

## Chapter-4

### Morphology

#### 4.1. Nouns

Nouns in Toto can be determined by their function in grammatical constructions as subjects or objects. Morphologically, they are determined by suffixing morphemes for number, gender and case. Nouns in Toto can be classified into basic nouns, derived nouns, and compound nouns.

##### 4.1.1. Basic nouns

###### 4.1.1.1. Syllabic structure of noun roots

###### 4.1.1.1.1. Monosyllabic noun roots

Monosyllabic noun roots having the syllabic pattern VC, CV, CVC, and CVV are found in Toto. Monosyllabic word having CVC pattern are frequently found in the language. However, monosyllabic words having VC pattern are comparatively less in number.

VC	ij	‘a kind of tree’
	ej	‘ginger’
	ul	‘cotton’
CV	da	‘chopper’
	sa	‘house’
	ga	‘what’
	ka	‘I’
	me	‘wife’
	ni	‘salt’
	wa	‘husband’

CVC	cuj	‘to catch’
	guj	‘mushroom’
	cej	‘child’
	hiŋ	‘lesson’
	haŋ	‘what’
	daŋ	‘horn’
	kuŋ	‘my’
	niŋ	‘to raise’
	meŋ	‘medicine’
	miŋ	‘name’
	jiŋ	‘to tie’
	jaŋ	‘speak’
	zoŋ	‘a kind of paddy’
	kaŋ	‘to see’
	tuŋ	‘cover’
	miŋ	‘ripe’
	CVV	<u>da</u> i
pa <u>i</u>		‘to cut’
gu <u>i</u>		‘crocodile’

#### 4.1.1.1.2. Disyllabic noun roots

Disyllabic nouns roots with V.CV, CV.CV, CV.CVC, CV.VV , CVV.CV, CVC.CV and CVC.CVC syllabic pattern are found in Toto.

V.CV	e.ŋa	‘horse’
	ə.pa	‘father’

	a.si	‘stool’
	ə.ma	‘cooked rice’
	e.wa	‘cough’
	a.ri	‘saw’
CV.CV	po.ʃa	‘bachelor’
	cu.me	‘daughter’s daughter’
	sa.ni	‘sun’
	ce.me	‘daughter’
	ta.ri	‘moon’
	ʃe.ʃe	‘storm’
	me.me	‘female’
	na.ya	‘bear’
	mo.ta	‘insect’
	ti.ma	‘leech’
	za.ŋa	‘mosquito’
CV.CVC	ta.kur	‘barbar’
	pi.diŋ	‘eagle’
	gu.rul	‘vulture’
	ku.siŋ	‘claw’
	na.nuŋ	‘ear’
CV.CV <u>Y</u>	ʃi.tei	‘father’s brother’s wife’
	pi.sei	‘father’s sister elder’
	po.roi	‘pigeon’

	za.sai	‘scorpion’
	yo.yai	‘cheek’
CV <u>V</u> .CV	moi.na	‘myana’
	zui.wa	‘mouse’
	hui.ya	‘crocodile’
	cui.ma	‘honey bee’
	kui.tu	‘egg’
	pui.ya	‘snake’
CVC.CV	ceŋ.wa	‘boy’
	diŋ.ba	‘sky’
	haŋ.sa	‘duck’
	siŋ.ho	‘lion’
	ler.ka	‘centipede’
	ceŋ.be	‘chick’
CVC.CVC	beŋ.reŋ	‘feather’
	tuŋ.ciŋ	‘heart’
	tuŋ.siŋ	‘skull’
	beg.reŋ	‘spine’

#### 4.1.1.1.3. Trisyllabic noun roots

Trisyllabic noun roots with V.CV.CV, VC.CV.CV, CV.CV.CV, CV.CVC.CV, CVC.CV.CV, CVC.CV.CVC, CVC.CVC.CV, CVC.CVC.CVV syllabic pattern are found in Toto.

V.CV.CV	a.lu.wa	‘red’
VC.CV.CV	ac.ka.na	‘hatred’
CV.CV.CV	ba.ro.bi	‘relatives’
	na.ki.na	‘sneeze’
	ba.ku.la	‘crane’
	ba.bui.si	‘butterfly’
	mi.aŋ.na	‘alive’
	bu.cu.wa	‘fat’
	ka.su.ma	‘dagger’
	si.ma.na	‘border’
CV.CVC.CV	pa.gur.se	‘pumpkin’
	mi.tiŋ.wa	‘blind’
	se.daŋ.wa	‘anger’
CVC.CV.CV	gol.pu.le	‘tumour’
	dar.ci.na	‘cinnamon’
	lam.be.ra	‘tomato’
	tet.ri.se	‘tamarind’
CVC.CV.CVC	den.te.pul	‘pimple’
CVC.CVC.CV	toŋ.por.se	‘guava’
CVC.CVC.CVV	cep.reŋ.sai	‘beans’

#### 4.1.1.1.4. Tetrasyllabic noun roots

Noun roots that belong to this group are even fewer than the tetrasyllabic noun roots.

V.CVC.CV.CV	e.daŋ.cu.wa	‘short’
CV.CV.CV.CV	ka.ta.la.wa	‘drama’
	du.zu.ku.mu	‘mongoose’

#### 4.1.2. Derived nouns

Derived nouns are mainly derived from the verb by suffixing nominalizer *-wa* to the verb root followed by the morpheme *poja* are shown below.

##### 4.1.2.1. Agentive Nouns

<i>yui</i>	‘dance’	<i>yui-wa-poja</i>	‘dancer’
<i>klai</i>	‘play’	<i>klai-wa-poja</i>	‘player’
<i>zezeŋ</i>	‘love’	<i>zezeŋ-wa-poja</i>	‘lover’
<i>tui</i>	‘run’	<i>tui-wa-poja</i>	‘runner’

#### 4.1.3. Compound nouns

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages Toto has a good number of compound nouns. Compound nouns in Toto are formed by the juxtaposition of two morphemes which may be either free or bound. Most of the compound nouns in the language consist of NOUN + NOUN, NOUN + VERB, NOUN + NUMERAL, NOUN+POSTPOSITION as can be seen in the following examples.

##### 4.1.3.1. Noun + Noun

- (1) *raja-komoŋto*  
[raja ‘king’ + komoŋto ‘place’]  
‘Kingdom’ (lit. King’s place)

- (2) *raja-kome*  
[raja 'king' + kome 'wife']  
'Queen' (lit. King's wife)
- (3) *mi-ti*  
[mi 'eye' + ti 'water']  
'Tears' (lit. King's place)
- (4) *roṅ-botra*  
[roṅ 'ink' + botra 'pot']  
'Inkpot' (lit. Ink bottle)
- (5) *cuy-ca*  
[cuy 'plant' + ca 'place']  
'Jungle' (lit. Plant place)
- (6) *niṅa-hawa*  
[niṅa 'earth' + hawa 'shake']  
'Earthquake' (lit. Earth shake)
- (7) *pika-kosa*  
[pika 'cow' + kosa 'shed']  
'Cowshed' (lit. Cow house)
- (8) *saka-deṅa*  
[saka 'house' + deya 'man']  
'Owner' (lit. House head)

#### 4.1.3.2. Noun + Numerals

- (9) *sa-niu*  
[sa ‘seven’ + niu ‘day’]  
‘Week’ (lit. Seven days)
- (10) *baro-co*  
[baro ‘twelve’ + co ‘month’]  
‘Twelve months’ (lit. One year)

#### 4.1.3.3. Noun + Verb

- (11) *top-ro*  
[top ‘head’ + ro ‘wear’]  
‘Cap’ (lit. Head wear)
- (12) *mik-ro*  
[mik ‘eye’ + ro ‘wear’]  
‘Spectacle’ (lit. Eye wear)
- (13) *bau-ta*  
[bau ‘luggage’ + ta ‘heavy’]  
‘Burden’ (lit. Heavy burden)

#### 4.1.3.4. Noun + Postposition

- (14) *sako-lanjam*  
[sako ‘home’ + lanjam ‘front’]  
‘Yard’ (lit. Home front)



## 4.2. Pronouns

A pronoun is a word, which is used in place of nouns. They are anaphoric in the sense, that they replace noun in a sentence. Pronouns in Toto can take number and case markers but do not show gender distinction. Pronoun can be used in all persons: (i) first, (ii) second and (iii) third whereas a noun is always used in the third person. The pronoun in Toto can be classified as: i) personal, ii) demonstrative, iii) interrogative, iv) indefinite and v) reflexive pronoun.

### 4.2.1. Personal Pronoun

Personal Pronoun in Toto can be distinguished in three ways i) first person ii) second person and iii) third person. Toto distinguish three persons and two numbers. Structurally the first and second person pronouns are monosyllabic in nature. However, unlike first and second person the third person personal pronoun is disyllabic word. It is interesting to note that the second person personal pronoun *na* is the reflex of Proto Tibeto-Burman *\*naŋ* (Benedict 1972). It is also worth to be mentioned here that the first, and third persons plural are formed by the suffixation of *-biya ~ -bi* to the first second and third person pronouns *ka nati and aku* respectively. This is one of the typical features of Tibeto-Burman languages shared by Toto language. The personal pronouns in Toto are summarised in the following table 8.

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST	<i>ka /kuŋ</i> 'I/'my'	<i>ka-biya</i> 'we'
SECOND	<i>nati</i> 'you'	<i>nati-biya</i> 'you (PL)'
THIRD	<i>aku</i> 'he/she'	<i>aku-biya</i> 'they'

Table 8 Personal Pronouns in Toto

The used of personal pronouns is shown in the following examples.

- (15) *ka Onima -hing tiŋ-mi*  
 I Onima-ACC see-PRES  
 ‘I see Onima’
- (16) *nati aku-hiŋ tiŋ-mi*  
 you her-ACC see-PRES  
 ‘You see her’
- (17) *aku eta waŋ-mi*  
 he here come-PRES  
 ‘He comes here’
- (18) *kabiya school-ta ha-mi*  
 We school-LOC go-PRES  
 ‘We go to school’
- (19) *nabiya kabiyaŋ tiŋ-mi*  
 you us see-PRES  
 ‘You (pl) see us’
- (20) *abiko ceŋ bi*  
 their son PL  
 ‘Their sons’

The pronouns in Toto can be inflected for cases as given below in table.

Case	Person	Singular	Plural
Nominative – $\emptyset$			
	first	<i>ka-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘I’	<i>ka-biya-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘we’
	second	<i>nati-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘you’	<i>nati-biya-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘you’ (PL)
	third	<i>aku-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘he/she’	<i>aku-biya-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘they’

	first	<i>ka-hiŋ</i> ‘to me’	<i>ka-biya-hiŋ</i> ‘to us’
Accusative – <i>hiŋ</i>	second	<i>nati-hiŋ</i> ‘to you’	<i>nati-biya-hiŋ</i> ‘to you’ (PL)
	third	<i>aku-hiŋ</i> ‘to him/her’	<i>aku-biya-hiŋ</i> ‘to them’
	first	<i>ka-hiŋ</i> ‘to me’	<i>ka-biya-hiŋ</i> ‘to us’
Dative – <i>hiŋ</i>	second	<i>nati-hiŋ</i> ‘to you’	<i>nati-biya-hiŋ</i> ‘to you’ (PL)
	third	<i>aku-hiŋ</i> ‘to him/her’	<i>aku-biya-hiŋ</i> ‘to them’
Genitive – <i>ko</i>			
	first	<i>ka-ko</i> ‘my’	<i>ka-biya-ko</i> ‘our’
	second	<i>nati-ko</i> ‘your’	<i>nati-biya-ko</i> ‘yours’ (PL)
	third	<i>aku-ko</i> ‘his/her’	<i>aku-biya-ko</i> ‘their’
Instrumental – <i>bai</i>			
	first	<i>ka-so</i> ‘by me’	<i>ka-biya-so</i> ‘by us’
	second	<i>natin-so</i> ‘by you’	<i>natin-biya-so</i> ‘by you’ (PL)
	third	<i>aku-so</i> ‘by him/her’	<i>aku-biya-so</i> ‘by them’
Comitative – <i>yopa</i>			
	first	<i>ka-so</i> ‘with me’	<i>ka-biya-so</i> ‘with us’
	second	<i>natin-so</i> ‘with you’	<i>natin-biya-so</i> ‘with you’ (PL)
	third	<i>aku-so</i> ‘with him/her’	<i>aku-biya-so</i> ‘with them’

Table 9 Personal pronouns with case inflection

#### 4.2.2. Demonstrative pronoun

Demonstrative pronoun in Toto can be categorized on the basis of criteria such as proximity and distal: *i* ‘this’ and *u* ‘that’ as illustrated below.

	Proximate		Distal
	<i>i</i> ‘this’		<i>u</i> ‘that’
(21)	<i>i</i>	<i>ico</i>	<i>sa</i>
	DEM	one	house
	‘This is a house’		
(22)	<i>u</i>	<i>ico</i>	<i>miŋki</i>
	DEM	one	cat
	‘That is a cat’		
(23)	<i>i</i>	<i>pika</i>	
	DEM	cow	
	‘This is cow’		
(24)	<i>u</i>	<i>hanga</i>	
	DEM	what	
	‘What is that?’		

#### 4.2.3. Interrogative Pronoun

Interrogative pronouns are those pronouns, which are used for asking questions. Structurally, interrogative pronouns in Toto can be classified into two types: (i) basic and (ii) derived.

#### 4.2.3.1. Basic Interrogative Pronouns

The basic interrogative pronouns are underived ones as it is illustrated in the following examples.

<i>hasu</i>	‘who’
<i>haŋ</i>	‘what’
<i>hapa</i>	‘how’

#### 4.2.3.2. Derived Interrogative Pronouns

The derived interrogative pronouns are derived from the basic interrogative pronouns *hasu* ‘who’, *haŋ* ‘what’ by adding case markers *-ka*, *-ko* and *-ta* to the same as described in the following examples.

- (25) *hasu-ta*  
[who ‘who’ + ta ‘LOC’]  
‘Whom’

- (26) *hasu-ko*  
[hasu ‘who’ + ko ‘GEN’]  
‘Whose’

- (27) *haŋ-ta*  
[haŋ ‘what’ + ta ‘LOC’]  
‘Where’

It is interesting to note that some of the interrogative pronouns in Toto are derived from the basic ones by adding various morphemes *somai* ‘time’, *ni* ‘auxiliary’, *pa* ‘adverbializer’ etc. as can be seen in the following example

(28) *haŋ-ni*

[haŋ ‘what’ + ni ‘AUX’]

‘Which’

(29) *haŋni-somai*

[haŋni ‘which’ + somai ‘time’]

‘When’

(30) *haŋ-pa*

[haŋ ‘what’ + pa ‘ADVZ’/ ‘happen’]

‘Why’

#### 4.3.4. Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun in Toto is expressed on the nouns i.e., by suffixing *-raŋ* to the pronoun except in the case of plural reflexive pronouns such as ourselves, themselves etc. as can be seen in the following examples.

(31) *ka ka-raŋ*

I I-REFL

‘I myself’

(32) *ka-biya-raŋ*

1-PL-REFL

‘We ourselves’

(33) *nati nati-raŋ*

you you-REFL

‘You yourself’

(34) *aku aku-raŋ*  
he he-REFL  
'Himself'

(35) *aku-biya-raŋ*  
3-PL-REFL  
'Themselves'

#### 4.3.5. Indefinite pronouns

The class of pronoun refers to unknown or an unidentified person or thing. Following indefinite pronouns are found in Toto.

<i>haizijba</i>	'anything'
<i>haŋsuzijba</i>	'anybody/anyone'
<i>thaŋ</i>	'something'
<i>haŋsu</i>	'someone'
<i>hatroŋzijba</i>	'anytime'

#### 4.3. Gender

Gender is not a universal feature in the structure of the languages of the world. Therefore Corbett (1991) rightly pointed out that in some languages gender is central and pervasive, while in others it is totally absent. Furthermore, modern linguistic theory distinguishes between languages having grammatical and natural gender, regarding the former as structural or formal phenomena, and the latter as semantic or content phenomena. Stanley (1977) explains the distinction between the two kinds of gender in

linguistics. Grammatical gender refers to the three main noun classes, as recognized in Greek and Latin, namely, "feminine", "neuter" and "masculine." Classification of nouns into three genders accounts for pronominal reference and adjectival concord. Theoretically, it is independent of sex. Natural gender, in contrast, "refers to the classification of nouns on the basis of biological sex, as female or male, or animate and inanimate (Stanley, 1977). It is worth mentioning here that most of the Tibeto-Burman languages lack grammatical gender, rather natural gender is certainly widespread in the family.

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages Gender in Toto has no role in showing grammatical relationship between the nouns and other categories in the sentences. In other words, Toto has no grammatical gender, it has only natural gender, i.e., all the male comes under the masculine and all the female comes under the feminine.

From the semanto-morphological point of view, the noun may be divided into human and non-human classes. The human nouns in Toto are morphologically marked for male and female. There are different markers for indicating male and female in case of non-human nouns. All the inanimate nouns are considered as neuter. Gender in Toto may be summarized in the following figure 3.



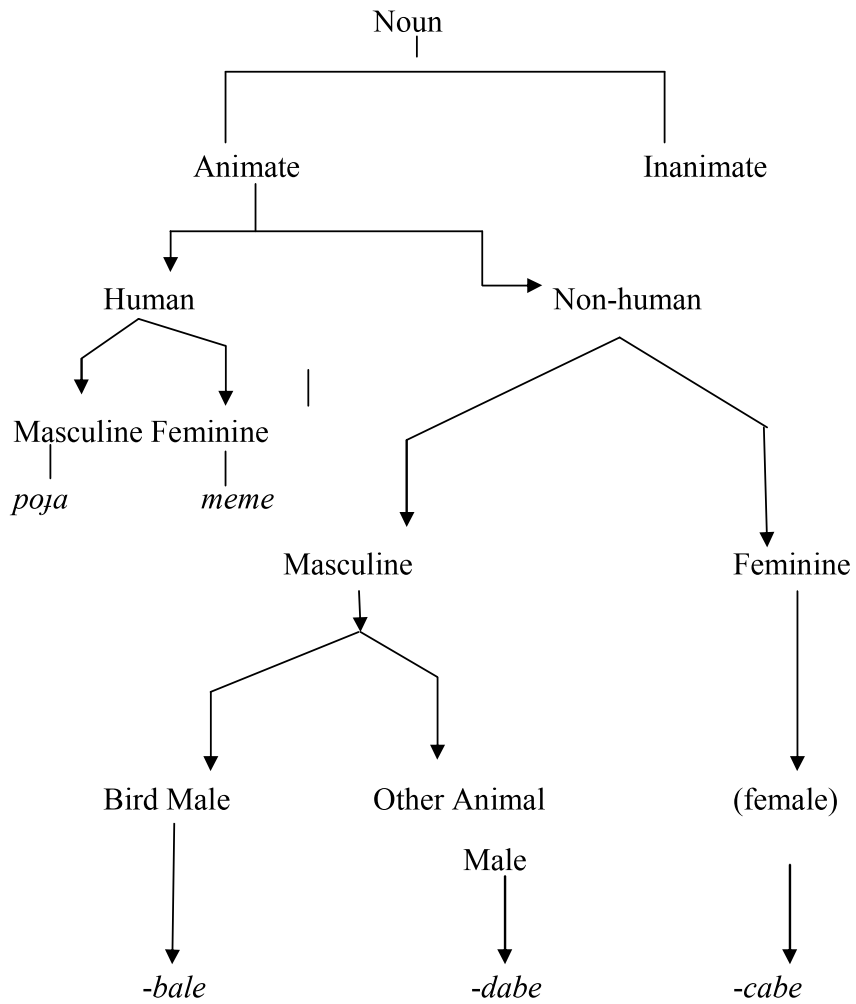


Figure -3 Gender in Toto

#### 4.3.1. Different strategies of determining gender

The different strategies of determining gender in Toto are described in the following sections.

##### 4.3.1.1. Human nouns

Basic kinship nouns in Toto have two separate distinct forms for each gender. Some of the nouns particularly kin nouns are made male and female distinction by using opposite lexical items. On the other hand, the suffixes -

*poja* and *-meme* are also used to indicate male and female as can be seen in the following examples.

<i>ata</i>	‘father’s father’	<i>aja</i>	‘father’s mother’
<i>wa</i>	‘husband’	<i>me</i>	‘wife’
<i>paja</i>	‘male’	<i>meme</i>	‘female’
<i>apa</i>	‘father’	<i>ayu</i>	‘mother’
<i>senza-poja</i>	‘God’	<i>senza-meme</i>	‘Goddess’
<i>baro-poja</i>	‘friend male’	<i>baro-meme</i>	‘friend female’

It is worth mentioning here that the markers *-poja* and *-meme* in Toto may be derived from the lexical items denoting ‘male’ and ‘female’ respectively.

#### 4.3.1.2. Gender marking of animal nouns

In case of animals, male and female are indicated by the prefixes *dabe-* and *cabe-* indicate male and female as illustrated below.

<i>dabe-kiya</i>	‘dog’	<i>cabe-kiya</i>	‘bitch’
<i>dabe-niŋki</i>	‘male cat’	<i>cabe-niŋki</i>	‘female cat’
<i>dabe-eŋa</i>	‘horse’	<i>cabe-eŋa</i>	‘mare’
<i>dabe-gibe</i>	‘stag’	<i>cabe-gibe</i>	‘hind’
<i>dabe-kuŋwa</i>	‘tiger’	<i>cabe-kuŋwa</i>	‘tigress’
<i>dabe-pika</i>	‘bull’	<i>cabe-pika</i>	‘cow’

#### 4.3.1.3. Gender marking of birds

In case of non-human animate nouns particularly bird, the male and female are expressed by using prefixes *bale-* and *cabe-* as illustrated below.

<i>bale-keka</i>	‘cock’	<i>cabe-keka</i>	‘hen’
<i>bale-haŋsa</i>	‘male duck’	<i>cabe-haŋsa</i>	‘female duck’

*bale-bokula* ‘male crane’ *cabe-bokula* ‘female crane’  
*bale-paroi* ‘male pigeon’ *cabe-paroi* ‘female pigeon’  
*bale-gurul* ‘male vulture’ *cabe-gurul* ‘female vulture’

#### 4.3.1.4. Gender marking of trees and plants

Plants and trees that bear fruits are considered as female in Toto. However, tree fails to bear fruits, is considered as male as can be seen below.

(36) *mewa* *dabe*  
 papaya male  
 ‘Male papaya’

(37) *yuyupi* *dabe*  
 banana male  
 ‘Male banana’

(38) *guwai* *dabe*  
 betel-nut male  
 ‘Male betel-nut’

(39) *muri* *dabe*  
 chilli male  
 ‘Male chilly’

#### 4.3.1.5. Gender marking of agentive nouns

Agentive nouns in Toto can be marked for gender. The suffix *-poja* indicates male and *-meme* indicates female as exemplified below.

Masculine	Feminine
<i>yui-wa-poja</i>	<i>yui-wa-meme</i>
‘male dancer’	‘female dancer’
<i>klai-wa-poja</i>	<i>klai-wa-meme</i>
‘male player’	‘female player’
<i>zezeŋ-wa-poja</i>	<i>zezeŋ-wa-meme</i>
‘male lover’	‘female lover’
<i>tui-wa-poja</i>	<i>tu-wa-meme</i>
‘male runner’	‘female runner’

#### 4.3.1.6. Neuter

All the inanimate nouns are considered as neuter, which are morphologically unmarked as shown in the following examples.

<i>bida</i>	‘comb’
<i>aŋdu</i>	‘cloth’
<i>guli</i>	‘bullet’
<i>kolom</i>	‘pen’
<i>luintu</i>	‘stone’

#### 4.4. Number

In Toto, there are two numbers namely singular and plural. Only nouns show number distinctions, while the verbs and adjectives do not have different forms for different numbers. The singular forms of nouns are not marked by any marker i.e., singular nouns remain unmarked. Consider the following examples.

#### 4.4.1. Singular Noun

Singular	Gloss
<i>sa</i>	‘house’
<i>kiya</i>	‘dog’
<i>tari</i>	‘moon’
<i>apa</i>	‘father’
<i>naya</i>	‘bear
<i>daŋ</i>	‘horn’
<i>zaŋa</i>	‘mosquito’
<i>eŋa</i>	‘donkey’
<i>nanuŋ</i>	‘ear’
<i>kokoi</i>	‘leg’
<i>netoŋ</i>	‘neck’
<i>moəŋ</i>	‘paddy’
<i>lə</i>	‘needle’

#### 4.4.2. Pluralizing by suffixation

The plural in Toto is expressed by means of morphosyntactic processes e.g., suffixation, reduplication or plural words etc. The *-biya* ~ *-bi* is the most common plural marker used to pluralize nouns irrespective of their animacy i.e., for both animate and inanimate noun. Consider the following examples.

- (40) *kokoi-biya*  
leg-PL  
‘Legs’

- (41) *netoŋ-biya*  
neck-PL  
'Necks'
- (42) *sa-bi*  
house-PL  
'Houses'
- (43) *mico-bi*  
eye-PL  
'Eyes'
- (44) *kui-bi*  
hand-PL  
'Hands'
- (45) *ziya-bi*  
bird-PL  
'Birds'
- (46) *luintu-bi*  
rock-PL  
'Rocks'
- (47) *puriŋ-bi*  
hair-PL  
'Hairs'
- (48) *dase-biya*  
jackfruit-PL  
'Jackfruits'

It is worth to be mentioned here that the agentive nouns are also pluralized by the general plural suffix *-bi* as illustrated below.

(49) *tui-wa-poja-bi*

run-NMLZ-M-PL

‘Runners’

(50) *klai- wa-poja-bi*

play-NMLZ-M-PL

‘Players’

(51) *yoi-wa-poja-bi*

dance-NMLZ-M-PL

‘Dancers’

The demonstrative pronouns are pluralized by the general plural suffix *-biya* which is attached to the demonstrative root as illustrated below.

(52) *i -biya*

DEM-PL

‘These’

(53) *u-biya*

DEM-PL

‘Those’

Personal pronouns in Toto show three way distinctions in person and two way distinctions in number. As mentioned earlier, the first, second and third person singular forms are pluralized by suffixing the marker *-biya* which is

attached to first, second and third person pronouns as can be seen in the following examples.

(54) *ka -biya*  
I-PL  
'We'

(55) *nati-biya*  
you-PL  
'you (PL)'

(56) *aku -biya*  
he-PL  
'They'

#### **4.4.2.1. Plural word**

Majority of the languages of the world express plurality by means of plural words, which modify nouns. This is true in the case of Toto as plural words are used to express plurality in the language as described below.

#### **4. 4. 2.1.1. Numerals as plural word**

The nouns in Toto can be pluralized by using numerals. The nouns do not take plural marker when it co-occurs with a numeral more than one. Considering the following examples.



(57) *nico sa*  
two house  
'Two houses'

(58) *suŋco sene*  
three tree  
'Three trees'

(59) *dico higa*  
four book  
'Four books'

#### 4. 4. 2.1.2. Quantifiers as plural word

Like numerals, quantifiers play a major role to pluralize the nouns regardless of count and mass nouns. A noun can be inflected for plural by modifying it with a quantifier. The quantifier follows the noun as discussed below.

(60) *isese ti*  
some water  
'Some water'

(61) *uise ziya*  
many bird  
'Many birds'

(62) *iseso sa*  
few house  
'Few houses'

#### 4. 4. 2.1.3. Pluralizing by Reduplication

Pluralisation in Toto can be formed by means of reduplicating nouns and interrogatives.

##### 4.4.2.1.4. Reduplication of nouns

Reduplication of nouns in Toto denotes plurality as can be seen in (63-65).

(63) *sa sa*  
house house  
'Several houses'

(64) *cuŋca cuŋca*  
jungle jungle  
'Several jungles'

(65) *loi loi*  
village village  
'Several villages'

##### 4.4.2.1.5. Reduplication of interrogative pronouns

Like nouns, reduplication of interrogatives in Toto also denotes plurality as in (66-68).

(66) *haŋ haŋ*  
what what  
'What all?'

(67) *hasu hasu*  
who who  
'Who all?'

(68) *haŋta haŋta*  
where where  
'Which places?'

#### **4.5. Numerals**

Numeral system in Toto is mainly of the decimal type. Vegesimal system is also prevalent in the numeral system of the language. Majority of the numeral roots in the language are mono-morphemic. Bi-morphemic numerals in the language are numeral root plus suffixes for instance, *i-co* 'one', *ni-co* 'two' *ŋa-co* 'five', *tu-co* 'six' etc. Compounding is the productive morphological process to form the higher numerals. Numerals in Toto are primarily classified into five types.

- (1) Cardinal Numerals
- (2) Ordinal Numerals
- (3) Multiplicative Numerals
- (4) Fractional Numerals
- (5) Distributive numerals.

##### **4.5.1 Cardinal Numerals**

Structurally, cardinal numerals can be sub-classified into the following types: (i) basic numerals (ii) Compound numerals.

#### 4.5.1.1 Basic Numerals

The Basic numerals from one to ten in Toto are bound roots which always take numeral formative suffix or predicative suffix in the form of *-co*. Basic numerals are the ones denoting numbers from one to ten. These are.

<i>ico</i>	‘one’
<i>nico</i>	‘two’
<i>suŋco</i>	‘three’
<i>dico</i>	‘four’
<i>ŋaco</i>	‘five’
<i>tuco</i>	‘six’
<i>nisco</i>	‘seven
<i>lico</i>	‘eight’
<i>kuco</i>	‘nine’
<i>taco</i>	‘ten’

It is worth mentioning here that one to ten are bimorphemic, numeral in Toto. It is also observed that numeral roots like *ni* ‘two’ and *ŋa* ‘five’ *li* ‘eight’ seems to be Proto- Tibeto-Burman numerals as *\*nyi*, *\*ŋa*, *\*li*, respectively (Benedict 1972, Matisoff 2003). PTB numerals *\*g-ni-s*, *\*g-sum* and *\*b-liy* as reconstructed by Matisoff (1997:119).

#### 4.5.1.2. Compound cardinal numerals

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, the compound cardinal numerals are large in number and they are very productive to form higher numerals as mentioned earlier. Morphosyntactically compound cardinal numerals may be classified into the following categories: i) Additive compound numerals ii)

Multiplicative compound numerals, iii) Multiplicative cum additive compound numerals.

#### 4.5.1.2.1. Additive compound numerals

In Toto, the numerals from ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’ (11-19) are additive compound numerals. They are formed by the addition of decade *ru* ‘10’ with the basic cardinal numerals from one to nine as demonstrated in the following examples:

*taco ico* ‘eleven’

[10 + 1 = 11]

*taco-nico* ‘twelve’

[10 + 2 = 12]

*taco-suŋco* ‘thirteen’

[10 + 3 = 13]

*taco-dico* ‘fourteen’

[10 + 4 = 14]

*taco-ŋaco* ‘fifteen’

[10 + 5 = 15]

*taco-tuco* ‘sixteen’

[10 + 6 = 16]

*taco-nisco* ‘seventeen’

[10 + 7 = 17]

*taco-lico* ‘eighteen’

[10 + 8 = 18]

*taco-kuco* ‘nineteen’

[10+ 9 = 19]

As mentioned earlier that Toto has vegisimal numeral *kai~ikai* ‘20’ as a few number of Tibeto-Burman languages of North East India do namely Manipuri (Yashawanta, 2000), Dimasa (Dhiren, 2013) etc. The presence of vegisimal numeral *kai* ‘20’ is one of the typical features of Toto language in the Tibeto-Burman language family. The vegisimal root always take numeral formative suffix *-co* to form the numerals 20-29 as summarized in the following examples.

Value	Numerals	Gloss
20	<i>kai~ikai</i>	‘twenty’

Table10 Vegisimal Numeral

*ikaico-ico* ‘twenty one’

[20 + 1 = 21]

*ikaico-nico* ‘twenty two’

[20 + 2 = 22]

*ikaico-sunco* ‘twenty three’

[20 + 3 = 23]

*ikaico-dico* ‘twenty four’

[20 + 4 = 24]

*ikaico-ηaco* ‘twenty five’

[20 + 5 = 25]

*ikaico-tuco* 'twenty six'

[20 + 6 = 26]

*ikaico-nisco* 'twenty seven'

[20 + 7 = 27]

*ikaico-lico* 'twenty eight'

[20 + 8 = 28]

*ikaico-kuco* 'twenty nine'

[20 + 9 = 29]

The additive compound numeral *ikaico taco* 30/thirty is formed through the addition of vigesimal numeral 20/twenty followed by the numeral formative suffix -co to decade *taco* 'ten'. The formation of numerals 30-39 are summarized in the following examples.

Value	Numeral	Gloss
30	<i>ikaico taco</i>	'thirty'

Table 11: Numeral 30

*ikaico taco ico* 'thirty one'

[20 + 10 + 1 = 31]

*ikaico taco nico* 'thirty two'

[20 + 10 + 2 = 32]

*ikaico taco suŋco* 'thirty three'

[20 + 10 + 3 = 33]

*ikaico taco dico* 'thirty four'

[20 + 10 + 4 = 34]

*ikaico taco ηaco* ‘thirty five’

$$[20 + 10 + 5 = 35]$$

*ikaico taco tuco* ‘thirty six’

$$[20 + 10 + 6 = 36]$$

*ikaico taco nisco* ‘thirty seven’

$$[20 + 10 + 7 = 37]$$

*ikaico taco lico* ‘thirty eight’

$$[20 + 10 + 8 = 38]$$

*ikaico taco kuco* ‘thirty nine’

$$[20 + 10 + 9 = 39]$$

#### 4.5.1.2.2. Multiplicative compound numerals

The multiplicative compound numeral 40/forty, 60/sixty, 80/eighty, and 100/hundred are formed through the multiplication of basic numeral roots 2/two, 3/three, 4/four, and 5/five to vegisimal *kai* ‘twenty’. The formation of numerals 40,60,80 and 100 are summarized in the following examples.

*ni kai* ‘forty’

$$[2 \times 20 = 40]$$

*suη kai* ‘sixty’

$$[3 \times 20 = 60]$$

*di kai* ‘eighty’

$$[4 \times 20 = 80]$$

*ηa kai* ‘hundred’

$$[5 \times 20 = 100]$$



#### 4.5.1.2.3. Multiplication cum addition compound numerals

Toto numerals from 50/fifty, 70/seventy and 90/ninety are formed through the multiplication of first two numerals followed by the numeral formative suffix *-co* and the summation of the of the decade 10/ten.

*ni kaico taco* 'fifty'

$$[2 \times 20 + 10 = 50]$$

*suŋ kaico taco* 'seventy'

$$[3 \times 20 + 10 = 70]$$

*di kaico taco* 'ninety'

$$[4 \times 20 + 10 = 90]$$

The numerals from 41-49, 51-59, 61-69, 71-79, 81-89, 91-99 are summarized in the following :

*ni kaico ico* 'forty one'

$$[2 \times 20 + 1 = 41]$$

*ni kaico taco nico* 'fifty two'

$$[2 \times 20 + 10 + 2 = 52]$$

*suŋ kaico nico* 'sixty three'

$$[3 \times 20 + 3 = 63]$$

*suŋ kaico dico* 'sixty four'

$$[3 \times 20 + 4 = 64]$$

*suŋ kaico taco ŋaco* 'seventy five'

$$[3 \times 20 + 10 + 5 = 75]$$

*suŋ kaico taco tuco* 'seventy six'

$$[3 \times 20 + 10 + 6 = 76]$$

*di kaico nisco* 'eighty seven'

$$[4 \times 20 + 7 = 87]$$

*di kaico lico* 'eighty eight'

$$[4 \times 20 + 8 = 88]$$

*di kaico taco kuco* 'ninety nine'

$$[4 \times 20 + 10 + 9 = 99]$$

#### 4.5.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinals in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India are derived from the cardinal numerals by means of affixation i.e., mostly by suffixing a morpheme to the corresponding cardinal numerals. The ordinal in Toto are also formed by adding the morpheme *-wəŋna* to the cardinal numerals as in the following examples.

*ico-wəŋna* 'first'

*nico-wəŋna* 'second'

*suŋco-wəŋna* 'third'

*dico-wəŋna* 'fourth'

*kuco-wəŋna* 'ninth'

*taco-wəŋna* 'tenth'

#### 4.5.3. Multiplicative numerals

Multiplicative numerals are formed by prefixing the morpheme *ti-* 'repeat' to the corresponding cardinal numerals.

*ico-ti* 'once'

*nico-ti* 'twice'

*suŋco-ti* 'thrice'

<i>dico-ti</i>	‘four times’
<i>ku-ti</i>	‘nine times’
<i>taco-ti</i>	‘ten times’
<i>ikai-ti</i>	‘twenty times’

#### 4.5.4. Fractional Numerals

There is a fractional numeral in Toto viz. *ipo* meaning ‘half’. Other than this, the fractional numerals are expressed in the following ways.

<i>ico</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>ipo</i>	‘1 and 1/2’
one	and	half	
<i>nico</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>ipo</i>	‘2 and 1/2’
two	and	half	
<i>suŋco</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>ipo</i>	‘3 and 1/2’
three	and	half	

#### 4.5.5. Distributive Numerals

Distributive numerals in Toto are formed by reduplicating the cardinal numerals as can be seen in the following examples.

<i>ico ico</i>	‘one by one’
<i>nico nico</i>	‘two each’
<i>suŋco suŋco</i>	‘three each’
<i>dico dico</i>	‘four each’
<i>ŋaco ŋaco</i>	‘five each’
<i>tuco tuco</i>	‘six each’
<i>nisco nisco</i>	‘seven each’
<i>lico lico</i>	‘eight each’

<i>kuco kuco</i>	‘nine each’
<i>taco taco</i>	‘ten each’
<i>ikaai ikai</i>	‘twenty each’

It is very interesting to note that the above cardinal numeral system is only applicable with human or things related to human society. It is worth to mentioned here that when animals, birds, fish are referred then another numeral formative suffix i.e., *-pu* is used with the basic cardinal roots. Considering the following examples.

<i>ipu</i>	‘one’
<i>nipu</i>	‘two’
<i>sunpu</i>	‘three’
<i>dipu</i>	‘four’
<i>ŋapu</i>	‘five’
<i>tupu</i>	‘six’
<i>nispu</i>	‘seven’
<i>lipu</i>	‘eight’
<i>kupu</i>	‘nine’
<i>tapu</i>	‘ten’

Another numeral formative suffix is *-teŋ* which is used when tree and plant is referred consider the following examples.

<i>iteŋ</i>	‘one’
<i>niteŋ</i>	‘two’
<i>sunteŋ</i>	‘three’
<i>diteŋ</i>	‘four’
<i>ŋateŋ</i>	‘five’

<i>tuteŋ</i>	‘six’
<i>nisteŋ</i>	‘seven
<i>liteŋ</i>	‘eight’
<i>kuteŋ</i>	‘nine’
<i>tateŋ</i>	‘ten’

In case of fruits and vegetable suffix *-ce* is used with cardinal numerals root as discussed in the following examples.

<i>ice</i>	‘one’
<i>nice</i>	‘two’
<i>kuce</i>	‘nine’
<i>tace</i>	‘ten’

Furthermore, when stone is referred suffix *-rum* is used with cardinal numerals root as discussed in the following examples.

<i>irum</i>	‘one’
<i>nirum</i>	‘two’
<i>kurum</i>	‘nine’
<i>tarum</i>	‘ten’

It is important to note that this kind of numeral system is not noticed in any other Tibeto-Burman languages of India and it is very strictly and systematically used in Toto language. It is one of the typical features of Toto language.

#### 4.6. Case

As many other Tibeto-Burman languages, case relations in Toto are expressed by means of postpositions. Case relation in Toto is expressed by postposing the case markers to the nouns or pronouns. Case is considered to be a morphosyntactic category specially an inflectional one, of nouns or pronouns, which typically marks their role in relation to other parts of sentence. Generally, case markers are not marked for the number, and gender of nouns. Structurally, Toto has seven types of cases as illustrated below.

Nominative case	- $\emptyset$
Accusative case	- <i>hiŋ</i>
Dative Case	- <i>hiŋ</i>
Locative case	- <i>ta</i>
Genitive case	- <i>ko</i>
Instrumental case	- <i>so</i>
Ablative case	- <i>so</i>
Comitative Case	- <i>yopa</i>

##### 4.7.1. Nominative case

Nominative case is the case of subject (noun and Pronoun). It is morphologically unmarked in Toto. The subjects of both the transitive and intransitive clauses are marked by zero case marking.

- (69) *aku- $\emptyset$*       *leŋ-na*  
she- $\emptyset$       smile-PST  
'She smiled'

- (70) *aku-∅ zeya sa-na*  
 he-∅ bird run-PST  
 ‘He killed the bird’
- (71) *Abijan -∅ nati-hij tiη-na*  
 Abijan-∅ you-ACC see-PST  
 ‘Abijan saw you.’
- (72) *Haron-∅ aku-hij ico kolom pe-na*  
 Haron-∅ her-ACC one pen give-PAST  
 ‘Haron gave her a pen.’

#### 4.6.2. Accusative case

Accusative case is marked by the marker *-hij* to the direct object of a sentence. It is used for patients of transitive verbs.

- (73) *ka-biya akubiya-hij nai-mi*  
 I-PL them-ACC know-PRES  
 ‘We know them’
- (74) *aku-∅ ziya sa-na*  
 he-∅ bird kill-PST  
 ‘He killed the bird’
- (75) *aku-∅ nati-hij tiη-na*  
 he-∅ you-ACC see-PST  
 ‘He saw you.’
- (76) *ka sa-hij zezeη-mi*  
 I house-ACC like-PRES  
 ‘I like the house.’

### 4.6.3. Dative Case

The basic role of dative case is to distinguish the recipient of something given transferred etc (Matthews 1997:85). The dative case in Toto is expressed by the suffix *-hiŋ* as illustrated in the following examples.

- (77) *yawa-hiŋ    əma   pi-ko*  
bagger-DAT   rice   give-IMP  
‘Give rice to bagger’
- (78) *aku-∅        ka-hiŋ        gari coi-na*  
he-∅            I-DAT   car buy-PST  
‘He bought a car for me’
- (79) *Bahadur    Bipul-hiŋ    poisa pi-na*  
Bahadur       Bipul-DAT   money give-PST  
‘Bahadur gave money to Bipul’
- (80) *aku            ka-hiŋ        yuti   pa-na*  
he              I-DAT        milk   bring-PST  
‘He brings milk for me’

### 4.6.4. Genitive Case

This case indicates the possessive relationship of the noun or pronoun. In other words, it reflects a possessor-possessed relationship of a particular object with another object. The possessive case in Toto is expressed by a suffix *-ko* considering the following examples.

- (81) *i        Ram-ko        sa    nina*  
DEM   Ram-GEN   house-AUX  
‘This is Ram’s house’



(82) *Rajen-ko sa*  
Rajen-GEN house  
'Rajen's house'

(83) *aku-ko asu*  
he-GEN aunt  
'His aunt'

(84) *aku-ko əpa*  
her-GEN father  
'Her father'

#### 4.6.5. Instrumental case

The instrumental case indicates the object by which the action is performed.

In Toto the instrumental case is marked by the suffix *-so*.

(85) *ka toce-so kampaŋ-mi*  
I spade-INST work-PRES  
'I work by spade'

(86) *Rajen nouka-so ha-na*  
Rajen boat-INST go-PST  
'Rajen went by boat'

(87) *Mira tobla-so klai-mi*  
Mira tobla-INST play-PRES  
'Mira plays with tobla'

(88) *Tom ziya-hiŋ dui-so yapa-na*  
Tom bird-ACC stick-INST beat-PST  
'Tom has beaten bird with a stick'

#### 4.6.6. Locative case

In Toto, the locative suffix is to indicate the location of an object or event. The locative case is expressed by the suffix *-ta* as exemplified in the following examples.

- (89) *Bahadur Jalpaiguri-ta iuŋ-mi*  
Bahadur Jalpaiguri-LOC live-PRES  
'Bahadur lives at Jalpaiguri'

- (90) *hati-bi cumca-ta iuŋ-mi*  
elephant-PL forest-LOC live-PRES  
'Elephants live in the forest'

- (91) *Sonali iskul-ta ha-daŋ-mi*  
Sonali school-LOC go-PROG-PRES  
'Sonali is going to the school'

- (92) *Dhoniram Jalpaiguri-ta ha-ro*  
Dhoniram Jalpaiguri-LOC go-FUT  
'Dhoniram will go to Jalpaiguri'

#### 4.6.7. Ablative case

The ablative case is the case that indicates the source i.e., 'from' or 'out of' of an action. It is expressed by the marker *-so*.

- (93) *ka Jalpaiguri-so waŋ-na*  
I Jalpaiguri-ABL come-PST  
'I came from Jalpaiguri'

(94) *Bahadur Kolkata-so hopdeŋle-na*

Bahadur Kolkata-ABL return-PST

‘Bahadur returned from Kolkata’

(95) *kabiya joro-so ti dei-mi*

we river-ABL water get-PRES

‘We get water from the river’

(96) *poja hati-so hadaŋ-na*

boy market-ABL return-PST

‘The boy came from the market’

#### 4.6.8. Commitative Case

It indicates the person or object associated with the subject in the performance of the action. The commitative case in Toto is expressed by the suffix *-yopa*

(97) *haŋsu Ram-yopa ha-ga*

who 1-COM go-QM

‘Who will go with Ram?’

(98) *John ka-yopa waŋ-na*

John 1-COM come-PST

‘John came with me’

(99) *aku ka-yopa iuŋ-mi*

she 1-COM live-PRES

‘She lives with me’

- (100) *Rani kuŋ piŋe-yopa ha-na*  
 Rani my aunt-COM go-PST  
 ‘Rani went with my aunt’

#### 4.7. Postpositions

Like many other SOV languages, the adposition in Toto is postposition. Toto has the following postpositions that occur after the NP, before the case-marking suffix.

##### 4.7.1. The postposition *toi* ‘on ,above’

The postposition *ru* ‘above’ postposed the noun and it can be followed by case markers.

- (101) *sene-ko toi-ta ziya nina*  
 tree -LOC above-LOC bird AUX  
 ‘The bird is on the tree’

- (102) *akubiya turui-bi toi-ta zora waŋ-na*  
 3-PL knee-PL above-LOC river come-PST  
 ‘They crossed the river by their knees’

##### 4.7.2. The postposition *nunui* ‘behind’

The postposition *nunui* ‘behind’ postposed the noun and it can be followed by the locative suffix *-ta* as can be stated in the following examples.

- (103) *Ram nunui-ta Rajen*  
 Ram behind-LOC Rajen  
 ‘Ram is behind Rajen’

- (104) *nati-ko nunui-ta diŋa Toto*  
 you-GEN behind-LOC man Toto  
 ‘The man behind you is Toto’

#### 4.7.3. The postposition *naŋbo* ‘inside’

The postposition *naŋbo* ‘inside’ is also postposed to the noun basically followed by locative case markers as evident from the following examples.

- (105) *ka higa naŋbo-ta nəsə e-na*  
 I book inside-LOC money keep-PST  
 ‘I kept money inside the book’

- (106) *Mohan sa-ko naŋbo-ta waŋ-na*  
 Mohan house-GEN inside-ABL come-PST  
 ‘Mohan came out of the house’

#### 4.7.4. The postposition *abe* ‘near’

The postposition *abe* ‘near’ postposed to the noun followed by case marker as can be seen in the following examples.

- (107) *kuŋ sa iskul abe-ta nina*  
 my house school near-LOC AUX  
 ‘My house is near the school’

- (108) *ka sene-ko abe-ta ni-na*  
 I tree-GEN near-LOC AUX-PST  
 ‘I was near the tree’

#### 4.7.5. The postposition *coko* ‘upto’

The postposition *coko* ‘upto, till’ postposed to the noun and it is not followed by any other suffixes.

(109) *hebkoŋ*      *coko* *porai-ko*  
morning      upto    read-IMP  
‘Read upto morning’

(110) *kuy*    *sa-so*              *coko* *waŋ-ko*  
My    house              upto    come-IMP  
‘Come up to my house!’

#### 4.8. Adjectives

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Toto does not have distinct category of adjective i.e. . they are derived form the verbs particularly the stative verbs as many Tibeto-Burman languages of Southeast Asia do. Adjectives in Toto are formed by suffixing nominalizer *-wa* to the stative verb bases. In other words, nominalized form of stative verbs are using as adjectives in the language as found in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Southeast Asia do.

##### 4.8.1. Deverbal adjective

The deverbal adjectives modify a noun, it occurs with the same nominalizer *-wa* as verb or verb phrase do as illustrated in the following.

Suffix	Stative verb	Gloss	Derived adjectives	Gloss
<i>-wa</i>	<i>tei</i>	‘be greed’	<i>tei-wa</i>	‘greedy’
	<i>mosoŋ</i>	‘be bad’	<i>mosoŋ-wa</i>	‘bad’
	<i>tebo</i>	‘be big’	<i>tebo-wa</i>	‘big’
	<i>mucuŋ</i>	‘be brave’	<i>mucuŋ-wa</i>	‘brave’
	<i>mudu</i>	‘be blunt’	<i>mudu-wa</i>	‘blunt’
	<i>udaŋti</i>	‘be deep’	<i>udaŋti-wa</i>	‘deep’

	<i>du</i>	‘be curve’	<i>du-wa</i>	‘curve’
	<i>si</i>	‘be dead’	<i>si-wa</i>	‘dead’
	<i>sej</i>	‘be dry’	<i>sej-wa</i>	‘dry’
	<i>moto</i>	‘be empty’	<i>moto-wa</i>	‘empty’
	<i>čam</i>	‘be equal’	<i>čam-mai</i>	‘equal’
	<i>pəita</i>	‘be flat’	<i>pəita-wa</i>	‘flat’
	<i>e</i>	‘be fresh’	<i>e-wa</i>	‘fresh’
	<i>taŋsa</i>	‘be full’	<i>taŋsa-wa</i>	‘full’
	<i>eŋta</i>	‘be good’	<i>eŋta-wa</i>	‘good’
	<i>toita</i>	‘be high’	<i>toita-wa</i>	‘high’
	<i>locu</i>	‘be hot’	<i>locu-wa</i>	‘hot’
	<i>eŋta</i>	‘be kind’	<i>eŋta-wa</i>	‘kind’
	<i>doŋ</i>	‘be miser’	<i>doŋ-wa</i>	‘miser’
	<i>mege</i>	‘be narrow’	<i>mege-wa</i>	‘narrow’
	<i>kole</i>	‘be open’	<i>kole-wa</i>	‘open’
	<i>miŋ</i>	‘be ripe’	<i>miŋ-wa</i>	‘ripe’
	<i>cuka</i>	‘be slow’	<i>cuku-wa</i>	‘slow’
	<i>sida</i>	‘be sober’	<i>sida-wa</i>	‘sober’
	<i>sadiŋ</i>	‘be strong’	<i>sadiŋ-wa</i>	‘strong’
	<i>koto</i>	‘be thin’	<i>koto-wa</i>	‘thin’
	<i>mosoŋ</i>	‘be ugly’	<i>mosoŋ-wa</i>	‘ugly’
	<i>koto</i>	‘be weak’	<i>koto-wa</i>	‘weak’
	<i>luro</i>	‘be wet’	<i>luro-wa</i>	‘wet’
	<i>nop</i>	‘be wicked’	<i>nop-wa</i>	‘wicked’
	<i>ge</i>	‘be wise’	<i>ge-wa</i>	‘wise’

Table 12: Deverbal Adjective

#### 4.8.2. Compound adjectives

Toto has few examples of compound adjectives which may be also found in some other Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia.

(111) *eke-lo*

[eke ‘same’ + lo ‘together’]

‘Same-aged, contemporary’ (lit. body together)’

(112) *kui-motona*

[kui ‘hand’ + motona ‘be empty’]

‘Bankrupt (lit. empty hand)

(113) *leṅwa-teziṅ*

[leṅna ‘laugh’ + teziṅ ‘tasty’]

‘Funny’ (lit. tasty laugh)

(114) *eṅtawa-tuṅsiṅ*

[eṅtawa ‘good’ + tuṅsiṅ ‘heart’]

‘Kind’ (lit. good heart)

#### 4.8.3. Semantic types

Dixon (1982) rightly pointed out that on the basis of semantic properties, adjectives can be categorized into various fields such as, dimension, human propensity, colour, age, value etc. It can be done in the case of Toto as well; the basic adjectives in the language can be further categorized into following in terms of their semantic properties as given below.



### **Dimension**

<i>paitawa</i>	‘flat’
<i>bucuiwa</i>	‘fat’
<i>dalaiwa</i>	‘long’
<i>tebo</i>	‘wide’
<i>megewa</i>	‘narrow’

### **Physical property**

Adjective denoting physical property is larger than any other group, and includes several antonym pairs.

<i>diliŋwa</i>	‘heavy’
<i>lārəwa</i>	‘light’
<i>geŋwa</i>	‘straight’
<i>duwa</i>	‘sharp’
<i>tewa</i>	‘sweet’
<i>gewa</i>	‘clever’
<i>luo</i>	‘wet’

### **Colour**

<i>youyouwa</i>	‘yellow’
<i>haŋpowa</i>	‘white’
<i>əluwa</i>	‘red’
<i>yeoniwa</i>	‘blue’
<i>yoniwa</i>	‘green’

### **Age**

<i>cube</i>	‘new’	-
<i>jabe</i>	‘old’	

**Value**

<i>popu</i>	‘rich’	
<i>eŋtawa</i>	‘good’	
<i>ɟoroŋwa</i>	‘poor’	
<i>mosaŋwa</i>	‘ugly’	-
<i>zezeŋwa</i>	‘beautiful’	

**Speed**

<i>sukapa</i>	‘slow’	-
<i>senepa</i>	‘fast’	

**Human propensity**

<i>leŋba</i>	‘mad’	
<i>taŋsipu</i>	‘sober’	
<i>gewa</i>	‘clever’	
<i>zezeŋkowa</i>	‘beautiful’	
<i>koborsuluk</i>	‘half-crack’	

**Quantification**

<i>isese</i>	‘few’	
<i>huse</i>	‘many’	

**Position**

<i>abe</i>	‘near’	
<i>toita</i>	‘high’	-
<i>adaŋcuwa</i>	‘low’	

### Difficult

<i>sadiŋ</i>	‘difficult’
<i>tesai</i>	‘easy’
<i>taŋsipu</i>	‘simple’

### Taste

<i>teiwa</i>	‘pungent’
<i>tatawa</i>	‘sweet’
<i>kawa</i>	‘bitter’
<i>tewa</i>	‘sour’

#### 4.8.4. Comparative construction

Toto also make use of comparative. However, the comparative construction in Toto can be formed by the marker of comparison *uiseso* similar to English ‘than’. However, the comparative marker *-koi* is also used optionally along with the marker of comparison to form the comparative constructions in Toto.

- (115) *Bahadur Bipul uiseso uidaŋ-koi-mi*  
Bahadur Bipul than be.tall COMP-PRES  
‘Bahadur is taller than Bipul’

- (116) *Silchar Jalpaiguri uiseso etecu-koi-mi*  
Silchar Jalpaiguri than be.small-COMP-PRES  
‘Silchar is smaller than Jalpaiguri’

#### 4.8.5. Superlatives

The superlative degree is used when something is compared with the rest of the things of the same kind. It is formed in Toto by adding suffix *-koina* to the verb root as exemplified below.

- (117) *aku sa-ta haṅsuroma koto-koina-mi*  
he house-LOC among be. weak-SUPER-PRES  
'He is the weakest in the house'

- (118) *aku aṅdu eṅta-koina coi-mi*  
he shirt be. good-SUPER buy-PRES  
'He buys the best cloth'

#### 4.9. Verbs

Generally verbs are those forms which can take or are capable of taking tense, aspect, mood, causative markers etc. Likewise in Toto, verbs can be defined as roots that can take the morphemes for aspects, moods, causative, negative etc.

##### 4.9. 1. Structural classification of verbs

###### 4.9.1.1. Simple verbs

Simple verbs in Toto are those verbs which are treated as monomorphemic words. Structurally, simple verbs may be composed of monosyllabic or disyllabic words. It is interesting to note that the monosyllabic verbs are very common in Toto as many other Tibeto-Burman languages do. Some of the monosyllabic verbs are shown in the following examples.

#### 4.9.1.1.1. Monosyllabic roots

##### Open monosyllabic roots

<i>jo</i>	‘to do’
<i>e</i>	‘to put’
<i>pi</i>	‘give’
<i>mui</i>	‘to blow’
<i>klai</i>	‘to play’

##### Closed monosyllabic roots

<i>maŋ</i>	‘to bite’
<i>cuy</i>	‘to catch’
<i>tiŋ</i>	‘to see’
<i>waŋ</i>	‘to come’
<i>tuy</i>	‘cover’

#### 4.9.1.1.2. Disyllabic roots

##### Open disyllabic roots

<i>paso</i>	‘to set’
<i>japa</i>	‘to shake’
<i>toti</i>	‘to spit’
<i>badoi</i>	‘to throw’

##### Closed disyllabic roots

<i>sadiŋ</i>	‘to tighten’
<i>meron</i>	‘to wrap up’
<i>toruŋ</i>	‘to grind’
<i>‘pijaŋ</i>	‘to nurse’

*tukuŋ* 'to knock'

#### 4.9.1.2. Compound verbs

Structurally, compound stem in Toto consists of i) verb + verb and ii) noun + verb.

##### **Verb root + verb root**

The following instances of compound verb contain two verb roots where the V1 is the head of the compound.

(119) *hiŋ-pawa*

[hiŋ 'know' + pawa 'hear']

'Inform' (lit. to Know and hear)

(120) *aji-pa*

[aji 'be true' + pa 'bring']

'Believe'

(121) *am-sa*

[am 'shoot' + sa 'beat']

'Kill by shooting'

(122) *tuŋ-ciŋ*

[tuŋ 'be black' + ciŋ 'receive']

'Cheat'

##### **Noun + verb root**

(123) *nabe-kai*

[nabe 'nose' + kai 'call']

‘Snore’

(124) *bekoŋ-lu*

[bekoŋ ‘skin’ + lu ‘change’]

‘to slough’ (lit. changing skin)

(125) *zam-pal*

[zam ‘iron’ + pal ‘throw’]

‘Spear’ (lit. Iron throw)

#### **4.9.2. Classes of verbs**

Toto has two classes of verbs: (i) transitive and (ii) intransitive. The verbs in Toto are not morphologically marked as many other Tibeto-Burman languages of the region do. There is no morphological distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs, however transitive and intransitive distinction in Toto verbs are made on the basis of semantico-syntactic aspect as described in the following sections.

##### **4.9.2.1 Transitive verbs**

Transitive verbs in Toto can take an object argument. Transitive verbs can be further classified into two types: mono-transitive and ditransitive.

###### **4.9.2.1.1. Mono-transitive**

Mono-transitive verbs are verbs that take two arguments viz. agent and patients. Some of the monotransitive verbs in Toto are shown below.

(126) *Rajen Pinky-hij zezey-mi*  
 Rajen Pinky-ACC love-PRES  
 ‘Rajen loves Pinky.’

(127) *Roshni ti aŋ-mi*  
 Roshni water drink-PRES  
 ‘Roshni drinks water’.

#### 4.9.2.1.2. Ditransitive verbs

Like many other languages in the world, Toto has ditransitive verbs that take three arguments: Donor, Gift and Recipient (Dixon, 1991). The usual order of these arguments in Toto is: Donor>Recipient>Gift. Some of the ditransitive verbs in the language are shown below with examples.

(128) *Rita ka-hij ico iga pi-mi*  
 Rita I-DAT one book give-PRES  
 ‘Rita gives me a book.’

(129) *Riya nati-hij nəsə ŋaco pi-na*  
 Riya he-DAT rupee five give-PST  
 ‘Riya gave him five rupees.’

#### 4.9.2.2. Intransitive verbs

In contrast to transitive verbs, intransitive verbs in Toto are verbs that do not take object arguments. Intransitive verbs may be either action or stative verbs. Some of the intransitive verbs in the language are shown below with examples.

(130) *əpe kai-mi*  
 baby cry-PRES  
 ‘The baby cries.’



(131) *ziya le-mi*  
bird sing-PRES  
'The bird sings.'

(132) *diŋa si-pu-na*  
man die-PRF-PST  
'The man died.'

#### 4.9.3. Semantic classification of verbs

Semantically, verbs in Toto can also be classified into three categories namely (i) action verb (ii) stative verb and (iii) process verb.

##### 4.9.3. 1. Action verbs

*pi* 'give'  
*ca* 'eat'  
*waŋ* 'come'  
*bui* 'fly'  
*ha* 'go'  
*aŋ* 'drink'  
*cuŋ* 'catch'  
*porai* 'read'  
*se* 'kill'  
*ziŋ* 'sleep'

##### 4.9.3.2. Stative verbs

*du* 'be curve'  
*seŋ* 'be dry'  
*lok* 'be big'  
*təŋsa* 'be full'

*səi* ‘be long’  
*diliŋ* ‘be heavy’  
*lara* ‘be light’  
*doŋ* ‘be miser’  
*cuka* ‘be slow’  
*dalai* ‘be long’

#### 4.9.3.3. Process verbs

*mui* ‘be blow’  
*miŋ* ‘be ripe’  
*pura* ‘be flow’  
*oŋ* ‘be boil’  
*meilei* ‘be cook’

#### 4.9.4. Auxiliary

The only auxiliary in the language is *ni* for ‘has/have’ verb in the language. This is mostly used in the existential and possessive construction in the language as shown in following examples.

(133) *cunca-ta ipu ziya ni-mi*  
 jungle-LOC one bird AUX-PRES  
 ‘There is a bird in the forest’

(134) *ti-ta naiya iuŋ ni-mi*  
 water -LOC fish live AUX-PRES  
 ‘Fish lives in water’

(135) *kuŋ ico iga ni-na*  
 my one book AUX-PST  
 ‘I had a book’

(136) *Kochbihar-ta ico zaipu ni-na*  
 Kochbihar-LOC one king AUX-PST  
 ‘There was a king in Kochbihar’

#### 4.9.5. Tense

Tense indicates the time of action mentioned by the verb with reference to the time of speech act. There are three tenses in Toto which indicates present, past and future. All the tenses are marked morphologically by different markers.

##### 4.9.5.1. Present tense

The present tense in Toto is expressed by the suffix *-mi* as illustrated below.

(137) *Nitu iskul-ta ha-mi*  
 Nitu school-LOC go-PRES  
 ‘Nitu goes to School’

(138) *Shushil Jalpaiguri-ta iuŋ-mi*  
 Shushil Jalpaiguri-LOC live-PRES  
 ‘Shushil lives in Jalpaiguri’

(139) *aku ziŋ-mi*  
 he sleep-PRES  
 ‘He sleeps’

- (140) *Rahul putbol klai-mi*  
 Rahul football play-PRES  
 ‘Rahul plays football’

#### 4.9.5.2. Past Tense

The past tense in Toto is expressed by the suffix *-na* as exemplified below.

- (141) *ka Ram-hij tij-na*  
 I Ram-ACC see-PST  
 ‘I saw Ram’

- (142) *Swapan toisi ca-na*  
 Swapan mango eat-PST  
 ‘Swapan ate mango’

- (143) *Rajen ha-na*  
 Rajen go-PST  
 ‘Rajen went’

- (144) *aku ka-hij ico kolom pi-na*  
 she I-ACC one pen give-PST  
 ‘She gave me a pen’

#### 4.9.5.3. Future Tense

The future tense marker in Toto is viz. *-ro* which indicates the event that will take place. The future tense in Toto is described below.

(145) *ka klai-ro*

I play-FUT

‘I will play’

(146) *Dhoniram Silchar-ta waŋ-ro*

Dhoniram Silchar-LOC come-FUT

‘Dhoniram will come to Silchar’

(147) *Karina oŋcu-ta yui-ro*

Karina festival-LOC dance-FUT

‘Karina will dance in the festival’

(148) *ka aku-hiŋ tiŋ-ro*

I she-ACC see-FUT

‘I will see her’

#### **4.9.6. Aspects**

The tense tells us something about when the action or event takes place; the category of aspect tells us how the action unfolds. That is, aspect is a means of marking whether the action is viewed as complete or not, whether it is a repeated action, an action in progress or whether it is engaged in habitually. There are three aspectual distinctions in Toto language, viz., (i) perfective (ii) progressive and (iii) habitual.

##### **4.9.6.1. Perfective**

The perfective is expressed by the aspectual marker *-pu* which is attached to the verb root followed by the past tense marker *-na* considering the following examples.

(149) *aku ico iga la-pu-na*  
she one book write-PERF-PST  
'She has written a book'

(150) *Shamoli ha-pu-na*  
Shamoli go-PRF-PST  
'Shamoli has gone'

(151) *Biman kam jo-pu-na*  
Biman work see-PRF-PST  
'Biman has done the work'

(152) *ka ziya tij-pu-na*  
I bird see-PRF-PST  
'I have seen the bird'

#### 4.9.6.2. Progressive

The progressive is expressed by the suffix *-daŋ* which is attached to the verb root followed by the tense markers as in the following examples.

(153) *ka Silchar-ta waŋ-daŋ-mi*  
I Silchar-LOC come-PROG-PRES  
'I am coming to Silchar'

(154) *aku zih-daŋ-na*  
he sleep-PROG-PST  
'He was sleeping'

(155) *Riya pauri-daᅇ-mi*  
Riya swim-PROG-PRES  
'Riya is swimming'

(156) *Susmita ipu ziya tiᅇ-daᅇ-mi*  
Susmita one bird see-PROG-PRES  
'Susmita is seeing a bird'

#### 4.9.6.3. Habitual Aspect

The habitual aspect is expressed by the aspectual marker *-caᅇ* which is attached to the verb root followed by the tense marker *-mi* as discussed in the following examples.

(157) *Tina hati-ta ha-caᅇ-mi*  
Tina market-LOC go-HAB-PRES  
'Tina used to go to market'

(158) *ka hapuᅇ casiu aᅇ-caᅇ-mi*  
I morning tea drink-HAB-PRES  
'I used to take tea in the morning'

(159) *ka kriket klai-caᅇ-mi*  
I cricket play-HAB-PRES  
'I used to play cricket'

(160) *aku sedaidiu waᅇ-caᅇ-mi*  
he daily come-HAB-DECL  
'He comes regularly'

#### 4.9.7. Mood

Mood expresses the attitudes of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterances such as possibility, uncertainty in terms of the degree or kind etc., in Toto. It can be analyzed in terms of the imperative, permissive, capability, obligatory, probability, conditional, necessity, intensive and optative.

##### 4.9.7.1. Imperative

Imperatives are verb forms or construction types that are used to directly command the addressee to perform some action (Payne 1997). The imperative construction is often with second person subjects. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, imperative constructions in Toto are not marked by a suffix *-ko*. Considering the following examples .

(161) *əma ca-ko*

rice eat-IMP

‘Eat rice!’

(162) *wəŋ pa-ko*

come take-IMP

‘Come and take!’

(163) *yui-pa-ko*

dance-CAUS-IMP

‘Make to dance!’

(164) *wəŋ-ko*

come-IMP

‘Come!’



#### 4.9.7.2. Obligative mood

The mood of obligation is expressed by using a morpheme *nero* which follows the main verb. Consider the following examples.

(165) *nati ha nero*  
you give OBL  
'You should go'

(166) *aku way nero*  
he come OBL  
'He must go'

(167) *Haran jo nero*  
Haron do OBL  
'Haron must do'

(168) *Taniya yui nero*  
Taniya dance OBL  
'Taniya should dance'

#### 4.9.7.3. Capability

Capability means the capacity of doing something. The mood of capability or ability in Toto is expressed by using a morpheme *curo* with verbal root. For example.

(169) *aku Jalpaiguri-ta ha ro*  
he Jalpaiguri-LOC go CAP  
'He can go to Jalpaiguri'

(170) *ka icoday ha curo*  
 I alone go CAP  
 ‘I can go alone’

(171) *nati aku-hin tin curo*  
 you 3-DAT see CAP  
 ‘You can see to her’

(172) *John putbol klai curo*  
 John football play CAP  
 ‘John can play football’

#### 4.9.7.4. Probability

The notion probability is expressed in Toto through the use of probability suffix *-cu* by attaching to the verb root followed by tense marker *-mi* as discussed in the following examples.

(173) *Baskaran kam jo-cu-mi*  
 Baskaran come-PROB AUX-PRES  
 ‘Baskaran may do the work’

(174) *sani hini tepana-cu-mi*  
 Sun today raise-PROB-PRES  
 ‘Sun may raise today’

(175) *aku zukun klai-cu-mi*  
 he tomorrow play-PROB-PRES  
 ‘He may play tomorrow’

#### 4.9.7.5. Necessity

The necessity modality in Toto is expressed by the use of modal verb *goyro* meaning ‘need’.

(176) *Tom ese ti goyro ni*  
Tom some water NEC AUX  
‘Tom needs some water’

(177) *aku ne zih-ko goyro ni*  
She now do-INF NEC AUX  
‘She will have to sleep now (lit. She need to sleep now)’

(178) *ka əma goyro ni*  
I rice NEC AUX  
‘I need rice’

(179) *Rina aku-hij əma pi-ko goyro ni*  
Rina her-ACC rice give-INF NEC AUX  
‘Rina has to give her rice’ (lit. Rina need to give rice to her)

#### 4.9.7.6. Conditional mood

The conditional mood in Toto is expressed by suffixing *-do* to the verb as described below.

(180) *aku ha-do*  
he go-COND  
‘If he goes’

(181) *nati le-do*  
you sing-COND  
'If you sing'

(182) *Rajen waᅇ-do*  
Rajen come-COND  
'If Rajen comes'

(183) *aku leᅇ-do*  
she smile-COND  
'If she smiles'

#### 4.9.7.7. Permissive

The permissive mood denotes 'a wish' or permission. This kind of verb is non-past. The permissive mood is expressed by the desiderative verb *picpu* 'allow' followed by the imperative marker *-ko*.

(184) *aku-hiᅇ ha-ko picpu-ko*  
3-ACC go-INF PERM-IMP  
'Allow him to play'

(185) *aku-hiᅇ ya-ko picpu-ko*  
3-ACC run-INF PERM-IMP  
'Allow him to run'

(186) *aku-biya-hiᅇ leᅇ-ko picpu-ko*  
3-PL-ACC play-INF PERM-IMP  
'Allow them to smile'

- (187) *aku-niu-ta*    *guŋko-taŋ*    *picpu-ko*  
           3-PL-ACC    enter-INF    PERM-IMP  
           ‘Allow them to enter’

#### 4.10. Adverbs

Structurally, adverbs in Toto can be categorized into two different types simple and derived adverbs.

##### 4.10.1 Simple Adverbs

Simple adverbs in Toto are non-derived adverbs that modify the verbs. Simple adverbs in the language can be mono-syllabic, di-syllabic and polysyllabic. However, the mono-syllabic simple adverbs seem to be less than polysyllabic ones as exemplified below.

<i>ne</i>	‘now’
<i>zukuŋ</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>hini</i>	‘today’
<i>haŋbo</i>	‘inside’
<i>əiŋji</i>	‘yesterday’

##### 4.10.2. Derived Adverbs

Derived adverbs in Toto are derived from verb or noun by adding adverbial marker *-pa* and *sediŋ-* to the same. So the derivation of adverbs from noun or verbs is one of the typological features of Tibeto-Burman languages.

###### 4.10.2.1. Derivation of Adverbs from Nouns

As mentioned earlier that adverbs in Toto can be derived from nouns by postposing adverbial prefix *sediŋ-* to the nouns. It is observed that the adverbs derive from the nouns are temporal adverbs as can be seen in the following examples.

(189) *sedin-din*  
ADVLZ-day  
'Every day'

(190) *sedin hebkon*  
ADVLZ-morning  
'Every morning'

(191) *sedin-lo*  
ADVLZ-year  
'Every year'

#### 4.10.2.2. Derivation of adverbs from stative verbs

Adverbs in Toto are mainly derived from stative verbs by postposing *-pa* to the same. It is interesting to note that adverbs derived from stative verbs are mostly manner adverbs as can be seen in the following examples.

(192) *enja-pa*  
be.nice-ADVLZ  
'Nicely'

(193) *setin-pa*  
be.loud-ADVLZ  
'loudly'

(194) *mosan-pa*  
be.bad-ADVLZ  
'Badly'

(195) *enta-pa*  
be.neat-ADV LZ  
'Neatly'

(196) *curuŋ-pa*  
blunt-ADV LZ  
'Bluntly'

#### 4.10.3. Reduplicated adverbs

Some adverbs are also formed by means of reduplication. The word *nunbo* 'inside', *biai* 'moment' and *hatroŋ* 'time' are reduplicated to form adverbs as can be seen in the following examples.

(197) *nanpo nanpo*  
inside inside  
'Inwardly'

(198) *sukapa sukapa*  
moment moment  
'Occasional'

(199) *hatroŋ hatroŋ*  
time time  
'Sometimes'

#### 4.10.4. Semantic classification of Adverbs

Semantically, adverbs in Toto may be classified in the following types: (i) adverbs of manner (ii) adverbs of time (iii) adverbs of place and (iv) adverbs of degree.

#### 4.10.4. 1. Adverb of manner

The adverbs of manner are all derived adverbs in the language. They are all derived from the stative verbs as shown in the following examples.

- (200) *wan suka-pa*  
work be.slow-ADVLZ  
'Come slowly!'

- (201) *yewa setiŋ-pa*  
speak loud-ADVLZ  
'Speak loudly'

#### 4.10.4. 2. Adverb of time

Most of time adverbials in Toto are frequently used by the Toto speaker in their daily conversation expressing the different time frames. The adverbs of time in Toto are illustrated in the following examples.

- (202) *ka hani mibiyai-ro*  
I today be.busy-FUT  
'I will be busy today'

- (203) *Ravi zukuŋ ha-ro*  
Ravi tomorrow go-FUT  
'Ravi will go tomorrow'

#### 4.10.4. 3. Adverb of Location and Direction

There are two locative adverbials used in Toto i) *ita* 'here' and ii) *uta* 'there'. These locational adverbs are formed by adding the locative suffixes -*ta* to the proximate and distal determiners *i* and *u* respectively. Consider the following examples.



(204) *i-ta*            *waŋ-ko*  
 DEM-LOC        come-IMP  
 ‘I am here’

(205) *u-ta*            *ha-ko*  
 DEM-LOC        go-IMP  
 ‘Go there!’

#### 4.10.4. 4. Adverbs of degree

In Toto, the adverb of degree is derived from specifier root *komi* ‘very’ as in illustrated in the following examples.

(206) *aku*    *eŋta*            *komi*  
 he    be.good        very  
 ‘He is very good’

(207) *aku*    *aku-ta*            *zezeŋ komi*  
 he    she-ACC        love    very  
 ‘He loves her too much/very much’

#### 4.11. Word formation

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Toto has four major word formation processes viz., (i) affixation (ii) Compounding (iii) reduplication and (iv) borrowing.

##### 4.11.1. Affixation

As many other agglutinating language in the world, affixation in Toto plays a significant role to form new words. Affixation in Toto can be classified into two types namely: (i) prefixation and (ii) suffixation. However,

infixation is totally absent in the language. However, coining of new words with prefixation is not noticed so far in the language.

#### 4.11.1.1. Suffixation

As already mentioned that like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, different types of affixations in Toto can be shown below.

##### 4.11.1.1.1. Derivational suffixes

###### 4.11.1.1.1.1. Noun from Verb

In Toto, nouns are derived by suffixing derivational suffix *-wa* to the verb followed by the marker *-poja*.

<i>-wa</i>	<i>tui</i>	‘run’	<i>tui-wa-poja</i>	‘runner’
	<i>ca</i>	‘eat’	<i>ca-wa-poja</i>	‘eater’
	<i>ye</i>	‘speak’	<i>ye-wa-poja</i>	‘speaker’
	<i>la</i>	‘write’	<i>la-wa-poja</i>	‘writer’
	<i>le</i>	‘song’	<i>le-wa-poja</i>	‘singer’
	<i>yi</i>	‘dance’	<i>yui-wa-poja</i>	‘dancer’
	<i>klai</i>	‘play’	<i>klai-wa-poja</i>	‘player’
	<i>coi</i>	‘buy’	<i>coi-wa-poja</i>	‘buyer’
	<i>ne</i>	‘look’	<i>ne-maipu</i>	‘looker’

###### 4.11.1.1.1.2. Adjectival from Verb

Toto has a derivational suffix *-tu* that is attached to a verb to form adjective as in *ca* ‘eat’ and *ca-tu* ‘eatable’. Some instances are given below.

<i>-nu</i>	<i>ca</i>	‘eat’	<i>ca-tu</i>	‘eatable’
	<i>porai</i>	‘read’	<i>porai-tu</i>	‘readable’
	<i>ye</i>	‘speak’	<i>ye-tu</i>	‘speak able’

<i>tij</i>	‘see’	<i>tij-tu</i>	‘watchable’
<i>aŋ</i>	‘drink’	<i>aŋ-tu</i>	‘drinkable’

#### 4.11.1.1.1.3. Adverbs from adjectivals

Like other Tibeto Burman languages, Adverbs in Toto are derived from adjectives by suffixing *-pa* to the adjective root. It can be compared to English *-ly*.

(208) *setij-pa*

be loud-ADVLZ

‘Loudly’

(209) *sene-pa*

be quick-ADVLZ

‘Quickly/fast

(210) *mozo-pa*

be.rough-ADVLZ

‘Roughly’

(211) *coruŋ-pa*

be blunt-ADVLZ

‘Bluntly’

#### 4.11.2. Compounds

According to Abbi (1992), compounds refer “to the paired construction in which the second word is not exact repetition of the first but has some similarity or relationship to the first word either on the semantic or on the

phonetic level”. It is to be noted that each word of a compound has a meaning of its own and can be used independently in a sentence.

#### 4.11.2. 1. Formation of Compound Nouns

##### Noun+ Noun

- (212) *ziya-kebu* ‘  
[ziya ‘bird’ + kebu ‘house’]  
‘Nest’ (lit. Bird house)
- (213) *diṅda-koisi*  
[diṅda ‘insect’ + koisi ‘net’]  
‘Wasp’ (lit. Insect net)
- (214) *pika-biya*  
[pika ‘cow’ + biya ‘meat’]  
‘Beef’ (lit. Cow meat)
- (215) *paka-biya*  
[paka ‘pig’ + biya ‘meat’]  
‘Pork’ (lit. Pig meat)
- (216) *pasiṅ-sa*  
[pasiṅ ‘bamboo’ + sa ‘house’]  
‘Hut’ (lit. Bamboo house)
- (217) *sai-ti*  
[sai ‘curry’ + ti ‘water’]  
‘Soup’ (lit. Curry water’)

- (218) *ku-siŋ*  
[ku ‘finger’ + siŋ ‘corner’]  
‘Nail’ (lit. Finger corner)

**Noun+ Verb**

- (219) *biya-sediŋ*  
[biya ‘air’ + sediŋ ‘bo strong’]  
‘Storm’ (lit. Strong air)

- (220) *neya-seŋpa*  
[neya ‘fish’ + seŋpa ‘be dry’]  
‘Dry fish’

- (221) *moŋ-cə*  
[moŋ ‘paddy’ + cə ‘to cut’]  
‘Harvest’ (lit. Paddy cutting)

- (222) *top-ro*  
[top ‘head’ + ro ‘wear’]  
‘Cap’ (lit. Head wear)

**Noun+ Preposition**

- (223) *bucuŋ-ru*  
[bucuŋ ‘shoulder’ + ru ‘on’]  
‘Older’ (lit. shoulder above)

- (224) *sani-teina*  
[sani ‘sun’ + teina ‘out’]  
‘East’ (lit. sun out)

#### 4.11.2. 2. Formation of Compound Verbs

In Toto the verb plus verb compound both the classes of verb plays the significant role to form compound verbs.. The compound verbs in Toto are demonstrated in the following examples.

##### Verb + Verb

(225) *ha-waŋ*

[ha 'go' + waŋ 'come']

'Travel' (lit. Go and come)

(226) *tui-ha*

[tui 'run' + ha 'go']

'Elope' (lit. Run go)

(227) *azi-pa*

[azi 'be true' + pa 'bring]

'Believe' (lit. True sense)

#### 4.11.2. 3. Numeral Compounding

In Toto, the higher numerals are explicitly formed by means of compounding expressing either addition or multiplication as can be demonstrated in the following examples.

##### Number + Number

(228) *taco ico*

10 + 1 = 11

'Eleven'

(229) *ikaico nico*  
20 + 2 = 22  
'Twenty two'

(230) *ni kai*  
2x 20 = 40  
'Forty'

(231) *nikaico ico*  
2x20 + 1 = 41  
'Forty one'

#### **4.11.3. Reduplication**

Abbi (1992) divides two major types of reduplication: (i) morphological and (ii) lexical. Morphological reduplication is further divided into expressive, which includes onomatopoeia, sound symbolism, ideophone and imitative. Lexical reduplication nouns, verbs, derived adjectives, Wh-questions are reduplicated in the language. Lexical reduplication is again divided into three types: echo formation, compound and word reduplication.

##### **4.11.3.1. Lexical reduplication**

###### **4.11.3.1. 1. Echo formation**

“An echo word has been defined as a partially repeated from the base word-partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme (which can either be a consonant or a vowel) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable. The ‘replacer’ (phoneme/syllable) sound sequences are more or less fixed and rigid. The replacer sound sequences may not necessarily be unique but may never be numerous (Abbi, 1991).”  
The list of echo words in Toto are given below.

<i>əma umə</i>	‘rice etc.’
<i>aŋdaŋ uŋdaŋ</i>	‘shirt etc.’
<i>apa upa</i>	‘father etc’
<i>aku uku</i>	‘he etc’
<i>ka ku</i>	‘I etc’
<i>le li</i>	‘sing’
<i>ne ni</i>	‘wait etc’
<i>me mi</i>	‘fire etc’
<i>mi si</i>	‘eye etc’
<i>pika sika</i>	‘cow etc’
<i>paka saka</i>	‘pig etc’
<i>hani sani</i>	tomorrow etc’
<i>sedai sudai</i>	‘every etc’
<i>ti si</i>	‘water etc’
<i>tui sui</i>	‘run etc’
<i>biya siya</i>	‘air etc’
<i>ziya siya</i>	‘bird etc’
<i>tiŋ siŋ</i>	‘see etc’
<i>guai suai</i>	‘betel nut etc’

#### 4.11.3.1. 2. Compound Reduplication

Debajit (2015) has stated that ‘The compounds words are those words that refer to the paired construction in which the second word is not an exactly repeated word but it has some kind of similarity to the first word. This



similarity can be at either the semantic level or phonetic level. Whatever may be the relationship the combined word may or may not keep the original meaning and reference intact. Some of the few compounds reduplicated words in Toto are discussed below.

(232) *ti-te*

[ti 'water' + te 'be big']

'Flood' (lit. big water)

(233) *ti-bo*

[ti 'water' + da 'be large']

'Sea' (lit. Large water)

(234) *pi-ca*

[pi 'give' + ca 'eat']

'Feed' (lit. to give and eat)

(235) *tiŋ-zezeŋ*

[tiŋ 'look' + zezeŋ 'love']

'Grace' (lit. to look and love)

#### **4.11.3.1. 3. Word Reduplication**

Debajit (2015) 'Word reduplication means the repetition of base word either partially or completely. Therefore, when a word is repeated once completely without any phonological or morphological variation is called complete reduplication. Hence, a word x becomes xx in the case of complete reduplication.'

Abbi (1992) divided complete reduplication into two types and this division was based on functional criteria. The two types are a) Class maintaining type, referring to those words, which remain in the same grammatical class

even after reduplication and b) Class changing type refers those reduplicated words which change its grammatical class after reduplication from its non-reduplicated counterparts.

#### 4.11.3.1. 3. 1. Class Maintaining Complete Reduplication

*din* ‘day’ (N) → *din din* ‘days’ (PL N)

*sa* ‘house’ (N) → *sa sa* ‘houses’ (PL N)

*puima* ‘star’ (N) → *puima puima* ‘stars’ (PL N)

*kiya* ‘dog’ (N) → *kiya kiya* ‘dogs’ (PL N)

#### 4.11.3.1. 3. 2. Class Changing Complete Reduplication

*iniŋ* ‘year’ (N) → *imiŋ imiŋ* ‘yearly’ (ADV)

*tari* ‘month’ (N) → *tari tari* ‘monthly’ (ADV)

*suka* ‘be slow’ (V) → *suka suka* ‘slowly’ (ADV)

*əzipa* ‘be true’ (V) → *əzipa əzipa* ‘truelly’  
(ADV)

#### 4.11.3.2. Expressives

Expressives are also one of the morphological reduplication. It includes onomatopoeias, sound symbolism, idiophones and imitative. It may be phonological symbolism. In Toto, some examples of sense are discussed in five levels.

##### 4.11.3.2.1. Noises

###### Animal Voices

*ka ka* ‘crowing of crow’

*miau miau* ‘mewing of cat’

*bou bou* 'barking of dog'

#### **Noises of Natural Phenomenon**

*so so* 'blowing of air'

*ra ra* 'flowing of water'

*gurum gurum* 'roaring of cloud'

#### **Noises made by humans**

*hi hi* 'roar of laughter'

*cəp cəp* 'offensive sound during chewing'

*koto koto* 'sound of drinking water'

*sup sup* 'sound of drinking tea'

#### **Noises by inanimate objects**

*teŋ teŋ* 'ringing of bell'

*tum tum* 'beating of drum'

*haro haro* 'falling of rain'

#### **4.11.3.2.2. Sense of Sight**

*hampa hampa* 'dazzling white'

*alu alu* 'shining with glare'

*sidan sidan* 'flickering of lamp'

#### **4.11.3.2.3. Sense of Smell**

*menanwa menanwa* 'rotten smell'

*onpuwa onpuwa* 'burnt smell'

#### 4.11.3.2.4. Sense of Touch

*tə tə* 'sticky'

*ciri ciri* 'tingling'

*acucu acucu* 'shivering'

#### 4.11.4. Borrowing

According to Hock (1986: 380), "the term borrowing refers to the adoption of Individual words or even large sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect." Borrowing is also one of the word formation processes in Toto. In Toto, some of the lexical items are commonly borrowed from Bengali, English and other Indo-Aryan languages to fulfill their daily communication needs. It is generally recognized that nouns seem universally more easily borrowed than any other classes of words. It is true in the case of Toto speakers that considerable numbers of nouns are easily borrowed from the above mentioned languages however verb, adverb, postpositions cannot borrow easily as such as can be seen in the following examples.

##### 4.11.4.1. Common Bengali words in Toto

<b>Bengali</b>		<b>Toto</b>	<b>English</b>
<i>shihho</i>	→	<i>sihho</i>	'lion'
<i>kenci</i>	→	<i>kenti</i>	'scissors'
<i>cini</i>	→	<i>sini</i>	'sugar'
<i>gari:</i>	→	<i>gari</i>	'vehicle'
<i>i:t</i>	→	<i>it</i>	'brick'
<i>a:ta</i>	→	<i>ata</i>	'flour'
<i>ca:ka</i>	→	<i>caka</i>	'wheel'
<i>rosogula</i>	→	<i>rosugula</i>	'a kind of sweet'

<i>saban</i>	→	<i>sabon</i>	‘soap’
<i>rou</i>	→	<i>rau</i>	‘salmon fish’
<i>ilif</i>	→	<i>ilisa</i>	‘hilsa fish’
<i>uṭ</i>	→	<i>ut</i>	‘camel’
<i>du:kan</i>	→	<i>dukan</i>	‘shop’
<i>zelapi</i>	→	<i>zelabi</i>	‘a kind of sweet’

#### 4.11.4.2. Common English words in Toto

<b>English</b>		<b>Toto</b>
apple	→	<i>epol</i>
antenna	→	<i>intina</i>
accident	→	<i>eksident</i>
aeroplane	→	<i>plan</i>
battery	→	<i>betri</i>
bomb	→	<i>bom</i>
bank	→	<i>beŋ</i>
bus	→	<i>bas</i>
college	→	<i>koliz</i>
cinema	→	<i>sinima</i>
chalk	→	<i>čok</i>
computer	→	<i>kompjutar</i>
curfew	→	<i>karp<sup>h</sup>u</i>
court	→	<i>kot</i>
doctor	→	<i>dəktor</i>
district	→	<i>distik</i>
engineer	→	<i>inginiyar</i>

factory	→	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ektri</i>
gate	→	<i>get</i>
hero	→	<i>hero</i>
jacket	→	<i>zeket</i>
kerosene	→	<i>kersin</i>
library	→	<i>laibiri</i>
notice	→	<i>nutis</i>
office	→	<i>op<sup>h</sup>is</i>
police	→	<i>polis</i>
record	→	<i>rekod</i>
school	→	<i>iskul</i>
table	→	<i>tebul</i>
university	→	<i>unibarsiti</i>
vote	→	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ot</i>
zebra	→	<i>zebra</i>