

**CHAPTER-3**  
**NOMINALIZATION THROUGH COMPOUNDING**  
**AND REDUPLICATION OF NOUN**

### CHAPTER-3

## NOMINALIZATION THROUGH COMPOUNDING AND REDUPLICATION OF NOUN

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### 3.1 Compounding

Compounding is another most commonly used process of word formation. In this process, at least two or more than two roots or bases are combined into single one to form a new word. In most cases the resulting word belongs to the class of at least one of the constituent roots. The words formed by this process is termed compound word. In some cases, the combined roots or bases are separated by a hyphen. For example: *postman*, *ice-cream*, *taxi-driver*, etc. The process of compounding may exist in most languages as an important mechanism for creating new vocabulary and expressing complex ideas and concepts. Such process is do exist in Bodo language also. It is one of the most productive morphological processes in Bodo. David Crystal mentions it is a linguistic unit that “*consisting of two or more free morphemes*”<sup>1</sup> R.L. Trask in his book *A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics* (1993) defines “*the process of forming a word by combining two or more existing words: newspaper, paper-thin, babysit, video game.*”<sup>2</sup> According to P.H. Matthews, “*A word formed from two or more units that are themselves words or forms of words: e.g. blackboard from black or board.*”<sup>3</sup> Rochelle Lieber mentions that “*compounds are words that are composed of two (or more) base forms, roots, or stems.*”<sup>4</sup> Thus the compounding is one of the productive word formation processes whereby two or more roots or bases are joined into one.

Compounding is a recursive process. Sometimes, a compound word of two bases can further be compounded with another base. In this case, Rochelle Lieber mentions “*Compounds, of course, need not be limited to two bases. Compounding is what is called **recursive** process, in the sense that a compound of two bases can be compounded*

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<sup>1</sup> Crystal, David. *A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1980. p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Trask, R.L. *A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics*. London: Routledge, 1993. p. 53.

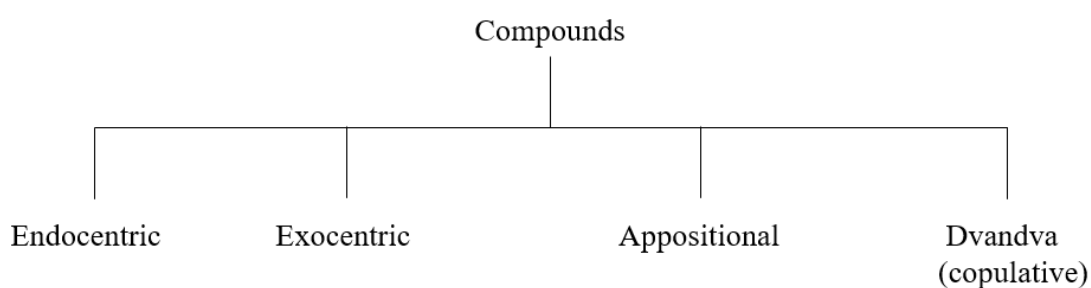
<sup>3</sup> Matthews, P.H. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2014. p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> Lieber, Rochelle. *Introducing Morphology*. Cambridge University Press. 2009. p. 43.

*with another base, and this compounded with still another base, so that we can eventually obtain very complex compound like paper towel dispenser factory building committee report.”<sup>5</sup>*

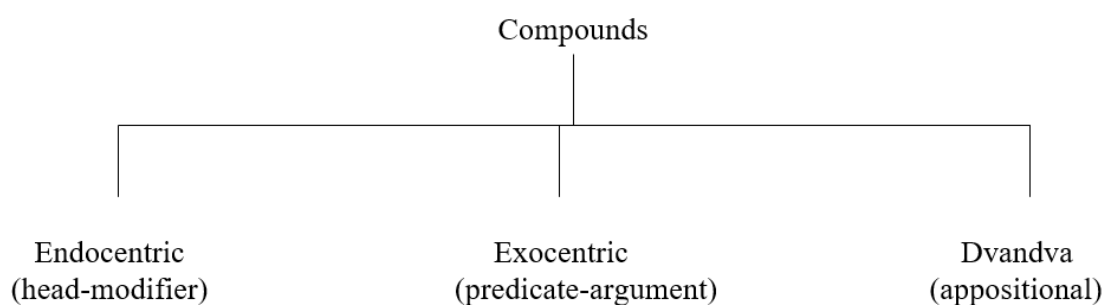
### **Classification of Compounds:**

Many linguists or scholars have made classification on compounding with their outstanding research. Laurie Bauer (1983) classifies compounds in four types as given below:



**Figure: 3.1**

Spencer (1991) classifies compounds in three as given below:

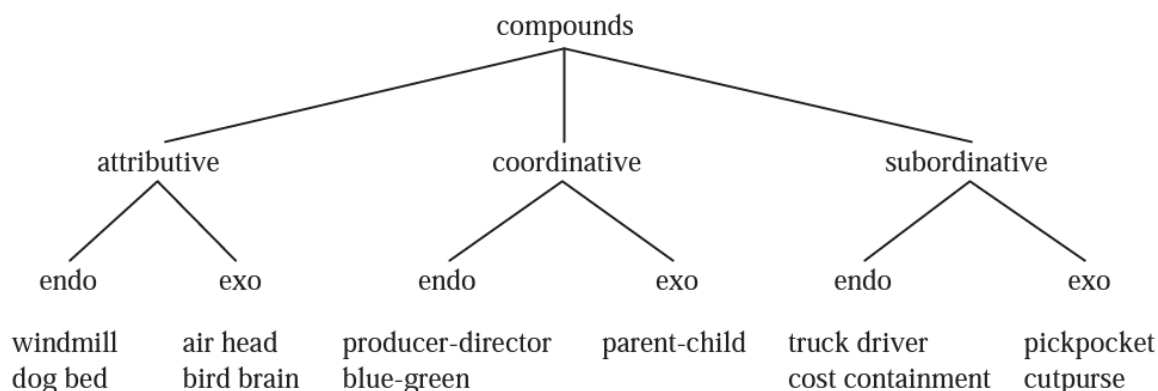


**Figure: 3.2**

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 44.

Rochelle Lieber classifies compounds as given below:



**Figure: 3.3**

(Extracted from *Introducing Morphology* (2009) p. 49.)

About the classification of compounds A. Brahma says “*compound word can be subcategorized into different types on the basis of two grounds, namely, semantic and structural.*”<sup>6</sup> On the basis of semantic Brahma further sub-grouped the compounds in four types i.e. endocentric, exocentric, copulative and appositional compounds. Again, on structural classification Brahma says “*on the basis of their structures the derived compound words can be subgrouped into different classes such as N+N, Adj.+N, V+N, N+V, V+V, PRON+N, etc.*”<sup>7</sup>

After examining the classification of compounding from different scholars it may say that different languages have different ways of classifying compound words. However, in case of Bodo language compound words may classify into three ways i.e., semantic, structural point of view and formal classification.

### 3.1.1 Semantic classification of Compounds in Bodo

Depending upon the change in meaning, compound words may further be subcategorized. In this point, Brahma identifies that there are four sub-types of compounds in Bodo. These are:

<sup>6</sup> Brahma, A. *Modern Bodo Grammar*. Kokrajhar: N.L. Publications, 2013. p. 164.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 165.

- i. Endocentric Compounds
- ii. Exocentric Compounds
- iii. Copulative Compounds and
- iv. Appositional Compounds

### 3.1.1.1 Endocentric Compounds

Endocentric compounds are that compound word which has a head. Such compounds have two or more roots or bases, one root employs as head and another root employs as modifier of head root. For example- *bee+hive > beehive* and *cold+soup > cold soup*. The head of the compound word is that root which expresses the core meaning and determines the category of resultant compound. In the given examples, *hive* and *soup* are the head roots respectively. Defining the term endocentric David Crystal says that “it refers to a group of syntactically related words where one of the words is functionally equivalent to the group as a whole.”<sup>8</sup> In Trask’s word “it is a hyponym of the grammatical head.” According to Aronoff and Fudeman, “an endocentric is one that has a head. The head expresses the core meaning of the compound, and it belongs to the same lexical category of the compound as a whole.”<sup>9</sup> Depending upon the role of employed roots Endocentric compounds may further be classified into two sub types i.e., right-headed and left-headed.

#### 3.1.1.1.1 Right Headed Endocentric Compounds

In the right headed endocentric compounds, the head root occurs at right hand side and its modifier (another root) precedes it. This may be represented as follows:

$$x+y > xy$$

whereas, y is the head and the x is its modifier.

In Bodo, right headed endocentric compound nouns are made up of **noun + noun** formation. The noun base which occurs on right side is the semantic head and the base

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<sup>8</sup> Crystal, David. *A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1980. p. 131.

<sup>9</sup> Aronoff, Mark and Fudeman, Kristen. *What is Morphology*. 2nd ed., Wiley Blackwell, 2011. p. 114.

which precedes it functions as modifier. For example: *muzlai-zanzi* ‘beautiful waist’. The example is made up of *muzlai* ‘ant’ and *zanzi* ‘waist’. Here, *zanzi* holds semantic head and *muzlai* is the modifier of *zanzi*. A lot of compound nouns are formed up by this right headed endocentric process. For example:

Noun		Noun		Noun
sik <sup>h</sup> ri	+	sik <sup>h</sup> la	>	sik <sup>h</sup> ri-sik <sup>h</sup> la
‘butterfly’		‘young girl’		‘fairy’
uri	+	muik <sup>h</sup> un	>	uri-muik <sup>h</sup> un
‘termite’		‘mushroom’		‘a kind of mushroom’
t <sup>h</sup> an <sup>k</sup> hu	+	t <sup>h</sup> imi	>	t <sup>h</sup> an <sup>k</sup> hu-t <sup>h</sup> imi
‘tobacco’		‘small box’		‘tobacco box’
suima	+	hat <sup>h</sup> aj	>	suima-hat <sup>h</sup> aj
‘dog’		‘teeth’		‘canine teeth’
san	+	bibar	>	sanbibar
‘sun’		‘flower’		‘sunflower’

Besides above illustrated, a few right headed endocentric compound nouns are made up of **noun + noun + noun** formation. In such compounds the base which occurs on the right most side holds semantic head. For example:

Noun		Noun		Noun		Noun
bar	+	dui	+	sik <sup>h</sup> la	>	barduisik <sup>h</sup> la
‘air’		‘water’		‘girl’		‘weather goddess’

### 3.1.1.1.2 Left Headed Endocentric Compounds

In case of left headed endocentric compounds, the head root occurs at left hand side and the modifier root follows it. This may be represented as follows:

$$y+x > yx$$

whereas, y is the head and the x is its modifier.

In Bodo, the left headed endocentric compound nouns are made up of **noun + adjective** and **noun + noun** formation. In **noun + adjective** left headed endocentric compounds, the noun base which stands at left side holds semantic head and the adjective which stands at right side arises as modifier. For example: *bima-gɔdai* ‘step mother’ is made up of *bima* ‘mother’(N.) and *gɔdai* ‘junior’ (Adj.). In this example, *bima* is head and *gɔdai* is modifier. There are many compound nouns constituted by this process in Bodo. For example:

Noun		Adjective		Noun
hinzaw ‘female’	+	gudan ‘new’	>	hinzaw-gudan ‘bride’
k <sup>h</sup> awlaj+ ‘cheek’		p <sup>h</sup> awdur ‘chubby’	>	k <sup>h</sup> awlaj-p <sup>h</sup> awdur ‘chubby-cheek’
adui ‘calf’	+	mɔdɔ ‘stout’	>	adui-mɔdɔ ‘nice calf’
guduna ‘neck’	+	p <sup>h</sup> ɔŋlen ‘graceful’	>	guduna-p <sup>h</sup> ɔŋlen ‘graceful-neck’
gɔi ‘betel-nut’	+	dɔdere ‘small/affectionate’	>	gɔi-dɔdere ‘a kind of small betel-nut’

In **noun + noun** left headed endocentric compounds, the noun which stands at left hand side holds semantic head and another noun which stands at right side arises as modifier. For example:

Noun		Noun		Noun
guma ‘grasshopper’	+	dawrai ‘peacock’	>	guma-dawrai ‘a kind of grasshopper’
asi ‘finger’	+	bima ‘mother’	>	asi-bima ‘thump’
p <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> wui ‘betel leaf’	+	sinari ‘subtle marks or lines’	>	p <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> wui-sinari ‘a kind of small betel leaf’

### 3.1.1.2 Exocentric Compounds

Exocentric compounds are headless compounds. Although it is made up of two or more roots or bases, the resultant compound does not follow the semantic sense of neither constituent root, instead, it expresses another sense. In Laurie Bauer's word "*it is a hyponym of some unexpressed semantic head.*"<sup>10</sup> For example, from English, *pickpocket* is made up of *pick* and *pocket* but it is not hyponym of either *pick* or *pocket*. Here, *pick* and *pocket* do not directly denote the meaning. Instead, *pickpocket* refers to a person who steals from others' pockets. Since the semantic head is unexpressed, the compound is often seen as metaphorical or synecdochic, that cannot be deduced from the meanings of its components. It is also known as ***bahuvrihi compound***. The term exocentric derives from two Greek words 'exo' (outsider) and 'kentron' (center), expressing that the meaning of the compound is outside of its components. Defining the exocentric compound David Crystal says that "*it refers to a group of syntactically related words where none of the words is FUNCTIONALLY equivalent to the group as a whole (i.e. there is no definable 'center' or HEAD inside the group); it is opposed to ENDOCENTRIC.*"<sup>11</sup> According to Trask, it is "*a type of compound word in which one element modifies or restricts the other and the whole denotes an entity which is a hyponym of an unexpressed semantic head.*"<sup>12</sup> "*In an exocentric compound, the meaning of the word does not follow from the meaning of the parts. For example, the word 'redneck' is not used for describing the colour of a person's neck. It is rather used as a noun for describing an unsophisticated and arrogant person.*"<sup>13</sup> Exocentric compounds are often used in a language to convey specific concepts or ideas. It can be challenging to understand for non-native speakers. To understand such compounds, one has often required context or cultural knowledge of a language. This kind of compound is very productive in Bodo. For example: *suima-sik<sup>h</sup>ari* is made up of *suima* 'dog' and *sik<sup>h</sup>ari* 'hunter' but it is not hyponym of either *suima* and *sik<sup>h</sup>ari*. Here, *suima-sik<sup>h</sup>ari* denotes the meaning of a kind of bee. In Bodo, the exocentric compounds are made up of **noun + noun**, **noun + verb** and **noun + adjective** formations as given below:

<sup>10</sup> Bauer, Laurie. *English Word-Formation*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> Crystal, David. *A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1980. p. 137.

<sup>12</sup> Trask, R.L. *A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics*. London: Routledge, 1993. p. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Singh, P. Birchandra. *Word Formation in Manipuri and Tangkhul A comparative analysis*. 2019. Manipur University. PhD dissertation. p. 67.

Noun		Noun		Noun
suima 'dog'	+	sik <sup>h</sup> ari 'hunter'	>	suima-sik <sup>h</sup> ari 'a kind of bee'
buri 'old woman'	+	t <sup>h</sup> ok <sup>h</sup> on 'stick'	>	burit <sup>h</sup> ok <sup>h</sup> on 'a kind of plant'
dauk <sup>h</sup> a 'crow'	+	k <sup>h</sup> amp <sup>h</sup> laj 'a low wooden seat'	>	dauk <sup>h</sup> a-k <sup>h</sup> amp <sup>h</sup> laj 'a kind of creeping plant'
daula 'cock'	+	k <sup>h</sup> ungur 'crest'	>	daula-k <sup>h</sup> ungur 'a kind of flower or its plant'
dau 'bird'	+	p <sup>h</sup> enda 'thigh'	>	dau-p <sup>h</sup> enda 'a kind of edible plant'
daugan 'feather'	+	zuula 'male'	>	dauganzuula 'a kind of plant'
Noun		Verb		Noun
dausa 'chick'	+	muuk <sup>h</sup> reb 'to blink'	>	dausa-muuk <sup>h</sup> reb 'a kind of plant (sensitive plant)'
daurai 'peacock'	+	muuk <sup>h</sup> reb 'to blink'	>	daurai-muuk <sup>h</sup> reb 'a kind Bodo traditional embroidery on cloth'
dausri 'martin'	+	delai 'to luxuriate'	>	dausri-delai 'a kind of Bodo traditional dance'
Noun		Adjective		Noun
sobai 'pulse'	+	bima 'big/chief'	>	sobai-bima 'a kind of long bean'
ganda 'rhino'	+	gageb 'flat'	>	ganda-gageb 'a kind of fish'

### 3.1.1.3 Copulative Compounds

Copulative Compounds are also type of compounds, whereby two participating roots or bases are coupled together. Here both roots exist in a co-ordinate relationship and both are seemed to function as head. In such compounds, the meanings of both participating roots are do exist equally. For example: mother-son, bittersweet, etc. Trask defines that it is “*a type of compound word in which each element has an equal claim to be considered the head, as though the elements were joined by the word ‘and’*: *Austria-Hungary, tragicomic, freeze-dry.*”<sup>14</sup> About copulative compound Laurie Bauer mentions “*Here it is not always clear which element is the grammatical head and the compound is not a hyponym of either element, but the elements name separate entities which combine to form the entity denoted by the compound.*”<sup>15</sup> These compounds are often used to convey a unified concept or emphasise the combination of the constituent elements. Such compounds are commonly used in various language. Copulative compound nouns are also used very frequently in Bodo. Most of the copulative compounds are made up of **noun + noun**.

Noun		Noun		Noun
gusui	+	gurbui	>	gusui-gurbui
‘mind’		‘heart’		‘heart and soul’
gusui	+	muudum	>	gusui-muudum
‘mind’		‘body’		‘mind and body’
at <sup>h</sup> iŋ	+	ak <sup>h</sup> ai	>	at <sup>h</sup> iŋ-ak <sup>h</sup> ai
‘leg’		‘hand’		‘leg and hand’
sa	+	sanza	>	sa-sanza
‘north’		‘east’		‘north-east’
bima	+	bip <sup>h</sup> a	>	bima-bip <sup>h</sup> a
‘mother’		‘father’		‘parent’
bisi	+	p <sup>h</sup> isai	>	bisi-p <sup>h</sup> isai
‘wife’		‘husband’		‘husband and wife’

<sup>14</sup> Trask, R.L. *A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics*. London: Routledge, 1993. p. 87.

<sup>15</sup> Bauer, Laurie. *English Word-Formation*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p. 31.

sɔŋgrai	+	sandri	>	sɔŋgrai-sandri
‘winnowing fan’		‘sieve’		‘fan and sieve’
naŋguul	+	zuŋgal	>	naŋguul-zuŋgal
‘plough’		‘yoke’		‘plough and yoke’
san	+	hɔr	>	san-hɔr
‘day’		‘night’		‘day and night’

### 3.1.1.4 Appositional Compounds

Appositional compounds are that where two or more bases are juxtaposed next to each other to describe a single entity or sense. It is a hyponym of both participating bases. For example: *player-coach* here the *player-coach* means a person who is both a *player* and a *coach*. According to The *Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar*, appositional compound is “a compound which, semantically, is a hyponym of both of its constituent words.”<sup>16</sup> Defining the term Laurie Bauer mentions “*maidservant* is a hyponym of both *maid* and *servant*: a *maid servant* is a type of *maid* and also a type of *servant*. This type of compound is termed an *appositional compound*.”<sup>17</sup> For example:

p <sup>h</sup> isa	+	hinzaw	>	p <sup>h</sup> isa-hinzaw
‘child’		‘female’		‘daughter’
p <sup>h</sup> isuu	+	zuula	>	p <sup>h</sup> isuuuzla
‘grandchild’		‘male’		‘grandson’

### 3.1.2 Structural classification of Compounds in Bodo

Keeping in view on the structures of participating roots or bases, compounds can be subdivided into two sub-types in Bodo. These are-

- (a) Root compounds
- (b) Synthetic compounds.

<sup>16</sup> Chalker, Sylvia and Weiner Edmund. *Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar*. New Work: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 79.

<sup>17</sup> Bauer, Laurie. *English Word-Formation*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p. 30.

### 3.1.2.1 Root compounds

Root compounds are also kinds of compound, where two root morphemes are combined into single one to express a sense. Root is the irreducible core part of a word, which left even all the affixes have been removed. *“A root is the base form of a word which can not be further analysed without total loss of identity. Putting this another way, it is that part of the word left when all the affixes are removed. In the word meaningfulness, for example, removing -ing, -ful and ness leaves the root mean.”*<sup>18</sup> In Bodo, root morphemes can be found in two forms i.e., free and bound root. Free root can express its meaning by itself independently and also can arise in a sentence directly. But, on the other hand, bound root cannot express its meaning independently even it has own meaning and also can not arise in a sentence independently. To express its meaning bound root need help of another free root or affix. There can find a lot of such bound roots in Bodo, those are used as a word by attaching with another free root through compounding process.

It is observed that the generic terms for animal, bird, fish, water, etc. play vital role in root compounds. The root compound structure of Bodo is **free root + bound root > compound noun**. Many compound nouns are formed by this process. In Bodo, the names of animals, birds, fish, land and water related words are realised in this process.

#### 3.1.2.1.1 Animals name formation by free root + bound root compounding

Most animal names are formed through this process. In Bodo, the term *mi* is the generic term for animals. This *mi* is a free root, it always precedes other roots in formation of animal naming words. So, the naming words for specific animals are composed of two segments. There are specific bound roots for each and every animal to denote name, which cannot occur directly in sentence by itself. These bound roots are added with *mi* to form animal names denoting word. Most of the animal denoting words are disyllabic. It is worthy to mention that during the compounding *mi* may arise as different phonetically conditioned allomorphs like- *muu*, *mu* and *ma* due to vowel harmony. For example:

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<sup>18</sup> Crystal, David. *A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1980. p. 308.

Free root		Bound root		Name of animal (noun)
mi 'animal'	+	suu 'denotes cow'	>	muusu 'cow'
mi 'animal'	+	k <sup>h</sup> ra 'denotes monkey'	>	muuk <sup>h</sup> ra 'monkey'
mi 'animal'	+	sa 'denotes tiger'	>	muusa 'tiger'
mi 'animal'	+	dui 'denotes porcupine'	>	muudui 'porcupine'
mi 'animal'	+	der 'denotes elephant'	>	muider 'elephant'
mi 'animal'	+	sui 'denotes buffalo'	>	muusui 'buffalo'
mi 'animal'	+	p <sup>h</sup> ur 'denotes bear'	>	mup <sup>h</sup> ur 'bear'
mi 'animal'	+	zi 'denotes cat'	>	mawzi 'cat'
mi 'animal'	+	dab 'denotes squirrel'	>	mandab 'squirrel'

On the basis of syllabic structure all the animals' name denoting words illustrated here are di-syllabic. In spite of above mentioned, there are a few animal naming words which are not formed with *mi*-. These are *ɔma* 'pig', *burma* 'goat', *sesa* 'rabbit', *suima* 'dog', etc.

### 3.1.2.1.2 Birds name formation by free root + bound root compounding

The birds name denoting words are formed by two different morphological segments through compounding process. *dau* is the genus word for bird in Bodo. It is a monosyllabic free root in nature, it always precedes another bound root to derive different genre of birds' name. There are specific bound roots for each and every kind of bird to represents its name. These bound roots have own meaning, but cannot occur independently. These are compounded with *dau* to indicate its meaning and arises as di-syllabic word in sentence. For example:

Free root		bound root		birds' name (noun)
dau	+	bɔ	>	daubɔ
'bird'		'indicates heron'		'heron'
dau	+	k <sup>h</sup> a	>	dauk <sup>h</sup> a
'bird'		'indicates crow'		'crow'
dau	+	sri	>	dausri
'bird'		'indicates martin'		'martin'
dau	+	t <sup>h</sup> u	>	daut <sup>h</sup> u
'bird'		'indicates dove'		'dove'
dau	+	lur	>	daulur/daublur
'bird'		'indicates nightingale'		'nightingale'
dau	+	rai	>	daurai
'bird'		'indicates peacock'		'peacock'
dau	+	k <sup>h</sup> uuuuu	>	dauk <sup>h</sup> uuuuu
'bird'		'indicates cuckoo'		'cuckoo'

It is worthy to mention that some bird's name are onomatopoeic words. *dauk<sup>h</sup>uuuuu*, *dauk<sup>h</sup>a*, and *dausri* are this type of word. The bound root of such words i.e., *k<sup>h</sup>uuuuu*, *k<sup>h</sup>a* and *sri* are taken from the chirping sound of *dauk<sup>h</sup>uuuuu* 'cuckoo', *dauk<sup>h</sup>a* 'crow', and *dausri* 'martin' respectively.

It is observed that, some bird related words are also realized in root compounds. Again, the root ‘*dau*’ precedes the other root. But here the other roots are also free in nature having own meaning. So, it can say **free root + free root**. For example:

Free root		free root		birds’ related words name (noun)
dau	+	gaŋ	>	daugaŋ
‘bird’		‘feather’		‘feather of bird’
dau	+	dui	>	daudui
‘bird’		‘to lay egg’		‘egg’
dau	+	k <sup>hi</sup>	>	dauk <sup>hi</sup>
‘bird’		‘stool’		‘faeces of bird’

### 3.1.2.1.3 Fish name formation by free root + bound root compounding

A few fish’s names are formed up by this root compounding process. The term *na* is the genus name for fish in Bodo. There are specific bound roots for every respective fish. These are occurred with *na* to derive respective fish’s name by compounding process. For example:

Free root		bound root		fish’s name (noun)
na	+	t <sup>hur</sup>	>	nat <sup>hur</sup>
‘fish’		‘indicates shrimp’		‘shrimp prawn’
na	+	srai	>	nasrai
‘fish’		‘indicates snake headed fish’		‘snake headed fish’

There are some fish’s name in free root form. Although these can arise independently and can express the name of fish, yet these are often used by compounding with *na* root. For example:

Free root		free root		fish’s name (noun)
na	+	singi	>	nasingi
‘fish’		‘indicates stinging catfish’		‘stinging catfish’
na	+	k <sup>hauui</sup>	>	nak <sup>hauui</sup>
‘fish’		‘indicates climbing fish’		‘climbing fish’

na	+	p <sup>hi</sup> t <sup>hi</sup> igri	>	nap <sup>hi</sup> t <sup>hi</sup> ik <sup>hi</sup> ri
‘fish’		‘indicates swam barb’		‘swam barb’
na	+	bami	>	nabami
‘fish’		‘indicates spiny eel’		‘spiny eel’

#### 3.1.2.1.4 Fruits name formation by free root + bound root compounding

The naming words for fruit is formed up of two morphological segments through compounding. The term *p<sup>hi</sup>it<sup>hi</sup>ai* is used to denote fruit in Bodo. It is worth mentioning that the naming words of fruits in Bodo-Garo languages starts with *t<sup>hi</sup>ai*, it is prefixal proto-form of the Bodo-Garo words for ‘fruit’. In Bodo, there are specific bound roots for every respective fruit to denote its name, these roots do not arise alone. During the compounding of fruit’s naming word, the *t<sup>hi</sup>ai* free root always precedes the bound root. For example:

Free root		bound root		fruit’s name (noun)
t <sup>hi</sup> ai	+	zuu	>	t <sup>hi</sup> aizu
		‘indicates mango’		‘mango’
t <sup>hi</sup> ai	+	lir	>	t <sup>hi</sup> ailir
		‘indicates banana’		‘banana’
t <sup>hi</sup> ai	+	ben	>	t <sup>hi</sup> aiben
		‘indicates cucumber’		‘cucumber’
t <sup>hi</sup> ai	+	gir	>	t <sup>hi</sup> aigir
		‘indicates elephant apple’		‘elephant apple’
t <sup>hi</sup> ai	+	suri	>	t <sup>hi</sup> aisuri
		‘indicates hog-plum’		‘hog-plum’
t <sup>hi</sup> ai	+	k <sup>ha</sup>	>	t <sup>hi</sup> aik <sup>ha</sup>
		‘indicates’		‘a kind of acid fruit’

### 3.1.2.1.5 Land/soil and earth related word

*ha* is the generic term in Bodo-Garo for land or soil. In Bodo, most of the land and earth related words are made up of two morphological units. The word *ha* usually precedes the other bound root in order to form or derive different types of land and earth related words. For example:

Free root		bound root		land and earth related noun word
ha 'soil'	+	zui	>	hazui 'hill/mountain'
ha 'soil'	+	ien	>	hajen 'plain land below the hill'
ha 'soil'	+	dri	>	hadri 'dust'
ha 'soil'	+	bru	>	habru 'mud'
ha 'soil'	+	k <sup>h</sup> or	>	hak <sup>h</sup> or 'pit'
ha 'soil'	+	t <sup>h</sup> or	>	hat <sup>h</sup> or 'clod'
ha 'soil'	+	braŋ	>	habraŋ 'high bank of a river'
ha 'soil'	+	gau	>	hagau 'hard dirt'

### 3.1.2.1.6 Water and its related words

*di* is the proto-Bodo-Garo form for water. Now, the word *dui* is the term for water in Bodo. The word *dui* precedes the other bound roots to derive the words that are associated with water. A few the water related words are made up of two morphological segments. For example:

Free root		bound root		water related noun
dui	+	bɔ	>	duibɔ
‘water’				‘a place full of water’
dui	+	k <sup>h</sup> ɔr	>	duik <sup>h</sup> ɔr
‘water’				‘well’
dui	+	t <sup>h</sup> un	>	duit <sup>h</sup> un
‘water’				‘wave’
dui	+	mu	>	duimu
‘water’				‘spring of water’
dui	+	hu	>	duihu
‘water’				‘pitcher’

### 3.1.2.1.7 Kinship Terminology

Kinship terms occupy an important place in the nominalization of Bodo language. Among the Bodos kin relationship is recognized based on descent and marriage. In this context P. Basumatary says that “*the Bodos have two types of kinships in each of the family: (i) kinship based on descent which is known as kinship of blood relation. From theoretical perspective of cultural anthropology it is known as consanguineal kinship and (ii) the other is formed based on marriage which is known in anthropology as affinal kinship. Both the kinship structure is extant in the social constraint.*”<sup>19</sup>

The kinship terms in Bodo are bound bases which co-occurs personal pronominal prefixes. The singular form of first, second and third personal pronoun precedes as pronominal prefixes to constitute kinship terms in Bodo like other Tibeto-Burman languages. Most of the kinship terms of this language are bound root in nature, these are not used directly in sentences. These terms are: *p<sup>h</sup>a*, *ma*, *bui*, *buu*, *da*, *bɔ*, etc. and their meanings are to be understand as father, mother, grand-mother, grand-father, elder brother, elder sister respectively. In formation of kinship term, these bound roots function as head of kinship term. Kinship terms are formed through the compounding

<sup>19</sup> Basumatary, P. “Kinship Structure and Related Terminology of The Boros: Discussion From Sociological and Linguistic View Point.” *International Journal of English Language, Literature and Humanities*. vol. IV, no. VIII, 2016, pp. 112.

process in combination of personal pronoun as pronominal prefix and bound root kinship term. It is observed that the bound root kinship terms are always associated with the singular forms of personal pronoun and never used with the plural forms. There are two types of kinship terms identified in Bodo. These are:

- i. Kinship term for address
- ii. Kinship term for reference

### 3.1.2.1.7.1 Kinship term for address

It refers to the immediate kin relationship. This kind of terms are used for addressing someone (the relative) directly. The singular form of first personal pronoun *aŋ* ‘I’ precedes as pronominal prefix in the form *a-* to form address kinship term. So, kinship terms for address are constituted with the combination of singular form of first personal pronoun and the bound root kinship term. For example:

Personal Pronoun		Bound Root Kinship Term		Kinship Term
aŋ	+	p <sup>h</sup> a	>	ap <sup>h</sup> a
‘I’		‘indicates father’		‘my father’
aŋ	+	buu	>	abu
‘I’		‘indicates grandfather’		‘my grandfather’
aŋ	+	bui	>	abui
‘I’		‘indicates grandmother’		‘my grandmother’
aŋ	+	da	>	ada
‘I’		‘indicates elder brother’		‘my elder brother’
aŋ	+	bɔ	>	abɔ
‘I’		‘indicates elder sister’		‘my elder sister’
aŋ	+	nau	>	anau
I		‘indicates younger sister’		‘my younger sister’
aŋ	+	ioŋ	>	aioŋ
I		‘indicates paternal uncle’		paternal uncle

aŋ	+	dui	>	adui
I		‘indicates father’s younger brother’		‘my father’s younger brother’
aŋ	+	mai	>	amai
I		‘indicates maternal uncle’		‘maternal uncle’
aŋ	+	nui	>	anui
I		‘indicates maternal aunt’		‘maternal aunt’

In the given examples, during the compounding of first personal pronoun and bound root kinship term, the consonant elision is taken place. The *ŋ* sound of the singular form of first personal pronoun *aŋ* is dropped out and only *a* sound is added to the bound root kinship term.

### 3.1.2.1.7.2 Kinship term for reference

This kind of kinship term is not for addressing someone directly rather it is for addressing someone’s relative during conversation. To formed up such kind of kinship term the singular form of second or third personal pronoun precedes as pronominal prefix to bound root kinship term. For example:

In case of second personal pronoun, the singular form of second personal pronoun *nuŋ* ‘you’ precedes as pronominal prefix in the form *nuŋ-* ~ *num-* to form reference kinship term as follows:

Personal Pronoun		Bound Root Kinship Term		Kinship Term
nuŋ	+	- p <sup>h</sup> a	>	nump <sup>h</sup> a
‘you’		‘indicates father’		‘your father’
nuŋ	+	- ma	>	numa
‘you’		‘indicates mother’		‘your mother’
nuŋ	+	- buu	>	numbuu
you		‘indicates grandfather		your grandfather
nuŋ	+	- bui	>	numbui
you		‘indicates grandmother		your grandmother

nunŋ	+	- da	>	nunŋda
you		‘indicates elder brother’		your elder brother
nunŋ	+	- bo	>	numbo
you		‘indicates elder sister’		your elder sister

In case of third personal pronoun, the singular form of third personal pronoun *bi* ‘he/she’ precedes as pronominal prefix in the form *bi-* ~ *p<sup>h</sup>i-* to form reference kinship term as follows:

Personal Pronoun		Bound Root Kinship Term		Kinship Term
bi	+	- p <sup>h</sup> a	>	bip <sup>h</sup> a
‘he/she’		‘indicates father’		‘his/her father’
bi	+	- ma	>	bima
‘he/she’		‘indicates mother’		‘his/her mother’
bi	+	- buu	>	bibu
‘he/she’		‘indicates grandfather’		‘his/her grandfather’
bi	+	- bui	>	bibui
‘he/she’		‘indicates grandmother’		‘his/her grandmother’
bi	+	- da	>	bida
‘he/she’		‘indicates elder brother’		‘his/her elder brother’
bi	+	- bo	>	bibo
‘he/she’		‘indicates elder sister’		‘his/her elder sister’

In the above examples, during the addition of personal pronoun and bound root kinship term, assimilation has been taken place in some cases. Whenever bound root kinship term begins with bilabial plosive sound and bilabial nasal sound then the last velar nasal sound *ŋ* of the second personal pronoun turns into the bilabial nasal sound *m* (*nunŋ-p<sup>h</sup>a* > *nump<sup>h</sup>a*, *nunŋ-ma* > *numa*, etc.). In case of third personal pronoun, it remains in intact form.

### 3.1.2.2 Synthetic Compounds

Synthetic compounds are type of compound where the participating units must be at least one root and one derivative word mostly derive from verb. In such compounds, the derivative word functions as the semantic head and the root acts as modifier. According to Rochelle Lieber, “*Synthetic compounds are composed of two lexemes, where the head lexeme is derived from a verb, and the non head is interpreted as an argument of that verb. Dog walker, hand washing, and home made are all synthetic compounds.*”<sup>20</sup> Such kind of compounds are very productive in Bodo. It is observed that such kind of compound words often seem as two separate words even though it functions as a single word with specific meaning. For example:

Root		Derivative		Noun
mulug + ‘world’		sulung̃sali ‘a place of learning’	>	mulug sulung̃sali ‘university’
radab + ‘news’		p <sup>h</sup> ɔraigra ‘reader’	>	radab p <sup>h</sup> ɔraigra ‘news reader (one who reads news)’
sudtub+ ‘word’		danaj ‘formation’	>	sudtub danaj ‘word formation’
bas + ‘bus’		sɔlajgra ‘driver’	>	bas sɔlajgra ‘bus driver (one who drives bus)’

In the given examples, *sulung̃sali*, *p<sup>h</sup>ɔraigra*, *danaj* and *sɔlajgra* are the derivative words, these are derivational nouns derived from verb by suffixing *-sali*, *-gra*, *-naj* and *-gra* suffixes respectively.

### 3.1.3 Formal classification of compounds in Bodo

There are some formal types of compound nouns, those are formed by the process of compounding. Several kinds of structures have been realized such compound nouns in

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<sup>20</sup> Lieber, Rochelle. *Introducing Morphology*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009. p. 46.

Bodo. These are: **verb + noun > noun**, **verb + adjective > noun**, **verb + verb > noun**, **noun + verb > noun**, **noun + adjective > noun**, **noun + noun > noun**, **adjective noun > noun**, **noun + derivational noun > noun** and **derivational noun + noun > noun**.

### 3.1.3.1 Verb + noun > noun

A few compound noun words are constituted by this process. In such compound the noun base functions as head. It is worthy to mention that most of the compound nouns formed by this process is realized by the noun base *dui* ‘water’ to form different types of water related noun words. For example:

Verb		noun		noun
hasu	+	dui	>	hasudui
‘to pee’		‘water’		‘urine’
gulum+		dui	>	gulumdui
‘to perspire’		‘water’		‘sweat’
muzu	+	dui	>	muzudui
‘spit’		‘water’		‘spittle’

### 3.1.3.2 Verb + adjective > Noun

Under this category, the first component is verb and the second component is adjective, which together result in a noun. Only a few compound noun words are realized by this process. For example:

Verb		adjective		noun
p <sup>h</sup> orai	+	sa	>	p <sup>h</sup> oraisa
‘to read’		‘small’		‘student’
sulung	+	sa	>	sulungsa
‘to learn’		‘small’		‘learner’
zuu	+	dulur	>	zulur
‘to kick’		‘round’		‘football’

### 3.1.3.3 Verb + verb > noun

In this type of compound two verbs are combined together into single one and the resulting word becomes noun. This type of compound is very rare in Bodo. For example:

Verb		verb		noun
gurub +		t <sup>h</sup> a	>	gurubt <sup>h</sup> a
‘to adjust’		‘to stay’		‘adjustment/ agreement’
zan +		buŋ	>	zanbuŋ
‘to be far’		‘to speak’		‘mobile’

### 3.1.3.4 Noun + verb > noun

It is one of the very productive compounding in Bodo. In such compound, the first component is noun and the second component is verb, after combining the resulting new word becomes noun. Examples are given below:

Noun		verb		noun
ha +		sib	>	hasib
‘soil’		‘to sweep’		‘broom’
san +		duŋ	>	sanduŋ
‘sun’		‘be hot’		‘sunshine’
t <sup>h</sup> ui +		sum	>	t <sup>h</sup> uisam
‘blood’		‘be black’		‘thick blood’

### 3.1.3.5 Noun + adjective > noun

It is one of the most productive noun formation processes through compounding. Here, a noun is combined with an adjective to create a new noun word. Many compound nouns are constituted by this process. For example:

Noun		adjective		noun
dui +		ma	>	duima
‘water’		‘big’		‘river’

hagra	+	ma	>	hagrama
‘jungle’		‘big’		‘forest’
hɔr	+	gezer	>	hɔrgezer
‘night’		‘middle’		‘midnight’
dui	+	p <sup>h</sup> isa	>	duisa
‘water’		‘small’		‘stream’
gɔn	+	p <sup>h</sup> isa	>	gɔnsa
‘stick’		‘small’		‘a small long stick used in Bodo weaving made of bamboo’

### 3.1.3.6 Noun + noun > noun

In such kind of compound, a noun is added with another noun to form a new noun word. It is worthy to mention that in this process a new noun word is created by combining two existing nouns into one. Following are some examples:

Noun		noun		noun
bisar	+	k <sup>h</sup> ant <sup>h</sup> i	>	bisark <sup>h</sup> ant <sup>h</sup> i
‘justice/judgement’		‘rule/custom’		‘rules and regulations’
dau	+	k <sup>h</sup> i	>	dauk <sup>h</sup> i
‘bird’		‘stool’		‘faeces of bird’
dau	+	gaŋ	>	daugaŋ
‘bird’		‘feather’		‘feather of bird’
ɔr	+	salai	>	ɔr-salai
‘fire’		‘tongue’		‘flame’

### 3.1.3.7 Adjective + noun > noun

Under this type of compound, the first component is an adjective and the second component is a noun, after combining the result becomes a new noun. A few compound nouns are formed up by this process. For example:

Adjective		noun		noun
gumun	+	dui	>	gumudui
‘ripe’		‘water’		‘bad water of tumour’

### 3.1.3.8 Noun + derivational noun > noun

Under this type of compound, the first component is a noun and the second component is a derivational noun, it may be derived from verb or noun, after combination the result becomes a new noun. For example:

Noun		derivational noun		noun
lai	+	bizuu	>	laizuu
‘leaf’		‘top’		‘top of banana leaf’
mulug	+	suluṅsali	>	mulug suluṅsali
‘world’		‘a place of learning’		‘university’

In the first example, *lai + bizuu > laizuu* syllable elision has taken place. The first syllable of the derivational noun *bizuu*, *bi* is dropped out due to phonological environment.

### 3.1.3.9 Derivational noun + noun > noun

Under this type of compound, the first component is a derivational noun it may be derived from verb or noun and the second component is a noun, after combination the result becomes a new noun. For example:

Derivational noun		noun		noun
bizab	+	bak <sup>h</sup> ri	>	bizab bak <sup>h</sup> ri
‘book’		‘granary’		‘library’
bip <sup>h</sup> an	+	gahai	>	bip <sup>h</sup> an gahai
‘department’		‘head’		‘head of the department’

## 3.2 Reduplication

Reduplication is a morphological process that refers to the repetition of a word or any linguistic element such as phoneme, morpheme, word, etc. Reduplication may be used to convey grammatical functions such as plurality, intensification, etc. it may also be used to derive or form new word. The repeated element is called dupleme or reduplicant. According to Edward Sapir, “*Reduplication is a process that involves repetition of all or some part of radical element and which is generally employed to indicate such concepts as distribution, plurality, repetition, customary activity, increase in size, added intensity, continuance.*”<sup>21</sup> R.L. Trask describes “*The morphological phenomenon in which some morphological material is repeated within a single form for lexical or grammatical purposes. Reduplication is a common phenomenon in the languages of the world, taking a variety of purposes.*”<sup>22</sup> According to P.H. Matthews reduplication is “*a morphological process by which all or part of a form is repeated.*”<sup>23</sup> R. Tim says reduplication is “*the complete or partial repetition of an element or elements.*”<sup>24</sup>

### Types of reduplication:

On the basis of structure reduplication is classified into two types in Bodo. These are:

- a) Complete reduplication and
- b) Partial reduplication

### 3.2.1 Complete reduplication

Complete reduplication refers to the repetition of entire word or morpheme without any change as intact to convey particular meaning or grammatical function. Such as pluralization, intensification and to create new words. It is also called as full or exact reduplication. According to Anvita Abbi, “*Complete reduplication refers to the phenomenon when a single word or clause is repeated once in the same sentence*

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<sup>21</sup> Sapir, Edward. *Language an Introduction to the Study of Speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921. p. 79.

<sup>22</sup> Trask, R.L. *A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics*. London: Routledge, 1993. p. 231.

<sup>23</sup> Matthews, P.H. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2014. p. 299.

<sup>24</sup> Tim, R. *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Linguistics*. Vol. 2, New Delhi: IVY Publishing House. 2003. p. 439.

*without any phonological or morphological variations.*”<sup>25</sup> The complete reduplication occurs in almost all kind of grammatical categories in Bodo. The complete reduplication of noun is illustrated below.

### 3.2.1.1 Reduplication of noun

Nouns are used in reduplicated form for different purposes. These are discussed below:

(a) To express the plural meaning the basic nouns are reduplicated. There is also process of making pluralization by reduplication in Bodo. In such context, word is repeated twice to express the plural sense. Reduplication of noun to express plurality is very productive. For example:

- (i)    bibajarij-a    nək<sup>h</sup>or nək<sup>h</sup>or magi-duŋ  
          beggar-NOM   family RED    beg-PCT  
          ‘The beggar is begging from house to house.’
- (ii)    bisur   gami   gami   berai-duŋ  
          they   village RED   roam-PCT  
          ‘They are roaming from village to village.’
- (iii)    zuŋ   p<sup>h</sup>oraisali   p<sup>h</sup>oraisali   taŋ-duŋ-mun  
          we   school   RED                go-RPT  
          ‘We were gone from school to school.’

It is also observed that the deverbal noun formed by the suffix *-naj* is also used in reduplication to express the plurality. For example:

- (iv)    gət<sup>h</sup>ɔ-wa    zeblabur    gab-naj                gabnaj lo  
          child-NOM   always    to cry-NMLZR    RED   only  
          ‘The child always cries only.’

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<sup>25</sup> Abbi, Anvita. *Reduplication in South Asian Languages An Areal, Typological and Historical Study*. New Delhi: Allied Publishers Limited. 1992. p. 12.

(b) In Bodo, generally, the locative meaning is indicated by the locative case marker or suffix *-aw ~ -jaw ~ -waw*. But it is also found that the reduplication of common noun often signifies the locative meaning in sentence. For example:

- |      |               |                      |
|------|---------------|----------------------|
| (i)  | dubli         | dubli dubli          |
|      | ‘Paddy field’ | ‘in the paddy field’ |
| (ii) | hagra         | hagra hagra          |
|      | ‘Jungle’      | ‘in the jungle’      |

Sentence with locative case suffix indicating locative meaning:

- |       |   |                 |               |
|-------|---|-----------------|---------------|
| (iii) | musuu-wa                                | dubli-jaw       | gaṇsw zaduṇ   |
|       | cow-NOM                                 | paddy field-LOC | grass eat-PCT |
|       | ‘The cow is eating grass in the field.’ |                 |               |
| (iv)  | muider-a                                | hagra-jaw       | ta-juu        |
|       | elephant-NOM                            | jungle-LOC      | live-HAB      |
|       | ‘The elephant lives in the jungle.’     |                 |               |

Sentence with reduplication of noun indicating locative meaning:

- |      |   |             |       |               |
|------|---|-------------|-------|---------------|
| (v)  | musuu-wa                                | dubli       | dubli | gaṇsw za-duṇ  |
|      | cow-NOM                                 | paddy field | RED   | grass eat-PCT |
|      | ‘The cow is eating grass in the field.’ |             |       |               |
| (vi) | muider-a                                | hagra       | hagra | ta-juu        |
|      | elephant-NOM                            | jungle      | RED   | live-HAB      |
|      | ‘The elephant lives in the jungle.’     |             |       |               |

(c) Some nouns are reduplicated to make aware or conscious from poisonous creatures and fearful person or things, so that one can maintain a safe distance from such. For example:

- |     |                            |       |          |                  |
|-----|----------------------------|-------|----------|------------------|
| (i) | zibuu                      | zibuu | guzan-aw | t <sup>h</sup> a |
|     | snake                      | RED   | away-LOC | live             |
|     | ‘Snake, snake, stay away.’ |       |          |                  |

- (ii)    mʊsa   mʊsa   dɔr-kʰuu    pʰaŋ  
          tiger   RED   door-ACC    close  
          ‘Tiger, tiger, close the door.’
- (iii)   sakʰɔndra    sakʰɔndra    nɔ    siŋ-aw    tʰaŋ  
          abductor       RED           house   inside-LOC    go  
          ‘Abductor, abductor, go inside the house.’

(d) In the time addressing someone by kinship term, if the person does not respond then the kinship term is reduplicated to bring attention. For example:

- (i)    apʰa                apʰa    aŋ-nuu   raŋ    naŋguu  
          father           RED   i-DAT   money   need  
          ‘Father, you father, I need money.’
- (ii)   anui   anui   amai-ja            pʰui-baj-na?  
          Aunt   RED   uncle-NOM    come-IPT-QP  
          ‘Aunt, you, aunty, did uncle come?’

(e) To keep the people in silence in different situations or places like meeting, court, etc. and to bring attention of the students in the classroom the word ‘*siri*’ is reduplicated. For example:

- (i)    siri    siri    tʰa  
          silent   RED   stay  
          ‘Keep silent.’

(f) It is often seen that some action nouns are reduplicated to express the irritation of doing one task daily. For example:

- (i)    zeblabuu            sɔŋnai   sɔŋnai  
          always            cooking RED  
          ‘Always cooking only.’

In this sentence, the speaker is not interested to cook anymore after doing it everyday.

### 3.2.1.2 Discontinuous noun reduplication

In the process of noun reduplication, it is also seen that sometimes nouns are repeated discontinuously. The instrumental case suffix *-zuŋ* is added to the stem and after it noun is repeated. Such kind of discontinuous reduplication indicates togetherness. For example:

- (i)     gɔtʰɔ-zuŋ     gɔtʰɔ   naŋlaj-laj-duŋ  
          child-INS     RED   to quarrel-together-PCT  
          ‘Children are quarreling with each other.’
- (ii)    gari-zuŋ     gari    suugraw-laj-baj  
          vehicle-INS   RED   collide-together-IPT  
          ‘Vehicles have collided with each other.’

### 3.2.2 Partial reduplication

Partial reduplication refers to the repetition of only a part or unit of a stem or word. Usually, a syllable is repeated to modify the meaning of word or to create a new word. The repeated part may be initial or final syllable or phoneme of the word. During repetition, phonemes are might be changed. The partial reduplication may find in the grammatical categories like- noun, verb and adjective.

#### 3.2.2.1 Partial reduplication of noun

In Bodo, some nouns are found using partially reduplicated form. The partial reduplicated form of noun does not have own meaning, but it expands the meaning of headword or adds some another meaning to the headword. Only initial or final phoneme or syllable is reduplicated. A hyphen (-) is usually used between the stem and reduplicated word. For example:

- (i)     tʰɔpʰla-tʰɔpʰli  
          luggage- RED  
          ‘Bag and baggage.’
- (ii)    mansi-dumsi  
          man-RED  
          ‘People and the like.’

- (iii)    gɔt<sup>h</sup>ɔ-gɔt<sup>h</sup>ai  
           child-RED  
           ‘Children.’
- (iv)    dausin-daula  
           small bird-RED  
           ‘All sorts of birds and fowls.’

### 3.2.3 Echo formation

Echo formation is also a kind of reduplication. In echo formation, only initial syllable or phoneme of the base word is changed, the rests remain as intact. The echo words have close similarity and also have semantic relationship with headword. The echo words do not have an independent meaning. These expand or add some extra meaning into the headword. The echo words are supposed to convey etcetera, ‘and the like’, ‘such and such’ or ‘associated with that’ and ‘things similar to’ based on the head word. Anvita Abbi defines “*An echo formation has been defined as a partial repeated form of the base word partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme (which can either be a consonant or vowel) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable. The “replacer” (phoneme/syllable) sequence may not necessarily be unique but may never be numerous. The Echo word adds the meaning “etcetera” and “thing similar to” or “associate with that” to the base word or first word.*”<sup>26</sup> Parimalagantham states that “*The partial repetition of a phoneme or a syllable of the base word may be called as echo-formation. In other words, if the initial phoneme or a syllable of the base word is replaced by another phoneme or syllable which has neither may individual occurrence nor any meaning of its own this replacement may be called as echo-formation.*”<sup>27</sup>

Almost all kinds of grammatical categories and derivatives have echo formation in Bodo. It is observed that the only initial phoneme or syllable is replaced by another phoneme or syllable, the rests remain intact. The most productive replacer phonemes

<sup>26</sup> Abbi, Anvita. *Reduplication in South Asian Languages An Areal, Typological and Historical Study*. New Delhi: Allied Publishers Limited. 1992. p. 20.

<sup>27</sup> A., Parimalagantham. *A Study of Structural Reduplication in Tamil and Telegu*. 2008. P.S. Telegu University. PhD Dissertation. p. 65.

of echo formation are /s/ and /t<sup>h</sup>/. Observing the replacement of phoneme during echo formation Daithun Boro divides the echo formation into three types. These are-

- (a) In the first type of echo formation the initial phoneme or syllable that starts with consonant phonemes except /s/ are replaced by /s/ consonant in the echo word.
- (b) The second type of echo formation in Bodo is, the initial phoneme or syllable that begins with /s/ is replaced by /t<sup>h</sup>/ in the echo form.
- (c) The third type of echo formation is when a word begins with the vowel phoneme /ɔ/ then consonant phoneme /s/ appears as prothesis and when a word begins with the vowel phoneme /u/ then either /t<sup>h</sup>/ or /s/ consonant phoneme appears as prothesis before /u/.

### 3.2.3.1 Echo formation of nouns

Almost all kinds of nouns have echo formation in Bodo. The noun used in echo formation indicates the meaning like- ‘etcetera’, ‘and the like’, ‘and others’, etc. The proper noun, kinship term, name of body part, name of fruits, name of birds, name of animals, etc. have echo formation. These are illustrated below:

**(a) Echo formation of proper noun:** The proper nouns are used in echo form. These may have occurred in certain situations like- when the speaker is in ‘annoyance’ or ‘don’t care’ of them at any kind of unhappy and in some hopeless activities. For example:

Stem	Meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
razu	a name	raju t <sup>h</sup> azu sazu	Raju and others
bibari	a name	bibari sibiari	Bibari and others
ɔnzali	a name	ɔnzali sɔnzali	Anjali and others
sɔnaram	a name	sɔnaram t <sup>h</sup> ɔnaram	Sanaram and others
sumk <sup>h</sup> ur	a name	sumk <sup>h</sup> ur t <sup>h</sup> umk <sup>h</sup> ur	Swmkhwr and others
ɔnaru	a name	ɔnaru t <sup>h</sup> ɔnaru	Anaru and others

**(b) Echo formation of animals' name:** It is observed that in most cases animal's name reduplicated word's initial phoneme is replaced by consonant phoneme /s/ and sometimes /t<sup>h</sup>/. The animals' name echo words convey 'and the like' meaning. For example:

Stem	Meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
burma	goat	burma surma	goat and the like
muider	elephant	muider suider	elephant and the like
musuu	cow	musuu susuu/t <sup>h</sup> usuu	cow and the like
muusui	buffalo	muusui suisui/t <sup>h</sup> uisui	buffalo and the like
ɔma	pig	ɔma sɔma	pig and the like
suima	dog	suima t <sup>h</sup> uima	dog and the like
mawzi	cat	mawzi t <sup>h</sup> awzi	cat and the like

**(c) Echo formation of bird's name:** The birds names are often used in echo reduplication. It is seen that most bird's names initial phoneme is replaced by /s/ consonant phoneme. For example:

Stem	Meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
daubɔ	heron	daubɔ saubɔ	heron and the like
daut <sup>h</sup> u	dove	daut <sup>h</sup> u saut <sup>h</sup> u	dove and the like
dauk <sup>h</sup> a	crow	dauk <sup>h</sup> a sauk <sup>h</sup> a	crow and the like
dausri	martin	dausri sausri	martin and the like
daulur	nightingale	daulur saulur	nightingale and the like
daurai	peacock	daurai saurai	peacock and the like

**(d) Echo formation of fruits name:** The fruits names are also used in echo reduplication. Most of the fruits name echo reduplicated word's initial phoneme is replaced by consonant /s/ and /t<sup>h</sup>/. For example:

Stem	Meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
t <sup>h</sup> aigir	elephant-apple	t <sup>h</sup> aigir saigir	elephant-apple, etc.
t <sup>h</sup> aibeŋ	cucumber	t <sup>h</sup> aibeŋ saibeŋ	cucumber, etc.
t <sup>h</sup> aizuu	mango	t <sup>h</sup> aizuu saizuu	mango, etc.
sump <sup>h</sup> ram	guava	sump <sup>h</sup> ram t <sup>h</sup> ump <sup>h</sup> ram	guava, etc.
t <sup>h</sup> alir	banana	t <sup>h</sup> alir salir	banana, etc.
t <sup>h</sup> aisuri	hog-plum	t <sup>h</sup> aisuri saisuri	hog-plum, etc.

**(e) Echo formation of body parts:** The names of body parts of human, animal, bird and insects are also used in echo reduplication form. These kind of echo words convey the meaning of 'etcetera of related part'. For example:

Stem	Meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
ak <sup>h</sup> ai	hand	ak <sup>h</sup> ai sak <sup>h</sup> ai	hand, etc.
muuk <sup>h</sup> aŋ	face	muuk <sup>h</sup> aŋ suuk <sup>h</sup> aŋ	face, etc.
k <sup>h</sup> ɔɾɔ	head	k <sup>h</sup> ɔɾɔ sɔɾɔ	head, etc.
k <sup>h</sup> anaj	hair	k <sup>h</sup> anaj sanaj	hair, etc.
at <sup>h</sup> iŋ	leg	at <sup>h</sup> iŋ sat <sup>h</sup> iŋ	leg, etc.
gɔnt <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ	nose	gɔnt <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ sɔnt <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ	nose, etc.
megɔn	eye	megɔn t <sup>h</sup> egɔn	eye, etc.

**(f) Echo formation of names of parts of tree:** Sometimes the names of parts of tree are also used in echo reduplication. In most cases the initial phoneme of the name is replaced by consonant phoneme /s/ or /t<sup>h</sup>/. For example:

Stem	Meaning	Echo Reduplication	Meaning
bilai	leaf	bilai silai	leaf, etc.
bibar	flower	bibar sibar	flower, etc.
bigur	bark	bigur t <sup>h</sup> igur	bark, etc.
ruuda	root	ruuda t <sup>h</sup> uuda	root, etc.
begor	seed	begor segor	seed, etc.

**(g) Echo formation of Kinship term:** Both type of kinship term i.e., kinship term for address and kinship term for reference can also be used in echo form. It may be occurred when the speaker is in annoyance. The kinship echo words convey “accompanying persons of one’s relation’s”. For example:

Stem	Meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
ada	elder brother	ada sada	elder brother and others
amai	maternal uncle	amai samai	maternal uncle and others
ap <sup>h</sup> a	father	ap <sup>h</sup> a sap <sup>h</sup> a	father and others
abui	grandmother	abui sabui	grandmother and others
nump <sup>h</sup> a	your father	nump <sup>h</sup> a t <sup>h</sup> ump <sup>h</sup> a	your father and others
numbo	your elder sister	numbo sumbo	your elder sister and others
bimanui	his/her aunt	bimanui simanui	his/her aunt and others

**(h) Miscellaneous noun words used as echo reduplication:** A wide range of miscellaneous noun words of Bodo are used in echo reduplication. Most nouns initial phoneme is replaced by consonant phoneme /s/. For example:

Stem	Meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
habru	mud	habru sabru	mud and the like
hadri	dust	hadri sadri	dust and the like
ɔnt <sup>h</sup> ai	stone	ɔnt <sup>h</sup> ai sɔnt <sup>h</sup> ai	stone and etc.
alu	potato	alu salu	potato and etc.
hat <sup>h</sup> ai	market	hat <sup>h</sup> ai sat <sup>h</sup> ai	market and etc.
hasib	broom	hasib t <sup>h</sup> asib	broom and etc.
ruwa	axe	ruwa t <sup>h</sup> uwa	axe and etc.
mai	paddy	mai sai	paddy and etc.
na	fish	na sa	fish and etc.
ɗuihu	pitcher	ɗuihu suihu	pitcher and etc.
zanbuŋ	mobile	zanbuŋ t <sup>h</sup> anbuŋ	mobile and, etc.

### 3.2.3.2 Echo reduplication of deverbal noun

The deverbal nouns formed by the suffix *-naj* can also be used in echo reduplication. It is observed that during echo reduplication most deverbal nouns initial phoneme is replaced by consonant /s/ or /t<sup>h</sup>/. Such echo words supposed to convey the meaning of simultaneous action of the verb. For example:

Stem	Meaning	Echo reduplication	Meaning
muusanaj	dancing	muusanaj suusanaj	dancing, etc.
zanaj	eating	zanaj sanaj	eating, etc.
gabnaj	crying	gabnaj sabnaj	crying, etc.
lirnaj	writing	lirnaj t <sup>h</sup> irnaj	writing, etc.

gelenaj	playing	gelenaj selenai	playing, etc.
k <sup>h</sup> arnaj	running	k <sup>h</sup> arnaj sarnai	running, etc.
undunai	sleeping	undunai sundunai	sleeping, etc.

### 3.2.4 Onomatopoeia

The term onomatopoeia refers to the words that imitate the sounds associated with the objects or actions they refer to. Onomatopoeia takes a vital role in word formation of a language. These words phonetically imitate, resemble and suggest the sound that they describe. Onomatopoeic words mimic the sound they denote. Such kind of words are created to capture the actual sound associated with an object or action. P.H. Matthews defines that onomatopoeia is “*a word or process of forming words whose phonetic form is perceived as imitating a sound, or sound associated with something, that they denote.*”<sup>28</sup> In *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Linguistics* R. Tim states “*The formation of words imitating natural sounds*”<sup>29</sup>

In Bodo, the onomatopoeic words are also found in noun. It is observed that the onomatopoeic words are structurally composed of one or two syllable. Most of the onomatopoeic noun words are monosyllabic and disyllabic. Polysyllabic onomatopoeic nouns are very rare in Bodo. The onomatopoeic noun words may be simple (non-reduplicative) and complete or partial reduplicated. These are:

#### (a) Simple or non-reduplicative onomatopoeic noun words:

##### Monosyllabic:

zrab	‘sound of throwing down something’
k <sup>h</sup> re	‘shutting sound of door or window’
t <sup>h</sup> em	‘sound of broken’

<sup>28</sup> Matthews, P.H. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2014. p. 277-278.

<sup>29</sup> Tim, R. *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Linguistics*. vol. 2, Delhi: IVY Publishing House. 2003. p. 380.

zrum ‘sound of jumping’

dub ‘beating or falling sound’

mɔ ‘sound produced by cow’

### **Disyllabic:**

hasiu ‘sneezing sound’

### **Polysyllabic:**

gɔgeregɔ ‘sound produced by cock’

lap<sup>h</sup>asaik<sup>h</sup>ɔ ‘sound produced a kind of bird’

## **(b) Complete reduplicative onomatopoeic noun word:**

### **Monosyllabic:**

mew mew ‘mewing of cat’

p<sup>h</sup>uu p<sup>h</sup>uu ‘barking of dog’

k<sup>h</sup>rɔb k<sup>h</sup>rɔb ‘clapping sound’

### **Disyllabic:**

k<sup>h</sup>uuuuu k<sup>h</sup>uuuuu ‘cooing of cuckoo’

sirid sirid ‘sound produced by sparrow’

## **(c) Partial reduplicative onomatopoeic words:**

dub dab ‘beating or falling sound of objects’

grum gram ‘heavy thundering sound’

sene ne ‘frying sound’

k<sup>h</sup>rem k<sup>h</sup>ram ‘broken sound’

### 3.2.4.1 Onomatopoeic noun words

Bodo language possesses a large number of onomatopoeic noun words. The sounds produced by different kinds of birds, animals, insects, human beings, and sounds of environment or natural phenomena are considered in onomatopoeic noun. Such kinds of words are found in reduplicative form. These are discussed below:

**(a) Onomatopoeic sound produced by human beings:** Human beings produce different kind of onomatopoeic sounds in different situations like laughing, sneezing, swallowing, etc. For example:

grəd grəd	‘sound of drinking’
p <sup>he</sup> p <sup>he</sup>	‘sound of blowing nose’
k <sup>he</sup> k <sup>he</sup>	‘sound of laugh’
ha ha	‘loud sound of laugh’
ɔ ɔ	‘vomiting sound’

**(b) Onomatopoeic sound produced by animals:** Animals also produce different kind of sound. A good number of onomatopoeic sounds produced by different animals are found in Bodo. For example:

mew mew	‘mewing of cat’
p <sup>huu</sup> p <sup>huu</sup>	‘barking of dog’
mə mə	‘sound produced by cow’
mle mle	‘sound produced by goat’
ɔwe ɔwe	‘sound produced by pig’

**(c) Onomatopoeic sound produced by birds:** A large number of sounds produced by different birds are considered as onomatopoeic noun in Bodo. For example:

k <sup>h</sup> uuuuu k <sup>h</sup> uuuuu	‘cooing of cuckoo’
ga ga	‘cawing of crow’
sirid sirid	‘sound produced by sparrow’
sib sib	‘crying of chick’
p <sup>h</sup> iu p <sup>h</sup> iu	‘call of swallow’
zugugu zugu	‘cooing of dove’

**(d) Onomatopoeic sound produced by insects:** The sounds produced by different kinds of insects are also considered as onomatopoeic noun in Bodo. These are used in repetition. For example:

t <sup>h</sup> ik <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ik <sup>h</sup>	‘sound produced by house lizard’
ɔŋ ɔŋ	‘sound produced by bumble bee’
rew rew	‘sound produced by cicada cricket’
bruŋ bruŋ	‘sound produced by housefly’

**(e) Onomatopoeic sound arisen from environment or natural phenomena:** The sounds produced or arisen from different kind of natural phenomena like raining, blowing of wind, flowing of water, waterfall, thundering, etc. are also considered as onomatopoeic noun. For example:

dram dram	‘heavy raining sound’
ra ra	‘blowing sound of water’
siu siu	‘blowing sound of wind’
gurum gurum	‘thundering sound’
k <sup>h</sup> rem k <sup>h</sup> rem	‘breaking sound of tree’

### 3.3 Summing up

In noun formation, Compounding is one of the most productive processes. Nouns can be formed by combining two or more than two base or root words of same or different category like verb, noun, adjective, etc. The discussion of noun formation by compounding and reduplication can be summarized with the following points:

- i. On the basis of semantic criteria, four types of compounds are found in Bodo i.e., endocentric, exocentric, copulative and appositional.
- ii. Endocentric compound is further classified into two types namely right headed endocentric compound and left headed endocentric compound. It is observed that right headed endocentric compound nouns are found in two structures viz. **noun + noun** and **noun + noun + noun**. The left headed endocentric compound nouns are also found in two structures viz. **noun + adjective** and **noun + noun**.
- iii. Bodo has three different structure exocentric compound nouns viz. **noun + noun**, **noun + verb** and **noun + adjective**.
- iv. Copulative compound is also very productive in Bodo. Most of the copulative compound nouns are made up of **noun + noun**. Sometimes, **adjective + adjective** copulative compounds are also found.
- v. Appositional compound noun also exists in Bodo, but very rare.
- vi. Root compounding is very productive in Bodo. The naming words of animal, bird, fish, etc. are realised in this root compound process. Such naming words are made up by combining two roots.
- vii. The formation of kinship terms also realised in root compound process. Bodo has two types of kinship term namely kinship term for address and kinship term for reference. The kinship terms for address are used for direct address and are made up in combination of first personal pronoun and bound root kinship term. On the other hand, kinship terms for reference are used for addressing someone's relative during communication and are made up in combination of second or third personal pronoun and bound root kinship term.
- viii. Bodo has another type of compound; it is termed as formal compound. There are at least nine types of formal compound realised in Bodo viz. **verb + noun > noun**, **verb + adjective > noun**, **verb + verb > noun**, **noun + verb > noun**,

**noun + adjective > noun, noun + noun > noun, adjective + noun > noun, noun + derivational noun > noun and derivational noun + noun > noun.**

- ix. In Bodo, nominalization is also realized through reduplication process. There are two kinds of reduplication such as complete reduplication and partial reduplication.
- x. Nouns are used in complete reduplication form for different purposes like to express plurality, to indicate locative meaning, to bring attention, to make conscious from fearful creatures, etc.
- xi. It is observed that sometimes, nouns are reduplicated discontinuously, such kind of reduplication expresses togetherness.
- xii. It is observed that nouns are often repeated partially. The repeated part may be a syllable or phoneme.
- xiii. Noun formation is also realised in echo-formation. The nouns like proper noun, kinship term, body part's name, fruit's name, etc. are used in echo reduplication. It is observed that in echo reduplication the initial phoneme of the noun is mostly replaced by the consonant phoneme /s/ and /t<sup>h</sup>/.
- xiv. Noun formation is also realised in onomatopoeia. Different kinds of sounds produced by human being, animal, bird, insect, etc. are considered as onomatopoeic noun word.