *map-il* and *map-u* respectively. The standard orthography too represents these words as *makkre*, *mapil* and *mapu*.

Just as in Garo, the most prominent categorisers for animals in Rabha are *tó*, *ná*, *cón* and *má-* corresponding to the four categorisers of Garo. All except *má-* are also free forms.

tó: *tó* ‘bird, fowl’; *tó-bau* ‘owl’; *tó-bela* ‘pelican’; *tó-dobone* ‘wagtail’; *tó-dimbai*, ‘a variety of small bird that preys on bigger birds’; *tó-kha* ‘crow’; *tó-khocen* ‘a bird with variegated plumage’; *tó-khur* ‘dove’; *tó-kruk* ‘a variety of bird with long neck and small head with crest feathers’; *tó-maji* ‘a bird of robin family’; *tó-muk* ‘a bird of partridge family’; *tó-pak* ‘butterfly’; *tó-pha* ‘a bird of partridge family with two long conspicuous feathers’; *tó-phre* ‘sparrow’; *tó-palençin* ~ *tó-polañcin* ‘chimney swift’; *tó-pruk* ‘a bird of bulbul family’; *tó-pukpuk* ‘a bird that chirps *pukpuk*’; *tó-rañ* ‘eagle’; *tó-rañkre* ‘a variety of eagle’; *tó-re* ‘a bird of pigeon family that move in flocks at great speed’; *tó-sar* ‘wild fowl’.

Deviating from the normal pattern of head-first genus-differentiae compounds Rabha has a number of instances where the categoriser *tó* occurs in the second place: *teteao* *tó* ‘a variety of bird that nests on ground among bushes that cries *tetatao*’; *tetepali* *tó* ‘a variety of bird’

ná: *ná* ‘fish’; *ná-con*, *ná-diñban*, *ná-jek* ~ *ná-jeñ*, *ná-katrai* (*katrai* ‘pen-knife’) *ná-krañ*, *ná-rak* ~ *ná-rañ* are all different varieties of fish; *ná-khem* ‘dried fish’ *ná-luk* ‘tadpole’; *ná-ner* ‘electric eel’; *ná-thuk* ~ *ná-kacen* ‘prawn’.

There are a few instances of head-last endocentric compounds where the genus indicator occurs second: *nasná* ~ *nasaná*, ‘a variety of fish’; *nisli ná* ‘a small variety of fish’; *taki ná* ‘a kind of fish’. Some head-first compounds may further be reinforced with another occurrence of the genus indicator as in: *nácon* ~ *nácon* *ná* a variety of fish; *nákrañ* ~ *nákrañ* *ná* a variety of fish found mainly in holes along the bank; *nájek* (~ *nájeñ*) ~ *nájek* *ná* ‘a variety of freshwater fish’.

cón: *cón* ‘insect, worm’; *cón-bon* ‘woodworm’; *cón-ci* ‘worm-stage of fly’; *cón-khobak* ‘white lice’; *cón-khumuti* ‘a tiny winged insect that gathers around wounds’; *cón-reñreñ* ~ *cón-rañsañ* ‘an insect that makes noise as days get warmer’ (*reñreñ* ‘its characteristic cry’; *rañsañ* ‘sun’). In a few cases *cón* appears optionally in either the

first place or the second place: *cón-kalanji* ~ *kalanji-cón* 'a kind of centipede';

R *má-* is clearly a reflex of G *mat* that underwent two changes. First of all it lost its potential freedom, and secondly it underwent *t*-deletion probably under the impact of its combinations where the second syllable begins with a consonant. Incidentally, all presently available combinations are of that nature. Such a rule is still operative in synchronic Rabha, although greater rigidity is seen in the area of verbs than nouns. There are at least two instances where *má-* is represented by *mak-* just as is the case in Garo.

má: *má-ba* 'male (animal)'; *má-ju* 'female (animal)'; *má-da* 'bear'; *má-jor* ~ *makjor* 'a variety of tiger'; *makkra* 'monkey'; *má-ru* 'a wild cat'; *má-sa* 'tiger'; *má-si* 'deer'; *má-su* 'cow, cattle'; *má-tha* 'a big and wild variety of lizard, aniguana'; *má-thai* 'a rogue animal' (also used as imitative word with *má-su*). There are other names *mí-si* 'buffalo' and *mo-có* 'rat'. It is difficult to say if the first syllable is in any way related to *má-*, its present shape being a result of vowel harmony.

Bodo represents a parallel situation with minor differences. Bodo has *dáo* 'bird' and *ná* 'fish' parallel to G *doʔ-* and *naʔ-* with the exception that the Bodo forms are free forms.

dáo: *dáo* 'bird, fowl'; *dáo-an* 'a toucan'; *dáo-alantu* 'an unfledged bird'; *dáo-blut* 'bulbul'; *dáo-bo* 'heron'; *dáo-dai* 'peafowl'; *dáo-denkur* 'a kind of moor bird'; *dáo-ka* 'crow'; *dáo-kánjon* 'a bird with comb on the head'; *dáo-khoulou* 'cuckoo'; *dáo-ki* 'coot, a water bird'; *dáo-khüri* 'a bird of the partridge family'; *dáo-masar* 'wild fowl'; *dáo-pursi* 'wagtail'; *dáo-nathut* 'kingfisher'; *dáo-sit* 'a weaver bird'; *dáo-tu* 'dove'.

ná: *ná-barli* ~ *ná-baqli* 'catfish'; *ná-bĩksi* 'a round fish with prickly scale'; *ná-dapka* 'dried fish preserved with fat'; *ná-srai* 'a mud-water fish'; *ná-sul* 'a variety of fish'; *ná-tepa* 'glope fish'; *ná-tota* 'a fish with large mouth'.

The Bodo parallel to the Garo *joʔn-* and Rabha *cón* is not so straightforwardly noticeable. The phoneme correspondence B Ø ≡ G /j-/ ≡ R /c-/ treated in 7.2.1.4.1 and other changes that have affected the

vowel and the final $-ŋ$ make it rather opaque. There is a set of words having an initial $oŋ-$, all of them being words for various insects, making $oŋ-$ in these examples a probable correlative of G $joʔŋ$ and R $cóŋ$.

oŋ-jema ‘a kind of water-beetle’; *oŋ-ka* ‘midge, gnat’; *oŋ-krema* ‘a poisonous insect’; *oŋ-seb* ‘an insect that causes smarting pain when touched’.

On the other hand, there is another set of words having vowel /e/ followed by a nasal that appears to have been assimilated to the following consonant. This set also includes creatures like ‘rat’ and ‘frog’ that are definitely not insect-like. If not related to the set above, it is possible that the initial syllables of these words are related to G $beʔŋ-$ R $beŋ-$ that appear in names of frogs in those languages. The phoneme correspondence B $\emptyset \equiv$ G /w-/ \equiv R /b-/ treated in 7.2.1.3 probably explains the absence of the initial $b-$.

em-blu ‘tadpole’; *em-bu* ‘frog’; *em-pou* ‘insect, larva’; *eŋ-kaori* ‘a kind of water-beetle’; *en-jot* ‘rat’; *en-sou* ‘scorpion’; *en-tola* ‘larva of a fly’.

The Bodo parallel for G *mat* and R *má-* appears both as *mái* and *mí-* as in the following examples.

- (a) *mái* ‘deer’; *mái-ma* ‘big variety of deer’; *mái-sa* ‘small variety of deer’; *mái-det* ‘elephant’; *mái-sé* ‘buffalo’.
- (b) *mí -díi* ‘porcupine’; *mí -pou* ‘a large variety of lizard’; *mí -kra* ‘monkey’; *mí -sa* ‘tiger’; *mí -sou* ‘cow, cattle’; *mí -srim* ‘ant’; *mí -tam* ‘a fish-eating animal’

There are a few names of animals both small enough to be insects and large enough to be true animals with a final $-ma$ or $má$. It is unlikely that these are related to a derivational suffix $-ma$ meaning ‘big’ as in *díi-ma* ‘a big river’ (*díi* ‘water, river’), and is most likely related to G *mat* and R *má*.

aoa-ma \sim *aoaŋ-ma* ‘a kind of beetle’; *be-ma* ‘spider’; *bombron-ma* ‘bumble-bee’; *bír-ma* ‘goat’; *gaore-ma* ‘insect belonging to the

cicada family'; *gu-má* 'grass-hopper'; *hagu-ma* 'a kind of wasp'; *kan̄k̄i -ma* 'cockroach'; *kábru-ma* 'dung-beetle'; *k̄ij̄i-ma* 'a reddish-brown ant'; *o-ma* 'pig'; *saŋre-ma* 'glow-worm, firefly'; *sosro-ma* 'male cricket'; *s̄i-ma* 'dog'; *té-ma* 'louse'.

Table 7.18 *Animal categorizers in Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

Garo	doʔ-o ~ doʔ-	naʔ-a ~ naʔ-	joʔ-oŋ ~ jovŋ-	mat
Rabha	tó- ~ (-tó)	ná- ~ (-ná)	cón- ~ (-cón)	má-
Bodo	<u>dá</u> o	ná		m̄i ~ m̄ī, -ma

In all the three languages, these morphemes occur in the position of head-last *tatpurusha* compounds.

Garo:

doʔ-bik 'entrails of a fowl'; *doʔ-ci* 'egg'; *doʔ-col*, 'chicken-coop'; *doʔ-graŋ*, 'wing'.

naʔ-kol 'fish-hole'; *naʔ-gil* 'fishing weir'; *naʔ-mit-im* 'fish-fat' (*mit-im* 'fat').

joʔŋ-ki 'insect dung' (*kiʔ-i* 'dung'); *joʔŋ-bi-bik* 'cocoon' (The last one is probably not accurate as the word for 'cocoon' is more specifically *joʔŋ-bi-tiḅ*, wherein *bi-tiḅ* means 'nest')

Rabha:

tó-ci 'egg'; *tó-khok* 'basket to lay and hatch eggs'; *tó-pa* 'basket for holding fowl for transporting'.

ná-khok 'a small basket for putting fish in especially while fishing' (*khok* 'basket'); *ná-k̄intri* 'dorsal fin'; *ná-khar* ~ *ná-khola*, 'a whole to trap fish' (*há-khar* 'hole').

cón-thoḅ 'cocoon' (*thoḅ* 'nest')

Bodo:

ná-aīsa 'scale of fish'; *ná-dīgi* 'fishpond'; *ná-galpa* 'gill'.

*dáo-*kí* 'fowl-dung'; *dáo-*bibu* 'entrails of a bird'; *dáo-*d̄īi* 'egg'; *dáo-*gaŋ* 'feather'; *dáo-*kó* 'bamboo basket to hold fowl'; *dáo-*km̄īi* 'hen louse'.******

7.3.6.2 *The plant categorisers*

Burling pointed out six main categorisers of plants in Garo.

- bol*: *bol* ‘tree’; *bol-a-ra-si* ‘*Lagerstoemia flos reginae*, a middle-sized deciduous tree’; *bol-bok* ‘*Tetrameles nudiflora*, a variety of large and deciduous tree’; *bol-cu* ‘*simul*, *Bombax malabaricum*, a silk cotton tree’; *bol-man-sam* ‘*Pygeum glaberrium*, a large evergreen tree’.
- waʔ*:- *-waʔ-a* ‘bamboo’. All the names for different varieties of bamboo contains *waʔ*- as initial syllable. For example, *waʔ-bisa* ‘a small species of bamboo’; *waʔ-chal* ‘a species of small and thin bamboo’; *waʔ-da* ‘a species of large bamboo’; *waʔ-dro* ‘a species of bamboo with thin tubes’; *waʔ-ge* ‘a big variety of bamboo’; *waʔ-gipe* ‘a matured bamboo’; *waʔ-gisi* ‘a dead bamboo’; *waʔ-jra* ‘a species of bamboo’; *waʔ-kanta* ‘a species of bamboo with thorns’; *waʔ-ma* ‘a variety of bamboo’; *waʔ-neɲmal* ‘a species of bamboo’; *waʔ-nok* ‘a variety of bamboo’; *waʔ-we* ‘a creeping bamboo’.
- teʔ*:- *teʔ-e* ‘a variety of melon’; *teʔ-bron* ‘jackfruit’; *teʔ-ra-ja* ‘watermelon’; *teʔ-rik* ‘banana’; *teʔ-gat-cu* ‘mango’; *teʔ-bil* ‘a species of fig’; *teʔ-di~ teʔ-ji* ‘*Dillenia indica* and its fruit’; *teʔ-eɲ-ki* ‘a species of plum’; *teʔ-mat-ci* ‘lime, lemon’; *teʔ-rimu* ‘a wild jackfruit tree and its fruit’; *teʔ-tol* ‘a species of lemon’.
- taʔ*:- *taʔ-a* ‘yam’; *taʔ-ak* ‘a species of wild taro’; *taʔ-bisa* ‘a species of edible root’; *taʔ-bolcu* ‘manioc, tapioca’; *taʔ-bariɲ* ‘a wild tuber’; *taʔ-danga* ‘a species of tuber’; *taʔ-gila* ‘a species of tuber’; *taʔ-gonge* ‘a species of tuber, *Glorissia superva*’; *taʔ-ja* ‘a species of wild tuber’; *taʔ-joɲ* ‘a species of tuber’; *taʔ-ma* ‘a variety of taro’; *taʔ-maraɲ* ‘sweet potato’; *taʔ-matci* ‘a species of sweet potato’; *taʔ-milaɲ* ‘sweet potato’; *taʔ-mit-im* ‘a species of yam’; *taʔ-riɲ* ‘common yam’; *taʔ-riɲraɲ* ‘a species of red yam’; *taʔ-ta* ‘yam’; *taʔ-te* ‘a species of potato’.
- sam*: *sam* ‘medicine, herbs’; *sam-bam* (also *sam-mikchip*) ‘a sensitive plant’; *sam-banggri* (also *sam-simareng*) ‘*Eupatorium*’; *sam-chek* ‘a kind of weed’; *sam-chimol* ‘a plant like onion plant’; *sam-dim* ‘shrubs’; *sam-goru* ‘jute’; *sam-guasu* ‘a kind of orchid’; *sam-jumaɲ* ‘an opiate’ (*jumaɲ* ‘dream’); *sam-kakit* ‘a medicine that relieves itching’ (*kakit* ‘itch’); *sam-kni-diɲ* ‘a hair-like fern’ (*kni-diɲ* ‘strand of hair’); *sam-maraɲ* ‘a creeper’; *sam-mok* ‘*Eupatorium cannabi-*

mum'; *sam-pangpil* 'medicine that counteracts poison' (*paŋ-pil* 'to reverse'); *sampret* 'a creeper'; *sam-riting* 'a creeper, *Hydyotis scadens*'; *sam-si* 'grass'; *sam-sok* (also *sam-te*) 'centipede grass'; *sam-ta* 'a bulbous plant'; *sam-jak* 'vegetable, leaves'.

mi- ~ me-: In all the words containing this syllable, even when the orthography has *me-*, it is pronounced mostly as *mi-*. *mi* 'growing paddy, paddy'; *me-atam* 'evening meal' (*atam* 'evening'); *mi-breŋ* 'rice cooked in bamboo tube' (*breŋ* 'cook in bamboo'); *me-cil* 'paddy as seed' (*bitci* 'seed'); *me-daŋ ~ mi-daŋ* 'straw'; *me-doŋ* 'an ear of paddy' (*doŋ* 'stalk or ear of grain'); *mi-cri* 'paddy grain for seed' (*bitcri* 'seed'); *mi-gil* (also *mi-bigil*) 'unhusked paddy'; *me-gimin ~ mi-gimin* 'cooked rice'; *mi-gital* 'newly harvested paddy' (*gital* 'new'); *mi-jareŋ* 'cooked rice dried in the sun'; *me-gra* 'coarse rice'; *me-kam ~ mikam* 'burnt rice at the bottom of cooking pot' (Marak has *meʔ- ~ miʔ-* instead of *me- ~ mi-*); *mi-priŋ* 'morning rice or meal' (*priŋ* 'morning'); *me-sal* 'mid-day meal' (*sal* 'day').

One of the other plant categorizers that allow comparison mainly between Garo and Rabha, and to a less extent also in Bodo, is *G reʔ-* referring to banana. *reʔ-gat-ci* 'a wild plantain'; Burling's example *reʔ-min-de* or *reʔ-goŋ* 'a plantain leaf' appears to be not accurate: *reʔ-mande* is 'a variety of plantain' (*mande* 'man') and *reʔ-goŋ* means 'stalk of banana leaf parallel to R *ré-kon*'; We may also add: *reʔ-cim* 'a species of plantain'; *reʔ-su* 'a wild plantain', and others.

Rabha has a potentially free *pan* 'tree' corresponding to Garo *bol*. It enters into a number of compounds as initial categoriser and to denote related things, and is sometimes accompanied by morphophonemic assimilation of *-n* to the following consonant.

pan: *pan* 'tree'; *pan-cer* 'a deciduous tree, *Stereospermum chelomoides*'; *pan-cu* 'simul tree, *Bombax malabaricum*'; *paŋ-cuŋ* 'jackfruit tree'; *pan-jikoŋ* 'tree with broad, long and thick pods bearing feather-light thin flat seeds that get carried away when they burst open'; *pan-san* 'sal tree'; *pan-saŋgoi* 'a large tree with branchings at a considerable height and in layers'; *pan-cokor* 'a dead tree'.

Although *pan* acts as a categoriser, there are many more trees that have names having nothing to do with *pan* such as *bebok*, *bīrbak*, *dakhor*, *dop*, *dīmbre*, *dundre*, *gamuk*, *gasi*, *kīmbi*, *mandare*, *mātrai*, *mējenga*, *pocó*, *phisu*, and *tojai*. All these names may be followed by *pan* forming appositional compounds to specify that the tree or the wood of the tree being referred to.

Rabha *bá* ‘bamboo’ is parallel to G *wa?*-, but is potentially free’

bá: *bá* ‘bamboo’; *bá-joŋ* ‘a variety of bamboo’; *bá-trai* ‘common thin variety of bamboo’; *bá-sindoi* ‘young bamboo’.

However, it is characteristic that in a number of compounds it occurs in the second place in head-last endocentric compounds of the differentiae-genus type, such that even compounds that have an initial presence of *bá* have a reinforcement with a second presence in the final position.

burka-bá ‘a variety of bamboo’; *jati-bá* ‘a variety of bamboo’; *kanta-bá* ‘a variety of bamboo having thorns’ (*kanta* ‘thorn’); *bá-trai-bá* ‘same as *bátrai*’; *bá-the-bá* ‘same as *bá-thé*’.

Rabha *thé* which is a potentially free form and means ‘fruit, bear fruit’ is never a plant categoriser as is the Garo *te?*-. In compounds it always occurs as the second element and has reference to the fruit itself rather than the tree or by semantic extension to some prominence on any surface. In certain cases it has *-thái* as an allomorph.

khangkha-thé ‘edible fruit of a wild thorny bush and the bush’; *lem-thé* ‘guava’; *pamthé* ~ *pamthái* ‘a kind of acid fruit with layers of thick covering used as vegetable’; *pansan-thé* ‘orange’; *ré-the* ‘banana’; *sīm-thái* ‘melon’; *soŋkhaŋkha-thé* ‘wild bush with bitter edible fruit used as vegetable’; *gīm-thé* ‘a projection, a bulge’; *na-thé* ‘wart, fleshy growth or prominence’.

The potentially free *khan* ‘yam’ acts as categoriser as *ta?*- in Garo but in a limited number of compounds.

khan ‘yam’; *kham-bambri* ‘sweet potato’; *kham-bója* ‘a variety of wild yam’; *khan-ci* ‘a variety of yam’; *khan-thé* ‘potato’.

Potentially free *sam* 'grass' acts as a categoriser in a number of compounds:

sam-dubla 'a type of grass'; *sam-goda* 'a type of common grass with small bulb' (*goda* 'bulbous tuber'); *sam-bakji* 'a wild bush whose fruits stick to clothes easily'; *sam-bangri*~*sam-khobak* 'a wild bush with clusters of white flower, Eupatorium'; *sam-nukcep* 'mimosa'; *sam-phisar* 'field-grass whose tiny needle-like seeds stick to clothes easily'; *sam-tikar* 'coriander plant'.

Rabha has *mai* 'paddy' and in certain cases *ma-* that are parallel to Garo *me-* ~ *mi-*. Strictly categorising role is seen to be limited. As a matter of fact, there are compounds like *asu-mai* and *sali-mai* which are two different types of paddy, where *mai* is the second element. However, there are other nouns where the categoriser role is evident.

mai: *mai* 'paddy, cooked rice'; *mai-cáran* 'paddy (unpolished)'; *mai-cáran* 'paddy as seed'; *mai-háre* 'paddy fallen from sheaves heaped together'; *mai-maci* 'rice cooked soft and had as breakfast'; *mai-ram* 'grains of cooked rice that fall out of plate while eating'; *mai-run* 'polished but uncooked rice'; *mai-runce* 'grains paddy that remain unhusked after pounding'; *mai-saphre* 'ears of paddy that remain after harvesting'.

Parallel to G *re?*- Rabha has *ré-* ~ *rái-*, but all the instances are of the *tatpurusha* type.

The Bodo situation is very much changed from what is observable in Garo and Rabha. The Bodo counterpart of G *bol* and R *pan* is just not present. A trace of it may be detected in *bon* 'firewood'; *bon-jar* 'flambeau'; *bon-so* 'a kind of tree'; *bon-to* 'log, trunk of a tree'. The other nearest relatives are *bonpaη* 'tree' (also *donpaη*) or *bipaη* 'plant' both of which are better seen as related to G B R *paη* used as classifier for plants and trees both in the three languages and also as independent noun in Rabha. It is intriguing that a plant categoriser that is quite prominent in Garo and Rabha leaves such scanty evidence in Bodo. Many trees and plants have an initial *b-*, *d-*, *j-* or *k-*. Yet it is difficult to come to any conclusion. Probably some of them are borrowings.

bahalao ‘a kind of tree’; *bahan* ‘hemp’; *bajra* ‘a kind of tree’; *balam* ‘a tree’; *baora* ‘a kind of tree’; *bid* ‘a large tree’; *biira* ‘a kind of tree’; *dahab* ‘fig tree’ (also *adumbra*); *daoa* ‘a kind of evergreen tree’; *debaolo* ‘a plant whose root is used as medicine for leprosy’; *debgugri* ‘a kind of plant’; *demsi* ‘a kind of wild vegetable’; *din̄kia* ‘fern’; *dotra* ‘a medicinal plant’; *dousrem* ‘a wild creeper used as vegetable’; *dusum̄i* ‘mint’; *jabkriñ* ‘a plant with clusters of fruit’; *jabrañ* ‘a plant whose fruit is used as spice’; *jabsri* ‘a plant with plaited leaves’; *jada* ‘a vegetable’; *jahao* ‘a tree’; *jatراسي* ‘a shrub’; *jaolia* ‘a woody place’; *kaila* ‘a creeper with bitter fruit’; *kan̄krikola* ‘a creeper’; *koma* ‘a nettle’; *kuhi* ‘a kind of tree’; *kum* ‘a tree’ *kurmija* ‘sweet melon’. These may be followed by *boñpañ* or *bipañ* depending on whether it is of a large size or a smaller size.

The Bodo equivalent of G *waʔ-* and R *bá* is a potentially free *oa* ~ *oua* ‘bamboo’. Although it does not enter into as many compounds as in Garo, there are a few instances where it acts as categoriser. But the case is weak as in some instances the limiting second element can itself signify what the compound stands for:

oua-burka ‘a large variety of bamboo’; *oua-bijli* ‘a variety of bamboo used in walls’; *oua-gubui* ‘a common bamboo’; *oua-girá* ‘a matured bamboo’ (*girá* ‘hard’).

In the place of G *teʔ-* and R *thé* Bodo has a noun *pi-tái* ~ *bi-tái* ‘fruit (*pi-* ~ *bi-* is a nominalising prefix)’ and a verb *tái* ‘bear fruit’. *tái-* acts as a categoriser for a number of plants as in:

tái-ben ‘cucumber’; *tái-git* ‘wood-apple, *Dillenia indica*’; *tái-jou* ‘mango’; *tái-ka* ‘pom apple, large tree bearing acid fruit’; *tái-koñseb* ‘mulberry tree’; *tái-smu* ‘a variety of cucumber, a climbing plant with large oblong fruit with prickly skin’; *tái-suri* ‘hog plum’. Probably *ta-lit* ‘banana’ (G *teʔ-rik*) belongs to this category.

Just as in Garo and Rabha, Bodo *tá* categorises a number of tubers.

tá ‘tuber in general’; *tá-dun* ‘arum’ (also *tá-so* and *tá-run*); *tá-ganda* ‘cassava manioc’; *tá-guma* ‘sweet potato’; *tá-gusu* ‘a creeper with particularly cold tuberous root’ (*gusu* ‘cold’); *tá-sumbi* ‘tapioca’.

Parallel to G *me-* ~ *mi-* and R *mai* Bodo has *mai* and exceptionally also *mi-* that are used as categorisers.

mai ‘paddy, paddy plant’; *mai-bra* ‘a species of paddy with sticky rice’; *mai-dii* ‘rice starch’; *mai-gab* ‘paddy left unhusked’ (*bigab* ‘straw’); *mai-ma* ‘common hoarse rice’; *mai-roŋ* ‘rice’; *mi-kam* ‘boiled rice’.

Bodo also has *sam* ‘any grass or weed’ which, just as in Garo and Rabha, is used in a few compounds as categoriser.

sam ‘grass’; *sam-blaoti* ‘a kind of creeper’; *sam-bram* ‘a common name of onion and garlic’; *sam-dapsa* ‘a grass of wheat family’; *sam-eli* ‘*Jasminium grandiflorum*’; *sam-tái* ‘a kind of grass and its seed’.

However, alongside there is also *gaŋsɪ* meaning ‘grass, jungle’ and *husuŋ* ‘grass, jungle’.

lái-, the Bodo counterpart of G *reʔ-* and R *ré-* ~ *rái-*, has diverged semantically. As a free form it means ‘leaf, any thin sheet’. Instances where it acts as a categoriser are not found.

Table 7.19 *Plant categorizers in Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

Garo	bol	waʔ-	teʔ-	taʔ-	sam	mi- ~ me-	reʔ-
Rabha	pan	bá-, -bá	-thé	khan	sam	<i>mai</i> (ma)	<i>ré-</i> , <i>rái</i>
Bodo	bon	oa ~ <u>oua</u>	<u>tái</u>	tá	sam	<i>mai</i> (mi-)	<i>lái</i>

A few head-last *tatpurusha* compounds having the above morphemes as the first element may be pointed out in each language.

Garo:

bol-ton ‘a piece of wood’; *bol-bijak* ‘leaves of trees’; *bol-jaʔ-dil* ‘tree-root’, and others.

waʔ-bisku ‘bamboo joint’; *waʔ-chaʔ* ‘a bamboo raft’; *waʔ-chok* ‘sharpened bamboo stake’; *waʔ-chu* ‘a bamboo pole’; *waʔ-gok* ‘a bamboo stump’; *waʔ-jak* ‘bamboo leaf’ and many others.

- taʔ-gon* ‘stalk of yam’; *taʔ-jak* ‘leaf of yam’.
me-dop ‘bundle of paddy packed in straw’; *me-gap* ‘straw’.
reʔ-pan ‘plantain tree’. *reʔ-gip-en* ‘one half of a plantain leaf’;
rev-cu ‘plantain leaf shaped like a cone’; *reʔ-sal* ‘banana leaf’;
reʔ-sok ‘tip of the banana leaf’;

Rabha:

- pan-cak* ‘leaf (of tree)’; *pan-cagam* ‘stump of a tree’; *pan-dalai* ‘branch of a tree’ (*dalai* ‘branch’); *pan-grim* ‘forest’ (*grim* ‘forest, bush-land’) and many others; *pan-libak* ‘a variety of frog capable of climbing trees’; *pan-mimuk* ‘mushroom found on trees’.
- bá-cakati* ‘a kind of bamboo binding strip’; *bá-con* ‘bamboo cluster’; *bá-dalai*, ‘branch of a bamboo’; *bá-kok* ‘a bamboo tube with a knot as bottom’; *bá-khep* ‘bamboo forceps’; *bá-phak* ‘bamboo used as a pillar’; *bá-puk* ‘inner soft section of bamboo’; *bá-sok* ‘tip of a bamboo’ and many other compounds.
- gip-thé* ~
gip-thái
mai-kó ‘pangolin, an ant-eater with scaly hide (probably from appearance of the scales)’.
- mai-kón* ‘rice-beer (only as a imitative word)’; *mai-kón* ‘rod used as ladle for stirring rice being cooked’ (*kón* ‘stick, twig’); *mai-con* ‘cluster of paddy’; *mai-boja* ‘bundle of sheaves’; *mai-dam* ‘heap of paddy’; *mai-don* ‘stalk or ear of paddy’; *mai-dop* ‘bundle of paddy covered in hay’; *mai-guli* ‘heap of sheaves’; *mai-makham* ‘a type of rice-beer’;
- ré-khon* ‘flower of banana plant’; *ré-phan* ‘banana plant’; *ré-the* ‘banana or plantain’; *rái* ~ *rái-cak* ‘banana leaf’; *rái-juŋ* ‘a wild plant similar to banana plant’; *rái-kon* ‘stem of banana leaf’; *rái-pram* ‘pith of banana plant’.

Bodo

- oua-an̄ki* ~ ‘eye in the joint of a bamboo’; *oua-bigur* ‘skin of bamboo’ (*bigur* ‘skin’); *oua-bijun* ‘a bamboo fire’; *oua-hasun* ‘a bamboo tube with a joint as bottom’; *oua-rojon* ‘a bamboo stump’ and many others that are similar.

Although *lái* has diverged considerably in its semantics from its Garo and Rabha counterparts, it does occur in a number of compounds:

lái-paŋ ‘banana plant’; *lái-jou* ‘the top of a leaf’. There are other compounds based on its expanded meaning: *lái-jam* ‘letter’; *lái-jab* ‘magazine’; *lái-min* ‘literature’. Interestingly, the word for ‘banana fruit’ is an unrelated *ta-lit* (which probably has *tái* ‘fruit’ as reduced initial syllable) which is certainly a relative of G *teʔ-rik* which in Garo too is built not on the categoriser *reʔ-* for ‘banana’ but on the categoriser *teʔ-* for fruit. Many of the other compounds that are built on G *reʔ-* and R *ré-* ~ *rái-* are now found to be built on *ta-lit*: *talit-kolta* ‘stalk of a plantain’; *talit-miikun* ‘banana flower, red multi-layered bud that gradually flowers’; *talit-bijab* ‘a bunch of banana’.

7.3.6.3 *Categorisers for the natural world*

The prominent categoriser for the natural world identified by Burling for Garo is *aʔ-*, which is used alone as *aʔ-a* to mean ‘ground, land, earth, soil’. Among the numerous others that are there are: *aʔ-bri* ‘hill, mountain’; *aʔ-dal* ‘a new jhum cultivation’; *aʔ-ci* ‘clay’; *aʔ-cik* ‘a hill slope, a hill man, a Garo’; *aʔ-kiŋ* ‘the territory under a single village headman’; *aʔ-kol* ‘a hole, a pit, a cave’. He also points out double compounds from *aʔ-koŋ* ‘valley’: *aʔ-koŋ-dep* ‘gully’; *aʔ-koŋ-grip* ‘a ravine covered with growth’; *aʔ-koŋ-kep* ‘a dale, glen’.

Bodo has *há* ‘soil, earth, ground, land’, and it occurs much the same way as G *aʔ-*. There is probably something not fully correct with the tone marking in the following compounds, for neither the initial syllable, nor the following syllable is marked for high tone, *ha-bru* ‘mud, clay, soft earth’; *ha-dab* ‘a division of the earth’s surface, a region’; *ha-dan* ‘a new land, newly acquired land’; *ha-daopuri* ‘universe, the cosmos’; *ha-dot* ‘sizeable area of the earth’; *ha-dri* ‘dust’; *ha-pao* ‘ant-hill, a mound raised by the white ants’; *ha-guŋ* ‘a high land’; *ha-ji* ‘hill’; *ha-kor* ‘hole’.

Rabha too has free *há* ‘land, soil, earth’ exactly as a parallel to the Garo and Bodo forms, and it also forms compounds like: *há-baŋ* ‘open uncultivated land’; *há-cu* ‘hill’ (and *há-jek* its pair in echo formation); *há-dabur* ~ *há-dubur* ‘dust’; *há-cudrop* ‘an earth mound’, *há-dam* ‘place’; *há-gagrak* ~ *há-jeger* ‘dry soil found beneath surface that is quite like laterite powder’; *há-ka* ‘slope, gradient’; *há-manji* ‘clay’; *há-soŋ* ‘land, country’; *há-srak* ‘red soil’; *há-tok* ‘a region, an area’.

A prominent categoriser of an element of nature not pointed out by Burling is the syllable for ‘fire’ in all the three languages, more especially in Garo.

- Garo *waʔl-* occurs by itself as *waʔ-al* ‘fire’ following its phonemic rule governing the glottal stop. Besides there are *waʔl-cabanda* ~ *waʔl-gandot* ~ *waʔl-dot* ‘firebrand’; *waʔl-im* ‘bonfire’; *waʔl-ja* ‘chunk of burning wood’; *waʔl-jem* ‘flambeau’; *waʔl-ku* ‘smoke’; *waʔl-kusi* ~ *waʔl-kusu* ‘soot’; *waʔl-misi* ‘spark’. Apparently some modern terminology too appear with this: *waʔl-jangi* ‘electricity’.
- Bodo has *ot* ~ *ort* ~ *ór* ‘fire’, and also *ot-geŋ* ‘burning fire’; *o-sunda* ~ *u-sunda* ‘half-burnt piece of firewood’. The last two should probably have a high-toned vowel.
- Rabha *bár* ‘fire’ is more prevalent than the Bodo counterpart: *bár-cekén* ‘ember’; *bár-dam* ‘fireplace’; *bár-jibra* ‘fire preserved for later use’; *bár-jikham* ‘a burning or half-burnt piece of firewood’; *bár-jontha* ‘flambeau’; *bár-ju* ‘log meant for firewood’; *bár-kadam* ‘funeral pyre’; *bár-khunci* ‘smoke’; *bár-tindrap* ‘tiny spark’.

A categoriser for a natural object prominent in Garo and Rabha but not so much in Bodo is G *roʔŋ-* referring to ‘stones’. *ro-oʔŋ* ‘stone’; *roʔŋ-brak* ‘large stone’; *roʔŋ-cun* ‘limestone’; *roʔŋ-srek* ‘gravel’; *roʔŋ-te* ‘pebble’. We may also add many more like *roʔŋ-ci* ‘a whetstone’; *roʔŋ-dot* ‘a large stone’.

Strange as it may look, Bodo has just *on-tái* ‘stone’ which itself may be distantly related to G *roʔŋ-te* whose phonemic edges have very much been rounded off just as that of a stone in a stream. Initial *r*-deletion, homorganic assimilation of the nasal to the following consonant, vocalic diphthongisation and glottal stop/high tone correspondence together explain the phonemic metamorphosis. However, the flourish of agglutinative modification evident in Garo is certainly absent in Bodo except may be for *ontái-sa* ‘gravel’.

Rabha offers a better picture, though not certainly in a position to rival Garo: *róŋ-ka* ‘stone, boulder’; *róŋ-ci* ‘a whetstone’; *róŋ-jumuk* ~ *róŋ-jumuk* ‘a stone set up in the name of a deity’. Folklore has it that *róŋ-dani* ~ *róŋ-dania* which is the tribes most important division and whose language is analysed here derives from *róŋ-ka* ‘stone’ and *dan-a* ‘to spread or place’.

7.3.6.4 *Categorisers for objects of human manufacture*

A categorising syllable found in all the three languages for an object of human manufacture is the one relating to ‘basket’

- Garo has *kok* 'basket'; *kok-cek* 'large vegetable basket'; *kok-si* 'fish basket'; *kok-kren* 'a closely woven lunch basket'; *kok-il* 'a small measuring basket' and many others.
- Bodo has *kó* 'basket'; *kó-bai* 'a gourd-like bamboo basket'; *kó-pri* 'a large wicker hat'; *kó-ka* 'a large basket with large mouth used as a fish-trap'.
- Rabha has *khok* 'basket'; *khok-dur* ~ *khuk-dur* 'a small basket for putting fish in while fishing, usually carried tied to waist'; *khok-jengra* 'a loosely woven bamboo basket used usually for carrying firewood'. Many baskets have totally different names.

7.3.6.5 *Categorisers for body parts*

In the semantic area of body parts, the relationship that holds between the parts can hardly be of the genus-differentiae type. To give an example: G *jak-gitdok* 'wrist' (*jak* 'hand' *git-dok* 'neck') is a *tatpurusha* compound with genitive deletion. Hence the application of the word categorisers for the morphemes discussed in this section is not exactly parallel to the categorisers discussed so far. Still, a cross-lingual analysis is possible, and is a help in determining the extent to which different languages have diverged.

The more prominent morphemes relating to body parts pointed by Burling for Garo are *mik-* particularly for the area of the face around the eyes, *jak* for words related to hand, *jaʔ-* for words related to leg and *kaʔ-* for words related to some internal organs.

- mik-*: *mik-ron* 'eye'; *mik-ci* 'tear'; *mik-gil* 'eyelid'; *mik-kaŋ* 'face'; *mik-kol* 'hole of the eye'; *mik-si-man* 'eyelash'; *mik-skim* 'eyebrow'; *mik-bil-baŋ* 'space between the eyes'. He also points out several verb that have *mik-* as initial syllable like *mik-bok-a* 'to covet'; *mik-neng-a* 'to be jealous' and others.
- jak*: *jak* 'hand, arm'; *jak-cok* 'fist'; *jak-pa* 'palm'; *jak-mik-ron* 'round bone on the wrist' (*mik-ron* 'eye'); *jak-si* 'finger'; *jak-sku* 'elbow'; *jak-skil* 'fingernail'; *jak-wen* 'forearm'; *jak-ra* 'right, right hand'; *jak-a-si* 'left, left hand'; *jak-si-ma* 'thumb'; *jak-si-no-de* 'little finger' etc.
- jaʔ-*: *jaʔ-a* 'leg'; *jaʔ-pa* 'sole'; *jaʔ-sku* 'knee'; *jaʔ-si* 'toe'; *jaʔ-si-ma* 'big toe'; *jaʔ-bi-raŋ* 'the sound of footsteps'; *jaʔ-dik* 'a cripple'; *jaʔ-bo* 'elephantiasis' *jaʔ-bik* 'a sore on the sole'.
- kaʔ-*: *kaʔ-ton* 'hear'; *kaʔ-kit* 'bile, gall'; *kaʔ-sop* 'lungs'; *kaʔ-bak* 'breast

in the sense of upper front part of body'; *kaʔ-til-ik* 'hollow part of the breast'; *kaʔ-kil-ok* 'tip of the sternum'.

One of the many other less prominent ones that allows comparison across the three languages is *kuʔ-* relating to mouth: *kuʔ-sik* 'mouth'; *kuʔ-ci* 'saliva'; *kuʔ-cil* 'lip'; *kuʔ-dip-e* 'chin'. The same occurs in many verbs that have to do with language, though not exclusively: *kuʔ-cak-a* 'to answer'; *kuʔ-cim-it-a* 'to smile'; *kuʔ-dim-a* 'to kiss'; *kuʔ-kaŋ-a* 'to forbid'.

Parallel categorisers in Bodo have been affected by sound changes. However, traces can still be tracked in a few items except for G *kaʔ-*

mik-, *mi-*, *mi -kaŋ* 'face'; *mi -dii* 'tear'. *me-gon* 'eye'; *mu-sugur* 'eyelid'; *me-*, *mu-*: *mi-sram* 'eyelash'; *mi -jraŋ* ~ *mi -daoka* 'squint-eye'. *mik-* itself is found in one or two nouns as well as verbs: *mik-taŋ* 'state of awareness'; *mik-sib* 'shut eye'; Some compounds have the full word for 'eye' as in *megon-bitái* 'eyeball' (*bitái* 'fruit') and *mu-sugur* and *mi -sram* are also used as *megon-musugur* and *megon-misram* probably because the categorising and referencing force of the initial syllable is reduced by semantic expansion. *musugur* also means 'eye of a bamboo, a bamboo knot'). Boro has *mi -dim* 'body' where *mi* has wider reference than in words relating to face or eye.

G *jak* and *jaʔ-* have undergone the phonemic shift B Ø ≡ G /j/ ≡ R /c/ which affected also the animal categoriser G *joʔŋ-* and R *cóŋ*, reducing them to *ag-* ~ *ak-* and *a-* ~ *an-* (with homorganic nasal insertion) respectively, and sometimes to an indistinguishable *a-* with much semantic shift and overlap.

ag-: The word for 'hand' is *akhai* probably related to G *jak*. There are other words such as *ag-do* 'wrist'; *ag-si* 'left, left side'; *ag-tam* ~ *as-tam* 'ring'; *akanti* 'arm'; *a-san* 'arm-ring'; *a-si* 'finger' (*a-si-ma* 'thumb'; *a-si-gaŋ* 'fore-finger'; *a-si-ganti* 'knuckle'; *a-si-jeŋ* 'middle finger'; *a-si-sa* 'little finger'); *a-si-gur* 'nail, claw'.

a(n)-: The word for 'leg' is *a-teŋ* which itself is not totally unrelated to G *jaʔ-* for there is also G *jaʔ-teŋ* 'leg, limb'; *a-dii* 'calf of leg'; *a-kob* 'hollow part of back of knee'; *an-tu* 'knee'; *a-pa* 'sole'; *a-pa-ki* 'dirt from foot'; *a-pa-koŋ* 'hollow of sole'; *a-pan-dri* 'dust from foot'; *a-pan* 'foot-side of a bed'.

That this composition, at least with respect to some instances, escapes the language consciousness of the present language usage is evident from such compounds as *ateŋ-asi* 'toe' rather than just **ateŋ-si*.

A categoriser *kou-* ~ *ku-* for 'mouth, language' is detectable in Boro parallel to G *kuʔ-*, though not used very extensively. Besides, the tone marking seems suspect. One would have expected a high tone either on the first categorising syllable itself or on the following syllable. *kou-dii* 'saliva'; *kou-ga* 'mouth'; *kou-kab* 'chin'; *kou-raŋ* 'voice, speech'; *kou-lou* 'protrusion of lips'; *kou-deb* 'a hollow or sunken mouth'. *gu-suti* 'lip' seems to have been the result of some irregular change affected the initial *k-*. Just as in Garo, a few related verbs contain this initial syllable: *ku-dri* 'to murmur'; *ku-dum* 'to kiss'.

The corresponding Rabha forms too need to be extracted out of the sound changes that keep them camouflaged.

nuk- ~ *nu-*: The initial *m-* of G *mik-* is found as *n-* in Rabha, this being the only instance of such a change of the nasal *m-*, which took place probably under influence from *nuk* 'to see'. Thus the word for eye is *neken*. Incidentally, further west of the core area of the Rabha described in the present work, the word for it is still *muken* syllabified and recorded by Shafer as *muk-en* (1966–1974: 430). Then there are *nuk-ci* 'tear'; *nuk-cóŋ* 'an illness of the eye' (*cóŋ* 'worm, insect'); *nuk-dam* 'eyebrow'; *nuk-ji* 'eyemucus' (*ji* 'dirt'); *nu-khar* 'sleep'; *nu-khaŋ* 'face'; *nuk-man* 'eyelash' (*mán* 'body-hair'). Just as in Garo, a few related verbs contain this categoriser: *nuk-cep* 'close eyes'; *nuk-bar* ~ *nu-suk* 'like, love, covet'.

cak-: Presently *cak* means 'leaf' (G *jak* has reference to both 'leaf' and 'hand') and the present Rabha word for 'hand' is *tási*, which enters into a number of compounds like *tási-cak* 'hand' (from wrist downward); *tási-khu* 'finger' (further specified as *tási-khu-nopocen* 'little finger' etc.); *tási-tala* 'palm'; *tási-kändlaŋ* 'back of the hand'. Presently no nouns contain *cak-* as a categoriser, but there are a number of verbs where *cak-* unambiguously refers to 'hand': *cak-túr* 'to probe with hand inside' (*túr* 'to probe'); *cak-nar* 'be deft, be fast with work' (*nar* 'be fast'); *cak-dún* 'have an effective or good hand, especially when medicine given is effective' (*dún* 'climb'); *cak-bram* 'be skilled at work'; *cá-phrit* ~ *cá-phri* 'slip and fall from

hand' (*cak* > *cá* with *k*-deletion). *cak* occurs as second element in a few compounds: *táthen-cak* 'foot (from ankle below); *tási-cak* 'hand (from wrist below). The postposition used to mark the agent of the passive construction is *cak-i* 'at the hands of, by'.

cá-: The Rabha word for leg' is *tá-then*. It appears to be related to G *jaʔ-ten* and B *a-ten*. However, it is difficult to find a lead for the explanation for the presence of the initial *t-*. It enters into *taṭpurusha* compounds such as *tá-then-cak* 'foot'; *tá-then-khu* 'toe'; *tá-then-tala* 'sole'; *tá-then-gerok* 'knee-cap'. But, the categorising role of *cá-* is evident in fossilised nouns such as *cá-ga-dop* 'threshold, plank or bamboo-work across bottom of doorway'; *cá-gam~cá-man* 'foot impressions'; *cá-khop* 'foot-wear'; and in such verbs as: *cá-phakhat* ~ *cá-phakha* 'to develop cut-like wounds below toes (present tense); *cá-phuk* 'to trip, to stumble'; *cá-roṅ* 'be strong or steady to walk'; *cá-thir* 'advance or proceed boldly with earnest intent'; *cá-dra* 'sun become hot, sun's rays (legs) become strong'; *cá-ca-brak* 'spread legs apart' all of which have unmistakable and unambiguous semantic association to 'leg'.

It is also most probably the case that *cá-* is a clipped form of *caka* 'leg' used as free morpheme in just two expressions:

caka sún 'on sole (of feet)' (*sún* 'to support or to prop')
caka sú 'on tip-toe'

and as bound in two roots (albeit with aspirated /kh/ and no tone):

cakhathón 'knee' (*thón* 'a cross-sectional section')
cakhamra 'the foot-side' (*-ra* is a derivational affix meaning 'side')

khá-: This can hardly be called a categoriser in Rabha, as there is just one noun *khá-pak* 'hear, chest' (parallel to G *kaʔ-bak*) and its empty imitative *khá-ra* where it still occurs.

khú- 'mouth, language' is well attested in Rabha. *khú-car* 'lip'; *khú-cem* 'mouth'; *khú-man* 'moustache'; *khú-raṅ* 'voice, language'; *khú-tlai* 'tongue'. Verbs having this initial syllable are also present just as in Garo and Bodo: *khú-bak* 'open mouth wide'; *khú-blek* 'gape'; *khú-sep* 'whistle'; *khú-tam* 'kiss'.

7.3.6.6 *The second parts*

Here too it must be kept in mind that the compounds are in most cases *tatpurusha* compounds that have genitive relationship between the parts. Certain second parts like G B *-ma* and B *-sa*, however, have modifying role. Some of the commonly occurring second elements analysed Burling for Garo are given below.

- kol* meaning 'hole': *giŋ-kol* 'nostril'; *na-kol* 'hole of the ear'; *wa-kol* 'space left by a lost tooth'; *jaʔ-kol* 'footprint'; *aʔ-kol* 'cave, hole'; *ci-kol* 'channel, water course'. So also are *mik-kol* 'socket of the eye'; *waʔlim-kol* 'volcano'; *can-kol* ~ *waʔl-kol* 'open fireplace'; *waʔku-kol* 'chimney'; *dik-kol* 'space inside a pot'; *siʔ-kol* 'vaginal opening'
- ma* meaning 'big' or 'important member of the category': *doʔ-ma* 'wild goose' (a large bird); *taʔ-ma* 'a large edible root'; *mat-ma* 'buffalo'; *jak-si-ma* 'thumb'; *wa-ma* 'molar tooth'; *bol-ma* 'an extensive forest' (actually 'large or matured tree'); *nok-ma* 'headman'.
- gil* meaning 'covering, skin, peel etc.': *bi-gil* 'skin, bark, husk'; *mik-gil* 'eyelid'; *mi-gil* 'unhulled rice'. We may also add *aʔ-gil* 'surface of the earth'
- ki* meaning 'faeces, dung' means 'body dirt' in the second position: *giŋ-ki* 'snot'; *mik-ki* 'eye dirt'; *na-ki* 'ear-wax'; *wa-ki* 'tar-tar of the teeth'; *waʔl-ki* 'ember'.
- si-man* refers to 'various kinds of hair': *kuʔ-si-man* 'mouth hair, beard'; *pak-si-man* 'arm pit hair'; *ri-si-man* 'male pubic hair'; *siʔ-si-man* 'female pubic hair'; *mik-si-man* 'eyelash'.
- jak* meaning 'hand' independently and as categoriser means 'leaf' as second element: *bol-jak* 'tree leaf' (*bol* 'tree'); *sam-jak* 'leaves of bushes and small plants' (*sam* 'grass') etc.
- ci* means 'water' independently and in the second position: *mik-ci* 'tear'; *anʔ-ci* 'blood'; *bit-ci* 'juice, egg'. We may also add *kuʔ-ci* 'spittle'; *meʔ-ci* 'starch, broth, soup'; *mik-ka-ci* 'rain water'; *riʔ-am-ci* 'dew'.
- dik* means 'pot': *roŋ-dik* 'an earthen vessel for uncooked rice'; *meʔ-dik* 'cooking pot'; *sam-dik* 'curry pot'. In another set of compounds it means 'undesirable or bad, often, though not always, having to do with bodily infirmities': *jaʔ-dik* 'cripple'; *na-dik* 'a deaf person'; *baʔn-dik* 'dwarf'; *bi-coŋ-dik* 'stubble' (in

a field); *ci-dik* 'latrine'; *coʔŋ-dik* 'a small insufficient portion'; *joʔŋ-bi-dik* 'a burial ground for lepers'. It is also present in a number of verbs: *ni-dik-a* 'be ugly to sight'; *ol-dik-a* 'uncomfortable to carry'; *kna-dik-a* 'overhear, be sick of hearing' (syllabified by Burling as *kin-a-dik-a*) and others.

Burling draws attention to a few of the second syllables that can also be used as classifiers: *-dil* appearing in *bi-dil* 'stem, stalk' literally 'long slender plant part' (in fact only of creepers) and *jaʔ-dil* 'nerve, tendon, root' is also a classifier for long slender things like roads, rivers, roots of plants and creepers. It appears to have escaped Burling's observation that *dil* also means 'to lead' and its appearance both as second element and as classifier refers to items that have inherent direction or course. It is when this semantic nuance is absent that *diŋ* appears both as second element as in *kil-diŋ* 'thread'; *kni-diŋ* 'strand'; *waʔ-diŋ* 'bamboo tie strip' and as classifier for such things.

Bodo does not have all the above second syllables, nor are they so prominent when present. Particularly noteworthy is the total absence of an expected Bodo relatives *-di* of G *-tik* R *-tek* for 'pots' and that of G *jak* and R *cak*.

-kor means 'hole': *abai-kor* 'foot-print'; *dii-kor* 'well'; *ha-kor* 'hole'; *jao-kor* 'hollow or hole result of mining or digging'; *maŋ-kor* 'grave, tomb'.

-ma means 'big, great': *aiuŋ-ma* 'imaginary evil spirit with huge form'; *asi-ma* 'thumb'; *du-ma* 'a swelling disease'; *dii-ma* 'big river'; *ladu-ma* ~ *ludu-ma* 'a swelling'; *haji-ma* 'big mountain'; *mai-ma* 'coarse variety of rice'; *mi-ma* 'a large deer, a large animal'; *no-ma* 'big house, main house'; *pari-ma* 'big section, big programme'; *pi-ler-ma* 'big family, genus'; *si-ma* ~ *hi-ma* 'large thick cloth like a quilt'; *solo-ma* 'novel, long imaginary story'; *gubui-ma* 'nature, external reality'. *gede-ma* 'great, noble' is an adjective. When it appears in names of insects and animals that do not have the prefixed animal categoriser, it is homophonous with the present *ma*, and is difficult to know whether it refers to one or the other. *bere-ma* 'a large kind of bee'; *bo-ma* 'largest variety of earthworm'. Stricter analysis will probably show a tone differentiation as it appears from the analysis by Bhat (1968) where such words for insects and animals have *ma* rather than *ma*. It also occurs in names of few goddesses such as *hasuk-ma*, *saŋret-ma* and *kuluŋ-ma* as well as *bi-ma* 'mother'.

Parallel to *-ma* Bodo has *-sa* meaning 'small' which is absent in Garo and Rabha: *bi-sa* 'child, offspring'; *asi-sa* 'little finger'; *begen-sa* 'small bone'; *beresuar-sa* 'small variety of bee'; *dag-sa* 'speckle, small mark'; *dáo-sa* 'chick'; *duar-sa* 'small gate'; *dii-sa* 'stream, small river'; *hají-sa* 'hillock'; *mái-sa* 'small variety of deer'; *nó-sa* 'small house'; *o-sa* 'piglet'; *ontái-sa* 'gravel, pebble'; *pari-sa* 'a small section'; *porai-sa* 'student'; *píler-sa* 'small branch of a family or a clan'.

- gur* attested only in a few instances means 'covering, skin etc.': *bi-gur* 'bark, shell, hide, bark'; *asi-gur* 'nail, claw'; *musu-gur* 'eyelid'. The last two contain fossilized forms of categorisers for 'leg' and 'eye' respectively.
- kí* means 'dung, dirt' both by itself and as second element: *apa-kí* 'dirt from feet'; *gun-kí* 'dry mucus'; *dáo-kí* 'fowl-dung'; *kíma-kí* 'ear wax'; *mísou-kí* 'cattle-dung'; *ot-kí* 'ember'.
- kí -mín* parallel to G-*siman* in meaning is found as a free form *kí-mín* 'body hair' and, with vowel reduction, in compound *si-kmín* 'pubic hair (apparently without differentiation of sex)'.
- dii* means 'water' independently and refers to various kinds of water or juice in the second position. *gílim-dii* 'perspiration'; *gím-dii* 'pus from wounds'; *bi-dii* 'egg (general), juice'. Sometimes *bi-dii* 'juice' and *dáo-dii* 'egg' are also seen spelt with a high toned vowel in the second syllable. *haga-dii* 'phlegm, mucus'; *hasu-dii* 'urine'; *jumu-dii* ~ *ku-dii* ~ *muju-dii* ~ *káo-dii* 'saliva'; *kar-dii* 'alkaline water used for cooking'; *mai-dii* 'rice starch'.
- den* of B *dii-den* 'to lead' is probably related to G *-dil*, but is not attested elsewhere nor is it used as a classifier.
- din* meaning something 'slender, thin and long' is found in only a few instances, sometimes with vowel change: *bin-din* 'main stalk of creepers'; *bema-din* 'web of a spider'; *kun-dun* 'thread, yarn'; *rai-din* 'reed, cane'; *-dun* of *du-dun* ~ *dou-dun* 'tether, rope to tie cattle'; *di-dun* 'rope' must be considered to belong to this group. It is also used as a classifier for long thread-like things *di-dun din-se* 'one rope'.

What was said of Bodo may be said also of Rabha. Not all the forms identified for Garo are represented in Rabha, nor with equal prominence when present.

-khar found in a few words takes the place of G *-kol* ‘hole’. Some of these can at best be considered fossilisations: *há-khar* ‘hole’; *ji-khar* ~ *ji-ma-khar* ‘anus’; *tì-khar* ~ *tìk* ‘pot for brewing rice-beer’ and *maŋ-khar-dam* ‘graveyard’ (*-dam* is a derivational affix). It is found in some compounds the word *há-khar* is used in full: *kumpak-hákhhar* ‘nostril’; *nakor-hákhhar* ‘hole of the ear’.

The G B *-ma* ‘big, great, important’ is totally absent in Rabha. Instead we come across a bound *-jú* ~ *-ju*, or *-cuŋ*. The latter is also a verb root meaning ‘be big’: *bár-ju* ‘big logs as fire-wood’; *tìkar-ju* ‘a powerful evil spirit called *tìkar*’; *haga-ju* ‘one who inordinately puts himself or herself first’. Probably *júju* ‘grandfather’ is also related. *ai-cuŋ* ‘aunt in the sense of father’s elder brother’ wife or mother’s elder sister’; *bidì-cuŋ* ‘great grandmother’; *júju-cuŋ* ‘great grandfather’.

A related form of G *-gil* and B *-gur* is also conspicuous by its absence in Rabha except in the fossilised *cá-ca-kor* ‘finger nail, toe nail’. In other instances, Rabha uses the full form of the present *khorthap* ~ *khorthop* ‘skin, peel, bark, rind’: *pan-khorthap* ‘bark of tree’.

- jí* ‘dung, dirt’ is parallel to G *ki* and B *kí* but has slightly expanded semantic field of ‘dir or waste’ in general rather than just of ‘body dirt’ when in the second position: *akhan-jí* ‘soot’; *ca-jí* ‘wate’; *khar-jí* ‘ash from which alkaline water has already been filtered’; *kuŋ-jí* ‘dry mucus’; *ná-jí* ‘fish entrails’; *nakor-jí* ~ *naran-jí* ‘ear wax’; *nuk-jí* ‘mucus from eyes’; *pha-jí* ‘tartar from teeth’.
- mán* ‘body hair (including of animals)’ appears in the second position with the same meaning but with a vowel change: *ká-man* ‘beard’; *khú-man* ‘moustache’; *nuk-man* ‘eyelash’; *rú-man* ‘male pubic hair’; *sú-man* ‘female pubic hair’.
- cak* mean ‘hand’ independently. In the second position it means ‘leaf or similar things’: *bá-cak* ‘leaves of bamboo’, *khar-cak* ‘leaves of bean plant’; *nakor-cak* ‘external ear’; *pan-cak* ‘leaves of tree’; *phok-cak* ‘leaf of a tree that is used as vegetable (also the tree)’; *rái-cak* ‘banana leaf’; *tási-cak* ‘hand (from wrist downward)’; *táthen-cak* ‘foot’.
- ci* from *cika* ‘water’ turns up in the second position just as G *-ci* and B *-dii*: *khar-ci* ‘alkaline water used for cooking’; *ma-ci* ‘rice starch’; *mai-ma-ci* ‘rice cooked softer and watery for breakfast’; *nuk-ci* ‘tear’; *pha-ci* ‘rain, rain water’; *pi-ci* ‘egg’; *tó-ci* ~ *tú-ci* ‘egg’.

-*tik* meaning 'pot (for brewing rice beer)' independently is found in a few words in the second position with change of vowel: *ma-tek* 'pot for cooking rice'; *mé-tek* 'pot for cooking curry'; *ron-tak* ~ *ron-tak* 'pot for keeping rice'.

R *tin* 'to lead' is certainly the representative of G *dil*, but is not used as a classifier nor is it found in the second position except possibly in a fossilised and changed form as *-tar* in *cá-tar* 'base, bottom' which in all likelihood is related to G *jaʔ-dil* 'root'. Presently Rabha has *citraŋ* for 'root'.

The fate of R *-tɪŋ*, the relative of G B *dɪŋ* is different. It is used as a classifier just as in Garo and Bodo but, like in Bodo and unlike in Garo, it is found only in one word *bil-tɪŋ* 'stretches of rope or hide used to tighten drum-surface'.

The phenomenon of a duplicated presence of the same syllable, once as a second member of a compound and once as a classifier, in the case of those that can occur in both these functions, noted by Burling for Garo as in: *kil-dɪŋ dɪŋ-sa* 'one thread'; *me-ron ron-sa* 'one grain of rice' and *jaʔ-dil dil-sa* 'one root' are also evidenced in both Bodo and Rabha. Bodo examples are: *bi-gur gur-se* 'one skin or one bark etc.'; *bi-got got-se* 'one seed' and *ontái tái-se* 'one stone'. Examples of Rabha are: *bá-coŋ coŋ-sa* 'one cluster of bamboo'; *ré-phaŋ phaŋ-sa* 'one banana plant'; *mai-dop dop-sa* 'one bundle of paddy'; *biltɪŋ tɪŋ-sa* 'one piece of rope or hide used on drum'. However, this is not a general rule in any of the three languages but just a coincidence in the case of a few such syllables in each of the languages.

7.3.6.7 *Nominal prefix bi- in Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

Burling pointed out (1984: 22–23; 28–29) a prefix *bi-* for Garo that appeared to have a categorising role for parts of plants (*bi-te* 'fruit'; *bi-bal* 'flower'; *bi-jak* 'leaf'; *bi-gil* 'bark, husk, hide, skin'; and others) as well as for certain human and animal body parts (*bi-bik* 'intestines'; *bi-ka* 'liver'; *bi-ol* 'uterus'; *bi-man* 'body'), and suggested that the two be considered one. Bhattacharya (1977: 111) identified two instances of /⁰pi ~ ¹bi-/ having separate roles: (1) of being third person pronoun relationship indicator in relational terminology as in *bi-bii* 'grandmother'; *bi-bou* 'grandfather'; *bi-bnan* 'brother-in-law or sister-in-law' and other similar terminology all of which he translates as including

the relationship ‘his/her’; (2) of being a general nominalising prefixal morpheme (p. 114) in nouns denoting trees, fruits etc. as in *bi-pan* ‘tree’; *bi-bar* ‘flower’ and others.

The situation needs a fresh look taking a synoptic view of the data in the three languages. When an analysis is made of the relevant data in the three languages three things surface: (1) many forms with the prefix *bi-* have corresponding forms without the prefix in one language or other, especially Rabha; (2) within the same language the prefix-less forms either is a free form or enters into other combinations without the prefix *bi-*; (3) although words relating to trees, body parts and relationships form the majority of the *bi-*forms, these do not exhaust them.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
be-geŋ	greŋ, bi-greŋ	kiŋ-juŋ	bone
bi-bar	bi-bal	par	‘flower’
bi-bu	bi-bik	puk	‘intestine’
bi-daŋ	bi-daŋ	doŋ	‘ear of grain, stalk, hay’
bi-gab	(roŋ)	gap	B mark, colour impression; R colour’
bi-gur	bi-gil	khor-thap	‘peel, skin, bark’
bi-ka	bi-ka	pi-kha	‘liver’
bi-kob	bi-kop	kop	‘shell, sheath’
bi-kuŋ	(jaŋ-)gil	kin(-dam)	‘back’
bi-lái	bi-jak	cak	‘leaf’ (G also ‘curry’)
bi-ma	ma-, bi-ma	(jí-bra, aia)	‘mother’ (G <i>bi-ma</i> ‘female’)
bi-pa	pa-, bi-pa	ba-bra	‘father’ (G <i>bi-pa</i> ‘male’)
bi-pan	bi-pan	phan	‘trunk of tree, tree’
muŋ	bi-muŋ	muŋ	‘name’ (B <i>bi-muŋ</i> ‘noun’)
bi-sa	bi?-sa	sá-bra	‘child’
bi-sou	su?-gipa	sú-bra	‘grandchild’
bi-tái	bi-te	thé	‘fruit’
bi-tob	bi-típ	thop	‘cocoon, nest’
bo-soŋ	coŋ	coŋ	‘bunch, cluster’

In Bodo, there are nouns with prefix *bi-* derived from verb roots: *bi-ban* ‘load carried on shoulder’ (*ban* ‘carry on shoulder’); *bi-baŋ* ‘amount, quantity’ (*bán* ‘be plenty’ and should probably be *bi-bán*); *bi-buŋ* ‘voice, sound’ (*bun* ‘say, speak’); *bi-jab* ‘book, bunch of banana’

(*jab* 'pile, lay in folds'); *bi-dinti* 'example' (*dinti* 'to show'); *bi-jou* 'top of a plant' (*jou* 'be tall, be high'); *bi-saiko* 'selection' (*saiko* 'select'); *bi-sán* 'thought, number' (*sán* 'count, think'); *bi-sín* 'question' (*sín* 'ask, enquire, question'); *bi-tan̄ki* 'aim, intention' (*tan̄ki* 'take aim, intent').

Some of the Bodo forms given in parallel columns above too have corresponding prefix-less forms, some of which are verbs, while others are themselves nouns or classifiers: *bi-bar* 'flower' (*bar* 'bloom'); *bi-dan̄* 'stalk of fruit or ear of grain' (*mai-dan̄* 'ear of paddy'); *bi-d̄ii* 'egg' (*d̄ii* 'lay egg'; *dáo-d̄ii* ~ *dáo-d̄ii* 'egg'); *bi-lái* 'leaf' (*lái* 'leaf, thin sheet'); *bi-pan̄* 'tree, trunk of tree' (*pan̄* 'classifier for trees'); *bi-son̄* 'cluster' (*son̄* 'classifier for clusters'); *bi-tái* 'fruit' (*tái* 'bear fruit'); *bi-tob* 'cocoon' (*tob* 'make a hive or nest'); *bi-tún* 'plait, braid' (*tún* 'wind, coil, plait'). *bi-kí* 'bowels of a fish' (*kí* 'dirt, dung' etc.) is special as the meaning is specialised.

It is even more interesting that in Bodo borrowed items having adjectival and even nominal character are further affixed with *bi-* to make them nominal: *bi-mahi* 'politeness' (Ass. *mihī* 'fine, polite'); *bi-mohor* 'framework, outline' (Ass. *mohor* 'seal, impression' used in Bodo also to mean 'form, shape, pattern'); *bi-soman* 'equality, sameness' (Ass. *xoman* 'equal'); *bi-sombri* 'equitable distribution' (*sombra sombri* 'of equal age or size' itself having *som-* from Ass. *xoman* 'equal').

A few forms in Bodo turn up with a nasal consonant following *bi-* which is homorganic to the following consonant. A few Garo forms have a plosive following *bi-* which is also homorganic to the following consonant:

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
bim-puŋ	bi-poŋ	poŋ	'handle'
bin-diŋ	bi-dil	(l̄co)	B 'creeper' G 'main stalk of creepers'
bi-d̄ii, bi-d̄ii	bit-ci	pi-cí	'egg' (B G also 'juice')
bi-sin	bit-cil	bi -ci	B R 'paddy seedling'; G 'seed'

In the light of this observation, it may safely be concluded that many analogous forms such as B *biŋ-ksi* 'hoof, a small round fish with prickly scale' may be analysed as containing an instance of the nominalising *bi-*.

The situation in Garo is similar. However, when the prefix-less form is a noun, almost always its meaning is same as that of the *bi-* form parallel to B *bi-pan* and B *pan* 'a share, a section', and it is

seen that one of the two forms is losing out because of redundancy. *bi-bal* 'flower' (*bal* 'bloom'); *bi-bol* 'trunk of a tree' (*bol* 'tree'); *bi-bra* 'crossroads' (*bra-ram* 'crossroads'); *bi-bret* 'aperture, crevice' (*bret* 'burst open'); *bi-bron* 'pith, axis' (*gaʔ-bron* 'pith, axis'); *bi-cel* 'chest' (*cel* 'chest'); *bi-cu* 'top, end' (*cu* 'be tall'); *bi-dil* 'main stalk of creepers' (*dil* 'lead'); *bi-ginci* 'fine dust or crumbs' (*ginci* 'powder'); *bi-ginde* 'powder, crumbs' (*ginde* 'powder, crumbs'); *bi-greŋ* 'bone, nut of mango' (*greŋ* 'bone'); *bi-gro* 'length' (*gro* 'length'); *bi-jak* 'leaf, curry' (*jak* 'hand'); *bi-man* 'shape, form, figure' (*man* 'body'); *bi-pek* 'bifurcation, branching' (*pek* 'branch'; *pek-wat* 'branch out'). Many more examples can be given. The pattern is so forceful that many nouns that have analogous *bi*-forms with opaque second elements can safely be analysed as being complex and as having the nominalising prefix *bi*-.

In contrast to Bodo and Garo, Rabha contains but a few *bi*-forms. Evidently they are all fossilised forms. Rabha shows a preference for the simple form, thus giving a greater credence to the analysis of the *bi*-forms in the other two languages as composite. Even a fossilised form such as *pi-ci* 'egg' has comparable *tó-ci* ~ *tú-ci* 'egg (of bird'; *tó* 'fowl') and *cún-ci* 'egg or worm-stage of fly' (*cón* 'worm, insect') that point in the direction of fossilisation of *pi*- (< *bi*-).

When data from all the three languages are seen together, the following emerge. On the one hand, the role of this prefix is not on a par with the other categorisers nor is it restricted to nouns denoting parts of trees and body parts. It is part of a larger phenomenon. On the other hand, the two instances and two distinct roles given to /⁰pi ~ ¹bi-/ in relational terminology and other nouns relating to trees and fruits, are one and the same. There appears to have been a general nominalising prefix *bi*- in all the three languages that has been fossilised to varying degrees in the three languages. Thirdly, Bhattacharya's distinction (1977: 114) between ⁰pi- before voiceless aspirates as generalising and ¹bi- elsewhere as particularising appears to be over-analysis. ⁰pi- appears to be a variant of ¹bi- with greater propensity before voiceless sounds. The two are just free or regional variants. However, his proposal that they are possibly related to the personal pronoun *bi*- is probably right. But, the precise meaning seems to be 'this, that, it' rather than 'he, she'. An interesting observation is that just as the *bi*-forms are absent in Rabha, so too *bi* as a personal pronoun is absent in Rabha, which has only *u* 'he, she, that'. Bodo, on the other hand does not have *u*, but has only *bi*, while Garo has both.

The above analysis gives us a clue to the understanding of the name *Bara fⁱ-sa* by which the Bodos refer to themselves. Grierson (LSI vol. I, part I: 63) considered *fⁱ-* to be the causative prefix, and took *fⁱ-sa* to mean 'a made person', thus 'child'. Giving examples from various related languages including Dimasa, Hojai dialect of Nowgong, Standard Garo, Ruga, Tipura of Dacca and Chutiya, some of which while having a causative prefix do not use it in the cognates meaning 'child' (male and female), Wolfenden (1929a: 581) argues that the coincidence in form of the causative prefix with *fⁱ-* is due to phonetic convergence and not due to original identity. He says 'it is hardly in keeping with the usual procedure of the Tibeto-Burman languages of this area to allow a causative formation to play the part of a substantive of this nature, these latter with much the greatest frequency being provided with pronominal prefixes, though this does not seem to be the case here' (pp. 581-582). Instead he tried to link it to Tibetan.

Probably the answer is not far to seek. In Rabha we have an instance where the prefix is altogether absent in the word meaning 'child', which rather has a nominalising suffix *-bra* (*sá-bra* 'child') much like the nominalising suffix *-gipa* of Garo in *pa-gipa* 'father', *ma-gipa* 'mother', *su?-gipa* 'grandchild' and other similar formations. This is in spite of the fact that Rabha does have causative prefixes, which in this case should have been a totally unrelated *khi-*. With the high occurrence of the nominalising prefix *bi-* in Bodo and its correlatability with cognates in Garo and Rabha that either have or lack the prefix, it may be concluded that *fⁱ-*, which in Bodo phonemics is *pi-* (with strong phonetic aspiration), is a variant of the nominaliser *bi-*. The prefix itself may have started off as a pronominal element (Wolfenden 1929b:113; Bhattacharya 1977:111) meaning 'his/her' in the presence of a genitive third person pronominal subject as in *bi-ni bi-pa* 'his/her father' parallel to *aŋ-ni a-pa* 'my father' and *niŋ-ni nim-pa* 'your father', which in due course of time became more generic representing that part of the pronominal designation that is not personal but nominal. A further very interesting fact that sets *sa* and, therefore, *fⁱ-sa* (and *pi-sa* ~ *bi-sa*) apart is that corresponding **aŋ-sa* and **niŋ-sa* are practically non-existent but only *bi-sa* ~ *pi-sa*, setting the stage clear for it to be generalised as 'child' in spite of the possible pronominal correlation of the nominalising *bi-*. This process has gradually affected all terms of relationship. The *bi-*forms now stand for general relationship.

7.3.6.8 *General remark on nouns and noun derivation*

The analysis performed above for the three languages is in no way complete. Many more categorising syllables can be identified in any of the three languages and their phonemic and semantic metamorphosis be traced in the other two languages. General phonemic shifts identified to hold between the three languages easily explain the phonemic divergence of the forms. Reduction or expansion of the semantic area can be noticed in various categorisers from language to language.

Burling (1984) describes the type of compounds brought under the purview of the present analysis as being 'somewhere between productive modification of nouns by adjectives and a more frozen prefixation' (p. 40). He speculates on 'a historical process by which productive modifying construction solidified' (p. 40) in Garo. Further developments are predicted along the lines of 'fusion of the two parts of the word until the categorisers are reduced to a system of frozen suffixes, and by further reduction . . . turn into phonological marker that loses all independence' (p. 40).

Between the three languages Garo preserves the pattern most. In spite of the fact the Garo Hills are surrounded on three sides either by Bengali speakers or by Assamese speakers, this area can still be characterised as geographically more removed and isolated from the greater influence of these languages. Bodo on the other hand, surrounded as it is by Assamese, has moved away the most, and some of the Garo categorisers are seen to have been reduced to frozen suffixes in Bodo. It is evident from the fact that Bodo has many more borrowed nouns for various objects that have slowly reduced the number of categoriser constructions, eventually pushing out some of the categorisers totally. Rabha is somewhere between Garo and Bodo, going along with Garo, though with reduced prominence, in the case of most of the categorisers, but at the same time showing signs of having been affected by the influence of Assamese as is Bodo.

The occurrence of the categoriser in the initial position is natural to these languages as in a modifier construction of these languages the modifier follows the head. The occurrence of the categoriser in the second position found both in Bodo and Rabha, on the other hand, is an effect of the influence of Assamese which has the modifier-head order in modifier constructions.

7.4 *A synoptic and correlative view of the verb morphology*

Morphological analysis exposes a deeper layer of similarity or differences, as the case may be, than phonemic or lexical analysis. This is especially true with respect to the verb morphology of the languages under observation as they have co-existed for a long time, leading to borrowing of lexical items that tend to submerge the deeper layer of morphological correlation that has often been overlooked.

Following the positional difference between the morphemes involved in the morphological formations in the three languages, this section is divided into three major parts: prefixal verb morphology, infixal verb morphology and suffixal verb morphology. Such an approach has the great advantage of correlating the various morphemes not only phonemically but also from the perspective of affixal position. It will be seen that it provides a better and deeper understanding of the otherwise hidden relationship between the three languages, and possibly also assist in making some relevant statements about the path that each language has traversed in relation to the synchronic stage.

7.4.1 *Prefixal verb morphology*

Prefixal morphology is present in the verb morphology of the three languages to varying degrees. Garo has the least and seems to have lost out in the game of prefixal morphology, and has become a near-total suffixal language. However, vestigial tell-tale signs are present that open a window onto its past. Rabha still has considerable prefixal morphology, making it closer to Bodo than to Garo on the morphological plane. While treating the various grammatical prefixes, closely related suffixes are also drawn into the arena of discussion especially if the prefix and the related suffix complement each other, in order to give completeness to the grammatical area being treated.

7.4.1.1 *The negative imperative*

All three languages have a correlatable prefixal negative imperative morpheme: B *da-*, G *da-*, R *ta-*. For Garo, it is the only synchronically productive prefixal morpheme, existing along with another suffixal negative imperative morpheme *-nabe*. Bodo and Rabha do not have a suffixal counterpart. It is an indication that the importance

of the prefixal negative imperative, which is the last bastion of prefixal verb morphology in Garo, is highly reduced. There is, in all the three languages, a periphrastic formation that is essentially modal in sense but which is gaining acceptance as a less emphatic negative imperative. The form in each language is:

Bodo	V-INF	naŋ-NEG	(<i>naŋ</i> ‘need, must’)
Garo	V-INF	naŋ-NEG	(<i>naŋ</i> ‘need, must’)
Rabha	V-INF	lagi-NEG	(<i>lagi</i> ‘need, must’)

The basic meaning is ‘need not V’ or ‘must not V’ and in context ‘don’t V’.

7.4.1.2 *Monosyllabic adjectival prefix: pattern one*

In the area of adjectival prefix, synchronically Bodo is the sole player. But there are comparable etyma in Rabha and Garo that can be rendered transparent in the light of the Bodo phenomenon, not only from the point of phoneme similarity, but also from some morphological peculiarities.

Bhattacharya (1977:205) describes Bodo as having two derivational adjectival prefix:

1. ²gV-
2. ²mV-

There are many other lexemes that he analyses (pp. 209–211) as containing functionally comparable prefixes. These, however, do not enter into the present discussion as they do not appear to be revelatory of any deeper phenomenon.

Between the two morphemes above ²gV- is more productive, while ²mV-, even in Bodo, is associated with only a few lexemes. The vowel component, especially in ²gV-, is generally a reduplication of the vowel of the verb root. When the vowel in the root is /a/, the more regular pattern is for /i/ to occur in the prefix rather than /a/ itself. Some roots have lost the freedom of independent occurrence, but are certainly identifiable. When the root is no longer used as an independent verb, chances are that the composite form acts as a verb. A few instances are:

² go- ¹ soŋ	‘standing, steep’ (the composite form acts also as a verb)
² gi- ¹ si	‘wet’ (³ si ‘be wet’)
² ge- ¹ beŋ	‘straight’ (³ beŋ ‘be straight’)
² gu- ¹ du	‘deep’ (¹ du ‘be deep’)
² gi- ¹ kii	‘sour’ (¹ kii ‘become sour’)
² gi- ³ taŋ	‘living, surviving’ (³ taŋ ‘live, survive’)
² ga- ³ ham	‘good (physically)’ (³ ham ‘be cured, be good’)
² mi- ¹ jaŋ	‘good, nice’
² mi- ³ dim	‘nicely scented’

There are, in Garo and Rabha, a few lexemes that are comparable to Bodo lexemes in form as well as a few important morphological characteristics.

Bodo	Garo	Rabha	
² gi- ¹ ja	git-cak	sak	‘red’
² gi- ¹ jam	git-cam	mai-cam	‘old’
² gu- ¹ phur	gip-bok	bok	‘white’
gi-dan (MM)	git-dal	pi-dan	‘new’
² gi- ¹ sim	gi-sim	(ak)	‘black’
² gi- ³ taŋ	gi-tiŋ ~ gi-taŋ	pi-thiŋ	‘unripe, raw, not cooked (‘alive’ in Bodo and Garo)’

Rabha has several differences: *sak* and *bok* have dropped the prefix like the majority of the other lexemes; *ak* is apparently from a different source; *mai-cam*, *pi-dan* and *pi-thiŋ* are comparable in form but have different prefixes, probably an indication either of derivation from different adjectival prefix or alteration induced by consonant harmony prevalent in Rabha as is evident in its causative morphology.

However, the formally comparable forms of Rabha and all of Garo are strongly adjectival in nature like their Bodo counterparts. Both in Garo and Rabha, their affixal possibility is comparatively reduced, and most characteristically need a verb of becoming *o?ŋ* ‘be, become’ in Garo, and *cáŋ* ‘be, become’ in Rabha which are parallel to *ja* ‘be, become’ in Bodo. In all languages these forms still have some possibility of affixation without the verb of becoming.

The Garo instances were pointed out by Burling (1961: 11) noting at the same time that these forms do not take the suffix *-a* when used to modify a noun, while the regular verbs need to have the suffix *-a* in that function. The reason is clear now. They already bear an old fossilised adjectival prefix. Although the adjectival prefix is fossilised and has no productivity, where it is present, its semantic impact makes itself felt, forcing morphological recognition of it. This behaviour is true also of the three lexemes of Rabha that have formal similarity with the forms under observation (see below for further discussion).

Either unaware, or if aware, at least not invoking this morphological substratum, Burling (1959: 449) interpreted the Garo forms from within Garo phonology with good results. However, if combined with the morphological insight gained from the discussion above, we get a clear and typical example to actually prove credibly the supposition that the modern Garo vowel /i/ has resulted from the falling together of two contrasting vowels.

The vowels of the first syllable, which in Garo is phonemically /i/ and phonetically [i̠], is phonemically /i/ in Bodo (and also in Rabha phonology). It can be surmised that, parallel to the Bodo forms, the Garo forms *git-cak*, *git-cam*, *gip-bok*, *git-dal*, *gi-sim*, *git-tiŋ* ~ *git-taŋ*, must have had just *gV-* as the initial syllable. A pattern emerging at some time depth in Garo wove an allophonic rule for itself making /i/ phonetically [i̠] in closed syllables except when closed by a glottal stop, and [i] elsewhere. And as suggested by Burling (1981: 66), this led to the reinterpretation (probably on a large scale) of these and other forms that descended from earlier forms (all of them prefixes) having a phonemic /i/ in open syllables, as phonemic /i/ or phonetic [i̠] in closed syllables, which necessitated the introduction of a consonant homorganic with the onset of the following syllable as:

*gi-cak	>	/git-cak/
*gi-cam	>	/git-cam/
*gi-dal	>	/git-dal/
*gi-bok	>	/gip-bok/
*gi-sim	>	/gi-sim/
*gi-tiŋ ~ *gi-taŋ	>	/git-tiŋ ~ git-taŋ/

When such a consonant was not available in the language, the phonetic [ɨ] turned into phonetic [i], as happened in *gɨ-sim > /gi-sim/, rather than */gis-sim/ for there is no final fricative in Garo.

From the correlation examined here, we can also see that the dialect examined by Bhat, which was already noted as having the low vowel where other dialects have the mid central, is the result of a different pattern that it followed in building the adjectival prefix. It has the vowel in *gV-* as an exact reduplication of the root vowel even when the root vowel is /a/, while in other dialects, when the root vowel is /a/, the vowel in the prefix is /i/.

ga-ran	‘dry’ (< gɨ-rán ‘dry’)
ga-dan	‘new’ (< gɨ-dan ‘new’)
ga-jam	‘old’ (< gɨ-jam ‘old’)
ga-rá	‘hard’ (< gɨ-rá)
ga-láo	‘long’ (gɨ-láo)

The pattern must have been seminally present in the earlier stage of the language, for a few such instances are found also in the dialect examined by Bhattacharya, although the major pattern is to have the mid central vowel in the prefixes for a root having the low /a/ (see 7.4.1.5).

7.4.1.3 *Structural changes resulting from the loss of adjectival prefix*

Evidently, Garo and Rabha laid aside a feature for building adjectival forms by prefixation. There followed some structural adjustments in Garo and Rabha to deal with and cope up with this change in its morphological pattern. It makes an interesting case of a prefixal process being converted to a suffixal process.

In Bodo, the form with the adjectival prefix plays the role of both predicative and attributive adjective for the relevant root. The forms remain unchanged in both the instances. In the predicative use the subject bears the nominative suffix.

mansi	ge-dert	
man	ADJ-big	‘the big man’
mansi-a	ge-dert	
man-NOM	ADJ-big	‘the man is big’

In the Garo-Rabha organisation, these two functions, probably as a fallout of the loss of the adjectival prefix, are separately conceived. The verbal suffix *-a*, in Garo as well as Rabha, extended its morphological domain to include roots that have semantically adjectival sense, where it can have a new function of indicating a predicative adjective. On the contrary, the corresponding Bodo suffix *-i* did not acquire this function. It has, as is true even today, only the function of indicating habitual present on verb roots that do not have adjectival semantic content:

Bodo: ²bi¹i ¹zow ¹liŋ-⁰i
 he rice.beer drink-PRES
 ‘he drinks rice beer’

or, mansī mī-jan
 man good
 ‘good man’ (*mansi-a mī -jan* ‘the man is good’, NOM *-a*)

but, not along with the habitual present suffix as:

*mansī mī-jan-i either to mean ‘man is good or good man’

Garo: ua cu riŋ-a
 he rice.beer drink-PRES
 ‘he drinks rice beer’

 mande nam-a
 man good-PRES
 ‘good man, the man is good’

Rabha: u-be cokó riŋ-a
 he-DEF rice.beer drink-PRES
 ‘he drinks rice beer’

 kai nem-a
 person good-PRES
 ‘man is good’

Both the languages developed a suffixal morpheme to indicate the attributive function: *-gipa* in Garo and *-kai* in Rabha:

Garo: bok-gipa mengo
 white-ATTR cat
 ‘white cat’

Rabha: bok-kai miŋkú
 white-ATTR cat
 ‘white cat’

There is a strong probability, not demonstrable by examples, that G *-gipa* contains an instance of the present *-a*, and both G *-gip-* of *-gipa* and R *-kai* are somehow related to the lost adjectival prefixal morpheme *gV-*. Considering that *-gip-* is phonetically [-gip-], its closing consonant can be seen as deriving from the consonant necessary to retain the vowel’s central quality. The Garo suffix, then, reduces to a very recognisable original prefix *gV-* pattern with consonant insertion followed by PRES *-a*. In the case of Rabha, the *g-* of the prefix *gV-* has undergone de-sonorisation that has affected the initial voiced plosive in a good number of lexemes, and the vowel has undergone diphthongisation. Once these are consented as probable, the *-kai* also becomes a very recognisable *gV-* adjectival prefix. When a prefix turns up as a suffix, some changes ought to be expected. When the changes have general basis deriving from parallel changes elsewhere in the languages the probability is very high. This conjecture is based on such noticeable phenomena in both the languages. If it is true, then here is a classical instance of a prefix that became a suffix morphology. It is also probable that *-kai* is somehow related to the noun *kai* ‘person’ and not to the prefix discussed above.

In Rabha, the attributive ending *-kai* is also the verb nominaliser, for which Garo and Bodo have separate morphemes, *-ani* in Garo and *-nai* in Bodo, as:

Bodo: táŋ-nai ‘(the) going’
 Garo: reʔaŋ-ani ‘(the) going’
 Rabha: réŋ-kai ‘(the) going’

Finally, in Garo alone the predicative indicating present *-a* has the capacity also of being attributive just like *-gipa*. Garo has a further *-gimin* to indicate object nominalisation for which Bodo and Rabha use *-nai* and *-kai* respectively as:

Bodo: hi-nai d̥i̯i̯
 Garo: oʔn-gimin ci
 Rabha: rákhu-kai cika
 give-ATTR water
 ‘the given water or the water that was given’

Table 7.20 presents these various morphemes and their functions.

Table 7.20 *Habitual present, adjectivizer and nominalizer in Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

	habitual present	predicative adjective	attributive adjective	verbal noun	agent nominaliser
Bodo	PRES -i	ADJ gV-	ADJ gV-	nominaliser -nai	nominaliser -gra
Garo	PRES -a	PRES -a	PRES -a, ATTR -gipa	nominaliser -ani	ATTR -gipa
Rabha	PRES -a	PRES -a	ATTR -kai	ATTR -kai	ATTR -kai, nominaliser -bra

In Bodo, the habitual present marker is not used along with forms already with the adjectival prefix, whether it is to indicate predication or modification. This constraint is equally strong with Rabha forms having a fossilised presence of this adjectival prefix:

Rabha: *thé pi-thiŋ-a, whether to mean ‘fruit is raw’ or ‘raw fruit’

The constraint is effective on the corresponding Garo forms only when it regards the attributive formation:

Garo: *mande gipbok-a, is ill-formed to mean ‘the white (fair-skinned) man’.

However, it is well-formed as a predicative sentence to mean ‘the man is white or fair-skinned’. It shows two things: (a) that the Garo composite forms are being regularised as verbs, and (b) that the Garo present suffix is very versatile, as evident from the table above.

There is a total of four morphemes in Bodo doing the functions indicated in the table; Garo and Rabha have three morphemes each. R -bra is practically not productive. Consequently only two can be considered productive in Rabha in any real synchronic sense. But Rabha has another pattern of adjectival prefix (see below).

7.4.1.4 *Disyllabic adjectival prefix: pattern two*

Rabha alone has a disyllabic adjectival prefix. Neither Garo nor Bodo has even any hint of a reconstructible trace of it. That makes correlation difficult and unnecessary. Still, there are worthwhile considerations that could encompass other languages besides Rabha.

In some respects, the disyllabic adjectival prefix is comparable and complementary to the monosyllabic adjectival prefix discussed above. The monosyllabic prefixes engage monosyllabic roots (synchronically productively in Bodo alone) and the disyllabic adjectival prefixes engage disyllabic roots (synchronically productively in Rabha alone). It has the effect of reduplication, making forms having the prefix be applicable in a plural sense, for example ‘bent in many places’ if the basic sense is ‘bent’. Could it have been that at an earlier stage both were productively used in some earlier stage with a division of labour between monosyllabic and disyllabic prefixes that is now found separately in two languages; one preserved in Bodo and the other in Rabha, while Garo lost both? Knowledge of other languages besides these three may have some key to this puzzle.

In Rabha, the disyllabic adjectival prefix is of the form $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ - (see 5.1.1.3), where C_1 is same as the onset of the root, C_2 is always /r/ and V_1 and V_2 are identical to each other and is same as the vowel of the first syllable of the root. Just as the forms with the monosyllabic adjectival prefix cannot be suffixed with PRES suffix in adjectival usage (which binds both predicative and attributive usage in Rabha and Bodo, while it binds only the attributive usage in Garo), the Rabha forms with disyllabic adjectival prefix can not be suffixed with PRES *-a* for adjectival usage:

ram-be kere-keŋsoŋ
 path-DEF ADJ-uneven or crooked
 ‘the path is uneven or crooked’

but not, *ram-be kere-keŋsoŋ-a, with the PRES *-a*; but it well-formed to say
 ram keŋsoŋ-a ‘the path is uneven’ but lacks the force of plural sense.

7.4.1.5 *Causative prefix*

All three languages have causative formations of the verb. Rabha has the most diversified types of causatives, both formally as well as from the semantic result. It has causative prefixes, infixes and two causative suffixes generating three types of causatives: directive, manipulative and active. Bodo has prefixal and suffixal causative. Garo has only a single suffixal morpheme *-at* used with all verbs that have a causative formation irrespective of the phonemic and syllabic structure of the verb root. There is no phonemic correlation of the causative morphemes and their allomorphs (see below).

In all three languages, the causative formation turns an intransitive verb root into transitive verb root, and an already transitive verb root into a ditransitive root, and denotes the action as done to or on another.

Bodo: pi-rán
 Garo: raʔn-at
 Rabha: ti-rán
 ‘to cause to dry’ (B *rán* = G *raʔn* = R *rán* ‘be dry’)

Bodo: já-hi
 Garo: caʔ-at
 Rabha: khi-sá
 ‘to feed’ (B *já* = G *caʔ* = R *sá* ‘to eat’)

Rabha has *sá-tak* ‘to cause to eat (by motivating)’ with causative suffix *-tak*, and *sá-tan* ‘to cause to eat (by indirect action)’ with causative suffix *-tan*. However, details regarding the semantics of the causatives are not delved into. The causative morphemes can be represented as in Table 7.21.

Table 7.21 *Causatives in Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

	prefixes	infixes	suffix 1	suffix 2
Bodo	✓	×	-hi	×
Garo	×	×	-at	×
Rabha	✓	✓	-tan	-tak

The Bodo and Rabha suffixes are synchronically transparent, and derive from the Bodo verb root *hi* 'to give' and Rabha verb roots *tan* 'to put' and *tak* 'to make, to do' respectively, while the Garo suffix gives no indication of being so related. Synchronically it is just a derivative suffix.

The Rabha causative infixes need not be considered as forming a separate set of affixes, as they have grown from the prefixes by extension in polysyllabic words, the causative affix being applied to the non-initial syllable that constitutes (or diachronically constituted) a separate free morph (see 7.4.2 below).

The causative prefixes in Bodo and Rabha are comparable but not synchronically correlatable in their entirety either phonemically or in the rules by which they are related to the phonemic constitution of the verb root. The prefixes are all, just as in the case of the adjectival prefixes of Bodo, of the pattern CV- in both the languages.

The consonant component of the causative prefix defies correlatability. There is greater patterning in Rabha, where the prefixal consonants are, to a large extent voiced, voiceless, aspirated or unaspirated as the initial consonants of the roots, though there is no similarity of the place of articulation. An exception is that the roots with /s/ take prefix with /kh/. The prefixal consonants in Rabha are either velar: /k/ corresponding to root-initial /t c/; /kh/ corresponding to root-initial /th s/, and /g/ corresponding to root-initial /d j/; /t/ corresponding to root-initial /p k m n r/; /th/ corresponding to root-initial /ph kh/, and /d/ corresponding to root-initial /b g/.

The pattern behind the consonant of the Bodo causative prefix is not as neat as the Rabha counterpart. But a closer examination of the Bodo system is very revealing. It can be seen as being parallel to the situation of the adjectival prefix whose loss in Garo and Rabha engendered grammatical shifts of considerable consequence. The present case, however, reveals a pattern that is present in synchronic Bodo giving a glimpse of another pattern that probably lies semi-nally at the root of what gave rise to a wide-ranging phonological shift in Rabha (particularly) and probably also in Garo.

The prefixal consonants in Bodo are only /p b s/. The contrast with those of Rabha is immediately evident where they are /t d th k g kh/. They contrast as entire sets with not a meeting point. There seems no way of resolving this total disparity. But a peep into the internal organisation and the accompanying morphophonemic changes

in Bodo reveals something. The Bodo consonantal prefix /p/ engages roots having initial consonants /b t d k s j n l r h/; /b/ engages roots having initial consonants /b j/ and /s/ engages roots having initials /b g m/. For some reason /p/ does not figure as one of the root initials. Root-initial /b/ has both /p s/ as eligible prefix initial; similarly root-initial /g/ has both /b s/ as eligible prefix initial. Looking it at from a different angle, prefix-initial /p/ engages both voiced as well as voiceless root initial, while prefix initials /b s/ engage only voiced root initials (an exception being root initial /m/ found only rarely). However, a difference between /p/ as prefix initial and /b s/ as prefix initials that is of more consequence, is that /b/ induces compulsory devoicing of the voiced root initial, /s/ induces optional devoicing of the root initial, while /p/ induces neither optional nor obligatory devoicing (Bhattacharya 1977:180–181) giving rise to such alternation as:

bV-gV- > *bV-gV- ~ bV-kV-
 bV-jV- > *bV-jV- ~ bV-sV-
 sV-bV- ~ sV-pV-
 sV-gV- ~ sV-kV
 pV-bV ~ *pV-pV-
 pV-jV- ~ *pV-sV-

where the initial syllables are the causative prefixes and the second syllables are the initial syllable of the verb root.

It can now be seen that the phonemic shift /b d g/ > /p t k/ markedly present in Rabha may be traced to this alternation. The /p t k/ forms probably have descended from the root alternants where the causative prefix induced devoicing optionally or obligatorily while the /b d g/ descended from the normal root. A few examples are in place:

Bodo: be-kon (be- 'causative prefix'; gon 'be bent')
 Garo: gonge 'be bent'
 Rabha: konke 'be bent'

The rule by which the vowel component is derived is identical in both Bodo and Rabha. The vowel component is, in most cases, the same as the vowel of the first syllable (usually the roots are monosyllables) of the root, except when the root vowel is /a/ which has

the central vowel /i/ as its reflex in the prefix. This peculiarity is true of both Bodo and Rabha. The very same phenomenon is present in the monosyllabic adjectival prefixes of Bodo. In Bodo there are exceptions where root vowel /a/ is reduplicated as /i/ in the prefix. The exceptions are the same exceptions found in the area of adjectival prefixes:

Bodo: adjectival prefix		causative prefix
ga-ham	'good, healthy'	pa-ham 'to make cured'
ga-h <u>ai</u>	'of short stature'	pa-h <u>ai</u> 'to make low'

Against these, and probably a few other cases, there is an overwhelmingly great number of roots with /a/ that have /i/ in the prefix. Considering this sheer statistical magnitude and that the phenomenon is present in more than one language and in more than one area of the grammar within a single language, it is better to consider the vowels of the prefixes (in causatives as well as in adjectives) as deriving according to the following pattern in both Bodo and Rabha.

Root vowel	vowel of the prefix
u	u
i	i
e	e
o	o
a	i
i	i

Bhattacharya levelled the differences by a general rule of vowel reduplication and considered the occurrence of prefixal-/i/ when the roots has /a/ as an exception. However, even at the expense of a minor lack of pattern, the vowel patterning presented above achieves greater generalisation within and across languages.

7.4.2 *Infixal morphology*

In yet another area, Rabha is the only representative. Bodo and Garo have no trace of any infixal morphology. Hence no elaboration is made here except mentioning the areas. Rabha has infixal morphology in the area of adjective formation (see 5.1.1.3.3) and in

the area of causative formation (see 3.2.2.1.2-C iii), which are the two areas that have prefixal morphology in Bodo and Rabha. Infixation is had at syllable boundary making it imperative that only polysyllabic (usually only disyllabic) roots take infixes in Rabha, whether it be a causative infix or an adjectival infix. This is also true of the disyllabic adjectival prefix where Rabha alone is represented. The picture now becomes clearer, that in the area of infixes and prefixes involving polysyllabic (usually disyllabic) roots Rabha is the sole player. Bodo which has prefixal morphology has it only with regard to monosyllabic roots.

The two tables below summarise the findings regarding the processes of prefixation and infixation (and suffixation as a corollary). Table 7.22 analyses the two morphemes that enter into prefixal, infixal and suffixal morphology in the different languages separately. Table 7.23 analyses them just as prefixes, infixes or suffixes along with differentiation between the syllabic nature of the roots engaged by them, but without differentiating between their function. The second is naturally a subset of the first with focus only on the processes and the syllabic nature of the roots.

Table 7.22 *Positional analysis of the adjectivizer and the causatives in Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

	ADJ prefix monosyll.	ADJ prefix disyll.	ADJ infix	ADJ suffix	CAUS prefix	CAUS infix	CAUS suffix
Bodo	✓	×	×	×	✓	×	✓
Garo	×	×	×	✓	×	×	×
Rabha	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 7.23 *Positional analysis of affixes in Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

	prefix (monosyll. Root)	prefix (disyll. root)	infix	suffix
Bodo	✓	×	×	✓
Garo	×	×	×	✓
Rabha	✓	✓	✓	✓

Garo has become a fully suffixal language with negative imperative *da-* being the only prefix in the language (which co-exists along with a negative imperative suffix *-nabe*). Rabha is the most versatile as far as the three morphological processes are concerned as it has prefixes, infixes and suffixes. Bodo has prefixes and suffixes. The proto-stage was, probably, very rich in prefixal morphology. Infixal morphology is closely linked to polysyllabic roots. Even if it be held that the earlier stage was predominantly monosyllabic in the sense of being analysable into meaning-bearing monosyllables, it is highly likely that polysyllabic compounded verb roots (even if at that stage synchronically analysable) entered into infixal morphology. Such infixes actually amount to being prefixes to the second syllable as in the synchronic Rabha example:

só-di-bi

burn(tr.)-CAUS-break(intr.)

‘to bend or break by burning or heating’

Here, *só* ‘to burn’ (tr.), *bí* ‘to break’ (intr.) as well the causative *di-bí* are all potentially free. In fact, there is no root **sóbi*. The process, then, is essentially prefixal. With the growth of opaque disyllabic roots, what were originally transparent examples of prefixation turned out to be instances of infixation, such analysis being aided by the opacity of the root. The proto-stage was certainly prefixal (as well as suffixal). Bodo and Rabha resemble this stage more accurately than Garo. Morphologically Rabha is closer to Bodo than Garo.

7.4.3 *Suffixal verb morphology*

In spite of the fact that prefixal and infixal morphology is present in the three languages to varying degrees, suffixation is undoubtedly the predominant process of affixation in verb morphology.

7.4.3.1 *Different approaches to the suffixes*

The verbs and the nouns in the three languages may be affixed with more than one affixes. The analysability of some of the synchronic polysyllabic affixes varies from language to language depending upon the interpretability of the affixes in the light of other free or bound morphemes bearing semantic transparency and correlative possibility.

In the light of cross-lingual correlation, some affixes whose affinity with the synchronic morphemes of a particular language is not easily transparent or traceable, can be better understood, and correlation with morphemes within and across language boundary be better established.

The affixes themselves can be approached differently. A difference between the analysis of Garo by Burling and the present analysis of Rabha, is that Burling does not speak of extended suffixes with the help of postpositions, although he does speak of primary and secondary suffixes in the case of noun morphology which actually amounts to a suffix and its extension. Some phrasal formations are also considered by him to be a string of affixes. Consequently there arises a multiplicity of suffixes many of which can be reduced to a general pattern bringing in economy as well as a better grasp of the morphological behaviour of the languages. For an example, the suffixes *-na-git-a* 'to, in order to' (Burling 1961: 28) and *-cina-git-a* 'to, in order to' (Burling 1961: 29) can be reduced to infinitive suffix *-na* 'to' and optative suffix *-cina* 'to, in order to' respectively followed by the postposition *git-a* 'like' which enters also into noun morphology. The same may be said of *-na-skan* which contains infinitive *-na* and a free morpheme *skan* 'before, first'.

Cross-lingual correlation reveals that the presence of postpositions is an established feature of the morphology of these languages to varying degrees. This is not to imply that the actual consideration of a particular morph as an affix or as a postposition is easy. There are instances where the reasons weigh equally in both the directions. The situation is rendered still intricate by the fact that in certain cases the same morphemes appear to be closely bound to the root as an affix in one instance (which happens especially in the area of verbs) and is a postposition to a primary suffix in another instance (which happens especially in the case of nouns). It shows that the grammaticalisation of the suffixes with respect to the roots varies. It is also possible to come across situations where a suffix is still active as a verb. Suffixes and postpositions, then, are not rigidly set entities. They are in a flux; they are mobile and carry their meaning with them.

The suffixes of these languages appear to be self-sufficient semantic units, thus retaining a measure of freedom enabling them to be used in various morphological constructions supplying their semantic content appropriate to the context of the root. It should not be

surprising that the same morphemes occur with verbs and nouns. As an example, the Rabha form *cekena* has the semantic content of 'up to'. With a noun it becomes specifically spatial 'up to (spatial)' and with a verb it becomes temporal 'until (temporal)'; or, the Rabha form *peke* 'with, along with, while' becomes instrumental and comitative with nouns, and contributes the temporal meaning 'while' with verbs.

7.4.3.2 *The structure of the verb form*

The structure of the verb form in all the three languages is parallel and comparable. A verb form consists of a verb root (simple, derived or compounded) and a number of affixes. The affixes join together agglutinatively. Parallel forms in the three languages are to a large extent isomorphic, making a correlation between the morphemes from a morphosemantic as well as a morphophonemic perspective a highly rewarding and revealing exercise.

The affixes, in particular, are treated under the headings of principal affixes and general affixes in the treatment of Garo by Burling (1961) and that of Bodo by Bhattacharya (1977) as well as in the present analysis of Rabha. The principal affixes themselves are divided into those that form finite verb forms, subordinate verb forms or substantive verb forms. It is felt that the correlative analysis of the various verb suffixes are most fruitfully undertaken along the same lines. While Burling and Bhattacharya described the various affixes without assigning any name to them, such was deemed necessary in the case of Rabha for interlinear translation. These are invoked again here, this time with extended application to the parallel morphemes in Bodo and Garo.

7.4.3.3 *Derivational verb affixes*

Besides the causative derivational affixes treated in 7.4.15, Burling (1961: 13) and Bhattacharya (1977: 167) identify many non-causative derivational verb suffixes for Garo and Bodo respectively. These suffixes carry out the function of adverbs. No phonemic and semantic correlation of these suffixes is attempted here. However, it is worth noting that Rabha has, in the area of non-causative derivational suffixes, traversed a different path by having a very reduced set of such derivational verb suffixes. On the other hand, Rabha has balanced the loss of such derivational verb suffixes that are adverbial in nature by developing a bigger set of adverbs.

7.4.3.4 *Principal finite verb suffixes*

The finite verb suffixes effect a variety of semantic nuances relating to tense, aspect and mood. Burling, and to a lesser extent Bhattacharya, avoided using the term ‘tense’ judiciously and systematically. ‘It is not possible to equate particular suffixes with particular tenses of a language like English. I have therefore avoided the use of the term ‘tenses’ entirely, though these forms do have some of the characteristics of tense’ says Burling of Garo (Burling 1961: 25). This is true of all the three languages. However, the languages do have a system of referring to the time of the verb. We try to capture that from cross-lingual correlation.

(1) The present

The morpheme termed present in Rabha is *-a* and its Garo and Bodo counterparts are *-a* (Burling 1961: 26) and *-i*, which has a significant allomorph *-o* for the verb root *-don* ‘there be’, (Bhattacharya 1977: 192) respectively. There are functional differences between the languages which, though minor, point towards and result from some structural shift (see 7.4.1.3).

In Garo and Rabha, it indicates the predicative adjective on verb roots having adjectival semantic content, as well as habituality on other verbs:

Garo:	mande-de	nam-a
	man-DEF	good-PRES
	‘the man is good’	
	mande	si-a
	man	die-PRES
	‘men or people die’	
	<u>kai</u> -be	nem-a
	person-DEF	good-PRES
	‘the man is good’	
	<u>kai</u> -be	si-a
	person-DEF	die-PRES
	‘men or people die’	

In Garo alone it can also indicate attributive adjective:

mande	nam-a-ko	ni-bo
man	good-PRES-ACC	look-IMP
'see the good man'		

In Bodo it has no adjectival reference at all, whether it be attributive or predicative function. It indicates habituality. It then turns out that this suffix does not indicate time as its prime function but signifies habituality. But as 'habituality lies on the border of time, aspect and mood' (Comrie 1985: 40) and is closely linked with events being true presently, it gives a semblance of indicating the present. But habituality is not a tense, and 'grammatical expression of habituality will always be integrated into the aspectual or modal system of a language rather than into its tense system' (Comrie 1985: 40). Is there, then, no morpheme indicating the present in these languages? A possible answer to this question and further refining of the semantics of this suffix is possible when analysed in combination with other time-indicating suffixes (see below). In all the three languages there is a rigid constraint against the co-occurrence of this suffix along with the negative suffix which is *-a* in Bodo, *-ja* in Garo and *-ca* in Rabha. Burling (1961: 26) identifies other instances for Garo where the suffix *-a* cannot occur: following *-ba*, *-jasraŋ* and *-duga*. There is a minor discrepancy here, for the following are possible:

nam-kal-ba-a
good-more-become-PRES
'becomes better'

báŋ-duga-a
plenty-excess-PRES
'is in excess'

nam-ja-sraŋ-a
goo-NEG-extremely-PRES
'is extremely bad'

(2) The continuative

The respective continuative morphemes refer to an action in progress.

Bodo: -dɪŋ
 Garo: -eŋ-a
 Rabha: -et-a

In Bodo alone it is monosyllabic. As a matter of fact Burling treats only *-eŋ* as the continuative morpheme and considers the final *-a* to be same as the above discussed habitual *-a*. Not only, *-eŋ* is treated as a derivational affix and not placed among the finite verb forming affixes. The intuition has strong support. But, if Burling's approach towards *-eŋ-a* were to be carried to its logical conclusion, one should also analyse the past: *-aha* ~ *ha* as being composed of *-ah* ~ *-h* and the habitual *-a*; similarly, the negative *-ja* (which also Burling places among derivational affixes although it can terminate a verbal formation), of *-j* and *-a* and the future allomorph *-wa*, of *-w* and *-a*.

Rabha too has such analysable parallel past suffix <-nata> and negative *-ca*, besides a future suffix <-no ~ -noa>. Bodo does not have easily recognisable parts in these morphemes. Everyone fights shy of such denuded vowel-less mono-consonantal monophonic morphemes. Historically, however, it is most likely that the final *-a* of such affixes as the negative (*-a*, *-ja* and *-ca* in Bodo, Garo and Rabha respectively) or the past (*-a*, *-aha* ~ *-ha* and <-ata> in Bodo, Garo and Rabha respectively) and other such suffixes are derived from a generic suffix which did not have time reference but was, as rightly pointed out by Burling, 'indicates roughly the absence of any of the more specific meanings shown by the other verb suffixes' (Burling 1961: 26).

The Garo-Rabha suffix *-a* and its Bodo counterpart *-i*, that was first designated present and revised in the section above as being indicator of habituality, ought now to be seen as the reflex of some suffix that functioned as a general finite suffix; secondarily it indicated habituality and through it also a tertiary reference to the present.

Such an approach will force, in the right direction, a revision of the way the time-indicating suffixes that all grammars, including the present one on Rabha, are placed, for denuded of the suffix *-a* they are no more finite suffixes. However, there emerges a generalisation that all time-indicating morphemes, including the continuative morpheme (minus the suffix *-a* in Rabha and Garo) had exactly the same function positionally and morphologically.

Further still, what is called continuative in the three grammars (morphemes given above) is in all likelihood the morpheme that

indicated the present, for in all three languages there is just one continuative morpheme each and there is no other present indicating suffix. It is unlikely that there be a morpheme for future and one for past without one for the present. Cross-lingual study of tense systems shows that binary tense systems are with either an opposition between past and non-past or between future and non-future (Comrie 1985: 49). In all likelihood, then, with the gradually acquired new role of the suffix *-a* (and its counterparts in the three languages) to indicate also the present time, the old present indicating suffix gradually began to signify the aspect of continuity.

This then allows a broad generalisation about the way the three languages (or their some prior stage) internally organised the important function of time reference. There probably existed a three-way present-past-future grammaticalisation achieved through non-finite verb modifying syllables along with a common finite verb suffix which by itself had no reference to time. This reconstructed pattern of the three languages may tentatively (further modification below) be represented as:

verb root + time indicating modifying syllable + finite verb suffix

By the lack of time reference in that one finite verb suffix, it was capable of signifying habituality as it does in all the three languages synchronically. Synchronic organisation of time reference can still be considered an instance of three-way past-present-future grammaticalization, the present being only weakly signified by the habitual suffix (the old finite suffix). The habitual suffix has come to be more a part of the time indicating morphemes. In certain suffixes it has been totally dropped making the time-indicators capable of standing on their own.

The presence of the habitual suffix as an inherent part of the time-indicating suffixes is least present in Bodo. The continuative suffix from which the discussion began does not take the habitual. If Bodo negative *-a* and the past indicator, which is also a homophonous *-a*, are considered the reflexes of the habitual suffix (the consonant having undergone change and consequent deletion) there is still phonemic change from Bodo present *i* to *-a*. However, it would agree phonemically with Garo-Rabha present *-a*. Such differences cast a shadow of doubt as to whether the reconstructed pattern goes back to a stage including the present Bodo suffix or excluding it.

There is the possibility that this also could have been another fall-out of the loss of the adjectival prefix *gV-* (see 7.4.1.3) which has intimate relation to the behaviour of the suffix *-a* in Rabha and Garo which they do not share with the corresponding suffix *-i* of Bodo.

(3) The future

The future indicating morphemes are:

Bodo:	-gɪn	
Garo:	-gen ~ -wa	
Rabha:	<-no> ~ <-noa>	(for the various allomorphs see 4.2.1-5)
Bodo:	aŋ tãŋ-gɪn	
Garo:	aŋa reʔaŋ-gen	
Rabha:	aŋ réŋ-o	(allomorph /-o/ of <-no>)
	I go-FUT	
	'I will go'	

Garo and Bodo have phonemically comparable morphemes. The Rabha <-noa> has practically fallen into disuse; however, it is found abundantly in songs and versus. The Garo allomorph *-wa* is used exclusively with the negative *-ja*; in positive constructions it is always *-gen*. What makes the future markers of these languages special is that in each language it has irregular negative. The negatives are:

Bodo:	V-nai non-a	(-nai 'verb nominaliser'; non 'be true', -a 'negative')
Garo:	V-ja-wa	(-ja 'negative'; -wa 'negative future allomorph')
Rabha:	V-<-na> ton-ca	(<-na> 'infinitive'; ton 'stay, there be'; -ca 'negative')

In Rabha, however, this pattern co-exists with a less often used morphological negative form *-cano*. Bhattacharya treats *-nai* (⁰nay) as a future suffix (north western dialect) and as a verb nominaliser. In this case, however, it is certainly an instance of verb nominaliser as there is another parallel Garo construction that matches the Bodo form isomorphemically:

Garo:	V-ani oʔŋ-ja	(-ani 'verb nominaliser'; oʔŋ 'be true'; -ja 'negative')
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which is used not as regular negative formation of the future, but to mean very close 'V-ing is not (true) or there is no V-ing' which, with proper adverbial of time, can refer either to present or future.

Garo has a further intentional and immediate future suffix *-ginok*. Probably it is a combination of future *-gen* and past *-jok*. For an analysis of this and other similar forms see No. 10 below.

(4) The past

In all three languages, there are two forms for the past (see Table 7.24). The description of the two morphemes in all three languages match. There is one that has the characteristic of indicating shallow time depth, greater measure of definiteness and that some effect of the event persists in the present. This may be called 'immediate or recent past'. There is another that indicates greater time-depth, being neutral about definiteness and not emphatically indicating any present effect of the past event. It is the one characteristically used in narratives about events of remote past. This may be called 'narrative or remote past'.

Table 7.24 *Past-time indicators in Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

	remote/narrative past	recent/immediate past
Bodo	-a	- <u>ba</u> i
Garo	-aha ~ ha	-jok
Rabha	<-nata>	-jo ~ -jok

Mochari (1997: 59) says the past suffix *-a* is widely used with the suffix *-si*.

(5) The imperfective

All three languages have a correlatable imperfective suffix. Bhattacharya does not treat it differently as a suffix but gives the composite forms it enters into with other finite suffixes. Burling treats it under general suffixes as it can also be used with noun bases as well. But as shown in the present analysis for Rabha the occurrences of the imperfective with nouns can all be seen are reductions following verb deletion. This feature is equally true of Bodo. The suffixes are:

Bodo: -m̐n
 Garo: -cim
 Rabha: -m̐n

Phonemically the Bodo and Garo suffixes have the same content; the divergence of Garo seems inexplicable. Functionally it performs different functions with different time-indicating suffixes. With past and present and continuative suffixes its function is to denote imperfective aspect in all the three languages:

Bodo: aŋ buŋ-d̐ŋ-m̐n
 I say-CONT-IMPERF
 ‘I had said or I was saying’
 sansekali sase raja doŋ-m̐n
 (or *doŋ-o-m̐n* with the PRES -o)
 once upon a time CL-one king there be-IMPERF
 ‘once upon a time there was king’

Garo: aŋa agan-eŋa-cim
 I say-CONT-IMPERF
 ‘I was going’
 saksa raja doŋ-a-cim
 one king there be-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘there was a king’
 aŋa agan-aha-cim
 I say-PAST-IMPERF
 ‘I had said’

Rabha: aŋ kani-eta-m̐n
 I say-CONT-IMPERF
 ‘I was saying’
 saksa raja to-a-m̐n
 one king there be-PRES-IMPERF
 ‘there was a king’
 aŋ kani-nata-m̐n
 I say-PAST-IMPERF
 ‘I had said’

Along with the future time suffix, however, the imperfective suffix functions in the apodosis or the main clause of an unreal conditional clause.

Bodo:	aŋ	bun- <u>gou</u> -min	(normal FUT is - <i>gin</i>)
Garo:	aŋa	agan-gen-cim	
Rabha:	aŋ	kani-no-min	
	I	say-FUT-IMPERF	
		'I would say, I would have said'	

Bodo shows a deviation in that in the place of the future *-gin* it uses *-gou*. The Bodo suffix *-gou* (represented as *-gow* by Bhattacharya and *-giw* by Bhat) is considered 'subjunctive' suffix by Bhat (1988: 8), and as indicating 'willingness and resoluteness in general present time context' by Bhattacharya (1977: 195). In the above instance Bodo *-gou* takes the place taken by the future suffix in Garo and Rabha. In other instances, however, it parallels the present *-a* of Garo and Rabha, as in:

Bodo:	oka ha-ni-bi	ha- <u>gou</u>	
	rain-INF-also	able-(PRES)	
	'it may rain'		
Garo:	mikka	wa-na-ba doŋ-a	
Rabha:	raŋ	pha-na-ba to-a	
	rain-INF-also	there be-PRES	
	'it may rain'		

Burling considers all the morphemes excluding the root in the Garo example to be one affix although he admitted an uncertain possibility of analysing into two or more shorter morphemes. It is clearly analysable as done in the interlinear translation. There is no support for treating them as one suffix. At any rate, in one isomorphemic construction the Bodo *-gou* correlates with Garo-Rabha future suffix and in another isomorphemic construction it correlates with Garo-Rabha present suffix. It seems to be that *-gou* has the possibility of referring to present and future. Different analyses seem to have homed in on particular aspects. Its full character emerges only in correlative and synoptic approach.

A more serious consideration surfaces from the co-occurrence propensity of the future with the imperfective suffix, generating meaning that has no comparison with what the other time suffixes generate. The future, in all the three languages, behave quite differently from the other time suffixes. In Garo and Rabha, the combination PAST-IMPERF and PRES-IMPERF carry the same meaning. In Bodo these meanings are generated by CONT-IMPERF or CONT alone (with IMPERF

deletion). It has already been that the present tense is actually a habituality and finiteness indicator more than a time indicator.

(6) Imperative

Bodo has two forms of imperative: either the verb root without an overt marker or with the suffix *-di*. Bhat says the *-di* form is used in addressing a group. This does not appear to be accurate, rather it has greater measure of insistence and politeness as noted by Bhattacharya (1977: 197). Garo marks the imperative with the suffix *-bo*; the bare root can be used only in exceptional cases of direct and stern command to minors. Rabha has no overt imperative marker. The negative imperative is marked by all the languages with prefixes. Garo has, besides, a suffix *-nabe*. It has probably grammaticalised as a suffix from the phrasal formation:

V-na beʔŋ (*-na* ‘dative’; *beʔŋ* ‘to forbid, to ban, to prohibit, to prevent’)

The comparatively lesser use of the prefixal morpheme may either have occasioned the grammaticalisation of the suffix *-nabe* or it may be a result of the growth of the suffix, limiting the use of the prefix.

Table 7.25 *Imperative in Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

	positive imperative suffix	negative imperative prefix	negative imperative suffix
Bodo	-Ø, -di	da-	×
Garo	(-Ø), -bo	da-	-nabe
Rabha	Ø	ta-	×

There is a suffix, most probably borrowed from Assamese, that follows only the imperative form to indicate a request. It is *-suŋ* in Bodo (Bhat 1968: 16), *-ciŋ* in Garo and *-coŋ* in Rabha. Burling does not note this suffix, but records another suffix *-coŋ* (Burling 1961: 28) as being a verb finite suffix which indicates granting of permission to do as one pleases. The two suffixes *-ciŋ* and *-coŋ* are different; *-ciŋ* can only follow the imperative *-bo* while *-coŋ* follows the verb root directly.

(7) The negative

The negative of the three languages is phonemically correlatable:

Bodo:	-a	
Garo:	-ja	
Rabha:	-ca	
Bodo	aŋ	mao-a
Garo	aŋa	kaʔ-ja
Rabha	aŋ	khár-ca
	I	do-NEG
	'I do not do'	

Burling considers *-ja* an adverbial affix although it can actually form a finite verb. Burling's choice seems to have been motivated by the fact that *-ja*, although it is capable of forming finite suffixes, can also be followed by a good number of other adverbial suffixes like the intensifier *-be*, the intensifier *-sraŋ*, the comparative *-bat* and others, and hence kept it among the derivational affixes. However, there is another side to the behaviour of the negative that cuts across the language boundaries of the three languages that makes it morphologically ambiguous across the languages. There is a strong constraint against the negative being followed by the present tense in all the three languages. This seems to be an indication that the habitual or present suffix is inherent to it and partakes also of inflectional morphology. In Rabha, the negative can be seen as being at the border between typical derivational affixes to the left of it and typical inflectional affixes to the right of it. The division is not absolute, for a derivational affix like the intensifier *-raŋ* can follow the negative in Rabha. Yet a rough division is possible. Later, Burling came to clearly saying that the *-a* of *-ja* and the PRES *-a* do not keep their distance at all, but merge (1992: 45).

There is an adverbial suffix meaning 'yet, still' that has particular affinity with the negative, generating the meaning 'not yet' in all the three languages:

Bodo:	<u>ki</u>
Garo:	ku
Rabha:	khu

Bodo has two special features: (i) In Bodo alone this adverbial affix does not have the freedom of being used in positive sentences. (ii) In Bodo alone the order of the morphemes is 'NEG-still', while in Garo-Rabha it is 'still-NEG'. The first speciality is probably related to the second.

Bodo:	*hi-kii	(hi 'give')
Garo:	oʔn-ku-bo	'give still or more' (oʔn 'to give' -bo 'imperative')
Rabha:	sam-khu	'wait a while, wait a little' (sam 'to wait')
Bodo:	hi-a-kii	'did not give yet'
Garo:	oʔn-ku-ja	'did not give yet'
Rabha:	rákhū-khu-ca	'did not give yet'

(8) The optative

The optative suffixes are:

Bodo:	-tiŋ
Garo:	-kan, -cina
Rabha:	-khan

Burling (1961: 28) records Garo *-kan* as *-kar*, which would be [-kal] phonetically. Presently, at least, it is always uttered as *-kan*. Another suffix *-kande* (Burling 1961: 29) actually contains *-kan*. Besides, he sees *-kan* as equivalent to *-coŋ* which indicates granting of permission to do as one pleases. There is a minor inaccuracy here in that *-coŋ* can be addressed to second person, but *-kan* is a general statement not addressed to second person but actually about a third person. Burling notes that it is 'rougher, a little less polite, verging on rudeness'. This is true. *-kan* is a rude optative and is commonly used to indicate dissatisfaction or in expletives like curses:

matca	cik-kan
tiger	bite-OPT
	'may (you) be bitten by tiger'

Garo *-cina*, on the other hand, was not recorded by Burling as being optative, but only as forming subordinate verb meaning 'to, in order to'. This is true, but it is also the polite, pleasant and sweeter Garo

optative. In the following examples, the interlinear translation and the translation are given only once for all three languages.

Bodo:	náŋ-ni	raǰǰi-a	pǰi-tiŋ (NOM -a)
Garo:	naʔŋ-ni	soŋnok	oʔŋ-ba-cina
Rabha:	nán-i	soŋhásoŋ	cán-ba-khan
	you-GEN	kingdom	be-become-OPT
	‘may your kingdom come’		

Bodo stands apart from Garo and Rabha in not allowing the co-occurrence of the optative and the negative suffixes:

Garo	ua-man	reʔba-ja-cina
Rabh	u-roŋ	rǰba-ca-khan
	they	come-NEG-OPT
	‘let them not come’	

Isomorphic Bodo sentence **bi-sir- i pǰi-a-tiŋ* is ungrammatical (NOM -i). Bodo would have to use the negative prefix *da-* as in *bi-sir- i da-pǰi-tiŋ*.

(9) The adhortative or the exhortative

Garo and Rabha have no specific suffixes for the exhortative. Instead there are particles: *hai* in Garo, and *ni* in Rabha with the verb in both languages at the infinitive. Bodo, instead, has suffixes *-ni* and *-dini*. Rabha *-ni* is used when the speaker and those addressed both physically move away from the speech situation. If such physical movement is not involved, then just the infinitive is employed. Rabha has also an irregular verb root *phoi* that is used as an exhortative especially as an invitation to another to ‘come and join’.

Bodo:	jŋ	tán-ni (or jŋ tán-dini)
	we	go-let us
	‘let us go’	
Garo	hai	aʔnciŋ reʔ-na
	let we	go-INF
	‘let us go’	
Rabha:	ni	ciŋ réŋ-a
	let we	go-INF
	‘let us go’	

(10) Special combinations of time indicating suffixes

An analysis of the three languages indicates that the time indicating suffixes are not simple and straightforward suffixes. Combinations of them occur that add different dimensions to the organisation of time. This feature is more prominently present in Garo. As such, the Garo forms are discussed first against which parallel forms, if they exist in the other languages, are correlated.

- (i) The Garo *-eŋ-aha* ~ *eŋ-jok* which is a CONT-PAST combination generates the meaning 'has begun to V'. It is peculiar to Garo.
- (iii) The Garo *-gin-ok* which probably derives from *-gen-jok* which in its turn is a FUT-PAST combination generates a more emphatic and immediate future. This too is peculiar to Garo.
- (iii) The Garo *-eŋ-gin-ok* which is a combination of CONT-FUT-PAST (following the analysis of *-gin-ok* given above) means 'will have V-en' as in 'he will have reached by now'. This combination too is peculiar to Garo, but Rabha generates the same meaning phrasally with the pattern 'V-PAST *cáŋ*-FUT' where *cáŋ* is a verb of being or becoming meaning 'be, become'. Rabha has a morphological formation *jo-no* which is a PAST-FUT combination generating nearly the same meaning and which is peculiar to Rabha alone.
- (iii) The Garo *-bo-aha* ~ *-bo-jok* which is an IMP-PAST combination generates the imperative meaning with the added shade of 'V right away or without further delay or discussion'. It is peculiar to Garo.
- (iii) Another combination, although it has only one time indicating suffix, that is worth considering here is the Garo form *-na-ha* ~ *na-jok* which is a combination of INF-PAST. It generates the nuance of immediacy of the future, and can be glossed 'about to V'. Rabha has an isomorphic combination {-na}-*jok* 'about to V'; Bodo has *-ni* *-süi* with INF *-ni* and *-süi* which does have close affinity to PAST though it is not a free past morpheme (see below).
- (iv) Garo *-ja-jok* ~ *ja-ha* is regular from the formal perspective. But it has the meaning 'stopped V-ing' besides the meaning 'did not V'. Rabha has semantically parallel *-ca-ro*, *e-ca* and *e-ca-ro*, but the morpheme correlation is not isomorphic.
- (v) Rabha has a suffix *-phan* which is used only in combination with negative *-ca* giving the negative of the modal meaning

'would have'. In Rabha itself it is paralleled by the combination *-ca-no-m̃n* (NEG-FUT-IMPERF) Rabha alone has a single suffix indicating this modal negatively.

(11) Special forms

A few morphemes in one or the language appear not to have no correlation in the other languages:

- (i) Garo *-piti* has the meaning 'still' and is quite similar to the adverbial suffix *-ku*. But unlike *-ku* which can form a finite verb only as an imperative, *-piti* is able to form a finite verb in a statement. It has no parallel in the other languages.
- (ii) Bodo *-ki* is used as an interrogative suffix having only past time reference. It has no parallel in the other languages.
- (iii) The Bodo suffix *-sĩi* is peculiar in many ways. It is never used by itself to indicate time, mood or aspect without a time indicating suffix. However, it is used in combination with past *-a* to indicate past as an extended form of it. It is used also as an extension of *-a-kĩi* 'NEG-still, not yet' as *-a-kĩi-sĩi* and also in the form *-INF-sĩi*, the parallels of which in Garo and Rabha are of the form *-INF-PAST* to indicate the meaning 'about to V' (see No. 10.iii above). According to Bhattacharya, it is also capable of following CONT *-dĩn*, *-gou* and the optative *-tĩn*. There is a morpheme *-saĩ* in Garo and *-sĩi* in Bodo, both of which are terminating suffixes in both the languages adding minor shades of meaning. Probably they are all related to each other.

In conclusion, what appears is that there exist several morphemes that produce different semantic effects in the areas of time, aspect and modal indication, singly and in varying combinations. In the majority of cases there are parallel and isomorphemic constructions in the three languages.

7.4.3.5 *Non-finite verb suffixes*

There are a number of verb suffixes in all the three languages that form non-finite verb formations. These do not terminate a sentence, but occur typically in subordinate clauses. A number of them bear phonemico-semantic correlatability across the three languages. They are treated here under traditional names that best approximate their function.

(1) The infinitive

The infinitives are:

Bodo:	-ni
Garo:	-na
Rabha:	{-na} (for the various allomorphs see 4.2.2)

In all three languages their morphological behaviour is correlatable, and in each there is an extended form of the dative giving a more purposeful 'in order to':

Bodo:	-ni takai
Garo:	-na git-a
Rabha:	<-na> neke

Besides these, the Garo and the Rabha optative morphemes *-cina* and *-khan* can be used as infinitive having the meaning 'in order to'. In such a case the subjects of the subordinate verb and the finite verb are by necessity different. In addition, Garo alone has another morpheme *-kande* 'in order to'. As the phonemic composition would indicate, it is related to the other optative *-kan* of Garo.

In all three languages, it is possible also to terminate a sentence with the infinitive. All such sentences are minor sentences or sentences whose principal verb is deleted or just unexpressed, and the subject is always the first person:

Bodo:	aŋ	nai-ni
Garo:	aŋa	ni-na
Rabha:	aŋ	ci-na
	I	see-INF
		'let me see or allow me to see or I wish to see'

(2) The participle or the incompletive

The participial suffixes are:

Bodo:	-i̇i, -naṅi̇i
Garo:	-e, -emiŋ ~ -emuŋ, -enba
Rabha:	-e, -emene

These suffixes perform mainly two functions: (i) Bodo - *ii̇* and Garo-Rabha -*e* indicate the manner in which the action of the principal verb is executed, and thus are adverbial in function.

Bodo:	be	kamani-kou	mijaŋ-ii̇	mao-Ø
Garo:	ia	kam-ko	nam-e	dak-bo
Rabha:	ekai	kami-o	nem-e	khár-Ø
	this	work-ACC	good PART	do-IMP
	'do this work well (in a good way)'			

For this function the other suffixes given above are generally not used, and in most instances cannot be used. In the above example, the other suffixes would render them ill-formed. However, there are exceptions like the Bodo *ón-nanii̇* 'please, kindly, affectionately' (*ón* 'to love') and its Garo and Rabha counterpart *kaʔsa-e ~ kaʔsa-emuŋ* (*kaʔsa* 'to love') and *nasi-e ~ nasi-emene* (*nasi* 'to love') respectively. In Bodo the repetition of a verb with suffix - *ii̇* denotes an action that is prolonged in time. For such prolonged action Garo uses either -*e* itself or -*en*, while Rabha uses -*an*:

Bodo:	táŋ-ii̇	táŋ-ii̇	(táŋ 'go')
Garo:	reʔaŋ-e	reʔaŋ-e	(or <i>reʔaŋ-en reʔaŋ-en; reʔaŋ</i> 'go')
Rabha:	réŋ-an	réŋ-an	(réŋ 'go')
	'having gone for a long time'		

(ii) All the suffixes of Garo and Rabha given above and -*nani̇* of Bodo (not -*ii̇*) can syntactically connect two actions that are, at least conceptually, executed one following the other. In the case of Garo and Rabha it is again -*e* that is more commonly used. English renderings of the constructions with these suffixes in each of the languages would be either 'V₁-ing V₂-finite' or 'V₁-ed and V₂-finite' where V₁ is the verb having the participial suffix and V₂ the principal verb.

Bodo:	táŋ-nanii̇	undu-gin
Garo:	reʔaŋ-e	tusi-gen
Rabha:	réŋ-e	gur-no
	GO-INCOMP	sleep-FUT
	'going will sleep or will go and sleep'	

-emɪŋ ~ *-emuŋ* and *-enba* of Garo and *-emene* of Rabha indicate emphasis as well as a more definite execution of the action with the participial suffix, which in Bodo is conveyed by *-nanii*. Although the distinction of the present and past participle does not exist in these languages, the *-ii* of Bodo and the *-e* of Garo and Rabha are closer to the English present participle and the other suffixes of Garo and Rabha as well as the Bodo *-nanii*, as they indicate a greater measure of completeness and past-time sense, are closer to the past participle.

There is, then, a shift in the way the three languages have reorganised the various participial morphemes available. Garo and Rabha have made a choice for the present participial as the regular morpheme (though not to the exclusion of the other), while Bodo has settled on the past participial to indicate chained action and has kept the present participial suffix to indicate manner and continued action.

Table 7.26 *Various functions of the incomplete in Bodo, Garo and Rabha*

	manner	temporal extension	chained actions
Bodo	- <u>ii</u>	- <u>ii</u> - <u>ii</u>	-nan <u>ii</u>
Garo	-e	-e -e -en -en	-e, -emɪŋ ~ -emuŋ, -enba
Rabha	-e	-an an	-e, -emene

The manner suffix is inherently or lexically present in many analysable lexemes that have the basic meaning of manner:

Bodo:	mab <u>irii</u>	‘how’
	las <u>ii</u>	‘slowly’
	gik <u>rii</u>	‘fast’
Garo:	ma <u>idake</u>	‘how’
	kaʔsapae	‘please’
	ma <u>ikae</u>	‘so that’
Rabha:	bekhare ~ bekhre ~ bekhre	‘how’
	anare ~ andre	‘slowly’

Grammatically the most important one of such lexemes is the quotative verb meaning ‘that, having said thus, saying thus’ in each language. The Bodo form has the suffix *-nanii* while the Garo and Rabha forms have the suffix *-e* on the verb root meaning ‘say’:

Bodo:	h̄in-nanīi	(h̄in 'to say')
Garo:	in-e	(in 'to say' -/i/ is phonetically [ī])
Rabha:	in-e	(in̄ 'to say')

(3) The negative participial

The negation of the participial forms treated above is one that has gone different routes in the three languages. The various morphemes are:

Bodo:	-alaba
Garo:	-gija
Rabha:	-caraṇe

They generate the meaning 'without V-ing'. Bhattacharya refers to *-alaba* as the negation of *-nanīi*. Going by the semantics of the suffix, the initial *-a* of the Bodo *-alaba* is probably the negative suffix *-a*. Burling considers *-gija* as an allomorph of the negative *-ja* that occurs before certain substantive verb suffixes. This is not wrong; however, *-gija* is also a subordinate verb suffix where it cannot be considered to be a mere allomorph of the negative *-ja* as the semantics is not just negation but negation of the participial sense. Rabha *-caraṇe* is also transparent, and it is analysable as negative *-ca*, derivational suffix *-raṇ* and the incomplete or participial *-e*.

Bodo:	já-(y)-alaba
Garo:	caʔ-gija
Rabha:	sá-caraṇe
	eat-with out
	'without eating'

(4) The 'if' and 'when'

The analysis of the way the three languages handle these two concepts that result in many subordinate clauses makes an interesting study that also leads to a better understanding of the suffixes, which is not possible from within the framework of one single language. This is particularly true of the Garo suffixes that are rendered more transparent in the light of the Rabha suffixes. The conditional 'if' is effected by the following suffixes:

Bodo:	-bla				
Garo:	-ode				
Rabha:	-doŋbe				
Bodo:	níŋ	hi-bla	aŋ	lá-gin	
Garo:	naʔa	oʔn-ode	aŋa	raʔ-gen	
Rabha:	náme	rákhu-donbe	ame	rá-no	(<i>náme</i> and <i>ame</i> contains DEF <i>-bé</i>)
	you	give-if	I	take-FUT	
	'if you give I will take'				

The adverbial 'when' is better considered along with a number of other related suffixes especially in Garo and Rabha. For many of the suffixes that are correlated between Garo and Rabha, Bodo either uses phrasal formations or makes use of the conditional *-bla*. The following suffixes in Garo and Rabha (and Bodo) are correlatable:

Garo:	Rabha:	Bodo:	
-o ~ o-a	-doŋ		'when'
-o-n	-doŋ-an	(-marni)	'when (as soon as)'
-o-de	-doŋ-be	-bla	'if'
-o-sa	-doŋ-se	-bla-si	'only if'
-o-ba	-doŋ-ba	-bla-bi	'even if, also if'

The Bodo suffixes leave the analysts in the lurch, as there is great phonemic divergence (an explanation for which is given below) except for the second syllables *-si* and *-bi* of *-bla-si* and *-bla-bi* which are correlatable across the other languages. These suffixes, Bodo *-si* ≡ Garo *-sa* ≡ Rabha *-se*, and Bodo *-bi* ≡ Garo *-ba* ≡ Rabha *-ba*, are easily identifiable as the terminal emphatic suffixes meaning 'only' and 'also' respectively. The Garo *-de* of *-ode* and Rabha *-be* of *-doŋbe* are also identifiable as the definitive suffixes in the respective languages. Similarly the *-n* of Garo *-on*, and *-an* of Rabha *-doŋan* are the emphatic suffix *-an* (reduced to *-n* in Garo, which is a very common phenomenon in these languages). The *-a* of the Garo allomorph *-oa* is probably the habitual suffix *-a*.

Burling (1961: 30) identified the *-o* in the above Garo suffixes to be related to the locative suffix *-o*. A correlative and inter-linguistic synoptic approach points in a different direction. The direction is

given by the Rabha counterpart *-don*, which derives from the verb root *dó ~ dón* 'be, be true'. The Garo counterpart of this verb root is *oʔŋ* 'be, be true'. The *-o* in the Garo compound suffixes, then, is a reduced form of the verb root *oʔŋ*, and has no relation to the locative suffix *-o* at all as Burling mistakenly supposed. Probably he was led into such an analysis as the subject may take either the nominative or the genitive when verbs with these suffixes are used, giving an impression that the verbs are somehow nominal in character, as in the example given by Burling:

aŋ-ni	sok-on	aŋa	sok-on
I-GEN	reach-when	I	reach-when
'at my arrival'		'when I arrive'	

The reason for the aberrant behaviour of Bodo in lacking such formation and having an altogether different suffix is to be found in the organisation of the verbs of 'being', 'becoming' (and also of 'having') in these languages.

Bodo:	Garo	Rabha
×	<i>oʔŋ</i> 'be, be true'	<i>dó ~ dón</i> 'be, be true'
<i>ja</i> 'become, happen'	×	<i>cán</i> 'become, happen'
<i>don</i> 'there be, have'	<i>don</i> 'there be, have'	<i>to ~ ton</i> 'there be, have'

Bodo lacks a true verb of 'being' related to the Garo *oʔŋ* and Rabha *dó ~ dón*. There is no denying that the Boro *ja* can be used to mean 'be, is' in such sentences as 'it is true'. Boro *non-gou* 'be true' is probably related Garo *oʔŋ* and Rabha *dó ~ dón*, but its meaning is restricted to 'be true'. This explains the absence in Bodo of the suffixes built on the verb of 'being'. Garo lacks a true verb of 'becoming' which is present in Bodo and Rabha. Garo *oʔŋ* can be used to mean 'happen' in such sentences as 'what happened?'. This analysis further strengthens the argument that the Garo *-o* in these suffixes is related to the verb of being *oʔŋ*.

(5) The temporal ‘till, until, as long as’

Bodo: -jase, -sandi, -goumani

Garo: -a dipet

Rabha: -a dīpa ~ -a dīpana (PRES -a) or -dīpa ~ -dīpana
-cekena ‘up to’ (but not ‘as long as’)

The Bodo *-goumani* is probably better analysed as principal suffix *-gou* and postposition *mani*. The composite nature of this form was noted by Bhattacharya (1977: 200), but considered *mani* to be a bound element. For Garo, Burling considers *-a-dip-et* as a single suffix (so also the combinations that it enters with the dative *-na* and genitive *-ni* in noun morphology). However, in a system that accepts the use of postpositions, *dipet* is better seen as a postposition to the PRES suffix *-a*. The Rabha morpheme appears to be at the cross-roads of being a suffix and a postposition. It can be used directly on a bare root as a suffix or be used as a postposition with the verb root having the present tense *-a*.

Temporal reference requires a semantically compatible verb root. Otherwise the meaning can change to ‘as much as’ for Garo and Rabha suffixes, and for *-goumani* of Bodo. For Bodo *-jase* and *-sandi*, the sense is always temporal.

Bodo: aŋ p̄i-jase (or aŋ p̄i-sandi aŋ or p̄i-gou mani)

Garo: aŋa reʔba dipet

Rabha: aŋ rība-dīpa

I come-till

‘till I come’

Bodo: ha-gou mani lá-Ø

Garo: maʔn-a dipet raʔ-bo

Rabha: jaŋ-a dīpa rá-Ø

able-PRES till take-IMP

‘take as much as possible’

(6) The subordinating ‘because’

Bodo: -nai kai

Garo: -ana ~ -ahana ~ ani gimin ~ -ani

Rabha: -bana ~ -bani

The various morphemes are analysable. Bodo has postposition *kai* with suffix *-nai*, which in Bodo is a verb nominaliser, agent nominaliser as well as attributive indicator. The Garo forms have grown through two routes: one with the dative *-na* with habitual *-a* and past *-aha*, and the other with the genitive *-ni* with or without the extension through postposition. The multiplicity of these various possibilities is the result of various routes of contraction that is quite similar to the Rabha situation which also has the dative <-na> and the genitive <-ni> with *-ba* which has characteristics of a past time marker and the attributive. Burling mentions the use of *gimin* as a secondary suffix to the genitive but does not speak of the subordinating role in a verbal construction that is treated here.

At the basis of the logic of this piece of semantics is an interplay of the attributive (with or without past sense) suffix and either the dative or the genitive with or without extension through postposition. In Garo, the form with the past time indicator is more common. In Rabha, the first element to which the genitive or the dative are attached is a fossilised suffix having inherent sense of the attributive and past time.

Bodo:	bi-sir	tán-nai	kai	gotho gab-bai
Garo:	ua-man	reʔaŋ-ahani	gimin	biʔsa grap-aha
Rabha:	o-roŋ	rén-bana	sábra	khap-mata
	they(pl)	go-because	POSTPOS	child cry-PAST
	'because they went away the child cried'			

Bodo shows differences in the negative sentences, where it uses *-ii* in the place of *-nai*, while Garo and Rabha just adds the respective negative markers.

Bodo:	tán-ii	kai
Garo:	reʔaŋ-ja-hani	gimin
Rabha:	rén-ca-bana	
	'on account of not going, because did not go'	

(7) The temporal 'while'

Bodo:	-punaiao
Garo:	-mitiŋ
Rabha:	-peke, -bapeke

Phonemically none of the suffixes give any hint of being related. The Bodo suffix (not found in Bhattacharya) is analysable as containing the adverbial suffix *-pu* indicating 'being busy with', verb nominaliser *-nai* and the locative *-aə*. The Garo form also contains the locative *-o* and opaque *mitiŋ*. The Rabha forms are related to the instrumental and comitative *-peke*.

(8) Some subordinating suffixes peculiar to each language

(i) Bodo

The Bodo *-marni* adds the meaning 'as soon as'

bi-i	aŋ-kou	nu-marni
he-NOM	I-ACC	see-as soon as
'as soon as he saw me'		

Garo has *-ari* ~ *-arin* with similar meaning, but it is fast being laid aside. Bhattacharya (1977: 202) makes mention also of other suffixes like *-so . . . -so*, *-gron . . . -gra* and *-si . . . -si*, all of which are used with two different verbs or with repetition of the same verb. These are of marginal use and are not discussed here.

(ii) Garo

The suffix *-ni intal* ~ *intaltal* (Burling uses final *-r*) contains genitive *-ni* and acts as the ablative for time-reference as 'since, from'. Bodo and Rabha use the respective ablative forms.

daʔal-oni intal 'from today'

(iii) Rabha

Rabha has *-makri* 'instead, rather than', *-naŋman* 'as if about to, almost as if', *-roro* 'while' and *'atan* 'while' all of which are unique to Rabha.

7.4.3.6 Suffixes forming substantive verbs

Some of the suffixes that pertain to this category are also treated in 7.4.1.3 where the effects of the loss of the monosyllabic adjectival prefix are treated. The formation of the verbal noun is an important area in these languages. In all the three languages a verb root

bearing a nominalising suffix can function as a noun and take the whole set of the noun suffixes. From the correlative point what makes interesting observation is the fact that in different languages various nominalising suffixes exist, playing different syntactic and semantic functions. It is the correlation of the nominalising morpheme in correspondence with the specific functions that are carried out in the different languages that makes a revealing analysis.

(1) The abstract verbal noun

Bodo: -nai

Garo: -ani, -a

Rabha: -kai

Bodo: gotho-ni gab-nai-kou kina-diŋ

Garo: bisa -ni grap-a-ko kna-eŋa

Rabha: kaisabra-ni khap-kai-o na-eta

child-GEN cry-ATTR-ACC hear-CONT

'(is) hearing the cry (crying) of (a) child'

Unlike the function treated in (2) below, this function is not attributive. However, the same forms with the same suffixes can enter into attributive syntactic constructions.

(2) The syntactic attributive

There are various suffixes in the three languages that produce forms that can be used in syntactically attributive or endocentric constructions. Within this single syntactic function are various semantic functions, signified in certain cases with special suffixes.

(i) agent-subject nominalisation

Bodo: -nai, -gra

Garo: -gipa

Rabha: -kai, -bra

Bodo: undu-nai gotho

Garo: tusi-gipa bi?sa

Rabha: nukhar réŋ-kai kaisabra

sleep-ATTR child

'the sleeping child, the child who is sleeping'

(iii) object nominalisation

Bodo:	- <u>nai</u>	
Garó:	-gimin	
Rabha:	- <u>kai</u>	
Bodo:	<u>gái-nai</u>	bipaŋ
Garó:	geʔ-gimin	bol
Rabha:	<u>kái-kai</u>	pan
	plant-ATTR	tree
		'the planted tree'

(iv) patient-subject nominalisation (usually object of an adjective)

Bodo:	(Bodo uses the adjectival prefix <i>gV-</i>)	
Garó:	-a, -gipa	
Rabha:	- <u>kai</u>	
Bodo:	kamani	ge-dert
	work	ADJ-big
Garó:	daʔl-a	kam (or <i>daʔl-gipa kam</i>)
Rabha:	cun <u>-kai</u>	kami
	big-ATTR	work
		'big work'

The detailed split-up shows that Bodo and Rabha have to make do with a smaller number of morphemes, while Garó makes finer distinctions.

(3) Special suffixes in different languages

The Garó suffix *-ram* indicates place. Rabha has a parallel *-dam* which also indicates place but has reference to another noun (*bai-dam* 'place of deity' *bai* 'deity'). Such a substantivising suffix is not found in Bodo.

Garó: caʔ-ram 'place of eating' (*caʔ* 'to eat')

Similarly the Garó *-gni* (phonemicised by Burling as *-gin-i*) indicating object related to the verb root is peculiar to Garó. It is not very productive:

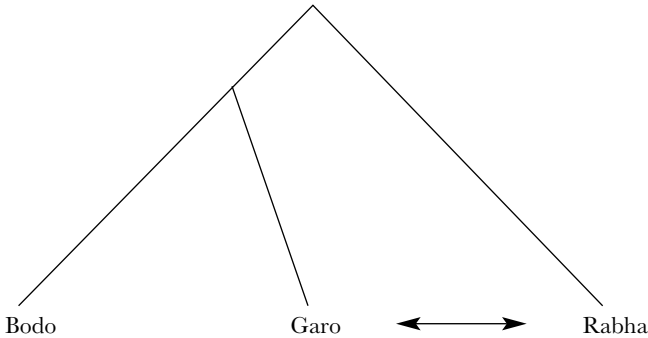
Garo: dak-gni kam baʔŋ-a
 do-ATTR work plenty-PRES
 ‘there plenty of work to be done (that need doing!’)

The Bodo *-gra* denotes the agent or subject. It is probably related to the Rabha *-bra*, which like the suffix *-dam* is synchronically used only with a few nouns denoting kin relation, and means ‘one who is’.

7.5 Conclusion

As it is beyond the scope of the present work, no attempt has been made to reconstruct the possible proto-stage of the three languages that have been correlated. However, the sets of phoneme correspondences that have emerged as a result of the correlation and the results of correlation in the area of morphology give a picture of the inter-relatedness of the three languages.

That the three languages form a compact group is beyond doubt. What needs to be explored is whether a further subgrouping can be had. The major phoneme correspondences, particularly in the area of the consonant phonemes, point in the direction of Boro and Garo having more shared features between them than any other possible combination of two languages, and the relationship may be represented in the form of a tree diagram as:



If one were to consider lenition as the more natural direction of change it would be that Rabha has chronologically older forms while Bodo and Garo show shared innovations. Some of the long-established Tibet-Burman roots (Benedict 1972: 199–209) having initial

voiceless plosives lend credibility to this position. In these instances Rabha has a voiceless plosive, while Bodo and Garo have a voiced plosive: **krap* ‘weep’ B *gab* G *grap* R *khap* ‘weep, cry’; **kri(y)* ‘fear’ B *gi* R *kiri* ‘be afraid’ (G *ken*); **pur* ~ *pir* ‘fly’ B *bir* G *bil* R *pu* ~ *pur* ‘fly’; **ta* (negative imperative) B *da* G *da* R *ta* ‘negative imperative’; **ta* ‘put, place’ B *din* G *don* R *tan* ‘put, place’; **tak* ‘weave’ B *dá* G *dak* R *tak* ‘do, make, weave’.

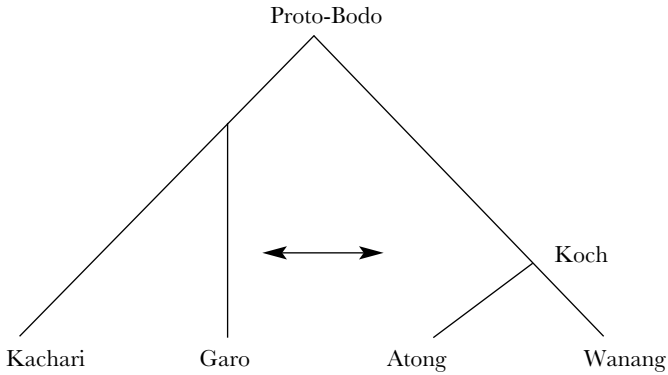
Some other Tibeto-Burman roots would have us believe that Rabha, rather than Bodo and Garo, has innovated in the opposite direction undergoing a process of fortition: **daw* ‘bird’ B *dáo* G *do?o* R *tó* ‘bird’; **bar* ‘bloom’ B *bi-bar* G *bi-bal* R *par* ‘flower’; **dan* ‘cut’ B *dán* G *de?n* R *tán* ‘cut’. Given that language change tends to be regular, a more rigorous pursuit of Proto-Bodo with data from more related languages, and taking these findings into consideration might force a revision of at least some of the Proto-Bodo roots. The presence of phonemic aspiration is undoubtedly an independent innovation by Rabha: **ka* ‘bitter’ B *ká* G *ka?* R *khá* ‘be bitter’; **kuk* ‘basket, receptacle’ B *kó* G *kok* R *khok* ‘basket’.

In any case, whether it is the Bodo-Garo subgroup or Rabha that is the innovator, the subgrouping is valid. Interestingly, this finding is contrary to the generally held opinion reflected in all the Tibeto-Burman taxonomies (see 0.8.2) that group Rabha together with Garo. The main area of correspondence between Rabha and Garo is the lexicon. As pointed by Watkins (1966: 35 as cited in Fox 1995: 220) ‘simple and unstructured lexical correspondences are the weakest possible evidence for genetic classification or subgrouping’. This is true of Garo and Rabha both of which, besides being closely related, have been in greater contact with each other than with Bodo. This historical fact is indicated by the double-headed arrow connecting Garo and Rabha.

There are a few areas where Bodo and Rabha converge, leaving Garo separate. This is particularly marked in the area of prefixal verb morphology. A comparison of the three languages shows that prefixation is a shared retention rather than a shared innovation. It is present marginally also in Garo in fossilised forms. Another area where Bodo and Rabha converge is that of the syllabics. Garo lacks /i/, while both Bodo and Rabha have /i/; Bodo and Rabha, but not Garo, have a set of complex nuclei. Judging by the Proto-Bodo vowel system established by Burling (1959: 450) and the Tibeto-Burman vowel system discussed by Benedict (1972: 57ff.), this too

appears to be a shared retention rather than a shared innovation. As shared retentions, though compatible with a subgroup, are not indicative of a subgroup (Hoenigswald 1990: 443 as cited in Fox 1995: 220), this convergence noticed between Bodo and Rabha does not militate against the present proposed subgrouping. These only show that Garo has rapidly laid aside prefixation and underwent changes in the vocalic system. However, these do guarantee the closeness of the three languages at the immediately higher node.

The tree diagram given above is partially in agreement with the one provided by Burling (1959: 430) for Bodo (Kachari), Garo, Atong and Wanang, which is reproduced below:



Burling's representation of the relationship among these languages, though not based on extensive data, seems to hold. As his study did not include Rabha, and as the present analysis does not include Atong and Wanang, it is not possible, at the present stage, to arrive at a subgrouping that includes all the languages of the two trees.

daᅇdaᅇ-ba-i-an rá-a; doleleᅇ khár-e.
clear-in-itself take; suspended as.

(They are different. *neka* is small and *nijun* is big; *neka* forms (hive) in the hollow of trees, and *nijun* forms (hives) suspended in the open on trees.)

Speaker: uroᅇ-o-be bekhre rím-a?
them how catch?

(How does one catch them?)

Speaker: uroᅇ-i rani to-a; rani-o rím-e berga hádam-i
they-of queen have; queen catching different place-in
kha-e tan-na laᅇi-a.
tying put-to must

(They have a queen; (one) must the catch queen and keep (her) tied in another place.)

Speaker: bekaᅇi-an rani, bekaᅇi-an ata bekhre pháman-a?
which queen, which what how know?

(How does one know which is the queen and which is what?)

Speaker: u-be bergan, ja peke-ba prín-ca-be; rani-be
she different, any with-also similar-not; queen
prín-ca; u-be
similar-not; she

cuᅇ-a, kán ró-a; ekan jíbra-bijan
big-is body long-is; just like that mothers
kán soᅇ-soᅇ-a.
body small-small-is

rani-o kha-e tan-a baksok-i inᅇdoᅇbe konan
queen tying put box-in then like that
mún-o; rani-o
stay-will; queen

mán-ca-doᅇbe jíbra-bijan ríba-ca. kha-doᅇba
get-not-if mothers come-not. tie-even if
bedoba nenteᅇ-o-n
sometimes thread

kak-e rákhat-a; phar-sa-i-an kak-e
biting away; night-one-in-itself biting

rákha-na jaŋ-a; sábra-bijan
away able; off-spring

kak-e rákhat-a. oŋanda kakroŋ khongra-o
biting away. thus themselves hollow
posondo mán-ca-doŋbe
like get-not-if

okai nenten-o kak-emene phathakhat-e pu-i réŋ-a.
that thread biting snapping flying go.

(She is different. The queen is unlike any other. She is different. She is big, her body is long. The ordinary mothers are short in body. If one keeps the queen tied in a box (they will) stay. If one does not get the queen, the mothers do not come. Sometimes even if one ties (the queen), (they) bite and snap the thread; just in one night they are able to bite and snap the thread; the children bite and snap it. Thus if they do not like the hollow of the tree or the box, they bite and snap (the thread) and fly away.)

Speaker: rani-o ráŋ-jo indoŋbe berga-bijan kakroŋ
queen take away-did then others themselves
kakroŋ-an sim-e réŋ-o-na?
themselves following go-will-is it?

(If the queen is taken, will the others follow on their own?)

Speaker: berga hádam-ipara rába-eta indoŋbe
different place-from bring-is then
pan-ti pak-tan-emene toleleŋ
wood-on cling-making suspended

pai-e rá-na lagi-a. rani-o kón-ti kha-e tan-no;
carrying take-to must. queen twig-on tying put-will,
rani toŋ-o
queen stay-will

indoŋbe jíbra-bijan pré-reŋ-e pakthap-e ríba-no;
then mothers completely clinging come-will;
kakroŋ
themselves

mi-mil-laŋ-kai jíbra-bijan-se u-o majar-i khár-e
small-small mothers-only her middle-in as

tan-no. aro tapan
put-will and suddenly

mekhoi-e ráṅ-a indonbe, u-roṅ damarsa-na
stealing take away then, they a while-for
toṅ-o aro ciṅ-i
stay-will and our

rani to-e-ca in-e pré-reṅ-e pu-i
queen have-no more-not saying all flying
jar-e réṅ-o;
running go-will;

anda munda pu-i, ata cáṅ-o; u-roṅ-be
aimlessly flying what happen-will; they
si-e réṅ-o.
dying go-will.

(If one brings (them) from a different place, one must make them cling on to a (piece of) wood and bring (them) as suspended. The queen will be tied on the stick. If the queen stays, the mothers will all come clinging on. The small mothers will keep her in the middle. And if one steals the queen suddenly, they will stay for a while and will fly away saying 'our queen is no more'; and what will happen? They will die)

Speaker: rani-be maṅsa-san toṅ-o-na?
queen one-only have-will-is it?

(Is it that there will be only one queen?)

Speaker: thop gósa-i maṅsa-san rani; rani maṅaniṅ
nest one-in one-only queen; queen two
maṅatham cáṅ-jo
three became

indonbe u-roṅ jor dogot-e réṅ-a; bira heṅ-an
then they separating go; some here-itself
mún-o,
stay-will

bira-be khai-e réṅ-o. jibra-bijan páṅ-donba
some separating go-will mothers plenty-even if
rani maṅaniṅ
queen two

toŋ-khu-ca-cekena u-roŋ thop-sa-san cáŋ-e toŋ-o.
 have-yet-not-till they nest-one-only being stay-will.

(In one hive, (there will be) only one queen. If there turn out to be two or three queens, they separate; some will stay here itself, some will separate. Even if there are plenty of mothers, as long as there are no two queens, they will remain as one hive.)

Speaker: té-be, rím-a réŋ-peke rani-be bisi-an to-eta
 now, catch-to go-while queen where-exactly stay-is
 bekhre pháman-a?
 how know?

(Now when one goes to catch, how does one know where the queen is?)

Speaker: ekhre tási rákhu-doŋ-an jíbra-bijan
 thus finger give-when-itself mothers
 jar-a, rani-be tapan
 leave, queen-the easily

jar-ca. okapeke rím-a. náme bajing cìpan-san
 leave-not. at that time catch. you outside little-only
 nuk-trap-mo,
 see-manage-will,

pímuŋ-a dán-e réŋ-a, aro jokhlai-e jokhlai-e
 inside-to entering go, and raking raking
 ci-na lagi-a,
 look-to must,

nuk-ba loge loge tapan rím-doŋse mán-no.
 see-while immediately suddenly catch-if only get-will.

(When one puts the finger (in) like this, the mothers leave. The queen does not leave quickly. One must catch (her) at that time. You will be able only to catch a glimpse (of her); she enters inside, and one must rake with the finger to see. Only if one catches (the queen) as soon as one sees (her) can one catch (her).)

Speaker: aro rím-peke atoba kháre rani si-doŋbe ata
 and catch-while somehow quenn die-if what
 cáŋ-o?
 happen-will?

(What will happen if while catching the queen somehow dies?)

Speaker: rani si-donbe thop ma-e réŋ-o, u-be.
 queen die-if hive disappearing go-will, that.
 sábra-bijan
 children

piliŋ picíŋ cáŋ-e réŋ-o. bira-be náŋ-o aŋ-o
 helter skelter becoming go-will. some you me
 kak-e síthikhat-e
 biting kill

rákhat-a. . . . tégap-be neka nijun-o nuk-pán-ca;
 away. . . . nowadays *neka nijun* see-plenty-not;
 par to-e-ca,
 flower have-no more.

okhre ma-e réŋ-eta, nuk-e-cha-jo oŋ-kai-be,
 thus disappearing go-is, see-no more that kind,
 prai-an.
 almost.

(If the queen dies, the hive will disappear. The children will be scattered helter skelter. Some will bite each other to death. Nowadays one does not see *neka* and *nijun* easily. There are no more flowers any more, thus they are disappearing. One does not see such things any more.)

(2) *Passing judgement on an offender*

The following text is a recording of the actual process of passing judgement by the elders of the village Sarapara, south of Goalpara and not far from Bordamal, on someone who had violated the ritual sanctity of priests who had cleansed and prepared themselves for the ritual offering the following day called *mai pidan baraikai* (offering of the new rice), which is the rite of offering rice from newly harvested paddy along with bananas and such other things. The event took place on 16 December 1997. The setting is that of the village elders gathered together after the ritual services had been completed, sitting on planks, pieces of wood or low stools, placed in a rectangular shape in the courtyard of a house to drink rice beer. Rice beer had already begun to be served, and some had begun to sip

of it, which is done after they had moved around the assembly wishing everyone in the assembly. Then unexpectedly one of the priests brought the matter out, and the following discussion emerged. The text has been much reduced to keep it short and to avoid repetitions.

Speaker: rajibijan, aŋ-i katha-o natham. mia phar-i
 Assembly, my word listen. yesterday night-at
 ciŋ deuri-bijan nen
 we priests clothes

ata gín-e, kakroŋ-o khithar-e, té-ni
 what washing, ourselves purifying, today-of
 puja-na neke tharisoŋ-e
 offering-for preparing

gur-jo. kán cik-bana tapan-be cime
 slept. body cold-because immediately we
 nukhar réŋ-jo. okapeke
 slept. then

Benjon rao rákhu-ca-raŋ-e okai nok-ina
 Benjon voice giving-not that house-into
 akihapgap dán-e okai
 carelessly entering that

dam-o-n nak-ŋata. ciŋ-i ian katha; ciŋ kani-ca-donbe
 mat-itself trampled. ours this word. we say-not-if
 ciŋ-i-an
 ours-itself

dos cáŋ-o ine rajji raja-na kani-kai cáŋ-eta;
 fault become-will thus public-to saying becoming;
 nároŋ ata khár-a?
 you what do?

(Assembly, listen to my words. Yesterday, we the priests, having purified ourselves and washed clothes and other things, and having prepared ourselves for today's sacrifice went to sleep. As it was cold we slept fast. At that time Benjon entered carelessly into that house without even calling out and stepped on the mat. As it would be our fault if we were not to report this to the public, we say this. What do you do?)

Speaker: dam-o nak-ŋa mán-ta-na?
mat trample-to got-is it?

(Was the mat stepped on?)

Speaker: mán-ta; pura dán-ata; jota kan-e-se; aŋ-i
got, completely entered; shoe wearing, my
táthen-o-n
leg-itself

nak-ŋa mán-jok ine dhor. tar mán-e u kani-e
trample-to got thus consider. realising he saying
tan-aŋ-jo-ge amanbra-na, aŋ-i mícik-ŋa, 'té-be
put-go-did-they say aunt-to my wife-to, 'now
dai khár-donbe
fine do-if

khár-khan mama-roŋ, baba-san jate
do-let uncles father-only so that
ta-natham-khan' ine.
not-hear-let' thus.

(Yes, completely entered. Consider that my leg was stamped upon, wearing shoes. It seems, realising it he said thus to my wife, his aunt, 'if uncles fine me let them, but let not (my) father hear of it'.)

Speaker: in-donbe u-o prao-e rá-e-na lagi-a.
say-if him calling take-go-to must
(Then we must call him.)

Speaker: prao-e rá-e réŋ; cipan-san bobai-na ríba-ge
calling take-go go; little-only speak-to come-they say
ine kani.
thus say

(Go to call him. Tell him that they say it is only to speak something.)

Speaker: u ríba-don-an kani-na jaŋ-a ganda, rajjibijan,
he come-when-itself say-to able-to as, assembly,
ato-ba
some

bebosta khár-na lagi-a.
arrangement do-to must

(Assembly, to be able to tell as soon he comes, we must adopt a plan.)

Speaker: deuri-bijan judi sua cáñ-donbe puja rákhu-kai
priests if defilement become-if offering giving
dón-ca-phañ,
be-not-would

gram-e-se réñ-o-min. uni badañ puja-ba-i
undone-being-only go-would. therefore offering-for
bencek khoros
how much expense

réñ-ata u-o ciñ dok-e rá-no; usinipara
went that we extracting take-will; then
bai-na neke prin mañsa,
deity-for goat one

parok hal-sa aro deuri-bijan-na opoman-na
dove pair-one and priests-towards disrespect-for
tin-so taka.
three-hundred rupee.

(If the priests were to incur defilement, there would have been no offering today; everything would have been left undone and wasted. Therefore, we must extract the expenses of the offerings from him. Then, for the deity, a lamb, a pair of doves; and for having shown disrespect towards the priests, three hundred rupees.)

Speaker: ténañ ciñ-i mama in-kai ganda bai-na-be okai
while ago our uncle said as deity-for that
prin mañsa,
goat one,

parok hal-sa okhre cini poa-sa, réthe
dove pair-one then sugar quarter-one, banana
akha-sa,
hand-one,

gakhir poa-sa, dup paket gósa; aro kai-ni
milk quarter-one incense packet one; and man-of
opoman-na
disrespect-towards

raiji ata khár-a, cìpan babi-e cìnti-e khár-kai
 assembly what do, a little thinking thinking doing
 nem-o.
 good-will

(As our uncle said a while ago, for the deity, a goat, a pair of doves, and then, a quarter kilogram of sugar, a hand of bananas, a quarter kilogram of milk, and a packet of incense; and for having shown disrespect towards people (priests), what does the assembly do? It will be good to think a little and do.)

Speaker: té-be kai-to sok-bai-jok-an; ata
 now person-the reach-come-did-already; what
 katha, ata katha,
 word, what word

sìŋ-e rá-kai nem-o-doŋba.
 asking taking good-will-perhaps.

(Now, the person has already come. It will be good to enquire about the situation.)

Speaker: ciŋ nok há khithar-e, nen kan basi-e,
 we house land purifying, cloth dress washing,
 puja-ni badaŋa toŋ-kai-be
 offering-for staying

raiji dimdakan-an pháman-a. té, nok pímun
 public all know. now, house inside
 toŋ-kai-o khúraŋ-ba
 staying voice-also

na-eta-mìn, ana cime bobai-eta-mìn; cìpan-to sìŋ-a
 hear-was, because we speak-were; a little ask-to
 lagi-a-mìn,
 should-have,

isi Binda toŋ-toŋ-ca ìne. nán peke caŋ
 here Binda stay-stay-not thus. you with who
 ríba-nta ciŋ pháman-ca,
 came we know-not,

ata-ni karon-i ríba-nta; aŋ-i sábra Binda peke
 what-of reason-in came; my son Binda with

atoba katha
some word

to-a-m_{in} ne-ki; rajji-ni nukhaŋ-i kani. náŋ-i
have-was or what, assembly-of face-in say. your
bhul-o-be ciŋ
mistake we

rajji rím-e rá-jo aro rajji-ni bisar
assembly catching took and assembly-of judgement
mote
according

jok-ŋa ton-ca.
escape-to not.

(All the public knows that we, the priests, were staying ready after having cleansed house and surroundings, and after having washed clothes; and you too knew of it. That we were inside the house was also evident for we were talking, and voices could be heard. You should have asked at least whether Binda was there or not. We do not know with whom and for what reason you came. Was there some work with my son Binda? Tell these things to the assembly. Your mistake has been taken note of by the public and you will not escape the judgement of the assembly.)

Defendant: babaron, u-dina aŋ-i ekhre cáŋ-ata. usi-na
fathers, that-day my thus happened. there-into
aŋ-i dán-a
my enter-to

mán-kai bul cáŋ-ata. Poŋ-roŋ Noŋal-nipara
getting mistake became. Pong-etc. Nongal-from
ríba-nta-to, u-se
came, he-only

cokó-taŋ-o riŋ-eta ato ine-se dán-ata; puja-ni
rice-beers drink-are what thus-only entered; puja-on
karoni okai
account that

nok-i mani-e to-eta ame kicu-an pháman-ca;
house-in observing stay-are I nothing know-not,

bobai-kai-be aη na-nta;
speaking I heard

rao dhora man-ca-eta, khattik Poη-i rao
voice catch get-not-is, exactly Pong-of voice
ganda-se. in-donbe Binda-roη
as-only. they Binda-etc.

Poη-roη Noηal-nipara riba-e cokó riη-eta,
Pong-etc. Nongal-from coming rice-beer drink-are,
ine aη dán-jo.
thus I entered

logotan dada ine rákha-jo 'náme ana isi-na
immediately brother reprimanded 'you why here-to
dán-jo, caη
entered, who

kani-nta nán-a isi-na dán-a-be; kana goru náme,
said you-to here-to enter-to; blind cattle you,
nuk-ca, té ciη bai
see-not today we deity

puja-ni deuri cán-eta' ine gárai-e rákha-jo.
puja-of priest become-are' thus scolded.
aη-i kán ciuan
my body startling

cán-jo; thórdak-e réη-jo aη baiη-a. 'o okhre-se,
became; bouncing went I out-to. 'Oh thus-it is,
aη-i bul cán-jo'
I mistake became'

ine in-bapeke-an aman miηsa-e riba-jo 'té,
thus say-while-itself uncle rising came 'now,
náme ana dán-jo, ekan
you why entered, just

khár-e'. rajjibian, hinsa khár-e-be dán-ca-nta,
thus'. assembly, disrespect doing enter-not-did,
bul cán-e
mistake becoming

réη-jo. té, rajji ja khár-a ua-n
went. now, assembly which do that-itself

cán-o, borai-donbe
become-will, pay-if

borai-na-se lagi-no, upai to-e-ca-ro; an-i
pay-to-only must, escape have-no more; my
bipot-ni din-an
misfortune-of day-itself

to-a ne-ki. bul-to cán-e réñ-jo, té, náron
have is it! mistake-the becoming went, now, you
at khár-a?
what do?

(Fathers, on that day it happened like this. That I happened to enter there was my fault. It is only thinking that Pong and others had come from Nongal and were drinking rice beer that I entered. That they (the priests) were in the house in preparation for the offerings, I did not know at all. I heard speaking, but could not make out the voices. It appeared exactly to be the voice of Pong. Then considering that certainly Binda, Pong and others had come from Nongal and were drinking rice beer, I entered. Immediately brother scolded me saying, 'Why did you enter here? Who told you to enter here, you blind cattle? Don't you see we are acting as priests for the offering?'. My body was startled (bristled), and I went bouncing outside. And as I was saying 'Oh it is like that, it is a mistake of mine', uncle rose and came saying, 'Now why did you enter just like that?'. Assembly, I did not enter with disrespect. It was a mistake. Now whatever you do will be final. If there is need to pay, it will have to be paid. There is no escape. Probably it was my day of misfortune. The mistake has happened. Now it is whatever you do.)

Speaker: aca! soñ-i puja cán-o ine ðimdak-an
well! village-in puja become-will thus all
 khopor mán-a. aca, náme
 news get. well, you

ríba-don praõ-emene dán-a lagi-a; anda munda
come-when calling enter-to must; carelessly
 nán usi-na dán-jo;
 you there-to entered;

ciṅṅánaṅ-an soṅ-ini kai-an saksa kai-ni
 we-ourselves village-of person-itself one person-of
 nok-ina-ba okan
 house-into thus

dán-ca. nán jet ci-na ríba-nta 'bai-an cuṅ-a
 enter-not. you challenge-to came 'deity-itself big
 na aṅ-an cuṅ-a'.
 or I-myself big'

ine. judi nán-i badaṅ ekai puja gram-o-mín,
 thus. if you-on account this *puja* go waste-would,
 ata cáṅ-o-mín?
 what happen-would

réthe rá-e dupi só-e ata-e ana puja khár-a?
 banana taking incense burning etc. why *puja* do?
 sábra kaiibra
 children (echo)

kraṅ-a neke. deuri bencek-an sasti mán-e
 move about-to priest how much trouble getting
 to-eta? mia
 stay-are? yesterday

ganda raṅsaṅ dop-a, heṅ raṅphaci sú-i sú-i
 like sun mild, here rain beating beating
 síkhamkhríkkhrik
 being extremely cold

ana oncok kosto khár-a? gram-a lagi-donbe
 why that much trouble do? go waste-to need-if
 ata
 what

cáṅ-o-mín? ekaio nán rajji-ni nukhaṅ-i
 happen-would? this you assembly-of in front
 kani-e rákhu.
 saying give

(Well! All know that there will be (was to be) an offering
 in the village. Well, as you came, you should have
 entered after having called out. You entered carelessly.
 We all, people of the village, do not enter an other's

house just like that. You entered to challenge and see whether 'deity is big or I am big'. If on account of you this offering had not been performed, what would have happened? Why do we conduct offerings taking (offering) bananas and burning incense? That children can (may be able to) move about freely. How much trouble do the priests go to! Like yesterday, the sun was mild, and here (now) getting dew and (being) in severe cold, why all this trouble? Had it (the offering) not been done, what would have happened. These things (you) tell in front of the assembly.)

Defendant: baba-roŋ, aŋ-i bul cáŋ-e réŋ-jo; aŋ-i dos-be
 fathers, my mistake became; my fault
 cáŋ-e réŋ-jo.
 became.

Binda-roŋ Poŋ-roŋ-se cokó riŋ-eta, bobai-eta
 Binda-etc. Pong-only rice-beer drink-are, speak-are
 ine babi-jo.
 thus thought

hinsa khár-e-be dán-ca-nta. rajjibijan
 disrespect doing enter-not. assembly-itself
 ata khár-a
 what do

ua-n cáŋ-khan.
 that-itself be-let

(Fathers, it is my mistake, it is my fault. I thought that Binda, Pong and others are drinking rice beer and talking. I did not enter with disrespect. Let be whatever the assembly should decide.)

Speaker: rajjibijan, ciŋ-i kani-ba ganda bai-na neke prin
 assembly, our said as deity-for goat
 maŋsa, parok hal-sa,
 one, dove pair-one

cini poa-sa, réthe akha-sa, gakhir
 sugar quarter-one, banana hand-one, milk
 poa-sa, dup paket
 quarter-one, incense packet

gósa, aro kai-na neke tin-so taka aro
 one, and man-for three-hundred rupee and
 cokó
 rice-beer

gósa cáη-khan. ekaio dimdakai-an nemtat-a-na?
 one be-let. this all like-is it?

(Assembly, as we said (earlier), let it be a goat, a pair of doves, a quarter kilogram of sugar, a hand of bananas, a quarter litre of milk, (and) a packet of incense for the deity; and three hundred rupees and one (pot of) rice-beer for man. Do all like this?)

All: nem-o, ua-n nem-o. okhre-an cáη-khan.
 good-will be, that-itself good-will be. thus-itself be-let

(Good, it will be good. Let it be like that.)

(3) *A narrative of personal life*

The following text is a recording of the narrative of an old lady about her own life, recorded on 17 December 1997. She is from Sarapara, the village from which the text above was also recorded. It has been edited to give greater logical flow and to reduce length.

baba, aη-i-be sop somai-na-ba nukci-ba dogot-a, duk-ini
 son, my always time-for-also tears-also come out, sorrow-of
 katha-ba pré-ca.
 words-also finish-not

Dorai-pekean aη-o Roηsai-na buri phisa-nta-mīn; dorai
 maiden-while me Rongsai-to bride send-did-had; maiden
 gabur bia
 young man marriage

cáη kai mán-kai-mīn. u-be kai nem-ca-mīn; joa
 became got-was. he person good-not-was; gambling
 kher-e nok há mīnaη mīnaη phar-e
 house land quietly selling

rákhat-a. u-be lakhor cáη-dorba, cakor dán-dorba
 away. he cowherd become-even if, servant enter-even if

- mai muttasa-ba, mairuṅ
 paddy handful-also, rice
- lopsa-ba rába-ca. tikaṅ-be há toṅ ta-toṅ aṅ khisá-jo
 handful-also bring-not. before land have not-have I fed
 cari bosor; khap-e, khára
 four year; crying, heart
- khápak sik-e ame bikha magai-e, soṅ-o gurai-e gurai-e,
 heart pressing I alms begging, village go round go round,
 caṅi-ba mairuṅ cipan,
 whose-also rice little,
- caṅi-ba mai cipan nam-e nam-e ame khisá-e toṅ-jo.
 whose-also paddy little asking asking I feeding stayed.
 uni badaṅ, cinta-ti bai
 therefore, worry-in deity
- naṅ-a-san baki múṅ-ata; nok há phar-bapeke tikaṅ
 affect-to-only remainder left; house land sell-while head
 khén-ca, khoró lodra kha-e
 comb-not, hair matted-tying
- réṅ-ata, thuci sé-na budi mán-e-ca. aṅ jaṅ-e-ca, baba.
 went, oil apply-to idea get-did-not. I able-not more, son.
 sábra kaibra cáṅ-ata
 children became
- phéne phéne khap-e to-a, jibra sarsar; nán-a kóm-emene mai
 again again crying stay, mother around; you surrounding rice
 nam-a; nán rákhu-na
 ask; you give-to
- jaṅ-o? babra-be giṅ-an rá-ca. oṅganda jora nem-ca-e-an
 able-will? father-the bother-not. like that pair good-not-being
 ame rákhat-e aia katanṅ
 I leaving mother to
- bar-e réṅ-jo; mel mitiṅ cáṅ-ata. ‘aṅ-i jora ekhre ekhre
 returning went; meeting became. ‘my pair thus thus
 gotona, ekhre ekhre khisá-ca,
 situation, thus thus feed-not
- ekhre ekhre mai buthikhi-e tan-a, sábra kaibrao
 thus thus rice hungry-making put, children

thikhap-e tan-a; jaŋ-e-ca ame,
 make-crying put; able-more not I,
aia baba; ian bidai rá-eta' ine tam-ba-nta. okapeke
 mother father; here leave take-am' thus put-came, then
 aŋ-i sábrataŋ soi-jon to-a-mín;
 my children six had;
 músatang kamiŋ aro mécataŋ sari-jon. músataŋ-o phar-e
 boys two and girls four. boys selling
 rákha-na kiri-emene aŋ peke
 away-to fearing I with
 réŋ-tak-ŋata-mín; onoba babra nukhaŋ nuk-emene to-e-an
 go-ask-did-had; still father face seeing staying
 rákha-jo. cábani uroŋ-o-be
 away-did. later them
 phar-e-an rákha-jo, sak-sa-o rábataŋ-a aro sak-sa-o
 selling-itself away-did, one Rabhas-to and one
 miŋtaŋ-a. miŋtaŋ jat réŋ-kai
 Garos-to. Garo tribe gone
 Silloŋ-i cakri mán-jo. rábataŋ-a phar-kai-o-be mísi
 Shillong-in job got. Rabhas-to sold-one-the buffalo
 carai-na ine Geŋgaŋ-roŋ
 tend-to thus Genggang-etc.
 rába-nta. soi bosor to-e aŋ u-o dok-e rába-kai cáŋ-ata.
 brought. six year staying I him redeem bringing became.
 mécataŋ-be cakor dán-a,
 girls-the servant enter-to
 kai bá-na ata krik-jo-mín; okhrean kai bá-e bá-e
 person carry etc. knew-had; thus person carrying carrying
 sá-jo uroŋ. bóma-ini sábra
 ate they. bosom-of child
 méca-o aŋ rán-ata. aia-be u-o phar-tak-ŋata. u-o judi
 girl I took away. mother-the her sell-ask-did. her if
 phar-jo, bómai-ni sábra nú
 sell-did, bosom-of child milk
 riŋ-kai-o judi phar-jo in-donbe aŋ-i jibon-an toŋ-a toŋ-ca.
 drink-one if sell-did then my life-itself have-to have-not.

bóma-ini sábra
bosom-of child

picu kaku-o dak-e phisa-kai samaino katha ne-ki. aṅ-i
baby tender plucking sending ordinary matter is it. my
tikam-an toṅ-a toṅ-ca.
head-itself have-to have-not

‘kai-taṅ-i mai kái-na, kami rá-na réṅ-a, kai rá-e-be
people-of paddy plant-to, work do-to go-to, person taking
námé bekhre kami rá-no’
you how work-will

ine phar-tak-a. aṅ phar-ca-nta; aṅ-se rásam-jo. cában-i
thus sell-ask. I sell-not-did; I-only preserve-did. later
dadaron in-jo ‘momo,
elder brothers said ‘sister

isi-ba ana bukhi-e toṅ-o; táthen phása
here-also why hungry-being stay-will; leg one
nem-bapeke-an, neken phása
good-while-itself eye one

nem-bapeke-an nán-a-be nok há ci-e-an rákhu-no’. okhre-se
good-while-itself you-to house land seeing give-will’. thus-it is
aṅ isi-na ríba-kai
I here-to coming

cáṅ-ata. isi-be mícik si-nata. u-ni-be mícik si-e bisir-sa-san
became. here wife die-did. his wife dying year-one-only
cáṅ-ata-mín. isi-ba
become-had. here-too

aṅ-i bhāigo toṅ-ca, ana indoṅbe u-ba si-e-an réṅ-jo.
my luck have-not, because he-also dying went.
isi-ba budakai-be ogojo-maca
here-also husband-the that-much

buda-khu-ca-mín. ata-ba besali bemaṛ mán-emene si-nata.
old-still-not-had. some rheumatism sickness getting died.
tási táthen jada
hand leg withered

cáṅ-e réṅ-e, rao-ba mán-e-ca, okhre-an si-e réṅ-jo.
becoming going, speech-also getting-not, thus dying went.

sikitsa-be khár-ba-mín,
treatment did-had,

tothapi jaŋ-e-ca, si-e-se réŋ-jo. bhaigo-ti bekhreba isi-na
still able-was-not, dying went. luck-in somehow here-to
ríba-e prothom sábra
coming first child

mán-kai músa cáŋ-ata, nohole, músa cáŋ-ca-doŋbe aŋ
got boy became, otherwise, boy become-not-if I
aro aia kataŋ-a
again mother side-to

bar-e réŋ-a lagi-no-mín. eŋanda-gok aŋ-i gotona.
returning go-to need-would. like this-you see my event.

té-be, risi-ni nasi-ba-i konu rokom to-eta sá-eta.
now, God-of grace-in some how stay-am eat-am.

(Son, for me every time tears come out, tales of sorrow do not end. Whilst still a maiden I was married off to Rongsai. It was a marriage of an unmarried young man and an unmarried young girl. He (the husband) was not good. He would gamble and sell land and home quietly. Whether he became a shepherd or worked as a hired servant, he would not bring even a handful of paddy or a handful of rice. Earlier whether there was land or not, I fed (the children) for four years, going round the village and begging a little paddy from someone and a little rice from someone. Therefore, in great worry, only getting mad was still left. When land and house were sold I did not comb hair, the hair became matted; I did not have the sense to apply oil. I was not able (to do anything) any more. The children would cry all around always. How do you feed when they surround you and ask for rice? The father would just not bother. Thus, as my pair was not good, leaving (him), I went back to (my) mother. A meeting took place and I left saying, '(he) does not feed (children), (he) keeps (them) hungry, makes (them) cry. I am not able any more, mothers and fathers. Here I take leave (of you)'. At that time I had six children: two boys and four girls. Fearing that the boys would be sold, I asked them to go with me. But seeing the father, they stayed on behind. Later on they were indeed sold: one to the Rabhas, another to the Garos. The one who went to the Garos got a job in Shillong. The one who was sold to the Rabhas was later brought by Genggang to look after buffaloes. After staying

six years thus, I redeemed and brought him. The girls already knew (were already able) to enter service as maid servants and to look after children, carrying them on their back. Thus they earned a living by looking after children. I took away the youngest girl. (My) mother advised me to sell her. If I were to sell her, the suckling child of my bosom, my life itself would be gone. Is it an ordinary matter to pluck and send away a tender child of my bosom? My head would not be there. (My) mother asked me to sell her saying, 'to plant people's paddy, to work, how can you work carrying a child'. I did not sell (her). I only retained her. Later on (my) elder brothers said 'young sister, why stay hungry here? While a leg is still good, while an eye is still good, (we) shall look for someone with land and house'. Thus I happened to come here. Here, the wife had died. It was only one year after his wife had died. Here too I had no luck, because he too passed away. Hands and legs being withered, and not being able to speak, he passed away. Treatment was done; even then it was not successful, and he passed away. To my luck, somehow, after coming here, the first child I got was a boy. Otherwise, I would have had to return once again to my mother. It is thus my story. Now by the grace of God somehow (I am) alive and eating (getting along).

(4) *Planting yam (a folklore)*

The following text is a story called *reŋ káikái* 'planting yam' recorded from a middle-aged lady of Chechapani village.

marikaian budakaian sá-na riŋ-a toŋ-ca-bana hamjar
old woman old man eat-to drink-to have-not-since field
bó-jo. usi reŋ kái-e
cleared. there yam planting

toŋ-bapeke makkra ríba-emene síŋ-jo "O bidi náme ato
stay-while monkey coming asked "Oh grandma you what
kái-eta". "he! reŋ-se
planting". "hey! yam-only

kái-eta-go, O júju" ine marikai kani-jo. "he! reŋ
planting, Oh grandpa" thus old woman said. "hey! yam
kái-donbe rot-e-se kái, inonbe
plant-if boiling plant, then

tapan ðim-a riŋa”, ine makkra kani-jo. makkra in-bana
quickly sprout-to know”, thus monkey said. monkey say-since

marikai-be reŋ-o
old woman-the yam

rot-emene kai-jo. kai-e tam-ba-emene gaphuŋ tekaba-i
boiling planted. planting leaving following day-in
phar nai-e ci-na reŋ-jo
dawn-becoming look-to went

“bo, ciŋ-i reŋ kai-kai-be té-ba ðim-khu-ca”. kaŋka
where, our yam planted-the now-also sprout-yet-not”. knife
peke khot-e ci-jo.
with digging saw.

makkra-be reŋ-o sá-e jít-emene túpu-i tan-ta. “O kakroŋ
monkey-the yam eating defaecating covering put. “O themselves
sá-na neke-se reŋ-o-be
eat-to-only yam-the

rot-e kai-tak-ŋata”. budakai-be nuk-e na-e nimin
boiling plant-advised. old man-the seeing hearing very
rao dogó-jo. budakai
angry-became. old man

mairikai-na budi gósa kani-jo. “marikai-re, aŋ si-e
old woman-to idea one said. “Oh old woman, I dying
khithak-ŋa, náŋ aŋ-i dangai-o
pretend-to, you my stick

rába-e aŋ kapha-i-an tan. náŋ-ba “budakai si-jo” ine
bringing I near-at put. you-too “old man died” thus
khap-khithak aro “O budakai,
cry-pretend and “Oh old man

miŋsa! O budakai, dangai rá-e miŋsa!” ine khap.
rise! Oh old man stick taking rise” thus cry.
marikai-ba budakai-ba okhre-an
old woman-too old man-too thus-itself

khár-jo. marikai-ni khap-kai-o na-e makkra-bijan
did. old woman-of crying hearing monkeys
girgir ríba-jo aro marikai-na síŋ-jo
crowding came and old woman-to asked

“O bidi, ana khap-a, ata cán-ata okhre”.

“Oh grandma, why cry, what happened thus”.

“ha mao! júju, hogo nán

“O what a pity! grandpa, there your

júju si-jo”, ine marikai-ba kani-jo. “ha re mao!,
grandpa died”, thus old woman-also said. “O what a pity!
ciñ-i júju si-jo” ine
our grandpa died” thus

khap-e makkra-bijan nok pímung-ina dán-jo. nok
crying monkeys house inside-into entered. house
pímun-a dán-don-an
inside-to entered-when-itself

marikai noko cip-e rákha-jo. “nárong-ba añ peke
old woman door shutting left. “you-too I with
‘O budakai, mĩṣa; O budakai,
‘Oh old man, rise; Oh old man,

dangai rá-e mĩṣa’ ine khap, cañse náron-i khapkai
stick taking rise’ thus cry, who knows your crying
praokai-o na-e u-be kheñ-e
calling hearing he living

ríba-na-ba to-a” ine marikai makkra-bijan-na kani-jo.
come-may” thus old woman monkeys-to said.
okhre-an makkra-bijan marikai
thus-itself monkeys old woman

peke “O budakai, mĩṣa; O budakai, dangai rá-e mĩṣa”
with “Oh old man, rise; Oh old man, stick taking rise”
ine khap-ma coñ-jo. takrai
thus cry-to began. some

somai-ni cábabani budakai-be tikam cok-e drídrí mĩṣa-na
time-of after old man-the head lifting gradually rise-to
coñ-jo. “júju-be
began. “grandpa-the

mĩṣa-ba-eta-n, rao cuñ-e khap rao cuñ-e prao,
rise-coming-truly, voice big-being cry voice big-being call,
u-be kheñ-e ríba-no-n”
he living come-will-sure”

ine marikai kani-jo. makkra-bijan-ba okhre-an tikaŋ-a
 thus old woman said. monkeys-also thus-itself before-to
 kára rao cuŋ-e
 more voice big-being

rapsaŋ “O budakai, miŋsa; O budakai, daŋgai rá-e, miŋsa”
 together “Oh old man, rise; Oh old man, stick taking rise”
 ine khap-e prao-jo.
 thus crying called.

budakai-be drídri miŋsa-e nu-na jaŋ-peke-an tapan
 old man-the gradually rising sit-to able-when-itself suddenly
 miŋsa-e dŋgai rá-e
 rising stick taking

makkra-bijan-o kokthat-e rákha-jo. makkra-bijan pecek
 monkeys beat to death away-did. monkeys *pecek*
 pecek ine khap-e si-e réŋ-jo
pecek thus crying died.

maŋsa-san bekhreba mairuŋ rontak-i dán-e múŋ-jo.
 one-only somehow rice pot-in entering remained.
 marikai mai riŋ-a ine
 old woman rice cook-to thus

mairuŋ rá-e-na réŋ-ba. mairuŋ rontak-i makkra-se maŋsa
 rice take-go-to went. rice pot-in monkey-only one
 dán-e to-eta.
 entering stay-is.

marikai-o nuk-e makkra-be protan trok-e dogot-e
 old woman seeing monkey-the suddenly jumping emerging
 jar-e réŋ-jo.
 running went.

Planting Yam

Because they did not have anything to eat and drink, an old man and woman cleared a field. As they were planting yam in that field a monkey came and asked ‘Oh grandma, what are you planting?’ ‘Hey, it is only yam that (we are) planting’ replied the old woman. ‘If you plant yam, plant it after having boiled it; if so, they sprout quickly’ said the monkey. Because the monkey said so, the old woman

planted yam after having boiled it. After having planted it, the following day the old woman went to see. 'Why, the yam that we planted has not sprouted even now' (thought she to herself). She dug with the knife to see (what happened). The monkey had eaten up the yam and defaecated and covered up the faeces. 'It is because they wanted to eat that they advised (us) to plant yam after boiling it' (thought she to herself). When the old man came to know of it he was very angry. The old man told the old woman an idea. 'Woman, I shall pretend to be dead. You keep my stick near me and thinking that the old man is dead, cry, saying 'O old man, rise! O old man, taking the stick, rise!'. The old man and the old woman did accordingly. Hearing the cry of the old woman monkeys came in big numbers and asked the old woman 'O grandma, why do you cry, what happened to make you so?' 'O what a sad thing grandpa; there, your grandpa is dead' said the old woman too. The monkeys entered the house crying 'O what a sad thing, our grandpa is dead'. As soon as they entered the house the old woman closed the door. 'You cry along with me 'O old man, rise! O old man, taking the stick, rise!'. Who knows hearing your cry he may come alive'. Thus the monkeys cried and called out along with the old woman 'O old man, rise! O old man, taking the stick, rise!'. After a certain amount of time the old man lifted his head and began to rise gradually. 'Truly, grandpa is rising. Cry with loud voices, call with loud voices. He will certainly come alive' said the old woman. Thus the monkeys cried and called out in unison louder than before 'O old man, rise, O old man, taking the stick, rise'. Rising gradually, as soon as the old man could sit up, he stood up suddenly, and grabbing the stick, beat the monkeys dead. The monkeys wailed and died. Somehow one monkey entered the rice pot and escaped (death). The old woman went to take rice for cooking. There in the rice pot is a monkey. Seeing the old woman, the monkey suddenly jumped out and ran away.

(5) *Recalling a personal incident*

The following text is the narration of a personal incident narrated by Jalam Hato, the chief informant.

aŋ-i mīl-bapeke-ni gósa gotona. san-sa dinaŋ-i, aŋ aro aŋ-i
 my small-when-of one incident. day-one day-in, I and my

saksa līga peke hácu-ina
one friend with hill-to

kraᅇ-a réᅇ-ba. okapeke cime hácu-ina réᅇ-e tó thop,
stroll-to went. those times we hill-to going bird nest.
neka thop dak-ᅇa nemtat-a-min
honey nest pluck-to like-used to.

san-sa hácu-i kraᅇ-an kraᅇ-an u-dina-be tó-ba mán-ca-nta,
day-one hill-in strolling strolling that-day bird-also get-not-did,
neka thop-ba
honey-comb-also

nuk-ca-nta. nok-ina bar-bapeke cika jora kicaᅇ-i bebok
see-not-did. house-to return-while water stream side-by *bebok*
pan phaᅇsa cuᅇ-raᅇ-a
tree plant-one big-very

toᅇ-ba. pan-be solsol liᅇliᅇ ró-a. kucu cekena pan-ni
be-was. tree-the without branches tall-is. apex till ree-of
ró-kai sati phut-phak
length sixty feet-about

cáᅇ-o sollis phut kára-inipara-se dalai dogó-kai to-a.
be-will. forty feet above-from-only branch growth have.
okai bebok pan phaᅇ-i
that *bebok* tree tree-of

dalai dogó-kai kapha-i tondoleᅇka hákhar khó-kai to-a.
branch growth near-by woodpecker hole dug have.
usi-an maina thop rá-nta.
there-itself myna nest take-had.

līga peke ríba-e toᅇ-bapeke okai pan kára-inipara maina
friend with coming be-while that tree top-from myna
sábra kriᅇ-kai-o na-e
offspring chirping hearing

kamiᅇ-ba maina sábra-o dak-ᅇa múᅇ-ata. kamkai-an bobai-e,
two-also myna offspring pluck-to desired. both discussing,
aᅇ-an pan kára-ina
myself tree top-to

dúᅇ-a jaᅇ-bana u-be aᅇ-o-n pan kára-ina dúᅇ-e maina
climb-to able-since he me tree top-to climbing myna

- dak-tak-ηata. ame roη mán-e
pluck-ask-did. I happy being
- ja-ba ci-ca-raη-e maina sábra kriηkai-o-san
anything-also look-not-without myna offspring chirping-only
natham-e pan kára-ina
listening tree trop-to
- dún-e réη-jo. pan kára-ina dúηe-se pháman-jo, ciη-a
climbing went. tree top-to climbing-only understood, us
tikanη-an caη-ba dak-ηa
before someone pluck-to
- nam-donba! dúη-e réηkai-ni cin ganda gat tak-kai
want-perhaps! climbing going-of sign as cut-steps making
to-a. pan cuη-bana
have-is. tree big-because
- dak-ηa sas mán-ca-nta-donba! ana in-donbe, pan-be
pluck-to courage get-not-did-perhaps! why say-if tree-the
gomkai rokom, hákhar-be
bent type, hole-the
- káma gudun-se, gat tak-e káma-ina tási dén-donba
below towards, steps making below-to hand let down-even if
hákhar-o-be tásicak-san
hole-the palm-only
- sok-a. aη hespes joton khár-e ci-ba, pan-be
reach. I hurriedly effort making looked, tree-the
pambruk-ηa-ba sok-ca,
embrace-to-also reach-not,
- dak-ba tho-ca. gat tan-bai rím-e káma-ina
pluck-also comfortable-not notch put-there catching below-to
tási den-peke-an
hand lower-when-itself
- dakra cáphrit-e sollis phut kára-inipara ki-na khár-ba.
suddenly loosing hold forty feet above-from fall-to do-did.
késa-donbe ki-no-min
little-if fall-would have
- kán tot rásam-a jaη-bana-se múη-jo. há-i-ba
body balance keep-to able-because-only remained. land-on-also

cika jora rónka
water stream stone

kantra-se-mín. bekhreba ki-an ki-doŋbe me rónka kára-ina
only-only-was. how-also falling fall-if I stone top-to
ki-e křit-e jím-e
falling smashed broken

rėŋ-kai-se cáŋ-o-mín. daodakra bir-e ríba-e há
going-only become-would. quickly descending coming land
sok-doŋ-an kán
reach-when-itself body

dirdir graograo mot-e kirikai-san cáŋ-jo maina sábra-o-ba
violently shaking fear-only became. myna offspring-also
mán-e-ca akol
get-did-not trouble

mán-kai-san cáŋ-jo. té-ba sitrínki-doŋ aŋ-i kán sríman
getting-only became. now-also remember-if my body bristling
cáŋ-a.
become.

An incident of my childhood. One day along with a friend of mine I had gone into the hills to stroll. In those days we liked to stroll into the hills to gather nests of birds or honeycomb. One day, having strolled for a long time, that day we did not get any bird or did not see any honeycomb. While returning home, by the side of a stream there was a very big tree (called *bebok* in Rabha). The tree was straight and tall. Up to the apex it would have been about sixty feet. Only from upwards of forty feet there were branches. On that (*bebok*) tree, close to where there is branching, there was a hole made by a woodpecker. Just there a myna had built its nest. While coming along with the friend, hearing the chirping of young mynas, both of us desired to take the young mynas. Both of us having discussed, since I was able to climb trees, he asked me to climb the tree and take the mynas out. With joy and not thinking anything else, and only listening to the chirping of the young mynas, I climbed the tree. Having climbed the tree, it became clear that perhaps someone had tried to take out the mynas earlier. There were steps cut into the tree as signs of having climbed (the tree). Perhaps (he) was not able to take them out, as the tree is very big, (and) because the tree

is of a slanting type. The hole is on the lower side. Even if one stretches out the hands after cutting the steps, only the palm reaches the hole. I tried desperately. Hands do not reach around the tree, and it is not convenient to gather the mynas. Having caught where there is step (with one hand), while stretching out the (other) hand downward, suddenly, loosing hold, I was about to fall. A little more and (I) would have fallen. On the ground the stream was full of stones. Somehow if I had really fallen, falling over the stones I would have been completely broken to pieces. Quickly having descended, as soon as I reached land, my body shivered violently with fear. (We) not only did not get the young mynas, but only trouble came of it. Even today when I come to think of it my body bristles with fear.

(6) *Description of a holy place (called aithan)*

The text below is a short description of a place of worship and the festival associated with it. This was recorded from a middle-aged man of Chechapani village. He did not speak extempore, but prepared himself and partly read from a piece of paper.

Goalpara	jila-ni	Bandarsi	mouja-i	Deuripara
Goalpara	district-of	Bandarsi	revenue village-in	Deuripara
soṅ-i,	<u>aithan</u>	muṅ-ini		
village-in,	<i>aithan</i>	name-of		

pithar	hádam	gósa to-a.	Damra-nipara	Mendi	guduṅ-a
holy	place	one there is.	Damra-from	Mendi	direction-to
rén-kai	sorop	tokoro	rén-e,		
going	road	through	going		

Damas	bajar	pate-mene,	Deuripara	soṅ	hábaçoṅ-bapeke-an
Damas	market	crossing,	Deuripara	village	begin-when-itself
sorop-be	lebrataṅ-a				
road-the	left	side-to			

cuṅ-raṅ-e	kói-a.	okai-maca-i-an,	Damas-nipara
big-very-as	bend.	there-exact-in-itself,	Damas-from
ríba-eta-doṅbe,	sorop-mi	maísálaṅ-i	
come-is-if,	road-of	right	side-at

haka	çipan	bir-e	dokan	gósa to-a.	okai	dokan-ni
slope	little	descending	shop	one there is.	that	shop-of

nukhaṅ tokoro gósa ram
in front through one path

to-a. okai ram tokoro kilometer gósa-phak réṅ-doṅ-an
there is. that path through kilometre one-about go-when-itself
ram-ni maisálang
path-of right side

guduṅ hácu gósa mán-a, aro okai hácu-i-an aithan.
direction hill one get, and that hill-on-itself aithan.
tikan kalinipara, ekai than-o
before times-from, this holy place

seoai-e barai-e ríba-kai cáṅ-eta. ekai than-i aia
offering offering coming become-is. this holy place-in mother
Parboti-na seoai-kai
Parboti-for offering

barai-kai cáṅ-a. hácu kára-i risithan to-a. pus raṅgre-ni
offering become. hill above-at risithan there is. pus month-of
ikkis, bais, teis aro
21, 22, 23 and

sobbis karal-i bisir rikhit-i seoai-kai barai-kai cáṅ-a.
24 date-in year every-in offering offering become.
seoai-kai barai-kai karal-i usi
offering offering date-in there

cuṅ-kai mela cáṅ-a. ján-kai ján-kai soṅ hádam-ipara
big festival become. far far village place-from
pán-a kai-tang gadi ata
plenty people vehicle what (etc.)

rá-e mela ci-na ríba-a. mouja-ni soṅ rikhit-ini
taking festival see-to come. revenue village-of village each-of
gaonbura-bijan aro
headmen and

rába-taṅ-i soṅbijan-ni mondol-bijan mela-o colai-a. ekai
Rabhas-of villages-of secretaries festival conduct. this
mela-i buli thá-kai
festival-in sacrifice sacrificing

toṅ-ca; seoai-kai-se cáṅ-a. ekai than-i
have-not; offering-only become. this sacred place-in

১ আৰও উ বাৰে গিৰ্জা নোক পেয়ুংয়া রিংজোক উস্নি
 সাকসা কাইতংবা, যেনি টাসি গোসান রানে বিংজোক।
 ২ আৰও যদি উ মিন্দেকুবাদিনি উও ভেনেমহুংবা উরং উও
 ৩ ছিজোক। আৰও উ তাসিরানকাইও কানিজোক, “মাজাৰে দিং”।
 ৪ আৰও উ ওরাংও কানিজোক, “মিন্দেকুবাদিনা আতো খাৰা
 নিমা; নিমকাই বা নিমছাকাই কামি কারনা নিমা? চারিপাক
 রাসামকাই বা তানিরাকাই?” আৰও উরং জিপান তংজোক।
 ৫ আৰও য়েলা উরংই মানি কতিনিবাদাং, উনি মনি হুক
 ছংজোক, উ উরংও ছিজোক সেলা উ কাইও কানিজোক,
 “নাংই তাসি ধেং!” আৰও উ ধেংজোক, আৰও উনি তাসি
 ৬ ওকাতানি তংবা, এইকাতানি ছাংজোক। আৰও ফারিসিতাং
 বাজিৎয়া রিংজোক আৰও মমিন হিরোদিয়াতোংই পাকে
 বোবাই ছিজোক বেকাতানি উও নাফান কারনা ঝাংয়া।
 ৭ আৰও যীশু আৰও উনি তংবাতাং পাকে, চিকা ম্ভিবানি
 রিংজোক।
 ৮ আৰও কাইপাংই গালিলিনি পাৰা, আৰও যুদিয়ানি পাৰা,
 আৰও যিক্ৰুশালেমনি পাৰা, আৰও ইহুদিয়ানি পাৰা, আৰও যর্দান
 পাসাং, উনি ছাবান চুংই রিংজোক। আৰও তুরস আৰও
 সিদনি কাফাইনানি পাৰা, য়েলা উরং উনি আইয়ুনমানি কামে
 ৯ নুকজোক, কাইপাংই উনি যুকুংই রিবিজোক। আৰও উনি
 তংবাতাংও কানিজোক, যে কাইপাংইনি বাদাং গোসান
 রং সাবরা উনি বাদাং তংউয়া, আতানা ওরং উনি ঝাপঝাপে
 ১০ ধংই কিছানুয়া। আনা উ তাকারাইও ভেনেমজোক, আৰও
 ওরং য়েনছোঙ্কানি কালমকাই তোয়া, উনে নেন কামাই য়োবংয়ে
 ১১ ঝাপঝাপে কারজোক। আৰও য়েলা জাগালান উও নুকজোক
 উনি কাফাই কিছুইতা আৰও ছেনুছাই কানিজোক, “নাং
 ১২ ঝখরনি সাবরা!” আৰও উ তানখারে মানা খারজোক যে ওরং
 উও পামানা ফুসাছা।

have been made to use the Assamese script to write Rabha. The orthographic system is hardly uniform even within a single text. No device has been used to mark tones. The texts given below, except the first one, are not a straightforward transliteration of the texts in Assamese script, but a phonemicised rendering of the reading of it by Jalam Hato, the informant.

(1) *Mark 3:1–6*

The following text is a section from a translation of a section of the New Testament published under the title *Jisuni Nimkai Katha Markni saikai* by the British and Foreign Bible Society, Calcutta, 1909, which is probably the very first written and published text available in Rabha besides the translation of the Parable of the Prodigal son in Grierson (LSI vol. III, II: 106–108): Page seven of this work, of which the first paragraph consisting of six verses is transcribed and analysed, is reproduced from the original and given below. In the transcription, the original word division has been maintained and is presented line by line as it appears in the book. Certain morphemic divisions have been introduced to render the interlinear translation more intelligible; however, the text has not been phonemicised.

Mark 3:1–6

¹aro u bare girja nok pemuŋ-ya riŋ-jok us-ni
and he again temple house inside-to went there-of

saksa kai-toŋ-ba, je-ni tasi gosan ran-e riŋjok.
one man-be-was, who-of hand one drying went

²aro jodi u mendek-ba din-i u-o telem-o-donba
and whether he rest day-on him cure-will-perhaps
u-roŋ u-o
they him

³ci-jok. aro u tasi-rankkai-o kani-jok “majar-e diŋ”.
looked and he hand-dried said “middle-in stand”.

⁴aro u u-roŋ-o kani-jok, “mendek-ba din-i ato khar-a
and he them said, “rest day-on what do

nima; nim-kai ba nim-ca-kai kami kar-na nima? caripak
good; good-the or good-not-the work do-to good? life

rasam-kai ba tan-i-raka-kai?” aro u-roŋ tripan toŋ-jok.
saving or cutting-away?” and they silent became

⁵aro jella uroŋ-i man-i kotin-i-badan, u-ni mon-i duk
and when their mind-in hard-because. his mind-in sadness

coŋ-jok, u u-roŋ-o ci-jok sella u kai-o kani-jok,
became, he them, looked then that man said

“naṅ-i tasi dhen”. aro u dhen-jok, aro u-ni tasi
 “your hand stretch”. and he stretched, and his hand
 6okātani toṅ-ba ekātani caṅ-jok. aro pharisi-taṅ
 of that type was this type became. and pharisees
 bajin-ya riṅ-jok aro momin hirodia-taṅ-i pake
 outside-to went and immediately herodians with
 bobai ci-jok bekatani u-o naskan kar-na jhaṅ-ya.
 speaking saw how him, destroy-to can.

Mark 3:1–6

¹And he entered again into the temple; there was a man there whose one hand was withered. ²And they watched him whether he would cure him on the day of rest. ³And he said to the man with the withered hand ‘stand in the centre’. ⁴And he said to them, ‘what is good to do on the day of rest; to do good or bad? To save life or to destroy? And they remained silent. ⁵And when his mind became sad because of their hardness of heart, looking at them, then he said to the man, “stretch out your hand”. And he stretched (it) out, and his hand was restored (literally, although it was that way it became this way). ⁶And the Pharisees went out and discussed with the Herodians, how they could destroy him.

An analysis of the work shows the following: (a) There is no device to mark tones. (b) The non-low central vowel /i/ is not marked. It is represented as /i/ as in *tripan* ‘silently’ (verse 4) or as /u/ as found elsewhere in the translation. It is hardly likely that this vowel was absent in the speech, as it is reported to be present in Grierson. (c) The use of spellings is not uniform. In this short section itself there is *kar* (verse 6) and *khar* (verse 4) ‘do’, and *man* and *mon* (verse 5) ‘mind’. Two letters that are generally transcribed as *c* and *ch* in Bengali-Assamese tradition are used for the phoneme /c/ as in *ci-jok* ‘saw’ (verse 3) and *caripak* ‘life, spirit’ (verse 4). (d) The presence of an intrusive [y] in such words as *bajin-y-a* ‘outside-to’, *pimun-y-a* ‘inside-to’ is inexplicable. Probably it does not reflect the spoken language which must have been without the intrusive [y]. (e) Some native words are spelt with aspirated voiced plosives: *dhen* ‘stretch, loosen’ and *jhaṅ* ‘able’. (f) *caṅ-jok* in verse 5 is probably *caṅ-jok* ‘became ‘happened’ and *majar-e* ‘middle-in’ in verse 3 is probably *majar-i*

'middle-in' with locative suffix. (g) *katimibadaŋ* in verse 5 has a loan root *koThin* 'hard'. (h) The past tense marker *-jok* does not appear to have an allomorph *-jo*. It is always found as *-jok*.

(2) *A folklore about deity khoksi*

The following text is a lesson called '*baikhoksi*' taken from the first part of a series of small booklets entitled '*sokdimbai*', prepared and published by The Rabha Bhasha Parishad, Dudhnai, as a guide for those appearing for Primary Rabha Language examination (1983: 15).

Thope aro Nece kamin̄ bibrasaŋ to-a-min. san-sa dinangi-i
 Thope and Neche two sisters there-was. day-one day-in
 urong mí dak-ŋa
 they vegetable pluck-to

hácu-ina réŋ-ata-m̄in. mí dak-ba-i-an Thope-na
 hill-to went-had. vegetable pluck-there-itself Thope-for
 cika cikáŋ-jo. cika-ba kapha-i
 thirsty-was. water-also near-at

toŋ-ca-m̄in. uni badaŋ urong hácu chatar-i toŋ-kai gósa
 be-not-was. therefore they hill base-at present one
 doba-ina cika riŋ-a réŋ-jo
 pond-to water drink-to went.

ato hot mani-kai katha!. Thope cika riŋ-bapeke sona
 what surprising news. Thope water drink-while gold
 roŋ-ini ná maŋsa u-ni
 colour-of fish one her

kapha-i-an buri-na trok-e dúŋ-jo. Thope tapan
 near-at-itself dry land-to jumping climbed. Thope immediately
 ná-o r̄im-jo aro khok-i
 fish caught and basket-in

tat-e uroŋ haka daka nok-ina bar-jo. nok-ina r̄iba-e
 putting they hurriedly house-to returned. house-to coming
 nok-ini kaitaŋ-a okai
 house-of people-to that

ná-o tunuk-jo. urong-ba e-ganda ná nuk-e hot mani-jo.
 fish showed. they-also this-kind fish seeing marvelled.

nok-ini aro soṅ-ini dīmdak
house-of and village-of all

kai-an bai-se ine ná-o bandar-i tan-na kani-jo. Thope
people deity-only saying fish granary-in put-to said. Thope
aro Nece uroṅ kani-kai
and Neche they said

ganda nem-e thari-e tan-jo. cábani phuṅ-i-an kaminḡ
as well preparing put. later morning-in-itself two
bibrasaṅ ci-a je, khok-i ná
sisters see that, basket-in fish

toṅ-ca. usi kothamrap tinai-e nu-i to-eta saksa
be-not. there room making bright sitting be-is one
pakan nemsukmari dorai-se.
very beautiful lady-only.

u-rong bandar-inipara tapan bir-e ríba-e sakai-na-n
they granary-from immediately descending coming all-to
katha-be kani-jo aro u
word said and that

katha-o na-doṅ-an dīmdakai-an ci-na réṅ-jo. ononba
word hear-when-itself all look-to went. even then
bandar-i okai nemsuka dorai
granary-in that beautiful lady

toṅ-ca. khok-i gósa rónka aro páṅa sí-se to-a.
be-not. basket-in one stone and plenty blood-only is.
uni badaṅ nok-ini aro soṅ-ini
therefore house-of and village-of

kai-taṅ babi-e rá-jo je i-be jaba dóṅ-ca noki-na mai
people thinking took that this anyone is-not house-to paddy
bai-an ríba-nata. okai
deity-itself came. that

mai bai-an khoksí. khok-i sí toṅ-bani badaṅ khoksí
paddy deity-itself *khoksí.* basket-in blood be-because *khoksí*
cáṅ-ata, aro ian bai
became and this deity

khoksí. u-din-nipara-n rába-tang khoksí bai-o urgi-eta.
khoksí. that-day-from-itself Rabhas *khoksí* deity worship-are.

Khoksí Deity

There were two sisters, Thope and Neche. One day they went into the hills to pluck vegetables. While plucking vegetables Thope became thirsty. There was no water nearby. Therefore, they went to drink water from a pond at the base of the hill. What a surprising thing! While Thope was drinking water, a fish having golden colour jumped and climbed onto the dry land near her. Immediately Thope caught the fish and put it into the basket, and the two sisters returned home in haste. Having come to the house they showed that fish to the people of the house. Seeing such a fish they also wondered. People of the house and the village told them to put it in the granary, saying that it is a deity. As was told, Thope and Neche prepared well and put the fish (in the granary). Later on, in the morning, the two sisters found that there was no fish in the basket; instead, brightening up the front room, there stays sitting a very beautiful lady.

Immediately they descended from the granary and reported the matter to everyone, and as soon it was heard everyone came to see. Even then (although everyone looked!) there was no beautiful lady in the granary. In the basket there is a stone and plenty of blood. Therefore people of the house and of the village thought to themselves that this is none but the paddy deity that came to the house. That paddy deity is *khoksí*. As there was blood (*sí*) in the basket (*khok*) it became *khoksí*, and this is deity *khoksí*. From that day onwards Rabhas worship the deity *khoksí*.

(3) *Kīng Dodan*

The following is a lesson called ‘*Dodan*’ from the above-mentioned ‘*sokdīmbai*’, p. 11.

Dodan

Dodan Ban raja-ni senapoti-mīn. cábani Dodan ukai
 Dodan Ban king-of general-was. later Dodan that
 rajjo-ini para rība-e
 kingdom-from coming

rábatan-i dói berga rajjo khár-kai-ni badan u
 Rabhas-on account different kingdom do-because he
 sotru pake badagur-nata-mīn.
 enemy with fight-did-had.

uni badaṅ té-ba dimdak rába-taṅ u-na urgi-eta. Goalpara
 therefore now-also all Rabhas him venerate. Goalpara
 mohkuma-ni Baida soṅ
 subdivision-of Baida village

kapha-i Dodan hácu-i mondir ham-e Dodan aro risi bai-ni
 near-at Dodan hill-on temple building Dodan and risi deity-of
 kamin-i-ba murti
 both-of-also statue

rásam-ata. phagun raṅgre-ni nai-bataṅi ostomi, nobomi
 kept phagun month-of bright-during eighth, ninth
 aro dohomi peke
 and tenth during

u-si mela cáṅ-a. e-kai mela ci-na páṅa kai ríba-a.
 there festival be. this festival see-to plenty people come

Dodan

Dodan was the General of king Ban. Later on, because he left that kingdom and established the kingdom of the Rabhas, he had to fight against the enemies. Because of this, even now all the Rabhas venerate him. Close to the village of Baida, in the subdivision of Goalpara, in a temple on Mount Dodan, statues of Dodan and the deity Risi are kept. In the early days of the month of *phagun* (February-March), on the eighth, ninth and tenth days a festival is held there. Plenty of people come to see the festival.

(4) Cotton

The following is a lesson called 'hampa' from the above-mentioned 'sokdimbai', p. 13.

hampa

hampa jat-sa pan. Assam-ni Karbi Anṅon Meghalaya-ni
 cotton variety-one tree. Assam-of Karbi Anglong, Meghalaya-of
 Garo Pahar aro
 Garo Hill and

Naga Pahar-i pakan páṅ-e hampa cáṅ-a. hampa phu-na
 Naga Hill-in very plenty cotton be. cotton sow-to

cu-kai hádam lagi-a.
high land need

phagun coit ran̄gre-i hampa kén phu-a. hampa phu-kai
phagun coit month-in cotton seed sow. cotton sowing
hádam-i grim dim-a
land-in weed grow-to

rákhu-na lagi-ca, aro dimdon̄-be phok-e rákhu-na lagi-a.
give-to need-not, and grow-if plucking give-to need.
aghun ran̄gre-i hampa
aghun month-in cotton

thé pri-a aro parkek-a. okapeke hampa dak-a. pramci
fruit mature and burst. at that time cotton pluck. dew
sím-e ton̄-bapeke dak-ŋa
wet stay-while pluck-to

lagi-ca. hampa-ni para nenten̄ taŋ-e nen tak-a. hampa,
need-not. cotton-from thread spinning cloth weave. cotton,
hampa-ni nenten̄ aro
cotton-of thread and

hampa-ni nen phar-e páisa mán-a. hampa-ni para káosa
cotton-of cloth selling money get. cotton-from paper
aro kén-ni para thuci mán-a
and seed-from oil get.

tikaŋ-i kai-taŋ kakai kakai-an hampa-ni nenten̄ taŋ-e
before-of people oneself oneself-itself cotton-of thread spinning
nen tak-a-min.
cloth weave-used to.

Cotton

Cotton is a variety of tree (plant). Cotton grows plentifully in the Karbi Anglong in Assam, in the Garo Hills in the Meghalaya and in the Naga Hills. High land is needed to sow cotton. Cotton is sown in the month of *phagun-coit* (March-April). One should not allow weeds to grow where cotton is sown; and if weeds grow they must be plucked out. Cotton fruits mature and burst in the month of *aghun* (November-December). Then they are plucked. It should not be plucked when still wet with dew. Spinning yarn (thread) from cotton,

cloth is woven. One gets money by selling cotton, cotton thread and cotton cloth. Paper is made from cotton, and oil from its seeds. People of old used to weave cloth, spinning yarn from cotton.

(5) *A poem entitled mae réηeta ('it is disappearing')*

The following, a poem by Suranjib Rabha Baksok, is taken from the first part of a series of small booklets entitled '*panjhampur*' prepared and published by The Rabha Bhasha Parishad, Dudhnai, as a guide for those appearing for Middle Rabha Language examination (1983: 9-10).

mae réηeta

ma-e réη-eta mandai, phé-ca-e réη-eta
disappearing go-is what a pity, clear-not-as go-is

phukphak-eta mandai, tep-ma brat-eta,
dilemma-is what a pity, speak-to ashamed-are

jibra-ni khúraη té-be ma-e-se réη-eta;
mother-of speech now disappearing go-are

jibra-ni sábra-taη-ba dap-e-se réη-eta.
mother-of children-also buried go-is

soη-i nok-i bobai-an khiη-o-doηa katha;
village-in house-in speak-by live-will-perhaps word

khúcem-i-san bobai-e múη-o-doηba katha.
mouth-in-only speaking stay-will-perhaps language

antaη-i khúcem-ina praη-ca-re ana?
others-of mouth-to spread-not why

ciη-i-san khúcem-i-be toη-o bencok-ηa.
ours-only mouth-on stay-will how long-for

té ciη toη-ba-i-an, ciη-i-se khúraη-o
now we stay-while-itself, our-only language

káosa peke likhi-na ana jaη-ca-no?
book with write-to why able-no-will

sona khúraη ciη-i-ba to-a nasi-raη-e;
gold language ours-also have lovingly

rason sar-e tep-ma ciŋ jaŋ-ca-ne?
 glorify-as speak-to we can-not-is it

rónkai jati cime to-eta há dap-e;
 strong tribe we stay-are earth covering

bisimita ciŋ-o-san baron bĭjo-ne?
 world us-only ostracised-is it

It is disappearing

It is disappearing, Oh pity! it is becoming indistinct
 It is a dilemma, Oh pity! ashamed to speak,
 Mother's language is now disappearing;
 Mother's children too are being buried underneath.
 By speaking in family and village, language would perhaps live
 By speaking with mouth it would perhaps stay.
 On to the lips of others, it spreads not, why?
 Only on our lips, it will stay, how long?
 Now while we live, our own language,
 To write as books, why will it not be possible?
 Our golden language is there dearly
 To stay proudly, are we not able?
 we, a strong race, stay buried underneath
 Is it only we whom the world has ostracised?

RABHA VOCABULARY

Abbreviations and conventions used in the vocabulary

a.	adjective	loc.	locative
abl.	ablative	n.	noun
acc.	accusative	num.	numeral
adv.	adverb	obj.	object
arch.	archaic/rarely used	onom.	onomatopoeia
Ass.	Assamese	pers.	person
caus.	causative	pl.	plural
circum.	circumvention	postpos.	postposition
cl.	classifier	pred.	predicative
conj.	conjunction	prob.	probable/probably
dat.	dative	pron.	pronoun
def.	definitive	rec.	(of) recent (origin)
echo	echo formation	sg.	singular
emphat.	emphatic	sim.	similarly
esp.	especially	sth.	something
euphem.	euphemism	sub.	subject
excl.	exclamation	suff.	suffix
fig.	figurative(ly)	usu.	usually
gen.	genitive	verbal	phrasal verb/special collocation
idiom	idiom/idiomatic usage	v.i.	intransitive verb
inf.	infinitive	v.p.	passive (form of) verb
int.	interjection	v.t.	transitive verb
interrog.	interrogative	vulg.	vulgar
lit.	literal(ly)		

⇒ means 'go to' or 'see' the headword indicated

< (obtained) from

~ stands for the headword or shows free variation

1st./2nd./3rd. pers. sg./pl. pron. used to indicate person and number of pronouns

1 2 3 used to separate parts of speech or different uses of the same entry

^{1 2 3} used to distinguish headwords having same spelling

Head words are arranged alphabetically, with the following convention: (1) *i* follows *u*, (2) *η* follows *n*, (3) diphthongs are treated as composed of two segments, and (4) vowels are not differentiated for the tone in deciding their order except when two head words are differentiated only by a tonal difference, in which case the head word having the low-toned vowel is placed first; in all other instances the segmental sequence decides the order.

Head words do not contain any affixes. The verbs of the sub-entries and the illustrations are suffixed either with the present suffix *-a* or some other relevant suffix.

A

- a**, *suff.* indicating habitual present as well as predicative adjective: *nasi-a*, love or loves; *nem-a*, is or are good.
- a-bat**, **1.** *n.* cultivation. **2.** (*verbal*) **abat khára**, cultivate.
- a-cá** ⇒ **asá**.
- a-di** ~ **aji**, *n.* a half share (esp. in rearing animals and cultivating land of another): *adi pusia*, rear or look after with the contract to share proceeds or offsprings on a fifty-fifty basis.
- a-du**, *v.i.* sit (child language).
- a-ga-dai**, *int.* of pain or surprise.
- a-gam**, *v.i.* bow, lower one's head (in prayer, shame etc.), bend forward from waist upwards: *agame urgia*, bow and greet or show reverence thus.
- a-gui**, *v.i.* go forward or advance in space, make progress to better state: *agui réna*, advance.
- ai-u man-dai**, *excl.* how beautiful! how wonderful! Oh sorry!
- ai-a**, *n.* (*pl.* ~**rong**) mother. **aiababa**, *n.* (*echo*) parents. **aiani khúraŋ**, *n.* mother tongue.
- ai-cuŋ**, *n.* aunt in the sense of father's elder brother's wife or mother's elder sister. **aicuŋbra**, *n.* same as *aicuŋ* (definitive).
- a-jaŋ mi -jaŋ**, *a.* giddy, dizzy: *ajaŋ májaŋ cáŋa*, feel or be giddy or dizzy.
- a-ji** ⇒ **adi**.
- a-ka**, *int.* of pain.
- ak**, *v.i.* be black: *raŋkhop ake jǰǰimbaeta*, dark clouds are gathering. **akak**, *a.* black: *nukhaŋ akak cáŋa*, face be very black.
- a-kal** ~ **aŋkal**, *n.* starvation, deprivation, poverty: *akal cáŋa*, become deprived, starvation sets in.
- ak-ci pak-ci**, *a.* covered with dust and dirt, soiled and shabby: *akci pakci cáŋa*, become dirty.
- a-kha** **1.** *cl.* for cluster of bananas that grow together in a bunch: *réthe akhasa*, one hand of bananas. **2.** *n.* one of many small clusters of bananas that grow in a bunch: *akha gósa*, one cluster of bananas. **3.** (*verbal*) **akha rita**, pluck or separate a cluster of bananas from stem.
- a-khan-ji**, *n.* soot: *akhanji maŋkhaŋ khaa*, soot accumulates.
- a-khoi** *n.* rice, maize etc. that is parched and burst open.
- ak-je-ger**, *v.i.* be dark grey (things), pale and dark (people). **akje-gerger**, *v.i.* & *a.* be very pale and dark.
- ak-kho**, *v.i.* be grey, dark grey. **akkhokho**, *v.i.* be of very dark grey colour.
- ak-kur**, *v.i.* be dark, black. **akkur makur**, *a.* (*echo*) dark and ugly. **akukur**, *v.i.* & *a.* be dark as a shadow: *akkukur kháre nuka*, catch a glimpse or see as a passing shadow.
- a-kol**, **1.** *n.* character, behaviour. **2.** (*idiom*) **akol tar naŋca**, of dubious character, not of good behaviour.
- ak-so-kho**, *v.i.* be of a colour that is a mixture of red and black.
- a-lai**, *v.t.* suspend: *aláie tana*, keep suspended.
- a-laŋ**, **1.** *n.* bamboo framework for a temporary shed with flat roof. **2.** (*idiom*) **alaŋ calaŋ**, (*echo*) orphaned, having no one to care

- for: *alaṅ calaṅ cáṅa*, be orphaned, be destitute.
- a-laṅ-kar**, *n.* a salamander or newt: *alaṅkar b̄ita*, be attacked and be pulled away by ~.
- a-la-ri**¹ as in: **alari kúr**, *n.* a variety of thin flat bamboo strip used as rope or binding material.
- a-la-ri**² ⇒ **sam**¹.
- al-da**, *a.* (arch.) separate, different: *alda bari*, a plot of land away from the house.
- a-li**, **1.** *n.* raised dividing line between fields in paddy field. **2.** (*verbal*) **ali khaa**, lay mud and prepare ~. **ali tána**, trim ~, cut mud and grass along with it from ~.
- al-tu**, *v.i.* be easy. **altue**, *adv.* easily.
- a-lu-a** ⇒ **ná**.
- a-man**, *n.* aunt in the sense of father's younger brother's wife or mother's younger sister; **amanbra**, same as *aman* (definitive).
- am-ba-lu-ri**, *n.* gooseberry.
- am-e**, *1st. pers. sg. pron. I* (definitive).
- am-ka**, *n.* so and so. **amka ph̄iila**, *n.* (*echo*) so and so. **amka temka**, *n.* (*echo*) so and so.
- am-thé**, *n.* guava.
- an**¹ ~ **-n**, *suff.* denoting emphasis: *aṅ-an*, I myself; *isi-an*, here itself, precisely here; *té-an*, today itself, now itself.
- an**², *suff.* a common analysable suffix in many adverbs: *digrap-an*, with face to the ground; *kh̄ap-an*, close together; *d̄ip-an*, in a flash, in a split second; *tap-an*, suddenly, fast.
- a-na**, **1.** *interrog.* why, for what: *anaba*, for some reason or other; *ana neke*, for what. **2.** *conj.* for, because. **ana indonbe**, *conj.* the reason being, because.
- a-naṅ**, *n.* wife's elder brother or husband's elder sister. **anaṅbra**, *n.* same as *anaṅ* (definitive).
- a-nar-e** ~ **andre**, *adv.* slowly. **anare anare**, *adv.* very slowly, gradually.
- an-da mun-da**, *adv.* (*echo*) at random, randomly, without any specific order or arrangement or measurement or plan: *anda munda kh̄ara*, do randomly without a system or definite plan.
- an-da-kai**, *n.* others, other people: *andak̄aini inkaio tanatham*, do not pay attention to what others say.
- an-dre** ⇒ **anare**.
- a-niṅ**, *num.* two, two things: *tó maṅa-niṅ*, two birds; *dokhom aniaṅ*, two stools.
- an-jri-**, *cl.* for the amount that can be contained in both the hands cupped together: *anjri-sa maṅrun*, handful of rice.
- an-taṅ**, *n.* the others, other people.
- an-tar**, *v.i.* wake up, be awake: *mukhar réṅe antara*, wake from sleep.
- an-tham**, *num.* three, three things: *pakja antham*, three things.
- aṅ**, *1st. pers. sg. pron.* (*pl. ciṅ, ciṅ-náṅaṅ; def. ame*). **I.**
- áṅ**, **1.** *v.i.* respond with giggle or loud shrill as when teased, tickled or jostled. **2.** pester, ask persistently (*esp. children*).
- aṅ-ca** ~ **angsa**, **1.** *n.* shawl-like thin cloth worn by Rabha women from shoulders across the chest. **2.** (*verbal*) **aṅca ráa**, wear or have such a cloth on.
- áṅ-cer** ~ **áṅc̄ir** ~ **áṅcrai**, *v.i.* giggle or shout aloud as when children chasing each other at play.
- áṅ-crai** ⇒ **áṅcer**.
- áṅ-c̄ir** ⇒ **áṅcer**.
- aṅ-ka**, **1.** *n.* sign, a mark, drawings that are made on the sacrificial floor. **2.** (*verbal*) **aṅka b̄ita**, draw a mark, make a sign.
- aṅ-kal** ⇒ **akal**.
- aṅ-khi -ni**, *n.* one of many small branch-like parts of an ear of paddy or corn on which grains grow.
- aṅ-sa** ⇒ **aṅca**.
- ao**, *v.i.* yell, shout.

ap, *n.* (arch.) mirror.

a-phe, *n.* star: *aphe phráophráo naia*, stars shine brightly (as on a star-studded night). **aphe bota**, *n.* Morning or Evening Star. **aphe jísrok**, *n.* shooting star, meteor: *aphe jísrok thára*, shooting star or meteor travels across the sky.

a-phrai, *v.i.* writhe in pain.

ap-kai, *v.t.* preserve and take good care of (things).

ar-di, *v.i.* pray, **ardikai**, *n.* prayer.

a-ri-roŋ, **1.** *n.* pride, feeling of self-importance. **2.** *a.* proud, uncontrollable, not easily restrained: *ariron kai*, a proud person; *másu ariron*, cow that cannot be restrained or kept tied. **3.** (*verbal*) **ariron tunuka**, consider and show oneself as great and important.

a-ro, **1.** *conj.* and, and then: *aro ata cáño*, and then what happened **2.** prefixed to verb giving meaning 'again': *aro-réŋata*, went again.

as, **1.** *n.* line, hair-line crack, sinew, fibre, texture of wood or meat. **2.** (*verbal*) **as draa**, fibrous texture (wood, meat etc.) is big or rough. **as bita**, form a thin crack.

a-sa, **1.** *n.* hope. **2.** (*verbal*) **asa khára**, hope, expect. **asa mána**, be hopeful, have basis for hope. **asa toa**, have hope.

a-sá ~ acá, **1.** *n.* egg of a big variety of common fly. **2.** (*verbal*) **asá cita**, (fly) deposits eggs.

as-ta, *a.* untouched, unused, kept separate: *mai asta*, extra rice that remains in the cooking pot or rice that is already served and kept but not eaten.

a-su, *n.* generic term for varieties of

highland paddy that do not require much water.

a-suk, *v.i.* be bored: *asuke réŋa*, become bored.

a-su-kuk, *v.t.* annoy, harass, irritate.

a-suŋ ~ asin, *v.t.* keep for later use, preserve: *aŋe tana*, preserve.

a-sin ⇒ **asuŋ**.

at-a, **1.** *interrog.* what (*nom.*): *atataŋ?*, what all? (plural sense). **2.** often used along with other interrogative pronouns for emphasis as: *ata bisi?*, where?; *ata bisina?*, to where?; *ata bekhare?*, how? **3.** used along with nouns adding meaning 'and related things or etc.': *mai ata sáe ríba*, have meal and come; *nen ata rábanata*, brought clothes (and other necessary things).

at-a-na, **1.** *interrog.* why, for what: *atanaba*, for some reason or other; *atana neke*, for what; *atani badan*, why, on account of what; *atani dói*, instead of what. **2.** *conj.* for, because.

at-a-thá-ni ~ atotháni, *interrog.* of what kind.

a-tha, **1.** *n.* birdlime, sticky substance obtained from a kind of tree which is spread on twigs and placed in branches or on land to trap birds.

2. (*verbal*) **atha saia**, spread birdlime or place twigs smeared with birdlime to trap birds.

a-thi, **1.** *n.* bundle (especially of long things): *athi gósa*, one bundle. **2.** *cl* for bundles of long things: *athisa*, one bundle.

a-thi-a, *n.* a variety of banana having seeds inside fruit.

at-o, *interrog.*, what (*acc*): *náme ato máño*, what did you get?

at-o-thá-ni ⇒ **atháni**.

B

- ba¹**, **1.** *suff.* meaning ‘also’ or ‘too’: *aŋ-ba*, I too, I also. **2.** *suff.*, giving an indefinite sense: *caŋ-ba*, anyone, someone; *ato-ba*, something; *jasi-ba*, anywhere (loc.); *jasina-ba*, to anywhere (movement away); *jana-ba*, to or for anyone (dat.); *jao-ba*, anything (acc.).
- ba²**, **1.** *suff.* indicating the gradual coming into effect of what the verb or the adjective means: *nem-ba-eta*, is becoming better, is improving; *raŋsaŋ dogó-ba-eta*, the sun is rising gradually. **2.** *suff.* indicating movement towards the location of conversation: *mám-ba-a*, get and bring; *nuk-ba-a*, see and come; *sok-ba-a*, arrive; *tam-ba-a*, leave and come away, put and come away.
- ba³**, *suff.* indicating past tense: *rəŋ-ba*, had gone; *toŋ-ba*, there was, there used to be.
- ba⁴**, *suff.* giving attributive adjective of certain verb roots: *raŋ phaba tal*, rainy season, season of rain.
- bá¹**, **1.** *n.* bamboo: *bá khándoksa*, a certain length of bamboo; *bá paosa*, section of a bamboo between two nodes or knots. **báboma**, *n.* the base of a bamboo or a bamboo cluster.
- bácatar**, *n.* stump of a bamboo along with bulb, base of bamboo. **bácoŋ**, *n.* bamboo cluster. **bádalai**, *n.* branch of bamboo. **bágrim**, *n.* bamboo grove, a forest of bamboo. **bájeger**, *n.* a variety of bamboo. **bájəŋ**, *n.* a variety of bamboo. **bákucu**, *n.* the very top-most part of a bamboo. **bákur**, *n.* binding strips of bamboo. **báphak**, *n.* post or pillar of bamboo. **báphala**, *n.* one section of a bamboo split into two. **bápuk**, *n.* soft inner lining of bamboo. **bá sindoi**, *n.* tender or young bamboo. **básiri**, *n.* split piece of bamboo. **bások**, *n.* upper section of a bamboo. **báthe**, *n.* small thick bamboo. **bátre (bátraí)**, *n.* common thin variety of bamboo. **2.** (*verbal*) **bá grana**, place or tie bamboo for roof-frame or other structures, **bá seta**, rub two pieces of bamboo to produce fire. **bá srɪŋa**, tie or place bamboo lengthwise while constructing sheds, bridges etc.
- bá²**, *v.i.* be pregnant (animals).
- bá³**, *v.t.* carry children on one’s back in a cloth.
- ba-ba**, *n.* (*pl.* ~**roŋ**) dad, father. **baba aia**, *n.* (*echo*) parents.
- ba-bi** ~ **bhabi**, *v.i.* & *v.t.* think, feel. **babia gunaia**, *v.* (*echo*) consider well, think, think over.
- ba-bra**, **1.** *n.* (def.; *pl.* ~**taŋ**). father, male parent. **babradomka** ~ **babradonka**, *n.* stepfather. **babra jibra**, *n.* (*echo*) parents, father and mother. **babrasaŋ**, *n.* father and child: *babrasaŋ metham*, father and two children; *babrasaŋ sarjəŋ*, father and three children. **2.** (*verbal*) **babra coka**, adopt someone as one’s father through a ceremony.
- bá-ca-ka-ti**, *n.* binding material prepared by splitting bamboo laterally into fine thin strips such that every strip has one edge of it from the outer hide, a bamboo strip that has the outer skin of bamboo, a piece of bamboo sharpened along its length and used as blade.
- ba-ci-a** ~ **batcia** -, **1.** *cl.* for meals: *baciasa*, one meal. **2.** *n.* meal; *bacia gósa*, one meal.
- ba-da¹**, **1.** *n.* bunch (coconut, betel nut etc.). **2.** *cl.* for a bunch of coconut, betel nut etc.: *badasa kui*,

- a bunch of betel nut. **3.** (*verbal*) **bada deŋa**, spread or put forth a bunch.
- ba-da**², *n.* a temporary shed with flat roof: *bada hama*, build a ~.
- badaphak**, *n.* post for or of a ~.
- ba-da-di-ka**, *n.* a small variety of woodpecker, crimson-backed woodpecker.
- ba-da-gai**, *v.t.* make another fall down in wrestling or fighting.
- ba-da-gur**, *v.i.* wrestle, fight.
- ba-daŋ**¹, *postpos.* to *n.* or noun phrases with gen. suff. meaning 'on account of, because of, about, for the sake of, for the benefit of': *kaitaŋi badaŋ*, for the sake of the people; *naroŋi badaŋ*, on account of you, because of you, for your sake.
- ba-daŋ**², *v.t.* do business.
- ba-di-la**, *n.* bat.
- ba-du-a**, **1.** *n.* one who has to pay a fine for some offence. **2.** *a.* penalised: *badua kai*, one who has to pay a fine.
- ba-gan**, *n.* plantation, a piece of land cultivated as a garden.
- ba-gi** ⇒ **nukhaŋ**.
- ba-gi-na** ~ **bhagina**, *n.* nephew, brother's son (for a sister) or sister's son (for a brother).
- ba-gi-ni** ~ **bhagini**, *n.* niece, brother's daughter (for a sister) or sister's daughter (for a brother).
- ba-grai**, *v.i.* fall.
- ba-ha**, *n.* lower shoulder.
- ba-i**¹, **1.** *suff.* indicating 'location or place where': *cika naŋ-bai*, where there is water. **2.** *suff.* indicating 'situation or time when': *baikho-bai*, during the *baikho* festival; *hatina reŋ-bai*, when or while going to the market.
- ba-i**², *suff.* to certain verbs indicating that the action was or happened to be performed after arriving at the place of conversation: *bón-bai*, come and meet, happened to arrive to witness; *kani-bai*, come and say; *nuk-bai*, come and see; *tan-bai*, come and put.
- bai**¹ ~ **bhai**, *v.i.* be yellow.
- bai**² ⇒ **hal**.
- bai**³, **1.** *n.* (pl. ~**bijan**). god, deity, spirit. **bai aŋka**, *n.* palm-lines. **baidam**, *n.* a place (generally wooded) dedicated to a deity and where sacrifices are regularly held, a sacrificial place. **bai sai**, *n.* (*echo*) deities. **baisun**, *n.* evil spirit, spirit of some deity. **2.** (*verbal*) **bai dáŋa**, coming of a deity into a sacrifice in answer to the act of propitiation. **bai dúŋa**, be affected by the power of the deity during sacrifice. **bai gojoka**, fulfil or redeem the promise made earlier to perform a sacrifice. **bai gidáŋa**, call on a deity through a sacrifice. **bai hanakraia**, call out to deity by using vocative style using divine attributes. **bai kaka**, be attacked (*lit.* bitten) by a deity inflicting sickness. **bai naŋa**, be possessed by (evil) spirit, become mad, be out of senses. **bai pusia**, keep a household deity and fulfil the requirements of propitiating the deity. **bai saka**, propitiate a deity by making a promise to offer a sacrifice some time later. **bai thata**, make a sacrifice to a deity. **bai urgia**, worship a deity, bow and thus show veneration for a deity.
- bai-du-muk**, *n.* (*arch.*) arrow.
- bai-ek**, *n.* a variety of bamboo.
- bai-khen**, *n.* scorpion. **baikhen jicap**, *n.* stinging organ of scorpion.
- bai-kho**, *n.* name of a goddess.
- bai-kho-leŋ**, **1.** *n.* whirlwind. **2.** *n.* spot on crown of head where hair is whirled around. **3.** (*verbal*).
- baikholeŋ rapa**, form a whirlwind.
- bai-lo-la**, **1.** *n.* matted hair. **2.** (*ver-*

- bal*) **bailola khaa**, become matted, entangle in thick mass (hair).
- bai-lu-ri**, *n.* a gale, storm.
- bai-saŋ-koi** ~ **baisəŋkia**, *n.* rain-bow.
- bai-seŋ-ki-a** ⇒ **baisəŋkoi**.
- bai-sram**, *v.i.* light yellow. **baisasram**, *v.i.* be light yellow.
- bai-sthop** ⇒ **baitrop**.
- bai-trop** ~ **baisthop**, *v.i.* be light yellow. **baitotrop**, *v.i.* be light yellow.
- baj-i**, *n.* as in: (*verbal*) **baji koa (tera koa ~ tera baji koa)**, lightning and thunder strike with discharge of imaginary bolt or shaft (believed by locals to be wedge-shaped hard stones sometimes discovered from fields) during crash of thunder.
- ba-jiŋ**, **1.** *adv.* outside. **2.** (*idiom*) **bajiŋa múŋa**, (*euphem.*) have a desire to pass urine. **bajiŋa réŋa**, (*euphem.*) go out to pass urine.
- bak¹**, *n.* pig, swine, **bak kaka**, *n.* pork. **bak nogor**, *n.* piggery, a shelter for pigs. **bak phacen**, *n.* pig's longer tooth. **bak thop**, *n.* shelter of wild pigs.
- bak²**, *v.t.* wrench things apart with instruments that have been wedged in: *bákhān keke baka*, pull apart parts of firewood that have been split partially, split firewood apart with axe that has been driven in.
- bak-ca-la**, *n.* thatch of roof that is kept projecting outward from the wall or pillar on the breadthwise side of a house.
- bá-keŋ**, *n.* axe.
- bá-khan**, **1.** *n.* firewood. **2.** (*verbal*) **bákhān keka**, split firewood. **bákhān khrīŋa**, spread firewood for drying. **bákhān roka (bákhān rīta)**, carry firewood from where it had been left for drying. **bákhān ruguta**, collect firewood.
- ba-kha-nai**, *v.t.* praise, glorify.
- ba-kha-ni**, *n.* a woman who praises herself or speaks boastfully about herself.
- bá-khep**, *n.* forceps (of bamboo).
- bá-khop**, *n.* bamboo or wood placed lengthwise across rafters in framework of roof.
- bá-khu¹**, *n.* spade-like instrument with broad edge with a straight handle and used as a crowbar.
- bá-khu²** ⇒ **pancak**.
- bak-jap**, *v.i.* be middle-sized (tree). **bakjap bakjap**, *adv.* of middle-sized: *bakjap bakjap cithoa*, is beautiful with the beauty of a medium-sized (tree). **bakjajap**, *a.& adv.* beautiful as a middle-sized tree.
- bá-kok**, *n.* bamboo tube, section of a bamboo (used for carrying water or for keeping things in): *bákok khúmaŋ khúcepa*, cut smooth the cross-section of a bamboo tube.
- ba-kra**, *n.* open expanse of land without many large trees.
- ba-kri** ⇒ **cakri**.
- bak-tuk**, **1.** *n.* a variety of wild yam or arum stalk of which is used as vegetable. **baktuk akkai**, *n.* black variety of ~. **2.** (*idiom*) **baktuk tátheŋ dogota (baktuk nagra koa)**, root of ~ sprouts at a distance into a new plant.
- ba-laŋ ba-laŋ ~ bhalaŋ bhalaŋ**, *a.* (*arch. sacrificial formula*). healthy, prosperous: *balāŋ balāŋ cáŋkhan*, may (subj.) become healthy and prosperous.
- bam¹**, *n.* home-made bread made from rice-flour. **bamcepa**, flat home-made bread that is folded and usu. filled with a mixture of sesame and sugar or coconut and sugar.
- bam¹**, *v.i.* bend ones head, submit oneself, surrender: *bame ráa*, accept in obedience or submissively.
- ba-ma-ri**, *n.* (pl. ~**taŋ**, ~**bijan**) a

- married person, a father. **bamari jímari**, *n.* (*echo*) married men and women.
- bam-bur** ⇒ **baᅇbur**.
- bam-ci**, *n.* rice-flour: *bamci khríta*, sprinkle a mixture of ~ and water (as part of a sacrificial or purification ceremony).
- bam-ci-kha-li**, *n.* curry made of rice-flour with or without vegetable.
- ban**¹, *n.* winnowing fan.
- ban**², **1.** *n.* a magical spell. **2.** (*verbal*) **ban koa**, cast a spell. **ban thiphrita**, break a spell.
- bán**, *v.i.* use or go through (road) frequently: *bánan bánan rambe mine réŋjo kamibe cáŋeca*, having made several trips the path has become a beaten track but the work was not accomplished.
- ba-na** ~ **-bani**, *suff.* meaning ‘since, because, on account of’: *raŋ phabana rambijan tíkap tíkap cáŋjo*, because it rained the roads have become slushy and sticky.
- ba-na**, *n.* flood, **bana cika**, *n.* flood water.
- ban-ca**, *n.* a piece of wood or bamboo (only if it is used to throw at or beat something or someone): *banca khíne koka*, take a piece of wood and beat; *bancaba toŋca!*, there is not even a piece of wood (with which to throw at or beat)! (a way of expressing one’s anger).
- ban-di**¹, **1.** *n.* a servant girl. **2.** (*verbal*) **bandi khatia** (**bandi khutia**), enter the service of another as servant girl.
- ban-di**², *v.i.* pretend not to know or not to be aware of.
- ba-ni** ⇒ **-bana**.
- ban-tha** ⇒ **buli**.
- ban-thá-ni** ⇒ **tontháni**.
- ban-thó** ~ **banthok**, *n.* brinjal.
- ban-thok** ⇒ **banthó**.
- baᅇ** ~ **baᅇbaᅇ**, *n.* paternal uncle (father’s younger brother). **baᅇbra**, *n.* same as *baᅇ* (definitive).
- báŋ**, *v.t.* block. **báŋa kóma**, *v.t.* (*echo*) *lit.* fence to protect, *fig.* protect and look after.
- baᅇ-al turu**, *n.* (*echo*) Bengalis.
- baᅇ-al-taᅇ**, **1.** *n.* (sg. & pl.). Bengalis, an individual or individuals of the Bengali community: *baᅇaltaᅇ saksá*, one Bengali; *baᅇaltaᅇ kaminᅇ*, two Bengalis. **2.** **baᅇaltaᅇni**, *a.* of or belonging to the Bengalis. *baᅇaltaᅇni sábra*, a bengali child.
- baᅇ-baᅇ** ⇒ **baᅇ**.
- baᅇ-bur** ~ **bambur**, a undersized, short, fat and stocky.
- baᅇ-khoᅇ**, *n.* cricket: *baᅇkhoᅇ hoŋjeŋa*, cricket chirps.
- baᅇ-khraᅇ** ⇒ **ciᅇkhraᅇ**.
- baᅇ-ku-a**, *n.* a bamboo rod used for carrying weight attached to both the ends. **baᅇkua tátheᅇ**, *n.* bandy legs, bow-shaped legs.
- bap-dai**, *n.* as in: (*verbal*) **bap-dai khaa**, enter into a covenanted relationship as parent and child.
- ba-pe-ke**, *suff.* meaning ‘during, while’: *khár-bapeke*, while doing, *réŋ-bapeke*, while going.
- ba-phra**, *int.* poor fellow!
- bar**¹, *n.* day (in relation to the names of days): *tébe ato bar?*, what day (is) today?
- bar**² ~ **bhar**, **1.** *n.* load. **2.** (*verbal*) **bar paia**, carry a load, **bar típaia**, lay or lift some load on to someone.
- bar**³, *v.i.* return: *bare réŋa*, go back.
- bar**⁴⁻, *suff.* with Assamese numerals especially from upwards of four replacing native classifiers like *cao-*, *phén-* and *jakri-* for repetitive events: *pas bar*, five times.
- bár**, **1.** *n.* fire, **bárdam**, *n.* fire-place, place where fire is lit (for cooking, warming oneself, and in ancient days for keeping embers live for

- lighting fire when required). **2.** (*verbal*) **bár caka**, kindle fire, light fire, make fire.
- bár dapa**, warm oneself by the fire.
- bár khama**, burn, catch fire. **bár paka**, fire burns brightly. **bár mota**, fire dies out or goes out, extinguishes. **bár seta**, produce fire by rubbing together dry bamboo pieces. **bár sóa**, burn, set something on fire, put fire to something. **bár tomota**, put out a fire, extinguish a fire. **bár toproma (bár tomoka)**, bury embers in ash so that they do not die out completely to be used for lighting a fire later on. **bár tipaka**, make fire burn well. **3.** (*idiom*) **bár rákhua**, cremate.
- ba-ra ba-ra**, *adv.* just opposite, facing each other.
- ba-rai**¹ *v.t.* give, offer, place or keep as an offering, make ready what is required: *mai baraia*, serve rice and keep everything else ready for meal.
- ba-rai**², **1.** *n.* clan, **barai huri (barai hur)**, *n. (echo)* clans and their inter-relatedness. **2.** (*verbal*) **barai dáña**, join a clan through a ceremony. **barai gidáña**, legally receive someone into a clan. **barai khéa**, have no impediments arising from the relationship of clans for matrimonial alliance. **barai tata**, belong to related clans.
- bá-ram**, **1.** *a.* last stage in the growth of a cluster of bamboo after which it flowers bears seeds and dies. **2.** (*verbal*) **báram phéna**, reach the ~ stage.
- bar-bar-i**, *adv.* immediately, without delay.
- bár-ce-ken**, *n.* ember.
- bar-cuñ**, *n.* a sub-clan.
- ba-ré**, **1.** *n.* a temporary dam usually made in paddy fields or across small streams with clay and bamboo to trap fish. **2.** (*verbal*) **baré khaa**, build such a dam.
- ba-re ba-re**, *adv.* again and again, often, repeatedly.
- ba-ri**¹ ~ **barti**, *n.* plot of land on which house is built. **bari bagan**, *n. (echo)* garden or plot of cultivated land.
- ba-ri**², *v.i.* increase, become more.
- bár-ji-bra**, *n.* **1.** (*arch.*) embers that are kept live under ash to be used for lighting fire when required. **2.** (*uncommon*) matches.
- bár-ji-kham**, *n.* a piece of firewood that is burning or is partially burnt.
- bár-jon-da** ⇒ **bárjontha**.
- bár-jon-tha** ~ **bárjonda** **1.** *n.* flambeau, a fire-torch usually made with long pieces of dry bamboo or thatch grass. **2.** (*verbal*) **bárjontha khaa**, prepare a ~. **bárjontha sóa**, light such a torch.
- bár-ju**, *n.* log meant for splitting firewood.
- bar-ka**, **1.** *a.* (*arch.*) hired, on hire. **2.** (*verbal*) **barka bita**, take on hire. **barka ráa (barkana rábaa)**, take on hire.
- bár-ka** ⇒ **cika**.
- bár-kha-dam**, *n.* funeral pyre.
- bár-khu**, *v.i.* emit smoke, be smoky.
- bár-khun-ci**, **1.** *n.* smoke: *bárkhun-ci truntrun dogta*, emit smoke in large quantity, it is smoking greatly. **2.** *n.* a rope-like torch made by twisting and tying hay to keep a smouldering fire, used either for the sake of the fire or as fumigation against insects: *bárkhun-ci phásaka*, make such a torch from hay.
- bar-man** ⇒ **seoman**.
- bar-mas-i**, *adv.* always: *barmasi ganda*, as always or as usual.
- ba-ró** ⇒ **cukuñ**.
- ba-roñ**, **1.** *n.* seat or place for people during a common meal **2.** (*verbal*)

- baroŋ dana**, arrange or prepare ~ (usu. by placing long pieces of wood or bamboo). **baroŋ khaa**, tie backrest (to lean against while sitting). **3. (idiom) baroŋ bita**, segregate and assign separate place for individuals (who for some reason cannot be given place along with others).
- ba-roŋ-gi-ri**, *n.* president (of meeting, association etc.).
- bár-sak** ⇒ **mocó**.
- bár-seŋ** ⇒ **bársiŋ**.
- bár-siŋ** ~ **bársenŋ**, *n.* fire-fly, glow-worm.
- bar-ti¹** ~ **bari**, *n. (arch.)* garden. **barti bai**, *n.* deities in whose honour stones are erected in the garden and where sacrifices are held regularly.
- bar-ti²**, **1.** *n.* rod for carrying load by two people with the load tied in the middle. **2.** *cl.* for number of trips made carrying some load with ~: *barti-sa*, one trip or one rod-load.
- bár-tin-drap**, *n.* tiny spark.
- ba-sai**, *v.t.* select, choose.
- ba-sa-kal-aŋ**, *adv.* eternal, everlasting. **basakalaŋa**, *adv.* for all times, for eternity.
- ba-sa-kal-i**, *adv.* always, for ever, for all times. **basakalina**, *adv.* for ever.
- bas-ba-keŋ**, *n.* a kind of tree with small edible fruits.
- bá-sek**, *n.* cloth for carrying children on the back, cloth tied from shoulder across chest for dances: *básek khepe sábra báa* (*básek khae sábra báa*), carry a child on the back in a cloth.
- ba-si**, *v.t.* wash (clothes): *nen basia*, wash clothes.
- ba-si-a**, *a.* left over from yesterday (food, work etc.): *cika basia*, water drawn yesterday; *kami basia*, work that could not be completed yesterday; *mai basia*, rice left over from yesterday.
- ba-si-thip** ⇒ **basthip**.
- ba-sthip**, *v.t.* throw or smash to the ground violently.
- bat¹**, **1.** *n.* guilt or uncleanness that requires to be remitted by paying a fine. **2. (verbal) bat paia**, have to pay a fine for some guilt or ritual uncleanness.
- bat²** ~ **bá**, *v.t.* weave (baskets, bamboo works like *dam*, *coreŋ* etc.).
- bat³** ~ **bá**, *v.t.* erect, set up (post, pillar, stone etc.): *nophak bata*, set up a pillar for the house.
- ba-ta**, *n.* small bamboo basket for keeping betel nut, betel leaf, tobacco etc.: **bata hampren** (**jati hampren**), *n.* a variety of thatch-grass with long and broad leaves. **bata mí muk**, *n.* big variety of mushroom that grows on land and is similar to ~ in shape.
- ba-tai**, *v.i.* exceed, go across a particular stage or time: *raŋsaŋ bataia*, be past midday; *somai bataia*, be past the proper time or season.
- ba-tak** ⇒ **butuk**.
- ba-taŋ**, *suff.* indicating verbal noun as subject in plural: *khár-bataŋ*, those who do; *rákhu-bataŋ*, those who give.
- ba-tao**, *n.* parrot.
- bat-ci-a** ⇒ **bacia**.
- ba-than**, **1.** *n.* enclosed area for herding together cattle. **2. (verbal) bathan rákhua**, herd cattle together in~.
- ba-that** ~ **bathá**, *v.t.* plant, erect, set up (post, pillar, stone): *nophak bathata*, erect a pillar for the house; *phónka bathata*, erect a stone for the stove or fire-place.
- ba-thip**, *v.t.* cover, close (ear, nose, eyes etc. esp. temporarily with hand): *kumpak bathipa*, cover nose (with hand); *neken bathipa*, cover eyes (with hands).

- ba-tri-**, *cl.* for number of births (animal): *batri-sa*, one birth.
- bau-bau**, *a.* have or be in plenty, in excess, abundant: *cika baubaubana hal baina janca*, as there is too much water it is difficult to plough; *ube khúman káman baubau*, he has thick and bushy beard.
- be**, *suff.* **1.** indicating definitive marker: *nok-be khame réŋjo*, the house was burnt down. **2.** meaning ‘what about?’: *nen-be?*, what about the cloth? **3.** indicating a mild emphasis as if stating the obvious or the natural esp. in a reply to a question: *ame saksanjan-be*, I will manage alone (as a reply to ‘why do you work all alone?’); *paísa tonca-be*, there is no money (as a reply to ‘why don’t you go to school?’).
- be-bok**, *n.* a big tree having unbranched stem for a considerable height found commonly by riverside (Tetrameles nudiflora).
- be-bra**, *a.* stupid, ignorant.
- be-da-ga-i**, *interrog.* where?, in which place?.
- be-do**, *interrog.* when, at what time.
bedoba, *adv.* at some time. **bedoba bedoba**, *adv.* at some time, occasionally. **bedobatan**, *adv.* some time in the future. **bedoba bedobatan**, *adv.* at some time in the future.
- be-gan-da** ⇒ **beŋganda**.
- bek**, *v.t.* sweep: *nok há beka*, sweep and clean house and surroundings especially as part of a ritual.
- be-kai**, *interrog.* which?, which one?
- be-ka-pe-ke**, *interrog.* when?, at what time?.
- be-ka-thá-ni**, *interrog.* of what kind?, of what type?, of what behaviour?, of what character?
- be-khar-e** ~ **bekhre** ~ **bekhere**, *interrog.* how, in what way.
- be-ko-ro** ~ **betokoro**, *interrog.* in which way, by which way.
- bek-si-ri**, *n.* thin and long pieces of bamboo placed across the length of the bamboo walls of a house or used to tie thatch on the roof.
- be-la**¹-, *cl.* for half a day: *bela-sa*, half a day.
- be-la**² ⇒ **prin**.
- bel-bel**, *adv.* soft and watery: *belbel soe réŋa*, rot and become soft and watery. **belbel bulbul**, *a.* (echo) very soft and watery.
- bem-phlaŋ** ⇒ **benphlaŋ**.
- ben-cek**, *interrog.* how much?, how many?.
- ben-cik** ⇒ **káncik**.
- ben-dek**, *interrog.* how much? (used of length and depth).
- beŋ-**, *interrog.* where?, in which place? as in: *beŋ-a?*, to where?, to which place?; *beŋ-guduŋ?*, in which direction?; *beŋ-i?*, of which place?, from which place?; *beŋ-ípara?*, from where?, from which place?
- beŋ-a**, *a.* deaf.
- beŋ-beŋ** ⇒ **ceŋceŋ**.
- beŋ-boŋ** ⇒ **libak**.
- beŋ-ganda** ~ **beganda**, *interrog.* of what kind?, type or nature?: *beŋgandakai?*, of what kind?; *beŋganda kháre?*, in what way?
- beŋ-gi** ~ **bhengi** ⇒ **néŋgi**.
- be-re-bre-cu**, *a.* contorted (lips or mouth of one about to weep): *khúcem berebrece cáŋa*, mouth be in a contorted shape.
- ber-ga**, *a.* different, dissimilar, another. **berga berga**, *a.* varied, different (plural sense).
- bet** ~ **bé**, *v.i.* decompose: *bete réŋa*, decompose.
- be-to-ko-ro** ⇒ **bekoro**.
- bha-bi** ⇒ **babi**.
- bha-gi-na** ⇒ **bagina**.
- bha-gi-ni** ⇒ **bagini**.
- bhai** ⇒ **bai**¹.
- bha-laŋ bha-laŋ** ⇒ **balan balan**.
- bhar** ⇒ **bar**.
- bí**¹, *v.i.* break: *bíe réŋa*, break.

- bí²**, *v.t.* roast or cook in banana leaf.
- bi-a**, **1.** *n.* marriage. **2.** (*verbal*) **bia cána**, hold marriage. **bia khára**, marry.
- bi-ba**, *a.* unspecified: *biba okoti*, at some time; *biba tali*, at some time; *biba háson*, a certain country.
- bi-bi**, **1.** *n.* elder sister, **bibibran** ~ **bibrasan**, *n.* an elder sister and younger sibling: *bibrasan metham*, an elder sister and two younger siblings, *bibrasan sarijon*, an elder sister and three younger siblings. **2.** (*verbal*) **bibi mána**, be related as an elder sister.
- bi-bra**, *n.* elder sister (definitive). **bibrasan** ⇒ **bibi**.
- bi-bur**, *n.* spider: *bibur sin khaa*, spider weaves a web. **bibur sinsap**, *n.* cobweb.
- bi-crai**, *v.t.* search, look for.
- bi-dai**, **1.** *n.* departure; leave-taking. **2.** (*verbal*) **bidai ráa**, take leave of. **bidai rákhua**, give farewell.
- bidí**, *n.* (pl. ~ **ron**) grandmother. **bidibra**, grandfather (definitive). **bidibran**, *n.* grandmother and grandchild: *bidibran metham*, grandmother and two grandchildren; *bidibran sarijon*, grandmother and three grandchildren. **bidicuñ**, *n.* great grandmother. **bidikhírao**, *n.* great great grandmother, grandmother's mother.
- bi-gu-duñ**, *interrog.* how! (used with an element of surprise at having completed a task surprisingly fast): *biguduñ sokbaijo!*, how did (subj.) come so fast!; *biguduñan kháma jonjo!*, how could (obj.) have been done so fast!
- bi-há-dam**, *interrog.* which place?
- bi-jam** ⇒ **-bijan**.
- bi-jan** ~ **-bijam**, *suff.* indicating pl. (general): *nen-bijan*, cloths or clothes; *másu-bijan*, cattle.
- bi-ji** ⇒ **binji**.
- bi-jo-a-i**, *interrog.* when?, at what time? (esp. in relation to some activity).
- bin-ji** ~ **biji**, *n.* needle. **binji hák-har**, *n.* eye of needle.
- bin-tuñ**, *interrog.* how much? (used of size).
- biñ-brap**, *v.i.* twinkle, flash as light or lightning: *bársin biñbrap biñbrap naia*, glow-worms twinkle; *rañ biñbrapa*, lightning flashes.
- bi-on**, *n.* childbirth, parturition.
- bi-ri¹** ~ **biria¹**, *n.* round bamboo ring placed inside and outside the body of fish-trap called *cepa* to maintain its shape.
- bi-ri²** ~ **biria²**, *n.* metal frame used as stove.
- bi-ri-a¹** ⇒ **birí¹**.
- bi-ri-a²** ⇒ **birí²**.
- bis**, **1.** *n.* poison. **2.** (*verbal*) **bis naña**, be poisonous.
- bi-sar**, **1.** *n.* judgement. **bisardam**, *n.* court, place where cases are heard and judgement is passed. **2.** (*verbal*) **bisar khára**, judge, pass judgement
- bi-si**, *cl.* for four bundles of paddy: *mai bisi-sa*, four bundles of paddy.
- bi-si**, *interrog.* where: *bisina?*, to where?; *bisini?*, from which place?; from where?; *bisinipara?*, from where?
- bisiba**, *adv.* somewhere. **bisiba bisiba**, *adv.* in some place, somewhere.
- bi-si-bañ-khoñ**, **1.** *n.* allergy, skin irritation. **2.** (*verbal*) **bisibañkhoñ ponsaa**, have an allergic reaction.
- bi-trap-i-an**, *adv.* just at that time, just then.
- bo**, *interrog.* where? (of things or situations not seen, not known, with an element of doubt): *bo, ame nukca!*, where, I don't see it!
- bó**, *v.t.* clear (growth of grass, forest etc.).
- bo-ba**, *a.* dumb: *saksa boba kai*, a

- dumb person; *boba cáŋa*, become dumb.
- bo-bai**, speak, converse.
- bo-blek**, *n.* one who refuses to speak or one who does not know how to speak appropriately or properly.
- boboblek**, *n.* one who refuses to speak.
- bo-bre**, *v.i.* having pupil of light colouring. **bobobre**, *a.* be dilated and rolling violently (eyes).
- bo-da**, *n.* a phlegmatic person, one who does not react to anything.
- bó-dom** ~ **bokdam** ~ **bokdom**, **1.** *n.* stomach. **2.** (*verbal*) **bódom bokhota**, have hunger satisfied, have a fill, have enough to eat. **bódom naŋa**, be pregnant, be with child. **3.** (*idiom*) **bódom gósani**, of the same mother, having same mother. **bódom koke sá**, (**bódom táme sá**), be hungry, have nothing to eat, (often said disparagingly of someone who is lazy, lit. eat beating the stomach).
- bo-dron**, *n.* dung beetle.
- boi¹**, *v.i.* flow.
- boi²**, *a.* be muddied or muddled (of water).
- boi-bak**, *n.* a creeper. **boibakduri**, *n.* powdery particles on its fruit.
- boi-sak**, a plant (found usu. along streams). **boisakduri**, *n.* powdery particles on its leaves. **boisakduri boibakduri**, *n.* (*arch.*, *echo*) lit. skin irritants, fig. agents of troubles and difficulties.
- boi-tha**, *n.* oar
- bo-ja**, *n.* bundle (esp. things of considerable length like firewood).
- bó-ja**, **1.** *n.* a variety of non-edible yam that does not get soft even if boiled for a long time. **2.** (*idiom*) **bojá rota**, speak or discuss endlessly without reaching any fruitful conclusion.
- bok**, *v.i.* be white. **bokbok**, *a.* & *adv.* very white, as white: *bokbok cithoa*, be white and beautiful. **bok-bok kríkrí**, *adv.* (*echo*) elegantly and beautifully (dress).
- bok-ca bokci**, *n.* bag and baggage, bedding: *bokca boci paie beŋa réŋeta*, carrying bag and bedding where are you going?
- bok-caŋ** ⇒ **kí**.
- bok-ci** ⇒ **bokca bokci**.
- bok-dam** ⇒ **bódom**.
- bok-del**, *v.i.* white turned dull or yellowed (paper, cloth etc.). **bok-dedel**, *a.* of a dull white colour.
- bokdom** ⇒ **bódom**.
- bo-khot** ~ **bokhó**, *v.i.* satisfy hunger, have the stomach full.
- bo-khra** ~ **bonkhra**, **1.** *n.* share, due. **2.** *v.t.* divide, share: *bokhrae ráa*, divide and take. **3.** (*verbal*) **bokhra mána**, have a share, participate.
- bokhra ráa**, take one's share.
- bo-kon¹**, *n.* cow that has grown enough to bear offspring but has not yet had an offspring.
- bo-kon²** as in: (*idiom*) **bokon bée réŋa**, to leave home and stay with one's beloved or elope with the beloved (said of women).
- bok-plek**, *v.i.* be pale, be not bright white. **bokpoplek**, *a.* pale, not bright. **boroboplek**, *a.* dilate and become unsteady (eyes).
- bok-slek**, *v.t.* be dull white, be not bright white.
- bok-thai**, *n.* navel, umbilical cord, thread-like growth on bananas etc. that falls off as the fruit matures.
- bó-la**, *n.* a kind of wasp.
- bo-lá**, **1.** *n.* an ornament worn in the upper part of the ear. **2.** (*verbal*) **bolá taka**, lit. make ~, fig. form bud (of garlic plant; *raisuŋ bokkai bolá takŋa rókokaeta*, garlic plant is beginning to form bud).
- bo-lo bo-lo**, *adv.* little, a little at a

- time, slowly (used with pl. sense of things that come out or grow outward or of tiny things that are in constant changing patterns): *cúnçi bolo bolo*, worms are in writhing and wriggling motion; *mai phukai bolo bolo dogóbaeta*, the sown paddy has begun to sprout.
- bo-lo-lo**, *a.* & *adv.* a little, gradually, a little at a time (used with g. sense of things that come out, grow outward, protrude outward or sprout): *rékhoŋ bololo dogóbaeta*, the banana bunch grows outward gradually.
- bo-loŋ**, *v.i.* be open at both ends.
bolon bolon, *a.* having holes (plural sense), **bololon**, *a.* be open at both ends.
- bo-ma**¹, *n.* bomb, crackers.
bo-ma² ⇒ **cika**.
bo-ma³, **1.** *v.i.* lie prostrate: *bome gura*, lie on ones' stomach. **2.** *v.i.* brood, incubate, hatch: *tó píci boma*, hen incubates eggs.
- bó-ma**, **1.** *n.* lap (people), foot (hills, mountains, altar, trees etc.).
bómai, *adv.* in the lap, by the side, near by: *bómai pama*, caress, place in one's lap. **bómaini sábra**, *n.* child, infant, child not yet weaned.
2. one just younger (siblings): *aŋi bóma*, one just younger to me.
- bó-mai**, *v.i.* form corn, be filled with ear of corn that have not yet come out of the stem (used of grains like paddy).
- bó-ma-laŋ** ~ **bómb-laŋ**, *n.* the front side (people): *kai sábrao bómalaŋi báa*, carry child in front or at the breast.
- bom-ba**, *n.* pith, central part of banana tree, central stem of the jackfruit, soft and pithy centre section of plants.
bóm-b-laŋ ⇒ **bómalaŋ**.
- bón**, *v.i.* be late, be lengthy (duration): *bóne réŋa*, become late, get late.
bon-da ⇒ **máru**, **miŋkú** and **makkra**.
boŋ-, *cl.* for the amount or number of trips made carrying some load with on a rod: *boŋ-sa*, one rod-load.
bóŋ, *v.t.* meet.
boŋ-boŋ, *n.* a kind of wasp.
boŋ-khra ⇒ **bokhra**.
bo-plek, *v.i.* be white but lacking lustre.
bor¹, *n.* bridegroom. **bor koina**, *n.* (echo) wedding couple.
bor², **1.** *n.* blessing. **2.** (*verbal*) **bor mána**, get a blessing. **bor rákhua**, bless.
bor³, *n.* temporary structure built for creepers or trailing plants to grow and spread.
bor⁴, *v.i.* have allergy, form blister.
bo-rai¹, *v.t.* pay (a fine, compensation).
bo-rai², *v.t.* welcome, receive: *boraié rán*, receive and accompany.
bor-ral, *n.* co-operative fund or collection.
bor-ra-li, *n.* custodian of the money or material of the cooperative.
bor-bor, *adv.* forcefully, by force: *bor-bor khára*, exert force or pressure.
bór-bór, *adv.* well or properly (cooked): *bórbór mína*, be cooked well.
bor-ron, **1.** *n.* herbal medicine applied or tied to forehead. **2.** (*verbal*) **boron khaa**, apply or tie some medicine to head or forehead.
bo-roŋ, **1.** *n.* a watch-house built atop a tree. **2.** (*verbal*) **boron neta**, keep watch over a field from a tree-house.
bo-seŋ, *n.* land-leech: *bosen laŋkoi laŋkoi réŋa*, leech moves in a wavy motion.
bo-sor ⇒ **bisir**.

bot ~ **bó** ⇒ **ná**.

bo-ta ⇒ **aphe** and **kí**.

bo-tho-khat ~ **bothokhá**, *v.t.* satisfy hunger, appease hunger.

bo-tor ⇒ **bitir**.

-bra, *suff.* **1.** suffixed to relational terminology giving definitive meaning ‘one who is’: *ba-bra*, father; *sá-bra*, son; *ji-bra*, mother. **2.** suffixed to divine attributes: *takmán-bra*, the creator-god; *róne-bra*, the distributor-god, the god who blesses. **3.** suffixed to verbs to indicate the agent (not natural to native speech but is adopted as a possible productive device): *tín-bra*, leader.

brá-siñ brá-siñ, *a. & adv.* shy, shyly: *brásiñ brásiñ bobaia*, speak shyly; *brásiñ brásiñ cáña*, be shy.

brá-si-siñ, *a.* very shy.

brái, *v.t.* bring out (cud or half-digested food), protrude (tongue): *bráie sáa*, chew cud. **brái brái**, *a. & adv.* projecting or protruding out: *khútlai brái brái*, with tongue protruding out.

brám, *v.i.* rough, not fine or smooth to the touch (leaves, paper, cloth etc.)

brañ-brañ, *adv.* openly and to the person concerned (speak): *brañbrañ kania*, speak frankly without hiding, speak to one’s face.

brañ-siñ, *n.* flute: *brañsiñ suka*, play the flute.

brao-brao, *a. & adv.* sharp and intense (ache, pungency and other tastes).

brat ~ **brá**, **1.** *v.i.* feel shy, be reserved: *brána jaña*, be capable of blushing easily, be quick to blush.

brátata, feel ashamed, feel shy.

2. (*idiom*) **cañba peke brata** (*euphem.*) have illicit sexual alliance with someone.

brau, *v.i.* burn very brightly with big

flames. **brauan**, *adv.* with big leaping flames. **braubrau**, *a. & adv.* with or having flames (fire) or with strands (hair, beard) flying off: *bár braubrau paka*, fire burns brightly with leaping flames; *khúman káman braubrau*, has a thick and bushy beard.

bre, **1.** *n.* specially spun thread for preparing a heald, a heald, the part of the loom which carries two layers of strung thread which move up and down at the action of the pedals. **bre-kón**, *n.* one of two pieces of sticks of heald. **2.** (*verbal*) **bre coka (bre saia)**, prepare a heald. **bre suka**, insert thread into the heald, thread a heald.

brek, **1.** *n.* a variety gourd, its dried rind or shell used for serving rice-beer out of the pot. **brek-dambroñ**, *n.* a big variety of ~. **brekphan**, *n.* the creeper. **2.** *cl.* for amount contained in a ~: *brek-sa cokó*, one gourd-full of rice-beer.

bren, *v.i.* become satiated, become tired of, be bored.

breñ, **1.** *n.* bamboo that is split and flattened out. **2.** (*verbal*) **breñ súa**, make such flattened bamboo.

breñ-breñ, *adv.* intently or without blinking (look): *breñbreñ ci*, look intently.

-brok, *suff.* meaning ‘all, everyone’: *sarkaiian réñ-brok-jo*, all went.

bro-niñ, *adv.* the third day from today, the day after *soniñ*.

broñ-an, *adv.* directly, straight, without deviating (esp. in defiance or anger): *heña hoña cicarañe broñan dáña*, enter straight without looking left or right.

bruñ, *v.i.* gather together, assemble, congregate (creatures in swarms, people in crowds).

brin-brin, *adv.* motionless and straight

- or long: *brinbrin gure toa*, sleep without shifting and in a straight position; *brinbrin róa*, be very long (hard and straight things like wood etc.).
- brin** ⇒ **srin**.
- bríp**, **1.** *n.* trailing plant, creeper. **2.** *v.i.* climb, trail or spread as a creeper.
- bú**, *v.i.* be subjected to some state or action (debt, rain, dew etc.).
- bu-bu-leŋ-a** ⇒ **bubureŋ**.
- bu-bu-reŋ** ~ **bubuleŋa**, *n.* (*arch.*) a wind instrument made from a span of the stalk of *mera* bush blown usu. by girls: *bubureŋ suka*, blow a ~.
- bu-cur**, *a.* bulging out, fleshy and bulging. **bucur bucur**, *a.* bulging and sagging: *ato topra bucur bucur?*, what is this bulging bundle?. **bucur**, *a.* sagging very. **burubucur**, *a.* having several bulges: *phaidam burubucur khára*, alter shape of cheek oddly.
- bu-da**, *v.i.* grow old, age (men). **budakai**, *n.* (*lit.*) old man, (*fig.*) husband (used when referring to one's own husband esp. among elderly couples). **budakai marikakai**, *n.* (*echo*) old couple: *budakaian marikaian*, there was a an elderly couple (most common way of starting a story involving an elderly couple).
- bu-da-kho-lo-loŋ**, *a.* very old (male): *budakhololon cáŋa*, become very old.
- bu-da-ra-si**, *a.* middle-aged: *budarasi cáŋa*, be middle-aged; *budarasi kai*, a middle-aged man. **budarasi marirasi**, *a.* (*echo*) middle-aged (couple).
- bu-da-sa-ri** ⇒ **budataŋ**.
- bu-da-taŋ** ~ **budasari**, **1.** *a.* old (male); *budataŋ cáŋa*, become old. **2.** *n.* (sg. & pl. & comm.): *budataŋ saksá*, an elderly man; *budataŋ kamin*, two elderly men.
- bu-gi-la**, *n.* crane.
- bu-ji**, *n.* sister-in-law in the sense of elder brother's wife. **bujibra**, *n.* same as *buji* (definitive). **bujibraŋ**, *n.* persons related as being elder brother's wife and younger siblings (brother or sister) of that brother: *bujibraŋ metham*, elder brother's wife and two younger siblings of that brother.
- buk**, **1.** *v.t.* take a handful with hand cupped over the material: *buke sáa*, eat taking handfuls of food with hand cupped over. **2.** *cl.* for amount that can be contained in one hand when something is gathered by placing hand cupped over the material: *mai buk-sa*, a handful of rice.
- bu-khi**, *v.i.* be hungry. **bukhia cikána**, *v.i.* (*echo*) feel hunger and thirst.
- bu-khu-ri**, *n.* large hat made of leaf and bamboo ribs used while working in the field: *bukhuri kipa*, put on ~; *bukhuri rapa*, weave and prepare a ~. **bukhurikúr**, *n.* bamboo strips used for weaving ~.
- buk-suk**, *n.* the side (of the body).
- bu-lai**, *v.t.* cheat.
- bul-bul**, **1.** *adv.* brightly with plenty of flames (fire): *bulbul paka*, burn brightly with plenty of flames. **2.** ⇒ **belbel**.
- bu-li**, **1.** *n.* sacrifice. **buli bantha**, *n.* (*echo*) offering, sacrifice. **2.** (*verbal*) **buli rákhua**, offer sacrifice. **buli thata**, sacrifice the sacrificial animal. **buli tikia**, offer up the sacrificial animal by sacrificing it.
- bun-duk**, **1.** *n.* gun, pistol. **2.** (*verbal*) **bunduk koa**, fire a shot. **bun-duk peta**, sling a gun from the shoulder.
- buŋ-baŋ**, *v.i.* lose one's way. **buŋ-baŋ rampaŋ**, *adv.* (*echo*) having lost

- one's way, in a lost state: *bunbaŋ rampaŋse sakbaŋjo*, reached after having lost the way, or having had to make much enquiry; *kaisabra bunbaŋ rampaŋ khapese tonjo*, the child having lost its way and not knowing where to go stayed crying.
- bun-da-baŋ**, *v.t.* mislead, cause someone to loose way.
- bu-ri**, **1.** *n.* bride. **buribra**, *n.* bride (definitive). **2.** (*verbal*) **huri phisa**, marry off (girl). **huri rába**, bring the bride on the day of the marriage, bring girl in marriage. **huri ráŋa**, take the bride on the day of the marriage. **huri réŋa**, go in marriage, go as bride. **huri síŋa**, make a marriage proposal for a girl, request or ask someone as bride for someone.
- bur-si**, **1.** *n.* fishing hook. **2.** (*verbal*) **bursi coka**, pull out the rod and the hook after having left it lowered for hooking fish: **bursi khéŋa**, fish with line and hook: **bursi saia**, place a fishing rod to trap a fish.
- bu-rú** ~ **buruk**, *n.* water leech. **burú bosen**, *n.* (*echo*) leeches, harmful creatures.
- bu-ruk** ⇒ **burú**.
- bu-sa-sau** ~ **bisasau**, *a.* unkempt and dishevelled: *chorok busasau*, unkempt hair, hair is unkempt; *mín busasau*, be hairy (animal).
- bu-thi-khi**, *v.t.* starve, cause to be hungry, give nothing to eat.
- bu-thur**, *a.* blunt (cutting instruments). **buthuthur**, *a.* very blunt.
- bu-ti-a**, *n.* an evil spirit which according to Rabha belief is the spirit of men that wanders around doing evil and causing trouble. **butiarin**, *v.* be capable of becoming a ~.
- bu-tu-k**, *a.* blunt (pointed things). **butuk batak**, *a.* (*echo*) alone and quiet: *butuk batak toa*, stay quiet and alone; *butuk batak tata*, feel quiet and peaceful. **bututuk**, *a.* very blunt.
- burubutuk**, *a.* having or as if having several a blunt ends: *burubutuk mimuk dogota*, mushrooms sprout showing sprigs that are not sharply pointed.
- bí** ⇒ **bit**.
- bi-ci**, *n.* paddy seedling: *bici phoka*, pluck paddy seedling for transplanting; *bici gaa*, carry paddy seedling to the field. **bicidam**, *n.* a field where paddy is sown to grow seedling, arable high land.
- bi-drak**, *v.t.* pull or wrench violently: *sam bídrake phoka*, pluck out grass forcefully.
- bi-gar**, *v.i.* feel nausea, feel inclination to vomit. **bigar bigar**, *a.* nauseating: *bigar bigar cáŋa*, have nausea, begin to feel nausea.
- bii-ni-bra** ~ **bin-jaŋ-oi**, *n.* younger sister's husband in relation to a brother.
- bi-já** ⇒ **bijat**.
- bi-jat** ~ **bijá**, *v.t.* wipe.
- bil**, **1.** *n.* strength, authority. **2.** (*verbal*) **bil bía**, become powerless, be exhausted. **bil naŋa**, be strong. **bil rákhua**, apply force, use strength, give strength. **bil róŋa**, be strong.
- bil-ap**, *n.* flap, cover-like object, something projecting out of the main body of the object.
- bil-naŋ-sraŋ-kai**, *n.* the Almighty.
- bil-taŋ** ⇒ **biltin**.
- bil-tin** ~ **biltan**, *n.* long stretches of (hide or rope) used to keep the beating surface on a drum tight.
- bin**¹, *v.t.* sharpen.
- bin**², *v.t.* crush into pulp, smash (esp. medicinal preparation).
- bin-jaŋ-oi** ⇒ **biniibra**.
- bir**, *v.i.* descend; climb down.
- bi-ra**, **1.** *a.* some; *bira kaitan*, some people. **2.** *pron.* some: *birabe nema birabe nemcha*, some are good some are bad.

bir-bak, *n.* a kind of large tree (Barebina variegata).

bis, **1.** *n.* age. **2.** (*verbal*) **bis réŋa**, become old, advance in age, get on in years.

bi-sa-sau ⇒ **busasau**.

bi-si-mi-ta, *n.* world.

bi-sir ~ **bosor**, *n.* year. **bisir bisir**, *adv.*, every year. **bisirian**, *adv.* each year, annually. **bisir rikhit**, *adv.*

each year. **bisir rikhá rikhá**, *adv.* each year, year after year. **bisirsa**, *n.* one year.

bit ~ **bí**, *v.t.* pull, draw.

bit-bit, *a.* & *adv.* silent, soft-spoken, of few words, reserved, reticent: *bitbit toa*, remain quiet and silent.

bi-tir ~ **botor**, *n.* season, time. **bitiri**, *adv.* next year.

C

-ca, *suff.* indicating negative of verbs: *nem-ca*, not good; *réŋ-ca*, does not go; *réŋ-ca-nata*, did not go, had not gone; *réŋe-ca*, did not go; *réŋ-ca-eta*, is not going; *réŋ-ca-nomin*, would not have gone; *réŋkhu-ca*, has not gone yet.

cá-ban, *a.* & *adv.* later on, after, behind: *cában cáŋa*, be late, be not in time, be later than others.

cában cában, *adv.* close behind.

cábanbataŋ, *n.* those late. **cábani**,

adv. finally, later on, behind. **cában jikhari**, *adv.* (*echo*) in the future, finally, in the end.

cá-bek, *n.* husk.

ca-bla-a-taŋ ~ **cabla hatang**, *adv.* to the left-hand side: *cablaataŋ gudun*, in the direction of the left-hand side.

ca-bla ha-tang ⇒ **cablaataŋ**.

cá-bram ⇒ **cak-bram**.

cá-ca-brak, *v.t.* spread (legs) apart.

cá-ca-kom, *n.* ring.

cá-ca-kor, *n.* nail (finger, toe).

ca-ceŋ, **1.** *n.* bony nail-like growth on the posterior of legs of cocks or similar growth of other creatures. **2.** (*verbal*) **caceŋ naŋa**, have such a body-part, have a sixth finger or toe (humans).

cá-da-gur madagur, *a.* (*echo*) very thick.

cá-del, *v.i.* very thick. **cádedel**, *a.* be very thick.

cá-dop, *n.* chaff.

cá-dra, *v.i.* become hot or strong (sun): *raŋsaŋ cádrabaeta*, sun is getting hot.

cá-ga-dam, *n.* place where waste is thrown.

ca-ga-dop, *n.* threshold, plank or bamboo matting placed across bottom of doorway.

cá-gam, *n.* stump (of tree).

ca-ga-na ~ **cakhara**, *v.t.* use.

ca-grim, *v.i.* charge or advance (in a group).

ca-ha, **1.** *n.* tea: *caha kutiŋa* (*caha rota*), boil or prepare tea. **2.** (*verbal*) **caha sóŋa**, place pot on stove for boiling tea.

cai, **1.** *n.* song. **2.** (*verbal*) **cai caruŋa**, sing songs. **cai taka**, compose songs or poetry.

cai-thop ⇒ **tokraŋ**.

ca-jí, *n.* waste.

-cak¹, *suff.* meaning 'one or once more': *breksa-cak*, one more gourdful; *caosa-cak*, once more; *khúsa-cak*, one more mouthful.

cak², *n.* leaf, page of a book: *cak dagata*, shed leaves. **caknari**, *n.* new shoots, tender leaves.

cak³, *n.* a contrivance for fishing made by splitting one end of bam-

- boo pole into several ribs and fastened to a circular ring at the end with a net tied to the mouth and projecting outward between the split ribs.
- cak**⁴, **1.** *v.t.* help, support. **2.** *v.i.* take shelter from: *phaci caka*, take shelter from rain; *raṅsaṅ caka*, take shelter from the sun. **3.** *v.t.* light (fire): *bár caka*, light or kindle a fire.
- ca-ka**, *n.* leg as in: (*verbal*) **caka súi rġjama**, walk tiptoe. **caka súne rġjama**, walk on sole of feet.
- ca-ka-raṅ-san**, *n.* shin.
- cak-ba-ju**, *n.* bangle (usually of silver) worn by Rabha women above the elbow.
- cak-bram** ~ **cábram**, *v.i.* be skilled (in hand work).
- cak-dún**, *v.i.* be effective (esp. medicine given by someone).
- cák-kham**, *n.* foot (people). **cák-hamra**, *n.* foot side (of bed, a sleeping place, a sleeping person etc.), lower part (of a plot of land, a stretch of rivulet etc.): *cákhamrai*, at the foot-side.
- ca-khar** ⇒ **cagan**.
- cá-kha-thon**, **1.** *n.* knee **2.** (*verbal*) **cákhaton súña**, kneel.
- cá-khop**, *n.* (arch.). footwear, sandal.
- cak-i**, *postpos.* with *n.* at nominative meaning 'by, at the hands of' (in passive constructions): *caṅ caki kokmásanata*, by whom was (subj.) beaten.
- cak-koṅ**, *n.* middle rib of leaf.
- ca-kla**, *a.* round. **cakla cukla**, *a.* (*echo*) round.
- cak-nar**, *v.i.* be deft, be fast (with hand at work).
- ca-kol** ⇒ **cakor**.
- ca-kor** ~ **cakol**, **1.** *n.* servant. **cakor nokor**, *n.* (*echo*) servant(s). **2.** (*verbal*) **cakor dáña**, enter the service of another. **cakor khatia (cakor khutia)**, work as a servant.
- ca-kri**, **1.** *n.* employment esp. government job. **cakri bakri**, *n.* (*echo*) employment. **2.** (*verbal*) **cakri khutia (cakri khatia)**, work as a government employee.
- cak-túr**, *v.i.* put hand into (bags, holes, pockets etc.).
- ca-laṅ** ⇒ **alaṅ**.
- cám**, *v.i.* wear out, fray: *cáme réña*, wear out.
- cá-man**, **1.** *n.* foot impressions of animals, impression or mark made by vehicles. **2.** (*verbal*) **cáman phana**, track down animals following their footprints. **cáman taka**, leave or form foot-impressions.
- cá-mo-sa** ⇒ **táthen**.
- cam-pi**, **1.** *n.* honeycomb. **2.** *n.* one of flat fleshy undersized edible sectors of jackfruit.
- can**, *v.t.* prepare and keep the concoction for brewing rice beer: *cokó cana*, keep the mixture for preparing rice beer to brew.
- can-da**, *n.* donation, contribution (generally a fixed amount and collected for a common purpose). **2.** (*verbal*) **canda coka**, collect contribution.
- can-da-ri-si**, *n.* a name for God.
- can-di-a**, *a.* bald: *candia cân*, become bald.
- can-dri**, *n.* round bamboo sieve generally used for separating paddy and rice.
- caṅ**, *interrog.* who?
- cán**¹, **1.** *v.i.* happen, be, become.
- cán**², *v.i.* hit (target, etc.).
- cán-ba-tai**, *v.i.* exceed, go across a particular stage: *cokó cânbataia*, exceed the normal state of fermentation of rice-beer.
- cán-cán**, *v.i.* be taller or higher than usual (objects like table, chair etc.).
- caṅ-gra**, *n.* raised bamboo platform used as bed-stead.

- cán-phuŋ**, *v.i.* come to pass, happen, take place, be fulfilled.
- caŋ-se**, *adv.* perhaps, who knows!
caŋsedei!, *adv.* who knows, would not know (with a strong hint that the statement referred to is not true).
- cán-thu-phuŋ**, *v.t.* fulfil, cause to come true.
- cao**¹-, prefixed to numerals to build some adverbs of frequency: *cao-sa*, once. **caoni cao**, *adv.* again and again.
- cao**², *v.t.* winnow, clean with material inside the winnowing fan.
- cap**, **1.** *n.* a raft made by tying bamboo or logs or banana trunks together. **2.** (*verbal*) **cap khaa**, to tie logs or bamboo into a raft.
- ca-pa** as in: **capa khára**, *v.t.* print.
- ca-pek cu-pek**, *a.* & *adv.* (*echo*) said of a style of walking that resembles a duck's: *capek cupek ríjama*, walk with a swaying movement.
- cá-pha-khat** ~ **cáphakha**, *v.i.* have cut-like wounds that develop below toes.
- cá-phrat** ⇒ **cáphrit**.
- cá-phrit** ~ **cáphrat** ~ **cáphra**, *v.i.* slip and fall off from hand, drop unintentionally.
- cá-phuk**, *v.i.* trip, be obstructed: *heŋa hoŋa cian cian cáphuke kinata*, being distracted by looking around (subj.) tripped and fell; *kai ríbae toŋbana kami cáphuke réŋjo*, as people came repeatedly work was obstructed.
- ca-plak ca-plak**, *a.* & *adv.* as wafers or chips: *caplak caplak khána*, cut into thin and flat pieces.
- ca-plaksa** ~ **ceplaksa**, *n.* one thin flat slice.
- cap-thai**, *n.* posterior or lateral side of thigh.
- ca-ra-cam-thé**, *a.* not smooth, having dents or small depressions in surface: *noktala caracanthé cánjo*, there are plenty of small holes or depressions on the floor.
- ca-ra-ca-pek**, *adv.* resembling the style of a duck (walk).
- ca-rai**, *v.t.* shepherd, look after cattle: *másu caráia*, graze cattle.
- ca-rak** ⇒ **cirik**.
- cá-ran**¹ ⇒ **maj**.
- cá-ran**², *n.* festering abscess that forms in sole of foot.
- ca-ri** ~ **sari**², **1.** *n.* breath. **2.** (*verbal*) **cari ráa**, breathe.
- cá-ri**, *n.* seed kept for planting.
- ca-ri-cuŋ**, **1.** *n.* sigh. **2.** (*verbal*) **car-icuŋ ráa**, heave a sigh.
- cá-roŋ**, *v.i.* be steady and strong (esp. child beginning to walk).
- car-pak**, **1.** *n.* spirit, soul. **2.** (*verbal*) **carpak kheŋa**, be alive. **carpak koa**, give up one's life for a cause, be a martyr. **carpak phakhata**, breath one's last (*lit.* soul snaps or separates).
- ca-runŋ**, *v.t.* sing: *cai caruŋa*, sing a song.
- cat**¹ ~ **cá**, *v.t.* fix handles for instruments.
- cat**² ~ **cá**, *v.t.* be thick, be expensive: *dam cata*, be expensive, dear, costly; *grim cata*, forest be thick, vegetation be thick.
- cá-tar**, *n.* base or beginning (of tree, story, situation etc.), side, shoulder (of road, wall, fence etc.): *cátar phana*, search for the base or root cause.
- cá-thoŋ**, *n.* stem, stalk supporting fruit, flower or leaf.
- cá-thu-phuk**, *v.t.* to cause to trip.
- cá-thi -phrit**, *v.t.* to cause to fall from the hand.
- cá-thir**, *v.i.* advance, proceed boldly, charge, rush impetuously.
- ca-ti**, *n.* open oil lamp.
- cá-tla**, **1.** *n.* courtyard, area in front of the house, area enclosed by the

- houses. **2.** (*idiom*) **cátla samdubla díma**, family be completely wiped out (usu. said as a curse).
- cau-cau**, *adv.* very (dirty), plenty, in big numbers, to a high degree: *cau-cau subuka*, be very dirty; *cón cau-cau*, there are plenty of worms; *sábra kantra caucau sána rĩnabe tonca*, there are plenty of children and nothing to eat.
- cau-li**, *n.* wood-wool, thin paring of wood, shavings, small bits and pieces of wood.
- ce-cep**, *n.* the fleshy part of crabs.
- cek¹**, **1.** *n.* fishing net tied on bamboo diagonally placed. **2.** (*verbal*) **cek bota**, fish with ~. **cek coka**, fish with ~ (lit. lift the net). **cek rapa**, weave a net. **cek saia**, lower and keep a net under water to be brought up some time later.
- cek²**, *v.i.* damp, wet, moist.
- ce-ke-na**, *suff.* meaning 'till, up to, until' (place, time, time of action etc.): *nok-cekena*, till the house; *raĩsi-cekena*, till evening; *raĩsan dogó-cekena*, till sunrise.
- ce-leĩ**, *v.i.* be with several sections as many leaflets on one leaf. **celeĩ** **celeĩ**, *a.* having several torn but not detached sections: *jĩgar kiemene ráicakbijan celeĩ celeĩ cáĩe réĩjo*, as a result of the hailstorm banana leaves were torn.
- ce-leĩ-ga**, *n.* small triangular bamboo frame with rope at each corner to keep things (esp. cooked rice safe from cats, rodents etc.) suspended in mid-air.
- cé-na** ⇒ **ná**.
- cen-crai**, *v.i.* shout loud.
- cen-tleĩ**, *n.* tamarind.
- céĩ¹**, *v.i.* about to begin, be about to: *sina céĩa*, be about to die, be at the point of death. **céĩe**, *adv.* early: *céĩean réĩa*, go early; *khĩsami céĩe*, before it gets dark; *phari céĩe*, before it is late night; *phunĩ céĩe*, early in the morning.
- céĩ²**, *v.i.* be light, not heavy.
- ceĩ-cep**, *v.i.* be shrill. **ceĩceĩ beĩ-beĩ**, *adv.* (*echo*) noisily, boisterously.
- céĩ-céĩ**, *a.* have sth. in prominence: *khũman céĩcéĩ*, have moustache twisted at the ends; *kumpak céĩcéĩ*, have a prominent nose; *tó jĩmĩĩn céĩcéĩ*, bird or fowl has prominent and beautiful tail.
- ceĩ-kna**, *n.* a branching, a forking.
- ceĩ-krao** ~ **ceĩkroi**, *n.* a variety of frog with long body and capable of climbing trees.
- ceĩ-kroi** ⇒ **ceĩkrao**.
- ce-pa**, **1.** *n.* a bamboo fish trap that is round and bulging in the middle and flat at the ends. **2.** (*verbal*) **cepa rapa**, make a ~; **cepa saia**, place a ~ to trap fish.
- ce-pa ca-pa**, *a.* crumbled, crushed: *cepa capa kháre díbia*, crumble and crush.
- cep-an**, *adv.* tightly between fingers (catch): *cepan ráĩma*, catch tight between fingers.
- cep-cep**, *adv.* forcefully and many together (catch): *cepcep ráĩma*, catch (someone) all together and forcefully.
- ce-plak** ⇒ **caplak**.
- ce-pok** ~ **cipok** ~ **ciplok**, *v.i.* be insipid, be tasteless (and watery).
- cepok cepok**, *a.* very tasteless and insipid. **cepopok**, *a.* very insipid and tasteless.
- ce-preĩ**, *n.* sesame, **cepreĩ thuci**, *n.* sesame oil.
- céĩ¹**, *v.i.* hot (usu. used only with *suff. -ba*): *raĩsan céĩbaeta*, sun is becoming very hot. **céĩ-céĩ**, *adv.* in a very sharp or intense manner (pain, heat etc.): *céĩcér saa*, pain very much; *raĩsan céĩcér túĩa*, sun is very hot.

cér², *v.i.* split: *khúcar céra*, lips get cuts (as in winter).

cér-ca-bak, *v.t.* pull and wrench apart (things closed or tight): *khúcem cércabaka*, open mouth (esp. by pulling jaws apart).

cér-ca-kao, *v.t.* pull and open apart or asunder (esp. mouth of fish, animal etc.).

ce-re-ce-prek, *adv.* into small pieces and strips (tear): *cereceprek ceta*, tear into small pieces.

cér-kha-ti, *n.* strip of bamboo used to keep thread on loom separate according to design being woven.

cé-sa, *a.* a piece, a strip, a small section (usu. of flat things and when torn or cut): *rái césa*, a section of banana leaf.

cet ~ **cé**, *v.t.* tear (cloth, paper, leaves etc.).

ci, **1.** *v.t.* look, look after, take care of: *cié toa*, remain looking, expect.

2. (*verbal*) **cina goŋca**, dislike, be on unfriendly terms.

cí ⇒ **cit**.

ci-ka, **1.** *n.* water. **2.** **cika bárka**, *n.* (*echo lit.*, water and fire, *fig.* essentials of a household: *cika bárka rui mai saa*, bathe and have meal.

cikabolka, *n.* a spring. **cikagat**, *n.* place from where water is drawn for use (stream, river etc.).

cika-jora, *n.* a rivulet, a stream, a river.

cikanala, *n.* a spring. **cika pithiŋ**, *n.* water that is not boiled.

cika-sora, *n.* path cut by flowing water.

3. (*verbal*) **cika coka**, pump water, lead water to field through canal or aqueduct. **cika cuŋa**, water be high, have flood, river etc. be in spate, water be high: *cika baubau cuŋa*, water is very high.

cika rua, have a bath. **cika tirata**, bathe someone. **4.** (*idiom*) **cika bire saa**, be sick with sickness that results in body being bloated.

cika

kaka, be afflicted by a kind of sickness (usu. children) leading to emaciation.

ci-kán, *v.i.* be thirsty, feel thirsty: *cika cikána*, feel thirsty.

ci-kau, *a.* boiled (dish of vegetable): *cikau rima*, prepare boiled dish.

cikau mí, *n.* vegetable boiled and had as curry, a dish of boiled vegetables.

ci-klan, *v.i.* be watery, of low consistency (liquid): *mí rimkai ciklaŋa*, curry is too watery.

ciklaŋ ciklaŋ, *a.* very watery, of low consistency (liquid). **cikaklaŋ**, *a.* very watery, of very low consistency

(liquid).

ci-kra ⇒ **phakra**.

cim-brau cim-brau ~ **ciuan**

ciuan, *adv.* with intermittent gleams: *cimbrau cimbrau paka*, twinkle; *bársiŋ cimbrau cimbrau naia*, glow-worms

glow giving intermittent gleams.

cim-e, 3rd. pers. pl. *definitive pron.* we.

cin, *n.* sign, symbol.

ciŋ, 1st. pers. pl. *pron.* (sg. **aŋ**; def. **cime**). we. **ciŋnáŋaŋ**, 1st. pers. *Inclusive pl. pron.* we; we all, we ourselves.

ciŋ-ciŋ, *a.* among a well-defined set: *mécataŋ ciŋciŋ*, women alone among themselves; *músataŋ ciŋciŋ*, men among themselves.

ciŋ-khraŋ baŋ-khraŋ, *adv.* (*echo*) haphazardly: *ciŋkhraŋ baŋkhraŋ cáŋa*, become disorderly; *ciŋkhraŋ baŋkhraŋ khára*, cause confusion, render disorderly.

ciŋ-kú, *n.* ginger.

ci-pak ⇒ **mápak**.

ci-plok ⇒ **cepok**.

ci-pra, **1.** *a.* stingy (masculine). **2.** *n.* a stingy person (masculine).

ci-pri¹, **1.** *a.* stingy (feminine). **2.** *n.* a stingy person (feminine).

ci-pri², *n.* a kind of tree, its fruit with hard shell and separable sections within and with sticky

- substance at the centre (Aegle marmelo).
- ci-rak** as in: **cirak cati**, *n.* lamps.
- ci-ri-ci-prik**, *adv.* completely (tear, cut, break etc.): *ciriciprik bia*, break into bits and pieces; *ciriciprik ceta*, tear into bits and pieces; *ciriciprik khána*, cut into odd shapes.
- ci-rik ca-rak** ~ **crik crak**, *a.* (*echo*) silent, quiet: *cirik carak cáŋa*, become very quiet; *cirik carak tata*, feel quiet or feel the quietness around.
- ci-son**, *v.t.* expect, await.
- cit** ~ **cí**, *v.t.* lay eggs: *picí cita*, lay eggs.
- ci-thar** ⇒ **khithar**.
- ci-tho**, *v.i.* be beautiful.
- ci-thrak na-thrak**, *adv.* (*echo*) shabbily dressed, not good to the eyes, ugly to the extent of inducing disgust.
- ci-tok** ⇒ **hátok**.
- ci-traŋ**, **1.** *n.* root. **2.** (*verbal*) **citraŋ bata**, strike root, take root (esp. of tap roots), fig. sit for a long time.
- citraŋ suka**, strike root (thin hairy roots); **citraŋ phana**, (*fig.*) search for the source or cause. **citraŋ sita phoka**, uproot, pull along with roots.
- ci-trap**, *v.t.* sharpen or renew cutting edge of instruments (by heating, striking etc.): *kaŋka citrapa*, make the cutting edge of knife new.
- ciu-an ciu-an**, *adv.* with intermittent gleams: *ciuan ciuan paka*, twinkle; *bársiŋ ciuan ciuan naia*, glow-worms glow or emit light.
- co-bai**, *v.t.* chew.
- co-bek**, *n.* a wild trailing plant with edible fruits. **cobekphaŋ**, *n.* its plant. **cobekthé**, *n.* its fruit.
- co-bor**, **1.** *cl.* for a small amount, a pinch, a handful etc.: *khari cobor-sa*, a pinch of salt; *makap cobor-sa*, a handful of hay; *nen cobor-sa*, a small piece of cloth. **2.** *v.i.* be bushy; *jimiŋ cobora*, have bushy tail.
- cobor cobor**, *adv.* in clusters, in big handfuls: *cobor cobor sáa*, eat anything any time. **cobobor**, *adv.* as a bush, clustered together: *mai cobobor dáma*, paddy grows in big clusters in different places.
- co-co**, *n.* cockle (child language).
- co-cre**, *n.* a tomboy.
- co-de**, *v.i.* having lips or mouth turned and twisted: *khúcar codea*, have contorted lips. **codede**, *a.* with lips or mouth twisted. **code mode**, *a.* (*echo*) with twisted (lips, mouth). **corocode**, *a.* & *adv.* uneven, without any design: *corocode khána*, cut haphazardly without any design; *há corocode*, land or ground is uneven.
- co-grai**, *v.t.* slap (esp. on cheeks).
- cok**, *v.t.* **1.** cut and lay (path, road etc.): *ram coka*, lay a path. **2.** wake (from sleep): *kai gurkaio coka*, wake the sleeping man. **3.** lift (usu. sth. big or sth. lowered down): *cek coka*, fish with net (lit. lift net); *cika coka*, pump water, lead water to field by canal or aqueduct. **4.** prepare (heald): *bre coka*, prepare a heald for loom. **5.** take (snap): *photok coka*, take a snap. **6.** accept, receive, make a collection: *coke ráa*, receive, accept; *paisa coka*, make a collection (money). **7.** help or look after in difficulties bring up: *kaio coka*, be a support or help in need.
- co-kó**, **1.** *n.* rice-beer, liquor. **cokó maikó**, *n.* (*echo*) rice-beer. **cokó putuŋ (cokó pidan)**, *n.* new or fresh ~ that is filtered and drawn for the first time. **cokó sábra**, *n.* a small pot of ~. **2.** (*verbal*) **cokó cana**, prepare and keep the concoction for making ~ to brew. **cokó cáŋbataia**, exceed the normal state of fermentation of ~.

cokó kaka (**cokó nasíŋa**, **cokó dóŋa**), get drunk, be intoxicated. **cokó poŋsaa**, the concoction for brewing ~ ferments or swells under the action of yeast. **cokó rima**, cook rice for preparing ~. **cokó sokhora**, filter by constantly adding water and stirring the well of the filter in the pot. **cokó tana**, prepare or brew ~.

co-ko-dú ⇒ **cugudú**.

cokron **cokron** ~ **coron** **coron**, *a.* *ℰ adv.* on one's heels with knees drawn up (sit): *dãmdakaian cokron cokron nunata*, everyone sat down on their heels. **cokokron**, *adv.* on one's heels with knees drawn up (sit): *cokokron nua*, sit on one's heels with knees drawn up.

cok-sa¹, *v.t.* praise, glorify, speak well: *coksae kania*, praise.

cok-sa², *v.t.* adopt: *kaisábrao coksaa*, adopt a child.

co-la, *n.* shirt: *cola cona*, put on a shirt; *cola phúŋa*, stitch a shirt.

com, *v.i.* hide, lie in wait, belay, hide oneself: *come toa*, lie in wait, be hidden, be invisible.

cóm-boŋ ⇒ **cóŋboŋ**.

com-buk, *n.* magnet.

con, *v.t.* wear (for upper body), cover oneself in (shawl etc.).

con-ta-la-ka, *n.* a kind of fish.

con-khon ⇒ **kankhon**.

con-trak ⇒ **contalaka**.

coŋ¹, **1.** *n.* cluster. **2.** (*verbal*) **coŋ taka**, *form cluster, grow in clusters*. **3.** *cl.* for plants that grow in clusters: *bácoŋ coŋ-sa*, a cluster of bamboo; *rêphan coŋ-aníŋ*, two clusters of bananas.

-coŋ², *suff.* meaning 'please, kindly': *kani-coŋ*, please say; *rákhu-coŋ*, please give.

coŋ³, *v.t.* start, begin, set about: *kami hába coŋa*, begin the work.

cóŋ, **1.** *n.* germ, worm, insect, moth:

cóŋ thop khaa, insect or larva builds its cocoon. **2.** (*verbal*) **cóŋ kaka**, be eaten by moth, worms etc. **cóŋ kia**, form or develop worms, be attacked by worms (esp. in wounds). **cóŋ sáa**, be attacked by worms, be moth-eaten.

cóŋ-boŋ ~ **cómbon**, *n.* woodworm, worm that eats wood.

coŋ-cep, *v.i.* pointed, tapering to one end. **coŋcecep**, *a.* very pointed and tapering to one end. **coŋcep moŋcecep**, *a.* (*echo*) pointed: *coŋcep moŋcecep hádam*, place that does not have a regular shape. **corocoŋcep**, *a.* having several sharp pointed ends: *hádaman corocoŋcep*, the place or land is irregular in shape having many pointed corners.

cóŋ-ka-lan-ji, *n.* a centipede having legs not spreading outward from body but downward.

cóŋ-kho-bak, *n.* white lice (found esp. on fowls).

cóŋ-khu-mu-ti ~ **cúŋkhumuti**, *n.* tiny winged insects that gather around wounds.

cóŋ-raŋ-saŋ ⇒ **cóŋreŋreŋ**.

cóŋ-reŋ-reŋ ~ **cóŋraŋsaŋ**, *n.* (*onom.*) cricket that cries *reŋ reŋ* esp. as days get warmer.

cóŋ-thop, **1.** *n.* cocoon. **2.** *n.* name of a sub-clan: *cóŋthop barai*, the ~ sub-clan.

cop-an, *adv.* in a style that includes folding or gathering into more compact state: *copan nua*, sit with legs folded and knees drawn up; *copan ríma*, catch sth. in clusters (like grass, hair etc.).

co-pek-an, *adv.* with hind section touching ground or object used for sitting: *copekan nua*, sit with hind section touching ground or object on which one sits.

co-pek co-pek, *a.* *ℰ adv.* with hind section touching ground or object

- used for sitting: *dĩmdakaian copek copek nujo*, everyone sat down on the ground or on some thing used for sitting.
- co-pleŋ**, *v.i.* undersized, smaller than usual (buttocks). **copleŋ moplen**, *a.* (echo) undersized: *jĩp̄thai copleŋ moplen*, buttocks being very small.
- copopleŋ**, *a.* undersized, smaller than usual (buttocks): *kalamemene uni jĩp̄thai copopleŋ cãne rėnjo*, having fallen ill his buttocks became very small (the person became emaciated).
- co-reŋ**, **1.** *n.* a fishing basket. **coreŋ jíphlak**, *n.* part of ~ that covers its below the handle. **coreŋ kundi**, *n.* bamboo reinforcement around the rim of ~. **coreŋ kuŋ**, *n.* rim of ~. **coreŋ phoŋ**, *n.* handle of ~. **2.** (*verbal*) **coreŋ khóa**, draw up water with ~ to catch fish.
- co-ro-co-peŋ**, *adv.* (fall) repeatedly in a sitting position.
- co-ro-co-cre**, *a.* romping and more expansive and extrovert than usual or desirable (of women).
- co-ro-com-peŋ**, *adv.* unsteadily (of walking, movement, toddling): *corocompeŋ rėjama*, walk unsteadily and wobbly; *mai bukhie corocompeŋ cãna*, be unsteady of gait from hunger.
- co-ro-co-teŋ**, *a.* & *adv.* having several small projections or areas of prominence on surface (like a pimple): *nãconthe corocoteŋ naŋa*, having plenty of projecting pimples.
- co-roŋ co-roŋ** ⇒ **cokroŋ cokroŋ**.
- cot** ~ **có** as in: (*verbal*) **káci cota**, *lit.* spit, *fig.* despise: *káci cómasaa*, be despised, be put to shame. *kãraŋa káci códoŋ kakaina kia*, (*proverb*) if one spits upwards spittle falls on oneself.
- co-ta** as in: (*verbal*) **cota cia**, *v.t.* test, put another to test.
- co-te-teŋ**, *a.* & *adv.* having a small projection or prominence on surface (like a pimple): *atan paketa coteteŋ?*, what is has got stuck (and is prominently visible)?
- co-tok** -, **1.** *cl.* for a bush, a cluster etc.: *cotok-sa grãm*, a bush, a patch of bush. **2.** *n.* cluster; *cotok gósa*, one cluster. **cotok cotok**, *adv.* in clusters, in patches: *grãm cotok cotok dĩa*, bushes grow in clusters. **cototok**, *adv.* in clusters: *mai cototok dĩa*, paddy grows in patches or in clusters. **corocotok**, *adv.* in patches: *mai corocotokse dĩa*, paddy sprouted or grew only in patches.
- crak**, *v.i.* tear off, come off: *dogom-peke dalai crake rėnjo*, while bending the branch tore off.
- crap-an**, *adv.* all together in unison, at the same time: *crapan soka*, reach at the same time.
- crap crap**, *adv.* together: *crap crap phisaa*, dance in unison.
- crik crak** ⇒ **cirik carak**.
- cu**, *v.i.* be tall, high.
- cú**, *v.t.* wrap or bundle up in clothes, leaves etc.: *mai topra cúa*, wrap rice into a packet.
- cu-gu-dú** ~ **cokodú**, *n.* very dilute rice-beer left behind in the pot.
- cu-juk**, *n.* a pot with a projecting conduit used for drinking rice beer from or for making another drink or for sacrificial purposes.
- cuk-an**, *adv.* precisely, exactly: *cukan bóŋa*, meet precisely (some particular person in some place accidentally); *cukan tana*, put in some precise place.
- cuk-ci**, **1.** *n.* pus: *cukci dogota*, emit pus. **2.** (*verbal*) **cukci kaka**, have an uneasy and biting sensation from wounds, abscesses or inflamed and infected parts of the body.
- cuk-cuk**, *v.t.* suck: *cukun cukcuke sãa*, eat snails by sucking out the inside.

cu-kho-rai, **1.** *n.* a spell or bout of prolonged bad temper. **2.** (*verbal*) **cukhorai** **poṅsaa**, fly into a rage. **cukhorai** **naṅa**, be capable of spells of bad temper or bad mood that lasts a long time.

cu-kla ⇒ **cakla**.

cu-kun, *n.* cockle. **cukun** **baró**, *n.* long variety of cockle. **cukunbīlap**, *n.* shutter that shuts the cockle in its shell. **cukun** **goglak**, *n.* big variety of cockle. **cukun** **khop**, *n.* shell of cockle. **cukun** **poten**, *n.* a variety of cockle tapering to one end.

cu-ni, **1.** *n.* lime: *cuni* *prapa*, lime be caustic. **cuni** **timi**, *n.* small container for lime. **2.** (*verbal*) **cuni** **seta**, whitewash.

cun-thi, *n.* hump in bull's neck.

cuṅ, **1.** *v.i.* grow, become big. **cuṅ** **bataṅ**, *n.* the elders, the leaders.

cuṅba **róṅba**, *a.* (*echo*) important: *cuṅba* *róṅba* *kai*, an important person. **cuṅgiri** **róṅgiri**, *n.* (*echo*) God. **2.** *n.* self-importance: *cuṅ* *tumuka*, display self-importance, be boastful, be proud. **3.** (*verbal*) **cuṅa** **nukhaṅ** **ráa**, begin to grow, reach adolescence.

cuṅ-bron, *v.i.* grow fast or suddenly: *biguduṅ* *tapan* *cuṅbronjo* *náme*, how did you grow so fast.

cúṅ-ci¹, *n.* maggot stage of the common fly.

cúṅ-ci², *v.i.* deposit eggs (by the fly):

garai *cúṅcia*, wounds have become so festering and purulent that flies have begun to settle and deposit eggs.

cuṅ-cú, *n.* a kind of tree (Dubanga *Sonnetatioides*).

cúṅ-khu-mu-ti ⇒ **cóṅkhumuti**.

cu-pci ⇒ **hapci**.

cur-cur, *adv.* in a heap, well-heaped: *curcur* *damaia*, gather into a heap.

cur-ki, *n.* a pulley or wheel used to roll thread on to a spool.

cu-rup as in: (*verbal*) **cika** **curup**, *v.i.* stay under water.

cu-sar, *n.* well: *cusar* *khota*, dig a well.

cusargat, *n.* well, place where the well is situated.

cik, *v.i.* grow cold, become quiet and tranquil, become peaceful: *cike* *réṅa*, become cold. **cik** **cik**, *a.* cold, quiet: *cikcik* *cáṅa*, become quiet and peaceful.

ci **-kiṅ** as in: (*verbal*) **cikṅ** **jara**, *v.i.* (arch.). move one's bowel, have dysentery.

cin, *v.t.* lay (makeshift bridge): *saṅkoi* *cina*, construct a bamboo structure across stream or river.

cip, *v.t.* close, shut (door, gate, box etc.).

cip-an, *a.* a little, a small amount.

cipan **cipan**, *a.* a little each, a little of each (item), a little for everyone.

ci **-ri-ná**, *n.* a kind of fish.

D

da-bi, **1.** *n.* a demand. **2.** (*verbal*) **dabi** **khára**, demand, make a demand. **3.** *v.t.* demand.

da-bo-ne, *n.* a big needle or sharpened peg used as needle to stitch mouth of sacks etc. and also used to string together big fish while fishing: *dabone* *suka*, string fish together with a ~.

da-ci, *adv.* jokingly, not seriously, for fun, as jest: *daci* *ina*, say as fun.

daci **daci**, *adv.* jokingly.

da-da, **1.** *n.* (pl. ~**ron**) elder brother.

dadabra, *n.* same as *dada* (definitive). **dadabraṅ**, *n.* elder brother and younger sibling: *dadabraṅ* *kamiṅ*, an elder brother and a younger sibling; *dadabraṅ* *sariṅon*, an elder

- brother and three younger siblings.
- 2.** (*verbal*) **dada mána**, be related as an elder brother.
- da-da-gat** ~ **dadagá**, *v.t.* cause to fall, cause to come off (leaves, things attached).
- da-dui**, *v.i.* walk (child language).
- da-ga-i** ~ **digí**, *postpos.* meaning 'in, at, on': *i-dagai*; here, in this place.
- da-gai**, *v.t.* brand (done generally with hot iron or by the cross-section of three bamboo tied together and dipped in indelible ink).
- da-gat** ~ **dagá**, *v.i.* fall, come off, detach (leaves, things so attached).
- dai**¹, **1.** *n.* offence. **2.** (*verbal*) **dai khára**, commit an offence.
- dai**², *n.* compensation, fine, penalty: *dai boráia*, pay a fine or compensation.
- dai**³, *v.t.* extend boundary: *hádam daia*, encroach on land.
- dái**, *v.i.* have a landslide: *há dáie réñjo*, earth slid down, had a landslide.
- dai-di**¹, *n.* a gong (musical instrument): *dáidi koka (dáidi táma)*, beat a gong.
- dai-di**², **1.** *n.* relatives from the father's side: *dáidini há*, ancestral property handed down from father to son. **2.** *n.* a sub-clan: *dáidi barai*, the ~ sub-clan.
- dak**, *v.t.* pluck (fruits, flowers, leaves etc.), separate out, bargain.
- da-ket**, **1.** *n.* robber. **2.** (*verbal*) **daket khára**, rob.
- da-kha** as in: (*verbal*) **dakha khaa**, *v.i.* coagulate, solidify.
- da-kha da-kha**, *a. & adv.* as coagulated matter: *kalamkai kai tuksidon sí dakha dakha dogota*, when the sick man coughs blood come out as coagulated.
- da-khap-**, *cl.* for patches of clouds: *ran̄khop dakhap-sa*, a patch of cloud.
- da-khe-la**, *n.* a piece of bamboo or wood that is employed to throw at something (to pluck fruits, at birds and animals to drive them away etc.): *dakhela koa*, throw ~.
- da-khi**, *v.t.* hide from, block vision.
- da-khla** ⇒ **dakhap**.
- da-khla da-khla** ⇒ **dakhap dakhap**.
- da-khor**, *n.* a kind of tree with yellow bunches of flowers whose bark used be chewed as a mild stimulant. **dakhorphan**, *n.* the ~ tree.
- da-kra**, *adv.* suddenly, unexpectedly, within a short time: *kalamkai dakra páñe réñjo*, sickness suddenly took a turn far worse. **dakra dikra**, *adv.* (*echo*) suddenly, on the spur of the moment: *dakra dikra sia*, die suddenly without preparation.
- dal**¹, *n.* traditional Rabha shield (of rhinoceros hide and studded with four stars and a half-moon). **dal toral**, *n.* (*echo*) sword and shield.
- dal**², *cl.* for counting long and slender things including trees especially with Assamese numerals upwards of four and occasionally also with native numerals: *pan dal-sa*, one tree; *khorok dal-nin*, two strands of hair; *bá cari dal*, four bamboo.
- da-la**, *n.* **1.** round bamboo winnowing fan for cleaning rice: *dala peke mai caoa*, winnow paddy with ~. **2.** a type of ear-ring (usu. of gold).
- da-lai**, **1.** *n.* branch: *dalai dogota (dalai díma)*, put forth branches. **2.** (*verbal*) **dalai rita**, prune branches.
- da-lañ**, *v.i.* flat and big: *cak dalaña*, leaf is big; *nakor dalaña*, ear is big. **dalalañ**, *a. & adv.* very flat and big: *cak dalalañ cuna*, leaf is very big.
- da-le** ⇒ **dole dale**.
- dam**¹, **1.** *n.* cost, price. **2.** (*verbal*) **dam cata**, is expensive, is dear, is costly. **dam daka**, bargain.
- dam**², **1.** *n.* mat. **damkúr**, *n.* strips used for weaving mats. **2.** (*idiom*) **dam kaka**, (**dam kake réña**), be bed-ridden, be laid up (*lit.* be bitten by the mat).

-dam³, *suff.* indicates location of activity; *bár-dam*, fire-place, place where fire is lit; *bai-dam*, sacrificial place, a place dedicated to a deity where sacrifices are held regularly.

dam⁴- *cl.* for things heaped up: *há dam-sa*, one heap of mud; *pan dam-anin*, two heaps of wood.

da-mai, *v.t.* gather together into a heap: *mai curcur damaie tana*, gather paddy into a heap.

da-mar-sa, *adv.* a short while, for a short while: *damarsa kami ráa*, for a short period.

dam-blak, ⇒ **nukblak**.

dam-bron, *v.i.* big. **dambron** **dambron**, *a.* round and big. **dam-bobron**, *a.* very big.

dam-dra, *n.* a variety of mat that is rough.

dam-thón, *adv.* in a straight line, without deviation, cross-sectionally or transversely: *damthón khándoka*, cut transversely; *damthón ram pata*, cross road. **damthón damthón**, *adv.* transversely (pl. sense): *damthón damthón khándoka*, cut cross-sectionally into many pieces. **daradam-thón**, *adv.* disorderly (speaking), changing topic at random: *daradamthón bobaia*, speak on different and varied topics at random.

dan¹, **1.** *n.* offering, gift. **2.** (*verbal*) **dan koa**, give an offering.

dan² *v.t.* spread.

dan-da-le-ka, *n.* a variety of plant with seeds in long pods.

dán ~ **dhán**, *v.i.* enter, go in: *dáne rēna*, go inside.

dan-dan, *a.* & *adv.* clear, bright (of place): *grām bóbana tébe danđan nuka*, after clearing jungle it looks very bright, *noko danđan tana*, leave door open.

dan-ga, **1.** *n.* leprosy. **2.** (*verbal*) **danğa paka**, have leprosy. **danğa sáa**, have leprosy eating into the body.

dan-gai, *n.* stick, a walking stick.

dao, *v.t.* open.

dao-a¹, *postpos.* with *n.* at gen. meaning 'on account of, as a result of, because, instead of'; *atani daoa*², on account of what?, for what reason?; *náni daoa*, instead of you.

dao-a² ~ **dhaoa**, **1.** *n.* war, battle.

2. (*verbal*) **dao khára**, fight.

dao-da-kra, *adv.* hurriedly, very fast.

dap¹ ⇒ **bada**¹.

dap², *v.i.* be covered, be buried under something: *dape mūna*, be left unnoticed; *motor dape sia*, be killed in a vehicle accident.

dap³, *v.i.* warm oneself by the fire: *bár dapa*, warm oneself by the fire.

da-plak ~ **dapak**, *v.i.* be flat and big. **dapaplak** ~ **dapapak**, *a.* flat and big. **daradaplak** ~ **daradapak**, *a.* & *adv.* in patches and in varying shades; (dirt etc. that is smeared): *atan daradaplak paknata*?, what is it that has got stuck?

dap-ta as in: (*verbal*) **dapta dīma**, *v.i.* a new tooth grows before the old milk-tooth has been removed.

dapta phagoṇa (**dapta phagoṇ cáṇa**), have teeth irregularly placed (as result of teeth that have grown before milk-teeth have been removed).

dar ~ **dhar**, **1.** *n.* loan. **2.** (*verbal*)

dar bīta (**dar ráa**), take a loan,

dar búa, be in debt. **dar kaka**, request back what was given on a loan (*lit.* bite loan).

dar-thún ~ **dartún** ⇒ **jarthún**.

-de, *suff.* meaning 'O.K!', all right!': *aṅ rákhumo-de!*, I shall give, all right!; *náme isian toṅ-de!*, you stay right here, all right!

de-gre, *v.t.* cause to be left over.

dem-boṇ, *v.i.* be round and big: *brek demdoṇa*, gourd is round and big. **demboboṇ**, *a.* very big and round. **deredemboṇ**, *a.* having

- several round bulges: *rabu dere-dembon*, a variety of gourd having two bulges.
- deŋ**, *v.t.* untie, loosen, set free, open: *deŋe rákhua*, set free, give up one's claim over property; *deŋe phísaa*, allow to go.
- deŋ-deŋ**, *v.i.* be steep, have a steep rise.
- deŋ-ga**, *n.* wide-mouthed vessel carved from wood used for serving food at marriages.
- dep-cu-ka**, *n.* (*arch.*) (a pair of) spectacle(s).
- deu-ri**, *n.* priest, one who performs a sacrifice. **deuri deusi**, *n.* (*echo*) priest and assistant.
- deu-si**, *n.* one who assists the priest during a sacrifice.
- dhán** ⇒ **dán**.
- dhao-a** ⇒ **dao-a**².
- dhor-mo** ⇒ **dormo**.
- di-bí**, *v.t.* break.
- di-gi** ⇒ **dagai**.
- di-kra** ⇒ **dakra**.
- di-la** *n.* rod connecting the yoke and the plough.
- din**, *n.* day. **dinkhírao**, *n.* inauspicious day (but considered auspicious for dispensing medicine). **din kal**, *n.* (*echo*) times, time: *din kal berga phéneta*, times are changing.
- diŋ-di-gaŋ**, *v.t.* make to stand.
- diŋ-diŋ**, *v.i.* stand, arise.
- diŋ-gri**, **1.** *n.* a bamboo contrivance bulging at the middle and tapering to either end for trapping fish.
- 2.** (*verbal*) **diŋgri rapa**, weave or make such a fish-trap. **diŋgri saia**, set ~ to trap fish.
- diŋ-ki-ná** ~ **diŋkni ná**, *n.* a small variety of fish.
- diŋ-kni ná** ⇒ **diŋkiná**.
- di-por**, *n.* mid-day: *dipor bataia*, be past mid-day.
- dis-li**, *n.* match. **dislikhop**, *n.* matchbox. **dislikhati**, *n.* matchstick.
- dó**¹ ~ **dón**, *v.i.* be true, be enough, be sufficient, be intoxicated: *dóana dóŋca?* (*dónđónca?*), is it true or not?.
- dó**² ⇒ **dot**.
- do-ba**, *n.* lake. **dobacuŋ**, *n.* a big or great lake. **doba phásan**, *n.* & *adv.* (on) the opposite shore of the lake.
- do-bok**, *v.t.* polish, make white (rice): *mairuŋ doboka*, pound rice to make it more white and polished.
- do-bom** ⇒ **dogoma**².
- do-bón**, *v.t.* delay, cause delay: *dobón-carane réŋa*, go without delay.
- do-bón**, *v.t.* contact, go to meet: *lagibana dobóna réŋata*, went to meet because there was need.
- do-do**, *n.* cloak, a cloth worn on one's back and tied at the neck as a protection against cold.
- do-do-gan**, *v.t.* extract: *síŋan síŋan dodogana jaŋata*, after asking for a long time it was possible to get it out.
- do-do-gat** ~ **dodogá**, *v.t.* bring out, cause to come out, put forth, publish (book): *káosa dodogata*, publish book.
- do-dor** ⇒ **kai**.
- do-gom**¹, *v.t.* bend, pull towards oneself: *dalai dogome thé daka*, pull branches towards oneself to pluck fruits.
- do-gom**² ~ **dobom**, *v.t.* make to hatch, make one hen hatch another hen's eggs: *tóŋibra síbana dogomese teteprenata*, as the mother hen died eggs were hatched by another hen.
- do-gon**, *v.t.* take out, bring out (from enclosures, containers etc.): *dogone phísaa*, bring out and let go, let off, set free, (*fig.*) marry off.
- do-got** ~ **dogó**, *v.i.* come out, rise: *raŋsaŋ dogota*, sun rises.
- do-ho-la**, *n.* ditch, depression in land, drain-like depression around the house into which rain water from roof falls.

doi, *n.* a kind of tree. **doiphaŋ**, *n.* the ~ tree. **doithé**, *n.* its fruit.

dói ~ **dóie**, *postpos.* with *n.* at gen. meaning ‘instead of, in the place of’: *aŋi dói*, instead of me, in my place.

dói-e ⇒ **dói**.

dok, *v.t.* extract, remove from inside, take out, pull out from inside or from between; get something issued (from office, shop etc.), withdraw (money): *gajal doka*, pull out a nail; *mairuŋ doka*, get rice issued; *paia doka*, withdraw money; *phakham doka*, extract tooth.

do-ka, *n.* a basket generally used for keeping grain.

do-ka-roŋ-roŋ pa-si-roŋ-roŋ, (*idiom*). utterly poor; *dokaroŋroŋ pasiroŋroŋ cáŋa*, be reduced to abject poverty. **dokaroŋroŋ pasiroŋroŋ paia**, go begging.

do-khol as in: (*verbal*) **dokhol khára**, *v.t.* capture, misappropriate, take possession illegally.

do-khom, **1.** *n.* a low stool for sitting. **dokhom pamphlak**, *n.* (*echo*) furniture for sitting. **2.** (*verbal*) **dokhom rákhua**, *lit.*, give a low stool to sit; *fig.*, receive a guest, extend hospitality.

dol, *n.* party, group (of persons): *dol gósa*, one group.

dol-don, *v.i.* become loose and sag: *básek doldone réŋa*, cloth carrying child becomes loose and sags. **doldon doldon**, *a.* & *adv.* loose and sagging (pl. sense). **doldodon**, *a.* very loose and sagging: *doldodon cáŋa*, become loose and sagging.

do-le da-le, *a.* (*echo*) lifeless: *dole dale cáŋa*, become lifeless and exhausted (as after a fit).

do-leŋ, **1.** *v.i.* be suspend, be hanging. **doleŋ doleŋ** *a.* & *adv.* suspended, hanging: *doleŋ doleŋ cáŋa*, become suspended; *doleŋ doleŋ toa*, remain suspended. **doleŋ dolteŋ**,

adv. (*echo*) in suspended and swaying manner: *doleŋ dolteŋ paia*, carry things that are dangling and swaying to and fro. **doleleŋ**, *adv.* in dangling bunches, in a suspended manner: *doleleŋ khasie tana*, suspend; *doleleŋ theta*, bear fruit that hang down. **2.** *n.* as in: (*verbal*) **doleŋ khera**, swing ones body by gripping with hands, play or swing in a seat slung by ropes.

do-loŋ, *n.* bridge. **dolonphak**, *n.* pillar of bridge.

dol-teŋ ⇒ **doleŋ**.

dom-pa, **1.** *n.* a toy gun made with bamboo tube used to propel small seeds of a bush. **2.** (*verbal*) **dompa koa**, shoot with a ~.

dom-phol, *n.* a kind of drum.

do-na, *n.* flat part of the betel nut leaf (and leaves of other similar trees) by which it is attached to the trunk of the tree.

-don¹, *suff.* meaning ‘let us or we shall’: *gop kháre toŋa-don*, let us chat; *ni cime réŋa-don*, come let us go.

-don², *suff.* meaning ‘when’: *si-don*, when someone dies or when death occurs.

don³, **1.** *cl.* for bunches of bananas, ears of corn etc.: *mai don-sa*, an ear of paddy; *réthe don-sa*, a bunch of bananas. **2.** *n.* an ear of grain, a bunch (of banana): *don gósa*, one ear, one bunch.

dón ⇒ **dó¹**.

-don-ba, **1.** *suff.* meaning ‘even if’: *nuk-donba*, even if (subj.) see(s); *kani-donba*, even if (subj.) say(s). **2.** *suff.* meaning ‘probably, who knows’: *mánkhuca-donba*, probably (subj.) has not got; *réŋjo-donba*, (subj.) will have gone.

-don-be, *suff.* meaning ‘if’: *rén-donbe*, if (subj.) go(es).

don-don, *adv.* fast (walk): *dondon réjama*, walk fast; *ni dondon (dondon ni)*, come, let us move fast.

- doṅ-ró**, *v.i.* having long ears (corn) or bunches (fruits like banana).
- doṅ-son**, *v.i.* having short ears (corn) or bunches (fruits like bananas).
- dop¹**, *cl.* for bundles of paddy: **maidop** *dop-sa*, one bundle of paddy.
- dop²**, *n.* Indian fig tree (*Ficus indica*). **dop pan**, *n.* ~ tree, **dopthé**, *n.* its fruit.
- dop³**, *v.i.* be not crisp, be mildewed, gentle (heat of the sun): *dope réṅa*, turn cold and soft (of things otherwise crisp); *san dopa*, the day is not very hot; *raṅsaṅ doppeke kami ráa*, work while the sun is still gentle.
- dor** as in: (*verbal*) **dor dóa** be difficult, be serious (illness): *dor dóa*, is very difficult; *kalamkai dor dóa*, sickness be very serious.
- dór**, *v.i.* be soft, be not dry and crisp: *dóre réṅa*, become soft. **dórdór**, *a.* very soft.
- do-rai**, *n.* (pl. ~**taṅ**, **dortaṅ**). adolescent (girl), young woman, unmarried girl. **dorai gabur**, *n.* (*echo*) youth, youngsters.
- dorairikai**, *n.* being virgin, virginity. **dorairipca**, *n.* pre-adolescent: *dorairipca cáṅbaa*, enter pre-adolescence, become pre-adolescent. **doraisábra**, *n.* pre-adolescent: *doraisábra cáṅbaa*, become pre-adolescent. **doraisari**, *n.* young girls.
- do-rai-taṅ** ~ **dortaṅ** ~ **doraisari**, *n.* (sg. & pl.) young unmarried girl or woman: *doraitaṅ cáṅbaa*, grow into adolescence; *doraitaṅ saksa*, one young woman. **daraitaṅ gabur-taṅ** (**dortaṅ gaburtaṅ**) *n.* (*echo*) youth, youngsters.
- dór-cep**, *v.i.* be so soft that it sinks under weight (cushion etc.). **dór-cep dórcep**, *a.* very soft; *dorcep dorcep cáṅa*, be very soft.
- dor-mo** ~ **dhormo**, *n.* religion.
- do-ro**, *adv.* very, much, plenty, in a high degree (with adjectives), very difficult (work), very serious (illness): *doro jánca*, is not very far; *doro cáṅa*, be very ill; *doro réṅpaṅca*, do not go very often. **doro doro**, *a.* definitely, really: *náṅaṅ doro doro*, you are indeed the one.
- dor-taṅ** ⇒ **doraitaṅ**.
- dos**, **1.** *n.* mistake, fault. **2.** (*verbal*) **dos gata**, impute or attribute fault. **dos thipa**, attribute fault or responsibility for something that went wrong.
- dot**, *n.* a covered oil lamp.
- dot** ~ **dó**, *v.i.* alight from being carried by another on back.
- do-tai**, *v.t.* control, manage (people).
- do-tra**, *n.* a stringed musical instrument: *dotra táma*, play ~.
- dra**, *v.i.* be rough, be coarse, be hoarse, be not fine (surfaces, voice, hair, thread, powdery things etc.).
- drí-drí**, *adv.* gradually, slowly, inconspicuously, almost invisible to the eye (of movement): *cika drídrí kroṅa*, water flows slowly; *kai drídrí cuṅa*, person grows gradually; *raṅsaṅ drídrí duguta*, sun sets or sinks gradually.
- drí-sa**, *adv.* a little, by a small measure (things that grow smaller or bigger gradually): *cika drísa cuṅata*, water has risen a little; *kai drísa cuṅe nuka*, person appears to have grown a little.
- drít-an**, *adv.* suddenly in one action: *drítan bita*, pull in one sudden action.
- du**, *v.t.* put in (rice, vegetable etc. into cooking pot): *cika sárbaína maírūṅ dua*, put rice into heated water.
- dú-a**, *n.* very dilute rice-beer left behind in the pot.
- du-bú** ~ **dugú**, *v.t.* hold down, pin down by force: *dubú rásama*, hold down and restrain.
- du-buṅ-rap**, *n.* (arch) main room of a traditional Rabha house usu. used by the head of the family.

du-du-gat ~ **dududá**, *v.t.* immerse (in water etc.): *cikati dudugate tana*, keep immersed in water.

du-gú ⇒ **dubú**.

du-gur, *v.t.* fell, cut down: *pan dugura*, cut a tree down.

du-gut ~ **dugú**, *v.i.* sink, set, go down; *raṅsaṅ duguta*, the sun sets.

duk, 1. *n.* (pl. ~**bijan**). suffering, sadness. **duk suk**, *n.* (*echo*) joys and sorrows, vicissitudes of life **2.** (*verbal*) **duk cáṅa**, be sad. **duk mána**, be sad, receive some suffering. **duk sea**, suffer, put up some suffering.

dul-dul, *adv.* **1.** appearing as dust and white: *hádubur duldul paka*, be covered with dust; *khobak duldul mána*, hair be grey. **2.** severely (beat): *duldul koka*, beat up thoroughly.

du-lu-a, *n.* small drum used generally during marriage.

dun-dre, *n.* a thorny tree (*Rhus sucedanea*).

dún, *v.t.* climb: *dúṅe réṅa*, go up, climb.

du-pi, *n.* incense: *dupi sóa*, burn incense. **dupi khúnaṅ**, *n.* (*echo*) incense.

du-ri¹, *n.* fine dust: *duri proṅa*, be dusty, dust be carried by wind; *duri toproṅa*, kick up dust, let dust fly.

duri dusi, *n.* (*echo*) dust.

du-ri², *n.* name of a deity (on of the five names of *baikho*).

du-si ⇒ **duri**.

du-tri, *n.* long piece of cloth tied around chest as protection from cold or cloth worn on shoulder by women on the day of marriage.

dí -bá, 1. *v.t.* help another tie a child on back: *panna sábra débáa*, (*fig.*) tie a piece of wood or stone to a tree that it may bear fruit fast or in plenty (a practice widely prevalent).

dí -ba-ka, *n.* veranda, portico, the first room-like enclosure of a typical Rabha house.

dí -bam, *v.t.* subdue, control, make

docile or subservient: *uo díbama jaṅca*, cannot control or subdue him.

dí -bar¹, *v.t.* return, give back: *díbare phísaa*, send back; *díbare rákhua*, give back.

dí -bar² ⇒ **díbir**.

dí -bir ~ **díbar²**, *v.t.* take down, lower, bring down, diminish height or elevation.

dí -gap, *v.t.* make ready, prepare (especially in view of a particular occasion): *cokó maikó dígapa*, prepare sufficient quantity of rice beer for a specific occasion.

dí -gram, *v.t.* leave uncultivated: *dígrame tana*, leave fallow.

dí -grap, *a.* with face downwards: *dígrap cáṅa*, bow deeply, prostrate.

dígrapán, *adv.* as prostrated: *dígrapán kia*, fall on one's face.

dík, *v.i.* stop, abate, subside: *rampar díka*, wind ceases; *raṅ díka* (*phaci díka*), the rain stops or turns into a drizzle. **díke díke**, *adv.* with hesitation, intermittently: *díke díke raṅ phaa*, rain intermittently.

dí -lau, *v.i.* be fat and fleshy: *khúcar dílaua*, lips are thick. **dílau dílau**, *a.* & *adv.* pendulous, as pendulous: *kán kai dílau dílau mota*, body shakes all over being very fat; *phaidam dílau dílau*, with bulging and fleshy cheeks. **dílalau**, *a.* very thick and pendulous: *khúcar dílalau*, lips be big and fleshy.

díl-díl, *adv.* with freshness (new shoots): *sam díldíl naria*, new shoots sprout with freshness.

dím, *v.i.* sprout, grow (seeds, vegetation, hair, tooth etc.).

dím-bai, *n.* new shoot, tender shoot or leaf: *dím bai dogota*, new shoot appears.

dím-bre, *n.* a kind of tree (*Ficus glomerata*).

dím-dak, *a.* all, every, each single:

- dĩmdak kamibijan*, all the works; *dĩmdak kai* (*dĩmdak kaitaŋ*), all the people. **dĩmdakan**, *n.* all (things, people). **dĩmdakaiian**, *n.* all (people).
- dĩm-khĩm**, *v.i.* be strong, be well-built: *kai dĩamkhĩma*, person is very strong.
- dĩm-khri** ⇒ **dĩmkhriĩm**.
- dĩm-khriĩm** ~ **dĩmkhri**, *v.i.* not sprout well: *bici phukai dĩamkhriĩmata*, not all the seeds sprouted.
- dĩm-sraŋ**, *v.i.* be not fluent. **dĩmsraŋ dĩamsraŋ**, *adv.* hesitantly, with non-native accent: *dĩmsraŋ dĩamsraŋ bobaiia*, speak with hesitation, not fluent in speech. **dĩridĩmsraŋ**, *adv.* with hesitation, with non-native accent (speech): *dĩridĩmsraŋ bobaiia*, speak with hesitation.
- dĩn-dĩ -li -ka**, *n.* small drum used during marriage.
- dĩp**, *v.t.* make strips (bamboo, reed etc.): *kũr dĩapa*, make strips of bamboo for the purpose of tying.
- dĩp-a** ~ **-dĩpana**, *suff.* meaning ‘till, until’: *jaŋa-dĩapa*, as much as possible or able; *nukka-dĩapa monpĩtica*, do not believe until (subj.) see(s).
- dĩp-an**, *adv.* in a flash, suddenly, in a split second (getting hurt or cut with knife etc.): *dĩapan mate rĩngjo*, got a cut suddenly.
- dĩp-a-na** ⇒ **-dĩpa**.
- dĩ-phaŋ**, *v.i.* smell, give out or exude unpleasant odour: *dĩaphaŋ gĩn koa*, exude unpleasant odour.
- dĩ-phrai**, *v.i.* be restless with extreme sorrow, longing or desire.
- dĩr**, *v.i.* quake (earth): *há dĩara*, have an earthquake. **dĩrdĩr**, *adv.* with shivering motion: *kĩn dĩardĩr mota*, body shivers (due to cold, fear, sickness etc.).
- dĩr-sĩn**, *n.* symbol, proof or manifestation of some inner reality.
- dĩr-taŋ**, *v.i.* be placed at a distance, be separated by considerable distance: *aŋi nok soropmĩpara dĩartana*, my house is at a distance from the road.
- dĩartan dĩartan**, *a.* distanced (from one another): *ekai soŋi nokbijan dĩartan dĩartan cĩŋa*, houses in this village are far from one another.
- dĩartatan**, *a.* & *adv.* at a distance, away from the rest: *saksanse dĩartatan nui toa*, sit all alone away from the rest.

E

- e¹**, *pron.* a variant of ‘i-² meaning ‘this’: *e-kai*, this one; *e-kapeke*, at this time.
- e²** ~ **-e-men-e**, *suff.* giving incomplete or participial form: *mai sái rĩŋa*, go after having eaten rice; *sake nuka*, appears or seems to be red.
- é**, *v.i.* defecate (child language).
- e-ca-ro**, compound *suff.* meaning ‘(will) not any more’: *rĩŋ-ecaro*, will not go any more; *to-ecaro*, there isn’t any more.
- e-ka o-ka**, *a.* such and such, *eka oka kai*, such and such person; *eka oka san*, such and such a day.
- e-kan**, *adv.* freely, gratuitously, without any specific purpose: *ekan rákhua*, give free; *ekanan toa*, idle away time, have nothing specific to do.
- e-ka-pe-ke**, *adv.* at this time.
- e-ka-taŋ**, *a.* this kind or this much (indicating not being enough or good enough): *ekatan cĩŋkaio paina jaŋcana?*, is one not able to carry something so light?. **ekatanŋaŋ**, *a.* this much, this kind: *ekatanŋaŋbe aŋa*

logica, this kind or this much I do not need; *ekatan̄taŋo ráe ata khámo?*, what can one do with such a small amount.

e-ka-tháni, *a.* of this type, of this kind, of this behaviour. **ekatháni-kai**, *n.* one such as this.

e-khar-e ~ **ekhere** ~ **ekhre** *adv.* in this way, like this. **ekharemene**, *conj.* and then (narrative style).

e-ko-ro ~ **etokoro**, *adv.* this way, in this direction: *ekoro kánia, it (is) short this way.*

-e-men-e ~ **-e**, *suff.* giving non-finite participial or incompletive form: *kokemene*, having beaten; *nuk-emene*, having seen.

en-cek, *a.* this much (quantity being indicated), so much as this, of this quantity. **encekkai**, *n.* one that is as much as this. **encek encekkai**, *n.* the ones that are as much as these. **encek maca**, *a.* so much

as this, such quantity as this. **encek teka**, *a.* just as much as this.

en-dek, *a.* this much (depth or length being indicated), of this length or depth. **endekkai**, *n.* one as deep or long as this. **endek endekkai**, *n.* the ones as deep or long as this. **endek teka**, *a.* just as deep or long as this.

en-tuŋ ⇒ **intuŋ**.

éŋ, *v.i.* cry continuously asking for something: *éŋe éŋe khapa*, cry without stopping.

eŋ-gan-da, *adv.* like this, in this way. **engandakai**, *n.* one of this type. **engandakhare**, *adv.* in this way, in this fashion.

e-roŋ, *pron.* these people.

e-san ~ **iasan** ~ **iansan**, *adv.* just now: *esan ríbanata*, just came.

e-ta, *n.* winged creature that grows out of wood-worm.

e-to-ko-ro ⇒ **ekoro**.

G

ga, *v.t.* carry.

ga-bur, **1.** *n.* (pl. ~**taŋ**). adolescent (male), unmarried young man. **gaburriŋkai**, *n.* celibacy, purity. **gaburriŋpca**, *n.* pre-adolescent: *gaburriŋpca cáŋbaa*, enter pre-adolescence. **gabursábra**, *n.* pre-adolescent: *gabursábra cáŋbaa*, become pre-adolescent. **gabursari**, *n.* young men. **2.** *a.* young and unmarried (male): *gabur kai*, *n.* young man.

ga-bur-taŋ ~ **gabursari**, *n.* (sg. & pl.). young unmarried man (men): *gaburtaŋ cáŋbaa*, grow into adolescence; *gaburtaŋ saksá*, one young man; *gaburtaŋ kamin̄*, two young men.

ga-ca, **1.** *n.* a lamp-stand. **2.** *n.* an oil lamp made of bamboo using the hollow of the bamboo itself as

receptacle for oil and the opposite end sharpened to drive it easily into the earth used especially during sacrifices or one made of metal with a palm-like projection from the main stand acting as the receptacle for oil.

ga-da-grit ~ **gadigrít**, *v.t.* trample and squeeze under foot: *hiti kaiŋ gadagríte sithikhinata*, elephant trampled the man to death.

ga-dre, *n.* small variety of tiger (that is believed to defecate in the same location).

ga-dí-grit ⇒ **gadagrít**.

ga-gar, *v.t.* wipe off, wipe clean: *gun̄gar gagara*, clean nose (mucus); *gimar gagara*, wipe off perspiration.

ga-ge, *a.* said of one who walks with legs astride: *kaiŋ gagese*, person is very fat and walks with legs astride.

- garagage**, *adv.* walk with legs astride: *garagage ríjama*, walk with legs astride (because of pain or bulk etc.).
- ga-goŋ**, *n.* nipper, claw of crab, forceps.
- ga-graŋ**, *n.* one who is careless in walking and trips often.
- ga-grat** ~ **gagrá** ⇒ **gagara**.
- ga-gu**, *v.i.* nod, shake head in agreement: *tíkam gagua*, *nod.* **gagu gagu**, *adv.* (nod) repeatedly: *tíkam gagu gagu khára*, *nod* repeatedly. **gagugu**, *adv.* in the manner of nodding: *tíkam gagugu khára*, *nod* repeatedly.
- gai-naŋ**, *n.* name of a sub-clan.
- ga-jal** ~ **ganjal**, **1.** *n.* nail. **2.** (*verbal*) **gajal koka**, drive a nail in.
- gak-gak**, *adv.* loudly or boisterously (laugh): *gakgak minia*, laugh loudly or boisterously.
- gak-suk**, *v.i.* trip, stumble, hit against: *táthen gaksuka*, stumble. **garagak-suk**, *a.* have plenty of obstacles or hindrances: *rõŋka páŋbani ríjama garagaksuk cáŋa*, as there are plenty of stones walking is difficult.
- ga-muk**, *n.* a kind of tree (Artocarpus chaplasha).
- ganda**, *postpos.* meaning 'like, as, in like manner, similar etc.': *cáŋba ganda*, as happened; *caŋba ganda*, like someone familiar; *kai ganda kai toa*, there are people who look alike.
- gan-dai**, *n.* rhinoceros.
- gan-da-mo-la**¹, **1.** *n.* green slimy moss-like algae found in stagnant water. **2.** (*verbal*) **gandamola khaa** (**gandamola taka**), form ~.
- gan-da-mo-la**², *n.* a variety of wild plant that grows in paddy-field used as vegetable.
- gan-di**, **1.** *n.* a flying bug that sucks juice of paddy. **2.** (*verbal*) **gandi bíra** (**gandi kia** or **gandi ruka**), ~ descend (on crop).
- gan-jal** ⇒ **gajal**.
- gan-ji**¹ as in: (*idiom*) **ganji goŋca**, is lazy, is unwilling to weave (usu. used in the negative). **ganji krika**, know how to weave. **ganji sríŋa**, stretch thread meant for weaving.
- gan-ji**² ⇒ **si**.
- gan-tai**, *v.t.* turn and shuffle up hay and sheaves of paddy being threshed: *mai gantaia*, shuffle up paddy sheaves being threshed.
- gan-thai**, *n.* bell tied to neck of animals or worn by dancers.
- gan-thi** as in: **ganthi khúraŋ**, *n.* sweet and melodious voice.
- gaŋ-gaŋ**, *n.* moon (child language).
- gaŋ-gar**, *n.* phlegm: *gaŋgar dogota*, have or discharge phlegm; *gaŋgar cota*, spit phlegm.
- gaŋ-ge**, *n.* a variety of grasshopper.
- gaŋ-khoi**, **1.** *cl.* for clusters of fruits and flowers: *par gaŋkhoaia*, one cluster or bunch of flowers. **2.** *n.* a cluster: *gaŋkhoi gósa*, one cluster. **gaŋkhoi gaŋkhoi**, *adv.* in or as clusters; *gaŋkhoi gaŋkhoi theta*, bear fruits in clusters.
- gaŋ-thaŋ**, *n.* one who is careless in walking and trips often.
- gao-an**, *n.* theatrical performance: *gaoan cia*, see or watch a theatrical performance; *gaoan khára*, execute a theatrical performance.
- gap**, *n.* colour: *gap gobaia*, dye, impregnate with colour.
- ga-phuŋ**, *adv.* tomorrow. **gaphuŋ soniŋ**, *adv.* in the coming days, in the future. **gaphuŋtaŋ**, *adv.* in the coming days. **gaphuŋtekbai**, *adv.* on the morrow, the following day.
- gar**, **1.** *n.* responsibility, duty, **2.** (*verbal*) **gar paia**, accept and carry out a duty. **gar thiŋpa**, entrust or give responsibility. **gar tipaia**, entrust responsibility.
- gá-rai**, *v.t.* reprimand, scold.
- ga-rai**, **1.** *n.* wound, sore. **garai cukci**, *n.* pus. **garai khonkhap**, *n.* skin formed over wounds.

- garaipré**, *n.* one who is full of sores. **2.** (*verbal*) **garai taka**, form sores, form skin eruptions, form wounds.
- ga-rak**, *n.* phlegm: *garak dogota*, have phlegm coming out.
- gar-gar**¹ ⇒ **gurgur**.
- gar-gar**², *adv.* soon, fast, hurriedly, without delay, *gargar réŋa*, go soon without delay.
- gar-gi**, *n.* sorrel, plant with sour leaves used as vegetable. **gargi bokkai**, *n.* white variety of sorrel. **gargi sakkai**, *n.* red variety of sorrel.
- ga-ri**, *n.* cart, wheel: *másu gari*, bullock-cart.
- ga-si**, *n.* a kind of tree (*Dilenia pentagyna*).
- ga-su-ra**, *n.* one who does not know how to work (masculine).
- ga-su-ri**, *n.* one who does not know how to work (feminine).
- gat**¹, *v.t.* load: *gate rákhua*, lift or load on to someone or for someone.
- gat**² ⇒ **phar**.
- gat**³, *n.* notch, step cut into surface to gain grip or foot-hold.
- ge**, *suff.* meaning 'so people say, so it is said': *cánata-ge*, people say it happened; *rákhunata-ge*, they say it was given.
- gem-sú** ~ **gemsuk**, *n.* pollen of a wild bush used to make indelible ink (used esp. for branding animals). **gemsúphan**, *n.* the bush from which ~ is collected.
- gen-drai**, *v.t.* dislike, detest. **gendrai gondrai**, *a.* (*echo*) disgusting.
- gen-gen**, **1.** *v.i.* muddy and not clear (water etc.): *cika gengena*, water is not clear. **2.** *adv.* very dirty (water): *cika engen boia*, water is very muddy.
- geŋ-geŋ**, *adv.* with teeth visible (laughter): *phakham geŋgeŋ minia*, laugh with teeth fully visible.
- geŋ-goŋ**, *n.* a big variety of frog.
- gep-sú** ⇒ **gepsuk**.
- gep-suk** ~ **gepsú**, *n.* rib.
- ger**, *v.t.* avoid.
- ger-da ger-di**, *adv.* (*echo*) disorderly, haphazardly: *gerda gerdi koe tana*, leave things thrown about; *panthón gerda gerdi kie toeta*, logs lie scattered all over.
- ger-di** ⇒ **gerda**.
- ge-re-gen-dra**, *a.* dirty (water): *cika nemca, geregendra*, water is very dirty.
- ger-ger** ~ **herher**, *v.i.* be creaky (voice, throat): *khúran gegera*, have course or rough voice; *tokraŋ gegera*, have a creaky voice or throat.
- ge-rok**, *n.* a creeper (seeds are used by children to play instead of marbles; also pulped and used instead of soap). **gerokthé**, *n.* its fruit: *gerokthé peke khoropa*, wash head with pulp made from its seeds.
- ge-stai**, *v.t.* touch in passing, rub against, brush against, scrub against: *kán gestaia*, body brushes against something or someone.
- gho-rai** ⇒ **gorai**.
- gim-bran**, *n.* cousins to each other provided parents are brother and sister or a man and his wife's younger sibling.
- gi-mi** ~ **gi-mi**, *n.* elder sister's husband, paternal aunt's sons, maternal uncles sons.
- gir-cuk** ~ **gi-cu**, *v.i.* feel ticklish.
- gir-cu-kuk**, *v.t.* tickle.
- gir-gir**, *adv.* plenty, abundant (esp. people congregating in one place): *kai girgir meraobaeta*, plenty of people are congregating. **girgir cau-cau**, *adv.* (*echo*) in big numbers.
- gi-ri**, *n.* lord, master. **girikai**, *n.* husband, address term for calling one's husband.
- glik-an** ~ **grokan**, *adv.* in one draught: *glikan riŋe rákhata*, drink in one draught.
- glik-glik** ~ **grogrok**, *adv.* fast (swal-

- lowing liquid): *glákglák ríne rákhata*, drink up fast.
- go** ⇒ **-gok**.
- gó-**, *cl.* for general things used only with numeral *-sa* 'one': *nok gó-sa*, one house. **gósan**, *a.* same, not different. **gósasan**, *a.* only one.
- go-bai**, *v.t.* dye, apply colour: *nenten gap gobaia*, dye thread.
- go-da**, *n.* bulbous or globular base of plants.
- go-dón**, *v.t.* fulfil, make sufficient.
- go-dot** ~ **godó**. *v.t.* let child down from being carried in cloth on the back.
- go-glak**, *v.i.* round and large (esp. eyes): *neken goglaka*, has large eyes; *tóbau neken goglaka*, owl has big eyes. **gogoglak**, *a.* & *adv.* with or having large and round (eyes): *neken gogoglak cia*, look with wide eyes, stare. **gorogoglak**, *a.* & *adv.* with or having big bulging eyes: *neken gorogoglak cia*, look with big and bulging eyes.
- go-jok**, *v.t.* save, redeem. **gojokbra**, *n.* saviour.
- gok** ~ **-go**, *suff.* meaning 'it is not so': *dónca-gok*, it is not true; *tonca-gok*, there is not (it is not true that there is).
- gok-gok**, *adv.* stare with a blank look: *gokgok cie toa*, stare or look fixedly as lost in a trance.
- gó-la**, *n.* (arch.) shop.
- gó-lai**, *v.t.* mix, dissolve.
- go-lam**, **1.** *n.* male servant, **golam bandi**, *n.* (echo) servants. **2.** (*verbal*) **golam khatia (golam khutia)**, earn one's living by entering service as a servant.
- go-leŋ go-leŋ**, *adv.* move around unenthusiastically and leisurely (mostly alone): *kai golen golen ríjama*, person walks alone and unenthusiastically or leisurely.
- gom**, *v.i.* bend downward: *maidon goma*, ear of paddy bends downward.
- go-mo-ne**¹, *n.* a kind of wasp.
- go-mo-ne**², *n.* a small wind instrument made of bamboo: *gomone táma*, play ~.
- gompha** *n.* chignon or hair coiled behind head.
- gon-drai** ⇒ **gendrai**.
- goŋ**, *v.i.* be willing.
- gón-gón**, *adv.* clearly, right in front of one's eyes (see): *neken góngón nuka*, see with one's own eyes, be an eye-witness (leaving no room for doubts).
- goŋ-má-sa**, *n.* very small variety of tiger (likes to dwell on trees).
- goŋ-o-le-ta**, *n.* a variety of grasshopper with long body.
- goŋ-sar**, *n.* a kind of insect.
- goŋ-sen** *a.* lazy; *n.* a lay person: *kaiŋ gonŋsenŋ*, the person is lazy. **gorogonŋen**, *a.* unwillingly, unenthusiastically, half-heartedly: *gorogonŋen kami ráa*, work unenthusiastically.
- gop**, **1.** *n.* story, conversation. **2.** (*verbal*) **gop khára**, converse.
- go-pa**, *n.* a creek-like narrow strip of paddy land with hillocks or highland on three sides. **gopasuk**, *n.* lower end of valley-like depression between two hillocks or head of creek-like narrow strip of paddy land with hillocks on three sides.
- go-rai** ~ **gho-rai**, *n.* horse.
- go-re-a**, *a.* lazy: *gorea kai*, a lazy person.
- gor-gor**, *adv.* just, exactly: *ná bacia gorgor dóŋo*, fish is enough for a meal.
- go-ta**, **1.** *a.* solid: *gota pakja*, solid object. **2.** entire, whole: *kán gota pusi kantran*, the whole body is full of dirt; *kui gota*, entire betel nut that is not cut. **gota gota**, *a.* giving feel of hardness or solidity: *mí gota gota*, curry that is not cooked properly.

gra, as in: (*idiom*) **gra dīma**, sprout or grow by itself (not planted).

gram, *v.i.* be left undone (work), be left uncultivated (land), (*fig.*) be unmarried: *há grame múnjo*, land be left uncultivated; *kami grame múnja*, work be left undone.

graŋ, **1.** *n.* bamboo framework for some construction (esp. roof). **2.** (*verbal*) **graŋ khaa**, tie the roof-frame. **3.** *v.t.* prepare the roof frame: *nokbe graŋe tanjo kípma jaŋkhuca*, the roof frame has been tied but has not been able to thatch.

grao-grao, *adv.* intensely (shivering): *kán graograo mota*, shiver much (of cold, sickness, fear etc.).

gráo-gráo, *a.* & *adv.* abundant: *kái kantra gráográo kamibe cáŋcanta*, people were plenty but the work was not done; *pakja gráográo páŋa*, things are abundant.

grau-an, *adv.* (*onom.*) with loud noise (said of the way trees fall): *pan grauan kia*, tree falls (esp. with foliage).

gre, *v.i.* be in excess, be surplus, have left over.

gret ~ **gré**, *v.t.* gnaw.

grok-, *cl.* for a draught of liquid: *cika grok-sa*, one draught.

grok-an ⇒ **glikan**.

grok-grok¹ ⇒ **glik-glik**.

grok-grok², *adv.* profusely (cry); *nukci grokgrok khaŋa*, cry profusely.

gron, *v.t.* gather together scraping along surface by hand or an instrument: *mrikmrik grone ráa*, gather up everything.

gron, *v.i.* flow (liquid): *cika grona*, water flows.

gron-sin, **1.** *n.* stripes (of animals). **2.** (*verbal*) **gronsin naŋa**, be striped, having stripes.

grop, *v.i.* digest (food), sink and settle (land, mud): *mai gropa*, digest a meal; *há gropa*, land sinks; *phaidam gropa*, have sunken cheeks.

grot ~ **gró**, *v.t.* scrape off, scrub out, shave off, scratch out: *há grotá*, scrape land or surface (shave off all grass); *kui grotá*, scrape betel nut.

-gruk, *suff.* meaning 'each other': *tán-gruka*, cut each other; *su-gruka*, butt or gore each other.

gruŋ, *v.t.* pile up (esp. logs esp. for burning): *báŋju gruŋa*, pile up logs.

grim, **1.** *n.* forest, jungle. **grim grim**, *adv.* along or through the forest.

2. (*verbal*) **grim bóa**, clear jungle. **grim cata**, forest be heavily wooded. **grim tuka**, become overgrown. **3.** (*idiom*) **grim kraŋa réŋa**, (*euphem.*) go to ease oneself.

grim-grim, *adv.* all together: *ni rapšan grimgrim réŋa*, come let us go all together.

grip, *v.t.* cover completely under (as with a basket etc.): *raŋkhop griŋa*, be overcast.

grit ~ **grí**, *v.t.* grind, crush to powder or small particles: *bamci gríta*, grind rice into fine powder; *típai gríta*, crush and powder a pulse called *típai*.

gu-duŋ, **1.** *postpos.* with *n.* at gen. meaning 'towards, on the side of': *hácu gudun*, in the direction of the hill. **2.** *suff.* in certain interrogatives meaning 'direction': *bengudun?*, which direction?; *benguduna?*, to which direction?; *bengudunipara?*, from which direction?

gu-dún, *v.t.* make climb, take in or on to (vehicles), promote or make pass to a higher class: *saikeli gudúŋe ráa*, take another on bicycle.

gu-gu-jem, *n.* dragonfly.

gu-gu-mún, *v.i.* nod one's head heavy with sleep, let head droop with drowsiness: *nukhar réme gugumúnja*, nod and let head droop with sleep.

gu-gur-baŋ, *n.* big variety of pigeon. **guk**, *n.* grasshopper. **gukgaŋge**, *n.* a variety of grasshopper. **guk**

- máda**, *n.* multicoloured (generally black and yellow) variety of grasshopper. **guk makcok**, *n.* a variety of grasshopper with small head, long legs and body that is perpendicularly flat. **guk nenteŋ**, *n.* a variety of grasshopper. **guk paŋthón**, *n.* a variety of grasshopper with short body. **guk pitam**, *n.* variety of grasshopper found in paddy fields. **guk ráirok**, *n.* big variety of green grasshopper. **guk salí**, *n.* a variety found abundantly in paddy fields at harvest season. **guk siri**, *n.* a big variety of grasshopper. **guk teretempon**, *n.* a variety of grasshopper. **guk tikar (guk ramini)**, *n.* a variety of grasshopper.
- gul-duŋ**, *v.i.* having large hollow horizontally in side of rock, hill, cliff etc.: *rónka hákhar guldunə*, hollow (horizontal) in rock is large. **guldudun**, *a.* having a large cave-like hollow area in a horizontal or vertical surface.
- gu-li**¹, *n.* bullet.
gu-li², *n.* cattle shed.
- gun**, **1.** *n.* tiny insects that attack bamboo etc. **2.** (*verbal*) **gun kaka**, be attacked by ~.
- gu-nai**, *v.i.* think, feel: *náme ato gunaiə*?, what do you feel or think?
- gun-dra**, *n.* powder (general).
- gun-du**, *n.* navel that has grown big.
gundugron, *n.* one who has navel that has grown big.
- gun-ji**, *n.* fine dust-like particles or husk.
- gun-gar**, **1.** *n.* mucus: *gungar dogota*, have a leaky nose. **gungarpré**, *n.* one whose nose always leaks. **2.** (*verbal*) **gungar sepa**, clean nose, blow nose. **3.** (*idiom*) **gungar paka**, catch common cold.
- gun-ki-la**¹, **1.** *n.* gate with sliding bamboo: *gunkila cipa*, close ~. **2.** *n.* one of two pedals in loom for raising and lowering the two layers of warp to be crossed by weft: *gunkila nake jaki coka*, raise and lower warp by the action of ~.
- gun-ki-la**², *n.* a kind of fish with long body and long head (*Esox cancila*).
- gur**, *v.i.* lie down: *gure toa*, stay lying.
- gursi**, *n.* sleep.
- gu-rai**, **1.** *v.i.* go around, move in a circular motion: *tíkam guraiə*, feely giddy or feel a whirling sensation in the head. **2.** *v.t.* turn something around.
- gur-gur**, *adv.* with rolling noise: *raŋ gurgur kriŋə*, thunder with rolling and crashing sound. **gurgur gar-gar**, *adv.* (*echo*) with rolling and crashing sound.
- gur-phan** ~ **gu-ru-phan**, **1.** *n.* priest, a religious leader. **2.** (*verbal*) **gur-phan coka**, ordain or anoint one as a priest.
- gur-si**, *v.i.* sleep.
- gu-ru-phan** ⇒ **gurphan**.
- gu-si**, **1.** *n.* abscess. **gusimairam**, *n.* pimple. **gusi neken**, *n.* eye of the abscess. **gusi nuka**, *n.* eye of the abscess. **2.** (*verbal*) **gusi pura**, abscess bursts. **gusi taka**, form abscess.
- gu-tu-sú**, *v.i.* nudge, push or hit with elbow.
- gi-dak** ~ **gidik**, *v.t.* console, turn off (radio etc.); *khapkai gidaka*, console one in sorrow, console one crying.
- gi-dán**, *v.t.* receive into, accept into, take inside.
- gi-dap**, *v.t.* cover, block vision; *hácu gidapcadonbe soŋə nukəmən*, had not the hill blocked vision the village would be visible.
- gi-dim**, *v.t.* make grow or sprout: *kén gidima*, make seeds sprout (by putting in water etc.).
- gi-jái**, *v.t.* shift, change place.
- gi-jar**, *v.t.* remove, wash off: *gap gijara*, remove colour; *sua gijara*, remove ritual impurity.

gi-jim, *v.t.* crush into bits and pieces, powder or pulp.

gin-ar ~ **gimbar**, **1.** *n.* perspiration.

2. (*verbal*) **gimar dogota**, perspire.

3. *v.i.* perspire.

gin-bar ⇒ **gimar**.

gi-mi ⇒ **gimi**.

gin-thé, **1.** *n.* a projection, bulge or similar growth. **gigimthé**, *a.* having several bulges. **2.** (*verbal*) **gimthé naŋa**, having some projection.

gin¹, **1.** *n.* odour, smell, scent. **2.** (*verbal*) **gin koa**, exude or give out odour.

gin² as in: (*idiom*) **gin ráa**, be interested in and enquire of someone's well-being or be respectful and helpful.

gin, *v.t.* wash (general).

gi-nal, *n.* crocodile.

gin-da-, *cl.* for groups of four things: *gindasa*, one group of things.

gin-gin-ai, *v.i.* hum, hum a tune: *ramroro ginginaia*, hum along the way.

gip-thái ~ **gipthé**, *n.* pangolin, ant-eater with scaly hide.

gipthé ⇒ **gipthái**.

gir, *v.t.* collect.

gir-di-na, *n.* nape or back of the neck.

gir-gir, **1.** *v.i.* burn with bright embers: *bár gírgíra*, fire has plenty of glowing embers. **2.** *adv.* with glow, bright with plenty of embers: *bár gírgír paka*, fire burning with plenty of bright embers.

gít-gít, *adv.* very intense (darkness): *handar gítgít cáŋa*, become very dark with no light at all.

gít-i, **1.** *n.* intense darkness: *gíti cáŋra-ŋeta*, nights are becoming darker (as the moon wanes); *lanŋre gíti cáŋa* (*lanŋre gíti kia*), moon rises late in the night. **2.** *adv.* intensely (dark): *gíti handara*, become very dark.

gít-mít, *adv.* enthusiastically, earnestly: *gítmít kami ráa*, work earnestly.

gi-tí-khí-rao, *a.* fearless and powerful: *gítíkhírao kai*, a strong and powerful and fearless person.

H

ha, as in: **ha mandai**, *excl.* how sad! what a pity!

há, **1.** *n.* land, soil, earth. **há nikhi**, *n.* a variety of bee called *nikhi* that build hive in the ground. **há neka**, *n.* a variety of bees called *neka* that build hive in the earth. **2.** (*verbal*) **há díra**, have an earthquake. **há tímína**, plough and prepare field well for planting (*lit.* make land ripe). **3.** (*idiom*) **há rákhua**, bury (the dead).

há-ba, *n.* portion of work that is one's share, one's share of work.

há-ba-coŋ, *v.t.* begin.

há-baŋ, *a.* open and uncultivated: *hábaŋ há*, land that is open and uncultivated.

há-cu, **1.** *n.* hill. **hácu bóma**, *n.* foot of the hill. **hácu hájek**, *n.* (*echo*) mountains and hills. **hácu sábra**, *n.* a hillock, a small hill. **hácu kindam**, *n.* ridge. **hácu-drop** (**hácu-dop**), *n.* hillock.

há-da-bur ⇒ **hádubur**.

há-da-la, **1.** *n.* fence (that is made in sections and put together): *hadala khósa*, one stretch of prefabricated fence. **2.** (*verbal*) **hadala kóma**, fence an area with such fence. **hadala rapa**, make parts of such a fence. **hadala thuka**, build fence or place the various prefabricated parts to form the fence.

há-dam, **1.** *n.* place. **2.** (*verbal*) **há-dam ráa**, take or occupy a place.

- há-dar**, *n.* cattle-feed, grub: *bódomi hadar toecaro*, (colloquial) there is no more food in the stomach.
- há-dron** ⇒ **nokdron**.
- há-du la-da** ⇒ **háduŋ lada**.
- há-du-bur** ~ **hádabur**, **1.** *n.* dust.
2. (*verbal*) **hádubur paka**, be dusty (on something).
- há-duŋ**, *n.* a sub-clan: *háduŋ barai*, the ~ sub-clan.
- há-duŋ la-da** ~ **hádu lada**, *n.* clod, lump of mud.
- há-ga-grak** ~ **hájeger**, *n.* dry soil that is quite similar to crushed laterite stone.
- há-ga-jú**, *n.* one who places oneself and offers oneself before others for any activity.
- há-ga ha-ga**, *adv.* before anyone else, placing oneself before others for any activity: *haga haga aguia*, push oneself before others.
- há-ram** as in: (*verbal*) **hairam ráa**, *v.i.* yawning.
- há-je-ger** ⇒ **hágagrak**.
- há-jek** ⇒ **hácú**.
- hak** as in: (*verbal*) **hak rákhua**, forbid, command not to do, not allow.
- há-ka**, *n.* slope, gradient (in land).
- há-ka-da-ka**, *adv.* hurriedly.
- há-kap**, *n.* shore: *tambroŋ hákap*, riverbank, *sagor hákap*, sea-shore. **hákáp** **hákáp**, *adv.* along the shore or bank.
- hak-ciŋ** ~ **haksin**, *v.i.* sneeze.
- há-khan**, **1.** *n.* termite, white ants. **hákhandrop**, *n.* a earth mound created by termite. **2.** (*verbal*) **hákhan kaka**, be eaten by white ants. **hákhan sáa**, be eaten by white ants.
- há-khar**, *n.* hole.
- há-khar-dup**, *n.* small pit or ditch (esp. one made by taking mud for building house).
- há-koŋ**, *n.* edge of land at which land drops or slopes abruptly into the river.
- hak-siŋ** ⇒ **hakciŋ**.
- hal**, **1.** *n.* ploughing, ploughing bulls. **2.** (*verbal*) **hal baia**, plough. **hal coŋa**, begin to plough, begin the ploughing season. **hal deŋa**, finish the day's ploughing, to set ploughing animals free after the day's work. **hal dúŋa**, finish the season's cultivation (up to planting). **hal toa**, there is some ploughing to be done. **3.** *cl.* for a pair of ploughing bulls as well as for animals for sacrifice: *másu hal-sa*, a pair of ploughing bulls; *parok hal-sa*, a pair of doves.
- há-la-daŋ**, *n.* lumps of mud in a field (esp. churned up while ploughing): *háladaŋ títikrita*, smash or pound such lumps to powder.
- ha-la-laŋ** ⇒ **huluŋ**.
- ha-laŋ** ⇒ **huluŋ**.
- hal-siŋ-**, **1.** *n.* a string of anything stung on it. **2.** (*verbal*) **halsin suka**, string together. **3.** *cl.* for a string of fish, meat etc.: *ná halsin-sa*, one string of fish.
- ha-lu-a**, *n.* ploughing bull.
- ham**, *v.t.* build.
- há-man-ji**, *n.* clay (esp. the kind used for making pots).
- ham-jar**, **1.** *n.* field where jhum cultivation or shift cultivation is done. **2.** (*verbal*) **hamjar bóa**, clear an area for jhum cultivation. **ham-jar neta**, keep watch over a jhum field. **hamjar sáa**, cultivate a field according to jhum cultivation.
- ham-preŋ**, **1.** *n.* thatching. **ham-preŋ nok**, *n.* a thatch house, a hut. **hampreŋ sani**, *n.* small variety of thatch grass. **2.** (*idiom*) **ham-preŋ paia**, (said of another) be short of hearing (*lit.* carry thatch—grating sound of thatch makes one oblivious or deaf to other sounds).
- han-dar** ~ **handar**, *v.i.* be dark. **handar-gitgit**, *a.* very dark. **handar-momo**, *a.* twilight: *handarmomopeke*

*ri*baa, come by twilight. **handar-cipaŋcipaŋ**, *a.* be twilight: *handar-cipaŋcipaŋ cáŋa*, be or become twilight. **handarsusu**, *a.* dark: *handarsusu cáŋa*, be dark (as in a thick forest).

han-dár ⇒ **handar**.

han-ti, *v.i.* commute, go regularly or often between places or from place to place.

haŋ, *v.t.* place by the fire, expose to the heat of the fire: *bárdami haŋ tana*, keep by the fire. **haŋ-haŋ**, *adv.* with intensity (of heat): *bár haŋ-haŋ túŋa*, fire is very hot; *kán haŋ-haŋ túŋa*, run a high temperature.

háŋ-ceŋ, **1.** *n.* sand. **háŋceŋdam**, *n.* place where there is sand. **háŋceŋ-grim**, *n.* desert, a sandy place. **2.** (*verbal*) **háŋceŋ coka**, gather sand from river (from under the water).

haŋ-gai, *v.t.* threaten: *kokŋa haŋgaia*, threaten to beat.

haŋ-gar¹, **1.** *n.* fence. **2.** (*verbal*) **haŋ-gar khaa**, fence, build a fence (specific reference to tying). **haŋ-gar kóma**, enclose with a fence (specific reference to enclosing an area). **haŋgar thuka**, build or plant a fence (specific reference to planting fence posts).

haŋ-gar², *n.* charcoal.

haŋ-krai, *v.i.* shout aloud, call loud out to: *haŋkraie pra^oa*, call loud out to.

haŋ-siŋ, *n.* duck.

hao-hao¹ ⇒ **túntún**.

hao-hao², *v.i.* regret esp. about a lost opportunity: *rákhubapeke ráca tébe haohao*, did not take when offered, now (subj.) regrets.

ha-pa-i ⇒ **hapoi**.

hap-ci, **1.** *n.* slush, muck. **hapci cupci**, *n.* (*echo*) slush. **2.** (*verbal*) **hapci naŋa**, be slushy. **hapci paka**, be smeared with slush. **hapci taka**, be slushy.

ha-po-i ~ **hapai**, *adv.* after some time from now, later on, some time back from now: *hapoi réŋo*, will go sometime from now; *hapoian ri^banata*, came long back. **hapoitaŋ**, *adv.* a little later.

har-cok, *v.i.* abstain from work and observe a day of fast: *kai sidon madoŋ soŋdronaŋ harcoka*, when death occurs entire village fasts and abstains from work.

har-cu, **1.** *n.* crop of birds or pouch in bird's gullet as preliminary digesting place. **2.** *n.* goitre or enlargement of thyroid gland. **3.** (*verbal*) **harcu naŋa**, having ~.

har-har ⇒ **hirhir**.

há-sar, **1.** *n.* fertiliser: **2.** (*verbal*) **hásar rákhua (hásar koa)**, spread manure (for plants).

ha-si-sa ku-ri-sa, *n.* (*arch., echo*) those gathered in an assembly, gathering of people.

há-soŋ, *n.* land, country: *Rába hásoŋ*, land of the Rabhas. **hásoŋ cika**, *n.* native land. **hásoŋ thákai**, *n.* a sacrifice to propitiate deity *hásoŋ bai*.

há-srak, *n.* red soil.

há-sri as in: **hástri há**, *n.* a field abandoned or left fallow after a certain period of jhum cultivation.

há-sur ⇒ **noksuri**.

há-su-ri ⇒ **noksuri**.

hat¹, **1.** *n.* weekly market. **hatkhola**, *n.* market place, the precise place where weekly market is held. **2.** (*verbal*) **hat sáa**, hold weekly market, make purchases at weekly market.

hat², *n.* week: *hat paksa*, one week.

há-ta-kan, *n.* slopes around paddy-fields.

ha-taŋ, *postpos.* to *v.* + suffix *-ba* meaning 'while or towards': *naiba hataŋ (naibaatan)*, towards morning; *réŋbaatan*, while going.

- há-tok**, *n.* **1.** a region, an area.
hátok citok, *n.* (*echo*) area, region.
2. a subclan.
- hau-sa**, *n.* desire, wish: *réna hausa cáŋeta*, desire to go.
- he-go**, *int.* behold (here), here, here it is.
- hek-jok**, *v.i.* be slanting or bending sideways: *hekjoke réna*, become slanting. **hekjojok**, *a.* bent and slanting sideways: *rampar koke aŋi nok hekjojok cáŋjo*, beaten by the wind my house became slanting in one direction. **herehekjok**, *a.* unsteady of steps, shaking this way and that: *bar paidon kay herehekjok cáŋa*, someone carrying a load becomes unsteady of steps.
- hel-bon**, *v.i.* be fat and pot-bellied.
helbon melbon, *a.* (*echo*) very fat and with protuberant belly. **helbobon**, *a.* fat and with protuberant belly: *kaiian helbobonse*, the person is very fat and bulky. **herehelbon**, *adv.* with the swinging and swaying of a fat pot-bellied person (walk): *herehelbon rjama*, walk the way a pot-bellied person walks.
- hel-dem**, *v.i.* be very fat (human): *kaiian heldema*, person is very fat.
heldedem, *a.* very fat: *ube heldedem maŋsin naŋa*, he is very fat. **heldem huldum**, *a.* (*echo*) very fat.
- he-len**, *v.i.* recline, lean against: *nok-dari helene nua*, sit against the wall (house).
- hem-pa-pak-laŋ** ⇒ **henpapaklaŋ**.
hem-phlaŋ ⇒ **henphlaŋ**.
- heŋ¹**, *adv.* here: *heŋkoro*, this way. **heŋhoŋ**, *adv.* here and there.
- heŋ²**, *v.t.* raise one's hand to hit, beat etc.: *khápak heŋa*, spread one's chest out; *tási heŋa*, to aim a blow.
- héŋ**, *v.i.* be parse, be not dense, be sparse, be placed at a distance from each other, (thread in clothes, bamboo strips in woven articles etc.), rare (occurrence): *enganda cáŋkaibe héŋa*, such happening is rare.
- heŋ-goŋ**, *v.i. lit.* have a big stomach (usu. fig. of pregnant condition).
heŋgoŋ meŋgoŋ, *a.* (*echo*) having very prominent stomach. **heŋgoŋ**, *a.* having prominent stomach.
- héŋ-graŋ**, *v.i.* be very sparse: *phakham héŋgraŋa*, teeth are separated from each other. **héŋgagraŋ**, *a.* very sparse.
- heŋ-pa-pak-laŋ** ~ **hempapaklaŋ**, *adv.* on this side.
- heŋ-phlaŋ** ~ **hemphlaŋ**, *adv.* this side: *hácu heŋphlaŋ*, this side of the hill. **heŋphlaŋ hoŋphlaŋ**, *adv.* both the sides, on both the sides.
- her-her** ⇒ **gergera**.
- hes-pes**, *adv.* hurriedly, with hurried haste.
- hir-hir**, *adv.* (*onom.*) gently (blowing of breeze): *hirhir rampara*, wind blows gently producing a soothing effect.
hirhir harhar, *adv.* (*echo*) gently and soothingly (wind blowing).
- hiti** ~ **huti** ~ **híti**, **1.** *n.* elephant.
hitimonol, *n.* an elephant track, the Milky Way. **hitiphaceŋ**, *n.* tusk of the elephant. **hitisuli**, *n.* trunk of the elephant. **2.** (*verbal*) **hiti kríŋa**, elephant bellows.
- hi-tuk**, *n.* advice, instigation: *hituk rákhua*, advise, give advice.
- ho-go**, *int.* behold (there), there, there it is.
- hok**, *v.i.* scold and shout (esp. expletives, curses etc.): *hoke toa*, keep shouting curses.
- ho-lok**, *v.i.* be impetuously enthusiastic and eager (to go): *jasinaba holoka*, is impetuously enthusiastic for anything or to go anywhere.
holok holok, *a.* over-enthusiastic or over-eager to go anywhere: *jasinaba holok holok khára*, is eager to go anywhere.
- hom-pa-pak-laŋ** ⇒ **hoŋpapaklaŋ**.

hom-phlan ⇒ **honphlan**.

hon, *adv.* there: *honkoro*, that way.

hón, *v.i.* bark (dog): *kí hóna*, dog barks.

hon-ka, **1.** *n.* hookah, tobacco pipe with long tube and the vase or bamboo tube or coconut shell of water through which smoke is drawn. **honka silam**, *n.* (*echo*) hookah (pipe and the pot). **2.** (*verbal*) **honka sáa**, smoke a hookah.

hón-kur ⇒ **húnkur**.

hon-pa-pak-lan ~ **hompapaklan**, *adv.* on the other side.

hon-phlan ~ **homphlan**, *adv.* that side, on that side, the other side, on the other side: *hácu honphlan*, on the other side of the hill.

hór-an, *adv.* in a sudden powerful stream: *hóran khua*, pour fast and in a big stream (emptying the content fast).

hor-cok hor-cok, *adv.* accompanied by rapid up and down movement (dance): *horcok horcok phísaa*, dance with rapid and lively rising and falling movement.

hór-hór, *adv.* in a continuous stream, gushing out or gushing forth in large amount or numbers: *hórhór khua*, pour out fast and in big stream; *kai hórhór dánjo*, many people entered.

hor-jeñ, *v.i.* (*onom.*) chirp (cricket): *bankhon horjeña*, cricket chirps.

hor-ka, **1.** *n.* conical fish-trap with one wide mouth and tapering to the other end made by splitting

only one end of bamboo. **2.** (*verbal*)

horka rapa, weave a ~. **horka saia**, set up ~ as a trap.

hot as in: (*verbal*) **hot mania**, wonder in disbelief; be astonished.

hu-du-he-de, *n.* (*onom.*) nocturnal bird of kite family that cries *hudu hudu hede hede*.

huk-ur, *v.i.* bellow or roar (bull): *másu hukura*, cow or bull roars.

hu-lun, *v.i.* be very big, baggy and ill-fitting (clothes), be very spacious (house etc.). **hululun**, *a.* very big and spacious (house etc.); baggy (dress): *cola hululun*, very baggy shirt.

hulun halan, *a.* (*echo*) very spacious.

hululun halalan, *a.* very spacious.

hún-kur ~ **hónkur**, growl, roar (tiger).

hur ⇒ **huri**.

hur-hur, *adv.* moderately (hot): *cika hurhur túña*, water is moderately hot.

hu-ri ~ **hur**, **1.** *n.* clan consisting of other sub-clans. **2.** (*verbal*) **huri khéa**, have no impediments arising from the inter-relatedness of clans. **huri tata**, belong to related sub-clans.

hu-ti ⇒ **hiti**.

hi -lau, *n.* a black gibbon, black monkey.

hi -rñ hi -rñ, *adv.* hear indistinctly (crying, speaking, shouting etc. as from a distance): *khapkaio hírñ hírñ naa*, hear distant crying indistinctly.

hi -ti ⇒ **hiti**.

I

i¹ *pron.* (pl. ~**bijan**, **-ron**). this.

-i², *suff.* indicating locative 'in, at, on': *hácu-i*, in the hills; *káma-i*, below, down; *kára-i*, above, on top; *nok-i*, in the house.

i-an-san ⇒ **iasan**.

i-a-san ~ **iansan** ~ **esan**, *adv.* just now: *iasan mai sánata*, just had meal.

i-da-ga-i ~ **edagai**, *adv.* here, in this place.

- i-gan-da** ~ **eganda** ~ **enganda**, *adv.* like this. **igandakhare**, *adv.* in this way.
- i-lam**, **1.** *n.* auction. **2.** (*verbal*) **ilam khára**, auction out.
- i-na**, compound suffix meaning ‘to, onto, towards, in the direction of’: *bisina?*, to where?; *hatina*, to the market; *kámaina*, downwards; *kárina*, upwards; *nokina*, to the house.
- i-ni**, compound suffix meaning ‘of, belonging to’: *nokini pakjabijan*, belongings from the house; *sonini kaitan*, people of the village.
- in-tuñ**, *a.* this much (size being indicated), so big as this, of this size. **intuñ intuñ**, *a.* as big as this.
- intuñ teka**, *a.* just as big as this.
- is**, *n.* long rod connecting yoke and plough.
- i-si**, *adv.* here, in this place: *isi-an*, here itself; *isi-na*, to here, to this place; *isi-ni*, of here, belonging here; *isi-nipara*, from this place.
- I-sor**, *n.* God: *Isor katan ardia*, pray to God.
- i-si -man** ⇒ **isiman**.
- i-si -mañ** ~ **isiman**, *adv.* at this opportunity, now when it is opportune: *isimanan réña*, go now when it is opportune, go at this opportunity.
- i-ti-has**, *n.* history.

J

- ja**, **1.** *rel. pron.* he who, that which. **jajana kára**, above all, in the highest degree, of more excellent or desirable kind: *jajana kára nemkai*, the best one. **2.** (*idiom*) **jani pap ja**, each one will be responsible for his sins.
- ja-bu-ra** ⇒ **jampura**.
- ja-da**, *n.* a variety of lemon or acid fruit with thick rough peel.
- ja-da-i**, *adv.* some time in the future: *jadai bitiri*, in coming year.
- ja-don**, *int.* whatever it be, whatever may be, any way, come what may: *jadon tébe neme ton!*, whatever may be now stay in peace!
- ja-dún**, *v.i.* be startled, get frightened. **jadún japhrata**, *v.* (*echo*) be startled. **jadudún**, *adv.* unexpectedly: *jadudún bóña*, meet suddenly and unexpectedly. **jarajadún**, *a.* be startled, be frightened: *jarajadún cáña*, be startled.
- ja-e-ton**, *adv.* used only in combination with another verb with suff. *-eton* or *-ton* meaning: ‘even if, whether or not’: *bukhieton jaeton ame sáca*, whether hungry or not I will not eat; *handarton jaeton ame réño*, whether it is dark or not I will go; *khapeton jaeton ame kokño*, whether (you) cry or not I will beat (you).
- ja-ga-mai**, *n.* pupa, the near-final stage of insects in passive development in cocoon just before becoming imago: *jagamai phéna*, become pupa, turn into pupa.
- ja-glan**, *n.* evil spirit that is believed to have the capacity to appear in varied shapes and forms to frighten men and is capable of sucking off human blood.
- ja-gon**, *a.* & *adv.* any (place, person taken at random): *jagona ta réñ*, do not go anywhere indiscriminately; *jagoni katha ta ráa*, do not listen to just anyone.
- ja-has**, *n.* ship.
- jái**, *v.i.* change place, shift place: *nok jáia*, change dwelling place.

jai-a ⇒ **jaina**.

jai-na ~ **jaia**, *n.* shadow, image: *jaina kia*, throw shadow, cast shadow.

-jak¹, *suff.* used along with name of son or daughter by father or mother while calling son-in-law or daughter-in-law respectively: *Raju-jak*, (a way of referring to) wife of Raju (by parents of Raju).

jak², *v.t.* remove pots etc. from stove, remove material from pots, mortar etc.; *mai jake tana*, take down pot of rice from the stove; *sámipara mairuŋ jaka*, remove rice from mortar.

ja-ka as in: (*idiom*) **jaka babra jaka sábra**, like father like son. **nán jaka aŋ oka**, I am as you are.

ja-ka-doŋ-ba, *conj.* whatever happens, whatever it is, at any rate: *jakdoŋba ame réŋo*, whatever happens I will go.

ja-ka-doŋ-be, *conj.* so that.

ja-ka-kau, *a.* completely overgrown, filled with overgrowth (esp. with creepers): *grím jakakau cáŋe réŋjo* (*grím kantra jakakau*), place is overgrown.

ja-ka-ma-ka, *adv.* haphazardly, carelessly, without paying proper attention: *jakamaka ta réŋ*, be careful not to go or move around freely (there could be danger).

ja-ka-pe-ke-ba, *adv.* at any time.

ja-ka-si, *a.* disorderly and untidy (human, usu. women): *jakasi kai*, an untidy person. **jakasi makasi**, *a.* (*echo*) untidy and disorderly.

ja-khar-e ~ **jakhre**, *adv.* the way that (something is or is done): *jakhareba*, any how. **jakhare mána jakhare**, *adv.* just any how (carelessly), whichever way is possible.

ja-ki as in: (*verbal*) **jaki coka**, raise and lower the two layers of warp alternately: *gunkila nake jaki coka*, operate the pedals of loom to

raise and lower the two layers of warp alternately to be crossed by weft.

ja-ko-ba, *int.* come what may!, let it be! I don't care the consequences (as a reply to other's warning): *jakoba*, *ame réŋo!*, come what may, I will go!

ja-kri, **1.** *n.* occasion, time when something takes place: *ekai jakri*, this time; *maiani uni ribakai jakri*, the last time when he came; *ribakai jakri*, the next time. **jakri jakri**, *adv.* occasionally, intermittently: *jakri jakri raŋ phaa*, it rains now and then; *jakri jakri ribae toa*, come occasionally. **2.** prefixed to numerals to indicate number of times (of rain, earthquake): *jakrisa há d̄̄rnata*, there was one jolt of earthquake; *jakrisa raŋ phanata*, it rained once.

jal, **1.** *n.* net used for trapping animals while hunting. **2.** (*verbal*) **jal rapa**, make a net. **jal saia**, set up a net as a trap.

ja-lak ⇒ **juluk**.

ja-la-lak ⇒ **juluk**.

jal-luk, *n.* chilly: *jalluk braobrao khi-sua*, chilly is very pungent.

jam¹, *n.* granary.

jam², *n.* a tree. **jamthé**, *n.* its fruit.

-jam³, *suff.* meaning 'needlessly or carelessly': *dónkai dóncakai injama*, say anything without proper thought or reason; *nemcakai pakja ine phámánebe sá-jama*, eat knowing that it is not good.

ja-ma, *n.* a kind of frock worn by bridegroom on wedding day or by men for traditional and ritual dances.

ja-ma ⇒ **jumuk**.

ja-mán-ja-khar-e ⇒ **jamjakhare**.

ja-mán-ja-na ⇒ **jamjana**.

ja-mán-ja-o ⇒ **jamjao**.

ja-mán-ja-si ⇒ **jamjasi**.

- ja-mao**, *int.* expression of pity, sympathy: *jamao! náme ato cáño?*, oh! what ever happened to you?
- ja-mat**, *n.* group of villages or body of people who reside in an area abiding by a certain code of social conduct having binding force.
- jam-bu-ra**, *n.* a big variety of lemon (*Cytrus decumana*).
- jam-go-da** as in: **jamgoda du-búa** ~ **jamgoda dugúa**, *v.t.* be held immovable in sleep supposedly by one's own shadow.
- ja-mi** ⇒ **jora**.
- jam-ja-khar-e** ~ **jamánjakhare**, *adv.* disorderly, any how, haphazardly: *jamjakhare ta nu*, do not sit improperly or haphazardly.
- jam-ja-na** ~ **jamánjana**, *pron.* to any one (dat.): *jamjana ta rákhu*, do not give just to anyone indiscriminately.
- jam-ja-o** ~ **jamánjao**, *pron.* anything, any one (acc.): *jamjao ta léga rá*, do not take just any one indiscriminately as a friend.
- jam-ja-si** ~ **jamánjasi**, *adv.* any where with out any order: *jamjasi tana*, place any where unsystematically.
- jam-ma-kra**, **1.** *n.* maize, corn. **jammakrani akhoi**, *n.* popcorn. **2.** (*idiom*) **jammakra khúman dogota**, fibrous hairy substance has begun to grow out of the maize pod. **jammakra mai dogota**, maze has begun to flower.
- jam-pur** ~ **jabur**, *v.i.* be leafy, have thick foliage. **jampur jampur**, *a.* having plenty of leaves; **jam-pupur**, *a.* having thick foliage.
- jam-mún**, *v.t.* forget; *jamúne réna*, forget. **jamúnphala**, *n.* an absent-minded or inattentive or forgetful person. **jamún sumún**, *adv.* (*echo*) absent-mindedly, forgetfully: *jamún sumún imna máño*, happened to say forgetfully or absent-mindedly.
- ján**, *v.i.* be distant, be far: *jáne réna*, become distant or distanced.
- ja-na-bra**, **1.** *n.* younger sister (in relation to an elder sister). **2.** (*verbal*) **janabra mána**, be related as a younger sister.
- ja-nam** ~ **jarnam**, *adv.* very: *janam nema*, very good.
- jan-jo-a**, *n.* twins: *janjoa mána*, have twins.
- ja-no** ~ **-jono**, *suff.* meaning 'might have or will have': *nukkuca-jano*, might not have seen; *sákuca-jano*, might not have eaten.
- ja-noñ**, **1.** *n.* younger sister (in relation to an elder sister). **janon jinon**, (*echo*) younger sisters. **2.** (*verbal*) **janon mána**, be related as a younger sister.
- jan-thi**, **1.** *n.* cylindrical bamboo filter to keep the rice beer separate from the solid concoction in a pot that is brewing rice beer, any such filter: *janthi khúman khaphuṇa*, tie the mouth of ~ to keep solid matter from falling inside. **2.** (*verbal*) **janthi rapa**, make or weave a filter.
- jan**, *v.i.* be able: *kháma jaṇa*, be able to do.
- jaṇ-bra**, **1.** *n.* son-in-law. **2.** (*verbal*) **jaṇbra mána**, get a son-in-law, be related as a son-in-law.
- ján-bra**, **1.** *n.* wife's elder sister. **2.** (*verbal*) **jánbra mána**, be related as an elder sister of the wife.
- jaṇ-i**, *n.* bodily appearance, figure (*animate*): *jaṇi benganda?*, how is the appearance?; *jaṇi nema*, the appearance is good, is good-looking.
- jaṇ-jaṇ** ⇒ **jinjin janjan**.
- jaṇ-ka**, *n.* round bamboo sieve used for sifting out chaff and grain that may have been blown off along with chaff while winnowing from

- courser particles of broken hay: *jan̄ka peke cádoḡ kecaia*, sift paddy from chaff using ~.
- jan̄-khla**, **1.** *n.* ladder, stretcher or stretcher-like contrivance. **2.** (*verbal*) **jan̄khla rapa**, make a stretcher.
- jan̄-oi**, **1.** *n.* son-in-law who leaves parental home and stays with wife's relatives. **2.** (*verbal*) **jan̄oi khaa**, make negotiations to keep one as ~. **jan̄oi múña**, leave parental home and join wife's relatives. **jan̄oi réña**, leave parental home to join wife's relatives. **jan̄oi s̄ña**, make marriage proposal to be a ~.
- já-o**, *v.t.* fry.
- jao-ai**, *v.t.* rear seedling.
- jap**, **1.** *n.* a hand-fan. **2.** (*verbal*) **jap bata**, weave a fan (of bamboo). **jap rapa**, make a fan (of thread etc.). **3.** *v.t.* wave, fan, pedal, row, paddle: *jap̄ japa*, fan oneself with a hand-fan; *maī japa*, winnow, blow off chaff; *n̄ñ japa*, row a boat; *tási jape praḡa*, wave to someone, call by waving the hand.
- ja-phrat** ~ **japhrá**, *v.i.* be scared, be terrified. **jarajaphrá**, *a.* terrified, scared: *jarajaphrá cáña*, become terrified, become scared.
- jar**, *v.i.* run, diminish: *jare réña*, run away. **jara pata**, *v.i.* (*echo*) run away, *lit.* run away and cross over; *bisina jarno bisina páno?*, where can one take shelter?
- jar-nam** ⇒ **janam**.
- jar-pi-rek**, **1.** *n.* mole or dark coloured spot on skin. **2.** (*verbal*) **jarpirek naña**, have ~.
- jar-thún** ⇒ **jartún**.
- jar-tún** ~ **jarthún** ~ **dartún** ~ **darthún**, *v.i.* run very fast and excitedly.
- ja-sa**, *v.t.* calumniate, speak ill behind the back.
- ja-sa-jam-a**, *v.i.* speak and spread evil of others.
- ja-sa-khrok**, *n.* one who speaks ill of others.
- ja-sar**, *v.i.* be beautiful: *kaī jasarbaeta*, person is growing beautiful.
- ja-si-gon̄-a** ~ **jasikoña**, *adv.* any where: *jasigoña ta réñ*, do not go to where one is not sure of; *jasigoñan d̄ma*, sprouts or grows anywhere.
- ja-si-koñ-a** ⇒ **jasigoña**.
- jat**¹, *n.* tribe. **jat kul**, *n.* (*echo*) ancestry, family of descent: *jat ton̄ca kul ton̄ca*, has no one as relatives.
- jat**², **1.** *n.* reality, truth: *jatan*, it is really true; *jatbe ian*, the truth is this. **jat kháre**, *adv.* honestly, really, truly. **2.** *a.* real: *jat hádam*, the real place, the exact place.
- ja-tha-phrat** ~ **jathaphrá**, *v.t.* induce fear, intimidate, terrify.
- ja-ti**, *a.* local, not foreign. **jati bá**, *n.* a variety of bamboo. **jati bak**, *n.* local variety of pig. **jati ham-pren̄ (bata hampren̄)**, *n.* a tall variety of thatch-grass with broad leaves. **jati libak**, *n.* a small variety of frog. **jati mébao**, *n.* a big variety of gourd. **jati neka**, bees that build their hive on trees or eaves of houses. **jati rái**, *n.* a wild plant whose leaf is used for packing food.
- jat-o-khar-e** ~ **jatokore**, *adv.* really, sincerely, truly, indeed: *jatokharean dóa*, is indeed true; *jatokharean toa*, indeed there is.
- jat-o-kor-e** ⇒ **jatokhare**.
- ja-ti -kir**, *v.t.* frighten, intimidate, terrorise.
- je-grep**, *v.i.* having a coarse or feeling to touch or tongue (leaf): *ráipram jegrepa*, pith of banana plant feels coarse (when eaten). **jegrep jegrep**, *a.* producing or giving a coarse or rough feeling when touched or bitten: *jegrep jegrep tata*, get a coarse feeling, get a grainy feeling.

jek as in: (*idiom*) **jek paie rána**, carry off or elope with a girl one loves (said of men).

je-la **se-la**¹, *conj.* when then: *jela somai mána sela ríba*, come when (you) get time.

je-la se-la², *adv.* never (in future): *jela sela ekhare ta khár*, never do in this manner.

je-len je-len ⇒ **celen celen**.

je-lep, *v.i.* hanging loose (things that are pendulous or hanging loose at one end): *kí nakor jelepa*, have ears that bend and hang downward; *nen conkai jelepa*, dress (esp. shawl) falling loose. **jelep jelep**, *adv.* in the fashion of things hanging in a pendulous manner: *jelep jelep mota*, move up and down (something drooping or pendulous). **jelelep**, *a. & adv.* attached at one end and hanging loose: *hiti nakor jelelep mota*, ear of elephant sways.

jen, *v.i.* leak: *mukci jéna*, shed tears, be sorrowful.

jén¹, **1.** *n.* breadth. **2.** *n.* weft or cross-thread of cloth.

jén², *v.i.* bend: *mai jéna*, paddy plants bend and fall down.

jen-cek **on-cok**, *conj.* as much as needed: *jencek lagia oncokan rá*, take as much as needed.

jen-dek **on-dok**, *conj.* as deep as required: *jendek thína lagia ondokan khó*, dig as deep as required.

jen-tuŋ **on-tuŋ**, *conj.* as big as required: *jentuŋan cuŋa lagia ontuŋan tak*, make as big as required.

jén ~ **jénkna**, *n.* small branches having several smaller forking branches with or without leaves on.

jen-ga-dam, *n.* a variety of corn.

jén-kna ⇒ **jén**.

jep¹, *n.* pocket.

jep², *v.t.* arrange neatly especially in layers or stacks (cloth, leaves, paper, firewood): *bákhān sera sera jépa*, pile

up firewood neatly and orderly.

jep-jep, *adv.* arranged neatly, stacked orderly: *jepjep tana*, keep well arranged.

jér, *v.i.* slide off, fall off (as when consistency of mud or other plastering material is too thin); *nokspa jére réŋjo*, mud on raised part around the house has fallen off.

jer-jeŋ ⇒ **perper**.

jér-jér, *adv. (onom.)*. heavily, with heavy drops (rain): *raŋ jérjér phaa*, rain heavily.

jet¹, **1.** *n.* competition. **2.** (*verbal*) **jet khára**, compete.

jet² ~ **jé**, *v.t.* separate, part (hair, grass etc.): *khórá jeta*, part hair; *maigrim jete réŋa*, wade through a field of paddy; *mí jete tana*, keep a portion of curry uneaten.

je-thá, **1.** *n.* entangled and intertwined (hair, thread, words etc.): *khórá jethá taka (khórá jethá khaa)*, hair gets entangled and difficult to comb.

2. (*idiom*) **nároni katha jethá kantra**, your discussion is all a jumble of words not leading to fruitful conclusion.

jho-ra ⇒ **jora**¹.

jí, **1.** *n.* dung, excrement. **jí rúsuŋor** (**jí jíkor**), *n.* (*echo*) excreta, faeces and urine, waste expelled from animal system: *jí rúsuŋor gína*, look after some one incapable of taking care of one's own needs. **2.** (*idiom*) **jí daka**, embezzle, misappropriate small amounts of money esp. from what is left over after some economic activity. **jí sáa**, commit adultery.

jí-bra, **1.** *n.* mother, female parent.

jíbradomka ~ **jíbradoŋka**, *n.* stepmother. **jíbrasāŋ**, *n.* mother and child: *jíbrasāŋ kamin*, mother and a child; *jíbrasāŋ saríŋon*, mother and three children. **2.** (*verbal*) **jíbra coka**, take another officially through

- a ceremony as one's mother or female guardian.
- jí-cap**, *n.* sting, sharp wounding organ of insects in the tail, the pointed part of knives that is fitted into handle.
- jí-con**, *n.* hind section of birds that secretes an oily substance.
- jí-ga-dam**, *n.* place or pit for throwing waste, dunghill, a place not tended or kept clean.
- jí-ka** as in: (*verbal*) **jíka gaa**, carry pollen (by bees).
- jí-khar** ~ **jímakhar**, **1.** *n.* posterior, anus. **jíkhari**, *adv.* at the back of, behind. **2.** (*verbal*) **jíkhhar sima**, follow, go along with. **jíkhhar thuka**, be backward, fall into the rear, lag behind: *jíkhhar thuke nua*, sit facing one's back to. **3.** (*idiom*) **jíkhhar neta**, commit adultery.
- jí-khlan**, *adv.* behind. **jíkhlan gudu**, *adv.* behind. **jíkhlan paiklan**, *adv.* (*echo*) facing backwards.
- jí-kho-khon**, *adv.* with hind section raised and head lowered: *jíkhokhon agama*, bow deeply with head nearly touching ground.
- jí-khrok**, *n.* bottom of pots: *jíkhroki cípansan toa*, there is just a little at the bottom. a small (esp. liquid) quantity left over.
- jí-kor**, *n.* urine.
- jí-kren**, *n.* lower end of spine: *jíkren moie moie rjama*, walk shaking buttocks conspicuously.
- jí-lao** ⇒ **jílao**.
- jí-ma-khar** ⇒ **jíkhhar**.
- jí-mari**, *n.* a married lady, a mother.
- jí-miñ**, **1.** *n.* tail: *jímíñ kánkán paie jartúñe réña*, run away with tail held stiff. **2.** (*verbal*) **jímíñ naña**, be with tail, have tail.
- jin**, *v.i.* be quick with smoothness and expertise (at work): *mai khánna jina*, fast at cutting paddy.
- ji-na-ha-ri**, *n.* adultery.
- ji-nai**, *v.i.* commit adultery.
- ji-nái**, *n.* mollusc with hinged double shell whose shell is burnt to make lime.
- jin-ci**, *n.* bushy plant with tall, straight and strong stalk whose pollen is used to make indelible ink.
- ji-ni-a** ⇒ **jitia**.
- ji-ni-bra**, **1.** *n.* younger sister (to an elder brother). **2.** (*verbal*) **jinibra mána**, be related as a younger sister.
- ji-non**, **1.** *n.* younger sister (to an elder brother). **2.** (*verbal*) **jinon mána**, be related as a younger sister.
- jin-thá** ⇒ **nobek**.
- jin-gá** ~ **jingrá**, *n.* sponge-gourd.
- jin-grá** ⇒ **jingrá**.
- jin-jin jan-jan**, *adv.* (*echo*) with glitter and sparkle, with tremulous light: *jinjin janjan naia*, shine or sparkle with tremulous light.
- jin-ol**, *n.* yoke: *jinol gata*, put yoke on; *jinol jutaiá*, place yoke on.
- jí-phin** ⇒ **jíphun**.
- jí-phlak**, *n.* **1.** packing-type material around individual sectors or pieces of the jackfruit. **2.** napkin. **3.** a piece of bamboo-work placed to close one end of fishing baskets or such covering material: *coreñ jíphlak*, ~ used in fishing basket called *coreñ*; *khén jíphlak*, undercover of crab.
- jí-phun** ~ **jíphin**, **1.** *v.i.* fart. **2.** *n.* fart. **jíphunbrip**, *n.* a kind of creeper whose stem or leaves emit unpleasant odour when crushed or rubbed together. **3.** (*idiom*) **jíphun truntrun gure toa**, sleep late into the morning (an expression for reprimanding someone who is lazy and sleeps late into the morning, *lit.* fart away and sleep).
- jí-rak** as in: **1.** (*verbal*) **jírak maa**, be so entangled, intertwined and

- knotted that the loose ends cannot be traced: *nenten jethá take jírak mae réŋjo*, thread is so entangled that the loose ends cannot be found. **2.** (*idiom*) **jírak dogota**, have piles.
- jí-sraŋ**, *n.* acidic watery content of fruit peels: *komola jísraŋ*, watery substance in orange peel; *neka jísraŋ*, watery substance deposited by bees called neka.
- jí-srok**, *n.* earth dug up by insects, rodents or animals: *khén jísrok*, earth dug up by crabs; *mocó jísrok*, earth dug up by rats.
- jít** ~ **jí**, *v.i.* defaecate, discharge faeces from body, move one's bowels.
- jí-ti** ~ **jinia**, *v.i.* win, be victorious (contest, game etc.).
- ji-tu-ri**, *n.* bride, **jituri saturi**, *n.* (*echo*) bride and the bridegroom, wedding couple.
- jo** ~ **jok**, *suff.* indicating indefinite past tense: *réŋ-jo*, went.
- jo-a**, *n.* proper time, time when an activity is regularly done: *ato bijoi cáŋo?*, when will it take place?; *mai rimkai joa*, time for cooking.
- jok** ⇒ **-jo**.
- jok**, *v.i.* escape, come out unscathed.
- jo-khlai**, *v.t.* stir, shake well with some object, mix ingredients well with spoon or ladle: *maikón peke mai jokhlaiá*, stir (pot of) rice.
- jo-loŋ-ga**, *n.* a bag (esp. of cloth) which can be slung from shoulder: *jolonga phakroki pete ráa*, carry a bag slung from the shoulder.
- jon**, numeral suffix used with Assamese numerals more especially with numerals from four upwards for persons: *ek-jon kai*, one person; *pas-jon kai*, five persons.
- jo-no** ⇒ **-jano**.
- jon-tha**, **1.** *n.* a bundle (esp. of long things). **2.** *cl.* for long things tied into bundles; *jonthasa*, one bundle.
- 3.** (*verbal*) **jontha khaa**, tie into a bundle.
- jon**, **1.** *n.* sharpened end of post, poles etc. **2.** (*verbal*) **jon naŋa**, having sharp end or tapered end.
- jon-gleŋ**, *v.i.* be lean (animate), be emaciated: *jongleŋe réŋa*, become lean and emaciated. **jongegleŋ**, *a.* very lean and lanky: *jongegleŋ cáŋa*, become lean and emaciated.
- jongleŋ phagleŋ**, *a.* (*echo*) lean.
- jon-jre**, *v.i.* be bent or slanting sideways. **jonjojre**, *a.* slanting sideways: *náni nokbe jonjojrese*, your house is slanting sideways, the parts do not fit properly. **jorojonjre**, *a.* slanting and bent in odd shapes.
- jon-ka**, *n.* a wide-mouthed fishing basket with a hole at one end to put hand in and search for fish that may have been trapped: *jonka gripe ná bota*, fish using a ~; *jonka gripe ná proma*, search for fish with hand after ~ has been firmly placed to trap fish.
- jon-kho-bra**, **1.** *n.* husband's younger brother. **2.** (*verbal*) **jonkhobra saia**, consider or regard as one's ~.
- jonkúr**, *n.* double strips that are attached at one end for binding thatch on roof.
- jon-la-ga**, *a.* quarrelsome: *kaijan jonlaga*, person is very quarrelsome.
- jon-naŋ-gu-ru** ~ **jonnanrisi**, *n.* (*arch.*) a knowledgeable person.
- jon-naŋ-ri-si** ⇒ **jonnan guru**.
- jon**¹-, *cl.* for pairs of things or people: *jorsa*, a pair, a couple.
- jon**² as in: (*verbal*) **jon do-gota** ~ **jorai dogota**, *v.t.* start living separately from the parental family; start a new village from an old village.
- jon**³ as in: **jon kai**, *n.* a couple from the bridegroom's village commissioned and sent to bring the bride for marriage.

jo-ra¹ ~ **jhora**, *n.* stream, rivulet.
jora nala, *n.* (echo) streams, springs and rivulets.

jo-ra², **1.** *n.* couple, two things. **jora jami**, *n.* (echo) marriage **2.** (verbal) **jora bia**, be divorced. **jora cáŋa**, become husband and wife, be married. **jora dibí**, divorce. **jora khaia**, be divorce. **jora prika**, become divorced, live separately.

jo-rai¹, *v.t.* make ready, prepare (esp. something for the use of another): *joraie rákhua*, make ready for another; *mai joraia*, serve food. **joraia jotaia**, *v.t.* make ready, make arrangements.

jo-rai², *v.t.* join together, unite.

jo-rai³, *n.* sth. earned, cultivated, grown or belonging to one particular individual within the family: *bakjorai*, pig reared by one individual of the family; *maijorai*, paddy cultivated by and as the personal property of some one individual of the family; *míckni jorai*, property of the wife.

jo-rai dogota ⇒ **gor**².

jo-ra-si-ni ~ **jorsini**, *n.* wedding, marriage. **jorasini panasini (jorsini pansini)**, *n.* (echo) wedding, marriage.

jor-si-ni ⇒ **jorasini**.

jo-ta, *n.* (a pair of) shoe(s): *jota kana*, wear shoes.

jot ~ **jó**, *v.t.* point (finger), poke, insert: *kan̄ka nokhrañi jote tana*, keep knife inserted into the roof; *khoroki par jote raa*, keep flowers in hair as an added decoration; *khusúmakron̄ jota*, place *khusúmakron̄* (an ornament for hair) in hair.

jo-tai ⇒ **jorai**¹.

jo-tok ⇒ **jitak**.

jot-on, **1.** *n.* effort, attempt. **2.** (verbal) **joton khára**, try, make an attempt.

jan̄, *v.i.* be unable to hear (because of surrounding noise): *nakor jran̄e*

réna, be not able to hear because of noise near by.

jrão, *v.i.* become nearly ripe: *mai jraobaeta*, paddy is getting ripe.

jkrek-jkrek, *adv.* in clusters, abundantly in clusters: *jkrekjkrek theta*, bear fruit plenty (in clusters); *khrik picí jkrekjkrek pána*, eggs of lice are plenty in clusters; *mai thé jkrekjkrek*, paddy has borne plenty of grains (ears of paddy).

jrén-jrén, *adv.* abundantly (oil, fat etc.): *ná pitam kantra jrénjrén*, fish has plenty of fat; *ran̄ jrénjrén phaa*, rain heavily with heavy drops; *thuci jrénjrén seta*, apply plenty of oil.

jróm-an, *adv.* closely together: *jrómjróm jepe tana*, place or put close by.

jrón, *v.i.* wither, droop (flowers, plants): *jróné réna*, wither away.

jrón, **1.** *v.t.* stack up, pile up (bundles etc.) *jróné tana*, place or arrange in heaps; *bákhān jróna*, pile up bundles of firewood. **2.** *n.* a pile, a stack: *jrón gósa*, one pile, one stack. **3.** *cl.* for number of stacks, piles etc.: *maidop jrón-sa*, one pile of bundles of paddy.

jrōp-an, *adv.* together, in unison: *jrōpan dindina*, stand together; *táthen jrōpan dindina*, stay with legs joined together.

jrñ-jrñ, *adv.* not profusely, a little (weep): *nukci jrñjrñ dogota*, weep a little, shed a few tears.

jú ~ **jut**, *v.i.* copulate.

ju-gur, *v.t.* shake (trees, branches, clothes etc.) *nen jugura*, shake cloth to remove dust; (proverb) *pramci jugurdon̄ kakaina kia*, if one shakes dew (branch wet with dew) it falls on oneself.

ju-gur-bak ⇒ **jurbak**.

jú-ju, *n.* (pl. ~ **ron̄**). grandfather.

júju bidi, *n.* (echo) grandparents.

jújubra, grandfather (definitive).

jújubran̄, *n.* grandfather and grandchild; *jújubran̄ kamin̄*, grandfather

- and a grandchild; *jújubran sarjon*, grandfather and three grandchildren. **jújucun**, *n.* great grandfather. **jújukhirao**, *n.* great great grandfather, grandfather's father.
- juk**, *n.* age, generation. **jukjukina**, *adv.* for ages to come. **jukjukinipara**, *adv.* from ages past. **juk kal**, *n.* (echo) ages. **jukjuk kalkal**, *adv.* (echo) for ages and generations to come.
- ju-khi**, *v.t.* weigh.
- ju-li**, **1.** *n.* a pair (animals). **2.** (verbal) **juli cána**, stay peaceably without attacking or goring each other. **juli khéa**, fit as a pair.
- ju-li-a**, *n.* bag: *julia phakroni pete ráa*, carry bag slung or hanging from shoulder.
- ju-luk ja-lak**, *a.* (echo) be in sorrow, eyes be wet with sorrow: *neken juluk jalak cána*, be sad and about to weep. **jululuk jalalak**, *a.* & *adv.* about to weep: *neken jululuk jalalak cie múna*, stay behind in sorrow and tears at some one departing or look fixedly in a pensive mood.
- ju-muk ja-mak**, *a.* (echo) giddy: *tikam jumuk jamak cána*, feel giddy and unsteady (esp. as when rising suddenly from a sitting position).
- jur**, *v.t.* scoop up, turn over, dig up (soil): *kunthan peke bak há jura*, pig digs up earth with its snout.
- jur-bak ~ jugurbak ~ jurgubak** ⇒ **mocó**.
- jur-gu-bak** ⇒ **jurbak**.
- ju-ro**, *n.* name of a sub-clan: *juro barai*, the ~ sub-clan.
- jut** ⇒ **jú**.
- ju-tai** as in: (verbal) **jinol jutaia**, place yoke on.
- ji-gam** ⇒ **jigim**.
- ji-ga-na-ta**, *n.* pumpkin.
- ji-gar**, **1.** *n.* hail, hailstone. **jigar mairam**, *n.* small hailstones. **2.** (verbal) **jigar kia**, hail falls. **jigar koka**, be hit or be affected by hailstorm (vegetation).
- ji-gim** ~ **jigama**, *v.i.* gather, come together (clouds): *ranhoph ake jigima*, dark clouds gather (and is about to rain).
- jik-sai**, *n.* husband and wife, a couple: *won jiksai cána sraba*, they match each other as husband and wife.
- ji-lao** ~ **jilao**, *v.i.* be long and reaching lower than normal (dress). **jilao milao** *a.* (echo) very long and reaching very low (dress). **jilao jilao**, *adv.* aimlessly and without working (loiter): *jilao jilao kranje toa*, roam or loiter from place to place without engaging in work. **jilalao**, *a.* be very long (dress). **jilalao milalao**, *a.* very long and reaching very low (dress).
- jim**¹, *v.i.* break into bits and pieces, crush into very fine powder or pulp: *jime réna*, break into bits; *hampren jima*, thatch breaks (when old); *mairun jima*, rice breaks (when pounded).
- jim**² ⇒ **nuka**.
- jim**, *v.i.* loiter about, loaf around (pejorative): *ata bisi jime toeta*, where have (you) been loitering.
- ji-man**, **1.** *n.* dream. **jiman phaman**, *n.* (echo) dream: *jimanpha phaman?*, is it dream or for real? **2.** (verbal) **jiman nuka**, dream, have dream.
- ji-man-ma-si** ~ **masijiman**, **1.** *n.* figment, imagination, vision. **2.** (verbal) **jimanmasi nuka**, daydream.
- jin-jim**, *adv.* heavily (rain): *jinjim ran phaa*, rain heavily.
- jim-prek ko-prek**, *a.* (echo) completely torn or broken: *jigar kiemene ráicak jimprek koprek cángo*, hailstones fell and tore banana leaves into shreds; *masu dāne mai jimprek koprek cángo*, cattle entered and paddy is trampled upon.

jám-sa, *v.i.* loiter, loaf, roam around, wander aimlessly (pejorative): *kraŋe jámsaa*, loaf around, hang about; *tákar jámsaa*, *tákar* (believed to be witches that roam as head alone without body) roams.

-jám, *suff.* meaning 'mutually or each other': *nasi-jána*, love each other.

jám-jám, *postpos.* meaning 'only among', 'exclusively among': *músataŋ jámjám*, men among themselves, *mécataŋ jámjám*, women among themselves.

jáp-an, *adv.* simultaneously, concurrently: *aŋba nokina sokbajjo raŋsaŋ*

jápan dugújo, just as I reached home the sun just set.

jápjáp, *a. & adv.* slowly, just at that time, just exact: *mí raŋciŋ jápjáp rásam*, keep just sufficient gravy to cover the curry; *raŋsaŋ jápjáp cáŋra-ŋeta*, sun is slowly setting.

jáp-thai, *n.* buttocks, corresponding part of animal: *jápthai thephéne thephéne nua*, sit for a long time (lit. sit shifting buttocks).

já **-tík** ~ **jotok**, **1.** *n.* birth. **2.** (*verbal*) **jítík cáŋa**, be born.

K

ka, *n.* water (child language).

ká-bau, *n.* feather of birds just below the beak and further down.

ká-beŋ, *n.* ant (red and black) generally found on trees.

ka-blek ka-blek, *adv.* as in: (*verbal*) **kablek kablek cobaia**, continue to chew even after something has been chewed for a long time.

ka-blek ku-blek, *adv.* as in: (*verbal*) **kablek kublek cobaia**, chew alternately on both sides of the mouth as if not able to chew well (as when sick or when what is chewed is difficult to chew).

ka-ci, *n.* sickle. **kacipha**, *n.* cutting edge of sickle. **kaciphon**, *n.* handle of sickle.

ká-ci, **1.** *n.* saliva, spittle. **2.** (*verbal*) **káci cota**, *lit.* spit, *fig.* despise.

ká-ci-brok, *v.i.* salivate, secrete saliva.

ka-cir-taŋ ⇒ **kacitaŋ**.

ka-ci-taŋ ~ **kacirtaŋ**, *n.* (sg. & pl.) Boro tribe, an individual or individuals of Boro tribe: *kacitaŋ saksa*, a Boro person. **kacitaŋi**, *a.* of or belonging to the Boros: *kacitaŋi sábra*, a Boro child.

ka-gruk, *v.t.* quarrel: *kagrukemene kaitaŋ*

pilín picin cáŋe réŋjo, as a result of the fight people dispersed helter-skelter.

kai¹, *n.* (pl. ~**taŋ**) human being, person: *kai ganda kai toa*, there are people who look alike. **kai dodor**, important person (child language). **kai kamin**, *n.* two persons. **kai kamkai**, *n.* two persons. **kai kóca**, *n.* (*echo*) people. **kai metham**, *n.* three persons. **kai saksa**, *n.* one person; **kai cuŋkai**, *n.* important person, (*circum.*) elephant. **kaisábra**, *n.* child. **3.** (*verbal*) **kai cáŋa**, *fig.* be well settled in life, *lit.* become man. **kai guraia**, go around the village giving news. **4.** (*idiom*) **kai naŋa**, have a suckling baby.

-kai², *suff.* **1.** builds the verbal noun: *gur-kai*, sleeping. **2.** gives the related noun from verbs: *sá-kai*, *n.* food, eating. **3.** gives the participial adjectives, present and past: *nukhar réŋ-kai kai*, the sleeping man; *ráku-kai pakja*, the thing that was given. **4.** gives the attributive adjective from predicative adjectives: *nok cuŋ-kai*, the big house.

kái, *v.t.* plant. **káia bata**, *v.t.* (*echo*)

- cultivate: *khíran kake káikái bákái nemcajo*, cultivation was adversely affected by a spell of drought or dry season.
- kai-bra** ⇒ **sábra**.
- kai-ca**, *n.* eaves or lower edge of roof projecting beyond the wall.
- kaica marol** (**pancini marol**), *n.* beam at lower end of roof.
- kai-mir-taŋ** ⇒ **kaimiŋtaŋ**.
- kai-mi-traŋ** ~ **kaimiŋtraŋ**, *n.* children.
- ká-ji-bor**, *n.* foam, froth.
- kak**, *v.t.* bite.
- ka-ka**, *n.* meat: *kaka kataksa*, a piece of meat. **kaka ná**, *n.* (*echo*) non-vegetarian dish, fish and meat: *kaka ná tonđon mai kráma*, if there is fish or meat food is tasty.
- ká-kam**, *n.* chin.
- ka-kai**, *pron.* oneself (himself, herself, myself): *kakáian*, oneself (emphat.); *kakáini*, one's own, *aŋ kakáian*, I myself. **kakái kakái**, *pron.* each one (distributive sense). **kakakái**, *pron.* each one: *kakakáian*, each one (emphat.); *kakakáini*, of each one.
- kak-ji**, *n.* lemon, an acid fruit.
- ka-klak** ⇒ **koklok**.
- ka-klak**, *v.i.* be bald. **kakaklak**, *a.* bald: *tíkaman kakaklak*, head is bald.
- ka-koŋ**, *n.* shell-less snail on land
- ka-kroŋ**, *pron.* themselves. **kakroŋ cíŋcíŋ**, *adv.* among themselves. **kakroŋ kakroŋ**, *pron.* they themselves (distributive sense): *kakroŋan*, themselves (emphat.); *kakroŋi*, their own; *kakroŋi midri*, among themselves. **kakakroŋ**, *pron.* they themselves.
- ka-ku** ⇒ **picu**.
- kal**, *n.* times, age, season: *kal páni kakkái*, service performed in the courtyard of dead person after cremation before entering the house (also known as *ram denkái*).
- ka-lam**, *v.i.* run a temperature, be sick. **kalama kántuŋa**, *v.i.* (*echo*) be sick. **kalambataŋ**, *n.* the sick.
- kalamkái**, *n.* illness: *kalamkái doro cáŋa*, be seriously ill; *kalamkái pak-saa*, illness turns serious; *kalamkái sraŋa*, get well, be cured; *kalamkái telema*, cure.
- ka-lan-ji**, *n.* a centipede having legs not spreading outward from body but downward.
- ka-li**, *n.* ink.
- ka-luk**, *n.* corner. **kalukŋi róŋka**, *n.* the corner-stone.
- ká-ma-**, as in: **kámaguduŋ**, *adv.* downward. **kámai**, *adv.* down, below (*loc.*). **kámaina**, *adv.* downward. **kámapakaŋ**, *adv.* in the lower region or side. **kámapha-kreŋ**, *n.* lower jaw-bone.
- ká-man**, *n.* beard.
- ká-man**, *adv.* below, down: *kámana*, downwards; *kámani kái*, one from region down the river; *kámanina*, downwards.
- kam-bre**, *n.* wood or beam placed breadth-wise from wall to wall to preserve shape and add strength.
- kam-buŋ**, **1.** *n.* cloth worn by Rabha women above breast, cloth with which a child being carried in cloth on the back is further covered: *knbuŋi ráa*, cover child with ~.
- kambuŋ bia**, *n.* marriage according to the Rabha traditions. **kam-buŋ ríphan**, *n.* (*echo*) woman's dress. **2.** *v.t.* cover child being carried in cloth on back with another cloth.
- ka-mi**¹, **1.** *n.* work, duty. **kami hába**, *n.* (*echo*) work. **kami katha**, *n.* (*echo*) future purposes: *kamina kathana nemo*, will be useful in the future. **2.** (*verbal*) **kami khára**, function (mechanical). **kami ráa**, work. **kami theŋa**, start a work or begin to work. **3.** (*idiom*) *kami tar naŋca*, work is not of good quality.

- kami**², *n.* bamboo or wood placed lengthwise across rafters in roof-frame.
- ka-miŋ** ~ **kamkai**, *n.* two people: *kamiŋba*, both of them.
- kam-kai** ⇒ **kamiŋ**.
- kam-suk**, *v.i.* feel itching or irritating sensation.
- kan**, wear ornaments, put on dress (for lower body). **kana cona**, *v.t.* (*echo*) put on dress.
- kán**¹, **1. n.** body. **kán kai**, *n.* (*echo*) body. **2. (verbal)** **kán bíta**, stretch oneself. **kán bía**, (*fig.*) menstruate. **kán coka**, (*fig.*) clear debt and free or liberate oneself (*lit.* lift body). **kán deŋe kraŋa**, (*fig.*) be free enough to travel or move around, not tied down by constraints limiting travel. **kán deŋe sána mána**, (*fig.*) be wealthy, have all necessities of life without having to struggle much (*lit.* relax and eat). **kán jasarca**, *fig.* menstruate, *lit.* body is not bright. **kán kantra dóŋca**, (*fig.*) is not as appears to the eye, (*fig.*) is with child. **kán phéna jaŋcaeta**, (*fig.*) so busy that one is not free at all. **kán phríta**, give birth. **kán sae kami ráa**, (*fig.*) work earnestly and willingly (*lit.* work till body aches). **kán tharca**, (*fig.*) menstruate (*lit.* body is not clean). **káni muŋa**, (*fig.*) conceive. **káni toa**, (*fig.*) be pregnant, be with child.
- kán**², *v.i.* have or be in abundance: *khan khódoŋ aŋabe kánca*, while digging yam I do not get plenty; *neka kána*, honeybee called neka be with plenty of honey.
- ka-na**, *v.i.* be or become blind: *neken kanaa*, loose eyesight.
- kán-cak**, *v.t.* support, help, perform an action vicariously: *nána aŋa kán-cake ráa*, help each other in times of difficulties.
- kan-ci**, *n.* (a pair of) scissors.
- kan-ci-cak**, *n.* wild grass in fields with small white flowers.
- kán-cik**, *v.t.* feel disgust for. **káncik bencik**, *a.* (*echo*) inducing disgust: *ata pakja! káncik bencikse*, what a thing! it is disgusting.
- kán-gan-ji**, *n.* dead body, corpse.
- ka-ni**, *v.t.* say, tell, speak: *braŋ braŋ kania*, speak frankly and without hiding anything, speak to one's face.
- ká-ni**, *v.i.* be short (distance): *barai kána*, closely related; *ekoro kána*, it is short this way; *ram kána*, distance is short.
- ka-ni-son**, *v.t.* foretell, prophesy.
- kanisonkai**, *n.* prophecy, prophetic utterance, prophet.
- kán-jaŋi** ⇒ **kánkhor**.
- kan-khoŋ con-khoŋ**, *n.* (*echo*) clothing, dress.
- kán-khor**, *n.* body appearance, skin colour.
- kán-pa-leŋ**, *v.i.* lean of body. **kán-paleleŋ**, *a.* very lean: *kaiŋ kán-paleleŋse*, person is lean.
- kan-pok** ⇒ **símpok**.
- kán-pok** ⇒ **nenpok**.
- kan-ta** ~ **kantasú** *n.* thorn; *kanta súsua*, thorn pricks.
- kan-ta-ba-ju**, *n.* (arch.) broad arm-band worn by women esp. during marriage (made by stringing together separate pieces of silver).
- kan-thá** ⇒ **nenthá**.
- kan-tra** ~ **kantraŋ**, *a.* only, full of: *nokbe duri dusi kantra*, house is very dirty or full of dust; *sábra kantra caucau*, has or there are plenty of children.
- kan-traŋ** ⇒ **kantra**.
- kaŋ-al**, *a.* poor. **kaŋal phelbatan**, *n.* the downtrodden, the oppressed.
- kaŋ-graŋ**, *v.i.* fall, die (said of mighty and powerful men brought low in death): *bíl tumukŋa atana, gaphuŋ somi-ŋan kaŋgraŋo*, why show oneself

- great, one day (subj.) will fall or die. **kangagraŋ**, *a.* fall, die (said of mighty and powerful men brought low in death). **karakagraŋ**, *adv.* one on top of the other in a pile (fall): *karakagraŋ kia*, fall one on top of the other.
- kaŋ-ka**, *n.* knife, chopper: *kaŋka bina*, sharpen a knife; *kaŋka phadenŋ tana*, keep knife with the sharp edge facing upwards. **kaŋka bákeŋ**, *n.* (echo) instruments, implements for work. **kaŋkagir**, *n.* reverse side of the cutting edge of knife. **kaŋka-jícáp**, *n.* pointed part of the knife inserted into handle. **kaŋkakonk-lok**, *n.* a kind of knife with the shape of sickle at the apex. **kaŋka-kukuŋ**, *n.* a bent in the reverse side of the cutting edge of knife. **kaŋkakun** ~ **kaŋkakuku**, *n.* beak-like pointed spot of a knife or point on the cutting edge and the reverse side of knife meet. **kaŋka-menjjon**, *n.* a kind of knife whose apex is not pointed but flat. **kaŋ-kapha**, *n.* cutting edge of knife. **kaŋkaphon**, *n.* handle of knife. **kaŋkatempon**, *n.* a kind of knife with bulging and convex cutting edge.
- kán-ka-leo-a**, *n.* a gourd, fleshy vegetable from a trailing plant. **kánka-leoa bor**, *n.* a structure for gourd creeper to grow and spread. **káng-kaleoa bríp**, *n.* the creeper. **kán-kaleoa khákai**, *n.* bitter gourd (*Mormodica charantia*). **kánka-leoa khácakai**, *n.* a variety of ~ that is not bitter.
- kán-kán**, *a.* & *adv.* stiff, in a stiff position: *jímín kánkán paie jartúŋe réŋa*, run away with tail held stiff.
- kaŋ-kar-bak-bak**, *adv.* backwards: *kaŋkarbakk gura*, sleep on one's back; *kaŋkarbakk kia*, fall backwards.
- kaŋ-kar-bak kuŋ-kur-bak**, *adv.* (echo) unsteadily (fall), in odd or disorderly position (lie or sleep).
- kaŋ-khi -ni**, *n.* a woman who speaks thoughtlessly and without taking the situation into consideration.
- kaŋ-krat** ~ **kaŋkrá**, *v.i.* fall on ones face: *kaŋkrate kia*, fall face downward; *kaŋkrate réŋa*, fall on one's face.
- kaŋ-ku**, *n.* black and big ant (found commonly on trees or in the earth).
- kaŋku mondol**, *n.* a variety of ~ with big head.
- kaŋ-saŋ**, *n.* a shelf-like horizontal construction projecting from wall (generally made with bamboo strips or just a plank).
- kaó** -, *cl.* for the amount (usu. what contains in hands cupped together) fried at a time (gen. flat rice): *rompe kaosasan jáonata*, only a handful of rice was fried.
- káo-sa**, **1.** *n.* book, paper: *káosa khósa*, one book, a sheet of paper. **2.** (*verbal*) **káosa kríka**, be literate, able to read and write. **káosa poraia**, go to school, study, read a book.
- kap**, *v.i.* full, filling the whole area.
- kapa phuŋa**, *v.i.* (echo) be full.
- ka-pal**, **1.** *n.* forehead. **2.** (*verbal*) **kapal dagata**, (*fig.*) have ill luck, be visited by misfortune. **kapal naŋa** (**kapal nema**, **kapal toa**), (*fig.*) be lucky.
- ka-pha**, **1.** *a.* & *adv.* (usu. in loc. case and governing *n.*) close by, near by, in the vicinity. **kapha kapha**, *a.* be neighbouring to each other, be close to each other. **2.** *v.i.* draw near.
- kap-ma**, *v.i.* disappear, be obliterated, be razed to the ground: *soŋháson kapmajo*, the kingdom disappeared.
- kap-ta**, **1.** *n.* splint, packing used to fill gaps. **kapta kupta**, *n.* (echo) packing **2.** (*verbal*) **kapta khaa**, tie

- a splint (to keep broken bones in place etc.). **kapta rákhua**, use something as packing to fill gap or stop shake.
- kap-ti -ma**, *v.t.* destroy completely, obliterate, raze to the ground: *táne ruke kapt̃ma*, destroy by sword.
- kar, 1.** *n.* arrow. **2.** (*verbal*) **kar koa**, shoot an arrow.
- ka-ra**, *n.* a traditional Rabha musical instrument made from long and narrow bamboo: *kara suka*, play ~.
- ká-ra**¹, *postpos.* with *n.* at dat. meaning 'more than, rather than': *ekaĩna kára okaĩan nema*, that is better than this.
- ká-ra**²- as in: **káraguduŋ**, *adv.* further up, further up-stream. **kárai**, *adv.* above, on top (*loc.*). **káraina**, *adv.* to the top. **kárainipara**, *adv.* from above. **kárapakaŋ**, *adv.* in the higher region. **káraphakreŋ**, *n.* upper jaw-bone.
- ka-ra-ka-klak**, *adv.* haphazardly, randomly (things scattered around): *bákhān karakaklak kie toeta*, firewood is lying around haphazardly.
- ka-ra-ka-ku**, *adv.* plenty: *sábra kaĩbra pāna*, *karakaku*, children are many.
- ka-ral, 1.** *n.* (arch.) date, appointed time. **2.** (*verbal*) **karal khaa**, fix a time. **karal rákhua**, give a specific time or date. **karal ráa**, make an appointment.
- ká-raŋ**, *n.* place on top or above: *káraŋa*, towards the top, upwards; *káraŋina*, *adv.* to the top. **káraŋ kámaŋ**, *adv.* (*echo*) above and below.
- kar-bé ~ karbek**, *n.* hard covering that covers the gill of fish.
- kar-bek** ⇒ **karbé**.
- ka-ri**¹, *postpos.* with verbal nouns denoting related object meaning 'all that or everything': *mánkaĩ kari*, all that was obtained; *tonkaĩ kari*, all that is there.
- ka-ri**², *postpos.* used with verb roots having present tense suffix *-a* indicating inner joy at the situation and meaning 'it is good': *cáŋa kari nema*, it is good that it happens; *ube sia kari nema*, it is good that he or she or it dies.
- ka-rol** *n.* cow that has reached the age of bearing offspring but has not yet had a calf.
- ka-si**, *n.* a kind of reed growing in clusters having white fluffy flower. **kasigrim**, *n.* an area filled with ~.
- ka-tak, 1.** *v.i.* be short of stature. **katak matak**, *a.* (*echo*) very short: *kaĩan katak matak*, person is very short. **katatak**, *a.* very short of stature: *kaĩan katatakse*, person is very short; **karakatak**, *adv.* as small pieces: *karakatak kie toeta*, many small pieces lie scattered all over. **2.** *adv.* as pieces (cut fish, meat etc.): *ná katak khána*, cut fish into small pieces for cooking. **3.** *cl.* for number of pieces of meat: *kaka katak-sa*, a piece of meat.
- ka-tam** ⇒ **khútam**.
- ka-taŋ, 1.** *postpos.* meaning 'in the possession of': *u kataŋ káosa toa*, he has a book. **2.** *postpos.* giving 'indirect object': *u kataŋ séŋ*, ask him; *aŋ kataŋa phoĩ*, come to me.
- ka-tao**, *v.i.* look up or look up to, depend on, bank on, hope in: *kataoe cia*, look up; *time náŋo kataoa*, we depend on you or your help.
- ka-tha, 1.** *n.* word, language: *katha thukasa*, one word; *katha thukasa thuka aniŋ*, a few words. **2.** (*verbal*) **katha khaa**, make a promise, an agreement or a covenant. **katha phara**, (*fig.*) act as a talebearer, spread or report alleged fact often maliciously. **katha rákhua**, give one's word, promise. **katha rásama**, keep one's promise, not give a promise

- at present but keep it pending for a later occasion. **katha sea**, make a promise.
- ka-ti-la**, **1**. *n.* a binding strip of bamboo that is obtained by splitting a piece of bamboo laterally such that every strip has one edge of it from the outer skin of bamboo. **2**. (*verbal*) **katila dīpa**, make bamboo binding strips by splitting a piece of bamboo laterally.
- ka-traī**, *n.* pen knife.
- ke-bak**, *v.i.* be bandy, be bow-shaped: *táthen kebaka*, have bandy legs. **kebabak**, *a.* bandy, bow-shaped (legs). **kerekebak**, *adv.* with bandy or bow-shaped legs: *kerekebak rġama*, walk with bandy legs.
- ke-blaŋ ke-blaŋ**, *a.* & *adv.* forming a straight slit in cloth worn (when the overlap is not much): *rġampeke nen keblaŋ keblaŋ cáŋa*, while walking dress forms a slit. **kebablaŋ**, *a.* & *adv.* having a slit or similar opening, not covering completely (esp. dress, wounds etc.): *kebablaŋ mate rákhajo*, was wounded (wounds being open wide); *nen kebablaŋ tháa*, cloth slits open. **kerekeblaŋ**, *a.* & *adv.* not covering fully (dress, wounds etc.): *kerekeblaŋ khána*, cut producing open marks of knife; *rġampeke nen kankai kerekeblaŋ cáŋa*, while walking dress opens and closes forming and closing a slit.
- ke-cai** ~ **kicai**, *v.t.* sieve: *mairuŋ kecaia*, sift rice from paddy.
- ke-cek**, *v.t.* make damp, make wet (esp. ground).
- ke-cér**, *v.t.* split open (nuts etc.): *bákhān bake kecéra*, wrench out or pull apart smaller strips of firewood from log.
- ke-crak**, *v.t.* tear off by pulling apart.
- kek**, *v.t.* split, cut: *bákhān keka*, split firewood.
- kek-cok**, **1**. *a.* having a mark like that produced by axe on wood. **2**. *v.* make such a mark.
- ke-lek**, *v.i.* form or have eye detritus (in eye): *neken keleka*, eyes form eye-matter. **kelek kelek** *a.* filled or covered with eye detritus (eyes).
- kelelek**, *a.* forming eye detritus: *neken kelelek cáŋa*, have eyes filled with eye-matter.
- ke-le-leŋ**, *adv.* in the condition of a derelict: *saksan keleleŋ kie toeta*, has become a derelict, is alone with no one to support or look after.
- kem-phak**, *n.* wing, wing-frame of birds.
- kem-phar**, *n.* caudal fins of fish: *ná kemphar khera*, clean and prepare fish for cooking (esp. of big fish).
- kem-phek**, *v.i.* be bending (and giving an image of having wings): *nok kempheke rġjo*, house became bent or slanting (looking as if with wings spread out). **kemphek kemphek**, *adv.* with hands spread and swinging away from body (walk).
- kemphephek**, *a.* bending (and giving an image of having wings).
- kerekemphek**, *a.* & *adv.* bending (and producing an image of having wings): *kerekemphek rġama*, walk with hands swinging away from the body giving an impression of flapping wings.
- kén**, *n.* seed: *cári kén*, seed for sowing or planting.
- keŋ-greŋ-an**, *adv.* collapse or fall sideways from sitting or standing position: *kengreŋan kia*, collapse. **kengreŋ keŋgreŋ**, *adv.* in a disorderly fashion and in all directions and shapes (lie or sleep): *kaitaŋ kengreŋ kengreŋ gureta*, people are sleeping in all odd directions and shapes. **keŋge-greŋ**, *a.* fall sideways from sitting or standing position: *kenggegreŋan gure tonjo*, dozed off and gradually fell to the ground in a half-lying

- position. **kerekengren**, *adv.* in a disorderly fashion and in all directions and shapes (lie or sleep): *kaitan kerekengren gure toeta*, people are sleeping in odd shapes.
- keñ-jañ**, *v.i.* form a wide arch: *kron kenjana*, have prominent horns that arch outward. **keñjañ menjañ**, *a.* (*echo*) having shape of a wide arch. **keñjañ keñjañ**, *a.* having or forming wide arch: *kronbijan kenjañ keñjañ*, horns form a wide arch. **keñjajañ**, *adv.* with legs far apart (walking): *keñjajan rjama*, walk with legs far apart and hands swinging wide. **kerekenjañ**, *a.* with legs far apart (said of walking): *kerekenjan rjama*, walk with legs far apart.
- kén-kén**, *a.* & *adv.* sticking out, projecting outward from the immediate surrounding: *kinjuñ kénkén dogota*, bone sticks or protrudes outward; *kanka jicap kénkén dogónata*, handle of the knife came out with the knife stuck inside what was being cut. **kénkén renren**, *adv.* (*echo*) projecting or sticking out (plural sense or very conspicuously).
- keñ-kre**, *v.i.* be lean and lanky: *kaian kenkrea*, person is very thin. **keñ-kekre**, *a.* very lean and lanky. **keñkre menkre**, *a.* (*echo*) lean and lanky.
- keñ-so-khon**, *v.t.* to slant, to place in a slanting position.
- keñ-son**, *v.i.* have a gradient, be or become crooked, be not aligned properly: *pakja tankai kensoneta*, things placed are crooked; *ram kensona*, path or road has a gradient along its breadth. **kensoson**, *a.* slanting and crooked: *kina kina cáñemene motorbe kensoson cáñe tonjo*; after swirling the vehicle came to a halt in a slanting position. **kerekenson**, *a.* & *adv.* uneven or winding, with jolts and jerks: *rambe kerekenson*, path sloping one way in one place and the other way in other places.
- ke-ra** ~ **kerara**, *a.* half-opened, squinted: *neken kera*, have a squint in the eye.
- ke-ran-ci**, *n.* kerosene.
- ke-rañ**, *n.* a variety of wasp.
- ke-ra-ra** ~ **kera** ~ **terara**, *a.* half-open: *noko kerara deña*, open door half.
- ker-ker**, *adv.* forcefully: *kerker name ráña*, request persistently and take away forcefully.
- ker-kha**, *n.* an instrument for separating cotton seed from cotton.
- ker-ko-ta**, *n.* squirrel.
- ker-pe-na**, *n.* angular space: *pan kerpena*, angular space formed by fork in branches; *tási kerpena*, area between fingers; *táthen kepena*, area between toes.
- ké-sa**, **1.** *adv.* for a while, in a small measure: *késa nu*, sit for a while, *késaba nasica*, does not love even to small degree. **2.** *a.* a little, a small amount: *késa rá*, take a small amount.
- ket-a ket-a**, *a.* & *adv.* closely together, in a congested manner (as people crowded in a small place): *keta keta dáñe toa*, stay crowded together without sufficient place.
- ket-ket**, *a.* & *adv.* tight, tightly: *ketket khaa*, tie tight.
- kha**, **1.** *v.t.* tie, bind: *khæ tana*, keep tied. **2.** *v.i.* form: *bailola khaa*, become matted, entangle in thick mass (hair); *gandamola khaa*, form green slimy moss-like algae in stagnant water; *akhanyi mankhap khaa*, soot accumulates.
- khá**, *v.i.* be or become bitter: *cokóbe kháan siman braobrao*, rice beer is tasty with a mixed taste of sweetness and bitterness. **khádenñeñ**, *a.* be very bitter (said of rice beer).
- khá-bor**, *v.i.* feel heavy and lazy (as

- a result of some food taken), producing gluttony or satiety: *maga-mai páŋe sádon kháborá*, eating plenty of sticky rice makes one feel heavy.
- kha-cep**, *v.i.* having a straight narrow opening or be half-closed (of eyes): *neken khacepa*, (have) thin and narrow eyes. **khacep khacep**, *a.* be half-open (eyes): *nekenan khacep khacep*, eyes are half-open.
- khacecep**, *adv.* & *a.* as half-open (eyes): *neken khacecep cia*, narrow the eyes and look.
- khai**, *v.i.* bifurcate, branch off, part ways, separate out: *jora kháia*, be divorced; *thok kháia*, form a separate group, form a splinter group.
- khai-rok**, *n.* bean: *kháirok teretempóna*, (pod of) of bean has several bulges (where seeds are).
- khai-suk**, *n.* joint of pelvic bone and inner thigh, valley.
- kha-jí**, **1.** *n.* a party among friends, something eaten before meals, something eaten along with liquor; preparation made from parts of sacrificial animal. **2.** (*verbal*) **khají sáa**, have a party along with friends. **khají ríme sáa**, cook and eat the sacrificial animal.
- kha-khoŋ kha-khoŋ**, *a.* about to weep: *khakhon khakhon cáŋa*, be about to weep. **khakhokhoŋ**, *a.* about to weep.
- kha-kho-pré**, *n.* a cry-baby, one who cries easily or for slight reasons.
- kha-khri**, *n.* a pot with a spout used mainly to hold rice-beer.
- kham**¹, **1.** *n.* traditional Rabha drum. **2.** (*verbal*) **kham khota**, prepare the hollow cylindrical wooden section of the drum. **kham táma**, beat the drum.
- kham**², *v.i.* burn, get burnt: *khame réŋa*, get burnt, burn down.
- kham-bam-bri** ⇒ **khanbambri**.
- kham-bó-ja** ⇒ **khanbója**.
- khan**¹, optative suff. meaning 'let': *cáŋkhan*, may it happen; *cikhan*, let (subj.) see.
- khan**², numeral suffix used with Assamese numerals especially those upwards of four for flat things (replacing native numeral prefixes like *khó-*); *nen cari-khan*, four clothes; *dam pas-khan*, five mats.
- khan**³, *n.* yam.
- khán**, *v.t.* cut (with saw, sickle etc.).
- khána reta**, *v.t.* (*echo*) cut, harvest.
- khanbambri** ~ **khambambri**, *n.* sweet potato.
- khanbója** ~ **khambója** *n.* a variety of wild yam.
- khanci**, *n.* a variety of yam having trailing plant.
- khán-dlak**, *v.i.* be very short. **khán-dlak khándlak**, *adv.* producing small pieces: *khándlak khándlak khándoka* cut into very small pieces.
- khándadlak**, *a.* diminutive, very small. **kharakhándlak**, *a.* diminutive: *bárju kharakhándlakkaiose kháne rábanata*, very small logs were brought.
- khán-dok**, **1.** *v.t.* cut into pieces. **2.** *cl.* for pieces (wood, bamboo etc.): *bá khándoksa*, a piece of bamboo.
- khan-jrak**, *v.i.* have taste of salt or alkaline water etc.: *khari khanjraka*, it is very salty. **khanjrak khanjrak**, *adv.* having taste of salt: *khari khanjrak khanjrak kháa*, it is very salty to the extent of being bitter.
- khan-pan-cu** ~ **khampancu**, *n.* tapioca. **khanpancukon**, *n.* stem or stalk of tapioca.
- khan-thé**, *n.* potato.
- khan-thi**, *v.i.* go to the bride's house a day before the marriage to give news that people from the groom's village will arrive the following day.
- khaŋ-kha-jí-khoŋ**, *n.* mound produced by earthworm.
- khaŋ-kha-la-ci**, *n.* lizard.

khaŋ-kha-thé, *n.* wild thorny bush with small edible fruit, its plant.

khaŋ-khi-a, *a.* gluttonous: *khaŋkhi-akai kai*, glutton.

khaŋ-siŋ ⇒ **khraŋsiŋ**.

kháó, *v.t.* remove skin, peel: *khorthap kháoa*, strip peel; *neken kháoa*, open eyelids wide with hands.

khap, *v.i.* weep, cry: *khapkai gidaka*, console. **khapa praoa**, *v.i.* (echo) cry for help, beseech.

khá-pak, **1.** *n.* chest, heart. **khápak túci**, *n.* heart. **khára khápak** ⇒ **khára**. **2.** (verbal) **khápak heŋa**, spread one's chest out. **khápak khama**, have deep sorrow or longing. **khápak saa**, have chest-ache.

kha-phuŋ, *v.t.* cover and fasten the mouth of things: *tik khaphuŋa*, tie the mouth of a jar; *kimbai khaphuŋa*, tie the mouth of water-jar.

khap-ringai, *v.i.* weep or feel deep sorrow esp. remembering past events and situations.

khár, **1.** *v.t.* do. **2.** used a device to build compound verbs with foreign nouns: *dokhol khára*, capture, misappropriate, take possession illegally; *lanta khára*, practise; map *khára*, forgive; *sason khára*, rule, control. **3.** used to build adverbs from pronouns: *bekhare?*, how?; *ekhare*, like this; *okhare*, like that. **4.** used as auxiliary verb meaning 'about to': *mai sana kháreta*, is about have meal; *rêŋa kháreta*, is about to go; *sina sina kháreta*, is about to die.

khá-ra as in: (verbal) **khára khápak thiŋe nasia**, love deeply. **khára khápak sika**, endure, put up with.

kha-raŋ-pré, *n.* one who has plenty of ringworm.

khar-cak, *n.* leaves of bean.

khar-ci, *n.* alkaline water made by filtering water through ash of certain plants and used as a substitute for oil and soap: *kharcí peke*

khoroŋa, wash one's head with ~; *kharcí prapa*, ~ tastes alkaline, ~ is in excess. **kharcí putuŋ**, *n.* first amount of ~ filtered out. **kharcí mí**, *n.* curry prepared using ~ instead of oil.

khar-cok, *v.t.* take revenge.

kha-ri, **1.** *n.* salt. **2.** (verbal) **khari kaka**, be rendered salty and tasty by the application of salt. **khari kháa**, be very salty. **khari khaŋ-raka**, be salty (taste of salt), be very salty (salt be in excess). **khari phua**, add or introduce salt.

khar-jí, **1.** *n.* ash of certain plants used for filtering alkaline water used as a substitute for oil and soap. **2.** (verbal) **kharcí soa**, prepare ~ by burning certain plants.

kha-rok, *n.* cockroach. **kharcí daplak**, *n.* an amphibious variety of cockroach.

khar-pak, *n.* a tree (*Sterulia villosa*), its bark (used as rope for suspending baskets on one's back).

khas, *a.* belonging legally to the government (land): *khas há*, land legally belonging to the government.

kha-si¹, **1.** *n.* a castrated animal. **2.** *v.t.* castrate, geld.

kha-si², *v.t.* suspend, tie something that hangs downward: *seŋi khukdur khasie ráa*, carry a *khukdur* (a small basket to put fish in) tied to the waist.

khá-si ⇒ **nasi**.

kha-si-bur, *n.* a westerly wind, wind blowing from west.

kha-sik khu-sik, *a.* very small and congested (place, room etc.): *khasik khusik hádam*, a congested place.

khá-sik, *v.i.* be slightly bitter, not too bitter.

khásiŋ as in: (verbal) **khásiŋ khaa** ~ **khásiŋ cota**, (arch.) tie a long piece of cloth wound tight around body by drawing each end of it

- from below shoulder across chest over opposite shoulder and tied in front at the chest or further below as a protection from cold.
- kha-sraŋ**, **1.** *n.* cigar made by rolling tobacco in leaf or paper. **2.** (*verbal*) **khasraŋ sáa**, smoke a ~.
- khasraŋ thóna**, roll tobacco in paper or leaf and prepare ~.
- kha-ti**¹ *n.* thin or slender stick.
- kha-ti**² ⇒ **khuti**.
- khat-tik**, *a.* true, real, genuine: *khat-tik khäre kania*, speak the truth, speak without joking; *khattik pakja*, the real, genuine or desired thing.
- khé**, *v.i.* hit target, be fitting.
- khe-lem-**, *cl.* for a span or length between the tip of thumb and index finger when stretched to maximum possible length.
- khem-braŋ**, *n.* centipede with legs projecting outward from body.
- khen**, *n.* time (esp. with reference to parturition): *khen sokkhuca*, it is not yet time (to give birth).
- khén**, *n.* crab. **khén cacen**, *n.* legs of crab. **khén cecen** (**khén cecer**), *n.* flesh of crab. **khén gagon**, *n.* nipper of crab. **khén jiplak**, *n.* undercover of crab. **khén kho-khoŋ**, *n.* outer shell of crab.
- khen-cer** ~ **khencreŋ** ~ **khencrek**, *v.i.* green. **khencecer** ~ **khencreŋ** ~ **khencrek**, *a.* dappled and having abundance of green.
- khen-crek** ⇒ **khencer**.
- khen-creŋ** ⇒ **khencer**.
- khén-su-su**, *n.* stage when crab sheds shell and new soft shell begins to form.
- khen**, **1.** *v.i.* live, be alive: *kheŋe toa*, be alive. **2.** (*verbal*) **kheŋa praŋa**, *v.i.* (*echo*) live, live and move.
- khén**¹, *v.t.* ankle: *bursi khéŋa*, fish with a fishing rod.
- khén**², *v.t.* comb (hair): *khoro khéŋa*, comb hair.
- kheŋ-bar**, *v.i.* recover from serious illness, come to consciousness.
- khep**, *v.t.* hold between (as between nippers, claws or by forceps, pincers etc.).
- kher**¹, play: *bol khera*, play foot-ball; *doleŋ khera*, play in a swing.
- kher**², *v.t.* clear an area by weeding, clean fins and prepare for cooking: *grim khera*, weed a field; *ná khera* (*ná kemphar khera*), clean fins and prepare fish for cooking.
- khi**, *v.i.* be or become sour, turn sour.
- khi-cap**, *v.i.* be slightly sour. **khi-cap khicap**, *a.* having a sour taste: *khicap khicap thoa*, tasty with a slight sour taste.
- khi-crek**. *v.i.* feel a sour taste (as a condition of mouth). **khicrek khi-crek**, *a.* having a sour taste: *khi-crek khicrek tata*, feel a sour taste in the mouth.
- khi-jlai** ⇒ **khi -jlai**.
- khi-la** ~ **khili**¹, **1.** *n.* peg of wood or bamboo used instead of nail in furniture. **2.** (*verbal*) **khila koka**, drive or use ~ in furniture.
- khi-li**¹ ⇒ **khila**.
- khi-li**² ⇒ **kui**.
- khil-tiŋ**, *v.i.* lean, emaciated (human). **khiltiŋtiŋ** ~ **khiltitiŋ**, *a.* very lean and lanky: *kán kaibe khiltiŋtiŋ*, body is lean and emaciated. **khiltiŋ miltiŋ**, *a.* (*echo*) lean.
- khil-tiŋ-tiŋ** ⇒ **khiltiŋ**.
- khiŋ-khi**, *n.* a variety of wild plum.
- khi-sá** ⇒ **khisak**.
- khi-sak** ~ **khisá**, *n.* big red variety of ant found mainly on trees.
- kho**, *v.t.* stitch, weave (hem of clothes, edge of woven articles etc.): *dam khoa*, weave the edge of mat; *kundi khoa*, fix a piece of bamboo to the rim of any woven article.
- khó**¹-, *cl.* usu. for flat things (planks, paper, clothe, book, leaf etc.) *nen*

- khó-sa*, an item of cloth; *cak khónin*, to leaves.
- khó²**, *v.t.* draw water: *kimbai peke cika khóa*, draw water with a pot.
- kho-bak** ~ **khobok**, *n.* grey hair: *khobak duldul mína*, hair turns completely grey.
- kho-bok** ⇒ **khobak**.
- kho-bre nu-bre**, *a.* (*echo*) with hair dishevelled and strands falling on to face (esp. of women): *khapan kha-pan khobre nubre cána*, hair becomes dishevelled from prolonged crying; *phásan phásan khobre nubre cáne réngo*, after dancing for a long time hair was dishevelled.
- kho-ceŋ**, *n.* comb, reed in loom: *khoceni nenten suka*, insert thread through spaces in reed.
- kho-dleŋ** ⇒ **khodloŋ**.
- kho-dloŋ** ~ **khodleŋ**, *v.i.* be bald.
khododloŋ, *a.* bald: *khododloŋ cána*, become bald.
- kho-dom**, **1.** *n.* pillow. **2.** (*verbal*) **khodom ráa**, use pillow, use something as pillow.
- kho-dom-ra**, *n.* place or side of bed where pillow is placed.
- kho-drak**, *n.* a variety of frog that comes into houses.
- kho-grop**, *v.t.* cover one's head: *khogrope gura*, sleep covering oneself completely.
- khói-jor**, *n.* date palm and its fruit.
- khói-kho-ma-ri**, *n.* bushy plant with white bunches of flowers.
- khok**, **1.** *n.* bamboo basket. **2.** (*verbal*) **khok rapa**, weave a basket.
- khok-dur** ~ **khukdur**, *n.* a small basket carried while fishing for putting fish in: *khokdur seŋi pete ráa*, carry a ~ tied to the waist. **khok-dur paré**, *n.* the valve-like trap in ~.
- kho-khá**, **1.** *n.* dandruff. **2.** (*verbal*) **khokhá naŋa**, have dandruff; **khokhá taka**, form dandruff.
- kho-khoŋ**, *n.* outer shell of crab.
- khok-jeŋ-gra**, *n.* loosely woven bamboo basket used usu. for carrying firewood.
- kho-la-sa-ri**, *n.* enclosed place for gathering sheaves of paddy.
- kho-leŋ-**, *cl.* for a small patch or area on surface: *kholeŋ-sa mai*, one patch of paddy. **kholeŋ kholeŋ**, *a.* & *adv.* in patches: *mai kholeŋ kholeŋ sia*, paddy dried in patches.
- kho-ma¹**, **1.** *n.* forgiveness. **2.** (*verbal*) **khoma khára (khoma rákhua)**, forgive. **khoma mána**, receive forgiveness.
- kho-ma²**, **1.** *n.* measure for measuring small quantities (either woven or metallic). **2.** *cl.* for amount so measured out. *mairuŋ khoma-sa*, one ~-ful.
- khon-tlek khon-tlek**, *adv.* repeatedly (say): *gósa kathaon khontlek khontlek bobaiie toa*, say the same thing again and again.
- khon-cor**, **1.** *n.* crest or comb or tuft of hair or feathers on bird's head. **2.** (*verbal*) **khoncor naŋa**, have ~.
- khon-gra**, **1.** *n.* hollow in tree. **2.** (*verbal*) **khongra naŋa**, having a hollow. **khongra kríŋa**, (*fig.*) snore.
- khon-joŋ**, *v.i.* sink, be sunken or having slight depression in surface otherwise plain: *há khonjoŋa*, ground is uneven; *phaidam khonjoŋa*, cheeks are sunken. **khonjoŋ khonjoŋ**, *a.* having several depressions in surface otherwise plain. **khonjojoŋ**, *a.* sunken and having depression in surface. **khorokhonjoŋ**, *a.* having depression in many places of surface: *másu pal véŋe catla khorokhonjoŋ cángo*, movement of cattle made courtyard develop many holes.
- khon-khap**, *n.* scale, coagulated blood and pus formed over wounds. **khonkhap khonkhap**, *adv.* as pressed flat against a surface: *kai-*

sábra konkhap khonkhap mangrapa, child walks on all fours; *khúsun khonkhap khonkhap ríjama*, (said of the way) the tortoise walks or crawls.

khon-khep, *v.i.* be very small and badly built (house): *nokbe khonkhepa*, house is very small and is like a hut. **khonkhep khonkhep**, *a.* smaller than normal and badly built (houses): *nokbijan khonkhep khonkhep*, houses are very small, low and badly built. **khonkhekhep**, *a.* very small and badly built: *nokbe khonkhekhepse*, house is very small and not well-built.

khop, *v.i.* fold up: *par khopa*, flower folds up or withers; *bajin para noki khopa*, (*proverb*) sociable outside but not hospitable in one's own house.

kho-plak, *n.* dustpan, a loosely woven bamboo article for gathering up waste.

kho-pon, *n.* turban, headgear: *khopon khaa*, wear a turban, tie a headgear.

kho-rai¹, *v.i.* be strict and of few words.

kho-rai² as in: (*verbal*) **khorai ponśaa**, *v.i.* take recourse to crying to get something immediately.

kho-rai-pré, *n.* one who cries easily esp. when not given something.

kho-rañ ⇒ **khirañ**.

kho-reñ-a, *a.* of strong personality, decided and of strong will-power: *kaian khoreña*, person is tough and firm.

kbo-ró ~ **kho-rok**, **1.** *n.* hair. **khoro gompha**, *n.* mass of hair at back of woman's head. **2.** (*verbal*) **khoro cata**, hair be thick. **khoro ceta**, part one's hair. **khoro khéña**, comb hair. **khoro khroka**, shave one's head, cut hair.

kho-rok ⇒ **khoró**.

kho-rop, *v.t.* wash head with soap

or some detergent: *gerokthé peke khoropa*, wash head with pulp made from the see of a creeper called gerok (a prevalent practice till recently).

khor-thap ~ **khorthop**, **1.** *n.* peel, hide, skin, bark, rind. **2.** (*verbal*)

khorthap cata, (*fig.*) be rich.

khor-thop ⇒ **khorthap**.

kho-sa-srak, *a.* bare-bodied.

kho-sok, *v.t.* make reach: *nokcekena khosoke tana*, lead one up to the house.

kho-srak, *v.i.* receive bruises or light injury to skin esp. without breaking skin or causing bleeding: *kie khos-rakñata*, fell and received minor bruises.

kho-srok, *v.t.* abort, cause abortion: *sábra khosroka*, have an abortion.

khot ~ **khó**, *v.t.* dig, dig out: *cusar khota*, dig a well; *mai khota*, serve rice.

kho-to-loñ ⇒ **khotroñ**.

kho-troñ ~ **khotolon**, **1.** *n.* brain, intelligence. **2.** (*verbal*) **khotroñ naña**, intelligent.

khra, **1.** *n.* ringworm. **2.** (*verbal*) **khra taka**, form or develop ringworm.

khra-khra, *adv.* in big quantity (especially falling tears): *nukki khrakhra kia*, tears fall profusely.

khrañ-sín ~ **khañsín**, *n.* earth-worm.

khañsín boda, *n.* big black variety of earthworm.

khrao khrao, *adv.* loudly, producing noise (said of scratching hard): *khrao khrao khina* scratch loud.

khrap-, *cl.* for single item of things stacked together: *hadala khrap-sa*, a section of a fence.

khrap-khrap, *adv.* neatly as piles, stacks or heaps: *khrapkhrap jepa*, arrange neatly in stacks or piles; *khrapkhrap laga réña*, be sold out fast, strike a fast deal in business.

khrok *v.t.* remove dress, undress, shave, cut (hair): *cola khroka*, remove

- shirt; *khoro khroka*, cut hair, have a hair cut. **khrok khrok**, *adv.* without a drop left over, completely empty or finish up (liquid): *khrok-khrok khui rákhata*, pour out the whole amount.
- khron-khron**, *adv.* soundly (sleep): *nukhar khronkhron réne gure toa* (*khron-khron gure toa*), be in deep sleep.
- khrik**¹, *n.* louse. **khrik misi**, *n.* bigger variety of ~. **2.** (*verbal*) **khrik cia**, remove lice from. **khrik naña**, have lice.
- khrik**², *v.i.* be sufficient, be enough.
- khram**, *v.i.* be over (fruits on a tree, the season): *thé khrama*, fruits be over; *pocó bitir khramjo*, the season of mango is over.
- khriñ**, *v.t.* scatter, spread: *bákhān khriña*, spread fire-wood (for drying); *mai khriña*, spread paddy (for drying).
- khrit** ~ **khri**, *v.t.* sprinkle: *bamci khrita*, sprinkle a mixture of rice powder and water (done during sacrifice); *cika khrita*, sprinke water.
- khú-**, *cl.* for a morsel: *khú-sa mai*, one morsel of rice.
- khu**¹, *suff.* meaning 'a little more': *ci-khu-na*, to see a little more; *samkhu*, wait, wait a little more.
- khu**², *v.t.* pour out: *cika hór-hór khua*, pour water fast and in big stream; *kamí hába khua*, work intensely and tirelessly.
- khú-bak**, **1.** *v.i.* open mouth wide. **khúbak khúbak**, *adv.* with wide or big mouth; *khúbak khúbak sáa*, eat plenty with big morsels. **2.** (*verbal*) **khúbake múña**, (*fig.*) remain agape, be not able to speak, not know what to say;
- khú-bau** ⇒ **nasná**.
- khú-bek**, **1.** *v.i.* gape, have mouth wide open: *khúbeke toa*, remain gaping. **2.** *n.* one who gapes: *khú-bekse ube*, he or she is always gapes.
- khúbebek**, *n.* one who gapes: *khúcem khípma janca, khúbebek!*, gaping fellow, he is not able keep mouth closed!
- khú-blek**, **1.** *v.i.* gape: *khúcem khúbleka unibe*, he always gapes. **2.** *n.* one who keeps his mouth wide open, one who gapes. **khúbublek**, *n.* one who keeps his mouth wide open: *khúcem khípcañe toa, khubublek!*, *dunce*, always gapes!
- khu-bu-dam** ⇒ **khugudam**.
- khú-car**, *n.* lip, beak (birds), hem or border (cloth): *khúcar cádelā*, have thick lips; *khúcar céra*, have harelip.
- khú-cem**, **1.** *n.* mouth. **2.** (*verbals*) **khúcem céña**, quick to speak, frank. **khúcem cuña**, have a loud voice: *khúcem cuñe tepa*, speak in a loud voice. **khúcem daoe múña**, (*fig.*) not know or not be able to say anything, lit. stay agape or open-mouthed. **khúcem naña**, (*fig.*) quick-tempered, flaring up easily. **khúcem paré nañca**, (*fig.*) speak without discretion, be not circumspect in speech (*lit.* not have a safeguard in mouth). **khúcem ría**, (*fig.*) of few words, slow to speak. **khúcem saia**, (*fig.*) refrain from eating, fast, abstain from eating. **khúcem thára**, (*fig.*) be fluent in speaking. **khúcem tikriña**, (*colloquial*) talk incessantly.
- khú-cep**, *v.i.* cut smooth the cross-section (of bamboo, wood etc.).
- khú-del**, **1.** *v.i.* have thick and protruding (esp. lower lips): *khúcar khúdela*, lips are thick. **khúdedel**, *a.* with thick and protruding lips: *khúcar khúdedel*, has very thick lips. **2.** *n.* one who has thick lips.
- khu-gu-dam** ~ **khubudam**, *n.* chameleon, variety of lizard having scaly or rough hide. **khugudam mríkkai**, *n.* a variety of lizard with granulated or smoother hide.

khú-jeŋ, *n.* a crowbar.

khú-ju-muk, *v.t.* arrange firewood for lighting a fire: *bár khújumuka*, arrange burning logs or firewood so that the fire burns well; *bákhān khújumuka*, arrange firewood to light fire.

khuk-dur ⇒ **khokdur**.

khú-man, **1.** *n.* moustache. **khúman káman**, *n.* (echo) facial growth: *ube khúman káman braubrau*, he has a bushy beard. **2.** (verbal) **khúman khroka**, shave. **khúman naŋa**, have a moustache.

khú-manŋ, *n.* front side (buildings etc.), mouth (vessels, holes etc.), edge (of forest, desert etc.).

khúm-brai, *v.i.* be dazed, tired or unable to move (of fish esp. after continued stirring of water as happens when many people fish in a limited area): *ná khúmbraia*, fish becomes dazed and surfaces with tentacles or head showing.

khúmb-reŋ, *n.* thread left over on loom after weaving.

khú-naŋ ⇒ **dupi**.

khú-na-ri, *a.* tender, unripe (certain vegetables only): *mébaŋ khúnari*, tender gourd; *sámthai khúnari*, tender melon.

khun-ci-a ~ **khuncia ná**, *n.* eel.

khú-gu-jur, *v.i.* (fall) with head first: *khunŋjure kia*, fall with one's head first.

khú-rán, *v.i.* be not very dry.

khú-raŋ, *n.* voice, language: *khúraŋ draa*, have course or deep voice; *khúraŋ sania*, have fine or thin voice.

khú-ri, **1.** *n.* bowl, chalice. **2.** *cl.* for amount contained in bowl: *khurisa cika*, one bowl-ful of water.

khú-sep, *v.i.* whistle.

khú-si-bra, *n.* wife's younger brother.

khú-sik ⇒ **khasik**.

khús-khús, **1.** *a.* intent upon: *mon khuskhús cáŋa*, mind be intent on

something or desire very much. **2.** *adv.* repeatedly or persistently; *tó khuskhús ríbae toa*, birds come persistently. **3.** *n.* persistence: *khuskhús tunuka*, show great eagerness or persistence.

khús-tia, *n.* sulking, act of being upset and registering protest or displeasure by brooding or weeping: *khustia khára* (*khustia tunuka*), brood or be silent resentfully.

khú-su, *a.* be pungent: *jalluk braobraŋ khúsua*, chilly is very pungent.

khú-su-braŋ, *v.i.* be not too pungent: *ciŋkú khúsubraŋa*, ginger is mildly pungent.

khú-su-braŋ-braŋ, *v.i.* mildly pungent: *jalluk khúsubraŋbraŋa*, chilly is very pungent. **khúsubraŋ khúsubraŋ**, *a.* be mildly pungent: *jalluk khúsubraŋ khúsubraŋ*, chilly is mildly pungent.

khú-suk, *v.i.* take shelter, seek asylum: *jibra bómái khúsuka*, seek safety by the mother's side. **khúsukdam**, *n.* refuge, a place of shelter.

khú-sú-ma-kroŋ, *n.* round and long piece of metal placed as an ornament in hair coiled at the back of woman's head: *khúsúmakroŋ jota*, place ~ in hair.

khú-sunŋ, *n.* tortoise: *khúsunŋ khonŋkhap khonŋkhap ríjama*, (said of the way) the tortoise walks or crawls.

khú-ta-kaŋ ⇒ **khútaklaŋ**.

khú-ta-kaŋ ~ **khútakaŋ**, *adv.* in front, in the front side: *nok khútaklaŋ*, in front of the house.

khú-tam, *v.t.* kiss. **khútama kata-ma**, *v.* (echo) kiss.

khú-the-phet, *v.t.* reply, answer.

khú-ti ~ **khati**,² *v.i.* enter service of another: *cakri khutia*, work as an employee; *golam khutie sáa*, earn one's living by entering the service of another as servant.

khú-tlai, **1.** *n.* tongue. **2.** (verbal)

- khútlai bráia**, protrude one's tongue and thus make gesture either contemptuously or to communicate secret love.
- khu-tu-le-ka**, *n.* a type of Rabha drum.
- khî -jlai** ~ **khijlai**, *v.t.* tease, joke (esp. between boys and girls).
- khîm** as in: (*verbal*) **khîm dibía**, re-marry reversing a decision either by oneself or by the society. **khîm rásama**, request (usu. by relatives) not to re-marry sometimes even in the form of a mild prohibition imposed. **khîm tírapa**, decide by oneself not to re-marry at least for a period.
- khîm-khîm**, **1.** *adv.* with determination, with a strong will: *khîm khîm monpítia*, believe steadfastly. **2.** *a.* steadfast, determined: *khîm khîm cána*, be steadfast and firm.
- khîm-phar**, *n.* a kind of tree considered sacred and whose branch is kept at sacrificial place.
- khîm¹**, *v.t.* pick up, adopt or look after someone who is helpless or orphaned.
- khîm²**, *v.t.* scratch an itch: *khraokhrao khîna*, scratch hard and noisily.
- khîm-da-bañ**, *n.* a wild bush considered sacred and placed at the sacrificial place.
- khîñ-khîñ**, *adv.* to the person concerned (inform, tell): *khîñ khîñ kania*, tell the person concerned.
- khîp**, *v.t.* close (bags, lips, books etc.).
- khîpan**, *a.* & *adv.* close together without space in between (of things joined together).
- khîrañ** ~ **khorañ**, **1.** *n.* dry season, a spell of dry period. **khîrañ bitír**, *n.* dry season. **2.** (*verbal*) **khîrañ kaka**, be adversely affected by drought or a spell of dry period.
- khîrañ koka**, dry season sets in.
- khîr-man**, *n.* very small variety of ant (usu. black).
- khîrao**, *suff.* meaning 'tenacious, of great strength, tough': *bidi-khîrao*, *n.* great great grandmother; *gítî -khîrao*, *a.* fearless, powerful and tough (person); *júju-khîrao*, *n.* great great grandfather; *pansan-khîrao*, *n.* an old log of sal tree.
- khî -sá**, *v.t.* feed: *mai khîsáa*, give a meal. **khîsáa kutúa**, *v.t.* (*echo*) feed and look after.
- khî -sam**, *n.* time between twilight and evening: *khîsam cána*, become ~ **khîsamdomok**, *n.* time after twilight.
- khî -sám** ⇒ **khîsím**.
- khî -sán**, *v.i.* be peaceful, be quiet, be cool, be pleasant, be tranquil: *hádám khîsána*, place is cool or pleasant; *mon khîsána*, mind is tranquil.
- khî -sar**, *v.t.* **1.** prepare curry with alkaline water as medium instead of oil. **2.** heat or boil (esp. oil and water) as preparation for cooking: *cika khîsare márun ðua*, heat water and introduce or put in rice; *thuci khîsare raísun ðua*, heat oil and put onions.
- khî -sáma** ~ **khîsáma**, *v.t.* make wet, soak or drench in water.
- khî -thá**, *v.t.* tear, cause to tear.
- khî -thak**, *suff.* meaning 'pretentiously': *khár-khîthak-a*, pretend to do; *sín-khîthak-a*, question with malicious intent; *tak-khîthak-a*, pretend, pretend to do or make.
- khî -thar**, *v.t.* purify, make clean, cleanse: *nok há khîthara*, purify house (esp. ritually for some religious function, after a death etc.). **khîthara cithara**, *v.t.* (*echo*) purify (esp. ritually).
- khî -thír**, *v.t.* cause to bounce, cause to splash: *hapci khîthéra*, cause slush to be splashed.
- kí**, **1.** *n.* dog: *kí hóna*, dog barks; *kí unğura*, dog howls. **kí bota**, *n.* male dog. **kípácen**, *n.* canine teeth. **2.** (*idiom*) **kí bokcañ poṅsaa**,

- feel nausea, feel an inclination to vomit.
- ki**, *v.i.* fall: *copekan kia*, fall in such a way that one lands in a sitting position; *digrapan kia*, fall on one's face.
- ki-la-khon**, *n.* elbow.
- kiñ-juñ**, *n.* bone: *kinjuñ krope réñata*, bone got a crack.
- ki-ra**, **1.** *n.* a public promise or vow or resolution. **2.** (*verbal*) **kira dibía**, withdraw publicly some promise made publicly. **kira sáa**, make a public promise (usu. with a self-imposed penalty).
- ki-ri** ~ **kir**, *v.i.* & *v.t.* be afraid.
- kirikhrok**, *n.* timid person, frightened person, coward.
- kirikirsin**, *a.* & *adv.* fearfully: *kirikirsin réña*, go with fear and foreboding; *kirikirsin tata*, feel scared.
- kir-sin brá-sin**, *adv.* (*echo*) fearfully and shyly. **kirsisin brásisin**, *adv.* (*echo*) with fear and shyness.
- kir-sin kir-sin**, *adv.* fearfully: *kirsin kirsin bobaia*, speak fearfully; *kirsin kirsin toa*, stay fearfully.
- kirsisin**, *adv.* fearfully: *kirsisin tata*, feel fear.
- ki-sri**, *n.* shallow cylindrical woven mould for preparing bundles of paddy in hay.
- ko**, *v.t.* throw, reject: *koe rákhata*, throw away.
- ko-ba** as in: (*verbal*) **koba réña**, *v.i.* become useless (things), be not true (to promise or expectation).
- kó-ca** ⇒ **kai**.¹
- ko-con**, *v.t.* dress another.
- ko-dal**, *n.* spade, hoe.
- kói**¹, *v.i.* be bent, be twisted, be zigzagging: *ram kóia*, road is winding.
- kói**², *v.i.* sulk, be upset, show prolonged resentment at not being given something (children): *kaisábra kóia*, child resents or sulks.
- koi-na**, *n.* bride.
- koi-ná**, *n.* a kind of fish.
- kok**, **1.** *v.t.* beat, strike: *sarita kokjo*, it is four o'clock (lit. it struck four).
- 2.** *v.i.* move or occur as wind, hale, storm or seasons in great severity: *jigar koka*, be affected by a shower of hales; *khārañ koka*, dry season sets in; *parcuñ koka*, gale blows hard, be beaten by strong gale.
- ko-klok** ~ **ka-klak**, **1.** *n.* one who is bald. **2.** *v.i.* be bald, be bare (as tree etc.): *pan kokloke réñjo*, tree dried up (having no leaves or even bark); *tikam kokloka*, head is bald. **koklok koklok**, *a.* be bald, be bare without leaves: *panbijan koklok koklok cáñe réñjo*, tree have become completely defoliated. **kokoklok**, *a.* bald; *tikam kokoklok khroke rákhata*, have a close shave.
- ko-kot-ai** ⇒ **kotkotaia**.
- kok-that** ~ **kokthá**, *v.t.* kill, murder, beat to death: *kokthate rákhata*, do away with, kill.
- kom**, *a.* be less: *kom cáña*, become less.
- kóm**, *v.t.* enclose: *hadala kóma*, build a fence; *hangar kóma*, build a fence.
- kóm-breñ** ~ **kómreñ**, *n.* long bamboo for plucking fruits etc. or to chase birds while drying things in the sun.
- kom-i**, *v.i.* become less.
- ko-mo-la**, *n.* orange.
- kom-pa**, **1.** *n.* cotton rolled into a roll to spin thread. **2.** (*verbal*) **kom-pa khaa**, prepare rolls of cotton.
- kóm-reñ** ⇒ **kónbreñ**.
- kón**, *n.* stick, twig, peg. **kónkhati**, *n.* a stick or peg prepared for some use.
- kon-clot**, *n.* wild turmeric. **kon-clotgoda**, *n.* bulbous base of ~.
- konclotgrim**, *n.* a place filled with ~.
- konclotphan**, *n.* wild turmeric plant.
- kon-da-la**, *n.* a loose corner of dress that can be folded (and be used to put or carry something in): *riphan*

- kondala*, *n.* ~ of rīphan (woman's dress).
- koŋ**, *n.* stalk, stem, middle fibre of leaves: *khanpancukon*, *n.* stalk of tapioca; *ráikon*, *n.* stem along with the middle fibre of banana leaf; *renkon*, *n.* stem of yam plant.
- koŋ-groŋ**, *v.i.* be hollow with wide mouth, having some depth to be able to contain something (plates, vessels, cave-in sides of raised land etc.). **koŋogroŋ**, *a.* hollow with wide mouth, having some depth and capable of containing something.
- koŋ-ke**, *a.* bent or having twists: *pan koŋkea*, tree has twists and bends. **koŋkeke**, *a.* having bends and twists. **korokoŋke**, *a.* winding, zigzagging (path, trees etc.): *rambe korokoŋkese*, the path is winding; *pan korokoŋkekai*, twisted tree.
- koŋ-klok**, *v.i.* have a bent or curve (like beaks of birds). **koŋklok koŋklok**, *a.* be curved like an arc or arch: *miŋi kroŋ koŋklok koŋklok*, horns of buffalo are curved. **koŋkoklok**, *a.* having a bent or curved shape: *kroŋ koŋkoklok*, horn is large and bent.
- koŋ-kon**, *a.* having a bulge: *koŋkon cáŋa*, become bulging.
- koŋ-kreŋ**, *v.i.* be curly (hair, wood shavings etc.): *pancaŋi koŋkreŋe dogota*, wood filings come out curled and twisted. **koŋkekreŋ**, *a.* be curly, be curled: *koŋkekreŋ gure toa*, sleep in a curled up position. **korokoŋ-kreŋ**, *a.* very curly: *khorok korokoŋ-kreŋ*, hair is very curly.
- kón-phlak**, *n.* flat and small pieces of wood. **kónphlak báphlak**, *n.* (echo) pieces of bamboo and wood: *kónphlak báphlak kie toeta*, pieces of wood and bamboo are fallen or thrown about.
- ko-pi-ram** *n.* guava.
- kop-kop**, *v.i.* be tightly woven (mat, fencing etc.): *nen kopkopa*, cloth is tightly woven; *hadala kopkopa*, fence is closely woven.
- ko-prek** ⇒ **jãmprek**.
- ko-rai**, **1.** *n.* small woven basket used as a measure. **2.** *cl.* for the number of measurement made with ~: *korai-sa mairuŋ* one measure of rice by ~.
- kor-ka**, *n.* a kind of drum
- kor-kem**, *v.i.* be creased, develop creases: *korkeme réŋa*, become creased. **korkem korkem** *a.* be with creases: *korkem korkem cáŋa*, dried, shrivelled and with wrinkles. **korkekem**, *a.* have several creases: *nen korkekem cáŋjo*, cloth has several creases. **korokorkem**, *a.* have several creases or folds, be shrivelled up.
- ko-ro** ~ **tokoro**, *postpos.* & *suff.* meaning 'via, through, along etc.': *bekoro?*, which way?; *okoro*, this way; *okoro*, that way.
- ko-sai**, *n.* separate flaky and fleshy parts of fruits like oranges, jack-fruit etc.
- ko-tai**, *v.t.* offer, give.
- kot-kot-ai** ~ **kokotai**, *v.i.* (onom.) clucking of hen (esp. after laying egg or when frightened)
- ko-trok**, *v.t.* cause to dance.
- krám**, *v.i.* be tasty, be delicious (meal): *kaka ná toŋdoŋ mai kráma*, if there is fish or meat food is tasty.
- kraŋ**, *v.i.* stroll, go for a walk: *kraŋe toa*, roam from place to place. **kraŋa jãma**, *v.* (echo) roam; *ata biŋi kraŋe jãme toeta?*, where have (you) been roaming around?
- krán**, *v.i.* be over (rainy season): *tébe phaci kránajo*, now the rainy season is close to its end.
- kraŋ-siŋ** as in: **1.** **kraŋsiŋ bá**, *n.* a variety of bamboo. **2.** (idiom) **kraŋ-siŋ buri ráŋa**, take bride for mar-

- riage according to the Rabha traditions.
- krau-an**, *adv.* (*onom.*) heavily and noisily (said of falling): *kaībe nuka j̄ime krauan kijo*, feeling giddy the man fell heavily.
- kreŋ**, **1.** *n.* longer and bigger feather on wings of birds, wings. **2.** (*verbal*) **kreŋ japa**, flap wings. **kreŋ naŋa**, winged, have wings.
- krep krep**, *adv.* (break) completely: *hīti noko krep krep dībie rákhajo*, the elephant tore the house into shreds.
- krep-an**, *adv.* (*onom.*) noisily or with a cracking sound (said of breaking).
- krok-krok**, *v.i.* cluck (hen to call chicks).
- kroŋ**¹, **1.** *n.* horn. **2.** (*verbal*) **kroŋ naŋa**, have horns, be horned.
- kroŋ**², *v.i.* dry up, run dry: *cusar cika kroŋa*, well dries up.
- krop**, *v.i.* split open as vegetable pods, bamboo, trees etc.: *krope bie réŋa*, split and break; *krope j̄ima*, break into pieces (thatch etc.).
- kr̄ik**, *v.t.* know, be able, be skilful.
- kr̄i-ma**, *n.* guest, visitor: *kr̄ima cina réŋa*, go on a visit to friends or relatives. **kr̄ima barai**, *n.* (*echo*) relatives.
- kr̄im-kr̄im**, *v.i.* be heavily wooded: *pan kr̄imkr̄ima*, is heavily wooded, trees are closely placed.
- kr̄iŋ**, *v.i.* make noise, cry, call (of animals): *cōŋ guk kr̄iŋa*, insects make their characteristic cry.
- kr̄iŋ-kr̄iŋ**, *adv.* very (clean): *nok há kr̄iŋkr̄iŋ m̄īka*, house and surrounding are very clean or clean and tidy.
- kr̄ip** ⇒ **k̄ip**.
- kr̄it** ~ **kr̄i**, *v.t.* break and go into pieces: *kr̄ite j̄ime réŋa*, break into pieces.
- ku-cu**¹, *n.* tip, top-most section (usu. of standing bamboo, tree etc.): *bákucu*, tip of bamboo; *pankucu*, tip of tree.
- ku-cu**², *v.t.* make tall, increase elevation.
- ku-cuŋ**, *v.t.* make big, make grow.
- ku-hu-ri**, *n.* mist: *kuhuri cáŋa*, be misty; *kuhuri bira*, mist descends.
- kui**, **1.** *n.* betel nut. **kui khili**, *n.* betel leaf that is folded and kept ready for selling. **kuidona**, *n.* flat part of the betel nut leaf by which it is attached to the stem. **kuiphaŋ**, *n.* betel nut tree. **kui-sí**, *n.* red spittle produced when chewing betel nut along with betel leaf and a dash of lime. **kui sokhop**, *n.* peel of betel nut. **kui pana**, *n.* (*echo*) combination of betel nut and betel leaf. **2.** (*verbal*) **kui pana rákhua**, extend an invitation. **3.** (*idiom*) **kui pana sákai**, *n.* a ceremony during marriage.
- kui-raŋ-saŋ**, *n.* a kind of tree with small fruits.
- ku-ká**, *n.* a kind of bushy plant.
- ku-ki-naŋ**, *n.* (arch) cock. **kukinaŋ sorenaŋ**, *n.* (*echo*) fowls (cocks and hens).
- ku-kuŋ**, **1.** *n.* comb or red fleshy crest of fowl (esp. cock). **2.** (*verbal*) **kukuŋ naŋa**, have ~. **kukuŋ sára**, have ~ turn bright (esp. of hen before beginning to lay eggs).
- kul** ⇒ **jat**.
- kum-pak**, **1.** *n.* nose. **kumpak hákhar**, *n.* nostril, hole of the ear. **kumpak nakor**, *n.* (*echo*) ear and nose. **2.** (*verbal*) **kumpak céŋ-céŋ** (**kumpak téŋtéŋ**, **kumpak théŋthéŋ**), having prominent and shapely nose. **kumpak cua**, (*fig.*) be proud or be so full of self-pride that one refuses help even when in need (*lit.* nose be high). **kumpak naŋa**, have a high or long nose. **kumpak róa**, (*fig.*) be shy (*lit.* nose be long). **3.** (*idiom*) **kumpak nakor toŋcakai**, *n.* one who is shameless, *lit.* one who has no ear and nose.

kum-plek ⇒ **nukplek**.

kun-di, *n.* bamboo reinforcement at the edge of woven articles: *kundi dibía*, burn and bend bamboo to fit the curved shape of woven articles; *kundi khaa* (*kundi khoa*), tie ~ to some woven article.

kun-di-bur ⇒ **kindibur**.

kun-duk, *v.i.* be bent, become hunch-backed. **kunduk kunduk**, *adv.* with a bent or hunch: *kunduk kunduk rjama*, walk with a hunch.

kunduduk, *a.* hunch-backed: *kunduduk cáŋa*, become hunch-backed; *kunduduk nui toa*, sit hunch-backed.

kurukunduk, *a.* bent over forward as one suffering from acute stomach-ache: *kurukunduk cáŋa*, bend forward as if in acute pain, writhe in pain.

kuŋ, *n.* rim (vessels, baskets etc.) or corresponding part of other articles: *coreŋ kuŋ*, rim of fishing basket called *coreŋ*.

kuŋ-cep ⇒ **nukcep**.

kuŋ-dan-dri, *n.* soft bone of the nose.

kuŋ-jí, *n.* mucus that is dried in the nose: *kuŋjí rákhata*, pick one's nose.

kuŋ-ki-la-ba-ri, *n.* a kind of rake or stick (usu. bamboo) with just a single prong or tooth for untying and turning sheaves being threshed or for raking hay.

kuŋ-kur, be bent (like a hook): *khoroŋ kuŋkura*, hair is curly. **kuŋkukur**, *a.* bent (like a hook), bent oddly. **kuŋkur kuŋkur**, *a.* be bent, be curly: *khorok kuŋkur kuŋkur cáŋe réŋjo*, hair has become very curly. **kuru-kuŋkur**, *a.* having several hook-like or U-shaped bends in several places: *bár khame nokhraŋi sár kuru-kuŋkur cáŋe réŋjo*, because of fire the tin sheets of roof became bent oddly.

kuŋ-sep, *v.t.* sniff, smell: *kuŋsepe cia*, sniff to find how or what.

kuŋ-sí, **1.** *n.* blood from the nose. **2.** (*verbal*) **kuŋsí bíá**, have bleeding from the nose.

kuŋ-thaŋ, *n.* snout: *bak kuŋthaŋ peke há jura*, pig digs and turns up earth with its snout.

kuŋ-tu-kur, *v.t.* bend, make bend.

kup, numeral suffix used especially with Assamese numeral from four upwards and occasionally also with native numerals as prefix for counting beatings (replacing native prefix *phon-*): *cari-kup koka*, beat four times; *kup-sa koka*, beat once. **kupsa poŋsa**, *adv.* (*echo*) once.

kup-ta ⇒ **kapta**.

kúr, **1.** *n.* flat thin strips of bamboo or reed used as binding material.

kúr daplak, *n.* ~ that is split starting from the inside of a flat piece of bamboo. **kúr katila**, *n.* ~ that is split laterally so that every ~ has one edge from the outer skin of bamboo. **kúrbanda**, *n.* strips used for general purposes of tying. **2.** (*verbal*) **kúr dípa**, split bamboo or reed to make such strips.

kur-ci, *n.* sugarcane. **kurcipháŋ**, *n.* sugarcane plant. **kurci raŋciŋ**, *n.* sugarcane juice.

ku-ri¹, *n.* a kind of sea-shell used once upon a time as coin.

kuri² ⇒ **tó**.

ku-ri-a, *n.* someone who is sickly: *kaián kuria*, person is very sickly.

ku-ri-sa ⇒ **hasisa**.

kur-si, *n.* a small variety of beans.

kursi daplak, *n.* a flat variety of ~.

ku-ru-a¹, *n.* a variety of bird that catches fish.

ku-ru-a², *n.* hoof (of animals).

ku-tú ⇒ **khisá**.

ku-tún, *v.t.* heat, make hot, (*fig.*) disturb peace: *nok kutúnŋa*, (*fig.*) disturb family peace.

kí -caí ⇒ **kecaí**.

kí -cak, *v.t.* order, command.

kí -cám, *v.t.* cause to wear out: *cokó*

- kicáma*, make rice beer dilute by prolonged filtering.
- ki-mar** ⇒ *séŋ*.
- kim-bai** ~ **kimbi**², *n.* water-jar.
- kim-bi**¹, *n.* a variety of tree. **kimbi-cak**, *n.* its leaf (used for wrapping tobacco).
- kim-bi**² ⇒ **kimbai**.
- kin-da-blaŋ** ~ **kındalaŋ**, *adv.* on the back: *sábrao kındablaŋ báe rúa*, carry child on back
- kin-da-laŋ** ⇒ **kındablaŋ**.
- kin-dam**, **1.** *n.* back, ridge. **kındam kındam**, *adv.* along the ridge (hill); *hácu kındam kındam*, along the ridge of the hill. **2.** (*verbal*) **kındam rojaa**, (*fig.*) itching to be beaten up (said by another). **kındam khinmásaa**, (*fig.*) be beaten up: *bedoba aŋ caki kındam khinmásano*, one day (you) will get beaten up by me.
- kin-di-bur** ~ **kun-di-bur** *n.* an easterly wind, wind blowing from east.
- kin-tri**, **1.** *n.* sharp raised edge-like projection of vegetables, fruits etc. or such other thing. **2.** (*verbal*) **kintri naŋa**, having ~.
- kíp**, *v.t.* cover, put on (lid, cap etc.): *bukhuri kipa*, wear a broad hat called bukhuri; *nokhraŋ kipa (kripa)*, put a roof; *sata kipa*, hold an umbrella open.
- kír** ~ **kiri**, *v.t.* be afraid.
- kír-dak**, *v.i.* be not properly ripe, be not fully ripe, be ripe in some places and raw in other places.
- kírdak kírdak**, *a.* being ripe in places: *kírdak kírdak cáŋa*, some parts being ripe and other parts not being ripe.
- kír-dé**, *n.* a sour fruit tree and its fruit (Mussoenda roxburghii).
- kír-kír**, *a.* ☞ *adv.* steadfast, tight (things tied, fastened etc.): *katha kír-kír moni khae rásama*, keep impressed deeply on the mind; *niam kír-kír khaa*, be very stringent or strict with rules.
- kír-ná**, *n.* one just elder to: *aŋi kímá*, one elder to me; *bómainsi kímá*, one elder to the youngest one.
- kí-tao**, *v.t.* make climb or go up: *ruŋo káraŋa kítaoe ráŋa*, row boat upstream.
- ki-tat** ~ **kí-tá**, *v.t.* make to touch each other, put in contact, put in contiguity, (*fig.*) make fun, behave lightly and jokingly: *kán kítate nua*, sit bodies touching each other.
- ki-triŋ**, *v.t.* teach: *kítriŋe rákhua*, teach.
- kítriŋkai** *n.* teaching or instruction, teacher, instructor. **kítriŋgir**, *n.* teacher.

L

- la-da**, *n.* clod, lump of earth: *lada títkrita*, break up clod into powder. **lada lada** ~ **leda leda**, *adv.* abundantly, in plenty (bearing fruit): *lada lada theta*, bear plenty of fruits.
- la-ga** as in: (*verbal*) **laga duguta**, sell fast, be able to sell fast. **laga dudugata**, make an effort to sell or make a sale. **laga réŋa**, be sold easily: *laga khraphkhrap réŋa*, be sold out fast, strike fast deal in business.
- la-gi**, **1.** *v.t.* require, need: *náme ato lagia*, what do you need? **2.** auxiliary. must, should, ought to: *réŋa lagia*, need to go; *rákhuna lagia*, must give.
- la-ha**, *n.* lac: *laha daka*, gather lac; *laha ríbuŋa*, collect lac.
- la-khor**, *n.* a cowherd, a cowman.
- lakhorsábra**, *n.* a cowboy.
- la-la**, *v.i.* stutter, stammer. **lalata**, *v.i.* (*emph. habitual*) stammer or stutter regularly. **lala lula**, *adv.* (*echo*) with a stammer: *lala lula bobaia*, speak with a stammer.
- laŋ-laŋ**, *adv.* very (said of tall or long

- things): *bá lanlan róa*, bamboo is very tall or long.
- lan-gre** ~ **rangre**, **1.** *n.* moon. **lan-grecari**, *n.* moonlight: *langrecari phraophráo*, moonlight is bright. **lan-gre pidan**, *n.* new moon or moon seen again after conjunction with sun. **langre ginal monokkai**, lunar eclipse. **langre piri**, *n.* young moon or new moon of few days.
- 2.** (*verbal*) **langre giti kia (langre giti cána)**, moon appears late in the night.
- lan-koi lan-koi**, *adv.* softly, gently and in a wavy fashion (like slow movement of tails of animal): *mirkú jímín lan_{koi} lan_{koi} mota*, tail of cat moves gently; *buruk lan_{koi} lan_{koi} ríjama*, leech moves in a wavy manner.
- lan-on**, *n.* plough. **lanon is**, *n.* rod connecting yoke and plough. **lan-onmutti**, *n.* plough-handle. **lanon phal**, *n.* ploughshare, iron bit or cutting blade fixed on the plough.
- lan-ti-a**, **1.** *a.* naked: *lan_{tia} kai*, a naked person; *lan_{tia} cáne toa*, stay or be naked. **2.** *n.* a naked person.
- lan-ta**, **1.** *n.* practice, habit, habitual behaviour. **2.** (*verbal*) **lanta cána**, become a habit. **lanta khára**, habituate. **lanta mána**, get regular practice, have regular exposure to.
- la-pai**, *v.i.* stumble, trip, (esp. entangling one's own feet or dress): *kakai táthen lapáia*, stumble entangling one's own feet.
- la-ri**, *a. & n.* widow: *lari cána*, become widowed; *lari kai*, a widow.
- la-thu-a**, **1.** *n.* liar, one who habitually cheats. **2.** *a.* *lathua kai*, a liar, one who cheats. **3.** (*verbal*) **lathua khára**, cheat.
- le-brañ**, **1.** *n.* left-hand side: *lebrañ hatañ (lebra atañ)*, on the left, to the left; *lebraña*, leftwards, towards the left; *lebrañ gudun*, to the left. **2.** **lebrañi**, *a.* left: *lebrañi tási*, left hand.
- lek-lek**, *adv.* continuously (laughter): *leklek minia*, laugh continuously (as when tickled for a long time).
- le-kok**, *v.i.* be or become shaky: *lekoke réna*, become shaky. **lekok lekok**, *a. & adv.* shaky, shakily: *lekok lekok mota*, move shakily. **lekokok**, *a.* very shaky.
- lem**¹, *n.* name of Rabha sub-clan: *lem barai*, the ~ sub-clan.
- lem**², *n.* lamp, lantern: *lem sóa*, light a lantern.
- le-ma**, *a.* of Assamese people. **lema katha**, *n.* Assamese language. **lema nok**, *n.* house built as built by the Assamese, house built not according to the traditional Rabha style.
- le-ma-tan**, *n.* (sg. & pl.) the Assamese people, an individual or individuals of the group: *lematañi sábra*, an Assamese child; *lematañi son*, an Assamese village.
- lem-lem**, *adv.* hanging easily and very low (dress, curtains etc.): *cak lemlem gome toa*, leaf bending downwards in an arch-like formation (banana leaf); *nen lemlem kana*, wear long and flowing dress reaching very low.
- lem-thé**, *n.* guava.
- leñ-leñ**, *a. & adv.* in a pendulous manner or hanging down: *gungar leñleñ dogota*, mucus flows down; *leñleñ khasie tana*, keep suspended.
- leñleñ lunlun**, *adv.* (*echo*) in the manner of drapery, hanging.
- leo-a**, *n.* creeper, trailing plant: *leoa brápa*, creeper spreads out. **leoa siñ**, *n.* tendril, root-like leafless shoots by which trailing plants cling. **leoa leosi**, *n.* (*echo*) creepers or trailing plants.
- leo-si** ⇒ **leoa**.
- li-khi**¹, *v.t.* (arch.) count.

- li-khi**², *v.t.* write.
- liŋ-gur**, *v.t.* nuzzle, burrow or press or rub with nose and face: *kaisábra jibrana lingura*, child nuzzles against mother.
- liŋ-liŋ**, *adv.* very (of height or things long): *bá liŋliŋ róa*, bamboo is very tall or long. **liŋliŋ lanlan**, *adv.* (*echo*) very (long, tall).
- lo-bor**, *n.* rubber: *lobor khána*, cut or tap rubber. **loborphan**, *n.* rubber plant.
- lok-lok**, *adv.* in a hurry or fast (eat): *loklok sáa*, eat fast.
- lo-kok**, *v.i.* shake (inside something like a container): *kui lokoka*, betel nut shakes (inside the peel); *tó picí lokoka*, egg shakes (when become bad).
- lok-ra**, *n.* a variety of tiger.
- lo-leŋ pho-leŋ**, *a.* (*echo*) lean, weak, emaciated: *kán kai lolen pholen cáŋa*, be lean and weak.
- lo-lo**, *n.* dress (child language).
- lo-mo lo-mo**, *adv.* move, sway, swing: *bákucu lomo lomo mota*, top of bamboo sways.
- lon-drai**, *v.t.* roll (tongue while speaking): *khútlai londraie londraie bobáia*, speak indistinctly without proper articulation.
- lop-**, *cl.* for amount contained in one open palm: *mairuŋ lop-sa*, one handful of rice.
- lo-to-kok**, *v.t.* shake: *phakham lotokoka*, shake tooth to pull out; *tó picí lotokoke cia*, shake the egg (to see if it is good).
- lu-la** ⇒ **lala**.
- luŋ-luŋ** ⇒ **leŋleŋ**.
- lí -bak** ~ **rubak**, *n.* frog: *libak kriŋa*, frog croaks; *libak tortoraia*, frog croaks. **libak gengen (benbon)**, *n.* big variety of frog. **libak kho-drak**, *n.* variety of frog that comes into houses; **libak ceŋkrao (libak ceŋkroi, pan libak)**, *n.* a variety of frog with long body and capable of climbing trees.
- lí -ga** ~ **liga**, **1.** *n.* friend. **2.** (*verbal*) **liga cáŋa**, be a friend. **liga ráa**, befriend, take someone as helper or friend.
- lil-lil**, *adv.* continuously (of shaking): *tási lillil mota*, hand shakes constantly (as of one suffering from Parkinson's disease).
- lip-lip**, **1.** *v.i.* be very sharp: *kaŋka liplipa*, knife is very sharp. **2.** *adv.* very (sharp): *kaŋka liplip mata*, the knife is very sharp.
- lin-thri**, *a.* consecutive, contiguous, be in a row: *linthri kháre dáŋa*, enter one after another, *nokbijan linthri kháre toa*, houses are in a row one after another.
- lí-ri**, *v.i.* dislocate (joints), sprain.

M

- ma**, *v.i.* lose, disappear: *mae réŋa*, disappear go out of usage (tradition, language etc.).
- má-ba**, *a.* male (animals): *bak mába*, male pig; *tó mába*, a cock.
- ma-ca**, *postpos.* meaning 'so much as (an indicated amount)': *oncok maca*, so much as that; *páŋraŋa maca*, really plenty.
- ma-ca-i**, *postpos.* meaning 'there itself': *ekai macai*, here itself; *e-macai*, here itself; *nok macai*, in the house itself; *nán nuba macaian*, in the very place where you sat; *okai macai*, in that place itself.
- ma-can** ~ **macatan**, *postpos.* meaning 'certainly', 'definitely': *dóa macan*, it is definitely true; *toa macan*, there certainly is; *jat macan*, really.
- ma-ca-tan** ⇒ **macan**.

ma-ci, **1.** *n.* starch. **2.** (*verbal*) **maci rákhua** (**neŋa**), starch (thread etc.).
ma-ci-ko-leŋ ~ **maimaci**, *n.* rice boiled very soft: *macikoleŋ rima*, boil rice soft into a pasty mass.
ma-ci-pok, **1.** *n.* a kind of skin disease with white and dry patches of skin. **2.** (*verbal*) **macipok naŋa**, have ~.
má-da, *n.* bear.
ma-du, *v.t.* refuse to give: *paísabe toa maduítase*, (*subj.*) has money but is only refusing to give. **ma-du-khrok** ~ **madugrak**, *n.* one who does not give anything to any one.
ma-du-grak ⇒ **madu**.
ma-ga-mai, *n.* sticky variety of paddy or rice from such paddy (eaten steamed or cooked).
ma-gna, *a.* & *adv.* in vain, uselessly, fruitlessly: *rénkai magnase cáŋjo*, going was in vain.
ma-grap ~ **maŋ-grap**, *a.* abandoned, dilapidated (esp. houses): *nok magrap*, abandoned house.
ma-ha-ri, *n.* relatives from the mother's side.
mai, **1.** *n.* paddy, boiled rice, paddy plant. **mai ankhimi**, *n.* branch-like section of an ear of paddy on which the grains are found. **mai asta**, *n.* extra rice that remains in the cooking pot or rice that is already served and kept but not eaten. **mai bacia** (**mai batcia**), *n.* one meal. **mai cáran**, *n.* unhulled paddy. **mai cári**, *n.* paddy kept as seed for sowing. **mai cika**, *n.* (*echo*) basic sustenance or nourishment: *mai cika dánca*, cannot eat anything; **mai oda**, *n.* paddy that is not well dried. **maidam**, *n.* heap of paddy. **maiguli**, *n.* heap of sheaves on threshing floor. **2.** (*verbal*) **mai bamchi sona**, grains of paddy develops milk-like juice inside **mai bómaia**, paddy plant

begins to form ears. **mai dáŋa**, have appetite. **mai dogota**, put forth ears, ears of paddy grows out of stalk: *mai dogóna jancae gemsuk phénkai kantrase*, (*fig.*) ears of paddy after forming grain within did not grow out from stalk like *gemsuk*—pollen of *gemsuk* is formed inside stalk). **mai donróa**, paddy has long ears of grain. **mai donsoŋa**, paddy has short ears of grain. **mai gaa**, carry harvested paddy from field. **mai khotá**, serve rice. **mai naka**, thresh paddy. **mai phua**, sow paddy. **mai puk dogota**, (*fig.*) husk of paddy being boiled bursts showing white grain within. **mai rima**, cook rice, prepare meal. **mai sáa**, have a meal, eat rice. **mai saia**, keep a fast; **mai súa**, pound paddy into rice.
mai-a, *adv.* day before yesterday.
maia maia, *adv.* long back. **mai-aroro**, *adv.* some days back. **mai-ataŋ**, *adv.* many days back, long back.
mai-cam, *a.* old, ancient.
mai-coŋ, *n.* cluster of paddy plants: *maicoŋ coŋsa*, one cluster of paddy plants.
mai-don, *n.* ear of paddy: *maidon donsa*, one ear of paddy.
mai-dop, **1.** *n.* paddy bundled in hay: *maidop dopsa*, one bundle of paddy. **maidopkúr**, *n.* ones used for tying paddy in bundles. **2.** (*verbal*) **maidop khaa**, tie paddy in bundles. **maidop jróna**, pile up bundles of paddy.
mai-háre, *n.* grains of paddy that falls to the ground when bundles of paddy are heaped together or from hay.
mai-jí-bra, *n.* paddy plants that grow from grain fallen from the earlier harvest.
mai-kó ⇒ **cokó**.

- mai-kón**, *n.* a flat stick (usu. of bam-boo) used as ladle for stirring anything (esp. rice) being cooked.
- mai-ma-ci**, *n.* rice boiled soft and had as breakfast.
- mai-ma-kham**, *n.* rice left over in the plate after eating.
- mai-ram**, *n.* rice that falls out of the plate while eating.
- mai-run**, *n.* polished rice: *mairun topoka*, make rice wet or keep rice in water (for frying, pounding into flour etc.). **mairun roŋkhó**, *n.* broken rice.
- mai-run-ce**, *n.* paddy that remains unpolished after pounding first time.
- mai-sá-laŋ**, *a.* *ᄃ* *adv.* right hand side, on the right side. **maisálaŋ gudun**, *adv.* on the right side.
- maisálaŋi**, *a.* right: *maisálaŋi tási*, right hand.
- mai-sa-phre**, *n.* ears of paddy that remains on plant after harvesting.
- ma-jar**, *n.* middle: *kai majar tokoro pentrake réŋa*, squeeze one's way through the middle of a crowd.
- majari**, *adv.* in the middle.
- má-ji**, *n.* cow dung. **máji sar**, *n.* cattle dung used as fertiliser.
- má-jor** ⇒ **makjor**.
- má-ju**, *a.* female (animals): *bak máju*, female pig.
- ma-kap**, *n.* straw.
- makapbor**, **1.** *n.* haystack **2.** (*verbal*) **makapbor khaa**, make a haystack. **makapbor hama**, make a haystack.
- ma-ka-si** ⇒ **jakasi**.
- mak-cok**, *n.* deer, stag. **makcok kroŋ**, *n.* antler. **makcok sábra**, *n.* a fawn.
- ma-kha-ci-ka**, *n.* dish-water, water in which dishes or pots and pans have been washed.
- ma-kham**, **1.** *n.* liquor made from steamed sticky rice. **makham sincini**, *n.* ~ kept for long period.
- 2.** (*verbal*) **makham rima**, cook rice meant for preparing rice beer called *cojó*; **makham sáa**, drink and consume ~ sometimes also along with rice contained there in; **makham kaka** (**makham nasiŋa**), be intoxicated with ~.
- ma-khu** ~ **maku**, *n.* shuttle (in loom).
- mak-jor** ~ **májor**, *n.* a small variety of tiger.
- mak-kra**, *n.* monkey. **makkra bonda**, *n.* male monkey. **makkra gaŋgaŋ** (**makkra graŋ**), *n.* big variety of monkey. **makkra hilau**, *n.* black gibbon, black monkey. **makkra khrá**, *n.* small variety of monkey. **makkra raŋgoi**, *n.* langur, long-tailed monkey.
- mak-luk** ⇒ **phakluk**.
- ma-kri**, *suff.* meaning 'instead of', 'rather than': *ekanan toŋ-makri*, rather than just idling away time.
- ma-ku** ⇒ **maku**.
- ma-kur** ⇒ **akkur**.
- mal** as in: **mal mata**, *n.* (*echo*) belongings and possessions.
- ma-la**¹, *n.* garland, chain: *mala suka*, make a garland.
- ma-la**², *n.* the special binding joining pillar to beam: *nophak mala khoa*, fasten pillar and beam.
- ma-lu-a**, *n.* small earthen bowl used esp. for serving curry or rice beer.
- mam**, *n.* rice (child language).
- ma-ma**, *n.* maternal uncle, mother's brother. **mamabra** ~ **mambra**, *n.* same as *mama* (definitive). **mamabraŋ** ~ **mambraŋ**, *n.* maternal uncle and another to whom he is a maternal uncle: *mambraŋ metham*, a maternal uncle and two others to whom he is a maternal uncle.
- mama cuŋkai**, *n.* mother's elder brother. **mama milkai**, *n.* mother's younger brother.
- má-mak**, *v.i.* there is no more (child language).

mam-bra ⇒ **mama**.

mam-braŋ ⇒ **mama**.

mam-an ⇒ **moman**.

man ~ **mancana**, *n.* a variety of arum having gigantic leaves and a single long cylindrical tuber: *man cak dalalaŋ cuna*, leaves of ~ are very big.

man, *v.i.* crawl, creep: *cóŋ mana*, worm crawls.

mán, *v.t.* get.

man-ca-le-ka ⇒ **mancalenka**.

man-ca-leŋ-ka ~ **mancaleka**.
n. kingfisher.

man-ca-na ⇒ **man**.

man-da, *n.* type of big basket used for storing paddy either by itself or as an inner lining of a granary.

man-dai ⇒ **ha mandai** and **aiu mandai**.

man-da-re, *n.* a thorny tree with red flowers (Erythrina suberosa, Erythrina stricta). **mandare par**, *n.* flower of ~.

ma-ni¹, **1.** *n.* father's sisters. **mani-bra**, *n.* father's sister (definitive); **manibraŋ**, *n.* paternal aunt and nephews or nieces: *manibraŋ metham*, a paternal aunt and two nephews or nieces; *manibraŋ sarjŋon*, a paternal aunt and three nephews or nieces. **2.** (*verbal*) **mani mána**, be related as a paternal aunt.

ma-ni², *v.t.* observe or keep or celebrate a ritual or a feast etc., obey: *manie ráa*, agree, consent; *katha mania*, obey, heed advice.

maŋ-, *cl.* for animals: *másu maŋ-sa*, one cattle; *tó maŋ-aníŋ*, two birds; *kí maŋ-atham*, three dogs.

maŋ-ga-tor as in: (*verbal*) **maŋga-tor réŋa**, die (used disparagingly of someone who was considered evil or hated): *maŋgator ana réŋca!*, why does (subj.) not die (a form of swearing).

maŋ-grap¹ ⇒ **magrap**.

maŋ-grap², *v.i.* toddle, walk on all fours.

maŋ-khap as in: (*verbal*) **maŋkhap khaa**, accumulate, collect together (esp. dirt, dust, soot etc.): *akhanjŋ maŋkhap khaa*, soot accumulates; *pusi maŋkhap khaa*, dirt gathers together.

maŋ-khar-dam, *n.* graveyard.

maŋ-khra, *v.i.* freeze, grow cold and lifeless (animate): *maŋkhrae réŋa*, become lifeless.

maŋ-khram, *n.* grave.

maŋ-kreŋ maŋ-kreŋ, *a.* (*echo*) dirty, covered with dust and dirt (esp. of children).

maŋ-ku-na, *n.* pestle.

maŋ-sa ⇒ **mŋsa**.

maŋ-siŋ, **1.** *n.* flesh. **2.** (*verbal*) **maŋ-siŋ naŋa**, be fat. **maŋsiŋ taka**, be fleshy, be grown big (vegetables etc.).

má-pak, *v.i.* get along well, see eye to eye, be in agreement. **mápaka cipaka**, *v.* (*echo*) be in peace and harmony.

mar, *v.i.* be domesticated or tame (animals), feel at ease in company, be attracted to, be friendly (human).

ma-ra-, *cl.* for one shift of threshing or the amount threshed at one time: *mara aniŋ mai maraia*, thresh paddy twice; *marasa mai*, the amount of paddy threshed out in one shift.

ma-rai, *v.t.* thresh (paddy or other grains using cattle): *mai maraia*, thresh paddy.

ma-ram, **1.** *n.* rust. **2.** **maram sáa**, become rusty

ma-raŋ, **1.** *n.* evil, uncleanness (arising from something deemed to be evil having happened), **maran mathaŋ**, *n.* (*echo*) evil. **2.** (*verbal*) **maran búa** (**maran khéa**), be affected by evil or uncleanness. **maran dibía** (**maran rákhata**), purify oneself of evil.

- ma-raŋ-ga**, *n.* an evil person, one who disturbs societal peace: *maran̄ga hácu*, name of a hill to the south-west of Goalpara.
- ma-rau**, *int.* of pleasant surprise.
- ma-ri**, *v.i.* grow old, age (female).
- marik̄ai**, *n.* wife, a way of referring to and calling one's own wife (especially among aged couples): *marik̄ai k̄ai*, an old woman.
- ma-ri-kho-lo-loŋ**, *a.* very old (female): *marikhoholoh c̄aŋa*, become very old.
- ma-ri-ra-si**, *a.* middle-aged (women): *marirasi c̄aŋa*, be middle-aged.
- ma-ri-sa-ri** ⇒ **maritaŋ**.
- ma-ri-taŋ** ~ **marisari**, *n.* (sg. & pl.) old woman: *maritaŋ saksa*, one elderly woman; *maritaŋ kamin̄*, two elderly women.
- ma-rol**, *n.* beam (generally bamboo) placed along the length of the roof across rafters.
- ma-ru**, *n.* slope (of a hill): *maru tokoro réŋa*, go along the slope. **maru maru**, *adv.* along the slope; *maru maru réŋa*, go along the slope.
- má-ru**, *n.* a wild cat. **máru bonda**, *n.* a male ~.
- mas**, *n.* month: *mas ḡosa*, one month.
- má-sa**¹, *n.* tiger: *mása hún̄kura*, tiger growls. **mása lokra**, *n.* a small variety of tiger. **mása máda**, *n.* (echo) wild animals (*lit.* tigers and bears). **másaphaceŋ**, *n.* longer teeth of tiger between incisors and molars.
- má-sa**², *v.t.* get to eat: *ato másano*, what will you get to eat (an expression commonly used when guests arrive unexpectedly meaning 'we have nothing to offer you'); *jaba másaca*, got nothing to eat (an expression commonly used as guests leave).
- má-sa**³ ~ **-masa**, *suff.* used to build the passive: *káci cómasaa*, (*fig.*) be despised, be put to shame, *lit.* be spat upon; *gripmásaa*, be covered; *kokmásaa*, be beaten; *súmasaa*, be stabbed; *inmásaa*, be the object of criticism, be reprimanded.
- ma-si**, *n.* millet.
- má-si**, *n.* deer: *mási hoka*, deer calls (barks).
- ma-si-j̄maŋ** ⇒ **j̄maŋmasi**
- má-su**, *n.* cattle (cow or bull).
- másubathan**, *n.* a ~ for cows.
- másu cunthi**, *n.* hump at the back of cattle. **másu kaka**, *n.* beef.
- másu j̄ibra**, *n.* mother cow. **másu halua**, *n.* ploughing bull. **másu karol (másu bokon)**, *n.* a young cow that has reached the age of bearing offspring but has not yet had a calf. **másu kron**, *n.* horns.
- másukuŋthan**, *n.* snout or part of the face including nose, mouth etc. (of cattle), heel (human). **másu máthai**, *n.* (echo) domestic animals.
- másu nú**, *n.* udder, cow milk.
- másu nú khik̄ai**, *n.* curd. **másu sábra**, *n.* calf.
- mat** ~ **má 1**. *v.i.* be sharp: *kaŋka mata*, knife is sharp. **2**. *v.i.* receive a cut, get wounded: *kaŋka máno*, will get cut by the knife; *kaŋka mákai*, a sharp knife, cut from a knife.
- ma-ta** ⇒ **mal**.
- ma-tak** ⇒ **katak**.
- má-ta-pak**, *v.t.* reconcile, make friendly after estrangement.
- ma-tek**, *n.* earthen pot for boiling rice. **matek métek**, *n.* (echo) pots and pans.
- má-tha, 1**. *n.* big and wild variety of lizard (aniguana). **mátha pukri**, *n.* an amphibious variety of lizard. **2**. (*verbal*) **mátha kraŋa réŋa**, go to hunt ~.
- má-thai, 1**. *n.* a rogue animal, an animal that roams alone. **2**. ⇒ **másu**.
- ma-thaŋ** ⇒ **maran̄**.

- má-traí**, *n.* a middle-sized tree with soft wood.
- mé-ba**, *n.* tender bamboo shoot.
- mé-bao**, *n.* a gourd. **mébaosinbi**, *n.* small and long variety of gourd.
- mébao khúnari**, *n.* a tender gourd.
- mé-ca**, **1.** *n.* woman: *méca saksá*, one woman. **2.** *a.* feminine (human): *méca kai*, a woman; *mécakai kai*, a woman.
- mé-ca-taŋ** ~ **mícitaŋ**, *n.* (sg. & pl.) woman: *mécataŋ saksá*, one woman; *mécataŋ kaminŋ*, two women.
- méj-eŋ-a**¹, *n.* a sub-clan: *méjeŋa barai*, the ~ clan. **2.** *n.* a tree with aromatic leaves used as vegetable (*Zanthoxylum budranga*, *Zanthoxylum oxyphyllum*).
- mé-kha**, *n.* a middle-sized tree whose bitter flower is used as vegetable.
- me-kho-bár-ju**, *n.* robber, thief.
- me-khoi**, *v.t.* steel, rob: *mekhoie ráŋa*, steal and carry away.
- mel**, *n.* meeting: *mel cáŋa*, have or hold a meeting. **mel mitiŋ**, *n.* (*echo*) meeting.
- me-la**, *n.* festival, feast, celebration: *mela cáŋa*, hold a festival; *mela cia*, take part or watch a festival.
- me-lai**¹, *v.i.* hold a meeting.
- me-lai**², *v.i.* have a circular ring formation (around sun or moon).
- mel-boŋ** ⇒ **helboŋ**.
- mé-maŋ**, *n.* ghost, spirit. **mémaŋ misi**, *n.* (*echo*) evil spirits.
- me-men** ⇒ **meren**.
- mem-phok**, *v.t.* pull out or pluck out in one sudden action: *khórok memphoka*, pluck out hair.
- men-cek-rao**, *v.t.* claw, maul, scratch with finger-nails.
- men-da**, *a.* gullible, ignorant, simple, feeble-minded, capable of putting up with much suffering.
- menda munda**, *a.* (*echo*) gullible: *kaiian menda mundase*, person is too simple.
- men-dek**¹, *v.t.* pinch.
- men-dek**², *v.i.* take rest.
- men-dren**, *v.i.* be slimy or sticky.
- men-that** ~ **menthá** *v.t.* kill by wringing or twisting neck: *tó mentháta*, kill chicken by wringing neck.
- meŋ-goŋ** ⇒ **heŋgoŋ**.
- meŋ-jaŋ** ⇒ **keŋjaŋ**.
- meŋ-koŋ**, *v.i.* be shabby, be dirty: *kaiian meŋkoŋse*, the person is dirty.
- meŋkokoŋ**, *a.* shabby, dirty.
- meŋ-kre** ⇒ **keŋkre**.
- me-ra**, *n.* a bushy plant with long leaves and long hard stalk with rings or knots used for sacrificial purposes. **meramutti khámphar-mutti**, *n.* (*echo*) handfuls of *mera* and *khámphar*.
- me-ren** ~ **memen**, *v.i.* be slippery: *ram merena*, the path is slippery.
- mer-ka** ⇒ **perka**.
- mer-ki** ⇒ **perki**.
- mes** ⇒ **ses**.
- mé-tek**, *n.* earthen pot for cooking curry.
- me-tham** ~ **mettham**, *n.* three persons: *metham kai*, three people.
- met-tham** ⇒ **metham**.
- mí**, *n.* curry: *bamcikhali mí*, curry made from vegetable and rice flour.
- mí jibra**, *n.* main vegetable ingredient used in preparing a curry of vegetables and rice flour. **míkhi (níkhi)**, *n.* curry made from bamboo shoots preserved and turned sour or with its juice. **mí thé**, *n.* (*echo*) vegetables.
- mi-a**, *adv.* yesterday: *mian*, yesterday itself; *mianipara*, since yesterday. **mia maia**, *adv.* (*echo*) a few days back.
- mí-cik**, **1.** *n.* wife. **mícikbra**, *n.* wife (definitive). **2.** (*verbal*) **mícik ráa**, take a wife, marry. **mícik rákhata**, divorce wife, put wife away. **3.** (*idiom*) **mícikŋi ríphan grípmásaa**, be henpecked. **mícikŋi ríphan pímuŋ toa**, be henpecked.

- mí-ci-taŋ** ⇒ **mécataŋ**.
mil-tiŋ ⇒ **khiltiŋ**.
mí-muk, **1.** *n.* mushroom. **mímuk akhoi**, *n.* small variety of mushrooms that grow in large patches. **mímuk braŋsiŋ**, *n.* long variety of mushroom. **2.** (*idiom*) **mímuk díma**, be left undone or unoccupied for a long time.
mi-ni, *v.i.* laugh, smile. **mini-paplaka**, *v.i.* laugh as when dearly loved ones are conversing. **mini-jama**, *v.i.* laugh without much reason (even by oneself).
mi-ni-khú-sram khú-sram ~ **minikhúsiŋ khúsiŋ**, *a. & adv.* smile: *minikhúsiŋ khúsiŋ cáŋa*, be about to smile; *minikhúsiŋ khúsiŋ minia*, smile shyly with a suppressed smile; *minikhúsiŋ khúsiŋ bobaia*, speak with a smile.
mi-ni-khí-siŋ khí-siŋ ⇒ **mini-khúsiŋ khúsiŋ**.
mi-ni-ki-ci, *v.t.* scorn, laugh at, deride.
miŋ-kú, *n.* cat. **miŋkú bonda**, *n.* tomcat.
mi-si¹ ⇒ **méman**, **khrik** and **tóraŋ**.
mi-si², *n.* buffalo. **misibathan**, *n.* a ~ for buffaloes.
mis-tri, *n.* mason, carpenter.
mi-ta, **1.** *n.* namesake, person with the same name as another. **mitabraŋ**, *n.* namesakes, persons who have the same name: *mitabraŋ kamkai*, two persons who are namesakes; *mitabraŋ sarijon*, four persons who are namesakes. **2.** (*verbal*) **mita khaa**, enter into a covenanted relationship by namesakes.
mo-a-raŋ-si, *n.* time duration of a few days before new moon.
mo-có, *n.* rat: *mocó gríte sáa*, rat gnaws. **mocó barsak**, *n.* a red variety rat that nests on trees. **mocó cika**, *n.* a smelly variety of rat. **mocó jurbak** (~ **jurgubak**, ~ **jugurbak**), *n.* big variety of house rat. **mocó riŋkhini**, *n.* small variety of rat.
mo-de ⇒ **code**.
mo-dom, *v.i.* begin to turn stale: *modome réŋa*, start turning stale.
moi¹, **1.** *n.* a harrow, a bamboo frame for levelling land that is already ploughed. **2.** (*verbal*) **moi koka** (**moi rákhua**, drive a harrow).
moi², *v.t.* wag, swing: *dangai moia*, shake a rod in a gesture of being about to beat; *tátheŋ tási moie rjama*, walk energetically.
moi-na, *n.* a myna, a mimic bird of starling family. **moina nakor**, *n.* an orchid with long bunch of purple and white flowers.
moi-ra, *n.* peafowl. **moira bai**, *n.* a Rabha deity which according to folklore was a human being that turned into a peacock.
moi-ra-moi-sak, *a. & adv.* with a swing or shake: *rampari paŋsok bások moiramoisak cáŋa*, branches swing and sway in the wind.
mok, *v.i.* roost or settle for the night (bird): *tó moka*, bird roosts.
mo-ka, *n.* disintegrated stage (esp. soft wood producing a powdery stuff): *paŋ moka cáŋa*, wood disintegrates.
mo-lok, *n.* one who is not able to speak and articulate well, a dunce.
mololok, *n.* one who is not able to speak and articulate well, a dunce.
mo-loŋ, *a.* naked (usu. of men).
mololoŋ, *a.* naked (usu. of men): *mololoŋ toa*, stay naked.
mom-an ~ **maman**, *adv.* immediately: *momanan*, immediately (emphat.).
mom-bra, *n.* younger brother or sister (definitive).
mo-mo, *n.* (pl. ~ **roŋ**). younger brother or sister.
mon, **1.** *n.* mind. **mon sun**, *n.* (*echo*) mind. **2.** (*verbal*) **mon bíá**, (*fig.*) be discouraged, be distressed. **moni**

- kia**, (*fig.*) remember, occur to the mind. **mon thipa**, apply oneself assiduously. **mon khua**, apply oneself assiduously. **mon phéna**, repent, change one's ways. **mon trái**, change one's decision or course of action.
- mo-na**, *n.* bag: *monao próme cia*, grope or search inside a bag with hand.
- mon-crai**, *v.t.* wring, twist: *kúr mon-craie khaa*, twist and tie bamboo strip used for binding.
- mon-dol**, *n.* **1.** leader of the village. **2.** government employee who measures land. **3.** central pillar (at the foot of which important objects are usually placed) of a temporary shed.
- mo-nok**, *v.t.* swallow.
- mo-nol**, *n.* beaten track, path, animal track: *monol jete réna*, make one's way by parting some overgrowth (leaving behind a visible trail).
- mon-piti** ~ **piti**, *v.t.* believe, have faith in.
- mon-the-phén**, *v.t.* repent, change one's ways.
- mon-to-phol**, *n.* papaya, papaw, (Carica papaya).
- mon-cep** ⇒ **concep**.
- mo-plen** ⇒ **copen**.
- mor-bo-ta**, *adv.* with great difficulty, somehow or other: *morbotase paie rántata*, carried with great difficulty.
- mo-ri-ma**, *n.* (arch.) helpers of the village headman: *morima patia*, appoint someone a ~.
- mo-roñ**, *n.* fencing around the house: *moron kóma (moron thuka)*, build a fence around the house.
- mo-sa**, **1.** *n.* wife's uncle. **2.** (*verbal*) **mosa mána**, be related wife's uncle.
- mot**¹ ~ **mó**, *v.i.* shake, stir, shiver, vibrate: *kán dèrdèr mota*, body shivers violently (as when sick, cold, afraid etc.); *bákucu lomo lomo mota*, the top of bamboo sways.
- mot**² ~ **mó**, *v.i.* be extinguished, go out (fire, light etc.): *bár mote réñjo*, the fire went out, fire died out.
- mo-to-ka-sa**, *a.* a little, a pinch (of something esp. things ground together): *ná motokasa*, a little of chutney made from fish. **motokasa motokasa**, *a.* a little each.
- mrík**, *v.i.* be smooth, be clean.
- mríkan**, *a.* everything: *mríkan rána*, take away everything; **mríkmrík**, *a. & adv.* very clean. **mríkmríkan**, *a.* everything
- mu-ja**, ⇒ **pakja**.
- muk-**, *cl.* for the length from elbow to tip of middle finger: *muk-sa*, one such length.
- muk-mar**, *v.i.* become tame or friendly.
- mun-da**¹, *n.* ridge of the roof. **mun-da marol**, *n.* beam or bamboo placed along the length of the ridge of the roof. **munda nokhrañ**, *n.* thatch kept projecting out on the breadth-side of a house.
- mun-da**² ⇒ **anda munda**.
- mun**, **1.** *n.* name. **2.** (*verbal*) **mun coke ráa**, have name registered. **mun ráa**, take or use somebody's name. **mun munšima**, take someone's name, mention a name, give a name.
- mún**¹, *v.i.* feel a need for, want to: *bajína múna*, (*euphem.*) desire to pass urine.
- mún**², *v.i.* stay behind, be left behind: *káni múna*, (*fig.*) conceive, be pregnant (human); *kami grame múñjo*, work remained undone; *phar múna*, spend the night, stay overnight; *phuke múna*, get stuck or get caught (in slush, trap etc.).
- mun-ga-dai** ⇒ **sunğadai**.

muŋ-kreŋ ⇒ **maŋkreŋ**.

muŋ-sim, *v.t.* mention, call, take someone's name: *muŋ muŋsim*, mention a name.

mú-sa, **1.** *n.* (pl. **-taŋ**) man: *músa saksa*, one man. **2.** *a.* male (human): *músa kai*, male person, man; *músakai kai*, a man.

mú-sa-taŋ, *n.* (sg. & pl.) man: *músa-taŋ saksa*, one man; *músataŋ kamin*, two men.

mu-si, *v.t.* daub, plaster, coat or smear (esp. with a mixture of clay and cattle-dung): *nok musia*, plaster house; *nokdar musia*, plaster wall.

mut-ta ~ **mutti** **1.** *n.* small bundle consisting of a handful (of long things). **2.** *cl.* for long things tied into small bundles: *muttasa khairok*, a bundle of beans. **3.** (*verbal*) **mutta khaa**, tie into small bundles.

mut-ti ⇒ **mutta**.

mi-dri, *postpos.* to *n.* in gen. meaning 'among': *mécataŋi mīdri*, among women.

mi-jaŋ, ⇒ **ajaŋ**.

mik-ta mik-ta, *adv.* with ferocity or violence (being angry): *mikta mikta rao dogota*, be in a rage (acting and speaking out one's anger).

mīl, *v.i.* be small. **mīlbainipara**, *adv.* from childhood. **mīlbapeke**, *adv.* while young. **mīllaŋa**, *a.* very small. **mīmīl**, *v.i.* very small (plural sense). **mīmīlbataŋ**, *n.* tiny tots.

mi-la-lao ⇒ **jīlao**.

mi-lao ⇒ **jīlao**.

-mīn¹, *suff.* aspectual marker: *rēŋcano-mīn*, would not go; *cuŋo-mīn*, would grow; *kaninata-mīn*, had said; *nuk-canata-mīn*, had not seen; *cieta-mīn*, was looking; *rēŋcaeta-mīn*, was not going; *nema-mīn*, it was good; *rēŋa-mīn*, had gone; *toa-mīn*, there was.

mīn², *v.i.* ripen, get cooked, grey, be willing (esp. to marry): *garai mīna*, suppurate, form pus, fester; *há mīna*, field be ready for planting; *khobak mīna*, become grey; *mái mīna*, rice be cooked; *thé mīna*, fruit ripens.

mīn, **1.** *n.* body hair, pelt, feather.

2. (*verbal*) **mīn naŋa**, have hair or feather or things similar.

mī-naŋ mī-naŋ, *adv.* on the quiet, under cover, without being noticed.

mīn-dre, *n.* bristle, short stiff hairs on back of pig's neck: *bak mīndre*, thick hairs on back of pig's neck.

mīn-pok, *v.i.* be only nearly cooked or nearly ripe. **mīnpok mīnpok**, *a.* nearly cooked, nearly ripe, not really ripe: *mái mīnpok mīnpok cáŋ-baeta*, paddy is getting ripe.

mīn-si, *v.i.* be over-ripe.

mīn-thai, *n.* sweet.

mīŋ-gar, *v.i.* be in a rage: *mīŋgare toa*, be in a silent rage. **mīŋgar mīŋgar**, *adv.* silently (be angry): *mīŋgar mīŋgar rao dogota*, sulk and be very angry esp. without talking out one's anger loudly and violently.

mīŋ-sa ~ **maŋsa**, *v.i.* rise up, rise from sleep, stand (for election): *mīŋsanode!*, will rise, o.k.! (a way of requesting leave of someone); *uni kárai mīŋsaa*, rise against him, oppose.

mīŋ-taŋ, *n.* (sg. & pl. & common) the Garo tribe, an individual or individuals of the Garo tribe. **mīŋtaŋi**, *a.* of or belonging to the Garo tribe or custom or tradition: *mīŋtaŋi sábra*, a Garo child.

mīr-ci, *n.* pepper: *mīrci khúsuta*, pepper is pungent.

mī-thak-si-ni, *v.t.* (arch.) make ready, prepare.

mī-tha-la, *v.t.* praise, speak extolling someone.

N

-n ⇒ **-an**¹.

-na¹ ~ **-ḡa** ~ **-ma** ~ **-a**, infinitive suffix.

-na² ~ **-ḡa** ~ **-ma** ~ **-a**, dative suffix.

-na³, *suff.* indicating a yes-no question: *dóa-na*², is it not?, is it not true?; *nán réḡo-na*², will you go?

na⁴ *v.t.* hear: *hírīḡ hírīḡ naa*, hear indistinctly or faintly from a distance. **nathoa**, *v.i.* be pleasant to hear, be melodious: *nathoraḡa*, very melodious, very pleasant to hear.

ná, 1. *n.* fish. **ná alua**, *n.* fish dried at home but not pounded. **ná bacia**, *n.* fish sufficient for one meal: *ná bacia gorgor dóḡo*, fish is sufficient for one meal. **ná céna**, *n.* big variety of fish that is torn in two and dried. **nácoḡ** (**nácoḡ ná**) *n.* a variety of fish. **nádibaḡ**, *n.* a variety of fish. **nájek** ~ **nájeḡ** (**nájek ná**) *n.* a variety of freshwater fish. **náji**, *n.* entrails of fish or contents of a fish's inside: *nají rima*, prepare ~ as a dish. **ná jímiḡ**, *n.* tail-fin. **nákaceḡ** ~ **náthuk**, *n.* prawn, shrimp, lobster: *nákaceḡ khóa*, catch prawn by scooping up water and hopefully also prawns together. **nákatrai**, *n.* a variety of fish long and thin (from perceived similarity with *katrai* = penknife). **ná kīntri**, *n.* dorsal fin, fin on the back. **ná khákai**, *n.* dry fish available in the market. **nákhar**, (**nákhola**), *n.* a wide open hole to trap fish as the water recedes or dries up: *nákhar seta*, drain ~ to catch fish. **nákhem**, *n.* fish dried, pounded and preserved in a bamboo tube: *nákhem súa*, pound dried fish. **nákhok**, *n.* a small basket carried tied to the waist while fishing to put fish in. **ná khor-thap**, *n.* scales. **ná khúman**, *n.*

tentacles of fish. **nákraḡ**, (**nákraḡ ná**), *n.* a variety of fish found mainly in holes along the bank.

ná kīntri, *n.* dorsal fin, fin on the back. **ná phala**, *n.* big variety of fish torn in two and dried. **ná poḡna**, *n.* fingerlings. **ná pithiḡ**, *n.* fresh fish (not dried), raw fish (not cooked properly). **ná ránkai**, *n.* dry fish available in the market.

2. (*verbal*) **ná kemp̄har khera**, clean and prepare fish for cooking. **ná bota**, to fish. **ná phīna**, put fish into fire for cooking in fire. **ná próma**, catch fish by feeling with hand (in holes along the bank, in fishing baskets placed to trap fish etc.). **ná rīma**, catch fish by hand.

na-bra, *n.* a sub-clan.

ná-con-the, *n.* a corn-like fleshy prominence on skin that tends to multiply (believed to be caused by scale of fish).

na-coḡ, *n.* temple (of people as well as animals).

na-dar ⇒ **nadra**.

na-dra ~ **nadar** ~ **nadraḡ** ⇒ **nasi**.

na-draḡ ⇒ **nadra**.

na-gla, *n.* a big drum (used during sacrifices or for announcing some news in the village) or a small drum used as a musical accompaniment.

na-gra as in: (*verbal*) **nagra koa**, send roots that grow as plant at a distance from the main plant, have trailing growth branches that root themselves on ground.

nai, *v.i.* shine, become bright: *aphe phrao phrao naia*, stars appear brightly and in big numbers; *phar naia*, become dawn. **nai nai**, *adv.* while bright, in clear sight: *neken nainai nuka*, see clearly and right in front of one's eyes.

- nai-ba-a-taŋ** *n.* morning twilight, daybreak, time just before dawn.
- nai-ka-taŋ** as in: (*verbal*) **naikataŋ thiŋpa**, look obliquely or look with a stealthy or sidelong glance: *naikataŋ thiŋpe cia*, look obliquely or look with a stealthy or sidelong glance (unwilling to look straight).
- nai-taŋ**, *n.* side of the face and head.
- nak**, *v.t.* step on, stamp on, trample under foot: *gunkila nake jaki coka*, raise and lower the two layers of threads (warp) stretched on loom by the action of pedals (to be crossed by weft); *prépré naka*, tread heavily upon (as kneading mud with leg to work up clay or paste).
- nak-da-grit** ⇒ **nakdigrit**.
- nak-di-grit** ~ **nakdagrit**, *v.t.* stamp on heavily and smash under foot.
- na-ki**, *n.* bit, rope introduced through the nose of cattle: *naki suka*, pierce nose to introduce ~.
- nak-ka-ti**, *n.* name of a deity (one of the five names of *baikho*).
- na-kor**, **1.** *n.* ear. **nakorcak**, *n.* external ear, earlobe. **nakorhá-khar**, *n.* holes of the ear. **nakor-rji**, *n.* ear wax. **nakor nari**, *n.* ear-drum. **2.** (*verbal*) **nakor heŋa**, cock ear, turn ear attentively: *nakor heŋe nathama*, (*fig.*) listen attentively. **nakor kitata**, (*fig.*) backbite, spread rumour, tell something indirectly through someone else. **nakor naa**, *lit.* be able to hear, *fig.* have to hear unpleasant things spoken about or on account of someone dear: *náni badaŋan aŋ nakor (nakor nari) nae réŋeta*, on account of you I have to hear these things. **nakor paia**, listen, lend a ear. **nakor phapa**, be bored by listening to the same thing repeatedly. **nakor ría** (**nakor róa**), be slightly deaf. **nakor thiŋpa**, pay attention: *nakor thiŋpe nathama*, listen attentively.
- nak-ta-pret** ~ **naktepret**, *v.t.* tread heavily upon, stamp or trample continuously or violently: *hapci nak-taprete ná dogona*, trample slush continuously to force fish come out.
- nak-te-pret** ⇒ **naktapret**.
- na-ku-a**, *n.* stage in the growth of a cock just before beginning to crow: *tó nakua*, a cock that grown enough to crow but has not yet begun to crow.
- na-la**, *n.* spring, source (esp. of water).
- ná-lo-guŋ-le**, *n.* a kind of home-made sweetmeat.
- na-loŋ**, *n.* a sub-clan.
- ná-luk**, *n.* tadpole.
- ná-luk-bo-dom**, *n.* calf-muscle.
- nam** *v.t.* **1.** ask, request, beg. **2.** desire, wish, want to: *náme ato khárna nama?*, what do you desire to do?.
- na-ma-con-thé**, *n.* a variety of lizard with granulated or smooth hide.
- nam-bri**, *n.* ear-ring.
- nam-cá-bra** ⇒ **namcakbra**.
- nam-cak**, *n.* sister's daughter in relation a brother. **namcak namdai**, *n.* (*echo*) sister's children in relation to a brother. **namcábra**, *n.* same as **namcak** (definitive).
- nam-dai**, *n.* sister's son in relation to a brother.
- nám-e**, *2nd. pers. sg. pron.* you (definitive).
- nan**, *v.i.* be capable of producing a feeling of satiety or glutted state (cannot be eaten in big quantity): *nane réŋa*, be satiated.
- ná-ner**, **1.** *n.* an electric fish, an electric eel. **2.** (*verbal*) **náner bita**, be pulled away by ~. **náner kaka**, be electrified by a ~.
- naŋ¹**, *v.i.* used in forming nominal verbs with meaning 'having': *bódom naŋa*, (*fig.*) be pregnant; *hapchi naŋa*, be slushy; *jethá naŋa*, be entangled.
- naŋ²**, **1.** *v.i.* be useful: *kamina naŋa*, be useful for some purpose. **naŋkai**

- nañcakai**, useless things (lit. things useful and otherwise). **2.** (*verbal*) **nañ tanañ ráa**, take whether useful or not. **nañton nañcatoñ ráa**, take whether useful or not.
- nán**, *2nd. pers. sing. pron.* (pl. **náron**, **ciñnánan**; def. **náme**) you: *nán gudun*, in your direction, on your side; *nán katan*, near you, in your possession; *náni*, yours (gen.).
- nañ-kreñ**, *v.i.* be untidy (person): *káian nañkreña*, person is very untidy. **nañkreñ muñkreñ**, *a.* (*echo*) covered with dust and dirt: *sábra kaíbrao ana nañkreñ muñkreñ rásama?*, why keep children so dirty or untidy?
- nañnañ**, *suff.* (rare and not very productive) meaning 'almost about to or as if about to': *rónka khé-nañnañ cáñata*, stone nearly hit; *jarthún-nañnañ kháre réjama*, walk so fast that it is quite like running; *khap-nañnañ cáña*, be about to weep.
- nañ-ol** ⇒ **lañon**.
- nao**, *v.i.* spread, diffuse (news): *nakor naoe réña*, spread.
- na-peñ**, *v.i.* be with head tilted. **naranapeñ**, *a. & adv.* with conspicuous tilting or swaying of head: *naranapeñ bobáia*, speak head tilting or swaying sideways (as when drunk).
- nar**, *v.i.* be fast. **nare**, *adv.* fast: *nare réña*, go fast. **narar**, *adv.* speedily, with haste: *namar réña*, go in haste.
- na-ra**, *n.* stubble. **naragrím**, *n.* field full of stubble.
- ná-rak** ~ **náran**, *n.* a small variety of fish.
- na-rañ** ~ **nareña**, *n.* ear-drum.
- ná-rañ** ⇒ **nárak**.
- na-rañ-jí**, **1.** *n.* ear-wax. **2.** (*verbal*) **naranjí taka**, form wax in the ear.
- na-reñ-a** ⇒ **narañ**.
- na-ri**¹, **1.** *v.i.* put forth new shoots.
- na-ri**² ⇒ **nakor**.
- na-ri-kol**, *n.* coconut. **narikolphañ**, *n.* coconut tree.
- na-ri-ma**, *n.* cucumber.
- na-ri-pa-ta**, *n.* tender leaves of jute plant used fresh as vegetable and used dried as both medicine and vegetable.
- ná-roñ**, *2nd. pl. pron.* (sg. **nán**) you: *náron gudun*, in your direction, on your side; *náron katan*, near you, in your possession.
- na-sa-ná** ⇒ **nasná**.
- na-señ** ~ **nasiñ**, *v.i.* be intoxicated, be drunk, be inebriated: *cokó makham naseña*, be intoxicated. **naseñ naseñ**, *a. & adv.* inebriated: *cokó naseñ naseñ atoba inna mánjo*, being inebriated with rice-beer (sub.) happened to say something. **nara-naseñ**, *a.* tipsy, slightly inebriated or intoxicated.
- na-si**, **1.** *v.t.* love, like. **nasia khásia**, *v.t.* (*echo*) love; *nasie khásie kucurña*, bring up with much love. **nasikai**, *n.* a way of referring to or calling one's wife. **nasirña**, *v.i.* know how to love, affable or affectionate; affable, one who is full of love. **2.** *n.* love: *Isorni nasi*, God's love. **nasi nadra!** (**nasi nadar!** **nasi nadrañ**), *excl.* (*echo*) of pity or sympathy: *áiu nasi nadar náme isise khape toeta!*, oh! it is here you are crying.
- na-siñ** ⇒ **naseñ**.
- nas-ná** ~ **nasaná**, *n.* a variety of fish. **nasná khúbau**, *n.* a bigger variety of ~.
- na-sok**, *v.t.* answer a call, respond to a call.
- nat** ~ **ná**, *v.t.* rub, cleanse by scrubbing, scour: *matek métek nata*, scour pots and pans bright and clean.
- na-ta**, *n.* wheel on which starched thread is wound before drying.
- na-tai**¹ ~ **natanai**, *conj.* but.
- na-tai**², *v.t.* roll thread on to the wheel to remove excess of starch before drying.
- na-ta-nai** ⇒ **natai**¹.
- na-tham**, *v.t.* listen: *nakor thápe nathama*,

- listen attentively; *nakor heŋe nathama*, listen with ears cocked, listen attentively.
- na-thé**, *n.* wart, fleshy growth or prominence of human skin usu. from birth.
- na-thrak** ⇒ **cithrak**.
- ná-thuk** ⇒ **ná**.
- ná-thiŋ ná-thiŋ**, *a. & adv.* fishy (smell): *náthiŋ náthiŋ diphana*, get a fishy smell.
- na-tra-i**, *adv.* at a distance: *natraini-para* *cia*, watch from a distance; *késa natrai toa*, stay at a distance.
- na-trak** ~ **natrek**, *n.* crab louse, a kind of tick (found esp. on animals): *natrak kaka*, be bitten by ~.
- ne**, *suff.* expressing mild surprise at knowing something as different from what was believed or hoped: *okhare cáŋa-ne*, does it happen so; *toa-ne!*, Oh! is there?
- né** ⇒ **net**.
- né-bra**, *n.* parent-in-law. **nébra méca**, *n.* mother-in-law. **nébra músa**, *n.* father-in-law. **nébraŋ** ~ **nébrasan**, *n.* father-in-law or mother-in-law together with son-in-law or daughter-in-law.
- ne-jam**, *n.* lazy bees or bees that have lost their sting after stinging.
- ne-ka**, *n.* bee (small variety) that build their combs in holes in the earth or in trees: *neka thop ráa*, bees build their combs. **neka nijuŋ**, *n.* (echo) bees. **neka raŋciŋ**, *n.* honey of ~. **nekajap (nekacampi)**, *n.* honey comb. **nekathop**, *n.* honey-comb.
- ne-kap**, **1.** *n.* the area of contact between the fruit and its stem. **2.** (*verbal*) **nekap raka**, strongly attached (said of fruit, leaf etc. not easy to pluck), (*fig.*) not easy to persuade. **nekap raia**, softly attached (said of fruit or leaf etc. that fall easily or are easy to pluck), (*fig.*) easy to persuaded.
- ne-ken**, **1.** *n.* eye. **neken bokkai**, *n.* white of the eye. **neken bilap**, *n.* eye-lid. **neken sábra**, *n.* pupil of the eye. **neken nijjiri**, *adv.* in one's sight. **2.** (*verbal*) **neken bár-siŋ dogota (neken priŋpraŋ cána)**, (*fig.*) see stars, see lights before one's eyes as a result of a blow to head or when standing erect suddenly from a sitting position or due to sickness. **neken bobleka (neken boboblek cáŋa)**, have eyeballs turning upwards. **neken boroboblek cáŋa**, roll one's eye wildly as when in a fit. **neken breŋbreŋ chia**, look intently or angrily to induce fear. **neken cuŋa**, (*fig.*) be jealous. **neken dao e cica**, (*fig.*) does not care at all. **neken goglake cia**, look with big eyes. **neken goŋgoŋ nuka**, see with one's own eyes, be an eye-witness (leaving no room for doubts). **neken preta**, *lit.* open eyes, *fig.* realise or become aware. **neken saa**, *lit.* have sore-eye, *fig.* be jealous. **neken taptapa**, wink.
- ne-kho**, *n.* wax or material of honey-comb purified.
- nem**, *v.i.* become good. **nemnem**, good (plural sense).
- nem-ra-son**, **1.** *n.* expression of thanks or gratitude for favours done. **2.** (*verbal*) **nemrasoŋ rákhua**, thank, express gratitude.
- nem-sú** ⇒ **nemsuk**.
- nem-suk** ~ **nemsú**, *v.i.* be pleasant or affectionate (speaking), beautiful (of young girls): *nemsukkaí dorai*, a beautiful young girl. **nemsuk nemsuk**, *adv.* pleasantly; *nemsuk nemsuk bobaia*, speak pleasantly. **nemsúmari**, *adv.* pleasantly; *nemsúmari bobaia*, speak pleasantly.
- nem-tat** ~ **nemtá**, *v.t.* like, agree, approve, assent, consent: *nemtá tatá*, whether one likes or not.
- nen**, **1.** *n.* cloth. **nen kan**, *n.* (echo)

- dress, clothes. **nen khúcar**, *n.* hem of cloth. **nen maṅsiṅ**, *n.* area of cloth between the borders. **nen paru**, *n.* border of cloth embroidered or woven with special design. **2.** (*verbal*) **nen beka**, prepare strung thread for the loom by inserting it into heald and shifting the heald gradually to the other end by removing all knots (*lit.* sweep cloth). **nen cona**, wear dress or wrap oneself in some cloth (upper part of body). **nen kana**, wear dress (at the waist). **nen srīṅa**, stretch and prepare thread for weaving cloth. **nen taka**, weave cloth. **nen thóna**, *fig.* prepare strung thread for the loom (*lit.* roll cloth).
- nen-khok**, *n.* a big basket used for keeping clothes in.
- nen-mar**, *n.* fringe, tassel of loose threads on dress or cloth (often as ornamental embellishment): *nenmar phāsaka*, twist loose threads of cloth.
- nen-pok kán-pok**, *a. & adv.* (*echo*) wet or without drying oneself: *cika rui nenpok kánpok bai thata*, offer sacrifice with body and clothes still wet from bath.
- nen-srīṅ**, *n.* wire, rope, bamboo etc. used for drying or hanging clothes, cloth-line.
- nen-ten**, **1.** *n.* thread. **nenten jén**, *n.* breadth of thread spread on loom. **nenten khúmbren**, *n.* thread left over on loom after weaving; **nenten panji**, *n.* (*echo*) thread. **nenten ró**, *n.* length of thread that is spread on loom, warp or thread stretched on loom to be crossed by weft. **2.** (*verbal*) **nenten maci neṅa (rákhua)**, starch thread, apply starch on thread. **nenten nataia**, roll thread on to the wheel.
- nen-thá**, *n.* rag. **nenthá kanthá**, *n.* (*echo*) rags: *nen kan tonca nenthá kan-thá kantrase*, have no clothes but only rags.
- nen**, *v.t.* apply (dye), mix, grind: *prépré neṅa*, mix thoroughly or mix well; *ná neṅa*, make chutney with fish; *pancak neṅa*, prepare medicine, apply medicine; *phap neṅa*, add or mix yeast; *ron neṅa*, paint.
- néṅ**, *v.i.* be tired esp. part of body involved in some work: *khúcem néṅa*, mouth is tired; *táthen tási néṅa*, hands and feet are tired.
- néṅ-gi**, *v.i.* be tired (the whole person), be tiring. **néngia beṅgia**, *v.i.* (*echo*) be tired: *néngie beṅgiese jaṅata*, succeeded only with great difficulty.
- nen-te-pret**, *v.t.* mix well.
- neo-al**, *n.* mongoose.
- net** ~ **né**, *v.t.* guard, look after, take care of: *boron neta*, watch over a field from a tree-house; *hamjar neta*, guard a field. **nékai kai**, *n.* guard.
- neta cia**, *v.t.* (*echo*) look after. **nékai cikai kai**, *n.* care-taker.
- ni** ~ **-ṅi** ~ **-mi** ~ **-i**, genitive suffix.
- ni**, exhortative particle meaning 'let us': *ni rapsaṅ grímgím réṅa*. come let us all go together; *donḍon ni (ni donḍon)*, come let us move fast.
- ni-am**, *n.* rule, law: *niam dibía*, break a law or rule; *niam kárkár khaa*, be very strict or stringent with application of rules.
- ni-bri**, *n.* a sub-clan: *nibri barai*, the sub-clan.
- ni-dan**, *n.* trouble, affliction, evil.
- ni-juṅ**, *n.* bee (bigger variety): *nijuṅ thop ráa*, bees settle to build comb. **nijuṅ raṅciṅ**, *n.* honey (of *nijuṅ*). **nijuṅthop**, *n.* honeycomb. **nijuṅ-jap (nijuṅcampi)**, *n.* honeycomb.
- ni-juṅ-jap** ~ **nijuṅcampi**, *n.* honeycomb.
- ni-khi**, *n.* a very small variety of honeybee that do not build hives but settle in hollow of wood or in earth.
- ní-khi** ⇒ **mí**.

- ni-min** ~ **nispin**, *adv.* in a high degree, very: *nimin nema*, very good.
- nin-dia**, *v.t.* deride, scoff, scorn.
- ni-sli** as in: **nisli ná**, *n.* a small variety of fish.
- nis-pin** ⇒ **nimin**.
- no** ~ **-no** ~ **-mo** ~ **-o**, *suff.* indicating future time.
- no-bek**, *n.* broom. **nobek jinthá**, *n.* a broom that has grown short from prolonged use. **nobek sinci** (**nobek sincini**), *n.* broom that is preserved for purpose other than sweeping (e.g. for stirring corn, rice or paddy being fried).
- no-gor**, *n.* a shelter for domestic animals: *bak nogor*, pigsty, *kí nogor*, kennel; *tó nogor*, pen.
- no-jor** ⇒ **nijj̄r**.
- nok**, **1.** *n.* house, family. **nok barkai**, *n.* ceremony of the first visit of the bride's family by the new couple. **nok birkai**, *n.* house-warming ceremony or celebration on moving into a new house. **nok cátar**, *n.* area of the courtyard just around the house. **nok há**, *n.* (*echo*) property, house and land. **nokini tóbau**, *n.* (*fig.*) one who keeps himself or herself confined to home. **nok kicañ**, *n.* the area around the house a little away from the walls. **nok magrap** (**nok mañgrap**), *n.* abandoned house. **nokthap**, *n.* a small house, area of the traditional Rabha house accessible to guests. **nok mañsiñ**, *n.* floor of the house. **2.** (*verbal*) **nok dagata**, stay away from home. **nok dáña**, (*fig.*) enter house to steal. **nok ráa**, be domesticated or be accustomed to a particular place (of animals). **nok saia**, avoid going to someone's house. **3.** *cl.* for number of houses: *nok-sa*, one house. **4.** (*idiom*) **nok cika duguta**, (*euphem.*) house be gutted or be burnt down. **nok samdubla díma**, (*fig.*) family be completely wiped out.
- nok-cer** ~ **nokser** **1.** *n.* a sub-clan: *nokcer barai*, the ~ sub-clan. **2.** shrub whose long-stemmed fluffy flower is used as broom. **nokcerphañ**, *n.* broom plant.
- nok-dam**, *n.* plot of land on which house used to be situated.
- nok-dar**, **1.** *n.* wall of the house. **2.** (*verbal*) **nokdar khaa**, set up a bamboo partition as wall (tied to the pillars). **nokdar musia**, plaster wall. **nokdar rapa**, weave a bamboo wall. **nokdar thuka**, set up a woven bamboo partition as wall.
- nok-dron**, *n.* family. **nokdron hádron**, *n.* (*echo*) whole house-hold.
- no-khrañ**, *n.* roof: *nokhrañ kipa* (*kāma*, *kriṣa*), put roof for a house.
- no-ko**, *n.* door: *noko cipa*, close door; *noko kerara deña*, open door half.
- no-kor** ⇒ **cakor**.
- nok-pí-muñ**, *n.* an inner area of the traditional Rabha house where cooking is done, into which not anyone is allowed entrance.
- nok-sañ** as in: (*verbal*) **noksañ khára**, (*fig.*) ostracise (*lit.* make one house separate). **noksañ toa**, (*fig.*) stay aloof and having nothing to do with others.
- nok-ser** ⇒ **nokcer**
- nok-spa**, **1.** *n.* the raised area outside the house just adjacent to the walls. **2.** (*verbal*) **nokspa coka**, raise such area with mud. **nokspagata**, raise such area with mud.
- nok-sur** ~ **noksuri**, *n.* neighbour. **noksur hásur** (**noksuri hásur**), *n.* (*echo*) neighbours.
- nok-su-ri** ⇒ **noksur**.
- nok-ta-la**, *n.* floor of the house.
- nok-thá-klá**, *n.* dilapidated and untidy house: *nok thákla thukla*, house that is very rickety and untidy.

- nok-thap**, *n.* small house for children or guests, area of the traditional Rabha house accessible to guests.
- nol-bá**, *n.* a variety of long and slender bamboo.
- nom**, *v.t.* chew: *nome sáa*, chew and eat; *nome túa*, chew and feed.
- no-phak**, **1.** *n.* pillar of the house: *nophak bata (nophak bathata)*, erect a pillar for the house; *nophak pataia*, trim and prepare a pillar for the house. **nophak báphak**, *n.* (*echo*) pillars: *nophak tonça báphak tonça ato peke nok homo?*, with what to build a house there are not even pillars? **2.** (*verbal*) **nophak khoa**, bind pillar to beam.
- no-po-ceṅ** ⇒ **tásikhu**.
- nor-nor**, *adv.* tenderly and with freshness (sprouting): *sam normor narieta*, grass sprouts with new shoots.
- no-tron**, *n.* small variety of cricket.
- nu**, **1.** *v.i.* sit, sit down. **2.** (*verbal*) **nuna praṅa**, *v.i.* be able to sit with out falling (of children), **nui sá**, (*fig.*) eat without working.
- nú**, **1.** *n.* breast, udder, milk. **2.** (*verbal*) **nú khocen poṅsaa**, have a sickness of the nipple. **nú sepa**, milk. **nú suka**, (*fig.*) udder be pendulous with secretion of milk or come alive and be ready for milking.
- nu-bre** ⇒ **khobre**.
- nu-bu-blek**, *n.* a common expletive for one who fails to observe and see: *nubublek! ciese toa, nukca!*, blind fellow! looks but does not see.
- nuk**, *v.t.* see: *neken nainai nuka*, see clearly and right in front of one's eyes. **nuka naa**, *v.t.* (*echo*) see and hear come to know: *aṅi nukkaí nakai ganda*, according to my experience or knowledge.
- nu-ka**, **1.** *n.* the eye or part of seed which sprouts, new shoot. **2.** (*verbal*) **nuka díma**, sprout. **nuka preta**, sprout. **nuka rána**, new shoot dries. **3.** (*idiom*) **nuka jima**, feel giddy. **nuka súa**, weave a line of some design close to the border of cloth.
- nuk-bar** ~ **nusuk**, *v.t.* like, love.
- nuk-blak dam-blak**, *adv.* (*echo*) to a high degree (of getting angry): *nukblak damblak gárainá jaṅa*, is capable of flying into a rage.
- nuk-blek**, *n.* one who fails to see clearly or notice something (a mild expletive): *nukbleke nukca!* blind fellow does not see. **2.** *v.i.* be not able to see.
- nuk-cep**, *v.i.* close eyes: *neken nukcepe toa*, close one's eyes, (*fig.*) suffer silently without reacting. **nukcepa kuncepa**, *v.i.* (*echo*) suffer silently: *nukcepe kuncepe thyme toa*, suffer without reacting.
- nuk-ci**, *n.* tears: *nukci grokgrok khaṅa*, cry profusely, cry one's eyes out; *nukci jriṅjriṅ dogota*, weep a little, shed a few tears; *nukci trotro jena*, tears flow drop by drop.
- nuk-cóṅ**, **1.** *n.* a sickness of the eye resulting in continuous watering and formation of eye-matter. **2.** (*verbal*) **nukcóṅ naṅa (nukcon paka)**, be afflicted by ~.
- nuk-da-dren**, *a.* being about to weep: *nukdadren cáṅa*, be about to weep.
- nuk-dam**, **1.** *n.* eyebrow. **2.** (*idiom*) **nukdam súa**, be jealous.
- nu-khaṅ**, **1.** *n.* face. **nukhaṅ bagi**, *n.* a share of something distributed kept for someone who might unexpectedly arrive or may have been left out: *nukhaṅ bagi dana*, keep such a share; *nukhaṅ bagi mána*, get such a share by being the one who unexpectedly arrived. **nukhaṅ gíncakai (nukhaṅ kapcakai)**, (*euphem.*) tiger. **2.** (*verbal*) **nukhaṅ aka**, *fig.* be despondent, be sad, feel shame, lit. face be black. **nukhaṅ cia**, *fig.* help, act in a par-

- tisan manner, be partial: *nána ana nukhañ cia*, support and help one another. *nukhañ práña*, have pleasant appearance. **nukhañ sara**, have a bright and pleasant countenance. **nukhañ tunuka**, make an appearance, visit, show oneself.
- nu-khar**, **1.** *n.* sleep. **2.** (*verbal*) **nu-khar réña**, sleep: *nukhar khronkhron réñe gure toa*, be in deep sleep. **nukhar ríma**, feel sleepy. **nukhar sia**, fall asleep. **nukhar sraña**, feel fresh after a sleep, not feel sleepy any more.
- nu-kha-thar**, *a.* sober, not drunk or sedated: *nukhathari toa*, stay sober and alert. **nukhathar phañkhatar**, *a.* & *adv.* (*echo*) without sleeping, with sobriety.
- nuk-jí**, *n.* eye-matter: *nukji dogota*, form eye-matter.
- nuk-man**, *n.* eyelash. **nukman phisar**, *n.* hair of eyelash that grows downward into the eye
- nuk-plek kum-plek**, *a.* & *adv.* (*echo*) untidy: *nukplek kumplek toa*, be untidy, not tidy.
- nuk-sak pai-sak**, *a.* (*echo*) face be bloodshot: *rañsañ kake nuksak paisak cáñe réñjo*, face became red from the heat of the sun.
- nuk-sañ**, **1.** *n.* sore eye, a sickness of the eye. **2.** (*verbal*) **nuksañ paka**, contract ~.
- nuk-trap**, *v.i.* be just in time to see, happen to see: *mekhoikaio nuktrap-mata*, happened to see stealing.
- nu-li**, *n.* spool of thread placed inside shuttle. **nuli bomba**, *n.* spool.
- nun-nun-ai** ~ **nunnunaicón**, *n.* (*onom.*) an insect that cries *nunnunai nunnunai*.
- nu-si-bra**, *n.* wife's younger sister.
- nu-suk** ⇒ **nukbar**.
- nú-thñ** **nú-thñ**, *a.* & *adv.* of milk, smelling of milk: *núthñ núthñ gin mána*, get a milky smell.
- ni-jñ** ~ **nojor**, **1.** *n.* sight. **2.** (*verbal*) **nijñr kia**, *lit.* sight falls (on something), *fig.* desire to have, evoke jealousy.
- ni-nñ**, *n.* husband's younger sister. **ninñbra**, *n.* same as *ninñ* (definitive).

O

- o¹-**, *pron.* 'that'.
- o²**, accusative suffix: *añ-o*, me; *másu-o*, cow; *u-o*, him.
- o³**, *suff.* **1.** 'you mean' (when asking clarification of something not heard or grasped correctly): *añ-o?*, you mean I? **2.** or 'that which' (while giving location or information about something): *añi tñkañ ñnkai-o*, what I said earlier; *pañ kaphai tonkai-o*, the one which is near the tree (don't you know?).
- o-bi-jan** ~ **ubijan**, *3rd. pl.* those (inanimate).
- o-bo-sta**, *n.* situation, condition, circumstances.
- o-da**, *a.* not properly dried (paddy): *mai oda súi sána lagieta*, are forced to pound paddy not properly dried.
- o-da-ga-i** ⇒ **udagai**.
- odigi** ⇒ **udigi**.
- o-go-ja**, *a.* that much: *ogojamacan*, so much, such great quantity.
- oi**, *int.* calling attention, responding to a call, a way of calling someone whose name is not known or one's own husband: *oi canbe?*, who is there?, who is that?, who goes there?
- o-ka** ⇒ **eka** and **jaka**
- o-kai** ⇒ **ukai**.
- o-kan-an** ⇒ **okonan**.
- o-ka-pe-ke**, *adv.* at that time, in those days.

- o-ka-taŋ**, *a.* that kind or that much (indicating not being enough or not good enough): *okataŋo ráe ato khárno?*, what can be done with that kind or that much?. **okataŋ-taŋ**, *a.* things such as those: *okataŋ-taŋbe aŋa lagica*, that kind or that much I do not need.
- o-ka-thá-ni**, *a.* of that type, kind, behaviour, nature or character: *okatháni pakja*, that kind of a thing.
- o-khar-e** ~ **okhre**, **1.** *adv.* like that, and then: *okhare ta khár*, do not do in that manner. **2.** *conj.* and then: *okhare ato?*, and then what?; *okhare-mene*, and then, and after that (in conversational or narrative style).
- o-kon-an** ~ **okanan**, *adv.* just like that (with reference to some referred quality or characteristic), there is no change or no change can be expected: *okonan cáŋa*, it happens like that; *okonan toeta*, just like that, just spending time (usu. a reply an enquiry as what one is doing).
- o-ko-ro** ~ **otokoro**, *adv.* by that way, in that direction: *okoroan ram kánia*, it is short by that way.
- o-kot**, *n.* time, proper time, precise, appointed time: *okot sokdoŋ cáŋo*, will take place when the time is ready.
- ol**, *n.* a kind of arum whose bulb or tuber is edible.
- o-la**, *adv.* (*arch.*) then: *jela somai mána ola réba*, come when (you) get time.
- o-lá**, *n.* a kind of wild arum whose stem and leaves are used as vegetable.
- on**, *adv.* yes, serving to indicate affirmation or being in agreement with some statement: *on ina*, confirm statement or indicate affirmation, say yes.
- o-nai**, *v.t.* (*arch.*) wind or roll thread on an H-shaped instrument called *one*.
- on-cok**, *a.* that much: *jencok lagia oncokan*, as much as required, as much as one desires. **oncok maca**, *a.* so much, such great quantity.
- on-dok**, *a.* that much (depth, length). **ondok maca**, so deep or so long as that. **ondok macakai**, one as deep or so long as that.
- o-ne**, *n.* an H-shaped instrument around which yarn is wound to make rolls of thread.
- on-tuŋ**, *a.* that much (size). **ontuŋ maca**, so big as that. **ontuŋ macakai**, one as big as that: *ontuŋ ontuŋ cuŋkaibijan*, the ones as big as that.
- óŋ-e**, *n.* a wild lizard that cries *óŋe*.
- óŋ-e-pak-thap**, *n.* a parasitic plant found esp. on betel nut plants.
- oŋ-gan-da**, **1.** *a.* of that type or kind: *oŋganda kai*, person like that. **2.** *adv.* in that fashion: *oŋganda kháran kháran*, having done like that continuously.
- oŋ-gan-da-khar-e**, *adv.* in that way, in that fashion.
- o-pra-i** ~ **oproi**, *adv.* regularly, usually: *opraian*, always, often, usually; *oprai ganda*, as usual; *opraina kára*, more than usual.
- o-pro-i** ⇒ **oprai**.
- o-ra**, **1.** *n.* boundary, the last point, the end. **raŋ ora há ora** ⇒ **raŋ**. **2.** (*verbal*) **ian ora mánjo**, with this it is over (narrative), this is the boundary (land etc.).
- o-roŋ** ⇒ **uroŋ**.
- or-tho**, *n.* meaning.
- o-to-ko-ro** ⇒ **okoro**.

P

- pá**, *v.i.* be thin: *páraŋa*, be very thin.
- pa-ga**, **1.** *n.* rope. **2.** (*verbal*) **paga phisaka**, make rope by twisting strands together.
- pai**, *v.t.* carry; *paie ráŋa*, carry away.
- pai-glaŋ** ⇒ **thiŋglaŋ**.
- pai-klan** ⇒ **jikhlaŋ**.
- pai-kon**, *n.* a variety of pulse.
- pai-prok**, *n.* a variety of small bird with long tail.
- pai-sa**, *n.* money: *paísa gósaba tonca*, do not have any money at all.
- paisa kuri**, *n.* (*echo*) money: *paísa kuri ráe hatina réŋa*, take money and go to the market.
- pai-sak** ⇒ **nuksak**.
- pa-jar**, *n.* muffler-like towel carried by men (in ancient days usu. after marriage): *nen pajar*, the ~.
- pak¹**, *cl.* for weeks: *hat pak-sa*, one week.
- pak²**, **1.** *n.* intertwining fibres forming rope, round cross-grained area in plank or board, (*fig.*) difficulty or twist or problematic element of a situation esp. leading to mental disorders or even physical sicknesses. **2.** (*verbal*) **pak rákhua**, intertwine or twist fibres to form strands two or three of which are further intertwined to make rope.
- pak dibía**, (*fig.*) conduct a service to ward of possible effect of a curse or a spell or of a vow or promise that may not have been fulfilled.
- pak³**, *v.i.* burn (light, fire): *bár paka*, fire be kindled; *braubrau paka*, burn with big flames; *bulbul paka*, burn brightly.
- pak⁴**, *v.i.* be smeared with (dirt, etc.), contract (sickness, ritual uncleanness etc.): *hapci paka*, be coated or smeared with slush or dirt; *sua paka*, be rendered unclean.
- pak⁵**, *v.i.* perch (bird): *pani tó paka*, bird perches or settles on tree.
- pak-an**, *adv.* very, to a great degree: *pakan nema*, very good; *pakan thoa*, very tasty.
- pak-ci** ⇒ **akci**.
- pa-ke** ⇒ **peke**.
- pak-ja**, *n.* thing. **pakja muja**, *n.* (*echo*) things.
- pak-rai**, *v.i.* play in a carefree manner, play with abandon and innocent joy: *kaisábrataŋ pakraie toa*, children play blissfully.
- pak-siŋ**, *v.i.* lean against someone or place hands across each other's shoulder: *paksine nua*, sit very close and leaning against another.
- pak-thap**, *v.i.* stick to, cling on to.
- pal**, **1.** *cl.* for herd, flock etc.: *masu pal-sa*, a herd of cattle. **2.** *n.* a herd or flock; *pal gósa*, one herd.
- pa-la**, *n.* shift, turn: *pala thepheta*, take turn, do in turn, change shift.
- pa-leŋ** ⇒ **paloŋ**.
- pa-li**, *v.t.* celebrate (a feast, an occasion), keep (ritual): *santharo palia*, celebrate a holy day.
- pa-loŋ** ~ **paleŋ**, *n.* bedstead.
- pam¹**, *n.* a sub-clan: *pam barai*, the ~ sub-clan.
- pam²**, place on one's lap: *jibra sábrao pama*, mother keeps the child on her lap.
- pam-bruk**, *v.t.* embrace: *kaisábrao pam-bruke ráa*, carry child against one's chest.
- pam-phlak** ~ **panphlak**, *n.* flat piece of wood.
- pam-thái** ⇒ **pamthé**.
- pam-thé** ~ **pamthái**, *n.* a kind of acid fruit with layers of thick covering used as vegetable. **pam-théphan**, *n.* its tree.
- pan**, *n.* tree, wood. **pan bá**, *n.* (*echo*)

- trees or vegetation. **panbóma**, *n.* base or bottom of a tree. **pancágam**, *n.* tree stump, projecting remnant of cut or fallen tree: *pancágam bágam*, *n.* (*echo*) stumps. **pancátar**, *n.* base or bottom of tree, stump or projecting remnant of a cut or fallen tree. **pandalai**, *n.* branch: *pandalai bádalai*, *n.* (*echo*) branches. **pankhorthap**, *n.* bark of trees. **pan líbak** (**libak ceṅ-kroi**), *n.* a variety of frog with long body and capable of climbing trees. **pan mímuk**, *n.* a variety of mushroom that grows on trees. **pan nikhi**, a variety of bees that build hive on branches of trees. **pansaia**, *n.* shade. **pansok**, *n.* tender shoot. **panthón**, *n.* large section of tree, log.
- pa-na**, **1.** *n.* betel, leaf of plant chewed along with betel nut and a dash of lime. **2.** (*verbal*) **pana ceta**, (*fig.*) divorce. **pana dibía**, (*fig.*) perform a theatrical show at the invitation of someone (use is restricted to invitation to stage theatrical performances). **pana mána**, (*fig.*) receive an invitation (traditionally a pair of betel nuts and a pair of betel leaves used to be offered). **pana rákhua**, (*fig.*) invite, extend an invitation.
- pa-na-si-ni** ⇒ **pansini**.
- pan-cak**, **1.** *n.* leaf. **pancak bágak**, *n.* (*echo*) leaves. **2.** *n.* medicine: *pancak bína*, crush and make a concoction of medicine; *pancak khaa*, tie medicine as talisman; *pancak neṅa*, apply medicine. **pancak bákhu**, *n.* (*echo*) medicine.
- pan-cer**, *n.* a large deciduous tree (*Slereospermum chelomoides*).
- pan-ci-ni**, *a.* related to the lower side of the roof or the lateral side of house. **pancini marol**, **kaica marol** *n.* beam at lower end of roof. **pancini nophak**, *n.* pillars at the lateral side of the house.
- pan-co-khor**, *n.* dead tree (standing or fallen).
- pan-cu**, **1.** *n.* a simul tree (*Bombax Malabaricum*). **2.** cotton from its fruit.
- pangrim**, *n.* forest, wooded area. **pangrim bágrim**, *n.* (*echo*) wooded area or forest.
- pan-gun-ji**, *n.* saw-dust.
- pan-jar pan-jar**, *adv.* (said of dispersing) each his way: *panjar panjar jare réṅa*, each one goes his way.
- pan-ji**, **1.** *n.* roll of cotton prepared to spin thread. **panjikón**, *n.* small stick used to roll fluffed cotton into a roll. **3.** (*verbal*) **panji khaa**, roll fluffed cotton into roll for spinning thread.
- pan-jí-koṅ**, *n.* a kind of tree with broad, long and thick pods bearing feather-light thin flat seeds that get carried away by wind when pods burst open.
- pan-khar**, *n.* an aquatic weed found in stagnant water.
- pan-ko-coṅ**, *n.* stump of a tree along with new shoots on it.
- pan-pha-la**, *n.* plank: *panphala khána*, cut or saw planks. **panphala báp-phala**, *n.* (*echo*) small and flat pieces of bamboo and wood.
- pan-phaṅ**, *n.* tree (still standing). **panphaṅ báphaṅ**, *n.* (*echo*) trees.
- pan-phlak** ⇒ **pamphlak**.
- pan-sa-khor**, *n.* old and hard log of sal tree.
- pan-san**, *n.* sal tree. **pansancak**, *n.* leaf of sal tree. **pansangrim**, *n.* a forest or grove of sal trees. **pan-sankhiraō**, *n.* old and hard log of sal tree.
- pan-san-thé**, *n.* orange.
- pan-saṅ-goi**, *n.* a kind of tree whose branches spread out in layers at different heights.

- pan-si-ni** ~ **panasini**, *n.* meeting for finalising and fixing the date of marriage.
- pán**, **1.** *v.i.* be plentiful, be abundant, be in large numbers or quantity: *páne réna*, become more (things), increase in intensity (sickness etc.). **2.** *suff.* meaning ‘frequently’: *napána*, hear often; *rénpanca*, do not go often; *inpána*, say or speak often.
- pánba**, **1.** *n.* a deity (actually a legion of deities). **2.** (*verbal*) **pánba kaka**, be affected or attacked by ~. **pánba thata**, sacrifice to ~.
- pán-bo-khra**, *a.* many, most, majority: *pánbokhra kaitan*, many people, the majority of people.
- pañ-cuñ**, *n.* jackfruit, its fruit. **pañ-cuñ kén**, *n.* jackfruit seed. **pañcuñ pan**, *n.* jackfruit tree, its wood. **pañcuñ phañ**, *n.* jackfruit tree (still standing).
- pao-**, *cl.* for length between two knots (of bamboo etc.) or steps *pao-sa aguia*, proceed one step; *bá pao-sa*, a length of bamboo between two knots.
- pap**¹, **1.** *n.* sin. **2.** (*verbal*) **pap cána**, be sinful, be a sin, be guilty of sin. **pap khára**, commit sin. **pap paia**, be guilty of sin or bear the consequences of sin.
- pap**², *v.t.* dig; *há papa*, dig earth.
- par**, **1.** *n.* flower; *par gása*, one flower; *bajing para noki khopa* ⇒ **khop**. **par rañciñ**, *n.* nectar or sweet fluid produced by flowers and made into honey by bees. **2.** *v.i.* bloom, blossom: *par para*, flower blooms; *pama rócoka*, begin to put forth bud before blooming.
- pa-ra-cit**, *n.* socially prescribed punishment for forbidden actions: *paracit khára*, undergo or fulfil punishment required by law.
- par-cuñ**, **1.** *n.* storm, cyclone, strong gale: *parcuñ ribapeke tóre koa*, (*proverb*) *lit.* fluff cotton during a storm, *fig.* do something at the most inopportune moment leading to futility, be immersed in one’s own plans unmindful of circumstances. **2.** (*verbal*) **parcuñ koka**, be hit by a strong gale or cyclone.
- pa-ré**, *n.* valve-like bamboo-work inside fish traps: *paré khaa* (*paré tikaka*), fix ~ into traps.
- par-kek**, *v.i.* break esp. lengthwise, burst asunder, split apart or split open: *parkeke réna*, burst or split apart.
- par-man-di**, *n.* cyclone, whirlwind.
- pa-rok**, *n.* dove, pigeon.
- par-par** ⇒ **purpur**.
- par-sak**, *v.i.* go for a stroll or relax oneself out in the open.
- pa-ru**¹ ⇒ **nen**.
- pa-ru**², *v.t.* drive or chase away (birds, animals etc.): *parui phisaa*, drive away.
- pa-ru-a** as in: (*verbal*) **parua mána** (**parua máne réna**), lose one’s way.
- pa-si**, *n.* a type of basket.
- pa-si-roñ-roñ** ⇒ **dokaronroñ**.
- pa-son**¹, **1.** *n.* ghost, evil spirit (believed to be one that shows itself as a hairy creature to wrestle with humans): *pason peke badagura*, wrestle with ~. **2.** (*verbal*) **pason ríma**, be caught and be rendered sick by ~.
- pa-son**², *n.* a weeding instrument: *pason peke grím khera*, remove weeds with ~.
- pat** ~ **pá**, *v.t.* go across, cross over, be in excess, be late: *cika pata*, cross water or river; *hácu pata*, go across mountain; *somai pate réna*, time be over, be late.
- pa-ta**, *n.* jute, its plant.
- pa-tai**, *v.t.* pare, trim and smoothen by cutting away irregular parts: *nophak pataia*, prepare pillar for house; *há pataia*, cut earth to make

- land smooth horizontally or perpendicularly.
- pa-ta-kek**, *v.t.* split or break open, break, crush into small pieces: *bákhān keke patakeka*, split and wrench pieces of firewood from a log; *rónka patakeka*, break or crush stones.
- pa-te-kek** ⇒ **patakek**.
- pa-thar**, *n.* paddy-field.
- pa-ti**, *v.t.* appoint to a post or office: *barongiri patia*, appoint as a president.
- pat-lun**, *n.* (a pair of) trouser.
- pa-tor**, *n.* courage, guts: *pator ton-donbe aguié ríbaa*, if you have guts come forward.
- pau-sai**, *v.i.* retreat, go backwards: *pausaie réna*, go backwards.
- pe-cet** ~ **pecé**, *v.t.* swear with self-imposed curse as a proof, make a solemn vow: *há kake peceta*, lit. prostrate and make a solemn promise, fig. make a solemn promise.
- pe-ke** ~ **pake**, **1.** *postpos.* instrumental and comitative marker: *kanka peke tána*, cut with the knife; *an peke rén*, come with me; *thuci peke ríma*, cook with oil as medium. **2.** *suff.* meaning 'time when' or 'while': *an málpeke*, when I was small.
- pe-la**, **1.** *n.* punishment or penalty meted out supposedly by deity for not having fulfilled ritual requirement. **2.** (*verbal*) **pela rákhua**, mete out punishment.
- pel-pol pel-pol**, *adv.* with slow bubbling: *pelpol pelpol putua*, bubble up as when the liquid consistency is very high.
- pén**, *v.t.* alternate. **péne**, *adv.* alternately, leaving out: *gaphun sansa péne sonin ríbaa*, leaving out tomorrow come day after tomorrow; *gósa péne gósa ráa*, take every other one.
- péne péne**, *adv.* alternately.
- pen-je-lek**, *v.i.* speak the same thing over and over again, nag.
- pen-trak**, *v.i.* squeeze or wriggle through or twist and turn combined with forward motion: *kai major tokoro pentrake réna*, squeeze one's way through a crowd; *ná pentrake hapci pímun dána*, fish wriggles and enters slush. **pentrake pentrake**, *adv.* with wriggling and twisting movements.
- pen-gañ**, *v.i.* be bent backwards.
- pen-gañ pen-gañ**, *adv.* with a bent backwards: *pen-gañ pen-gañ ríjama*, walk with a backwards slant of upper part of body. **pengagan**, *a.* & *adv.* conspicuously bent backwards, with a backwards bent: *pengagan cána*, be bent backwards, face the wrong direction (of pillar etc.). **perepen-gañ**, *a.* bending backwards and forwards: *perepen-gañ cána*, bend backwards and forwards.
- pe-pret** ~ **pepré**, *v.t.* force a way through some obstruction or partition or narrow passage: *ná hapcina peprete dána*, fish wriggles and enters slush.
- pe-ré** ~ **perek**, *n.* talkative person, chatter-box. **peré peré**, *adv.* incessantly (talking, crying etc.): *peré peré ina*, talk incessantly (esp. by oneself), *peré peré khapa*, cry a lot, cry inconsolably.
- pe-rek** ⇒ **peré**.
- pe-rek pe-rek** ⇒ **peré peré**.
- per-ka**, *n.* one who speaks a lot (masculine). **perka merka**, *adv.* (*echo*) (speak) continuously.
- per-ki**, *n.* one who speaks a lot (feminine).
- per-per**, *a.* & *adv.* be in big numbers: *ná porna perper*, fingerlings are plenty. **perper jerjer**, *adv.* (*echo*) in big numbers.
- pe-sret** ~ **pesré**, *v.i.* slip, skid: *ram merenbai pesrete kia*, slip and fall in a slippery place.
- pe-sta**, **1.** *n.* a circular cushion-like material (usu. of straw or sack) for

- keeping pots on the ground or while carrying on head. **2.** (*verbal*) **pesta rapa**, make a ~.
- pet** ~ **pé**, *v.i.* carry hanging from the shoulder, tied to waist or under arm against the body: *bárhunci seni pete ráa*, carry a smoking wick tied to the waist (as protection against insects while working); *julia phakroni pete ráa*, carry bag hanging from the shoulder, *kanka phakbori pete ráa*, carry knife under the arm.
- pe-tak**, *v.i.* be pasty, be paste-like: *hapci petaka*, slush is pasty; *mai petaka*, rice is sticky and not dry. **petak petak**, *a.* sticky: *hapci petak petak cáa*, slush be sticky; *mai petak petak ríma*, cook rice soft and watery. **petatak**, *a.* very sticky or slushy: *há petatak cáño*, mud or land became very slushy or sticky.
- pha**¹, *v.i.* rain: *rañ phaa*, rain.
- pha**², **1.** *n.* sharp edge or blade of cutting instruments. **2.** (*verbal*) **phasúa**, beat and bend teeth of blade (of instruments like sickle, saw etc.). **phanána**, have a cutting edge.
- phá-**, *cl.* for things that come in pair: *pháidam phá-sa*, one cheek; *tási phá-nin*, both the hands; *táthen phá-sa*; one leg.
- pha-ce-cek**, *adv.* gently (smile): *phacecek minia*, smile gently.
- pha-cek pha-cek**, *adv.* shyly and intermittently (smile): *phacek phacek minia*, smile gently and intermittently.
- pha-ceñ**, *n.* canine tooth, tooth between incisors and molars or animal tooth that are longer than the rest of the set.
- pha-ci**, **1.** *n.* rain. **phaci bitir**, *n.* rainy season. **2.** (*verbal*) **phaci búa**, get rain or have no protection against rain. **phaci caka**, take shelter from rain. **phaci kia**, rain falls, rainy season arrives. **phaci krána** (**phaci khráma**), the rainy season be over. **phaci seta**, droplets of rain water be blown about and be carried by wind into house as through window or other opening and be exposed to it.
- pha-deñ-deñ**, *a.* & *adv.* with the sharp edge (of cutting instruments) facing upwards: *kanka phadenñ tana*, keep knife with its sharp edge facing upward.
- pha-geñ** ⇒ **phagren**.
- pha-gleñ** ⇒ **jongleñ**.
- pha-goñ**, *v.i.* be projecting outward (teeth, lips etc.): *khúcar phagoña*, have protruding lips as a consequence of projecting teeth. **phagogon**, *a.* with teeth projecting outward: *phagogon minia*, laugh showing teeth that project outward; *phakham phagogon*, have teeth projecting outward.
- pha-greñ** ~ **phagen**, *v.i.* become blunt with tiny bits of the sharp edge of cutting instruments broken off: *kanka phagrena*, knife (has) bits and pieces broken off from the cutting edge. **phagegreñ**, *a.* very blunt with sharp edge (of cutting instruments) broken in places: *phagagreñ minia*, laugh (showing broken teeth or teeth placed distanced from each other). **pharaphagren** ~ **pharaphagen**, *a.* blunt, bent or broken in places (blade of cutting instruments), of irregular height (teeth).
- phai-dam**, *n.* cheek: *pháidam gropa*, have cheek sunken in; *pháidam phása*, one cheek.
- pha-je-ger** as in: (*verbal*) **phajeger kaka**, bite or gnash one's teeth.
- pha-ji**, **1.** *n.* tartar or incrustation that forms on teeth. **2.** (*verbal*) **phají kaka**, bite or grind one's teeth (in sleep).
- phajon**, **1.** *n.* father's elder brother. **phajonbra**, same as *phajon* (definitive). **2.** (*verbal*) **phajon mána**, be related as ~.

- phak**¹, *suff.* meaning ‘about or around’: *metham-phak réndonbe nemo*, if about three people go it will be good; *sanniñ-phak lagino*, will need about two days; *sarita-phaki ríba*, come around four o’clock.
- phak**², *n.* post or pillar: *phak bata*, plant a post.
- phak**³, *v.i.* having taste like that of betel nut: *kui phaka*, betel nut tastes (its natural taste).
- phak-bor**, *n.* armpit: *phakbori pete ráa*, carry (sth.) under the arm.
- pha-ker**, **1.** *n.* food particles that get stuck between teeth. **2.** (*verbal*) **phaker jota**, pick one’s teeth, probe to remove ~. **phaker phuka**, food gets stuck between teeth.
- pha-ker phu-ker**, *a.* dilly-dallying, dawdling, not decided: *kaiian phaker phukerse*, the person is unreliable; *phaker phuker tunuka*, be untrustworthy.
- pha-kham**, **1.** *n.* tooth, **phakham-cón**, *n.* germs that affect teeth. **phakhamjibra**, *n.* wisdom tooth. **2.** (*verbal*) **phakham dapta díma**, a new tooth grows before the old milk-tooth has been removed). **phakham kaka (phakham gríta)**, grind one’s teeth (esp. in anger). **phakham paia**, (*fig.*) be quarrelsome. **phakham phagoṇa (phagogoṇ cáṇa)**, have teeth projecting outward.
- pha-khat** ~ **phakhá**, *v.i.* snap off, break off: *carpak phakhata*, die (soul separates from body).
- pha-kluk**, **1.** *v.i.* be toothless and have cheeks and lips sunken in. **phakluk maktluk**, *a.* (*echo*) having no teeth at all. **phakluk phakluk**, *a.* & *adv.* having no teeth, in the manner of not having teeth: *phakluk phakluk sáa*, eat as one without teeth eats. **phakukluk**, *a.* toothless and with cheeks and lips sunken in: *phakukluk cáṇa*, become so. **2.** *n.* one who is toothless, a way of affectionately referring to infants before teething.
- phak-ma**, *n.* village leader, village headman: *phakma patia*, appoint someone as ~.
- pha-koṇ**, *n.* gum (of teeth).
- pha-kra**, **1.** *v.i.* be multicoloured, be chequered or striped. **phakra cikra**, *a.* (*echo*) chequered, multicoloured: *phakra cikra kháre pámprima*, multicoloured and beautiful. **2.** *a.* chequered: *gamosa phakra*, chequered cloth worn by men).
- pha-kreṇ**, *n.* jaw, jaw-bone.
- pha-kroṇ**, *n.* shoulder: *phakroṇi gata*, place on to the shoulder; *phakroṇi gaa*, carry on the shoulder.
- phak-sthap** ~ **phakthap**, *a.* having taste like that of betel nut but to a lesser degree: *dakhor khotthap phaksthapa*, (said of) the taste of bark of dakhor tree.
- phak-thap** ⇒ **phaksthap**.
- phal**, *n.* ploughshare, iron bit or cutting blade fixed on to plough.
- pha-la**, **1.** *n.* a half-section, split into two: *phala aniñ pha nanṅkai*, double-edged. **2.** *cl.* for counting things split into two: *phalasa*, one half-section.
- phal-ai**, *v.t.* split into two.
- phal-kek**, *v.t.* split into two, saw into boards or sheets: *bá phalkeka*, split bamboo into two; *hácu phalkeke ram coka*, cut a path through a hill.
- phá-man**, *v.t.* know.
- pha-man** ⇒ **jíman**.
- phan**, *v.t.* follow, search, track animals: *phane réṇa*, go searching; *cáman phana*, track animals.
- phan-ci**, *v.i.* develop a crack (esp. in metal).

- phan¹**, *suff.* used only along with negative suffix *-ca* meaning 'would not have': *phámandor̄be aṅ réñca-phan*, if I knew I would not have gone.
- phan²**, **1.** *n.* plant, tree (still standing): *phan m̄leta*, the plant or tree is still small. **phanjíbra**, *n.* a mature tree around which or from which young plants grow as in the case of banana plant. **2.** *cl.* for counting trees: *pan phansa*, one tree. **3.** suffixed with the specific name of a species of tree to specify it as tree of that species: *kuiphan*, betel nut tree; *réthephan*, banana tree.
- phan-kha**, *v.i.* solidify, freeze, coagulate (liquid) or gather together in one place in big numbers (insects, worms etc.): *cōñkhumuti phan̄khaa*, tiny flies that settle on wounds gather in big numbers.
- phan-kha-thar** ⇒ **nukhathar**.
- phan-khoi**, *n.* tiny insect with red body.
- phap¹**, **1.** *n.* yeast. **phapjíbra**, *n.* a portion old yeast mixed with the new. **2.** (*verbal*) **phap neṅa**, add or introduce or mix yeast. **phap phua**, spread yeast. **phap súa**, prepare (grind) yeast.
- phap²**, *v.i.* overflow, inundate, submerge: *phape réna*, overflow; *naoe phape réna*, spread or diffuse widely.
- phar¹**, **1.** *n.* night. **pharmajar**, *n.* midnight. **phar phórphór**, *n.* morning twilight. **phar práñprán**, *n.* early morning. **2.** (*verbal*) **phar cáṅa**, become dark. **phar múṅa**, spend night, stay over-night. **phar naia**, become bright, dawn breaks: *phar naibaatan* (*phar naiba hatan*), by early dawn or time before dawn. **phar neta**, keep vigil, keep watch by night. **phar réna**, get very late at night, be late night. **phar**
- tinai**, keep vigil till morning, pass the night-time.
- phar²**, *v.t.* sell. **phara gata**, *v.t.* (*echo*) do business.
- pha-ra-pha-cek**, *a.* blunt: *kan̄kao pharaphacek kháre rákhajo*, rendered the knife blunt.
- pharaphagen** ⇒ **phagren**.
- phá-saṅ**, **1.** *n.* opposite shore or bank: *sagor phásaṅ*, opposite shore of ocean. **2.** *adv.* on the opposite shore or bank: *sagor phásaṅ* (*sagor phásaṅi*), on the opposite shore of ocean.
- phat¹** ~ **phá**, *v.t.* vomit.
- phat²** ~ **phá**, *v.t.* cook in bamboo: *ná phata*, cook fish in bamboo.
- pha-tha-khat** ~ **phathakhá**, *v.t.* snap, break (flexible or thread-like objects): *nenten phathakhata*, snap thread.
- phé**, **1.** *n.* arrow-head, sharp end of arrow. **2.** (*verbal*) **phé naṅa**, have thorn-like projections.
- phé-dem**, *v.t.* fold (paper, clothes, leaves, etc.): *phédeme ráa*, carry folded.
- phé-ju-muk**, *n.* (arch.) arrow
- phék¹**, *n.* small tubers that grow on main tuber.
- phék²**, *v.i.* be affected adversely: *kui pheka*, feel dizzy or giddy from the stimulating effect of betel nut; *raṅsaṅ pheka*, be affected by the sun or get a sunstroke or be rendered extremely weak from excessive heat of sun; *sí pheka*, have high blood pressure.
- phék³**, *v.t.* spread thin or shuffle with hand or leg or some instrument (esp. for purpose of drying): *mai pheka*, spread paddy for drying or shuffle paddy already spread for drying; *tó pheke sáa*, fowl claws and scratches to eat.
- phel**, *v.i.* be low: *hácu phela*, hill is

- low or not steep; *há phela*, land is low-lying. **phelbatan**, *n.* the down-trodden or oppressed.
- phel-dep**, *v.i.* be lower in comparison: *hácu pheldepkai*, the lower hill.
- pheldedep**, *a.* be very low, much lower than usual: *nokbe pheldedepse*, the house is very low.
- phén**, **1.** *v.i.* turn, transform, change form or characteristic, become different, turn into something different: *phéne cia*, turn and look, (fig.) look kindly upon or look mercifully upon; *cón phéna*, become a worm; *kai phéna*, become man or become incarnate. **2.** *cl.* for repeated actions or number of times: *phénsa*, once.
- phe-na**, *n.* foam: *phena dogota*, foam, form foam, foam comes out; *phena taka*, foam or form foam.
- phen-khep**, *v.i.* be caved in, be sunken (stomach): *bódom phenkhepa*, (has) a sunken stomach. **phen-khekhep**, *a.* very markedly sunken in (stomach): *bódom phenkhekhep cána*, stomach becomes sunken.
- phé-phan**, *n.* pipal tree, banyan tree.
- phéphan thé**, *n.* fruit of pipal tree.
- pher-thep**, *v.i.* be flat, be not prominent: *kumpak pherthepe*, nose is flat or not prominent. **pherthethep**, *a.* very flat.
- phe-sek**, *v.i.* crow *tó pheseka*, cock crows.
- phe-sen**, *v.t.* advise, admonish, caution, warn, bring another to his senses.
- phet¹** ~ **phé**, **1.** *v.i.* be clear and intelligible (speaking, voice etc.): *phérané ina*, speak distinctly; *katha pheta*, speaking is clear; *khúran pheta*, speaks clearly or has an easily intelligible voice or style of speaking. **2.** *v.i.* be cooked properly (of rice only): *mai phékhuca*, rice is not yet properly cooked.
- phet²** ~ **phé**, *v.i.* finish, get over with (work): *kami phékhuca*, work is not over.
- phé-the**, *n.* porcupine. **phéthe gan-thai**, *n.* an area in the hind section of porcupine that makes a ringing sound while running.
- phéthe mín (phéthe sú)**, *n.* quill.
- phim-phur**, *v.i.* be completely bored or be tired of doing the same thing over and over again.
- phin-gú**, *n.* a king crow with long tail feared by other birds.
- phi-su**, *n.* a variety of tree. **phisupan**, *n.* ~ tree. **phisuphan**, *n.* a ~ tree. **phisuthé**, *n.* the fruit of ~.
- pho-bra**, **1.** *n.* husband's elder brother. **2.** (*verbal*) **phobra mána**, be related as ~.
- phoi¹**, **1.** *v.i.* come (exhortative): *phoi-con*, please come; *réna phoi*, come let us go. **2.** *suff.* meaning 'come' and mostly pronounced as *boi*: *dán-phoi (dánboi)*, come in, enter; *nuphoi (nuboi)*, come in and sit.
- phoi²**, *v.i.* wither, shrivel, contract into wrinkled and curled-up state (fruits, parts of body, etc.): *phoié réna*, wither away.
- phoi-crop**, *v.i.* wither, shrivel, contract into wrinkled and curled-up state (fruits, parts of body, etc.): *phoicropé réna*, wither away. **phoi-cocrop**, *a.* wither, emaciated, dried up: *phoicocrop cána*, become withered or emaciated.
- pho-joñ-bra**, **1.** *n.* younger brother. **2.** (*verbal*) **phojoñbra mána**, be related as a younger brother.
- phok**, *v.t.* pluck (plants, grass, etc.): *bíci phoka*, pluck paddy seedlings; *citran sítá phoka*, uproot, pull up along with the roots; *sam phoka*, pluck grass.
- phok-cak**, *n.* a tree whose leaf is used as vegetable: *phokcak phate sáa*, eat leaf of ~ cooked in bamboo.

pho-len ⇒ **lolen pholen**.

phom-phom, *adv.* in an acute manner (of swelling etc.): *kán phomphom tuka*, swell (parts of body) very much.

phon¹, *n.* handle: *phon cata*, fix a handle.

phon²-, prefixed to numerals for counting number of beatings: *phonsa koka*, beat once.

phón-ka, *n.* stones that are placed to form an open stove and support the cooking pot: *phónka bata* (*phónka bathata*), set up ~. **phónka jibra**, *n.* a large stone that is common to two stoves.

pho-phla, *v.i.* be hollow. **pho-phophla**, *a.* very hollow.

phor, *v.t.* open: *phore cia*, open and see; *káosa phora*, open a book.

pho-ré, *n.* a trailing plant whose leaf is used as vegetable.

phór-phór, **1.** *adv.* sufficiently or properly (cooked): *phórphór mina*, be well cooked. **2.** *a.* early (dawn) ⇒ **phar**.

phor-sa, *n.* light, brightness

pho-sen pho-sen, *adv.* slightly (beginning to turn stale): *phosen phosen diphana*, smell slightly as in the initial stage of turning stale.

pho-so-son, *a.* insipid, tasteless, dry and not juicy: *cokó phososon cána*, rice-beer is not juicy.

phráo-phráo, *adv.* appearing brightly and in large quantity: *aphe phráo-phráo naia*, stars shine brightly (on a star-studded night); *nuka phráophráo dogota*, sprout brightly (large quantity of seeds).

phra-phra¹, *a.* dry and not sticky: *há phraphra cámeta*, soil is dry and not sticky; *mai phraphra mina*, rice is cooked without being too soft or sticky.

phra-phra², *adv.* with or accompanied by writhing movements(die):

phraphra sia, writhe and die with much visible struggle (said esp. of birds).

phron-an, *adv.* suddenly in a flash: *phronan pate réngo*, passed by or crossed across in a flash; *hádubur phronan prona*, dust rises suddenly.

phronphron, *adv.* speedily or intensely or with a fixed course: *hádubur phronphron prona*, dust being carried violently; *hairam phronphron cána*, yawn continuously; *kai phronphron ríjama*, man walks straight without looking left or right.

phrin-an, *adv.* in a sudden whiff, in a sudden waft: *phrinan gin mána*, get a whiff of smell.

phrit ~ **phrí**, *v.i.* bounce off or snap shut under tension or spring action: *jora phrita*, something that had been joined comes apart; *kán phrita*, (*fig.*) give birth; *thingan phrita*, a bird trap (*thingan*) snaps shut.

phu¹, *v.t.* sow, sprinkle and add (salt etc.): *khari phua*, add salt to; *mai cári phua*, sow paddy; *phap phua*, spread or introduce yeast.

phu², *v.i.* develop holes, have holes.

phuk, *v.i.* be trapped, get stuck, be in difficult situation: *ceki ná phuka*, fish gets trapped in net.

phuk-phak, *v.i.* be in a dilemma, be in a predicament: *phukphake réna*, not know what to do.

phu¹, *n.* morning. **phuñi**, *adv.* in the morning: *phuñi céne*, early in the morning.

phuñ², *v.i.* be full.

phún, *v.t.* stitch, tailor.

phún-gur, *v.i.* move with a slow throbbing movement. **phún-gur phún-gur**, *adv.* throb or move in a slow throbbing or twitching movement.

phún-ji, *n.* ash.

phu-run-ga, *n.* flames that leap out of a burning fire: *phurunga prona*, flames rise or fly out.

phu-thu, *v.t.* to plug, to stop with some plugging material: *sophla phuthua*, plug up with a plugging material.

phii-la ⇒ **amka**.

phi-lap, *v.i.* quiver or be tremulous: *ran philapa*, have sheet lightning or lightning flash of diffused brightness for a short duration. **philap** **philap** *adv.* move continuously in swaying or wavy motion (dress, drapery or quivering of leaves, beating of wings etc.): *philap philap mota*, quiver or sway; *topak philap philap krenjapa*, butterfly beats wings in a wavy motion. **philalap**, *adv.* (quivering or vibrating momentarily) with slight rapid motion: *pancak philalap mota*, leaves shake with slight rapid motion for a short duration (as shaken by one gust of wind).

phin¹, *v.t.* cover with cloth: *nen phine rakhua*, cover something or someone with cloth.

phin², *v.t.* throw or put into fire: *bári ná phina*, put fish into fire to roast.

phing-gaŋ, *v.i.* leap, spring up or straighten up at one end. **phinggaŋ** **phinggaŋ**, *adv.* with springing movement: *phinggaŋ phinggaŋ jare réŋa*, run away with leaping and bouncing motion. **phingagan**, *adv.* suddenly and springing up: *nubainai para phingagan mĩnsaa*, rise suddenly, rise suddenly from a sitting position. **phiriphinggaŋ**, *adv.* with rapid rising and falling movement: *phiriphinggaŋ jare réŋa*, run away fast and with a leaping movement of body.

phir-caŋ, *adv.* in one leap, in one jump: *phircaŋ troke pájo*, crossed in one leap. **phircaŋ phircaŋ**, *adv.* accompanied by or with rapid rising and falling movement, in gallop (mainly animals on the run): *phircaŋ phircaŋ troke réŋjo*, ran away

with large leaps. **phiriphircaŋ**, *adv.* accompanied by or with rapid rising and falling movement: *phiriphircaŋ troka*, dance with conspicuous springing movements.

phi-sa¹, *v.i.* dance: *horcok horcok phĩsaa*, dance with rapid up and down movement.

phi-sa², *v.t.* send.

phi-sak, *v.t.* twist and intertwine together (to make rope): *paga phĩsaka*, make rope by twisting strands (usu. of jute) together.

phi-sam, *v.i.* start turning stale (cooked food).

phi-sar ⇒ **nukman**.

pi-cí, **1.** *n.* egg: *pici sábra preta*, eggs hatch out. **2.** (*verbal*) **pici boma**, brood or incubate eggs. **pici cita**, lay eggs.

pi-ciŋ ⇒ **piliŋ piciŋ**.

pi-cu, **1.** *n.* a new-born child. **2.** *a.* tender, new-born: *kai picu*, *n.* new-born baby. **picu kaku**, *a.* (*echo*) tender(baby).

pi-dam ⇒ **pidan**.

pi-dan ~ **pidam**, *a.* new: *pidan thephena*, make new or renew; *mai pidan*, newly harvested paddy or rice therefrom.

pi-kha, *n.* liver. **pikha maŋsiŋ**, *n.* (*echo*) liver. **2.** (*verbal*) **pikha maŋsiŋ cikcik cáŋe duk mána**, be in deep sorrow or be heart-broken. **pikha maŋsiŋ mánraŋe rao dogota**, be in a rage.

pi-liŋ pi-ciŋ, *adv.* (*echo*) helter-skelter or in disordered haste (dispersal of a crowd): *kagrukemene kaitaŋ piliŋ piciŋ cáŋe réŋjo*, as a result of the fight people dispersed helter-skelter.

pi-lu pi-lu, *a. & adv.* many, in many numbers (usu. of small or tiny creatures): *tosabra pilu pilu páŋa*, there are plenty of chicks; *cón pilu pilu pitaka*, a swarm of worms wriggle.

pi-muŋ ~ **pĩnuŋ**, **1.** *adv.* inside: *nok*

- pímuη*, inside the house. **2. n.** the inside, inner side: *pímuηina*, into, inward; *pímuηipara*, from inside.
- pí-nuη** ⇒ **pímuη**.
- pi-rak**, *n.* gall, bile or gall-bladder.
- pi-ri**, *a.* tender, not yet mature: *píri cána*, be still tender; *kai píri*, a newborn child; *thé píri*, fruit not matured.
- pi-thiη**, *a.* fresh, raw, (not ripe or dried or cooked): *cika pithiη*, water that is not boiled; *ná pithiη*, fresh fish (not dried); *thé pithiη*, unripe fruit.
- pluk-plak**, *v.i.* have waves, move as forming waves (water). **plukplak plukplak**, *adv.* in wriggling motion (fish): *ná plukplak plukplak pítaka*, fish wriggles.
- po-có**, *n.* mango. **po-có jethá**, *n.* hard shell of mango seed, its fibres.
- po-có kén**, *n.* mango seed. **po-có phan**, *n.* mango tree.
- po-cok** ⇒ **po-crok**.
- po-crok** ~ **po-cok**, *v.i.* have an inner urge or inclination: *sina pocroka*, expose oneself to danger (said by another of those who expose themselves to extreme danger).
- poi-la** ⇒ **páila**.
- poi-nal**, *n.* a variety of Indian palm (*Flacourtia cataphraeta*), its fruit.
- pok**, *v.i.* bloat, get soaked, swell: *kán kai poka*, body bloats or becomes inflated; *kén poka*, seed swells from absorption of water; *mainuη poka*, rice becomes soft due to absorption of water.
- po-lop**, *n.* main section of wood, section of between hide and the comparatively softer centre section.
- pol-pol**, *adv.* bubbling up, gushing forth: *polpol putua*, boil over vigorously; *cikanala polpol dogota*, spring of water gushes forth.
- pom-**, *cl.* for length between two knots of plants like bamboo with nodes: *bá pom-sa*, a length of bamboo between two knots.
- poη-na**¹ as in: (*verbal*) **poηna rota**, *v.t.* cook by steam.
- poη-na**² ⇒ **ná**.
- poη-sa**, *v.i.* swell (from the action of an irritant), ferment and swell (from the action of yeast), have a bout or spell of (violent anger etc.), have a relapse (of sickness etc.): *bisi-banηkhon poηsaa*, have allergic reaction; *cokó cankai poηsaa*, concoction for preparing rice-beer ferments and swells; *cukhorai poηsaa*, fly into a rage: **poηsata**, *v.i.* (*emphatic habitual*) does swell or does have a bout or spell.
- por, 1. n.** length between two knots or notches of plants like bamboo having knots: *bá por gósa*, one length of bamboo. **2. cl.** for such length (replacing native numeral prefixes such as *pao-* and *pom-*) used especially with Assamese numerals, and occasionally also with native numerals: *bá por-sa*, one length of bamboo.
- po-ra**, *v.i.* multiply, breed or propagate and increase: *porae réna*, increase and multiply. **porata**, *v.i.* (*emphatic habitual*) increases as natural characteristic or occurrence.
- po-rai**, *v.t.* read: *káosa poraia*, study, attend school, read book.
- po-ri-kha, 1. n.** examination, test. **2. (verbal)** **porikha cána**, have examination, be the tie for examination.
- porikha khára**, put to test. **porikha rákhua**, give an examination.
- por-jai**, *v.t.* proclaim.
- por-ma** ~ **pormai**, *n.* generic term for varieties of lowland paddy that require plenty of water
- por-mai** ⇒ **porma**.
- po-rok-ba po-tok-ba** as in: **porokba potokba hácu**, (*arch.*) probably name of a range of mountains.
- po-ro-po-tok**, *a.* be mountainous

with several projecting peaks: *poro-potok hácu kantra*, be mountainous with several projecting peaks.

por-por ⇒ **purpur**.

por-ta, *n.* wick: *dot porta*, wick of an closed oil lamp; *cati porta*, wick of the open oil lamp.

pos-tai, *v.i.* regret, have remorse, grieve at: *nemcakai gudun réndonbe cában jikhari postaina lagino*, following evil ways will force one to regret later on.

po-teŋ ⇒ **cukuŋ**.

po-tok po-tok, *adv.* projecting skyward: *hácu potok potok nuka*, mountainous with many peaks visible.

pototok, *a.* projecting skyward (hills, peaks): *hácu gósa pototok nuka*, a hill can be seen projecting skyward.

po-toŋ po-toŋ, *adv.* lazily (sit): *kaitaŋ poton poton nuí toeta*, people sit lazily passing time in idleness.

po-to-toŋ, *adv.* lazily (of sitting): *kami hába rácarane pototon nuí toŋ*, sit there without doing any work (as a reprimand).

pra, *v.t.* give birth, bear offspring (animals): *sábra praa*, bear an offspring; *sábra pracakai*, infertile, sterile.

prá, *v.i.* be in short supply, be scarce: *cíkana práa*, have scarcity of water.

prai, *a. & adv.* almost all, almost always.

prak-prak, *adv.* (*onom.*) easily or repeatedly (beating etc.): *prakprak keka*, split easily (since soft); *prakprak koka*, beat up or beat severely.

pram-ci, **1.** *n.* dew: *pramci jugurdon kakaina kia*, (*proverb*) if one shakes dew (branch wet with dew) it falls on oneself. **pramci bitir**, *n.* season of dew. **2.** (*verbal*) **pramci búa**, be exposed to dew. **pramci kia**, have dew falling. (*proverb*).

pran¹, *v.i.* 1. move about from place to place, wander about: *pranan pra-*

nan tése kami mángo, having roamed around a lot only now got a job.

pran², *v.i.* be present, exist: *cika prana*, have water gathered in shallow puddles (as after a rain); *nuna prana*, be able to sit (of children beginning to sit upright).

prán, *v.i.* be bright, be radiant: *nukhaŋ prána*, face be bright. **pránan**, *adv.* brightly: *phar pránan naia*, becomes bright dawn; *raŋsaŋ pránan dogota*, sun rises brightly. **prán-prán**, *a.* bright (day): *pránprán cána*, become bright, become daylight.

prao, *v.t.* call.

prap, **1.** *v.i.* be caustic, having the taste of lime, alkali etc.: *neken prapa*, (*fig.*) eyes be heavy with sleep. **2.** *v.i.* be in excess: *kharci prapa*, alkaline water used as cooking medium is in excess.

pré, *v.i.* get over, finish (things, time etc.). **prérané** (~ **pérané** ~ **prérené** ~ **pérené**), *adv.* completely.

pré-pré, *adv.* tread heavily: *prépré naka*, tread heavily upon (as kneading mud with leg to work up clay or paste); *prépré nena*, mix thoroughly or mix well.

preŋ, *v.i.* be straight: *preŋe diŋdiŋa*, stand upright.

pret ~ **pré**. *v.i.* burst open, hatch out: *boma preta*, bomb or fire-cracker goes off; *nuka preta*, sprout; *tósabra preta* (*picí preta*), hatch out (chicken, other birds).

pri¹ ~ **pir**, *v.t.* buy *príe ráa*, buy.

pri², *v.i.* get mature.

prin-pran as in: **prin pran cána**, *v.i.* (*fig.*) see stars, see lights before one's eyes as a result of a blow to head or when standing erect suddenly from a sitting position or due sickness.

proi, *v.t.* recite, chant: *bai proia*, recite a chant to call or propitiate a deity.

- prok-an**, *adv.* effortlessly or easily (pluck): *prokan phoka*, pluck or pull up effortlessly in one pull.
- prok-prok**, *adv.* easily or effortlessly (pluck several things): *prokprok phoka*, pluck or pull up effortlessly.
- próm**, *v.t.* grope, feel and search with hand: *ná próma*, catch fish by feeling for them with hands (in holes).
- proŋ**, *v.i.* float, rise and fly (dust): *hádubur proŋa*, be very dusty, have dust in the air.
- prot¹** ~ **pró**, *v.i.* open up, lead to, reach (path etc.), go through, bore through, come out on the opposite side (something pierced, driven through etc.): *ekai ram soropina prota*, this path leads to the road.
- prot²** ~ **pró**, *v.i.* very intelligible, conspicuous, prominent, outstanding and easily seen.
- prot-an**, *adv.* directly and fast; suddenly (coming out): *ekoro protan dogóna jaŋo*, will be able to each directly and easily this way; *protan dogota*, come out suddenly and unexpectedly.
- pruk**, *v.i.* be uprooted (plants), be pulled down (things like posts planted into the earth): *rampari panbijan pruke réŋjo*, trees got uprooted in the wind.
- prík**, *v.i.* become loose: *príke réŋa*, become loose or not tight.
- prim-prim**, *a. & adv.* with many colours: *par primprim cithoa*, flower is beautiful with many colours; *phakra cikra kháre primprima*, is dappled or multicoloured.
- prin¹**, *n.* goat. **prinbela**, *n.* lamb. **prinbada**, *n.* he-goat. **prinmenda**, *n.* lamb.
- prin²**, *v.i.* mix, be in agreement, have some similarity: *príne réŋa*, get mixed or mingled together; *thuci aro cika jakhareba princa*, water and oil do not mix at all; *uroŋi katha cipanba princa*, there is no similarity or agreement between their words or languages. **prin srin**, *a. (echo)* mixed: *prin srin cáŋe réŋa*, get mixed up or loose original purity.
- prín**, *v.i.* be over, be complete (works, actions etc.)
- pu** ~ **pur**, *v.i.* fly: *pui réŋa*, fly away.
- pu-cu-a**, **1.** *n.* a south-westerly wind. **2. (verbal) pucua koka**, ~ blows or beats.
- pu-dan**, *v.i.* (arch.) fly: *tó pudane réŋa*, bird flies.
- puk** ~ **pukcuŋ**, *n.* intestines, soft inner lining of bamboo, reed etc.
- puk-cuŋ** ⇒ **puk**.
- puk-ri**, *n.* pond.
- pul**, *n.* bridge. **pulphak**, *n.* pillar of bridge.
- pun-**, *cl.* for groups of eighty: *pun-sa kúi*, eighty betel nuts.
- pún**, *v.i.* be dense, be closely placed, be closely woven: *grim púŋa*, forest is thick; *nen púŋa*, cloth is closely woven; *pan púŋa*, densely wooded.
- puŋ-i-naŋ**, *n.* (arch.) female pig. **saŋi-naŋ puŋinaŋ**, *n. (echo)* pigs (male and female); *saŋinaŋ puŋinaŋ rákhua*, offer pigs (as sacrifice).
- pu-pur**, *v.i.* burst open, be torn asunder (under some pressure): *maidop pupura*, paddy bundle bursts open; *pancuŋ mánkai kie pupure réŋjo*, ripe jackfruit fell and burst open.
- pur¹** ~ **pu**, *v.i.* fly: *pure réŋa*, fly away.
- pur²**, *v.i.* burst (abscess, pimples, etc.): *gusi pura*, abscess bursts; *gusi maíram pura*, pimple bursts.
- pur³**, *v.i.* fill in, grow back (flesh, bark of trees, etc.): *maŋsiŋ pura*, form flesh again (in wounds); *pankhorthap pura*, bark forms and grows back again (after being cut out).
- pu-ra**, *num.* suffix (< Ass.) for bundle

- of paddy replacing native classifier *dop-*: *cari pura māi*, four bundles of paddy.
- pur-pur** ~ **porpor**, *adv.* forming tiny bubbles: *cika purpur putubaeta*, water is beginning to boil forming tiny bubbles. **purpur parpar**, *adv.* (*onom.*, *echo*) tread with a crunch (sound made by treading on dry leaves etc.): *gr̄m tokoro purpur parpar jare r̄n̄a*, run through forest making crunching noise.
- pu-si**¹, *n.* (pl. ~**bijan**). dirt (of body, dress etc.): *pusi ḡjara*, remove dirt; *pusi taka*, form dirt or result in dirt, become dirty; *k̄n gota pusi kantran̄*, the whole body (is) full of dirt.
- pu-si**², *v.t.* keep and propitiate (deity), rear (cattle), adopt (child): *bai pusia*, keep and propitiate a household deity. **pusikai bai**, *n.* a benevolent deity that can be kept as a household deity.
- pu-tu**, *v.i.* boil, bubble, effervesce: *pelpol pelpol putua*, bubble up as when the liquid consistency is very high; *cika purpur putubaeta*, water is beginning to boil forming tiny bubbles.
- pu-tuŋ**, *a.* freshly filtered, filtered for the first time: *cokó putuŋ*, first quantity of rice-beer filtered out; *kharci putuŋ*, first amount of alkaline water filtered out.
- pu-tur**, **1.** *n.* one of two pieces of bamboo used to keep woven cloth on loom stretched tight; **2.** (*verbal*) **putur khaa**, tie ~. **putur súa**, keep ~ clipped on to the hem of cloth being woven.

- pi -ca**, *postpos.* with *n.* at dat. meaning 'besides': *ina p̄ica ato imo?*, what to say besides this?; *ina p̄ica toecaro*, there is nothing besides this; *n̄ana p̄ica*, besides you.
- pi -da**, **1.** *n.* type, variety, class, kind (medicine, food, species etc.). **2.** *cl.* for different types of anything: *pancak p̄idasa*, one variety of medicine.
- pii-la** ~ **poila**, *adv.* first, before others or other things: *uan p̄ila soka-ŋata*, he reached first. **p̄ilani**, *a.* the first: *p̄ilani s̄abra*, the first-born; *p̄ilani thé*, the first fruits.
- pik-an**, *adv.* suddenly, abruptly (esp. in relation to leaving a place): *toan toan p̄ikan jare r̄n̄jo*, one who was sitting quietly suddenly got up and left.
- pir** ⇒ **pri**¹.
- pir-ka-na**, *n.* world, universe: *d̄im̄dak p̄irkana*, the whole world.
- pi -tak**, *v.i.* wriggle, twist about, make worm like motions, (*fig.*) be enthusiastic about: *cón p̄itaka*, worm wriggles. **p̄itak th̄intak**, *a.* & *adv.* (*echo*) be restless, restlessly: *p̄itak th̄intak kai*, one who is restless; *kaijan p̄itak th̄intakse*, person is restless by nature.
- pi -tam**¹, **1.** *n.* fat; *p̄itam kantra jren-jren*, has plenty of fat; *p̄itam jrenjren dogota*, fat comes out abundantly. **2.** (*verbal*) **p̄itam sara**, (*fig.*) feel elated.
- pi -tam**², *v.i.* be aromatic, give out sweet scent: *p̄itame ḡin k̄oa*, give out pleasant scent.
- pi -tar**, *v.t.* push.
- pi -ti**, *v.t.* believe.

R

- ra**, *suff.* meaning 'the direction or place where': *cákham-ra*, leg side; *khodom-ra*, pillow side; *tkam-ra*, head side.

- r̄a**, **1.** *v.t.* take. **r̄aéa**, (go and) bring. **2.** used to form nominal verbs: *kami r̄a*, work or do work; *micik r̄a*, take wife or marry; *ĩmba r̄a*,

- take a husband or marry. **3.** used as a vector verb: *gidáne raa*, accept, receive into; *tirané raa*, learn.
- Rába** ~ **Rabha**, *n.* the Rabha tribe. **Rába katha**, *n.* the Rabha language.
- rá-ba**, *v.t.* bring.
- Rá-ba-taŋ**, *n.* (sg. & pl.), (an) individual(s) of the Rabha tribe: *Rábatan saksá*, a Rabha; *Rábatan kamin*, two Rabhas. **Rábatani**, *a.* of or belonging to the Rabhas or Rabha culture and tradition: *Rábatangi sábra*, a Rabha child.
- Ra-bha** ⇒ **Rába**.
- ra-bu**, *n.* a gourd. **rabukhoŋ**, *n.* dried rind or shell of gourd.
- ra-ga**, *n.* big basket for storing paddy.
- rá-gat** ⇒ **rúgut**.
- rai**¹, **1.** *n.* judgement, verdict, decision. **2.** (*verbal*) **rai rákhua**, pass a judgement, pronounce a verdict, make a decision.
- rai**², *v.i.* be soft: *nekap raia*, softly attached (fruit, leaf etc. to tree), (*fig.*) easily to persuade (esp. to give away something); *tási raia*, (*fig.*) generous, open handed.
- rái**, *n.* banana leaf: *rái daka*, pluck banana leaf (to be used as plates or for packing food in). **ráicak**, *n.* banana leaf. **ráibomba**, *n.* electric tube (*rece.*). **ráikoŋ**, *n.* stem of banana leaf.
- rái-drop** ⇒ **tó**.
- rái-juŋ**, *n.* a wild plant usually found in marshy areas whose leaf is used as plate
- rai-kos**, *n.* imaginary or legendary carnivorous monster, (*fig.*) a person who eats anything he gets.
- raikos hácu**, *n.* a hill south-east of Goalpara town.
- rái-pram**, *n.* pith of banana tree used as vegetable.
- rái-rok** ⇒ **guk**.
- rai-suŋ**, *n.* onion. **raisuŋ bokkai**, *n.* garlic. **raisuŋ sakkai**, *n.* onion.
- rái-tha-phak**, *n.* banana leaf used and discarded: *ráithaphak tarataprak kie toeta*, used banana leaves lie scattered.
- rajabaron**, *n.* most important place in an arrangement of seats for a meal (usu. in the middle).
- rak**, *v.i.* be hard: *nekap raka*, with stem (fruit, leaf) that is tough, (*fig.*) not easily to persuade (esp. to give away something), tight fisted.
- rá-khat** ~ **rákha**, **1.** *v.t.* put away, throw away: *micik rákhata*, divorce or put way wife; *nok há rákhata*, leave one's land and property; *imba rákhata*, divorce or put away husband. **2.** used as a vector verb adding meaning 'without considering consequences seriously' or 'without restraining oneself': *kanié rákhata*, reveal secret or let known; *réne rákhata*, go (wilfully against other's wish or not being able hold oneself); *rēne rákhata*, drank up.
- rá-khu**, **1.** *v.t.* give. **rákhuta**, give (*habitual emphatic*). **2.** used as vector verb adding meaning of 'for another' or 'helpfully': *kanié rákhua*, advise or bring to notice of; *khui rákhua*, pour for; *mai khote rákhua*, serve rice.
- ram**¹, **1.** *n.* way, path: *ram buŋbaŋa*, loose one's way; *ram buŋdabaŋa*, mislead, give wrong directions.
- ramceŋkna**, *n.* an intersection of roads, a junction. **ram ora**, *n.* the end of the road. **ram cátar**, *n.* side of the road, road-shoulder. **ram kicaŋ**, *n.* roadside, road-shoulder. **ram ram**, *adv.* along the path without deviating: *ram ram réŋa*, go along the path without deviating. **2.** (*verbal*) **ram coka**, cut a path, raise the level of a path. **ram mána**, get an opportunity. **ram mána**, path be well-trodden, path be settled from use, a new path be formed from regular use: *bánan*

- bánan rambe mine réŋjo kamibe cáŋeca*, having made several trips the path has become a beaten track but the work was not accomplished. **ram nuka**, be able to see the path, see a solution.
- ram**², *v.t.* put to dry, dry in the sun: *mai rama*, dry paddy; *nen rama*, dry clothes.
- ram-at**, *v.i.* spend time wastefully along the way while going somewhere: *ramate ta ton, gargar réŋ*, do not spend time along the way, go fast.
- ram-bán**, *v.t.* block path, obstruct thoroughfare. **rambánkai bai**, *n.* a deity in whose honour a sacrifice is offered by the roadside with the road blocked.
- ram-i-ni**, *n.* (*euphem.*) for *tákar*: *ramini rákhata*, ward of the evil effects inflicted by ~ by offering sacrifices.
- ram-pan** ⇒ **buŋbaŋ**.
- ram-par**, **1.** *n.* wind. **2.** (*verbal*) **ram-par koka**, be beaten by strong gale. **rampar tata**, get breeze or be exposed to breeze. **3.** *v.i.* blow (as wind).
- ram-si-ruk**, *n.* a bird of myna family with grey-white body and yellow beak.
- ram-sok**, *v.t.* meet someone midway and welcome; *ramsoké ráŋa*, accompany someone from mid-way in a welcoming gesture.
- rán**, *v.i.* dry: *ráne réŋa*, dry up.
- raŋ**, **1.** *n.* sky, rain. **raŋkáraŋ**, *n.* sky, heaven, outer space. **raŋ parcuŋ**, *n.* (*echo*) thunderstorm. **raŋphaci**, *n.* rain. **raŋ ora há ora**, *n.* (*echo*) as far as the eye can see, the end of the earth. **2.** (*verbal*) **raŋ biŋ-brapa**, flash forked lightning in form of zigzag or branching line. **raŋ kriŋa**, thunder: *raŋ gurgur gargar kriŋa*, thunders with rolling and crashing sound. **raŋ phaa**, rain: *raŋ jéjér phaa*, rain heavily, rain cats and dogs; *raŋ phaba tal*, rainy season. **raŋ phílapa**, have sheet lightning especially at a distance. **raŋ silíka**, flash forked lightning in the form of zigzag or branching line.
- raŋ**, **1.** *suff.* meaning ‘continue, carry on, proceed’: *cuŋ-raŋ-a*, continue to grow big; *kani-raŋ-a*, continue to say; *míl-raŋ-a*, continue to grow small. **2.** *suff.* acting as an intensifier: *nem-raŋ-a*, very good; *citho-raŋ-a*, very beautiful; *pán-raŋ-a*, very many.
- rán**, **1.** *v.t.* take away. **2.** used as vector verb meaning ‘away’ or ‘carry away’: *bite ráŋa*, pull away; *mekhoie ráŋa*, steal and carry away; *paie ráŋa*, carry away; *ríme ráŋa*, capture and take away.
- raŋ-ciŋ**, *n.* juice: *raŋciŋ sepa*, press or squeeze out juice.
- raŋ-du-ri** ~ **raŋjuri**, *n.* heavy down-pour, thunderstorm accompanied by heavy rain. **raŋduri phaa**, rain very heavily, rain cats and dogs.
- raŋ-goí**, *n.* langur, long-tailed monkey.
- raŋ-gre** ⇒ **laŋgre**.
- raŋ-gu-si**, *n.* perspiration: *rangusi dogota*, perspire.
- raŋ-ju-ri** ⇒ **raŋduri**.
- raŋ-khop**, *n.* cloud: *raŋkhop gripa*, be overcast, be cloudy.
- raŋ-pha-ci**, **1.** *n.* rain. **2.** (*verbal*) **raŋ-phaci kia**, rain or have rain falling. **raŋphaci búa**, get wet from rain.
- raŋ-raŋ** *v.i.* transparent or thin or riddled with holes: *raŋraŋe réŋa*, become transparent.
- raŋ-saŋ**, **1.** *n.* sun. **raŋsaŋcari**, *n.* sunshine or sunlight. **raŋsaŋdam**, *n.* a place with sunshine. **raŋsaŋ dogópakan** (**raŋsaŋ dogópaklan**), *adv.* & *n.* east, in or towards the east. **raŋsaŋ dugópakan** (**raŋ-**

- saŋ dugúpaklan**), *adv.* & *n.* west, in or towards the west. **2.** (*verbal*) **raŋsaŋ bora**, be adversely affected by the heat of the sun, get sunburns. **raŋsaŋ céra**, sun is very hot. **raŋsaŋ dogota**, sun rises; **raŋsaŋ duguta**, sun sets. **raŋsaŋ kaka**, sun be hot (*lit.* sun bites). **raŋsaŋ pheka**, be affected by the sun or get a sunstroke or be rendered extremely weak from excessive heat of sun. **raŋsaŋ réŋa**, get late, get dark. **raŋsaŋ rita**, sun be gentle (as when cloudy). **raŋsaŋ tata**, receive sunshine.
- raŋ-si** ~ **raŋsri**, **1.** *n.* evening. **2.** *adv.* in or towards evening.
- raŋ-sri** ⇒ **raŋsi**.
- raŋ-ter**, *v.i.* thunder with a crashing sound.
- rao**, **1.** *n.* voice. **rao rao**, *adv.* boisterously: **rao rao bobaia**, speak boisterously. **2.** (*verbal*) **rao dogota**, be angry: *pikha maŋsiŋ máne rao dogota*, be very angry or be in a rage. **rao rákhua**, speak or answer a call. **rao saa**, be offended. **rao sae toŋ!**, traditional polite way of taking leave of the host. **rao sae réŋ!**, traditional polite way of sending off a guest.
- rao-ai**, *v.i.* speak, call to or utter something (esp. while passing by).
- rap**, *v.t.* weave bamboo-works *cek, dingri, hadala, jal, khok, sukbur, sokdam, thósa, tópa*, etc. that also involve tying or winding with some binding material, like.
- rá-phan**, *v.t.* wind or coil around, wrap closely around.
- rap-saŋ**, *adv.* together, in unison: *rap-saŋ réŋa*, go together.
- ras** as in: **ras mistri**, *n.* mason.
- rá-sam**, *v.t.* keep, preserve, uphold, maintain, halt (vehicles), buy (from hawkers who carry good about): *rásame tana*, preserve, keep preserved.
- ra-soŋ**, **1.** *n.* glory, luck. **2.** (*verbal*) **ra-soŋ naŋa**, be distinguished. **ra-soŋ nema**, have good luck. **ra-soŋ sara**, feel and speak proudly about oneself or another.
- ra-ta** ~ **rataci**, *n.* (*arch.*) moon.
- ra-ta-ci** ⇒ **rata**
- rau-rau**, **1.** *adv.* (*onom.*) noisily or producing noise (of falling water): *cika raurau kriŋa*, (falling) water sounds (the way it does). **2.** *a.* watery: *cika kantran rauau*, is too watery or consistency is very low.
- re**, **1.** *n.* cane or reed. **regrim**, *n.* a cluster of reed plants or an area with reed plants. **rekúr**, *n.* binding strip made from ~. **rephaŋ**, *n.* reed plant. **2.** (*verbal*) **re dīpa**, split reed into small strips for binding or weaving.
- ré-khon**, *n.* flower of banana plant. **rékhon dona**, *n.* petals of the banana flower.
- reŋ**, *n.* yam. **reŋgrim**, *n.* an area filled with yam plants. **reŋkon**, *n.* stem of yam plant used as vegetable. **reŋphek**, *n.* small tuber attached to a bigger tuber of yam. **reŋphuthu**, *n.* a kind of arum whose bulb or tuber is edible (also called *ol*).
- réŋ**, **1.** *v.i.* go. **2.** used as a vector verb adding meaning 'away' or 'pass into specified condition' (the specific condition being the meaning of the verb): *krite réŋa*, go into pieces; *nemcae réŋa*, become bad; *rope réŋa*, wither away.
- réŋ-réŋ** ⇒ **kéŋkén**.
- re-phaŋ**, *n.* reed plant. **rephaŋgrim**, *n.* a cluster of reed plants or an area with reed plants.
- ré-phaŋ**, *n.* banana plant. **réphaŋ-coŋ**, *n.* cluster of banana plants. **réphaŋ dona**, *n.* different covering layers of the banana plant. **réphaŋ goda**, *n.* bulbous tuber of

- banana. **réphangrim**, *n.* a banana grove. **réphan sin**, *n.* thin long strings torn off from finer end of layered coverings of banana trunk.
- re-re**, *adv.* continuously (raining, crying etc.): *rere khapa*, cry profusely and continuously; *ran rere phaa*, drizzles continuously.
- ret** ⇒ **khán**.
- ré-the**, *n.* plantain, banana: *réthe akhasa*, one cluster (one of many that grow on one stem) of bananas; *réthe donsa*, a bunch (entirety of what grows on one tree) of bananas.
- rí**, *v.i.* be heavy.
- rí-ba** ⇒ **ríba**.
- riṅ-khi-ni** ⇒ **riṅkhini**.
- ri-si**, *n.* The creator, the supreme God.
- ro**, *suff.* used only along with *suff.*—*eca* meaning ‘(will) not any more’: *rēneca-ro*, will not go any more; *toeca-ro*, there isn’t any more.
- ró**, **1.** *v.i.* be tall (people), be long (things): *brinbrin róa*, straight and long. **róró**, *v.i.* be very long (plural sense). **2.** *n.* length; warp or threads stretched in loom to be crossed by weft.
- ró-cok**, *v.i.* begin to put forth bud or begin to flower: *par rócoka*, flowers begin to form or bloom.
- roi-na**, *n.* spade-like wooden instrument with long handle for spreading or gathering paddy
- ro-ja**, *v.t.* itch: *rojakaio khina*, scratch an itch.
- rok**¹, *suff.* meaning ‘doubtful, who knows’: *bóna-rok*, who knows if (subj.) will meet; *ná bóna rēṇeta ná máneta-rok*, (I am) going fishing, who knows if (I) will get any fish.
- rok**², **1.** *v.t.* drive cattle, graze cattle, lead cattle to and from pasture. **2.** carry (firewood from drying place into the house or storing place).
- rom-pe**, *n.* rice softened in water and fried: *rompe jáoa*, fry rice; *rompe kaosá*, amount of ~ fried at a time.
- rón**, *v.t.* distribute, divide and share: *róne ráa*, distribute (among themselves); *róne rákhua*, distribute (for others).
- rón-e-bra**, *n.* God, the prime distributor.
- rón-ju-muk** ⇒ **rónjumuk**.
- ron-tak**, **1.** *n.* earthen pot for keeping rice. **2.** (*verbal*) **rontak thata**, perform sacrifice in the name of ~.
- ron**¹, **1.** *suff.* indicating plurality for a limited number of words indicating family relationships (*aiá-ron*, *amaṅ-ron*, *anaṅ-ron*, *baba-ron*, etc.) and some pronouns (*i-ron*, *ná-ron*, *u-ron*, *amka-ron*). **2.** *suff.* used with proper names of people or relational titles meaning ‘and others or his associates’: *Rajuron*, Raju and his associates or friends; *babaron*, father and those with him.
- ron**², **1.** *n.* colour, fig. festival. **2.** (*verbal*) **ron cia**, watch some festival. **ron jara**, discolour or change colour. **ron neṇa**, paint. **ron rákhua**, paint. **ron seta**, throw colours (as on the feast of colours).
- rón**, *v.i.* be strong: *kán róṇa*, strong bodied. **rónba rakba**, *a.* (*echo*) tough: *rónba rakba kaitaṅ*, strong and tough people; *rónba rakbapeke*, while still young and strong.
- rón-ci**, *n.* whetstone, stone for tool-sharpening.
- rón-da-ni**, **1.** *n.* a section of the Rabha people. **2.** *a.* of the people called *rónḍani*: *rónḍani katha* (*rónḍani khúran*), the ~ language.
- rón-ju-muk** ~ **rónjumuk**, *n.* a stone set up in the name of a deity.
- rón-ka**, **1.** *n.* stone. **rónka hákhar**, *n.* cave. **2.** (*verbal*) **rónka grua**, pile up stones. **rónka jróna**, lay or arrange stones.

- rón-khen**, *v.i.* be not cooked enough or not ripe enough. **rónkhen rónkhen**, *a.* not ripe enough, not cooked enough. **rónkhekhen** *a.* hard and not properly cooked: *rónkhekhen cána*, be still hard and not cooked.
- ron-khó**, **1.** *n.* broken rice. **2.** (*verbal*) **ronkhó daka**, sift broken rice from unbroken rice by sieving.
- ron-mán**, *v.i.* rejoice, be happy, exult.
- ron-ron**, **1.** *v.i.* be deep, be steep (valley, or downward slope): *hácu ronrona*, valley is deep. **2.** *adv.* very (deep): *ronron thúá*, is very deep.
- rop**¹, *v.i.* wither, fail to bear good fruits (esp. grains): *mai rope réna*, paddy fails to form good grains leaving only chaff.
- rop**², *v.t.* (arch.) cheat.
- ro-pot**, *v.i.* fall through: *ropote réna*, fall through.
- ro-ro**¹, *suff.* meaning 'while' or 'during' or "while continuing to": *réroro bobáia*, speak while going; *sároro kania*, tell while eating.
- ro-ro**², *adv.* endlessly, in a continuous stream: *cika roro jena*, water leaks as a stream, water flown continuously; *si roro dogota*, blood flows or gushes out.
- ró-ró-pe-pe**, *adv.* at length, in long procession: *rórópepe dogota*, come out in unending procession (*rénétasan rénéta rénéatasan rénéta rórópepe!*, (people) go in continuous and seemingly unending procession); *rórópepe katha kania*, speak at great length.
- rot** ~ **ró**, *v.t.* boil.
- ró-thon**, *v.t.* roll up: *dam róthona*, roll up mat.
- ru** ⇒ **cika**.
- ru** ⇒ **ruk**².
- ru-a**, *n.* rafter or one of the sloping beams forming the framework of roof.
- ru-bak** ⇒ **libak**.
- rú-bau**, **1.** *n.* a sickness leading to the enlargement of testicles. **2.** (*verbal*) **rúbau cána**, contract ~. **rúbau nan**, contract ~.
- rú-bok**, *n.* a kind of waist sash with four or five strands, each stand being made of long hollow white beads that are strung together.
- rú-bun**, *v.t.* collect, gather. **rúbun-bra**, *n.* one who collects.
- rú-cu-ken**, *n.* testicle.
- rú-cu-kun**, *v.i.* get crumpled, develop or form creases (cloth etc.): *rúcu-kune réna*, get crushed into creased state.
- rú-gut** ~ **rúgu**, *v.t.* search, look for: *mai rúguta*, glean or gather paddy left by reapers; *bákhán rúguta*, gather firewood. **rúguta rágata**, *v.t.* (echo) collect
- ruk**¹, *v.t.* drive away, chase away: *ruke phísaa*, chase away.
- ruk**² ~ **ru** ⇒ **gandi**.
- rú-khu**, *n.* penis.
- rú-man**, *n.* male pubic hair.
- run-cú** ⇒ **run cú**.
- ru-ni** as in: **runi tókhur**, *n.* a variety of dove, a ground dove.
- run**, **1.** *n.* canoe, small boat. **2.** (*verbal*) **run japa**, row a boat. **run tána**, hew and make a boat.
- run-cú** ~ **runcú**, **1.** *n.* flat rice made by pounding fried paddy that is softened in water: *run cú kaosa*, amount of ~ fried at a time; *run cú sánkhorsa*, amount of ~ pounded at a time or one mortarful of ~. **2.** (*verbal*) **run cú súa**, pound paddy to make flat rice.
- run-đun**, *n.* a sub-clan: *runđun barai*, the ~ sub-clan.
- ru-pa**, *n.* silver. **rupani**, a made of silver.
- rú-su**, *v.i.* urinate, pass urine.
- rú-su-kor**, *n.* urine.
- rú-thop**, *n.* scrotum or pouch of skin containing testicles.

rí -ba ~ **ríba**, *v.i.* come. **ríba-nukhaŋi**, *adv.* in the future.

rí -jam, *v.i.* walk, go on foot: *ram ríjama*, walk the way, (*fig.*) follow a particular course of action or policy.

rí -khá ⇒ **rikhit**. **rikhá rikhá**, *a.* each **rí -khit** ~ **rikhá**, *a.* every, each: *nok rikhit*, each house.

rim, *v.t.* cook. **rima rota**, *v.t. (echo)* cook.

rim, *v.t.* catch, nab, engage in work: *rimé rána*, arrest; *saksan jaŋa tonca kai ríma lagino*, one alone will not be enough, will have to engage others.

rin, *v.i.* repent, feel sorrow.

rin-ji, *v.i.* shrivel, wither and dry up (fruits etc.); grow feeble or emaciated (esp. from sorrow): *kán kai rinjie réna*, body grows feeble and emaciated.

rin-rin¹, *adv.* hazily, to a great distance (see): *rinrin nuka*, see hazily, be able to see to a great distance as from a hill-top.

rin-rin², *adv.* continuously: *rinrin khára*, do continuously without a break or without let up.

rin¹, **1.** *v.i.* know how to, be able to (with some verbs only): *cuŋa rína*, grow fast or easily. **2.** *suff.* mean-

ing 'know how to' or 'do well': *cuŋ-rin-a*, be fast-growing; *nasi-rin-a*, be affectionate or affable; *ton-rin-a*, know how to remain calm and quiet or well behaved.

rin², *v.t.* drink.

rin-gai, *v.i.* sob, weep in a suffocating manner esp. remembering past situation.

rin-khi-ni ~ **rinkhini** ⇒ **mocó**.

rip, *v.i.* be submerged: *ripe réna*, become submerged; *cika rípa*, be submerged. **riprip**, *a.* just submerged or just enough to submerge.

rí -phan, *n.* traditional dress worn by Rabha women: *ríphan kana*, wear a ~.

rit¹ ~ **rí**, *v.t.* carry home or carry in from having left for some purpose (paddy, clothes etc. after drying; net, fishing hook etc. after having left to trap fish), pluck (a cluster of banana from the bunch): *akha ríta*, pluck a cluster of banana; *mai ríta*, carry paddy in after drying, *nen ríta*, carry clothes in after drying.

rit² ~ **rí**, *v.i.* be mild, be not very hot (sun esp. when hidden by cloud): *rangsən ríta*, sun (hidden by cloud) is not too hot; *raŋ rípeke kami ráa*, work while the sun is hidden by the cloud.

S

-sa¹, *num.* one (used only in combination with classifiers): *sak-sa*, one person; *maŋ-sa*, one animal; *gó-sa*, one thing (general).

sa², *v.i.* ache, pain: *bódom saa*, have a stomach ache; *cércér saa*, pain very much, have intense pain; *tákam saa*, have a headache.

sá, **1.** *v.t.* eat: *mai saa*, eat rice, have a meal; *sigaret saa*, smoke a cigarette. **sáa ríŋa**, *v.t. (echo)* eat and

drink. **sákai rin kai**, food and drink. **2.** (*verbal*) **sána ríŋa toa**, be wealthy, *lit.* have enough to eat.

sá-bra, **1.** *n.* child, offspring, (*fig.*) interest on a loan. **sábra cuŋkai** (**píilani sábra**), *n.* first-born. **sábrademna** (**sábrademena**), *n.* stepchild or child from the first wife or husband in relation to the second wife or husband. **sábra kaibra**, *n. (echo)* progeny, children.

- sábra méca**, *n.* daughter. **sábra músa**, *n.* son. **sábrathop** ~ **sáthop**, *n.* womb or uterus. **2.** (*verbal*) **sábra báa**, carry a child in a cloth on the back. **sábra díbáa**, help another to tie and carry a child in a cloth on the back: *panna sábra díbáa*, tie a piece of wood or stone or bone to a tree supposedly to make it bear fruit abundantly—a widely prevalent practice. **sábra mána**, have a child born to or get a child. **sábra praa**, bear an offspring (animal). **sábrao tási mána**, have a child born to.
- sa-bri** as in: (*verbal*) **sabri koa**, give or exchange money or things to ratify an agreement, *fig.* betroth. **sabri sáa**, be the recipient of a gift ratifying an agreement.
- sa-du**, *n.* wife's younger sister's husband. **sadubrañ**, *n.* two one of whom is the husband of the other's wife's younger sister's husband: *sadubrañ kamkai*, two who are so related.
- sa-gor**, *n.* sea, ocean: *sagor kican*, sea-shore, on the sea-shore; *sagor hákon*, elevated land little away from shore; *sagor phásañ*, opposite shore of ocean or across the ocean.
- sa-gor-phe-na**, *n.* a cactus or a kind of Euphorbia.
- sai**¹, *v.t.* set up as a trap (such things as: *dingri, jal, junthi, sokdam, sukbur, thósa, torka*, etc.).
- sai**², *v.t.* (*arch*) write.
- sai**³, *v.i.* observe a diet or refrain from eating: *khúcem saia*, keep a fast or observe a diet; *mai saia*, keep a fast; *nok saia*, avoid going to one's own or that of another.
- sai**⁴, *v.i.* regard or consider as (social and family relationship): *nébra saia*, regard as parent-in-law.
- sai**⁵ ⇒ **bai**.
- sai-a**, *n.* shade, (*fig.*) support: *saia gidapa*, lit. be covered by shadow, (*fig.*) be a support.
- sai-kei**, *n.* bicycle: *saikei díña*, climb on to a bicycle; *saikei japa*, pedal a bicycle.
- sai-na**, *n.* a protection from sunshine: *saina hama*, build shed or protection for shade.
- sa-ja**, **1.** *n.* reparation or penalty or punishment for some offence. **2.** (*verbal*) **saja mána**, receive a penalty. **saja rákhua**, mete out punishment.
- sak**¹-, *cl.* for persons (with numeral -*sa* 'one' only): *kai sak-sa*, one person. **saksan**, *adv.* alone.
- sak**², *v.i.* contain or have sufficient space: *hádam saka*, have sufficient space.
- sak**³, *v.t.* make a vow or promise to offer a sacrifice sometime later: *bai sake tana*, propitiate a deity by promising to offer a sacrifice.
- sak**⁴, *v.i.* be red.
- sa-kai** ⇒ **sarkai**.
- sá-kho-**, *cl.* for number of child births (human): *sákhosa*, one childbirth.
- sak-kreñ**, *v.i.* be of light red colour. **sakkekreñ**, *a.* not too red: *tó sakkekreñ*, red fowl.
- sak-kron**, *v.i.* become ripe and reddish: *mai sakkrona*, paddy be fully ripe and red. **sakkokron**, *a.* not too red: *mai sakkokron cáña*, paddy be red (as when fully ripe).
- sak-sañ**, *a.* alone: *saksañ keleleñ kie toeta*, (*fig.*) has become a derelict, is alone with no one to support or look after.
- sa-li**, *n.* generic term for varieties of lowland paddy that require plenty of water. **sali cukun**, *n.* small variety of cockle found abundantly in paddy fields. **sali há (sala há)**, *n.* paddy field. **sali mai**, *n.* a ~ paddy.
- sam**¹, *n.* grass or weed: *sam díma*,

- weeds sprout or appear; *sam phoka*, weed out or pull out grass; *sam tuka*, be overgrown; *sam taŋa* (*sam traŋa*), scrape grass off. **sam alari**, *n.* tall grass found abundantly as weed in paddy fields and marshy places.
- sam**², *v.i.* wait: *same toa*, wait. **sam-soŋa**, *v.i.* await or wait for in advance.
- sám**, *n.* mortar. **sám maŋkuna**, *n.* (*echo*) mortar and pestle.
- sa-ma**, *n.* flat metal ring on wooden handles of implements to prevent breaking apart
- sam-bak-jí**, *n.* a wild bush whose fruit sticks to clothes easily.
- sam-baŋ-gri**, *n.* a bush with clusters of white flowers (Eupatorium).
- sam-bu**, *n.* a variety of red ant.
- sam-du-bla**, *n.* a type of grass (*Panicum dactylon*) considered holy and used for sprinkling the house with water: *cátla samdubla d̄ma*, ⇒ **cátla**.
- sam-go-da**, *n.* a kind of common grass with small bulb.
- sam-ja**, **1.** *n.* (*arch.*) meeting. **2.** (*verbal*) **samja nua**, have a meeting or sit in meeting: *samja nuna pra_oa*, call a meeting.
- sam-jo-ra**, *n.* a length of rope used for tying two cattle together.
- sam-jo-rai**, *v.t.* tie two cattle together: *náronobe aŋ samjoraie kokŋo*, I will beat up both of you (reprimanding two who are involved in some misdeed).
- sam-kho-bak**, *n.* a wild bush with clusters of white flowers (Eupatorium).
- sam-nuk-cep**, *n.* mimosa, a thorny bush with globular flowerheads and sensitive to touch.
- sam-phisar**, *n.* field-grass whose tiny needle-like seeds stick to dress easily.
- sam-sok**, *v.i.* extend hand to accept or receive something being given or put into hands: *samsoke ráa*, accept with open hands.
- sam-soŋ**, *v.i.* expect, await, wait for.
- sam-ti-kar**, *n.* coriander plant and its seed (having aromatic seed and leaf used as flavouring).
- san**, **1.** *suff.* meaning 'just now' (usu. with in the past tense): *maí sánata-san*, just had meal (rice); *ríbanata-san*, arrived just now. **2.** *suff.* meaning 'only': *i-san?*, only this?; *okaio-san*, only that (*acc.*); *una-san*, only for him.
- san**², **1.** *n.* day: *san rikhit*, each day, every day; *sansa péne sansa*, every other day, alternative days. **2.** *cl.* for day: *sansa*, one day. **sansa dinaŋi**, *adv.* one day, on a certain day.
- sa-nai**, *n.* a musical instrument blown with reed made from palm leaf.
- san-aŋ** ~ **sanaŋan**, *a. & adv.* daily, every day: *sanaŋan ribae toa*, come every day.
- san-brak-brak**, *adv.* while or during day-time: *sanbrakbrak ato kiria*, why be afraid during broad day light; *sanbrakbrakpekean rēŋ*, go while it is still bright.
- san-da** ~ **sandaci**, *n.* (*arch.*) sun.
- sanda rata**, *n.* (*echo*) sun and moon: *sanda rata tácarane*, *fig.* without any sorrow or difficulties, lit. without being touched by sun or moon.
- san-da-ci** ~ **sanda**, *n.* (*arch.*) sun.
- sandaci rataci**, *n.* (*echo*) sun and moon.
- san-gota** ~ **santikar**, *n.* heavy bangle usu. of brass.
- sa-ni**, *v.i.* be thin or fine: *khúraŋ sania*, has thin voice.
- sá-ni-pak**, *n.* the last-born.
- san-pho-phla**, *n.* thick but hollow bangle with aperture for sliding hand in.
- san-thar**, *n.* feast, holy day: *santhar*

- mania*, keep or observe a feast; *san-thar palia*, observe a feast.
- san-troṅ**, *n.* flat bamboo stick used by weavers to select thread according to design.
- san-ti -kar** ⇒ **saṅota**.
- saṅ-i¹**, *n.* a stretcher-like contrivance for carrying mud: *saṅi rapa*, weave or make a ~.
- saṅ-i²**, *postpos.* with a *n.* in gen. meaning 'according to or in the opinion of n.': *nāṅi saṅi*, in your opinion.
- saṅ-i-naṅ**, *n.* (arch.) male pig. **saṅi-naṅ puṅinaṅ**, *n.* (echo) pigs (male and female): *saṅinaṅ puṅinaṅ rákhua*, offer pigs (as sacrifice).
- saṅ-kha**, *n.* bangle.
- saṅ-kho-la**, *n.* stork or wading bird of black and white plumage with long neck, long legs and pointed bill.
- sáṅ-khor-**, *cl.* for amount pounded at a time in mortar: *sáṅkhorsa*, one mortar-full. **sáṅkhordam**, *n.* place where mortar is kept or place for pounding paddy.
- saṅ-khi -ni**, *n.* a woman whose words usually come to pass.
- saṅ-koi**, **1.** *n.* narrow makeshift bamboo construction across streams. **2.** (*verbal*) **saṅkoi cina**, lay a ~. **saṅkoi mana**, go over or negotiate a ~. **saṅkoi srīṅa**, construct a ~.
- sao**, **1.** *n.* curse. **2.** (*verbal*) **sao khéa**, be affected by someone's curse. **sao mána**, receive a curse. **sao rákhua**, curse
- sa-phra**, *n.* nettle rash or itchy skin disease accompanied by pimple-like eruption: **saphrapré**, *n.* some whose body is full of such eruptions.
- sa-pon**, *n.* something mysterious: *sapon ganda*, like a dream, like a mystery; *ato sapon ganda cáṅjo*, what a mysterious thing or how did it happen.
- sar¹**, **1.** *n.* manure, fertiliser. **2.** (*verbal*) **sar rákhua**, apply or spread manure.
- sar²**, *v.i.* be bright (face): *mukhaṅ sara*, have a bright and pleasant face; *rasoṅ sara*, feel and speak proudly about oneself or another.
- sar³**, *v.i.* be warm, be effervescent, (esp. water, oil etc. used for cooking); *cika sarbaina mairuṅ dua*, put rice into heated water.
- sa-ra¹**, *n.* (arch.) bull for breeding.
- sa-ra²**, *n.* (arch.) messenger, one who gives news of meeting.
- sa-ra-li**, *n.* a bird with long webbed feet and beaks like that of a duck.
- sar-an**, *adv.* in a circle: *saran nua*, sit in a circle.
- sa-ri¹**, **1.** *n.* row or line (things), queue (people). **sari sari**, *adv.* in lines. **2.** (*verbal*) **sari cáṅa**, stay in queue. **4.** *cl.* for things in rows: *sarisa*, one row.
- sa-ri²** ⇒ **cari**.
- sa-ri³**, *suff.* used with certain nouns giving plural sense: *buda-sari*, old men; *dorai-sari*, young unmarried women; *gabur-sari*, young unmarried men; *mari-sari*, old women.
- sa-ri-gu-duṅ**, *adv.* in all directions, in all four directions.
- sar-kai** ~ **sakai**, *n.* all, all people, everyone.
- sá-roṅ**, *n.* batch, brood, generation: *sároṅ gósani sábratṅ*, of the same brood or produced at a hatch (animals), of the same generation or born around the same time (human).
- sar-sar**, *adv.* around or in a circle: *sarsar cia*, look around; *sarsar nua*, sit in a circle.
- sar-tai** ⇒ **sortai**.
- sas**, **1.** *n.* courage, bravery. **2.** (*verbal*) **sas mána**, be brave.
- sa-sa**, *n.* rabbit or hare.
- sa-si**, *v.t.* take malicious pleasure in

- belittling someone powerless or incapable of retaliating or take advantage of other's low position: *sána riŋa toŋcabataŋ sasimásaa*, the poor are being taken advantage of.
- sa-star**, **1.** *n.* story, tale, riddle; folklore: *sastar kania*, tell stories. **2.** (*verbal*) **sastar thiŋpa**, say a riddle.
- sa-sti**, *n.* punishment, torture, trouble: *sasti rákhua*, punish or torture; *sasti mána*, receive punishment.
- sa-ta**, *n.* umbrella: *sata daoa*, open an umbrella; *sata kŋpa*, hold an umbrella open; *sata thokhopa*, fold up an umbrella; *sata tonaia*, open an umbrella.
- sa-ta-prak**, *v.t.* slap.
- sa-thar**, **1.** *n.* song sung during *baikho* festival (usu. sung in two choirs), a sentimental or romantic song. **2.** (*verbal*) **sathar thiŋpa**, sing in choirs a song that has a dialogue or question-answer format.
- sá-thop** ⇒ **sábrathop**.
- sa-tu-ri**, *n.* bridegroom, groom.
- se**¹, *stuff.* meaning 'only' or adding emphasis: *aŋ-se*, it is I, it is only I; *bunŋaŋ ramŋaŋ-se sokŋata*, reached only after having lost way; *néŋgie beŋgie-se jaŋata*, succeeded only after great difficulty; *té-se*, only now.
- se**², *v.i.* last, not disintegrate or get spoiled: *pána sea*, last long.
- se**³, *v.t.* suffer, undergo or put up with sufferings: *duk sea*, undergo sufferings.
- se**⁴, *v.i.* promise: *katha sea*, promise (esp. to give something).
- se-drak**, *v.i.* be not crisp or not dry and smooth (thread, hair etc. because of absorption of moisture or dirt): *nenteŋ sedraka*, thread is not dry or crisp (and difficult to weave); *khorok sedraka*, hair is knotted (and difficult to comb).
- sei**, emphatic suffix: *ame krikca-sei*, I do not know; *u katan toŋodonŋa-sei*, probably he has.
- sek**, *v.t.* snatch: *seke ráa*, seize or snatch; *seke ráŋa*, snatch away.
- se-la** ⇒ **jela**.
- se-lek**, *v.t.* lick: *seleke sáa*, eat licking.
- sem-ba**, *n.* mark of beating. **semba semba**, *adv.* severely (beat): *semba semba kokmasanata*, was beaten up severely (showing signs or marks of beatings).
- sem-pa-tok**, *n.* a variety of snake with appearance of earthworm and with very shiny skin.
- sen-ca**, *n.* basket for draining out water while fishing.
- sén**, **1.** *n.* waist: *sén tepreŋa*, straighten up oneself, stretch oneself (lit. straighten up waist). **2.** (*idiom*) **sén kimar khaa**, be determined, be decided, be brave and bold in a particular decision (*lit.* tie one's waist). **sén róŋa**, be lazy, (*lit.* having a stiff waist).
- sén-gom**, *v.i.* bend forward from the waist.
- sén-kha-phak**, *n.* thread or metallic chain worn around the waist, belt: *sénkhapak kana*, wear a ~.
- sén-khop**, *v.i.* be bent at the waist.
- sén-trao** ~ **síntrao**, *v.i.* grow, become tall (paddy and other plants growing fast just before forming ear or children growing into adolescence): *mai séntraoa*, paddy grows tall fast before forming ear; *sábra séntraobaeta*, child is growing up.
- seo-ai**, *v.t.* offer, give as an offering. **seoaia baraia**, *v.t.* (*echo*) offer, give an offering.
- seo-man**, *n.* honour, respect, obedience: *seoman khára*, respect, show respect. **seoman barman**, *n.* (*echo*) respect.
- seo-seo**, **1.** *v.i.* be not crisp and clear (voice): *khúraŋ seoseoa*, voice is not clear. **2.** *adv.* (*onom.*) making a gentle sound of boiling, with sizzle, making a sizzling sound: *cika seo-*

- seo kriṅbaeta*, water is beginning to boil with a gentle sound.
- sep**, *v.t.* press out, squeeze out, milk: *gungar sepa*, clean nose; *nen sepa*, squeeze out water from clothes; *nú sepa*, milk; *rañcin sepa*, press out juice; *thuci sepa*, press oil.
- se-phra**¹, *n.* prickly heat. **sephrapré**, *n.* one whose body is full of prickly heat.
- se-phra**² ~ **seprok**, *n.* bandicoot or a very large kind of rat.
- se-prok** ⇒ **sephra**².
- ser-**, *cl* for a kilogram of anything: *sersa*, one kilogram.
- se-ra**, **1.** *n.* thin crack, narrow line. **2.** (*verbal*) **sera bita**, draw a line.
- se-ra se-ra**, *adv.* orderly, neatly (of long things arranged): *bábijano sera sera tana*, put the bamboos neatly.
- ses**, *n.* the end. **ses mes**, *adv.* (*echo*) finally, in the end. **ses mesi**, *adv.* finally, in the end; *sesmesi honabe*, from there on, finally.
- set**¹ ~ **sé**, *v.t.* anoint, apply (oil): *thuci seta*, apply oil, anoint.
- set**² ~ **sé**, *v.t.* drain, throw out (water): *cika seta*, drain water by throwing it out with some object (to catch fish etc.); *phaci seta*, droplets of rain be blown about and be carried by wind into house as through window or other opening or be exposed to it.
- set**³ ~ **sé**, *v.t.* rub together (pieces of wood, bamboo etc. to produce fire), strike (matchstick etc.): *bár seta*, to produce fire by rubbing together dry bamboo pieces.
- si**, **1.** *v.i.* die: *sié réṅa*, pass away; *sina cēṅa*, be about to die, be close to death; *sina sina cāṅa*, be as if about to do. **sibatan**, *n.* the dead. **sia maa**, *v.i.* (*echo*) pass away or die (and disappear). **2.** (*idiom*) **sina gat toa**, be the time of death: *sina gat tonḍonbe sino*, will die when it is time. **sina ram nuka**, die: *ato bekharean sina ram nukjo*, *kaibe rónetamín!*, how did he die so soon, he was still strong!; *sina ram nukca!*, not find a way to die (either in self-pity or despair about oneself or as an expletive about another; *sinaba ram nukca khenaba jaṅca*, do not find a way to live or to die; *sina ram nukcakai!*, one who does not see a way to die!—an expletive.
- sí**¹, **1.** *n.* blood. **sí maṅsiṅ**, *n.* (*echo*) flesh and blood or near relations: *kakroni sí maṅsiṅ*, one's own flesh and blood. **2.** (*verbal*) **sí kaphaa**, be closely related. **sí khama**, form a blood clot. **sí pheka**, have high blood pressure or related disease. **sí**² ⇒ **sit**.
- si-al**, *n.* jackal.
- si-boṅ**, *n.* thigh.
- sí-brat** ~ **síbra**, *v.i.* faint, become unconscious: *síbrate réṅa*, become unconscious.
- si-ju**, *n.* a cactus, a kind of Euphorbia.
- sí-kham** ~ **skhama**, *v.i.* be cold, feel cold. **sikhama bitir**, *n.* winter, the cold season.
- sí-kham-khrík-khrík**, *a.* be very cold.
- sí-khi**, **1.** *n.* a covenanted friend. **síkhi méca**, *n.* wife of a ~. **síkhi músa**, *n.* husband of a ~. **síkhi-bran**, *n.* covenanted friends: *síkhibran kamin*, two covenanted friends; *síkhibran metham*, three covenanted friends. **2.** (*verbal*) **síkhi khaa**, perform a rite to enter into a covenanted friendship.
- si-lai**, **1.** *n.* gun. **2.** (*verbal*) **silai koa**, fire a gun.
- si-lam**, *n.* pipe containing tobacco (of hookah) from which smoke is drawn through vase or bamboo tube or coconut shell of water. **silam suksáa**, smoke a ~.
- si-luk**, *v.i.* be thin and narrow (esp. when only in places): *tokraṅ siluka*,

- has a thin neck. **siluk siluk**, *a.* thin and narrow (pl. sense): *siruk táthen siluk siluk*, legs of the common myna are thin and slender. **siluluk**, very thin and slender (but not unevenly): *tási táthen siluluk cána*, hands and feet become very thin.
- si-ma**, *n.* boundary.
- siñ**, *n.* rib of leaves or rib-like branchings from the centre stem, tendril or root-like leafless shoots by which trailing plants cling, web.
- siñ-ga**, **1.** *n.* bugle or horn (usu. of buffalo) with or without a narrow and small bamboo tube used as a wind instrument for giving signals (blown differently for different occasions like fishing, going to war etc.). **2.** (*verbal*) **siñga suka**, blow a horn.
- siñ-khi-a**, **1.** *n.* an article woven from rope with net-like base used to carry pots or bundles by being suspended from a rod. **2.** **siñkhia rapa**, weave a ~.
- siñ-rap** ⇒ **siñsap**.
- siñ-sap** ~ **siñrap**, ⇒ **bibur**.
- siñ-siñ**, *adv.* having strong rotten smell: *siñsiñ daphana*, smell of something rotten.
- siñ-siñ-grañ**, *n.* a big variety of spider having black body with yellow spots found usu. in wooded areas whose flesh and eggs are eaten.
- sip-sip**, *adv.* lightly or as a drizzle (rain): *sipsip ran phaa*, rain lightly, drizzle.
- si-pu si-pu** ~ **sipur sipur**, *adv.* lightly, as a drizzle (rain): *sipu sipu ran phaa*, drizzle, rain gently.
- si-pur si-pur** ⇒ **sipu sipu**.
- sir-gi**, *n.* heaven. **sirgirai**, *adv.* in heaven.
- sir-gi-ri-si**, *n.* God, supreme God.
- si-ri**¹, **1.** *n.* (arch. and not used alone except in combination with *rason* meaning 'total health' or 'inner well being'). **2.** (*verbal*) **sirina rasona kia** (**sirina rasona tata**), touch or affect the inner being; **siri sráñan rason sráñan cáñkhan**, may (you) be totally healthy.
- si-ri**², **1.** *n.* inner hard section of wood. **2.** (*verbal*) **siri naña**, be hard and mature. **siri taka**, wood becomes hard or matures.
- si-ri**³, *cl.* for divided parts: *kui siri-sa*, a piece of betel nut (generally one-fourth).
- si-ri-kek**, *v.t.* split into several pieces.
- si-ri si-ri**, *adv.* cut, divide or split into several parts: *kui siri siri keka*, cut betel nut into several parts.
- sir-sir**, *adv.* (*onom.*) flowing gently and in small amounts (water), blowing gently and through narrow opening (wind), producing cool effect from gentle breeze: *cika sirsir dogota*, water comes out gently; *cika sirsir cáne réñjo*, water (flowing) has dried up to a small amount or a thin stream; *rampar sirsir dáña*, wind blows gently (esp. blowing in through doors, windows etc.).
- si-ruk**, *n.* a common myna, a variety of bird. **siruk gímthé**, *n.* ~ with a projecting growth below beak.
- si-sa**, **1.** *n.* lead. **2.** *n.* earring: *sisa kana*, wear a ~.
- sit** ~ **si**², *v.t.* smoothen out (wood, bamboo etc.).
- si-ta**, *suff.* to *n.* meaning 'also or together': *añ sita*, I also; *citrañ sita phoka*, uproot, pull up along with the roots; *té sita*, with today or including today.
- si-tha**, *n.* residue that remains in a pot of rice beer after the rice beer has been drunk usu. fed to pigs.
- si-thi-khan** ~ **sthikhana**, *v.t.* lull or put to sleep.
- si-thi-khi** ~ **sthikhia**, *v.t.* kill, murder: *sithikhie rákhata*, do away with.

skham ⇒ **sikhham**.

so, *v.i.* rot, putrefy: *soe réŋa*, get or become rotten. **soa beta**, *v.i.* (*echo*) rot and decompose. **soso**, *adv.* having quality or odour of something rotten: *soso dīphaŋa*, smell rotten, get smell of something rotten.

so¹, **1.** *n.* mosquito. **2.** (*verbal*) **so kaka**, mosquito stings or bites.

so², *v.t.* burn in or with fire: *sóe rákhata*, burn and destroy.

só-da-brao, *v.t.* burn or cook to a certain extent by exposing to flame: *ná sódabraoe rama*, heat fish by the fire and dry.

só-di-bi, *v.t.* make soft by heat of fire (banana leaf etc.).

só-drak, *n.* large fly with grey body that sucks blood from cattle.

soi¹, **1.** *n.* broad protection against sun or rain made of broad leaves placed across bamboo frame big enough to cover head and entire back while working bent in fields. **2.** (*verbal*) **soi rapa**, weave or make ~.

soi² as in: (*verbal*) **soi ráa**, *v.* confess, agree, show willingness.

sói, *v.i.* piss, pass urine (child language).

soi-to, **1.** *a.* true: *soito cáŋa*, be true, be honest; *soito kai*, an honest man; *soito kháre kania*, honestly, speak truthfully. **2.** *n.* truth; *soitoan kania*, speak the truth.

so-ja, *adv.* straight, in a straight course: *soja réŋa*, go straight without deviating; *soja pate réŋa*, take a direct road.

só-jeŋ-gra, *n.* black fly with long legs found usu. in jungles.

sok¹, **1.** *n.* new shoot. **sok dīmbai**, *n.* new shoot (usu. of trees). **sok nari**, *n.* tender shoot. **2.** (*verbal*) **sok bía**, be widowed.

sok², *v.i.* reach.

sok-dam, **1.** *n.* a conical fish-trap with one wide mouth and tapering

to the other end made by splitting only one end of a bamboo. **2.** (*verbal*) **sokdam rapa**, weave a ~.

sokdam saia, set a ~ as a trap.

so-khop, **1.** *n.* peel. **2.** (*verbal*) **so-khop kháoa**, *peel*.

so-khor, *v.t.* filter: *cokó sokhora*, filter rice beer by adding water and constantly stirring the well of the filter.

sok-se, *v.t.* endure or put up with.

sol, *n.* opportunity: *sol cia*, look for an opportunity.

so-lon, *v.i.* have upright and unbranched stem (trees): *kui pan solonŋa*, betel nut tree has unbranched stem.

solon solon, *a.* having upright and unbranched stem (pl. sense): *usibe kui pan solon solon páŋa*, there are many betel-nut trees with straight

and unbranched stems. **sololon**, *a.* with upright and unbranched stem (trees): *kui pan sololon róa*, betel nut tree has tall and unbranched stem.

sol-sol, *a.* long and straight without branchings (tree): *panbe solsol*, the tree is tall and long without branchings. **solsol liŋliŋ**, *a.* (*echo*) long and straight without branches.

so-mai, *n.* time: *somai pate réŋa*, time passes or be later than a fixed time-limit.

son¹, *n.* wolf.

son², *v.t.* push through or insert in.

so-na, *n.* gold. **sonani**, *a.* made of gold.

so-niŋ, *adv.* the day after tomorrow.

soniŋtaŋ, *adv.* sometime in the coming days.

son¹, *n.* village, native place: *sonini kaitaŋ*, people of the village. **son**

nok, *n.* (*echo*) vicinity, village and its houses.

son², *v.i.* be short. **sonson**, *v.i.* be very short (plural sense).

-son³, *suff.* meaning 'in advance' or 'ahead of' or 'before or first':

- ci-soŋa*, see in advance (expect); *kani-soŋa*, say in advance (prophesy); *rēŋ-soŋa*, go ahead of.
- són**, *v.t.* place pot with water for cooking something on the fire: *mai sóŋa*, keep pot with water for cooking rice.
- soŋ-dam**, *n.* location where once a village existed. **soŋdam nokdam**, *n.* (*echo*) abandoned village with all its area.
- soŋ-droŋ**, *n.* the whole village. **soŋdroŋ nokdroŋ**, *n.* (*echo*) entire village.
- soŋ-ga** ⇒ **mīŋtaŋ**.
- soŋ-khaŋ-kha-thé**, *n.* wild bush with bitter edible fruit used as vegetable.
- soŋ-kho**, *n.* conch: *soŋkho suka*, blow a conch.
- soŋ-so-mar**, *n.* ant.
- so-phla**¹, *n.* a plug (of wood, cloth etc.): *sophla phuthua*, plug with a plugging material.
- so-phla**², *n.* residue or thing left behind after squeezing out or chewing out the juicy content: *kui sophla*, residue that is spat out after chewing betel leaf and betel nut along with lime; *makhām sophla*, residue of rice beer called makhām.
- so-phla-thak-thak**, *a.* not juicy, very dry and not yielding juice.
- sop-ta**, *n.* week: *sopŋa gósa*, one week.
- so-ra**, **1.** *n.* trace, mark or sign left behind (esp. by moving things). **2.** (*verbal*) **sora taka**, form or leave a trace.
- so-re-naŋ**, *n.* (*arch.*) hen.
- so-rop**, *n.* road (usu. of tarred roads). **sorop ram**, *n.* a tarred road.
- sor-ta-i**, *postpos.* meaning loc. 'in': *ekai sortai*, in this place; *nāŋ tonkai sortaian*, in the very place where you are or were.
- sor-tai**¹, *v.t.* rub (to ease pain) or pat (to show affection): *kān sortaija*, pat or rub someone gently.
- sor-tai**², *v.t.* clean or gather together with hand by scraping or moving hand across surface. **sortaija sar-taija**, *v.t.* (*echo*) scrape up completely.
- só-sen**, *n.* fly. **sósen akkai**, *n.* blue-bottle or large buzzing bee with blue body (lit. black fly)
- so-so-sen**, *a.* drenched or completely wet or wet to the skin: *nen kan sososen séme réŋjo*, became drenched or completely wet.
- só-srak**, *v.t.* burn or cook to a certain extent by exposing to flame.
- so-srok**, *v.i.* slide or skid down or move by dragging oneself: *sosroke kia*, skid or slide down and fall.
- só-to-mar**, *n.* a tiny stinging fly found mainly in wooded areas or places with overgrowth.
- srak-an** ⇒ **srukan**.
- srám**, *v.i.* be crisp, be brittle, be easy to break. **srám-srám**, *adv.* fluently without hesitation or with native accent (speaking) or very crisp (things dried): *srámsrám bobaia*, speak fluently.
- sraŋ** as in: (*verbal*) **sraŋ sáa**, develop black spots on clothes as happens when they are not properly dried.
- sraŋ**, *v.i.* get well, be cured, regain health, become sober: *kalamkai sraŋa*, get well from illness; *kān sraŋe tata*, feel fresh and light in body; *khúraŋ sraŋa*, has clear voice; *nukhar sraŋa*, feel fresh after having slept.
- sráŋan**, *adv.* in one chop (cut): *sráŋan khándoka*, cut with one chop; *sráŋan táne rákhata*, cut into two with just a chop.
- sráo-sráo**, *adv.* of the same size and age (fowl): *tó sráosráo páŋa*, plenty of fowls of same size.
- srap**¹, *v.i.* be fitting, be matching: *kankai conkai srapa*, dress fits (the wearer); *uroŋ jiksai cáŋa srapa*, they match each other as husband and wife.

srap², *v.t.* dive down and carry off (as birds of prey): *srape rána*, dive and carry off.

srap³ ⇒ **srop**.

sret-an, *adv.* suddenly or in a flash or quickly and directly: *ekoro sretan pate réñ aro tapan sokno*, go directly this way to reach quickly; *sretan mata*, get wounded in a split second.

srón-an, *adv.* in a darting motion, rapidly like an arrow, straight or directly and in quick action: *ná srónan réña*, fish darts off; *nokina srónan dáña*, enter house quickly and directly.

srop, *v.t.* pull out leaves from branches or grain from ears in one draw or clean completely moving hand across surface without leaving anything behind. **srope srape**, *adv.* (*echo*) completely with nothing left.

sruk-an, *adv.* secretly, on the quiet, on the sly, without letting be known: *srukan ríbae cóme tonjo*, came quietly and hid himself. **srukan srakan**, *adv.* (*echo*) secretly. **sruksruk**, *adv.* quietly, without making noise: *sruksruk ríjama*, walk without making noise.

srím-an, *a.* have a sudden feeling of grave fear, be bristling with fear: *kán sríman cáña*, body bristles with fear.

srín ⇒ **prín**.

srín¹, *v.t.* stretch out a line, wire, bamboo etc.: *bá sríña*, place bamboo as a cloth line or in constructions like tents and bridges; *nen sríña*, stretch out and prepare thread for weaving.

srín² as in: (*verbal*) **srín maa**, disappear leave no trace at all (usu. of people). **srín brín**, *n.* (*echo*) whereabouts: *srínan brínan tonça*, have no trace at all.

srín-an, *adv.* suddenly in a flash (dis-

appear): *srínan maa*, disappear suddenly; *srínansan nukñata*, caught just a glimpse, saw only in a sudden flash.

srip, *v.i.* permeate, get soaked slowly: *cika srípe ríbaeta*, water or dampness spreads; *kán kaiti sí srípe toeta*, blood permeates the whole body.

srip-an, *adv.* suddenly (fall asleep): *sripán nukhar réña*, fall asleep suddenly.

shti-khan ⇒ **sithikhan**.

shti-khi ⇒ **síthikhi**.

shti-phin, *v.t.* wake up or arouse from sleep, make aware, make understand or arouse consciousness to some fact.

su, *v.t.* peck, butt or gore: *tó sui sáa*, bird or fowl pecks and eats. **sugruk**, to butt each other.

sú¹, **1.** *n.* thorn. **2.** (*verbal*) **sú naña**, be thorny or have thorns on.

sú², *v.t.* prick, pierce, stab, pound: *mai súa*, pound paddy into rice; *nuka súa*, weave a line of design close to the border of cloth; *nukdam súa*, (*fig.*) be jealous; *runcú súa*.

su-a, **1.** *n.* profanation, ritual defilement or uncleanness. **2.** (*verbal*) **sua dibía**, remove uncleanness. **sua gijara**, cleanse oneself from defilement, remove ritual uncleanness. **sua paka**, become unclean, contract uncleanness.

sú-bau, **1.** *n.* a sickness of uterus or womb. **2.** (*verbal*) **súbau cáña**, contract ~. **súbau náña**, have ~.

sú-bra, **1.** *n.* (pl. ~**tañ**) grandchild. **súbra thébra**, *n.* (*echo*) grandchildren. **2.** (*verbal*) **súbra mána**, be related as a grandchild, have a grandchild born to.

su-buk, **1.** *v.i.* untidy (of place littered with something): *caucau subuka*, be very untidy; *subuke réña*, become untidy. **2.** *v.t.* render untidy by throwing paper and other things

- about: *nok subuke tana*, make the house untidy.
- sú-dra**, *v.i.* become mature (such fruits as jackfruit that have thorn-like projections on peel; *lit.* be with hard thorns).
- su-drak**, *v.t.* peck constantly to bore a hole and pull out the insides: *tó maidop sudraketa*, fowl pecks at the bundle of paddy.
- su-gun**, *n.* vulture.
- sui** as in: (*verbal*) **sui khára**, *v.t.* take aim or aim.
- suk**¹, **1.** *n.* happiness, joy. **2.** (*verbal*) **suk cáña**, be happy. **suk mána**, be happy, get happiness.
- suk**², *v.t.* blow (fire), play (wind instruments): *bár suka*, blow fire; *braṅsin suka*, blow or play flute; *siṅga suka*, blow a bugle or horn.
- suk**³, *v.t.* insert, lace, push in: *bre suka*, insert thread into the heald, thread a heald; *mala suka*, make a garland; *naki suka*, pierce nose and insert bridle or rein.
- suk-ban-da**, *n.* tapered end of a narrow piece of paddy field meeting at the foot of hills that form a valley.
- suk-bur**, **1.** *n.* an animal trap, a basket for transporting animals (esp. pigs). **2.** (*verbal*) **sukbur rapa**, weave ~. **sukbur saia**, set up ~ as a trap.
- suk-da**, **1.** *n.* string (of fish, meat etc.): *sukda gósa*, one string; *sukda suka*, string, lace or arrange on a string by passing cord through. **2.** *cl.* for things strung together: *kaka sukda-sa*, one string of meat.
- sú-khoṅ**, *n.* feminine genital area.
- su-ki-sá-bra**, *n.* one of small coins strung into a chain and worn as ornament.
- su-ki-da-plak**, *n.* the big coin taking the place of locket in a chain of coins worn as ornament
- su-ki-ma-la**, *n.* a chain of coins used as ornament.
- suk-sá**, *v.t.* suck or draw (liquid, air) into mouth: *sigaret suksáe sáa*, smoke a cigarette.
- suk-thep**, *v.t.* insert, place between, stick in (generally out of sight): *kaṅka nokhraṅi sukthepe tana*, hide or keep knife between thatch of the roof; *séṅi sukthepe ráa*, keep or carry something at the waist between the folds of one's dress; *torgamsa sukthepe kana*, wear dress with one end pulled between legs from front to back and stuck between folds of the dress at the waist.
- su-li** ~ **suri**, *n.* trunk.
- su-luṅ**, **1.** *n.* tunnel, subterranean passage, hole or burrow open at both ends. **2.** (*verbal*) **suluṅ thuphua**, open an underground passage or tunnel.
- sú-man**, *n.* feminine pubic growth.
- su-mún** ⇒ **jamún sumún**.
- sun**¹, **1.** *n.* mind. **sun carpak**, *n.* (*echo*) life. **2.** (*verbal*) **sun dáña**, be possessed.
- sun**², *v.t.* encourage, exhort, incite, instigate, push in: *bákhān sune rákhua*, push burning pieces of firewood further into the fire.
- sun-ki**, *v.i.* remember or occur to the mind.
- sun-phrit** ~ **sunphrí**, *v.i.* continuously without break or pause: *sunphrícarāṅe kami ráa*, work continuously without break or stopping.
- sun-thu-khut**, *v.t.* align or adjust by pushing in: *bár sunthukhute rákhua*, adjust or push firewood into fire.
- sun-thut** ~ **sunthú**, **1.** *v.i.* shift one's body, move a little to make room. **2.** *v.t.* push in, shift a little: *bákhān sunthute rákhua*, push burning pieces of firewood further into the fire.
- sun-thíp**, *v.i.* focus attention, be intent upon, give mind to: *benguduṅ*

- sunthipeta*, where is the mind wandering; *heŋa sunthip!*, pay attention here!
- sun-ti-bra**, *n.* co-wife in relation to other co-wives. **suntibraŋ**, *n.* co-wives: *suntibraŋ kanin*, two co-wives; *suntibraŋ metham*, three co-wives.
- sun-ti-ki**, *v.t.* recall to mind, remind oneself.
- sún**, *v.t.* prop up, support with prop, hold up by means of some support: *caka súnə rjama*, walk on sole of feet; *cákhathon súnə*, kneel; *súnkhám súnə*, place a prop.
- sun-ga-dai mun-ga-dai**, *a.* naked (usu. of feminine): *sungadai mungadai toa*, stay naked.
- sun-gur**, *v.i.* lament, mourn, express deep sorrow in tears: *sungure sungure khaŋa*, express deep grief or sorrow by weeping accompanied by vocally recalling events from the past.
- sún-kham** ⇒ **súnkhám**.
- sún-khám** ~ **súnkhám**, **1.** *n.* prop.
- 2.** (*verbal*) **súnkhám rákhua**, provide a prop or support. **súnkhám súnə**, place a prop.
- sun-u-li**, *n.* stake or vertical piece of bamboo in fencing called *hadala*: *sunuli bate hadala rapa*, plant ~ and weave or make fencing.
- sú-prai**, *n.* clitoris.
- sur**, **1.** *n.* tune, intonation, melody.
- 2.** (*verbal*) **sur bita**, give vocal expression to a tune: *sur bite bobaia*, speak with a conspicuous intonation. **sur taka**, write or set a melody or tune.
- sur-gak sur-gak**, *adv.* repeatedly (entering or trying to enter): *sur-gak surgak kháre dáŋa dogota khára*, repeatedly enter and come out.
- sur-ri** ⇒ **suli**.
- sur-sur**, *adv.* without obstruction (go): *sursur réŋa*, go without any opposition
- su-sai**, **1.** *n.* rice-beer prepared just one day before the day of sacrifice for sacrificial purposes only. **2.** (*verbal*) **susai rima**, prepare ~.
- su-sa-ri**, *n.* name of a deity (one of the five names of *baikho*).
- su-su**, *n.* a freshwater porpoise.
- sú-su**, *v.i.* prick or pierce slightly: *kanta súsua*, thorn pricks.
- su-su-phak**, *n.* stout vertical posts of a funeral pyre or funeral pile.
- sú-thai**, *n.* vagina.
- su-tran-ki** ⇒ **sitrinki**.
- sik**, *v.t.* press: *sike rákhua*, press down or apply pressure.
- si -lik**, *v.t.* protrude (as tongue by snakes), flash (as lightning): *tupú khútlai sílaka*, snake protrudes or thrusts forth and draws in its tongue. **sílik sílik**, *adv.* protruding continuously: *khútlai sílik sílik khára*, move tongue in and out of mouth (snake), smack lips (human). **sílilik**, *adv.* protruding continuously (tongue) or flashing intermittently (lightning): *raŋ sílilik náia*, flash forked lightning.
- sím¹**, *v.i.* be sweet: *cokóbe kháan síman braobrao*, rice-beer is tasty with mixed taste of bitterness and sweetness. **sím-sím** ⇒ **thotho símsím**.
- sím²**, *v.t.* follow, track: *síme réŋa*, go looking for, track down.
- sím**, *v.i.* be wet, get wet: *síme réŋa*, get wet.
- sím-bruk** ~ **símrik**, *a.* sweet and tasty (sweetness of certain fruits or edibles that are not really very sweet). **símbruk símbruk**, *a. & adv.* very sweet, sweetly (tasty).
- símubruk**, *a.* sweet and tasty
- sím-ji**, *v.i.* develop or form worms: *cóŋ símjia*, worms develop.
- sím-pok kan-pok**, *a. & adv.* (*echo*) drenched, completely wet: *símpok kanpok cáŋe réŋo*, got completely wet or became wet to the skin.

sím-pok sím-pok, *adv.* slightly wet, not completely dry.

sím-prek, *v.i.* be not sweet enough;

sím-rik ⇒ **símbruk**.

sím-thái, *n.* melon.

sí -mín-da, *n.* relationship, form of address that indicates relationship: *ato síminda cáŋa*, what is the relationship; *ato síminda ráa*, how is (subj.) related or what form of address does (subj.) use.

sín-ci ⇒ **síncini**.

sín-ci-ni ~ **sínci** ⇒ **makham** and **nobek**.

sín-trao, *v.i.* move head-ward (unconsciously in sleep): *gurbapeke káraŋa síntraoa*, move head-ward in sleep.

sín, *v.t.* ask, enquire or question: *síŋe ráa*, find out by enquiring.

sír, *n.* iron. **sírni**, *a.* made of iron.

sír, *v.t.* pour (esp. into bottles or other containers).

sír-ci¹, *n.* steel.

sír-ci², **1.** *n.* cyst or hardened mass of fat or flesh. **2.** (*verbal*) **sírci taka**, form nodule or cyst.

sír-gu-na, *n.* thin wire or filament.

sír-jí, *n.* dross or impurities from

iron or scum separated from metal in melting (generally gathering into a ball).

sír-keŋ, **1.** *n.* callus, skin hardened and thickened from constant contact with or rubbing against something, thick raised skin formed when wounds heal. **2.** (*verbal*) **sírkeŋ taka**, form ~. **sírkeŋ naŋa**, have the presence of ~.

sír-khep¹, *n.* (pair of) pincer(s), gripping-tool of two pivoted limbs forming pair of jaws.

sír-khep², **1.** *n.* a trap for catching animals by some clamping-device activated when animal tries the bait. **2.** (*verbal*) **sírkehep saia**, set a ~ as trap: *sírkehep saieba thuphukŋa jaŋeca*, (*fig. or lit.*) efforts to trap did not succeed.

sír-khi-li, *n.* (*rece.*) nail. **2.** (*verbal*) **sírkhili koka**, drive a nail in.

sí -tran-ki ⇒ **sítrinki** ~ **sutrinki**.

sí -trin-ki ~ **sítranki** ~ **sutranki**, *v.i.* remember, occur to the mind.

sí -trin-ti-ki, *v.t.* remember, recall to mind, remind.

T

-t-a¹, *suff.* (of which *-a* is the habitual marker) indicating a special emphatic habitual present for some verbs meaning 'generally, usually, regularly, habitually, etc. and an element of emphasis': *khísá-t-a*, feed as a regular feature; *phísa-t-a*, send regularly; *poŋsa-t-a*, have regular relapse, recur again and again; *rába-t-a*, bring; *rákhú-t-a*, generally give, do(es) give; *ríba-t-a*, come regularly, do(es) come.

ta², prefix giving negative imperative: *ta-nu*, do not sit; *ta-rába*, do not bring; *ta-rán*, do not carry away.

ta³, *n.* as in: **ta gósa**, one rupee: *ta gósaba tonca*, have no money at all.

-ta⁴, *num. suff.* used along with Assamese numerals especially from upwards of four replacing several of native classifiers: *carta másu* 'four cattle'.

tak, **1.** *v.i.* form, develop, become: *gandamola taka*, form green slimy moss-like algae found in stagnant water; *khórá jethá taka*, hair become matted; *khárá taka*, form or develop ringworms; *maŋsín taka*, become fleshy (vegetable, tuber, fruits etc.). **2.** *v.t.* do, make, create, weave: *nen*

- taka*, weave cloth. **3.** *suff.* indicating directive causative: *kani-tak-a*, ask or request to say; *réŋ-tak-a*, ask or request to go; *tak-tak-a*, order to make.
- ta-ka**, *n.* money, rupee. **taka paísa**, *n.* (*echo*) money. **takani**, *a.* made of silver (from coins which were all silver earlier).
- tak-dún**, *v.i.* be able to weave fast.
- tak-di -gír**, *v.t.* cook up, invent, concoct and thus colour or add flavour to narration: *takdiŋire kania*, make up and say.
- ta-ki** as in: **taki ná**, *n.* a kind of fish.
- tak-mán-bra**, *n.* the supreme God, the creator-God.
- tak-rai**, *adv.* considerable amount or number: *takrai páŋa*, considerably plenty.
- tak-tak** ~ **traktrak**, *adv.* angrily or disinterestedly: *neken taktak cia*, look intently; *neken taktak cie phásaa*, just looked (without showing any interest) and sent away.
- ta-ku-ri**, *n.* thin bamboo stick with weight (usu. of tortoise-shell) to spin thread for head of loom.
- tal**, *n.* time (in relation to some activity or event): *asu maími tal*, the season of harvesting asu paddy; *kami rába tal*, worktime; *maí sába tal*, mealtime.
- ta-la**¹, **1.** *n.* lock. **2.** **tala tikaka**, fasten, lock with key.
- ta-la**², *n.* flat surface.
- ta-laŋ** ⇒ **tiliŋ**.
- ta-leŋ**, *n.* a variety of palm with broad leaves and several ribs on one leaf and is used to make hand-held fans.
- ta-luŋ-a**, *n.* soft spot of head in children or in adults the area where the soft spot was.
- ta-ma**, *n.* copper. **tamani**, *a.* made of copper.
- tám**, *v.t.* play or beat (percussion instruments), operate (radio etc.): *kham táma*, beat the traditional Rabha drum called kham; *redio táma*, listen to the radio or keep radio on.
- ta-mai**¹, *v.t.* prune, trim, cut branches: *dalai tamaia*, prune branches.
- ta-mai**², *n.* name of a deity (one of the five names of *baikho*).
- ta-ma-na**, *n.* (*arch.*) fox.
- tam-bron**, *n.* (*arch.*) big river.
- tam-bu**, **1.** *n.* tent. **2.** (*verbal*) **tambu tonaia**, spread and set up a tent. **tambu thokopa**, fold up a tent. **tambu tiprika**, dismantle a tent.
- tan**, **1.** *v.t.* put, lay or place. **tanəŋ**, leave and go. **tanba**, (go and) put (there) and return or come. **tanəŋ**, go and put. **2.** *suff.* indicating indirect or manipulative causative: *brá-tan-a*, make someone feel shame; *cáŋ-tan-a*, cause to be or become; *mini-tan-a*, make to laugh.
- tán**, *v.t.* cut; *táne rákhata*, cut away; *táŋgruka*, fight with knives or swords cutting each other.
- tán-ce-cek**, *v.t.* cut into small bits and pieces.
- tán-ce-kek**, *v.t.* cut and turn the cutting instrument in a twisting or scooping motion to take out small splinters or pieces.
- tán-gruk**, *v.t.* fight with knives, swords etc. cutting each other.
- tán-ruk**, *v.t.* drive or chase away (usu. large groups) with sword and warfare.
- taŋ**¹ ~ **traŋ**, *v.t.* shave off by scraping (grass): *sam taŋa*, shave off grass along with root by scraping with some instrument.
- taŋ**², *v.t.* spin; *nenteŋ taŋa*, spin thread.
- taŋa taka**, *v.t.* (*echo*) spin and weave.
- taŋ**³, *suff.* giving pl. **1.** of certain ns.:

dorai-taŋ, young women; *gabur-taŋ*, young men; *kai-taŋ*, people; *méca-taŋ*, women; *músa-taŋ*, men; *sábra-taŋ*, children *etc.* **2.** of ns. indicating relations and are formed by adding suff. *-bra*: *babra-taŋ*, fathers or male parents; *phojoŋbra-taŋ*, younger brothers *etc.* **3.** of verbal ns. denoting agent (is always preceded by suff. *-ba*): *phisaba-taŋ*, dancers; *ná bohbatan*, fishermen *etc.* **4.** of certain interrog. prons.: *ato-taŋ*, what all?; *caŋ-taŋ?*, who all?. **5.** of certain interrog. rendered indefinite by adding suff. *-ba* making the indefiniteness further emphatic: *bedoba-taŋ*, sometime; *caŋba-taŋ*, someone, anyone. **6.** used with certain adverbs of time rendering it indefinite *gaphuŋ-taŋ*, sometime tomorrow; *hapai-taŋ*, a little later; *soniŋ-taŋ*, sometime day after tomorrow; *ténaŋ-taŋ*, sometime later. **7.** used as an emphatic suffix: *daci inkai-taŋo ana khapa?*, why cry for what was said as a joke; *gósasan-toŋ-obe ame ráca*, only one I will not take; *jíman nukkai-taŋ-o kiriane*, does one fear what is just seen as a dream!; *kamiŋsan-taŋ-o ata kirino*, why be afraid of just two people; *okatan ram-taŋ-o réjamean réŋs jaŋa*, such short distance can be walked.

taŋ-ku, *n.* tobacco.

taŋ-sar, *n.* loom, frame carrying the reed. **taŋsar gari**, *n.* one of two rotating pieces of wood on which stretched thread and woven cloth are wound.

taŋ-taŋ, *adv.* very (hard): *há taŋtaŋ raka*, earth is very hard; *rónka taŋ-taŋ raka*, stone is very hard.

tao, *v.i.* ascend or go up.

tap-an, *adv.* suddenly, in haste: *taŋan réŋe ríba*, go and return fast.

ta-pa-prak, *adv.* haphazardly (of things lying around): *tapaprak kie toa*, be lying haphazardly (sg. sense).

ta-prak¹, *a.* considerable amount of: *taprak kaiŋtaŋ*, many people.

ta-prak²- ~ **tiprak-**, *cl.* for a piece of land, piece of cloth, paper *etc.*: *há tapraksa*, a piece of land.

ta-prak ta-prak, *adv.* into small parts (tear): *nen taprak taprak ceta*, tear cloth into many pieces; *rái taprak taprak ceta*, tear banana leaf into several pieces.

tap-tap¹, *adv.* hurriedly, in haste: *tap-tap khára*, do fast.

tap-tap², *v.i.* blink or move eyelids: *neken taptapa*, blink.

tar¹ as in: (*verbal*) **tar mána**, recognise (people), realise (situation), know (events or facts): *taran mána*, have no idea at all or did not realise or recognise at all.

tar² as in: (*verbal*) **tar naŋa**, be of good workmanship, be good or fitting: *akol tar naŋca*, not of good behaviour; *katha tar naŋca*, words or statements are not proper or appropriate; *kai tar naŋca*, person is untrustworthy or not up to much in ability.

ta-ra-ta-prak, *adv.* haphazardly (esp. of things lying around): *ráiŋhaphak tarataprak kie toa*, used banana leaves lie scattered.

ta-ri as in: **tari há**, *n.* land along or close to the river-bed frequently inundated but dry otherwise.

tar-sak, *v.i.* be large (of forehead only): *kapal tarsaka*, forehead is large.

tarsak tarsak, *a.* very large (forehead): *uni kapalbe tarsak tarsak*, he has very broad forehead. **tarsasak**, *a.* having very broad forehead: *uni kapalbe tarsasak*, he has very broad forehead.

tas, **1.** *n.* playing cards. **2.** (*verbal*) **tas khera**, play cards, gamble.

tá-si, **1.** *n.* hand. **tási aŋka**, *n.* palm lines. **tásicak**, *n.* hand (from the wrist downward). **tási gínkai**, (*fig.*) purification ceremony after child-

- birth. **tási kantraŋ**, *adv.* empty-handed. **tásikindlaŋ**, *n.* back of the hand. **tásitala**, *n.* palm of hands. **tási táthen**, *n.* (*echo*) limbs. **2.** (*verbal*) **tási bira**, (*fig.*) loose former dexterity or ability. **tási coka**, *lit.* lift hand, *fig.* stop eating. **tási heŋa**, aim a blow. **tási japa**, wave hands. **tási khopa**, join hands (in prayer, reverence etc.). **tási kóma**, with hands folded (*fig.* unwilling to work or, act). **tási raia**, (*fig.*) be generous. **tási raka**, (*fig.*) stingy, tight-fisted. **tási róa (tási nemca)**, (*fig.*) have an inclination to steal. **tási túŋa**, (*fig.*) be a spendthrift. **tási thára**, (*fig.*) quick to beat.
- tát-si-khu**, **1.** *n.* finger. **tásikhu bóma**, *n.* ring finger. **tásikhu jibra**, *n.* thumb. **tásikhu kárná**, *n.* index finger. **tásikhu majar**, *n.* middle finger. **tásikhu makkra**, *n.* index finger; **tásikhu nopocŋ**, *n.* little finger. **2.** (*verbal*) **tásikhu jota**, point one's finger.
- tat**¹, *n.* loom.
- tat**², **1.** *v.i.* be contiguous, touch, involve, be affected by: *nánabe táca*, it does not touch you, it does not concern you; *rampar tata*, feel wind, get wind; *sirina rasona tata*, touching or affecting the inner being. **2.** *v.i.* feel: *raŋ phana ganda tata*, it appears as if it will rain.
- tat**³, *v.t.* put in (pocket, bag or bag-like containers): *monai tate ráa*, carry in bag.
- tá-then**, **1.** *n.* leg (of anything). **táthençak**, *n.* foot. **táthen gerok**, *n.* kneecap. **táthençala**, *n.* sole or under-surface of foot. **2.** (*verbal*) **táthen cámosa dúŋa**, feel tingling or slight pricking or stinging sensation in the leg. **táthen par-keka**, develop thin long cracks in the skin of heel.
- tát-then-khu**, **1.** *n.* toe. **táthenkhu jibra**, *n.* big toe. **táthenkhu nopocŋ**, *n.* little toe. **2.** **táthenkhu-khu cika saa**, have an irritating itching that affects between toes. **táthen thára**, (*fig.*) be fast in walking, walk easily.
- té**, *adv.* now; today. **tékali**, *adv.* nowadays. **tébirsi**, *adv.* last year; **téphari**, *adv.* last night; **tésani**, *adv.* today, sometime during the day. **téni sani**, this day, today. **téni gudun**, for the present or as of now. **téni jakri**, *adv.* this time, this occasion.
- té-gap**, *adv.* nowadays.
- te-ka**¹, *postpos.* with at inf. + *tata* meaning 'as if about to': *raŋ phana teka tata*, feel as if it will or is about to rain; *kina teka tábamán*, appeared as if about to fall.
- te-ka**² ~ **tekra**, *postpos.* with adjs. of amount or size meaning 'so much as a certain amount—the amount being demonstrated': *intuŋ teka*, as big as this; *eneck teka*, as much as this.
- tek-tek**, *a.* well pressed down or in great quantity: *mai tektek sáa*, eat plenty of rice.
- te-kra** ⇒ **teka**².
- té-laŋ**, *adv.* (in) this year.
- te-lem**, *v.t.* make good, repair, rectify, cure (situation, behaviour, sickness etc.): *kalamkai telema*, cure sickness.
- te-ma**, *n.* tin, metallic container.
- tem-ka** ⇒ **amka**.
- tem-pol** as in: (*verbal*) **tempol réŋa**, *v.* produce temporary depression when pressed (as in sponge or other soft materials).
- tem-poŋ**, *v.i.* huge, be big and bulging: *bódom tempoŋa*, is pot-bellied. **tempopoŋ**, *a.* very big and bulging: *bódom tempopoŋ*, stomach be protuberant. **teretempoŋ**, *a.* with bulges in several places: *khairok teretempoŋa*, (pod of) beans has bulges in places (where the seeds are).

té-naŋ ~ **ténoŋ**, *adv.* a little later, a while ago: *ténaŋtaŋsan ríbanata*, came just a while ago. **ténaŋ phari**, *adv.* tonight.

ten-cek, *postpos.* to ns., prons. or noun phrases meaning 'as much as': *ekai tencek*, as much as this; *hoŋ rúbuŋe tankai tencek*, as much as gathered there.

ten-dek, *postpos.* to ns., prons. or noun phrases meaning 'as long or deep or tall as': *ekai tendek*, as big as this; *Roka hácu tendek*, as big as the hill called Roka; *sén tendek*, as big as (a man's) waist.

te-nén, *v.t.* make tired: *barmasi khúcem tenéne toŋa lagia*, have to scold and reprimand always.

té-noŋ ⇒ **ténaŋ**.

tén-tén, *a.* & *adv.* upright, as upright: *bá téntén bate tana*, drive or plant bamboo upright; *kumpak téntén (kumpak thénthén)*, having long or high nose; *saksa téntén sábra*, (*fig.*) the only child. **téntén túntún**, *a.* & *adv.* (*echo*) upright, in an upright position (plural sense).

tep, *v.t.* speak, say.

te-pen, *v.t.* hide: *tebene rásama*, keep hidden; *tebene tana*, hide, keep out of sight.

te-pra, *a.* of very short stature.

te-pré, *v.t.* finish up, complete or use up: *gae tepréa*, carry till it is over; *ríŋe tepréa*, drink up completely; *sáe tepréa*, eat up completely.

te-pren, *v.t.* straighten.

te-ra as in: (*verbal*) **tera koa** ~ **tera bajji koa** ⇒ **baji**.

te-ra-ra ⇒ **kerara**.

te-ren, *v.i.* slant: *terene tana*, keep slanting.

té-ro-ro, *adv.* nowadays.

te-te, *n.* (*onom.*) winged insect that cries *te te*.

te-te-le-ka, *n.* a traditional Rabha

musical wind instrument made partly of wood and partly of metal.

te-te-pa-li as in: **tetepali tó**, *n.* a variety of bird that nests on ground among bushes.

te-te-pret ~ **tetepré**, *v.t.* cause to burst out, break out, hatch out: *boma sóe tetepreta*, burst cracks.

te-te-tao as in: **tetetao tó**, *n.* (*onom.*) a variety of bird that nests on ground among bushes and whose cry (*tetatao*) can be heard by day and by night.

thá¹, *n.* vein, sinew: *thá dogote réŋa*, (*fig.*) become lean, (*lit.*) veins become conspicuous.

thá², *v.i.* tear: *tháe réŋa*, become torn.

thai, *num.* prefix for plots of land: *há thaisa*, one plot of land.

tha-khrak ⇒ **thokhrok**.

thá-klá, *a.* untidy. **tháklá thukla**, *a.* (*echo*) untidy.

thal, *n.* plate.

tha-li, *n.* wide-mouthed earthen pot used usu. for brewing rice beer called *makham*.

thar, *v.i.* be clean, be pure, be holy, be tidy. **thare thure**, *adv.* (*echo*) intelligibly: *thare thure kania*, speak clearly.

tha-ri, *v.t.* repair (things), make good, rectify (situation, character etc.).

tha-ri-son, *v.t.* prepare, make ready, get ready.

tha-srok, *n.* lungs.

that¹, **1.** w. characteristic behaviour, tradition.

that² ~ **thá**, *v.t.* sacrifice: *bai thata*, offer sacrifice to a deity.

thé, *n.* (pl. ~ **bijan**). fruit: *thé daka*, pluck fruit; *thé khvima*, fruits of a tree or the fruit season be over; *thé mina*, fruit ripens.

thé-bra ⇒ **súbra**.

thek, *v.t.* preserve: *theke tana*, preserve, keep separate.

- the-khé**, *v.t.* cause to hit target, make fitting or befitting: *katha thekhéa*, speak correctly, logically or sensibly; *koe thekhéa*, throw and hit target.
- the-khen**, *v.t.* raise to life, cause to live, give life again, cure grave illness, *thekehe rásama*, keep alive, keep from extinction.
- the-kren**, *n.* a variety of tree.
- thel-thel**, *a.* dirty or squalid: *hapci thelthel*, dirty with plenty of slush and dirt. **thelthel belbel**, *a.* (*echo*) dirty and slushy.
- them-blek**, *v.i.* be with disability or limp in one leg: *tátheñ thembleka*, be lame in one leg. **them-blek them-blek**, *adv.* as one with disability or limp in one leg: *themblek themblek ríjama*, walk with a limp. **thembeblek**, *a.* with marked limp in one leg: *thembeblek cáña*, develop limp in one leg or trip in a hole and momentarily be as if lame in one leg. **therethemblek**, *adv.* with a swing of the shoulder at each step (walk).
- theñ**, *v.t.* touch, lay hand on: *kami theña*, begin work.
- thén-thén** ~ **téntén**, *a.* prominent, high (nose): *kumpak thénthén*, having shapely and prominent nose.
- the-phel**, *v.t.* lower, make low (height): *thephele rákhata*, reduce height.
- the-phén**, *v.t.* turn (direction), change, transform: *kán thephéne thephéne gura*, shift one's body in sleep.
- the-phet**¹ ~ **thephé**, *v.t.* render intelligible, interpret.
- the-phet**² ~ **thephé**, *v.t.* complete (work) or change shift: *kami thepheta*, complete the work; *pala thepheta*, take turn or change shift.
- thet** ~ **thé**, *v.t.* bear fruit: *dolen dolen theta*, bear fruits that are hanging; *jrekjrek theta*, bear fruit plenty (in clusters); *lada lada theta*, bear plenty of fruits.
- the-the-phet** ~ **thethephé**, *v.t.* finish up or complete: *thethephete rákhata*, finish up or complete.
- thi-luk thi-luk**, *adv.* in a to and fro motion, tremulously (shake): *thiluk thiluk mota*, shake frequently (like tail of bird).
- tho**, *v.i.* be tasty, be delicious. **thotho** ⇒ **thotho símsím**
- thó-bor**, *v.i.* form skin eruption in the form of bubbles with liquid within (burns): *rañsañ thóborá*, have skin eruptions form exposure to excessive heat of the sun.
- tho-ci** ⇒ **thu-ci**.
- tho-gai**, *v.t.* cheat, deceive, act fraudulently: *thogaié sáa*, swindle, cheat in business transaction.
- thok**, **1.** *n.* group. **thok-thok**, *adv.* in drops (fall): *thokthok kia*, drip. **2.** *cl.* for groups and drops: *thok-sa*, one group; *cika thok-sa*, a drop of water. **3.** (*verbal*) **thok khaia**, form splinter group. **thok thikhaia**, cause formation of splinter groups.
- tho-khop**, *v.t.* close, fold: *satha thokhopa*, fold umbrella; *tási thokhopa*, fold hands; *tátheñ tási thokhope nua*, sit with hands and legs properly folded.
- tho-khor**, *v.t.* pound (paddy etc.) for the first time (later winnowed and pounded again).
- tho-khrok**, *v.t.* finish up completely (liquids): *thokhroke riña*, drink up completely without leaving anything behind. **thokhroke thakhrake**, *adv.* (*echo*) without leaving anything behind.
- thón**, *v.t.* roll, roll up: *dam thóna*, roll up the mat; *khasrañ thóna*, roll tobacco (in leaf or paper).
- thón-**, *cl.* for stretches or sections or

- part of long things: *pan thón-sa*, a part of a log; *ram thón-sa*, a part of the road, a certain distance of the road.
- thop**, **1.** *n.* nest, hive (bees), dwelling (animals). **2.** (*verbal*) **thop hama**, make or build nest; **thop ráa**, build nest and nestle, settle in nest.
- tho-phor**, *v.t.* reveal, let secret out or be known, make public.
- thó-sa**, **1.** *n.* a fish-trap (similar to *sokdam*) wide-mouthed at one and tapering to the other end made by splitting one end of the length of a bamboo between two knots. **2.** (*verbal*) **thósa rapa**, weave ~. **thósa saia**, set up a ~ as a trap.
- tho-tho sim-sim**, *a. & adv.* with taste, tastefully, deliciously: *thotho simsim ríme rote rákhua*, prepare and offer delicious food; *thotho simsim sáa*, eat good food.
- thú**, *v.i.* be deep: *ronron thúa*, very deep.
- thu-ba**, **1.** *n.* cluster, fold or group: *uronbe cin peke thuba gósa*, we belong to the same fold (*lit.* they form one group with us). **2.** *cl.* for clusters used with Assamese numerals and occasionally also with native numerals replacing native numeral prefixes like *con-*, *cotok-* etc.: *sam thuba-sa*, one cluster of grass.
- thu-ci** ~ **thoci**, *n.* oil: *thud peke ríma*, cook with oil as cooking medium; *thuci seta*, anoint, apply oil.
- thuk**, *v.t.* build or plant (fence, wall, partition etc.): *hadala thuka*, set up a fence called hadala; *nokdar thuka*, set up a wall.
- thu-ka-**, *cl.* for words spoken or written: *katha thuka-sa*, on word. **thukasa thuka anin**, *a (echo)* few words.
- thu-kla** ⇒ **thákla**.
- thul-duñ**, *v.i.* have a depression in land otherwise plain. **thuldun**
- thuldun**, *a.* have several depressions or pot-holes in surface otherwise plain: *sorobijan thuldun thuldun cáñjo*, roads have plenty of pot-holes. **thuldudun**, *a.* with an area of depression in land otherwise plain. **thuruthuldun**, *a.* with depression in many places (in surface otherwise plain).
- thu-phu**, *v.t.* bore, drill or make hole: *hákhar thuphua*, bore a hole; *sulun thuphua*, bore a tunnel.
- thu-phuk**, *v.t.* cause to be trapped: *sákhép saieba thuphukna janeca*, (*fig*, or *lit.*) efforts to trap did not succeed.
- thu-phun**, *v.t.* fill up to the brim: *thuphune rákhua*, make brim-ful or fill to the brim.
- thur** ⇒ **thar**.
- thú-roñ-roñ**, *v.i.* be very deep: *háda-man thúronron*, place is very deep.
- thi -khai**, *v.t.* separate out or remove out a portion, cause to form a splinter group: *thok thákhaia*, cause to form a splinter group.
- thi -khan**, *v.t.* suckle, give to drink, make to drink: *cokó thákhana*, make another drink rice-beer; *nú thákhana*, suckle.
- thi -khrík**, *v.t.* make reach all or make sufficient: *thákhrike róna*, divide in such a way that all get a portion.
- thim**, *v.t.* endure, suffer, undergo, put up with. **thíma bama**, *v.t. (echo)* endure, put up with difficulties.
- thim-bak**, *v.i.* halt suddenly while moving forward. **thimbak thim-bak**, *adv.* with head and shoulders bouncing (walk): *thimbak thimbak ríjama*, walk with head and shoulders bouncing at every step. **thim-babak**, *a.* stop short or abruptly while in motion: *thimbabak cáñe múña*, stop short. **thirithimbak**, *adv.* with a stagger or toddle: *thirithimbak ríjama*, walk unsteadily.
- thín-tak** ⇒ **pítak**.

- thiŋ-gaŋ, 1.** *n.* a bird trap made with a piece of bamboo, a length of rope and a bait. **2. thiŋ-gaŋ thiŋ-gaŋ,** *a.* in erect upright or vertical position (from similarity of consistency or stiffness, with ~): *mai nem-canata, donan thiŋgaŋ thiŋganse,* (*fig.*) paddy was not good, ears were all standing erect—meaning they were not heavy and bending with grain.
- 3. (verbal) thiŋgaŋ saia,** set up a ~ as a trap.
- thiŋ-glaŋ,** *a.* lean, thin, lanky (people). **thiŋgaglaŋ,** *a.* lean, thin, lanky; *kaian thiŋgaglaŋ,* person is very lean and thin. **thiŋglaŋ paiglaŋ,** *a. (echo)* very lean and thin.
- thiŋp,** *v.t.* place, let down, lower, haul down: *cek thiŋpa,* lower or let down net; *dos thiŋpa,* lay blame or responsibility; *sastar thiŋpa,* say riddle; *sathar thiŋpa,* sing in choirs song that has a dialogue or question-answer format; *tási thiŋpa,* lay hands over.
- thi-phrat** ~ **thiŋphrá** ⇒ **thiŋphrit.**
- thi-phrit** ~ **thiŋphrat,** *v.t.* cause to bounce at one end or snap shut: *ban thiŋphrata (ban thiŋphrita),* break a spell; *jora thiŋphrita,* cause joint to come off; *thiŋgaŋ thiŋphrita,* cause trap called *thiŋgaŋ* to snap shut.
- thír,** *v.i.* move (leg), be fluent (speaking), bounce off (things): *hapci théra,* slush splashes.
- thír-dak,** *v.i.* bounce off, trip violently or with great force (as while running): *thírdake kie réŋa,* bounced and fall; *kie thírdake réŋa,* fall and then bounce off.
- ti,** *loc. suff.:* *cika-ti,* in water, *tási-ti,* in the hand.
- ti-ki,** *v.t.* drop, make fall: *buli tikia,* offer up the sacrificial animal by sacrificing it.
- ti-ki-ri,** *v.t.* frighten, induce fear.
- ti-kri,** *n.* small earthen pot for drinking water from
- tik-tik-a,** *n.* a variety of ground hornbill.
- ti-lŋ ta-laŋ,** *adv.* scan (with eyes): *tiliŋ talaŋ cia,* look around (esp. in suspicion or fear).
- ti-mi,** *n.* a small container for keeping lime.
- tim-pi,** *v.t.* press with finger or end of a stick, prod with stick.
- tin-ti** as in: (*verbal*) **tinti kaka,** *v.* have numbness due severe cold felt in the extremities of body.
- tin-tuŋ,** *postpos.* to *n.* meaning ‘as big as’: *bá tintuŋ,* as long as a bamboo; *kai tintuŋ,* as big as a man; *nok tintuŋ,* as big as a house.
- tip-tip,** *adv.* minutely or completely (question or cross-examine): *tiptip khána,* pick up everything; *tiptip séŋa,* enquire everything or find out all details.
- ti-ri,** *v.i.* feel good to, be happy to, feel brave to (usu. used only in the negative form): *dobóna tirica,* do not feel good or courageous enough to meet; *toŋa tirica,* do not feel pleasant to stay.
- tir-tir** ⇒ **tortor.**
- to** ~ **toŋ,** *v.i.* there be, be present, stay, dwell. **toa sáa,** *v.i. (echo)* to stay, to reside, to live: *toŋa sána nema,* good or pleasant to stay; *toŋkai sákai nemca,* living conditions are not good.
- tó,** *n. (~bijan).* bird (generic), chicken. **tó bak,** *n. (echo)* domestic animals. **tó baŋla,** *n.* variety of chicken whose feathers grow very late and with wings turned upward. **tó kaka,** *n.* meat of chicken. **tó buda,** *n.* cock (esp. one that has begun to crow). **tó háŋceŋ,** *n.* fowl with sandy colour. **tó jíbra,** *n.* hen that has already hatched at least a batch. **tó kábau,** *n.* chicken with bushy growth of feathers below beak. **tó kuri,** *n.* hen that has

- grown enough to start laying egg. **tó nakua**, *n.* a cock that has grown enough to begin to crow. **tó nogor**, *n.* pen for chicken. **tó phéthe**, *n.* fowl with feathers that point irregularly in different directions. **tó picí**, *n.* egg. **tó ráidrop**, *n.* fowl with dark brown feather or the colour of dried banana leaf. **tó sábra**, *n.* young birds, chicks.
- to-ba-ci-traᅇ** ⇒ **timacitraᅇ**.
- tó-bau**, *n.* owl: *tóbau neken gogolaka*, owl (has) big eyes.
- tó-be-la**, *n.* pelican, large aquatic bird with capacious pouch below large bill.
- to-bla** ~ **tobli**, *n.* room.
- to-bli** ⇒ **tobla**.
- tóci** ⇒ **túci**.
- tó-ci-bok**, *n.* a deciduous plant with white flowers. **tóci bok par**, *n.* its flowers.
- tó-co-ki-a**, *n.* swallow.
- tó-do-bo-ne**, *n.* a wagtail.
- tó-do-nes**, *n.* a variety of hornbill.
- tó-dim-bai**, *n.* a small bird of prey that preys on bigger birds by getting under their wings to feed on them even while in flight.
- tó-gan-thi** as in: (*verbal*) **tógathi ráa**, have hiccup or hiccup.
- to-grap**, *n.* (arch.) main room for elders in traditional Rabha house.
- tói**, *v.t. lit.*, catch, hold or grip, *fig.* treat person roughly or beat up: *mándon bedoba tóino*, if (I) get (you) any time (I) will beat you up.
- to-jai**, *n.* a kind of tree and its fruit. **tojaiphaᅇ**, *n.* the ~ tree.
- tó-kha**, *n.* crow.
- tó-kho-ceᅇ**, *n.* a bird of hoopoe family with variegated plumage and large erectile crest
- tó-khok**, *n.* a basket for chicken to hatch eggs: *tókhok rapa*, weave a ~.
- tó-khur** ~ **túkhur**, *n.* pigeon or dove. **tókhur gugurbaᅇ**, *n.* white-winged dove. **tókhur jícap**, *n.* a green variety of pigeon.
- to-kói**, *v.t.* twist, bend: *katha tokóia*, change topic, subject or nuance.
- to-ko-ro** ~ **tokro** ~ **koro**, *postpos.* meaning 'via, through, along etc.': *betokoro?*, which way?; *etokoro*, this way; *khúcem tokoro bobaia*, speak with (through) mouth.
- tok-phuk**, *v.i.* have hiccup or hiccup, have involuntary catch or obstruction of throat.
- tok-raᅇ**, **1.** *n.* neck (esp. anterior), throat. **tokraᅇ caithop**, *n.* Adam's apple. **tokraᅇ hákhar**, *n.* gullet, throat. **2.** (*verbal*) **tokraᅇ bite cia**, crane one's neck to see.
- to-kro** ⇒ **tokoro**.
- to-kroᅇ**, *v.t.* drain and cause to dry up.
- to-krop**, *v.t.* split open (esp. things hollow or with holes): *bá tokropa*, split bamboo.
- tó-kruk** ~ **túkruk**, *n.* a variety of wild fowl with long neck and small head with crest-feathers and black body.
- tok-ta**, *n.* plank.
- tok-teᅇ**, *n.* a variety of lizard whose cry sounds *óᅇ*.
- tok-tram**, *v.i.* clear one's throat, hawk: *tokrame cia*, clear one's throat intentionally to see if any body is present.
- toleᅇ**, *v.i.* swing or sway: *toleᅇ khera (doleᅇ khera)*, play or swing in a seat slung by ropes. **toleᅇ toleᅇ**, *adv.* with oscillating movement: *toleᅇ toleᅇ mota*, oscillate, swing to and from (things suspended). **toleleᅇ**, *adv.* with oscillating movement: *toleleᅇ mota*, oscillate.
- tó-ma-ji**, *n.* a type of bird of robin family that chirps before the coming of rain.
- to-mon**, *n.* (*arch.*) (a pair of) trouser(s).
- to-mok**, *v.t.* assist chicken to roost

- for the night, close up in pen: *tó tomoka*, close up in pen.
- to-mot**¹ ~ **tomó**, *v.t.* shake.
- to-mot**² ~ **tomó**, *v.t.* extinguish, put out (fire), turn off (light): *bár tomote rákhata*, put fire out.
- tó-muk** ~ **túmuk**, *n.* a bird of partridge or quail family or bustard quail.
- ton**¹, **1.** *n.* a measuring basket that can contain five kilograms. **2.** *cl.* for five kilograms or multiples: *ton-sa*, five kilos.
- to-nai**, *v.t.* open, unfold (umbrella to hold, tent to pitch, net to cast): *sata tonaiá*, unfold umbrella; *tambu tonaiá*, spread and set up tent.
- to-nal** ⇒ **toral**.
- ton-da-le-ka** ⇒ **tondaleŋka**.
- ton-da-leŋ-ka** ~ **tondaleka**, *n.* woodpecker: *tondaleka tó pan khota*, woodpecker pecks tree.
- ton-thá-ni ban-thá-ni**, *a.* filled with troubles, worries and anxieties: *ton-tháni cáŋa bantháni cáŋa*, be without support, have to undergo deprivation and sorrow.
- ton** ⇒ **to**.
- tó-pa**, **1.** *n.* small basket for transporting chicken. **2.** **tópa rapa**, weave a ~.
- tó-pak**, *n.* butterfly.
- tó-pa-leŋ-ciŋ** ~ **tópolançiŋ**, dark-bodied bird of swift family, a chimney swift.
- tó-pha**, *n.* a variety of bird of partridge or quail family with variegated plumage with two very conspicuous long feathers for tail considered by the Rabhas to be the king of birds and referred to as *tópha raja*.
- tó-pha-ci**, *n.* a variety of chimney-swift that is commonly found in large flocks when just about to rain.
- tó-phre**, *n.* sparrow.
- to-pok**, *v.t.* immerse in water, keep in water: *mairuŋ topoka*, wet rice (for in frying, pounding into powder etc.); *nen topoka*, keep clothes in water (for washing).
- tó-po-laŋ-ciŋ** ⇒ **tópalençiŋ**.
- to-po-ra**, *v.t.* increase, rear and multiply: *tó toporaa*, rear chicken.
- to-pra**, **1.** *n.* small bundle of anything tied up in cloth, paper, leaf etc.: *rompe topra cúa*, pack fried rice into a small bundle. **2.** *cl.* for things packed in cloth, leaf, paper etc. *toprasa*, one packet.
- to-prom**, *v.t.* keep buried in something: *bár toproma*, keep or bury embers under ash so that they do not die out completely to be used for lighting fire when required.
- to-pron**, *v.t.* raise or kick up (dust etc.), be carried away by wind, water etc.: *hádubur topronŋa*, raise dust; *saŋkoi sriŋkaio cika topronŋe ráŋata*, water carried away the makeshift bridge.
- to-prot** ~ **topró**, *v.t.* pierce through, cause to penetrate: *sii toprote rákhata*, pierce and bore a hole till it opens up at the other end.
- tó-pruk**, *n.* a bird of bulbul family with long tail and sred feathered spot below tail.
- tó-puk-puk**, *n.* (*onom.*) a variety of bird that cries *puk puk*.
- to-rai**, *v.t.* help out of a difficult situation, be a support in difficulties: *aŋi jaba tonca ato peke toraina*, I do not have anything with which to help; *encek akol máne toeta saksaba toraica*, even in such difficulties no one comes to support.
- to-ral** ~ **tonal**, *n.* traditional Rabha sword (*usu.* curved and double-edged towards the apex).
- tó-raŋ**, *n.* eagle, kite (bird or made of paper): *tóraŋ tupura*, fly kites.
- tóraŋ goda**, *n.* a big variety of eagle. **tóraŋkre**, *n.* a big variety

- of eagle with variegated plumage.
tóran misi, *n.* a nocturnal variety of ~ with unpleasant cry taken by natives to be a harbinger of death.
- tor-ci-ka** ~ **torcikok**, *n.* a wooden frame with a single string for fluffing or for beating cotton into soft mass: *torcika peke tóre koa*, fluff or beat cotton into soft mass with ~.
- tor-ci-kok** ⇒ **torcika**.
- tó-re**, **1.** *n.* a bird of pigeon family moving in flocks at great speed. **2.** (*verbal*) **tóre koa**, *v.t.* (*fig.*) fluff cotton or beat cotton into soft mass: *torcika peke tóre koa*, fluff or beat cotton into soft mass with ~.
- tor-gam-sa**, *n.* one end of cloth worn by Rabha men that is pulled between legs and stuck between folds of the same at the back: *torgamsa lemlem sukthepa*, wear dress with ~ stuck at the waist in such a way that a certain length of it hangs loose.
- tor-ka**, **1.** *n.* noose. **2.** (*verbal*) **torka rapa**, tie a noose. **torka saia**, set a noose to trap animals.
- tor-man-ji**, *n.* a marsh plant that looks like diminutive banana plant and whose layered coverings of the trunk are dried to be used as rope.
- to-ró**, *v.t.* make longer.
- to-rop**, *v.t.* tempt, test.
- to-ro-to-pra**, *adv.* having or with many bags: *ato rábajo torotopra*, what did you bring in so many bags.
- tor-tor**, *adv.* in big quantity (leak): *cika tortor jena*, water leaks in a considerably big quantity. **tortor tirtir**, *adv.* (*echo*) in large quantity (leak): *tortor tirtir jena*, leak many places and in considerably big quantity.
- tó-sar**, *n.* wild chicken.
- tot**, *n.* balance: *tot toa*, have balance; *kán tot rásama*, balance oneself.
- to -stai**, *v.t.* beseech, request, pray earnestly: *tostaikaio nathama*, listen to petition or pay heed to request.
- tó-thop**, *n.* nest, a bird-nest.
- to-to-krop**, *v.t.* split open (esp. things hollow or with holes): *bá totokropa*, split bamboo open.
- to-to-mar**, *n.* a middle-sized tree whose leaf is a skin irritant.
- to-to-po-ra**, *v.t.* increase.
- to-to-prot**¹ ~ **totopró**, *v.t.* reveal or bring out in the open (point of discussion etc.).
- to-to-prot**² ~ **totopró**, *v.t.* cut or open up a path to: *ram totoprota*, open up or make a path to.
- tó-ti -kam**, **1.** *n.* (*arch., fig.*) marriage, *lit.* head of chicken. **2.** (*verbal*) **tótikam cána**, (*fig.*) be married (sacrificing chicken is an integral part of a traditional Rabha marriage ceremony).
- trái**, *v.t.* change, exchange: *taka tráia*, change money.
- trak-trak**¹ ⇒ **taktak**.
- trak-trak**², *adv.* very (sour): *traktrak khia*, is very sour.
- traṅ** ~ **taṅ**¹, *v.t.* shave off by scraping (grass): *sam traṅa*, shave off grass along with root by scraping with some instrument.
- trao**, *v.i.* grow tall: *kai traobaeta*, person has begun to grow tall; *traogudun cána*, begin to grow tall (as during adolescence).
- trap**¹-, *cl.* for a shift of work and layers of cloth spread or clothes worn: *trapsa kami ráa*, work for a certain period; *nen trapsa*, one layer of dress (worn).
- trap**², *v.i.* be free or have time for some work, be on time: *trapsa ganda réna*, go early in such a way to reach on time.
- tren-tren**, *a. & adv.* straight and hard: *trentren gure toa*, sleep with body straight; *pitakan pitakan cábani trentren cángo*, became still and straight after

- having turned and twisted for a long time.
- tróí-an**, *adv.* in the fashion of being ejected out: *káci tróian dogota*, spittle flows down suddenly.
- troi-troi**, *v.i.* cluck (hen before beginning to lay egg).
- trok**, *v.i.* jump, dance.
- tro-niñ**, *adv.* the fourth day from today, the day after *bronin*.
- tro-tro**, *adv.* in considerable quantity: *cika trotro jena*, water leaks in big quantity.
- truñ**, *v.i.* charge (in anger to attack): *truñe réña*, charge forward.
- truñ-truñ**, *adv.* discharging copiously or pouring out in continuous stream (smoke): *bárhunci truñtruñ kháre dogota*, emit smoke in a continuous stream.
- trip-an**, *adv.* quietly, silently: *tripan toa*, be silent, keep quiet.
- trip-trap**, *a.* & *adv.* silent: *triptrap cáña*, become quiet, become silent (from a noisy situation).
- trip-trip**, *a.* & *adv.* silent, silently: *triptrip toa*, stay quietly.
- tú**, *v.t.* feed by hand (human) or with beaks (birds): *túú khísáa*, feed by hand; *túú rákhua*, feed by hand.
- tú-ci** ~ **tóci**, *n.* egg.
- tuk**¹, *v.i.* **1.** be overgrown (bushes or weedy growth): *tuke réña*, grow wild and unhindered into a wild state; *grím tuka*, weeds and plants have grown over; *sam tuka*, weeds grow thick.
- tuk**², *v.i.* swell (body parts): *tuke réña*, swell; *gusi tuka*, abscess swells; *kán tuka*, have selling somewhere in the body.
- tu-ka**, **1.** *n.* layered rings or nodes in bamboo or such other plants. **2.** (*verbal*) **tuka naña**, have ~.
- tu-kra**, *n.* pieces (especially of long things cut into smaller sections): *tukra gósa*, one piece.
- tú-kruk** ⇒ **tókruk**.
- tú-kur** ⇒ **tókur**
- tuk-si**, *v.i.* cough
- tu-kú**, **1.** *n.* knot or hard mass formed in tree trunk or in bamboo where branches grow out. **2.** (*verbal*) **tukú naña**, have ~.
- tul-siñ**, *n.* tulsi plant, basil plant, a bush with aromatic leaves.
- tú-muk** ⇒ **tómuk**.
- tu-nu**, *v.t.* make to sit, place in an erect position, establish.
- tu-nuk**, *v.t.* show, put on a show, demonstrate: *nukhañ tunuka*, show oneself or appear in vision, be present.
- túñ**, *v.i.* be hot: *túñe réña*, become hot; *rañsañ cércér túña*, sun is very hot; *rañsañ hañhañ túña*, sun is very hot.
- túñ-bur**, *v.i.* be warm, be tepid (of liquid). **túñbur túñbur**, *a.* just warm. **túñbubur**, *a.* just warm, tepid, not too hot.
- túñ-túñ** ⇒ **téntén**.
- túñ-túñ hañ-hañ**, *a.* (*echo*) very hot (sun); *rañsañ túñtúñ hañhañ cáña*, sun becomes very hot.
- túñ-túñ hao-hao**, *a.* (*echo*) in turmoil (situation): *obosta túñtúñ haohao cáña*, situation be unsettled or be in turmoil.
- tup**, *cl.* for drops used especially with Assamese numerals and occasionally also with native numerals replacing *thok*: *thuci cari tup*, four drops of oil.
- tu-pruk**, *v.t.* pull down or cause to fall (trees or things standing erect): *rampar kokemene pano tupruke rákhanata*, wind beat and pulled the tree down.
- tú-pruk** ⇒ **tópruk**.
- tu-pú**, *n.* snake. **tupú boda**, *n.* python. **tupú ráikon**, *n.* a poisonous green snake (from similarity with stem of banana leaf).

tú-pu, *v.t.* bury.

tu-pur¹, *v.t.* fly, set birds free to fly: *tóo tupure phísaa*, set birds free to fly away; *tóran tupura*, fly kites.

tu-pur², *v.t.* prick and burst (pimple, abscess, wounds etc.).

túr, *v.t.* probe with hand: *tási peke túre cia*, probe with hand to see what is there.

tur-gaṅ, *v.i.* be swollen: *phaidam phalasa turgaṅ nuka*, one cheek appears swollen. **turgagaṅ**, *a.* & *adv.* swollen very much: *phaidam turgagaṅ tukjo*, one cheek became very swollen. **turuturgaṅ**, *a.* with several swollen bulges: *nukhaṅ turuturgaṅ cáṅa*, face be swollen in several places.

tu-ri, *n.* a variety of vegetable commonly referred to as ladies' finger (*Hibiscus esculentus*).

tu-ru ⇒ **baṅal**.

turuleṅa, *n.* a flute that is blown downward.

tu-runṅ, *n.* imago of termite or termite that has developed wings.

tu-tu-pruk, *v.t.* pull down violently or cause to fall (trees and other things standing erect): *rampar pano tutupruke rákhanata*, wind pulled the tree down.

tu-tu-pur, *v.t.* open, untie: *maidop tutupura*, untie and take out paddy that has been bundled up in straw.

tík ~ **tíkhar**, *n.* earthen jar in which rice-beer is kept fermenting: *tík kha-phuṅa*, tie mouth of ~.

tí-kak, *v.t.* fix, secure, lock: *jora tikaka*, join two things together; *tala tikaka*, lock up; *dingriti paré tikaka*, fix a valve-like trap in the fish-trap.

tí-kam, **1.** *n.* head. **tíkamtala**, *n.* top or crown of head. **2.** (*verbal*) **tíkam gagua**, *nod.* **tíkam guraia**, feel giddy. **tíkam jumuk jamak cáṅa**, feel giddy and unsteady (esp. as when one sud-

denly rises from a sitting position).

tíkam saa, have headache. **3.** (*idiom*) **tíkam káraṅ carpak cáṅa**, be not able to grasp, understand or think, be above one's ability to think. **tíkam kuṅkure réṅa**, be put to shame and be rendered speechless (esp. when fault that is denied is proved). **tíkam take rákhua**, give with the measuring basket running over.

tí-kam-khoṅ, *n.* skull.

tí-kam-ra, *n.* head-side of a bed or a place for sleeping, upper part of a plot of land, upper part of a stretch of river: *tíkamrai*, at the head-side.

tí-kan, **1.** *v.t.* dress up another.

tíkana kocona, *v.t.* (*echo*) clothe or dress another up: *tíkane kocone rábaa*, bring bridegroom having given the costumes prescribed by tradition.

tí-kaṅ, *adv.* before, long ago. **tíkaṅ-bataṅ**, *n.* those first **tíkaṅaṅ**, *adv.* before itself. **tíkaṅ kali**, *adv.* in ancient times, in times long past, long ago. **tíkaṅ tíkaṅ**, *adv.* just before: *tíkaṅ tíkaṅ réṅa*, go on ahead.

tí-kap¹, *v.t.* cover completely: *tíkape phána*, cover completely.

tí-kap², **1.** *v.i.* be sticky. **tíkap tíkap**, *a.* & *adv.* sticky: *hapci tíkap tíkap cáṅa*, slush becomes sticky: *tíkap tíkap pakthapa*, is sticky. **tírítikap**, *a.* sticky in places.

tí-kaṛ, **1.** *n.* an evil spirit, which according to Rabha belief are women who can decapitate themselves at will and wander as head alone doing evil. **tíkarjú**, *n.* a very powerful ~. **tíkarrin**, have the capacity to become ~. **tíkarsun**, *n.* spirit of a witch: *tíkarsun dáṅa*, be under the power or influence of a witch. **2.** (*verbal*) **tíkar jimsaa**, ~ wanders. **tíkar kaka**, be ill from

- the influence of ~. **tikar monoka**, be seriously ill from the influence and possession by ~.
- ti-khar** ⇒ **tik**.
- ti-krin**, **1.** *v.t.* produce noise with something.
- ti-ma**, *v.t.* cause to lose. **tímata**, lose regularly (*emph. habitual*): *timate rákhata*, lose.
- ti-ma** as in: (*verbal*) **tíma cia**, *v.i.* divine (for cause of illness or things lost).
- ti-ma-ci-trañ** ~ **tobacitrañ**, *n.* moss growing on surface of ground, stone trees etc.: *tímacitrañ díma*, moss grows; *tímacitrañ khaa*, form ~.
- ti-mak**, **1.** *n.* soot, black powdery stuff deposited by smoke on pots and pans. **2.** (*verbal*) **tímak naña**, have soot deposits. **tímak paka**, soot sticks.
- ti-mar**¹, *v.t.* make small, make humble: *kakáio tímara*, humble oneself.
- ti-mar**², *v.t.* make friends, attract people (esp. with incentives): *cokó maikó rákhui káio tímara*, attract people by offering liquor.
- ti-mrak**, **1.** *n.* splinter, pointed narrow fragment broken off from wood, bamboo etc. **2.** (*verbal*) **tímrak súsua**, splinter pricks. **tímrak naña**, have the presence of splinters.
- ti-mrik**, *v.t.* tidy up: *tímrike tana*, keep neat and tidy; *beke tímrika*, sweep and tidy up.
- ti-min**, *v.t.* ripen (fruit etc.), make fully ready (field for planting), induce willingness (esp. to marry): *há tímína*, plough and prepare field well for planting; *káio tímína*, seek willingness or induce willingness to marry someone.
- tín**, *v.t.* lead: *tíne ráña*, lead; *ram tína*, lead the way.
- ti-nai**, *v.t.* make bright, enlighten: *nakor tínai*, (*fig.*) report something unpleasant about someone; *phar tínai*, keep vigil till morning.
- tin-**, *cl.* for long and slender or pliable things: *bá tin-sa*, one bamboo; *nenteñ tin-aniñ*, two strands of thread; *khorok tin-atham*, three strands of hair.
- tín-tín**, *a. & adv.* tight, taut: *tín-tín bita*, pull tight; *tín-tín cáña*, become tight; *tín-tín khaa*, tie having pulled tight.
- heña tín-tín hona tín-tín**, *a. (fig.)* pulled in both directions, be not able to attend to any one situation peacefully.
- ti-pai**¹, *v.t.* lift, place or lay burden on to another or make another bear responsibility: *bar típaia*, lit. help another lift a rod having load at either end, *fig.* make another bear the burden of responsibility.
- ti-pai**², *n.* a kind of pulse (*Chaseolus radiatus*): *típai gríta*, grind ~. **típai rónka**, *n.* grindstone.
- ti-pak**¹, *v.t.* cause to burn, switch on: *bár típaka*, make fire burn.
- ti-pak**², *v.t.* smear, daub, stain with something that sticks: *hapci típaka*, smear with slush.
- ti-pán**, *v.t.* increase: *ana katha típána*, why speak at length unnecessarily; *kami típána*, increase work.
- ti-pat** ~ **típá**, *v.t.* carry across, take across.
- ti-prak-** ⇒ **taprak**⁻².
- ti-prak** ⇒ **típrík**.
- ti-pran** ⇒ **típrín**.
- ti-prik** ~ **típrak**, *v.t.* untie, dismantle, fold (tent), pull down (house): *típrike rákhata*, remove; *nok típrika*, remove a house (saving everything useful).
- ti-prin** ~ **típran**, *v.t.* mix, put together, combine: *típríne rákhata*, mix (completely and irreversibly).
- ti-prín**, *v.t.* complete (work): *típríne rákhata*, complete, finish up (work etc.).

ti-rán, *v.t.* dry, make dry.
ti-raŋ, *v.t.* learn: *tiraŋe ráa*, learn (from someone).
ti-rap ⇒ **tirip**.
ti-rat ⇒ **cika**.
ti-ríp ~ **tirap**, *v.t.* submerge, cover under (esp. water): *cika tirípa*, submerge, be covered by water.
tít¹, *a.* true, real: *tít kháre kania*, speak truthfully or speak the truth; *tít katha*, the truth.
tít² ~ **tí**, *v.t.* pour (esp. out on to the

ground as for plants or for the deity during sacrifice): *cika títa*, pour water (for plants); *cokó títa*, pour out rice-beer on to the ground (for the deities).

ti-ti-krit, *v.t.* crush into bits and pieces: *háladaŋ títkríta*, crush and powder lumps of mud in the field; *mjíbra títkríta*, smash vegetable in curry; *rónka títkríta*, crush stones (in crushing machines).

U

u, *3rd pers. sg. pron.* (pl. ~**bijan**; ~**ron**). he, she, that. **uni badaŋ**, *conj.* therefore.
u-bi-jan ~ **obijan**, *3rd. pers. pl.* those (non-human)
u-da-ga-i ~ **odagai**, *adv.* there, in that place.
u-di-gi ~ **odigi**, *adv.* there, in that place.
u-kai ~ **okai**, **1.** *pron.* (pl. ~**bijan**) that. **2.** *a.* that: *ukai kai*, that person.
u-kas, **1.** *n.* breath. **2.** (*verbal*) **ukas ráa**, breathe.
un-drai, *v.t.* frighten and chase or flush out of hiding, (*fig.*) disturb peace: *bako mása undraia*, tiger frightens the pig out of hiding.
uŋ-gur, *v.i.* howl (dogs): *kí uŋgura*, dog howls or produces long, loud and doleful cry.

ur-gi, *v.i.* & *v.t.* bow in respect or reverence to, adore, worship: *báina urgia*, bow and thus show respect and veneration, adore or worship; *nenpok kánpok urgia*, worship or show respect or veneration with body and clothes wet from bath (a Rabha custom).

u-ron ~ **oron**, *3rd. pers. pl.* they (human).

ur-ur, *adv.* faintly or unintelligibly (hearing voices or speaking): *urur bobáia*, speak in subdued or hushed voices.

u-si, *adv.* there, in that place: *usian*, there itself (emphat.); *usina*, to there, to that place; *usini*, of that place; *usinipara*, from there, from that place.

i

ica ~ **itca**, *v.i.* stand (child language).
ím-ba, **1.** *n.* husband. **ímbabra**, husband (definitive). **ímba mícik**, *n.* (*echo*) husband and wife. **2.** (*verbal*) **ímba ráa**, take a husband, marry. **ímba rákhata**, divorce husband.

in, *v.t.* say, tell: *braŋ braŋ ina*, speak frankly and openly without hiding, speak to one's face; *dáke dáke ina*, speak hesitantly and with interruptions; *kirsin kirsin ina*, speak fearfully. **ine**, *quotative v.* meaning 'that';

réŋo ine kanía, say that (subj.) would go.
in-don-be, *conj.* then, if so, if that be so.

in-go ⇒ **in-go**.
in-go ~ **in-go**, *adv.* yes; yes it is true, behold.
it-ca ⇒ **ica**.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

An old unknown Rabha numeral system

I came across a Rabha numeral system from Podmolson Pam of Horengkatta village, who says he was taught this by his brother late Tehadur Pam. The origin of this system is unknown.

sa	one
niṅ	two
tham	three
ari	four
compa	five
hes	six
sorta	seven
parta	eight
pindas	nine
goda	ten

As he began to count, he first counted one, two and three as *gósa*, *aniṅ* and *antham* respectively, and later reverted to *sa*, *niṅ* and *tham*. *aniṅ* and *antham* appear in numbers above ten rather than *niṅ* and *tham*. All the decades have different names:

rikha	twenty
siri	thirty
arli	forty
phala	fifty
hesti	sixty
sorto	seventy
arsi	eighty
pinsip	ninety

The hundreds are obtained by suffixing the lower numbers to what denotes hundred:

gotasa	one hundred (<i>gota-</i> 'hundred')
gotaaniṅ	two hundred
gotaantham	three hundred
gotaari	four hundred
gotacampa	five hundred

gotahes	six hundred
gotasorta	seven hundred
gotaparta	eight hundred
gotapindas	nine hundred
hajarsa	one thousand

The other numbers are obtained by suffixing the lower numbers:

Eg. godasa	11
godapindas	19
rikhaaniṅ	22
rikhaparta	28
gotasa phalacampa	155
gotaaniṅ pinsippindas	299
gotasorta arsiari	784

Appendix II

A newly created Rabha numeral system

The Rabha Basha Parishad (Rabha: 1982) created a numeral system as follows:

tha	zero
sa	one
niŋ	two
tham	three
cesa	four
tola	five
krob	six
sia	seven
gin	eight
biŋ	nine
satha	ten

For all the decades *tha* is suffixed to the lower numbers: *niŋ-tha*, '20', *tham-tha*, '30' etc. up to *biŋ-tha*, '90'. For other higher numbers from 11 upwards, the lower numbers are suffixed to the root of the decade after deleting *tha*, which indicates zero: *sa-sa*, 'eleven', *sa-niŋ*, 'twelve' etc. This process continues up to *biŋ-biŋ*, '99'. Accordingly, up to 99 numbers are obtained by mechanically placing the lower numbers including zero side by side just as one would write numbers in figures: 91 is obtained by placing 9 and 1 in that order as: *biŋ-sa*; 19 is obtained by placing 1 and 9 in that order: *sa-biŋ*.

Mechanical placing does not work for the hundreds. 'hundred' is *sa-tha-tha* (one-zero-zero). 'two hundred' is *sa-tha-tha-niŋ* (one-zero-zero-two or hundred-two). Similarly, 'nine hundred' is *sa-tha-tha-biŋ* (one-zero-zero-nine or hundred-nine). 'one thousand' is *sa-tha-tha-tha* (one-zero-zero-zero). This system has not been learnt or used by anyone.

Appendix III

Some bisyllabic verb roots and their possible reduplicated forms
 @ indicates some irregular phonemic change.

root	total reduplication	infixal reduplication	prefixal reduplication	meaning of the root
bakjap	bakjap bakjap	bak-ja-jap	×	be middle-sized and beautiful (tree)
×	×	×	beré-brecu	contorted (lips or mouth of one about to weep)
boblek (as n.)	×	bo-bo-blek @	×	one who does not or refuses to speak
bobre	×	bo-bo-bre @	×	having pupil of light shade
×	bolo bolo	bo-lo-lo	×	showing a little at a time (as growing gradually)
bolon	bolon bolon	bo-lo-lon	×	be open at both ends
bucur	bucur bucur	bu-cu-cur	buru-bucur	be fleshy and bulging
buthur	×	bu-thu-thur	×	be blunt (cutting instruments)
butuk	×	bu-tu-tuk	buru-butuk	be blunted (pointed things)
bigar	bigar bigar	×	×	feel nausea

Appendix III (cont.)

root	total reduplication	infixal reduplication	prefixal reduplication	meaning of the root
×	×	bi -sa-sau	×	unkempt and dishevelled
celen	celen celen	×	×	have saw-shaped parts, have sections (leaf)
×	(capek cupek)	×	cara-capek	(walk) swaying from side to side (duck walking)
cepok	cepok cepok	×	×	be insipid
×	×	×	cere-ceprek	into small pieces or strips (tear)
ciklan	ciklan ciklan	ci-ka-klan	×	be watery, be of low consistency (liquid)
ciplok	ciplok ciplok	ci-po-plok	×	be insipid
ciplok	ciplok ciplok	ci-po-plok	×	be insipid
×	×	×	ciri-ciprik	completely into bits (cut, tear etc.)
×	×	×	cara-camthé	having dents or small depressions
co-bor	cobor-cobor	co-bo-bor	coro-cobor	be bushy
cocre (as n.)	×	×	coro-cre	tomboy
code	(code mode)	co-de-de	coro-code	be turned or twisted (lip, mouth)

×	cokron cokron	co-ko-kron	×	on heels with knees drawn up (sit)
×	coron coron	co-ro-roṅ	×	on heels with knees drawn up (sit)
concep	concep concep (concep moncep)	coṅ-ce-cep	coro-concep	be pointed or tapering to one end (land)
×	×	×	coro-compen	unsteady (of walking, movement etc.)
copek-an (as adv.)	copek copek	×	coro-copek	with hind section touching ground (sit)
coplen	(coplen moplen)	co-po-plen	×	be undersized (buttocks)
×	×	co-te-ten	coro-coten	having several projections or raised areas
cotok (as n. and classifier)	cotok cotok	co-to-tok	coro-cotok	bush, cluster
dalan	dalan dalan	da-la-lan	×	be flat and big
dambron	dambron dambron	dam-bo-bron	×	be round and big
damthón (as adv.)	damthón damthón	×	dara-damthón	in a cross-section, transversely, without deviation
dapak ~ daplak	dapak dapak ~ daplak daplak	da-pa-pak ~ da-pa-plak	dara-dapak ~ dara-daplak	be flat
dembon	dembon dembon	dem-bo-boṅ	dere-dembon	be round and big

Appendix III (cont.)

root	total reduplication	infixal reduplication	prefixal reduplication	meaning of the root
dolen	dolen dolen	do-le-len	×	be pendulous
dilau	dilau dilau	dī -la-lau	×	be flat and fleshy (and protruding)
dimstraŋ	dimstraŋ dimstraŋ	×	diri-dimstraŋ	be not fluent (in speech)
dirtaŋ	dirtaŋ dirtaŋ	dīr-ta-taŋ	×	be distant (from each other)
gaksuk	×	×	gara-gaksuk	stumble, trip, hit against
gendrai	(gendrai gondrai)	×	gere-gendra @	dislike, detest
goglak	goglak goglak	go-go-glak	goro-goglak	be round and large (eyes)
goŋseŋ (adj. & n.)	×	×	goro-goŋseŋ	lazy, a lazy person
gulduŋ	×	gul-du-duŋ	×	have a large hollow horizontally
hekjok	×	hek-jo-jok	here-hekjok	be slanting sideways
helbon	×	hel-bo-bon	here-helbon	have a bulging stomach
heldem	heldem heldem	hel-de-dem	×	be fat
héŋgraŋ	×	héŋ-ga-graŋ	×	be very sparse

heŋ-goŋ	×	heŋ-go-goŋ	×	have a big stomach (of pregnant condition)
holok	holok holok	×	×	be impetuously enthusiastic
×	horcok horcok	×	×	accompanied by rapid up and down movement
ja-dún	×	ja-du-dún	jara-jadún	be startled
jampur	×	jam-pu-pur	×	have thick foliage
japhrá~japhrat	×	×	jara-japhrá	be frightened, be startled
jegrep	jegrep jegrep	je-ge-grep	×	have a coarse feeling to touch or tongue
jelep	jelep jelep	je-le-lep	×	hang loose at one end
jon-gleŋ	×	jon-ge-gleŋ	×	be lean, be emaciated
jonjre	×	jon-je-jre	joro-jonjre	be slanting sideways
×	(juluk jalak)	jululuk jalalak	×	be in sorrow eyes be wet with sorrow)
kaklak	kaklak kaklak	ka-ka-klak	kara-kaklak	be bald
kaku (n.)	×	×	kara-kaku	infant
kaŋ-graŋ	kaŋgraŋ	kaŋ-ga-graŋ	kara-kaŋgraŋ	fall, die (of might humbled in death)

Appendix III (cont.)

root	total reduplication	infixal reduplication	prefixal reduplication	meaning of the root
katak (classifier)	katak katak	ka-ta-tak	kara-katak	classifier for pieces of meat and fish (for cooking)
kebak	×	ke-ba-bak	×	be bow-legged
×	keblan keblan	ke-ba-blan	kere-keblan	forming a narrow slit (as in dress while walking)
kelek	kelek kelek	ke-le-lek	×	having or forming eye-matter (eyes)
×	×	ke-le-leŋ	×	in the condition of a derelict
kemphek	×	kem-phe-phek	kere-kemphek	be bending (giving an image of having wings)
kengreŋ	kengreŋ kengreŋ	keŋ-ge-greŋ	kere-kengreŋ	fall sideways from a sitting position
kenjan	kenjan kenjan	keŋ-ja-jaŋ	kere-kenjan	forming a wide arch
keŋkre	×	keŋ-ke-kre	kere-keŋkre	be lean and lanky
keŋson	×	keŋ-so-son	kere-keŋson	be twisted, bending or winding
khacep	khacep khacep	kha-ce-cep	×	be narrow (for eyes)
×	khakhon khakhon	kha-kho-khon	×	be about to weep
khándlak	khándlak khándlak	khán-da-dlak	khara-khándlak	be diminutive

khanjrak	khanjrak khanjrak	×	×	having salty taste
khencrēŋ ~ khencrēk ~ khencer	×	khēn-ce-crēŋ ~ khēn-ce-crēk ~ khēn-ce-cer	×	be green
khicap	khicap khicap	×	×	be slightly sour
khil-tiŋ	×	khil-ti-tiŋ	×	be lean, be emaciated
kho-dlon	×	kho-do-dlon	×	be bald
kho-dlen	×	kho-de-dlen	×	be bald
khonjōŋ	khonjōŋ khonjōŋ	khon-jo-jōŋ	khoro-khonjōŋ	having slight depression in surface
khonkhep	khonkhep khonkhep	khon-khe-khep	×	be small and badly built (house)
khú-bek	×	khú-be-bek	×	gape, remain with mouth open
khú-blek	×	khú-bu-blek @	×	gape, remain with mouth open
khú-del	×	khú-de-del	×	be thick and large (lips)
×	kirsin kirsin	kir-si-sin	kir-kirsin	frightened
ko-klok	koklok koklok	ko-ko-klok	×	be bald, be leaf-less
koŋ-grōŋ	×	koŋ-go-grōŋ	×	having depth to contain something (like plates)
koŋke	×	koŋ-ke-ke	koro-koŋke	be with bents and twists

Appendix III (cont.)

root	total reduplication	infixal reduplication	prefixal reduplication	meaning of the root
konklok	konklok konklok	kon-ko-klok	×	having a bent or curve (like beak of birds)
kunduk	kunduk kunduk	kun-du-duk	kuru-kunduk	be hunch-backed
kunkur	kunkur kunkur	kun-ku-kur	kuru-kunkur	be bent (like a hook)
kirdak	kirdak kirdak	×	×	be not fully ripe
lekok	lekok lekok	le-ko-kok	×	be shaky
menkon	menkon menkon	men-ko-kon	×	be dirty and shabby
×	×	×	moira-moisak	with a swing or shake
molon	×	mo-lo-lon	×	be naked (of men)
molok (n.)	×	mo-lo-lok	×	one not able articulate or speak well
mingar	mingar mingar	×	×	be in a silent rage
napen	×	×	nara-napen	head be tilted
na-sin ~ nasen	nasin nasin	×	nara-nasen @	be inebriated
nublek (n.)	×	nu-bu-blek @	×	one who fails to see or notice clearly
pengan	pengan pangan	pen-ga-gan	pere-pengan	bend backwards

petak	petak petak	pe-ta-tak	×	be pasty, be sticky
phagren	×	pha-ge-gren	phara-phagen @	become blunt with tiny bits broken off from edge
phagon	×	pha-go-gon	×	with teeth projecting outwards
phakluk (n.)	phakluk phakluk	pha-ku-kluk	×	be toothless, one without teeth
pheldep	pheldep pheldep	phel-de-dep	×	be low, be lower in comparison
phenkhep	phenkep phenkhep	phen-khe-khep	×	be caved in, be sunken
pherthep	pherthep pherthep	pher-the-thep	×	be very flat
phoicrop	phoicrop phoicrop	phoi-co-crop	×	wither, shrivel
phophla	×	pho-pho-phla	×	be hollow
phungur	phungur phungur	×	×	move with a slow throbbing movement
philap	philap philap	phi -la-lap	×	quiver or be tremulous
phingan	phingan phingan	phin-ga-gan	phiri -phingan	leap, spring up or straighten up at one end
phircan	phircan phircan	×	phiri -phircan	leap in one action, jump
plukplak	plukplak plukplak	×	×	have waves, move as forming waves (water)
×	potok potok	po-to-tok	poro-potok	be mountainous with several projecting peaks

Appendix III (cont.)

root	total reduplication	infixal reduplication	prefixal reduplication	meaning of the root
×	poton poton	po-to-ton	×	lazily (sit, idle away time)
rónkhen	rónkhen rónkhen	rón-khe-khen	×	be hard from not being cooked or ripe
siluk	siluk siluk	si-lu-luk	×	be narrow and long (esp. in places)
solon	solon solon	so-lo-ton	×	have upright and unbranched stem
silik	silik silik	si-li-lik	×	protrude continuously (tongue by snakes)
taprak (as classifier)	taprak taprak	ta-pa-prak	tara-taparak	classifier for a plot of land
tarsak	tarsak tarsak	tar-sa-sak	×	be large (forehead)
tempon	tempon tempon	tem-po-pon	tere- tempon	be big and bulging
themblek	themblek themblek	them-br-blek	there- themblek	(walk) with a limp in one leg
thuldun	thuldun thuldun	thu-du-ldun	thuru- thuldun	have depression in land that is otherwise plain
thimbak	thimbak thimbak	thim-ba-bak	thiri -thimbak	halt suddenly while moving forward
tolen	tolen tolen	to-le-leŋ	×	swing or sway
túnbur	túnbur túnbur	tún-bu-bur	×	be tepid, be slightly warm
tikap	tikap tikap	×	tiri -tikap	be sticky

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