

CHAPTER – 5

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CLASSIFIERS USED AMONG COGNATE LANGUAGES

5.1. Introduction.

In this chapter the structure and function of classifiers use in cognate languages has been compared with Bodo language. There are six languages including Bodo, Dimasa, Rabha, Kok Borok, Garo and Tiwa which has been discussed.

A Comparative study is done to discover the hidden elements or characters between the compared components or topics as well as the similarities and dissimilarities manifested within them. As commented in encyclopedia “*a study in which a participant is randomly assigned to one of two or more different treatment groups for purposes of comparing the effects of the treatment.*”¹

Cognate language of the Bodo means the languages which have develop from same language family Bodo-Garo, sub group of Tibeto-Barman group within Sino Tibetan Language family. About the Bodo- Garo group Suniti Kumar Chatterji opines that “*the Assam – Burmese group – Tibeto- Burman speeches of North and East Bengal, Assam and Burma ; these include – (i) the Bodo speeches – Bodo, Mech, Rabha, Garo, Kachari and Tipra and few more;*”²

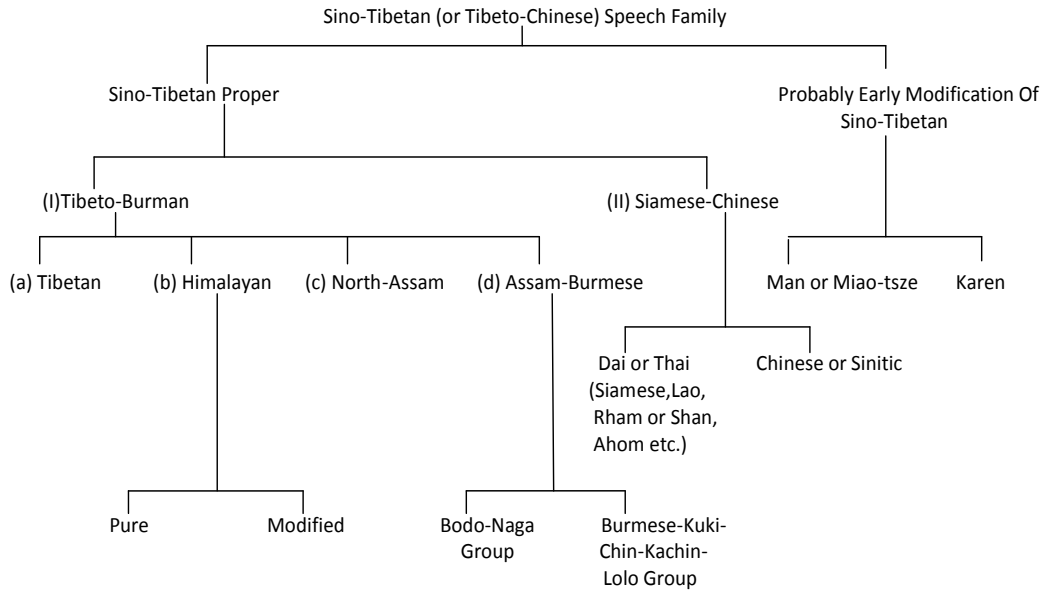
Kazuyuki Kiryu also commented on Bodo garo group of languages as “*Other languages that belongs to Bodo-Garo group, such as Tiwa, Garo, Rabha, Kok Borok, Dhimasa, are not mutually intelligible, although they show similarities in vocabulary.*”³

The migration and settlement of Bodo-Garo group’s languages in North East India and neighboring country are commented by S.K.Chatterji – “*The Bodos, who spread over the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley and North Bengal as well as east Bengal, forming a solid bloc in North eastern India and they were*

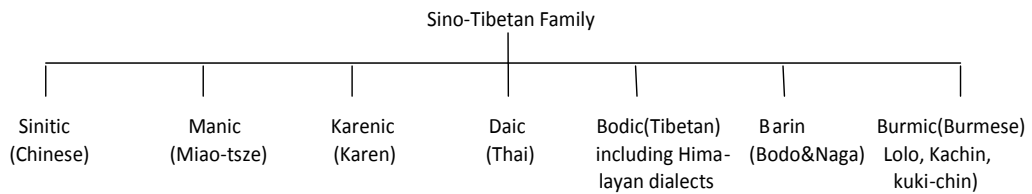
the most important Indo-Mongoloid people in eastern India, they form one of the main bases of the present day population of these tracts."⁴

Figure -5: Classification of Sino-Tibetan language family from Kirata-Jana-Kriti (Grierson 1903) by S.K.Chatterji.⁵

TABULAR REPRESENTATION OF THE SINO-TIBETAN LANGUAGES (FOLLOWING THE 'LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA')

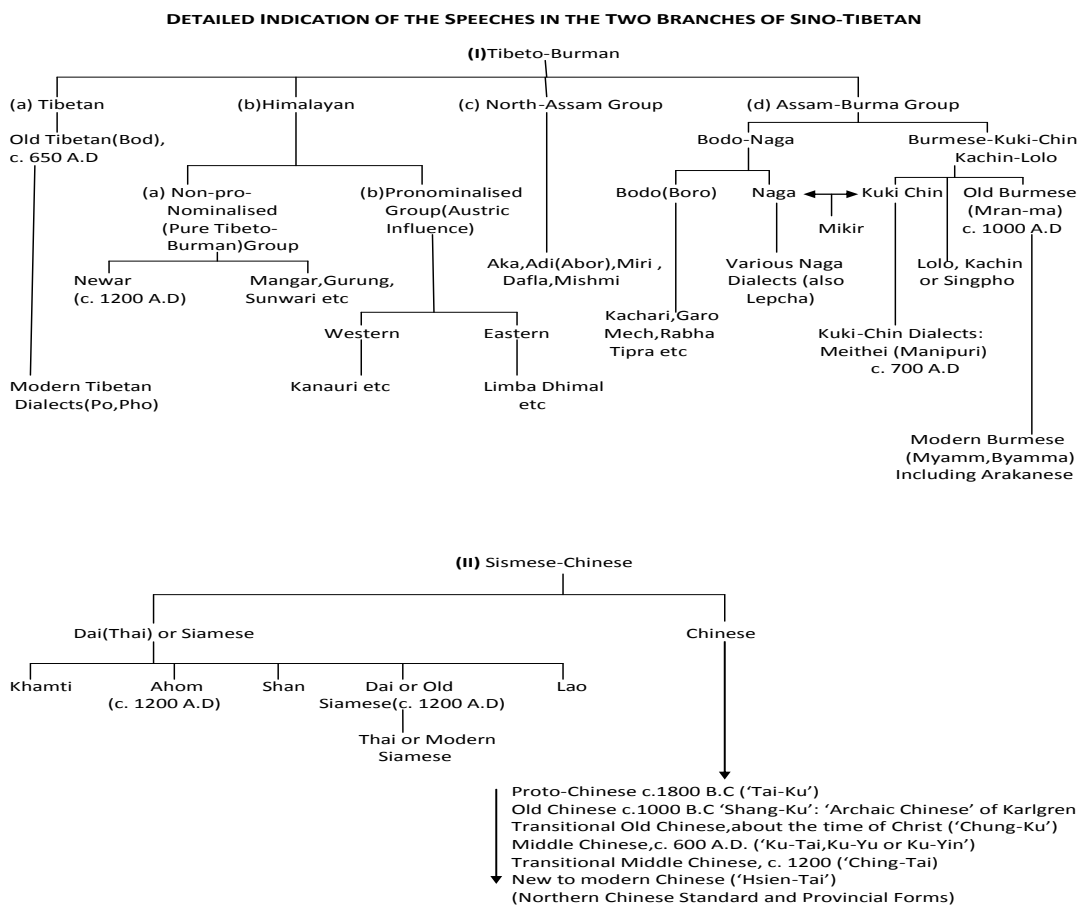


A MORE RECENT CLASSIFICATION AS PROPOSED BY ROBERT SHAFER (cf. Journal of the American oriental Society SEPT.1940)



(Given from 'Kirata-Jana-Kriti' Book written by S. K. Chatterji, pg – 24)

Figure – 6: Classification of Sino- Tibetan Language Family by Grierso (1903) ⁶



(Given from 'Kirata-Jana-Kriti' Book written by S. K. Chatterji, pg – 25)

5.2. Settlement and Dialect area of cognate languages.

The Kok-Borok people reside mainly in the state of Tripura, neighboring state of Assam, Mizoram and the neighboring provinces of the country mainly in Chittagong hill tract of Bangladesh and it is the Associate State language of Tripura. In the opinion of R.K. Acharyya "*TRIPURA Tribes are known to be migrated to this territory during an unknown time recorded in the ancient period of Indian history from a place in between China-Tibbet, Mongolia and Shan state of Barma. A large Number of tribal communities in big and small groups entered in the North-East India including Burma and Chittagong Hill Tracts. In course of time they migrated in various states of N.E. Region including Tripura*".⁷

Again S.K.B. Dev Barman says that “*The tribes of Tripura are divided into broad groups of ten communities i.e. The Tripurs, The Deshi tripuris, The Jamatias, The Noatias, The Riangs, The Kukis, The Maghs, The chakmas, The Halam and The Garoes.*”⁸ The dialect used by Deb Barman clan is the standard language of Kok Borok, because it is the dialect of king family which can be easily understand.

The Settlement and Dialects of Rabha, U.V.Jose commented as “*The Rabha are three Sub grouped socially into Rongdani or Rongdania, Mayturi or Mayturia and Songga or Kocha they inhabit mostly in the District of Goalpara and Kamrup. They are sparsely settled in the district of Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Darrang and Sonitpur as well as north Bengal and Garo hills of Meghalaya.*”⁹

The concentrations of Garo Language are originally found in the western part of Assam in district Goalpara, Dhubri, Darrang, Kamrup, Boko Choigaon and adjacent area of Meghalaya’s three hills district (east, west and south) and the different parts of Tripura, North Bengal and Bangladesh etc. According to G.A. Grierson “*The Garos call themselves ‘Mande’, which is the word in their vernacular for ‘man’. Garo is spoken principally by the inhabitants of the Garo Hills, and also in the plains at their feet, viz., the Districts of Kamrup, Goalpara, the State of Cooch Behar, the Districts of Jalpaiguri, Mymensingh, and Dacca. It is, moreover, spoken by small numbers of people in Sibsagar, Darrang, Nowgong, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (where it is called ‘Dyko’), and Sylhet.*”¹⁰

On the other hand Alin Brahma and Biswajit Brahma says that “*Garo language has eight dialects these are – Abeng, Achik, Awe, Chisak, Dakka, Ganching, Kamrup and Machi.*”¹¹

The basic concentration of Dimasa language is in north Cachar hill area, Karbialong and Cachar in Assam. On Dimasa language, G.A. Grierson says - “*This member of the Bodo group is only spoken in cachar, and more especially in the hilly northern portion of that district. It is hence called by Europeans Hills Kachari, to distinguish it from the plains Kachari or Bara spoken in darrang, Nowgong, and Kamrup. The Kacharis of North Cachar do not call themselves by*

this name, but speak of themselves as Dima-sa, explained by some as 'people of the great river, the Dhansiri', on which their ancient capital Dima-pur, or Riverton, is situated."¹²

On Dimasa Alin Brahma and Biswajit Brahma says, "Dimasa has four dialects like - (a) Hasao dialect (b) Hawar dialect (c) Dembra dialect (d) Dizua dialect . The Hasao dialect mainly spoken in the North Cachar (Dima-Hasao) district is the most widespread and recognized as standard dialect of Dimasa ".¹³

The Tiwa Tribes and also known Lalung are resides mainly in some district of east Assam like - Nagaon, Morigaon and Karbianglong and in Sonapur district of Kamrup. On Lalung people G.A. Grierson said that "Lalung is spoken in a portion of the south-west corner of the district of Nowgong, and in the adjoining tracts of Kamrup and Khasi and Jaintia Hills. Immediately to its south-east, and between it and the North Cachar Hills in which Dima-sa or Hills Kachari is spoken, lies a tract of hill country of which the language is Hojai. The Lalung tract itself is also a hill country. The language is most closely connected with Hojai and Dima-sa, and only presents a family resemblance to Bara."¹⁴ In Tiwa Language there are main twelve clans and other are sub clans. On the other hand in case of dialect U.V. Jose says, "In Tiwa Language the dialect are found five. Like – Marjong, Amsai, Margo, Amkha and Rongkhoi which are also referred as Marj, Ams, xMagr, Amkh and Rong)"¹⁵

5.3. Classifiers used among cognate languages.

The Bodo and its cognate languages have many classifiers. Some of these classifiers are same in pronunciation and meaning and some are different. The common classifiers used among cognate languages has been discusses below

1. Classifier used for human being.

Bodo	<i>sa</i>
Kok Borok	<i>k^horok</i>
Rabha	<i>sak^h</i>
Garo	<i>sak</i>
Dimasa	<i>sa</i>
Tiwa	<i>sa</i>

For Example –

Bodo -

b^haok^hungri sa- se or sa – se b^haok^hungri.

(NO C – NU or NU – C NO)

(an actress)

b^haok^hungur sa – nwi or sa – nwi b^haok^hungur.

(NO C – NU or NU – C NO)

(two actors)

Kok Borok –

randi k^horok – sa or k^horok – sa randi.

(NO C – NU or NU – C NO)

(one widow)

c^herai bachha k^horok – nwi or k^horok – nwi c^herai bachha.

(NO C – NU or NU – C NO)

(two babies)

Rabha -

p^hojɔɔbra sak^h – niɲ or sak^h – niɲ p^hojɔɔbra.

(NO C – NU or NU – C NO)

(two students)

t^hik^hk^har sak^h – niɲ or sak^h – niɲ t^hik^hk^har.

(NO C – NU or NU – C NO)

(two wise men)

Garo -

pagala sak – bri or sak – bri pagala.

(NO C- NU or C - NU NO)

(four mad men)

nogipa sak – sku or sak – sku nogipa.
(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)
(nine sisters)

Dimasa –

adai sa – si or sa – si adai.
(NO C -NU or C -NU NO)
(one grandmother)

buma sa – si or sa – si buma.
(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)
(one mother)

Tiwa –

nunai sa – kifa/kisa or sa – kifa/kisa nunai.
(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)
(one baby)

sagor sa – kiniṅ or sa – kiniṅ sagor.
(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)
(two servants)

In Bodo the classifier /sa/ is use for human being and in Kok Borok the classifier /k^horok/, in Rabha the classifier /sak^h/, in Garo the classifier /sak/, in Dimasa the classifier /sa/ and in Tiwa the classifier /sa/ is use. All classifiers which use for human being are almost same except the Kok Borok Language. The first phoneme of classifiers used for human being in Bodo and its cognate languages are fricative alveolar voiceless consonant phoneme /s/, but in Kok Borok the first phoneme of classifier is stop aspirated voiceless consonant velar phoneme /k^h/.

These classifiers are found to be monosyllabic in Bodo, Garo, Rabha, Dimasa and Tiwa, but in Kok Borok the classifier is found to be bi-syllabic.

2. Classifiers uses for animals, insects, water animals and creatures.

Bodo	<i>ma</i>
Kok Borok	<i>ma</i>
Rabha	<i>maŋ</i>
Garo	<i>maŋ</i>
Dimasa	<i>ma</i>
Tiwa

For example –

Bodo –

silā ma – se or ma – se silā.

(NO C- NU or C- NU NO)

(One kite)

gondola ma- nwi or ma – nwi gondola.

(NO C- NU or C - NU NO)

(Two dragon flies)

Kok Borok –

mandar ma – nui or ma – nui mandar.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(two squirrels)

machhak ma – t^ham or ma – t^ham machhak.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(three deers)

Rabha –

rubak^h-k^hodak maŋ – sa or maŋ – sa rubak^h-k^hodak.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(one frog)

bak^h maŋ – niŋ or maŋ – niŋ bak^h.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(two pigs)

Garo –

uag maŋ – sa or maŋ – sa uag.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(one pig)

vensanat^hok maŋ – sa or maŋ – sa vensanat^hok.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(one prawn)

Dimasa –

jubu ma – si or ma – si jubu.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(one snake)

daop^hri ma – gni or ma – gni daop^hri.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(two pigeons)

In Bodo the classifier /ma/ is use for non human being and in Kok Borok the classifier /ma/, in Rabha the classifier /maŋ/, in Garo the classifier /maŋ/ and in Dimasa the classifier /ma/ is use but in Tiwa there is no classifiers for non human being. All classifiers, uses for non human being are almost the

same. The first phoneme of classifiers in Bodo and its cognate languages are bilabial voiceless nasal consonant phoneme /m/ and 2nd phonemes are /a/ central low vowel phoneme but in Rabha and Garo, the 3rd phonemes are found and these are nasal voiced velar consonant phoneme /ŋ/.

The classifiers used for non human being in Bodo and its cognate languages are found mono-syllabic in nature and they are - /ma/, /ma/, /maŋ/, /maŋ/ and /ma/.

3. Uses for tree, climbers and shrubs.

Bodo	<i>p^haŋ</i>
Kok Borok	<i>faŋ</i>
Rabha	<i>p^haŋ</i>
Garo	<i>p^haŋ</i>
Dimasa	<i>p^haŋ</i>
Tiwa	<i>dal</i>

For example –

Bodo –

k^hant^hal bip^haŋ p^haŋ – se or p^haŋ – se k^hant^hal bip^haŋ.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one jackfruit tree)

p^hanlu bip^haŋ p^haŋ – nwi or p^haŋ – nwi p^hanlu bip^haŋ.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(two chilli plants)

Kok Borok –

milok faŋ – t^ham or faŋ – t^ham milok.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(three pumpkin plants)

habai faŋ – ba or faŋ – ba habai.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(five bean plants)

Rabha –

k^ho mola p^haŋ – niŋ or p^haŋ – niŋ k^homola.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(two orange tree)

zamak^ha p^haŋ – niŋ or p^haŋ – niŋ zamak^ha.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(two maize plants)

Garó -

k^hiltosapbol p^haŋ – sa or p^haŋ – sa k^hiltosapbol.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(a cotton plant)

grit p^haŋ – t^ham or p^haŋ - t^ham grit.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(three sugarcane trees)

Dimasa –

suk^hrem p^haŋ – si or p^haŋ – si suk^hrem.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one guava tree)

t^haisum p^haŋ – gni or p^haŋ – gni t^haisum.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(Two cucumber plants)

Tiwa –

t^hui p^haŋ dal– broi or dal – broi t^hui p^haŋ .

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(four cucumber plants)

narik^hol p^haŋ dal – dok or dal – dok narik^hol p^haŋ .
 (NO C - NU or C - NU NO)
 (six coconut trees)

In Bodo the classifier /p^haŋ/ is use for trees, climbers and shrubs, and in Kok Borok the classifier /faŋ/, in Rabha the classifier /p^haŋ/, in Garo the classifier /p^haŋ/, in Dimasa the classifier /p^haŋ/ and in Tiwa the classifier /dal / is used. All classifiers, use for tree, climbers and shrubs are almost same except Kok Borok and Tiwa Languages. The first phoneme of classifiers in Bodo, Rabha and Dimasa languages are bilabial aspirated voiceless stop consonant phoneme /p^h/ and but Garo is not a tonal language, so for /p^h/ they use bilabial voiceless un aspirated stop consonant phoneme /p/. In Kok Borok the first phoneme of classifier is lateral palatal voiced consonant phoneme /f/ and in Tiwa the first phoneme is alveolar stop un aspirated voiced phoneme /d/. The 2nd phonemes of these languages are voiced velar consonant phoneme /ŋ/ except in Tiwa language.

These classifiers are found to be mono-syllabic in nature and they are - /p^haŋ/, /faŋ/, /p^haŋ/, /p^haŋ/, /p^haŋ/ and /dal/.

4. The classifiers of cognate languages uses for any long flexible things.

Bodo	<i>dwŋ</i>
Kok Borok	<i>t^huŋ</i>
Rabha	<i>t^hwŋ</i>
Garo	<i>dwŋ</i>
Dimasa	<i>din</i>
Tiwa	<i>dal</i>

For example –

Bodo –

k^hwmwn dwŋ – se or dwŋ – se k^hwmwn.
 (NO C -NU or C - NU NO)
 (one hair of skin)

musugur dwɨ – nwi or dwɨ – nwi musugur.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(two eye brows)

Kok Borok –

k^hituj t^huj – sa or t^huj – sa k^hituj

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one tail)

bik^humu t^huj – t^ham or t^huj – t^ham bik^humu.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(three wools)

Rabha -

leuua t^huj – sa or t^huj – sa leuua.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(a wire)

min t^huj – sa or t^huj – sa min.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one skin hair)

Garó –

t^himil dwɨ – sa or dwɨ – sa t^himil.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one skin hair)

budu dwɨ – t^ham or dwɨ – t^ham budu.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(three creepers)

Dimasa –

duk^ha din – bri or din – bri duk^ha.
(NO C- NU or C - NU NO)
(four numbers of wire)

diŋ din – bri or din – bri diŋ.
(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)
(four threads)

Tiwa –

k^humul dal – c^hi or dal – c^hi k^humul.
(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)
(ten skin hairs)

k^hini dal – c^hisa or dal - c^hisa k^hini.
(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)
(eleven hairs)

The classifiers used for long and flexible things in Bodo and its cognate languages are as /*dwŋ*/, /*t^huŋ*/, /*t^hwŋ*/, /*dwŋ*/, /*din*/ and / *dal*/. These classifiers are mono-syllabic nature, the 1st phoneme of Bodo, Garo, Dimasa and Tiwa is alveolar stop un aspirated voiced phoneme /d/ but in Kok Borok and Rabha, it is alveolar voiceless aspirated stop phoneme /t^h/. The 2nd phoneme of Bodo, Rabha, Garo are high back vowel phoneme /w/ and in Kok Borok it is high back vowel phoneme /u/. The last or 3rd phoneme of Bodo, Kok Borok, Rabha and Garo is nasal voiced velar phoneme /ŋ/. But in Dimasa and Tiwa the 2nd and 3rd phoneme are not same.

5. Classifiers for flat things.

Bodo	<i>gaŋ</i>
Kok Borok	<i>k^haŋ</i>
Rabha	<i>k^hon</i>
Garo	<i>kwŋ</i>
Dimasa	<i>graŋ</i>
Tiwa	<i>k^hen</i>

For example –

Bodo –

porda gaŋ – se or gaŋ – se porda

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one curtain)

swŋt^hi bilai gaŋ – nwi or gaŋ – nwi swŋt^hi bilai.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(two question papers)

Kok Borok –

bik^humuni ree k^haŋ – t^ham or k^haŋ – t^ham bik^humuni ree

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(three woolen cloths)

reetaknai burui k^haŋ – ba or k^haŋ – ba reetaknai burwi.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(five women weavers)

Rabha –

tareŋ k^hon – sa or k^hon – sa tareŋ.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one wing)

c^hata k^hon – niŋ or k^hon – niŋ c^hata.
(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)
(two umbrellas)

Garo –

bizak kwŋ – sa or kwŋ – sa bizak.
(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)
(one leaf)

kitab kwŋ – git^ham or kwŋ – git^ham kitab.
(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)
(three books)

Dimasa –

gainsloŋ graŋ – si or graŋ – si gainsloŋ
(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)
(a wearing cloth without using waistband by the ladies)

laisi graŋ – si or graŋ – si laisi.
(NO C - NU or C -NU NO)
(a paper or book)

Tiwa –

c^hara k^haŋsi k^hen – ba or k^hen – ba c^hara k^haŋsi.
(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)
(five plates)

k^hur k^hen – dok or k^hen – dok k^hur.
(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)
(six pieces of skin)

In Bodo, Kok Borok, Rabha, Garo, Dimasa and Tiwa the classifiers /gaŋ/, /k^haŋ/, /k^hon/, /kwŋ/, /graŋ/ and /k^hen/ are used for flat things. These all are mono-syllabic nature and 1st phoneme of Kok Borok, Rabha and Tiwa is velar voiceless aspirated stop /k^h/ and in Garo it is velar voiceless un aspirated stop

phoneme /k/, the 2nd phoneme of these classifiers are low central vowel /a/, back mid vowel /o/, front mid vowel /e/ and back high vowel /a/. The last phoneme of Kok Borok and Garo is velar voiced nasal phoneme /ŋ/ and the last phoneme of Rabha and Tiwa is alveolar nasal voiced phoneme /n/.

The similarity is found in Bodo and Dimasa classifier /gaŋ/ and /graŋ/ in pronunciation. In Bodo there are three phonemes and Dimasa has four phonemes. The 1st phoneme of these languages is velar voiced un aspirated stop phoneme /g/. The 2nd phoneme of Bodo is central low vowel /a/ and Dimasa is alveolar voiced trill phoneme /r/, the 3rd phoneme of Dimasa is central low vowel /a/ and the 3rd phoneme of Bodo and 4th phoneme of Dimasa is velar voiced nasal phoneme /ŋ/.

6. For things and objects.

Bodo	<i>goŋ</i>
Kok Borok	<i>k^huŋ</i>
Rabha	<i>k^hon/go</i>
Garo	<i>kaŋ</i>
Dimasa	<i>goŋ</i>
Tiwa	<i>k^honza/k^hinza</i>

For example –

Bodo -

zek^hai goŋ – se or goŋ – se zek^hai.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(One fish trap)

aina goŋ – nwi or goŋ – nwi aina.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(two mirrors)

Kok Borok –

matainak k^huŋ – nui or k^huŋ – nui maitainak..

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(two temples)

tutunok k^huŋ – t^ham or k^huŋ – t^ham tutunok.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(three bathrooms)

Rabha -

sabra k^hon – t^ham or k^hon – t^ham sabra.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(three spoons)

c^hac^hakom k^hon – niŋ or k^hon – niŋ c^hac^hakom.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(two rings)

Garó -

at^he ge – sa or ge – sa at^he.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one big knife)

riŋ ge – sa or ge – sa riŋ.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one boat)

Dimasa –

nosib goŋ – si or goŋ – si nosib.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one broom)

k^hudiraŋ goŋ – gni or goŋ – gni k^hudiraŋ
 (NO C -NU or C - NU NO)
 (two spades)

Tiwa -

tibul k^honza – broi or k^honza – broi tibul.
 (NO C - NU or C - NU NO)
 (four chairs)

pas k^honza – ba or k^honza – ba pas.
 (NO C -NU or C - NU NO)
 (five buses)

The Classifiers for things and objects used in Bodo, Kok Borok, Rabha, Garo and Tiwa languages are as - /goŋ/, /k^huŋ/, /k^hon/go/, /kaŋ/, /goŋ/ and /k^honza/k^hinza /. The 1st phoneme of Kok Borok, Rabha and Tiwa is velar voiceless aspirated stop phoneme /k^h/ and in Garo it is velar voiceless un aspirated stop phoneme /k/ and 2nd phoneme is velar voiced nasal consonant phoneme /ŋ/ and alveolar voiced nasal phoneme /n/. But in Bodo and Dimasa, it is velar voiced un aspirated stop phoneme /g/ and 2nd phoneme is velar voiced nasal consonant phoneme /ŋ/.on the other side 2nd, 3rd and 4th phoneme of Tiwa classifier are velar voiced nasal phoneme /n/, alveolar voiced fricative /z/ and central low vowel phoneme /a/.

The classifiers of Bodo, Kok Borok, Garo, Rabha and Dimasa are monosyllabic in nature but in Tiwa, it is found to be bi-syllabic in nature.

There are some classifiers which are not same among the six cognate languages, but only two and three languages have same classifiers as.

1. The classifiers uses for fruits and coins.

Bodo	<i>t^hai</i>
Kok Borok	<i>t^hai</i>
Rabha	<i>t^heŋ</i>

For example –

Bodo -

k^hordwi t^hai – se or t^hai – se k^hordwi.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(one starfruit)

t^haigir t^hai – nwi or t^hai – nwi t^haigir.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(two elephant fruit)

Kok Borok –

t^haipaj t^hai – t^ham or t^hai – t^ham t^haipaj.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(three jack fruits)

fant^hak t^hai – ba or t^hai – ba fant^hak.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(five brinjals)

Rabha –

narim t^hej – sa or t^hej – sa narim.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(a cucumber)

t^hak^ha t^hej – nij or t^hej – nij t^hak^ha.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one coins)

These classifiers are found only in Bodo, Kok Borok and in Rabha languages, but they are different in other three languages Garo, Dimasa and Tiwa. The pronunciation of Bodo and Kok Borok are same but in Rabha only 1st

phoneme is same but 2nd is different. The 1st phonemes of these classifiers are Alveolar voiceless aspirated stop consonant phoneme /t^h/, the 2nd and 3rd phonemes are same in Bodo and Kok Boro languages but in Rabha it is different. The syllable of these three classifiers is mono-syllabic in nature.

2. The classifier for half of fruits, vegetables and objects.

Bodo	<i>k^hau</i>
Garó	<i>pak</i>
Dimasa	<i>k^hlep</i>

For examples –

Bodo –

zwgwnar k^hau – se or k^hau – se zwgwnar.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(a half piece of pumpkin)

sumpram k^hau – nwi or k^hau – nwi sumpram.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(two half pieces of guava)

Garó –

angk^hil pak – sa or pak – sa angk^hil.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(a half piece of plum)

k^ha aa pak – sa or pak – sa k^ha aa.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(a half piece of potato)

Dimasa -

naspoti k^hlep – si or k^hlep – si naspoti.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one half piece of pear)

tailik k^hlep – si or k^slep – si tailik.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one half piece of banana)

The classifiers /k^hau/, /pak/ and /k^hlep/ are used for half of fruits and vegetables in Bodo, Garo and Rabha languages. These are not same in pronunciation but their functions are same. The 1st phoneme of Bodo and Dimasa is velar voiceless aspirated stop phoneme /k^h/ and in Garo it is bilabial un aspirated voiceless stop phoneme /p/. The 2nd phoneme of Bodo and Garo is central low vowel /a/ and in Dimasa it is alveolar voiced lateral phoneme /l/. The 3rd phoneme of Bodo, Garo and Dimasa is back high vowel /u/, velar voiceless un aspirated stop /k/ and front mid vowel /e/. In Dimasa classifier /k^hlep/, it found 4th phoneme bilabial voiceless un aspirated stop /p/.

3. The classifiers used with flower.

Bodo	<i>bar</i>
Kok Borok	<i>bar</i>
Garo	<i>bal</i>

For example –

Bodo - *zoba bar – se or bar – se zoba.*

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one hibiscus)

t^hoblo bar – nwi or bar – nwi t^hoblo.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(two lotus)

Kok Borok -

molai bubar bar – sa or bar – sa molai bubar.

NO C - NU or C - NU NO

(one radish flower)

buk^hurui bar – t^ham or bar – t^ham buk^hurui.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(three buds)

Garo –

bibal bal – sa or bal – sa bibal.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(one flower)

besuual bibal bal – sa or bal – sa besuual bibal.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(one master oil flower)

In Bodo, Kok Borok and Garo the classifiers /bar/, /bar/ and /bal/ are used for flowers. In pronunciation of classifiers it is found to be same with Bodo and Kok Borok languages, but there is little different found in Garo. The 1st and 2nd phonemes of these three languages are same as – bilabial voiced un aspirated stop /b/ and central low vowel /a/. The 3rd phoneme of Bodo and Kok Borok is alveolar voiced trill phoneme /r/ and in Garo it is alveolar voiced lateral /l/ phoneme. The syllable of these three classifiers is monosyllabic in nature.

4. The classifier for day.

Bodo	<i>san</i>
Kok Borok	<i>sal</i>
Rabha	<i>san</i>

Bodo –

san – nwi din.
(C - NU NO)
(two days)

Kok Borok –

sal – nui sal.
(C - NU NO)
(two days)

Rabha –

san – niŋ san.
(C - NU NO)
(two days)

In Bodo, Kok Borok and Rabha the classifiers /bar/, /bar/ and /bal/ are used for flowers. In pronunciation of classifiers, it is found to be same with Bodo and Rabha but little different in Kok Borok language. The 1st and 2nd phoneme of classifiers of these three languages are alveolar voiceless fricative /s/ and central low vowel /a/ phoneme. The 3rd phoneme of Bodo and Rabha is alveolar voiced nasal phoneme /n/, and in Kok Borok it is alveolar voiced lateral /l/ phoneme. These are monosyllabic words.

5.4. Comparative study among Cognate languages.

While comparing among six cognate languages, some similarities and dissimilarities are found which are discussed.

5.4.1. Similarities.

The classifiers of cognate languages are monosyllabic and bi- syllabic nature and a few is tri- syllabic. The numerals are always used after classifiers and the noun and verb are after and before of classifier. In cognate languages except Tiwa language the syllable ending of noun and verb is same with classifier.

Like -

Bodo -

/p^han/ - bi p^haŋ p^haŋ – se.

\ /
(Same word)

(NO C -NU)
(one tree)

/dor/ - be dor dor – se.

\ /
(Same word)

(NO C -NU)
(one piece of meat)

Kok Borok -

/kol/ - mo kol kol – sa.

\ /
(same word)

(NO C - NU)
(one eye)

/tui/ - bu tui tui – sa.

\ /
(same word)

(NO C - NU)
(one egg)

Rabha -

/bal/ - bi bal bal – sa.

\ /
(same word)

(NO C- NU)
(one flower)

Garó -

/bal/ - bi bal bal – sa.

\ /

(same word)

(NO C - NU)

(one flower)

Dimasa -

/gur/ - bu gur gur si.

\ /

(same word)

(NO C- NU)

(one husk of skin)

/k^hor/ - di k^hor k^hor – si.

\ /

(same word)

(NO C - NU)

(one well)

The classifier */p^haŋ/* is commonly used in cognate languages for tree, plants, climbers and shrubs, The classifier */ma/* is used for animals, insects and birds in Bodo, Dimasa and in Kok Borok languages but in Garo and Rabha language they used */maŋ/*. The classifier */sa/*, */sak/* are used for human being in cognate languages. Some classifiers of Bodo and its cognate languages are singular and in free form and some are in plural form.

As –

	Singular Form	Plural Form
Bodo	<i>sa, ma, p^haŋ, t^hai, dor, bar etc.</i>	<i>zora, zok^hai, p^honai, zur^hum, hali ,t^hubra etc.</i>
Kok Borok	<i>k^horok, t^hai, bar, twi, faŋ, ma etc</i>	<i>k^hwbaŋ, t^hop etc.</i>
Rabha	<i>maŋ, sak^h, p^haŋ, k^hon, t^heŋ, t^hwŋ etc.</i>	<i>zor, pal, buk, c^hobor, zuli, etc.</i>
Garo	<i>sak, kan, maŋ, ge, k^hwŋ, bal etc.</i>	<i>zora, dol, p^honai, k^hu, boza etc.</i>
Dimasa	<i>sa, do, diŋ, graŋ, gron, ma etc.</i>	<i>bozom, k^hozon, gablai, jok^hai, zor, guruk etc.</i>
Tiwa	<i>sa, k^honza, dal, lai, k^hen, t^has etc.</i>	<i>zona, halu, c^hoga, hal, k^hap, s^hera, subsa etc.</i>

The pronunciations of classifiers are different in different dialects.

As –

In **Bodo** -

standard language	dialect
<i>k^hon</i>	<i>k^hwn</i>

k^hon – se pwi.

(C - NU V)

(Come in one time)

k^hwn – se pwi.

(C - NU V)

(Come at a time)

In Kok Borok the classifier /kai/ is often used in some dialect area for living, non living things and objects.

Kok Borok -

standard language	dialect
<i>k^huŋ</i>	<i>kai</i>

k^huŋ – sa gatinok.

(C - NU NO)

(a kitchen)

kai – sa gatinok.

(C - NU NO)

(a kitchen)

Tiwa -

Standard language	dialect
<i>k^hon-za</i>	<i>k^hin-za.</i>

k^honza – ba kitap.

(C - NU NO)

(five books)

k^hinza – ba kitap.

(C - NU NO)

(five books)

The similar classifiers among cognate languages are given below –

Garo - /p^honai/, /boza/, /duŋ/, /p^haŋ/, /daŋ/, /zora/.

Rabha - /t^hukra/, /zuli/, /san/, /t^huba/, /t^huŋ/, /p^haŋ/.

Kok Borok - /san/, /ma/, /bar/, /t^hai/, /p^haŋ/.

Tiwa - /sa/.

The classifier of Bodo and Dimasa language are more similar to each other than to other cognate languages like – *t^hub*, *beda*, *zab*, *mut^ha*, *goŋ*, *p^haŋ*, *mu*, *zok^hai*, *sa*, *k^hor* and some more classifiers are same to both languages.

5.4.2. Dissimilarities.

There is some dissimilarity among the cognate languages on account of communication. In Bodo, Garo, Dimasa and Tiwa languages the stop un-aspirated alveolar voiced phoneme /d/ is used and in Kok Borok and Rabha uses stop aspirated alveolar voice less phoneme /t^h/.

As -

Bodo – *dwiŋ*.

Garo – *dwiŋ*.

Dimasa – *din*.

Tiwa – *dal*.

Kok Borok – *t^hwiŋ*.

Rabha – *t^hwiŋ*.

The consonant stop un-aspirated voiced velar phoneme /g/ is used in Bodo and Dimasa languages. On the other hand the consonant stop aspirated voiceless velar /k^h/ is used in Kok Borok, Rabha, Garo and in Tiwa languages.

As –

Bodo – *gaŋ*.

Dimasa – *graŋ*.

Kok Borok – *k^haŋ*.

Rabha – *k^hon*.

Garo – *kwŋ*.

Tiwa – *k^hen*.

In Kok Borok Language the maximum classifiers are monosyllabic in nature and in Rabha language maximum classifiers are in bi- syllabic nature.

In Kok Borok the classifier /kai/ is use in such dialect areas for things.

As –

c^hak^hla kai – sa or kai – sa c^hak^hla.

(NO C - NU or C – NU NO)

(a bow)

betra kai – nwi or kai – nwi betra.

(NO C - NU or C – NU NO)

(two combs)

In Tiwa language classifier are not used for animals, birds, water animals and insects they used only numeral.

As –

mos t^ham.

(NO NU)

(three deers)

kora broi.

(NO NU)

(four horses)

metprûn ba.

(NO NU)

(five sheep)

tû – dok.

(NO NU)

(six birds)

In Rabha the classifier /k^hon/ is used for cloths, news paper, books, leaves, agricultural tools, musical instruments, house hold articles and in any

kind of thing but /go/ is also used for house, which is not used in other cognate languages.

In Tiwa the classifier /zona/ is used for human being for more than two numerals.

As -

sikaisa zona – t^ham or zona – t^ham sikaisa

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(three students)

sikari zona – broi or zona – broi sikari.

(NO C - NU or C - NU NO)

(four hunters)

boroi zona – ba or zona – ba boroi.

(NO C -NU or C - NU NO)

(five old men)

5.5. Findings.

1. This chapter ‘Comparative classifiers used among cognate languages’, it is found that in cognate languages the uses of classifiers is one of the most common character of its language.
2. It is the important rule of morphology that without use of classifiers it can't show the exact shape, size and numeral of noun and verb.
3. There are many classifiers in cognate languages which can be done in detailed research work.
4. In this chapter it is found that there are many similarities among cognate languages in classifiers and in numerals.
5. Some classifiers are same in pronunciation and meaning.

6. It is also a common character among cognate languages that the classifiers are always used before the numerals and the nouns or verbs are use before and after classifiers.
7. Among cognate languages the numerals are also same in pronunciation like: Bodo – *t^ham*. (3)
8. In Garo and Dimasa Language for the numeral they used '*git^ham*' which second syllable is same to '*t^ham*' (3) of other cognate languages. For the numeral 'one' and 'seven' in Bodo, Kok Borok, Rabha, Dimasa languages they used as-
Bodo – *se* (1), *brui* (4), *ba* (5), *do* (6), *sni* (7)
9. Here in six cognate languages all first phonemes have same meaning in numeral one and seven, all are fricative alveolar voiceless phoneme {s}, but second phoneme is different to each other.
10. But in Tiwa language they used '*kifa/kisa*' for numeral one.
11. In numeral four, five and six the first phonemes are stop un aspirated bilabial and alveolar voiced phoneme {b, d} and other phonemes are different to each other. But in Rabha language they use '*sesa*' for numeral four,' *tola* 'for numeral five and '*krob*' for numeral six.
12. Some dissimilarity is also found in use of classifiers in cognate language which are discussed in this chapter.

As –

The Bodo and Dimasa languages have many similarities compare to other cognate languages. On the other hand Tiwa language has maximum dissimilarities to compare other cognate languages.

In Tiwa language, classifiers are not use for animals, birds, water animals and insects but use only for numerals which differentiate this language from other cognate languages.

In Numeral of Rabha language, many differences are found in numeral words in comparing with other cognate languages.

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