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## Languages and Peoples of the Eastern Himalayan Region (LPEHR)

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*Nominal categorial prefixes in the Bodo Part of the Sal languages*

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### ABSTRACT

Many different kinds of nominal categorial prefixes are employed in the Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa languages, such as classifier prefixes, class prefixes, genus prefixes, person possessive prefixes, body part prefixes, nominalizing prefixes, adjectivizer prefixes, etc. Usually, these prefixes have lexical meanings as they are exact or obsolete forms of corresponding existing lexemes. The exact forms are used as free words whereas the obsolete forms are used exclusively as bound morphemes. They may refer to respective classes, genera, species, persons, body/plant parts, etc. because they carry the corresponding meaning. Hence, it is very likely that these prefixes originally belonged to a noun category which have been incorporated to the co-occurring bases; whereas, the other types of categorial prefixes like nominalizer and adjectivizer belong to derivational category.

### KEYWORDS

Categorial prefixes, Bodo-Garo, classifier prefixes, class prefixes, genus prefixes, person possessive prefixes, body part prefixes, nominalizing prefixes, adjectivizer prefixes

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# Nominal categorial prefixes in the Bodo Part of the Sal languages<sup>1</sup>

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## 1 Introduction

The Bodo Part (BP, henceforth) in Bodo-Garo branch of Sal (Bodo-Konyak-Jingpho, Brahmaputran) languages of the Tibeto-Burman family consists of Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa (Post & Burling 2017: 224-5). These languages are spoken by 2,571,934 in India (Census of India 2011). They are spoken mainly in Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya, Nagaland, West Bengal of India, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal. These languages share many genealogical linguistic features including the presence of nominal categorial prefixes.

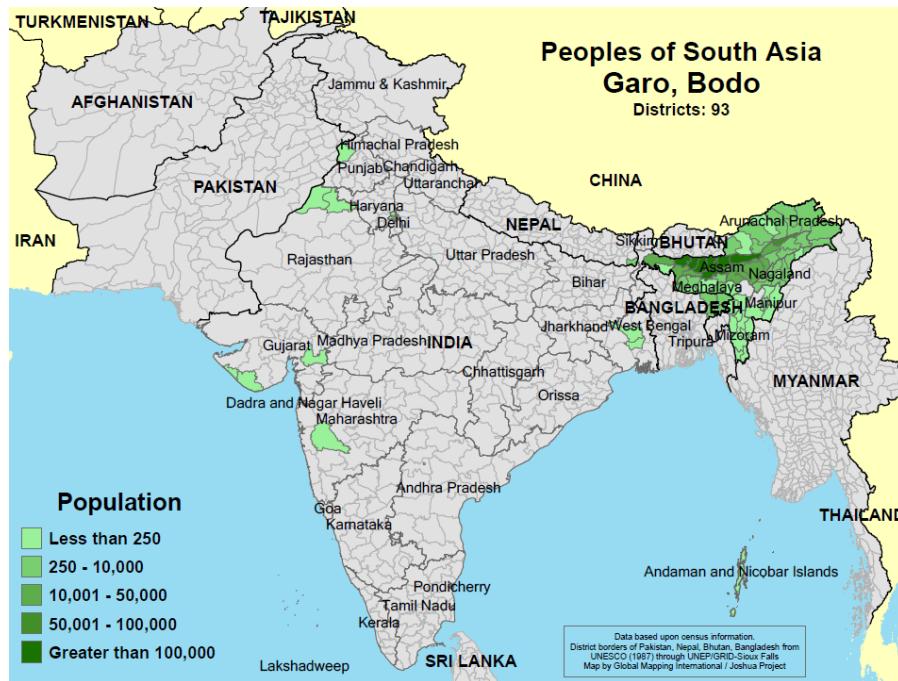


Figure 1 -The BP language speaking areas (<https://joshuaproject.net> 2020)

### 1.1 Background and preliminary work

The term *categorial* has been derived from its nominal origin *category*, especially, of an *entity*. The prefixes that categorize a set of lexical items in terms of their lexical and/or grammatical (sub)classes as well as the sizes and structures of the referents are called

<sup>1</sup>Based on the classification by Post & Burling (2017).

categorial prefixes. Burling (2004: 168) calls them *category prefixes*<sup>2</sup>, Wood (2008: 62-71) and Vittrant (2012: 137-8) call them *class terms*. This study complements the proto forms and existing partial descriptions of the class terms in Bodo-Garo by Wood (2008). Class terms are fossilized forms of their corresponding noun subclasses that incorporate either with verbs, nouns or adjectival attributes of the corresponding nouns. A considerable number of categorial prefixes that include noun categorization devices – i.e. classifiers (Aikhenvald, 2003) – are employed in BP. Initially, most of these prefixes were derivationally constructed from incorporating nouns or nominals with their attributes. Usually, they are used to construct certain categories, classes, subclasses, genera or groups of nouns, adjectives, or numerals and hence they are termed nominal categorial prefixes here. The terms *class* and *genus* (pl. *genera*) are taken here based on different taxonomic ranks of organisms as well as units of biodiversity, which are popularly used in the classification of animal and plant kingdoms in zoology.

These prefixes are characterized by their way of cooccurring with bound roots that are not used as free words in the languages concerned. In Matses, a Panoan language, body-part prefixes may occur on nouns, adjectives or verbs and have homogenous grammatical properties (Fleck 2006: 63). However, due to rigorous occurrences of some other of them in the languages concerned to show certain agreements in morphosyntactic level, they tend to be inflectional in nature. One of the characteristic features of these prefixes is that most of them are prefixed in such a way, that they are no longer considered to be prefixes by some linguists. For example, body part categorial prefixes, some of adjectivizer categorial prefixes, and some of the class term prefixes which are permanently adhered to the roots, are not accepted by some linguists as prefixes. Another characteristic feature of this group of prefixes is that they tend to occur as free words similar to prepositions if the roots are disyllabic or longer. For example: *na bami* ‘eel’ (Bodo) but *nasrar* ‘seng/murrel fish’ (Bodo). In some cases, these prefixes function as head elements and, hence, they tend to occur after the root as free words. For example: *bami na* ‘eel fish’ (Bodo). This feature disqualifies them as suffixes.

There are different kinds of categorial prefixes across languages such as person possessive categorial-, instrumental (case) categorial-, causative categorial-, passive (voice) categorial-, plural (number) categorial-, tense categorial-, directional categorial-, imperative categorial-, participial (gerund) categorial-, transitivity categorial-, augmentative categorial-, degree categorial-, adverbial categorial-, adjectivizer categorial-, nominalizing categorial-, class categorial-, body part categorial-, and noun classifier (categorial) prefixes.

Out of these, classifier-, class-, genus-, person possessive-, body part-, nominalizing- and adjectivizer prefixes employed in the Bodo Part of the Sal languages are discussed here.

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<sup>2</sup>A very large class of compound noun stems are constructed from what I will call a “category prefix” followed by one or more additional syllables. Some of the additional bits have an identifiable meaning of their own, but many do not. The category prefixes give a kind of categorization to many of the objects of the world (Burling 2004: 168).

Endle (1884: iv) discusses about the prefixation of certain Kachari words such as *dur* or *di* combined with many of the principal rivers of Assam.<sup>3</sup> This particular prefix *di-* or *dur-* is constructed out of the word *dur* 'water', which is used as a categorial prefix to form words related to water. e.g., *duisu* 'watery (taste)', *duisraŋ* 'transparent (like water)', *duilao* 'liquid (like water)', etc.

Baro (1990a: 68-74) discusses formation of different categories of words with the heading *constructed words*. He presents ten different examples (p. 68) without explaining the types of word formation processes. Nonetheless, these examples show the word formation in Bodo through prefixation of categorial affixes which include class term prefixes, body part prefixes, adjectivizer *gV-* and pronominal prefixes (in formation of kinship terms). Baro (1990b: 46-60) also discusses word formation processes in Bodo such as formation of kinship terms, compounds and complex words through affixation of categorial prefixes.

Burling (2004: 168-172) discusses seventeen categorial prefixes used in Garo, which derive many sets and subsets of words such as *do-* 'birds', *na-* 'fish', *mat-* 'mammal', *bol-* 'tree/plant', *wa-* 'bamboo', *ta-* 'tuber', *bi-* 'plant parts & animal body parts', *ha/a-* 'soil/earth/ground', *wal-* 'fire', *chi-* 'water', *jak-* 'hand/arm, foot/leg', *mik-* 'eye body parts', *ku-* 'mouth', *pak-* 'arm (body) parts', *kok-* 'baskets', *nɔk-* 'house/buildings', *a/a-* 'kinship terms', etc. This work opens up for further studies on categorial prefixes.

According to Longmailai (2013: 154), in Dimasa, category prefixes are attached to words which can be grouped together in the same lexical category, for example water, weight, house, or beauty, among others. They also have independent lexical meanings and belong to different grammatical categories. The categorial prefix *di-* 'water' is highly productive and it can also be used as a free morpheme denoting the same meaning. As Endle (1884: iv) said, it is used in the names of many rivers and places in the Brahmaputra valley such as *dilanhi* 'the Lohit/Brahmaputra River'; the other river and place names still used in modern Dimasa are *dijūn*, *dibāŋ*, *disaŋ*, *dibru*, etc. (Longmailai 2013: 154).

A preliminary study on the categorial prefixes has been carried out by Brahma (2020) where he discusses different categorial prefixes used in Bodo, Dimasa and Tiwa languages of BP. He has discussed the categorial prefixes in these languages in terms of their occurrences in deriving different groups of nouns. The present study discusses them in more detail including another language from the group, Kokborok.

## 1.2 Aims and scope

This study aims to find out different types of nominal categorial prefixes in Bodo-Garo, especially classifier-, class-, genus-, person possessive-, body part-, nominalizing-

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<sup>3</sup>And there is reason to think that the Kacharis were at one time the dominant community, or at least one of the dominant communities, in the Brahmaputra Valley; and as such they seem to have left traces of their language in the names of some of the most prominent physical features of the country. Thus the names of many of the principal rivers of Assam begin with the syllable, "Di" which is perhaps the Kachári word ("dui", "di") for "water", e.g., Dí-hong, Dí-bong, Dí-bru, Dí-hing, Dí-sáng, Dí-khu, Dí-soi, Dí-ju, Dí-mu, Dí-mangal, Dí-krang, Dí-kurai, Dí-puta, Dí-ma gasum (black water), Dí-ang, etc., (cf. Dimápur– Duímápur, e.i., River-town, the old Kachári capital on the Dhansiri River). (Endle 1884; iv).

and adjectivizer prefixes employed in the Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa languages of BP and discussing them in detail with enough data. Though these prefixes produce other classes of words than nominals, only nominals are considered here for analysis and discussion.

### 1.3 Methodology

This study is based on the primary data collected from native speakers of the languages. Bodo data were collected from the speakers of its *Sonabari* (Western) variety spoken in the north-western part of Assam; Dimasa data were collected from its *Hasao* variety spoken in and around Haflong area of Assam; Kokborok data were collected from the *Debbarma* dialect of it spoken in the West Tripura district; whereas, the Tiwa data were collected from its *Hajowali* variety spoken in the Umswai valley of West Karbi-Anglong district of Assam.

The data were collected in the form of semantically classified vocabularies in the Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa languages. A questionnaire consisting of different groups nouns based on their different semantic domains was prepared and sent to the language consultants. This study selected five language consultants from each of the four languages, who are from different cross-sections of the concerned language speaking communities, sexes and ages. However, some of the data were also taken from secondary sources such as Debbarma (2001), Sinha (2010) and Jose (2014). They are cross-checked and validated with the help of the concerned consultants.

Another method of this study is the literature review on the topic. Only some grammars and research articles of these languages, written in different times, discuss categorical prefixes. Those existing works have been studied, reviewed and the lacunae and gaps have been investigated as part of this current study.

All the data were transcribed in International Phonetic Alphabet and interlinearized following the Leipzig Glossing Rules (May 31, 2015) and distributed to different possible categories.

## 2 Nominal categorial prefixes in the Bodo Part

The categorial prefixes employed in the Bodo Part co-occur with nominal classes of words such as nouns, pronouns, adjectives and numerals. Class-, genus-, body part- and nominalizing prefixes seem to be inalienable parts of certain category of nouns as the nouns need to take one of the several prefixes obligatorily; person possessive prefixes constitute inseparable parts of pronouns as most of the roots are bound; adjectivizer prefixes, especially *velar* prefixes constitute inseparable parts of certain adjectives as their verb roots are no longer used as free words; and, classifier prefixes constitute inseparable parts of numerals quantifying certain nouns as quantifying numerals always co-occur with corresponding classifiers.

### 2.1 Classifier prefixes

Classifiers are those prefixes in the Bodo Part which indicate different general classes of nouns on the bases of their different shapes, sizes and structures. They occur with

quantifying numerals occurring with nouns in the respective NPs of the structure [*numeral (adjective) noun*]<sub>NP</sub>. The occurrence of classifiers thus shows the rare feature of *numeral-noun agreement* in the Bodo Part and hence, they are considered to be of inflectional values in these languages. e.g.,

Bodo	<i>sa-</i> ‘human’ + <i>dam</i> ‘eight’ > <i>sadam maot<sup>hi</sup></i> ‘eight workers’ <i>ma-</i> ‘animal, bird’ + <i>sni</i> ‘seven’ > <i>masni muuk<sup>h</sup>ra</i> ‘seven monkeys’ <i>p<sup>h</sup>aŋ-</i> ‘plant, tree’ + <i>nui</i> ‘two’ > <i>p<sup>h</sup>aŋnui thaizuo</i> ‘two mango (trees)’
Dimasa	<i>sao-</i> ‘human (SG)’ + <i>fi</i> ‘one’ > <i>saofi f.buŋ</i> ‘one person’ <i>ma-</i> ‘animal, bird/human (PL)’ + <i>bri</i> ‘four’ > <i>mabri mufu</i> ‘four cows’ <i>p<sup>h</sup>aŋ-</i> ‘plant, tree’ + <i>gin</i> ‘two’ > <i>phaŋgin p<sup>h</sup>rap<sup>h</sup>aŋ</i> ‘two banyan trees’
Kokborok	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ɔɔk-</i> ‘human’ + <i>nui</i> ‘two’ > <i>k<sup>h</sup>ɔɔknui bɔɔk</i> ‘two people’ <i>ma-</i> ‘animal, bird’ + <i>sa</i> ‘one’ > <i>masa tɔk</i> ‘one bird’ <i>p<sup>h</sup>aŋ-</i> ‘plant, tree’ + <i>brui</i> ‘four’ > <i>p<sup>h</sup>aŋbrui t<sup>h</sup>aipoŋ</i> ‘four jackfruit (trees)’
Tiwa	<i>sa-</i> ‘human’ + <i>sa</i> ‘one’ > <i>saza libiŋ</i> ‘one person’ <i>ki-</i> ‘object, non-human animate’ + <i>níŋ</i> ‘two’ > <i>masú kiníŋ</i> ‘two cows’ <i>k<sup>h</sup>en-</i> ‘sheet’ + <i>sa</i> ‘one’ > <i>k<sup>h</sup>ensare</i> ‘one cloth’

Table 1 - Noun classifier CP in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

Among these languages the most endangered variety is Tiwa. The language status is classified under the level 6b *Threatened* in Ethnologue, which means ‘the language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users.’ (Eberhard et al. 2022). Tiwa has almost shifted its numeral system to that of Assamese with the uses of Assamese classifiers suffixes (instead of prefixes as in the Bodo Part) except for some lower numerals as *kifa* ‘one’ and *kiníŋ* ‘two’ which have innate classifier prefix *ki-*. However, the language has recently revived its native numeral system as the standardization of the language has been started in the 2010s through publication of school textbooks such as *Síwantha Láí* (2013) and *Sígai Phûli* (2013) for class-I by State Council of Educational Research and Training (Assam), Education (Elementary) Department of Government of Assam; Tiwa language teaching-learning handbooks such as *Phuwal Labanaŋw Tiwa Matgo* (2013) written by Rimal Amsíh and *Mukhlí: Tiwa Mat Sígiwa Láishap* (2015) published by Tiwa Mathonlai Tokhra (Tiwa Literary Association) and Tiwa Autonomous Council, Marigaon; grammars such as *Tiwa Mat Polôn* (2018) written by Rimal Amsíh and published by Tiwa Autonomous Council, Marigaon, etc. Thus, the phrase *sat-zona libiŋ* ‘seven people’ from Assamese is now standardized as *sa-sin libiŋ* ‘seven people’.

Not only Tiwa, but other tribal languages of North-East India surrounded by other major languages have been much influenced in using the basic vocabularies like kin terms, numerals, names of animals and plants (fruits), adjectives (including colour terms), and adverbs. Hence, the native categorial terms used in the forms of prefixes for plants, animals

(including birds and fishes), etc. are disappearing continuously in the colloquial forms of these languages.

However, classifiers are discussed here in terms of their constructions from their corresponding origins, i.e. nouns; e.g., {*t<sup>h</sup>ar*} is a classifier for ‘fruits and the like’ in Bodo, which itself is a bound noun form that means ‘fruit’, which is used in the language with another categorial prefix {*bi-*} i.e. nominalizing prefix as {*bi-*} + {*t<sup>h</sup>ar*} > *p<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>ar* ‘fruit’. Thus, the formation of classifier prefixes in BP can be shown as below:

- (2) *p<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>ai* ‘fruit’ > {*t<sup>h</sup>ar*} ‘a classifier for fruits and the like’; (Bodo)  
e.g., *t<sup>h</sup>aise nareŋ* ‘one citrus fruit’
- (3) *gaŋ* ‘feather’ > {*gaŋ*} ‘a classifier for feather, wing, leaves and the like’; (Bodo)  
e.g., *gaŋnui ziraŋ* ‘two 10 rupee notes’
- (4) *bidaŋ* ‘bunch’ > {*daŋ*} ‘a classifier for bunch of fruits and the like’; (Bodo)  
e.g., *daŋt<sup>h</sup>am t<sup>h</sup>alir* ‘three bunches of bananas’
- (5) *b.t<sup>h</sup>ar* ‘fruit’ > {*t<sup>h</sup>ar*} ‘a classifier for fruits and the like’; (Dimasa)  
e.g., *t<sup>h</sup>argin t<sup>h</sup>ailik* ‘two bananas (fruits)’
- (6) *bular* ‘leaf’ > {*lar*} ‘a classifier for leaves and the like’; (Kokborok)  
e.g., *laisa raŋ* ‘a note of rupee(s)’
- (7) *p<sup>h</sup>aŋ* ‘tree’ > {*p<sup>h</sup>aŋ*} ‘a classifier for plants’; (Tiwa)  
e.g., *p<sup>h</sup>aŋsa t<sup>h</sup>izugi* ‘one mango tree’

The examples (2) through (7) make it very clear that the classifiers have the same origin from corresponding nouns which may be shown as: NOUN > CLASS NOUNS > CLASSIFIER.

The noun phrases shown in examples (2) through (7) are sometimes used as *t<sup>h</sup>aise nareŋ p<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>ar*, *gaŋnui ziraŋ bilar*, *daŋt<sup>h</sup>am t<sup>h</sup>alir bidaŋ*, *t<sup>h</sup>argin t<sup>h</sup>ailik b.t<sup>h</sup>ar*, *laisa raŋ bular* and *p<sup>h</sup>aŋsa t<sup>h</sup>izugi p<sup>h</sup>aŋ*, where the nouns from which the prefix stems form are repeated at the end of the NP. They are semantically redundant as the classifiers themselves refer to groups of nouns. These can be clearer through English examples together with the BP examples as follows:

- (8) Two mangos > two mango **trees** > *p<sup>h</sup>aŋ-nui t<sup>h</sup>arizuo* (Bodo)  
treeCLF-two mango  
> two mango **fruits** > *t<sup>h</sup>ar-nui t<sup>h</sup>arizuo* (Bodo)  
fruitCLF-two mango

If one says *two mangos*, it may refer to *two mango trees* or *two mango fruits* ambiguously in some varieties of English. In BP, on the other hand, the classifiers themselves refer to the groups of nouns i.e. *tree* and *fruit* in (8). Hence, the nouns *bip<sup>h</sup>aŋ*



and *p<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>ai* are not necessarily used with the NPs *p<sup>h</sup>aŋnuɪ t<sup>h</sup>aɪzwo* and *t<sup>h</sup>amɪɪ t<sup>h</sup>aɪzwo* as *p<sup>h</sup>aŋnuɪ t<sup>h</sup>aɪzwo bip<sup>h</sup>aŋ* and *t<sup>h</sup>amɪɪ t<sup>h</sup>aɪzwo p<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>ai* redundantly. This proves that the classifiers are noun compounding (Burling 1985: 14) with the co-occurring numerals.

Unlike classifier prefixes which co-occur with quantifying numerals indicate shapes, sizes and structures of the referents of the corresponding nouns, the categorial prefixes discussed from the next section (§2.2) section are parts of the derived nouns.

## 2.2 Quadruped mammals

This category is characterized with four-footed, warm-blooded, and vertebrate animal of a class called *mammalia* that is distinguished by the possession of hair or fur, secretion of milk, and typically the birth of live young. The categorial prefix in BP for this category is {*mV-*}. This prefix has different phonetically conditioned allomorphs due to employment of vowel harmony and vowel copy in most cases.

(9)

Bodo	Dimasa	Kokborok	Tiwa
<i>muk<sup>h</sup>ra</i> 'monkey'	<i>maogusa</i> 'monkey'	<i>musuk</i> 'cow'	<i>mɔs</i> 'deer'
<i>muswo</i> 'cattle'	<i>musu</i> 'cattle'	<i>majuŋ</i> 'elephant'	<i>mɛŋɔl</i> 'mongoose'
<i>mɔt<sup>h</sup>am</i> 'otter'	<i>mijuŋ</i> 'elephant'	<i>musa</i> 'tiger'	<i>mis</i> 'buffalo'
<i>muisu</i> 'buffalo'	<i>mitsep</i> 'buffalo'	<i>musuɪ</i> 'deer'	<i>mak<sup>h</sup>ri</i> 'monkey'
<i>muidɛr</i> 'elephant'	<i>mandap</i> 'squirrel'	<i>misib/misip</i> 'buffalo'	<i>mɛfa</i> 'tiger'
<i>mup<sup>h</sup>ur</i> 'bear'	<i>misɔr</i> 'giraffe'	<i>muk<sup>h</sup>ra</i> 'monkey'	<i>musi</i> 'rat'
<i>mui</i> 'deer'	<i>midi</i> 'porcupine'	<i>mandar</i> 'squirrel'	<i>masu</i> 'cattle'
<i>muɖui</i> 'porcupine'	<i>misar</i> 'deer'	<i>masundui</i> 'porcupine'	<i>mɔt<sup>h</sup>al</i> 'squirrel'
<i>musa</i> 'tiger'	<i>mitsi</i> 'tiger'	<i>mera</i> 'sheep'	<i>mijao</i> <sup>4</sup> 'cat'

Table 2 - Quadruped class term CP in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

The mammal class terms CP are cognate in all four languages. Therefore, the question arises where it comes from. The word for animal (quadruped) in Bodo and Dimasa is *mi*, in Kokborok *malmata* and in Tiwa *m.rat* (borrowed from Khasi); i.e. all the terms begin with *m*. This onset consonant derives the names of quadrupeds in these languages. And, as this prefix represents the word for quadrupeds in these languages and co-occur with different respective attributes of quadrupeds, it can be said to be nouns incorporated to the attributes. Therefore, noun compounding is taking place here too. However, almost all the attributes are fossilized nowadays. Therefore, their meanings are very difficult to find out. The meanings of some attributes are still known today, such as the meanings of the attributes of the words for *elephant* is 'big/become big'; that for *cattle* is

<sup>4</sup> It can be considered as a potential outlier from the table as the word seems to be formed through onomatopoeia.

'butt'; etc. Irregular rules are observed in case words like *hadi* 'elephant' which has been borrowed from Assamese and nativized in Tiwa. Again, *mijao*, the word for 'cat' in Tiwa, seems to be a coincidence here as it may be observed that it is formed through onomatopoeia, because the word also indicates the meowing sound of cat.

### 2.3 Body part prefixes

The set of body part categorial prefixes constitute the bulk portion of nominal categorial prefixes in BP. It is a complex set of almost all the fossilized forms of corresponding nouns that consists of more than twenty prefixes which refer to different human, animal and plant parts; e.g., {*a-*}, {*bV-*}, {*mV-*}, {*k<sup>h</sup>-*}, {*jV-*}, {*t<sup>h</sup>V-*}, {*p<sup>h</sup>V-*}, {*hV-*}, {*lV-*}, etc. The categorial prefixes for plant parts are very simple.

#### 2.3.1 Fruits

The names of almost if not all the fruit bearing plants in BP have the prefix which means 'fruit' itself. Examples are shown in Table 3.

(10)

Bodo	Dimasa	Kokborok	Tiwa
<i>t<sup>h</sup>aizuo</i> 'mango'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aizu</i> 'mango'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aitsuk</i> 'mango'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>izugi</i> 'mango'
<i>t<sup>h</sup>ailir</i> 'banana'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ailik</i> 'banana'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ailik</i> 'banana'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>induli</i> 'tamarind'
<i>t<sup>h</sup>aisuri</i> 'hog plum'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aisrú</i> 'hog plum'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aipuŋ</i> 'jackfruit'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>igra</i> 'garcinia pedunculata'
<i>t<sup>h</sup>aigir</i> 'elephant apple'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aip<sup>h</sup>luŋ</i> 'jackfruit'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aip<sup>h</sup>ɔk</i> 'elephant apple'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ibla</i> 'amla (Indian gooseberry)'
<i>t<sup>h</sup>aibeŋ t<sup>h</sup>aisum</i> 'cucumber'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aigundi</i> 'plum'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aira</i> 'coconut'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ilu</i> 'banana'
<i>t<sup>h</sup>aik<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'garcinia pedunculata'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aisum</i> 'melon'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aik<sup>h</sup>ɔk</i> 'cashew'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>isul</i> 'Indian fig tree fruit'
<i>t<sup>h</sup>aisip</i> 'mulberry' (also <i>gɔŋgar t<sup>h</sup>aisip</i> )	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aismuli</i> 'wood apple'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aipɔ</i> 'elephant apple'	
		<i>t<sup>h</sup>aikɔmla</i> 'orange'	

Table 3 - Fruit class term CP in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

The word for fruit in Bodo is *p<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>ai*, in Dimasa is *b.t<sup>h</sup>ai*, in Kokborok is *b.t<sup>h</sup>ai* and in Tiwa is *kut<sup>h</sup>i*. *t<sup>h</sup>ai* is the proto-Bodo-Garo form for *fruit* which takes the nominalizing-cum-3<sup>rd</sup> person possessive categorial prefix \**bV-*. It is seemingly an interesting coincidence that the Tiwa word for *fruit* resembles the proto-Bodo-Garo form but it is borrowed from the Assamese word *guti* 'fruit' and nativized as *kut<sup>h</sup>i*. This indicates that Tiwa borrowed the Assamese word *guti* much before formation and construction of the names of fruits.

However, as observed in the data displayed in the above table, the categorial prefix for *fruits* in BP is \**t<sup>h</sup>ai-* which is a noun referring fruit and hence, it is a process of noun compounding.

#### 2.3.2 Tubers

The names of different tubers in BP start with the prefix \**t<sup>h</sup>a-* that means *tuber*,

*arum* or *potato* and it is identical to the free word referring to the same meaning. Hence, it is also an instance of noun compounding. It does not restrict itself to different kinds of tubers; rather it derives the different plant parts of tubers. Table 4 shows some examples.

(11)

Bodo	Dimasa	Kokborok	Tiwa
<i>t<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'tuber'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'tuber'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'tuber; potato'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'arum'
<i>t<sup>h</sup>asɔ</i> 'arum'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup>ai</i> 'potato'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>amuk<sup>h</sup>i</i> 'taro'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ajasi</i> 'stick yam'
<i>t<sup>h</sup>arun</i> 'big yam root'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>agɔŋ</i> 'arum	<i>t<sup>h</sup>asundra</i> 'a kind of	<i>t<sup>h</sup>asimli</i> 'cassava,
<i>t<sup>h</sup>aguna</i> 'sweet	(plant)'	tuber; potato'	tapioca'
potato'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>amɔŋglar</i> 'sweet	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aseram</i> 'a soft tuber'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>akɔŋ</i> 'edible stem of
<i>t<sup>h</sup>alaot<sup>h</sup>i</i> 'stick yam'	potato'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>arɔndɔk</i> 'a kind of	sweet potato'
<i>t<sup>h</sup>aganda</i> 'air potato'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup>u</i> 'yam'	tuber'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>akut<sup>h</sup>i</i> 'potato'
<i>t<sup>h</sup>asumbli</i> 'cassava,		<i>t<sup>h</sup>anara</i> 'a kind of	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ajɔŋ</i> 'air potato'
tapioca'		tuber'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>h</sup>uri</i> 'small sweet
		<i>t<sup>h</sup>arɔmɔ</i> 'stick yam'	potato'

Table 4 - Tuber body part CP in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

### 2.3.3 Flowers

The names of flowers and flower related objects constitute another set of plant parts that are derived with the categorial prefixes which mean 'flower'. The categorial prefix for flowers in Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa languages is \**k<sup>h</sup>um-*/*k<sup>h</sup>im-*. Examples are shown in Table 5.

(12)

Dimasa	Kokborok	Tiwa
<i>k<sup>h</sup>im</i> 'flower'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>um</i> 'flower'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>um</i> 'flower'
<i>k<sup>h</sup>imdisru</i> 'rose (flower)'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ump<sup>h</sup>ui</i> 'a kind of flower'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>um hɔrdeŋ</i> 'marigold
<i>k<sup>h</sup>imdi</i> 'honey'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ummali</i> 'a kind of flower'	(flower)'
<i>k<sup>h</sup>imdak<sup>h</sup>in</i> 'marigold	<i>k<sup>h</sup>umkɔpi</i> 'cauliflower'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>um kulap</i> 'rose (flower)'
(flower)'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>umkaja</i> 'flower of kaya	<i>k<sup>h</sup>um sɪlut</i> 'shoe flower'
<i>k<sup>h</sup>im zaosa</i> 'hibiscus	tree'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>um p<sup>h</sup>ange</i> 'mint, pudina
(flower)'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>umbari</i> 'flower garden'	plant'
<i>k<sup>h</sup>imlij</i> 'flower garden'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ump<sup>h</sup>riŋ</i> 'pollen'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>umplio</i> 'poinsettia'
<i>k<sup>h</sup>imp<sup>h</sup>aj</i> 'flower plant'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>umruŋk<sup>h</sup>u</i> 'a kind of	<i>k<sup>h</sup>umt<sup>h</sup>rep</i> 'coriander'
<i>k<sup>h</sup>imt<sup>h</sup>ai</i> 'seed of flower'	flower'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>um t<sup>h</sup>isli</i> 'basil, tulsi plant'

Table 5 - Flower CP in Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

The names of flowers in Bodo are formed with the help of a postpositional word *bibar* ‘flower’ which is derived from the verb *bar* ‘bloom’ with another deverbal nominalizing categorial prefix {bV-}. e.g., *t<sup>h</sup>ɔ̃blɔ̃ bibar* ‘lotus’, *p<sup>h</sup>azat<sup>h</sup>i bibar* ‘canna lily’, *daodui bibar* ‘crepe jasmine’, *aozar bibar* ‘queen crepe myrtle flower’, *gɔlab bibar* ‘rose’, etc. Rare instances of this type of formation of names of flowers are found in Dimasa and Kokborok too, but in case of non-garden flowers. e.g., *wabar* ‘bamboo flower’ (Dimasa) and *wabar* ‘paddy flower’ (Kokborok). The equivalent words for *bibar* are available in Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa also, which are *bubar*, *bar* and *par*, respectively. But, there is no word equivalent to *k<sup>h</sup>um/k<sup>h</sup>im* in Bodo. Usually, only several native names of several flowers are found in Bodo; using the Aryan word for flower *p<sup>h</sup>ul* is very frequently found in colloquial Bodo. e.g., *daodui p<sup>h</sup>ul* ‘crepe jasmine’, *san p<sup>h</sup>ul* ‘sunflower’, *gɔlab p<sup>h</sup>ul* ‘rose’, etc.

### 2.3.4 Parts of the hand and the leg

The words for and related to hands and legs start with the prefix \**ja-* in the Bodo Part. No word in Bodo starts with /j/ and hence it is \**a-* in case of Bodo. Another distinction is observed in case of Dimasa where the hand parts start with {*jao-*} and leg parts with {*ja-*}. Examples can be seen in Table 6.

(13)

Bodo	Dimasa	Kokborok	Tiwa
<i>at<sup>h</sup>iŋ</i> ‘leg’	<i>jao</i> ‘hand’	<i>jak</i> ‘hand’	<i>ja</i> ‘hand’
<i>ak<sup>h</sup>ar</i> ‘hand’	<i>jaoda</i> ‘right hand’	<i>jaklap</i> ‘shoe, wooden slippers’	<i>jat<sup>h</sup>ɔ̃ŋ</i> ‘leg’
<i>asi</i> ‘finger’	<i>jaosi</i> ‘left hand’		<i>jasi</i> ‘finger’
<i>ap<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘palm (of foot)’	<i>jaosugur</i> ‘nail (of hand)’	<i>jakɔrar</i> ‘heel, ankle’	<i>jaskur</i> ‘nail’
<i>adui</i> ‘calf’	<i>jaotsima</i> ‘thumb’	<i>jaksi</i> ‘left’	<i>ant<sup>h</sup>u</i> ‘knee’
<i>ak<sup>h</sup>ant<sup>h</sup>i</i> ‘elbow’	<i>jap<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘leg’	<i>jagrajak</i> ‘right’	<i>jat<sup>h</sup>ɔ̃ŋ kɔdɔ</i> ‘ankle’
<i>(h)ant<sup>h</sup>u</i> ‘knee’	<i>jap<sup>h</sup>ɔ̃ŋ</i> ‘thigh’	<i>japar</i> ‘footprint, vestige’	<i>jat<sup>h</sup>ɔ̃ŋ tɔp</i> ‘calf’
<i>agda</i> ‘right’	<i>jatsugu</i> ‘knee’	<i>jakuŋ</i> ‘leg’	<i>jap<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘palm’
<i>aksi</i> ‘left’	<i>jasugur</i> ‘nail (of foot)’	<i>jasi</i> ‘finger’	<i>jak<sup>h</sup>ui</i> ‘arm’
<i>agan</i> ‘footprint’	<i>jatsima</i> ‘great toe’	<i>jasiku</i> ‘nail’	<i>jap<sup>h</sup>li</i> ‘footprint’

Table 6 - Hand body part prefixes in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

### 2.3.5 Parts of the head and the neck

The categorial prefix *k<sup>h</sup>V-/gV-* forms the noun compounds that express the parts of the head and neck (and the words related to them). Many examples are available as displayed below, to prove that this velar prefix is a categorial prefix, as seen in Table 7.

(14)

Bodo	Dimasa	Kokborok	Tiwa
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<i>k<sup>h</sup>ɔɾɔ</i> 'head'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>.ɾɔ</i> 'head'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ɔɾɔk</i> 'head'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>abal</i> 'head'
<i>k<sup>h</sup>uma</i> 'ear'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>.nar</i> 'hair'	<i>kuwal</i> 'forehead'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ini</i> 'hair'
<i>k<sup>h</sup>uga</i> 'mouth'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>.mao</i> 'ear'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>angar</i> 'cheek'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>uzur</i> 'lip'
<i>k<sup>h</sup>anar</i> 'hair'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>anj<sup>h</sup>u</i> 'chin'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>uktsur</i> 'lip'	<i>kuŋ</i> 'nose'
<i>k<sup>h</sup>aolar</i> 'cheek'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>udi</i> 'saliva'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>walar/k<sup>h</sup>ɔlar</i> 'chin'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>u</i> 'mouth; beak'
<i>gust<sup>h</sup>i</i> 'lip'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>uzer</i> 'lip'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>unzu/k<sup>h</sup>umtsɔr</i> 'ear'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>u t<sup>h</sup>agur</i> 'chin'
<i>gɔnt<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ</i> 'nose'	<i>gɔrna</i> 'neck'	<i>kɔɔk</i> 'neck'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>anzur</i> 'ear'
<i>gunt<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>h</sup>ri</i> 'beak'	<i>gɔdɔ</i> 'throat'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>.nar</i> 'hair'	<i>kɔdɔ</i> 'neck; throat'
<i>guwana</i> 'neck'	<i>guŋdi</i> 'snot'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>uktur</i> 'saliva'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>udi</i> 'saliva'
<i>garama</i> 'throat'	<i>guŋdzu</i> 'tip of the nose'	<i>kuŋ</i> 'nose'	<i>kunt<sup>h</sup>ri</i> 'snout'
	<i>guŋk<sup>h</sup>i</i> 'nosebleed'		

Table 7 - Head body part prefixes in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

Several terms in this category are bound roots and they cannot stand alone as free words, hence, they take another prefix called nominalizing categorial prefix. For example: *buguŋ* 'nose' (Dimasa), *buk<sup>h</sup>u* 'mouth' (Dimasa), *buk<sup>h</sup>uk* 'mouth' (Kokborok) and *bɔk<sup>h</sup>ɔɾɔk* 'head' (Kokborok).

Another observation is that both voiced and voiceless velar prefixes occur in Bodo and Dimasa whereas only voiceless velar prefixes occur in Kokborok and Tiwa. In case of Bodo and Dimasa, most body parts related to the neck start with the voiced velar prefix. The case in Tiwa is very clear as no native word in Tiwa begins with a voiced stop.

### 2.3.6 Parts of the eye

The words for the eye and its parts are derived with the prefix \**mV*- which is also the bound root that has the meaning 'eye' (\**mik* in proto-TB). The prefix co-occurs with different roots to derive compound words related to *eye*. The roots *mu*, *mɔkɔl* and *mɔ* in Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa respectively, do not change when they derive their related nouns; but if the root is in bound form *mV* (particularly in Bodo and Kokborok) it undergoes changes due to the employment of vowel harmony. Such examples are shown in Table 8.

(15)

Bodo	Dimasa	Kokborok	Tiwa
<i>megɔn</i> 'eye'	<i>mut<sup>h</sup>ar</i> 'eye'	<i>mɔkɔl</i> 'eye'	<i>mɔ</i> 'eye'
<i>musugur</i> 'eyebrow'	<i>mudi</i> 'tear'	<i>mɔkɔlbɔri</i> 'eyebrow'	<i>mɔk<sup>h</sup>e</i> 'eye-matter'
<i>muwai</i> 'tear'	<i>mugur</i> 'eyelid'	<i>mɔkɔl bukur</i> 'eyelid'	<i>mɔt<sup>h</sup>ɾɔm</i> 'eyebrow;
<i>muik<sup>h</sup>i</i> 'eye-matter'	<i>muk<sup>h</sup>i</i> 'eye-matter'	<i>muktɔksa</i> 'eyeball'	eyelash'
<i>megɔn bilar</i> 'eyelid'	<i>mugrɔŋ</i> 'eyeball'	<i>muktur</i> 'tear'	<i>mɔkur</i> 'eyelid'

Table 8 - Eye body part prefixes in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

Apart from the above body part categorial prefixes, there are several more body part prefixes such as \**u-* ‘belly’; e.g., *udui* ‘belly’, *uk<sup>h</sup>ui* ‘become hungry’, *ut<sup>h</sup>umar* ‘belly button’; \**bV-* e.g., *bik<sup>h</sup>a* ‘chest, liver’, *bik<sup>h</sup>uŋ* ‘back’, *bigur* ‘skin’, *bit<sup>h</sup>ui* ‘cooked blood’; \**IV-* e.g., *ludui* ‘penis’, *lanzai* ‘tail’ (all examples are from Bodo). But, it is not that convenient to generalize and categorize them interlingually.

### 2.3.7 Land/Soil

The categorial prefix in this category is \**ha-* (Wood 2008: 67) which is identical to the word *ha* ‘soil, land, Earth’. Generally, it derives words for different parts of the Earth, soil or land, which are very closely related to them. But, it also derives a few words which are indirectly related to *ha*. e.g., the word *haba* that means ‘wedding’ in Bodo and ‘work, working place’ in Kokborok. Again, the word *habanɔk* in Kokborok is extended to mean ‘office’. The word *haba* in Bodo is used as an extended metaphor; literally it means ‘carrying the land, soil or the Earth on the back’ which is conceptualized as taking up a great responsibility that is equivalent to enter a marriage. Another couple of interesting instances in the following set of words are *haran* and *halɔr* in Tiwa. Here, the word *ha* ‘has its connotative meaning ‘season’. Therefore, when it co-occurs with *ran* ‘dry’, it derives the word for ‘dry season’ which is ‘winter’, when it co-occurs with *lɔr* ‘wet’, it derives the word for ‘wet season’ which is ‘spring’.

(16)

Bodo	Dimasa	Kokborok	Tiwa
<i>hadurma</i> ‘continent’	<i>hak<sup>h</sup>li</i> ‘courtyard’ <i>hadzik</i> ‘hill’	<i>haba</i> ‘work, working place’	<i>hamul</i> ‘continent’ <i>haba</i> ‘jhum field’
<i>hasib</i> ‘soft broom’	<i>hazen</i> ‘sand’	<i>hatsiŋ</i> ‘sand’	<i>haran</i> ‘winter’
<i>hadab</i> ‘kingdom’	<i>hat<sup>h</sup>ar</i> ‘hillok’	<i>habanɔk</i> ‘office’	<i>halɔr</i> ‘spring’
<i>hadur</i> ‘country’	<i>hasao</i> ‘hilly area’	<i>haduk</i> ‘road, path, way’	<i>haziŋ</i> ‘ginger’
<i>haba</i> ‘wedding’	<i>hatsim</i> ‘black soil’	<i>hadlur</i> ‘dust’	<i>hadzu</i> ‘hill, mountain’
<i>habru</i> ‘mud’	<i>hat<sup>h</sup>an</i> ‘venue; place’	<i>hapek</i> ‘clay’	<i>haduli</i> ‘dust’
<i>halam</i> ‘area, region’	<i>haduri</i> ‘dust’	<i>hap<sup>h</sup>ar</i> ‘plane land’	<i>hagri</i> ‘old jhum field’
<i>hat<sup>h</sup>ar</i> ‘market’	<i>hagɔŋ</i> ‘dry land’	<i>hap<sup>h</sup>arkɔk</i> ‘geography’	<i>haduŋ</i> ‘clod’
<i>hadan</i> ‘new land’		<i>hajam</i> ‘landlord’	
<i>hadri</i> ‘dust’			

Table 9 - Earth element (soil) prefixes in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

### 2.3.8 Water/Liquid

The words for *water* in Bodo and Dimasa are *dui* and *di* respectively while the words for it are *tui* and *ti* in Kokborok and Tiwa. These respective words occur as prefixes to derive a group of words in these languages related to water, seen in Table 10.

(17)

Bodo	Dimasa	Kokborok	Tiwa
<i>duima</i> 'river'	<i>dilimba</i> 'flood'	<i>tuima</i> 'river'	<i>tiban</i> 'flood'
<i>duizij</i> 'river bank; Doijing festival (recent)'	<i>dimasa</i> 'Dimasa, son of the great river'	<i>tuimuk</i> 'fountain'	<i>tigar</i> 'urine'
<i>dwik<sup>h</sup>ɔr</i> 'well'	<i>dik<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ</i> 'river'	<i>tuɪsluŋ</i> 'canal'	<i>tigrum</i> 'waterfall'
<i>duisraŋ</i> 'transparent'	<i>dibrɔm</i> 'waterfall'	<i>tuɪsuŋ</i> 'riverbank'	<i>tilum</i> 'watery'
<i>duilao</i> 'watery'	<i>dik<sup>h</sup>ɔr</i> 'well'	<i>tuɪtɔr</i> 'flood'	<i>titsara</i> 'spring'
<i>duizlaŋ</i> 'rainy season'	<i>dip<sup>h</sup>u</i> 'white water'	<i>tuɪtuk</i> 'kettle'	<i>tik<sup>h</sup>azɔn</i> 'refreshing water'
<i>duibana</i> 'flood'	<i>dilam</i> 'stream'	lake'	<i>tik<sup>h</sup>at</i> 'water source'

Table 10 - Earth element (water) prefixes in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

## 2.4 Genus prefixes

*Genus* is one of the eight principal taxonomic categories, which ranks above *species* and below *family*; it is a class of living beings which have common characteristics, and which can be divided into its subordinate types. There are genera in the Bodo Part such as *fishes, birds, paddies, citruses*, etc. that take genus categorial prefixes to derive the names of their subordinate types.

### 2.4.1 Fishes

The names of fishes in the Bodo Part of languages start with the prefix *\*na-/\*ŋa-/\*a-* that means 'fish'. *na* is the independent word for fish in Bodo and Dimasa whereas, *a* and *ŋa* are the words for it in Kokborok and Tiwa, respectively. Apart from the fish names, fish related objects are also derived from the respective prefixes in these languages. These prefixes occur as noun compounding with the species names of the fishes, some of which are bound roots. In case of Dimasa and Kokborok, it is always found to be co-occurring as a prefix; in case of Tiwa it always co-occurs with the species names as a preposition; whereas in Bodo, it depends on the number of syllable(s) in the species names, i.e. when the species names have only one syllable the categorial prefix co-occurs as a prefix, elsewhere, it co-occurs as a preposition as seen in Table 11.

(18)

Bodo	Dimasa	Kokborok	Tiwa
<i>na guri</i> 'goroi fish'	<i>naram</i> 'goroi fish'	<i>ajuŋ</i> 'dolphin'	<i>ŋa pali</i> 'sand loach'
<i>na bami</i> 'eel'	<i>namna</i> 'mud eel'	<i>akraŋ</i> 'fin'	
<i>nap<sup>h</sup>am</i> 'fermented fish'	<i>nap<sup>h</sup>lam</i> 'fermented fish'	<i>amar</i> 'fish curry'	<i>ŋaɔrlɔŋ</i> 'stone loach'
<i>na barli</i> 'great white sheatfish'	<i>nat<sup>h</sup>ao</i> 'fish oil'	fish'	<i>ŋa fagu</i> 'shark'
<i>nat<sup>h</sup>ur</i> 'shrimp'	<i>nasa</i> 'young fish'	<i>ahɔla</i> 'a kind of fish'	<i>ŋa pere</i> 'tadpole'
	<i>nadaodi</i> 'puffer fish'	<i>amɔkɔl</i> 'eye-shaped'	<i>ŋanɔr</i> 'giant eel'

<i>nasrai</i> 'seng/murrel fish'	fish' <i>araj</i> 'a kind of fish'	<i>ŋa wel</i> 'whale'
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Table 11 - Fish genus CP in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

### 2.4.2 Birds

The genus names of birds in the Bodo Part usually go with the species names (usually bound roots) to derive the complete names of the birds. The word for *bird* in Bodo and Dimasa is *dao* whereas *tək* and *tú* are the words for *bird* in Kokborok and Tiwa, respectively. These words co-occur as prefixes and prepositions with the respective species names depending on their syllable counts; if the species names are monosyllabic the genus name i.e. the word for bird co-occurs as a prefix, else, as a preposition. In the case of Kokborok again, the categorial prefix co-occurs as a prefix regardless of the number of syllables in the species names. It is very clear in this category that the genus categorial prefixes are the identical forms of the respective genus names which are nouns and incorporate to the bases referring the corresponding species. As it is observed in other categories of nominals, the species names are usually nouns, adjectives, verbs, and onomatopoeic sounds. Examples are shown in Table 12.

(19)

Bodo	Dimasa	Kokborok	Tiwa
<i>daobɔ</i> 'egret'	<i>daoblip</i>	<i>təka</i> 'kingfisher'	<i>tup<sup>h</sup>run</i> 'chestnut-tailed starling'
<i>daot<sup>h</sup>u</i> 'dove'	'nightingale'	<i>təkba</i> 'owl'	
<i>daosri</i> 'common myna'	<i>daobɔga</i> 'heron'	<i>təkɔlək</i> 'stork'	<i>tupigin</i> 'grey-bellied cuckoo'
<i>daok<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'crow'	<i>daodairɔ</i> 'peacock'	<i>tək<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'crow'	<i>tubri</i> 'red jungle fowl'
<i>daobɛŋga</i> 'kingfisher'	<i>daok<sup>h</sup>u</i> 'owl'	<i>təkzɯk</i> 'she- bird'	<i>tupfiŋ</i> 'white wagtail'
<i>daorai</i> 'peacock'	<i>daosari</i> 'common myna'	<i>təkrai</i> 'peacock'	<i>tut<sup>h</sup>u</i> 'pigeon'
<i>daosen</i> 'white wagtail'	<i>daop<sup>h</sup>ri</i> 'pigeon'	<i>tək<sup>h</sup>u</i> 'dove'	<i>tup<sup>h</sup>agɔr</i> 'common iora'
		<i>təkma</i> 'mother bird'	<i>turu</i> 'wildfowl' <i>tulij</i> 'eagle'

Table 12 - Bird genus CP in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

### 2.4.3 Paddies

The BP native names of paddies have become out of fashion and even extinct during the last few decades due to emergence of hybridized species of paddies since 1990s, which replaced almost all the traditional species of paddies. Apart from a couple of species such as *sticky rice* and *scented rice*, almost all the other species disappeared. There are many names related to paddies in BP that start with the prefix \**mai*- that is identical to the word *mar* 'paddy'.



(20)

Bodo	Dimasa	Kokborok	Tiwa
<i>masali</i> 'winter rice'	<i>maidzu</i> 'scented rice'	<i>maip<sup>h</sup>er</i> 'flattened rice'	<i>maik<sup>h</sup>ara</i> 'a kind of paddy'
<i>maicɔŋ</i> 'husked rice'	<i>maibreŋt<sup>h</sup>u</i> 'rice brewing pot'	<i>maibar</i> 'paddy flower'	<i>maiprɔn</i> 'a kind of paddy'
<i>maibra</i> 'sticky rice'	<i>m.k<sup>h</sup>am</i> 'cooked rice'	<i>maicuŋ</i> 'husked rice'	<i>maitalao</i> 'a kind of paddy'
<i>maima</i> 'summer rice'		<i>maikisi</i> 'cooked rice'	

Table 13 - Paddy/Rice genus CP in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

#### 2.4.4 Citruses

The BP native species names for citruses also start with a certain categorial prefix that differs from language to language. It is not found in Kokborok.

(21)

Bodo	Dimasa	Tiwa
<i>nareŋ zumbra</i> 'pomelo'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aisa</i> 'lemon, lime'	<i>tsɔrja k<sup>h</sup>riwa</i> 'lemon, lime'
<i>nareŋ k<sup>h</sup>ɔmbla</i> 'orange'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aisa gidi</i> 'a kind of sweet lime'	<i>tsɔrja tiwa</i> 'orange'
<i>nareŋ k<sup>h</sup>arzi</i> 'Assam lemon'		
<i>nareŋ zara</i> 'citrus jambhiri'	<i>taisa hɔzɔ</i> 'wild lime'	
<i>nareŋ asigur</i> 'scented lemon'	<i>taisa zamber</i> 'pomelo'	
	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aisa jasgur</i> 'lime (scented)'	

Table 14 - Citrus genus CP in Bodo, Dimasa and Tiwa

### 2.5 Person possessive prefixes

Person possessive categorial prefixes are most frequently used with kinship terms. They also occur with general or describing kinship terms (ref. § 2.5.3). The concerned root nouns are dependent in most cases on the categorial prefixes.

#### 2.5.1 1<sup>st</sup> person prefixes

First person singular pronoun *aŋ* 'I' is used as the 1<sup>st</sup> person categorial prefix in BP, which has two different phonetically conditioned allomorphs {*a*-} and {*aŋ*-}. It always occurs with address kinship terms. For example:

(22)

Bodo	{ <i>a</i> -} + { <i>p<sup>h</sup>a</i> } 'father' > <i>ap<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'my father'
	{ <i>a</i> -} + { <i>da</i> } 'elder brother' > <i>ada</i> 'my elder brother'

	{aŋ-} + {bui} ‘grandmother’ > <i>abuui</i> ‘my grandmother’
Dimasa	{aŋ-} + {bi} ‘sister’ > <i>abi</i> ‘my sister’ {aŋ-} + {duŋ} ‘younger brother’ > <i>aduŋ</i> ‘my younger brother’ {aŋ-} + {ma} ‘mother’ > <i>ama</i> ‘my mother’
Kokborok	{a-} + {ma} ‘mother’ > <i>ama</i> ‘my mother’ {a-} + {ta} ‘elder brother’ > <i>ata</i> ‘my elder brother’ {a-} + {bi} ‘elder sister’ > <i>abi</i> ‘my elder sister’
Tiwa	{aŋ-} + {zɔ} ‘grandfather’ > <i>azɔ</i> ‘my grandfather’ {aŋ-} + {si} ‘mother’s younger sister, father’s younger brother’s wife’ > <i>asi</i> ‘my mother’s younger sister, my father’s younger brother’s wife’ {aŋ-} + {bi} ‘grandmother’ > <i>abi</i> ‘my grandmother’

Table 15 - 1<sup>st</sup> person possessive CP in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

### 2.5.2 2<sup>nd</sup> person possessive prefixes

The second personal singular pronoun *nunŋ* in Bodo and Kokborok and *nij* in Dimasa are used as categorial prefixes which have different phonetically conditioned allomorphs {*nunŋ-*}, {*num-*}, {*nur-*}, {*n(ə)-*} and {*nij-*}, whereas the possessive form *ne* of the second personal pronoun *na* is used in Tiwa. They occur with reference kinship terms. For examples:

(23)

Bodo	{ <i>nunŋ-</i> } + { <i>t<sup>h</sup>ui</i> } ‘father’s younger brother, mother’s younger sister’s husband’ = <i>nunŋt<sup>h</sup>ui</i> ‘your father’s younger brother, your mother’s younger sister’s husband’ { <i>nunŋ-</i> } + { <i>p<sup>h</sup>a</i> } ‘father’ = <i>nump<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘your father’ { <i>nunŋ-</i> } + { <i>madui</i> } ‘mother’s younger sister, father’s younger brother’s wife’ = <i>numadui</i> ‘your mother’s younger sister, your father’s younger brother’s wife’
Dimasa	{ <i>nij-</i> } + { <i>ma</i> } ‘mother’ = <i>nəma</i> ~ <i>n.ma</i> ‘your mother’ { <i>nij-</i> } + { <i>gmi</i> } ‘brother-in-law’ = <i>nigmi</i> ‘your brother-in-law’ { <i>nij-</i> } + { <i>da</i> } ‘elder brother’ = <i>nəda</i> ~ <i>n.da</i> ‘your elder brother’
Kokborok	{ <i>nunŋ-</i> } + { <i>mama</i> } ‘mother’s brother’ = <i>numama</i> ‘your mother’s younger brother’ { <i>nunŋ-</i> } + { <i>tsui</i> } ‘grandmother’ = <i>nutsui</i> ‘your grandmother’ { <i>nunŋ-</i> } + { <i>bajuŋ</i> } ‘nephew’ > <i>nubajuŋ</i> ‘your nephew’
Tiwa	{ <i>na-</i> } + { <i>ma</i> } ‘mother’ = <i>nema</i> ‘your mother’ { <i>na-</i> } + { <i>p<sup>h</sup>a</i> } ‘father’ = <i>nep<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘your father’

Table 16 - 2<sup>nd</sup> person possessive CP in Bodo, Dimasa and Kokborok

2.5.3 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessive prefixes

Third personal singular number pronoun prefixes- {*bi-/p<sup>hi</sup>-*} (Bodo), {*bi-/ba-/b(ə)-*} (Dimasa) and {*bu-/bi-/bu-*} (Kokborok) which are phonetically conditioned, most frequently co-occur with general kinship terms. This bilabial prefix is responsible for deriving general kinship terms from bound root forms that refer to kin terms; e.g., *bima* ‘mother’ (Bodo) where the bound root *ma* takes the prefix *bi-* to form the reference or describing term *bima*. This prefix has the underlying form \**bV-* which has another form \**p<sup>h</sup>V-*, particularly in Bodo, as consonant harmony is employed in this language. For examples:

(24)

Bodo	{ <i>bi-</i> } + { <i>bɔ</i> } ‘elder sister’ > <i>bibɔ</i> ‘his/her elder sister’ { <i>bi-</i> } + { <i>bazui</i> } ‘sister-in-law’ > <i>bibazui</i> ‘his/her sister-in-law’ { <i>bi-</i> } + { <i>gumui</i> } ‘brother-in-law’ > <i>bigumui</i> ‘his/her brother-in-law’ { <i>p<sup>hi</sup>-</i> } + { <i>p<sup>h</sup>a</i> } ‘father’ > <i>p<sup>hi</sup>p<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘his/her father’ { <i>p<sup>hi</sup>-</i> } + { <i>sai</i> } ‘husband’ > <i>p<sup>hi</sup>sai</i> ‘his/her husband’
Dimasa	{ <i>bɔ</i> } + { <i>hi</i> } ‘wife’ > <i>bihi</i> ‘his wife’ { <i>bɔ</i> } + { <i>hao</i> } ‘father-in-law’ > <i>bahao</i> ‘his/her father-in-law’ { <i>bɔ</i> } + { <i>ma</i> } ‘mother’ > <i>buma</i> ‘his/her mother’ { <i>ba-</i> } + { <i>hao</i> } ‘father-in-law’ > <i>bahao</i> ‘his/her father-in-law’ { <i>bə-</i> } + { <i>sai</i> } ‘husband’ > <i>bə.sai</i> ‘his/her husband’
Kokborok	{ <i>bu-</i> } + <i>sazuik</i> ‘daughter’ > <i>busazuik</i> ‘his/her daughter’ { <i>bi-</i> } + <i>hik</i> ‘wife’ > <i>bihik</i> ‘his/her wife’ { <i>bu-</i> } + { <i>s.la</i> } ‘son’ > <i>bu.s.la</i> ‘his/her son’ { <i>bu-</i> } + { <i>ta</i> } ‘brother’ > <i>buta</i> ‘his/her brother (elder)’ { <i>bu-</i> } + <i>ma</i> ‘mother’ > <i>buma</i> ‘his/her mother’ { <i>bu-</i> } + { <i>suk</i> } ‘grandchild’ > <i>busuk</i> ‘his/her grandchild’

Table 17 - 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessive CP in Bodo, Dimasa and Kokborok

As said in §2.1, one of the Assamese linguistic influences on Tiwa is observed in kinship terms. For example, the terms *paba* ‘father’, *k<sup>h</sup>ar* ‘elder brother’ and *par* ‘elder sister’ are borrowed from Assamese. It is very difficult to conclude that Tiwa employs person possessive categorial prefixes as it has been losing these prefixes. It’s worth mentioning here that the general kinship terms in BP are bound in nature such as \**ta/da* ‘elder brother’, \**p<sup>h</sup>a/ba* ‘father’, \**sa* ‘son/daughter’, etc. In address terms, 1<sup>st</sup> person possessive categorial prefixes co-occur with them. Whereas, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessive categorial prefixes co-occur with them in reference terms. In case of Tiwa, person possessive categorial prefixes are found in address terms. However, they are hardly found in 2<sup>nd</sup> personal reference terms whereas 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessive categorial prefixes are presently not found at all. Thus, most of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> personal reference terms are formed as *ne* ‘your’ + *a-jɔŋ* ‘(my-) aunt (mother’s elder sister/father’s elder brother)’ = *neajɔŋ* ‘your aunt (mother’s elder

sister/father's elder brother)', *pe-ne* 's/he-GEN' + *a-jɔŋ* '(my-) aunt (mother's elder sister/father's elder brother)' = *peneajɔŋ* 'his/her aunt (mother's elder sister/father's elder brother)', *pe-ne* 's/he-GEN' + *a-si'* '(my-) aunt (mother's younger sister)', etc.

## 2.6 Nominalizing prefixes

This categorial prefix is either identical or similar to the 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessive categorial bilabial prefix \**b(V)-*/\**p(V)-*. The difference between these two types of categorial prefixes is that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessive categorial prefix usually derives reference kin terms from different kinship bases which are bound in nature; whereas the nominalizing categorial prefix co-occurs with non-kinship nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and postpositions to derive nouns. For example:

(25)

Bodo	{ <i>bi-</i> } + { <i>t<sup>h</sup>iŋ</i> } 'towards' > <i>bit<sup>h</sup>iŋ</i> 'direction' { <i>bi-</i> } + { <i>t<sup>h</sup>uun</i> } 'ask, order' > <i>bit<sup>h</sup>uun</i> 'order' { <i>bi-</i> } + { <i>lai</i> } 'leaf' > <i>bilar</i> 'leaf' { <i>bi-</i> } + { <i>t<sup>h</sup>ar</i> } 'fruit' > <i>p<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>ar</i> 'fruit'
Dimasa	{ <i>b(V)-</i> } + { <i>lai</i> } 'leaf' > <i>b.lai</i> 'leaf' { <i>b(V)-</i> } + { <i>dep</i> } 'branch, bough' > <i>bedep</i> 'branch, bough' { <i>b(V)-</i> } + { <i>t<sup>h</sup>ar</i> } 'fruit' > <i>b.t<sup>h</sup>ar</i> 'fruit'
Kokborok	{ <i>bu-</i> } + { <i>muŋ</i> } 'name' > <i>bumuŋ</i> 'title; surname' { <i>bɔ-</i> } + { <i>paŋ</i> } 'plant' > <i>bɔp<sup>h</sup>aŋ</i> 'plant, tree' { <i>bu-</i> } + { <i>s.lai</i> } 'tongue' > <i>bus.lai</i> 'tongue'
Tiwa	{ <i>pi-</i> } + { <i>ca</i> } 'small' > <i>pica</i> 'young, child' { <i>pi-</i> } + { <i>t<sup>h</sup>a</i> } 'stay, reside' > <i>pit<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'base area of a house or any foundation'

Table 18 - Nominalizing CP in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

## 2.7 Adjectivizer prefixes

The adjectivizer velar prefix (AVP) occurs with intransitive verbs to derive adjectives of colour, taste and quality in the BP languages. It has been included here as one of the categorial prefixes as it derives a considerable category of adjectives in BP. For examples:

(26)

Bodo	(a) { <i>gV-</i> } 'AVP' + <i>muun</i> 'ripen' > <i>gumuun</i> 'ripen' (b) { <i>gV-</i> } 'AVP' + <i>ham</i> 'cure' > <i>gaham</i> 'well, good' (c) { <i>gV-</i> } 'AVP' + <i>t<sup>h</sup>aŋ</i> 'live, liven' > <i>gut<sup>h</sup>aŋ</i> 'green, alive, row' (d) { <i>gV-</i> } 'AVP' + <i>t<sup>h</sup>ao</i> 'taste (v)' > <i>gut<sup>h</sup>ao</i> 'tasty' (e) { <i>gV-</i> } 'AVP' + <i>p<sup>h</sup>ur</i> 'whiten' > <i>gup<sup>h</sup>ur</i> 'white' (f) { <i>gV-</i> } 'AVP' + <i>rumu</i> 'yellow (v)' > <i>gumu</i> 'yellow (adj)'
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Dimasa	(g) {gV-} 'AVP' + {zao} 'red' > <i>gazao</i> ~ <i>gəzao</i> ~ <i>gzao</i> 'red' (h) {gV-} 'AVP' + {rumu} 'yellow (v)' > <i>gurmu</i> 'yellow (adj)' (i) {gV-} 'AVP' + {k <sup>h</sup> raŋ} 'live, liven' > <i>gək<sup>h</sup>raŋ</i> ~ <i>gk<sup>h</sup>raŋ</i> 'green' (j) {gV-} 'AVP' + {duŋ} 'become hot' > <i>guduŋ</i> 'hot' (k) {gV-} 'AVP' + {k <sup>h</sup> a} 'become bitter' > <i>guk<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'bitter' (l) {gV-} 'AVP' + {ra} 'mature (v)' > <i>gra</i> 'old (animate)'
Kokborok	(m) {kV-} 'AVP' + <i>p<sup>h</sup>e/p<sup>h</sup>ek</i> 'intoxicate' > <i>kep<sup>h</sup>e/kep<sup>h</sup>ek</i> 'intoxicated; drunk' (n) {kV-} 'AVP' + <i>ler</i> 'late (adv)' > <i>keler/k.le(r)</i> 'late (adj)' (n) {kV-} 'AVP' + {pleŋ} 'become straight' > <i>kepleŋ</i> 'straight' (n) {kV-} 'AVP' + <i>si</i> 'get wet' > <i>kisi</i> 'wet' (o) {kV-} 'AVP' + <i>bar</i> 'beak <sub>vi</sub> ' > <i>kubar</i> 'broken'
Tiwa	(p) {k <sup>h</sup> V-} 'AVP' + {sɔm} 'blacken' > <i>k<sup>h</sup>ɔzɔm</i> 'black' (q) {kV-} 'AVP' + {sa} 'red' > <i>kɔza</i> 'red' (r) {k <sup>h</sup> V-} 'AVP' + <i>taŋ</i> 'live, liven' > <i>k<sup>h</sup>ɔdaŋ</i> 'green, alive, row' (s) {kV-} 'AVP' + {sam} 'become old' > <i>kɔzam</i> 'old (inanimate)' (t) {kV-} 'AVP' + <i>ran</i> 'dry (v)' > <i>k.ran</i> 'dry (adj)'

Table 19 - Adjectivizer CP in Bodo, Dimasa, Kokborok and Tiwa

The occurrence of adjectivizer categorial prefix {k<sup>h</sup>V-}/{kV-} in Tiwa is disappearing as the language is influenced so much by the neighbouring Assamese language. Only several examples are found across the language in the formation of colour terms and adjectives of quality.

### 3 Conclusion

Noun and numeral categorial prefixes are found that the prefixes bound to the free noun roots are of an inflectional nature whereas the bilabial nominalizing prefixes and the velar adjectivizer prefixes are derivational. Synchronically, all categorial prefixes are derivational; but the diachronic process of participation of different categories or groups of nouns makes it clear that it evolved through noun compounding. However, as some of the free nouns on which the categorial prefixes are based upon, it is difficult to prove their origins as nouns.

Among the nominal categorial prefixes, classifiers show a kind of agreement in syntax level in BP and hence they are also considered to be inflectional in nature. But, this agreement is exhibited within NPs only; it has nothing to do with any of its inflectional phrases or super-ordinates.

When the co-occurring attributes of the nouns are disyllabic or longer, then the categorial prefixes occur as separate words, e.g. *sa t<sup>h</sup>amzi* 'thirty (people)' (Bodo), *t<sup>h</sup>a simli* 'cassava, tapioca' (Tiwa), etc.

Occurrences of double categorial prefixes are also observed in these languages. e.g., *bɔ.k<sup>h</sup>ɔ.rɔk* 'head' (Kokborok), *bɔ.k<sup>h</sup>ao.lar* 'cheek' (Dimasa), *bu.guŋ.t<sup>h</sup>ɔrar* 'bone of nose' (Dimasa), etc.

The sets of vocabulary that employ categorial prefixes in the BP languages are

found to be prominent in Dimasa and Kokborok languages among the four languages discussed here. The Bodo language was introduced as a medium in the schools of Bodo dominated areas of Assam on 18 May 1963. This implementation resulted in plenty of Assamese words coming into Bodo while preparing school material in a hurry. This legacy had found a way where considerable Bodo native words have been replaced by loanwords. On the other hand, more than 80% of Tiwa population has shifted linguistically into Assamese which has resulted in a lot of borrowings from Assamese to Tiwa.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

CP	category prefix	NEG	negative
PL	plural	SG	singular
V	vowel		

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