Chapter-II

Bodo Morphology

2.1 Morphology

According to D. Thakur the term Morphology is:

> *'Morphology in English is a combination of two words "morph" which*
> *is meant for "form" and "ology" meant for "the study of"'*[1]

The word Morphology was first used in nineteenth century to show clearly in Biological Science. The Biologist used the term to identify the "form" and "structure" of animals, plants and trees. But later on, this term is also used to study the linguistics parts. In linguistics, morphology studies the morpheme and its application in the structure of a word.

Generally, morphology is a part of Linguistics level. It studies the middle parts of the phonology and syntax. It means the grammatical part or part of speech such as noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, adjectives etc. If it is asked about morphology… the answer of this question is that-the field of study of a particular structure and root of words is said to be the morphology.

To denote the English word *'Morphology'* the Bodo used *'mohorkhanthi'*. The morphology of the Bodo is discussed mainly in two categories i.e., *nominal groups* and *verbal groups*. In nominal groups the Bodo morphology can be classified in to two categories such as- primary part and secondary part. The primary part of Bodo morphology is concerned to noun and pronoun and the secondary part of Bodo morphology has concerned to number, gender, case and case marker, numerals, and kinship terms.

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[1] *Thakur D.: **Linguistics Simplified Morphology** (2002 Reprint) p-1*

The verbal groups of Bodo morphology can also be classified in to two parts, such as primary and secondary parts. The primary parts of verbal groups in Bodo morphology includes- verb, adjectives, adverb and the secondary parts of verbal groups in Bodo morphology concerning of tense and tense marker. It has been shown by a chart,
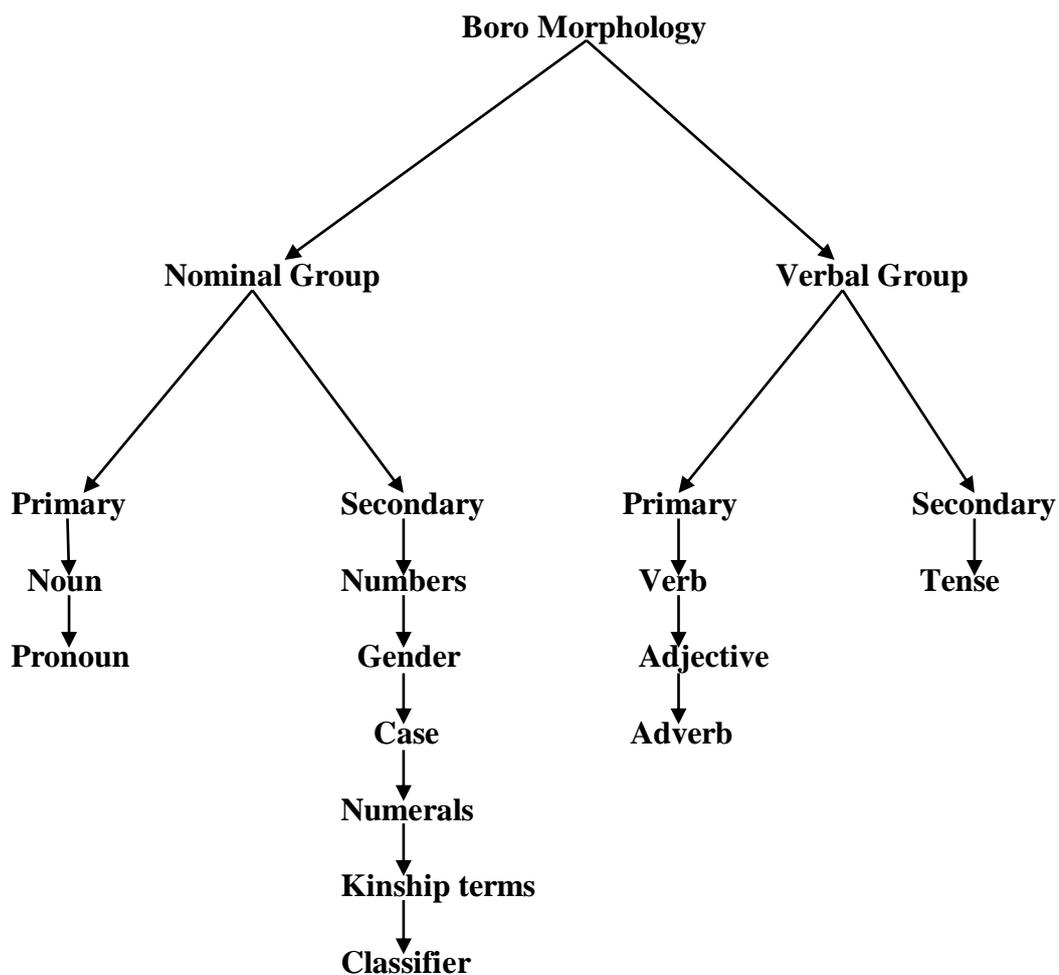
(**Chart 2.1:** The Chart of morphology in Bodo)

2.2 Nominal Group

As given in the above chart the nominal group of morphology can be categorized in to two parts- primary and secondary. The primary nominal group discussed the noun and pronoun and the secondary nominal group discussed the number, gender, case, numerals and kinship terms.

2.2.1 Noun

A noun is a word that names of persons, places, animals, birds, insects, objects, and rivers. In terms of linguistic structure, the noun is classified as a root word among the pre-morphemes. Therefore, it is regarded as an important part of morphological study. The following section discusses the formation of nouns in the Bodo language.

The syllabic structure of the noun roots of the Bodo language can be classified under the following categories.

a) Monosyllabic noun roots

VV,	ai (mother)
VC,	ɔr (fire)
	ɔn (rice powder)
	em (bed)
CV,	na (fish)
	zi (cloth)
	nɔ (home)
	kʰɔ (hen nest)
CVC,	bɔn (fire wood)
	gɔn (stick)
kʰam (traditional musical instrument of the Bodos, a kind of drum)	
	gab (colour)
	gɔŋ (horn)
	dan (month)
	bar (wind)
CVV,	zɯɥu (wine)

muɥi (deer)

muɥi (one kind of agricultural tools)

dau (bird)

duɥi (water)

gɔi (battlenut)

b) Disyllabic noun roots

V.CV,   ɔ.ma (pig)

a.bɔ (elder sister)

a.da (elder brother)

a.pʰa (father)

a.si (finger)

V.CVV   u.duɥi (stomach)

a.duɥi (uncle)

a.kʰai (hand)

V.CVC,   u.wal (one kind of wooden tools)

u.suŋ (lower part bet of a home)

e.maw (rice beer medicine)

VV.CV,   ɯu.wa (bamboo)

VC.CV   ɔn.la (one kind of rice powder curry)

CV.CV,   muɥ.sa (tiger)

bi.kʰa (heart)

kʰuɥ.ma (ear)

kʰu.ga (mouth)

si.la (kite)

pʰe.sa (owl)

pʰi.tʰa (rice cake)

kʰa.da (one kind of bamboo basket)

CV.CVC,   kʰa.naj (hair)

na.pʰam (one kind of rosted dry fish)

na.reŋ (lemon)

bi.zab (book)

bi.bar (flower)

tʰa.lir (banana)

CV.CVV   zɯ.mɯi (cloud)

mɯ.dɯi (tears)

bi.lai (leaf)

sa.lai (toung)

CVV.CV   mɯi.la (dirty)

mɯi.sɯ (buffalo)

sɯi.ma (dog)

dau.kʰa (crow)

dau.bɔ (crane)

CVV.CVV   dau.rai (peacock)

tʰai.zɯu (mango)

CVC.CVC   kʰan.zɔŋ (comb)

zan.buŋ (mobile phone)

CVC.CCVV   kʰaŋ.kʰrai (crabs)

c) Trisyllabic noun roots

V.CV.CVC   ɔ.kʰ.pʰɯr (moon)

V.CV.CVV   a.rɔ.nai (honourary cloth of boro)

CV.CV.CV   dɔ.kʰɔ.na (boro lady's dress)

CV.CV.CVC   zɯ.gɯ.nar (pumpkin) etc.

2.2.1.1 Formation of Noun

The formation of nouns of the Bodo language, the structure of noun of the Bodo language can be discussed under the following categories.

1) By Affixation and
2) By Compounding

2.2.1.1.1 By Affixation

In Bodo language there are lots of affixes to form nouns. The formation of nouns by affixation is found in to two categories, viz:

1) Through the Prefix and
2) Through the Suffix

a) Noun Formation by Prefix

Prefixes are attached to noun and verb roots to form new noun word in Bodo language. The prefixes of the Bodo language which are used to form new noun words are- *{bi-}, {gi-}* and *{pʰi-}*, as for examples:

{bi-}: It is a prefix of the Bodo language which is used with noun and verb roots to form another new noun word. The function of this prefix is class changing and class maintaining in Bodo language. Examples are given below:

bi- n. zi (cloth) > n. bizi (needle)

bi- n. dɯi (water) > n. bidɯi (any kind of egg)

bi- v. zab (to arrange) > n. bizab (book)

bi- v. kʰa (to pluck) > n. bikʰa (heart)

{gi-}: It is also a prefix of Bodo language which is added to the verbs to form nouns. As for examples:

gi- v. la (to take) > n. gila (a kind of fruit)

gi- v. sib (to clean or fan) > n. gisib (fan)

{pʰi-}: The prefix *{pʰi-}* is attached with the verbs to form new noun words in Bodo language. Examples are given below:

pʰi- v. tʰɯb (to build cocoon) > n. pʰitʰɯb (cocoon)

pʰi- v. tʰai (to fruit) > n. pʰitʰai (fruit)

pʰi- v. tʰa (to stay) > n. pʰitʰa (rice cake)

b) Noun Formation by Suffix

In Bodo language some suffixes are also used to form new noun words. These suffixes are- *{-ari}, {-gra}, {-sa}, {-sali}* etc. The examples are given below-

{-ari}: The suffix *{-ari}* is added to the noun and verb roots to form new noun words in Bodo language. It denotes the meaning of *'the person who connected with'* in Bodo language. For examples:

n. nɯgɯr (city) -ari > n. nɯgɯrari (who live in city)

n. abad (cultivation) -ari > n. abadari (cultivator)

v. bibaj (to beg) -ari > n. bibajari (begger)

v. sibi (to pray) -ary > n. sibiari (worshiper)

{-gra}: Like *{-ari}* this is also a suffix which is specially used to form noun words. In Bodo language this suffix is attached with the verb roots and it denotes the meaning of *'the person who does the action'*. For examples:

v. gele (to play) -gra > n. gelegra (player)

v. maw (to do) –gra > n. mawgra (worker)

{-sa}: This is also a suffix of the Bodo language which appended to noun and verb roots to form noun words. It denotes the meaning of *'child'*. As for examples:

v. pʰɔraj (to study) –sa > n. pʰɔrajsa (student)

n. dau (bird) –sa > n dausa (chick)

{-sali}: This suffix is added to the noun and verb roots to form new noun words in Bodo language. It denotes the meaning of *'place'*. For examples:

n. tʰan (place) –sali > n. tʰansali (a place of worship)

n. gɯtʰɯi (dead) –sali > n. gɯtʰɯisali (where the dead body is burned/keep)

v. pʰɔraj (to study) –sali > n. pʰɔrajsali (school)

2.2.1.1.2 By Compounding

The noun can be formed by combining of two or more root words and it is a primary way to form a noun in Bodo language. The noun formation by compounding can be found in the following structures.

a) **Noun + Noun**

A noun can be formed by combining two noun roots in Bodo language. For examples:

n. dau (bird) + n. dɯi (water) > n. daudɯi (egg)

n. dau (bird) + n. gaŋ (wing) > n. daugaŋ (feather)

n. dau (bird) + n. kʰi (stool) > n. daukʰi (faeces of bird)

b) **Noun + Verb**

A noun can also be formed by combining one noun and one verb roods in Bodo language. For examples:

n. ha (soil) + v. sib (to sweep) > hasib (broom)

n. dau (bird) + v. kʰa (to pluck) > daukʰa (crow)

c) **Noun + Adjective**

In Bodo language a noun can be formed by combining one noun root and one adjective root word. For examples:

n. na (fish) + gɯran (dry) > n. nagɯran (dry fish)

n. hɔr (night) + adj. gezer (middle) > hɔrgezer (midnight)

d) Verb + Noun

Combining two roots a verb and a noun can form new noun words in Bodo language. For examples:

v. hasu (to urinate) + n. dɰi (water) > n. hasudɰi (urine)

v. gɯlɯm (to perspire) + n. dɰi (water) > n. gɯlɯmdɰi (sweat)

2.2.2 Pronoun

The words which are used instead of a noun phrase to denote the noun is called pronoun. According to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* the pronoun is:

'A word that is used instead of a noun or noun phrase, for example- he, it, her, me, them etc.'[2]

Generally, the word which is used instead of a name of person, thing or goods, place to mention or denote them is the pronoun. In Bodo language the pronoun is to be classified in to five different types. These are

1) Personal Pronoun.
2) Demonstrative Pronoun.
3) Interrogative Pronoun.
4) Reflexive Pronoun.
5) Indefinite Pronoun.

2.2.2.1 Personal Pronoun

The pronoun which indicates the human being is called personal pronoun. On the basis of person, the personal pronoun of the Bodo language is to be classified in to three parts- first person, second person and third person. On the other hand, from the side of number it can be classified in to two parts it is- singular number and plural number. The personal pronoun of the Bodo language is summarized in the following table.

Persons	Singular number	Plural number
First person	aŋ 'I'	zɰŋ 'We'

Second person	nɯŋ 'You' (non-honorific)	nɯŋ-sɯr 'You are' (non-honourific)
	nɯŋ-tʰaŋ 'You' (honorific)	nɯŋ-tʰaŋ-mɯn 'You are' (honorific)
Third person	bi 'He/she' (non-honorific)	bi-sɯr 'They' (non-honorific)
	bi-tʰaŋ 'He/She' (honorific)	bi-tʰaŋ-mɯn 'They' (honorific)

(Table 2.1: Representing personal pronoun through persons and number in Bodo)

In Bodo language the pronoun can be inflected for cases with the case-markers as given bellow in table.

Nominative Case, {-a, -ɯ}

Person	Singular number	Plural number
First	aŋ-ɯ 'I'	niŋ- ɯ 'we'
Second	nɯŋ- ɯ 'you' (non-honorific)	nɯŋsɯr-ɯ 'you are' (non-honorific)
	nɯŋtʰaŋ-a 'you' (honorific)	nɯŋtʰaŋmɯn-a 'you are' (honorific)
Third	bi-ɯ 'he/she' (non-honorific)	bisɯr-ɯ 'they' (non-honorific)
	bitʰaŋ-a 'he/she' (honorific)	bitʰaŋmɯn-a 'they are' (honorific)

(Table 2.2: Representing nominative case through person and number in Bodo)

Accusative case, {-khɯu}

Person	Singular number	Plural number
First	aŋ-kʰɯu 'me'	zɯŋ-kʰɯu 'us'
Second	nɯŋ-kʰɯu 'you' (non-honorific)	nɯŋsɯr-kʰɯu 'you are' (non-honorific)
	nɯŋtʰaŋ-kʰɯu 'you' (honorific)	nɯŋtʰaŋmɯn-kʰɯu 'you are' (honorific)

Third	bi-kʰɯu 'he/she' (non-honorific)	bisɯr-kʰɯu 'them' (non-honorific)
	bitʰaŋ-kʰɯu 'his/her' (honorific)	bitʰaŋmɯn-kʰɯu 'them' (honorific)

(Table 2.3: Representing accusative case through person and number in Bodo)

Instrumental case, {-zɯŋ}

Person	**Singular number**	**Plural number**
First	aŋ-zɯŋ 'by me'	zɯŋ-zɯŋ 'by us'
Second	nɯŋ-zɯŋ 'by you' (non-honorific)	nɯŋsɯr-zɯŋ 'by you' (non-honorific)
	nɯŋtʰaŋ-zɯŋ 'by you' (honorific)	nɯŋtʰaŋmɯn-zɯŋ 'by you' (honorific)
Third	bi-zɯŋ 'by him/her' (non-honorific)	bisɯr-zɯŋ 'by them' (non-honorific)
	bitʰaŋ-zɯŋ 'by him/her (honorific)	bitʰaŋmɯn-zɯŋ 'by them' (honorific)

(Table 2.4: Representing instrumental case through person and number in Bodo)

Dative case, {-nɯ}

Person	**Singular number**	**Plural number**
First	aŋ-nɯ 'to me'	zɯŋ-nɯ 'to us'
Second	nɯŋ-nɯ 'to you' (non-honorific)	nɯŋsɯr-nɯ 'to you' (non-honorific)
	nɯŋtʰaŋ -nɯ 'to you' (honorific)	nɯŋtʰaŋmɯn-nɯ 'to you' (honorific)
Third	bi-nɯ 'to him/her' (non-honorific)	bisɯr-nɯ 'to them' (non-honorific)
	bitʰaŋ-nɯ 'to him/her' (honorific)	bitʰaŋmɯn-nɯ 'to them' (honorific)

(Table 2.5: Representing dative case through person and number in Bodo)

Ablative case, {-niphrai}

Person	Singular number	Plural number
First	aŋ-nipʰrai 'from me'	zɯŋ-nipʰrai 'from us'
Second	nɯŋ-nipʰrai 'from your' (non-honorific)	nɯŋsɯr-nipʰrai 'from you are' (non-honorific)
	nɯŋtʰaŋ-niphrai 'from your' (honorific)	nɯŋtʰaŋmɯn-nipʰrai 'from you are' (honorific)
Third	bi-niphrai 'from him/her' (non-honorific)	bisɯr-niphrai 'from them' (non-honorific)
	bitʰaŋ-nipʰrai 'from him/her' (honorific)	bitʰaŋmɯn-nipʰrai 'from them' (honorific)

(Table 2.6: Representing ablative case through person and number in Bodo)

Genitive case, {-ni}

Person	Singular number	Plural number
First	aŋ-ni 'mine'	zɯŋ-ni 'ours'
Second	nɯŋ-ni 'yours' (non-honorific)	nɯŋsɯr-ni 'yours' (non-honorific)
	nɯŋtʰaŋ-ni 'yours' (honorific)	bisɯr-ni 'yours' (non-honorific)
Third	bi-ni 'his/her' (non-honorific)	bitʰaŋmɯn-ni 'theys' (honorific)
	bitʰaŋ-ni 'his/her' (honorific)	bitʰaŋmɯn-ni 'theys' (honorific)

(Table 2.7: Representing genitive case through person and number in Bodo)

2.2.2.2 Demonstrative Pronoun

The pronoun which denotes the place or things is called demonstrative pronoun. Demonstrative pronoun in Bodo language can be categorized on the basis of criteria such as proximity and distal *be* 'this', *bɯi* 'that' and from the side of numbers the demonstrative pronoun of the Bodo language can be categorized in to two *singular* and *plural* as illustrated below.

Demonstrative Pronoun	Singular	Plural
Proximate	be 'this'	be-sɯr 'this are'
Distal	bɯi 'that'	bɯi-sɯr 'that are'

(**Table 2.8:** Demonstrstive Pronoun)

1) be   gɔŋse   nɔ
   DEM.   one   house

   This is a house.

2) bɯi   mase   mɯsɯu
   DEM.   one   cow

   That is a cow.

3) be   tʰaise   tʰaizɯu
   DEM.   one   mango

   This is a mango.

4) bɯi   barse   bibar
   DEM.   one   flower

   That is a flower.

2.2.2.3 Interrogative Pronoun

Interrogative pronouns are those pronouns, which are used for asking questions. Structurally interrogative pronoun in Bodo language can be classified in to two types 'basic' and 'derived'. Again, as per number, it is classified in to two 'singular' and 'plural' number as given in the table.

Interrogative Pronoun	Singular	Plural
Basic	sɯr 'who'	sɯr-sɯr 'who are'
Derived	sɯr-ni 'whose'	sɯrni-sɯrni 'whose are'

(**Table 2.9:** Interrogative Pronoun)

2.2.2.3.1 Basic Interrogative Pronoun

The basic interrogative pronouns of the Bodo language are the *'suɪr'* (who), *'bɔbaɔ'* (where), *'ma'* (what), *'bɔbe'* (which) etc. examples:

1)   suɪr   pʰɯidɯŋ

    Who coming ?

2)   bɔbaɔ   tʰaŋnɯ

    Where going ?

3)   ma   naŋgɯu

    What need ?

4)   bɔbe   mɯnsea

    Which one

2.2.2.3.2 Derived Interrogative Pronoun

The derived interrogative pronouns are derived from the basic interrogative pronouns- *'suɪr'* (who), *'ma'* (what), *'bobe'* (which) by adding case-marker *{-a}*, *{-kʰɯu}, {-zɯŋ}, {-nɯ}, {-nipʰrai}, {-ni}* and *{-ao}* to the same as described in the following examples.

1) ma-a
    ma 'what' + a 'NOM'.
    'which'

2)   bɔbe-kʰɯu
    bɔbe 'what' + kʰɯu 'ACC'.
    'which'

3)   suɪr-zɯŋ
    suɪr 'who' + zɯŋ 'INST'.
    'By whom'

4)   ma-nɯ
    ma 'what' + nɯ 'DAT'.
    'why'

5)   bɔbe-nipʰrai
    bɔbe 'which' + nipʰrai 'ABLA'.

'from where'

6) sɯr-ni

   sɯr 'who' + ni 'GEN.'

   'whom'

7) bɔbe-aɔ

   bɔbe 'which' + aɔ 'loc'

   'where'

2.2.2.4 Reflexive Pronoun

'gaw' is only the reflexive pronoun found in Bodo language. The reflexive pronoun of the Bodo language is expressed on the personal pronouns i.e., by suffixing *{-nɯ}* with the *{-gaw}* reflexive pronoun. To make the plural form of the reflexive pronoun of the Bodo language it is added by the plural suffix *'sɯr'*. For examples:

Reflexive Pronoun	Singular	Plural
gaw	gaw 'yourself'	gaw-sɯr 'yourfelf'

(**Table 2.10:** Reflexive Pronoun)

Using personal pronouns some examples of reflexive pronoun of the Bodo language:

1) aŋ gaw-nɯ

   I   Refl-DAT

   I myself'

2) zɯŋ   gaw-nɯ

   We   Refl-DAT

   We ourselves

3) nɯŋ   gaw-nɯ

   You   Refl-DAT

   You yourself'

4) nɯŋsɯr   gaw-nɯ

   You're   Refl-DAT

   You yourself'

5) bi   gaɔ-nɯ

He Refl-DAT

Hhimself/ herself'

6) bisɯr   gaw-nɯ

They   Refl-DAT

Themselves

2.2.2.5 Indefinite Pronoun

The pronoun which indicates the unknown or an unidentified person or things is called the indefinite pronoun. In Bodo language the indefinite pronoun is reduplicated to make it the plural forms. The following indefinite pronouns are found in this language.

Indefinite Pronoun	Singular	Plural
sɯrba	sɯrba (someone)	sɯrba-sɯrba (someone)
kʰajpʰa	kʰajpʰa (anybody)	kʰajpʰa-kʰaipʰa (anybody)
kʰajse	kʰaise (anybody)	kʰajse-kʰaise (anybody)
raɔbɯ	raɔbɯ (nobody)	-

(**Table 2.11:** Indefinite Pronoun)

Among these indefinite pronouns of the Bodo language *'raubɯ'* is not be the plural form.

2.2.3 Numbers

In Bodo language the number system is an important part of the nominal group which is discussed under the head of the morphology. There are two types of number in Bodo language i.e. singular and plural. No dual number is found in Bodo language as found in the Indo-Aryan family languages. In Bodo language the pluralisation can be formed by adding plural suffixes to the nouns, pronouns and kinships terms as well as by re-duplicating the bases or stems. The processes of pluralisation of the Bodos can be discussed under the following heads

1) Pluralisation by using of plural suffixes,

2) Pluralisation by compounding and

3) Plurality expressed by reduplication

2.2.3.1 Pluralisation by using of plural suffixes

Use of plural suffixes is the main or primary way to make pluralisation in Bodo language. In Bodo language the plural suffixes are appended to the singular nouns, pronouns and kinship terms. There are three types of plural suffixes which indicates plural forms, these are – *{- pʰɯr}, {-mun}* and *{-sur}*. The uses of these suffixes in Bodo language to make plural forms are shown in the examples given below.

{-pʰɯr}: The suffix *{-pʰɯr}* is a common and widely used plural marker in the Bodo language. It is typically attached to countable animate nouns (both human and non-human), as well as inanimate nouns, to indicate plurality. In addition, *{-pʰɯr}* can be used with pronouns and kinship terms to form their plural versions. Here are a few examples:

a) Animate Humans:

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
mansi (person)	mansi-pʰɯr (persons/peoples)
alasi (guest)	alasi-pʰɯr (guests)
gɔthɔ (child)	gɔthɔ-pʰɯr (children)
seŋgra (youth)	seŋgra-pʰɯr (youths)
sikʰla (girl)	sikhla-pʰɯr (girls)
hɯɯasa (boy)	hɯɯasa-pʰɯr (the boys) etc.

b) Animate non-humans

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
mɯɯsɯɯ (cow)	mɯɯsɯɯ-pʰɯr (cows)

bɯrma (goat)   bɯrma-pʰɯr (goats)

ɔma (pig)   ɔma-pʰɯr (pigs)

dau (bird)   dau-pʰɯr (birds)

daukʰa (crow)   daukʰ-pʰɯr (crows)

zunar (animal)   zunar-pʰɯr (animals) etc.

c) Inanimate things or objects

Singular   **Plural**

nɔ (house)   nɔ-pʰɯr (houses)

bipʰaŋ (tree)   bipʰaŋ-phɯr (trees)

bizab (book)   bizab-pʰɯr (books)

dɯima (river)   dɯima-pʰɯr (rivers)

si~zi (cloth)   si~zi-pʰɯr (cloth) etc

d) Pronouns

Singular   **Plural**

be (this)   be-pʰɯr (these)

bɯi (that)   bɯi-pʰɯr (those)

e) Kinship terms

Singular   **Plural**

bewai (husband's elder brother)   bewai-pʰɯr (husband's elder brothers)

bikʰunzɯ (mother-in-law)   bikʰunzɯ-phɯr (mother-in- law)

bihau (father-in-law)   bihaɔ-pʰɯr (father-in-law)

bibɯu (granfathr)   bibɯu-pʰɯr (grandfathers)

The suffix *{-pʰɯr}* is unique in the Bodo language as it is the only plural marker that can be attached across a wide range of categories. It is used with animate humans and non-humans, nouns, demonstrative pronouns, inanimate objects or things,

and a limited set of kinship terms. When it comes to kinship terms, however, the usage of *{-pʰur}* can be ambiguous. In many cases, it is difficult to determine whether a kinship term is singular or plural unless there is physical presence or visual confirmation of the individuals involved. This is because in Bodo, the suffix *{-pʰur}* may be applied to kinship terms to indicate either singular or plural, depending on the context. Additionally, *{-pʰur}* is also employed as an honorific to show respect. For example: **bewai-pʰur pʰuiduŋ kʰampʰlaj hɔr** (Give a bench, brother-in-law has come.). In this sentence, the suffix *{-pʰur}* is not used to indicate plurality but as a mark of respect attached to the kinship term *"bewai"* (brother-in-law).

{-mɯn}: In the Bodo language, the suffix *{-mɯn}* functions as a plural marker. It is primarily used with the second- and third-person personal pronouns, as well as with kinship terms, to indicate plural number. This suffix is typically used in honorific contexts. However, it's important to note that *{-mɯn}* cannot be directly attached to personal pronouns. Instead, it is added with the help of the honorific form *{-tʰaŋ}*. This process is illustrated in the following examples:

a) Personal pronouns

Singular	**Plural**
nɯŋ-tʰaŋ (you, hon.)	nɯŋ-tʰaŋ-mɯn (you(pl.) hon.)
bi-tʰaŋ (s/he, hon.)	bi-tʰaŋ-mɯn (they, hon.)

b) Kinship terms

Singular	**Plural**
abɯu (grandfather)	abɯu-mɯn (grandfather and others)
abɯi (grandmother)	abɯi-mɯn (grandmother and others)
ada (elder brother)	ada-mɯn (elder brother and others)
anɯi (paternal aunt)	anɯi-mɯn (paternal aunt and others)
apʰa (father)	apʰa-mɯn (father and others)
adɯi (uncle)	adɯi-mɯn (uncle and others)
madɯi (aunt)	madeɯi-mɯn (aunt and others) etc.

The above examples demonstrate that the plural suffix *{-mɯn}* is used to indicate both plurality and honorific forms of pronouns and kinship terms in Bodo. For second- and third-person personal pronouns, *{-mɯn}* cannot be attached directly; instead, it follows the addition of the honorific suffix *{-tʰaŋ}*. However, when it comes to kinship terms, *{-mɯn}* can be added directly without the use of *{-tʰaŋ}*. This shows that both *{-mɯn}* and *{-tʰaŋ}* play important roles in expressing honorific forms in the Bodo language.

{-sɯr}: The suffix *{-sɯr}* is another plural marker in the Bodo language, specifically used with non-honorific forms of personal pronouns. It is commonly applied to the second- and third-person personal pronouns, as well as to demonstrative and reflexive pronouns. This usage is illustrated in the following examples:

a) Personal pronouns

Singular	**Plural**
nɯŋ (you)	nɯŋ-sɯr (you, PL)
bi (s/he)	bi-sɯr (they)

b) Demonstrative pronouns

Singular	**Plural**
be (this)	be-sɯr (these)
bɯi (that)	bɯi-sɯr (those)

c) Reflexive pronouns

Singular	**Plural**
gaw (self)	gaw-sɯr (themselves)

As illustrated in the examples above, the suffix *{-sɯr}* is added to singular pronouns such as *'nɯŋ', 'bi', 'be', 'bɯi'*, and *'gaw'* to form their plural counterparts. In the case of demonstrative pronouns, the suffix *{-pʰur}* is specifically used to indicate plurality of non-human entities or objects. In contrast, *{-sɯr}* is used exclusively with pronouns that refer to human beings.

2.2.3.2 Pluralization by compounding

In the Bodo language, plural forms can also be created through compounding. Numerals play a significant role in expressing plurality through this method. In this process, numerals are combined with common nouns to form plural numbers. The compounding method can be categorized into two types:

1) Plurality expressed by compounding nouns of multitude/indefinite numeral and

2) Plurality signaled by numeral.

2.2.3.2.1 Plurality express by compounding nouns of multitude

In this form of pluralization, plurality can also be expressed by compounding nouns of multitude with common nouns. In the Bodo language, the noun of multitude can be placed either before or after the common noun. These nouns of multitude are considered indefinite numerals, as they do not specify an exact number but rather represent a group. Some of the nouns of multitude in Bodo include: *'pʰalɯ', 'hanza', 'damɯl', 'suba', 'gɯbaŋ', 'burza', 'zɔma', 'makʰa'*, among others. The following examples illustrate this usage:

Singular	**Plural**
ɯuwa (bamboo)	ɯuwa suba (heap of bamboo)
ɔntʰaj (stone)	ɔntʰaj damɯl (heap of stone)
bibar (flower)	burza bibar (many flowers)
dau (bird)	dau pʰalɯ (flocks of birds)
mansi (person)	mansi hanza (group of peoples)
na (fish)	na hanza (group of fishes)
mɯsɯu (cow)	mɯsɯu phalɯ (herd of cow) etc.

As shown in the examples above, nouns of multitude can appear either before or after common nouns, where they indicate plurality. However, these nouns of multitude do not specify an exact quantity or number; instead, they simply represent a group. Upon closer examination of the examples, it becomes evident that there is a

head word and a modifier. It is also important to note that, depending on the number, the head words are represented by common nouns, while the modifiers are represented by nouns of multitude.

2.2.3.2.2 Plurality signalled by numeral

In the Bodo language, numerals play a crucial role in forming plural numbers. When added to nouns, numerals themselves serve as plural markers, creating an additional set of plural forms. In this method of plural formation, nouns are typically associated with two, three, or more, excluding zero and one. At times, numerals are directly combined with nouns, while in other cases; they are combined with the help of classifiers. The following examples illustrate this:

a) Direct taking of numerals

Singular	**Plural**
dan (month)	dan-brɯi (four month)
dan (month)	dan-ba (five month)
hɔr (night)	hɔr-tʰam (three nights)
hɔr (night)	hɔr-brɯi (four nights)
san (day)	san-nɯi (two days)
san (day)	san (three-days)

b) Combined with help of the classifiers

Singular	**Plural**
bedɔr (meat)	bedɔr dɔr-ba (five piece of meat)
asi (finger)	asi tʰaj-ba (five fingers)
kʰanaj (hair)	kʰanaj dɯŋ-ba (five hairs)
megɔn (eye)	megɔn tʰaj-nɯi (two eyes)
bipʰaŋ (tree)	bipʰaŋ pʰaŋ-ba (five trees) etc.

In these examples, it is clear that plural forms can be created by compounding numerals with nouns. In this process, numerals such as *"two"* or numbers greater than two are combined with nouns to indicate plurality. From the examples provided, it can be observed that the nouns serve as the head words, while the numerals act as inflectional modifiers that alter the number of the nouns.

2.2.3.3 Pluralization by reduplication

In the Bodo language, reduplication is another method used to form plurals. Through reduplication, grammatical categories such as nouns, pronouns, and adverbs can be pluralized. The following examples illustrate this process:
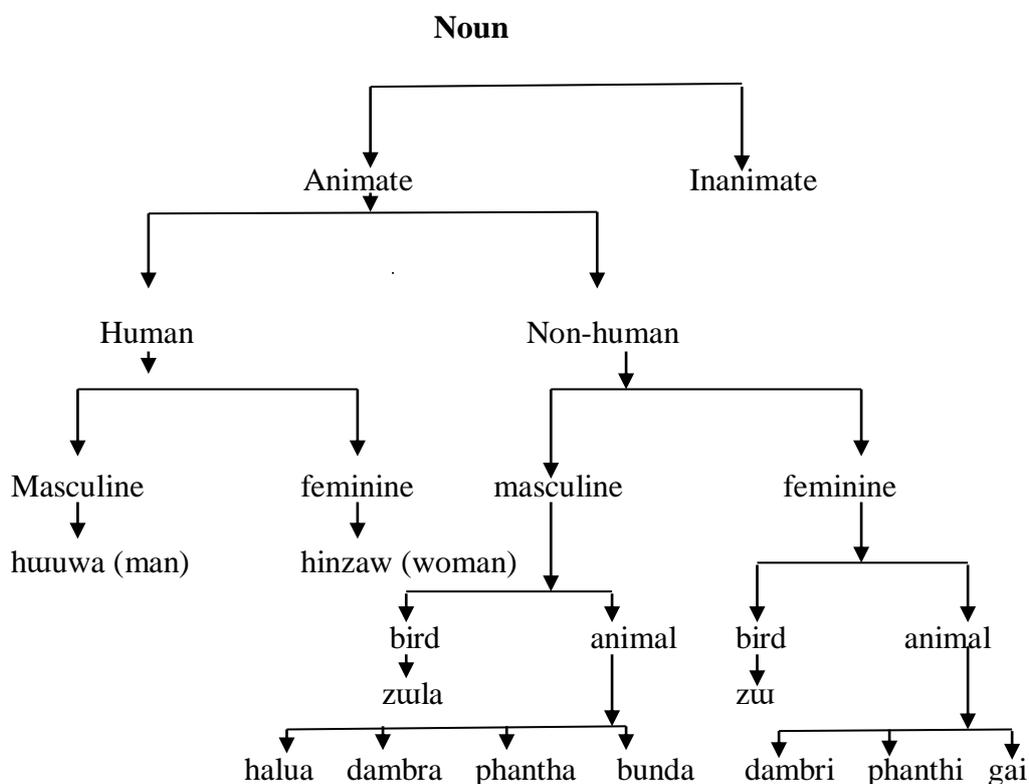
Singular	**Plural**
nɔkʰɔr (family)	nɔkʰɔr nɔkʰɔr (family to family)
gami (village)	gami gami (village to village)
dɯima (river)	dɯima dɯima (river to river)
gubun (other)	gubun gubun (others)
kʰajse (somebody)	kʰajse kʰajse (some persons)
mɯjaŋ (good)	mɯjaŋ mɯjaŋ (good ones)
maba (something)	maba mabi (some unknown things)
mablaba (sometime)	mablaba mablaba (sometimes)
sɯr (who)	sɯr sɯr (who are) etc.

From the examples above, it can be observed that nouns, pronouns, and adverbs are repeated to indicate plurality. Additionally, in the process of reduplication, the host words (nouns, pronouns, and adverbs) are sometimes fully repeated, while at other times, they undergo slight phonological changes.

2.2.4 Gender

In Bodo, gender is considered a secondary grammatical category within the nominal group. It is used to analyze word classes that exhibit distinctions such as masculine, feminine, neuter, animate, and inanimate. Unlike some Indo-Aryan

languages such as Hindi and Sanskrit, Bodo does not have grammatical gender. Instead, it employs natural gender. Typically, gender distinctions in Bodo are observed only in animate nouns—both human and non-human. The classification of gender in Bodo can be summarized in the following figure:

Noun

Animate   Inanimate

Human   Non-human

Masculine   feminine   masculine   feminine

hɯɯwa (man)   hinzaw (woman)

bird   animal   bird   animal

zɯla   zɯ

halua   dambra   phantha   bunda   dambri   phanthi   gai

(**Chart- 2.2:** The gender distinction chart in Bodo language)

The processes of gender distinction in the Bodo language can be discussed under the following categories:

a) By using separate words for male and female

b) By compounding, and

c) By using suffix

2.2.4.1 By using separate words for male and female

The Bodo language features numerous pairs of words that are used to distinctly mark masculine and feminine forms. These gender-based word pairs commonly appear in kinship terms and general nouns to refer to individuals or groups. Some examples are provided below:

a) **Kinship Term**

Masculine	**Feminine**
adɯi (uncle)	madɯi (aunt)
apʰa (father)	ai (mother)
bihaw (father-in-low)	bikʰunzɯ (mother-in-low)
abɯu (grandfather)	abɯi (grandmother)
ada (elder brother)	bazɯi (wife of elder brother)
gumɯi (husband of elder sister)	abɔ (elder sister)
pʰisai (husband)	bisi (wife)

b) **General Nouns**

Masculine	**Feminine**
bɯraj (old man)	burɯi (old woman)
hɯuwa (man)	hinzaw (woman)
dahɯna (servant)	ruatʰi (maid)
seŋgra (young boy)	sikʰla (young girl)
balɔnda (wedow)	balɔndi (widow woman)

2.2.4.2 By Compounding

Compounding is one of the key methods used to express gender distinction in the Bodo language. In compounding, two or more words are combined to form a new word or phrase. Gender distinction through compounding occurs when gender-specific words—indicating male or female—are added either before or after a common noun to create a gendered term. In Bodo, words such as *'hɯuwa', 'zɯla', 'bɯraj', 'bunda', 'pʰantʰa',* and *'dambra'* are used to indicate masculinity, while *'hinzaw', 'zɯ', 'burɯi', 'bundi', 'pʰantʰi',* and *'dambri'* are used to indicate

femininity. Notably, these gender-marking words also carry independent meanings in the language. For example:

Masculine	**Feminine**
hɯuwa alasi (male guest)	hinzaw alasi (female guest)
hɯuwa-alasi	hinzaw-alasi
male guest	female guest

As illustrated in the examples above, gender is indicated by combining male and female marker words with common nouns. These compound words typically consist of one head word and one modifying word. For instance, in the phrases *'hɯuwa alasi'* and *'hinzaw alasi'*, the word *'alasi'* serves as the head noun, while *'hɯuwa'* and *'hinzaw'* function as modifiers. It is the presence of these modifying words that changes the meaning of the head noun to reflect gender.

In the Bodo language, compound words related to gender distinction can be classified under three sub-categories:

1) Nouns relating to humans and

2) Nouns relating to non-humans and

3) Joint nouns relating to humans and non-humans

2.2.4.2.1 Nouns relating to humans

In the Bodo language, words such as *'hɯuwa', 'hinzaw', 'bɯraj',* and *'burɯi'* are used to denote human beings with gender distinctions. However, it is important to note that some kinship terms, like *'ajɔŋ'* and *'pʰisa'*, do not specify gender on their own. These terms are considered double-gender or common-gender words. To indicate gender, the terms *'hɯuwa'* and *'hinzaw'* are combined with these kinship terms. The following examples illustrate this:

Masculine	**Feminine**
bɯraj mansi (old man)	burɯimansi (old women)
ajɔŋ hɯuwa (father's elder brother)	ajɔŋ hinzaw (wife of father's elder brother)
hɯuwamansi (man)	hinzawmansi (woman)

huuwa alasi (male guest)   hinzawalasi (female guest)

pʰisa huuwa (son)   pʰisa hinzaw (daughter)

In the examples provided above, the words *'mansi'* (human being), *'pʰisa'* (children), *'alasi'* (guest), and *'ajɔŋ'* (father's elder brother/wife of father's elder brother) are common nouns that serve as head words. To indicate gender distinction, male and female-specific words are combined with these common nouns, either before or after. The kinship term *'ajɔŋ'* is considered gender-neutral, and to specify gender, the words *'huuwa'* (man) and *'hinzaw'* (woman) are combined with *'ajɔŋ'* to represent male and female, respectively.

In addition to the examples mentioned above, in the Bodo language, the words *'hinzaw'* (woman/female) and *'huuwa'* (man/male) are also combined with adjectives to form gender distinctions. However, such instances are limited in number. An example is provided below:

<u>Masculine</u>   **<u>Feminine</u>**

huuwa gudan (bridegoom)   hinzaw gudan (bride)

In this example, the nouns *'hinzaw'* (woman/female) and *'huuwa'* (man/male) are combined with the adjective 'gudan' (new) to form the compounds *'huuwa gudan'* and *'hinzaw gudan'*. However, in these compounds, *'hinzaw'* and *'huuwa'* function as head words, not modifying words. The adjective *'gudan'* serves as the modifier because it changes the meaning of the compound.

2.2.4.2.2 Nouns relating to non-humans

Animals: In this method of gender distinction in the Bodo language, specific words are used to indicate the male and female forms of animals. Words such as *'bunda', 'baŋgra', 'pʰantʰa',* and *'dambra'* are used for male animals, while *'bundi', 'baŋgri', 'pʰantʰi',* and *'dambri'* are used for female animals. For instance, *'bunda'* (male) and *'bundi'* (female) are applied to animals like cats, tigers, lions, pigs, and dogs. Specifically, *'pʰantʰa'* and *'pʰantʰi'* refer to male and female goats, while *'dambra', 'dambri', 'halua',* and 'gai' are used for calves or cows. Likewise, *'baŋgra'* and *'baŋgri'* denote male and female dogs, and 'makhunda' and *'makʰundi'* are used for male and female elephants. In Bodo, these gender-specific

terms are placed either before or after the common noun to indicate the animal's gender, as shown in the examples below.

Masculine	Feminine
sɯima bunda (male puppy)	sɯima bundi (female puppy)
ɔma bunda(boar)	ɔma bundi(sow)
mɯsa bunda (tiger)	mɯsa bundi (tigress)
bɯrma pʰantʰa (male goat)	bɯrma pʰantʰi (female goat)
sɯima baŋgra (sire)	sɯima baŋgri (bitch)
mɯsɯu dambra (male calf))	mɯsɯu dambri (female calf)
mɯsɯu halua (bull)	mɯsɯu gai (cow)
mɯider makʰunda (male elephant)	mɯider makʰundi (female elephant)

In the examples given above—*sɯima* (dog), *ɔma* (pig), *mauzi* (cat), *bɯrma* (goat), *mɯsɯu* (cow/bull), and *mɯider* (elephant)—these common nouns function as headwords. The words that indicate male and female—such as *bunda/bundi*, *baŋgra/baŋgri, pʰantʰa/pʰantʰi,* etc.—serve as modifying elements. These modifying words mark gender by combining with the headword through compounding, thus forming gender-specific terms in the Bodo language.

2.2.4.2.3 Joint nouns relating to humans and non-humans

In the Bodo language, there are certain words that indicate gender for both humans and non-humans. The term *'zɯla'* is used for males, while *'zɯ'* is used for females. These words are generally placed either before or after the nouns they modify, especially in the case of birds and kinship terms. For example:

a) Birds:

Masculine	Feminine
dauzɯla (cock)	dauzɯ (hen)
dautʰuzɯla (male dove)	dautʰuzɯ (female dove)
haŋsɯzɯla (drake/gander)	haŋsɯzɯ (goose)

pʰarɯɯzɯla (male pegion)   pʰarɯɯzɯ (female pegion)

b) Kinship Term:

Masculine	**Feminine**
pʰisazɯla (son)	pʰisazɯ (daughter)
pʰisɯɯzɯla (grandson)	pʰisɯɯzɯ (granddaughter)

From the above examples, it is evident that words like *dau* (bird), *haŋsu* (duck), *dautʰu* (dove), *pʰarɯɯ* (pigeon), *pʰisa* (child), and *phisɯɯ* (grandchild) function as headwords. The terms *zɯla* (male) and *zɯ* (female) act as modifying words. When these modifiers combine with the common nouns or kinship terms, they alter the meaning by indicating the gender of the subject.

2.2.4.3 By using suffix

Gender formation through the use of suffixes is a distinctive feature of the Bodo language. This method of gender distinction involves the alternation of specific phonemes. Phukan Basumatary highlights this feature of gender differentiation through suffixation as follows:

> *'Generally, this system was not applicable in Bodo language. But they have adopted such a system of gender distinction by the influence of Asamiya language'*[3]

Bodo language has three types of suffixes *{-i}, {-e}, {-u}*. By adding these suffixes, a masculine can be changed to feminine gender. The uses of these suffixes to gender distinction are discuss bellow with the examples-

{-i}: The feminine gender marker *{-i}* replaces the masculine suffix *{-a}*, which typically indicates characteristics such as condition, manner, or attributes of a human being. This can be seen in the following examples:

	Masculine	**Feminine**
Impairment-	bɔb-a (dumb man)	bɔb-i (dumb woman)
	beŋ-a (deaf man)	beŋ-i (deaf woman)

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[3] Basumatary Pukan: ***Boro Raoni MohorKhanthi*** (Second Edition 2005) p-45

	kʰan-a (blind man)	kʰan-i (blind woman)
	leŋgr-a (lame man)	leŋgr-i (lame woman)
Manner-	pʰagl-a (mad man)	pʰagl-i (mad woman)
	zamb-a (foolish man)	zamb-i (foolish woman)
Other-	gendra (potbellier man)	gendr-I (potbellier woman)
	balɔnd-a (widower)	balɔnd-i (widow) etc.

{-e}: The feminine gender marker *{-e}* can replace the vowel *{-a}* in a limited number of nouns to change the gender from masculine to feminine. This substitution occurs when describing a person with a short, flat nose or an unattractive face. In such cases, the feminine marker *{-e}* is used in place of *{-a}*. The following examples illustrate this:

Masculine	**Feminine**
hɔŋl-a (hollow nosed man)	hɔŋl-e (hollow nosed woman)
nabl-a (flat nosed man)	nabl-e (flat nosed woman)
gurbl-a (ugly face man)	gurbl-e (ugly face woman)

{-u}: Similar to *{-i}* and *{-e},* the *{-u}* is also used as a feminine gender marker. It functions to change the gender from masculine to feminine by replacing the vowel *{-a}* in a limited number of nouns. This marker is typically used when referring to a person of short stature. The following examples illustrate this usage:

Masculine	**Feminine**
haitʰ-a (short man)	haitʰ-u (short woman)
gaitʰ-a (short man)	gaitʰ-u (short woman)

In the Bodo language, there are four additional suffixes: *{-sula}* and *{-tʰa}* for males, and *{-suli}* and *{-tʰu}* for females. These suffixes are added to verb roots to form adjectives that describe behavioral aspects, while also marking masculine and feminine gender. The suffixes *{-sula}* and *{-suli}* are used to indicate human nature, whereas *{-tʰa}* and *{-tʰu}* refer to a person's height. The following examples illustrate this:

Roots	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
ɔn (be loved)	ɔn-sula (affectionate man)	ɔn-suli (affectionate woman)
bɯrab (be angry)	bɯrab-sula (anger man)	bɯrab-suli (anger woman)
gab (to cry)	gab-sula (apt to cry man)	gab-suli (apt to cry woman)
pʰɔraj (to read)	pʰɔraj-sula (studious man)	pʰɔraj-suli (studious woman)
za (to eat)	za-sula (gluttonous man)	za-suli (gluttonous woman)
hai (be short)	hai-tʰa (short man)	hai-tʰu (short woman) etc.

From the examples provided above, it can be observed that gender is formed by adding suffixes to the verb. It is also noted that only the final phonemes of the suffixes change alternately between the two genders. In the case of gender distinction through suffix addition, it is evident that masculine-indicating words in Bodo language consistently end with the /a/ phoneme.

2.2.4.4 Unique gender

In the Bodo language, there is a small set of gender-specific words, each belonging to either the masculine or feminine category. However, these words do not have a counterpart in the opposite gender. Some examples are provided below:

c) Unique masculine gender

badari (woodcutter),

dauharu (warrior),

dɯɯri (priest),

halmazi (a village peon),

kʰasi (castrated male animals or birds),

 laukʰar (cowherd),

zaulija (crazy man).

d) Unique feminine gender

aduŋgari (spinster),

bɔkʰali (a female servant especially employed to look after a child),

bihari (co-wife),

dɯɯdini (the central figure of kherai worship. She is a sanctified medium of divinity, the para nature and she is the essence of kherai worship),

tʰɔŋgali (a light natured woman).

mainaw (godes lokshmi

In the examples above, the word *'dauharu'* is a compound word. It is created by combining the noun *'dauha'* (war) with the suffix *{-ru}* in the Bodo language.

2.2.5 Case

> ***'Case is a grammatical category that refers to inflections which make it clear exactly what function a given word fulfills in a given sentence. These inflections may be applied to nouns pronouns, adjectives, numerals, and, in some languages, adverbs'***[4].

To study the morphology the case-markers are considered as an important part, because it also plays an important role in sentences.

In a meaningful sentence, case markers show the relationship between the subject and the verb. In Bodo language, case markers are typically attached to nouns, pronouns, and numerals. However, when these words take other suffixes, the case markers are added only after those suffixes. Bodo language has seven cases, each represented by different suffixes, which are listed in the table below:

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[4] (*http://ai.glossika.com*).

Case	Case-marker
Nominative	ø, -a (-wa, -ja), -ɯ
Accusative	ø, -kʰɯu
Instrumental	-zɯŋ
Dative	-nɯ
Ablative	-ni-pʰraj
Genitive	-ni
Locative	-aw (-jaw, -waw)

(Table 2.12: Case and Case Markers in Bodo language)

2.2.5.1 Nominative Case

In Bodo language, the case markers *{-ø}, {-a},* and *{-ɯ}* are used to indicate the nominative case. When nouns, pronouns, or adjectives function as the subject of a sentence to express the action of a verb, these markers are added as suffixes to form a grammatically correct sentence. These markers are specifically associated with the subject to denote the nominative case in Bodo.

{-a}: The case marker *{-a}* is used to indicate the nominative case in Bodo. In a meaningful sentence, it is attached to the subject to clarify the relationship between the subject and the verb. This marker has different allomorphs—namely *{-a}, {-ja},* and *{-wa}*—depending on the final phoneme of the subject word. These variations are applied as follows:

(i) The suffix *{-a}* is used when the subject ends in a consonant. (ii) The allomorph *{-ja}* is used when the subject ends in the vowels */i/, /e/, /a/* or the diphthong */ai/* (iii) The allomorph *{-wa}* is used when the subject ends in the vowels */ɔ/, /u/,* or the diphthong /ɯu/. The following examples illustrate these patterns:

{-a}:

> 1) bibar-a naj-nɯ mɯzaŋ
>
> flower-NOM to see beautiful
>
> The flower is beautiful to looking.

{-ja}:

1) Ramɯnda-ja   sa-se   ɔnsula   mansi

    Ramɯnda -NOM   CLS-one   kindherted   man

    Ramɯnda is a kindherted man.

2) ada-ja   ma   kʰalam-dɯŋ

    elder brother-NOM   what   do-PROG.

    What is brother doing?

3) hɔŋle-ja   raju-kʰɯu   mɯzaŋ-mɯn-a

    hɔŋle -NOM   raju-ACC   good to feel-NEG

    hɔŋle don't love raju.

4) madɯi-ja   bɯi-aw   gɯi-ja

    aunt-NOM   that-LOC   to be-NEG

    aunt is not at there.

{-wa}:

1) mɯsɯu-wa   gangsɯ   za-jɯ

    caw-NOM   grass   eat-HAB

    The cow eats grass.

2) bibɔ-wa   ɯŋkʰam   sɔŋ-dɯŋ

    elder sister-NOM   rice   cook-PROG

    Sister is cooking rice.

3) mɯɯnbaru-wa   ma   maw-dɯŋ

    mɯɯnbaru -NOM   what   do-PRE

    What is doing mɯɯnbaru?

{-ɯ}: This is a nominative case marker specifically used with personal pronouns in Bodo. It has two allomorphs: (i) *{-ɯ}*, which is attached to pronouns ending in consonants. (ii) *{-jɯ}*, which is used when the final phoneme of the pronoun ends in the vowels */i/, /e/, /a/, /ɔ/, /u/,* or in the diphthongs */ɯi/* and */ai/*. The following examples demonstrate how these allomorphs are applied:

> **{-ɯ}:**

> 1)   aŋ-ɯ   pʰɔrajsali-aw   tʰaŋɯ
>
>   I-NOM   school-LOC   go
>
>   I go to the school.

> **{-jɯ}:**

> 1)   bi-jɯ   bɔha   tʰa-jɯ
>
>   s/he-NOM   where stay-HAB
>
>   Where does s/he stay?

The above examples show that nominative case markers are used in connection with the subjects of the sentences.

{-ø}: This is a zero-case marker, which in the Bodo language is always used with the subject of the sentence. The following examples illustrate its usage:

> 1)   aŋ{-ø}   ɯŋkʰam   za-jɯ
>
>   I   rice   eat- HAB
>
>   I eat rice.

> 2)   bazɯi   dugɯi-dɯŋ
>
>   Sister-in-low   to bathe -PROG
>
>   Sister-in-low is bathing.

The above examples show that the zero marker is used with the subject of the sentence, indicating that no visible case marker is present. However, upon closer examination, it becomes clear that a marker is implied, even though it remains

unexpressed or hidden in the sentence. This can be demonstrated through the following examples:

3)   aŋ-ɯ   ɯŋkʰam   za-jɯ

I-NOM   rice   eat-HAB

I eat rice.

4)   bazɯi -a   dugɯi-dɯŋ

Sister-in-low -NOM   to bath-PROG

Sister-in-low is bathing.

2.2.5.2 Accusative Case

In Bodo language, the case markers *{-kʰɯu}* and *{-ɸ}* are used to denote the accusative case. These markers are typically attached to the objects of sentences, although they can sometimes also be used with the subject. The accusative case is also known as the objective case. The following examples demonstrate this:

{-kʰɯu}: This case marker is added to nouns, pronouns, and adjectives to indicate the accusative case, whether they function as the subject or the object. It is specifically attached to the object of the verb, when the action of the verb is either ongoing, completed, or will occur in the future. The following examples illustrate this:

1)   sila-ja dau-kʰɯu   laŋ-baj

kite-Nom   bird-ACC   take-PST

The kite has taken the bird.

2)   nɯŋ-kʰɯu   sɯr   bu-a

you-ACC   who   to beat-IMP

Who beat you?

3)   bi-nɯ   gɯsɯm-kʰɯu naŋa

He/She-DAT   black-ACC   NEG

He/She doesn't want black.

In the examples above, 1) the object *'dau'* (bird) receives the accusative case marker *{-kʰuu}* and functions as the object of the verb *'laŋbaj'*. Similarly, in sentences 2) and 3), the objects *'nuŋ'* and *'guɯsum'* also take the accusative case marker *{-kʰuu}*.

{-ø}: Similar to the nominative case, the *{-ø}* marker is used to show the relationship between the accusative case and the verb. However, the presence or absence of the *{-ø}* marker does not alter the meaning of the sentence. The meaning is still clear to the listeners, even without the case marker. The following examples illustrate this:

1)   gɔtʰɔ-a   mɯsɯu-{-ø}   gum-dɯŋ

         boy-NOM   cow   to graze-PROG

         The boy is grazing the cow.

2)   ai-ja   gɔj-ø   kʰaw-dwŋ

         mother-NOM betel-nut   to cut-PROG

         Mother is cutting the betel-nut.

In examples 1) and 2) above, the objects *'mɯsɯu'* and *'gɔj'* either do not take the case marker or are marked with a zero-case marker. In both cases, whether the case marker is used or not, the meaning remains the same.

2.2.5.3 Instrumental Case

The case marker *{-zɯŋ}* in Bodo language indicates the instrumental case. It is specifically used with tools or instruments through which actions are performed by the subject or nominative case. This marker is applied to nouns representing various types of tools and implements. The following examples demonstrate its usage:

1)   abɯu-ja   ruwa-zɯŋ   bɔn   sin-dɯŋ

         grandfather-NOM   axe-INST   firewood   to cut-PROG

          Grandfather is cutting the firewood with axe.

In example 1) above, the case marker *{-zɯŋ}* is attached to the object (tool) *'ruwa',* indicating that the action is carried out using the instrument *'ruwa'*. It is

important to note that the case marker *{-zɯŋ}* is not only used with instruments, but also with nouns (representing humans and animals) and pronouns. For example:

2)   bi-zɯŋ   sɯr   pʰɯipha-gɯn ?

        s/he-INST   who   to come alone with-FUT

        Who will come with him/her?

3)   aŋ   ada-zɯŋ   undupʰa-gɯn

        I   elder brother-INST   to sleep with-FUT

        I will sleep along with elder brother.

In examples 2) and 3) above, the case marker *{-zɯŋ}* is used with a noun and a pronoun. This shows that the instrumental case marker in Bodo language can also be applied to nouns and pronouns to indicate that the action is performed through them.

2.2.5.4 Dative Case

In Bodo language, the case marker *{-nɯ}* functions as a dative case marker. It is used to indicate the recipient of the action expressed by the verb in a sentence. This marker is attached to nouns and pronouns when they represent the receiver of the action. The following examples illustrate its usage:

1)   bibajari-nɯ   mairɔŋ   hɔr

        Begger-DAT   rice   gives

        Give rice to the begger.

2)   aŋ-nɯ   rebgɔn   gɔŋ-se   labɯ

        I-DAT   pen   CLSF-one   bring

        Bring me a pen.

In these examples, the case marker *{-nɯ}* is attached to *'bibajari'* and *'aŋ'* to indicate that they are the recipients of the action.

2.2.5.5 Ablative Case

In Bodo, unlike other cases, the ablative case does not have its own independent marker. Typically, the ablative case is expressed by combining the marker *{-ni}* with the postpositional marker *{-pʰraj}*, forming *{-ni-pʰraj}*, which serves as the ablative case marker. This compound marker can be attached to nouns, pronouns, and adjectives. It is used to indicate separation from something or movement away from someone or something. The following examples illustrate this:

1) nuɯŋ   nɔ-ni-pʰraj   pʰɯi

    you   home-ABL   come

    You come from home.

2) bipʰaŋ-ni-pʰraj   bilai   siridɯŋ

    Tree-ABL   leaf   fall-PRE

    The leaf is falling from tree.

As illustrated in examples 1) and 2) above, the case marker *{-ni-pʰraj}* is attached to the nouns *'nɔ'* and *'bipʰaŋ'*. This demonstrates that when the marker is added to a noun, it conveys a sense of separation, origin, or movement from something in the sentence.

2.2.5.6 Genitive Case

In Bodo, the case marker *{-ni}* can be used with either the subject or the object of a sentence. Unlike other case markers, it does not indicate a relationship between the subject or object and the verb. Instead, it serves to show the relationship between the subject and the object, or between two objects, as illustrated in the examples below:

1) be   sɯr-ni   rebgɔn?

    This   who-GEN   pen

    Whose pen is this?

2)   bi-ni   bizab-kʰɯu   dɯn

        he-GEN   book-ACC   keep

        Keep his/her book.

In the sentences above, it is observed that the case marker is applied to both the subjects and objects. In example 1), it illustrates the relationship between *'sur'* and *'rebgɔn'*. Meanwhile, in example 2), it demonstrates the relationship between the subject *'bi'* and the object *'bizab'*.

2.2.5.7 Locative Case

In Bodo language, the *{-aw}* marker is used to indicate spatial and temporal locations. It functions as a locative case marker and can be attached to both the subject and the object in sentences. This locative case marker has three allomorphs: *{-aw}, {-jaw},* and *{-waw}*. These allomorphs are used based on the final phoneme of the word. When a word ends with a consonant phoneme, the marker *{-aw}* is used directly without alteration. However, if the word ends with the vowel phonemes */e/, /a/, /i/,* or the diphthong */ui/*, the case marker *{-aw}* is replaced by *{-jaw}*. Similarly, when a word ends with the vowel phonemes */u/, /ɔ/,* or the diphthong */uu/*, the *{-aw}* marker changes to *{-waw}*. Some examples are provided below:

1)   nɯgɯr-aw   ma   zadɯŋ

        nɯgɯr -LOC what   happen

        What is happening in the city?

2)   aŋ   Guwahati-jaw   tʰa-jɯ

        I   Guwahati -LOC   stay-HAB

        I live in Guwahati.

3)   bi-jɯ   nɔ-waw   pʰɯi-baj

        He/she-NOM   home-LOC   come-PST

        He/she had come to the home.

From the examples above, it can be observed that the case marker *{-aw}* is attached to both the subject and object of the sentence. In example 1), the word *'nugur'* ends with the consonant */r/*, so the marker *{-aw}* is directly added without any modification, indicating the location of *'nugur'*. However, in examples 2) and 3), the words *'Guwahati'* and *'nɔ'* end with the vowels */i/* and */ɔ/*, respectively. As a result, the case marker *{-aw}* changes to *{-jaw}* and *{-waw}* for these words. These markers *{-jaw}* and *{-waw}* indicate the location of the words 'Guwahati' and *'nɔ'* in the sentences.

Another important point to note is that the locative case marker cannot be directly attached to personal pronouns, kinship terms, and nouns (both human and animal) without the genitive case marker *{-ni}*. This means that, in such cases, the locative case marker is added after the genitive case marker. For example:

a) Pronoun,

4) aŋ-ni-jaw   gɯbaŋ   raŋ   dɔŋ

I-GEN-LOC   what   money   have

I have so much money.

b) Kinship term,

5) ada-ni-jaw   gɔsla gɯdan dɔŋ

Elder brother-GEN-LOC   shirt   new   have

Elder brother has new shirt.

c) Noun,

6) mɯider-ni-jaw   sundaj   dɔŋ

elephant-GEN-LOC   trunk   have

The elephant has trunk.

In the examples above, the locative case marker cannot be directly attached to *'aŋ'*, *'ada',* and *'mɯider'*. Upon examining these examples, it becomes clear that when personal pronouns, kinship terms, or nouns (human and animal) are used to indicate location, the locative case marker *{-aw}* must be preceded by the genitive case marker

{-ni}. Only after the genitive case marker *{-ni}* is added can the locative case marker *{-aw}* be attached to show location for personal pronouns, kinship terms, and nouns (human and animal) in Bodo language.

2.2.6 Numerals

Numerals are an essential part of the nominal group in morphology. A numeral is a symbol or a set of symbols that signifies a quantity and is linked to numbers. In Bodo language, the numeral system primarily follows the decimal counting system. The numeral system in Bodo can be categorized as follows:

1) Cardinal numerals
2) Ordinal numerals
3) Multiplicative numerals
4) Fractional numerals and
5) Distributive numerals

2.2.6.1 Cardinal Numerals

A cardinal number is a number used to count items, such as *one, two, three, four,* and so on, according to David Crystal.

> *'Cardinal is a traditional term retained in some model of grammatical description, referring to the class of numerals, one, two, etc.'*[5]

In Bodo language cardinals can be sub-classified in to the following types-

1) Basic cardinal numerals and
2) Compound cardinal numerals.

2.2.6.1.1 Basic Cardinal Numerals

In Bodo language, these digits are used independently, without the assistance of other digits. They are referred to as the original cardinal numbers. The original cardinal numbers in Bodo range from one to ten, as demonstrated in the table below.

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[5] *Crystal, David. **A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics**. USA: Blackwell Publishing. (2008, 6th Edition) P-65*

Bodo	Gloss
se	One
nɯi	Two
tʰam	Three
brɯi	Four
ba	Five
dɔ	Six
sni	Seven
dain	Eight
gu	Nine
zi	Ten

(Table 2.13: Basic Curdinal Numerals)

In the Bodo language, basic numerals also encompass terms like hundred, thousand, and lakh. The word for hundred is *"zuu,"* for thousand it is *"rɯza"* and lakh is expressed as *"lakʰ."* However, unlike the others, *"lakʰ"* is not an original Bodo term; it has been borrowed from another language.

2.2.6.1.2 Compound Cardinal Numerals

In Bodo language, as in many other Tibeto-Burman languages, compound cardinal numerals are numerous and are formed to express higher numerical values. These compound numerals are created by combining two or more basic cardinal numbers. Therefore, from a morpho-syntactic perspective, compound cardinal numerals in Bodo can be categorized into the following types:

1) Additive Compound numerals

2) Multiplicative Compound numerals

3) Multiplicative-cum-Additive Compound numerals

2.2.6.1.2.1 Additive Compound Numerals

In Bodo language, additive compound numerals are created by combining two or more basic cardinal numbers. The numbers from 11 to 19 fall under this category of additive compound cardinal numerals. Examples are provided below:

Bodo	Gloss
zi-se [10 + 1 = 11]	Eleven
zi-nɯi [10 + 2 = 12]	Twelve
zi-tʰam [10 + 3 = 13]	Thirteen
zi-brɯi [10 + 4 = 14]	Fourteen
zi-ba [10 + 5 = 15]	Fifteen
zi-dɔ [10 + 6 = 16]	Sixteen
zi-sni [10 + 7 = 17]	Seventeen
zi-dain [10 + 8 = 18]	Eighteen
zi-gu [10 + 9 = 19]	Nineteen

(Table 2.14: Additive Compound Numerals)

Based on the examples provided, it is evident that in the Bodo language, basic numerals are combined to form additive compound numbers. Typically, the numeral *'zi'* (meaning 10) appears in the first position, followed by another basic numeral from 1 to 9 in the second position.

2.2.6.1.2.2 Multiplicative Compound Numerals

In Bodo language, the multiplicative compounds are formed by 2/two, 3/three, 4/four, 5/five, 6/six, 7/seven, 8/eight, 9/nine basic numerals combined by multiplication with the *'zi'* (ten) and *'zɯu'* (hundred) or *'ruza'* (thousand). After multiplication with these basic numerals the multiplicative compound numerals are found 20, 30, 40..... 90 or 200, 300, 400, 500 ...... 900 or 2000, 3000........ 9000. As shown below –

Bodo	Gloss
nɯi-zi [2 x10 = 20]	Twenty
tʰam-zi [3 x 10 = 30]	Thirty
brɯi-zi [4 x 10 = 40]	Forty
ba-zi [5 x 10 = 50]	Fifty
dɔ-zi [6 x 10 = 60]	Sixty
sni-zi [7 x 10 = 70]	Seventy
dain-zi [8 x 10 = 80]	Eighty
gu-zi [9 x 10 = 90]	Ninety
nɯi-zɯu [2×100 = 100]	Two hundred
nɯi -rɯza [2 x 1000 = 2000]	Two thousand
se-lakʰ /lakʰ [1 x 100000 = 100000]	One lakh

(**Table 2.15:** Multiplicative compound Numerals)

2.2.6.1.2.3 Multiplicative cum Additive Compound Numerals

In the Bodo language, numerals such as 21–29, 31–39, 41–49, 51–59, 61–69, 71–79, 81–89, and 91–99 are formed using multiplicative-cum-additive compounds. The structure of these numerals combines both multiplication and addition, and their formation in Bodo can be illustrated as follows:

Bodo	**Gloss**
nɯizi-se	twenty-one
[2 x 10 + 1 = 21]	
nɯizi-nɯi	twenty -two
[2 x 10 + 2 = 22]	
nɯizi-tʰam	twenty-three
[2 x 10 + 3 = 23]	
tʰamzi-brɯi	thirty-four
[3 x 10 + 4 = 34]	
tʰamzi-ba	thirty-five
[3 x 10 + 5 = 35]	
tʰamzi-dɔ	thirty-six
[3 x 10 + 6 = 36]	
brɯizi-se	forty-one
[4 x 10 + 1 = 41]	
brɯizi-nɯi	forty-two
[4 x 10 + 2 = 42]	
brɯizi-tʰam	forty-three
[4 x 10 + 3 = 43]	
bazi-se	fifty-one
[5 x 10 + 1 = 51]	
bazi-nɯi	fifty-two
[5 x 10 + 2 = 52]	

Bodo	**Gloss**

bazi-tʰam   fifty-three

[5 x 10 + 3 = 53]

dɔzi-se   sixty-one

[6 x 10 + 1 = 61]

dɔzi-nɯi   sixty-two

[6 x 10 + 2 = 62]

dɔzi-tʰam   sixty-three

[6 x 10 + 3 = 63]

snizi-se   seventy-one

 [7 x 10 + 1 = 71]

snizi-nɯi   seventy-two

 [7 x 10 + 2 = 72]

snizi-tʰam   seventy-three

 [7 x 10 + 3 = 73]

dainzi-se   eighty-one

[8 x 10 + 1 = 81]

dainzi-nɯi   eighty-two

[8 x 10 + 2 = 82]

dainzi-tʰam   eighty-three

[8 x 10 + 3 = 83]

guzi-se   ninety-one

 [9 x 10 + 1 = 91]

guzi-nɯi   ninety-two

 [9 x 10 + 2 = 92]

guzi-tʰam ninety-three

[9 x 10 + 3 = 93]

As illustrated in the above examples, numerals in the Bodo language are formed through a process of both multiplication and addition. It is also observed that the basic numerals *'se'* (one) to *'gu'* (nine) serve as the first element (the multiplier), while *'zi'* (ten) functions as the second element in these formations.

2.2.6.2 Ordinal Numerals

According to David Crystal:

'Ordinal is a term used in some models of grammatical description referring to the class of numerals first, second, etc.'[6]

This ordinal numeral of the Bodo language is formed by appending *{-tʰi}* bound morpheme after cardinal numerals. As for examples given below-

Bodo	**Gloss**
se-tʰi	first
nɯi-tʰi	second
tʰam-tʰi	third
brɯi-tʰi	fourth etc.

2.2.6.3 Multiplicative/Quantitative Numerals

In the Bodo language, multiplicative or quantitative numerals are formed by prefixing *{ga-}, {kʰɔn-},* or *{kʰeb-}* to the cardinal numerals. It is worth noting that these prefixes—*{ga-}, {kʰɔn-},* and *{kʰeb-}*—indicate the number of times an event or occasion takes place. The following examples illustrate this construction:

Bodo	**Gloss**
ga-tʰam	thrice
ga-dɔ	six times

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[6] *Crystal, David. **A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics**. USA: Blackwell Publishing. (2008, 6th Edition) P-344*

ga-sni	seven times
kʰɔn/kʰeb-se	once
kʰɔn/kʰeb-nɯi	twice
kʰɔn/kʰeb-tʰam	thrice
kʰɔn/kʰeb-brɯi	four times
kʰɔn/kʰeb-ba	five times etc.

The above examples show that in Bodo, multiplicative or quantitative numerals are formed by prefixing *{ga-}, {kʰɔn-},* or *{kʰeb-}* to the cardinal numerals, respectively.

2.2.6.4 Fractional Numerals

In the Bodo language, fractional numerals are formed by placing the word *'bahagɯ'* between two cardinal numerals and using the case marker *{-ni}*. This structure is demonstrated in the examples below:

Bodo	**Gloss**
nɯibahagɯ-ni se	½
brɯibahagɯ-ni se	¼
brɯibahagɯ-ni tham	¾
babahagɯ-ni nɯi	⅖ etc.

The above examples demonstrate that the word *'bahagɯ'* is used to form fractional numerals in Bodo. It is also observed that fractional numerals are formed by combining the word *'bahagɯ'* with the case marker *{-ni}*. In Bodo, *'bahagɯ'* carries the meaning of a part or portion of something.

2.2.6.5 Distributive Numerals

In Bodo, distributive numerals are formed by reduplicating numeral classifiers and adding a classifier to cardinal numerals. The resulting numerals are then further reduplicated or repeated, ultimately taking the form of distributive numerals. For example:

Bodo	Gloss
mase-mase	one by one
manɯi-manɯi	two each
mabrɯi-mabrɯi	four each
maba-maba	five each
madɔ- madɔ	six each
nɯizi- nɯizi	twenty each

The above examples illustrate how distributive numerals are formed in Bodo by reduplicating cardinal numerals. This repetition follows a precise rhythmic pattern resulting from the combination of both classifier and cardinal numerals.

2.2.7 Kinship Term

Human beings, as social animals, establish relationships and use specific terms to show respect and represent these bonds within their society. Kinship, in fact, serves as a social obligation or family identity, shaped by factors such as gender, age, marriage, generation, blood ties, or adoption. The concept of 'kinship' is not just a sociological construct but also a linguistic element, making it a fascinating subject for both anthropologists and linguists.

In Bodo language, kinship terms represent bonds based on genetic or blood relationships and marriage systems within the society. The generational structure in Bodo is organized in three levels, both above and below the speaker. The kinship terms in Bodo are structured according to this generational framework, as illustrated in the following chart.
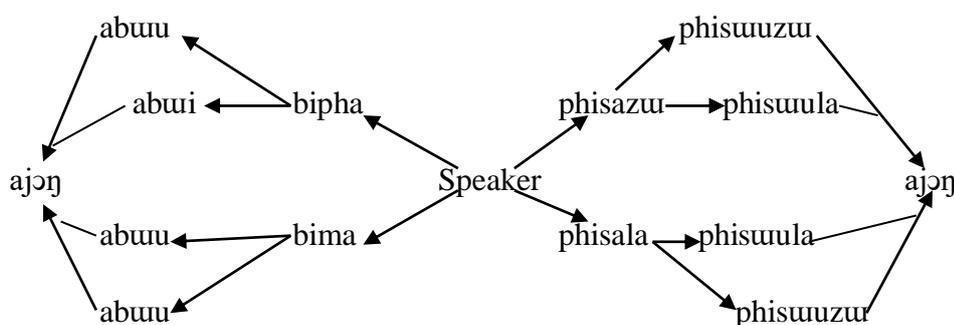
(**Chart- 2.3:** The generation Chart of kinship term in Bodo language)

2.2.7.1 Structure of Kinship Term

In Bodo language, there are numerous kinship terms that clearly represent all types of relationships. Structurally, the kinship terms in Bodo can be analyzed as follows:

1) Simple

2) Compound

2.2.7.1.1 Simple

The simple or primary kinship terms in Bodo are independent and do not rely on other words or suffixes. These terms are limited in number. Below are examples of the simple kinship terms:

Bodo	**Gloss**
bajɯi	elder brother's wife
gumɯi	elder sister's husband
pʰɔŋbaj	younger brother
madɯi	aunt (mother's younger sister)
saltʰe	husbands of wife's elder or younger sisters

2.2.7.1.2 Compound

Kinship terms in Bodo language are typically found in a bound form. To convey the full meaning of possessive pronouns such as *"my," "your," "his/her,"* etc., these terms incorporate the first, second, and third person singular personal pronouns. Detailed examples are provided below.

a) First-person personal pronoun + kinship term

In Bodo, *'aŋ'* serves as the first-person personal pronoun. This pronoun is combined with both single and compound kinship terms to express the meaning of close relationships or blood ties. For example:

Bodo	**Gloss**
aŋ-bɔ > abɔ	my sister (elder)
aŋ-bɯi > abɯi	my grand-mother
aŋ-da > ada	my elder brother
aŋ-bɯu > abɯu	my grand-father
aŋ-dɯi > adɯi	father's younger brother
aŋ-pʰa > apha	my father

In the examples above, the first-person singular pronoun *'aŋ'* is joined with various bound forms of kinship terms in Bodo to express close or personal relationships. When this pronoun is affixed to a bound kinship term, it appears in the form *{a-}*.

b) Second-person personal pronoun + kinship term

In Bodo, *'nɯŋ'* functions as the second-person personal pronoun. It is combined with both simple and bound forms of kinship terms to express the relationship between the speaker and the listener. This pronoun can be attached to all kinship terms, as illustrated in the examples below:

Bodo	**Gloss**
nɯŋ-da > nɯŋda	your brother (elder)
nɯŋ-bɯi > nɯŋbɯi/nɯmbɯi	your grand mother
nɯŋ-pʰa > nɯŋpha/nɯmpʰa	your father
nɯŋ-ma > nɯma	your mother
nɯŋ-haw > nɯŋhaw	your father-in-law

The above examples show that the second-person personal pronoun *'nɯŋ'* is combined with kinship terms such as *'da', 'bɯi', 'pha', 'ma',* and *'haw'* in Bodo.

c) Third-person personal pronoun + kinship term

In Bodo, the third-person singular personal pronoun *'bi'* (meaning 'he' or 'she') is also used with various kinship terms to form compound kinship expressions. This pronoun is typically used when referring to or introducing someone to others. For example:

bi-bɯi > bibɯi	his/her grant mother
bi-bɯu > bibɯu	his/her grant father
bi-gumɯi > bigumɯi	his/her brother-in-law
bi-haw > bihaw	his/her father-in-law
bi-kʰunzɯ > bikʰunzɯ	his/her mother-in-law

The above examples show that the third-person singular personal pronoun 'bi' is combined with the bound kinship terms *'bɯi', 'haw', 'bɯu', 'gumɯi'*, and *'kʰunzɯ'* to describe various relationships associated with him or her.

d) Free kinship term + noun

In this category of kinship terms, a free kinship term is combined with a noun denoting either a man or a woman to create a new kinship term in Bodo. This method of forming kinship terms is also used to indicate gender distinctions. For example:

pʰisa (child) + n. zɯ (female) > pʰisazɯ (granddaughter)

pʰisa (child) + n. zɯla (male) > pʰisazɯla (son)

The above examples show that kinship terms in Bodo are formed by combining a free kinship term with a noun. This pattern of kinship term formation is commonly found in the Bodo language. It is also observed that in compound kinship terms, there is a clear structure consisting of a head word and a modifier. The word that denotes the relationship serves as the main (head) word, while the nouns indicating male or female act as modifiers.

2.2.7.2 Types of Kinship Terms

The Bodo language contains a wide range of kinship terms, most of which are associated with consanguinity (blood relations) and affinity (relations by marriage).

As such, Bodo kinship terms are primarily based on relationships formed through blood and marriage, and they can be discussed under the following categories:

1) Consanguinity kinship

2) Affinity kinship

2.2.7.2.1 Consanguinity Kinship

Consanguineous kinship refers to relationships that are closely connected by blood. These can be categorized into two types based on the nature of the connection: linear and collateral relations. A linear relationship involves individuals who are directly connected by blood, while a collateral relationship includes individuals who are related by blood but not through a direct line—rather, the connection is through the lineage of the speaker. The examples are presented in the following table:

Relation to Speaker	In Bodo
Father's grandfather	ajɔŋ
Mother's grandfather	
Grandfather	abɯu
Grandmother	abɯi
Father	apʰ a
Mother	ai/bima
Elder Brother	ada
Younger Brother	pʰɔŋbaj
Elder Sister	abɔ
Younger Sister	binanaw
Son	pʰisala/ pʰisazla
Daughter	pʰisazɯ
Son's Son	pʰisɯu
Son's Daughter	
Daughter's Son	
Daughter's Daughter	

Grandson's Son	
Grandson's Daughter	
Granddaughter's Son	ajɔŋ
Granddaughter's Daughter	

(Table 2.16: Lineal relations)

Relation to Speaker	In Bodo
Father's elder brother	ajɔŋ
Mother's elder sister	
Father's younger brother	dadɯi~adɯi
Mother's elder brother	Amai
Mother's younger brother	
Father's elder sister	anɯi
Father's younger sister	
Mother's younger sister	madɯi
Father's brother's son (if elder)	ada/bida
Father's sister's son (if elder)	
Mother's brother's son (if elder)	
Mother's sister's son (if elder)	
Father's brother's son (if younger)	pʰɔŋbaj/bipʰɔŋ
Father's sister's son (if younger)	
Mother's brother's son (if younger)	
Mother's sister's son (if younger)	
Father's brother's daughter (if elder)	bibɔ/abɔ
Father's sister's daughter (if elder)	
Mother's brother's daughter (if elder)	
Mother's sister's daughter (if elder)	
Father's brother's daughter (if younger)	binanaw
Father's sister's daughter (if younger)	
Mother's brother's daughter (if younger)	
Mother's sister's daughter (if younger)	

(Table 2.17: Representing kinship term Collateral relations in Bodo language)

In consanguineous relationships in Bodo language, it is observed that the kinship terms depend on whether the speaker is male or female. As a result, the kinship terms are used from different perspectives, such as:

Relation to Speaker (male)	In Bodo
Elder brother's son	aduii
Elder brother's daughter	
Younger brother's son	ajɔŋ
Younger brother's daughter	
Elder sister's son	mamai
Younger sister's son	
Elder sister's daughter	bijanuii
Younger sister's daughter	

(**Table 2.18:** Consanguinity kinship term through male in Bodo language)

Relation to Speaker (female)	In Bodo
Elder brother's son	bijanuii
Younger brother's son	
Elder sister's son	bijaduii
Elder sister's daughter	
Younger sister's son	ajɔŋ
Younger sister's daughter	

(**Table 2.19:** Consanguinity kinship term through female in Bodo language)

2.2.7.2.2 Affinity Kinship

In Bodo, affinity kinship terms are formed through the marriage system of society and are not based on blood relations. Examples are provided in the following table.

Relation to Speaker (male & female)	In Bodo
Wife/husband	bisi/pʰisai
Wife's grandfather	abuiu
Husband's grandfather	
Wife's grandmother	abuii
Husband's grandmother	

Wife's father	bihaw
Husband's father	
Wife's mother	bikʰunzɯ
Husband's mother	
Wife's elder brother	gumɯi
Husband's elder brother	bewai
Wife's elder sister	bewai
Husband's elder sister	bibajɯi
Wife's younger brother	bibɯnaŋ
Wife's younger sister	
Husband's younger brother	
Husband's younger sister	
Wife's elder/younger brother's sons	mamai
Wife's elder/younger brother's daughters	anɯi/bijanɯi
Husband's elder/younger sister's sons	
Husband's elder/younger sister's daughters	
Husband's elder brother's son	adɯi
Wife's elder sister's son	
Husband's elder brother's daughter	
Wife's elder sister's daughter	
Husband's younger brother's son	ajɔŋ
Wife's younger sister's son	
Husband's younger brother's daughter	
Wife's younger sister's daughter	
Wife's sister's husband	saltʰe
Husband's elder brother's wife	abɔ~bibɔ~bizawzali
Husband's younger brother's wife	binanaw~bizawzali
Father's elder/younger sister's husband	amai
Mother's elder sister's husband	ajɔŋ

Mother's younger sister's husband	adɯi~dadɯi
Mather's elder brother's wife	ajɔŋ
Father's younger brother's wife	madɯi
Mother's elder/younger brother's wife	anɯi
Elder sister's husband	gumɯi
Elder brother's wife	bazɯi
Son's wife	bihamzɯ
Daughter's husband	bizamadɯi
Son's or daughter's father-in-law	bijai

(**Table 2.20:** Affinity kinship term relations in Bodo language)

In the Bodo community, similar to consanguinity relations, affinity kinship terms are also used from different perspectives depending on whether the speaker is male or female. However, the number of such terms is limited, as shown in the tables.

Relation to Speaker (male)	In Bodo
Younger sister's husband	bɯinaj~bibɯnaŋ
Younger brother's wife	bewai

(**Table 2.21:** Affinity kinship term through male in Bodo language)

Relation to Speaker (female)	In Bodo
Younger sister's husband	bewai
Younger brother's wife	bibɯnaŋ

(**Table 2.22:** Affinity kinship term through female in Bodo language)

The above tables reveal that kinship terms in Bodo are connected to both blood relations and marriage. In Bodo, a single kinship term can refer to three or more different relationships, as shown in the following example:
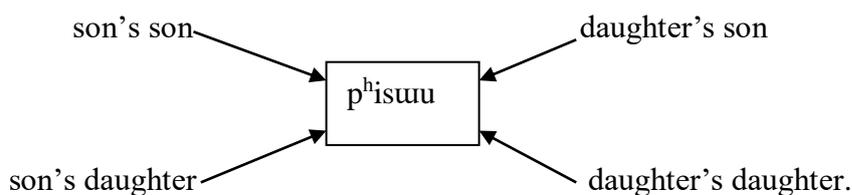
(**Chart- 2.4:** The generation Chart of kinship term in Bodo language)

2.2.8 Classifiers

> *'A classifier is a word (or in some analyses, a bound morpheme) which accompanies a noun in certain grammatical contexts, and generally reflects some kind of conceptual classification of nouns, based principally on features of their referents.'*[7]

In general, classifiers play a crucial role in morphology and are always accompanied by numerals.

In our daily lives, certain forms are added to numerals, commonly referred to as classifiers. These classifiers are based on the shape, size, quantity, and quality of objects. In Bodo language, classifiers represent humans, nonhumans, things, objects, and more. Upon careful observation, it can be seen that classifiers in Bodo language are always prefixed, appearing before the numeral words, as demonstrated in the examples below.

1) bi-nɯ tʰaizɯu tʰaj-se hɔr

He/she-DET mango CSL-one give

Give him/her a mango.

The above sentence shows that the classifier *{tʰaj-}* is placed before the numeral *'se'*. It is also observed that the numeral classifier *'tʰaj-se'* appears after the noun *'tʰaizɯu'*, as in *'tʰaizɯu tʰaj-se'*. Additionally, it is important to note that in Bodo language, classifiers can be positioned either before or after the noun, as demonstrated in the examples below.

bi-nɯ tʰaj-se tʰaizɯu hɔr

He/she-DET CSL-one mango give

Give him/her a mango.

2.2.8.1 Types of Classifiers

In Bodo language, classifiers can be categorized into the following categories:

1) General classifiers and

2) Noun classifiers

2.2.8.1.1 General Classifiers

In the Bodo language, numerous classifiers are entirely dependent on numerals, as they cannot convey meaning independently without them. The usage of such classifiers in Bodo is illustrated below:

{bɔza-}: In Bodo, this classifier is used to indicate bundles, such as bundles of paddy, firewood, bamboo, and similar items. For example:

1) mai   boza-se   labɯ

Paddy   CLS-one   bring

Bring one bundle of paddy.

{gaŋ-}: In the Bodo language, this classifier is applied when counting flat or thin objects such as leaves, blades of grass, paper, cloth, books, and related items. For example:

1) apʰa-ja   aŋ-nɯ   bizab   gaŋ-se   labɯ-dɯŋ

Father-NOM   I-DAT   book   CLS-one   bring-PRO

Father has brought one book for me.

2) Bible-ja   gaŋ-se   gɯtʰar   bizab

Bible-NOM   CLS-one   holy   book

Bible is a holy book.

{bidaŋ~daŋ-}: In Bodo this type of classifier is used to count bunches of bananas, rice, etc. For example:

1) aŋ   tʰalir   daŋ-se   labɯ-gɯn

    I   banana   CLS-one   bring-FUT

    I will bring one bunch of bananas.

{dɯŋ-}: The classifier *{dɯŋ-}* is used in Bodo to count long and linear objects such as hair, ropes, roads, threads, footpaths, strings, as well as abstract items like songs and poems. This usage is illustrated below.

1) aŋ-nɯ   duruŋ   dɯŋ-nɯi   labɯ

    I-DAT   rope   CLS-two   bring

    Bring me two nos of rope.

2) aŋ   kʰonthai   dɯŋ-se   lir-dɯŋ-mɯn

    I   poem   CLS-one   to write-PST

    I was writing a poem.

{gɔŋ-}: In Bodo, when counting certain items and equipment such as furniture, houses, and household objects, the classifier *{gɔŋ-}* is added to the numerals. For example:

1) ada-a   kʰam   gɔŋ-se   bajdɯŋ-mɯn

    Elder brother-NOM   drum   CLS-one   buy-PST

    Elder brother bought a drum.

{sɯi-}: This particular classifier in the Bodo language is used when referring to slices of fruits. For example:

1) gɔtʰɔ-nɯ   tʰaizɯu   sɯi-se   hɔr
    Child-DAT   mango   CLS-one   give
    Give to the child a slice of mango.

{tʰɔ-}: In Bodo, this classifier is used to count long, solid items such as full-length bamboo, firewood, sugarcane, and sticks. For example:

1)   aŋ   kʰuser-kʰɯu   tʰɔ-nɯi   za-baj

        I   sugercane-ACC   CLS-two   eat-PST

        I have eaten two nos of sugarcane.

{zɔra-}: This classifier is used to denote pairs, typically for counting items that come in pairs, such as pairs of goods, birds, flowers, and so on. For example:

1)   aŋ-nɯ   bibar   zɔra-nɯi   hɔr

        I-DAT   flower   CLS-two   give

        Give me two pairs of flowers.

{tʰɔpʰla-}: In the Bodo language, this classifier is used to express bundles and packages. For example:

1)   lama-aw   zanɯ gɔj   tʰɔpʰla-se   la

        Way-LOC   to eat betel nut   CLS-one   take

        Take a bundle of betel nut to chew on the way.

{kʰaw-}: In Bodo language, this classifier denotes half of any kind of object and is placed before the numbers to indicate half of the objects, such as half of bamboo, betel nuts, fruits, and so on. For example:

1)   bi-nɯ   gɔj-{-ɸ}   kʰaw-se   hɔr

        he-DAT   betel nut-ACC   CLS-one   give

        Give him to half of the betel nut.

{ma-}: In Bodo, this classifier is used to count animals, birds, insects, and fish separately. For example:

1)   aŋ-nɯ   ma-se   sɯima pʰisa   labɯ

        I-DAT   CLS-one   dog   baby   bring

        Bring me a pappy.

{tʰai-}: In Bodo language, this classifier is used to represent small round objects, such as eyes, fruits, seeds, and so on. Additionally, the classifier *{tʰai-}* is also used to count items like money, fingers, teeth, and pitchers, as illustrated below:

1)	aŋ-nɯ	tʰaj-se	tʰaizɯu	hɔr
	I-DAT	CLS-one	mango	give

Give me a mango.

{sa-}: In Bodo language, this classifier is used to count people and gods. For example:

1)	bi-ɯ	sa-se	pʰɯrɯŋgiri
	He-NOM	CLS-one	teacher

He is a teacher.

{dɔr-}: This classifier is used in Bodo language to count round items, such as potatoes, onions, carrots, and so on. Additionally, it is used to express pieces of meat and even countries, as illustrated below:

1)	aŋ-nɯ	alu	dɔr-brɯi	ru
	I-DAT	potato	CLS-four	boil

Boil four potatoes for me.

{tʰɔŋ~tʰɔ-}: This classifier is alternatively used with the post of bamboos, woods and other things in Bodo language as exemplified below:

1)	aŋ-nɯ	dɔŋpʰaŋ	kʰuntʰia	tʰɔŋ-tʰam	labɯ
	I-DAT	wood	post	CLS-two	bring

Three nos of wooden post bring for me.

{tʰɔr-}: In Bodo language, the classifier *{tʰɔr-}* is used to count objects that have the same shape and structure, such as stones, and so on. For example:

1)	dɯima-nipʰraj	ɔntʰaj	tʰɔr-se	labɯ
	River-ABL	stone	CLS-one	bring

Bring one stone from the river.

{dab-}: In Bodo language, the classifier *{dab-}* is used to count places or locations of objects. For example:

> 1)   aŋ-a   dinɯi dab-se   zaiga-jaw   tʰaŋnaŋ-gɯɯ   dɔŋ
>
>   I-NOM today   CLS-one   place-LOC   togo-FUT   have
>
>   I have to go one place on today.

From the examples above, it can be seen that classifiers are attached to numerals and are used either before or after the nouns in Bodo language.

2.2.8.1.2 Noun Classifiers

As mentioned earlier, in Bodo language, some noun words are also used as classifiers in daily life. These are referred to as noun classifiers in Bodo. Below are some examples:

bɯsɯr: This noun word represents 'year' and is used as a classifier to count years by adding numeral words in Bodo language. As illustrated below:

> 1)   aŋ-a   bɯsɯr-se-ni   unaw   tʰaŋ-gɯn.
>
>   I-NOM   year-one-GEN   after   go-FUT
>
>   I will go after a year.

dan: It represents 'month' and is used to count months by preceding the numerals in Bodo language. For example:

> 1)   pʰɔrajsali-a   dan-se-ni   tʰakʰaj bɔndɔ
>
>   School-NOM   month-two-GEN   for   close
>
>   The school is closed for one month.

kʰada: It is a noun word that represents a 'basket' made of bamboo, and it is used to count the items in baskets in Bodo language. For example:

> 1)   bazɯi-nɯ   kʰada-se   gɯbɯrkʰi   naŋgɯɯ-nɯ
>
>   Sister-in-law-DAT   basket-one   cow dung   need-SUF
>
>   Sister-in-law needs one basket of cow dung.

2.3 Verbal Group: In this group of word morphology is classified in to two types like primary and secondary. In primary verbal group there is occurred- verb, adjective and adverb and in the secondary verbal group there is occurred- tense and tense marker.

2.3.1 Verb

The word which expresses an action in a meaningful sentence is called verb. According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary a verb is defined as:

'A word or group of words that expresses an action (such as eat) an event (such as happen) or a state (such as exist)'.[8]

The term 'verb' generally refers to an action, state, or occurrence. It is an essential part of speech and plays a significant role in both morphology and syntax. In Bodo language, verbs typically carry markers for tense, aspect, and negation. Verbs can be classified into two categories:

a)   Monosyllabic verb, and

b)   Disyllabic verb.

a)   The monosyllabic verb

A monosyllabic verb that conveys an independent meaning can be referred to as a verb root from a typological perspective. Such verbs are not derived from other forms. Examples are provided below:

VC -   ew (to plough)

er (to stir/scratch)

ɔn (to love/rice powder)

CV-   ru (to boil)

la (to take)

kʰa (to bind/to flough)

CVV-   pʰɯi (to come)

---

duɯu (to feed)

CVC- laŋ (to take away)

nar (to push)

b) Disyllabic verb

In the Bodo language, disyllabic verbs are more commonly found compared to monosyllabic verbs. The structural patterns of these disyllabic verbs can be observed in various forms such as V-CV, V-CVV, V-CVC, VV-CV, VC-CVC, CV-CV, CV-VV, CV-CVC, CVC-CV, CVC-CVC, etc., as illustrated in the examples below:

V-CV　　　ɔ-kʰa (to bite)

e-lɔ (to take out)

V-CVV　　u-kʰɯi (be hungry)

a-lɯɟu (to spicy)

V-CVC　　a-zaw (to catch)

e-rɔn (to go out)

VV-CV　　au-li (to melt)

au-tʰi (to thicken by boiling)

VC-CVC　　aw-laj (to stir)

aw-raj (to recite)

CV-CV　　bu-tʰe (to be closed by swelling)

bi-si (to tear)

CV-CVV　　du-gɯi (to bath)

kʰu-bɯi (to fling)

CV-CVC　　za-laŋ (to eat and go)

kʰa-zab (to bind together)

CVC-CV　　kʰin-tʰa (to tell)

$$k^haw-k^ha \text{ (to tie a turban)}$$

CVC-CVC   kʰar-laŋ (to run away)

kʰaw-laj (to request)

2.3.1.1 Formation of Verb

According to the structure of verbs in the Bodo language, verb formation can be classified under two main categories, which are as follows:

1) By Affixation

2) By Compounding

2.3.1.1.1 By Affixation

There are numerous affixations in the Bodo language used to form verbs, and this serves as the primary method of verb formation. Verb formation through affixation in Bodo can be discussed under two types: i) Prefixation and ii) Suffixation. Examples are provided below:

2.3.1.1.1.1 Prefixation

In the Bodo language, a limited number of prefixes are added before verb roots to form new verbs. These prefixes include *{bi-}, {pʰɔ-}, {si-},* and *{su-}.* The uses of these prefixes in Bodo language are outlined below:

{bi-}: When this prefix is added to verbs in the Bodo language to form a new verb, it signifies the meaning 'to make' or 'to cause to,' as illustrated in the following examples:

bi-v. si (to get wet) > bisi (to tear)

bi-v. zir (to peel) > bizir (to examine)

bi-v. baj (to buy) > bibaj (to beg hither and thither)

{pʰɔ-}: This prefix is added to verbs in Bodo language to form to another verb again. Some of examples are given below-

pʰɔ- v. sɔŋ (to cook) > pʰɔsɔŋ (to make stand)

pʰɔ- v. raj (to scold) > pʰɔraj (to read)

pʰɔ- v. zɔ (to sit) > pʰɔzɔ (to cause to sit)

{si-}: The prefix *{si-}* is added to verb roots to form new verbs in the Bodo language. When this prefix is attached, it conveys the meaning 'to do' or 'to make' something. It is worth noting that this prefix can be added to any verb root without altering its form. The examples are provided below:

si- v. gi (to fear) > sigi (to make afraid)

si- v. pʰaj (to bend) > sipʰaj (to make broken)

si- v. naj (to see) > sinaj (to recognize)

{sɯ-}: In the Bodo language, the prefix *{sɯ-}* is attached to a limited number of verbs. Similar to *{si-}*, the prefix *{sɯ-}* also conveys the meaning of 'to do,' 'to make,' or 'to cause to.' For example:

sɯ- v. pʰɯi (to come) > sɯpʰɯi (to put inside)

sɯ- v. ba (to carry on back) > sɯba (to slap)

sɯ- v. daŋ (to touch) > sɯdaŋ (to refine)

sɯ- v. gɯm (to sound) > sɯgɯm (to make sound)

2.3.1.1.1.2 Suffixation

In the Bodo language, there are numerous verbal suffixes that are added to verb roots to form new verbs. Compared to verbal prefixes, there are more verbal suffixes in the Bodo language. Below are some examples illustrating the uses of these verbal suffixes.

{-kʰɔ}: It is a suffix used with verbs to form a new verb that denotes the meaning of 'to make release' or 'to make separate.' Examples are provided below:

v. san (to count) -kʰɔ > sankʰɔ (to count separately)

v. gab (to cry) -kʰɔ > gabkʰɔ (to pray)

v. dan (to cut) -kʰɔ > dankʰɔ (to separate by cutting)

v. de (to hit) -kʰɔ > dekʰɔ (to hit apart)

v. kʰeb (to pinch) -kʰɔ > kʰebkʰɔ (to release by pinching out)

v. bɯ (to pull) -kʰɔ > bɯkʰɔ (to pull out)

{-kʰa}: The suffix *{-kʰa}* is added to verb roots in the Bodo language to create new verbs. When attached to a verb root, it expresses meanings such as digging, cutting, eating, and so on. Examples are provided below:

v. za (to eat) –kʰa > zakʰa (to have food beforehand)

v. er (to stir) –kʰa > erkʰa (to stir out)

v. dan (to cut) – kʰa > dankʰa (to cut out)

v. bɯ (to pull) –kʰa > bɯkʰa (to pull apart)

v. zaw (to dig) –kʰa > zawkʰa (to dig out)

{-kʰe}: In the Bodo language, it also functions as a verbal suffix that attaches to verb roots to form new verbs. When combined with a verb root, it conveys the sense of performing an action 'to the side.' For example:

v. zɯ (to kick) –kʰe > zɯkʰe (to kick aside)

v. nar (to posh) –kʰe > narkʰe (to push aside)

v. bɯ (to pull) –kʰe > bɯkʰe (to pull aside)

{-kʰɯ}: In Bodo, this suffix is placed after verb roots to create new verbs, typically indicating a sense of 'upwards' or 'forwards.' The following examples illustrate its usage:

v. dan (to cut) -kʰɯ > hakʰɯ (to cut up)

v. tʰu (to poke) -kʰɯ > tʰukʰɯ (to poke up)

v. bɯ (to pull) -kʰɯ > bɯkʰɯ (to pull upside)

{-kʰaŋ}: In Bodo, this suffix is also attached to verb roots to form new verbs. The suffix *{-kʰaŋ}* conveys meanings such as 'finished,' 'completed,' 'up,' 'increase,' or 'to do something.' The following examples demonstrate its usage:

v. bɯ (to pull) –kʰaŋ > bɯkʰaŋ (to pull up)

v. za (to eat) –kʰaŋ > zakʰaŋ (to eat complete)

v. nar (to push) – kʰaŋ > narkʰaŋ (to push upside)

v. za (to be) –kʰaŋ > zakʰaŋ (to come up/to grow up)

v. zaw (to dig) –kʰaŋ > zawkʰaŋ (to dig out)

{-kʰrɔb}: In Bodo, the suffix *{-kʰrɔb}* is attached to verb roots to form new verbs. When used, it conveys meanings such as 'to make tight,' 'to minimize,' 'to bring together,' or 'to do something poorly.' The following examples illustrate its usage:

v. ba (to carry on back) –kʰrɔb > bakʰrɔb (to carry on back tight)

v. bu (to beat) –kʰrɔb > bukʰrɔb (to beat worsely)

v. bɯ (to pull) –kʰrɔb > bɯkʰrɔb (to pull tightly together)

v. gɯba (to embrace)-kʰrɔb > gɯbakʰrɔb (to embrace tightly together)

v. kʰa (to tie) –kʰrɔb > kʰakʰrɔb (to tie together)

{-kʰraŋ}: Similar to *{kʰɯ}* and *{-kʰaŋ}*, the suffix *{-kʰraŋ}* in the Bodo language conveys the meanings of 'up' and 'scatter.' It is also added to verb roots to form new verbs, as illustrated in the examples below:

v. nar (to push) –kʰraŋ > narkʰraŋ (to scatter by pushing)

v. bɯ (to pull) –kʰraŋ > bɯkʰraŋ (to scatter by pulling)

v. suŋ (to be short) –kʰraŋ > suŋkʰraŋ (to give up support)

v. zɯ (to kick) –kʰraŋ > zɯkʰraŋ (to scatter by kick)

{-kʰlɔ}: The suffix *{-kʰlɔ}* is also added to verb roots to form new verbs. In Bodo, when this suffix is attached, it conveys meanings such as 'to separate from something,' 'to extract from something,' or 'to make special.' Examples are provided below:

v. dan (to cut) -kʰlɔ > dankʰlɔ (to cut out separately)

v. ɔn (love/kind) -kʰlɔ > ɔnkʰlɔ (to love specialy)

v. er (to poke) -kʰlɔ > erkʰlɔ (to poke out)

v. bɯ (to pull) -kʰlɔ > bɯkʰlɔ (to pull out)

v. kʰaj (to take out) -kʰlɔ > kʰajkʰlɔ (to prick out)

{-kʰlaj}: It is added to verb roots to create new verbs. In Bodo, when this suffix is attached to the verb roots, it conveys the meaning like 'to falling down'. The examples below illustrate this usage:

> v. zɯ (to kick) –kʰlaj > zɯkʰlaj (to kick down)
>
> v. nar (to push) –kʰlaj > narkʰlaj (to push down)
>
> v. bɯ (to pull) - kʰlaj > bɯkʰlaj (to pull down)
>
> v. dan (to cut) – kʰlaj > dankʰlaj (to cut down)
>
> v. gaw (to shoot) –kʰlaj > gawkʰlaj (to shoot down)

{-kʰleŋ}: It is a suffix that forms new verbs when added to verb roots. In Bodo, attaching this suffix to verb roots conveys the meanings of 'slant' and 'aside.' Examples are provided below:

> v. nar (to push) –kʰleŋ > narkʰleŋ (to push aside)
>
> v. bɯ (to pull) –kʰleŋ > bɯkʰleŋ (to pull aside)
>
> v. naj (to see) -kʰleŋ > najkʰleŋ (to see aside)
>
> v. dan (to cut) –kʰleŋ > dankʰleŋ (to cut aside)

{-gli}: In the Bodo language, this suffix is also used to create new verbs, expressing meanings like 'fragments' and 'pieces.' The following examples demonstrate its usage:

> v. zɯ (to kick) –gli > zɯgli (to kick again and again)
>
> v. bɯ (to pull) –gli > bɯgli (to pull here and there)
>
> v. ɔr (to cut) –gli > ɔrgli (to grind with the teeth)
>
> v. dan (to cut) –gli > dangli (to cut into pieces)

{-grɯ}: In the Bodo language, the suffix *{-grɯ}* is added to verb roots to form new verbs that convey the meaning of 'beforehand.' Examples are provided below:

> v. khar (to run) -grɯ > kʰargrɯ (to run beforehand)
>
> v. tʰaŋ (to go) -grɯ > tʰaŋgrɯ (to go beforehand)
>
> v. maw (to do) -grɯ > mawgrɯ (to do beforehand)

v. la (to take) -grɯ > lagrɯ (to take beforehand)

{-zen}: In the Bodo language, this suffix is also used as a verbal marker, added to verb roots to create new verbs. The suffix *{-zen}*, like *{-grɯ}*, denotes the meaning of 'beginning' or 'to begin.' The following examples demonstrate its usage:

v. maw (to do) –zen > mawzen (to begin to do)

v daŋ (to tuch) –zen > daŋzen (to begin to tuch)

v. buŋ (to speak) –zen > buŋzen (to begin to speak)

v. kʰar (to run) –zen > kʰarzen (to begin to run)

{-zlaj}: In Bodo, the suffix *{-zlaj}* is used to form new verbs by attaching it to verb roots. It conveys the meaning of 'each other' or 'together.' Examples are given below:

v. maw (to do) –zlaj > mawzlaj (to do together)

v. ɔn (to love) –zlaj > ɔnzlaj (to love each other)

v. bu (to beat) –zlaj > buzlaj (to beat each other)

v. tʰa (to live) –zlaj > tʰazlaj (to live together)

{-tʰɔ}: In the Bodo language, the suffix *{-tʰɔ}* is added to verb roots to create new verbs that express the meaning 'for a while.' The following examples illustrate this usage:

v. hɔr (to give) -tʰɔ > hɔrtʰɔ (to give for a while)

v. la (to take) -tʰɔ > latʰɔ (to take for a while)

v. dɯn (to keep) -tʰɔ > dɯntʰɔ (to keep for a while)

v. tʰaŋ (to go) -tʰɔ > thaŋtʰɔ (to go for a while)

v. ne (to wait) -tʰɔ > netʰɔ (to wait for a while)

{-der}: Added to verb roots, this suffix forms new verbs and conveys meanings such as 'companion,' 'extra,' or 'addition.' The following examples illustrate its usage:

v. tʰaŋ (to go) –der > tʰaŋder (to go to the companion)

v. gaj (to plant) –der > gajder (to plant extra)

v. la (to take) –der > lader (to take extra)

v. maw (to do) –der > mawder (to do extra)

{-pʰa}: It is also a suffix that is added to verb roots to form new verbs. When attached, it conveys the meanings of 'together' or 'jointly' in Bodo. The following examples illustrate its usage:

v. luɯŋ (to dring) –pʰa > luɯŋpʰa (to dring together/jointly)

v. kʰar (to run) –pʰa > kʰarpʰa (to run together/jointly)

v. tʰaŋ (to go) –pʰa > tʰaŋpʰa (to go together/jointly)

v. za (to eat) –pʰa > zapʰa (to eat together/jointly)

{-pʰuŋ}: Attached to a limited number of verb roots, this suffix forms new verbs. When added, it signifies the meanings of 'success' or 'fulfillment' in Bodo. Examples are provided below:

v. kʰar (to run) –pʰuŋ > kʰarpʰuŋ (to finish the run)

v. luɯŋ (to dring) –pʰuŋ > luɯŋpʰuŋ (to finish the dring)

v. za (to be) –pʰuŋ > zapʰuŋ (to become success)

v. maw (to do) –pʰuŋ > mawpʰuŋ (to finish the job)

{-pʰru}: This is another verbal suffix that is attached to verb roots to create new verbs. In Bodo, when added to verb roots, it conveys the meanings of 'to burst' and 'to break.' Examples are provided below:

v. dan (to cut) –pʰru > danpʰru (to break by cutting)

v. zɯ (to kick) –pʰru > zɯpʰru (to break by kicking)

v. kʰaj (to stir) –pʰru > kʰajpʰru (to break by stirring)

v. zaw (to dig) –pʰru > zawpʰru (to break by digging)

{-baw}: This suffix is added to verb roots to create new verbs. In Bodo, it conveys the meaning of 'once more' when attached to the verb roots. Examples are provided below:

v. za (to eat) –baw > zabaw (to eat again)

v. la (to take) –baw > labaw (to take again)

v. kʰar (to run) –baw > kʰarbaw (to run again)

v. maw (to do) –baw > mawbaw (to do again)

{-sraŋ}: This suffix means 'clean,' and when added to verb roots to form new verbs, it conveys the meaning of 'to clean' or 'to make something clean.' Examples are provided below:

v. kʰɔn (to fold) –sraŋ > kʰɔnsraŋ (do clean by fold)

v. zab (to place one over another)-sraŋ > zabsraŋ (do clean by arrange)

v. duguɯi (to bath) –sraŋ > duguɯisraŋ (to have bath)

2.3.1.1.2 By Compounding

In Bodo, when two or more verbs are combined to form a new verb, it is known as a compounding verb, which is a primary method of verb formation. The formation of verbs through compounding in Bodo can be illustrated by the following examples:

a) Verb + Verb

In the Bodo language, verbs can be formed by adding two simple verbs or verb roots, as in the following examples:

tʰaŋpʰuɯi v. (to go ahead) < tʰaŋ v. (to go) + pʰuɯi v. (come)

ergar v. (to throw away) < er v. (to stir) + gar v. (to leave/to throw)

garbuɯ v. (to come leaving behind) < gar v. (to leave) + buɯ v. (to pull)

kʰɔnza v. (to pick up and eat) < kʰɔn v. (to pick) + za v. (to eat)

liŋhɔr v. (to call someone) < liŋ v. (to invite) + hɔr v. (to give) etc.

b) Verb + Verb + Verb

In the Bodo language, just as new verbs can be formed by combining two verb roots, it is also possible to form verbs by combining three verb roots. For example:

mawzɯbpʰɯi v. (to come and do complete) < maw v. (to do) + zɯb v. (to finish) + pʰɯi v. (to come)

tʰaŋpʰɯizɯb v. (to come and go all) < tʰaŋ v. (to go) + pʰɯi v. (to come) + zɯb v. (to finish)

zazɯblaŋ v. (to finish eating and go away) < za v. (to eat) + zɯb v. (to finish) + laŋ v. (to take)

garbɯzɯb v. (to keep all) < gar v. (to stir) + bɯ v. (to pull) + zɯb v. (to finish) etc.

2.3.2 Adjective

In a meaningful sentence the word which denotes or expresses the quality, colour, number, shape and size of the nouns and pronouns is called adjectives. In Bodo, adjectives are regarded as a verbal subgroup within the language's morphological structure.

In the Bodo language, adjectives usually come before the noun and can take case, tense, and aspect markers. However, they are sometimes used after the noun as well. For example:

1) aŋ-nɯ   tʰajzɯu   gɯmɯn   lab-ɯ

    I-DAT   mango   ripe   bring-HAB

    Bring me ripe mango.

2) bi-ɯ   gɯkʰɯi-kʰɯu   za-ja

    He/She-NOM   sour-ACC   eat-NEG

    He/She don't eat sour.

3) lama-ja   gazri-mɯn

    Way-NOM   bad-PST

    The way was bad.

From the above examples, it is observed that in example 1, the adjective *'gɯmɯn'* appears after the noun *'tʰajzɯu'*. In example 2, the adjective *'gɯkʰɯi'* carries

the accusative case marker *{-kʰuu}*, and in example 3, the adjective *'gazri'* takes the tense marker *{-mun}*. These usages are all possible in the Bodo language.

2.3.2.1 Adjective Formation

Adjective formation in the Bodo language can be classified into the following categories:

1) Simple
2) By affixation
3) By compounding
4) By reduplication

2.3.2.1.1 Simple

In the Bodo language, there are many simple adjective words that are not derived from other forms; they function as free morphemes. Some examples of such words are listed below:

abuŋ (full)

ɔkʰra (obstinate)

amtʰa (condensed)

ese (little)

udaŋ (open)

duga (boastful)

leŋgra (lame)

kʰanda (short)

lantʰɔ (bare)

mihi (smooth)

pagli (madwoman)

rakʰaw (harsh)

zamba (foolish)

2.3.2.1.2 By Affixation

In the Bodo language, the majority of adjectives are derived from verbs through the process of affixation. Adjective formation via affixation in Bodo can involve both prefixes and suffixes. The details are provided below:

2.3.2.1.2.1 By using prefix

In the Bodo language, adjectives are formed by attaching certain prefixes to verbs. Some of these prefixes include *{ge-}, {gi-}, {gu-}, {gɯ-},* and *{gɔ-}.* Below are some examples:

{gu-}: In the Bodo language, the prefix *{gu-}* is attached to verbs to form adjectives. It is used to describe attributes such as shape, colour, quantity, and more. For example:

gu- v. pʰur (to be white) > gupʰur (white)

gu- v. suŋ (to be short) > gusuŋ (short)

gu- v. duŋ (to be hot) > guduŋ (hot)

{ge-}: The prefix *{ge-}* is another adjective-forming prefix in the Bodo language, attached to verbs to create adjectives. This prefix is used in Bodo to indicate size and quality. For example:

ge- v. seb (to be narrow) > geseb (narrow)

ge- v. der (to be big) > geder (big)

ge- v. sew (to rot) > gesew (rotten/decomposed)

{gɯ-}: The *{gɯ-}* is another prefix in the Bodo language that is added to various verb roots to form adjectives. When attached to verb roots, it conveys meanings related to quality, quantity, color, and taste. Some examples are provided below:

gɯ- v. ran (to dry) > gɯran (dry)

gɯ- v. tʰaŋ (to be alive) > gɯtʰaŋ (green)

gɯ - v. tʰaw (to be tasty) > gɯtʰaw (tasteful)

gɯ- v. baj (to break) > gɯbaj (broken)

gɯ- v. dɯi (to be sweet) > gɯdɯi (sweet)

gɯ- v. kʰɯi (to be sour) > gɯkʰɯi (sour)

gɯ- v. zɯu (to be high) > gɯzɯu (high)

gɯ- v. zam (to be old) > gɯzam (old, ancient)

gɯ- v. tʰɯu (to be deep) > gɯtʰɯu (deep)

{ga-}: It is another prefix used with verbs to form adjectives in the Bodo language. Compared to other prefixes, its use is more limited. This prefix is employed in Bodo to indicate the size and quality of nouns or pronouns. For example:

ga- v. ham (to be good) > gaham (good)

ga- v. haj (to be short) > gahaj (short/not tall)

ga- v. dɔb (to band) > gadɔb (to dominant)

{gi-}: The prefix *{gi-}* is also added to verbs to form adjectives in the Bodo language. It is used to express the quality and quantity of nouns or pronouns. For example:

gi- v. si (to get wet) > gisi (wet)

gi- v. lir (to be heavy) > gilir (heavy)

gi- v. zi (to tear off) > gizi (torn)

{gɔ-}: This prefix is also limited in use in the Bodo language and is attached to verb roots to form adjectives. For example:

gɔ- v. lam (to open to dry) > gɔlam (poor)

2.3.2.1.2.2 By using Suffix

In the Bodo language, a variety of suffixes are used with nouns and verb roots to form adjectives. Some of these include *{-lu}, {-sula}, {-suli}, {-kʰɔr}, {-brum}, {-braŋ}, {-sru}, {-bru}, {-tʰa}, {-tʰu}, {-dla}, {-dli}, {-kʰur}, {-tʰaw}, {-kʰɔ}*, and *{-tʰi}*. The following section provides detailed information:

{-kʰɔ}: In the Bodo language, this suffix is added to verbs to form adjectives. When used, it conveys the sense of 'excess'. For example:

v. gab (to cry) -kʰɔ > gabkʰɔ (weepy)

v. gi (to fear) –kʰɔ > gikʰɔ (coward)

{-kʰɔr}: The suffix *{-kʰɔr}* is added to verbs to form adjectives in Bodo. Similar to *{kʰɔ-},* it conveys the meanings of 'over' or 'excess'. For example:

v. lɯŋ (to drink) -kʰɔr > lɯŋkʰɔr (bibulous)

v. za (to eat) -kʰɔr > zakʰɔr (gluttony)

{-sula}, {-suli}: When these suffixes are added to verbs in the Bodo language, they specifically indicate masculine and feminine gender. In adjective formation, they also convey the sense of 'more'. Examples are provided below:

v. za (to eat)- sula > zasula (apt to eat)

v. gab (to cry) –sula > gabsula (apt to cry)

v. ɔn (to love) –sula > ɔnsula (attentive)

v. maw (to do) –sula > mawsula (active)

 v. za (to eat) –suli > zasuli (apt to eat)

v. gab (to cry) –suli > gabsuli (apt to cry)

v. ɔn (to be love) –suli > ɔnsuli (attentive)

v. maw (to do) –suli > mawsuli (active)

{-brɯm}: In Bodo, this suffix is used with certain verbs to form adjectives, typically conveying the meaning of 'slight' or 'a little'. It occurs with only a limited number of verbs. Examples are given below:

v. ɔr (to bite) - brɯm > ɔrbrɯm (a slight bite)

v. sɯm (to be black) -brɯm > sɯmbrɯm (a little black)

v. maw (to do) -brɯm > mawbrɯm (do a slight)

v. si (to wet) -brɯm > sibrɯm (slight wet)

{-braŋ}: In the Bodo language, the suffix *{-braŋ}* is used to form adjectives. It is specifically associated with nouns and verbs to convey meanings related to 'taste' or 'character'. For example:

v. kha (be bitter) –braŋ > kʰabraŋ (rough/bitter)

n. dɯi (water) –braŋ > dɯibraŋ (watery)

{-su}, {-bru}: In Bodo, adjectives are also formed by adding these two suffixes to a limited number of nouns and verbs. When used in this way, they express meanings such as 'taste' or 'hot'. For example:

n. dɯi (water) –su > dɯisu (sweetless)

v. duŋ (to be hot) –bru > duŋbru (lukewarm)

n. dɯi (water) –bru > dɯibru (watery)

{-tʰa}, {-tʰu}: In Bodo, these suffixes are added to verbs to form adjectives, and are particularly used to mark masculine and feminine gender—such as the suffix *{-sula}* and *{-suli}*. These suffixes are specifically used to denote the 'size' or 'height'. Examples are provided below:

v. gaj (to be short) –tʰa > gajtʰa (dwarf/of short stature)

 v. haj (to be short) –tʰa > hajtʰa (dwarf/of short stature)

v. haj (to be short) –tʰu > hajtʰu (dwarf/of short stature)

v. gaj (to plant) –tʰu > gajtʰu (dwarf/of short stature)

{-kʰe}, {-kʰɯr}: In Bodo, these suffixes are also used to form adjectives by attaching them to verbs, specifically to express the meaning of 'colour'. For example:

v. sɯm (to be black) – kʰe > sɯmkʰe (darkish),

v. sɯm (to be black) – kʰɯr > sɯmkʰɯr (greeny)

2.3.2.1.3 By Compounding

In Bodo language, adjectives—like nouns and verbs—can also be created by combining two or more words. Further details are provided below:

a) **Noun + Noun**

In the Bodo language, adjectives can be formed by combining two distinct noun words. Examples are provided below:

adj. ɔntʰajbikʰa (merciless) > ɔntʰaj (stone) + bikʰa (heart)

adj. megɔnmɯdɯi (sleepless night) > megɔn (eye) + mɯdɯi (tear)

The above examples show that two distinct nouns are combined to form an adjective in the Bodo language. It is also evident that neither noun functions solely as a head or modifier; instead, both contribute equally to the formation of the adjective.

b) **Noun + Adjective**

In the Bodo language, it is also possible to form adjectives by combining a noun and an adjective root. For example:

adj. megɔngɯsa (jealous) < megɔn (eye) + gɯsa (hard)

adj. bikʰlɯrɯza (courageous) < bikʰlɯ (gall) + rɯza (thick)

adj. akʰajgusu (lazy) < akʰaj (hand) + gusu (cold)

adj. gɯsɯguduŋ (prompt) < gɯsɯ (mind) + guduŋ (hot)

The above examples demonstrate that a noun and an adjective are combined to form compound adjectives in the Bodo language. Upon closer examination, it becomes clear that there is no head word; both words play an equal role in creating the new adjective.

c) **Verb + Adjective**

Similar to other examples of compound adjective formation, an adjective in the Bodo language can also be created by combining a verb and an adjective. For example:

adj. kʰaŋgibi (elder chield) < kʰaŋ (to rear) + gibi (first)

adj. tʰagibi (aboriginal) < tʰa (to stay) + gibi (first)

adj. lazigusu (shy) < lazi (to feel ashamed) +gusu (cold)

The above examples show that a head word and a modifying word are present. In this case, the verb acts as the head word, while the adjective serves as the modifier, as it either creates a new word or alters the meaning of the main word.

2.3.2.1.4 By Reduplication

In Bodo, adjectives can also be created by repeating a word. This repetition may involve nouns, verbs, or adjectives. Details, along with examples, are provided below:

a) Adjective formed by Noun

A noun in the Bodo language can be converted into an adjective through the process of reduplication. Examples are given below:

Noun	Reduplication	Gloss
kʰɔrbla (sudden appearance)	adj. kʰɔrblakʰɔrbli	uneven/having cavities
lɔrgɔ (dullard)	adj. lɔrgɔtʰɔrgɔ	loose
mawrija (orphan)	adj. mawrijakʰawrija	humility

As seen in the above examples, when a noun is repeated, it transforms into an adjective. It is also noted that during reduplication, the initial and final phonemes of the noun may undergo slight changes.

b) Adjective formed by Verb

In the Bodo language, similar to nouns, verbs can also be transformed into adjectives through reduplication. Examples are provided below:

Verb	Reduplication	Gloss
bazred (to sway)	adj. bazred-batʰetʰ	wobbling
gewlaŋ (to become open)	adj. gewlaŋ-gewtʰaŋ	fullyopen
gidiŋ (to rotate)	adj. gidiŋgida	zigzag
gitʰaw (to fear)	adj. gitʰawtʰaw	dreadful

The examples above illustrate that in Bodo language, adjectives can be formed through the repetition of verbs. Careful observation reveals that, in this process, only a portion of the verb is reduplicated to create the adjective.

c) Adjective formed by Adjective

Adjectives in the Bodo language can also undergo reduplication to form new adjectives. The following examples illustrate this process:

Adective	**Reduplication**	**Gloss**
ult^ha (opposite)	adj. ult^haphalt^ha	topsy-turvy
k^habraŋ (rough)	adj. k^habraŋk^hat^haŋ	unpleasant
let^hra (dirty)	adj. let^hrap^{h}et^hra	untidy
rɔŋgina (coloured)	adj. rɔŋginasɔŋgina	colourful

A close observation of the above examples shows that when adjectives are reduplicated to form new adjective words, the initial phonemes of the original adjectives undergo slight changes.

d) Adjective formed by bound base

In Bodo, when a bound base is fully or partially repeated, it takes on the meaning of an adjective. This means that adjectives in Bodo can also be formed by reduplicating the bound base. Examples are provided below:

Bound form	**Reduplication**	**Gloss**
sɔmbra	adj. sɔmbrasɔmbri	contemporary
sit^hɯr	adj. sit^hɯrbat^hɯr	dislikeable
t^hɯn	adj. t^hɯnt^hɯn	congested
aila	adj. aila-zaila	uncombed hair
ak^ha	adj. ak^hap^{h}ak^ha	expert
usu	adj. usuk^hut^hu	anxious

Upon examining the above examples, it can be observed that the base forms are sometimes repeated fully or partially, while in other cases, they undergo slight phonological changes.

2.3.2.2 Types of Adjectives

Based on the meaning of adjectives in the Bodo language, they can be grouped into the following categories:

1) Adjective denoting quality
2) Adjective denoting quantity
3) Adjective of comparison

2.3.2.2.1 Adjective denoting quality

Qualitative adjectives express qualities such as shape, size, and color of things and people, and they also indicate the type or kind of things and people. In Bodo language, these adjectives are derived from other words by adding prefixes and suffixes. Examples are provided below:

1)   gɔlab-ja   bar-se   sɔmajna   bibar

Rose-NOM   CLF-one   beautiful   flower

Rose is a beautiful flower.

2)   bi-ɯ   tʰajzɯu   gɯkʰɯi-kʰɯu   za-ja

He/she-NOM mango   sour-ACC   to eat-NEG

He/She does not eat sour mango.

In the examples provided above, it can be seen that in example 1), the adjective *'sɔmajna'* comes before the noun *'bibar,'* while in example 2), the adjective *'gɯkʰɯi'* follows the noun *'tʰajzɯu.'*

2.3.2.2.2 Adjective denoting quantity

In the Bodo language, adjectives denoting quantity indicate the amount or number of persons, things, or others. These are expressed by words such as *'gubaŋ,'* *'burza,'* *'makʰase,'* *'ese,'* *'kʰajse,'* and so on. Examples are provided below:

1)   sɯima-nɯ   ɯŋkʰam   ese   hɔr

Dog-DAT   rice   a little   give

Give a little rice to the dog.

2)   kʰajse   mansi-pʰɯr-a   mel-aw   pʰɯi-jakʰɯi

Somebody   person-PLS-NOM   meeting-LOC come-NEG

Some persons have not come in the meeting.

3)   bɯi-aw   gɯbaŋ   mansi   zɔ   za-dɯŋ

That-LOC   many   person   together   to be-PROG

So many people are gathering there.

From the above examples, in example 1), the adjective *'ese'* follows the noun *'uŋkʰam,'* indicating its quantity. Similarly, in examples 2) and 3), the adjectives *'kʰajse'* and *'gɯbaŋ'* precede the noun *'mansi'* to express quantity. These examples demonstrate that in Bodo language, adjectives can appear either before or after the noun.

2.3.2.2.3 Adjective of Comparison

Comparative adjectives in the Bodo language are used to compare qualities such as size, shape, color, and quantity between two or more people or objects. These comparative forms are created using the suffix *{-kʰrui},* which is attached to the noun or person being compared. However, this suffix must be used along with the genitive case marker *{-ni}*, as it cannot be applied directly. Additionally, the suffix *{-sin}* is added to the adjective to complete the comparative structure. Examples are provided below:

1)   Chibiram-a   aŋ-ni-kʰrui   gɯzɯu-sin

Chibiram-NOM   aŋ-DAT-CMP   tall-SUF

Chibiram is taller than me.

2)   Rupati-ni-kʰrui   Sonati-ja   sɔmajna-sin

Rupati-DAT-CMP   Sonati-NOM   beautiful-SUF

Sonati is more beautiful than Rupati.

From the above examples, it is evident that the suffix *{-kʰrui}* is used in Bodo to make comparisons between people or objects. In the above example, *'Chibiram'* is compared to *'aŋ,'* and *'Sonati'* is compared to *'Rupati.'* In both instances, the suffix

{-kʰrui} is attached to *'aŋ'* and *'Rupati'* with the support of the genitive case marker {-ni}. Additionally, the adjectives *'guzɯu'* and *'sɔmajna'* take the suffix {-sin} to indicate the qualities 'tall' and 'beautiful,' respectively.

2.3.3 Adverb

An adverb is a significant grammatical category that serves various functions in relation to a verb. According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary:

> *'A word that adds more information about place, time, manner, cause or degree to a verb, an adjective, a phrase or another adverb: In 'speak kindly', 'incredibly deep', just in time' and too quickly', 'kindly', 'incredibly', just' and 'too' are all adverbs'.*[9]

Similar to other Tibeto-Burman languages, adverbs in the Bodo language generally appear before the verbs. Adverbs form an important grammatical category, serving various functions related to the verb.

2.3.3.1 Formation of Adverb

Adverbs in the Bodo language are mainly formed from the following categories:

1) Simple
2) By affixation
3) By compounding
4) By reduplication

2.3.3.1.1 Simple

In Bodo language, simple adverbs are typically monosyllabic or disyllabic words that serve as adverbs and are not derived from any other root. Examples are provided below:

Bodo	**Gloss**
da	now
dinɯi	today

---

[9] *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary: P-22*

mɯna	night
gabɯn	tomorrow
pʰuŋ	morning

In the examples above, the adverbs are independent words with their own meanings and are not derived from other roots. From these examples, it can be observed that the time-related adverbs are represented by simple adverbs.

2.3.3.1.2 By Affixation

In the Bodo language, adverbs are primarily formed using the suffixes *{-aw}*, *{-ɯi}*, *{-nanɯi}*, *{-haŋ}*, *{-sim}*, and *{-sɯ}*. The details are provided below:

{-aw}: This is a locative case marker used to express locative adverbs (adverbs of place). It has been previously discussed in the case marker section: (2.2.5.7, Page 53).

{-ɯi}: In Bodo language, adjectives are transformed into adverbs by adding the suffix *{-ɯi}*. This suffix is used to describe the manner in which an action is performed or to express the quality and characteristics of the mode of action. Examples are provided below:

adj. hɔrkʰab (sudden) -ɯi > adv. hɔrkʰabɯi (suddenly)

adj. gɯkʰrɯi (quick) -ɯi > adv. gɯkʰrɯijɯi (quickly)

adj.lasɯi (slow) -ɯi > adv. lasɯijɯi (slowly)

adj. saŋgraŋ (alert) -ɯi > adv. saŋgraŋɯi (alertly)

{-nanɯi}: In Bodo language, this suffix is attached to verbs to create adverbs. When added to a verb, it indicates the manner in which the action is carried out or describes the characteristics of the action. For example:

v. undu (to sleep) -nanɯi > adv. undunanɯi (to lie down flatly)

v. lazi (to feel ashamed) -nanɯi > adv. lazinanɯi (ashamedly)

v. mini (to smile)-nanɯi > adv. mininanɯi (smilingly)

v. gab (to cry)-nanɯi > adv. gabnanɯi (cryingly)

{-haŋ}: In Bodo language, the suffix *{-haŋ}* is also employed to form adverbs, particularly those indicating time. When combined with verbs or adjectives, it conveys the sense of 'about to' or 'somewhat.' For example:

> v. za (to eat) -haŋ > adv. za -haŋ (about to eat)
>
> v. gab (to cry) -haŋ > adv. gab -haŋ (about to cry)
>
> adj. gɯran (dry)-haŋ > adv. gɯran-haŋ (somewhat dry)
>
> adj.mini (to smile) -haŋ > adv. mini-haŋ (about to smile)

{-sim}: In Bodo language, the suffix *{-sim}* is also combined with adverbs to create new adverbial forms. It is used to convey meanings such as 'until' or 'up to,' thereby indicating an adverb of time. For example:

> adv. gabɯn (tomorrow) -sim > adv. gabɯnsim (until tomorrow)
>
> adv. hɔr (night) -sim > adv. hɔrsim (until night)
>
> adv. mɯija (yesterday) -sim > adv. mɯijasim (until yesterday)

{-sɯ}: In Bodo language, this suffix is also added to adverbs to create new adverbial forms, though it is applied to a limited number of adverbs compared to other suffixes. It serves to express meanings such as 'just' or 'to indicate the exact time', thereby functioning as a marker of temporal adverbs. For example:

> adv. dahaj (after some times) -sɯ > adv. dahajsɯ (by after some times)
>
> adv. da (now) -sɯ > adv. da-sɯ (just now)
>
> adv. gabɯn (tomorrow) –sɯ > adv. gabɯnsɯ (by tomorrow)
>
> adv. mɯija (yesterday) -sɯ > adv. mɯijasɯ (by yesterday)

2.3.3.1.3 By Compounding

In Bodo, adverbs can also be formed through the compounding of two or more words. Illustrative examples are provided below:

a) Noun + Noun:

In the Bodo language, compound adverbs are often formed by combining a noun with another noun. This is a common feature of the language. For example:

adv. phuŋmɯna (whole day and night) < n. phuŋ (morning) + n. mɯna (night)

adv. sanhɔr (whole day and night) < n. san (day) + n. hɔr (night)

adv. dɯizlaŋmeseŋ (whole season) < n. dɯizlaŋ (summer) + n. meseŋ (winter)

From the above examples, it is evident that new adverbs are formed by combining two distinct nouns. It is also observed that both nouns contribute equally in forming the adverb, and in the Bodo language, these nouns can function as head words.

b) Noun + Adjective

An adverb in Bodo can also be formed through the combination of a noun and an adjective. For example:

adv. hɔrgezer (mid night) < n. hɔr (night) + adj. gezer (middle)

The above example shows that compound adverbs in Bodo are formed by combining a noun with an adjective. Within this structure, a head word and a modifying word can be identified.

c) Adverb + Noun

In Bodo, a compound adverb can also be formed by combining an adverb and a noun. However, this type of combination is rare and is primarily observed in the expression *'ɔraj sɔm'* (meaning 'all the time'). An example is given below:

adv. ɔrajsɔm (whole time) < adv. ɔraj (always) + n. sɔm (time)

In the above example, the compound word *'ɔraj sɔm'* is formed by combining *'ɔraj'* and *'sɔm'*. In this construction, *'sɔm'* serves as the head word, while *'ɔraj'* functions as the modifier in the Bodo language.

d) Noun + Verb + Noun + Verb

The formation of adverbs through the combination of Noun + Verb + Noun + Verb is also found in Bodo. An example is provided below.

adv. pʰuŋzasanza (early in the morning) < n. pʰuŋ (morning) + v. za (to be red) + n. san (sun) v. za (to be red)

In the example above, the compound adverb is formed by combining the words *'pʰuŋ', 'za', 'san',* and *'za'*. It is evident that in this structure, the noun *'pʰuŋ'* functions as the head word as it retains its original form, while the other words serve as modifiers.

2.3.3.1.4 By Reduplication

In Bodo, adverbs can often be formed through reduplication, where the repetition of nouns, verbs, or adjectives results in adverbial forms. The following examples illustrate this process.

a) Adverb from Noun

In Bodo, certain nouns can be transformed into adverbs through the process of reduplication. For example:

Noun	Reduplication	Gloss
inaj (injustice)	adv. inajbinaj	utterly perplexed
kʰɔna (corner)	adv. kʰɔnakʰɔnla	every nook and corner
lɔrgɔ (dullard)	adv. lɔrgɔthɔrgɔ	very loose
mɯbla (inconstant)	adv. mɯblamɯbli	inconstantly

The above examples demonstrate that reduplication of nouns in Bodo results in certain phonemic changes.

b) Adverb from Verb

In the Bodo language, adverbs can also be derived from verbs through reduplication. For example:

Verb	Reduplication	Gloss
elɔ (to take out)	adv. elɔela	entirely/wholly
budru (to drag)	adv. budrubudra	dragging roughly
hulu (to pick up fully)	adv. huluhula	entirely
naŋzab (to become close)	adv. naŋzabnaŋzab	closely

The above examples demonstrate that when a verb is reduplicated, it forms an adverb. Furthermore, the examples reveal that during reduplication, the phoneme of the verb shifts to another phoneme, even though the verb is repeated exactly. This process occurs in the Bodo language.

c) Adverb from Adjective

In the Bodo language, it is also observed that some adjectives are transformed into adverbs through the process of reduplication. For example:

Adjective	Reduplication	Gloss
kʰabraŋ (rough)	adv. kʰabraŋbraŋ	harshly
kʰajleŋ (oblique)	adv. kʰajleŋleŋ	obliquely
lasɯi (slow)	adv. lasɯilasɯi	slowly
siri (silent)	adv. sirisiri	silently/quietly
tʰarla (separate)	adv. tʰarlatʰurla	openly and clearly

The above examples show that the repetition of an adjective can result in the formation of an adverb in Bodo. It is also observed that in some cases, the phonemes of the adjective are repeated exactly, while in others, they are alternated with different phonemes in the reduplicated form. Additionally, in certain instances, only a portion of the adjective is repeated.

d) Adverb from bound base

In Bodo, a bound form can also be transformed into an adverb through reduplication when repeated. Examples are provided below:

Bound form	Reduplication	Gloss
guli	adv. guliguli	frequently/regularly
hakʰu	adv. hakʰudakʰu	hurriedly
kʰes	adv. kʰeskʰes	repeatedly
pʰid	adv. pʰidpʰid	in detail
zubur	adv. zuburzutʰur	loosely/not properly

The examples above indicate that although the base forms are bound, they gain meaning and are transformed into adverbs when reduplicated. In these instances, the bound forms are wholly repeated, with slight phonemic alterations appearing in the reduplicated versions.

2.3.3.2 Type of Adverb

Based on their functional roles, adverbs in the Bodo language can be grouped into the following classes:

1) Adverb of manner
2) Adverb of location
3) Adverb of temporal
4) Adverb of interrogation

2.3.3.2.1 Adverb of Manner

In Bodo, adverbs of manner express how an action is carried out or how an event takes place. These are typically formed using the suffixes *{-ɯi}, {-nanɯi}, {-haŋ}, {-sim},* and *{-nɯ}.* This formation has already been discussed in section 2.3.3.1.2 (Page 100).

2.3.3.2.2 Adverb of Location

In Bodo, adverbs of location are not expressed through independent words. Instead, they are formed by attaching the locative suffix *{-aw}* to noun or pronoun roots. Examples are given below:

Bodo	**Gloss**
be-aw	here
bɯi-aw	there
pʰuŋ-aw	in the morning
belase-aw	in the afternoon
sanzɯupʰu-aw	in midday
mɯnabili~biliphaŋ-aw	in the evening

hɔr-aw	at night
san-aw	at day time
hɔrgezer-aw	at midnight

The above examples show that the pronouns *'be'* and *'bɯi'* form locative adverbs by taking the locative suffix *{-aw}*. In the same way, nouns in Bodo also take the suffix *{-aw}* to express adverbs of location.

2.3.3.2.3 Adverb of Temporal

In the Bodo language, there is a wide range of temporal adverbs that indicate present, past, and future time. These temporal adverbs can be further classified into the following categories:

a) Time or tense indicator temporals: The time or tense indicating temporal indicates the time of adverb. For example:

Bodo	**Gloss**
da	now
da-nɯ	yet now/forthwith
da-sɯ	just now
da-hai	a little later
da-sɯ	just before
dɔhai	a little before

b) Year indicator temporals: Year-indicating temporals serve to specify the time of an action, whether in the present, past, or future. For example:

Bodo	**Gloss**
deglaj	this year
semɯn	last year
ɔsemɯn	the year before last year
kʰalmasi	next year

The examples above use *'deglaj'* to refer to the present year, while *'semun'* and *'ɔsemun'* indicates the past year, and *'kʰalmasi'* refers to the upcoming year. Additionally, the example *'ɔsemun'* is formed by the prefix *{ɔ-}* combined with the adverb *'semun'*. For example:

ɔsemun (the year before last year) > ɔ- semun (last year)

c) Day indicator temporals: Similar to other temporal adverbs, day-indicating temporals also specify and locate the time of an action in the present, past, or future. For example:

Bodo	**Gloss**
dinɯi	today
gabɯn	tomorrow
sɔŋpʰɯr	the day after tomorrow
denaŋ	in future
mɯija	yesterday
dakʰli	the day before yesterday

The above examples show that day-indicating temporals in the Bodo language have a free form. In the above examples *'dinɯi'* and *'gabun'* refer to the present day, while *'sɔŋpʰur'* and *'denaŋ'* indicate the future day. On the other hand, *'muija'* and *'dakʰali'* are used to denote the past day in Bodo.

2.3.3.2.4 Adverb of Interrogation

Interrogative adverbs are used to ask questions about the manner, time, or location of an action. In the Bodo language, specific interrogative adverbs are used for this purpose, as shown in the examples below.

Bodo	**Gloss**
mabɯrɯi	how
mabla	when
bɔha/bɯrɯ	where

manɯ	why
bɔbe	which
ma	what
sɯr	who

Used as interrogative adverbs, these words can occur in different parts of a sentence in the Bodo language—whether at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end.

a) Initial position: Interrogative adverbs in Bodo can be placed at the beginning of a sentence. For instance:

1) mabɯrɯi   tʰaŋ-nɯ   ha-gɯn

    how   go-DAT   able-FUT

    How will be able to go ?

2) manɯ   nɯŋ   bidi

    why   you   like this

    Why are you like this?

b) Middle position: In the Bodo language, interrogative adverbs are most commonly found in the middle of sentences. For example:

1) bizab-kʰɯu   mabɯrɯi   kʰɯma-kʰɯ

    book-ACC   how   lose-SUF

    How did lose the book?

2) nɯŋ   mɯija   manɯ   pʰɯi-a-kʰɯi

    you   yesterday   why   come-NEG-PROG

    Why didn't you come yesterday?

c) Final position: In Bodo, interrogative adverbs can sometimes be placed at the end of a sentence. For example:

1)   nɯŋ-ni   kʰmani-ja   bɔbe-aw

        you-GEN   job-NOM   where-LOC

        Where is your job ?

2)   nɯŋ-ni   bizab-a   bɯrɯ

        you-GEN   bizab-GEN   where

        Where is your book ?

2.3.4 Tense

Tense plays a significant role in Bodo morphology and is categorized under the secondary grammatical features of the verbal group, as it expresses the time of an action. Essentially, tense is a key indicator of the verb. In Bodo, tense is not influenced by pronouns, gender, or number. The language recognizes three main tenses: present, past, and future. Different suffixes are employed to mark these tenses. The following section provides further details.

2.3.4.1 Past Tense

The past tense indicates an action that has been completed and is no longer occurring in the present. Similar to other languages, in Bodo, the past tense is formed by adding suffixes to the verb. The suffixes used are *{-baj}* and *{-mun}*. In Bodo, the past tense can be further classified into two categories, based on the nature of the action.

1) Immediate past tense and

2) Remote past tense

2.3.4.1.1 Immediate Past Tense

In Bodo, the recent or immediate past tense is formed by adding the suffix *{-baj}*. This suffix indicates an action of the verbs that has been recently completed, conveying meanings such as 'finished,' 'done,' or 'completed.' Examples are provided below.

1)   aŋ   ɯŋkʰam   za-baj

        I   rice   eat-PST

        I ate rice.

2)   Hari-a   kʰmani-kʰɯu   maw-baj

        Hari-NOM   work-ACC   do-PST

        Hari has done the work.

The examples above show that in Bodo, the past tense is formed by adding the suffix *{-baj}* to verbs. These examples clearly illustrate actions that have been completed recently.

2.3.4.1.2 Remote Past Tense

In Bodo, the suffix *{-mɯn}* indicates the remote past tense. It is added to verbs to convey an action that occurred a long time ago. For example:

1)   aŋ   nɯŋkʰɯu   nu-akʰɯi-mɯn

        I   you-ACC   see-NEG-PST

        I did not see to you.

2)   gɔtʰɔ-a   pʰɔrajsali-aw   tʰaŋ-akʰɯi-mɯn

        child-NOM   school-LOC   go-NEG-PST

        The child didn't go to school

The examples above show that the verb takes the suffix *{-mɯn}* to indicate the past tense.

2.3.4.2 Present Tense

In Bodo, the present tense is marked by the suffix *{-ɯ},* which is also used to indicate the simple present tense. The following examples illustrate this usage.

1)   aŋ   ɯŋkʰam   za-ɯ

I   rice   eat-PRES

I eat rice.

2)   aŋ   pʰɔrajsali-aw   tʰaŋ-ɯ

I   school-LOC   go-PRES

I go to school.

As seen in examples 1) and 2) above, the suffix *{-ɯ}* is added to *'za'* and *'tʰaŋ'* to form the simple present tense.

2.3.4.3 Future Tense

Future tense refers to actions that will take place in the future. In Bodo, as with other tenses, the future tense is formed by adding the suffixes *{-gun}* and *{-nɯsɯi}*. Depending on the nature of the verb's action, the future tense in Bodo can also be classified into two types.

1) Immediate future tense and

2) Remote future tense

2.3.4.3.1 Immediate Future Tense

In Bodo, the immediate future tense is formed by adding the suffixes *{-nɯsɯi}* and *{-gɯu}*. These suffixes convey the idea of an action that will take place shortly, after a few seconds or moments. The following examples illustrate this usage.

1)   aŋ   pʰɔrajsali-aw   tʰaŋ-nɯsɯi

I   school-LOC   to go-FUT

I will be going to school.

2)   bi-ɯ   kʰela   gele-nɯsɯi

He-NOM   game   to play-FUT

He will be going to play game.

3)   Bibari-ja   nɔ-aw   phɯi-gɯu

Bibari-NOM   home-LOC   come-FUT

Bibari will come to Home.

The examples above show that future tense is indicated by adding the suffixes *{-nɯsɯi}* and *{-gɯu}* to verbs. The suffix *{-nɯsɯi}* is attached to *'tʰaŋ'* and *'gele,'* while *{-gɯu}* is added to *'pʰɯi'* to express the future tense in Bodo.

3.3.4.3.2 Remote Future Tense

In Bodo, the suffix *{-gɯn}* is used to express the remote future tense. It signifies an action that will take place in the distant future. The examples below demonstrate its usage.

1)   aŋ   gabɯn   kokrajhar-aw   thaŋ-gɯn

I   tomorrow   kokrajhar-LOC   go-FUT

I will go to kokrjhar on tomorrow.

2)   Bibari-ja   sɔŋpʰɯr   nɔ-aw   pʰɯi-gɯn

Bibari-NOM   the day after tomorrow   home-LOC come-FUT

Bibari will come to home on day after tomorrow.

As observed in examples 1) and 2) above, the suffix *{-gɯn}* is added to the verbs *'tʰaŋ'* and *'pʰɯi'* to express the future tense. This suffix suggests that the action will take place in the future, though it does not specify the exact time of occurrence in Bodo.