CHAPTER - 3

CLASSIFIER

3.1. Introduction.

Numeral classifier has been used to identity thing with its shape and size. It is use before numeral and after or before a noun and verb. The addition of numerals shows the exact number of things. *"The numeral based in Bodo consists of two elements which may broadly be termed as numeral classifier and quantifier. A classifier classifies the object enumerated according to various criteria of size, nature, quality etc and it forms the first elements of the base; this first elements is usually a monosyllabic bound morpheme, though a small number of disyllabic bound morpheme may occasionally occur, a few of these have membership of noun or verb as a free morphemes."*[1]

Robins Burling defined classifiers as *"Classifiers are also defined as any morpheme that can be followed directly by a number. Defined in this inclusive way, classifiers come in many varieties, and several types can be distinguished. The time units are unique in occurring without a noun. Weights and measures refer to a fixed quantity and many are borrowed. Some of the most common classifiers suggest something about the shape of the things counted. In addition to those listed in the following sections, the name of any container can be used as classifier that specifies the amount that can be held in that container."*[2]

Pramod Chandra Bhattacharya has also defined in his book '*Aspects of North-East Indian Languages'as "The Boro language of Assam possesses certain definitive's which are prefixed to numerals. These vary according to the nature and quality of noun referred to by numerals. Rev. Endle and Mr. W.C. Dundas noticed this peculiarity of the languages as spoken in the plains and the Hills and they enumerated a few of these particles in their pioneer works."*[3]

In Bodo language there are many classifiers that are used in sentences. The used of classifiers in different case have been analyse below with examples.

In Bodo Language classifiers are monosyllable, bi-syllable / di-syllabic and tri-syllable. The maximum classifiers in Bodo language are monosyllable and bi-syllable /di-syllabic and few are tri-syllable.

For example:

3.1.1. Mono- syllabic classifiers

The Classifier of one syllable is called monosyllabic classifier and in Bodo language these types of classifiers are the Basic Classifiers which are regularly used in language, the classifiers and their description are given below -

ma -	animals, birds, fishes and insects
sa-	human being, God, Godesses or ghosts
pʰaŋ -	used for any kind of trees, plants and climbers
daŋ -	used for necklace, chains.
so -	half piece of things.
pʰar –	sides of things.
mun-	use for things.
tʰai-	used for fruits, stomach and eyes.
bar-	use for flower.
goŋ -	utensils, Means of transport, Musical instruments, Agricultural implements, tools etc.
dor-	use for pices of meat, Vegetables
kʰor-	use for pond, well and lake.
gʰor-	use for seeds.
sui-	use for slice of fruits and vegetable.
kʰon-	moment of doing work. (Verb)
mu-	measurement of cloths from waist to toes.
zab-	use for leaves, books, clothes etc.
san-	use for day.
dab-	plots of clouds and land.

gur-	use for round and flat eatable thing like Chapatis, Papad etc.
tʰar-	use for crops.
pʰaŋ-	any kind of trees, plants and climbers
pʰai-	use for decocarating in cloths.
kʰob-	use for lake and pond.
duŋ-	use for hole.
huŋ-	use for straw.
tʰub-	use for ballon.
pʰoŋ-	speeach,beat and kick.
kʰoŋ-	use for wings and leaves of banana.
gaŋ-	use for flat thin things as – book, cloths and leaves.
tʰo-	use for cutting bamboo and firewood.
tʰoŋ-	use for post.
duŋ-	long and flexible things like rope, wire, thread, hair, necklace, bamboo tie strips and with road also.
tʰor –	use for rock, pimple and mud balls.
kʰab-	use for match.
ban-	bundle of fire wood, plants and straws.
don-	use for quantity with a bamboo basket.

3.1.2. Di - syllabic classifiers

The classifier of two syllables is called disyllabic classifiers. In Bodo langauge most of these classifiers are disyllabic word and they are.

tʰwŋ-	use specially for foot and hands.
dulu/hanza/pʰalu-	use for groups and living togetherness.
sari/lari/siri-	use for line.
asi -	amount equivalent to finger.
dokʰla-	classifier use for plot of land and mass of cloud.
pʰalu-	herd of animals.

zora-	pair of animals, birds, couple of people etc.
zuli-	use for married couple.
kʰao-	slice of fruits and animal.
zokʰai-	group of four and use for people, animals, birds and things.
hali-	pair of bull and bird.
tʰokʰa-	clusters of fruits and living in group of animals, birds, insects.
damul-	place where things like Sand, Gravel, Bricks are kept.
boza-	bundle of paddy plants, jute plants and some crop plants.
mutʰa-	classifier use for handful of green plants, areca nut leaf,fist of powder and seed.
buutʰi-	use for quantity of eatable things such as rice, vegetables and meat.
tʰukʰra-	use for pieces of eatable things like meat, fish, cake.
sitʰa -	slice of fruits and vegetables.
zikʰlab-	pieces of cloths , paper and books.
atʰum-	classifier for stanza, fist of things.
kʰandi-	slice of areca nut.
akʰa-	bundles of paddy plants and banana.
beda-	bunch of areca nut, grapes, coconut and litchi.
kʰobo-	morcel of rice and vegetables.
baiga-	quantity of rice for husking.
mutʰi-	small bundle of paddy .
suba/tʰuba-	cluster of bamboo and village.
tʰortʰiŋ-	drops of liquid things.
gaina/bunda-	bundle of straw or firewood.
awai-	quantity of rice for frying.
daŋri-	bundle of firewood.
ponai-	group of 80th .
antʰur-	line.

biya/dista-	use for paper sheets and areca nut leaf.
tʰubra-	bunches of flower.
patʰal-	birth of animals and birds.
zaon-	use for rice beer.
birga-	use for drying in sun.
pala-	tern of action.
tʰakʰu-	storied of buildings, books etc.
zabkʰu-	staking of books, utensils and cloths.
sula-	taste of things.
kʰundu-	Pieces of things.
kʰona-	corner of place.
muzwu-	palmful of things.
dalab/darlab-	plots and mass of cloud.
atʰi-	bundle of firewood.
muga-	use for century (noun).
tʰopla-	bundle with cloths.
doblai-	plot of paddy field.
kʰenda-	quantity of rice.
sapra-	use for soil.
gosa -	handful of paddy.
gurlab -	use for round and flat eatable thing like Chapatis, Papad etc.
tʰorla -	use for soil, mud and some eatable things.
rwza -	use for stacking books, cloths, rupees etc.
bigʰa -	use for plots.

3.1.3. Tri - syllabic classifiers

The classifier of three syllables is called trisyllabic classifiers and in Bodo langauge these types of Classifiers are few in numbers. They are **-**

haldiŋa-   piece of thread use for taking insects and fruits.

bandul-   use for any binding bundle.

tʰurup-   stacking of books and cloths.

antʰwr –   line of people and plantation.

gorod –   draught of liquid things.

kʰawlkʰab -   pieces of thin things such as – leaf, cloths etc.

3.2. Noun as Classifiers

In Bodo language the classifiers are always used with numeral in a sentence and without numeral the classifiers is use as words, affixes, noun and verb in sentences. In Bodo language all plural indicating noun can be used like classifiers with adding numerals. As-

As - In Bodo

gami	village
sohor	city
hari	caste
mahari	community
hador	country
raizw	state
hadorma	continent
zaiga	place
dwizlaŋ	summar
meseŋ	winter
bwswr	year

These are use with numeral to show collection numerals.

As -   *gami – se subuŋ*

          (NO/C - NU NO)

          (People of a village)

hari – se zunar

(NO/C- NU NO)

 (A type of animals)

raizw – nwi mansi.

(NO/C - NU NO)

(People of two states)

hador – se mansi.

(NO/C- NU NO)

(People of a country)

gari – nwi oma.

(NO/C- NU NO)

(Two trucks load of Pigs)

no   – se got^{h}o.

(NO/C - NU NO)

(Full house of childrens)

3.3. Types of Classifier.

The classifiers of Bodo language can be divided in to following types:

1.   Nominal classifier.

2.   Classifier associated with verb.

The nominal classifiers are those classifiers that indicate noun classifiers which are directly related to names of living and non living things. The classifiers associated with verb are those classifiers which are directly related to Verb.

3.3.1. Nominal classifiers

The nominal classifiers are those classifiers that take one noun denoting classifier and this classifier is added to the numeral as a prefix and it forms a

word. In this context, most of the classifiers are used as bound morphemes but when it forms a word by prefixing with a numeral it specifies the nouns, depending upon its shape, size and state of the object. However, there are some free morphs also.

In Bodo language some numerals directly occurs after the noun which can be termed as non-classifiable nouns and they also functions as classifiers. In Bodo language, maximum numbers of classifiers are found as noun denoting classifiers.

These classifiers are uses in Bodo regularly in day to day life.

For example –

ma	animals, birds, fishes and insects
sa	human being, gods or ghosts
boza	Bunches of paddy, straw, fire wood, bamboo etc.
zora	A pair of things, birds, animals and human couple.
pʰaŋ	Any kind of trees and plants, climbers
duŋ	long and thin things like rope, wire, thread, hair, necklace, bamboo tie strips and with road also
dab	Locations or places like villages, gardens, markets and plots etc.
goŋ	variety of household objects in everyday use, utensils, furniture, agriculture implements, musical instruments, transport, sports etc.
gaŋ	Leaves of trees, books, wings, pieces of cloths, paper and with various flat objects.
tʰai	Fruits, vegetables, stomach, hands, eye, coins and many things.

3.3.2. Classifiers associated with verb.

The classifiers that are associated with verb are the numerals used as suffixes which are always preceded by an intermediate suffix *{-ga}* which can be termed as multiplicative suffix. In Bodo *{-ga}* is always used between a verb and

a numeral, which functions as classifier, e.g./za-ga-se/ 'one time eatable things'. Here *{ga}* is indicating the moment of time, done by verb */za/* 'eat'.

For example –

luŋ gɑ – se	One time of drink
tʰɑŋ gɑ – nui	two times of going
musɑ gɑ– brui	Four times of dance
soŋ gɑ–do	Six times of cook
porɑi gɑ – dɑin	Eight times of study
lir ga – gu	Nine times of writting
undu – ga - zi	Ten times of sleepng
gab ga - zise	Eleven times of crying

3.4. Use with human being.

In Bodo language there are some classifiers which are used for denomination of human being.

For example:

sa – se ruwatʰi or ruwatʰi sa- se.
(C – NU NO or NO   C - NU)
(a servant)

pʰalw – nwi abadari or abadari pʰalw – nwi.
(C –   NU NO   or NO   C - NU)
(two groups of farmers)

tʰai – nwi akʰai or akʰai tʰai – nwi.
 (C – NU NO or NO   C - NU)
(two hands)

sari - tʰam poraisuli or poraisuli sari – tʰam.
(C – NU   NO   or NO   C - NU)
(three lines of students)

3.5. Use with non human being

There are some classifiers that indiactes all the living things except the human being. Like – domestic animals, wild animals, insects, water animals, creatures, birds etc. Some examples of classifier used in non human being are given below –

t^hai – se daoni megon or daoni-megon t^hai- se.
(C –   NU   NO   or NO   C – NU)
(one eye of bird)

t^hok^ha –nwi samu bidwi or samu bidwi t^hok^ha – nwi.
(C –   NU NO   or NO   C - NU)
(two clusters of eggs of snail)

$k^hoŋ$- nwi dat^hu gangk$^hoŋ$ or dat^hu gangk$^hoŋ$ k$^hoŋ$ – nwi.
(C – NU   NO   or NO   C   - NU)
(two wings of dove)

damul- t^ham samu or samu damwl – t^ham.
(C   – NU NO   or NO   C - NU)
(three herbs of snail)

3.6. Used with natural objects and things

In Bodo language there are many classifiers which are used with natural objects or things.

For example –

boza- se p$^hat^h$w or p$^hat^h$w boza – se .
(C   - NU NO or NO   C - NU)
(one bundle of jute plant)

p^{h}aŋ – nwi dundiya or dundiya p^{h}aŋ – nwi.
(C   - NU NO   or NO   C - NU)
(two plants of coriander)

gaŋ – tʰam gamsa or gamsa gaŋ –tʰam.

(C - NU   NO or NO   C - NU)

(three traditional cloths of Bodo male)

mutʰa – brwi besor or besor mutʰa – brwi.

(C   - NU NO or NO   C - NU)

(four bundles of mustard oil plant)

In Bodo Language some classifiers are used with human being, non human being and for natural objects and things which are common in nature.

Like: *dulu/hanza/pʰalu, pʰari/sari/lari/siri, makʰa, tʰuŋ, pʰar, zora, zokʰai, hali, tʰokʰa, kʰoŋ, tʰai, kʰau, mun* etc.

For example:

Human being

tʰwŋ – se akʰai.

(C - NU NO)

(a hand of man)

zokʰai – nui burwi

(C   - NU NO)

(Eight old women)

zora – se sengra-sikʰla.

(C - NU   NO)

(A couple)

mwn – se asugur or asugur mwn – se.

(C   - NU NO or NO   C   - NU)

(one nail)

Non human being

tʰwŋ– se dao atʰiŋ.
(C   - NU   NO)
(A leg of bird)

zokʰai – nui kʰaseo
(C   - NU   NO)
 (eight turtle)

zora – se siyal.
(C   - NU NO)
(two foxes)

mwn – se zunar hari.
(C   - NU   NO)
(one type of animal)

Natural objects and things

tʰwŋ - se tʰebul atʰiŋ.
(C   - NU   NO)
(one leg of table)

zokʰai – nui etʰa
(C   - NU   NO)
(Eight bricks)

zora – se sona.
(C   - NU NO)
(A pair of ear ring)

mun – se mua.
(C   -NU NO)
(A thing)

There are some classifiers that are used only for non human being and natural objects and are not used for human being.

Like – *gaŋ, haldiŋga, kʰoŋ, tʰokʰa* etc.

For example –

Non human being

    gaŋ – se dao gaŋ.
    (C - NU NO)
    (one quill)

    haldiŋga – se kʰaŋkʰrai
    (C   - NU NO)
    (Knitted crab in a robe or grass)

    tʰoka – se samu.
    (C   - NU NO)
    (A group of snails)

Natural objects and things

    gaŋ – se darha.
    (C - NU NO)
    (One mat)

    haldiŋga – se goi
    (C   - NUNO)
    (Knitted bettle nut like a garland)

    tʰokʰa – se dakʰur
    (C   - NU NO)
    (A dump of dust)

In Bodo language some classifiers are used only for human and non human being but they are not used for natural objects and things.

Like –   *tʰwŋ, pʰar* etc.

Human being

    tʰuŋ– se gotʰoni atʰiŋ.
    (C - NU   NO)
    (One leg of child)

pʰar – se hinzaosani kʰuma.

(C   -NU   NO)

(One side of girl's ear)

Non human being

tʰuŋ– se oma atʰiŋ.

(C   - NU   NO)

(One pig's leg)

pʰar – se maozi kʰuma.

(C   - NU   NO)

(One side of cat's ear)

The classifier used for natural objects and things in Bodo language are discussed as:

3.6.1. Classifier of measure -

Classifiers used for measurement of things are as follows.

1.   *{mu}* : This classifier is used for measurement of things specially for clothes.

mu – se dokʰona or dokʰona mu – se

(C - NU NO or NO   C - NU)

(one length of traditional dress from hand to leg or waist to legs)

mu – nwi gamsa or gamsa mu – nwi.

(C   - NU NO or NO   C - NU)

(Two length of traditional dress from hand to leg or waist to legs)

2.   *{kʰau}* :it is used for the quantity of things.

For example

kʰau – se gamsa.

(C   - NU NO)

(A half piece of Bodo traditional dress)

kʰau – nwi dokʰona.

(C   - NU NO)

(two half pieces of Bodo traditional dress)

3.   *{sʰo}* : it is used for half of things.

For example -

sʰo – se pencil.
(C   - NU NO)
(A half of pencil)

sʰo – nwi latʰi.
(C   - NU NO)
(Two half pieces of stick)

3.6.2. Classifier of container-

In Bodo for volume and mass of things the classifiers are mentioned as per the name of container.

For example –

botʰol – se sini.
(C   - NU   NO)
(One bottle sugar)

tʰema – se dali.
(C   - NU   NO)
(One vessel of dal)

botʰol – se tʰao.
(C   - NU NO)
(One bottle of oil)

tʰema – se cream.
(C   - NU   NO)
(One vessel of plastic container)

There are some specific containers and utensils used in the homes that are used to keep crops, used for fishing and hunting.

For example –

ɯunkʰam tʰɯuu – se.
(NO   C   - NU)
(A full of rice cooker)

mai kʰada – se.
(NO   C - NU)
(A full basket for paddy seeds)

na kʰobai - se.
(NO   C - NU)
(A full of fish trap)

3.6.3. Classifier of time -

There are classifiers which are used for time which act like noun in the sentences.

For example:

minitʰ – se or se- minitʰ.
(C   - NU or NU - C)
(One minute)

kʰontʰa – se or se – kʰontʰa .
(C   -NU or NU - C)
(One hour)

hor – se or se – hor.
 (C- NU or NU- C)
(One night)

sobtʰa – se or se- sobtʰa.

(C   - NUor NU- C)

(One week)

dan – se or se – dan.

(C   -NU or NU- C)

(One month)

buısuır – se or se- buısuır.

(C   - NUorNU - C)

(One year)

zuuutʰai – se or se – zuuutʰai.

(C   - NUor NU-   C)

(One century)

muga – se or se- muga.

(C   - NUor NU- C)

(One decade)

3.6.4. Classifier of shape -

There are many classifiers which are used for shape of things.

For example: *kʰunduı, tʰukʰra, so, ziklab, kʰau, tʰuıb, duıŋ, kʰandi, suıi, dalap* etc.

kʰunduı – se zagra mua.

(C   - NU   NO)

(A piece of food)

tʰukʰra – se guduıi mua.

(C   - NU   NO)

(A piece of sweet)

so – se bon.

(C - NU NO)

(a half piece of firewood)

zikʰlab – se rutʰi.

(C   - NU NO)

(A small piece of chappati)

kʰaw – nui nalenkʰor.

(C   - NU   NO)

(Two small pieces of coconut)

sui – brui kʰomola.

(C   - NU   NO)

(Four pieces of orange)

dalab – ba zumui..

(C   - NU NO)

(Parts of cloud)

3.6.5. Classifier of group -

Some classifiers of Bodo Language are for group or for plural that shows the plural number, and there are some classifiers which are countable and uncountable like – *dulw, pʰalw, hanza, sari/lari, zokʰai, mutʰa, suba, tʰokʰa, zabkʰw, pʰari, ponai, damwl, zora, boza, tʰuba* etc.

For example –

Countable -

zokʰai – se goi.

(C   - NU NO)

(Four areca nuts)

hali – se daodui.

(C   - NU   NO)

(Four eggs)

 ponai – se goi.
(C   - NU NO)

 (A group of eighty areca nuts)

zora – se mansi.

(C   - NU NO)

(Couple of men)

hanza – do hinzaosa.

(C   -NU   NO)

(Six group of girls)

Uncountable –

dulu– se belao.

(C   - NU   NO)

*(*a group of water leach)

p^h*alu – se bwrai.*

*(*C   - NU   NO)

(A group of old men)

hanza – brui nat^{h}ur.

(C   - NU   NO)

(Four groups of prawn)

lari – ba poraisa.

(C   - NU   NO)

(Five lines of students)

dam*ul – nui et*^{h}*a.*

(C   - NU NO)

(Two place where many bricks are stack)

3.6.6. Classifier of pieces and parts -

In Bodo Language there are some classifiers which are used for pieces and parts of things. Like – *k*^{h}*au, s*^{h}*o, t*^{h}*ukra, k*^{h}*undw, mun, k*^{h}*andi, t*^{h}*o, sui, ak*^{h}*a, mu* etc.

For example –

k^h*au – nui pit*^{h}*a.*

(C   - NU NO)

(Half piece of home made bread)

k^h*au – t*^{h}*am muudum.*

(C - NU   NO)

(Three parts of body)

s^h*o – se gon.*

(C - NU NO)

(Half of stick)

sui – se nareŋ.

(C - NU NO)

(Quarter piece of lemon)

3.7. Classifier and Number -

The classifiers are used with singular and plural number. In plural number the noun, verb and adjectives can be countable or uncountable. The singular and plural numerals added with the classifier are:

Singular number

ma – se pesa.

(C - S   NO)

(An owl)

tʰai – se kʰwrdwi.

(C - S   NO)

(A star fruit)

sa – se hinzao gwdan.

(C - S   NO)

(a bride)

Plural number (countable)

pʰaŋ - ba lebu bipʰaŋ.

(C   - Pl.NU   NO)

(Five lemon trees)

daŋ – do   lesu.

(C - Pl.NU NO)

(Six bunches of litchi)

dor – sni tʰaso

(C - Pl.NU NO)

(one pice of arum).

In Bodo some classifiers are in plural and singular form. The plural classifiers indicate plural numbers even when it is used with one numeral. The singular classifier shows singular form but with the increase of numeral it shows plural form too.

Like –

Singular number -

ma, sa, pʰaŋ, gaŋ, goŋ, tʰɯŋ, pʰar, dokʰla,pʰoŋ, kʰon, tʰai, kʰaw, mun, tʰor,goŋ, bar, dor, gʰor, tʰukra, so, tʰɯb, kʰor, duŋ, kʰandi, gʰor, tʰoŋ, akʰa, sui, kʰoŋ, mu, san, kʰundɯ etc.

For example -
ma – se daosa.
(C - NU NO)
(One chick)

sa – se pɯrɯŋgiri
(C - NU NO)
(One teacher)

swi – se sumpraŋ.
(C - NU NO)
(A slice of guava)

Plural Number – (Countable and uncountable things)

In Bodo language there are some words which show the plural numbers of things and these are also used as classifiers.

dɯlɯ/hanza, sari/lari, pʰalɯ,zora, siri, zokʰai, haldiŋga, tʰokʰa,damul, boza, mutʰa, atʰum,

akʰa, beda, baiga,mutʰi, , tʰoŋ,zab, bandul, dai/mutʰa,awai,   daŋri,   ponai, antʰɯr, pʰari, makʰa, hanza etc.

dɯlɯ – se bere.
(C   - NU NO)
(Groups of honey bee)

zok^{h}ai – se doctor.

(C   - NU NO)

(A group of doctors)

muzum – se bala.

(C   - NU NO)

(One handful of sand)

beda – se bean.

(C   - NU NO)

(A bunch of bean)

The plural indicating classifier also uses some plural suffixes to show more numbers. As -

zok^{h}ai – nwi haluwa – p^{h}wr.

(C   - NU NO   - Pl.SU)

(two groups of four/eight farmers)

boza – t^{h}am – mai – p^{h}wr.

(C   - NU   - NO - Pl.SU)

(three bundles of paddy plants)

3.8.   Basic Classifier -

Some classifiers are origin of Bodo language which is of their own and they are Basic Classifiers, but some are loan from neighobouring languages.

Examples of Basic Classifiers:

sa, mun, ma, p^{h}aŋ, poŋ, duŋ, daŋ, dui, k^{h}obo, dor, k^{h}undu, k^{h}au, sui, k^{h}andi, t^{h}or, mu and so, dagla, dak^{h}a, sor, dalab, dok^{h}or, k^{h}uŋ,muga, ban,gaina etc.

These are basic classifiers of Bodo Language which are traditionaly used from early periods.

For example: –

> *sa -se got^ho gurlui or got^ho gurlui sa – se*
> (C -NU NO   or NO   C - NU)
> (One baby)

> *mun – se k^hamani or k^hamani mun – se*
> (C   -NU NO   or NO   C - NU)
> (One work)

> *ma – se zebra or zebra ma – se.*
> (C   -NU NO or NO   C - NU)
> (One zebra)

> *dagla – se muila or muila dagla – se.*
> (C   - NU NO or NO   C - NU)
> (One spot of dirty things)

> *dak^ha – se zumui or zumui dak^ha – se.*
> (C   - NU NO   or NO   C - NU)
> (a circular of cloud)

> *dalab – se ha   or ha dalab – se*
> (C   - NU NO or NO   C - NU)
> (a small plot of land)

> *dok^hor – se ha   or ha dok^hor – se.*
> (C   - NU NO or   C   - NU)
> (a small plot of land)

"In Assamese there is a definitive gain which has similarity in sound and sense to the Boro definitive gaina.Most probably the Assamese gain is of Boro origin".[4]

Pramod Chandra Bhattacharya cottated *"The Assamese definitive dokʰar may be traced to Boro origin; dokʰor, a piece cut off, (Cf. Br. dokʰao to separate by beating or knocking)"* [5]

3.9. Loan classifiers –

In Bodo Language some classifiers are loan from other languages.

For example – *tʰukʰra, zokʰai, ponai, lari, suba, pʰor, antʰur, mutʰa, boza, beda, bandul, hali, damul pʰor*, *atʰi* etc.

Some classifiers in Bodo Language are borrowing and loan from neighbor languages. *"the classifier /suba & cuba/ is linked to Assamese copa or jopa."* [6] He has also mentioned in his book as *"Dr. B. Kakati ascribes the origin of jopa to jʰumpa which is a Desya element."* [7]

The loan Classifiers used in Bodo are given below -

> *tʰukʰra – se sabun*.
> (C   - NU NO)
> (A small piece of soap)

> *zokʰai – nui giraf*.
> (C   - NU NO)
> (8 number of giraffes)

> *ponai – se nareŋ.*
> (C   - NU NO)
> (A group of 80th numbers of lemons)

> *suba – nui gami.*
> (C   -NU   NO)
> (Couple of villages)

> *pʰor – nui kʰuser*.
> (C   - NU   NO)
> (A knot from one to one of sugar cane)

ant^{h}ur- se muigoŋ.

(C   - NU   NO)

(A line of vegetables)

mut^{h}a – nui dundia.

(C   - NU   NO)

(Two bundles of corriander)

boza – se hagra.

(C   - NU   NO)

(A bundle of grass)

beda – se lesu.

(C   - NU NO)

(A bunch of litchi)

bandul – se k^{h}unduŋ

(C   - NU   NO)

(A bundle of string)

hali – se sigun.

(C - NU NO)

(Couple of vultures)

"The Assamese definitives mut^{h}a has similarly in sound and sense with Boro definitives mut^{h}a.This Boro definitive is probably borrowed from the Skt. musti, equivalent to the Assamese forms mut^{h}a, muthi, mut^h."[8]

The classifiers used in Bodo Language are borrowed from Assamese and Bengali Languages, because in early period the Bodo do not have their own script, so most of the education were in Assamese and Bengali languages and this languages has influence the words of Bodo languages. *"The Assamese definitive ati is parallel to the Boro at^{h}i, probably at^{h}i< skt.grant^{h}i or ast^{h}i."*[9]

The classifier /zora/ in Bodo Language which are are used for pair is borrowed from Assamese /jora/ and which origin is Sanskrit word. "Dr. B. Kakati traces the origin of the Assamese jora from Skt. Joda." [10]

3.10. Classifier related to syllable ending of noun -

In Bodo language there is a unique character of classifiers e.g the ending of syllable of noun is same to classifiers which was mention by Rev. S. Endle in his Book as " *In some instances in words of two syllable, the latter part of the noun, or a word resembling it, is repeated before the numeral ; e. g. –*

"Bang – fang fang – tham" three trees.
"Bidui dui – zu," ten eggs." [11]

For example -

hatʰor/pi tʰor tʰor – ba.
(NO   C -NU)
(Five small piece of soil)

bipʰaŋ pʰaŋ – do
(NO   C - NU)
(Six trees)

bibar bar – sni.
(NO   C - NU)
(Seven flowers)

daodui dui – tʰam.
(NO   C - NU)
(Three egg)

begor gor – nui.
(NO   C - NU)
(Two seeds)

pitʰai tʰai – nɯi.

(NO   C - NU)

(Two fruits)

pitʰɯb   tʰɯb – nɯi.

(NO   C - NU)

(Two silkworm)

dɯikʰor kʰor – nɯi.

(NO   C -NU)

(Two wells)

bedor dor – tʰam.

(NO   C - NU)

(Three pieces of meat)

gaŋkʰoŋ kʰoŋ– tʰam.

(NO   C - NU)

(Three feathers)

bizab zab – tʰam.

(NO C - NU)

(Three steps of book)

gudɯŋ duŋ – tʰam.

(NO   C - NU)

(Three holes)

kʰanaidɯŋ dɯŋ – tʰam.

(NO   C - NU)

(Three hairs)

3.11. Combination of Classifier -

There are some classifiers in Bodo language which are use for combining of sentence with reduplicating, to indicate more numbers of things and also as distribution of things. The twos and threes combine classifiers are use in sentence to show plurals numbers. These are used moslty in early period and in daily life.

zok^{h}ai – se ma – nui dao.
(C   - NU C   - NU NO)
(a group of four and two birds/six birds)

ma – t^{h}am so – se na.
(C - NU   C - NU NO)
(three and half pieces of fish)

t^{h}ai– t^{h}am k^{h}aw -se pit^{h}ai.
(C - NU   C   -NU NO)
(Three and half of fruits)

zok^{h}ai – nwi ma – nui so – se   na
(C   - NU   C - NU C - NU NO)
(Two groups of four and
Two and half piece of fishes, total 10 ½ fishes)

hali – se dwi – nwi daodwi.
(C   - Nu C - NU NO)
(a group of four eggs and two eggs/six eggs)

There are some numerals where the classifier is use with adding suffix /p^{h}a/ which indicates one numeral. As:

so – p^{h}a so – p^{h}a na.
(C – SU C - SU   NO)
(pieces of fish)

kʰwndw – pʰa kʰwndw – pʰa kʰontʰai.
(C   - SU C   - SU NO)
(stanzas of poem)

goŋ – pʰa goŋ – pʰa asan.
(C - SU C   - SU   NO)
(one each of bangle)

3.12. Reduplication of Numeral and Classifier -

In Bodo the numerals and classifiers are use with reduplicating to indicate plural numbers. Single numeral is indicated by repeating plural form of numeral classifiers. There are some suffixes as /sw/ and /lo/ which are added after reduplicating the numeral and classifiers which are rarely used in Bodo language. As.

sa – se sa – se bima.
(C - NU C – NU NO)
(one mother to each)

ma – ba ma – ba natʰur.
 (C - NU C –   NU NO)
(five praws to each)

lari – se lari – se mwigoŋ.
(C - NU C –   NU NO)
(one line of vegetables to each)

hanza – tʰam hanza – tʰam subuŋ.
(C   - NU   C –   NU   NO)
(three groups of each)

Used with suffix.

As –

ma – nwi ma – nwi -sw -na.

(C   -NU C - NU - SU - NO)

(two fishes each)

tʰai – zi tʰai – zi - tʰa - tʰaigir.

(C   - NU C - NU – SU- NO)

(ten elephant fruits each)

sa – ba sa – ba –zwn- maogra.

(C – NU C-NU- SU- NO)

(five servants of each group)

To indicate plural numbers in Bodo, the classifiers are use with reduplicating and with increasing the numerals.

As -

sa   – se sa – nwi poraisa.

(C - NU C – NU NO)

(one and two students)

tʰai – nwi tʰai - tʰam bwigri.

(C - NU C   - NU   NO)

(two and three plums)

ma – ba ma – do daozla.

(C - NU C - NU NO)

(five and six cooks)

gaŋ – ba gaŋ- do si.

(C   - NU C-NU NO)

(five and six cloths)

Sometime these are use with adding suffixes /sw/, /lo/ and /pʰwr/ to show not exact numbers of things, but only a quantity of things.

As –

ma – se ma – nwi sw na.
(C - NU C – NU SU NO)
(one and two fishes)

sa – nwi sa –tʰam lo gotʰo.
(C - NU C – NU SU NO)
(only two and three children)

goŋ- nwi goŋ – tʰam pʰwr kolom.
(C - NU C - NU   SU   NO)
(two and three pens)

3.13. Classifier as word and affix -

In Bodo some noun are uses as classifiers, words and affixes in sentence.

For example -

Classifier as words –

beda, zora, pʰalu, suba, hali, muzum, haldiŋga, kʰandi, pʰabu, kʰobo, bar, mutʰa,tʰurup, zabkʰu, sula, birga, patʰal, tʰakʰu, huŋ, gorod, kʰuŋga, zab etc.

As word –

kʰizur beda. (bunch of date palm)
patʰwi mutʰa.(bundle of areca nut leaf)
goi kʰandi. (slice of areca nut)
sini mwzwm.(hand palmful sugar)

93

As Classifier –

When noun is uses before the numeral, than its function as classifiers.

kʰizur beda – se or beda – se kʰizur.
(NO   C   -NU or C   - NU NO)
(a bunch of date palm)

patʰwi mutʰa – ba or mutʰa – ba patʰwi.
(NO   C   - NU or C   - NU NO)
(five bundles of areca nut leaves)

zuu gorod – se or gorod – se zuu.
(NO   C - NU or C - NU NO)
(a drop of rice beer)

raŋ zab –tʰam or zab – tʰam raŋ.
(NO C - NU   or C - NU NO)
(three bundle of money)

burma pʰatʰal – se or pʰatʰal – se burma.
(NO   C   -NU or C   - NU NO)
(goat give one time birth)

mai birga – se or birga – se   mai.
(NO   C - NUor C   - NU NO)
(one time of spreading of the paddy seeds)

bere mudui swla – se or sula – se bere mudui
 (NO   C   -NU or C   - NU   NO)
 (a drop of honey to taste with tongue)

As affixes –

1 . t^hai is used like suffix –

NO . ak^hu –SU. t^hai > NO. ak^hut^hai. (character)

2. K^hor

NO. ha – NO. k^hor > NO. hak^hor. (pond)

3. dui

NO. megon – NO. dui > NO. muudui. (tear)

4. Siri

A.P^hi – V. siri >V. p^hisiri.   (move with hand)

5. t^har

V. k^har – SU. t^har > V. k^hart^har.   (run)

3. 14. Classifier denotes different meaning for Tone.

The Bodo is a Tonal Language and define as "*A tonal language or tonal language is a language in which saying words with different 'tones' (which are like pitches in music but with a amaller number) changes the meaning of word even if the pronounciation of the word is otherwise the same. .. In some languages, it is pitch accent that is important instead.*" [12] the character of classifiers are changes in noun and verb.

 For example –

sa, ma, t^ho, gaŋ, daŋ, dui, bar, zab.

High Tone	Low Tone
sa (rope)	*sa* (classifier for human beings)
ma (what)	*ma* (" " non human beings)
t^ho (lets go)	*t^ho* (classifier use for long things)
gaŋ (wings of birds)	*gaŋ* (classifier used for cloths, books and wings)
daŋ (to touch)	*daŋ* (classifier used for chands)
dui (water)	*dui* (classifier used for eggs)
bar (to jump)	*bar*(" " " flower)

bar (wind)

                    bar (day)

zab (to arrange)   *zab* (classifier for leaf,

                     cloths and bundle of money

sa (spinning)   sa (tea), sa (enjured).

3.15. Classifier in dialect.

In Bodo there mainly found out three major dialects. The meaning and functions of classifiers has been found different in different dialects area.

Western dialect	Eastern dialect and Southern dialect
baiga (a handful boiled or unboiled rice or paddy seed to fry)	*awa*i (a handful boiled or unboiled rice or paddy seed to fry)
mut^{h}a (bundle)	
zok^{h}ai (a group of four for egg or anythings)	*mut^{h}i* (bundle)
	hali (a group of four for egg)

For example –

In Western dialect.

        mai baiga – se or baiga – se mai.
        (NO   C - NU or C   - NU NO)
        (a handful of paddy seeds to fry)

        dundiya mut^{h}a – se   or mut^{h}a – se dundiya.
        (NO   C - NU or C   - NU NO)
        (one bundle of coriander)

        daodwi zok^{h}ai – se or zok^{h}ai – se daodwi.
        (NO   C - NU or C   - NU NO)
        (a group of four or four eggs)

In Eastern dialect

mai awai – se or awai – se mai.

(NO   C - NU or C   - NU NO)

(a handful of paddy seeds to fry)

dundiya mutʰi – se or mutʰi – se dundiya.

(NO   C - NU or C   - NU NO)

(one bundle of coriander)

daodwi hali – se or hali – se daodwi.

(NO   C - NU or C   - NU NO)

(a group of four or four eggs)

In eastern Bodo Dialect the classifier /gaŋ/ is used for some eatable things and dish, but in western dialects (standard Language) this classifier is used with any flat things and leaf.

For example –

In eastern dialect –   *gaŋ – se biscuit.*
(C - NU NO)
(one biscuit)

 gaŋ – se tʰursi.

(C - NU NO)
(one dish)

In western dialect (Standard Language) –

gaŋ – se kʰwuraŋ bilai.

(C   - NU   NO)

(a news paper)

gaŋ – nwi dokʰona.

(C   - NU NO)

(two traditional dress of Bodo women)

In western dialect for flat round things like – dish, biscuits, chapatti and plate the classifier /gur/ and /gong/ are used.

As –   *gur – se biscuit.*
                                (C - NU NO)
                                (one biscuit)

                                goŋ – se tʰursi.
                                (C   - NU NO)
                                (one dish)

The classifier /ga/ is used in Bodo eastern dialect for time of work, but in standard language for time of work /kʰon/ is used and /ga/ is used as suffix.

For example –

In eastern Bodo dialect -

ga – se pɯinai.
(C - NU NO)
(one time of come)

ga – se zanai
(C - NU NO)
(one time of eat)

In western dialect (standard language) -

kʰon – se pɯinai.
(C   - NU   NO)
(one time of come)

kʰon – se zanai.
(C - NU NO)
(one time of eat)

The influence of other language like Assamese language has been found more in Eastern Bodo dialects area and southern Bodo dialects area.

In Western dialect the classifier /daŋ/ is use for long and flexible things on the other hand in southern dialect the classifier /duŋ/ or /doŋ/ is used.

As –

In western dialect –

    sonani mala daŋ – se or daŋ – se sonani mala.

    (NO   C   - NU or C - NU NO)

    (one gold necklace)

In southern dialect –

    sonani mala doŋ – se   or doŋ – se sonani mala.

    (NO   C - NU or C   - NU NO)

    (one gold necklace)

The classifier for human being in Bodo is */sa/* and in Assaemese the classifier */zon/, /zoni/* is use. In Bodo influencing Assamese language they use */zwn/* with human being as suffix and most uses with plural numeral.

As –

    Assamese   Bodo

    /zon/, /zoni/   ……. /zwn/

Assamese -

    sari – zon manu.

    (NU – C NO)

    (four people)

    du   – zon satro.

    (NU – C NO)

    (two students)

Bodo -

> *se – zwn poraisa.*
> (NU – SU NO)
> (one student)

> *do – zwn gelegra.*
> (NU – SU NO)
> (Six players)

3.16. Findings.

1. This chapter found out that the classifiers of Bodo Language use for human being, non human being, natural objects, and things.

2. The structure, meaning and functions of Bodo Classifiers are found out.

3. The classifiers are use as words and affixes.

4. Reduplication, singular and plural classifier, basic and loan classifiers of Bodo are found out.

5. Generally, in Bodo language, noun and verb are use as classifiers adding with the numerals.

As - *sa* (classifiers used for human being and for god and ghost)

   ma (used for animals, birds, insects and creatures)

For example -

> *sa – nwi goladar.*
> (C - NU NO)
> (Two shopkeepers)

> *ma – t^{h}am mainao.*
> (C - NU NO)
> (three lizards)

6. Bodo is a tonal language so these classifiers also change the meaning with taking the tone and are used like a word and noun.

Like - /*sa*/ classifiers is used for human being and for god and ghost.

> With Tone -

> *sa* – (to spinning)
> *sa*   (tea in low tone)
> *sa* (to pain in low tone)

7. In Bodo, noun and verb are used as classifiers with adding numeral.

 As -

Noun as classifiers –

> *no – se mansi.*
> (NO- NU NO)
> (house full with people)

> *beg – se bizab.*
> (NO - NU NO)
> (a bag full of books)

Verb as classifiers -

> *haba kuŋ – se.*
> (NO   V - NU)
> (one time celebration of marriage)

> *kʰamani pwzwb –* se
> (NO   V   - NU)
> (finished the work in one setting)

8. Numerals and Classifiers are related to each other and on other hand some differences are also found out in numeral and Classifiers.

9. Numerals can be used without classifiers, because these are free forms and figures, but classifiers are compatible with the numerals and without numerals its function is as noun, word and affixes.

10. The classifiers are used with combination to same and differences.

11. Bodo has different dialects, classifiers may be different but it indicates the same meaning of it. There are differences in eastern and in western dialect. As –

Eastern dialect –

     ga – se tʰaŋnai.
     (C - NU V)
     (one time of going)

     kʰwn – se tʰaŋnai.
     (C   - NU V)
     (one time of going)

     Western dialect –
     kʰon – se tʰaŋnai
     (C   - NU V)
     (one time of going)

     kʰon – se pwinai.
     (C   - NU V)
     (one time of coming)

12. The ending of noun is related and same to classifiers

13. In this way there are many classifiers in Bodo language which are generally used as classifiers but the tone shows the different meaning.

14. Therefore in Morphology the grammatical categories e.g – classifiers, words, affixes and verb are related to each others. These are used in different functions but reveal different meaning in different time and situation.

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