

# **Garo Morphology: A Descriptive Analysis**

## **ABSTRACT**

**Angela R. Wa-tre Ingty**



**Department of English  
North-Eastern Hill University  
Tura Campus  
Tura 794 002**

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Thesis

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **GARO MORPHOLOGY: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS**

This thesis is an attempt at a Morphological description of the Garo Language. It is a Descriptive Analysis of the language.

Garo is a language spoken by people living in the Garo Hills in the western part of Meghalaya, mainly in the three districts of East Garo Hills, West Garo Hills and South Garo Hills. Its speakers are however also found in some districts of Assam, adjacent to Meghalaya namely, Kamrup and Goalpara as well as in distant places, such as Nowgong, Sibsagar, Dibrugarh and Karbi Anglong. They are also found in other parts of North East India, as well as the northern part of West Bengal, stretching from Koch Bihar and Jalpaiguri in the west and going on to Bangladesh in the south-east and south. Their main home however is the Garo Hills.

Garo belongs to the Bodo group in the Tibeto-Burman family of languages, which in turn is one of the two main branches of the Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto –Chinese Speech Family.<sup>1</sup>

The history of the arrival of the mongoloid groups of people into India is not known, but it is supposed to be as old as that of the Aryans in the west,

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<sup>1</sup> Grierson, G.A., *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 68.

during some period before 1000 B.C. There are interesting traditions prevalent among the various tribes recounting the story of their migration. They trace their origin from the Tibeto-Burman race of the Tibeto-Chinese family of North West China, the area that lies between the upper waters of the Yang-tse-kiang and the Hwang-ho.<sup>2</sup>

The Bodos once formed a predominant section in the population of the North Eastern region and had even established powerful kingdoms, till they were superceded by other races. According to the scholars P.C. Bhattacharya and Robbins Burling, Garo and Bodo separated from each other about 2000 years ago from an ancestral common language. This was found out by a glotto lexical statistic or glotto chronological count of Bodo and Garo.<sup>3</sup> The other languages belonging to this group are –Bara Kachari, Dimasa, Rabha, Koch, Mech, Lalung, Reang, Tripuri, Hajong, Hojai, Chutia and Deori. The tribes speaking these languages are found in the banks of the Brahmaputra valley, namely, Lakhimpur, Darrang, Kamrup, Goalpara, Cachar as well as in other districts in the states of Assam, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura. They are also found in the Northern parts of Bengal and in the Mymensingh, Noakhali and Chittagong areas of Bangladesh.

<sup>2</sup> Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Part I, p.40.

<sup>3</sup> Bhattacharya, Pramode Chandra *A Descriptive Analysis of the Boro Language*, Gauhati University Publication, 1977, p.10.

### The Language

The Garos call their own language *A·chikku* or *A·chik Ku·sik*, that is, ‘the *A·chik* language’ which means ‘the language of hill men’. They also call it *Mande Ku·sik* ‘the language of men’.<sup>4</sup> The term ‘Garo’ was given to them by other communities who came across them, but the people themselves use the terms *A·chik* or *Mande*.

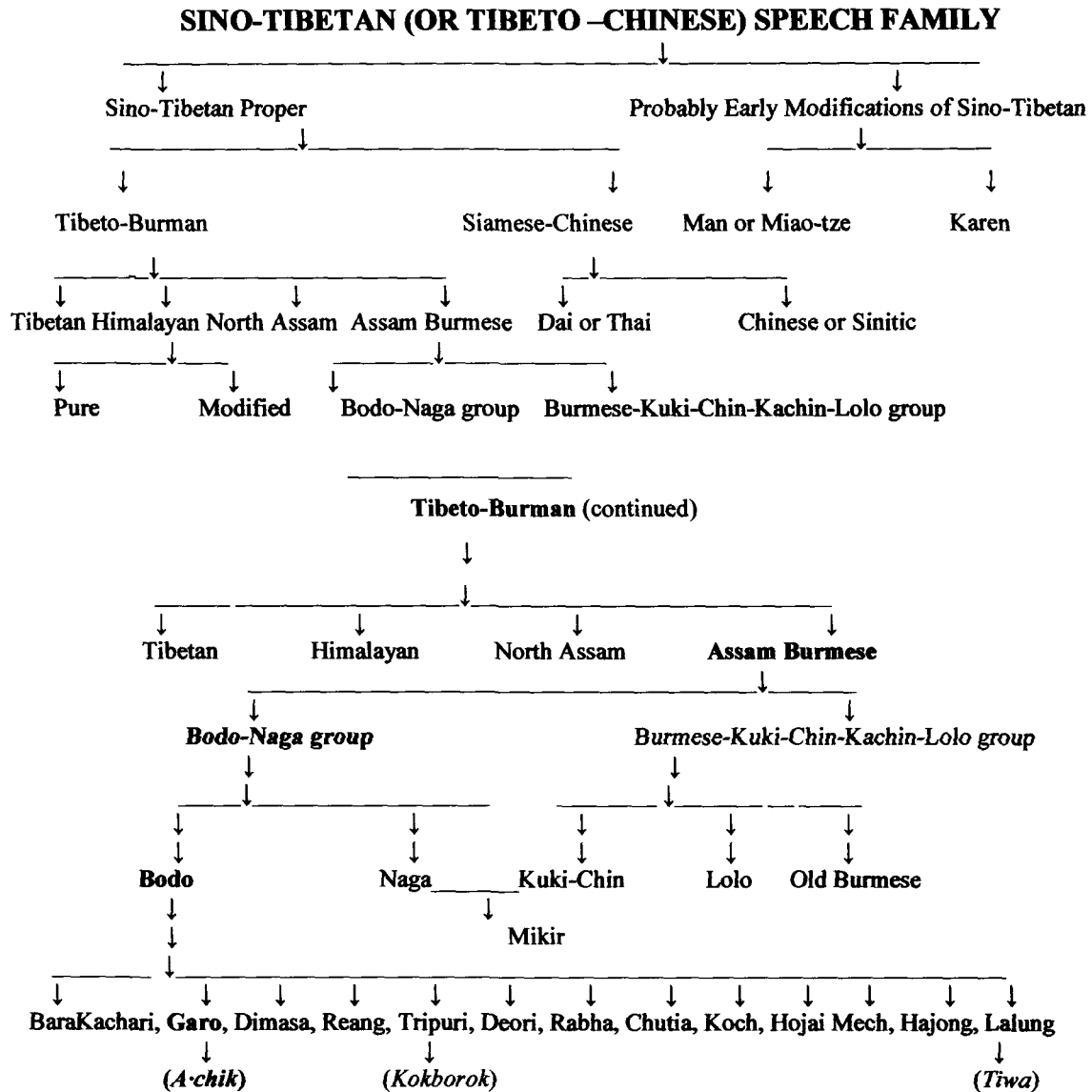
Garo is predominantly a verb final language, so that the order of words in Garo is generally SOV, namely, Subject Object Verb. The morphology of the Garo language is predominantly agglutinative, though there are features of inflection as well. Garo has a large number of affixes which show grammatical relationships. There are both suffixes and prefixes, but a larger number of suffixes. There are many forms of compound words and it is also enriched with many loan words taken mainly from Indic sources, but a large number of English words are being added everyday, with the growth of education and consequent modernization. New words are being coined as well, with the growth of ideas and awareness of other communities, and of life in general in the world around them.

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<sup>4</sup> Sangma, M. S, *History of Garo Literature*, p.8.

The table below illustrates the place of Bodo and consequently of Garo, in the Sino-Tibetan language family:<sup>5</sup>

TABLE 1



<sup>5</sup>Chatterjee, S.K. Classification of the Tibeto-Burman Language according to Chatterjee, in his book *Kirata Janakriti* p.25

In establishing the place of Garo in the Tibeto-Burman Family of Languages, several writers have traced some similarities between the Garo language and other languages belonging to this group, and between Garo and the Tibetan language. The following tables will illustrate the similarities between Garo and Tibetan (Table 1) and between Garo and some other languages in the Bodo Group (Table 3). One of the earliest and best known examples is that given by Major A. Playfair in his book *The Garos* on the similarity between Garo and the Tibetan Language, as illustrated below:<sup>6</sup>

TABLE 2

<u>English</u>	<u>Thibetan</u>	<u>Garo</u>
Boar	phak-pa	wak bipha
Die	shi-wa	sia
Eye	mik	mikron
Hill	ri	a·bri
Head	go	sko

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<sup>6</sup> Playfair, Major A. *The Garos*, APPENDIX E, Published by Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 2<sup>nd</sup> reprint, 1998, p. 165.

The following table illustrates the similarity between Garo and other languages in the Bodo group.

TABLE 3  
Word Comparison between Garo and other languages of the Bodo Group

English	Garo	Bodo	Rabha	Koch
one	sa	se	Sa	(go)sa
two	gni	noi/nwi	ning	(ing)ning
three	gittam	tham	thatham	attam/tham
fish	na·tok	na	na	na
bird	do·o	daw	to	tochak
house	nok	no	nok	nok/nɨgw
tree	bol / (bi)pang	piphang	pang	fang/fan
fruit	bite	phithay	te	thwi
land/earth	a·a/ha·a	ha	ha	ha
rice/paddy	mi	mai	mai	mai
eye	mikron	megon	meken	məkər
face	mikhang	mokhang	nwkhang	mahang
I	anga	an	ang	ang
my	angni	anni	angi	angni / əni

#### Dialects:

The Garos living in different parts of the North Eastern region had very little contact with each other in the early days. As a result of this isolation, several dialects and cultural traits evolved which bore strong resemblances to each other and are easily understood by a Garo speaker, but

are not so easily recognized by a non-Garo, not familiar with the language. Some of the dialects of the language named by the earlier historians and scholars, such as G.A. Grierson, Major Playfair and Dr. M. S. Sangma are *A-we, Am-beng, Chibok, Chisak, Dual, Gara Ganching, Matchi, Atong, Ruga, Me-gam and Matabeng or Matjangchi.*<sup>7</sup>

**A brief outline of the Phonetic and Phonological features of Garo:**<sup>8</sup>

In the observation of this present scholar, Garo language has 29 phonemes, of which 18 are consonants, 6 vowels, and there are at least 5 diphthongs if not more.

A chart showing the phonemic inventory of Garo consonants in a table below will illustrate it more clearly:

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<sup>7</sup> Grierson, G. A. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Part I, Major Playfair *The Garos*, and Dr M. S. Sangma, *History of Garo Literature*

<sup>8</sup> Taken from the scholar's own M.Phil thesis on A Phonetic and phonological analysis of the Garo Dialect, Madras Christian College, Tambaram, 1984.

Table IV

Manner of Articulation	Place of Articulation						
	Bilabial v- v+	Labio-dental v- v+	Denti-alveolar v- v+	Alveolar v- v+	Palatal v- v+	Velar v- v+	Glottal v- v+
Plosive	p <sup>h</sup> b		t <sup>h</sup> d			k <sup>h</sup> g	ʔ
Affricate					c ʃ		
Nasal	m			n		ŋ	
Lateral				l			
Tap				ɾ			
Fricative				s			h
Semi-vowel	w				j		

There are six sounds in the language which may be described as pure vowel phonemes: i) - Front vowels, / i / and / e /, ii) - Central vowel / a / and / ɨ /, iii) - Back vowels / o / and / u /.

The table below will illustrate it more clearly:

Table V

Level of Raising	Part of Front	the tongue Central	raised Back
Between half-close and close position	i	ɨ	u
Between half-open and half-closed position	e		o
Between half-open and open position		a	

**Diphthongs:**

Sequences of two or more vowels occur very frequently in Garo. In fact, any two vowels may occur together, or the same vowels may be repeated. However, in his book, *A Garo Grammar*, Robbins Burling describes the difficulty of analyzing these vowel sequences, because they occur in sequences of not only two or three, but even four at times,<sup>9</sup> such as *ahaua* or *ahaia* and *aiao* so that it is sometimes difficult to decide whether they comprise one or more syllables. The following however, may be clearly defined as diphthongs in the Garo language:

/ai/ as in *ai* /ai/ 'mother'

/au/ as in *aua* /au-<sup>w</sup>a/ 'to bathe'

/ao/ as in *aoa* /ao-<sup>w</sup>a/ 'that one, over there'

/eu/ as in *neua* /neu-<sup>w</sup>a/ 'to peep or look in while passing'

/oi/ or /oe/ as in *oi* or *oe* /oi/ 'hey you!'

**GARO LITERATURE:**

Garo Literature can be broadly classified into two sections, namely:

a) Traditional Oral Literature and b) Written Literature.

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<sup>9</sup> Robbins Burling, *A Garo Grammar* Deccan College Monograph Series: 25. Published by Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. pp, 5-6.

Oral Tradition:

Garo has a rich oral tradition full of proverbs, idioms, oral narratives of folk tales and traditional poetry in songs and rhymes. Much of the history of the Garo people, as well as their religious and cultural codes is contained in its oral literature handed down through the ages from generation to generation.

Written Literature:

Garo was first put into writing only when the British officers came to the Garo Hills. The Missionaries who came soon after also took up the task of putting down the language in writing dictionaries and translations of the Bible.

**OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:**

As a student of English literature and language, the study of the sounds of language and the formation of words has always been of particular interest to the present scholar. After attending the Summer Institute in English organized by the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (CIEFL), Shillong Regional Centre, in the year 1977 and being introduced to the study of phonetics for the first time, an interest was kindled by all the

new insights gained and by the enormous scope evident in such a study for linguistic investigation into the scholar's own language. Later, the scholar registered for M.Phil studies at the Madras Christian College, Tambaram (Autonomous) and did her research on "A Phonetic and Phonological Analysis of the Garo Language". The present work is a continuation of the research into the scholar's own Language, but where the focus has shifted to Morphology.

A more important objective for undertaking this study is that very little effort has been made to make a proper morphological analysis of the language. Though there have been a few studies made, especially in the course of writing books on Grammar and Vocabulary, these were not linguistically analysed and hence a deep felt need to undertake a more detailed analysis of the language. Very few native speakers have also made an effort to describe their own language from this aspect. The scholar attempts to fill in this gap, a very important branch of Linguistic study of Garo.

A third objective is to know the place of the Garo Language within the community of the Tibeto-Burman speakers from the morphological point of view.

**METHODOLOGY:**

This thesis is an attempt to give a morphological analysis of the Garo Language. It will be mainly descriptive in nature and the data mostly self-generated was also collected and verified using natural and participatory survey of speakers of the language. The scholar has also made a study on all available work already done by other writers, though not much has been done. The data has also been cross-checked with other speakers of Standard Garo.

By natural survey is meant a personal observation of the way the language is used colloquially, that is in everyday conversation among the native speakers of the language. The scholar herself is a native speaker of the language, being an inhabitant of Tura, the district headquarter of the Garo Hills for several decades.

By participatory observation is meant the data collected through active participation in discussions on the language, with other native speakers of the language, in small as well as big groups such as in seminars, conferences and workshops. To gather further information as well as to clarify and confirm some doubts and uncertainties, frequent consultations have also been made with people who are well versed in the language and

knowledgeable about its Grammar, Vocabulary and other important aspects of the language

In order to achieve the aims and objectives of the present study, the scholar has undertaken, first a review of relevant books written on the topic; on Morphology in general, as well as on Garo Grammar in particular. On Garo Grammar, several books have been written by missionaries and native speakers as well. On the morphology of the language, hardly any work has been done, except by Robbins Burling, Professor Emeritus, University of Michigan, whose books on Garo language the scholar has found extremely helpful as a guide. This study however will be different from his works as it will concentrate mainly on, affixes in morphology and some word formation processes of the language.

To make a comparison with other related languages of the Bodo group under the Sino-Tibetan Family, the scholar has also made a list of words and collected words that are similar to those in the Garo language, and these have been included in a table and incorporated in the body of the thesis.

**DELIMITATION:**

This study is delimited to the analysis and description of the following morphological processes:

- 1) Affixes
- 2) Loan Words
- 3) Reduplication
- 4) Compound Words
- 5) Coined Words

The subject of analysis in this dissertation will be a practical study based more on the spoken than on the written form of language of the educated Garos who have a sufficient degree of education and whose colloquial speech has a high degree of mutual intelligibility. The language as described above is largely spoken by the educated speakers of Garo who live in Tura and other district headquarters and towns of Garo hills which are important centres of learning, as well as in Shillong the state capital. The present scholar herself is a native speaker of the language and much of her own idiolect has been studied in this dissertation.

As the standard dialect of Garos is selected for this study. It will be done on the basis of mutual intelligibility rather than on the basis of



geographical boundaries. *A·we* and not the other dialects has been chosen for this study because it is accepted as the standard form of the language and as the standard dialect, *A·we* has written literature. It has text books right from the Primary school stage. Readers, Primers, poems, novels and even the Bible are written in this dialect.

Review of Related Literature on the Garo Language: This being a new field of study with regard to the Garo language, very little adequate material is available. The scholar has therefore relied on whatever could be collected from books on the culture, history, language and literature of the Garos; also some Dictionaries and Grammar and school books written by the earlier missionaries and scholars.

Very few good books have been written on the Grammar of the Garo language. There were earlier writings on the Grammar and vocabulary of the language, as well as dictionaries written by some British Officers, also by American Baptist Missionaries. However, there are very few which can be described as satisfactory descriptions of the language, and none of them, with the exception of one, would meet the expected standard of present day linguistic studies. Some valuable work in this area, namely, writings on Garo Grammar and particularly the Morphology of the language have just recently

been done by Robbins Burling, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology and Linguistics at the University of Michigan, USA, who has written various books, some of which are: *A Garo Grammar*<sup>10</sup> and the *Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo) Vol. I: Grammar*.<sup>11</sup>

There are five chapters in the thesis, they are as follows:

**Chapter one is an introductory chapter** which introduces the land and the people. It also indicates its language family as belonging to the Bodo group of families and gives some characteristic features of the language. It also gives the Objectives of the study, the Delimitations and the Methodology. A Review of the Related Literature of the Garo Language is also given in this chapter.

**Chapter two discusses the inflections in the Garo language** but starts with a brief definition of morphology, morphemes, affixation and other morphological terms relevant for the study. It then goes into a detailed description and analysis of the features of inflection in the Garo Language, particularly of the Verbs, Adverbs, Adjectives, Nouns and Pronouns which undergo inflection in various ways.

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<sup>10</sup> Burling, Robbins *A Garo Grammar*. Deccan College Monograph Series: 25. Published by Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona.

<sup>11</sup> Burling, Robbins, *The Language of the Modhupuri Mandi (Garo)*. Vol. I.: Grammar. Bibliophile South Asia in association with Promilla & co., Publishers.

**Chapter three discusses the Derivations in the Garo Language** and goes on to describe in detail the Nominalizing Suffixes, the Adjectives and especially the Adverbs which show derivational characteristics. The Numeral morphemes of the Garo language which show a lot of similarities with other languages of the Tibeto-Burman group is also described in some detail. It also gives a brief account of some of the Morphophonemic features of the Garo language.

**Chapter four discusses other word formation processes in the Garo language** discussing in detail features of Reduplication, Compounds, Hybrids, Blended words, Elided Words, Loan Words and Coined words, which are some of the many ways by which the Garo language continues to develop in the present day. All these also show that Garo though an ancient language, has a vast and rich vocabulary and is a living, dynamic language and developing language even today.

**The fifth and concluding chapter gives an account of the findings in the study undertaken.** Certain important findings and insights gained in the study were given as follows:

Through a detailed analysis of the language, the scholar has attained a better understanding of how the language functions morphologically.

It was observed that there were many features in common with other languages of the Bodo group, namely, similarities in word structure, in

inflection and derivation and in the structure of the verbs, the features of reduplication and the natural gender, all showing an affinity to other languages of the great Bodo family. Therefore, the objective to know the place of the Garo Language within the community of the Tibeto-Burman speakers from the morphological point of view has been achieved to a certain extent.

Though a few good books have been written on the Grammar of the Garo language, most of these were not fully analyzed linguistically, with the exception of one by Robbins Burling, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology and Linguistics at the University of Michigan, U. S. A. There was therefore a deep felt need to undertake a more detailed analysis of the language. It is hoped that this study will make a small contribution to the effort and will lead to further research in the future.

It has been found that Garo is an affixing language and that it has a large number of affixes of which suffixes rather than prefixes occur in greater numbers, and the roots are mainly monosyllabic. These suffixes occur in a linear sequence and often many morphemes follow a word in a concatenating sequence, proving the surmise that Garo is a 'suffixing language'. Also that it has a large number of inflections as well as derivations, and the structure and function of its inflectional and derivational morphemes are all very systematic. Certain outstanding aspects of different inflectional and derivational features were highlighted, such as, of Verbs, Nouns, Pronouns, Adverbs, Adjectives and of Classifiers in Numeral Morphemes. Also features of Reduplication, Compounding, Coinage and Loan words.

The following suggestions were then made:

There was an urgent need to write new Grammar books as the present trends in Linguistics had made the older ones obsolete and inadequate. There is a need for an in-depth and complete linguistic analysis of Garo, so that revised Grammar books based on research findings could be made to meet the need of the day. Though the scholar herself has attained a better understanding of how the language functions through a detailed analysis of the language, she does not claim that the findings are a final and absolute description and further research has to be undertaken in future.

There is also a need for further research on almost every aspect of Garo Morphology for which there is still plenty of scope. There is much material for further research, and this being the case, a description of the language under survey will not be complete until further and deeper research is carried on in the future by other scholars.

Garo has a rich heritage of oral literature which should also be properly recorded and preserved for future generations. This is very urgent as much is already being lost with the fast pace of modernization that is taking place in the community today.

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# **Garo Morphology: A Descriptive Analysis**



**Angela R. Wa·tre Ingty**

**Submitted in fulfillment of the requirement  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in Garo**

**Department of English  
North-Eastern Hill University  
Tura Campus  
Tura 794 002**

**2008**

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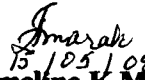
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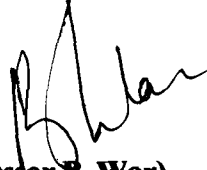
**DECLARATION**

I, **Angela R. Wa'tre Ingty**, hereby declare that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of work done by me, and that the contents of this thesis did not form the basis for the award of any previous degree to me or, to the best of my knowledge, to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other university/institute.

This is being submitted to the North-Eastern Hill University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Garo.

  
15/05/08  
**(Angela R. Wa'tre Ingty)**  
Department of English  
NEHU, Tura Campus

  
15/05/08  
**(Dr. Fameline K Marak)**  
Teacher-in-Charge  
Department of Garo  
North Eastern Hill University  
Tura Campus  
Tura  
Teacher in-charge  
Department of Garo  
North Eastern Hill University  
Tura Campus, Tura.

  
**(Professor B. War)**  
Supervisor  
Head  
Department of Khasi  
North-Eastern Hill University  
Shillong

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**Angela R. Wa'tre Ingty**

**Department of English  
NEHU, Tura Campus  
Tura.**

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE THESIS

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>term</u>	<u>morpheme</u>
Nom	Nominative	( $\emptyset$ )
Acc	Accusative	<i>-ko</i>
Dat	Dative	<i>-na</i>
Gen	Genitive	<i>-ni</i>
Inst	Instrumental	<i>-chi</i>
Loc (s)	Location (spatial)	<i>-o, -chi</i>
Loc (t)	Location (time)	<i>-o</i>
Aug-Loc /Abl	Augmenting Locative /Ablative	<i>-oni, -chini,</i> <i>-oniko, -chiniko</i> <i>-chioniko</i>
Nomz	Nominalizing Verb Suffix	<i>-a</i> as in <i>chon-a</i>
Nomz	Positive Nominalizing suffix	<i>-ni, etc.</i>
NNomz	Negative Nominalizer	<i>-gi-ja</i>
Nomn	Nominative Case marker for monosyllabic pronouns	<i>-a</i>
Frg	Foregrounding suffix	<i>-an, -n</i>
Neut	Neutral	<i>-a</i>
Prog	Progressive Aspect	<i>-eng</i>
Past	Past / Perfective Aspect	<i>-ha, -jok, -chim, -man</i>

Fut	Future tense	<i>-gen</i>
Ifut	Immediate or Intentional Future	
	-Tense-aspect marker	<i>-na-jok / -nasia</i>
Ind	Indefinite suffix	<i>-ba</i>
Que	Question particle	<i>-ma</i>
Quo	Quotative particle	<i>-na</i>
AdjI	Adjectival suffix	<i>-gipa</i>
AdvI	Adverbial suffix	<i>-bebe, -srang, -bat, etc</i>
Sub	Subordinating suffix	<i>-e, -eming, -de, etc</i>
Plu	Plural markers	<i>-rang, -mang, -drang etc.</i>
Psv	Passive marker	<i>chǎa or man e chǎa</i>
Pol	Polite use	<i>-pa, -chim.</i>
Imp	Positive Imperative	<i>-bo, -ne, -kan, -et</i>
NImp	Negative Imperative	<i>-na-be, -dǎ</i>
Cls	Numeral Classifier	<i>sak-, rong-, mang-, etc.</i>
Caus	Causative affix	<i>-ata</i>
Excl	Exclusive we	<i>chinga</i>
Incl	Inclusive we	<i>an'ching</i>
Dem	Demonstrative	<i>ia, ua, etc.</i>
Post	Postposition	<i>ming, kosak, etc.</i>
CompD	Comparative Degree	<i>-bat</i>

SupD	Superlative Degree	<i>-batsrang</i>
Redup	Reduplication	<i>chichot chichot;</i> <i>brim brim</i>
Refl	Reflexive Pronoun	<i>an'tangtang</i>

### Signs and Symbols used in the Thesis

//	Phonemic Transcription
[ ]	Examples given by scholar within quotations
§	Cross references
→	leads to
~	replaced by
<i>Italics</i>	for examples of words in the Garo language

Important morphemes were also **heightened** and made **bold** as and when required.

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**CHAPTER I**

**INTRODUCTION**

## **CHAPTER I**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.0. Garos: the land and the people**

Garos is a language spoken by the Garo tribe living in the hills in the western part of Meghalaya, mainly in the three districts of East Garo Hills, West Garo Hills and South Garo Hills. Bounded on the north and west by the districts of Goalpara in Assam, Khasi Hills on the east and the Mymensing district of Bangladesh on the south; the Garo Hills lie to the south west of Assam,  $25^{\circ} 9'$  and  $26^{\circ} 6'$  North latitude and between  $89^{\circ} 49'$  and  $91^{\circ}$  of East longitude.

Though their home is the Garo Hills, its speakers are also found in all districts of Khasi Hills and some in Kamrup and Goalpara as well as in distant places, such as Nowgong, Sibsagar, Dibrugarh and Karbi Anglong of Assam; also in the states of Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, as well as in the northern parts of West Bengal, such as Koch Bihar and Jalpaiguri. They are also found in Bangladesh in large numbers.

According to the Census of India Report, the population of Meghalaya in the year 2001 was 2306069 (twenty three lakhs, six thousand and sixty nine). As regards the population count districtwise, East Garo Hills had 247555, West Garo Hills 515813 and South Garo Hills 99105 the

total in the three districts together coming to 862473 (eight lakhs sixty two thousand four hundred and seventy three), the percentage against the state population being 37.40%.<sup>1</sup> The language-wise break up of the population into Khasi, Garo, Koch, Hajong, etc speakers of the languages was not given that year, so the census figures of population by language for the year 2001 could not be availed. However, according to the Census Report of Meghalaya in 1991, in the population by language, the Garos were about 547690 (five lakh forty seven thousand, six hundred and ninety), against the state population of 1774778 (seventeen lakhs seventy four thousand seven hundred and seventy eight) its percentage against the total population being 30.86%.<sup>2</sup>

The map in page four will illustrate the Map of India, with special focus on Meghalaya in the North Eastern part of the country and finally, a focus on the Garo Hills where the Garos dwell predominantly.

## **1.2. Brief History of the origin and migration of the Garos:**

Garo belongs to the Bodo group in the Tibeto-Burman family of languages, which in turn is one of the two main branches of the Sino-

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<sup>1</sup> *Meghalaya Socio-Economic Review*, Issued by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics Government of Meghalaya Meghalaya, Shillong, p.12 &13.

<sup>2</sup> Source: Census of India, 1991. *Statistical Handbook of Meghalaya 2005*, Table No. 1.07, Population by Language. Issued by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Govt. of Meghalaya, Shillong, p.10. Also, *megh.nic.in*, Official Website of the Government of Meghalaya.

Tibetan or Tibeto-Chinese Speech Family.<sup>3</sup> The history of the arrival into India of the Mongoloid groups speaking dialects of the Sino-Tibetan speech family is not known, but in the *Kirata-Jana-Krti* by S. K. Chatterjee, it is stated, that their presence in India was noted by the 10<sup>th</sup> century B. C. when the Vedas were compiled.<sup>4</sup> The *Census of India 1971* in its report on the population in Meghalaya,<sup>5</sup> while referring to the ancient Mongoloid presence in the North East, stated that it is supposed to be as old as that of the Aryans in the west, during some period before 1000 B.C. Mention is made in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata of the ancient mongoloid groups inhabiting Assam, Bengal and the sub-Himalayan tracts of Northern India.

The people of the Bodo group are believed to have come to this part of India from a country named Bod in the North of the Himalayas and west of China, a part of which came to be known in the course of time as Tibet and another Mongolia. Hence the people are called 'Bodos'<sup>6</sup>

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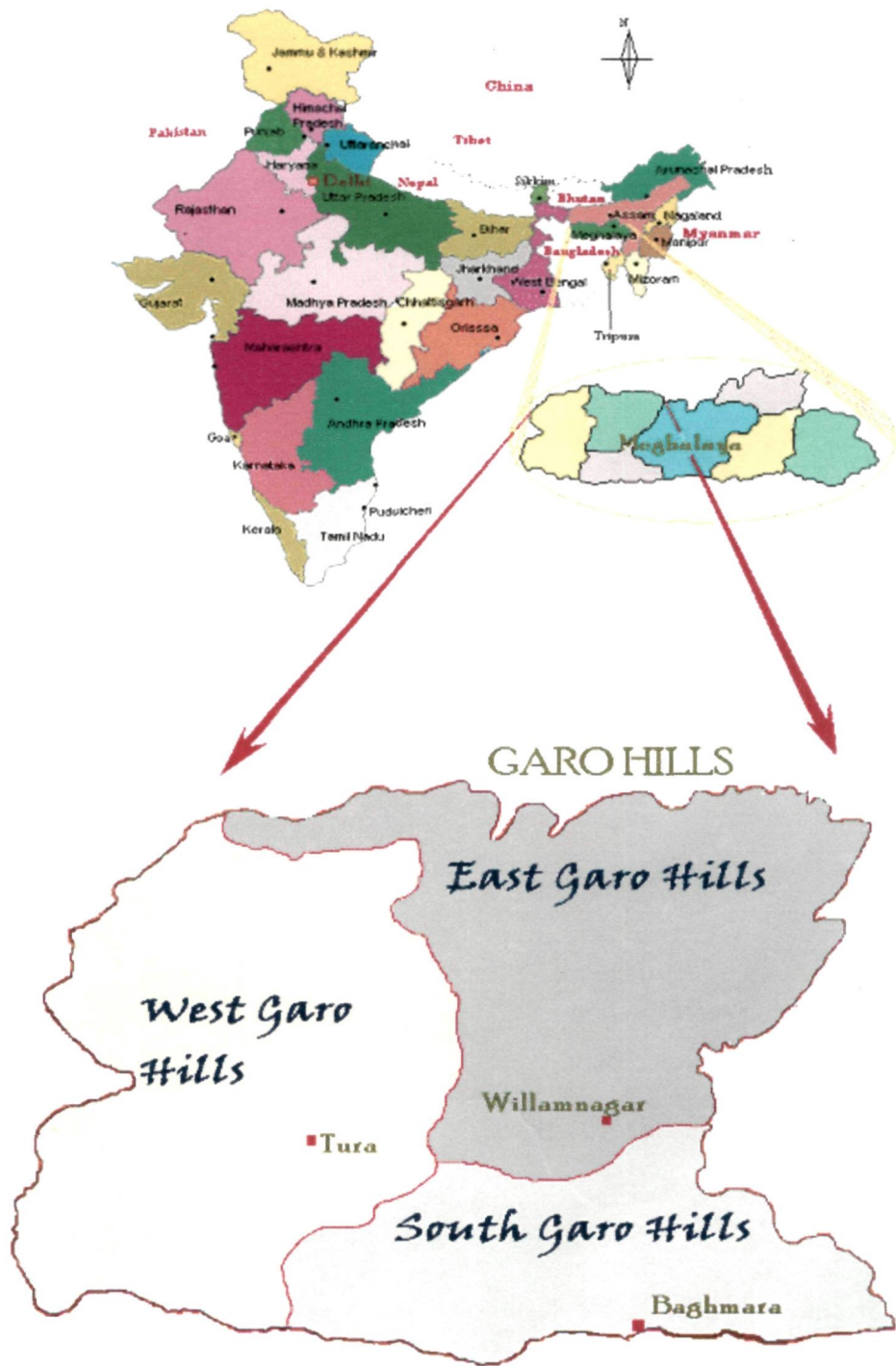
<sup>3</sup> Grierson, G.A., *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Chatterjee, S. K., *Kirāta-Jana-Krti (the Indo-mongoloids: Their Contribution to the History and Culture of India)*, The Asiatic Society, 1974, pp15-16.

<sup>5</sup> Jala, J.M. Director of Census Operations, Meghalaya, *Census of India 1971* Series 13 "Meghalaya" Part1 – A, "General Report" (Shillong Govt. Press, 1971), p.69.

<sup>6</sup> Das, Kamal Narayan, *Social Dimensions of the Garo Language*, Ph. D. Thesis, Gauhati University, p 104.

Map 1



There are interesting traditions prevalent among the various tribes recounting the story of their migration. They trace their origin from the Tibeto-Burman race of the Tibeto-Chinese family of North West China, the area that lies between the upper waters of the Yang-tse-kiang and the Hwang-ho.<sup>7</sup> There are also folk-tales and legends about their migration from a country known as *Mandalae* on account of an invasion of a fierce northern tribe, to the North West beyond the *Arurongdi* River (most probably the Irrawady river in present Myanmar), to *A-song Tibetgri*, the original Garo name for Tibet.<sup>8</sup> In course of time the country got drier and drier and gradually became an arid waste provoking the second stage of migration from Tibet to India. According to the legend of the A-chik people, they migrated from the plateaus of Tibet into the Brahmaputra valley, through the Himalayan ranges in several waves. Some apparently came from the east through the Dibang valley in Arunachal Pradesh, as recounted in their folklore; some from the west via the Tista valley, as claimed by the Bodo Kacharis, Meches and others; and some from even further west through *Garwar Bri*,<sup>9</sup> which probably refers to the Garhwal hills in the Himalayas.

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<sup>7</sup> Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Part I, p.40.

<sup>8</sup> Rongmuthu, Dewansing S. *Folktales of the Garos*, Deptt of Publication, University of Gauhati, 1960. p. 345.

<sup>9</sup> Rongmuthu, Dewansing S. *Folktales of the Garos*, pp 1-2.

The Bodos once formed a predominant section in the population of the North Eastern region and had even established powerful kingdoms, till they were superseded by other races. According to the scholars P.C. Bhattacharya and Robbins Burling, Garo and Bodo separated from each other about 2000 years ago from an ancestral common language. Their conclusion was based on a glotto lexical statistic or glotto chronological count of Bodo and Garo.<sup>10</sup> The other languages belonging to this group are –Bara Kachari, Dimasa, Rabha, Koch, Mech, Lalung, Reang, Tripuri, Hajong, Hojai, Chutia and Deori. The tribes speaking these languages are found on the banks of the Brahmaputra valley, namely, Lakhimpur, Darrang, Kamrup, Goalpara, and Cachar as well as in other districts in the states of Assam, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura. They are also found in the Northern parts of Bengal and in Bangladesh, in the areas of the Mymensingh, Noakhali and Chittagong.

The earliest official records of the Garos are by the British, who describe them as being a turbulent race in constant conflict with the zamindars whose estates surrounded the Garo Hills.<sup>11</sup> They often raided the plains on head-hunting expeditions and plundered and looted before returning to the hills. Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Garos living

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<sup>10</sup> Bhattacharya, Pramode Chandra, *A Descriptive Analysis of the Boro Language*, Gauhati University Publication, 1977, p.10.

<sup>11</sup> Sangma, M.S. *History of Garo Literature*, North Eastern Hill University Publications, Shillong, rpt1992, p.2.

along some border areas of zamindary lands had been brought under some control by the zamindars, but the villages in the interior areas of the hills were entirely independent. The British further tried to put an end to the conflicts by appointing a Garo named *Rengta* as a zamindar under the company. This however was opposed by another zamindar and so the attempt failed and the Garos continued to be rebellious. Finally in 1872, to maintain peace, the British Government had to take extreme measures by occupying the whole of Garo Hills. Thus it was that the proud and independent Garos came under British rule.<sup>12</sup> They continued to assert their rights, however, and a leader by the name of Sonaram R. Sangma led the Garos in submitting memoranda to the British rulers demanding that some areas of land such as the *Habraghat Parganas*, which originally belonged to the Garos be returned to them; they also demanded the abolition of forced labour and opposed the bringing of more areas under reserved forests other than the already existing ones<sup>13</sup>. This self assertion continues in some form or the other to this day.

### 1.3. The Language

1.3.0. The Garos call their own language *A·chikku* or *A·chik Ku·sik*, that is, 'the *A·chik* language' which means 'the language of hill men'. They

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<sup>12</sup> Sangma, M.S. *History of Garo Literature*, NEHU Publications, rpt 1992 p.3.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid*, p. 4.

also call it *Mande Ku·sik* 'the language of men'.<sup>14</sup> The term 'Garo' was given to them by other communities who came across them, but the people themselves use the terms *A·chik* or *Mande*.

Garo is predominantly a verb final language, so that the order of words in Garo is generally SOV, namely, Subject Object Verb. The morphology of the Garo language is predominantly agglutinative, though there are features of inflection as well. Garo has a large number of affixes which show grammatical relationships. There are both suffixes and prefixes, but a larger number of suffixes. There are many forms of compound words and it is also enriched with many loan words taken mainly from Indic sources, but a large number of English words are being added everyday, with the growth of education and consequent modernization. New words are being coined as well, with the growth of ideas and awareness of other communities, and of life in general in the world around them. Another important morphological feature in Garo is the process of Reduplication. This will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters.

The Garo language was first reduced to writing in the last decades of the eighteenth century, though it already had a vast vocabulary and a rich literary heritage in the form of oral and traditional tales, maxims, proverbs

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<sup>14</sup> Sangma, M. S, *History of Garo Literature*, p.8.

and chants during sacrificial rites, which have only been partially recorded. There are legends and folktales among the people themselves, about ancient Garo scripts preserved in skins which were lost in the course of their migrations from China through Burma, Tibet and the hills and plains of Assam. A belief exists among some Garos that they once possessed a literature in their own script and language, when they were in Mandalay in upper Burma (or Myanmar as it is known today), long before they came to Tibet. These were contained in rolls of parchment made from animal skins, but when they started wandering into India, they faced acute shortage of food and boiled the rolls of parchment and ate them. In this way, the precious scripts of literature, if it ever existed, were lost forever.<sup>15</sup>

### **1.3.1. The place of Garo in the Tibeto-Burman Language Family:**

As stated earlier, Garo belongs to the Bodo group in the Tibeto-Burman family of languages, which in turn is one of the two main branches of the Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto –Chinese Speech Family. This statement by Grierson was confirmed and followed by many later scholars, such as Kenneth Katzner *The Languages of the World*<sup>16</sup>, J. LaPolla, and M. Ruhlen in *A Guide to the World's Languages*.<sup>17</sup>

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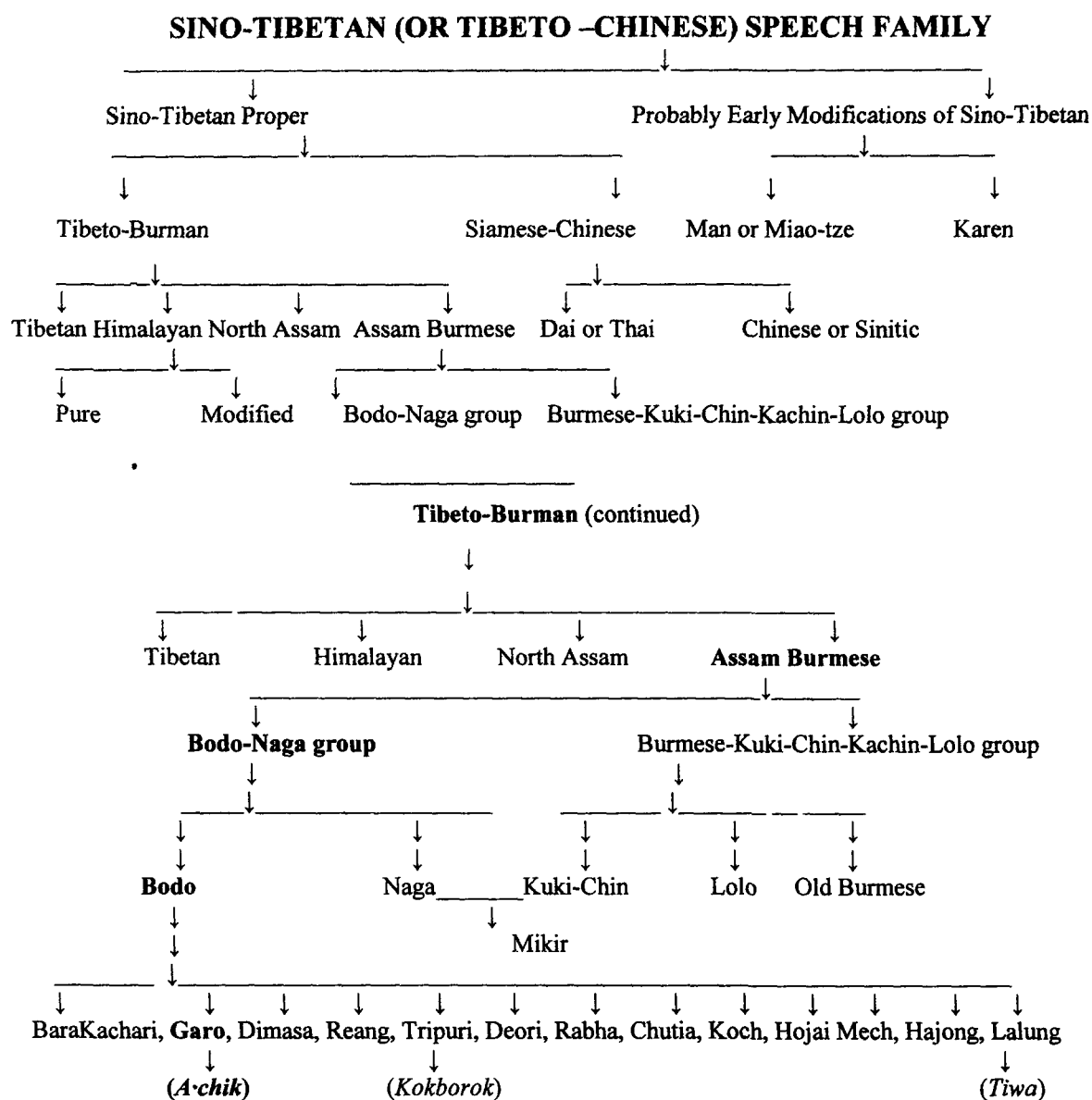
<sup>15</sup> *ibid*, p.27 (taken from D.S. Rongmuthu, *Folktales of the Garos*, pp, 1-2.)

<sup>16</sup> Kenneth Katzner, *The Languages of the World*, Published by Routledge& Kegan Paul Ltd, 2002, p.4.

<sup>17</sup> Merritt Ruhlen, *A Guide to the World's Languages. Volume:1 Classification*, Published by Edward Arnold Publishers, Great Britain, 1987.

The following table and the map below, taken and adapted from S.K. Chatterji's *Kirata-Jana-Krti*, illustrates the place of Bodo and consequently of Garo, in the Sino-Tibetan language family:<sup>18</sup>

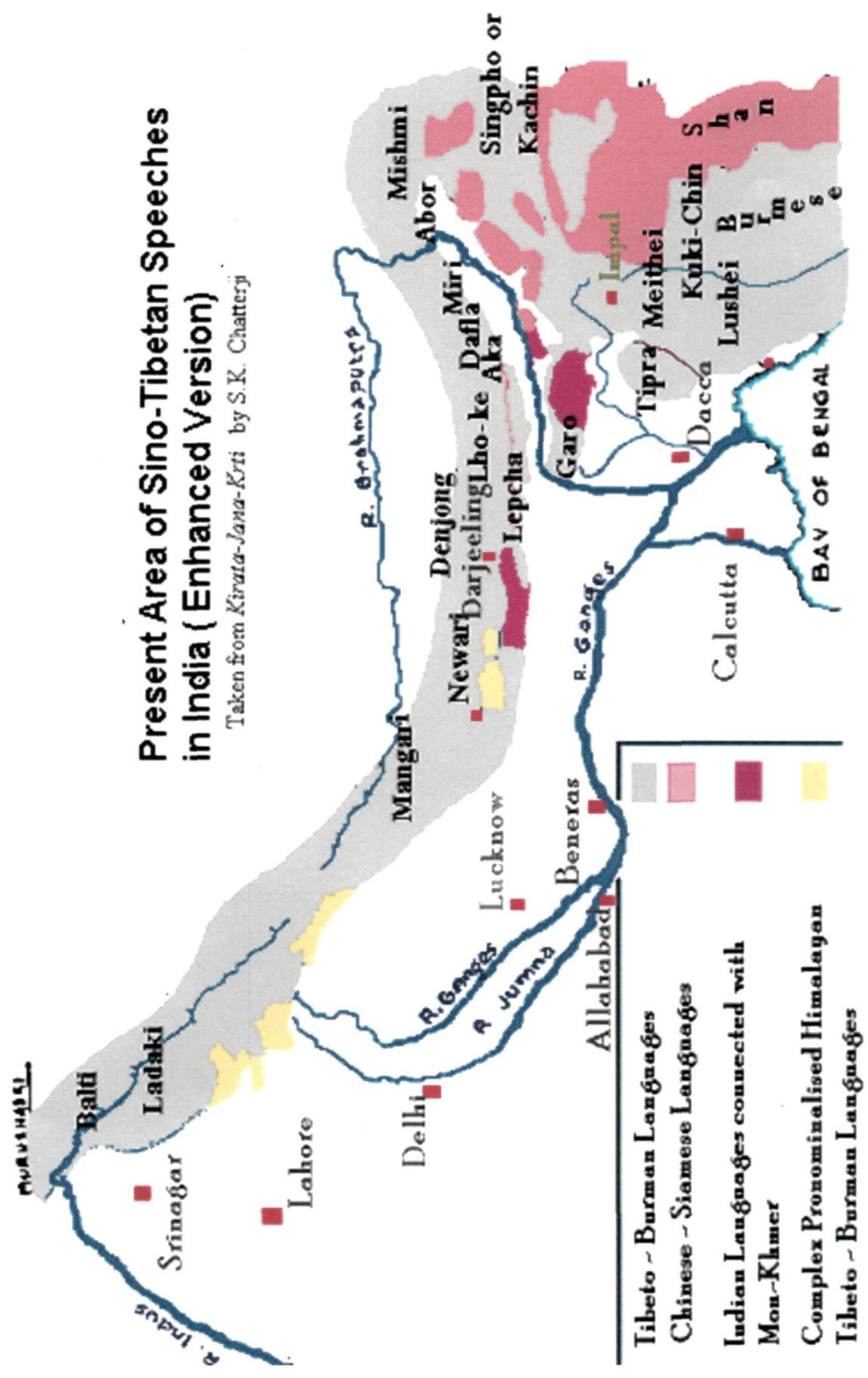
TABLE 1



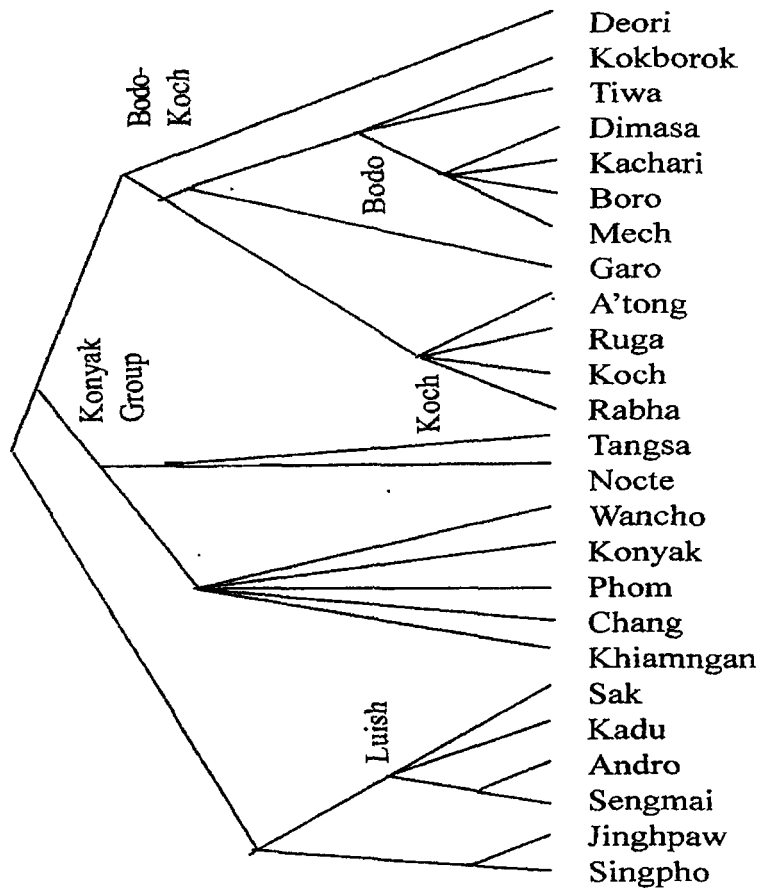
<sup>18</sup>Chatterjee, S.K. Classification of the Tibeto-Burman Language according to Chatterjee, in his book *Kirata-Jana-Krti* p.25

# Present Area of Sino-Tibetan Speeches in India ( Enhanced Version)

Taken from *Kirata-Jana-Krti* by S.K. Chatterji



In a book entitled *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*, edited by Graham Thurgood and Randy J. LaPolla, an article has been written by Robbins Burling on *The Tibeto-Burman Languages of North-eastern India*,<sup>19</sup> where he made the following Classification of the Tibeto-Burman Languages of North East India:



RELATIONS AMONG THE BODO-KONYAK-JINGPHAW LANGUAGES

<sup>19</sup> Thurgood, Graham and Randy J. LaPolla, *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*, Published by Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, First Paperback Edition, London and New York 2007, p, 175.

In establishing the place of Garo in the Tibeto-Burman Family of Languages, several writers have traced some similarities between the Garo language and other languages belonging to this group, and between Garo and the Tibetan language. The following tables will illustrate the similarities between Garo and Tibetan (Table 2) and between Garo and some other languages in the Bodo Group (Table 3).

One of the earliest and best known examples is that given by A. Playfair in his book *The Garos* on the similarity between Garo and the Tibetan Language, as illustrated below:<sup>20</sup>

TABLE 2		
<u>English</u>	<u>Thibetan</u>	<u>Garo</u>
Boar	phak-pa	wak bipha
Die	shi-wa	sia
Eye	mik	mikron
Hill	ri	a·bri
Head	go	sko

The following table illustrates the similarity between Garo and other languages in the Bodo group. The words were collected from different sources, in particular, the students doing M.A. in the NEHU, Tura Campus during 2002-2005:

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<sup>20</sup> Playfair, Major A. *The Garos*, APPENDIX E, Published by Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 2<sup>nd</sup> reprint, 1998, p. 165.

TABLE 3

Word Comparison between Garo and other languages of the Bodo Group

English	Garo	Bodo	Rabha	Koch
one	sa	se	Sa	(go)sa
two	gni	noi/nwi	ning	(ing)ning
three	gittam	tham	thatham	attam/tham
fish	na·tok	na	na	na
bird	do·o	daw	to	tochak
house	nok	no	nok	nok/nigw
tree	bol / (bi)pang	piphang	pang	fang/fan
fruit	bite	phithay	te	thwi
land/earth	a·a/ha·a	ha	ha	ha
rice/paddy	mi	mai	mai	mai
eye	mikron	megon	meken	məkər
face	mikhang	mokhang	nwkhang	mahang
I	anga	an	ang	ang
my	angni	anni	angi	angni / əni

### 1.3.2. Dialects:

Garos living in different parts of the North Eastern region had very little contact with each other in the early days, resulting in the evolution of several dialects and cultural traits bearing strong resemblances to each other easily understood by a Garo speaker, but not so easily recognized by a non-Garo. There were earlier a lot of inter-tribal warfares and dialectical groupisms. This aspect fast disappeared with the coming of the British, the process of progress and modernization in the community, and is hardly seen now. Some of the dialects of the language named by the earlier historians and scholars, such as Grierson, Playfair and M. Sangma, are

*A-we, Am-beng, Chibok, Chisak, Dual, Gara Ganching, Matchi, Atong, Ruga, Me-gam and Matabeng or Matjangchi.*<sup>21</sup> The *A-we* dialect used in writing and education is predominant and is taken as the standard dialect.

### 1.3.3. A brief outline of the Phonetic and Phonological features of Garo:<sup>22</sup>

In the observation of this present scholar, Garo language has 29 phonemes, of which 18 are consonants, 6 vowels, and there are at least 5 diphthongs if not more.

**Consonants:** Dividing the consonants according to their point of articulation we have:

4 bilabial consonants - /p<sup>h</sup>/, /b/, /m/ and /w/

2 dentals (or denti-alveolar) /t<sup>h</sup>/, /d/

4 alveolars /n/, /l/, /ɲ/ and /s/

3 palatal- alveolars /c/ /tʃ/ and /j/

3 velars /k<sup>h</sup>/, /g/, /ŋ /

2 glottals /ʔ / and /h /

Classifying them according to the manner of articulation, they are:

7 stops / p<sup>h</sup> /, /b/, /t<sup>h</sup> /, /d/, /k<sup>h</sup>/, /g/ and /ʔ / and

2 affricates /c/ and /tʃ/

<sup>21</sup> Grierson, G. A. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Part I, Major Playfair *The Garos*, and Dr M. S. Sangma, *History of Garo Literature*

<sup>22</sup> Taken from the scholar's own M.Phil thesis on *A Phonetic and phonological analysis of the Garo Dialect*, Madras Christian College, Tambaram, 1984.

3 nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/

1 lateral /l/

1 tap /ɾ/

2 fricatives /h/, /s/ and

2 semivowels /j/, /w/



A chart showing the phonemic inventory of Garo consonants in a table below will illustrate it more clearly:

Table IV

Manner of Articulation	Place of Articulation						
	Bilabial v- v+	Labio-dental v- v+	Denti-alveolar v- v+	Alveolar v- v+	Palatal v- v+	Velar v- v+	Glottal v- v+
Plosive	p <sup>h</sup> b		t <sup>h</sup> d			k <sup>h</sup> g	ʔ
Affricate					c ɟ		
Nasal	m			n		ŋ	
Lateral				l			
Tap				ɾ			
Fricative				s			h
Semi-vowel	w				j		

There are variants and allophones of many of the consonants mentioned above, some of which are as follows:

The voiceless aspirated plosives /p<sup>h</sup>/, /t<sup>h</sup>/ and /k<sup>h</sup>/ are sometimes unaspirated

-as /p/, /t/ and /k/ in word medial and syllable final positions, as in *sapao* /sap-p<sup>h</sup>ao/ ‘rabbit’; *cottoma* /cot-t<sup>h</sup>om-a/ ‘to break off (a string or rope)’, and *mikka* /mik-k<sup>h</sup>a/ ‘rain’.

-and as unexploded /p<sup>ʔ</sup> /, /t<sup>ʔ</sup> / and /k<sup>ʔ</sup> / in word final and syllable final positions, as in, *mat* /mat<sup>ʔ</sup> / ‘squirrel’ *noktop* /noktop<sup>ʔ</sup> / ‘a small /little house’ and *wak* /wak<sup>ʔ</sup> / ‘pig.’

The fricative /s/ has a palato-alveolar variant /ɕ/ which occurs mostly in the environment of back and front vowels, especially /e/, /i/ and its allophone /ī /, also near the glottal stop /ʔ / and the velar nasal /ŋ / as in *sia* /ɕi-a/ ‘to die and *sing* a /ɕī ŋ-a/ ‘to ask’.

The alveolar tap /ɽ/ has a Trill /r/ as an allophone which occurs in consonant clusters as in *chroka* /crok-a/ ‘to dance’, *krima* /k<sup>h</sup>rim-a/ ‘an assembly or convention’.

Of the plosives, an important sound which occurs very frequently is the glottal stop /ʔ/. The frequency of the glottal stop is a very important feature in the Garo language. It is so common in the language that it occurs in almost every other word and certainly in every sentence, and contributes

to the distinct identity of the language. Also, it always has a strong influence on the sounds which occur near it, whether it be vowel or consonant, giving it a glottalised effect, as in *a·a* /aʔ -ʔa/ ‘mud, earth, soil’ and *sing·a* /ɕɪʔ-ŋa/ ‘to ask or question’. Vowels especially, are abruptly terminated when the glottal stop occurs after them as in *cha·enga* /caʔ-ɛŋa/ ‘eating’.

There are very few fricatives in Garo, the only ones being /h/, /s/ and its variant /ɕ /. This is a characteristic feature of the language, and a learner of English often has difficulties in pronouncing English fricative sounds, particularly /f, v, and z /, which they tend to pronounce as [p<sup>h</sup>, b and ʃ] respectively, which are sounds found in *A·chikku*.

Garo is also rich in consonant clusters, for instance, *chrika*/crɪk-a/ ‘shouts’, *makkre* /mak-k<sup>h</sup>re/ ‘monkey’, *mingklaka* /mɪŋ-k<sup>h</sup>lak-a/ ‘nickname’ and *greng* /greŋ/ ‘bone’.

### **Vowels in Garo:**

There are six sounds in the language which may be described as pure vowel phonemes, namely,

- Front vowels      / i / and / e /
- Central vowel      / a / and / ɨ /
- Back vowels      / o / and / u /.

The table below will illustrate it more clearly:

Table V

Level of Raising	Part of the tongue raised		
	Front	Central	Back
Between half-close and close position	i	ɨ	u
Between half-open and half-closed position	e		o
Between half-open and open position		a	

The central vowel / ɨ / is a very important phoneme, which occurs very frequently in the language. It occurs in closed syllables in word medial position between consonants. For instance: *sima* /sɨm-a/ 'dark', *kimita* /k<sup>h</sup> ɨ m-m ɨ t̪-a/ 'erase', *bil* /b ɨ l/ 'strength', *chita* /c ɨ t̪-a/ 'to tear', and *pika* /p<sup>h</sup>ɨk-a/ 'to uproot'.

Syllable divisions are important in describing the vowel quality of most of the vowels of the language. So the hyphenated mark (-) is used in phonetic transcription to show syllable divisions, as in the words *chona* which has two different meanings depending on the pronunciation. When pronounced as /*chon-a*/ it means either 'small' or when pronounced as /*cho-na*/ it means 'to winnow paddy or to row a boat'.

/chon-a/ (adjective)

/cho-na/ (verb)

Small-Neut

'small'

row/winnow-Inf 'to row / winnow'

**Diphthongs:**

Sequences of two or more vowels occur very frequently in Garo. In fact, any two vowels may occur together, or the same vowels may be repeated. However, in his book, *A Garo Grammar*, Robbins Burling describes the difficulty of analyzing these vowel sequences, because they occur in sequences of not only two or three, but even four at times,<sup>23</sup> such as *ahaua* or *ahaia* and *aiao* so that it is sometimes difficult to decide whether they comprise one or more syllables. In rapid speech, the pronunciation differs from speaker to speaker. The semi-vowels /j/ and /w/ also frequently occur among these sequences causing palatalisation and labialization as in - *uia* [u-<sup>w</sup>i-<sup>j</sup>a] and *aua* [au-<sup>w</sup>a]. Burlings has therefore chosen to indicate the sequences as if every vowel formed a sequence of its own. The following however, may be clearly defined as diphthongs in the Garo language:

/ai/ as in initial: *ai* /ai/ 'mother'*aiao* /ai-<sup>j</sup>ao/ 'oh my!'

<sup>23</sup> Robbins Burling, *A Garo Grammar* Deccan College Monograph Series: 25. Published by Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. pp, 5-6.

	medial:	<i>maina</i> /maina/ ‘why’
		<i>baia</i> /bai- <sup>j</sup> a/ ‘to last long’
	final:	<i>hai</i> /hai/ ‘come’
		<i>mai</i> /mai/ ‘what is it?’
		<i>akkai</i> /ak-k <sup>h</sup> ai/ ‘Oh, I made a mistake!’
/au/ as in	initial:	<i>aua</i> /au- <sup>w</sup> a/ ‘to bathe’
	medial:	<i>naua</i> /nau- <sup>w</sup> a / ‘to peep’
	final:	<i>sapau</i> /sap- p <sup>h</sup> au/ ‘rabbit’
/ao/ as I	initial:	<i>aoa</i> /ao- <sup>w</sup> a/ ‘that one, over there’
	medial:	<i>baoa</i> /bao- <sup>w</sup> a/ ‘where?’
		<i>mikaoa</i> /mikao- <sup>w</sup> a/ ‘to open the eyes’/‘be informed’/‘realize’
	final:	<i>sao</i> /sao/ ‘a curse’
/eu/ as in	medial:	<i>neua</i> /neu- <sup>w</sup> a/ ‘to peep or look in while passing’
	final:	<i>neuneu</i> /neuneu/ ‘peeping in and out’
/oi/ or /oe/	initial:	<i>oi</i> or <i>oe</i> /oi/ ‘hey you!’
	medial:	<i>Goera</i> /goe-ra/ ‘name of a legendary heroic character’

final: *poi* /p<sup>h</sup>oi/ ‘word used in chants to chase off evil spirits’

*somoi* /so-moi/ ‘time’ (loan word).

There is plenty of scope for research on the vowel and diphthongs of Garo.

Other phonetic and phonological features are there which need to be studied further, such as syllabification, juncture, assimilation and the suprasegmental features, that is, the stress and tone in the language, but that is quite beyond the scope of this research.

#### **1.4.0 GARO LITERATURE:**

Garo Literature can be broadly classified into two sections, namely:

a) Traditional Oral Literature and b) Written Literature.

##### **1.4.1. Oral Tradition:**

Garo has a rich oral tradition full of proverbs, idioms, oral narratives of folk tales and traditional poetry in songs and rhymes. Much of the history of the Garo people, as well as their religious and cultural codes is contained in its oral literature handed down through the ages from generation to generation. As stated by M. S. Sangma,

“The Garos have a vast literary heritage in the form of oral and traditional sacrificial rites, proverbs and maxims, which have not yet been properly recorded. Until all these are examined and recorded, Garo lexicography will remain incomplete.”<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Sangma, M.S. *History of Garo Literature*, North Eastern Hill University Publications, Shillong, rpt1992, p. 13.

Traditional or Old Garo Literature as described by C. R. Marak

consists of:

“Historical accounts, legends, myths and tales told in poetry as well as in prose, various kinds of songs sung on different occasions. It also includes verses chanted on various sacrificial ceremonies, folk songs and maxims. It is traditional and oral because due to lack of a script it has been learnt orally by each succeeding generation from the preceding one, apparently since the ancient period of migration into India and during the time of wanderings in various parts of the country. The traditional literature survives to this day in the interior places where the traditional faith of the Garos is still held and old customs and practices persist.”<sup>25</sup>

Their language being full of oral narratives and folk tales of the history of their people, the Garos still retain some interesting words and cultural items that show their link with their homeland in Tibet. The word *A·song Tibotgri* as already pointed out is their original name for Tibet. In his introduction to *The Garos* by A. Playfair, Bamfylde Fuller commented saying,

“Their language still retains some similarity with Tibetan: and some of their ideas, such as the sentimental value they attach to the gongs, are identical with those prevailing in Tibetan villages. It is more curious still that their language in its general construction, and in a few survivals of vocabulary, show traces of affinity with Turkish, supporting the theory that from some spot in Central Asia a vast migration was impelled, possibly by growing scarcity of rainfall, and that from some of the wandering hordes are descended peoples which now occupy Burma and a great part of Assam. It is

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<sup>25</sup> Marak, C. R., *Influence of English on Garo Poetry*, Scholar Publishing House (P) Ltd, New Delhi, p.16.

remarkable that, as Major Playfair has discovered, traditions should still be current among the Garos of their migration from the uplands of the Himalayas to the valley of Assam. This is a most interesting illustration of the tenacity of oral tradition amongst an unlettered race.’<sup>26</sup>

#### 1. 4. 2. Written Literature:

Garó was first put into writing only when the British officers came to the Garó Hills. The Missionaries who came soon after also took up the task of putting down the language in writing dictionaries and translations of the Bible. As stated by M. S. Sangma in his *History of Garó Literature*:

“Garó literature began with the compilation of Garó words. It was the British officials and the American Baptist Missionaries who first reduced the Garó language to writing in the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>27</sup>

The British officers first made a record of words from this language for official purposes, for easier administration of the hills, as well as for academic reasons, that is, to make a comparative study of Garó, Bodo, and other languages of the north eastern part of India, which were mainly of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages. John Elliot, a British Commissioner from Dacca, was the first to make a compilation of Garó words, during a public deputation in 1788-89, to the Garó Hills.<sup>28</sup> This was an attempt to collect Garó words transcribed in the Roman script with their literal

<sup>26</sup> Fuller, Bamfylde in the Introduction to *The Garos* by Major A. Playfair, Spectrum Publications. 2<sup>nd</sup> reprint 1998. p.xxxi.

<sup>27</sup> Sangma, M. *History of Garó Literature*, NEHU Publications, p.28.

<sup>28</sup> Sangma, M. *History of Garó Literature*, NEHU Publications, Shillong; p. 28 (taken from John Elliot-*Asiatic Researches*, vol. III, 1799)

English meaning. His writings were later published in the *Asiatic Researches Vol. III* in 1799. After him there have been a series of British officers, and educationists namely, Francis Hamilton, William Robinson, B.H. Hodgson, W.J. Williamson (the first Deputy Commissioner of Garo Hills), as well as missionaries, such as the Reverends Nathan Brown, Miles Bronson, T. J. Keith, E.G. Phillips, M.C. Mason and Miss. L.M. Holbrook who have worked to collect words of the language for various purposes - official, religious or scholarly. There were also the scholars G.A. Grierson whose *Linguistic Survey of India* and A. Playfair's *The Garos*, were the best known and most authoritative books on the Garo language for many decades. Ramke W. Momin, one of the first Garos to obtain education, as well as one of the first converts to Christianity, brought out the first dictionary as a native speaker in 1887. It was a Bengal-Garo Dictionary written in the Bengali script, containing about 35,000 words, a monumental work and remains so even till today. It has recently been romanised and republished under the title *Ku·bidik*<sup>29</sup> meaning 'a vessel or storage jar of words', that is, 'a lexicon or dictionary'.

The Garo language was first written in the Roman script for official reports and sometimes in the Bengali character. In the early stages the

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<sup>29</sup> Momin, Rev. Ramke W. *Ku·bidik* Published by the Department of Art and Culture, Govt. of Meghalaya, 1996.

Bengali language was used for most purposes by the British. As stated in the *History of Garo Literature*:

“Regarding the script, both Roman and Bengali scripts were employed in the compilation, but the earliest writings were done in the Roman script. The other noticeable feature of this period of writings was that it was the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal which highlighted these writings by publishing them in different volumes of their journals.

“Thus the foundation was laid by the British officials as well as by the American Baptist Missionaries for further development of Garo literature.”<sup>30</sup>

Using the Bengali script was found to be cumbersome and tedious and the missionaries doubted the wisdom of continuing education for the Garo learners in the Bengali language. It was also found that the twenty one sounds and letters of the English alphabet were quite sufficient to represent every necessary sound in the Garo language. Therefore around the year 1902, it was felt necessary and convenient to change to the Roman script and use the Garo language. This proved to be much more practical and gave rise to a much greater interest and encouraged a better response from the native speakers. It was found that in just a few weeks the Garo pupils could read with ease and understand and explain meanings, while previously years were spent in learning Bengali without much progress in learning.

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<sup>30</sup> Sangma, M. *History of Garo Literature*, p.32.

**1. 5. 0. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:**

As a student of English literature and language, the study of the sounds of language and the formation of words has always been of particular interest to the present scholar. After attending the Summer Institute in English organized by the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (CIEFL), Shillong Regional Centre, in the year 1977 and being introduced to the study of phonetics for the first time, an interest was kindled by all the new insights gained and by the enormous scope evident in such a study for linguistic investigation into the scholar's own language. Later, the scholar registered for M.Phil studies at the Madras Christian College, Tambaram (Autonomous) and did her research on "A Phonetic and Phonological Analysis of the Garo Language". The present work is a continuation of the research into the scholar's own Language, but where the focus has shifted to Morphology.

A more important objective for undertaking this study is that very little effort has been made to make a proper morphological analysis of the language. Though there have been a few studies made, especially in the course of writing books on Grammar and Vocabulary, these were not linguistically analysed and hence a deep felt need to undertake a more detailed analysis of the language. Very few native speakers have also made an effort to describe their own language from this aspect. The scholar

attempts to fill in this gap, a very important branch of Linguistic study of Garo.

A third objective is to know the place of the Garo Language within the community of the Tibeto-Burman speakers from the morphological point of view.

#### **1.6.0. METHODOLOGY:**

**METHODOLOGY:** This thesis is an attempt to give a morphological analysis of the Garo Language. It will be mainly descriptive in nature and the data mostly self-generated was also collected and verified using natural and participatory survey of speakers of the language. The scholar has also made a study on all available work already done by other writers, though not much has been done. The data has also been cross-checked with other speakers of Standard Garo.

By natural survey is meant a personal observation of the way the language is used colloquially, that is in everyday conversation among the native speakers of the language. The scholar herself is a native speaker of the language, being an inhabitant of Tura, the district headquarter of the Garo Hills for several decades.

By participatory observation is meant the data collected through active participation in discussions on the language, with other native speakers of the language, in small as well as big groups such as in

seminars, conferences and workshops. To gather further information as well as to clarify and confirm some doubts and uncertainties, frequent consultations have also been made with people who are well versed in the language and knowledgeable about its Grammar, Vocabulary and other important aspects of the language

In order to achieve the aims and objectives of the present study, the scholar has undertaken, first a review of relevant books written on the topic; on Morphology in general, as well as on Garo Grammar in particular. On Garo Grammar, several books have been written by missionaries and native speakers as well. On the morphology of the language, hardly any work has been done, except by Robbins Burling, Professor Emeritus, University of Michigan, whose books on Garo language the scholar has found extremely helpful as a guide. This study however will be different from his works as it will concentrate mainly on, affixes in morphology and some word formation processes of the language.

To make a comparison with other related languages of the Bodo group under the Sino-Tibetan Family, the scholar has also made a list of words and collected words that are similar to those in the Garo language, and these have been included in a table and incorporated in the body of the thesis.

### 1. 7. 0. DELIMITATION:

This study is delimited to the analysis and description of the following morphological processes:

- 1) Affixes
- 2) Loan Words
- 3) Reduplication
- 4) Compound Words
- 5) Coined Words

The subject of analysis in this dissertation will be a practical study based more on the spoken than on the written form of language of the educated Garos who have a sufficient degree of education and whose colloquial speech has a high degree of mutual intelligibility. The language as described above is largely spoken by the educated speakers of Garo who live in Tura and other district headquarters and towns of Garo hills which are important centres of learning, as well as in Shillong the state capital. The present scholar herself is a native speaker of the language and much of her own idiolect has been studied in this dissertation.

A·we the standard dialect of Garos is selected for this study. It will be done on the basis of mutual intelligibility rather than on the basis of geographical boundaries. A·we and not the other dialects has been chosen for this study because it is accepted as the standard form of the language

and as the standard dialect, *A-we* has written literature. It has text books right from the Primary school stage. Readers, Primers, poems, novels and even the Bible are written in this dialect. An educated Garo, whether he comes from the North, South, Eastern or Western region of the Garo Hills is understood linguistically everywhere. It has been said that in the study of the speech forms of social groups, especially that of the educated class, the speech of the educated are relatively freer from the influence of dialectical traits. Dialectical features are not very apparent and, as defined in a dissertation on “A Contrastive Phonological Analysis of Tamil and English’...

“The speech of the educated has a higher degree of mutual intelligibility over a considerably wider region than that of a regional group of speakers of a particular dialect. This is because it is relatively free from provincialisms in all aspects of speech.”<sup>31</sup>

We can apply this same principle to the speech of an educated Garo. The dialect of the educated speakers of the Garo language pervades all regional dialects and is not affected by many of the dialectal characteristics. It pervades the dialects, but itself seems to remain above the influence of all narrow regional influences.

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<sup>31</sup> Francis Sounderaj, A Contrastive Phonological Analysis of Tamil and English, PhD. Madurai University, 1978.

### **1.8.0. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE: on the Garo Language**

#### **1. 8. 1. 0. A Review of past works on the Garo Language:**

This being a new field of study with regard to the Garo language, very little adequate material is available. The scholar has therefore relied on whatever could be collected from books on the culture, history, language and literature of the Garos, such as the works of G.A. Grierson, A. Playfair, M. Sangma, D. S. Nengminza, and Hamlet Bareh among others; also some Dictionaries and Grammar and school books written by the earlier missionaries and scholars such as, E.G. Phillips, M. C. Mason, Ramke W. Momin, Robbins Burling and H. W. Marak, to name a few. The purpose of this scholar will be to make a brief review of some of the previous works and then proceed towards a more detailed analysis of the language to progress towards a better understanding of how the language functions. It does not claim to be a final and absolute description and many revisions and corrections will have to be made in future studies. So there will be plenty of scope for further research by other scholars.

#### **1. 8. 1. 1. Books on the People, History and Culture of the Garos:**

One of the first and most important pioneering works of the last century was the *Linguistic Survey of India* by G. A. Grierson, an Irish Linguistic scholar and Civil Servant. While still a student in Dublin he had taken prizes in Sanskrit and Hindi. When he began service in Bengal, in

addition to his duties in a succession of government posts, he devoted much time to language research. He conducted the Linguistic Survey of India from 1898 to 1928, obtaining much information on 364 languages and dialects. In addition to vocabularies for most of the languages and dialects, skeletal grammars and brief texts were also included. As it covered altogether the Indo-European, Chinese, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian families of languages in India, the survey was described as a triumph of organisation. His description of the Garo language is still considered an important and authentic account to this day. A. Playfair also wrote a very informative book on *The Garos* in the course of his official duties, which contains some comments on the language based mostly on the earlier writings of the missionaries and on Grierson.

Another very informative and helpful book is *History and Culture of the Garos* written by Milton Sangma, former Pro-Vice Chancellor of the NEHU, Tura Campus, and a well known scholar among the Garos today. He has also written *A History of Garo Literature* which has been a rich source of information for many students of the language. Both the above mentioned books are a treasure house of information not only on the history and culture of the Garos but also on the language as well.

Hamlet Bareh has also given an account of the Garo language in his book *The Language and Literature of Meghalaya*. His account of the

language is well informed, based mostly on information collected from Grierson, Playfair, Robbins Burling, and others.

Another good book on the Garos and their culture is *A·chik Aro A·chik A·song* 'The Garos and the land of the Garos' (1973), written by P. C. Kar, former Senior Lecturer of Tura Government College. It gives much information showing the authors close contact with and understanding of the people, as well as, his love for the Garos as he knew them.

Another interesting and informative book is *Garo Hills the Land and Peoples* by L. S. Gassah which is a collection of articles by different writers on the Garos, Koches, Boros and others tribes who live in the Garo Hills and in which some brief mention of the languages is made by different authors.

#### **1.8.1.2.0. Dictionaries, Grammar Books, Primers and Folktales:**

There are quite a few books written on the folktales of the Garos collected by H. W. Marak, D. S. Nengminza and others. Also, Several Primers and Readers prepared as school textbooks by the early missionaries and a few native speakers as well who began to realize the need for such books.

**1.8.1.2.1.** Some of the books on the folktales, maxims and proverbs of the Garos, collected and preserved by the native speakers are as follows:

1) Two books *Achik Golporang* 'Tales of the Garos' (1957) and *Achik Aganbewalrang* (Original Tales of the Garos) (1959) were written by H.W. Marak, the Second Edition of the latter was republished by NEHU publications in 1983.

2) *The Folktales of the Garos* (1960) compiled by Dewansingh S. Rongmuthu and published by the Gauhati University, Department of Publications. Gauhati, Assam.

3) *Epic Lore of the Garos* (1967) a companion volume to the first one by Dewansing Sangma Rongmuthu and published by the Department of Publications, Gauhati University. Gauhati, Assam.

4) *Agan Me'apa* 'Maxims and Proverbs of the Garo' (1985) compiled by Milton S. Sangma and Julius R. Marak is a popular collection published by the Tura Book Room, which has gone into its Fifth Edition till 2004.

5) *Apasong Agana (Achik Katta Gitsham)* 'Our Forefathers Say: Old Narratives of the Achiks' (1970), published by Lt Misorsing A. Sangma and later reprinted and published by Sharona M. Marak, Tura, 1997.

Very few good books have been written on the Grammar of the Garo language. There were earlier writings on the Grammar and vocabulary of the language, as well as dictionaries written by some British Officers such as William Robinson and John Elliot; also by American Baptist

Missionaries, namely, the Reverends Miles Bronson, E.G. Phillips, M. C. Mason, and T. J. Keith among others mentioned earlier. However, there are very few which can be described as satisfactory descriptions of the language, and none of them, with the exception of one, would meet the expected standard of present day linguistic studies. Some valuable work in this area, namely, writings on Garo Grammar and particularly the Morphology of the language have just recently been done by Robbins Burling, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology and Linguistics at the University of Michigan, USA, who has written various books, some of which are: *A Garo Grammar*<sup>32</sup> and the *Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo) Vol. I: Grammar*.<sup>33</sup>

**1.8.1.2.2.** A list of the books and articles as well as Primers, written on the vocabulary and Grammar of the Garo language from the eighteenth century onwards are given below, and it may be noted that most of them are very rudimentary descriptions<sup>34</sup>:

1) *Garo Vocabulary (1788-89)* written by John Elliot, Commissioner of Dacca, who collected the words to help him in the administration of the Garo region.

<sup>32</sup> Burling, Robbins *A Garo Grammar*. Deccan College Monograph Series: 25. Published by Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona.

<sup>33</sup> Burling, Robbins, *The Language of the Modhupuri Mandi (Garo)*. Vol. I.: Grammar. Bibliophile South Asia in association with Promilla & co., Publishers.

<sup>34</sup> The list is compiled from Mrs. B. K. Sangma's book *Ku- sikni Bidingo Seanirang (Essays on Language)*, pages 78-80 and from Dr Milton Sangma's book *History of Garo Literature* NEHU Publications, Shillong, Reprint 1992.

2) *Garó Vocabulary* (1800) written by Francis Hamilton who made a comparative study of Garó vocabulary with other languages while he was on official duty in the Zilla of Rangpur, in Assam.

3) *Garó Vocabulary* (1837) written by Nathan Brown, the first American Baptist Missionary to Assam. In his “Comparison of Indo-Chinese Languages”, words from Garó vocabulary were also included. These were actually collected and given to him by John Strong, a Junior British Officer serving in the Garó Hills.

4) *Garó Vocabulary* (1849) by William Robinson an educational officer in Assam who in his “Notes on the Languages spoken by the various tribes inhabiting the valley of Assam and its mountain confines” included a “Garó Grammar” and got it published in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. This was probably the first publication on Garó Grammar.

5) *Garó Vocabulary* (1849) by B. H. Hodgson in his writing on the “Aborigines of North east India” in which he made a comparison of the Tibetan, Dhimal, Bodo and Garó languages.

6) *Garó Vocabulary* (1867) by Ramnath Chakravarty, the first Indian to have compiled a Garó vocabulary. He made a comparison of the vocabulary of the English, Garó and Bengali languages.

7) *Garo Vocabulary* (1868) by W.W.Hunter, who wrote *A Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia*, devoted a portion of his dictionary to the *Garo Vocabulary* written by B. H. Hodgson above.

8) *A Garo Grammar* (1868) by Miles Bronson an American Baptist Missionary to Assam. He also wrote in the same year i) *Phrases in English and Garo* and ii) *A Garo Primer*.<sup>35</sup>

9) *A Vocabulary of the Garo and Koch Dialects* (1869) by W. J. Williamson, the first Deputy Commissioner to the Garo Hills District.

10) *A Vocabulary based on Robinson's and Williamson's collection of Garo Vocabulary* (1872) by E. T. Dalton a British officer who had been deputed to study the life of the Garos. He included the above report in his *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*.

11) *Dictionary of the Garo Language* (1873) a Bengali-Garo-English Dictionary by T. J. Kieth the second missionary designated to the Garos by the American Baptist Mission in 1872.

12) *Garo Vocabulary* (1874) was an article included by Sir George Campbell in his "Specimens of the languages of India including those of

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<sup>35</sup> Milton S. Sangma *History of Garo Literature*, NEHU Publication, Shillong 1992, collected from the Appendix, p 136.

the aboriginal tribes of Bengal, the Central Provinces and the Eastern Frontiers.

13) *Garó Vocabulary* (1884), written by S. Endle a missionary to the Boros who compiled a Comparative Vocabulary of Kachari, Garó and Hill Tipera.

14) *Bengali-Garó Dictionary* (1887) written in the Bengali script by M. Ramke one of the first Garó converts to Christianity as well as the first native to acquire education. When Ramke W. Momin brought out the first dictionary as a native speaker it contained about 35,000 words. It has recently (in 1996 to be exact), been romanised and republished under the title *Ku'bidik*<sup>36</sup> meaning 'vessel, or storage jar of words', that is, 'a dictionary or lexicon'

15) *On the Garó Language* (1885) by John Avery, who also wrote on the similarity between the Kachari and Garó Languages in 1887.

16) *Garó Vocabulary* (1891) by A.W. Davis, which was included in his report on the Census of Assam.

17) *Skang Skiani Baksa* 'Primer Part I', (1892) by the American Baptist Mission Union.

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<sup>36</sup> Rev. Ramke W. Momin, *Ku'bidik* Published by the Department of Art and Culture, Govt. of Meghalaya, Shillong, 1996.

Other books published by the American Baptist Mission upto 1900, but for which the dates could not be verified are:<sup>37</sup>

18) *Three Primers and a Reader* by I. J. Stoddard

19) *Garo Primer (Translated)* by Russel Bernadette

20) *Garo-English Dictionary*, by A. Macdonald

21) *New Primer Part I, II, and III* by E. G. Phillips

The American Baptist Mission Union continued their work in the Twentieth Century and we have the following publications:

22) *English-Garo Dictionary (1904)* written by Members of the Garo Mission of the American Baptist Missionary Union and edited by M. C. Mason. It was prepared to meet the urgent demand in Garo School work caused by the substitution of English text-books in place of Bengali text books used in the higher branches of study. It was published in 1904 by the Garo Mission, American Baptist Missionary Union and later reprinted and republished again in 1988 and again in 1994 by Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

The publishers of some of the following books could not be ascertained:<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Taken from the M. S. Sangma, *History of Garo Literature*, Appendix A, p 136.

<sup>38</sup> Taken from the M. S. Sangma, *History of Garo Literature*, Appendix B, pp 138-139.

23) *Garó Primer* (1909) by Ms Ella C. Bond and three other primers by her and Modhunath Momin, which could not be dated, namely:

24) *Poriani Bak, I, II, III and IV*, that is, 'Readers part I II, III and IV' by Ella C. Bond and Modhunath Momin

24) *Skichengani Bak II* (1920) 'Garó Primer Part II' by M. C. Mason

25) *Achik Aganani Baksa* (1927) 'Achik Narratives Part I' by Jobang D. Marak and Simison R. Sangma.

26) *The School Dictionary: Garó to English* (1940) written by D. S. Nengminza published by The Garó Hills Book Emporium, recommended for use in the schools and colleges and still a very popular book today.

27) *Merian Dictionary: English to Garó* (1954) written by D. S. Nengminza and published by The Garó Hills Book Emporium. A companion to the *School Dictionary* mentioned above and still very much in use in the schools today, being recommended by the School Board and reprinted every year for use in the various schools and colleges of Garó Hills.

28) *English-Achikku Dictionary* (1955) by Kandura W. Momin, Published by the Tura Book Room, Tura. First published in 1955, it has come out in several editions since then.

29) *English-Garo Dictionary* (1957) by Rangam G. Momin  
Published by Mrs. R. G. Momin, Upper Chandmary, Tura. Third Edition,  
Tura, 1970.

30) *Garo Reader I, II for Adults* (1960) by Levisond M. Sangma.

31) *Achik Composition* (1970) by Kenneth M. Momin

32) *Oxford Science Dictionary*, jointly translated into Garo in the  
70's by O. D. Shira., V. W. Ingty and Carvel R. Marak

33) *Ku·bidik* (a Garo-English-Assamese-Dictionary) by H. W.  
Marak published in 1975 by the Assam Academy for Cultural Relations,  
containing about 14778 words. This is not the same as that written by  
Ramke W. Momin in 1887 which was originally published in the Bengali  
script as a *Bengali-Garo-Dictionary* and was renamed later as *Ku·bidik* by  
the Department of Art and Culture, Government of Meghalaya, when they  
republished it many years later in 1996.

34) *Ku·rongdik* (A·chikku into English Dictionary) by L. M.  
Holbrook published by The Garo Literature Society in 1998.

The above mentioned list of writings was simply a collection of the  
vocabulary of Garo and brief comments on the Grammar of the language.  
It was only later that more serious attempts were made at writing an actual  
Grammar of the Garo language by the missionaries, E. G. Phillips, Miles

Bronson and M. C. Mason as well as Robbins Burling an American Anthropologist and Linguist.

1.8.1.3. The actual books written on the Grammar and some Linguistic aspects of the language are as follows:

1) *Garó Grammar* by William Robinson (1849): This was the first ever attempt to write a Garó Grammar by William Robinson a Superintendant of Government Schools in Assam. Perhaps the officer felt obliged to learn the languages of the communities with whom he came in contact during his official tours and in his "Notes on the Languages spoken by the various tribes inhabiting the valley of Assam and its mountain confines" included a "Garó Grammar". A commendable work for its time, it was later published in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.XVIII, Part 1 in March 1949.

2) *A·chik Grammar* by E. G. Phillips (1902): Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Phillips wrote two books on Garó Grammar, one in Garó entitled *A·chik Grammar* and the other in English entitled *Outline Grammar of the Garó Language* mentioned below, which were to be used as text books in Garó schools. These were a part of the untiring efforts of the early missionaries M.C. Mason and E. G. Phillips to enable the Garos to get the Grammar of their own language. Published by the Secretariat Press of the Assam Government in the early nineteenth century, it still

enjoys a monopoly in the Grammar literature on the Garo language, being used in the Middle and Highschool levels even till today, as a better Grammar book is yet to be written. It is a good example of the missionaries' efforts to get a command over a language of the people they work with.

3) *Outline Grammar of the Garo Language* by E. G. Phillips (1904):

As already mentioned above this is one of the two books on Garo Grammar written by E. G. Phillips to give the Garos a Grammar of their own language, a gift by the missionaries, to help improve the lot of the Garos.

4) *A·chik Grammar* by Samson K. Sangma (1982): This was written keeping children in mind with separate lessons and exercises for each section. The Meghalaya Directorate of Public Instruction approved and accepted it for use in the Lower Primary Schools of Garo Hills.

5) *A Garo Grammar* by Robbins Burling; published by the Deccan College Post Graduate Research Institute, Poona in 1961, was originally written as a by-product of his anthropological field work among the Garos in the early 1950's. Feeling obliged to learn the language for practical purposes he soon developed a greater interest in the language and went into deeper research in later years. He attempted to describe the language in keeping with the linguistic tenets of the time. This though interesting

was felt to be too technical for the ordinary laymen and was considered useful only by those specialising in linguistics.

6) *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)* by Robbins Burling (2004), in three volumes, of which only the first volume on the Grammar of the language has been published. The book written by Robbins Burling on the language of the Garos of Modhupur in Bangladesh is quite a comprehensive one from the linguistic point of view, however, it describes more of the dialect spoken in Bangladesh and not the standard Garo dialect spoken by the A·chiks in the Garo Hills, particularly, A·we, which is accepted as the standard dialect of the Garo language and would therefore not be fully acceptable as a description of the Grammar of the Garo language.

7) *Ku·sikni Bidingo Seanirang* (Essays on Language) a book written in Garo by B. K. Sangma and published by the author herself in 2005, which gives some introduction to language and linguistics in general, namely, essays on Phonetics and Word formation processes. Also several essays on different aspects of Garo Grammar, such as, a critical study of earlier Grammar books. There is also a description of verbs in English, on the tense and aspect of verbs, and of Garo verbs in particular.

8) *The Comparative Phonology of the Bodo Garo Languages* by U.V. Joseph and Robbins Burling (2006) published by the Central Institute

of Indian Languages, Mysore. This is a combined effort at describing the phonology of four languages of the Boro-Garo language family, namely, Tiwa, Rabha, Boro and Garo respectively, in which both the scholars have had considerable experience through their association with speakers of these languages. In particular Robbins Burling with the Garos for about fifty years and U. V. Joseph with the others for at least twenty years.

1.8.1.4. Books written on other languages such as Assamese, Bodo, Bengali and Rabha, as well as on other linguistic topics concerning the North Eastern region, also contain references to linguistic aspects of the Garo language as well, such as:

- 1) *The Kirata-Jana-Krti* (The Indo-Mongoloids: Their Contribution to the History and Culture of India) by S. K. Chatterji National Professor of India in Humanities and Emeritus Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta. Published in 1974 by The Asiatic Society. A new Edition has recently been published by The Asiatic Society in Kolkata, 2005.
- 2) *Studies in Sino-Tibetan Languages* by S. N. Goswami published in 1982 by Kamrupa Anusandhan Samity, Gauhati.
- 3) *Kamarupi: A Dialect of Assamese* by U.N. Goswami published in 1984 by Western Books Depot, Gauhati.

- 4) *A Descriptive Analysis of the Boro Language* by P.C. Bhattacharjee Department of Publication, Gauhati University, Gauhati, 1977.
- 5) *Languages of the North East (Assamese, Khasi, Manipuri, Mising and Rabha)* A collection of selected papers written by reputed authors on Assamese, Khasi, Manipuri, Mising and Rabha and edited by P.N. Dutta Baruah. First published 1997, by the Director, Central Institute of Indian languages, Manasagangotri, Mysore – 570006. Central Institute of Indian Languages; Ministry of Human resources Development, Govt. of India, Manasagangotri, Mysore-57105.
- 6) The Scholar has also referred to the findings of her own M.Phil thesis submitted to the Madras Christian College (Autonomous) at Tambaram, Tamilnadu, entitled, “A Phonetic and Phonological Analysis of the Garo Dialect”.

**CHAPTER II**

**INFLECTION IN GARO**

## CHAPTER II

### INFLECTION IN GARO

This Chapter will describe in detail, the morphological process of inflections in the Garo language. Before doing so however, it is felt important to give a brief account of morphology, morphemes and other terms relevant for the study.

**2.1.0. Morphology** is the study of word structure, of word formation processes. It refers to that branch of language studies which deals with what morphemes are and how they operate in the structure of a word. D. Thakur, in his book on Morphology made the following definition,

“It is the science and study of the smallest grammatical units of language, and of their formation into words, including inflection, derivation and composition.”<sup>1</sup>

**2.1.1. Morphemes:** Charles F. Hockett first made the following definition of a morpheme which is often quoted:

“Morphemes are the smallest individually meaningful elements in the utterances of a language”<sup>2</sup>.

David Crystal defines morphemes as, “the minimal distinctive unit of Grammar, and the central concern of Morphology.”<sup>3</sup> He further defines the

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<sup>1</sup> D. Thakur, *Linguistics Simplified: Morphology* Bharati Bhawan Publishers and distributors. Reprint of 2002. p. 1. Op cit, p.129.

<sup>2</sup> Hockett, Charles F., *A course in Modern Linguistics*, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd. Indian edition, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Blackwell Publishing, Fifth Edition. p.300.

morpheme as “the smallest distinctive unit of Grammar”, and morphology as “the branch of Grammar which studies the structure or forms of words, primarily through the use of the morpheme construct”.<sup>4</sup> They are the minimum units of the lexicon. Bloomfield in fact, defines the lexicon as, “the total stock of morphemes in a language”.

Morphemes must not however, be confused with words. Bloomfield describes a word as, “a minimal free form”,<sup>5</sup> that is, the smallest unit which may be spoken alone, whereas, a morpheme may be a whole word, or a part of a word. For instance, the word *cat* is a single morpheme, it cannot be broken down any further into meaningful parts, but when we make it plural and add an *-s* to it, it consists of two morphemes *cat* and *-s*. *Cat* can be spoken alone, but not *-s*, yet it is a meaningful part of the word and therefore is a morpheme.

**2.1.2. Morphs:** Any phonetic shape or representation of a phoneme is a morph. To quote John Lyons,

“When the word can be segmented into parts, these segments are referred to as *morphs*. Thus the word *bigger* is analyzable into two morphs, which can be written orthographically as *big* and *er*, and in phonological transcription as / big / and / ə /. Each morph *represents* (or is the exponent of) a particular morpheme.”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> David Crystal: *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language* .Cambridge University Press. P.90.

<sup>5</sup> David Crystal: *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language* .Cambridge University Press, p 90.

<sup>6</sup> Lyons, John, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge University Press, 1968, p. 183-184.

David Crystal also states in his *Dictionary of Linguistics* (p.300), that “morphemes are abstract units, which are realized in speech by discrete units, known as **morphs**.” The Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia explains it more clearly as follows:

“A word may consist of two bound morphemes: the word “morpheme” itself illustrates this, since it consists, or traditionally consisted, of two bound morphemes (“morph” and “eme”)... A more familiar example is if we adopt the suffix “-ish” as a separate word, and use “ish” by itself to mean “somewhat, a bit, so-so...in a similar way, the suffix “-ism” is also often applied to mean “a system of beliefs or an ideology” (e.g. Darwinism).”<sup>7</sup>

**2.1.3. Classification of Morphemes:** Each morpheme in a language has various characteristics based on its distributional relationships to other morphemes; and on the basis of these differences, morphemes may be classified in various ways.

**2.1.3.1. Free and Bound forms:** Morphemes are commonly classified into **free forms** (morphemes which can occur as separate words) and **bound forms** (morphemes which cannot stand on their own but have to be attached to other morphemes). In the above example given, the word *cat* can be spoken alone, so it is described as a “free morpheme”, whereas *-s*, cannot occur in isolation, it has no meaning of its own, therefore, it is called a “bound morpheme”.

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<sup>7</sup> From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morphology\\_\(linguistics\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morphology_(linguistics))

**2.1.3.2. Roots and affixes:** A further step in a similar kind of classification is to distinguish roots and affixes. Generally, **roots** are single morphemes which carry the “core or basic meaning” of the words; to quote David Crystal,

“A root is the base form of a word which cannot be further analyzed without total loss of identity. Putting this another way, it is that part of the word left when all the affixes are removed.”<sup>8</sup>

**2.1.3.3. Affixes:** In general affixes are those (usually small) parts of words that modify the central meaning of a word in a systematic way. They are bound morphemes which occur with roots and, in general, modify the basic meaning of the root in some way. The difference between an affix and a root morpheme is that an affix is always bound, while a root is often free. Several kinds of affixes can be realized depending on the way they occur with roots. Affixes are mainly of three types, namely prefixes, suffixes and infixes. To quote David Crystal,

“Affixes are generally classified into three types, depending on their position with reference to the root or stem of the word: those which are added to the beginning of a root/stem (PREFIXES), e. g. *unhappy*; those which follow (SUFFIXES), e. g. *happi-ness*; and those which occur within a root / stem (INFIXES).”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*; Blackwell Publishing, p. 402.

<sup>9</sup> Crystal, David, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* Blackwell Publishing, First Indian reprint 2003. p15.

There are also circumfixes, simulfixes, and suprafixes and so on. The number of affixes in a word has been suggested as one of the criteria for classifying languages into types (the **affix(ing) index**).

“Languages which express grammatical relationships primarily through the use of affixes are known as **affixing languages**, e.g. a ‘prefixing’ language (as in Bantu), or a ‘suffixing’ language (as in Latin or Greek)”<sup>10</sup>.

**Affixation:** Affixation is a morphological process in which a morpheme is added to the root or stem of a word. David Crystal states that,

“The morphological process whereby GRAMMATICAL OR LEXICAL information is added to a stem is known as affixation (‘prefixation’, ‘suffixation’, ‘infixation’).”<sup>11</sup>

#### 2.1.4.0. Affixation in Garo:

Garo too, is an ‘affixing’ or agglutinating language. The Garo language has a large number of affixes, which show grammatical relationships. There are both suffixes and prefixes; but with a larger number of suffixes than prefixes. A word in Garo can have several suffixes attached to it in a linear sequence. Often a word can become quite long, indicating it has a high proportion of agglutinating features. Words in agglutinating languages are composed of a long sequence of morphs, and each morph in a particular word represents just one morpheme. In his

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<sup>10</sup>Crystal, David, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* Blackwell Publishing, First Indian reprint 2003. p15

<sup>11</sup>Crystal, David, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* Blackwell Publishing, First Indian reprint 2003. p15.

description of the morphological process of word formation in the Garo language Burling observed that in the Garo language,

“The preponderant grammatical device is affixation, particularly the use of suffixes, which is carried to such an extent that “the language might be labeled as ‘agglutinative’, though such a term is inevitably not precise”.<sup>12</sup>

‘Agglutinative’ is a term defined by David Crystal as that which characterizes words which typically contain a linear sequence of morphs, for example in the English word *dis/establish/ment*.<sup>13</sup> We may also take examples from Garo, as in the words *-wat/at/a* ‘sent’; *wat/at/a/ha/chim/kon/de* ‘Most probably it has been sent’; *cha.à/ha/chim/kon/de* ‘Perhaps the eating is over?’ or ‘Perhaps he/she has eaten?’; *re /ang/ eng/a /ha/chim* ‘Actually he/she/I am already going’ or *chanchi/ eng/aha/chim* ‘In fact, I have already started thinking’.

**2.1.4.1.** Garo also has a large number of inflectional morphemes, that is, morphemes that express grammatical relationships such as number, tense case, but the morphemes in these words occur in a linear sequence and can be readily segmented into their constituent morphs as can be seen from the same examples given above. The morphology of the language is therefore predominantly agglutinative, though there are features of inflection as well, and the roots are mainly monosyllabic. Other affixes such as infixes,

<sup>12</sup> Robbins Burling, *A Garo Grammar*. Deccan College Monograph Series: 25. Published by Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. P.10.

<sup>13</sup> Crystal, David. *A DICTIONARY OF LINGUISTICS & PHONETICS*, p 17.

circumfixes, ambifixes, etc., have not been found in the language by this scholar.

2.1.5. Affixes may be divided into two classes, Inflectional and Derivational affixes.

2.1.5.1. Inflectional affixes: inflectional morphemes or affixes as defined by David Crystal “signal grammatical relationships, such as plural, past tense and possession, and do not change the grammatical class of the stem to which they are attached; that is, the words constitute a single paradigm, e.g. *walk, walks, walked*.”<sup>14</sup> In Traditional Grammar this was known as *accidence*.

2.1.5.2. Inflectional Morphology: In the Cambridge Encyclopedia, David Crystal states, that “Two main fields are traditionally recognized within morphology [that is, Inflectional morphology and Derivational morphology]. *Inflectional morphology* studies the way in which words vary (or ‘inflect’) in order to express grammatical contrasts, such as singular/plural or past/present tense. In older grammatical books, this branch of the subject was referred to as ‘accidence’. *Boy* and *boys*, for example, are two forms of the ‘same’ word; the choice between them,

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<sup>14</sup> Crystal, David, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and phonetics*, p.233.

singular vs. plural, is a matter of grammar, and thus the business of inflectional morphology.”<sup>15</sup>

**2.1.5.3. Derivational affixes:** on the other hand, derivational affixes change the grammatical class of the morphemes to which they are attached, as for example, the suffix *-tion* in *donation* is a derivational suffix that changes a verb to a noun [*donate*>*donation*]. They also occur closer to the root morpheme than inflections do, e.g. *nation-al-ize+-ing/-s/-d*. They often have independently stateable lexical meanings such as, *mini-* and *sub-* though some, such as *-er* in *teacher* are not always easy to identify. The combination of root and derivational affixes are known as the stem of a word.<sup>16</sup>

**2.1.5.4. Derivational morphology,** studies the principles governing the construction of new words, without reference to the specific grammatical role a word might play in a sentence.

In this chapter the present scholar intends to identify the inflectional and derivational affixes found in the Garo language.

**2.1.6.0. Divisions of words in Garo according to the morphemes:**

In order to express different thoughts A·chiks also use different words with suffixes which may be classified as Noun, Pronoun, Verb,

<sup>15</sup> Crystal, David: The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language .Cambridge University Press, p.90.

<sup>16</sup> Crystal, David, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and phonetics*, p.132.

Adjective and so on. In his book *A Garo Grammar* Robbins Burling says, “Words in Garo may be conveniently divided into four general classes, according to the types of morphemes which form them”,<sup>17</sup> these four classes he labels as:

- i) ‘Nouns’, or ‘noun phrases’ whose head word is a noun, which may take a characteristic set of suffixes [*rama* ‘road’; *rama-rang* ‘roads’; *na’a* ‘you’, *nang-na* ‘for you’ etc]
- ii) ‘Verbs’ or ‘verb phrases’ whose head word is a verb, which may take a characteristic set of suffixes. [*Cha’a* ‘eats’, *cha’gen* ‘will eat’ *cha’jok* ‘has eaten’ etc.]
- iii) ‘Numerals’, consisting of ‘classifier’ and ‘quantifier morphemes. [*Sak-sa* ‘one person’ *rong-sa* ‘one round thing’ etc.]
- iv) ‘Particles’ which are all words composed of single morphemes which cannot enter into any morphological constructions. That is, they do not take any affixes [*aro* ‘and’, *indiba* ‘but’, *aiao* ‘oh!’ etc.].

Another important morphological feature in Garo is the process of Reduplication. “Reduplication is a morphological process in which a root or stem or part of it is repeated”;<sup>18</sup> “for instance, in Verbs

<sup>17</sup> Robbins Burling, *A Garo Grammar*. Deccan College Monograph Series: 25. Published by Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. p. 10

<sup>18</sup> Loos, Eugene E. *Glossary of Linguistic Terms*. Comrie & Thompson 1985.p.396.

[*man.srangsrangaia* ‘(I) can easily manage/do it’], in Pronouns [*an.tangtang* ‘himself/herself’], in Quantifiers [*ge.prakprak* ‘each one’] and so on. Reduplication generally carries a distributive meaning, something like ‘each’ in English.”<sup>19</sup>

2.1.7. Homophones: The Garo language has many suffixes that are homophones, that is, they have the same pronunciation but different meanings; as for example:

Dative *-na*, a noun suffix

Infinitive *-na*, a verb suffix and

Quotative Particle *-na*

This is not just a simple coincidence, but in some sentences we find that Dative *-na* and Infinitive *-na* are used in parallel ways, as will be seen in the examples given below:

1. *Anga chipu-na kena*. [Dative]  
I-Nomn snake-Dat afraid-Neut. ‘  
I am afraid of snakes’.

2. *Anga jro-na kena*. [Infinitive]  
I-Nomn swim-Inf afraid-Neut. ‘  
I am afraid to swim’.

3. *A-chikrang wangkal-na skangde a·bani bol biterangko cha:ja-na*.

<sup>19</sup> Burling, Robbins. *A Garo Grammar*, p. 11.

A·chik-Pl wangal-Dat before-Sub field-Gen tree fruit-Pl-Acc eat-  
Neg-Quo

‘It is said that before performing the Wangala (Festival) A·chiks do not eat the products of the field.’

The instrumental –chi is also homophonous with the spatial locative –chi. However the meanings are different and so they are treated as different cases.

4. *Kalme Duragrechi re·anga* (Locative)  
Kalme-Nom Duragre-Acc-Loc (s) go-Neut  
‘Kalme has gone to Duragre

5. *Bi·sa uni ma·gipachi doka man·aha*  
(Instrumental)  
child-Nom his/her-Acc mother-Inst beat-Neut got-Past  
‘The child was beaten by his/her mother’.

6. *Na·a karchichima sodachi bijak kapronga?*  
You-Nom karchi-Inst-or soda-Inst curry-Acc cook-Prog-Neut  
‘Do you cook your curry with *kar* (Garo spice) or with soda?’  
(Instrumental)

7. *Angade songchi-nokchi re·na sikbeenga.*  
I-am village-Loc-home-Loc go-Inst wish-very-Prog-Neut  
‘I am longing for my home in the village’. (Locative)

**2.1.8. Postpositions:** Garo, as stated earlier has basically the SOV word order, in which postpositions like –o, the locative –chi is also used with postpositions, but since its use is limited, it is used with fewer postpositions than –o, even with the spatial postpositions. However,

though the two case markers overlap in meaning, they are not synonymous, because *-chi* implies movement and *-o* suggests a lack of movement.

The postposition *-pak* meaning ‘about’, is characteristically used with the locative *-chi*. The suffix (*-pak*), conveys the meaning that the direction is rather uncertain, that it is not definite, but nearabout. It does not pinpoint, but indicates that the area is large. For example:

8. *ichipak* ‘this side’. Example:

*Na.a            ichipak            re bagenma?*  
 You-Nom    this-side    come-Fut-Interrogative marker (Que)  
 ‘Will you come this side?’

9. *Salaramchipak* ‘towards the east’. Example:

*Salaramchipak    sal            nabaronga*  
 East-Loc-Postn    sun-Nom    rises-Prog-Neut  
 ‘The sun rises in the East’

10. *Saliramchipak* ‘towards the West’; Example:

*Saliramchipak    sal            napangronga*  
 West-Loc-Postn    sun            enter-Prog-Past  
 ‘The sun enters (sets) in the West’

11. *A.brichipak* ‘towards the hill’. Example:

*A.brichipak            mikka            simenga*  
 Hill-Loc-Postn    rain-cloud    dark-Prog-Neut  
 ‘There are dark rain clouds in the direction of the hill’

12. *Burungchipakni* ‘from the jungle’. Example:

*Burungchipakni            wa'al    kambaaha*  
 Forest-Loc-Postn-Gen    fire    burn-come-from-Past  
 ‘The fire started burning from the direction of the forest’

## 2. 2. 0. INFLECTIONAL MORPHEMES IN GARO

“An inflection is an ending which carries grammatical information such as TENSE or NUMBER and is added to the BASE FORM of a word, eg *-ed* (walked), *-s* (walks).”<sup>20</sup>

This section of the chapter shows how inflections are used in Garo verbs, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs showing grammatical relationships. The inflections do not change the grammatical category of these words, but they signal grammatical relationships showing plurals and cases in nouns and pronouns, tense and aspect in verbs and comparison in adverbs and adjectives.

### 2.2.1.0. Verbs:

Verbs as described by Quirk and Greenbaum are “an Open and Major word class and are traditionally described as ‘doing’ or ‘action’ words.”<sup>21</sup> In English, Verbs comprise two basic types: Main and Auxiliary Verbs. They are also marked for Tense and show agreement with the subject”.<sup>22</sup> Verb phrases are those roots, which take the morphemes for tense, aspect and mood. Verbs can be analyzed into a set of verbal roots and a set of affixes. The verb roots are of two types, namely, simple, which are monosyllabic and disyllabic, and complex derived roots, which are

<sup>20</sup> *The Internet Grammar of English*

<sup>21</sup> Quirk, Randolph & Greenbaum, A University Grammar of English, Publications- ELBS, Longman Group Ltd. 1981. p.

<sup>22</sup> The Internet Grammar of English. <http://www.ucl.ac.uk>

formed by compounding or derivation. Verbs in inflectional languages are usually inflected for tense, aspect and mood.

In Garo, verbs enter into several types of morphological constructions –inflectional as well as derivational; inflectional suffixes are used to differentiate tense-aspect suffixes such as past and present. A Verb in Garo comprises a verb base and a principal verb suffix. Robbins Burling states that, “with rare exception, almost every verb in Garo includes not only a verb base, but a principal verb suffix as well”,<sup>23</sup> that is, almost every verb has at least one principal verb suffix. In other words, Verb = Verb base + Principal verb suffix, and it is the combination of these two, which forms a verb. A morpheme is assigned to the “verb base” in Garo, if it can take the characteristic set of suffixes that go along with the verbs. For instance, in Garo, *cha·a* is the base as well as the root form of a verb in the present tense, meaning 'eat(s)' and the suffix *-a* in *cha·a* is a neutral tense suffix. When the inflexional suffix morpheme *-eng* is added to it, it becomes, *cha·enga*, which means 'eating', and when the suffix morpheme *-ha*, is added it becomes *cha·aha* which is in the past tense meaning 'ate', and when the suffixes *-man* and *-jok* are added together, it becomes *cha·manjok* 'has eaten'. When the suffix morpheme *-gipa* is

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<sup>23</sup> Robbins Burling A Garo Grammar p. 25.

added to the root *cha·a*, it becomes a derivational morpheme *cha·gipa* which is an adjective meaning ‘the one who eats’ or ‘edible’.

Garo is predominantly a verb final language so that the order of words in Garo is generally SOV, namely, Subject Object Verb, for instance:

13. *Anga*            *mepring*                            *cha·jok*  
 I-Nom            lunch (morning meal)            eat-Past  
 ‘I have had my lunch’ (Subject + Object + Verb)

Verbs are the most frequently used words in the Garo language and a verb can act all by itself as a full sentence without an explicit subject. In translation however, it would sound odd, therefore, a she or a he is given in parenthesis, for example *sokbaaha* ‘(she / he) has arrived’. As Robbins Burling has rightly said, “The class of verb base is one of the largest classes of morphemes in Garo”.<sup>24</sup>

Burling also states that “Garo makes extremely little use of Suppletion”<sup>25</sup>. Suppletion is the device of internal change between related words, where it is not possible to show or find the relation between them, as they have different roots. For example, between *go* and *went*, *good* and *better* etc. Here we have, ‘the replacement of a regular form by an unrelated word. In English “*go*” has the past tense “*went*”, and “*be*” has

<sup>24</sup> Robbins Burling A Garo Grammar p. 25.

<sup>25</sup> Op. cit. Robbins Burling.

various unrelated parts such as "am" and "was".<sup>26</sup> This is not so in Garo and the reason for this is because the work is done in Garo by the suffixes *-eng, -a, -jok, -man* etc, as described in the example *cha·a* given above.

In English Verbs are marked for tense and they also show person and number agreement with the subject.<sup>27</sup> As for instance, - when the subject is in the third person singular, the verb has an 's' added to it as in –

*He /She walks alone today*

*John comes regularly to school*

- When the subject is in the first or second person, the verb does not need an 's' whether it is singular or plural, as in – *I /you /we / walk to the Newspaper shop*

In Garo, however, it is not necessary for the verb to be in agreement with the subject in number or person. As for instance:

14. Arjun      *bol*      *gadoo.*  
Arjun-Nom tree-Acc climb-Neut  
'Arjun climbs (the) tree'.

15. Anga      *bol*      *gadoo*  
I-Nom tree-Acc climb-Neut  
'I climb (the) tree'

16. *Chinga*      *bol*      *gadoo*  
We-Nom tree-Acc climb-Neut  
'We (exclusive) climb (the) tree'

<sup>26</sup> Retrieved from "[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uninflected\\_word](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uninflected_word)"

<sup>27</sup> The Internet Grammar of English

17. Na·simang    *bol*            *gadoa*  
 You-Pl            tree-Acc    climb-Neut  
 ‘You (plural) climb (the) tree’

It may be noted that the verb for climb *gadoa* is the same in all the sentences; its form does not change whether it is singular or plural, or in the first, second or third person. It is only with regard to tense that the form of the verb changes

Again in some languages like French and Hindi there has to be coordination between the verb and the gender. In Hindi for instance, if the subject is male, the verb will be ‘*tha*’ and if the subject is female, the verb will be ‘*thi*’ as seen in the examples below taken from D. Thakur’s book

*Linguistics Simplified: Morphology:*

Hindi	English
/ wəh lɪk <sup>h</sup> ega /	He will write
/ wəh lɪk <sup>h</sup> egi /	She will write
/ wəh lɪk <sup>h</sup> enge /	They (men) will write
/ wəh lɪk <sup>h</sup> engi /	They (women) will write <sup>28</sup>

In Garo, however, the verb does not inflect according to the gender; it remains the same, as seen below:

Garo	Hindi	English Meaning
18. <i>Bia segen</i>	/ wəh lɪk <sup>h</sup> ega /	He will write
19. <i>Bia segen</i>	/ wəh lɪk <sup>h</sup> egi /	She will write
20. <i>Uamang segen</i>	/ wəh lɪk <sup>h</sup> enge /	They (men) will write

<sup>28</sup> D. Thakur, *Linguistics Simplified: Morphology*, Bharati Bhavani Publishers & Distributors. Reprint of 2002. First Edn 1997. p.60.

21. *Uamang segen* / wəh lɪk<sup>h</sup> enɡi / They (women) will write<sup>29</sup>

It may also be noted above that the gender distribution of nouns is also not made; this will be further clarified in the section on nouns.

Garo has no need for auxiliary verbs, unlike English which needs a helping verb in certain situations with certain verbs, such as for instance, the need for an auxiliary verb along with the progressive suffix –ing. In Garo, the progressive morpheme –eng, by coincidence, is similar to the English Progressive morpheme –ing, for example,

- |     |                     |                    |
|-----|---------------------|--------------------|
| 22. | <i>re ang-eng-a</i> | <i>re ba-eng-a</i> |
|     | • Go-Prog-Neut      | come-Prog-Neut     |
|     | ‘go-ing’            | ‘com-ing’          |

In English however, besides affixing the progressive suffix, one of the auxiliary verbs would have to be added; as in, *he is working; I am singing; we were worrying*, and so on. The work is done in Garo by a single verb or, if necessary, by double verb morphemes, and these morphemes are simply added or suffixed to the verb and because the suffixes can be added, one after the other in a linear sequence, verbs in Garo are long and are said to be agglutinating. As for example:

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<sup>29</sup> Adapted to D. Thakur, *Linguistics Simplified: Morphology*, Bharati Bhavani Publishers & Distributors. Reprint of 2002. First Edn 1997. p.60.

23. *Na·a da·o nokchi re·ang-gnok-ma? / re·ang-gnok-chim-ma?*

You-Nom now home-Loc go-Fut-Que / go-Fut-past-Que

Will you go home now / will you go home now (or not)? (Said with civility)

24. *Na·a nokchi re·ang-a-ha-ma? / re·ang-a-ha-chim-ma?*

You-Nom home-Loc go-Past-Que / go-Past-Past-Que

Have you gone home? / have you gone home yet? (Sense of being incomplete /left hanging)

25. *Da·alde Ajoy kamchi re·angna ru·ut-na-ba-dong-a.*

Today-Sub Ajoy-Nom work-Loc(s) go-Inf late-may-be-Neut

Today Ajit may be late for work.

It may also be noted that in sentences 23 and 24 above two forms of the past tense can be used in the same word, as *-aha* as well as *-chim* are both past tense morphemes.

**2.2.1.1. Categories of Verb Suffixes:** A Principal Verb Suffix as noted earlier, is one of the main Verb suffixes, of which one must be used with every verb, such as: *-a*, in *cha·a* ‘eats’, *-jok* in *cha·jok* ‘has eaten’, *-gnok* in *cha·gnok* ‘will eat’ and so on. These Principal Verb Suffixes can be classified into the categories of verb suffixes mentioned below, depending on the type of constructions that the resulting verb can enter into. Verb bases rarely stand alone, but are generally accompanied by one of the suffixes mentioned below: a) Neutral *-a* or the unmarked Tense, b)

Terminal verb suffixes, c) Subordinate Verb suffixes and d) Substantive or Nominalizing Verb suffixes.

**2.2.1.1.1. a) Neutral *-a* or the unmarked Tense:** This suffix **neutral *-a***, is one of the commonest Principal verb suffixes and is used in a generalized sense in Garo verbs. It is neutral in tense and aspect and when verbs are cited in isolation this suffix always accompanies the verb, such as in the words: *ring-a*, *chrok-a*, *cha-a*, *re-a*, *ka-a*, *se-a*, *ro-a*, *dak-a*, *dok-a*, *kat-a*, *rat-a*, and so on, and indicates little more than the absence of tense. This is called the unmarked tense by linguists and when Garo became a written language, it became the natural lexical form to be listed in dictionaries.<sup>30</sup> The specialized meanings are carried by other verb suffixes such as the past suffix morphemes *-ha*, *-jok* and *-chim*, the remote past *-man*; and the progressive *-eng*; as in *seaha* ‘wrote / written’, *seahachim* ‘had written but...’ *sejok* ‘has/have written’, *seenga* ‘am writing’ and so on.

Examples of Neutral *-a* suffix morphemes:

26. *ring-a* ‘drinks’:
- |               |            |               |
|---------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>menggo</i> | <i>chi</i> | <i>ring-a</i> |
| Cat-Nom       | water-Acc  | drinks-Neut   |
- ‘(The) cat drinks water’

<sup>30</sup> Robbins Burling, The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Vol.1: Grammar, p121.

27. *chrok-a* ‘dances’: Ringchi name *chrok-a*  
 Ringchi-Nom well dances-Neut  
 ‘Ringchi dances well’
28. *cha-a* ‘eats’: Roger *do-o* *be-en* *cha-a*  
 Roger chicken-Nom meat eats-Neut  
 ‘Roger takes chicken’
29. *re-a* Mary *schoolchi* *re-a*  
 Mary-Nom school-Loc goes-Neut  
 ‘Mary goes to school’

**2.2.1.1.2. b) Terminal verb suffixes:** Most Garo sentences end with a verb. Therefore terminal verb suffixes are those suffixes that are used to end a sentence and most of these suffixes come after a principal verb suffix. These suffixes fall into two major subtypes:

i) Tense aspect markers and ii) imperatives. Example:

**2. 2. 1. 1. 2. 1. Tense aspect markers**

i) Tense aspect markers: *-a*, *-gen*, *-gnok*, *-jok* and *-ha* can be used in the following manner:

30. *Anga da'alde dokano mi cha a*  
 I-Nom today-Sub shop-Loc rice-Acc eat-Neut  
 I had my rice (meal) in a shop (restaurant) today
31. *Porika matchote anga songchi re'anggan*  
 Exam-Nom finish-Sub I-Acc village-Loc go-Fut  
 After I finish my examinations I will go to my village
32. B.A. *matchote anga kerani kam ka'gnok*  
 B.A.-Nom finish-Sub I-Acc clerical work will-Fut  
 I will work in a clerical job (in an office) after my B.A.

33. *Da'a bilside bi'sarang name porika pass  
ka tokjok*  
Today-Nom year-Sub children-Pl well-Sub exam-Acc pass did-  
all-Past

Today (this) year the children have all passed well

34. *Man'seng kam matchotaha*  
Man'seng work-Nom finish-Neut-Past  
Man'seng has completed the work

2. 2. 1. 1. 2. 2. ii) Imperatives suh as *-bo, -kan, -atbo, -ata* and *-nabe* etc,  
can be used in the following manner:

35. *Ia am bolko ra babo*  
This-Dem firewood-Acc bring-Imp  
Bring this firewood (here)

36. *Bararangko mikka wana skang itatbo*  
Clothes-Pl-Acc rain fall-Inf before take-in-Caus-  
Imp  
Take the clothes in before it starts raining

37. *Ia bosturangko da dangtapata*  
These-Dem thing-Pl-Acc don't-NImp touch-Caus-Neut  
Don't let anyone touch these things

38. *Mandeko samitingo auatnabe*  
Person-Acc sick-while-Loc bathe-Caus-Neg-Imp  
(A) person should not be given a bath during illness

§A detailed discussion on Imperatives will be made in section

2.2.1.2.2.0. below.

**2.2.1.1.3. c) Subordinate Verb suffixes:** These suffixes form verbs that can form only subordinate clauses, that is, which require another verb suffix to complete the sentence. For example, *-e*, *-enba* or *-eming*, subordinating suffixes can be used in the following manner:

39. *Anga re·ange re·bapiljok*  
 I-Nom go-Neut-Sub return-Past  
 I have gone and I have come back.
40. *Biade cha·na on·gijako cha·eming sataipilenga.*  
 He-Sub give-Neg-Acc eat-Inf eat-Sub sick-again-Prog-  
 Neut  
 Having eaten food that was forbidden, he is sick again.
41. *Tarie sengsobo*  
 Get-ready-Sub wait-on-Imp  
 Get ready and wait.
42. *Balwa rakdapenba bol pangpikaha*  
 Wind-Nom strong-Comp-Sub tree-Acc uproot-Neut-Past  
 The wind grew stronger and the tree got uprooted /tilted over'.

**2.2.1.1.4. Substantive or Nominalizing Verb suffixes:** these suffixes form verbs which can enter into constructions with nouns to form noun phrases, or which can stand as nouns themselves, that is which can take noun suffixes such as plural numbers and case markers. For instance, *-a* as in *chon-a* 'small'; or *-gipa* as in *chongipa* meaning 'the small one' and *-ni* in *cha.ni* 'food'. Here *-a* is not the same as the Neutral *-a* mentioned above, it is a homophonic form of a nominalizing suffix; this nominalizing *-a* and *-gipa* are used indiscriminately. We can also add case or plural

markers and write them as: *chon-gipa-ko*, *chon-gipa-rang*, and *chon-gipa-rang-ko*. Example:

43. *Chon-a* (*chon+a*) small+Neutral -a: ‘small’  
*Komila chonako rongsa cha·a*  
 Orange-Nom small-adj-Acc one-Classifier ate-Neut  
 (I) ate a small orange’
44. *chon-gipa* (*chon+gipa*) small+adjectival suffix -*gipa*: ‘small’  
*Komla chon-gipa rongsako man·genma?*  
 Orange-Nom small-adj one-Class-Acc get-Fut-Que  
 Can (I) have a small orange?
45. *cha·a-ni* (*cha·a + -ni*) eat + Nomz: ‘food’  
*Picnicna cha·ani bang·e ra·babone*  
 Picnic-Dat eat-Nomz plenty-Sub bring-Imp-please-do  
 . Please bring plenty of food for the picnic

**2.2.1.2.0.** Terminal verb suffixes: As already stated above, there are two types of terminal verb suffixes in Garo, namely, i) tense aspect markers and ii) imperatives

### **2.2.1.2.1. Tense aspect markers**

**2.2.1.2.1.0.** Tense, aspect and mood have been defined by Quirk and Greenbaum in the following manner: “Time is a universal, non-linguistic concept with three divisions: past, present, and future; by *tense* we understand the correspondence between the form of the verb and our concept of time. *Aspect* concerns the manner in which the verbal action is experienced or regarded (for example as completed or in progress), while

*mood* relates the verbal action to such conditions as certainty, obligation, necessity, possibility. In fact, however, to a great extent, these three categories impinge on each other: in particular, the expression of time present and past cannot be considered separately from aspect, and the expression of the future is closely bound up with mood”<sup>31</sup>.

Tense: refers to the grammatical encoding of an event or action in time. Tenses are verb forms which show differences in time, formed by changing the verb, (as, *know, knew / work, worked*, etc., or by adding auxiliary verbs, *will know, had worked*, etc.).<sup>32</sup> In Garo, tenses are shown by the addition of suffixes to the root of a word.

Aspect: in Grammar is a verb form, which relates activity to passage of time. “Aspect refers to the way an action denoted by a verb should be viewed with respect to time.”<sup>33</sup> Aspects therefore, view an event in time, that is, verb forms can be used to show whether an action was going on at a particular time, or whether it has been completed. Progressive and Perfective are modern linguistic terms for the aspect of verb forms which were called the ‘continuous tense’ and the ‘past perfect or plu-perfect’ tense’ respectively, in traditional grammar.

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<sup>31</sup> Quirk, Randolph and Sidney Greenbaum: A University Grammar of English, published by English Language Book Society and Longman Group Limited 1981. p.40.

<sup>32</sup> *The Internet Grammar of English*

<sup>33</sup> *The Internet Grammar of English*

E.g. *It was raining* – Progressive Aspect

*It had rained* – Perfective Aspect.

The use of verb forms to show this kind of meaning is called aspect.

Bernard Comrie in his book on *Tense*, defined tense as “a grammaticalised expression of location in time” and stated that this definition would enable us to say that “the difference between *John sang* and *John sings* in English is one of tense, whereas that between *John sings* and *John is singing* is not, but rather of aspect”.<sup>34</sup>

Perfective Aspect: The Perfective refers to the action viewed as complete. This aspect indicates an action or situation that started in the past, but still has current relevance.

The Progressive Aspect refers to the continuing action of a verb or, in other words to the action viewed as incomplete. That is, it is still in progress such as *walking, acting, cooking, singing*, and so on. The Progressive aspect indicates that an action or situation is ongoing. Whereas, the perfective indicates that the action is complete. Take for example, *is examining* as seen below:

*He is examining the papers* (progressive)

*He has examined the papers* (perfective)

Aspect is closely connected in meaning with tense: The distinction in Grammar between tense and time is only in the terminology, which

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<sup>34</sup> Bernard Comrie, *Tense*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p 9.

helps us to separate in our mind two kinds of realizations: 1) the morphological realization of tense (*works, worked; know, knew, etc.*) 2) the syntactical realization of aspect: *He is examining / He had been examining, etc.* Tense and aspect therefore combine freely in the complex verb phrase.<sup>35</sup>

#### **2.2.1.2.1.1.0. Tense and Aspect in Garo**

Garo has three main tenses - Past, Present and Future. Garo has suffixes for the Past and Future tenses, and it has a Neutral tense suffix for the present as already shown above. Tense and aspect cannot be separated in Garo and they usually occur in a single verb. The tense-aspect suffixes in Garo express the time or manner of the event, giving a temporal dimension to the verb and to the sentence.<sup>36</sup>

The tense-aspect markers in Garo may briefly be described as follows:

1. Da·o Ong·gipa Tense – Simple Present Tense (Neutral –a)
2. Ong·gimin Tense – Simple Past Tense (-ha, -jok, -chim -man)
3. Ong·gni Tense – Future Tense (-gen, -gnok, -nasia, naba donga)

<sup>35</sup> R. Quirk. et al. 1985. A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language. London: Longman. p 189.

<sup>36</sup> Burling, *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi(Garo)*, Vol I: Grammar, p.121. Bibliophile South Asia in association with Promilla & Co. Publishers.2004, p.121.

### 2.2.1.2.1.1.1. The Simple Present Tense or Da'o ong'gipa Tense in Garo:

The **neutral** *-a* suffix as mentioned earlier, is a present tense suffix marker used in a generalized sense in Garo verbs. It is neutral in tense and aspect and when verbs are cited in isolation this suffix always accompanies the verb. The present tense in Garo is realized in three aspects, present habitual, present progressive and present perfective. All the three aspects are distinctly marked by tense-cum-aspect morphemes.

The following are the ways in which the present tense is used.<sup>37</sup>

i) Action for the present moment (or for just the present instant):

46. *Namchi git ring'a*  
 Namchi-Nom song sing-Neut  
 Namchi sing(s) a song'
47. *Chekan chroka*  
 Chekan-Nom dance-Neut  
 Chekan dance(s)'
48. *Silman dama doka*  
 Silman-Nom drum beat-Neut  
 Silman beat(s) the drum'
49. *Dingjeng a-a cho'a*  
 Dingjeng-Nom soil dig-Neut  
 Dingjeng dig(s) the soil

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<sup>37</sup> Examples taken and adapted from Mrs. B.K. Sangma's book *Ku-sikri Bidingo Seanirang*, (Essays on Language), p 100.

In the sentences above, the verbs *ring·a* ‘sings’, *chroka* ‘dances’, *doka* ‘beats’ and *cho·a* ‘digs’, are all in the present tense and the aspect is ‘at that very moment/ instant’ or ‘of the present time’.<sup>38</sup>

ii) Present Tense connected with the past and the future.

50. *Ua saksa ukil ong·a*  
He/she Classifier-one lawyer is-Neut  
‘She / he is a lawyer’

51. *Ua doctor kam ka·a*  
He/she doctor work does-Neut  
‘She / he works as a doctor’

52. *Bill namgipa engineer ong·a*  
Billgood-adj engineer is-Neut  
‘Bill is a good engineer’

Tense: Present.

Aspect: Past connected to or continued till the future – is / was + will  
continue to be a lawyer /doctor / engineer.

iii) Habitual action.

53. *Anga saljatchio mepring cha·a*  
I-Nom mid-day-Loc morning meal eat-Neut  
‘I have my morning meal at mid-day’  
Tense: present. Aspect: Habitual action

54. *John Robibar changanti gilja re·a*  
John-Nom Sunday Cls-every church attend-Neut  
‘John goes to church every Sunday’.

<sup>38</sup>Taken and adapted from the book *Ku·sikni Bidingo Seanirang*, “Essays on Language” by B.K. Sangma, p. 100 onwards.

55. *Ua pringantin cha ringa*  
 He/she morning-every tea drink-Neut  
 'He drinks tea every morning'

Tense: present. Aspect: Habitual action

- iv) Eternal / Unchangeable action or Permanent truth

56. *Pulrang nina nitoa*  
 Flower-Pl look-at-Inf beautiful-Neut  
 'The flowers are beautiful to look at'

57. *Taj Mahal ka·saani chin ong·a*  
 Taj Mahal love-Gen sign is-Neut  
 'The Taj Mahal is a symbol of love'

58. *Ut a·gisini jahas ong·a*  
 Camel desert-Gen ship is-Neut  
 'The Camel is a ship of the desert'

59. *Do·o bila*  
 Bird fly-Neut  
 Bird(s) fly

Tense: Present.

Aspect: Habitual, permanent, eternal action in the past, present and future.

#### 2.2.1.2.1.1.2. The Simple Past Tense or Ong'gimin Tense in Garo:

In English, the past tense is shown either by adding the suffix *-ed* to the verb, or by suppletion, in which the past tense of 'go' is 'went' and that of 'sing' is 'sang', that is, words from different sources are used for the different tenses of verbs in English. This is not so in Garo. The difference

in tense is simply shown by attaching different suffix morphemes for different tenses.

The Past Tense is shown in Garo by attaching the morphemes *-ha*, *-jok*, *-man* and *-chim* to the verb base, as in, *re·angaha*, '(he/she) has gone'; *re·angjok*, '(he/she) has gone'; *re·angman·jok* '(he/she) has already gone'; *re·angachim* '(he/she) had gone', and *re·angahachim* '(he/she) had already gone', and so on. The Simple Past Tense shows completed action and not present action or action going on now.

**2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.** The use of *-ha* and *-jok* as past tense markers:

In standard Garo, the suffix morphemes *-ha* and *-jok* are used alternately to indicate completed action. The Simple Past Tense shows completed action and not present action or action going on now. However, in his book on the *Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)*, Robbins Burling, has differentiated between the two forms by stating that *-jok* is more likely to indicate the recent past, while *ha* can refer as easily to 'long ago' as to 'just now'.<sup>39</sup> This seems quite acceptable and probable too, especially, as *-jok* refers to the 'recent past' and is used more often in colloquial everyday speech, whereas *-ha*, is used more often in formal speech and writing. The latter (*-ha*) is also more emphatic and has a

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<sup>39</sup>Burling, *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)*, Vol I: Grammar, Bibliophile South Asia in association with Promilla & Co. Publishers. 2004, p. 122, 124.

definiteness to it. The other differences between the two morphemes pointed out by Burling, is that *-jok* refers to a change of state while *-ha* differs from it in that it indicates nothing about the present state. This may be more clearly explained by quoting from Burling himself, as given below:

“*-jok* can often be translated by the English perfect tense (the tense formed with *have*): *ang-a cha-jok* ‘I have eaten’ *bi-song kat-tok-jok* ‘they have all run away’... [In] Garo, *-jok* means specifically, a change of state. Thus *ang-a cha-jok* really means ‘my state has changed from one of not having eaten to one of having eaten’...[again] when *-jok* is used with *-ja* ‘negative’, *ang-a cha-ja-jok* does not mean ‘I have not eaten’ but, instead means ‘I eat no more’. More precisely, the negative sentence means ‘My state has changed from one of eating to one of not eating’, so whether the verb is positive or negative *-jok* indicates a switch from one state to another.

[Examples may be given of the same, as in:

60. *namjok* ‘it is good’ / *namjajok* ‘it is no longer good’;  
 61. *waljok* ‘it has become night’ / *waljajok* ‘it is no longer night’]

“*-jok* indicates not only that the state has changed but that it remains in that changed state at the time of speaking. Thus, to say *anga i-angjok* means not merely that ‘(he) has gone’ but also that ‘(he) has not yet come back again’, not merely ‘has gone’, but ‘is gone’. *Ang-a cha-jok* means not merely ‘I have eaten’ but ‘I have eaten sufficiently recently that I do not yet have to eat again’. I am in the state of not needing to eat.”<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Burling, *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)*, Vol I: Grammar, Bibliophile South Asia in association with Promilla & Co. Publishers. 2004, p. 121-122.

Of the past morpheme *-ha*, which he refers to as *-a-ha* he states that:

“*-a-ha* differs in meaning from *-jok* in indicating nothing about the present state. *Bi-a kat-ang-a-ha* means ‘he ran away’ but says nothing about whether he has come back or not. *Bi-a kat-ang-jok* means ‘he has run away and is still gone’. *-jok* is also more likely to indicate the recent past, while *a-ha* can refer as easily to ‘long ago’ as to ‘just now’. When A·chik speakers use *-ja* ‘negative’ together with *-a-ha* they collapse them together as *-ja-ha* which means ‘did not’.”<sup>41</sup>

This description and these examples give a very correct and clear explanation of use of *-jok* and *-ha* in the Garo language. This was felt too by other experts in the language who had been consulted by the scholar in the matter.

Examples of the use of these past tense morphemes in Garo are as follows<sup>42</sup>:

62. *Ua kamtangko mejalo matchotaha*  
He/she own-work-Acc yesterday finish-Past  
‘She/he finished his/her own-work yesterday’
63. *Namchi porika name matchotaha*  
Namchi examination well-Sub finish-Past  
‘Namchi finished her exams well’
64. *Anga mi cha·aha*  
I-Nom rice (food) eat-Past  
‘I have had my food’

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. pp, 124-125.

<sup>42</sup> B.K. Sangma, *Ku·sikni Bidingo Seanirang*, (Essays on Language), p 90-91.

65. *Ua kamtangko mejalon matchotjok*  
 He/she own-work-Acc yesterday-Frg finish-Past  
 ‘She/he has finished her/his work yesterday.’

66. *Wangala re·anggipa antion matchotjok*  
 Wangala (the) past week-Frg finish-Past  
 ‘(The) Wangala was over last week’

The first three sentences 62, 63 and 64 with the suffix morpheme *-ha* in the verbs *matchota* and *cha a* indicate definitely or firmly that the work is done. The morphemes *-ha* therefore indicates the definite past tense.

The next two sentences 65 and 66, with the suffix *-jok* attached to the verb *matchota*, show that the work has been finished just yesterday or last week, that is, in the ‘recent past’. However, in these two sentences the Adverbs *mejalon* ‘yesterday itself’ and *re·anggipa antion* ‘last week ‘ (with the emphasizing suffix *-n* attached to the verbs), are added to indicate the time of the action, therefore, the stress is more on the time, rather than whether the work was completed or not.

#### 2.2.1.2.1.2.2. The use of past tense morpheme *-man*

*-man* past marker, is another suffix morpheme used in the past sense. It usually conveys a sense of completed action, or a completion in meaning, finished, done and so on, but it can also be used to convey a sense of remoteness in time. It can also be used to convey the sense of ‘getting’ or ‘achieving something’. So it can be used as a simple past as

well as a remote past marker conveying completed action.<sup>43</sup> The following sentences would give a clearer picture:

67. *Angade re·angemung re·bamanjok*  
 I-Sub go-Sub-also come-Past perfect-past  
 I have (already) gone and come back
68. *Mi cha·-man-a-ha-ma?*  
 Rice-Nom eat-finish-Neut-Past-perfect –past-Que  
 (Have you) finished eating?
69. *Songregiparang gimikan re·-ang-man·-a-ha*  
 Traveller-Pl all-Frg go-Past-perfect-Neut-Pst  
 All the travellers have gone away

§ The Aspect of the verb in these sentences is Perfective. This aspect will

be discussed further in section 2. 2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 4. 4., below.

Examples of –man showing remoteness in time:

70. *Ambide 1980 bilsion simanjok / simanaha*  
 Grandmother-Sub 1980 year-Frg die-Past-Past  
 (My) Grandmother died in 1980
71. *Atchude skangon simanaha*  
 Grandfather-Sub long ago-Frg die-Past-Past  
 (My) Grandfather died long ago
72. *Atchu-ambide chengonin Dingrepa songkode*  
*watbamanjok*  
 Grandfather-mother-Sub long-ago-Frg Dingrepa village-Sub leave-  
 Past-Past  
 (My) Grandparents left Dingrepa village long ago

<sup>43</sup> B. K. Sangma, *Kusikni Bidingo Seanirang* (Essays on Language), pp 114.

### 2.2.1.2.1.1.2.3. The use of *-chim* as a past tense marker:

Yet another suffix morpheme that conveys the sense of past action is *-chim*, but when it is used it conveys a sense of i) incomplete action and ii), it is also often used in a polite sense. When the suffix morpheme *-chim* is attached to the verb there is an indication that the action of the verb is incomplete, that something has been left unsaid or undone, that something is yet to follow. That is, there is a sense of imperfection. For example we can say *Anga seengachim* 'I was writing'. This implies that the action is complete; however there is something that has been left unsaid or undone,<sup>44</sup> as in:

73. *Anga poedo seengachim, (indiba) matchotkuja*  
 I-Nom poem write-Prog-Past (but) finish-yet-Neg  
 I was writing a poem (but) have not finished (it) yet

74. *Uni okamato anga poraiengachim, (indiba) dontongaiaha*  
 He/she call-loc (time) I-Nom study-Prog-Past (but) just-stop-past  
 I was studying when she/he called (but I) just stopped studying

75. *Bia da:sipringonin bara su-engachim, (indiba) matchotkuja*  
 He/she this-morning-Frg clothes wash-Prog-Past (but) finish-yet - Neg  
 He /she has been washing clothes since (this) morning, but has not yet finished

In the above sentences we find that the past tense morpheme *-chim* is attached to the verbs *seenga* 'writing', *poraienga* 'studying' and *su-engachim*

<sup>44</sup>B. K. Sangma, *Kusikni Bidingo Seanirang* (Essays on Language), pp 92-93.

‘washing’ but there is a sense of incompleteness, and the word *indiba* ‘but’ put in brackets helps to complete the statement. *Indiba* is in brackets because it is not used in colloquial speech but is always used in writing.

Polite uses of the morpheme *-chim*<sup>45</sup>:

The past tense morpheme *-chim* is also used in polite expressions. It is used in a polite sense when one speaks to an elder or an equal or to someone higher in rank or social position. Also, when speaking to a heterogenous group of people consisting of elders and youth, such as in a social function where a respectful address is necessary; as for instance:

76. *Mande gimikan sokbaahachim, tom•aniko*  
*a•bachenggnokma?*  
 People all-Frg arrived-Past-Past meeting-Ac begin-  
 Fut-Que

All the people have arrived, shall we start the meeting?

77. *Anga auengachim na•a sengpana man•genma?*  
 I-Nom bathe-Prog-Past you wait-kindly-Inf can-Fut-  
 Que

I am having a bath, can you kindly wait?

78. *Mi bijakde songmanahachim ori•genma?*  
 Rice curry-Sub cook-finish (Past)-Past-Past give-Fut-Que  
 (The) food (rice curry) is cooked; shall we serve (it)?

79. *Chade dakmanahachim*  
 Tea-Sub make-finish (Past)-Neut-Past-Past  
 The tea is ready (said politely).

<sup>45</sup> B. K. Sangma, *Kusikni Bidingo Seanirang* (Essays on Language), pp 106.

The morpheme *-chim* is used in the above sentences in a polite sense. It may be noted that there is another morpheme used in polite expressions, that is, the suffix *-pa*, which means ‘also / kindly / please’. It also conveys a sense of ‘being with / going along with someone’. Both *-pa* and *-chim* can be used together in a word as in:

80. *Angoba nogipa saksade dongpaachim,*  
*chonengkua*

I-Loc-also younger-sister Class-one-Sub have-also-Neut-Past small-  
Prog-still-Neut

I also have a younger sister (but) she is still very young

81. *Chingaba babako sanade sanpabeahachim,*  
*man·rikjajok*

We (exclusive)-also father-Acc care-Sub care-also-very (Adv)-Past-Past  
get-Neg-Past

We had tried our very best to take care of our sick father, but could not save him.

82. *Angaba Shillong nikna sikpaengachim,*  
*rimpaboda.*

I-Nom-also Shillong see-Inf wish-also-Prog-Past take-along-  
please-Imp-do

I also want to see Shillong, please take me along.

### 2.2.1.2.1.1.3. The Future Tense or the Ong'gni Tense in Garo:

“There is no obvious Future Tense in English corresponding to the time or tense relation for present and past. Instead there are several

possibilities for denoting future time. Futurity, modality and aspect are closely related<sup>46</sup> and the Future tense is shown in English with the help of modal auxiliaries or semi-auxiliary or by Simple Present Tense or Progressive forms, such as 'shall/should', 'will/would' or 'may/might' etc. For example,

*Arjun will be going to the football match tomorrow*

*I shall be going to Bombay next month.*

*I might have come home, if I had known you were not well.*

The Future Tense in Garo is shown by the use of the suffix morphemes *-gen* or *-gnok* or *-nasia* or *-naba donga* and *-ja-wa* the Negative future tense,<sup>47</sup> such as in: *re·anggen* '(I) will go'; *re·bagen* 'will come', *re·gnok* 'will go now', *re·nasia* 'am about to go' and *re·naba donga* 'may go' and *re·angjawa* 'will not go' as for example:

*-gen* as a Future tense marker:

This morpheme is used to express the future tense in Garo and means 'will' or 'am going to'. Examples of its use are:

83.	<i>Anga</i>	<i>knalo</i>	<i>re·bagen</i>
	I-Nom	tomorrow-Loc (time)	come-Fut
	'I will come tomorrow'		

<sup>46</sup> Quirk and Greenbaum, *A University Grammar of English*, Published by English Language Book Society and Longman Group Limited 1981, p.47.

<sup>47</sup> B. K. Sangma, *Kusikni Bidingo Seanirang* (Essays on Language), pp 115.

84. *Na·a ambino re·bataigenma?*  
 You in the future-Loc come-again-Fut-Que  
 'Will you come again (in the near future)?'
85. *Chinga giljao git ring·gen*  
 We (exclusive) church-Loc (s) song sing-Fut  
 We will sing in the church.

**-gnok** as a Future tense marker:

This morpheme is used to indicate the immediate or intentional future meaning 'am about to' or 'intend to'. It is a feature typical of Tibeto-Burman languages, as in:

86. *Hai an·ching re·gnok*  
 Come we (inclusive) go-Fut  
 '(Come) let us (all) go'.
87. *Hai nokchi re·gnok*  
 Come home-Loc (place) go-Fut  
 '(Come) let's go home now'
88. *An·ching mi cha·gnokma?*  
 We (inclusive) rice eat-Fut-Que  
 Shall we have (rice) food?

**-nasia** as a Future tense marker:

This morpheme indicates future action or intention meaning 'is going to' or 'intend to', as for example:

89. *Gilja ka·nasiaha jrip dongtokbo!*  
 Church-Nom do-Fut-Past quiet stay-all-Imperative  
 The Church (service) is about to start, (so) keep quiet!
90. *Baba da·alo re·banasiengaha*  
 Father-Nom today-Loc (time) come-Inf-intends-Past  
 (Your/my) father is going to come today

91. *Nono tunasiaha, jripdongbo*  
 Younger sister sleep-about-to quiet-stay  
 (Your/my) younger sister is about to sleep, (so) stay quiet

**-naba donga** as a Future tense marker:

This morpheme indicates future events which may or may not occur and means ‘maybe’ or ‘it may so happen’ and it expresses an uncertainty, as in:

92. *Da·alde mikka simenga, wanaba donga*  
 Today-Sub rain dark-Prog-Neut pour-Inf-may be  
 It is cloudy, it may rain today.
93. *Bi·sade namnaba donga, name skie nibo*  
 (This) child-Sub good-Inf-maybe well-Sub teach-Sub see-  
 Imp  
 ‘This child may be good, see that you teach (him/her) well.’
94. *Mama sokbanaba donga, mi song ·sobo*  
 Uncle arrive-may be rice cook-Imp  
 (Your/my) uncle may be arriving, cook (some) rice
95. *A·sal on·ode pul silnaba dongachim*  
 Manure give-Sub flower beautiful-maybe is-Past  
 If manure is given, the flower maybe beautiful (that is, may grow well)

**-ja-wa** as the Negative Future marker:

*-jawa* is actually a stem consisting of two morphemes, namely, Negative suffix morpheme *-ja* and the actual Future tense morpheme *-wa*; *-jawa* therefore means ‘will not’. This morpheme indicates action that will not occur or be done in the future, as in:

96. *Anga knalo Shillongchi re'angjawaha*  
 I-Nom tomorrow-Loc (t) Shillong-Loc (s) go-Neg-Past  
 I have decided not go to Shillong tomorrow.
97. *Seng'man schoolchi re'jawahana*  
 Seng'man-Nom school-Loc(s) go-Neg-Past-Quo  
 Seng'man says that he will not go (anymore) to school
98. *Da'onide Monchi to'jawahana*  
 Now-Gen-Sub Monchi tell-lies-Neg-Past-Quo  
 Monchi says that from now on she will not tell lies any more.

#### 2.2.1.2.1.1.4 Aspect:

Tense and aspect cannot be separated in Garo as stated above.<sup>48</sup>

However, for clarity the scholar would like to illustrate the aspects in Garo in the following manner:

#### 2.2.1.2.1.1.4.0. The Progressive Aspect marker

–*eng*: Progressive Aspect: This aspect conveys the sense of continuing action. It is shown by the morphemes –*eng* and also the postposition –*miting* ‘while/during’. The morpheme –*eng*, by coincidence, is similar to the English Progressive morpheme –‘ing’. In English however, besides affixing the progressive suffix, one of the auxiliary verbs would have to be added as already seen in the examples given above. In Garo this morpheme is simply added or suffixed to the verb.

99. *Ua bijak song'-enga*  
 She/he-Nom curry cook-Progressive  
 She /He is cooking curry.

<sup>48</sup> B. K. Sangma, *Kusikni Bidingo Seanirang* (Essays on Language), pp 104 -107.

100. *Angni sokango ua au-engachim*  
 I-Gen reach-Loc he/she bathe-Prog-Past  
 'He was bathing when I reached'

101. *Angni re·pakango bia sal*  
*chakengachim*  
 I-Gen passing-by-Loc (place) she/he sun bathe-  
 Prog-Past  
 She /he was sunbathing (sitting in the sun) when I passed by

#### 2.2.1.2.1.1.4.1. Present Progressive Aspect

This aspect shows continuing or incomplete action and may be used with or without an Adverb. Example:

102. *Bi·sarang kal·grikenga*  
 Child-Pl play -Prog  
 'The children (are) playing'

103. *Bi·sarang da·o kal·grikenga*  
 Child-Pl now play-Prog  
 'The children (are) playing now'

104. *Anga re·ba-engachim*  
 I-Nom come-Prog  
 'I (am) coming'

105. *Anga knalo re·baenga*  
 I-Nom tomorrow-Loc (t) come-Prog-Neut  
 'I (am) coming tomorrow'  
 Tense: Present Tense

Aspect: The Progressive form is shown here with the suffix morpheme *-eng* added to the verbs *kal·grika* and *re·baa*.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup>B. K. Sangma, *Kusikni Bidingo Seanirang* (Essays on Language), pp 107.

#### 2.2.1.2.1.1.4.2 The Perfective Aspect

The past morphemes *-ha*, *-chim* *-man* and *-jok* are also used to express the perfective aspect. For instance:

#### 2.2.1.2.1.1.4.3. Present Perfective

The present perfective aspect is formed by combining the morphemes *-jok* or *-ha* with the verb base and the neutral-tense suffix *-a* attached to the morpheme *-ha*, and it conveys a sense of completed action as in in the present tense:

106. *Bite minaha* or *bite minjok*  
 Fruit-Nom ripe-Past or fruit-Nom ripe-Past  
 The fruit has ripened

107. *Anga mi cha·aha* or *cha·jok*  
 I-Nom rice-Acc eat-Past or eat-Past  
 I have had my food

108. *Jeremy nokona sokbaaha* or *sokbajok*  
 Jeremy-Nom house-Aug-Loc arrive-Past or arrive -Past  
 Jeremy has arrived home

#### 2.2.1.2.1.1.4.4. Past perfective:

This aspect is formed by combining the definite past tense *-ha* or *-jok* with either *-chim* or *-man*, and it conveys the sense of incomplete action in the case of *-chim* and completed action in the case of *-man*.

109. *Angade mi cha·ahachim*  
 I-Sub rice (food) eat-Past-Past  
 As for me, I have had my food

110. *Ua kamtangko mejalon matchotahachim*  
 He/she work-own-Acc yesterday-Frg finish-Past-Past  
 S/he had finished his/her work yesterday.
111. *Ua ki·tapko poraiman·aha*  
 He/she book-Acc read-Past-Past  
 He /she has/had read the book
112. *Ua kamtangko mejalon matchotman·aha ()*  
 He/she work-own-Acc yesterday-Frg finish-Past-Past  
 S/he had already finished his/her work yesterday.
113. *John kamtangko matchotman·aha*  
 John work-own-Acc finish-Past-Past  
 John has finished his work

As stated earlier, the past tense morphemes in Garo are *-ha*, *-chim*, *-man* and *-jok*. Of these, the morpheme *-ha* and *-jok* indicate the definite past tense and the morpheme *-chim* indicates that something has been left unsaid or undone, or that the action of the verb is incomplete.

In sentences 109 and 110 with the suffix *-ha* as well as *-chim* attached to the verbs *matchota* and *chaa*, there is an indication that something has not been completed. That is, though the action is complete, there is a sense of imperfection. Sentences which end with the past tense suffix *-chim*, are incomplete sentences, in the sense that something is yet to follow ‘S/he had finished his/her work yesterday, but...’ Such incomplete sentences occur in the middle of a conversation, *-chim* might be a reaction to someone else’s remark; it depends on the context in which this suffix is used.

Sentence numbers 111, 112 and 113, with the suffixes *-man* and *-ha* attached to *matchota* and *poraia* have the past perfect or perfective sense and therefore the meaning of completed action. The Aspect in the above mentioned two verbs in sentences 109, 110 and 111 are therefore Past Perfective.<sup>50</sup>

#### 2.2.1.2.1.1.4.5. The Past Progressive Aspect:

This aspect is formed by combining either *-ha* or *-jok* with the progressive morpheme *-eng*, and conveys the sense of action continuing from the past to the present, as in:

114. *Bijak*            *similbaengaha*  
 Curry-Nom smell-good-here-Prog-Past  
 The curry has started smelling good
115. *Pul*        *balna*                    *a·bachengengaha*  
 Flower bloom-Inf            begin-Prog-Neut-Past  
 (The) flower has started blooming
116. *Mary*        *gital kamko*            *a·bachengengaha*  
 Mary-Nom new work-Acc start-Prog-Past  
 Mary has started her new work
117. *Bi·sa*        *rama re·baengaha / re·baengjok*  
 Child-Nom road walk-Prog-Past / walk-Prog-Past  
 The child has started walking

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<sup>50</sup> B. K. Sangma, Kusikni Bidingo Seanirang (Essays on Language), pp 113.

**2.2.1.2.1.1.4.6. The Present Perfective Progressive:**

This aspect is formed by combining the past tense *-chim* with the progressive morpheme *-miting* as *-mitingchim*, and it conveys the sense of incomplete action in the past, as in:

118. *Nang·ni sokbao anga aumitingchim*  
 You-Gen arrive-Loc (time) I-Nom bathe-Prog-Past  
 (When) you arrived I was (still) bathing
119. *Ambini re·bao anga tusimitingchim*  
 Grandmother-Gen come-Loc (time) I-Nom sleep-Prog-Past  
 (When) my grandmother arrived I was still sleeping
120. *Atchu re·bao anga mipring*  
*cha·mitingchim*  
 Grandfather come-Loc (time) I-Nom lunch eat-Prog-  
 Past.  
 I was having lunch when my grandfather arrived

**2.2.1.2.1.1.4.7. The Past Perfective Progressive :**

This aspect is formed by combining the progressive morpheme *-eng* with the past tense morphemes *-ha* and *-chim* and a Neutral-*a* in between, as *-a-hachim* to the verb base and it conveys the sense of continuing action in the past and which may or may not have been completed for some reason, as in:

121. *Me·trarang kamtangtangko ka·engahachim*  
 Young-girls-Pl work-own-Acc do-Prog-Past-Past  
 (The) young girls had all been doing their own work (but...)

122. *Panterang burung o•engahachim, mikka wabaana dontongajok*

Young men jungle cut-Prog-Past-Past rain fall-come-Inf stop-just-Past

The young men were cleaning the jungle when it started raining, so they stopped

123. *Sal nabanasiengahachim, aram simgopjok*  
Sun appear-Inf-about-to-Past-Past cloud dark-cover-Past

The sun was about to appear (but) dark clouds covered it.

124. *Jarabong ong•engahachim, indiba mikka waenba najajok*  
Full-moon is-Prog-Past-Past but rain pour-Sub appear-Neg-Past

It was full-moon-time, but because of the rain it (the moon) did not appear

#### 2.2.1.2.2.0. b) ii) Imperatives as terminal verb suffixes:

Imperatives are grammatical forms that give a command or instruction, as in English where we have:

*Go home, John;*

*You go home, John;*

*Don't (you) go yet;*

In Garo the suffixes *-bo*, *-ne*, *-da*, *-na-be* and the prefix *da-* are the affixes used in imperative constructions. Four of them are suffixes while one is a prefix and often there are zero morphemes too. As in:

#### 2.2.1.2.2.1. *-bo* Imperative morpheme:

This morpheme when attached to the verb is used in the second person as a positive imperative. Imperatives are used in Garo in a polite

way as well as an abrupt command. As an offer *-bo* indicates that a person is being invited to do something, as in, *cha'kubo* '(please) have some more'; *asongbo* '(please) sit down' and as a command it indicates an order to someone to do something, such as in, *re'angbo* 'go away!'<sup>51</sup> Examples are:

125. *Nokchi*                      *re'angbo*      *John!*  
Home-Loc (place) go-Imp      John  
Go home, John!

126. *Na'a*      *nokchi*                      *re'angbo*      *John!*  
You-Nom    home-Loc (place) go-Imp      John  
You go home, John!

#### 2.2.1.2.2.2. *-da* and *-ne* Imperative morphemes:

Imperatives in Garo can be made stronger or harsher by adding *-da*, or gentler and more polite or encouraging by adding *-ne*. Harshness in the use of *-da* depends a great deal on the intonation, as for instance:

*-da* Imperative morpheme used to give a strong command:

127. *Re'angboda!*  
Go-away-Imp-Imp  
Go away!

128. *Na'ara*                      *name*              *git*      *ring'boda!*  
You-emphasis      well-Sub      song    sing-Imp-Imp  
Why don't you sing well!

129. *Man'seng*      *Poraiboda!*  
Man'seng      Study-Imp-Imp

<sup>51</sup> Robbins Burling *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi(Garo): Vol.I: Gramar*, Bibliophile South Asia, 2004, p. 124.

Man'seng Study wont you!

**2.2.1.2.2.3.** *-ne* Imperative morpheme used in polite expressions and in a courteous, requesting tone:

130. *Na'a re'angkunabene!*  
 You-Nom go-yet-NImp-Imp  
 Please don't (you) go yet!

131. *Angkoba sengpabone!*  
 I-Acc-also wait-please-Imp-Imp  
 Please wait for me also

**2.2.1.2.2.4.** *-na-be* Negative Imperative suffix meaning 'do not /don't' and can be particularly forceful in use, as for instance:

132. *Uko daknabe!*  
 That-Dem do-Neg-Imp  
 Don't do that!

133. *Da'o tusikunabe!*  
 Now sleep-yet-Neg-Imp  
 Do not sleep yet!

**2.2.1.2.2.5.** *da-* Negative Imperative prefix meaning 'dont'. It is a prefix and is not followed by a suffix in the standard dialect unlike other dialects of the language. Also, it is not used as frequently as *-na-be*, which is the commoner Negative Imperative.

134. *Da'dak:* *Uko da'dak!* / *da uko dak*  
 NImp-do: that-Acc NImp-do do-NImp that do  
 Don't do: don't do that!

135. *Da'kal:* *Iako da'kal!*  
 NImp-play: this-Acc NImp-play

Don't play: don't play with this!

#### 2.2.1.2.2.6. Zero morpheme Imperatives:

Sometimes it is possible to use an abrupt Imperative without a suffix and in which there is no overt subject, that is, in which the subject is understood but not stated, as in:

136. *Wa'al*         *sikat*  
 Fire             blow / light  
 'Light the fire!'

137. *Chi*           *ding'at*  
 Water           heat  
 'Heat the water!'

138. *Re'ang*  
 'Go!'

139. *Katang*  
 'Run away, off you go!'

140. *Kat*  
 'Shoo!'

It may thus be noted that Imperative constructions in Garo involve a morphological process where we have the use of prefixes, suffixes and zero morphemes as well.

#### 2.2.1.3.0. Types of Verbs and their sub-classes:

The verbs in Garo may be generally classified into the following different sub-classes:

1) Transitive and Intransitive, 2) Finite and Non-finite, 3) Causatives.

### 2.2.1.3.1.0. Transitive and Intransitive:

A **Transitive Verb** is a verb that takes one or more Complements<sup>52</sup>.

For example:

*John kicked the ball*  
*Tom gave the book to his best friend*

In traditional grammar, the complement is described as the object. An

**Intransitive verb** is one, which does not take any Complements<sup>53</sup>. For

example:

*Birds fly*  
*Ants crawl*  
*Mary wept*  
*Jesus died*

### 2.2.1.3.1.1. Transitive and Intransitive forms of Verbs in Garo:

Like verbs in all languages there are two main types of verbs in Garo, Transitive and Intransitive, and they are clearly and carefully distinguished. Often Garo has different transitive and intransitive forms for the same verb<sup>54</sup>, but through a morphological process many Intransitive Verbs can also be made Transitive, for example:

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<sup>52</sup> The Internet Grammar of English. University College London research web site, The Survey of English Usage, 1996-1998 <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/ice-gb/sampler/download.htm>

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Robbins Burling, *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo) Vol.I: Grammar*, p.112-113.

2.2.1.3.1.2. Different Transitive and Intransitive forms for the same verb

in Garo:

Intransitive	Transitive
<p>141.. <i>Gitua</i> ‘to boil’  <i>Chide gITUENGJOK</i>            Water-Sub boil-Prog-Past            The water is boiling</p>	<p><i>Rita</i> also <i>ritata /gituata</i>  <i>pangnan chi ritako ringbo</i>            always water boil-Acc drink-Inf            Always drink boiled water</p>
<p>142. <i>be’a</i> ‘to break or be broken’  <i>bolde be’ANGENGJOK</i>            tree-Sub break-Prog-Past            (The) tree is breaking</p>	<p><i>pe’a</i> ‘to cause to break’  <i>anga matchuko dokna go’ol pe’a</i>            I-Nom cow-Acc beat-Inf stick break            I broke a stick to beat the cow</p>
<p>143. <i>kama</i> ‘to get burnt’  <i>be’en salna kama</i>            body-Nom sun-Dat burn-Neut            The body(skin) burns in the sun</p>	<p><i>So’a</i> ‘to cause to burn’  <i>Anga meseng cha’na ja’lik so’a</i>            I Sour-fruit eat-Inf chilly burn-Neut            (I) burnt chilly to eat sour fruit</p>
<p>144. <i>ran’a</i> ‘to get dry’  <i>be’en sin’kario ran’bea</i>            skin winter-Loc(t) dry-very-Neut            In winter the skin gets very dry</p>	<p><i>rama</i> ‘to cause to dry’  <i>anga miko salgimik rama</i>            I-Nom paddy-Acc day-whole dry-Neut            I dried the paddy the whole day</p>
<p>145. <i>sosia</i> ‘to be wet’  <i>ba’rarang mikka wadapenba sosiaha</i>            cloth-Plu rain fall-over-Sub wet-Neut-Past            (All) the clothes got wet in the rain</p>	<p><i>Dim’a /jeka</i> ‘to wet/soak’<sup>55</sup>  <i>anga ba’ra su’na dim’aha</i>            I-Nom cloth wash-Inf soak-Past            I have soaked the clothes for washing</p>

2.2.1.3.1.3. Transitive verbs can also be made Intransitive by adding a causative affix:

*Gitua* can also be made transitive by adding the Causative affix *-at* –‘to cause to’, as in *gituata* or *rita* as *ritata*. So also *be’a* and *kama* can be

<sup>55</sup> C. R. Marak, Head, Department of Garo NEHU, Tura Campus, Tura. Collected verbatim

written as *be·ata* and *kamata*, *sosia* as *sosiata*, and *moa* as *moata* and so on.<sup>56</sup> In fact many of the Intransitive verbs can be made into transitive by simply adding the causative affix *-at* immediately after the root and the process is clearly morphological. For example:

Intransitive	Transitive
<p>146. <i>Chadenga</i> ‘to stand’  <i>Anga buso chadengna namnikja</i>            I-Nom bus-Loc stand-Inf like-Neg            I do not like to stand in the bus</p>	<p><i>Chadengata</i> ‘to cause to stand’  <i>Chingko skulo salgimik</i>            we (excl)-Acc School-Loc day-whole  <i>chadengata</i>            stand-Caus            We were made to stand whole day in the            school</p>
<p>147. <i>tusia</i> ‘to sleep’  <i>Angade tusina sikenga</i>            I-Sub sleep-Inf wish-Prog-Neut            I feel like sleeping</p>	<p><i>Tusiata</i> ‘to cause to sleep’  <i>Ia samde angko namen tusiata</i>            This medicine-Sub I-Acc very-Frg sleep-Caus            This medicine makes me sleep a lot</p>
<p>148. <i>mikraka</i> ‘to wake up’  <i>Anga walo pangnan mikrakronga</i>            I-Nom night-Loc(t) wake-up-often-Neut            I often wake up at night</p>	<p><i>Mikrakata</i> ‘to cause to wake up’  <i>Gari gama nononi tusiako</i>            Car sound-Neut little-sister-Gen sleep-Acc  <i>mikrakata</i>            wake-Cause            The sound of the car woke up (my) little sister</p>
<p>149. <i>ga·aka</i> ‘to fall’  <i>bol bijak gimikan ga·akaha</i>            tree leaf all-Frg fall-Past            All the leaves from the tree have fallen</p>	<p><i>ga·akata</i> ‘to cause to fall’  <i>Rami bostu jriana uko ga·akataha</i>            Rami load heavy-Inf it-Acc fall-Caus-Neut-            -Past            Rami dropped the load because it was heavy</p>

<sup>56</sup> C. R. Marak, Head, Department of Garo NEHU, Tura Campus, Tura. Collected verbatim



The examples above show that Garo has both transitive and intransitive verbs. Through a morphological process intransitive verbs can also be made transitive.

#### 2.2.1.3.2.0. Finite and Non-finite constructions

**Finite** “is a term used in the grammatical classification of types of verbs and clauses. A finite verb (phrase) is a form that can occur on its own in an independent sentence (or Main clause). It permits formal contrasts in **tense** and **mood**. **Non-finite** forms of the verb, on the other hand, occur on their own only in dependant clauses, and lack tense and mood contrasts. All forms except the **infinitives** and **participles** (*-ing* and *-en* forms) are finite, e.g. *is walking, have walked, walks*”.<sup>57</sup>

Generally all verbs in Garo are finite verbs, for instance *ka-dinga*, ‘laughs’, *grapa* ‘cries’, *chipa* ‘closes’, *re-a* ‘walks’ etc, but they can all be made non-finite by simply adding a suffix *-na* as discussed in detail below.

**Non-finite** or **Infinitive** “is a traditional term for the non-finite form of the verb, usually cited as its **unmarked** or **base form**, e.g. *go, walk, kick*, though some languages mark it syntactically or morphologically. In English the infinitive form may be used alone or in conjunction with the particle *to* (the **to infinitive**), e.g. *he saw her go* versus *he wants to go*.

<sup>57</sup> David Crystal, A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, p. 180.

*Help me open the door.* Distinct from the *to*-infinitive: *Help me to open the door.*<sup>58</sup> The [Infinitive] form without *to* is sometimes known as the **bare or zero infinitive**<sup>59</sup>.

### 2.2.1.3.2.1. Infinitive in Garo:

Similar to the English infinitive construction with *to*, the infinitive form in Garo is shown morphologically by the suffix *-na* thereby linking it with another word. It can mean 'in order to', and it can also be used to ask permission. The Infinitive in Garo is possible in both transitive and intransitive verbs<sup>60</sup>, for example:

#### Intransitive

150. *Anga re·na sikengaha*  
I-Nom go-Inf want-Prog-Past  
'I want to go'
151. *Mikka wana am'engaha*  
Rain-Nom fall-Inf want-Prog-Past  
'It is going to rain'

#### Transitive

152. *Mi song·na a·bachengbojok*  
Rice-Nom cook-Inf start-Imp-Perf.  
'Start cooking (to cook) the rice.'
153. *Uko re·angna on·bo*  
That-Dem-Acc go-Inf give-Imp  
Let him go! /Allow him to go

<sup>58</sup> David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics*, p.233

<sup>59</sup> *The Internet Grammar of English*, [http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/University College London, research web site, The Survey of English Usage](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/University%20College%20London,research%20web%20site,%20The%20Survey%20of%20English%20Usage) 1996-1998

<sup>60</sup> Robbins Burling, *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo): Vol.I (Grammar)*, p 129.

154. *Ang' ma-a-pa angko dokan gatna dakchakaha.*  
 My-mother-father Me-Acc shop lift-Inf help-Past  
 My parents helped me set up shop.

It may thus be concluded that the Infinitive in Garo is formed by attaching the suffix *-na* to the verb base.

#### 2.2.1.3.3.0. Causatives

Causative is a term used in grammatical description to refer to the causal relationship between alternative versions of a sentence. For example, the pair of sentences in English, '*The cat killed the mouse*' and '*The mouse died*', are related, in that the **transitive** *kill* can be seen as a 'causative' version of the **intransitive** *die*, viz. 'cause to die' (*the cat caused the mouse to die*); similarly, some affixes have a causative role, e.g. *-ize* as in *domesticize* (= cause to become domestic)."<sup>61</sup>

#### 2.2.1.3.3.1. Causatives in Garo:

Causatives are formed in Garo by the affixation of the morpheme *-at* to an intransitive verb. Generally, the constructions of transitive and intransitive verbs are not very distinct from one another. There is no specific requirement that any verb *must* take an object. Any of the above 'intransitive' verbs may be made 'transitive' by inserting the 'causative affix' *-at-*, after the root, in which case they can all take objects, as seen in

<sup>61</sup> David Crystal, A Dictionary of Linguistics, p. 66-67.

the examples on transitive verbs given above, a few of which are repeated to make things clearer.<sup>62</sup>

Intransitive	Transitive
<p>155. <i>chadenga</i> 'stand'  <i>Anga chadengenga</i>            I-Nom stand-Prog-Neut            I (am) standing</p>	<p><i>chadengata</i>, 'to cause to stand'  <i>anga bi·sako ro·ongo chadengata</i>            I-Nom child-Acc stone-Loc(s) stand-Caus            I caused the child to stand on the stone</p>
<p>156. <i>den·a</i> 'to cut'  <i>Ia bol·ko den·aha</i>            This-Dem tree-Acc cut-Past            This tree has been cut</p>	<p><i>den·ata</i> 'to cause to cut'  <i>Ia bol·ko den·at·ah·a</i>            This-Dem treeAcc cut-Caus-Past            (They) have asked somebody to cut this tree.</p>
<p>157. <i>re·a</i> 'to walk'  <i>bi·sa rama re·a</i>            child-Nom road walk-Neut            (The) child walks</p>	<p><i>re·ata</i> 'to be made to walk'  <i>bi·sako rama re·ata</i>            (The) child-Acc (road) walk-Caus            (The) child has been taught to walk</p>
<p>158. <i>nol·a</i> 'to massage'  <i>anga an·tang ja·ako nol·ronga</i>            I-Nom own leg-Acc massage-often-Neut            I often massage my own feet</p>	<p><i>nol·ata</i> 'to make someone massage'  <i>bia masterni ja·ako nol·ata</i>            she/he-Acc master-Gen feet-Acc massage-Neut            He massaged his master's feet</p>

2.2.1.3.3.2. A Causative affix can also be benefactive, that is, it is a verb which expresses or conveys some benefit to the object of the verb or the person on whom the action is occurring, as for example:

159. *Bi·sana mi du at*  
 Child-Inf rice feed-Caus  
 Feed rice to the baby

<sup>62</sup> Robbins Burling, *A Garo Grammar*, Deccan College Monograph series: 25, Poona 1961, p.22. and *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)*, Volume I: Grammar, Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers, p 112.

160. *Ua nokgipani ja'ako nol'ata*  
 She/he house-Adj-Gen feet-Acc message-Caus-Neut  
 She massaged her house-owner's (master's) feet

In the above two sentences, the baby benefits from the feeding and the master benefits from the massaging. Thus it may be concluded that a causative verb can also sometimes be benefactive.

2.2.1.3.3.3. The Causative can be freely used with any sort of verb in Garo and it precedes both the negative and progressive affixes, as noted by Burling in his book on *the Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)*.<sup>63</sup>

Thus it may be described as a productive affix. Examples are:

161. *Ring'a*  
 Sing-Neut  
 'Sings'
162. *Ring'ata*  
 Sing-Causative  
 'To cause to sing / to make someone sing'
163. *Ring'atja*  
 Sing-Caus-Neg  
 'Does not cause to sing'
164. *Ring'atenga*  
 Sing-Caus-Prog-Neut  
 'Causing somebody to sing / making someone sing'
165. *Ring'atjaenga*  
 Sing-Caus-Neg-Prog-Neut  
 'Not causing somebody to sing / not making someone sing'

<sup>63</sup> R. Burling *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)*, Vol I: Grammar, p.143.

166. *Ring•atjaengaha*  
Sing-Caus-Neg-Neut-Past  
'Not causing (someone) to sing anymore / not making someone sing anymore'
167. *Ring•atjaengahachim*  
Sing-Caus-Neg-Prog-Neut-Past-Past  
(Actually) they are not being made to sing anymore'  
(A sense of incompleteness in the word is conveyed by the morpheme *-chim.*)
168. *Ring•atjaengahachimkon*  
Sing-Caus-Neg-Prog-Neut-Past-Past-perhaps  
Perhaps they are not being made to sing anymore  
(Sense of uncertainty clearer here)
169. *Ring•atkuengachimkonde*  
Sing-Caus-still-Prog-Neut-Past-perhaps-but  
(But) perhaps they are being made to continue to sing, after all!

**2.2.1.3.3.4. Position of inserting -at:** It will be noted from the above examples that the causative affix *-at* invariably occurs at the end of the word except when the negative affix *-ja* and the inflexional (tense and aspect) suffixes occur with it. The above examples also show the agglutinative nature of the language. It may thus be concluded that the Causative suffix is a very productive affix and it illustrates that the language is agglutinative. Other examples are:

170. *Grapa*  
Cry-Neut  
To cry
171. *Grapata*  
Cry-Caus-Neut  
To cause someone to cry / to make someone cry

172. *Grapatja*  
Cry-Caus-Neg  
Not (to) cause someone to cry/ not to make someone cry
173. *Grapatenga*  
Cry-Caus-Prog-Neut  
Causing someone to cry/making someone cry
174. *Grapatjaenga*  
Cry-Caus-Neg-Prog-Neut  
Not causing someone to cry/not making someone cry
175. *Grapatjaengaha*  
Cry-Caus-Neg-Prog-Past  
Not causing someone to cry anymore / not making someone cry anymore
176. *Grapatjaengahachim*  
Cry-Caus-Neg-Prog-Past-Past  
(Actually) not making someone cry anymore  
(A sense of incompleteness in the word is conveyed by the morpheme *-chim*.)
177. *Grapatjaengahachimkon*  
Cry-Caus-Neg-Prog-Past-Past-maybe  
Maybe (he/she) is not making someone cry anymore  
(Sense of uncertainty clearer here)
178. *Grapatjaengahachimkonde*  
Cry-Caus-Neg-Prog-Past-Past-maybe-Sub  
Perhaps (he/she) is not causing someone to cry anymore / Perhaps (he/she) is not  
not making someone cry anymore

2.2.1.3.3.5. The causative affix can also be added to words that translate as English adjectives as well as to words that translate as English verbs.<sup>64</sup>

For example:

Adjectives	Verbs with Causative affixes
179. <i>gitchak / gitchaka</i> 'red' <i>ia bijak gitchaka</i> this-Dem leaf red 'This leaf is red'	<i>gitchakata</i> 'to make red or redden' <i>ia bijak b̄arako gitchakata</i> this-Dem leaf cloth-Acc red-Caus-Neut 'this leaf makes the cloth red'
180. <i>dal'a</i> 'big' <i>bol dal'a</i> tree-Nom big '(This) tree is big'	<i>dal'ata</i> 'to make big' / 'to nurture' <i>ia bolko anga dal'ata</i> this-Dem tree-Acc I-Nom nurture-Caus-Neut 'I nurtured this tree'
181. <i>chona</i> 'small' <i>nok chona</i> house-Nom small '(This) house is small'	<i>chonata</i> 'to make small' / 'to cause to become small' <i>anga ia nokko chonataha</i> I-Nom this-Dem house-Acc small-Caus-Neut-Past 'I made this house smaller'
182. <i>ching'a</i> 'bright' <i>ia ripok ching'a</i> this-Dem necklace bright 'this necklace is bright'	<i>ching'ata</i> 'to make bright or brighten' <i>silni bostuko brassochi nate</i> metal-Gen thing-Acc brasso-Inst polish-Sub <i>ching'ata</i> bright- Caus-Neut 'metal things are brightened(polished) with brasso'
183. <i>sila</i> 'beautiful/nice to see' <i>pul sila</i> flower-Nom beautiful/nice to see' (This) flower is beautiful / nice to see'	<i>silata</i> 'to make beautiful / nice to see' <i>pulrang baganko silata</i> flower-Plu garden-Acc beautiful-Caus-Neut 'flowers make (the) garden beautiful'

<sup>64</sup> R. Burling *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Vol I: Grammar*, p.143

2.2.1.3.3.6. Double Causatives: It is not unusual for double causatives to occur in the language. Some speakers frequently use double causatives for instance, as:

184. *Ding·ata* → *ding·atata* 'to make somebody heat something'  
 Heat-Caus-Neut → heat-Caus-Caus-Neut  
*cha·ani ka·sinahanigimin angko cha·ani*  
*ding·atata*  
 Eat-Nomz cold-Neut-Past-Post(because) I-Acc eat-Nomz heat-  
 Caus-Caus  
 As the food had become cold I was told to heat it
185. *Mesokata* → *mesokatata* 'made to show'  
 Show-Caus → show-Caus-Caus  
*Ai angni chola gitalko ajongna mesokatata*  
 Mother I-Gen dress new-Acc elder-aunt-Dat show-Caus-Caus  
 Mother made me show my new dress to my aunt (mother's elder  
 sister)
186. *Donata* → *donatata*  
 Put-Caus → put-Caus-Caus  
*Ambi angko mi chu·giminko onggareo donatata*  
 Grandmother I-Acc rice packed-Acc shelf-Loc(s) put-Caus-Caus  
 Grandmother made me put all the packed rice on the shelf (above  
 the fireplace)
187. *Seata* → *seatata*  
 Write-Caus → write-Caus-Caus  
*Tom·anio chanchianirangko mama angko seatata*  
 Meeting-Loc thought-Gen-Plu-Acc uncle I-Acc write-Caus-Caus  
 '(My maternal) uncle made me write the minutes of the meeting'
188. *Cha·ata* → *cha·atataat-Caus* → eat-Caus-Caus  
*Mande robagiparangko Ai mi cha·atata*  
 People visit-Adj-Plu-Acc mother rice eat-Caus-Caus  
 '(My) mother made all the visitors have food'

189. *Chipata* → *chipatata*

Close-Caus → close-Caus-Caus

*Cha·aniko*            *bia*    *angko*        *jolao*            *chipatata*  
 Food-Nomz-Acc    she/he    I-Acc            bag-Loc (s)    close-Caus-

Caus

He/she made me put (some) food in the bag

### 2.2.1.3.3.7. Other Causative affixes:

The independent verb base *dila* meaning, ‘lead, guide, and show how’ can sometimes act as an adverbial affix and also sometimes as a causative suffix *-dila*. For instance:

190. *Rama re·dila* ‘lead or show the way to someone younger or less experienced’

- *Ma·gipa bi·sako rama re·dila*  
 Mother child-Acc road walk-Caus-Neut  
 (The) mother made (helped) her child to walk

191. *Mesokdila* ‘to take somebody and show something’

*Bia tourist mandena biap mesokdila*  
 She/he tourist person-Dat place show-Caus-Neut  
 He/she showed the tourist around the place

192. *Cha·dila* ‘to be the first one to make the move to eat, when others are hesitant’

*Seng an chingko mongma be en cha·dila*  
 Seng an we (exclusive)-Acc elephant meat eat-Caus-Neut  
 Seng an led us all in eating elephant meat

193. *Kendila* ‘the one among a group of people presumed to be braver, but is the

first one to show fear and impart fear to others; the first to feel fear’

*Dadaan chingko me mangna kendila*  
 Dada-Frg we (exclusive)-Acc ghost-Dat afraid-Neut  
 Dada (elder brother) himself led us in the fear of ghost(s).

To sum up:

Causatives are formed in Garo by the affixation of the morpheme – *at* to an intransitive verb and can be used with almost any verb in the Garo language to turn intransitive verbs into transitive ones. The causative affix invariably occurs at the end of the word except when the negative affix –*ja* and the inflexional (tense and aspect) suffixes occur with it. Intransitive verbs may thus be made Transitive by inserting the Causative affix –*at*–, after the root, in which case they can take all objects. This illustrates the agglutinative nature of the language.

The causative affix can also be added to words that translate as English adjectives as well as to words that translate as English verbs. A Causative affix can also be benefactive. Double causatives are frequently used by some Garo speakers. There are also cases when independent verbs can be used as causative affixes, as in the case of *dila* above. The independent verb base *dila* meaning, ‘lead, guide’, can sometimes act as an adverbial affix and sometimes as a causative suffix.

It may thus be concluded that the Causative in particular the affix –*at* is a very productive affix.

2.2.1.3.4.0. **Other contrasting morphemes:** In addition to the contrasts of tense, aspect and mood, Quirk and Greenbaum listed five other major constructions which affect the verb phrase or in which the verb phrase

contrasts play an important part. These contrasts may be listed in Garo too.

The list of contrasts according to Quirk and Greenbaum<sup>65</sup> are as follows:

2.2.1.3.4.1.0. *Voice*: The construction of the Active and Passive Voice in Garo is based on a lexical, syntactic as well a morphological process. For instance in the sentences:

194. *Silme, Wilsengko tol·ana doka*  
 Silme-Nom Wilseng-Acc tell-lies-because beat-Neut  
 ‘Silme beat Wilseng for telling lies’. (Active voice) and

195. *Wilseng, Silmeni jakchi tol·ana doka*  
*cha·aha*  
 Wilseng-Nom Silme-Gen hand-Inst tell-lie-because beat-Neut get-Neut-  
 Past  
 ‘Wilseng got a beating from Silme for telling lies’ (Passive voice)

The active voice in the first sentence above is changed to the passive voice in the second sentence, by an inter-change of the Direct Object with the Subject. Also, the instrumental case marker *-chi* is suffixed to the original subject which is thereby ‘demoted to the instrumental’ as stated by Robbins Burling, further, he says that, “as the work is accomplished ‘by means of’ an instrument, so in Garo the instrumental case marker *-chi* is rather like the English ‘by’; *-chi* is used in Garo to change the active voice into the passive voice. Moreover, the verb of the active sentence takes the neutral tense *-a* and either, the metaphorical term *cha·a* meaning ‘to take

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<sup>65</sup> Quirk, Randolph & Greenbaum, A University Grammar of English, Publications- ELBS, Longman Group Ltd. 1981. p.

on or assume' or *man·a* meaning 'get / achieve' or both *man·a* and *cha·a* together, are placed at the end of the sentence after the original verb"<sup>66</sup>.

This will be seen more clearly in the examples given below.

## Active Voice

## Passive Voice

196. <i>Uko pagipa dokaha</i> She/he-Acc father-Adj beat-Neut-Past Her father beat her	<i>Ua pagipachi dokaman·aha</i> He/she-Dem father-Inst beat-Past-Past-Neut He/she got a beating from (his/her) father
197. <i>Teacher uko manenggen</i> Teacher him/her-Acc scold-Fut (The) teacher will scold him/her	<i>Ua teacherchi manenga man·gen</i> He/she teacher-Inst scold-Neut get-Fut He/she will get a scolding from the teacher
198. <i>Uamang uni cha·uako</i> He/she-Pl him/her-Gen steal-Neut- Acc <i>rim·aha</i> Catch-Neut-Past He/she was caught stealing	<i>Uni cha·uako rim·e</i> Him/her steal-Neut-Acc catch-Sub <i>man·aha</i> get-Past- Neut They caught him/her stealing

**2.2.1.3.4.2.0. Questions:** Equivalent to the 'wh- question words' of English such as *who, when, where* etc. Garo has question words that are used in sentences in ways that are similar to nouns, pronouns or adverbs, but they ask questions that require a more precise answer than a simple 'yes' or 'no'<sup>67</sup>. The sentence construction for questions in Garo requires suffixation after the tense marker in a verb. So unlike English where the process is syntactic, in Garo, a morphological process is involved. In

<sup>66</sup>Burling, Robbins *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar*, Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers, p 340.

<sup>67</sup> Burling, Robbins *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar*, Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers, p 101

English, questions requiring subject movement involve the use of an auxiliary as operator; whereas in Garo there is no need for auxiliary verbs as already seen earlier. Verbs also as seen earlier may have, but does not need to have, one or two terminal verb suffixes that come after the principal verb suffix. Terminal verb suffixes are used for such purposes as asking questions, expressing uncertainty, and citing another person's speech.....*katanggenma?* 'Will he run away?' adds the terminal verb suffix *-ma* that turns the sentence into a question. Most of them are used in much the same grammatical situations as nouns, and like other nouns they regularly take case markers. The following morphemes are used as question markers in Garo:

***-ma, -mo and -ne***

**2.2.1.3.4.2.1. *-ma* Interrogative suffix:**

This terminal suffix is used to ask a 'yes-no' question. Examples are:

199. *Namengama?*  
 Good-Prog-Neut-Que  
 Are (you) well? [a common form of greeting in Garo]
200. *John git ring·genma?*  
 John-Nom song sing-Fut-Que  
 Will John sing a song?

201. *Mi okriengjokma?*  
Rice hungry-Prog-Past-Que  
Are (you) hungry? (For rice / food?)

**2.2.1.3.4.2** *-mo* Interrogative suffix:

This suffix morpheme is a question marker assuming agreement and is equivalent to ‘tag questions’ in English. Examples are:

202. *John ring·genbamo?*  
John sing-Fut-or-Que  
John will sing, wont he?

203. *Sal ding·baengahamo?*  
Day hot-begin-Prog-Neut-Past-Que  
The days are getting hot, aren’t they?

204. *Me’surang dam rakbeengamo?*  
Vegetable-Pl cost hard-Very-Prog-Neut-Que  
(The)Vegetables are becoming very expensive, aren’t they?

**2.2.1.3.4.2.3.** *-ne* Interrogative suffix:

This suffix morpheme is a courtesy form of please. An imperative can be made polite by adding *-ne* to the *-bo* imperative suffix as seen earlier in section 2. 2. 1. 2. 2. 3. in the section on Imperative morphemes in Garo. *-ne* shows courtesy and implies that the listener can in some degree share in the decision. Requests are often made with the verb in the infinitive followed by *-ne*. Examples are:

205. *Tusibone?*  
Sleep-Imp-Imp (Que)  
(You) sleep, all right?

206. *Anga re'nahane?*

I-Nom go-Inf-Past-Imp (Que)

I will go now, all right?

207. *Anga neng'takunane?*

I-Nom rest-still-Inf-Imp (Que)

Let me rest a little more, all right/okay?

**2.2.1.3.4.3.0. Negation:** In Garo the negative marker is affixed to the verb root. It is followed by the tense markers in all tenses except the simple present tense. The following morphemes are used as negative markers in Garo *-ja*, *-jawa* and *-gija*.

**2.2.1.3.4.3.1. *-ja* Negative tense-aspect marker:**

This affix comes late in the sequence of verbal/adverbial affixes. It might be expected to occur with the present neutral-*a* suffix and is regarded as a negative form of neutral *-a*. Examples are:

208. *John            git    ring-jaha*

John-Nom    song    sing-Neg-Past

John didn't sing a song

209. *Anga songchi re.angjaha*

I-Nom village-Loc (s) go-Prog-Neg-Past

I did not go to the village

210. *Ango            tangka            dongja*

I-Loc (s)    money            have-Neg

I don't have money (I have no money)

**2.2.1.3.4.3.2. *-jawa* Negative future tense marker:**

This morpheme *-jawa* means will not and is used as a future tense marker as already seen above in the section on future tense morphemes. Here

–*wa* may be considered as a future tense suffix used only with the negative morpheme –*ja*. Examples are:

211. *-jawa: John git ring:jawa*  
‘John won’t sing a song’

212. *Anga kamchi re.angjawa*  
I-Nom work-Inst go-Prog-Neg  
I will not go to work anymore (today)

213. *Poraijaode porika pass ong. jawa*  
Study-Neg-Sub examination pass happen-Neg  
If (you) do not study (you) will not pass in the examinations.

#### 2.2.1.3.4.3.3. –*gija* Negative Nominalizing suffix:

The suffix –*gija* when attached to a verb or adjective, helps the listener to recognize the word as a nominalized verb used in the negative sense and identifies the construction into which it has entered as negative construction.

214. *John git ring:gija dongaha*  
John song sing-without-Neg stay-Neut-Past  
John stayed without singing a song

215. *Namgija kamko ka ode pangnaba chi sokrongja*  
Good-Neg work-Acc do-Sub never achieve-Prog-Neg  
If you do bad work (things), you will never achieve anything in life

216. *Dikki fail ongenba skulchi re gija dongaiaha*  
Dikki-Nom fail be-Sub school-Loc(s) go-Neg stay-Just-Neut-Past  
After failing, Dikki stopped going to school.

2.2.1.3.4.4.0. **Emphases:** are frequently carried by the operator for emphasis as in English: John WiLL sing! John DiD sing! In Garo the

adverbial affixes *-bebe*, *-chongmot* and *-sran* are used for emphasis in Verbs and the suffixes *-n* and *-an* are used for emphasis in nouns and pronouns. The suffixes *-n* and *-an* are also called foregrounding suffixes by Robbins Burling.<sup>68</sup> The abbreviation of Foregrounding (-Frg) is used to identify these morphemes, as in the words given below:

**2.2.1.3.4.4.1. Emphatic suffix morpheme-*an*:**

*-an* is a low pitched emphasis used with nouns. When used it gives an added force to the noun. In the sentences below, the suffix *-an* added to John and Seng'chi gives a low emphasis and the pitch drops abruptly.

**Nouns:**

217. *Johnan ring·gen*  
 John-Frg sing-Fut  
 JOHN (himself) will sing
218. *Seng·chian inona re'bagenna*  
 Seng'chi-Frg here come-Fut-Quo  
 Seng'chi (herself) will come here she says!

It may be noted in the sentences above that the words John and Sengchi are proper names with the emphasizing suffix *-an* attached to them and are not reflexive in Garo, but in translation they have to be represented with reflexive pronouns which are therefore given in brackets. The same holds for the sentences given in the examples below.

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<sup>68</sup> Robbins Burling, *Modhupur Language of the Mandi (Garo) Vol. I: Grammar*, Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & co. Publishers, 2004, pp 205-206.

#### 2.2.1.3.4.4.2. *-n* Emphatic suffix:

This suffix foregrounds or calls attention to the pronoun to which it is suffixed. Example:

##### **Pronouns:**

219. *Na·an*  
You-Frg  
It is you (yourself), and no one else!
220. *Angan*  
I-Frg  
It is I (myself), and not anyone else!
221. *Uan,*  
That-Frg  
That is the very one!
222. *Iako cha·ugipa bian chong·mot*  
This-Dem-Acc steal-Adj1 he/she-Frg true-Adv1  
He is surely the very one who stole it!

##### **Verbs:**

In verbs the emphasis is indicated by the adverbial affixes *-bebe*, *-chong·mot* and *-srang* or *napsikgipa* adverbs as they are called in Garo (§ details on *napsikgipa* adverbs occur in the section on Derivational morphemes number 2. 3. 2....).

#### 2.2.1.3.4.4.3. *-bebe* adverbial affix:

This adverbial affix acts as an intensifier and means ‘true’. It is attached to a verb to lay emphasis on the action of a noun. When *-bebe* is

followed by past tense morphemes *-jok* and *-a-ha* there is an added force stating that an action has really taken place.

223. *John ring·bebejok / ring·bebeaha*  
John-Nom sing-Advl-Past / sing-Adv-Past  
John actually did sing!

224. *John ring·bebegen*  
John-Nom sing-true (Advl)-Fut  
John WILL really sing

#### 2.2.1.3.4.4.4. *-chong·mot* definite adverbial suffix:

This morpheme conveys a sense of definiteness. This affix foregrounds or lays stress on the verb *donga* meaning ‘to have’. When the adverbial suffix *-chong·mot* is added to it we have *dongchongmota* meaning ‘to definitely have’. The pitch of the emphasis is higher than – *bebe* above.

225. *Angni chola gimagipa bion dongchongmota*  
I-Gen dress lost-Adjl he/she-loc(s)-Frg is-definite (Advl)-Neut  
The dress that I lost is definitely in her possession!

226. *Rev. Ramkeni skiade namchongmota*  
Rev. Ramke-Gen teaching-Sub good-definite (Advl)-Neut  
Rev. Ramke’s teaching is really very good

227. *Anga knalo songchi re angchongmotgen*  
I-Nom tomorrow-Loc(t) village-Inst go-definite(Advl)-Fut  
I will definitely go to my village tomorrow

2.2.1.3.4.4.5. *-srang* emphatic intensifier:

This affix is a stronger and more emphatic intensifier and means ‘completely’. The pitch of the emphasis in *-srang* is very high.

228. *Angade tangka dongsrangjaha*  
I-Nom-Sub money is-completely (Advl)-Neg-Past  
I have absolutely no money at all.
229. *Ia gitni sulde namsranga*  
This-Dem-Gen tune-Sub good-very (Advl)-Neut  
The tune of this song is really very good
230. *Ringani chian dongsrangjaha*  
drink-Neut-Nomz Water-Frg finish-completely-Neut-Past  
The drinking water is completely finished.

Note: The adverbial suffixes *-bebe* and *-chongmot* can both occur as free morphemes; *-bebe* as a lexical item means ‘true’ or ‘truth’ and *-chongmot* means ‘very true’ or ‘one’s very own’. This can best be illustrated in the examples given below:

*-bebe* ‘true’:

231. *Ua bebe ongama?*  
That-Dem true is-Neut-Que  
Is that true?
232. *Bebeko aganbo*  
Truth-Acc tell-Imp  
Tell the truth  
*-chongmot* ‘very true’ or ‘one’s very own’:
233. *Nangni aganaan ong chongmota*  
You-Gen say-Neut-Frg is-very-true-Neut  
What you say is very true

234. *Ua angni abitang chongmot (ong'a)*  
 That-Dem I-Gen elder-sister-own very own (is-Neut)  
 She (is) my own elder sister

It may be noted that the word within brackets is optional because it is used only in formal speech and writing, not in colloquial speech.

The adverbial morphemes *-bebe* and *-chongmot* can also be compounded together as emphatic intensifiers like *-srang* above, and are then used to make an emphatic statement. For example, in answer to the question-

235. *Ia ongbebeama?*  
 This-Dem is-true-Neut-Que  
 Is this true?

the answer in colloquial language would be 'brief and to the point' as:

236. *Bebechongmot!*  
 True-very-true  
 It is indeed very true!

The two morphemes thus form a compound (adv+adv / adj+adj) meaning 'very true indeed!'

### Adjectives

2.2.2.0. Adjectives are not very clearly distinguished from verbs in the Garo language. As Robbins Burling has stated, in his books on Garo Grammar,

“Among other things, most meanings that are conveyed by adjectives in English are conveyed in Garo by a type of verb. As a result, Garo hardly has a separate class of adjectives.”<sup>69</sup>

There is a lot of similarity between verb suffixes and adjective suffixes in Garo. In other words, there are certain verbs and adjectives which can take the same suffixes, and can enter into the same constructions, so that there seems to be no structural distinction between verbs and adjectives in Garo.

This may be more clearly illustrated in the examples given below:

2.2.2.1. Similarity between verbs suffixes and adjectives suffixes

Adjectives	Verbs
<i>nito-a</i> ‘beautiful’	<i>nito-a</i> ‘to be beautiful’
<i>knato-a</i> ‘good sound’	<i>knato-a</i> ‘to sound good’
<i>dal-a</i> ‘big’	<i>dal-a</i> ‘to be big’
<i>dal-ja</i> ‘not big’	<i>kat ja</i> ‘not to run’
<i>seng-a</i> ‘bright’ or ‘intelligent’	<i>seng-a</i> ‘to be bright/intelligent’
<i>chi-a</i> ‘sweet’	<i>chi-a</i> ‘to taste sweet’ also ‘to hatch’
<i>mila</i> ‘fat’	<i>mila</i> ‘to be fat’
<i>changroa</i> ‘tall’	<i>changroa</i> ‘to be tall’
<i>simila</i> ‘good smell’	<i>simila</i> ‘smells good’
<i>rimila</i> ‘slippery’	<i>rimila</i> ‘it is slippery’
<i>chi grika</i> ‘clear water’	<i>chi grika</i> ‘the water is clear’

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<sup>69</sup> Robbins Burling, A Garo Grammar, Deccan College Monograph series: 25, Poona 1961, p109.

This may be more clearly illustrated in the sentences in the table given below:

Adjectives	Verbs
<p>237. <i>nito-a</i> 'beautiful'  <i>nitoa pul mandeko kusi ongata</i>            beautiful flower person-Acc happy be- Caus            Beautiful flowers makes a person happy</p>	<p><i>nito-a</i> 'to be beautiful'  <i>Golap bibal nitoa</i>            rose flower beautiful-Neut            (The) Rose (is) a beautiful flower</p>
<p>238. <i>knato-a</i> 'good sound'  <i>knatoa ku'rang agano nama</i>            soothe-Neut voice speak-Loc(t) good-Neut            One with a soothing voice should be speak</p>	<p><i>knato-a</i> 'to sound good'  <i>Uni ku smita knatoa</i>            His whistle-Neut soothe-Neut            He whistles well</p>
<p>239. <i>dal-a</i> 'big'  <i>dal a mandeko mandera a</i>            Big-Adj person-Acc respect give-Neut            A big (great) person is respected</p>	<p><i>dal-a</i> 'to be big'  <i>Mande dal a</i>            person big-Neut            The person (is) big</p>
<p>240. <i>seng-a</i> 'bright' or 'intelligent'  <i>seng a mande chanchina ta raka</i>            bright-Adj person think-Inf quick-Neut            An intelligent person thinks quickly</p>	<p><i>seng-a</i> 'to be bright/intelligent' <i>Ia</i>  <i>mande seng a</i>            This-Dem person bright-Neut            This person (is) intelligent</p>
<p>241. <i>mila</i> 'fat'  <i>mila matchuko dokbo</i>            Fat-Adj cow-Acc slaughter-Imp            Slaughter the fat cow</p>	<p><i>mila</i> 'to be fat'  <i>Ia mande namen mila</i>            This-Dem man very-Frg fat-Neut            This man (is) very fat</p>
<p>242. <i>chi a</i> 'sweet'  <i>chi a cha aniko chanabe</i>            sweet-Adj eat-Nomz-Acc eat-Neg            'Do not eat sweet things'</p>	<p><i>chi a</i> 'hatched'  <i>bitchi chi aha</i>            eggs-Nom hatch-Past-Neut            'The eggs have hatched'</p>
<p>243. <i>chi grika</i> 'clear water'  <i>chi grikao na tok jroako nika</i>            water clear-Adj-Loc(s) fish swim-Nomz-            Acc see-Neut            In clear water you can see the fish swim</p>	<p><i>chi grika</i> 'the water is clear'  <i>Ia chiringni chide grika</i>            Ths-Dem stream-Gen water-Sub            clear-Neut            The water in this stream is clear</p>

The difference therefore, is in the semantics (meaning) and not in the form between the adjectives and verbs given above. Thus most words that are considered as transitive verbs in Garo are translated into English as Adjectives. The same words in Garo it is obvious can function as verbs as well as adjectives. This has also been noted by Robbins Burling in his study of the Garo language in his books on *A Garo Grammar*<sup>70</sup> where he says that,

“The class of verb base covers in meaning approximately the same area as is covered by both the verbs and the adjectives of English”.

And in *Patterns of Language*, he states that

“Both can take suffixes that are somewhat like tense endings, and both can be used to modify nouns:

<i>Kat-a</i>	‘run’	<i>dal-a</i>	‘be big’
<i>Kat-ja</i>	‘not run’	<i>dal-ja</i>	‘not big’
<i>Kat-jok</i>	‘has run’	<i>dal-jok</i>	‘got big, grew big’
<i>Kat-gen</i>	‘will run’	<i>dal-gen</i>	‘will be big’

In a language like Garo we find no formal reason to recognize separate classes of adjectives and verbs. Garo has words for actions that correspond in meaning to our [English] verbs, and it has words for qualities that correspond in meaning to our adjectives, so Garo speakers are in no way handicapped in expressing their ideas, but they must express them with different formal machinery. As long as we define parts of speech by the forms of a particular language, we must expect parts of speech to differ from one language to another.”<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Robbins Burling *A Garo Grammar*. p.11.

<sup>71</sup> Robbins Burling, *Patterns of Language: structure variation, change*. United Kingdom Edition. Published by Academic Press Limited, London, 1992, p. 41.

2.2.2.2. The above examples taken from *Patterns of Language* by Robbins Burling can be illustrated more clearly in sentences given in the table below:

Verbs	Adjectives
<p>244. <i>Kat-a</i> 'run'  <i>matcha randingana anga kene katta</i>            Tiger- roar-Neut-Inf I afraid-Sub run- Neut            The roar of the tiger made me run in fear</p>	<p><i>dal-a</i> 'be big'  <i>mikka waenba chiring dal a</i>            rain fall-Sub stream big-Neut            Rainfall made the stream big</p>
<p>245. <i>Kat-ja</i> 'not run'  <i>Ia menggode dokoba katja</i>            This cat-Sub beat-even run-Neg            This cat does not run even when it is beaten</p>	<p><i>dal-ja</i> 'not big'  <i>Ia bolko simsakbeoba dalja</i>            This tree-Acc care-very-also big-Neg            This tree does not grow even when cared for</p>
<p>246. <i>Kat-jok</i> 'has run'  <i>mese katjok</i>            rat-Nom run-Past            (The) rat has run off (away)</p>	<p><i>dal-jok</i> 'got big, grew big'  <i>Ia bi saba da ode daljok</i>            This child-also now-Sub big-Past            This child has now grown big</p>
<p>247. <i>Kat-gen</i> 'will run'  <i>mama arikode nokoni katgen</i>            uncle chase-Sub house-Gen run-Fut            If my uncle chases me away from home I will run (go away)</p>	<p><i>dal-gen</i> 'will be big'  <i>pilak mandean salsade dal gen</i>            all man-Frg day-Class-one-Sub big-Fut            Every person will one day be big (great)</p>

### 2.2.2.3. Inflection in Adjectives and Adverbs

Adjectives:

Though Adjectives and verbs are not very clearly distinguished in the Garo language, there is one feature in inflection which distinguishes

verbs from adjectives in Garo, and that is in comparison. As in English, the Positive degree has no suffix in Garo too, but in the Comparative degree, the suffix morpheme *-bat* is used for comparison; and for the Superlative degree, the suffix *-srang* is added to *-bat*, making it *-batsranga*. As for example:

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
<i>nama</i> 'good'	<i>nambata</i> 'better'	<i>nabatsranga</i> 'best'
<i>chi-a</i> 'sweet'	<i>chi-bata</i> 'sweeter'	<i>chi-batsranga</i> 'sweetest'
<i>chua</i> 'high'	<i>chubata</i> 'higher'	<i>chubatsranga</i> 'highest'
<i>nitoo</i> 'beautiful'	<i>nitobata</i> 'more beautiful'	<i>nitobatsranga</i> 'most beautiful'
<i>grika</i> 'clear'	<i>grikbata</i> 'clearer'	<i>grikbatsranga</i> 'clearest'

### 2.2.3.0.

### Adverbs

In *Universals of Human Language*, edited by Joseph Greenberg we have the following definition of Adverbs

“All languages have certain superficial grammatical constructions which are used to express predicational relations between a nominal or clausal argument and a predicate of temporal or spatial location, function, direction, etc. Such constructions are most commonly referred to as adverbials, or, where the predicate constituent is an uninflected word or clitic, as prepositional or postpositional phrases,”<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Greenberg, Joseph H., Editor, *Universals of Human Language*, Published by Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1978, p 53.

### 2.2.3.1. Adverbs in Garo

The third most extensive word class in Garo, exceeded only by nouns and verbs is that of adverbs. Adverbs are closely related to verbs, and they are often derived from verbs. Adverbs often occur immediately before the verb of a sentence, but they can also be placed earlier.<sup>73</sup> Adverbs in Garo modify the action of a verb in terms of time place and manner. The terms for time place and manner in Garo are, *maidake* ‘how’, *basako* ‘when’ and *bano* or *bach* ‘where’. They may also be inflected for case as will be seen in the table below:

#### 2.2.3.1.1. Case Inflection of Adverbs in Garo:

Case	How	When	Where	How much
Nominative	<i>maidake</i>	<i>basako</i>	<i>bano / bach</i>	<i>badita/ baisik</i>
Accusative	<i>maidaka-ko</i>		<i>bachiko</i>	<i>baditako / baisikko</i>
Dative	<i>maidaka-na</i>	<i>basakona</i>	<i>bachina</i>	<i>baditana/ baisikna</i>
Genitive	<i>maidaka-ni</i>	<i>basakoni</i>	<i>bachini/ baoni</i>	<i>baditani/ baisikni</i>
Instrumental	<i>maidaka-chi</i>			<i>baditachi/ baisikchi</i>
Locative		<i>basako</i>	<i>bach / bao</i>	
Augmenting Locative	<i>maidaka- oniko maidaka- chiniko</i>	<i>basakoniko</i>	<i>bachiniko/ banoniko</i>	<i>baditaono/ baditachini</i>

<sup>73</sup> R.Burling, The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar, p.100-101.

Again, like adjectives, adverbs may also be inflected to show comparison, as for example:

### 2.2.3.1.2. Comparison of Adverbs

Adverbs undergo inflection in the comparative degree in Garo. These degrees are formed by adding different suffix morphemes such as *-bat* for the comparative and for the Superlative degree, *-srang* is added to *-bat* making it *-batsranga*

In the Positive degree there is no suffixation as no comparison is made: example:

248.        *Ua        namen        sena        man·a*  
               He/she very-Frg write-Neut can/able-Neut  
               She can write well

No comparison is made in this sentence, and the word *name* 'well' with *-n* the emphasizing suffix, modifies a verb simply as a positive degree.

In the Comparative degree, the suffix *-bat* is usually attached to indicate comparison. Example:

249. *Ua        Jongbanna    bate        nambate        sena        man·a*  
               He/she Jongban-Dat more-Sub good-Comp write-Inf can-Neut  
               She can write better than Jongban'

Under the comparative degree, the comparison involves two persons when the morpheme *-na* is accompanied by *bate* in Garo.

In the Superlative degree the suffix *-srange* is added to *-bat* to make it *-batsrange* which is then followed by the usual Neutral tense aspect morpheme *-a* or by the subordinating suffix *-e*. For example:

250. *Ua*            *nambatsrange*      *sena*            *man-a*  
 she/he            good-Comp-Sup    write-Neut    can-Neut  
 ‘she can write best’.

Here the degree of comparison is shown by using the morpheme suffix *-batsrange*.

The following table will give some more examples of comparison of adverbs:

Comparison of Adverbs:

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
<i>changa</i> ‘able’ / ‘skillful’	<i>changbata</i> ‘more able’ / ‘more skillful’	<i>changbatsrange</i> ‘most able’ / ‘most skillful’
<i>toa</i> ‘tasty’	<i>tobata</i> ‘more tasty’	<i>tobatsrange</i> ‘most tasty’
<i>agana</i> ‘says / speaks’	<i>aganbata</i> ‘says / speaks more’	<i>aganbatsrange</i> ‘says most’ / ‘speaks most’
<i>cha’a</i> ‘eats’	<i>cha bata</i> ‘eats more’	<i>cha batsrange</i> ‘eats most’
<i>ringa</i> ‘sings’	<i>ring bata</i> ‘sings more’	<i>ring batsrange</i> ‘sings most’

It may thus be noted that the adverbs in Garo can be inflected by using the suffix *-bat* for the Comparative degree and adding *-srange* to *-bat* for the Superlative degree. It may also be noted here that the morphemes for comparison are the same for adverbs and adjectives in the Garo language. This is because adverbs are qualifying morphemes that add to the meaning of a verb in Garo and also because verbs and adjectives in

Garo are not really distinct from one another in Garo as already noted above in the section on adjectives § section 2. 2. 2. 1.

#### **2.2.4.0. Nouns:**

“A noun is a word which can inflect for number and which usually names people, places or things”.<sup>74</sup>

##### **2.2.4.1.0. Nouns in Garo:**

A noun in Garo can also inflect for number and usually names people, places or things. The class of noun bases includes equivalents for most of the terms which we call nouns in English, including names of picturable objects, substances and some abstract nouns. “Nouns in Garo can take number, gender, and person as well as case elements. Nouns may be used alone or they may be used with any of several suffixes. The class of noun bases is defined by the ability of its members to take a distinctive set of suffixes”.<sup>75</sup> Robbins Burling says that along with Verbs, Nouns form one of the two largest classes of Garo words.<sup>76</sup> Nouns can inflect for case and number in Garo words.

##### **2.2.4.1.1. Animate markers in the Garo Language**

Nouns can also be generally divided into animate and inanimate groups. The distinctions are made on semantic grounds in correspondence

<sup>74</sup> *The Internet Grammar of English,*

<sup>75</sup> Burling, Robbins *A Garo Grammar*, Deccan College Monograph Series: 25. Published by Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. p 37.

<sup>76</sup> Burling, Robbins *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar*, p.166

with personal and relative pronouns. Also, on the basis of humans and all other created things so that we have plural suffix morphemes. The distinction is marked by animate, inanimate, and human and animal markers as follows:

#### 2.2.4.1.2. *-mang* animate plural marker for humans only

This marker is used only for human beings as in *Uamang* – which is a plural marker applied only to human beings. Example:

251. *Uamang jrip jrip re angenga*  
 that-Pl            silent-silent            go-away-Prog-Neut  
 They are going away silently

252. *Na'simang pilakan Christmasna songchi re tokgenma?*  
 you-Pl    all-Frg    Christmas-Dat    village-Loc(s)    go-all-Fut-Que  
 Will you all go to (the) village for Christmas?

#### 2.2.4.1.3. *-rang* Plural marker use for all animate and inanimate things:

This suffix is universally applied to all animate and inanimate things, as in *Uarang*, which is a plural marker for all animate and inanimate things:

253. *Uarang            jekoba    cha aia*  
 That-Pl            anything-also    eat-Neut  
 They eat            anything

254. *Manderang re angenga*  
 Man-Pl            go-away-Prog-Neut  
 (The) people (are) going away

255. *Matchurang*                      *cha'amenga*  
 Cow-Pl                      graze-Prog-Neut  
 (The) cows are grazing

256. *Ro'ongrang*                      *rimila*  
 Stone-Pl                      slippery-Neut  
 (The) stones are slippery

**Nouns can take number, gender, person and case elements.**

#### **2.2.4.2.0. Number or Plural markers in the Garo language:**

Number as a grammatical category is relevant only to nouns in Garo. Adjectives and verbs do not manifest number.<sup>77</sup> Garo nouns manifest only two numbers, singular and plural. Plural nouns are derived from the singular noun. The singular form is identical with the root forms and the plural forms are inflected from the singular ones by the morphological process of suffixation.

The plural number is shown in the Garo by suffixes such as - *mang*, -*rang* and -*drang*. The plural morpheme -*rang* applies universally to all things animate as well as inanimate. While the plural morphemes -*mang* and -*drang* are used only for humans, -*rang* is used for animals only. This is illustrated in the examples given below:

##### **2.2.4.2.1. -rang plural suffix**

-**rang** is a plural morpheme universally applied to all animate and inanimate things:

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<sup>77</sup> Robbins Burling, *The Modhupur Language of the Mandi (Garo) Vol. I: Grammar*, p

Singular	Plural	English Translation
<i>Mande</i>	<i>manderang</i>	'people'
<i>Matchu</i>	<i>matchurang</i>	'cows'
<i>do·o</i>	<i>do·orang</i>	'birds'
<i>na·tok</i>	<i>na·tokrang</i>	'fish(es)'
<i>pul</i>	<i>pulrang</i>	'flowers'
<i>bol</i>	<i>rang</i>	'trees'
<i>ro·ong</i>	<i>ro·ongrang</i>	'stones'

#### 2.2.4.2.2. *-mang* Plural suffix

*-mang* refers to humans only as in:

Singular	Plural	English Translation
<i>Ua</i>	<i>Uamang</i>	they /those people

*uamang*: 'they or those people'. Examples of its use in sentences:

257. *uamang mejalon re·angaha*  
 They-Plu yesterday-Frg go-away-Neut-Past  
 'They have already gone yesterday'.
258. *Na·aba uamangni nokchi re·genma?*  
 You-also his/her-Plu-Gen home-Loc (s) go-Fut-Que  
 'Will you also go to their house?'
259. *Uamang namen duk man·aha.*  
 His/her-Plu very-Frg sorrow got-Neut-Past  
 'They have had a lot of sorrow'.

#### 2.2.4.2.3. *-drang* Plural suffix

*-drang* is used mostly with the names of people, usually showing relationship. It is an allomorph of *-rang* as it is found only with the following words instead of *-rang*, as in:

Singular	English Translation	Plural	English Translation
<i>Jikgipa</i>	wife	<i>jikdrang</i>	'wives'
<i>Degipa</i>	child	<i>dedrang</i>	'children'
<i>Jongipa</i>	younger brother	<i>jongdrang</i>	'brothers'
<i>Nogipa</i>	younger sister	<i>nodrang</i>	'younger sisters'
<i>Sugipa</i>	grandchildren	<i>su·drang</i>	'grandchildren'
<i>ma·drang</i>	relation	<i>ma·drang</i>	'relations';

Sentences illustrating their use:

260. *Jikdrang: Uamangni jikdrang golpo ka enga*  
 Wives: they-Gen wife-Plu story do-Prog-Neut  
 Their wives (are) talking
261. *Dedrang: Diksengni dedrang dal tokaha*  
 children: Dikseng-Gen child-Plu big-all-Neut-Past  
 Dikseng's children (have) all grown up
262. *jongdrang: Jongdrang, sengpakubone?*  
 Younger-brothers: younger-brother-Plu wait-please-yet-Imp-  
 Imp  
 Younger-brothers, please wait, all right?
263. *nodrang: Rikme nodrangna ka sabea*  
 younger-sisters: Rikme-Nom younger-sister-Plu-Dat love-very-  
 Neut  
 Rikme loves her younger sisters very much
264. *su drang: Bini su drangan bang bea*  
 grandchildren: Her/his-Gen grandchild-Plu-Frg many-very-Neut  
 He/she has many grandchildren
265. *ma drang: Angni ma drang aganchakgen*  
 relatives: I-Gen relation-Plu speak-answer-Fut  
 My relatives will give the answer (will answer the question)

An exception to this use of *-drang* is in the word *do·drang* where the word refers to birds and not humans, in the plural sense. Though it may

be noted, that the Plural *-rang* may also be used and the meaning will be the same. For instance:

*do'o*=bird; *do'drang* /*do'orang* = birds

266. *Isol inaha, "Do'drang a'ani kosako salgini*  
 God say-Past bird-Plu earth-Gen above-Loc(s) Heaven-Gen  
*bangbango bile rochina"*  
 empty-Loc(s) fly-Sub roam-Aug -Loc  
 Then God said, "Let the birds fly about in the empty sky above the earth"

To sum up: Thus it may thus be concluded that Garo has *-rang*, *-mang* and *-drang* as plural morphemes, of which *-mang* and *-drang* refer only to human beings with the exception of *-drang* used for birds as well as humans. *-rang* refers universally to all animate, inanimate beings as well as to humans and animals.

#### 2.2.4.3.0. Gender Markers in Garo

Like other languages of the Sino-Tibetan family<sup>78</sup>, Garo does not have Grammatical gender; it has a natural gender system of only nouns. Adjectives and verbs, Pronouns or other word classes do not have gender, nor do they show any obligatory gender concord. It has a system of sex reference in which the distinction between male and female is on the basis of natural sex as mentioned earlier, where *me·asa* 'man' refers to male persons and *me·chik* 'woman' refers to female persons; *bipa* refers to male

<sup>78</sup> Languages of the North East. Edited by P.N.Dutta Baruah, Published by the Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Manasagangotri, Mysore 5700061<sup>st</sup> Publication 1997.

animals and birds and *bima* to female animals and birds and so on. The words indicating male and female are placed before the noun, as in *me·chik bi·sa* ‘baby girl’; *me·a bi·sa* ‘baby boy’ and for animals *matchu bima* ‘cow’; *matchu bipa* ‘bull’. There are also nouns without separate words which can convey masculine and feminine meanings, as in: *nono* ‘younger sister’; *jojong* ‘younger brother’; *abi* ‘elder sister’; *ada /dada* ‘elder brother’ and so on, as will be seen in more detail below. It will also be noted that in some words if the term used to indicate the masculine gender ends in ‘a’ then the term used to indicate the feminine gender ends in ‘i’ as in:

<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>
<i>mama</i> ‘maternal uncle’	<i>mani</i> ‘aunt’;
<i>ada</i> ‘elder brother’	<i>abi</i> ‘elder sister’
<i>jara</i> ‘foolish man’	<i>jari</i> ‘foolish woman’.

This of course is not common throughout as we have other forms of words indicating masculine and feminine meanings as in *ade* ‘mother’s younger sister’ and *awang* ‘her husband’; *atchu* ‘grandfather’ and *ambi* ‘grandmother’ and so on.

There are also neutral kinship terms in which the gender is not indicated:

#### 2.2.4.3.1. Gender neutral kinship terms in Garo

<i>bi·sa</i>	‘child’
<i>dedrang</i>	‘children’
<i>su·drang</i>	‘grandchildren’
<i>ma·drang</i>	‘relations’

2.2.4.3.2. Kinship terms in Garo based on Gender

It may be noted that terms of address as well as terms of reference are found in this category.

<u>Masculine</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>English</u>
<i>atchu</i>	grandfather	<i>ambi</i>	grandmother
<i>apa</i>	father	<i>ama</i>	mother
<i>mama</i>	maternal uncle	<i>mani</i>	aunt wife of maternal uncle
<i>apa / baba</i>	daddy/father	<i>ama / ai</i>	mummy/mother.
<i>jojong</i>	younger-brother	<i>nono</i>	younger-sister
<i>ada / dada</i>	elder brother	<i>abi</i>	elder-sister
<i>pajong</i>	mother's elder sister's husband; also father's elder brother.	<i>ma'jong/ajong</i>	mother's elder sister; also father's elder brother's wife
<i>awang</i>	mother's younger sister's husband; also father's younger brother	<i>ma'de/ade</i>	mother's younger sister; also father's younger brother's wife
<i>depante</i>	son	<i>demechik</i>	daughter
<i>pante</i>	young man	<i>me-tra</i>	young woman
<i>o'bite</i>	father-in-law	<i>nio</i>	mother-in-law.
<i>gume</i>	elder sister's husband	<i>bochi</i>	elder brother's wife
<i>budepa</i>	old man	<i>buchuma</i>	old woman
<i>bude</i>	maternal grandfather	<i>bitchi</i>	maternal grandmother
<i>apabude/ bababude</i>	maternal grandfather	<i>amabitchi/ aibitchi</i>	maternal grandmother

It may be noted that different sets of words denote masculine and feminine in most of these words given above. Here one form cannot be derived from the other. Both the forms are two different lexical entries. It is by meaning relationship that they are paired together. However it will also be noticed that most terms referring to mother/grandmother either begin or end in the affix *-ma* and most terms referring to the father/grandfather either begin or end in *-pa*, though this does not occur uniformly, yet it may be noted as occurring quite frequently, for instance, *ama/apa* 'mother/father';

*amabitchi /apabude* maternal grandmother / grandfather *ma·jong/ pajong*  
‘aunty/uncle’, and so on.

2.2.4.3.3. Different terms are also used to refer to gender in humans and other creatures, as for example:

Gender (persons):

<u>Masculine</u>	<u>English Meaning</u>	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>English Meaning</u>
<i>me·a</i>	boy / man	<i>me·chik</i>	girl / woman
<i>me·a bi·sa</i>	baby boy	<i>me·chik bi·sa</i>	baby girl
<i>me·apa</i>	A married man / an elderly man	<i>me·chikma</i>	A married woman / an elderly woman

Gender (animals and birds):

<u>Masculine</u>	<u>English Meaning</u>	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>English Meaning</u>
<i>bipa.</i>	male (animal/bird)	<i>bima</i>	female(animal/bird)
<i>matcha bipa</i>	tiger	<i>matcha bima</i>	tigress

Garo also has a neuter gender which refers to things that do not show male, female characteristics. As for example:

*ro·ong* ‘stone’  
*a·mang* ‘mud or soil’  
*bol* ‘tree’  
*chi* ‘water’  
*palang* (loan word) ‘bed’  
*tebil* (loan word) ‘table’

Finally, Garo also has a common gender called ‘*Ramram*’ gender, as for example:

*mande*, ‘human being or man’  
*do·o*, ‘bird’  
*na·tok*, ‘fish’  
*matburing* ‘animal’ and so on.

<u>Neuter</u>	<u>English Meaning</u>	<u>Common</u>	<u>English Meaning</u>
<i>Bia</i>	he / she	<i>ua</i>	that/he/she
<i>ro·ong</i>	stone	<i>matburung</i>	animal
<i>go·ol</i>	stick	<i>do·o</i>	bird
<i>nok</i>	house	<i>achak</i>	dog
<i>rama</i>	road	<i>mongma</i>	elephant
<i>gitchi</i>	hoe	<i>mengo</i>	cat

Thus we have the following genders in Garo<sup>79</sup>:

Masculine gender -----*Me·a* gender

Feminine gender -----*Me·chik* gender

Neuter gender ----- *Gri* gender

Common gender -----*Ramram* gender

**2.2.4.3.4.** Personal pronouns in Garo do not show any gender distinction. The same form is used for both masculine and feminine. The personal Pronouns in Garo are *bia* and *ua*:

*Bia* - This applies only to humans. *Bia* is a pronoun in the third person which refers to both him and her and is used only for human beings.

For instance:

267. *Bia kamtangko kakket ka·ronga*  
 She/he work-own-Acc honest do-always-Neut  
 He / she always does his / her own work honestly.

*Ua*– refers to all animate and inanimate objects / things, that is to all things universally. *ua* For instance:

<sup>79</sup> Phillips, E.G., A·chik Grammar. Published by Tura Book Room, Tura, Meghalaya. 9<sup>th</sup> edition, 2002, p. 37-38. and Phillips, Outline Grammar of the Garo Language. Published by The Garo Literature Society, Tura, West Garo Hills, Meghalaya. 1988. First printed in 1904 by the Assam Secretariat Printing Office, p 2.

268. *Ua do·bok angni pulko bon·e cha ·jok*

That goat I-Gen flower-Acc finish-Sub eat-Past  
That goat has eaten all my flowers

269. *Ua bolni bijakrang bon·pile rurongjok!*

That tree-Gen leaf-Plu finish-completely-Sub fall-Past  
That tree has completely lost all its leaves

270. *Ua kusi ong·bee pil· angaha*

That happy be-very-Sub return-Neut-Past  
He / She went back very happily

*Na·simang* - is a word in the second person plural number which applies to both male and female persons. For instance:

271. *Na·simang okkritokengjokma?*

You-Plu hungry-all-Prog-Past-Que  
Are you all (getting) hungry?

#### 2.2.4.4.0. Case markers in the Garo Language

Case markers are characteristic features of nouns. The noun suffixes are essentially case endings defining the way in which the nouns to which they are attached are related in meaning to the verb. Case Markers also show the relation of the noun or noun phrase to the rest of the word or to other words in the sentence, as they provide a way of organizing the noun phrases of a clause or sentence. Case markers can be used to make clear whether the noun is the subject or object of a sentence, or what other function it may have.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Burling, Robbins The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar, Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers, p 183 & 386

Unlike English nouns, which have no case endings -except in the Possessive Case, for which an apostrophe ('s) is used, case markers are frequently used in the Garo Language. Nouns and verbs are the largest classes of words in Garo and just as principal verb suffixes are an essential part of verbs (as it is the combination of a verb base and a principal verb suffix which forms a verb in Garo), so also, case markers are a characteristic feature of Garo nouns. These two classes of words in Garo (nouns and verbs) are distinguished from each other by their suffixes. Another distinction is that while there are hardly any verbs without suffixes (especially principal verb suffixes), 'nouns have case markers only if the noun is the last word in a noun phrase'<sup>81</sup>. It can otherwise be attached to a modifying verb (*cha-ani-ko* 'food'), or a numeral (*mande sakgni-ko* 'two people') or even a demonstrative (*ia-ko*, 'this one'; *u-ko* 'that one') if it is the only word in a noun phrase; even a genitive, if it is the last or only constituent of a noun phrase, may have a second case marker fixed to it (*ang-ni-ko* 'mine' *nang-ni-ko* 'yours'). If it is a nominative noun, it usually needs no case marker (*mande* 'man'; *achak* 'dog'; *menggo* 'cat').

Garo also uses words to supplement case markers that are similar to prepositions in English. Unlike English, these words or suffixes do not precede the noun phrase but follow it, so they are called postpositions, but

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<sup>81</sup> *ibid* p 181.

they do the same work as prepositions in English. These words always follow the case markers and are in fact closely related to them, so that sometimes, the line between postpositions and case markers are very thin. However, without ambiguity, most forms can be clearly assigned to the two different categories of case markers and postpositions.

Case markers as indicated above, show whether the nouns to which they are attached are the subject, object, or indirect object of a verb. Therefore Garo has a much freer word order, unlike English which needs word order to indicate the subject and the object. This is because the case markers show the roles of nouns and noun phrases clearly in the sentence. For instance, *-ko* is the objective case marker in Garo, so I could say: '*anga nang-ko okamenga*'; or '*nang-ko anga okamenga*'; or '*okamenga nang-ko anga*' and the listener would understand its meaning clearly as, 'I called you'.

Case markers also indicate possession for which the suffix morpheme is *-ni* in Garo. As for example *anga nang-ni ki-tapko poraina man-genma?* 'Can I read your book? Other case markers show instrumentality, that is, they mark the name of the tool or instrument used in performing an action; yet others show location in time or space, direction etc., for which prepositions are used in English. There are therefore large numbers of case markers in Garo which can be counted in

different ways, depending on the criteria used. Robbins Burling states in his book on the language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garos in Bangladesh), that,

“Mandi has at least nine cases but they can be counted in different ways, and depending upon the criteria used, the number can reach as high as thirteen or fourteen.”<sup>82</sup>

In the first Garo Grammar book written by E. G. Phillips, the latter identified eight case markers in the Garo Language, including Vocatives, which has not been mentioned by Robbins Burling. As Vocatives are not suffixes, but separate words and mainly exclamatory, they do not undergo morphological processes and will not be considered here. In the observation of the present scholar therefore, there are seven types of suffixes which can be clearly defined as case markers undergoing morphological processes in Garo, depending on the relation of the noun to other words in the sentence. These different types of Case markers in Garo are as follows:

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<sup>82</sup> Burling, Robbins The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar. Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers, p 181

## 2.2.4.4.1.

## Case markers in Garo

Case	Marker	Example in word and sentence
Nominative	∅	272. <i>matchu</i> 'cow' <i>matchu moangenga</i> cow drive-Prog-Neut (The) cow is being driven (home)
Accusative Or Objective	- <i>ko</i>	273. <i>matchuko</i> 'cow (as object)' <i>matchuko rikatbo</i> cow-Acc chase-Caus-Imp Drive (the) cow away
Dative	- <i>na</i>	274. <i>Matchuna</i> '(for) the cow' <i>matchuna nol tarina nanga</i> cow-Dat shed make-Inf need-Neut (I/we) need to make a shed for the cow
Genitive	- <i>ni</i>	275. <i>matchuni</i> 'of the cow' <i>matchuni jengko tarie donatbo</i> cow-Gen fodder-Acc prepare-Sub keep-Caus-Imp Prepare the cow('s) fodder and keep (store) it
Instrumental	- <i>chi</i>	276. <i>matchuchi</i> 'with the cow' <i>matchuchi hal wea</i> cow-Inst plough plough-Neut (We) plough (the field) with the cow
Locative	- <i>o(s) / -o(t) /chi(s)</i>	277. <i>songo /songchi</i> 'in the village' <i>songo mande bang-a</i> village-Loc(s) man-Pl many-Neut (There are) many people in (the) village <i>Anga knalo songchi re · anggen</i> I-Nom Tomorrow-Loc(t) village-Loc-(s) go-Neut-Fut I will go to the village tomorrow
Augmenting Locative or Ablative <sup>83</sup>	- <i>o-ni / -o-na / -chi-ni / -chi-na</i>	278. <i>songoni / songona / songchini / songchina</i> 'from the village /to the village' <i>songoni manderang re-angaha</i> village-from-Aug-Loc(s) people-Pl go-Neut-Past (The) people from the village have gone away <i>manderang songona re-angaha</i> people-Pl village-Aug-Loc go-Neut-Past The people have gone to the village

<sup>83</sup> E. G. Phillips, in *Outline Grammar of the Garo Language*. Published by The Garo Literature Society, and Robbins Burling in *A Garo Grammar*. Deccan College Monograph Series: 25. Published by Deccan

They will be defined in more detail below.

#### 2.2.4.4.2. The Nominative Case Marker

Nominative case: When a noun (or pronoun) is used as the subject of a verb, it is said to be in the nominative case. In Garo the nominative marks the actor, the active agent that performs the action of the verb. In this it corresponds closely to the subject in English. The nominative does not need a suffix to indicate this case so it is said to have zero morpheme which is indicated as ( $\emptyset$ ).

279. *Jasin skulchi re·angaha.*  
 Jasin-Nomn ( $\emptyset$ ) school-Dat go-Past  
 ‘Jasin has gone to school’.

280. *Norrey angming apsan poraiachim.*  
 Norrey-Nomn ( $\emptyset$ ) with me together study-Past  
 ‘Norrey studied together with me’

As seen above the nominative case in Garo is mostly shown by the absence of a case marker. However, the absence of a case marker is not the absolute and definite sign of a nominative as a few other nouns, mostly the objective and the possessive are sometimes used without case markers, especially in the spoken form. As for example:

281. *Mi cha·bo’* (instead of) *mi-ko cha·bo*  
 Rice eat-Imp (instead of) rice-Acc eat-Imp  
 ‘Eat rice (have food) / eat the rice’.

282. *Ang ok saenga* (instead of) *ang-ni ok saenga*  
 I (my) stomach pain-Prog-Neut (instead of) I-Gen stomach pain-  
 Prog-Neut  
 ‘My stomach is paining’.

However, as these cases are limited, being mostly in the spoken form and in other specific situations as will be shown below, they do not lead to any ambiguity and the listener clearly understands what is meant by the speaker. In the written form of the language case markers are always optional.

Though the nominative occurs very frequently in ordinary speech, since the case markers show the role of the noun phrase so clearly, the subject need not come first as we have already seen above. However, in Garo it is not always necessary for every sentence to have a subject, and there are also times when even clauses manage comfortably without a subject, in which case the nominative case is not required at all.

As has been seen in the case of verbs, (§ section 2. 2. 1. 0.), a Garo verb can act all by itself as a full sentence without an explicit subject. In fact the subject is understood in a given context. In translation into English however, for the sake of understanding, the subject is given in parenthesis.

As will be seen in the examples given below:

283. *Sokbaahama?* ‘Has (he /she /the visitor) arrived?’  
 284. *Namengama?* ‘Are (you) well?’  
 285. *Re-babo!* ‘(You) come!’

286. *Re·angbo!*            '(You) go away!'

Here the subject is given within parentheses because it is not in the utterance, but to make the sentence clear in translation the (understood) subject is given in parentheses.

#### 2.2.4.4.3.    **The Accusative /Objective Case Marker**

The objective case or the accusative as it was called in traditional grammar: is the term for the direct object, the thing acted upon, and the recipient of the action of the verb which is generally indicated by the case marker *-ko* in Garo.

287.. *Skigipa nang·ko am·engachim*

Teacher you-Acc search-Neut-Prog-Past

'The teacher was searching (looking) for you'

288. *Bia nang·ko okamenga*

She/he-Nom you-Acc call-Prog-Neut

'She/he is calling you'

If the verb takes two objects in the same sentence one object takes the accusative case marker while the other takes the dative case marker. For instance, in the act of teaching, we have the thing taught and the student, that is, the two objects of teaching. The thing taught has the accusative case marker *-ko*, while the receiver has the dative *-na*, which is very much like in English. For example:

Richard taught history (direct object) to the students (indirect object)

This in Garo would be:

289. *Richard chatrorangna historyko skiachim.*  
 Richard-Nom student-Pl-Dat history-Acc teach-Neut-Past.

If the thing taught is not mentioned, then the recipient takes the accusative case marker:

290. *Richard chatrorangko skiachim.*  
 Richard-Nom student-Pl-Acc teach-Neut-Past.

This indicates that the accusative case marker is given the priority and is used when it is not needed for another noun phrase. If it is needed elsewhere then the dative will have to suffice. This is more so in the case of verbs for telling, teaching, directing ordering and so on.

The case marker –ko can also go with nominalized verbs like any other nouns. Nominalized verbs are principal verb suffixes which put a verb into a form that can be used as a noun or that can modify a noun. Like other noun constituents, they can take case markers<sup>84</sup>. Example:

291. *Ringchakani* ‘container for drinking’ (drinking-glass /cup)  
*Chi ringchakaniko ra·babo*  
 Water drink-container-Gen-Acc bring-Imp  
 Bring the (drinking) glass

292. *Sika-koani* ‘sewing and stitching’  
*Ua sika-koaniko dakna namnika*  
 He/she sewing-stitching-Gen-Acc do-Inf like-Neut  
 He/she likes to do sewing and stitching

<sup>84</sup> Burling, Robbins *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar*, Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers, p 185

A locative augmented with *-ni*, *-na* or *-ko*, can easily occur in the same clause with a regular accusative. Augmented locatives are locative cases *-o* and

*-chi* which are made greater or emphasized by the addition of the suffixes *-ni*, *-na* and *-ni-ko*.

293. *Bia an·tang barioni lechuko akke on·ata.*  
 She / he own-reflexive tree-aug-loc litchi pluck-sub give-neut.  
 He plucked the litchis from his own garden to give us.

Augmented Locatives will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections.

In some ways case markers are interdependent. Ordinarily, two noun phrases in the same clause do not have the same case marker, unless they have the same relation to the verb. Since *-ko* is given the priority as we have seen, so when *-ko* is used with one noun, the other nouns have to use other case markers, such as locatives, instrumentals, datives and so on.

Example:

294. *Cha·ani tochi na·tok-ko joatbo.*  
 Mustard-Gen oil-Inst fish-Acc fry-Caus-Imp.  
 ‘Fry the fish with mustard oil’.

295. *Mary chola gitalko skulchina gananga.*  
 Mary dress new-Nomz-Acc school-aug.loc wear-Neut.  
 ‘Mary wore the new dress to school’.

Where the third person imperative *-kan* or *chi-na* subordinates one clause to another, the subject of the subordinate clause which is also the object of the main clause is marked with *-ko*:

296. Silme      *ripengtango*      *giljachi*      *re-china*      *aganaha*  
 Silme-Nom friend-own-Acc church-Loc(s) go-Aug-Loc say-Neut-  
 Past

‘Silme told her friend to go to the church with her’.

In English, when two nouns in the same clause have identical relationship with the verb they have a conjunction. In Garo, two nouns in the same clause can have the same case marker *-ko* if they have an identical relation with the verb. Example:

297. *Anga achak-menggoranko, gimikon      jilna*  
*namnika.*  
 I-Nom dog-cat-Plu-Acc all- things-Frg keep-dat like-neut.  
 ‘I like to keep dogs, cats and all other animals (as pets)’.

Often the suffix *-ba* ‘also’, is suffixed to both the case markers in sentences of this kind as:

298. *Angade achakoba, mengkokoba      jilna      namnika.*  
 I-Nom-Sub dog-Acc-also      cat-Acc-alsokeep-Inf      like-Neut  
 I like to keep both dogs and cats (as pets)

Exception(s): The accusative marker *-ko* is omitted when the object occurs immediately before the verb and when an indefinite meaning is intended.

299. *Mejalo      bia      angna      ki-tap      on-achim*  
 Yesterday-Loc (t) she/he      I-Dat.      book      give-Neut-Past.  
 ‘yesterday she had given me a book’ (but)...

If a definite meaning is intended the case marker *-ko* would be added as:

300. *Mejalo bia angna (ia) ki-tapko on-aha*  
 Yesterday-Loc (t) she/he I-Dat. (this-Dem) book-Acc give-  
 Neut-Past  
 'Yesterday she had given me this book'.

There are many conventionalized object-verb pairs, which when used in the indefinite sense do not take the Accusative case marker *-ko* especially, when it is used in the sense for which we generally use it as :

301. *mi cha-bo* 'eat food';

302. *am-bol sota* 'cut wood' and so on.

When *-ko* is added to them they have a definite meaning:

303. *miko cha-bo* 'eat the rice (not only the potatoes or something else)'

304. *am-bolk<sub>o</sub> sotbo* 'cut the firewood (not something else)'.

There are many definite and indefinite expressions which contrast with each other by the addition or omission of *-ko* as in:

305. *kam rim-a* 'work, do work'; *kamk<sub>o</sub> rim-a* 'do the work.'

306. *golpo agana* 'tell a story'; *golpok<sub>o</sub> agana* 'tell the story'.

#### 2.2.4.4.4. The Dative Case marker

The dative case marker in Garo is *-na*. The central use of the dative is to mark the indirect object, the recipient of some action of the verb. The Indirect Object is usually the 'receiver' of an action described by a verb.

Example:

307. *Tengsrang Mikkimna pen on·aha*

Tengsrang-Nom Mikkim-Dat pen give-Neut-Past

‘Tengsrang gave Mikkim a pen’.

Here Mikkim is the Indirect Object so it has the case marker *–na*, attached

to it. More broadly, the dative indicates the individual who gains

something either physical or abstract; it marks the individual who benefits

from some action.

308. *Anga nang·na ki·tapko mesokachim.*

I-Nomn you-Dat book-Acc show-Neut-Past.

‘I showed you the book’.

309. *Bi·sana anga dut kanna.*

Baby-Dative I-Nomn milk give-Inf.

‘I give milk to the baby’.

A beneficiary of any blessing, whether it is a man who receives a blessing from God, or a bird, animal or tree which is blessed by God or a man’s nurture and care is also taken as dative.

310. *Isol angna patia.*

God-Nomn me-Dative bless-Neut

‘God blesses me’.

311. *Anga na·tokna cha·ani on·a.*

I-Nomn fish-Dative food-Gen (Nomz) give-Neut

‘I give food to the fish’.

312. *Mikjeng matchuna jeng rate ra·baronga.*

Mikjeng-Nom cow-Dative fodder cut-Sub bring-often-Neut.

Mikjeng often cuts and brings fodder for the cows

313. *Merina an-tangni do-orangna namen simsakronga.*  
 Merina-Nom own-Gen-Nomz bird-Pl-Dat very-Frg care-Prog-Neut.  
 Merina takes good care of her own birds.

The person taught, ordered or spoken to, can be shown by the Dative as the one who benefits, as he/she is the recipient of speech, teaching or an order.

314. *Skigipa bi-sarangna sena skia.*  
 Teach-Adj child-Pl-Dative write-Inf teach-Neut.  
 The teacher taught the children to write.

In the verb 'need' *nanga*, 'the one who needs', the potential beneficiary always has the dative case *nang-na* or *nang-eng-a*. The thing needed is accusative. Example:

315. *Bina bini cholako nangenga.*  
 Him/her-Dat His/her-Gen dress-Acc need-Prog-Neut.  
 He/she is in need of his/her dress.

316. *Pulrangna chiko rurongna nanga.*  
 Flower-Pl-Dat water-Acc pour-Prog-Inf need-Neut.  
 You need to pour water on the flowers regularly

The person or object towards which emotions are directed is often given the dative case. Example:

317. *Bolo gadogipa bi-sarangna kenchaka.*  
 Tree-Loc (s) Climb-Adj children-Prog-Dat worry-Neut  
 (I) worry about children who climb trees

318. *Seng-chi jo-ongrangna mitchibea.*  
 Seng-chi-Nomn insect-Pl-Dat dislike-very-Neut.  
 Seng-chi dislikes insects very much.

319. *Pilakan matchana kena.*  
 Everyone-Frg tiger-Dat fear-Neut.  
 'Everyone fears tigers'.
320. *Biade nokna sintieming hostelo dongna sikjaengjok.*  
 She/he-Sub home-Dat miss-Sub hostel-Loc(s) stay-Inf want-Neg-Prog-Past  
 He is so home-sick that he does not want to stay in the hostel any longer.

The dative can also be used for the price that is paid for something.

Example:

321. *Me·raku chamgniko gong·chikungna palengana.*  
 Maize-Nomn two sets-Acc rupees ten-Dat sell-Prog-Neut.  
 Two sets of maize are being sold for ten rupees.
322. *Anga wakko hajalbri tangkana palatjok.*  
 I-Nomn pig-Acc thousand-four rupees-Dat sell-Caus-Past  
 I sold the pig for four thousand rupees.
323. *Ia lekako gong·brina on·genma?*  
 This-Dem paper-Acc Class-four-Dat give-Fut-Que  
 Will you give this paper for four rupees?

#### 2.2.4.4.5. The Genitive Case Marker

The Genitive case marker shows the noun in ownership or possession, it is also therefore called the Possessive case. The case marker in Garo indicating possession is *-ni*. It always follows, or is suffixed to the thing that possesses it, such as, *angni kɪtap* 'my book', *Maryni senga* 'Mary's intelligence' and so on as will be seen in the examples below:

It can be used with the names of physical objects, as in:

324. *angni nok* ‘my house’:  
*Angni nok namjaha*  
 I-Gen house good-Neg-Past  
 My house has become bad
325. *angni kok* ‘my basket’:  
*Angni kok dal·a*  
 I-Gen basket big-Neut  
 My basket is big
326. *angni a·ba* ‘my jhum field’:  
*Angni a·bao mi namengaha*  
 I-Gen field-Loc (s) paddy good-Prog-Neut-Past  
 The paddy in my field is becoming good (ripening)
327. *angni song* ‘my village’:  
*Angni song chel·a*  
 I-Gen village far-Neut  
 My village (is) far away

As well as abstract nouns, as in:

328. *angni chanchiani* ‘my thoughts, idea, opinion’:  
*Angni chanchianian ong·aha*  
 I-Gen thought(s)-Gen-Frg is-Neut-Past  
 My idea was correct
329. *angni miksongani* ‘my intention / purpose’.  
*Angni miksongani chu·sokjok*  
 I-Gen purpose-Gen achieve-Past  
 I have achieved my purpose
330. *bini ma·siani* ‘his /her understanding’.  
*Bini ma·siani sretjok*  
 His/her-Gen understanding-Gen fail-Past  
 He /she has misunderstood
331. *gisik ka·tong gimikchi* ‘with all your heart and soul’.  
*nang·ni gisik ka·tong gimikchi git ring·bo*  
 You-Gen soul heart all-Inst song sing-Imp  
 Sing with all your heart and soul

It can also be used with kinship terms and as seen above in the case of Accusatives, it is not always necessary to use the Genitive marker in colloquial speech, it is understood, and may even sound a bit affected. However, the Genitive marker is used for emphasis, and more frequently in the written form. It will therefore be given in parenthesis in the examples below, as its use is optional and more often expected in formal expressions, as in:

332. *ang (ni) ma·gipa* ‘my mother’:  
*Ang(ni) ama toe song·na changa*  
 I-Gen mother tasty-Sub cook-Inf able-Neut  
 My mother (is) able to cook tastily (cooks well)
333. *ang (ni) pagipa* ‘my father’:  
*Ang(ni) pagipa officechini re·baaha*  
 I-Gen father office-Aug-Loc come-Neut-Past  
 My father has come from the office
334. *ang (ni) abi* ‘my elder sister’:  
*Ang(ni) abi angna bilsu gnisan bata*  
 I-Gen elder-sister I-Dat year two-only more-Neut  
 My elder sister is just two years older than me
335. *ang(ni) atchu* ‘my grandfather’:  
*Ang(ni) atchude skangon sijok*  
 I-Gen grand-father-Sub long-ago-Frg die-Past  
 My grandfather died long ago

It can also be used with body parts, as in:

336. *ang(ni) jak* ‘my hand’: *ang(ni) jak neng·engaha*  
 I-Gen and tire-Prog-Neut-Past  
 ‘My hand(s) are getting tired

337. *ang(ni) ok* ‘my stomach’: *Ang(ni) ok saenga*  
 I-Gen stomach pain-Prog-Neut  
 ‘my stomach is paining’

338. *ang(ni) nachil* ‘my ears’. *Ang(ni) nachil name knajaenga*  
 I-Gen ear(s) good-Sub hear-Neg-Prog-Neut  
 My ears are not hearing properly (I am not hearing properly)

Things made out of iron, bamboo, paper or any other substance can also take the Genitive when these substances modify the name of an object made from that substance, as in:

339. *Lekani tangka* ‘paper money’

340. *Wa·a(ni) bera* ‘bamboo fence’

341. *Sil(ni) me·dik* ‘iron pot’

342. *A·a(ni) nok* ‘mud house’

The genitive also allows many other nouns to be used as modifiers, as in:

343. *Jakrani jak* ‘the right hand’

344. *Jakasini jak* ‘the left hand’

345. *Matchok(ni) grong* ‘deer horn’

346. *Matchu(ni) bigil* ‘cow hide’

347. *Sagal(ni) jangchi* ‘the middle of the ocean’

An important use of the genitive is to indicate or mark the subject of the subordinate and relative clauses. The case marker *-ni* indicates the

subject of the subordinate clause and distinguishes it from the nominative subject of the main clause.

348. *Angni aumitingo chi tipanga*  
 I-Gen bathe-while-Loc Water stop-Prog-Neut.  
 'The water stopped while I was bathing'.

349. *Nang·ni sokbaahaode bia re·angaha*  
 You-Gen. arrive-Neut-Sub she /he go-Prog-Past.  
 'He had already gone when you left'.

Postpositions most frequently follow the genitive case marker *-ni*, as it seems to be their favourite case marker. Example:

350. *Angni ja·o achak tusienga'.*  
 I-Gen foot-Loc (s) dog sleep-Prog-Neut.  
 'A dog is sleeping at my foot'.

The genitive also shows how two nouns are related to each other, besides showing the relation of the noun or noun phrases to a verb as all case markers do.

351. *Nang·(ni) ki·tap* 'your book'

352. *Me·dik(ni) chikopani* 'pot cover'

353. *Matchu(ni) greng* 'bone of a cow'

354. *Ba·ra(ni) jola* 'cloth bag'

A Genitive relates two nouns to each other and even when it is followed by a postposition, it still relates two nouns; also since postpositions are nominals and can take case markers, they can also relate two nominals. As in:

**Nouns:**

355. *Karchini bijak sodana bate nambata*  
 Karchi-Gen curry soda-Dat more good-Comp  
 'Kar curry is better than soda curry'
356. *Mongma wagamni ripok* '  
 Elephant teeth-Gen necklace  
 'A necklace of elephant ivory'
357. *Kenanirang aro jajrenganirang*  
 Fear-Gen-Pl and anxiety-Gen-Pl  
 Fears and anxieties (worries)

**Nominals** – The Genitive case marker also plays a very important part in forming nominalizing suffixes. It is with the addition of the addition of the Genitive Case marker *-ni* that verbs are nominalized and can function like any other noun. Example:

358. *song·a·chanani* 'cooking':  
*song·a·chananiko darangan changna nanga*  
 cook-Neut-Redup-Gen-Acc everyone-Frg able-Inf need-Neut  
 Everyone needs to know how to cook
359. *cha·ani·ringani* 'food and drink':  
*Cha·ani ringaniko darangan simsake rabatokbo*  
 Eat-Gen drink-Gen everyone-Frg careful-Sub bring-all-Imp  
 Everyone should take care to bring food (for themselves)

**2.2.4.4.6. Instrumental Case marker**

This case marker indicates the tool or instrument with which an action is done. It names the tool or any means by which something is accomplished by the suffix case marker *-chi*. This suffix is used with

physical objects like bamboo, wood, iron, an axe, a hoe, a dao and so on,

as in:

360. *Nok pakmako wa·sechi wata*  
House wall-Acc flattened-bamboo-Inst made-Neut.  
'The house-wall is made with bamboo'.

361. *a·bako gitchichi gama.*  
field-Acc hoe-Inst cultivate-Neut.  
'The field is cultivated with the hoe'.

362. *Attechi bolko den·bo*  
Dao-Inst tree-Acc cut-Imp.  
'Cut the tree with the dao'

363. *Ia bolchi dolongko taria*  
This tree-Inst bridge-Acc make-Neut.  
'The bridge is made with this wood'

364. *Wa·achi nokko rika*  
Bamboo-Inst house-Acc build-Neut.  
'The house is built with bamboo'.

365. *Ia morako matchu bigilchi koa*  
Dem morah-Acc cow skin/hide-Inst stitch-Neut  
'This morah is made of cow-hide'

It is also used with abstract things by which things are done.

366. *Bia gisik- ka·tong gimikchi bi·a.*  
She/he Nom-soul-heart all-Inst pray-Neut.  
'He prays with all his heart and soul'

367. *U·ianichi bang·a nama kamko ka·na*  
*man·a*  
Knowledge-Nomz-Inst many good-Neut work-Acc do-Neut  
can-get-Neut.  
'With knowledge much good work can be done'.

368. *Angni ma·gipako jumangchi nika*  
 I-Gen mother-Acc dream-Inst see-Neut.  
 'I saw my mother in my dreams' (literally, with the help of dreams)
369. *Isolni ka·saachi bang·a namarang ong·na man·a.*  
 God-Gen love-Inst all good-Pl be-Inf can-get-Neut  
 'With god's love many good things happen'.
370. *Bimang dongjaoba, gisikchi nikkuenga.*  
 Body is-Neg-although mind-Inst see-yet-Prog-Neut

Though (he) may not be physically present, I can still see him in my mind's eye'. When a question is asked of a person, he /she is taken as the instrument for finding out something, as in:

371. *Na·a bichi damko sing·bo*  
 You-Nom he /she-Inst price-Acc ask-Imp.  
 'You go and ask him/her about the price'.

The thing asked about is marked by the accusative case marker and the person questioned is marked by the instrumental case marker, as seen above. Another example:

372. *bia angchi ki·tapko bi·eaha*  
 He/she-Nomn I-Inst book-Acc ask-Sub-Neut-Past.  
 'He came and asked me for the book'.

However, when the thing asked about is not mentioned, the accusative *-ko* may also be used. So that there is a choice either between the instrumental *-chi* and the accusative *-ko*. Example:

373. *Na·a            bichi            sing·ebo* (or) / *na·a            biko*  
*sing·ebo*

You-Nom him-Inst ask-Sub-Imp (or) / you-Nom him-Acc  
 ask-Sub-Imp.

‘You go and ask him’.

‘You go and ask him’

This is mostly in the case of verbs that tell, teach and order. This was seen earlier in the case of the dative and accusative case markers where, the one who is told, taught or ordered may be marked by the accusative case marker unless it is required elsewhere, in which case the dative is used instead as its suffix. In the same way, here we have a similar option between *-ko* and *-chi*.

374. *Skigipa    chatrorangna    uko    golpoko    agane    talataha*  
 ‘Teacher    student-Pl-Dat    that-Acc    story-Acc    say-Sub    explain-  
 Neut

‘The teacher explained it to the students with a story’

(or)

375. *Skigipa    chatrorangna    uko    golpochi    agane    talataha*  
 Teacher    student-Pl-Dat    that-Acc    story-Instt    say-Sub    explain-Neut.

‘The teacher explained it to the students with a story’.

376.            *Anga            jaachi            re·angaigen*  
                   I-Nom                            leg-Inst                            go-just-Fut  
                   ‘I will just go by foot (walking)

377. *Anga            jaako            re·angaigen*  
 I-Nom            leg-Acc            go-just-Fut  
 ‘I will just go on foot (walking)

The person taught is conceived of as receiving something therefore the dative *-na*, is used above and the teacher uses the instrument of the story by means of which she makes the children understand.

A choice is also possible between the accusative and the instrumental for what human beings and others do with parts of the body, for instance as a bird does with its wings: For example:

378. *grangko pakpaka or grangchi pakpaka,*  
Wing-Acc flap-Neut *or* wing-Instt flap-Neut.  
'flap the wings or flap with the wings'
379. *ja·achi re·a and ja·ako re·a;*  
feet-Instt walk-Neut *or* feet-Acc walk-Neut.  
'walk (go) on/by foot'

As seen above, a work is accomplished 'by means of' an instrument; so in Garo the instrumental case marker *-chi* is rather like the English 'by'. The instrumental *-chi* is also used in Garo to change the active voice into the passive voice. For example:

380. *Silme achakko doka*  
Silme-Nomn dog-Acc beat-Neut.  
'Silme beat the dog'. (Active voice)
381. *Me·chik bi·sarang Silmeni jakchi doka cha·aha.*  
Young girls Silme-Gen hand-Dat beat-Neut got-sub -Neut  
'The young girls were beaten by Silme'. (Passive voice)
382. *Ma·gipa denggu bi·sako manengaha*  
Mother-Nomn naughty child-Acc scold-Neut.  
The mother scolded the naughty boy (Active Voice)

383. *Denggu bi·sa ma·gipachi manenga man·aha*  
 Naughty child-Neut mother-Instt scold-Neut got-Neut.  
 ‘The naughty child got a scolding from his mother’ (Passive Voice)

The instrumental *–chi* is also homophonous with the spatial locative which will be discussed next. However the meanings are different and so they are treated as different cases.

384. *Kalme Duragrechi re·anga*  
 Kalme Duragre-Inst go-Neut  
 ‘Kalme has gone to Duragre’
385. *Bi·sa uni ma·gipachi doka man·aha*  
 Child it-Gen mother-Adj beat-Neut get-Neut-Past  
 ‘The child was beaten by his/her mother’.

#### 2.2.4.4.7. Locative Case markers

The Locative case marker denotes the location or direction towards which something is done or towards which something moves. The case markers indicating these in Garo are *–o*, *–no* and *–chi*. The case markers *–o* and *–chi* can both be used in space and in time, that is, both spatially (s) and temporally (t).

##### 2.2.4.4.7.1.0. Locative case marker *–o*

The locative case marker *–o* can be productively suffixed to any noun that refers to something in time or space. For example:

2.2.4.4.7.1.1. Location in time:

386. *Anga knal(o) re·bagen.*  
I-Nom tomorrow (t) come-Fut  
'I will come tomorrow'.
387. *Rikman mejalon antichi re·angaha.*  
Rikman-om yesterday-Loc (t)-Frg market-Loc(s) go-Neut-Past  
'Rikman had gone to the market yesterday itself'

2.2.4.4.7.1.2. Location in space:

388. *Anga noko donggen.*  
I-Nom house-Loc (s) stay-Fut  
'I will stay at home'
389. *Ua bolo biterang minengaha.*  
That-Dem tree-Loc(s) fruit-Pl ripe-Prog-Neut-Past  
'The fruits in that tree are all ripening'.
390. *Ding·ani gimin, salakimo asonggen.*  
Hot-Neut-Nomz because shade-Loc (s) sit-Fut  
'It is hot, so I will sit in the shade'.
391. *Nokningo mande bang·a, a·palode*  
*dongja*  
House-inside-Loc (s) people many-Neut outside-Loc(s)-  
Sub is-Neg  
There are a lot of people inside the house, outside there is no one.

The locative suffix *-o* shares its spatial sense with the locative case marker *-chi*, but it has a much wider use than *-chi* as will be seen below.

In its temporal sense, only *-o* can have meaning. *-chi* is used only in the spatial sense. We can say, "*anga kario re·bapilgen*" 'I will come back

next year' but we cannot say, "*anga karichi re·bapilgen*" which does not make sense. That is because *-chi* refers only to space and not to time.

Locative *-o* can even be used with abstract phenomena, such as:

392. *Ang'*            *gisiko*                    *anga chanchibeengachim.*  
I-(Gen)                    mind-Loc(s) I-Nom            think-very-Prog-Neut-  
Past

'In my mind I was thinking a lot

393. *Ang'*            *ka·tongo kusi ong·beengachim.*  
I-(Gen)            heart-Loc (s)            happy is-very-Neut-Past  
'In my heart I was very happy'

394. *Bini*            *chanchiano uko name nikaiaha*  
His/her            thinking-Gen-Loc (s)            that-Acc            good-Sub            see-  
just-Neut-Past

'In his thinking it seemed to be good (all right)'.  
,

An alternative form of *-o* is *-no*, but it can be used only with a few pronouns such as:

*i-no* 'here'

*u-no* 'there'

However, the *-o* suffix is possible even with these, namely, *i-o*, *u-o*, *sa-o* as well as *je-o* meaning 'wherever'. Of these the latter words, *sao* and *jeo* are more in use in *A·chikku* and *i-no* and *u-no* are more commonly used than *i-o* and *u-o*. The suffix *-no* can also be used with augmented locatives which have greater meaning when added to the ordinary locatives, giving us the alternative forms- *oni/noni*, *ona/nona*, *oniko/noniko*. These are most frequently attached to the demonstratives *i-a* 'this' and *u-a* 'that', as: *ianiko* 'from here', *uaniko* 'from there' *iano* 'here', *uano* 'there' and so on.

There are an innumerable variety of alternative forms of the demonstratives with locative case markers.

When movement is implied, *-o* is sometimes used, as in:

395. *Leka gamchatako almario donatbo*  
 Paper valuable-Acc almirah-Loc(s) put-Imp  
 'Put the valuable papers in the almirah'
396. *Abrio sal rakenga*  
 Hill-Loc (s) sun strong-Prog-Neut.  
 'The sun is shining strongly (brightly) on the hill.'
397. *Ua damako iano donatbo.*  
 That drum-Acc here-Loc keep-caus-Imp.  
 'Keep that drum here.'

It can be used metaphorically:

398. *Dukni wario anga sripaha.*  
 Sorrow-Nomz deep-water-Loc(s) I-Nom drown-Neut-Past  
 'I (am) drowned in the deep-waters of sorrow.'
399. *Neng·nikani kosako neng·nikani pakdapa*  
 Tired-see-Neut-Nomz above-Loc (s) tired-see-Neut-Nomz  
 pour-over-Neut  
 'Tiredness pours over tiredness (trouble comes one after the other)'

Locative-*o* is also suffixed to many spatial postpositions

400. *Bol salakimo balwa ka·sinjrim*  
*balronga.*  
 Tree-(Gen) shadow-Loc (s) breeze-Nom cool-heavy(gentle) blow-  
 often-Neut.  
 'A cool and gentle breeze often blows under the shade of the tree'
401. *Ding·kario bol ja·pango rotobea.*  
 Summer-Loc (t) tree foot-Loc(s) stay-nice-very-Neut.  
 'In the summer it is nice to stay under the tree'.

402. *Chiningo jo·ong bang·a.*  
 Water-inside-Loc(s) insects-Nom many-Neut-adj  
 ‘There are many insects inside the water’.
403. *Ua a·kolo mese nape dongenga.*  
 That-Dem hole-Loc(s) mouse enter-Sub stay-Prog-Neut.  
 (There’s) a mouse inside that hole’.

Though possession is usually shown by the Genitive case marker *-ni*, locative *-o* can also be used to show possession with the verb *donga*. For example:

404. *Ango dakmanda gipok donga.*  
 I-Loc(s) dakmanda-Nom white-adj is-Neut.  
 ‘I have a white *dakmanda* (Garo dress).’
405. *Me·diko be·en dongkuenga.*  
 Pot-Loc(s) meat is-still-Prog-Neut.  
 There is still some meat in the pot.’
406. *Nang·o tangka donggenma?*  
 You-Loc(s) money have-Fut-Que  
 ‘Will you have some money?’

The locative suffix *-o* can occur in both the time locative and the space locative within the same clause. As in:

407. *Na·a da·sio skulon dongachimma?*  
 You-Nom earlier-Loc(t) school-Loc-Frg is-Neut-Past-  
 Que.  
 ‘Were you there in the school earlier (today)?’
408. *Na·a knalo bano dongsogen?*  
 You-Nom tomorrow-Loc(t) where-Loc(s) wait-Fut ?  
 ‘Where will you (be) waiting tomorrow?’
409. *Waljoko ianode andalgnok.*  
 Night-Past-Loc (t) here-Loc(s)-Sub dark-Fut.  
 ‘When night comes, it will get dark here’.

The case marker *-o* is also related to nominalizing suffixes used with verbs. When used with *-o*, all nominalizing suffixes with verbs, have a purely temporal meaning, with the meaning ‘at the time of.’ With the perfective aspect *-jok*, that is *jok-o*, it means ‘at the time, in the past’ and with the future aspect *na-jok*, that is *na-jok-o* it means ‘at the time in the future’. Example:

410. *Pring seng:joko do·o gisika.*  
 Morning sunrise-Past-Loc(t) cock-Nom crow-Neut  
 ‘The cock crows when the sun rises in the morning’.

411. *Mande sokbajoko cha taribo.*  
 Man-Nom arrive-Past-Loc (t) tea prepare-Imp  
 ‘Prepare (make) the tea when the man (visitor) comes’.

412. *Bakgitchakrang seng·najoko grapronga*  
 Infant-Pl sunrise-Fut-Loc (t) cry-often-Neut  
 ‘Infants often cry towards sunrise’.

413. *Mande sinajoko gojrona*  
 Man-Nom die-about-to-Loc (t) struggle-Neut  
 ‘When a man he takes his last breath, he begins to struggle.’

The indefinite meaning can also be occasionally be given in the absence of *-o* as in the case of the accusative *-ko*

414. *Angade chi-o jrona changja.*  
 I-Sub water-Loc (s) swim-Inf able-Neg  
 ‘I do not know how to swim in water’. (Here it indicates any bit of water).

415. *Na·tokrang chi-o balboenga.*  
 Fish-Pl water-Loc (s) float-Prog-Neut  
 ‘The fish are floating in the water.’(Here the *-o* indicates the particular bit of water where the fish are floating).

### 2.2.4.4.7.1.3. Locative *-chi*

Unlike locative *-o*, Locative *-chi* has a restricted range of use; within this range however, it is very common. It is used only spatially and more often implies movement. However, when it is used with augmenting suffixes *-ni*, *-na* and *-ni-ko* (§ to be explained further below in section number 2. 2. 4. 4. 7. 1. 4.), it indicates nothing about the direction of the movement. Examples of *-chi* and *-o* with augmenting suffixes are:

416. *Anga knalo*                      *Turachina*                      *re·anggen.*  
 I-Nom            tomorrow-Loc (t)    Tura-Loc (t)            go-Prog-Fut  
 ‘I will be going to Tura tomorrow’.

417: *Na·a*            *bachi*                      *anti*            *cha·na*  
*re·gen?*  
 You-Nom    where-Aug-Loc    market            spend-Inf    go-Fut?  
 ‘Which place will you go to for marketing?’

418. *Nochi*                      *na·a bachiniko*                      *chi*    *de·bagen?*  
 Nochi-Nom you    where-Aug-Loc-Acc    water            bring-Fut  
 ‘Nochi, where will you carry the water from?’

Locative *-chi* is homophonous with the instrumental case marker suffix *-chi* as already mentioned earlier but the differences in meaning can be clearly indicated. For example:

419. *Na·a karchichima*                      *sodachi*            *bijak kapronga?*  
 You    karchi-Inst-Que    soda-Instt    curry cook-often-Neut  
 ‘Do you cook your curry with *karchi* (Garo spice) or with soda?’  
 (Instrumental)

420. *Angade songchi-nokchi re·na sikbeenga.*  
 I-Nom-but village-Loc(s)-home-Loc(s) go-Inf  
 wish-Prog-Neut  
 ‘I am longing for my home in the village’. (Spatial Locative case marker).

Like *-o* the locative *-chi* is also used with postpositions, but since its use is limited, it is used with fewer postpositions than *-o*, even with the spatial postpositions. However, though the two case markers overlap in meaning, they are not synonymous, because *-chi* implies movement and *-o* suggests a lack of movement.

The postposition *-pak* meaning ‘towards’ is characteristically used with the locative *-chi*. For example:

421. *Ichipak* ‘on this side’.  
 422. *Salaramchipak* ‘towards the west’  
 423. *Saliram chipak* ‘towards the east’;  
 424. *A·bri chipak* ‘towards the hill’

Examples of their use have been illustrated in sentences in section 2.1.8.

#### 2.2.4.4.7.1.4. Ablative or Augmenting Locatives

This case is described as an Ablative case by E. G. Phillips; While Robbins Burling calls it the Augmenting Locative. However from their definitions it is clear that both refer to the same thing. The scholar will take the term augmenting in this thesis.

E.G. Phillips defines it as follows, “the noun from which something emerges or from which something is produced is known as a noun in the ablative case. To use the Ablative case we can use either *-oni*, *-chini*, *-oniko*, *-chiniko*, and *-chioniko*.<sup>85</sup>

Robbins Burling states that, “There are three augmenting locatives: *-ni*, *-na*, and *-ni-ko* which, when joined to the two locative case markers *-o* and *-chi*, can augment them, that is, make them clearer, and more meaningful. The ordinary locatives can be augmented in similar ways.”<sup>86</sup>

The augmenting locative suffix *-ni* means ‘from’, so when it is added to either *-o* or *-chi* it would become *-o-ni* or *-chi-ni* meaning ‘from a certain place’:

425. *Tura-o-ni* or *Turachi-ni* ‘from Tura’.

426. *Mejal-o-ni* ‘since yesterday’.

The other augmenting suffix *-na* means ‘to’, so when it is added to either *-o* or *-chi* it becomes *-o-na* or *-chi-na* which means ‘to a certain place or time’. Example:

427. *Guwahati-o-na* or *Guwahati-chi-na* ‘to Guwahati’.

428. *Shillong-o-na* or *Shillong-chi-na* ‘to Shillong’

429. *Knal-o-na* ‘till tomorrow / for tomorrow’

<sup>85</sup> Phillips, Rev. E.G., Phillips, *A-chik Grammar*. Published by Tura Book Room, Tura, Meghalaya. 9<sup>th</sup> edition, 2002. p 40, also in *Outline Grammar of the Garo Language*. Published by The Garo Literature Society, Tura, West Garo Hills, Meghalaya. 1988, p 3.

<sup>86</sup> Burling, Robbins, *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)*, Vol.I: Grammar. Bibliophile South Asia in association with Promilla & Co. Publishers. pp 198-201.

430. *Ambin-o-na* ‘till the future / for sometime in the near future

The augmenting suffixes *-ni* ‘from’ and *-na* ‘to’ can be used together in a sentence and when they do so, they show the direction of the motion in space or time. For example:

431. *Tura-o-ni Guwahati-o-na ba Shillong-o-na re·anga*

Tura-Aug-Loc (from) Guwahati-Aug-Loc (to) or Shillong-Aug-Loc (to) go-Neut

(I) went from Tura to Guwahati or Shillong

432. *mejal-o-ni da·al-o-nakingking mikka*

*waenga*

yesterday-Aug-Loc today-Aug-Loc-Reduplication rain pour-  
Prog-Neut

From yesterday till today-it has been pouring rain

433. *da·al-o-ni ambin-o-na anga kam ka·kugen*

today-Aug-Loc future-Aug-Loc I-Nom work do-still-Fut

From today till the future I will continue to work

It will be seen that the two locatives *-o* and *-chi* are used in similar though not identical ways, but there are also differences between them.

The locative suffix with *-o* marks the closer location, and the suffix with *-chi* marks the more distant one. As for example:

434. *Anga Tura-o-ni Guwahati-chi-na*

*re·angenga,*

I-Nom Tura-Aug-Loc (from) Guwahati-Aug-Loc (to) go-  
Prog-Neut

‘(I am) going from Tura to Guwahati’.

Tura here is shown to be closer and Guwahati further away. Here the direction of the movement from Tura to Guwahati may be noted.

435. *Rikseng Shillongchi-ni Tura-o-na*  
*re-baa*  
 Rikseng-Nom Shillong-Aug-Loc (from) Tura-Aug-Loc (to)  
 come-Neut  
 'Rikseng has come from Shillong to Tura'.

Here, not only is Shillong shown to be further away and Tura closer, but the direction of the movement from Shillong to Tura is also indicated. The verbs *re-anga* 'go' and *re-baa* 'come' also imply movement and direction; showing the inter-dependant relation between the verb and the case marker.

The meaning becomes more complicated when it comes to the transitive verbs, especially the verbs bring, send, take and carry which require further augmentation by the addition of the suffix *-ko*, to *-o-ni* and *-chi-ni*; namely, *o-ni-ko* which means from a relatively nearby place and *chi-ni-ko* which means from a more distant place.<sup>87</sup> Example:

436. *An-chingna Duragre-o-ni-ko komila koksa olbachina aganaha*  
 we-Incl-Dat Duragre-Aug-Loc orange basket-one carry-Inf say-  
 Neut-Past  
 (They) have been asked to bring a basket of oranges for us from Duragre

*Baghmarachi-ni-ko na·tok namnama -ko palna ra·baenga*  
 Baghmara-Aug-Loc-Acc fish good-Redup-Acc sell-Inf come-Prog-Neut  
 (They) are bringing good good fish from Baghmara (a more distant place)

Here also, there must be harmony between the augmented case markers and the direction implied by the transitive verb.

<sup>87</sup>Burling, Robbins The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar, Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers, p 199.

The augmenting suffixes *-ni*, *-na* and *-ni-ko* can also take the accusative case marker *-ko*, implying that they may be considered as independent case markers in their own rights. However, the nouns that take *-o-ni-ko* and *-chi-ni-ko* cannot really be considered as objective nouns or accusatives. Besides, the Accusative case marker *-ko* can also occur or be used in the same clause as *-o-ni-ko* and *-chi-ni-ko*. Example:

437. *An·chengko Damalgre-o-ni-ko truck-o salbaronga.*  
 Sand-Acc Damalgre-Loc-Aug (from) truck-Loc(s)drive-often-Neut  
 ‘Sand is often brought from Damalgre in a truck.’
438. *Am·bolko Tura a·bri-o-ni-ko ra·baenga.*  
 Firewood-Acc Tura hill-Loc-Aug (from) bring-Prog-Neut  
 ‘Firewood is brought from Tura Peak’.

These then are the case markers which are the characteristic features of nouns in the Garo language, namely, Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Genitive, Instrumental, Locative and Augmenting Locatives. They are as essential to nouns as principal verb suffixes are to verbs.

## Pronouns

**2.2.5.0.** Harold Palmer in his book *A Grammar of Spoken English* defines Pronouns as,

“Words that are used instead of the noun that names a person or thing already identified. Traditional Grammar usually recognizes Personal, Reflexive, Reciprocal, Possessive, Demonstrative, Relative and Interrogative Pronouns, but in a functional analysis the last two are regarded as Connectives, and are therefore described under that heading, while the Possessives and Demonstratives, being both adjectival and pronominal, have their own headings as determiners.”<sup>88</sup>

In the *Internet Grammar of English* we have the following definitions,

“Pronouns can occur in positions typically occupied by nouns:  
 • *Ann/she went on holiday to France. The doctor examined the children/them. This is a message for Jane/her.*”<sup>89</sup>

Also,

“Pronouns have a Case contrast with Subjective and Objective forms. We distinguish the following types: Personal, Possessive, Demonstrative, Reflexive, Relative, Interrogative, Indefinite and Reciprocal. They are closed-class items.”<sup>90</sup>

### **2.2.5.1.0. Pronouns in the Garo Language:**

Pronouns might be considered to be a sub-class of nouns in Garo, as they can take case suffixes as nouns do. Like Nouns, Pronouns can inflect for number and case and there is no gender distinction of personal

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<sup>88</sup> Harold E. Palmer and F. G. Blandford, *A Grammar of Spoken English*, Cambridge University Press, Third Edition, Paperback, Revised by Roger Kingdon. 1979. First Paperback Edition 1976, p 50.

<sup>89</sup> The Internet Grammar of English.

<sup>90</sup> *ibid*

pronouns in Garo, but they differ from nouns in some respects. For instance, as stated by Robbins Burling, they ordinarily do not take modifiers of their own, but as Genitives, they may themselves modify a noun, a numeral or a modifying verb. When they are not modifying something else, they almost always act alone as an argument of a verb.<sup>91</sup>

For instance:

439 *Angni ripeng sokbaaha*  
I-Gen friend arrive-Neut-Past  
'My friend has arrived'

440 *Bini matchu mangsa siaha*  
His/her-Gen/Dem cow Cls-one die-Neut-Past  
'One of his/her cows died';

441 *Anga nang·ni aganako knaaha*  
I-Nom you-Gen speak-Neut-Acc hear-Neut-Past  
'I heard what you said (your saying)'.

442 *Ua re·baaha*  
He/she/it-Dem come-Neut-Past  
He/she / it (has) come

In this way they also act like Demonstrative Pronouns and they very frequently take case markers as will be seen in the section on Demonstrative pronouns below.

Again, Nouns have no Case markers in the Nominative form, that is, they have zero morphemes. In the case of pronouns however, there is an

<sup>91</sup> Robbins Burling *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar*, Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers, p 215.

exception. A handful of pronouns with monosyllabic bases always have an *-a* added to the base of the word. These however are only a handful, namely:

443 *Ang-a* I

444 *Na-a* you

445 *Bi-a* he / she

446 *i-a* this / it

447 *u-a* that

448 *Ching-a* exclusive we

Pronouns like *anga*, *chinga*, *na-a*, above, and *sawa*, 'who', have a final *-a* or *-wa* which make them disyllabic and can therefore be taken as case markers for the nominative in the pronoun.<sup>92</sup> Thus we have in the case of these pronouns, the morpheme *-a* or *-wa*, which can be considered as their nominative case markers. All other personal and demonstrative pronouns are polysyllabic and they resemble nouns as having no case markers in the nominative form.

Pronouns manifest two numbers, singular and plural and like nouns the plural form of nouns are constructed by the suffixation of the plural morphemes *-rang* and *-mang*. As already seen in the section on nouns

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<sup>92</sup> Robbins Burling *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar*, Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers, p 215.

(§2.2.5.0.), the suffix *-rang* has universal application to all objects, animate and inanimate, while *-mang* is used only for animals and birds.

Within the group of Pronouns, there are several nearly synonymous forms. There are, for instance, two forms for the second person plural, (namely, *na·song* and *na·simang*). As stated by Robbins Burling, “These alternate in part stylistically and in part dialectally... and for the most part, they can be used quite interchangeably.”<sup>93</sup>

The following table will illustrate the personal pronouns in the Garo language:

Person	Number			
	Singular	Meaning	Plural	Meaning
1 <sup>st</sup> Person	<i>anga</i>	I	<i>an·ching</i> (inclusive) <i>/chinga</i> (exclusive)	we
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person	<i>na·a</i>	you	<i>na·simang/ nasong</i>	you
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person (colloquial)	<i>bia</i>	he /she	<i>bisimang / bisong</i>	they
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person (formal and in writing)	<i>ua</i>	he/she/it	<i>uamang / uarang</i>	they/ them/ those

The personal pronouns in the Garo language are explained in detail below.

It will be noted that most pronouns have different forms in combination.

The uses of the combining forms are also given below.

<sup>93</sup> Robbins Burling, *A Garo Grammar*, Deccan College Monograph Series: 25. Published by Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, p 38.

Nominative (Singular):

2.2.5.2.1.1. 1<sup>st</sup> Person: *anga* 'I'. Combining form *ang-*, for example: *angona* 'for/to /upto me'. Example:

449            *anga nokchi re·gnok*  
                   I-Nom house-Gen go-Fut  
                   I will go home (now)

In combination):

450    Mary *angona*        *kitapko*        *watataha*  
           Mary I-Aug-Loc book-Acc    send-Caus-Neut-Past  
           Mary sent (the) book to me

2.2.5.2.1.2. 2<sup>nd</sup> Person: *na·a* 'you'. Combining form *-nang*, used with all noun suffixes, as in: *nang·ni* 'your's; *nang·na*, 'for you' and so on, as in:

451    *Na·a*            *nang·ni*        *juta*        *gitalko*        *man·jokma?*  
           You-Nom    you-Gen    shoe new-Acc    get-Past-Que  
           Have you got your new shoe?

452    *Nang'*                    *ai*        *nang·na*        *cha·ani*            *donanga*  
           You (-Gen) mother    you-Dat    eat-Nomz    keep-away-Neut  
           Your mother left (some) food for you

It may be noted above that the Genitive marker in the second sentence is optional, it may or may not be used and in fact in colloquial use, it is often left out, as it is understood in the context.

2.2.5.2.1.3. 3<sup>rd</sup> Person: *bia* 'he/she' / *ua* he/she /it'. *Bia* is used only for human beings and is used colloquially, while *Ua* has a universal application as noted in section (§ 2. 2. 5...). *Bia* is also used more often in colloquial speech, but is ordinarily not used in writing. It has two combining forms *bi-* and *bin-*. The latter is used only with the word *baksa* 'with', as *binbaksa* 'with him /her', as in, *anga bin baksa re·bagen* 'I will

come with him/her'; while *bi-* combines with all other suffixes that nouns and pronouns combine with. For instance:

*bini* 'his' / *biko* 'him', etc as in:

453 *Seng·manko bini teacher name poraichina  
agana*

Sengman-Acc he-Gen teacher good-Sub study-Aug-Loc say-Neut  
Seng·man was told by his teacher to study well

454 *Anga biko schoolchi re·angako nika*

I-Nom he-Acc school-Loc (s) go-Neut-Acc see-Neut

I saw him/her going to school

*Ua* 'he / she / it':

455 *Ua da·ode be·en an·senge dongenga*

She/he now-Sub body in-good-health-Sub stay-Prog-Neut

She/he is now in good health

456' *Ua do·o nitobea*

That-Dem bird beautiful-very-Neut

That bird is very beautiful

Nominative (Plural):

**2.2.5.2.1.4. *Chinga*** 'we' (exclusive), it usually means 'she/he and I' or 'they and I'. Its combining form is *ching-*, as in *chingming* 'with us' or *chinggita* 'like us' and so on. As for example:

457 *Chinga Jordanko chingming giljachi rimenga*

We-Nom Jordan-Acc we-with church-Loc(s) take-along-Prog-Neut

We are taking Jordan to Church along with us.

458 *Biaba chinggita ta·rake re·na man·a*

He/she-also like-us fast-Sub walk-Neut can-Neut

'He she can also walk fast like us'

**2.2.5.2.1.5.** *An·ching* ‘We’ (inclusive of the person addressed). It means ‘you and I’ or ‘you and us’. Its form remains the same in combination, it does not change, as for example, *an·chingona* ‘to / toward us’ or *an·chingna* ‘for us’ and so on. Examples are:

459 *Meghalayani*                      *Governor an·chingona*  
       *re·baengana*

Meghalaya-Gen Governor      to-us-Aug Loc (s) come-Prog-Neut-Quo  
 ‘(The) Governor of Meghalaya is coming here they say’

460 *An·chingni*    *songna*                      *MLA*    *rama*    *aro*    *dolong*    *tarie*  
       *on·aha*

We-Gen village-Dat MLA road and bridge make-Sub give-Neut-  
 Past

The MLA has made a bridge and road for our village

**2.2.5.2.1.6.** *Na·simang* ‘you’ plural: This form is frequently used in respectful speech and writing, especially in formal writing. It does not change in combination and is written as *na·simangnin* ‘yours’ *na·simanggita* ‘like you’ *na·simangko* ‘you (as objective)’ and so on.

Examples:

461 *Na·simangko*                      *okamatenga*  
       You-all-Acc                      call-Caus-Prog-Neut  
       You are all being called

462 *Na·simangni*                      *bosturangko*                      *man·tokjokma?*  
       You-all-Gen                      thing-Pl-Acc                      get-all-Past-Que  
       Have you (all) got all your things?

**2.2.5.2.1.7.** *Na·song* ‘you’ plural. It is a synonym of *na·simang* and is frequently used in informal speech, but not ordinarily used in writing. Its

combining form remains unchanged. Examples: *na·songchi* ‘to you’,  
*na·songna* ‘for you’ etc:

463 *Na·song mi cha·tokahama?*  
 You-Pl rice eat-all-Neut-Past-Que  
 Have you all had your rice (food)?

464 *Na·songna anga nama kobor donga*  
 You-Pl-Dat I-Nom good news have-Neut  
 ‘I have good news for you all’

**2.2.5.2.1.8. *Uarang*** ‘they’, ‘those things’ etc. (Plural). This is a universal plural form for all things animate and inanimate, humans and animals, and it remains the same in combination. As in: *uarangnin* ‘theirs’, *uarangchi* ‘with them’ (Instrumental) / (spatial Locative) and so on. Examples:

465 *Chel·ana uarangchi re·na sikjaengjok*  
 Far-Neut-because those-Pl-Loc (s) go-Inf wish-Neg-Prog-Past  
 (I) do not wish to go to those places because (they are) too far

466 *Ate-gitchi namode, uarangchin burung name o·na*  
*man·a*  
 Dao-hoe good-Sub those-Pl-Inst-Frg jungle good-Sub clear-  
 Neut can-Neut  
 If the implements are good we can easily clear the jungle well with  
 them

467 *Medik-samdik natmantokaha, uarangko tarie donatbo*  
 Pots and pans clean-finish-all-Neut-Past that-Pl-Acc arrange-Sub  
 keep-Caus-Imp  
 The pots and pans have all been cleaned, arrange and put them  
 nicely

**2.2.5.2.1.9. *Uamang*** ‘they’: This is used only for humans and is used more often in writing than in speech. In speech the two examples given

below (*bisong* and *bisimang*) are used more often. Its combining form remains *uamang* as in *uamangna* ‘for them’, *uamangni* ‘theirs’, *uamangko* they (Accusative) and so on. Examples:

468 *Uamang da·on re·bagenna*  
that-Pl now-Frg come-Fut-Quo  
They said that they will come just now

469 *Uamangko skigipa name poraiana*  
*mitelaha*  
That-Pl-Ac teacher good-Sub study-Neut-because thank/paise-  
Neut-Past  
(The) teacher thanked/praised them for studying well

**2.2.5.2.1.10.** *Bisong* ‘they’ Plural: It is used only for humans in informal speech and its combining form remains unchanged, as in: *bisongna* ‘for them’ *bisongni* ‘theirs’, *bisongming* ‘with them’ and so on. Examples:

470 *Anga kam matchotahani gimin, bisong (ni) tangkako*  
*on·atjok*  
I-Nom work finish-Neut-Gen because they-(Gen) money-Acc  
give-Caus-Past  
As they had finished their work, I gave (them) their money

471 *Na·ara bisongmingan re·angaiboda*  
You-as-for they-with-Frg go-just-Imp-Imp  
As for you, (why don’t you) just go with them

**2.2.5.2.1.11.** *Bisimang* ‘they’ plural: A synonym of *bisong* above and is used only to refer to human beings. In combination it remains unchanged, as in, *bisimangko* ‘they’ (accusative), *bisimangchi* ‘with or to them’ (depending on its context) and so on. Examples:

472 *Skigipa bisimangko katta manijana sasti on·aha*  
 Teach-adj they-Pl-Acc word obey-Neg punishment give-  
 Neut-Past  
 The teacher punished them because they were disobedient

473 *Bisimangni dolan man·e cha·giparangoni ong·a*  
 They-Pl-Gen party-Frg get-Sub eat-adj-Pl-Aug-Loc  
 is-Neut  
 They belong to the party of people who get and eat (that is, those  
 who are rich) or (They belong to the class of rich people)

As stated earlier, like nouns, pronouns can be inflected for case. All case markers can be suffixed to pronouns just as they can be suffixed to nouns. The following table will illustrate the case markers in the Garo language:

**2.2.5.2.2.0.** Inflection of Pronouns for case in Garo:

Case	1 <sup>st</sup> Person 'I'	2 <sup>nd</sup> Person 'you'	3 <sup>rd</sup> Person 'he/she'
Nominative	<i>anga</i>	<i>na·a</i>	<i>bia / ua</i>
Accusative	<i>angko</i>	<i>nang·ko</i>	<i>biko / uko</i>
Dative	<i>angna</i>	<i>Nang·na</i>	<i>bina / una</i>
Genitive	<i>angni</i>	<i>nang·ni</i>	<i>bini / uni</i>
Instrumental	<i>angchi</i>	<i>nang·chi</i>	<i>bichi / uchi</i>
Locative	<i>ango / angchi</i>	<i>nang·o / nang·chi</i>	<i>bio / bichi</i>
Augmenting Locative	<i>angoni / angona</i> <i>angchini/angchina</i>	<i>nang·oni/nang·ona</i> <i>nang·chini/nang·china</i>	<i>bioni/biona</i> <i>bichini/bichina</i>

**2.2.5.2.3.0.** - *n* emphatic marker:

The emphatic marker or foregrounding suffix *-n*, has an important role in pronouns as they very often make a distinction between ordinary pronouns and pronouns used with emphasis. For example:

<i>angni</i> ‘my,	<i>angnin</i> ‘mine’
<i>anga</i> ‘I’	<i>angan</i> ‘it is I (myself)and no one else’
<i>angko</i> ‘me’	<i>angkon</i> ‘it is me (myself) and no one else’
<i>angna</i> ‘for me’	<i>angnan</i> ‘it is for me only and not for any one else
<i>na’a</i> ‘you’	<i>na’an</i> ‘it is you (yourself) and no one else’
<i>bini</i> ‘his/her’	<i>binin</i> ‘it is his/hers and not anyone else’s
<i>bichi</i> ‘to him/her’	<i>bichin</i> ‘it is to him /her that I’m going and not to anyone else

It will be noted from the examples above that the suffix *-n* is put after the case markers for emphasis. However, it should also be noted that in translation into English one has to use the Reflexive pronouns ‘himself, herself, myself, yourself’ and so on to make the meaning clear. This does not mean that the emphatic marker *-n*, makes the noun in Garo a reflexive pronoun, it is used for emphasis only. A few examples in sentences will make this clearer:

474	<i>Ia</i>	<i>kìtapde</i>	<i>angnin,</i>	<i>darangniba</i>	<i>ongja</i>
	This-Dem	book-Sub	I-Gen-Frg	nobody-else	is-Neg
	This book is mine, not anyone else’s				
475	<i>Na’songonin</i>	<i>saoba</i>	<i>re’angchengna</i>	<i>nanggen</i>	
	You-Pl-Aug-Loc-Frg	somebody	go-first-Inf	need-Fut	
	Someone from among you only, will have to go first				
476	<i>Chingade</i>	<i>gimikan</i>	<i>bichin</i>	<i>sing’na re’angtokaiengjok</i>	
	We-Incl-Sb all-Frg	him/her	ask-Inf	go-all-just-Prog-Past	

We are all going to ask him only, no one else

477 *Me'surangkode na'songnan ra'baa, palbaade ongja*  
 Vegetable-Pl-Acc-Sub you-Dat-Frg bring-Neut sell-come-Sub is-Neg  
 These vegetables have been brought for you, (they're) not for sale

#### 2.2.5.2.4.0. Demonstrative Pronouns:

Demonstratives can be used instead of a noun, in which case they function as Demonstrative Pronouns. Articles - a, an, the - are obligatory in English, but Garo does not have articles. Instead, it uses Demonstratives when it is necessary to indicate a definite meaning. Therefore, Demonstratives are essential in Garo and are used more often than in English. The Demonstrative Pronouns in Garo are:

Singular	Plural
<i>ia</i> 'this person / thing'	<i>iarang</i> 'these people or things'.
<i>ua</i> 'that person or thing'	<i>uarang</i> 'those people or things'
<i>bia</i> 'that person', (used to refer to humans only)	<i>bisong/bisimang</i> 'they' (referring to humans only)
<i>i-no</i> 'here'	<i>iarango</i> 'in these places'
<i>u-no</i> 'there'	<i>uarango</i> 'in those places'
<i>ao<sup>w</sup>a-no</i> 'over there'	<i>ao<sup>w</sup>arango</i> 'in those places over there'

Case markers are directly attached to the Demonstrative. Thus, a Noun Phrase can be framed from a Demonstrative and its Case marker.

As seen above, *i-a* and *u-a* are demonstratives, and the neutral *-a* is also suffixed to them when they act as modifiers of a noun phrase. Even when

they do not function as nominatives but as demonstratives, they still have the -*a* attached to them. Such as:

*Ia*            *biteko*        *cha·na*        *ratatpabone*  
 This-Dem    fruit-Acc    eat-Inf        cut-Caus-please-Imp-Imp  
 ‘Please cut this fruit to eat’

Otherwise they have other case suffixes attached to them such as: -*ini*, -*uni*, -*una* -*ina*, -*iko* -*uko*, -*ichi*, -*uchi*, -*ino*, -*uno* -*io* -*uo*, and so on.

The following table will illustrate Demonstrative Pronouns with their number and case markers:

Case	Near		Distant	
	Singular ‘this’	Plural ‘these’	Singular ‘that’	Plural ‘those’
Nominative	<i>Ia</i>	<i>Iarang</i>	<i>Ua</i>	<i>Uarang</i>
Accusative	<i>Iako</i> ‘this one’	<i>Iarangko</i> ‘these ones’	<i>Uako</i> ‘that one’	<i>Uarangko</i> ‘those ones’
Dative	<i>Iana</i> ‘for this one’	<i>Iarangna</i> ‘for these ones’	<i>Uana</i> ‘for that one’	<i>Uarangna</i> ‘for those ones’
Genitive	<i>Iani</i> ‘this one’s’	<i>Iarangni</i> ‘these ones’	<i>Uani</i> ‘that ones’	<i>Uarangni</i> ‘those ones’
Instrumental	<i>Iachi</i> ‘with this’	<i>Iarangchi</i> ‘with these’	<i>Uachi</i> ‘with that one’	<i>Uarangchi</i> ‘with those ones’
Locative	<i>Iano</i> ‘here’	<i>Iarango</i> ‘in these places’	<i>Uano</i> ‘there’	<i>Uarango</i> ‘in those places’
Augmenting Locative	<i>Ianoni</i> ‘from here’ <i>ianona</i> ‘to here’ <i>Iachini/iachina</i> (“) <i>Ianoniko/iachiniko</i> (“)	<i>Iarangoni</i> <b>from</b> these places <i>iarangona</i> <b>to</b> these places <i>Iarangchini</i> (“) <i>Iarangchina</i> (“) <i>Iaragoniko</i> (“) <i>Iarangchiniko</i> (“)	<i>Uanoni</i> <b>‘from</b> there’/ <i>uanona</i> <b>‘to</b> there’ <i>uachini/uachina</i> <i>uanoniko/uachi-</i> <i>niko</i> (“)	<i>uarangoni</i> <b>from</b> those places <i>uarangona</i> <b>to</b> those places <i>uarangchini</i> (“) <i>uarangchina</i> (“) <i>uaragoniko</i> (“) <i>uarangchiniko</i> (“)

### 2.2.5.2.5.0. Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative Pronouns which substitute for nouns in Garo are *sawa* 'who', *maia* 'what', and *badia* 'which'. They also inflect for case as will be seen in the table below:

Table of inflections of Interrogative Pronouns in Garo

Case	Who	What	Which
Nominative	<i>sawa/ sa</i>	<i>maia</i>	<i>badia</i>
Accusative	<i>sako</i>	<i>maiko</i>	<i>badiako</i>
Dative	<i>sana</i>	<i>maina</i>	<i>badiana</i>
Genitive	<i>sani</i>	<i>maini</i>	<i>badiani</i>
Instrumental	<i>sachi</i>	<i>maichi</i>	<i>badiachi</i>
Locative	<i>sao</i>	<i>maio</i>	<i>badiao</i>
Augmenting Locative	<i>saoni/ saona sachini/ sachina</i>	<i>maioni / maiona / maichini/ maichina</i>	<i>badiaoni/badiaona badiachini/badiachina badiaoniko//badiachiniko</i>

### 2.2.5.2.6.0. Indefinite Pronouns:

There are a large number Indefinite Pronouns in Garo. A few of the common ones with their inflections are illustrated below:

Case	someone	something	anything	another
Nominative	<i>saoba</i>	<i>maiba</i>	<i>jeba</i>	<i>gipin</i>
Accusative	<i>sakoba</i>	<i>maikoba</i>	<i>jekoba</i>	<i>gipinko</i>
Dative	<i>sanaba</i>	<i>mainaba</i>	<i>jenaba</i>	<i>gipinna</i>
Genitive	<i>saniba</i>	<i>mainiba</i>	<i>jeniba</i>	<i>gipinni</i>
Instrumental	<i>sachiba</i>	<i>maichiba</i>	<i>jechiba</i>	<i>gipinchi</i>
Locative	<i>saobao</i>	<i>maioba</i>	<i>jeoba/jechiba</i>	<i>gipinona</i>
Augmenting Locative	<i>saobani</i> <i>saobachini</i>	<i>maibaoni</i> <i>maibachini</i>	<i>jeoni/jeona</i> <i>Jechiniba/jechinaba</i>	<i>gipinoni/gipinona</i> <i>gipinchini/gipinchina</i>

It may be noted that the plural of 'saoba', 'maiba', 'gipin' above, and of some others, is expressed by doubling the word; as *saoba* 'someone' becomes pluralized as *saoba saoba* 'some people';<sup>94</sup> *gipin* 'another' becomes *gipin gipin* 'others' and so on. This process of pluralisation will be further discussed in the section on Reduplication in Chapter Three.

#### 2.2.5.2.7.0. Reflexive Pronouns

Among the various types of pronouns identified in the Garo language we also have the reflexive and reciprocals. Reflexive pronouns in English are words like *myself*, *yourself*, *itself*, *himself* etc., that point back to an earlier word with the use of the suffix *-self*. In Garo too there is a reflexive pronoun *an·tang* meaning 'himself / herself' which is often reduplicated to *an·tangtang*, or *an·tangmang*<sup>95</sup> which means 'by himself / herself / itself' and is more or less synonymous with *an·tang*; the only

<sup>94</sup> Phillips, Rev. E.G., Outline Grammar of the Garo Language. Published by The Garo Literature Society, Tura, West Garo Hills, Meghalaya. 1988. First printed in 1904 by the Assam Secretariat Printing Office, p9.

<sup>95</sup> *mang* taken from F. W. Harding's Garo.

difference, is that while *an·tang* is always singular in sense, the reflexive form *an·tangtang* can be either singular or plural, as rightly stated by Robbins Burling.<sup>96</sup> Depending upon the context, the reflexives can refer equally to the first, second or third person, to ‘myself, yourself, herself, ourselves’ and so on. For example:

***An·tangtang*: ‘I myself’**

479 *Anga an·tangtang English homeworkko*  
*ka·aijok*  
 I-Nom myself-Refl English homework-Acc do-just-Past  
 ‘I did the English homework on my own’ (1<sup>st</sup> person singular)

479 *Na·a an·tangtang ja·achi re·baama?*  
 You yourself-Refl leg-Inst come-Neut-Que  
 ‘Did you come walking by yourself?’ (2<sup>nd</sup> person singular)

480 *Bisong an·tangtang biapko*  
*rongtalataha.*  
 They themselves-Refl place-Acc clean-Caus-Neut-Past  
 ‘They have all cleaned their own places themselves’ (3<sup>rd</sup> person plural)

***Bisongtangtang*: ‘let them do as they please’**

482 *Bisongtangtang, jeba dakchina*  
 They-themselves-Refl anything do-Aug-Loc  
 ‘Let them do whatever they like, it’s upto them’ (3<sup>rd</sup> person plural)

***Na·songtangtang*: ‘Its upto you to do as you please’**

483 *Na·songtangtang, re·na skode re·angchim*  
 You-Pl-yourselves-Refl go-Inf wish-Sub go-away-Past  
 ‘Its upto you, do as you please, if you want to go, just go’ (2<sup>nd</sup> person plural)

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<sup>96</sup> Robbins Burling, *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)*, Vol. I: Grammar, p.218.

***Biatangtang***: ‘It’s up to him to do as he pleases’

484 *Biatangtang*,                      *katta*   *ra:jaode*      *maiko*  
*dakgen*  
 He/she-himself/herself-Refl word   take-Neg-Sub what-Acc do-Fut

‘It’s up to him/her to do as he pleases, if he/she doesn’t listen, what can  
 we do’ (2<sup>nd</sup> person singular)

***Chingatangtang***: ‘its up to us, it’s our business, not your concern’

485 *Chingatangtansa*,                      *nang-ni*   *knaani*      *ong:paja*  
 We-ourselves-Refl-only you-Gen   hear-Nomz   is-just-Neg  
 ‘It is our business only, not for you to know’ (Exclusive we, 1<sup>st</sup> person  
 Plural)

The last four reduplicated words *bisongtangtang*, *na:songtangtang*, *biatãngtang* and *chingatangtang*, mean that something is solely left to the persons concerned, that is, that something is solely your/ their, his/her or our concern; so they/you, he/she or we should be left to their/your, his/her, our own devices. Thus, each word can form a sentence on its own, without anything else being added to it.

It may thus be noted that there is a high rate of inflections in the Garo language of Nouns, Pronouns, Verbs, Adverbs and Ajectives, particularly of Verbs, which is a very large class in Garo.

**CHAPTER III**

**DERIVATION IN GARO**

## CHAPTER III

### Derivation in Garo

This chapter will discuss in detail the Morphological process of Derivations in the Garo Language.

#### 3.0.0. Derivational morphology

Derivational morphology,

“studies the principles governing the construction of new words, without reference to the specific grammatical role a word might play in a sentence. In the formation of *drinkable* from *drink*, or *disinfect* from *infect*, for example, we see the formation of different words, with their own grammatical properties.”<sup>1</sup>

**Derivation:** to quote from the book on Language by Clark, Eschholz and Rosa:

“The derivational process consists of using an existing word – or in some cases a bound morpheme or morphemic structure – as a stem to which affixes are attached. Thus our imaginary word *pandle* might become the stem for such derivatives as *pandler*, *pandlette*, *depandle*, and *repandlize*. Affixes like these are called *productive*; all native speakers know their meanings and feel free to add them to various kinds of stems in accordance with analogy or the rules of English derivation. Thus *plane*, formed by clipping from *airplane*, has produced *emplane* and *deplane*, presumably by analogy with *entrain* and *detrain*, themselves formed by analogy with *embark* and *debark*, which were borrowed from French. When *telegraph* was formed by compounding of two Greek elements, it soon gave rise to *telegrapher*, *telegraphy*, *telegraphic* and *telegraphist*, all of which were self explaining devices.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. p 90.

<sup>2</sup> Virginia P. Clark, Paul A. Eschholz and Alfred F. Rosa Editors, Language: Introductory Readings; the Macmillan Press Ltd, 1994. Fifth Edn p 369.

### 3.1.0. Derivation in the Garo Language

The Garo language consists of hundreds of verb bases which convey meanings of many sorts: states, movements, qualities, acts, manipulations and so on, but these are not enough to convey the meanings they want to express, so large numbers of verbs include one or more morphemes that are added to the verb base, and that extend and refine the meaning of the verb base. These are “derivational affixes” in Garo. The derivational affixes in Garo generally have a clear meaning of their own which contribute to the meaning of the verb stem.<sup>3</sup> Derivational affixes can be class maintaining or class changing. There are again many types of derivational affixes in Garo, namely nominalized verbs, adverbial affixes, adjectivals or adjectives formed from verbs and so on. It will be noted therefore, that in Garo, much of the derivation that occurs is class changing. In this section the scholar proposes to identify the derivational affixes in the Garo language.

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<sup>3</sup> Robbins Burling, The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo) Vol I: Grammar, Bibliophile South Asia & Promilla, p.106.

### 3.1.1. Nominalizing suffixes

Nominalizing suffixes have already been described above as one of the categories of principal verb suffixes. That is, they are principal verb suffixes that put a verb into a form that can be used as a noun or that can modify a noun. Also, like other noun constituents, they can take case markers (§2.2.5.4.2)<sup>4</sup>. There are four important nominalized verb suffixes in Garo: *-a*, *-gipa*, *-ni* and *-o*<sup>5</sup>.

**3.1.1.1.** *-a* is used in non-negative sentences and is homophonous with the neutral tense-aspect suffix *-a*, but they differ in the constructions into which they can enter, as in:

1. *Andala biapo mande dongna namja*  
 (Nominalizing suffix)  
 dark-Nomz place-Loc (s) man stay-Inf good-Neg  
 ‘It is bad for a man to stay in a dark place’
2. *Namchi git ring-a* (Neutral tense aspect suffix)  
 Namchi Nom song sing-Neut  
 ‘Namchi sings a song’

**3.1.1.2.** *-ja* is the negative of the nominalizing *-a* and is written as *-gija* rather than as *-ja* which is also the homophonous negative of the tense aspect marker. Example:

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<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* p 185.

<sup>5</sup> *Op cit* p.132-137.

3. *Andalgija biapo do bakrang roja*  
 (Nominalizing suffix)  
 dark-Neg-Nomz place-Loc(s) bat-Plu roam-Neg  
 Bats do not stay in a place that is not dark
4. Namchi *git ring gija dongna man ja* (Negative tense aspect marker)  
 Namchi song sing-Neg-Neut stay-Inf stay-Neg  
 ‘Namchi cannot stay without singing’

**3.1.1.3. -gipa.** This nominalizing suffix overlaps in meaning with *-a* and the two are often changeable. For instance we can say *andala* or *andalgipa* and they mean the same thing, that is, a dark place. Like other noun constituents, Nominalized verbs can take case markers. The case marker *-ko* can go with nominalized verbs like any other nouns. Example:

5. *Chaurang biap andalgipako namnikbata*  
 Thief-Plu place dark-Adj-Acc like-Comp-Neut  
 Thieves always like dark places better
6. *Mande namgipako am enga*  
 Man good-Adj-Acc seek-Prog-Neut  
 ‘A good man is being sought’.

**3.1.1.4. Dative:** Verbs that have been nominalized by *-a*, can take the Dative case marker *-na*, as in:

7. *Bini name git ring ana gimikan biko uia.*  
 His/her well-sub song sing-Dat everyone-Frg him/her-Acc knows-Neut.  
 ‘Everyone knows him/her well because of his/her good singing.’

**-ni and -o** are the two other nominalizing suffixes which change the class of a word from a verb to a noun or from a verb to an adverb, as will be seen below.

**3.1.1.5.** **-ni** is a Genitive case marker which when added to the base of a verb, can change the class of the verb from a noun to a verb. The Nominalized verb can then take case markers like any other noun. For instance, the verbs *cha-a* ‘eats’, *ringa* ‘drinks’ and *songrea* ‘travels’ can be made into nouns by adding the Genitive marker *-ni* to them, (§ 2. 2. 5.

4. 4. p, 118 No. ) for example :

8. *Ia cha-ani toa*  
This-Dem food-Gen tasty-Neut  
‘This food (is) tasty’
9. *Ringani chiko ritbo*  
drink-Neut-Gen water-Acc boil-Imp  
‘Boil the drinking water’
10. *Songreani mandena seng-aniko on-a*  
‘traveling is a good experience’

**3.1.1.6.** **-o** is a Locative case marker (§ 2. 2. 5. 4. 6. 1.) which changes a verb to an adverb, with the addition of the suffix *-o* to a verb, as for example:

11. *Pring seng-o do-orang mikoa*  
Morning rise-Loc (t) bird-Pl sing-Neut  
When the sunrises in the morning, the birds start singing

12. *Kari nangako cha o gitok ran a*  
 Salt taste-Neut-Acc eat-Loc (t) throat dry-Neut  
 Salty food makes the throat dry
13. *Mande krengode kamo chu soka*  
 man-Nom try-hard-Sub work-Loc (s) achieve-Neut  
 A man who works hard will achieve (be successful) in his work

### 3.1.2.0. Derivation of Adjectives in Garo

Adjectives in Garo are formed mainly by adding the suffix *-gipa* to verbs: As it has been shown above in § section 2. 2. 3. 1., that adjectives can hardly be distinguished from verbs, one may be tempted to ask whether there are Adjectives at all in Garo or are they all verbs? This may be answered by the fact that, many of the Adjectives in Garo mentioned above can also be formed by adding the adjectival suffix *-gipa* such as, *nito-gipa* ‘the beautiful one’; *knato-gipa* ‘the good sound’ *dal-gipa* ‘the big one’ *chi-gipa* ‘the sweet one’ and so on. However, it may be mentioned again, that just as *-ko* and *ong-a* were optional and not always necessary except in writing, so also *-gipa* is not always necessary, except when one needs to be specific or needs to make a comparison, as in the following: *nama*, ‘good’; *namgipa* ‘the good one’ *nambatgipa* ‘the better one’; *nambatsrangipa* ‘the best one’. This is however only in specific situations as mentioned above, otherwise *-gipa* is not added to an adjective/verb in ordinary speech. Adding *-gipa* makes it artificial as one would just say *nama* ‘good’ not *namgipa* and *namja* ‘bad’ not

*namgijagipa*. It will also be noted, that when the suffix *-gipa* is affixed to the verb, the Neutral tense marker *-a* is automatically dropped out.

**3.1.2.1.** Formation of adjectives with the suffix *-gipa*:

14. *ka·sin-a +gipa ~ka·singipa* ‘the cold one’  
*ka·singipa chiko ringosa suk ong a*  
 Cold-Adjv water-Acc drink-Loc(t)-only feel-good be-Neut  
 Only when (you) take drink cold drinking water does it feel good
15. *chon-a+gipa ~chongipa* ‘the small one’  
*Chongipa mandeko jinmao nikja*  
 Small-Adjv man-Acc crowd-Loc(s) see-Neg  
 A small man is not seen in a crowd
16. *dal·-a+gipa ~ dal gipa* ‘the big one’  
*Dal gipa mandeko niksenga*  
 Big-Adjv man-Acc stand-out-Neut  
 A big (great) person stands out
17. *chang-a+gipa~changgipa* ‘the skillful one’  
*Changgipa mande jeoba janggi tangna chol*  
*man a*  
 Skilled-adjv person anywhere life survive-Inf opportunity  
 get-Neut  
 A skilled person can has the opportunity for a good life in anywhere
18. *mil-a+gipa ~ milgipa* ‘the fat one’  
*Milgipa mande tusina namnika*  
 At-adjv person sleep-Inf like-Neut  
 A fat man likes to sleep
19. *bok-a+gipa~bokgipa* ‘the fair one’  
*Bokgipa mande sal chakna manja*  
 White-adjv person sun bear-Inf get Neg  
 A (white)fair skinned person cannot bear the sun
20. *grik-a+gipa~grikgipa* ‘the clear one’  
*Grikgipa chio na tok nikrongja*  
 Clear-adjv water-Loc (s) fish see-often-Neg

Fish are not usually seen in clear water

All the roots given above can function as verbs and only a few are genuinely adjectives, for example:

21. *tom-tomgipa* 'the quiet or peaceful one'  
*Tom-tomgipa*      *bi sa*      *saraka*  
 Quiet-adjv      child      sick-often-Neut  
 An inactive (quiet) child tends to be sickly
22. *tangsekgipa* 'the green one'  
*Tangsekgipa*      *me'su*      *be'enna*      *nama*  
 Green-adjv      vegetable      body-Dat      good-Neut  
 Green vegetables are good for the body (health)
23. *badinggipa* 'the trader'  
*Badinggipa mande*      *man'e*      *cha ronga*  
 Tradeadjv      person      achieve      eat-often-Neut  
 A trader (business man) often achieves in eating (is usually rich)
24. *badingga* 'trader'  
 trader-Neut  
*Badingga da'alde*      *antiona*      *keneming*      *re baja*  
 Trader      today-Sub      market-Aug-Loc      afraid-Sub      arrive-Neg  
 As they were afraid, the traders did not come to market today.

Robbins Burling also mentions a small class of verbs, which have special characteristics. These are verbs starting with the syllables *gi-*, *git-*, or *gip-* as in *gi-sim*, 'black'; *git-chak* 'red' and *gip-bok* 'white'. They normally end with the sound *a-*, as in '*mikron gitchaka*', 'the eyes are red'; or, '*mande gipoka*' 'the man is white'; and take all the other verbal endings that normally go along with other verbs; but when forming constructions with nouns, they do not take the usual *-a* ending, but stand alone, as in,

'*mande gitcam*' 'an ancient man' or '*be.en gittang*', 'raw meat'. Three of these '*gitcam*', '*gitcak*' and '*gipbok*' can be used as "quantifiers", says Robbins Burling, as they can form words with the single numeral classifier *sak-* as in *mande sak gitcak* 'a man with red complexion'. They are however not used this way with other classifiers.

### 3.1.3.0. Adverbial Affixes (A)

Adverbial affixes are suffixes that fit between the verb base and the principal verb suffix. They are derivational morphemes. Each verb needs one, but only one, principal verb suffix, but a verb can have a whole string of adverbial affixes or it can have none. These affixes permit to convey a great deal of specific meaning that is conveyed in English by separate words. They are a distinctive feature of the Garo language, and skillful speaking requires the ability to toss them off easily.<sup>6</sup> E. G. Phillips called these '*napsikgipa* adverbs' that is 'adverbs which get in between', while Robbins Burling simply defines them as adverbial affixes that occur between the base verb and the principal verb suffix. There are some others who take them to be infixes as they occur between the base and the principal verb suffix, but infixes occur inside the root of a word and these adverbial affixes do not occur inside the root or base verb, but just after it

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<sup>6</sup> Robbins Burling, The Modhupur Language of the Mandi (Garo) Vol: I. Grammar, p.138

and before the principal verb suffix so in the observation of the present scholar, they are not infixes but suffixes, like many other verb suffixes. In *The Handbook of Morphology* edited by Andrew Spencer and Arnold M. Zwicky, we have the following definition given by Spencer in his article on “Morphophonological Operations”:

“The term ‘infixation’ is properly applied to the insertion of an affix within some other morpheme (and not, for instance, simply between two other morphemes). Thus, we might wish to say that the plural form of *mothers-in-law* is derived from the singular *mother-in-law* by inserting the plural formative *-s* between *mother* and *in*, but this would not count as infixation...”<sup>7</sup>

It is clear from the above definition therefore, that as stated by Burling, Garo has adverbial affixes and not infixes.

There are scores of adverbial affixes found in the language, some varieties of adverbial suffix morphemes are shown below:<sup>8</sup>

- sik** –to push
24. *sik-do-a* –to push up  
*Anga bol gadona man-gijarangko sikdoa*  
 I-Nom tree climb-Inf achieve-Neg-Pl-Acc push-up-Neut  
 I pushed up those who could not climb trees
25. *sik-on-a* – to push down  
*Gari namjana ka-machi sikona*  
 Car-Nom good-Neg-Because down-Loc (s) push- -Neut  
 As the car was bad we had to push it downwards

<sup>7</sup> Andrew Spencer and Arnold M. Zwicky, *The Handbook of Morphology*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., Oxford, UK, 1998, p 129.

<sup>8</sup> The adverbial affixes have been collected from various sources, though mainly contributed by C. R. Marak during consultations with her. Other sources like dictionaries and expert have also been consulted.

**ga·** -to step on or to take steps  
*ga·a* 'to step on or take steps'

26. *Da alde nonoba ja·a ga·a*  
 Today-Sub little-sister-also leg take-steps-Neut  
 Today, little-sister also started taking (her first) steps

*ga·tinga* -to kick

27. *Ua robolko chele ga·tingata*  
 He-Dem football-Acc far-Sub kick-Caus-Neut  
 He kicked the ball far away

*ga·bata* -to step over

28. *Chi dal·ani gimin ga·bate re·na man·jaha*  
 Water big-Nomz because step-over-Sub walk-Inf can-Neut-  
 Past  
 As the water (stream /river) was big we could not step across it

**peng** -to put an obstacle or curtain over. It also exists independently  
 as a verb -

*peng·a* 'to create a curtain or barrier'

29. *Manderang nikatana ba·ra peng·a*  
 person-Pl see-Caus-Neut-because cloth put-across  
 A cloth (curtain) was put across as people could see (us)

*(bera)kapenga* 'to make a fence'

30. *Manderang ramare·pakana bera kapengata*  
 man-Pl road-walk-across-Neut-because fence tie-across-  
 Caus-Neut  
 A people kept walking across we made a fence to be tied across

*(nok)rikpenga* 'to build a house obstructing or blocking the way'

31. *nokrikpengeming salnapangako nirongjaha*  
 house-build-across-Sub sun set-Neut-Acc see-often-Neg-Past  
 As a house has been built across (our view) we do not see the sunset  
 anymore

*su· -su·ua* –to be tasty, carry rich meaning etc. Other combinations:  
*me·sua* ‘tasty’ (said of good cooking)

32. *na·kam*      *su·uasa*                      *me·aming*                      *songode*  
*me·sua*  
 Dry-fish      tasty-Neut-only      bamboo-shoot-with cook-Sub      tasty  
 cooking

Dry fish with bamboo shoot is tasty only if you get tasty (good) dryfish

*ga·sua* ‘fantastic’  
*Songo Christmaso chrokasa ga·sua*  
 -*sot* –cut .for example as a noun:  
*seng·sot* ‘a short cut’

33. *Ia*                      *rama namen*                      *seng·sota*  
 This-Dem      road      very                      short-Neut  
 This way is very short

- re·sot*, ‘walk across or take a short cut’  
 34. *Rama*                      *re·sotosa*                                      *ta·rakgen*  
 Road                      walk-across-Loc (t)-only      fast-Fut  
 We will be fast only if we walk across the road

-*sot*- as a verb: *doksot / den·sot* ‘to cut off’.

35. *Bol ramasamo ge·ana manderang re·sot den·sot daken dal·ja*  
 Tree roadside-Loc (s) plant-Neut-because man-Pl walk-across cut-off do-  
 Sub big-Neg  
 The tree does not grow big as people keep cutting off (its branches) as they  
 walk across

Some adverb affixes have more or less the same meaning in different  
 environments, for example:

-*pret*- ‘very, extremely’. In different combinations:  
*simpreta* ‘very dark’

36. *angni bi·sade simpreta*  
I-Gen child-Sub dark-very-Neut  
My child is very dark
- nampreta* ‘very good’
37. *angni nomilde nampreta*  
I-Gen young-girl good-very-Neut  
My young girl (helper) is very good
- silpreta* ‘very beautiful or good to look at’
38. *angni me·su ge·ade silpreta*  
I-Gen vegetable plant-Sub very-good-to-look-at-Neut  
The vegetables I planted look very good
- ga·preta* ‘to crush very hard beneath the feet’.  
*-be* – ‘very’ synonymous to *-pret-* above. In different combinations:  
*silbea* ‘beautiful / very nice to look at’
39. *Nang·ni pul ge·ade silpreta*  
You-Gen flower plant-Sub beautiful-very-Neut  
The flower you planted is very beautiful
- Nambea* ‘very good’
40. *Mani mamade nambea*  
Aunt uncle-Sub good-very-Neut  
Aunt and uncle (also in-laws) are very good
- nitobea* ‘very beautiful’
41. *Sil·seni nogipade silbea*  
Silse-Gen younger-sister-Sub beautiful-Neut  
Silse’s younger sister is very beautiful
- ching·bea* ‘very bright’
42. *Pringphrang askide ching·bea*  
Morning-star star-Sub bright-very-Neut  
The Morning star (Venus) is very bright  
*dingtangbeenga* ‘being very different’
43. *Da·asalde sal namen dingtangbeenga*  
Today-Sub sun very different-very-prog-Neut

The sun is very different today

*andalbea* ‘very dark’

*sikbea* ‘to have a great wish or desire’

*rakbejok* ‘become very hard’

44. *Mi men·di dongjae, rakbejok*

Rice starch is-Neg hard-very-Past

The rice has become very hard, as it has no starch

**-sret-** *to make a mistake*

*re·sreta* –to commit a mistake in the walk of life, to walk astray

45. *Anga re·barongjaen rama re·sretmanjok*

I-Nom come-often-Neg-Sub walk-astray-Past-Past

Since I do not come (this way) often I went astray

*daksreta* –to make a mistake in doing, acting, etc.

*ma·sisreta* –to misunderstand

46. *Jasinde angni agankode ma·sisretaha*

Jasin-Sub I-Gen say-Acc-Sub understand-mistake-Neut

Jasin has misunderstood what I said.

There are some adverbial affixes that are very productive and can be used to convey many different meanings. For instance:

**-pil-** adverbial affixes

**-pil-** is an adverb affix meaning carrying, conveying, turn, return to the original place, place of origin etc. *pil·baa* means ‘to return’. *sokpila* ‘to arrive again’, *nampila* ‘to get well / be good again’ *re·pila* ‘to return’ *sokbapila* ‘to arrive back again’, *sokangpila* ‘to reach ack again’ and so on.

*pil-* can also exist independently –e.g.

*pil·bao*, ‘to return to where one started from’;

47. *angni pilbao noko darangkön nikejajok*  
I-Gen return-Loc (t) anybody-Acc-Frg see-Sub-Neg-Past  
When I returned, I did not see anybody
- on·pila*; - *on·pila*-to return something
48. *ia gariko angna baba uni sina skang on·pila*  
This-Dem car-Acc father I-Dat he-Gen die-Inf before return-Neut  
This car was returned to me by father before his death
- re·angpila* ‘to go back’
49. *Anga nengeming nokchnina re·angpila*  
I-Nom tired-Sub house-Loc (s)-Dat go-back-Neut  
I was tired, so I returned home  
*re·bapila* ‘to come back’

*pil-* has another meaning, conveying a sense of transformation, of a thing turning into something which it was not before. For example,

- pil·anga* to turn into something transformation
50. *alaring ka·sne beng·blok pil·anga*  
tadpole slowly frog turn-Neut  
(A) tadpole slowly turns into a frog
- me·pilip pil·a* ‘turn into a butterfly’
51. *nidikgipa jong·su ja·mano me·pilip pil·a*  
Ugly-adj caterpillar afterwards-Loc (t) butterfly turn-into-Neut  
(The) ugly caterpillar later turns into a butterfly
- chipu pil·a* ‘turn into a snake;  
*jo·ong pil·a* ‘turn into an insect;  
*me·mang pil·a* ‘turn into a ghost’ and so on.

Other meanings of *pil-* are:

*an·tangko nangpila* ‘to rebound / to be struck by something that one had sent out’.

*an·tangko nangpila* ‘one is affected by something which one did for somebody / somebody else’ that is, ‘to be caught in one’s own trap’.

52. *Bini to·le agana an·tangon nangpilaiaha*  
 he/she-Gen lie-Sub tell-Neut I-Refl-Frg hit-back-just-  
 Neut  
 The lies he/she told reflected back on her

*pil-* can also be used to express wish or desire, as in:

53. *nokchi re·na sikpilengjok*  
 home-Loc (s) go-Inf wish-again-Prog-Past  
 ‘I want to return home again / I feel like returning home’ (or)

54. *Nokchi re·pilna sikengjok*  
 home-Loc s) go-back-Inf wish-Prog-Past  
 I feel like gong back home

It can also be used to express a desire to take revenge:

*jakbikpila* – ‘to take revenge’ literally meaning ‘hand twist upside down’ that is, to turn something back to the sender.

It can also be used as a numeral classifier, as in:

*Pilgni pilgittam* ‘to roll over twice / thrice, as something or someone does while falling down steps, a slope etc.’

55. *Bia Pilgni pilgittam dake ga·aka*  
 He/she roll-twice roll-thrice do-Sub fall-Neut  
 He fell rolling over two three times

Other *Napsikgipa* adverbs or adverbial affixes are:

– *ai-*‘just’, – *tok-*‘all together’, – *tel-*‘in spite of’, – *gop-*‘all in a bunch or group’, – *ba-*‘also’ and *sruk*. *Srik* becomes *sruk* – e.g. *daksruk* ‘do in secret’, *tom·sruka* ‘meet in secret’ and so on, one can go on endlessly.

Some verbs can carry a lot of adverbial affixes, for example:

*re·ang·pil·tok·ai·a* which can also be written as *re·ang·tok·pil·ai·a*.

Go-away-return-all-just-Neut / go-away-all-return-just-Neut

‘(They) have just, all gone back’

Thus it can be seen that adverbial affixes are numerous and some are very productive in Garo.

### 3.1.4.0. Numeral Morphemes of the Garo Language

A numeral is ‘an open class of words that comprise all numbers and is a sub-class of the class of Nouns. Different types include Cardinal numbers and Ordinal Numerals. Numerals can function as Nouns or as Determiners.’<sup>9</sup> In *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*, it is defined as, “One of a set of words or other expressions indicating precise numbers: e. g. *three* or *forty-nine*; also the ordinal numerals *third* or *forty-ninth*”<sup>10</sup>

#### 3.1.4.1. Numerals in Garo:

Numerals in the Garo Language comprise of two parts, Classifier +Number (or Quantifier), both of which combine to form a word. In the course of conversation, Numbers occur as one part of a numeral, rarely alone.<sup>11</sup> For instance, *sakgni* ‘two people’ of which *sak-* is the classifier used only for persons and *gni* is the number two. In a sense, Classifiers and Numbers define each other. Whatever precedes a number is a classifier and whatever follows a classifier is a number. The countable phenomena of the

<sup>9</sup> The Internet Grammar of English. University College London research web site, [The Survey of English Usage](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/), 1996-1998 <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/>

<sup>10</sup> P. H. Matthews *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. Oxford University Press, New York, 1997, p 251.

<sup>11</sup> Robbins Burling, *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)*, Volume I: Grammar. Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers, p 242.

world are people, animals, birds, objects of various shapes and sizes and uses and abstract phenomena.<sup>12</sup> Classifiers give implicit classification to the countable. This will be discussed in greater detail in the section on Classifiers below. Before going any further it would be good to write a little about the system of counting or numbers in Garo.

### 3.1.4.2. Number System in the Garo Language

The Garo language has a good supply of native words for numbers from 1 to 999, as mentioned by Robbins Burling in his book on *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)*,<sup>13</sup> so that one does not have any difficulty in counting and there is no need to borrow words from other languages. It has its own original terms which have their similarities with terms from other languages of the Bodo family of languages, of which Garo is a part. As can be seen in the following example:<sup>14</sup>

English	Garo	Bodo	Rabha	Koch
one	sa	se	sa	gosa
two	gni	noi/nwi	ning	ingning
three	gittam	tham	thatham	attam
four	bri	broy/brwi		biring
five	bonga	ba		binga

The numbers from one (1) to ten (10) in Garo are then as follows:

1 – one

sa

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p 242.

<sup>13</sup> Robbins Burling. *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar*, Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers. p 244

<sup>14</sup> Collected from students doing their MA in the NEHU, Tura Campus.

2 – two	gni
3 – three	gittam
4 – four	bri
5 – five	bonga
6 – six	dok
7 – seven	sni
8 – eight	chet
9 – ten	sku
10 – ten	chikung

From eleven to nineteen, that is, in the tens' there is a regular pattern of repetition from one to nine, with the prefix '**chi**' which means 'ten' as follows:

11 – eleven	chi·sa
12 – twelve	chi·gni
13 – thirteen	chi·gittam
14 – fourteen	chi·bri
15 – fifteen	chi·bonga
16 – sixteen	chi·dok
17 – seventeen	chi·sni
18 – eighteen	chi·chet
19 – nineteen	chi·sku

In the twenties the morpheme '**kolgrik**' is prefixed following the same regular pattern as mentioned above. *Kol* in Garo means 'twenty', so we have:

20 – twenty	kolgrik
21 – twenty one	kolgrikxa
22 – twenty two	kolgrikgni
23 – twenty three	kolgrikgittam
24 – twenty four	kolgrikbri
25 – twenty five	kolgrikbonga
26 – twenty six	kolgrikdok
27 – twenty seven	kolgriksni
28 – twenty eight	kolgrikchet



70 – seventy	sotsni
80 - eighty	sotchet
90 – ninety	sotsku
91 – ninety one	sotskusa
92 – ninety two	sotskugni
93 – ninety three	sotskugittam
94 – ninety four	sotskubri
95 – ninety five	sotskubonga
96 – ninety six	sotskudok
97 – ninety seven	sotskusni
98 – ninety eight	sotskuchet
99 – ninety nine	sotskusku

When it comes to a hundred we have the word ‘**ritchasa**’ followed by the regular pattern as already noted above, so that we have:

100 – one hundred	ritchasa
101 – one hundred and one	ritchasasa
200 - two hundred	ritchagni
300 – three hundred	ritchagittam... till
999 - nine hundred and ninety nine	ritchasku sotskusku

For higher numerical units such as 1000 etc., it borrows from other languages, namely Bengali, Assamese, etc. and these have been so well assimilated into the language that a native speaker can freely combine these loan words with smaller native words with ease. For instance, the loan word for 1000(one thousand) is *hajalsa*, so for 1234, the Garo equivalent would be *hajalsa ritchagni kolatchibri*. Thus, as we can see, there is a systematic organization of numbers in Garo and a new second language learner can easily pick up the method of counting in a very short while.

### 3.1.4.3. Alternate Counting System

There is also an alternate system of counting in the cycle of twenties, though it is not so frequent in use. Here the counting is the same till nineteen and then for higher numbers they are grouped by twenties instead of by tens as follows:

20 = Twenty into one (20x1)	kolchangsa
30 = Twenty into one plus ten (20x1+10)	kolchangsa chi
40 = Twenty into two (20x2)	kolchanggni
50 = “ “ “plus ten (20x2+10)	kolchanggnichi
60 = “ “ “three (20-x3)	kolchanggittam
70 = “ “ “plus ten (20x3+10)	kolchanggittamchi
80 = “ “ four (20x4)	kolchangbri
90 = “ “ “plus ten (20x4+10)	kolchangbrichi
100 = “ “ five (20x5)	kolchangbonga
110 = “ “ plus ten (20x5+10)	kolchangbongachi
120 = “ “ six (20x6)	kolchangdok etc...

This can go on endlessly as required.

### 3.1.5. Classifiers in Garo:

Garo has a rich classifier system, in that it requires a classifier for virtually each object and its number. Classifiers are not simply assigned to nouns in an arbitrary way. Rather, classifiers convey important meanings. In this it is different from English where it is used only in particular situations and not always. In English, for instance, we sometimes say ‘a sheet of paper’, ‘a cup of tea’, ‘a bundle of clothes’ but most often we say ‘the papers, some tea, some clothes, a book, a table, the car, the pen an apple etc. In Garo however, whatever is counted must have a classifier.

Classifiers are chosen according to the type of object being counted and thereby give implicit classification to all that can be counted. Whether they are animate or inanimate; the shape, size, nature, etc of the unit being counted; whether they be concrete objects – such as people, animals, plants, things etc., or abstract, such as – names, songs, ideas, stories and myths etc.<sup>15</sup> To quote Burling further,

“Most typical of what have generally been called classifiers are those that are used when counting discrete physical objects that have enduring shapes. These are the sorts of things that are named by count nouns in English, and it is the classifiers used for these objects that are most foreign to languages like English.”<sup>16</sup>

As mentioned above Garo makes extensive use of classifiers for almost every number. As such a healthy collection of classifiers have survived till date. The various types of classifiers in Garo are as follows:

### 3.1.5.1. *Sak*- Classifier is always used when referring to people:

When people are counted, *-sak* must always be prefixed, as in,

56. *Mande sakgni kam ka·enga*  
 Man Cls-two work do-Prog-Neut  
 ‘Two men are working (doing the work)’

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<sup>15</sup> Burling, Robbins The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar, Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers. p 243.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p 248

57. *Me·chik sakbri nokchi re·angaha*  
 girls Cls-four house-Loc(s) go-Neut-Past  
 ‘Four girls have gone home’
58. *Pante sak bonga cycle sale re·angaha*  
 young-men Cls-five cycle ride-Sub go-Neut-Past  
 ‘Four young boys went by riding their bicycles’.

### 3.1.5.2. *Mang-* classifier used only with reference to birds and animals:

When animals and birds are counted the morpheme *-mang* must always be included in the phrase, as in,

59. *Do·o mangsa* ‘a bird’:  
*Do·o mangsa bolo ba·enga*  
 bird Cls-one tree-Loc (s) perch-Prog-Neut  
 One bird is perching on a tree (there is a bird perched on a tree)
60. *Matcha manggni* ‘two tigers’:  
*Matcha manggni burungo donga*  
 tiger Cls-two jungle-Loc(s) is-Neut  
 There are two tigers in the jungle
61. *Peru manggittam* ‘three foxes’:  
*Peru manggittam burungo roramenga*  
 fox Cls-three jungle-Loc(s) roam-Prog-Neut  
 There are three foxes roaming in the forest

Other classifiers used for objects of different shapes and sizes are:

### 3.1.5.3. *Rong-* for roundish objects:

62. *komla rongsa* ‘one orange’:  
*Ango komila rongsa dongkuenga*  
 I-Loc(s) orange Cls-one is-still-Prog-Neut  
 I still have one (more) orange

63. *narikel rongbri* ‘four coconuts’:  
*narikel rongbri bolo nangenga*  
 Coconut Cls-four tree-Loc(s) stay-Prg-Neut  
 There are coconuts in the tree

**3.1.5.4. *Gil-*** for thin flat objects:

64. *ruti gilgni* ‘two slices of bread’:  
*Anga pringo ruti gilgnisan cha rongenga*  
 I-Nom morning-Loc(t) bread slice-two-only eat-often-Prog-Neut  
 I often eat only two slices of bread in the morning

**3.1.5.6. *Ding-*** for long thin objects: *kilding dingbonga* ‘five bits of string’

65. *Angni ba ra dokmitingo kilding dingbonga chottomaha*  
 I-Gen cloth weave-while-Loc(t) threads Cls-five broke-Neut-Past  
 Three strings /threads broke while I was weaving

**3.1.5.7. *Sri-*** ‘a slice’: *gominda srisa* ‘one slice of pumpkin’

66. *saksan ong ani gimin gominda srisasan song ata*  
 Cls-one-Frg is-Neut-Nomz because pumpkin Cls-one-only cook-  
 Caus-Neut  
 Since I was alone I cooked only one slice of pumpkin

**3.1.5.8. *Pak-*** for one side or half of an object etc:

67. *balwa ta rake chingni bera paksako be ataha*  
 wind powerful/quick/strong our-excl fence one side broke  
 A powerful wind broke one side of our fence.

**3.1.5.9. *Galwang-*** for a bunch of bananas as: *te rik galwanggni* ‘two bunches of bananas’

68. *Dikki antiona te rik galwangsako palna ra anga*  
 Dikki market-Loc(s)-Dat Cls(bunch)-one-Acc sell-Inf take-away-  
 Neut  
 Dikki took away one bunch of bananas to sell in the market

There are dozens of classifiers to choose from, depending on the shape, size, species of plants, or animals. Sometimes, two or three different classifiers can be used for counting the same object, depending on which aspect of the object the speaker wants to emphasize, for instance:

*Komla rongbri* ‘four oranges’/ *komla chamsa* ‘one set of oranges’ /*koksa komila* ‘a basket’

69. *Chi·ana angade komila rongbri cha·ataijok*  
sweet-Neut-Quo I-Sub orange Cls-four eat-Caus-just-Past  
Since the oranges were sweet I just ate four (of them)

70. *Komila chamsako kolgrikna palenga*  
orange set(Cls)-one-Acc twenty-Dat sell-Prog-Neut  
One set of oranges are being sold for twenty (rupees)

71. *Man·seng Duragreoni komila koksa palna olbaaha*

Man·seng Duragre-Aug-Loc orange baske(Cls)-one sell-Inf carry-come-Neut-Past

Man·seng has come carrying a basket of oranges for sale  
*Me·su koksa* ‘a basket of vegetables’ / ‘*me·su chamsa* one bunch or set of vegetables’

72. *Me·su koksako anga sotbongana breaha*  
vegetable basket(Cls)-one I-Nom fifty-Dat buy-Neut-Past  
I bought a basket of vegetables for fifty (rupees)

73. *Ua angna me·su chamsako indin on·ata*  
He/she I-Dat vegetable set(Cls)-one-Acc free-Frg give-Caus-Neut  
He/she gave me one set of vegetables for free

Garo does not make a clear distinction between mass nouns – water, milk, sand etc and count nouns – people, trees, animals etc.,<sup>17</sup> the name of any container can be used as a classifier for the amount of material that it can hold, so one may be said to be carrying a basket of vegetables, as well as, a basket of sand or wood. For example:

*Na a angna gominda koksa olbana man genma?*

You-Nom I-Dat pumpkin basket(Cls)-one carry-come-Inf can-Fut-Que  
Can you bring a basket of pumpkins for me?

*Chiringni an chengko kokbonga oldoe kang kare sabeenga*

stream-Gen sand-Acc basket(Cls)-five carry-up-Sub waist pain-very-  
Prog-Neut

After carrying five baskets of sand I am having severe pain in the waist!

*Knalo angna am bol koksa olbabone!*

Tomorrow-Loc(t) I-Nom firewood basket(Cls)-one carry-come-Imp-  
Imp

Please bring a basket of firewood for me tomorrow!

### 3.1.5.10. A General Classifier

As noted earlier, Classifiers are not simply assigned to nouns in an arbitrary way, rather they convey important meanings. There are different classifiers for people, animals, birds, different objects as well as for nonmaterial but countable things such as songs and ideas. However, as it is not logically possible to encompass every possible countable thing, so when it is not possible to put a classifier for a particular number, there is a

<sup>17</sup> Burling, *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar*, Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers, p 247

residual category for things not otherwise provided for in Garo, that is, the use of the general classifier *ge·*-<sup>18</sup>. To quote Burling here,

“A language with an elaborate classifier system like Garo needs to have one classifier that can be used for residual objects for which no more specialized classifier is readily available...

“The residual category classifier most often used in the *A·chik* [Standard Garo] dialect is *ge·*- and it would be understood anywhere. Like the Mandi [a dialect of Garo spoken in Bangladesh)] *kan-*, it can be used for a wide variety of constructed artifacts.”<sup>19</sup>

In *The School Dictionary: Garo to English* by D. S. Nengminza, *ge·* is defined as

‘A numeral prefix for counting certain things as furniture, household objects and also for fingers’<sup>20</sup>

Examples of the use of this classifier in Garo are:

*ge·*- a general Classifier:  
- *bostu ge·sa* ‘one thing’:

74. *Angna nang oniko bostu ge·sa nangachim*  
I-Dat you-Aug-Lc-Acc thing Cls-one need-Neut-Past  
I need one thing from you / (I need to ask you for one thing)  
- *go·ol ge·gittam* ‘three sticks’:

<sup>18</sup> Burling, Robbins *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo), Volume I: Grammar*, Published by Bibliophile South Asia in Association with Promilla & Co., Publishers, p 249.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.* 250-251.

<sup>20</sup> D.S. Nengminza, *The School Dictionary: Garo to English*, Published by The Garo Hills Book Emporium, Tura 1989. p 78.

75. *Ia bolko mangrakatna go ol ge gittam songatpaku*  
 This-Dem tree-Acc strengthen-Inf stick Cls-three raise-please-yet  
 Please put three sticks to make this tree stand firm

- *chokki ge chikung* ‘ten chairs’:

76. *Uamang chingoniko chokki ge chikung ra angchenga*  
 He/she-Pl we(excl)-Loc(s)-Nomz-Acc chair Cls-ten take-away-first-  
 Neut-Past  
 They took about ten chairs from us for the first time (or for the time being)

### 3.1.5.11.0. Exceptions to the use of classifiers and numbers in Garo

In most instances, the numerals follow the noun they modify such as, *te rik galwangsa* ‘a bunch of bananas’, *mande saksa* ‘one man’ and so on; but the numeral can precede the noun too at times as- *galwangsa te rik; saksa mande*.

Numbers are used without classifiers only in two circumstances:

- When counting,  
 as in *sa, gni, gittam, bri, bonga* (‘one, two, three, four, five’) and so on.
- With Ordinals when it is always followed by the suffix *-gipa*.

For instance, - *skanggipa, gnigipa, brigipa* (‘first, second, fourth’) and so on.

A few other morphemes which indicate ‘each, every and another’, are also found which can be used in place of numbers. For instance:

#### 3.1.5.11.1. *-gipin* – ‘another/different’:

*Sakgipin mande ang namnikgipa ki tapko breangaha*  
 Cls-another man I-(Gen) like-adj book-Acc buy-away-Neut-Past

‘Another man has bought the book I wanted’

*Achak manggipinsa grengko balangaha*

Dog Cls-another-only bone-Acc carry-away-Neut-Past

A different /(Another) dog took away the bone’.

**3.1.5.11.2. -rikkit** – ‘each, every’:

*Chinga bilsirikkitan a ba cha engga*

We(Excl)-Neut year-every-Frg field eat-Prog-Neut

‘We are eating from (cultivating in) our field every year’.

**3.1.5.11.3. -anti**- ‘every’:

*An ching salanti ruti bree cha a*

We(Incl) day-every bread buy-Sub eat-Neut

We are buying (and eating) bread everyday

As R. Burling has clearly described it; this morpheme can describe events happening jointly to everyone or, events that affect each one separately, but in the same way. It usually applies to each and everyone in a larger number. For instance:

*Matchu jila mangrikkitan siemung bon angaha.*

Cow keep-Neut Cls-every-Frg die-Sub finish-Neut-Past

Each and every cow fell ill and died; it was a great loss for me.

**3.1.5.11.4. -prak** – Its meaning is similar to *rikkit*, but it usually applies to a smaller number.

*Bi sa sakpraknan Polio Vaccineko kanaha.*

Child Cls-each(Cls)-Dat-Frg Polio Vaccine-Acc give-to-drink-Neut-Past

Each child has been given the Polio Vaccine

*Pod mingprakkon name mukosto ka bo.*

Verse Cls-each(Cls)-Acc-Frg good-Sub learn-by-heart do-Imp

Learn each verse properly by heart.

3.1.5.11.5. *prak* can also be reduplicated to emphasize the distributive sense.

*Mande sakprakprakan antichina re·na  
am·engaha.*

Man Cls-each-every-Redup-Frg market-Loc-Dat go-Inf want-Prog-  
Neut-Past

Each and every man is getting ready to go to the market.

*Sakprakprakan ate gitchi ra·e r·ebabo.*

Cls-each-Redup-Frg dagger hoe take-Sub come-Imp

Each one should carry his implements and come.

*Pilaknan ruti ge·prakprak sualangkahakonba?*

All-Frg bread Cls-each-Redup serve-out-Neut-Past

I hope you have given a peace (slice) of bread to each and every person?

*Mes mangprakprakko chane nolo sikatbo.*

Sheep Cls-each-Redup-Acc count-Sub pen-Loc(s) put-in-Imp

Count each sheep as you put them in the pen.

3.1.5.11.6. *gipin*, *rikkit* and *prak* can be considered as classifiers when they are used with numbers; but unlike the numbers one to five, they are used in other ways as well, so they are not always found with a classifier.

77. *Antirikkit mikka waemung mamung kaman ong·jaengjok*  
week-every rain pour-Sub anything work-Frg is-Neg-Prog-Past  
'Since its raining every week I have not been able to do any work.'

78. *Mande sakrikkitan re·angjok*  
man Cls-every-Frg go-away-Past  
'each and everyone have gone'.

79. *Dakchakgipa sakrikitan kamko name ka·ja*  
Help-adj Cls-every-Frg work-Acc good-Sub do-Neg  
Not even one of the helpers does his work properly.

80. *Rikkit rikkit chanchie tusina man·ja.*  
All-kinds-Redup think-Sub sleep-Inf get-Neg

Thinking of all kinds of things, I couldn't sleep.

81. *Seng mande gipin gitcha ongja, angni jonggipaan.*  
 Seng-man-Sub other-Redupl is-Neg I-Gen younger-brother-Fg  
 Seng-man is not just anybody, he is my own brother.

Numerals can also occur without nouns since the classifier gives information about the thing being counted:

82. *Sakgni sokbaa*  
 Cls-two arrive-Neut  
 'two (people) have arrived; as *sak-* is used only for people, it is understood that people not others like birds or animals are meant here.

83. *Mangbri bile katangaha*  
 Cls-four fly-Sub run-away-Neut-Past  
 'four (birds) have flown away; *mang-* is used only for birds and animals and since the sentence states that the object flew away, it is understood that a bird is indicated.

Sometimes a numeral may be the last or the only word in a noun phrase and in such cases, if the situation is right, case markers may also be attached to the numeral.

84. *Ia porikao, sakgittamkode name seako nikaaha.*  
 This-Dem Exam-Loc(t) Cls-three-Acc-Sub good-Sub write-Neut-  
 Acc see-Neut-Past  
 'Three were seen writing well in this examinations'  
*Sakchetni resultko man ahachim.*  
 Cls-eight-Gen result-Acc get-Neut-Past-Past  
 'We have received the results of eight of them'.

In this we find that numerals share some common features with nouns. 'They occur as constituents of Noun Phrases, and in the right circumstances case markers can be attached to them. However, not only

are their structures different, they also differ from nouns in other important ways. They are not for instance, able to take plural suffixes that nouns take, nor can they enter into compounds as nouns do.<sup>21</sup> In fact according to Robbins Burling, 'Numerals are different enough from ordinary nouns to deserve to be considered a different part of speech.'<sup>22</sup>

Most classifiers are exactly one syllable in length (-*rang*, -*mang*, -*sak*, etc.) but some numbers have two or more syllables – *gittam*, 'three', *bonga* 'five', *ritchasa* 'one hundred', *kolatchigni* 'thirty two' and so on. In these cases the stress always falls on the first syllable, just before the case suffix if there is one: *gitam*, /git-t<sup>h</sup>am/, *bòng* /bòŋ -a/, *ritchàsa* /rit-c<sup>h</sup>à-sa/ and *kolatchìgni* /k<sup>h</sup>ol-at-c<sup>h</sup>i-gni/.

In Garo, numeral morphemes function as determiners too, that is, they can also be used to convey definite or indefinite meanings, as in:

85. *Saksa me chik nokona sokangaha*  
Cls-one girl house—Loc(s)-Dat reach-Neut-Past  
'one / a girl has reached home'
86. *Mande saksa re baenga*  
man Cls-one come-Prog-Neut  
'one / a man is coming'
87. *Mongma mangbonga a bri kosako dongenga*  
elephant Cls-five hill top-Loc(s) stay-Prog-Neut  
'there are three elephants on the top of the hill'
88. *Ka sapae angna ruti gilbri on genma?*  
Love-please-Sub I-Dat bread slice(Cls)-four give-Fut-Que

<sup>21</sup> Robbins Burling. *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)*. Vol. I: Grammar, p 244.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p 244.

### 3.5.0. Morphophonemics

Morphophonemics has been defined by Burquest and Payne in the following manner:

“Just as phonemes can have alternate forms conditioned by their environments, morphemes can also have alternate forms conditioned by their environments. When the sounds of morphemes vary as a result of being adjoined to other morphemes, the pattern is referred to as morphophonemics.”<sup>25</sup>

In *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics* we have the following definition:

Morphophonology is, “A branch of Linguistics concerned with rules of alternations between morphology and phonology. Called ‘**morphophonemics**’ by most linguists in the USA, and defined by C.F. Hockett in the 1950s in a sense that covered the entire relation between representations of sentences in terms of morphemes and their representations in terms of phonemes.”<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> D. A. Burquest and D. L. Payne, *Phonological Analysis: A Functional Approach*, Published by The Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1993, p 59.

<sup>26</sup> P. H. Matthews, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1997, p 233.

3.1.5.11.8. There are also a large number of collective nouns in the Garo language a few of which are shown below<sup>24</sup>

### Collective Nouns

Classifier	Number	Word	English Meaning
<i>chokchim</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>chokchimsa</i>	Bunch of flowers & sometimes grape-like fruits,
<i>galwang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>galwangsa</i>	Bunch of bananas
<i>galne</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>galnesa</i>	A sheaf or bundle of thatching grass or reaped paddy
<i>jora</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>jorasa</i>	A pair of anything
<i>jak</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>jaksa</i>	Pages / a herd of cows, pigs, etc.
<i>jakchom</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>jakchomsa</i>	A handful
<i>jakep</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>jakepsa</i>	One (closed) fistful
<i>ja bak</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ja baksa</i>	A pile of systematically arranged firewood
<i>ol</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>olsa</i>	Of bananas: one set of bananas
<i>sreng</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>srengsa</i>	Handful of hay
<i>cham</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>chamsa</i>	One set
<i>kok</i>	<i>gni</i>	<i>kokgni</i>	Two-basketsful

The examples given of Numeral morphemes in this section are only a few samples of the rich variety of classifiers found in the Garo language. The class of classifiers as defined here is an open one, when new needs arise, new classifiers can be added to the language. Borrowings are common, and new terms are being added everyday. Borrowing or loan words will be discussed in the fourth chapter on Garo Morphology.

<sup>24</sup> Collected from students and teachers in the NEHU Tura Campus.

‘Can you please give me three slices of bread’?

3.1.5.11.7. The following tables will give a clearer picture of the use of

Classifiers in the Garo language<sup>23</sup>:

Classifier	Number	Word	English Meaning
<i>sak</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>saksa</i>	One person
“	<i>gni</i>	<i>sakgni</i>	Two persons /people
“	<i>chi sa</i>	<i>ge chi sa</i>	Eleven numbers
<i>gil</i>	<i>dok</i>	<i>gildok</i>	Six slices
“	<i>sku</i>	<i>gilsku</i>	Nine slices
<i>ge</i>	<i>chikung</i>	<i>ge chikung</i>	Ten numbers
“	<i>sni</i>	<i>ge sni</i>	Seven numbers
<i>ding</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>dingsa</i>	One string
<i>mang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>mangsa</i>	Referring to animals and birds: one animal
<i>pang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pangsa</i>	Referring to plants: One plant
“	<i>bonga</i>	<i>pangbonga</i>	Five plants
<i>chang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>changsa</i>	One time (once)
“	<i>gni</i>	<i>changgni</i>	Two times (twice)
“	<i>bonga</i>	<i>changbonga</i>	Five times
<i>rong</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>rongsa</i>	Referring to fruits and stones mostly round ones: one fruit
“	<i>gni</i>	<i>ronggni</i>	Two fruits/stones/round things
<i>bak</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>baksa</i>	Chapter /section
<i>kru</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>krusa</i>	Measure from the thumb to the fingertips
<i>jakong</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>jakongsa</i>	One hand scoop
<i>king</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>kingsa</i>	One sheet (of paper/cloth)
<i>ja ku</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ja kusa</i>	One step
<i>ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ko sa</i>	Referring to one half or side of a cut betel nut or bamboo
<i>ku</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ku sa</i>	One mouthful/one word
<i>bil</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>bilsa</i>	One mighty effort
<i>smak</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>smaksa</i>	One lap/period of sleep
<i>sal</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>salsa</i>	One day
<i>rokom</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>rokomsa</i>	Of one kind
<i>ming</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>mingsa</i>	One nameable thing
<i>paksam</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>paksamsa</i>	One side of a piece
<i>salpak</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>salpaksa</i>	One (1 <sup>st</sup> or 2 <sup>nd</sup> ) half of the day

<sup>23</sup> Collected from various speakers of the language after consultations and discussions

### 3.5.1.0. Morphophonemic features in the Garo Language:

On the whole, Garo morphology is noted for its regularity. ‘The words and morphemes that join together to form words tend to be very stable, undergoing few changes from one context to the next.’<sup>27</sup> However, there are a few phonological variations conditioned by morphological features which will be considered here, such as variations in the emphasizing or foregrounding suffixes, reduplication, the influence of the glottal stop and so on.

#### 3.5.1.1. The emphasizing or foregrounding suffix:

The foregrounding suffixes *-n* and *-an* occur in different environments depending on whether they follow a closed or open syllable.

As stated by Robbins Burling ‘the Foregrounding *-an* is suffixed to a word that occurs in a closed syllable, that is, when the word ends in a consonant sound, we have the following the full form of the suffix, as in:

<i>Achak</i> + <i>-an</i>	<i>achakan</i>
<i>Nikme</i> + <i>-an</i>	<i>Nikmean</i>
<i>Dingjeng</i> + <i>-an</i>	<i>Dingjengan</i>

‘When the same morpheme is added to a word ending in an open syllable, however, the vowel is assimilated to the previous vowel and reduced in length, leaving at most a lengthened vowel. In fast speech the

<sup>27</sup> Robbins Burling, The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo); Vol I: Grammar, p 71.

vowel may hardly even be lengthened and the vowel can seem very nearly to disappear, so that the suffix almost reduces to a simple *-n*, as for example:

<i>na a</i> + <i>-an</i> (you+Frg)	<i>na an</i> ‘it is you (yourself) only’
<i>anga</i> + <i>-an</i> (I+Frg)	<i>angan</i> ‘it is me (myself)’
<i>ba ra</i> + <i>-an</i> (cloth+Frg)	<i>ba ran</i> ‘the cloth very /it is a cloth
<i>bia</i> + <i>-an</i> (he/she+Frg)	<i>bian</i> ‘it is he/she (himself/herself)
<i>chinga</i> + <i>-an</i> (we-incl+Frg)	<i>chingan</i> ‘we are the ones’

### 3.5.1.2. The influence of the glottal stop:

Elision of the glottal stop in the second syllable, especially when two different words are combined to form one word, as in:

*Cha a* ‘eat’ *ma n a* ‘finish’ becomes *cha mana* ‘finished eating’

*Re ba* ‘come’ *ma n a ha* ‘finished’ becomes *re bamanaha* ‘has arrived’

*re ang tok pil ai a*

go-all-return-just-Neut

‘(They) have all just gone away’

### 3.5.1.3. Reduplication:

Garo makes extensive use of reduplication. In particular, a large number of adverbs have reduplicated forms, as in:

*ta rak-ta rak* ‘quickly’

*ka sin-ka sin /ka sin-sin* ‘slowly’

*chrap-chrap* ‘in bunches, as fruits on a tree’

*den galgala* ‘to cut quickly, quickly’

*churikrika* ‘to get / grow higher and higher’

*bamgopgopa* ‘to bend down low’

Reduplicated nouns and adjectives are also found in plenty, as in:

*te rakrak* ‘small and cute, of a suitable size’

Numbers can also be reduplicated to give a distributive meaning, and they almost always occur with the relevant classifier, for instance:

*ge gni-gni* ‘two things/items each’

*rong gitam-gitam* ‘two round things, like potatoes, onions, etc.’

*mangsku-sku* ‘nine birds /animals each’

*gilbri-bri* ‘four slices each’

*saksni-sni* ‘seven persons each’

In purchasing or arranging something one would say

*Angna ge sku-sku chane ori atbo*

‘count seven each and give me’

*Balgitchak mangchet-chet cha amenga*

‘there are deer gazing eight in a group’

*Plakan processiono sakgni-gnidake re bo*

‘everyone should go two-by-two in the procession’

#### 3.5.1.4. The Accusative Case

As noted above in the section on case markers in chapter II (§ section 2.2.4.4.3.) the nominative case in Garo is mostly shown by the absence of a case marker. However, there are many conventionalized object-verb pairs, which when used in the indefinite sense do not take the Accusative case marker *-ko* especially, when it is used in the sense for which we generally use it, as seen in examples 301 to 306 which are repeated below to illustrate the point:

301. *mi cha·bo* ‘eat food’;

--- *am·bol sota* ‘cut wood’ and so on.

When *-ko* is added to them they have a definite meaning:

--- *miko cha·bo* ‘eat the rice (not only the potatoes or something else)’

--- *am·bolko sotbo* ‘cut the firewood (not something else)’.

There are many definite and indefinite expressions which contrast with each other by the addition or omission of *-ko* as in:

--- *kam rim·a* ‘work, do work’; *kamko rim·a* ‘do the work.’

306. *golpo agana* ‘tell a story’; *golpoko agana* ‘tell the story’.

3.5.1.5. The Genitive Case marker

As in the case of Accusatives, it is not always necessary to use the Genitive marker in colloquial speech, as in:

--- *ang (ni) ma·gipa* ‘my mother’

--- *ang (ni) pagipa*

--- *ang (ni) abi*

--- *ang(ni) atchu*

When referring to body parts also, the Genitive case marker need not always be used. As in:

---. *ang(ni) jak* ‘my hand’

---. *ang(ni) ok* ‘my stomach’

---. *ang(ni) nachi* ‘my ears’

### 3.5.1.6. Plural forms

As it has already been seen the plural suffixes *-rang*, *-mang* and *-drang* occur according to type of noun being pluralized. The plural suffix *-drang* in particular it may be noted, (§ 2. 2. 4. 2. 3.) occurs especially in nouns referring to family relationships, otherwise the plural suffix *-rang* is applied to all objects animate and inanimate, as for example:

*jongdrang* ‘younger brothers’

*nodrang* ‘younger sisters’

*su drang* ‘grandchildren’

*ma drang* ‘relations,

*jikdrang* ‘wives’

*dedrang* ‘children’

### 3. 5.1.7. Adjectives

As noted in the section on adjectives in chapter II, verbs and adjectives are not usually distinct from one another, however, sometimes. In order to clearly distinguish an adjective from a verb, the adjectival suffix *-gipa* may also be used in order to differentiate them. However, it may be mentioned again, that just as *-ko* and *ong-a* were optional and not always necessary except in writing, so also *-gipa* is not always necessary, except when one needs to be specific or needs to make a comparison, as in the

following: *nama*, ‘good’; *namgipa* ‘the good one’ *nambatgipa* ‘the better one’; *nambatsrangipa* ‘the best one’. This is however only in specific situations as mentioned above, otherwise *-gipa* is not added to an adjective / verb in ordinary speech. Adding *-gipa* makes it artificial, as one would just say *nama* ‘good’ not *namgipa* and *namja* ‘bad’ not *namgijagipa* in colloquial speech. It will also be noted, that when the suffix *-gipa* is affixed to the verb, the Neutral tense marker *-a* is automatically dropped out.

**CHAPTER IV**

**.OTHER WORD FORMATION PROCESSES**

## Chapter IV

### Other Word Formation Processes

Words are formed in the Garo language in many other ways besides Inflection and Derivation. Some of the other word formation processes are given below:

#### 4.1.0. Reduplication

Another process of deriving words in the Garo Language is Reduplication. Reduplication is a type of compound in which both elements in a word are the same, or only slightly different, e.g. goody-goody, wishy-washy, teeny-weeny;<sup>1</sup>

‘It is a morphological process in which the root or stem of a word, or only part of it is repeated...Reduplication is used both in inflections to convey a grammatical function, such as plurality, intensification, etc., and in lexical derivation to create new words. It is often used when a speaker adopts a tone more “expressive” or figurative than ordinary speech and is also often, but not exclusively, iconic.’<sup>2</sup>

The following example from a language in the Philippines will illustrate this better:

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<sup>1</sup> Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. [http://en.wikipedia.org/org/wiki/Morphology\\_\(linguistics\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/org/wiki/Morphology_(linguistics))

<sup>2</sup> from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.

## (Ilocano, Philippines)

Singular	Plural
<i>pingan</i> 'dish'	<i>pingpingan</i> 'dishes'
<i>talon</i> 'field'	<i>taltalon</i> 'fields' <sup>3</sup>

In reduplicated words there is a repetition of similar sounds in a word in a rhyming manner. The definition above presupposes the existence of a root or base word which is either fully or partially reduplicated. In the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*, we have the following definition of Reduplication.

Reduplication is "A morphological process by which all or part of a form is repeated. E.g. the Latin stem *momord-* (in *momordi* 'I bit') is derived from a root *mord-* by reduplication of the initial consonant and vowel: *mord-* → *mo-mord-*. This is a case of **partial reduplication**; in **complete reduplication** the whole form is repeated."<sup>4</sup>

#### 4.1.1.0. Reduplication in Garo

There are many Garo words in which the same syllable or syllables are repeated, and thereby convey the meaning intended. This seems to be a common feature, of many other related languages of the Bodo group, of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages, such as Rabha, Boro Kachari etc. For example:

<sup>3</sup> An Extract from the Lingual Links Library, Version 5.0 published on CD-ROM by SIL International.

<sup>4</sup> P. H. Matthews, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*, Oxford University Press, 1997, p 311-312.

<u>Garo</u>	<u>Boro</u> <sup>5</sup>	<u>Koch</u>
<i>maibamaiba</i> : some indefinite/ uncertain/secret(things)	<i>maba mabi</i> : something else	<i>aga maga</i> : this and that
<i>bo·rom bo·rom</i> : fat and round	<i>lodo lodo</i> : fat	
<i>il·eng pil·eng</i> : move about restlessly.	<i>phlin phlan</i> : loiter, move to and and fro	<i>pileng palang</i> : loiter about
<i>gipin gipin</i> : other different/various / (things).	<i>gilun gilun</i> : out of fear; with a fearful mind.	
<i>gop gop</i> : to eat the whole lot quickly and with pleasure.	<i>gob gob</i> : to eat speedily	<i>gable gable</i> : to eat ahead and quickly, with pleasure
<i>che·em che·em</i> : minutely; in detail.		<i>chem chem</i> : in minute detail
<i>siksik, saksak</i> : rustling; to be restless.		<i>siksik saksak</i> : feel uneasy
<i>salang walang</i> : day and night for 24 hours (so to say).		<i>talang walang</i> : to and fro

Reduplicated forms function basically as adverbs, adjectives, nouns adverbs. Examples of these in Garo are as follows:

Reduplicated adjectives:

With no change in the repeated section

<b>Word in Garo</b>	<b>English</b>
<i>brim brim</i>	striped; patched; mixed
<i>chichot chichot</i>	very wet; completely soaked;
<i>eng·ang eng·ang</i>	a hot stuffy day
<i>che·em che·em</i>	in minute detail
<i>rittap rittap</i>	following one after the other
<i>dran dran</i>	growing equally together
<i>chrap chrap</i>	hanging in big bunches
<i>tong·tang tong·tang</i>	in bits and pieces
<i>rokom rokom</i>	all kinds of things
<i>srang srang</i>	clearly without withholding anything
<i>riting riting</i>	one after the other, in a sequence, like a string
<i>te·rak te·rak</i>	in manageable portions
<i>mitchi mitchi</i>	dirty, messy
<i>chichot chichot</i>	very wet, completely soaked; as butterfly

<sup>5</sup> P.C. Bhattacharya, A Descriptive Analysis of the Boro Language

## Reduplicated adjectives:

with slight changes in vowels or consonants:

Word	English meaning
<i>Saro sacho</i>	sickly (adj)
<i>rotti rotta</i>	in small installments (adj /adv)
<i>bil·dik bil·dak</i>	entangled; at sixes and sevens (adj / adv)
<i>sorek sochek</i>	dirty
<i>sera bera</i>	messy; untidy
<i>a ograng chiograng</i>	aimless; with no weight or strength of character
<i>ku·sik miksik</i>	silent; with no communication

## Reduplicated Verbs:

Word	English meaning
<i>ga·tengtenga</i>	: to hop (v)
<i>ga·dangdanga</i>	: walk in long strides (v)
<i>ratchitchita</i>	: to cut criss-cross
<i>tusirekreka</i>	: have a deep sleep
<i>ka·dingwakwaka</i>	: to laugh loudly and heartily; to guffaw
<i>morekreka</i>	: to shake violently
<i>puripripa</i>	: to spread thinly

## Reduplicated Nouns:

Word	English meaning
<i>simsim samsam</i>	dusk, twilight (noun)
<i>Pring prang</i>	Morning star (Venus)
<i>eting etang</i>	The meaningless prattle of a child
<i>rittip rittap</i>	The sequence of sounds
<i>salang walang</i>	Day and night
<i>gipin gipin</i>	Other different things

## Adverbs

Many adverbs are formed by some sort of reduplication. Adverbs exhibit reduplication or partial reduplication, meaning that the same syllable or same sequence of syllables is repeated, sometimes with slight changes and sometimes from a single syllable, sometimes from a disyllable. Some have identical first and third syllables while the second and fourth are partially or entirely different. Some have identical second and fourth syllables while the first and third differ. Some end with an *-e*, and some have *-e* at the end of both the first and last half. The examples suggest some of the possibilities. The main stress is shown by an acute accent, while lesser stress, if any, is shown by a grave accent. As can be seen from the examples, the main stress falls on the final syllable, except that *-e*, like many noun and verb suffixes, does not attract the stress. An underlying two syllable word would have stress on its second syllable. When reduplicated, the main stress goes to the very end, but some residual stress remains at the end of the first half.<sup>6</sup>

Adverbs often occur immediately before the verb of a sentence, but they can also be placed earlier. As will become clear later, adverbs are

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<sup>6</sup> R.Burling, *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garó)*, Volume I: Grammar, p 65.

closely related to verbs, and they are often derived from verbs.<sup>7</sup> This had already been noted in the section on inflection in chapter II.

### Adverbs

#### With no change in the syllables repeated

Word	English meaning
<i>Che·ep che·ep</i>	: in a humiliating manner (adv)
<i>Gangcheng gangcheng</i>	: proudly (adv)
<i>Nengnang nengnang</i>	: dimly (adv)
<i>Ri·ra ri·ra</i>	: very brightly
<i>Simro simro</i>	: very slowly (adv)
<i>On·ti on·ti</i>	: little by little (adv)
<i>Ki·sang ki·sang</i>	: at the rear/at the back (adv)
<i>Mikkang mikkang</i>	: leading/ahead/at the fore (adv)

#### With a change or two

Word	English Meaning
<i>dikdikprak changprak</i>	: at brief intervals with stops and starts
<i>Ruru chuchu</i>	: untidily
<i>Timing timang</i>	: thoughtlessly; unconsciously; carelessly, impulsively
<i>ming·ming mang·mang</i>	: dizzy; fainting
<i>Kakket makket</i>	: honestly (adv)
<i>Timtim tamtam</i>	: (salvo; volley) recklessly
<i>nidik nisi</i>	: indecent (adv/adj)
<i>Bilding bildang</i>	: at sixes and sevens/disorderly (adv); in

Garo also has Reduplication of Onomatopoeic words, which are imitations of natural sounds, like the cry of birds, animals, and even human beings. Also, the sound of rivers and streams,, insects , vehicles, anything else that can be imitated by humans. Some the Onomatopoeic sounds in Garo are:

<sup>7</sup>R.Burling, *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)* , Volume I: Grammar, p.100-101.

**Reduplicated Onomatopoeic Words:**

Word	English meaning
<i>Chup chap</i>	: The sound of cockles
<i>Hop hop</i>	: the call of deer
<i>Gokarek gok</i>	: cock's crowing
<i>Uwek-uwek</i>	: pig's cry
<i>Jekjak</i>	: plastic bags which make a 'jekjak' sound when used and thus named <sup>8</sup> .
<i>Kek kek</i>	: sound of bones falling, clashing
<i>Dip dip</i>	: sound of a heavy object falling
<i>Hu hu</i>	: crying or laughing
<i>Ritip ritip</i>	: crunching sound produced while chewing bones.
<i>Krem krem</i>	: crunchy sound produced when chewing crunchy things like chips.
<i>Him him</i>	: sound produced while winnowing paddy, washing clothes or singing

**Reduplication of Numeral Morphemes**

*Mingprakprak, ge prakprak, rong prakprak, etc.*

*Rikit rikit*

*prak* can also be reduplicated to emphasize the distributive sense.

*Mande sakprakprakan antichina re·na am·engaha.*

Each and every man is getting ready to go to the market.

*Sakprakan ate gitchi ra·e r·ebabo.*

Each one should carry his implements (axe and hoe) and come.

*Pilaknan ruti ge·prakprak sualangkahakonba?*

I hope you have given a slice of bread to each and every person?

*Mes mangprakprakko chane nolo sikatbo.*

Count each sheep as you put them in the pen.

<sup>8</sup> Mrs. B. K. Sangma *Ku-sikni Bidingo Seanirang*, published by the author herself, p .

## Reduplication of Pronouns

### Indefinite Pronouns:

As already noted earlier in chapter two (II), in the section on Pronouns, the indefinite pronouns, '*saoba*', '*maiba*', '*gipin*' can be reduplicated as, *saoba saoba*; *maiba maiba* and *gipin gipin* and they express pluralisation, as in:

--- *saoba* 'someone' becomes pluralized as *saoba saoba* 'some';<sup>9</sup>

*daalde saoba saoba nangko nina rebatokenga*

today-Sub some-Redup (people) you-Acc see-Neutcome-all-Prog-

Neut

Some people are coming to see (meet) you today

--- '*gipin* 'another' becomes *gipin gipin* 'others '

*gipin gipin manderang angoni tangka bina rebaa*

others-Redup man-Pl I-Aug-Loc money ask-Inf come-Neut

Other people come to ask me for money

<sup>9</sup> Phillips, Rev. E.G., Outline Grammar of the Garo Language. Published by The Garo Literature Society, Tura, West Garo Hills, Meghalaya. 1988. First printed in 1904 by the Assam Secretariat Printing Office, p9.

### Reflexive Pronouns

Garo also has Reduplicated Reflexive Pronouns as already noted in chapter II, in the section on Pronouns, namely, *bisongtangtang*, *na·songtangtang*, *biatangtang* and *chingatangtang*, which mean that something is solely left to the persons concerned, that is, that something is solely your/their, his/her or our concern; so they/you, he/she or we should be left to their/your, his/her, our own devices. The examples given in chapter II are repeated here for clarification:

*Bisongtangtang*: ‘they themselves’

--- *Bisongtangtang jeba dakchina*  
 They-themselves-Refl anything do-Aug-Loc  
 ‘Let them do whatever they like (themselves) (3<sup>rd</sup> person plural)

*Na·songtangtang*: ‘you yourselves’

--- *Na·songtangtang re·angchimaibo*  
 You-yourselves-Refl go-all-just-Imp  
 ‘You all just go on your own’ (2<sup>nd</sup> person plural)

*Biatangtang*: ‘he/she himself/herself’

--- *Biatangtang katta ra·jaode maiko dakgen*  
 He/she-himself/herself-Refl word take-Neg-Sub what-Acc  
 do-Fut  
 ‘If he/she doesn’t listen, what can we do’ (2<sup>nd</sup> person singular)

*Chingatangtang*: ‘we ourselves’

--- *Chingatangtangsa nang·ni knaani ong·paja*  
 We-ourselves-only-Refl you-Gen hear-Nomz is-just-Neg  
 ‘It is our business only, not for you to know’ (Exclusive we, 1<sup>st</sup> person plural)

Each word it may be noted can form a sentence on its own, without anything else being added to it.

It may thus be noted that the Garo language is very rich in Reduplicated words in adverbs, adjectives, nouns, pronouns, verbs and even onomatopoeic words.

## Compounds

**4.2.0. Compounding** is a word formation process which takes place when two or more words are joined together to form a new one. This new word may be attributed a different meaning from that normally conveyed by the two words when they are used separately.<sup>10</sup> In the *Handbook of Morphology* edited by Spencer and Zwicky, we have the following definition,

“A compound is a word which consists of two or more words. For example, the Malay compound *mata-hari* ‘sun’ is a word which consists of two words: *mata* ‘eye’ and *hari* ‘day’. Compounds are subject to phonological and morphological processes, which may be specific to compounds or may be shared with other structures, whether derived words or phrases...”<sup>11</sup>

**4.2.1.0. TYPES OF COMPOUNDS:** there are several types of compounds, some of which are:

**4.2.1.1. Endocentric compounds:** Compounds which have a head are called ‘endocentric compounds’. A head of a compound has similar characteristics to the head of a phrase: it represents the core meaning of the constituent, and it is of the same word class. For example, in *sneak-thief*, *thief* is the head (a sneak-thief is a kind of thief; *thief* and *sneak-thief* are

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<sup>10</sup> B. War, *Compounding in Khasi*, a paper presented at a Seminar in the North Eastern Hill University, Shillong, 2007.

<sup>11</sup> Nigel Fabb, *Compounding*, Taken from the article written in *The Handbook of Morphology*, edited by Andrew Spencer and Arnold M Zwicky, Blackwell Publishers, 2001, p 66.

both nouns).<sup>12</sup> Another example is a *doghouse*, where *house* is the head and *dog* is the modifier, and the word is understood to be a house intended for a dog. Such compounds were called *karmadharaya* in the Sanskrit tradition.<sup>13</sup>

**4.2.1.2. Exocentric compounds:** ‘Compounds without a head are called ‘exocentric compounds’ or ‘*bahuvrihi*’ compounds (the Sanskrit name)’.<sup>14</sup> Their meaning often cannot be transparently guessed from its constituent parts. For example, the English compound *white-collar* is neither a kind of collar nor a white thing. In an exocentric compound, the word class is determined lexically, disregarding the class of the constituents. For example, a *must-have* is not a verb but a noun.<sup>15</sup>

**4.2.1.3.** Other types of compounds are **Genitive** compounds, made up of nouns and their constituents; **Coordinating** compounds which imply a linking expression; **Determinative**<sup>16</sup> Compounds, usually made up of nouns and their constituents, **Elided** compounds, in which syllables or vowel are elided, **Clipped and Blended** words which form new words from clipped parts of two different words and **Hybrids**, in which the elements are derived from different languages.

<sup>12</sup> Nigel Fabb, *Compounding*, Taken from the article written in *The Handbook of Morphology*, edited by Andrew Spencer and Arnold M Zwicky, Blackwell Publishers, 2001, p 66-67.

<sup>13</sup> From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

<sup>14</sup> Nigel Fabb *Compounding*, p 67.

<sup>15</sup> From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

<sup>16</sup> B. War, *Compounding in Khasi*

#### 4.2.2.0.      **Compounding in Garo**

There are several types of compounds found in the Garo language, namely, *Katta-Jikse* or Pair Words, Elided compounds and Hybrids.

##### 4.2.2.1.0.    **Katta - Jikse or Pair words in Garo**

An interesting feature in the Garo language is the vast number of pair words called *katta-jikse*, or *ku:jikse* which are very frequently used in the language. A *ku:jikse* comprises of two words which complement each other semantically, but each word can also be used independently, thereby distinguishing them from reduplicated words. *Katta-jikse* are words used in pairs and often made to rhyme, so that they not only make the meaning of a sentence clearer, but also embellish them by making them rhyme, so that they sound good to the ear as well and thereby, enriching the word as well as the sentence further. They are used very often in ordinary speech and form a rich part of the vocabulary. They occur very frequently in the spoken language and in the written form, though they are not used as often, but when they do so, they are used with great effect.

For example: *mia-misi* – which means ‘rice - millet’ both of which are life sustaining food grains and form the staple food of the Garos. In the cultivation cycle, both the food grains are given equal importance and are grown side by side. Millet matures first, followed by paddy, so the Garos, especially the poor, live on millet, till the paddy is ready. Rice and millet

therefore form the staple diet of the Garos especially for the poor who do not have a large enough land to have paddy for the whole year. Rice and millet thereby complement each other in the sustenance of life and are therefore often used together in speech and thereby form what is known as a *katta jikse*.

Another example is *rang-gam* - which means 'wealth' or 'household property'. A *rang* is a circular wide mouthed brass gong used in cultural dances by the *nokma* or 'head' of a village. *Rangs* once played an important role in the barter system in the ancient past. They were used the way coins are used now, that is, things were sold in *rangs*. So each trader had his own lot of *rangs*. As many *rangs* as one had, showed one's wealth. They were also used in funerals. *Gam* on the other hand meant 'wealth, riches or treasure'. So *rang and gam* were words which complemented each other and were used together in speech forming a *katta jikse*. *Katta-Jikse* compounds are formed in almost all classes / categories of words in Garo, namely, nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives a few examples of which are given below:

#### **Different categories of Katta-Jikse:**

##### **4.2.2.1.1. Nouns:**

<i>a·song – chiga</i>	: homeland; one's motherland
<i>ja·pang - ja·dil</i>	: with stock and roots, the source or origin

<i>ate - gitchi</i>	: axe and hoe
<i>mikkim – rasong</i>	: one with charisma or personality
<i>do·o- mat</i>	: fauna- all birds and animals. <sup>17</sup>
<i>a·bri-a·kong</i>	: hill and valley
<i>bida- budi</i>	: knowledge and intelligence

#### 4.2.2.1.2. Verbs:

<i>saa - ding·a</i>	: sickness and fever
<i>dol·a - bika</i> (it can also be used as a Noun):	a slip knot; a noose
<i>cha·sik - ringsik</i>	: eat a little and drink a little (nominally)
<i>chrok mesaa</i>	: dance and be happy.
<i>ge·a-gama</i>	: planting and cultivating
<i>kritā- amua</i>	: chanting in a religious ceremony
<i>on·rika-songrika</i>	: one to whom another partner is given after the death of one's spouse

#### 4.2.2.1.3. Adjectives:

<i>namabre - namjabre</i>	: moderate; not too bad
<i>duk - suk</i>	: a mixture of sorrows and joys
<i>gitcak – rimit</i>	: red and yellow
<i>rasongma – rabakma</i>	: a proud and arrogant person
<i>bilgri-jakgri</i>	: helpless and weak.
<i>pripri – prapra</i>	: to be scattered about
<i>wakeng-ku·keng</i>	: to be arrogant and rebellious.

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<sup>17</sup> A. G. Momin, Compound Words in Garo: Structure, Formation and Spelling, Seminar paper on the Standardization of the Written Aspect of the Garo Language: Newly Coined words in Garo, Published by SCERT, Shillong (1994), p. 17.

#### 4.2.2.1.4. Adverbs:

*salang - walang* : day and night; whole day, whole night

*il-eng-pi-leng*(can also be used as a Noun) : restlessly move about.

It may be noted from the example given above, that many of the pair words are reduplicated either fully or partially. Also that the meaning of the two different words are either synonymous like *il-eng-pi-leng* ‘move’ and ‘turn’ or antonymous like *namabre – namjabre* ‘good-bad / moderate’ and *salang – walang* ‘day and night’. All these different features add to the charm and meaning of *Katta-Jikse* or ‘pair words.’

#### 4.2.2.2.0. Blended words

In blending two words merge into each other, e. g. *brunch* (from ‘breakfast’ + ‘lunch’), *telex* (‘teleprinter’ + ‘exchange’). Clark, Eschholz, and Rosa, give the following definition of blending,

“Blending is a combination of clipping and compounding, which makes new words by putting together fragments of existing words in new combinations. It differs from derivation in that the elements thus combined are not morphemes at the time the blends are made, though they may become so afterward as a result of the blending process, especially if several blends are made with the same element and the phenomenon of *false etymology* is present.”<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Virginia P. Clark, Paul A. Eschholz and Alfred F. Rosa, Language: Introductory Readings. Published by The Macmillan Press Ltd. Fifth Edition., 1994, pp 376-377.

Garó has many words that are blended in this manner, for example:

<i>samsepa</i> ( <i>samsi</i> + <i>siksepa</i> ) → grass+squeeze in	grass squeezed into the bark of a tree in a ceremony for cultivation <sup>19</sup>
<i>chinap</i> ( <i>chi</i> + <i>napa</i> ) water + enters	underground flow of a stream or river
<i>nokgit</i> ( <i>nok</i> + <i>itroka</i> ) house + sweep	broom
<i>a:gital</i> ( <i>a:a</i> + <i>gital</i> ) earth + new	virgin (uncultivated) soil
<i>ku:patia</i> ( <i>ku:sikchi</i> <i>pattia</i> ) with mouth + advice	give advice
<i>jabirong</i> ( <i>jagring</i> + <i>ni</i> (Gen)+ <i>birong</i> ) shadow+axis	soul / life / a ghost!
<i>songgital</i> ( <i>song</i> + <i>gital</i> ) village+ new	new village
<i>songgitcham</i> ( <i>song</i> + <i>gitcham</i> ) village + old	old village
<i>ku siliting</i> ( <i>ku sik</i> + <i>siliting</i> ) mouth+ string	telephone
<i>a:songmong</i> ( <i>a:song</i> + <i>mongsong</i> )→ ‘country+main’	continent
<i>wal·imkol</i> ( <i>wa·al</i> + <i>a·kol</i> ) → ‘fire+hole	volcano <sup>20</sup>
<i>silkamal</i> ( <i>sil</i> + <i>kamal</i> ) iron + priest (worker)	ironsmith
<i>silkam</i> ( <i>silni</i> + <i>kamka·chakani</i> ) iron+on which one works	anvil
<i>kajangjot</i> ( <i>kaa</i> + <i>jang·jot</i> ) to tie +in a knot at the centre	to tie something in a knot, for example a belt at the waist, or a cloth around the chest.
<i>mika·sin</i> ( <i>mi</i> + <i>ka·sin</i> )rice + cold (left-over)	cold left-over rice/cold-rice
<i>Ku siliting</i> ( <i>ku sik</i> + <i>siliting</i> ) mouth + thread/string	telephone
<i>ma gital</i> ( <i>ma a</i> + <i>gital</i> ) mother + new	new mother (refers to all creatures which have their first born)

<sup>19</sup> Most of the following words are taken from the book of Winnish K. Sangma A·chik Kattarang. Published by the author, Fourth Edition 2002, p.14.

<sup>20</sup> Venibabe N. Sangma, Seminar paper on the Standardization of the Written Aspect of the Garó Language: Newly Coined words in Garó, Published by SCERT, Shillong (1994), p.20

Names of people:

Girls: Girls names usually end with *-chi, -me, -se, -je, -na/-no,* and *-sil* etc, and this way one can make a distinction between a boy and a girl, as for instance:

<i>Nokchi (nokna + me·chik)</i> house +girl	girl for the house
<i>Silme(silgipa+mechik)</i> beautiful + girl	a beautiful girl
<i>Teng·me(teng·gipa mechik)</i> shining +girl	a shining girl
<i>Seng·me(seng·gipa+ me·chik)</i> intelligent + girl	an intelligent girl
<i>Gunme(gun gnanggipa +me·chik)</i> quality+girl	girl of quality

Boys names (usually emphasize brightness, strength, steadiness, good looks and so on):

<i>Man·seng (man·a + senga)</i> get+ intelligent	a child who has intelligence
<i>Teng·man(teng·a + man·a)</i> brightness+get	may the child be bright
<i>Teng·rik (teng·a + rika)</i> bright + build	building brightness (continually)
<i>Pangrak (bipang + rakka)</i> tree + strong	a strong tree
<i>Seng·man (seng□a + man□a)</i> intelligent + get	a man of intelligence

## Place names:

<i>Chitoktak (chi +toktak)</i> water + drip in drops	Place where water drips in drops also called Spring Hills.
<i>Nikwatgre (nikwata+ gre)</i> lookout + village /place /point	An area / hamlet / settlement which commands a view of the surrounding areas

<i>Chibragre</i> ( <i>chi+bra+gre</i> )	water + pour/confluence + village/place	Place/village of a Confluence of waters (an important tourist spot near Tura, Garo Hills)
<i>Rong-matchok</i> ( <i>ro·ong+ matchok</i> )	stone + deer	Stone Deer Village
<i>Matchakolgre</i> ( <i>matcha+kol+ gre</i> )	tiger+hole+village	Tiger-cave/hole village
<i>Te·teng A·ja</i> ( <i>Te·teng +a·ja</i> )	elf +village / place	Elf-village / place

#### 4.2.2.3.0. Hybrid Words

Hybrids are words formed from elements that derive historically from different languages: e. g. *amoral*, with a negative prefix (*a-*) from Greek and the rest from Latin.<sup>21</sup> Garo has enriched self with Loan words taken from Indic as well as from English sources. It has also adapted these words so well into the language that it has also formed many types of Hybrid words. A few examples of some of these are:

#### 4.2.2.3.1. English + Garo:

<i>motorwak</i> ( <i>motor + wak</i> )	motor + boar (wild)	bulldozer (called wild boar motors because they came during the Second World War, and as they drove on left tire marks like the footprints of boar, so were compared to wild boar.
<i>Overbadea</i> ( <i>Over + badea</i> )		overdoing something. Over = English, <i>badea</i> =Garo meaning to cross over or to do more than necessary (used only in a jocular manner).
<i>Runrunkata</i> ( <i>Run + katta</i> )	run +run	to run

<sup>21</sup> P. H. Matthews, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*, OUP, 1997, p 166.

<i>Meeting tom·a</i> (meeting+ <i>tom·a</i> )	meeting+meeting	to have a meeting
<i>Picnic cha·a</i> (picnic+ <i>cha·a</i> )	picnic+eat	to have a picnic
<i>Doublegni</i> (double+ <i>gni</i> )	double+ two	a pair

#### 4.2.2.3.2. English + Garoised-Indic word:

<i>Gatepul</i> ( <i>gate+phul</i> (indic word))	gate + flower	Bougainvillea
<i>Pich pol</i> ( <i>pich +pol</i> )	peach+fruit	peach fruit

#### 4.2.2.3.3. Garo + Indic words:

<i>Aganchalaigipa</i> ( <i>agan+chalai+gipa</i> ) (speak + drive +adjectiviser)		speaker / chairman <sup>22</sup>
<i>toptop gari</i> ( <i>toptop +gari</i> ) (engine sound of the vehicle + car)		motorbike / motorcycle
<i>A·chik Songbad</i> ( <i>A·chik+Songbad</i> ) (Garo+ newspaper)		Garo Newspaper

#### 4.2.2.3.4. Indic + Garo word:

<i>chalaigipa</i> ( <i>chalai+ gipa</i> ) (driver+ adjectiviser)		driver
<i>chapidilmong</i> ( <i>chapa +dil +mong</i> ) (bind + lead+the main root)		volume (of books) or eldest / head of a family.
<i>chagitchak</i> ( <i>cha + gitcak</i> )	tea + red	red tea
<i>sulbisikrang</i> ( <i>sul +bisikrang</i> )	music + instruments	musical instruments

#### 4.2.2.3.5. Indic + English:

<i>garijam</i> ( <i>gari +jam</i> )	car + jam	car jam/ traffic jam
<i>Pich pol</i> ( <i>pich +pol</i> )	peach+fruit	peach fruit

<sup>22</sup> most of the following words have been collected from Mr. L. R. Marak on Saturday, the 14<sup>th</sup> 07. 07.

#### 4.3.0. Elided words

Elision is a process in which a syllable or sound (vowel or consonant), is omitted in the course of speech, as for instance *trav 'ling* instead of *travelling*, *sleepin'*, instead of *sleeping*, *hap'nin*, instead of *happening* and so on. These are called elided words.

There are many such elided words in Garo. There is a regular process of elision in words such as *p'lak* instead of *pilak*, *smila* instead of *simila*, in which the vowel / i / is elided when / i / occurs between the consonant clusters such as / s / and another consonant which follows it or when it occurs between /p/ and /l/ as seen above.

Other processes are the elision of cases such as the Objective, Genitive and locative cases:

Genitives have the final morpheme *-ni*

Locatives have the final morphemes *-oni or -ona; -chini or -china*.

Also, when two identical vowel sounds occur together with the glotal stop, one of the vowel sounds is elided e.g. *a·a gital = a·gital*; *ma·gital = ma·a gital* 'new mother' (said of humans as well as animals. Some examples are taken mostly from the Garo Hymn book which can be taken as a standard:

<u>Elided word</u>	<u>Full form</u>	<u>English Meaning</u>
<i>Galili'chi</i>	<i>Galilini-chi</i>	the water(s) of Galilee
<i>do-o'ni</i>	<i>do-orangni</i>	of the birds
<i>bu-sun'bu-suni</i>	<i>bu-suni mukut</i>	a crown of thorns
<i>norok'rama</i>	<i>norokni rama</i>	the way to hell
<i>an-chitang'</i>	<i>an-chitangko</i>	ones own blood
<i>ka-sapabo'ne</i>	<i>ka-sapabochimne</i>	Please have pity
<i>nang'</i>	<i>nangni</i>	your's
<i>salgin'</i>	<i>salgiona / salgichina</i>	to / towards heaven
<i>ka-sa'</i>	<i>ka-saa</i>	Love
<i>miksonga'san</i>	<i>miksonganisan</i>	intention only
<i>p'lak</i>	<i>pilak</i>	all
<i>pring'</i>	<i>pringni / pringo</i>	of the morning / in the morning
<i>b'laksranggipa</i>	<i>bilaksranggipa</i>	the strong one
<i>torom'rama</i>	<i>toromni rama</i>	the way of the holy
<i>salgin'</i>	<i>salgini</i>	of / from heaven
<i>sian'sal</i>	<i>siani sal</i>	the day of death
<i>ruut'o</i>	<i>ruutbeo</i>	when it is late
<i>in'</i>	<i>ini</i>	of this one
<i>un'</i>	<i>uni</i>	of that one
<i>angnin</i>	<i>angnian</i>	It is mine
<i>katchaan'</i>	<i>katchaani</i>	happiness
<i>janggin'</i>	<i>janggini</i>	of life
<i>'bri</i>	<i>a-bri</i>	hill
<i>rongtal'wal</i>	<i>rongtalani / rongtalgipa wal</i>	Holy night
<i>tom-tom'wal</i>	<i>tom-tomani / tom-tomgipa wal</i>	Silent night
<i>an-mesaka(an:gil +mesaka)</i>	skin + itches	itchy skin

## Other words formed by elision and telescoping:

<i>ka·galwata</i> ( <i>ka·saoniko watgala</i> ) love + release	to leave off or stop loving
<i>ja·skil</i> ( <i>ja·a+bigil</i> ) leg + cover	toe nail
<i>jakskil</i> ( <i>jak + bigil</i> ) hand + cover	finger nail <sup>23</sup>
<i>ja·kora</i> ( <i>ja·a + kora</i> ) → 'leg + cripple'	a person with a crippled leg /a cripple
<i>jakkora</i> ( <i>jak + kora</i> ) → 'hand + cripple'	a person with a crippled hand / handicapped <sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> contributed by Robbins Burling in a consultative session in February 2004 / 2005

<sup>24</sup> B. K. Sangma, *Ku-sikni Bidingo Seanirang*. Published by the author, 2005, p.22.

#### 4.4.0. Loan words

Every language has its own rich vocabulary. So does Garo. It has vocabulary sufficient for its own culture and way of life. The Garos have names for all the objects of nature, the sun, moon, and stars; birds, animals, trees, fruits and all the flora and fauna seen in their surroundings. They have their own names for all the rivers, hills, valleys and bodies of water in the hills and plains of Garo Hills and throughout the path of their migration. They have poetic narrations of their migration handed down by their forefathers - of conflicts, victories and losses and of all their renderings; of prosperity and calamity, of achievements and disasters. They also have terms for all objects of use, of tools, implements and items used for construction, cultivation and other kinds of productive activities. The language has sufficient vocabulary to express emotions of joy and sorrow, pain and fear, as well as jubilation and lamentation. It has a rich store of wise sayings and proverbs, as well as different styles of narrative and poetic expressions to suit every occasion, be it sacrificial rites, marriage ceremonies, songs of joy, lamentation of the dead, worship of the deities, and descriptions of sacred objects and so on.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> As stated by Proff. C.R. Marak, Head, Department of Garo, NEHU, Tura Campus, Tura. 14<sup>th</sup> Feb. 2007.

Garó has a rich vocabulary as has already been seen in the paragraph above. It is not a static, but a vibrant and dynamic language and continues to develop, adapting to the needs of the present day.

Being a vibrant and dynamic language its contact with other languages brought it further enrichment. Just as the English language took ideas and names from Latin and other languages, the Garos borrowed words from other languages when they came across materials or ideas which they themselves did not have. Garó vocabulary has many loan words from Indo Aryan languages, namely, Assamese, Bengali and Hindi, such as, *rel gari* 'train', *gure* 'horse' and *somoi* the abstract concept of time. From English they have *tebil* 'table', *lem* 'lamp', *lenten* 'lantern', *skul* 'school', *bawel* 'vowel', *biskut* 'biscuit', *Baibel* 'Bible' *klas*, 'class' *mep*, 'map', *telepon* 'telephone' *repot* 'report' *jiro* 'zero' and so on . Other examples of words of Indic origin, taken either from Assamese, Bengali or Hindi, are: *lap* 'profit'; *aro* 'and'; *chaki* 'light' and *orto* 'meaning'. What they did not manufacture or make themselves, they borrowed or coined from other languages, such as, *almari* (almirah), *chatta* (umbrella), also items of building such as *iron rot* 'iron rods', *turi* 'hammer', *ita* 'bricks'; crockery – *peris* 'saucer' *kap* 'cup' and *ketli* 'kettle', musical instruments - *sarenda* 'fiddle' and items for writing such as *kolom*, 'pen', *lekha* 'paper', *pencil*, *pen*, and *kitab* or *bohi* for 'book' and so on.

**Loan words in Garo:**

The words given below are written according to the standard / Garo-ised spelling and pronunciation, (though changes are coming here too), with the spread of education and the awareness created thereby, many educated Garos now prefer the correct spelling and pronunciation of the borrowed word, especially of English words. They also prefer to call themselves *A·chiks* rather than Garos, so the word *A·chik* will be used below to refer to Garo words instead of *Garo*.

Loan Words have been taken from many different aspects of life according to the situation, the circumstances and the need of the times. Thus, words have been borrowed from some of the areas of life stated below:

**Science and technology:** The *A·chiks* have their own indigenous agricultural tools and implements of daily use such as *atte* ‘dao’ *gitchi* ‘hoe’ *matta* ‘a pointed stake’ *cholge* ‘a traditional hoe’ and so on; however, since they took wet cultivation from the people in the plains, the terms for these were borrowed along with the practice. Some of the oldest borrowings which were mostly Indic words are as follows:

Agricultural terms (Nouns):

Of Indic Origin	Source	Original Meaning	A-chik Meaning
<i>nangol</i>	from <i>langol</i>	Plough	Plough
<i>loru</i>	from <i>lathi</i>	a stick for driving cattle	a stick for driving cattle
<i>joru</i>	from <i>joru</i>	harness that yokes two oxen together	harness that yokes two oxen together
<i>hal</i>	from <i>hal</i>	plough	plough
<i>kodal / godal</i>	from <i>kodali</i>	hoe	hoe
<i>biga / bikha</i>	from <i>beegha</i>	an area/measurement of land	an area /measurement of land
<i>pal</i>	from <i>phal</i>	ploughshare	ploughshare
<i>jungal</i>	from <i>juolee</i>	harness that yokes two oxen together	harness that yokes two oxen together

Other terms of Indic origin:

Of Indic Origin	Source	Original Meaning	A-chik Meaning
<i>chak-ka</i>	from <i>chaaka</i>	wheel	wheel
<i>gari</i>	from <i>gaari</i>	car	vehicle
<i>turi</i>	from <i>haturi</i>	hammer	hammer
<i>gojal</i>	from <i>gajal</i>	nail	nail
<i>gori</i>	from <i>ghari</i>	watch	watch
<i>tamasa</i>	from <i>tamaasha</i>	drama	drama
<i>malis</i>	from <i>maalish</i>	massage	massage
<i>bijoli</i>	from <i>bijli</i>	electricity	electricity (this replaced the original Garo word <i>Goera</i> referring to the God of thunder and lightning and later <i>bijoli</i> itself was in turn replaced by the English word (electricity) as <i>elektrik</i> )

Later borrowings mostly from English: All vehicles, machines and new apparatus were taken over with the names for their mechanisms. For

instance, tractor, bus, truck, engine, steering wheel, driver, mechanic, handyman, conductor, *natu* (nut), *boltu* (bolt), etc. Also the names for various types of electrical and other types of gadgets, such as, radio, gramophone, tape or tape recorder, TV, Xerox, computer, ultrasound, x-ray, current, electric, phone, tax, typewriter, photo, record, cassette, cinema, film, video tape, video camera, rocket, ceiling fan, calculator, loom, mike (microphone), machine, satellite, (rice) mill, *boma* (bomb), etc., the list is endless.

**Food and drink:** Locally available and native to the land are items like *e-ching* ‘ginger’, *kari* ‘salt’, *ja-lik* ‘chilly’ and *karchi* a native spice made from the ashes of burnt food items like fruit peels, tree barks’, etc; almost all vegetables like *me-su* ‘vegetable’, *me-a* ‘bamboo shoot’, and *samskal* ‘Burmese dhanian’, etc., have native terms, except those imported from outside. For example:

Of Indic Origin	Source	Original Meaning	A-chik Meaning
<i>mosila</i>	from <i>masala</i>	spices	spices
<i>elachi</i>	from <i>elaichi</i>	cardamon	cardamon
<i>long</i>	from <i>labanga</i>	clove	clove
<i>dalchini</i>	from <i>dalchini</i>	cinnamon	cinnamon
<i>jeera</i>	from <i>jeera</i>	cumin seeds	cumin seeds
<i>dhonia / dunia</i>	from <i>dhanian</i>	coriander leaf	coriander leaf
<i>gulmoris</i>	from <i>gul marich</i>	pepper	pepper
<i>tespat</i>	from <i>tejpat</i>	bay leaf	bay leaf
<i>pudina</i>	from <i>padeena</i>	mint leaf	mint leaf
<i>sof</i>	from <i>saunf</i>	fennel	fennel

**Fish:** the native name for fish in Garo is *na·tok*, and the names of different kinds of fish in Garo begin with the morpheme *na·-* as in fresh water fish such as, *na·chi*, *na·spo*, *na·rim*, *na·ka* and so on; however, the names of many other types of fish have been borrowed from Indic languages. For instance:

Of Indic Origin	Source	Original Meaning	<i>A·chik</i> Meaning
<i>ro</i>	from <i>rahu</i>		a kind of Carp fish
<i>aiir</i>	from <i>aier</i>		a tasty, bony fish
<i>milika</i>	from <i>mirka</i>		a tasty fresh-water fish
<i>paboa</i>	from <i>pabda</i>		a kind of scale less small fish
<i>ilis / hilsa</i>	from <i>hilsa</i>		a tasty kind of sea fish
<i>kusia</i>	from <i>kutchia</i>		an eel-like fish also called <i>na rima</i> or <i>asinta</i> in Garo

### Food and drink:

Of English Origin	Source	Original Meaning	<i>A·chik</i> Meaning
<i>kopi / kofi</i>	from coffee	coffee	coffee
<i>kerot / karot</i>	from carrot	carrot	carrot
<i>lechu</i>	from leechie (Chinese?)	lichi	leechie
<i>appil</i>	from apple	apple	apple
<i>greps</i>	from grapes	grapes	grapes
<i>kek / keik</i>	from cake	cake	cake
<i>biskut / biskit</i>	from biscuit	biscuit	biscuit
<i>kol dring</i>	from cold drink	cold drink	cold drink
<i>salat</i>	from salad	salad	salad
<i>pis</i>	from peas / peach	peas / peach	peas / peach
<i>bins</i>	from beans	beans	beans
<i>kontinental</i>	from continental	continental	continental
<i>Chainis</i>	from Chinese	Chinese	Chinese

**Clothes:**

<b>Of Indic Origin</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Original Meaning</b>	<b>A-chik Meaning</b>
<i>tupi</i>	from <i>topi</i>	cap / hat	cap / hat
<i>chola</i>	from <i>choli</i>	blouse	a dress / blouse
<i>juta</i>	from <i>jota</i>	shoe	shoe
<i>chosima</i>	from <i>chasma</i>	spectacles	spectacles
<i>genji</i>	from <i>ganji</i>	vest	vest
<i>sari</i>	from <i>saree</i>	saree	saree
<i>salwar / sarwar</i>	from <i>salwar</i>	salwar	salwar
<i>lungi</i>	from <i>lungi</i>	lungi / sarong	lungi / sarong
<i>duti</i>	from <i>dhoti</i>	loin cloth	loin cloth
<i>lengti / rengti</i>	from <i>lengti</i>	the same (loin cloth)	the same
<i>chadol</i>	from <i>chadar</i>	chaddar	chaddar
<b>Of English Origin</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Original Meaning</b>	<b>A-chik Meaning</b>
<i>shart</i>	shirt	shirt	shirt
<i>pen</i>	pant	pant	pant
<i>jins</i>	jeans	jeans	jeans
<i>bek</i>	bag	bag	bag
<i>sendil / sandal</i>	sandals	sandals	sandals
<i>jeket</i>	jacket	jacket	jacket
<i>kot</i>	coat	coat	coat

**Furniture** (terms of house construction, utilization of the house, compartments etc.):

<b>Of Indic Origin</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Original Meaning</b>	<b>A-chik Meaning</b>
<i>jompol</i>	from <i>jampar</i>	crowbar	crowbar. Also called <i>cholge</i> in Garo
<i>kodali / kodal</i>	from <i>kodaah</i>	hoe	hoe
<i>haturi / turi</i>	from <i>haturi</i>	hammer	hammer
<i>gojal</i>	from <i>gajaal</i>	nail	nail
<i>korat</i>	from <i>karaat</i>	saw	saw
<i>babilsi</i>	from <i>baburchi</i>	kitchen	kitchen
<b>Of English Origin</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Original Meaning</b>	<b>A-chik Meaning</b>
<i>rum</i>	room	room	room
<i>barandah</i>	verandah	verandah	verandah
<i>ciling</i>	ceiling	ceiling	ceiling
<i>siting rum</i>	sitting room	sitting room	sitting room
<i>dining rum</i>	dining room	dining room	dining room
<i>kitchin</i>	kitchen	kitchen	kitchen

**Legal terms:**

<b>Of Indic Origin</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Original Meaning</b>	<b>A-chik Meaning</b>
<i>ukil / adboket</i>	from <i>vakil</i> (Urdu-Persian)	lawyer / advocate	lawyer or advocate
<i>kalas</i>	from <i>khalasi</i>	released / liberated	confiscation
<i>bon</i>	from <i>bandh</i>	close	strike / rock block
<i>bondobos ka-a</i>	from <i>bandobast</i>	make arrangements	an arrangement
<i>mokordoma</i>	from <i>makardama</i> (Urdu-Persian)	a case / lawsuit	a lawsuit / case
<i>kajina</i>	from <i>khajna</i>	tax	tax
<i>patok</i>	from <i>pathak</i> (Urdu-Persian)	prison	prison
<i>sima</i>	from <i>seema</i>	a boundary line	
<i>ari</i>	from <i>aari</i>	a demarcating line, a boundary	
<i>niam</i>	from <i>niyam</i>	rule	
<b>Of English Origin</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Original Meaning</b>	<b>A-chik Meaning</b>
<i>karptu / karfiu</i>	curfew	curfew	curfew
<i>apil</i>	an appeal	an appeal	an appeal in court
<i>bendor</i>	a vendor	a vendor one who sells vegetables	one who writes legal or newspapers documents for people at the District Council Court
<i>len settlemen officer</i>	land settlement officer	land settlement officer	land settlement officer
<i>rebinue officer</i>	Revenue officer	Revenue officer	Revenue officer
<i>mep</i>	map	map	map

**Administrative terms:**

Almost all the administrative terms in Garo are of Urdu-Persian origin, though they have come into Garo either through Assamese or Bengali source and are therefore described as being of Indic origin.

Of Indic Origin	Source	Original Meaning	<i>A-chik</i> Meaning
<i>sorkari</i>	from <i>sarkari</i>	government	(the same)
<i>hakim</i>	from <i>haakim</i>	administrator	(the same)
<i>sason</i>	from <i>saashan</i>	governance, rule or control	(the same)
<i>elaka</i>	from <i>elaaka</i>	jurisdiction, dominion	(the same)
<i>bichal</i>	from <i>vichar</i>	a judgement or trial	(the same)
<i>kachari</i>	from <i>kachaari</i> court	A govt court	(the same)
<i>zamindar</i>	from <i>zamindar</i>	a landowner	(the same)
<i>biga</i>	from <i>beegha</i>	a measurement of land	(the same)
<i>sakki</i>	from <i>saakshi</i>	a witness	a witness
<i>dorkasto</i>	from <i>darkhasta</i>	an application	an application
<i>nalish</i>	from <i>nalish</i>	a report or complaint given	(the same)
<i>rai</i>	from <i>rai</i>	a judgment; decree; also opinion	(the same)
<i>hokum</i>	from <i>hukum</i>	permission	permission
<i>sason</i>	from <i>saashan</i>	govern	to govern
<i>sohi</i>	from <i>sahi</i>	signature	signature

Of English origin: names of offices, officers, official posts, councils, assemblies etc are mostly taken from English sources, as follows:

Of English Origin	Source	Original Meaning	<i>A-chik</i> Meaning
<i>DC/disi</i>	DC	Deputy Commissioner	DC
SP	SP	Superintendent of Police	SP
<i>megistret</i>	magistrate	magistrate	magistrate
<i>Gobormen</i>	government	government	government
<i>pulis</i>	police	police	police
<i>sipai</i>	from sepoy	soldier	soldier
<i>belot pepar</i>	ballot paper	ballot paper	ballot paper
<i>spikar</i>	speaker	speaker	speaker
<i>kampensesin</i>	compensati	compensation	compensation
<i>supsidi</i>	subsidy	subsidy	subsidy
<i>ares</i>	arrest	arrest	arrest
<i>warran</i>	warrant	warrant	warrant
<i>notis</i>	notice	notice	notice
<i>somon</i>	summons	summons	a summons
<i>miting</i>	meeting	meeting	a meeting

**Religious and philosophical terms:**

<b>Of Indic Origin</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Original Meaning</b>	<b>A-chik Meaning</b>
<i>Torom</i>	from <i>dharm</i>	religion	holy living/religion
<i>toromi</i>	from <i>dharmi</i>	a holy man	one who lives a holy and religious life
<i>salgi</i>	from <i>swarg</i>	heaven	heaven
<i>norok</i>	from <i>narak</i>	hell	hell
<i>pap</i>	from <i>paapah/paap</i>	sin	sin
<i>pappi</i>	from <i>paapi</i>	sinner	sinner
<i>isol</i>	from <i>iswar</i>	God	God
<i>git</i>	from <i>geet</i>	Hymn / song	Hymn / song
<i>Niam-Sunduk</i>	from <i>niyam</i>	law/rule	Ark of the Covenant
<i>Sastro</i>	from <i>sashtra</i>	Bible	Bible
<i>odai</i>	from <i>adhyai</i>	chapte	chapter
<i>pot</i>	from <i>podh</i>	verse	verse
<i>Niam Gital</i>	from <i>niyam</i>	law/rule	New Testament <i>Gital</i> means 'new' in Garo
<i>Niam Gitcham</i>		law/rule	Old Testament <i>Gitcham</i> means 'old' in Garo
<i>gilja</i>	from <i>girja</i>	church	church
<b>Of English Origin</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Original Meaning</b>	<b>A-chik Meaning</b>
<i>Adom</i>		Adam	Adam
<i>Gabrel (sa:gre)</i>		Gabriel (angel)	Gabriel(angel)
<i>Baibel</i>		Bible	Bible
<i>soitan</i>		satan	satan
<i>diabol</i>		devil	devil

**Medical terms:**

The Garo word for medicine *sam* is native and refers to all plants in general. This is because the ancients, who knew their value, regarded all plants as having medicinal qualities, therefore, all plants were taken as medicinal herbs, and this native word *sam* is still used to refer to medicine even today. There are many other ideas in modern medicine however, which were new to a Garo and he therefore borrowed fully whatever he

could not find in his own language. Thus we have words like the following:

Of Indic Origin	Source	Original Meaning	<i>A-chik</i> Meaning
<i>Kalazar</i>	from <i>kala+zar</i>	black fever	black fever
<i>Holdiasop</i>	from <i>holdi+asukh</i>	jaundice	jaundice
<i>tikka</i>		vaccination	vaccination
<i>oja</i>	from <i>ojha</i>	one who treats the sick	one who treats the sick
<i>najol (najar)</i>		the evil eye	evil eye
<i>komjuri</i>		weak, anaemic	weak, anaemic
<i>beji</i>		needle / injection	needle
<i>guli</i>		pill / bullet	pill / bullet
<i>titanus</i>		tetanus	tetanus
Of English Origin	Source	Original Meaning	<i>A-chik</i> Meaning
<i>Hospital</i>		hospital	(the same)
<i>Dakdor / daktor</i>		doctor	(the same)
<i>opareson</i>		operation	(the same)
<i>injeksin</i>		injection	(the same)
<i>Tibi</i>		TB /consumption	(the same)
<i>Pibar /pibal</i>		fever	(the same)
<i>Malaria</i>		malaria	(the same)
<i>Taiport</i>		Typhoid	(the same)
<i>Kolera</i>		Cholera	(the same)
<i>Gestrick</i>		gastric	(the same)
<i>Sonographi</i>		sonography	(the same)
<i>Ultrasoun</i>		ultrasound	(the same)
<i>blood tes</i>		blood test	(the same)
<i>Eksre</i>		X-ray	(the same)
<i>Plastar</i>		plaster	(the same)
<i>Dispensari</i>		dispensary	(the same)

**Educational terms:** Almost all words in Education are borrowed either from Indic or English sources. The older terms mainly being of Indic origin and the latest from English; and often, as in many other cases, with the advancement of Education among Garos, the words of Indic sources were replaced by English words. For instance, the word *kolom* meaning

pen was quite well known before, but now the English word 'pen' is better known. Many Indo Aryan words are however still very much in use, as for instance:

Of Indic Origin	Source	Original Meaning	<i>A-chik</i> Meaning
<i>skia</i>	from <i>sikha</i>	teach	(the same)
<i>skigipa</i>	from <i>sikha+gipa</i> (adjectival)	teacher	(the same)
<i>poraia</i>	from <i>parha</i>	study	(the same)
<i>poraigipa</i>	from <i>parha+gipa</i> (adj)	student	(the same)
<i>kitab</i>	from <i>kitabh</i>	book	(the same)
<i>porika</i>	from <i>pariksha</i>	examination	(the same)
<i>katta</i>	from <i>katha</i>	word	(the same)
<i>bida</i>	from <i>beedha</i>	knowledge	(the same)
<i>budi</i>	<i>budhi</i>	intellect	(the same)
<i>leka</i>	<i>leekha</i>	to write	paper
<i>pora</i>	<i>parha</i>	study	(the same)

It may be noted above that besides the usual phonetic changes adapting to the phonology of the language, sometimes the original meaning also changes, like that of *leekha* 'to write' which changes to 'paper'.

Of English Origin	Source	Original Meaning	<i>A-chik</i> Meaning
<i>skul</i>		school	
<i>klas</i>		class	
<i>studen</i>		student	
<i>tichar</i>		teacher	
<i>unipom / unifom</i>		uniform	
<i>tebil</i>		table	
<i>pensil</i>		pencil	
<i>ekjam / exem</i>		exam	
<i>chok</i>		chalk	
<i>Histori</i>		history	

<i>Geographi</i>		Geography	
<i>Logik</i>		logic	
<i>Sciens</i>		science	
<i>Meths</i>		maths	
<i>Kolej</i>		College	
<i>Hed-mistres /mastan</i>		headmistress /master	
<i>han writing</i>		hand writing	
<i>leson</i>		lesson	
<i>lesin plan</i>		lesson-plan	

All subjects of study, like maths, physics, chemistry, and degrees like MBBS, Engineering, Arts, Science, LLB, etc are in English. All terms – gases, names of elements, compositions of matter, are also in English. For Example:

Chemical terms such as, Atom, proton, neutron and molecule are taken from English.

Botanical terms are in English, but the Garos have their own names for plants, trees and their parts which are native to Garo Hills or are in the knowledge of the *A-chik* speaking community.

Parts of the human body, of human or animal physiology too, have their own native terms, but some of the following, like *nerve*, *muscle*, *complexion* and *vein* have been borrowed.

There are also native terms for measurements of height and length such as *mik* 'a cubit', *kru* 'span', *jakpa* 'a palm', *jaksi* 'a finger' and *mandesa* 'a man's height', etc, but measurements of weight and some others including length and breadth, taken as loan words, are mostly from English. As for example:

*mail*  
*mon*  
*Kg*  
*ser*

mile  
 maund  
 Kg  
 seer

The following are from Indic sources:

*poa*                      pound?/ one fourth of a seer/kg  
*tola*                      the weight of a rupee; a pole (used in measuring the dead).<sup>26</sup>

**Note:** The spellings of many words which were initially spelt according to the way they were pronounced have later been changed to the ‘correct’ spelling of the borrowed word.

**Social terms:**

<b>Of Indic Origin</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Original Meaning</b>	<b><i>A-chik</i> Meaning</b>
<i>songsal</i>	from <i>sangsar</i>	society/family	society
<i>jat</i>	from <i>jaat</i>	race	tribe / race
<i>akal karap</i>	from <i>akaaal+kharab</i>	famine+bad	scarcity, famine and starvation
<i>randi</i>	from <i>randi</i>	a prostitute or an unmarried woman	a widow
<i>mela</i>	from <i>mela</i>	a fair / a gathering	a village meeting to decide a problem, dispute, etc.
<i>bohari</i>	from <i>bowari</i>	daughter-in-law who goes and stays with her husband	daughter-in-law who goes and stays with her husband

**Of English Origin:**

<b>Of English Origin</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Original Meaning</b>	<b><i>A-chik</i> Meaning</b>
<i>sinema</i>	cinema	cinema	cinema
<i>culture / kalchir</i>	culture	culture	culture
<i>program / program</i>	programme	programme	programme

<sup>26</sup> Taken from L.M. Holbrook, *Ku rongdik*, Published by The Garo Literature Society, Tura, Meghalaya, First Edition, 1998, p. 261.

**Sports**

<b>Of Indic Origin</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Original Meaning</b>	<b><i>A-chik</i> Meaning</b>
<i>kabadi</i>	<i>kabadi</i>	a game	a game
<i>tir</i>	<i>tir</i>	a lottery game on archery	a lottery game on archery
<i>tas</i>	<i>taas</i>	cards	cards
<b>Of English Origin</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Original Meaning</b>	<b><i>A-chik</i> Meaning</b>
<i>pootball</i>	Football	a ball game on a playing field	a ball game on a playing field
<i>robol</i>	ball	an inflated leather ball used in games	an inflated leather ball used in games
<i>goal</i>	goal	goal	goal
<i>goalie</i>	goalie	goal-keeper	goal-keeper
<i>penalti</i>	penalty	penalty	penalty
<i>poul</i>	foul	foul	foul
<i>konar / korner</i>	corner	corner	corner
<i>bolleyball</i>	Volleyball	volleyball	volleyball
<i>basketbol</i>	Basketball	basketball	basketball
<i>betminton</i>	Badminton		

**Terms in music:**

The Garos have many traditional musical instruments, such as *dama* ‘drum’; *singga* ‘trumpet’ and *rang* ‘traditional gong’; but some instruments which have been borrowed, use the borrowed names as well, such as:

<b>Of Indic Origin</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Original Meaning</b>	<b><i>A-chik</i> Meaning</b>
<i>Sarenda</i>	from <i>sarinda</i>	a violin/guitar-like musical instrument	(the same)
<i>Nagra</i>	from <i>naagra</i>	a small drum	(the same)
<i>Dhul</i>	from <i>dhol</i>	an oblong shaped drum	(the same)
<i>Bangsi</i>	from <i>bangsi</i>	flute	(the same)

Of English Origin	Source	Original Meaning	<i>A-chik</i> Meaning
<i>Gitar</i>	Guitar		
<i>Piano</i>	Piano		
<i>Kesio</i>	Casio		
<i>Hal(r)monium</i>	Harmonium		
<i>Songkristan</i>	from song + Christian	Christian songs	Christmas Carols
<i>Begul</i>	from bugle	musical wind instrument of copper or brass	musical wind instrument of copper or brass

### Abstract terms:

All abstract nouns in *A-chikku* are derivations from concrete things, actions, events, feelings, conditions etc.

Of Indic Origin	Source	Original Meaning	<i>A-chik</i> Meaning
<i>somoi</i>	<i>samai</i>	time	time
<i>kusi</i>	<i>khushi</i>	happiness	happiness
<i>duk</i>	<i>dukh</i>	sorrow	sorrow
<i>gun</i>	<i>gun</i>	value / quality	value, quality
<i>cholon</i>	<i>cholon</i>	manner, behaviour	manner / behaviour
<i>alsia</i>	from Bengali <i>aloshi</i>	lazy	lazy
<i>muskil</i>	from <i>muskil</i>	difficult / troublesome	difficult / troublesome
<i>mane</i>	from <i>maane</i>	meaning	meaning

Of English Origin	Source	Original Meaning	<i>A-chik</i> Meaning
<i>abstrak</i>	abstract	abstract	abstract
<i>concep</i>	concept	concept	concept
<i>sistem</i>	system	system	system
<i>disipline</i>	discripline	discipline	(the same)
<i>importan</i>	important	important	(the same)
<i>logik</i>	logic	logic	(the same)
<i>peeling</i>	feeling	feeling	(the same)
<i>emosin</i>	emotion	emotion	(the same)
<i>mining</i>	meaning	meaning	(the same)

**Time:** In counting the Garos have their own terms, as referred chapter II, in section on the Number System of the Garo language, but when counting time, loan words are used, in analogy with the concept of time borrowed from Indic sources. As for instance:

<u>Of Indic origin:</u>	<u>source</u>	<u>original meaning</u>	<u>A'chik meaning</u>
<i>Ek baji</i>	from <i>ek baji</i>	one o'clock	one o'clock
<i>Dui baji</i>	from <i>do baji</i>	two o'clock	two o'clock
<i>Tin baji</i>	from <i>teen baji</i>	three o'clock	three o'clock
<i>Sat baji</i>	from <i>saat baji</i>	seven o'clock	seven o'clock
<i>Dos baji</i>	from <i>das baje</i>	ten o'clock	ten o'clock
<i>Egaro baji</i>	from <i>gyara baje</i>	eleven o'clock	eleven o'clock
<i>Baro baji</i>	from <i>bara baje</i>	twelve o'clock	twelve o'clock

**Note:** It may be noted that there is now a slow change occurring in the use of native words such as *sa*, *gni*, *gittam*, *bri*, for 'one', 'two', 'three' and 'four' respectively, or the English equivalent 'one o'clock', 'two o'clock', etc., instead of the Indic words mentioned above that were so common before.

**Days of the week and Months of the year:** Garo has its original native terms for the days and months of the year. However, in the course of trade and commerce with the people in the plains and their weekly association with them they started using the Indic terms for better communication, and

almost forgot their own native terms. Efforts are now being made to revive them. In the examples below, first the native terms and then their borrowed words are given followed by the English meaning. It may also be noted that the English terms are now being used more and more frequently.

**Days of the week:**                      **Indo Aryan words**                      **English**  
(original Garo terms replaced by words of Indic origin, but being revived now):<sup>27</sup>

<i>Samitcho</i>	<i>Sombar</i>	Monday
<i>Griso</i>	<i>Mongolbar</i>	Tuesday
<i>Abiso</i>	<i>Budbar</i>	Wednesday
<i>Aiso</i>	<i>Bristibar</i>	Thursday
<i>Mechabal</i>	<i>Sukrobar</i>	Friday
<i>Narihgro</i>	<i>Sonibar</i>	Saturday
<i>Chigitcho</i>	<i>Robibar</i>	Sunday

### **Months of the year**

(Original Garo terms replaced by English, but now efforts are being made to revive them):<sup>28</sup>

<u>Garo</u>	<u>Original Garo meaning</u>	<u>English</u>
<i>Roro</i>	from the middle of December to the middle of January	January
<i>Dongro</i>	from the middle of January to the middle of February	February
<i>Galmak</i>	from mid February to mid March	March
<i>Migi</i>	from mid March to mid April	April
<i>Kilgi</i>	from mid April to mid May	May
<i>Bandoni</i>	from mid May to mid June	June

<sup>27</sup> H.W. Marak Kubidik (*A Garo-English-Assamese Dictionary*) Published by, p. 217.

<sup>28</sup> H.W. Marak Kubidik (*A Garo-English-Assamese Dictionary*) Published by, p. 217.

<i>Wasosi</i>	from mid June to mid July	July
<i>Sampang</i>	from mid July to mid August	August
<i>Micha</i>	from mid August to mid September	September
<i>Wanma</i>	from mid September to mid October	October
<i>Jabilsa</i>	from mid October to mid November	November
<i>Silginchi</i>	from mid November to mid December	December

**Nature:**

Of Indic Origin	Source	Original Meaning	<i>A-chik</i> Meaning
<i>Pul</i>	from <i>phul</i>	flower	flower
<i>rong</i>	from <i>rang</i>	colours	colours
<i>Golap</i>	from <i>Golab</i>	rose	Rose
<i>Joba</i>	from <i>Jaba</i>	China Rose	China Rose
<i>Gondoros/gondoraj</i>	from <i>gandharaj</i>	Gardenia	Gardenia
<i>bagan /bari</i>	from <i>bagaan &amp; baari</i>	garden and home	garden and home
<i>Chahdan</i>	from <i>Chandan</i>	Sandal wood	Sandalwood
<i>Jambura</i>	from <i>jaambura</i>	Pamelo	Pamelo
<i>Komla</i>	from <i>komla</i>	Orange	Orange
<i>Anaros</i>	from <i>anaaras</i>	Pineapple	Pineapple

**General terms**

Of Indic Origin	Source	Original Meaning	<i>A-chik</i> Meaning
<i>balis</i>	from <i>baalish</i>	pillow	pillow
<i>kajia</i>	from <i>kajia</i>	quarrel	quarrel
<i>bia</i>	from <i>bivah</i>	marriage	marriage
<i>sikar</i>	from <i>shikaar</i>	hunting	hunting
<i>sikari</i>	from <i>shikaari</i>	hunter	hunter
<i>guli</i>	from <i>goli</i>	pill /bullet	bullet /pill
<i>golmal</i>	from <i>galmaal</i>	trouble	trouble
<i>aro</i>	from <i>aro</i>	and	and
<i>kam</i>	from <i>kaam</i>	work	work
<i>karkana</i>	from <i>karkhaana</i>	factory	factory
<i>chutti</i>	from <i>chuti</i>	holiday	holiday
<i>chatta</i>	from <i>chaata</i>	umbrella	umbrella

Of English Origin	Source	Original Meaning	A-chik Meaning
<i>kerasin</i>	from kerosene	kerosene	kerosene
<i>walep</i>	from wild life	wild life	wild life
<i>supsidi</i>	from subsidy	subsidy	subsidy
<i>botol</i>	from bottle	bottle	bottle
<i>rine se-lip</i>	from landslip	landslide	landslide
<i>siti bas</i>	from city bus	city bus	city bus
<i>bas condaktor</i>	from bus conductor	bus conductor	bus conductor
<i>kap</i>	from cup	cup	cup
<i>glas / gilás</i>	from glass	glass	glass
<i>plet</i>	from plate	plate	plate
<i>lem</i>	from lamp	lamp	lamp
<i>saikel</i>	from cycle	cycle	cycle

### English and American loan words

There are many English and American words used in the Garo language today. English words have come into the language mainly through Christianity and through education and the awareness created thereby. Another interesting thing to note is that many words which were of Indic origin have in the course of time been replaced by English words. Though earlier words of Indic origin were used, they are more frequently being replaced by words of English origin, for instance *repat* 'report' is used instead of *nalish* now, and *Baibel* 'Bible' instead of *Sastro*, and so on. The main reason for this is the medium of instruction which is mainly English in the towns and districts of Garo Hills and also because of religion, that is, the influence of Christianity, through the Bible, Hymns and acts of worship. Though as students in school we were taught not to

use American words ( like *man! hey!*), in the course of time, American words inevitably crept into the language, mainly through music and television and Garo has many words whose source is American rather than English today.

Given below are some examples of words which were originally borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages, but which, in the course of time, have been replaced by English and American words mainly through education, development and inevitable modernization and the global American influence:

<b>Indic</b> loan word	Word replaced by	<b>English</b> loan word	<b>Indian word</b>	<b>English word</b>
<i>choki</i>	replaced by (-)	chair	<i>chowki</i>	chair
<i>mura</i>	-	cane-stool	<i>murha</i>	cane-stool
<i>genji</i>	-	vest	<i>genji</i>	vest
<i>makhon</i>	-	batar	<i>makhan</i>	butter
<i>soi</i>	-	sign	<i>sohi</i>	signature
<i>chosma</i>	-	specs	<i>chasma</i>	spectacles
<i>sima</i>	-	line	<i>sima</i>	border line
<i>Sastro</i>	-	Bible	<i>sashtra</i>	Bible
<i>kitab</i>	-	book	<i>kitab</i>	book
<i>boi</i> or <i>bohi</i>	-	note /exercise book	<i>boi</i>	book
<i>porika</i>	-	exam	<i>parikhsa</i>	examination
<i>poraia</i>	-	study	<i>parha</i>	study
<i>git</i>	-	song / hymn	<i>geet</i>	hymn
<i>sobha</i>	-	conference	<i>sabha</i>	conference
<i>ukil</i>	-	lawyer /advocate	<i>ukil</i>	lawyer/ advocate
<i>kajana</i>	-	tax	<i>khajna</i>	tax

<i>gari</i>	~	car	<i>gari</i>	car
<i>somoi</i>	~	time	<i>samai</i>	time
<i>kachari</i>	~	kot	<i>kachari</i>	court

The list can go on, with new words being added everyday to the ones given above.

The names of many NGO's and some Associations are in Garo, such as:

*Noringro Nojingjo* 'A constellation of stars'

*Salnikrang A·ding / A·timbo* 'A hillock / place where the sunrise first occurs'

This will be dealt with in greater detail in the section on coined and hybrid words in the next chapter. However, there are many other associations with English titles, such as Mothers Union; Garo Students Union (GSU); Village Council; Self Help Groups and so on;

And there are still others with a mixture of Garo and English or Indic titles such as:

*Me·chikmarangni Association*

Women's Association

*A·chik Youth and Cultural Organisation (AYCO)*

*Nokma / Nokmarangni Council*

Council of Village Headmen

*Mahila Sammiti*

Women's Organisation /  
Committee

Some loan words have become so completely incorporated into the language that they can also take inflections like any of the Garo word.

Some examples are given below:

Inflection of loan words in Garo:

*Chatro-rang-na*      *history-ko*      *skia-chim*  
 students-Pl- Dat    history-Acc      teach-Past  
 ‘students were taught history’

*Pulrangna*      *chi*    *rurongbo*  
 Flower-Pl- Dat.    water      pour-often-Imp  
 (You) should      pour water on the flowers (more) often

Some incorporated loan words even enter into compound word constructions, known as *katta-jikse*, such as *duk-suk* meaning ‘sorrow and happiness’ (adjective-noun). Other examples are:

<i>bida-budi</i>	from <i>bida</i> and <i>budhi</i>	knowledge and intellect	knowledge and intellect
<i>leka-pora</i>	from <i>leekha</i> & <i>parha</i>	writing & studies	studies
<i>tangka-paisa</i>	from <i>tangkha</i> & <i>paisa</i>	rupees & coins	money
<i>gam-jin</i>	from <i>gaam</i> & <i>jinis</i>	wealth & property	wealth & property
<i>mota-muti</i>	from <i>mota-moti</i>	approximately (adv)	about/ approximately
<i>binda-bindi</i>	from ?		all mixed up
<i>habi-jabi</i>	from <i>haabi-jaabi</i>	trash	trash / nonsense

*Katta-jikse* or ‘pair words’ will be more clearly explained in the section on compound words.

**Borrowed hybrid words**

<i>Aganchalāigipa</i> ( <i>agan+chalai+gipa</i> )	Speak + drive +er	speaker / chairman <sup>29</sup> or eldest / head of a family
<i>chapidilmong</i> ( <i>chapa +dil +mong</i> )	bind + the main root, volume (of books)	
<i>motorwak</i> ( <i>motor + wak</i> )	motor + boar (wild)	bulldozer (called wild boar motors because they came during the Second World War, and as they drove on left tire marks like the footprints of boar, so were compared to wild boar.

**Place names (compounds of Indic and native words):**

<i>Phulbari</i> ( <i>Phul+bari</i> )	flower+garden	place of flower gardens
<i>Baghmara</i> ( <i>bagh+mara</i> )	tiger+killed	place where a tiger was Killed
<i>Chandmari</i> ( <i>chand+mari</i> )	aim+gun+place	place for target practice
<i>Araimile</i> ( <i>aria+mile</i> )	two and a half +mile	two-and –a-half-mile place
<i>Dermaile</i> ( <i>der+mile</i> )	one and-a half-mile	one–and-a-half-mile-place
<i>Dobasipara</i> ( <i>do+bhasi+para</i> )	two languages+ place	‘place where the interpreter stays’ (the British had appointed an interpreter for their work, who became famous in his time, so the place where he settled came to be known as <i>Dobasipara</i> )

It may be noted from the examples given above that almost all the loan words taken from different languages are not retained in their original

<sup>29</sup> most of the following words have been collected from Mr. L. R. Marak on Saturday, the 14<sup>th</sup> 07. 07.

spelling, but they are adapted to suit the Garo language. It may also be noted that the pronunciation also, in fact especially the pronunciation is changed, and so the spelling is changed according. The words are used in Garo according to the phonetic and phonological system of Garo. For instance, Garo does not have the following vowels found in English so it is modified to suit the language:

*/æ/* as in lamp */læmp/* is modified to */e/* and becomes *lem*

*/ɒ/* as in got */gɒt/* is modified to */o/* and becomes *got*

the diphthong */ei/* becomes */e/* as in 'may' */mei/* which becomes *me*

The voiceless plosives */p/*, */t/* and */k/* are aspirated in Garo so that they become aspirated in the loan words too as in */keʊt/* 'coat' which becomes *kʰot*.

The lateral sound */l/* and the alveolar tap */r/* are used alternately in the initial and final positions in Garo words, so these sounds too are modified in Garo as in:

Lantern */læntən/* becomes *Lenten* or *renten*

And lamp becomes *rem* or *lem* and so on.

### Calques or Loan Translation

Calque or Loan translation is a form of borrowing from one language to another whereby the semantic (connected with the meaning of words) components of a given term are literally translated into their equivalents in the borrowing language. English *Superman*, for example is a loan translation from German *Übermensch*. Also called calque.<sup>30</sup>

A *calque* (French ‘a copy, a tracing’) is an abrupt semantic change due to borrowing: a word acquires a new meaning by importing it from another language. This process is also called *loan translation*. Calquing is usually more or less incidental, but in the history of some languages there have been occasional episodes of *systematic calquing*, whereby a large native ‘lexicon’ is created in the image of a source lexicon. This has happened in the history of German, Czech, and Hungarian, among others. This kind of conscious programme often has the overt aim of preserving linguistic purity.<sup>31</sup>

**Calquing in Garo:** Garo also has calqued words in the language, adapting to the trends of the times. For instance: *pringnam*, *walnam*, *salnam*, meaning ‘Good morning’, ‘Goodnight’, and ‘Good-day’ are

<sup>30</sup> Definition taken from: <http://www.answers.com>

<sup>31</sup> Andrew L. Sihler, *Language History: An Introduction*, John Benjamin’s Publishing Company, Amsterdam, Netherlands / Philadelphia, USA, p.128.

calqued words in Garo. A list of other words is given below along with those mentioned above:

<u>Calqued word</u>	<u>English meaning/ translation</u>
<b>Greetings:</b>	
<i>pringnam</i> , (morning+good)	Good morning
<i>walnam</i> (night+good)	Good night
<i>salnam</i> (day+good)	Good day
<i>atchinamsal</i> (birth+good +day)	Happy Birthday

### Literature

#### **Titles of translated novels**

<i>Mama Tomni Jamdap</i> (uncle+Tom-Gen+hut)	Uncle Tom's Cabin
<i>Songregipani Songreani</i> (travel-adj-Gen travel-Gen)	The Pilgrim's Progress

#### **Titles of translated plays**

<i>Sin·karini Katta</i> (cold-season-Gen+word)	A Winter's Tale
<i>Veniceni Badinggipa</i> (Venice-Gen+Merchant-adj)	The Merchant of Venice

#### **Religious quotations and Biblical verses:**

*Siani salakimni a·kong*  
 Death-Gen shadow (sunshade)-Gen hole/hollow  
 Valley of the shadow of death Psalm 23:4

*Dukni jagring pindapa*  
 Sorrow-Gen shadow covers  
 'covered by the shadow of sorrow'  
*Sonani mukut stika knirang skoo*  
 gold-Gen crown put on hair-Pl head  
 your head is crowned with a golden crown  
 of hair (concept of lovely hair as a crown of gold)

**Official posts:**

<i>Vice madot</i>	Female Vice president
<i>Vice padot</i>	Male Vice president
<i>Mongsonggipa sokgipa</i> (main-adj arrive-adj)	Chief Guest (Visitor)

**Newspapers:**

<i>Salantini Janera</i> (daily-Gen mirror)	Daily Mirror (Garo version of the <i>Shillong Times</i> )
<i>A·chik Songbad</i> (Garo newspaper)	Garo Newspaper

**Others:**

<i>Nabaenggipa askirang</i> (rise-Prog-adj star-Pl)	'rising stars'
<i>katta wengwat</i> (word criss-cross)	'cross word'
<i>mikjabrang</i> (eye+confuse)	'magic'
<i>matjang janggi</i> (back bone life)	'horoscope/zodiac signs'
<i>saljatchi</i> (day+middle)	'mid-day / noon'
<i>ding·karini saljatchi</i> (hot season-Gen midday)	'mid-summer'
<i>pa</i> (abbreviation of <i>paa</i> 'father')	'Mr' (Mister)
<i>ma</i> (abbreviation of <i>ma·a</i> 'mother')	'Mrs' (Missis)
<i>te</i> (short form of <i>pante</i> 'young man')	'Master' (unmarried man)

*tra*(short form of *me·tra*'young girl)

'Miss' (unmarried woman)

*okamani* (call+Genitive)

'Invitation'

*Kusiliting* (*ku sik* + *siliting*) mouth + string

'telephone'

*Nengtakani*

'retirement'

#### 4.5.0. Coined words

In order to understand a new term or concept, new words are coined taking into consideration the shape and or function of the thing or article under reference. They are often formed by prefixing a morpheme which has a similar or relevant meaning and using it as a base to coin the new word with an appropriate meaning. In the earlier period many new words were formed in this manner.

**Some coined words in Garo of the earlier period are as follows:**<sup>32</sup>

<b>Coined words</b>	<b>Meaning in English</b>
<i>Wal·janggi</i>	electricity
<i>Wal·tot</i>	match
<i>Pringnam</i>	good morning
<i>Walnam</i>	goodnight
<i>Salnam</i>	good day
<i>Miksilchi</i>	spectacle
<i>Jawilwat</i>	cinema

**Words coined in literature and language which are not in regular use:**

<i>Ku·minchi</i>	poetry
<i>Ku·akma</i>	prose
<i>Ku·bimik</i>	grammar
<i>Ku·bidik</i>	dictionary, lexicon
<i>Ku·rongdik</i>	origin of words; etymology

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<sup>32</sup> Venibabe N. Sangma, Seminar paper on the Standardization of the Written Aspect of the Garo Language: Newly Coined words in Garo, Published by SCERT, Shillong (1994), p.20.

## Geographical terms:

<i>a·songmong</i>	continent
<i>a·bibol; a·bim</i>	the globe
<i>a·sengki</i>	equator
<i>amatchang</i>	latitude
<i>a·gilmrong</i>	longitude
<i>wal·imkol</i>	volcano
<i>gonggongchit</i>	rainbow

## Words of everyday, ordinary use:

<i>bairong</i>	television
<i>bildomit</i>	airplane; airship
<i>toptop gari</i>	motorbike / motorcycle
<i>rengrengsil</i>	bicycle
<i>jakrimra</i>	secretary
<i>bidamong</i>	college
<i>jekjak</i>	plastic bag
<i>tom·bimong</i>	general meeting

Besides those mentioned above, there are many other coined words which have enriched the language, helping it to adapt to the new ideas and new times, and contributing towards the development of the language.

## Examples are:

<i>Seng·bit</i>	'X-ray'
<i>ku·gap</i>	puppet
<i>bairong</i>	television
<i>aganchalaigipa</i>	speaker / chairman

<i>tom·dakgipa</i>	editorial
<i>bakdilmong-1 /chapdilmong-1</i>	volume-
<i>ku·rangma</i>	Poetry / music
<i>rengrengsil</i>	bicycle
<i>Ku·siliting</i>	telephone

It may then be seen that there are several word formation processes in Garo, namely, Reduplication, Compounding, Elision, Hybrid words and Coinage, thus proving that it is a living, dynamic and vibrant language and continues to grow and develop today.

**CHAPTER V**

**CONCLUSION**

## **CHAPTER V**

### **Conclusion**

In the concluding chapter of this work the scholar would like to highlight certain important findings and insights gained in the study of Garo morphology.

#### **5.1.0. Findings**

Through a detailed analysis of the language, the scholar has attained a better understanding of how the language functions morphologically.

Interesting traditions are prevalent among the various tribes of the Bodo group of families, who trace their origin from the Tibeto-Burman race of the Tibeto-Chinese or Sino-Tibetan family. Besides sharing traditional tales, beliefs and practices, they also have some common words, especially the ones that express the closest family relationships, the counting of the cardinal numbers (most of them till ten), common terms for fish, birds, animals, trees and other objects of nature.

Besides considering the origin and history of the language, while studying the linguistic features of the Garo language, it was observed that there were many features in common with other languages of the Bodo group. There are similarities in word structure, in inflection and derivation and in the structure of the verbs, especially the causatives. The Nouns with

their cases, the features of reduplication, the natural gender, and the singular and plural numbers all show an affinity to other languages of the great Bodo family. It may thus be established that Garo belongs to the Bodo group in the Tibeto-Burman family of languages. Therefore, the objective to know the place of the Garo Language within the community of the Tibeto-Burman speakers from the morphological point of view has been achieved to a certain extent.

Very few good books have been written on the Grammar of the Garo language. Though some of them were on a few linguistic aspects of the language, few native speakers have made an effort to describe their own language from this aspect and therefore there is a need for research in this area. A few studies have been made, in the course of writing books on Grammar and Vocabulary, but most of these were not linguistically analyzed, with the exception of one by Robbins Burling, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology and Linguistics at the University of Michigan, U. S. A. There was therefore a deep felt need to undertake a more detailed analysis of the language. This study, it is hoped, will make a small contribution to the effort and will lead to further research in the years to come.

It has been found that Garo is an affixing language and that it has a large number of affixes of which suffixes rather than prefixes occur in

greater numbers, and the roots are mainly monosyllabic. Other affixes such as infixes, circumfixes, ambifixes, etc., have not been found in the language by this scholar. These suffixes occur in a linear sequence and often many morphemes follow a word in a concatenating sequence, proving the surmise that Garo is a 'suffixing language'. Also that it has a large number of inflections as well as derivations, and the structure and function of its inflectional and derivational morphemes are all very systematic. The large number of inflectional morphemes express grammatical relationships such as number, tense, case and degrees of comparison. Like most languages of the Sino-Tibetan family, Garo has natural and not grammatical gender. Garo also has many suffixes that are homophonous and it makes use of foregrounding suffixes in emphasizing.

As stated above, the morphemes in these words occur in a linear sequence and can be readily segmented into their constituent morphs. There are several features of inflection as well.

**Verbs:** As in most languages, a large class of words in the Garo language is verbs. A Verb in Garo comprises a verb base and a principal verb suffix. Almost every verb has at least one principal verb suffix. In other words, verb = Verb base + Principal verb suffix, and it is the combination of these two, which forms a verb.

Verbs in Garo enter into several types of morphological constructions –inflectional as well as derivational; inflectional suffixes are used to differentiate tense-aspect suffixes such as past and present. Again, unlike Hindi, English and French where verbs are marked for tense and show agreement with the subject, Garo verbs are not affected by a change in number or person.

**Causatives** are very productive affixes in Garo. Causatives are formed in Garo by the affixation of the morpheme *-at* to an intransitive verb and can be used with almost any verb in the Garo language. The causative affix can also be added to words that translate as English adjectives as well as English verbs. A Causative affix can also be benefactive. Double causatives are frequently used by some Garo speakers.

**Adjectives** are not very clearly distinguished from verbs in the Garo language. There is a lot of similarity between verb suffixes and adjective suffixes in Garo and there seems to be no structural distinction between verbs and adjectives. In fact, Adjectives are mostly derived from verbs and are very few in number.

The morphemes for degrees of comparison of adverbs and adjectives are the same in the Garo language, because verbs and adjectives are not really distinct, and because adverbs are qualifying morphemes that add to the meaning of a verb in Garo.

**Adverbial affixes** are a distinctive feature of the Garo language. They are derivational morphemes and a verb can have a whole string of adverbial affixes, which permit the speaker to convey a great deal of specific meaning that is conveyed in English by separate words. They are also numerous and very productive. Skillful speaking requires the ability to toss them off easily.

**Nouns** are another big group of words in the Garo language. Just as principal verb suffixes are an essential part of verbs, so also, case markers are a characteristic feature of Garo nouns. Nouns and verbs are distinguished from each other by their suffixes. Case markers in Garo show whether the nouns to which they are attached are the subject, object, or indirect object of a verb. Therefore, Garo has a much freer word order because the case markers show the roles of nouns and noun phrases clearly in the sentence.

**Pronouns** are a sub-class of nouns in Garo and they can take case suffixes as nouns do. Like Nouns, Pronouns can inflect for number and case and there is no gender distinction of personal pronouns in Garo, but they differ from nouns in some respects. There are Reflexive, Reduplicative as well as Demonstrative pronouns in Garo. As Garo does not have articles, it uses Demonstratives instead when it is necessary to

indicate a definite meaning. Therefore, Demonstratives are essential in Garo and are used more often than in English.

**Numbers:** The Garo language has a good supply of native words for numbers from 1 to 999, and for higher numerical units, it borrows from other languages, namely Assamese and Bengali, which have been so well assimilated into the language that a native speaker can freely combine these loan words with native words with ease. Thus, there is a systematic organization of numbers in Garo. There is also an alternate system of counting in the cycle of twenties, though it is not so frequent in use.

**Classifiers:** Garo has a rich classifier system as it requires a classifier for virtually each object and its number, so a healthy collection of classifiers have survived till date.

**Reduplication:** Another important morphological feature in Garo is the process of Reduplication. It has a rich collection of reduplicated words in nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, as well as onomatopoeic words. The reduplication of adverbs in particular, is another special feature in the language, which is found in other Sino-Tibetan languages as well.

**Compounds and Coined words:** There are also many compound and coined words in the Garo language. An interesting feature of compound words in the Garo language is the vast number of pair words called *katta-jikse*, or *ku-jikse* which are very frequently used in the

language. Garo has many types of compound words, such as pair words, blended, hybrid and coined words in the language, to adapt to the new ideas and inventions that they encounter in modern times and thus meeting the needs of the present day. In order to understand a new term or concept, new words are coined taking into consideration the shape and or function of the thing or article under reference. In fact, Garo is not a static but a dynamic and vibrant language and continues to develop by adapting certain language strategies, such as, reduplication, coinage and even borrowing from other languages when the need arises.

**Vocabulary:** Garo has its own rich and large vocabulary in which there are words sufficient for its own culture and way of life. They have poetic narrations of their migration handed down by their forefathers - of all their renderings; of prosperity and calamity; of achievements and disasters. The language has sufficient vocabulary to express emotions of joy and sorrow, pain and fear, as well as jubilation and lamentation. It also has a rich store of wise sayings and proverbs, as well as different styles of narrative and poetic expressions to suit every occasion. Much of the history of the Garo people, as well as their religious and cultural codes is contained in its oral literature handed down through the ages from generation to generation. However, much of it is yet to be fully documented and preserved in writing.

**Loan Words:** Being a vibrant and dynamic language, its contact with other languages brought it further enrichment. The Garos borrowed words from other languages when they came across materials or ideas which they themselves did not have. It continues to grow and develop adapting to the needs of the day by either coining new word or borrowing from other languages; as such one finds many loan words in the Garo language of Indic as well as of English origin, all adding to the richness of the language. Another thing to note is that many words which were of Indic origin have in the course of time been replaced by English words. Though earlier, words of Indic origin were used, they are more frequently being replaced by words of English origin. The loan words have been adapted into the phonetic system of the language. Some loan words have become so completely incorporated into the language that they can also take inflections like any other Garo word. Some incorporated loan words even enter into compound word constructions, known as *katta-jikse* mentioned above, such as *duk-suk* meaning 'sorrow and happiness'. There are also calques or loan translations of forms of greetings taken from English, such as *mittela* 'thank you' etc. Garo also has hybrid words which are combinations of native and borrowed words formed into compounds, such as *aganchalaigipa* 'speaker', *motorwak* 'bulldozer' and so on.

One may therefore conclude that Garo is a developed language, as developed as any other language of the world. The scholar would like to conclude with a comment on the Garo Language, made in *The Languages of the World*, taken from the internet:

“This language bears most of the history of the Garo people and their religious and cultural codes. Its vocabulary contains words borrowed from many different languages. The syntax, semantics, positions of cases and inflections, verbs and transformations of words in this language are all very systematic and resemble those of other developed languages. It is likely that this language has a long history.”<sup>1</sup>

**5.1.1. Suggestions:** Though there are some Grammar books written on the Garo language, they are more prescriptive than descriptive in approach; the present trends in linguistic studies have made many of them obsolete and inadequate and there is an urgent need for an in depth and complete linguistic analysis of Garo. It is essential therefore that further studies and research should be conducted and revised Grammar books based on research findings should be written to meet the needs of the day. Though the scholar has attained a better understanding of how the language functions through a detailed analysis of the language, she does not claim that the findings are a final and absolute description and further research has to be undertaken in future.

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<sup>1</sup> [www.hku.hk/linguist/program/world5.html](http://www.hku.hk/linguist/program/world5.html) - 18k- LING2009 *Languages of the World5* – The Sino-Tibetan family and Southeast Asian Languages.

There is much research to be done on almost every aspect of the language, such as the loan words, pair words, the adverbial affixes, the compound words and so on. There is much material for further research, and this being the case, a description of the language under survey will not be complete until further and deeper research is carried on in the future by other scholars. I would suggest therefore, that further research be carried on in the various aspects of the language.

The rich heritage of oral literature should also be properly recorded and preserved for future generations. This is very urgent as much is already being lost with the fast pace of modernization that is taking place in the community today.

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## Appendix (Loan Words)

### Agricultural terms (Nouns):

<u>Of Indic origin:</u>	<u>source</u>	<u>original meaning</u>	<u>A'chik meaning</u>
<i>jamin</i>	(from Urdu-Persian) <i>zameen</i>	land/ property	land/property
<i>biga /bigha</i>	(from Urdu-Persian) <i>beegha</i>	a measurement of of land	a measurement  land
<i>muti</i>	from <i>muthi</i>	holding with the fist	holding the edge of the plough on one side with the hand and ploughing the field
<i>jala(goa)</i>	from <i>jala</i>	scattering of seeds	scattering of seeds <i>goa</i> is a Garo word meaning 'to throw or scatter'

### Food and drink:

<i>gorom mosila</i>	from <i>garam masala</i>	a spice with a mixture of cinnamon, cardamom & clove	a spice with a mixture of cinnamon, cardamom & clove
<i>holdi</i>	from <i>haldi</i>	tumeric	tumeric
<i>rasin</i>	from <i>lasun</i>	garlic	garlic
<i>dal / dali</i>	from <i>dal</i>	pulses	pulses
<i>puri</i>	from <i>poori</i>	puri	puri
<i>chappati</i>	from <i>chapati</i>	chapati	unleavened bread

<i>chini</i>	from <i>cheeni</i>	sugar	sugar
<i>cha</i>	from <i>chai</i>	tea	tea
<i>dut</i>	from <i>dudh</i>	milk	milk
<i>ruti</i>	from <i>roti</i>	a loaf of bread	a loaf of bread
<i>atta</i>	from <i>atta</i>	flour	flour
<i>moida</i>	from <i>maida</i>	refined flour	refined flour
<i>pul gobi</i>	from <i>phool gobi/gobi</i>	cauliflower	cauliflower
<i>banda gobi/kobi</i>	from <i>bandha gobi</i>	cabbage	cabbage
<i>kerai</i>	from <i>karai</i>	cauldron	cauldron
<i>jambura</i>	from <i>jambura</i>	<i>pamelopamelo</i>	
<i>anaros</i>	from <i>anaras</i>	pineapple	pineapple
<i>mosambi</i>	from <i>mosambi</i>	a sweet	a sweet
<i>narikel</i>	from <i>narkel</i>	coconut	coconut
<i>alagoti</i>	from <i>kala guti</i> (black fruit)	passion fruit	passion fruit
<i>achar</i>	from <i>achar</i>	pickle	pickle
<i>doi</i>	from <i>dahi</i>	curd	yoghurt /curd
<i>rosogola</i>	from <i>rasgoola</i>	rasgularasgula(a round	
			sweet made from
			milk)
<i>lai sak</i>	from <i>lai sag</i>	<i>lai sag</i>	a green leafy vegetable
<i>chukka</i>	from <i>chuka</i>		a type of sour leafy vegetable
<i>rasin gitchak</i>	from <i>lasun</i>	onion	onion, <i>gitchak</i> is a native word for red
<i>rasin gipok</i>	from <i>lasun</i>	garlic	garlic, <i>gipok</i> is a native word for white
<i>gue/gui</i>	from <i>gua</i>	betel nut	betel nut

<i>pan</i>	from <i>paan</i>	betel leaf	betel leaf
<i>alu</i>	from <i>aloo</i>	potato	potato

**Food and Drink of English Origin:**

<i>sorbot</i>	from <i>sherbet</i>	<i>sherbets</i>	<i>sherbet</i>
<i>ice-cream</i>	from <i>ice-cream</i>	<i>ice-cream</i>	<i>ice-cream</i>
<i>puding</i>	from <i>pudding</i>	<i>pudding</i>	<i>pudding</i>
<i>custart</i>	<i>custard</i>	<i>custard</i>	<i>custard</i>
<i>isten</i>	from <i>eastern</i>	<i>eastern</i>	<i>eastern</i>
<i>Indian</i>	from <i>Indian</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Indian</i>

**Clothes / linen: Of Indic origin**

<i>polta/porda</i> (curtain)	from <i>purdah</i>	curtain	curtain
<i>kombol</i>	from <i>kambal</i>	blanket	blanket

**Of English sources:**

<i>tebil cloth</i>	table cloth	table cloth	table cloth
<i>bedshit</i>	bedsheet	bedsheets	bedsheets
<i>chit</i>	sheet	sheet	sheet
<i>kosin</i>	cushion	cushion	cushion
<i>petikot</i>	from <i>petticoat</i>	<i>petticoat</i>	<i>petticoat</i>
<i>tavel</i>	from <i>towel</i>	<i>towel</i>	<i>towel</i>

**Legal Terms:**

<i>nokol</i>	from <i>naukar</i>	a servant	
<i>dorkasto</i>	from <i>darkhast</i>	an application	
<i>Angga(n)wadi</i>	from <i>angan+wadi</i>	(courtyard+garden)	a soial worker

<i>jamabandi</i>	from <i>jamaa bandi</i>	land revenue (tax)	land revenue / tax
<i>mela</i>	from <i>mela</i>	a fair	a meeting / gathering to solve disputes, misunderstandings and other problems in a village.
<i>adalat</i>	from (Urdu-Persian) <i>adalat</i>	court	court
<i>zorimana</i>	from (Urdu-Persian) <i>zurmana</i>		
	also <i>zareebana</i>	fine	fine
<i>peskal / peskar</i>	from <i>peshkar</i>	court dealing	court dealing assistant for fees, license, lottery, etc Also one who helps write legal documents for the district court
<i>soi</i>	from <i>sohi</i>	signature	signature
<i>hajot</i>	from (Urdu-Pers) <i>haazat</i>	lock up (custody in prison)	lock up (custody in prison)
<i>nalis</i>	from (Urdu-Persn) <i>naalish</i>	report	report
<i>babu</i>	from (Urdu-Persn) <i>baboo</i>	clerk /high class person or officer	clerk/high class person or officer
<i>nokol babu</i>	from (Urdu-Persn) <i>nakal babu</i>	copyist in a District council court	

**Administrative Terms:**

<i>loskor (roskor)</i>	from <i>laskar</i>	a local man, appointed	(the same)
same)		by the British to collect	
		revenue as well	
		as act as a local magistrate	
		in a Garo village	
<i>soldar</i>	from <i>sardar</i>	another local man appointed	(the same)
		under the laskar to maintain peace as well as	
		to deal with crimes in the absence of the	
		laskar	
<i>Jamatal</i>	from <i>jamadar</i>	a sweeper	a sweeper
<i>Ejahal</i>	from <i>ejahar</i>	a report /	a report/
		complaint made to	complaint to
		the police	the police

**Religious Terms:**

<i>Gitrang</i>	from <i>geet+rang</i>	Hymns / Psalms	Hymns /Psalms
			<i>-rang</i> is a plural
<i>songsarek</i>	from <i>sangsaroh+ikoh</i>	worldly/of the world	number in Garo a non-Christian

**Educational Terms:**

alphabet	alphabet
<i>tusin</i>	tution
<i>subjek</i>	subject
<i>tarm</i>	term

oral

oral

**sports and games:**

<i>score</i>	score	score	score
<i>Criket</i>	Cricket		
<i>sixer</i>	sixer		
<i>bondari /boun dari</i>	boundary		
<i>wiket</i>	wicket		
<i>wiket kihar</i>	wicket keeper		
out	out		
Umpire	umpire		

**Elision**

Taken mostly from the Garo Hymn book which can be taken as a standard:

<i>Galili'chi</i>	<i>Galilini-chi</i>	<i>Galilini chi</i> (compound / hybrid?)
<i>do·o'ni</i>	<i>do·orangni</i>	<i>do·orangni ku-rang</i>
<i>bu·sun'bu·suni</i>	<i>bu·suni mukut</i>	
<i>biap'na</i>	<i>biapona</i>	
<i>norok'rama</i>	<i>norokni rama</i>	
<i>an·chitang'</i>	<i>an·chitangko</i>	
<i>apnikjan'</i>	<i>apnikjani</i>	
<i>chanchi'</i>	<i>chanchibo</i>	
<i>Isol'</i>	<i>Isolko /isolni</i> (acc. to the sentence)	
<i>salgin'</i>	<i>salgiona / salgichina</i> (“)	

<i>Jisun'</i>	<i>Jisuna / Jisuni</i>	
<i>Indi'</i>	<i>indine</i>	<i>indine (inon mikron nijok)</i>
<i>pring'</i>	<i>pringni / pringo</i>	
<i>b'laksranggipa</i>	<i>bilaksranggipa</i>	
<i>mukut'</i>	<i>mukutko / mukutni (" )</i>	
<i>grikan'chi</i>	<i>grikanichi</i>	
<i>sko'</i>	<i>skoko / skoni (" )</i>	
<i>torom' rama</i>	<i>toromni rama</i>	
<i>salgin'</i>	<i>salgini</i>	
<i>katchaan'</i>	<i>katchaani</i>	
<i>janggin'</i>	<i>janggini</i>	
<i>karirang'</i>	<i>karirangni</i>	
<i>patian'</i>	<i>patiani</i>	
<i>neng-takan'</i>	<i>neng-takani</i>	
<i>simbran'</i>	<i>simbraaniko</i>	
<i>jangat'</i>	<i>jangatbo</i>	
<i>a'ni</i>	<i>a-ani</i>	
<i>kusin'</i>	<i>kusini</i>	
<i>andalan'</i>	<i>andalani</i>	
<i>'seki</i>	<i>biski</i>	

## Redupliation:

**Adjectives:**With no change in the repeated section

<i>tong-tang tong-tang</i>	: in bits and pieces
<i>rokom rokom</i>	: all kinds of things
<i>srang srang</i>	: clearly without withholding anything
<i>te-rak te-rak</i>	: in manageable portions
<i>mitchi mitchi</i>	: dirty, messy
<i>chichot chichot</i>	: very wet, completely soaked; as butterfly
<i>jom-si jom-si</i>	: at a very slow pace
<i>sri sri</i>	: dimly, at a distance
<i>mikot mikot</i>	: scrutinize in fine detail; also, seen from a distance as small or tiny
<i>misil misil</i>	: a disgusting sight or experience
<i>srik srik</i>	: quietly, secretly
<i>smil smil</i>	: in a fragrant manner
<i>pra pra</i>	: of birds and animals- to scatter in flocks or herds
<i>rika rika</i>	: simultaneously / one after the other

(with slight changes in vowels or consonants)

<i>waki mikki</i>	: unhappy; uncomfortable
<i>rotti rotta</i>	: in small installments (adj /adv)
<i>onding ondang</i>	: uneven
<i>bil·dik bil·dak</i>	: entangled; at sixes and sevens (adj / adv)
<i>sorek sohek</i>	: dirty
<i>sera bera</i>	: messy; untidy
<i>simsim samsam</i>	: dusk; twilight

New Pairs (With a change or two)

<i>ritang bandang</i>	: uneven; disorderly (adj/adv)
<i>nidik nisi</i>	: indecent (adv/ad
<i>gingsru miksru</i>	: untidy; with a running nose
<i>mileng miltak</i>	: covered in mud
<i>ku·keng wakeng</i>	: quarrelsome
<i>wekwak gawak</i>	: muddy; damp and moist
<i>mitchi mitchok</i>	: dirty
<i>ku·sik miksik</i>	: silent; with no communication
<i>a·ograng chiograng</i>	: aimless; with no weight or strength of character

## Adverbs:

(with no change)

<i>Mikkang mikkang</i>	: leading/ahead/at the fore (adv)
<i>Tingtót tingtót</i>	: dripping/in drops (adv)
<i>Nasi nasi</i>	: wastefully (adv)
<i>pring-prang</i>	: morning star (Venus),
<i>Pil·eng pil·eng</i>	: in thin slices; thinly (adv)
<i>Bodol bodol</i>	: One after the other (adv)
<i>Sul sul</i>	: serially (adv)
<i>Che che</i>	: shame shame / fie fie (Interjection)
<i>Ka·sin ka·sin</i>	: Slowly (adv)
<i>Ta·rak ta·rak</i>	: quickly/fast, fast (adv)
<i>Che·em che·em</i>	: in minute detail
<i>Dingtang dingtang</i>	: different varieties
<i>Srang srang</i>	: clearly, without withholding anything
<i>Riting riting</i>	: one after the other, in a sequence, like a string

(With a change or two)

<i>nidik nisi</i>	: indecent (adv/adj)
<i>kingking</i>	: disorderly; disarrayed
<i>chotchri chotchra</i>	: in tatters (adv)
<i>siket - baket</i>	: in a great hurry
<i>rotti rotta</i>	: in small installments (adj /adv)

<i>bil·dik bil·dak</i>	: entangled; at sixes and sevens (adj / adv)
<i>bikpil pangpil·</i>	: at sixes and sevens; chaotic; disorderly
<i>ki·sang mikkang</i>	: from all aspects; pros and cons
<i>man·dik man·si</i>	: inconveniently
<i>gimik gimang</i>	: all together

Other reduplicated words with initial differences and repetition in the second syllable:

<i>delmrumru</i>	: very faintly (adv)
<i>ku·simtektek</i>	: to be pale with sorrow or shame (adj)
<i>chong·dikdik</i>	: very short (adv / adj)
<i>ka·sinsin</i>	: slowly (adv /adv)
<i>ka·sinjrimjrim</i>	: slow(ly), cold(ly) and quiet(ly) (adj/adv)
<i>deldikdik</i>	: taken by surprise; taken aback (adv)
<i>ka·sindikdik</i>	: calm, quiet, with no bustle (adv / adj)
<i>wakidikdik</i>	: blushing; uncomfortable; ashamed
<i>ro·dingding</i>	: slender and long
<i>dengsisi</i>	: very thin and slender (of say, thread)
<i>mildomdom</i>	: obese; fat; a heavyweight
<i>simchirikrik</i>	: glossy; black
<i>simdikdik</i>	: darkly coloured; blackish
<i>tangsekgilgil</i>	: green all around; all greenery
<i>balsrisri</i>	: airy, cool breeze; with zephyr

<i>tapsrisri</i>	: flow freely, without turbulence
<i>ratchitchita</i>	: to cut criss-cross
<i>tusirekreka</i>	: have a deep sleep
<i>ka·dingwakwaka</i>	: to laugh loudly and heartily; to guffaw
<i>sikdekdeka</i>	: to shake vigorously; manhandle
<i>morekreka</i>	: to shake violently
<i>puripripa</i>	: to spread thinly
<i>miksichipchip</i>	: with half-shut eyes
<i>mikgilgopgop</i>	: with hooded eyes
<i>gingtongrengreng</i>	: with a long and high-bridged nose
<i>sin·jrimjrim</i>	: somewhat cold
<i>ka·dingsmitsmit</i>	: with a faint smile
<i>ka·dingsiksik</i>	: with a faint smile
<i>ku·dambokbok</i>	: with a prettily shaped mouth
<i>miktenten</i>	: staring intently
<i>kan·dikdik</i>	: in short; very short; briefly
<i>ro·drongdrong</i>	: long and shapeless
<i>te·rakrak</i>	: just the right size; manageable

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## **BIO-DATA**

- 1. Name:** Angela R. Wa'tre Ingty
- 2. Gender:** Female
- 3. Date of Birth:** 07-04-1952
- 4. Permanent Address:** Nehru A-ding, Hawakhana,  
Tura, West Garo Hills,  
Meghalaya-794001
- 5. Address for Correspondence:** Department of English,  
North Eastern Hill University,  
Tura Campus, Chandmari-794002
- 6. Educational Qualification:** M.A. (English),  
Gauhati University, Gauhati.  
M.Phil (English),  
Madras Christian College,  
(Autonomous) Tambaram,  
Chennai, Tamilnadu.  
PGDTE, Shillong Regional Centre,  
Shillong.
- 7. Work Experiences:**
- December 1976-June 2002: Lecturer (English), Union Christian College,  
P. O. UCC-793122, Ri Bhoi District, Meghalaya.

1990-2002: Head, Department of English, UCC.

- June 2002- June 2006: Lecturer, Dept. of English, NEHU, Tura Campus, Tura, Meghalaya.
- June 2006 Till date: Senior Lecturer, Dept. of English, NEHU Tura Campus, Tura, Meghalaya.
- December 2002-May 2005: Teacher In-charge, Student Welfare, NEHU, Tura Campus, Tura.
- In-charge of a Drama, staged by the students of the NEHU, Tura Campus funded *and* initiated by the Deputy Commissioner, West Garo Hills, under the CMYD (Chief Minister's Youth Development) Scheme for 2002-2003, as part of its programme for creating Social Awareness on Literacy and Sanitation.

**8. Seminars/ Workshops Attended:**

Sl. No.	Seminar/Workshop	Venue	Date	Organisers	Funding Agency	Nature of Participation
1.	National Seminar	NEHU, Tura Campus, Tura	7 <sup>th</sup> , 8 <sup>th</sup> , May, 1999	Dept. of Garo	Indian Council of Social Sciences Research, North- Eastern Regional	Paper Presenter

					Centre, (ICSSR-NE)	
2.	National Seminar	NEHU, Tura Campus, Tura	11 <sup>th</sup> ,12 <sup>th</sup> November,2002	Dept. of Garo	Jointly by the Dept.of Garo & Kamrupa Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati	Paper Presenter
3.	National Seminar	NEHU, Tura Campus, Tura	3 <sup>rd</sup> , 4 <sup>th</sup> November,2003	Dept. of English	NEHU	Paper Presenter
4.	National Seminar	NEHU, Tura Campus, Tura	23 <sup>rd</sup> ,24 <sup>th</sup> November, 2003	Dept. of Garo	Indira Gandhi Rashtriya Manav Sangrahalaya, Bhopal	Paper Presenter
5	National Seminar	NEHU, Tura Campus, Tura	3 <sup>rd</sup> , 4 <sup>th</sup> November,2006	Dept..of English	ICSSR- NERC & NEHU.	Paper Presenter

6	National Seminar	NEHU, Tura Campus, Tura	7 <sup>th</sup> , 8 <sup>th</sup> October, 2004	Dept. of Garo	Paper Presenter
7	Workshop	NEHU, Tura Campus, Tura	29 <sup>th</sup> , 30 <sup>th</sup> September, 2004	Dept. of English and Dept. of Garo	Participant

**Refresher Courses:**

- Attended the UGC-sponsored Refresher Course in Dept of English, NEHU, Tura Campus from 13<sup>th</sup> November - 3<sup>rd</sup> December, 2002
- Attended the UGC-sponsored Refresher Course in Dept of English, NEHU, Tura Campus from 13<sup>th</sup> November - 3<sup>rd</sup> December, 2003

**Orientation Programme:** None

**9. Publications:**

- Contributed a paper to a National Seminar, English Department in Tura Campus, on the topic. "Intelligibility of Indian English, with Special Reference to Pronunciation: Problems and Prospects, with Special Focus on NE India." Under Publication.

**Declaration**

I hereby declare that the above information given by me is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

  
10/05/08  
**Angela R. W. Ingty**

Department of English

North Eastern Hill University,

Tura Campus, Tura, Meghalaya.

Dated Tura the 10<sup>th</sup> of May, 2008