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THE SCALAR INTERPRETATION OF THE ADDITIVE FOCUS PARTICLE *=*BV* IN SELECT BORO-GARO LANGUAGES[1]

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Abstract
The paper looks into the scalar interpretation of the additive focus particle in select Boro-Garo languages, namely, Boro, Dimasa, Garo, Kokborok, Rabha, and Tiwa. The additive has the following forms: *=bɯ* in Bodo, *=bo* in Dimasa, *=ba* in Garo, *=bo* in Kokborok, *=ba* in Rabha, and *=bo* in Tiwa. Based on their phonetic similarity, we reconstruct the Boro-Garo proto-form as *=*bV*. The additive provides a scalar 'even' reading in three different constructions, namely, classifier-numeral, quantifier, and temporal adverbial constructions. In classifier-numeral constructions, a scalar reading is found when the numeral is 'one' and the clause is negative. However, with numerals greater than 'one', the particles may have either a scalar or non-scalar additive interpretation depending on the contexts. In the other two constructions, the particles contribute scalar meaning only in negative environments.

Keywords: Boro-Garo, focus particle
ISO 639-3 codes: brx, dis, grt, xtr, rah, lax

1 Introduction

Focus particles usually belong to the so-called minor or functional category of word classes of a language. They are extremely context-dependent, vague, and subjective in their meaning. The following elements in English are considered to be focus particles: *also, alone, as well, at least, even, especially, either, exactly, in addition, in particular, just, merely, only, let alone, likewise, so much as, solely, still/much less, purely, too* (see König 1991:14). In Tibeto-Burman languages, such particles are limited to just a few. These particles are polyfunctional and perform different functions in different contexts or constructions. Mazaudon (2003:145-158) lists two topic markers in Tamang (*-mi/-m* for simple topics and *ca/-ca* for contrastive topics), one focus marker (*-ka/ka*), and several intensifiers (*-i/-e/-ja* 'also, even', *n/-nun* 'self (non-reflexive), really', *ce* 'only'). Konnerth (2012:206-221) lists six different functions of the particle *=ta* in Karbi, namely, additive, coordination, scalar additive, universal quantification, verb intensifier, and discourse structuring device. Boro (To appear) identified five poly-functional focus particles in Boro, namely, *=bɯ* 'additive', *=nɯ* 'corrective', *=sɯ* 'corrective', *=lo* 'restrictive', and *=t^{h}o* 'contrastive topic/corrective', and investigated their functions in different contexts and constructions. Erlewine & New (2019) showed that the Burmese particle *hma* expresses exhaustivity in some contexts but a scalar, 'even' like meaning in other contexts.

The paper aims to provide a morphosyntactic account of the additive scalar particle in select Boro-Garo languages, namely, Boro, Dimasa, Garo, Kokborok, Rabha, and Tiwa. When contributing a scalar additive 'even' reading, it requires the obligatory presence of an overt negative marker in the clause, whereas other interpretations of this particle do not necessarily require the obligatory presence of the negative marker in the sentence. Based on their phonetic similarity, we reconstruct the proto-form of the scalar additive focus particle in Bodo-Garo as *=*bV*. We have observed three different kinds of constructions or expressions that contain the additive particle and that contribute scalar readings in each language, namely, classifier-numeral, quantifier, and temporal adverbial constructions. The classifier-numeral expressions are of the following

[1] This paper is a revised version of a presentation at NEILS 2020 at Central Institute of Technology, Kokrajhar.

form: *CLF* (classifier) + *NUM* (numeral) + *=bV*. These expressions are analogous to idiomatic English expressions such as *even a penny, even a budge*, and so on. The quantifier expressions refer to some indefinite objects, and they have the following forms: *free or bound indefinite morpheme* + *=bV*. The root morpheme of the temporal adverbial expression is the adverbial question word 'when', and the expressions are of the following form: *when* + *=ba* (indefinite particle) + *=bV*.

The enclitic **=bV* performs several functions, including simple additive 'also', coordination 'also/as well', collective 'together', universal quantification/indefinite pronoun 'all', and direct concession 'even if' (see Boro (to appear)). However, we do not go into the details of these functions of the focus particle '**=bV*', but rather our focus is on the scalar interpretation of this particle.

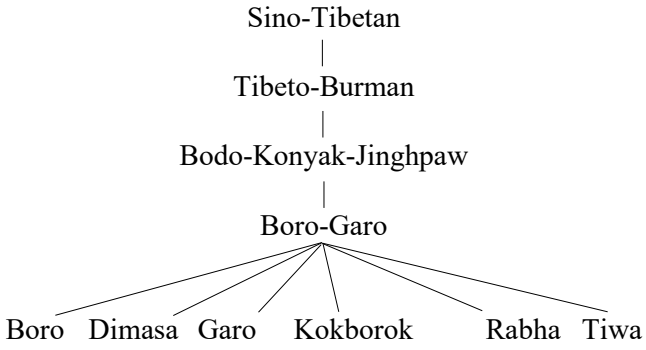
The data for this paper comes from several sources. Most of the Boro data are taken from the CQPweb corpus titled 'Gauhati University Linguistics Department Bodo Corpus' stored at Lancaster University. Moreover, the data presented in this paper are primarily from published articles, books, and dissertations, which include Burling (2003a), Joseph (2007), Pai (1976), and Longmailai (2014). Additional data came from fieldwork conducted by the first author in different areas of Assam such as Chirang (for Boro), Jagiroad (for Tiwa), and Kokrajhar (for Garo). The first author has also consulted a few students at Gauhati University to collect data on Dimasa, Kokborok, and Rabha. The data reproduced from the written sources are not modified unless stated.

The organization of the paper is as follows. Following the introduction in §1, §2 provides a brief linguistic background of the languages under investigation. §3 gives a brief description of additive particles in the given languages. This section differentiates the scalar additive interpretation from a non-scalar additive interpretation. §4 discusses the scalar interpretations of the additive focus particle **=bV* in the selected languages. §5 summarises the paper.

2 Language Background

Boro-Garo languages are a group of languages spoken in the North-Eastern region of the Indian subcontinent. This group comprises several languages including Bodo, Garo, Deori, Dimasa, Moran, Koch, Kokborok, Rabha, Tiwa, Atong, and so on. However, for the present work, we have selected only six languages from the group, namely, Bodo, Dimasa, Garo, Kokborok, Rabha, and Tiwa. Bodo, Dimasa, Rabha, and Tiwa are primarily spoken in Assam, whereas Garo and Kokborok are spoken in Garo Hill region of Meghalaya, and Tripura respectively. These languages are classified under the Tibeto-Burman family of greater Sino-Tibetan language family. The classification is often known as Sal (Burling 1983) or Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw (Burling 2003b). The linguistic classification is shown in Figure 1.

***Figure 1**: Select Boro-Garo languages*



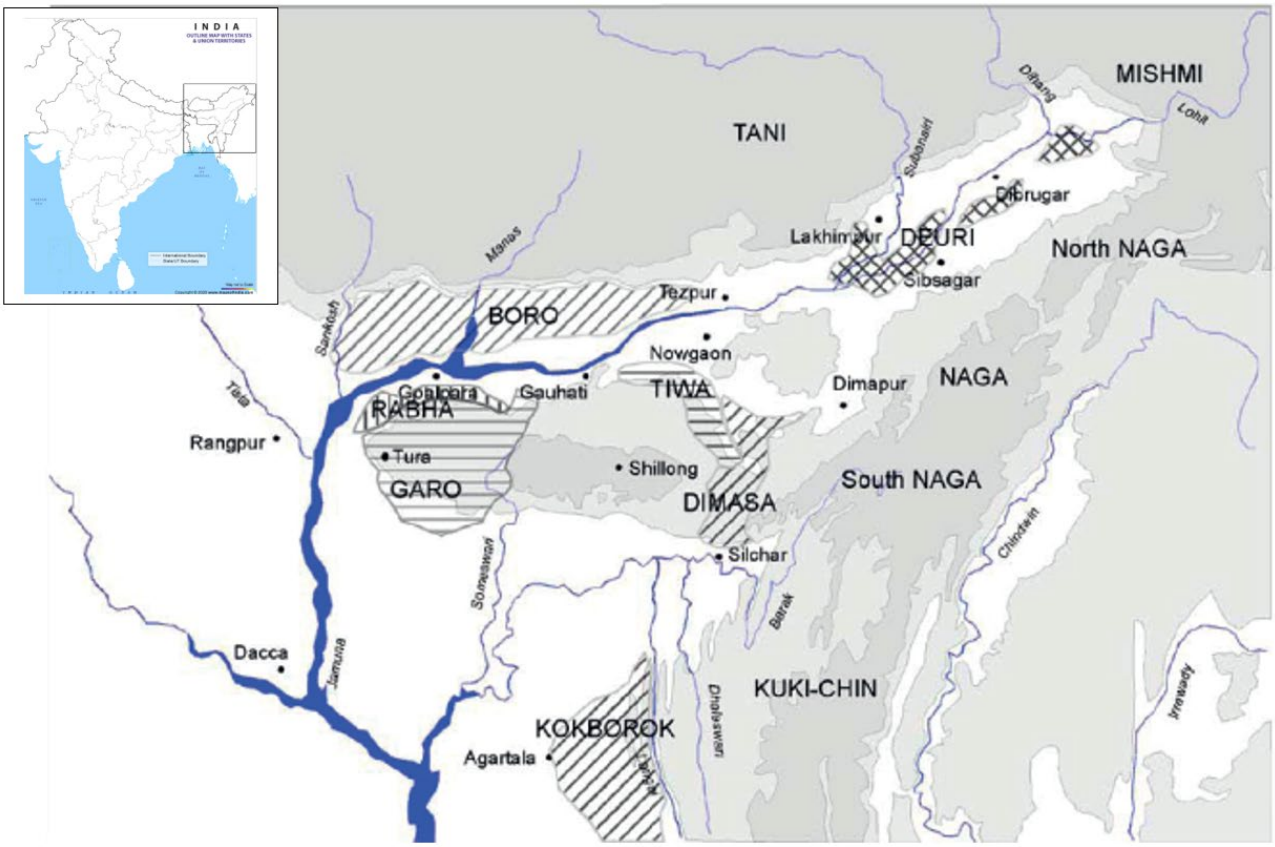
With multiple dialects, Bodo is spoken primarily in the Bodoland Territorial Region (BTR) of Assam with 1,482,929 number of people in India (Census Report of India 2011). Basumatary (2014) noted six different dialects of Bodo language spoken across the North-Eastern region of India as well as in countries like Bangladesh and Nepal. With 137,184 speakers, there are at least five different Dimasa dialects primarily spoken in Dima Hasao (North Cachar Hills), Karbi Anglong, some parts of Nagaon in Assam, and in and around Dimapur in Nagaland (Census Report of India 2011). The Garo speakers are among the major inhabitants of the Garo hill region of Meghalaya. Few of them are found in the neighboring districts, and more than a hundred thousand lives across the border in Bangladesh (Burling 2003a). The Census Report of India 2011 reported 1,145,323 Garo speakers in India. Kokborok, also known as Tripuri, spoken in the state

of Tripura is spoken by 1,011,294 people with thirteen different dialects (Pai 1976). With 139,986 speakers, the Rabha speakers are primarily found in the Goalpara district of Assam. The language includes three different dialects, namely, Rongdani, Mayturi, and Kocha. Tiwa, also known as Lalung, is spoken primarily in the district of Morigaon, some parts of Nagaon, Karbi Anglong, and Kamrup. A small number of them are also found in the Assam-Meghalaya bordering region. The Census Report of India 2011 reported 33,921 Tiwa speakers in India. Table 1 shows the select Boro-Garo languages with their respective speakers, whereas Figure 2 shows select Boro-Garo speaking regions.

***Table 1**: Select Boro-Garo speakers (Census Report of India 2011)*

S. No	Language	No of Speakers
1	Boro/Bodo/Kachari/Mech	1,482,929
2	Dimasa/Timisa	137,184
3	Garo	1,145,323
4	Kokborok/Tripuri	1,011,294
5	Rabha	139,986
6	Tiwa/Lalung	33,921

***Figure 2**: Select Boro-Garo speaking regions*



Source: Jacquesson, François & van Breugel, Seino (2017). Figure 6: The Boro-Garo languages. In The linguistic reconstruction of the past: The case of the Boro-Garo languages. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 40.1:90-122.

Some of the notable work on the languages under consideration are Hodgson (1847), Endle (1884), Skrefsrud (1889), Bhattacharya (1977), and Basumatary (2014) on Boro; Singha (2002), Jacquesson (2010), and Longmailai (2014) on Dimasa; Burling (2003a) on Garo; Pai (1976), and Jacquesson (2000) on Kokborok; Joseph (2007) on Rabha; and Dawson (2013) on Tiwa.

3 The additive focus particle *=*bV* in Boro-Garo

Horn (1969), Fauconnier (1975a; 1975b), Emeneau (1980), and König (1991), among others, provide a detailed discussion on scalar additive focus particles along with their additional functions. Based on several European languages, König (1991) in his pioneering work on focus particles offers a detailed and elaborate description of the additive focus particle. He identifies four different functions of additive particles in various languages, namely, simple inclusion, scalar additive particles, scalar additive particles and emphatic reflexives, and paticularizers. The 'scalar additive particles' carry the simple existential presupposition, but also involve a more specific, scalar 'conventional implicature'. In many languages, an unspecific additive particle functions both as scalar and non-scalar additive. A fairly large number of languages in his sample, however, do have a lexical distinction parallel to that between *also/too* and *even* in English (König 1991:66). Emeneau (1980) did a case study on several Indian Languages. He pointed out five different functions of Sanskrit additive particle *api* and additive particle in other Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. The functions include additive 'also', coordination 'and', the scalar additive 'even', universal quantification 'totalizing' or 'summing', and indefinite pronoun. In his seminal paper on the meaning of *only* and *even,* Horn (1969) analyses *even* as standing in polar opposition to *only.* Both particles have scalar and non-scalar readings, but the exact nature of the scale is not specified by the particles themselves. According to Fauconnier (1975a; 1975b), *even* identifies the lowest point of some contextually given scale and the numeral 'one' typically considered as the lowest value and therefore favored in scalar contexts. Sentences with *even* express surprising states of affairs which one does not expect ordinarily. If the most unlikely value of a set of alternatives satisfies a propositional schema, this may indeed be unexpected and cause surprise. Let us consider the sentence in (1). The sentence is reproduced from (König 1991:69).

(1) *George drank a little wine, a little brandy, a little rum, a little calvados, and even a little armagnac.*

The example in (1) shows that George drank almost every drink that was available, and Armagnac was the least expected drink. A much more plausible interpretation for this sentence is one in which a list of beverages that includes Armagnac in addition to four others is contrasted with a list that only includes the four others (König 1991:69).

This section provides an overview of the additive focus particle in Boro-Garo languages. The particle has different forms in each Boro-Garo language we have chosen: *=bɯ* in Bodo, *=bo* in Dimasa, *=ba* in Garo, *=bo* in Kokborok, *=ba* in Rabha, and *=bo* in Tiwa; but they have similar functions. These particles contribute a scalar additive 'even' reading when attached to certain expressions, such as classifier-numeral, quantifier, and a few temporal adverbial expressions. On the other hand, they express exhaustively non-scalar reading in some other contexts. So, we consider a two-way distinction of the functions of this particle: scalar vs. non-scalar. Table 2 shows the forms of the additive particle in the six different Boro-Garo languages.

***Table 2**: Forms of additive focus particle *=bV in select Boro-Garo languages*

Boro	Dimasa	Garo	Kokborok	Rabha	Tiwa	*pBG
=bɯ	*=bo*	*=ba*	*=bo*	*=ba*	*=bo*	**=bV*

We can see that all the six languages have a voiced bilabial plosive /b/ followed by a vowel, namely, close back unrounded vowel /ɯ/ in Boro, mid back rounded vowel /o/ in Dimasa, open front unrounded vowel /a/ in Garo, mid back rounded vowel /o/ in Kokborok, open front unrounded vowel /a/ in Rabha, and mid back rounded vowel /o/ in Tiwa. Thus, based on their phonetic similarity we posit the Boro-Garo proto-form as **=bV*.

The additive particle *=bV* in the languages under consideration is mostly treated as an 'indefinite particle' (see Burling 2003a:274; Joseph 2007:571; Basumatary 2014:199). However, some scholars consider this particle as 'inclusive particle' (see Pai 1976:85), 'inflectional nominal terminating suffixes' (see Bhattacharya 1977:187-189), and 'doubt marker' (see Longmailai 2014:105). Boro (To appear) has done extensive work on it. He calls it a 'focus enclitic', having different functions: additive focus marker, indefinite pronoun, collective, universal quantification under negation, coordination, and direct concession. However, the scalar interpretation of the additive particle **=bV* and the constructions which facilitate scalar

interpretation in these languages have not been studied in detail. This section gives an overview of the scalar function of the *=*bV* particle in the selected Boro-Garo languages.

The additive *=*bV* triggers an assumption that there are other alternatives to the focus value which satisfy an open proposition. It induces 'ordering' among the alternatives and the focal element, and the focus value is interpreted as less likely a value for the open proposition (see Konig 1991:37). Examples (2a-7a) illustrate the scalar use of the additives, and examples (2b-7b) illustrate simple additive use. The enclitic *=*bV* on the numeral *ma-se* 'CLF-one' in (2a), *sau-ʃi-kʰe* 'CLF-one-ACC' in (3a), *okisa* 'a little' in (4a), *kisa* 'a little' in (5a), *go-sa* 'CLF-one' in (6a), and *ki-sa* 'CLF-one' in (7a) marks the focal value. The alternatives evoked in each example is a quantity higher than the focus value. In these examples, the enclitic *=*bV* marks the lowest possible numeral or quantity in the given scale. On the other hand, the enclitic *=*bV* on the NP *mansi-ja* 'people-NOM' in (2b), *aŋ* '1SG' in (3b), *sal* 'sun' in (4b), *oʃaj* 'priest' in (5b), *uroŋ* '3PL' in (6b), and *aŋ* '1SG' in (7b) introduces a set of alternatives for the open proposition, namely, 'x take birth and die' in (2b), 'x eat rice' in (3b), 'x was terribly hot' in (4b), 'x is needed' in (5b), 'x wondered' in (6a), and 'x came to the shop' in (7b).

(2) a. Boro (CQPweb)

aŋ	*be*	*sijal-ni*	*zuluui-kʰuu*	*ma-se=bɯ*	*dun-la*
1SG	this	fox-GEN	breed-ACC	CLF-one=ADD	keep-NEG
butʰar-zub-gun		*aŋ-ɯ*			
kill-finish-FUT		1SG-NOM			

'I will not spare even a single fox of this breed (anymore), I will finish (them all).' [BdW13_ZF08]

b. Boro (CQPweb)

zeruui	*saŋgrema-ja*	*zɯŋ-ɯ*	*arɯ*	*gumuur-ɯ*	*bidinɯ*
like	firefly-NOM	luster-HAB	and	fade-HAB	that.way
mansi-ja=bɯ	*uzi-jɯ*	*arɯ*	*tʰuui-jɯ*		
people-NOM=ADD	take.birth-HAB	and	die-HAB		

'Like the fire fly lusters and fades, the same way people also take birth and die.' [BdW13_F15]

(3) a. Dimasa

bunʃi	*kʰriba*	*ʃubuŋ*	*bidin*	*aŋ*	*sau-ʃi-kʰe=bo*	*lon-ja*
3PL	all	people	bad	1SG	CLF-one-ACC=ADD	believe-NEG

'They are all bad people, (so) I do not believe even a single person.'

b. Dimasa

aŋ=bo	*makam*	*zi-du*
1SG=ADD	rice	eat-PRS

'I also eat rice.'

(4) a. Garo (Burling 2003a:356)

atʃak	*aŋ-miŋ*	*okisa=ba*	*gam-pa-gija*			*haba-o-na*		
dog	1SG-COM	a.little=ADD	work-with-NEG.NOMZ			field-AUG		
soka-ri-in	*haba*	*kettʃi-ni*	*bol*	*salakim-o*	*heŋgok*	*ra-e*	*tu-zok*	
reach-just-FGR	field	beside-GEN	tree	shade-LOC	snore	take-SUB	sleep-PRF	

'But the dog did not work with me even a little, but having reached the field, (he) slept snoring in the shade of a tree beside the field.' [The dog and the pig]

b. Garo (Burling 2003a:356)

u-ni	*sal-o-de*	*sal=ba*	*namen*	*diŋ-bi-a-na*
that-GEN	day-LOC-but	sun=ADD	very	hot-very-NEUT-QUO

'The sun also was terribly hot that day, it is said.' [The dog and the pig]

(5) a. Kokborok

aŋ	*mai*	*kisa=bo*	*ʧa-na*	*muʧuŋ-ja-kʰa*
1SG	rice	a.little=ADD	eat-NF	want-NEG-PST

'I didn't want to eat even a little rice.'

b. Kokborok (Pai 1976:122-123)

uŋkʰaj	*a*	*oʧaj=bo*	*kʰaŋ-kəplaj-gənaŋ*	*naŋ-go*
then	that	priest=ADD	face-clever-full	need-PRS

'Then a clever priest also is needed.' [Our life cycle]

(6) a. Rabha

sansana	*kostʰo*	*kʰar-e*	*kami-ra-iba*	
whole.day	hard.work	do-INCOM	work-do-??	
u	*go-sa=ba*	*paisa*	*kamai-na*	*zaŋ-ʧa-ʤo*
3SG	CLF-one=ADD	money	earn-NF	can-NEG-PST

'After working so hard the whole day, he could not earn even a single penny.'

b. Rabha (Joseph 2007:698)

uroŋ=ba	*e-ganda*	*na*	*nuk-e*	*hotmani-ʤo*
3PL=ADD	this-kind	fish	see-INCOM	wonder-PST

'Seeing such a fish they also wondered.' [A folklore about deity khoksi]

(7) a. Tiwa

tʰao	*ki-sa=bo*	*student*	*skul-go*	*pʰi-ja*
today	CLF-one=ADD	student	school-LOC	come-NEG

'Even one person will not come to school today.'

b. Tiwa

aŋ=bo	*kʰona*	*dukʰan-o*	*pʰi-do-m*
1SG=ADD	yesterday	shop-LOC	come-IMPF-PST

'I also came to the shop yesterday.'

The sentences with the scalar additive readings in (2a-7a) seem to require the presence of the negative marker, whereas the sentences with the non-scalar additive readings in (2b-7b) do not. Let us consider these two sets of sentences with their polarity reversed in (8-13). The asterisk (*) marked sentences are ungrammatical.

(8) a. Boro

**aŋ*	*be*	*sijal-ni*	*zuluɯi-kʰuɯ*	*ma-se=bɯ*	*dɯn-gɯn*
1SG	this	fox-GEN	breed-ACC	CLF-one=ADD	keep-FUT
butʰar-zɯb-gɯn			*aŋ-ɯ*		
kill-finish-FUT			1SG-NOM		

'*I will spare even a fox of this breed anymore, I will finish (them).'

b. Boro

zeruɯi	*saŋgrema-ja*	*zuŋ-ɯ*	*arɯ*	*gumɯr-ɯ*	*bidinɯ*
like	firefly-NOM	luster-HAB	and	fade-HAB	that way
mansi-ja=bɯ	*uzi-ja*		*arɯ*	*tʰuɯi-ja*	
people-NOM=ADD	take.birth-NEG		and	die-NEG	

'Like firefly lusters and fades, that way people also do not take birth and die.'

(9) a. Dimasa

bunʃi	*kʰriba*	*ʃubuŋ*	*bidin,*	**aŋ*	*sau-ʃi-kʰe=bo*	*lon-du*
3pl	all	people	bad	1SG	CLF-one-ACC=ADD	believe-PRS

'They are all bad people, (so) *I believe even a single person.'

b. Dimasa

aŋ=bo	*makam*	*zi-ja*
1SG=ADD	rice	eat-NEG

'I also do not eat rice.'

(10) a. Garo

**aʧak*	*aŋ-miŋ*	*okisa=ba*	*gam-pa-gip-a*	*haba-o-na*
dog	1SG-COM	a.little=ADD	work-with-NOMZ	field-AUG

soka-ri-in	*haba*	*ketʧi-ni*	*bol*	*salakim-o*	*heŋgok*	*ra-e*	*tu-zok*
reach-just-FGR	field	beside-GEN	tree	shade-LOC	snore	take-SUB	sleep-PRF

'*But the dog work with me even a little, but having reached the field, (he) slept snoring in the shade of a tree beside the field.'

b. Garo

u-ni	*sal-o-de*	*sal=ba*	*namen*	*diŋ-bi-ja-na*
that-GEN	day-LOC-but	sun=ADD	very	hot-very-NEG-QUO

'The sun also was not terribly hot that day, it is said.'

(11) a. Kokborok

**aŋ*	*mai*	*kisa=bo*	*ʧa-na*	*muʧuŋ-kʰa*
1SG	rice	a.little=ADD	eat-NF	want-PST

'*I wanted to eat even a little rice.'

b. Kokborok

uŋkʰaj	*a*	*oʧaj=bo*	*kʰaŋ-kəplaj-gənaŋ*	*naŋ-ja*
then	that	priest=ADD	face-clever-full	need-NEG

'Then a clever priest also is not needed.'

(12) a. Rabha

sansana	*kostʰo*	*kʰar-e*	*kami-ra-iba*
whole.day	hard.work	do-INCOM	work-do-??

**u*	*go-sa=ba*	*paisa*	*kamai-na*	*zaŋ-ʤo*
3SG	CLF-one=ADD	money	earn-NF	can-PST

'After working so hard the whole day, *he could earn even a single penny.'

b. Rabha

uroŋ=ba	*e-ganda*	*na*	*nuk-e*	*hotmani-ʧa-ʤo*
3PL=ADD	this-kind	fish	see-INCOM	wonder-NEG-PST

'Seeing such a fish they also did not wonder.'

(13) a. Tiwa

**tʰao*	*ki-sa=bo*	*student*	*skul-go*	*pʰi-w*
today	CLF-one=ADD	student	school-LOC	come-FUT

'*Even one person will come to school today.'

b. Tiwa

aŋ=bo	*kʰona*	*dukʰan-o*	*pʰi-ja-do-m*
1SG=ADD	yesterday	shop-LOC	come-NEG-IMPF-PST

'I also did not come to the shop yesterday.'

It is evident from the examples in (8-13) that the scalar additive 'even' reading words '*ma-se=bu* 'CLF-one=ADD' in (8a), *sau-ʃi-kʰe=bo* 'CLF-one-ACC=ADD' in (9a), *okisa=ba* 'a little=ADD' in (10a), *kisa=bo* 'a little=ADD' in (11a), *go-sa=ba* 'CLF-one=ADD' in (12a), and *ki-sa=bo* 'CLF-one=ADD' in (13a) can come only in the presence of negation in each sentence as shown by the ungrammatical sentences, whereas another set of words, namely, *mansi-ja=bu* 'people-NOM=ADD' in (8b), *aŋ=bo* '1SG=ADD' in (9b), *sal=ba* 'sun=ADD' in (10b), *oʧaj=bo* 'priest=ADD', in (11b), *uroŋ=ba* '3PL=ADD' in (12b), and *aŋ=bo* '1SG=ADD' in (13b) with non-scalar additive readings can come both in affirmative or negative sentences. The former set of words can be placed under the category of indefinite pronouns that appear in the presence of negation. These words do not carry any negative meaning themselves, but rather appear in the presence of negation in the sentences. Their function is to emphasize the overt negation present in the clauses. They are roughly equivalent to English 'anyone', 'anything', and so on, but they are unlike English 'no one', 'nothing', and so on since they do not carry any negative meaning in themselves. In the next section, we will be talking about the scalar additive 'even' reading words in more detail.

4 The scalar additive **=bV* in Boro-Garo

This section provides a detailed account of the scalar additive focus particles **=bV* in three different constructions or expressions in the selected Boro-Garo languages that include classifier-numeral, quantifiers, and a few temporal adverbs.

*4.1 The scalar additive *=bV with Classifier-Numeral*

Boro-Garo languages are rich classifier languages (Bhattacharya 1977; Joseph 2007; Basumatary 2014; Burling 2003a; Longmailai 2014; Pai 1976). All the six languages have classifier-numeral order where a numeral is preceded by a classifier. However, the numeral-classifier order is not possible. In a simple noun phrase, the classifier-numeral either precedes or follows the head noun; there is no fixed order. The particle **=bV*, when attached to the classifier-numeral, gives scalar additive 'even' reading when the numeral is 'one'. Thus, all the 'even' reading classifier-numeral are of the following order: *CLF + NUM + =bV*. This *CLF-NUM=bV* can be translated as 'even one' whose reference can be human, or non-human, or other entities depending on the kind classifier attached to it. For instance, *sa-se=bu* refers to human, *ma-se=bu* refers to animals, *pʰaŋ-se=bu* refers to plants or trees, and so on in Bodo. These kinds of expressions are analogous to those idiomatic expressions in English such as *even a penny, even a budge,* and so on. Table 3 presents classifier-numeral expressions with the scalar additive 'even' reading. Though we have provided only one classifier for each language in Table 3, this serves as a template for the rest of the classifiers in the Boro-Garo languages.

***Table 3**: Classifier-Numerals in Boro-Garo*

Language	Example	Gloss	*pBG
BORO	*sa-se=bɯ* CLF-one=ADD	even one person	CLF-NUM*=bV
DIMASA	*sao-ʃi=bo* CLF-one=ADD	even one person	
GARO	*sak-sa=ba* CLF-one=ADD	even one person	
KOKBOROK[2]	*kʰorok-sa=bo* CLF-one=ADD	even one person	
RABHA	*sak-sa=ba* CLF-one=ADD	even one person	
TIWA	*ki-sa=bo* CLF-one=ADD	even one person	

Table 3 shows the uniform distribution of classifier-numeral in all six Boro-Garo languages. We can also observe that all the numerals are limited to the 'one'. The enclitic **=bV* provides scalar additive 'even' reading iff the numeral is 'one'. On the other hand, it may or may not have scalar 'even' reading when the numeral is greater than 'one'. Let us consider the examples in (14).

(14) a. Boro (CQPweb)

natʰai	*tʰampʰui-ja*	*mansi*	*tʰa-nai-lai*	*ma-se=bɯ*	*gɯi-tʰar-lia*
but	mosquito-NOM	man	stay-NOMZ-for	CLF-one=ADD	exist-really-NEG

'But because of people, even a mosquito is not left.' [BdW13_T01]

b. Dimasa

aŋ	*mu-ʃi=bo*	*grao*	*ti-ma*	*naŋ-zao-ja-mu*
1SG	CLF-one=ADD	word	say-NF	need-??-NEG-PST

'I did not want to say even a word.'

c. Garo (Burling 2003a:275)

aŋ-a	*ze*	*zaaiga-ʧa*	*iaŋ-a*	*ua*	*zaaiga-ʧa*
1SG-NOM	whatever	place-LOC	go-NEUT	that	place-LOC
sak-sa=ba	*doŋ-ja-miŋ*				
CLF-one=ADD	exist-NEG-PST				

'To whatever place I went, in that place there was no one.'
Lit: 'To whatever place I went, in that place there was not even a single person.'

d. Kokborok

najʧon-ba	*bo*	*no-go*	*kʰorok-sa=bo*	*kʰuruj-kʰa*
peep-when	that	house-LOC	CLF-one=ADD	NEG.exist-PST

'When (I) peeped inside the house, not even a single person was there.'

e. Rabha

san-sa	*haʧu-i*	*kraŋan*	*kraŋan*	*maŋ-sa=ba*	*to*	*man-ʧa-nata*
CLF-one	hill-LOC	strolling	strolling	CLF-one=ADD	bird	get-NEG-PST

'One day, having strolled (for a long time), (we) did not get even a bird.'

[2] In present Kokborok, the classifier-numeral expressions seem to have undergone some changes due to some reason. Most of them ends with the word *pʰano* 'even', for example, *kebo pʰano* 'anybody', *kunu pʰano* 'anything', *tʰopsa pʰano* 'even a drop', *kisu/kisa pʰano* 'anything', and so on. Some people still retain the *=bV* construction, nevertheless, the *pʰano* construction is mostly used.

f. Tiwa

ki-sa=bo	*doctor*	*pe-ne*	*bemar-go*	*tʰik*	*ri-na*	*rai-ja-do-m*
CLF-one=ADD	doctor	3SG-GEN	disease-ACC	treat	do-NF	can-NEG-IMPF-PST

'Even a doctor could not treat his disease.'

The enclitic *=*bV* on the numeral *ma-se* 'CLF-one' in (14a), *mu-ʃi* 'CLF-one' in (14b), *sak-sa* 'CLF-one' in (14c), *kʰorok-sa* 'CLF-one' in (14d), *maŋ-sa* 'CLF-one' in (14e), and *ki-sa* 'CLF-one' in (14f) marks the focal value. It presupposes that there is a set of numerals and 'one' is the least and most unlikely value evoked in each case. The numeral 'one' is also typically considered as the lowest value and therefore favored in scalar contexts. In these examples, the focal value constituents 'CLF-one=bV' are contrasted with the alternative evoked in each case. The alternative evoked in each case is a numeral greater than 'one' in (14). These kinds of expressions can only occur in the presence of the negative marker (see the ungrammatical positive sentences in Appendix A). However, the enclitic *=*bV* provides non-scalar reading when the numeral is greater than 'one' in some instances. Let us consider the examples in (15).

(15) a. Boro (CQPweb)

jogen-ni	*ongajɯi*	*bi-sur*	*sa-tʰam=bɯ*	*serza*	*dam-nɯ*	*rɯŋ-gɯu-mun*
PN-GEN	except	3-PL	CLF-three=ADD	serza	play-NF	know-AFF-PST

'All three of them knew how to play Serja except Jogen.' [BdW13_X19]

b. Dimasa

aŋ	*sau-gni-kʰe=bo*	*lon-du*
1SG	CLF-two-ACC=ADD	believe-PRS

'I believe both the person.'

c. Garo (Burling 2003a:357)

aŋ	*sak-gitam-ko=ba*	*nik-a*
1SG	CLF-three-ACC=ADD	see-NEUT

'I see all three of them.'

d. Kokborok

aŋ	*kʰorok-nui*	*phano*	*nuk-kʰa*
1SG	CLF-two	also	see-PST

'I saw both of them.'

e. Rabha (Joseph 2007:689)

liga	*peke*	*riba-e*	*toŋ-bapeke*	*okai*	*pan*	*kara-inipara*	*maina*	*sabra*
friend	with	coming	be-while	that	tree	top-from	myna	offspring
kriŋ-kai-o		*na-e*	*ka-miŋ=ba*	*maina*	*sabra-o*	*dak-ŋa*	*muŋ-ata*	
chirping		hearing	CLF-two=ADD	myna	offspring	pluck-to	desired	

'While coming along with the friend, hearing the chirping of young mynas, both of us desired to take the young mynas.' [Recalling a personal incident; Texts from actual speech recording]

f. Tiwa

ki-tʰam=bo	*pʰi-w*
CLF-three=ADD	come-HAB

'All three of them came (yesterday).'

The enclitic *=*bV* on the numeral *sa-tʰam* 'CLF-three' in (15a), *sau-gni-kʰe* 'CLF-two-ACC' in (15b), *sak-gitam-ko* 'CLF-three-ACC' in (15c), *kʰorok-nui* 'CLF-two' in (15d), *ka-miŋ* 'CLF-two' in (15e), and *ki-tʰam* 'CLF-three' in (15f) induces a collective interpretation (see Boro (to appear)). Such kind of expressions can

occur both in positive and negative sentences (see Appendix B). Again, in certain occasions, the enclitic *=*bV* evokes scalar reading even if when the numeral is greater than 'one'. Consider the example in (16).

(16) a. Boro (CQPweb)

kʰon-tʰam-ao=bu	*zen-bula*	*be-kʰuu*	*bikʰa-jao*	*suurasi*	*ontʰai*
CLF-three-LOC=ADD	fail-COND	this-ACC	chest-LOC	big	stone
husin-nanui	*kʰa-nanui*	*dun-nai*	*za-gun*		
place.over-CONJ	tie-CONJ	put-NOMZ	happen-FUT		

'If (he) fails even after three occasions, he will be tied up by putting the big stone on the chest.' [BdW13_T01]

b. Kokborok (Pai 1976:141)

waj-tʰam=bo	*kari-ja-woj*	*a*	*borok*	*a*	*zaga-wo*	*taj*
CLF-three=ADD	come out-NEG-PST	that	man	that	place-LOC	more
huk	*taŋ-glak*					
jhum	do-NEG					

'If one does not get it in his favour even after the three trials, he will not make his huk (Jhum or Shifting cultivation) in that place.' [Shifting Cultivation]

The enclitic *=*bV* on the numeral *kʰon-tʰam-ao* 'CLF-three-LOC' in (16a), *waj-tʰam* 'CLF-three' in (16b) marks the focal value. The alternative evoked in each example is the numerals lesser than 'three'. In these examples, the focal value constituents 'CLF-three=bV' are contrasted with the alternative evoked in each case. The interpretation of these kinds of sentences in the given contexts is that the subject constituent is expected to do his job in less than the focused period of three occasions/trials.

Again, like classifiers, there is quite a large number of expressions in Boro-Garo that refer to the quantity of entities rather than the quality. These expressions refer to the measuring unit of objects that are countable in number such as 'a couple of balls', 'a pair of shoes', 'handful of things', and so on in English. These kinds of expressions are termed mensural classifiers in linguistic literature. Though they possess different meanings from that of classifier-numerals, there is not much morphosyntactic difference between the two. We gloss these expressions as quantifiers (QN) to distinguish from that of classifiers (CLF). Like classifier-numerals, these languages have quantifier-numeral order where a numeral is preceded by a quantifier. However, the numeral-quantifier order is not possible. In a simple noun phrase, the quantifier-numeral either precedes or follows the head noun, there is no fixed order. The enclitic *=*bV,* when attached to the quantifier-numeral gives scalar additive 'even' reading when the numeral is 'one' or less than the expected number. Thus, all the quantifier-numerals with scalar additive 'even' reading are of the following order: *QN + NUM + bV*. The *QN-se=bV* can be translated as 'a set of some definite object' whose reference can be different depending on the quantifiers attached to it. For instance, *zokʰai-se=bu* refers to 'even a set of four', *hatʰa-se=bu* 'even a bunch of (banana)' and so on in Boro. The Table 4 displays the quantifier-numeral with the 'even' reading.

***Table 4**: Quantifier-Numerals in Boro-Garo*

Language	Example	Gloss	*pBG
Definite			
BORO	*zokʰai-se=bu* QN-one=ADD	even a set of four	QN-NUM*=bV
DIMASA	*lop-sa=bo* QN-one=ADD	even a handful	
GARO	*zura-se=ba* QN-one=ADD	even a pair	
KOKBOROK	*kʰop-se pʰano* QN-one even	even a mouthful	
RABHA	*hal-sa=ba* QN-one=ADD	even a pair (of bull)	
TIWA	*sora-sa=bo* QN-one=ADD	even a pair	

Table 4 lists a set of quantifier-numerals in each Boro-Garo language, having scalar additive 'even' readings. It is to be noted that the numeral in each quantifier-numerals is 'one' and is followed by scalar additive *=*bV* particle, which is similar to what we have already noticed in classifier-numerals in Table 3. Let us consider the sentences in (17) to understand this phenomenon.

(17) a. Boro (CQPweb)

nat^{h}ai	*dan-ni*	*unao*	*k^{h}eb-se*	*mit^{h}iŋ*	*liŋ-bula*
but	month-GEN	later	CLF-one	meeting	ask-then
zok^{h}ai-se=bɯ	*gɯi-ja*				
QN-one=ADD	exist-NEG				

'But month's later in a meeting, there was not even a set of four people present.' [BdW13_D16]

b. Dimasa

bo	*a-ne*	*lop-sa=bo*	*mairuŋ*	*ɾi-ja-k^{h}a*
3SG	1SG-DAT	QN-one=ADD	rice	give-NEG-PST

'S/he did not give me even a handful of rice.'

c. Garo

aŋ-a	*aŋ-ni*	*zora-sa=ba*	*sendel-ko*	*gan-na*
1SG-NOM	1SG-GEN	QN-one=ADD	sandal-ACC	wear-NF
man-ja-engjok,		*ua-raŋ*	*gimikgan*	*ʧotda-ha*
can-NEG-???		that-PL	all	tear-PRF

'I cannot wear even a pair of sandals of mine, they are all tore.'

d. Kokborok

sal-t^{h}am-ni	*jakulo*	*gonda*	*zor-sa=bo*	*nu-glak*	*oborok*	*zotto*
day-three-GEN	afterwards	rhino	CLF-one=ADD	see-NEG	those	all
kumai	*t^{h}aŋ-bai-nai*					
disappear	go-finish-FUT					

'After the span of three days, even a pair of rhinos would not be seen. They will be all gone.'

e. Rabha (Joseph 2007:679-680)

u-be	*lak^{h}or*	*ʧaŋ-doŋba,*	*ʧakor*	*daŋ-doŋba*	*mai*
3SG-DEF	cowherd	become-even.if	servant	enter-even.if	rice
mutta-sa=ba,	*mairuŋ*	*lop-sa=ba*	*raba-ʧa*		
QN-one=ADD	rice	QN-one=ADD	bring-NEG		

'Whether he became a shepherd or worked as a hired servant, he would not bring even a handful of paddy or a handful of rice.' [A narrative of personal life; Texts from actual speech recording]

f. Tiwa

pe-ne	*sora-sa=bo*	*loŋpen*	*pe-na*	*t^{h}an-ja-k^{h}a*
3SG-GEN	QN-one=ADD	trousers	3SG-DAT	fit-NEG-PST

'Even a pair of his trousers does not fit, (they are too big).'

The enclitic *=*bV* on the numerals *zok^{h}ai-se* 'QN-one' in (17a), *lop-sa* 'QN-one' in (17b), *zora-sa* 'QN-one' in (17c), *zor-sa* 'QN-one' in (17d), *hal-sa* 'QN-one' in (17e), and *sora-sa* 'QN-one' in (17f) marks the focal value. The alternative evoked in each example is the numerals higher than 'one'. In these examples, the enclitic *=*bV* marks the lowest possible numeral which is 'one' in the given contextual scale. The focal value in these sentences is contrasted with a set of alternative evoked.

*4.2 The scalar additive =*bV with Indefinite Quantifiers*

A few indefinite quantifiers in Boro-Garo have scalar reading. These quantifiers are a combination of either *free* or *bound morpheme quantifiers* + *=bV*. These expressions are analogous to English words such as *anything, even a little,* and so on. Let us consider the examples in Table 5.

***Table 5**: Indefinite Quantifiers in Boro-Garo*

Language	Example	Gloss	*pBG
Indefinite Quantifiers			
BORO	*zebɯ* anything	anything	QUANTIFIER*=bV
	ese=bɯ a.little=ADD	even a little	
DIMASA	*muʃi=bo* something=ADD	anything	
	kʰeiʃa=bo a.little=ADD	even a little	
GARO	*mamuŋ=ba* something=ADD	anything	
	okisa=ba a.little=ADD	even a little	
KOKBOROK	*kisu pʰano* something even	anything	
	kisa phano a.little even	even a little	
RABHA	*zaba* anything	anything	
	kesa=bo a.little=ADD	even a little	
TIWA	*ekʰobo* anything	anything	
	ʧai=bo a.little=ADD	even a little	

Table 5 lists some of the Bodo-Garo indefinite quantifiers. It shows the uniform distribution of the quantifiers in all the six languages, where the indefinite free/bound morpheme is followed by the scalar additive particle **=bV*. The enclitic **=bV* is an obligatory component in the following words: *zebɯ* 'anything', *zaba* 'anything' *ekʰobo* 'anything' in table 5. The roots of these words are bound morphemes; however, they can be separated by a case marker. Let us consider these words in (18).

(18) a. Boro (CQPweb)

no	*biguma-ja*	*ma*	*subida*	*ma*	*usubida*	*doŋ*
house	owner-NOM	what	convenience	what	inconvenience	exist

be-pʰur-kʰuu	*ese=bɯ*	*mitʰi-ja*
this-PL-ACC	a.little=ADD	know-NEG

'The house owner does not know the convenience (or) inconvenience (of the guests) even a little.' [BdW13_S37]

b. Dimasa (Longmailai 2014:95)

aŋ	*ni-ni-ha*	*muʃi=bo*	*ham-ba*	*nu-ja*
1SG	2SG-GEN-LOC	something=ADD	good-ATTB	see-NEG

'I do not see anything good in you.'

c. Garo (Burling 2003a:356)

sal	*diŋ-a-ko*	*ʧaʧik-e*	*okisa=ba*	*neŋtak-gija*	*haba*	*gimik-ko*
sun	hot-NOMZ-ACC	endure-SUB	a.little=ADD	rest-NEG.NOMZ	field	entire-ACC

sal	*hi-aŋ-o-na*	*bi-a-de*	*bon-e*	*riŋ-gil-jok-na*
day	go-NOM-AUG	he-NOM-but	finish-SUB	root up-PRF-QUO

'Enduring the heat of the day and without resting a bit, he finished rooting up until the day was gone.' [The dog and the pig]

d. Kokborok

aŋ	*mai*	*kisa=bo*	*ʧa-na*	*muʧuŋ-ja*
1SG	rice	a.little=ADD	eat-NF	want-NEG

'I didn't want to eat even a little rice.'

e. Rabha (Joseph 2007:690)

ame	*roŋ*	*man-e*	*zaba*	*ʧi-ʧa-raŋ-e*	*maina*	*sabra*
I	happy	being	anything	look-not-without	myna	offspring

kriŋkai-o-san	*nat^{h}am-e*	*pan*	*kara-ina*	*duŋ-e*	*reŋ-jo*
chirping-only	listening	tree	trop-to	climbing	went

'With joy and not thinking anything else, and only listening to the chirping of the young mynas, I climbed the tree.' [Recalling a personal incident; Texts from actual speech recording.]

f. Tiwa

pe	*public-ke*	*pora*	*k^{h}op-man-mane=bo*	*ʧai=bo*	*lazi-ja*
3SG	public-GEN	from	beat-PASS-??=even.though	a.little=ADD	shy-NEG

'Even though he was beaten by public, he does not feel shy even a bit.'

The enclitic *=*bV* on the constituent *ese* 'a little' in (18a), *muʃi* 'something' in (18b), *okisa* 'a little' in (18c), *kisa* 'a little' in (18d), *za* 'something' in (18e), and *ʧai* 'a little' in (18f) marks the focal value. It presupposes that there is a set of quantifiers and 'a little' or 'something' is least and most unlikely value of a set of alternatives evoked in each case. These quantifiers 'a little' or 'something' are also typically considered as the lowest value (in these languages) and therefore favored in scalar contexts. In these examples, the focal value constituents 'QUANTIFIER*=bV' are contrasted with the alternative evoked in each case. The alternative evoked in these examples is the quantities greater than the focal value.

*4.3 The scalar additive =*bV with temporal adverbs*

The temporal adverb denoting 'when' may carry the additive particle *=*bV* and have scalar meaning. The structure of these words are as follows: the root word 'when' is followed by the indefinite particle *=ba*, which together means 'occasionally'. The word 'occasionally' is later followed by the additive particle *=*bV* to form 'even occasionally'. Let us see the derivation of these words in (19).

(19) a. when + =IND → occasionally
b. occasionally + *=bV→ even occasionally

Table 6 shows the uniform distribution of the temporal adverbs with literal meaning 'even occasionally' in each Boro-Garo language except Kokborok and Tiwa. Let us consider the examples in Table 6.

***Table 6**: Temporal adverbs*

Language	Example	Gloss	*pBG
BORO	*mabla=ba=bɯ* when=IND=ADD	even occasionally	when=ba*=bV
DIMASA	*bak^{h}ali=ba=bo* when=IND=ADD	even occasionally	
GARO	*basoko=ba=ba* when=IND=ADD	even occasionally	
KOKBOROK[3]	*sal-sa=bo* CLF-one=ADD	even a day	
RABHA	*bedo=ba=ba* when=IND=ADD	even occasionally	
TIWA	*zagala=bo* when=ADD	even when	

The enclitic *=*bV* in Table 6 follows the temporal adverb 'sometimes/occasionally' in Boro, Dimasa, Garo, and Rabha. In Kokborok, this word is expressed by the classifier-numeral construction, where the enclitic *=*bV* follows the classifier-numeral. On the other hand, the enclitic *=*bV* in Tiwa directly follows the root word *zagala* 'when'. Let us consider these words in the examples in (20).

(20) a. Boro (CQPweb)
bi-jɯ *arɯ* *mabla=ba=bɯ* *iyun-ni* *zebɯ* *dint^{h}i-nai* *noŋ-liya*
3SG-NOM and when=IND=ADD future-GEN anything show-NOMZ be-NEG
'And he will never show anything in the future.' [BdW13_T04] Lit: 'And he will not show anything in the future even occasionally.'

b. Dimasa
aŋ *bak^{h}ali=ba=bo* *makam* *zi-ja-k^{h}a*
1SG when=IND=ADD rice eat-NEG-PST
'I never ate rice.' Lit: 'I did not eat rice even occasionally.'

c. Garo
ua *sal-oni* *aŋ-a* *basoko=ba=ba* *rice* *beer* *riŋ-ja-ha*
that day-from 1SG-NOM when=IND=ADD rice beer drink-NEG-PRF
'From that day (onwards), I never had rice beer.' Lit: 'From that day (onwards), I did not have rice beer even occasionally.'

d. Kokborok
t^{h}amʧi *kaza-gui,* *bo* *bi-ni* *mɯk^{h}aŋ* *sal-sa=bo* *bo-no* *p^{h}unuk-lija*
angry get-CONJ 3SG 3SG-GEN face CLF-one=ADD 3SG-ACC show-NEG
'Having got angry, he did not show his face to him even a day (anymore).'

e. Rabha
metrik *p^{h}urk^{h}a* *p^{h}el* *ʧaŋ-e* *u* *bedo=ba=ba* *k^{h}aosa* *guduŋa*
HSLC exam faill do-CONJ 3SG when=IND=ADD book towards
p^{h}enne *ʧi-ʧa-ʤo*
return see-NEG-PST
'Having failed the HSLC exam, he never looked back at the books.' Lit: 'Having failed the HSLC exam, he did not look back at the books even occasionally.'

[3] Kokborok speakers use classifier-numeral patterns *sal-sa=bo* or *sal-sa p^{h}ano* 'even one day' instead of 'even sometimes/occasionally'. These kinds of constructions are also found in the other five languages.

f. Tiwa

aŋ	*tʰao-epara*	*ʧagala=bo*	*ʧu*	*nuŋ-ja-kʰa-ŋ*
1SG	today-from	when=ADD	rice beer	drink-NEG-??-1SG

'From today onwards, I will never have rice bear.' Lit: 'From that day (onwards), I did not have rice beer even occasionally.'

The enclitic *=*bV* on the constituents *mabla=ba* 'when=IND' in (20a), *bakʰali=ba* 'when=IND' in (20b), *basoko=ba* 'when=IND' in (20c), *sal-sa* 'CLF-one' in (20d), *bedo=ba* 'when=IND' in (20e), and *zagala* 'when' in (20f) marks the focal value. The alternative evoked in these examples are the temporal adverbs that are used more frequently than the focal constituent 'occasionally' such as 'always', 'often', and so on except (18d) and (18f). It presupposes that there is a set of temporal adverbs and 'sometimes' is least and most unlikely value of a set of alternatives evoked in each case. The adverb 'sometimes' is also considered as the lowest value in the temporal adverb scale (in these language) and therefore favored in scalar contexts. In these examples, the focal value constituents 'when=ba*=bV' are contrasted with the alternative evoked in each case.

5 Summary

The paper has described the scalar interpretation of the additive focus particle in select Boro-Garo languages, namely, Boro, Dimasa, Garo, Kokborok, Rabha, and Tiwa. The particle has different forms in each Boro-Garo language, *=bu* in Bodo, *=bo* in Dimasa, *=ba* in Garo, *=bo* in Kokborok, *=ba* in Rabha, and *=bo* in Tiwa, but they have similar functions. Based on their phonetic similarity, we reconstruct the Boro-Garo proto-form as *=*bV*. We have observed three different kinds of constructions or expressions that contain the additive particle and contributes scalar reading in each language, namely, classifier-numerals, quantifiers, and a few temporal adverbs. The classifier-numeral expressions are of the following form: *CLF* (classifier) + *NUM* (numeral) + *=bV*. These expressions are analogous to idiomatic English expressions such as *even a penny, even a budge,* and so on. The indefinite quantifiers, on the other hand, refer to some indefinite objects. These are of the following forms: *free* or *bound indefinite morpheme* + *=bV*. The root word of temporal adverb is an adverbial question word 'when' and are of the following form: *when* + *=ba* (indefinite particle) + *=bV*. These constructions or expressions do not carry any negative meaning themselves, but rather appear in the presence of negation in the sentences. Their function is to emphasize the overt negation present in the clauses. They are roughly equivalent to English *anyone, anything,* and so on, but they are unlike English *no one, nothing,* and so on since they do not any carry negative meaning in themselves. In classifier-numeral constructions, the numeral is restricted to 'one' for scalar reading and occurs only in the negative environment. However, the additive may or may not provide scalar reading when the numeral is higher than 'one'. Rather, it may add simple additive meaning, which is not restricted to a certain polarity. Scalar interpretation of the indefinite quantifier and temporal adverbial expressions is also restricted to negative environments.

Appendix A

(1) a. Boro

**natʰai*	*tʰampʰui-ja*	*mansi*	*tʰa-nai-lai*	*ma-se=bu*	*doŋ-tʰar-u*
but	mosquito-NOM	man	stay-NOMZ-for	CLF-one=ADD	exist-really-HAB

'*But because of people, even a mosquito exists.'

b. Dimasa

**aŋ*	*mu-ʃi=bo*	*grao*	*ti-ma*	*naŋ-zao-mu*
1SG	CLF-one=ADD	word	say-NF	need-??-PST

'I wanted to say even a word.'

c. Garo

**aŋ-a*	*ze*	*zaaiga-ʧa*	*iaŋ-a*	*ua*	*zaaiga-ʧa*
1SG-NOM	whatever	place-LOC	go-NEUT	that	place-LOC

sak-sa=ba	*doŋ-a-miŋ*
CLF-one=ADD	exist-NEUT-PST

'*To whatever place I went, in that place there was even a single person.'

d. Kokborok

**najʧon-ba*	*bo*	*no-go*	*kʰorok-sa=bo*	*toŋ-o-kʰa*
peep-when	that	house-LOC	CLF-one=ADD	exist-AFF-PST

'*When (I) peeped inside the house, even a single person was there.'

e. Rabha

**san-sa*	*haʧu-i*	*kraŋan*	*kraŋ-an*	*maŋ-sa=ba*	*to*	*man-nata*
CLF-one	hill-LOC	strolling	strolling	CLF-one=ADD	bird	get-PST

'*One day, having strolled (for a long time), (we) got even a bird.'

f. Tiwa

**ki-sa=bo*	*doctor*	*pe-ne*	*bemar-go*	*tʰik*	*ri-na*	*rai-do-m*
CLF-one=ADD	doctor	3SG-GEN	disease-ACC	treat	do-NF	can-IMPF-PST

'*Even a doctor treated his disease.'

Appendix B

(1) a. Boro

jogen-ni	*ongajɯi*	*bi-sur*	*sa-tʰam=bɯ*	*serza*	*dam-nɯ*	*ruŋ-a-mun*
PN-GEN	except	3-PL	CLF-three=ADD	serza	play-NF	know-NEG-PST

'All three of them did not know how to play Serja except Jogen.'

b. Dimasa

aŋ	*sau-gni-kʰe=bo*	*lon-ja*
1SG	CLF-two-ACC=ADD	believe-NEG

'I do not believe both the person.'

c. Garo

aŋ	*sak-gitam-ko=ba*	*nik-ja*
1SG	CLF-three-ACC=ADD	see-NEG

'I do not see all three of them.'

d. Kokborok

aŋ	*kʰorok-nui*	*phano*	*nuk-ja-kʰa*
1SG	CLF-two	also	see-NEG-PST

'I did not see both of them.'

e. Rabha

liga	*peke*	*riba-e*	*toŋ-bapeke*	*okai*	*pan*	*kara-inipara*	*maina*	*sabra*
friend	with	coming	be-while	that	tree	top-from	myna	offspring

kriŋ-kai-o	*na-e*	*ka-miŋ=ba*	*maina*	*sabra-o*	*dak-ŋa*	*muŋ-ʧa-ata*
chirping	hearing	CLF-two=ADD	myna	offspring	pluck-to	desire-NEG-PST

'While coming along with the friend, hearing the chirping of young mynas, both of us did not desire to take the young mynas.'

f. Tiwa
ki-t^{h}am=bo *p^{h}i-ja*
CLF-three=ADD come-NEG
'All three of them did not come (yesterday).'

Abbreviation and Symbols

??	Unknown meaning	IMPF	Imperfective
*	Ungrammatical sentence	LOC	Locative case
*pBG	proto-Boro-Garo	NEG	Negative
1	First person	NF	Non-finite
2	Second person	NOM	Nominative
3	Third person	NOMZ	Nominalizer
ABL	Ablative	NUET	Neuter
ACC	Accusative	NUM	Numeral
ADD	Additive particle	PASS	Passive
AUG	Augmenting suffix for locative	PL	Plural
ATTB	Attributive	PN	Proper noun
CLF	Classifier	POSS	Possessive
COM	Comitative	PRED	Predicative
DAT	Dative	PRS	Present tense
DEF	Definitive	PST	Past tense
FGR	Foregrounding final noun suffix	QN	Quantifier
FOC	Focus particle	QUO	Quotative particle
FUT	Future	SG	Singular
IMP	Imperative	SUB	Subordinating suffix

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