
CHAPTER 5

Assamese Suffixes and their Productivity

We talked about the negative prefixes and their productivity in the earlier chapters. Now, suffixes are discussed in these chapters. The reason why there are more suffixes than prefixes is already been discussed in Chapter 1, and in this chapter, we analyse the semantic relevance of the suffixes as well as the morphological rules of derivation and their productivity using corpus (sample A) and dictionary data (sample B).

5.1 Semantic relevance of the Assamese Suffixes

5.1.1 -ɔk -অক

It is an adjective and noun forming suffix which can be added to an adjective (*bud^hijɔk* ‘intelligent’ → *bud^hi* ‘intelligence’ + *ɔk*), noun (*natɔk* ‘drama’ → *nat* ‘drama’ + *ɔk*) and verb (*lek^hɔk* ‘A writer’ → *lek^h* ‘to write’ + *ɔk*, *salɔk* ‘a driver’ → *sɔl* ‘to move’ + *ɔk*) bases. It is derived from O.I.A. -aka > M.I.A.¹³. -akka (Kakati, 1995). Although, Kakati (1995) says “it is a secondary suffix found in a few words used adjectively”, but this suffix is used as a primary suffix too, i.e., it is used in the verbal bases as well. For example, *lek^hɔk*, *salɔk* as mentioned above. However, other linguists have described it as both a primary and secondary suffix. In some words, this suffix confirms or indicates the existence of certain qualities or elements or expertise. When it comes to semanticity, the suffix activates the domain of agenthood, where one performs an action, such as *xad^hɔk* ‘who or what accomplishes or effects’, *gajɔk* ‘singer’, *utxahɔk* ‘one who encourages’ etc., domain of characterisation which denotes the traits or features mentioned in the root, such as *natɔk* → *nat* ‘drama’ + *ɔk*, which means related to drama or the drama itself, *dolɔk* → *dol* ‘to swing’ + *ɔk*, which means the globe, as the globe keep on moving, it is related to the characteristics of swinging. Similarly, *ɔnd^hɔk* ‘a blind person’, *ziwɔk* ‘animal’ etc.

When it comes to adjectivisation, it gives rise to the domain of relation as well as evaluation. It gives rise to the domain of relation such as *hiɣxatmɔk* → *hiɣxa* + *atma* + *ɔk*, where *hiɣxa* means violence and the derived word means anything related to violence. *ɔmurtɔk* → *ɔmurtɔ* ‘bodiless, immaterial’ + *ɔk*, which means marked by

¹³ O.I.A. Old Indo-Aryan
M.I.A Middle Indo-Aryan

the intensity or violence. *hiḡxatmək*, *əmurtək* can be viewed from the domain of evaluation, as it describes the type of quality that the base and the derivation hold.

5.1.2 -ən -অন

ən- is a nominaliser, it mostly forms verbal nouns such as *xowən* ‘the act of sleeping’ and qualitative nouns such as *məlijən* ‘dirty’ and attached to nominal and verbal bases. It also forms a few adjectival derivatives. It has extensions in (a) *-ana*, (b) *-ani* (Kakati, 1995). The suffix prototypically indicates an action.

ən- primarily activates the domain of process, i.e., the act of a kind when it is attached to a verbal base. For example, *k^hawən* ‘the act of eating’ → *k^ha* ‘to eat’ + *ən*, *pind^hən* ‘the act of wearing’ → *pind^h* ‘to wear’ + *ən*, *pərən* ‘the act of studying’ → *pər* ‘to study’ + *ən*, *xowən* ‘the act of sleeping’ → *xo* ‘to sleep’ + *ən* etc. When the suffix is attached to a nominal base or root, it activates the domain of possession. It means the possession of the traits or quality mentioned in the root, such as *məlijən* ‘dirty’ → *məl* ‘dirt’ + *ən*.

5.1.3 -əna -অনা

It is an “extension of *-an* with the addition of definitive *-a* (<-aka) to denote connected objects” Kakati (1995). While describing the previous suffix *-ən*, he stated that it is the same as O.I.A. primary suffix *-əna*. In this view, we have the scope to believe that these two suffixes are competing suffixes. *-əna* is a nominal suffix added to verbal bases (*bazəna* ‘musical instrument’ → *baz* ‘to play’ + *əna*) and in a few nominal bases (*xubaxəna* ‘one having pure desires’ → *xubax* ‘a sweet smell’ + *əna*). When it comes to the semantic roles, it activates the domain of characterisation to denote a connected activity or object or to the characteristics of the base that the derived word displays. For example, *k^heləna* means a toy or a playing object. The base *k^hel* means to play and the derived word suggests that the object is connected to playing. Similarly, *rəsəna* ‘the act of creating’ → *rəs* ‘to create’ + *əna*, *xantəna* ‘consolation’ → *xantə* ‘calm’ + *əna* etc.

5.1.4 -*ɔti* -অতি

-*ɔti* is attached to verbal (*xisɔrɔti* ‘distribution’ → *xisɔr* ‘to scatter’ + *ɔti*) and nominal (*namɔti* ‘one who sings’ → *nam* ‘name’ + *ɔti*) bases and the resultant derivatives are nouns (*namɔti* ‘one who sings’, *xasɔti* ‘one who saves’) and adjectives (*bowɔti* ‘flowing’). Along with other nominal and adjectival words, the suffix is also used to express feminine gender in some words (*xoub^hagjɔwɔti* ‘lucky women’ → *xoub^hagjɔ* ‘luck’ + *ɔti*). -*ɔti* as a feminine form is considered as the parallel form of the masculine -*ota* (Kakati, 1995). -*ɔti* also has other diminutive forms -*ti* and -*ta*. The suffix activates the domain of agenthood and characterisation when it comes to nominal derivatives. For example, in the agenthood domain, *rowɔti* ‘A woman who implants paddy seedling’ → *ro* ‘to implant’ + *ɔti*, *namɔti* ‘one who sings *naam*¹⁴ → *nam* + *ɔti*, *xasɔti* ‘one who saves’ → *xas* ‘to save’ + *ɔti* etc. Again, for the domain of characterisation we take an example, *xukɔti* which means dried fish. The base of this word is *xuka* meaning ‘to dry’ and the derived word carries the characteristics of the root. In the case of adjectival derivatives, it activates the domain of possession and relation. For example, *xoub^haigjɔwɔti* → *xoub^haigjɔ* ‘luck’ + *ɔti* means a fortunate woman who possesses luck in her favour. Similarly, *gɔrb^hɔwɔti* → *gɔrb^hɔ* ‘womb’ + *ɔti* means a pregnant woman. Again *d^hupɔti* → *d^hup* ‘incense stick’ + *ɔti* means creating fragrance with incense stick, meaning the fragrance is related to the incense stick. Similarly, *bowɔti* → *bɔ* ‘to flow’ + *ɔti* means flowing, *xisɔrɔti* ‘scattered’ → *xisɔr* ‘to scatter’ + *ɔti* etc.

5.1.5 -*ɔni* -অনি

It is a nominaliser which is added to verbal (*rand^hɔni* ‘cook’ → *rand^h* ‘to cook’ + *ɔni*) and nominal base (*d^hanɔni* ‘rice field’ → *d^han* ‘rice’ + *ɔni*). It also works as an agentive marker (*rand^hɔni*). It was originally a feminine suffix, but over the course of time, its sense was lost and the form remained (Kakati, 1995). We are unable to fully concur with this assertion, however, as many words continue to be seen as having a feminine connotation. Instead, we could claim that its meaning has expanded to include

¹⁴ Verses in praise and prayer of a deity, a hymn

more meaning. In the older, more traditional Assamese society, men and women had different jobs to do. While some tasks were meant to be completed by men, others, such as cooking, weaving, harvesting crops in paddy fields, etc., were typically completed by women. Work division has gradually begun to obscure the gender gap, and today men also get involve in tasks that were formerly only carried out by women. To distinguish this representation, *-I* (short *-i*) is therefore used for male (*rowɔni*, *randhɔni*, *bowɔni*), whereas *i:* (long *-i*) is used for female (*rowɔni:*, *randhɔni:*, *bowɔni:*) in Assamese. This helps to identify the gender of the doer. However, this distinction is lost in spoken form and only survived in writing. It uses non-feminine words to communicate related ideas. This suffix produces many expressive words in the language as well (*tirbirɔni* ‘The act of glittering, sparkle’, *gʰɔrgʰɔrɔni* ‘A rumbling or creaking sound’).

The suffix activates the domain of agenthood such as *randhɔni* ‘One who cooks’, *rowɔni* ‘one who transplants paddy seedlings’; the domain of process as an action or result, for example, *xikɔni* ‘the process of teaching’ → *xika* ‘to teach’ + *ɔni*, *kɔpɔni* ‘the state of trembling’ → *kɔp* ‘to tremble’ + *ɔni* etc; the domain of representation such as *katʰɔni* → *katʰ* ‘wood’ + *ɔni*, which indicates a vast area covered with forest, *kɔsuwɔni* → *kɔsu* ‘arum’ + *ɔni* represents a plantation of arum, *k̃aitɔni* → *k̃ait* ‘thorns’ + *ɔni* means a jungle or bush full of thorns, *gʰumɔni* → *gʰum* ‘sleep’ + *ɔni* means the state of being lost in thought or abstractness etc.

5.1.6 *-ɔnija* অনিয়া

A compound suffix made up of *-an+-iya* (Kakati, 1995). It is mostly attached to verbal bases (*pohɔnija* ‘domestic’ → *poh* ‘to nurture’ + *ɔnija*) and in a few noun bases (*atʰuɔnija*¹⁵ ‘till the knee’ → *atʰu* ‘knee’ + *ɔnija*) and its derivatives belong to the category of adjectives (*urɔnija* ‘flying’ → *ur* ‘to fly’ + *ɔnija*) and nouns (*bilɔnija* ‘one who distributes food’ → *bila* ‘to distribute’ + *ɔnija*).

However, when it comes to the semantic roles, it activates the role of agenthood in nouns, such as *mɔgɔnija* → *mag* ‘to beg’ + *ɔnija* means a person who does the act of

¹⁵ This word is found in the autobiography of Laxminath Bezbarua’s “Mor Jiwan Xowaran”. However, it is not found in the dictionary as well as in the corpus sample.

begging. Similarly, *bilɔnija* ‘one who distributes food’ → *bila* ‘to distribute’ + *ɔnija*, *duwɔnija* ‘an interpreter’ → *duwan* ‘dialect’ + *ɔnija* etc. As an adjective, it activates the domain of voice which points to the mode of an action, such as *urɔnija* → *ur* ‘to fly’ + *ɔnija* which means capable of flying i.e., capable of doing the action mentioned in the root. Similarly, *pelɔnija* ‘Fit to be thrown away as worthless or defiled’ → *pela* ‘to throw’ + *ija*, *pohɔnija* ‘domesticated’ → *poh* ‘to domesticate’ + *ɔnija* etc. It also activates the domain of relation, which means something that relates to the characteristics mentioned in the root such as *g^hurɔnija* → *g^hur* ‘to circle’ + *ɔnija*. Here, *g^hurɔnija* means something that has the shape of roundedness. Similarly, *tulɔnija* ‘fostered, adopted’ → *tul* ‘to foster’ + *ɔnija*, *k^hɔhɔnija* ‘The act of falling off/erosion, as a river water’ → *k^hɔh* ‘to fall’ + *ɔnija* etc.

5.1.7 -*ɔruwa* অকৰা

-*ɔruwa* is a parallel formation to *-ariya* and is an extension of *-ata* > *-ara-* > *-ara* with Assamese *-uwa* (Kakati, 1995). It produces adjectival (*dekerua* ‘Full-fledged, full-grown’ → *deka* ‘young’ + *ɔruwa*) and noun (*batɔrua* ‘A traveler, way-farer, travelling’ → *bat* ‘path/road’ + *ɔruwa*) derivatives which are attached to noun bases only (*dekerua* → *deka* ‘young’ + *ɔruwa*, *batɔrua* → *bat* ‘path’ + *ɔruwa*). It produces words from the domain of agenthood, such as *batɔruwa* ‘A passerby’, *hatɔruwa* ‘A person who goes to the market’ → *hat* ‘market’ + *ɔruwa*. In adjectives, it activates the domain of resemblance such as *mɔdɔruwa* ‘Brownish colour’ → *mad* ‘clay’ + *ɔruwa*. Similarly, in *dekeruwa* → *deka* + *ɔruwa*, the root *deka* means young and the derived word *dekeruwa* means something which is similar to the quality of the root i.e., fully grown up or full-fledged. It also activates the domain of evaluation, where it evaluates the character or the type of the resultant object or action, such as *ad^hɔruwa* → *ad^ha* ‘half’ + *ɔruwa* and it means the state of an action, i.e., something which is half done or not completely done. However, the words *mɔdɔruwa* and *dekeruwa* can also be counted under the category of evaluation, as they mean having the quality or characteristics mentioned in the root.

5.1.8 -আল -al

-al is attached to both verbal (*b^hezal* ‘impure’ → *b^heza* ‘to mix’ + *al*) and nominal (*nɔdijal* ‘a fisherman’ → *nɔdi* ‘river’ + *al*) bases and it results in nominal (*gowal* ‘a milkman’ → *go* ‘cow’ + *al*) and adjectival (*k^hɔŋal* ‘of an angry temper’ → *k^hɔŋ* ‘anger’ + *al*) derivatives. The suffix has an extension in -ali and the source of this suffix is O.I.A. -ala meaning ‘possessing’, ‘pertaining to’ (Kakati, 1995). When it comes to noun derivatives, it activates the domain of characterization, which depicts the apparent features such as *nɔdijal* ‘fisherman’. Here, the root *nɔdi* means river and as the activity of fishing is closely associated with the river, *nɔdijal* carries this feature in it. Similarly, *uzɔnijal* → *uzɔni* ‘upper’ + *al* means living or relating to the upper part of a stream or place, *tɔŋijal* → *tɔŋgi* ‘a dovecoat’ refers to a person who watches over cultivation from the above etc. As an adjective, it activates the domain of resemblance such as *tezal* → *tez* ‘blood’ + *al* which means resembling blood, containing or composed of blood. Similarly, *telal* → *tel* ‘oil’ + *al* meaning oily, fatty; the domain of evaluation such as *irxal* → *irxa* ‘envy’ + *al* which talks about the type of nature i.e., envious, *kobal* → *kob* ‘speed’ + *al* indicates the nature of movement which is speedy; the domain of possession such as *p^hulam* → *p^hul* ‘flower’ + *am* which means adorned with figurative flowers or something which is full of flowery design.

5.1.9 -alu -আলু

-alu is one of the adjectives forming suffixes of the language, which is attached to noun bases (*kripalu* → *kripa* ‘mercy’ + *alu* ‘of a friendly, generous, or warm-hearted nature’, *dɔjal* → *dɔja* ‘kindness’ + *alu* ‘the quality of helping and giving away freely to the needy’). It activates the domain of evaluation or possession such as *irxalu* → *irxa* ‘envy’ + *alu* which is the evaluation of the type of nature which is jealous or it can be said that it indicates the possession of a quality. Similarly, *krod^halu* → *krod^h* ‘anger’ + *alu* means the nature of being angry, *swɔpnalu* → *swɔpnɔ* ‘dream’ + *alu* means the state of being dreamy etc.

5.1.10 *-aru* -আৰু

-aru is attached to verbal bases and the resultant derivatives are nouns (*zuzaru* → *zuz* ‘to fight’ + *aru* ‘A fighter’). It activates the domain of agenthood such as *xikaru* → *xik* ‘to learn’ + *aru* ‘A learner’, *dubaru* → *dub* ‘to dive’ + *aru* ‘A diver’ etc. The suffixes *-alu* and *-aru* are different from each other, which is not only apparent phonologically but also in their syntactic distribution. While *-alu* is attached to nominal bases, for example, *swəpnə* (N) ‘dream’ + *alu* → *swəpnalu* ‘dreamy’, *dəja* (abstract N) ‘kindness’ + *alu* → *dəjalu* ‘kind, gracious’; *-aru* is attached only to verbal bases, for example, *dub* (v) ‘to drown’ + *aru* → *dubaru* ‘a diver’, *xik* (v) ‘to learn’ + *aru* → *xikaru* ‘a learner’ etc. Again, the suffix *-alu* results in adjectival words which bear the essence of the noun, but the suffix *-aru* forms nominal derivatives, which are solely agentive words.

5.1.11 *-ami* -আমি

It forms noun (*bandrami* → *bandr* ‘monkey’ + *ami* ‘The nature of monkey’) derivatives and is attached to nominal bases (*bandrami*, where the base *bandr* is a noun), verbal bases (*tʰəgami* → *tʰəg* ‘to cheat’ + *ami* ‘deceit, fraud’) and adjectival bases (*dustami* → *dustə* ‘wicked’ + *ami* ‘dishonesty’). However, there is no mention of the origin of this suffix or about the formation of this suffix in Kakati’s book. It activates the domain of characterisation, such as *bandrami* which means having the characteristics of a monkey, *pəgəlam* means having the quality of being mad etc.

5.1.12 *-ahi* -আহি

-ahi forms adjective (*səlahi* ‘deceitful’ → *səl* ‘to deceit’ + *ahi*) and noun (*mədahi* ‘alcoholic, drunkard’ → *məd* ‘alcohol’ + *ahi*) derivatives and it is added to noun bases (*mədahi* → *məd* ‘alcohol’ + *ahi* ‘alcoholic, drunkard’) and verbal bases (*melahi* → *mel* ‘to open’ + *ahi* ‘wide-mouthed’). It is originated from *-ah* + *-i* (pleonastic); *-i* adjectival (Kakati, 1995). It activates the domain of relation as in *mədahi*, the meaning of the base *məd* is alcohol and *mədahi* means one who consumes alcohol. Similarly, the meaning of the base *mel* is to open in *melahi* and it means something that is related to opening.

5.1.13 *-ija* -ইয়া

-ija is attached to noun (*kāitija* → *kāit* ‘thorn’ + *ija* ‘thorny’) bases and verb (*rəkʰija* → *rəkʰ* ‘to guard’ + *ija* ‘guard, watchman’) bases and it results mostly in

adjectival (*zulija* ‘Liquid’ → *zɔl* ‘water’ + *ija*) and nominal (*mowamɔrija*¹⁶ → *mowamɔra* ‘name of a place’ + *ija*) derivatives. The suffix is originated from *ija* < *-ika* + *-aka* (Kakati, 1995). In case of adjectives, it primarily activates the domains of relation and resemblance. For example, in *pɔrhaxɔlija* → *pɔrhaxali* + *ija*, the base means school and the derived word means anything related to school. Similarly, *xɔtrija* means pertaining to *xɔtra* (*Sattra*¹⁷), *pɔtʃimija* → *pɔtʃim* ‘west’ + *ija* means related to west, *paharija* → *pahar* ‘hill’ + *ija* means hilly or related to a hilly, mountain area. In case of nouns, it activates the domains of characterisation, such as *dupɔrija* → *dupɔr* ‘noon’ + *ija*, which means mid-day, and agenthood such as *d^hulija*, one who plays the Dhol, *dulia* → *dul* + *ija* meaning a Palki bearer.

5.1.14 -*ua* -ওৱা/-উৱা

A noun (*rɔnua* ‘Warrior’ → *rɔn* ‘battle’ + *ua*) and adjective (*elehua* ‘Lazy’ → *elah* ‘laziness’ + *ua*) forming suffix which is added to noun bases. According to Kakati (1995), it is a pleonastic expression that indicates resemblance. As a noun it activates the domain of agenthood such as, *bihua*, a male person who performs Bihu¹⁸, *bɔnua* → *bɔn* ‘work’ + *ua* means a worker, *rɔnua* is someone who fights in warfare. As an adjective, it activates the domain of resemblance as in *keselua* → *kesa* ‘unripe’ + *ua*, the meaning of the base is unripe or raw and the derived word means something related to the state of not fully ripe. Similarly, *ad^hɔruwa* ‘half-done’ → *ad^ha* ‘half’ + *ua*, *b^hagɔrua* ‘tired, exhausted’ → *b^hagɔr* ‘tiredness’ + *ua* etc.

5.1.15 -*ual* -উৱাল/-ওৱাল

-*ual* is primarily used to form adjectives (*b^hitɔruwal* ‘privative’ → *b^hitɔr* ‘in’ + *uwal*) and a few nouns (*guwal* ‘milkman’ → *go* ‘cow’ + *uwal*). It is added to noun bases (*guwal* ‘milkman’ → *go* ‘cow’ + *uwal*) and verbal bases (*rak^howal* ‘guard, watchman’ → *rɔk^h* ‘to guard’ + *uwal*). It is derived from *-uwa*, adj + pleonastic *-la* (Kakati, 1995).

¹⁶ The Moamoria were the adherents of the egalitarian, proselytizing Mayamara Satra of 18th-century Assam, who initiated the Moamoria rebellion against the Ahom kingdom in the 18th century.

¹⁷ Sattras are monastic institutions created as part of the 16th century Neo-Vaishnavite reformist movement started by Vaishnavite saint-reformer Srimanta Sankaradeva (1449-1596) in Assam.

¹⁸ Bihu is an Assamese harvest festival which traditionally celebrates the change of seasons.

When it comes to semantic roles, as a noun, it denotes agenthood, such as *g^hatowal* ‘A man who operates a ferry/boat to carry persons from one side of the river to another side of the river’ → *g^hat* ‘port’ + *uwal*. When it comes to adjectivisation, it activates the domain of possession such as, *pahowal* → *pah* ‘edge’ + *uwal* meaning one who plumpy or fat, *datōwal* → *ḍat* ‘teeth’ + *uwal* means one who owns teeth or having tasks. It also activates the domain of relation as in *b^hitōruwal*, where the base *b^hitōr* means inside or inner and the derived word denotes something related to the inside of one’s house, or someone to whom secrets are entrusted.

5.2 Morphological rules of derivation:

5.2.1 -*ək* suffixation

1. Noun_x ← Noun_y -*ək*

Meaning: Having the property of Noun_y

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) <i>natək</i> ‘drama’ = [[<i>nat</i> ‘drama’] _N <i>ək</i>] _N | b) <i>golək</i> ‘globe’ = [[<i>gol</i> ‘round’] _N <i>ək</i>] |
| c) <i>sōndrək</i> ‘moon, nail’ = [[<i>sōndrō</i> ‘moon’] _N <i>ək</i>] _N | d) <i>gōnd^hək</i> ‘a strongly smelled thing’ = [gōnd ^h ‘smell’] _N <i>ək</i>] _N |
| e) <i>pōdək</i> ‘trophy’ = [[<i>pōd</i> ‘designation’] _N <i>ək</i>] _N | f) <i>sitrək</i> ‘painter’ = [<i>sitrō</i> ‘drawing’] _N <i>ək</i>] _N |

2. Noun ← Verb -*ək*

Meaning: Doer of an action, where the action is expressed by a verb

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) <i>lik^hək</i> ‘a writer’ = [[<i>lik^h</i> ‘to write’] _V <i>ək</i>] _N | b) <i>gōnək</i> ‘an astrologer’ = [[<i>gōn</i> ‘to count’] _V <i>ək</i>] _N |
| c) <i>prōtipalək</i> ‘a protector’ = [[<i>prōti</i>] _{prefix} [<i>pal</i> ‘to nourish’] _V <i>ək</i>] _N | d) <i>xad^hək</i> ‘A devotee’ = [[<i>xad^h</i> ‘to persevere’] _V <i>ək</i>] _N |

3. Noun_x ← Noun_y -*ək*

Meaning: Doer of an action, where the activity is mentioned in the Noun_y

- a) *xewək* ‘A worshipper’ = [[*xewa* ‘service’]_N *ək*]_N b) *ənubadək* ‘A translator’ = [[*ənubad* ‘translation’]_N *ək*]_N
c) *pat^hək* ‘A reader’ = [[*pat^h* ‘A lesson’]_N *ək*]_N d) *xik^hək* ‘teacher’ = [[*xik^hja* ‘education’]_N *ək*]_N
e) *krixək* ‘A farmer’ = [[*krix* ‘farming’]_N *ək*]_N f) *awiskarək* ‘One who discovers’ = [[*awiskar* ‘to discover’]_N *ək*]_N

4. Adjective ← Noun -ək

Meaning: Quality of having the property of a Noun

- a) *əputrək* ‘without child’ = [[[*ə*]_{prefix} [*putrək* ‘son’]_N *ək*]_{Adj} b) *prətixed^hək* ‘preventive’ = [[*prətixed^h* ‘to prevent’]_N *ək*]
c) *xəŋk^hək* ‘related to number’ = [[*xəŋk^hja* ‘number’]_N *ək*]_{Adj} d) *zatək* ‘borne’ = [[*zat* ‘caste’]_N *ək*]_{Adj}
e) *xirxək* ‘headed’ = [[*xirxək* ‘peak’]_N *ək*]_{Adj}

5.2.2 -ən suffixation

1. Noun ← Verb -ən

Meaning: The activity of the verb or the act of doing something

- a) *ərzən* ‘earning’ = [[*ərz* ‘to earn’]_N *ən*]_N b) *gənən* ‘counting’ = [[*gən* ‘to count’]_V *ən*]_N
c) *k^hawən* ‘eating’ = [[*k^ha* ‘to eat’]_V *ən*]_N d) *palən* ‘nurturing’ = [[*pal* ‘to nurture’]_V *ən*]_N
e) *k^hundən* ‘grinding’ = [[*k^hund* ‘to grind’]_V *ən*]_N

2. Noun_x ← Noun_y -ən

Meaning: Having the property of Noun_y

- a) *b^hozon* ‘the act of eating’ = [[*b^hoz* ‘feast’]_N *on*]_N b) *kət^hopəkət^hon* ‘conversation’= [[*kət^ha* ‘talk’][*up*]_{prefix}[*kət^ha* ‘talk’]_N *on*]_N
- c) *ziwon* ‘lifetime’= [[*ziw* ‘alive’]_N *on*]_N d) *alapon* ‘The act of talking’ = [[*alap* ‘conversation’]_N *on*]_N

5.2.3 -*na* suffixation

1. Noun ← Verb -*on*

Meaning: An instance or an entity, whose activity is expressed by the verb

- a) *k^hundona* ‘a grinding instrument’ = [[*k^hund* ‘to grind’]_V *ona*]_N b) *rəsona* ‘essay’= [[*rəs* ‘to compose’]_V *ona*]_N
- c) *gənona* ‘counting’ = [[*gən* ‘to count’]_V *ona*]_N d) *bind^hona* ‘a boring or drilling tool’ = [[*bind^h* ‘to pierce’]_V *ona*]_N

2. Noun_x ← Noun_y -*on*

Meaning: Pertaining to the property of Noun_y

- a) *kamona* ‘desire’ = [[*kam* ‘action’]_N *ona*]_N b) *xəmb^hawona* ‘possibility, likelihood’ = [[*xəmb^həb* ‘possible’]_N *ona*]_N
- c) *kəlpəna* ‘imagination’ = [[*kəlpə* ‘dream’]_N *ona*]_N d) *b^hauna* ‘drama’= [[*b^hau* ‘acting’]_N *ona*]_N

5.2.4 -*ti* suffixation

1. Noun ← Verb -*ti*

Meaning: Doer of an action expressed by the Verb

- a) *b^hazoti* ‘a woman who fries’= [[*b^haz* ‘to fry’]_V *oti*]_N b) *rowoti* ‘a woman who implants paddy seedling’= [[*ro* ‘to plant’]_V *oti*]_N

- ገብ*]_N
- c) *xukገብ* ‘dried fish’= [[*xuka* ‘to dry’]_V *ገብ*]_N d) *xasገብ* ‘one who saves’= [[*xas* ‘to save’]_V *ገብ*]_N

2. Noun_x ← Noun_y -ገብ

Meaning: Doer of the activity expressed by Noun_y, or related to the activity mentioned by the Noun_y

- a) *baxገብ* ‘dwelling’ = [[*bax* ‘to live’]_N *ገብ*]_N b) *hasijገብ* ‘a kind of herb which excites sneezing’= [[*hasi* ‘sneeze’]_N *ገብ*]_N
- c) *d^hunገብ* ‘The girl who is very stylish’= [[*d^hun* ‘fashion’]_N *ገብ*]_N d) *sworgገብ* ‘death’ = [[*sworg* ‘heaven’]_N *ገብ*]_N

3. Adjective ← Verb -ገብ

Meaning: A quality related to an action, which is expressed by the verb

- a) *k^hirገብ* ‘a cow that gives milk’ = [[*k^hira* ‘to extract milk’]_V *ገብ*]_{Adj} b) *xisገብ* ‘scattered’ = [[*xisገ* ‘to scatter’]_V *ገብ*]_{Adj}
- c) *marijገብ* ‘dead and dry as fuel’ = [[*marij* ‘to die’]_V *ገብ*]_{Adj} d) *bowገብ* ‘flowing’ = [[*bo* ‘to flow’]_V *ገብ*]_{Adj}

4. Adjective ← Noun -ገብ

Meaning: Related to the quality or property mentioned in the root

- a) *xoub^haigjገብ* ‘lucky women’ = [[*xoub^haigj* ‘luck’]_N *ገብ*]_{Adj} b) *puwገብ* ‘related to morning’ = [[*puwa* ‘morning’]_N *ገብ*]_{Adj}
- c) *xudገብ* ‘one who borrows money to repay with interest’= [[*xud* ‘interest’]_N *ገብ*]_{Adj} d) *gገrb^hገብ* ‘Pregnant lady’ = [[*gገrb^h* ‘womb’]_N *ገብ*]_{Adj}

5.2.5 -*ɔni* suffixation

1. Noun ← Verb -*ɔni*

Meaning: Doer of an action

- a) *rand^hɔni* ‘cook’ = [[*rand^h* ‘to cook’]_V *ɔni*]_N b) *dawɔni* ‘reaper’ = [[*da* ‘to reap’]_V *ɔni*]_N
c) *nasɔni* ‘a dancer’ = [[*nas*]_V *ɔni*]_N d) *bowɔni* ‘a weaver’ = [[*bo* ‘to weave’]_V *ɔni*]_N

2. Noun ← Verb -*ɔni*

Meaning: An activity or action of the verb, or the act of doing something

- a) *erɔni* ‘the act of abandoning’ = [[*er* ‘to abandon’]_V *ɔni*]_N b) *xikɔni* ‘learning’ = [[*xik* ‘to learn’]_V *ɔni*]_N
c) *k̃ɔpɔni* ‘trembling’ = [[*k̃ɔp* ‘to tremble’]_V *ɔni*]_N d) *basɔni* ‘selection’ = [[*bas* ‘to select’]_V *ɔni*]_N

3. Noun_x ← Noun_y -*ɔni*

Meaning: Female counterpart of the male entity expressed by Noun_y

- a) *sakɔrɔni* ‘maid’ = [[*sakɔr* ‘servant’]_N *ɔni*]_N b) *k^hɔtrijani* ‘a Kshatriya woman’ = [[*k^hɔtrijɔ*¹⁹]_N *ɔni*]_N
c) *ḅ^hɔralijɔni* ‘a women married to man of this tittle’ = [[*ḅ^hɔrali* ‘a tittle’]_N *ɔni*]_N d) *gohaijɔni* ‘a women married to man of this tittle’ = [[*gohai* ‘a tittle’]_N *ɔni*]_N

4. Noun_x ← Noun_y -*ɔni*

¹⁹ according to the old *Varnasrama* classification of Hindu society, a man of the second or military class of the society

Meaning: Related to the entity or property expressed in Noun_y

- a) *d^hanɔni* ‘a paddy field’= [[*d^han* ‘rice’]_N *ɔni*]_N b) *k̃aitɔni* ‘a place full of thorns’= [[*k̃ait* ‘thorns’]_N *ɔni*]_N
c) *bɔnɔni* ‘a grass plot’= [[*bɔn* ‘grass’]_N *ɔni*]_N d) *p^husp^husɔni* ‘whispering’= [[*p^hup^hus* ‘to whisper’]_N *ɔni*]_N

5. Adjective ← Noun -ɔni

Meaning: Relating to the quality mentioned in the noun

- a) *ketketɔni* ‘Scolding’= [[*ketket* ‘to scold’]_N *ɔni*]_{Adj} b) *xɔŋxod^hɔni* ‘amending’= [*xɔŋxod^h* ‘to correct’]_N *ɔni*]_{Adj}

5.2.6 -ɔnija suffixation

1. Adjective← Verb -ɔnija

Meaning: Doer of an action

- a) *sɔrɔnija* ‘grazing’ = [[*sɔr* ‘to graze’]_v *ɔnija*]_{Adj} b) *mɔgɔnija* ‘begger’= [[*mag* ‘to beg’]_v *ɔnija*]_{Adj}
c) *pelɔnija* ‘fit to be thrown away’
= [[*pela* ‘to throw’]_v *ɔnija*]_{Adj}

2. Noun_x ← Noun_y -ɔnija

Meaning: Pertaining to the entity mentioned in the Noun_y

- a) *at^huwɔnija* ‘till the knee’= [[*at^hu* ‘knee’]_N *ɔnija*]_N b) *kɔt^hɔnija* ‘holding one *katha* or half a seer’ = [[*kɔt^ha*²⁰]_N *ɔnija*]_N

²⁰ a unit of land measurements

5.2.7 -*ɔruwa* suffixation

1. Adjective ← Noun -*ɔruwa*

Meaning: Having the quality mentioned in the noun

- a) *dekeruwa* ‘younger’ = [[*deka* ‘young’]_N *ɔruwa*]_{Adj} b) *zakɔruwa* ‘in a group’ = [[*zak* ‘a group’]_N *ɔruwa*]_{Adj}

2. Adjective ← Verb -*ɔruwa*

Meaning: Relating to the activity expressed by the verb

- a) *xɔɔruwa* ‘something which is saved’ = [[*xas* ‘save’]_V *ɔruwa*]_{Adj}

3. Noun_x ← Noun_y -*ɔruwa*

Meaning: A doer that deals with the entity mentioned in the Noun_y

- a) *batɔruwa* ‘a pedestrian’ = [[*bat* ‘path’]_N *ɔruwa*]_N b) *hatɔruwa* ‘a buyer’ = [[*hat* ‘market’]_N *ɔruwa*]_N

5.2.8 -*al* suffixation

1. Noun_x ← Noun_y -*al*

Meaning: Related to the thing expressed in the Noun_y

- a) *gowal* ‘a milkman’ = [[*go* ‘cow’]_N *al*]_N b) *tɔɲijal* ‘a dovecote’ = [[*tɔɲi* ‘a framed net’]_N *al*]_N
c) *tezal* ‘having much blood, strong’ = [[*tez* ‘blood’]_N *al*]_N d) *nɔdijal* ‘a fisherman’ = [[*nɔdi* ‘river’]_N *al*]_N

2. Noun ← Verb -*al*

Meaning: Related to the action expressed by the verb

- a) *eral* ‘a tether’ = $[[er \text{ ‘to leave’}]_V al]_N$ b) *xoral* ‘the shedding of the feathers or horns for removal’ = $[[xor \text{ ‘to fall off’}]_V al]_N$

3. Adjective ← Noun -al

Meaning: Projection of a characteristics related to the noun

- a) *kʰəŋal* ‘angry’ = $[[kʰəŋ \text{ ‘anger’}]_N al]_{Adj}$ b) *məŋəhal* ‘fleshy’ = $[[məŋəh \text{ ‘flesh’}]_N al]_{Adj}$
c) *nomal* ‘hairy’ = $[[nom \text{ ‘hair’}]_N al]_{Adj}$

4. Adjective ← Verb -al

Meaning: A quality related to an action expressed by the verb

- a) *bʰezal* ‘to pollute’ = $[[bʰez \text{ ‘to mix’}]_V al]_{Adj}$ b) *žokal* ‘easily roused’ = $[[žok \text{ ‘frenzy’}]_V al]_{Adj}$

5.2.9 -alu suffixation

Adjective ← Noun -alu

Meaning: Quality bearing the essence of the base noun

- a) *kripalu* ‘warm-hearted nature’ = $[[kripa \text{ ‘kindness’}]_N alu]_{Adj}$
b) *nidralu* = $[[nidra \text{ ‘sleep’}]_N alu]_{Adj}$
c) *dɔjalu* ‘of kind nature’ = $[[dɔja \text{ ‘generosity’}]_N alu]_{Adj}$
d) *krodʰalu* ‘of angrey nature’ = $[[krodʰ \text{ ‘anger’}]_N alu]_{Adj}$

5.2.10 -aru suffixation

Noun← Verb -aru

Meaning: Doer of an action

- a) *xikaru* ‘learner’ = [[*xik* ‘to learn’]_V *aru*]_N b) *zuzaru* ‘fighter’ = [[*zuz* ‘to fight’]_V *aru*]_N
c) *lek^haru* ‘writer’ = [[*lek^h* ‘to write’]_V *ok*]_N

5.2.11 -ami suffixation

1. Noun← Noun -ami

Meaning: Having the quality of the entity mentioned by the noun

bandɔrami ‘the nature of monkey’ = [[*bandɔr* ‘monkey’]_N *ami*]_N

2. Noun← Verb -ami

Meaning: An activity expressed by the verb

t^hɔgami ‘the act of cheating’ = [[*t^hɔg* ‘to cheat’]_V *ami*]_N

3. Adjective← Adjective -ami

Meaning: Related to a quality mentioned in the root

dustami ‘nature of being dishonest or naughty’ = [[*dustɔ* ‘naughty’]_{Adj} *ami*]_{Adj}

5.2.12 -ahi suffixation

1. Adjective← Verb -ahi

Meaning:

- a) *sɔlahi* ‘deceiving’ = [[*sɔl* ‘to trick’]_V *ahi*]_{Adj} b) *melahi* ‘wide-mouthed’ = [[*mel* ‘to open’]_V *ahi*]_{Adj}

ahi]_{Adj}

2. Noun ← Noun -ahi

Meaning: Related to the entity expressed by the root

mɔdahi ‘alcoholic’ = [[*mɔd* ‘alcohol’]_N *ahi*]_N

5.2.13 -ija suffixation

1. Adjective ← Noun -ija

Meaning: Possession of the characteristics of the noun

- a) *ɔnzɔnija* ‘related to eye-liner’ = [[*ɔnzɔn* ‘eye-liner’]_N *ija*]_{Adj} b) *ɔhija* ‘related to fibre’ = [[*ah̃* ‘fibre’]_N *ija*]_{Adj}
c) *ag^honija* ‘related to the month of *Aghon*²¹’ = [[*ag^hon*]_N *ija*]_{Adj}

2. Adjective ← Verb -ija

Meaning: Related to the action expressed by the verb

- a) *rɔk^hija* ‘one who is guarding’ = [[*rɔk^h* ‘to protect’]_V *ija*]_{Adj} b) *b^hɔzija* ‘related to fry’ = [[*b^haz* ‘to fry’]_V *ija*]_{Adj}

3. Adjective ← Adjective_y -ija

Meaning: Having the quality expressed by the root adjective_y

- a) *zɔkmɔkija* ‘sparkling’ = [[*zɔkmɔk* ‘to sparkle’]_{Adj} *ija*]_{Adj} b) *lob^hija* ‘greedy’ = [[*lob^h* ‘greed’]_{Adj} *ija*]_{Adj}

4. Noun_x ← Noun_y -ija

²¹ An Assamese month

Meaning: Agent and related to the entity or object mentioned in the root

- a) *d^hulija* ‘a drummer’= [[*d^hol* ‘a drum’]_N *ija*]_N b) *damodarija* ‘a follower of Damodar dev²²’ = [[*damodar*]_N *ija*]_N
- c) *d^hupija* ‘one who prepares incense’= [[*d^hup* ‘incense’]_N *ija*]_N

5.2.14 -ua suffixation

1. Noun_x ← Noun_y -ua

Meaning: Doer of an activity expressed by the Noun_y

- a) *rɔnua* ‘a fighter’ = [[*rɔn* ‘battle’]_N *ua*]_N b) *bɔnua* ‘labour’ = [[*bɔn* ‘work’]_N *ua*]_N
- c) *k^helua* ‘player’ = [[*k^hel* ‘sport’]_N *ua*]_N d) *nɔtua* ‘An actor’ = [[*nat* ‘drama’]_N *ua*]_N

2. Noun_x ← Noun_y -ua

Meaning: Related to the entity expressed by Noun_y

- a) *tɔlua* ‘the sole of the foot’ = [[*tɔl* ‘down’]_N *ua*]_N b) *pɔtua* ‘The sheath of a plantain tree’ = [[*pat* ‘leaf’]_N *ua*]_N
- c) *halua* ‘peasant’= [[*hal* ‘plough’]_N *ua*]_N

3. Adjective ← Noun -ua

Meaning: A quality that possesses the characteristics of the noun

- a) *elehua* ‘The nature of being lazy’= [[*elah* ‘laziness’]_N *ua*]_{Adj} b) *adɔrua* ‘seeking affection’= [[*adɔr* ‘affection’]_N *ua*]_{Adj}
- c) *g^hɔrua* ‘related to home or household’ d) *k^harua* ‘alkaline’= [[*k^har* ‘alkali’]_N

²² Sri Damodardev, a well-known 16th-century religious preacher in the Ekasarana tradition of Vaishnavism, who was born in 1488.

= [*g^hɔr* ‘home’]_N *ua*]_{Adj} *ua*]_{Adj}

4. Noun ← Verb -ua

Meaning: A thing or an activity related to an action expressed by the verb

- a) *d^hɔkua* ‘The sheath of a *tamul* tree’ = b) *bɔgua* = [[*bɔga* ‘to crawl’]_V *ua*]_N
[[*d^hak* ‘to cover’]_V *ua*]_N

5.2.15 -uwal suffixation

1. Noun_x ← Noun_y -uwal

Meaning: A doer, who does an activity related to the Noun_y

- a) *gowal* ‘milkman’ = [[*go* ‘cow’]_N *uwal*]_N b) *g^hatowal* ‘a ferryman’ = [[*g^hat* ‘dock’]_N *uwal*]_N
- c) *ɖɔtowel* ‘one who has teeth which can be seen prominently’ = [[*ɖat* ‘teeth’]_N *uwal*]_N

2. Noun ← Verb -uwal

Meaning: Noun of agency

rak^howal ‘herdsman’ = [[*rɔk^h* ‘to keep’]_V *uwal*]_N

5.3 Result of Sample A (Corpus) and Sample B (Dictionary)

In this section, we have presented the statistical data for samples A and B. After extracting the total number of types, tokens, and hapax legomena from both samples, we arrive at the following result: Table 5.1 presents data from sample A, and Table 5.2 presents data collected from sample B.

Table 5.1 Number of Types, Token and Hapax Legomena in Sample A

Sl	Suffixes	Type (V)	Token (N)	Hapax (n1)
1	-অক <i>-ok</i>	41	220	17
2	-অন <i>-on</i>	84	459	37
3	-অনা <i>-ona</i>	28	193	7
4	-অতি <i>-oti</i>	8	17	5
5	-অনি <i>-oni</i>	48	159	22
6	-অনিয়া <i>-onija</i>	5	14	1
7	-অৰুৱা <i>-oruwa</i>	1	1	1
8	-আল <i>-al</i>	7	19	2
9	-আলু <i>-alu</i>	NIL	-	-
10	-আৰু <i>-aru</i>	1	2	0
11	-আমি <i>-ami</i>	3	4	1
12	-আহি <i>-ahi</i>	NIL	-	0
13	-ইয়া <i>-ia</i>	110	418	71
14	-ওৱা/-উৱা <i>-ua</i>	14	51	7
15	-উৱাল <i>-ual</i>	1	2	0

Table 5.2 Number of Types in *Hemkosh* ed. 2006 and 2016, the number of newly added words in 10 years (Sample B)

Sl	Suffix	2006	2016	Nos. of new words
1	-অক <i>-ok</i>	231	315	86
2	-অন <i>-on</i>	456	586	130
3	-অনা <i>-ona</i>	49	59	10
4	-অতি <i>-oti</i>	17	19	2
5	-অনি <i>-oni</i>	371	390	19
6	-অনিয়া <i>-onija</i>	21	21	0
7	-অৰুৱা <i>-oruwa</i>	7	7	0
8	-আল <i>-al</i>	36	38	2
9	-আলু <i>-alu</i>	4	12	8
10	-আৰু <i>-aru</i>	6	6	0
11	-আমি <i>-ami</i>	6	8	2

12	-আহি <i>-ahi</i>	4	4	0
13	-ইয়া <i>-ia</i>	783	823	38
14	-উরা <i>-uwa</i>	159	167	9
15	-উরাল <i>-ual</i>	3	8	1

5.4 Observation:

5.4.1 -ɔk -অক

The corpus consists of 41 types, 220 tokens and 17 hapaxes for *-ɔk*, whereas it contains 231 types in the 2006 edition and 315 types in the 2016 edition. A total of 86 new words were added in the later edition. The suffix is mostly attached to nominal and verbal bases and it is observed that noun derivatives outnumber the adjective category. Amongst the nouns, again, it predominantly forms agentive nouns. For example, *lik^hɔk* → ‘writer’ *lik^h* ‘to write’ + *ɔk*, *xewɔk* ‘A service provider’ → *xewa* ‘service’ + *ɔk*, *pat^hɔk* ‘a reader’ → *pat^h* ‘lesson’ + *ɔk* etc.

Along with the independent base or root, the suffix is also attached to many non-independent bases. In many words, the bases are a cumulation of more than one root, prefixes and suffixes. It indicates that the suffix can be attached to multimorphemic bases. These bases can be divided into the following ways depending on the segmentation-

Base (root)	+ suffix.	Example: <i>natɔk</i> নাটক ‘drama’ = <i>nat</i> ‘drama’ + <i>ɔk</i>
Base (root+root)	+ suffix ²³ .	Example: <i>moupalɔk</i> মৌপালক ‘Apiculturist’ = <i>mou</i> ‘honey’ + <i>pa</i> ‘to nurture’ + <i>ɔk</i>
Base (root+prefix+root)	+ suffix.	<i>ziwoddipɔk</i> জীবোদ্দীপক ‘full of life’ = <i>ziwɔ</i> ‘being’ + <i>ut</i>

²³ These are sandhized compounds in Indian languages where we can see two roots

‘prefix’ + *dip* ‘light’ + *ɔk*. In this word *ziwɔ* is a root, while *ut* is prefixed to the base *dip* and

all three together form the base where *-ɔk* suffix is attached. The origin of these kind of bases

are found in Sanskrit.

Base (prefix+root) + suffix. Example: *pɔribrazɔk* পৰিব্ৰাজক ‘Tourist’ = *pɔri*

‘prefix’ + *brɔz* ‘to travel’ + *ɔk*, *prɔtipalɔk* প্ৰতিপালক = *prɔti* ‘prefix’ + *pal* ‘to nurture’ +

ɔk, *ab^{hi}g^{hat}atɔk* অভিঘাটক = *ab^{hi}* ‘prefix’ + *g^{hat}* ‘port’

Base (prefix+root+root) + suffix. Example: *ɔpɔtrinɔnaxɔk* অপতৃণনাশক ‘herbicide’ =

ɔpɔ ‘prefix’ + *trinɔ* ‘grass’ + *nax* ‘to destroy’ + *ɔk*; *papnaxɔk* পাপনাশক ‘purifier of sin’ =

pap ‘sin’ + *nax* ‘to destroy’ + *ɔk*

Base (root + suffix) + suffix. Example: *krirɔnɔk* ক্ৰীড়নক ‘A toy, one who is

made the tool of another’ = *krija* ‘game’ + *ɔn* ‘suffix’ + *ɔk*. It says that the suffix *-ɔk* allows another suffixation with the root before it is being attached.

-ɔk is sometimes used to form compound suffixes such as *-mulɔk* in *prɔtizogitamulɔk* প্ৰতিযোগিতামূলক ‘competitive’. *-ɔk* is attached to another morpheme *mul* and together it forms the compound suffix *-mulɔk*. *-mulɔk* is considered a compound suffix, as it is not used as a word independently and is attached to a base or root to mean ‘type of the instance or entity expressed by the root’. From this, we can see that *-ɔk* is allowing compound suffixation as well.

However, many words that are segmented as above look like compounds. Although it was decided to exclude compounds from the counting, there are many words that are lexicalised to an extent that they are accessible through the ‘direct access route’ in the speaker’s mind.

Again, amongst the newly added words in the dictionary in the latest edition, there is a sizable number of new agentive nouns in the list. Therefore, it is an indication that the function of *-ɔk* as an agentive noun is getting increased. Example: *ɔpɔbadɔk* অপবাদক ‘one who reviles’ → *ɔpɔ* + *bad* ‘process of doing something’ + *ɔk* ‘agentive

noun suffix’, *ᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ* ᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ ‘Spy, messenger’→ *ᅇᅇ* + *ᅇᅇᅇᅇ* ‘snake’ *ᅇᅇ* ‘agentive noun suffix’, *ag^hatᅇᅇ* ᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ ‘A destroyer’ → *ag^hat* ‘bruise’ + *ᅇᅇ* ‘nominal suffix’, *awᅇᅇᅇᅇ* ᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ ‘Something that covers’→ *awᅇᅇ* ‘to cover+ *ᅇᅇ* ‘nominal suffix’, *ussedᅇᅇ* ᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ ‘abolisher’ → ‘to abolish’ + *ᅇᅇ* ‘nominal suffix’, ᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ ‘sculptor’ → ‘to sculpt’ + *ᅇᅇ* ‘nominal suffix’ etc.

5.4.2 -ᅇᅇ -ᅇᅇ

It has 84 different types which have 459 tokens and 37 hapaxes in total in sample A, and in sample B, it has 456 types in the 2006 edition and 586 types in the 2016 edition by adding 130 new words. The suffix is attached mostly to verbal bases and fewer nominal bases, however, in many words, the base does not look like a verbal base apparently. By looking at these bases closely, we find that like -*ᅇᅇ*, these are combinations of more than one root or affixes. However, the suffix is attached to the verbal root; and other roots or affixes can only be added before the verbal root. For example, *kᅇᅇ^hopᅇᅇkᅇᅇ^hᅇᅇ* ᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ ‘conversation’ → *kᅇᅇ^ha* ‘speech’ + *upᅇᅇ* ‘prefix’ + *kᅇᅇ^h* ‘to speak’+ *ᅇᅇ*, *utzapᅇᅇ* ᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ ‘celebration’ → *ut* ‘prefix’+ (*za+nis*)²⁴ ‘to execute’ + *ᅇᅇ*, *punᅇᅇrziwᅇᅇ* ᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ ‘reincarnation’ → *punᅇᅇr* ‘again’ + *zija* ‘to live’ + *ᅇᅇ* etc.

Another observance for -*ᅇᅇ* and -*ᅇᅇ* is that both can be used as co-suffixes to form words for the agent and the action respectively.

Example:

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| a) <i>xᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ</i> ‘a conserver’ | b) <i>bjᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ</i> ‘one who makes rules or guides’ | c) <i>xad^hᅇᅇ</i> ‘Who or what accomplishes or effects’ – |
| <i>xᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ</i> ‘The act of saving’ | <i>bjᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ</i> ‘The laying down of rules and regulations’ | <i>xad^hᅇᅇ</i> ‘The act of accomplishing’ |
| d) <i>xewᅇᅇ</i> ‘A worshiper’ | e) <i>xᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ</i> ‘A supporter’ - | f) <i>xad^hᅇᅇ</i> ‘who accomplishes or effects’ |

²⁴ Page 1130, Hemkosh ed. 2016 ᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ ᅇᅇᅇ [ᅇᅇᅇ ᅇᅇ + ᅇᅇᅇᅇ (ᅇᅇᅇᅇ) + ᅇᅇᅇ] *zapᅇᅇ* [za + nis (zapi) + ᅇᅇ]. As *zapᅇᅇ* and *zapᅇᅇᅇ* have the same bases and the only difference is the suffix attached to the bases, we have taken reference of *zapᅇᅇ* during segmentation of *zapᅇᅇᅇ*.

<i>xewɔn</i> ‘The act of serving’	<i>xɔmɔrtʰɔn</i> ‘support’	<i>xadʰɔn</i> ‘implementation’
g) <i>xoxɔk</i> ‘that which sucks or dries up’ <i>xoxɔn</i> ‘The act of sucking’	h) <i>lekʰɔk</i> ‘a writer’ <i>lekʰɔn</i> ‘the act of writing’	e) <i>bʰɔkʰɔk</i> ‘One who eats’ – <i>bʰɔkʰɔn</i> ‘The act of eating’
f) <i>rɔkʰjɔk</i> ‘a protector’ - <i>rɔkʰjɔn</i> ‘protection’	g) <i>binodɔk</i> ‘provider of amusement’ - <i>binodɔn</i> ‘pleasure’	

5.4.3 -ɔna -অনা

It has 193 tokens of which 7 are hapaxes for 28 types in the corpus sample. In the dictionary sample, it has 49 types in the 2006 edition and 59 types in the 2016 edition. There are three words in the corpus which are unlisted words in the dictionary- *xɔsetɔna* সচেতনা ‘consciousness’ → *xɔ* ‘with (prefix)’ + *sit* ‘mind’ + *ɔna* ‘noun suffix’, *zɔnɔsetɔna* জনচেতনা ‘mass consciousness’ → *zɔn* ‘people’ + *sit* ‘mind’ + *ɔna* ‘noun suffix’ and *deuna* দেওনা ‘gate’ → *deu* ‘footstep’ + *ɔna* ‘nominal suffix’. As the word *setɔna* ‘sense’ is listed in the dictionary, probably it is thought that the meaning of the prefixed words *xɔsetɔna* and compound *zɔnɔsetɔna* will be graspable. However, *deuna* is a common established word of the language which is not considered for listing by the lexicographer.

Based on the words of the samples, -*ɔna* is attached to the bases which can be found in the following segmented form:

Base (root)	+ suffix. Example: <i>gʰɔtɔna</i> ‘incident’ = <i>gʰɔt</i> ‘to happen’ + <i>ɔna</i>
Base (prefix + root)	+ suffix. Example: <i>pɔrigʰɔtɔna</i> = <i>pɔri</i> ‘prefix’ + <i>gʰɔt</i> ‘to happen’ + <i>ɔna</i> , <i>xubʰɔkamɔna</i> = <i>xubʰɔ</i> ‘fine, good’ + <i>kam</i> + <i>ɔna</i>
Base (root+root)	+suffix. Example: <i>zɔnɔgɔnɔn</i> = <i>zɔn</i> + <i>gɔn</i> + <i>ɔna</i>

5.4.4 -ɔti -অতি

It has 8 types and 17 tokens, 5 hapaxes in the sample A and in the sample B, it has 17 and 19 types in 2006 and 2016 editions of Hemkosh respectively. In sample A, we can find that, for a few words it plays the role of a feminine suffix, for example-

xoub^haigjɔwɔti সৌভাগ্যৱতী ‘A lucky women’, *gɔrb^hɔwɔti* গৰ্ভৱতী ‘Pregnant lady’, *bowɔti* বোৱতী ‘A female weaver or flowing water’. In Assamese, except for the river Brahmaputra, all other rivers and tributaries are considered feminine. Therefore, the *bowati* is turned into an adjective by suffixing *-ɔti* in *bo* ব ‘to flow’ which carries the sense of femininity. The sample A registers only one word with a base consisting of root+root, i.e., *zɔnɔbɔxɔti* জনবসতি = *zɔn* + *bax* + *ɔti*. In the case of sample B, only two words are added in the 2016 edition, *d^hupɔti* and *xudɔti*, and both are adjective words.

5.4.5 *-ɔni* -অনি

This suffix has 159 tokens, 22 hapaxes for 84 types in the sample A. In sample B, it has 371 and 390 types in 2006 and 2016 edition respectively.

There are three words formed by this suffix from the sample that are not listed in the dictionary, these are *xunani* শুনানি ‘hearing’, *bɔruwani* বৰুৱানী ‘the wife a Barua titled man, i.e., Mrs. Barua’, *ub^hɔtɔni* উভতনি ‘returning’. Like *-ɔti*, it is also a feminine suffix, examples of which can be cited from the list- *rand^hɔni* ৰান্ধনী ‘a female cook’, *zɔnɔni* জননী ‘mother’, the same can be considered agentive nouns as well. This suffix also produces many expressive words in the language, such as- *tirbirɔni* ‘The act of glittering, sparkle’, *g^hurg^hurɔni* ‘The sound of a small wheel in motion’, *dɔpdɔpɔni* ‘The act of showing one’s own greatness or power’ etc. It is also a compound suffix which is the composition of two suffixes *-ɔn* + *-i*.

There are three words other than the words bearing ‘root+suffix’ segmented form in the list, the bases of which are found in the following way:

Base (pre + root) +suffix. Example: *xɔŋxod^hɔni* ‘Amending, correcting’ → *xɔŋ* ‘pre’+ *xod^h* ‘to correct’ + *ɔni*, *prɔdɔrxɔni* ‘exhibition’ → *prɔ* ‘pre’ + *drix* ‘see’ + *ɔni*

Base (root + root) +suffix. Example: *pakg^hurɔni* ‘Giddiness caused by turning round and round very quickly’ → *pak* ‘round’ + *g^hur* ‘to circle’ + *ɔni*

5.4.6 -*ɔnija* -অনিয়া

In the corpus sample, it has only 5 types and 14 tokens. However, in the dictionary sample it has equal number of types in both editions of the dictionary, i.e., 21 and in 10 years it has not added new words. The bases of this suffix only consist of a root and it is either a verbal or nominal base, that is Base (root) + *ɔnija*, example: *kʰɔŋal* ‘angry’ → *kʰɔŋ* ‘anger’ + *al*.

5.4.7 -*ɔruwa* -অৰুৱা

In the entire sample A, there is only one word formed by this suffix, *dekerua* ডেকেৰুৱা *dekerua* ‘Full-fledged, full grown’ and it is an adjective. Similar to *-ɔnija*, it also has not added any new words and only 7 words are found for this suffix in both the editions. This suffix also takes only a root as a base and that base is generally a nominal base. Example, *bʰagɔruwa* ‘tired’ → *bʰagɔr* ‘tiredness’ + *uwa*.

5.4.8 -*al* -আল

While it has a total of 19 tokens for 7 types of words, it has 36 and 37 types in 2006 and 2016 editions of sample B respectively. All the resultant types are adjectives except one word which is a noun, *eral* ‘a tether’. There is a word *nirbʰezal* নিৰ্ভেজাল whose segmentation is ‘prefix + root + suffix’. Other than this, all others have the form ‘root+suffix’. However, it appears that it may allow only prefixation as multimorphemic bases.

5.4.9 -*alu* -আলু

The sample A which consists of approximately 1 lac words, does not register any words formed by this suffix. However, in the sample B, it has 4 and 12 types in the editions respectively. It is one of the adjectives forming suffixes of the language, which is attached to the noun bases (*kripalu* ‘kind’, *dojalu* ‘kind’). Generally, the bases of this

word are consisting of one root, however, there is a word in the sample B which has a prefix with the base, *xɔŋxɔjalu* ‘fearful’ → *xɔŋ* ‘pre’ + *xɔi* ‘fear’ + *alu*.

5.4.10 -*aru* -আৰু

It also has only one word in the corpus sample, *xikaru* শিকারু ‘A learner’ and 6 types in both editions of the dictionary in sample B. It is added to bases consisting of one root which is a verbal base. Example, *xikaru* ‘learner’ *xikaru* → *xik* ‘teach’ + *aru*.

5.4.11 -*ami* -আমি

This suffix has 4 tokens for 3 different types in the sample A and 6 and 8 types in sample B. It is an adjectival suffix. It has a word *gorami* গোড়ামী ‘orthodox’ → *gora* ‘stubborn’ + *ami*, which is not listed in the dictionary, although it is a common word in the language. This suffix is also attached to monomorphemic bases. It is also a compound suffix in the sense that it is the extension of *am+i*.

5.4.12 -*ahi* -আহি

No words could be found by this suffix in the sample. However, *-ahi* is the extension of *-ah* + *-i*, which means that it is a compound suffix too. It does not record any word in sample A, and in sample B, it has 4 types in both the years. It is added to monomorphemic root, such as, *sɔlahi* ‘deceitful’ → *sɔl* ‘deceit’ + *ahi*.

5.4.13 -*ija* -ইয়া/-ঈয়া

In the sample A, among the 15 suffixes, this suffix has the highest number of types and hapaxes. 116 types of words are found for *-ia* from the sample, which results in 432 tokens. A lot of words formed by this suffix from the sample are not listed in the dictionary. Another significant observation is that a lot of expressive words can be found by this suffix in the corpus sample. In the sample trace 12 such expressive words. In the sample B, there are 783 and 823 types in 2006 and 2016 editions respectively which is again the highest amongst others.

-*ija* can be attached to mono monomorphemic as well as multimorphemic bases. It is found in the following forms:

Base (root) +suffix. Example: *ɔxɔmija* ‘Assamese’ = *ɔxɔm* ‘Assam’ + *ija*

Base (root + root) +suffix. Example: *zet^hmɔhija* ‘month of Jeth’ = *jet^h25* + *mah* ‘month’ + *ija*, *rɔzadinija* ‘related to the days of a King’ = *rɔza* ‘king’ + *din* ‘day’ + *ija*, *ɔtiawɔisjɔkija* ‘very necessary’ = *ɔti* ‘very’ + *awɔisjɔk* ‘necessary’ + *ija*.

-*ija* itself is not a compound suffix, but there are a few suffixes, which are extensions or combinations of two suffixes, which can be called as compound suffixes. -*ia* is a part of many compound suffixes or we can say that -*ija* helps in forming a few compound suffixes. E.g., -*ɔriya* = -*ɔr* + -*ija*, -*ɔtija* = -*ɔti* + -*ija*, -*ekija* = *ek* ‘one’ + -*ija*

However, -*ija* also form a few compound suffixes by getting attached to certain roots as well, for example, -*mɔhija* ‘related to month’ = *mah* ‘month’ + *ija*, -*bulia* ‘related to colour’ = *bul* ‘colour’ + *ija*, -*poriya* = *par* ‘edge’ + *ija*, -*dinia* ‘related to day’ = *din* ‘day’ + *ija* etc.

5.4.14 -*ua* -ওঁৰা/-উঁৰা

It has 18 types and 55 tokens in the corpus sample and the only word *nibɔnua* ‘unemployed’ → *ni* ‘pre’ + *bɔn* ‘work’ + *ɔn* has a base including a prefix. The sample B contains 159 and 167 types in respective editions. However, regarding the category of the derived words, although the dictionary registers most of the words as adjectives, a few words having the same property are mentioned as noun in the dictionary. For example, *bɔnua* ‘one who works’ → *bɔn* ‘work’ + *ua* and *bihua* ‘a man or boy who performs Bihu²⁶’ → *bihu* + *ua* as an adjective, but *rɔnua* ‘a person engaged in warfare’ → *rɔn* ‘battle’ + *ua* is registered as noun. In this case, the words can be regarded both as adjectives and noun depending on the usage.

5.4.15 -*uwal* -উঁৱাল/-ওঁৱাল

²⁵ The second month of the Assamese year

²⁶ Bihu is the major harvest festival of Assam

In the corpus sample only one adjective word is found, i.e., *pahual* ‘Fat, plump’ → *pah* ‘edge, side’ + *uwal*; while the sample B contains 3 and 8 types in 2006 and 2016 edition in the sample respectively. It is a compound suffix, which is the extension of two suffixes *-uwa* and *-la*, i.e., *-uwa+la = -uwal*. It is added to monomorphemic bases.

5.5 Interpretation

In the sample words, we notice that some word types recur frequently in the sample, which leads to a high token frequency. Token frequency is greatly influenced by pragmatic factors. The sample's size and the type of text it contains, to start, have an impact on the frequency of occurrence. It is already established that the productivity of morphological processes can vary depending on the size and nature of the corpora. The same affix might have a different value of productivity in varying corpora (Aronoff & Fudeman, 2005). Here, we observe that the word *ɔxɔmija* ‘Assamese’, appears 97 times. As it is a study on the Assamese language and also because the sample texts have been collected from online Assamese newspapers and literary platforms, discussion of the Assamese community, language, and society is likely to take place frequently. Consequently, it is assumed that the tokens for the type *ɔxɔmija* ‘Assamese’ are high.

Similarly, the word *xeuzija* ‘green’ has 41 tokens in the sample, and the word *nijɔmija* ‘regular’ has 23 tokens. The reason is that a few writings that fall under the heading of travelogue are descriptions of journeys to remote, forested locations. There are more tokens for the word *xeuzija* ‘green’ due to the addition of such texts. Additionally, the news texts were taken from one of the most well-known Assamese newspapers, ‘*niyamiya barta*’, which is how we were able to obtain a large number of tokens for the term *nijɔmija* ‘regular’ in the news texts. Again, sample B contains several words that are scarcely used and some are no longer used.

5.6 Measure-based productivity- Sample A

Based on table 5.1 and applying the measuring methods mentioned in chapter 2, we have arrived at the following results. The calculated values are presented for each suffix against the methods in Table 5.3

Table 5.3 Results of Type Frequency, Token Frequency, Hapax Legomena, Token/Type ratio, Type/Token ratio and Token/Type ratio based on **Table 5.1**

Suffixes	Type (V)	Token (N)	Hapax (n ₁)	Type/token (Mean token frequency) V/N	Token/Type (Mean type frequency) N/V	(P) n ₁ /N	Hapax/Type n ₁ /V
-অক <i>-ak</i>	41	220	17	0.187	5.366	0.078	0.414
-অন <i>-an</i>	84	459	37	0.183	5.464	0.080	0.440
-অনা <i>-ana</i>	28	193	7	0.146	6.892	0.036	0.25
-অতি <i>-ati</i>	8	17	5	0.470	2.125	0.294	0.667
-অনি <i>-ani</i>	48	159	22	0.301	3.312	0.138	0.480
-অনিয়া <i>-anija</i>	5	14	1	0.358	2.8	0.071	0.2
-অৰুৱা <i>-aruwa</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-আল <i>-al</i>	7	19	2	0.369	2.714	0.106	0.286
আলু <i>-alu</i>	NIL	-	-	-	-	-	-
-আৰু <i>-aru</i>	1	2	0	0.5	2	0	0
-আমি <i>-ami</i>	3	4	1	0.75	1.333	0.25	0.333
-আহি <i>-ahi</i>	NIL	-	-	-	-	-	-
-ইয়া <i>-ia/-ija</i>	110	418	71	0.263	3.8	0.170	0.646
-ওৱা/-উৱা <i>-ua/-uwa</i>	14	51	7	0.274	3.642	0.138	0.611
-উৱাল <i>-ual/-uwal</i>	1	2	0	0.5	2	0	0

5.6.1 Type frequency

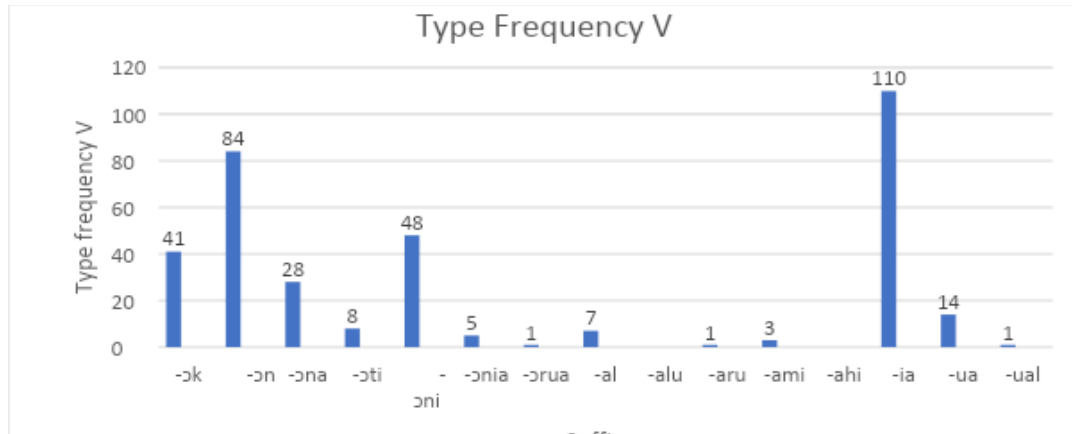


Fig 5.1 Type frequency of the suffixes

According to the first method Type frequency V, *-ia* has the highest number of types (110) followed by *-n* (84), while the three suffixes *-ruwa*, *-aru* and *-ual* have the lowest number of types, only 1 type against each suffix. Again, *alu* and *-ahi* have no instances at all in the sample A. If we calculate the Mean, then the average number is 20.2 and those that are above this number can be considered more productive than the suffixes that are below this number. Based on this, *-k*, *-n*, *-na*, *-ni* and *-ia* are more productive than the suffixes *-ti*, *-nia*, *ruwa*, *-al*, *-alu*, *-aru*, *-ami*, *-ahi*, *-ua* and *-uwal*.

5.6.2 Token frequency

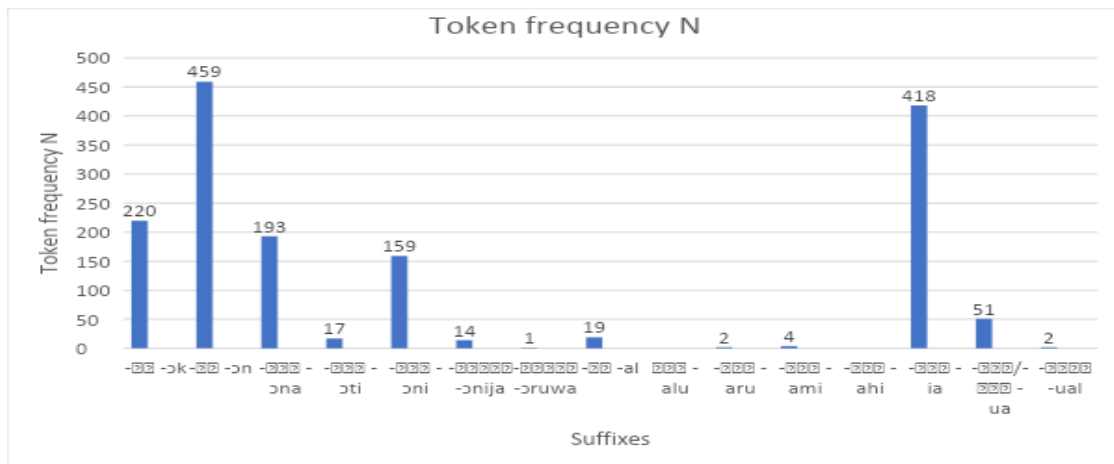


Fig 5.2 Token frequency of the suffixes

For this method, the number of all the occurrences counted for each suffix separately. The graph shows that *-n* (459) has the highest token frequency among all the

suffixes, and if we put aside *-alu* and *-aru* as they have no instances at all, *-aruwa* has only 1 token in the entire sample. Suffixes *-ək*, *-ən*, *-əna*, *-əni* and *-ia* are more productive than the suffixes *-əti*, *-ənija*, *-əruwa*, *-al*, *-alu*, *-aru*, *-ami*, *-ahi*, *-ua* and *-ual*, which are comparatively less productive.

5.6.3 Type/Token (V/N) and Token/Type (N/V) frequency

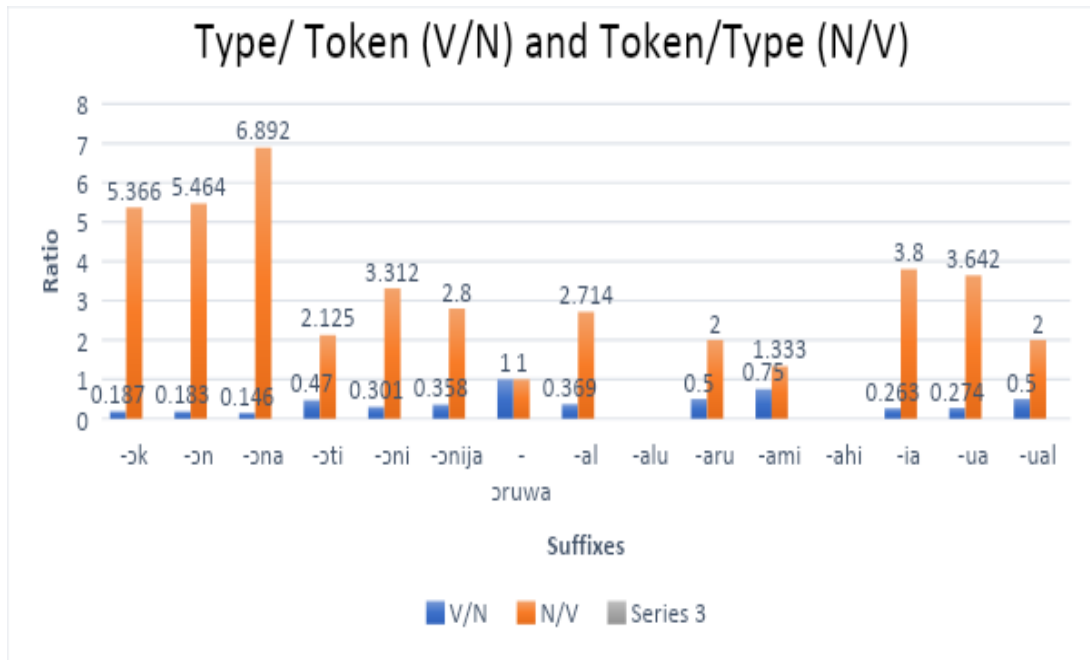


Fig 5.3 V/N and N/V ratio of the suffixes

As in the Type/Token (V/N) method, the higher ratio means higher productivity, and in Token/Type method, the higher ratio indicates lower productivity; *-əruwa* (1) and *ami* are the highest productive suffixes and *-əna* is the lowest productive suffix in both.

5.6.4 Productivity in the strict sense (P): $n1/N$

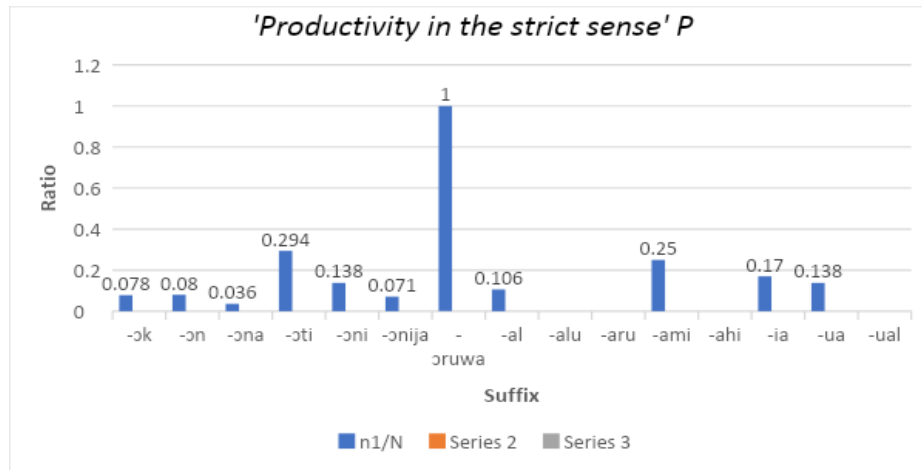


Fig 5.4 ‘Productivity in the strict sense’: n1/N ratio for the suffixes

Fig 4 shows that the productivity of *-ruwa* (1) is much higher than the rest, while *-na* (0.036) is the least productive suffix.

5.6.5 Hapax/Type method

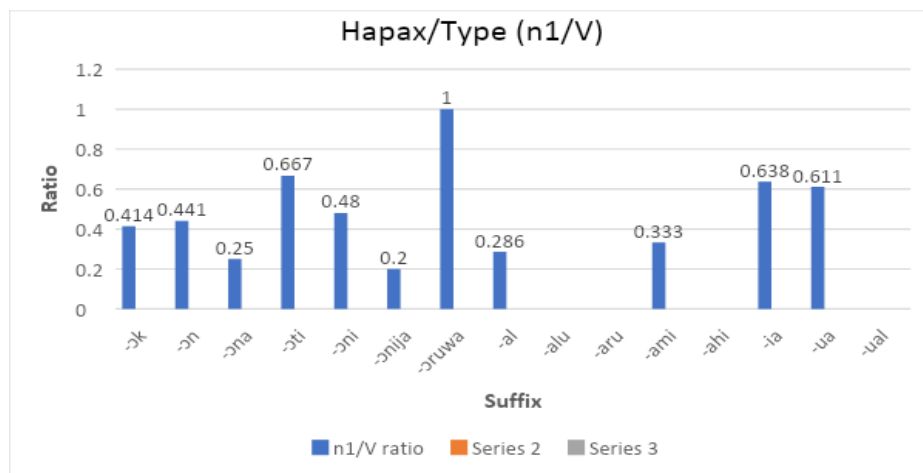


Fig 5.5 n1/V ratio of the suffixes

From the calculation we see that *-ruwa* (1), *-ti* (0.667), *-ia* (0.638), *-ua* (0.611) are productive suffixes and *-aru* (0), *-ual* (0) are unproductive suffixes.

Now based on Table 5.3, according to the productivity rate, the suffixes are presented in descending order for each method in Table 5.4 below.

Table 5.4 Ranking of suffixes in descending order of productivity by each method based on Table 5.3

Ranking	Type (V)	Token (N)	Hapax legomena (n ₁)	Type/token (V/N)	Token/ Type (N/V)	(p) n ₁ /N	Hapax/Type n ₁ /V
1.	-ia	-ɔn	-ia	-ɔruwa	-ɔruwa	-ɔruwa	-ɔruwa
2.	-ɔn	-ia	-ɔn	-ami	-ami	-ɔti	-ɔti
3	-ɔni	-ɔk	-ɔni	-aru -ual	-aru -ual	-ami	-ia
4	-ɔk	-ɔna	-ɔk	-ɔti	-ɔti	-ia	-ua
5	-ɔna	-ɔni	-ɔna - ua	-al	-al	-ɔni - ua	-ɔni
6	-ua	-ua	-ɔti	-ɔnija	-ɔnija	-al	-ɔn
7	-ɔti	-al	-al	-ua	-ɔni	-ɔn	-ɔk
8	-al	-ɔti	-ɔnija -ɔruwa -ami	-ia	-ua	-ɔk	-ami
9	-ɔnija	-ɔnija	-aru -alu -ahi -ual	-ɔni	-ia	-ɔnija	-al
10	-ami	-ami		-ɔk	-ɔk	-ɔna	-ɔna
11	-ɔruwa -aru -ual	-aru -ual		-ɔn	-ɔn	-alu -aru -ahi -ual	-ɔnija
12	-alu -ahi	-ɔruwa		-ɔna	-ɔna		-alu -aru -ahi -ual
13		-alu -ahi		-alu -ahi	-alu -ahi		

5.7 Interpretation

From Table 5.3 and Table 5.4, the first thing to note in sample A is that while the results of the first three methods type, token and hapax frequency show similarity, the similarity of results can also be seen in the later probabilistic methods. The later methods, however, portray a ranking that contrasts with the first three, i.e., the suffixes which are less or least productive in the first three occur as the most productive suffixes in the later methods.

In the productivity scale, Type frequency V, Token frequency N and hapax frequency, n1 do not have stark differences. Every suffix has altered just one step to the higher or lower rank in the methods. When we compare them, we see that *-ia* and *-ɔn* occupy the first and second highest rank in terms of V, whereas *-ɔn* becomes first and *-ia* occupies the second position from the top in N. Similarly, *-ɔni*, *-ɔk* and *-ɔna* also altered their ranks from 3, 4 and 5 in V to 5th, 3rd and 4th in N. *-ɔti* and *-al* occupy 7th and 8th ranking in V and 8th and 7th ranking in N respectively. On the other hand, for the suffixes *-ua*, *-ɔnija*, *-ami*, *-ɔruwa*, *-aru* and *-uwal*, the ranking remains unchanged in V and N. From these three, we see that while *-ia* is the most productive suffix in V, *-ɔn* is the most productive one in N. Overall the suffixes *-ia*, *-ɔk*, *-ɔn*, *-ɔna* and *-ɔni* are relatively more productive than the rest in these two methods.

-ɔruwa, which has the lowest productivity rate V and N, occupies the highest rank in the probabilistic methods, V/N or N/V, n1/N and n1/V. In table 5.4, the other low ranking suffixes of V and N, *-ami*, *-aru* and *-uwal* are located higher in the ranking in the probabilistic methods. Similarly, suffixes *-ɔn*, *-ɔk*, *-ɔna* which are relatively in the upper position in V and N methods, get a lower rank in the latter. However, a few suffixes *-al*, *-uwa* relatively remain in the middle position in the productivity scale for all the methods.

From this we get to know that different suffixes are productive in different aspects. Raw counting required for V and N talks about the current and past productivity of suffixes on the basis of existing words, and inferring past and present productivity, the ranking shows that the suffixes *-ia*, *-ɔn*, *-ɔk*, *-ɔni* and *-ɔna* are comparatively more productive than the others in V and N methods.

V/N or N/V, *Productivity in the strict sense (P)* and n_1/V are probabilistic methods and they involve more than one variable in measuring productivity. Hence, they predict the future productivity rate of a suffix, unlike past or present productivity. The suffixes *-oti*, *-ami*, *-aru*, *-oruwa* appeared more productive only by the latter methods, suggesting that they may have a greater potential for creating new words than the others.

Again, some of the suffixes exhibit somewhat consistent productivity rates across all the methods. The productivity of the suffixes *-ia*, *-oni*, *-ua* and *-oti* is slightly higher across all five techniques, as their distribution can be found higher in the middle section of the table. As a result, these suffixes can be regarded as productive suffixes, as the suffixes that are distributed from upper to middle place in all the methods can be considered as the most productive suffixes. The suffix *-ok* which is on the upper side in V and N, is found in the lower side in N/V or V/N, and towards the middle position in n_1/N and n_1/V . As its frequency is on the higher side in all the methods except one, the productivity of this suffix can also be considered as high. Again, the rank of *-al* and *-onija*, on the other hand, can be found in the middle of the hierarchy in all the methods, making them semi-productive suffixes. Nearly in all of the approaches, *-aru*, *-ual*, *-alu*, *-ahi* can be found in the lower strata, hence indicating them as lowly productive suffixes.

However, one of the classic problems of the probabilistic measuring method is that the extreme number of instances disrupts the true picture. The most prolific suffix in the entire sample according to the V/N and N/V, n_1/N , and n_1/V techniques is *-oruwa*, which only has one instance, *dekerua* ‘young, full-grown’. The productivity status of a certain suffix is somewhat in doubt if it receives the highest productivity rating while only appearing once in the sample of one lac words. Again, the absence of the two suffixes *-alu* and *-ahi* from sample A does not imply that they are not at all productive in the language. The sample employed here is rather small, and because the suggested statistical approaches are better suited for large-scale corpora, the concerned suffixes do not come across any words in them. This brings up the issue of the language's lack of well-designed adequate resources once more, the lack of all-inclusive productivity measurement tools and non-alignment between measuring methods and sampling.

However, regarding the measuring methods, we feel that results by all the measuring methods should be compared to get a comprehensive picture of productivity of the affixes. Also, as different methods display different aspects of productivity, abandoning one method may deprive us of getting some other important insights.

5.8 Measure-based productivity- Sample B

Based on the type frequency of the suffixes in the 2006 and 2016 edition of Hemkosh presented in table 5.2, the suffixes are arranged in descending order of frequency:

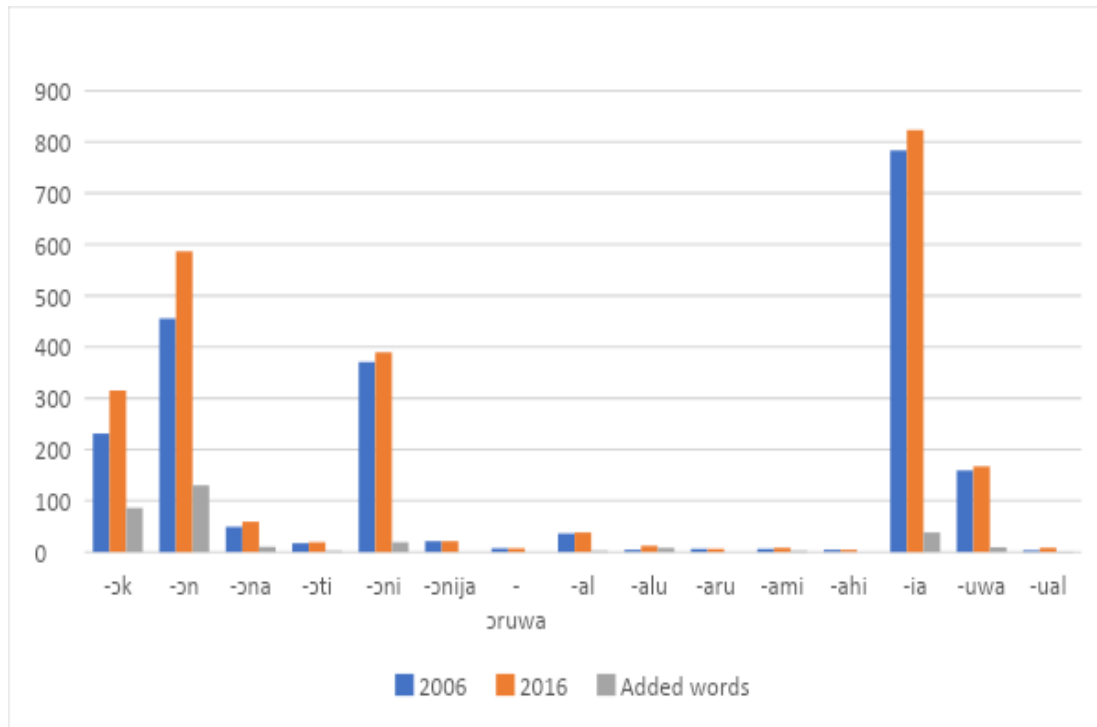


Fig 5.6 Type Frequency, V of the suffixes of Hemkosh (Ed. 2006 and 2016)

Table 5.5 Ranking of suffixes in descending order of productivity based on Table 5.2

Sl	2006	1016	In terms of newly added words
1	<i>-ia</i>	<i>-ia</i>	<i>-ɔn</i>
2	<i>-ɔn</i>	<i>-ɔn</i>	<i>-ɔk</i>
3	<i>-ɔni</i>	<i>-ɔni</i>	<i>-ia</i>
4	<i>-ɔk</i>	<i>-ɔk</i>	<i>-ɔni</i>
5	<i>-uwa</i>	<i>-uwa</i>	<i>-ɔna</i>
6	<i>-ɔna</i>	<i>-ɔna</i>	<i>-uwa</i>
7	<i>-al</i>	<i>-al</i>	<i>-alu</i>
8	<i>-ɔnija</i>	<i>-ɔnija</i>	<i>-ɔti, -al, -ami</i>
9	<i>-ɔti</i>	<i>-ɔti</i>	<i>-ual</i>
10	<i>-ɔruwa</i>	<i>-alu</i>	<i>-ɔnija, -ɔruwa, -aru, -ahi</i>
11	<i>-aru -ami</i>	<i>-ami, -uwal</i>	
12	<i>-alu -ahi</i>	<i>-ɔruwa</i>	
13	<i>-uwal</i>	<i>-aru</i>	
14		<i>-ahi</i>	

5.8.1 Type frequency V in 2006 and 2016

Firstly, the hierarchical order of the suffixes in terms of productivity is similar in both the years, i.e., in 2006 and 2016. *-ia* followed by *-ɔn*, *-ɔni*, *-ɔk*, *-uwa*, *-ɔna*, *-al* display the highest type frequency in both the years. On the other hand, a few suffixes *-ɔti*, *-ɔnija*, *-ɔruwa*, *-alu*, *-aru*, *-ami*, *-ahi*. *-uwal* have a very lower number of types resulting in their type frequency being low. The suffixes *-ɔruwa*, *-alu*, *-aru*, *-ahi* and *-uwal* change their order in the later year, though differing slightly.

5.8.2 Type frequency V of newly added words

In terms of new words that are added after ten years in 2016, *-ɔn* has the highest number of candidates that are considered worth adding by the lexicographer. *-ɔk* has the second highest frequency with 86 and *-ia* is third with 38. One of the interesting

observations is that the correlation between the number of new words added for the suffixes and their ranking in 2006 and 2016. The suffixes that have added a greater number of words in ten years are the same suffixes that have more frequency than the others in the respective years. For example, *-ɔn* has 130 new words in 2016 which is the highest in number, its ranking, as we can see is second in 2006 as well as in 2016. Similarly, 86 new words were added to the list for *-ɔk* in 2016, which has the fourth highest type frequency in 2006 and 2016; 38 words were added newly for *-ia* in 2016 which is the highest frequency in both years. Again, the suffixes like *-uwal*, *-ɔruwa*, *-aru*, *-ahi* which are lowly frequent in 2006 and in 2016, also have the lowest number of new words in the latest edition. While *-uwa* registers one new word in ten years, the word count for *-ɔruwa*, *-aru* and *-ahi* remain the same in both years, hence no new words are found. This shows that the more frequent suffixes are more likely to provide the language with new words or word formations. To put it another way, specific new word combinations for specific suffixes are deemed worthy of listing, and it turns out that they are the same suffixes that already have the higher type frequency in the language. The choice confirms the productive nature of these suffixes, assuming that the lexicographer was least aware of the productivity features of the particular suffixes.

5.9 General analysis of Suffixes: Sample A and B

Now, coming to the comparison between sample A and B, which we already know that it is a comparison of only one method, i.e., Type frequency V, we find that although the nature and sizes of the samples vary greatly, the ranking of the suffixes is identical between the two. Both samples' suffixes are arranged in descending order according to Type Frequency, which is remarkably similar. From the top in both samples, *-ia*, *-ɔn*, *-ɔni* and *-ɔk* remain unaltered. In sample A, *-ɔna* appears before *-uwa*; in sample B, the reverse is true. Similarly in the case of *-ɔti*, *-al*, and *-ɔnija*, the suffixes *-al* and *-ɔnija* overtake *-ɔti* just by one ranking. Again, the suffixes *-ami*, *-ɔruwa*, *-aru*, and *-uwal* that appear less frequently in sample A also appear less frequently in sample B. On the other hand, *-alu* and *-ahi*, which have no instances in sample A, have 4 types for both the suffixes in the 2006 edition in sample B and 12 and 4 types respectively in the 2016 edition. As a result of their lower frequency compared to the others, these two suffixes

can be seen towards the end in both samples. We may conclude that despite two distinct samples, as there is a similarity of the ranking based on Type frequency in both, the productivity status of the suffixes is supposed to be accurate.

As we have estimated the productivity rate of each suffix in two separate samples by using various measuring techniques, we realise the situation is far from obvious as a variety of factors influence the overall output of suffixes. The aforementioned methods provide statistical evidence of overall output, but if we focus on certain aspects of productivity, we may find that different suffixes are productive differently in various areas.

While some suffixes are more productive in specific areas, others are productive in several areas, making them more productive overall. Although the list is not exhaustive, let us look at the productivity of the suffixes in terms of word class, the quantity of noun and adverb derivatives, agency, femininity, expressivity, suffix composition, and morphological structure of the bases in the following chapter.