

QUANTIFICATION IN BODO

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Abstract

This article explores the morphological composition of Bodo quantifiers. Based on their morphological features, Bodo quantifiers can be broadly categorized into core and morphologically derived complex quantifiers. Both quantifiers are further divided into Classifier:type-numeral, Classifier:type-how.much/many, Classifier:type-each/every, Classifier:cycle.of.action-numeral, Interrogative=Indefinite, and Non-classifier/Indefinite quantifier. In addition, the article discusses the morpheme or structure used for comparison. This article uses Partee's (1995) and Keenan's (2017) A-type and D-type classifications to look at these quantifiers' morpho-syntactic structure and distribution.

Keywords: Bodo, quantifiers, A-quantifiers, D-quantifiers

ISO 639-3 codes: brx

1 Introduction

Bodo, primarily spoken in the Bodoland Territorial Region of Assam, India, is one of the Bodo-Garo languages of the Tibeto-Burman family (Burling 2003:175). It is recognized as one of India's 22 scheduled languages, with Bodo referring to both the language and the people. The language is widely used in different domains, including education, literature, mass media, and religion. Initially known as *Kiratas* (Chattarjee 1951), the Bodo people were later referred to as *Bodos* (Hodgson 1847) and *Kacharis* (Endle 1884), though they preferred to identify as *Bodos*, *Bodofisa*, or *Bodosa* (Gait 1926:299). Historically, they were associated with the Kachari rule in Assam, evident in the initial syllable of river names *di* or *doi* 'water' (Endle 1911:4). The census of India (2011) reported around 1.5 million Bodo speakers in India. Bodo speakers are widely distributed across Northeast India, including West Bengal and adjacent countries such as Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Nepal.

This article discusses Bodo quantifiers, including core and morphologically derived complex quantifiers, adopting Partee's (1995) and Keenan's (2017) A-type and D-type classification. Based on morphological compositions, both types of quantifiers can be broadly categorized into the following:

- **Classifier:type-numeral Quantifiers**
 - Existential [D/A]
 - Universal [D/A]
 - Proportional [D/A]
 - Negative Polarity Item [D/A]
- **Classifier:type-how.much/many Quantifiers**
 - Existential [D/A]
- **Classifier:type-each/every Quantifiers**
 - Universal [D/A]
- **Classifier:cycle.of.action-numeral Quantifiers**
 - Proportional [D/A]
- **Interrogative=Indefinite Quantifiers**
 - Existential [D/A]

- Universal [A]
- Negative Polarity Item [A]
- **Non-classifier/Indefinite quantifier Quantifiers**
 - Existential [D/A]
 - Universal [D/A]
 - Negative Polarity Item [D/A]

D-expressions are primarily arguments of predicates, while the A-expressions are verbal affixes, pre-verbs, auxiliary verbs, or predicate modifiers (adverbs and PPs) (Keenan 2017:2). In addition, this article briefly describes the morphemes and structures used for comparison in Bodo.

Previous works have partly mentioned Bodo quantifiers, but no comprehensive study has yet been conducted on this topic. Bhattacharya (1997:125-130) lists a few indefinite or definite quantitative pronouns and their complex derivations, as presented in **Table 1**.

Table 1. Quantifier Pronouns and their Complex Derivations

S.N.	From	Indefinite Quantitative Pronouns
1.	i-	ise ‘a little’; isebarj ‘a little more’
2.	e-	ese ‘a little’; esebarj ‘a little more’; esanj ‘this much’; esanj ^{ha} ‘so much’; esanjmani ‘this much else’
3.	e-	ep ^{ha} ‘a little’; esegrab ‘this much only’; eseded ‘this type of big’
4.	e-	ep ^{ha} ep ^{ha} ‘little’
5.	e-	esa ‘a little’
S.N.	From	Interrogative Indefinite Quantitative Pronouns
1.	be-	bese/besebarj ‘how much/many’
2.	ze-	zese/zesebarj ‘relative pronoun’
S.N.	From	Common Quantitative Pronouns with Indefinite Relations
1.	---	burza ‘much/many’
2.	---	gasojbuu ‘all (men)’; gasibu ‘all (things)/everything’; bojbuu ‘all (men)’
3.	---	malai ‘other’; gubun ‘other (thing/person)’
4.	---	k ^h ajse ‘some’
5.	---	raobuu ‘anyone’
6.	---	naw ‘a little/a small quantity’; baraj ‘a little’
7.	---	dorzaj ‘many/much’; zabra ‘many/much’
S.N.	From	Quantitative Pronouns with Interrogative Correlations
1.	-p ^h se/-bse	sap ^h se/sabse ‘how many (person)’
2.	-p ^h se/-bse	map ^h se/mabse ‘how many (animal)’
3.	---	t ^h ajp ^h se/t ^h aibse ‘how many (fruit)’
S.N.	From	Indefinite Pronouns with Distributive Correlations
1.	-p ^h rombu	sap ^h rombu ‘each (person)’
2.	-p ^h rombu	map ^h rombu ‘each (animal)’
3.	---	gagaj/qawqaj ‘each/every’
S.N.	From	Relative Pronouns with Personal Correlations/Indefinite Contexts
1.	ze	‘that/what/which’
2.	ze-	zebu ‘someone’
3.	ze-	zese ‘as much as/as many as’
4.	ze-	zese/zesebarj ‘that much/so much/many’

Boro (2021:8) lists some universal quantifiers and indefinite pronouns in which the additive enclitic =*bu* is an obligatory component. The universal quantifiers include *boibuu* ‘everyone’, *gasuibuu* ‘everyone/everything’, *zeroubuu* ‘everywhere’, and *CLF-p^hrum=bu* ‘each/every’, while the indefinite pronouns include *raobuu* ‘no one’, *zebu* ‘nothing/anything’, and *zeroubuu* ‘anywhere’. He claims that the root of these morphemes is bound morphemes, and they require the enclitic =*bu* to occur as a free word. Brahma & Kumar (2021:80-87) mentions three kinds of universal quantifiers (although they didn’t gloss them as universal quantifiers), namely, classifier-numerals, indefinite quantifiers, and temporal adverbs in select Bodo-Garo languages. In Bodo-Garo languages with scalar reading, all classifier-numerals are of the *CLF-*

NUM=ADD form, in which the additive enclitic follows classifier-numerals; all indefinite quantifiers are of *free or bound morpheme quantifiers + =bV*, and all temporal adverbs are of *when=INDEF=ADD* form. All these expressions occur in negative sentences. Brahma (2022) extensively discusses different kinds of Negative Polarity Items and their licensing environments in Bodo-Garo languages.

The data for this study primarily come from the CQPweb corpus “Gauhati University Linguistics Department Bodo Corpus” stored at Lancaster University. It is a web-based corpus query and analysis platform accessible via the Lancaster University CQPweb server (<https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/>), which provides researchers with tools for searching, concordancing, and analyzing large textual corpora. The Corpus is not open access, requires login credentials or institutional access and the author of this article has a local copy of access. At Lancaster University, CQPweb is developed, maintained, and supported by the University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language (UCREL) in collaboration with the Department of Linguistics and English Language. The Gauhati University Linguistics Department Bodo Corpus contains 731 spoken and written texts. The total word tokens in all corpus texts are around 1.5 million without word-level annotation. The corpus texts are in Bodo (Devanagari) script, transcribed, annotated and translated into English by the author while keeping the source alike. Characters enclosed in square brackets function as corpus source identifiers and appear at the end of each example. The author is a native speaker of Bodo and speaks the standard variety spoken in the Chirang district. The author uses a few observed utterances and elicitation sentences when necessary. This paper is organized as follows: § 2 and § 3 discuss core and morphologically complex derived quantifiers in Bodo, which include existential, universal and proportional quantifiers. In addition, the sections present Bodo negative polarity items. § 4 describes the way Bodo compares these quantifiers. § 5 summarizes the article.

2 Core Quantifiers

This section discusses the Core Quantifiers in Bodo. Based on morphological features, Bodo core quantifiers can be broadly categorized into Classifier:type-numeral, Classifier:type-how.much/many, Classifier:type-each/every, Classifier:cycle.of.action-numeral, Interrogative=Indefinite, and Non-classifier/Indefinite quantifiers which include existential, universal, and proportional quantifiers. **Existential quantifiers** modify the scope of an action described by a verb phrase; **universal quantifiers** quantify all members of a set denoted by the head of a noun phrase; **proportional quantifiers** quantify a subset of individuals in a noun phrase.

2.1 Classifier:type-numeral Quantifiers

This subsection discusses the Classifier:type-numeral quantifiers that include existential [D/A], universal [D/A], proportional [D/A], and negative polarity item [D/A].

2.1.1 Existential [D/A] Quantifiers

Many existential D-quantifiers in Bodo are derived from sortal classifier-numeral expressions and are of the following form: *CLF:type-NUM* ‘x no of entity’. **Table 2** presents some sortal classifier-numeral expressions with quantifier readings.

Table 2. Some Sortal Classifier-numeral Quantifiers in Bodo

S.N.	Quantifier	Morpheme	Morpheme Gloss	Gloss
1.	duŋse	duŋ-se	CLF:string-one	a string
2.	mase	ma-se	CLF:animal-one	an animal
3.	muŋse	mun-se	CLF:generic-one	a thing
4.	sase	sa-se	CLF:human-one	a person
5.	t ^h aise	t ^h ai-se	CLF:fruit-one	a fruit

The examples in (1a-b) show the use of sortal classifier-numerals *sa-se* ‘CLF:human-one’, and *ma-se* ‘CLF:animal-one’ as quantifiers with overt NPs, while the examples in (1c-d) show the use of sortal classifier-numerals *sa-se* ‘CLF:human-one’ and *ma-se* ‘CLF:animal-one’ as quantifiers without NPs. In the former examples (1a-b), the classifiers are followed by the specific NPs (*sik^hla* ‘girl’ and *musuo* ‘cow’,

respectively), but in the latter examples (1c-d), no specific NPs are present, which can possibly be any human being and any animal, respectively.

- (1a) *sa-se sik^hla mai lam=bai t^ha-duŋ-mun*
CLF:human-one girl unhusked.rice.grain dry-PROG stay-REAL-PST
 ‘A girl was drying unhusked rice grains.’ [BdW13_S65]
- (1b) *zarwo=wa ma-se muswo.mui gidir-t^har mun-a-sui*
 PN=NOM **CLF:animal-one deer** big-really get-AFF-CS
 ‘Zarwo got a big deer.’ [BdW13_T01]
- (1c) *bit^hay=ni munnuguŋaŋ man=k^huo un=ni sa-se=ja*
 3.SG.UNFAM=GEN anticipated respect=ACC latter=GEN **CLF:human-one=NOM**
se-na la-guŋ
 seize-NF take-FUT
 ‘The latter person will seize the respect he is expected to earn.’ [BdW13_D08]
- (1d) *nuibe ma-se=ja geder aru k^humun=a=bu ese*
this.PROX CLF:animal-one=NOM big and hair=NOM=ADD little
daŋ-ba=nu gu-ju
 touch-COND=COR shed-HAB
 ‘The animal is large, and its hair sheds when touched.’ [BdW13_T01]

While a singular indefinite NP which is unmarked for case is formed with the numeral *se* ‘one’ that co-occurs with an obligatory classifier, as in (1a-b), a singular definite case-marked NP is formed with the numeral *se* ‘one’ that co-occurs with an obligatory classifier, as in (2).

- (2a) *dinui sik^har gami=ni sa-se mansi=ja abari=k^huo nai-nu*
 today PN village=GEN **CLF:human-one** person=NOM PN=ACC see-INF
p^hui-guŋ
 come-FUT
 ‘An individual (definite) hailing from Sikhar village will visit Abari.’ [BdW13_S59]
- (2b) *t^hik be som=ao=nu ma-se sijal=a burai=k^huo*
 right this moment=LOC=COR **CLF:animal-one fox=NOM** old.man=ACC
nu-hur-nai-sui=nu
 see-give-NOMZ-CS=COR
 ‘A fox (definite) saw the old man at the right moment.’ [BdW13_ZF08]
- (2c) *sa-se=ja sa-se=k^huo nu-wa-bla t^ha-nu*
CLF:human-one=NOM CLF:human-one=ACC see-NEG-COND stay-INF
ha-ju-i-badi za-duŋ-mun
 can-NEG-like be-REAL-PST
 ‘When they did not see each other, it seemed as though they could not live without one another.’
 [BdW13_S61]

Classifier-numeral D-expressions typically precede nouns in NPs, as in (1) and (2). Alternatively, they can follow nouns in NPs, taking grammatical inflections such as number, case marker, focus enclitic, and so on, as shown in (3).

- (3a) *mansi sa-se=ja* *t^hañ-na* *t^ha-nai=jao* *bi=ni* *gasui*
person **CLF:human-one=NOM** live-NF stay-NOMZ=LOC 3.SG=GEN all
bit^hij=ao=nu *sulwɨt^hai=ni* *gunañ*
situation=LOC=COR education=GEN need
‘When a person lives (in this world), he or she needs education in every sphere of life.’
[BdW13_Q13]
- (3b) *muider ma-se=ja* *p^hagla* *za-nanui* *sa-nui* *mansi*
elephant **CLF:animal-one=NOM** crazy be-NF CLF:human-two person
but^har-duɨ-mun
kill-REAL-PST
‘An elephant, after becoming aggressive, killed two people.’ [BdW13_V06]

Like existential D-quantifiers, many A-quantifiers are derived from temporal/adverbial classifier-numeral expressions and are of the following form: *CLF:type-NUM* ‘x no of time’. **Table 3** presents some temporal/adverbial classifier-numeral expressions with quantifier readings.

Table 3. Some Temporal Classifier-numeral Quantifiers in Bodo

S.N.	Quantifier	Morpheme	Morpheme Gloss	Gloss
1.	k ^h onse/k ^h ebse	k ^h on-se/k ^h eb-se	CLF:time-one	once
2.	sanse	san-se	CLF:day-one	a day
3.	horse	hor-se	CLF:night-one	a night
4.	zunumse	zunum-se	CLF:birth-one	one birth
5.	mugase	muga-se	CLF:era-one	an era
6.	danse	dan-se	CLF:month-one	a month

The examples in (4a-b) show the use of the temporal classifier-numerals *k^hon-se* ‘CLF:time-one’ and *k^heb-se* ‘CLF:time-one’, while the example in (4c) shows the use of the temporal classifier-numeral *bussur-ba* ‘CLF:year-five’.

- (4a) *bussur-ba=ni* *sigañ* *suwalk^husi=jao* ***k^hon-se*** *t^hañ-p^her-nai*
CLF:year-five=GEN before PN=LOC **CLF:time-one** go-ever-NOMZ
za-duɨ-mun
happen-REAL-PST
‘Five years back, (I) went to Suwalkhusi once.’ [BdW13_D33]
- (4b) *nat^hai* *dan=ni* *un=ao* ***k^heb-se*** *mit^hij* *liɨ-bula*
but month=GEN behind=LOC **CLF:time-one** meeting call-COND
zokhai-se=bu *gui-ja*
CLF:four-one=ADD exist-NEG
‘But (a) month later, when (we) called for a meeting once, even a set of four (people) were not present.’ [BdW13_D16]
- (4c) *gao=ha* *guwahat^hi* *t^hawun=ao* *relwe=ni* *k^herani* *haba*
self=POSS PN town=LOC railway=GEN clerk work
mao-nai=ja ***bussur-ba*** *za-bai*
do-NOMZ=NOM **CLF:year-five** be-PRF
‘You have worked as a railway clerk in Guwahati for five years.’ [BdW13_S03]

2.1.2 Universal [D/A] Quantifiers

All classifier-numeral expressions can be used as aggregate quantifiers by adding the additive enclitic =*bu*, except the numeral one, following *CLF:type-NUM=ADD* order, as in (5). In most cases, numerals larger than five are used less. Examples in (5a) and (5b) show the use of aggregate D-quantifiers *sa-nui=bu* ‘CLF:human-two=ADD’ and *sa-ba=bu* ‘CLF:human-five=ADD’ respectively.

- (5a) *bi=ni un=ao bath^huo gudi=jao huowa gudan hinzao gudan*
 this=GEN after=LOC bathwu main=LOC **man new woman new**
sa-nui=bu hant^hu k^horai-nanui aroz gab-u
CLF:human-two=ADD knee fold-NF pray cry-HAB
 ‘Following this, the bride and groom both kneel and offer prayers to the Bathwu.’ [BdW13_D26]
- (5b) *p^hisa-zu asari bisari sonasri rup^hasri aru sumsri sa-ba=bu*
 child-female PN PN PN PN **and** PN **CLF:human-five=ADD**
delaisri~delaisri sik^hla der-buu-bai
 prettily~RED maiden grow-continue-PRF
 ‘All five daughters, Asari, Bisari, Sonasri, Ruphasri, and Swmsri, have grown up beautifully.’
 [BdW13_S53]

Similarly, for A-quantifiers, many temporal classifier-numeral expressions can be used as aggregate quantifiers by adding the additive enclitic =*bu*, except the numeral one, following *CLF:type-NUM=ADD* order, as in (6).

- (6a) *dan-t^ham=a=bu urui=nu t^han^h-bai zebu=k^huo=nu k^halam-nu*
CLF:month-three=NOM=ADD like.this=COR go-PRF anything=ACC=COR do-INF
ha-ja-suu
 can-NEG-CS
 ‘All three months passed like this, (I) couldn’t do anything.’ [Constructed]
- (6b) *san-nui=bu gui-lia nu^hni anzad=a sop^hui-t^har-guo*
 CLF:day-two=ADD exist-NEG 2.SG=GEN exam=NOM reach-sure-FUT
 ‘Even two are not there; your exam is approaching.’ [Constructed]

2.1.3 Proportional [D/A] Quantifiers

In Bodo, many proportional D-quantifiers are derived from the mensural classifiers with the *CLF:type-NUM* order, as shown in **Table 4**.

Table 4. Some proportional classifier-numeral quantifiers in Bodo

S.N.	Quantifier	Morpheme	Morpheme Gloss	Gloss
1.	k ^h aose	k ^h ao-se	CLF:half-one	a half
2.	k ^h andise	k ^h andi-se	CLF:quarter-one	a quarter
3.	k ^h unduse	k ^h undu-se	CLF:portion-one	a portion/part
4.	dok ^h labse	dok ^h lab-se	CLF:portion-one	a portion/part
5.	dok ^h orse	dok ^h or-se	CLF:portion-one	a portion/part

The quantifier *k^handi-se* ‘CLF:quarter-one’ refers to *a quarter* (7a), the quantifier *k^hao-se* ‘CLF:half-one’ refers to *half* (7b), and the quantifier *dok^hor-se* ‘CLF:part-one’ refers to *one portion* (7c).

(7a) *binip^hrai* *goi* *k^handi-se* *za-nainu* *dodere-mun=ni=sim*
 after.that **areca.nut** **CLF:quarter-one** eat-NF PN-PL=GEN=ALL
agan *sur-u*
 step keep-HAB

‘After consuming one-fourth of an areca nut, he proceeds towards Dodere’s house.’ [BdW13_V06]

(7b) *hinzaosa-p^hur=k^huo* *huowa-p^hur=ni* *k^hao-se* *guhu* *huun-na* *gubun*
 girl-PL=ACC **man-PL=GEN** **CLF:half-one** energy say-NF other
rao=wao *buŋ-nai* *doŋ-o*
 language=LOC say-NOMZ exist-AFF

‘In another language, it is expressed that the girls possess half the boys’ energy.’ [BdW13_F50]

(7c) *nizura=ni* *ser=ao* *abad* *mao-nu* *hat^hao~t^hao* *dok^hor-se*
 spring=GEN near=LOC cultivation do-INF suitable~RED **CLF:part-one**
guwar *zaiga=bu* *doŋ-o*
wide **place=ADD** exist-AFF

‘There is a stretch of fertile land near the spring suitable for cultivation.’ [BdW13_Y2]

The above D-quantifiers such as *k^haose* ‘CLF:half-one’ and *k^hunduu* ‘CLF:part-one’ can be used as proportional A-quantifiers, as shown in (8).

(8a) *aru* *be* *baidi* *bigur=ni* *muk^haŋ=a* *muna=jao* *undu-nai=ni*
 and this like skin=GEN face=NOM night=LOC sleep-NOMZ=GEN
sigan *k^hold* *k^hrim* *p^hun-nanui* *k^hao-se* *som* *t^hahab*
 before cold cream apply-NF **CLF:half-one** **time** stay.for.a.while
k^haŋ-nai=ni *un=ao* *gurui* *k^hun=zuŋ* *muk^haŋ=k^huo*
 bring-NOMZ=GEN after=LOC soft cotton=INST face=ACC
lasui=jui *hugar-nanui* *undu-ju-bla* *muzaŋ* *p^hit^hai* *mun-nu* *ha-ju*
 slow=ADVZ rub-NF sleep-HAB-COND good result get-INF can-HAB
 ‘...and for this type of facial skin, applying cold cream before going to bed at night and gently massaging the skin with soft cotton for a short period may yield good results.’ [BdW13_K25]

(8b) *gao=ni* *haba=k^huo* *p^hu-zub-nu* *oron=a* *aŋ=nu* *naŋ-nai=ni*
 self=GEN work=ACC cause-finish-INF PN=NOM 1.SG=DAT require-NOMZ=GEN
k^hunduu-se *som=lo* *hu-duŋ*
CLF:part-one **time=REST** give-REAL
 ‘Oron gave me only a part of the required time to finish my task.’ [Constructed]

2.1.4 Negative Polarity Item [D/A] Quantifiers

The most common way of forming a negative polarity item in Bodo is by combining the classifier and numeral (one) expressions with the additive enclitic =*bu* ‘ADD’, optionally followed by an NP (cf. Brahma & Kumar 2021; Brahma 2022), as shown in **Table 5**.

Table 5. Negative Polarity Items in Bodo

S.N.	Quantifier	Morpheme	Morpheme Gloss	Gloss
1.	sasebu	sa-se=bu	CLF:human-one=ADD	even a person
2.	masebu	ma-se=bu	CLF:animal-one=ADD	even an animal
3.	p ^h aŋsebu	p ^h aŋ-se=bu	CLF:tree/plant-one=ADD	even a tree

The NPIs *sa-se=bu* ‘CLF:human-one=ADD’ in (9a) and *ma-se=bu* ‘CLF:animal-one=ADD’ in (9b) are licensed in the scope of overt negation *-ja/-la* ‘NEG’.

- (9a) *gami=ni mansi-p^hur=a sa-se=buu gui-ja*
 village=GEN person-PL=NOM CLF:human-one=ADD exist-NEG
 ‘Even a person from the village wasn’t present (in the meeting).’ [BdW13_T01]
- (9b) *aŋ be sijal=ni zuluwi=k^huo ma-se=buu duun-la*
 1.SG this fox=GEN breed=ACC CLF:animal-one=ADD spare-NEG
but^har-zub-guun aŋ=u
 kill-finish-FUT 1.SG=NOM
 ‘I will not spare even a fox; I will eliminate (them all.)’ [BdW13_ZF08]

Similarly, A-type NPIs are derived from temporal adverbs and are of the forms shown in (10).

- (10a) *hulok^hu=k^huo san-se=buu gamsa eba gosla gan-nai nu-nai*
 PN=ACC CLF:day-one=ADD gamsa or cloth wear-NOMZ see-NOMZ
gusu=ao p^hwi-ja
 hearth=LOC come-NEG
 ‘I don’t remember ever seeing Hwlokhw wear clothes, even for a single day.’ [BdW13_D32]
- (10b) *zai=k^huo aŋ aŋ=ni lat^hrohajui royza-nai=k^huo*
 which=ACC 1.SG 1.SG=GEN unimaginable happy-NOMZ=ACC
p^hurmai-hor-nu dandi-se=buu t^ha-t^her-nu ha-ja-k^hwi-muun
 express-give-INF CLF:moment-one=ADD remain-ADVZ-INF can-NEG-REAL-PST
 ‘I could not contain my unimaginable happiness even for a moment.’ [BdW13_L45]

2.2 Classifier: type-how.much/many Quantifiers

This subsection discusses Classifier: type-how.much/many quantifiers, including existential [D/A].

2.2.1 Existential [D/A] quantifiers

In Bodo, interrogative cardinals are derived from the question word *bese(baŋ)* ‘how much/many’. Any classifier can be attached to the word *bese(baŋ)* to question the number of individuals or entities in the following form: *CLF:x-how.many/much* ‘how many/much x’ as in (11b-c). The root word *bese(baŋ)* ‘how.many/much’ alone can also be used directly, as in (11a).

- (11a) *da=ni din=ao malai boibu gururŋ~gura mahari-p^hra zo~zo*
 now=GEN day=LOC other all educated~RED community-PL.NOM together~RED
zo-t^hum-lai-nanui besebaŋ mansi mao-p^her-ha-jui k^hamani-p^hur=k^huo
 sit-ADVZ-REC-NF how.many people do-ever-can-NNOMZ work-pl=ACC
lek^hap^hat^hor=ni buulu=zurŋ mao-nu ha-zub-bai
 book.and.other=GEN strength=INST do-INF can-finish-PRF
 ‘In recent times, educated members of the community have increasingly engaged in collective discussions, resulting in significant scholarly contributions through books and research papers.’ [BdW13_T07]
- (11b) *be=ba ma-bese zuu-k^hu*
 this=INDEF CLF:animal-how.many sting-PRF
 ‘(I wonder) how many (insects) stung him?’ [BdW13_S43]
- (11c) *sa-bese doŋ madui nurŋ-sur=a no=ao*
 CLF:human-how.many exist aunty 2-PL=POSS house=LOC
 ‘Aunty, how many (members) are there in your family?’ [BdW13_S23]

The D-quantifier *bese(baŋ)* ‘how much/many’ can be used as an A-quantifier, as shown in (12).

- (12a) *zib=a* *zibk^hrisejari* *t^hat^hai=jao* ***besebaŋ*** ***som***
 organism=NOM unicellular form=LOC **how.much** **time**
bar-huu-naŋ-duŋ-muun
 jump-give-need-REAL-PST
 ‘How long did organisms remain unicellular?’ [BdW13_Q34]
- (12b) *dodere=a* *no=ao* *zo-nanui* ***besebaŋ*** ***san*** *ne-gasinu*
 PN=NOM home=LOC sit-NF **how.many** **day** wait-PROG
t^ha-bai *bi*
 remain-PRF 3.SG
 ‘How long has Dodere been waiting at home?’ [BdW13_V06]
- (12c) *zi* *sa-se~sa-nui* *doŋ* *bi-suur=ba* *aru*
 what CLF:human-one~CLF:human-two exist 3-PL=INDEF and
san-bese *t^ha-bao-guun*
CLF:day-how.many remain-again-FUT
 ‘(I wonder) how long they will live with what remains.’ [BdW13_D31]

2.3 Classifier:type-each/every Quantifiers

This subsection discusses the Classifier:type-each/every quantifiers that include universal=additive [D/A].

2.3.1 Universal [D/A] Quantifiers

Some distributive D-quantifiers can be derived from all classifiers. These classifier expressions have the CLF:type-each=ADD form, as in (13). The word *sa-p^hrum=bu* ‘CLF:human-each=ADD’ in (13a) refers to *each/every person*, while *ma-p^hrum=bu* ‘CLF:animal-each=ADD’ in (13b) refers to *each/every animal*.

- (13a) ***sa-p^hrum=bu*** ***subuŋ=a=nui*** *lagzarias* *ziu* *k^huŋ-nuu* *lubui-ju*
CLF:human-each=ADD **person=NOM=COR** luxurious life shape-INF wish-HAB
 ‘Everyone/each person wants to live a luxurious life.’ [BdW13_F05]
- (13b) *seŋday=k^huo* *gami=ni* *suima-p^hra* ***ma-p^hrum=bu*** *sinai-ju*
 PN=ACC village=GEN dog-PL.NOM **CLF:animal-each=ADD** know-HAB
 ‘Each/every dog of the village knows Sengdang.’ [BdW13_S04]

Distributive A-quantifiers are derived from a temporal classifier, such as *k^heb* or *k^hon*, etc. and marked by the additive enclitic =*bu*. These quantifiers quantify over all instances of an action or event. All these quantifiers have uniform morphological composition (i.e., CLF:type-each=ADD), as in (14). The quantifiers *k^heb-p^hrum=bu* or *k^hon-p^hrum=bu* ‘CLF:time-every=ADD’ refer to *each time* or *every time*, while the quantifier *san-p^hrum=bu* ‘CLF:day-every=ADD’ refers to *each day* or *every day*.

- (14a) *mamud=ni* ***k^heb-p^hrum=bu*** *gaglub-nai=jao* *derha-nai=ja*
 PN=GEN **CLF:time-every=ADD** attack-NOMZ=LOC win-NOMZ=NOM
ijun=ni *musolman* *gaglub-gra-p^hur=k^huo* *t^hulunga* *huu-duŋ-muun*
 future=GEN PN attack-NOMZ-PL=ACC encourage give-REAL-PST
 ‘Mahmud’s win in every attack encouraged future Muslim attackers.’ [BdW13_R05]

- (14b) *zuŋ* *san-p^hrum=bu* *malai=k^huo=su* *bidint^hi* *hisab-wei* *la-ju*
 1.PL CLF:day-every=ADD other=ACC=COR example like-ADVZ take-HAB
 ‘Every day, we consider others as role models.’ [BdW13_Q08]

2.4 Classifier:cycle.of.action-numeral Quantifiers

This subsection deals with Classifier:cycle.of.action-numeral quantifiers that include proportional [D/A].

2.4.1 Proportional [D/A] Quantifiers

Many A-quantifiers are derived from verb roots and used as adverbial quantifiers. All these quantifiers follow the uniform morphological distribution of *CLF:v-NOMZ-NUM* order, as shown in **Table 6**. Bodo usually derives nominals from root verbs by suffixing the nominal derivational suffix *-ga* ‘NOMZ’ to describe the actions/events in phases, cycles, rounds, or episodes. The derived nominal *cycle.of.action* ‘cycle of action’ is then used as a classifier *CLF:cycle.of.action-NUM* ‘NUM cycle of action’ by suffixing numerals to it, notifying the phases, cycles, rounds, or episodes in concrete numbers, as shown in (15).

- (15) root verb + NOMZ >> CLF:cycle.of.action ‘cycle of action’
 CLF:cycle.of.action + NUM >> CLF:cycle.of.action-NUM ‘NUM cycle of action’

Table 6. Some Derived Classifier-numeral Quantifiers in Bodo

S.N.	Quantifier	Morpheme	Morpheme Gloss	Gloss
1.	<i>mugase</i>	<i>mu-ga-se</i>	CLF:sleep-NOMZ-one	a cycle of sleep
2.	<i>zagase</i>	<i>za-ga-se</i>	CLF:eat-NOMZ-one	a cycle of eating
3.	<i>soŋgase</i>	<i>soŋ-ga-se</i>	CLF:cook-NOMZ-one	a cycle of cooking
4.	<i>balabgase</i>	<i>balab-ga-se</i>	CLF:episode-NOMZ-one	a cycle of episode
5.	<i>ruzabgase</i>	<i>ruzab-ga-se</i>	CLF:sing-NOMZ-one	a cycle of singing

The quantifier *mu-ga-se* ‘CLF:sleep-NOMZ-one’ refers to *a cycle of sleep*, as shown in (16a), while the quantifier *za-ga-brui* ‘CLF:eat-NOMZ-four’ refers to *four rounds of eating a meal*, as shown in (16b).

- (16a) *hor* *t^huo-lan-bai* *ronzali=ja* *obla* ***mu-ga-se***
 night deep-take.away-PRF PN=NOM then CLF:sleep-NOMZ-one
mun-khan-na *suŋ-duŋ* *bip^ha=k^huo* *da=bu* *undu-wa-k^hui* *ap^ha*
 get-collect-NF ask-REAL3.SG father=ACC now=ADD sleep-NEG-REAL father
 ‘Late into the night, after Rongjali had completed a cycle of sleep, she asked her father, ‘Haven’t you slept yet, Father?’ [BdW13_S68]

- (16b) *da* *za=ba=bu* ***za-ga-se*** *un=ao* *za=ba=bu* ***za-ga-se***
 now eat=COND=ADD **clf:eat-nomz-one** later=LOC eat=COND=ADD **CLF:eat-NOMZ-one**
 ‘Whether I eat once now or later, (it’s the same).’ [BdW13_S17]

All A-quantifiers can also be used as D-quantifiers, as shown in (17).

- (17a) *onar*_u=*wa* *aŋ=nu* *t^hop^hla=jao* *zu-namui* ***za-ga-se***
 PN=NOM 1.SG=DAT cloth.wrap=LOC cover-NF **CLF:eat-NOMZ-one**
mairon *hor-duŋ-mun*
rice give-REAL-PST
 ‘Onaru gave me a one-time edible rice (uncooked), wrapped in a cloth.’ [Constructed]

- (17b) *zuŋ da=su balab-ga-se saot^hun nai-k^haŋ-bai*
 1.PL now=COR CLF:episode-NOMZ-one movie watch-take.up-PRF
 ‘We just finished watching a one-time watchable (episode) movie.’ [Constructed]

2.5 Interrogative=Indefinite Quantifiers

This subsection deals with Interrogative=Indefinite quantifiers that include existential [D/A], universal [A], and negative polarity item [A].

2.5.1 Existential [D/A] Quantifiers

Some existential D-quantifiers are indefinite expressions marked by the indefinite enclitic =*ba*. These are primarily derived from root question words. For instance, the quantifier *ma=ba* ‘what=INDEF’ is derived from the word *ma* ‘what’, while *sur=ba* ‘who=INDEF’ is derived from the word *sur* ‘who’, as shown in (18).

- (18a) *sur=ba got^ho eba p^horai-sa=ja bi-sur=ni sut^hur noŋ-a*
 who=INDEF child or read-NOMZ=NOM 3-PL=GEN enemy be-NEG
 ‘A child or student is not their enemy.’ [BdW13_Q06]

- (18b) *ma=ba sulu la-nuu=su p^hui-duŋ be zuŋ=ni raizu=ao*
 what=INDEF information take-INF=COR come-REAL this 1.PL=GEN country=LOC
 ‘He comes to our country to gather some information.’ [BdW13_U02]

Again, some indefinite D-quantifiers are not marked by the enclitic =*ba*, as shown in **Table 7**. While the quantifiers *k^haip^ha* ‘some’ and *k^haise* ‘some’ have an Indo-Aryan origin (most probably the word *kiba* ‘something’ in Assamese), the other quantifier *mak^hase* ‘some’ looks like a blend of the Bodo word *ma* ‘what’ and *k^haise* ‘some’. Note that the second syllables -*p^ha* ‘SEQ’ and -*se* ‘one’ in words *k^haip^ha* and *k^haise*, respectively, have a Bodo origin. The syllable *p^ha* is a distributive sequential morpheme, and the syllable *se* is probably the numeral *one*.

Table 7. Indefinite Quantifier in Bodo

S.N.	Quantifier	Morpheme	Morpheme Gloss	Gloss
1.	<i>k^haip^ha</i>	<i>k^hai-p^ha</i>	some-SEQ	some
2.	<i>k^haise</i>	<i>k^hai-se</i>	some-one	some
3.	<i>mak^ha(i)se</i>	<i>ma-k^ha(i)se</i>	what-some	some

The example in (19a) shows the use of the indefinite quantifier *k^haip^ha=ja* ‘some-SEQ=NOM’ in the subject position of the main clause, *k^hai-se* ‘some-one’ in (19b), and *ma-k^ha-se* ‘what-some-one’ in (19c).

- (19a) *k^hai-p^ha=ja mudum naŋzab~naŋzab k^hona~k^hona zirai-k^huma-nanui*
 some-SEQ=NOM body close~RED corner~RED sit-hide-NF
k^huga ruzu ruzu ma=ba~mabi rai-zlai-duŋ
 mouth close RED what=INDEF~RED shout-REC-REAL
 ‘Some people are talking about something sitting closely in the corner, hiding.’ [BdW13_S74]

- (19b) *gi-nanui=nu k^hai-se mansi-p^hur=a zebu k^hamani mao-nu ha-ja*
 fear-NF=COR some-one person-PL=NOM any work do-INF can-NEG
 ‘Some people cannot do any work owing to fear.’ [BdW13_Y31]

- (19c) *ma-k^ha-se bip^haŋ-p^hra ran-nu hom-duŋ*
 what-some-one tree-PL.NOM dry-INF catch-REAL
 ‘Some trees began to dry out.’ [BdW13_ZB20]

The D-quantifiers in (19) can be used as A-quantifiers as shown in (20).

- (20a) *k^hai-p^ha/k^hai-se* *b^usur=ao* *k^hom* *ok^ha* *ha-ju* *aru*
 some-SEQ/some-one year=LOC less rain rain-HAB and
k^hai-p^ha/k^hai-se *b^usur=ao* *bara* *ok^ha* *ha-ju*
 some-SEQ/some-one year=LOC more rain rain-HAB
 ‘Some years receive less rainfall, while others receive more.’ [Constructed]

- (20b) *sombaru=wa* *ma-k^ha-se* *san=ao* *na* *bedor* *za-ja*
 PN=NOM what-some-one day=LOC fish meat eat-NEG
 ‘Sombaru does not eat non-vegetarian food on certain occasions.’ [Constructed]

Again, some indefinite A-quantifiers are marked by the indefinite enclitic =*ba*, like the indefinite D-type quantifiers. They provide information about the frequency of actions/events. The word *mablaba* ‘sometimes’ is derived from the question word *mabla* ‘when’, while the derivation of *ek^hombla* ‘sometimes’ is unclear, as shown in (21).

- (21a) *bit^hay-mun=a* *bet^hon* *mun-na=bu* *k^hamani* *mao-nai=jao* *mabla=ba*
 3.HON-PL=NOM salary get-NF=ADD work do-NOMZ=LOC when=INDEF
olsia *k^halam-u*
 lethargic do-HAB
 ‘They sometimes become lethargic at work, even after receiving their wage.’ BdW13_D08]

- (21b) *be=ni* *ongajui* *subuŋ=a* *ek^hombla* *gao=nu* *gao* *raga* *zuŋ-k^hay-u*
 this=GEN without person=NOM sometimes self=COR self angry light-collect-HAB
 ‘Aside from this, there are moments sometimes when the individual becomes upset with themselves.’ [BdW13_D30]

2.5.2 Universal [A] Quantifiers

Some A-quantifiers are derived from the temporal or adverbial question word *zebla* ‘when’ and are obligatorily marked by the additive enclitic =*bu* as shown in (22). The quantifier *zebla=bu* ‘when=ADD’ refers to *always* or *every time*, as shown in (22).

- (22a) *muzay* *huda=ja* *zebla=bu* *zuoga-sar-nai=ni* *lama*
 good habit=NOM when=ADD grow-spread-NOMZ=GEN path
dint^hi-giri
 show-NOMZ
 ‘Good habits always guide the way to progress.’ [BdW13_F30]

- (22b) *gao=ni* *sut^hur=a* *zebla=bu* *gadob-nu* *naza-gun*
 self=GEN enemy=NOM when=ADD dominate-INF attempt-FUT
 ‘Your enemy will attempt to dominate (you).’ [BdW13_A16]

2.5.3 Negative Polarity Items [A]

The A-quantifier *mabla=ba=bu* ‘when=INDEF=ADD’ refers to *even occasionally* and requires an overt negative marker to occur in a sentence (cf. Brahma & Kumar 2021; Brahma 2022), as shown in (23).

- (23a) *ai* *ap^ha* *buŋ-nai* *bat^hra=k^huo* *mabla=ba=bu* *gonai-na* *la-ja*
 mother father say-NOMZ word=ACC when=INDEF=ADD accept-NF take-NEG
 ‘(He) does not listen to his parents’ advice even occasionally. /(He) never listens to parents’ advice.’ [BdW13_D08]

- (23b) *bi-sur=u* *bihao* *bik^hunzu=ni* *sigan=ao* ***mabla=ba=bu***
 3-PL=NOM father-in-law mother-in-law=GEN before=LOC **when=INDEF=ADD**
gazri *ak^hu* *dint^hi-p^her-a-k^hui-mun*
 inappropriate behavior display-ever-NEG-REAL-PST
 ‘They never displayed inappropriate behavior in front of (their) father-in-law and mother-in-law.’
 [BdW13_F66]

2.6 Non-classifier/Indefinite Quantifiers

This subsection discusses the Non-classifier/Indefinite quantifiers that are existential [D/A], universal [D/A], and NPI=additive [D/A].

2.6.1 Existential [D/A] Quantifiers

Value judgment D-quantifiers express a subjective evaluation or an opinion rather than an objective or numerical measurement. The example in (24a) shows the use of the value judgment quantifier *gubaj* ‘many’ in the subject position of the embedded clause. The example in (24b) shows the use of the quantifier *ese* ‘a.few’ in the object position of the sentence, the example in (24c) shows the use of the quantifier *t^huzase* ‘adequate/sufficient’ in the direct object position of the sentence, and the example (24d) shows the use of the quantifier *k^hom/bara* ‘less/more’ in the subject position of the sentence. The example in (24e) shows the use of the quantifier *sant^hrohajui* ‘uncountable’ in the subject position of the sentence. These quantifiers can occur with both countable and uncountable NPs.

- (24a) *t^haj-nanui* *t^ha-nai=ni* *t^hak^hai* ***gubaj*** ***lama*** *doj* *huun-nanui* *buj-nai*
 live-NF stay-NOMZ=GEN for **many** **way** exist say-NF say-NOMZ
za-juu
 happen-HAB
 ‘It is claimed that there are many (numerous) ways of living.’ [BdW13_B01]
- (24b) ***muigoy=bu*** *ese* *labu-k^ha-duj*
vegetable=ADD **a.few** bring-in.advance-REAL
 ‘(He) also brought a few vegetables in advance.’ [BdW13_ZF03]
- (24c) *nunj^haj=a* *aj=nu* ***t^huzase*** ***suluuj-t^hai*** *huu-bai*
 2.SG.HON=NOM 1.SG=DAT **adequate** **learn-NOMZ** give-PRF
 ‘You have provided me with (an) adequate education.’ [BdW13_T09]
- (24d) *dinui=ni* *mel=ao* ***k^hom/bara*** ***subuj*** *p^hui-duj-mun*
 today=GEN meeting=LOC **less/more** **people** come-REAL-PST
 ‘Less/more people came to today’s meeting (as compared to other instances).’ [Constructed]
- (24e) ***sant^hrohajui*** ***mansi-p^hur=a*** *bilu=jao* *na* *gur-nu* *t^haj-gasinu* *doj-o*
uncountable **people-PL=NOM** lake=LOC fish fishing-INF go-PROG exist-AFF
 ‘Uncountable people are going fishing at the lake.’ [Constructed]

In Bodo, the value judgement D-quantifiers such as *gubaj* ‘a lot’ *ese* ‘little’ *t^huzase* ‘adequate’, *k^hom* ‘less’, *bara* ‘more’ and *sant^hrohajui* ‘uncountable’ can be used as degree A-quantifiers as in (25).

- (25a) *onzali=ja* ***gubaj/ese/t^huzase/k^hom/bara*** *raizlai-juu*
 PN=NOM **a.lot/little/adequate/less/more** talk-HAB
 ‘Onjali talks a lot/little/adequate/less/more.’ [Constructed]

- (25b) *onzali=ja* *da=su* *ai=k^huo* *sant^hrohajui* *bat^hra*
 PN=NOM now=COR my.mother=ACC **uncountable** **word**
k^huna-soŋ-hu-laŋ-bai
 hear-find-give-take.away-PRF
 ‘Just now, Onjali scolded my mother a lot, with an innumerable number of words.’ [Constructed]

2.6.2 Universal [D/A] Quantifiers

In Bodo, all universal D-quantifiers are marked by the additive enclitic =*bu*. The quantifier *boibu* ‘all’ is exclusively used for humans, while the quantifier *gasui=bu* ‘all=ADD’ is for both humans and non-humans, as shown in (26).

- (26a) *zuŋ* *boibu* *subuŋ=a* *be* *onagari* *haba=k^huo* *suŋk^hari-naŋ-guo*
 1.PL **all** person=NOM this unfair work=ACC criticize-need-AFF
aru *hubt^ha-naŋ-guo*
 and stop-need-AFF
 ‘We all have to criticise and stop this unfair work.’ [BdW13_D05]

- (26b) *zuŋ* *gasui=bu* *ziu=wao* *gubaŋ* *k^hut^ha* *buŋ-u*
 1.PL **all=ADD** life=LOC many word say-HAB
 ‘In our daily lives, we all say many things.’ [BdW13_Y14]

The universal *gasuibu* ‘all’ can also be used as an A-quantifier (27).

- (27) *gami=ni* *be* *p^haŋ-se* *bip^haŋ=a* *busur=ni* *gasuibu*
 village=GEN this CLF:tree-one tree=NOM year=GEN **all**
som=ao=nu *sumk^hur.gut^haŋ* *za-nanui* *t^ha-ju*
moment=LOC=COR dark.green be-NF stay-HAB
 ‘This one tree of the village remains dark green in every season of the year.’ [Constructed]

2.6.3 Negative Polarity Items [D/A]

Some D-quantifiers exclusively occur in the presence of overt negative markers, also referred to as negative polarity items (cf. Brahma 2022) and are obligatorily marked by the additive enclitic =*bu* (cf. Brahma & Kumar 2021), as in (28).

- (28a) *dinui* *saun* *dan=ni* *zi-ba* *ok^ht^ho* *za-bai* *nat^hai*
 today PN month=GEN ten-five date happen-PRF but
dinui=bu *ok^ha* *ese=bu* *gui-ja*
 today=ADD **rain** **a.little=ADD** exist-NEG
 ‘Today is the fifteenth day of the Sravan month, but even today, not a single drop of rain has fallen.’ [BdW13_S44]

- (28b) *bima* *bip^ha=ja* *p^hisa-zu=nu* *muŋ=bu* *zut^hub*
 3.SG.mother 3.SG.father=NOM child-female=DAT **name=ADD** **gift**
hor-p^ha-ja-k^hui-mun
 give-ASSOC-NEG-REAL-PST
 ‘Her parents didn’t give her daughter (any) gift (at the wedding).’ [Constructed]

- (28c) *ziu=k^huo* *bi=juu* *zebu* *suduub^hi* *gui-ja* *hun-nanui*
 life=ACC 3.SG=NOM **any** **meaning** exist-NEG say-NF
san-nanui *la-juu*
 think-NF take-HAB
 ‘S/he thinks that life does not have any meaning.’ [BdW13_Y31]

Like D-quantifiers, some A-quantifiers (Negative Polarity Items) exclusively occur in the presence of overt negative markers and are marked by the additive enclitic =*buu* as shown in (29).

- (29) *ese=buu* *som* *gui-lia* *bi=nao* *aŋ=zuiŋ* *muzaŋ* *gazri* *bat^hra* *rai-zlai-nuu*
a.little=ADD **time** exist-NEG 3.SG=GEN.LOC A.SG=ASS good bad sentence shout-REC-INF
 ‘S/he does not have even a little moment to talk with me about miscellaneous things.’ [Constructed]

3 Morphologically Derived Complex Quantifiers

This section deals with the morpho-syntactically derived complex quantifiers in Bodo. They can be broadly classified into Classifier:type-numeral, Classifier:type-how.much/many, Classifier:type-each/every, Classifier:cycle.of.action-numeral, Interrogative=Indefinite, and Non-classifier/Indefinite, based on the morphological compositions. This section also discusses multiple quantifiers of different categories.

3.1 Classifier:type-numeral Quantifiers

This subsection discusses the Classifier:type-numeral quantifiers that include existential [D/A] and proportional [D/A].

3.1.1 Existential [D/A] Quantifiers

Distributive D-quantifiers are usually reduplicated classifier-numeral (CLF:type-NUM) or classifier-sequence (CLF:type-SEQ), as shown in (30).

- (30a) *bi-sur=u* *gasui=bu* *boro* *hari=ni*
 3-PL=NOM all=ADD PN community=GEN
sa-se~sa-se *gedema* *subuŋ*
CLF:human-one~CLF:human-one renowned person
 ‘All of them/every one of them are renowned persons of the Boro community.’ [Constructed]
- (30b) *hanza-p^hur=ao* *sorasonsra-juui* *sa-p^ha~sa-p^ha* *duidengiri* *t^ha-juu*
 group-PL=LOC usually-ADVZ **CLF:human-SEQ~CLF:human-SEQ** leader stay-HAB
 ‘Usually, there are a few leaders in each group.’ [BdW13_Y31]
- (30c) *manuna sa-p^hrum=buu* *laimun-a=nuu* *sa-p^ha~sa-p^ha*
 because CLF:human-each=ADD teen-NOM=FOC **CLF:human-SEQ~CLF:human-SEQ**
buhum=ni *geder* *subuŋ* *somp^hod*
 world=GEN big person asset
 ‘Because every teen is the world’s big human asset.’ [BdW13_F46]

Again, a sequence of two quantifiers is used to refer to uniform and equal distribution of space or place *dab-p^ha* ‘CLF:place-SEQ’ to *each individual sa-p^ha* ‘CLF:human-SEQ’ in (31a) and of animal *ma-p^ha* ‘CLF:animal-SEQ’ to *each individual sa-p^ha* ‘CLF:human-SEQ’ in (31b).

- (31a) *bi-ma* *guma-nanui* *asam* *mulug=ao* *t^ha-duŋ* *dinui* *boro*
 3SG-mother lose-NF assam world=LOC live-REAL today PN
p^hisa=p^hra *sa-p^ha* *dab-p^ha*
 offspring=PL.NOM CLF:human-SEQ CLF:place-SEQ
 ‘Each Bodo offspring lives in different parts of Assam after losing their mother.’ [BdW13_F47]

- (31b) *sa-p^ha* *ma-p^ha* *ran-na* *la*
 CLF:human-SEQ CLF:animal-SEQ distribute-NF take
 ‘Each (of you) person distribute (share) an animal each.’ [Constructed]

Classifier-numeral *sa-se~sa-nui* ‘CLF:human-one~CLF:human-two’ in (32a) means approximately one or two, implying that a nearby value (for example, 3) or very few people. In some cases, the coordinative conjunction *eba* ‘or’ is used between the two classifier-numeral expressions (32b).

- (32a) *zi* *sa-se~sa-nui* *doŋ* *bi-sur=bu* *aru san-bese*
 whatever CLF:human-one~CLF:human-two exist 3.SG-PL=ADD and CLF:day-how.many
t^ha-bao-nui
 stay-again-FUT
 ‘Considering one or two (very few) people left, how long will they survive?’ [BdW13_D31]

- (32b) *gudi* *p^horaisali-p^hur=ao* *boha=ba~boha=ba* *sa-se*
 primary school-PL=LOC where=INDEF~where=INDEF CLF:human-one
eba *sa-nui* *p^hurungiri=lo* *nu-nu* *mun-u*
 or CLF:human-two teacher=REST see-INF get-HAB
 ‘(It is observed that) there are only one or two teachers in some primary schools.’ [BdW13_Q30]

An alternative to the classifier-numeral expression *sa-se~sa-nui* ‘CLF:human-one~CLF:human-two’ in (33) is *sa-p^ha~sa-nui* ‘CLF:human-SEQ~CLF:human-two’ in (33).

- (33) *sit^hla=jao* *gami=ni* *sa-p^ha~sa-nui* *mansi-p^hur=a*
 courtyard=LOC village=GEN CLF:human-SEQ~CLF:human-two people-PL=NOM
za-p^hui-duŋ
 eat-come-REAL
 ‘A few people came and ate (food) in the courtyard.’ [BdW13_S68]

Like Distributive D-quantifiers (30), Distributive A-quantifiers are reduplicated classifier-numerals (CLF:type-NUM) or classifier-sequences (CLF:type-SEQ), as shown in (34).

- (34) *boibu* *p^horaisa-p^hur=a* *k^hon-se~k^hon-se/k^hon-p^ha~k^hon-p^ha*
 all student-PL=NOM CLF:type-one~CLF:type-one/CLF:type-SEQ~CLF:type-SEQ
p^horai-k^haŋ-bai
 read-bring.up-PRF
 ‘All students have/every student has finished reading once.’ [Constructed]

The classifier-numeral sequence *k^hon-se~k^hon-nui* ‘CLF:time-one~CLF:time-two’ in (35) means approximately once or twice, implying a nearby value (for example, thrice) or a few times or occasions.

- (35) *onaru=wa* *zuŋ=nao* *k^hon-se~k^hon-nui/k^hon-p^ha~k^hon-nui*
 PN=NOM 2.PL=GEN.LOC CLF:time-one~CLF:time-two/CLF:time-SEQ~CLF:time-two
p^hui-k^haŋ-bai
 come-bring.up-PRF
 ‘Onaru has come to our place once or twice/a few times.’ [Constructed]

Frequency expressions can take the following forms: *k^honle~k^honle* ‘again~again’ (36a) and *gubaŋ k^heb* ‘many time’ (36b).

(36a) *k^homla=ni* *muuk^haj=a=lo* *k^honle~k^honle* *aj=ni* *gusu=wao*
 PN=GEN face=NOM=REST **again~again** 1.SG=GEN heart=LOC
zak^haj-p^hui-bai *t^ha-bai*
 reflect-come-PROG stay-PRF
 ‘Only Komla’s face keeps coming to my heart repeatedly.’ [BdW13_S65]

(36b) *gubaj* *k^heb* *be* *lama=zuj* *zuj=u* *t^haj-lai* *p^hui-la* *k^halam-nu*
many **time** this road=INST 1.PL=NOM go-REC come-REC do-INF
gunaj *za-duj-mun*
 need be-REAL-PST
 ‘We had to travel this road many times.’ [BdW13_D47]

A sequence of two quantifiers is used to refer to uniform and equal distribution of times/events *k^hon-p^ha* ‘CLF:time-SEQ’ for each day *san-p^ha* ‘CLF:day-SEQ’ in (37a) and amounts *ep^ha* ‘a.little.SEQ’ for each day *san-p^ha* ‘CLF:day-SEQ’ in (37b).

(37a) *san-p^ha* *k^hon-p^ha* *mao-bla=nu* *p^hu-zub-nu* *ha-gun* *nuj*
 CLF:day-SEQ CLF:time-SEQ do-COND=COR cause-finish-INF can-FUT you
be *haba=k^huo*
 this work=ACC
 ‘You will be able to finish this task if you work once daily.’ [Constructed]

(37b) *san-p^ha* *ep^ha* *mao-bla=nu* *p^hu-zub-nu* *ha-gun* *nuj* *be* *haba=k^huo*
 CLF:day-SEQ a.little do-COND=COR cause-finish-INF can-FUT you this work=ACC
 ‘You will be able to finish this task if you work a little daily.’ [Constructed]

3.1.2 Proportional [D/A] Quantifiers

Complex proportional or partitive D-quantifiers are expressed by using phrases such as *p^han-brui=ni p^han-se* ‘CLF:proportion-four=GEN CLF:proportion-one’, which refers to *one-quarter* and *brui bahagu=ni se bahagu* ‘four part=GEN one part’, which refers to *one-quarter*, as shown in (38a) and (38b) respectively.

(38a) *abad* *besad=ni* *p^han-brui=ni* *p^han-se*
 cultivation thing=GEN **CLF:proportion-four=GEN** **CLF:proportion-one**
razk^hazuana *hisab-ui* *k^haj-nai* *za-nai-mun*
 king.tax count-ADVZ collect-NOMZ happen-HAB-PST
 ‘One-fourth of the agricultural yield was gathered as a tax by the king.’ [BdW13_R13]

(38b) *adra* *brui* *bahagu=ni* *se* *bahagu=a=su* *nem* *k^hant^hi=ni*
 remaining **four** **part=GEN** **one** **part=NOM=COR** rule regulation=GEN
k^hut^ha *daj-o*
 word exist-AFF
 ‘There are rules and regulations in the remaining quarter section (of the Book).’ [BdW13_Y14]

Complex PPs such as *ba-zi=ao sa-brui eba sa-ba p^horaisa-p^hra* ‘five-ten=LOC CLF:human-four or CLF:human-five student=PL.NOM’ referring to *four or five students out of fifty students*, *sop^ha=jao k^hon-se eba k^hon-nui* ‘week=LOC CLF:time-one or CLF:time-two’ referring to *every week, once or twice* and *dan-se=jao k^hon-brui k^hon-ba* ‘CLF:month-one=LOC CLF:time-four CLF:time-five’ referring to *every month, four or five times* are used in the example (39). The example in (39a) is an instance of a complex D-quantifier expression, while the example in (39b) is an instance of a complex A-expression.

- (39a) *busur-p^hrum=bu* *metric* *anzad=ao* **ba-zi=ao** **sa-brui**
 CLF:year-each=ADD matric exam=LOC **five-ten=LOC** **CLF:human-four**
eba **sa-ba** **p^horaisa-p^hra** *p^hel* *za-k^ha-juu*
or **CLF:human-five** **student-PL.NOM** fail be-true-HAB
 ‘Every year, out of fifty students, four or five students fail the matric examination.’ [Constructed]

- (39b) *sop^ta=jao* *k^hon-se* *eba* *k^hon-nui* *dan-se=jao*
week=LOC **CLF:time-one** **or** **CLF:time-two** **CLF:month-one=LOC**
k^hon-brui *k^hon-ba* *mablaba~mablaba btad* *unsul=ao* *bondo*
CLF:time-four **CLF:time-five** sometimes~RED PN region=LOC bandh
za-nai=k^huo *nu-nu* *mun-u*
 happen-NOMZ=ACC see-INF get-HAB
 ‘Every week, once or twice, and every month, four or five times, we sometimes witness the complete closure of the BTAD area.’ [BdW13_D18]

3.2 Classifier:type-how.much/many Quantifiers

This subsection discusses the Classifier:type-how.much/many quantifiers that include existential [D/A].

3.2.1 Existential [D/A] Quantifiers

Distributive D-interrogatives are of reduplicated forms, as shown in (40).

- (40a) *bese(baŋ)~bese(baŋ)* *za-k^hu* *nuŋ-sur=lai*
how.much~how.much be-PRF-CS 2-PL=TOP
 ‘How much have each of you eaten?’ [Constructed]
- (40b) *t^hai-bese~t^hai-bese* *mun-k^hu* *t^haizuo=k^huo=lai*
CLF:fruit-how.many~CLF:fruit-how.many get-PRF mango=ACC=TOP
 ‘How many mangoes did each of you get?’ [Constructed]

Like distributive D-interrogatives, distributive A-interrogatives are reduplicated, as shown in (41).

- (41a) *bese(baŋ)~bese(baŋ)* *som* *mun-k^hu*
how.much~how.much **time** get-PRF
 ‘How much time did each one of you get?’ [Constructed]
- (41b) *bese(baŋ)~bese(baŋ)* *san* *za-k^hu* *railai-lai-juui=ja=lai*
how.much~how.much **time** be-PRF talk-REC-NNOMZ=NOM=TOP
 ‘How many days has it been since each of you last talked to each?’ [Constructed]

3.3 Classifier:type-each/every Quantifiers

This subsection discusses the Classifier:type-each/every quantifiers that include universal [D/A].

3.3.1 Universal [D/A] Quantifiers

The phrase *each one of them* is expressed using the complex form *bi-sur=ni gezer=ao sa-p^hrum=bu* ‘3-PL=GEN middle=LOC CLF:human-each=ADD’ as in (42). The word under bracket *gezer=ao* ‘middle=LOC’ can be used optionally without changing the phrase’s meaning. Different classifier D-expressions are used to refer to different objects or entities.

- (42) *bi-suur=ni* (*gezer=ao*) *sa-p^hrum=bu* *p^hurur^h-giri-mun*
3-PL=GEN **middle=LOC** **CLF:human-each=ADD** teach-NOMZ-PST
 ‘Each one of them was a teacher.’ [Constructed]

Complex distributive A-quantifiers are reduplicated, as shown in (43). Different types of temporal classifier expressions can be used with a similar pattern.

- (43) *san-p^hrum=bu~san-p^hrum=bu* *aŋ=k^huo* *heŋt^ha* *da-huu=lai*
CLF:day-each=ADD~CLF:day-each=ADD 1.SG=ACC bother NEG-give=TOP
 ‘Don’t annoy me every day.’ [Constructed]

3.4 Classifier:cycle.of.action-numeral Quantifiers

This subsection discusses the Classifier:cycle.of.action-numeral quantifiers that include proportional [D/A].

3.4.1 Proportional [D/A] Quantifiers

Distribution A-quantifiers are reduplicated, as in (44a-b).

- (44a) *sa-nui=bu* *mu-ga-se~mu-ga-se* *undu-k^haŋ-bai*
CLF:human=ADD **CLF:sleep-NOMZ-one~CLF:sleep-NOMZ-one** sleep-bring.up-PRF
 ‘Both of them have slept one round of sleep each.’ [Constructed]
- (44b) *boibuu* *za-ga-se~za-ga-se* *za-k^haŋ-bai*
 all **CLF:eat-NOMZ-one~CLF:eat-NOMZ-one** eat-bring.up-PRF
 ‘All have eaten one round of the meal each.’ [Constructed]

A distributive A-quantifier can be used as a distributive D-quantifier, as in (45).

- (45) *boibuu* *za-ga-se~za-ga-se* *za-nai*
 everyone **CLF:eat-NOMZ-one~CLF:eat-NOMZ-one** **eat-NOMZ**
za-hui-du
 eat-go.and.give-POL
 ‘Everyone please go (and) eat a round of the meal.’ [Constructed]

A sequence of two distributive A-quantifiers is used to refer to a sequence of cycles of action, as in (46).

- (46a) *onaru=a da-sim=bu* *lir-ga-p^ha* *p^horai-ga-p^ha* *k^halam-gasinu*
 PN=GEN now-till=ADD CLF:write-NOMZ-SEQ CLF:read-NOMZ-SEQ do-PROG
doŋ-o
 exist-AFF
 ‘Till now, Onaru is writing (and) reading (in a cyclic manner).’ [Constructed]
- (46b) *nuy* *za* *noŋ-a-bla* *p^horai* *nat^hai* *za-ga-p^ha*
 2.SG eat be-NEG-COND read but **CLF:eat-NOMZ-SEQ**
p^horai-ga-p^ha *da-k^halam*
CLF:eat-NOMZ-SEQ NEG-do
 ‘You either eat (rice) or read (the book), but don’t eat and read (at the same time cyclically/simultaneously)’ [Constructed]

A sequence of two distributive A-quantifiers can be used as Ds, as shown in (47).

- (47) *nuy=ni* *za-ga-p^ha* *p^horai-ga-p^ha* *k^halam-nai=k^huo*
 2.SG=GEN CLF:eat-NOMZ-SEQ CLF:eat-NOMZ-SEQ do-NOMZ=ACC
raobu suk^hu-a-k^hui
 anyone like-NEG-PRF
 ‘Nobody liked your cycle of eating (and) reading sequentially.’ [Constructed]

3.5 Interrogative=Indefinite Quantifiers

This subsection discusses the Interrogative=Indefinite quantifiers that include existential [D/A].

3.5.1 Existential [D/A] Quantifiers

Reduplicated existential D-quantifiers only emphasize nouns in NPs, as shown in (48) to (49). The expression *sur=ba~sur=ba* ‘who=INDEF~who=INDEF’ refers to *some people*, and *ma=ba~mabi* ‘what=INDEF~RED’ refers to *miscellaneous/several things* (48), while the expressions *k^hai-se~k^hai-se* ‘some-one~some-one’ and *k^hai-p^ha~k^hai-p^ha* ‘some-SEQ~some-SEQ’ refer to *some (vegetables)* and *some (women)* respectively (49). The expression *ma-k^ha-se~ma-k^ha-se* ‘what-some-one~what-some-one’ (50) can be alternatively used for the quantifying expression *k^hai-p^ha~k^hai-p^ha* ‘some-SEQ~some-SEQ’ in (49).

- (48) *sur=ba~sur=ba* *ma=ba~mabi* *buy-nanui* *mini-lay-duj*
 who=INDEF~who=INDEF what=INDEF~RED say-NF laugh-take.away-REAL
 ‘Some people laughed out (loud) while saying several things.’ [BdW13_S68]
- (49a) *k^hai-se~k^hai-se* *muigoj=a* *muli=ni=bu* *k^hamani* *mao-u*
 some-one~some-one vegetable=NOM medicine=GEN=ADD work do-HAB
 ‘Some vegetables serve as medicines as well.’ [BdW13_D13]
- (49b) *k^hai-p^ha~k^hai-p^ha* *aizuu=a* *zi* *da-nanui* *p^han-nanui* *nok^hor*
 some-SEQ~some-SEQ women=NOM cloth weave-NF sell-NF family
sojsar salai-ju
 world raise-HAB
 ‘Some women raise their families by weaving and selling clothes.’ [BdW13_Y15]
- (50) *ma-k^ha-se~ma-k^ha-se* *mansi-p^hra* *p^hut^har=ao* *gele-duj*
 what-some-one~what-some-one person-PL.NOM field=LOC play-REAL
 ‘Some people are playing in the field.’ [Constructed]

The D-quantifying expressions *k^hai-se~k^hai-se/k^hai-p^ha~k^hai-p^ha* ‘some-one~some-one/some-SEQ~some-SEQ’ and *ma-k^ha-se~ma-k^ha-se* ‘what-some-one~what-some-one’ in (49-50) can be used as an A-quantifier, as shown in (51).

- (51a) *k^hai-se~k^hai-se/k^hai-p^ha~k^hai-p^ha* *som-p^hur=ao* *oron=a* *na* *bedor*
 some-one~some-one/some-SEQ~some-SEQ time-PL=LOC PN=NOM fish meat
za-ja
 eat-NEG
 ‘On some occasions, Oron does not eat fish and meat.’ [Constructed]
- (51b) *ma-k^ha-se~ma-k^ha-se* *som=p^hra* *subuy=ni* *t^hak^hai* *gazri*
 what-some-one~what-some-one time-PL.NOM person=GEN for bad
 ‘Some moments are bad for people.’ [Constructed]

The frequency quantifiers *mabla=ba~mabla=ba* ‘when=INDEF~when=INDEF’ (52a) and *ek^hombla~ek^hombla* ‘sometimes~sometimes’ (52b) refer to *sometimes* or *occasionally* and emphasize the frequency of action.

- (52a) *beo=hai puza hui-p^hui-ju mabla=ba~mabla=ba*
 here=LOC pray give-come-HAB **when=INDEF~when=INDEF**
 ‘(People) come and pray here occasionally.’ [BdW13_ZC07]
- (52b) *ek^hombla~ek^hombla mansi-p^hur=a noŋk^hai bat^hra buŋ-u*
sometimes~sometimes people-PL=NOM lie word say-HAB
 ‘Sometimes people tell lies.’ [Constructed]

The Bodo equivalent of the phrase ‘as much/many as’ is formed with the relative-corerelative construction *zeseban* ‘as much/many’...*eseban* ‘that much/many’ as shown in (53).

- (53) *zeseban za-gun eseban der-gun*
how.much eat-FUT **that.much** grow-FUT
 ‘(It) will grow as much as (it) eats.’ [Constructed]

3.6 Non-classifier/Indefinite Quantifiers

This subsection discusses the Non-classifier/Indefinite quantifiers that includes existential [D/A].

3.6.1 Existential [D/A] Quantifiers

Reduplicated value judgment existential D-quantifier *ese~ese* ‘a.little~a.little’/*ep^ha~ep^ha* ‘a.little.SEQ~a.little.SEQ’, *t^huzase~t^huzase* ‘adequate~adequate’, and *k^hom~k^hom/bara~bara* ‘less~less/more~more’ perform distributive function (54).

- (54a) *za-nai-p^hur=k^huo gasui=nu=bu ese~ese/ep^ha~ep^ha*
 eat-NOMZ-PL=ACC all=DAT=ADD **a.little~a.little/a.little.SEQ~a.little.SEQ**
ran-na hor
 distribute-NF give
 ‘Give everyone a little bit of food.’ [Constructed]
- (54b) *boibui t^huzase~t^huzase uyk^ham za-na t^haŋ-bai*
 everyone **adequate~adequate** **rice** eat-NF go-PRF
 ‘Everyone left after having eaten enough rice.’ [Constructed]
- (54c) *onnanui k^hom~k^hom/bara~bara za-nai hor*
 please **less~less/more~more** eat-NOMZ give
 ‘Please give (me) less/more food.’ [Constructed]

Reduplicated value judgement indefinite existential D-quantifiers *ese~enui* ‘a.little~RED’ and *ep^ha~enui* ‘a.little.SEQ~RED’ in (55) express *a little*.

- (55) *dana t^hebgaŋ=a=bu ese~enui/ep^ha~enui k^hamai-sui*
 now PN=NOM=ADD **a.little~RED/a.little.SEQ~RED** earn-CS
 ‘These days, Thebgang also has started earning a little.’ [Constructed]

The sequence of value judgment D-quantifiers *k^hom bara* ‘less more’ in (56) means *more or less* in its literal sense.

- (56) *ese~enui=ja=lai* *k^hom* *bara* *za-k^ha-juu* *be-p^hur=k^huo*
a.little~RED=NOM=TOP **less** **more** be-factual-HAB this-PL=ACC
buŋ-a-bla=bu *za-juu*
say-NEG-COND=ADD be-AFF
‘There will be more or less (in the measurement), (you) don’t need to say this.’ [Constructed]

The sequence of the D-quantifier expressions *sant^hrohajui* ‘uncountable’ and *gubaŋ* ‘many’ in (57) refer to an uncountable number.

- (57) *sant^hrohajui* *gubaŋ* *subuŋ-p^hur=a* *dinui=ni* *mel=ao*
uncountable **many** **people-PL=NOM** today=GEN meeting=LOC
nu-za-p^hui-duŋ-muŋ
see-PASS-come-REAL-PST
‘An uncountable number of people attended today’s meeting.’ [Constructed]

The above distributive existential D-quantifiers *ese~ese* ‘a.little~a.little’/*ep^ha~ep^ha* ‘a.little.SEQ~a.little.SEQ’, *t^huzase~t^huzase* ‘adequate~adequate’, and *k^hom~k^hom/bara~bara* ‘less~less/more~more’ in (54) can be used as a distributive A-quantifier, as shown in (58).

- (58a) *gasui=bu* *muli=a=nu* *ese~ese/ep^ha~ep^ha*
all=ADD medicine=NOM=COR **a.little~a.little/a.little.SEQ~a.little.SEQ**
munam-k^ha-ju
smell-obvious-HAB
‘All (allopathic) medicine smells a little.’ [Constructed]

- (58b) *bibari=k^huo* *boibu* *t^huzase~t^huzase* *rai-lan-bai*
PN=ACC all **adequate~adequate** scold-take.away-PRF
‘All scolded Bibari adequately.’ [Constructed]

- (58c) *gami=ni* *mansi-p^hur=a* *k^hom~k^hom/bara~bara* *raizlai-u*
village=GEN person-PL=NOM **less~less/more~more** talk-HAB
‘The villagers speak less/more.’ [Constructed]

Value judgment existential A-quantifiers are reduplicated, as shown in (59).

- (59) *ese~enui/ep^ha~enui* *munam-u*
a.little~RED/a.little.SEQ~RED smell-HAB
‘(It) has a faint odour.’/ ‘(It) smells a little.’ [BdW13_ZB19]

A sequence of D-quantifier expressions, *sant^hrohajui* ‘uncountable’ and *gubaŋ* ‘many’ in (57), can be used as an A-quantifier in (60).

- (60) *sant^hrohajui* *gubaŋ* *som=ni* *un=ao=sui* *t^hebgaŋ=a* *no=ao*
uncountable many time=GEN back=LOC=COR PN=NOM home=LOC
p^hui-p^hin-bai
come-return-PRF
‘After an endless number of days, Thebgang has come back home.’ [Constructed]

Frequency Existential A-quantifiers are of the reduplicated *som~som* ‘time~time’ form (61).

- (61) *som~som* *surba zi* *da-nu* *hū-p^hui-ju* *surba* *p^hit^hub*
time~time someone cloth weave-INF give-come-HAB someone yarn.ball
lu-nu *hū-p^hui-ju* *surba mairoŋ* *zao-nu* *surba* *no*
build-INF give-come-HAB someone rice clean-INF someone house
lir-nu *leŋ-p^hui-ju*
write-INF request-come-HAB
‘Occasionally, people request me to engage in weaving, create yarn balls, or apply a mixture of soil and cow dung to the house.’ [BdW13_S68]

The words *gole/zaule* ‘again’ are reduplicated as *gole~gole/zaule~zaule* ‘again~again’ to express *repeatedly*, as shown in (62).

- (62a) *be* *baidi* ***gole~gole*** *mao-bai t^ha-ju-bla* *anangosai=ja* *t^haruui=nu*
this like **again~again** do-PROG stay-HAB-COND god=NOM truly=COR
nimaha hū-bai *t^ha-ju-na*
forgive give-PROG stay-HAB-Q
‘If (you) continue to repeat this action over and over, do God forgive you repeatedly?’
[BdW13_E05]

- (62b) *k^hon-se* *za-p^hlaŋ-nai-k^huo=nu* ***zaule~zaule*** *buŋ-bai* *t^ha-ju*
CLF: event-one happen-ADV-NOMZ=ACC=COR **again~again** say-PROG stay-HAB
gao=ha
self=POSS
‘You repeatedly refer to an incident that occurred by accident.’ [BdW13_S01]

Degree word (intensifier) *zubbud* ‘very’ is used with value judgment quantifiers *kom/ese/burza* ‘less/a.little/more’ to form complex D-quantifiers (63a) and A-quantifiers (63b).

- (63a) ***zubbud kom/ese/burza mansi-p^hur=nao=su*** *be* *baidi* *gubaŋ* *d^hun*
very less/a.little/more person-PL=GEN.LOC=COR this like much rich
somp^hot^hi *t^ha-ju*
asset stay-HAB
‘Only less/a.little/more people have this kind of riches.’ [Constructed]

- (63b) *be* *k^hmani=k^huo* *p^hu-zub-nu* *nuŋ=ni* *ak^hai=jao* ***zubbud***
this work=ACC caus-finish-INF 2.SG=GEN hand=LOC **very**
kom/ese/burza som=lo=sui
less/a.little/more time=REST=CS
‘You have very less/little/more time to finish this task.’ [Constructed]

Complex Boolean expressions are of the following forms, as in (64). The compound word *ese-t^har-bla=bu* ‘little-for.sure-COND=ADD’ expresses *at least*, while *baŋsin-t^har=bla=bu* ‘more-for.sure-COND=ADD’ means *at most*. The example in (64a) is an instance of a D-quantifier, while (64b) is an instance of an A-quantifier.

- (64a) ***ese-t^har-bla=bu*** *sa-zi=ni* *k^hom* *aru*
a.little-for.sure-COND=ADD CLF:human-ten=GEN less and
baŋsin-t^har-bla=bu *sa-nui-zi=ni* *bara* *za-ja*
more-for.sure-COND=ADD CLF:human-two-ten=GEN more happen-NEG
‘There won’t be fewer than ten at least and more than twenty at most.’ [Constructed]

- (64b) *ese-t^har-bla=buu* *san-ba=ni* *k^hom* *aru*
a.little-for.sure-COND=ADD CLF:day-five=GEN less and
bajsin-t^har-bla=buu *san-zi=ni* *bara* *za-ja*
more-for.sure-COND=ADD CLF:day-ten=GEN more happen-NEG
‘It won’t be less than five days at least and more than ten days at most.’ [Constructed]

3.7 Multiple Quantifiers

This subsection discusses Multiple D-quantifiers (two different kinds) that occur adjacently.

3.7.1 Existential [D] Quantifiers

Two different kinds of D-quantifiers are used adjacently in a noun phrase to provide a specific meaning. The quantifiers include *maba* ‘what=INDEF’ and *mun-se* ‘CLF:generic-one’ refer to *a particular resolution* (65a), *ma=ba* ‘what=INDEF’ and *ma-k^ha-se* ‘what-some-one’ refer to *some unspecific work* (65b), *sur=ba* ‘who=INDEF’ and *sa-se=ja* ‘CLF:human-one=NOM’ refer to *a specific person* (65c), and *gubaj* ‘many’ and *ma-k^ha-se* ‘what-some-one’ refer to *many unspecific rules* (65d). In all these examples, the following quantifiers provide the basic meaning. In (65a), the sequence *maba mun-se* ‘what=INDEF CLF:generic-one’ constitutes two quantifiers in which the initial existential quantifier *maba* introduces a non-specific noun *bit^hayk^hi* ‘resolution’, while the classifier:type-numeral *munse*, bearing focus, restrict the domain to a single salient noun *bit^hayk^hi* ‘resolution’. This pattern holds for the rest of the examples in (65), in which the latter quantifiers bear focus.

- (65a) *hork^hab=nu* *ma=ba* *mun-se* *bit^hayk^hi* *da-la*
immediately=COR **what=INDEF** **CLF:generic-one** **resolution** NEG-take
‘Don’t take any one resolution immediately.’ [BdW13_A02]
- (65b) *ma=ba* *ma-k^ha-se* *k^hamani* *doη-bao-u*
what=INDEF **what-some-one** **work** exist-again-HAB
‘There exist some more works.’ [BdW13_ZC05]
- (65c) *gubun* *hari-p^hur=ni* *gezer=ao* *sur=ba* *sa-se=ja*
other community-PL=GEN middle=LOC **who= INDEF** **CLF:human-one=NOM**
gubaj *bizab* *lir-laj-duw*
many book write-take.away-REAL
‘In other communities, someone has already written down many books.’ [BdW13_F17]
- (65d) *haba=ni* *sigaj* *gubaj* *ma-k^ha-se* *p^hali-naj-guo* *nem* *boro*
marriage=GEN before **many** **what-some-one** observe-need-AFF rule PN
somaz=ao *doη*
society=LOC exist
‘In Boro society, many rules exist that one must comply with before marriage.’ [BdW13_D26]

4 Comparative Quantifiers

Simple comparatives in Bodo are formed as follows: the target of comparison (subject) takes the nominative case marker =*ja* ‘=NOM’; the standard of comparison (object) takes the standard marker, i.e., ablative case marker =*nip^hrai* ‘=ABL’; and the gradable quantifier *ese* ‘a.little’ takes the comparative marker =*sin* ‘CMPR’, as shown in (66).

- (66) *gobla=ja* *t^hep^ha=nip^hrai* *ese=sin* *uηk^ham* *za-ju*
PN=NOM PN=ABL a.little=CMPR rice eat-HAB
‘Gobla eats rice lesser to Thepha.’ [Constructed]

The superlatives in Bodo are formed by attaching the ablative case marker =*nip^hrai* ‘=ABL’ to the standard of comparison *boibuu* ‘all human’ or *gasuibuu* ‘all’ (universal quantifier) as shown in (67). Like comparatives, the target of comparison (subject) takes the nominative case marker =*ja* ‘=NOM’, and the gradable quantifier *ese* ‘a.little’ takes the comparative marker =*sin* ‘CMPR’, as shown in (67).

- (67) *bago=wa* *boi-nip^hrai=buu* *ese=sin* *uŋk^ham* *za-juu*
 PN=NOM all=ABL=ADD a.little=CMPR rice eat-HAB
 ‘Bago eats rice the least of all.’ [Constructed]

In clausal comparisons, the standard marker =*nip^hrai* ‘=ABL’ is suffixed to the nominalized main verb of the embedded clause, as in (68).

- (68) *bago=wa* [*gobla za-nai-nip^hrai*] *baŋ=sin* *uŋk^ham* *za-juu*
 PN=NOM PN eat-NOMZ=ABL more=CMPR rice eat-HAB
 ‘Bago eats more rice than Gobla eats.’ [Constructed]

5 Summary

This article has presented details about a wide range of Bodo quantifiers, including core and morphologically derived complex quantifiers, adopting Partee’s (1995) and Kenna’s (2017) A-type and D-type classification. D-expressions are primarily arguments of predicates, while the A-expressions are verbal affixes, pre-verbs, auxiliary verbs, or predicate modifiers (adverbs and PPs) (Keenan 2017:2). The article has extensively described the morphological compositions of core and morphologically derived complex quantifiers in Bodo. Existential quantifiers include Classifier:type-numeral [D/A], Classifier:type-how.much/many [D/A], Interrogative=Indefinite [D/A], and Non-classifier/Indefinite [D/A]. Universal quantifiers include Classifier:type-numeral [D/A], Classifier:type-each/every [D/A], Interrogative=Indefinite [A], Non-classifier/Indefinite quantifiers [D/A]. Proportional quantifiers include Classifier:type-numeral [D/A] and Classifier:cycle.of.action-numeral, while the negative polarity items include Classifier:type-numeral, Interrogative=Indefinite, and Non-classifier/Indefinite quantifiers. In addition, this paper also briefly discussed the morphemes and structures used for comparison in Bodo.

Abbreviations

1: first person, 2: second person, 3: third person, ABL: ablative case, ACC: accusative case, ADD: additive, ADVZ: adverbializer, AFF: affirmative, ALL: allative, ASSOC: associative, CAUS: causative, CLF: classifier, CMPR: comparative, COND: condition, COR: corrective, CS: change of state, DAT: dative, FUT: future, GEN: genitive, HAB: habitual, HON: honorific, ILL: illative, INDEF: indefinite, INF: infinitive, INST: instrumental, LOC: locative, NEG: negative, NF: non-final, NNOMZ: negative nominalizer, NOM: nominative case, NOMZ: nominalizer, NP: noun phrase, NUM: numeral, PL: plural, PN: proper name, POSS: possessive, PP: preposition phrase, PRF: perfect, PROG: progressive, PST: past, Q: question, REC: reciprocal, RED: reduplication, REST: restrictive, REAL: realis, SEQ: sequence, SG: singular, TOP: topic

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